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Steven W. Mosher: Hegemon Study Guide

Steven Alan Samson

Liberty University, ssamson@liberty.edu

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STEVEN W. MOSHER: HEGEMON STUDY GUIDE, 2004-2006 Steven Alan Samson

PREFACE

Study Questions

1. Why was the Chinese government embarrassed following 9-11? What damaged U.S.-Chinese relations in September 1991? What conclusions have been drawn by the Chinese leadership from Paul Kennedy's imperial overstretch theory? (vii-x)

Review

Paul Kennedy's imperial overstretch theory

Chinese economy

INTRODUCTION: THE TIANANMEN TEMPTATION

Study Questions

1. How the development of a new middle class serve as a distraction? From what? Distinguish between the Tiananmen generation and the one that has followed. (xi-xv)

Review

new middle class

princelings

Defense White Paper, 1998

CHAPTER ONE: WESTERN BARBARIANS

Study Questions

1. What role has the idea of hegemony played historically in China? What was the *Ba*? What is the cultural significance of China's self-conceit as the Middle Kingdom (*Zhong Guo*)? How were tributary states treated? (1-3)
2. How were Westerners treated initially? What changed in the nineteenth century? How did Mao Zedong express a sense of restored pride? (4-6)
3. Identify the three deathblows to the alliance of convenience between China and the United States. What value did America have for China? Why do the Chinese reject balance of power politics? What is behind Chinese criticism of American leading role in the world? Identify the six factors of instability listed in the Defense White Paper? How do the Chinese regard westernization? (6-14)

Review

hegemony

the Ba

Zhong Guo

desire for deference

Canton

sensitivity to slights

deathblows to the pseudoalliance with the United States

balance of power rejected

containment vs. engagement envy and balked ambition analysis of white paper
factors of instability

CHAPTER TWO: BIRTH OF THE HEGEMON

Study Questions

1. What purpose underlies “oriental despotism”? How far back does Chinese absolutism go? What does Son of Heaven imply? How was power distributed in the Zhou (Chou) dynasty? How were feudal obligations governed? What role was played by the Duke Huan and by his prime minister, Guan Zhong? What are the six powers? During the Warring States period, who was Han Fei? What was the essence of Legalism? What policies did the Legalists recommend? (15-21)
2. What was the effect of Legalist reforms during the Qin (Ch'in) dynasty? Who was Qin Shihuang (Ch'in Shih Huang Ti) and what is notable about his rule: especially concerning his punishment of crimes, policy of aggressive expansion, and attitude about Confucian scholarship? (21-26)
3. What was the survival strategy of the Han dynasty? What is *ren*? Where did the Legalists and Confucians agree? How did Confucianism become the empire's official ideology? How was it changed to fit the empire's needs? [This is the typical revolutionary strategy of preserving the traditional forms while changing their substance, similar to what Augustus did in Rome]. (26-29)
4. How did the Han state assert hegemony in its foreign policy? Identify some of the accomplishments of Han Wudi (Wu Ti = the martial emperor) and Ban Chao (Pan Ch'ao) [Ban Zhao was his famous sister]. The Roman empire was known to the Chinese as Da Qin (Ta Ch'in = the Great Ch'in). How did the two empires in terms of control over the population, assimilation of conquered peoples, and cultural cohesion? How did China expand during the Song and Yuan (Mongol) dynasties? (29-33)
5. What did Hong Wu, founder of the Ming dynasty, accomplish? How was the Qing (Ch'ing) mandarin state organized? What was the status of civil society? How was hegemony asserted? How did the Emperor treat the British emissaries in 1792? What were the consequences of the Opium War? (33-36)

Review

Shang dynasty	<i>zong fa</i>	Duke Huan
Guan Zhong	Legalists	six powers
Han Fei	Legalist policies	Qin Shihuang's policies
ideology of Han dynasty	Han civil service	Roman citizenship
Han cultural homogeneity	Qing mandarin state	Opium War
later dynasties: Sui-Tang, Song, Yuan (Mongol), Ming, Qing (Manchu)		

CHAPTER THREE: THE HEGEMON REAWAKENS

Study Questions

1. How does Mosher make the case that Mao was an emperor in the Legalist tradition and that Marxism-Leninism was well-adapted to its role supporting hegemony? How did he maintain the cult of the emperor and restore the Mandate of Heaven? How was the autocratic tradition of the imperial state continued? (37-44)

2. What three stratagems were recommended by Zhou Enlai? Was led to conflict with the Soviet Union? How did China begin to reassert traditional prerogatives over former vassal states? What caused the Sino-Soviet split? (44-49)
3. How did China take over Tibet? How did it justify the intervention? [René Girard's *The Scapegoat* shows that standard justifications for persecution reveal similar patterns of accusation]. Describe Nehru's experiences with Chinese treachery. How did China attempt to expand its influence in Southeast Asia? How did the Eisenhower Administration respond to Chinese threats against Taiwan? (49-59)

Review

Mao Zedong	Marxism-Leninism	democracy vs. communism
features of Communist state	Zhou Enlai's three stratagems	relationship with Stalin
Khrushchev's secret speech	sinicization of Tibet	attack on India
Taiwan	Chiang Kai-shek	China's bloody borders

CHAPTER FOUR: GREAT HAN CHAUVINISM

Outline

- A. MAO'S FAILURES (61-63)
 1. Incessant Political Campaigns: Great Leap Forward, Cultural Revolution
 2. Reunification Goal
 3. Asia Dominated by Two Powers
 - a. Unresolved Irredentist Claims
 - b. Russian Far East
 4. Mao's Primal Mistake
 - a. Inadequacy of Communism for Legalist Program
 5. Economic Setbacks
- B. THE "FOUR MODERNIZATIONS" (63-65)
 1. Mao's Views Have Not Been Repudiated
 2. Deng Xiaoping [Teng Hsiao-ping]
 - a. Disastrous Great Leap Forward of the 1960s Had Sought to Eradicate Selfishness through Forced Collectivization
 - b. Arrest of Deng and Liu Shaoqi at Beginning of the Cultural Revolution
 3. Deng's Confession
 4. Deng's Rehabilitation [He Was Called "Lazarus" Afterwards]
 - a. Collaboration with Zhou on Four Modernizations
 5. Material Incentives
 - a. Internal Exile
 6. Arrest of the Gang of Four
 - a. Deng's Restoration
 - b. "New Long March"
 7. Market Incentives
 - a. Family Farms
 8. Openness Not an End in Itself
 9. "To Get Rich Is Glorious; To Strengthen the State Is Divine"
 - a. Control of Resources
- C. THE "FOUR ABSOLUTES" (66-67)
 1. Four Absolutes
 2. Tiananmen Square
 - a. June 4, 1989
 3. Renewed Submission

4. Paradox of Deng Xiaoping
 5. Economic vs. Political Debate
 - a. Economic Debate Deals with the Means of Power and Is Open
 - b. Political Debate Deals with the Ends of Power and Is Closed
 - c. Jiang Zemin vs. Zhao Ziyang
- D. HEGEMONY UNDER DENG (67-70)
1. Deng's Character
 - a. Conviction of Chinese Superiority
 2. Hong Kong
 - a. Margaret Thatcher
 3. Three-Legged Stool Rejected
 4. One Country, Two Systems
 5. Overseas Chinese
 - a. Chinese Refugees from Vietnam
 - b. 1979 Invasion
 6. Two Lessons
- E. PLAYING THE AMERICA CARD (70-72)
1. Balancing Strategy
 - a. Sino-American Condominium
 2. Deng's Skepticism
 - a. Kissinger's Overwrought Claims
 3. American Interventionism
 4. China's Self-Sufficiency
 5. Kissinger's Overblown Expectations
 6. Improved Sino-Soviet Relations
- F. THE CURRENT LEADERSHIP (72-75)
1. Post-Tiananmen Leadership
 2. Autocracy
 - a. 1998 Crackdown
 3. Policy Initiatives of Jiang Zemin
 4. Generals' Protest
 5. Zhu Rongji
 6. Open Society Rejected
 7. Economic Transformation
 8. Party-State
 9. Ideology
 - a. Autocratic Traditions Will Remain Intact with the Death of Communism
- G. GREAT HAN CHAUVINISM (75-81)
1. Search for Alternative Sources of Legitimacy
 - a. Economic Development
 - b. Nationalism
 - c. Rectifying the Names
 2. Great Han Chauvinism
 - a. Reinvention of the Ruling Party
 3. Mobilization of the Educational System
 4. *Guoping*
 5. Patriotic Education
 - a. Xenophobia
 6. Simple Morality Tales
 - a. Taiping Rebellion
 - b. Boxer Rebellion
 7. Patriotic Education Policy
 - a. Historical Meta-narrative
 8. Chinese *Mein Kampf*
 9. Drumbeat of Party Propaganda
 10. Sycophancy of Intellectuals

- 11. Jingoism
- 12. Embassy Bombing
- H. THE HEGEMON REARMED (81-88)
 - 1. Military Spending
 - a. Major Military Expansion
 - 2. People's Liberation Army (PLA) Modernization
 - a. 863 Program
 - 3. Arms Purchases
 - 4. Sixteen Character Policy
 - 5. Cox Report
 - 6. Hidden Military Budget
 - 7. Phenomenal Economic Growth
 - a. Military Being Readied to Take the Offensive
 - 8. PLA Air Force
 - 9. PLA Navy
 - 10. Missile Forces
- I. PLA CORRUPTION OR BUSINESS AS USUAL? (89-94)
 - 1. PLA Self-Sufficiency
 - 2. Global Shopping Spree
 - 3. Russia: China's Chief Supplier
 - 4. Recruitment of Russian Technicians
 - 5. Espionage
 - a. Dual-Use Technology Transfer
 - 6. Loral and Hughes
 - 7. Cox Report
 - 8. U. S. Nuclear Weapons Labs
 - 9. MIRV-ing Technology
 - 10. Neutron Bomb
 - 11. Encryption Technology
 - 12. Five-Axis Profiling Technology
 - 13. Stolen Weapons Technology
- J. THE HEGEMON LOOKS ABROAD (94-95)
 - 1. Military Projections
 - 2. Unspoken Goal of China's Leadership

Study Questions

1. Why was Mao a failure on his own terms? What are some of China's unresolved irredentist claims? What was Mao's primal mistake? Would Deng Xiaoping have agreed that Mao was mistaken? How was he able to survive two falls from grace? What happened in his struggle with the Maoist radicals [the Gang of Four, led by "the white-boned demon," Jiang Qing, Mao's widow]? (61-65)
2. How does the fundamental difference between the economic debate and the political debate reflect the difference between the Four Modernizations and the Four Absolutes? If Deng Xiaoping is a "paradox," how is it resolved [this assumes the question is "either-or" when instead the "paradox" may be a dialectical "both-and"]? What is known about his character? How is "one country, two systems" in Hong Kong consistent with this dialectic? What lessons may be drawn from the PLA's attack on Vietnam in 1979? (65-70)

In *Modern Times* (1983), Paul Johnson suggested an even deeper motivation. Teng [Deng], he noted,

"despised people for whom politics was the only thing in life that mattered," "had nothing but contempt for proletarian art," and "wanted an end to the 'shouting

and yelling.’ The country must get back to work again. . . . Teng, in short, was an old-fashioned, reactionary disciplinarian in his late seventies, who believed in law and order and hard work. He promptly sent the army into Vietnam, partly to punish the Vietnamese pro-Soviet leadership for persecuting its Chinese minority, but mainly to teach the PLA that life was a serious business: undisciplined units were put in the van and suffered appalling casualties. That done, he set about clearing up some of the mess Mao’s long reign had left behind in the economy. It was now admitted publicly that the Mao era had been characterized, not by the puritanical austerity of which it had boasted, but by appalling corruption in high places. The Peking *People’s Daily* apologized to readers for ‘all the lies and distortions’ it had carried and, more remarkably, warned them against ‘the false, boastful and untrue reports’ which it ‘still often prints.’” (565-66)

In *The Future of China after Mao* (1978), Ross Terrill adds some interesting quotations from Teng Hsiao-ping in an appendix (Johnson’s source). Here is a sampling:

At a Red Guard rally in 1966: “My thinking and conduct ran afoul of Mao Tse-tung Thought. My divorce from the masses demonstrated clearly that I was not fit for leadership work entrusted by the Central Committee.”

On education following the Cultural Revolution: “Hou Pao-lin [a comic dialogue entertainer] once very aptly remarked that primary school pupils carry one pen, high school boys carry two, college students carry three, and illiterate ones carry four. Most college students now carry nothing but one pen for wall poster painting. They can’t do anything else.”

At a student meeting in the Spring of 1976 that led to his second internal exile: “I am an old man, and my hearing is not very good; I don’t hear a word of what you say.”

His first speech before the CCP Congress after his second rehabilitation, August 1977: “There must be less empty talk and more hard work.”

3. How successful was Henry Kissinger in dealing with Deng? What have been the results of Deng’s reforms and the character of today’s leadership? If the official ideology of communism is in retreat, what is taking its place? What is *guoqing*? How is Patriotic Education designed to enhance the prestige of the state? (70-81)
4. How is China building up its military even as it modernizes its economy? How is it acquiring a technological advantage? What is the goal of China’s leadership? (81-95)

Review

irredentist claims
Great Leap Forward
Four Modernizations
Deng’s character

Mao’s primal mistake
Liu Shaoqi
Gang of Four
Margaret Thatcher

Deng Xiaoping
Cultural Revolution
Four Absolutes
one country, two systems

Henry Kissinger's expectation	Jiang Zemin	<i>guoqing</i>
Taiiping Rebellion	Boxer Rebellion	Patriotic Education policy
(major military expansion	hidden military budget	"active defense")
(espionage	Cox Report	stolen weapons technology)

CHAPTER FIVE: WORLD MAP OF HEGEMONY

Study Questions

1. How does Mosher expect China to try to recover its lost territories and tributaries? What phases does he anticipate? How did the democratization of Taiwan upset Chinese calculations? What makes Beijing hesitate? In confronting the United States, what are China's advantages? How does China practice "the politics of historical revenge"? What are some of the stepping stones of Chinese expansion? (97-106)
2. Why may the *qiaobao* be considered Chinese assets? How would you characterize China's relationship with such neighbors as Russia, Mongolia, the Central Asian Republics, North Korea, and Southeast Asia? What role is played by the *qiaobao* in Malaysia, Thailand, and other countries? (106-12)
3. On a larger scale, what are some of the challenges facing the Philippines, Indonesia, and India? What scenarios does the author explore? (112-16)

Review

(all-azimuth power projection	democratization of Taiwan	China's advantages over U.S.)
(politics of historical revenge	verbal bullying	voracious appetite for energy)
Mischief Reef and the Spratlys	overseas Chinese (<i>qiaobao</i>)	Chinese emigration to Siberia
Mongolia and Central Asia	interest in energy resources	Korean Question
(anti-Japanese sentiments	Vietnamese hostility)	Myanmar (Burma)
Malaysia's bridge compatriots	Thailand	global hegemony
(Gujral's complaint	strategic interests: Russia and Japan)	

CHAPTER SIX: WUWEI IS NO WAY

Outline

- A. DAOIST DOCTRINE OF *WUWEI*: DOING NOTHING, DELIBERATELY (117-18)
 1. Idea of Moral Equivalence
 2. China as a State of Mind
 3. Motivations of Those Who Promote *Wuwei*
- B. MYTH: COMMUNISM IS MORIBUND AND DEMOCRACY IS THE WAVE OF THE FUTURE (118-20)
 1. "End of History" Idea [Francis Fukuyama]
 2. Death of Hu Yaobang
 3. Tiananmen Square
 4. Martial Law Provoked Mass Demonstrations
 5. Crushing of the Dissident Movement
 6. Present Generation of Students
- C. MYTH: THE RISE OF MARKET FORCES AND INTERNATIONAL TRADE WILL TRANSFORM CHINA INTO A FREE-MARKET DEMOCRACY (120-23)
 1. Reactions to the Massacre

2. Debate over Revoking Most Favorable Nation Status [Normal Trade Relations]
 3. Coexistence of Capitalism and Oppression
 - a. Inadequacy of the Sullivan Principle
 4. Political vs. Economic Freedom
 5. Crony Capitalism
 - a. Suharto Family
 6. Princelings
 7. Communist Kleptocracy
- D. MYTH: THE PULL OF AMERICAN CULTURE WILL MAKE CHINA INTO THE MIRROR IMAGE OF THE UNITED STATES (123-25)
1. Spread of American Pop Culture
 2. Chinese Students in the United States
 3. Chinese Cyclical View of History vs. Western Linear View
 - a. Chinese Students Admired United States for Utilitarian, Not Idealistic, Reasons
 - b. Pre-1989 Infatuation with the Democratic Superpower
 4. Russia's Problems Blamed on Democracy
- E. MYTH: THE COMMUNICATIONS REVOLUTION AND THE INTERNET WILL CHANGE CHINA (125-28)
1. Book Publishing
 2. Language's Magic Circle of Meaning (Edward Sapir)
 3. The Arts
 4. Self-Censorship by Writers
 - a. Symbiotic Relationship between State and Writer
 5. Individualism
 - a. Li Zongwu
 6. Internet
 - a. Computer Viruses
- F. MYTH: OUR OWN FEARS BLIND US TO THE FACT THAT CHINA HAS ALREADY CHANGED (128-29)
1. New "Cold War"
 2. Multilateral Framework Unlikely to Check Chinese Ambitions
 3. China's Unspoken Goal
- G. CLINTON'S "STRATEGIC PARTNERSHIP" (129-38)

Study Questions

1. What is meant by the Daoist (Taoist) doctrine of *wuwei*? Why do China experts in the West do China's bidding? Identify five myths and examine the evidence against them. (117-29)
2. What made the "kowtowing" involved in Clinton's strategic partnership not only embarrassing but dangerous to the United States? What were some of the "lowlights" of his tour of China? What did Jiang get out of the press conference? What were the three "no's," which are now binding on future administrations? What view is taken by such former top officials as Henry Kissinger and Zbigniew Brzezinski? (120-38)

Review

Daoist (Taoist) doctrine	idea of moral equivalence	crushing of dissident movement
political vs. economic freedom	crony capitalism	princelings
kleptocracy	(cyclical view of history	utilitarian attitudes)
(self-censorship by writers)	Clinton's strategic partnership	Tiananmen welcome ceremony
(Clinton's argument for rights)	the three no's	(joint press conference)
Kissinger and Brzezinski		

CHAPTER SEVEN: CONTAINING THE HEGEMON

Study Questions

1. What were the beginnings of current U.S. policy towards China? How did Clinton's strategic partnership flow naturally from this earlier precedent? Rather than fostering stability, where did Clinton's incentives lead? What course of action does the author recommend? How have former U.S. officials profited from their China contacts? What needs to be done about technology transfer? (139-44)
2. What do Chinese strategists believe about the United States? How can the United States create "situations of strength"? How can the United States promote the peaceful evolution of the Chinese system? What makes Taiwan so critical to this endeavor? (144-57)

Review

Kissinger's concession	(subversion of 1996 elections	Falun Gong)
containment strategy	China profiteering	situations of strength
rollback vs. peaceful evolution	(Jackson-Vanik Amendment	Sun Yat-sen)
(Republic of China	Chiang Kai-shek [Jiang Jieshi]	proto-civil society)
(Chiang Ching-kuo)		

AFTERWORD

Study Questions

1. How are the attitudes of China watchers changing?

Review

(Song Yongyi)