

History 145, America and China, 1776-Present

The Basics

Time and Place: Tuesdays and Thursdays, 4:00-5:15; Humanities 1111

Number of credits: 3-4; two class meetings, a minimum of two hours of additional work per week

Instructor: Judd C. Kinzley

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Office Hours: Tuesday. 11-1 and by appointment

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TA: James Flynn

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Office Hours: Wednesday 3:30-5:30

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Course Description:

The relationship between China and the United States appears to be stuck on an endless repeat, as the two countries continue to stagger from one crisis to another. In recent years, as China's financial and military might has grown, the relationship has been increasingly viewed through the lens of what has been deemed a new "Cold War." Whether we want to view the future of the China-US relationship as being one of peaceful coexistence or of inevitable conflict, we need to understand the origins of the US-China relationship in all of its complexity.

In this course, we will analyze the relationship between China and the United States since the birth of the United States in 1776, and track how the relationship has changed over time. Note that this class is not a class on US-China "relations." While we will certainly cover the shifting diplomatic interactions between the two countries, this course seeks to offer a broader perspective on the US-China relationship that includes not only diplomacy and war, but also culture, economics, and domestic politics. In completing this course, I hope that students will be able to analyze and contextualize the steady drumbeat of news stories about America and China, and make educated, historically rooted arguments about China, the US, and their complex relationship. In the end, I would like students to have a clearer understanding of the US-China relationship, by gaining a clearer understanding of China and its own historical trajectory and how its rise tracked and often mirrored the American rise.

There are no specific pre-requisites for the class and there are no language requirements for the class. So if you know absolutely nothing about China or Chinese language - **DON'T WORRY!** Some understanding of Chinese history might be helpful for context. So for those who have not taken either History 341 (which covers Chinese history from 1800-1949) or History 342 (which covers Chinese history from 1949 to the Present) and are interested in gaining a bit more context on China, I would recommend that you peruse one of the following textbooks: For China: Henrietta Harrison, *China Inventing the Nation*; Jonathan Spence, *Search for Modern China* or Immanuel Hsu, *The Rise of Modern China*; For US-China relations: Warren Cohen: *America's Response to China*, John K. Fairbank, *The United States and China*, and Michael Schaller, *The United States and China*. But again, following along with a text book is not necessary for the class.

Course Format

This is a lecture course and the majority of the class sessions will consist of lectures given by me, the instructor. But in order to encourage active engagement with the readings and course material, I will incorporate numerous opportunities for informal discussion throughout the

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semester. During discussion, I will concentrate on larger questions like: how did the US seek to differentiate itself in China from other imperial powers? How did Chinese elites and intellectuals try to balance “modernization” and Westernization? How do Chinese officials view the U.S. compared to other imperial powers like Britain in the late 19th century? How do both sides use the Cold War and the image of the other to influence domestic politics? Questions like these are still being debated by historians today and there are no right or wrong answers. You are expected, however, to be able to grapple with these questions in a nuanced way and to draw upon readings and lecture materials to support their thinking on these questions. Additional opportunities for interaction with the readings and with one another will be available in the weekly Discussion Sessions, which will be led by your TA, James Flynn.

Learning Objectives

- 1. Be able to read and analyze historical documents.** All of the assignments for the course are related to the reading of primary source documents, written by historical actors. By the end of the course you will have significant experience in reading and analyzing these sources.
- 2. Know how to make historical arguments.** The “briefing paper” assignment, and the midterm and final exam essay questions are all intended to help you make historical arguments and mobilize evidence from primary sources to support those argument
- 3. Understand the historical perspective needed to understand the US-China relationship today.** Through lectures, assignments, and readings, you will begin acquiring a deeper understanding of the relationship and the larger foundations upon which it rests today.

Readings

There is no textbook for this class. Instead, the bulk of the readings consist of primary source texts (works written at the time the events take place) that I have collected and uploaded to the course page on Canvas. You are responsible for completing all readings before the day on which they are assigned. The readings are intended to supplement lecture material, and you are expected to be prepared to discuss them in class.

Notes on COVID 19

I have every intention of keeping this class as an in-person lecture course and have no plans to move the class online. That said, it is not inconceivable that an outbreak on campus will temporarily close in person classes in general or our class in particular. And it is not impossible that I or my family will contract the disease or be exposed at some point during the semester and I will have to go into quarantine. If either of these outcomes happen, then I will change the modality of the class to an asynchronous lecture course, and will upload lecture videos twice per week until we are able to be in person again. Again, I hope that this does not happen, but I ask for your patience and understanding if it does.

In order to make sure that we are able to continue this class in person, I ask that you all abide by all campus public health protocols. This includes wearing a mask in all indoor spaces, and perhaps **most importantly: do not come to class or discussion section if you are exhibiting symptoms of the coronavirus!** Please let me and James know if you are ill and we will find a solution to make sure that you do not fall behind. We are all in this together and the best thing that we can do is to abide by University public health guidelines and show one another some patience and understanding.

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Academic Integrity

Academic dishonesty will be treated very seriously. In every instance of plagiarism or cheating, I will mark the assignment with a zero and the case will be referred to the proper University authorities. Please note that any instance in which you draw on the words or ideas of others without proper credit or citation is considered plagiarism. New technologies like turnitin.com make it easy to catch plagiarizers and I have caught people plagiarizing assignments in the past. If you have questions or concerns about this, please do not hesitate to contact myself or James. For further information on University of Wisconsin-Madison's policies on plagiarism or academic dishonesty more generally, please refer to the Office of Student Conduct and Community Standards for the University of Wisconsin-Madison: <https://conduct.students.wisc.edu/academic-integrity/>

Grades and Assessments

1. Exam: Midterm and Final: 50 percent (25 percent midterm, 25 percent final)

The midterm and final exams are intended to ensure that you are engaging with lecture materials and the readings. Both exams are take home and you are welcome to use notes and course materials. The midterm will be given on October 21 (Due on October 24 at 11:59) and the final on the last day of class, December 14 (Due on December 17 at 11:59). Both exams will consist of two sections: an "identifications" section in which you will be asked to recall the significance of various historical actors and events, and an "essay" section, in which you will synthesize this material and make historical arguments using course readings and information from lecture to support those arguments. Exams will be due on the Sunday after the exam is distributed.

2. State Department/Ministry of Foreign Affairs Briefing Papers: 30 percent (15 percent each)

You are responsible for writing two (2) briefing papers over the course of the semester. In this assignment, students will play the role of either foreign service officers in the U.S. case or Ministry of Foreign Affairs officers in the Chinese case. The assignment is to write a 5-7 page briefing paper for your superiors in either the State Department (US) or the Ministry of Foreign Affairs (China). These briefing papers will offer policy advice about what either China or the United States should do in a given historical moment. These papers should offer relevant historical background (approximately 1/3 of the document); will offer analysis of between 2 and 3 historical documents (these can be drawn from class readings, though extra credit will be offered for students that uncover their own sources for the exercise (1/3 of the document); will offer a policy recommendation (1/3 of the document). You are welcome to respond to one of the eight prompts offered below or you can address a different question of your choice (please confer with me if you want to come up with your own topic). There will be more instructions in class on the form of these documents, and pertinent examples will be offered. Students should choose a side (either the US or China) and answer that prompt, though I expect students to change sides for at least one of their papers. Students may do a third briefing paper for extra credit.

Prompts:

1. 1843: **US:** Should we follow the British example in China and seek trade concessions and territory after the Opium War? Or should we chart our own course? **China:** What role might the

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United States play in off-setting Britain? How should we treat the US compared to the other imperial powers?

2. 1899: **US:** Should we try and seize a concession from the faltering Qing Empire? What should our policy toward the Qing empire be during the unfolding “scramble for concessions”? **China:** How might we be able to use the U.S. to advance our own interests in the face of the “scramble”? Is this even possible or realistic?

3. 1915: **US:** How should we support the new Republic of China? What role should Japan play in China? **China:** What role should the US play in shoring up our new nation? How can we use the US to off-set the growing power of Japan?

4. 1932: **US:** Should we actively support the Nationalist Party? **China:** What role should the US play in our future planning? What are the pluses and minuses of trying to form a relationship with the US versus Germany or some other power?

5. 1943: **US:** Should we support the Chinese Communist Party, why or why not? **China:** Should we give control of our armies to Joseph Stilwell as he and President Roosevelt have demanded?

6. 1949: **US:** Should the US recognize the People’s Republic of China? What should the relationship with the Republic of China be? **China:** As a member of the Foreign Ministry in the newly founded People’s Republic of China, what should China do in the face of the American-led embargo and the refusal to recognize the PRC?

7. 1971: **US:** What are the advantages and disadvantages of a rapprochement? **China:** What can we gain from a new relationship with the US?

8. 1982: **US:** What should our policy toward China be in order to be able to influence China’s reform and opening? **China:** What are the pluses and minuses of a closer relationship with the US?

9. 1989: **US:** How should we view the Tiananmen Square crackdown? How will it impact relations? **China:** Given the potential risk of American “spiritual pollution,” what should the relationship be with the US moving forward?

3. Weekly Source Analysis/Discussion: 10 percent

You will submit a weekly source analysis paper for 10 out of the semester’s 15 weeks. This paper, which should be between one and two pages will be due in class on Thursdays. In this paper, students will analyze between one and two of that week’s course readings. In this paper, students will offer some of the historical context for a source (who, what, when, where), and offer suggestions as to what the author of this or these sources is trying to do in his analysis. More help on these will be offered in class. You are responsible for completing readings before class and should be prepared to discuss readings in each lecture section.

4. Discussion Section Participation: 10 percent

Discussion sections are an opportunity for you to engage more deeply with course materials and themes. Attendance and participation in discussion section is mandatory. Discussion grades will be compiled and calculated by the TA for the course

Course Schedule

Week 1

September 9: Laying the Groundwork

Readings:

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- “A Dish of Fruit” in Timothy Brook, *Vermeer’s Hat: the Seventeenth Century and the Dawn of the Global World* (New York: Bloomsbury Publishing, 2008) 54-84

Week 2

September 14: The Qing Dynasty and the West

Readings:

- “Lord Macartney’s Commission from Henry Dundas, 1792” in Pei-kai Cheng and Michael Lestz, eds *The Search for Modern China: A Documentary Collection* (New York: WW Norton, 1999) 92-98
- “Qianlong’s Rejection of Macartney’s Demands: Two Edicts” in Cheng and Lestz, *The Search for Modern China: A Documentary Collection*, 103-109

September 16: The Promise of the China Trade

Readings:

- “Letter from Samuel Shaw to John Jay” (1785), Report on the voyage of the *Empress of China*, 1-4

READINGS

Week 3

September 21: Opium and Imperialism

Readings:

- “Memorial on Banning Opium, October 1836” in Cheng and Lestz, *The Search for Modern China: A Documentary Collection*, 114-119
- “Memorial of Merchants of US at Canton China” in *Hazards United States Commercial and Statistical Register* (March 1840) 162-163

September 23: Preaching the Gospel

Readings:

- “The Conversion of Liang Fa: Good Works to Exhort the Age, 1832” in Cheng and Lestz, *The Search for Modern China: A Documentary Collection*, 132-136
- Issachar Roberts “Tae Ping Wang: the Chinese Revolutionist” in *Putnam Magazine* (October 1856)

Week 4

September 28: America in China’s Eyes

Readings:

- “Xu Jiyu: George Washington and the American Political System” in R. David Arkush and Leo O. Lee, eds, *Land Without Ghosts: Chinese Impressions of America from the Mid-19th Century to the Present* (Berkeley, CA: UC Press, 1989) 19-23;
- “Preface to Illustrated Gazetteer of the Maritime Countries” in Theodore de Bary, ed. *Sources of Chinese Tradition*, vol. II (New York: Columbia University Press, 2000), 209-212
- Yung Wing “My Interviews with Tsang Kwoh Fan” in *My Life in China and America* (New York: Henry Holt and Co., 1909) 137-159

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September 30: Chinese in America

Readings:

- “Expulsion of the Immigrants” and “The Election of 1884” in Arkush and Lee, eds. *Land Without Ghosts*, 61-70
- “The Exclusion Act, May 6, 1882” in Cheng and Lestz, *The Search for Modern China: A Documentary Collection*, 141-142
- “Mr. Bayard to Mr. Cheng Tsao Ju” in *Papers Related to the Foreign Relations of the United States* (February 18, 1886) Office of the Historian, <https://history.state.gov/historicaldocuments/frus1886/d71>

Week 5

October 5: Dealing with China’s Weakness

Readings:

- Wu Tingfang, “China’s Relations with the West: Address of the Chinese Minister, His Excellency Wu Ting-fang” *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science* (1899) 168-176
- “Yan Fu on Evolution and Progress” in De Bary, ed. *Sources of Chinese Tradition*, 254-260

October 7: No Class

Week 6

October 12: Orienting Toward the Pacific

Readings:

- A.T. Mahan, *The Influence of Sea Power on History, 1660-1783* (Boston: Little Brown, 1890) 82-88
- Liang Qichao, “The Power and Threat of America” in Arkush and Lee, eds. *Land Without Ghosts*, 81-95

October 14: Cultural Imperialism

Readings:

- “Chinese Anti-Foreignism, 1892” in Cheng and Lestz, *Search for Modern China: A Documentary Collection*, 153-154
- Gilbert Reid, “The Ethics of Loot” in *The Forum* 31 (October 1901) 581-586
- Mark Twain, “The United States of Lyncherdom” Written in 1901, published posthumously in *Mark Twain, Europe and Elsewhere* (New York: Harper and Bros, 1923)

Week 7

October 19: Nationalism and Revolution

Readings:

- Selection, Zou Rong, *The Revolutionary Army Gemingjun* (1903) in Stephen C. Angle and Marina Svensson, eds in *The Chinese Human Rights Reader: Documents and Commentary, 1900-2000* (Armonk, NY: M.E. Sharpe, 2001) 29-37

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- Start reading: Lu Xun, “The True Story of Ah-Q” in Julia Lovell, tr, *The Real Story of Ah-Q and Other Tales of China: the Complete Fiction of Lu Xun* (New York: Penguin Books, 2009) 79-124

October 21: No Class (**Midterm Posted Today – DUE ON OCTOBER 24**)

Week 8

October 26: The Japan Model

Readings:

- “The Passing of China” in *The New Republic* 2 no. 17 (February 27, 1915);
- “The Secretary of State to the Japanese Ambassador, Foreign Relations of the United States (Washington, DC: Department of State, 1915)
- Keep reading: Lu Xun, “The True Story of Ah-Q”

October 28: Imagining a New China

Readings:

- Li Dazhao, “The Victory of Bolshevism” in Cheng and Lestz, eds. *The Search for Modern China: A Documentary Collection*, 238-241
- Edgar Snow, “Interviews with Mao” in *Red Star Over China* (London: Gollancz Ltd, 1937) 129-149
- Finish reading: Lu Xun, “The True Story of Ah-Q” 79-124

Week 9

November 2: New Revolutions

Readings:

- Alice Tisdale Hobart, “What Happened at Nanking: Letters from an Eye-Witness” in *Harper’s Magazine* 155 (July 1927) 133-148
- “Madame Sun Yatsen Defends the Left” (1927) in Cheng and Lestz, eds. *The Search for Modern China: A Documentary Collection*, 255-257

November 4: Policing Asia

Readings:

- Mao Dun, “Spring Silkworms” in ‘*The Shop of the Lin Family*’ and ‘*Spring Silkworms*’ Chinese-English Bilingual Edition (Hong Kong: Chinese University Press, 2004).

Week 10

November 9: Crisis in China

Readings:

- Chiang Kaishek, “My Religious Faith” (Radio Broadcast) in Franz Schurmann and Orville Schell eds., *Republican China: Nationalism, War, and the Rise of Communism, 1911-1949* (New York: Random House, 1967)154-157
- “Man and Wife of the Year” in *Time Magazine* (Jan 3, 1938)

November 11: The Communist Alternative

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Readings:

- “First Formal Impression of the North Shensi Communist Base” and “Desirability of American Military Aid to the Communist Armies” in *Lost Chance in China: the World War II Dispatches of John S. Service*, 178-182, 322-326
- “Doomed Men – the Chinese Army” in Theodore White and Annalee Jacoby, *Thunder Out of China* (New York: Da Capo Press, 1946, 1974) 132-144
- Liu Shaoqi, “How to be a Good Communist” (1939) in Cheng and Lestz, *The Search for Modern China: A Documentary Collection*, 342-344

Week 11

November 16: Battle Lines

Readings:

- “Student Disaffection, Peiping March 1948” in Doak Barnett, *China on the Eve of Communist Takeover* (New York: Frederick A Praeger, 1961) 40-51
- Lao She, Act 3 *Teahouse*, Act 3 (Beijing: Foreign Languages Press, original play 1957) 46-77

November 18: Isolation and the Cold War

Readings:

- “Mao Zedong: Leaning to One Side”; “Mao Zedong: Stalin is our Commander”; “Guo Moruo: Ode to Stalin – ‘Long Live Stalin’ on his Seventieth Birthday, 1949” in de Bary, ed. *Sources of Chinese Tradition*, 452-455;
- Dean Acheson, “Letter of Transmittal” (July 30, 1949) *China White Paper: August 1949* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1967) v-xvii

Week 12

November 23 No Class

November 25: Thanksgiving

Week 13

November 30: Maoism

Readings:

- Mao Zedong, “American Imperialism is Closely Surrounded by the People’s of the World” in Timothy Cheek ed. *Mao Zedong and China’s Revolutions: A Brief History with Documents* (New York: Bedford, 2002)
- Chen Jo-hsi, “Nixon’s Press Corps” in *The Execution of Mayor Yin and Other Stories from the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1978) 208-220

December 2: Burying Mao

Readings

- “He Shiguang: ‘On a Village Market Street,’ August 1980” in Cheng and Lestz, eds. *Search for Modern China: A Documentary Collection*, 452-456

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- “We can Develop a Market Economy Under Socialism” (November 26, 1979) Interview with Deng Xiaoping on China.org.cn

Week 14

December 7: Western Models

Readings:

- “Deng Liqun on Propaganda” in Cheng and Lestz, eds. *Search for Modern China: A Documentary Collection*, 468-470
- Orville Schell, “Mao and Kentucky Fried Chicken” in *Discos and Democracy: China in the Throes of Reform* (New York: Doubleday, 1988) 373-381
- Fang Lizhi, “Democracy, Reform, and Modernization” in *Bringing Down the Great Wall: Writings on Science, Culture, and Democracy in China* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1991) 157-188

December 9: New Ideologies

Readings:

- “The Non-Dissident : A Party Man Betrayed” in Sang Ye, *China Candid: the People on the People’s Republic* (Berkeley, University of California Press, 2006) 40-58
- “Deng Xiaoping’s Explanation of the Crackdown, June 9, 1989” in Cheng and Lestz, *Search for Modern China: A Documentary Collection* 559-565

Week 15

December 14: Great Leap Outward (**FINAL EXAM POSTED TODAY – Due on December 17**)

- William Kristol and Robert Kagan, “A National Humiliation” in *The Weekly Standard* (April 15, 2001)
- Liu Xiaobo, “Bellicose and Thuggish: The Roots of Chinese ‘Patriotism’ at the Dawn of the Twenty-First Century” (2002) in Perry Link, Tiechni Martin-Liao and Liu Xia eds, *No Enemies, No Hatred: Selected Essays and Poems* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2012) 62-84