

CP² Week 2: From Empire to Nation-State

Dr Chao-Yo Cheng

Recap: Studying Chinese politics in the changing world

- ▶ From intelligence services to academic research
- ▶ From area studies to comparative politics
- ▶ From qualitative description to data-intensive inference

► From intelligence services to new geopolitcal tension

- China studies ≠ Sinology; emerging as a subject area after the WWII and gain its prominence during the Cold War
- "Echo chambers" in the making – the changing geopolitical landscape in the past decade may drag China scholars in different countries to focus on different agenda

► From area studies to comparative politics

► From qualitative description to data-intensive inference

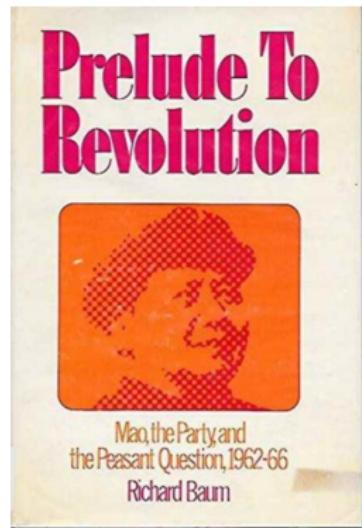
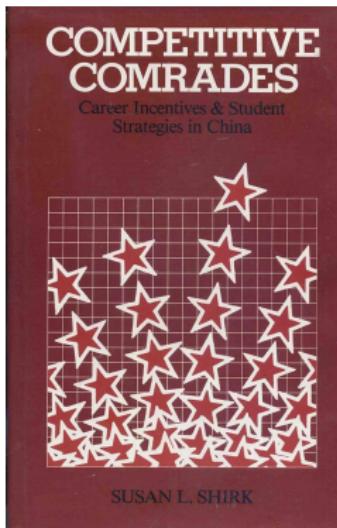
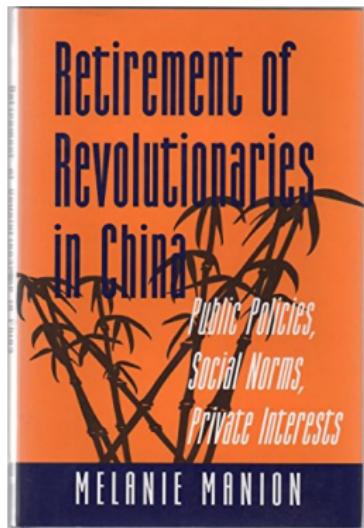


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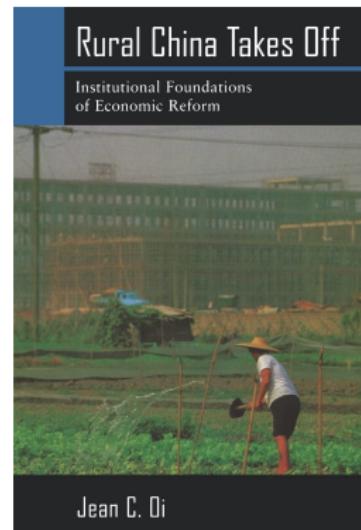
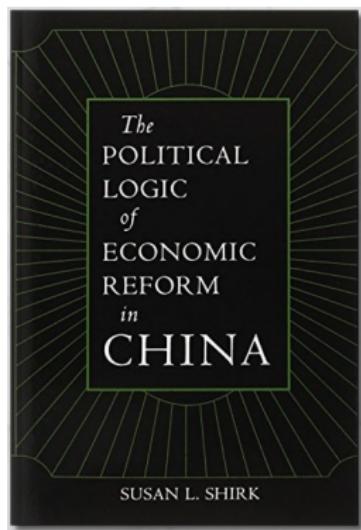
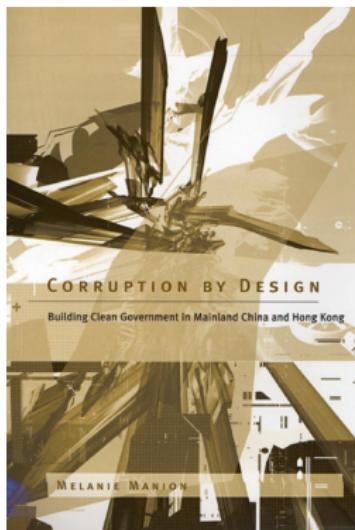
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- ▶ From intelligence services to academic research
- ▶ **From area studies to comparative politics**
 - Earlier generations of China scholars treat China as a distinct subfield within political science
 - Later on, China scholars begin to borrow or "stretch" concepts and ideas from other subfields to study Chinese politics (Shambaugh 2023)
 - Starting from the late 2000s, China scholars are about to generate new theoretical insights to general political science (Tsai 2017)
- ▶ From qualitative description to data-intensive inference

Thick, detailed description on contemporary China



Applying rational choice theory to understand China's economic reform



Using China to inform general theory

WORLD
POLITICS
A Quarterly Journal of
International Relations

Volume 74, Number 4 | October 2012

[World Politics](#)

[Article contents](#)

[Extract](#)

[References](#)

"Reform and Openness": Why China's Economic Reforms Have Delayed Democracy

Published online by Cambridge University Press: 13 June 2011

Mary E. Gallagher

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Article

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66 Cite

Extract

Most theories that seek to explain democratization look to changes in the economy as the precursor to significant political liberalization, locating the main causal factor in either severe economic crisis or rapid economic growth. In the Chinese context, by contrast, the Communist Party has extricated itself from the socialist social contract with the urban working class without losing its grip on political power. Moreover, China has maintained a rapid pace of economic growth for over twenty-five years without significant political liberalization.

Comparative analysis of China's post-1978 reform policies yields insights both across types of socialist transition, comparing China with Eastern Europe and Russia, and across time, comparing China with other high-growth East Asian economies. A key factor in China's ability to reform the economy without sacrificing political control is the timing and sequencing of its foreign direct investment (FDI) liberalization. There are two key variables that are important to this comparative analysis: China's pattern of ownership diversification and China's mode of integration into the global economy. The article relates these two variables to the success of economic change without political liberalization, in particular, how FDI liberalization has affected relations between workers and the ruling Communist Party. "Reform and openness" in this context resulted in a strengthened Chinese state, a weakened civil society (especially labor), and a delay in political liberalization.



Using China to inform general theory



Solidary Groups, Informal Accountability, and Local Public Goods Provision in Rural China

Published online by Cambridge University Press: 21 May 2007

LILY L. TSAI

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American Political
Science Review

Article contents

Abstract

References

Abstract

Why would government officials in authoritarian and transitional systems where formal democratic and bureaucratic institutions of accountability are often weak ever provide more than the minimum level of public goods needed to maintain social stability? Findings from a unique combination of in-depth case study research and an original survey of 316 villages in rural China indicate that even when formal accountability is weak, local officials can be subject to unofficial rules and norms that establish and enforce their public obligations. These informal institutions of accountability can be provided by encompassing and embedding solidary groups. Villages where these types of groups exist are more likely to have better local governmental public goods provision than villages without these solidary groups, all other things being equal.

Using China to inform general theory



Making Bureaucracy Work: Patronage Networks, Performance Incentives, and Economic Development in China



Junyan Jiang The Chinese University of Hong Kong

Abstract: Patron-client networks are widely found in governments of transitional societies and are often seen as an impediment to effective governance. This article advances an alternative view that emphasizes their enabling effects. I argue that patron-client relations can be used to improve government performance by resolving principal-agent problems within political hierarchies. I substantiate this claim by examining how patronage networks shape economic performance of local governments in China. Using an original city-level panel data set between 2000 and 2011, and a new method that identifies patronage ties based on past promotions, I show that city leaders with informal ties to the incumbent provincial leaders deliver significantly faster economic growth than those without. I conduct additional analyses to rule out several important alternative explanations and provide evidence on the incentive-enhancing mechanism. These findings highlight the importance of informal institutions for bureaucratic management and authoritarian governance.

Replication Materials: The data, code, and any additional materials required to replicate all analyses in this article are available on the *American Journal of Political Science* Dataverse within the Harvard Dataverse Network, at: <https://doi.org/10.7910/DVN/XZ0IZE>.

- ▶ From intelligence services to academic research
- ▶ From area studies to comparative politics
- ▶ **From qualitative description to data-intensive inference**
 - Before the diplomatic reconciliation between PRC and USA (1971-1978), scholars have to rely on limited, partial and often biased qualitative evidence (archives and interviews)
 - After Reform and Opening, in the 1980s more engaging field research is likely (ethnography and case studies)
 - The mid-1990s saw the quantitative turn, using surveys (e.g., CGSS), econometric analysis of admin data (e.g., CER) and computational (e.g., King et al 2013)



Susan Shirk (UCSD) with Zhou Enlai in July 1971, on a visit to China with "the Committee of Concerned Asian Scholars"

How Censorship in China Allows Government Criticism but Silences Collective Expression

GARY KING *Harvard University*

JENNIFER PAN *Harvard University*

MARGARET E. ROBERTS *Harvard University*

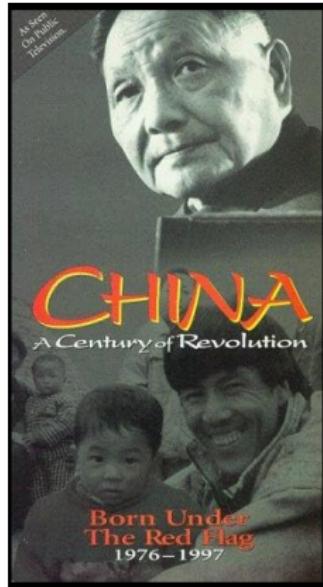
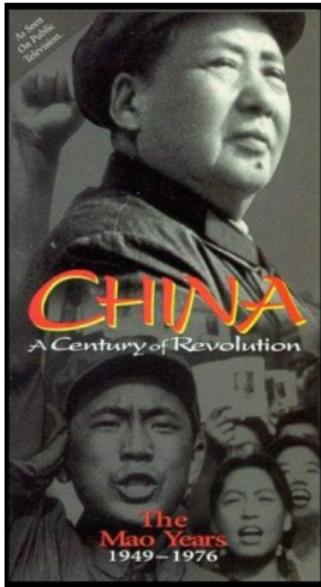
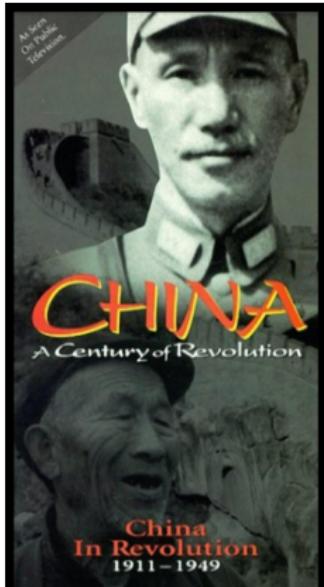
We offer the first large scale, multiple source analysis of the outcome of what may be the most extensive effort to selectively censor human expression ever implemented. To do this, we have devised a system to locate, download, and analyze the content of millions of social media posts originating from nearly 1,400 different social media services all over China before the Chinese government is able to find, evaluate, and censor (i.e., remove from the Internet) the subset they deem objectionable. Using modern computer-assisted text analytic methods that we adapt to and validate in the Chinese language, we compare the substantive content of posts censored to those not censored over time in each of 85 topic areas. Contrary to previous understandings, posts with negative, even vitriolic, criticism of the state, its leaders, and its policies are not more likely to be censored. Instead, we show that the censorship program is aimed at curtailing collective action by silencing comments that represent, reinforce, or spur social mobilization, regardless of content. Censorship is oriented toward attempting to forestall collective activities that are occurring now or may occur in the future—and, as such, seem to clearly expose government intent.

Week 2: Empire to Nation-State



<https://storystudio.tw/article/gushi/the-forbidden-garden>

“China: A Century of Revolution”



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China in the 20th century

- ▶ Republican China (1911-1949)
 - 1911-1928: Beiyang Government
 - 1928-1949: Nationalist/KMT Government
- ▶ Communist China (1949 and afterwards)
 - 1950s: Land reform and the Great Leap Forward (大跃进)
 - 1960s: Return of Mao Zedong and the outbreak of the Cultural Revolution (文化大革命)
 - 1970s: Power transition and "Reform and Opening" (改革开放)
 - 1980s: Experiment with market economy, intra-party split and Tiananmen
 - 1990s: Consolidated market reform and institutionalized political succession

The pursuit of a “modern” China

- ▶ Question: How do we define "modernity?"

The pursuit of a “modern” China

- ▶ Question: How do we define "modernity?"
- ▶ "Modernization" is a multi-dimensional concept
 - Political modernization: Transforming the empire to a nation-state with well-established centralized state apparatus and a shared national identity
 - Social modernization: Filling the moral vacuum with new ideas (e.g., science, democracy and vernacular language and writing) while criticizing Confucianism
 - Economic modernization: Industrial infrastructure and production; much of this has do with security threats
- ▶ Today's discussion will focus on the first two

Beiyang government in Beijing (1911-1928)

- ▶ A weak central government that could not command
- ▶ KMT worked with the Communist International in Moscow and yet faced internal power struggle
- ▶ The "CPC-KMT" United Front collapsed and led to the first Chinese Civil War

- ▶ A weak central government that could not command
 - Sun Yat-sen (孙中山) and KMT failed to control the central government in the 1911 Wuchang Uprising (武昌起义), the new ROC government was a fragile alliance between KMT and Yuan Shi-kai (袁世凯, the leader of Beiyang Army)
 - Yuan managed to become the President in 1912, but the Beiyang government in Beijing remained weak, as powerful warlords across the country dominated in their respective jurisdictions
 - Active social/student movements against warlords and "Imperialism" (e.g., the May-Fourth Movement in 1919)
- ▶ Sun worked with the Communist International in Moscow and yet faced internal power struggle
- ▶ The "CPC-KMT" United Front collapsed and led to the first Chinese Civil War

- ▶ A weak central government that could not command
- ▶ KMT chose to work with the Communist International in Moscow and yet faced internal power struggle
 - Sun sought to work with warlords in Southern China and recreated KMT with the help from the former Soviet Russia/Union in 1919
 - With the alliance between KMT and the **Communist International**, KMT decided to form a "United Front" with the **Communist Party of China** (CPC), which was established in Shanghai, in 1921
 - Sun passed away suddenly in 1925, and the KMT was dragged into power struggle as it was unclear who should lead
 - **Chiang Kai-shek** managed to control the KMT and started the **Northern Expedition** (北伐) to unite the whole China in 1926
- ▶ The "CPC-KMT" United Front collapsed and led to the first Chinese Civil War



Yuan announced the establishment of the "Hongxian Monarchy" between 1915-16

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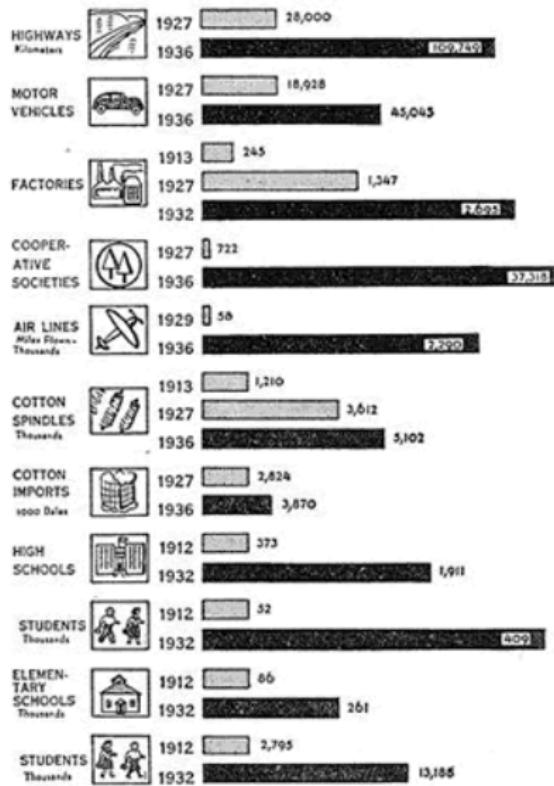
- ▶ A weak central government that could not command
- ▶ KMT chose to work with the Communist International in Moscow and yet faced internal power struggle
- ▶ The "CPC-KMT" United Front collapsed and led to the first Chinese Civil War
 - As the KMT inner-circle became fragmented and divided between Chiang and others, CPC became the target of political purges
 - The exact reason and process remain somewhat debated, but in 1927 Chiang launched the "**412 Incident**" in Shanghai – many CPC members were arrested and executed
 - The CPC rebuilt their power base in the countryside, adopted guerrilla warfare, and formed the first Chinese Soviet government in Jiangxi, Jiangsi
 - Chiang managed to control the entire China in 1928, at least nominally, and set the capital in Nanjing

Nationalist government in Nanjing (1928-1949)

- ▶ State building and socio-economic recovery
- ▶ First Chinese Civil War and the rise of Mao within CPC
- ▶ Anti-Japanese War and Chiang's downfall in 1949

- ▶ State building and socio-economic recovery
 - The decade before 1937 was often known as the **Nanjing Decade** or **Golden Decade**, during which China saw remarkable economic and market growth (and industrialization)
 - The KMT govt under Chiang introduced the **New Life Movement** while strengthening the system of taxation and civil services through the Examination Yuan and the self-government movement (see Julia Strauss's work)
- ▶ First Chinese Civil War (1927-1936) and the rise of Mao within CPC
- ▶ Anti-Japanese War and Chiang's downfall in 1949

CHINA'S PROGRESS BEFORE THE INVASION



- ▶ State building and socioeconomic recovery
- ▶ First Chinese Civil War (1927-1936) and the rise of Mao within CPC
 - Chiang's purges forced CPC to "flee" to the countryside and triggered an internal debate
 - During the **Long March** (长征, 1934-1935), Mao managed to gain the leadership within the Party in the Zunyi Conference (遵义会议) and mobilized a series of political movements to secure his power once the Party reached Yan'an
 - The **Xi'an Incident** (西安事变) in 1936 forced Chiang to declare another "CPC-KMT" United Front
 - During the Anti-Japanese War, the CPC continued to grow its base, largely in Northern parts of the country
- ▶ Anti-Japanese War and Chiang's downfall in 1949

(「長征」路線圖)
中華蘇維埃勢力變化圖
1934-1935

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佔領區(蘇區)

中共於第四次江西剿共(反圍剿)時放棄的區域
(1932年12月至1933年3月)

中共武裝勢力撤退(長征)路線(1934年至1935年)
其他武裝部隊的撤退路線





Chiang delivered a speech

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- ▶ State building and socioeconomic recovery
- ▶ First Chinese Civil War (1927-1936) and the rise of Mao within CPC
- ▶ Anti-Japanese War and Chiang's downfall in 1949
 - The conflict between CPC and KMT resumed quickly after the WWII ended in 1945
 - The **Chongqing Negotiations** (with the involvement of the US) between Mao and Chiang failed
 - CPC won the Second Chinese Civil War (1946-1950) and established the PRC while Chiang relocated the KMT government to Taiwan in 1949

- ▶ State building and socio-economic rebuilding
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Mao and Zhou with others in Yan'an

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Chiang and Mao at Chongqing Negotiations

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Questions remain for China and comparative scholars

► For China scholars

- What explains CPC's victory? Is it "predictable" or "expected?"
Lieberthal (1995): The GMD's defeat was the result of its separation from its political and economic base
- Much of the long-term impact remains to be explored (e.g., Elizabeth Perry)
- Information needed to study the early 20th century of China is all over the place, and many informants may no longer be around

► For comparativist

- Causes, results and implications for long-term political development (Moore 1966; Skocpol 1979; Way and Levitsky 2022)
- Political elites and leadership "style" (e.g., compared with the former Soviet Russia/Union)
- Revolutionary party v ruling party (Harding 1981; Lee 1990)

Revolutionaries for Railways

Chengyuan Ji¹  and Xiao Ma² 

Abstract

This study explores the sources of regional favoritism in government-invested infrastructure projects. We built an original county-level dataset that matches the biographies of 1614 retired communist revolutionaries with information on the expansion of China's state-directed high-speed railway program. Our findings indicate that a surviving revolutionary makes his birth county significantly more likely to receive the central government's approval for railway investment. This pattern is robust after accounting for a wide range of alternative explanations and a natural experiment design that exploits variations in the timings of revolutionaries' natural deaths. Additional evidence suggests that the empowering effect of the retired revolutionaries stems most likely from their assistance in their birth counties' bottom-up lobbying of the central government. Their moral authority as the founders of the regime helps boost local requests for investment in the eyes of central policymakers. Our findings highlight a bottom-up intergovernmental dynamic that translates personal influence into policy benefits.

Hong Yung Lee
* * * * *
From Revolutionary
Cadres to Party
Technocrats in
Socialist China

**From Revolutionary Cadres to Party Technocrats
in Socialist China**

Hong Yung Lee

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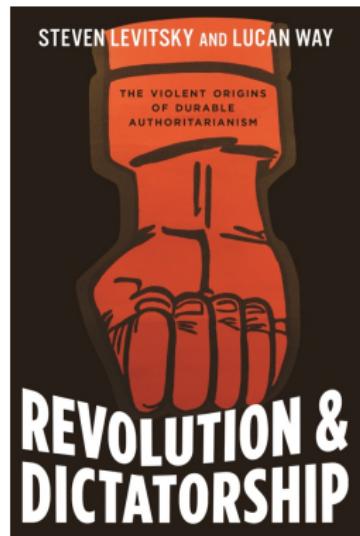
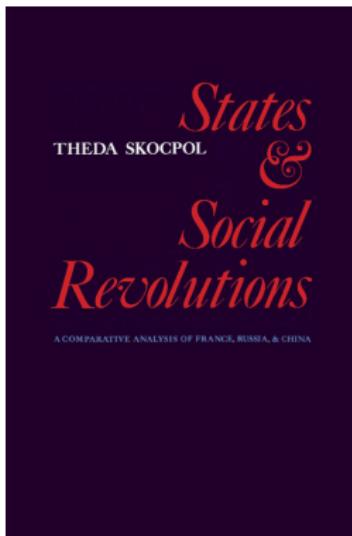
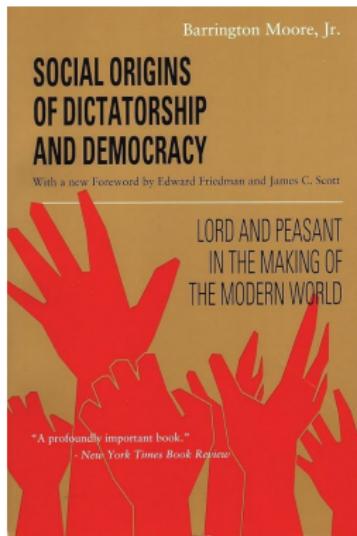
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Chinese revolution(s) in comparative perspective



Local states in the early 20th century (Remick 2002)

- ▶ Key idea(s): The behavior and capacity of local states vary significantly in China, as these two are shaped by central policy and local social contexts (history, limitations and ideology)
- ▶ Some questions to consider:
 - What is a state and state "capacity?" How did Remick define it? Why is state-building an important question? Why did she and many scholars choose to focus on taxation and public finance?
 - Why do we need to look central and local state-building as two distinctive and yet interrelated processes?
 - She mentioned a couple of countries to put her argument in a comparative perspective. Why? Does it make sense to you? Any other cases you can think of?

See you next week!



Appendix: Key events during the Republican Era

► Beiyang period

- 1919: May-Fourth Movement (五四运动) and the recreation of new KMT
- 1926-1928: North Expedition (北伐)

► Republican period

- 1927-1936: 1st CPC-KMT Civil War (一次国共内战)
- 1934-1935: Long March (长征) and Zunyi Conference (遵义会议)
- 1937-1945: Anti-Japanese War (抗日战争)
- 1942-1945: Rectification Movement (整风运动)
- 1945-1949: 2nd CPC-KMT Civil War (二次国共内战)

Appendix: CPC v KMT

- ▶ KMT: Started as a revolutionary party rallying around Sun Ya-sen, and yet fraught with corruption and internal fragmentation
- ▶ CPC: Started as an urban party with the (selective) support from the Communist International; relationship with GMD falling out and had to change and survive