

Course ID Number: REC 5760
Course Title: Chinese Foreign Policy

No. of Credits: 2

Graduate School of International Relations
International University of Japan

Term: Fall 2011

Instructor: Janet Xuanli Liao

Course Introduction

This course is designed to introduce the major topics and features of the foreign policy of the People's Republic of China (PRC), from its founding in 1949 to present. It will first examine the changing style and concerns of China's foreign policy-making under different leaderships, to demonstrate the logic behind the policy-decisions. The teaching will then look at a number of important events/counties, in China's foreign policy in order to illustrate the changes occurred. The examples include China's entry into the Korean War, the Sino-Soviet split, rapprochement between China and the United States, China's policy towards Japan, the Taiwan issue, Sino-European relations, China's dealing with Africa and Latin America, and, China and the United Nations. The final session will focus on China's recent rise at the international stage, and the likely implications.

Chinese Foreign Policy

(3 October- 5 December 2011)

Instructor: Dr Janet Xuanli Liao,

Class time: Mondays 10:30-12:00 and 13:00-14:30

Classroom: TBD

Office Hours: Tuesdays 3-5pm

Introduction

This course is designed to introduce the major topics and features of the foreign policy of the People's Republic of China (PRC), from its founding in 1949 to present. It will first examine the changing style and concerns of China's foreign policy-making under different leaderships, to demonstrate the logic behind the policy-decisions. The teaching will then look at a number of important events/counties, in China's foreign policy in order to illustrate the changes occurred. The examples include China's entry into the Korean War, the Sino-Soviet split, rapprochement between China and the United States, China's policy towards Japan, the Taiwan issue, Sino-European relations, China's dealing with Africa and Latin America, and, China and the United Nations. The final session will focus on China's recent rise at the international stage, and the likely implications.

The course aims to acquaint students with knowledge of China's involvement in world affairs in historical and contemporary perspectives, and provide them special insights of understanding the dynamics of China's foreign policy.

Organization

The course will be conducted mainly by lectures, but students are also expected to actively participate in the classroom discussions, and certain time has been allocated for the purpose of discussions throughout the sessions. In addition, each student is expected to write a piece of book-review upon his/her choice. Both of the elements will be counted as part of the course assessment.

Assessment

1. **One research paper** (4,500 words +/-10%): the topic can be decided by a student based on his/her preference, but the analysis needs to demonstrate the student's understanding of the key issues relating to China's foreign policy, as well as the ability of academic criticism. The mark of the research paper is 60 %.
2. **One Book Review:** the student can select a book and write a book-review, which needs to be submitted by the end of fifth week (4th Nov 5pm). 25%.
3. **Classroom performance and attendance:** 15%.

Policies

1. The course participants are encouraged to attend the sessions on time, and to actively participate in classroom discussions. It is also highly recommended that the participants do some basic readings before coming to the class.
2. The course participants should choose a topic of their interest for the research paper. A preliminary discussion with the course instructor (via email or in person) is also encouraged for the purpose of approval.

- Evaluation is based largely on clarity of views, ability to analyze concepts and dynamics, and adherence to ethical academic practices is a must. Serious action will be taken against plagiarism.

Weekly Schedule

This section will introduce the topics and issues that will be covered in each class. In addition, what the students should read or prepare for a class should be clearly specified. It should include information about tests/exams, paper submissions, etc.

Week 1 (3 Oct 2011)

Introduction: Understanding China's Foreign Policy and Evolution

- Introduction to the course
- The evolution of the style of China's foreign policy-making
- The main actors in Chinese foreign policy-making system under different leadership
- The main features and principles in China's foreign policy
- The changing nature of China's foreign policy-making in post-Mao era

Reading Materials (the ones with * are key readings)

* A. Doak Barnett (1985), *The Making of Foreign Policy in China: Structure and Process*, London: I. B. Tauris.

Samuel S. Kim ed. (1998), *China and the World: Chinese Foreign Policy Faces the New Millennium*, 4th Edition, Boulder: Westview Press, (Chapters 1-3).

* David Lampton (2002), *The Making of Chinese Foreign and Security Policy in the Era of Reform*, Stanford University Press (Chapters 1-4).

Xuanli Liao (2006), *Chinese Foreign Policy Think Tanks and China's Policy Towards Japan*, Hong Kong: Chinese University Press, (Chapters, 2 &3).

* Sutter, Robert G. (2009), *Chinese Foreign Relations: Power and Policy since the Cold War*, 2nd Edition, Rowman & Littlefield, (Chapters 1-3).

Wang, Jisi (1994), "International relations theory and the study of Chinese foreign policy: a Chinese perspective", in T. W. Robinson & D. Shambaugh ed., *Chinese Foreign Policy: Theory and Practice*, pp. 481-505.

Week 2 (10 October 2011)

China's entry into the Korean War and Its role in the Six Party Talks

- Background of the Korean War
- China's entry into the Korean War
- Who has won the Korean War?
- The nature of the current North Korean problem?
- China's role in the Six Party Talks

Reading Materials

* Chen Jian (2001), *Mao's China and the Cold War*, Chapel Hill & London: The University of North Carolina Press, (Chapter 4),

International Crisis Group (2009), *Shades of Red: China's Debate over North Korea*, *Napsnet Asia Report*, No. 179, (electronic version available).

David Kerr (2005), "The Sino-Russian partnership and U.S. policy toward North Korea: from hegemony to concert in Northeast Asia", *International Studies Quarterly*, 49 (3): 411-438.

* Samuel S. Kim (2001), "The Making of China's Korea Policy in the Era of Reform", in D. Lampton ed., *The Making of Chinese Foreign and Security Policy in the Era of Reform*, (Chapter 12) pp. 371-408.

* Yongjin Zhang ed. (2006), *Whither the Six Party Talks? Issues, Stakes and Perspectives*, Auckland, N.Z.: New Zealand Asia Institute, University of Auckland.

Alan Romberg (2009), *China and North Korea*, *Napsnet Special Report*, 10 November (electronic version available).

Week 3 (17 October 2011)

Sino-Russian Relations: During and After the Cold War

- The rise and demise of the Sino-Soviet alliance
- The China-US-Russian strategic triangle
- The collapse of the Soviet Union and the end of the Cold War
- China, Russia and the Shanghai Cooperation Organization
- How to assess the Sino-Russian relationship in today's world?

Reading Materials:

* Chen Jian (2001), *Mao's China and the Cold War*, (Chapter 3) pp. 49-84.

* Lowell Dittmer (2004), "The Sino-Russian strategic partnership: ghost of the 'strategic triangle'?" in G. Liu ed. *Chinese Foreign Policy in Transition*, pp. 211-232.

Robert H. Donaldson and John A. Donaldson (2003), "The Arms Trade in Russian-Chinese Relations: Identity, Domestic Politics, and Geopolitical Positioning", *International Studies Quarterly*, 47 (4): 709-732.

* John W. Garver (1998), "Sino-Russian relations", in S. Kim ed., *China and the World*, pp. 114-132.

J. Kornberg & J. Faust (2005), *China in World Politics: Policies, Processes, Prospects*, (Chapter 7) "China and Russia", pp. 97-125.

* Niu Jun, "The Origins of the Sino-Soviet Alliance", available at:
<http://irchina.org/en/xueren/china/view.asp?id=699>

Robert G. Sutter (2009), *Chinese Foreign Relations: Power and Policy since the Cold War* (Chapter 11) pp. 269-296.

Week 4 (24 October 2011)

China's Rapprochement with the United States and the Aftermath

- Background of the Sino-American rapprochement: the US withdrawal from Vietnam and Soviet threat to PRC
- The Ping-Pong Diplomacy, Kissinger's secret trip to Beijing, and Nixon's visit to China
- The end of the cold-war and the Sino-US relations

- The “9.11” event and the Sino-US relations
- Will a rising China be a threat or opportunity to the United States?

Reading Materials:

* Richard Bernstein, Ross H. Munro (2004), “The coming conflict with America?” in G. Liu ed., *Chinese Foreign Policy in Transition*, pp. 151-162.

* Chen Jian (2001), *Mao’s China and the Cold War* (Chapter 9), pp. 238-276.

Harry Harding (2004), “The uncertain future of U.S.-China relations”, in G. Liu ed., *Chinese Foreign Policy in Transition*, pp. 179-196,

G. John Ikenberry and Michael Mastanduno (2003), *International Relations Theory and the Asia-Pacific*, NY: Columbia Univ. Press, (Conclusion chapter).

Steven Levine I. (1998), “Sino-American relations: practicing damage control”, in S. S. Kim ed., *China and the World: Chinese Foreign Policy Faces the New Millennium*, pp. 91-113.

* David Shambaugh (2004), “Sino-American relations since September 11: can the new stability last?” in G. Liu ed., *Chinese Foreign Policy in Transition*, pp. 197-210

Brantly Womack (2004), “How size matters: the United States, China, and asymmetry”, in G. Liu ed., *Chinese Foreign Policy in Transition*, pp. 73-100.

Week 5 (31 October 2011)

China and Japan: Partners or Competitors?

- Sino-Japanese diplomatic normalization
- Japanese assistance to China’s economic development
- A rising China and Japan’s political response
- China, the US-Japan security alliance and East Asian security
- The Sino-Japanese energy relationship
- Can China and Japan be co-leaders in East Asia?

Reading Materials:

Takahara Akio (2004), “Japan’s political response to the rise of China”, in Kokubun & Wang ed., *The Rising of China and A Changing East Asia Order*, pp. 157-174.

Ohashi Hideo (2004), “The impact of China’s rise on Sino-Japanese economic relations”, in Kokubun & Wang ed., *The Rising of China and A Changing East Asia Order*, pp. 175-194.

G. John Ikenberry and Michael Mastanduno (2003), *International Relations Theory and the Asia-Pacific*, NY: Columbia Univ. Press, (Chapters 1, 2, 4 and 12).

* Xuanli Liao (2007), “The petroleum factor in Sino-Japanese relations: beyond energy cooperation”, *International Relations of the Asia-Pacific*, 7 (1): pp. 23-46

* Joseph S. Nye (2004), “China’s re-emergence and the future of the Asia-Pacific”, in G. Liu ed., *Chinese Foreign Policy in Transition*, pp. 335-352.

* Robert G. Sutter (2009), *Chinese Foreign Relations*, (Chapter 8), “Relations with Japan and Korea”, pp. 173-208.

* Wang Jisi (2004), “China’s changing role in Asia”, in Kokubun R. and Wang J. ed., *The Rising of China and A Changing East Asia Order*, pp.3-23.

Week 6 (7 November 2011)

The Taiwan Issue

- Origin of the Taiwan issue
- The Taiwan Strait crisis of 1958
- The US factor and the Taiwan issue
- The Taiwan issue and Sino-Japanese relations
- The cross-strait relations and regional stability of East Asia

Reading Materials:

* Chen Jian (2001), *Mao's China and the Cold War*, (Chapter 7), pp. 163-204.

Information Office of the State Council (1993), *White Paper*, The One-China Principle and the Taiwan Issue, <http://www.chinaembassy.org/eng/zt/twwt/White%20Papers/t36705.htm>.

* Robert S. Ross (2006), "Taiwan's Fading Independence Movement," *Foreign Affairs*, 85 (2): 141-148.

Robert G. Sutter (2010), *Chinese Foreign Relations*, (Chapter 7) "Relations with Taiwan", pp. 153-172.

* Michael D. Swaine (2001), "Chinese Decision-Making Regarding Taiwan, 1979-2000", in D. Lampton ed., *The Making of Chinese Foreign and Security Policy in the Era of Reform*, (Chapter 10) pp. 289-336.

* Daojiong Zha (2001), "The Taiwan Problem in Japan-China Relations: An Irritant or Destroyer?" *East Asia*, 19 (1): 205-224.

Week 7 (14 November 2011)

Sino-European Relations

- What is the nature of Sino-EU relations: strategic or trade partnership?
- Are China and EU co-operators or competitors in dealing with Iran?
- Does Europe welcome a rising China?
- Can Europe replace the United States in China's foreign relations?

Reading Materials:

Jonathan Holslag (2011), "The Elusive Axis: Assessing the EU–China Strategic Partnership", *Journal of Common Market Studies*, 49 (2): 293–313

Jing Men (2006), "Chinese perceptions of the European Union: a review of leading Chinese journals", *European Law Journal*, 12 (6): 788–806.

* David Shambaugh, Eberhard Sandschneider, and Zhou Hong eds. (2007), *China-Europe Relations: Perceptions, Policies and Prospects*, Routledge.

Lingliang Zeng (2009), "A preliminary perspective of negotiations of EU–China PCA: a new bottle carrying old wine or new wine or both?" *European Law Journal*, 15 (1): 121–141.

* Liu Fei and David Kerr eds. (2007), *The International Politics of EU-China Relations*, OUP/ British Academy.

Week 8 (21 November 2011)

China's Dealing with Developing Countries

- Maoist theory of the "Third world" and China's diplomacy to developing world under Mao: the Bandung Conference and the Tanzania-Zambian railway
- The "Open-door" policy and its implications to China-third world relationship
- China's dealing with Africa in the new era and the three pillars
- China – Middle East relations and the Iran nuclear crisis
- China and Latin America
- Is China still a member of the "third world" club?

Reading Materials:

Steven F. Jackson, (1995), "China's Third World foreign policy: the case of Angola and Mozambique, 1961-93" *China Quarterly*, No 142: 388-422.

* Eisenman Joshua, Eric Heginbotham and Derek Mitchell (2007), *China and the Developing World: Beijing's Strategy for the Twenty-First Century*, M. E. Sharpe (Chapters 2-5).

Bruce D. Larkin (1971), *China and Africa, 1949-1970: the foreign policy of the People's Republic of China*, Berkeley: University of California Press.

* Robert G. Sutter, (2010), *Chinese Foreign Relations*, (Chapter 12) "Relations with the Middle East, Africa, and Latin America", pp. 297-334.

* Philip Snow (1994), "China and Africa: Consensus and Camouflage", in Robinson & Shambaugh ed., *Chinese Foreign Policy: Theory and Practice*, pp. 283-321.

Yongzheng Yang (2006), "China's Integration into the World Economy: implications for developing countries", *Asian-Pacific Economic Literature*, 20 (1): 40-56.

Week 9 (28 November 2011)

China and the United Nations

- China's entry to the United Nations
- Power struggles between the great powers
- China and the UN peace-keeping operation
- China and the UN reform
- China's dealing with Iran's nuclear crisis within the UN system
- The future of the United Nations

Reading Materials:

* Yong Deng (2005), "Better than power: "international status" in Chinese foreign policy", in Deng & Wang ed., *China Rising: Power and Motivation in Chinese Foreign Policy*, pp. 51-72.

* John W. Garver (2011), "Is China playing a dual game in Iran?" *The Washington Quarterly*, 34:1, pp. 75-88.

David Lampton (2002), *The Making of Chinese Foreign and Security Policy in the Era of Reform* (Chapters 8 & 11).

Kornberg, Judith & John R. Faust (2005), *China in World Politics: Policies, Processes,*

Prospects, 2nd edition, Boulder, London: Lynne Rienner, pp. 211-230.

Qian Qichen, "Multilateralism, the Way to Respond to Threats and Challenges," <http://www.fmprc.gov.cn/eng/wjdt/zyjh/t142393.htm>

* Gilbert Rozman (2004), "China's quest for great power identity", in Liu ed., *Chinese Foreign Policy in Transition*, pp. 119-140.

* Stefan Stahle (2008), "China's Shifting Attitudes towards United Nations Peace-Keeping Operation," *China Quarterly* 195: 631-655.

Week 10 (5 December 2011) (presentations and discussions)

China's Peaceful Rise and the Implications to the World Order

- What is the trend of China's foreign policy evolution since the PRC era?
- Will China's growing economic potential make it a political superpower?
- Is it possible for China to rise peacefully? Why?
- What could be likely obstacles for China's peaceful rise: domestic factors or international constraints?
- What are likely implications of China's rise to the world today?

Reading Materials:

Kornberg & Faust (2005), *China in World Politics: Policies, Processes, Prospects*, pp.251-66.

* Wang Jisi and Xu Hui (2006), "Pattern of Sino-American crises: a Chinese perspective," in M. D. Swaine & Zhang T. eds., *Managing Sino-American Crises*, pp.133-148

Quansheng Zhao (1997), "Chinese Foreign Policy in the Post Cold War Era", *World Affairs* 159 (3):114-129.

* Zheng Bijian (2005) "China's 'Peaceful Rise' to Great Power Status," *Foreign Affairs*, 84 (5): 18-24, available at: <http://www.jstor.org/stable/20031702>.

Jia, Qingguo (2005), "Peaceful Development: China's Policy of Reassurance," *Australian Journal of International Affairs*, 59 (4): 493-508.

* Suettinger, Robert L. (2004), "The Rise and Descent of 'Peaceful Rise'," *China Leadership Monitor*, No. 12, available at: <http://www.hoover.org/publications/china-leadership-monitor/article/7739>.

* Lampton, David M. (2005), "China's Rise in Asia need not be at America's expense," in D. Shambaugh ed., *Power Shift: China and Asia's New Dynamics*, pp. 306-328.

Robert S. Ross (2004), "Beijing as a conservative power", in G. Liu ed, *Chinese Foreign Policy in Transition*, pp. 141-150.

Reading List for Chinese Foreign Policy

- Barnett, A. Doak (1985), *The Making of Foreign Policy in China: Structure and Process*, London: I. B. Tauris.
- Cheon, Seongwhun (2010), *Changing Dynamics of U.S. Extended Nuclear Deterrence on the Korean Peninsula*, Napsnet Special Report, 10 November, available at: <http://www.nautilus.org/publications/essays/napsnet/reports/changing-dynamics-of-u.s.-extended-nuclear-deterrence-on-the-korean-peninsula>.
- Deng, Yong and Fei-Ling Wang ed. (2005), *China Rising: Power and Motivation in Chinese Foreign Policy*, Lanham, MD: Rowman and Littlefield.
- Garver, John W. (2011), "Is China playing a dual game in Iran?" *The Washington Quarterly*, 34:1, pp. 75-88.
- Holslag, Jonathan (2011), "The Elusive Axis: Assessing the EU–China Strategic Partnership", *Journal of Common Market Studies*, 49 (2): 293–313.
- Ikenberry, G. John and Michael Mastanduno eds. (2003), *International Relations Theory and the Asia-Pacific*, NY: Columbia Univ. Press.
- Information Office of the State Council (1993), *White Paper, The One-China Principle and the Taiwan Issue*, available at: <http://www.china-embassy.org/eng/zt/twwt/White%20Papers/t36705.htm>.
- International Crisis Group (2009), *Shades of Red: China's Debate over North Korea*, Napsnet Asia Report, No. 179, (electronic version available).
- Jackson, Steven F. (1995), "China's Third World foreign policy: the case of Angola and Mozambique, 1961-93" *China Quarterly*, No. 142: 388-422.
- Jia, Qingguo (2005), "Peaceful Development: China's Policy of Reassurance," *Australian Journal of International Affairs*, 59 (4): 493-508.
- Joshua, Eisenman, Eric Heginbotham and Derek Mitchell (2007), *China and the Developing World: Beijing's Strategy for the Twenty-First Century*, M. E. Sharpe.
- Kerr, David (2005), "The Sino–Russian Partnership and U.S. Policy Toward North Korea: From Hegemony to Concert in Northeast Asia", *International Studies Quarterly*, 49 (3): 411–438.
- Kim, Samuel S. ed. (1998), *China and the World: Chinese Foreign Policy Faces the New Millennium*, 4th Edition, Boulder: Westview Press
- Kornberg, Judith & John R. Faust (2005), *China in World Politics: Policies, Processes, Perspectives*, 2nd edition, Boulder, London: Lynne Rienner.
- Lampton, David (2002), *The Making of Chinese Foreign and Security Policy in the Era of Reform*, Stanford University Press.
- Larkin, Bruce D. (1971), *China and Africa, 1949-1970: the foreign policy of the People's Republic of China*, Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Liao, Xuanli (2006), *Chinese Foreign Policy Think Tanks and China's Policy Towards Japan*, Hong Kong: Chinese University Press.

- Liu, Fei and David Kerr, eds. (2007), *The International Politics of EU-China Relations*, OUP/ British Academy.
- Liu, Guoli ed. (2004), *Chinese Foreign Policy in Transition*, New York: Aldine de Gruyter.
- Men, Jing (2006), "Chinese Perceptions of the European Union: A Review of Leading Chinese Journals", *European Law Journal*, 12 (6): 788–806.
- Naughton, Barry (2007), *The Chinese Economy: Transitions and Growth*, Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press.
- Qian, Qichen, "Multilateralism, the Way to Respond to Threats and Challenges," <http://www.fmprc.gov.cn/eng/wjdt/zyjh/t142393.htm>
- Romberg, Alan (2009), *China and North Korea, Napsnet Special Report*, 10 November (electronic version available).
- Ross, Robert (1989), "From Lin Biao to Deng Xiaoping: Elite Instability and China's U.S. policy." *The China Quarterly*, No. 118: 265-299.
- Ross, Robert S. (2006), "Taiwan's Fading Independence Movement," *Foreign Affairs*, 85 (2) (March/April): 141-148.
- Shambaugh, David ed. (2005), *Power Shift: China and Asia's New Dynamics*, Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press.
- Shambaugh, David, Eberhard Sandschneider, and Zhou Hong eds. (2007), *China-Europe Relations: Perceptions, Policies and Prospects*, Routledge.
- Stahle, Stefan (2008), "China's Shifting Attitudes towards United Nations Peace-Keeping Operation," *China Quarterly* 195, September: 631-655.
- Suettinger, Robert L. (2004), "The rise and descent of 'peaceful rise'," *China Leadership Monitor*, No. 12, available at: <http://www.hoover.org/publications/china-leadership-monitor/article/7739>.
- Sutter, Robert G. (2010), *Chinese Foreign Relations: Power and Policy since the Cold War*, 2nd Edition, Rowman & Littlefield.
- Yang, Yongzheng (2006), "China's Integration into the World Economy: implications for developing countries", *Asian-Pacific Economic Literature*, 20 (1): 40-56.
- Zha, Daojiong (2001), "The Taiwan Problem in Japan-China Relations: An Irritant or Destroyer?" *East Asia*, 19 (1): 205-224.
- Zhang, Yongjin ed. (2006), *Whither the Six Party Talks? Issues, Stakes and Perspectives*, Auckland, N.Z.: New Zealand Asia Institute, University of Auckland.
- Zhao, Quansheng (1997), "Chinese Foreign Policy in the Post Cold War Era", *World Affairs*, 159 (3): 114-129.
- Zheng, Bijian (2005), "China's 'Peaceful Rise' to great power status," *Foreign Affairs*, 84 (5): 18-24, available at: <http://www.jstor.org/stable/20031702>.