

PSCI 490/652 – Contemporary Chinese Political Economy

Fall 2012

Wednesdays 1:30-4:20 pm

Instructor: Dr. Sarah Eaton
Office: Hagey Hall 310
Office Hours: Thursday 2:00 – 4:00 PM
Email: s3eaton@uwaterloo.ca

Course Description

This course is concerned with the political, economic and social dimensions of China's post-socialist transition since 1978. In contrast to Russia and the former Soviet republics, China did not experience a "dual transition" as market reforms were not paired with democratization and China remains a solidly one-party system. The unique features of China's transition make it an ideal case in which to explore questions of vital interest to social scientists and real-world practitioners, such as: Do market reforms tend to erode authoritarianism over time? What are the perceived advantages of gradual transition vs. "big bang" approaches? Does engagement with the global economy reduce states' abilities to guide markets? Under what circumstances does corruption impede economic development? What are the relative advantages of authoritarian and democratic systems in addressing environmental problems?

The subject matter of this course belongs to the realm of political economy since it is concerned with interactions between states and markets, but proficiency in economics is not a prerequisite. Students with less training in economics should familiarize themselves with any new concepts as we go along, but this is not a technical course. The course is also open to students without prior knowledge of Chinese politics or history but those who are wholly new to China studies are strongly encouraged to do some background reading. I would recommend the Lieberthal book (below) and Jonathan Spence (1990) *The Search for Modern China*, Norton Press. While this course is open to all-comers, it is quite reading intensive and you will be expected to keep up with the readings in order to contribute actively in seminars.

Texts

The following two books have been ordered to the bookstore since we will use several selections from each in this course:

Barry Naughton (2007) *The Chinese Economy*, MIT Press.

Kenneth Lieberthal (2003) *Governing China: From Revolution to Reform* (2nd ed.), Norton, W.W. & Company Inc.

Most additional required readings drawn from books or journals will be made available as electronic course reserves, accessible via Learn (D2L). Required readings not found in the electronic course reserves will be held on short-term reserve (3 hour) at the Porter Library.

Assignments and Course Evaluation

Participation: 15%
Seminar Presentation: 20%
Paper: 40%
Take-Home Exam: 25%

- *Participation:* As this is a seminar course in which lectures will play only a small part, it is imperative that students stay on top of the assigned readings (~100-150 pages per week). The assignment load in this course is comparatively light to allow students sufficient time to engage with these texts and contribute fully in seminars. From time to time, we will have “pop” reading responses in class in which you will be asked to respond to one or more of the week’s reading questions in writing. These will not be graded but they will be used to gauge your level of engagement with the reading. It will also provide me with valuable feedback on how interesting/clear/persuasive you find the texts to be.
- *Seminar Presentation:* These will start in the third week of the semester (Sept. 26). They are to be done in pairs or singly, depending on class numbers. Presenters should aim to pick out and analyze the key themes in the assembled readings rather than simply summarize them one by one. Presenters should focus on the required readings but may wish to consult the supplementary readings and any other readings you find on your own. Presentations should be 20-25 minutes in length and should conclude with a set of discussion questions for the class to take up. n.b. good discussion questions are of the *why* variety and can take time to craft. There are many online resources with tips on how to lead an effective seminar such as: <http://pegasus.cc.ucf.edu/~janzb/courses/seminarleading.html>
- *Paper:* Please address one of the essay questions listed under each week below. **Please note that your term paper must be on a different topic than your seminar.** There are no straightforward answers to any of these questions and each is a matter of serious debate among scholars. The assignment is to read as much as you can about this particular question—the required and supplementary readings are just a start—and, then, on the basis of the assembled evidence, craft an argument in response. If you have a question of your own which you are particularly interested in, I am open to self-guided papers **but please consult with me first.** For undergraduates, the paper should about 10-12 pages in length and for graduate students 12-15 pages. This is not an opinion piece so please avoid using the phrases “In my opinion” or “I believe” in your papers; I am looking for social scientific argumentation. Papers are due Monday, November 19th.

For help with locating sources, please consult our course library guide, available at: <http://subjectguides.uwaterloo.ca/content.php?pid=94627&sid=2935156>

- *Take-Home Exam:* You will have 24 hours to complete this assignment. Date TBA

Academic Dishonesty

Plagiarism is a serious academic offense and will be treated as such. If you are unsure about what constitutes plagiarism please consult the materials provided by the Office of Academic Integrity <http://www.lib.uwaterloo.ca/ait/index.html> or contact me. If there is any doubt in your mind it is always better to err on the side of too much citation than too little.

Policy on Lateness, Missed Exams

Papers submitted after the deadline will be subject to a late penalty of 5% per weekday up to a maximum of five days after the due date. You will not be able to make up for missed work or exams except in case of circumstances beyond your control (e.g., illness and other types of emergencies, for which you need to bring relevant documentation).

Class Schedule

Sept. 12 Introduction and Course Overview

- No required readings

Sept. 19 The Maoist Legacy and the Beginnings of Reform

Reading Questions: How have “initial conditions” (institutional, geographic, political, demographic) shaped China’s approach to reform since 1978? How did the command economy operate? What were the central problems associated with the planned economy? What were some achievements of the Maoist period (e.g. education, health care)? After Mao’s death, why did China adopt a gradual approach to reform?

Essay Question: If not for the foundations of socio-economic development established in the Maoist period, Chinese reform would not have been a success. Discuss.

Required Readings

- *Barry NAUGHTON, *The Chinese Economy: Transitions and Growth*, Chapters 1, 2, 3 (pp. 3-83).
- *Kenneth LIEBERTHAL (2004) *Governing China: From Revolution through Reform*, Chapters 4, 5, (pp. 84-131) (n.b. students seeking an introduction to China’s 20th century politics are encouraged to read earlier chapters in Lieberthal).
- *Steven GOLDSTEIN (1995) “China in Transition: The Political Foundations of Incremental Reform” *The China Quarterly* Vol. 144: 1105-1131.

Supplementary Readings

- Susan SHIRK (1993) *The Political Logic of Economic Reform in China*, University of California Press.
- Chris BRAMALL (2009) *Chinese Economic Development*, Routledge, Parts 2 & 3 (pp. 143-322).
- Chris BRAMALL (1993) *In Praise of Maoist Economic Planning*, Oxford: Clarendon Press.
- Peter NOLAN and Robert F. ASH (1995) “China’s Economy on the Eve of Reform” *The China Quarterly* Vol. 144, pp. 990-998.
- Justin LIN, FANG Cai and ZHOU Li (1996) “The Lessons of China’s Transition to a Market Economy” *The Cato Journal* 16(2).
- UNESCO (2003) “Literacy as Freedom”
<http://unesdoc.unesco.org/images/0013/001318/131823e.pdf>
- Edward LUCE (2006) *In Spite of the Gods: The Rise of Modern India*, Anchor Books. (very good comparisons between China and India).

Sept. 26 China’s Economic Transition in Comparative Perspective

Reading questions: What are the general features of “big bang” and “gradual” post-socialist transitions? What are the various perspectives offered on the virtues/vices of gradualism in these readings?

Essay Question: Taking into account both political and economic development, gradual reforms are preferable to “big bang” transitions. Discuss.

Required Readings

- *Barry NAUGHTON, *The Chinese Economy*, Chapter 4 (pp. 85-110)
- *Gérard ROLAND (2000) *Transition and Economics: Politics, Markets and Firms*, MIT Press, “Introduction” and Chapter 1 (pp. xvii-22).
- *Minxin PEI (2006) *China’s Trapped Transition: The Limits of Developmental Autocracy*, Harvard University Press, Chapter 1.
- *WU Jinglian (2008) “China’s Economy: 60 Years of Progress” *Caijing* (Part I-IV): <http://english.caijing.com.cn/2009-09-30/110269580.html>

Supplementary Readings

- Barry NAUGHTON (2008) “A Political Economy of China’s Economic Transition” in Loren Brandt and Thomas G. Rawski, eds. *China’s Great Economic Transformation*, Cambridge UP.
- Jan SVEINAR (2008) “China in Light of the Performance of the Transition Economies” in Loren Brandt and Thomas G. Rawski, eds. *China’s Great Economic Transformation*, Cambridge UP.
- Joel S. HELLMAN (1998) “Winners Take All: The Politics of Partial Reform in Postcommunist Transitions” *World Politics* 50(2): 203-234.
- Andrew WALDER (1995) “China’s Transitional Economy: Interpreting its Significance” *The China Quarterly* Vol. 144: 963-979.
- Adam PRZEWORSKI (1991) *Democracy and the Market: Political and Economic Reforms in Eastern Europe and Latin America*, Cambridge UP.

Oct. 3 Rural Reform: Causes and Consequences

Reading Questions: How did the approach to rural reforms in China take shape? What successes and problems were encountered along the way? How have these writers characterized the policymaking process in this issue area (ie. as gradual, experimental, top down, bottom up)?

Essay Question: The initiation of rural reforms is primarily attributable to top-down leadership. Discuss.

Required Readings

- *Barry NAUGHTON *The Chinese Economy: Transitions and Growth*, ch. 10, 12.
- *Joseph FEWSMITH (1994) *Dilemmas of Reform in China: Political Conflict and Debate*, M.E. Sharpe, chapter 1.
- *Björn ALPERMAN (2005) “Grassroots Political Reforms in Rural China” in Christian Schaeffer, ed. *Understanding Modern East Asian Politics*, Nova Science Publishers. http://www.sinologie.uni-wuerzburg.de/fileadmin/04050130/user_upload/Alpermann/Alpermann_grassroots_political_reforms.pdf
- *David ZWEIG (1997) “Rural People, the Politicians and Power” *China Journal* Vol. 38: 153-68.

Supplementary Readings

- Jean OI (1999) “Two Decades of Rural Reform in China: An Overview and Assessment” *The China Quarterly* Vol. 159: 616-628.
- Susan WHITING (2000) *Power and Wealth in Rural China: The Political Economy of Institutional Change*, Cambridge University Press.

- Ezra VOGEL (2011) *Deng Xiaoping and the Transformation of China*, Harvard University Press, chapter 15.
- Kate ZHOU (1996) *How the Farmers Changed China: Power of the People*, Westview Press.
- Justin LIN (1992) "Rural Reforms and Agricultural Growth in China, *American Economic Review* 82(1): 34-51.
- Jikun HUANG, Keiro OSTUKA, and Scott ROZELLE (2008) "The Role of Agriculture in China's Economic Development" in Loren Brandt and Thomas G. Rawski, eds. *China's Great Economic Transformation*, Cambridge University Press.

Oct. 10 State Sector Reform and the Emergence of Private(?) Enterprise

Reading Questions: Why did reform of state-owned enterprises proceed more slowly than agricultural reform? What are the pros and cons of the "dual-track" system as a transitional mechanism? How has the state dealt with SOE reform "losers"? To what extent is the private sector in China really *private*? How do entrepreneurs regard Communist Party rule? Through what means does the Party exercise control of the private sector?

Essay Question: Private entrepreneurs are not a significant force for political change in China. Discuss.

Required Readings

- *Barry NAUGHTON, *The Chinese Economy: Transitions and Growth*, ch. 13 & 14
- *Stephan HAGGARD and Yasheng HUANG (2008) "The Political Economy of Private Sector Development in China" in Loren Brandt and Thomas G. Rawski, eds. *China's Great Economic Transformation*, Cambridge UP.
- *Jie CHEN and Bruce DICKSON (2008) "Allies of the State: Democratic Support and Regime Support among China's Private Entrepreneurs" *The China Quarterly* Vol. 196: 780-804.
- *Bruce DICKSON (2000-01) "Cooptation and Corporatism in China: The Logic of Party Adaptation" *Political Science Quarterly* 115(4): 517-540.

Supplementary Readings:

- Jie CHEN and Bruce DICKSON (2010) *Allies of the State: China's Private Entrepreneurs and Democratic Change*, Harvard University Press.
- Bruce DICKSON (2008) *Wealth into Power: The Communist Party's Embrace of the Private Sector*, Cambridge University Press, chapter 3 (pp. 66-100).
- Janos KORNAI, Eric MASKIN and Gérard Roland (2003) "Understanding the Soft Budget Constraint" *Journal of Economic Literature* 41(4): 1095-1136.
- Kellee TSAI (2011) "Comparing China's Capitalists: Neither Democratic nor Exceptional" in Scott Kennedy, ed. *Beyond the Middle Kingdom: Comparative Perspectives on China's Capitalist Transformation*, Stanford University Press.
- Kellee TSAI (2002) *Back-Alley Banking: Private Entrepreneurs in China*, Cornell University Press.
- Kellee TSAI (2006) "Adaptive Informal Institutions and Endogenous Institutional Change in China" *World Politics* 59(1): 116-141.
- Kellee TSAI (2007) *Capitalism without Democracy: The Private Sector in Contemporary China*, Cornell University Press.
- Kellee TSAI (2005) "Capitalists without a Class: Political Diversity among Private Entrepreneurs in China" *Comparative Political Studies* Vol. 39: 1130-1158.
- Xiaobo HU (2000) "The State, Enterprises, and Society in Post-Deng China: Impact of the New Round of SOE Reform" *Asian Survey* 40(4): 641-657.

Albert KEIDEL (2005) "The Economic Basis for Social Unrest in China" Paper presented to the *Third European-American Dialogue on China*
http://www.carnegieendowment.org/files/keidel_social_unrest.pdf
 Lawrence LAU, Yingyi QIAN & Gérard ROLAND (2000) "China's Dual-Track Approach to Transition" *Journal of Political Economy* 108 (1): 120-143.
 Barry NAUGHTON (1995) *Growing out of the Plan: Chinese Economic Reform, 1978-1993*, Cambridge University Press.
 Nicholas R. LARDY (1999) *China's Unfinished Economic Revolution*, Brookings Institution Press.
 Yasheng HUANG (2008) *Capitalism with Chinese Characteristics*, Cambridge University Press.

Oct. 17 Political Economy of the Open Door—FDI and Trade

Reading Questions: What factors led China to embrace openness to FDI? What is Huang's provocative view of this issue? What role does FDI play in Gallagher's "contagious capitalism" argument? How has China's integration into the global trading system shaped its own development path? And the global economy?

Essay Question: The Chinese case shows that openness to FDI and trade need not come at the expense of strong state control of the economy. Discuss.

Required Readings

- *Barry NAUGHTON, *The Chinese Economy: Transitions and Growth*, ch. 16 & 17
- *HUANG Yasheng (2003) "One Country, Two System: Foreign-Invested Enterprises and Domestic Firms in China" *China Economic Review* 14: 404-416.
- *Mary GALLAGHER (2005) *Contagious Capitalism: Globalization and the Politics of Labour in China* Princeton University Press, chapters 1 & 2 (pp. 1-29).
- *Ian BREMMER (2009) "State Capitalism Comes of Age: The End of the Free Market" *Foreign Affairs* May/June

Supplementary Readings

- George GILBOY (2004) "The Myth Behind China's Miracle" *Foreign Policy* 83(4): 33-48.
- Nicholas LARDY (2006) "China's Interaction with the Global Economy" in Ross Garnaut & Ligang Song, eds. *The Turning Point in China's Economic Development*, Asia Pacific Press
<http://epress.anu.edu.au/wp-content/uploads/2011/03/china-whole.pdf>
- Alan SMART and Jinn-Yuh HSU (2004) "The Chinese Diaspora, Foreign Investment and Economic Development in China" *The Review of International Affairs* 3(4): 544-566
- David ZWEIG (2002) *Internationalizing China: Domestic Interests and Global Linkages*, Cornell University Press, ch. 3.
- Nicholas LARDY (2002) *Integrating China into the Global Economy*, Brookings Institution Press.
- Susan SHIRK (1994) *How China Opened its Door: The Political Success of the PRC's Foreign Trade and Investment Reforms*, Brookings Institution Press.
- Lee BRANSTETTER and Nicholas LARDY (2008) "China's Embrace of Globalization" in Loren Brandt and Thomas G. Rawski, eds. *China's Great Economic Transformation*, Cambridge University Press.
- Eric THUN (2006) *Changing Lanes in China: Foreign Direct Investment, Local Governments, and Auto Sector Development*, Cambridge University Press.

Oct. 24 Corruption

Reading Questions: What are the terms of debate over whether corruption “greases” or “sands” the wheels of economic growth? In which direction does the evidence seem to point? What forms does corruption take in China? How have the state’s efforts to control corruption fared? Does corruption threaten regime legitimacy?

Essay Question: The only long-term fix for corruption in China is democratization. Discuss.

Required Readings

- *Toke S. AIDT “Corruption, Institutions and Economic Development” *Oxford Review of Economic Policy* 25(2): 271-291.
 - *LÜ Xiaobo (2000) “Booty Socialism, Bureaupreneurs, and the State in Transition: Organizational Corruption in China,” *Comparative Politics* 32(3): 273-294.
 - *Andrew WEDEMAN (2004) ‘The Intensification of Corruption in China.’ *China Quarterly* no. 180 (December): 895-921
 - *Melanie MANION (2004) ‘Lessons for Mainland China from Anti-Corruption Reform in Hong Kong’, *China Review* (Fall): 81-97.
 - *Michael WINES (April 16, 2012) “China Premier Calls for an End to Corruption” *New York Times*: <http://www.nytimes.com/2012/04/17/world/asia/china-prime-minister-calls-for-corruption-crackdown.html>
- (note: this article refers to a major political scandal in 2012 centered on Chongqing Party Secretary Bo Xilai. Students unfamiliar with this episode should do some google homework.)
- *Robyn MEREDITH (June 24, 2009) “China’s Dirty Secret” *Forbes* <http://www.forbes.com/2009/06/23/corruption-china-deng-yujiao-opinions-columnists-tianjin-democracy.html>

Supplementary Readings

- Arnold J. HEIDENHEIMER and Michael JOHNSTON and Victor LEVINE, eds. (2011) *Political Corruption: Concepts & Contexts*, 3rd ed., Transaction Publishers.
- GONG Ting (1993) “Corruption and Reform in China: An Analysis of Unintended Consequences” *Crime, Law, and Social Change* 19(6): 311-327.
- Melanie MANION (2004) *Corruption by Design: Building Clean Government in Mainland China and Hong Kong*, Harvard University Press.
- SUN Yan (2004) *Corruption and Market in Contemporary China*, Cornell University Press.
- SUN Yan (1999) “Reform, State and Corruption: Is Corruption Less Destructive in China than in Russia?” *Comparative Politics* 32(1): 1-20.
- Daniel TREISMAN (2007) “What have we Learned about the Causes of Corruption from Ten Years of Cross-National Empirical Research?” *Annual Review of Political Science* Vol. 10: 211-244.

Oct. 31 Shifting Central-Local Relations in the Reform Era

Reading Questions: How does the *tiao/kuai* system work? Why and how has China become more decentralized over the reform period? What is the “market-preserving federalism” argument? What are the counter-arguments?

Essay Question: China has entered a state of “perverse federalism” (Mertha, 2005). Discuss.

Required Readings

- *Kenneth LIEBERTHAL (2004) *Governing China: From Revolution through Reform*, Chapters 6 & 7.
- *Gabriella MONTINOLA, Yingyi QIAN, and Barry R. WEINGAST (1995) "Federalism, Chinese style: The political basis for economic success in China" *World Politics* 48(1): 50-81.
- *Hongbin CAI and Daniel TREISMAN (2006) "Did Government Decentralization Cause China's Economic Miracle?" *World Politics* 58(4): 505-535.
- *Dali YANG (2005) "Economic Transformation and its Political Discontents in China" *Annual Review of Political Science* Vol. 9: 143-64.

Supplementary Readings:

- Christine WONG and Richard BIRD (2008) "China's Fiscal System: A Work in Progress" in in Loren Brandt and Thomas G. Rawski, eds. *China's Great Economic Transformation*, Cambridge University Press.
- Jean C. OI (1992) "Fiscal Reform and the Economic Foundations of Local State Corporatism in China" *World Politics* 45(1): 99-126.
- Yasheng HUANG (1996) *Inflation and Investment Controls in China: The Political Economy of Central-Local Relations During the Reform Era*, Cambridge University Press.
- Haifeng HUANG (2012) "Signal Left, Turn Right: Central Rhetoric and Local Reform in China" forthcoming in *Political Research Quarterly*
<http://sites.duke.edu/niou/files/2012/04/huanghai-feng-2012-Signal-Left-Turn-Right-SSRN.pdf>
- Andrew MERTHA (2005) "China's "Soft" Centralization: Shifting Tiao/Kuai Authority Relations" *The China Quarterly* Vol. 184: 791-810.
- Barry NAUGHTON and Dali L. YANG (2010) *Holding China Together: Diversity and National Integration in the Post-Deng Era*, Cambridge University Press.

Nov. 7 The Legacy of the Tiananmen Crisis

Reading Questions: What were the various causes of the Tiananmen Crisis? What impact did the Tiananmen Crisis have on elite politics? On economic policy? On nationalist sentiment?

Essay Question: The impact of the Tiananmen Crisis on China's economic transition was negligible. Discuss.

Required Viewings and Readings

- *PBS Frontline Documentary (2006): "The Tank Man"
<http://www.pbs.org/wgbh/pages/frontline/tankman/>
 (nb-the Tiananmen Crisis was a complicated and extremely important event. As such, students are strongly encouraged to consult additional background sources, especially *The Tiananmen Papers* in addition to Brook (1998) and Zhao (2009).
- *Barry NAUGHTON (2009) "The Impact of the Tiananmen Crisis on China's Economic Transition?" *China Perspectives* Issue 2
- *Susan SHIRK (June 4, 2009) "The Legacy of Tiananmen for Chinese Politics" *Statement Prepared for the Congressional-Executive Commission on China*
http://www.cecc.gov/pages/hearings/2009/20090604/SusanShirk_statement.pdf
- *Suisheng ZHAO (1998) "A State-Led Nationalism: The Patriotic Education Campaign in Post-Tiananmen China" *Communist and Post-Communist Studies* 31(3): 287-302.
- *Council on Foreign Relations (2009) "Expert Roundup: Tiananmen Square and Two Chinas"
<http://www.cfr.org/china/tiananmen-square-two-chinas/p19544>

Supplementary Readings:

- Jean-Phillipe BÉJA, ed. (2011) *The Impact of China's 1989 Tiananmen Massacre*, Routledge.
- Timothy BROOK (1998) *Quelling the People: The Military Suppression of the Beijing Democracy Movement*, Stanford University Press.
- Joseph FEWSMITH (2008) *China Since Tiananmen: From Deng Xiaoping to Hu Jintao*, Cambridge University Press.
- ZHAO Ziyang (2009) *Prisoner of the State: The Secret Journal of Premier Zhao Ziyang*, Simon & Schuster.
- ZHANG Liang (2001) *The Tiananmen Papers* (eds. Andrew NATHAN and Perry LINK), Public Affairs.
- Dingxin ZHAO (2001) *The Power of Tiananmen: State-Society Relations and the 1989 Beijing Student Movement*, University of Chicago Press

Nov. 14 Writing Rules for the Market: The Birth of a Regulatory State

Reading Questions: What are the institutions/government bodies associated with the regulatory state? Has the state meaningfully retreated from the market? In comparison with other countries, what is distinctive about China's emerging regulatory state?

Essay Question: The creation of a regulatory state is a prime example of the Chinese system's remarkable adaptability to changing circumstances. Discuss.

Required Readings

- *John BURNS (2003) "'Downsizing' the Chinese State: Government Retrenchment in the 1990s" *The China Quarterly* Vol. 175: 775-802.
- *Dali L. YANG (2005) *Remaking the Chinese Leviathan: Market Transition and the Politics of Governance in China*, Stanford University Press, Chapter 1 & 2.
- *Margaret PEARSON (2007) "The Business of Governing Business in China: Institutions and Norms of the Emerging Regulatory State." *World Politics* 57(2): 296-322.
- *Margaret PEARSON (2011) "Variety Within and Without: The Political Economy of Chinese Regulation" in Scott Kennedy, ed. *Beyond the Middle Kingdom: Comparative Perspectives on China's Capitalist Transformation*, Stanford University Press.

Supplementary Readings

- The Browser* "Five Books Interviews: Richard Baum on Obstacles to Political Reform in China" <http://thebrowser.com/interviews/richard-baum-on-obstacles-political-reform-china>
- Sebastian HEILMANN and Elizabeth PERRY, eds. (2011) *Mao's Invisible Hand: The Political Foundations of Adaptive Governance in China*, Harvard University Press.
- Sebastian HEILMANN (2008) "Policy Experimentation in China's Economic Rise" *Studies in Comparative International Development* 43(1): 1-26.
- WANG Shaoguang (2007) "Regulating Death at Coalmines: Changing Mode of Governance in China" *Journal of Contemporary China* 15(4): 1-30.
- Waikeung TAM and Dali YANG (2005) "Food Safety and the Development of Regulatory Institutions in China" *Asian Perspective* 29(4): 5-36.
- Roselyn HSUEH (2011) *China's Regulatory State: A New Strategy for Globalization*, Cornell University Press.
- Scott KENNEDY "Divining China's Feature" *World Policy Journal* 21(4): 77-85.

- Yukyung YEO (2009) "Regulatory Politics in China's Telecommunications Service Industry" Vol. 200: 1013-1032.
- Corinna-Barbara FRANCIS (2001) "Quasi-Public, Quasi-Private Trends in Emerging Market Economies: The Case of China." *Comparative Politics* 33(3): 275-94.
- Scott KENNEDY (2005) *The Business of Lobbying in China*, Harvard University Press.
- Carl WALTER and Fraser HOWIE (2011) *Red Capitalism: The Fragile Foundations of China's Extraordinary Rise*, John Wiley & Sons, chapter 7.

Nov. 21 The Quest for Environmental Sustainability

Reading Questions: How politically salient is environmental degradation in today's China? How do central-local relations play into the government's recent "green revolution"? How effective is the target-based system as a means of combating pollution?

Essay Question: An authoritarian government is better equipped than a democracy to address severe environmental problems. Discuss.

Required Readings

- *Barry NAUGHTON, *The Chinese Economy: Transitions and Growth*, chapter 20
- *Various Authors, *China's Green Revolution: Energy, Environment and the 12th Five Year Plan* http://www.chinadialogue.net/UserFiles/File/PDF_ebook001.pdf
- *Craig CALHOUN and Guobin YANG (2007) "Media, Civil Society, and the Rise of a Green Public Sphere in China", *China Information* Vol. 21: 211-236.
- *Benjamin VON ROOIJ (2006) "Implementation of Chinese Environmental Law: Regular Enforcement and Political Campaigns" *Development and Change* 37(1): 57-74.
- *Genia KOSTKA and William HOBBS (2012) "Local Energy Efficiency Policy Implementation in China: Bridging the Gap Between National Priorities and Local Interests" *The China Quarterly* Vol. 211.

Supplementary Readings

- Bruce GILLEY (2012) "Authoritarian Environmentalism and China's Response to Climate Change" *Environmental Politics* 21(2): 287-307.
- Elizabeth ECONOMY (2010) *The River Runs Black: The Environmental Challenge to China's Future*, 2nd ed., Cornell University Press.
- Elizabeth ECONOMY (2007) "The Great Leap Backward?" *Foreign Affairs*: (<http://www.foreignaffairs.org/20070901faessay86503/elizabeth-c-economy/the-great-leap-backward.html> accessed 01/10/2007).
- Steven HAYWARD (2005) "The China Syndrome and the Environmental Kuznets Curve" *Policy Outlook* http://67.208.89.102/files/2005/12/21/20051221_19411EPONov_Dec2005_g.pdf
- Jun JING (2003) "Environmental Protests in Rural China" in Elizabeth Perry and Mark Selden, eds. *Chinese Society: Change, Conflict and Resistance*, Routledge.
- SUN Yanfei and Dingxin ZHAO (2008) "Environmental Campaigns" in Kevin J O'Brien, ed. *Popular Protest in China*, Harvard University Press.
- Benjamin VON ROOIJ (2006) *Regulating Land and Pollution in China, Lawmaking, Compliance, and Enforcement: Theory and Cases*, Leiden University Press.

Sarah EATON and Genia KOSTKA (2012) "Does Cadre Turnover Help or Hinder China's Green Rise? Evidence from Shanxi Province" Frankfurt School Working Paper Series, No. 184
<http://www.frankfurt-school.de/clicnetclm/fileDownload.do?goid=000000346303AB4>
Thomas JOHNSON (2008) "New Opportunities, Same Constraints: Environmental Protection and China's New Development Path" *Politics* 28(2): 93-102.

Nov. 28 The Quest for Political Sustainability

Reading Questions: Why has China's "authoritarian resilience" come as a surprise to social scientists? How do these scholars conceive of the relationship between economic and political reform? Why is the Bo Xilai affair seen as relevant to debates about China's political future?

Essay Question: The China case shows that democracy is *not* the inevitable outcome of capitalist development. Discuss.

Required Readings

- *Kenneth LIEBERTHAL (2004) *Governing China: From Revolution through Reform*, chapter 10.
- *Andrew NATHAN (2003) "Authoritarian Resilience" *Journal of Democracy* 14(1): 6-17.
- *Mary Elizabeth GALLAGHER (2002) "Reform and Openness: Why China's Economic Reforms Have Delayed Democracy" *World Politics* 54(3): 338-72.
- *Yu LIU & Dingding CHEN (2011) "Why China Will Democratize" *The Washington Quarterly* 35(1): 41-63.
- *Perry LINK (June 4, 2012) "Party Like it's 1989" *Foreign Policy*
http://www.foreignpolicy.com/articles/2012/06/04/party_like_its_1989
- *Lanxin XIANG (2012) "The Bo Xilai Affair and China's Future" *Survival: Global Politics and Strategy* 54(3): 59-68.

Supplementary Readings

- Elizabeth J. PERRY (2007) "Studying Chinese Politics: Farewell to Revolution?" *The China Journal* 57: 1-22.
- Martin K. WHYTE (2010) *Myth of the Social Volcano*, Stanford University Press.
- Teresa WRIGHT (2010) *Accepting Authoritarianism: State-Society Relations in China's Reform Era*, Stanford University Press.
- Wei PAN (2003) "Toward a Consultative Rule of Law Regime in China," *Journal of Contemporary China* 12(34): 3-43.
- Bruce GILLEY (2008) "Legitimacy and Institutional Change: The Case of China" *Comparative Political Studies* 41(3): 259-84.
- Kenneth FOSTER (2001) "Associations in the Embrace of an Authoritarian State: State Domination of Society" *Studies in Comparative International Development* 35: 84-109.
- LI Lianjiang, and Kevin J. O'BRIEN (2005) "Popular Contention and its Impact in Rural China" *Comparative Political Studies*.
- ZHAO Suisheng, eds. (2006) *Debating Political Reform in China: Rule of Law vs. Democratization*, M.E. Sharpe.