

Chapter 10: China



THE BASICS

China

Size	9,595,960 sq. km (a bit smaller than the United States)
Arable land	10%, down by one-fifth since 1949
Population	1.32 billion
Population growth rate	0.6%
GNP per capita	\$7,700
Currency	7.55 yuan renminbi = US\$1
Life expectancy	72
Ethnic composition	92% Han Chinese
Capital	Beijing
Head of State	President Hu Jintao (2003)
Head of Government	Prime Minister Wen Jiabao (2003)

Thinking about China

– The Basics

- The world's most populous country
- Relative ethnic homogeneity
- Great linguistic differences within one language
- The Middle Kingdom as a sign of cultural ethnocentrism
- Poverty deep and widespread
- Great growth of middle class

Thinking about China

- Key Questions
 - Can the Chinese leadership realistically hope to limit the impact of the outside world to the economy?
 - As the Chinese people learn more about other cultures and have more money to spend, won't they begin to demand political freedoms as well?
 - Will the state continue to be able to put down protests like the one in Tiananmen Square in 1989, especially if they become larger or more violent?
 - What will happen if the CCP continues to have trouble recruiting talented and dedicated members who could become its future leaders?
 - Hu Jintao and his colleagues are popularly referred to as the “fourth generation” of leaders. How might they change Chinese political life?
 - And how will the fifth generation, slated to take over by 2014, accelerate or slow down the pace or change?

The Evolution of the Chinese State

- The broad sweep of Chinese history
 - Nearly 3,000 years of political history
 - The world's oldest large, centralized, bureaucratic state
 - Near isolation for most of its history
 - Europeans “crashed in” in the 19th century
 - Chinese humiliated by European dominance

TABLE 10.1 Key Events in the Origins of the People's Republic of China

YEAR	EVENT
551 BC	Birth of Confucius
221 BC	Start of Qin dynasty
1644	Start of Qing dynasty
1839–42	Opium War
1894–95	Sino-Japanese War
1898	Imperial reforms begin
1911	Overthrow of the Qing dynasty
1919	May Fourth Movement
1921	Formation of the CCP
1925	Death of Sun Yat-sen
1927	KMT attack on CCP
1931	Japanese invasion of Manchuria
1934–35	Long March
1949	CCP victory KMT flees to Taiwan

The Evolution of the Chinese State

- Failed revolution
 - Sun Yat-sen and founding of Kuomintang (1905)
 - Rule of Yuan Shikai and other warlords after 1911 revolution
 - May Fourth Movement marked more political elite

The Evolution of the Chinese State

- China stands up
 - Founding of CCP (1921)
 - Like KMT, it drew inspiration from Bolshevik revolution
 - Tensions between KMT and CCP as Communist popularity grew
 - KMT attacked CCP in Shanghai (1927)
 - Mao Zedong argued that CCP must mobilize peasants and conduct a guerrilla war (1927)
 - Long March: CCP retreat and success
 - Japanese invasion (1931)
 - KMT-CCP united front (1937-1945)
 - Communist army and popularity grew during WWII
 - CCP routed KMT in civil war that resumed after WWII

The Evolution of the Chinese State

- Factionalism
 - After WWII, rivalries between leaders and ideas led to organized factions within CCP
 - Led to personalization of power
 - Led to split with USSR
 - Importance of mass campaigns
 - Hundred Flowers Campaign
 - Great Leap Forward
 - Recovery from GLF
 - Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution
 - Death of Mao (1976) gave power to new faction, but did not change politics within CCP

TABLE 10.2 Key Events in Chinese History since the Revolution

YEAR	EVENT
1949	CCP takes power
1956	De-Stalinization in Soviet Union begins Hundred Flowers Campaign
1957	Great Leap Forward
1960	Demotion of Mao Zedong
1965	Beginning of Cultural Revolution
1972	Opening to United States
1976	Deaths of Zhou Enlai and Mao Zedong Formal end of Cultural Revolution
1978	Democracy Wall
1983	Anti-spiritual pollution campaign
1989	Democracy Movement and Tiananmen Square
1997	Reversion of Hong Kong to PRC Death of Deng Xiaoping
2003	Hu Jintao becomes president

The Evolution of the Chinese State

- Since Mao's death
 - Power in hands of moderates
 - Deng Xiaoping set tone of Party control and economic reform
 - Less personalized leadership since Deng's death

Political Culture and Participation

- A Blank slate? Cultural Revolution?
 - Mao thought people were “poor and blank” and could easily be taught a new political and economic culture
 - Cultural change the primary priority for Maoists
 - Collectivism
 - Struggle and activism
 - Egalitarianism and populism
 - Self-reliance
 - State domination of all agents of socialization
 - Mass campaigns (see above)
 - Cultural change has become a much less important goal since '76

Political Culture and Participation

- Participation from the top down
 - CCP determines what people should do and organizes their participation
 - Action routinely involves carrying out policies adopted by leaders
 - More than 70 million Party members engage in implementation of policy decided by leadership
 - Less top-down activity as more people are involved in enterprises not directly controlled by the Party and government

Political Culture and Participation

- From the Bottom Up?
 - Contested elections in rural areas
 - Nearly a third of people report some form of voluntary political activity
 - Modernizing regions have active chambers of commerce

TABLE 10.3 Political Participation in Rural China

NUMBER OF ACTIVITIES	ALL FORMS (PERCENTAGE)	DEMANDING FORMS ONLY (PERCENTAGE)
0	41	66
1	31	22
2 or more	28	12

Source: Adapted from M. Kent Jennings, "Political Participation in the Chinese Countryside," *American Political Science Review*, 91 (June 1997), tables 2 and 3.

Political Culture and Participation

- Organized Dissent
 - Democracy Wall (1978) and Wei Jingsheng
 - The Democracy Movement (1989), Fang Lizhi, and Tiananmen Square
 - Falun Gong: founded 1992; 50 million practitioners

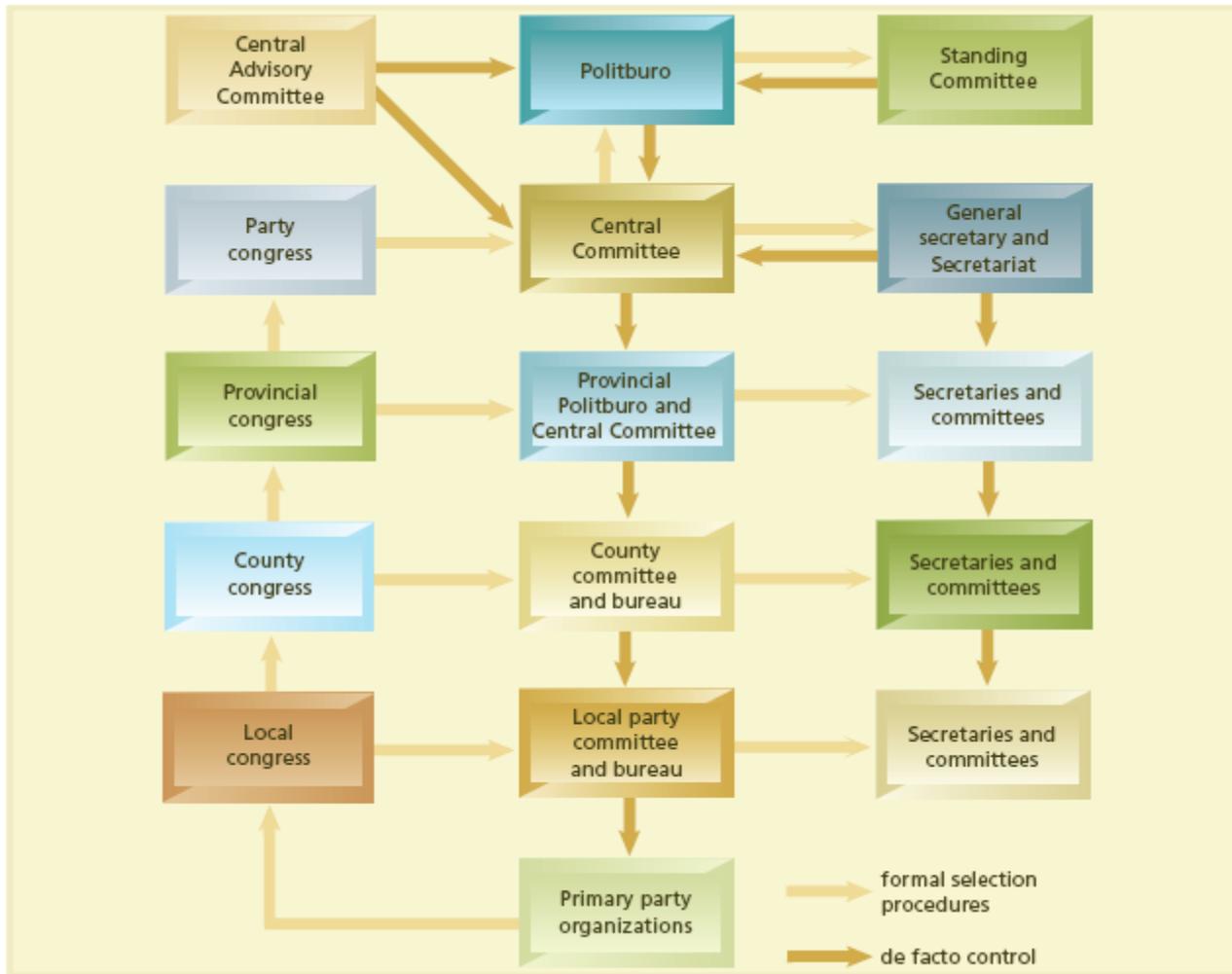
The Party State: Democratic Centralism

- A New Kind of Party?
 - Recruiting university graduates, engineers, and technical experts
 - Capitalists invited to join Party
 - Party membership required for political career
- The Road to Power
 - CCP *Nomenklatura* controls Party and Government appointments
 - Power remains concentrated in Politburo and its Standing Committee

The Party State: Democratic Centralism

- Variations on a Theme
 - Under Deng, Central Advisory Commission ran the Party
 - Succession regularized since Deng
- Power pressures for decentralization are often successful (especially in economic development)
- Growing signs of nepotism and corruption among elite
- PLA is still an important actor with an independent power base and commercial interests; passive since 1989

FIGURE 10.1 Decision Making in China



Public Policy: Perestroika Without Glasnost

- Economic reform
 - One of most dramatic periods of economic growth in history
 - Sweeping reforms since '76
 - Private property useful
 - Market forces should allocate goods and services and determine prices
 - Material incentives can boost productivity
 - Party has been pragmatic
 - Reluctant to go too far, too fast
 - Avoided reforms likely to threaten its power

TABLE 10.4 Economic Growth in China: Annual Rates of Change (percentage)

SECTOR	1980–1990	1990–1999
Gross domestic product	10.2	10.7
Agriculture	5.9	4.3
Industry	11.1	14.4
Services	13.6	9.2
Exports	11.5	12.2

Source: *World Bank, World Development Report, 1998, 1999, 2000*, www.worldbank.org accessed 28 Oct. 2001.

Public Policy: Perestroika Without Glasnost

- Agriculture
 - Earliest reforms
 - Household responsibility system
 - Production and household income increased
 - Most peasants still very poor
 - People leave countryside for urban opportunities at every chance

Public Policy: Perestroika Without Glasnost

- Private Enterprise
 - Legal category of “private business” created in 1988
 - Special Economic Zones created to contain capitalism (1979)
 - Joint ventures allowed and encouraged
 - State-owned enterprises (SOEs) lagging behind and propped up by massive loans from state-owned banks
 - Looming ecological crises in wake of economic growth
 - China remains desperately poor

Public Policy: Perestroika Without Glasnost

- Foreign Policy: More change
 - Entry into WTO changes relationships
 - Olympics of 2008 create pressure for change
 - Negotiated return of Hong Kong rewarded Chinese efforts to join community of nations
 - Refusal to endorse US-British invasion of Iraq in 2003
 - Major player in North Korean decision to abandon nuclear technology
 - Refusal to agree on Iranian nuclear threat

Feedback

- Regime continues to control mass media
- Government mostly successful at controlling access to Internet
- Millions find ways around Internet controls
- China is world's leader in pirated films, music, and software

Kadan and Karaoke or Communism?

- Pressures from ever more sophisticated population
- Increasing inclusion in global economic and cultural life
- Repression keeps CCP in power

Learning Objectives

After mastering the concepts presented in this chapter, you will be able to:

- Understand the key moments of the historical formation of China.
- Recognize the importance of ancient Chinese philosophy, such as Confucianism on the process of understanding of Chinese politics and society.
- Comprehend the development of communist doctrine and ideology in China.
- Understand the evolution of the Chinese state in 20th century and define key elements of revolutions in China. Define the following: People's Liberation Army, Sun Yat-sen, Mao Zedong, Kuomintang Party, Chiang Kai-shek, Zhou Enlai
- Define Chinese geography and current economic challenges.
- Understand the process of political, economic and social developments of the People's Republic of China. Define the concept of democratic centralism.
- Discuss the role of Mao Zedong in shaping the history of communist China.
- Understand the factors which contributed to the Sino-Soviet split.
- Comprehend the importance of the following structural and social reformations in Mao's China: Hundred Flowers Campaign, Great Leap Forward, Cultural Revolution, Four Modernizations
- Define the after-Mao progress of Chinese state and society.

Learning Objectives

After mastering the concepts presented in this chapter, you will be able to:

- Understand the specifications of Chinese political culture and participation. In particular, define the following: Collectivism, Struggle and activism, Egalitarianism and populism, Self-reliance
- Identify cultural forms of political participation in China.
- Discuss manifestations of organized dissent, such as Democracy Wall, Democracy Movement and, controversially, Falun Gong.
- Understand the challenges of democratization in China.
- Recognize the structure of the Communist Party and government institutions in the People's Republic of China. Define the following terms: National People's Congress, Central Committee, Politburo, Standing Committee, Nomenklatura, Central Advisory Commission
- Understand the role of Deng Xiaoping in the process of party, state and ideological reformation in the PRC.
- Discuss the events on Tiananmen Square in 1989 and their impact on the process of political development in China.
- Comprehend the challenging process of the development of Chinese market economy in the Communist party controlled state.
- Discuss the response of Hu Jintao's China on economic, domestic and foreign policy challenges.