

Yale University  
**HIST 375/EAST 375: Mao to Now**  
Spring 2018  
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Nick Frisch and Melissa Paa Redwood

**Class Hours:** Monday and Wednesday, 11:35-12:50. Please note that Monday classes will meet Friday, January 19 for that week only.

**Course Description:** How do we understand the recent Chinese past, and how do we frame contemporary events in China in historical context? At the end of the Mao years (1949-1976), China's revolutionary experiment gave way to the reforms of a market economy, and observers of China predicted that political transformation would follow. Yet more recently, social scientists have suggested that the key to the Communist Party's resilience lies in its "adaptive governance," that Mao-era politics and policy continue to inform governance today. This introductory course investigates the history of the People's Republic from "Mao to Now," asking questions about how the Party-State is organized, how state and society interact, what are the causes and consequences of economic disparities, and how various groups—from intellectuals to religious believers—have shaped the meaning of contemporary Chinese society.

**Course Structure:** This is a lecture course with discussion section. Students are expected to prepare the readings in advance of each class meeting. Lectures will provide context and frameworks for each topic, and students should pay particular attention to "keywords" and the questions posed by each theme. The midterm will be based on short answers, and the cumulative final will include short answers and essays. Instructions for one primary source paper and one independent paper (op-ed, policy memo, research) will be distributed in class.

**Course Readings:** The books for this course are available at the university bookstore and on reserve at the university library. Articles and excerpts will available in a coursepak from TYCO. Required books include:

- Karl, Rebecca E. *Mao Zedong and China in the Twentieth Century World*. Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2010. (On Amazon for \$22.95 new, from \$15.49 used. Available as an e-book through Yale University Library).
- Chan, Anita, Richard Madsen, and Jonathan Unger. *Chen Village: Revolution to Globalization*. Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 2009. (On Amazon for \$33.56 new, from \$10.43 used. Make sure to buy the THIRD Edition!)
- Womack, Brantly, ed. *China's Rise in Historical Perspective*. Plymouth, UK: Rowman & Littlefield, 2010. (On Amazon for \$32.44 new, \$19.24 on Kindle, from \$6.75 used).
- Coursepak
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**Course Requirements and Grading:**

Attendance and participation	10%
Midterm	10%
Primary Source Paper	20%
Independent Paper	20%

- **Attendance and participation:** will be assessed on the basis of regular attendance and engagement with class discussion. Students must have the texts and/or notes in class in **hard copy**. The two lowest participation grades, which may include excused or unexcused absences, may be dropped. If illness or family emergency results in missing more than two sections, it is the student's responsibility to meet with the instructor in office hours to create an alternate arrangement.
- **Midterm and Final:** will be short answer and short answer plus essays. The final is cumulative. Students should pay particular attention to keywords, primary sources, and continuity and change from "Mao to Now."
- **Primary Source Paper (5 pp):** For this assignment, students will be provided a choice of packets of primary sources (or they may assemble their own packet). Using the sources in the packet, students will write a five page essay on one topic. No outside research is required.
- **Independent Paper (5 pp):** For this assignment, students will choose their own topic/question, and write a five page essay on how this topic has changed over time. The paper can take one of the following forms: a long op-ed piece, a policy memo, or a traditional research paper. For this paper, students are expected to locate and use at least one outside primary source and two outside secondary sources, on their own and in consultation with the teaching assistant.
- For BOTH short papers, students should refer to the Yale College Writing Center website for proper citation of sources: (<http://writing.yalecollege.yale.edu/advice-students/using-sources/understanding-and-avoiding-plagiarism>)
- **Extensions and Make-Ups:** Paper extensions and make-up exams will be granted only with an accompanying dean's excuse. Late papers without a dean's excuse will be marked down one step per day (i.e., A → A-), counting weekend days and with the day ending at 12:00 midnight. Students requesting an alternate exam (either midterm or final) for a legitimate and documented reason *not* covered by a dean's excuse (i.e. job interview or graduate school visit) must contact the teaching assistant and instructor in advance for approval.

### Week 1: Introduction

- Introduction to the Course: Issues and Themes (Wednesday, January 17)
  - Karl, Rebecca E., *Mao Zedong and China*, pp. 1-72.
- The People's Republic of China: "Crash Course" (Friday, January 19)
  - **Primary Source:** Mao Zedong, "On New Democracy" (1940)
  - **Primary Source:** Mao Zedong, "On the People's Democratic Dictatorship" (1949)
  - Karl, Rebecca E., *Mao Zedong and China*, pp. 73-116.

### Week 2: Introduction II

- The People's Republic of China: "Crash Course" (Monday, January 22)
  - **Primary Source:** CCP Central Committee, "Decision Concerning the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution," 1966

- **Primary Source:** Mao Zedong, “Quotations from Chairman Mao Zedong” 1968 edition
- **Primary Source:** CCP Central Committee, Excerpt from “Resolution on Certain Questions in the History of Our Party Since the Founding of the People’s Republic of China,” 1981
- Karl, Rebecca E., *Mao Zedong and China*, pp. 117-158.
- The People’s Republic of China: “Crash Course” (Wednesday, January 24)
  - **Primary Source:** Deng Xiaoping, “On Science and Modernization,” 1978
  - **Primary Source:** Deng Xiaoping, “Build Socialism with Chinese Characteristics,” 1984
  - **Optional Primary Source:** Xi Jinping, “Socialism with Chinese Characteristics for a New Era,” 2017 (Review the beginning)
    - [http://www.chinadaily.com.cn/china/19thcpcnationalcongress/2017-11/04/content\\_34115212.htm](http://www.chinadaily.com.cn/china/19thcpcnationalcongress/2017-11/04/content_34115212.htm)
  - Karl, Rebecca E., *Mao Zedong and China*, pp. 159-184.

### Sections begin this week!

#### Week 3: State I: State, Party, and Problems of Governance

- Mao (Monday, January 29)
  - **Primary Source,** Chen Yun, “How to Be a Communist Party Member,” 1939
  - **Primary Source:** Liu Shaoqi, “Training of the Communist Party Member” 1939 (Section 1 only)
  - **Primary Source:** Mao Zedong, “On the Correct Handling of Contradictions among the People,” 1957
  - **Primary Source:** Peng Dehuai, “Letter of Opinion to Mao Zedong on the Great Leap Forward,” 1959
  - “Organizational Structure of the Government of the People’s Republic of China,” in Zhou Xun, ed., *The Great Famine in China, 1958-1962*, pp. 167-170.
- Now (Wednesday, January 31)
  - “How China is Ruled,” BBC website.  
[http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/shared/spl/hi/in\\_depth/china\\_politics/governme nt/html/1.stm](http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/shared/spl/hi/in_depth/china_politics/governme nt/html/1.stm)
  - Fewsmith, Joseph, “Political Creativity and Political Reform in China?” in *China’s Rise in Historical Perspective*, pp. 227-246.
  - Walder, Andrew G. “Popular Protest and Party Rule: China’s Evolving Polity,” in *The People’s Republic of China at 60*, pp. 145-152.
- Questions: What is the structure of Chinese rule, and in particular, the balance between the Party and the State? How would you characterize the types of reform described by Fewsmith and Walder?
- From *Chen Village*: Read pp. 1-73.

#### Week 4: State II: Organizing China: City and Countryside

- Mao (Monday, February 5)
  - Brown, Jeremy. “Spatial Profiling: Seeing Rural and Urban in Mao’s China.” In *Visualizing Modern China*, pp. 203-218.

- Eyferth, Jacob. “Liberation from the Loom? Rural Women, Textile Work, and Revolution in North China.” In *Maoism at the Grassroots*, pp. 131-153.
- Now (Wednesday, February 7)
  - Hsing, You-tien. “Village Corporatism, Real Estate Projects, and Territorial Autonomy,” in *The Great Urban Transformation*, 2010.
  - Looney, Kristin E. “China’s Campaign to Build a New Socialist Countryside: Village Modernization, Peasant Councils, and the Ganzhou Model of Rural Development,” *The China Quarterly*, 2015.
- Questions: How is the rural and urban divide “visible”? How does urbanization function as a strategy of governance and control?
- From *Chen Village*: Read pp. 74-140.

[Primary Source Paper Packets Distributed/Review on Source Citation]

#### Week 5: State III: “Bottom Up”: From Political Campaigns to the Village Election

- Mao (Monday, February 12)
  - Diamant, Neil J. and Xiaocai Feng, “China’s First National Critique: The 1954 Campaign to Discuss the Draft Constitution,” *The China Journal* no. 73 (January 2015), pp. 1-37.
  - Strauss, Julia. “Morality, Coercion, and State Building by Campaign in the Early PRC: Regime Consolidation and After, 1949-1956.” In *The History of the PRC (1949-1976)*. Cambridge University Press, 2007, pp. 37-58.
- Now (Wednesday, February 14)
  - **Primary Source:** Yang Yonghe, “The Election Campaign: October 1998,” in *China Remembers*, pp. 279-283.
  - **Primary Source:** Organic Law of the Villagers’ Committee of the PRC
  - **Primary Source:** Sang Ye, “The People’s Deputy: A Congresswoman”
  - Liu, Yawei, “Local Elections: The Elusive Quest for Choice.” In *China Today, China Tomorrow*, pp. 165-180.
- Questions: How do you evaluate “state building by campaign”? What opportunities does village election provide? In what ways is it limited?
- From *Chen Village*: Read pp. 141-212.

#### Week 6: Economy: Reform (Capitalism→Socialism→Capitalism?)

- Mao: Socialist Transformation (Monday, February 19)
  - Feng Xiaocai, “Rushing Toward Socialism: The Transformation and Death of Private Business Enterprises in Shanghai, 1949-1956,” in *The People’s Republic of China at 60*, pp. 240-258.
  - Perkins, Dwight H., “China’s Prereform Economy in World Perspective,” in *China’s Rise in Historical Perspective*, pp. 109-128.
- Now: Dismantling Socialism and “Socialism with Chinese Characteristics” (Wednesday, February 21)
  - Oi, Jean, “Turning Around State-Owned Enterprises Under China’s Political Business Model,” in *The People’s Republic of China at 60*, pp. 212-219.
  - Naughton, Barry, “The Dynamics of China’s Reform-Era Economy,” in *China’s Rise in Historical Perspective*, pp. 129-147.

- Questions: What was the Mao-era economy and what were its goals? What are the pros and cons of the mixed economy in the reform era? Can we call today's economy capitalist?
- From *Chen Village*: Read pp. 213-287.

**[Primary Source Paper Due, Friday 23<sup>rd</sup> at midnight]**

Week 7: Society I: Class

- Mao: Social leveling? Class in China's Mao Era (Monday, February 26)
  - **Primary Source:** Mao, "On the Correct Handling of Contradictions Among the People," June 1957, pp. 127-159.
  - Yu Hua, "Disparity," in *China in Ten Words*, pp. 142-162.
- Now: The Problem of Inequality (Wednesday, February 28)
  - **Primary Source:** He Qinglian, "China's Social Structure," *New Left Review*, September-October 2000, pp. 69-99.
  - Solinger, Dorothy J. and Yiyang Hu, "Welfare, Wealth, and Poverty in Urban China: The Dibao and its Differential Disbursement," *The China Quarterly*, 2012.
- Questions: Were there classes in Mao's China? Was the class critique of the Cultural Revolution valid? What characterizes inequality in China today, and how is it perceived?
- From *Chen Village*: Read pp. 288-329.

Week 8: Midterm

- **Midterm Examination:** (Monday, March 5)
- Michael Meng, Yale University Library (Wednesday, March 7)
  - Classroom TBD
  - Please see the library's research guide for our course: <https://guides.library.yale.edu/HIST375/EAST375>
- From *Chen Village*: Read pp. 330-396.

[Independent Paper Instructions Distributed/Review on Source Citation]

Week 9: Society II: Education

- Mao: Education for all? (Monday, March 26)
  - **Primary Source:** Mao Zedong, "Chairman Mao on Educational Revolution"
  - Gao Mobo, "Rural Education," in *Gao Village: A Portrait of Rural Life in Modern China*, pp. 92-121.
- Now: One-Child Policy, Higher Education, and the Quest for Global Citizenship (Wednesday, March 28)
  - **Primary Source:** Deng Xiaoping, "Setting Things Right in Education" (1977), *Selected Works of Deng Xiaoping*, pp. 80-126.
  - Fong, Vanessa, "Filial Nationalism among Chinese Teenagers with Global Identities," *American Ethnologist* 31, no. 4 (2004): 629-646.
- Questions: What are the implications of an educational system that "levels down" as opposed to an educational system with a competitive exam requirement? How does

Fong use education as a way to reconcile her students' nationalistic yet global identities?

#### Week 10: Society III: Labor/Religion

- Labor, Mao to Now (Monday, April 2)
  - Perry, Elizabeth J., "Masters of the Country? Shanghai Workers in the Early People's Republic," in *Dilemmas of Victory*, pp. 59-79.
  - Pun, Ngai and Huilin Lu, "A Culture of Violence: The Labor Subcontracting System and Collective Action by Construction Workers," *The China Journal* (64): 143-158.
  - **Primary Source:** Sang Ye, "The Union Rep: A Worker Against the Party"
  - **Primary Source:** "The Diary of a Low-Level Supervisor at a Walmart China Store," in *Walmart in China*, pp. 151-172.
- Questions: The Communist Party came to power pledging to make workers and peasants the masters of the country. In what ways has it failed, and why is this so politically dangerous?
- Religion, Mao to Now (Wednesday, April 4)
  - **Primary Source:** *Documents of the Three-Self Movement*, pp. 48-69
  - **Optional Primary Source:** Tongxiang Municipal Committee of the CCP, Documents on Struggle of Catholic and Protestant Christians. Read the appendices: <https://www.hrw.org/reports/1997/china1/>
- Questions: In what ways did religion persist in the Mao era, and why? How does the state view religion and religious organization today? Do you see Mao-era strategies in the Tongxiang crackdown on local Catholics?

#### Week 11: Culture I: Intellectuals and the Media

- Intellectuals from Mao to Now: (Monday, April 9)
  - **Primary Source:** Mao Zedong, "Talks at the Yan'an Forum on Literature and Art" (1942)
  - **Primary Source:** Charter '08
  - **Primary Source:** Xi Jinping's Talks on the Beijing Forum on Literature and Art (*China Copyright and Media* summary)
- Media, Intellectuals, and the Party-State: (Wednesday, April 11)  
Guest lecture by Nick Frisch, Yale University, East Asian Languages and Literatures
  - **Primary Source:** Mao Zedong, "A Talk to the Editorial Staff of the *Shansi-Suiyuan Daily*" (1961)
  - Repnikova, Maria. Introduction and Chapter 4, "Restrictions on Critical Journalism," in *Media Politics in China* (2017).
  - Frisch, Nick. "Mo Yan: Frenemy of the State," *The Atlantic*, Oct. 2012.
  - Leys, Simon. "Anatomy of a 'Post-Totalitarian' Dictatorship: The Essays of Liu Xiaobo on China Today," in *The Hall of Uselessness*.
- Questions: Compare Mao Zedong and Xi Jinping's talks to artists, and the contrasting worldviews of Mo Yan and Liu Xiaobo. How does the Party see the role of artists, writers, and intellectuals? What options does Chinese culture present for such roles? How might the Western media's portrayal of Chinese media be fair or biased, and what might shape biases?

Independent Paper Due, Friday April 13, at midnight

Week 12: Culture II: Material Culture and Consumer Culture

- Mao: (Monday, April 16)
  - **Primary Source:** Mao Badges, morningsun.org
  - **Primary Source:** Poster Art, chinese posters.net
  - Finnane, Antonia. "The New Look in the New China," In *Changing Clothes in China*, pp. 201-227.
  - Murck, Alfreda. "Golden Mangoes: The Life Cycle of a Cultural Revolution Symbol." *Archives of Asian Art* 57 (2007): 1-22.
- Now: (Wednesday, April 18)
  - Gerth, Karl. "Branding Consumer Consciousness," in *As China Goes, So Goes the World*, pp. 111-132.
  - Osnos, Evan. "The Grand Tour: Europe on Fifteen Hundred Yuan a Day," *The New Yorker*, April 18, 2011.
- Questions: How do the posters project images of how people/life should be in socialist China? (Choose one and be ready to discuss it) Compare posters from early and late in the Cultural Revolution; do you notice any differences? How is revolutionary class status the same/different from consumer brand consciousness today?

Week 13: Culture III: China and the World, China in the World

- The Chinese Diaspora from Mao to Now (Monday, April 23)  
Guest Lecture by Melissa Paa Redwood, Yale University, History Department
  - Readings TBD (to be posted to Canvas)
- Reflections and Conclusions (Wednesday, April 25)
  - Dirlik, Arif, "Mao Zedong in Contemporary Chinese Official Discourse and History," *China Perspectives*, No. 2012/2 (2012): 17-27.
  - "Does Xi Jinping Represent a Return to the Mao Era?" *The China File*, June 16, 2015, <http://www.chinafile.com/reporting-opinion/features/does-xi-jinping-represent-return-mao-era>

**FINAL EXAM (Group 34) May 7, 2018 (2:00)**