#### **Development in Post-Mao China**

Charlene Makley, Professor of Anthropology, Reed College

Since the founding of the People's Republic of China in 1949, state leaders have struggled to chart a course to a Chinese modernity that would break with the perceived humiliations of European domination in the 19th century and bring China commensurate status in a newly configured world stage of nations. Since Deng Xiaoping's post-Mao reforms in the early 1980s, the PRC has been one of the fastest growing economies in the world. As such, it is poised to have major impacts globally, and especially since the PRC's entrance into the World Trade Organization in 2001, these meteoric socioeconomic changes have complex implications for the PRC's diverse 1.4 billion people, as well as for many communities abroad now impacted by the expanding reach of Chinese development efforts. This course draws on anthropological theories of modernity, capitalism, globalization and development to turn a critical eye on discourses and practices of "development" (ch. *fazhan*) in the PRC.

Drawing on theoretical, historical and ethnographic writings, as well as on other media such as government policy papers, advertising and documentary films, we consider the contexts and contradictions of various development efforts just before, during and after the Maoist period, focusing especially on the post-Mao era of economic reforms. The PRC thus will serve as a case-study for our broader examination of theories conceptualizing the relationships between transregional capitalisms and local realities.

#### **Summary of Requirements**

**Late Paper Policy**: Deadlines are strict. Barring personal crisis, family emergency, or severe illness (please let me know ahead of time), all late papers will be subject to one half point off per day late.

- Discussion leadership
- 4 1-2 page film commentaries
- 1 1-2 page theory commentary
- Take home Midterm Exam
- 2-3 page final paper proposal and annotated bibliography
- 12-15 page Final paper

Classes will revolve around student-led discussions and presentations. I will expect your avid participation-- including regular attendance, prompt completion of assignments, and active involvement in discussions whenever possible. In fact, class participation and attendance will comprise a significant portion of your grade. Beginning week 2 class members will take turns posting discussion questions on the class email list and helping to lead class discussions.

Reading and writing assignments are meant to encourage **close**, **critical engagement with the texts** and the issues they raise. The reading load is moderate to heavy and it is assigned per week. On average, you should expect to put in two to three hours of work outside of class for every hour of in-class time.

**Avoid Plagiarism!** Plagiarism is the failure to acknowledge one's use of another's work. Many people mistakenly believe that plagiarism can occur only if the writer willfully appropriates someone else's words or ideas in a paper. This is not the case. Whether by intent or by omission, plagiarism occurs whenever one utilizes another's language, concepts, or creative work in any medium and fails to accurately cite the author or source.

To avoid plagiarism, take comprehensive, accurate notes and consult a writers' manual for the proper form with which to cite your sources.

Weekly supplemental readings, and links for related films and websites are provided for your use. Further readings are ones that are especially relevant or provide differing viewpoints; they offer points of departure for deepening your understanding of particular issues.

### **Week One: Goals and Perspectives**

**Chronology: Important Dates in the Development of "Modern China"** 

- What is "China"? The Cultural Politics of Space, Globalization and Transnationality
- Ong, Aihwa. Intro., Ch.s 1-2, Flexible Citizenship: the Cultural Logics of Transnationality. Duke, 1999. (83 pp).

# Week Two: Anthropological Approaches to Economics and Development Week Two Film: "Manufactured Landscapes," 2006 (90 min)

- Sociocultural Economies? Anthropology, Modernity and Development
- [skim!] Wilk, Richard. 1996. "Ch. 1 "Economic Anthropology: An Undisciplined Discipline," and Ch. 2, "Economics and the Problem of Human Nature." Economies and Cultures: Foundations of Economic Anthropology. Boulder, Colo.: Westview Press. (40 pages)
- Polanyi, Karl. 2001 (1944). Ch.s 4-6, The Great Transformation: The Political and Economic Origins of Our Time. New edition w/foreword by Joseph Stiglitz. Beacon Press. (35 pages).
- Images: Polanyi's Arguments in Charts!
- ---Break---
- Escobar, Arturo. Ch. 1 "Introduction: Development and the Anthropology of Modernity," and Ch. 2 "The Problematization of Poverty: The Tale of Three Worlds and Development," Encountering Development: The Making and Unmaking of the Third World. Princeton, 1995. (54 pages).
- Major International Development Organizations

#### 1-2 page Theory Commentary due Friday

**Week Three: Competing Visions of China and Development** 

<u>Chronology: Important Moments in European and American Visions of a Developing "China"</u>

Film: "Unleashing the Dragon," Part 1, 1995 (50 min)

- Legacies of China and "the West" and Visions of the "Waking Dragon"
- Blue, Gregory. "China and Western Social Thought in the Modern Period," in Brooks, ed., China and Historical Capitalism: Geneologies of Sinological Knowledge. Cambridge, 1999. (52 pages)
- PRC White Paper. Sections I-II, Conclusion, in "China's Peaceful Development Road", Information Office of the State Council, Dec. 2005.
- Hu Jintao. (read up to section that starts with "Comrades," around 5 pages).
   Speech at Meeting Marking 30th Anniversary of Reform and Opening Up,
   December 18, 2008. Beijing Review.
- ---Break---
- Huntingon, Samuel. "The Clash of Civilizations," Foreign Affairs, 1993.
- Ong, Aihwa. Ch. 7 "Saying No to the West: Liberal Reasoning in Asia," Flexible Citizenship: the Cultural Logics of Transnationality. Duke, 1999. (28 pages).

Part II: Historical Precedents: "Development" and "Modernity" in Post-Imperial China Week Four: Republican Era China (1920s-30s)

**Chronology: Moments in Chinese Visions of a Developing "China"** 

- Chinese Visions of Nationalism and Modernity: Sun Yat-Sen (1866-1925) and the International Development of China (1922)
- Brooks, Timothy. "Capitalism and the Writing of Modern History in China" in Brooks, ed., China and Historical Capitalism: Geneologies of Sinological Knowledge. Cambridge, 1999. (47 pages)
- Duara, Prasenjit. "Ch. 1 Linear History and the Nation-state," in Rescuing History from the Nation. Chicago, 1995. (33 pages).
- ---Break--- Sun Yat-sen. "Introduction: The International Development of China,"Introduction (pp. 1-10), "Program I" (skim) (p 11-29), and "Program V" (p 197-221), "Conclusion" (p 231-237), and Letters of Response (p. 251-265), The International Development of China. New York, Putnam, 1922.
- [Skim!] Godley, Michael R.. 1993. Socialism with Chinese Characteristics: Sun Yatsen and the International Development of China. in Unger, Jonathan [ed.] Using the Past to Serve the Present: Historiography and Politics in Contemporary China, Armonk, N. Y.: M. E. Sharpe. (20 pages)

Week Five: Maoist Development and Mass Campaigns (1958-76)

Film: "Morning Sun," 2003 (117 min)

**Chronology: The Maoist Years in China** 

- Socialist Transformation in Rural Sichuan: The Great Leap Forward (1958) and the Cultural Revolution (1966)
- Mao Zedong. <u>"The Chinese People have Stood Up!"</u> Opening address at the First Plenary Session of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference. Sept. 21, 1949. (4 pages).
- Ruf, Gregory. See maps, p. 8, 10, 14, Read Ch.s 1, 3-4, pp. 1-29, pp 62-121; Cadres and Kin: Making a Socialist Village in West China, 1921–1991. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1998. (90 pages).
- ---Break---

- Mao Zedong. Quotations From Mao Zedong [Mao's Little Red Book], 1966. "11.
   The Mass Line," "20. Building Our Country Through Diligence and Frugality," and "21. Self-Reliance and Arduous Struggle," (10 pages). Online (Marxist.org)
- Yang Jisheng. "An Everlasting Tombstone," (pp. 3-22), Ch. 6 (pp. 197-247) (Edward Friedman, ed.). Tombstone; the Great Chinese Famine. New York: Farrer, Straus and Giroux, 2012 [2008]. (70 pages)

Rent Collection Courtyard: Lifesize Clay Diorama of Maoist Rural Liberation, 1966

Week Six: Negotiating Reforms Under Deng Xiaoping (1980s)

Film: "Ermo," 1996 (95 min)

- Wed Oct 7 Moral Economies and the Micropolitics of Exchange under Reforms Deng Xiaoping. "Emancipate the Mind, Seek Truth from Facts and Unite as one in Looking to the Future," December 13, 1978, Speech at the closing session of the Central Working Conference which made preparations for the Third Plenary Session of the Eleventh Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party that immediately followed. Online: <a href="http://english.peopledaily.com.cn/dengxp/vol2/text/b1260.html">http://english.peopledaily.com.cn/dengxp/vol2/text/b1260.html</a> (9 pages)
- Yang, Mayfair Mei-hui. Introduction, Ch. 2, Ch. 4. Gifts, favors, and banquets: the art of social relationships in China. Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1994. (~80 pgs)
- ---Break---
- Yang, Mayfair Mei-hui. Ch.s 3, 5, Gifts, favors, and banquets: the art of social relationships in China. Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1994. (~60 pgs).

#### Email Midterm Exam

Part III: Development and Contested Value/Values in Post-Mao China

Week Seven: Capitalist Development: Urbanization, Industry and Class (1980s-90s) Film: "Mardi Gras: Made In China," 2006 (72 min)

Take home Midterm Exam due Monday

Week Eight: Development as Domicide: Urbanization and Land Expropriation (2000s)

Film: Meishi Street, 2006 (scroll to bottom of Moodle streaming page!)

• From Industrialism to Urbanism and "Domicide" Wang Meiqin. 2015. Advertising the Chinese dream: Urban billboards and Ni Weihua's documentary

- photography," China Information, Special issue on visual arts and urbanization 29(2) (July).
- Qin Shao. Introduction (pp. 1-30). Shanghai Gone: Domicide and Defiance in a Chinese Megacity. Rowman & Littlefield Publishers. 2013
- ---Break---
- Qin Shao. Ch.s 4 and 5, (pp. 189-271). Shanghai Gone: Domicide and Defiance in a Chinese Megacity. Rowman & Littlefield Publishers. 2013.

# Week Nine: Developing the Marginalized: Rural Development (1990s-2000s) Film: "Because They're Worth it," 2000 (24 min)

- Decollectivization, Rural Entrepreneurship and the "Quality" of the Rural Poor
- Wang Zhe. "Behind the Dream of a Village," Beijing Review, June 14, 2001.
- Unger, Jonathan. Ch. 9: "Poverty in the Rural Hinterlands: The Conundrums of Underdevelopment," The Transformation of Rural China. Armonk, NY: M.E. Sharpe, 2002. (25 pages)
- Ruf, Gregory. Ch.s 5-6, Cadres and Kin: Making a Socialist Village in West China, 1921–1991. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1998. (bookstore and book reserve). (40 pages).
- ---Break---
- Yan Hairong. "Neoliberal Governmentality and Neohumanism: Organizing Suzhi/Value Flow Through Labor Recruitment Networks," Cultural Anthropology 18(4), November 2003.
- Hansen, Anders Sybrandt. "Learning the knacks of actually existing capitalism: Young Beijing migrants and the problem of value," Critique of Anthropology 32, 2012.

# Week Ten: Developing the Marginalized: Women as Clients (1980s-2000s) Film: "Spilled Water" 2014, min.

- Developing and Mobilizing Chinese Women
- Cartier, Carolyn and Rothenberg-Aalami. "Empowering the 'Victim'? Gender, Development and Women in China Under Reform." Journal of Geography 98: 283-94, 1999. (10 pages).
- Judd, Ellen. "Introduction," Ch. 2 "The Meanings of Quality," Ch. 3 "GAD with Chinese Characteristics," The Chinese Women's Movement Between State and Market. Stanford Univ. Press, 2002. (54 pages).
- ---Break---
- Judd, Ellen. Ch. 6 "Mobilization and Competition," and Ch. 8 "Reflections", The Chinese Women's Movement Between State and Market. Stanford Univ. Press, 2002. (48 pages).
- Zhao Jie. "Developing Yunnan's Rural and Ethnic Minority Women: a Development Practitioner's Self-reflection," Women, gender and rural development in China / edited by Tamara Jacka, Sally Sargeson. Cheltenham: Edward Elgar, 2011.

# Week Eleven: Developing the Marginalized: The "Great Open the West" Campaign (1980s-2000s)

Film: <u>Kokonor</u>, 2008 (53 min)

- State-led Capitalist Development out West (Eastern Tibet) [OPTIONAL] Fei Xiaotong. "On the Social Transformation of China's National Minorities". Toward a People's Anthropology. Beijing: New World Press, 1981. (pp. 36-59) (23 pages).
- Wang Xiaoqiang and Bai Nanfeng. [Skim] "Translator's Introduction" (pp. xiii-xxi), Ch. 3. "The Intrinsic Determinant of Backwardness," Ch. 7, "An Open Conclusion," The Poverty of Plenty (Furao de Pinkun); translated by Angela Knox New York: St. Martin's Press, 1991. (50 pages)
- ---Break---
- Makley, Charlene. 2015. Preface, Ch. 4, Epilogue, *The Politics of Presence:* State-led Development, Personhood and Power Among Tibetans in China. Book manuscript under review at Stanford University Press.

### Final Paper Proposal and Annotated Bibliography due Monday

### Week Twelve Class reflection discussion and paper proposal presentation

Update your paper proposals to prep for final project, come with questions on topic and theory to present to class.

# Week Thirteen: Chinese Development in/of "Africa" (mid-2000s on) Week Twelve Film: When China Met Africa, 2010 (75 min)

- Strauss, Julia C. 2013. China and Africa Rebooted: Globalization(s), Simplification(s), and Cross-cutting Dynamics in "South–South" Relations," ASR Forum on Africa and China. African Studies Review, Volume 56, Number 1 (April 2013)
- Niu Zhongguang. 2014. China's development and its aid presence in Africa: A critical reflection from the perspective of development anthropology. Journal of Asian and African Studies1–23
- ---Break—
- Sylvanus, Nina. 2013. Chinese Devils, the Global Market, and the Declining Power of Togo's Nana-Benzes," ASR Forum on Africa and China. African Studies Review, Volume 56, Number 1 (April 2013)
- Rupp, Stephanie. 2013. Ghana, China, and the Politics of Energy," ASR Forum on Africa and China. African Studies Review, Volume 56, Number 1 (April 2013)

#### **Week Fourteen: Futures and Alternatives**

Film: Under the Dome by Chai Jing, 2015

- Sustainable Development, Environmentalisms and Anthropology's Futures
- Premier Zhu Rongji speech on "Sustainable Development", Geneva, 2002.
- Escobar, Arturo. "Sustainable Development: The Death of Nature and the Rise of Environment," (pp. 192-211) Encountering Development: The Making and Unmaking of the Third World. Princeton, 1995. (19 pages).
- Hathaway, Michael J. 2013. Introduction. Environmental Winds: Making the Global in Southwest China, Univ of Calif Press.

- ---Break---
- Hathaway, Michael J. 2013. Ch. 1, chTBA, Conclusion. Environmental Winds: Making the Global in Southwest China, Univ of Calif Press.

### 12-15 page Final paper due

\* \* \* \* \*

### Moments in Chinese Visions of a Developing "China"

### Important Chinese Intellectuals (mentioned by Brook and by Duara)

Yan Fu (1854-1921)

Kang Youwei (1858-1927)

Sun Yatsen (1866-1925)

Liang Qichao (1873-1929)

Lu Xun (1881-1936)

Wang Jingwei (1883-1944)

Li Dazhao (1888-1927)

Hu Shi (1891-1962)

Guo Moruo (1892-1979)

Tao Xisheng (b. 1893)

Liang Shuming (1893-1988)

Gu Jiegang (1893-1980)

Fu Sinian (1896-1950)

Lei Haizhong

Tu Wei-ming (1940-), now at Harvard-Yenching Institute

#### **Important Dates**

**221 BCE** Unification of China under the **Qin** ruler who took the new title of huangdi, emperor.

**3rd cent. BCE** Qin emperor orders construction of Great Wall to protect new empire from nomad warriors

**206 BC-220 AD Han dynasty**; military campaigns conquer vast territories, incl. what is now N. Vietnam, Korea, Inner Mongolia, Xinjiang; Consolidate notion of "The Middle Kingdom" surrounded by barbarians.

**3rd-6th AD** "**Period of disunion**". Region splinters into a variety of contending polities.

**581-617 AD Sui Dynasty**. Plains region reunified by shortlived dynasty.

**618-907 AD Tang dynasty**, new capitals at Chang 'an and Loyang; reunites vast territories previously carved up into competing regimes; claims Tibet as vassal state.

**907-960 AD Five Dynasties**. Region splinters into a variety of contending polities.

**960-1279 AD Song dynasty**; elite Chinese culture and administrative system flourishes, but territories lost to non-Chinese states.

**1279-1368 AD Yuan dynasty**; Mongols under Ghenghis Khan conquer whole territory, rule vast empire with Chinese-style administrative system and officials.

**1368-1644 AD Ming dynasty**; Chinese rebels retake China, capital in Nanjing; formalized tribute system with over 40 other "vassal" states.

**1644-1911 AD Qing dynasty**; Last imperial dynasty. Manchus from north conquer China, administer empire with Chinese-style system, adopt Chinese elite culture. Great prosperity and expansion of some administrative control into Tibetan regions.

### -----Brook: Begin Chinese Notion of "jindaishi", "Modern History"-----

**1839-1842** Opium War (see week three chronology)

**1850s-1870s** Taiping, Muslim Rebellions. Western historians have tended to exaggerate western infuence here. Taiping leader was scholar who failed imperial exams, adopted version of Christianity to mobilize largely peasant group from poor mountainous regions to overthrow Manchu Qing dynasty. Captured Nanjing 1853. Put down by Qing. Series of Muslim rebellions in northwest defeated 1873. **1860's on** Qing court initiates "self-strengthening" campaign. Establish westernstyle arsenals, gun foundries, shipyards, translation schools, new foreign office: Zongli Yamen.

1868 on Meiji Restoration, Japan.

**1873** Charles Lyell's The Elements of Geology translated in Jiangnan, China. Brings evolutionary ideas to Chinese intellectuals like Kang Youwei.

**1894-95** Sino-Japanese War. Modernized Japanese navy defeats Chinese navy over control over Korea.

**1903** First Chinese commentaries on Marxism.

**1904** National Essence Society (Guocui), movement to retrieve best components of China's national essence and overthrow Manchu Qing.

1910 Over a hundred treaty ports in China, especially important centers were Shanghai, Tientsin (Tianjin), Hankou, Canton, Nanking (Nanjing), Dairen (Dalian). Manufacturing increases, many Chinese entrepreneurs participate.

**1911-1949 AD** Fall of Qing and Republican Era; Tumultuous period of nation-building; Emergence of New Culture Movement. Political control collapses into competing warlords and civil war between KMT and CCP. Threats and humiliating defeats from imperialist Japan and western states.

1912 Founding of the Republic of China. Revolutionary activist Sun Yat-sen, in exile in the U.S., returned to be elected the first president. But Yuan Shikai, head of the northern military, proclaimed himself emperor later that year and Sun, after leading an unsuccessful revolt, fled to Japan, where he organized the Republican Party (Guomindang, KMT). Centralized control collapses. Competing warlords control most of the north.

**1917** Russian revolution. Sun Yat-sen returns to China to call for reunification. **May 4, 1919** May Fourth Protest; Chinese students and merchants, responding to the ferment of ideas stemming from the so-called "New Culture Movement" beginning in 1916, protest post-WWI Treaty of Versailles, Japanese interference, new national identities emerge.

1920 Marx and Engels' Communist Manifesto first translated into Chinese.

**1921** Sun Yat-sen establishes his own revolutionary government in Canton. In a 1923 speech declares his famous "Three Principles of the People" as basis for the nation.

**1922** Sun Yatsen publishes his plan for the International Development of China. **Jan. 1923** Sun-Joffe Accord. Lenin had proposed joint anti-imperialist alliance between the Soviet Union and China and India. As part of his efforts to reorganize the KMT and re-unify China, Sun Yat-sen signed an accord with the Soviet Comintern envoy in China, Adolph Joffe. Begins period of Sino-Soviet collaboration and KMT-CCP collaboration. Chiang Kai-shek sent to Moscow. Soviet aid helps build KMT military.

April 1927 After Sun Yat-sen's death in 1925, rift between his rival successors Wang Jingwei and Chiang Kai-shek opens. Chiang turns on Communists and unionists in Shanghai to purge the KMT, executes hundreds and alienates himself from Wang. Chiang sets up rival KMT government in Nanjing, with Wang's leftwing Communist regime in Wuhan and the warlord regime in Beijing.

1928-1937 Social History Controversy. Debates among Chinese intellectuals in Dushu Zazhi over nature of Chinese society and historical development.

1937 Japanese invasion and occupation of Manchuria (NE China).

1949 CCP wins civil war; establishes the "multinational state" of the People's Republic of China (Zhonghua Renmin Gonghe Guo).