



The University of Oklahoma
School of International and Area Studies

Spring 2008 IAS 3153-001:

Chinese Foreign Policy

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Class meets Tuesday, Thursday 1:30-3:30 pm in Adams Hall Rm. 112
Office Hours: Tues., Thurs. 3:30-4:30 pm in 120 Hester Hall & by appointment.

Course Description

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 2006 nominal GDP of over 2.68 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.

2008 will be a busy year in US-China relations, and we will focus on three substantive current issues in our coursework this semester:

1. **30th anniversary of the 1/1/1979 normalization of US-China relations.** Small group website design project. Building on the outline at www.ou.edu/uschina/1979/30yrsNormalizaton.html, design a resource webpage for journalists and others who will be interested researching and writing about the events surrounding the normalization of US-China relations 30 years ago. What kind of primary and secondary resources should we gather and link to the page? The website we eventually create will also be used to publicize an international conference to be held here in Norman on the 30th anniversary next November. You will join a group of 3-4 classmates the second week of classes to work collaboratively on a .ppt or .html presentation that you will make in class to your classmates the sixth week of classes, February 19 & 21.



2. **Taiwan presidential election and referendum on applying to the UN under the name of “Taiwan” rather than “Republic of China,” March 22.** Two one page memos to the president. The first is due Thursday March 13 prior to the referenda, and addresses the question of what impact the referenda will likely have on the Taiwan Straits question and US-China relations. The second, due Thursday, April 3 after the referenda, assesses both what impact the referenda did have on the Taiwan Straits question and US-China relations, and what your earlier memo did and did not forecast.

3. **The Beijing Olympics** will be held this August. What impact will they have on US-China relations? Will the Olympic medal count become a surrogate for superpower rivalry? If China wins more medals than the US, will there be any impact on US-China relations? Address these questions in a five page paper due in class April 17.

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 website design project (Feb. 19 & 21)
25%	Two one page memos (March 13 & April 3)
25%	Five page paper (April 17)
30%	Final exam (May 6, 1:30-3:30 pm)

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 class on random days throughout the semester. A printout of your small-group website design project will be due at the beginning of class on Feb. 19. Presentations will be made Feb. 19 and 21. Two one page memos will be due on March 13 and April 3. A five page paper will be due at the beginning of class on April 18. Late papers will not be accepted. The final exam will be held 1:30-3:30pm on Tuesday, May 6. It will be comprehensive. Anyone with a scheduling conflict should inform me no later than April 6.

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, but will also 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 Hester Hall 118.

All readings assigned for class 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

I will limit my lectures to *no more than 3/4* 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 me immediately. Harassment anywhere on the OU campus should be reported to the OU [Office of Equal Opportunity](#), (405) 325-3546.

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 15) Course Introduction

- HBO mini-movie, *Strip Search*

2 (Jan 17): 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.
- Richard Madsen, *China and the American Dream: A Moral Inquiry* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1995): Preface and Chapter One. (**optional**)



3 (Jan 22) A China Threat?

- Brzezinski and Mearsheimer, “Clash of the Titans,” *Foreign Policy*, Jan/Feb. 2005.
- Ikenberry, John. “The Rise of China and the Future of the West,” *Foreign Affairs* 87.1, 2008.

Optional:

- 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).

4 (Jan 24) Culture and Conflict in the Study of Chinese Foreign Policy

- Peter Hays Gries and Kaiping Peng, “Culture Clash? Apologies East and West,” *Journal of Contemporary China*.

Optional:

- 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).

II. THE IMPERIAL LEGACY

5 (Jan 29) The “Tributary System” 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. (**skim!**)
- 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.

6 (Jan 31) The “Century of Humiliation”

- Gries, Peter Hays. *China’s New Nationalism: Pride, Politics, and Diplomacy* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press), Introduction and Chapters 1-2.

7 (Feb 5) 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 3-5.

Optional:

- 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

8 (Feb 7) Level I (System-Level Analysis): The Balance of Power approaches to the Rise of China

- 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).

Optional:

- 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.
- Thomas J. Christensen and Peter Hays Gries, “Correspondence: Power and Resolve in U.S. China Policy” *International Security*, Vol. 26, No. 3 (Fall 2001).



9 (Feb 12) visiting speaker, Orville Schell, on three decades of covering China

10 (Feb 14) A Taiwan Security Dilemma?

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

11 (Feb 19) 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.

Optional:

- Putnam, Robert. 1988. “Diplomacy and Domestic Politics: The Logic of Two-Level Games.” *International Organization* 42: 427-460.

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

- Peter Hays Gries, *China's New Nationalism: Pride, Politics, and Diplomacy*. Chapters 6-8.

Optional:

- M. Taylor Fravel, “Regime Insecurity and International Cooperation: Explaining China’s Compromises in Territorial Disputes,” *International Security*, Vol. 30, No. 2 (Fall 2005).

13 (Feb 26) 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)
- *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](#).” (Skim)

14 (Feb 28) Personality and Chinese Foreign policy

- Lampton, David M. 2001. *Same Bed, Different Dreams: Managing U.S.-China Relations, 1989-2000*. Berkeley: University of California Press, Chapter Eight. (skim parts)

Optional:

- Shambaugh, David L. 1991. *Beautiful Imperialist: China perceives America, 1972-1990*. Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, Introduction.
- 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.”
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IV. POSTWAR GREAT POWER RELATIONS

15 (March 4) 1950s

- Chen Jian. 2001. *Mao's China and the Cold War*, Chs. 2, 3, 4.

16 (March 6) 1960s

- Chen Jian. 2001. *Mao's China and the Cold War*, Chs. 7, 8.

17 (March 11) 1970s

- Chen Jian. 2001. *Mao's China and the Cold War*, Ch. 9 & Epilogue.
- 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. 1-5.



Skim / surf

- The Shanghai Communiqué: I (1972)
- The second (Normalization, 1979); and third (Shanghai II, 1982) Communiqués.

18 (March 13) 1980s and Tiananmen

- 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. 6-8.

Optional:

- 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.

SPRING BREAK NO CLASS

19 (March 25) visiting lecture, **Mark Frazier**, US-China economic relations under Reform

20 (March 27) visitor topic TBA

21 (April 1 SPY PLANE COLLISION day) Taiwan and US-China relations revisited

- Reading TBA

22 (April 3) 1990s

- Mann, Jim. 1999. *About Face: A history of America's curious relationship with China from Nixon to Clinton*, Chs. 9-end.

Skim / surf

- Qian Qichen, *Ten Episodes in China's Diplomacy* (HarperCollins, 2006), Appendix III-V, 301-37.

V. CHINA IN THE 21ST CENTURY

23 (April 8) post 9-11

- Evan Medeiros & Taylor Fravel, "China's New Diplomacy," *Foreign Affairs*, Nov/Dec 2003.
- Peter Hays Gries, "China Eyes the Hegemon," *Orbis: A Journal of World Affairs*, Summer 2005, pp. 401-412.

Skim / surf

- 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.

24 (April 10) China and Southeast Asia

- 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.

optional

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

25 (April 15) Sino-Japanese Relations I

- Peter Hays Gries, "China's 'New Thinking' on Japan" *The China Quarterly*, Vol. 184 (December 2005).



26 (April 17) Sino-Japanese Relations II

- Martin Fackler, “Breaking Taboos, Japan redefines its role with China,” *Wall Street Journal*, 28 June 2005, p. A1.

27 (April 22) China and South 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).

28 (April 24) visitor topic TBA

29 (April 29) Forecasting China’s Future Foreign policy

- 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.

optional

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

30 (May 1) Review session

FINAL EXAM Tuesday MAY 6, 1:30-330