

# Chinese Foreign Policy

REGN U6855 | Fall 2022  
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Class Hours: W 11am-12:50pm  
Classroom: International Affairs Building 402B  
Office Hours: T 3pm-5pm  
or by appointment

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## Course Description

This seminar will examine the causes, conduct, and consequences of Chinese foreign policy since 1949. We will investigate the evolution of China's relations with other great powers, the factors shaping Chinese foreign policy, and the implications for competition and cooperation in East Asia. The primary goal of this course is to help students develop an in-depth understanding of Chinese foreign policy from 1949 to the present. Students will also learn to analyze primary sources and apply different theoretical explanations to a range of empirical issues. This course has three major parts: 1) the evolution of Chinese foreign policy in the Cold War; 2) the structure and process of Chinese foreign policy; and 3) key issues in Chinese foreign policy.

## Course Objectives

Upon completion of this course, students will be able to:

- Understand the major forces shaping Chinese foreign policy.
- Be familiar with the main theoretical and methodological approaches to the study of Chinese foreign policy.
- Apply theoretical frameworks to analyze critical issues in China's foreign policy and security policy.
- Critically evaluate the current and future challenges for China's foreign policy.

## Reading Assignments

No required textbook. Required readings for the course are available via CourseWorks, or at the link provided in the syllabus. Please note that some links may require you to enter through the library's site.

This is a reading intensive course and we will discuss specific readings in class. You should come to class having completed all required reading and prepared to discuss it. However, this does not mean reading all of the details of the readings. Instead, you should focus on the readings' key concepts, main arguments, and logic.

The following questions may help guide your reading:

- What is the puzzle?
- What is the central argument?
- What are potential policy implications of the argument?
- What evidence is provided to support the argument? Is the evidence convincing? Why or why not?
- What are possible counter-arguments and/or counter-evidence?

## Course Requirements and Grading

### Undergraduate Student Requirements and Grading

- General participation (20%).
- A Class Presentation (20%). You will present one commentary (10-15 minutes) on one reading from a given week on the syllabus. In each class meeting, designated student(s) will deliver comments. The purpose of these presentations is to synthesize the issues raised by the reading(s) and stimulate discussion by your colleagues. Notify me of your choice of reading by 12:00pm on the Monday of the week you will present.
- A Final Exam (30%). The final exam will be an essay exam given held at a university-scheduled time (Date: TBD). It will be comprised of three essay questions.
- A Research Paper (30% total: 25% paper, 5% proposal). The paper should address a particular problem associated with Chinese foreign policy. Your topic need not be limited to subjects directly addressed in the seminar. Completed research papers are due on the last day of class (December 7). The maximum length of the paper is 20 double-spaced pages, with standard margins (one-inch) and standard font size (size 12). References to readings must be cited in a consistent style. A well-structured 2-page outline of the paper (double-spaced, with one-inch margins and font size 12) is due at the meeting in Week 5 (October 5). This outline should address the paper's theoretical subject, its methodology, preliminary conclusions, and a discussion of sources.

### Graduate Student Requirements and Grading

- General participation (15%).
- A Class Presentation (15%).
- A Research Paper (70% total: 65% paper, 5% proposal). The maximum length of the paper is 35 pages (double-spaced, with one-inch margins and font size 12).

## Late Policy

All assignments are due at the start of class on the due date. Late assignments will be graded down by one grade for every 24 hours that it is late (e.g. from an A- to a B+). Last-minute requests for extensions due to poor planning will not be granted.

## **Attendance and Participation**

Attending class is an important component of learning. You are expected to attend all class sessions. If you have to miss class for illness, family emergencies, or a similarly serious reason, notify me *before* you will miss class, and it will count as an excused absence. Unexcused absence will negatively affect your participation grade.

During the time of COVID-19, attending and participating might need to be remote. If you cannot attend in person, please notify me as early as possible before class, so that I can make sure the class session will be available via live-stream or recording. More information on COVID University policies and guidelines can be found at:

<https://bulletin.columbia.edu/sipa/academic-policies/attendance-policies/>.

## **Discussion Rules**

We are addressing potentially contentious issues in the class. Debate is encouraged and expected, and everyone's opinion is important. Please state your opinions constructively, listen carefully when your colleagues are speaking, and speak to me if you are offended by something that is said in class. Respect for others is essential; disrespectful language is neither appropriate nor acceptable.

## **SIPA Academic Integrity Statement**

The School of International & Public Affairs does not tolerate cheating and/or plagiarism in any form. Those students who violate the Code of Academic & Professional Conduct will be subject to the Dean's Disciplinary Procedures.

Please familiarize yourself with the proper methods of citation and attribution. The School provides some useful resources online; we strongly encourage you to familiarize yourself with these various styles before conducting your research. Cut and paste the following link into your browser to view the Code of Academic & Professional Conduct and to access useful resources on citation and attribution:

<http://bulletin.columbia.edu/sipa/academic-policies/>.

Violations of the Code of Academic & Professional Conduct should be reported to the Associate Dean for Student Affairs.

## **SIPA Disability Statement**

SIPA is committed to ensuring that students registered with Columbia University's [Disability Services](#) (DS) receive the reasonable accommodations necessary for their full participation in their academic programs. If you are a student with a disability and have a DS-certified accommodation letter, you may wish to make an appointment with the course instructor to discuss your accommodations. Faculty provide disability accommodations to students with DS-certified accommodation letters, and they provide the accommodations specified in such letters. If you have any additional questions, please contact SIPA's DS liaison at [disability@columbia.edu](mailto:disability@columbia.edu) and/or 212-854-8690.

## Course Outline

### Week 1 (September 7): Introduction

#### Readings:

- Niu, Jun. *The Cold War and the Origins of Foreign Relations of People's Republic of China*. New York: Brill, 2018, 1-25 ([eBook available via Columbia University Libraries](#)).
- Johnston, Alastair Iain. "China in a World of Orders: Rethinking Compliance and Challenge in Beijing's International Relations." *International Security* 44, no. 2 (2019): 9-60.
- Kirshner, J. "The tragedy of offensive realism: Classical realism and the rise of China." *European Journal of International Relations* 18, no. 1 (2012): 53-75.

### Week 2 (September 14): China and Its Cold War Alliances I: USSR-China alliance

#### Readings:

- Chen, Jian. *Mao's China and the Cold War*. Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 2001, chapter 3 ([eBook available via Columbia University Libraries](#)).
- Westad, Odd Arne. "Struggles for Modernity: The Golden Years of the Sino-Soviet Alliance." In *The Cold War in East Asia, 1945-1991*, edited by Tsuyoshi Hasegawa, Stanford University Press, 2011, 35-62.
- Christensen, Thomas J. *Worse Than a Monolith: Alliance Politics and Problems of Coercive Diplomacy in Asia*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2011, chapter 4 ([eBook available via Columbia University Libraries](#)).
- Shen, Zhihua, and Yafeng Xia. "The Great Leap Forward, the People's Commune and the Sino-Soviet Split." *Journal of contemporary China* 20, no. 72 (2011): 861-80.

### Week 3 (September 21): China and Its Cold War Alliances II: North Korea-China alliance

#### Readings:

- Shen, Zhihua, and Yafeng Xia. *A Misunderstood Friendship: Mao Zedong, Kim Il-sung, and Sino-North Korean Relations, 1949-1976*. New York: Columbia University Press, 2018, chapters 5, 6, and 7 ([eBook available via Columbia University Libraries](#)).
- Zhang, Weiqi, and Ginger L Denton. "The North Korean Nuclear Dilemma: Does China Have Leverage?." *Journal of Asian Security and International Affairs* 6, no. 2 (2019): 107-35.

**Week 4 (September 28): China's Past Wars I**Readings:

- Shen, Zhihua. "China and the Dispatch of the Soviet Air Force: The Formation of the Chinese–Soviet–Korean Alliance in the Early Stage of the Korean War." *Journal of Strategic Studies* 33, no. 2 (2010): 211-30.
- Chen, Jian. *Mao's China and the Cold War*, chapter 4 ([eBook available via Columbia University Libraries](#)).
- Garver, John W. "China's Decisions for War with India in 1962." In *New Directions in the Study of China's Foreign Policy*, edited by Alastair Iain Johnson and Robert S. Ross. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2006, 86-130.
- Martin, Peter. "Beyond 1962." *Foreign Affairs*, April 15, 2015.  
<https://www.foreignaffairs.com/articles/china/2015-04-15/beyond-1962>.

**Week 5 (October 5): China's Past Wars II***Outline of research paper due*Readings:

- Zhai, Qiang. *China and the Vietnam Wars, 1950-1975*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2000, chapter 1 ([eBook available via Columbia University Libraries](#)).
- Chen, Jian. *Mao's China and the Cold War*, chapter 8 ([eBook available via Columbia University Libraries](#)).
- Zhang, Xiaoming. *Deng Xiaoping's Long War: The Military Conflict between China and Vietnam, 1979-1991*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, chapters 2 and 6 ([eBook available via Columbia University Libraries](#)).

**Week 6 (October 12): Chinese Foreign Policy-making**Readings:

- Jakobson, Linda, and Ryan Manuel. "How Are Foreign Policy Decisions Made in China?." *Asia & the Pacific Policy Studies* 3, no. 1 (2016): 101-10.
- Swaine, Michael D. "China's Assertive Behavior, Part Three: The Role of the Military in Foreign Policy." *China Leadership Monitor* no. 36, (January 2012).
- Lai, Hongyi, and Su-Jeong Kang. "Domestic Bureaucratic Politics and Chinese Foreign Policy." *Journal of Contemporary China* 23, no. 86 (2014): 294-313.
- Cabestan, Jean-Pierre. "China's Foreign and Security Policy Institutions and Decision-making under Xi Jinping." *The British Journal of Politics and International Relations* 23, no. 2 (2021): 319-36.
- Sun, Jing. "Growing Diplomacy, Retreating Diplomats-How the Chinese Foreign Ministry has been Marginalized in Foreign Policymaking." *Journal of Contemporary China* 26, no. 105 (2017): 419-33.

- Zhao, Suisheng. “From Affirmative to Assertive Patriots: Nationalism in Xi Jinping’s China.” *Washington Quarterly* 44, no. 4 (2021): 141-61.

### **Week 7 (October 19): Rise of China I: Security Issues**

#### Readings:

- Fravel, M. Taylor. *Active Defense: Explaining the Evolution of China’s Military Strategy since 1949*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2019, chapters 1 and 7.
- Ross, Robert S. “The revival of geopolitics in East Asia: Why and how?.” *Global Asia* 9, no. 3 (2014): 8-14.
- Tunsjø, Øystein. “China and the United States in a new bipolar system.” In *US-China Foreign Relations: Power Transition and its Implications for Europe and Asia*, edited by Robert S. Ross, Øystein Tunsjø, and Dong Wang, New York: Routledge, 2021, 41-49 (eBook available via [Columbia University Libraries](#)).
- Segal, Adam. “China’s Pursuit of Cyberpower.” *Asia Policy* 15, no. 2 (2020): 60-66.
- Cunningham, Fiona S., and M. Taylor Fravel. “Assuring Assured Retaliation: China’s Nuclear Posture and U.S.-China Strategic Stability.” *International Security* 40, no. 2 (2015): 7-50.

### **Week 8 (October 26): Rise of China II: Economic Issues**

#### Readings:

- Godement, François. “How do Monetary and Financial Issues Interact with China’s Foreign Policy Making?” In *China’s Foreign Policy: Who Makes It, and How Is It Made*, edited by Gilbert Rozman, New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2013, 229-46 (eBook available via [Columbia University Libraries](#)).
- Drezner, Daniel. “Bad Debts: Assessing China’s Financial Influence in Great Power Politics.” *International Security* 34, no. 2 (2009): 7-45.
- Reilly, James. “China’s Unilateral Sanction.” *The Washington Quarterly* 35, no. 4 (2012): 121-33.
- Ye, Min. *The Belt Road and Beyond: State-mobilized Globalization in China: 1998-2018*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2020, chapters 4 and 5 (eBook available via [Columbia University Libraries](#)).

### **Week 9 (November 2): U.S.-China Relations**

#### Readings:

- Wang, Yi. “Righting the Wrongs and Committing to Mutual Respect and Win-win Cooperation. Speech at the Opening of Lanting Forum on Promoting Dialogue and Cooperation and Managing Differences: Bringing China-U.S. Relations Back to the Right Track.” 2021. <https://www.fmprc.gov.cn/ce/cgny/eng/xw/t1855772.htm>.

- Li, Wei. “Towards Economic Decoupling? Mapping Chinese Discourse on the China-US Trade War.” *The Chinese Journal of International Politics* 12, no. 4 (2019): 519-56.
- Goldstein, Avery. “The Present as Prologue: The Gloomy Outlook for US-China Relations.” In *US-China Foreign Relations*, 13-32 ([eBook available via Columbia University Libraries](#)).
- Medeiros, Evan S. “The Changing Fundamentals of US-China Relations.” *The Washington Quarterly* 42, no. 3 (2019): 93-119.
- Lim, Darren J. and Victor Ferguson. “Conscious Decoupling: The Technology Security Dilemma.” In *China Dreams*, edited by Jane Golley, Ben Hillman, Linda Jaivin and Sharon Strange. Canberra: ANU Press, 2019.  
<https://www.thechinastory.org/yearbooks/yearbook-2019-china-dreams/chapter-4-conscious-decoupling-the-technology-security-dilemma/>.

## Week 10 (November 9): Russia-China Relations

### Readings:

- Korolev, Alexander, and Vladimir Portyakov. “Reluctant allies: System-unit Dynamics and China-Russia Relations.” *International Relations* 33, no. 1 (2019): 40-66.
- Gabuev, Alexander. “Unwanted but Inevitable: Russia’s Deepening Partnership with China Post-Ukraine.” In *Sino-Russian Relations in the 21st Century*, edited by Jo Inge Bekkevold and Lo Bobo. New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2019, 41-66 ([eBook available via Columbia University Libraries](#)).
- Bekkevold, Jo Inge. “Conclusion: Sino-Russian Relations in the 21st Century.” In *Sino-Russian Relations in the 21st Century*, 299-316 ([eBook available via Columbia University Libraries](#)).
- Yan, Xuetong. “China’s Ukraine Conundrum: Why the War Necessitates a Balancing Act.” *Foreign Affairs*, May 2, 2022, <https://www.foreignaffairs.com/articles/china/2022-05-02/chinas-ukraine-conundrum>.
- Gavin, Francis J. “With Great-Power Crisis Comes Great-Power Opportunity.” *Foreign Affairs*, June 9, 2022. <https://www.foreignaffairs.com/articles/china/2022-06-09/great-power-crisis-comes-great-power-opportunity>.
- Ross, Robert S. “Sino-Russian Relations: The False Promise of Russian Balancing.” *International Politics* 57, no. 5 (2020): 834-54.

## Week 11 (November 16): China and East Asia

### Readings:

- Chubb, Andrew. “PRC Assertiveness in the South China Sea: Measuring Continuity and Change, 1970-2015.” *International Security* 45, no. 3 (2020/2021): 79-121.

- Zhang, Hongyu, and Kevin Wang. "A nuclear-armed North Korea without ICBMs: the best achievable objective." *The Nonproliferation Review* 26, no. 1-2 (2019): 143-53.
- Liff, Adam P. "Unambivalent alignment: Japan's China strategy, the US alliance, and the 'hedging' fallacy." *International Relations of the Asia-Pacific* 19, no. 3 (2019): 453-91.
- Ross, Robert S. "China-Vietnamese Relations in the Era of Rising China: Power, Resistance, and Maritime Conflict." *Journal of Contemporary China* 30, no. 130 (2021): 613-29.
- Wu, Jingjing. "The Deployment of THAAD: The Evolving Policies of the ROK." *China International Studies* 68 (2018): 85-107.

**Week 12 (November 23): ACADEMIC HOLIDAY - NO CLASS**

**Week 13 (November 30): The Taiwan Issue**

Readings:

- Whiting, Allen S. "China's Use of Force, 1950-96, and Taiwan." *International Security* 26, no. 2 (2001): 103-31.
- Hickey, Dennis V. "Parallel Progress: US-Taiwan Relations During an Era of Cross-Strait Rapprochement." *Journal of Chinese Political Science* 20, no. 4 (2015): 369-84.
- Murray, William. "Revisiting Taiwan's Defense Strategy." *Naval War College Review* 61, no. 3 (2008): 12-39.
- Lin, Syaru Shirley. "Xi Jinping's Taiwan Policy and Its Impact on Cross-Strait Relations." *China Leadership Monitor*, no. 60 (June 2019).
- Xin, Qiang. "Selective Engagement: Mainland China's Dual-Track Taiwan Policy." *Journal of Contemporary China* 29, no. 124 (2020): 535-52.
- Zuo, Xiyong. "Unbalanced deterrence: coercive threat, reassurance and the US-China rivalry in Taiwan strait." *The Pacific Review* 34, no. 4 (2021): 547-76.

**Week 14 (December 7): Change and Continuity in Chinese Foreign Policy**

*Research paper due*

Readings:

- Wu, Xinbo. "The China Challenge: Competitor or Order Transformer?" *The Washington Quarterly* 43, no. 3 (2020): 99-114.
- Yan, Xuetong. "Becoming Strong: The New Chinese Foreign Policy." *Foreign Affairs* 100, no. 4 (2021): 40-47.

- Zhao, Minghao. “Is a New Cold War Inevitable? Chinese Perspectives on US–China Strategic Competition.” *The Chinese Journal of International Politics* 12, no. 3 (2019): 371-94.
- Lee, James. “Did Thucydides Believe in Thucydides’ Trap? The History of the Peloponnesian War and Its Relevance to U.S.-China Relations.” *Journal of Chinese Political Science* 24 (2019): 67-86.
- Mitter, Rana. “The World China Wants.” *Foreign Affairs*, December 8, 2020. <https://www.foreignaffairs.com/articles/china/2020-12-08/world-china-wants>.