

Global Collaborative 2019

Course Title: Politics and Foreign Policy of the People's Republic of China

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Office Hour: by appointments

Course description:

Ever since China encountered the west since the mid-19th century, the leadership of this country had to face a tough and annoying question: to what extent should the Chinese resist the so-called “modern” elements from Europe and West; to what extent should the Chinese acquire or adapt the “western” historical/current experiences, ideas, civilizations, institutions, skills and technologies etc. without losing self-identity and the power of the Chinese state as a single-political unit?

This course deals with the new stage of modern China that was reached in the endeavors of successive Chinese elites to meet domestic problems inherited from the late imperialist era and to respond to the century-old challenge posed by the industrialized western world, from 1949 to present. It carries a guiding assumption that the complex, often bewildering events at home and abroad of the contemporary China are always evolving out of the Chinese state's continuing efforts to pursue for independence, modernity, rejuvenation and the complex relations between P.R. China and the external actors over time and across regions.

By the end of this course, students will be able to identify the key stages of Chinese political, economic and social developments since 1949 and their implications on world politics and economy; to interpret landmark Chinese domestic and foreign behaviors in the political and cultural context of its period; to apply their established knowledge about “well-functioning” governance and politics to contemporary China studies; to evaluate, in light of the context, whether the Chinese leadership did the right thing (and for whom); to assess the future trends and challenges that P.R. China face in a world full of uncertainty and ambiguity.

Course structure

The course is divided into two broad sections: lectures and seminars. Lectures examine the key political patterns and contexts that give deeper meaning to the swiftly-moving events relevant to China today. Another section of case study is included in seminars, a deliberate choice in order to invite students to get as close as they can to the Chinese modern state practice, and to ask themselves the questions about both the reasons for action and the costs/prices (also wisdoms) of those choices.

s with the benefit of hindsight.

Course Requirements

Class participation is an essential component of this course. Students are expected to read the assigned readings, do researches & give presentations on their selected seminar topic and participate intelligently in class discussions.

Participation: 10%

Seminar Presentation: 30%

Final paper: 60%

Course Schedule

Week 1	Topics
Lecture 1	<p style="text-align: center;">Introduction to China's Searching for Modernity: Historical stages & their major characteristics, problems</p>
Part I	<p style="text-align: center;">A new stage of modern China: a Revolutionary P. R. China (late 1940s to late 1970s)</p>
Lecture 2	<p style="text-align: center;">Mao's "Socialist-communist" state in the making: Its objectives, achievements and problems (late 1940s to 1955)</p>
Lecture 3	<p style="text-align: center;">China and the dual crises in the socialist and communist world: a short-lived policy adjustments at home and abroad (1956 to 1957)</p>
Lecture 4	<p style="text-align: center;">A Continuous Revolution: domestic and foreign policy implementations & consequences (late 1950s to late 1970s)</p>

Seminar 1	How to understand, explain and evaluate the revolutionary China?
Week 2	Topics
Part II	A new stage of modern China: P. R. China after Mao reforms to prevent crises (late 1970s - late 1980s)
Lecture 5	the rise of China's leadership under Deng with Mao's legacy (late 1970s to 1982)
Lecture 6	China's economic reform and opening-door policy: pursuing economic growth & international recognition without regime change (1982 - late 1980s)
seminar 2	What we have learned from China's transition?
seminar 3	Assessing the pros and cons of China's policy reforms and foreign relations in the 1980s with a case study
Lecture 7	From Revolutionary to Ruling: The Changing Role of the Party
Week3	Topics
Part III	A continuing search for modernity: China towards a more reformist or more conservative direction? (1990s up to present)
Lecture 8	dilemma of globalization and governance (late 1990s to present)
Lecture 9	From "going-out" strategy to "Belt and Road" Initiative": continuities and discontinuities (late 1990s to present)
Seminar 4	Challenges of Today and Prospects For The Future(1)

Seminar 5	Challenges of Today and Prospects For The Future(2)
Lecture 10	Future Challenges and Their Global Consequences

Course Readings:

Week 1

Lecture I: Introduction to China's Searching for Modernity: Historical stages & their major characteristics, problems

Introduction to the Course: Students should be prepared to introduce themselves, and discuss what they hope to get from the course. We shall set up the historical pattern and context for the Chinese Communist leadership under Mao to significantly strengthen their faith in a teleological conception of history promising unprecedented levels of abundance and happiness for China and the world.

- Fairbank, John K., and Merle Goldman. *China: A New History*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2006, Part I ,II and III.
- Jonathan D. Spence, *The Search for Modern China*, 2nd revised edition, NY: W. W. Norton & Co., 1999, Introduction.
- Immanuel Chung-yueh Hsü, *The Rise of Modern China*, Oxford University Press, 2000, chap. 1.

Part I A new stage of modern China: a Revolutionary P. R. China (late 1940s to late 1970s)

Lecture 2: Mao's "Socialist-communist" state in the making:

Its objectives, achievements and problems (late 1940s to 1956)

- MacFarquhar, Roderick, and John K. Fairbank, eds. *The Cambridge History of China*. Vol. 14. *The Cambridge History of China*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991., chap.1, pp. 1-37
Chap.2, pp.51-143,Chap.3, pp.144-184.
(pdf version available)
- Dandan ZHU, 1956: Mao's China and the Hungarian Crisis, Ithaca: Cornell East Asia Series, 2013, Chapter 1 (digital version available)
- Fairbank, John K., and Merle Goldman. *China: A New History*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2006, Part IV.

Key Questions:

What factors influenced CCP's state-building and foreign strategy in this period?

What is socialism? what is international communism? Do you think what happened in China in this period was socialist construction and why?

How to evaluate P.R. China's political, economic, social and foreign policies in this period?

Lecture 3: China and the dual crises in the socialist and communist world:

a short-lived policy adjustments at home and abroad (1956 to 1957)

- Roderick, MacFarquhar and John K. Fairbank, eds. *The Cambridge History of China*. Vol. 14. *The Cambridge History of China*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991, chap3, pp.122-143 (pdf version available)
- Dandan ZHU, "The Hungarian Revolution and the Origins of China's Great Leap Policies, 1956-57", *Cold War History* 12, no. 3 (2012), pp.451-472 (pdf version available)

Key Questions:

In what ways has this policy adjustment process in China been constrained by its forming political structures and historical legacies?

What if the policy prescription of reforming the Maoist state-building pattern were applied? any correlation between this adjustment of policy in the late 1950s and the CCP policy reforms in the early 1980s? if so, why and how?

Lecture 4: A Continuous Revolution: domestic and foreign policy implementations & consequences (late 1950s to late 1970s)

- Roderick MacFarquhar, *The Politics of China: Sixty Years of The People's Republic of China*, 3rd edition, Cambridge University Press, 2011. chapter 3, pp.147-245.

or Roderick, MacFarquhar and John K. Fairbank, eds. *The Cambridge History of China*. Vol. 15. *The Cambridge History of China*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991, pp.107-217

Key Questions:

How do you understand the objectives of Mao's continuous revolution?

How do you explain and evaluate the consequences of the revolution?

Seminar 1: How to understand, explain and evaluate the revolutionary China?

- Roderick, MacFarquhar and John K. Fairbank, eds. *The Cambridge History of China*. Vol. 15. *The Cambridge History of China*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991, chap1, pp.33-106.

(pdf version available)

- Satya Gabriel et al., "State Capitalism versus Communism: What Happened in the USSR and the PRC?", *Critical Sociology* 34(4)2008, 539-556.
- John W. Garver, "Review: The Opportunity Costs of Mao's Foreign Policy Choices" , Reviewed Work(s):Mao's China and the Cold War by Chen Jian , *The China Journal*, No. 49. (Jan., 2003), pp. 127-136.
- Chen Jian , "A Response: How to Pursue a Critical History of Mao's Foreign Policy" , *The China Journal*, No. 49. (Jan., 2003), pp. 137-142

Key Questions:

How to pursue a critical analysis of Mao's search for a "Chinese Road" to the end-point of humanity's socio-cultural evolution and the final form of human government?

What particular political, economic, or social system, in your opinion, would constitute the end-point of humanity's socio-cultural evolution and the final form of human government, or the end of history?

Week 2

Lecture 5: the transition years and an end of Maoism:

the rise of China's leadership under Deng with Mao's legacy (late 1970s to 1982)

- Roderick MacFarquhar, *The Politics of China: Sixty Years of The People's Republic of China*, 3rd edition, Cambridge University Press, 2011. chapter 4, pp.246-336.

Key Questions:

How do you understand the CCP's final decision to protect Mao, stressing that Mao's achievements outweighed his mistakes and the necessity of establishing the historical place of Mao Zedong Thought? Do you think that the Maoist revolution could revive in current P.R.China under Xi's leadership?

Do you think Mao was personally responsible for most of what transpired in China from late 1940s to late 1970s?

lecture 6 China's economic reform and opening-door policy: pursuing economic growth & international recognition without regime change (1982 - late 1980s)

- Roderick MacFarquhar, *The Politics of China: Sixty Years of The People's Republic of China*, 3rd edition, Cambridge University Press, 2011. chapter 5, pp.337-467.

- Shirk, Susan. "The Pre-reform Chinese Economy and the Decision to Initiate Market Reforms."  *The Political Logic of Economic Reform in China* in Shirk (ed.) (Berkeley, CA: UC Press, 1993), pp. 23-51.
- Chenggang Xu, "The fundamental institutions of China's reforms and development", *Journal Of Economic Literature*, 2011, v. 49 n. 4, pp. 1076-1151
<https://hub.hku.hk/bitstream/10722/153452/2/Content.pdf?accept=1>
- Barry Naughton, *The Chinese Economy: Transitions and Growth*, Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 2007, Introduction, pp.1-12 , <http://www.olemiss.edu/courses/pol387/naughton95.pdf>

Key Questions:

What were the major achievements and problems of China's economic reform and opening-door policy in this period?

In what ways has reform in China been shaped and constrained by its existing political structures and historical legacies?

Seminar 2: What we have learned from China's Economic Reform?

- Rawski, Thomas G. "Reforming China's Economy: What Have We Learned?" *The China Journal*, No. 41 (Jan. 1999): 139-156.
<http://www.journals.uchicago.edu/doi/abs/10.2307/2667590?journalCode=tci>
- Barry Naughton, "Introduction: China's Economic Reform in Comparative Perspective", in *Growing Out of the Plan: Chinese Economic Reform, 1978-1993*, 1995 ,Pages 1 - 20.
- Woo, Wing Thy. "The Real Reasons for China's Growth." *The China Journal*, No. 41 (Jan. 1999): 115-137.
<http://faculty.econ.ucdavis.edu/faculty/woo/realreasons.pdf>
- Qian, Yingyi, and Xu Chenggang. "The M-form Hierarchy and China's Economic Reform" , *European Economic Review*, 37(1993), pp.541-548
<http://citeseerx.ist.psu.edu/viewdoc/download?doi=10.1.1.474.3875&rep=rep1&type=pdf>
- Heilmann, Sebastian and Elizabeth J. Perry, "Embracing Uncertainty: Guerilla Policy Style and Adaptive Governance in China,"  in Heilmann and Perry (eds.), *Mao's Invisible Hand. The Political Foundations of Adaptive Governance in China*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2011: 1-29.

Key Question


How essential is privatization for economic development?

What role has the Chinese state played in fostering development, and how should we understand the role of the state in market systems more generally?

seminar 3: Assessing the pros and cons of China's policy reforms by the late 1980s

- Stiglitz, Joseph E. "Wither Reform? Ten Years of Transition." Paper prepared for World Bank Annual Conference on Development Economics, Washington D.C., April 1999.
http://www.worldbank.org/research/abcde/washington_11/papers.html
- Yifu Lin, Justin, Fang Cai, and Zhou Li. *The China Miracle*. Hong Kong: Chinese University Press, 1996, pp. 19-50.
- Steve Smith, Amelia Hadfield, Tim Dunne eds., *Foreign Policy: theories, actors, cases*, New York: Oxford University Press, 2008, chapter 17, pp.301-320. (pdf version of the book available)

lecture 7 From Revolutionary to Ruling: The Changing Role of the Party

- Tsang, Steve, "Consultative Leninism: China's New Political Framework" in *Journal of Contemporary China*, Vol. 18, No. 62, 2009, pp. 865-80.
- McGregor, Richard, Chapter One: "The Red Machine: The Party and the State,"  in *The Party: The Secret World of China's Communist Rulers* (New York: Harper-Collins, 2010), pp. 1-33.
- Saich, Tony. *Governance and Politics of China*. 4th ed. Comparative Government and Politics (Palgrave (Firm)). Basingstoke, Hampshire [UK] ; New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2015, chapter 4

week 3

Lecture 8 dilemma of globalization and Chinese governance (late 1990s to present)

- Roderick MacFarquhar, *The Politics of China: Sixty Years of The People's Republic of China*, 3rd edition, Cambridge University Press, 2011. chapter 6-7, pp.567-600.
- Williamson, John, "Is the 'Beijing Consensus' Now Dominant?" in *Asia Policy*, No. 1 3, January 2012, pp. 1-16.
- Huang, Yasheng, "Rethinking the Beijing Consensus" in *Asia Policy*, No. 11, January 2011, pp. 1-26.
- Lynch, Daniel C., "Economic Growth: Marching into a Middle Income Trap," Preview the document section of Chapter Two in *China's Futures. PRC Elites Debate Economics, Politics, and Foreign Policy* (Stanford: Stanford University Press), pp. 20-47.

Key Questions:

How has international integration impacted upon domestic change in China, and what will be required for China to foster globally competitive firms?

What are the distinctive features of the Beijing Consensus?

Can China's development approach serve as a model to others?

Lecture 9 From "going-out" strategy to "Belt and Road" Initiative": continuities and discontinuities (late 1990s to present)

- Hongying, Wang, "A Deeper Look at China's 'Going Out' Policy", Center for International Governance Innovation, Commentary Paper, March, 2016, https://www.cigionline.org/sites/default/files/hongying_wang_mar2016_web.pdf
- Yinghui, Lee "Xi's One Belt One Road: A Plan Too Big to Fail?", December 08, 2017, *the Diplomat*, <https://thediplomat.com/2017/12/xis-one-belt-one-road-a-plan-too-big-to-fail/> (digital version available)
- Paul Musgrave and Daniel Nexon, "BRI: Zheng He's Voyages and the Symbolism Behind Xi Jinping's Belt and Road Initiative", December 22, 2017, *the Diplomat*, <https://thediplomat.com/2017/12/zheng-hes-voyages-and-the-symbolism-behind-xi-jinpings-belt-and-road-initiative/>
- Dandan ZHU, "The Role of "Moral Realistic" Ideas in China's Operation of Belt and Road Initiative", *Journal of Asian Politics and History*, November 11, Fall, 2018, pp.1-20.
- Osnos, Evan, "Born Red," Preview the document in *The New Yorker*, April 6, 2015.
- Martin, Peter and Alan Crawford, "Is Xi Jinping's Bold China Power Grab Starting to Backfire?" Preview the document *Bloomberg Business Week*, August 7, 2018.

Key Question

What does Chairman Xi Jinping dream about? are there any continuities between his China rejuvenation strategy and Mao's search for modernity?

What are the key challenges facing the new leadership under Xi?

seminar 4 China's economic growth and world politics and economy

- Jun Kun and Scott Rozelle, China's Agriculture: Drivers of Changes and Implications to China and the Rest of the World, Presented at the 27th International Association of Agricultural Economists Conference Beijing, China, Aug., 2009 <https://ageconsearch.umn.edu/bitstream/53207/2/Jikun%20China.pdf>
- Kimberly Amadeo, China's Economic Growth: Cause, Pros, Cons, Future, September 18, 2017, <https://www.thebalance.com/china-s-economic-growth-cause-pros-cons-future-3305478>>
- Kanbur, Ravi, Yue Wang and Xiaobo Zhang, "The Great Chinese Inequality Turnaround," VOX CEPR's Policy Portal, Mar. 15, 2017, <http://voxeu.org/article/great-chinese-inequality-turnaround>
- Economic Watch: What to expect for China's economy in 2018, Xinhua News Agency, 1 Jan., 2018 http://www.xinhuanet.com/english/2018-01/01/c_136864938.htm

Key Questions:

how do you understand the implications of China's economic growth and political-social stability to China and the rest of the world?

can we co-exist peacefully with a pro-capitalist China holding a different set of political patterns?

seminar 5 Challenges of Today and Prospects for The Future

- Saich, Tony. *Governance and Politics of China*. 4th ed. Comparative Government and Politics (Palgrave (Firm)). Basingstoke, Hampshire [UK] ; New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2015.
Introduction
- Pan, Philip, "[The Land That Failed to Fail](#)," *New York Times*, November 18, 2018
- Minxin, Pei, "China's Governance Crisis", reprinted with permission from *Foreign Affairs* (Sept/Oct. 2002), <http://carnegieendowment.org/2002/09/01/china-s-governance-crisis-pub-1057>
- Paul Burgman Jr. Andrew M. Friedle, "China's Political Culture Is Paralyzing Its Economy", *The National Interest*, May 2, 2016
<http://nationalinterest.org/feature/chinas-political-culture-paralyzing-its-economy-16019>
- Mark P. Lagon, "Prosperity Without Democracy? Demystifying the China Model", July 28, 2015, <https://freedomhouse.org/blog/prosperity-without-democracy-demystifying-china-model>>
- Kenneth W. Dam, "China As a Test Case: Is the Rule of Law Essential for Economic Growth?", Coase-Sandor Working Paper Series in Law and Economics, 2006
- https://chicagounbound.uchicago.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=1102&context=law_and_economics

Key Questions:

what is democracy? how do you define the key features of democratization?

Modernization theory's expectation that economic development generates inescapable pressures for democratization, so why China's economic developments did not lead Chinese politics to wards that direction? Observers of China today frequently point to the need for effective governance and "rule of law," but what exactly do these terms mean, and what do they have to do with economic development?

Lecture 10 Future Challenges and Their Global Consequences

- Minzner, Carl, "Possible Futures," Preview the document Chapter Six in *End of An Era. How China's Authoritarian Revival is Undermining its Rise* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2018), pp. 161-89.
- Fallows, James, "Arab Spring, Chinese Winter" in *Atlantic Magazine*, September, 2011.
- Wright, Teresa, "Introduction" in *Accepting Authoritarianism. State-Society Relations in China's Reform Era* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2010), pp. 1-36.
- Blackwill, Robert D. and Ashley J. Tellis, *Revising U.S. Grand Strategy Toward China* Pr

review the document(Council on Foreign Relations, Special Report, No. 71), pp. 3-39.

- Rudd, Kevin, U.S.-China 21: The Future of U. S.-China Relations Under Xi Jinping Preview the document(Belfer Center, 2014).
- Allison, Graham, "The Thucydides Trap,"Preview the document in Foreign Policy, May-June 2017, pp. 73-79.

Key Questions:

What are the possible resources for a potential governance reform in China and what are the major constraints?

What are the major challenges in Chinese politics and foreign policy in the forthcoming decade?

What are the major challenges in the US-China Relationship?

How might mutual interests be pursued better?

Has the relationship reached a tipping point?

References:

Jonathan D. Spence, *The Search for Modern China*, 2nd revised edition, NY: W. W. Norton & Co., 1999.

Fairbank, John K., and Merle Goldman. *China: A New History*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2006.

Roderick MacFarquhar, *The Politics of China: Sixty Years of The People's Republic of China*, 3rd edition, Cambridge University Press, 2011.

David Shambaugh, *China Goes Global: The Partial Power*, Oxford University Press, 2014.

Justin Lin, Fang Cai, Zhou Li, *The China Miracle: Development Strategy and Economic Reform*, Chinese University Press, 2003.

Kelle S. Tsai, *Capitalism without Democracy, the Private Sector in Contemporary China*, NY: Cornell University Press, 2007.

Jie Chen, *A Middle Class Without Democracy: Economic Growth and the Prospects for Democratization in China*, Oxford University Press

Steve Smith, Amelia Hadfield, Tim Dunne eds., *Foreign Policy: theories, actors, cases*, New York: Oxford University Press, 2008.

Saich, Tony. *Governance and Politics of China*. 4th ed. Comparative Government and Politics (Palgrave (Firm)). Basingstoke, Hampshire [UK]; New York: Palgrave Ma

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