

Dragon in the Twilight: Unraveling Chinese Politics and Public Policy

LSE-PKU Summer School 2016

LPS-GV202

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Course Description and Goals

This course seeks to introduce master level students to the main issues in the study of Chinese politics, with a special focus on the policy making process in contemporary China.

In the first three lectures, the instructors will cover in a very brief manner the political development of China from late Qing to late 1989's, trying to help the students understand the main themes of the Chinese politics and background of the current political problems. In lectures 4-6, the focus is the challenges faced now by the Chinese leadership, ranging from state capacity decline to the increasing social instabilities. Whether and how these problems can be handled will arguably define the political future of the Chinese nation.

In lectures 7-9, we will analyze the institutional characteristics of the Chinese party-state, cover the main models to understand the Chinese policy making process, and we will use some examples to illustrate the power and shortcomings of the models. In the final two lectures, the current debate about the Chinese political future will be reviewed. Hopefully, after taking the whole course, the students can have their own informed and well-grounded arguments on this topic.

Exams and Grading Policies

Students will be required to write a 1500-2000 word essay by the end of the course on a topic relevant to Chinese politics and policy. Also, there will be a closed book final exam with essay style questions. The essay and the final exam will each account for 50% of the final grade.

Introduction and Lecture 1

The Late Qing and Republican Legacies and the Rise of CCP

Schell, Orville and John Delury. *Wealth and Power: China's Long March to the Twenty First Century*, Chaps. 1,9,10, New York: Little, Brown, 2013

Lieberthal, Kenneth. *Governing China: From Revolution through Reform*, New York:

W. W. Norton & Company, 2nd edition, 2004, pp. 1-56
Jonathan Spence, *The Search for Modern China*, New York: W. W. Norton & Company 1st edition, 1990, pp. 137-513 (or, for a slightly updated 2nd edition, 1999, pp. 139-488, available at <http://www.questia.com/PM.qst?a=o&d=98946348>)

Lecture 2

Maoist China: from Consolidation to Chaos

Kenneth Lieberthal, *Governing China: From Revolution through Reform*, pp. 84-112.
Frederick C. Teiwes, "The Chinese State during the Maoist Era", in David Shambaugh ed., *The Modern Chinese State*, New York: Cambridge University Press, 2000, pp. 105-160.
Barry Naughton, *The Chinese Economy: Transitions and Growth*, Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 2007, pp. 55-84
Maurice Meisner, "China's Communist Revolution: A Half-Century Perspective", *Current History*, 98, 1999, pp. 243-248.
Dali Yang, 2004, *Remaking the Chinese Leviathan: market transition and the politics of governance in China*, Stanford University Press, chaps 1-2,
Jack Gray, "Mao in Perspective", *The China Quarterly*, 187, 2006, pp. 659-679

Suggested Readings:

Roderick MacFarquhar and Michael Schoenhals, *Mao's Last Revolution*, Cambridge, MA: Belknap Press, 2006

Lecture 3

Deng Era: Ideal, Economic Reform and Political Disaster

Barry Naughton, *The Chinese Economy*, pp. 85-111.
Richard Baum, *Burying Mao: Chinese Politics in the Age of Deng Xiaoping*, Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1996, pp. 3-23.
Nicolas Lardy, *Integrating China into the Global Economy*, Washington DC: The Brookings Institution, 2002, pp.63-133. (NET RESOURCES)
Zhao, D. (1998). "Ecologies of Social Movements: Student Mobilization during the 1989 Prodemocracy Movement in Beijing." *American Journal of Sociology* 103(6): 1493-1529.

Suggested Readings:

Andrew Nathan and Perry Link, eds, *The Tiananmen Papers*, New York: Public Affairs, 2002, prefaces and introduction, scan the rest of the book.

Lecture 4

The New Totalitarian Regime and Its Control Mechanisms

- Andrew J. Nathan, "Authoritarian Resilience," *Journal of Democracy*, 14, 2003, pp. 6-17
- Wang, Y. & Minzner, C. 2015, "The Rise of the Chinese Security State", *CHINA QUARTERLY*, vol. 222, pp. 339-359.
- King, G., Pan, J. & Roberts, M. 2013, "How Censorship in China Allows Government Criticism but Silences Collective Expression", *AMERICAN POLITICAL SCIENCE REVIEW*, vol. 107, no. 2, pp. 326-343.
- Kevin J. O'Brien and Lianjiang Li, "Accommodating 'Democracy' in a One-Party State: Introducing Village Election in China", in *The China Quarterly*, 162, 2000, pp. 465-489
- Jie Chen and Bruce Dickson, "Allies of the State: Democratic Support and Regime Support among China's Private Entrepreneurs", in *The China Quarterly*, 196, 2008, pp. 1-25
- Ahl, B. (2014). "Retaining Judicial Professionalism: The New Guiding Cases Mechanism of the Supreme People's Court." *The China Quarterly* 217: 121-139.
- Teets, Jessica C., "Let Many Civil Societies Bloom: The Rise of Consultative Authoritarianism in China", *The China Quarterly*, 213, 2013, pp 19-38.
- Thornton, Patricia M., "The Advance of the Party: Transformation or Takeover of Urban Grassroots Society?", *The China Quarterly*, 213, 2013, pp 1-18
- Dickson, B. J. (2013). "Who Wants to Be a Communist? Career Incentives and Mobilized Loyalty in China." *The China Quarterly* 217: 42-68.
- Yan Xiaojun, "Regime Inclusion and the Resilience of Authoritarianism", in *The China Journal*, 66, 2011, pp. 53-75
- Fong, B. C. H. (2014). "The Partnership between the Chinese Government and Hong Kong's Capitalist Class: Implications for HKSAR Governance, 1997-2012." *The China Quarterly* 217: 195-220.
- Stern, Rachel E. and Jonathan Hassid, "Amplifying Silence: Uncertainty and Control Parables in Contemporary China", *Comparative Political Studies*, 45, 2012, pp. 1230-1254.

Lecture 5

State and Society since 1989: Contentious Politics

- Whyte, M. K. (2014). "Soaring Income Gaps: China in Comparative Perspective." *Daedalus* 143(2): 39-52.
- Lianjiang Li, Mingxing Liu and Kevin O'Brien, "Petitioning Beijing: The High Tide of 2003-2006", in *The China Quarterly*, 210, 2012, pp. 1-22
- Yang, G. (2009). "ONLINE ACTIVISM." *Journal of Democracy* 20(3): 33-36.
- Joseph Fewsmith, "'Social Management' as a Way of Coping with Heightened Social Tensions", *China Leadership Monitor*, No. 36, 2012. pp. 1-7.
- Xi Chen, "The Power of 'Troublemaking': Protest Tactics and Their Efficacy in China", in *Comparative Politics*, July 2009, pp. 451-471.

- Wang, Juan. "Shifting Boundaries between the State and Society: Village Cadres as New Activists in Collective Petition", *The China Quarterly*, 211, 2012, pp 697-717.
- Fu Hualing and Richard Cullen, "Climbing the Weiquan ladder: A Radicalizing Process for Rights-Protection Lawyers", in *The China Quarterly*, 205, 2011, pp. 40-59
- Chris K.C. Chan and Pun Ngai, "The Making of a New Working Class? A study of collective actions of migrant workers in South China", *The China Quarterly*, 198, 2009, pp. 287-303
- Ong, L. H. (2014). "State-Led Urbanization in China: Skyscrapers, Land Revenue and "Concentrated Villages"." *The China Quarterly* 217: 162-179.
- Koesel, K. J. (2013). "The Rise of a Chinese House Church: The Organizational Weapon." *The China Quarterly* 215: 572-589.
- Deng, Y. and K. J. O'Brien (2013). "Relational Repression in China: Using Social Ties to Demobilize Protesters." *The China Quarterly* 215: 533-552.
- Peng, Y. and S. Y. P. Choi (2013). "Mobile Phone Use among Migrant Factory Workers in South China: Technologies of Power and Resistance." *The China Quarterly* 215: 553-571.
- Kuang, X. and C. Göbel (2013). "Sustaining Collective Action in Urbanizing China." *The China Quarterly* 216: 850-871.
- Chan, C. K.-C. and E. S.-I. Hui (2013). "The Development of Collective Bargaining in China: From "Collective Bargaining by Riot" to "Party State-led Wage Bargaining"." *The China Quarterly* 217: 221-242.

Lecture 6

The Intramural Games: Central vs. Locals, Elite vs. Rank and File

- Susan V. Lawrence and Michael F. Martin, *Understanding China's Political System*, Washington D.C.: Congress Research Service, 2012
- Burns, J. P. (1987). "China's nomenklatura system." *Problems of Communism* 36(5): 36-51.
- Hon S. Chan, "Cadre Personnel Management in China: The *Nomenklut*ura System 1990-1998", in *The China Quarterly*, 179, 2004, pp. 703-734
- Graeme Smith, "The Hollow State in Rural China" in *The China Quarterly*, 203, 2010, pp. 601-618
- Tsai, Wen-Hsuan and Nicola Dean, "The CCP's Learning System: Thought Unification and Regime Adaptation", *The China Journal*, 69, 2013, pp. 87-107.
- YongnianZheng, "Explaining the Sources of de facto Federalism in Reform China", in *Japanese Journal of Political Science*, 7:2, 2006, pp. 101-126
- HongbinCai and Daniel Treisman, "Did Government Decentralization Cause China's Economic Miracle?", in *World Politics*, 58:4, 2006, pp. 505-535
- Ko, Kilkon and CuifenWeng, "Structural Changes in Chinese Corruption", *The China Quarterly*, 211, 2012, pp 718-740.
- Lv, X. and P. F. Landry (2014). "Show Me the Money: Interjurisdiction Political Competition and Fiscal Extraction in China." *American Political Science Review* 108(03): 706-722.

Lecture 7

Decision Making in an Authoritarian Regime: Models and Examples

Kenneth Lieberthal, "The 'Fragmented Authoritarianism' Model and its Limitations", in Kenneth Lieberthal and David Lampton eds., *Bureaucracy, Politics, and Decision Making in Post-Mao China*, Berkeley CA: University of California Press, 1992, pp. 1–30 (NET RESOURCES)

Andrew Mertha, "'Fragmented Authoritarianism 2.0': Political Pluralization in the Chinese Policy Process", in *The China Quarterly*, 200, 2009, pp. 995-1012

Sebastian Heilmann, "From Local Experiment to National Policy: The Origin of China's Distinctive Policy Process", in *The China Journal*, 59, 2008, pp. 1-30

Susan Greenhalgh, "Missile Science, Population Science: The Origins of China's One-Child Policy", in *The China Quarterly*, 182, 2005, pp. 253-276

Steinberg, David and Victor Shih, "Interest Group Influence in Authoritarian States: The Political Determinants of Chinese Exchange Rate Policy", *Comparative Political Studies*, 45, 2012, pp.1405 –1434.

Heike Holbig, "The Emergence of the Campaign to Open Up the West: Ideological Formation, Central Decision-Making and the Role of the Provinces", in *The China Quarterly*, 178, 2004, pp. 335–357

Ahlers, A. L. and G. Schubert (2013). "Strategic Modelling: "Building a New Socialist Countryside" in Three Chinese Counties." *The China Quarterly* 216: 831-849.

Lecture 8

Governing the "Un-Chinese" China: Ethnic Regime and Identity Regulation

Information Office of the State Council of the PRC, *China's Ethnic Policy and Common Prosperity and Development of All Ethnic Groups*, Sept., 2009, available at: http://english.gov.cn/official/2009-09/27/content_1427989.htm

Fiskesjö, Magnus, "Rescuing the Empire: Chinese Nation-building in the Twentieth Century", in *European Journal of East Asian Studies*, 5:1, 2006, pp. 15-44

Thomas Mullaney, "Ethnic Classification Writ Large", in *China Information*, 18:2, 2004, pp. 207-241

Nimrod Baranovitch, "From Resistance to Adaptation: Uighur Popular Music and Changing Attitudes among Uighur Youth", in *The China Journal*, 58, 2007, pp. 59-82.

Cliff, Thomas, "The Partnership of Stability in Xinjiang: State–Society Interactions Following the July 2009 Unrest", *The China Journal*, 68, 2012, pp. 79-105.

Fischer, Andrew Martin. "The Political Economy of Boomerang Aid in China's Tibet." *China Perspectives*.3 (79) (2009): 38-53.

Smith Finley, Joanne. "Chinese Oppression in Xinjiang, Middle Eastern Conflicts and Global Islamic Solidarities among the Uyghurs." *Journal of Contemporary China* 16.53 (2007): 627-654.

Fischer, Andrew Martin, "'Population Invasion' versus Urban Exclusion in the Tibetan Areas of Western China", *Population and Development Review*, 34, 2008, pp. 631-662.

Lecture 9

The SOE Reform: "Occupy the Commanding Heights"

- McNally, Christopher, "Sino-Capitalism: China's Reemergence and the international political economy", *World Politics*, 64, 2012, pp. 741-776.
- The Economist. "State-owned enterprises: Fixing China Inc", (Aug. 30, 2014) "Reforming China's state-owned firms: From SOE to GLC" (Nov 23, 2013)
"State-owned enterprises: The state advances" (Oct 6, 2012)
"China's economy: Perverse advantage" (Apr 27, 2013)
- Yuanzheng Cao, Yingyi Qian and Barry Weingast, "From Federalism, Chinese Style, to Privatization, Chinese Style", *Economics of Transition*, v. 7, No. 1, (1999), pp. 103-131
- Lin, Yi-min and Tian Zhu, "Ownership Restructuring in Chinese State Industry: An Analysis of Evidence on Initial Organizational Changes," *China Quarterly*, Vol. 166, No. 1, 2001, pp.305-341.
- Garnaut, Ross, Ligang Song, and Yang Yao. "Impact and Significance of State-Owned Enterprise Restructuring in China." *The China Journal*, no. 55 (2006): 35-63
- Ding Xueliang, "Illicit Asset Stripping of Chinese State Firms," *The China Journal*, 2000, No. 43, pp. 1-28
- Steinfeld, Edward S. *Forging Reform in China: The Fate of State-Owned Industry*, Cambridge University Press, 1998, pp. 1-24, 249-260

Lecture 10

The Future of Chinese Politics

- Nathan, Andrew, "Authoritarian Impermanence", *Journal of Democracy*, 20, 2009, pp.37-40
- Minzner, C. 2015, "CHINA AFTER THE REFORM ERA", *Journal of Democracy*, vol. 26, no. 3, pp. 129.
- Li, Cheng, "The End of the CCP's Resilient Authoritarianism? A Tripartite Assessment of Shifting Power in China". *The China Quarterly*, 211, 2012, pp. 595-623
- Perry, Elizabeth J., "Studying Chinese Politics: Farewell to Revolution?", *The China Journal*, 57, 2007, pp.1-22
- Minxin Pei, "Is CCP Rule Fragile or Resilient?" *Journal of Democracy* 23:1 (2012): 27-41.
- Mary E. Gallagher, "Reform and Openness: Why China's Economic Reforms Have Delayed Democracy," *World Politics* No. 54 (April 2002), pp. 338-72.

Butollo, F. 2013, "Moving beyond cheap labour?: industrial and social upgrading in the garment and LED industries of the Pearl River Delta", *Journal of Current Chinese Affairs*, vol. 42, no. 4, pp. 139.

Suggested readings

Liu Xiaobo, *No Enemies, No Hatred*, edited by Perry Link, Tienchi Martin-Liao and Liu Xia . Foreword by Vaclav Havel. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2012