

University of Pennsylvania
Department of History
History 394

The United States and China: 1912-2012

Professor Arthur Waldron
Spring 2014

Summary:

History 394 is a comprehensive introduction to the last hundred years of relations between the United States and China, that is from the end of Qing empire (1644-1911/12,) through the Republic of China (1911-1949) and the People's Republic of China (1949--). This relationship has already been important for a long time, and it will only grow much more so in the years to come.

The course consists of lectures, two short (2 page) response papers, regular mid-term and final examinations, and a short (8 page) interpretative (not research) paper on a topic of your choice.

The course meets 12:00-1:30 PM in Annenberg 110.

Introduction:

The story begins with the last years of the Qing empire, with which the United States established diplomatic relations in 1844. During this period the Qing empire entered the international community, established embassies, and fought a number of wars. Trade with the world was buoyant.

A military uprising in 1911 overthrew the Manchu Qing state, which gave way in 1911/12 to the Republic of China, which lasted until 1949 in China, and whose government, much modified and now fully democratic, continues to rule the island of Taiwan (a few hundred square miles bigger than Belgium) and some associated islands. This was a period of economic development and relative openness, when most of China's leading universities were founded, many with American assistance; large scale educational exchange that brought many Chinese to the United States, and the foundation of world-class facilities such as Peking Union Medical Center, which continues today. It was also a time when treaties, dating to the Qing, continued to guarantee certain privileges and exemptions to foreigners ("extraterritoriality") as well as small territorial areas for settlement ("concessions"). But the rising power of the Japanese empire overshadowed and menaced the new Chinese state.

From 1925-1928 the autocratic Chinese Nationalist Party conquered most of China, creating a unified state, which though not democratic politically, allowed a certain degree of freedom. For roughly ten years, until the Japanese invasion, the state, under the leadership of Chiang Kai-shek (1887-1975), played a major international role. In 1943 all foreign privilege was abolished.

Then war came. It was through Asia that the United States was drawn into World War II, as the Japanese expanded their invasion of China (1937-1945) to American territory. Although the Chinese fought with great heroism and tenacity, they were unable to defeat the invaders. Japan surrendered only after the United States dropped two nuclear bombs, and the Soviet Union invaded Manchuria (1945).

After the war the Nationalist regime was defeated in a civil war (1945-1949) by the (then) Soviet-supported Communist Party, led by Mao Zedong (1893-1976) who imposed a dictatorship comparable to that of the USSR, with which it was allied until 1959.

Abruptly, US-China relations came to an effective halt, as Beijing turned to Moscow, while the United States continued diplomatic support of the exiled Nationalist regime in Taiwan (until 1979). With massive famine (1958-1961 perhaps 40 million dead) and the Cultural Revolution (1966-1976) Mao's rule became chaotic in its later decades. For a while, foreign relations nearly ceased. Briefly in 1967 renegade Red Guards burned the Indonesian and British diplomatic missions, and carried out other attacks on foreign diplomatic representatives.

Europe after World War II was tense but without major conflict: the hot wars of the Cold War period were in Asia—Korea (1950-1953), India (1962), Indo China (1955-1975). It was in Asia that we came close to the nuclear brink, in Korea and again during the second Taiwan Straits Crisis (1958). In 1969 the Soviet Union and China fought bloody battles along their common border—which so worried China that she abandoned her previous unwillingness to deal with Washington and began seeking a connection that would balance the threat from Moscow. That in turn led to the diplomatic revolution of the 1970s signalled when American president Richard Nixon (1913-1994) visited Beijing in 1972.

In spite of this rapprochement, though, serious tensions continue to roil the region as a newly strong and internationally active China seeks her economic and political place among her neighbors and in the world.

Economically, China, until the 1970s self-isolated, has become the world's second largest economy and largest trader. She is a major center of manufacturing and export. China's economic rise, which began in earnest in the early 1990s, follows similar remarkable performances beginning in the 1950s by countries such as Japan, South Korea, Taiwan, and Singapore, as well as the former British territory of Hong Kong, that have taken them today to effectively European levels of prosperity.

No one can afford to be ignorant of how these developments took place and what they portend. The lifetimes of today's Penn students will most likely witness a major and difficult shift of wealth and power away from the west toward the east. Events in China will have direct effects on the lives of Americans of the rising generation. If they are to react intelligently, they must have intellectual preparation.

History 394 will provide a narration, through the lectures, of the major events of the last century and the first decade of this. No single book exists that covers this ground, so our readings are drawn from a variety of sources. They include modern historical accounts, materials written at the time of the events they describe, mostly from the influential American periodical *Foreign Affairs* (founded 1920), as well as primary materials. Thus the class will read the recently declassified transcripts of the various then top-secret talks between the American president Richard Nixon and his security adviser Henry Kissinger, with Mao Zedong and Zhou Enlai, the Chinese leaders, concerning the establishment of diplomatic relations.

Because the American-Chinese relationship is not a simply bilateral one, but rather involves many other countries, we will pay some attention to such issues as Chinese-Soviet relations, the influence of the Vietnam war, the changes in the status of Hong Kong, arguments about Taiwan, and China's connections with Japan and the Association of Southeast Asian Nations. This multi-lateral approach will help students to understand possible shapes of things to come in Asia, and the world.

The course falls naturally into four sections. The first deals with the aftermath of the abdication of the last dynasty, the Qing (1644-1912) and the rise of something new, the Republic of China (1911-1949), a state defined for the first time as a nation and not a dynastic empire, which lasted until the Communist victory in 1949. The second section of the course deals with the complex domestic and international career of the Republic, of China, which eventually culminated a ruinous war between Japan and China. The third section of the course deals with the Communist period that has followed 1949: first, twenty two years during which the United States and China had little to do with one another directly, as China pursued the building of Communism, first with Soviet tutelage, then on her own. The two states met only indirectly, in the series of conflicts mentioned above. Sino-Soviet fighting brought this period to an end, as mentioned, leading to the establishment of formal US relations with China (1979). The decades that followed have brought surprises and issues that were not even considered at the time. The fourth section of the course deals with these developments.

President Nixon (1913-1994) and his adviser Henry Kissinger (1923-) had envisioned a permanent Cold War, in which the United States would serve as the "decisive weight" between the two contending powers, China and the USSR—a situation that would have brought a sort of stability. This plan was rendered irrelevant in 1991, when Communism ended in Russia, and Chinese-Russian relations improved. What has followed is uncharted territory.

Such subject matter is of great importance to all. This course is designed to suit anyone having a serious interest whether they have ever studied it or not. No knowledge is assumed; there are no prerequisites. Beginners belong in this course and should feel welcome. Those having some background, however, will also find plenty to engage their interest.

Instructors:

Arthur Waldron
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Claire Kaiser
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Claire is a fourth year graduate student in Soviet History. She has just returned from a year of research in Tblisi, Georgia.

Office Hours: Tuesdays, 10:30-11:30 in Mark's Cafe (in Van Pelt).

Nina Zoe Cohen
nco@sas.upenn.edu

Nina Zoe Cohen is a third-year PhD student in the History Department. She studies early modern Hebrew print, and is particularly interested in the divergent reading practices and textual appropriations of Christian and Jewish consumers.

Office Hours: Thursday 10:30-11:00 in Mark's Café, basement of Van Pelt Library and by appointment.

*Please make an effort to come to office hours. These are the times when we get to know the students better. It is also the time during which we can discuss more broadly and in greater depth issues that arise in lectures. As we have no recitations, this is particularly important. Certainly try to come by to discuss papers and projects with any of us—or just to chat about what is on your mind. We very much like to know our students. And **come early**: much of the time office hours are sparsely attended, but then when a paper or examination looms, we are overwhelmed.*

Readings:

This is the course bibliography, for reference. You will not be expected to cover all this material; only what is assigned.

In addition to the “readings” (required) for each unit, I have added “suggested reading.” Although the assigned readings are sufficient for the course, you will learn more if you do as many of the suggested readings as possible. My advice is that you have a look at all of them, choose several, according to your interests, and read those. They will provide deeper background for all of the course exercises. Some of you may do all, or almost all of them. On the examinations you will always have choices of essay questions.. If you develop strength in one area by focusing on both the assigned and suggested readings, you will be well prepared.

Books on China are innumerable. Remember that, as the late John King Fairbank (1907-1991) used to tell his students, “History is a sea of books. Learn to swim in the sea.”

Books:

Zbigniew Brzezinski. *Power and Principle: Memoirs of the National Security Adviser 1977-81*. London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1983. ISBN 0-297-78220-7. E840.8.B79 A36 1983

John Paton Davies, Jr. *China Hand: An Autobiography* With Bruce Cumings and Todd S. Purdum Philadelphia, University of Pennsylvania Press, 2011. ISBN 978-0-8122-4401. E748.D214A3 2011. (see review by ANW PDF)

Chen Jian. *Mao's China and the Cold War*. Chapel Hill, NC: The University of North Carolina Press, 2001. ISBN978-0-8078-2617-1. DS777.8.C4314 2001.

Gary Ka-wai Cheung *Hong Kong's Watershed: The 1967 Riots* Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press, 2010 ISBN 978-962-209-089-7. DS796.H757 C46179 2009

John H. Holdridge. *Crossing the Divide: An Insider's Account of the Normalization of U.S.-China Relations*. Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, Inc. 1997. ISBN 0-8476-8504-7. E183.8.C6 H65 1997.

Immanuel C. Y. Hsü. *The Rise of Modern China*. Sixth Edition. New York: Oxford University Press, 2000. ISBN 0-19-512504-5. DS754.H74 2000.

Ashok Kapur. *Pokhran and Beyond: India's Nuclear Behaviour*. New Delhi, Oxford University Press, 2001. ISBN 019-566754-9. UA840 .K258 2001

Henry Kissinger. *White House Years*. Boston, MA: Little, Brown and Company, 1979. ISBN 0-316-49661-8. . E872 .V36 1983

Diane B. Kunz, ed. *The Diplomacy of the Crucial Decade: American Foreign Relations During the 1960s*. New York: Columbia University Press, 1994. ISBN 0-231-08176-6. E841.D46 1994.

Michael David Kwan. *Broken Portraits: Personal Encounters with Chinese Students*. San Francisco: China Books & Periodicals, 1990. ISBN 0-8351-2429-0. DS779.32 .K93 1990

James R. Lilley and Chuck Downs, ed. *Crisis in the Taiwan Strait*. Published in Cooperation with the American Enterprise Institute. Ft. McNair, Washington, D.C.: National Defense University Press, 1997. ISBN 1-57906-000-5 UA835.C75 1997.

James Lilley with Jeffrey Lilley *China Hands: Nine Decades of Adventure, Espionage, and Diplomacy in Asia*. New York: Public Affairs. 2004. ISBN 1-58648-136-3. E840.8.L48 A3

Harley Farnsworth MacNair. *Modern Chinese History: Selected Readings*. Shanghai, China: The Commercial Press, Limited. 1933.

James McGregor. *No Ancient Wisdom, No Followers: The Challenges of Chinese Authoritarian Capitalism*. Westport, CT: Prospect Press, 2012. ISBN 978-1-935212-81-2. HC427.95 .M42 2012.

James Mann. *About Face: A History of America's Curious Relationship with China, from Nixon to Clinton*. New York, N.Y. Alfred A. Knopf, 1999. ISBN 0-679-45053-X. E183.8.C5 M319 1999.

Alexander V. Pantsov with Steven I. Levine. *Mao: The Real Story*. New York: Simon & Schuster, 2012. ISBN 978-1-4516-54447-9. DS778.M3P287613 2012.

Shelley Rigger. *Why Taiwan Matters: Small Island, Global Powerhouse*. Lanham, Md. : Rowman & Littlefield,, 2011. ISBN 978-1-4422-0479-9 ISBN 978-1-4422-0479-9. DS799.625 .R54 2011

Jay Taylor. *The Generalissimo's Son: Chiang Ching-kuo and the Revolutions in China and Taiwan*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2000. ISBN 0-674-00287-3. DS 799.82 C437 T39 2000.

Jay Taylor. *The Generalissimo: Chiang Kai-shek and the Struggle for Modern China*. Cambridge, MA: The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2009. ISBN 978-0-674-03338-2. DS 777.448 C5 T39 2009.

Cyrus Vance. *Hard Choice: Critical Years in America's Foreign Policy*. New York: Simon & Schuster, 1983. ISBN 0-671-44339-9. E872 .V36 1983

Arthur Waldron, ed.. *How the Peace Was Lost: The 1935 Memorandum "Developments*

Affecting American Policy in the Far East Prepared for the State Department by *Ambassador John Van Antwerp MacMurray*. Stanford, CA: Hoover Institution Press, 1992. ISBN 0-8179-9151-4. DS518.M2 1992.

Arthur Waldron. *From War to Nationalism: China's turning point, 1924-1925*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995. ISBN 0-521-47238-5. DS777.36.W34.

Yoshihara Toshi and James Holmes, *China's Rise and the Challenge to U.S. Maritime Strategy*. Annapolis, MD: Naval Institute Press, 2010. ISBN 978-1-59174-390-1. VA633.467. 2010.

Articles (in order of assignment)

These are all easily available on JSTOR (Van Pelt Library, online) and in PDF format:

Frank J. Goodnow, "Reform in China" *American Political Science Review* 9.2 (May, 1915): 209-224

Stanley K. Hornbeck, "Principles and Policies in Regard to China" *Foreign Affairs* 1.2 (December 15, 1922): 120-135.

G, "The Shanghai Affair and After" *Foreign Affairs* 4.1 (October 1925): 20-34.

Edward H. Hume, "Young China" *Foreign Affairs* 5.3 (April 1927): 446-458.

Stanley K. Hornbeck, "Has the United States a Chinese Policy?" *Foreign Affairs* 5.4 (July 1927): 617-632.

Edgar Snow, "China's Fighting Generalissimo" *Foreign Affairs* 16.4 (July 1938): 612-625.

Owen Lattimore, "The Fight for Democracy in Asia" *Foreign Affairs* 20.4 (July 1942): 694-704.

Gunther Stein, "The Other China" *Foreign Affairs* 24.1 (October 1945): 62-74.

Li Thian-hok, "The China Impasse: A Formosan View" *Foreign Affairs* 36.3 (April 1958): 437-448.

Richard M. Nixon, "Asia after Viet Nam" *Foreign Affairs* 46.1 (October 1967): 111-125.

John K. Fairbank. "The People's Middle Kingdom" *Foreign Affairs* 44.4 (July 1966): 574-586.

John K. Fairbank, "China's Foreign Policy in Historical Perspective" *Foreign Affairs*

47.3 (April 1969): 449-463.

Barbara Tuchman, "If Mao Had Come to Washington: An Essay in Alternatives" *Foreign Affairs* 51.1 (October 1972): 44-64.

Andrew J. Nathan, "The Tiananmen Papers" *Foreign Affairs* 80.1 (January-February 2001): 2-48

Lucien W. Pye, "China: Erratic State, Frustrated Society" *Foreign Affairs* 69.4 (Fall, 1990): 56-74.

Nicholas D. Kristof, "The Rise of China" *Foreign Affairs* 72.5 (November-December 1993): 59-74.

Richard Bernstein and Ross H. Munro, "The Coming Conflict with America" *Foreign Affairs* 76.2 (March-April 1997): 18-32

Primary Sources:

William Burr. *Nixon's Trip to China Records now Completely Declassified, Including Kissinger Intelligence Assurances on Taiwan*. Georgetown National Security Archive. Go to:

<http://www2.gwu.edu/~nsarchiv/NSAEBB/NSAEBB106/>

(this cannot be printed or made into a PDF)

The following will be made available in PDF:

"The Shanghai Communiqué" (28 February 1972)

"Joint Communiqué of the United States of America and the People's Republic of China" (January 1, 1972)

"The 'Six Assurances' to Taiwan" (July 1982)

"Joint Communiqué of the United States of America and the People's Republic of China" August 17, 1982

Course Requirements and Grading:

Lectures will be from 12-1:30 Tuesday and Thursday.

*Please note that we **cannot** accept electronic submissions of written work. We lack the sort of industrial printing capacity that would require. So your papers and your final should be handed in typed on paper to one of our colleagues.*

Two short papers (two to three pages) will be assigned on topics covered in the readings. These are an opportunity to start working out your ideas. Do a good job on these but realize their purpose is primarily to make you think, and thus prepare for the examinations

In class midterm examination: this will include identifications and extracts from reading on which you will comment. Its goal is to see *how much you know*.

The regular final examination will differ from the mid-term in that it will combine some short questions with an essay for which you will have a choice of topics. Its purpose is to let you present your own ideas on the course's topics: in other words to see *how you think*.

Course Paper: Class Paper:

Final paper due on April 29, eight (8) to twelve (12) typed double spaced pages, no more, to be delivered as directed. The topic choice is up to you, though we will provide suggestions. You are encouraged to refer to any or all of the readings, including those from the course bibliography that may not have been formally assigned. Be creative. This is not a true research paper. Rather it should present your ideas on a topic of your choice (consult with our teaching assistants, or with me) based on perhaps some additional reading, from our course bibliography (on reserve) or of your own choice.

Citation system: That used by scientists, i.e. in text: "(Smith et al., 2002, pp. 201-203) with a full entry in a bibliography at the end of the paper.

Note that any good paper or examination essay should contain both argument (what you think stated clearly) *and counterargument* (that is, the strongest objections to your view, clearly expressed). The conclusion of any such piece of writing should, among other things, explain why you see your argument as stronger than your counterargument. Use *evidence* to support both elements.

Grading:

Grading is an art not a science. We strive for fairness. If you do badly on one exercise, a good performance on another can outweigh that. Roughly speaking, the two short papers will count about 10% each, the mid-term examination about 20%, and the final examination and the paper about 30% each.

Lectures:

January:

First Lecture:	January 16	Introduction: The Origins of Diplomacy in Asia
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Second Lecture:	January 21	The Rise of Japan and Russia
Third Lecture:	January 23	The Birth of the Republic of China

Reading:

Hsü, pp. 408-418: 419-439; 440-451, 452-486

Frank J. Goodnow, "Reform in China" *American Political Science Review*

Stanley K. Hornbeck, "Principles and Policies in Regard to China" *Foreign Affairs*

Suggested Reading:

MacNair, pp. 628-734

Fourth Lecture:	January 28	The Treaty System and "National Humiliation"
Fifth Lecture:	January 30	The Search for a Concert of Asia

Reading:

Arthur Waldron. *From War to Nationalism: China's Turning Point, 1925-1925.*

Suggested Reading:

Hsü, pp. 514-573.

G, "The Shanghai Affair and After" *Foreign Affairs*

Edward H. Hume, "Young China" *Foreign Affairs*

Stanley K. Hornbeck, "Has the United States a Chinese Policy?" *Foreign Affairs*

February:

Sixth Lecture:	February 4	Radicalism and Chinese Nationalism
Seventh Lecture:	February 6	Chinese-Japanese Tension

Reading:

Hsü, pp. 493-511,

Suggested Reading:

Arthur Waldron, ed.. *How the Peace Was Lost: The 1935 Memorandum "Developments Affecting American Policy in the Far East" Prepared for the State Department by Ambassador John Van Antwerp MacMurray*

Eighth Lecture: February 11 Chiang Kai-shek and Franklin Roosevelt
 Ninth Lecture: February 13 The Emergence of Chinese Communism

Reading:

Hsü, pp, 578-643;
 Chen Jian, pp. 1-48;
 Edgar Snow, "China's Fighting Generalissimo" *Foreign Affairs*.
 Owen Lattimore, "The Fight for Democracy in Asia" *Foreign Affairs*.
 Gunther Stein, "The Other China" *Foreign Affairs*

Suggested Reading:

John Paton Davies, Jr. *China Hand: An Autobiography*

Tenth Lecture: February 18 The Korean War

Short Paper Due in Class February 18: Tell us, in 2-3 typed double-spaced pages, no more, how you assess the period from 1912 to 1945. Was it one of chaos and oppression, as conventionally portrayed, or was it in fact freer in many ways than China is today? What do you make of Chiang Kai-shek? The Americans?

You may want to look at Frank Dikötter, The Age of Openness: China Before Mao (2008) which should be on reserve and at Penn Book Center.

Eleventh Lecture: February 20 American Policy and Mao's China

Reading:

Hsü, pp., 660-664;
 Pantsov and Levine, pp. 342-389; ↵
 Chen Jian, pp 84-117.
 Li Thian-hok, "The China Impasse: A Formosan View" *Foreign Affairs*
 Richard M. Nixon, "Asia after Viet Nam" *Foreign Affairs*

Suggested Reading:

Alexander V. Pantsov with Steven I. Levine. *Mao: The Real Story*.

Twelfth Lecture: February 25 The Offshore Islands Crises
Thirteenth Lecture: February 27 The Sino-Soviet Split

Reading:

Chen Jian, pp. 49-84; 163-204.

Hsü, pp 671-687.

John K. Fairbank. "The People's Middle Kingdom"
Foreign Affairs

Barbara Tuchman, "If Mao Had Come to Washington: An
Essay in Alternatives" *Foreign Affairs*

Suggested Reading:

James Lilley with Jeffrey Lilley *China Hands: Nine
Decades are Adventure, Espionage, and Diplomacy in Asia*.

Fourteenth Lecture: March 04 Hong Kong and the Cultural Revolution
March 06 *Mid-term Examination in Class*

Suggested Reading:

Gary Ka-wai Cheung *Hong Kong's Watershed: The 1967
Riots*

Fifteenth Lecture: March 18 U.S.-Chinese Rapprochement

Short Paper Due in Class on March 18: Tell us, in 2-3 typed, double spaced pages, no more, what you think divided the two sides, China and the US, in the period before reconciliation to be studied after break. What do you think each of the two sides was looking for? What were the arguments on both side for and against? How do you weigh them. distinctly, Was it a case of "tongchuangyimeng" 同床異夢: "same bed, different dreams"?

Sixteenth Lecture March 20 The U.S. and PRC Establish Relations

Readings:

Hsü, pp 718-740; 785-802.

Chen Jian, pp. 204-276.

William Burr. *Nixon's Trip to China Records now Completely Declassified, Including Kissinger Intelligence Briefing and Assurances on Taiwan.* Georgetown National Security Archive. Go to: <http://www2.gwu.edu/~nsarchiv/NSAEBB/NSAEBB106/>

(this cannot be printed or made into a PDF)

Suggested Reading:

John H. Holdridge. *Crossing the Divide: An Insider's Account of the Normalization of U.S.-China Relations.*

Arthur Waldron, "From Nonexistent to Almost Normal: U.S.-China Relations During the 1960s." In Diane B. Kunz, ed. *Diplomacy of the Crucial Decade*, pp. 219-250.

Seventeenth Lecture:	March 25	Pre-Recognition Hopes
Eighteenth Lecture:	March 27	Post-Recognition Realities

Reading:

Hsü, pp 872-901; 926-940.

James Mann, *About Face: A History of America's Curious Relationship with China, from Nixon to Clinton*, pp. 1-174.

Suggested Reading:

Kissinger, *White House Years*, pp. 54-72; 684-841; 1049-1096; 1471-1476.

April:

Nineteenth Lecture:	April 01	The Tiananmen Massacre (1989)
Twentieth Lecture:	April 03	Consequence for China and the West

Reading:

Hsü, pp 926-940.

Andrew J. Nathan, "The Tiananmen Papers" *Foreign Affairs*

James Mann, *About Face: A History of America's Curious Relationship with China, from Nixon to Clinton*, pp. 175-273

Suggested Reading:

Lucien W. Pye, "China: Erratic State, Frustrated Society" *Foreign Affairs*
 Michael David Kwan. *Broken Portraits: Personal Encounters with Chinese Students..*

Twenty First Lecture:	April 08	Formosa Straits Crisis (1996)
Twenty Second Lecture:	April 10	Pokhran II (1998)

Reading:

Lilley and Downs, pp. 167-202.
 James Mann, *About Face: A History of America's Curious Relationship with China, from Nixon to Clinton*, pp. 274-376.

Suggested Reading:

Ashok Kapur. *Pokhran and Beyond: India's Nuclear Behaviour*

Twenty Third Lecture:	April 15	Chinese Territorial Claims (2012)
Twenty Fourth Lecture:	April 17	Asian and American Responses

Reading:

Yoshihara Toshi and James Holmes, *China's Rise and the Challenge to U.S. Maritime Strategy*.
 Richard Bernstein and Ross H. Munro, "The Coming Conflict with America" *Foreign Affairs*

Twenty Fifth Lecture:	April 22	Democracy in Taiwan and Hong Kong
Twenty Sixth Lecture	April 24	The Prospects for Chinese Economic and Political Development

Reading:

Hsü, pp. 904-923.
 Nicholas D. Kristof, "The Rise of China" *Foreign Affairs*.

Suggested Reading:

James McGregor. *No Ancient Wisdom, No Followers: The Challenges of Chinese Authoritarian Capitalism.*

Shelley Rigger. *Why Taiwan Matters: Small Island, Global Powerhouse*

Twenty Seventh Lecture April 29 Conclusion

Course Paper Due: April 29 Submit hard copy in class.

Final Examination: Monday May 12, 9-11 AM (this is possibly subject to change by the administration)