Winter 2018

## The University of Chicago

Political Science 27815/37815

## Politics and Public Policy in China

Instructor: Professor Dali Yang

Class hours: 11:00AM-12:20PM TTh Lecture/discussion; Stuart 101

First session on January 4.

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### Course Outline

As the world’s most populous country and second largest economy, China not only wields considerable weight globally but also stands out for its post-Communist authoritarian political system. This course has two goals. First, it examines political institutions and political behavior in China in historical perspective, especially since the Communist takeover of power in 1949. It emphasizes how institutions have been shaped and reshaped and the importance of leadership, with special attention on the tensions and challenges of development. Second, it considers various issues of public policy and governance, including the role of the Communist Party, state-society relations, the relationship between Beijing and the provinces, development and corruption, population and environment, and the role of the armed forces in society. The course looks at many of these issues from a comparative perspective and introduces a variety of analytical concepts and approaches.

[Note: I will offer a course on China’s Foreign and Global Policy in Winter 2019]

### Requirements

The course is conducted in lecture/discussion format. Students are required to have read carefully the assigned readings before coming to class and ready to participate in discussions in class. Students are also expected to keep up with **current events** in China.

Students are required to take two short quizzes and write a paper on a key public policy issue facing China (prior approval by the instructor is required; paper length: undergraduates, no more than 15 pages doubled-spaced; graduate student, no more than 20 pages). Grading is based on the following: Quiz I, 25 percent, Quiz II, 25 percent; final paper, 40 percent; class participation, 10 percent.

### Readings: The following books are on order at the Seminary Co-op Bookstore. Some of the readings on the syllabus are available online either on Canvas and/or Dropbox or via electronic journals/resources at lib.uchicago.edu. Please report any problems with access.

# Richard McGregor, The Party: The Secret World of China's Communist Rulers. Harper, 2010.

Dali Yang, *Calamity and Reform in China*. Stanford University Press, 1996. Paperback

Dali Yang, *Remaking the Chinese Leviathan*. Stanford University Press, 2006. paperback.

Xi Jinping, The Governance of China, vol. II. Beijing: Foreign Languages Press, 2017.

Strongly recommended: China: A Century of Revolution (video; online). Portions may be shown in class.

For reference:

Works of Mao Zedong (Mao Tse-tung) in English at <https://www.marxists.org/reference/archive/mao/index.htm>

*Selected Works of Deng Xiaoping* at <http://www.people.com.cn/english/dengxp/home.html>

Official sources:

National Bureau of Statistics: <http://www.stats.gov.cn/> has Chinese and English pages

Information on China’s leaders and government structure: <http://english.gov.cn/>; and, in Chinese, <http://politics.people.com.cn/GB/shizheng/252/9667/index.html> (this includes databases on the composition of the Party leadership); also [www.gov.cn](http://www.gov.cn)

Pantsov, Alexander V., and Steven I. Levine. *Mao: the real story*. Simon and Schuster, 2013.

Roderick MacFarquhar and Michael Schoenhals, *Mao’s Last Revolution*. Harvard University Press, 2008. Paperback.

Ezra Vogel, *Deng Xiaoping and the Transformation of China*. Harvard University Press, 2011.

Xi Jinping, *The Governance of China*. Vol. I. Beijing: Foreign Languages Press, 2014.

Recommended websites for updates: China Leadership Monitor: <https://www.hoover.org/publications/china-leadership-monitor>

China Labor Bulletin

China Dialogue

PRC timeline to 2012 at: <http://www.china-profile.com/history/hist_list_1.htm>

**Schedule**

**\*Week 1**. Introduction; China to the [**January 4 Thursday; January 9 Tuesday**; same pattern for following weeks except Week 10]

**A: Introduction**

Benjamin Elman, "Political, Social, and Cultural Reproduction via Civil Service Examinations in Late Imperial China." *Journal of Asian Studies* vol. 50, no. 1 (February 1991): 7-28.

Justin Yifu Lin, "The Needham Puzzle," *Economic Development and Cultural Change* 43, no. 2 (January 1995): 269-292.

For further reading: Kent G. Deng, “Development and Its Deadlock in Imperial China, 221 B.C.-1840 A.D.,” Economic Development and Cultural Change 51, no. 2 (January 2003), 479-522. For a general history, see John K. Fairbank and Merle Goldman, China: A New History Enlarged ed. (Harvard, 1998); see Jack L. Dull, "The Evolution of Government in China"; Tu Wei-ming, "The Confucian Tradition in Chinese History." Both in Paul Ropp, ed., *Heritage of China* (California, 1990).

Please be sure to read up on the following individuals in the Encyclopedia Britannica: Sun Yat-sen, Chiang Kai-Shek, “Mao Zedong,” by Stuart Schram in *Encyclopædia Britannica.* Also “Deng Xiaoping,” In *Encyclopædia Britannica*.

**B: China’s Struggle for Modernity: From Imperial China to Domestic Revolution/Civil War**

Tang Tsou, “Interpreting the Revolution in China: Macrohistory and Micromechanisms,” *Modern China*, Vol. 26, No. 2. (Apr., 2000), pp. 205-238.

Mao Zedong, “On Coalition Government: political report to the Seventh National Congress of the Communist Party of China,” April 24, 1945, https://www.marxists.org/reference/archive/mao/selected-works/volume-3/mswv3\_25.htm.

Stuart Schram, “Mao Zedong,” in *Encyclopædia Britannica.*

Skim: Mao Zedong, “Talks at the Yan’an Forum on Literature and Art,” May 2, 1942, https://www.marxists.org/reference/archive/mao/selected-works/volume-3/mswv3\_08.htm

For reference:

PRC Constitution: read Preamble for the official narrative of Chinese modern history. http://en.people.cn/constitution/constitution.html (1982, last amended 2004)

Dali L. Yang, "The Making of the Modern Chinese State and China's Quest for Modernity," Paper prepared for the *Sage Handbook on Contemporary China*, <https://daliyang.files.wordpress.com/2013/08/1-yang-the-making-of-the-modern-chinese-state-and-the-quest-for-modernity-with-biblio-201611.pdf>

Pantsov, Alexander V., and Steven I. Levine. *Mao: the real story*. Simon and Schuster, 2013.

Apter, David Ernest, and Tony Saich. *Revolutionary discourse in Mao's Republic*. Harvard University Press, 1994.

**\*Week 2**. **Mao in Power [Jan. 11/16]**

**A: From the Takeover of Power to the Anti-Rightist Movement**

Dali Yang, Calamity and Reform in China, 21-41.

# Mao Zedong, “On the Correct Handling of Contradictions among the People,” February 27, 1957.

# Mao: “BEAT BACK THE ATTACKS OF THE BOURGEOIS RIGHTISTS” July 9, 1957.

For further reading: For more scholarly works, see Frederick Teiwes, Leadership, Legitimacy, and Conflict in China (Sharpe, 1984) and Politics and Purges (Sharpe 1993, 2nd ed.). Contrast Teiwes with Avery Goldstein, From Bandwagon to Balance-of-Power Politics (Stanford, 1991), 57-133. Also note: Franz Schurmann, Ideology and Organization in Communist China (California, 1968).

Recommended: “To Live”, movie directed by Zhang Yimou (1994).

**B. The Great Leap Forward and Famine**

Dali Yang, *Calamity and Reform in China*, chapters 2-3.

Mao, [Speech at Moscow Celebration Meeting](http://www.marxists.org/reference/archive/mao/selected-works/volume-7/mswv7_479.htm) (November 6, 1957).

Read/skim some of Mao speeches during the Great Leap Forward to get a sense of his speaking and leadership style at

<http://www.marxists.org/reference/archive/mao/selected-works/volume-8/index.htm>

For further reading: Roderick MacFarquhar, Timothy Cheek, and Eugene Wu, eds., *The Secret Speeches of Chairman Mao: From the Hundred Flowers to the Great Leap Forward* (Council on East Asian Studies, and Roderick MacFarquhar, *The Origins of the Cultural Revolution* (Columbia, various years).

**\*Week 3. The Cultural Revolution and the End of the Mao Era [January 18/23]**

#### The Cultural Revolution

Hong Yung Lee, The Politics of the Chinese Cultural Revolution (California, 1978), Chapters: Introduction, Chapter 1, and Conclusion. [Note that this volume uses the Wade-Giles spelling system for Chinese characters. For a conversion system, see http://oclccjk.lib.uci.edu/wgtopy.htm

[Circular of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China on the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution](http://www.maoism.org/msw/cpc/cc_gpcr.htm) *(May 16, 1966).* <https://www.marxists.org/subject/china/documents/cpc/cc_gpcr.htm>

Mao: Talk at the First Plenum of the Ninth Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party April 28, 1969. <https://www.marxists.org/reference/archive/mao/selected-works/volume-9/mswv9_83.htm>

For further reading, Roderick MacFarquhar and Michael Schoenhals, *Mao’s Last Revolution*. Harvard University Press, 2006, esp. pp. 1-154; Chapters 9-11; 14; 16-17; Chapters 19-24. Also, Quotations of Chairman Mao (The Little Red Book) online and Michael Schoenhals, China’s Cultural Revolution, 1966-1969: Not a Dinner Party (Armonk, NY: M.E. Sharpe, 1996).

Note also: Elizabeth Perry and Li Xun, Proletarian Power (Westview); Jung Chang, *Wild Swans: Three Daughters of China* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 1991), esp. pp. 256-296. Andrew Walder, Communist Neo-Traditionalism: Work and Authority in Chinese Industry (California, 1986); Vivienne Shue, The Reach of the State (Stanford, 1988); Lynn White, Policies of Chaos (Princeton, 1989).

1. **The Cultural Revolution to the End of the Mao Era**

Dali Yang, Calamity and Reform in China, chapter 4.

Barry Naughton, “The Third Front: Defense Industrialization in the Chinese Interior,” China Quarterly, no. 115 (September 1988), 351-386.

Richard McGregor, *The Party*, chapter 8 (“Tombstone”).

For further reading: Zhang Chunqiao (Chang Chun-Chiao), “On Exercising All-Round Dictatorship over the Bourgeoisie,” Hongqi (Red Flag), no. 4 (1975), available at

<http://www.marx2mao.com/Other/ARD75.html>; William Joseph, Christine Wong, and David Zweig, eds., *New Perspectives on the Cultural Revolution* (Council on East Asian Studies/Harvard University, 1991). Richard Baum, *Burying Mao: Chinese Politics in the Age of Deng Xiaoping*, Princeton University Press, 1994; Lowell Dittmer, "Bases of Power in Chinese Politics: A Theory and an Analysis of the Fall of the `Gang of Four'," *World Politics*, 31: 1 (October 1978), pp. 26-60;

**\*Week 4. The Politics of Reform and Opening Up, and Tiananmen [January 25/30]**

1. **“Thought Liberation”, the Rural Reforms (back to the land question), the Challenge of Reforming the Planned Economy**

Deng Xiaoping, “UPHOLD THE FOUR CARDINAL PRINCIPLES (excerpts),” March 30, 1979.

Dali Yang, Calamity and Reform in China, chapters 5-6.

Dorothy Solinger, “Labor Market Reform and the Plight of the Laid-off Proletariat,” *China Quarterly* no. 170 (2002).

Skim: Barry Naughton, “Implications of the State Monopoly over Industry and Its Relaxation,” *Modern China*, Vol. 18, No. 1 (Jan., 1992), pp. 14-41.

Also Note: MacFarquhar, “The Succession to Mao and the End of Maoism, 1969-1982,” in MacFarquhar ed., *The Politics of China*, Chapter 4; Barry Naughton, Growing Out of the Plan, Cambridge; Kenneth Lieberthal and Michel Oksenberg, *Policy Making in China*, Princeton, 1988. For general discussions of the reform period, see Richard Baum, Burying Mao (Princeton, 1994); Joseph Fewsmith, Dilemmas of Reform in China: Political Conflict and Economic Debate (Sharpe, 1994); Victor Nee and David Stark, eds., Remaking the Economic Institutions of Socialism: China and Eastern Europe (Stanford, 1989); Elizabeth Perry and Christine Wong, eds., The Political Economy of Reform in Post-Mao China (Council on East Asian Studies/Harvard, 1985).

1. **The Tiananmen Crisis and the Making of a New Political Order**

# Tang Tsou, “The Tiananmen tragedy: the state–society relationship, choices, and mechanisms in historical perspective,” in Brantly Womack, ed., Contemporary Chinese Politics in Historical Perspective, Cambridge University Press, 1991,  pp. 265-328.

Lucian W. Pye, “China: Erratic State, Frustrated Society,” Foreign Affairs (1989), 56-74.

Skim: Selected Works of Deng Xiaoping, Volume 3, read entries for 1989-1992

At <https://dengxiaopingworks.wordpress.com/selected-works-vol-3-1982-1992/>

For further reading:Richard Baum, “The Road to Tiananmen: Chinese Politics in the 1980s,” in MacFarquhar, ed., *The Politics of China*, Chapter 5.

#### Week 5. China Inc: Leadership and Institutions [February 1/February 6]

**Quiz I**

1. **The (Chinese Communist) Party: Leadership and Institutions**

Richard McGregor, *The Party*, Chapters 1 and 3.

Yang, Remaking the Chinese Leviathan, pp. 3-8; Chapter 2，

The importance of the coordinating small leading groups.

Skim: Xi Jinping, The Governance of China, II, “Socialism with Chinese Characteristics and the Chinese Dream”

For reference:

The (1982) PRC Constitution and amendments:

<http://english.peopledaily.com.cn/constitution/constitution.html>

Susan Lawrence, “China’s Political Institutions and Leaders in Charts,” Congressional Research Service, Nov. 2013, at <https://www.fas.org/sgp/crs/row/R43303.pdf>.

1. **State and Government Institutions; rationalization**

Discussions of leaders and leadership succession

Yang, Remaking the Chinese Leviathan, Chapters 4, 5, 8.

Update

Watch for discussions of impending government reforms at National People’s Congress in March.

**Week 6. The Military, the National Security State and Stability Maintenance [February 8/13]**

1. **The Military, the National Security State, and Stability Maintenance**

McGregor, *The Party*, Chapter 4.

Skim Yang, *Remaking the Chinese Leviathan*, Chapter 4 on the divestiture.

Xin Jinping, The Governance of China II, “Military Development”.

Kenneth Allen, Dennis Blasko, John Corbett, “The PLA’s New Organizational Structure,” *China Brief*, 16:3(2016), February 4, 2016, <https://jamestown.org/program/the-plas-new-organizational-structure-what-is-known-unknown-and-speculation-part-1/> in two parts.

Ji, You. “China’s National Security Commission: theory, evolution and operations,” *Journal of Contemporary China*, *25*:98 (2016), pp.178-196.

1. **The Quest for Stability and the Role of Law**

Xi Chen, “The Rising Cost of Stability,” Journal of Democracy 24:1(Jan 2013): 57-64.

Dali L. Yang, “China’s Troubled Quest for Order: Leadership, Organization and the Contradictions of the Stability Maintenance Regime,” Journal of Contemporary China,26, no. 103 (2017): 35-53.

Xi Jinping, The Governance of China II, “Rule of Law” (???) and also on social governance, 411-417.

Dali Yang, *Remaking the Chinese Leviathan*, Chapter 8.

Skim: Update on “China’s Crackdown on Human Rights Lawyers,” Amnesty International, <https://www.amnesty.org/en/latest/campaigns/2016/07/one-year-since-chinas-crackdown-on-human-rights-lawyers/>

Xinjiang: Chin and Burge, “Twelve Days in Xinjiang,” WSJ.

For further reading:

China Labor Bulletin, “A Decade of Change: The Workers’ Movement in China 2000-2010” at <http://www.clb.org.hk/en/sites/default/files/File/research_reports/Decade%20of%20the%20Workers%20Movement%20final_0.pdf>

Sida Liu and Terence Halliday, *Criminal Defense in China: The Politics of Lawyers at Work,* Cambridge University Press, 2016.

Ching Kwan Lee and Yonghong Zhang, “The Power of Instability: Unraveling the Microfoundations of Bargained Authoritarianism in China ,” [*American Journal of Sociology*, Vol. 118, No. 6 (May 2013), pp. 1475-1508](http://www.jstor.org/discover/10.1086/670802?uid=2&uid=4&sid=21102503226451).

Joseph Fewsmith, “Debating Constitutional Government,” *China Leadership Monitor*, no. 42 (2013), http://www.hoover.org/publications/china-leadership-monitor/article/158566

Teng Biao, “The Sun Zhigang Incident and the Future of Constitutionalism:

Does the Chinese Constitution Have a Future?,” CRJ Occasional Paper (December 30, 2013), <http://www.law.cuhk.edu.hk/research/crj/download/papers/2013-tb-szg-constitutionalism.pdf>

**Week 7. Propaganda and Censorship; Party Discipline and Anti-Corruption; [February 15/20]**

**A. Propaganda and Censorship in the Digital Age**

Xi Jinping, The Governance of China II, section on “Cultural Development”, esp. 354-365.

Rogier Creemers, “Cyber China: Upgrading Propaganda, Public Opinion Work and Social Management for the Twenty-First Century,” *Journal of Contemporary China*, 26:103 (2017), 85-100, DOI: 10.1080/10670564.2016.1206281

Peter Hessler, “Travels with my Censor”, *The New Yorker*, 2015.

For further reading:

Wen-Hsuan Tsai (2017) Enabling China’s Voice to Be Heard by the World: Ideas and Operations of the Chinese Communist Party’s External Propaganda System, Problems of Post-Communism, 64:3-4, 203-213, DOI: 10.1080/10758216.2016.1236667

David Shambaugh, “China’s Propaganda System: Institutions, Processes and Efficacy,” *China Journal*, no. 57 (2007): 25–58.

Nele Noesselt, “Microblogs and the Adaptation of the Chinese Party-State’s Governance Strategy,” *Governance*, August 1, 2013, doi:10.1111/gove.12045

Bruce Dickson, *The Dictator’s Dilemma*, 60-78.

“Censorship in China,” Wikipedia entry for list of areas subject to censorship

King, Gary, Jennifer Pan, and Margaret E Roberts. 2013. “How Censorship in China Allows Government Criticism but Silences Collective Expression.” *American Political Science Review* 107, no. 2 (May): 1-18. And other studies. Copy at <http://j.mp/LdVXqN>

**B. Anti-Corruption, Elite Discipline, and Central-Local Relations**

Xin Jinping, The Governance of China II, skim “Governing the Party with Strict Discipline”

Yang, *Remaking the Chinese Leviathan*, Chapters 6-7.

Reports on the new red nobility from Bloomberg news, New York Times, and Wall Street Journal (TBA); Search for Xi Jinping and Wang Qishan re anti-corruption;

Establishment of a new National Supervisory Commission, news update

Skim: McGregor, The Party, Chapter 5.

Human Rights Watch, “Detention and Torture in the Chinese Communist Party’s Shuanggui System,” December 2016, <https://www.hrw.org/report/2016/12/06/special-measures/detention-and-torture-chinese-communist-partys-shuanggui-system>.

For further reading: Pei, Minxin. *China’s Crony Capitalism*. Harvard University Press, 2016.

Week 8. Central-Local Relations, The State and Economy [February 22/27]

1. Central-Local Relations/Regional Policy

McGregor, The Party, Chapter 6.

Yang, Remaking the Chinese Leviathan, Chapter 3.

# Skim: Ran Tao, Fubing Su, Mingxing Liu, and Guangzhong Cao, “Land Leasing and Local Public Finance in China's Regional Development: Evidence from Prefecture-level Cities,” Urban Studies, published online 11 March 2010.

Chinese fiscal data: stats.gov.cn

Regional growth policies: Shenzhen, Shanghai, Jing-Jin-Ji (Beijing/Tianjin/Hebei); Great Western Development/OBOR

For further reading:

Christine Wong and Richard Bird, “China’s Fiscal System,” in Loren Brandt and Thomas

Rawski, eds., *China’s Great Economic Transformation*, Cambridge.

Pierre Landry, *Decentralized Authoritarianism in China: The Communist Party's Control of Local Elites in the Post-Mao Era*, Cambridge University Press, 2008.

1. The State and Economy

Fubing Su, Ran Tao, and Dali L. Yang, “Rethinking the Institutional Foundations of China’s Hypergrowth,” [*The Oxford Handbook of Politics of Development*](http://www.oxfordhandbooks.com/view/10.1093/oxfordhb/9780199845156.001.0001/oxfordhb-9780199845156)Edited by Carol Lancaster and Nicolas van de Walle

Barry Naughton, Is China Socialist? *The Journal of Economic Perspectives*, Vol. 31, No. 1 (Winter 2017), pp. 3-24.

Skim: reports on Alibaba and Tencent, among others.

**\*Week 9**. **Environment; Nationalism** **[March 1]**

**Quiz II.**

1. **Social and Environmental Regulation**

Kevin Lo, “[How authoritarian is the environmental governance of China?](http://www.sciencedirect.com/science/article/pii/S1462901115300046)” *Environmental Science & Policy*, 54 (2015), pp. 152-159

Dali L. Yang, “[China’s Illiberal Regulatory State in Comparative Perspective](https://daliyang.files.wordpress.com/2013/08/yang-chinas-illiberal-regulatory-state-in-comparative-perspective.pdf)” Chinese Political Science Review, 2(1), 114-133. DOI: 10.1007/s41111-017-0059-x

# For further reading:

# Alex Wang, The Search for Sustainable Legitimacy: Environmental Law and Bureaucracy in China, 37 Harvard Environmental Law Review 365 (2013).

Yuyu Chen, Avraham Ebenstein, Michael Greenstone, and Hongbin Li, “Evidence on the impact of sustained exposure to air pollution on life expectancy from China’s Huai River policy,” *Proceedings of the National Academy of Sciences*, vol. 110 no. 32 (August 6, 2013).

# Guizhen He, Yonglong Lu, Arthur P.J. Mol, Theo Beckers, “Changes and challenges: China's environmental management in transition,” Environmental Development, 3 (July 2012), 25–38.

OECD country study, “Environment and Governance in China,” http://www.oecd.org/dataoecd/60/37/34617750.pdf

Ming Fang, Chak Chan, Xiaohong Yao, “Managing air quality in a rapidly developing nation: China,” Atmospheric Environment, 43, no. 1 (January 2009), pp. 79-86.

For further reading: Xue Lan, Udo E. Simonis, Daniel J. Dudek et al., “Environmental Governance in China,” http://bibliothek.wz-berlin.de/pdf/2007/p07-001.pdf

1. **Nationalism**

Suisheng Zhao, “Foreign Policy Implications of Chinese Nationalism Revisited: the strident turn,” Journal of Contemporary China, vol. 22 (2013),

Jackson S. Woods & Bruce J. Dickson (2017) Victims and Patriots: Disaggregating Nationalism in Urban China, Journal of Contemporary China, 26:104, 167-182, DOI: 10.1080/10670564.2016.1223100

Xi Jinping, The Governance of China II. Read on his pieces related to the Chinese Dream and also on Cultural Confidence (341-343; 378-381), Political Confidence (311-317)

For further reading:

Lucian Pye, “How China’s Nationalism Was Shanghaied,” *Australian Journal of Chinese Affairs*, no. 29 (January 1993), 107-133.

Wenfang Tang & Benjamin Darr, “Chinese Nationalism and its Political and Social Origins,” *Journal of Contemporary China*, 21:77 (2012), 811-826.

Jessica Weiss**, “**Autocratic Signaling, Mass Audiences and Nationalist Protest in China,” *International Organization*, 2013.

**Week 10. Taiwan and Hong Kong; Prospects for China’s Future [March 6; no class on March 8 reading period]**

Chu, Yun-han, and Jih-wen Lin. "Political Development in 20th-Century Taiwan: State-Building, Regime Transformation and the Construction of National Identity." *The China Quarterly* 165 (Mar. 2001).

For further reading:

Bruce Jacobs, “Wither Taiwanization? The Colonization, Democratization and Taiwanizatoin of Taiwan,” Japanese Journal of Political Science 14:4 (Dec 2013): 567-586.

Additional Topics:

Social Protest

The Welfare State

Health Policy

Population Policy