

GVPT 889E Fall 2017
Class meets: Tu 12:30-3:15

Professor Scott Kastner
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CHINESE POLITICS AND FOREIGN POLICY

This is a Ph.D.-level seminar that will introduce students to key questions and debates in the study of Chinese domestic politics and foreign policy. The first half of the course will focus on China's international relations. Topics covered will include China's rise as a regional and global power, and its implications for regional and global politics; the impact of domestic political dynamics on Chinese foreign policy; China's behavior in regional and global institutions; the degree to which a rising China is able to exert influence abroad; and China's role in regional maritime and territorial disputes. The second half of the course focuses on China's domestic politics. Topics covered include Chinese political institutions; China's political economy; the functions of legislatures and elections; the role of information; and contentious politics and civil society. The course will be taught as a seminar; students are expected to do the readings in advance and to come to class prepared for active discussion.

Course Requirements:

Research Paper (45%)—The main written requirement will be a 15 page research paper. A short preliminary summary of the project (with preliminary bibliography) will be due October 10, and the final paper will be due December 12. We will discuss this assignment in more detail during the first class.

Response Papers (15%)—Students are required to write four papers (approximately 3 pages in length) that respond to the readings for a particular week. Each week will have two papers/discussion leaders. For each student, two of these weeks should be in the IR section of the course, and two in the domestic politics section. (On the weeks that students write papers, they will also be expected to help lead class discussion.)

Class Participation (35%)—Please do all readings in advance and be prepared to discuss in class.

Presentation (5%)—Students will present to the class a brief summary of their research paper on December 5.

Books Ordered

- Melanie Manion, *Information for Autocrats: Representation in Chinese Local Congresses* (Cambridge Univ. Press, 2015).
- Yuenyuen Ang, *How China Escaped the Poverty Trap* (Cornell University Press, 2016)

- Alastair Iain Johnston, *Social States* (Princeton University Press, 2008).

Course schedule

Week 1: August 29
Introduction

Part I: China's International Relations

Week 2: September 5
China's rise and its implications for regional and global politics

A. General theoretical perspectives

- Aaron L. Friedberg. 2005. "The Future of US-China Relations: Is Conflict Inevitable?" *International Security* 30 (2): 7-45.
- Jessica Chen Weiss. 2017. "China and the Future of World Politics." (Review essay.) *Perspectives on Politics* 15 (2): 486-494.

B. Power Transition Theory

- Jack S. Levy, "Power Transition Theory and the Rise of China." In Robert Ross and Zhu Feng, eds, *China's Ascent: Power, Security, and the Future of International Politics* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2008), pp. 11-33.
- Alastair I Johnston, "Is China a Status Quo Power?" *International Security*, 27: 4 (2003), p.5-56.
- Scott L. Kastner and Phillip C. Saunders, "Is China a Status Quo or Revisionist State? Leadership Travel as an Empirical Indicator of Foreign Policy Priorities." *International Studies Quarterly* 56, no. 1 (March 2012): 163-177.

C. Security dilemma

- Robert Jervis, "Cooperation under the Security Dilemma," *World Politics*, Vol. 30, No. 2. (Jan., 1978), READ pages 186-214 ONLY.
- Thomas J. Christensen, "China, the US-Japan Alliance, and the Security Dilemma in East Asia," *International Security*, Vol. 23, No. 4 (1999): 49-80.
- Robert S. Ross. 1999. "The Geography of the Peace: East Asia in the Twenty-First Century." *International Security* 23 (4): 81-118.
- Adam P. Liff and G. John Ikenberry, "Racing toward Tragedy?: China's Rise, Military Competition in the Asia Pacific, and the Security Dilemma," *International Security*, Vol. 39, no. 2 (fall 2014): 52-91.

Week 3: September 12

Domestic political dynamics and foreign policy

A. Institutions

- Susan L. Shirk, *China, Fragile Superpower: How China's Internal Politics Could Derail its Peaceful Rise* (New York, NY: Oxford University Press, 2008), chapter 3.
- Jing Sun, "Growing Diplomacy, Retreating Diplomats: How the Chinese Foreign Ministry has been Marginalized in Foreign Policymaking," *Journal of Contemporary China* Vol. 26, issue 105 (2017): 419-433.
- Andrew Erickson and Adam Liff, "Installing a Safety on the 'Loaded Gun'? China's institutional reforms, National Security Commission and Sino-Japanese crisis (in)stability," *Journal of Contemporary China* (2015).

B. Nationalism

- Yinan He. 2007. "History, Chinese Nationalism and the Emerging Sino-Japanese Conflict," *Journal of Contemporary China*, Vol. 16, Issue 50: 1-24.
- Robert S. Ross, "China's Naval Nationalism: Sources, Prospects, and the U.S. Response." *International Security* Vol. 34, No. 2 (Fall 2009): 46-81.
- Alastair Iain Johnston, "Is Chinese Nationalism Rising? Evidence From Beijing," *International Security* Vol. 41, no. 3 (Winter 2016/17): 7-43.

C. Audience costs

- Michael Tomz. 2007. "Domestic Audience Costs in International Relations: An Experimental Approach." *International Organization* 61 (4): 821-840.
- Jessica Chen Weiss. 2013. "Authoritarian Signaling, Mass Audiences, and Nationalist Protest in China." *International Organization* 67 (1): 1-35.

Week 4: September 19

China in International Institutions

- Johnston, *Social States*.
- Scott L. Kastner, Margaret M. Pearson, and Chad Rector, "Invest, Hold-up, or Accept? China in Multilateral Governance." *Security Studies* 25, no. 1 (2016):142-179.
- Ann Kent, *Beyond Compliance: China, International Organizations, and Global Security* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2007), chapters 1-2.
- Fuzuo Wu, "Shaping China's Climate Diplomacy: Wealth, Status, and Asymmetric Interdependence," *Chinese Journal of Political Science*, Vol. 21, no. 2 (June 2016): 199-215.
- Li Xiaojun, "Understanding China's Behavioral Change in the WTO Dispute Settlement System: Power, Capacity and Normative Constraints in Trade Adjudication", *Asian Survey* (2012), Volume 52, Issue 6: 1111-1137.

Week 5: September 26

Assessing China's global influence

A. Financial influence

- Daniel W. Drezner, "Bad Debts: Assessing China's Financial Influence in Great Power Politics." *International Security*, Vol. 34, No. 2 (Fall 2009): 7-45
- Kirshner, Jonathan, "Regional Hegemony and an Emerging RMB Zone," in Kirshner and Helleiner (eds.), *The Great Wall of Money* (Ithaca: Cornell Univ. Press, 2014): 213-40

B. Foreign policy consequences of trade

- Flores-Macias, Gustavo A. and Sarah E. Kreps. 2013. The Foreign Policy Consequences of Trade: China's Commercial Relations with Africa and Latin America, 1992-2006. *Journal of Politics* 75 (2): 357-371.
- Fuchs, Andreas and Nils-Hendrik Klann. 2013. Paying a Visit: The Dalai Lama Effect on International Trade. *Journal of International Economics* 91: 164-177.
- Scott L. Kastner, "Buying Influence? Assessing the Political Effects of China's International Trade." *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 60, no. 6 (2016), pp. 980-1007.

C. Perspectives on assessing China's regional influence

- Evelyn Goh, ed., *Rising China's Influence in Developing Asia* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2016), chapters 1 (Goh), 2 (Glosny), 10 (Ciorciari) and 11 (Foot and Inboden).

Week 6: October 3

Territorial and maritime disputes

A. The Taiwan issue: differing perspectives

- Scott L. Kastner, "Is the Taiwan Strait Still a Flash Point? Rethinking the Prospects for Armed Conflict between China and Taiwan." *International Security* 40, no. 3 (Winter 2015/16), pp. 54-92.
- "Correspondence: Stability or Volatility across the Taiwan Strait?" *International Security* 41, vol. 2 (Fall 2016), pp. 192-197.
- Hsin-Hsin Pan, Wen-Chin Wu, and Yu-Tzung Chang, "How Chinese Citizens Perceive Cross-Strait Relations: Survey Responses from Ten Major Cities in China," *Journal of Contemporary China* Vol. 26, issue 106 (2017): 616-631.
- Todd Hall, "We Will Not Swallow this Bitter Fruit: Theorizing a Diplomacy of Anger," *Security Studies* Vol. 20, no. 4 (2011): 521-555.
- Steve Chan, "Commerce between Rivals: Realism, Liberalism, and Credible Communication across the Taiwan Strait." *International Relations of the Asia-Pacific* Vol. 9, No. 3 (2009): 435-67.

B. Other territorial and maritime disputes

- M. Taylor Fravel, “Power Shifts and Escalation: Explaining China’s Use of Force in Territorial Disputes,” *International Security* Vol. 32, no. 3 (Winter 2007/2008): 44-83.
- Kheng Swe Lim, “Back to the Front Burner: A Structuralist Approach to Analyzing the Shift in China’s Behavior in the South China Sea between the Periods 2000-2008 and 2009-2014,” *Asian Security* Vol. 13, no. 2 (2017): 148-163.

Week 7: October 10

Research methods and China, and some basics on ideology and history

[Hand in short description of research project for the course, and bibliography.]

- Chapters in Allen Carlson, et al, eds., *Contemporary Chinese Politics: New Sources, Methods and Field Strategies* (NY: Cambridge Univ. Press, 2010).
 - Ch 6 on media content, by Daniela Stockmann
 - Ch 10 on survey research, by Melanie Manion
- Pan, Jennifer and Yiqing Xu. Forthcoming. “China’s Ideological Spectrum.” *Journal of Politics*
- Elizabeth J. Perry, “Studying Chinese Politics: Farewell to Revolution?” *China Journal*, no. 57, (2007): 1–24. [See comparison w/ India, and role of China’s revolutionary past.]
- Mattingly, Daniel C. “Colonial Legacies and State Institutions in China: Evidence From a Natural Experiment.” *Comparative Political Studies*. Forthcoming.

Part II: China’s Domestic Politics

Week 8: October 17

Foundations of China’s Regime: Comparative Theories, Theories Developed for the PRC

A. Authoritarian Regime Survival – comparative literature

- Milan Svoblik (2012), *The Politics of Authoritarian Rule* (New York: Cambridge University Press). ch. 1.
- Mary Gallagher and Jonathan K. Hanson (2015), "Power Tool or Dull Blade? Selectorate Theory for Autocracies." *Annual Review of Political Science* (May), 367–385.
- Bruce Dickson 2016: *Dictator's Dilemma : the Chinese Communist Party's strategy for survival* (NY: Oxford Univ. Press), ch. 5.

B. Bureaucratic Structure, Policy-Making

- Andrew C. Mertha, “Fragmented Authoritarianism 2.0: Political Pluralization of the Chinese Policy Process,” *The China Quarterly* 200 (December 2009): 1-18

C. Informal Politics, Factions

- TSOU Tang, “Chinese Politics at the Top: Factionalism or Informal Politics? Balance of Power Politics or a Game to Win All?” *The China Journal*, No. 34 (July 1995), 95-156.
- Nathan, Andrew J. “A Factional Model for CCP Politics,” *The China Quarterly*, No. 53, (Jan/March 1973), pp. 34-66.
- Victor Shih (2016), “Contentious Elites in China: New Evidence and Approaches” (introductory essay to a special issue) *Journal of East Asian Studies*. 16:1, pp. 1-15

D. In What Ways is Culture Significant?

- Elizabeth J. Perry, “Chinese Conceptions of “Rights”: From Mencius to Mao— and Now.” *Perspectives on Politics*, 6 (2008), pp 37-50.
- Mayfair Mei- hui Yang, “The Resilience of *Guanxi* and Its New Deployments: A Critique of New *Guanxi* Scholarship,” *China Quarterly* 170 (2002): 459–476.

Week 9: October 24

Institutions (Potentially) Unique to China

A. Cadre Promotion

- Hongbin Li and Li- An Zhou, “Political Turnover and Economic Performance: The Incentive Role of Personnel Control in China,” *Journal of Public Economics*, vol. 89, nos. 9–10 (2005): 1743–1762. [non-specialists]
- Landry Pierre F. (2008), *Decentralized Authoritarianism in China: The Communist Party’s Control of Local Elites in the Post-Mao Era* (New York: Cambridge University Press). [excerpts]
- Shih, Victor, Christopher Adolph, and Mingxing Liu. 2012. “Getting Ahead in the Communist Party: Explaining the Advancement of Central Committee Members in China.” *American Political Science Review* 106 (1):166-187. 2011
- Kung, James Kai-sing and Shuo Chen. 2011. “The Tragedy of the Nomenklatura: Career Incentives and Political Radicalism during China's Great Leap Famine.” *American Political Science Review* 105(1):27-45

B. Central-Local Relations/Decentralization

- Montinola, Gabriella, Yingyi Qian, and Barry R. Weingast. 1995. “Federalism, Chinese Style: The Political Basis for Economic Success in China.” *World Politics* 48(1): 50-81
- Sebastian Heilmann, “Policy Experimentation in China’s Economic Rise,” *Studies in Comparative International Development*, Vol.43, No.1, March 2008, 1-26.
- Huang, Haifeng. 2013. “Signal Left, Turn Right: Central Rhetoric and Local Reform in China.” *Political Research Quarterly* 66 (2): 292-305.

- Daniel Mattingly, Elite Capture: How Decentralization and Informal Institutions Weaken Property Rights in Rural China. *World Politics*. 68:3 (2016): 383 - 412.
- Mei, Ciqi and Margaret M. Pearson (2014) "Killing the Chicken to Scare the Monkeys? Deterrence Failure and Local Defiance in China," *China Journal*, No. 72: 75-97.

Week 10: October 31

Authoritarian Power Sharing: The Function of Legislatures and Elections

A. Review of the comparative literature

- Magaloni, Beatriz and Ruth Kricheli (2010), "Political Order and One-Party Rule" (2010) *Annual Review Of Political Science* Vol. 13,

B. Legislatures – compare approaches of Truex and Manion, 2 books published at about the same time.

- Truex, Rory (2016), *Making Autocracy Work: Representation and Responsiveness in Modern China* (New York: Cambridge University Press). chs 1 [summarizes theory] and ch 4 [tests one empirical implication of the theory].
- Manion, Melanie (2015), *Information for Autocrats: Representation in Chinese Local Congresses* (NY: Cambridge University Press), all.
- [FYI – if interested, see a comparative work on Vietnam using related theory/methods - Malesky, EJ, and Schuler, P. "Nodding or Needling: Analyzing Delegate Responsiveness in an Authoritarian Parliament." *American Political Science Review* 104.3 (August 2012): 482-50.]

C. Elections

- Chen, Jie, and Yang Zhong. 2002. "Why Do People Vote in Semicompetitive Elections in China?" *The Journal of Politics* 64 (1): 178-197.
- Shi, Tianjian. 1999. "Voting and Nonvoting in China: Voting Behavior in Plebiscitary and Limited-Choice Elections." *The Journal of Politics* 61 (4): 1115-1139
- Pierre Landry, Deborah Davis and Shiru Wang, "Elections in Rural China: Competition Without Parties," *Comparative Political Studies* Vol. 43, No. 6 (2010), pp. 763-490.

Week 11: November 7

Information

- Chen, Jidong and Yiqing Xu (2017), "Why Do Authoritarian Regimes Allow Citizens to Voice Opinions Publicly?," *The Journal of Politics* 79 (3): 792-803.
- Huang, Haifeng (2017), "A War of (Mis)Information: The Political Effects of Rumors and Rumor Rebuttals in an Authoritarian Country." *British Journal of Political Science* 47(2): 283-312.

- Wallace, Jeremy L. 2016. "Juking the stats? Authoritarian information problems in China." *British Journal of Political Science* 46(1): 11-29.
- Truex, Rory (2017). "Consultative Authoritarianism and Its Limits." *Comparative Political Studies* 50 (3).
- Lorentzen Peter (2014), "China's strategic censorship," *American Journal of Political Science* 58(2): 402-14
- Jiang, Junyan, and Dali Yang. 2016. "Lying or Believing? Measuring Preference Falsification From a Political Purge in China." *Comparative Political Studies*. 49(5): 600-634.
- King, Gary, Pan, Jennifer and Margaret E. Roberts (2017), "How the Chinese Government Fabricates Social Media Posts for Strategic Distraction, not Engaged Argument." *American Political Science Review*.
- TBD: selections from Stromseth, Jonathan, Edmund Malesky, Dimitar Gueorguiev (2017), *China's Governance Puzzle Enabling Transparency and Participation in a Single- Party State*. (Cambridge University Press)

Week 12: November 14

Political Economy

A. Institutions and Growth

- Ang, Yuen Yuen (2016), *How China Escaped the Poverty Trap* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press).
- Guo, Gang. 2009. "China's Local Political Budget Cycles," *American Journal of Political Science* 53 (3):621-632.
- Xu, Yiqing and Yang Yao. 2015. "Informal Institutions, Collective Action, and Public Investment in Rural China." *American Political Science Review* 109 (2):371 – 391.
- Sinha, Aseema. 2005. "Political Foundations of Market-Enhancing Federalism: Theoretical Lessons from India and China." *Comparative Politics* 37(3): 337-356.
- Zhu, Boliang (2017), "MNCs, Rents, and Corruption: Evidence from China." *American Journal of Political Science* 61 (1): 84-99.
- Lu, Xiaobo and Pierre Landry (2014), "Show Me the Money: Interjurisdiction Political Competition and Fiscal Extraction in China." *American Political Science Review* 108 (3):706 – 722.

B. Linkages between economic and political reform

- Kellee S. Tsai (2007), *Capitalism without Democracy: The Private Sector in Contemporary China* (Cornell Univ. Press), chs. 1, 2 (pp. 1-43).
- Bruce Dickson (2007), "Integrating Wealth and Power in China: The Communist Party's Embrace of the Private Sector," *China Quarterly* 192: 827-854.
- Mary Gallagher (2002), "'Reform and Openness': Why China's Economic Reforms Have Delayed Democracy," *World Politics* 54 (4): 558-560.

Week 13: Thanksgiving.

Week 14: November 28

Contentious Politics/Civil Society/Collective Action

- Ang, Yuen Yuen (2014), “Authoritarian Restraints on Online Activism Revisited: Why “I-Paid-A-Bribe” Worked in India but Failed in China.” *Comparative Politics* 47(1): 21-40(20).
- Hurst, William, Mingxing Liu, Yongdong Liu, and Ran Tao (2014), “Reassessing Collective Petitioning in Rural China: Civic Engagement, Extra-State Violence, and Regional Variation.” *Comparative Politics* 46(4): 459-482.
- Kevin O’Brien, “Rightful Resistance Revisited,” *Journal of Peasant Studies*, 40:6 (November 2013): 1051-62
- Fu, Diana. “Disguised Collective Action in China.” *Comparative Political Studies*. Forthcoming.
- Cai, Yongshun. 2008. “Power Structure and Regime Resilience: Contentious Politics in China.” *British Journal of Political Science* 38(3): 411-432
- Distelhorst, Greg. “The Power of Empty Promises: Quasi-Democratic Institutions and Activism in China.” *Comparative Political Studies*. Vol 50, Issue 4, 2017.

Week 15: December 5

Student presentations

Final paper due: December 12