

POSC 370 H
Chinese Foreign Policy
Autumn 2011

The rise of China as a world power is evident in the country's more forward and robust foreign policy. At every turn, the United States must consider China wherever American interests are at stake, be it Korea and Northeast Asia, Indochina and Southeast Asia, India/Pakistan and South Asia, or Afghanistan and Iran in the Middle East. This course describes the key factors that make up Chinese foreign policy, including its cultural tradition of dealing with foreigners, its policy-making institutions, the role of the Chinese military, domestic determinants of foreign policy, and China's growing involvement in international regimes and issues. The course will examine China's ever-changing foreign policy strategies, from an aggressive posture to charming its neighbors to its periodic return to a perceived aggressive stance. The course will also examine China's role in the global economy, including issues involving international trade, currency manipulation, global warming, and China's role in Africa and elsewhere in the growing global competition for energy resources. Throughout the course we will pay attention to how China's foreign policy relates to international relations theories and what strategies the United States might use to manage China's growing role in international affairs.

Materials

Books for Purchase: **Robert G. Sutter:** *Chinese Foreign Relations*, Rowman & Littlefield, 2008. ISBN 0-7425-5537-2
 Robert G. Sutter: *U.S.-Chinese Relations*, Rowman & Littlefield, 2010. ISBN 978-0-7425-6842-6.
 James Mann: *About Face: A History of America's Curious Relationship with China, From Nixon to Clinton*, Knopf, 1999.
 Thomas Robinson & David Shambaugh, eds: *Chinese Foreign Policy: Theory and Practice*, Clarendon Press, 2006. ISBN 0-19-829016-0.

Additional materials are listed with an * and are available on Blackboard.

Responsibilities

Students are responsible for:

- 1. Attending each class *and participating in class discussions.*** This means coming to class prepared, i.e. having done the reading for the day. Attendance *and* participation count for 20% of your grade,
- 2. Two short papers** analyzing an aspect of Chinese foreign policy or international relationship. Each paper should be no longer than five (5) pages each. **Paper One is due October 21** by noon via e-mail pes15@case.edu. **Paper Two is due December 2** by noon via e-mail pes15@case.edu. Each paper requires a *written proposal* of no longer than one (1) page. Each paper is worth 15% of the grade for a total of **30%**.
- 3. A take-home midterm exam** distributed October 14 and due by noon October 21. The exam will offer four or five questions. Students will write on two of their choice in no longer than eight pages total, double spaced, 12-point font total. The midterm exam counts for **20%** of the grade.

A **take-home final exam** distributed December 9. Students will write on two questions of their choice. The final exam paper should be six (6) to eight (8) pages, double spaced, 12-point font total. Proper citations are required, either in the body of the text, footnotes (I prefer footnotes) or endnotes. **The final exam is due noon on December 16** via e-mail at pes15@case.edu. The final exam is worth **30%** of the grade.

Students taking 470H at the graduate level will write a 20-25 page paper on a foreign policy topic germane to China. This will be done in consultation with the professor. The paper should explore a specific topic in relation to the literature on international relations theory and explore the wider literature on Chinese foreign policy.

Note: Some class lectures will use PowerPoint slides. These are not available to students who miss class.

Tentative Schedule

August 29, 31 & September 2 Chinese Identity

Lecture 2 Identity

Reading Lecture 2

***Joshua Kurlantzick:** *Charm Offensive*, Yale University Press, 2006, Chapters 1-3.

***Joshua Kurlantzick:** “A Beijing Backlash” in *Newsweek*, October 4, 2010.

Robert G. Sutter: *Chinese Foreign Relations*, Chapter 1.

Lecture 3 Theory

Reading Lecture 3

***Alexander Wendt:** “Anarchy is What States Make of It” in Robert Art & Robert Jervis, *International Politics*, 9th Edition, Longman, 2010.

Allen S. Whiting: “Forecasting Chinese Foreign Policy: IR Theory vs. the Fortune Cookie” in Thomas W. Robinson & David Shambaugh: *Chinese Foreign Policy: Theory and Practice*, Oxford University Press, 2006.

Wang Jisi: “International Relations Theory and the Study of Chinese Foreign Policy: A Chinese Perspective” in Robinson & Shambaugh.

September 7 Tribute & Canton

Lecture 4 Tribute and Canton

Reading Lecture 4

: ***Immanuel C. Y Hsu:** *The Rise of Modern China*, Oxford University Press, 6th Edition, 2000, Pages 130-134 and Chapter 7.

September 9 & 12 Nationalism on the Sleeve

Lecture 5 Unequal Treaties & the Fight for Sovereignty

Reading Lecture 5

***Dong Wang:** *China's Unequal Treaties: Narrating National History*
Lanham: Lexington Books, 2005, Introduction and Conclusion.

Lecture 6 Nationalism

Reading Lecture 6

***Andrew J. Nathan & Robert S. Ross:** *The Great Wall and the Empty Fortress*, Norton, 1997, Chapters 1-2.

***Peter Gries:** *China's New Nationalism*, University of Berkeley Press, 2004, Introduction and Chapters 1-2 .

September 14 & 16 Determinants of Chinese Foreign Policy

Lecture 7 Institutional

Reading Lecture 7

***David M. Lampton, ed.:** *The Making of Chinese Foreign and Security Policy in the Era of Reform*, Stanford University Press, 2001, Chapters 2

Robert G. Sutter: *Chinese Foreign Relations*, Chapter 2-3

Lecture 8 Other Actors: Military & Provinces

Reading Lecture 8

***Michael Wines & Edward Wong:** "China's Push to Modernize Military is Bearing Fruit," *The New York Times*, January 5, 2011.

***Michael Wines:** "Beijing Resumes Rapid Increase in Military Spending," in *The New York Times*, March 3, 2011/

***Edward Wong:** "China Lays Out Vision for Military," *The New York Times*, March 31, 2011.

***Michael Wines:** "China Begins Sea Trials of Its First Aircraft Carrier," in *The New York Times*, August 10, 2011.

***David M. Lampton, ed.:** *The Making of Chinese Foreign and Security Policy in the Era of Reform*, Stanford University Press, 2001, Chapters 3-4.

***Anthony Cordesman & Martin Kleiber:** *Chinese Military Modernization*, CSIS 2007.

***John Patch:** "Thoroughbred Ship-Killer" in *Proceedings: U.S. Naval Institute*, April 2010.

***Paul Schroeder:** "The Ohio-Hubei Agreement: Clues to Chinese Negotiating Practices" in *The China Quarterly*, September 1982.

September 19 & 21 Security

Lecture 9 Power

Reading Lecture 9

***David M. Lampton:** *The Three Faces of Chinese Power: Might, Money and Minds*, University of California Press, 2008, Introduction and Chapter 1.

Lecture 10 National Security Policy

Readings Lecture 10

Robert G. Sutter: *Chinese Foreign Relations*, Chapter 5.

***Bates Gill:** *Rising Star: China's New Security Diplomacy*, 2007, Chapters 1-2

***Ike Skelton:** "The Future of the U.S.-China Security Relationship" in *Proceedings*, April 2010.

September 23, 26 & 28

Lecture 11 Domestic Determinants

Reading Lecture 11

***Andrew Jacobs:** “**Tirades Against Nobel Aim at Audience at Home**” in *The New York Times*, December 10, 2010.

***David Sanger & Michael Wines:** Limits of Leader Come into Focus as U.S. visit Nears” in *The New York Times*, January 17, 2011

William C. Kirby: “Traditions of Centrality, Authority and Management in Modern China’s Foreign Relations” in Robinson & Shambaugh

Steven I. Levine: "Perception and Ideology in Chinese Foreign Policy: in Robinson & Shambaugh.

Barry Naughton: The Foreign Policy Implications of China's Economic Development Strategy" in Robinson & Shambaugh.

Carol Lee Hamrin: “Elite Politics and the Development of China Foreign Relations” in Robinson & Shambaugh.

***Robert S. Ross:** *Chinese Security Policy*, Chapter 8.

Lecture 12 Same Bed Different Dreams

Reading Lecture 12

***David M. Lampton:** *The Making of Chinese Foreign and Security Policy*, Chapters 5 and 6.

***David M. Lampton:** *Same Bed Different Dreams*, University of California Press, 2001, Chapter 7.

Lecture 13 Domestic Issues & International Negotiating

Reading Lecture 13

***Robert Ross:** *Chinese Security Policy: Structure, Power and Politics*, Chapters 8 &10.

September 30 & October 3 Deterrence & Coercion

Lecture 14 Coercive Diplomacy

Reading Lecture 14

***Alexander George:** *Forceful Persuasion: Coercive Diplomacy as an Alternative to War*, United States Institute of Peace Press, 1991, Part One.

Lecture 15 Deterrence

Reading Lecture 15

***Robert Ross:** *Chinese Security Policy: Structure, Power and Politics*, Chapters 5 & 6.

October 5 Overview: China's Cold War Interests

Lecture 16 -- no reading assignments

October 7 Korea

Lecture 17 China's Road to Korea

Reading for Lecture 17

***Allen Whiting:** *China Crosses the Yalu*, Stanford University Press, 1960, Chapters 6, 7. & 8.

October 10 Sino-Soviet Split

Lecture 18 Sino-Soviet Relations

Reading for Lecture 18

Steven M. Goldstein: "Nationalism and Internationalism: Sino-Soviet Relations" in Robinson & Shambaugh: *Chinese Foreign Policy*.

***William Joseph, ed.:** *Politics in China*, 2010 Chapter 5

October 12 & 14 American Rapprochement

Lectures 19 & 29 Sino-American Rapprochement

Reading for Lecture 19 & 20

James Mann: *About Face: A History of America's Curious Relationship with China, From Nixon to Clinton*, Knopf, 1999. All.

Robert G. Sutter: *U.S.-Chinese Relations*, Chapter 4.

October 14 Midterm Distribution

October 21 Midterm Due by noon.

October 17 Overview: Chinese Post Cold War Interests

Lecture 21 -- Post cold War Interests

No reading assignments

October 19 Security

Lecture 22 Current Security Issues

Reading for Lecture 22

***Craig Hooper & Christopher Albon:** “Get Off the Fainting Couch” in *Proceedings*, April 2010.

***Ralph A. Cossa:** “Security Dynamics in East Asia: Geopolitics vs. Regional Institutions” in David Shambaugh & Michael Yahuda: *International Relations of Asia*, Rowman & Littlefield, 2008.

October 21 NO CLASS

October 24 FALL BREAK

October 26 & 28 Trade, Mercantilism & Finance

Lecture 23 Trade & Mercantilism

Reading for Lecture 23

***Sewell Chan:** "World Trade Organization Upholds American Tariffs on Tires From China" in *The New York Times*, December 13, 2010.

***Keith Bradsher:** "After China's Rare Earth Embargo, a New Calculus" in *The New York Times*, November 24, 2010.

***Keith Bradsher:** "China Sets Rules and Wins Wind Power Game" in *The New York Times*, December 15, 2010.

***Keith Bradsher:** "In a Deep Hole on Rare Earths" in *The New York Times*, December 15, 2010.

Robert G. Sutter: *Chinese Foreign Relations*, Chapter 4.

Barry Naughton: "The Foreign Policy Implications of China's Economic Development Strategy" in Robinson & Shambaugh.

Lecture 24 Currency & Finance

Reading for Lecture 24

***Ken Miller:** "Coping With China's Financial Power" in *Foreign Affairs*, July/August 2010.

Robert G. Sutter: *U.S.-Chinese Relations*, Chapter 9.

October 31 Africa

Lecture 25 China in Africa

Reading for Lecture 25

***Harry Broadman:** "China and India Go to Africa" in *Foreign Affairs*, March/April, 2008.

***Barry Bearak:** "Zambia Uneasily Balances Chinese Investment and Workers' Resentment" in *The New York Times*, November 20, 2010.

***Robert L. Rotberg, ed.:** *China Into Africa*, Brookings. 2008, Chapters 1, 6, 7 and 12

***Deborah Brautig:** *The Dragon's Gift*, Oxford University Press, 2009, Prologue & Chapter 1.

November 2 & 4 Korea, Japan & Northeast Asia

Lecture 26 Japan & Korea

Reading for Lectures 26

***Martin Fackler:** "Japan Announces Defense Policy to Counter China" in *The New York Times*, December 16, 2010.

***Martin Fackler:** "Japan to Propose Closer Military Ties With South Korea" in *The New York Times*, January 4, 2011.

Robert G. Sutter: *Chinese Foreign Relations*, Chapter 8

Lecture 27 Korea & Northeast Asia

Reading for Lecture 27

***Ian Johnson & Helene Cooper:** "China Seeks Talks to Ease Korean Tension" in *The New York Times*, November 28, 2010.

***Mark Lander & Martin Fackler:** "U.S. Warning to China Sends Ripples to the Koreas" in *The New York Times*, January 20, 2011.

***David Sanger:** "North Korea Keeps World Guessing" in *The New York Times*, November 29, 2010.

***Scott Snyder:** "The Korea Peninsula and Northeast Asian Stability" in Shambaugh & Yahuda.

November 7 & 9 Southeast Asia, ASEAN & the South China Sea

Lecture 28 China's Role in Asia

Reading for Lecture 28

***Edward Wong:** "China Navy Reaches Far, Unsettling the Region" in *The New York Times*, June 4, 2011.

***Joshua Kurlantzick:** "The New Schizophrenia: Asia Between Intergration & Isolation" in *Current History*, January 2010.

Patrick Barta & Chris Larano: "Aquino Warns on South China Sea" in *The Wall Street Journal*, July 26, 2011.

***Phillip L. Saunders:** "China's Role in Asia" in Shambaugh & Yahuda.

***Sheldon W. Simon:** “ASEAN and the New Regional Multilateralism: The Long and Bumpy Road to Community” in Shambaugh & Yahuda.
Robert G. Sutter: *Chinese Foreign Relations*, Chapter 9.

Lecture 29 China & Vietnam

Reading for Lecture 29

***Brantley Womack:** *China and Vietnam: The Politics of Asymmetry*, Cambridge University Press, 2006, Chapters 10-11.
***Jason Miksi:** "China-Vietnam: Rough Waters: in *The Diplomat*, June 7, 2010.
***Jason Miksi:** "Hanoi Headache for China: in *The Diplomat*, October 6, 2010.

November 11 South & Central Asia

Lecture 30 China & South/Central Asia

Reading for Lecture 30

***Basharat Peer:** Letter From New Delhi: Clash of the Tigers" in *Foreign Affairs*, March 6, 2010.
***Jim Yardley:** India Digs in Its Heels as China Flexes Its Muscles" in *The New York Times*, December 29, 2010.
***Edward Wong:** "China Quietly Extends Footprints into Central Asia" in *The New York Times*, January 2, 2011.
***Heather Timmons:** “India and China Cautious on Eve of a State Meeting” in *The New York Times*, December 15, 2010.
Robert G. Sutter: *Chinese Foreign Relations*, Chapter 10
***Martha Brill Olcott:** “Central Asia: Carving an Independent Identity Among Peripheral Powers” in Shambaugh & Yahuda.

November 14 Russia & Europe

Lecture 31 China in Europe, Europe in Asia

Reading for Lecture 31

Robert G. Sutter: *Chinese Foreign Relations*, Chapter 11

***Sebastian Bersick:** "Europe in Asia" in Shambaugh & Yahuda.

November 16 & 18 Taiwan, Tibet & Xinjiang

Lecture 32 Taiwan

Reading for Lecture 32

Robert G. Sutter: *Chinese Foreign Relations*, Chapter 7

Lecture 33 Tibet, Xinjiang & Mongolia

Reading for Lecture 33

***Frank Jannuzi, Jay Branegan, Nicholas Ma & Joel Starr:** "Tibet: Seeking Common Ground on the Rooftop of the World," *U.S. Senate Foreign Relations Committee*, March 2011.

***Rick Gladstone:** "Second Tibetan Monk Burns Himself to Death in Protest" in *The New York Times*, August 15, 2011.

***Sharon LaFraniere:** "China Starts Two-Month Security Crackdown in Western Region" in *The New York Times*, August 16, 2011.

November 23 & 25 NO CLASS

November 21, 28, 30 & December 2 Sino-U.S. Relations

Lecture 34 Sino-U.S. Relations

Reading for Lectures 34,

Robert G. Sutter: *Chinese Foreign Relations*, Chapter 6.

Robert G. Sutter: *U.S.-Chinese Relations*, Chapter 6 & 8.

Lecture 35 Sino-U.S. Relations -- Taiwan

Reading for Lecture 35:

Robert G. Sutter: *U.S.-Chinese Relations*, Chapter 10

***Robert S. Ross:** *Chinese Security Policy*, 2009. Chapter 7

Lecture 36 Sino-U.S. Relations -- Trade & Economics

Reading for Lecture 36

***David Barboza & Azam Ahmed:** "Muddy Waters Research Is a Thorn for Some Chinese companies" in *The New York Times*, June 9, 2011.

***Wayne Morrison:** "China - U.S. Trade Issues," *Congressional Research Service*, June 2, 2011

Robert G. Sutter: *U.S.-Chinese Relations*, Chapter 9

Lecture 37 Sino-U.S. Relations -- Outlook

Reading for Lecture 37

***Elisabeth Bumiller:** "U.S. Will Counter Chinese Arms Buildup" in *The New York Times*, January 8, 2011.

Robert G. Sutter: *U.S.-Chinese Relations*, Chapter 12.

December 5 & 7 Chinese Behavior in Foreign Policy

Lecture 38 Theory and China's Place in the World

Reading for Lecture 38

***Editorial:** "A Newly Cooperative China" in *The New York Times*, January 21, 2011

***Edward Wong:** "China Hedges Over Whether South China Sea is a 'Core Interest: Worth War'" in *The New York Times*, March 30, 2011.

Thomas Robinson & David Shambaugh, eds: *Chinese Foreign Policy*, Chapters 14, 16 & 19.

***Robert S. Ross:** *Chinese Security Policy*, Chapter 4.

Lecture 39 Chinese Behavior in Foreign Policy

Reading for Lecture 39

***Clifford Krauss:** "In Global Forecast, China Looms Large as Energy User and Maker of Green Power" in *The New York Times*, November 9, 2010.

***Peter Gries:** *China's New Nationalism*, University of Berkeley Press, 2004, Chapter 8

December 9 Final Comments, Final Exam Review & Distribution

December 16 Final Exam Due by noon.