

The China-U.S. Relations: Dynamic History and Complex Realities

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Day and Hour of the Class: tbd

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Course Description

The goal of this course is to help students obtain, in the context of dynamic history and complex realities of power and ideas, a better grasp of the China-U.S. relations, the most important bilateral relations to China at the present as well as in a large part of her modern history, and also increasingly likely the most important ones to the United States in the coming decades. There is already little doubt in the world that the prospects of this bilateral relationship will in a large part shape the world political economy and more. The general orientation of the past evolution of the intercourses between these two powers with very different traditions but the similar "continental" magnitude will be surveyed, the developments in the most recent years and months emphasized, and the predictable future prospects discussed.

The course is characterized, among other things, by prominence of the political and strategic aspects of the international relations and foreign policy, while their social and economic ones are also touched from time to time, especially when they do have significant politico-strategic implications. As in most other courses in the field of international studies almost anywhere, students are expected to have at least a minimum grounding in general international political theories. There may be often a largely consistent theme or framework of "grand strategy" emerged in discussing, which has been marked by a holistic approach, a focus on the calculated relationship between ends and means, a constant concern with the cost-effectiveness of different policy options, and the most important strategic quality of unrelenting adaptation to the unending changes of the world.

The weekly themes of the course are as follows:

- I. The emergence of the American preponderance and China's evolving relations with the international society**
- II. Conflict, confrontation, and rapprochement: the China-U.S. relations in the Cold War years and beyond**
- III. Crisis in Tiananmen and its aftermath**
- IV. From the Embassy bombing, through 9/11, to the 16th Party Congress of the CCP**
- V. Toward partnership through vicissitudes**
- VI. Drastic Ups and Downs: Obama and China**
- VII. Grand strategies of the United States and China: Compatibilities and Tensions**

- VIII. China, U.S., and the East Asian security: Geopolitics, security dilemmas, power transition, and Taiwan**
- IX. Northeast Asia: China's deeply troubled relations with Japan and ROK**
- X. Northeast Asia: China, U.S., and the oft-dramatic North Korea problem**
- XI. New problems at a new agenda: Finance, trade, environment, energy, and more**
- XII. China's rising, and the uncertain future of China-U.S. relations**

Course Format

The course is organized as a seminar. It requires students to complete reading the assigned materials, and bring to class their own questions or comments about the readings. It also requires students to actively engage in in-class interactions in the general context of their course reading as well as lecture-listening. Insights with highly practical relevance are particularly welcome.

Each session will begin with a lecture by the instructor, which takes about half of the session time. Then the course will focus on a presentation on one of the sub-topics of the each session by a pre-designated student, with discussions from other course participants, and related topics/issues they want to have discussed. The presentation in its written form (or its outline) can serve as a short reflection paper (see more below).

Course Requirements

Participation	25%
One short reflection paper	25%
Final research paper	50%

A short reflection paper is meant to be 3-4 pages in length, typed. It should demonstrate a student's strength and scope in reflecting on one sub-topic in China-U.S. relations covered by the course. Documentation of sources of information is not required, but the writer ought to base his/her comments on reliable data and expert opinions as much as possible.

A research paper is meant to be 8-9 pages in length, typed. It should deal with a significant research topic within the general line of the course, be documented and written according to rules and conventions governing in the Beijing Center (TBC). Plagiarism and other academic dishonesty are strictly forbidden. The due date of the final research paper will be announced during the class.

Course Topics and Readings*

* Most readings are to be provided by instructor through TBC in course-pack form, others are available in TBC libraries. In addition, students should keep up with current related affairs in publications such as the *New York Times* (which can be found for free at www.nytimes.com), the *Washington Post* (www.washingtonpost.com), the *Asian Times* (www.atimes.com), the *Straits Times*, a prestigious Singapore newspaper with much related reporting or comments (it free website as www.straitstimes.asia1.com), and the China's no.1 official newspaper, the *People's*

Daily (in English at <http://english.peopledaily.com.cn/home.html>), etc. A truly excellent and free web service is *Taiwan Security Research* (www.taiwansecurity.org), update on the Taiwan issue, China's foreign policy, Sino-American relations, and East Asian security.

* There are three required (optional) books for this course, i.e.: (1) **Harry Harding**, *A Fragile Relationship: The United States and China since 1972* [Washington, D.C.: The Brookings Institution, 1992]; (2) **C. Fred Bergsten, Charles Freeman, Nicholas R. Lardy, and Derek J. Mitchell**, *China's Rise: Challenges and Opportunities* [Washington, D.C.: Peterson Institute for International Economics & Center for Strategic and International Studies, 2008]; (3) **Mark Leonard**, *What Does China Think* [London: Fourth Estate, 2008]. All of them are excellent and very useful. If one would be particularly interested in historical and "philosophical" thinking about China and her probable impacts upon the future course of world history, one could read **Martin Jacques**, *When China Rules the World: The Rise of the Middle Kingdom and the End of the Western World* [London: Allen Lane: 2009], an innovative, insightful, and controversial book.

I. The emergence of the American preponderance and China's evolving relations with the international society

Required readings:

Geoffrey Barraclough, *An Introduction to Contemporary History* (Harmondsworth, Middlesex, England: Penguin Books, 1967), Chapter 4 ("From the European Balance of Power to the Age of World Politics");

Akira Iriye, *Across the Pacific: An Inner History of American-East Asian Relations* (New York and London: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, 1967), Chapter 1 ("The Initial Encounter, 1780-1880");

Gerrit W. Gong, *The Standard of "Civilization" in International Society* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1984), Chapter 5 ("The Standard of 'Civilization' and the Entry of China into International Society");

Martin Jacques, *When China Rules the World: The Rise of the Middle Kingdom and the End of the Western World* (London: Allen Lane: 2009), Chapter 4 ("China's Ignominy").

II. Conflict, confrontation, and rapprochement: the China-U.S. relations in the Cold War years and beyond

Required readings:

Warren Cohen, *America's Response to China*, 2nd edition (New York: John Wiley & Sons, 1971), Chapter 7 ("Great Aberration");

Michal H. Hunt ed., *Crisis in U.S. Foreign Policy* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1996), Chapter 4 ("The Sino-American Collision in Korea, 1948-1951");

Roderick MacFarquhar and Michael Schoenhals, *Mao's Last Revolution* (Cambridge, Mass. and London: The Belknap Press of Harvard University, 2006), Introduction;

Li Jie, "Chinese Domestic Politics and the Normalization of Sino-U.S. Relations, 1969-1979," in William C. Kirby, Robert S. Ross, and Gong Li, eds., *Normalization of U.S.-China Relations*

(Cambridge, Mass. and London: Harvard University Asia Center, 2005);

Harry Harding, *A Fragile Relationship: The United States and China since 1972* (Washington, D.C.: The Brookings Institution, 1992), pp. 33-66.

III. Crisis in Tiananmen and its aftermath

Required readings:

John Lewis Gaddis, *The Cold War: A New History* (New York: Penguin Books, 2005), Chapter 7 (“The Triumph of Hope”);

Harry Harding, *A Fragile Relationship: The United States and China since 1972* (Washington, D.C.: The Brookings Institution, 1992), Chapters 7 and 8 (“Crisis” and “Deadlock”);

Andrew J. Nathan and Perry Link, eds., *The Tiananmen Papers* (New York: PublicAffairs, 2001), pp. xxix-xxxv, 455-457 (“Deng Xiaoping’s Struggle for Reform”);

Andrew J. Nathan, “Authoritarian Resilience: Institutionalization and the Transition to China’s Fourth Generation,” in Christopher Marsh and June Teufel Dreyer, eds., *U.S.-China Relations in the 21st Century* (Lanham, Maryland: Lexington Books, 2003), pp. 13-25.

IV. From the Embassy bombing, through 9/11, to the 16th Party Congress of the CCP

Required readings:

Michael Pillsbury, *China Debates the Future Security Environment* (Washington, D.C.: National Defense University Press, 2000), Chapter 7 (“Conclusions”);

Michael D. Swaine and Ashley J. Tellis, *Interpreting China’s Grand Strategy: Past, Present, and Future*, Santa Monica, Calif.: RAND, 2000, p. 112-140;

“Bending in the U.S. Storm,” *The Far Eastern Economic Review*, October 24, 2002;

Shi Yinhong, “The Fifteen Years of China’s Diplomacy and Strategy toward the United States: The Process of Evolution, Fundamental Experiences, and Remaining Problems” (unpublished English outline, written in 2003, of a 2004 published Chinese article).

V. Toward partnership through vicissitudes

Required readings:

Ching Cheong, “Pressure from US and China Limits Taiwan Separatism,” *Straits Times*, May 21, 2004;

Bonnie S. Glaser and Jane Skanderup, “Anxiety About Taiwan Hits New Highs,” *Pacific Forum*, CSIS, 2nd quarter 2004;

Murry Hiebert, Jason Dean, and Charles Hutzler, “U.S.-China Tensions Resurface,” *The Wall Street Journal*, February 25, 2005;

“The Dragon Comes Calling,” *The Economist*, September 2, 2005;

Demetri Sevastopulo, “Pentagon Report to Portray China as Emerging Rival,” *Financial Times*, May 24, 2005;

Paul Kelly, "US Seeks New Path to China," *Australian*, December 10, 2005;
Kaveh L. Afrasiabi, "Iran: Russia, China Drift toward U.S.," *Asia Time*, May 12, 2006;
Glenn Kessler, "Rice Sees Bright Spot in China's New Role since N. Korean Test," *The Washington Post*, October 22, 2006.

VI. Drastic ups and downs: Obama and China

Required readings:

Chris Buckley, "China Weighs Assertion and Caution in U.S. Shadow," Reuters, January 20, 2009;

Helene Cooper, Michael Wines, and David E. Sanger, "China's Rule as U.S. Lender Alters Dynamics for Obama," *The New York Times*, November 14, 2009;

Calum MacLeod, "No Breakthroughs Made, but China Keeps Obama Busy," *USA Today*, November 17, 2009;

"Copenhagen Talks Show G2 Far from Reality," Agency France Presse, December 21, 2009;

Peter Ford, "Clinton Bluntly Condemns China on Internet Censorship," *Christian Science Monitor*, January 21, 2010;

Tania Branigan, "Chinese Media Accuses U.S. of 'Cold War Thinking' over Taiwan Arms Deal," *Guardian*, February 1, 2010;

Helene Cooper, "U.S. Arms for Taiwan Send Beijing a Message," *The New York Times*, January 31, 2010;

"It's Time for Obama Administration to Burst Beijing's Bubble," Editorial, *The Washington Post*, February 4, 2010;

Ewen MacAskill and Mark Tran, "China and U.S. Extend Thaw as Hu Jintao Confirms Nuclear Summit Visit," *Guardian*, April 1, 2010;

John Pomfret, "Private Efforts Help Resolve Public Tensions between U.S. and China," *The Washington Post*, April 10, 2010;

Michael Wines, "Behind a Military Chill: A More Forceful China," *The New York Times*, June 8, 2010;

Michael Sainsbury, "Beijing Furious over U.S. Exercises," *The Australian*, August 14, 2001;

Mark Landler, "U.S. Challenge China on Island Chain," *The New York Times*, July 23, 2001;

John Pomfret, "Dispute over Japan Highlights China's Foreign Policy Struggle," *The Washington Post*, September 24, 2010;

David E. Sanger, "Three Faces of the New China," *The New York Times*, September 25, 2010;

Mark Landler and Sewell Chan, "Taking Harder Stance toward China, Obama Lines Up Allies," *The New York Times*, October 25, 2010;

Keith Richburg, "U.S.-China Relationship Shifts toward Deep Distrust," *The Washington Post*, November 7, 2010.

VII. Grand strategies of the United States and China: Compatibilities and Tensions

Required readings:

Shi Yinhong, "A Rising China: National Objectives, Grand Strategy, and Prime Problems" (part of a published speech at the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, Washington, D.C., on February 12, 2002);

Shi Yinhong, "U.S. Power, China's Rise, and World Order," *Journal of Renmin University of China*, Vol. 3, No. 1 (Spring 2008);

Christopher Layne, "China's Role in American Grand Strategy: Partner, Regional Power, or Great Power Rival?" from www.taiwansecurity.org.

Richard Armitage, "China the Emerging Power," *Yumiuri Shimbun*, August 14, 2005;

David Prosser, "China's Push for Power Is Irresistible," *Independent*, October 7, 2009;

Azar Gat, "The Return of Authoritarian Great Powers," *Foreign Affairs*, July/August 2007.

VIII. China, U.S., and the East Asian security: Geopolitics, Security dilemmas, Power transition, and Taiwan

Required reading:

Edward Cody, "China's Quiet Rise Casts Wide Shadow," *Washington Post*, February 26, 2005;

Daniel Twining, "China's Rise Threatens to Divide Asia, Not Unite It," *Financial Times*, August 22, 2005;

Anand Giridharadas, "India Welcomed as A New Sort of Superpower," *International Herald Tribune*, July 21, 2005;

Willy Lam, "Beijing's Alarm over New 'U.S. Encirclement Conspiracy'," Jamestown Foundation, China Brief, April 13, 2005;

Andrew Krepinevich and Yoichi Funabashi, "China's Emergence Sparks Concerns for Global Military Map," *Asahi Shimbun*, May 8, 2010;

"Seas Fill with Tension over China's Moves," *Asahi Shimbun*, October 2, 2010;

Mark Landler, Jim Yardley, and Michael Wines, "China's Fast Rise Leads Neighbors to Join Forces," *The New York Times*, October 30, 2010;

Shi Yinhong, "The Strategic Lessons and the Evolution of Approach: China's Management of the Taiwan Issue and Its American Element," in Zheng Yongnian and Raymond Ray-Kuo Wu, eds., *Sources of Conflict and Cooperation in the Taiwan Strait* (Singapore: World Scientific, 2006);

Ching Cheong, "Pressure from U.S. and China Limits Taiwan Separatism," *Straits Times*, May 21, 2004;

"U.S. Tells Taiwan to Back Down on U.N. Vote," *Straits Times*, September 13, 2007;

Robert Ross, "For China, How to Manage Taiwan?" *Forbes*, October 22, 2007;

Philip Bowring, "Taiwan and China," *The New York Times*, October 6, 2009;

IX. Northeast Asia: China's deeply troubled relations with Japan and ROK

Required reading:

Chris Buckley, "Beijing and Tokyo Keep Tensions High," *International Herald Tribune*, April 15, 2005;

Norimitsu Onishi and Howard D. French, "Japan's Rivalry with China Is Stirring a Crowded

Sea,” *The New York Times*, September 11, 2005;

Shi Yinhong, “The Need for a Composite Strategy in China-Japan Relations,” in Gi-Wook Shin and Daniel C. Sneider, eds., *Cross Currents: Regionalism and Nationalism in Northeast Asia* (Stanford, Calif.: APARC, 2007);

Linda Sieg, “Japan PM Abe’s Summits Set Scene for Thaw,” *Reuter*, October 6, 2006;

Simon Tisdall, “Is Japan’s Sun Rising or Setting?” *The Guardian*, September 1, 2009;

Martin Fackler, “Japan Relents on U.S. Base on Okinawa,” *The New York Times*, May 23, 2010;

Christopher Bodeen, “China Seen as Isolating Self with Tough Diplomacy,” *Associate Press*, September 28, 2010;

“Government Leader Flinch at China Intimidation,” *Yomui Shimbun*, September 26, 2010;

“Official OK to Anti-Japan Rallies Backfired in China,” *Asahi Shimbun*, October 23, 2010;

Bruce Klingner, “China Shock for South Korea,” *Asia Times*, September 11, 2004;

Park Song-wu, “China Stirs History Furor,” *Korea Times*, September 12, 2006;

Shi Yinhong, “China and ROK: Bizarre Political Relationship and Huge Strategic Suspensions” [An excerpt from idem, “China, the North Korea Problem, and the Korean Peninsular: Protracted Predicaments with Strategic Stamina,” a paper presented to an international conference organized by Research Institute for National Security Studies, Seoul, December 8, 2009];

Jung Ha-won, “Seoul Faces New China Tensions over Naval Drill,” *Joongang Daily*, July 12, 2010;

Chris Buckley and Jack Kim, “China’s Embrace of North Korea’s Kim Irks Neighbors,” *Reuters*, May 7, 2010;

Bae Myung-bok, “Black Hole of China,” *Joongang Daily*, July 28, 2010.

X. Northeast Asia: China, U.S., and the oft-dramatic North Korea problem

Required reading:

Shi Yinhong, “China and the North Korean Nuclear Issue: Competing Interests and Persistent Policy Dilemmas,” *The Korean Journal of Defense Analysis*, Vol. 21, No. 1 (March 2009);

Robert Marquand, “Outrage over North Korean Dissipates,” *Christian Science Monitor*, October 25, 2006;

Jim Johnson, “In Asia, Doubts Grow about a Nuclear-free North Korea,” *McClatchy Newspaper*, October 28, 2008;

Shi Yinhong, “The Challenges of North Korea’s WMD Program with Its Implications for Military/Political Balance and Required Response” (A paper presented to an international conference held at Korean National Defense University, Seoul, September 18, 2009);

Choe Sung-hun, “China Aims to Steady North Korea,” *The New York Times*, October 6, 2009;

Minnie Chan and Greg Torode, “Show of Force in PLA South China Sea Drill,” *South China Morning Post*, July 30, 2010;

Mark MacDonald, “Military Role Bolstered at N. Korea Conference,” *The New York Times*, September 28, 2010;

“N. Korea, China Enjoy ‘Honeymoon Period’ in Bilateral Ties,” *Donga Ilbo*, October 13, 2010.

XI. New problems in a new agenda: Finance, trade, environment, energy, and more

Required readings:

Goh Sui Noi, "China and US Economies on Collision Course," *Straits Times*, September 14, 2004;

Charles Horner, "What Will China Do with All that Money," *The Washington Post*, January 16, 2007;

Joseph Kahn and Jim Yardley, "As China Rises, Pollution Soars," *International Herald Tribune*, August 25, 2007;

Harry Harding, "China: Think Again!" PacNet #17, Pacific Forum, CSIS, April 5, 2007;

Keith Bradsher, "U.S. Officials Press China for Climate Efforts," *The New York Times*, July 15, 2009;

Peter Ford, "Clinton Bluntly Condemns China on Internet Censorship," *The Christian Science Monitor*, January 21, 2010;

James Kyngé, "China and West: Full Circle," *Financial Times*, January 15, 2010;

Chietigi Bajipae, "China Fuels Energy Cold War," *Asia Time*, March 2, 2005;

Barton W. Marcois and Leland R. Miller, "China, U.S. interests Conflict," *Washington Times*, March 25, 2005;

Howard French, "How Bush's Africa Visit Trumps China's Foray," *International Herald Tribune*, February 21, 2008;

Shi Yinhong, "The Truth Regarding Tibet: From A Chinese Perspective," *The Washington Post*, August 4, 2008;

Kathrin Hille, "Xinjiang Ethnic Groups United in Hostility," *Financial Times*, September 4, 2009;

Al Guo, "U.S. Groups Accused of Backing Separatists," *South China Morning Post*, July 9, 2009.

XII. China's rising, and the uncertain future of the China-U.S. relations

Required readings:

Jane Perlez, "Across Asia, Beijing's Star Is in Ascendance," *The New York Times*, August 28, 2004;

Joseph Kahn, "China Courts Africa, Angling for Strategic Gains," *The New York Times*, November 3, 2006;

Robert D. Kaplan, "Beijing's Afghan Gamble," *The New York Times*, October 7, 2009;

Simon Romero, "Tensions over Chinese Mining Venture in Peru," *The New York Times*, August 14, 2010;

Quentin Peel, "A Wider Order Comes into View," *Financial Times*, April 6, 2009;

John Pomfret, "China's Strident Tone Raises Concerns among Western Governments, Analysts," *The Washington Post*, January 31, 2010;

John Pomfret, "U.S. Continues Effort to Counter China's Influence in Asia," *The Washington Post*, July 23, 2010;

Shi Yinhong, "China's Soft Power and Peaceful Rise: A Discussion on What China Has and Has Not Yet, and Her International Responsibility" (A speech delivered at the New Mexico State University, September 30, 2009);

Arnold Toynbee, "The Growths of Civilizations," from idem, *A Study of History*, a new edition revised and abridged by the author and Jane Caplan (New York: Weathervane Books, 1972).