

Pol S 442 / JSIS A 408: Government and Politics of China

Department of Political Science, University of Washington

Summer Quarter, 2020

Instructor Information

Instructor: Tan Zhao

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Virtual Office hours: Thursday 2:30 - 4:30,
& by appointment

Course Information

Meeting days: M, T, W, Th, F

Meeting times: 1200-1410

Course Description:

This is a course on the domestic politics of China since the revolution of 1949 and will help you to understand the rise and resilience of China. It provides an in-depth analysis of the political history, political reforms, contemporary institutions, and governance issues facing China today. It highlights several major themes from the twentieth century to the present, including the role of nationalism, the changing place of markets and private property, the promotion of elections at the grassroots, and the shifting penetration of the state from the center to the local. In the first part of the course we will concentrate on China's modern *political history*, including the revolution, the socialist economic and social transformation, the planned economy and the re-introduction of markets. The second part of the course will focus on the *political institutions* that govern China today. In particular, it addresses 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 will use the foundations of political history and political institutions to analyze *governing challenges* facing China today, including labor and environmental conditions, inequality and social welfare and contemporary nationalism.

Learning Objectives:

In Chinese Politics and Comparative Politics: political history; nationalism; political institutions; civil society; media politics; state and society relation; introduction to social science methods

Grades

1. Short Response Papers (20%)

As part of this course, students will watch three films. Students should select and submit **TWO** brief response paper after having viewed them. Each write-up should be in 12-point font, double-spaced, two pages long at most. In their response papers students should focus on what they have learned from the film and how the film is relevant to any concepts and themes we have covered in this course. All papers should be submitted via Canvas. The due dates are listed in the "course schedule" section of this syllabus.

2. Midterm Examination (30%)

Open-book examination. Students will be tested on the materials in the lecture slides and readings. As we are operating on a rather tight schedule, no review sessions

before the examination will be held. I will prepare a brief study guide for the midterm examination.

3. Final Examination (30%)

Open-book examination. Students will be tested on the materials in the lecture slides and readings, with a much greater emphasis on the substantive material that we will cover after the midterm examination. Again, no review sessions before the examination will be held. I will prepare a brief study guide for the final examination.

4. Participation (20%)

The main lecture will be *synchronous*. Students are expected to attend the virtual class daily and make sure they are well-prepared (i.e., having completed the scheduled readings) and participate actively and meaningfully in discussions. Please refer to the “course schedule” section and take note of the respective days and dates for each topic and prepare accordingly. Additionally, there will be separate discussion fora for each week. For full credit, students will be expected to raise TWO questions themselves, and answer TWO questions from their classmates. The due date will be on every Sunday at 11:59 pm.

Course Materials

There is no textbook required for this class.

Journal articles marked “full text online” are available in the UW Library E-Journals collection. Other readings will be made available for download on Canvas.

Note that the instructor reserves the right to change assignments as deemed appropriate, with announcement.

Course Expectations

1. **Lecture and discussion:** In lecture we will cover the broad themes for the week’s topics, in addition to various theories, hypotheses, data, and case studies that speak to these topics. In the absence of quiz sections, seminar-style discussion will form the bulk of opportunity for student learning and participation. Although this is a virtual class, students are expected to contribute to the class discussion. The instructor will post lecture slides after the day’s lecture; however, the content of lecture slides is only one component of the course material students are responsible for to be successful.
2. **Readings:** Students are expected to complete the day’s readings prior to attend the lecture unless noted otherwise. The reading schedule is designed to be as manageable as possible, and the day’s readings should be read in advance of lecture in the order listed on the syllabus. However, some weeks will have heavier reading loads than others so students should look ahead on the syllabus and plan their time accordingly. The instructor reserves the right to revise or amend the reading schedule and assignments as the quarter progresses.

Make-up policy

If the student suspects that any potential issue can lead to missing the classes, exams or deadlines, she/he should inform the instructor as far ahead of time as possible. Failure to report may result in no makeups.

Technology Policy

Students should stay focused on the lecture and not use their laptop/computer/phone for things not relevant to the lecture during class time. Occasionally, I may call students to answer questions without given notice, which may affect their participation grade.

Discussion environment

Students are expected to respect one another as individuals and colleagues. Any antagonism based on race, ethnicity, national origin, gender identity, sexual orientation, religion, economic class, or age will not be tolerated. It is everyone's responsibility, including my own, to cultivate a hospitable discussion environment in which everyone feels respected and able to share and interrogate ideas. I promise to work to uphold these standards in class. Being able to respectfully disagree is a minimum expectation for productive learning. Short of outright hostile or disrespectful language, the other part of this equation is the following: assume positive intent in others. We all make mistakes when conveying arguments on political topics, and no one is immune to the risk of misspeaking or arguing in an inarticulate or problematic way. Thus, if our dialogue veers away from mutual respect let us work to correct course amicably and refocus the discussion.

Academic conduct and plagiarism

Under no circumstances will cheating and/or plagiarism (for both the exams and papers) be tolerated. A suspected instance may be immediately examined and necessary disciplinary actions may ensue. For further detail about the UW's policy on academic conduct (honesty and integrity), see <https://depts.washington.edu/grading/pdf/AcademicResponsibility.pdf>. For the University's policy on plagiarism, see <http://depts.washington.edu/pswrite/plag.html>.

Students with disabilities

If students have a disability and believe they will need academic adjustments (accommodations, modifications, or auxiliary aids and services) in this course, they should ensure that they coordinate through the University's Disability Services Office (DSO). Academic adjustments are requested through the DSO, not directly from the instructor.

Religious Accommodations

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/>).

Resources to Address Incidents of Sexual Violence

I do not condone, under any circumstances, inappropriate forms of behavior and conduct that meets the definition of sexual harassment and/or sexual violence. For the University of Washington's policy on sexual harassment and violence, as well as how to report such behavior and activities should you witness them, please refer to <http://depts.washington.edu/livewell/sexual-harassment/> for more details.

Reading List (Subject to Changes)

Introduction to the course

- No readings.

Confucian Ideology:

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

Revolution and the Rise of the Communist Party

- 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.

State-led Development I: The Planned Economy and the GLF

- 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.
- James Kai-Sing Chen and Shuo Chen, "The Tragedy of the Nomenklatura: Career Incentives and Political Radicalism during China's Great Leap Famine," *American Political Science Review* Vol. 108, No. 1 (2011), pp. 27-45

State-led Development II: The Great Proletarian 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 only. Canvas.

Gradualism vs. Shock Therapy I: Rural Reform

- Joseph Fewsmith, "The Emergence of Rural Reform," in *Dilemmas of Reform in China* (M.E. Sharpe, 1994), pp. 19-49, especially 23-32. Canvas.
- David Zweig, "Opposition to Change in Rural China: The System of Responsibility and People's Communes," *Asian Survey* Vol. 23, no. 7 (1983), pp. 879-900.

Gradualism vs. Shock Therapy II: Urban Reform

- 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.

Authoritarian Resilience

- Andrew Nathan, "Authoritarian Resilience," *Journal of Democracy* Vol. 14, No. 1 (2003), pp. 6-17. Full text online.
- Cheng Li, "The End of the CCP's Resilient Authoritarianism? A Tripartite Assessment of Shifting Power in China," *The China Quarterly* Vol 211, pp. 595-623.

The Consolidation of Party-State Apparatus

- 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.

Promoting Local Elections

- Kevin J. O'Brien and Lianjiang Li, "Accommodating "Democracy" in a One-Party State: Introducing Village Elections in China. *The China Quarterly* Vol 162 (2000), pp. 465-489. Full text online.
- Kevin J. O'Brien and Rongbin Han, "Path to Democracy? Assessing Village Elections in China," *Journal of Contemporary China* Vol. 18, No. 60 (2009), pp. 359-378. Full text online.

Taxation and Fiscal Capacity

- Thomas P. Bernstein and Xiaobo Lu, "Taxation without Representation: Peasants, the Central and the Local States in Reform China," *The China Quarterly* Vol 163 (2000), pp. 742-763. Full text online.
- Shaoguang Wang, "China's 1994 Fiscal Reform: An initial Assessment," *Asian Survey*, Vol. 37, No. 9 (1997), pp. 801-817. Full text online.

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.
- Andrew Mertha, "Fragmented Authoritarianism 2.0: Political Pluralization in the Chinese Policy Process," *The China Quarterly*, Vol 200 (2009), pp. 995-1012. Full text online.

Media and Surveillance

- Jeremy Goldkorn, "Behind the Great Firewall," in Geremie R. Barmé, ed., *Red Rising Red Eclipse* (Canberra: Australian Centre for China in the World, 2012) 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 (2013), pp. 1- 18. Full-text online.

Urbanization and Land Disputes

- Ray Yep, "Containing Land Grabs: A Misguided Response to Rural Conflicts over Land," *Journal of Contemporary China* Vol. 22, Vol 80 (2013), pp. 273-291, especially pp. 277-287. Full text online.
- Ernan Cui, Ran Tao, Travis J. Warner, Dali L. Yang, "How Do Land Takings Affect Political Trust in Rural China," *Political Studies* Vol. 63, No. 1 (2014), pp. 91-109. Full text online.

Inequality and Labor Conditions

- 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.
- Pun Ngai, "Global Production, Company Codes of Conduct, and Labor Conditions in China: A Case Study of Two Factories," *The China Journal* No. 54 (2005), pp. 101-113. Full text online.

Environmental Conditions

- Arthur P. J. Mol and Neil T. Carter, "China's Environmental Governance in Transition," *Environmental Politics* Vol. 15, No. 2 (2006), pp. 149-170. Full text online.
- Yanhua Deng Deng and Guobin Yang, "Pollution and Protest in China: Environmental Mobilization in China," *The China Quarterly* No. 214 (2014), pp. 321-336. Full text online.

New Nationalism

- 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.
- Yinan He, "History, Chinese Nationalism, and the Emerging Sino-Japanese Conflict," *Journal of Contemporary China* Vol. 16, No. 50 (February 2007), pp. 1-24. Full text online.

Important Dates:

Exams:

Midterm examination: Aug 4th

Final examination: Aug 21st

Response Papers:

First paper due: Aug 2nd

Second paper due: Aug 12th

Third paper due: Aug 19th

Course Schedule (*Subject to Changes*)

Week 1

July 23 (Thursday): Introduction to the Course

Part I: Political History

July 24 (Friday): Confucian Ideology

Week 2

July 27 (Monday): Revolution and the Rise of the Communist Party

July 28 (Tuesday): State-led Development I: The Planned Economy and the GLF

July 29 (Wednesday): Film Day – “The Last Emperor”

July 30 (Thursday): State-led Development II: The Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution

July 31 (Friday): Gradualism vs. Shock Therapy I: Rural Reform

Week 3

Aug 3 (Monday): Gradualism vs. Shock Therapy II: Urban Reform

Aug 4 (Tuesday): Midterm

Part II: Institutions

Aug 5 (Wednesday): Authoritarian Resilience

Aug 6 (Thursday): The Consolidation of Party-State Apparatus

Aug 7 (Friday): Film Day – “To Live”

Week 4

Aug 10 (Monday): Promoting Local Elections

Aug 11 (Tuesday): Taxation and Fiscal Capacity

Aug 12 (Wednesday): Governing Civil Society

Aug 13 (Thursday): Media and Surveillance

Aug 14 (Friday): Film Day — “The Story of Qiu Ju”

Week 5

Part III: Governing Challenges

Aug 17 (Monday): Urbanization and Land Disputes

Aug 18 (Tuesday): Inequality and Labor Conditions

Aug 19 (Wednesday): Environmental Conditions

Aug 20 (Thursday): New Nationalism

Aug 21 (Friday): Final Exam

