

POSC 370D Syllabus: The Politics of China

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%**.

This is especially important because of the two seminar sessions on December 3 and 5. For this exercise, **bring one written question** that will help encourage discussion. These questions are to be turned in after class December 5.

2. An **in-class midterm** exam scheduled for October 12. 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. An **in-class final exam** scheduled for December 11 at 8:30 a.m.. The format will be the same as the midterm. 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.

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Schedule

August 27 **Introduction**

August 29 **Setting the Stage** **Story of the Two Pebbles**

Reading:

Minxin Pei: *China's Trapped Transition*, Ch. 5.

*Cheng Li: "the Power Shift in china," *Brookings Institution*, April 30, 2012.

***Michael Wines:** "As China Talks of Change, Fear Rises on Risks" in *The New York Times*, July 17, 2012.

***Keith Bradsher:** "Bolder Protests Against Pollution Win Project's Defeat in China" in *The New York Times*, July 4, 2012.

***Keith Bradsher:** "Facing a Slowing Economy, China turns to American Exports" in *The New York Times*, July 13, 2012.

***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..

***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.

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? *August 31 to September 5.*

August 31 **Culture & Confucianism**

Reading:

***Lucian Pye:** *Asian Power & Politics*, Chapters 2, 3, 7, 11, and 12

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September 5: 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 Village Governance" in Linda Chelan Li: *The Chinese State in Transition*, 2009.

September 7 Chinese Nationalism

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. *September 10 to September 21.*

September 10: The Party

September 12: The State

September 14: Leadership

September 17: Leadership Change

- Reading for these sessions*
- ***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.

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September 19: 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.

September 21: 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.

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. *September 24 to October 10.*

September 24 & 26: 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 & 2.

September 28: **Tiananmen Interlude**
Tank Man at <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=40bI6wzCTck>

Oct. 1, 3 & 5: Limits of 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.

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

***Victor Shih:** *Factions and Finance in China*, Cambridge University Press, 2008, Chs. 3 & 4.

***Carl Walter & Fraser J. T. Howe:** *Red Capitalism*, Ch 8.

October 8: Corruption

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 59th 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.

October 10: Midterm Review

October 12: In-Class Midterm

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. *October 15 to 29.*

October 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. (Additional next page)

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***Zheng Yongnian & Joseph Fewsmith:** *China's Opening Society*, 2008, Chapters 4, 5 & 6.

***Jean-Philippe Bêja:** "The Changing Aspects of Civil Society in China" in Zheng Yongnian & Joseph Fewsmith: *China's Opening Society*, 2008.

October 19: Contradictions and Contention

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.

***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.

October 22: No Class

October 24: Labor Contention

Reading:

***Ching Kwan Lee:** *Against the Law: Labor Protests in China's Rustbelt and Sunbelt*, University of California Press, 2007, Chapters 1 (part) and 2.

October 26 & 29: Environmental Contention

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*, 2nd 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.

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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. *October 31 to November 12.*

October 31: Contention

Reading: ***Charles Tilly & Sidney Tarrow:** *Contentious Politics*, 2007, Chapters 1-3.

Nov. 2: Contention & Reform

Reading ***Ching Kwan Lee:** *Against the Law: Labor Protests in China’s Rustbelt and Sunbelt*, University of California Press, 2007, Ch 4.
***Kevin O’Brien and Rachel Stern:** “Studying Contention in Contemporary China” in Kevin O’Brien: *Popular Protest in China*, 2008.

Nov. 5 & 7: 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.
Lily Tsai: *Accountability Without Democracy*, 2007, Chs. 1-4.
***Kellee S. Tsai:** *Capitalism Without Democracy: The Politics of Private Sector Development in China*, Cornell University Press, 2007, Chapters 1, 3, 6, & 7.

Nov. 9 & 12: 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.

