

*COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY*  
Department of Political Science  
**Political Science W4871y**  
**CHINESE FOREIGN POLICY**

Spring 2006  
TR 1:10 p.m.-2:25 p.m.

717 Hamilton Hall

Prof. Andrew Nathan  
714 IAB  
Office Hours: Thurs., 2:45-4, and by appointment

[ajn1@columbia.edu](mailto:ajn1@columbia.edu)  
854-6909

Teaching Fellows:

Shiau-chi Shen  
Jian Zhang

[ss1118@columbia.edu](mailto:ss1118@columbia.edu)  
[jz2015@columbia.edu](mailto:jz2015@columbia.edu)

**Purposes.** The course describes the major elements of Chinese foreign policy today, in the context of their development since 1949. We seek to understand the security-based rationale of policy as well as other factors -- organizational, cultural, perceptual, and so on -- that influence Chinese foreign policy. We look at China's relations with various countries and regions, as well as Chinese policy toward key functional issues in international affairs. We analyze decision-making processes that affect Chinese foreign policy, and relate Chinese foreign policy behavior to theories of international relations and foreign policy. We look at how the rise of China is affecting global power relations and how other actors are responding. The course pays attention to the application of different international relations theories to the problems we study, and also takes an interest in policy issues facing decision-makers in China as well as those facing decision-makers in other countries who deal with China.

**Requirements.** The course grade will be based on two take-home examinations and two essays. The examinations will include identification items and essay questions. The essays should be 5-7 pages long and may be of the following kinds:

(a) A critical book review. The critical essay will be based on the comparison of two books not on the course list, chosen in consultation with the instructor or TFs. Please see the attached list for some suggestions, but you may also propose books that are not on the list. (You can also use a book of which no more than two chapters are assigned in the course syllabus.) The essay should avoid summarizing the material in the books, and should offer an independent consideration of the issues the books discuss and a critique of the authors' analyses. Try to model yourself on review essays in periodicals like *The New York Review of Books*, *The New Republic*, or *Foreign Affairs*.

(b) A policy paper, which recommends a policy for China in some domain or which recommends a policy toward China in some domain for some other international actor (a government, NGO, multinational organization, etc.). A policy paper should be addressed to a specific actor (e.g., president, secretary of state, members of congress),

should propose policies that are feasible for that actor, and should appeal to that actor's interests.

(c) An explorations paper, which takes a look at a topic of interest to you, based on published works and/or websites. We have in mind topics which are not adequately covered in the course reading, and on which you would like more information. We want to learn what information you have gathered, but we also want to know why you think the issue is important, what conclusions you have provisionally drawn from the information you have gathered and, as appropriate, what you think are the biases or inadequacies of the sources that you used.

Due dates are as follows: midterm is handed out Feb. 23 and due back Feb. 28; essays due on Feb. 16 and April 20; final exam handed out April 27 and due May 5.

**Readings.** Readings are on reserve at Lehman and Barnard Libraries. Assigned books are available in paperback and have been ordered at Labyrinth Books. Articles can be found in a course pack available for purchase from The Village Copier, 2872 Broadway (between 111<sup>th</sup> and 112<sup>th</sup>), 212-666-0600, open 24 hours M-Th, Friday until 10, and Sat. & Sun. until 9. Most can also be obtained online. Some online addresses are indicated in the syllabus. If you obtain the electronic version of this reading list from Courseworks, you can use Ctrl-click to go directly to online sources. Other items can be found online by going to the Columbia University library system's website, going to the Lehman Library address, and clicking on the instructors' names and the course. Another way to access articles online is through JSTOR or Proquest, which are found at: <http://www.columbia.edu/cu/lweb/eresources/databases/>.

## LECTURE SCHEDULE AND READINGS

### PART I. INTEREST AND IDENTITY IN CHINESE FOREIGN POLICY

#### January 17-24. **WHAT DRIVES CHINESE FOREIGN POLICY?**

**TF lecture:** Zhang Jian, January 24.

Aaron L. Friedberg, "The Future of U.S.-China Relations," *International Security* 30:2 (Fall 2005), pp. 7-45.

Alistair Iain Johnston, "Is China a Status Quo Power?" *International Security* 27:4 (Spring 2003), pp. 5-56.

John J. Mearsheimer, *The Tragedy of Great Power Politics* (N.Y.: W.W. Norton, 2001), Chs. 1-3, 10.

Andrew J. Nathan and Bruce Gilley, *China's New Rulers*, Second Ed. (New York: New York Review Books, 2002), Chs. 1, 2, 6.

Andrew J. Nathan and Robert S. Ross, *The Great Wall and the Empty Fortress: China's Search for Security* (New York: Norton, 1997), Ch. 1.

Robert Sutter, "Why Does China Matter?" *The Washington Quarterly* 27:1 (2003), pp. 75-89.

Wang Jisi, "China's Search for Stability with America," *Foreign Affairs* 84:5 (Sept./Oct. 2005), pp. 39-48.

Suisheng Zhao, "China's Pragmatic Nationalism: Is It Manageable," *The Washington Quarterly* 29:1 (Winter 2005-2006), pp. 131-144.

Zheng Bijian, "China's 'Peaceful Rise' to Great-Power Status," *Foreign Affairs* 84:5 (Sept./Oct. 2005), pp.18-24.

#### January 26-February 7. **CHINA IN THE WORLD: PUZZLES AND TURNING POINTS**

Chen Jian, *Mao's China and the Cold War* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2001), Chs. 1-3, 7, 9.

James Mann, *About Face: A History of America's Curious Relationship with China, From Nixon to Clinton* (N.Y.: Knopf, 1999), Chs. 1-6, 11-12, 16, 18; the other chapters are also recommended.

Evan S. Medeiros and M. Taylor Fravel, "China's New Diplomacy," *Foreign Affairs* (November/December 2003), pp. 22-35.

Nathan and Ross, *Great Wall*, Chs 2-4.

Nathan and Gilley, *New Rulers*, Ch. 8.

#### February 9. **HUMAN RIGHTS WORK ON CHINA: ADVOCATES' STRATEGIES AND CHINA'S STRATEGIES: A PRACTITIONERS' PERSPECTIVE**

**Guest lecturer:** Nicolas Bequelin, Senior Researcher, Human Rights Watch, Asia.

Please look at the following two websites: Human Rights in China, [www.hrichina.org](http://www.hrichina.org) and Human Rights Watch, [www.hrw.org](http://www.hrw.org).

### PART II. SECURITY CHALLENGES AND STRATEGIES

February 14-16. U.S. POLICY TOWARD CHINA

David M. Lampton, *Same Bed, Different Dreams: Managing U.S.-China Relations, 1989-2000* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2001), Introduction, Chs. 1-3, 6-8.

Evan S. Medeiros, "Strategic Hedging and the Future of Asia-Pacific Stability," *The Washington Quarterly* 29:1 (Winter 2005-2006), pp. 145-167.

Wu Xinbo, "The End of the Silver Lining: A Chinese View of the U.S.-Japanese Alliance," *The Washington Quarterly* 29:1 (Winter 2005-2006), pp. 119-130.

February 21-March 2. SECURITY CHALLENGES TO AND FROM CHINA: CHINESE DEFENSE POLICY, THE "CHINA THREAT" DEBATE, AND POSSIBLE WAR SCENARIOS IN THE TAIWAN STRAIT

**Guest lecturers:** Dennis Blasko, Senior Analyst, The CNA Corporation, Feb. 28; Adam Segal, Maurice R. Greenberg Senior Fellow in China Studies, Council on Foreign Relations, March 2.

Dennis Blasko, *The Chinese Army Today* (Routledge 2005), selections to be announced.

Harold Brown, Joseph Prueher, and Adam Segal, *Chinese Military Power: An Independent Task Force Report* (New York: Council on Foreign Relations, 2003), available at [www3.cfr.org/pdf/China\\_TF.pdf](http://www3.cfr.org/pdf/China_TF.pdf)

Thomas J. Christensen, "Posing Problems without Catching Up: China's Rise and Challenges for U.S. Security Policy," *International Security* 25:4 (Spring 2001), pp. 5-40.

David Shambaugh, *Modernizing China's Military: Progress, Problems, and Prospects* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2002), pp. 60-107, 108-173, 196-224, 241-283.

Nathan and Ross, *Great Wall*, Ch. 8.

Robert S. Ross, "Assessing the China Threat," *The National Interest* 81 (Fall 2005), pp. 81-87.

Adam Segal, "Practical Engagement: Drawing a Fine Line for U.S.-China Trade," *The Washington Quarterly* 27:3 (Summer 2004), pp. 157-173.

March 7-9, 21-23. CHINA AND ITS REGIONAL NEIGHBORS: HISTORY, CRISIS, ACCOMMODATION

**Guest lecturer:** Nicholas Khoo, March 21.

Roy Allison and Lena Jonson, eds., *Central Asian Security: The New International Context* (Washington, D.C.: Brookings Institution Press, 2001), Ch. 7 (Chs. 5-6 also recommended).

Leszek Busynski, "ASEAN, the Declaration on Conduct and the South China Sea," *Contemporary Southeast Asia* 25 no. 3 (2003), pp. 343-362.

Graham E. Fuller and S. Frederick Starr, *The Xinjiang Problem* (Central Asia-Caucasus Institute, Paul H. Nitze School of Advanced International Studies, The Johns Hopkins University, [2003]), available at [www.cornellcaspiian.com/pub2/xinjiang\\_final.pdf](http://www.cornellcaspiian.com/pub2/xinjiang_final.pdf).

John W. Garver, *Protracted Contest: Sino-Indian Rivalry in the Twentieth Century* (Seattle: Univ. of Washington Press, 2001), Chs. 1, 2, 7-9.

Alastair Iain Johnston and Robert S. Ross, *Engaging China: The Management of an Emerging Power* (London: Routledge, 1999), chs. by Cha, Leifer, Green.

Alex Liebman, "Trickle-down Hegemony? China's 'Peaceful Rise' and Dam Building on the Mekong," *Contemporary Southeast Asia* 27:2 (2005), pp. 281-304.

Nathan and Ross, *Great Wall*, Ch. 5-6.

Gregory W. Noble, "What Can Taiwan (and the United States) Expect from Japan?" *Journal of East Asian Studies* 5 (2005), pp. 1-34.

David Shambaugh, "China Engages Asia," in *International Security* 29:3 (Winter 2004/05), pp. 64-99, and Nicholas Khoo and Michael L. R. Smith, "China Engages Asia? Caveat Lector," *International Security* 30:1 (Summer 2005), pp. 196-205.

Scobell, Andrew, "China and North Korea: The Close but Uncomfortable Relationship," *Current History* 101 (656), pp. 278-283.

Brantly Womack, "China and Southeast Asia: Asymmetry, Leadership and Normalcy," *Pacific Affairs* 76 no. 4 (2003-2004), pp. 529-548.

### **PART III. GLOBALIZATION AND CHINA'S PARTICIPATION IN INTERNATIONAL REGIMES**

#### ***March 28-April 4. CHALLENGES OF INTERDEPENDENCE: CHINA'S ROLE IN THE WORLD ECONOMY, ENVIRONMENT, PUBLIC HEALTH, THE INTERNET, HUMAN RIGHTS, AND SO ON***

**Guest lecturer:** Daniel Rosen, Principal, China Strategic Advisors and Adjunct Professor, SIPA, April 4.

Elizabeth Economy, *The River Runs Black: The Environmental Challenge to China's Future* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2004), Ch. 6.

Rosemary Foot, *Rights Beyond Borders: The Global Community and the Struggle Over Human Rights in China* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), Chs. 1-2, 6-7.

Bates Gill, Jennifer Chang, and Sarah Palmer, "China's HIV Crisis" *Foreign Affairs* (March/April 2002), pp 96-110.

David Hale, "China's Growing Appetites," *The National Interest* (Summer 2004), pp. 137-147.

Shanthi Kalathil and Taylor Boas, *Open Networks, Closed Regimes: The Impact of the Internet on Authoritarian Rule* (Washington DC: Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, 2003), Ch. 2.

Nicholas R. Lardy, *Integrating China into the Global Economy* (Washington, D.C.: Brookings Institution Press, 2002), Chs. 1-2, 4-5.

Nathan and Ross, *Great Wall*, Ch. 9-10.

Daniel H. Rosen, "How China Is Eating Mexico's Lunch," *The International Economy* Spring 2003, pp. 22-25.

Daniel H. Rosen, "Low-tech bed, high-tech dreams," *China Economic Quarterly* Q4 2003, pp. 20-27.

### **PART IV. TAIWAN AND RELATED ISSUES**

**April 6-13. THE HONGKONG, TAIWAN, AND TIBET ISSUES IN PRC FOREIGN POLICY**

Allen Carlson, *Beijing's Tibet Policy: Securing Sovereignty and Legitimacy* (Washington, D.C.: East-West Center Washington, 2004).

Melvyn C. Goldstein, "The Dalai Lama's Dilemma," *Foreign Affairs* (January/February 1998), pp. 83-97, available at [www.foreignaffairs.org/19980101faessay1360/melvyn-c-goldstein/the-dalai-lama-s-dilemma.html](http://www.foreignaffairs.org/19980101faessay1360/melvyn-c-goldstein/the-dalai-lama-s-dilemma.html).

Alan D. Romberg, *Rein In at the Brink of the Precipice: American Policy Toward Taiwan and U.S.-PRC Relations* (Washington, D.C.: Stimson Center, 2003), Chs. 7 and 8, available at [www.stimson.org/china/pdf/RI-Chapter7.pdf](http://www.stimson.org/china/pdf/RI-Chapter7.pdf) and [www.stimson.org/china/pdf/RI-Chapter8.pdf](http://www.stimson.org/china/pdf/RI-Chapter8.pdf).

Nathan and Ross, *Great Wall*, Ch. 11.

Shambaugh, *Modernizing*, pp. 307-327.

**April 18-20. THE MAINLAND AND FOREIGN POLICIES OF TAIWAN (REPUBLIC OF CHINA)**

**TF lecture:** Shiauchi Shen, April 20.

Andrew J. Nathan, "What's Wrong with American Taiwan Policy," *The Washington Quarterly*, 23:2 (2000), pp. 93 –106, available at [www.twq.com/spring00/232nathan.pdf](http://www.twq.com/spring00/232nathan.pdf).

Lee Teng-hui, "Understanding Taiwan," *Foreign Affairs* 78: 6 (Nov/Dec 1999), pp. 9-14.

Nathan and Ross, *Great Wall*, Ch. 12.

Wu Yu-Shan, "Taiwan's Domestic Politics and Cross-Strait Relations," *The China Journal* 53 (January, 2005), pp. 35-60.

Donald S. Zagoria, ed., *Breaking the China-Taiwan Impasse* (Westport, CT: Praeger, 2003), Part II.

**PART V. LOOKING FORWARD**

**April 25-27. PROSPECTS FOR THE FUTURE**

**Guest lecturer:** Donald Zagoria, Director, Northeast Asia Projects, National Committee on American Foreign Policy, April 27.

Richard K. Betts and Thomas J. Christensen, "China: Getting the Questions Right," *The National Interest* (Winter 2000-2001), pp. 17-29.

Aaron L. Friedberg, "The Struggle for Mastery in Asia," *Commentary* (November 2000), pp. 17-26.

Arthur Waldron. "The Chinese Sickness," *Commentary* (Jul/Aug 2003) 116:1, pp. 36-42.

**SUPPLEMENTARY READING**

Richard Bernstein and Ross H. Munro, *The Coming Conflict with China* (New York: Knopf, 1997)

- William Burr, ed., *The Kissinger Transcripts: The Top Secret Talks with Beijing and Moscow* (New York: New Press, 1999)
- Richard C. Bush, *Untying the Knot: Making Peace in the Taiwan Strait* (Washington, D.C.: Brookings Institution Press, 2005)
- Richard C. Bush, *At Cross Purposes: U.S.-Taiwan Relations since 1942* (Armonk, N.Y.: M.E. Sharpe, 2004)
- Gordon H. Chang, *Friends and Enemies: The United States, China, and the Soviet Union, 1948-1972* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1990)
- Thomas J. Christensen, *Useful Adversaries: Grand Strategy, Domestic Mobilization and Sino-American Conflict, 1947-1958* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1996)
- Evan A. Feigenbaum, *China's Techno-Warriors: National Security and Strategic Competition from the Nuclear to the Information Age* (Stanford: Stanford Univ. Press, 2003)
- Melvyn C. Goldstein, *The Snow Lion and the Dragon: China, Tibet, and the Dalai Lama* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1998)
- Alastair Iain Johnston, *Cultural Realism: Strategic Culture and Grand Strategy in Chinese History* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1995)
- John K. Knaus, *Orphans of the Cold War: America and the Tibetan Struggle for Survival* (New York: Public Affairs, 1999)
- David M. Lampton, ed., *The Making of Chinese Foreign and Security Policy in the Era of Reform, 1978-2000* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2001)
- John Wilson Lewis and Xue Litai, *China Builds the Bomb* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1988)
- Michael Pillsbury, *China Debates the Future Security Environment* (Washington, D.C.: National Defense University Press, 2000)
- Robert L. Suettinger, *Beyond Tiananmen: The Politics of U.S.-China Relations 1989-2000* (Washington, D.C.: Brookings Institution Press, 2003)
- Michael D. Swaine, *The Role of the Chinese Military in National Security Policymaking*, Revised Edition (Santa Monica: RAND, 1998)

*Tracking the Dragon: Selected National Intelligence Estimates on China, 1948-1976* (National Intelligence Council, Central Intelligence Agency, 2004),  
[http://www.cia.gov/nic/NIC\\_foia\\_china.html](http://www.cia.gov/nic/NIC_foia_china.html).

Nancy Bernkopf Tucker, ed., *Dangerous Strait: The U.S.-Taiwan-China Crisis* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2005)

Patrick Tyler, *A Great Wall: Six Presidents and China, an Investigative History* (New York: PublicAffairs, 1999)

Allen Whiting *The Chinese Calculus of Deterrence* (University of Michigan Press, 1975)

Zhai Qiang, *China and the Vietnam Wars, 1950-1975* (Chapel Hill, NC: The University of North Carolina Press, 2000)

Zhang Liang, comp., *The Tiananmen Papers* (N.Y.: PublicAffairs, 2001)

## SELECTED WEB SITES

American Chamber of Commerce in Beijing. <http://www.amcham-china.org.cn>  
American Chamber of Commerce in Shanghai. <http://www.amcham-shanghai.org>  
American Chamber of Commerce in Hong Kong. <http://www.amcham.org.hk>  
Asian Studies Virtual Library. [coombs.anu.edu.au/WWWVL-AsianStudies.html](http://coombs.anu.edu.au/WWWVL-AsianStudies.html)  
Brookings Institution Center for Northeast Policy Studies  
[http://www.brook.edu/dybdocroot/fp/cnaps/center\\_hp.htm](http://www.brook.edu/dybdocroot/fp/cnaps/center_hp.htm)  
Carnegie Endowment for International Peace. [www.ceip.org](http://www.ceip.org)  
Center for Nonproliferation Studies, China Database. [www.nti.org/db/china](http://www.nti.org/db/china)  
Central Asia-Caucasus Institute. [www.cacianalyst.org](http://www.cacianalyst.org)  
China Data Center (University of Michigan). [www.umich.edu/~iinet/chinadata](http://www.umich.edu/~iinet/chinadata)  
ChinaInfo. [www.chinainfo.gov.cn](http://www.chinainfo.gov.cn)  
China Documentation Center at George Washington University's Gelman Library.  
[www.gwu.edu/gelman/seearr/cdc](http://www.gwu.edu/gelman/seearr/cdc)  
China Statistical Yearbook On Line. [www.stats.gov.cn](http://www.stats.gov.cn)  
Chinese Military Power website sponsored by the Project on Defense Alternatives.  
[www.comw.org/cmp/](http://www.comw.org/cmp/)  
Chinese Ministry of Foreign Affairs. [www.fmprc.gov.cn](http://www.fmprc.gov.cn)  
Chinese State Council Information Office.  
[www.chinaonline.com/refer/ministry\\_profiles/scio.asp](http://www.chinaonline.com/refer/ministry_profiles/scio.asp)  
CIA. [www.cia.gov](http://www.cia.gov)  
CIA World Factbook. [www.cia.gov/cia/publications/factbook](http://www.cia.gov/cia/publications/factbook)  
Council on Foreign Relations. [www.cfr.org](http://www.cfr.org)  
Council on Security Cooperation in Asia-Pacific. [www.cscap.org](http://www.cscap.org)  
CSIS Pacific Forum. [www.csis.org/pacfor](http://www.csis.org/pacfor)

Federation of American Scientists, China page.  
[www.fas.org/news/china/index.html](http://www.fas.org/news/china/index.html)

Federation of American Scientists, Taiwan crisis page.  
[www.fas.org/man/dod-101/ops/taiwan-crisis.htm](http://www.fas.org/man/dod-101/ops/taiwan-crisis.htm)

Hong Kong Trade Development Council. [www.tdc.org.hk](http://www.tdc.org.hk)

Human Rights in China. [www.hrichina.org](http://www.hrichina.org)

Human Rights Watch. [www.hrw.org](http://www.hrw.org)

National Bureau of Asian Research. [www.strategicasia.nbr.org](http://www.strategicasia.nbr.org)

National Committee on U.S.-China Relations. [www.ncuscr.org](http://www.ncuscr.org)

National Security Archive. [www.gwu.edu/~nsarchiv](http://www.gwu.edu/~nsarchiv)

Nautilus Northeast Asia Peace and Security Network Daily Report  
[www.nautilus.org/napsnet/dr/index.html](http://www.nautilus.org/napsnet/dr/index.html)

NDU Center for Chinese Military Studies.  
[www.ndu.edu/inss/China\\_Center/CSCMA\\_frames.htm](http://www.ndu.edu/inss/China_Center/CSCMA_frames.htm)

People's Daily (English). [www.english.peopledaily.com.cn](http://www.english.peopledaily.com.cn)

RAND Corporation. [rand.org](http://rand.org)

Research Resources for Asian and Chinese Politics.  
[www.jhunix.hcf.jhu.edu/~ktsai/researchasiachina.htm](http://www.jhunix.hcf.jhu.edu/~ktsai/researchasiachina.htm)

Republic of China (Taiwan) foreign ministry.  
[www.mofa.gov.tw/emofa/econtain.htm](http://www.mofa.gov.tw/emofa/econtain.htm)

Taiwan "Cross-Strait" Website of Center for Strategic and International Studies.  
<http://www.csis.org/isp/taiwan/>

Taiwan Security Research. [www.taiwansecurity.org](http://www.taiwansecurity.org)

UNDP. [www.undp.org](http://www.undp.org)

U.S.-China Business Council. [www.uschina.org](http://www.uschina.org)

US-China Economic and Security Review Commission. <http://www.uscc.gov>

U.S. Embassy in China. [www.usembassy-china.org.cn](http://www.usembassy-china.org.cn)

U.S. State Department. [www.state.gov](http://www.state.gov)

U.S. Trade Representative. [www.ustr.gov](http://www.ustr.gov)

World Bank. [www.worldbank.org](http://www.worldbank.org)

World News Connection (FBIS). Access through  
[www.columbia.edu/cu/lweb/eresources/databases](http://www.columbia.edu/cu/lweb/eresources/databases)