

Political Thought and Political Change in China

"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.

Complete by End of Course

George Orwell: *1984*.

Aldous Huxley: *Brave New World*

Other Texts for Purchase:

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

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.

Responsibilities

Student responsibilities are:

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.

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, **November 22 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 October 11 and due October 18. 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 total in Word format.* 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 for a **take-home final exam** distributed December 6 and due December 13 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 is not extenuating.

N.B. Some class lectures will use PowerPoint slides. I have noticed that many students do not take lecture notes. You should do so. To encourage this, PowerPoint slides are not available.

Tentative Schedule

August 26 & 28 Connections or Contradictions

Lecture 1 Different Thought Patterns

Reading Lecture 1

***Jacques Gernet:** *A History of Chinese Civilization*, Chapter 4.

***Richard Nisbett:** *The Geography of Thought*. Introduction & Chapters 1-2.

Lecture 2 The Nature of Chinese Philosophy

Reading Lecture 2

Daniel Munro: *The Concept of Man in Early China*, Chapters 1-2.

***Fung Yu-lan:** *A Short History of Chinese Philosophy*: Chapters 1-2.

***Yan Xuetong:** *Ancient Chinese Thought, Modern Chinese Power, 2011*, Chapters 1-3.

August 30, September 4 & 6 Roots: The Six Schools of Thought

Lecture 3 The Six Schools of Thought

Reading Lecture 3

***Fung Yu-lan:** *A Short History of Chinese Philosophy*, Chapter 3.

Daniel Munro: *The Concept of Man in Early China*, Chapters 3-4.

Lecture 4 Confucianism -- the moral order.

Reading Lecture 4

*Selected Writings of Confucius

September 2 Labor Day No Class

Lecture 5 Confucianism -- The Idealism of Mencius & Development of a System

Reading Lecture 5

***D. C. Lau:** *Mencius*, Introduction.

***Hui-Chan Wang Liu:** "An Analysis of Chinese Class Rules: Confucian Theories in Action" in Arthur F. Wright, ed.: *Confucianism and Chinese Civilization*, 1964.

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

September 9 Mohism

Lecture 6 A Utilitarian Ethic Emphasizing Impartial Concern for All

Reading Lecture 6

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

***Mo Tzu & Burton Watson:** "Introduction," "Universal Love," and "Against Offensive Warfare" in *Mo Tzu: Basic Writings*, 1966.

September 11, 13 & 16 Daoism

Lecture 7 The Dao

Reading Lecture 7

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.

Lecture 8 Lao Tzu

Reading Lecture 8

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

***D. C. Lau:** *Tao Te Ching*, Introduction.

Lecture 9 Chuang Tzu & Wu Wei

Reading Lecture 9

***Fung Yu-lan:** *A Short History of Chinese Philosophy*, Chapter 10

September 18 Yin & Yang & the Five Elements

Lecture 10 Yin & Yang

Reading Lecture 10

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

September 20 Legalism

Lecture 11 Legalism

Reading for Lecture 11

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

***Bai Tongdong:** *China: the Political Philosophy of the Middle Kingdom*, 2012, Chapter 5.

September 23 & 25 Culture & Political Culture

Lecture 12 What is Culture?

No reading for Lecture 12

Suggested Reading:

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

Lecture 13 Development of Political Culture

Reading for Lecture 13:

***Lucian Pye:** *The Mandarin & the Cadre: China's Political Cultures*, Chapter 2.

***Lucian Pye:** *Asian Power Politics The Cultural Dimensions of Authority*, Chapter 3

Reference **Bai Tongdong** reading chapters 1-3.

Lecture 14 Political Culture & the Military

Reading for Lecture 14

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

September 27, 30, October 2, & 4

Persistence of Tradition, Constancy of Reform

Lecture 15 Rise of the Sung

Reading Lecture 15

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

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

Lecture 16 Deterioration of The Qing & the Self-Strengthening Movement

Reading Lecture 16

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

***Immanuel Hsu:** *The Rise of Modern China*, Chapter 11.

Lecture 17 One Hundred Days' Reform

Reading Lecture 17

***Immanuel Hsu:** *The Rise of Modern China*, Chapter 15.

Lecture 18 Sun Yatsen & the Three People's Principles

Reading Lecture 18

***Immanuel Hsu:** *The Rise of Modern China*, Chapters 21.

October 6 Seminar Questions Due

October 7 Seminar Questions

First seminar questions **due by noon October 6** via pes15@case.edu.

I will collate questions to generate discussion on October 7.

October 9, 11 & 14 Chinese Socialism

Lecture 19 Communism

Reading for Lecture 19

***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.

October 11 Midterm Exam Distributed. Due October 18 by noon via pes15@case.edu

Lecture 20 The Basis of Mao Zedong Thought

Reading for Lecture 20 - 21

***Donald Lowe:** Chapter 5 continued

***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.

Lectures 22 Rethinking Mao

Reading for Lectures 21

***Nick Knight:** *Rethinking Mao: Explorations in Mao Zedong's Thought.*
Entire book.

George Orwell: *1984.* Skim entire book.

October 17 **Second Seminare Questions Due by noon via pes**

October 18 **Midterm Due by 5 p.m.**

October 18 **Seminar Questions**

October 21 **Fall Break**

October 23 & 25 **Deng Xiaoping Theory**

Lecture 23 **Cats, Black and White**

Reading Lecture 23

***Barry Naughton:** *The Chinese Economy: Transitions and Growth,*
Chapter 4.

Lecture 24 **To Get Rich is Glorious**

Reading Lecture 24

Aldous Huxley: *Brave New World,* Skim entire book.

***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.

October 28 & 30, November 11, 13, 15 The Urgency of Reform

Lecture 25 Economic Woes

Reading for Lecture 25

***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.

Lecture 26 Environmental Woes

Reading for Lecture 26

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

Lecture 27 Social Woes

Reading for Lecture 27

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

Lecture 28 and 29 Legitimacy Woes

Reading for Lectures 28 & 29

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

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

November 1, 4, 6, & 8 China's Great Debate

Lecture 30 & 31 Limits of Reform

Reading Lectures 30 & 31

Reading for Lectures 32 & 33

***Joseph Fewsmith:** *The Logic and Limits of Political Reform in China*, Chapters 1-2, 5-6.

Lecture 32 Issues & Debates

Reading for Lectures 32-33

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

November 22 Term Paper Due

November 27 & 29-- NO CLASS

November 18, 20, 22 & 25 Democracy and Constitutionalism

Lecture 33 Chinese Democracy

Reading for Lecture 33

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

Lecture 34 Regional Influence

Reading for Lecture 34

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

Lecture 35 Resilient Confucianism

Reading for Lecture 35

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

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

Lecture 36 & 37 Confucianism & Chinese Politics

Reading Lecture 36 & 37

Bruce Gilley & Larry Diamond, eds.: *Political Change in China: Comparisons with Taiwan*, Chapters 1-3, 6 & 10.

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

December 2 China in Transition

Lecture 38 When, How, and How Far?

Reading for Lecture 38

Guobin Yang: *The Power of the Internet in China*, 2009. Conclusion.

December 3 **Third seminar questions via pes15@case.edu.**

December 4 Seminar Questions

December 6 **Open discussion**

Final Exam Distributed

December 13 **Final Exam Due by noon via pes15@case.edu.**