
POLI 130B
Politics in the People's Republic of China

Tu/Th 3:30-4:50 PM
Center Hall 214

Course Overview

This course provides an overview of China's recent history and its political system. We will begin with a historical overview of China's political development from late Qing dynasty to the present. The remainder of the course will examine the institutional features of the Chinese political system and the key challenges facing the CCP leadership, such as economic reforms, regime stability, pollution, and political reform. We will also invite world renowned experts in various areas of China studies to speak in our class.

Instructor

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Guest Lecturers

With a growing number of scholars studying contemporary China, UCSD is becoming an important center of research on China in the United States and in the world. At the 21st Century China (21CC) center, we have over a dozen of world renowned China experts, whose research areas cover Chinese economy, politics, foreign policies, history, literature, society, and so on. This quarter, we are extremely to lucky to the following distinguished scholars as our guest lecturers.

- (Oct 26) Susan Shirk, Chair and Research Professor, 21st Century China Center
- (Nov 7) Deborah Seligsohn, PhD Candidate in Political Science and former official of The US Department of State
- (Nov 14) Stephan Haggard, Lawrence and Sallye Krause Professor of Korea-Pacific Studies
- (Nov 16) Barry Naughton, Sokwanlok Professor of Chinese International Affairs
- (Nov 30) Molly Roberts, Assistant Professor of Political Science

Important Notes: (1) Materials covered by guest lecturers will be quizzed in the following lectures. (2) Attendance will occasionally be taken at the beginning of the guest lectures.

Textbooks

You can purchase the following books from Amazon or UCSD Book Store:

- Spence, Jonathan. *The Search for Modern China, Third Edition*. New York: W.W. Norton, 2012.
- Lieberthal, Kenneth. *Governing China: From Revolution Through Reform, Second Edition*. New York: W. W. Norton & Company, 2005.

* **Note:** Selected chapters will be scanned and uploaded to the Dropbox folder.

Videos

The following videos are part of the assignments. You can easily find most of them on Youtube. Information from the videos is fair game for inclusion into quizzes.

- China: A Century of Revolution*, PBS documentary on China's revolution from 1911 to 1976
- Morning Sun*, produced by Carma Hinton on the Cultural Revolution and Mao's red guards. Available at: <https://goo.gl/4FeBqw>.

- The Gate of Heavenly Peace*, produced by Richard Gordon and Carma Hinton, on the 1989 Student Pro-Democracy Movement
- China from the Inside*, PBS documentary on contemporary China
- The Chinese Mayor*, made by Hao Zhou on a Chinese mayor in Datong, Shanxi Province
- Under the Dome*, made by Chai Jing on air pollution in China

Requirements and Grading

The requirements for this course are as follows:

1. **Participation (25%).** Students are expected to attend class regularly and complete the reading and video assignments *prior to* each lecture. You will be quizzed in class on the assignments.
2. **Midterm Exam (25%).** An in-class, closed book midterm exam is scheduled on Nov 2 (Week 6).
3. **Book review (25%).** Students are required to submit a book review (no longer than 800 words) prior to Nov 14 (Week 8).
4. **A response paper or group presentation (25%).** Students are expected to either (1) write a response paper based on guest lectures and/or required readings (no more than 800 words) or participate in a group presentation. The response paper needs to be submitted prior to the last lecture on Dec 7 (Week 11).

Participation (with Clickers)

You are expected to come to class meetings prepared to discuss central questions, puzzles, and concerns that arise from course readings assigned for that day. Evidence-based research on teaching and learning has documented a strong causal relationship between active participation/discussion and student learning. The risk of large courses like ours is that students miss out on the opportunity to meaningfully discuss course materials, and thus learn less. For this reason, I will use clickers.

1. Official counting period. We will begin experimenting with clickers during the first two weeks, but the “official” counting period will not begin until Week 3 (Oct 10). This should give you time to find a clicker to borrow or purchase.

2. Type of questions. In general, we will ask two types of questions: (1) factual questions and (2) discussion questions. Factual questions focus on a central point from your readings, or a point covered in lectures. Discussion questions ask that you take a stand on a particular problem or issue using course materials as evidence.
3. Grading.
 - Factual questions. One point is given for correct answers, and .7 for participating.
 - Discussion questions. You will receive full points (1 point) simply for participating.
 - “Grace points.” In assessing your grade for this component of the course, you’re allowed to miss 10% of all the questions asked throughout the class. This should provide sufficient buffer in case you forget your clicker, or you need to miss class for whatever reason. So, for example, if we ask 40 questions total over the quarter, and you receive 35 points, you can still earn an “A” (90% of 40 is 36, and $35/36 = 97.2\%$) for this part. **Don’t worry; be happy!**
 - One-time exemption. Throughout this quarter, you will have *one* chance of not participating using your iClicker, either because you cannot physically come to class that day or because you forget to bring your iClicker or it does not function properly – in case that happens, please write to Jingheng (jil1174@ucsd.edu) immediately after class. Your score at that day will be the average score of the entire class. We will not accept any other excuses or complaints.
 - Reporting. You will be find the record of your responses on TritonEd throughout the quarter (there may be lags occasionally).

Book Review

Each student is required to write *one* review (around 800 words) on one of the books listed below. The review should be submitted prior to Nov 14’s class. Early submission is allowed; late submission will be penalized (a day = 1% of the total grade). Here are a few tips of how to write a good book review:

1. Read the book thoroughly and take notes
2. Determine the major themes of the book and the author’s chief argument
3. Consider the evidence provided by the author to support his or her argument
4. Think about whether you agree or disagree with the author’s argument and why
5. Find materials to support your opinion

- * Note that in this class, we focus on the argument laid out in the book you choose and/or the facts and evidence presented by the author, instead of the book's genre or the author's writing style
- * The review should be written in English no matter what source you use
- * Bonus points will be given to additional book reviews (up to 5% of the total grade for each additional book review)

You may use additional sources of information, but the review should be mainly about *one* of the books listed below. If you have a book you're particularly fond of, please let me know and I'll consider adding it to the list.

List of Books

In English

- Immanuel Chung-yueh Hsu: *The Rise of Modern China*
- John King Fairbank: *The Great Chinese Revolution 1800-1985*
- Fei Xiaotong: *From the Soil: The Foundations of Chinese Society*
- Lin Yutang: *My Country and My People*
- Roderick MacFarquhar: *Mao's Last Revolution*
- Susan L. Shirk, *The Political Logic of Economic Reform in China*
- Susan L. Shirk: *China: Fragile Superpower*
- Andrew Nathan: *China's Search for Security*
- David Shambaugh: *China Goes Global: The Partial Power*
- Ezra F. Vogel: *Deng Xiaoping and the Transformation of China*
- Henry Kissinger: *On China*
- Bell, Daniel A.: *The China Model: Political Meritocracy and the Limits of Democracy*
- Evan Osnos: *Age of Ambition: Chasing Fortune, Truth, and Faith in the New China*
- Howard W. French: *Everything Under the Heavens: How the Past Helps Shape China's Push for Global Power*
- Peter Hessler: *River Town: Two Years on the Yangtze*
- Ian Johnson: *Wild Grass: Three Portraits of Change in Modern China*
- Henry M. Paulson: *Dealing with China: An Insider Unmasks the New Economic Superpower*

- M. Taylor Fravel: *Strong Borders, Secure Nation: Cooperation and Conflict in China's Territorial Disputes*

In Chinese

- 钱穆: 《中国历代政治得失》
- 徐中约: 《中国近代史》
- 费正清: 《伟大的中国革命》
- 费孝通: 《乡土中国》
- 李泽厚: 《李泽厚对话集——与刘再复对谈》
- 林语堂: 《吾国与吾民》
- 朱维铮: 《走出中世纪》
- 高华: 《红太阳是怎样升起的: 延安整风运动的来龙去脉》
- 李锐: 《庐山会议实录》
- 甘阳: 《通三统》
- 汪晖: 《去政治化的政治》
- 林毓生、殷海光: 《林毓生殷海光书信》
- 余英时: 《士与中国文化》
- 梁漱溟: 《中国文化要义》
- 辜鸿铭: 《中国人的精神》
- 赵紫阳: 《改革历程》
- 王毅: 《中国皇权制度研究》
- 高文谦: 《晚年周恩来》
- 秦晖: 《传统十论: 本土社会的制度, 文化及其变革》
- 章诒和: 《往事并不如烟》
- 廖亦武: 《中国底层访谈录》
- 雷颐: 《历史的裂缝》
- 吴晓波: 《吴敬琏传》

Response Paper or Presentation

Each student can choose to write a response paper or participate in a group presentation. A response paper should be based on a guest lecture and/or reading assignments appeared in the second half of the course.

- The response paper should be around 800 words, not too short, but also not too long.
- To support your argument, you can use additional sources of information, such as other books or research papers, as long as you demonstrate sufficient understanding of the guest lecture and recommended reading materials
- Response paper can be submitted any time after the mid-term and prior to the last lecture (Dec 7). The deadline will be strictly enforced. Late submission will be penalized (a day = 1% of the total grade).

Alternatively, You can also choose to participate in one group presentation on selected topics. The objectives of student presentations are three-folded:

1. To encourage students to conduct original research on important issues facing today's China
2. To foster exchange of ideas among students from diverse backgrounds
3. To provide an opportunity for students to speak publicly and freely of their minds

Selected Topics

- Oct 10. Infrastructure building in China
- Oct 12. Income inequality and the rural-urban divide
- Oct 17. China's education system
- Oct 19. China's military modernization
- Oct 24. China's healthcare system
- Oct 31. Chinese investment in Africa
- Nov 9. China's anti-corruption campaign
- Nov 16. The One Child Policy and China's demographic change
- Nov 28. State owned enterprises
- Dec 5. E-commerce in China

Requirements

1. A group of 4 student will make a 20-minute presentation on a selected topic. To promote exchange of diverse views, each group will consist of both native Chinese speakers and non-native Chinese speakers.
2. You can volunteer to participate in a presentation on a specific topic. If the number of volunteers exceeds the required number, the participants will be randomly selected using a computer algorithm.
3. Each group member should take part in *both* the preparation and delivery of the presentation. Group members are expected to meet outside the classroom to prepare for the presentation.
4. A comparative perspective will be extremely beneficial. Comparisons can be made between China and other developing and developed countries and/or between today's China and China in the past.
5. We allow and encourage diverse views to be presented provided that group members understand and respect each other's opinions prior to the presentation
6. 80% (20 points) of your grade will be based on team effort while the rest 20% (5 points) will be based on individual performance.
7. We will ask the audience to cast votes at the end of each presentation. Bonus points will be given to three teams that receive the highest evaluations from the audience.

Academic Integrity

Students are expected to maintain the highest standards of academic integrity. Cheating, plagiarism and other forms of academic dishonesty will not be tolerated and will be subject to disciplinary action consistent with University rules and regulations. Students are expected to familiarize themselves with University regulations regarding plagiarism and academic dishonesty.

If the instructor or TAs find that a significant part of your response paper or book reviewer is work of other people without proper citation, we will report the situation to The Academic Integrity Office immediately. For more information, please visit: <https://academicintegrity.ucsd.edu/>.

Course Materials and Dropbox folder

Throughout this class, we will use a Dropbox folder to distribute course materials, including slides and reading assignments. Registering or installing Dropbox is not required.

<https://goo.gl/ZhQofB>

Course Outline and Required Readings

All other readings will be made available on Tritoned. In the syllabus below, required readings are indicated with a □ symbol. Optional readings are indicated with a ● symbol.

Sep 28 (Thu) Introduction

Oct 3 (Tue) The New Republic and the Rise of the CCP

- Video: *China: A Century of Revolution*, Part I (first half)
- *Governing China*. Chapter 2, pp. 27-58.
- Meisner, Maurice. 1999. "The Significance of the Chinese Revolution in World History." Working Paper, Asia Research Centre, LSE.

Oct 5 (Thu) The Fall of the GMD State

- Video: *China: A Century of Revolution*, Part I (second half)
- *The Search for Modern China*, Chapter 18
- Video: *Morning Sun*

Oct 10 (Tue) Mao's Era: Deepening the Revolution

- Video: *China: A Century of Revolution*, Part II (first half)
- *The Search for Modern China*, Chapter 20, pp. 505–513 ("The Hundred Flowers")
- Mao, Zedong "On the Correct Handling of Contradictions among the People," (《关于正确处理人民内部矛盾的问题(讲话稿)》) in *The Secret Speeches of Chairman Mao: from the Hundred Flowers to the Great Leap Forward*, Harvard University Press; 1989, pp. 131-189.

Oct 12 (Thu) Mao's Era: The Great Leap Forward

- Video: *China: A Century of Revolution*, Part II (second half)
- *The Search for Modern China*, Chapter 21

- *Governing China*. Chapter 4, pp. 84-115.

Oct 17, 19 (Tue, Thu) Mao's Era: The Cultural Revolution

The Search for Modern China, Chapter 22

Video: *Morning Sun*

- Walder, Andrew G. & Yang Su. 2003. "The Cultural Revolution in the Countryside: Scope, Timing and Human Impact." *The China Quarterly* 173: 74-99.

Oct 24 (Tue) Succession

Video: *China: A Century of Revolution*, Part III

Governing China. Chapter 5

- Deng Xiaoping. "On the Reform of the System of Party and State Leadership." August 18, 1980. In *Selected Works of Deng Xiaoping (1975-1982)*, pp. 302-325. 邓小平: 《党和国家领导 制度改革》的讲话
- "Resolution on Certain Questions in the History of Our Party Since the Founding of the People's Republic of China," Sixth Plenary Session of the Eleventh Central Committee of the Communist Party of China, June 27, 1981 (excerpts). 《关于建国以来党的 若干历史问题的决议》 (节选)

Oct 26 (Thu) Guest lecture by Professor Susan Shirk: China's Political Institutions

Governing China, Chapter 7

- Shirk, Susan. 1993. *The Political Logic of Economic Reform in China*, Chapter 9, pp. 147-196.

Oct 31 (Tue) Midterm Review

Nov 2 (Thu) Midterm Exam

Nov 7 (Tue) Guest lecture by Deborah Seligsohn: The Politics of Environmental Protection

- Deborah Seligsohn & Angel Hsu, "How China's 13th Five-Year Plan Addresses Energy and the Environment." ChinaFile. Available at: <https://goo.gl/HJXcmM>.
- Video: *Under the Dome* by Chai Jing
- Zhang, Junjie, 2012. "Delivering Environmentally Sustainable Economic Growth: The Case of China" Available at: <https://goo.gl/3r5cKq>.
- Economy, Elizabeth C. 2007. "The Great Leap Backward? The Costs of China's Environmental Crisis." *Foreign Affairs*: pp. 38–59.
- Zissis, Carin and Jayshree Bajoria. 4 August 2008. "Backgrounder: China's Environmental Crisis." Council on Foreign Relations. Available at: <http://www.cfr.org/china/chinas-environmental-crisis/p12608>.

Nov 9 (Thu) Early Economic Reform

- *China's Great Economic Transformation*, Chapter 1, by Loren Brandt and Thomas Rawski
- Huang, Yasheng. 2008. *Capitalism with Chinese Characteristics: Entrepreneurship and the State*, Preface and Chapter 1, p. xiii - 45.

Nov 14 (Tue) Guest lecture by Professor Stephan Haggard: China and Korea

!! Book review due – Nov 14 before class.

- Reilly, James. "China's Economic Engagement in North Korea." *The China Quarterly*, Nov. 2014, pp. 1–21.

Nov 16 (Thu) Guest lecture by Professor Barry Naughton: New Economic Outlook

- Naughton, Barry. "Is China Socialist?" *Journal of Economic Perspective*, 2017. Available at: https://www.aeaweb.org/full_issue.php?doi=10.1257/jep.31.1#page=5
- Naughton, Barry. 21 March 2011. "The State of the Chinese Economy." USC U.S. China Institute. Available at: <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=AKpsWiUTEgQ>.
- Schuman, Michael. 2013. "Can China Escape the Middle-Income Trap?" *Time*. <http://business.time.com/2013/03/12/can-china-escape-the-middle-income-trap>

Nov 21 (Tue) Tian'anmen and Its Aftermath

- Video: *The Gate of Heavenly Peace*
- The Search for Modern China*, Chapter 26
- Nathan, Andrew J. 2001. "The Tiananmen Papers." *Foreign Affairs* 80(1): 2-48.
- Zhao, Suisheng. 1993. "Deng Xiaoping's Southern Tour: Elite Politics in post-Tiananmen China." *Asian Survey*: 739-756.

Nov 23 (Thu) Thanksgiving – No Class

Nov 28 (Tue) China's Growth Model

- Video: *The Chinese Mayor*
- Governing China*. Chapter 8
- Xu, Chenggang, "The fundamental institutions of China's reforms and development", *Journal of Economic Literature*, 49(4), 1076–1151
- Montinola, Gabriella, Yingyi Qian, & Barry Weingast. 1995. "Federalism, Chinese Style: The Political Basis for Economic Success in China" *World Politics* 48(1): 50-81.

Nov 30 (Thu) Guest lecture by Professor Molly Roberts: Propaganda and Internet Control

- Margaret E. Roberts, *Fear, Friction and Flooding*, Chapter 5.
- King, Gary; Pan, Jennifer; and Margaret E. Roberts. 2013. "How Censorship in China Allows Government Criticism but Silences Collective Expression." *American Political Science Review* 107(2): 326–343.
- Stockmann, Daniella & Gallagher, Mary E. 2011. "Remote Control: How the Media Sustain Authoritarian Rule in China." *Comparative Political Studies* 44(4): 436-467.

Dec 5 (Tue) The "China Model" and Its Challenges

- Daniel Bell et al. "Is the China Model Better Than Democracy?" The China File. Available at: <http://foreignpolicy.com/2015/10/19/china-democracy-theory-communist-party-pol>

- Video. Eirk Li: "A Tale of Two Political Systems." Available at: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=s0YjL9rZyR0>.
- Video. Dambisa Moyo: "Is China the New Idol for Emerging Economies?" Available at: <https://goo.gl/pdMkUP>.
- Video. Yasheng Huang: "Does Democracy Stifle Economic Growth?" Available at: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=UR-uWwvvn5c>
- "Why Do Polls Show More Satisfied People in China?" 25 April 2011. China Daily Online. Available at: http://www.chinadaily.com.cn/opinion/2011-04/25/content_12388627.htm.
- Kurlantzick, Joshua. 21 March 2013. "Why the 'China Model' Isn't Going Away." *The Atlantic*. Available at <http://www.theatlantic.com/china/archive/2013/03/why-the-china-model-isnt-going-away/274237/>.
- Li, Cheng. 2012. "The End of the CCP's Resilient Authoritarianism?" *The China Quarterly* 211: pp. 595-623.
- Halper, Stephen. A. 2010. *The Beijing Consensus: How China's Authoritarian Model Will Dominate the Twenty-first Century*. Basic Books
<https://goo.gl/7n37WA>

Dec 7 (Thu) Conclusion and Course Review

!! Response paper due, Dec 7 before class

- Carl Minzner. 2015. "China After the Reform Era," *Journal of Democracy* 26(3): 120-143.
- Shambaugh, David. 2015. "The Coming Chinese Crackup." *The Wall Street Journal*.
<http://www.wsj.com/articles/the-coming-chinese-crack-up-1425659198>
- Ouyang Bin. 11 November 2013. "Deciphering Xi Jinping's Dream: A Q&A With Roderick MacFarquhar." ChinaFile. Available at:
<http://www.chinafile.com/deciphering-xi-jinpings-dream>
- Gilley, Bruce. 2004. *China's Democratic Future: How it Will Happen and Where it Will Lead*. New York: Columbia University Press.
<https://goo.gl/ojaJey>

- Liu, Yu and Chen, Dingding. "Why China Will Democratize," *The Washington Quarterly*, Winter 2012, Volume 35 No.1. Available at: <http://www.tandfonline.com/doi/abs/10.1080/0163660X.2012.641918>.