

CHINESE POLITICS

Spring 2017 | March 2 – May 18
Thursdays 1:30 – 4:15 pm | Art 403

Dr. WANG Xinsong
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COURSE DESCRIPTION

This course will survey the political development in contemporary China. Major themes of the course include China's path to Communism, political institutions and processes, opportunities and challenges to its political development, and China's changing relations with the world. Students will become familiar with the topics widely studied by scholars of Chinese politics such as state-society relations, central-local relations, political participation, nationalism, policymaking, foreign policy, etc. The main objective of the course is for students to obtain in-depth knowledge on Chinese politics and to develop theoretical thinking to explain and analyze the political development in contemporary China. The course is carried out in a seminar format. Reading, writing and discussion are the main ways of learning for this course.

COURSE REQUIREMENTS AND EVALUATION

Your course performance is evaluated on the following assignments and requirements.

1. Review essays

You will write two short essays (five pages each, double spaced, Times New Roman, Font #12) reviewing any readings covered by the due date. Your essays should go beyond a summary of the readings and must demonstrate your ability of making original comments and analyses of the events and issues covered in the readings. Moreover, you should provide in-depth critiques of the readings, for example, by making alternative arguments not offered in the readings. An electronic copy (a Word file) of your essay should be emailed to me no later than 5 pm on the due date. Late papers are NOT acceptable. Name your file as "Your name + Essay Title".

2. Take-home Final Exam

You are expected to write two analytic essays in response to the exam questions which, along with the instructions, will be given to you three weeks before the due date. Finished exams should be turned in via email no later than 5 pm on the due date.

3. Presentation

Every student should serve as a discussant at least once during the course. A discussant will lead class discussion by presenting the readings assigned for the week. Your presentation should highlight the most important/interesting issues/points covered in the readings with your own thoughts, critiques, and analyses. Presentations are about 15-20 minutes long.

4. News Report

I strongly encourage you to stay on top of major news on China. You will serve as a news reporter once during the semester. You should prepare on a latest news subject and present it to the class in about 5 minutes. PPT is not required for this assignment. Some sources of China-related news are:

The New York Times:

<http://topics.nytimes.com/top/news/international/countriesandterritories/china/index.html>

South China Morning Post: <http://www.scmp.com/news/china>

The Economist: <http://www.economist.com/sections/china>

Global Times: <http://www.globaltimes.cn/>

China Daily: <http://www.chinadaily.com.cn/index.html>

5. Participation

Students are expected to complete all assigned readings before classes and to actively participate in class discussion. You are required to submit two questions arising from the reading assignments, which are due in email by Thursdays at 10 am.

The grades and due dates for the above assignments are:

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|--------------------------|---|
| 1. Review Essays: | 15% each, due April 6 & May 11 |
| 2. Take-home Final Exam: | 40%, due June 8 |
| 3. Presentation: | 15% |
| 4. News Report: | 5% |
| 5. Class Participation: | 10% |

CLASS RULES

1. Attendance and Lateness

I will call attendance regularly during the semester. Email me or talk with me in advance if you need to ask for leave. Every unannounced absence costs you 3 points in the final grade. Being late for 15 minutes equals an absence.

2. Academic Honesty

I take academic honesty very seriously. Any observed violation of standards of academic conduct will be reported to the university authority and will cause a failing grade for the course. The requirements of this course are primarily concerned by the academic standards on plagiarism.

Plagiarism includes representing someone else's words, ideas, data, or original research as one's own, and in general failing to footnote or otherwise acknowledge the source of such work. One has the responsibility of avoiding plagiarism by taking adequate notes on reference materials, including material taken off the internet or other electronic sources, used in the preparation of reports, papers, and other coursework.

TEXTS

The course will use book chapters and academic journal articles as reading materials. Electronic copies of the required readings will be made available for download from SSDPP's website. For those interested in further knowledge on a given topic, refer to the supplemental readings, which are available from the BNU library.

The following books are heavily used in this course and are recommended for buying.

Lieberthal, Kenneth. 2004. *Governing China: From Revolution through Reform*. W. W. Norton & Company.
Saich, Tony. 2015. *Governance and Politics of China* (4 ed.). Palgrave.

SCHEDULE

The schedule is subject to change with advance notice given in class or by email.

Week 1 (March 2) Course Overview and Basics of Chinese Politics

PART I: SEARCHING FOR THE PATHWAY TO MODERNIZATION

Week 2 (March 9) From Imperial Collapse to Communist Revolution

Required Readings

- Lieberthal, Kenneth. 2004. *Governing China: From Revolution through Reform*. W. W. Norton & Company. pp. 1-56
- Smith, Richard J. 1976. Reflections on the Comparative Study of Modernization in China and Japan: Military Aspects. *Journal of the Hong Kong Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society*, 16, 11-23.

Supplemental Readings

- Hua, S. 2004. The Meiji Restoration (1868) and the Late Qing Reform (1898) Revisited: Strategies and Philosophies. *East Asia*, 21(3), 3-22.

Week 3 (March 16) Political and Economic Development since 1949

Required Readings

- Saich, Tony. 2015. *Governance and Politics of China, 4th edition*. Palgrave, 2015. Ch. 2 & 3

Supplemental Readings

- MacFarquhar, Roderick, ed. 1997. *The Politics of China: the Eras of Mao and Deng (second edition)*. Cambridge University Press. pp. 248-339.
- Lieberthal, pp. 84-122
- Saich, Ch. 9
- Kennedy, Scott (ed.). 2011. *Beyond the Middle Kingdom: Comparative Perspectives on China's Capitalist Transformation*. Stanford University Press. Ch. 3

PART II: POLITICAL INSTITUTIONS AND PROCESSES

Week 4 (March 23) Political Structure

Required Readings

- Saich, Ch. 4 & 5

Supplemental Readings

- Lieberthal, Ch. 6-7
- McGregor, Richard. 2010. *The Party: The Secret World of China's Communist Rulers*. New York, N.Y.: HarperCollins. Ch. 1.
- David L. Shambaugh, *China's Communist Party: Atrophy and Adaptation* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2008), Ch. 7.
- Oksenberg, Michel "China's Political System: Challenges of the Twenty-first Century," *The China Journal*, No. 45 (2001), pp. 21-36.
- Burns, John P. 1987. "China's Nomenclature System". *Problems of Communism* 36 (5).
- Chung, J. H. "The evolving hierarchy of China's local administration: tradition and change", in J. H. Chung and T. C. Lam (eds.) *China's Local Administration: Traditions and Changes in the Sub-national Hierarchy* (London and New York: Routledge 2010).

Week 5 (March 30) Central-Local Relations

- Saich, Ch. 6
- Kennedy, J. J. (2013). Finance and rural governance: centralization and local challenges. *The Journal of Peasant Studies*, 40(6), 1009-1026.

Supplemental Readings

- Oi, Jean C. 1995. "The Role of the Local State in China's Transitional Economy". *The China Quarterly* 144 (Dec.): 1132-1149.
- Edin, Maria. 2003. "State Capacity and Local Agent Control in China: CCP Cadre Management from a Township Perspective". *The China Quarterly*, 73 (Mar.): 35-52.
- Moore, S. (2014). Hydropolitics and Inter-Jurisdictional Relationships in China: The Pursuit of Localized Preferences in a Centralized System. *The China Quarterly*, 219, 760-780.
- Heilmann, Sebastian, and Elizabeth J. Perry. 2011. Mao's Invisible Hand: The Political Foundations of Adaptive Governance. Ch. 10
- Zheng, Yongnian. (2005). Institutional Economics and Central-Local Relations in China: Evolving Research. *China: An International Journal*, 3(2), 240-269.
- Huang, Yasheng. 2002. "Managing Chinese Bureaucrats: An Institutional Economics Perspective." *Political Studies* 50: 61-79.
- Oi, Jean C. 1992. "Fiscal Reform and the Economic Foundations of Local State Corporatism in China". *World Politics* 45 (1): 99-126.
- Zheng, Yongnian. 2010. "Central-Local Relations: The Power to Dominate," in Joseph Fewsmith (ed.), *China Today, China Tomorrow: Domestic Politics, Economy, and Society*, Lanham, MD.: Rowman & Littlefield. Ch.11.
- Kennedy, Ch. 4

Week 6 (April 6) Political Participation (and First Review Essay Due!)

Required Readings

- Chuang, J. (2014). China's Rural Land Politics: Bureaucratic Absorption and the Muting of Rightful Resistance. *The China Quarterly*, 219, 649-669.
- Mertha, A. (2010). *China's water warriors : citizen action and policy change*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press. Ch. 5

Supplemental Readings

- Yao, Yusheng. (2009). Village Elections and Redistribution of Political Power and Collective Property. *The China Quarterly*, 197, 126. doi: 10.1017/s0305741009000071
- Jennings, M. Kent. 1997. "Political Participation in the Chinese Countryside". *American Political Science Review* 91 (2): 361-72.

- O'Brien, Kevin J. (1994). Implementing Political Reform in China's Villages. *The Australian Journal of Chinese Affairs*(32), 33-59.
- Shi, Tianjian. (1999). Village Committee Elections in China: Institutional Tactics for Democracy. *World Politics*, 51(3), 385-412. doi: 10.2307/25054084
- Manion, Melanie. 2006. "Democracy, Community, Trust: The Impact of Elections in Rural China." *Comparative Political Studies* 39 (3): 301-24.
- Paik, W. (2012). Economic Development and Mass Political Participation in Contemporary China: Determinants of Provincial Petition (Xinfang) Activism 1994-2002. *International Political Science Review*, 33(1), 99-120.
- Chung, Y. (2014). Pushing the Envelope for Representation and Participation: the case of homeowner activism in Beijing. *Journal of Contemporary China*, 24(91), 1-20.
- He, Junzhi. 2010. Independent Candidates in China's Local People's Congresses: a Typology. *Journal of Contemporary China* 19 (64): 311-333.
- Read, Benjamin L. (2009). "The Multiple Uses of Local Networks: State Cultivation of Neighborhood Social Capital in China and Taiwan". In Benjamin L. Read and Robert Pekkanen. *Local Organizations and Urban Governance in East Asia: Straddling State and Society*. Routledge.
- McCarthy, S. K. (2013). Serving Society, Repurposing the State: Religious Charity and Resistance in China. *China Journal* (70), 48-72.
- Cai, Yongshun. (2005). China's Moderate Middle Class: The Case of Homeowners' Resistance. *Asian Survey*, 45(5), 777-799.
- Cai, Yongshun. (2003). Collective Ownership or Cadres' Ownership? The Non-Agricultural Use of Farmland in China. *The China Quarterly* (175), 662-680.
- Li, Lianjiang (2004). Political Trust in Rural China. *Modern China*, 30(2), 228-258.
- Wang, Juan. (2012). Shifting Boundaries between the State and Society: Village Cadres as New Activists in Collective Petition. *The China Quarterly*, 211, 697-717.
- Zhan, Jing Vivian. 2013. "Natural Resources, Local Governance and Social Instability: A Comparison of Two Counties in China". *The China Quarterly* (213): 78-100.

Week 7 (April 13) Movie Show

Week 8 (April 20) State-Society Relations

Required Readings

- Saich, Ch. 7
- Spires, A. J. (2011). Contingent Symbiosis and Civil Society in an Authoritarian State: Understanding the Survival of China's Grassroots NGOs. *American Journal of Sociology*, 117(1), 1-45.

Supplemental Readings

- Gilley, Bruce. (2011). Paradigms of Chinese Politics: kicking society back out. *Journal of Contemporary China*, 20(70), 517-533.
- Teets, Jessica C. (2013). Let Many Civil Societies Bloom: The Rise of Consultative Authoritarianism in China. *The China Quarterly*, 213, 19-38.
- Yang, Guobin. 2005. "Environmental NGOs and Institutional Dynamics in China". *The China Quarterly* 181(March): 46-66.
- Hasmath, R., & Hsu, J. Y. J. (2014). Isomorphic Pressures, Epistemic Communities and State-NGO Collaboration in China. *The China Quarterly*, FirstView, 1-19.
- Shue, Vivienne. (2011). The Political Economy of Compassion: China's 'Charity Supermarket' Saga. *Journal of Contemporary China*, 20(72), 751-772.
- Tenzin, Jinba. (2013). A Grassroots Association on the Sino-Tibetan Border: The Role, Agendas and Beyond. *The China Quarterly*, FirstView, 1-22.
- Hsu, Jennifer Y. J., and Reza Hasmath. (2014). The Local Corporatist State and NGO Relations in China. *Journal of Contemporary China*, 1-19.
- Teets, J. C. (2014). The Evolution of Civil Society in Yunnan Province: contending models of civil society management in China. *Journal of Contemporary China*, 1-18.
- Thornton, Patricia M. (2013). The Advance of the Party: Transformation or Takeover of Urban Grassroots Society? *The China Quarterly*, 213, 1-18.
- Sautedé, E. (2013). The Internet in China's state-society relations: Will Goliath prevail in the chiaroscuro? *China Information*, 27(3), 327-346.
- Walder, A. G. (1991). Workers, Managers and the State: The Reform Era and the Political Crisis of 1989. *The China Quarterly* (127), 467-492.
- Pieke, F. N. (2004). Contours of an Anthropology of the Chinese State: Political Structure, Agency and Economic Development in Rural China. *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute*, 10(3), 517-538.

Week 9 (April 27) Policy Making Processes

Required Readings

- Heilmann, Sebastian, and Elizabeth J. Perry. 2011. *Mao's Invisible Hand: The Political Foundations of Adaptive Governance*. Ch. 3.
- Teets, J. C. (2015). The Politics of Innovation in China: Local Officials as Policy Entrepreneurs. *Issues and Studies*, 51(2), 79-109.
doi:0097700413519563

Supplemental Readings

- Wang, S. (2008). Changing Models of China's Policy Agenda Setting. *Modern China*, 34(1), 56-87.
- Heilmann and Perry, Ch. 4

- Tsai, W.-H., & Dean, N. (2014). Experimentation under Hierarchy in Local Conditions: Cases of Political Reform in Guangdong and Sichuan, China. *The China Quarterly*, 218, 339-358.
- Zeng, J. (2014). Did Policy Experimentation in China Always Seek Efficiency? A case study of Wenzhou financial reform in 2012. *Journal of Contemporary China*, 1-19.
- Mertha, A. (2009). "Fragmented Authoritarianism 2.0": Political Pluralization in the Chinese Policy Process. *The China Quarterly*, 200, 995.
- Qinghua, W. (2014). Crisis Management, Regime Survival and "Guerrilla-Style" Policy-Making: The June 1999 Decision to Radically Expand Higher Education in China. *China Journal* (71), 132-152.

Week 10 (May 4) Ideas, Ideology, and Identity

Required Readings

- Lieberthal, pp. 59-77
- David L. Shambaugh, *China's Communist Party: Atrophy and Adaptation* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2008), Ch. 6
- Johnston, A. I. (2016). Is Chinese Nationalism Rising?: Evidence from Beijing. *International Security*, 41(3), 7-43.

Supplemental Readings

- Joseph, William A., *Politics in China: An Introduction, 2nd edition*, Oxford University Press, 2014. Ch. 5.
- Li, He. 2008. "China's New Left and Its Impact on Political Liberalization". *EAI Background Briefing* No. 401, <http://www.eai.nus.edu.sg/BB401.pdf>
- Shirk, Susan L. 2007. *China: Fragile Superpower*. Oxford University Press. Ch. 4 & 6
- Emily Parker, "The Roots of Chinese Nationalism", *The Wall Street Journal*, April 1, 2008, <http://online.wsj.com/article/SB120701186550979029.html>

PART III: CHINA AND THE WORLD

Week 11 (May 11) Foreign Policy and Relations (and Second Review Essay Due!)

Required Readings

- Saich, Ch. 11

- Zhao, Suisheng. (2014). A New Model of Big Power Relations? China–US strategic rivalry and balance of power in the Asia–Pacific. *Journal of Contemporary China*, 24(93), 377-397.

Supplemental Readings

- Jakobson, Linda, and Dean Knox. 2010. “New Foreign Policy Actors in China.” *Stockholm International Peace Research Institute Policy Paper* 26.
- Zheng, Bijian. 2005. “China’s ‘Peaceful Rise’ to Great Power Status”. *Foreign Affairs* 84 (5): 18-24.
- Zhao, Suisheng. (2015). Rethinking the Chinese World Order: the imperial cycle and the rise of China. *Journal of Contemporary China*, 1-22.
- Lampton, David M. (2015). Xi Jinping and the National Security Commission: policy coordination and political power. *Journal of Contemporary China*, 1-19.
- Frazier, M. W. (2010). China's Domestic Policy Fragmentation and "Grand" Strategy in Global Politics. *Asia Policy*, 10(July), 87-101.
- Ji, Y. (2013). The PLA and Diplomacy: unraveling myths about the military role in foreign policy making. *Journal of Contemporary China*, 23(86), 236-254.
- Lai, H., & Kang, S.-J. (2013). Domestic Bureaucratic Politics and Chinese Foreign Policy. *Journal of Contemporary China*, 23(86), 294-313.
- Wang, J., & Wang, X. (2013). Media and Chinese Foreign Policy. *Journal of Contemporary China*, 23(86), 216-235.
- Abb, P. (2014). China's Foreign Policy Think Tanks: institutional evolution and changing roles. *Journal of Contemporary China*, 1-23.
- Lampton, David M. 2008. *The Three Faces of Chinese Power: Might, Money, and Minds*. University of California Press. Introduction, Ch. 1 & 5
- Alden, C., & Large, D. (2015). On Becoming a Norms Maker: Chinese Foreign Policy, Norms Evolution and the Challenges of Security in Africa. *The China Quarterly*, FirstView, 1-20.
- Lim, Y.-H. (2014). How (Dis)Satisfied is China? A power transition theory perspective. *Journal of Contemporary China*, 24(92), 280-297.
- Cheng, J. Y. S. (2014). China's Approach to BRICS. *Journal of Contemporary China*, 24(92), 357-375.
- Huang, M.-H., & Chu, Y.-H. (2014). The Sway of Geopolitics, Economic Interdependence and Cultural Identity: why are some Asians more favorable toward China's rise than others? *Journal of Contemporary China*, 1-21.
- Aldrich, J., Lu, J., & Kang, L. (2014). How Do Americans View the Rising China? *Journal of Contemporary China*, 24(92), 203-221.

Week 12 (May 18) China Reaches Out (and Final Exam Given)

Required Readings

- Zhao, Suisheng. (2014). A Neo-Colonialist Predator or Development Partner? China's engagement and rebalance in Africa. *Journal of Contemporary China*, 23(90), 1033-1052.
- Zhou, Y., & Luk, S. (2016). Establishing Confucius Institutes: a tool for promoting China's soft power? *Journal of Contemporary China*, 25(100), 628-642.

Supplemental Readings

- Yu, H. (2016). Motivation behind China's 'One Belt, One Road' Initiatives and Establishment of the Asian Infrastructure Investment Bank. *Journal of Contemporary China*, 1-16. doi:10.1080/10670564.2016.1245894
- Brautigam, Deborah. 2009. *The Dragon's Gift: The Real Story of China in Africa*. Oxford University Press. Ch. 11.
- Warmerdam, W., & Dijk, M. P. v. (2013). Chinese State-owned Enterprise Investments in Uganda: Findings from a Recent Survey of Chinese Firms in Kampala. *Journal of Chinese Political Science*, 18, 281-301.
- Hirono, Miwa, and Shogo Suzuki. 2014 "Why Do We Need 'Myth-Busting' in the Study of Sino-African Relations? *Journal of Contemporary China*. 1-19.
- Yi-Chong, X. (2014). Chinese State-owned Enterprises in Africa: ambassadors or freebooters? *Journal of Contemporary China*, 1-19.
- Dornan, Matthew, and Philippa Brant. 2014. "Chinese Assistance in the Pacific: Agency, Effectiveness and the Role of Pacific Island Governments." *Asia & the Pacific Policy Studies*, 1(2): 349-363.
- Wang, F.-L., & Elliot, E. A. (2014). China in Africa: presence, perceptions and prospects. *Journal of Contemporary China*, 23(90), 1012-1032.
- Hirono, Miwa, and Shogo Suzuki. 2014 "Why Do We Need 'Myth-Busting' in the Study of Sino-African Relations? *Journal of Contemporary China*. 1-19.
- Alden, Chris, and Christopher R. Hughes. 2009. "Harmony and Discord in China's Africa Strategy: Some Implications for Foreign Policy." *The China Quarterly* 199: 563-84.
- Paradise, James F. 2009. "China and International Harmony: The Role of Confucius Institutes in Bolstering Beijing's Soft Power." *Asian Survey* 49 (4): 647-69.
- Warmerdam, W., & Dijk, M. P. v. (2013). Chinese State-owned Enterprise Investments in Uganda: Findings from a Recent Survey of Chinese Firms in Kampala. *Journal of Chinese Political Science*, 18, 281-301.
- Wang, J., & Zou, J. (2014). China Goes to Africa: a strategic move? *Journal of Contemporary China*, 23(90), 1113-1132.

June 8 Final exam due 5pm