

COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY
Department of Political Science
Political Science W4871y
CHINESE FOREIGN POLICY
Professor Andrew Nathan
Spring 2005

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. 24 and due back March 1; essays due on Feb. 17 and April 21; final exam handed out May 2 and due May 9.

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 Broadway Copy Center, 3062 Broadway (121st Street), Tel (212) 864-6501, broadwaycopycenter@yahoo.com. 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 18-20. **WHAT DRIVES CHINESE FOREIGN POLICY?**

Thomas J. Christensen, "Chinese *Realpolitik*," *Foreign Affairs* 75:5 (September/October 1996), pp. 37-52.

Peter Gries, *China's New Nationalism: Pride, Politics, and Diplomacy* (University of Berkeley Press, 2004), chs. 1, 2, 8.

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

Gerald Segal, "Does China Matter?" *Foreign Affairs* 78:5 (Sept.-Oct. 1999), pp. 24-36.

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

January 25-February 10. **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.

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

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

Andrew J. Nathan and Robert S. Ross, *The Great Wall and the Empty Fortress: China's Search for Security* (New York: Norton, 1997), Chs 1-4.

Nathan and Gilley, *New Rulers*, Ch. 8.
Michael Swaine and Ashley Tellis, *Interpreting China's Grand Strategy* (Santa Monica: RAND, 2000), Ch. 4, China's Current Security Strategy, pp. 97-150, available at: <http://www.rand.org/publications/MR/MR1121/>.

PART II. SECURITY CHALLENGES AND STRATEGIES

February 15-17. U.S. POLICY TOWARD CHINA

Guest lecturer, February 17: John Holden, President, National Committee on U.S.-China Relations

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.

Please visit the website of the National Committee on U.S.-China Relations, www.ncuscr.org.

February 22-March 3. SECURITY CHALLENGES TO AND FROM CHINA: CHINESE DEFENSE POLICY, THE "CHINA THREAT" DEBATE, AND POSSIBLE WAR SCENARIOS IN THE TAIWAN STRAIT

Guest lecturers: Ken Allen, Senior Analyst, The CNA Corporation, February 24; Adam Segal, Maurice R. Greenberg Senior Fellow in China Studies, Council on Foreign Relations, March 1.

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

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.

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

March 8-10, 22-24. CHINA AND ITS REGIONAL NEIGHBORS: HISTORY, CRISIS, ACCOMMODATION

TF lecturers: Axel Karpenstein, March 8; Nicholas Khoo, March 22.

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).

Nicholas Becquelin, "Xinjiang in the Nineties," *The China Journal* 44 (2000), pp. 65-90.

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

Roland Dannreuther, "Asian Security and China's Energy Needs," *International Relations of the Asia-Pacific* Vol. 3 (2003), pp. 197-219.

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.

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.

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

David Shambaugh, "China and the Korean Peninsula," *Washington Quarterly* Spring 2003, available at http://www.twq.com/03spring/docs/03spring_shambaugh.pdf.

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.

John Wong and Sarah Chen, "China-ASEAN free Trade Agreement: Shaping Future Economic Relations," *Asian Survey* 43 no. 3 (2003), pp. 507-526.

PART III. TITLE. GLOBALIZATION AND INTERNATIONAL REGIMES

March 29-April 5. CHALLENGES OF INTERDEPENDENCE: ENVIRONMENT, PUBLIC HEALTH, THE INTERNET, PROLIFERATION, GLOBALIZATION, AND CHINA'S IMPACT ON THE WORLD ECONOMY

Guest lecturers: Elizabeth Economy, C.V. Starr Senior Fellow and Director of Asia Studies, Council on Foreign Relations, date TBD; Daniel Rosen, [Principal, China Strategic Advisors and Adjunct Prof, SIPA](#), March 31.

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

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.

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

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.

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.

April 7. THE HUMAN RIGHTS ISSUE IN CHINESE FOREIGN POLICY

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.

“Human Rights in China,” *Beijing Review* 34:44 (November 4-10, 1991), pp. 8-45.

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

April 12-14. THE HONGKONG, TAIWAN, AND TIBET ISSUES IN PRC FOREIGN POLICY

Guest lecturer: Donald Zagoria, Director, Northeast Asia Projects, National Committee on American Foreign Policy, April 14.

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.

Alan D. Romberg, *Rein In at the Brink of the Precipice: American Policy Toward Taiwan and U.S.-PRC Relations* (Washington DC: Stimson Center, 2003), Chs. 7 and 8,

available at www.stimson.org/china/pdf/RI-Chapter7.pdf and

www.stimson.org/china/pdf/RI-Chapter8.pdf.

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

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

April 19-21. THE MAINLAND AND FOREIGN POLICIES OF TAIWAN (REPUBLIC OF CHINA)

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.

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

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

April 26-28. PROSPECTS FOR THE FUTURE

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, *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)

John W. Garver, *Face Off: China, The United States, and Taiwan's Democratization* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1997)

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)

Samuel S. Kim, ed., *China and the World: Chinese Foreign Policy Faces the New Millennium*, Fourth Ed. (Boulder: Westview Press, 1998)

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)

Robert A. Manning, Ronald Montaperto, Brad Roberts, *China, Nuclear Weapons, and Arms Control: A Preliminary Assessment* (Council on Foreign Relations 2000), available at www.cfr.org/pdf/china.pdf

Ramon H. Myers, Michel C. Oksenberg, and David Shambaugh, eds., *Making China Policy: Lessons from the Bush and Clinton Administrations* (Lanham, MD: Rowman and Littlefield, 2001)

Michael Pillsbury, *China Debates the Future Security Environment* (Washington, D.C.: National Defense University Press, 2000)

Robert Ross, *Negotiating Cooperation, The United States and China, 1969-1989*, (Stanford University Press, 1995)

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.

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

Jonathan Unger, ed., *Chinese Nationalism* (Armonk, N.Y.: M.E. Sharpe, 1996)

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
Brookings Institution Center for Northeast Policy Studies
http://www.brook.edu/dybdocroot/fp/cnaps/center_hp.htm
Carnegie Endowment for International Peace. www.ceip.org
Center for Nonproliferation Studies, China Database. www.nti.org/db/china
Central Asia-Caucasus Institute. www.cacianalyst.org
China Data Center (University of Michigan). www.umich.edu/~iinet/chinadata

Chinese Military Power. www.comw.org/cmp
ChinaInfo. www.chinainfo.gov.cn
China Documentation Center at George Washington University's Gelman Library.
www.gwu.edu/gelman/seearr/cdc
China Statistical Yearbook On Line. www.stats.gov.cn
Chinese Ministry of Foreign Affairs. www.fmprc.gov.cn
Chinese State Council Information Office.
www.chinaonline.com/refer/ministry_profiles/scio.asp
CIA. www.cia.gov
CIA World Factbook. www.cia.gov/cia/publications/factbook
Council on Foreign Relations. www.cfr.org
Council on Security Cooperation in Asia-Pacific. www.cscap.org
CSIS Pacific Forum. www.csis.org/pacfor
Federation of American Scientists, China page.
www.fas.org/news/china/index.html
Federation of American Scientists, Taiwan crisis page.
www.fas.org/man/dod-101/ops/taiwan-crisis.htm
Hong Kong Trade Development Council. www.tdc.org.hk
Human Rights in China. www.hrichina.org
Human Rights Watch. www.hrw.org
National Bureau of Asian Research. www.strategicasia.nbr.org
National Committee on U.S.-China Relations. www.ncuscr.org
National Security Archive. www.gwu.edu/~nsarchiv
Nautilus Northeast Asia Peace and Security Network Daily Report
www.nautilus.org/napsnet/dr/index.html
NDU Center for Chinese Military Studies.
www.ndu.edu/inss/China_Center/CSCMA_frames.htm
People's Daily (English). www.english.peopledaily.com.cn
RAND Corporation. rand.org
Research Resources for Asian and Chinese Politics.
www.jhunix.hcf.jhu.edu/~ktsai/researchasiachina.htm
Republic of China (Taiwan) foreign ministry.
www.mofa.gov.tw/emofa/econtain.htm
Taiwan Security Research. www.taiwansecurity.org
UNDP. www.undp.org
U.S.-China Business Council. www.uschina.org
US-China Economic and Security Review Commission. <http://www.uscc.gov>
U.S. Embassy in China. www.usembassy-china.org.cn
U.S. State Department. www.state.gov
U.S. Trade Representative. www.ustr.gov
World Bank. www.worldbank.org
World News Connection (FBIS). Access through
www.columbia.edu/cu/lweb/eresources/databases