

Foreign Relations of China

Politics 143 / 36055 / Fall 2009
University of California, Santa Cruz
Prof. Benjamin L. Read

Email: bhread (at) ucsc (dot) edu
Web site: <http://benread.net>
Course web site: http://ic.ucsc.edu/services/learning_management_system/
Course meetings: Tues. & Thurs. 2 to 3:45 in Porter Acad 148
Office hours: Tues. & Thurs. 4 to 5 in 157 Merrill Faculty Annex, and by appointment
Date of this syllabus: November 4, 2009

Overview:

This course introduces major topics in the foreign relations of the People's Republic of China from its founding in 1949 to the present. It explores a number of important events, including China's entry into the Korean War in 1950, the Sino-Soviet split in the 1960s, rapprochement between China and the United States in the 1970s, tensions with Taiwan in the 1990s (as well as in other periods), and China's recent rise in geopolitical prominence. The underlying goals are two-fold. First, the course challenges students to investigate multiple accounts of events with a critical mind in order to come up with the most compelling version of the truth. Second, by considering competing explanations for these important turning points, students will have an opportunity to understand and assess some of the major theoretical approaches to the study of international relations. There are no prerequisites for this course.

Readings:

The following books will be on reserve at McHenry Library and available for purchase at the Bay Tree bookstore. It may be convenient to purchase them, but you are not obliged to do so. Needless to say, you can also look on the web for used or new copies. Note that, for at least one of the books, quite a bit less than the entire text is assigned.

- Sergei N. Goncharov, John W. Lewis, and Litai Xue, *Uncertain Partners: Stalin, Mao, and the Korean War* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1993), ISBN-13: 978-0-804-72521-7
- Lorenz M. Lüthi, *The Sino-Soviet Split: Cold War in the Communist World* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2008), ISBN-13: 978-0-691-13590-8
- James Mann, *About Face: A History of America's Curious Relationship with China, From Nixon to Clinton* (New York: Vintage, 1998), ISBN-13: 978-0-679-76861-6

The many other required readings will be available on the course WebCT site.

Assignments and Ground Rules:

- Please read the following items carefully before deciding to stay enrolled in this course.
- Class attendance is a firm requirement. Attendance will be taken at every session at the beginning of class. I am quite understanding about family emergencies, illness or other serious exigencies, and will treat them as excused absences if verifiable documentation is provided (see my web page). Two percentage points will be deducted from your course grade for every unexcused absence. To put that in perspective, the difference between a B+ and a C+ is ten percentage points.
- This course involves a substantial amount of reading and you are required to do it. Readings must be completed before the class meeting for which they are assigned. Note that although I have strived to

make it easy for you to find the readings, it is your responsibility to obtain and read these items. In particular, download the electronic readings ahead of time.

- Self-introduction — please send me an email in the first week of class explaining your year in school; college; major; prior courses in Asian languages, history, or politics; all international travel; and anything else you'd like me to know about you.
- Map quiz (in class, October 1, 2009) — 5 percent of course grade
- Weekly short reading responses — as much as 15 percent
- Midterm examination (due October 27, 2009) — 35 percent or somewhat more
- Final paper — 45 percent or somewhat more
- Active and consistent class participation adds bonus points to your grade.

Week 0: Introduction

Thursday, September 24: Lecture

- Lorenz M. Lüthi, *The Sino-Soviet Split: Cold War in the Communist World* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2008), chapter 1, pp. 19-45.
- Robert B. Zoellick, "Whither China: From Membership to Responsibility?" speech given on September 21, 2005, available on WebCT or at: http://www.ncuscr.org/files/2005Gala_RobertZoellick_Whither_China1.pdf
- Naazneen Barma, Ely Ratner and Steven Weber, "A World Without the West," *The National Interest* July/August 2007, pp. 23-30
- Learn the location of the places on the map-quiz list, found on WebCT. The quiz is next week.

Week 1: Theoretical and China-Specific Approaches to International Relations

Tuesday, September 29: Lecture / Discussion

- Bruce Russett, Harvey Starr, and David Kinsella, *World Politics: The Menu for Choice*, 8th edition (Belmont, CA: Thomson Wadsworth, 2006), ch. 1-2 and 4, pp. 3-26, 27-48, 73-101
- Andrew J. Nathan and Robert S. Ross, *The Great Wall and the Empty Fortress*, ch. 1, "China's Place in the World," and ch. 2, "Legacies," pp. 3-34

Thursday, October 1: Lecture / Discussion and **Map Quiz**

- Russett, Starr, and Kinsella, *World Politics: The Menu for Choice*, ch. 6-7; pp. 133-162, 163-192
- Allen S. Whiting, "Forecasting Chinese Foreign Policy: IR Theory vs. the Fortune Cookie," in Robinson and Shambaugh, *Chinese Foreign Policy: Theory and Practice*, pp. 506-523

Week 2: "Leaning to One Side"

Tuesday, October 6: Lecture / Discussion

- Chen Jian, "The Recognition Controversy: The Origins of Sino-American Confrontation," in *China's Road to the Korean War* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1994), ch. 2, pp. 33-63
- Sergei N. Goncharov, John W. Lewis, and Litai Xue, *Uncertain Partners: Stalin, Mao, and the Korean War* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1993), ch. 1-2, pp. 1-75

Thursday, October 8: Lecture / Discussion

- Goncharov, Lewis, and Xue, *Uncertain Partners*, ch. 3-4, pp. 76-129

Week 3: The Korean War

Tuesday, October 13: Lecture / Discussion

- Goncharov, Lewis, and Xue, *Uncertain Partners*, ch. 5-6, pp. 130-202

Thursday, October 15: Lecture / Discussion

- Goncharov, Lewis, and Xue, *Uncertain Partners*, ch. 7, pp. 203-225
- Thomas J. Christensen, "The Real Lost Chance in China," in *Useful Adversaries: Grand Strategy, Domestic Mobilization, and Sino-American Conflict, 1947-1958* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1996), pp. 138-193

Week 4: The Sino-Soviet Split

Tuesday, October 20: Lecture / Discussion

- Li Zhisui, *The Private Life of Chairman Mao*, pp. 261-271
- Lorenz M. Lüthi, *The Sino-Soviet Split: Cold War in the Communist World* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2008), ch. 2-4, pp. 46-156 (you may skip pp. 138-146)

Thursday, October 22: Lecture / Discussion

- Lüthi, *The Sino-Soviet Split*, ch. 5-9, pp. 157-301, and pp. 345-352. But:
You may skip pp. 186-191
You may skip Chapter 6 except for the first and last 3 paragraphs, and the section entitled "7,000 Cadres Conference"
You may skip pp. 228-236 and pp. 274 through the last full paragraph on 281.

Week 5: China-U.S. Normalization

Tuesday, October 27: Lecture / Discussion and **turn in midterm.**

- Robert S. Ross, *Negotiating Cooperation: The United States and China, 1969-1989* (Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press, 1995), pp. 1-9, 17-54
- James Mann, *About Face: A History of America's Curious Relationship with China, From Nixon to Clinton* (New York: Vintage, 1998), prologue and ch. 1-3, pp. 3-77

Thursday, October 29: Lecture / Discussion

- Robert S. Ross, *Negotiating Cooperation*, pp. 120-162
- James Mann, *About Face*, ch. 4-6, pp. 78-133

Week 6: Domestic Sources of Foreign Policy

Tuesday, November 3: Lecture / Discussion

- Peter Hays Gries, *China's New Nationalism: Pride, Politics, and Diplomacy* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2004), introduction and ch. 1, 3, 8

Thursday, November 5: Lecture / Discussion

- Joseph Fewsmith and Stanley Rosen, "The Domestic Context of Chinese Foreign Policy: Does 'Public Opinion' Matter?" in David M. Lampton, ed., *The Making of Chinese Foreign and Security Policy in the Reform Era* (2001), pp. 151-187
- Margaret M. Pearson, "The Case of China's Accession to GATT/WTO," in Lampton (2001)

Week 7: 1989 and Re-stabilization

Tuesday, November 10: Lecture / Discussion and **turn in paper question and bibliography.**

- James Mann, *About Face*, ch. 9-13, pp. 175-253

Thursday, November 12: Lecture / Discussion

- James Mann, *About Face*, ch. 14-16, pp. 254-314
- H. Lyman Miller, "Party Politburo Processes under Hu Jintao," *China Leadership Monitor* 11 (Summer, 2004)

Week 8: Taiwan

Tuesday, November 17: Lecture / Discussion

- James Mann, *About Face*, ch. 17
- Michael D. Swaine, "Chinese Decision-Making Regarding Taiwan, 1979-2000," in David M. Lampton, ed., *The Making of Chinese Foreign and Security Policy in the Reform Era* (2001)

Thursday, November 19: Lecture / Discussion

- Alan D. Romberg, *Rein in at the Brink of the Precipice* (2003), pp. 171-231
- Alan D. Romberg, "Cross-Strait Relations: First the Easy, Now the Hard," *China Leadership Monitor* (2009), pp. 1-23

Week 9: China in Asia and Beyond

Tuesday, November 24: Lecture / Discussion and **deadline for optional first draft of paper**

- Joshua Kurlantzick, *Charm Offensive: How China's Soft Power is Transforming the World* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2007), pp. 37-81
- David Shambaugh, "Return to the Middle Kingdom? China and Asia in the Early Twenty-First Century," in Shambaugh, ed., *Power Shift: China and Asia's New Dynamics* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2005), pp. 23-47
- David Shambaugh, "China and the Korean Peninsula: Playing for the Long Term," *The Washington Quarterly*, 26/2 (2003), 43-56
- Edward Friedman, "How Economic Superpower China Could Transform Africa," *Journal of Chinese Political Science*, 14 (2009), 1-20

Thursday, November 26: **(Thanksgiving holiday, no class)**

Week 10: China's Rise: The U.S. and International Institutions

Tuesday, December 1: Lecture / Discussion

- Randall L. 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* (1999)
- Elizabeth Economy, "The Impact of International Regimes on Chinese Foreign Policy-Making: Broadening Perspectives and Policies ... But Only to a Point," in David M. Lampton, ed., *The Making of Chinese Foreign and Security Policy in the Reform Era* (2001)
- David M. Lampton, "China's Rise in Asia Need Not Be at America's Expense," in David Shambaugh (ed.), *Power Shift: China and Asia's New Dynamics* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2006), 306-26

Thursday, December 3: Lecture / Discussion

- Robert Sutter, "China's Regional Strategy and Why It May Not Be Good for America," in *Power Shift* (2006), 289-305
- Jack S. Levy, "Power Transition Theory and the Rise of China," in Robert S. Ross and Zhu Feng, eds., *China's Ascent: Power, Security, and the Future of International Relations* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2008), pp. 11-33

- G. John Ikenberry, "The Rise of China: Power, Institutions, and the Western Order," in Robert S. Ross and Zhu Feng, eds., *China's Ascent: Power, Security, and the Future of International Relations* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2008), pp. 89-114

Hard copies and digital copies of final papers are due at 3 p.m., Monday, December 7.