

The Graduate School of International Policy Studies
AS 511 -- The Chinese Political System

Fall 2003

Tuesday & Thursday 2:00 – 4:00 PM

Room: B106.

Dr. Phillip C. Saunders

Phone: 831-647-4619

Email: phillip.saunders@miis.edu

Office: 411 Pacific Street, Room 205

Office Hours: Tuesday, Wednesday 1:00-2:00

Prerequisites: None

Dr. Jing-dong Yuan

Phone: 831-647-4621

Email: jing-dong.yuan@miis.edu

411 Pacific Street, Room 200

Office Hours: Tues, Thurs 1:00-2:00

4 Credits

I. Course Description:

AS-511 provides an introduction to the study of the Chinese political system. The course begins with an overview of theoretical approaches to studying Chinese politics and survey of the historical legacies that shape modern China. Part two introduces and analyzes the key institutions and relationships that make up the modern Chinese political system. Part three examines a range of current Chinese domestic and foreign policy issues, including political reform, economic reforms, and Sino-U.S. relations. Part four looks briefly at Hong Kong and Taiwan politics to provide a comparative perspective. Students will learn to critically evaluate theoretical models of Chinese politics and apply them to both historical and current policy issues.

II. Course Objectives:

The principal objective of the course is to develop a basic understanding of the Chinese political system that allows students to explain or predict Chinese political behavior and analyze current policy issues. The course introduces student to a range of analytical methods that can help separate what is important from what is not important and distill vast amounts of information into data useful for practical business or policy analysis purposes. Students will also improve their presentation skills through formal presentations and participation in class discussions.

III. Assessment:

Students will write three papers during the course. The first paper will be a 2-page book review and ten minute oral presentation/discussion. Presentations of book reviews will occur at the end of each class from September 16 to October 16. Students will sign up for a presentation date at the second class session. The instructors will provide a list of books on Chinese politics; students can select a relevant book not on the list with permission of the instructors. Each book review should **concisely** summarize the author's argument and critically evaluate its strengths and weaknesses in explaining Chinese politics. Books about other countries, novels, or Chinese language articles can be selected provided that the book review explicitly shows their relevance

to Chinese politics.

The second paper will be a five-page analysis of a topic related to Chinese politics **due by the start of class on Thursday, October 23**. The instructors will provide a choice of topics.

The third paper will be a research paper (15-20 pages) on a topic of your own choosing. The paper outline **is due Tuesday November 11**; the final paper is **due on the last day of class (December 11)**. There will be no exams.

Grades will be determined as follows:

- Book Review: 15 percent;
- Short Paper: 15 percent;
- Research Paper: 50 percent;
- Class Participation: 20 percent.

IV. Textbooks:

1. James C. F. Wang, *Contemporary Chinese Politics: An Introduction*, 7th ed., (Upper Saddle River: Prentice Hall, 2002). **REQUIRED**.
2. Merle Goldman and Roderick MacFarquhar, eds., *The Paradox of China's Post-Mao Reforms* (Cambridge, Mass: Harvard University Press, 1999). **REQUIRED**.
3. David Shambaugh and Orville Schell, eds., *The China Reader: The Reform Era* (New York: Vintage Books, 1999). **REQUIRED**.
4. Maurice Meisner, *Mao's China and After: A History of the People's Republic of China*. 3rd Edition (New York: The Free Press, 1999). **OPTIONAL**.
(Not in MIIS bookstore, but available via internet book sites).

COURSE OUTLINE

ANALYTICAL APPROACHES AND HISTORICAL LEGACIES

Tuesday, September 2:

Course Introduction/Approaches to Chinese Politics (Saunders)

Readings:

- James C. F. Wang, *Contemporary Chinese Politics: An Introduction*, 7th ed., (Upper Saddle River: Prentice Hall, 2002), pp. 1-13;
- Michael Swaine, "China Faces the 1990s: A System in Crisis," in David Shambaugh and Orville Schell, eds., *The China Reader: The Reform Era* (New York: Vintage Books, 1999), pp. 103-116;
- Harry Harding, "The Contemporary Study of Chinese Politics: An Introduction";
- Elizabeth J. Perry, "Trends in the Study of Chinese Politics: State-Society Relations";
- Avery Goldstein, "Trends in the Study of Political Elites and Institutions in the PRC," *China Quarterly*, (1994), pp. 698-730. (60 pages) (All 3 on reserve under HARDING).

Thursday, September 4:

Imperial Legacies (Dynastic Cycle, Bureaucracy, Philosophy) (Saunders)

Readings:

- Jonathan Spence, *The Search for Modern China* (New York: W. W. Norton, 1990), pp. 139-193. (55 pages)

Tuesday, September 9:

China and the West (Imperialism and Marxism) (Saunders)

Readings:

- Kenneth Lieberthal, *Governing China: From Revolution Through Reform* (New York: W.W. Norton, 1995), pp. 5-27;
- Spence, *The Search for Modern China*, pp. 194-268 (**SKIM**) and 300-325. (119 pages)

Thursday, September 11:

DVD: “China: A Century of Revolution - China in Revolution, 1911-1949” (2 hours)

Readings:

- Lieberthal, *Governing China*, pp. 39-56;
- Wang, *Contemporary Chinese Politics*, pp. 15-36;
- Maurice Meisner, *Mao's China and After: A History of the People's Republic of China*. 3rd Edition (New York: The Free Press, 1999), pp. 20-51. (71 pages)

Tuesday, September 16:

BOOK REVIEWS START

An Overview of the Chinese Communist Party in Power (Yuan)

Readings:

- Lieberthal, *Governing China*, pp. 122-153;
- Bruce J. Dickson, “Whom Does the Party Represent?” *American Asian Review* (Spring 2003), pp. 1-24;
- *The Tiananmen Papers*, compiled by Zhang Liang and edited by Andrew J. Nathan and Perry Link (New York: Public Affairs, 2001), pp. xv-xlv. (50 pages)

Thursday, September 18:

Legacies of Communist Party Rule (Yuan)

Readings:

- Meisner, *Mao's China and After*, pp. 413-426; 514-548;
- Lucian W. Pye, “Jiang Zemin’s Style of Rule: Go for Stability, Monopolize Power and Settle for Limited Effectiveness,” in Jonathan Unger, ed., *The Nature of Chinese Politics: From Mao to Jiang* (Armonk, NY: M.E. Sharpe, 2002), pp. 209-216. (56 pages)

CHINESE POLITICAL INSTITUTIONS

Tuesday, September 23:

Party (Saunders)

Readings:

- Wang, *Contemporary Chinese Politics*, pp. 37-68 and 69-82;
- “Constitution of the Communist Party of China,” November 14, 2002. (on reserve or at <http://www.china.org.cn/english/features/49109.htm>);
- “Official Explains Amendments to CPC Constitution,” Xinhua News Agency, November 18, 2002 (on reserve or at <http://www.china.org.cn/english/features/49184.htm>);
- John P. Burns, “The People's Republic of China at 50: National Political Reform”;
- Michael Schoenhals, “Political Movements, Change and Stability: The Chinese Communist Party in Power,” *China Quarterly*, No. 159 (September 1999), pp. 580-605. (80 pages)

Thursday, September 25:

Government Institutions (Saunders)

Readings:

- Wang, *Contemporary Chinese Politics*, pp. 83-100;
- Murray Scot Tanner, “The National People’s Congress,” in Merle Goldman and Roderick MacFarquhar, eds., *The Paradox of China’s Post-Mao Reforms* (Cambridge, Mass: Harvard University Press, 1999), pp. 100-128;
- Lieberthal, *Governing China*, pp. 157-182. (71 pages)

Tuesday, September 30:

Elites (Yuan)

Readings:

- Wang, *Contemporary Chinese Politics*, pp. 105-133;
- Li Cheng, “Jiang Zemin’s Successors: The Rise of the Fourth Generation of Leaders in the PRC,” *China Quarterly*, No. 161 (March 2000), pp. 1-40;
- Joseph Fewsmith, “The Evolving Shape of Elite Politics,” in Unger, *The Nature of Chinese Politics*, pp. 258-273. (77 pages)

Thursday, October 2:

Party-Army Relations (Yuan)

Readings:

- Wang, *Contemporary Chinese Politics*, pp. 238-262;
- Paul H. B. Godwin, “Party-Military Relations,” in Goldman and MacFarquhar, pp. 76-99;
- David Bachman, “Military Modernization and Civil-Military Relations in China: Toward the Year 2020,” *American Asian Review*, Vol. 19, No. 3 (Fall 2001), pp. 1-34;
- You Ji, “The Supreme Leader and the Military,” in Unger, *The Nature of Chinese Politics*, pp. 274-298. (108 pages)

Tuesday, October 7:

DVD, "China: A Century of Revolution - The Mao Years, 1949-1976."

Readings:

- Lieberthal, *Governing China*, pp. 102-111;
- Meisner, *Mao's China and After*, pp. 55-152, 155-241. (95 pages)

Thursday, October 9:

State-Society Relations (Saunders)

Readings:

- Lieberthal, *Governing China*, pp. 292-313;
- Merle Goldman, "The Rise of Politically Independent Intellectuals," in Goldman and MacFarquhar, pp. 283-307;
- Tony Saich, "Negotiating the State: The Development of Social Organizations in China," *China Quarterly*, No. 161 (March 2000), pp. 124-141;
- Pitman B. Potter, "Belief in Control: Regulation of Religion in China," *China Quarterly*, No. 174 (June 2003), pp. 317-337;
- Schell and Shambaugh, pp. 229-245 (102 pages)

Tuesday, October 14:

BOOK REVIEWS END

Legal System (Yuan)

Readings:

- Wang, *Contemporary Chinese Politics*, pp. 139-157;
- Schell and Shambaugh, pp. 394-428;
- Pitman B. Potter, "The Chinese Legal System: Continuing Commitment to the Primacy of State Power," *China Quarterly*, No. 159 (September 1999), pp. 673-683;
- Donald C. Clarke, "Private Enforcement of Intellectual Property Rights in China," *NBR Analysis*, Vol. 10, No. 2 (April 1999), pp. 29-41. (76 pages)

Thursday, October 16:

DVD, "China: A Century of Revolution - Born Under the Red Flag, 1976-1997."

Readings:

- Wang, *Contemporary Chinese Politics*, pp. 269-300;
- Chen Xitong, "Report on Checking the Turmoil and Quelling the Counterrevolutionary Rebellion," in Schell and Shambaugh, pp. 78-95;
- Readings on the Chinese democracy movement, in Schell and Shambaugh, pp. 165-212; (98 pages)

Tuesday, October 21:

Center-Region Relations (Saunders)

Readings:

- Wang, *Contemporary Chinese Politics*, pp. 161-189;
- Barry Naughton, "The Pattern and Logic of China's Economic Reform," in Schell and Shambaugh, pp. 300-311;
- Susan L. Shirk, *The Political Logic of Economic Reform in China* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1993), pp. 149-196;
- Richard Baum and Alexei Shevchenko, "The 'State of the State,'" in Goldman and MacFarquhar, pp. 333-360. (115 pages)

Thursday, October 23:

SHORT PAPER DUE BY BEGINNING OF CLASS

Top-Down vs. Bottom-Up Models (Saunders)

Readings:

- Merle Goldman and Roderick MacFarquhar, "Dynamic Economy, Declining State," in Goldman and MacFarquhar, pp. 3-29;
- Susan L. Shirk, *The Political Logic of Economic Reform in China*, pp. 116-128;
- Anthony Y.C. Foo and K.C. Yeh, "Impact of Township, Village, and Private Enterprises Reform," in Schell and Shambaugh, pp. 321-334;
- Kate Zhou, *How the Farmers Changed China* (Boulder, Col.: Westview Press, 1996), pp. 1-17 and 231-245;
- Jonathan Unger, "Rich Man, Poor Man: The Making of New Classes in the Countryside," in David Goodman and Beverley Hooper, eds., *China's Quiet Revolution* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1994), pp. 43-63. (103 pages)

CURRENT POLICY ISSUES (8 classes)

Tuesday, October 28:

CLASS DISCUSSION: What does the Chinese government's response to AIDS and SARS tell us about the Chinese political System?

Readings:

- Paying for Health: New Lessons from China, IDS Policy Briefing No. 4, 1995.
<http://www.ids.ac.uk/ids/bookshop/briefs/brief4.html>;
- Bates Gill, Jennifer Chang and Sarah Palmer, "China's HIV Crisis," *Foreign Affairs* (March/April 2002), pp. 96-110. http://www.csis.org/china/0200304gill_foraffairs.pdf
- Bates Gill and Andrew Thompson, "The Impact of HIV/AIDS on Business in China," *China Business Review*, July/August 2003, pp. 6-11
http://csis.org/china/hiv_business.pdf;
- Philip P. Pan, "China Meets AIDS Crisis with Force Police, Not Physicians, Answer Villagers' Pleas," *Washington Post*, 18 August 2003, p. A1
<http://www.washingtonpost.com/wp-dyn/articles/A7067-2003Aug17.html>
- John Pomfret, "A Mistrust of Government Undercuts China's Effort," *Washington Post*, April 29, 2003, p. A1; **Other readings to be announced.**

Thursday, October 30:

State-Owned Enterprise Reform and the WTO (Saunders)

Readings:

- Wang, *Contemporary Chinese Politics*, pp. 301-330;
- Nicholas Lardy, "The State Owned Enterprise Problem," in *China's Unfinished Economic Revolution* (Washington, DC: Brookings Institution, 1998), pp. 21-58;
- Edward S. Steinfeld, "Beyond the Transition: China's Economy at Century's End," *Current History*, Vol. 98, No. 629 (Sept 1999), pp. 271-275;
- Antoine Kernan, "Out of Work in the State Sector," and Patrick Tyler, "Rural Poverty," in Schell and Shambaugh, pp. 348-362;
- Martin King Whyte, "The Changing Role of Workers," in Goldman and MacFarquhar, pp. 173-196; (**SKIM**);
- Joseph Fewsmith, "The Political and Social implications of China's Accession to the WTO," *China Quarterly*, No. 167 (September 2001), pp. 573-591. (120 pages)

Tuesday, November 4:

Political Reform/Village Elections (Yuan)

Readings:

- Yongnian Zheng, "Political incrementalism: political lessons from China's 20 years of reform," *Third World Quarterly*, Vol. 20, No. 6 (December 1999), pp. 1157-1177;
- Lianjiang Li and Kevin J. O'Brien, "The Struggle over Village Elections," in Goldman and MacFarquhar, pp. 129-144;
- Kevin J. O'Brien and Lianjiang Li, "Accommodating 'Democracy' in a One-Party State: Introducing Village Elections in China," *China Quarterly*, No. 162 (June 2000), pp. 465-489;
- Wang Xu, "Mutual Empowerment of State and Peasantry: Grassroots Democracy in Rural China," *World Development*, Vol. 25, No. 9 (Sept 1997), pp. 1431-42. (84 pages)

Thursday, November 6:

Leadership Succession and the 16th Party Congress (Yuan)

Readings:

- Frederick C. Teiwes, "The Politics of Succession: Previous Patterns and a New Process," in John Wong and Zheng Yongnian, eds., *China's Post-Jiang Leadership Succession: Problems and Perspectives* (Singapore and New Jersey: Singapore University Press and World Scientific Publishing, 2002), pp. 21-58;
- Tony Saich, "China's New Leadership: The Challenges to the Politics of Muddling Through," *Current History* (September 2002), pp. 250-255;
- Joseph Fewsmith, "The Sixteenth National Party Congress: The Succession That Didn't Happen," *China Quarterly* 173 (March 2003), pp. 1-16;
- Richard Daniel Ewing, "Hu Jintao: The Making of a Chinese General Secretary," *The China Quarterly* 173 (March 2003), pp. 17-34. (78 pages)

**Tuesday, November 11:
PAPER OUTLINES DUE
Environment (Yuan)**

Readings:

- Schell and Shambaugh, pp. 376-393;
- Richard Sanders, “The political economy of Chinese environmental protection: lessons of the Mao and Deng years,” *Third World Quarterly*, Vol. 20, No. 6 (December 1999), pp. 1201-1214;
- Abigail R. Jahiel, “The Organization of Environmental Protection in China,” *China Quarterly*, No.156 (December 1998), pp. 757-787;
- Lester Ross, “China: Environmental Protection, Domestic Policy Trends, Patterns of Participation in Regimes and Compliance with International Norms,” *ibid.*, pp. 809-835;
- Sukhan Jackson and Adrian Sleight, “Resettlement for China's Three Gorges Dam: socio-economic impact and institutional tensions,” *Communist and Post-Communist Studies*, Vol. 33, No. 2 (2000), pp. 223-241. (86 pages)

**Thursday, November 13:
China and the Internet Revolution (Yuan)**

Readings:

- Michael Chase and James Mulvenon, *You've got Dissent!* (Santa Monica, CA: RAND, 2002), pp. 1- 43; <http://www.rand.org/publications/MR/MR1543/MR1543.ch1.pdf>;
- Guobin Yang, “The Internet and Civil Society in China: a preliminary assessment,” *Journal of Contemporary China*, Vol. 12, No. 36 (August 2003), pp. 453-476;
- Tamara Shie, article in *Journal of Contemporary China* (forthcoming) (67+ pages)

**Tuesday, November 18:
Chinese Foreign Policy (Yuan)**

Readings:

- Alastair Iain Johnston, “Is China a Status Quo Power?” *International Security*, Vol. 27, No. 4 (Spring 2003), pp. 5-56;
- Samuel Kim, “China as a Great Power,” in Schell and Shambaugh, pp. 448-459;
- Avery Goldstein, “An Emerging China's Emerging Grand Strategy: A Neo-Bismarckian Turn?” in G. John Ikenberry and Michael Mastanduno, eds., *International Relations Theory and the Asia-Pacific* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2003), pp. 57-106. (112 pages)

Thursday, November 20:

Sino-U.S. Relations (Saunders)

Readings:

- David M. Lampton, *Same Bed, Different Dreams: Managing U.S.-China Relations 1989-2000* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 2001), pp. 1-63;
- David Shambaugh, "Sino-American Strategic Relations: From Partners to Competitors," *Survival*, Vol. 42, No. 1 (Spring 2000), pp. 97-115;
- Denny Roy, "China's Reaction to American Predominance," *Survival*, Vol. 45, No. 3 (Autumn 2003), pp. 57-78;
- Phillip Saunders, "Sino-U.S. Relations in the New Nuclear Environment," in Jonathan Pollack, forthcoming. (103 pages + Saunders)

HONG KONG AND TAIWAN

Tuesday, November 25:

Hong Kong/South China (Yuan)

Readings:

- Wang, *Contemporary Chinese Politics*, pp. 196-222;
- Schell and Shambaugh, pp. 493-496;
- Christopher Patten, *East and West: China, Power, and the Future of Asia* (New York: Times Books, 1999), pp. 3-70;
- Richard Baum, "Enter the dragon: China's courtship of Hong Kong, 1982-1999," *Communist and Post-Communist Studies*, Vol. 32, No. 4 (1999), pp. 417-436. (117 pages)

Thanksgiving Holiday

Tuesday, December 2:

Taiwan Politics (Saunders)

Readings:

- Yun-han Chu and Jih-wen Lin, "Political Development in 20th-Century Taiwan," *China Quarterly*, No. 165 (March 2001), pp. 102-129;
- Tun-jen Cheng and Chia-lung Lin, "Taiwan: A Long Decade of Democratic Transition," in James Morley, ed., *Driven By Growth: Political Change in the Asia-Pacific Region*, rev. ed., (Armonk, N.Y.: M.E. Sharpe, 1999), pp. 224-251;
- Shelley Rigger, "Political Reform Under Chiang Ching-kuo," in *Politics in Taiwan: Voting for Democracy* (New York: Routledge, 1999), pp. 103-130;
- Shelley Rigger, "Breakthrough to Power," in *From Opposition to Power: Taiwan's Democratic Progressive party* (Boulder, Co.: Lynn Reiner, 2001), pp. 173-202. (114 pages)

Thursday, December 4:

Taiwan Economic Policy (Saunders)

Readings:

- Cheng Tun-jen, “Transforming Taiwan’s Economic Structure in the 20th Century,” *China Quarterly*, No. 165 (March 2001), pp. 19-36;
- Christopher Howe, “Taiwan in the 20th Century: Model or Victim?,” *ibid.*, pp. 37-60;
- Stephan Haggard, “Taiwan: From Import Substitution to Export-led Growth,” in *Pathways from the Periphery* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1990), pp. 76-100;
- Additional article on current Taiwan economic challenges (TBA) (67 pages + TBA)

Tuesday, December 9:

Cross-Strait Relations (Saunders)

Readings:

- Michael D. Swaine, “Chinese Decision-Making Regarding Taiwan, 1979-2000” in David M. Lampton, ed., *The Making of Chinese Foreign and Security Policy in the Era of Reform* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2001), pp. 289-336;
- Denny Roy, “Tension in the Taiwan Strait,” *Survival*, Vol. 42, No. 1 (March 2000), pp. 76-96 or version at <http://taiwansecurity.org/IS/IS-0300-Roy.htm>;
- Phillip C. Saunders, “Long-term Trends and Cross-Strait Relations.” (To be posted);
- Article on Cross-Strait economic relations (TBA). (89 pages + TBA)

Thursday, December 11:

FINAL PAPER DUE

Course Summary (Saunders/Yuan)

Readings:

- Michel C. Oksenberg, Michael D. Swaine, and Daniel C. Lynch, “The Chinese Future,” in Schell and Shambaugh, pp. 505-530;
- Michel Oksenberg, “China’s Political System: Challenges of the Twenty-First Century,” in Unger, *The Nature of Chinese Politics*, pp. 193-208. (40 pages).