

SoSc 2120 The Party-state System in China: Origins and Developments

Autumn 2017, Mon and Wed, 9 – 10:20am, Classroom: LTH

Dr. X.L. Ding, office Rm 3392, tel. 2358-7818, email <soxld@ust.hk >

Office hrs: Tue, 11:00 - 13:00 or by telephone appointment

*** **

VIPs outside China (eg, Mr. Donald Trump before elected) often make colorful or even sensational comments on the System which this course aims to explore. It is a comparative and historical study of the most powerful political structure and governing system in the modern era. The Party-state system first emerged in Russia immediately after the October Revolution 100 years ago, then inspired parallel political developments in China during the 1920-40s, in Germany during the 1930-40s, and eventually spread to many East European and Asian countries. This course will trace the ideological, cultural and, most importantly, politico-economic and international-relations factors and conditions that made the Party-state system well established in a number of nations.

The complex machinery of the Party-state system has perplexing outer structures and internal organs/ institutions, and this course will focus on three key linkages inside the machinery: the interrelations between the Party and the military; the interrelations between the Party and the civilian administration, and the interrelations between the Party and the security subsystems.

Students will be led to explore and analyze the huge social, economic, cultural and military achievements the System has delivered and also dig up the equally huge human, social and environmental costs the System has caused in producing those achievements. Special emphasis is placed on post-1976 China for three basic reasons: the Party-state system therein has been displaying some unique novelties despite of the noticeable institutional and structural continuity; the System has been appearing more attractive to some parts of the global community amid the recent economic and social crises affecting numerous countries; and the System has been exercising growing weight upon the lives and future directions of the Hong Kong community and far beyond.

To study the above ideologies, institutions and processes will help the young generation understand some of the most significant developments in the modern world, enrich students with independent thinking and critical worldviews, and empower them in further educational/ intellectual advance, public services and career pursuits.

Class discussion 15%; Mid-term 35%; Final 50%.

Week 1-2, Introduction and Classical texts on the Party-state system

As an invitation: "**Xi Jinping's Book In Spotlight At APEC Media Center**", Xinhua News Agency 6 Nov 2014. [The book, "Xi Jinping: The Governance of China," caught eyes as foreign journalists arrived at the media center of the APEC meetings. It was displayed at a book stand at the entrance of the media center, and reporters could take it for free. More than 200 copies in multiple languages including Chinese, English, French, Russian, Arabic, Spanish, Japanese and German were taken away by journalists. The book made its debut at the Frankfurt book fair in October 2014.]

P. 1

As an illustration of the power of the System: Didi Tatlow, "To Impress APEC Leaders, China Cracks Down on Beijing Life", *New York Times*, 7 Nov 2014; David Bandurski, "Big Data, Big Concerns", *China Media Project*, HKU, 20 July 2017.

As an illustration of the top leadership's control of the System: "Xi Jinping warns of Party 'cabals and cliques'", *Xinhua News Agency*, 3 May 2016; "习近平：党委纪委要保证党中央政令畅通"；"回顾：习近平在中央纪委历次全会上的重要讲话"，*CCP 中央纪委监察部网站*，13 Jan 2016.

As an illustration of the System's impact upon events overseas: "A German's Video Likens Mao to Hitler, and China Wants Him Punished", *New York Times*, 8 Jan 2016; "Putin 普京利用中国防火墙技术控制俄罗斯网络"，*BBC Chinese*, 29 Nov. 2016.

Origins: Leninist-Stalinist principles and programs of building the Communist Party-state system.

David McLellan, *Marxism After Marx*, Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1979, pp. 72-74, 78-82, 86-104, 115-125, 131-140, 144-150. (The "Further Reading" lists are very useful for your deeper exploration of the subjects, even though you may not have time to read the material now.) [《马克思以后的马克思主义》，北京，中国社会科学出版社，1986年第1版]

Week 3, The functioning of the Communist Party-state system

Janos Kornai, *The Socialist System: The Political Economy of Communism*, Princeton U Press, 1992, pp. 33-90, 97-100.

Week 4, A comparison on China's institutional learning: the KMT's approach to the Fascist system

Sidney Chang and Leonard Gordon, *All Under the Heaven*, Stanford U Press, 1991, Ch. 4. [《孙中山未完成的革命》，台北，时报文化出版，1993]

William Kirby, *Germany and Republican China*, Stanford U Press, 1984, Ch. 6 and Conclusion. [《蒋介石政府与纳粹德国》，北京，中国青年出版社，1994年第1版]

Week 5-6, The CCP's foundational work in building the Party-state system nationwide

John King Fairbank, *The United States and China*, Harvard U Press, 1983, pp. 358-386.

Frederick Teiwes, "The establishment and consolidation of the new regime, 1949-1957", pp. 6-86 in R. MacFarquhar (ed.), *The Politics of China*, Harvard U Press, 2011.

Julia Strauss, "Paternalist Terror: The Campaign to Suppress Counterrevolutionaries and Regime Consolidation in the PRC, 1950-1953", *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 44. 1 (2002.1), pp. 80-105.

P. 2

Dieter Heinzig, *The Soviet Union and Communist China 1945-1950*, Routledge, 2003, Ch. 3-4. [《中苏走向联盟的艰难历程》，北京，新华出版社，2001年第1版]

杨奎松：《中华人民共和国建国史研究 I》，南昌：江西人民出版社，2009。

James C.F. Wang, *Contemporary Chinese Politics*, London, Prentice-Hall, Ch. 4.

丁学良：“艰难缓慢地逼近真实完整的毛泽东”——《毛泽东：真实的故事》中文译本导言（台北：联经出版公司，2015年），第1-64页。

Week 7, Maoist disruption of the classical Party-state system: efforts to build absolute personal rule

Harry Harding, “The Chinese state in crisis, 1966-1969”, pp. 147-245 in R. MacFarquhar (ed.), *The Politics of China*, Harvard U Press, 2011.

Roderick MacFarquhar, “The succession to Mao and the end of Maoism, 1969-1982”, pp. 246-337, *ibid.*

Week 8-9, Dengist repairing and reform of the Party-state system: efforts to re-bureaucratization

Kenneth Lieberthal, *Governing China: From Revolution Through Reform*, NY: W.W. Norton, 1995, pp. 155-223, 314-330.

Richard Baum, “The road to Tiananmen: Chinese politics in the 1980s”, pp. 337-467 in R. MacFarquhar (ed.), *The Politics of China*, Harvard U Press, 2011.

X.L. Ding, *The Decline of Communism in China: Legitimacy Crisis*, Ch.2 and Concluding Remarks, Cambridge U Press, 1994/ 2006.

James C.F. Wang, *Contemporary Chinese Politics*, London, Prentice-Hall, Chapter 7 and 9.

Week 10-12, Institutional changes in the post-1989 domestic and global environments

Joseph Fewsmith, “Reaction, resurgence, and succession: Chinese politics since Tiananmen”, pp. 468-527 in R. MacFarquhar (ed.), *The Politics of China*, Harvard U Press, 2011.

Alice Miller, “Dilemmas of globalization and governance”, pp. 528-600, *ibid.*

Richard McGregor, *The Party: The Secret World of China's Communist Rulers*, NY: HarperCollins, 2010. [《中国共产党不可说的秘密》，台北，联经出版公司，2011年第1版]。

X.L. Ding, “The only reliability is that these guys aren't reliable!": The business culture of red capitalism”, pp. 37-58 in *Restless China*, ed. by P. Link, R. Madsen and P. Pickowicz, Rowman & Littlefield, 2013.

Kerry Dumbaugh and Michael F. Martin, “Understanding China's political system”, 31 December 2009, Congressional Research Service, 7-5700, www.crs.gov, R41007.

The CCP's central leading groups: "Groups help point the way to change", China Daily Asia edition, 6 Aug 2015, p.3; Politics section, 人民网, 8 July 2013.

New Beijing Daily (新京报): "政法委工作升格, 由总书记直接分管", 23 Oct 2014.

Jeremy Page, "Xi bets big on a global military", Wall Street Journal, pp. A1 and 6, 27 April 2016. 《德国之声中文网》: "专访: '军队是听习主席话的'", 31-07-2017.

Xu Yi-chong and Patrick Weller, "The Challenges of Governing: The State Council in China", The China Journal, vol. 76, June 2016.

Rogier Creemers, "The pivot in Chinese cybergovernance integrating Internet control in Xi Jinping's China", China Perspectives, 15 Jan 2016.

Josh Chin and Liza Lin, "The All-seeing Surveillance State Is a Reality in China", Wall Street Journal, Pp. A1 and A8, 27 June 2017.

Week 13, Comparison: Leninism-Stalinism, Maoism, Dengism and Beyond

Clifford Levy, "News Analysis: Russia's Leaders See China as Template for Ruling", New York Times, 18 October 2009.

James Mann, "A Shining Model of Wealth Without Liberty", Washington Post, 20 May 2007.

Ian Buruma, "China's Dark Triumph", Los Angeles Times, 13 January 2008.

Minxin Pei, China's Crony Capitalism, Introduction and Conclusion, Harvard U Press, 2016.

Jonathan Fenby, "The Party Adapts To Stay On Top In China", Far Eastern Economic Review, 20 May 2009.

Jane Macartney, "Official Chinese guide tells how to beat suspects and leave no marks", The Times, 23 April 2009. Joel Martinsen, "A practical handbook for beating street vendors", Danwei, 22 April 2009.

P. 4