

PoSc 256: Chinese Politics

Course Description: In this course students will gain 1) an introduction to problems in contemporary Chinese politics and recent literature on Chinese politics via weekly readings and class discussion; and 2) improved research and writing skills via writing and revising a significant research project. Weekly topics have been selected to highlight a diverse range of issues that will introduce students to questions about how China got to be the way it is, the problems China currently faces, and how we may best study China.

Course Requirements:

1. Research Paper. (45%) Each student will write an original research paper that makes a meaningful contribution to the on-going discussion of Chinese politics. Students will consult with the instructor regarding their topic, submit a formal proposal at mid-term, and consult regularly with the class regarding their progress. A first draft of the paper will be available for distribution to the class a few days before December 5 and presented to the class on December 5. Final drafts will be due on the day of the final exam.
2. Critical Reviews (35%) Students will write critical review of each of eight weeks' reading. Reviews will not exceed three pages and will be due at the start of class each week. Reviews should report the main points of the readings and draw important, creative, interesting, and insightful conclusions about the literature and China.
3. Paper reviews. (5%) Students will write a paragraph or so reviewing each of the papers submitted prior to December 4. These will be presented in class on Dec. 4 and given to both the instructor and the authors of each paper. May be graded pass-fail.
4. Class participation. (15%) Students are expected to have carefully read each week's reading prior to class, to attend each class, and to make a creative contribution to class discussion.

Miscellaneous Notes:

- All take-home written work will conform to normal academic style, e.g., typed, 10-12 point fonts, standard margins, double-spaced, consistent system of footnotes, bibliography, etc.
- Plagiarism will be severely punished as per university policy.
- Late assignments may be penalized, except for critical reviews which are normally not accepted after the relevant readings have been discussed in class. Advance warning and/or truly tragic or unavoidable circumstances may improve the prospects for mercy.
- Readings marked with an asterisk are recommended. All others are required.

Tentative Schedule

I. Introduction (August 28)

II. History & Culture: Can Confucian tradition sustain human rights? (September 4) Confucius, *The Analects* (London: Oxford University Press, 1993) 1-23.

*Fareed Zakaria, "Culture Is Destiny: A Conversation with Lee Kuan Yew" *Foreign Affairs* 73:2 (March/April, 1994) 109-26.

*Kim, Dae Jung, "Is Culture Destiny?" *Foreign Affairs*. 73:6 (November/December 1994) 189-95.

*Xiaoqun Xu, "Human Rights and the Discourse on Universality: A Chinese

- Historical Perspective" in *Negotiating Culture and Human Rights* ed. by Lynda S. Bell, Andrew J. Nathan and Ilan Peleg (New York: Columbia University Press, 2001) 217-41.
- Lucien W. Pye, "The State and the Individual: An Overview Interpretation" in *The Individual and the State in China* ed. by Brian Hook (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1996) 16-42.
- Henry Rosemont, Jr., "Human Rights: A Bill of Worries" in *Confucianism and Human Rights* ed. by Wm. Theodore De Bary and Tu Weiming (New York: Columbia University Press, 1998). 54-66.
- William Theodore de Bary, *Asian Values and Human Rights: A Confucian Communitarian Perspective* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1998) 1-40, 90-117.
- Daniel A. Bell, *Beyond Liberal Democracy: Political Thinking for an East Asian Context* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2006) 1-19, 152-79, *323-41.
- *Joseph Chan, "A Confucian Perspective on Human Rights for Contemporary China" in *The East Asian Challenge for Human Rights* ed. by Daniel Bell and Joanne Bauer (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1999) 212-37.
- *Charles Taylor, "Conditions of an Unforced Consensus on Human Rights" in *The East Asian Challenge*, op. cit., 124-44.
- *Wm. Theodore De Bary and Tu Weiming, *Confucianism and Human Rights* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1998).
- *Jiawen Ai, "The Refunctioning of Confucianism: The Mainland Chinese Intellectual Response to Confucianism since the 1980s" *Issues and Studies* 44:2 (June 2008) 29-78.
- Guy Olivier Faure, "Chinese Society and its New Emerging Culture" *Journal of Contemporary China* 15:56 (August 2008) 469-91.
- III. Great Leap and Cultural Revolution (September 11)
- Lee Feigon, *Mao: A Reinterpretation* (Chicago: Ivan R. Dee, 2002) 3-12, 109-83.
- Jasper Becker, *Hungry Ghosts: Mao's Secret Famine* (New York: Free Press, 1996) 58-111.
- Dali L. Yang, *Calamity and Reform in China: State, Rural Society, and Institutional Change Since the Great Leap Famine* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1996) 21-67.
- Hong Yung Lee, *Politics of the Chinese Cultural Revolution: A Case Study* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1978) 323-48.
- Yan Jiaqi, Gao Gao and D.W.Y. Kwok (ed. and trans.) *Turbulent Decade: A History of the Cultural Revolution* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 1996) 529-32.
- Frederick C. Teiwes and Warren Sun, *The Tragedy of Lin Biao: Riding the Tiger During the Cultural Revolution* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 1996) 1-10, 103-68.
- *Wang Hui, "Depoliticized Politics, From East to West" *New Left Review* 41 (September-October 2006) 29-45.
- *Joseph W. Esherick, Paul G. Pickowicz and Andrew G. Walder, "The Chinese Cultural Revolution as History: An Introduction" in Esherick, Pickowicz and Walder (eds.) *The Chinese Cultural Revolution as History* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2006) 1-28.
- *Xiaowei Zheng, "Passion, Reflection, and Survival: Political Choices of Red Guards at Qinghua University, June 1966-July 1968" *ibid* 29-63.
- *Jonathan Unger, "The Cultural Revolution at the Grassroots" *China Journal* 57 (January 2007) 109-37.

*Roderick MacFarquhar and Michael Schoenhals, *Mao's Last Revolution* (Cambridge: Belknap Press of Harvard, 2006).

IV. Reform through June 4 (September 18)

*Susan L. Shirk, *The Political Logic of Economic Reform in China* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1993).

Richard Baum, *Burying Mao: Chinese Politics in the Age of Deng Xiaoping* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1994) 3-24.

Minxin Pei, *From Reform to Revolution: The Demise Of Communism in China and the Soviet Union* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1994) 1-42, 205-11.

Barry Naughton, *The Chinese Economy: Transitions and Growth* (Cambridge, MA: M.I.T. Press, 2007) 55-98, 229-48, *271-93.

*Kate Zhou, *How the Farmers Changed China: Power of the People* (Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 1996).

Liu Binyan, Ruan Ming (with) Xu Gang (with) and Henry L. Epstein (trans.) *Tell the World: What Happened in China and Why* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1989) 1-112.

David Strand, "Protest in Beijing: Civil Society and the Public Sphere in Beijing" *Problems of Communism* 39 (May-June 1990) 1-19.

Joseph W. Esherick and Jeffrey N. Wasserstrom, "Acting Out Democracy: Political Theater in Modern China" in Jeffrey N. Wasserstrom (ed.) and Elizabeth J. Perry (ed.) *Popular Protest and Political Culture in Modern China: Learning from 1989* (Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 1992) 28-66.

*Zhang Liang (ed.) Andrew J. Nathan (ed.) and Perry Link (ed.) *The Tiananmen Papers: The Chinese Leadership's Decision to Use Force Against Their Own People -- In Their Own Words* (New York: Public Affairs, 2001).

V. China's Economy (September 25)

Barry Naughton, *Growing Out of the Plan: Chinese Economic Reform 1978-1993* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995) 98-109, 297-325, *377-424, 449-80.

Wing Thyee Woo, "The Real Reasons for China's Growth" *China Journal* 41 (January, 1999) 115-38.

Jean Drèze and Amartya Sen, *India: Economic Development and Social Opportunity* (Dehli: Oxford University Press, 1995) 56-86.

Alexander Harney, *The China Price: The True Cost of Chinese Competitive Advantage* (New York: Penguin Press, 2008) 148-80.

*Tim Wright, "The Political Economy of Coal Mine Disasters in China: Your Rice Bowl or Your Life" *China Quarterly* n179 (2004) 629-46.

*Margaret Pearson, "The Business of Governing Business in China" *World Politics* 57 (January 2005) 296-322.

China's Galloping Economy: Prospects, Problems and Implications for the United States ed. by Mark Mohr (Woodrow Wilson Center Asia Program Special Report, May 2008).

*World Bank Office, Beijing, "Quarterly Update" (June 2008)
[www.worldbank.org.cn]

VI. Nationalism (October 2)

Peter Hays Gries, *China's New Nationalism: Pride, Politics, and Diplomacy* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2004) 1-43, 86-134.

Suisheng Zhao, *A Nation-State by Construction: Dynamics of Modern Chinese*

Nationalism (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2004) 8-78, 209-247.

Wang Xiaodong, "Chinese Nationalism Under the Shadow of Globalization" (A speech delivered at the London School of Economics and Political Science 7 February 2005)

[<http://www.lse.ac.uk/collections/asiaResearchCentre/pdf/Transcript/WANGXiaodongFinalTranscriptEnglish.pdf>].

Lin Yi, "Ethnicization through Schooling: The Mainstream Discursive Repertoires of Ethnic Minority Cultures" *China Quarterly* 192 (December 2007) 933-48.

*Ben Xu, "Official and Nonofficial Nationalism in China" *Issues and Studies* 43:2 (June 2007) 93-128.

*Xu Wu, *Chinese Cyber Nationalism: Evolution, Characteristics, and Implications* (Lanham, Md: Lexington Books, 2007).

VII. Farmers (October 9)

James E. Nickum, "Broken Eggs in the Market" *China Journal* 49 (January 2003) 119-26.

John James Kennedy, "From the Tax-for-Fee Reform to the Abolition of Agricultural Taxes: The Impact on Township Governments in North-west China" *China Quarterly* 189 (March 2007) 43-59.

*Linda Chelan Li, "Working for the Peasants? Strategic Interactions and Unintended Consequences in the Chinese Rural Tax Reform" *China Journal* 57 (January 2006) 89-106.

Kevin J. O'Brien, "Collective Action in the Chinese Countryside" *China Journal* 48 (July, 2002) 139-54.

Kevin J. O'Brien and Lianjiang Li, "Accommodating 'Democracy' in a One-Party State: Introducing Village Elections in China" *China Quarterly* 162 (June, 2000) 465-89.

Tianjin Shi, "Village Committee Elections in China: Institutional Tactics for Democracy" *World Politics* 51:3 (April 1999) 385-412.

Yang Zhong and Jie Chen, "To Vote Or Not To Vote: An Analysis of Peasants' Participation in Chinese Village Elections" *Comparative Political Studies* 35 6 (August, 2002) 686-712.

*Kam Wing Chan and Li Zhang, "The Hukou System and Rural-Urban Migration in China: Processes and Changes" *China Quarterly* 160 (December, 1999) 818-55.

Philip P. Pan, *Out of Mao's Chaos: The Struggle for the Soul of the New China* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 2008) 175-96.

VIII. Mid-Term Holiday on October 16 & 17

IX. Media: The Internet (October 23)

Geremie R. Barmé and Sang Ye, "The Great Firewall of China" *Wired* 5:6 (June, 1997) [<http://www.wired.com/wired/5.06/china.html>].

*Nina Hachigian, "The Internet and One-Party East Asian States" *Washington Quarterly* 25:3 (Summer, 2002) 41-58.

*Shanthi Kalathil and Taylor Boas, *Open Networks Closed Regimes: The Impact of the Internet on Authoritarian Rule* (Washington, D.C.: Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, 2003) 13-43.

*Yongming Zhou, *Historicizing Online Politics: Telegraphy, the Internet and Political Participation in China* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2006) 131-231.

Anne-Marie Brady, *Marketing Dictatorship: Propaganda and Thought Work in Contemporary China* (Lanham: Rowman and Littlefield, 2008) 125-150, 175-202.

- David Shambaugh, "China's Propaganda System: Institutions, Processes and Efficacy" *China Journal* 57 (January 2007) 25-60.
- Yongnian Zheng, *Technological Empowerment: The Internet, State, and Society in China* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2008) 166-87.
- Ethan Guttman and Ethan Gutmann, *Losing the New China: A Story of American Commerce, Desire, and Betrayal* (San Francisco: Encounter Books, 2004) 127-72.
- Johan Lagerkvist, "Internet Ideotainment in the PRC: National Responses to Cultural Globalization" *Journal of Contemporary China* 17:54 (2008) 121-40.
- Xu Wu, *Chinese Cyber Nationalism*, *ibid.* 17-34, 45-87.
- *Eric Harwit, "Spreading Telecommunications to Developing Areas in China: Telephones, the Internet and the Digital Divide" *China Quarterly* 180 (December, 2004) 1010-30.
- *Yuezhi Zhao, *Communication in China: Political Economy, Power and Conflict* (Lanham: Rowman and Littlefield, 2008).
- *Philip P. Pan, *Out of Mao's Chaos*, *ibid.* 235-67.

X. Environment (October 30)

- *Mark Elvin, *The Retreat of the Elephants: An Environmental History of China* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2004) 1-39.
- *Judith Bannister, "Population, Public Health and the Environment in China" *China Quarterly* 156 (December, 1998) 986-1015.
- *Vaclav Smil, *The Bad Earth: Environmental Degradation in China* (Armonk, NY: M.E. Sharpe, 1984).
- *Judith Shapiro, *Mao's War Against Nature: Politics and the Environment in Revolutionary China* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001) 67-93.
- *Peter Ho, "Mao's War Against Nature? The Environmental Impact of the Grain-First Campaign" *China Journal* 50 (July, 2003) 36-59.
- Guobin Yang, "Environmental NGOs and Institutional Dynamics in China" *China Quarterly* 181 (March, 2005) 46-66.
- Phillip Stalley and Dongning Yang, "An Emerging Environmental Movement in China?" *China Quarterly* 186 (June, 2006) 333-56.
- Elizabeth Economy, *The River Runs Black: The Environmental Challenge to China's Future* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2004) 59-176, 257-74.
- *Brian Tilt, "The Political Ecology of Pollution Enforcement in China: A Case from Sichuan's Rural Industrial Sector" *China Quarterly* 192 (December 2007) 915-32.
- *Warwick J. McKibbin, Peter J. Wilcoxon, and Wing Thye Woo, "Preventing the Tragedy of the CO2 Commons: Exploring China's Growth and the International Climate Framework" *Brookings Global Economy & Development Working Paper* 22 (July 2008).

XI. Tibet (November 6)

- *Frederick with. Mote, "China Under Mongol Rule' extracted from *Imperial China: 900-1800* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1999).
- Tsering Shakya, *The Dragon in the Land of Snows: A History of Modern Tibet Since 1947* (New York: Penguin Books, 1999) 431-48.
- Warren W. Smith Jr., *China's Tibet? Autonomy or Assimilation* (Lanham: Rowman and Littlefield, 2008) *1-163, 165-297.
- *John Kenneth Knaus, *Orphans of the Cold War: America and the Tibetan Struggle for Survival* (New York: Public Affairs, 2000).
- *Tubten Khétsun, *Memories of Life in Lhasa under Chinese Rule* (New York:

Columbia University Press, 2008).

Campaign for Tibet, *Tracking the Steel Dragon: How China's Policies and the Railway Are Transforming Tibet* (Washington: D.C.: Campaign for Tibet, 2008) [www.savetibet.org] 3-72.

Wang Lixiong, "Reflections on Tibet" *New Left Review* 14 (March-April 2002).

Tsering Shakya, "Blood in the Snows: Reply to Wang Lixiong" *New Left Review* 14 (March-April 2002).

*Orville Schell, *Virtual Tibet: Searching for Shangri-La From the Himalayas to Hollywood* (New York: Henry Holt and Company, 2000).

XII. Corruption, Violence and Protest (November 13)

He Qinglian, "On Systematic Corruption in China and Its Influence" in *Private and Public Corruption* ed. by John Kleinig and William C. Heffernan (Lanham: Rowman and Littlefield, 2004). 239-74.

*Ming Xia, "Organizational Formations of Organized Crime in China: Perspectives from the State, Markets and Networks" *Journal of Contemporary China* 17:54 (2008) 1-23.

Ching Kwan Lee, *Against the Law: Labor Protests in China's Rustbelt and Sunbelt* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2007) 3-68.

Randall Peerenboom and He Xin, "Dispute Resolution in China: Patterns, Causes, and Prognosis" *The Foundation for Law, Justice, and Society* (May 2008).

Philip P. Pan, *Out of Mao's Chaos*, *ibid.* 199-234.

Merle Goldman, *Political Rights in Post-Mao China* (Ann Arbor, MI: Association for Asian Studies, 2007).

George J. Gilboy and Benjamin Read, "Political and Social Reform in China: Alive and Walking" *Washington Quarterly* 31:3 (May 2008) 143-64.

*Ian Johnson, *Wild Grass: Three Stories of Change in Modern China* (New York: Pantheon Books, 2004) 182-292.

*Oliver August, *Inside the Red Mansion: On the Trail of China's Most Wanted Man* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 2007).

XIII. The Future of Chinese Politics (November 20)

Bruce Bueno de Mesquita and George W. Downs, "Development and Democracy" *Foreign Affairs* 84:5 (Sep/Oct, 2005) 77-87.

Minxin Pei, "The Dark Side of China's Rise" *Foreign Policy* 153 (March/April, 2006) 32-40.

Bruce Gilley, *China's Democratic Future: How It Will Happen and Where It Will Lead* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2004) 27-136.

John L. Thornton, "Long Time Coming: The Prospects for Democracy in China" *Foreign Affairs* 87:1 (January/February 2008) 2-22.

Susan Ogden, *Inklings of Democracy in China* (Cambridge: Harvard University Asia Center, 2002). 353-79.

James Mann, *The China Fantasy: How Our Leaders Explain Away Chinese Repression* (New York: Viking, 2007) 1-29.

Susan L. Shirk, *China: Fragile Superpower* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2007) 1-12, 255-70.

IV. Thanksgiving Holiday on November 26 & 27

XV. Paper Presentations (December 4)