



The University of Oklahoma
School of International and Area Studies

Spring 2007 IAS 4013-002: CAPSTONE SEMINAR:

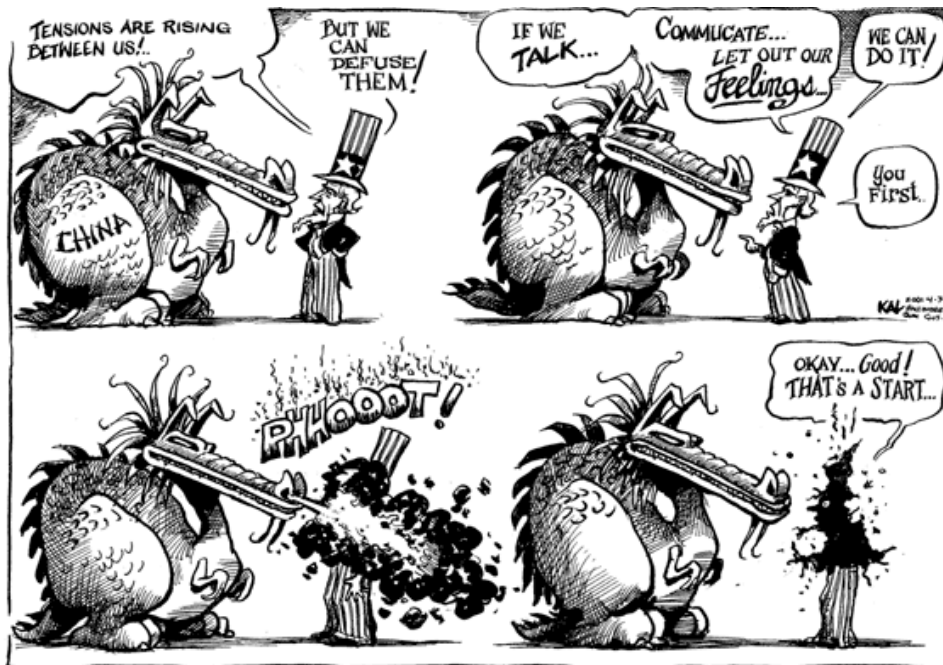
China and the World

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Class meets Wednesdays 3-5:50 pm in Adams Hall Rm. 0304
Office Hours: Tues., Thurs. 3-4pm in 120 Hester Hall & by appointment.



Course Description

On April 1, 2001 an American E-P3 reconnaissance plane and a Chinese F-8 jet fighter collided over the South China Sea. The E-P3 made it safely to China's Hainan Island; the F-8 tore apart and crashed. Pilot Wang Wei is presumed dead. A few days later, China's Ministry of Foreign Affairs called an unusual late-night news conference: "The United States should take full responsibility, make an apology to the Chinese government and people, and give us an explanation of its actions." US Secretary of State Colin Powell initially responded with equal bluntness: "We have nothing to apologize for." After 11 days of intensive negotiations, Beijing released the 24 American servicemen being held in Hainan. Both sides quickly claimed victory.



What should we make of this “apology diplomacy”? As the above cartoon from the *Baltimore Sun* subtly suggests, many Americans have a very ambivalent image of China. Is China a fearsome dragon out to upset the global balance of power? Or is China a cuddly panda (here a cute dragon) that we can talk to?

This course provides a comprehensive introduction to Chinese foreign policy, but may reveal as much about us as it does about China. Why do we think and talk about China in the ways that we do? Our assumptions about politics are derived from the American experience, so studying China should reveal quite a bit about who we are. But China is more than just a mirror. With over a fifth of the world’s population (over 1.3 billion people), an enormous economy (a 2002 GDP of over 1.2 trillion), and the world’s largest standing army, China is intrinsically important. Anyone who wishes to understand 21st century world politics needs to engage the China question.

The course is divided into five sections. It begins with key issues and concepts. It then reviews China’s external relations prior to “Liberation” in 1949. The focus here will be twofold: interrogating the idea of a “Tributary System” with China at the center, and the narrative of a “Century of Humiliation.” The third section introduces basic concepts from international relations theory in general and theories of foreign policy decision making in particular. The fourth section turns to the history of the PRC’s foreign relations, with an emphasis on Sino-American relations. The fifth and final section explores vital foreign policy issues confronting China in the 21st century: China’s relations with south and southeast Asia, the Taiwan issue, Sino-Japanese relations, and forecasting China’s future global role.

Grading

Your final grade will be based upon class participation & pop quizzes, a small-group multi-media project, a research paper, and a final exam:

20%	Class participation & pop quizzes
25%	Small-group multi-media project (Feb. 28)
30%	Research paper (March 14, April 18)
25%	Final exam (May 2)

The class participation grade will be based upon the quality, not quantity, of your contributions to group discussions, as well as pass/fail pop quizzes on the readings given at the beginning of seminar on random days throughout the semester. A printout of your small-group multi-media project will be due at the beginning of class on Feb. 28. Presentations will be made Feb. 28 and March 7. A fifteen page paper will be due at the beginning of class on April 18. Late papers will not be accepted. You should submit an outline by March 14. The final exam will be held during class on Wednesday, May 2. It will be comprehensive. Anyone with a scheduling conflict should inform me no later than April 2.

Small-group Multi-media Project: Patterns of Media coverage of Chinese foreign policy

This class is not just *about* social science; it is also about *doing* social science. In lecture during the second week of classes, you will join a team of 3-4 students responsible for putting together a multimedia presentation exploring patterns of Western media coverage of one of the following six topics:

1. China and the UN
2. Sino-Korean relations



3. Sino-Japanese relations
4. Sino-Indian relations
5. Sino-American relations
6. The Taiwan Issue

Over the course of the semester, each team will put together a multimedia (image, text, and possibly sound) presentation (PowerPoint or website) which will be uploaded onto the web before class on Feb. 28. In class, they will hand in a printout of their PowerPoint/website along with the link. Presentations will be made Feb. 28 and March 7. Each team will have ten minutes to present their multimedia project, respond to questions, and be graded by both the instructor and their classmates.

This project presents three separate challenges: 1) working collectively in a small group; 2) data-mining the Internet for an interesting pattern in the media coverage of your topic – and developing a hypothesis/explanation for it; 3) using IT to present your argument succinctly.

Grading Criteria. The presentations will be graded 75% substance and 25% presentation.

75% Substance

- 1) ***What?*** *Uncover interesting patterns in the ways that the media covers China.*
 - Media is defined broadly: newspapers, TV, movies, music, cartoons, computer games – whatever you can find surfing the web or otherwise.
 - Patterns refers to similarities and differences in the coverage (for instance, of Topic, Argument, Assumptions, and/or Tone) of China.
 - Interesting: Patterns that are obvious are not interesting. Patterns that are puzzling, by contrast, beg explanation and make for an exciting presentation.
- 2) ***Why?*** Hypotheses/explanations about why these media patterns of similarities or differences exist.

25% Presentation: Clear, creative, concise

- 1) Be **clear**: Substance doesn't speak for itself; communicate your ideas precisely.
- 2) Be **creative**: A picture (or a sound, movie clip, etc.) can be worth a thousand words. Integrate multiple media into your presentation to get your ideas across.
- 3) Be **concise**: You only have ten minutes, so limit yourselves to just a few multi-media slides that capture your most interesting material.

Grading Process. Your team grade will be determined 50% by me, and 50% by your classmates. We will grade each presentation for both substance and presentation. (See attached grade sheet.) The members of the best two teams will have five points added to their individual final exam grades.

Teamwork. Political science has an extensive literature on the “collective action” or “freerider” problem: individuals who take more than their fair share of the benefits (such as a good grade) without shouldering their fair share of the costs (such as contributing to the project). How you run your teams is your own business, but I grant each team the right (through a deadline of Feb. 14) to vote out any member that does not meet team expectations. Any student voted out of a team will have to put together their own individual presentation on another topic assigned by the instructor. Group expectations can be formalized in a signed team contract, which might include pledges to attend weekly group meetings and/or complete various web-based or other research assignments. In addition to grading other teams' projects, you will also grade the contributions of your teammates.



Server space. Every student at OU is given free server space to create websites. If no one in your group currently has a website or access to server space, one or more of you can activate your accounts at OU. OU IT is also available to help you with power points or website creation.

While these are some of the many resources available to you for completing this assignment, you alone are responsible for both the substance and presentation of your project.

Paper

A fifteen page research paper will be due in class on April 18. Late papers will not be accepted. You must submit an outline by March 14. The paper should assess a puzzle you have identified in some aspect of Chinese foreign policy. You must cite at least two books or articles on the subject that have been assigned in class, and at least two that have not been assigned.

Readings

You are expected to attend class having completed the readings assigned for that day. Random pop quizzes will test whether you have read them. *Lectures will not cover the same ground as the readings, and are no substitute for them.* Three books are available for purchase at the OU bookstore and online, and will be held on reserve at Bizzell Library:

- **Chen Jian**, *Mao's China and the Cold War, The new Cold War history* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2001)
- Peter Hays **Gries**, *China's New Nationalism: Pride, Politics and Diplomacy* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2004)
- James **Mann**, *About face: A history of America's curious relationship with China from Nixon to Clinton* (New York: Alfred Knopf, 1999)

Additional readings will be available on the course website, as downloads from the OU library website, and in the SIAS office in Hester Hall. All readings assigned for seminar make arguments. You are therefore expected to read **critically**. What are the author's arguments? Are they persuasive? Why do you think that the authors take the positions that they do? Do you agree or not?

Class Format

This class is a senior seminar. I therefore will limit my lectures to *no more than* one hour, leaving ample time for group discussions, which will focus on the readings. Random pop quizzes will focus on the readings, graded pass/fail. If you fail to do the readings, therefore, you cannot do well in this class. Considerable time will also be devoted to critical thinking and writing skills.

Classroom Policies

Respect is required. While the discreet consumption of coffee and other beverages is permitted, eating, which might disrupt your classmates, is not. Please turn off all cell phones and other devices



that might disrupt class. Disparaging comments or behaviors towards your classmates will not be permitted. Anyone disrupting the educational atmosphere of the classroom will be asked to leave.

Sexual harassment will not be tolerated. Anyone experiencing harassment in the classroom should contact the instructor immediately. Harassment anywhere on the OU campus should be reported to the OU [Office of Equal Opportunity](#).

Plagiarism & Cheating

Academic honesty is presumed and required on the part of all students in the course. Use of the work of others is positively encouraged and is central to scholarship, but it must always be properly credited. When it is not credited, and when the thoughts/words/ideas of others are passed off as your own, then that is PLAGIARISM. Plagiarism is serious academic misconduct and will be reported to the appropriate university office; penalties are severe. Visit www.ou.edu/provost/integrity-rights/ for details of the university's academic honesty code. If you are in doubt about how to handle quotations or citations, please consult the instructor.

Disabilities

Any student in this course who has a disability that may prevent him or her from fully demonstrating his or her abilities should contact me personally as soon as possible so we can discuss accommodations necessary to ensure full participation and facilitate your educational opportunities.

Lecture and Reading Schedule

I. ISSUES and CONCEPTS

1 (Jan 17) Introduction: China through American Eyes

- Wasserstrom, Jeffrey N. "Big Bad China and the Good Chinese: An American Fairy Tale." In *China Beyond the Headlines*, Timothy B. Weston and Lionel M. Jensen, eds. (Lanham, Md.: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, 2000), pp. 13-35. (optional)
- Richard Madsen, *China and the American Dream: A Moral Inquiry* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1995): Preface and Chapter One. (optional)

Skim / surf

- HBO movie, *Strip Search*

2 (Jan 24) A China Threat? Culture and Conflict in the Study of Chinese Foreign Policy

- Bernstein, Richard, and Ross H. Munro, "The coming conflict with America," *Foreign Affairs* 76.2 (1997).
- Ross, Robert S. "Beijing as a conservative power," *Foreign Affairs* 76.2 (1997).
- Brzezinski and Mearsheimer, "Clash of the Titans," *Foreign Policy*, Jan/Feb. 2005.

Skim / surf

- Alastair Iain Johnston, "Cultural realism and strategy in Maoist China" in *The culture of national security: Norms and identity in world politics*, Peter J. Katzenstein, ed. (NY: Columbia, 1996).



- Peter Hays Gries, “Social Psychology and the Identity-Conflict Debate: Is a ‘China Threat’ Inevitable?” *The European Journal of International Relations*, Vol. 11, No. 2 (June 2005).

II. THE IMPERIAL LEGACY

3 (Jan 31) The “Tributary System” and the Early Modern Encounter with Western Imperialism

- Cohen, Warren I. 2000a. *East Asia at the Center: Four thousand years of engagement with the world*. New York: Columbia University Press, Chapter One.
- Cohen, Warren I. 2000b. The foreign impact on East Asia. In *Historical perspectives on contemporary East Asia*, edited by Merle Goldman and Andrew Gordon. Cambridge, MA: Harvard.

4 (Feb 7) The “Century of Humiliation” and Popular Nationalism Today

- Lu Xun, “Preface,” *A Call to Arms*
- Gries, Peter Hays. *China’s New Nationalism: Pride, Politics, and Diplomacy* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press), Introduction and Chapters 1-5.

Skim / surf

- Barmé, Geremie, “To Screw Foreigners is Patriotic,” *The China Journal*, #34 (July 1995).
- Fitzgerald, John. 1999. “China and the quest for dignity.” *National Interest* 55:47-59.

III. INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS THEORY AND CHINESE FOREIGN POLICY

5 (Feb 14) Level I (System-Level Analysis): The Balance of Power, assessing threat

- Stephen Walt, *The Origin of Alliances* (Cornell University Press, 1987), pp. 110-115.
- Schweller, Randall. 1999. “Managing the rise of great powers: History and theory.” In *Engaging China: The management of an emerging power*, Johnston and Ross, eds. (New York: Routledge).
- Thomas J. Christensen and Peter Hays Gries, “Correspondence: Power and Resolve in U.S. China Policy” *International Security*, Vol. 26, No. 3 (Fall 2001)

Skim / surf

- Thomas J. Christensen, “Posing Problems without Catching Up: China’s Rise and Challenges for U.S. Security Policy,” *International Security*, Vol. 25, No. 4 (Spring 2001), pp. 5-40.

6 (Feb 21) Level II (State-Level Analysis): Domestic Politics and Chinese Foreign Policy

- Chen Jian. 2001. *Mao’s China and the Cold War, The New Cold War history*. Introduction.
- Peter Hays Gries, *China’s New Nationalism: Pride, Politics, and Diplomacy*. Chapters 6-8.

Skim / surf

- Putnam, Robert. 1988. “Diplomacy and Domestic Politics: The Logic of Two-Level Games.” *International Organization* 42: 427-460.
- M. Taylor Fravel, “Regime Insecurity and International Cooperation: Explaining China’s Compromises in Territorial Disputes,” *International Security*, Vol. 30, No. 2 (Fall 2005).

7 (Feb 28) Level III (Individual-Level Analysis): People Matter



- Daniel L. Byman and Kenneth M. Pollack, “Let Us Now Praise Great Men: Bringing the Statesman Back In,” *International Security*, Vol. 25, No. 4 (Spring 2001), pp. 107-146. (skim)
- Lampton, David M. 2001. *Same Bed, Different Dreams: Managing U.S.-China Relations, 1989-2000*. Berkeley: University of California Press, Chapter Eight.

Skim / surf

- Shambaugh, David L. 1991. *Beautiful Imperialist: China perceives America, 1972-1990*. Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, Introduction.
- *Quotations from Chairman Mao Tse-tung* (The “Little Red Book” 1966), Chapters 3-5, “[The Correct Handling of Contradictions among the People](#),” “[War and Peace](#),” and “[Imperialism and All Reactionaries are Paper Tigers](#).”
- Willy Wo-Lap Lam, *Chinese Politics in the Hu Jintao Era: New Leaders, New Challenges* (ME Sharpe, 2006), Chapter 1: “The Rise of Hu Jintao.”

IV. POSTWAR GREAT POWER RELATIONS

8 (March 7) 1950s and 1960s

- Chen Jian. 2001. *Mao’s China and the Cold War, The new Cold War history*, Chs. 2, 3, 4, 7, 8.

9 (March 14) 1970s and 1980s

- Mann, Jim. 1999. *About Face: A history of America’s curious relationship with China from Nixon to Clinton*. New York: Alfred Knopf, Prologue and Chs. 1-8.
- Chen Jian. 2001. *Mao’s China and the Cold War, The new Cold War history*, Ch. 9 & Epilogue.

Skim / surf

- James Lilley, *China Hands: Nine Decades of Adventure, Espionage, and Diplomacy in Asia* (PublicAffairs 2004), Chapter 19 “Stepping on a Volcano.”
- Qian Qichen, *Ten Episodes in China’s Diplomacy* (HarperCollins, 2006), Chapter 6, “Withstanding International Pressure,” pp. 127-158.
- The Shanghai Communiqué: I (1972)
- The second (Normalization, 1979); and third (Shanghai II, 1982) Communiqués.

(March 21 NO CLASS SPRING BREAK)

10 (March 28) 1990s and post 9-11

- Mann, Jim. 1999. *About Face: A history of America’s curious relationship with China from Nixon to Clinton*, Chs. 9-end.
- Evan Medeiros & Taylor Fravel, “China’s New Diplomacy,” *Foreign Affairs*, Nov/Dec 2003.
- “China Eyes the Hegemon,” *Orbis: A Journal of World Affairs*, Summer 2005, pp. 401-412.

Skim / surf

- Qian Qichen, *Ten Episodes in China’s Diplomacy* (HarperCollins, 2006), Appendix III-V, 301-37.
- 2002 [National Security Strategy of the United States of America](#), pp. 27-28.
- Secretary of State Colin L. [Powell at TAMU Conference on China-U.S. Relations](#), November 5, 2003. [Video](#).
- 2006 [National Security Strategy of the United States of America](#), pp. 41-42.



V. CHINA IN THE 21ST CENTURY

11 (April 4) China as a Regional Power: South and Southeast Asia

- Harry Harding, “The evolution of the Strategic Triangle: China, India, and the United States,” in *The India-China Relationship*, Frankel and Harding, eds. (Columbia, 2004).
- Roy, Denny. “Southeast Asia and China: Balancing or Bandwagoning?” *Contemporary Southeast Asia: A Journal of International & Strategic Affairs*, Aug 2005, Vol. 27 Issue 2, pp. 305-322.

Skim / surf

- Barry Buzan and Ole Waever, *Regions and Powers* (Cambridge, 2003), Part II.

12 (April 11) Taiwan and Cross-Strait relations

- Bush, Richard, *Untying the Knot: Making Peace in the Taiwan Strait* (Brookings, 2005), Ch. 5 “[The Security Issue](#).”
- Christensen, Tom. “The Contemporary Security Dilemma: Deterring a Taiwan Conflict,” *Washington Quarterly*, Autumn 2002, Vol. 25 Issue 4.

Skim / surf

- State Council Information Office, “The One China Principle and The Taiwan Issue” (February 2000)
- The Taiwan Relations Act (1979)

13 (April 18) Sino-Japanese Relations

- Peter Hays Gries, “China’s ‘New Thinking’ on Japan” *The China Quarterly*, Vol184 (December 2005).
- Martin Fackler, “Breaking Taboos, Japan redefines its role with China,” *Wall Street Journal*, 28 June 2005, p. A1.

14 (April 25) Forecasting China’s Future

- Gries, Peter Hays, “Forecasting US-China relations, 2015,” *Asian Security*, Vol. 2, No. 2 (June 2006), pp. 1-23.
- John Mearsheimer, “China’s Unpeaceful Rise,” *Current History*, April 2006.

Skim / surf

- Eurasia Group, China Task Force, China Risk: Executive Summary.

May 2 FINAL EXAM (comprehensive)