

Political Science 314
Chinese Politics and Foreign Policy

Spring 2018

Tuesday, 4:00-6:40 p.m., Bolton B79

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Office hours: Tuesday, 3:00-4:00 p.m., 6:40-7:40 p.m.

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Final exam: Monday, May 14, 3:00-5:00 p.m.

Course Description

This course provides an introduction to China's politics in the modern period. We will focus on top leaders, political institutions, and policies under Chinese Communist Party (CCP) rule.

We begin by reviewing the historical background, from the late Qing Dynasty, through Nationalist Party rule, civil wars, and the Japanese invasion, to the CCP takeover in 1949. In the area of foreign relations, this period is often called China's "century of humiliation."

We then analyze the main stages in the history of CCP rule: the Mao Zedong period, 1949-1976; the Deng Xiaoping period, 1977-1994; and the rule of the so-called third-, fourth-, and fifth-generation leaders, Jiang Zemin, 1995-2002, Hu Jintao, 2002-2012, and Xi Jinping, 2012-present. How did political institutions and government policies evolve through these successive periods? We will concentrate on three main policy areas: economic development policies; society, culture, and civil liberties; and ethnic minority relations and foreign policies. This will include detailed coverage of watershed events, such as the CCP takeover of China's state and society in the years after 1949; the Korean War of 1950-1953; the "Great Leap Forward" Famine of 1958-1962; the "Cultural Revolution" of 1966-1976; Deng Xiaoping's market reforms, starting in 1979; and the Tiananmen Square Uprising of 1989.

There are a number of important factors that explain policy developments over time: the ideologies and preferences of China's top leaders; CCP and state political institutions; the size and structural characteristics of China's society and economy; the interests of important factions or interest groups, such as regional CCP leadership networks, the People's Liberation Army (PLA), large state enterprises, and more recently, public opinion as well as private or "quasi-private" businesses; and the international environment, including relations with great powers such as the United States and the Soviet Union, regional developments in East Asia, and trends in the international economy. Our goal is to assess the interaction and the relative importance of these factors in determining policy developments over time.

We will also discuss important current issues, such as China's present and future economic performance; the prospects for democratization and improved human rights; conditions in restive regions such as Tibet, Xinjiang, and Hong Kong; and China's rise to superpower status, and its changing relations with the United States, Japan, India, Taiwan and other countries.

All along, we will be trying to assess how well general theories of comparative politics help to understand Chinese politics.

Grades

Grades will be based on class participation (8.4%), the best two of three quizzes (10.8% each), one short research paper (35%), and one final exam (35%). There will be no make-up quizzes, although one quiz may be dropped. No make-up exams can be given without a medical excuse. Class participation grades will be based on attendance and a scheduled, five-minute oral class presentation, and will benefit from day-to-day participation in class discussion.

To check your understanding of the material and your preparations for the exams, you should see me or the teaching assistant in office hours at least once before the midterm and once before the final.

If you will need accommodations in order to meet any of the requirements of this course, please contact me as soon as possible. Students are responsible for completing and representing their work honestly, for citing sources appropriately, and for respecting others' academic endeavors.

Research Paper

The research paper will analyze alternative explanations or causes for a watershed event during the Mao Zedong period (1949-1976). Students may choose to write on one of the following three events: China's decision to intervene in the Korean War; the origin or onset of the Great Leap Forward; or the origin or onset of the Cultural Revolution. In each case, *why did Mao Zedong make the decision to initiate the event—to enter the Korean War or to launch the Great Leap Forward or the Cultural Revolution?*

Students will analyze and evaluate the following four types of explanations or causes: 1) leadership ideology (beliefs about the most important goals for China, and about the best or most appropriate means of achieving those goals); 2) the leader's desire to maintain or increase political power; 3) internal influences, pressures, or threats, whether emanating from within the CCP regime, from organized interest groups, or from public opinion; and 4) foreign influences, pressures, or threats. For each potential cause, how would it be expected to influence Mao Zedong's decision? Reason logically. Don't bend the theories to fit the facts. In formulating your theory of how each cause would be expected to influence Mao's decision, reason in a purely hypothetical manner. If a given cause seems likely to explain Mao's decision, explain why and how. If a given cause seems unlikely to explain Mao's decision, explain why and how.

Apart from the introduction and conclusion, papers should have the following two main sections: a theory section, which explains the logic of each of the four causes, and discusses how each is expected to influence the watershed event; and an evidence section, in which each explanation or cause is evaluated by looking for historical evidence of whether it influenced the watershed event in the way predicted by the theory associated with each cause. The introduction should state which events you are explaining, briefly introduce the four potential causes, and give a roadmap of how the rest of the paper is organized. The conclusion should briefly summarize the findings about the impact of each of the four causes; assess the relative importance of the four causes and how well they fit together to explain Mao's decision; and, given any limitations or weaknesses of

your research, suggest how your research might be improved. (In actually writing the paper, it is usually easiest to write the introduction last. The introduction is the framing or marketing of the paper, so it is difficult to know what to emphasize before the rest of the paper is finished.)

Reminder: You are explaining the *origins or onset* of one of the three watershed events. Don't get bogged down in the details of what happened after the events began. These are reasonably well covered in the assigned readings and lecture notes. What happened as the events unfolded is only relevant insofar as it provides evidence about their origins.

For evidence, students may consult and cite the assigned course readings and lecture notes, as well as other sources. Academic journal articles can be found using the following search engines available on the UWM libraries website: Historical Abstracts; History Reference Center; or, usually most usefully, Worldwide Political Science Abstracts. (Look under "Databases A-Z" at <http://guides.library.uwm.edu/az.php>.) Search by specifying both the watershed event and names or phrases related to explanations or causes. Many books on the three events are also available in Golda Meir Library. Limit searches to UWM holdings ("Books & Media (UWM)").

Papers should be *five to seven pages* long, including citations of sources. In total, students should cite at least five sources that are either published books or academic journal articles. (Any standard format of citation is acceptable.) Students must also summarize their research questions, theories, and evidence or findings using *PowerPoint* (*five to eight slides* total—two slides to cover the four causes and their associated theories, and the remainder on evidence and conclusions). A good approach is to write up the PowerPoint slides at the beginning, and then use them as an outline for the paper. After the paper is finished, the slides can be modified as necessary to fit more closely with the final form of the paper. Both the research paper and the summary PowerPoint slides are due at the beginning of class on March 6.

Readings

The following textbook is available from online booksellers and from UWM's online bookstore <<http://uwm.ecampus.com/>>:

Joseph, William A., ed. (2014) *Politics in China: An Introduction*. Second Edition. Oxford: Oxford University Press. Paperback ISBN13: 9780199339426. Paperback price: \$47.95.

Other, shorter readings listed below are available on the course D2L site. References are listed in full at the end of the syllabus.

Course Schedule

The following schedule is subject to modification. Try to finish each day's reading *before* class.

Weeks 1-3 (1/23, 1/30, 2/6): Introduction. Background Information about Chinese History and Modern China. The Imperial System and the Late Qing Dynasty. The Republic: The Nationalist Party and Its Challengers.

Quiz: 2/6.

Reading: Joseph, chapters 1-2; Fukuyama.

- Suggested reading: CIA World Factbook on China
 <<https://www.cia.gov/library/publications/the-world-factbook/geos/ch.html>>.
 Recommended fiction: Buck; Lu.
 Recommended movie: “The Last Emperor.”
- Weeks 4-7 (2/13, 2/20, 2/27, 3/6): Mao Zedong in Power. The Maoist Political System and Mao’s Ideology. The Korean War. The Great Leap Forward. The Cultural Revolution.
Research papers due: 3/6.
 Reading: Joseph, chapter 3, and pp. 149-174, 192-203, 254-257, 260-261; Chung and Halliday, chapters 39-41, 44, 47-48, 50; Yang (2012), pp. 23-68.
 Suggested reading: Browse further in Chung and Halliday; Dikötter, chapter 28; Chang.
 Recommended memoir: Cheng.
 Recommended fiction: Link.
 Recommended movie: “To Live.”
- Weeks 8-9 (3/13, 3/27): Deng Xiaoping and His Successors. The Post-Mao Political System. The Tiananmen Square Uprising and Chinese Nationalism.
Note: No class on 3/20 due to spring break.
 Reading: Joseph, chapter 4, pp. 174-188, 203-221; Beja; Zhao (1998); Li.
 Suggested reading: Bo; Zheng and Chen; Dotson.
 Recommended fiction: Qiu (2000); Qiu (2010).
- Weeks 9-10 (3/27, 4/3). Deng’s Economic Reforms. Economic Development and Economic Policies.
Quiz: 3/27.
 Reading: Joseph, chapter 8; Yang (1997), chapters 17-18.
 Suggested reading: Naughton.
- Week 11 (4/10). Current Challenges: Corruption and Human Rights. Rural and Urban China. Culture. Environmental Issues. Public Health. Population Control.
 Reading: Joseph, chapters 9-14.
- Weeks 12-15 (4/17, 4/24, 5/1, 5/8). Tibet and Xinjiang. Hong Kong and Taiwan. China’s Foreign Policy and International Relations.
Quiz: 4/17.
 Reading: Joseph, chapters 15-18; Horowitz and Yu; Horowitz and Tan; Garnaut; Zhao (2013).
 Suggested reading: Chan.
- Final Exam: Monday, May 14, 3:00-5:00 p.m.

Required and Suggested Readings Available on the Course D2L Site

- Bo, Zhiyue. (2004) “The 16th Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party: Formal Institutions and Factional Groups.” *Journal of Contemporary China*. 13 (39): 223-256.
- Beja, Jean-Philippe. (2009) “The Massacre’s Long Shadow.” *Journal of Democracy* 20 (3): 5-16.
- Chan, Ming K. (2003) “Different Roads to Home: the Retrocession of Hong Kong and Macau to Chinese Sovereignty.” *Journal of Contemporary China* 12 (36): 493-518.
- Chang, Jung and Jon Halliday. (2005) *Mao: The Unknown Story*. New York: Knopf.

- Dikötter, Frank. (2010) *Mao's Great Famine: The History of China's Most Devastating Catastrophe, 1958-1962*. New York: Walker.
- Dotson, John. (2014) "Political Factions and Spicy Ginger: Elder Networks in PRC Politics." *China Brief* 14 (19): 14-19 and 14 (20): 15-20.
- Fukuyama, Francis. (1995) "Confucianism and Democracy." *Journal of Democracy* 6 (2): 20-33.
- Garnaut, John. (2013) "Xi's War Drums." *Foreign Policy* 200 (May), 77-83.
- Horowitz, Shale and Alexander Tan. (2005) "The Strategic Logic of Taiwanization." *World Affairs* 168 (2): 87-95.
- Horowitz, Shale and Peng Yu. (2015) "Holding China's West: Explaining CCP Strategies of Rule in Tibet and Xinjiang." *Journal of Chinese Political Science* 20 (4): 451-75.
- Li, Cheng. (2012) "The Battle for China's Top Nine Leadership Posts." *Washington Quarterly* 35 (1): 131-145.
- Naughton, Barry. (2008) "A Political Economy of China's Economic Transition." In Loren Brandt and Thomas Rawski, eds., *China's Great Economic Transformation*, 91-135. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Yang, Benjamin. (1997) *Deng: A Political Biography*. Armonk, NY: M.E. Sharpe.
- Yang, Jisheng. (2012) *Tombstone: The Great Chinese Famine, 1958-1962*. New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux.
- Zhao, Suisheng. (1998) "A State-Led Nationalism: The Patriotic Education Campaign in Post-Tiananmen China." *Communist and Post-Communist Studies* 31 (3): 287-302.
- Zhao, Suisheng. (2013) "Foreign Policy Implications of Chinese Nationalism Revisited: The Trident Turn." *Journal of Contemporary China* 22 (8): 535-553.
- Zheng, Yongnian and Gang Chen. (2009) "Xi Jinping's Rise and Political Implications." *China: An International Journal* 7 (1): 1-30.

Recommended Literature Available in Golda Meir Library

- Buck, Pearl S. (1958) *The Good Earth*. New York: Washington Square Press. (Published in many different editions, all fine.)
- Chang, Jung. (1992) *Wild Swans: Three Daughters of China*. New York: Anchor.
- Cheng, Nien. (1986) *Life and Death in Shanghai*. New York: Grove Press.
- Link, Perry, ed. (1983) *Stubborn Weeds: Popular and Controversial Literature after the Cultural Revolution*. Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press.
- Lu, Xun. (1981) *The Complete Stories of Lu Xun: Call to Arms; Wandering*. Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press.
- Qiu, Xiaolong. (2000) *Death of a Red Heroine*. New York: Soho.
- Qiu, Xiaolong. (2010) *Years of Red Dust: Stories of Shanghai*. New York: St. Martin's Press.