

University of Washington
Department of Political Science/Jackson School of International Studies
Autumn 2020

Government and Politics of China

POL S 442/JSISa 408

TTh 12:30-2:20pm

Synchronous Remote MW 12:30-2:20pm**

Professor Susan Whiting

Email: swhiting@uw.edu

Office hours: remote, by appointment

Teaching Assistant Hanjie Wang

Email: hjwang@uw.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.

**Our class will meet synchronously via zoom. Students should complete readings before class. The *lecture portion* of class will be recorded, and this recording will be available for viewing on Canvas *for one day* following the lecture.

Students are expected to stay on pace with readings, lectures, and discussion topics. The topics of in-class discussions, which are helpful in learning course material, will also be posted on Canvas.

Course Requirements

There are four requirements for the course: midterm exam, final exams, term paper, and short exercises

The online midterm exam (30%) will take place on Monday, October 26, and the online final exam (30%) will take place on Thursday, December 17. The final exam 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.

A term paper—not to exceed ten double-spaced pages—is required (30%). The term paper is an opportunity to explore a facet of governance in greater depth and to develop an argument based on evidence. Paper topics will be introduced on Wednesday, November 4. A preliminary bibliography with two scholarly, peer-reviewed sources is due on Wednesday, November 11. An annotation of one scholarly, peer-reviewed source from your bibliography is due on Monday, November 16. A draft introduction with thesis statement is due on Monday, November 30. The term paper itself is due on Monday, December 14. All submissions will be through Canvas. Unexcused late papers will be marked down 0.1 point per day.

Finally, a number of short exercises will be assigned during the quarter (10%).

Course Materials

Journal articles and E-book chapters available in the UW Library E-Journals collection are marked “full text online.” Additional readings are available through Canvas.

Additional Course Information

Diversity Statement

The Department of Political Science recognizes and affirms the University of Washington’s mission to “value and honor diverse experiences and perspectives, strive to create welcoming and respectful learning environments, and promote access, opportunity and justice for all.” We expect every member of this community to contribute toward cultivating an inclusive and respectful culture throughout our classrooms, work environments, and campus events.

Registrar Guidance to Students Taking Courses Outside the US

The University of Washington community is committed to academic freedom. The curriculum includes topics and content that other governments may consider to be illegal and, therefore, choose to censor. Examples may include topics and content involving religion, gender and sexuality, human rights, democracy and representative government, and historic events. If, as a UW student, you are living outside of the United States while taking courses remotely, you are subject to the laws of your local jurisdiction. Local authorities may limit your access to course material and take punitive action towards you. Unfortunately, the University of Washington has no authority over the laws in your jurisdictions or how local authorities enforce those laws. If you are taking UW courses outside of the United States, you have reason to exercise caution when enrolling in courses that cover topics and issues censored in your jurisdiction. If you have concerns regarding a course or courses that you have registered for, please contact your academic advisor who will assist you in exploring options.

Disability Resources

If you would like to request academic accommodations due to a disability, please contact Disability Resources for Students, 011 Mary Gates Hall (<http://depts.washington.edu/uwdrs>). If you have a letter from DRS indicating you have a disability that requires academic accommodations, please present the letter to me so that we can discuss the accommodations you may need for class.

Religious Accommodation

Washington state law requires that UW develop a policy for accommodation of student absences or significant hardship due to reasons of faith or conscience, or for organized religious activities. The UW’s policy, including more information about how to request an accommodation, is available at [Religious Accommodations Policy](https://registrar.washington.edu/staffandfaculty/religious-accommodations-policy/) (<https://registrar.washington.edu/staffandfaculty/religious-accommodations-policy/>). Accommodations must be requested within the first two weeks of this course using the [Religious Accommodations Request form](https://registrar.washington.edu/students/religious-accommodations-request/) (<https://registrar.washington.edu/students/religious-accommodations-request/>).

Academic Integrity

Students at the University of Washington (UW) are expected to maintain the highest standards of academic conduct, professional honesty, and personal integrity. Plagiarism, cheating, and other misconduct are violations of the University of Washington Student Conduct Code (WAC 478-120).

Zoom Recording

This course is scheduled to run synchronously at your scheduled class time via Zoom. These Zoom class sessions will be recorded. The recording will capture the presenter’s audio, video and computer screen. Student audio and video will be recorded if they share their computer audio and video during the recorded session. The recordings will only be accessible to students enrolled in the course to review materials and available on Canvas for one day following each class session. These recordings will not be shared with or accessible to the public. The University and Zoom have FERPA-compliant agreements in place to protect the security and privacy of UW Zoom accounts. Students who do not wish to be recorded should: change their Zoom screen name to hide any personal identifying information like their name or UW Net ID and not share their computer audio or video during their Zoom sessions.

Schedule of Classes and Readings

WEEK ONE

Part I: Political and Institutional History

Wednesday, September 30, 2020

1. Introduction

WEEK TWO

Monday, October 5, 2020

2. Ideology and Political Parties

Tianjian Shi and Jie Lu, "The Shadow of Confucianism," *Journal of Democracy* Vol. 21, No. 4 (October 2010), pp. 123-130. Full text online.

Lucien Bianco, *Origins of the Chinese Revolution, 1915-1949* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1967), Chp.6 "Nationalism and Revolution," pp.140-166, especially p. 140, pp. 148-153, pp. 153-161, and pp. 164-66. Canvas.

Wednesday, October 7, 2020

3. Revolution

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.

WEEK THREE

Monday, October 12, 2020

4. 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, October 14, 2020

5. 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. 63-91, especially pp. 63-73. Full-text online.

WEEK FOUR

Monday, October 19, 2020

6. Political Economy of Development: The Reform Impulse

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

Susan H. Whiting, "Land Law as a Last Gasp of the Planned Economy." Canvas.

Wednesday, October 21, 2020

7. Political Economy of Development: Gradualism vs. Shock Therapy

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>

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.

WEEK FIVE**Monday, October 26, 2020****8. ONLINE MIDTERM****PART II: Institutions****Wednesday, October 28, 2020****9. Institutions: Party-State Apparatus**

Kenneth Lieberthal, *Governing China: From Revolution through Reform* (New York: Norton, 2003), pp.171-218. 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.

WEEK SIX**Monday, November 2, 2020****10. Institutions: State Capacity and Central-Local Fiscal Relations**

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.

Bruce Gilley, "Taxation and Authoritarian Resilience," *Journal of Contemporary China* Vol. 26, No. 105 (2017), pp. 452-464. Full text online.

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

Wednesday, November 4, 2020**INTRODUCTION OF PAPER TOPICS****11. Institutions: Authoritarian Resilience**

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

Joseph Fewsmith and Andrew Nathan, "Authoritarian Resilience Revisited: Joseph Fewsmith with Response from Andrew J. Nathan," *Journal of Contemporary China* Vol. 28, No. 116 (2019), pp. 167-179. Full text online.

WEEK SEVEN**Monday, November 9, 2020****12. Institutions: Local Elections**

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.

Wednesday, November 11, 2020**PRELIMINARY BIBLIOGRAPHY DUE****13. 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. 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.

WEEK EIGHT**ANNOTATED BIBLIOGRAPHY ENTRY DUE****Monday, November 16, 2020****14. 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 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.

For 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.

PART III: Governance Issues**Wednesday, November 18, 2020****15. 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 Lütjhe & 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 Schmals, 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.

WEEK NINE**Monday, November 23, 2020****16. Environment Conditions**

Genia Kostka & Chunman Zhang (2018) Tightening the Grip: Environmental Governance under Xi Jinping, *Environmental Politics*, 27:5, 769-781.

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.

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.

Wednesday, November 25, 2020**No class meeting**

WEEK TEN**Monday, November 30, 2020****DRAFT INTRODUCTION DUE****17. Inequality and Social Welfare**

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. Full text online.

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:

Niny Khor, Scott Rozelle, et al., "China's Looming Human Capital Crisis," *China Quarterly* Vol. 228 (2016), 905-926.

Wednesday, December 2, 2020**18. 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, "'Thoroughly Reforming Them towards a Healthy Heart Attitude': China's Political Reeducation Campaign in Xinjiang," *Central Asian Survey*, Vol. 38, No. 1 (2019), pp. 102-128. Full text online.

WEEK ELEVEN**Monday, December 7, 2020****19. Chinese Nationalism**

Chuyu Liu and Xiao Ma, "Popular Threats and Nationalistic Propaganda: Political Logic of China's Patriotic Campaign," *Security Studies* (July 2018), pp. 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* Vol. 29, No. 119 (2019), pp. 679-695. Full text online.

For reference:

Yinxian Zhang, Jiajun Liu, and Ji-Rong Wen, "Nationalism on Weibo: Towards a Multifaceted Understanding of Chinese Nationalism," *China Quarterly* No. 235 (September 2018), pp. 758-783.

Wednesday, December 9, 2020**16. Local Identities**

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.

EXAM WEEK**Monday, December 14, 2020****FINAL PAPER DUE****Thursday, December 17, 2020, 8:30am** *This is the officially scheduled exam time.**ONLINE FINAL EXAM**