

## Chinese Foreign Policy

Georgia Institute of Technology

Fall 2007

INTA 3130B (CRN 89336)/ INTA 8803 (CRN 89337)

MWF 10:05-10:55 a.m.

Location: 204 Cherry Emerson

Dr. John W. Garver

Office: Habersham 140

Office hours: Mon. & Tues. 9:00-9:30 a.m.

email: [john.garver@inta.gatech.edu](mailto:john.garver@inta.gatech.edu)

Phone: 404-894-6846

### PURPOSE OF COURSE:

The purpose of this course is to help young people (primarily Americans) without much previous exposure to China understand how China's leaders think about the world and China's role in it. The purpose is to assist young non-Chinese people, better understand China's perceptions of the world by various Chinese leaders, those leaders specification of China's interests, and the policies that have been used to further those interests.

To accomplish this primary objective, this course is organized around the concept of China's "national humiliation." We will explore the meaning, historical origin, and contemporary political role of that concept. We will then explore Mao Zedong's and Deng Xiaoping's strategies for blotting out China's "national humiliation" and achieving national greatness. We will be especially concerned with the dimensions of China's current effort to achieve national greatness. We will also concentrate on how China's relations with the United States are influenced by China's quest for national greatness.

A second key purpose is to help young people understand how China's *neighbors* perceive China. China's drive for greatness often looks different from the standpoint of China's neighbors, and those divergent perceptions are a major environmental factor influencing China's relations with the non-Chinese world.

A key assumption underlying this course is that properly managing relations with China will be a, and perhaps *the most*, important task for United States citizens in the 1<sup>st</sup> half of the 21<sup>st</sup> century. Thus, it is important that Americans understand how Chinese think about the world.

### Grade

There will be three exams during the course each worth 25 of the final grade. Only the final exam will be comprehensive. There will also be a map quiz worth 5% of the final grade. Roll will be called and attendance will account for 20% of the final grade. Thus the course grade will be constructed as follows:

1st Exam	=	25%
2nd Exam	=	25%
Final Exam	=	25%

Map Quiz = 5%  
Attendance = 20%

Required Texts:

Warren Cohen, East Asia at the Center, Four Thousand Years of Engagement with the World, Columbia University Press, 2000.

Garver, Foreign Relations of the People's Republic of China, Prentice Hall, 1993.

Samuel S. Kim, editor, China and the World, Chinese Foreign Policy Faces the New Millennium, 4<sup>th</sup> edition, 1998.

A number of items are also on electronic reserve at the library. Some of these are Required Readings, some are merely Recommended Readings. All are listed in electronic reserves under the number listed below, followed by the author's name. When there are multiple pieces by the same author, the first couple of words of the title follow the author's last name. These items are:

No. 1, Pye, Lucian, "Millstone of Greatness," Chapter 4 from, The Spirit of Chinese Politics A Psychocultural Study of the Authority Crisis in Political Development, MIT Press, 1968, p. 50-66.

No. 2, Mancall, Marc, "Ch'ing Tribute System: An Interpretative Essay," in John King Fairbank, ed., The Chinese World Order, Harvard University Press, 1965, p. 63-89.

No. 3, Tao Jing-shen, "Barbarians or Northerners: Northern Sung Images of the Khitans," in Morris Rossabi, China Among Equals, The Middle Kingdom and Its Neighbors, 10<sup>th</sup>-14<sup>th</sup> Centuries, University of California Press, 1983, p. 66-81.

No. 4, Kennedy, Paul, Rise and Fall of the Great Powers, Vintage Press, 1986, Chapter 1, "The Rise of the Western World," page 3-30.

No. 5, Kutcher, Norman, "China's Palace of Memory," The Wilson Quarterly, (Winter 2003), p. 30-39.

No. 6, Hunt, Michael, "Chinese National Identity and the Strong State, the Late Qing – Republican Crisis," in Lowell Dittmer and Sam Kim, editors, China's Quest for National Identity, Cornell University Press, 1993, p. 62-79.

No. 7, Grey, Anthony, Hostage in Peking, Doubleday, 1971, Chapter 12, p. 117-131.

- No. 8, Christensen, Tom, Chapter 6 in, Useful Adversaries, Grand Strategy, Domestic Mobilization, and Sino-American Conflict, 1947-1958, Columbia University Press, 1996, p. 194-141.
- No. 9, Development Indicators, 12 tables compiled from World Bank data.
- No. 10, Deng Yong, "Hegemon on the Offensive," Political Science Quarterly, Fall 2001, p. 343-65.
- No. 11, Copper, John, Chapter 1 "History," from Taiwan, Nation-State or Province?, Westview Press, 1999, p. 21-52.
- No. 12, U.S. Dept. of State, "Statement on Conference of President Roosevelt ..." ["The Cairo Declaration of 1943"]
- No. 13, Harding, Harry, The Three US-PRC Communiques, from A Fragile Relationship, p 373-390.
- No. 14, Downen, Robert, "Taiwan Relations Act," from Taiwan Pawn in the China Game, Congress to the Rescue, p. 68-75.
- No. 15, Mann, James, Section on Reagan interpretation of 1982 Sino-US communique, from About Face, p. 127-128.
- No. 16, Garver, John, Chapter on "U.S. Policy and the Taiwan Model," from The Sino-American Alliance, Nationalist China and American Cold War Strategy in Asia, M.E. Sharpe, 1997, p. 230-247.
- No. 17, Garver, John, Chapter on "Taiwan Issue in Chinese Domestic Politics," Chapter 5, from Face Off: China, the United States and Taiwan's Democratization, University of Washington Press, 1997, p. 46-66.
- No.18, Garver, John, "China's Push Through the South China Sea: The Interaction of Bureaucratic and National Interests," China Quarterly, No. 132, December 1992, p. 999-1028.
- No. 19. Garver, John, "China and the 1965 India-Pakistan War," Chapter from Protracted Contest, Sino-Indian Rivalry in the Twentieth Century, p. 194-204.
- No. 20, Rozman, Gilbert, "China's Changing Images of Japan, 1989-2001: The Struggle to Balance Partnership and Rivalry," International Relations of Asia-Pacific (2002), p0. 95-129.
- No. 21, Garver, John, "The Security Dilemma in Sino-Indian Relations," India Review, October 2002, p. 1-38.

No. 22, Garver, John, "The China-India-U.S. Triangle: Strategic Relations in the Post-Cold War Era," NBR Analysis, October 2002.

No. 23, Yu Bin, "The China Syndrome: Rising Nationalism and Conflict with the West," Asia Pacific Issues, No. 27, May 1996, East-West Center, Hawaii.

No. 24, Garver, John, "China As Number One," The China Journal, No. 39, January 1998, p. 61-66.

Also on electronic reserve are:

A copy of the course syllabus

A packet of old exams and study guides

A list of items for the map quiz

Lecture notes in the form of sets of Powerpoint slides. Notes are not currently available for perhaps 5 lectures toward the latter part of the course not yet written at the beginning of the semester. Notes for these lectures may or may not be put on reserve before the lectures are given.

Previously I displayed these slides on the screen at the front of the class-room during lectures. I discontinued this practice when I discovered that students paid more attention to the slides, to reading and copying down their content, than to listening to the content of the professor's lecture.

To access readings in Georgia Tech Library electronic reserves go to:

[www.library.gatech.edu](http://www.library.gatech.edu)

Click on Reserves.

To access the readings you will need a Social Security number and a GTEL password. If you do not have a password, you may create one on line. If you have forgotten your password, or have other problems, telephone the library reserve desk at 4-4529.

## **CLASS SCHEDULE:**

20 Aug. Introduction to the course and to the Geography of China's Environment

### **The Concept and Psychology of National Humiliation**

22 Aug. The Concept of National Humiliation

Readings: Garver, Chapter 1, p. 2-17. Pye, "Millstone of Greatness."

24 Aug. China's Ancient Greatness

Readings: Garver, Chapter 1, p. 20-28. Cohen, Chapter 1, p. 1-61.

27 Aug. The Traditional Sino-Centric Asian World Order

Readings: Cohen, Chapters 2, 3, p. 62-127.

Recommended Reading: Mancall, "Ch'ing Tribute System."

29 Aug. The Challenge from the North and the Emergence of "Proto-nationalism"

Readings: Cohen, Chapters 4, 5, p. 128-182.

Recommended reading: Tao, "Barbarians or Northerners: Northern Sung Images."

31 Aug. The Great Divergence or perhaps the Great Anomaly: Why Europe Pulled Ahead, or Why China Fell Behind

Readings: Kennedy, Chapter from Rise and Fall of Great Powers; Cohen, Chapter 6, p. 183-215.

Recommended Reading: Kenneth Pomeranz, The Great Divergence; China, Europe and the Making of the Modern World Economy, Princeton University Press, 2000, This book is not on reserve, but is easily available commercially. It has created a great deal of debate in the field of comparative history.

5 Sep. The Narrative of National Humiliation, 1839-1900

Readings: Cohen, Chapters 7, 8, p. 216-272.

7 Sep. The Narrative of National Humiliation II: Destruction of the Tributary System

Readings: Cohen, Chapters 9, 10, 11, p. 273-369.

10 Sep. National Humiliation in the PRC

Readings: Kutcher, Norman, "China's Palace of Memory," Wilson Quarterly, 2003, p. 30-39.

## Map Quiz

### Mao Zedong's Strategy for Restoring National Greatness

12 Sep.

Mao's 1st Strategy for Recovery of National Greatness: alliance with the Soviet Union and the socialist camp

Readings: Garver, Chapter 2, pp.32-69; Chapter 8, pp. 180-191.

14 Sep. Mao's 2<sup>nd</sup> Strategy for Recovery of National Greatness: leader of the third world

Readings: Garver, Chapter 3, p. 70-94.

17 Sep. The Sino-American Confrontation, Its Origins, Dimensions and Consequences

Readings: Garver, Chapter 4, p. 98-111. Cohen, Chapter 12, p. 370-414.

19 Sep. The Sino-American Rapprochement

Readings: Garver, Chapter 5, p. 114-131.

21 Sep. China's Isolation during the Maoist Era: totalitarian choice or nativist recrudescence?

Readings: Garver, Chapters 6 & 7, p. 133-177. Grey, Hostage in Peking.

24 Sep. Domestic -International Linkages in Mao's Foreign Policy: the utility of international confrontation and tension to Mao's Continuing Revolution

Readings: Christensen, chapter from Useful Adversaries.

26 Sep. **FIRST EXAM**

### Deng Xiaoping's Strategy of Restoring China's National Greatness

28 Sep. Deng Xiaoping's Strategy for China's Restoration: Opening and Reform; or, what was wrong with Mao's Strategies?

Readings: Garver, Chapter 9, p. 193-209.

1 Oct. Dimensions of the Opening to the Outside World

Readings: Cohen, Chapters 13, 14, p. 415-476.

3 Oct. China's Acquisition Technology Efforts, Accomplishments, and Ambitions

Readings: Garver, Chapter 10, pp. 211-217.

5 Oct. China's Re-emergence as a Global Trading Power

Readings: Garver, Chapter 10, pp. 217-237

10 Oct. China's Development in Comparative Perspective

Readings: Garver, Chapter 10, pp. 237-244. No 8: Development Indicators

## **China's Relations with the United States**

12 Nov. China's U.S. Problem

Readings: Levine, "Sino-American Relations," in Kim, Chapter 4, p. 91-113.

**Note:** 12 October is the last day a student can drop an individual course with a grade of "W".

15 Oct. China's Debates over U.S. Policy

Readings: Yong Deng, "Hegemon on the Offensive."

17 Oct. The Taiwan Problem: Origin and Evolution

Readings: Copper, chapter from Taiwan.

The Cairo Declaration, the 3 US-PRC Joint Communiques, the Taiwan Relations Act,

19 Oct. The Evolution of the Democratic Taiwan Polity

Readings: Garver, chapter from Sino-American Alliance.

22 Oct. Structure of PRC-U.S. Agreements re Taiwan

Readings: Garver, chapter from Face Off.

## China's Use of Military Force

24 Oct. The Vicissitudes of the PRC's Drive to Acquire Advanced Military Power

Readings: Garver, Chapter 11, p. 250-264.

26 Oct. The Political Objectives underlying China's use of military force

Readings: Paul Godwin, "Force and Diplomacy: China Prepares for the Twenty-first Century," in Kim, China and the World, chapter 8, p. 171-192.

Recommended reading: Alastair Iain Johnston, Cultural Realism, Strategic Culture and Grand Strategy in Chinese History, Princeton University Press, 1995. This book is not on reserve, but is commercially available. Again, it is an important work that has significantly influenced scholarly thinking about China and the world.

29 October – 2 November: **NO CLASS**. Use to catch up on readings.

(Professor will be in Dubai, United Arab Emirates as co-convenor of conference on China and the Middle East crisis.)

5 Nov. Tibet and the 1962 war with India

Readings: Garver, Chapter 12, p. 266-283.

7 Nov. Beijing's Tibet Policies and China's Territorial Unity

Readings: Garver, Chapter 14, p. 304-319.

9 Nov. China and the South China Sea: Recovering "lost" national territory

Readings: Garver, Chapter 14, pp. 304-319. Garver, "Push Through the South China Sea."

12 Nov. China's Use of Military Force to Maintain a Favorable Regional Balance of Power: Pakistan and Cambodia



Readings: Garver, Chapter on "China and the 1965 India-Pakistan War" from Protracted Contest.

14 Nov.: **SECOND EXAM**

## **China's Neighbours and China's Rise to National Grandeur**

16 Nov. Russo-China Relations

Readings: John Garver, "Sino-Russian Relations," in Kim, China and the World, p. 114-132.

19 Nov. Japan and the Rise of China

Readings: Donald Klein, Japan and Europe in Chinese Foreign Relations, in Kim, China and the World, p. 133-150.

21 Nov. China and the Japan-U.S. Alliance [Lecture notes not available at start of semester.]

Readings: Rozman, "China's changing images of Japan, 1989-2001."

26 Nov. India-China Relations: The Security Dilemma

Reading: Garver, "Security Dilemma in Sino-Indian Relations" India Review, October 2002, vol. 1, no. 4, p. 1-38. [Blocked because of copyright restrictions. No assigned reading.]

28 Nov. India and the Rise of China, II: the US-India-China Triangle [Lecture notes not available at start of semester.]

Reading: Garver, "The China-India-U.S. Triangle: Strategic Relations in the Post-Cold War Era," NBR Analysis, October 2002.

## **Concluding Thoughts**

30 Nov. Emergence of the New Nationalism in China

Readings: Yu Bin, "The China Syndrome: Rising Nationalism and Conflict with the West," Asia Pacific Issues, No. 27, May 1996, East-West Center, Hawaii.

3 Dec. Conflict and Convergence in Chinese and American National Interests [Lecture notes not available at start of semester.]

Reading: none

5 Dec. Thinking the Unthinkable: China as Number One [Lecture notes not available at start of semester.]

Reading: Garver, "China As Number One."

7 Dec. Class Discussion

**TENATIVE FINAL EXAM TIME:** Period 6, Tuesday, 11 December, 2:50-5:40 p.m.