

Boston University
Foreign Policy of the People's Republic of China
Semester II, 2011-2012
Tuesday and Thursday, 11:00-12:30
FLR 134

Professor Joseph Fewsmith
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COURSE AIMS:

The intent of this course is to give a broad understanding of the course of Chinese foreign policy since the establishment of the People's Republic in 1949 as well as to take a more intensive look at some of the major problems in Chinese foreign policy in the contemporary period. Our aim is to understand the international problems that China has faced, how it has conceptualized those problems, and how it has tried to deal with them. In looking at Chinese foreign policy, we will attempt to assess how "rational" it has been. Has China based its foreign policy on a stable and well-defined sense of China's national interest or has it viewed the world through Marxist-Leninist or other ideological lenses? Most of the course is devoted to understanding China's international behavior in the contemporary period, including its emergence as a major economic power, its situation as an Asian and global actor, and its difficult relationship with the United States. Thus, one question we will raise is that of continuity and change in China's foreign policy. How has China's foreign policy aims changed since the inauguration of reform in 1978? Has China become a status quo power? Will a wealthier and more powerful China challenge the institutions of the world? How does China's domestic political situation affect its foreign policy? Is China's succession bringing about a new foreign policy?

READINGS:

The following books are available for purchase at Barnes and Noble if you care to purchase them:

Fred Bergsten et. al., *China's Rise* (Washington, D.C.: Center for Strategic and International Studies and the Institute for International Economics, 2008).
Richard Bush, *Perils of Proximity* (Washington, D.C.: The Brookings Institution, 2010).

In addition, there are a considerable number of articles that must be read for this class. They will be on the Blackboard website.

COURSE REQUIREMENTS: Grades will be based on class participation, midterm and final exams, and a research paper. Undergraduate students will be expected to write a paper of approximately 15 pages (double spaced, 12 point font); Graduate students will be expected to write a research paper of approximately 25 pages. All papers will be due on Tuesday, May 1. Paper topics should be about some aspect of Chinese foreign policy (not domestic politics), preferably something covered in class, though other topics are permissible but should be decided in consultation with the professor.

POLICY ON ABSENCES

Because of the intensive nature of this course, students are expected to attend all classes. Absences may be excused for medical, religious, official and personal reasons. Absences for illness for more than two days require a medical certificate. Absences for religious observances and for family or personal reasons require documentation. Absence for purposes of representing the University in authorized athletic events or officially sponsored activities are excused by notification from your sponsoring department or activity. The stated University policy reads: "Any student who has been excessively absent from a course may be required to withdraw from that course without credit." I define "excessively absent" for this course to be more than four absences, excused or not.

POLICY ON PLAGIARISM

Plagiarism is the passing off of the ideas or words of another as your own. It is taken very seriously at Boston University as at all institutions of higher learning. Those believed to have committed plagiarism must appear before a university disciplinary board, a procedure that can result in a student's suspension or expulsion. Your papers should contain appropriate citations. It is better to use too many citations than too few. If you have any doubt about what constitutes plagiarism, please talk with me.

POLICY ON "INCOMPLETES"

No incomplete grades will be reported unless the instructor and the student have conferred, the student has presented a sufficient reason why the work of the course cannot be completed on schedule, and the instructor has assigned a date within the succeeding twelve months by which time all course requirements must be completed. This must be in written form. No degree credit for incomplete courses will be granted unless the work is completed by the date assigned, which must be no later than one calendar year from the date on when the incomplete grade is reported. In the event that coursework remains incomplete on the assigned date or twelve months after the "I" grade has been awarded, whichever comes first, the "I" grade will be changed automatically and permanently to an "F" grade.

GRADING:

Grades for the course will be determined on the following basis:

Class Participation (including any necessary quizzes)	10%
Midterm	20%
Research Paper	40%
Final Exam	30%

ONLINE RESOURCES AND PERIODICALS:

U.S. Department of State, Bureau of East Asian and Pacific Affairs:

www.state.gov/p/eap/

Department of Treasury: www.ustreas.gov/initiatives/us-china/

China Leadership Monitor at www.chinaleadershipmonitor.org

People's Daily can be found at: <http://english.peopledaily.com.cn/>

China Daily can be found at: www.chinadaily.com.cn

Congressional Executive Commission on China: www.cecc.gov/

U.S.-China Economic and Security Review Commission: www.uscc.gov/

Asia Society's Asia Source Homepage at www.asiasource.org

Asian Studies World Wide Web Virtual Library (WWWVL) at the Australian National University at <http://coombs.anu.edu.au/WWWVL-AsianStudies.html>

China Daily at www.chinadaily.net

China Headline Links from *ChinaOnline* at

www.chinaonline.com/roundup/headlines.asp

China Links from the University of Michigan at

<http://www.lib.umich.edu/libhome/Area.Programs/Asia/china/weblist.htm>

China News Digest at <http://www.cnd.org/CND-Global/CND-Global.new.html>

Chinese Military Power page at www.comw.org/cmp

CNN/*Time*/*Asiaweek* at www.cnn.com/AsiaNow

Constitution of the People's Republic of China at

<http://english.peopledaily.com.cn.cn/constitution/constitution.html>.

Danwei blog www.danwei.org

Embassy of China to the United States at www.china-embassy.org

Far Eastern Economic Review at www.feer.com

Hong Kong WWWVL at www.asiawind.com/hkwwwvl

Inside China at www.insidechina.com

Internet Guide for China Studies – Politics at <http://sun.sino.uni-heidelberg.de/igcs/igpol.htm>

Hong Kong University China Media Project www.cmp.hku.hk

South China Morning Post (Hong Kong) at www.scmp.com

Taiwan Government Information Office at www.roc-taiwan.org

UC Berkeley China Media Project China Digital Times

www.chinadigitaltimes.net

The China Beat at <http://thechinabeat.blogspot.com/>

Periodicals and Scholarly Journals

American Political Science Review

Asian Survey

Australian Journal of Chinese Affairs

Bulletin of Concerned Asian Scholars

China Information

China Quarterly

Comparative Politics

Current History

Foreign Affairs

Journal of Contemporary China

Modern China

Pacific Affairs

Pacific Review

There is a helpful online bibliography at:

<http://www.princeton.edu/~lynn/chinabib.pdf>

Course Outline

Week 1: Contours of China's Foreign Policy

#1 Tues., Jan. 17: Introduction and Organization: Defining China

#2 Thurs., Jan. 19: China and the Use of Force: Korea

Reading:

Chen Jian, "The Myth of America's Lost Chance in China," pp 38-48
(Blackboard)

Niu Jun, "On the Internally-Oriented Characteristic of China's Diplomacy
from 1945-1955" (Blackboard)

Week 2: War and Peace

#3 Tues., Jan. 24: China and the Use of Peace

Reading:

Zhang Qiang, "China and the Geneva Convention of 1954," China Quarterly (June 1992): 103-122 (Blackboard).
John Garver, *Protracted Contest*, pp. 110-37 (Blackboard).

#4 Thurs., Jan. 26: China and the Use of Force: Indochina

Reading:

Chen Jian, "China and the First Indochina War, 1950-1954," pp. 118-144 (Blackboard).

Week 3: Hostile Neighbors

#5 Tues., Jan. 31: China and India

Reading:

John Garver, *Protracted Contest*, pp. 79-109 (Blackboard).

#6 Thurs., Feb. 2: The Sino-Soviet Dispute

Reading:

Steven Goldstein, "Nationalism and Internationalism: Sino-Soviet Relations," from David Shambaugh and Thomas W. Robinson, eds., *Chinese Foreign Policy*, pp. 224-265 (Blackboard).

Thomas W. Robinson, "The Sino-Soviet Dispute: Background, Development and the March 1969 Clashes," *American Political Science Review*, vol. 66, no. 4 (Dec. 1974): 1175-1202 (Blackboard).

Week 4: Reorienting China's Foreign Policy

#7 Tues., Feb. 7: China's Thinking

Reading:

Kuisong Yang and Yafeng Xia, "Vacillating between Revolution and Détente: Mao's Changing Psyche and Policy toward the United States, 1969-1976," Diplomatic History, April 2010 (Blackboard).

Chen Jian, Mao's China and the Cold War, pp. 205-283 (Blackboard).

#8 Thurs., Feb. 9: U.S. Calculations

Reading:

Harding, "Breakthrough," from *A Fragile Relationship*, pp. 23-66 (Blackboard).

Week 5: China as an Economic Power

#9 Tues., Feb. 7: China's Growth as a Challenge to the Global Order

Reading:

- “China’s Domestic Economy: Continued Growth or Collapse?” in China: The Balance Sheet, pp. 18-39 (Blackboard).
- “China in the World Economy: Opportunity or Threat?” in China: The Balance Sheet, pp. 73-117 (Blackboard).
- “China’s Challenge to the Global Economic Order,” in China’s Rise, pp. 9-32 (Blackboard).

#10 Thurs., Feb. 9: China’s Growth: Is It Sustainable?

Reading:

- Barry Naughton, “Economic Growth, “ From High-Speed to High-Quality,” in Fewsmith, ed., China Today, China Tomorrow, pp. 71-90 (Blackboard).
- “Sustaining Economic Growth in China,” in China’s Rise, pp. 105-136.
- Robert Zoellick, “Whither China: From Membership to Responsibility?” (Blackboard).

Week 6: China as a Military Power

#11 Tues., Feb. 21: NO CLASS: SUBSTITUTE MONDAY SCHEDULE

#12 Thurs., Feb. 23: China’s Military Power

Reading:

- “China’s Military Modernization,” in China’s Rise, pp 209-234.
- M. Taylor Fravel, “China’s Search for Military Power,” *The Washington Quarterly*, Summer 2008.

Week 7: Public Opinion in China

#13 Tues., Feb. 28: Does Public Opinion Matter?

Reading:

- Robert Putnam, “Diplomacy and Domestic Politics: The Logic of Two-Level Games,” International Organization, Vol. 42 (Summer 1988), pp. 427-460.
- Fewsmith and Rosen, “The Domestic Context of Chinese Foreign Policy: Does Public Opinion Matter?” in Lampton, ed., The Making of Chinese Foreign and Security Policy, pp. 151-187.
- Susan Shirk, “The Echo Chamber of Nationalism: Media and the Internet,” Chpt. 4 of Fragile Superpower, pp. 79-104. pp. 1-33.

#14 Mar. 1: Nationalism and Foreign Policy

Reading:

Alastair Iain Johnston, "Chinese Middle-Class Attitudes Toward International Affairs: Nascent Liberalization?" The China Quarterly, No. 179 (September 2004), pp. 603-628.

Robert S. Ross, "China's Naval Nationalism"

Robert S. Ross, "Chinese Nationalism and Its Discontents," The National Interest, Nov.-Dec., 2011 (on line)

Week 8: Domestic Politics and Foreign Policy

#15 Tues., Mar. 6: Domestic Political Change?

Reading:

"Democracy with Chinese Characteristics?" Political Reform and the Future of The Chinese Communist Party," in China's Rise, pp. 57-74.

"Central-Local Relations: Hu's in Charge Here?," in China's Rise, pp. 75-90.

"Corruption in China: Crisis or Constant?" in China's Rise, pp. 91-104.

#16 Thurs., Mar. 8: **MIDTERM EXAM**

SPRING RECESS: MARCH 10-18

Week 9: China and the Future of the International System

#16 Tues., Mar. 20: Power Transition and International Institutions

Reading:

Jack S. Levy, "Power Transition and the Rise of China," in Ross and Zhu, eds., China's Ascent, pp. 11-33.

Zhu Feng, "China's Rise Will Be Peaceful: How Unipolarity Matters," in Ross and Zhu, eds., China's Ascent, pp. 34-54.

G. John Ikenberry, "The Rise of China: Power, Institutions, and the Western Order," in Ross and Zhu, China's Ascent, pp. 89-114.

#17 Thurs., Mar. 22: How China Will, or Will Not, Affect the Global System

Reading:

J. Mearshimer, "The Gathering Storm: China's Challenge to U.S. Power in Asia" (Blackboard).

Aaron Friedberg, "The Future of U.S.-China Relations," International

Security, Vol. 30, no. 2 (Fall 2005), pp. 7-45 (Blackboard).
Randall Schwaller, "Managing the Rise of Great Powers: History and Theory," in Alastair Iain Johnston and Robert S. Ross, ed., Engaging China, pp. 1-26 (Blackboard).
Jonathan Kirshner, "The Tragedy of Offensive Realism: Classical Realism and the Rise of China," European Journal of International Relations, August 2010 (Blackboard).

Week 10: China and Japan

#18 Tues., Mar. 27: Roots of Conflict

Reading:

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

#19 Thurs., Mar. 29: Managing Conflict

Reading:

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

Week 11: China and Korea

#20 Tues., Apr., 3: China's Interests in the Korean Peninsula

Reading:

David Shambaugh, *The Washington Quarterly* (Blackboard).

Jae Ho Chung, "China's Ascendancy and the Korean Peninsula: From Interest Reevaluation to Strategic Evaluation," in Shambaugh, ed., *Power Shift*, pp. 151-169 (Blackboard).

#21 Thurs., Apr. 5: The Nuclear Issue

Reading:

Dingli Shen, "Cooperative Denuclearization toward North Korea," *The Washington Quarterly*, October 2009 (Blackboard).

Jonathan D. Pollack, "Kim Jong-il's Clenched Fist," *The Washington Quarterly*, October 2009 (Blackboard).

Victor D. Cha, "What Do they Really Want? Obama's North Korea Conundrum," *The Washington Quarterly*, October 2009 (Blackboard).

Week 12: China and Taiwan

#22 Tues., Apr. 10: Origins of the Problem

Reading:

Chu Yun-han and Lin Jih-wen, "Political Development in the 20th Century Taiwan: State-Building, Regime Transformation and the Construction of National Identity," in Edmunds and Goldstein, eds., pp. 102-129 (Blackboard).

Chu Yun-han, "Taiwan's National Identity Politics and the Prospect of Cross-Strait Relations," *Asian Survey*, v. 44, no. 4 (July-Aug, 2004), pp. 484-512 (Blackboard).

Richard Bush, "Taiwan Faces China: Attraction and Repulsion," in Shambaugh, ed., *Power Shift*, pp. 170-186 (Blackboard).

#23 Thurs., Apr. 12: Crisis in the Taiwan Straits

Reading:

Swaine, "Chinese Decision Making Regarding Taiwan, 1979-2000" (Blackboard).

Robert S. Ross, "The 1995-1996 Taiwan Strait Confrontation: Coercion, Credibility, and the Use of Force," in *International Security*, Vol. 25, no. 2 (Autumn 2000), pp. 87-123 (Blackboard).

Week 13: China: Has It Become More Assertive?

#24 Tues., Apr. 17: China's "Assertive" Behavior

Readings:

Michael D. Swaine, "China's Assertive Behavior – Part One: On 'Core' Interests'," *China Leadership Monitor*, no. 34 (Blackboard)

Michael D. Swaine and M. Taylor Fravel, "China's Assertive Behavior – Part Two: The Maritime Periphery," *China Leadership Monitor*, no. 35 (Blackboard).

#25 Thurs., Apr. 19: The South China Sea

Readings:

Michael D. Swaine, "China's Assertive Behavior – Part Three: The Role of the Military in Foreign Policy," *China Leadership Monitor*, no. 36 (Blackboard).

Taylor Fravel, "Maritime Security in the South China Sea and the Competition over Maritime Rights," Chapter 2 of Patrick Cronin, ed., *Cooperation from Strength*, pp. 31-50.

Week 14: Competition and Vulnerability

#26 Tues, Apr. 24: Competition in the South China Sea

Readings:

Will Rogers, "The Role of Natural Resources in the South China Sea,"
Chapter 5 of Patrick Cronin, ed., *Cooperation from Strength*,
pp. 83-98.

#27 Thurs., Apr. 26: The Issue of Vulnerability

Reading:

David C. Gompert and Philip C. Saunders, "Introduction" and "U.S.
Views on Strategic Power, Vulnerability, and Restraint," pp. 1-38
(Blackboard).

Week 15: More Vulnerability

#28 Tues., May 1: Natural Resources and National Competition

Reading:

David C. Gompert and Philip C. Saunders, "Chinese Views on Strategic
Power, Vulnerability, and Restraint," pp. 39-70 (Blackboard).

PAPER DUE!

#29 Thurs., May 3: A Summing Up

Final Exam: Wednesday, May 9: 9:00-11:00