

How Fragile is China: Issues Determining Its Future

Dr. Paul E. Schroeder

China is widely misunderstood today. There are two main viewpoints.

First, China pursues its export-led development model that absorbs American manufacturing jobs in its march to become “the factory of the world.” Asian nations fear it will quietly become the hegemon in the region. The United States and Europe fear its potential rise to superpower status, changing forever the nature of international relations.

Second, is China’s economic growth slowing, prompting calls for a new development model that could change the nature of Chinese society? While China has absorbed American manufacturing jobs, is it also losing jobs? And while China’s importance as a major player in Asia is certain, can it attain superpower status to challenge the United States?

Scholarship on the country’s future is split into two competing camps of optimists and pessimists. Optimists believe the growth of China’s economy, led by private entrepreneurs, will lead to democracy. Pessimists do not. Rather, they believe that the many challenges facing the regime makes it fragile. This, in turn, does not bode well for democratic reforms.

The seminar examines this debate while delving into China more deeply to consider those variables that challenge the regime. The goal is an understanding, not only of the scholarly debate on China, but of the challenges China faces as it pursues its goals of growth and power.

As a Departmental Seminar in the Sages program, the goal is also to provide an opportunity for in-depth research in political science and to come to an understanding of how political scientists differ in their research methods and conclusions.

Topics to be discussed include China’s governmental organization as the last remaining powerful communist country; a comparison of former Communist countries in Europe; and variables that impact China today, including politics, economics, societal, and foreign policy issues.

Course Requirements

Success in this seminar depends *greatly* on attendance, reading, and class participation. ***Attendance will be taken and participation noted.*** Attendance and seminar participation account for 30% of your grade.

Other assignments include two short papers and a final research paper with oral presentation. First, you are to write two five-page papers examining different challenges that impact China's future development. ***Topics must be approved in advance.*** Each of these two papers accounts for 15% of your grade for a total of 30%. **Paper One is due February 5. Paper Two is due March 5. *Deadline extensions are given only for illness that is confirmed by a doctor. A deduction of five points will be charged for each day late without formal approval.*** A bibliography (or Works Cited) page is to be included. It does not count toward the total number of pages required. **Do not** rely entirely on internet sources.

Second, you are to write a 20 to 25-page research paper on one challenge China faces that impacts its future development. ***The chosen issue must be approved in advance.*** **A first draft is due April 16.** This draft will be the basis of a **10-minute oral presentation of your findings presented during class on April 16, 19, 21, and 23.** Oral presentations will be given alphabetically. Orals and final paper are worth 40% of your grade.

Your research should include a description of the challenge; its impact on China's society and on other development issues; the actors involved at what level of government; the organizational constraints that impact its resolution; the political and economic constraints that impact its resolution; and how China has addressed the issue to date. **The Final Paper is due April 26.**

Reading Material

Books for sale at the University Bookstore are as follows:

1. Kenneth Liberthal: *Governing China: From Revolution to Reform*, W. W. Norton & Co., 2004. ISBN 0-393-92492-0.
2. Cheng Li: *China's Changing Political Landscape*, Brookings Institution Press, 2008. ISBN 978-0-8157-5209-7.
3. Richard Rosecrance & Gu Guoliang: *Power and Restraint: A Shared Vision for the U.S.-China Relationship*, Perseus Book Group, 2009. ISBN 978-1-58648-742-3.
4. Elizabeth Economy: *The River Runs Black*, Cornell University Press, 2004. ISBN 0-8014-8978-4.

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.

Periodicals

Helpful periodicals for this course include but are not limited to:

1. The Economist China Briefing at <http://www.economist.com/countries/China/>
2. The Far Eastern Economic Review at <http://www.feer.com/home>
3. China Business Review at <http://www.chinabusinessreview.com/>
4. For basic statistics see the World Bank's China Quarterly Update at <http://web.worldbank.org/WBSITE/EXTERNAL/COUNTRIES/EASTASIAPACIFICEXT/CHINAEXTN/0,,contentMDK:20652127~pagePK:141137~piPK:141127~theSitePK:318950,00.html>
5. or The CIA fact book for China at <https://www.cia.gov/library/publications/the-world-factbook/geos/ch.html>
6. The Asian Wall Street Journal at <http://www.wsj-asia.com/>
7. China Daily at <http://www.chinadaily.com.cn/>
8. People's Daily at <http://english.peopledaily.com.cn/>
9. South China Morning Post at <http://www.scmp.com/portal/site/SCMP/>
10. China Economic Review at <http://www.chinaeconomicreview.com/>

Schedule

All dates for class discussion are tentative and subject to change.

January 11 Introduction

January 13 & 15 Contention

***Charles Tilly & Sidney Tarrow:** *Contentious Politics*, 2007.

Cheng Li: *China's Changing Political Landscape*, 2008, pp. 1-12.

***Kevin O'Brien and Rachel Stern:** "Studying Contention in Contemporary China" in Kevin O'Brien: *Popular Protest in China*, 2008.

***David Shambaugh:** "Let a thousand democracies bloom" in *The New York Times*, July 6, 2007.

***Yu Keping:** "Democracy is a Good Thing" in *Beijing Daily News*, October 23, 2006.

January 20 Organization of the People's Republic of China –

Government

Kenneth Lieberthal: *Governing China: From Revolution to Reform*, 2nd Edition, W. W. Norton & Co., 2004, Chapters 6-7 and 11.

Military

See <http://www.globalsecurity.org/military/world/china/cmc.htm>

***June Teufel Dreyer:** *China's Political System*, 6th Edition, Pearson Education, Inc., 2008, Chapter 9.

***Nicholas Lardy, C. Fred Bergsten, Charles Freeman, Derek Mitchell,** *China's Rise, Challenges and Opportunities*, Peterson Institute for International Economics, 2008, Ch. 9.

JANUARY 18 NO CLASS

Comparative Communism

January 22 & 25 Europe

* **Archie Brown:** *The Rise and Fall of Communism*, 2009. Chapters 22 and 29-30.

***Zbigniew Brzezinski,** *The Grand Failure, The Birth and Death of Communism in the Twentieth Century*, Charles Scribner's Sons, 1989, Introduction and Chapters 1-4.

JANUARY 26 ASIAN STUDIES DISCUSSION SERIES

Paul Schroeder: *How Fragile is China?*

First in a series of talks sponsored by Case Western Reserve University's Asian Studies Program. Time and location to be announced.

Preparation: *China on the Boil*, Ohio Daily Blog, January 2009.

January 27 & 29 China –

***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*.

***Brzezinski,** op. cit., Chapters 13-16.

Political Variables

February 1 & 3 Optimists –

***Andrew Nathan:** “Is Communist Party Rule Sustainable in China?” Remarks at *Reframing China Policy: The Carnegie Debates*, Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, October 5, 2006.

***Dali L. Yang:** *Remaking the Leviathan: Market Transition and the Politics of Governance in China*, Chs 1-2

Alice Miller: “Institutionalization and the Changing Dynamics of Chinese Leadership Politics” in Cheng Li: *China’s Changing Political Landscape*.

Jing Huang: “Leadership Transition in China: Progress Towards Institutionalization” in Cheng Li, op. cit.

***C. Fred Bergsten, et. Al.** *China: The Balance Sheet*, 2006, Chapters 2-3.

Joseph Fewsmith: “Staying in Power: What Does the Chinese Communist Party Have to Do?” in Cheng Li, op. cit.

FEBRUARY 5 PAPER ONE DUE

February 5 & 8 Pessimists –

***Roderick MacFarquhar:** “Is Communist Party Rule Sustainable in China?” Remarks at the *Reframing China Policy: The Carnegie Debates*, Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, October 5, 2006

***Roderick MacFarquhar:** “Why Leadership analysis Counts.” Remarks at the Conference *Behind the Bamboo Curtain: Chinese Leadership, Politics and Policy*, Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, Nov. 22, 2005.

***Minxin Pei:** “China’s Governance Crisis” in *Foreign Affairs*, Vol. 81, No. 5, 2002.

***Minxin Pei:** “Will the Chinese Communist Party Survive the Crisis,” *Foreign Affairs*, March 2009.

***Minxin Pei:** “Why China won’t Rule the World,” *Newsweek*, December 8, 2009.

***Richard Baum:** “Where is China Going?” Remarks at the Foreign Correspondents Club, Beijing, December 13, 2002.

***Susan L. Shirk:** *China, Fragile Superpower*, Oxford University Press, 2007, Chapters 1-3

February 8 & 10 Adaptation

***David Shambaugh:** *China’s Communist Party, Atrophy and Adaptation*, University of California Press, 2008, Chapters 6, 7 and 8.

Joseph Fewsmith: “Staying in Power: What Does the Chinese Communist Party Have to Do” in Cheng Li, ed. *China’s Changing Political Landscape*, 2008.

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

***Dali L. Yang:** *Remaking the Chinese Leviathan*, Chapter 9,

February 12 Limits

***Minxin Pei:** *China's Trapped Transition: The Limits of Developmental Autocracy*, Harvard University Press, 2006,

Economic Variables

February 15 & 17 Export Development Model –

***Barry Naughton:** *The Chinese Economy*, Massachusetts Institute of Technology, 2007, Chapter 4

***Nicholas Lardy, C. Fred Bergsten, Charles Freeman, Derek Mitchell,** *China's Rise, Challenges and Opportunities*, Peterson Institute for International Economics, 2008, Introduction and Chapters 1-2.

February 17 & 19 Need for a New Model

***Nicholas Lardy, C. Fred Bergsten, Charles Freeman, Derek Mitchell,** *China's Rise, Challenges and Opportunities*, Peterson Institute for International Economics, 2008, Chapters 6.

***European Chamber:** *Overcapacity in China: Causes, Impacts and Recommendations*, December 1, 2009

Social Variables

February 22 Corruption

***Nicholas Lardy, C. Fred Bergsten, Charles Freeman, Derek Mitchell,** *China's Rise, Challenges and Opportunities*, Peterson Institute for International Economics, 2008, Chapter 5.

Minxin Pei: "Fighting Corruption" in Cheng Li, ed., *China's Changing Political Landscape*, 2008.

February 24 & 26 Society

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.

***Duncan Hewitt:** *China: Getting Rich First*, 2008, Introduction and Chapters 6-8.

***Yu Keping:** *Democracy is a Good Thing*, chapters 4-6.

March 1 Labor

See <http://www.chinalaborwatch.org/>
 See <http://www.cato.org/events/china/papers/jie.html>
 See http://www.chinadaily.com.cn/bizchina/2009-1/15/content_7400619.htm
 See <http://econ-www.mit.edu/files/691>

March 3 Legal System

***June Teufel Dreyer:** *China's Political System*, 6th Edition, Pearson Education, Inc., 2008, Chapter 8.

Jacques deLisle: "Legalization Without Democratization in China under Hu Jintao" in Cheng Li, *China's Changing Political Landscape*, 2008.

MARCH 5 PAPER TWO DUE

March 5 Public Health

***June Teufel Dreyer:** *China's Political System*, 6th Edition, Pearson Education, Inc., 2008, Chapter 11.

***C. Fred Bergsten, et. Al.** *China: The Balance Sheet*, 2006, Chapter 3, reprise.

MARCH 8, 10 & 12 SPRING BREAK

March 15 Movie on China's Environment

March 15 & 17 The Environment

Elizabeth Economy: *The River Runs Black*, Cornell University Press, 2004, Chapters 1, 3, 5, 6, 8.

***Andrew C. Mertha:** *China's Water Warriors, Citizen Action and Policy Change*, Cornell University Press, 2008, Chapters 1-3 and 6.

***Nicholas Lardy, C. Fred Bergsten, Charles Freeman, Derek Mitchell,** *China's Rise, Challenges and Opportunities*, Peterson Institute for International Economics, 2008, Chapter 7.

March 19 & 22 Rise of NGOs

***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*, chapters 4-6, Reprise.

***Lu Yiyi:** "NGOs in China: Development Dynamics and Challenges," *China Policy Institute*, University of Nottingham, April 2007.

Foreign Policy Variables

March 24 & 26 General

* **Tai Ming Cheung**: “The Influence of the Gun: China’s Central Military Commission and Its Relationship with the Military, Party, and State Decision-Making Systems” in David M. Lampton: *The Making of Chinese Foreign and Security Policy in the Era of Reform*, 2001, Chapters 3-4.

***Peter T. Y. Cheung & James T. H. Tang**: “The External Relations of China’s Provinces” in David M. Lampton, op. cit.

***Robert Sutter**: *Chinese Foreign Relations: Power and Policy Since the Cold War*, Rowman & Littlefield, 2008, Chapters 1, 2 and 3.

***Thomas Robinson & David Shambaugh**: *Chinese Foreign Policy: Theory and Practice* (Studies on Contemporary China)

March 29 Power

***David M. Lampton**: *The Three Faces of Chinese Power: Might, Money, and Minds*, University of California Press, 2008, Introduction plus Chapters 1 and 2.

March 31 National Security

***Robert Sutter**, op. cit., Chapter 5.

***Bates Gill**: *Rising Star: China’s New Security Diplomacy*, Brookings Institution Press, 2007, Chapters 1 and 2.

April 2 Soft Power

***Joshua Kurlantzick**: *Charm Offensive*, Yale University Press, 2007, Chapters 8 and 9.

***Joseph Nye & Wang Jixi**: “The Rise of China’s Soft Power and Its Implications for the United States,” in Richard Rosecrance & Gu Guoliang: *Power and Restraint*, 2009.

April 5 Regional Power

***Phillip Saunders**: “China’s Role in Asia” in David Shambaugh & Michael Yahuda: *International Relations of Asia*, 2008.

April 7 & 9 U.S. & China Relations

***David M. Lampton**: *Same Bed, Different Dreams*, 2001, Introduction.

***Richard Rosecrance & Gu Guoliang**: *Power and Restraint*, 2009, Introduction, Chapters 1, 3-5 plus Chapters 9, 10, 12, 13.

***Elizabeth Economy & Adam Segal**: “The G-2 Mirage” in *Foreign Affairs*, May/June 2009.

April 12 & 14 Control

Cheng Li, ed., *China's Changing Political Landscape*, 2008, Chapters 2-3, 7-9, 15-16.

Derek Scissors: "Deng Undone" in *Foreign Affairs*, May/June 2009.

***Nicholas Lardy, C. Fred Bergsten, Charles Freeman, Derek Mitchell**, *China's Rise, Challenges and Opportunities*, Peterson Institute for International Economics, 2008, Chapter 3.

April 16 Draft of Final Paper Due**April 16 Oral Presentations Begin****April 26 Final Paper Due**

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