

University of Washington
Department of Political Science/Jackson School of International Studies
Summer 2018
Government and Politics of China
POL S 442/JSISa 408
Monday-Thursday 2:20-5:00pm
26 Johnson Hall

Professor Susan Whiting
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Course Description

China is now the second largest economy in the world and a growing global power; at the same time, it faces considerable governance challenges. This upper-division course provides an in-depth analysis of the political history, contemporary institutions, and governance issues facing China. It highlights several major themes from the twentieth century to the present: the role of nationalism, the changing place of markets and private property, and the shifting penetration of the state from the center to the grassroots. The first part of the course addresses China's modern political history and provides an essential foundation for subsequent topics. It addresses the collapse of imperial China in social and ideological terms, the formation of political parties, revolutionary change, state-building, the planned economy, and the re-introduction of markets. The second part of the course focuses on the political institutions that govern China today, including the organization of the party-state, how the state controls its own agents, how it uses elections, and how it attempts to control civil society and the media. The final part of the course uses the foundations of political history and political institutions to analyze crucial issues facing China today, including labor and environmental conditions, local aspects of trade and technology, inequality and social welfare, minority rights, and contemporary nationalism.

Course Requirements

The first requirement of the course is participation. The more actively you participate, the more you learn. Successful participation is based on completion of all readings, assignments, and activities, to be introduced in class. All forms of participation together constitute 25% of the final grade.

Second, students will take a test after each of the three parts of the course: Monday, July 30th (15%), Wednesday, August 8th (15%), and Thursday, August 16th (20%). The third test allows you to integrate what you learned in the first two sections of the course on political history and institutions and apply it to analyzing China's contemporary governance challenges.

Third, a final group project is required (25%). The project is an opportunity to explore a facet of governance in greater depth. It is designed to work well in the concentrated summer schedule with some class time allocated to this purpose. Students will be able to select a topic from a set of options to be introduced in class. Students will work in small groups to conduct guided research on their topic, develop an evidence-based argument, and present their findings in class on Thursday, August 16th.

Course Materials

Journal articles available in the UW Library E-Journals collection are marked "full text online." Additional readings are available through Canvas.

Office Hours and Website

Monday-Thursday 12:00-12:30pm in 147 Gowen Hall.

Schedule of Classes

Part I: Political and Institutional History

Thursday, July 19, 2018

1. Introduction

Jeffrey N. Wasserstrom, *China in the 21st Century* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2010), Chp.1, pp.1-16 only. Canvas.

For reference:

Elizabeth J. Perry, "The Populist Dream of Chinese Democracy," *Journal of Asian Studies* Vol. 74, No. 4 (November 2015), pp.

Christopher A. Ford, "The Party and the Sage: Communist China's Use of Quasi-Confucian Rationalizations for One-party Dictatorship and Imperial Ambition," *Journal of Contemporary China* Vol. (2015), pp.

Shufang Wu, "The Revival of Confucianism and the CCP's Struggle for Cultural Leadership: A Content Analysis of the People's Daily," *Journal of Contemporary China* Vol. 23, No. 89 (2014), pp. 971-991.

FIRST FULL WEEK

Monday, July 23, 2018

2. Ideology, Political Parties, and Revolution

Lucien Bianco, *Origins of the Chinese Revolution, 1915-1949* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1967), Chp.6 "Nationalism and Revolution," pp.140-166. Canvas.

Elizabeth J. Perry, *Rebels and Revolutionaries* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1980), "Introduction," pp. 1-9; "Strategies of Survival," skim; "The Communist Movement," pp. 208-247, especially 221-230 and 239-247. Canvas.

For reference:

Zheng Wang, "National Humiliation, History Education, and the Politics of Historical Memory: Patriotic Education Campaign in China," *International Studies Quarterly* Vol. 52, No. 4 (December 2008), pp.788-792 only. Canvas.

Tuesday, July 24, 2018

3. State-led Development: The Planned Economy and the Great Leap Forward

Barry Naughton, *The Chinese Economy: Transitions and Growth* (Cambridge: MIT Press, 2007), pp. 56-62 only. Canvas.

Barry Naughton, "Danwei: The Economic Foundations of a Unique Institution," in Xiaobo Lü and Elizabeth J. Perry, eds., *Danwei: The Changing Chinese Workplace in Historical and Comparative Perspective* (Armonk, NY: M.E. Sharpe, 1997), pp. 169-182 only. Canvas.

Wednesday, July 25, 2018

4. State-led Development (Continued); Elite and Mass Political Conflict in the Cultural Revolution

Anita Chan, Richard Madsen, and Jonathan Unger, *Chen Village under Mao and Deng* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1984), pp. 13-40 and 74-97 (top) only. Canvas.

Tang Tsou, "The Cultural Revolution and the Chinese Political System," *China Quarterly*, No. 38 (Apr. - Jun., 1969), pp. 63-73 only. Full-text online.

Thursday, July 26, 2018

5. Political Economy of Development: Origins of Reform and Growing Out of the Plan

Joseph Fewsmith, "The Emergence of Rural Reform," in *Dilemmas of Reform in China* (M.E. Sharpe, 1994), pp. 19-49, especially 23-32. Canvas.

Ray Yep, "Containing Land Grabs: A Misguided Response to Rural Conflicts over Land," *Journal of Contemporary China* Vol. 22, No. 80 (2013), pp. 273-291, especially 277-287. Full text online.

SECOND FULL WEEK**Monday, July 30, 2018****6. Growing Out of the Plan; Test on Part I**

John McMillan Barry Naughton, "How to Reform a Planned Economy," in Ross Garnaut and Yiping Huang eds., *Growth Without Miracles* (Oxford University Press, 2001), pp. 459-473, especially Part III. Canvas.

Lorand Laskai, "Why Does Everyone Hate Made in China 2025?" Council on Foreign Relations, March 28, 2018. Full text online: <https://www.cfr.org/blog/why-does-everyone-hate-made-china-2025>

Nicholas Lardy, "The Resurgence of the State in the Chinese Economy?" Peterson Institute for International Economics, February 7, 2017. In-class.

For reference:

Nadege Rolland, "China's 'Belt and Road Initiative': Underwhelming or Game-Changer?" *The Washington Quarterly* Vol. 40, No. 1 (2017), pp. 127-142.

PART II: Institutions**Tuesday, July 31, 2018****7. Institutions: Party-State Apparatus**

Kenneth Lieberthal, *Governing China: From Revolution through Reform* (New York: Norton, 2003), pp.155-218. Canvas.

Susan H. Whiting, "The Cadre Evaluation System at the Grassroots: The Paradox of Party Rule," in Dali Yang and Barry Naughton, eds., *Holding China Together* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1994), pp. 101-119. Canvas.

For reference:

Pierre F. Landry, Xiaobo Lü, and Haiyan Duan, "Does Performance Matter? Evaluating Political Selection along the Chinese Administrative Ladder," *Comparative Political Studies* (2017).

Wednesday, August 1, 2018**8. Institutions: State Capacity and Central-Local Fiscal Relations**

Minxin Pei, "China's Governance Crisis," *Foreign Affairs* Vol. 81 (September-April 2002), pp. 96-109.

Dali Yang, "State Capacity on the Rebound," *Journal of Democracy*, Vol.14, No. 1 (January 2003), 43-50.

Arthur Kroeber, "The Fiscal System and Central-Local Government Relations," in *China's Economy: What Everyone Needs to Know* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2016) pp. 111-127. Canvas.

For reference:

Minxin Pei, "Transition in China?: More Likely than You Think," *Journal of Democracy* Vol. 27, No. 4 (October 2016), pp. 5-19. Full text online.

Dali Yang, "Dirty Deeds: Will Corruption Doom China?" *Foreign Affairs* Vol. (July/August 2017), pp. 149-153. Full text online.

Thursday, August 2, 2018**9. Institutions: Central Elites and Local Elections**

Andrew Nathan, "Authoritarian Resilience," *Journal of Democracy* Vol. 14, No. 1 (January 2003), pp. 6-17. Full text online.

Jiangnan Zhu and Dong Zhang, "Weapons of the Powerful: Authoritarian Elite Competition and Politicized Anticorruption in China," *Comparative Political Studies* Vol. 50, No. 9 (August 2017), pp. 1186-1220, especially 1186-1194.

Kevin J. O'Brien and Rongbin Han, "Path to Democracy? Assessing Village Elections in China," *Journal of Contemporary China* Vol. 18, No. 60 (June 2009), pp. 359-378. Full text online.

Jie Chen and Yang Zhong, "Why do People Vote in Semicompetitive Elections in China?" *The Journal of Politics* Vol. 64, No. 1 (February 2002), pp. 178-197. Full text online.

For reference:

Li Cheng, "The End of the CCP's Resilient Authoritarianism? A Tripartite Assessment of Shifting Power in China," *China Quarterly* Vol. 211 (September 2012), pp. 595-623. Full text online.

THIRD FULL WEEK**Monday, August 6, 2018****10. Institutions: Governing Civil Society**

Shui-Yan Tang and Xueyong Zhan, "Civic Environmental NGOs, Civil Society, and Democratisation in China," *Journal of Development Studies* Vol. 44, No. 3 (March 2008), pp. 425-448. Full text online.

Florian Butollo and Tobias ten Brink, "Challenging the Atomization of Discontent," *Critical Asian Studies* Vol. 44, No. 3 (2012), pp. 419-440. Full text online.

Tuesday, August 7, 2018**11. Institutions: Media**

Jeremy Goldkorn, "Behind the Great Firewall," in Geremie R. Barmé, ed., *Red Rising Red Eclipse* (Canberra: Australian Centre for China in the World, 2012)

http://www.thechinastory.org/wp-content/uploads/2012/07/ChinaStory2012_ch07.pdf Full text online.

Gary King, Jennifer Pan, Margaret E. Roberts, "How Censorship in China Allows Government Criticism but Silences Collective Expression," *American Political Science Review* Vol. 107, No. 2 (May 2013), pp. 1-18. Full-text online.

Simina Mistreanu, "Life Inside China's Social Credit Laboratory," *Foreign Policy*, April 3, 2018.

<https://foreignpolicy.com/2018/04/03/life-inside-chinas-social-credit-laboratory/>

For further reference:

Gary King, Jennifer Pan, Margaret E. Roberts, "How the Chinese Government Fabricates Social Media Posts for Strategic Distraction, Not Engaged Argument," *American Political Science Review* Vol. 111, No. 3 (2017), pp. 484-501. Full-text online.

Rogier Creemers, "Cyber China: Upgrading Propaganda, Public Opinion Work and Social Management for the Twenty-First Century," *Journal of Contemporary China* Vol. 26, No. 103 (2017), pp.85-100.

PART III: Governance Issues**Wednesday, August 8, 2018****12. Test on Part II; Labor Conditions and Global Value Chains**

Gary Gereffi, "The Organization of Buyer-Driven Global Commodity Chains: How U.S. Retailers Shape Overseas Production Networks," in Gereffi and Korzeniewicz (eds.), *Commodity Chains and Global Capitalism* (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1994), pp. 95-101 only. Canvas.

Pun Ngai, "Global Production, Company Codes of Conduct, and Labor Conditions in China: A Case Study of Two Factories," *The China Journal* No. 54 (July 2005), pp. 101-113. Full text online.

Thursday, August 9, 2018**13. Environment, Inequality, and Social Welfare**

Arthur P. J. Mol and Neil T. Carter, "China's Environmental Governance in Transition," *Environmental Politics* Vol. 15, No. 2 (April 2006), pp. 149-170. Full text online.

H. Christoph Steinhardt and Fengshi Wu, "In the Name of the Public: Environmental Protest and the Changing Landscape of Popular Contention in China," *China Journal* No. 75 (January 2016), pp. 61-82, especially 61-69. Full text online.

Martin King Whyte and Dong-Kyun Im, "Is the Social Volcano Still Dormant? Trends in Chinese Attitudes toward Inequality," *Social Science Research* Vol 48 (2014), pp. 62-76. Full text online.

William C. Hsiao, "Correcting Past Health Policy Mistakes," *Daedalus* Vol. 143, No. 2 (2014), pp. 53-68.

Bruce J. Dickson et al., "Public Goods and Regime Support in Urban China," *China Quarterly* Vol. 228 (2016), pp. 862-876 only. Full text online.

FOURTH FULL WEEK**Monday, August 13, 2018****14. Religious and Ethnic Minorities**

Richard Madsen, "The Upsurge of Religion in China," *Journal of Democracy* Vol. 21, No. 4 (October 2010), pp. 58-70. Full text online.

Gardner Bovington, "Heteronomy and Its Discontents: 'Minzu Regional Autonomy' in Xinjiang," in Morris Rossabi, ed. *Studies on Ethnic Groups in China: Governing China's Multiethnic Frontiers* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2014). Canvas.

Tuesday, August 14, 2018**15. Chinese Nationalism**

Jackson S. Woods and Bruce J. Dickson, "Victims and Patriots: Disaggregating Nationalism in Urban China," *Journal of Contemporary China*, Vol.26, No. 104 (2017), pp. 167-182.

Alastair Iain Johnston, "Is Chinese Nationalism Rising?" *International Security*, Vol. 41, No. 3 (Winter 2016/17), pp. 7-43.

For reference:

Jessica Chen Weiss, "Autocratic Signaling, Mass Audiences, and National Protest in China," *International Organization* Vol. 67, No. 1 (January 2013), pp. 1-35. Full text online.

Yinan He, "History, Chinese Nationalism, and the Emerging Sino-Japanese Conflict," *Journal of Contemporary China* Vol. 16, No. 50 (February 2007), pp. 1-24. Full text online.

Zheng Wang, "National Humiliation, History Education, and the Politics of Historical Memory: Patriotic Education Campaign in China," *International Studies Quarterly* Vol. 52, No. 4 (December 2008), pp.788-792 only. Canvas.

Wednesday, August 15, 2018**16. New Nationalisms**

Brain Fong, "One Country, Two Nationalisms: Center-Periphery Relations between Mainland China and Hong Kong, 1997-2016," *Modern China* Vol. 43, No. 5 (2017), pp. 523-556.

Sebastian Veg, "The Rise of "Localism" and Civic Identity in Post-handover Hong Kong: Questioning the Chinese Nation-state," *China Quarterly* No. 230 (2017), pp. 323-347.

For reference:

Sebastian Veg, "Creating a Textual Public Space: Slogans and Texts from Hong Kong's Umbrella Movement," *Journal of Asian Studies* Vol. 75, No. 3 (August 2016), pp. 673-702.

Rwei-Ren Wu, "The Lilliputian Dreams: Preliminary Observations of Nationalism in Okinawa, Taiwan, and Hong Kong," *Nations and Nationalism* Vol. 22, No. 4 (2016), pp. 686-705.

Thursday, August 16, 2018**17. Test on Part III; Group Presentations**