

# POSC 370D Fall 2016 Syllabus: The Politics of China

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## Main Idea:

## How China Works

### Enduring Understandings:

Will China's rise create a new superpower or will its many domestic challenges prevent that?

Understanding China today involves a question raised by Frederick Engels: Has *political* reform become an economic necessity? Put another way, does *politics* yield to the dictates of economic development? These questions provide a picture of today's China and puts China's rise in a more complete light.

**Learning Objectives:** Assessment of your work will depend on how well you prepare in advance of class.

*Understand:* Wednesdays and Fridays are comprised of an explanation and discussion of topics concerning Chinese political life.

*Analyze:* Each Monday (or Wednesday if Monday is a day off) will consist of small group discussions examining *sample issues* covered in the previous two class sessions. One member of each group will offer a two-minute synopsis of the issue and the group's discussion of it. Success in these exercises *depends* on attending class regularly and doing assigned readings.

*Apply:* After a few weeks, group sessions will consist of small discussions examining a *sample problem* covered in the entire course up to that point. One member of each group will offer a two-minute synopsis of the problem and the groups' discussion of it. Success in these exercises *depends* on attending class regularly, doing assigned readings, and thinking deeply about solving the problem based on what you learned in the course.

### Assessment Tasks:

- **Attendance plus three one-page papers** is worth 10% of the final grade. These papers ask what you think when you hear the word China. Write your answer in no more than one page and return it to me at [pes15@case.edu](mailto:pes15@case.edu) within 24 hours of being notified it is due.
  - **Group Discussion** sessions are worth 30% of the final grade.
  - **Two five to eight (5-8) page papers (each worth 15%) and one 15-page paper (worth 30%) of the grade (use outside resources as well as course reading)**
1. **Paper One Due October 7, 2016** via [pes15@case.edu](mailto:pes15@case.edu). Discuss China today in terms of its political culture, ideology and political structure. This assesses your understanding of the material.
  2. **Paper Two Due November 18, 2016** via [pes15@case.edu](mailto:pes15@case.edu). Discuss China today in terms of its economic reforms, social changes and recent political contention between people

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and government and within the Communist Party. This assesses your analyzing the material.

3. **Paper Three Due December 16, 2016** (Final Exam paper 15 pages). Discuss the legitimacy of the People's Republic of China in the eyes of Chinese citizens and whether political reform is necessary to maintain the regime. This assesses applying your knowledge of China in a discussion of China's future.

## Books to Buy:

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. **Sidney Tarrow:** *Power in Movement: Social Movements and Contentious Politics*, 3rd Edition, 2011.
4. **Elizabeth Perry & Merle Goldman:** *Grassroots Political Reform in Contemporary China*, Harvard University Press, 2007. ISBN 978-0-674-02486-1.
5. **Fred Dallmayr & Zhao Tingyang:** *Contemporary Chinese Political Thought*, University Press of Kentucky, 2012, ISBN 9780813136424

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.

## Sample Periodicals to Read

*New York Times* (search icon for China)

"China World News" via *The Guardian*

*The Economist* + *Its China Briefing*

*China Quarterly*

*China Digital Times*

*East Asia Forum*

*China Research Center*

*Tea Leaf Nation*

*Foreign Affairs*

*Foreign Policy*,

*China Leadership Monitor*

*The Diplomat*

I can be reached at [pes15@case.edu](mailto:pes15@case.edu) or at my office, room 315 Mather House

Office Hours: Wednesday 9:30 to 10:30 a.m. and 1 to 2 p.m. or by appointment.

(Note: There is another Paul Schroeder on campus so do not confuse our e-mails. Use the one above.)

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## Tentative Schedule (Subject to Change)

**Day One**      *Our first enduring understanding is to consider that China's one-party state is increasingly challenged by the public to provide better governance across an array of issues. Does providing better governance require political change? What are the limits of political change given the intransigence of the Chinese Communist Party?*

*Reading:*      **Ruchir Sharma:** "How China Fell Off the Miracle Path" in *The New York Times*, June 3, 2016.

**Week One**      *Our second long-term understanding is basic elements of culture. From that we will consider how that creates a political culture.*

*Reading:*      **Geert Hofstede, et al:** *Cultures and Organizations*, Third Edition, 2010, Chapter 1,

**Week Two**      *Understanding: What is meant by Chinese culture? What is Confucianism?*

*Reading*      \***Lucian Pye:** *Asian Power & Politics*, Chapters 2 & 3.  
\***Geert Hofstede:** *Cultures and Organizations*, Chapter 7.  
\***He Baogang:** "Four Models of the Relationship between Confucianism and Democracy," Chapter 7 in **Fred Dallmayr & Zhao Tingyang:** *Contemporary Chinese Political Thought*, University Press of Kentucky, 2012

**Week Three**      *Understanding: How does culture and Confucianism translate into political culture? What are China's two political cultures? What impact do both of these have on political change?*

*Reading*      \***Jeffrey Goldfarb:** *Reinventing Political Culture*, Policy Press, 2012, Chapters 1 & 5.  
\***Lucian Pye:** *The Mandarin and the Cadre*, Michigan Monographs in Chinese Studies, 1988, Chapters 2, 3 & 5.  
\***Lucian Pye:** *Asian Power and Politics*, Chapters 11 & 12.  
\***Cheng Li:** "The Power Shift in China," *Brookings Institution*, April 30, 2012.

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**Week Four**     *Understanding: The Chinese State includes the country's political structure and leadership 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. How does the structure lead to networked leadership? How does a networked leadership exercise power? China's organization presents one of three major obstacles for Chinese political change.*

*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.  
\***Paul Schroeder**: Twisted Hierarchies: Re-examining the Structure of Authority in China, in *The American Asian Review*, Vol. XI, No. 2, Summer 1993.  
\***Richard McGregor**: 5 Myths About the Chinese Communist Party" in *Foreign Policy*, August 24, 2011.  
\***Kerry Brown**: *The New Emperors*, 2014. Chapter 1 & Conclusion.

**Week Five**     *Understanding: The People's Republic of China has a rich ideological history in Marxism, Leninism and Mao Zedong Thought. Does this package of communist ideology remain salient for China today? What has replaced it? How does this impact China's foreign relations?*

*Reading:*            \***William A. Joseph**: "Ideology and Chinese Politics" in William 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.  
\***Kerry Brown**: *The New Emperors*, Chapter 6.  
\***Peter Hays Gries**: *China's New Nationalism*, University of California Press, 2004, Chapter One, pages 13-28.

**Week Six**     *Understanding: How does structure influence China's policy process?*

\***Yang Zhong**: "Dissecting Chinese County Government Authorities" in Zheng Yongnian & Joseph Fewsmith, eds., *China's Opening Society*, Routledge, 2008, Chapter 8  
\***Paul Schroeder**: *China's Achilles Heel*, (unpublished), An occasional paper for the Political Science Faculty at Case Western Reserve University, January 6, 2014.

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## Week Seven

*Understanding: How has China's economic reforms produced the growth that astounds the world? What process did China follow to realize such growth? What limitations are there on China's further development, both economically and politically? Here we seek understanding of two of the three limitations on China's further development, decentralization and corruption.*

### Reading:

**Barry Naughton:** *The Chinese Economy, Transitions and Growth*, Massachusetts Institute of Technology, 2007, Chapter 4.  
**\*European Chamber of Commerce:** *Overcapacity in China: Causes, Impacts and Recommendations*, December 1, 2009.  
**Yan Sun:** *Corruption and Market in Contemporary China*, Cornell University Press, 2004, Introduction and Conclusion.

## October 14

**Paper One due via pes15@case.edu**

## Week Eight

*Understanding: Between the two-part economic reform process came the Tiananmen interlude, begun on April 15, 1989, continuing on with thousands of Chinese protesting for more openness, and ending June 4 in the shooting death an unknown number of citizens.*

### Reading:

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

### Film

*Tiananmen Square Declassified.*  
<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=OqOQZjdYMIc>

## Week Nine

*Understanding: The many economic changes in China have brought with them numerous social pressures.*

### Reading

**\*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.  
**Minxin Pei:** "Fighting Corruption: A Difficult Challenge for Chinese Leaders" in **Cheng Li, ed.:** *China's Changing Political Landscape*, Brookings Institution, 2008, Chapter 12.

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## Week Ten

*Understanding: Analyzing social movements and contentious politics.*

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

\***Sidney Tarrow:** *Power in Movement, Social Movements and Contentious Politics*, 2011

## Week Eleven

*Understanding: Contentious politics in China*

### *Reading*

\***Kevin O'Brien & Rachel Stern:** "Studying Contention in Contemporary China" in *Popular Protest in China*, Harvard University Press, 2008. Introduction.

**December Green & Laura Luehrmann:** *Contentious Politics in Brazil and China*, Westview Press, 2016, Chapter 1

**Wenfang Tang:** *Populist Authoritarianism*, Oxford University Press, 2016, Chapter 1

## Week Twelve

*Understanding: The transformation of Chinese society, including social pressures caused by economic growth and social change.*

### *Reading:*

\***Jean-Philippe Béja:** "The Changing Aspects of Civil Society in China" in **Zheng Yongnian and Joseph Fewsmith:** *China's Opening Society*, Routledge, 2008, Chapter 4.

\***Vivi Lu:** "NGOs in China" in **Yongnian and Fewsmith.**

\***Yu Keping:** *Democracy is a Good Thing* The Brookings Institution, 2009, Chapters 4 - 6.

**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, Chapter 13.

## Week Thirteen

*Understanding: Contention in the Chinese issues of labor, the environment, demographics, and corruption revealing the imperative for some type of political reform.*

\***Ching Kwan Lee:** *Against the Law: Labor Protests in China's Rustbelt and Sunbelt*, University of California Press, 2007, Chapters 1- 2, 4 & 7.

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

\***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*, 2<sup>nd</sup> edition, Cornell University Press, 2010, Chapters 1, 3, 5, 6, 8.

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## Week Fourteen

*Understanding: Will economic and social pressures create a need for political reform? How do these pressures impact control by the Communist Party? This includes examination of the changing face of the Party, the contentious politics of leadership change, and the ongoing debate regarding economic and political reform.*

**James McGregor:** *No Ancient Wisdom, No Followers*, Prospecta Press, 2012. Chapters 1-3

**\*Carl Walter & Fraser Howie:** *Red Capitalism: The Fragile Financial Foundation of China's Extraordinary Rise*, John Wiley & Sons, 2011. Chapter 1

**Cheng Li, ed.:** *China's Changing Political Landscape*, 2008, Introduction.

**\*Zhou Lin:** "The Debates in Contemporary Chinese Political Thought" in **Fred Dallmayr & Zhao Tingyang:** *Contemporary Chinese Political Thought*, University Press of Kentucky, 2012.

**Elizabeth Perry & Merle Goldman:** *Grassroots Political Reform in Contemporary China*, 2007, Chapters 1, 2, 7, 8, and 11.

November 18

**Paper two due via pes15@case.edu**

## Week Fifteen

*Understanding: Fragility and Adaptation and how economic and social pressures impact China's stability and legitimacy. This includes decentralization, the Party's adaptation in the post-Cold War era, and whether the Party can retain political control.*

**\*David Shambaugh:** *China's Communist Party: Atrophy and Adaptation*, University of California Press, 2006, Chapter 1.

**\*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.

**David Shambaugh:** "Learning From Abroad to Reinvent Itself," in Cheng Li, *China's Changing Political Landscape*.

**\*Stefan Halper:** *The Beijing Consensus: Legitimizing Authoritarianism in Our Time*, Chapter 1 & 5.

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## Week Sixteen

*Understanding: Can China's current dynasty remain? Can it adapt to a changing social and political environment, domestically and globally? Can it become a democracy?*

### *Reading:*

**James McGregor:** *No Ancient Wisdom, No Followers*, Chs 4-5.

**Yu Keping:** *Democracy is a Good Thing*, Chapters 1 and 9

**Daniel Bell:** *The China Model*, Princeton University Press, 2015, Chapters 4 and 5.

**Fred Dallmayr and Zhao Tingyang:** *Contemporary Chinese Political Thought: Debates and Perspectives*, University Press of Kentucky, 2012, Chapters 7, 8 11 and 12.

## December 19

Final Exam paper due via [pes15@case.edu](mailto:pes15@case.edu).