

**University of Washington**  
**Department of Political Science/Jackson School of International Studies**  
**Autumn 2019**  
***Government and Politics of China***  
**POL S 442/JSISa 408, TTh 1:30-3:20pm, 220 Kane Hall**

**Professor Susan Whiting**  
**147 Gowen Hall**  
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**[swhiting@uw.edu](mailto:swhiting@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.

### **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, quizzes, and in-class activities, including the in-class debate on Tuesday, November 19. All forms of participation together constitute 25% of the final grade.

Second, students will take an in-class midterm exam (25%) on Tuesday, October 22, and an online final exam (25%) on Friday, December 13 at 2:30pm (This is our officially scheduled exam day and time). 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.

Third, a term paper—not to exceed ten double-spaced pages—is required (25%). 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 Thursday, October 31. A preliminary bibliography with two scholarly, peer-reviewed sources is due on Thursday, November 7. An annotation of one scholarly, peer-reviewed source from your bibliography is due on Tuesday, November 12. A draft introduction with thesis statement is due on Tuesday, November 26. The term paper itself is due on Monday, December 9. All submissions will be through Canvas. Unexcused late papers will be marked down 0.1 point per day.

### **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.

### **Professor's Office Hours**

Tuesdays 3:30-5:30pm in 147 Gowen Hall.

### **TA's Office Hours**

The Teaching Assistant for the course is Tan Zhao ([zhaotan@uw.edu](mailto:zhaotan@uw.edu)). His office hours are Tuesdays and Thursdays 11:00am-12:00noon in 43 Smith Hall.

### **Additional Course Information**

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.

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.

The UW policy on religious accommodations can be found here:

<https://registrar.washington.edu/staffandfaculty/religious-accommodations-policy/>

### **Schedule of Classes**

#### **WEEK ONE**

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

**Thursday, September 26, 2019**

#### **1. Introduction**

Jeffrey N. Wasserstrom, *China in the 21st Century* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2010), Chp.1, pp. 1-16 only. Full text online (E-book). OPTIONAL

#### **WEEK TWO**

**Tuesday, October 1, 2019**

#### **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.

For reference:

Elizabeth J. Perry, "The Populist Dream of Chinese Democracy," *Journal of Asian Studies* Vol. 74, No. 4 (November 2015), pp. 903-915.

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.24, No. 96 (2015), pp. 1032-1047.

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.

**Thursday, October 3, 2019**

#### **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**

**Tuesday, October 8, 2019**

#### **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.

**Thursday, October 10, 2019**

**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**

**Tuesday, October 15, 2019**

**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.

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 pp. 277-287. Full text online.

**Thursday, October 17, 2019**

**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**

**Tuesday, October 22, 2019**

**8. IN-CLASS MIDTERM EXAM**

**PART II: Institutions**

**Thursday, October 24, 2019**

**9. Institutions: 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.

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).

**WEEK SIX**

**Tuesday, October 29, 2019**

**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.

For reference:

Minxin Pei, "China's Governance Crisis," *Foreign Affairs* Vol. 81 (September-April 2002), pp. 96-109.

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

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

**Thursday, October 31, 2019**

**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.

For reference:

Bruce Dickson, *The Dictator's Dilemma: The Chinese Communist Party's Strategy for Survival* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2016), pp. 1-30. Canvas.

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. Full text online.

**WEEK SEVEN**

**Tuesday, November 5, 2019**

**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.

For reference:

Xiaopeng Pang, Junxia Zeng and Scott Rozelle, "Does Women's Knowledge of Voting Rights Affect their Voting Behaviour in Village Elections? Evidence from a Randomized Controlled Trial in China." *China Quarterly*, No. 213 (2013), pp 39-59.

**Thursday, November 7, 2019**

**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.

For reference:

Yanfei Sun and Dingxin Zhao, "Environmental Campaigns," in Kevin J. O'Brien, ed., *Popular Protest in China* (Harvard University Press, 2008), pp. 144-163.

Elizabeth J. Perry, "Casting a Chinese 'Democracy' Movement: The Roles of Students, Workers, and Entrepreneurs," in Jeffrey N. Wasserstrom and Elizabeth J. Perry, eds., *Popular Protest and Political Culture in Modern China* (Boulder: Westview Press, 1994), pp. 74-92.

**WEEK EIGHT****ANNOTATED BIBLIOGRAPHY ENTRY DUE****Tuesday, November 12, 2019****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](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.

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****Thursday, November 14, 2019****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 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 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.

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.

**WEEK NINE****Tuesday, November 19, 2019****IN-CLASS DEBATE: DEBATE PREPARATION WORKSHEET DUE****16. Environment Conditions**

See also the assigned reading for your debate group on Canvas.

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.

**Thursday, November 21, 2019**

**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.

**WEEK TEN**

**DRAFT INTRODUCTION DUE**

**Tuesday, November 26, 2019**

**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 (2019) '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.

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.

Guobin Zhu, "Prosecuting 'Evil Cults': A Critical Examination of Law Regarding Freedom of Religious Belief in Mainland China," *Human Rights Quarterly* Vol. 32, No. 3 (August 2011).

**Thursday, November 28, 2019**

**THANKSGIVING HOLIDAY**

**WEEK ELEVEN**

**Tuesday, December 3, 2019**

**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.

Alastair Iain Johnston, "Is Chinese Nationalism Rising?" *International Security*, Vol. 41, No. 3 (Winter 2016/17), pp. 7-43.

Jackson S. Woods and Bruce J. Dickson, "Victims and Patriots: Disaggregating Nationalism in Urban China," *Journal of Contemporary China*, Vol.26, No. 104 (2017), pp. 167-182.

**Thursday, December 5, 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.

Jerome A. Cohen, "The Hong Kong Protests," *Council on Foreign Relations Podcast* September 4, 2019, 30mins. <https://www.cfr.org/podcasts/hong-kong-protests-jerome-cohen>

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.

**FINAL PAPER DUE**

**Monday, December 9, 2019**

**ONLINE FINAL EXAM**

**Friday, December 13, 2019, 2:30pm\***

\*This is the officially scheduled exam time.