

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

Spring 2008
MW 10:35-11:50

501 Schermerhorn

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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 essays should be 5-7 pages long and may be of the following kinds:

(a) A critical book review. The critical essay will address 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 the interesting review essays published by periodicals like *The New York Review of Books*, *The New Republic*, or *Foreign Affairs*, although yours will not be as long.

(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. You may wish to run your ideas past the instructor or a TF first in order to be sure that you're addressing the various aspects that a policy paper needs to address, such as a specific policy actor, consistency with that actor's interests, and feasibility.

(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 March 12 and due back March 24; essays due on February 25 and April 28; final exam handed out May 5 and due May 12.

Readings. Readings are on reserve at Lehman and Barnard Libraries. Assigned books are available in paperback and have been ordered at Book Culture (formerly Labyrinth Books), www.bookculture.com. Articles and book chapters are available on Courseworks (www.courseworks.columbia.edu). *The Great Wall and the Empty Fortress* is the former course textbook. It is out of date; Andrew Scobell and I are working on a second edition. But I still assign chapters from it because they efficiently provide historical background on many of today's issues.

LECTURE SCHEDULE AND READINGS

PART I. INTEREST AND IDENTITY IN CHINESE FOREIGN POLICY

January 23 & 28. WHAT DRIVES CHINESE FOREIGN POLICY? – GEOSTRATEGY, CULTURE, NATIONALISM

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 Robert S. Ross, *The Great Wall and the Empty Fortress: China's Search for Security* (New York: Norton, 1997), Chs. 1-2

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

Susan Shirk, *China: Fragile Superpower* (NY: Oxford University Press, 2007), Chs. 1, 5, 7, 9

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 30. **WHO RUNS CHINESE FOREIGN POLICY? – CHANGES IN CHINESE POLICY-MAKING FROM MAO TO JIANG TO HU**

John Wilson Lewis and Xue Litai, *Imagined Enemies: China Prepares for Uncertain War* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2006), Ch. 4

Andrew J. Nathan and Bruce Gilley, *China's New Rulers*, Second Ed. (New York: New York Review Books, 2002), Chs. 1, 2, 8

Nathan and Ross, *Great Wall*, Ch. 7

PART II. SECURITY CHALLENGES AND STRATEGIES

February 4, 6, 11. **LIFE ON THE HINGE: 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

Nathan and Ross, *Great Wall*, Chs. 3-4

Robert S. Ross, "The Geography of the Peace: East Asia in the Twenty-First Century," *International Security* 23:4 (Spring 1999), pp. 81-118

Alan M. Wachman, *Why Taiwan? Geostrategic Rationales for China's Territorial Integrity* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2007), Chs. 7-8

February 13 & 18. **THE U.S. FACTOR IN CHINA'S SECURITY**

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

Shirk, *Fragile*, Ch 8

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

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 20, 25, 27 & March 3. **CHINA IN SIX REGIONAL SYSTEMS**

Victor D. Cha, "Winning Asia: Washington's Untold Success Story," *Foreign Affairs* (November/December 2007), pp. 98-113

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

Stephanie Kleine-Ahlbrandt and Andrew Small, "China's New Dictatorship Diplomacy," *Foreign Affairs* 87:1 (January/February 2008), pp. 38-56

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

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

David Shambaugh, ed., *Power Shift: China and Asia's New Dynamics* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2005)

March 5 & 10. **SECURITY INTERESTS IN THE WIDER WORLD**

John W. Garver, *China & Iran: Ancient Partners in a Post-Imperial World* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2006), Chs. 1, 6-10

Jonathan Holslag, "The European Union and China: The Great Disillusion," *European Foreign Affairs Review* 11 (2006), pp. 555-580

Jonathan Holslag, Gustaaf Gereraerts, Jan Gorus, and Stefaan Smis, "China's Resources and Energy Policy in Sub-Saharan Africa," Report for the Development Committee of the European Parliament, Vrije Universiteit Brussel, 19 March 2007

PART III. CHINA IN THE POLITICS OF GLOBALIZATION

March 12, 24, 26. **CHALLENGES OF INTERDEPENDENCE: CHINA'S ROLE IN THE WORLD ECONOMY, ENVIRONMENT, AND PUBLIC HEALTH**

Guest lecturer: Daniel Rosen, Principal, China Strategic Advisors and Adjunct Professor, SIPA, March 12. [remind closer to time]

Chen Jie, "The NGO Community in China," *China Perspectives* No. 68 (November-December 2006), pp. 29-40

Elizabeth C. Economy, "The Great Leap Backward: The Costs of China's Environmental Crisis," *Foreign Affairs* (September/October 2007), pp. 38-59

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

Nicholas R. Lardy, *Integrating China into the Global Economy* (Washington, D.C.: Brookings Institution Press, 2002)

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

March 31 & April 2. **HUMAN RIGHTS IN CHINA'S 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.

Jeremy Paltiel, *The Empire's New Clothes: Cultural Particularism and Universal Value in China's Quest for Global Status* (NY: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007), Ch. 4

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

PART IV. TERRITORIAL INTEGRITY

April 7 & 9. **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

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

April 14 & 16. THE MAINLAND AND FOREIGN POLICIES OF TAIWAN (REPUBLIC OF CHINA)

Yun-han Chu and Andrew J. Nathan, "Seizing the Opportunity for Change in the Taiwan Strait," *The Washington Quarterly* 31:1 (Winter 2007-08), pp. 77-91

Andrew J. Nathan, "What's Wrong with American Taiwan Policy," *The Washington Quarterly*, 23:2 (2000), pp. 93-106

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

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

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

PART V. CHINESE DEFENSE POLICY

April 21, 23, 28. MILITARY MISSIONS AND MILITARY MODERNIZATION

Chinese Military Power: An Independent Task Force Report (New York: Council on Foreign Relations, 2003)

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

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

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, 307-327

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

Ashley Tellis, "China's Military Space Strategy," *Survival* 49:3 (Autumn 2007), pp. 41-72

PART VI. DOMESTIC POLITICS AND FOREIGN POLICY-MAKING IN CHINA AND THE U.S.

April 30. U.S. POLICY AND THE "CHINA THREAT" DEBATE

U.S.-China Relations: An Affirmative Agenda, A Responsible Course (New York: Council on Foreign Relations, 2007)

Lampton, *Same Bed, Different Dreams*, Chs. 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

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

May 5. LONGTERM STRATEGIC CHANGE IN ASIA AND 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

Andrew J. Nathan, "Is Communist Party Rule Sustainable in China?" Remarks for "Reframing China Policy: The Carnegie Debates," Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, Washington, D.C., October 5, 2006,

http://www.carnegieendowment.org/files/cds_nathan.pdf (see the entire debate at <http://www.carnegieendowment.org/events/index.cfm?fa=eventDetail&id=916&&prog=zch>)

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

POSSIBLE BOOKS FOR REVIEW

Roy Allison and Lena Jonson, eds., *Central Asian Security: The New International Context* (Washington, D.C.: Brookings Institution Press, 2001)

Richard C. Bush, *Untying the Knot: Making Peace in the Taiwan Strait* (Washington, D.C.: Brookings Institution Press, 2005)

Richard C. Bush and Michael E. O'Hanlon, *A War Like No Other: The Truth About China's Challenge to America* (Hoboken, NJ: John Wiley & Sons, 2007)

Thomas J. Christensen, *Useful Adversaries: Grand Strategy, Domestic Mobilization and Sino-American Conflict, 1947-1958* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1996)

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

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

Bates Gill, *Rising Star: China's New Security Diplomacy* (Washington, D.C.: Brookings Institution Press, 2007)

Avery Goldstein, *Rising to the Challenge: China's Grand Strategy and International Security* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2005)

Melvyn C. Goldstein, *The Snow Lion and the Dragon: China, Tibet, and the Dalai Lama* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1998)

Will Hutton, *The Writing on the Wall: China and the West in the 21st Century* (London: Little, Brown, 2007)

Alastair Iain Johnston, *Cultural Realism: Strategic Culture and Grand Strategy in Chinese History* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1995)

Ann Kent, *Beyond Compliance: China, International Organizations, and Global Security* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2007)

James Kynge, *China Shakes the World: The Rise of a Hungry Nation* (London: Weidenfeld & Nicholson, 2006)

David M. Lampton, ed., *The Making of Chinese Foreign and Security Policy in the Era of Reform, 1978-2000* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2001)

- Jeffrey G. Lewis, *The Minimum Means of Reprisal: China's Search for Security in the Nuclear Age* (Cambridge; The MIT Press, 2007)
- Michael Pillsbury, *China Debates the Future Security Environment* (Washington, D.C.: National Defense University Press, 2000)
- Andrew Scobell, *China's Use of Military Force* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003)
- Richard H. Solomon, *Chinese Negotiating Behavior: Pursuing Interests Through "Old Friends"* (Washington, D.C.: United States Institute of Peace Press, 1999)
- 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)
- Ming Wan, *Sino-Japanese Relations; Interaction, Logic, and Transformation* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2006)
- Brantly Womack, *China and Vietnam: the Politics of Asymmetry* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2006)
- Zhang Liang, comp., Andrew J. Nathan and Perry Link, eds., *The Tiananmen Papers* (New York: PublicAffairs, 2001)

SELECTED WEBSITES

General

- Asian Studies Virtual Library. coombs.anu.edu.au/WWVVL-AsianStudies.html
- China Data Center (University of Michigan). www.umich.edu/~iinet/chinadata
- 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
- CIA World Factbook. www.cia.gov/cia/publications/factbook
- Council on Foreign Relations. www.cfr.org
- Nautilus Northeast Asia Peace and Security Network Daily Report
www.nautilus.org/napsnet/dr/index.html
- National Bureau of Asian Research. www.strategicasia.nbr.org
- RAND Corporation. rand.org
- World News Connection (FBIS). Access through
www.columbia.edu/cu/lweb/eresources/databases

Business/Economic

- 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>
- Hong Kong Trade Development Council. www.tdc.org.hk
- UNDP. www.undp.org
- U.S.-China Business Council. www.uschina.org
- World Bank. www.worldbank.org

Defense/Security

- Brookings Institution Center for Northeast Policy Studies

<http://www.brookings.edu/cnaps.aspx>

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

Chinese Military Power website sponsored by the Project on Defense Alternatives.

www.comw.org/cmp/

International Assessment and Strategy Center: <http://www.strategycenter.net/>

NDU Center for Chinese Military Studies.

www.ndu.edu/inss/China_Center/CSCMA_frames.htm

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

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

Human Rights

China Rights Defenders <http://crd-net.org/Article/ShowClass.asp?ClassID=9>

Human Rights in China. www.hrichina.org

Human Rights Watch. www.hrw.org

Chinese policy statements/views

Chinese government: <http://www.china.org.cn/english/index.htm>

Chinese Ministry of Foreign Affairs. www.fmprc.gov.cn

People's Daily (English). <http://english.peopledaily.com.cn>

U.S.-China

National Committee on U.S.-China Relations. www.ncusr.org

National Security Archive. www.gwu.edu/~nsarchiv

U.S. Embassy in China. www.usembassy-china.org.cn

U.S. State Department. www.state.gov

U.S. Trade Representative. www.ustr.gov

Cross-Strait

Republic of China (Taiwan) foreign ministry. www.mofa.gov.tw

Taiwan "Cross-Strait" Website of Center for Strategic and International Studies.

<http://www.csis.org/isp/taiwan/>

Taiwan Security Research. www.taiwansecurity.org