READ THESE INSTRUCTIONS FIRST

Write your class, index number and name on all the work you hand in.
Write in dark blue or black pen on both sides of the paper.
Do not use staples, paper clips, highlighters, glue or correction fluid.

Answer all the questions
At the end of the examination, fasten all your work securely together.
The number of marks is given in brackets [ ] at the end of each question or part question.
Case Study

How effective is China's management of NGOs?

Read the following sources and answer all the questions which follow.

Source A

A big boost to China’s growth in NGOs — double the number of a decade ago — seems to have been a huge earthquake in Sichuan in 2008, which killed 70,000 people. Thousands of volunteers converged on Sichuan to lend a hand to the rescue. Ordinary people found out what it was like to get organised and join in. “We all saw the NGOs at work, and saw that they were much more effective than the government,” says the Sichuan Academy’s Ms Guo. The government drew similar conclusions and allowed more NGOs to register through state organisations.

Behind the growth is the irrepressible rise of a new middle class. It shares the party’s desire for stability. But some members, at least, also want new ways to participate in society. Party leaders, now only vaguely constrained by Communist ideology, have a new sense that something is to be gained by co-opting such activist citizens rather than suppressing them. It may, they think, offer a way of providing some of the social support that the party can no longer supply on its own. Thus the easing of the rules, not just allowing NGOs to register without a state sponsor but actually encouraging them to do so.

Belatedly, the party realises that NGOs have a number of things it lacks: ideas, a hard-won understanding of the issues on the ground and trust from the local community. Few people believe the party on anything. Most think NGOs approach problems with knowledge and sensitivity. For example, they treat drug-users or prostitutes with AIDS as a health issue to be met with care and counselling rather than as a criminal one. A long-awaited party blueprint for urbanisation, issued in March, spoke of the need to “arouse the energy” of such groups.

Extracted from an article in The Economist on China’s flourishing civil society, published in April 2014.
Source B

The Chinese central and local governments are ambivalent to NGOs but not for the same reason. The central government recognizes the contributing role of NGOs in social governance, but it is also concerned with the potential political threat arising from any organizations independent of the state’s control. Local governments feel the direct need of NGOs in helping local governance, but they are worried about the political responsibilities tied to the management of NGOs. The central government addresses these concerns by regulating NGOs, whereas local governments tend to create and support NGOs that are more controllable.

The Chinese state seems to be an all-encompassing one, but it is unable to assume all the responsibilities in governance. The central and local governments understand that NGOs have helped to address a variety of issues arising from the fast socio-economic changes in the country. These issues include poverty, rural development, environmental protection, education, children, public health, migrant workers, women, legal aid, community issues, and disaster relief. Given the constructive role of NGOs, the government becomes tolerant of them, which leads to their proliferation. The number of registered NGOs in China is estimated to exceed 500,000, and there are many more non-registered ones.

On the other hand, the assumption that the rise of NGOs may challenge the government’s rule may be reasonable, but it is not realistic in China at least for the time being. For example, some labour NGOs have helped to organize workers to pursue their interests. But such NGOs are not necessarily a challenge to the government because they are small in number and have rather limited influence. As a matter of fact, labour NGOs can be constructive and prevent disruptive labour protests when they help disputing parties to reach agreements on disputed issues.

Taken from the Online Journal of the China Policy Institute, published in February 2017.

Source C

Some of the country’s most progressive, independent NGOs have been targets in the government’s latest crackdown on civil society. Although the authorities have always kept a close eye on the sector, critics say in the past couple of years, the crackdown has noticeably stepped up, with NGOs closed and their workers detained, arrested or jailed.

Guo Yushan, founder of the nongovernmental think tank Transition Institute, was held for nearly a year before he was released in September. His organisation, which conducted research on social and economic issues, was closed by the Beijing authorities in 2013.

In September 2014, Liren, an NGO that had run two dozen rural libraries across China closed down, citing pressure from the local government.

In March last year, five women activists who planned to demonstrate against sexual harassment on public transport were detained for more than a month.

In June last year, Guo Bin and Yang Zhanging two activists who used to work for anti-discrimination NGO Beijing Yirenping were detained for “illegal business activities.” The Yirenping office was also raided and closed in March.

Earlier this month, Chinese police formally arrested four labour activists on the charge of “disturbing social order”. State media accused them of “accepting financial support from overseas organisations” and “inciting workers to assemble a crowd and stir up trouble”.

Taken from an article in the South China Morning Post, published in June 2017.
Source D

Many of these [NGOs] are illegal, but they have been tolerated and even encouraged at the local level. Strikingly, the national government now wants to recognise formally many more of them: national regulations are expected within months. But, as ever, it causes problems for the party.

The party's plan seems to be to wriggle free from its dilemma by allowing NGOs to operate, but on a tight leash, keeping them small and local. So far, that has broadly worked. Most NGOs, even the religious ones, are not full of anti-party revolutionaries, and the Chinese government is quite adept at co-option: witness its success with the country's entrepreneurs. And although some of the more independent outfits (not to mention Western supporters) will hold their noses, China clearly benefits from the collaboration.

Yet from the perspective of the most needy Chinese—the poor, the elderly, the excluded—the government needs to go further. The NGOs are institutions that people often trust more than the party. To work properly, NGOs need their rights to be detailed, upheld and certainly enforced by law. Ad hoc measures—relying on the goodwill of people working in NGOs—will only last so long. There are still too many areas where the government is being too tentative and restrictive.

First, it could expand the types of NGO allowed to register. Another issue is funding. The party does not allow independent fundraising, so it is still difficult for NGOs, even if allowed to register, to raise money without official help. All these measures would help. But the most useful reforms for China's nascent civil society are really the same things that all China needs: a stronger judiciary, more responsive people's congresses, a more independent press. These will bring about more transparency and accountability.

*Taken from an article in The Economist, published in April 2014.*
Source E

Article 1: This Law is drafted in order to regulate and guide activities conducted by foreign NGOs within mainland China, safeguard their lawful rights and interests, and promote exchanges and cooperation.

Article 2: This law applies to foreign NGOs carrying out activities within mainland China.

"Foreign NGOs" as used in this law refers to not-for-profit, non-governmental social organizations lawfully established outside mainland China, such as foundations, social groups, and think tank institutions.

Article 3: In accordance with this law, foreign NGOs may conduct activities beneficial to the development of the public welfare in fields such as economics, education, science, culture, health, sports, and environmental protection, and for areas such as poverty relief and disaster relief.

Article 4: Foreign NGOs lawfully carrying out activities within mainland China receive the protection of law.

Article 5: Foreign NGOs carrying out activities within mainland China shall abide by Chinese laws, must not endanger China's national unity, security, or ethnic unity; and must not harm China's national interests, societal public interest and the lawful rights and interests of citizens, legal persons and other organizations.

Foreign NGOs within mainland China must not engage in or fund for-profit activities or political activities, and must not illegally engage in or fund religious activities.

Article 6: The public security department under the State Council and the public security organs of provincial level people's governments are the registration management organs for foreign NGOs carrying out activities within mainland China.

The relevant departments and units under the State Council and the relevant departments and units of provincial level people's governments are the professional supervisory units for foreign NGOs carrying out activities within mainland China.

Article 7: Within the scope of their professional duties, the public security organs and relevant departments of people's governments at the county level or above carry out supervision and management of the activities of foreign NGOs within mainland China, and provide services.

The State establishes a coordination mechanism for efforts to supervise and manage foreign NGOs, responsible for research, coordination, and resolution of major issues in the supervision and management and facilitation and service for foreign NGOs carrying out activities in mainland China.

*Taken from the General Provision of the People's Republic of China Law on the Management of Foreign Non-Governmental Organizations' Activities within Mainland China, adopted on April 2016.*
Answer all the following questions.

1. With reference to Sources A and B, explain the importance of non-governmental organisations (NGOs) in China. [6]

2. Using Sources C and D and your knowledge, assess the Chinese government’s treatment of NGOs in China. [9]

3. Referring to the sources and your own knowledge, evaluate two most crucial issues NGOs pose to the governance of China and make recommendations on how the government can better address these issues. [15]
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Section A
Answer question 1.

Section B
Answer any two questions.

At the end of the examination, fasten both sections separately.
The number of marks is given in brackets [ ] at the end of each question or part question.
Section A

You must answer this question.

1. How successful has the Chinese government been in managing its development? [25]

Section B

Answer any two questions from this section.

2. “State-society relations in China are improving.” Discuss. [25]

3. “The CCP’s monopoly of power over Chinese society is waning.” Discuss. [25]

4. How far is China’s international reputation today a result of improved Sino-US relations? [25]

End of Paper

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