The Politics of China
PS 226 Spring 2012; TR 10:00-11:15am
Dr. Kate Kaup

Office Hours:
11:30am-12:30pm TR JH 111F
Or by appointment
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Though China now boasts the world’s second largest economy, the Chinese Communist Party confronts a complex series of challenges. Social protests are on the rise, often involving thousands of disgruntled Chinese citizens or turning violent. While many of the pressures on the Chinese regime result from systemic weaknesses in the party-state governing structure, many are also, ironically, the direct result of the remarkable achievements of CCP developmental policies. As we assess the current state of affairs in China and the likely course of China’s future development, we will of necessity need to look at China’s past.

Our study of China will be divided into two sections. Section One will provide an overview of China in Reform. China has been transforming dramatically and often violently over the last hundred years. By first examining the traditional patterns of governance, popular attitudes towards authority, and China’s internal turmoil at the eve of the Communist Party takeover, we will better understand the popular appeal of the Chinese Communist Party. Section One will explore the rise and aspirations of the Communist Party, the political, economic, and social control mechanisms imposed by Mao Zedong’s regime, and the challenges of transforming the largely defunct and oppressive system of the 1970s into the world’s most rapidly modernizing economy and into an influential international power. Key questions we’ll address in Section One include: How was a small group of revolutionaries able to seize control of the most populous nation in the world? What tools did the Party use to entrench itself and maintain power over China’s massive economy and the lives of more than a billion citizens? Why did Chinese politics turn so violent and radical in the 1960s? Was the Cultural Revolution, in which hundreds of thousands were imprisoned or killed, an inevitable outcome of following Mao Zedong Thought? In what ways did the Maoist era pave the way for the reforms launched by Deng Xiaoping in 1978? Would Deng’s reforms have been possible without the devastation of the Cultural Revolution? How have the experiences and structures imposed on the Chinese citizenry under Mao continued to influence political and economic reforms today? Can the Party hope to continue economic, political, and social reforms without losing control over Chinese society? What do the reforms mean for China’s citizens? Will growing state-society tensions lead to gradual liberalization, regime transition, renewed government crackdowns, or widespread civil unrest?

Section Two will next focus on key domestic challenges facing the Chinese regime today—including controlling dissent and fostering “social harmony,” maintaining national and territorial integrity, and recovering the devastated environment—and examine how these issues influence and are influenced by China’s international relations and foreign policies. Creating “social harmony” is the key goal of the Hu Jintao administration. With that goal comes an effort to address the vast economic disparities and inequalities that have emerged under the post-Mao reforms, and to address growing social unrest and demands. The Hu Jintao-Wen Jiabao administration strives to encourage citizen participation and rule of law...until it hints at challenging the Communist Party’s authoritarian rule. Can the CCP maintain power and “social harmony” under the strains of often traumatic economic, political, and social transitions? The
gap between urban and rural areas has increased dramatically over the last three decades. How will the CCP address the challenge of an additional 350 million citizens moving from the rural countryside to urban centers over the next five years? How do these pressures impact how the Chinese government engages international players on issues such as currency rates and environmental protection regimes? Controlling the country’s fifty-five ethnic minority groups is another key concern of the central government. Over 90% of China’s international borders fall within minority territory and rich natural resources are found in minority regions, including more than a third of the country’s oil and gas reserves and a quarter of its landmass. Hundreds were killed in ethnic riots in 2009 in Xinjiang Uighur Autonomous Region and thousands arrested since Tibetan protests began in March 2008. What’s happening in the border regions and what can be done to ease the tensions? Does international pressure discourage the CCP from cracking down on ethnic dissent, or further incite it to clamp down and resist “foreign forces attempts to split the motherland”? Runaway economic development has led to another central problem for the government: how to sustain growth without further destroying the environment. Less than 1% of China’s 560 million city dwellers breathe air that has been deemed safe by European Union standards. Over 50% of China’s waterways are heavily polluted, many not even acceptable for agricultural or industrial use. Why is the Chinese government having so much trouble controlling rampant pollution? Can the United States push China to reform its environmental policies without committing itself to unfavorable international agreements? How will China secure its energy needs, and at what cost will this security come to the global community and China’s own citizens? Many analysts note the rise of China and predict that it will play an increasingly assertive role on the international stage as its economic and political influence continue to rise. How will China use its new power? What will the rise of China mean for the international order and for United States’ interests? Is there a “China threat”? How should the United States, and the rest of the global community, respond to China’s growing influence? What role will the country’s military play in the years to come?

**Course Objectives**

Our study of China will require you to recognize the complexities facing the citizens of China and their leaders. Many students and government leaders alike too quickly jump to rash judgments and conclusions about the Communist leadership and the best means for US policymakers to influence developments within China. A central goal of this course is to encourage students to reflect not only on the sacrifices and choices that the Chinese have made in their struggle to achieve better lives, but how our own choices and values have been influenced by our environment, political culture, and experiences. Through careful readings of often conflicting approaches to the study of Chinese politics and recommendations for interacting with the Chinese, students will learn to critically assess competing interpretations of how and why the Chinese party-state makes the choices that it does and how these choices impact the Chinese citizenry. Though it is important to understand China in its own right, the study of China also teaches us much about core political concepts, including how political culture and institutions interact, the role ideology plays in shaping leaders’ attitudes and policy choices, and the impact of globalization on domestic politics.

**Course Materials**

William A. Joseph, *Politics in China*
C. Fred Bergstein, *China’s Rise: Challenges and Opportunities*
Michael Swaine, *America’s Challenge: Engaging a Rising Challenge in the Twenty-first Century*
Moodle Assignments
In addition to the assigned readings, students should follow the daily news on China by monitoring at least one of the following Web sites:

New York Times (China Articles Only)
Washington Post (China Articles Only)
http://www.washingtonpost.com/wp-dyn/world/asia/eastasia/china/
Xinhua—English Version [Chinese source]
http://www.chinaview.cn/
Google—China News
China Digital Times
http://chinadigitaltimes.net/

Students may also find the following sites useful:

Congressional-Executive Commission on China—Virtual Academy
China Brief (The Jamestown Foundation)
http://www.jamestown.org/programs/chinabrief/
The China Beat
http://www.thechinabeat.org/
Voice of America
http://www.voanews.com/english/regions.cfm?CatRegName=Asia
Radio Free Asia
http://www.rfa.org/english/

Course Requirements
Students will be evaluated as follows:

- Midterm: 20%
- Final: 30%
- Student Leader Papers/Discussion: 15%
- Final Paper: 20%
- Participation: 15%

Exams: A midterm exam will be given in class on Thursday, February 23rd. A cumulative final examination will be given on Monday, April 30th. The midterm and final will include identification, short answer, and essay questions.

Student Leader Papers: All students will select one of four possible presentation topics the second week of class. You will be the “teacher for the day” for three of your peers on the day of your presentation. You will upload your paper of no longer than 6 pages of text to Moodle by noon, the day before your presentation is due. The paper should give background information on the assigned question, describe the main debates surrounding the issue, and offer an answer to the question. You should also submit three discussion questions for your group to consider. Your paper should be double-spaced, 12-point font, with endnotes.
On the day of the presentation, you will be divided into your small groups. The student leader should present his or her argument to the group in approximately 15 minutes, and then lead the group in a discussion of the issue. As a group member, you should do enough background research and reading to be prepared to raise specific questions about the leader’s paper and the topic more broadly, as well as offer suggestions on how the student leader might strengthen his or her paper. You should provide your team leader suggestions for revising his/her paper by replying to the Moodle thread created by your group leader and attaching a copy of the paper, with your comments marked in track changes. We will regroup as a class towards the end of the period to analyze our findings.

**All students will be responsible for the material covered in group discussion on the exams. **Due to the group nature of this assignment, late assignments cannot be accepted.** Please see me early if you encounter any problems. I am here to help.**

Discussion Question #1: What Can the US Do To Promote Improvements in China’s Environmental Policies? (March 15)
Discussion Question #2: What Can (or Should) the United States Do to Promote Human Rights in China? (March 20)
Discussion Question #3: Should US Policy Toward Taiwan Be Reassessed? (March 27)
Discussion Question #4: Is there a “China Threat? (April 5)

Final Paper: This assignment is designed to give you an opportunity to pursue in-depth an issue of particular interest to you. Though the focus should, of course, be “political,” you have the freedom to pursue just about any topic, though you’ll need to clear your topic with me. The paper should be no longer than 12 pages, double-spaced, Times Roman 12-point font with standard margins and page numbers. You will be graded both on the clarity of your argument and the quality and breadth of the sources you consult. To be sure you are on track, you will submit a working research question, thesis, outline and bibliography on April 3rd. Please use endnotes following the Chicago Manual of Style format (http://www.chicagomanualofstyle.org/tools_citationguide.html). Do NOT use parenthetical citations. **Final Papers are due at the start of class on Thursday, April 19th.** Papers without page numbers, not stapled, or without endnotes will be docked 5 points—no exceptions. Late papers will be docked 2/3 of a letter grade for each 24 hours they are late—a paper that would have received an “A,” for example, will receive a “B+” if 24 hours late and “B-“ if 24-48 hours late. Please see me well in advance if you anticipate having trouble meeting the deadline.

*All class assignments MUST be completed to receive a passing grade in the course.*

Participation: The success of this course depends on the active participation of the students enrolled in it. You should complete the reading prior to class and arrive prepared to discuss the material. Lectures will supplement rather than review the readings. You will be responsible for material covered in class, in the readings, and in small groups. Students should follow current events in China by reading at least one of the news sources listed under course materials. We will reserve time to discuss current issues/events each week. There will be a number of in-class written assignments that will factor into your participation grade. Tardiness will negatively affect your participation grade.

**There will be an evening showing of “To Live” on Wednesday, February 1, 7:00-9:30pm in JH 109. Attendance is required.** Please see me early should you have an unavoidable conflict. We will be discussing the feature film in class on Thursday, February 2nd.
## LECTURE AND READINGS SCHEDULE

*Please note the schedule may change in response to the needs of the class and developments within China*

### China Under Reform: From the Maoist Vision to Reality and the Transition to Reform and Opening

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<tr>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Topic</th>
<th>Reading/Assignment</th>
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<tr>
<td>January 17 &amp; 19</td>
<td>Guest Lecturer: Dr. Nick Bartlett “NGOs and China’s Public Health Sector” Joseph, Chapter 12</td>
<td>Rise of the CCP Joseph, Chapter 2</td>
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<tr>
<td>January 24 &amp; 26</td>
<td>The Chinese Communist Vision Joseph, Chapter 5</td>
<td>China Under Mao Joseph, Chapter 3</td>
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<td>January 31 &amp; February 2</td>
<td>The Party-State Structure Joseph, Chapter 6</td>
<td>Maoism: An Assessment <em>Evening Movie on Wednesday, February 1st, JH 109</em></td>
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<td>February 7 &amp; 9</td>
<td>China Under Reform: An Overview Joseph, Chapter 4</td>
<td>Economic Reform Joseph, Chapter 7; Bergsten, Chapter 6</td>
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<td>February 14 &amp; 16</td>
<td>Political Reforms: Whither China? Bergsten, Chapters 2 and 3</td>
<td>Urban and Rural Divides Joseph, Chapters 8 and 9</td>
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<td>February 21 &amp; 23</td>
<td>Central-Local Relations Bergsten, Chapter 4</td>
<td><em>Midterm</em></td>
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### Connections: Key Issues in Chinese Domestic Politics and Shifting Roles for the Global Community

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<th>Date</th>
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<tr>
<td>February 28 &amp; March 1</td>
<td>China Views the World: The Foreign Policy Process Swain, Chapters 1 and 9 Bergsten Chapter 10</td>
<td>Growing Dissent and CCP Response Congressional-Executive Commission on China 2011 Annual Report Executive Summary</td>
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<tr>
<td>March 6 &amp; 8</td>
<td><em>SPRING BREAK—ENJOY!!!</em></td>
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<td>Date</td>
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| March 13 & 15 | China’s Ethnic Minorities  
Katherine Kaup, “Discords in Harmony: Maintaining a Multinational Unitary State”  
[MOOCLE]  
CECC 2005 Annual Report, Special Focus [MOOCLE]  
Joseph, Chapters 14 and 15 | Environmental Policy  
Bergsten, Chapter 7  
Joseph, Chapter 11  
Swaine, Chapter 7  
*Group #1: What Can the US Do To Promote Improvements in China’s Environmental Policies? |
| March 20 & 22 | Human Rights  
Swaine, Chapter 8  
*Group #2: What Can (or Should) the US Do to Promote Human Rights in China?” | Taiwan  
Joseph, Chapter 17  
Bergsten Chapter 8 |
| March 27 & 29 | *Group #3: *Should The US Reassess Its Taiwan Policy?* | *No Class Today: Friday’s classes meet this Thursday instead. Please enjoy FurmanEngaged! On 3/30* |
| April 3 & April 5 | Economic Growth and Trade Relations  
Swaine, Chapter 5  
*working research question, thesis, outline and bibliography due* | Military Modernization  
Swaine, Chapter 4  
*Group #4: Is There A China Threat? |
| April 10 & 12 | China’s Relations With Her Neighbors  
Swaine, Chapter 2 | International NGOs and Chinese Civil Society  
| April 17 & 19 | Women and Political Participation  
Reading TBA  
*Research Papers Due in Class* |
| April 24th | *Review and Summary* | |
| *MONDAY*, April 30th | *FINAL EXAMINATION 8:30-11:00 AM* | |
Reading and Pronouncing Chinese

There are two international systems for romanizing Chinese; the pinyin and the Wade-Giles systems. The Republic of China continues to use the Wade-Giles system, while the People’s Republic of China has adopted the pinyin system.

The first step to pronouncing an unfamiliar Chinese word, is to determine which romanization system is being used. The following letters are used in pinyin: x, q, z, zh, r, d, b, ong. Wade-Giles uses apostrophes and hyphens.

Nearly all Chinese words contain either one or two syllables. The following guidelines should help you pronounce the names you will encounter while you read:

Pinyin:

x  sh
q  ch
z  ds (as in reads)
zh j
ç  ts (as in rats)
ian ien
ui way
i “ee” after most consonants, but a deep “uh” sound after ch, r, sh, zh, c, s, and z
ai as in aisle
ao as in cow
ei as in lay
ia as in yard
iao yow
ie as in yeah
iu as in trio
ou low
ua wah (as in a baby’s cry)
uo as in walk
en as in uncover

Wade-Giles

k  g
p  b
t  d
ts  dz
ch  j
[all of the above Wade Giles letters are pronounced just like English sounds if followed by an apostrophe]
j  r
ih uh
ui way
yu yo
hs sh