

Course Title: Political Economy of Global China

Semester: Fall 2023

Instructor: Dr. Hongshen Zhu

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Time: Tuesday/Thursday 8:00-9:15 am

Office Hour: Gibson 164 10:00-11:59 am

Classroom: Gibson 141

Course Description:

This course examines China's political economy, combining insights from political science and economics. It explores the internal dynamics of China's economy and its extensive global engagement. Participants will analyze China's cooperative and coercive strategies in economic and political endeavors, undertaken by private and state actors. The course emphasizes the interplay between domestic challenges and China's global outreach, offering a nuanced understanding of its influence in various contexts. By studying internal workings and external influences, participants gain a comprehensive understanding of China's multifaceted global presence.

Course Goals:

1. Understand the unique characteristics and internal dynamics of China's political economy.
2. Explore China's economic transition and its global implications.
3. Examine China's global strategies, characterized by both cooperation and coercion.
4. Gain a nuanced understanding of China's influence in various contexts around the world.
5. Develop the ability to critically analyze complex political-economic phenomena and articulate informed perspectives.

Resources:

China Leadership Monitor, [www.prcleader.org](http://www.prcleader.org)

China Vitae at <http://www.chinavitae.com>. Biographic information of current members of the Politburo.

China Files: <https://www.chinafile.com/keyword/elites>

UCSD China Data Lab: <https://chinadatalab.ucsd.edu/resources/>

Northwestern China Data Access: <https://www.kellogg.northwestern.edu/research/global-poverty-research-lab/research/projects/china-data-access.aspx>

TBD based on current affairs and updated academic publications. Check the course's online platform regularly for updates and additional materials.

**Extra Credit:** If you find an error in the syllabus that impacts the efficient execution of the class, the first person to note this as a comment on the syllabus will receive .5 extra credit points for the semester.

**Office Hours:** I am happy to speak with you during my office hours about questions you may have about the class! I will not respond to email requests about office hours, but you can make your own Google Meet appointments directly on a dedicated page on Calendly:  
<https://calendly.com/hongshen-zhu>

### Course Communications

If you have a class, work, or another documented, unmissable conflict, during my office hours message me on Slack and we can find additional time to speak. Please reserve email only for long messages that pertain only to your personal situation. As much as possible, use the group Slack to try to get answers from the class or a speedy reply from me. Here is where you can sign up for the class Slack channel:

[https://join.slack.com/t/pe-global-china/shared\\_invite/zt-21sdq03cx-weZgtMygs7LMMVduO9CD6Q](https://join.slack.com/t/pe-global-china/shared_invite/zt-21sdq03cx-weZgtMygs7LMMVduO9CD6Q)

Course Schedule:

Week 1, Aug 22: Introduction to China's Political Economy

1. Xu, Chenggang. 2011. "The Fundamental Institutions of China's Reforms and Development." *Journal of Economic Literature*.

Week 1, Aug 24: Structure of China's Economy Now

1. China's Flow of Funds Table in 2020. *China Statistics Yearbook 2022*.
2. Chen, W., Chen, X., Hsieh, C. T., & Song, Z. 2019. A forensic examination of China's national accounts (No. w25754). National Bureau of Economic Research.
3. Gerard DiPippo. 2023. "China's Economy after COVID-19" *China Leadership Monitor*.

Week 2, Aug 29: No class. In exchange for required attendance to the instructor's presentation at East Asia Center (time and place TBD)

Week 2, Aug 31: Online Class: <https://virginia.zoom.us/j/96762240681>

From Planned Economy to "Socialist Market Economy" (Case Studies: Price Reforms)

1. Weber, Isabella M. 2021. "How China Escaped Shock Therapy: The Market Reform Debate". Routledge. Chapter 1, 7, 8, and Conclusion. (Full book can be accessed online through UVA library: <https://www.taylorfrancis.com/books/mono/10.4324/9780429490125/china-escaped-shock-therapy-isabella-weber>)
2. Book review by Adam Tooze: <https://www.noemamag.com/how-china-avoided-soviet-style-collapse/>

Week 3, Sep 5: From Planned Economy to "Socialist Market Economy" (Case Studies: 1989 Protests)

1. Oksenberg, Michel, Marc Lambert and Melanie Manion. 1990. "Beijing Spring 1989: Confrontation and Conflict – The Basic Documents." Routledge.
2. Documentary. "The Gate of Heavenly Peace".

Week 3, Sep 7: Governing the Socialist Market Economy (Case Studies: Tax Division Reform and Land Finance)

1. Lan Xiaohuan. 2022. "China's Land Finance" by [www.pekingnology.com/p/chinas-land-finance-by-lan-xiaochuan](http://www.pekingnology.com/p/chinas-land-finance-by-lan-xiaochuan)
2. Wang, Shaoguang. 1997. China's 1994 Fiscal Reform: An Initial Assessment. *Asian Survey*, 37(9), 801–817. <https://doi.org/10.2307/2645698>

Week 4, Sep 12: Governing the Socialist Market Economy (Case Studies: Political Selection)

1. Li, H., Zhou, L. A. (2005). Political Turnover and Economic Performance: the Incentive Role of Personnel Control in China. *Journal of Public Economics*, 89(9-10), 1743-1762.
2. Landry, Pierre F., Xiaobo Lu, and Haiyan Duan. 2018. "Does Performance Matter? Evaluating Political Selection along the Chinese Administrative Ladder." *Comparative Political Studies*.

Week 4, Sep 14: Business and Government: Government

1. Naughton, Barry. 2017. "Is China Socialist?" *Journal of Economic Perspectives*, vol. 31, no. 1: 3–24.
2. Pearson, M. M. (2005). The business of governing business in China: Institutions and norms of the emerging regulatory state. *World Politics*, 57(2), 296-322.

Week 5, Sep 19: Business and Government: Business

1. Hou, Yue. *The Private Sector in Public Office*. Cambridge University Press, 2019. Chapter 1,2,3 4.
2. Li, Zeren. 2022. Connections as Liabilities: The Cost of the Politics–Business Revolving Door in China. *British Journal of Political Science*, 1-21. doi:10.1017/S0007123422000473

Week 5, Sep 21: Internal Dynamics: Corruption in China

1. Barboza, D. 2012. Billions in hidden riches for family of Chinese leader. *New York Times*.
2. Manion, Melanie. 2015. "Chapter 7: The Challenge of Corruption." in *China's Challenges*, edited by Avery Goldstein and Jacques de Lisle. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press.
3. Ang, Yuen Yuen (2020). *China's Gilded Age: The Paradox of Economic Boom and Vast Corruption*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. Chapter 1 & 3.

Week 6, Sep 26: Internal Dynamics: Anti-Corruption in China

1. Fu, Hualing. 2014. "Wielding the Sword: President Xi's New Anti-Corruption Campaign." In *Greed, Corruption, and the Modern State*, edited by Susan Rose-Ackerman and Paul Felipe Lagunes, 134-158. Cheltenham, UK: Edward Elgar.
2. Christopher Carothers. 2021. "Xi's Anti-Corruption Campaign: An All-Purpose Governing Tool". <https://www.prcleader.org/post/xi-s-anti-corruption-campaign-an-all-purpose-governing-tool>

Week 6, Sep 28: The Role of State and Private Actors (Case Studies: New Energy Vehicles Industry)

1. Wei, Y., Ang, Y., & Jia, N. (2023). The Promise and Pitfalls of Government Guidance Funds in China. *The China Quarterly*, 1-21.
2. Bai, C. E., Hsieh, C. T., Song, Z. M., Wang, X. (2020). The Rise of State-Connected Private Owners in China (No. w28170). National Bureau of Economic Research.
3. Yang, Zeyi. 2023. How did China come to dominate the world of electric cars? *MIT Technology Review*. Feb 21, 2023.

Week 7, Oct 3: No class. Fall break (Sep 30 – Oct 3)

Week 7, Oct 5: Internal Dynamics: Income Inequality in China

1. Chuliang Luo, Shi Li, Terry Sicular. 2020. The long-term evolution of national income inequality and rural poverty in China, *China Economic Review*, Volume 62, 2020.
2. Zuo, C., Wang, Z. and Zeng, Q., 2023. From poverty to trust: Political implications of the anti-poverty campaign in China. *International Political Science Review*, 44(2), pp.277-298.

Week 8, Oct 10: Internal Dynamics: Regional Inequality in China (Case Study: Hukou system)

1. China Labor Bulletin. 2022. Migrant Workers and Their Children. <https://clb.org.hk/en/content/migrant-workers-and-their-children>
2. Chan, K.W., 2019. China's Hukou System at 60: Continuity and Reform. *Handbook on urban development in China*, 59.

Week 8, Oct 12: China and Global Inequality

1. Piketty, T., Yang, L., Zucman, G. 2019. Capital accumulation, private property, and rising inequality in China, 1978–2015. *American Economic Review*, 109(7), 2469-96.
2. MILANOVIC, B. 2016. *Global Inequality: A New Approach for the Age of Globalization*. Harvard University Press. Chapter 4.

Week 9, Oct 17: Party-State in the Economy

1. Pearson, M., Rithmire, M., Tsai, K. S. (2021). Party-state capitalism in China. *Current History*, 120(827), 207-213.
2. Naughton, Barry, and Briana Boland. 2022. CCP Inc.: The Reshaping of China's State Capitalist System.
3. Blanchette, Jude. 2020. From "China Inc." to "CCP Inc.": A New Paradigm for Chinese State Capitalism. *China Leadership Monitor*.

Week 9, Oct 19: Movie Week: Zhou, Hao. "The Chinese Mayor." Documentary.

Week 10, Oct 24: China's Global Engagement: Trade

1. Wei, Shang-Jin, Zhuang Xie, and Xiaobo Zhang. 2017. "From "Made in China" to "Innovated in China": Necessity, Prospect, and Challenges." *Journal of Economic Perspectives*, 31 (1): 49-70.
2. Autor, D.H., Dorn, D. and Hanson, G.H., 2016. The China shock: Learning from labor-market adjustment to large changes in trade. *Annual review of economics*, 8, pp.205-240

Week 10, Oct 26: China's Global Engagement: Outward Investment (Case Study: Sri Lanka Port)

1. Rithmire, Meg, and Yihao Li. 2018. Chinese Infrastructure Investments in Sri Lanka: A Pearl or a Teardrop on the Belt and Road?
2. Brautigam, Deborah, and Meg Rithmire. 2021. The Chinese "Debt Diplomacy" is a Myth. *The Atlantic*.

Week 11, Oct 31: Global China's Political Strategies: Diplomacy

1. Goldstein, Avery. 2020. China's Grand Strategy under Xi Jinping: Reassurance, Reform, and Resistance. *International Security*, 2020; 45 (1): 164–201.
2. Hass, Ryan. 2022. From Strategic Reassurance to Running Over Roadblocks: A Review of Xi Jinping's Foreign Policy Record. *China Leadership Monitor*.

Week 11, Nov 2: Global China's Political Strategies: Military Reform

1. In addition to the class, attendance required at East Asia Center Presentation at New Cabell Hall 349
2. Wuthnow, J. & Fravel, M. T. 2022. China's military strategy for a 'new era': Some change, more continuity, and tantalizing hints, *Journal of Strategic Studies*.
3. Wuthnow, J. and Saunders, P.C., 2017. *Chinese military reform in the age of Xi Jinping: Drivers, challenges, and Implications*. Government Printing Office.

Week 12, Nov 7: No Class. Election Day.

Week 12, Nov 9: Impact of China's Global Presence: Soft Power

1. Shambaugh, David. 2015. "China's Soft-Power Push: The Search for Respect." *Foreign Affairs*, vol. 94, no. 4: 99–107.
2. Repnikova, Maria. 2022. *Chinese Soft Power* (Elements in Global China). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. doi:10.1017/9781108874700

Week 13, Nov 14: Impact of China's Global Presence: Climate Change

1. CREA. 2020. Political Economy of Climate and Clean Energy in China. [https://www.boell.de/sites/default/files/2021-01/Clean\\_Energy\\_in\\_China\\_endf.pdf](https://www.boell.de/sites/default/files/2021-01/Clean_Energy_in_China_endf.pdf)
2. Adam Tooze. 2020. "Did Xi Just Save the World?". *Foreign Policy*.  
*Suggested:* CREA. 2022. China's Climate Transition: Outlook 2022.

Week 13, Nov 16: Impact of China's Global Presence: Digital World (Case Study: Genshin Impact)

1. Liu, L. 2021. The Rise of Data Politics: Digital China and the World. *Studies in Comparative International Development*, 56(1), 45-67.
2. Snyder, Matthew. "China's Digital Game Sector." US-China Economic and Security Review Commission. May 17, 2018.
3. WSJ. <https://www.nytimes.com/2022/03/16/business/genshin-impact-china-japan.html>

Week 14, Nov 21: Impact of China's Global Presence: Surveillance (Case Study: Hikvision)

1. Greitens, Sheena. 2020. Dealing with Demand for China's Global Surveillance Exports. Brookings Institution. [https://www.brookings.edu/wp-content/uploads/2020/04/FP\\_20200428\\_china\\_surveillance\\_greitens\\_v3.pdf](https://www.brookings.edu/wp-content/uploads/2020/04/FP_20200428_china_surveillance_greitens_v3.pdf)
2. Yang, Zeyi. 2022. The world's biggest surveillance company you've never heard of. MIT Technology Review. June 22, 2022.

Week 14, Nov 23: No class. Thanksgiving (Nov 22-Nov 26)

Week 15, Nov 28: Student Presentation

Week 15, Nov 30: Student Presentation

Assessment:

1. Class Participation (20%): Active participation in class discussions is expected and will be graded.
2. Presentations (20%): A in-class presentation at week 15.
3. Final Paper (60%)
  - Research question, hypothesis (due end of Week 5, September 24 11:55 pm) 10%
  - Rough draft (due end of Week 9, October 22 11:55 pm) 10%
  - Complete paper (due last day of the semester, Dec 15 11:55 pm) 40%

The final paper should explore China's presence/impact in the world writ large. Your research paper must ask and answer a tractable question that is not in the stark, binary form adopted above. It could ask about the effect of one variable on another or the extent to which something has changed. The paper must be analytical, not a simple descriptive narrative. You must begin with a general expectation of what to find, then a discussion of findings from your sources. I do not expect a quantitative analysis, but I do require use of some primary sources, which may be in translation. You must identify and use a sufficient number of appropriate, high-quality scholarly sources. Students should incorporate at least five peer-reviewed sources and make a clear argument based upon a question that they have identified within this field. For evaluation criteria, please see below.

Phase 1: 2-3 page paper prospectus

Should include brief contexts of your research question, the research question itself, and your hypothesis, potential sources of evidence (data and/or primary sources).

What is a Research Question?

<https://twp.duke.edu/sites/twp.duke.edu/files/file-attachments/research-questions.original.pdf>

Phase 2: 5-7 page rough draft for peer review

The rough draft (for peer review and professor review) should include:

1. 5-7 pages of prose
2. A clear thesis
3. Correct in-text citation in Chicago author-date style (the Chicago Manual of Style is available here through the UVA library).

4. A bibliography in Chicago author-date style covering all texts cited in the first eight pages

Phase 3: Final paper

Writing Evaluation Criteria:

The following criteria will be used when grading all writing assignments.

Grade	Argument	Grammar	Language Use	Research	Citation	Points Range
A	Brilliant and compelling.	Flawless.	Clear and inspired.	Seamless integration of fresh, innovative material demonstrating extensive research.	All materials cited perfectly.	57-60
A-	Clear and strong.	Near perfect.	Excellent.	Innovative material from extensive research.	Few to no citation errors.	54-56.9
B+	Clear.	Very few errors.	Excellent.	Effective outside research.	Few citation errors.	52-53.9
B	Clear.	Minimal errors.	Generally good.	Effective research.	Multiple citation errors.	49-51.9
B-	Clear.	Minimal errors.	Good, occasional clarity issues.	Sufficient research to support claims.	Multiple errors in citation.	46-48.9
C+	Unclear.	Regular errors.	Frustrating and unclear.	Limited, but effective to support claims.	Majority of sources not cited, multiple errors.	44-45.9
C	Unclear.	Regular errors.	Often frustrating and unclear.	Limited research not well-integrated.	Many uncited sources, multiple errors.	40-43.9
C-	Very unclear.	Consistent errors.	Frustrating and unclear.	Minimal to none.	Majority of sources not cited, multiple errors.	37-39.9
D	None.	Abound with errors.	Very unclear.	Minimal to none.	Most materials not cited, no references.	30-36.9
F	None.	Abound with errors.	Extremely unclear.	None.	No references. Any paper found plagiarized will automatically receive 0 points.	0-29.9

Academic Integrity:

The University is committed to upholding the highest standards of academic integrity. All work submitted in this course must be your own, and any sources used must be properly cited.

Accommodations for Students with Disabilities:

If you require academic accommodations due to a documented disability, please communicate your needs to the instructor.