

兩岸三地威權與民主的社會起源
Social Origins of Authoritarianism and Democracy in Greater China
Spring 2019

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上課時間：

5/29 (三) 上午 9:00-12:00

5/30 (四) 晚上 18:30-21:20

6/4 (二) 晚上 18:30-21:20

6/5 (三) 中午 12:10-15:10 專題演講

6/5 (三) 晚上 18:30-21:20

6/6 (四) 晚上 18:30-21:20

Overview

This course follows the spirits of Barrington Moore's *Social Origins of Dictatorship and Democracy* to compare the development of civil society, contentious politics, and elite conflicts in mainland China, Taiwan, and Hong Kong/Macau since the end of WWII, with an emphasis on the social base, trajectories, and successes/failures of democratization attempts. The course will also cover the growing literature on the question of authoritarian resilience in mainland China, as well as its implications to the wider geopolitical dynamics of the Indo-Pacific.

After dealing with some theoretical questions about authoritarian rule and democratization, the course will cover the cases of mainland China, Taiwan, and Hong Kong/Macau in three separate sections. In each section, we will first look at the historical origins and social foundations of authoritarian rule in the society covered, the success or failure of democratization attempt, and then followed by a discussion of US policy toward authoritarianism, democracy, and human rights issues there.

Requirements

1. Attendance and Participation (30%):

Attendance will be taken in each class. The attendance can be taken at any point in class and you will be regarded as absent if you fail to sign your name on the attendance sheet. If you cannot come because of a legitimate reason (e.g. job interview, medical emergency), you have to provide sufficient documentations and your eligibility of being exempt will be totally at my discretion. 10% of this score is based on participation in discussion in class.

3. Class presentation (30%):

Each student is to select one topic to present on. The presentation is expected to last no more than 30 min.. It should include an overview of the topic's readings (both recommended and required), and a set of questions for the class to discuss.

4. Term paper (40%):

Each student is required to write a 4,000-5,000 words (including tables, figures, and references) term paper that deals with a particular issue related to any topics covered in the class.

Schedule

Readings with *: required

Other readings: recommended

1. Introduction

2. Theory of Authoritarianism and Democratization

*Hagen Koo. 1991. "Middle Classes, Democratization, and Class Formation: The Case of South Korea." *Theory and Society*. Vol. 20, No. 4. 485-509.

*William Robinson. 1996. "Globalization, the World System, and "Democracy Promotion" in U. S. Foreign Policy." *Theory and Society*. Vol. 25, No. 5 (Oct., 1996), pp. 615-665

*Larry Diamond. 1994. "Toward democratic consolidation." *Journal of Democracy* Vol. 5, No. 3. 4-17.

*Larry Diamond. 2015. "Facing up to the democratic recession" *Journal of Democracy* Vol. 26, No. 1 141-155

Mohammad Ali Kadivar 2018. "Mass Mobilization and the Durability of New Democracies." *American Sociological Review*. Volume: 83 issue: 2, page(s): 390-417

Hinnebusch, Raymond.2006. "Authoritarian Persistence, Democratization Theory and The Middle East: An Overview and Critique." *Democratization*, Vol. 13, No. 3, 06.2006, p. 373-395

Dan Slater and Nicholas Rush Smith. 2016. "The Power of Counterrevolution: Elitist Origins of Political Order in Postcolonial Asia and Africa" *American Journal of Sociology* 121, no. 5 (March 2016): 1472-1516.

Theda Skocpol. 1973. "A Critical Review of Barrington Moore's Social Origins of Dictatorship and Democracy." *Politics and Society*. Volume: 4 issue: 1, page(s): 1-34

I. MAINLAND CHINA

3. Party-state in Society

Andrew G. Walder, "Organized Dependency and Cultures of Authority in Chinese Industry." *Journal of Asian Studies* 43:1 (Nov. 1983): 51-76.

*Shue, Vivanne 2018. "Party-state, nation, empire: rethinking the grammar of Chinese Governance" *Journal of Chinese Governance* Vol. 3, Issue 3. 268-291

*Sebastian Heilmann 2008. "From Local Experiments to National Policy: The Origins of China's Distinctive Policy Process" *The China Journal* No. 59 (Jan., 2008), pp. 1-30

*Andrew Mertha. 2009. "'Fragmented Authoritarianism 2.0: Political Pluralization of the Chinese Policy Process,'" *The China Quarterly* 200 (December 2009): 1-18

*Kellee Tsai 2005. "Capitalists without a Class: Political Diversity Among Private Entrepreneurs in China" *Comparative Political Studies* Volume: 38 issue: 9, page(s): 1130-1158

Benjamin Read. 2000. "Revitalizing the state's urban 'nerve tips'" *The China Quarterly*. Vol 163. 806-820

Graeme Smith. 2010. "The Hollow State: Rural Governance in China." *The China Quarterly*. Volume 203 September 2010 pp. 601-618

4. Contention and Authoritarian Resilience

*Jia Gao and Yuanyuan Su. 2017. "Social mobilization in a changing China: A critical review of the literature." *Current Sociology*. Volume: 66 issue: 6, page(s): 929-949

*Ching Kwan Lee and Yonghong Zhang. 2013. "The Power of Stability: Unraveling the Microfoundations of Bargained Authoritarianism in China" *American Journal of Sociology*. Vol. 118, No. 6. 1475-1508.

*Shambaugh 2015. "The Coming Chinese Crackup." *Wall Street Journal*. March 6, 2015.
Ho-fung Hung, Arthur Kroeber, Howard French, Suisheng Zhao. 2015. "When Will China's Government Collapse?" *Foreign Policy*. March 13, 2015.

*Andrew Nathan. 2003. "Authoritarian Resilience." *Journal of Democracy*. Vol. 14, No. 1. 6-17.

*Joseph Fewsmith and Andrew Nathan. 2018. "Authoritarian Resilience Revisited: Joseph Fewsmith with Response from Andrew J. Nathan" *Journal of Contemporary China*.

Dingxin Zhao. 1998. "Ecologies of Social Movements: Student Mobilization during the 1989 Prodemocracy Movement in Beijing." *American Journal of Sociology* Vol. 103, No. 6 (May 1998), pp. 1493-1529

Yanhua Deng and Guobin Yang. 2013. "Pollution and Protest in China: Environmental Mobilization in Context" *The China Quarterly*. Vol 214, 321-336.

Ching Kwan Lee 2002. "From the specter of Mao to the spirit of the law: Labor insurgency in China" *Theory and Society* 31 (2):189-228

Yao Lu and Ran Tao. 2017. "Organizational Structure and Collective Action: Lineage Networks, Semiautonomous Civic Associations, and Collective Resistance in Rural China," *American Journal of Sociology* 122, no. 6 (May 2017): 1726-1774.

Jessica Chen Weiss. 2013. "Authoritarian Signaling, Mass Audiences, and Nationalist Protest in China" *International Organization*. Vol. 67, No. 1. 1-35.

Elizabeth Perry. 2015. "Higher Education and Authoritarian Resilience: The Case of China, Past and Present" Working paper

Changdong Zhang. 2017. "A Fiscal Sociological Theory of Authoritarian Resilience: Developing Theory through China Case Studies." *Sociological Theory*. Volume: 35 issue: 1, page(s): 39-63

Dingxin Zhao. 2009. "The Mandate of Heaven and Performance Legitimation in Historical and Contemporary China" *American Behavioral Scientist*. Volume: 53 issue: 3, page(s): 416-433

5. US Policy

*David M. Lampton. 1994. "America's China Policy in the Age of the Finance Minister: Clinton Ends Linkage" *The China Quarterly* Volume 139 September 1994, pp. 597-621

*Kurt M. Campbell and Ely Ratner. 2018. "The China Reckoning: How Beijing Defied American Expectations." *Foreign Affairs*. March/April 2018 Issue.

By Wang Jisi; J. Stapleton Roy; Aaron Friedberg; Thomas Christensen and Patricia Kim; Joseph S. Nye, Jr.; Eric Li; Kurt M. Campbell and Ely Ratner 2018. "Did America Get China Wrong? The Engagement Debate" *Foreign Affairs*. July/August 2018 Issue.

*Kenneth G. Lieberthal, 2001. "U.S. Policy Toward China." Brookings Institution.
<https://www.brookings.edu/research/u-s-policy-toward-china/>

Zhou Qi. 2005. "Conflicts over Human Rights between China and the US." *Human Rights Quarterly* Vol. 27, No. 1 (Feb., 2005), pp. 105-124

Jeffrey Bader 2018. "US-China Relations: Is it Time to End the Engagement?" Brookings Institution. https://www.brookings.edu/wp-content/uploads/2018/09/FP_20180925_us_china_relations.pdf

II. HONG KONG (MACAU)

6. From Colonial to Post-colonial State

*Brian Fong. 2014 "The Partnership between the Chinese Government and Hong Kong's Capitalist Class: Implications for HKSAR Governance, 1997–2012" *China Quarterly* Volume 217 March 2014, pp. 195-220

*Alvin So 2010. "One Country, Two Systems" and Hong Kong-China National Integration: A Crisis-Transformation Perspective" *Journal of Contemporary Asia*. Vol. 41, No. 1. 99-116.

*Tai-lok Lui. 2003. "Rearguard Politics: Hong Kong Middle Class" *The Developing Economies*. XLI: 2. 161-83.

*Ma, Ngok. 2016. "The Making of a Corporatist State in Hong Kong: The Road to Sectoral Intervention" *Journal of Contemporary Asia* 46 (2), 247-266

Mark, Chi-Kwan. 2009. "Lack of Means or Loss of Will? The United Kingdom and the Decolonization of Hong Kong, 1957-1967" *The International History Review*, Vol. 31, No. 1, 03.2009, p. 45-71.

John Head 1998. "Selling Hong Kong to China - What Happened to the Right of Self-Determination?" *Kansas Law Review*. 45. 283-304

Lo Shiu-hing 2009. "Aspects of Political Development in Macao" *China Quarterly*. Volume 120 December 1989, pp. 837-851

7. Oppositions in Straitjacket

*Alvin So. 2000. "Hong Kong's problematic democratic transition: Power dependency or business hegemony?" *Journal of Asia Studies*. Vol. 59, No. 2. 359-381

*Sebastian Veg. 2017. "The Rise of "Localism" and Civic Identity in Post-handover Hong Kong: Questioning the Chinese Nation-state" *China Quarterly*. Vol. 230. 323-347

*Edmund Cheng. 2016. "Street politics in a hybrid regime: The diffusion of political activism in post-colonial Hong Kong" *China Quarterly* 226, 383-406

Tai-lok Lui and Stephen Chiu. 1997. "The Structuring of Social Movements in Contemporary Hong Kong." *China Information*. Vol. XII, No. 1/2. 97-113.

I Holliday, M Ngok, R Yep. "After 1997: The Dialectics of Hong Kong Dependence" *Journal of Contemporary Asia* 34 (2), 254-270

8. US Policy

*Richard Bush. 2016. "Hong Kong political reform: Implications for U.S. policy" Brookings Institution. <https://www.brookings.edu/research/hong-kong-political-reform-implications-for-u-s-policy/>

*James Tang 1993. "Hong Kong's international status." *Pacific Review*. Volume 6, 1993 - Issue 3. 205-215.

*US-HK Policy Act of 1992. <https://www.congress.gov/bill/102nd-congress/senate-bill/1731>

State Department Reports on Hong Kong
<https://www.state.gov/p/eap/rls/reports/2018/282787.htm>

Hong Kong Democracy and Human Rights Act <https://freedomhouse.org/article/hong-kong-human-rights-act-reaffirms-us-support-hong-kong-autonomy>;
<https://www.duihuahrjournal.org/2015/01/congressional-action-on-hong-kong-set.html>

III. TAIWAN

9. The Transplanted KMT state

*Ralph N. Clough. 1996. "The Enduring Influence of the Republic of China on Taiwan Today" *China Quarterly*. Volume 148 December 1996, pp. 1054-1071

*Tu Weiming. 1996. "Cultural Identity and the Politics of Recognition in Contemporary Taiwan" *China Quarterly*. Volume 148 December 1996, pp. 1115-1140

*Thomas Gold. 1996. "Taiwan Society at the Fin de Siècle." *The China Quarterly* No. 148, Special Issue: *Contemporary Taiwan* (Dec., 1996), pp. 1091-1114

Chang Han-Yu and Ramon H. Myers 1963. "Japanese Colonial Development Policy in Taiwan, 1895-1906: A Case of Bureaucratic Entrepreneurship" *Journal of Asian Studies*. Volume 22, Issue 4 August 1963, pp. 433-449

Gerald McBeath. 1997. "Transformation of the Chinese Nationalist Party (KMT): Adjusting to Liberalization." *American Journal of Chinese Studies*. Vol. 4, No. 2. 209-237

Ramon Myers. 1996. "A New Chinese Civilization: The Evolution of the Republic of China on Taiwan" *The China Quarterly*. No. 148, Special Issue: *Contemporary Taiwan* (Dec., 1996), pp. 1072-1090

10. Civil Society and Successful Democratization

- *David Yang. 2007. "Classing Ethnicity: Class, Ethnicity, and the Mass Politics of Taiwan's Democratic Transition." *World Politics*. July 2007. 503-38.
- *Stefan Fleischauer. 2007. "The 228 Incident and the Taiwan Independence Movement's Construction of a Taiwanese Identity" *China Information*. Volume: 21 issue: 3, page(s): 373-401
- *Ming-Shu Ho. 2010. "Understanding the Trajectory of Social Movements in Taiwan (1980-2010)" *Journal of Current Chinese Affairs* 3/2010: 3-22
- *Shelley Rigger. 2004. "Taiwan's Best-Case Democratization." *Orbis* Volume 48, Issue 2, Spring 2004, Pages 285-292
- Shelley Rigger. 2006. "Taiwan's Rising Rationalism: Generations, Politics, and" Taiwanese Nationalism" *Policy Studies*, No. 26. 1-69.
- Hsiao, Michael. 1996. "Social Movements and Civil Society in Taiwan: A Typological Analysis of Social Movements and Public Acceptance." *The Copenhagen Journal of Asian studies*. 11, 7-26.
- Phillion, Stephen 2010, "The Impact of Social Movements on Taiwan's Democracy" *Journal of Current Chinese Affairs*, 39, 3, 149-163.

11. US Policy

- *Richard Bush 2016. "U.S. policy toward Taiwan" Brookings Institution. (11 pages)
<https://www.brookings.edu/articles/u-s-policy-toward-taiwan-bush/>
- *Jim W Ko. 2004. "Cold War Triumph - Taiwan Democratized in Spite of U.S. Efforts." *Case Western Reserve Journal of International Law* Vol. 36, No. 1. 137-81.
- *Kurt M. Campbell and Derek J. Mitchell. 2001. "Crisis in the Taiwan Strait?" *Foreign Affairs*. July/August 2001.
- Thomas Robinson. 1996. "America in Taiwan' Post Cold-War Foreign Relations." *China Quarterly*. Vol. 148. 1340-61.
- Dennis van Vranken Hickey 1998. "The Taiwan strait crisis of 1996: Implications for US security policy." *Journal of Contemporary China*. Vol 7, No. 19. 405-419

12. Conclusion and presentation of paper progress