

COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY
Department of Political Science
Political Science W4871y
CHINESE FOREIGN POLICY
Spring 2014

MW 2:40-3:55
Prof. Andrew J. Nathan
931 IAB
Office Hours: Wed. 1-2:30 and by appointment

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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 analyze decision-making processes that affect Chinese foreign policy, China’s relations with various countries and regions, Chinese policy toward key functional issues in international affairs, how the rise of China is affecting global power relations, and how other actors are responding. The course pays attention to the application of 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. If you wish, both of your papers can be of the same kind. For more details on the expectations attached to each kind of paper, please see the file “Essay Types Explanation.doc” on Courseworks.

(a) A critical book review. The critical essay will address two books not on the course list, relevant to the subject of the course. Please see the attached list for some suggestions, but you may also propose books that are not on the list, which you should clear with the instructor or TFs. (You can also use a book of which no more than two chapters are assigned in the course syllabus.) For ideas about books to review, you might look at the “Asia and Pacific” book review column that your instructor writes for *Foreign Affairs* magazine. They can be found at <http://www.foreignaffairs.com/books/capsule-reviews>. Your review 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.

(b) An explorations paper, which looks at a topic of interest to you, relevant to the subject of the course, 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.

(c) 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.

Lynn White of Princeton has produced two finding aids that are useful for all these kinds of papers. "Contemporary China: A Book List" is at <http://www.princeton.edu/~lynn/chinabib.pdf>. A clickable list of websites, giving access to thousands of articles about China and Southeast Asia, is at <http://www.princeton.edu/~lynn/chinawebs.doc>.

In your papers, please use one or another of several standard source citation formats, similar to examples you'll see in the course reading. Here are a few standard practices that students often overlook. When citing Internet sources, it is customary to give a URL and a date accessed. If you cite a printed source – seen either in hard copy or through library e-resources – it is not necessary to annotate with the word "Print." In footnotes, give authors' names in the order they are found in the source, but in an alphabetized bibliography or works cited section give all names family name first.

Due dates are as follows: the first essay is due February 24; the midterm will be posted on Courseworks after class March 5 and can be handed back in class if you wish or deposited in my mailbox at the Weatherhead East Asian Institute on March 12; the second essay is due April 16; the takehome final will be handed out on the last day of class, May 5, and will be due May 12. In the spring term, we are required to submit all our grades before commencement, and we cannot give an IN for the course without the permission of the dean's office of your school.

Grading. To the extent possible, we arrange for your four writing assignments to be graded by different graders, which we hope helps to even out the disparities that may arise from differences among graders.

The papers are more challenging than the exams. On the papers, we view B+ as a grade that represents a sound, solid, commendable job that fulfills the assignment; the paper gives a clear, structured, and reasonable presentation of whatever it sets out to do within the terms of reference of that type of paper. The grade goes below B+ when the argument is unclear, necessary parts of the argument are missing, the research is thin, the paper is disorganized, or the presentation is otherwise flawed. It goes above B+ if the paper is in some way distinguished, original, especially thoughtful, especially persuasive, especially informative, and so on.

The exams are intended to assess whether you are doing the reading and attending the lectures. A grade of A means you answered each question accurately and fully.

The person who graded your paper or exam is identified with a name or initials someplace on the paper (near the grade, or on the front of the paper). You are welcome

to speak with that person or Professor Nathan if you'd like to get more feedback on the paper. To appeal the grade, please speak to the person who graded it first and come to Professor Nathan second if you are not satisfied with the outcome of the first conversation.

Each paper and the final exam will contribute 2/7 to the course grade, while the midterm will count as 1/7.

Readings. There are no required books for purchase. Several books from which relatively long sections have been assigned have been ordered at Book Culture www.bookculture.com for optional purchase. These are Garver, *China & Iran and Protracted Contest*; Mann, *About Face*; Nathan and Scobell, *China's Search for Security*; Shambaugh, *Modernizing China's Military and China Goes Global*; and Shirk, *China: Fragile Superpower*. Book chapters from other books, and journal articles, are available on Courseworks (www.courseworks.columbia.edu). Some are found in the "Library Reserves" section and some in the "Shared Files" section of the website.

Quite a few course readings come from *Foreign Affairs* magazine. You can sign up for a one-year subscription to *Foreign Affairs* for \$18, which comes with full archive access to the magazine's website, by downloading and submitting the form at http://www.foreignaffairs.com/files/attachments/Student_Sign_Up.pdf.

LECTURE SCHEDULE AND READINGS

January 22 & 27. WHAT DRIVES CHINESE FOREIGN POLICY? – GEOSTRATEGY, CULTURE, NATIONALISM

Andrew J. Nathan and Andrew Scobell, *China's Search for Security* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2012), hereafter CSS, "Introduction" and Ch. 1

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

Alistair Iain Johnston, "How New and Assertive is China's New Assertiveness?" *International Security* 37:4 (Spring 2013), pp. 7-48

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

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

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

Lecturer: Jérôme Doyon

CSS, Ch. 2

David Shambaugh, *China Goes Global: The Partial Power* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2013), Ch. 2

February 3, 5, 10 & 12. LIFE ON THE HINGE: PUZZLES AND TURNING POINTS

CSS, Ch. 3

Dean Acheson, "Crisis in China—an Examination of United States Policy," *Department of State Bulletin* 22 (January 23, 1950), pp. 111-118 (on Courseworks)

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

Bobo Lo, *Axis of Convenience: Moscow, Beijing, and the New Geopolitics* (London: Chatham House and Washington, D.C.: Brookings Institution, 2008), Chs. 3, 5, 6

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

Mao Tse-tung (Mao Zedong), "On the People's Democratic Dictatorship" (June 30, 1949), at http://www.marxists.org/reference/archive/mao/selected-works/volume-4/mswv4_65.htm

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

February 17 & 19. THE U.S. FACTOR AND CHINA'S GRAND STRATEGY

CSS, Ch. 4

Thomas J. Christensen, "Shaping the Choices of a Rising China: Recent Lessons for the Obama Administration," *The Washington Quarterly* 32:3 (July 2009), pp. 89-104

Hillary Clinton, "America's Pacific Century," *Foreign Policy* (November 2011), http://www.foreignpolicy.com/articles/2011/10/11/americas_pacific_century

Yawei Liu and Justine Zheng Ren, "An Emerging Consensus on the US Threat: The United States According to PLA Officers," *Journal of Contemporary China* (2013), pp. 1-20

Richard M. Nixon, "Asia after Viet Nam," *Foreign Affairs* (October 1967), pp. 111-125

Shirk, *Fragile*, Ch. 8

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

Please review the following documents which constitute the "Communiqué Framework" of U.S.-China relations, and if you can read Chinese, compare the English and Chinese versions of the first two documents: the Shanghai Communiqué 1972 English <http://www.china-embassy.org/eng/zmgx/zywj/t36255.htm>, Chinese <http://www.china-embassy.org/chn/zmgx/zywj/zmsglhgb/t705065.htm>; the normalization communiqué 1979, <http://www.china-embassy.org/eng/zmgx/zywj/t36256.htm>, Chinese <http://www.china-embassy.org/chn/zmgx/zywj/zmsglhgb/t705074.htm>; the Taiwan Relations Act 1979, Sections 3301 and 3302, <http://codes.lp.findlaw.com/uscode/22/48/3301> and <http://codes.lp.findlaw.com/uscode/22/48/3302>; the second Shanghai Communiqué, 1982, <http://www.china-embassy.org/eng/zmgx/zywj/t36258.htm>.

February 24 & 26 and March 3 & 5. **CHINA IN SIX REGIONAL SYSTEMS**

CSS, Chs. 5, 6

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

Robert D. Kaplan, "Center Stage for the Twenty-first Century: Power Plays in the Indian Ocean," *Foreign Affairs* (March/April 2009), pp. 16-32

Robert D. Kaplan, "The Geography of Chinese Power," *Foreign Affairs* (May/June 2010), pp. 22-41

Jonathan D. Pollack, "Kim Jong-il's Clenched Fist," *Washington Quarterly* 32:4 (October 2009), pp. 153-173

Shambaugh, *China Goes Global*, Ch. 3

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

March 10 & 12. **POLICIES IN THE FOURTH RING**

CSS, Ch. 7

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

Jonathan Holslag, "China's New Security Strategy for Africa," *Parameters* (Summer 2009), pp. 24-37

Jonathan Holslag, "China And The Coups: Coping With Political Instability In Africa," *African Affairs* (May 2011), pp. 367-386

Jonathan Holslag, "The Elusive Axis: Assessing the EU-China Strategic Partnership," *Journal of Common Market Studies* 49:2 (2011), pp. 293-313

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

March 24, 26 & 31. **GLOBALIZATION, INTERDEPENDENCE, AND INTERNATIONAL REGIMES: CHINA'S ROLE IN THE WORLD ECONOMY, ENVIRONMENT, PUBLIC HEALTH, AND OTHER FIELDS**

CSS, Ch. 10

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

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

Shambaugh, *China Goes Global*, Ch. 4-5

Arvind Subramanian, "The Inevitable Superpower," and Salvatore Babones, "The Middling Kingdom," *Foreign Affairs* (September/October 2011), pp. 66-78, 79-88

2011 Report to Congress of the U.S.-China Economic and Security Review Commission, Chapter 1: The United States-China Trade and Economic Relationship, at http://www.uscc.gov/annual_report/2011/Chapter1.1.pdf

April 2 & 7. **HUMAN RIGHTS AND SOFT POWER IN CHINA'S FOREIGN POLICY**

CSS, Ch. 12

“Communiqué on the Current State of the Ideological Sphere,” April 22, 2013,
<http://www.chinafile.com/document-9-chinafile-translation#start>

Bonnie S. Glaser and Melissa E. Murphy, “Soft Power with Chinese Characteristics: The Ongoing Debate,” in Carola McGiffert, ed., *Chinese Soft Power and Its Implications for the United States: Competition and Cooperation in the Developing World* (Washington, D.C.: Center for Strategic and International Studies, 2009), pp. 10-26, at http://csis.org/files/media/isis/pubs/090305_mcgiffert_chinesesoftware_web.pdf

Yu Liu and Dingding Chen, “Why China Will Democratize,” *The Washington Quarterly* 35:1 (Winter 2012), pp. 41-63
Shambaugh, *China Goes Global*, Ch. 6

April 9, 14 & 16. MILITARY MISSIONS AND MILITARY MODERNIZATION
CSS, Ch. 11

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

M. Taylor Fravel, “China’s Search for Military Power,” *The Washington Quarterly* 31:3 (Summer 2008), pp. 125-141

Military and Security Developments Involving the People’s Republic of China 2011, Office of the Secretary of Defense, at
http://www.defense.gov/pubs/pdfs/2011_CMPR_Final.pdf

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

April 21, 23 & 28. THE HONGKONG, TAIWAN, XINJIANG, AND TIBET ISSUES IN PRC FOREIGN POLICY AND THE MAINLAND AND FOREIGN POLICIES OF TAIWAN (REPUBLIC OF CHINA)

CSS, Chs. 8, 9

Rémi Castets, “The Uyghurs in Xinjiang: The Malaise Grows,” *China Perspectives* 49 (September-October 2003), pp. 34-48

Bruce Gilley, “Not So Dire Straits: How the Finlandization of Taiwan Benefits U.S. Security,” *Foreign Affairs* 89:1 (January/February 2010), pp. 44-60

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

April 30. CHINA AND TIBET

Guest speaker: Robbie Barnett, Director, Modern China Studies Program, Columbia University

Robert Barnett, “The Tibet Protests of Spring, 2008,” *China Perspectives*, No. 3 (2009), pp. 6-23.

His Holiness the 14th Dalai Lama of Tibet, “Strasbourg Proposal 1988,”
<http://www.dalailama.com/messages/tibet/strasbourg-proposal-1988>.

Melvyn C. Goldstein, “The Dalai Lama’s Dilemma,” *Foreign Affairs* (January/February 1998), pp. 83-97

May 5. LONGTERM STRATEGIC CHANGE IN ASIA AND THE “CHINA THREAT”

CSS, Ch. 13

Michael Beckley, “China’s Century? Why America’s Edge Will Endure,” *International Security* 36:3 (Winter 2011/12), pp. 41-78

Aaron L. Friedberg and Robert S. Ross, “Here Be Dragons: Is China a Military Threat?,” *The National Interest* (September-October 2009), pp. 19-34

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

Andrew J. Nathan, “What China Wants: Bargaining With Beijing,” *Foreign Affairs* 90:4 (July/August 2011), pp. 153-158

Robert S. Ross, “The Problem with the Pivot,” *Foreign Affairs* 91:6 (November/December 2012), pp. 70-82

POSSIBLE BOOKS FOR REVIEW

Charles Armstrong, *Tyranny of the Weak: North Korea and the World, 1950-1992* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2013)

Dennis J. Blasko, *The Chinese Army Today: Tradition and Transformation for the 21st Century*, Second Ed. (London: Routledge, 2012)

Gardner Bovingdon, *The Uyghurs: Strangers in Their Own Land* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2010)

Richard C. Bush, *The Perils of Proximity: China-Japan Security Relations* (Washington, D.C.: Brookings Institution Press, 2010)

Richard C. Bush, *Uncharted Strait: The Future of China-Taiwan Relations* (Washington, D.C.: Brookings Institution Press, 2013)

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

Alexander Cooley, *Great Games, Local Rules: The New Great Power Contest in Central Asia* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2012)

Martin K. Dimitrov, *Piracy and the State: The Politics of Intellectual Property Rights in China* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2009)

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

M. Taylor Fravel, *Strong Borders, Secure Nation: Cooperation and Conflict in China’s Territorial Disputes* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2008)

Aaron L. Friedberg, *A Contest for Supremacy: China, America, and the Struggle for Mastery in Asia*. New York: W.W. Norton, 2011)

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

Yoichi Funabashi, *The Peninsula Question: A Chronicle of the Second Korean Nuclear Crisis*. (Washington, D.C.: The Brookings Institution, 2007)

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

- Nina Hachagian, ed., *Debating China: The U.S.-China Relationship in Ten Conversations* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2014TK)
- Stefan Halper, *The Beijing Consensus: How China's Authoritarian Model Will Dominate the Twenty-First Century* (New York: Basic Books, 2010)
- Jonathan Holslag, *China + India: Prospects for Peace* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2009)
- Alastair Iain Johnston, *Cultural Realism: Strategic Culture and Grand Strategy in Chinese History* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1995)
- Alastair Iain Johnston, *Social States: China in International Institutions, 1980-2000* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2008)
- Richard C. Kagan, *Taiwan's Statesman: Lee Teng-hui and Democracy in Asia* (Annapolis, MD: Naval Institute Press, 2007)
- Rebiya Kadeer with Alexandra Cavelius, *Dragon Fighter: One Woman's Epic Struggle for Peace with China* (Carlsbad, CA: Kales Press, 2009)
- Henry Kissinger, *On China* (New York: Penguin Press, 2011).
- John Kenneth Naus, *Beyond Shangri-La: America and Tibet's Move into the Twenty-First Century* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2012)
- Jeffrey G. Lewis, *The Minimum Means of Reprisal: China's Search for Security in the Nuclear Age* (Cambridge; The MIT Press, 2007)
- Edward N. Luttwak, *The Rise of China vs. the Logic of Strategy* (Cambridge, MA: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2012)
- Evan S. Medeiros, *Reluctant Restraint: The Evolution of China's Nonproliferation Policies and Practices, 1980-2004* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2007)
- Benjamin Page and Tao Xie, *Living with the Dragon: How the American Public Views the Rise of China* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2010)
- Robert I. Rotberg, ed., *China Into Africa: Trade, Aid, and Influence* (Washington, D.C.: Brookings Institution Press, 2008)
- 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)
- Su Chi, *Taiwan's Relations with Mainland China: A tail wagging two dogs* (London: Routledge, 2009)
- Michael D. Swaine, *America's Challenge: Engaging a Rising China in the Twenty-First Century* (Washington, D.C.: Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, 2011)
- 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
- Nancy Bernkopf Tucker, *Strait Talk: United States-Taiwan Relations and the Crisis with China* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2009)
- Patrick Tyler, *A Great Wall: Six Presidents and China, an Investigative History* (New York: PublicAffairs, 1999)
- Ming Wan, *Human Rights in Chinese Foreign Relations: Defining and Defending National Interests* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2001)
- 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)
- Toshi Yoshihara and James R. Holmes, *Red Star Over the Pacific: China's Rise and the Challenge to U.S. Maritime Strategy* (Annapolis, MD: Naval Institute Press, 2010)
- Zhang Liang, comp., Andrew J. Nathan and Perry Link, eds., *The Tiananmen Papers* (New York: PublicAffairs, 2001)
- Zhao Ziyang, *Prisoner of the State: The Secret Journal of Premier Zhao Ziyang*. Trans. and Ed. Bao Pu, Renee Chiang, and Adi Ignatius (New York: Simon & Schuster, 2009)