

Political Science 314
Chinese Politics and Foreign Policy
Spring 2022

Instructor: Shale Horowitz

Office: Bolton 636

Office hours: Tuesday, 2:30-3:30 p.m., 6:00-7:00 p.m.

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Teaching assistant office hours: Monday, 12:30-1:30 p.m.; Thursday, 1:00-2:00 p.m.

Online Course Information

Online Access: This course is offered entirely online. All course materials except for the textbook will be accessible online for reading and viewing. All assignments will be completed and graded online.

Contacting Me: The most reliable way to reach me is by email: shale@uwm.edu. I check email most days during the week (though often not on weekends). If you send an email, please type "Polsci 314" as your subject header. Also, you are always welcome to speak with me or with the TA during our office hours. Please email us at least one day in advance and we will arrange to speak via phone, Zoom, or some other platform. I urge you all to speak with us as often as you would like, both to go over any material that is unclear to you and to discuss any material that is of particular interest to you.

Computer Skills Needed for the Course: You will need basic word processing skills; the ability to send and receive email; and a simple understanding of how to access and browse websites, including our course website on CANVAS. You must be able to receive email via your UWM email account, but you may also forward your UWM email to a private account. Checking our CANVAS course website regularly is very important to your ability to do well in this course.

Computer Resources Needed for the Course: You will need routine access to a computer that has a broadband connection or a reliable wireless connection. When taking exams, avoid using an unreliable wireless connection. The computer must have a basic word processing program, such as Microsoft Word. You will also need Adobe Acrobat Reader to view Adobe PDF files.

Keeping Up with the Course: It is easy to fall behind in online courses. Be careful to organize your time so as to be able to complete the coursework.

Workload Requirement: This course usually requires a time commitment of approximately eight hours per week. This covers reading and study of the textbooks, articles and lecture notes, along with exam preparation.

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 national or 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, along with its changing relations with the United States, Japan, India, Taiwan, and other countries.

Grades

There will be five short exams consisting of multiple-choice questions, one short (five- to seven-page) research paper, and one essay question-based final exam. The short exam with the lowest grade will be dropped. Each of the four remaining short exams will count for 15% of the course grade; and the short research paper and final exam will each count for 20% of the course grade.

Short exams: The five short exams will consist of multiple-choice questions, covering course material from the previous two to four weeks. Each short exam will be 30 minutes long. Short exams must be taken online, beginning any time after 7:00 a.m. in the morning and finishing by 11:59 p.m. at night. (To finish by 11:59 p.m. at night, exams must be started by 11:28 p.m.) The short exam schedule is as follows:

- Friday, February 11, 7:00 a.m.-11:59 p.m., covering material from Weeks 1-3
- Friday, March 11, 7:00 a.m.-11:59 p.m., covering material from Weeks 4-7
- Wednesday, March 30, 7:00 a.m.-11:59 p.m., covering material from March 14-30 (Weeks 8-9)

- Friday, April 15, 7:00 a.m.-11:59 p.m., covering material from April 1-16 (Weeks 9-11)
- Thursday, May 12, 7:00 a.m.-11:59 p.m., covering material from Weeks 12-15

No make-up exams will be given. If there is a medical emergency, documented by a written excuse from a health care provider, an exam may be dropped. In this case, the grade will be calculated based on the other four exams taken.

You will take the exams online in a timed format. You will have a set amount of time—30 minutes—to take an exam. You must complete the exam in that amount of time. Once you start an exam, you must finish it—there is no starting an exam, exiting, and coming back to it at another time. Each exam may only be taken one time. Again, all five short exams will consist of multiple-choice questions.

After the allotted time to complete the exam (30 minutes) has passed, the exam will be submitted automatically as is. If you finish in less than the allotted time, you may submit the exam yourself. Be sure to click on the relevant CANVAS icons to save your work and then to submit your exam. (For more details, see the Welcome Letter.)

CANVAS shows the short exam grades as a score out of 30 or sometimes as a percentage score out of 100. However, these *percentage scores do not equate directly to grades*. Exam grades will be based on a curve, which takes account of how well the class does on any given exam. When each exam score is published, I will also send out an email with the grading curve.

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) the leader's political 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 personal political power or glory; 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. You can search for both biographies of Mao Zedong and general histories of modern China (preferably those published within the last 25 years), and then read the section on the chosen watershed event. Limit searches to UWM holdings ("Books & Media (UWM)").

Papers should be *five to seven pages* long, double-spaced, 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, findings, 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 must be uploaded (in two separate files) to the CANVAS Assignments Dropbox by March 18 at 5:00 p.m. (Only PowerPoint and PDF files may be uploaded to CANVAS. Assignments written using other software should be converted to PowerPoint or PDF files before they are uploaded to CANVAS.)

Final exam: The final exam will be two hours long and must be taken online on May 20—starting anytime after 7:00 a.m. and completed by 11:59 p.m. It will consist of two essay questions. Each question will be worth one-half of the final exam grade, so you should plan on finishing each question in 60 minutes or less. A set of possible topics will be posted on CANVAS to help you prepare.

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.

Readings

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

Joseph, William A., ed. (2019) *Politics in China: An Introduction*. Third Edition.
Oxford: Oxford University Press. Paperback ISBN13: 9780190870713.
Paperback price: \$51.00.

Other, shorter readings listed below are available on the course CANVAS 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 (January 24-February 11): Introduction. Basic Facts about Chinese History and Modern China. The Imperial System and the Late Qing Dynasty. The Republic: The Nationalist Party and Its Challengers.
Reading: Lecture Notes 1; PowerPoint Slides 1; Lecture Notes 2; PowerPoint Slides 2; Lecture Notes 3; PowerPoint Slides 3; Joseph, Chapters 1-2; Fukuyama.
Suggested reading: CIA World Factbook on China <<https://www.cia.gov/the-world-factbook/countries/china/>>.
Recommended fiction: Buck; Lu.
Recommended movie: "The Last Emperor."

Short Exam #1 online: Friday, February 11, 7:00 a.m.-11:59 p.m., covering material from Weeks 1-3.

Weeks 4-7 (February 14-March 11): Mao Zedong in Power. The Maoist Political System and Mao's Ideology. The Korean War. The Great Leap Forward. The Cultural Revolution.
Reading: Lecture Notes 4; PowerPoint Slides 4; Lecture Notes 5; PowerPoint Slides 5; Lecture Notes 6; PowerPoint Slides 6; Joseph, Chapter 3, and pp.157-182, 201-214, 237-240, 274-277, 280-281, 555-558; Chang and Halliday, Chapters 34-35, 39-41, 44, 47-48, 50; Yang 2012, pp. 23-68.
Suggested reading: Browse further in Chang and Halliday; Dikötter, Chapter 28; Chang.
Recommended fiction: Link.
Recommended movie: "To Live."

Short Exam #2 online: Friday, March 11, 7:00 a.m.-11:59 p.m., covering material from Weeks 4-7.

Weeks 8-9 (March 14-18, March 28-30): Deng Xiaoping's Reforms. Tiananmen Square Uprising and Chinese Nationalism. China under Jiang Zemin and Hu Jintao. Xi Jinping's "New Era."

Reading: Lecture Notes 7; PowerPoint Slides 7; Joseph, Chapter 4, and pp. 182-197, 214-234, 558-560; Zhao 1998; Li; Shambaugh, pp. 280-7, 293-305, 313-317.
 Recommended reading: Beja; Bo; Zheng and Chen; Dotson; Communist Party of China.

Recommended fiction: Qiu 2000; Qiu 2010.

Short Research Paper and summary PowerPoint slides due: March 18, 5:00 p.m., in CANVAS Assignments Dropbox.

Spring Break: March 21-25.

Short Exam #3 online: Wednesday, March 30, 7:00 a.m.-11:59 p.m., covering material from March 14-30.

Weeks 9-10 (March 31-April 8). Deng's Economic Reforms. Economic Development and Economic Policies.

Reading: Lecture Notes 8; PowerPoint Slides 8; Joseph, Chapter 8, and pp. 240-248; Yang 1997, Chapters 17-18; Shambaugh, pp. 287-293.

Recommended reading: Naughton.

Week 11 (April 11-15). Current Challenges: Corruption and Human Rights. Rural and Urban China. Culture. Environmental Issues. Public Health. Population Control. Internet Control and Propaganda.

Reading: Lecture Notes 9; PowerPoint Slides 9; Joseph, pp. 248-266, and Chapters 9-15.

Recommended reading: Shum; Muller and Quay.

Short Exam #4 online: Friday, April 15, 7:00 a.m.-11:59 p.m., covering material from April 1-16.

Weeks 12-15 (April 18-May 12). Tibet and Xinjiang. Hong Kong and Taiwan. China's Foreign Policy and International Relations.

Reading: Lecture Notes 10; PowerPoint Slides 10; Lecture Notes 11; PowerPoint Slides 11-12; Joseph, Chapters 16-19; Horowitz and Yu; Horowitz and Tan; Garnaut; USCESRC [U.S.-China Economic and Security Review Commission] 2020b; Shambaugh 2021, 305-313.

Recommended reading: Chan; Zhao 2013; browse in USCESRC [U.S.-China Economic and Security Review Commission] 2020a.

Short Exam #5 online: Thursday, May 12, 7:00 a.m.-11:59 p.m., covering material from Weeks 12-15.

Final Exam online: Friday, May 20, 7:00 a.m.-11:59 p.m.

Required and Recommended Readings Available on the Course CANVAS 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.
- Communist Party of China. (2017) "Resolution of the 19th National Congress of the Communist Party of China on the Revised Constitution of the Communist Party of China." http://www.chinadaily.com.cn/china/19thcpcnationalcongress/2017-10/25/content_33675798.htm.
- 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): 451-475.
- Li, Cheng. (2012) "The Battle for China's Top Nine Leadership Posts." *Washington Quarterly* 35 (1): 131-145.
- Muller, Richard and Steven Quay. "Science Closes In on Covid's Origins." *Wall Street Journal*, October 5.
- 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.
- Shambaugh, David. 2021. *China's Leaders: From Mao to Now*. Cambridge: Polity.
- USCESRC [U.S.-China Economic and Security Review Commission]. (2020a) *2020 Report to Congress of the U.S.-China Economic and Security Review Commission*. <https://www.uscc.gov/annual-report/2020-annual-report-congress>.
- USCESRC [U.S.-China Economic and Security Review Commission]. (2020b) *2020 Report to Congress of the U.S.-China Economic and Security Review Commission: Executive Summary and Recommendations*. https://www.uscc.gov/sites/default/files/2020-12/2020_Executive_Summary.pdf.
- 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 Strident 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 Readings 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.
- 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.
- Shum, Desmond. (2021) *Red Roulette: An Insider's Story of Wealth, Power, Corruption, and Vengeance in Today's China*. New York: Scribner.