

POSC 370D Syllabus: The Politics of China

Fall 2014

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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. **James McGregor:** *No Ancient Wisdom, No Followers*, Prospecta Press, 2012. ISBN 978-1-935212-81-2
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.
5. **Martin King Whyte:** *Myth of the Social Volcano*, Stanford University Press, 2010. ISBN 978-0-8047-6942-6.

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 are worth **20%** of the grade.

This is especially important because of the periodic seminar sessions (listed on the schedule). For these sessions, **send one written question to me at pes15@case.edu the day before the seminar session.**

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 **20%** of the grade.
3. A **five to seven page paper** examining some aspect of Chinese politics, e.g. organizational structure, political process, economic reform, political culture, contention, corruption, state-owned enterprises, the Beijing Consensus, the media, etc. This paper is due December 4 via pes15@case.edu. A written one-page topic is due by November 1. The paper is worth 20% of the grade.
4. An **in-class final exam**. The format will be the same as the midterm. The final exam is worth **40%** of the grade.

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

Office hours are Tuesday and Thursday from 3-4 p.m. in room 312 Mather House or by appointment. I can be reached at pes15@case.edu.

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Tentative Schedule

Introduction -- East Asia is in the midst of change, especially China. Get in the habit of reading about what is going on in and between China, Japan, and the two Koreas by reading the *New York Times*, *Washington Post*, *The Economist*, or other media.

August 26 **Setting the Stage**

Reading: ***Minxin Pei**: *China's Trapped Transition*, Ch. 5.
 ***Cheng Li**: "The Power Shift in China," *Brookings Institution*, April 30, 2012.

Political Culture – an examination of Chinese political culture. Has it changed? What elements of the political culture indicate a future course for China?

August 28 **Culture & Confucianism**

Reading: ***Lucian Pye**: *Asian Power & Politics*, Chapters 2, 3, 11, and 12
 ***Liu Shuxian**: "Contemporary New Confucianism: Background, Varieties, and Significance" in Fred Dallmayr & Zhao Tingyang: *Contemporary Chinese Political Thought*, University Press of Kentucky, 2012

September 2: **China's Political Culture & Nationalism**

Reading: ***Lucian Pye**: *The Mandarin and the Cadre*, Michigan Monographs in Chinese Studies, 1988, Chapters 2, 3 & 5.

Suggested: ***Yu Keping**: *Democracy is a Good Thing* The Brookings Institution, 2009, Chapters 7 & 8.

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The Chinese State and the Policy Process – an examination of various actors involved in the Chinese political structure and policy making at the national and sub-national levels. These include the Communist Party, the Chinese government, the Military, universities and research institutes, and Non-Governmental Organizations.

September 4: The Party & The State

September 9: Leadership

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.

***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*, Univ. of California Press, 1992.

***Richard McGregor**: “5 Myths About the Chinese Communist Party” in *Foreign Policy*, August 24, 2011.

***Alice Miller**: “Institutionalization and the Changing Dynamics of Chinese Leadership Politics in Cheng Li, ed.: *China’s Changing Political Landscape*, Brookings Institution, 2008, Chapters 4.

* **Jing Huang**: “Institutionalization of Political Succession in China: Progress and Implications” in Cheng Li, ed.: *China’s Changing Political Landscape*, Brookings Institution, 2008, Chapters 5.

Suggested

***C. Fred Bergsten, et. al.**: *China’s Rise, Challenges and Opportunities*, Peterson Institute for International Economics, 2008, Ch. 9.

***Yang Zhong**: “Dissecting Chinese County Government Authorities” in Zheng Yongnian & Joseph Fewsmith, eds., *China’s Opening Society*, 2008, Chapter 8.

September 11: 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 Cheng Li, ed. *China’s Changing Political Landscape*, Ch. 3.

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September 16: Policy Process

- Reading:*
- ***Paul Schroeder:** Twisted Hierarchies: Re-examining the Structure of Authority in China, in *The American Asian Review*, Vol. XI, No. 2, Summer 1993.
 - ***Paul Schroeder:** *China's Achilles Heel*, (unpublished), An occasional paper for the Political Science Faculty at Case Western Reserve University, January 6, 2014.

Reform and Economic Growth – an examination of the politics of reform and growth in China's domestic economy and foreign trade. This includes the on-going debate of changing the development model from export-led to a mass consumer model.

September 18: Process of Economic Reform

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

- Suggested*
- ***Dali Yang:** *Remaking the Chinese Leviathan*, Stanford University Press, 2004. Chapter 1.

September 23: Tiananmen Interlude

- Reading*
- Louisa Lim:** *The People's Republic of Amnesia*, 2014. Timeline, Introduction, and Afterword.

- Film*
- Tank Man** at <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=40bI6wzCTck>

September 25: 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.
 - ***Victor Shih:** *Factions and Finance in China*, Cambridge University Press, 2008, Chs. 3 & 4.

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Suggested

***Julie Fisher:** *Non Governments: NGOs and the Political Development of the Third World*, Kumarian Press, 1998, Chapters 1 and 2.

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

***Yu Keping:** *Democracy is a Good Thing* The Brookings Institution 2009 Chapter 5

October 14:

Contradictions and Contention

Reading:

Joseph Fewsmith: "What Does the Communist Party Have to Do?" in Cheng Li, Chapter 11.

Dorothy Solinger: "The Political Implications of China's Social Future: Complacency, Scorn and the Forlorn" in Cheng Li, Ch 13.

October 16:

Labor Contention

Reading:

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

***China Labour Bulletin: Searching for the Union, The workers' movement in China 2011-13.** Executive Summary. Peruse the rest.

October 21:

Environmental Contention

Reading:

***Yanfei sun & Dingxin Zhao:** "environmental Campaigns, in Kevin J. O'Brien, ed. *Popular Protest in China*, 2008, Ch 7.

***Elizabeth Economy:** *The River Runs Black*, 2nd edition, Cornell University Press, 2010, Chapters 1, 3, 5, 6, 8.

Suggested

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

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November 4 & 6: 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.
Andrew Nathan: “China’s Political Trajectory: What Are the Chinese Saying” in Cheng Li, ed., *China’s Changing Political Landscape*.
Martin King Whyte: *Myth of the Social Volcano*, 2010. Introduction, Chapters 1, 3, 5, 8.

Fragility, Adaptation & A New Model – an examination of how economic and social pressures impact China's stability and legitimacy. This includes China’s dying Marxist ideology, decentralization, the Party's adaptation in the post Cold War era, and whether the Party can retain political control.

November 11 & 13: The Three Benefits, Six Woes

Reading: ***Susan L. Shirk:** *China, Fragile Superpower*, Oxford University Press, 2007, Chapters 1-3.
***Paul Schroeder:** *China’s Catch 22s*, (unpublished) An occasional paper for the Political Science Faculty at Case Western Reserve University, January 23, 2014.

Nov. 18 & 20: Party Adaptation

Reading: ***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*.

Nov. 25 & 25 The Beijing Consensus & Its Limits

Reading: ***Stefan Halper:** *The Beijing Consensus: Legitimizing Authoritarianism in Our Time*, Chapter 1 & 5.
James McGregor: *No Ancient Wisdom, No Followers*, Chs 4-5.

November 27 Thanksgiving

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Thinking About the Future

December 1 Seminar questions due via pes15@case.edu by 7 p.m.

December 2 & 4 Seminar Questions plus final review.

December 11 Final Exam, 12:30 to 3:30 p.m.