

# CHINESE FOREIGN POLICY

17.408 (G)  
Fall 2013

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Location: E53-438  
Time: Mondays, 1-3pm

## Description

This graduate seminar examines the main theoretical and methodological approaches to the study of Chinese foreign policy. Discussion will focus on how various topics in Chinese foreign policy are studied, how they could be researched more effectively, and how they can be integrated into the broader field of international relations. The seminar also seeks to prepare students to conduct original research on Chinese foreign policy, comparative foreign policy, and international relations. Readings include books and articles that integrate the study of China's foreign policy with the field of international relations.

## Materials

All materials with an asterisk (\*) are available for purchase and on reserve.

Other readings are available on the Stellar website: <http://stellar.mit.edu/S/course/17/fa13/17.408/>

## Requirements and Grading

The first requirement is active participation in the seminar. A successful seminar requires attendance at every meeting and completion of all readings as well as active and engaged participation. To stimulate discussion, students will be assigned as discussants each week.

The second requirement is a research paper on the topic of your choice. The paper can take several forms. It can apply existing theories to a topic in Chinese foreign policy. It can develop an original explanation for a puzzle or problem in Chinese foreign policy. It can challenge existing arguments contained in the literature. The paper is due at 5pm on Friday, December 20, 2013.

Grades will be determined as follows: class participation (50%) and research paper (50%).

## Course Information and Policies

**Disabilities.** If you have a disability and require accommodations, please contact me immediately so that appropriate arrangements can be made.

**Extensions.** Extensions will not be granted except in case of emergency and in all cases require a note from the Dean or your doctor. Late work **will** be penalized by one third of a grade for **each** day that the assignment is late (e.g., a B to B-). The key dates for assignments in this course are outlined above.

**Plagiarism.** Plagiarism will not be tolerated. Plagiarism is “a piece of writing that has been copied from someone else and is presented as being your own work.” This includes ideas as well as specific phrases, sentences or paragraphs. **Do not misrepresent your own work.** See Avoiding Plagiarism from MIT’s Writing Center ([web.mit.edu/writing/Citation/plagiarism.html](http://web.mit.edu/writing/Citation/plagiarism.html)) and MIT’s rules regarding academic honesty ([web.mit.edu/policies/10.0.html](http://web.mit.edu/policies/10.0.html)).

**Writing.** The Writing and Communication Center (12-132) offers you free professional advice from published writers about oral presentations and about all types of academic, creative, and professional writing. To schedule an appointment, go to <http://web.mit.edu/writing> and click on the yellow sunburst. The Center’s hours are Monday-Thursday, 9:00 a.m.-9:00 p.m.; Friday 9:00 a.m.-6:00 p.m.; and Sundays, 5:00-9:00 p.m.

## SCHEDULE MEETINGS AND READINGS

### 9 SEPTEMBER

#### Introduction

##### Background Reading on the Current State of the Field (not required)

David Shambaugh, "Studies of China's Foreign and Security Policies in the United States," in *China Watching*, Robert Ash et al, eds. (London: Routledge, 2006).

Thomas J. Christensen, Alastair Iain Johnson, and Robert Ross, "Conclusions and Future Directions," in *New Directions in the Study of China's Foreign Policy*, Alastair Iain Johnston and Robert Ross, eds., (Stanford: Stanford UP), pp. 379-420

Allen Carlson, Mary E. Gallagher, Kenneth Lieberthal, and Melanie Manion. *Contemporary Chinese Politics: New Sources, Methods and Field Strategies* (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 2010).

### 16 SEPTEMBER

#### The Korean War and Analysis of Chinese Foreign Policy

\*Allen Whiting, *China Crosses the Yalu: The Decision to Enter the Korean War* (Stanford: Stanford UP, 1960)

Thomas J. Christensen, *Useful Adversaries: Grand Strategy, Domestic Mobilization, and Sino-American Conflict, 1947-1958* (Princeton: Princeton UP), pp. 138-176

Chen Jian, *China's Road to the Korean War* (New York: Columbia UP, 1994), pp. 125-189

Andrew Kennedy, *The International Ambitions of Mao and Nehru: National Efficacy Beliefs and the Making of Foreign Policy* (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 2012), pp. 68-102

Michael Ng-Quinn, "The Effects of Bipolarity on Chinese Foreign Policy," *Survey* Vol. 26, No. 2 (1982), pp. 116-130

### 23 SEPTEMBER

#### Ideology and Alliances

\*Lorenz Luthi, *The Sino-Soviet Split: Cold War in the Communist World* (Princeton: Princeton UP, 2008)

Peter Van Ness, *Revolution and Chinese Foreign Policy: Peking's Support of Wars of National Liberation* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1970): intro; Part 1, section 1; Part II, sections, 4-6; and part III, section 8

Thomas J. Christensen, "Worse than a Monolith: Disorganization and Rivalry within Asian Communist Alliances and U.S. Containment Challenges, 1949-69," *Asian Security* Vol. 1, No. 1 (January 2005), pp. 80-127

### **30 SEPTEMBER**

#### **Territorial Disputes and Use of Force**

\*M. Taylor Fravel, *Strong Borders, Secure Nation: Cooperation and Conflict in China's Territorial Disputes* (Princeton: Princeton UP, 2008)

Allen Carlson, "Constructing the Dragons Scales: China's Approach to Territorial Sovereignty and Border Relations," *Journal of Contemporary China* Vol. 12, No. 37 (November 2003), pp. 677-698

Allen S. Whiting, "China's Use of Force, 1950-96, and Taiwan," *International Security* Vol. 26, No. 2 (Fall 2001), pp. 103-131

Alastair Iain Johnston "China's Military Interstate Dispute Behavior: A First Cut at the Data," *The China Quarterly* No.153 (March 1998), pp. 1-30

Alastair Iain Johnston, "Cultural Realism and Strategy in Maoist China," in Peter J. Katzenstein, ed., *The Culture of National Security: Norms and Identity in World Politics* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1996), pp. 216-270

### **7 OCTOBER**

#### **Nuclear Weapons**

John Wilson Lewis and Xue Litai, "Strategic Weapons and Chinese Power: The Formative Years," *The China Quarterly* No. 112 (December 1987), pp. 541-554

Avery Goldstein, "Understanding Nuclear Proliferation: Theoretical Explanation and China's National Experience," *Security Studies* Vo. 2, No. 3-4 (Spring/Summer 1993), pp. 213-255

Alastair Iain Johnston, "China's New "Old Thinking": The Concept of Limited Deterrence," *International Security* Vol. 20, No. 3 (Winter, 1995-1996), pp. 5-42

Alastair Iain Johnston, "Learning Versus Adaptation: Explaining Change in Chinese Arms Control Policy in the 1980s and 1990s," *The China Journal* No. 35 (Jan., 1996), pp. 27-61

Yao Yunzhu, "Chinese Nuclear Policy: The Future of Minimum Deterrence," in Christopher P. Twomey, ed., *Perspectives on Sino-American Strategic Nuclear Issues* (New York: Palgrave, 2008), pp. 111-126

M. Taylor Fravel and Evan S. Medeiros, "China's Search for Assured Retaliation: Explaining the Evolution of China's Nuclear Strategy," *International Security* Vol. 35, No 2 (Fall 2010), pp. 48-87

Thomas J. Christensen, "The Meaning of the Nuclear Evolution: China's Strategic Modernization and US-China Security Relations," *Journal of Strategic Studies* Vol. 35, Issue 4 (2012), pp. 447-487

Wu Riqiang, "Certainty of Uncertainty: Nuclear Strategy with Chinese Characteristics," *Journal of Strategic Studies*, Vol. 36, No. 4 (2013), pp. 579-614

**14 OCTOBER**

[No class – Columbus Day Holiday]

**21 OCTOBER**

**Decisionmaking**

David M. Lampton ed., *The Making of Chinese Foreign and Security Policy* (Stanford University Press, 2001)

Michael D. Swaine, "China's Assertive Behavior, Part Three: The Role of the Military in Foreign Policy," *China Leadership Monitor* No. 36, (2012)

**28 OCTOBER**

**Nationalism**

Michel Oksenberg, "China's Confident Nationalism," *Foreign Affairs* Vol. 65, No. 3 (1986), pp. 501-523

Allen S. Whiting, "Assertive Nationalism in Chinese Foreign Policy," *Asian Survey* Vol. 23, No. 8 (August 1983), pp. 913-933

Yinan He, "Remembering and Forgetting the War: Elite Mythmaking, Mass Reaction, and Sino-Japanese Relations, 1950-2006," *History and Memory* Vol. 19, No. 2 (Fall 2007): 43-74

Peter Hays Gries, "Tears of Rage: Chinese Nationalist Reactions to the Belgrade Embassy Bombing," *The China Journal*, No. 46 (July, 2001), pp. 25-43.

Dingxin Zhao, "Nationalism and Authoritarianism: Student-Government Conflicts during the 1999 Beijing Student Protests after the Belgrade Embassy Bombing." *Asian Perspective* Vol. 27, No. 1 (2003), pp. 5-34.

Erica Strecker Downs and Phillip C. Saunders, "Legitimacy and the Limits of Nationalism: China and the Diaoyu Islands," *International Security* Vol. 23, No. 3 (Winter, 1998-1999), pp. 114-146

Robert S. Ross, "China's Naval Nationalism: Sources, Prospects, and the U.S. Response," *International Security*, Vol. 34, No. 2 (Fall 2009): 46-81

Jessica Chen Weiss, "Authoritarian Signaling, Mass Audiences, and Nationalist Protest in China," *International Organization* Vol. 67, No. 1 (2013), pp. 1-35

James Reilly, "A Wave to Worry About? Public opinion, foreign policy and China's anti-Japan protests," *Journal of Contemporary China* (2013)

**4 NOVEMBER**

**Foreign Economic Policies**

Barry Naughton, *The Chinese Economy: Transitions and Growth* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press), pp. 375-400

Wang Hongying, "China's Exchange Rate Policy in the Aftermath of the Asian Financial Crisis," in Jonathan Kirshner, ed., *Monetary Orders: Ambiguous Economics, Ubiquitous Politics Power* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2003), pp. 153-171

Margaret M. Pearson, "China in Geneva: Lessons from China's Early Years in the World Trade Organization," in Alastair Iain Johnston and Robert S. Ross, *New Directions in the Study of Chinese Foreign Policy* (Stanford: Stanford UP, 2006): 242-275.

Wang Yong, "China's Stakes in WTO Accession: The Internal Decision-making Process," in Heike Holbig and Robert Ash, eds., *China's Accession to the World Trade Organization* (London: Routledge, 2002), pp 20-39

Scott L. Kastner, "Does Economic Integration Across the Taiwan Strait Make Military Conflict Less Likely?," *Journal of East Asian Studies* Vol. 6, No. 3 (September-December 2006), pp. 319-346.

Johnathan Kirshner, "The Consequences China's Economic Rise for Sino-U.S. Relations: Rivalry, Political Conflict, and (Not) War", in Robert Ross and Zhu Feng (eds.), *China's Ascent: Power, Security, and the Future of International Politics* (Cornell University Press, 2008), pp. 238-249

Ka Zeng, "Multilateral versus Bilateral and Regional Trade Liberalization: Explaining China's Pursuit of Free Trade Agreements (FTAs)," *Journal of Contemporary China*, Vol. 19, No. 66 (2010), pp. 635-652

Daniel Drezner, "Bad Debts: Assessing China's Financial Influence in Great Power Politics," *International Security*, Vol. 34, No. 2 (Fall 2009): 7-45

James Reilly, "China's Unilateral Sanction," *The Washington Quarterly* Vol. 35, No. 4 (Fall 2012), pp. 121-133

### **11 NOVEMBER**

[No class – Veterans Day holiday]

### **18 NOVEMBER**

#### **Participation in International Institutions**

\*Alastair Iain Johnson, *Social States: China in International Institutions, 1980-2000* (Princeton: Princeton UP)

Wang Hongying, "Multilateralism in Chinese Foreign Policy: The Limits of Socialization," *Asian Survey*, Vol. 40, No. 3 (May - Jun., 2000), pp. 475-491

Allen Carlson, "More Than Just Saying No: China's Evolving Approach to Sovereignty and Intervention Since Tiananmen," in Alastair Iain Johnston and Robert S. Ross, *New Directions in the Study of Chinese Foreign Policy* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2006), pp. 217-241.

Thomas G. Moore, "Racing to Integrate, or Cooperating to Compete?: Liberal and Realist Interpretations of China's New Multilateralism," in Guoguang W. and Helen Landsdowne, eds., *China Turns to Multilateralism: Foreign Policy and Regional Security* (London: Routledge, 2007), pp. 35-50

Courtney Richardson, "A Responsible Power? China and the UN Peacekeeping Regime" *International Peacekeeping* Vol. 18, No. 3 (2011), pp 286-297

Joel Wuthnow, Xin Li, Lingling Qi, "Diverse Multilateralism: Four Strategies in China's Multilateral Diplomacy," *Journal of Chinese Political Science* Vol. 17, No. 3 (September 2012), pp 269-290

## **25 NOVEMBER**

[No class, work on research papers]

## **2 DECEMBER**

### **Military Strategy**

Paul H. B. Godwin, "Change and Continuity in Chinese Military Doctrine, 1949-1999," in Mark A. Ryan, David M. Finkelstein and Michael A. McDevitt, eds., *Chinese Warfighting: The PLA Experience Since 1949* (Armonk: M.E. Sharpe, 2003), pp. 23-55

Peng, Guangqian and Yao Youzhi, *The Science of Military Strategy* [Zhanlue Xue], (Academy of Military Science, 2005), Chs. 1, 3, 9, 10, 20-24

M. Taylor Fravel, *Active Defense: Explaining the Evolution of China's Military Strategy* (Princeton University Press, forthcoming), Chapters 1, 2, and 5

## **9 DECEMBER**

### **Assertiveness and Prospects**

Randall Schweller, "Managing the Rise of Great Powers: History and Theory," in Alastair Iain Johnston and Robert S. Ross, eds., *Engaging China: The Management of an Emerging Power* (London: Routledge, 1999), pp. 1-31

Alastair Iain Johnston, "Is China a Status Quo Power?," *International Security*, Vol. 27, No. 4 (Spring 2003), pp. 5-56

Aaron Friedberg, "The Future of U.S.-China Relations," *International Security*, Vol. 30, No. 2 (Fall 2005), pp. 7-45

John J. Mearsheimer, "China's Unpeaceful Rise," *Current History* Vol. 105, No. 690 (April 2006), pp. 160-162

M. Taylor Fravel, "International Relations Theory and China's Rise: Assessing China's Potential for Territorial Expansion," *International Studies Review* Vol. 12, No. 4 (December 2010), pp. 505-532

Michael Beckley, "China's Century? Why America's Edge Will Endure," *International Security*, Vol. 36, No. 3 (Winter 2011/12), pp. 41-78

Alastair Iain Johnston, "How New and Assertive Is China's New Assertiveness?," *International Security* Vol. 37, No. 4 (Spring 2013), pp. 7–48.

Avery Goldstein, "First Things First: The Pressing Danger of Crisis Instability in U.S.-China Relations," *International Security* Vol. 37, No. 4 (Spring 2013), pp. 49–89.