

Contemporary Chinese Political Thought

Instructor: Junpeng “J.P.” Li

Westerners have paid much attention to China’s impressive economic growth and dubious political future, but they know much less about what the Chinese think. Different from what many think, China has one of the most dynamic intelligentsias in the world. Since the death of Mao and the end of the Cultural Revolution in 1976, Chinese intellectuals have had heated debates about the paths of China’s economic and political development. Moreover, after a brief setback following the Tiananmen Incident of 1989, Chinese intellectuals have produced some of the most interesting and stimulating political ideas. As the direction of China’s political development has been shaped by its intellectual discourse through various channels, and as significant economic and political reforms have been preceded by intellectual debates, a sound understanding of contemporary Chinese political thought not only is important by its own virtue, but also will give us clues to China’s democratic future.

This course is intended as a survey of important schools of political thought in contemporary China. With the exception of background information, most of the reading materials come from existing English translations of texts originally written in Chinese. As a consequence, the coverage of the readings is restricted by the availability of English translations, and many important texts—those in the school of democratic socialism for example—are therefore unable to be included. However, the available English-language texts are extensive and important enough for this course to be informative.

Texts

1. Merle Goldman. 2007. *Political Rights in Post-Mao China*. Ann Arbor, MI: Association for Asian Studies.
2. Mark Leonard. 2008. *What Does China Think?* New York: PublicAffairs.
3. Mark Leonard, ed. 2012. *China 3.0*. London, UK: European Council on Foreign Relations (http://www.ecfr.eu/page/-/ECFR66_CHINA_30_final.pdf).
4. Wang Hui. 2003. *China’s New Order: Society, Politics, and Economy in Transition*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.
5. Kerry Brown and Simone van Nieuwenhuizen. 2016. *China and the New Maoists*. London, UK: Zed.

Requirements

Class participation and active learning are vital to the success in this course. Participation includes attending class regularly, and doing the readings and assignments prior to class. The students are expected to keep up with the readings, to think critically at all times, to participate in group-discussions, and to ask and answer questions. Class discussion is encouraged.

There will be **10 quizzes**. The quizzes will be based on the readings of each meeting. The students need to turn in a **research paper**, with the length of around 10 typed, double-spaced pages (excluding references, which are required, however), by the end of this semester.

Components of Grade

Class discussions	20%
Quizzes	40%
Research paper or proposal	40%
Total	100%

Grading Scale

A = 93–100	A- = 90–92.9	
B+ = 87–89.9	B = 83–86.9	B- = 80–82.9
C+ = 77–79.9	C = 73–76.9	C- = 70–72.9
D+ = 67–69.9	D = 63–66.9	D- = 60–62.9
F = Below 60		

TOPICS

Who are the Intellectuals?

Lewis A. Coser. 1970. *Men of Ideas: A Sociologist's View*. New York: Free Press. Pp. 3–132.

Zygmunt Bauman. 1992. "Love in Adversity: On the State and the Intellectuals, and the State of the Intellectuals." *Thesis Eleven* 31:81–104.

Who are the Chinese Intellectuals?

Merle Goldman. 2007. *Political Rights in Post-Mao China*. Ann Arbor, MI: Association for Asian Studies.

Timothy Cheek. 2012. "The Worlds of China's Intellectuals." Pp. 154–72 in *China in and beyond the Headlines*, edited by T. B. Weston and L. M. Jensen. Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield.

Chinese Intelligentsia after Tiananmen

Chaohua Wang. 2003. "Minds of the Nineties." Pp. 9–45 in *One China, Many Paths*, edited by C. Wang. New York: Verso.

Liu Qingfeng. 2001. "The Topography of Intellectual Culture in 1990s Mainland China: A Survey." Translated by Gloria Davies. Pp. 47–70 in *Voicing Concerns: Contemporary Chinese Critical Inquiry*, edited by G. Davies. Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield.

Joseph Fewsmith. 2008. *China since Tiananmen: From Deng Xiaoping to Hu Jintao*. 2nd ed. New York: Cambridge University Press. Pp. 81–162.

Chinese Intelligentsia in the New Millennium

Mark Leonard. 2008. *What Does China Think?* New York: PublicAffairs.

Mark Leonard. 2012. "What Does the New China Think?" Pp. 9–24 in *China 3.0*, edited by M. Leonard. London, UK: European Council on Foreign Relations (http://www.ecfr.eu/page/-/ECFR66_CHINA_30_final.pdf).

Dissidents

- Jiaying Zha. 2007. "Enemy of the State: The Complicated Life of an Idealist." *The New Yorker*, April 23, pp. 46–57
(<http://www.newschool.edu/uploadedFiles/ici/Resources/Enemy%20of%20the%20State-Jiaying%20Zha.pdf?q=our-enemy-the-state>).
- Wei Jingsheng. 1998. "The Fifth Modernization: Democracy." Pp. 199–213 in *The Courage to Stand Alone: Letters from Prison and Other Writings*, new ed., edited and translated by Kristina M. Torgeson. New York: Penguin.
2009. "China's Charter 08." Translated by Perry Link. *New York Review of Books*, January 15
(<http://www.nybooks.com/articles/2009/01/15/chinas-charter-08/>).
- Liu Xiaobo. 2012. "I Have No Enemies: My Final Statement." Translated by Perry Link. Pp. 321–26 in *No Enemies, No Hatred: Selected Essays and Poems*, by Liu Xiaobo, edited by P. Link, T. Martin-Liao, and Liu Xia. Cambridge, MA: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press.
2012. "The Criminal Verdict: Beijing No. 1. Intermediate People's Court Criminal Judgment No. 3901 (2009)." Pp. 327–39 in *No Enemies, No Hatred: Selected Essays and Poems*, by Liu Xiaobo, edited by P. Link, T. Martin-Liao, and Liu Xia. Cambridge, MA: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press.

Neoliberalism

- David Harvey. 2005. "Neoliberalism 'with Chinese Characteristics'." Pp. 120–51 in *A Brief History of Neoliberalism*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Weiyang Zhang. 2015. "Introduction: The Logic of the Market and China's Reforms." Pp. 1–18 in *The Logic of the Market: An Insider's View of Chinese Economic Reform*. Translated by Matthew Dale. Washington, DC: Cato Institute.
- Liu Junjing. 2000. "Classical Liberalism Catches On in China." *Journal of Democracy* 11(3):48–57.
- Yang Jisheng. 2013. "How Friedrich Hayek Helped Me To Understand China's Economic Tragedy." Translated by Stacy Mosher and Guo Jian. *Forbes*, May 30.
<http://www.forbes.com/sites/realspin/2013/05/30/how-friedrich-hayek-helped-me-to-understand-chinas-economic-tragedy/#5b6be95971ab>.
- Didi Kirsten Tatlow. 2013. "A Lonely Passion: China's Followers of Friedrich A. Hayek." *New York Times*, October 30. <http://sinosphere.blogs.nytimes.com/2013/10/30/a-lonely-passion-chinas-followers-of-friedrich-a-hayek/>

Political Liberalism

- Xiao Bin. 2012. "The Guangdong Model in Transition." Pp. 32–37 in *China 3.0*, edited by M. Leonard. London, UK: European Council on Foreign Relations (http://www.ecfr.eu/page/-/ECFR66_CHINA_30_final.pdf).
- Zhu Xueqin. 2003. "For a Chinese Liberalism." Translated by Shengqing Wu. Pp. 87–107 in *One China, Many Paths*, edited by C. Wang. New York: Verso.
- Qin Hui. 2003. "Dividing the Big Family Assets: On Liberty and Justice." Pp. 128–59 in *One China, Many Paths*, edited by C. Wang. New York: Verso.
- He Weifang. 2012. "The Ongoing Quest for Judicial Independence in Contemporary China." Pp. 9–39 in *In the Name of Justice: Striving for the Rule of Law in China*. Washington, DC: Brookings Institution Press.

New Left

- Wang Hui. 2003. *China's New Order: Society, Politics, and Economy in Transition*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.
- Wang Hui. 2003. "The New Criticism." Pp. 55–86 in *One China, Many Paths*, edited by C. Wang. New York: Verso.
- Cui Zhiyuan. 2005. "Liberal Socialism and the Future of China: A Petty Bourgeoisie Manifesto." Pp. 157–74 in *The Chinese Model of Modern Development*, edited by T. Y. Cao. New York: Routledge.
- Cui Zhiyuan. 2012. "The Chongqing Experiment: The Way Forward for China?" Pp. 26–31 in *China 3.0*, edited by M. Leonard. London, UK: European Council on Foreign Relations (http://www.ecfr.eu/page/-/ECFR66_CHINA_30_final.pdf).
- Wang Shaoguang. 2012. "Why is State Effectiveness Essential for Democracy? Asian Examples." Pp. 242–67 in *Contemporary Chinese Political Thought: Debates and Perspectives*, edited by F. Dallmayr and Zhao Tingyang. Lexington, KY: University Press of Kentucky.
- Wang Shaoguang. 2012. "Chinese Socialism 3.0." Pp. 60–66 in *China 3.0*, edited by M. Leonard. London, UK: European Council on Foreign Relations (http://www.ecfr.eu/page/-/ECFR66_CHINA_30_final.pdf).
- Gan Yang. 2001. "Debating Liberalism and Democracy in China in the 1990s." Translated by Xudong Zhang. Pp. 79–101 in *Whither China? Intellectual Politics in Contemporary China*, edited by X. Zhang. Durham, NC: Duke University Press.

Maoism

- Rebecca E. Karl. 2010. "Reform, Restoration, and the Repudiation of Maoism, 1976–Present." Pp. 159–84 in *Mao Zedong and China in the Twentieth-Century World: A Concise History*. Durham, NC: Duke University Press.
- Kerry Brown and Simone van Nieuwenhuizen. 2016. *China and the New Maoists*. London, UK: Zed.
- Mobi Gao. 2008. "Debating the Cultural Revolution." Pp. 13–30 in *The Battle for China's Past: Mao and the Cultural Revolution*. Ann Arbor, MI: Pluto.
- Liu Kang. 1997. "The Legacy of Mao and Althusser: Problematics of Dialectics, Alternative Modernity, and Cultural Revolution." Pp. 234–63 in *Critical Perspectives on Mao Zedong's Thought*, edited by A. Dirlik, P. Healy, and N. Knight. Amherst, NY: Humanity.

Nationalism

- Wang Xiaoding. 2009. "It's Up to the West to Face Why China is Unhappy." Translated by Joseph McMullin. *China Digital Times*, December 10 (<http://chinadigitaltimes.net/2009/12/wang-xiaodong-it%E2%80%99s-up-to-the-west-to-face-why-china-is-unhappy/>).
- Martin Jacques. 2012. "The Middle Kingdom Mentality." Pp. 294–341 in *When China Rules the World: The End of the Western World and the Birth of a New Global Order*. 2nd ed. New York: Penguin.

New Authoritarianism

- Suisheng Zhao. 2016. "Xi Jinping's Maoist Revival." *Journal of Democracy* 27(3):83–97.
- Gongqin Xiao. 2003. "The Rise of the Technocrats." *Journal of Democracy* 14(1):60–65.
- Xiao Gongqin and Zhu Wei. 1990. "A Painful Dilemma: A Dialogue on the Theory of 'New Authoritarianism'." *Chinese Sociology and Anthropology* 23(2):69–76.
- Flora Sapio. 2015. "Carol Schmitt in China." *The China Story*, October 7 (<https://www.thechinastory.org/2015/10/carl-schmitt-in-china/>).

New Confucianism

- Jiang Qing and Daniel A. Bell. 2012. "A Confucian Constitution for China." *New York Times*, July 10 (<http://www.nytimes.com/2012/07/11/opinion/a-confucian-constitution-in-china.html>).
- Daniel A. Bell. 2008. "From Communism to Confucianism: Changing Discourses on China's Political Future." Pp. 3–18 in *China's New Confucianism: Politics and Everyday Life in a Changing Society*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.
- Jiang Qing. 2013. "The Way of the Humane Authority: The Theoretical Basis for Confucian Constitutionalism and a Tricameral Parliament." Translated by Edmund Ryden. Pp. 27–43 in *A Confucian Constitutional Order: How China's Ancient Past Can Shape Its Political Future*, edited by D. A. Bell and R. Fan. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.
- Kang Xiaoguang. 2006. "Confucianization: A Future in the Tradition." Translated by Huiqing Liu. *Social Research* 73(1):77–120.

Human Rights Lawyers

- Xu Zhiyong. 2014. "For Freedom, Justice and Love—My Closing Statement to the Court." *China Change*, January 22 (<https://chinachange.org/2014/01/23/for-freedom-justice-and-love-my-closing-statement-to-the-court/>).
- Eva Pils. 2015. *China's Human Rights Lawyers: Advocacy and Resistance*. New York: Routledge. Pp. 1–103.
- Sida Liu and Terence C. Halliday. 2016. *Criminal Defense in China: The Politics of Lawyers at Work*. New York: Cambridge University Press. Pp. 1–17, 65–143.

China Model

- William A. Callahan. 2013. "The China Model and the Search for Wealth and Power." Pp. 66–97 in *China Dreams: 20 Visions of the Future*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Pan Wei. 2007. "The Chinese Model of Development." Address at the Foreign Policy Centre, London, UK, October 11 (<http://fpc.org.uk/fsblob/888.pdf>).
- Pan Wei. n. d. "Reflections on the 'China Model' Discussion'." *ThinkIN China* (http://www.thinkinchina.asia/wp-content/uploads/2_China-model-revisited.pdf).
- Pan Wei. 2010. "Western System versus Chinese System." Briefing Series, Issue 61. China Policy Institute, University of Nottingham (<https://www.nottingham.ac.uk/cpi/documents/briefings/briefing-61-chinese-western-system.pdf>).
- Daniel A. Bell. 2015. "Introduction" (Pp. 1–13) and "Concluding Thoughts: Realizing the China Model" (179–98). In *The China Model: Political Meritocracy and the Limits of Democracy*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.

Revolutionary Legacy

Huang Jisu. 2014. "Che Guevara: Notes on the Play, Its Production, and Reception." Translated by Xie Fang. Pp. 205–216 in *Debating the Socialist Legacy and Capitalist Globalization in China*, edited by X. Zhong and B. Wang. New York: Palgrave Macmillan.

Wang Hui. 2006. "Depoliticized Politics: From East to West." *New Left Review* 41:29–45.

Democracy

Pan Wei. 2003. "Toward a Consultative Rule of Law Regime in China." *Journal of Contemporary China* 12:3–43.

Yu Keping. 2009. "Democracy is a Good Thing." Pp. 3–5 in *Democracy Is a Good Thing: Essays on Politics, Society, and Culture in Contemporary China*. Washington, DC: Brookings Institution Press.

Lin Shangli. 2014. "Political Consultation and Consultative Politics in China." Pp. 136–64 in *China's Political Development: Chinese and American Perspectives*, edited by K. G. Lieberthal, C. Li, and K. Yu. Washington, DC: Brookings Institution Press.

Wang Shaoguang. 2013. "Is the Way of the Humane Authority a Good Thing? An Assessment of Confucian Constitutionalism." Translated by Edmund Ryden. Pp. 139–58 in *A Confucian Constitutional Order: How China's Ancient Past Can Shape Its Political Future*, edited by D. A. Bell and R. Fan. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.

Justice

Qin Hui. 2005. "China's Economic Transition, Social Justice and Democratization at the Turn of the Century." Pp. 88–127 in *The Chinese Model of Modern Development*, edited by T. Y. Cao. New York: Routledge.

He Qinglian. 2004. "On Systemic Corruption in China and Its Influence." Pp. 239–74 in *Private and Public Corruption*, edited by W. C. Heffernan and J. Kleinig. Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield.

Foreign Policy

Feng Zhang. 2013. "The Rise of Chinese Exceptionalism in International Relations." *European Journal of International Relations* 19(2):305–28.

Wang Jisi. 2011. "China's Search for a Grand Strategy: A Rising Great Power Finds Its Way." *Foreign Affairs* 90(2):68–79.

Zheng Bijian. 2005. "China's 'Peaceful Rise' to Great-Power Status." *Foreign Affairs* 84(5):18–24.

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Yan Xuetong. 2012. "The Weakening of the Unipolar Configuration." Pp. 112–17 in *China 3.0*, edited by M. Leonard. London, UK: European Council on Foreign Relations (http://www.ecfr.eu/page/-/ECFR66_CHINA_30_final.pdf).

Yufan Huang. 2016. "Q. and A.: Yan Xuetong Urges China to Adopt a More Assertive Foreign Policy." *New York Times*, February 9 (http://www.nytimes.com/2016/02/10/world/asia/china-foreign-policy-yan-xuetong.html?_r=0).