

PoSc 6521: Chinese Politics

Course Description: China's rapid growth reshapes our world and challenges existing theories. In this course students will gain 1) an introduction to problems in contemporary Chinese politics and to recent literature on Chinese politics via extensive reading and discussion; 2) increased skill in comparative politics analysis and critical thinking in general via weekly review essays and class discussion; and 3) 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. (40%) 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 completed draft of the paper will be available for distribution to the class a few days before December 6 and presented to the class on December 6. Final drafts will be due on the day of the final exam.
2. Critical Reviews (40%) Students will write critical reviews on each of ten weeks' required readings. Reviews will not exceed three pages and will be due at the start of the class where the readings will be discussed. 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 their peers' papers. These will be presented in class on Dec. 6 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 required readings prior to class, to attend each class, to have one or more critical questions ready at the start of class and to make a creative contribution to class discussion.

Miscellaneous Notes:

- All 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.
- Academic dishonesty 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	30 August
Labor Day	6 September
II. Human Rights & Chinese Culture	13 September
Confucius, <i>The Analects</i> (London: Oxford University Press, 1993) 1-23.	
*Fareed Zakaria, "Culture Is Destiny: A Conversation with Lee Kuan Yew" <i>Foreign Affairs</i> 73:2 (March/April, 1994) 109-26.	
*Kim, Dae Jung, "Is Culture Destiny?" <i>Foreign Affairs</i> . 73:6 (November/December 1994) 189-95.	
Xiaoqun Xu, "Human Rights and the Discourse on Universality: A Chinese Historical Perspective" in <i>Negotiating Culture and Human Rights</i> 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 <i>The Individual and the</i>	

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* *ibid* 124-44.

*Wm. Theodore De Bary and Tu Weiming (eds.), *Confucianism and Human Rights* *ibid*.

*Randall Peerenboom, "Rights, Interests, and the Interest in Rights in China," *Stanford Journal of International Law* 31 (1995) 359-86.

*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.

III. Great Leap and Cultural Revolution

20 September

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.

Ralph A. Thaxton, Jr., *Catastrophe and Contention in Rural China: Mao's Great Leap Forward Famine and the Origins of Righteous Resistance in Da Fo Village* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2008) 118-56, *157-89, 199-230.

*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.

*Yang Jisheng, "The Fatal Politics of the PRC's Great Leap Famine: the preface to Tombstone," *Journal of Contemporary China* 19:66 (July 2010) 755 — 776.

Elizabeth J. Perry and Li Xun, *Proletarian Power: Shanghai in the Cultural Revolution* (Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 1997) 189-96.

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" in *The Chinese Cultural Revolution as History* *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. Economics

27 September

Barry Naughton, *The Chinese Economy: Transitions and Growth* (Cambridge, MA: M.I.T. Press, 2007) 85-111, 297-327, *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.
- Kellee S. Tsai, *Capitalism Without Democracy: The Private Sector in Contemporary China* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2007) 44-71.
- Chengxin Pan, "What Is Chinese about Chinese Businesses? Locating the 'Rise of China' in Global Production Networks?" *Journal of Contemporary China* 18:57 (January 2009) 7-25.
- Alexander Harney, *The China Price: The True Cost of Chinese Competitive Advantage* (New York: Penguin Press, 2008) 272-89.
- Nicholas R. Lardy, "The Sustainability of China's Recovery from the Global Recession" *Peterson Institute for International Economics Policy Brief* PB10-7 (March 2010) [<http://www.iie.com/publications/interstitial.cfm?ResearchID=1527>].
- *Barry Naughton "The Turning Point in Housing" *China Leadership Monitor* 33 (June 2010) 1-10.
- *OECD, "A Labor Market in Transition" *OECD Economic Surveys: China* 2010:6 (February 2010) 153-80.

V. Elite & Party Politics 4 October

- Richard McGregor, *The Party: The Secret World of China's Communist Rulers* (New York: HarperCollins, 2010) 1-34.
- *Kerry Brown, *Friends and Enemies: The Past, Present and Future of the Communist Party of China* (London: Anthem Press, 2009).
- Steve Tsang, "Consultative Leninism: China's New Political Framework," *Journal of Contemporary China* 18:62 (2009) 865-80.
- David Shambaugh, *China's Communist Party: Atrophy and Adaptation* (Washington, D.C: Woodrow Wilson Center Press, 2008) 1-11, 161-83.
- Bruce J. Dickson, *Wealth into Power: The Communist Party's Embrace of China's Private Sector* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2008) 66-100, 237-55.
- Cheng Li, "China's Fifth Generation: Is Diversity a Source of Strength or a Weakness?," *Asia Policy* 6 (July 2008) 53-93.
- Alice Miller, "The 18th Central Committee Politburo: A Quixotic, Foolhardy, Rashly Speculative, but Nonetheless Ruthlessly Reasoned Projection," *China Leadership Monitor* 33 (2010) 1-10.
- *Joel Andreas, *The Rise of the Red Engineers: The Cultural Revolution and the Origins of China's New Class* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2009).

VI. Inequality 11 October

- Björn Gustafsson, Li Shi and Terry Sicular, "Inequality and Public Policy in China: Issues and Trends," in *Inequality and Public Policy in China* ed. by Gustafsson, Li and Sicular (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2008) 1-34.
- Martin King Whyte, *Myth of the Social Volcano: Perceptions of Inequality and Distributive Injustice in Contemporary China* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2010) *1-10, 11-67, *181-202.
- 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.
- Fei-Ling Wang, "Renovating the Great Floodgate: The Reform of China's Hukou System," in *One Country, Two Societies: Rural-Urban Inequality in Contemporary China* ed. by Martin K, Whyte (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2010) 335-66.
- *Martin King Whyte (ed.), *One Country, Two Societies: Rural-Urban Inequality in Contemporary China* *ibid*.
- Yasheng Huang, *Capitalism with Chinese Characteristics: Entrepreneurship and the State* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2008) 233-98.

- VII. Intellectuals and Social Thought 18 October
- Merle Goldman, *From Comrade to Citizen: The Struggle for Political Rights in China* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2005) 95-160.
- Gloria Davies, *Worrying About China: The Language of Chinese Critical Inquiry* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2007) 58-105.
- Xu Wu, *Chinese Cyber Nationalism: Evolution, Characteristics, and Implications* (Lanham, Md: Lexington Books, 2007) 17-33.
- John Makeham, *Lost Soul: Confucianism in Contemporary Chinese Academic Discourse* (Cambridge: Harvard University Asia Center, 2008) 261-76.
- Wang Hui, *The End of the Revolution: China and the Limits of Modernity* (London: Verso, 2009) *3-18, 19-66.
- Qin Hui, "Only China Can Destroy Socialism? -- Globalization, the 'China Factor' and the Future of the World" (2007).
- Liu Junning, "Classical Liberalism Catches On in China," *Journal of Democracy* 11:3 (July 2000) 48-57.
- VIII. Internet 25 October
- 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.
- Guobin Yang, *The Power of the Internet in China: Citizen Activism Online* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2009) 1-24, 209-26.
- Yongnian Zheng, *Technological Empowerment: The Internet, State, and Society in China* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2008) 166-87.
- Jack Linquan Qiu, *Working-Class Network Society* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 2009) 21-50.
- 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.
- Rebecca MacKinnon, "Testimony" at the hearing: "China, the Internet, and Google" Congressional-Executive Commission on China (March 1, 2010) [<http://rconversation.blogs.com/rconversation/2010/03/china-the-internet-and-google.html>].
- Wang Chen "Concerning the Development and Administration of Our Country's Internet" Report Delivered to the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress on April 29, 2010 [http://www.hrichina.org/public/contents/article?revision_id=175119&item_id=175084].
- Choy Dick Wan, "The Shi Tao Case: Its Development in Mainland China," *Journal of Contemporary China* 18:61 (2009) 517-39.
- *Ethan Guttman, *Losing the New China: A Story of American Commerce, Desire, and Betrayal* (San Francisco: Encounter Books, 2004) 127-72.
- *Eric Harwit, *China's Telecommunications Revolution* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2008).
- IX. Environment 1 November
- *Mark Elvin, *The Retreat of the Elephants: An Environmental History of China* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2004) 1-39.
- *Judith Shapiro, *Mao's War Against Nature: Politics and the Environment in Revolutionary China* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001) 67-93.

Elizabeth Economy, *The River Runs Black: The Environmental Challenge to China's Future* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2004) 59-176, *257-74.

*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.

*Robert P. Weller, *Discovering Nature: Globalization and Environmental Culture in China and Taiwan* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2006).

*Andrew C. Mertha, *China's Water Warriors: Citizen Action and Policy Change* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2008) 27-109.

*Brian Tilt, *The Struggle for Sustainability in Rural China* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2010) 64-126.

X. Tibet 8 November

Information Office of the State Council of the People's Republic of China, "Fifty Years of Democratic Reform in Tibet" [http://www.gov.cn/english/official/2009-03/02/content_1248355.htm].

*Frederick W. 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, *Tibet's Last Stand? The Tibetan Uprising of 2008 and China's Response* (Lanham: Rowman & Littlefield, 2010) 1-10, 209-88.

*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).

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).

Robert Barnett, *Lhasa: Streets with Memories* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2006) 85-120.

*Human Rights Watch, "I Saw It with My Own Eyes: Abuses by Chinese Security Forces in Tibet, 2008-2010" (July 2010) [<http://www.hrw.org/en/reports/2010/07/22/i-saw-it-my-own-eyes-0>].

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

XI. Religion 15 November

Jiawen Ai, "Two Sides of One Coin: The Party's Attitude Toward Confucianism in Contemporary China," *Journal of Contemporary China* 18:61 (2009) 689-701.

David Aikman, *Jesus in Beijing* (Washington, D.C.: Regnery Publishing, 2003) 5-18, 161-92, 205-44.

David L. Wank, "Institutionalizing Modern 'Religion' in China's Buddhism: Political Phases of a Local Revival," in *Making Religion Making the State* ed. by Yoshiko Ashiwa and David L. Wank (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2009) 126-50.

Richard Madsen and Lizhu Fan, "The Catholic Pilgrimage to Sheshan," in *Making Religion Making the State* *ibid* 74-95.

Carsten T. Vala, "Pathways to the Pulpit: Leadership training in 'Patriotic' and Unregistered Chinese Protestant Churches," in *Making Religion Making the State* *ibid* 96-125.

Adam Yuet Chau, "Expanding the Space of Popular Religion: Local Temple Activism and the Politics of Legitimation in Contemporary Rural China," in *Making Religion Making the State* *ibid* 211-40.

*Ji Zhe, "Secularization as Religious Restructuring: Statist Institutionalization of Chinese Buddhism

and Its Paradoxes,” in *Chinese Religiosities: Afflictions of Modernity and State Formation* ed. by Mayfair Mei-Hui Yang (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2008) 233-60.

Dru Gladney, “Islam and Modernity in China: Secularization or Separatism?,” in *Chinese Religiosities* ibid 179-205.

*James W. Tong, *Revenge of the Forbidden City: The Suppression of the Falungong in China, 1999-2005* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2009).

*Ian Johnson, *Wild Grass: Three Stories of Change in Modern China* (New York: Pantheon Books, 2004) 185-292.

Emily C. Dunn, “‘Cult,’ Church, and the CCP: Introducing Eastern Lightning,” *Modern China* 35 (2009) 96-119.

XII. Contentious Politics 22 November

Yongshun Cai, *Collective Resistance in China: Why Popular Protests Succeed or Fail* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2010) 184-202.

Kevin J. O'Brien and Lianjiang Li, *Rightful Resistance in Rural China* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2006) 1-24.

William Hurst, *The Chinese Worker After Socialism* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2009) 108-32.

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

Chris King-Chi Chan (Ngai) and Pun, “The Making of a New Working Class? A Study of Collective Actions of Migrant Workers in South China,” *China Quarterly* 198 (June 2009) 387-303.

You-Tien Hsing, “Urban Housing Mobilizations,” in *Reclaiming Chinese Society: The New Social Activism* ed by You-tien Hsing and Ching Kwan Lee (New York: Routledge, 2010) 17-41.

Jonathan Hassid, “China's Contentious Journalists: Reconceptualizing the Media,” *Problems of Post-Communism* 55:4 (July/August 2008) 52-61.

XIII. Political Change 29 November

Henry S. Rowen, Minxin Pei and Dali Yang, “When Will the Chinese People Be Free?” *Journal of Democracy* 18:3 (July 2007) 38-64.

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

Randall Peerenboom, *China Modernizes: Threat to the West or Model for the Rest?* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2007) 82-162, *163-83.

Minxin Pei, *China's Trapped Transition: The Limits of Developmental Autocracy* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2006) 17-44.

Theresa Wright, *Accepting Authoritarianism: State-Society Relations in China's Reform Era* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2010) 162-79.

*Xing Ying, “Barefoot Lawyers and Rural Conflicts,” in *Reclaiming Chinese Society: The New Social Activism* op cit (New York: Routledge, 2010) 64-82.

Kevin J. O'Brien and Rongbin Han, “Path to Democracy? Assessing Village Elections in China” *Journal of Contemporary China* 18:60 (June, 2009) 359-378

*Tun-jen Cheng and Gang Lin, “Competitive Elections,” in *Political Change in China: Comparisons with Taiwan* ed. by Bruce Gilley and Larry Diamond (Boulder: Lynne Rienner Publishers, 2008) 161-84.

*Robert P. Weller, “Responsive Authoritarianism,” in *Political Change in China* ibid 117-34.

*Feng Chongyi, “Democrats within the Chinese Communist Party since 1989,” *Journal of Contemporary China* 17:57 (2008) 673-88.

Stefan Halper, *The Beijing Consensus: How China's Authoritarian Model Will Dominate the Twenty-*

First Century (New York: Basic Books, Inc., 2010) 205-52.

XIV. Paper Presentations

6 December