

Stanford University
Winter Quarter 2022
Chinese Politics POLISCI 148/348, INTNLREL 158
Tuesday/Thursday: 1:30-2:50 pm
Location: 380-380Y, Bldg.380 (Sloan Hall), Main Quad
TAs: Yiqin FU: yiqinfu@stanford.edu
OH: Mon 12:30-1:30pm, Encina West 210
Victoria LIU: liucx@stanford.edu
OH Fri 2:30-4:30 pm, Encina West 210;
Virtual: https://calendly.com/victoria_liu_cx/polisci_148

Professor Jean C. Oi
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OH: Tues 3:15-4:45 pm & by appt.
<https://go.oncehub.com/JeanCOi>

**Political Science 148/348--DRAFT
International Relations 158
CHINESE POLITICS
Syllabus**

China, one of the few remaining communist states in the world, has not only survived, but has become a global political actor of consequence with one of the fastest growing economies in the world. What explains China's authoritarian resilience? Are there limits to this resilience and China's model of development? How resilient is the party in the face of technological and economic change? What changes have occurred under Xi Jinping? Materials will include readings, lectures, and selected films. This course has no prerequisites. (Graduate students should register for PS348.)

STUDENTS WITH DISABILITIES

Students who may need an academic accommodation based on the impact of a disability must initiate the request with the Office of Accessible Education (OAE). Professional staff will evaluate the request with required documentation, recommend reasonable accommodations, and prepare an Accommodation Letter for faculty dated in the current quarter in which the request is being made. Students should contact the OAE as soon as possible since timely notice is needed to coordinate accommodations. The OAE is located at 563 Salvatierra Walk (phone: 723-1066, URL: <https://oae.stanford.edu/>). Students expecting to require accommodations should present their OAE letters to the teaching team by the second week of the course when possible so that appropriate measures can be planned. Those who receive an accommodation after the start of the quarter should notify the instructors as soon as possible. Unless otherwise stated in an OAE letter, all OAE-recommended extensions should be pre-coordinated in advance of assignment deadlines.

BOOKS AND READINGS

Students may want to purchase the following two books:

Thomas Fingar and Jean C. Oi, eds., *Fateful Decisions: Choices That Will Shape China's Future*, (Stanford University Press, 2020). ISBN: 9781503611450 (hardcover), 9781503612228 (paperback) and 9781503612235 (E-book)

Jean C. Oi, *Rural China Takes Off: Institutional Foundations of Economic Reform* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1999). ISBN: 0-520-21727-6, and as UC Press E-Book

Both books are also available online via Stanford SearchWorks. All other readings can be found on CANVAS and most articles can also be found in the Stanford Library e-journals.

COURSE REQUIREMENTS

1. Examinations:

There will be two examinations—a mid-term and a comprehensive final. All students must take the examinations on the specified dates. Other than documented emergencies, **no exceptions will be made**. We will be abiding by the Stanford set final exam schedule: **FINAL EXAM: Tuesday, March 21, 2023—3:30 to 6:30 P.M. Room TBD.**

2. Discussion Section:

All students are required to attend and actively participate in discussions each week. Participation is required and will be graded for all students registered for the course. Students must register for one of the following weekly sections via CANVAS:

3. Films:

Throughout the course, students may be asked to view selected films to supplement the written materials and lectures.

4. Meet with Professor:

Meet with Prof. Oi at least once over the course of the term. Sign up online: <https://go.oncehub.com/JeanOi>

5. Writing Assignment: Literature Review

• For PS148/INTNLREL 158 Students

- The subject should be related to class material and can be tailored to the background and interest of each student. Students are encouraged to consult with both the instructor and TAs throughout the quarter as they develop their project.
- The purpose of the assignment is to provide students with the opportunity to critically review relevant literature on a topic and the types of data available, and identify questions for future research, both of which are key steps in formulating any research question —WITHOUT ACTUALLY WRITING THE RESEARCH PAPER.
- This literature review will provide the foundation for future research papers, whether for an honors or master's thesis or a paper for another class. Detailed instructions are posted on the course CANVAS website.
- Different parts of the assignment are due by 11:59 pm on the following dates:
 - ✓ January 26th: Proposal of a topic and preliminary question
 - ✓ February 16th: Compilation of a bibliography
 - ✓ March 2nd: FIRST DRAFT--Literature review with tentative research question
 - ✓ March 16th: FINAL DRAFT of literature review with:
 - ✧ Summary of the major arguments in the existing literature
 - ✧ Revised formulation of initial research question based on literature review
 - ✓ 8-10 pages, double spaced

- **For PS348 Students: *Additional requirements with same due dates for different parts of the assignment as above.*** See detailed instructions on CANVAS course website. The final draft of the literature review must also:

- ✧ Include the Research Design on how your research question can be answered
- ✧ Be 15-20 pages, double spaced

GRADES:

Grades will be calculated based on the following breakdown: midterm (25%), total of literature review assignments (25%), discussion section (15%), and the final exam (35%).

Topics and Readings

January 10: *Introduction: China's Great Transformation*

For background reading, see:

- Kenneth, Lieberthal, *Governing China: From Revolution through Reform*, pp. 59-83.

January 12: *How Far Has China Come?*

- Thomas Fingar and Jean C. Oi, "Introduction" in Thomas Fingar and Jean C. Oi, eds., *Fateful Decisions*, pp. 1-14 only.
- Andrew G. Walder, "The Mao Era in Retrospect," Chapter 14 in *China Under Mao: A Revolution Derailed*, pp. 315-344.

January 17: *Reform in a Leninist One Party State*

- "On Questions of Party History: Resolution on Certain Questions in the History of Our Party Since the Founding of the People's Republic of China," *Beijing Review*, Vol. 24, No. 27 (Jul. 6, 1981), pp. 10-39.
- Andrew Walder, "Bending the Arc of Chinese History: The Cultural Revolution's Paradoxical Legacy," *The China Quarterly*, No. 227 (Sep. 2016), pp. 613-630.

January 19: *Start Reform in the Countryside: From Collective to Household Farming*

- Jean Oi, "Communism and Clientelism: Rural Politics in China," *World Politics*, Vol. 32, No. 2 (Jan 1985), pp. 238-266.
- Jean Oi, "Reflections on Forty Years of Rural Reform," in Jacques deLisle and Avery Goldstein, eds., *To Get Rich is Glorious: Challenges Facing China's Economic Reform and Opening at Forty* (Brookings Institution Press 2019), pp. 55-86.

January 24: *China's Growth Takes Off with Rural Industry: Fiscal Incentives for Local State Led Development*

- Jean C. Oi, "Fiscal Reform and the Economic Foundations of Local State Corporatism in China," *World Politics*, Vol. 45, No. 1 (Oct. 1992), pp. 99-126.
- Jean C. Oi, *Rural China Takes Off*, Chapter 3, pp. 58-94.

January 26: *Private Business and the Party State*

- Jean C. Oi, *Rural China Takes Off*, Chapter 4, pp. 95-138.
- Bruce J. Dickson, "Integrating Wealth and Power in China: The Communist Party's Embrace of the Private Sector," *The China Quarterly*, Vol. 192 (Dec. 2007), pp. 827-854.
- Nicholas Lardy, "Private Sector Development," in Ross Garnaut, Ligang Song, Cai Fang, eds., *China's Forty Years of Reforms and Development: 1978-2018* (ANU Press, 2018), No. 18.

January 31: *State Owned Enterprise (SOE) Reform*

- Jean C. Oi, "Politics in China's Corporate Restructuring," in Jean C. Oi, ed., *Going Private in China* (Brookings: APARC, 2011), pp. 1-19.
- Yongshun Cai, "Distinguishing Between Losers: Institutionalizing Inequality in China's Corporate Restructuring," in Jean C. Oi, ed., *Going Private in China* (Brookings: APARC, 2011), pp. 71-94.
- Joo-Youn Jung, "Reinvented Intervention: The Chinese Central State and State-owned Enterprise Reform in the WTO Era," in Jean C. Oi, ed., *Going Private in China*

(Brookings: APARC, 2011), pp.119-134.

February 2: *Central-Local Relations: Principals and Agents*

- Jean C. Oi, *Rural China Takes Off*, Chapters 5-7, pp.139-204.
- Jean C. Oi, Kim Singer Babiarz, Linxiu Zhang, Renfu Luo, Scott Rozelle, "Shifting Fiscal Control to Limit Cadre Power in China's Townships and Villages," *The China Quarterly*, Vol. 211 (Sep. 2012), pp. 649-675.
- Linda Chelan Li, "Working for the Peasants? Strategic Interactions and Unintended Consequences in the Chinese Rural Tax Reform." *The China Journal*, No. 57 (Jan. 2007), pp. 89-106.

February 7: *Consequences of Halfway Reform*

- Jean C. Oi and Steven M. Goldstein, "Change within Continuity: Zouping County Government," in Jean C. Oi and Steven M. Goldstein, eds., *Zouping Revisited: Adaptive Governance in a Chinese County* (Stanford Press, 2018), pp. 3-28.
- Adam Liu, Jean Oi, and Yi Zhang, "China's Grand Bargain," *China Journal*, Vol. 87, No. 1 (Jan. 2022), pp. 40-71.
- Meg Rithmire, "Land Institutions and Chinese Political Economy: Institutional Complementarities and Macroeconomic Management," *Politics & Society*, Vol. 45, No. 1 (2017), pp. 123-153.

February 9: Midterm Examination

*Students should view Film: Carma Hinton, "Gate of Heavenly Peace," **BEFORE FEB. 14thTH**
Format will be class discussion.*

February 14: *Limits of Reform: 1989 Tiananmen*

- Andrew Walder, "The Political Sociology of the Beijing Upheaval of 1989," *Problems of Communism*, Vol. 38, Issue 5 (Sep.-Oct. 1989), pp. 30-40.
- June T. Dreyer, "The People's Liberation Army and the Power Struggle of 1989," *Problems of Communism*, Vol. 38, Issue 5 (Sep.-Oct. 1989), pp. 41-48.

February 16: *Village Elections and the Beginnings of Democracy?*

- Jean Oi and Scott Rozelle, "Elections and Power: The Locus of Decision Making in Chinese Villages," *China Quarterly*, No. 162 (June 2000), pp. 513-539.
- Tan Zhao, "Vote Buying and Land Taking in China's Village Elections," *Journal of Contemporary China*, Vol. 27, No. 110 (2018), pp. 277-294.

February 21: *Xi Jinping and the Fate of Reform*

- 20th National Congress of Communist Party of China opens in Beijing, Xi Jinping delivers report to Congress on behalf of 19th CPC Central Committee
- Bruce J. Dickson, "The Survival Strategy of the Chinese Communist Party," *The Washington Quarterly*, Vol. 39, Iss. 4, 2016.
- Alice Miller, "Xi Jinping and the Evolution of Chinese Political Leadership Politics," in Fingar and Oi, *Fateful Decisions*, pp. 33-51

February 23: *Corruption and Rule of Law*

- Kilkon Ko and Cuifen Weng, "Structural Changes in Chinese Corruption," *The China Quarterly*, Vol. 211 (Sep. 2012), pp. 718-740.
- Andrew Wedeman, "Anticorruption Forever?" in Fingar and Oi, *Fateful Decisions*, pp. 82-106.
- Yuen Yuen Ang, "The Robber Barons of Beijing: Can China Survive its Gilded Age?" *Foreign Affairs*, Vol. 100, No. 4 (July / August 2021), pp. 30-39.

February 28: *Discontent, Protests, and Governance*

- Lu Y., Zheng, W., and Wang, W., "Migration and Popular Resistance in Rural China: Wukan and Beyond," *The China Quarterly*, Vol. 229 (Mar. 2017), pp. 1-22.
- Diana Fu and G. Distelhorst. "Grassroots Participation and Repression under Hu Jintao and Xi Jinping." *The China Journal*, Volume 79, January 2018, pp. 100-122.
- Jennifer Pan and Kaiping Chen. 2018. "Concealing Corruption: How Chinese Officials Distort Upward Reporting of Online Grievances." *American Political Science Review* 112(3): 602-620

March 2: *Tool or Weapon: Internet & the Party State*

- Rongbin Han, "Defending the Authoritarian Regime Online: China's 'Voluntary Fifty-cent Army,'" *The China Quarterly*, Vol. 224 (Dec. 2015), pp. 1006-1025.
- Gary King, Jennifer Pan, and Margaret E Roberts, "How the Chinese Government Fabricates Social Media Posts for Strategic Distraction, Not Engaged Argument," *American Political Science Review* (2017), Vol. 111, No. 3, pp. 484-501.
- Maria Repnikova and Kecheng Fang, "Authoritarian participatory persuasion 2.0: netizens as thought work collaborators in China," *Journal of Contemporary China* Vol. 27, No. 113 (2018), pp. 763-779.

March 7: *Authoritarian Resilience: The Sustainability of China's Development Model*

- Barry Naughton, "Grand Steerage," in Fingar and Oi, *Fateful Decisions*, pp. 51-81.
- Hongbin Li, James Liang, Scott Rozelle, and Binzhen Wu, "Human Capital and China's Future," in Fingar and Oi, *Fateful Decisions*, pp. 200-224.
- Christine Wong, "Bold Strategy or Irrational Exuberance?" in Fingar and Oi, *Fateful Decisions*, pp. 272-286.

March 9: *Challenges for China's Development Model*

- Karen Eggleston, "Demographic and Health Care Challenges," in Fingar and Oi, *Fateful Decisions*, pp. 151-179.
- Mary E. Gallagher, "Can China Achieve Inclusive Urbanization," in Fingar and Oi, *Fateful Decisions*, pp. 180-199.
- Michael A. Neblo, Jeremy L. Wallace, "A Plague on Politics? The COVID Crisis, Expertise, and the Future of Legitimation," *American Political Science Review*, Vol. 115, Iss. 4 (2021), pp. 1524-1529.
- Xueguang Zhou, "Social Media and Governance in China," in Fingar and Oi, *Fateful Decisions*, pp. 128-150.

March 14: *Regime Stability and Prospects for Change* (via ZOOM)

- Martin King Whyte, "China's Dormant and Active Social Volcanoes," *The China Journal*, Vol. 75 (Jan. 2016), pp. 9-37.
- Andrew Walder, "China's National Trajectory," in *Fateful Decisions*, pp. 335-358.
- Susan Shirk, *Overreach: How China Derailed its Peaceful Rise* (New York: Oxford University Press), pp. 31-54 (Chapter 2).

March 16: Wrap up and Review (via ZOOM)

FINAL EXAM: Tuesday, March 21, 2023—3:30 to 6:30 P.M. Room TBA.