Chinese Foreign Policy

Georgia Institute of Technology

Fall 2012 Dr. John W. Garver

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PURPOSE OF COURSE:

The purpose of this course is to help young people (primarily Americans) without much previous exposure to 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 foreign perceptions and policies.

To accomplish this primary objective, this course is organized abound 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 1st half of the 21st 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 for undergraduates will be constructed as follows:

1st Exam = 25% 2nd Exam = 25% Final Exam = 25% Map Quiz = 5% Attendance = 20% Students taking the course for graduate credit will write essays during the scheduled 1^{st} and 2^{nd} exam periods, will be expected to attend class lectures, but will not take final exam. Instead, they will be expected to research and write a short but analytical paper over the course of the semester. Graduate students will thus be graded as follows:

1st essay: 15% 2nd essay: 15% Attendance: 20% Research paper: 50%

The graduate research paper must analyze some aspect of China's contemporary international relations and explain China's foreign policy behavior <u>in terms of Chinese interests and perceptions</u>. It must approach the problem from the Chinese ---- NOT the American --- point of view. The purpose is to explain and understand Chinese foreign policy behavior.

Construction of graduate research papers will follow this deadlines:

- 27 August: Written identification and concise delineation of a topic in consultation with the professor. Consultation may be by phone, email, or in person in the professor's office.
- 10 September: Written statement of a working hypothesis about the specified problem, plus a list (with a brief explanation) of the key variables in that hypothesis. All of this to be done in consultation with the professor.
- 17 September: Revision and re-submission of the hypothesis statement in line with the professor's criticisms
- 28 September: Analytical outline of the paper, showing explicitly the logical relations between various sections (and variables), and showing step by logical step the development of the hypothesis.
- 8 October: Revision and re-submission of the analytical outline in line with the professor's criticisms.
- 12 November: First draft of the paper in proper form.
- 3 December: Final version of the paper.

<u>Graduates and map quiz</u>: Since they will be in class when the map quiz is administered, graduate students will be expected to take that quiz, and to pass it with at least 90% accuracy. Performance below this will result in a re-take.

Required Texts:

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

- Garver, Foreign Relations of the People's Republic of China, Prentice Hall, 1993.
- Robert Sutter, Chinese Foreign Relations, Rowman and Littlefield, 2008.
- John Garver, <u>Protracted Contest: Sino-Indian Rivalry in the Twentieth Century</u>, University of Washington Press, 2001.

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:

- Kennedy, Paul, <u>Rise and Fall of the Great Powers</u>, Vintage Press, 1986, Chapter 1, "The Rise of the Western World," page 3-30.
- Christensen, Tom, Chapter 6 in, <u>Useful Adversaries, Grand Strategy, Domestic Mobilization, and Sino-American Conflict, 1947-1958</u>, Columbia University Press, 1996, p. 194-141.
- U.S. Dept. of State, "Statement on Conference of President Roosevelt ..." ["The Cairo Declaration of 1943"]
- Harding, Harry, The Three US-PRC Communiques, from <u>A Fragile Relationship</u>, p 373-390.
- Garver, John, Chapter on "Taiwan Issue in Chinese Domestic Politics," Chapter 5, from <u>Face Off; China, the United States and Taiwan's Democratization</u>, University of Washington Press, 1997, p. 46-66.
- Garver, John, "China's Push Through the South China Sea: The Interaction of Bureaucratic and National Interests," <u>China Quarterly</u>, No. 132, December 1992, p. 999-1028.
- Garver, John, The Security Dilemma in Sino-Indian Relations, <u>India Review</u>, October 2002, p. 1-38.
- Garver, John, "The China-India-U.S. Triangle: Strategic Relations in the Post-Cold War Era," NBR Analysis, October 2002.
- Shirk, Susan, "Taiwan: A Question of Regime survival," Chapter 7, in <u>China, Fragile Superpower</u>, Oxford University Press, 2007.
- Garver, John, "China As Number One," <u>The China Journal</u>, 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

<u>Lecture notes</u> 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

Click on Reserves.

Code number for the course is: 9s5ksu2u

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 Paradigm for the course: China's "Fall" and "Rise"

<u>Readings</u>: Garver, <u>FRPRC</u>, Chapter 1. Sutter, Chapter 1. Pye, "Millstone of Greatness."

24 Aug. China's Ancient Greatness

Readings: Sutter, Chapter 2. Cohen, Chapter 1.

27 Aug. The Traditional Sino-Centric Asian World Order

Readings: Cohen, Chapters 2, 3.

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

Readings: Cohen, Chapters 4, 5.

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

<u>Readings</u>: Kennedy, Chapter from <u>Rise and Fall of Great Powers</u>; 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.

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

Readings: Cohen, Chapters 9, 10, 11.

Map Quiz

10 Sep. National Humiliation and Regime Legitimacy in the PRC

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

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 2nd 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 September: FIRST EXAM

24 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.

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

<u>Readings</u>: Christensen, chapter from <u>Useful Adversaries</u>.

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, FRPRC Chapter 9.

1 Oct. Dimensions of the Opening to the Outside World

Readings: Cohen, Chapters 13, 14.

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, FRPRC Chapter 10. Sutter, Chapter 4.

8 Oct. The Recovery of Hong Kong

Reading: none

10 Oct. China's Development in Comparative Perspective

Readings: Garver, FRPRC, Chapter 10, pp. 237-244.

China's Relations with the United States

12 Oct. China's U.S. Problem

Readings: Sutter, Chapter 6.

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: Sutter, Chapter 7.

17 Oct. The Taiwan Problem: Origin and Evolution

<u>Readings</u>: 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. Modus Vivedi re Taiwan

<u>Readings</u>: Garver, chapter from <u>Face Off</u>.

24 October: SECOND EXAM

China's Use of Miliary Force

26 Oct. Regime Survival and the Use of Military Force: The CCP and the General Crisis of World Communism

Readings: Sutter, Chapter 5.

29 Oct. Guest lecture: China's Traumatic Quest for Modernity, Professor Hanchao Lu History Department, Georgia Tech.

Professor Garver is scheduled to participate in an Asia Society proceeding in New York City on this day, and consequently, will not be present in class. Dr. Lu will conduct class this day. He is one of the world's leading specialists on China's modern history. I urge you to avail yourself of this opportunity to hear his synopsis of China's modern history.

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

Readings: Garver, FRPRC Chapter 11.

2 Nov. The Political Objectives underlying China's use of military force

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

<u>Recommended reading</u>: Alastair Iain Johnston, <u>Cultural Realism</u>, <u>Strategic Culture</u> <u>and Grand Stratety in Chinese History</u>, 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.

5 Nov. Tibet and the 1962 war with India

<u>Readings</u>: Garver, <u>FRPRC</u> Chapter 12, p. 266-283. Garver, <u>Protracted Contest</u>, Chap. 2, 3.

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

Readings: Garver, FRPRC 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 Support for Survival of the North Korea Regime

Readings: Sutter, chapter 8.

14 Nov. China's Use of Military Force to Maintain a Favorable Regional Balance of Power:

Pakistan and Cambodia

Readings: Garver, Protracted Contest, chapter 11. Sutter, Chapter 9.

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

16 Nov. Russo-China Relations

Readings: Sutter, Chapter 11.

19 Nov. Japan and the Rise of China

Readings: Sutter, chapter 8.

21 Nov. China and the Japan-U.S. Alliance

Readings: none.

26 Nov. India-China Relations: The Security Dilemma

Reading: Garver, Protracted Contest, Chapters 1,4.

28 Nov. Myanmar and Nepal as Theaters of Sino-Indian Rivalry

Readings: Garver, Protracted Contest, chapters 5, 6 & 9.

30 Nov. India and the Rise of China, the US-India-China Triangle

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

Concluding Thoughts

3 Dec. Conflict and Convergence in Chinese and American National Interests

Reading: none

5 Dec. Thinking the Unthinkable: China as Number One

Reading: Garver, "China As Number One."

7 Dec. Class Discussion

TENATIVE FINAL EXAM TIME: Period 14, Friday, 14 December, 11:30-2:20.