

**EASTD 98J:
Political Economy of 21st Century China
Fall 2019**

Tuesday 12:45-2:45pm
Room 213 at 2 Divinity Avenue

Instructor: Dr. Daniel Koss
koss@fas.harvard.edu
(617)-495-5498

Office Hours: Thursday 2:30 – 4pm
2 Divinity Avenue, Room 227

Teaching Fellow: Joo-hyeon Oh
ohj@g.harvard.edu

Office Hours: TBA
CGIS Knafel café

Course Description: Junior Tutorial. This course examines central challenges facing the Chinese leadership since 2000, in (1) domestic politics, (2) economics, and (3) foreign policy. Concepts and methods from the social sciences are introduced to analyze topics including the SARS health crisis, the strained leadership transition to Xi Jinping, internet censorship, the great variety of protests, policy experimentation, factions in elite politics, ethnic minorities, state-led development with the emergence of companies designated as national champions, anti-corruption efforts, rising inequality, artificial intelligence (AI) in the country's digital strategy, international power transitions, China's entry into the World Trade Organization (WTO), the ongoing trade dispute, and the Belt and Road initiative. Enrollment is capped at 10 students.

Class Participation:

Students are required to actively participate in class. Every week by noon on Monday, students will post short responses (200-300 words) to the readings of the week to the course website, posing questions or raising issues they would like to address in class. Any student who has to miss a class should communicate with the instructor beforehand.

Grades:

Student work will contribute to the final grade in the following proportions:

Participation (online and class meetings)	20%
Exercise using empirical evidence (1.000-1.500 words, due Oct 11)	20%
Final paper prospectus (1.000-1.500 words, due Nov 5)	20%
Final paper (6.000 +/-100 words, due by Registrar's deadline)	40%

To be fair to all students in the class the final paper deadline is firm. Late papers turned in without an extension will be penalized 1/3 of a grade to 1 full grade, depending on the circumstances.

Collaboration & Academic Honesty:

Collaboration is vital to academic research and will be encouraged throughout the class. You must credit others for any ideas or evidence that they contribute to your project in your citations. Any instances of plagiarism or academic dishonesty will be reported to the Honor Council.

Language of Instruction: This course is taught in English and has no other language requirement. Please consult instructor for additional resources in other languages, especially in Chinese.

Readings: All readings will be available online on the course website. In addition, most books will be on reserve at the Harvard-Yenching Library and/or the Fung Library.

Weekly meetings:

9/3 Introduction and Overview

PART I: DOMESTIC POLITICS

9/10 Performance legitimacy and the SARS crisis

- Perry, Elizabeth J. 2018. "Is the Chinese Communist Regime Legitimate?" In *The China Questions: Critical Insights Into a Rising Power*, edited by Rudolph, J., & Szonyi, M., Cambridge: Harvard University Press, pp.11-17.
- Kleinman, A., & Watson, J. 2006. *SARS in China: Prelude to Pandemic?* Stanford: Stanford University Press. Read "Introduction: SARS in Social and Historical Context" (pp.1-14) and "SARS and China's Health-Care Response: Better to Be Both Red and Expert!" (pp. 53-68).

9/17 Leadership transition and Xi Jinping

- Nathan, A. 2003. "Authoritarian Resilience." *Journal of Democracy*, 14:1, pp. 6-17.
- Fewsmith, J. 2013. "The 18th Party Congress: Testing the Limits of Institutionalization." *China Leadership Monitor*, January 2013, issue 40.
- Shirk, S. 2018. "The Return to Personalistic Rule." *Journal of Democracy*, 29:2, pp. 22-36.
- Boix, C., & Svolik, M. 2013. "The Foundations of Limited Authoritarian Government: Institutions, Commitment, and Power-Sharing in Dictatorships." *The Journal of Politics* 75:2, pp. 300-316. (You can skip the math and skim the model.)

9/24 Digital censorship, propaganda and the lenses of causal inference

- Roberts, M. 2018. *Censored: Distraction and Diversion Inside China's Great Firewall*. Princeton: Princeton University Press. Read chapter 4 "Reactions to Experience with Censorship" (pp. 113-146) and chapter 5 "The Powerful Influence of Information Friction" (pp. 147-189).
- Perry, E. 2017. "Cultural Governance in Contemporary China: 'Re-Orienting' Party Propaganda." In *To Govern China: Evolving Practices of Power*, edited by Shue, V. & Thornton, P., New York: Cambridge University Press, pp. 29-55.
- King, G., Pan, J., & Roberts, M. 2013. "How Censorship in China Allows Government Criticism but Silences Collective Expression." *American Political Science Review*, 107:2, pp. 326-343.

10/1 Protest and the lenses of field research

- Yang, D. 2007. "China's Long March to Freedom." *Journal of Democracy*, 18:3, pp.58-64.
- Pei, M. 2007. "How Will China Democratize?" *Journal of Democracy*, 18:3, pp.53-57.
- Fu, D. 2017. *Mobilizing Without the Masses*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. Read "Organizing Under Duress" (pp.1-25) and "Atomized Action" (pp.106-124).
- Perry, E. 2009. "A New Rights Consciousness?" *Journal of Democracy*, 20:3, pp.17-20.
- Video: Zhao, L. 2009. "Petition." Strasburg: ARTE.

10/8 Elite politics and the lenses of regression analysis

- Fewsmith, J. 2018. "Can Fighting Corruption Save the Party?" In *The China Questions*, pp. 18-25.
- Shih, V., & Lee, J. (forthcoming). "Locking in Fair Weather Friends: Assessing the Fate of Chinese Communist Elite When Their Patrons Fall From Power." *Party Politics*.

- Li, Ch. 2016. *Chinese Politics in the Xi Jinping Era*, Washington DC: Brookings Institutions Press. Read: “Governance: Collective Leadership Revisited” (pp. 7-39).

10/15 Nationalism and ethnic minorities (meeting led by Joo-Hyeon Oh)

- Elliott, M. 2018 “What is the Source of Ethnic Tension in China?” In *The China Questions*, pp. 33-42.
- Ma, R. 2010. “The ‘Politicization’ and ‘Culturization’ of Ethnic Groups.” *Chinese Sociology and Anthropology*, 42:4, pp.31-45.
- Leibold, J. 2013. “Ethnic Policy in China: Is Reform Inevitable?” *Policy Studies*, 68.
- Leibold, J. 2010. “The Beijing Olympics and China’s Conflicted National Form.” *The China Journal*, 63, pp.1-24.

PART II: ECONOMICS

10/22 State-led development and national champions

- Nolan, P. 2001. *China and the Global Economy: National Champions, Industrial Policy and the Big Business Revolution*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan. Read part 1 “China’s Ambitions: Building the ‘National Team’” (p.1-50).
- Naughton, B. 2017. “Is China Socialist?” *The Journal of Economic Perspectives*, 31:1, pp. 3-24.
- Hung, H. 2016. *The China Boom: Why China Will not Rule the World*. New York: Columbia University Press. Read “Introduction: Sinomania and Capitalism” (pp.1-14).

10/29 Corruption and Inequality

- Fisman, R., & Miguel, E. 2010. *Economic Gangsters: Corruption, Violence, and the Poverty of Nations*. Princeton: Princeton University Press. Read “The Smuggling Gap” (pp.53-75).
- Sun, Y. 2018. *Corruption and Market in Contemporary China*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press. Read “Between the State and Localities: The Regional Dynamics of Corruption” (pp.120-157).
- Luo, C. & Sicular, T. 2013. “Inequality and Poverty in Rural China.” In *Rising Inequality in China: Challenges to a Harmonious Society*, edited by Li, S., Sato, H. & Sicular, T. New York: Cambridge University Press, pp.197-229.
- Whyte, M. 2010. *Myth of the Social Volcano: Perceptions of Inequality and Distributive Injustice in Contemporary China*. Stanford: Stanford University Press. Read “Conclusion” (pp.181-200).

10/5 Artificial intelligence (AI) and Surveillance

- Segal, A. 2018. “When China Rules the Web: Technology in Service of the State.” *Foreign Affairs*, 97:5, pp.10-18.
- Lee, K. 2018. *AI Superpowers: China, Silicon Valley, and the New World Order*. Boston: Houghton Mifflin Harcourt. Read “China’s Sputnik Moment” (pp. 1-21) and “The Four Waves of AI” pp.104-139 (full text accessible through HOLLIS).
- Human Rights Watch. 2019. *China’s Algorithms of Repression: Reverse Engineering a Xinjiang Police Mass Surveillance App*.

11/12 Project presentations

PART III: FOREIGN POLICY

11/19 China’s Rise and international power transitions

- Allison, G. 2017. *Destined for War: Can America and China Escape Thucydides's Trap?* Boston: Houghton Mifflin Harcourt. Read “The Biggest Player in the History of the World” (pp.3-24) and “Athens vs. Sparta” (pp.27-40).
- Nye Jr, J. 2012. “The Twenty* First Century Will Not Be a ‘Post* American’ World.” *International Studies Quarterly*, 56:1, pp. 215-217.

11/26 Trade disputes and interdependence

- Clinton, W. *Speech on China Trade Bill*, March 9th, 2000.
- Hiscox, M. 2010. “The Domestic Sources of Foreign Economic Policy.” In *Global Political Economy* edited by Ravenhill J. Oxford: Oxford University Press, pp. 95-133.
- United States Trade Representative. 2018. *Report to Congress On China’s WTO Compliance*, pp. 5-25.

12/3 The Belt and Road Initiative

- Department of Defense. 2018. *Assessment on U.S. Defense Implications of China’s Expanding Global Access*.
- Leverett, F., & Wu, B. 2017. “The New Silk Road and China’s Evolving Grand Strategy.” *The China Journal* 77:1, pp.110-132.