

**University of Washington**  
**Department of Political Science/Jackson School of International Studies**  
**Summer 2019**  
***Government and Politics of China***  
**POL S 442/JSISa 408**  
**Monday-Thursday 2:20-5:00pm**  
**22 Johnson Hall**

**Professor Susan Whiting**  
**147 Gowen Hall**  
**543-2780**  
[swhiting@u.washington.edu](mailto:swhiting@u.washington.edu)

### **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 at home and an increasingly wary international community abroad. This course will help you understand the rise of China. It provides an in-depth analysis of the political history, contemporary institutions, and governance issues facing China today. 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 challenges facing China today, including labor and environmental conditions, local aspects of trade and technology, inequality and social welfare, minority rights, contemporary nationalism, and newly assertive local identities.

### **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, August 5<sup>th</sup> (15%), Wednesday August 14<sup>th</sup> (15%), and Thursday, August 22<sup>nd</sup> (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 22<sup>nd</sup>.

### **Course Materials**

Digital resources available in the UW Library E-Journals and E-books collections are marked "full text online." Additional readings are available through Canvas.

### **Office Hours**

Monday-Thursday 5:00-5:30pm in 147 Gowen Hall.

## Schedule of Classes

### **Part I: Political and Institutional History**

**Thursday, July 25, 2019**

#### **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 29, 2019**

#### **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 30, 2019**

#### **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 31, 2019**

#### **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, August 1, 2019**

#### **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, August 5, 2019**

### 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, August 6, 2019**

### 7. Institutions: Party-State Apparatus

Read one of the following:

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 7, 2019**

### 8. Institutions: State Capacity and Central-Local Fiscal Relations

Minxin Pei, "Twilight of the CCP?" *American Interest* Spring (March/April) 2016, pp. 27-35. Full text online.

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. E-book.

Christine Wong, "Can a Modern System of Governance Work Under Xi?" *Nikkei* October 31, 2015. Canvas.

For reference:

Bruce Gilley, "Taxation and Authoritarian Resilience," *Journal of Contemporary China* Vol. 26, No. 105.

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.

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

**Thursday, August 8, 2019**

### 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.

Bruce Dickson, *The Dictator's Dilemma* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2016), pp. 1-24 only. Canvas

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. Pages tba.

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. Pages tba.

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.

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

### THIRD FULL WEEK

**Monday, August 12, 2019**

#### 10. Institutions: Governing Civil Society

Xueyong Zhan and Shui-Yan Tang, "Political Opportunities, Resource Constraints and Policy Advocacy of Environmental NGOs in China," *Public Administration* Vol. 91, No. 2 (2013), pp. 381–399.

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.

For reference:

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.

**Tuesday, August 13, 2019**

#### 11. Institutions: Media

Xiao Qiang, "The Road to Digital Unfreedom: President Xi's Surveillance State," *Journal of Democracy*, Vol. 30, No.1 (January 2019), pp. 53-67.

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](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. Pages tba.

For further reference:

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/>

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 14, 2019**

#### 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.

For Reference:

Boy Lüthje & Florian Butollo, "Why the Foxconn Model Does Not Die: Production Networks and Labour Relations in the IT Industry in South China," *Globalizations* Vol. 14, No. 2 (2017), pp. 216-231.

Stefan Schmalz, Bradnon Sommer, and Hui Xu, "The Yue Yuen Strike: Industrial Transformation and Labour Unrest in the Pearl River Delta," *Globalizations* Vol. 14, No. 2 (2017), pp. 285-297. Full text online.

Eli Friedman and Ching Kwan Lee, "Remaking the World of Chinese Labour," *British Journal of Industrial Relations* Vol. 48, No. 3 (September 2010), pp. 507-533.

Ching Kwan Lee, "The Making of New Labor," *Against the Law: Labor Protests in China's Rustbelt and Sunbelt* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2007), pp. 157-203.

**Thursday, August 15, 2019**

**13. Environment, Inequality, and Social Welfare**

Environment reading: see assigned reading for your debate group on Canvas.

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.

For reference:

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.

Genia Kostka & Chunman Zhang (2018) Tightening the grip: environmental governance under Xi Jinping, *Environmental Politics*, 27:5, 769-781

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.

**FOURTH FULL WEEK**

**Monday, August 19, 2019**

**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.

Adrian Zenz (2019) 'Thoroughly reforming them towards a healthy heart attitude': China's political re-education campaign in Xinjiang, *Central Asian Survey*, Vol. 38, No. 1 (2019), pp. 102-128.

For reference:

Gardner Bovingdon, "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 20, 2019**

**15. Chinese Nationalism**

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.

Jessica Chen Weiss, "How Hawkish Is the Chinese Public? Another Look at "Rising Nationalism" and Chinese Foreign Policy, *Journal of Contemporary China*, Latest Articles March 7, 2019. Full text online.

**Wednesday, August 21, 2019**

**16. New Nationalisms**

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:

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, "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 22, 2019**

**17. Test on Part III; Group Presentations**