



BEIJ CFPL 370 Introduction to Chinese Foreign Policy: The Middle Kingdom and the World
The Alliance for Global Education China Now: Development, Politics and Social Change Program

Professor Chad Futrell

The economic and political re-emergence of China as a global power is one of the defining characteristics of the 21st century. China spent much of the past decade forging closer relationships with not only its neighbors, but also countries as far away as Africa and Latin America. The successful Beijing Olympics then highlighted a modernizing country that is also extraordinarily proud of its 5,000 years of history. Recent global financial turmoil, however, has highlighted the dangers of China's economic imbalances with the United States. Likewise, rising carbon emissions and China's stance at the recent UN Convention on Climate Change in Copenhagen, has alerted the world to the environmental impacts of China's rapid industrialization. Western scholars and government officials have thus focused on the rise of China and its implications for global security relationships, especially US-China relations. Chinese scholars and officials, on the other hand, are more likely to see China's recent growth as reclaiming its historical position as the center of regional and possibly world politics.

Drawing primarily from international relations, history, and Asian studies literatures, this course provides a historical understanding of China's emergence, decline, and reemergence on the world stage. Students will engage with historical processes from a variety of perspectives in order to better understand not only how China views itself and the world, but also how other countries view China. We will also take advantage of our location in Beijing by taking two fieldtrips that reinforce the readings through enabling us to see the physical vestiges of colonialism and the Cold War. The first third of the course focuses on China's historical relationships with its neighbors along with European and Japanese colonialism. The second third of the course delves into China's shifting Cold War diplomacy. Finally, the last segment of the course focuses on foreign-policy making in the Reform Period, China's rise, and the future of China's relationships with the US and East Asia.

Course Requirements and Grading

Although I will give some mini-lectures during the course in order to contextualize that week's readings, the majority of class time will be devoted to discussion of that week's issues. Students are thus expected to have done all of the readings before class, and to come to class ready to discuss and possibly debate the issues. In order to facilitate discussion and to provide alternative viewpoints, students will choose three weeks to serve as a *Critical Additional Perspective*. The student will write a short paper (3-5 pages, double-spaced) on China from the perspective of that country or specific segment of the government. For example, during the week on China's "Century of Humiliation," students may take the perspective of Japan, one of the European powers, or the United States. Student

papers would then provide a brief overview of that country at that point in history along with how its engagement with China affected that country and how it was viewed domestically. Additional materials will be supplied as necessary for the *Critical Additional Perspective* papers. Students are required to send these papers to the class at least 24 hours before class, and should be prepared to share their perspective during class discussion. Finally, there will be a short take-home midterm and final in-class exam.

Grading Summary

Participation	20%
Critical Additional Perspective papers (3)	10% each
Midterm take-home exam:	25%
Final exam:	25%

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Week 1 Jan. 25-29: Introduction: State-building and International Relations in Comparative Historical Perspective

- 1) Topic 1A: Introduction to course
- 2) Topic 1B: Current issues in Chinese international relations (e.g., China-US trade, climate change, Taiwan, North Korea)
- 3) Topic 1C: Brief Overview of Mainstream American and British International Relations theory

Walt, Stephen. 1998. "International Relations: One World, Many Theories." *Foreign Policy*. p. 29-46.

Hutchings, Kimberly. 2008. "How to Think Like a Social Scientist: International Relations." Podcast of presentation given at LSE on October 15, 2008 (49:26).

Supplementary Reading

Dougherty, James E. and Robert L. Pfaltzgraff. 2004. *Theoretical Approaches to International Relations* Chapter 1: p. 1-50.

Week 2 Feb. 1-5: How do we know a (Chinese) state and state system when we see them?

- 1) Topic 2A: Social scientific understanding of modern state-formation in Europe
- 2) Topic 2B: Applicability to formation of ancient Chinese states?
- 3) Topic 2C: Multi-state systems in Ancient China and Early Modern Europe

Tilly, Charles. 1985. "War Making and State Making as Organized Crime" In Peter Evans, Dietrich Rueschemeyer & Theda Skocpol, eds., *Bringing the State Back In*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Thornton, Patricia. 2007. *Disciplining the State: Virtue, Violence, and State-Making in Modern China* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Asia Center). Chapter 1.

Cohen, Warren I. 2000. *East Asia at the Center: Four thousand years of engagement with the world*. New York: Columbia University Press, Chapter 1. P. 1-41. Refer to kingdom maps from Ebrey, Patricia, et al. *A Visual Sourcebook of Chinese Civilization*. Accessible at: <http://depts.washington.edu/chinaciv/index.htm>

Hui, Victoria Tin-Bor. 2004. "Toward a Dynamic Theory of International Politics: Insights from Comparing Ancient China and Early Modern Europe," *International Organization* 58: 175-205.

Additional Critical Perspective: Any of the non-Qin Chinese states

Week 3 Feb. 8-14: From the Middle Kingdom's Tributary System to the Century of Humiliation

Topic 3A: Relationship with Xiongnu and other nomadic central Asian groups

Topic 3B: Relationship with Chosun Korea and Japan

Topic 3C: Opium Wars and Colonialism

Topic 3D: Uneven treaties and fall of Qing Empire

Zhang, Yongjin. 2001. "System, Empire, and State in Chinese International Relations." *Review of International Studies*. 27: 43-63.

Fairbank, John, Edwin Reischauer and Albert Craig. 1965. "China's Response to the West" Chapter 5 in *A History of East Asian Civilization*. p. 313-407.

Cohen, Warren I. 2000. "The foreign impact on East Asia." In *Historical perspectives on contemporary East Asia*, edited by Merle Goldman and Andrew Gordon. Cambridge, MA: Harvard. p. 1-41.

Additional Critical Perspectives: Xiongnu/central Asian group, Chosun Korea, Japan (pre-1800); Any European power, the U.S., or Japan (post-1800)

Week 4 Feb. 15-20: Alliance Field Trip

Week 5 Feb. 22-27: Class Fieldtrip: Century of Humiliation:
Yuanmingyuan (Old Summer Palace)

Week 6 March 1-5: Rise of Modern Chinese Nationalism and Liberation

Topic 6A: Instability and rise of modern nationalism

Topic 6B: War against Japanese Imperialism

Topic 6C: Civil War and Liberation

Chen Jian. 2001. *Mao's China and the Cold War* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2001), chapter one.

Lu Xun, "Preface," *A Call to Arms*

Lilley, James. 2004. *China Hands: Nine decades of adventure, espionage, and diplomacy in Asia.* Chapters 1 & 2 p. 3-34. (skim).

Additional Critical Perspectives: Japan, U.S., Guomindang

Week 7 March 8-12: Founding of the PRC and early Cold War Diplomacy

Topic 7A: Founding of the People's Republic and Communist Internationalism

Topic 7B: Rise and Demise of the Sino-Soviet Alliance

Chen Jian. *Mao's China and the Cold War*. Chapter 2 and chapter 3.

Goncharov, Sergei N., John W. Lewis, and Xue Litai. "The Making of the Alliance." In *Uncertain Partners: Stalin, Mao, and the Korean War*, pp. 76-109.

Mao Zedong. "Cast Away Illusions, Prepare for Struggle." In *Selected Works of Mao Tse-tung*, Vol. IV (Beijing: Foreign Languages Press, 1967), pp. 425-432.

Robinson, Thomas. "China Confronts the Soviet Union: Warfare and Diplomacy on China's Inner Asian Frontiers." In *Cambridge History of China* (1992), pp. 218-301.

Additional Critical Perspectives: Soviet Union, United States

Week 8 March 15-19: Fieldtrip: Founding of the PRC and early Cold War Diplomacy

Tiananmen (Monument to the People's Heroes), Underground City, and Foreign Legation

Take-home Midterm Due

Week 9 March 22-25: Korean War, Taiwan, and Vietnam War

Topic 9A: Like "Lips and Teeth" – China and North Korea

Topic 9B: Taiwan Straits Crisis of 1958

Topic 9C: China's Involvement in the Vietnam War

Chen Jian. *Mao's China and the Cold War*, chapters 4, 7 and 8. pp. 85-117, 163-237 (excerpts)

Christensen, Thomas. *Useful Adversaries*, Chapter 5 "The Real Lost Chance in China: Nonrecognition, Taiwan, and the Disaster at the Yalu." pp. 133-176.

Lilley, James. 2004. *China Hands*. Chapters 6-9. pp.65-134 (skim)

Additional Critical Perspectives: North Korea, South Korea, Taiwan, Vietnam, U.S.

Week 10 March 29 – April 2: Rapprochement with United States and Re-entering International Politics

Topic 10A: Rapprochement with US

Topic 10B: The "China Seat" in the UN

Chen Jian. 2001 "Sino-American Rapprochement 1969-1972." in *Mao's China and the Cold War*. Chapter 9 p. 238-276.

Ross, Robert. *Negotiating Cooperation*, ch. 1-2, pp. 1-54

Lilley, James. 2004. *China Hands*. Chapters 10-14: p. 135-224 (*skim excerpts*)

Additional Critical Perspectives: Nixon, Ford, or Carter Administration, United Nations, G77 country

Week 11 April 5-9: Foreign Policy and Policy-making in the 1980s

Topic 11A: Reorganization of foreign policy in the reform period

Topic 11B: Foreign policy vis a vis Asian neighbors

Topic 11C: Foreign policy and superpowers

Shambaugh, David. "The Chinese State in the Post-Mao Era," in David Shambaugh, ed., *The Modern Chinese State*, pp. 161-187.

Lu Ning. "The Central Leadership, Supraministry Coordinating Bodies, State Council

Ministries, and Party Departments." In David Lampton, ed., *The Making of Chinese Foreign and Security Policy*, pp. 39-61.

Cheung Tai Ming. "The Influence of the Gun: China's Central Military Commission and Its Relationship with the Military, Party and State Decision-Making Systems." In David Lampton, ed., *The Making of Chinese Foreign and Security Policy*, pp. 61-90.

Zhang Baijia. "Chinese Politics and Asia-Pacific Policy." In Ezra Vogel et al., eds. *The Golden Age of the U.S.-China-Japan Triangle, 1972-1989* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2002), pp. 38-51.

Hamrin, Carol Lee. 1983. "China Reassess the Superpowers." *Pacific Affairs* 56 (2): 209-231.

Optional:

Garrison, Jean. 2005. "Developing a Strategic Partnership: Reagan and the China-Taiwan Balancing Act" Chapter 5 in *Making China Policy*. p. 79-106.

Additional Critical Perspectives: U.S., Taiwan, Soviet Union, People's Liberation Army or other branch of Chinese foreign policy apparatus

Week 12 April 12-15: Foreign Policy and Policy-making in the 1990s

Topic 12A: Foreign policy after Tiananmen

Topic 12B: End of Cold War and Realpolitik in Northeast Asia

Topic 12C: Evolving role of domestic conditions in foreign-policy making

Ross, Robert. "The Diplomacy of Tiananmen: Two-Level Bargaining and Great Power Cooperation." *Security Studies* 10, no. 2 (Winter 2000/2001): 139-178.

Zhang Baijia. 2005. "Chinese Domestic and Foreign Policies in the 1990s." In *The Age of Uncertainty: The U.S.-China-Japan Triangle from Tiananmen (1989) to 9/11 (2001)*. Edited by Harvard East Asian Monographs Online. pp. 61-81.

Glaser, Bonnie S., and Phillip C. Saunders. 2002. "Chinese Civilian Foreign Policy Research Institutes: Evolving Roles and Increasing Influence." *The China Quarterly* 171: 601-620.

Fewsmith, Joseph, and Stanley Rosen. "The Domestic Context of Chinese Foreign Policy: Does Public Opinion Matter?" In David Lampton, ed., *The Making of Chinese Foreign and Security Policy in the Era of Reform, 1978-2000*, pp. 151-187.

Optional:

Garrison, Jean. 2005. *Making China Policy*. Chapters 6 & 7 G.H.W. Bush and Clinton, pp. 107-164.

Additional Critical Perspectives: United States, Japan, other East Asian country, branch of Chinese foreign policy apparatus

Week 13 April 19-23: China's Rise and Possibilities for Peace in Asia

Topic 13A: History of conflict and possibilities for peace in Asia

Topic 13B: Shifting relationships in Northeast Asia after the Cold War

Topic 13C: Shifting relationships with Southeast Asia

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

Selden, Mark. 2009. "East Asian Regionalism and its Enemies in Three Epochs: Political Economy and Geopolitics, 16th to 21st Centuries" *The Asia-Pacific Journal* Vol. 9-4-09,

ONE of the following on the region:

Kang, David C.. 2003. "Getting Asia Wrong: The Need for New Analytic Frameworks." *International Security* 27 (4): 57-85.

Acharya, Amitav. 2003/2004. "Will Asia's past be its future?" *International Security* 28 (3): 149-164.

Shambaugh, David. 2004/2005. "China engages Asia: Reshaping the Regional Order." *International Security* 29 (3): 64-99.

ONE of the following authors on North Korea:

Scobell, Andrew. 2002. "China and North Korea: The close but uncomfortable relationship," *Current History* 101, pp. 278-283.; AND Scobell, Andrew. 2003. "China and North Korea: The limits of influence." *Current History* 102, pp. 274-278.

Shambaugh, David. 2003. "China and the Korean Peninsula," *Washington Quarterly* Spring.

ONE of the following on Southeast Asia:

Brantly Womack. 2003/2004. "China and Southeast Asia: Asymmetry, Leadership and Normalcy," *Pacific Affairs* 76 no. 4: pp. 529-548.

Wong, John and Sarah Chen. 2003. "China-ASEAN free Trade Agreement: Shaping Future Economic Relations," *Asian Survey* 43 no. 3: pp. 507-526.

Additional Critical Perspectives: Any Northeast or Southeast Asian country or ASEAN

Week 14 April 26-30: China's "Peaceful Rise" and the Future of US-China Relations.

Topic 14A: China's "Peaceful Rise" from the Chinese perspective

Topic 14B: Debates on China's Peaceful Rise in the United States

Yan, Xuetong. 2006. "The Rise of China and its Power Status." *Chinese Journal of International Politics* 1 (1): 5-33.

Johnston, Alastair Iain. 2003. "Is China a status quo power?" *International Security* 27 (4): 5-56.

Friedberg, Aaron L. 2005. "The Future of US-China Relations: Is Conflict Inevitable?" *International Security* 30 (2): 7-45.

Christensen, Thomas J. 2006. "Fostering Stability or Creating a Monster?" *International Security* 31 (1): 81-126.

Optional:

Garrison, Jean. 2005. "From Strategic Competitor to Uneasy Ally: G.W. Bush and the fragile US-China Relationship." Chapter 8 in *Making China Policy*. pp. 165-186

Additional Critical Perspectives: China Hawk, Panda Hugger

Week 15 April 31-May 4:

Conclusions and Looking Forward