

Fall 2021 Junior Politics & PA: Academic Reading & Writing

Course website w/ syllabus:

www.omnifoo.info/pages/

[Politics&PAR&WOnline.html](http://www.omnifoo.info/pages/Politics&PAR&WOnline.html)

Session 1 8-31: Course Introduction

*News from summer (your
vacation, int'l news)

Soccer news – Ronaldo,
Messi on new teams

U.S. army withdrawal from

Afghanistan is complete, after a terrorist attack which killed over 100 citizens & 13 U.S. soldiers, with over 100,000 people evacuated in the past week or so. The Taliban is back in control of the country.

The world is experiencing a “4th Wave” of Covid-19, due to the Delta Variant (a much more transmissible mutation of the virus). Over 100k cases & 1k deaths per day in

USA, 20k & 250 in Thailand.
In China, no one is dying?
In Burma, the army has now
killed over 1,000 citizens.
Natural disasters in
Zhengzhou, Turkey, Haiti,
Tennessee, drought & fires in
CA.

*Surveys – Grading this
course

U.S. Military Withdrawal
from Afghanistan

*Plans for Semester

Reading more academic texts
(academic articles, book
chapters, etc.)

Shift to writing exercises
after 10-1

I have invited 3 guest
speakers (my former
classmates) to talk about their
research with us in class,
probably in Dec.

*Student Presentations
Requirements

*Readings for Thursday's
Session (Tatmadaw &

Taliban Regime Legitimacy)

*3 Volunteers needed to help prepare handout on nationalism

*Read syllabus

Session 2: 9-2

*News: 50x tons of production of poppy seeds (the ingredient in opium, heroin, etc.)...85% of the world's opium is produced there.

Sept. 3rd Taliban will announce the formation of a new

government. It will have to balance moderates & radicals while being “inclusive”.

Education reforms in China take effect to reduce homework & off-campus tutoring (for equality).

China will limit the video game time of children under 18 to 3hrs./week.

*Review concepts of political legitimacy as “the right to rule” = comes from “the people”...they will either give or withhold legitimacy to/from leaders, the

system, etc.

Max Weber's 3 kinds of
“legitimate authority”

1. Traditional

2. Charismatic

1. Rational-Legal (Weber's
preference: most fair/
impartial, stable, modern)

2. These apply mainly to
individual leaders (authority
figures) & bureaucracies.

(National) Political Regime

(System) Legitimacy

1. Democratic (people choose
their leaders)

2. Performance (good governance, economic, social stability, rule of law, etc.)

3. Ideological (socialism, fascism, nationalism, religions, etc.)

A regime is a system of government, which includes: civilian-military relations, rules/laws of succession & competition for power, limits on executive power, branches of gov't, etc.

“The rules of the game”

When is it “OK” for a government to use force against

its own citizens?

For “social stability”,
governments may respond with
force to “disturbing the peace.”

To what extent does “might make
right” in establishing a new
regime or overthrowing an
illegitimate one? (hard power/
force/violence)

*3 news articles on the
Tatmadaw & Taliban: political
legitimacy, Weber's definition of
a state, & the use of force

Religious legitimacy can be ideological but also traditional. Islamic (believing in Islam) Vs. Islamist (radical, conservative, revolutionary belief that Islam should govern the country & spread around the world) = fundamentalist

If a gov't is neutral toward religion, non-religious, we call it “secular.” Most countries with “freedom of religion” claim to be secular. Another extreme is “anti-religious.”

*Nationalism handout work group meets this weekend. Contact Lily if you want to help.

*Tuesday's session: Discuss results of surveys, handout on “-archy” & “-cracy” (Who governs?). Finish articles & consideration of political legitimacy.

Session 3 (9-7)

*News: Military coup in Guinea (in western Africa), with the president in custody, curfews in

place. Internationally, it has been condemned by China's foreign ministry. The African Union calls for calm & dialog.

There is a cease-fire in the conflict in Burma/Myanmar, amid reports that China is testing its new railway to the Indian Ocean, almost 600 Tatmadaw soldiers and over 1000 civilians have been killed.

Mu Variant of Covid-19 may be more resistant to vaccines.

*Review

*Read update to syllabus

***Political legitimacy exercise**
Consider a person with authority or a political regime. On what (documents, values, ideas, etc.) is its/his/her legitimacy founded?

EXAMPLE: Your class monitor, Suzy.

In pairs, choose one of these: 1. a foreign teacher at NENU; 2. Changchun's chief of police; 3. a Chinese provincial governor; 4. California Gov. Gavin Newsom (currently in recall election); 5. Kim Jong Un; 6. Joe Biden; 7. Vladimir Putin; 8. The U.S. federal government (the whole regime); 9. The Communist Party of Vietnam; 10. The new Taliban regime in Afghanistan.

For each, what would cause a loss of legitimacy? What would challenge his/her/its legitimacy but not cause it to be lost completely? Be specific, and use your imagination.

Give an example of 1. Sth. She/he/it could do to lose legitimacy. 2. Sth. That could happen that would destroy legitimacy. 3. A challenge to legitimacy that would not result in a total loss. 4. The result of losing all legitimacy (What exactly would happen to him/her/it?). Give your pair & claim your topic on DingTalk, then give your answers 1-4 there.

EXAMPLE (Suzy as your class monitor): 1. Grading collusion

(exchange a grade above 90 for everyone for perfect course evaluation) 2. Suzy failed all her courses. 3. Suzy loves Japan more than China. 4. She would lose the next election, maybe change her major, or even leave NENU in shame.

*Two articles on The Taliban. Is the Taliban made of terrorists, a terrorist organization? Was it ever? How can an org./party transition from being a terrorist group to being a legitimate gov't?

*Does Hamid think the U.S.-backed gov't was ever legitimate? What does he think

about Afghanistan's judicial system under the U.S.-backed gov't & the Taliban?

*Compare the legitimacy of the Taliban and Tatmadaw regimes, especially with regard to Weber's “monopoly on the legitimate use of force” to be a state and whether “might makes right.”

Domestic Vs. Int'l Legitimacy (incl. Int'l recognition). Prev. Taliban regime was only recognized by a few countries. Domestic legitimacy was always a problem for the U.S.-backed

gov't, despite stronger int'l
legitimacy.

Does being a state require the
political regime to be legitimate?
Why/why not?

Thurs.: Regime types

9-9

*News: Ferry in Australia

(Melbourne Star) closed under reduction of global travel & lockdowns. “Zero-infections” policies are not viable with the Delta variant. Must we “learn to live with Covid” rather than eliminating it entirely? Is herd immunity still possible?

20th Anniversary of the 9/11 incident & the beginning of the “Global War on Terrorism”

*Review

*Finish discussion and comparison of Tatmadaw & Taliban regimes, the relationship between the use of force and

legitimacy, the use of force and being a state. Does “might make right?”

*Compare the legitimacy of the Taliban and Tatmadaw regimes, especially with regard to Weber's “monopoly on the legitimate use of force” to be a state and whether “might makes right.”
A state, according to Weber, is a bounded territory with a population and a gov't with a monopoly on the legitimate use of force. It must also be recognized internationally, as shown by having a seat at the

UN.

The Taliban regime before 2001 was only recognized by 3 other states (Pakistan, Saudi Arabia, & the UAE).

What specifically would both regimes need to do/change to gain legitimacy among their populations & internationally?
Will the new Taliban regime be more moderate (kinder, gentler)?
Is cutting ties w/ terrorists or providing women's rights more important?

*Handout on “-cracy”/ “-archy”

(words describing “who governs” and how the state relates to citizens/society...should not be confused with regimes!)

Tues. discuss these concepts in more detail, w/ examples from World Values Survey, handout on regime types

9-14

*News: 20th anniversary of 9/11 was observed in the USA and around the world.

Japan will hold large-scale military exercises starting on Sept. 15th, for the first time in decades, in response to Chinese maritime activities.

*Review

*NYT article on Tatmadaw & Taliban regimes' legitimacy: domestic Vs. international. Statehood is unclear, in flux.

*Finish handout on “Who governs”

Monarchies are seen as pre-modern, replaced by modern regimes like democracies in

processes of political development such as “bourgeois revolutions”, etc. Two kinds of monarchies are: absolute (still functions as the gov't) & constitutional/limited (royal family takes a more ceremonial role in politics, as the symbol of the nation). Kingdoms have subjects, while modern regimes have citizens (important for “political participation”) both are “average people” of the country. Serfs & peasants existed mainly in feudal (pre-modern) societies which were kingdoms with feudal lords to whom they owed

their loyalty and livelihoods.

*Democracy Vs. Non-democracy: Why so important to Western political science & politics generally? Western, individualist societies believe that democracy is the best regime time to ensure “individual rights & freedoms” for citizens.

Westerners believe that regimes that don't provide these or are “oppressive” are not legitimate.

Such rights are divided into “first-order” socio-economic (food & shelter) & “second-

order” civil-political (religious freedom, civil liberties, the right to vote) human rights.

What is the connection between economic and political development? The works of Samuel Huntington are foundational in these topics. “Political Order in Changing Societies”, “The Third Wave of Democratization” both suggest that societies need to undergo a “Praetorian phase” to unite, stabilize, and modernize the country's citizens and political institutions.

What's the difference between modernization (progress without necessarily becoming Western: reconciling tradition with the modern world) and Westernization (accepting Western culture as universal and changing to become more Western)?

Thurs. Regime Types (please be ready to discuss the two long texts by Linz & Stepan, Schmitter & Karl)

9-16

*News: The first female governor of NY, Kathy Hochul, will replace Andrew Cuomo in two weeks after sexual harassment charges against him were filed.

China-UK relations: China's new ambassador was to give a speech at the House of Commons, but it was canceled after Chinese sanctioned 7 British officials in response to Xinjiang accusations.

Gen. Mark Milley, U.S.
Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of

Staff (highest-ranking military officer in the U.S. gov't) published a book claiming that he reassured China twice that Pres. Trump would not launch a strike against it to stay in office after losing to Biden in 2020. GOP lawmakers are calling for his resignation.

*Review

*Political Culture, Political Development, Human Development Theory (based upon World Values Surveys www.worldvaluessurvey.org), & Teleology

It is arrogant, ethno-centric of the West to assume that all countries will resemble Western, liberal democracies once they are “developed enough”, to assume that the West knows the “final destination” of all political reforms.

Cultural “cores” do not change, Lily says. This “essentializes” our cultures. Maybe this leads to stereotypes which are often not true and sometimes harmful. Values may change within societies and individuals with economic growth, modernization,

and political change.

Values are things we see as important. Individuals and societies both pursue them.

Traditional Vs. Secular values

Materialist = having nice things gives me “the good life” Vs.

Post-Materialist values = “The best things in life aren't things.”

Survival Vs. Self-Expression values

Would you rather be rich but hate your job or struggle financially but love your job? Why?

Example WVS questions: 1. In your view, is your country A) a full democracy, B) a

democracy with minor problems, C) a democracy with major problems, or D) not a democracy ?

2. To what extent do you agree or disagree with this statement? “Best to get rid of Parliament and elections and have a strong leader who can quickly decide everything.” (strongly agree, somewhat agree, no opinion/don't know, somewhat disagree, strongly disagree)

Graphic of cultural “clumping” of WVS answers.

East Asian Barometer for 1.

Procedural Vs. Substantive definitions of democracy

Do these result from “misperception of regime type” or cultural connection stemming from unique concepts of 民

主 & 民本?

Introduce Linz & Stepan's chapter.

Non-democracy, the many
“opposites” of liberal/Western
democracy.

Tues. continue w/ the long academic
texts & talk about handout on regime
types.

9-23

*News: Russia's GDP has recovered
to pre-Covid levels, with growth rates
above 4%. The Russian embassy
reported an unprecedented number of
cyberattacks during the recent

election for the Russian Duma.

Deaths from Covid-19 has exceeded the number of deaths from the Spanish Flu in the USA in 1918, currently over 2000 per day, with 130-150k cases reported daily. 1 in 500 Americans have died of it.

Vaccine hesitancy remains strong, and resistance to Pres. Biden's mandates is even stronger.

*Review

*Comparative Politics “Disciplinary History”:

Normative & Traditional Political

Studies (up to mid-20th century)

versus scientifically detached, non-normative, empirical studies “Is Vs. Ought” distinction

Behavioralism & Positivism (through empirical observation, experimentation, and sophisticated statistical methodologies, we can learn the truth) of 1950s & 1960s, Rational Choice methodologies today

The “New Institutionalism” says that we must understand the larger, systemic constraints on individual behavior.

Macropolitics vs. Micropolitics (incl. Polt. psychology of individual political decisions & actions)

*Review definitions of democracy Vs. non-democracy. DPRK = Democratic People's Republic of Korea
To what extent is democracy the same

as or different from “good governance”? (Again, substantive Vs. procedural/institutional definitions)

*Linz & Stepan's chapter on modern, non-democratic regimes

Regime types & modernization in 20th century history

Eurocentrism of “The West & The Rest”

(Re-)discovering modernity in non-Western contexts (i.e. Bin Wong's *China Rediscovered*, The “Kyoto School” of Japanese historians, Ken Pomeranz's *The Great Divergence*) & questioning the “essentialism” of Western superiority/origin of all things “modern”

KEY TERMS: typology (made of Weberian ideal types)

Are ideal types good & desirable? No! Not necessarily.

They are not all models to follow.

We can have ideal type kleptocracy, dictatorship, dystopia, etc.

Think of them as the purest examples we can imagine.

We compare actually existing examples to the “ideal” to say whether something is or is not really an example of a concept.

pluralism = acceptance of differences in belief & non-state power structures/
organizations (i.e. “civil society” = not

associated with the state/gov't)

charismatic (associated with founders of orgs./regimes/etc.) vs. technocratic

(associated with successors who have more technical skills/expertise in governing)

ideology = a system of ideas & values with a stated goal (possibly utopian), outlining what is “good & bad” & how to achieve the goal

(examples incl. Words ending in “-ism” such as capitalism, socialism, liberalism, individualism, feudalism, etc.) Different from religion b/c it is secular (not supernatural), mundane.

mobilization vs. de-mobilization (of citizens & their “political participation” in the institutions of a regime)

PRC history has traditionally been divided into two eras, with more popular mobilization in the first (revolutionary) than the second (reform). Xi's term as chairman may be a third era.

*Personalistic Authoritarianism is more common than “Sultanism” in today's usage

For Tues., read & be ready to discuss
Schmitter & Karl's academic article
“What Democracy Is & Is Not”

9-28

*News: Rural doctors program in
Hubei has achieved great success,
with thousands of medical students
going to rural areas. Teachers have
also gone to rural areas.

UNHCR reported on deaths in the 10-
year Syrian Civil War, estimating at
least 350k by very conservative
figures, including high rates among
women & children.

The Socialist Party of Germany
narrowly defeated Merkel's party, but
a coalition will be difficult to form.

*Review

*Plan for Oct.

*Finish key terms from Linz & Stepan chapter

*Begin discussion of Schmitter & Karl's article

The “procedural minimum” for liberal/Western democracy: Robert Dahl's “Polyarchy” (summed up as “free & fair” elections). To be a democratic polity, Dahl says elections must be contested (competitive), inclusive of the whole population in the electorate, and the results must be uncertain.

Polyarchy requires that elections be lost by the incumbents and that there be a “loyal opposition” (opposing the policies of the ruling party, wanting a different party/leader, but still being seen as loyal to the state & patriotic). At any given time, democracies usually have a ruling party & one or more opposition parties.

The main parties in the USA are the Democratic & Republican parties.

Boris Johnson is Britain's Prime Minister; he is the leader of the Conservative Party (The Tories).

Britain's other main party is the Labor Party.

Schmitter & Karl note that focusing on elections exclusively (or too much)

conflates democracy w/
“electoralism”. They list many other
conditions & principles.

Local elections in contemporary
China keep the same term as the last
years of the Qing, “self-governance”

Thurs. use handout on basic regime
types.

9-30

*News: China's air show in Zhuhai
opened, after being delayed a year due
to the pandemic. Countries &
companies all around the world.
Japan's LDP leader was selected, the
former foreign minister Fumio

Kishida, will soon be Prime Minister.
Seen as a “safe choice” from among
the party's elite.

*Review

“Please Vote for Me” documentary
preview

*Finish Schmitter & Karl's article
Westerners tend to “vote their
pocketbooks” & want to keep their
private property (even as it exploits
the lower classes). Schumpeter,
Lipset, and other theorists claim that
there is “no democracy without
economic redistribution”.

Democracy is not necessarily better
for the economy, more efficient
administratively, or more stable/

orderly.

Still, Westerners support it for reasons of “individual liberty” which gives people dignity & protects private property. Westerners value their freedoms & rights to self-expression.

Liberal democratic theory says electoral uncertainty (nobody knows who will win a “free & fair” election before it is held) is both good and necessary. Why? Do you agree or disagree?

Western liberals say if we are sure who will win, we don't need elections. Uncertainty of the outcome shows it is “the people” who have the power to choose their leaders.

Are elections just a formality to give the appearance of democratic legitimacy, or are they decisive & central to political succession?

*Basic Regime Types handout

Tues. finish regime types with an exercise on hypothetical polity preferences (to be sent over the weekend). If you're interested, an exercise on democratic theory.

Transition to nationalism w/ handout to be sent on Mon., book chapters by Gellner, Smith.

10-5

*News: Japan's LDP selected an insider, party elite to be the next Prime Minister, and Xi congratulated him w/ hopes for continuation of normal relations

Communication line between the DPRK & RoK was restored after being severed.

*Review

*Finish handout on regime types
Most important/difficult/controversial: differences between Authoritarian & Totalitarian, Democracy & Non-Democracy

*Hypothetical regime comparison exercise. Finished or need time in

class? Compare your answers & explain your opinions to a partner & to me.

Thurs. democratic theory exercise, start nationalism w/ forthcoming handout, based on book chapters by Gellner, Smith

10-7

*News: Consulates in Russia & foreign ministry noted Marco Rubio's website said that 300 diplomats should be expelled. Closing U.S. embassies in Russia is also discussed. ASEAN is deciding whether to allow a junta representative for Burma,

Malaysia is considering meetings with the National Unity Gov't.

*Review

*Results of regime comparison exercise...awaiting full results & will share on Tues.

*Democratic Theory: varied liberal/Western democratic procedural forms for “public choice” (how the gov't makes decisions on policy)

Representative = in a democratic republic, the electorate chooses elites to represent their interests & govern the polity.

Direct = Rather than elections, the people vote in a referendum on what policies to enact. The gov't simply

implements these policies but doesn't decide them. Voting (can simply be choosing what to do, i.e. a policy) Vs. Elections (voting for Sb. To represent you)

Deliberative = a representative sample of the population meets to deliberate (discuss & decide on) policy.

Chinese/Non-Western:

“Mass Line” Democracy & 民主主义?

Consultative bodies in contemporary PRC (i.e. the CPPCC 人民政协)

Socialism w/ Chinese Characteristics

plurality (largest among groups less than 50%), majority, supermajority

(much more than 51%)

*Democratic Theory: Actual Policy
Decision-Making

-The principle of majority rule & the
“intensity of belief” problem among a
minority, tiny majorities (i.e. 50.1% to
49.9%), inability to establish a
majority as a result of “cycling” → Is
a “plurality” (the largest group if there
is no majority) democratic?

Is it better to go with a plurality,
violating the “majority rule” principle
& oppressing minorities, or to take no
action (keep the status quo)?

ROUND 1: Policy A = 40%; Policy
B = 40%; Policy C = 20%.

ROUND 2: Policy A = 45%; Policy
B = 48%.

Imagine the “Policy” being voted on

is whether, as a class, to order pork, beef, or egg & leek dumplings.

Such problems may or may not be solved by compromise over multiple iterations.

-new democratic regimes tend to be “majoritarian” and the book *From Voting to Violence* (by Jack Snyder) says they are also likely to be unstable & violent due to nationalist conflict (or consider elections in India, in which people regularly die)

-liberal democracy must protect “minority rights” against “the tyranny of the majority”

Abraham Lincoln said, “You can fool some of the people all the time and all the people sometimes, but not all of the people all the time.”

-Some anti-majoritarian rules such as the filibuster in the U.S. Senate effectively require a “supermajority” for certain decisions

-Liberal democratic theorists such as William H. Riker doubt whether knowing “the popular will” (what the people want) is possible. In practice, the real advantages of liberal democratic regimes are peaceful power transitions w/ the rule of law & the regular opportunity to “throw the bastards out” in elections

-Which “minorities” are actually protected in the USA, and to what extent does oligarchic, minority rule result?

*Yascha Mounk's 2018 article

“America Is Not a Democracy”

*Exercise on Democratic Theory & Practice

Tues. discuss Democratic Theory & Practice exercise & begin unit on nationalism, using forthcoming handout.

10-12 (Lost session to bad connection & no alternatives open in the city)

10-14

*News: Israel has surpassed 600k deaths from the coronavirus.

Thailand will open to vaccinated travelers on Nov. 1st (despite 10k cases per day & nearly 100 deaths per

day).

German vaccination rates may be too low, and the gov't is taking “creative measures” to increase motivation of citizens under 30, such as DJ dance parties w/ free alcohol.

Arunachal Province visit by the president of India, and the Chinese side has objected to “unilateral territorial claims” in what is considered Chinese territory.

*Review

*Results of Hypothetical Regimes

Exercise:

Survival Predictions (#of votes):

AF(11), E(10), C(8), D(6), B(2).

Regime Change Predictions (Fall):

B(14), D(7), C(6), F(5), E(4), A(2).

Most like to live in: F(7), E(4), A(3), C(2).

Least like to live in: B(13), C(2), AD(1).

How would you revise this exercise? (i.e. how could B be made more appealing & stable? What factors would you change to make your ranking more difficult or the exercise more interesting overall?) Send me your suggestions on DingTalk.

*Mounk's article in The Atlantic
“America is not a democracy”

*Democratic Theory Exercise: take a few minutes to compare your answers to a neighbor's. Each student should share one example association

Tues. discuss book chapters by Gellner & Smith, continue discussion of nationalism

10-19

*News: Former U.S. Secretary of State, Colin Powell, died of complications from Covid-19 (he was immuno-compromised w/ multiple myeloma, a kind of blood cancer) at the age of 84. He was the U.S. official who argued for the invasion of Iraq in 2003 at the UN, to eliminate “weapons of mass destruction”
Japanese PM visited the Yasukuni Shrine, which honors several war criminals from WWII.

Former President Trump is trying to keep records of the Jan. 6th insurrection at the Capitol a secret.

*Review

*Nationalism Handout

Talk w/ a partner about your orientation towards your country.

How do you see yourself? Are you a patriot, a nationalist, or something else?

What's the difference (if any) between a patriot and a nationalist? For China, which are you? Is it OK or not OK to be a cosmopolitan or non-patriotic in today's PRC? Why/why not?

10-21

*News: "We forgot"

*Review

*Book chapters by Gellner & Smith:
Which “paradigms” of nationalism do they represent?

*Finish Nationalism Handout

*Nationalism & history, history of Chinese nationalism

*Varieties of nationalism in the USA:
civic, white supremacy, Black Panthers (in 1960s-70s)

Citizens of the PRC are in the Chinese nation. It is a civic nation united by the belief in “socialism w/ Chinese characteristics” & a shared culture.

Tues. continue discussion of nationalism, using additional handouts on Sinophobia, minority policies. Sign up for Presentation 1 topics on DingTalk sheet to be circulated.

12-26

*News: Meng Wanzhou, connected to Huawei, recently returned to China, to a hero's welcome.

Chinese foreign minister will visit Qatar to meet w/ Taliban Interim Government bilaterally

Sudan's PM & transitional gov't have been surrounded by military personnel, arrest of the mayor of Khartoum.

*Review

*Finish first nationalism handout.

Revisit ethnic group Vs. nation &

ethnic Vs. civic nation questions

At the end of the Qing Dynasty,

Chinese nationalist figures were

divided into reformers (such as Kang

Youwei & Liang Qichao) &

revolutionaries (such as Sun Yat-sen,

Zhang Binglin, Zou Rong who wrote

“The Revolutionary Army”)

*Nationalism divides people into “in-

groups & out-groups” (in-groups

include “the self”, while “out-groups”

are made of “others” and do not

include “the self”), which political

psychology says is a natural human

practice. Alterity: External (esp. foreigners from other countries) & Internal “Others” (fellow citizens whom we don't see as national members like us) (Us Vs. Them)
This is an obstacle to forming a common national identity. Why is this important? Nationalists especially believe that, in the modern era, national strength is most important.

Strength Vs. Power = practically synonymous

jus sanguinis (by blood, i.e. based on your parents) Vs. *jus soli* (by birthplace) Vs. by choice
Self-identification Vs. imposition
Mainly about citizenship rather than

nation membership.

Thurs. finish nationalism & sign up
for Presentation 1 topics.

10-28

*News: PRC Information Office
published a white paper on its
strategies & policies to address
climate change. 15.9% non-fossil fuel
energy production.

The Wall Street Journal reports Rhode
Island will create a drug injection site
(similar to policies in Canada &
Europe). The goal is to prevent
deaths from overdoses & unsanitary

conditions. This is part of a philosophy of “harm reduction” & decriminalization.

*Review

*Plans for Presentation 1: Sign up by Tues., then decide whether to record your presentation or do it live.

Depending on how many choose to present live, we may use one or two sessions on live presentations & Q&A afterwards.

*Minority policy spectrum w/ more examples

When a minority wants to break away from a country, taking its land and population to form a new state, this is called secession. To prevent this,

minorities will often demand full autonomy over their territory & population.

*Diasporas, Irredentism, & Sinophobia

Tues. you will have most of the session to prepare for your presentation, after we conclude nationalism.

11-2

*News: G20 Meeting focused on climate change, including comments by Xi Jinping encouraging countries to cooperate to solve it & Covid-19.

26th UN Climate Change Conference

was held in Glasgow, Scotland.
General Sec. Guterres warned against continuing dependence on fossil fuels & encouraged more ambitious pledges to keep global temperatures from rising more than 1.5 degrees (currently on track for 2.7 degrees)
The world surpassed 5 million Covid-19 deaths.

*Review

Discuss with a partner: what policies should countries enact toward their Chinese minorities? Can/should they assimilate? How does this affect your view of the nationalist theoretical paradigms (i.e. is the Chinese nation “in the blood”, immutable, or changeable?)? Had you heard of the anti-communist & anti-Chinese killings in the 1960s in Indonesia (described in academic

article excerpts on pg. 2 of the handout), and do you think it was a genocide or not?

*Academic article summaries on the question of genocide against their Chinese minorities in the 1960s

Cribb & Coppel's article: Not genocide b/c “relatively few [Chinese] were killed” compared to Indonesian communists

Melvin: maybe genocide (we need more information)

Coppel's book chapter – pro-majority affirmative action is a strange and maybe not justifiable policy

*Irredentism

*Revisit general definitions of

*You have the rest of class to prepare for Presentation 1 with your partner(s). By the end of this session, River & Shaw (Illiberal Democracy) need to decide whether to record it or present live.

Thurs. those who signed up to present live will do so, followed by Q&A. Those will be The Chinese Diaspora (Emma & Sunny), National Extinction (Jessica & Po)

We will have Q&A sessions next Tues. for recorded presentations. Recordings should be sent to us by Mon. morning.

11-4

*News: Michelle Wu (R), 36, a Harvard Law graduate from

Chicago, became the first female mayor in Boston, MA, in the city's history. A Republican governor won the state of Virginia after Biden won it and it had a Democratic governor for 8 years, seen as an ominous sign for the midterm elections next year.

Ministry of Commerce issued a notice to store basic goods & necessities, & some misinterpreted it as a message about Taiwan Strait tensions.

*Review

(Please answer the poll on the academic article topic before it

closes.)

*Presentations, Q&A from
Emma & Sunny (The Chinese
Diaspora), Jessica & Po
(National Extinction?)

*Topics & texts no one chose:
Manchu & Manchurian
Language, Irredentism
(Cartographic examples
presentation)

*Academic article topic poll
results...article will be sent by
Sat., & we'll discuss it w/ the
“guide” handout on Thurs.

Topic = Democratic Theory

Groups recording their presentations should send them to us by Mon. morning so we can ask questions about them in Tuesday's session.

11-9

*News: U.S. House of Representatives passed Biden's infrastructure bill valued at over \$1trillion on a narrowly bipartisan basis, with some support from Republicans &

some progressives voting against it. Biden's approval rating is low at 38% despite a good jobs report from Oct.

*Review

*Presentation 1 Q&A

1. Direct Democracy w/ Lily & Lucy

pronunciation: politician

Example issue from presentation:

Should the USA ban guns?

Referendum: an issue is put on the ballot for citizens to vote

“yes” or “no”

Real example: Brexit, CA recall: possible in China someday?

If “checks & balances” are necessary, what kinds are possible? Social psychology suggests rationality will not be sufficient among the masses. What if something “necessary” is very unpopular (i.e. voting to raise taxes is rare.)?

2. Illiberal Democracy w/ River & Shaw

fallacy = something that is illogical or a joke contradictory?

Main examples: Poland & Hungary. Why? Is populism anti-democratic or just illiberal?

Populism favors majoritarianism (the majority should *always* rule). Westerners expect elites to be liberal.

“Illiberal democracy may 'discredit' liberal democracy itself.” Why? How?

3. Civic Nationalism w/ Nature & Winter

Did S. Huntington reject the idea of the USA as a “civic” nation? His book “*Who Are We?*” says that the USA has a “heritage” of white, Anglo-Saxon Protestant

settlers “WASP”.

Civic nationalism is “not based on culture”??? Just not one ethnic group's culture. So, is civic nationalism = multiculturalism/diversity? Must it be liberal? Is China's nationalism civic, ethnic, or class-based (i.e. for “common prosperity”)? “11:55” you say “Civic nationalism may become an excuse to exploit & reject the rights and interests of minorities.”

4. The Han majority in the PRC
w/ Suzy, Stella, & Yura

Why Bohai Kingdom? Han-
ese? Usually just say “Han”.

Anti-Manchu movements were
mainly to eliminate feudalism
(feudal/Manchu “nobility”)
rather than against the ethnic
group.

There was no Chinese nation
before the late Qing? Han as
ethnic group Vs. nation

5. Stateless Nation: The Kurds
w/ Shirley & Diego. Should they
get their own, independent
Kurdistan state? Are they a

nation or “just” an ethnic group?

*If time remains consider the texts criticizing liberal/Western democracy

Does “bourgeoisie” = the middle class?

What % of the USA is considered (or considers itself) middle class?

“workers' democracy” vs.

“bourgeois” democracy

Thurs. use the guide to academic articles to outline the sections of the article by Claassen. Read the article by Bagg to discuss next Tues. Jenny & Cassie's Q&A

session will also be then.

11-11

*News: Kishida of Japan became prime minister.

A soldier in India opened fire with an automatic rifle on his comrades, not the first time this has occurred.

*Grades for Presentation 1 will be sent on DingTalk after the last Q&A session for Jenny & Cassie.

*Scott Cooper (leftvoice.org) on “Bourgeois Democracy”.

Marxists often use the word

“dialectical” to describe their analysis. They are often called “economic determinism”.

In general: nations = ethnic (or civic); classes = economic; castes = religious (esp. Hindu)

Marxist classes (by *source* of income): proletariat, capitalist classes (bourgeoisie & landowners).

People w/ unstable, insecure jobs in “the gig economy” are part of “the precariat” class.

Most gov'ts today divide classes by the *level* of income & wealth: the poor (maybe on public assistance or “on welfare” & have no job, they live in poverty) & working poor (living in poverty despite having a job, one that

does not pay a “living wage”),
working class. Middle class include
“lower” & “upper”. The rich &
“super rich” are often thought of as
the top 10% or “the 1%”

Does “bourgeoisie” include the
middle class? Some analyses include
the petty/petit bourgeoisie, who are
lower middle class, are conservative
& support the status quo.

What % of the USA is considered (or
considers itself) middle class? Is the
proletariat the majority of the U.S.
population? About 51% are “middle
class”

Barrington Moore sums up the
democratization literature w/ a pre-
requisite as follows: “No bourgeois;
no democracy.”

“workers' democracy” vs. “bourgeois”
democracy

“The American Dream” includes
upward mobility, a materialist
wellbeing (everyone owns a
home, a car, has a family, etc.),
and lives in “freedom.”

Strongest in the Post-WWII
1950s. (Similar to The Chinese
Dream, but more individualistic.
Both take the household as an
important unit of analysis.)

U.S. taxes rates on the rich &
corporations in the 1950s were v.
high at 90%, Reagan reduced
them to 50-70%, in the 21st

century they are at 30% or below & rich people pay a lower % of their income in taxes than average people.

How can “upward mobility” be ensured & facilitated? The book “Our Kids” by Harvard's Robert Putnam says we must consider “equality of opportunity” (from John Rawls) Vs. “equality of outcome” (an expectation of socialism). Americans support the former much more than the latter, according to surveys, especially those who believe in “rugged individualism” (the gov't should not help people; people should help themselves.)

On what grounds would Cooper consider the “democratic dictatorship of the proletariat” to be

“real” democracy, in contrast to the “pseudo-democracy” which actually exists? How relevant today are his quotations of Marx, Engels, Lenin, and other classics? How do labor unions, upward mobility (if I work hard, I can rise to the upper class, “rags to riches” stories...Americans may not believe they are poor but rather “temporarily embarrassed millionaires”), “democratic socialism,” movements for “the 99%, (such as “Occupy Wall Street”)” and globalization support or undermine his Marxist/dialectical analysis?

Globalization (a convergence of ideologies around Western, liberal ideas, especially “neoliberal economics”)

& ideological confrontation: Will Western countries “absorb” Marxism? Anti-globalization movements have gone from being a left-wing, Marxist position in the USA to a general populist one, including Trump supporters. Will China lead a “new” globalization that includes free trade but not Westernization?

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We may yet read texts on current Western interpretations on the meaning of “socialism.”

Tues. academic articles guide

11-16

*News: A major summit between Pres. Biden & Xi is coming up, and both sides have exchanged “warnings” in anticipation of it.

U.S. journalist imprisoned for months in Burma will be sent back to the USA. Many

thousands of political prisoners remain.

Democratic regimes are pluralistic, more tolerant of opposition & are generally expected not to have political prisoners.

Snowden lives in political asylum in Russia.

*Review

*Al-Jazeera news article on Naxalites in India (aka the rural agrarian revolutionaries called “Maoists”)

*Q&A for Jenny & Cassie's

presentation. Indigenous people's rights Vs. the “settlers”
Assimilation = take on the national identity first & foremost (give up minority identity, language, culture, beliefs, etc.)
Integration = keep one's distinct identity while being able to “function in the majority society”

Presentation grades will be sent soon, as well as instructions & a sign-up sheet for Presentation 2

*Academic articles guide w/ Claassen's article as a structural model

Thurs. finish academic article
guide, begin discussion of
Samuel Bagg's article, "The
Power of the Multitude:
Answering Epistemic Challenges
to Democracy"

11-18

*News: The virtual summit
between Pres. Biden & Xi,
lasting for over three hours,
covered many "hot-button"
issues such as Taiwan, generally
hoping to "lower the
temperature" of the bilateral

relationship, though no concessions or clear joint statement was made.

Nov. 17th Jiangsu Province experienced an earthquake, a 5.0 on the Richter Scale.

Pres. Biden signed the \$1 trillion infrastructure bill into law, hoping that it will help his low approval numbers (about 40%).

*Review

*Continue & finish academic articles guide & Claassen's article

Tues. discuss Bagg's article in

detail, introduce requirements for Presentation 2 on an academic article.

11-23

*News: Foreign Ministry spokesman noted that some European countries are considering following the U.S. in a “diplomatic boycott” of the Winter Olympics. He defended China's record, said politicization runs counter to the spirit of the games.

A border law passed last month

allows “intruders” to be shot, directed specifically at the border with India.

Lithuania opened a “Taiwan Representative Office,” which the PRC claims is a blatant violation of the “One China” Principle, while the Baltic nation claimed it does not diplomatic status. Taiwanese officials called it “a diplomatic breakthrough.”

*Review

*Presentation 2 Requirements (sign-up sheet to is available on DingTalk). Presentation 1 grades eventually.

*Example of Presentation 2 for Claassen's article

Democratic consolidation is usually measured by the “two turnover rule” (power after an election is peacefully transferred twice/after two terms) to be consolidated/established as “the only game in town.”

The Arab Spring revolutions did not result in a lot of democratization, but Tunisia emerged with a new democratic regime which is not yet

consolidated.

*Begin discussion of Bagg's article, "The Power of the Multitude: Answering Epistemic Challenges to Democracy"

Thurs. finish Bagg's article

Whenever an academic article uses the word "democracy," assume it's liberal/Western. Note that we are not promoting liberal/Western ideas.

Yu Keping's "Democracy Is a Good Thing."

Justifications for democracy
(explain why it is just, good,
desirable): 1. instrumental
(democracy provides better
governance & political outcomes
than non-democratic alternatives)
Vs. 2. intrinsic (it is internal,
good in and of itself b/c people
have human rights to decide their
government & leaders, 1-
person-1-vote empowers
individuals & makes them
“free”)

11-25

*News: Kimchee prices are

rising quickly in Korea, about 70%, leaving many consumers to give up the staple food.

Int'l Table Tennis Association announced the formation of a joint team between the USA & China in observance of the 50-year anniversary of “ping-pong diplomacy” after the Sino-Soviet Split.

*Review

*Logistics & timing: Guest speaker, exams, Presentation 2.

*Share what you think is Bagg's research question with a partner.

(If you haven't read much or any of the article, imagine this is the “short answer” question at the end of the exam, and you must write *something*). Send yours to me on DingTalk.

What does the author mean by “epistemic challenges” to democracy? Epistemic challenges = questioning the instrumental justification b/c “the people” lack the knowledge/ability to use their power (primarily the vote) responsibly. Basically, the people are too stupid & nationalistic to vote

well.

Means-testing as a requirement for suffrage (i.e. poll taxes, reading tests) enfranchisement. In some U.S. states, citizens lose suffrage if they are convicted of a felony.

How do instrumental supporters of democracy respond to these epistemic challenges (prior to & other than Bagg's article)? Pg. 9 talks about Condorcet Jury Theorem & “Diversity trumps ability.” But Bagg says these are unconvincing, maybe not

applicable to a whole nation that can be tricked/persuaded by a demagogue.

For those who reject the intrinsic justifications of democracy (i.e. China & many other non-Western countries), attractive alternatives include the “benevolent dictator” (paternalistic... “eventually you will get a bad king”) & Bagg says China (as described by Daniel A. Bell of Tsinghua University) is a “meritocratic epistocracy”. (Review -cracy & -archy terms.) Epistocracy = rule of the wise

Technocracy = based upon skills/abilities

Meritocracy = moral, not corrupt, upstanding (but “merit” is defined by the regime), prestige & power are earned through doing good deeds to establish one's virtue, may include showing loyalty to a/the

party & support for the official ideology

What is Bagg's research question? Bagg wants to answer: “Why, despite 'epistemic challenges,' is electoral democracy still better than any alternative?”

For Bagg, the biggest danger is “state capture.”

A “captured” state is ruled by and for one faction (or one person), whose elites are “entrenched” (can't be removed) and whose

leader has consolidated nearly absolute power. No independent power centers (i.e. branches of gov't) exist, & rule *by* law keeps it that way.

Compare state capture to regulatory capture and whether former Pres. Trump has “captured” the Republican Party.

Non-democracy is *risky* for Bagg, as *in the long run* all political meritocracies become biased, captured, and corrupt. (i.e. Loyalty *becomes* merit, or elites *define* merit to entrench

their power).

Electoral democracy *denies all factions* (& especially any individual elite) the ability to capture all the regime's political institutions. Competitive, multi-party elections have *uncertain outcomes*, and this is good (for Bagge at least) because elites don't know if their attempts to gain & consolidate power will be successful or fail.

Tues. prepare for Dec. 3rd's guest speaker w/ session on U.S. foreign policy (using handout to

be sent on DingTalk). Also preview the two readings on Realism.

11-30

*News: Japan Broadcasting Association reports that Japan is prohibiting all foreign tourists from entering the country, in response to the new, omicron variant of Covid-19. Foreign business tourists & students had previously been allowed. The omicron variant shows several mutations that 1. may

make it spread faster than Delta
& 2. may make vaccines less
effective against it.

PLA aircraft in Taiwan air
defense zone is defended as
“completely legitimate”

*Review

*Presentation 2 sign-up & article,
Presentation 1 grades delayed
again.

*Handout & texts on U.S.
foreign policy
graphic: where is the U.S.
military?

Most Americans today think that

China is more powerful than the USA.

Most scholars conclude that the 21st century is LESS violent than the 20th century because there have been no “great power wars”. (Civil wars may have increased, but interstate wars are less frequent and much smaller.) Some even say we are in an era called “Pax Americana.”

How does USFP affect topics in your major of politics & PA? It

strongly promotes liberal democracy, neoliberal economics (i.e. global capitalism) & Western values all around the world. Some say that the USA does not consider any non-democratic regime to be legitimate.

Hegemony (dominance):
regional (dominates its region & creates a “sphere of influence” beyond its borders. Regional hegemons tell other great powers to “stay out.”), i.e. Russia Vs.
global (dominates the whole world, i.e. the USA, Britain in

the 18th-19th Centuries, Spain
previously, Rome, Mongol
empires)

Realism: States Vs. Non-state
actors.

International Vs. Domestic “level
of analysis”

Article by Ronald Osborn on
Noam Chomsky's leftist realism
(differing mainly in finding
domestic elites advancing a
“military industrial complex”).

National interests (pursued by a
national grand strategy expressed
in foreign policy & diplomacy).

Realists say all countries have an interest in strong national defense (building their militaries) for security & survival. National interests are natural & static (unchanging), determined by the int'l anarchic system. Domestic politics don't really matter.

Marxists believe that IR is mainly a global competition among great powers to exploit developing countries & take their resources. Wars occur because states fight over resources.

Book chapter by Anatol Lieven

on the threat to states from climate change. Traditional (war & peace between states & their militaries) Vs. non-traditional security (i.e. economic, environmental, non-military).

Thurs. no class. We will instead meet for the guest speaker on Fri. from 11:45-1:15. I will note who asks him questions and add a point to your final grade if you do. Next week we'll review for the exam.

12-9

*News: U.S. Announced it would not send any diplomats to the opening ceremony of the 2022 Winter Olympics in Beijing (diplomatic boycott)...China warned this politicizes the games & may “take counter-measures”.

Minister of Defense of India was killed in a helicopter crash, after being sent to the hospital didn't survive.

Pres. Biden had a videoconference w/ V.Putin about the possibility of a Russian invasion of Ukraine.

*Vocabulary Game (Rounds 1 & 2 in two teams)

Tues. Review game w/ oral exam questions. Thurs. Written exam. Oral exam sign-up sheet will be available over the weekend.

12-14 Review Game for “Midterm” Exam

*News

*Game or no game? Divide into four teams & sit together. NO GAME decided.

*Review Game : *Give an Example
*Vocabulary Guessing Round 2
(Gestures only) *Oral Exam
Questions (& an example of Part 2)
*Word Scramble
*Rhyme Battle *What Paradigm of
Nationalism? (Primordialism,
Perennialism, or Modernism?)
*Dictation

Please sign up for your oral exam
time if you haven't yet. Your very
difficult written exam will be on
Thurs.

Choose your academic article for
Presentation 2, and read the
introduction plus one other chapter of
Prof. Gellers' book for his

presentation on Mon. Your final writing assignment instructions will be given (with Presentation 2) in the last session of class next Thurs.

12-23

*News: Japan & India are reaching out diplomatically to the Burmese junta, which continues to torture its citizens to death & punish protesters.

*Guest speaker debriefing

What was Prof. Gellers's research question for his book? Was he advocating for robot rights, saying that they should have rights?

Advocacy = arguing for or on behalf of something, saying something should be done (calling for action)

RESEARCH QUESTION(S): Under what circumstances can/will/should robots be given rights?

Should human rights be established & protected first?

Human rights are generally described as universal, but also grouped as “first-order” (socio-economic: food, shelter, & employment, health care) & “second-order” (civil-political: such as freedoms/electing one's political leaders, privacy, racial & gender equality, etc.).

Value (something that is important)
Vs. Right (an entitlement: everyone should receive it; to deny it to anyone is a crime.)

Anthropocentrism Vs. Bio-centrism
(all living things have rights) Vs.
Eco-Centrism (all things in an
ecosystem can have rights: i.e. rivers
& lakes, even the whole earth/Mother
Nature)

*Presentation 2 update: Does
everyone have a topic & an article?
Submit your video file by Jan. 7th.

*I still haven't sat down to re-watch
your first presentations but will do so
and send grades.

*Exams will be graded in a week, but
I don't know if I can send them back
to you. They will be kept/used as the
material record for the course.

*The course website will be updated in January with this chalkboard file.

*Final writing assignment: short essay on one prompt based on materials from guest lectures. Due Jan. 14th.

Good luck on your final exams and other projects, and have a nice, healthy winter vacation, Omicron-free. I hope to see all of you in the spring writing course.