Group Discussion

- What kind of political system do you think is the most appropriate for China?
  - A) Democracy
  - B) Republic
  - C) Monarchy
  - D) Authoritarianism

Outline

- Chinese governance
  - Imperial China
  - Socialist China
  - Transitional China
- Maintaining unity
- Evaluating major leaders

Chinese Governance

- China has the oldest political system
- Imperial China
  - Qin: legalist
  - Confucianism: funded by Kong Fu Zi, or Confucius (551–479 BC)
  - “Code of conduct”
    - Zhong (忠): loyalty to the state
    - Xiao (孝): love, obey parents
    - Li (礼): ritual, propriety, etiquette
    - Yi (义): righteousness
    - Xin (信): honesty, trustworthiness
    - Jin (敬): benevolence, humaneness towards others

Chinese Governance

- China has the oldest political system
- Imperial China
  - Confucianism
  - Scholar-official system
- Nation-wide exam open to all men
- Test on Chinese literature and Confucian classics
- Assigned posts and rotated periodically
- Still in practice in China
- Why?
- Allowed social mobility, enforced Confucianism, avoided regional power
Chinese Governance

- The Socialist Era
  - Continue to utilize Confucianism
  - Mao as the "Sun" (compared to emperor as son of heaven, dragon)

Mao is the reddest sun in our heart

Zhong (忠, loyal) to Chairman Mao

Go to the countryside, go to the border regions, go to places most needed by the motherland

Chinese Governance

- The Socialist Era
  - Continue to utilize Confucianism
  - Mao as the "red sun" (compared to emperor as son of heaven, dragon)
  - Promote loyalty and personal sacrifices
  - Rotate officials between regions
Chinese Governance

- **The Socialist Era**
  - Continue to utilize Confucianism
  - Rotate officials between regions
  - Hierarchical administration down to neighborhoods
    - Province, prefecture, county, town, village
    - City, district, sub-district, residents committee

Chinese Governance: the Socialist Era

- One dominant party (CCP), with several small parties
  - Revolutionary Committee of the Kuomintang (民革)
  - China Democratic League (民盟)
  - China Democratic National Construction Association (民建)
  - China Association for Promoting Democracy (民进)
  - Jiusan Society (九三学社)
  - Zhigongdan of China (中国致公党)
  - Taiwan Democratic Self-government League (台盟)
  - ...
Chinese Governance: the Socialist Era

- One dominant party (CCP), with several small parties
- Develop the “red seeds”: 3 steps
  - The Youth Pioneer (elementary school)
  - The Communist Youth League (middle/high school)
  - The CCP
- Political promotion mostly based on redness

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Be a red seed!

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The youth Pioneer

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CCP party members

- 88 Million, 6.5% of population
  - Women: 20.3 M, 23.8%
  - Minority: 5.8 M, 6.8%
  - Farmers: 25.4 M
  - Industrial workers: 7.25 M
  - Party and state staff: 7.16 M
  - Professional and managerial: 20.2 M
  - Students: 2.91 M

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Acquiring the red

There are 84.57 million party members in China, which accounted for 5.2% of the whole population at the end of 2000. There were 21.793 million new members from 1990 to 2000.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Category</th>
<th>Quantity</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Women</td>
<td>11.199</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Minority nationality</td>
<td>4.011</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Under 35 years old</td>
<td>14.301</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>High school education or higher</td>
<td>32.974</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Workers, farmers, managers</td>
<td>31.66</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Professionals and skilled workers</td>
<td>7.763</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cadres</td>
<td>5.033</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Managers and administrators</td>
<td>6.182</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

New members take their oath before the flag.

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Slower growth in recent years

Effect of anti-corruption campaign
CCP Organizational Structure

- General Secretary (1)
- Standing Committee of Politburo (7)
- Politburo (25)
- Central Committee of Party Congress (about 300)
- National Party Congress (~1500), meet every 5 years
- County / provincial Party Congress
- 4 M local party branches, 88 M party members

Chinese Governance: the Socialist Era

- One dominant party, with several small parties
  - Democratic centralism/dictatorship
- Constant political campaigns to eradicate different thoughts and voices

1974:
- Criticize Lin Biao
- Criticize Confucius

1975:
- Criticize the rightists!
- Destroy Liu and Deng’s anti-revolutionary path!
1st Position Paper

- Do diaoyu/Senkaku Islands belong to China or Japan?
  - Research
  - Your position
  - Evidences (why?)
  - References
- Due on Sept. 26th, debate in class

Outline

- Chinese governance
  - Imperial China
  - Socialist China
  - Transitional China
- Maintaining unity
  - Forces pulling China apart
- Evaluating major leaders

The Reform Era

- The essence of the political system remains the same
  - One party dominants
  - Assign posts and periodical rotation
  - Spatial administrative hierarchy
  - Uphold “Four Cardinal Principles”
    - Socialism
    - The people’s democratic dictatorship
    - The primacy and leadership of the CCP
    - Marxism-Leninism and “Mao Zedong thought”

Contribute “treasures” to realize four modernizations

The Reform Era

- Changes:
  - Strategic shift from class struggle/ideology purification to economic development
  - Decentralization in decision-making
  - Experiment direct election at the village/street level
  - Promotion based more on qualification (technocrats)
    - Democratic party members, intellectuals, women and minorities easily promoted
  - Private businessmen can be party members and serve on the national congress
  - Rise of private work-units, which have little control over people’s personal life
  - Emergence of civil societies: economic, cultural, environmental, human rights groups
  - CCP is evolving to maintain legitimacy in the new era
Chinese governance: the reform era

- Changes:
  - Strategic shift from class struggle/ideology purification to economic development
  - Goal of four modernizations:
    - Agriculture
    - Industry
    - Science and technology
    - National defense

Challenges: Maintaining unity

- Factors pulling China apart
  - Different visions among leaders
  - Regionalism, regional identity and independence
  - Ethnic conflicts
  - Spatial and social inequality (coast-inland, rural-urban divide, urban poverty)

Student movement demanding democracy, 1989

Massive rural-urban migration (~250M)

Laid-off Workers Demonstrating in Liaoning Province

Conflicts between Landless Farmers and Police
Youqin Huang  GOG 160/EAC 160 43

A banned book on rural poverty, corruption, and peasants’ discontent

Youqin Huang  GOG 160/EAC 160 44

Ethnic Minorities

- Han people vs. 55 minorities (8.4%)
- Minorities inhabit 60% of national territory, mostly in the west and southwest.

China’s First Order Administrative Units

Ethnic Minorities

- Preferential policies to minorities
  - Family planning
  - College Education: bonus points, scholarship, taking exam in native language, minority universities
- Reasons for preferential policies
  - Mostly underdeveloped economically
  - Political image of socialism
  - Minorities regions are mostly border areas, which are strategically important
  - Rich endowment of natural resources
- But...

First Order Administrative Units for Minority Nationalities in China

Ethnic Minorities

- Preferential policies to minorities
  - Family planning
  - College Education: bonus points, scholarship, taking exam in native language, minority universities
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  - Mostly underdeveloped economically
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Figure 4.5

Figure 4.6

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free tibet
Potala Palace in Lhasa

Tibet
- A traditional theocracy with powerful Lamaist monasteries
  - 1/3 of males were monks
- Political and religious power concentrated in the hands of the Dalai Lama
- Monasticism, serfdom, slavery and forced labor – poverty for the mass
- Agriculture

A Complex and Confusing Relation
- Never recognized by any country as an independent state
- Dalai Lama agreed that Tibet was under Chinese suzerainty and it was part of Chinese territory
- 1954, China and India signed a treaty that accepted Chinese sovereignty in Tibet

A Complex and Confusing Relation
- China:
  - Part of Chinese territory for a long time; now an autonomous region
  - Abolished monasticism, serfdom, slavery, forced labor, and introduced socialism
  - Modernization
    - Building infrastructures, promoting economic development
- Dalai Lama /West:
  - China invaded Tibet
  - Suppressed culture, religion, violated human rights
  - 1959 uprising and Dalai Lama fled to India
2008 Tibetan Unrest
- Tibetan Uprising Day (March 10th)
  - 3.14 riots
  - 18 civilians and 1 police officer died
  - Mostly Han and Hui civilians, business people
  - Hundreds injured
- Protests in N. America and Europe
  - 18 Chinese embassies and consulates attacked
- China: motivated by separatism, orchestrated by Dalai Lama vs. Dalai Lama: discontent in Tibet
- May 4th, meeting between PRC and Dalai Lama reps

Feb. 21st, 2014. White House

Liberation or invasion? Better or worse?
- Whose perspective?
- Similar cases:
  - Civil war in the US
  - Civil war in China
  - Revolution in Cuba
  - ...

Capital: Ürümqi (Wulumuqi)

Only AR with more minorities than the Han Chinese

SOURCE: Staff reports, THE WASHINGTON POST
Kashgar: central market

Xinjiang AR

- "New Territory" or "Chinese Turkestan"
- Influx of Han Chinese (now 40%)
  - especially in the late 1950s
  - Production and Construction Corps of PLA: agriculture, industry, mining
- Some ethnic groups live on both sides of international border
- Uygur separatists, link with al-Qaeda, many terrorist actions in recent years

2009 July riot in Ürümqi

- Fight in Guangdong in toy factory, 2 Uyghurs killed
- 193 people died, most Han ppl
- Thousands injured

2014 March 1st, Yunan Railway Station Mass Stabbing, killing 33, injuring hundreds
**Maintaining Unity**

- Many factors pulling China apart
  - Different visions among leaders
  - Regionalism, regional identity and independence
  - Ethnic conflicts: Tibet, Xinjiang
  - Spatial and social inequality (coast-inland, rural-urban divide, urban poverty, migrants)

- What should the Chinese government do?

**Maintaining Unity**

- Unifying forces
  - Integrate minorities into the national socioeconomic and political system
  - Develop the West campaign
  - Massive investment in the west
  - Chongqing promoted as a municipality
  - Settlement of Han Chinese in minority areas
  - Promote young minorities to leading positions
  - Minorities’ written languages based on the pinyin system

**Qinghai-Tibet Railway, 2006**

*The highest railway!*

**Maintaining Unity**

- Unifying forces
  - Integrate minorities into the national socioeconomic and political system
  - Nationalism

**Return of Hong Kong**

*One country, two systems*

**Chinese activists land on Diaoyu Island**

*Chinese from mainland China, HK and Taiwan have the same position on this issue*

*The government is not officially involved, but happy to see it happens*

*Protesting in front of Japanese embassy*
1st Position Paper

- Do diaoyu/Senkaku Islands belong to China or Japan?
  - Research
  - Your position
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  - References
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Maintaining Unity

- Unifying forces
  - Integrate minorities into the national socioeconomic and political system
  - Nationalism
  - Renew/revive Confucian values
    - Jiang’s “spiritual civilization” campaign (1996) -- corruption
    - Jiang’s “three represents” campaign (2002)
      - (CCP) Represents people’s interests
      - Represents modern productive forces
      - Represents advanced civilization
  - CCP self-evolving, although slowly
  - Economic development – reform
    - “The Chinese Dream”: restore China’s lost greatness
    - History of political chaos and social disorder gives people a sense of fear of returning to similar situation, while the current prosperity and pursuit of materialism keep people occupied.

Evaluating Major Leaders

- Mao Zedong:
  - the "red sun" of the people
  - United the country, restored national pride
  - Literate people from foreign oppression
  - Realized equality (relatively)
  - Mobilized people in pursuit of an utopian society
  - Launched political campaigns such as the Great Leap Forward, the Cultural Revolution
    - Tortured/killed intellectuals/officials
    - Many people died/starved
    - Destroyed many traditions/cultural heritages

Major international events, e.g.

- 2008 Olympics; 2010 World Expo
Evaluating Major Leaders

- Mao Zedong:
  - The "red sun" of the people
  - The "black hand" for the Cultural Revolution
  - Mao "fever" coming back recently

"Mao" for sale

Revive of old songs celebrating Mao

Mao Zedong Memorial Park (theme park)
Evaluating Major Leaders

- Mao Zedong:
  - The "red sun" of the people
  - The "black hand" for Cultural Revolution
  - Mao "fever" coming back
    - Why?
    - Mao brought equality – now increasing inequality
    - Mao gave people belief (socialism) – lack of belief during market transition

Evaluating major leaders

- Deng, Xiaoping
  - One of founders of CCP and PRC
  - Pragmatist, promotes economic development
    - Architect of the reform
      - Open door policy
      - Economic reform

Shenzhen

- Poster child of Deng’s policy

Return of Hong Kong

- One country, two systems

Tiananmen Square, June 1989
Evaluating major leaders: Deng, Xiaoping
- Pragmatist, promotes economic development
- Raised “one country, two systems” -- Return of Hong Kong
- Oppressed student democracy movement vs. maintained stability
- Remained powerful behind the scene after his step-down

Evaluating major leaders: Jiang Zemin
- Mayor of Shanghai, promoted to be the President after June, 1989
- Maintained stability in Shanghai during 1989 vs. outsider of Beijing politics
- Jiang embarked on four strategic missions:
  - Strengthened his support from the armed forces, esp. the PLA (chairman of Military Affair Commission)
  - Appointed his key political associates to leadership positions
  - Launched a series of high-profile campaigns to tackle official corruption and profiteering
  - Replaced the old guard revolutionaries with younger, skilled technocrats or well-educated bureaucrats

Evaluating major leaders: Hu, Jintao
- A technocrat; worked in the west
- No connection/power in military
- Interested in tackling social problems e.g. inequality, corruption, poverty
- Construct “harmonious society”
Xi, Jinping: yet to be seen
- “Princeling”
- Anti-corruption campaign
- The “Chinese Dream”
- “Belt and Road Initiative” (BRI) (one belt one road)
  - A new economic paradigm

One Belt One Road (OBOR) or BRI

Summary
- Chinese politics over time
  - Imperial China
  - Socialist China
  - Transitional China
- Maintaining unity
  - Factors pulling the country apart
  - Factors unifying the country
- Evaluating major leaders

Xi, Jinping
- Anti-corruption
- Reduce inequality
- Accelerate urbanization
- Achieve economic restructuring
- China’s global leadership

- Censorship may be worse