

POLI 4079 Chinese Politics 中国政治论 Spring 2015

The Rise of China and the *ReOrientation* of the World

Tuesday and Thursday 10:30 – 11:50 am, 116 Stubbs Hall

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Office Hours: 12:20 – 1:20 pm on Tuesday and Thursday or by appointment

The history of China has shown no development, so that we cannot concern ourselves with it any further...China as it were lie outside the course of world history.

G. W. F. Hegel, *Philosophy of History* (1820)

In 1949, only Socialism could save China; in 1979, only Capitalism could save China; in 1989, only China could save Socialism; in 2009, only China could save Capitalism.

Popular saying widely circulated in China

China is one of the oldest continuous civilizations, the most populous country, the last major communist system, and the fastest growing economy. In fact, China has just overtaken the United States as the world's largest economy (in ppp), so it returns to the position it held through most human history. Despite its self-image of timelessness, China experienced violent and rapid transformations from its imperial rule to communism to a "socialist" market economy. These remarkable facts and changes along with its tremendous significance to global politics make China an extremely interesting and indispensable topic for all political scientists. The so-called "rise" or "rejuvenation" (*fluxing*, 复兴) of China forces us to see the world differently, calling for a completely necessary "reorientation" of our world views, as the late Andre Gunder Frank once insisted.

The purpose of this course is to encourage and stimulate an interest in Chinese politics, to provide a historical background on major events in modern China, and then to understand the current issues in contemporary China. The course reflects three overarching themes: 1) phenomenal economic growth, 2) authoritarian resilience, and 3) global implications of China's rise. First, what accounts for the economic "miracle," namely China's three-and-a-half decades of sustained high economic growth? Can textbook economics explain it? Second, what makes the durability of the Chinese party-state regime? What are the prospects for democratization in China? What is the relationship between high growth and authoritarian resilience? How are these two phenomena related? Do they reinforce or undermine each other? Finally, what are the implications of China's rise for global politics? How can we conceptualize that the center of the world, for the first time in modern world history, is moving to a non-Western country in East Asia?

To answer these questions, the course is divided into three parts. Part I (Preliminaries) equips students with a theoretical framework of Chinese politics and introduces China more generally. Part II (History) provides significant historical facts of China from the 19th century to the present to properly understand the substantive topics of the following part. And, Part III (Issues) deals with important sociopolitical economic issues: the Leninist party-state and the military, economic growth, social welfare, civil society, contentious politics, foreign policy, and the G-2 relationship.

SCHEDULE/OUTLINE OF TOPICS

I. Preliminaries			
1	Jan	15	Introduction
2	Jan	20-22	China from a Bird's Eye View and Theoretical Framework
II. History			
3	Jan	27-29	“The Chinese World Order” before European Hegemony
4	Feb	3-5	“The Century of Humiliation” from the Opium War
5	Feb	10-12	Struggles for Mastery in China: 1911 – 1949
6	Feb	17	Mardi Gras Holiday – No Class
6/7	Feb	19-24	PRC Politics under Mao: 1949 – 1976
7/8	Feb/Mar	26-3	PRC Politics in the Reform Era: 1978 – present
8	Mar	5	Midterm Examination, 10:30 – 11:50 am
III. Issues			
9	Mar	10-12	The Leninist Party-State and the Military
10	Mar	17-19	The Politics of the Economic “Miracle”
11	Mar	24-26	Beneath the “Miracle”: Social Welfare Provision
12	Mar	31	Civil Society and Social Movements
12	Apr	2	Conference – No Class
13	Apr	7-9	Spring Break – No Class
14	Apr	14-16	Authoritarian Resilience and Prospects for Democratization
15	Apr	21-23	Foreign Policy and the G-2 Relationship
16	Apr	28-30	Implications: A Long-term Perspective
17	May	6	Final Examination, Wednesday 3:00 – 5:00 pm

READINGS

Each student is expected to read (before class) all the required readings for each session (see the reading assignments below). The textbook provides a background to understand topics and lectures:

Dreyer, Teufel June. 2015. *China's Political System*. Ninth Edition. Pearson. (DREYER)

Articles and book chapters other than the textbook are posted on Moodle.

Students need to purchase and read the following book to write a final paper (see the course requirements below):

Schell, Orville, and John Delury. 2014. *Wealth and Power*. Random House.

Recommended/background readings:

If you are serious about studying China, read these monumental classics: Feng Yulan's *A History of Chinese Philosophy* [中國哲學史] and Joseph Needham's *Science and Civilization in China* (esp. Vol. 2).

History

Immanuel Hsu, *The Rise of Modern China* (6th edition 2010), Oxford University Press; John K. Fairbank and Merle Goldman, *China: A New History* (2nd edition 2006), Harvard University Press; Jonathan Spence, *The Search for Modern China* (3rd edition 2013), Norton; Mark Elvin, *The Pattern of the Chinese Past* (1973), Stanford University Press; Mark Elliott, *The Manchu Way* (2001), Stanford University Press; Paul Cohen, *China Unbound* (2003), Routledge.

The Rise of China Redux

Andre Gunder Frank, *The ReOrient* (1998), University of California Press; Kenneth Pomeranz, *The Great Divergence* (2001), Princeton University Press; Bin Wong, *China Transformed* (2000), Cornell University Press; Giovanni Arrighi, *Adam Smith in Beijing* (2007), Verso; Ho-fung Hung (ed.), *China and the Transformation of Global Capitalism* (2009), Johns Hopkins University Press.

Politics

Kenneth Lieberthal, *Governing China* (2003), WW Norton; Richard McGregor, *The Party* (2012), Harper Perennial; Joseph Fewsmith, *The Logic and Limits of Political Reform in China* (2013), Cambridge University Press; Kellee Tsai, *Capitalism without Democracy* (2007), Cornell University Press; Teresa Wright, *Accepting Authoritarianism* (2010), Stanford University Press; Andrew Nathan, Larry Diamond, and Marc Plattner (eds.), *Will China Democratize?* (2013), Johns Hopkins University Press.

Economy

Barry Naughton, *The Chinese Economy* (2007), the MIT Press; Pranab Bardhan, *Awakening Giants* (2012), Princeton University Press; Barry Naughton (ed.), Wu Jinglian: *Voice of Reform in China* (2013), the MIT press; Yasheng Huang, *Capitalism with Chinese Characteristics* (2008), Cambridge University Press.

Society

Ho-fung Hung, *Protest with Chinese Characteristics* (2013), Columbia University Press; Joel Andreas, *Rise of the Red Engineers* (2009), Stanford University Press; Xi Chen, *Social Protest and Contentious Authoritarianism in China* (2012), Cambridge University Press.

REQUIREMENTS

Basically, classes will involve lectures and discussions of the reading material assigned for each session. But, I will introduce and explain some issues and concepts that are not in the readings, so **attendance is crucial**. This means that a significant amount of material on the examinations will come from class lectures presenting information not discussed directly in the text and other readings. Participation from students is important and will count toward the final grade. At the end of each week, I will distribute a memo (posted on Moodle) that contains important points of my lecture.

Students are expected to complete:

1) In-class midterm and final examinations (25% each)

The emphasis is on important concepts and competing explanations of various political phenomena. Knowledge of some relevant historical facts is required as well.

2) Critical review paper (25%)

You will write a critical review of Schell and Delury's *Wealth and Power*. The text should be no longer than six single-spaced pages. The format and guide of the paper will be discussed in class. **You should submit a hard copy due in our last class on the 30th of April (Thursday).**

3) Attendance and participation (25%)

It is virtually impossible for you to receive a satisfactory grade if you miss several classes. Attendance will be taken for each session. Students may earn credit for their attendance at each class session, while repeated and unexcused absence will cause deduction in student's total grade. In addition to attending class, students are highly encouraged to ask and answer questions, and to make appropriate comments on issues covered in class.

GRADING SCALE

A: 90~100; B: 80~89; C: 70~79; D: 50~69; F: 0~49

NOTE: If you do not take any of the examinations, if you do not submit the final paper, or if you miss more than fourteen classes (half of lectures throughout the semester) you will automatically receive an F. No "make-up" examinations will be given; no late papers will be accepted.

IMPORTANT DATES

Midterm examination	Thursday, March 5	10:30 – 11:50 am
Final examination	<u>Wednesday, May 6</u>	<u>3:00 – 5:00 pm</u>
Final paper	Thursday, April 30	In class (or before)
Mardi Gras Holiday	Tuesday, February 17	No class
Conference	Thursday, April 2	No class
Spring Break	Tue/Thu, April 7, 9	No class

READING ASSIGNMENTS AND SPECIFIC TOPICS

I. PRELIMINARIES

Week 1 (1/15) Introduction

Scope and roadmap of the course.

Week 2 (1/20) China from a Bird's Eye View and Theoretical Framework

Why is China so important? Basic (relatively) time-invariant characteristics – geography, population, religion, culture. Chinese tradition. Communism. A brief history of Chinese civilization. Competing theories of analysis of Chinese politics.

DREYER, Chapter 1-2.

II. HISTORY

Week 3 (1/27, 1/29) “The Chinese World Order” before European Hegemony

Approaches: modernization and impact-response frameworks. Eurocentrism. “Chinese world order” and the tributary system. Anarchical vs. hierarchical international systems. “Biological old regime.” Capital-nation-state system. “High-level equilibrium trap.” Great divergence.

Cohen, Paul. 1996. “Moving Beyond Tradition and Modernity,” in *Discovering History in China*. New York: Columbia University Press, Chapter 2, pp. 57-96.

DREYER, Chapter 2.

Week 4 (2/3, 2/5) “The Century of Humiliation” from the Opium War

Three motifs in the 19th century. Colonialism and imperialism. Turning point in history. Opium War. *Taiiping* Rebellion. *Xinyou* coup. Unequal treaties and leased territories. “Reactive nationalism.” Sino-Japanese War of 1894. Rise of imperial Japan.

DREYER, Chapter 3.

Documentary film: *China's Century of Humiliation*.

Week 5 (2/10, 2/12) Struggles for Mastery in China: 1911 – 1949

Warlordism. *Xinbai* 1911 Revolution. Sun Yat-sen. “Wilsonian moment.” New Culture Movement. May Fourth Movement. KMT and the rise of the CCP. United fronts. *Jianxi* Soviet. Long March. Civil War. Chinese-Japanese War of 1937. Why did the Nationalists fail?

DREYER, Chapter 4.

Week 6 (2/17) Mardi Gras Holiday

No class.

Week 6-7 (2/19, 2/24) PRC Politics under Mao: 1949 – 1976

Sovietization of China. “Hundred flowers.” Mao's thoughts. Great Leap Forward. Cultural Revolution. Gang of four.

DREYER, Chapter 5.

Week 7-8 (2/26, 3/3) PRC Politics in the Reform Era: 1978 – present

Power struggle 1976-1978. Rise of Deng Xiaoping. Reform and opening up. Tiananmen Square protests of 1989. Generations of leadership. Power succession process.

DREYER, Chapter 6.

Nathan, Andrew and Perry Link. 2001. [Zhang Liang, compiler] *The Tiananmen Papers*. New York: Public Affairs. Excerpts.

Documentary film: *The Tank Man*.

Week 8 (3/5) Midterm Examination

10:30 – 11:50 am.

III. ISSUES

Week 9 (3/10, 3/12) The Leninist Party-State and the Military

Political regime type. Party-state dictatorship. Politburo Standing Committee. Central Military Commission. Central Committee. National People's Congress. Nature of the People's Liberation Army. Factional politics.

McGrecor, Richard. 2010. *The Party*. New York: HarperCollins, pp. 1-33.

DREYER, Chapter 9.

Ho, Wing-Chung. 2012. "The Rise of the Bureaucratic Bourgeoisie and Factional Politics of China." *Journal of Contemporary Asia* 42(3): 514-521.

Week 10 (3/17, 3/19) The Politics of the Economic "Miracle"

3rd Plenary Session of the 11th Central Committee of the Communist Party of China. "Socialism with Chinese characteristics." Collectivization and de-collectivization. Asian miracles vs. Chinese miracle. *Quanxi* capitalism. Socialist legacies. Dual track. Township and village enterprises (TVEs). State-owned enterprises (SOEs). Foreign direct investment (FDI). The rise of China *again*.

DREYER, Chapter 7.

Bardhan, Pranab. 2010. *Awakening Giants, Feet of Clay: Assessing the Economic Rise of China and India*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, Introduction and Chapter 2, pp. 1-39.

Week 11 (3/24, 3/26) Beneath the "Miracle": Social Welfare Provision

Educational system. Health and social welfare system. Decreasing poverty and increasing inequality. Environmental degradation. Human rights issue. Is China still socialist or already neoliberal?

DREYER, Chapter 10-11.

Ringen, Stein, and Kinglum Ngok. 2013. "What Kind of Welfare State Is Emerging in China?" United Nations Research Institute for Social Development Working Paper 2013-2.

Seldon, Mark, and Wu Jieh-min. 2011. "The Chinese State, Incomplete Proletarianization and Structures of Inequality in Two Epochs." *The Asia-Pacific Journal* Vol 5, Issue 5 No 1.

Week 12 (3/31) Civil Society and Social Movements

Legacy of Lu Xun. Arts and social protests. Social control. Civil society and contentious politics. Ethnicities and identity politics.

DREYER, Chapter 12-13.

Teets, Jessica. 2013. "Let Many Civil Societies Bloom: the Rise of Consultative Authoritarianism in China." *China Quarterly* 213: 19-38.

Chen, Xi. 2012. *Social Protest and Contentious Authoritarianism in China*. New York: Cambridge University Press, Chapter 1-2.

Week 12 (4/2) Conference

No class.

Week 13 (4/7, 4/9) Spring Break

No class.

Week 14 (4/14, 4/16) Authoritarian Resilience and Prospects for Democratization

Theories of democratic transitions. Tiananmen Square social protest of 1989 revisited. Importance of political business cycle. Corruptions. Role of movement politics. Sources of authoritarian resilience. Indispensable value of compromise. Will China democratize?

Nathan, Andrew, Larry Diamond, and Marc Plattner (eds.). 2013. *Will China Democratize?* Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, Chapter 1.

Week 15 (4/21, 4/23) Foreign Policy and the G-2 Relationship

China and its neighboring countries. Politics of history in Asia. The US-China relationships. "New model of great power relations." Prospects for the "East Asian community."

DREYER, Chapter 14.

Kissinger, Henry. 2011. *On China*. New York: Penguin Books, pp. 514-548.

Week 16 (4/28, 4/30) Implications: A Long-term Perspective

The so-called "rejuvenation" of China from a long historical perspective. Will "the Chinese Dream" come true?

Arrighi, Giovanni, Po-Keung Hui, Ho-fung Hung, and Mark Seldon. 2003. "Historical Capitalism, East and West." In *The Resurgence of East Asia: 500, 150, and 50 Year Perspective*, edited by Giovanni Arrighi, Takeshi Hamashita, and Mark Seldon. London and New York: Routledge, pp. 259-333.

Jacques, Martin. 2012. *When China Rules the World*. New York: Penguin Books, pp. 561-583.

Week 17 (5/6) Final Examination

Wednesday 3:00 – 5:00 pm.