

Governing China
PLSC 444 / PLSC 794 / EAST 344

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Office Hours: Tuesday 1:30-3:30

Please sign up on calendly.com/Mattingly

China is the world's largest polity and most powerful authoritarian regime. What internal and external political challenges does China face? How has China's leadership responded to these challenges? This course is an advanced seminar on China's domestic and international politics. Topics include elite politics, technology, economic growth, trade, repression, propaganda, protest, the military, and foreign policy. The readings focus on new work by early-career scholars, at the cost of reading classic work and work by senior scholars.

Since we will not be covering the basics of China's history and its political system, students are strongly suggested to have a background equivalent to having taken one of the introductory courses on China, such as "China from Mao to Now," "China in the World," or "The Rise of China."

Course Requirements

The course will include the following components:

- 15% - Class participation
- 20% - Brief weekly responses to the readings (8 total, due 10 p.m. the day before class on Canvas)
- 5% - Final Paper: Research question, hypothesis (due week 5)
- 15% - Final Paper: Rough draft (due week 9)
- 45% - Final paper (due last day of the semester, except for senior essays)

Weekly response memos

The weekly response memos are 300 words *maximum* (shorter is encouraged) and will be graded check-minus, check, or check-plus. In general, you should pick *two* readings and for each piece: (a) in a sentence or two summarize the main argument or finding; (b) explain the main contribution of the study (often, how does this piece change our priors about a theory, concept, or empirical regularity);

(c) discuss a limitation or shortcoming of the piece and/or raise a question about something that puzzled or intrigued you and you want to discuss. Response assignments should be posted on Canvas. For the 12 sessions, you should write responses for at least 8.

Final research paper

The use of primary source material, qualitative or quantitative, is encouraged but not required. Senior essays writers and graduate students should write papers of 25 or so pages (depending on the requirements of your major); everyone else should target 10 to 20 pages. If you will be working with materials in Chinese or another East Asian language, funding may be available for a tutor to help find and read materials. Please contact me! A draft of the paper is due the 9th week of the course.

Academic Honesty

Academic dishonesty of any kind is a serious offense. Students who plagiarize will automatically be reported to the Yale College Executive Committee and will receive a grade of zero for the assignment. A second offense will also be reported to the Executive Committee and will automatically result in a grade of F for the course. Please take note of the following from the Yale Center for Teaching and Learning: “You must document all of your source material. If you take any text from somebody else, you must make it clear the text is being quoted and where the text comes from. You must also cite any sources from which you obtain numbers, ideas, or other material. If you have any questions about what does or does not constitute plagiarism, ask! Plagiarism is a serious offense and will not be treated lightly. Fortunately, it is also easy to avoid and if you are the least bit careful about giving credit where credit is due you should not run into any problems.” Visit: <http://ctl.yale.edu/writing/using-sources> for more details.

Week 1: Introduction

- Kurt M. Campbell and Ely Ratner. “The China Reckoning: How Beijing Defied American Expectations.” *Foreign Affairs*. March/April 2018.
- Elizabeth Economy. “Xi Jinping’s New World Order: Can China Remake the International System?” *Foreign Affairs*. January/February 2022.
- Jiang Shigong (强世功), “The ‘Critical Decade’ in the Sino-American Relationship.” (“中美’ 关键十年’) [Link to English translation](#). [Link to original Chinese](#).
- Amelia Hoover Green. “How to Read Political Science: A Guide in Four Steps.”

- Skill: Efficient reading in social science

I. Domestic Politics

Week 2: Mass Politics

- Chen, Jidong, Jennifer Pan, and Yiqing Xu. "Sources of Authoritarian Responsiveness: A Field Experiment in China." *American Journal of Political Science* 60.2 (2016): 383-400.
- Ding, Iza. "Performative Governance." *World Politics* 72.4 (2020): 525-556.
- Fu, Diana. *Mobilizing Without the Masses: Control and Contention in China*. Cambridge University Press, 2017. Chapter 6.
- Monica Martinez-Bravo, Gerard Padró i Miquel, Nancy Qian and Yang Yao. "The Rise and Fall of Local Elections in China." Working paper.
- Skill: Identifying causal, conceptual, and descriptive contributions.
Reading regression tables.
 - <https://egap.org/resource/10-things-to-know-about-reading-a-regression-table/>

Week 3: Elite Politics

- Shih, Victor. *Coalitions of the Weak*. Cambridge University Press, 2022. Introduction
- U.S. Embassy in Beijing Confidential Cable. "Portrait of Vice President Xi Jinping: Ambitious Survivor of the Cultural Revolution."
- Shirk, Susan. "China in Xi's New Era: The Return to Personalist Rule," *Journal of Democracy*. Volume 29, Number 2 April 2018.
- Fewsmith, Joseph. "Balances, Norms and Institutions: Why Elite Politics in the CCP Have Not Institutionalized." *The China Quarterly* (2021): 1-18.
- Torigian, Joseph. "Elite politics and foreign policy in China from Mao to Xi." Brookings Institution, January 2019.
- Skill: Identifying a good research question...

Week 4: Repression and History

- Greitens, Sheena Chestnut, Myunghee Lee, and Emir Yazici. "Counterterrorism and preventive repression: China's changing strategy in Xinjiang." *International Security* 44.3 (2019): 9-47.

- Truex, Rory. "Focal points, dissident calendars, and preemptive repression." *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 63.4 (2019): 1032-1052.
- Wang, Yuhua. "The political legacy of violence during China's cultural revolution." *British Journal of Political Science* 51.2 (2021): 463-487.
- Eleventh Central Committee of the Communist Party of China. "Resolution on Certain Questions in the History of Our Party since the Founding of the People's Republic of China." June 27, 1981. Focus on sections on "Ten Years of Initially Building Socialism in All Spheres" and "The Decade of the "Cultural Revolution."" [Link to English translation](#).
- Nineteenth Central Committee of the Communist Party of China. "Resolution of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China on the Major Achievements and Historical Experience of the Party over the Past Century." [Link to English translation with Chinese](#). Focus on sections on "Socialist Revolution and Construction," "Reform, Opening Up, and Socialist Modernization," "A New Era of Socialism with Chinese Characteristics," and "Exercising full and rigorous self-governance."
- Skill: Working with primary source material at Yale.

Week 5: Ideology and Propaganda

- Central Committee of the Communist Party of China's General Office "Communiqué on the Current State of the Ideological Sphere," April 22, 2013. [Link to English translation](#).
- Pan, Jennifer, and Yiqing Xu. "China's Ideological Spectrum." *The Journal of Politics* 80.1 (2018): 254-273.
- Zhao, Suisheng. "Xi Jinping's Maoist Revival." *Journal of Democracy* 27.3 (2016): 83-97.
- Sinica Podcast. "The worldview of Wang Huning, the Party's leading theoretician." [Transcript](#). [Audio](#).
- Huang Haifeng. "The Pathology of Hard Propaganda." *Journal of Politics*.
- Daniel Mattingly and Elaine Yao. "How Soft Propaganda Persuades." *Comparative Political Studies*. Forthcoming.
- Skill: Time management for writing and other work.

Week 6: Censorship and Surveillance

- Molly Roberts. *Censored: Distraction and Diversion Inside China's Great Firewall*. Princeton University Press, 2018. Selections.

- King, Gary, Jennifer Pan, and Margaret E. Roberts. "How censorship in China allows government criticism but silences collective expression." *American Political Science Review* 107.2 (2013): 326-343.
- Gueorguiev, Dimitar D., and Edmund J. Malesky. "Consultation and selective censorship in China." *The Journal of Politics* 81.4 (2019): 1539-1545.
- Chen, Yuyu, and David Y. Yang. "The impact of media censorship: 1984 or brave new world?" *American Economic Review* 109.6 (2019): 2294-2332.
- Xu, Xu. "To Repress or to Co-opt? Authoritarian Control in the Age of Digital Surveillance." *American Journal of Political Science* 65.2 (2021): 309-325.
- Skill: What makes for effective writing?

Week 7: Business and the Economy

- Ang, Yuen Yuen. *China's Gilded Age: The Paradox of Economic Boom and Vast Corruption*. Cambridge University Press, 2020. Chapter 1, Chapter 4, Chapter 5.
- Jiang, Junyan. "Making bureaucracy work: Patronage networks, performance incentives, and economic development in China." *American Journal of Political Science* 62.4 (2018): 982-999.
- Hou, Yue. *The Private Sector in Public Office: Selective Property Rights in China*. Cambridge University Press, 2019. Introduction.
- Skill: Crafting introductions; deep work

II. International Politics

Week 8: Links Between Domestic and International Politics

- Fravel, M. Taylor. "Shifts in Warfare and Party Unity: Explaining China's Changes in Military Strategy." *International Security* 42.3 (2017): 37-83.
- Weiss, Jessica Chen. "Authoritarian signaling, mass audiences, and nationalist protest in China." *International Organization* 67.1 (2013): 1-35.
- Mattingly, Daniel C. "How the Party Commands the Gun: The Foreign-Domestic Threat Dilemma in China." Working Paper.
- Weiss, Jessica Chen, and Jeremy L. Wallace. "Domestic politics, China's rise, and the future of the liberal international order." *International Organization* 75.2 (2021): 635-664.

Week 8: China's Grand Strategy

- Doshi, Rush. *The Long Game: China's Grand Strategy to Displace American Order*. Oxford University Press, 2021. Introduction, Chapter 1, Chapter 12. (Optional: Chapters 3, 7, and 11.)
- Goldstein, Avery. "China's Grand Strategy under Xi Jinping: Reassurance, Reform, and Resistance." *International Security* 45.1 (2020): 164-201.

Week 9: Hard Power

- U.S. Department of Defense. *Annual Report to Congress: Military and Security Developments Involving the People's Republic of China 2021*. Selections TBD.
- Jost, Tyler. "The Institutional Origins of Miscalculation in Chinese Foreign Policy." Working paper.
- Cunningham, Fiona S., and M. Taylor Fravel. "Dangerous confidence? Chinese views on nuclear escalation." *International Security* 44.2 (2019): 61-109.
- Zhang, Ketian. "Cautious Bully: Reputation, Resolve, and Beijing's Use of Coercion in the South China Sea." *International Security*.

Week 10: Soft Power

- Repnikova, Maria. *Chinese Soft Power*. Cambridge University Press, Forthcoming.
- Benabdallah, Lina. *Shaping the Future of Power: Knowledge Production and Network-Building in China-Africa Relations*. University of Michigan Press, 2020. Selections.
- Trevor Incerti, Changwook Ju, Daniel Mattingly, Colin Moreshead, Frances Rosenbluth, Seiki Tanaka, and Hikaru Yamagishi. "The Logic of Soft Power Competition: Evidence From East Asia." Working paper.

Week 12: Trade and Investment

- Lee, Ching Kwan. *The Specter of Global China: Politics, Labor, and Foreign Investment in Africa*. University of Chicago Press, 2018. Excerpt.

- Audrye Wong. ““Reaping What You Sow: Subversive Carrots, Public Accountability, and the Effectiveness of Economic Statecraft.” Working paper.

Week 13: The Future of China, the United States, and the World

- Yao Yang, “Is a New Cold War Coming?” interview with Beijing Cultural Review, published on April 28, 2020.
- Weiss, Jessica Chen. "A world safe for autocracy: China's rise and the future of global politics." *Foreign Affairs*. 98 (2019).
- Other readings TBD