

# POSC 370D Syllabus: The Politics of China

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Spring 2011

Dr. Paul E. Schroeder

Though many believe China is on the rise, the country is beset with numerous challenges that will require political deftness in the years ahead. Is Communist China up to it? After 30 years of economic reform, a dying ideology, a worsening environment, repeated public health crises, labor problems, a widening income gap, and an export development model that is running out of steam, the leadership of the Chinese Communist Party is being tested as never before. Without political reform, the Communist Party is buying time with its continued push for more economic growth.

With continued economic growth deemed necessary for survival, China has become a one-party state increasingly challenged by its public to provide better governance across an array of issues. This raises questions asked by Frederick Engels: Has political reform become an economic necessity? Does politics yield to the dictates of economic development? These questions provide a picture of today's China that calls into question conventional wisdom that China's rise will generate a new superpower.

This course examines China from a variety of perspectives, culture, policy, society, economics, and politics to enlighten our understanding of China today.

## Reading Materials

Books for sale at the University Bookstore are as follows:

1. **Cheng Li:** *China's Changing Political Landscape*, Brookings Institution Press, 2008. ISBN 978-0-8157-5209-7.
2. **Martin King Whyte:** *Myth of the Social Volcano*, Stanford University Press, 2010. ISBN 978-0-8047-6942-6.
3. **Elizabeth Perry & Merle Goldman:** *Grassroots Political Reform in Contemporary China*, Harvard University Press, 2007. ISBN 978-0-674-02486-1.
4. **Merle Goldman:** *From Comrade to Citizen: The Struggle for Political Rights in China*, Harvard University Press, 2005. ISBN 0-674-01890-7.

Additional reading material is listed with an \* on the schedule and is available via the Case Blackboard. Feel free to include readings other than those listed.

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## Responsibilities

1. Students are responsible for **attending each class and participating in class discussions**. This means coming to class prepared, i.e. having done the reading for the day. Attendance *and* participation each count for 10% of the grade, for a total of **20%**.

As part of your participation, write three short essays, no longer than three (3) pages each. **Paper One is due January 12 (Wednesday) by noon. Paper Two is due February 4 (Friday) by noon. Paper Three is due April 22 (Friday) by noon.** Send your essays to pes15@case.edu.

The topic for each is quite simple: what is your understanding of China? For the second and third essays, this should include how your understanding has changed. This assignment is an exercise in critical thinking. I do not want a recitation of facts. I do expect an essay on what you think about China with facts serving only to substantiate your opinion. Citations should be in the body of the essay. No bibliography is necessary. Taken together, the three papers should show growth in your understanding of China and help spur class discussions or questions.

2. An **in-class midterm** exam scheduled for March 3. The exam will offer four or five questions. Students will write on two of their choice. The midterm exam counts for **30%** of the grade.
3. A **take-home final exam** distributed April 21. Students will write on two questions of their choice. The final exam paper should be six (6) to eight (8) pages, double spaced, 12-point font. Proper citations are required, either in the body of the text, footnotes (I prefer footnotes) or endnotes. **The final exam is due noon on April 28** via e-mail at pes15@case.edu. The final exam is worth **50%** of the grade.

Note: Some class lectures will use PowerPoint slides. These are not available to students who miss class.

Professor Schroeder's office hours are Monday and Wednesday from 1 to 2 p.m. in room 113 Mather House or by appointment. I can be reached at [pes15@case.edu](mailto:pes15@case.edu) or telephone 216-368-2426.

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## Schedule

**January 11** Course introduction

**January 12** ESSAY ONE DUE BY NOON at pes15@case.edu.

**January 13** Setting the Stage

- Reading:
- Minxin Pei:** *China's Trapped Transition*, Ch. 5
  - \*David Leonhardt:** "Can the Chinese Discover the Urge to Splurge?" in *The New York Times Magazine*, November 28, 2010.
  - \*David Barboza:** "China Shifts Away From Low-Cost Factories" in *the New York Times*, September 15, 2010.
  - \*Edward Wong:** "Chinese Export Regions Face Labor Shortages" in *The New York Times*, November 29, 2010.
  - \*Melinda Liu & Marijke Vlaskamp:** "Smart, Young, and Broke" in *Newsweek*, June 20, 2010.
  - \*Andrew Jacobs:** "China's Army of Graduates Struggles for Jobs" in *The New York Times*, December 11, 2010.
  - \*Thomas Friedman:** "Going Long Liberty in China" in *The New York Times*, October 16, 2010.
  - \*Michael Wines:** "Ex-Chinese Officials Call for Press Freedom" in *the New York Times*, October 13, 2010.
  - \*David Barboza:** "As China Rolls Ahead, Fear Follows" in *The New York Times*, December 13, 2010
  - \*Anh Lu:** "China: Beyond Today's Headlines" in *T. Rowe Price Report*, Fall 2010.
  - \*Xiyun Yang & Edward Wong:** "Village Advocate's Suspicious Death Ignites Fury in China" in *The New York Times*, December 29, 2010.

**Section One:** **Political Culture** – an examination of Chinese political culture. Has it changed? What elements of the political culture indicate a future course for China? **January 13 to January 20.**

**January 18** **Culture & Confucianism**

- Reading: **\*Lucian Pye:** *Asian Power & Politics*, Chapters 3, 7, 11, and 12

**January 20:** **China's Political Culture**

- Reading:
- \*Lucian Pye:** *The Mandarin and the Cadre*, Michigan Monographs in Chinese Studies, 1988, Chapters 2, 3 & 5.
  - \*Yu Keping:** *Democracy is a Good Thing* The Brookings Institution, 2009, Chapters 7 & 8.
  - \*Tim Oakes:** "Cultural Strategies of Development: Implications for

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Village Governance” in Linda Chelan Li: *The Chinese State in Transition*, 2009.

**Section Two:**      **The Chinese State and the Policy Process** – an examination of various actors and their goals involved in Chinese policy making at the national and local levels. These include the Communist Party, the Chinese government, the Military, universities and research institutes, and Non-Governmental Organizations. **January 25 to February 3.**

**January 25 & 27:**      **Organization & Institutional Development**

Reading:      \***Cheng Li:** “China’s Communist Party-State: The Structure and Dynamics of Power” in William A. Joseph, ed., *Politics in China*, Oxford University Press, 2010.  
\***C. Fred Bergsten, et. al.:** *China’s Rise, Challenges and Opportunities*, Peterson Institute for International Economics, 2008, Ch. 9.  
\***Scott Kennedy:** *The Business of Lobbying in China*, 2005, Chapters 1 & 2.  
\***Yang Zhong:** “Dissecting Chinese County Government Authorities” in Zheng Yongnian & Joseph Fewsmith, eds., *China’s Opening Society*, 2008, Chapter 8.  
\***Paul Schroeder:** Twisted Hierarchies: Re-examining the Structure of Authority in China, in *The American Asian Review*, Vol. XI, No. 2, Summer 1993.  
\***Michael Wines:** “Chinese Promotion Puts Official on Track for Presidency,” in *The New York Times*, October 18, 2010.  
**Cheng Li, ed.:** *China’s Changing Political Landscape*, Brookings Institution, 2008, Chapters 4-6.

**February 1: Ideology**

Reading:      \***William A. Joseph:** “Ideology and Chinese Politics” in Joseph, ed. *Politics in China*, Oxford University Press, 2010.  
**Yu Keping:** “Ideological Change and Incremental Democracy in Reform-Era China” in Cheng Li, ed. *China’s Changing Political Landscape*, Ch. 3.

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## February 3: Policy Process

Reading: \***Paul Schroeder**, “Territorial Actors as Competitors for Power” in Kenneth G. Lieberthal and David M. Lampton, eds., *Bureaucracy, Politics and Decision Making in Post Mao China*, University of California Press, 1992.

## February 4 ESSAY TWO DUE BY NOON.

**Section Three Reform and Economic Growth** – an examination of the politics of reform and growth in China’s domestic economy and foreign trade, the politics of corruption, and the need to develop interior and western China. This includes the on-going debate of changing the development model from export-led to a mass consumer model. February 8 to February 24.

## February 8 & 10: The Process of Reform

Reading: \***C. Fred Bergsten, et. al.** *China’s Rise, Challenges and Opportunities*, Peterson Institute for International Economics, 2008, Introduction and Chapter 1-2.

\***Dali Yang**: *Remaking the Chinese Leviathan*, Chapter 1.

## February 15 & 17: The Problems With Reform

Reading: \***European Chamber of Commerce**: *Overcapacity in China: Causes, Impacts and Recommendations*, December 1, 2009.

\***Minxin Pei**: *China’s Trapped Transition: The Limits of Developmental Autocracy*, Harvard University Press, 2006, Introduction, Chapters 1, 4, and Conclusion.

\***C. Fred Bergsten, et. al.** *China’s Rise, Challenges and Opportunities*, Peterson Institute for International Economics, 2008, Introduction and Chapter 6. Ch. 5 in Blackboard section “Setting the Stage.”

\***Yu Keping**: *Democracy is a Good Thing* The Brookings Institution, 2009, Chapter 9

\* **David Leonhardt**: “Can the Chinese Discover the Urge to Splurge?” in *The New York Times Magazine*, November 28, 2010 (Reprise). Blackboard Section “setting the Stage.”

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## February 22 & 24: Corruption and the Need for Bureaucratic Reform

- Reading: \***C. Fred Bergsten, et. al.** *China's Rise, Challenges and Opportunities*, Peterson Institute for International Economics, 2008, Introduction and Chapter 5.
- Minxin Pei:** "Fighting Corruption: A Difficult challenge for Chinese Leaders" in **Cheng Li, ed.:** *China's Changing Political Landscape*, Brookings Institution, 2008, Chapter 12.
- \***Laura M. Luehrmann:** *CCP: China's Corruption Party*, paper presented at the 59<sup>th</sup> Midwest Conference on Asian Affairs, the Ohio State University, October 1-3, 2010.
- \***Dali Yang:** *Remaking the Chinese Leviathan*, Chapter 7.
- \***Lily Tsai:** *Accountability Without Democracy*, 2007, Chapters 2 & 7.
- \***Keith Bradsher:** "The Illegal Scramble for Rare Metals" in *The New York Times*, December 30, 2010.

## March 1: Discussion

## March 3: In Class Midterm

## March 8 & 10: Spring Break

**Section Four**      **Society** – an examination of social pressures caused by continue economic reform and the Communist Party's need to continue economic growth to maintain stability and stay in power. Social pressures include population growth, labor issues, land seizures via eminent domain, environmental and sustainability issues, health and education, and development of a social security net. March 15 to March 29.

## March 15 & 17: Social Transformation & Civil Society

- Reading: \***Julie Fisher:** *Non Governments: NGOs and the Political Development of the Third World*, Kumarian Press, 1998, Chapters 1 and 2.
- \***Qiusha Ma:** *Non-Governmental Organizations in Contemporary China*, Routledge, 2006, Chapters 2-4 and Conclusion.
- \***Yu Keping:** *Democracy is a Good Thing* The Brookings Institution, 2009, Chapters 4 and 6.
- \***Zheng Yongnian & Joseph Fewsmith:** *China's Opening Society*, 2008, Chapters 4, 5 & 6.
- \***Jean-Philippe Bèja:** "The Changing Aspects of Civil Society in China" in Zheng Yongnian & Joseph Fewsmith: *China's Opening Society*, 2008.

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## March 22 & 24: Contradictions

- Reading: **Dorothy Solinger:** “The Political Implications of China’s Social Future: Complacency, Scorn and the Forlorn” in Cheng Li, ed., *China’s Changing Political Landscape*, 2008.
- Jacques deLisle:** “Legalization Without Democratization in China under Hu Jintao” in Cheng Li, *China’s Changing Political Landscape*, 2008. |
- \*Ching Kwan Lee:** *Against the Law: Labor Protests in China’s Rustbelt and Sunbelt*, University of California Press, 2007, Chapters 1 (part) and 2.

## March 24 & 29: The Environment

- Reading: **\*Andrew C. Mertha:** *China’s Water Warriors, Citizen Action and Policy Change*, Cornell University Press, 2008, Chapters 1-3.
- \*Elizabeth Economy:** *The River Runs Black*, 2<sup>nd</sup> edition, Cornell University Press, 2010, Chapters 1, 3, 5, 6, 8.
- \*Kevin J. O’Brien,** ed. *Popular Protest in China*, 2008, Ch 7.
- \*Barry Naughton:** *The Chinese Economy*, 2007. Chapter 20.

## Section Five

**Political Reform** – an examination of how economic and social pressures impact the Communist Party. This includes China’s dying Marxist ideology and what that means for political control by the Communist Party. This section will also include the changing face of the Party, the politics of leadership change, and the on-going debate regarding economic and political reform. Match 31 to April 21.

## March 31 & April 5: Contention & Reform

- Reading: **\*Charles Tilly & Sidney Tarrow:** *Contentious Politics*, 2007, Chapters 1-3.
- \*Kevin O’Brien and Rachel Stern:** “Studying Contention in Contemporary China” in Kevin O’Brien: *Popular Protest in China*, 2008.
- Lily Tsai:** *Accountability Without Democracy*, 2007, Chs. 1-4.
- \*Ching Kwan Lee:** *Against the Law: Labor Protests in China’s Rustbelt and Sunbelt*, University of California Press, 2007, Chapter 4.

## April 7 & 12: Capitalism & Democracy

- Reading: **Cheng Li, ed.:** *China’s Changing Political Landscape*, 2008, Introduction.
- Andrew Nathan:** “China’s Political Trajectory: What Are the Chinese Saying” in Cheng Li, ed., *China’s Changing Political Landscape*.
- Minxin Pei:** *China’s Trapped Transition*, Ch 2.

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**\*Kellee S. Tsai:** *Capitalism Without Democracy: The Politics of Private Sector Development in China*, Cornell University Press, 2007, Chapters 1, 3, 6, & 7.

## **April 14 & 19      Political Reform**

Reading:      **Elizabeth Perry & Merle Goldman:** *Grassroots Political Reform in Contemporary China*, 2007, Chapters 1, 2, 7, 8, and 11.  
**Merle Goldman:** *From Comrade to Citizen: The Struggle for Political Rights in China*, Harvard University Press, 2005, Chapters 2-6.  
**Martin King Whyte:** *Myth of the Social Volcano*, 2010. Introduction, Chapters 1, 3, 5, 8, 9, and Conclusion.

## **April 21:      Fragility & Survival**

Reading:      **\*Susan L. Shirk:** *China, Fragile Superpower*, Oxford University Press, 2007, Chapters 1-4.  
**\*David Shambaugh:** *China's Communist Party: Atrophy and Adaptation*, University of California Press, 2006, Chapter 1.  
**David Shambaugh:** "Learning From Abroad to Reinvent Itself," in Cheng Li, *China's Changing Political Landscape*.

**April 21:      Distribution of Final exam questions.**

**April 22      ESSAY THREE DUE BY NOON.**

**April 28:      Final Exam due at noon via e-mail at pes15@case.edu.**