

Political Thought and Political Change in China

POSC 353 Spring 2016

"No state is forever strong or forever weak," said Han Feizi, China's great legalist philosopher. "If those who uphold the law are strong, the state will be strong; if they are weak, the state will be weak."¹ Han believed that as a country's conditions changed, the law and institutions must change to meet those new circumstances. China today faces new circumstances that have caused numerous monumental problems that impact the lives of its people. Issues of economic reform are being overshadowed by issues of political reform. Indeed, incomplete economic reforms are causing problems in China's political system. Countless "mass incidents" over these problems have served to compound them. All this has prompted serious debate among intellectuals, leaders, and average citizens regarding the potential for political reform. Is political reform needed? What might that reform look like? Is political change even possible in a country ruled by a single political party that is plagued by corruption, operated by networks of patrons and clients, and bereft of legal remedies?

This seminar provides a fuller understanding of China's potential for political change -- and the direction it might take. The course examines Chinese political thought from Confucius, Mencius and Han Feizi through Mao Zedong and Deng Xiaoping. Further, what does China's ancient philosophy tell us about China's rise in the late 20th and early 21st Centuries? Does Confucianism remain? These and other political philosophies have influenced China's political culture, which will give shape to what any change might look like. As well, Chinese history may be a guide in how the country has embraced political reform and how it has turned the idea away, often with drastic results.

Texts for Purchase:

George Orwell: *1984* -- read by end of term.

Aldous Huxley: *Brave New World* -- read by end of term.

Donald Munro: *The Concept of Man in Early China*.

Fung Yu Lan: *A Short History of Chinese Philosophy*

Nick Knight: *Rethinking Mao*.

Joseph Fewsmith: *The Logic and Limits of Political Reform in China*.

Bruce Gilley & Larry Diamond, eds.: *Political Change in China: Comparisons with Taiwan*.

Other readings marked with an asterisk* are on Blackboard.

¹ Han Feizi: "On Having Standards" in *Han Fei Tzu: Basic Writings*, translated by Burton Watson, Columbia University Press, page 21.

Office hours are Tuesday & Thursday 1:30 to 2:30 p.m. at Mather House Room 315.

Responsibilities

Twenty percent for attending each class *and participating* in class discussions. This means coming to class prepared, i.e. having done the reading for the day. **Attendance is noted.**

Participation will be gauged by seminar questions you are to submit where noted in the syllabus. These will be used to generate class discussion on February 16, February 24 and April 19.

Twenty percent for one short paper analyzing any aspect of Chinese politics that offers potential for reform. The paper should be no longer than five (5) pages and should incorporate material discussed in class or the readings up to the due date, **April 20 by noon** via e-mail pes15@case.edu. *Your paper topic requires a written proposal of no longer than one (1) page and should include a list of proper resources.* When writing, **proper citations are required**, either in the body of the text with appropriate follow-up bibliography, footnotes (I prefer footnotes) or endnotes. N.B. Submit bibliographic material with the paper: Do not send it separately. **A penalty of 5% per day late is enforced.**

Twenty five percent for a **take-home midterm exam** distributed February 18 and due February 25. The exam will offer four or five questions. Students will write on two of their choice in no longer than eight pages total (approximately four pages for each question). Use *double space, 12-point font in Word format.* **Do not submit a paper in .pdf.**

When writing, **proper citations are required**, either in the body of the text with appropriate follow-up bibliography, footnotes (I prefer footnotes) or endnotes. N.B. Submit bibliographic material with the paper: Do not send it separately. **A penalty of 5% per day late is enforced**

Thirty five percent for a **take-home final exam** distributed April 21 and due April 28 by noon via pes15@case.edu. Students will write on two questions of their choice. The final exam paper should be six (6) to eight (8) pages, double spaced, 12-point font total. When writing, **proper citations are required**, either in the body of the text with appropriate follow-up bibliography, footnotes (I prefer footnotes) or endnotes. N.B. Submit bibliographic material *with* the paper: Do not send it separately. **A penalty of 5% per day late is enforced**

Students taking 453 at the graduate level will write a 20-25 page *analytical* paper on a topic pertaining to China's potential for political reform. Reform issues to consider include electoral reform, bureaucratic reform, the role of the military in any political reform, anti-corruption efforts, and the potential for a competitive multi-party system. The topic will be approved after consultation in person with the professor. A one-page written proposal is required after consultation and should include a list of resources to be used.

N.B. *I do not give incompletes* for the course unless extenuating circumstances warrant. Not having done assignments or being overwhelmed by too many courses are not extenuating.

Tentative Schedule

January 12 Connections or Contradictions

Antiquity & the Nature of Chinese Philosophy

Reading

- ***Jacques Gernet:** *A History of Chinese Civilization*, Chapter 4.
- Daniel Munro:** *The Concept of Man in Early China*, Chapters 1-2.
- Fung Yu-lan:** *A Short History of Chinese Philosophy*: Chapters 1-2.
- Dynastic Cycle & Chinese Philosophers**

January 14 Culture & Political Culture

Different Thought Patterns & Development of Political Culture

Reading

- ***Lucian Pye:** *The Mandarin & the Cadre: China's Political Cultures*, Chapter 2.
- ***Lucian Pye:** *Asian Power Politics The Cultural Dimensions of Authority*. Chapters 2- 3
- ***Richard Nisbett:** *The Geography of Thought*. Introduction & Chapters 1-2.

Suggested Reading:

- ***Geert Hofstede, et al:** *Cultures and Organizations: Software of the Mind*, 3rd edition, McGraw Hill, 2010.

January 19 Roots

The Six Schools of Thought & Confucianism, the Moral Order

Reading

- Fung Yu-lan:** *A Short History of Chinese Philosophy*, Chapter 3.
- ***Yan Xuetong:** *Ancient Chinese Thought, Modern Chinese Power, 2011*, Chapter 1
- Daniel Munro:** *The Concept of Man in Early China*, Chapter 3, pp 49-73.

January 21 Roots

Mo Tzu -- Impartial Concern for All & Mencius

Reading

Fung Yu-lan: *A Short History of Chinese Philosophy*, Chapter 5.

***Mo Tzu:** " Universal Love" in *Mo Tzu: Basic Writings*, 1966.

***Mo Tzu:** "Against Offensive Warfare" in *Mo Tzu: Basic Writings*, 1966.

***Andrew Jacobs:** "Elite in China Face Austerity," in *The New York Times*, March 27, 2013.

Donald Munro: *The Concept of Early Man in China*, Chapter 3, pages 74-83.

***Bai Tongdong:** *China: the Political Philosophy of the Middle Kingdom*, 2012, Chapters 1-3.

***Mencius:** Book 1 Part A No. 1

January 28 & 28 Daoism

The Dao, Lao Tzu, Chang Tzu & Wu Wei

Reading

Donald Munro: *The Concept of Man in Early China*, Chapters 5 & 6.

***Bai Tongdong:** *China: the Political Philosophy of the Middle Kingdom*, 2012, Chapter 4.

Fung Yu-lan: *A Short History of Chinese Philosophy*: Chapters 9 & 10

February 2 & 4 Yin & Yang, the Five Elements, Legalism & the Military

Reading

Fung Yu-lan: *A Short History of Chinese Philosophy*, Chapter 12 & 14

***Bai Tongdong:** *China: the Political Philosophy of the Middle Kingdom*, 2012, Chapter 5 with reference to Bai Chapters 1-3.

***Sun Tzu:** *The Art of War*. Chapters 3-5.

February 9 Persistent Tradition, Frequent Reform

Rise of the Sung

Reading

***Jacque Gernet:** *A History of Chinese Civilization*, pp. 300-308.

***Wang Anshi:** *The Ten Thousand Word Memorial*.

February 11 Tradition, Self-Strengthening, 100-days Reform & Sun Yatsen

Deterioration of The Qing & the Self-Strengthening Movement

Reading

***Jacques Gernet:** *A History of Chinese Civilization*, pp. 491-494 & Chapter 29.

***Immanuel Hsu:** *The Rise of Modern China*, Chapter 11, 15 & 21

February 15 First Seminar Questions Due via pes15@case.edu

February 16 First Seminar Questions Discussion

February 18 Midterm Distributed

February 25 Midterm Due via pes15@case.edu

February 18 & 23 Chinese Socialism & Mao Zong Thought

Reading

- ***Immanuel Hsu:** *The Rise of Modern China*, pp 514-523.
- ***Donald M. Lowe:** *The Function of "China" in Marx, Lenin and Mao*, Chapters 1, 4 & 5
- ***Mao Zedong:** "Report on an Investigation of the Peasant Movement in Hunan." -- 1927.
"The Struggle in the Chingkang Mountains." -- 1928.
"On Correction of Mistaken Ideas in the Party." -- 1929.
"The Chinese Revolution and the CCP" -- 1939.
"On New Democracy." -- 1940.
"On Coalition Government." -- 1945.
"Mao's On the Cooperative Transformation of Agriculture" -- 1955.
"Mao's 60 Points on Work Methods" -- 1958
- ***Sun Tzu:** *The Art of War*, Chapter 6
- Nick Knight:** *Rethinking Mao* Chs 1 & 6
- George Orwell:** 1984. Skim entire book.

February 24 Second Seminar Questions Due by noon via pes **February 25 Second Seminar Questions**

March 1 & 3 Deng Xiaoping Theory

Cats, Black and White & To Get Rich is Glorious

Reading

- ***Barry Naughton:** *The Chinese Economy: Transitions and Growth*, Chapter 4.
- ***Dan Levin & Amy Qin:** "True or Faked, Dirt on Chinese Fuels Blackmail" in *The New York Times*, June 18, 2013.
- ***Steven Feldman:** *Trouble in the Middle*, pp 130-148.
- Aldous Huxley:** *Brave New World*, Skim entire book.

March 15, 17, & 22 Urgency of Reform

Economic Woes

Reading

***Michael Schuman:** "The Real Reason to Worry About China" in *Time*, April 28, 2013.

***Tom Orlik:** "China -- Slower and More Unbalanced" in *The Wall Street Journal*, May 13, 2013.

***Ian Johnson:** "China Embarking on Vast Program of Urbanization" in *The New York Times*, June 16, 2013.

***Keith Bradsher & Sue-Lin Wong:** "A Humbled Class of 2013: Faltering Economy in China Dims Job Prospects for Graduates" in *The New York Times*, June 17, 2013.

***Keith Bradsher:** "After Barreling Ahead in Recession, China Finally Slows" in *The New York Times*, May 24, 2013.

Environmental Woes

Reading

***Perry Link, Richard Madsen & Paul Pickowicz, eds:** *Restless China*, Chapter 10

***Judith Shapiro:** *China's Environmental Challenges*, Introduction.

Social Woes

Reading

***Perry Link, Richard Madsen, & Paul Pickowicz, eds:** *Restless China*, Chapters 1, 2 & 4.

***Judith Shapiro:** *China's Environmental Challenges*, Chapter 5

Legitimacy Woes

Reading

***Willy Wo-Lap Lam:** *Chinese Politics in the Hu Jintao Era*, Chs 2 & 7.

* **Steven Feldman:** *Trouble in the Middle*, pp 148 - 159.

***The Economist:** "Masses of Meetings" July 13, 2013.

March 24 & 29 China's Great Debate

Limits of Reform

Reading

***Joseph Fewsmith:** *The Logic and Limits of Political Reform in China*, Chapters 1, 2, 5 & Conclusion.

Issues & Debates

Reading

***Fred Dallmayr & Zhao Tingyang, eds:** *Contemporary Chinese Political Thought*, Chapters 1-2.

March 31, April 5, 7 & 12 Democracy and Confucianism

Chinese Democracy

Reading

***Yu Keping:** *Democracy is a Good Thing*, Chapters 1, 4, 6 & 8

Regional Influence

Reading

***Don Chull Shin:** *Confucianism and Democratization in East Asia*, Chapters 1, 4, 7 & 8.

Resilient Confucianism

Reading

***Stephen Angle:** *Contemporary Confucian Political Philosophy*, Chapters 1, 3, 4 & 8

***Fred Dallmayr & Zhao Tingyang, eds:** *Contemporary Chinese Political Thought*, Chapters 5, 7 & 8

Confucianism & Chinese Politics

Reading

***Chris Buckley:** “Leader Taps Into Chinese Classics Seeking to Cement Power” in *The New York Times*, October 14, 2014.

***Jin Kai:** “The Chinese Communist Party’s Confucian Revival” in *The Diplomat*, September 30, 2014.

***Fred Dallmayr & Zhao Tingyang, eds:** *Contemporary Chinese Political Thought*, Chapters 11-12.

April 14 China in Transition

When, How, and How Far?

Reading

* **Chris Buckley:** "China Takes Aim at Western Ideas" in *The New York Times*, August 19, 2013.

***Yan Xuetong:** *Ancient Chinese Thought, Modern Chinese Power*, 2011, Chapters 2-3.

April 18 Third seminar questions via pes15@case.edu.

April 19 Third Seminar Questions

April 21 Term Paper Due

April 21 Discussion & Final Exam Distributed

April 28 Final Exam Due by noon via pes15@case.edu.