

SOSC 4600/6030H: UNDERSTANDING CHINESE POLITICS
Hong Kong University of Science and Technology
Spring 2019

Instructor : Chair Prof David Zweig
Office: Room 3386, Academic Building
Office Hours: Mon. 3:00-5:00 pm
Email: sozweig@ust.hk

TA: HUANG Jingyang, Jimmy
Email: jhuangbe@connect.ust.hk
Office Hours: by appointment

Class time: Wednesday, 3.00 pm to 5:50 pm, Room 5506

Description

This class is for more advanced UG students and PG students who want to increase their theoretical and historical understanding of Chinese politics. It presents conceptual frameworks and theories about Chinese politics, analyzes key events in the post-1949 period, and looks at many important issues related to contemporary Chinese politics. The purpose, above all, is to try to explain why events occur the way they do in the PRC.

The syllabus has a list of questions for each class. Each student will pick two questions and will be responsible for leading off the discussion in class on that question. The lead to the discussion should be no longer than 3-5 minutes.

Assessment

30% Leading a discussion in class on TWO questions during the semester. Students will present their argument in **TEN** minutes and are **NOT** expected to make a PPT or present any lecture. The 30% assessment will also be based on overall participation.

40% Research Paper (UG students will write a 20 page paper, PGs will write 25 pages).

30% Final Exam

Intended Learning Outcomes

Upon successfully completing the course, students should be able to:

1. Know the major events in Chinese politics since the establishment of the PRC;
2. Develop the skills to conceptualize possible explanations for major events in Chinese politics and apply empirical data to support or reject those interpretations;
3. Organize their ideas coherently and present them to a group of 30 people.
4. Understand how Chinese politics affects Hong Kong and be better prepared to work on, or work with, the mainland;
5. Develop the skills to design and write a research paper; to deepen their understanding and improve writing skills.

Readings:

Each class comprises two sessions and there are separate readings for each session. There are separate readings for PG and UG students, but PG students are expected to read **BOTH** the PG and the UG reading for each class.

Each week also has *Suggested Readings* which are the key readings upon which students should rely for their in-class presentation. In this way, other students will also become familiar with more arguments than the ones in the assigned readings.

Reference Reading:

Joseph, William, *Politics in China: An Introduction, Second Edition* (Oxford University Press, 2014).

As there is soon to be a Third Edition of *Politics in China: An Introduction* (2019), Professor Joseph has been kind enough to share several of the updated chapters with us for this class. Those readings will be available on canvas.

李谷城, 中国大陆政治术语 (中文大学出版社, 第二版, 1992).

Available in English as Kwok-sing Li and Mary Lok, *A Glossary of Political Terms of The People's Republic of China* (Chinese University Press, 1995).

This book explains phrases used in Chinese politics through the late 1980s.

Make-up Class: It will be necessary to schedule one make-up class sometime in late March or early April. I will decide on the date after the drop-add period is over and we are able to find a time convenient for most, if not all, students

Meet with the instructor: Each student will meet with Professor Zweig to discuss his/her paper. This meeting will facilitate your paper preparation. Students are encouraged to begin to think about their paper as soon as possible. Office hours are Mon. 3:00-5:00 or by appointment.

No make-up exams will be granted.

Only exception is with an officially documented surgical procedure or emergency room visit. (A visit to a doctor/Student Health Center because you feel sick is not enough.)

Exchange students should not book flights home before May 29 to insure that they are present for the final exam. We will not know the final exam date until April.

No cheating and no plagiarism allowed.

You can find the University's regulations on cheating and plagiarism from the following website: <http://tl.ust.hk/integrity/student-1.html>

Use of Canvas (<https://canvas.ust.hk>)

Prof Zweig or Jingyang will make course announcements and post lecture slides and sample exam questions on the course website on Canvas. Make sure you receive all course-related posts. All readings will also be on Canvas.

Respect your fellow classmates and the professor by:

- Arriving punctually. Drinking is allowed in class, but no eating.
- Do not chat with your neighbours during class. If you have any questions or do not understand the point being made, please ask the professor. There are NO silly questions.
- notify the TA if you will not be able to attend class. Please do not miss the classes for which you have made a prior commitment to make a presentation.

Class Schedule and Readings

PART I. INTRODUCTION

Class 1: Introduction to the Study of Chinese Politics and to the Course (Jan 30)

UG/PG William A. Joseph, ed., *Politics in China: An Introduction* (Oxford University Press, 2010), pp. 9-24.

Key Questions to Consider:

- In what way is China's political and economic system different or similar to other developing countries? Which ones, and why? Why is it important to compare China to other countries?
- What heritages of the past resonate strongly with contemporary Chinese politics?
- What are the key perspectives of the Chinese system that Joseph emphasizes?
- What theories of political and economic development does the rise of China challenge?

Class 2: Models and Methods in the Study of Chinese Politics (Jan 30)

UG Flemming Christiansen and Shirin Rai, *Chinese Politics and Society: An Introduction* (Prentice Hall, 1996), pp. 1-24.

PG Lynn T. White, III, "Chinese Political Studies: Overview of the State of the Field," *Journal of Chinese Political Science*, no. 14 (2009): 229-251.

Key Questions to Consider:

- What difference does it make which model of Chinese politics we select as our lens for analysing China?
- How do different methodologies (qualitative, quantitative, field work) lead to different findings in the study of Chinese politics?
- What aspects of the totalitarian system are still valid to explain Chinese politics? What aspects are not?

6 February, No Class

PART 2. CONCEPTUAL ISSUES IN THE STUDY OF CHINESE POLITICS

Class 3. Ideology and Beliefs in Chinese Politics (Feb 13)

UG Joseph, *Politics in China*, pp. 149-188.

PG Yongnian Zheng, *Discovering Chinese Nationalism in China: Modernization, Identity, and International Relations* (Cambridge University Press, 1999), pp. 87-110.

Suggested Reading

Peter Hays Gries, *China's New Nationalism: Pride, Politics, and Diplomacy* (University of California Press, 2004), pp. 116-134.

John Garnaut, "Engineers of the Soul: what Australia needs to know about ideology in Xi Jinping's China," Asian Strategic and Economic Seminar Series, August 2017.

David Zweig, "What will China's New Era mean for the world?" *South China Morning Post*, 26 October 2017.

David Zweig, "Agrarian Radicalism as a Rural Development Strategy," in William A. Joseph, Christine P. W. Wong and David Zweig (eds.), *New Perspectives on the Cultural Revolution* (Harvard University Press, 1991), pp. 63-82.

Key Questions to Consider:

- a. What are the key concepts of Marxism-Leninism, and how did Mao alter them?
- b. Why was Mao's strategy of peasant revolution a "heresy" to Marxism-Leninism/
- c. How did ideology affect the policies of the CCP, in terms of privatization, organizations, political leadership, foreign policy, etc.?
- d. Zheng Yongnian differentiates between "official" and "popular" nationalism. What problem do these two types of nationalism cause for the Chinese state?
- e. How has Xi Jinping intensified the role of ideology in the Chinese political system?

Class 4. Perspectives on the Power of the State (Feb 13)

UG David Shambaugh, *China's Communist Party: Atrophy and Adaptation* (University of California Press, 2008), pp.128-160.

PG Yuhua Wang and Carl Minzer, "The Rise of the Chinese Security State," *The China Quarterly* (May 2015): 1-21.

PG Tony Saich, "China's Domestic Governing Capacity: Prospects and Challenges," in Jae Ho Chung, ed., *Assessing China's Power* (Palgrave MacMillan, 2015), pp. 41-64.

Recommended Reading:

Cheng Li, "China's Communist Party-State: The Structure and Dynamics of Power," updated version for the Third Edition in Joseph, *Politics in China*.

Xu Yi-chong and Patrick Weller, "The Challenges of Governing: The State Council in China," *The China Journal*, no. 76 (2016): 1-23.

Martin King Whyte, *Small Groups and Political Rituals in China* (University of California Press, 1974), pp. 58-80.

Key Questions:

- a. How autonomous is the Chinese state today? How can we measure the concept of state autonomy?
- b. Why did the CCP decline as an organization in the 2000s?
- c. Recently, how has the CCP tried to strengthen itself? Can these measures sustain the CCP's rule in the long run?
- d. Why and in what way have the security forces become more powerful in the last 15 years?

Class 5. Political Economy and China's Model of Development (Feb 20)

UG David Zweig, "China's Political Economy," updated version for the Third Edition in Joseph, *Politics in China*.

PG Ting Gong, "Managing Government Integrity under Hierarchy: anti-corruption efforts in local China," *Journal of Contemporary China*, vol. 24, No. 94 (July 2015): 684-700.

Recommended Reading:

Andrew Wedeman, *The Double Paradox of Rapid Growth and Rising Corruption in China* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2012), pp.1-14, 52-79.

Key Questions to Consider:

- a. How does politics affect economics in China?

- b. Why does China continue to grow despite such terrible corruption?
- c. What is “rent seeking” and why is it so prevalent in Chinese economy?
- d. Why has privatization been successful in China? What problems does it face today?
- e. Discuss the weakening and strengthening of the state sector between 1994 and 2014.

Class 6. Elite Politics (Flipping the Classroom)¹ (Feb 20)

UG Cheng Li, “The Rise of the Legal Profession in the Chinese Leadership,” *China Leadership Monitor*, No. 42 (2013).

PG Zhengxu Wang and Anastas Vangeli, “The Rules and Norms of Leadership Succession in China: From Deng Xiaoping to Xi Jinping and Beyond,” *The China Journal*, No. 76 (2016): 24-40.

Recommended Readings:

Kenneth Lieberthal and Michel Oksenberg, *Policy Making in China: Leaders, Structures and Processes* (Princeton University Press, 1988), pp. 35-62.

Shih, Victor, Christopher Adolph, and Liu Mingxin, “Getting Ahead in the Communist Party: Explaining the Advancement of Central Committee Members in China,” *American Political Science Review*, 106, 1 (2012): 166-187.

Chien-wen Kou and Xiaowei Zang, eds., *Choosing China’s Leaders* (Routledge, 2014)

Key Questions to Consider:

- a. Who are the top leaders in China, how do we find them?
- b. Where does real power lie in the political system?
- c. How has the background of the leaders changed over time?
- d. What do we know about the rules of succession and why do we care?

Class 7. Decisions, Policy and Policy Implementation (Feb 27)

Sebastian Heilmann, “Policy Experimentation in China’s Economic Rise,” *Studies in Comparative International Development*, vol. 43 (2008):1–26.

Chen Yizi, “The Decision Process Behind the 1986-1989 Political Reforms,” Carol Lee Hamrin and Suisheng Zhao, (Eds.), *Decision-Making in Deng’s China: Perspectives from Insiders* (Armonk, NY: M.E. Sharpe, 1995), pp. 133-152.

Margaret M. Pearson, “The Case of China’s Accession to GATT/WTO,” in David M. Lampton, ed., *The Making of Chinese Foreign and Security Policy in the Era of Reform* (Stanford University Press, 2001), pp. 337-370.

Recommended Readings:

David M. Lampton, “The Implementation Problem in Post-Mao China,” in David M. Lampton, ed., *Policy Implementation in Post-Mao China* (Univ. of California Press, 1987), pp. 3-47.

Key Questions:

- a. What do we know (and not know) about the decision making system in China?
- b. To what extent does the “locus of decision making” change in China?
- c. Why has the CCP been relatively successful in devising and introducing new policies?
- d. What are the key difficulties in implementing policy in China and why?
- e. How does policy “innovation” emerge in China?

¹ For this class, students will watch Prof Zweig’s online MOOC lecture on Chinese Political Elites and come to class prepared to discuss the issues. Zweig will not make a presentation during this class.

Class 8. Society and Participation in Chinese Politics (Feb. 27)

- UG Yongshun Cai, "Social Conflicts and Modes of Action in China," *China Journal*, vol. 59 (2008): 62-82.
- PG Andrew Nathan and Tianjian Shi, "Cultural Requisites for Democracy in China: Findings from a Survey," *Daedalus*, vol.122, no.2 (1993): 95-123.
- UG Hillman, Ben. *Patronage and power: Local state networks and party-state resilience in rural China*. Stanford University Press, 2014.

Recommended Readings:

- Kevin O'Brien and Lianjiang Li, *Rightful Resistance in Rural China* (Cambridge University Press, 2006), pp.1-24, 95-115.
- Ethan Michelson and Sida Liu, "What do Chinese Lawyers Want? Political Values and Legal Practice," in Cheng Li, ed., *China's Emerging Middle Class: Beyond Economic Transformation* ((Brookings Institution Press, 2010), pp. 310-333.

Key Questions:

- a. Is Chinese society active or passive? What are the key indicators of the attitude of society?
- b. What are the major modes of participation in Chinese politics? Have they changed in the post-Mao era?
- c. How has the State been able to control society in Chinese politics?

Class 9. Gender, Youth and Class in Chinese Politics (March 6)

- UG Leta Hong Fincher, *Betraying Big Brother: The Feminist Awakening in China* (London: Verso, 2018), pp. 137-158.
- UG Stanley Rosen, "Chinese Youth and State-Society Relations," in Peter H. Gries and Stanley Rosen, *Chinese Politics: State, Society and the Market* (Routledge, 2010), pp. 160-178.
- PG Dongya Huang and Chuanmin Chen, "Revolving out of the Party-State: The Xiahai entrepreneurs and circumscribing government power in China, *Journal of Contemporary China*, vol. 25, No. 97 (Jan 2016): 41-58.

Suggested Readings:

- Wang Zheng, "Gender, employment and women's resistance," in Elizabeth J. Perry and Mark Selden, *Chinese Society, Second Edition* (Routledge, 2003), pp. 158-182.
- Lee Feigon, "Gender and the Chinese Student Movement," Jeffrey N. Wasterstrom and Elizabeth J. Perry (eds.), *Popular Protest and Political Culture in Modern China* (Westview Press, 1994), pp. 125-136.

Key Questions:

- a. How have Chinese youth changed since 1949?
- b. Does social revolution help women? Has the impact of the Chinese revolution on women changed over time? How have women responded to these changes?
- c. What are the major patterns of participation and activism that characterize entrepreneurs?

Part 3. Explaining Major Historical Events

Class 10. Adopting and Rejecting the Soviet Model, 1949-1965 (March 6)

- UG Barry Naughton, "The Pattern and Legacy of Economic Growth in the Mao Era," in Kenneth Lieberthal eds., *Perspectives on Modern China: Four Anniversaries* (Armonk, N.Y.: M.E. Sharpe, c1991), pp. 226-254.

- PG Roy F. Grow, "Soviet economic penetration of China, 1945-1960: 'Imperialism' as a level of analysis problem," in Steven J. Rosen and James R. Keith, *Testing Theories of Economic Imperialism* (Lexington, MA: Lexington Books, 1984), pp. 261-81.
- PG "On Khrushchev's Phony Communism and Its Historical Lessons for the World," mimeo, July 1964.

Suggested Reading:

Bernstein, Thomas P., Tina Mai Chen, Izabella Goikhman, Guiha Guan, Donghui He, Xiaojia Hou, You Ji, et al., *China Learns from the Soviet Union, 1949 – Present* (Rowman & Littlefield, 2010), Introduction.

Key Question to Consider:

- Why did China adopt the Soviet Model of Development?
- What were the political implications of that decision? How did it affect the CCP's relations with society and relations among leaders within the CCP?
- What were the reasons for the Sino-Soviet split? Why did China move away from the Soviet model?
- What were the key disputes among the Chinese leaders in the early- mid-1960s and how did the Sino-Soviet Split feed into those conflicts?
- Is Grow's argument about Soviet "Imperialism" convincing?

Class 11. Understanding the Great Famine, 1957-1962 (March 13)

- UG Dali L. Yang, *Calamity and Reform in China* (Stanford University Press, 1996), pp. 21-67.
- PG Thomas Bernstein, "Mao Zedong and the Famine of 1959-1960: A Study in Willfulness," *The China Quarterly*, no. 86 (2006): 421-445.

Suggested Reading:

Fred Teiwes, "Mao Zedong in Power (1949-1976)," in Joseph, *Politics in China*, pp. 72-83.

Yang Jisheng, *Tombstone: the great Chinese famine, 1958-1962*, translated from the Chinese by Stacy Mosher and Guo Jian (Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 2012) [you can read it in Chinese]

James Kung and Chen Shuo, "The Tragedy of the Nomenklatura: Career Incentives and Political Radicalism during China's Great Leap Famine," *American Political Science Review*, Vol. 105, No. 1 (February 2011): 27-45.

Key Questions to Consider:

- How can we explain the famine?
- What was the role of the Great Leap Forward in triggering the famine?
- To what extent were China's leaders, especially Mao, responsible for the famine?
- Why was it so difficult to stop the famine?

Class 12. Explaining the Cultural Revolution, 1966-1971 (March 13)

- UG Andrew Walder, *China under Mao: a revolution derailed* (Harvard University Press, 2015), chapters on the Cultural Revolution.
- PG Ma Yen-wen, "The Bureaucratic Class and the Dictatorship of the Proletariat," *Beijing Daxue Xuebao, Philosophy and Social Sciences Edition*, No. 4, September 1976, in *Selections from People's Republic of China Magazines*, No. 895 (October 28, 1976).

PG Andrew G. Walder, *Fractured Rebellion: the Beijing Red Guard movement* (Harvard University Press, 2009), pp. 1-27.

Suggested Reading:

Maurice Meisner, "The Concept of Cultural Revolution," in *Mao's China and After: A History of the People's Republic, Third Edition* (Free Press, 1999), pp. 291-311.

Key Questions:

- a. Assess the role of ideology versus elite 'power struggle' in launching the Cultural Revolution?
- b. Was the Cultural Revolution manipulated from above or the result of spontaneous political activity? What was the role of the Red Guards in the Cultural Revolution?
- c. Why and how did the Gang of Four come to power?
- d. How can we evaluate the Maoist era? What were its successes and failures?

Class 13. Unravelling "Left and Right" in China, 1971-1989 (March 20)

UG Lawrence R. Sullivan, "Assault on the Reforms: Conservative Criticism of Political and Economic Liberalization in China, 1985-86," *The China Quarterly*, no. 114 (June 1988): 198-222.

UG Renzhi Wang, "Guanyu fandui zichan jieji ziyou hua" ["Wang Renzhi Views Bourgeois Liberalization"], *Qiushi*, no. 3 (15 February 1990), translated in *Foreign Broadcast Information Service*, 23 February 1990, pp. 12-23.

PG Joseph Fewsmith, *Dilemmas of reform in China: political conflict and economic debate* (Armonk, NY: M.E. Sharpe, 1994), pp. 3-55.

Suggested Reading

David Zweig "A Photo Essay of a Failed Reform: Beida, Tiananmen Square and the Defeat of Deng Xiaoping, 1975-76," *China Perspectives*, no.1 (2016): 5-28.

Key Questions to Consider:

- a. What are the key issues that split the leadership in the 1980s?
- b. How do we explain the cycle of politics in the 1980s?
- c. Why did the struggle over these issues become so intense?
- d. Where did Deng stand in terms of "left" and "right"?
- e. Why is it important to listen to the "left" in China?

Class 14: The Politics of Collectivization and Decollectivization, 1977-1983 (March 20)

UG Andrew Walder, *China under Mao: a revolution derailed* (Harvard University Press, 2015), pp. 1-14, 52-79.

PG David Zweig, "Content and Context in Policy Implementation," in David M. Lampton, ed., *Policy Implementation in Post-Mao China*, pp.

PG Bernstein, Thomas P. "Leadership and Mass Mobilisation in the Soviet and Chinese Collectivisation Campaigns of 1929-30 and 1955-56 A Comparison." *The China Quarterly* 31 (1967): 1-47.

Suggested Readings:

Jonathan Unger, "Remuneration, Ideology, and Personal Interests in a Chinese Village, 1960-1980," in William L. Parish, ed., *Chinese Rural Development: The Great Transformation* (M.E. Sharpe, 1985), pp. 117-140.

- Kate Zhou, *How the Farmers Changed China: Power of the People* (Westview Press, 1996). pp.1-17, 46-71
- Daniel Kelliher, *Peasant Power in China: The Era of Rural Reform* (Yale U.P., 1992), pp. 40-69.
- David Zweig, *Freeing China's Farmers* (M.E. Sharpe, 1997), pp. 3-40.

Key Questions:

- a. Who made decollectivization happen: cadres, villagers or elite reformers?
- b. How did the interaction between political context and policy content affect the policy process on decollectivization?
- c. impact of ideology on rural policy and village politics

Class 15. Understanding June 4th (March 27)

- UG Kathleen Hartford, “Summer 1988-Spring 1989: The Ferment Before the ‘Turmoil’,” Suzanne Ogden, et. al. (eds.) *China’s Search for Democracy* (M.E. Sharpe, 1992), pp. 3-24.
- PG Andrew G. Walder, “The Political Sociology of the Beijing Upheaval of 1989,” *Problems of Communism* (Sept.-Oct. 1989): 30-40.
- PG Melanie Manion, “Reluctant Duellists: The Logic of the 1989 Protests and Massacre,” in Michel Oksenberg, Lawrence R. Sullivan and Marc Lambert, eds., *Beijing Spring, 1989: Confrontation and Conflict, The Basic Documents* (M.E. Sharpe, 1990), pp. xiii-xlii.

Suggested Reading

- Gilley, “Deng Xiaoping and His Successors,” in Third Edition, in Joseph, *Politics in China*, pp. 1-10, 27-29.
- Video available: “Gate of Heavenly Peace,” by Carmelita Hinton. To be arranged.

Key Questions to Consider:

- a. How did political and economic changes in the 1980s contribute to the crisis of 1989?
- b. What role did international events and Chinese foreign policy play in the crisis?
- c. Why did the government not react sooner to solve the crisis?
- d. What are the long-term impacts of June 4th, both domestically and internationally?

Class 16. Understanding the Rebirth of Reform, 1991-2000 (March 27)

- UG Suisheng Zhao, “Deng Xiaoping's Southern Tour: Elite Politics in Post-Tiananmen China,” *Asian Survey*, Vol. 33, No. 8 (Aug. 1993): 739-56.
- PG David Zweig, “The Stalled ‘Fifth Wave:’ Zhu Rongji’s Reform Package of 1998-2000,” *Asian Survey*, vol. XLI, no. 2 (March-April 2001): 231-247.
- PG Cai Yongshun, “The Resistance of Chinese Laid-off Workers in the Reform Period,” *China Quarterly*, Volume 170 (June 2002): 327 – 344.

Suggested Readings:

- Gilley, “Deng Xiaoping and His Successors (1976 to the present),” Third Edition, in Joseph, *Politics in China*, pp. 10-36.

Key Questions to Consider:

- a. Why was Deng able to mobilize support for a renewal of reform in 1992?
- b. What are the long-term political and economic impacts of the reform in 1997-1998?

- c. How was the Chinese Communist Party able to lay-off 65 million workers peacefully?
- d. Why was Jiang Zemin able to stabilize his leadership?

Part IV: Key Issues in Chinese Politics

Class 17. Central-Local Relations and Bureaucratic Interests in China (April 3)

- UG Jae Ho Chung, "China's Local Governance in Perspective: Instruments of Central Government Control," *The China Journal*, no. 75 (2015): 38-60.
- PG Wang Shaoguang, "China's 1994 Fiscal Reform: An Initial Assessment," *Asian Survey* (September 1997):
- PG Cai and Zhu, "Disciplining Local Officials in China: The Case of Conflict Management," *The China Journal*, no. 70 (2013): 98-119.

Suggested Readings:

- Linda Chelan Li, *Centre and Provinces: China 1978-1993* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1998), pp. 49-114.
- Eun Kyong Choi, "The Politics of Central Tax Collection in China since 1994: local collusion and political control," *Journal of Contemporary China*, vol. 25, no. 97 (2016): 146-59.
- Fenfei Li and Jinting Deng, "The Limits of Arbitrariness in Anticorruption by China's Local Party Discipline Inspection Committees," *Journal of Contemporary China*, vol. 25, no. 97 (2016): 75-90.

Key Questions:

- a. What is the relative power of the central and local governments? How can we measure the power balance?
- b. What are the different instruments that the central government has to induce the local state to conform to its policies?
- c. How has power shifted between the centre and localities during the reform era?

Class 18. Local Governance and Politics (April 3)

- Jean C. Oi, "Fiscal Reform and the economic foundations of local state corporatism in China," *World Politics* 45, 1 (1992): 99-126.
- Xin Sun, Travis J. Warner, Dali L. Yang and Mingxing Liu, "Patterns of Authority and Governance in Rural China: who's in charge? Why?" *Journal of Contemporary China*, vol. 22, No. 83 (2013); 733-754.
- Hiroki Takeuchi, "Survival Strategies of Township Government in Rural China: from predatory taxation to land trade," *Journal of Contemporary China*, vol. 22, No. 83 (2013): 755-772.

Suggested Readings:

- Thomas Bernstein and Xiaobo Lu, *Taxation without Representation in Contemporary Rural China* (Cambridge University Press, 2003).
- O'Brien, Kevin J., and Rongbin Han. "Path to democracy? Assessing village elections in China." *Journal of Contemporary China* 18, no. 60 (2009): 359-378.

Questions:

- a. What are the key sources of local government wealth and how does that effect the ties between the local government and society?
- b. Who holds the power in rural villages in China?

- c. To what extent did village election transform politics and governance in China?

Class 19. The Politics of Environmental Reform (April 10)

- UG H. Christoph Steindhart and Fengshi Wu, 2016. "In the name of the public: Environmental protest and the changing landscape of popular contention in China," *The China Journal*, Vol. 75 (2016): 61-82.
- PG Ren Bingqiang and Huisheng Shou, *Chinese Environmental Governance: Dynamics, Challenges and Prospects in a Changing Society* (London: Palgrave MacMillan, 2013), chapters 1, 3 and 7.
- PG Amy Zhang, "Rational Resistance: Homeowner contention against waste incineration in Guangzhou," *China Perspectives*, no. 2 (2014): 45-52.

Suggested Readings

- Elizabeth Economy, *The River Runs Black: The Environmental Challenge to China's Future* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2004), pp. 129-175.
- Joy Y. Zhang and Michael Barr, *Green Politics in China: Environmental Governance and State-Society Relations* (London: Pluto Press, 2013), pp. 62-90, 91-106.

Key Questions to Consider:

- a. Why has China had such a hard time preventing environmental degradation? How does this relate to central-local relations?
- b. In what ways have problems in the environment become political issues and why?
- c. To what extent have NGOs been able to influence policy on the environment?

PART IV: CHINA AND THE WORLD

Class 20. Transnational Politics: The Domestic Impact of External Openings (April 10)

Readings:

- UG David Zweig, *Internationalizing China: domestic interests and global linkages* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2002), pp. 23-48, 136-160.
- PG Barry Naughton, "The Third Front: Defense Industrialization in the Chinese Interior," *The China Quarterly*, No. 115 (Sep., 1988): 351-386.

Suggested Readings:

- Ann Kent, "China's International Socialization: The Role of International Organizations," *Global Governance*, July-September 2002, pp. 343-366.
- David Zweig and Yang Feng, "Overseas Students, Returnees and the Diffusion of International Norms into Post-Mao China," *International Studies Review* (Fall 2014).
- Brantly Womack and Guanzhi Zhao, "The many worlds of China's provinces: Foreign trade and diversification," in David S.G. Goodman and Gerald Segal, eds., *China Deconstructs: Politics, Trade and Regionalism* (Routledge, 1994), pp. 131-176.
- Xiaobo Zhang & Kevin H. Zhang, "How Does Globalisation Affect Regional Inequality within A Developing Country? Evidence from China," *Journal of Development Studies*, 39:4, (2003): 47-67, DOI: 10.1080/713869425

Key Questions to Consider:

- a. What does it mean to say that an issue is transnational? How does politics differ from issues of domestic or foreign policy?
- b. To what extent can the outside world affect domestic politics in China?
- c. In what way do international norms affect Chinese domestic politics?

d. How has China's opening to the outside world affected domestic political economy?

21. China's Global Search for Talent and Technology: The Role of the State (April 17)

UG: David Zweig, "Learning to Compete: China's Efforts to Encourage a Reverse Brain Drain," *International Labour Review*, vol. 145, nos. 1-2 (2006): 65-90.

PG Denis Fred Simon and Cong Cao, *China's emerging technological edge: assessing the role of high-end talent* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2009), pp. 254-283.

Suggested Readings:

David Zweig and Huiyao Wang, "Can China Bring Back the Best? The Communist Party Organizes China's Search for Talent," *The China Quarterly* (Fall 2103): 590-216.

David Zweig, Kang Siqin and Henry Wang, draft.

Key Questions:

- a. Is state involvement in China's search for talent a positive or negative force?
- b. Why did the 1000 Talents Plan become an issue in US-China relations?

Class 22. Mainland-Hong Kong Relations: Politics on the Periphery (April 17)

UG: Zweig, David, "Familiarity Breeds Contempt China's Growing 'Soft Power' Deficit in Hong Kong," CCTR Working Paper, 2018.

PG: Richard C. Bush, *Hong Kong in the shadow of China: Living with the Leviathan* (Brookings Institution Press, 2016), pp.63-117.

April 24 and May 1, NO CLASS

PART IV: Current and Future Politics

Class 25. The Xi Jinping Phenomenon (May 8)

UG: Yuwen Deng, "The Political Legacy of Hu and Wen," *Study Times*, Sep 2, 2012.

UG: Kerry Brown, "Contexts: The Xi Jinping Consolidation at the 19th Party Congress," Kerry Brown, ed., *The Chinese 19th Party Congress: Start of a New Era* (World Scientific, 2018) <https://doi.org/10.1142/q0177>

PG: Sangkuk Lee, "An Institutional Analysis of Xi Jinping's Centralization of Power," *Journal of Contemporary China*, Vol. 26, No. 105 (2017): 325-36.

Suggested Readings:

David M. Lampton, "Xi Jinping and the National Security Commission: policy coordination and political power," *Journal of Contemporary China*, 24, no. 95 (2015): 759-77.

Questions:

- 1. How did Xi Jinping mobilize support for his centralization of power?
- 2. Decision making on OBOR tell us decision making in Chinese politics
- 3. What were the major failures of the Hu/Wen era and how did that help Xi Jinping?

Class 26: China's Future (May 8)

Jae Ho Chung, Hongyi Lai and Ming Xia, "Mounting Challenges to Governance in China: Surveying Collective Protestors, Religious Sects and Criminal Organizations," *The China Journal*, No. 56 (July 2006): 1-31.

Daniel Lynch, "The End of China's Rise: Still Powerful but Less Potent," *Foreign Affairs*, Jan 2016.

Marty King Whyte, "China's Dormant and Active Social Volcanoes," *The China Journal*, no. 75 (2016): 9-37.

David Shambaugh, "The coming Chinese crackup," *Wall Street Journal* 6 (2015): 382.
<http://www.wsj.com/articles/the-coming-chinese-crack-up-1425659198>

邓聿文：中国的社会危机与社会运动已经不远了，
<https://www.boxun.com/news/gb/pubvp/2019/01/201901140800.shtml>

Suggested Readings:

Jie Chen and Lu Chunlong, "Democratization and the Middle Class in China: The Middle Class's Attitudes toward Democracy," *Political Research Quarterly*, vol. 64, no. 3 (2011): 705-719.

Andrew J. Nathan, "Foreseeing the unforeseeable," *Journal of Democracy*, Volume 24, No. 1 (January 2013): 20-25.

Key Questions to Consider:

- a. What are the sources of political and social stability and instability in China?
- b. How is China? How can we measure this?
- c. Why does Whyte think that "distributive injustice" is not an active volcano?

Suggested Readings:

Kellee Tsai, *Capitalism without democracy: The private sector in contemporary China* (Cornell University Press, 2007), pp. 72-104.

Key Questions to Consider:

- a. What political reforms are necessary for successful economic reform? How does economic reform affect political reform?
- b. What are the key factors likely to affect political, economic and social developments on the mainland in the medium- and long-term?

Make-up Class

Make up Class A. Rural Industrialization and Urban-Rural Relations (date to be determined)

UG Fei-ling Wang, "Conflict, resistance and the transformation of the *hukou* system," in Elizabeth Perry and Mark Selden, eds., *Chinese Society: change conflict and resistance*, 3rd Edition (Routledge, 2010), pp. 80-100.

UG Naughton, Barry *The Chinese Economy*, MIT press 2007 pp. 113-135, 271-293.

PG Yi-min Lin and James Kung, "The Decline of Township-and-Village Enterprises in China's Economic Transition" *World Development* Vol. 35, No. 4, (2007): 569-584.

Suggested Readings:

Oi, Jean C. *Rural China takes off: Institutional foundations of economic reform*. Univ of California Press, 1999. pp. 58-94

Shen Guanbao. "Rural enterprises and urbanization: The Sunan region." *Kwok, Parish and Yeh et al., Chinese Urban Reform: What Model Now* (1990): 158-179.

Key Questions to Consider:

- a. What have been the major changes in urban-rural relations since 1978?
- b. Why were the TVEs able to develop? Why did they eventually decline?
- c. How does the “hukou” system help or hinder the Chinese economy? Why have they not given up this system yet?
- d. How does the Chinese system discriminate against the farmers?

Makeup Class B. The Politics of the Media: Journalism, Internet and Control (t.b.d.)

UG Document No. 9, 2013

UG Patricia M. Thornton, “Censorship and Surveillance in Chinese Cyberspace: Beyond the Great Firewall,” in Peter Hay Gries and Stanley Rosen, eds. *Chinese Politics: State, society and the market* (Routledge, 2010), pp. 179-198.

PG Jonathan Hassid, *China's Unruly Journalists: How Committed Professionals are Changing the People's Republic* (Routledge, 2016), pp.19-29, 74-106.

PG King, Gary, Jennifer Pan, and Margaret E. Roberts. "How censorship in China allows government criticism but silences collective expression," *American Political Science Review*, 107, 2 (2013): 326-343.

Suggested Reading:

Fincher, *Betraying Big Brother* (“The Internet and Feminist Awakening”), pp. 33-57.

Key Questions to Consider:

- a. Has the internet been a ‘game changer’ in terms of Chinese politics?
- b. What role has it played in the mobilization of women and NGOs in China?
- c. How do journalists find the space to do their work?
- d. Can people express their views on the internet?

Appendix:

RESEARCH MATERIALS

There are an enormous number of books, statistical yearbooks, and other articles at the Universities Services Centre for China Research at the Chinese University of Hong Kong where you can get information for your papers. This is the best collection of documents and journals on China outside of the Chinese mainland. The library is open to our students, but books, magazines and journals cannot be taken out.

OTHER USEFUL READINGS

China Information, vol. xxviii, no. 2 (July 2014), special issue on Cyber Politics.

The Mercator Institute for Chinese Studies (MERICS) hosts a website that tracks

developments in the Belt and Road Initiative,

<https://www.merics.org/index.php/en/bri-tracker>

The *Economist* Intelligence Unit, “China Going Global Investment Index, 2017,”

http://www.eiu.com/public/thankyou_download.aspx?activity=download&campaignid=ChinaODI2017

China Global Investment Tracker, American Enterprise Institute, [http://www.aei.org/china-](http://www.aei.org/china-global-investment-tracker/)

[global-investment-tracker/](http://www.aei.org/china-global-investment-tracker/)

Jude Howell and Jane Duckett, “Reassessing the Hu–Wen Era: A Golden Age for Social Policy,” *China Quarterly*, forthcoming.

The “Going Out” Strategy: China Searches for Resources

Barry Sautman and Yan Hairong, “Forest for the Trees: Trade, Investment and the China-in-Africa Discourse,” *Pacific Affairs* 81:1 (spring 2008): 9-28.

Erica S. Downs, “Who is Afraid of China’s Oil Companies?” in Carlos Pascual and Jonathan Elkind, eds., *Energy Security: Economic, Politics, Strategies, and Implications* (Washington, DC: Brookings Institution Press, 2010), pp. 73-102.

David Zweig and Hao Yufan, eds., *Sino-U.S. Energy Triangles: Resource Diplomacy under Hegemony*, (Routledge: London, 2015).

David Shambaugh, *China goes global: The partial power* (Oxford University Press, 2013).

Elizabeth Economy and Michael Levi, *By All Means Necessary: How China's Resource Quest is Changing the World* (Oxford University Press, 2014).