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**POL 362 / SPI 323 / EAS 362**

**Chinese Politics**

**T&Th 2:30-3:20**

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**Course Overview**

This course provides an overview of China's political system. We will begin with a brief historical overview of China's political development from 1949 to the present. The remainder of the course will examine the key challenges facing the current generation of CCP leadership, focusing on prospects for democratization and political reform. Students will also be familiarized with prominent theories of authoritarian politics. Among other topics, we will examine: factionalism, power-sharing, and political purges; corruption; avenues for political participation and representation; public opinion; protest movements and dissidents; co-optation of ethnic minorities; and media and internet control. No knowledge of Chinese is required.

**Instructor**

Rory Truex

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Office Hours (in person): Tuesday 10:00-11:50AM (appointments on Microsoft Bookings)

**Requirements and Grading**

The reading assignments will total about 150-200 pages per week. You will write four short, two-page (single spaced) response papers over the course of the semester. There will also be a take home final exam.

- Precept Participation: 20%
- Response Papers: 40% (10% each)
- Final Exam: 40%

## Lecture Distribution

All lectures will be conducted synchronously and in person unless otherwise noted. The audio from lectures will be recorded and posted online to accommodate students with COVID-19 exposures or other personal issues that prohibit attendance. Students are strongly encouraged to attend class in person.

## Course Content and Sensitivity

This course contains material that is considered politically sensitive in China. The following course policies will be in effect:

- No students are permitted to record lectures or precept
- Students will submit all written assignments using a preassigned code rather than their name to preserve anonymity
- Students may choose to opt out of discussion in a given precept meeting if they view the material as too sensitive

## Course Outline and Readings

You should purchase the following books:

- deLisle, Jacques, and Guobin Yang, eds. 2022. *The Party Leads All: The Evolving Role of the Chinese Communist Party*. Brookings Institution Press.
- Fincher, Leta Hong. 2018. *Betraying Big Brother: The Feminist Awakening in China*. Verso Books.
- Lieberthal, Kenneth. 2004. *Governing China: From Revolution Through Reform (Second Edition)*. New York: W. W. Norton & Company.
- Roberts, Margaret E. 2018. *Censored: Distraction and Diversion Inside China's Great Firewall*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.
- Shambaugh, David. 2021. *China's Leaders: From Mao to Now*. John Wiley & Sons.

All other readings will be made available on eReserve. In the syllabus below, required readings are indicated with a  symbol. Optional readings are indicated with a  symbol.

## Part I: Introduction

### *Lecture 1: Introduction and Course Overview - September 6th*

- Nathan, Andrew J. 2003. "Authoritarian Resilience." *Journal of Democracy* 14(1): p. 6-17.
- Rowen, Henry S., Minxin Pei & Dali Yang. 2007. "When Will the Chinese People Be Free?" *Journal of Democracy* 18(3): p. 38-63.
- Shambaugh, David. 2015. "The Coming Chinese Crackup." *The Wall Street Journal*. ([click here](#))
- Chen, Dingding. 2015. "Sorry, America: China is NOT Going to Collapse." *The National Interest*. ([click here](#))
- Tao, Xie. 2015. "Why Do People Keep Predicting China's Collapse?" *The Diplomat*. ([click here](#))
- Ang, Yuenyuen. 2022. "How Resilient Is the CCP?" *Journal of Democracy* 33(3): 77-91. ([click here](#))
- Rowen, Henry S. 1996. "The Short March: China's Road to Democracy." *National Interest* 45: p. 61-70.
- Fukuyama, Francis & Zhang Weiwei. "The China Model: A Dialogue between Francis Fukuyama and Zhang Weiwei." 2011. *New Perspectives Quarterly* 28(4): p. 40-67. ([click here](#))
- Tharoor, Ishan. 2020. "China's Chernobyl? The Coronavirus Outbreak Leads to a Loaded Metaphor." *The Washington Post*. ([click here](#))
- Truex, Rory. 2020. "China's Chernobyl Never Seems to Arise." *The Atlantic*. ([click here](#))

*Lecture 2: Contestation from Within and Below - September 8th*

- Svobik, Milan W. 2013. *The Politics of Authoritarian Rule*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. Chapters 1-2, p. 1-44.
- Geddes, Barbara. 2007. "What Causes Democratization?" *The Oxford Handbook of Comparative Politics*. Chapter 14, p. 317-339.
- Boix, Carles & Susan C. Stokes. 2003. "Endogenous Democratization." *World Politics* 55: p. 117-49.
- Lipset, Seymour Martin. 1959. "Some Social Requisites of Democracy: Economic Development and Political Legitimacy." *American Political Science Review* 53(1): p. 69-105.
- Geddes, Barbara. 1999. "What Do We Know About Democratization After 20 Years?" *Annual Review of Political Science*: p. 115-144.

Part II: Historical Overview

*Lecture 3: Historical Legacies and the Founding of the PRC - September 13th*

- Lieberthal, Kenneth. 2004. *Governing China: From Revolution Through Reform (Second Edition)*. New York: W. W. Norton & Company. Chapters 1 & 2, p. 1-58.
- Mao Zedong. "On the People's Democratic Dictatorship." 30 June 1949. Speech In Commemoration of the Twenty-eighth Anniversary of the Communist Party of China. ([click here](#))
- Mao Zedong. "The Chinese People Have Stood Up!" 21 September 1949. Opening address at the First Plenary Session of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference. ([click here](#))
- Osnos, Evan. 13 January 2014. "Confucius Comes Home." *The New Yorker*. ([click here](#))
- Fukuyama, Francis. 1995. "Confucianism and Democracy." *Journal of Democracy* 6(2): p. 20-33.
- Qiang, Zhang & Robert Weatherley. 2013. "The Rise of 'Republican Fever' in the PRC and the Implications for CCP Legitimacy." *China Information* 3: 277-300.
- Teiwes, Frederick C. 1997. "The Establishment and Consolidation of the New Regime, 1949-1957." *The Politics of China: The Eras of Mao and Deng*. 2nd ed. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, p. 5-86.

Lecture 4: The Mao Era and the Politics of Continuous Revolution - September 15th

- Shambaugh, David. 2021. *China's Leaders: From Mao to Now*. John Wiley & Sons. Chapter 2, p. 28-91.
- Mao Zedong. "On the Correct Handling of Contradictions Among the People." 27 February 1957. Speech at the Eleventh Session (Enlarged) of the Supreme State Conference. ([click here](#))
- "Chairman Mao: The Last Emperor." 1993. BBC Documentary. ([click here](#))
- Walder, Andrew G. & Yang Su. 2003. "The Cultural Revolution in the Countryside: Scope, Timing and Human Impact." *The China Quarterly* 173: 74-99.
- Lieberthal, Kenneth. 2004. *Governing China: From Revolution Through Reform (Second Edition)*. New York: W. W. Norton & Company. Chapters 3 & 4, p. 57-122.
- Kung, James, 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): p. 27-45.
- Dikotter, Frank. 2010. *Mao's Great Famine: The History of China's Most Devastating Catastrophe, 1958-1962*. New York: Walker Publishing Company. Part Six: Ways of Dying, p. 270-334.
- Jisheng, Yang. 2012. *Tombstone: the Great Chinese Famine, 1958-1962*. Macmillan.

Lecture 5: Reform and Opening Up - September 20th

- "Trial of China's Gang of Four." 1980. BBC News Coverage. ([click here](#))
- Deng Xiaoping. 16 September 1978. "Hold High the Banner of Mao Zedong Thought and Adhere to the Principle of Seeking Truth From Facts." Excerpt from Hearing on Work Report of the Standing Committee of the Jilin Provincial Committee of the Communist Party of China. ([click here](#))
- Lieberthal, Kenneth. 2004. *Governing China: From Revolution Through Reform (Second Edition)*. New York: W. W. Norton & Company. Chapter 5, p. 123-168.
- "Professor Ezra Vogel on Deng Xiaoping and the Transformation of China." ANU TV. ([click here](#))
- Shambaugh, David. 2021. *China's Leaders: From Mao to Now*. John Wiley & Sons. Chapter 3, p. 95-157.
- Miller, H. Lyman. 1981. "The Cultural Revolution in the Dock: The Trials in Political Perspective." in James C. Hsiung, eds. *Symposium: The Trial of the "Gang of Four" and Its Implication in China.*, p. 1-26. ([click here](#))

- Vogel, Ezra F. 2011. *Deng Xiaoping and the Transformation of China*. Vol. 10. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.
- Oi, Jean C. 1999. *Rural China Takes Off: The Institutional Foundations of Economic Reform*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Baum, Richard. 1997. “The Road to Tiananmen, Chinese Politics in the 1980s.” *The Politics of China: The Eras of Mao and Deng*. 2nd ed. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, p. 340-471.

*Lecture 6: The Tiananmen Square Protests - September 27th (pre-recorded)*

- Nathan, Andrew J. 2001. “The Tiananmen Papers.” *Foreign Affairs* 80(1): p. 2-48.
- Deng Xiaoping. 1989. “June 9th Speech.” *The New York Times*. ([click here](#))
- Lim, Louisa. 2015. *The People’s Republic of Amnesia*. Oxford: Oxford University Press: Excerpt. ([click here](#))
- “The Gate of Heavenly Peace.” 1995. PBS Documentary. ([click here](#))
- Chan, Alfred L., and Andrew J. Nathan. 2004. “The Tiananmen Papers Revisited.” *The China Quarterly* 177: 190-214.
- Fewsmith, Joseph. 1980. “Reaction, Resurgence, and Succession: Chinese Politics Since Tiananmen” *The Politics of China: The Eras of Mao and Deng*. 2nd ed. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Hu, Shikai. 1993. “Representation Without Democratization: The ‘Signature Incident’ and China’s National People’s Congress.” *The Journal of Contemporary China* (2): 3-34.

*Lecture 7: Post-Tiananmen Politics and Leadership - September 29th*

- Shambaugh, David. 2021. *China’s Leaders: From Mao to Now*. John Wiley & Sons. Chapter 4-5 p. 161-251. (skim)
- Fewsmith, Joseph. 2004. “Promoting the Scientific Development Concept.” *China Leadership Monitor* 11: p. 1-10.
- FlorCruz, Jaime. 9 November 2012. “Checked end-of-term Report Card for Hu Jintao.” CNN Online. ([click here](#))
- Joseph, William A. (ed). 2014. *Politics in China: An Introduction (2nd ed)*, Chapter 4, p. 119-145.

- Ouyang Bin. 11 November 2013. “Deciphering Xi Jinping’s Dream: A Q&A With Roderick MacFarquhar.” *ChinaFile*. ([click here](#))
- Miller, Alice L. 2017. “What Would Deng Do?” *China Leadership Monitor*, the Hoover Institution. ([click here](#))
- Zhao, Suisheng. 1993. “Deng Xiaoping’s Southern Tour: Elite Politics in post-Tiananmen China.” *Asian Survey*: p. 739-756.
- “Full Text of Jiang Zemin’s Report at the Sixteenth Party Congress.” Available in *Governing China*, Appendix 1, p. 352-384.
- Fewsmith, Joseph. 1997. “Reaction, Resurgence, and Succession: Chinese Politics Since Tiananmen” *The Politics of China: The Eras of Mao and Deng*. 2nd ed. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, p. 472-531.
- Ewing, Richard Daniel. 2002. “Hu Jintao: The Making of a Chinese General Secretary.” *The China Quarterly* 173: p. 17-34.

*Lecture 8: Summary of Historical Overview - October 4th*

- No readings

Part III: Political Institutions and Managing Contestation from Within

*Lecture 9: Formal Institutions and Processes - October 6th*

- Lieberthal, Kenneth. 2004. *Governing China: From Revolution Through Reform (Second Edition)*, Chapter 6, p. 169-205.
- Truex, Rory. 2020. “Authoritarian Gridlock? Understanding Delay in the Chinese Legislative System.” *Comparative Political Studies* 53(9): 1455-1492.
- The Constitution of the People’s Republic of China. ([click here](#))
- He, Baogang and Mark E. Warren. 2011. “Authoritarian Deliberation: The Deliberative Turn in Chinese Political Development.” *Perspectives on Politics* 9(02): 269-289.
- Paler, Laura. “China’s Legislation Law and the Making of a More Orderly and Representative Legislative System.” *The China Quarterly* 182 (2005): 301-318.
- Kennedy, Scott. 2005. *The Business of Lobbying in China*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press.

- Tanner, Murray Scot. 1995. “How a Bill Becomes a Law in China: Stages and Processes in Lawmaking.” *The China Quarterly* 141: p. 39-64.

*Lecture 10: The Chinese Communist Party - October 11th*

- Lieberthal, Kenneth. 2004. *Governing China: From Revolution Through Reform (Second Edition)*, Chapter 7, p. 206-242.
- Dickson, Bruce. “The Party Leads All.” in deLisle, Jacques, and Guobin Yang, eds. 2022. *The Party Leads All: The Evolving Role of the Chinese Communist Party*. Brookings Institution Press. Chapter 2, p. 43-70.
- Joseph, William A. (ed). 2014. *Politics in China: An Introduction (2nd ed)*, Chapter 6, p. 192-223.
- Shambaugh, David L. 2008. *China’s Communist Party: Atrophy & Adaptation*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- McGregor, Richard. *The Party: the Secret World of China’s Communist Rulers*. Penguin UK, 2010.
- Bo, Zhiyue. 2004. “The 16th Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party: Formal Institutions and Factional Groups.” *Journal of Contemporary China* 13(39): p. 223-256.

*Lecture 11: Factional Politics and Leadership Transitions - October 13th*

- 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): p. 166-187.
- Read up on the 19th Party Congress. A good place to start:
  - Miller, Alice L. 2017. “Projecting the Next Politburo Standing Committee.” *China Leadership Monitor*. ([click here](#))
  - Miller, Alice L. 2018. “Only Socialism Can Save China; Only Xi Jinping Can Save Socialism.” *China Leadership Monitor*. ([click here](#))
  - Buckley, Chris. 24 October 2017. “China Enshrines ‘Xi Jinping Thought’, Elevating Leader to Mao Like Status.” *The New York Times*. ([click here](#))
  - X. Li, Eric. 1 November 2017. “Under Xi, a Chinese Renaissance is Assured, Contrary to What the West Believes.” *South China Morning Post*. ([click here](#))
- Wu, Guoguang. 2022. “Politics and Norms in Leadership Reorganization toward the 20th Party Congress: Preliminary Observations.” *China Leadership Monitor*. ([click here](#))



- Nathan, Andrew. 1973. "A Factionalism Model for CCP Politics." *The China Quarterly* 53: p. 33-66.
- Jiang, Junyan. 2018. "Making Bureaucracy Work: Patronage Networks, Performance Incentives, and Economic Development in China." *American Journal of Political Science* 62(4): 982-999.
- Shih, Victor. 2008. "'Nauseating' Displays of Loyalty: Monitoring the Factional Bargain through Ideological Campaigns in China." *Journal of Politics* 70(4): p. 1177-1192.
- Shih, Victor, Wei Shan, and Mingxing Liu. 2010. "Gauging the Elite Political Equilibrium in the CCP: A Quantitative Approach using Biographical Data." *The China Quarterly* 201(1): 79-103.

Fall Break

*Lecture 12: The 20th Party Congress - October 25th*

- No readings

*Lecture 13: Corruption and Anti-corruption - October 27th (pre-recorded)*

- Manion, Melanie. "Corruption and Chinese Communist Party Power." in deLisle, Jacques, and Guobin Yang, eds. 2022. *The Party Leads All: The Evolving Role of the Chinese Communist Party*. Brookings Institution Press. Chapter 5, p. 137-157.
- Osburg, John. 2013. "Anxious Wealth: Money and Morality Among China's New Rich." Palo Alto: Stanford University Press: p. 76-112.
- Ang, Yuenyuen. 2021. "Can Xi End China's Gilded Age?" *Project Syndicate*. ([click here](#))
- Read up on elite wealth. A good place to start:
  - "The Wen Family Empire." 2012. *The New York Times*. ([click here](#))
  - Forysthye, Michael. 2015. "Wang Jianlin, a Billionaire at the Intersection of Business and Power in China." *The New York Times*. ([click here](#))
  - Schiavenza, Matt. 2013. "What's At Stake in Bloomberg's China Coverage." *The Atlantic*. ([click here](#))
  - "Tigers and Flies. How Two Years of Graft Probes Have Shaken China's Political Elite." 2014. *South China Morning Post*. ([click here](#))

- Liu, Alan. 1983. "The Politics of Corruption in the People's Republic of China." *American Political Science Review*: p. 602-623.
- Manion, Melanie. 2004. *Corruption by Design*. Boston: Harvard University Press.
- Lu, Xiaobo. 2000. "Booty Socialism, Bureaupreneurs, and the State in Transition: Organizational Corruption in China." *Comparative Politics*: p. 273-294.
- Ang, Yuenyuen. 2020. *China's Gilded Age: The Paradox of Economic Boom and Vast Corruption*. Cambridge University Press.

#### Part IV: Managing Contestation from Below

##### *Lecture 14: Rules of Repression - November 1st*

- Criminal Law of the People's Republic of China, 1997, Articles 102-113, 290-300.
- Link, Perry. 2002. "The Anaconda in the Chandelier." *ChinaFile*. ([click here](#))
- Stern, Rachel. E., and Jonathan Hassid. 2012. "Amplifying Silence: Uncertainty and Control Parables in Contemporary China." *Comparative Political Studies* 45(10): p. 1230-1254.
- Wang, Yuhua and Carl Minzner. 2015. "The Rise of the Chinese Security State." *The China Quarterly*. p. 1-21.
- Tanner, Murray Scot. 2004. "China Rethinks Unrest." *Washington Quarterly* 27(3): 137-156.
- Wright, Teresa. 1999. "State Repression and Student Protest in Contemporary China." *The China Quarterly* 157(1): 142-172.
- Cohen, Jerome A. 25 July 2013. "Criminal Justice in China: From the Gang of Four to Bo Xilai." Human Rights Watch. ([click here](#))
- Wright, Teresa. 2002. "The China Democracy Party and the Politics of Protest in the 1980s-1990s." *The China Quarterly* 172: 906-926.
- Lorentzen, Peter L. 2013. "Regularizing Rioting: Permitting Public Protest in an Authoritarian Regime." *Quarterly Journal of Political Science* 8(2): 127-158.

*Lecture 15: Manipulation - November 3rd*

- Roberts, Margaret E. 2018. *Censored: Distraction and Diversion Inside China's Great Firewall*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, p. 1-104.
- Pan, Jennifer. 2022. "Controlling China's Digital Ecosystem: Observations on Chinese Social Media." *China Leadership Monitor*. ([click here](#))
- Chen, Xiaoyan, and Peng Hwa Ang. 2011. "Internet Police in China: Regulation, Scope and Myths." In *Online Society in China: Creating, Celebrating, and Instrumentalising the Online Carnival*, eds. David Herold and Peter Marolt. New York: Routledge, p. 40-52.
- Nie, Ke. 2021. "Disperse and Preserve the Perverse: Computing How Hip-hop Censorship Changed Popular Music Genres in China." *Poetics*, 88, 101590.
- Shirk, Susan L. 2011. *Changing Media, Changing China*. New York: Oxford University Press, Chapter 1, p. 1-31.
- King, Gary, Jennifer Pan, and Margaret E. Roberts. 2014. "Reverse Engineering Chinese Censorship: Randomized Experimentation and Participant Observation." *Science* 345(6199): p. 1-10.
- King, Gary; Pan, Jennifer; and Margaret E. Roberts. 2013. "How Censorship in China Allows Government Criticism but Silences Collective Expression." *American Political Science Review* 107(2): p. 326-343.
- Repnikova, Maria. "The Party and the Media." in deLisle, Jacques, and Guobin Yang, eds. 2022. *The Party Leads All: The Evolving Role of the Chinese Communist Party*. Brookings Institution Press. Chapter 9, p. 237-268.

*Lecture 16: Elections, Representation, and Quasi-democratic Practices - November 8th*

- Truex, Rory. 2016. *Making Autocracy Work: Representation and Responsiveness in Modern China*. Cambridge University Press. Chapter 1, p. 1-15.
- Horsely, Jamie P. 2009. "Public Participation in the People's Republic." Yale Law School. ([click here](#))
- Chen, Jidong; Pan, Jennifer; and Yiqing Xu. 2016. "Sources of Authoritarian Responsiveness: A Field Experiment in China." *American Journal of Political Science* 60(2): 383-400
- Pastor, Robert A., & Qingshan Tan. 2000. "The Meaning of China's Village Elections." *The China Quarterly* 162: 490-512.

- O'Brien, Kevin. 1994. "Agents and Remonstrators: Role Accumulation by Chinese People's Congress Deputies." *The China Quarterly* 138: p. 359-380.
- Manion, Melanie. 2008. "When Communist Party Candidates Can Lose, Who Wins? Assessing the Role of Local People's Congresses in the Selection of Leaders in China." *The China Quarterly* 195: p. 607-630.
- Manion, Melanie. 2016. *Information for Autocrats: Representation in Chinese Local Congresses*. Cambridge University Press.

*Lecture 17: Gender Politics and the Feminist Movement - November 10th (Nancy Tang)*

- Fincher, Leta Hong. 2018. *Betraying Big Brother: The Feminist Awakening in China*. Verso Books. Introduction, selections from Chapter 7, p. 1-14, 162-186.
- WhyNot Video, 2021. "They Won't Be Erased: China's Feminist Trailblazers Persist in the Face of New Challenges." ([click here](#))
- Wang, Zheng. 2017. "Feminist Struggles in a Changing China." In *Women's Movements in the Global Era*. ([click here](#))
- "The Censorship Machine Erasing China's Feminist Movement." 2022. *The New Yorker*. ([click here](#))
- "How LGBTQ Life in China Has Gotten Tougher Under Xi." 2022. *Bloomberg News*. ([click here](#))
- Longarino, Darius. 2022. "Precarious Progress: Advocacy for the Human Rights of LGBT People in China." OutRight Action International. ([click here](#))
- Lu, Rachel. 2015. "They Are the Best Feminist Activists in China." *Foreign Policy*. ([click here](#))
- Qian, Nancy. 2008. "Missing Women and the Price of Tea in China: The Effect of Sex-specific Earnings on Sex Imbalance." *The Quarterly Journal of Economics* 123(3): 1251-1285.
- "One Child Nation." 2019. Directed by Nanfu Wang and Jialing Zhang. Available on Amazon Prime. ([click here](#))
- Luhur et.al, 2021. "Public Opinion of Transgender Rights in China." The Williams Institute. ([click here](#))
- Davidson, Helen. 2021. "China's Feminists Protest Against Wave of Online Abuse with 'Internet Violence Museum.'" *The Guardian*. ([click here](#))

## Part V: Contested Sovereignty

### *Lecture 18: Ethnic Politics and Xinjiang* - November 15th

- Chin, Josh and Clement Burge. 2017. “Twelve Days in Xinjiang: How China’s Surveillance State Overwhelms Daily Life.” *The Wall Street Journal*. ([click here](#))
- “China’s Vanishing Muslims: Undercover is the Most Dystopian Place in the World.” 2019. VICE News. ([click here](#))
- “Inside China’s Thought Transformation Camps.” 2019. BBC News. ([click here](#))
- Hamut Izgil, Tahir (tr. Joshua L. Freeman). 2021. “One by One, My Friends Were Sent to the Camps.” *The Atlantic*. ([click here](#))
- Byler, Darrren. 2020. “‘The Atmosphere Has Become Abnormal’: Han Chinese Views from Xinjiang.” SupChina. ([click here](#))
- Greitens, Sheena Chestnut, Myunghee Lee, and Emir Yazici. 2020. “Counterterrorism and Preventive Repression: China’s Changing Strategy in Xinjiang.” *International Security* 44(3): 9-47.
- Explore the Camp Album Project (<https://camp-album.com>), a website devoted to art dealing with the Xinjiang atrocities: ([click here](#))
- Mauk, Ben. 2019. “Weather Reports: Voices from Xinjiang,” *The Believer* 127. ([click here](#))
- Li, Cheng. 2008. “Ethnic Minority Elites in China’s Party-State Leadership: An Empirical Assessment.” *China Leadership Monitor* No. 25. ([click here](#))
- Millward, James. 2018. “What It’s Like to Live in a Surveillance State.” *The New York Times*. ([click here](#))

### *Lecture 19: Hong Kong* - November 17th

- Martin, Michael F. 2020. “Hong Kong: Recent Developments and U.S. Relations.” Congressional Research Service. ([click here](#))
- “Hong Kong Diaries: What Losing Freedom Feels Like.” 2020. WELT Documentary. ([click here](#))
- “Umbrellas Down.” 2020. National Public Radio. ([click here](#))
- Roy, Denny. 2017. “Prospects for Taiwan Maintaining its Autonomy under Chinese Pressure.” *Asian Survey*, 57(6): 1135-1158.

- Lai, Jimmy. 2020. “Do My Tweets Really Threaten China’s National Security?” *The New York Times*. ([click here](#))

*Lecture 20: Taiwan* - November 29th

- Kim, Patricia. 2017. “History Shows Beijing Won’t Budge an Inch on Taiwan.” *Foreign Policy*.
- Chotiner, Isaac. 2022. “The Provocative Politics of Nancy Pelosi’s Trip to Taiwan.” *The New Yorker*. ([click here](#))
- Lawrence, Susan V. and Wayne M. Morrison. 2017. “Taiwan: Issues for Congress.” Congressional Research Service. ([click here](#))
- Bush, Richard C. 2017. “What Xi Said About Taiwan at the 19th Party Congress.” *Brookings Order From Chaos*. ([click here](#))
- Romberg, Alan D. “The 1992 Consensus – Adapting to the Future?” *China Leadership Monitor*, No. 49 (Winter 2016). <https://www.hoover.org/research/1992-consensus-adapting-future>

Part V: Looking Forward

*Lecture 21: Guest Speaker and Topic TBD* - December 1st

- No readings

*Lecture 22: China’s COVID-19 Response* - December 6th

- Hernández, Javier; Buckley, Chris; Qin, Amy; and Kirkpatrick, David. 2020. “25 Days That Changed the World: How Covid-19 Slipped China’s Grasp.” *The New York Times*. ([click here](#))
- Hessler, Peter. 2020. “How China Controlled the Coronavirus.” *The New Yorker*. ([click here](#))
- Huang, Yanzhong. 2020 “China’s Public Health Response to the COVID-19 Outbreak.” *China Leadership Monitor*. ([click here](#))

- Xu, Zhangrun (translated by Geremie R. Barmé). 2020. “Viral Alarm: When Fury Overcomes Fear.” ChinaFile. ([click here](#))
- “China’s Covid Zero Could Last for Years Because It Works for Xi,” 2022. *Bloomberg News*. ([click here](#))
- “A Chinese City May Have Used a Covid App to Block Protesters.” 2022. *The New York Times*. ([click here](#))
- Lu, Yingdan; Pan, Jennifer; and Xu, Yiqing. 2020. “Public Sentiment on Chinese Social Media during the Emergence of COVID-19.” Working Paper. ([click here](#))
- Huang, Yanzhong. 2020. “Xi Jinping Won the Coronavirus Crisis.” *Foreign Affairs*. ([click here](#))
- Truex, Rory. 2020. “China’s Chernobyl Never Seems to Arise.” *The Atlantic*. ([click here](#))

*Lecture 23: The “China Model” and Course Review - December 8th*

- Li, Cheng. 2012. “The End of the CCP’s Resilient Authoritarianism?” *The China Quarterly* 211: p. 595-623.
- Deng, Yuwen. “Chinese Statism, the Transitional Nature of Xi Jinping’s Regime, and America’s Response.” Translated by David Ownby. *Reading the China Dream*. ([click here](#))
- Wang, Wen. 2022. “Why China’s People No Longer Look Up to America.” *The New York Times*. ([click here](#))
- Bell, Daniel A., Timothy Garton Ash, Andrew J. Nathan, and Taisu Zhang. 15 October 2015. “Is the China Model Better than Democracy?” *The Atlantic*. ([click here](#))
- Minzner, Carl. 2018. *End of an Era: How China’s Authoritarian Revival is Undermining Its Rise*. Oxford University Press, p. 1-36.
- Halper, Stephen. A. 2010. *The Beijing Consensus: How China’s Authoritarian Model Will Dominate the Twenty-first Century*. Basic Books