

# POSC 370D Spring 2020 Syllabus: The Politics of China

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## POSC 370D The Politics of China

Spring 2020

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### Main Idea:

### How China Works

### Questions:

China is not rising. It has risen. Though it has problems, its economy is robust and its activities in the world are equally so.

This poses 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?

Chinese politics remains much as it always has. The country has wrestled with Weber's three types of legitimacy: traditional, in which people go along because that is all they know; charismatic, in which they go along with a great leader such as Mao Zedong; and rational-legal, which China has tried since the death of Deng Xiaoping but is often overshadowed by the rise of a new great leader, e.g. Xi Jinping. The basic three questions China has and continues to ask are what is the best form of government, how to achieve that form, and how to maintain legitimacy. China has wrestled with each in 1895, 1905, 1911, 1915, 1919, 1921, 1927, 1949, 1979, and 2013.

Questions of the best form of government and whether it can foster legitimacy abide.

These basic questions are the core of this course. The course take-away is an understanding of China's political culture, how the government is organized, the ideology – or lack thereof – that stands behind its organization, China's policy process, the social changes brought on by economic reforms and generational change, political contention, government fragility or adaptation, and whether these last two issues will prompt change in the regime.

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

The course is comprised of an explanation and discussion of topics concerning Chinese political life. Consult the schedule for the topics as well as assigned reading.

Periodic seminar discussions will examine a variety of examine issues of interest to you. Success in these exercises *depends* on attending class regularly and doing assigned readings. *It also depends on you – bring questions we can consider.*

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## Tasks:

- **Regular attendance is worth 15% of the final grade.**
- **Seminar Participation sessions (worth 20% of the final grade).**
- **One in-class true/false/multiple choice midterm on October 19 (worth 30% of the final grade)**
- **One in-class true/false/multiple choice final exam on December 12 (worth 35% of final grade)**

## 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.

Additional reading material is listed with an \* on the schedule and is available via Case Canvas. Use readings other than those listed.

## Sample Periodicals to Read

*New York Times* (search icon for China)

*Washington Post*

*Wall Street Journal*

“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*

*South China Morning Post*

**Office Hours:** Thursday 1-2 pm or by appointment.at 315 Mather House.

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## Tentative Schedule (Subject to Change)

- January 14 & 16**      *Our first understanding is to consider questions about China, including the analytical framework of Fragmented Authoritarianism. Further, what are the basic elements of culture.*
- Reading:*      **Ruchir Sharma:** “How China Fell Off the Miracle Path” in *The New York Times*, June 3, 2016.  
**Kenneth Lieberthal:** “The Fragmented Authoritarianism Model.”  
**David M. Lampton:** “How China is Ruled” in *Foreign Affairs*, January/February 2014.  
**Geert Hofstede, et al:** *Cultures and Organizations*, Third Edition, 2010, Chapter 1,
- January 21 & 23**      *What is meant by Chinese culture? What is Confucianism?*
- Reading*      \***Lucian Pye:** *Asian Power & Politics*, Chapters 2 & 3.  
\***Stephen Angle:** *Contemporary Confucian Political Philosophy*, Introduction.
- January 28**      *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, Introduction and Chapters 1 & 5.  
\***Lucian Pye:** *Asian Power and Politics*, Chapters 11 & 12  
\***Lucian Pye:** *The Mandarin and the Cadre*, Michigan Monographs in Chinese Studies, 1988, Chapters 2, 3 & 5.
- January 30**      **Seminar Questions**

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February 4

*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.

\***Peter Hays Gries:** *China's New Nationalism*, University of California Press, 2004, Chapter One, pages 13-28.

\***Kerry Brown:** *The New Emperors*, Chapter 6.

February 6 & 11

*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

\***R. W. McMorrow:** "Membership in the Chinese Communist Party" in *Jstory Daily*, December 19, 2015.

\***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.

\***Kerry Brown:** *The New Emperors*, 2014. Chapter 1 & Conclusion.

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February 13 & 18     *How does structure influence China's policy process?*

Reading

\***Pierre F. Landry:** *Decentralized Authoritarianism in China*, Chapter 1

\***Yang Zhong:** "Dissecting Chinese County Government Authorities" in Zheng Yongnian & Joseph Fewsmith, eds., *China's Opening Society*, Routledge, 2008, Chapter 8

**David M. Lampton:** A Plum for a Peach: Bargaining, Interests, and Bureaucratic Politics."

\***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.

February 20

Seminar Questions

February 25

*How has China's economic reforms produced the growth? What process did China follow to realize such growth? What limitations are there 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.

February 27

*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=LA8BW4uEgRA>

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March 3	Midterm Exam Review
March 5	MIDTERM EXAM
March 9-13	Spring Break
March 17	<i>The many economic changes in China have brought with them numerous social pressures.</i>
Reading	<b>*Victor Shih:</b> <i>Factions and Finance in China</i> , Cambridge University Press, 2008, Chs. 3 & 4. <b>*Minxin Pei:</b> <i>China's Trapped Transition: The Limits of Developmental Autocracy</i> , Harvard University Press, 2006, Introduction, Chapters 1, 4, and Conclusion
March 19	<i>Analyzing social movements and contentious politics.</i> <b>*Charles Tilly &amp; Sidney Tarrow:</b> <i>Contentious Politics</i> , 2007, Chapters 1-3. <b>*Sidney Tarrow:</b> <i>Power in Movement, Social Movements and Contentious Politics</i> , 2011, Introduction.
March 24	<i>Contentious politics in China</i>
Reading	<b>*Kevin O'Brien &amp; Rachel Stern:</b> "Studying Contention in Contemporary China" in <i>Popular Protest in China</i> , Harvard University Press, 2008. Introduction. <b>*Wenfang Tang:</b> <i>Populist Authoritarianism</i> , Oxford University Press, 2016, Chapter 1 <b>*December Green &amp; Laura Luehrmann:</b> <i>Contentious Politics in Brazil and China</i> , Westview Press, 2016, Chapter 1
March 26	Seminar Questions

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March 31 & April 2

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

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, Chapter 13.

\***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.

**Zheng Yongnian:** “The State, Firms and Corporate Social Responsibility” in **Zheng and Fewsmith:** *China’s Opening Society*, Routledge, 2008, Chapter 6.

\***YiYi Lu:** “NGOs in China” in **Yongnian and Fewsmith.**

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

April 7 & 9

*Contention in the Chinese issues of labor, the environment, 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.

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

\***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..

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April 14 & 16

*Will economic and social pressures create a need for political and bureaucratic 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 on-going 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

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

April 21

*China in the Age of Xi Jinping: fragility and adaptation on the midst of social change.*

Reading

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

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

\***Elizabeth Economy:** *The Third Revolution*, 2018. Introduction.

\***Huang Zeping:** "Xi Jinping says China's Authoritarian system can be a model for the world" in *Quartz*, March 9, 2018.

April 23

*It Does Not Reboot*

Paul Schroeder's Last Lecturer