

AS 610 -- Chinese Nonproliferation and Security Policy
The Graduate School of International Policy Studies
Monterey Institute of International Studies

Fall 2002

IPS AS 610 - Chinese Nonproliferation and Security Policy

Tuesday 8:00 – 9:50 A.M.

Room: B207

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Office Hours: Tuesday 10:00-11:00 A.M.

Dr. Jing-dong Yuan

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Office Hours: Monday 4:00-5:00 P.M.

Prerequisites: Basic knowledge of the Chinese political system

4 Credits

I. Course Description:

This seminar introduces students to Chinese foreign policy, arms control, nonproliferation, and security issues. It begins with a brief history of phases in Chinese foreign and security policy and then gives an overview of major theoretical approaches to the subject. These theoretical perspectives are useful in examining a wide range of policy issues, including the relationship between ballistic missile defense and Chinese strategic modernization, the evolution of Chinese arms control policy, the sources of China's nonproliferation behavior, security trends in the Taiwan Strait, civil-military relations, the Chinese foreign policy process, and the domestic sources of Chinese foreign and security policy. The course is taught as a seminar, with students expected to write a book review, a research design and bibliography, and a final research paper. Students will be required to do assigned reading, participate actively in class discussions, make oral presentations of their book review and research paper, and serve as a discussant for one of their classmates' papers. Students who write a research paper on a topic related to nonproliferation will receive credit towards the certificate in nonproliferation studies.

II. Course Objectives:

The course will introduce students to the literature on Chinese foreign and security policy, survey the history of the subject, and focus on the value of different theoretical approaches in explaining and predicting Chinese international behavior. Students will learn about Chinese perspectives on international relations, security, arms control, and nonproliferation. This will include efforts to understand how Chinese culture and history influence Chinese policies, negotiating strategies, and thinking about foreign policy and security issues. Students will develop the ability to use different international relations theories to examine/explain Chinese foreign policy decisions and outcomes. Course assignments will improve student analytical and presentation skills via book reviews that critique important books on the subject, oral presentations, and a research paper. Students will be encouraged to use Chinese language sources (if they have the appropriate language ability).

III. Assessment:

Course assignments will include a book review, oral presentations, participation in a class debate, and a research paper. Students will be required to write two papers during the course. The first paper will be a 2-page book review and ten minute oral presentation/discussion. Students will sign up for a book and a presentation date at the first class session. Each book review should briefly (2-3 paragraphs) summarize the author's argument and critically evaluate its strengths and weaknesses in explaining Chinese foreign and security policy from a theoretical perspective. The second paper will be a 20-30 page research paper. The research design is **due October 29**; the final paper is **due on the last day of class (December 17)**. Students are expected to have completed all readings before class and to actively participate in class discussions.

Grades will be determined as follows:

- Book Review: 10 percent;
- Research Design: 10 percent;
- Research Paper: 50 percent;
- Performance in Class Debate: 10 percent
- Overall Class Participation: 20 percent.

IV. Required Books:

1. Denny Roy, *China's Foreign Relations* (Boulder, Col: Rowman & Littlefield, 1998). (JZ1734.R69 1998) **[on reserve]**
2. David M. Lampton, ed., *The Making of Chinese Foreign and Security Policy in the Era of Reform, 1978-2000* (Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press, 2001). (DS779.27.M33 2001) **[on reserve]**
3. Michael E. Brown, et al., eds., *The Rise of China* (Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press, 2000). (DS779.27.R57 2000) **[on reserve]**
4. Samuel S. Kim, ed., *China and the World*, 4th edition (Boulder, Col.: Westview Press, 1998).

Background Reading: (available on reserve or via internet book sites).

1. Maurice Meisner, *Mao's China and After: A History of the People's Republic of China*, 3rd Edition (New York: The Free Press, 1999).
2. Kenneth Lieberthal, *Governing China: From Revolution Through Reform* (New York: W.W. Norton & Company, 1997) (DS777.75.L557) **[on reserve]**
3. Andrew Nathan and Robert Ross, *The Great Wall and the Empty Fortress* (New York: W.W. Norton & Company, 1998). (UA835.N38) **[on reserve]**
4. Elizabeth Economy and Michel Oksenberg, eds., *China Joins the World: Progress and Prospects* (New York: Council on Foreign Relations Press, 1999). (DS779.27.C493) **[on reserve]**
5. Scott Burchill and Andrew Linklater, *Theories of International Relations* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1996). (JX 1395 .B844) **[on reserve]**
6. Michael W. Doyle, *Ways of War and Peace: Realism, Liberalism and Socialism* (New York: W.W. Norton & Company, 1997). (JX1963.D687) **[on reserve]**

ASIAN STUDIES 610
Chinese Nonproliferation and Security Policy
(Tuesday 8:00 to 9:50 AM)

COURSE OUTLINE

INTRODUCTION AND OVERVIEW

Tuesday, September 3: Introduction/Approaches to Chinese Nonproliferation and Security
Required Readings:

Denny Roy, "A Historical Overview of Chinese Foreign Relations," in *China's Foreign Relations*, pp. 6-35.

Samuel S. Kim, "Chinese Foreign Policy in Theory and Practice," in *China and the World*, pp. 3-33.

Allen Whiting, "IR Theory vs. the Fortune Cookie," in Thomas W. Robinson and David Shambaugh, eds., *Chinese Foreign Policy: Theory and Practice* (New York: Clarendon Press, 1995), pp. 506-523. **[Chapter on reserve]**

Wang Jisi, "International Relations Theory and the Study of Chinese Foreign Policy: A Chinese Perspective," in Robinson and Shambaugh, pp. 481-505. **[Chapter on reserve]**

Optional Readings:

Denny Roy, "Chinese Foreign Policy and International Relations Theory," in *China's Foreign Relations*, pp. 227-245.

Bin Yu, "The Study of Chinese Foreign Policy: Problems and Prospects," *World Politics*, Vol. 46, No. 2 (January 1994), pp. 235-261. **[Article on reserve; also available on JSTOR]**

Andrew Nathan and Robert Ross, *The Great Wall and the Empty Fortress* (New York: W.W. Norton & Company, 1998), pp. 3-34. **[Book on reserve]**

Michael Hunt, *The Genesis of Chinese Communist Foreign Policy* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1996), pp. 3-28. (DS775.8.H86 1996) **[Chapter on reserve]**

THEORETICAL PERSPECTIVES

Tuesday, September 10: Realism

Required Readings:

Alastair Iain Johnston, "International Structures and Chinese Foreign Policy," in *China and the World*, pp. 55-87.

Thomas J. Christensen, "China, the U.S.-Japan Alliance, and the Security Dilemma in East Asia," in *The Rise of China*, pp. 135-166.

Robert S. Ross, "The Geography of the Peace: East Asia in the Twenty-first Century," in *The Rise of China*, pp. 167-204.

Michael D. Swaine and Alastair Iain Johnston, "China and Arms Control," in *China Joins the World*, pp. 90-135. **[Book on reserve]**

Books for Review:

Allen S. Whiting, *The Chinese Calculus of Deterrence* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1975). (UA835.W45)

Peter van Ness, *Revolution and Chinese Foreign Policy: Peking's Support for Wars of National Liberation* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1970). (DS777.55.V34)

Rosemary Foot, *The Practice of Power* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1995). (E183.8.C5F66 1995)

Tuesday, September 17: Liberal Institutionalism**Required Readings:**

Elizabeth Economy and Michel Oksenberg, "Introduction: China Joins the World," in *China Joins the World*, pp. 1-41. [**Book on reserve**]

Elizabeth Economy, "The Impact of International Regimes on Chinese Foreign Policy-Making," in *Making of Chinese Foreign and Security Policy*, pp. 230-256.

Alastair Iain Johnston and Paul Evans, "China's Engagement with Multilateral Security Institutions," in Alastair Iain Johnston and Robert S. Ross, eds., *Engaging China: the Management of An Emerging Power* (New York and London: Routledge, 1999), pp.235-272. (DS779.27.E56) [**Chapter on reserve**]

Bates Gill, "Two Steps Forward, One Step Back: The Dynamics of Chinese Nonproliferation and Arms Control Policy-Making in an Era of Reform," in *Making of Chinese Foreign and Security Policy*, pp. 257-288.

Optional Readings:

Margaret M. Pearson, "The Major Multilateral Economic Institutions Engage China," in Johnston and Ross, eds., *Engaging China*, pp.207-234. [**Chapter on reserve**]

Books for Review:

Rosemary Foot, *Rights Beyond Borders: the Global Community and the Struggle over Human Rights in China* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2000). [**Not yet at MIIS Library – see instructor**]

Ann Kent, *China, The United Nations, and Human Rights: The Limits of Compliance* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1999) (JC599.C6K48 1999)

Tuesday, September 24: Cultural/Ideational Approaches**Required Readings:**

Alastair Iain Johnston, "Cultural Realism and Strategy in Maoist China," in Peter J. Katzenstein, ed., *The Culture of National Security* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1996), pp. 216-236; 251-268. (UA10.5.C85 1996) [**Chapter on reserve**]

H. Lyman Miller and Liu Xiaohong, "The Foreign Policy Outlook of China's 'Third Generation' Elite," in *Making of Chinese Foreign and Security Policy*, pp. 123-150.

Benjamin Schwartz. "The Chinese Perception of World Order, Past and Present," in John K. Fairbank, *The Chinese World Order: Traditional China's Foreign Relations* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1968), pp. 276-288. [**Chapter on reserve**]

Wu Xinbo, "China: Security Practice of a Modernizing and Ascending Power," in Muthiah

Alagappa, ed., *Asian Security Practice: Material and Ideational Influences* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1998), pp. 115-156. (UA830.A856 1998) [**Chapter on reserve**]

Optional Readings:

Denny Roy, "The View from Beijing," in *China's Foreign Relations*, pp. 36-62.

Stephen Levine, "Perception and Ideology in Chinese Foreign Policy," in Robinson and Shambaugh, pp. 30-46. [**Chapter on reserve**]

Books for Review:

Chih-yu Shih, *China's Just World: The Morality of Chinese Foreign Policy* (Boulder, Col.: Lynn Reiner, 1993). (JX1570.Z5)

Alastair Iain Johnston, *Cultural Realism: Strategic Culture and Grand Strategy in Chinese History* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1995). [**Not at MIIS Library – see instructor**]

David Shambaugh, *Beautiful Imperialist: China Perceives the United States, 1972-1990* (Princeton University Press, 1990). (E183.8.C5S46 1991)

Tuesday, October 1: Domestic Factors

Required Readings:

Joseph Fewsmith and Stanley Rosen, "The Domestic Context of Chinese Foreign Policy: Does 'Public Opinion' Matter?" in *Making of Chinese Foreign and Security Policy*, pp. 151-190.

Peter T. Y. Cheung and James T. H. Tang, "The External Relations of China's Provinces," in *The Making of Chinese Foreign and Security Policy*, pp. 91-122.

Erica Strecker Downs and Phillip C. Saunders, "Legitimacy and the Limits of Nationalism: China and the Diaoyu Islands," in *The Rise of China*, pp. 41-73.

David Shambaugh, "China's Military Views the World: Ambivalent Security," in *The Rise of China*, pp. 105-132.

Books for Review:

Thomas J. Christensen, *Useful Adversaries: Grand Strategy, Domestic Mobilization, and Sino-American Conflict, 1947-1958* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1996). [**Not at MIIS Library – see instructor**]

Wang Jianwei, *Limited Adversaries: Post-Cold War Sino-American Mutual Images* (Oxford University Press, 2000). (E183.8.C5W3446 2000)

David M. Lampton, *Same Bed, Different Dreams: Managing U.S.-China Relations, 1989-2000* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2001). [**Not at MIIS Library – see instructor**]

Tuesday, October 8: Foreign Policy Process and Bureaucratic Politics*

Required Readings:

David M. Lampton, "China's Foreign and National Security Policy-Making Process: Is It Changing and Does It Matter?" in *Making of Chinese Foreign and Security Policy*, pp. 1-36.

David Bachman, "Structure and Process in the Making of Chinese Foreign Policy," in *China and the World*, pp.34-54.

Tai Ming Cheung, "The Influence of the Gun: China's Central Military Commission and Its Relationship with the Military, Party, and State Decision-Making Systems," in *Making of*

Chinese Foreign and Security Policy, pp. 61-90 **OR** Alex Chopan, "A Table for Two: Jiang Zemin and the PLA," *Journal of Contemporary China*, Vol. 11, No. 31 (May 2002), pp.281-296. **[Article on reserve]**

John Garver, "China's Push Through the South China Sea: The Interaction of Bureaucratic and national Interests," *China Quarterly*, No. 132 (December 1992), pp. 999-1028. **[Article on reserve]**

Optional Readings:

Lu Ning, "The Central Leadership, Supraministry Coordinating Bodies, State Council Ministries, and Party Departments, in *Making of Chinese Foreign and Security Policy*, pp. 39-60.

Denny Roy, "The Structure and Process of Foreign Policy-Making," in *China's Foreign Relations*, pp 63-76.

Books for Review:

Lu Ning, *The Dynamics of Foreign Policy Decision Making in China*, 2nd edition (Boulder, CO; Westview Press, 2000) (JZ1730.L8 1997)

James Mulvenon, *Soldiers of Fortune: The Rise and Fall of the Chinese Military-Business Complex, 1978-1998* (Armonk, N.Y.: M.E. Sharpe, 2001). (HD2910.M85 2001)

John W. Lewis and Xue Litai, *China's Strategic Seapower: The Politics of Force Modernization in the Nuclear Age* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1994). (VA633.L48 1994)

Tuesday, October 15: Sovereignty and Interdependence*

Required Readings:

Thomas W. Robinson, "[In][ter]dependence in China's Post-Cold War Foreign Relations," in *China and the World*, pp.193-216.

Thomas G. Moore and Dixia Yang, "Empowered and Restrained: Chinese Foreign Policy in the Age of Economic Interdependence," in *Making of Chinese Foreign and Security Policy*, pp. 191-229.

Margaret Pearson, "China's Integration into the International Trade and Investment Regime," in *China Joins the World*, pp.161-205. **[Book on reserve] OR** Margaret Pearson, "The Case of China's Accession to GATT/WTO," in *Making of Chinese Foreign and Security Policy*, pp. 337-370.

Bates Gill and James Reilly, "Sovereignty, Intervention, and Peacekeeping: The View from Beijing," *Survival*, Vol. 42, No. 3 (Autumn 2000), pp.41-59. **[Article on reserve]**

Optional Readings:

Denny Roy, "China and the World Economy," in *China's Foreign Relations*, pp. 77-104.

Michael D. Swaine, "Chinese Decision-Making Regarding Taiwan, 1979-2000," in *Making of Chinese Foreign and Security Policy*, pp. 289-336.

Jing-dong Yuan, "Multilateral Intervention and State Sovereignty: Chinese Views on UN Peacekeeping Operations," *Political Science*, Vol. 49, No. 2 (January 1998), pp.275-295.

[Article on reserve]

Books for Review:

Thomas Moore, *China in the World Market: Chinese Industry and International Sources of Reform in the Post-Mao Era* (Cambridge University Press, 2001). [Not at MIIS Library – see instructor]

Tuesday, October 22: CLASS DEBATES:
(Students will pick one topic)

How Should the United States Respond to China's Rise?

Required Readings:

Denny Roy, "The China Threat Debate: Major Arguments," *Asian Survey*; Vol. 36, No. 8 (August 1996), pp. 758-771 [Article on reserve] **OR** Avery Goldstein, "Great Expectations: Interpreting China's Arrival," in *The Rise of China*, pp. 3-40.

Richard Bernstein and Ross H. Munro, "China: The Coming Conflict with America," *Foreign Affairs*, Vol. 76, No.2 (March/April 1997), pp. 18-32. [Article on reserve and available on Proquest]

Thomas J. Christensen, "Posing Problems without Catching Up: China's Rise and Challenges for U.S. Security Policy," *International Security*, Vol. 25, No. 4 (Spring 2001), pp. 5-40. [Article on reserve]

Kurt M. Campbell and Derek J. Mitchell, "Crisis in the Taiwan Strait?" *Foreign Affairs*, Vol. 80, No. 4 (July/August 2001), pp. 14-25. [Article on reserve and available on Proquest]

Optional Readings:

Phillip C. Saunders, "Deconstructing the China Threat: American views about China's Future," manuscript [To be posted to course conference].

David Shambaugh, "Containment or Engagement of China?" in *The Rise of China*, pp. 207-236.

Gerald Segal, "East Asia and the 'Constraint' of China," in *The Rise of China*, pp. 237-265.

How should the United States Influence China's Proliferation Behavior?

Required Readings:

Evan S. Medeiros, "The Changing Character of China's WMD Proliferation Activities," China and Weapons of Mass Destruction, Federal Research Division, Library of Congress. [Document on reserve and available at

http://www.cia.gov/nic/pubs/conference_reports/weapons_mass_destruction.html#Link3]

Bates Gill and Evan S. Medeiros, "Foreign and Domestic Influences on China's Arms Control and Nonproliferation Policies," *China Quarterly*, No. 161 (March 2000), pp. 66-94. [Article on reserve]

Jing-dong Yuan, "The Evolution of Chinese Nonproliferation Policy," *Journal of Contemporary China*, Vol. 11, No. 31 (May 2002), pp. 209-234. [Article on reserve]

"Proliferation and Chinese Relations with Terrorist-Sponsoring States," in *Report to Congress of the U.S.-China Security Review Commission* (Washington, D.C.: U.S.-China Security Review Commission, July 2002), pp. 135-156. [Chapter on reserve and available at http://www.uscc.gov/ch7_02.htm]

Optional Readings:

Evan S. Medeiros, "Rebuilding Bilateral Consensus: Assessing U.S.-China Arms Control and Nonproliferation Achievements," *Nonproliferation Review*, Vol. 8, No .1 (Spring 2001), pp. 131-140. [Article on reserve]

Shirley A. Kan, "China's Proliferation of Weapons of Mass Destruction and Missiles: Current Policy Issues," Congressional Research Service issue brief IB92056, The Library of Congress, July 1, 2001. [Report on reserve and available at <http://fpc.state.gov/documents/organization/11883.pdf>]

Tuesday, October 29: No Class Meeting

RESEARCH DESIGN DUE 5:00 P.M. Tuesday October 29

STUDENT PAPER PRESENTATIONS

Tuesday, November 5: Student Presentations

Tuesday, November 12: Student Presentations

Tuesday, November 19: Student Presentations

Tuesday, November 26: Student Presentations

Tuesday, December 3: Student Presentations

Tuesday, December 10: Student Presentations

SUMMARY

Tuesday, December 17: Course Summary

Readings:

Allen S. Whiting, "Chinese Foreign Policy: Retrospect and Prospect," in *China and the World*, pp. 287-308.

Denny Roy, "The Future of China's Foreign Relations," in *China's Foreign Relations*, pp. 215-226.

(Final Paper Due)