

Michigan State University
James Madison College
MC 492
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The United States and China at the Dawn of the New Millennium: Past, Present, and Future

Course Objective and Description:

This seminar provides an in-depth examination of U.S.-China relations in the 20th century, particularly the period from the Cold War to the post-Cold War, post-9/11 era. It aims to inquire whether a broad and persistent pattern exists in U.S.- China interactions throughout the 20th century, and whether this pattern may, subconsciously as well as consciously, persist into the early 21st century. Put another way, are there some enduring themes or visions of modernity, identity, and world order, which are deeply embedded in the national history, culture and society on both sides of the Pacific? Could those visions transcend both sides' ideological rhetoric, transcend even the Cold War framework, and continue to exist in the background of U.S.- China interactions in the post-Cold War world?

To inquire whether there are deep-rooted mainstream assumptions in China's continued quest for modernity and new identity, and in America's continued search for a new world order, and to bring them to more conscious reflections, this course will be divided into seven parts:

Part I introduces new theoretical approaches to the study of American East Asian relations in the past two decades, such as cognitive psychology and the cultural school of thought, or the humanist/normative dimensions of international relations;

Part II explores the major similarities and differences in Chinese and American cultural heritages;

Part III examines American exceptional historical experiences and compares them with China's search for modernity and new identity during China's democratic reform in the early 20th century. It examines how Chinese cultural heritage and China's place in the international system in the modern era interacts with China's quests for modernity, from the Constitutionalist movement to the republican revolution of 1911. It then examines how American Progressive reformers, particularly Wilsonian liberal internationalists, responded to China's democratic reform, before the rise of the Chinese communist movement.

Part IV looks into competing interpretations in the American literature with regard to the natures of the Chinese Nationalist movement (KMT), the Chinese Communist movement (CCP), and China's economic and political reforms since the late 1970s.

Part V focuses on historical case studies in U.S.- China diplomacy during the Cold War, which are based on most recently declassified Chinese, Russian, as well as American archival document: a). The Taiwan Strait Crisis in the 1950s; b). U.S.- China military confrontation in Korea; c). U.S.- China confrontation in the Vietnam War in the 1960s; d). U.S.- China accommodation in the 1970s. Through these case studies, the questions to be raised are: Did U.S.- China confrontations in the Cold War result from an inevitable conflict of vital national interests and moral principles? Or were the origins and evolution of U.S.- China antagonism engendered by the fallout of counterproductive foreign policies on both sides, the bitter fruit of repeated misjudgments of each other's intentions, or the fatal consequences of an illusion -- the perceived incompatibility of national interests and principles?

Part VI provides a comprehensive study of America's China policy debate and compares it with China's American policy debate with respect to the following issues in the post-Cold War, and post-9/11 world: the Taiwan question, the Tibetan question, the issue of democracy and human rights, China's energy policy and currency exchange policy, China's foreign policy objectives, and America's competing strategy toward China: containment vs. engagement.

In Part VII, students participate in class simulations on important topics in U.S.- China diplomacy to test the strengths and weaknesses of different theoretical perspectives in the IR field, and to explore new theoretical paradigms concerning how to minimize the chance of war, how to maximize the opportunity of peace and cooperation across the Pacific, and how to build a great bridge between today's humanity and tomorrow's.

Course Requirements:

Each student in the seminar will be required to write an in-depth *senior thesis* of 30 pages in length (typed and double spaced), to participate in *class discussions*, to take the *midterm* and *final exams*, and to participate in *class simulation* and *class debate*.

Paper topic will be due on **February 27** (1-2 pages). The paper proposal will be due on **March 20** (7-8 pages). It should include:

- 1). A summary of secondary sources on your research topic: what are those authors' different approaches? What are their different arguments and conclusions?
- 2). What is your argument? What is your theoretical approach? What is **new** in your research thesis?
- 3). An annotated bibliography (at least 30 books/documents/articles).

The senior research paper will be due on **April 28** (30 pages). It should combine both theoretical and historical perspectives in analyzing a contemporary issue in U.S.- China diplomacy. Moreover, it should demonstrate what is new in your research paper, either in terms of your research question, or in terms of your theoretical approach. Finally, it should explore the implications of your case study for the development of international relations theory.

Specific requirements for the senior thesis, class simulations and debates will be distributed in class.

Grade Determinants:

Class Participation and Discussion	20%
Class Simulations and Debates	20%
Midterm Exam:	10%
Final Exam	20%
Senior Research Paper	30%

Required Readings:

Fritjof Capra: *The Tao of Physics: An Exploration of the Parallels between Modern Physics and Eastern Mysticism* (Boston, 1999: 25th anniversary edition);

Wm. Theodore de Bary: *Nobility & Civility: Asian Ideals of Leadership and the Common Good* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2004);

Gordon Chang: *Friends and Enemies: The United States, China, and the Soviet Union, 1948-1972* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1992);

Evelyn Goh: *Constructing the U.S. Rapprochement with China, 1961–1974: From “Red Menace” to “Tacit Ally”* (Cambridge, UK and New York: Cambridge University Press, 2005);

Michael Hunt: *The Genesis of Chinese Communist Foreign Policy* (New York, NY: Columbia University Press, 1996);

David M. Lampton: *Same Bed, Different Dreams: Managing U.S. – China Relations, 1989 – 2000* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 2001);

Nicholas R. Lardy: *Integrating China into the Global Economy* (Washington, D.C.: Brookings Institution, 2002);

Coursepack at Budget Printing (Trowbridge Plaza).

Recommended Readings:

Warren I. Cohen: *America’s Response to China*, the fourth edition (New York: Columbia University Press, 2000);

Warren I. Cohen: *East Asia at the Center: Four Thousand Years of Engagement with the World* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2000);

A. Tom Grunfeld: *The Making of Modern Tibet* (New York: M.E. Sharpe, 1996);

John King Fairbank: *The Great Chinese Revolution, 1800 – 1985* (New York: Harper Perennial);

Supachai Panitchpakdi and Mark L. Clifford: *China and the WTO* (John Wiley & Sons, 2002);

Zbigniew Brzezinski: *The Geostrategic Triad: Living with China, Europe, and Russia* (Washington, D.C.: Center for Strategic and International Studies, 2001).

Readings for Honors Option:

Bruce Cumings: *Korea's Place in the Sun* (New York and London: W.W. Norton & Company);

Walter LaFeber: *The Clash: A History of U.S. – Japan Relations* (New York and London: W.W. Norton & Company, 1997);

Zbigniew Brzezinski: *The Geostrategic Triad: Living with China, Europe, and Russia* (Washington, D.C.: Center for Strategic and International Studies, 2001).

Topics and Assignments

January 9 Introduction

Part I. Ways of War and Peace: U.S.-China Diplomacy and International Relations Theory

January 11: Ways of War and Peace: Positivism vs. Normative Dimensions of International Relations

Required Readings:

Paul A. Cohen: "Toward a China-Centered History of China," in *coursepack*;

Gil Rozman: Introduction, *The East Asian Region*, in *coursepack*;

David C. Kang: "Getting Asia Wrong: The Need for New Analytical Frameworks," *International Security*, Vol. 27, No. 4 (Spring 2003), in *coursepack*;

John King Fairbank: Introduction to Akira Iriye's *Across the Pacific*, in *Coursepack*;

January 18: Ways of War and Peace: the Concept of "Fundamental Attribution Error," The Ideal of "Cultural Internationalism," and International Relations Theory

Required Readings:

Alexander George: "Ideology and International Relations: A Conceptual Analysis," in *The Jerusalem Journal of International Relations*, Vol. 9, No. 1, 1987, in *coursepack*;

Akira Iriye: chapter 2, *Cultural Internationalism and World Order*, in *coursepack* (re-read it);

David Lampton: *Same Bed, Different Dreams*, Introduction and Conclusion.

Part II. Shared Human Concerns and Major Differences in Chinese and American Cultural Heritages

January 23 An Imaginative Conversation (I): *I-Ching / Tao-te-ching* and the *Bible*

Required Readings:

Fu Xi: *I-Ching*, Chapter one: “The Fundamental Principle of the Heaven,” in *coursepack*;

Lao Zi: *Tao Te-ching*, in *Coursepack*;

Fritjof Capra: *The Tao of Physics*, Parts I and II, pp. 17-129, and pp. 130-307.

January 25 An Imaginative Conversation (II): Lao Zi’s *Tao-te Ching* / Confucius’ *Golden Mean Doctrine* and Plato’s *Republic*

Required Readings:

Lao Zi: *Tao Te-ching*, in *Coursepack*;

Confucius: <http://www.friesian.com/confuci.htm#six>;

Plato: *Republic*, on reserve at JMC Library.

January 30 An Imaginative Conversation (III): Confucius’ *Analects / the Golden Mean Doctrine* and Aristotle’s *On Man in the Universe*

Required Readings:

Aristotle: *On Man in the Universe*, on reserve at JMC library;

Confucius: <http://www.friesian.com/confuci.htm#six>;

Barrington Moore, Jr.: *Moral Purity and Persecution in History* (Princeton University Press, 2001), chapter 4: “Notes on Purity and Pollution in Asiatic Civilization,” in *coursepack*.

Wm. Theodore de Bary: *Nobility & Civility: Asian Ideals of Leadership and the Common Good*, chapter one: “Confucius Noble Person,” and chapter 6: “The New Leadership and Civil Society in Song China;”

Weiming Tu: “Beyond the Enlightenment Mentality: A Confucian Perspective on Ethics, Migration, and Global Stewardship,” on reserve in library.

Recommended Readings:

Sun Zi: *The Art of War*;

Thucydides: *The Peloponnesian War*.

Part III. Unusual Encounters in the Early 20th Century: American Progressive Reformers and China's Democratic Reformers

February 1 From the Constitutionalist Movement to the Republican Revolution of 1911

Required Readings:

“Dr. Sun Yat-sen’s Will”, March 11, 1925, in *coursepack*;

Paul A. Cohen: “Imperialism: Myth or Reality?” in *coursepack*.

February 6 Sun Yat-sen’s “Three Principles of the People”

Required Readings:

Sun Yat-sen on the Principle of Nationalism, in *coursepack*;

Sun Yat-sen on the Principle of Democracy, in *coursepack*;

Sun Yat-sen on the Principle of People’s Livelihood, in *coursepack*.

James Reed: *The Missionary Mind and American East Asia Policy, 1911-1915*, on reserve in JMC library.

Part IV. Deng Xiaoping’s “Building Socialism with Chinese Characteristics:” China’s Continued Quests for Modernity and Identity at the End of the 20th Century

February 8 The Age of Chinese Revolution: A Soviet Conspiracy or a Peasant Revolution (Land Revolution) / Women’s Revolution in China? Opposing Interpretations in the American Literature

Required Readings:

Michael Hunt: *The Genesis of Chinese Communist Foreign Policy*, chapter 1: “The Pertinence of the Past,” pp. 3-29.

Ross Terrill: "How the Chinese Imperial State was Formed," in *The New Chinese Empire* (New York, NY: Basic Books, 2003), in JMC Library;

Michael Schaller: *The U.S. Crusade in China, 1938-1945*, Chapter I: "Images of China," in JMC Library.

John King Fairbank: chapter 1: Understanding China's Revolution; and chapter 19: Perspectives, in *The Great Chinese Revolution*, in JMC Library;

Gilbert Rozman: Introduction and Conclusion, *The Modernization of China*, in JMC Library.

February 13 The Age of Chinese Reform: Deng's "Building Socialism with Chinese Characteristics:" A Desperate Effort to Save Chinese Communist Party, or a Sharp Departure from the Soviet Path? Competing Interpretations in the American Literature

Required Readings:

Deng Xiaoping: "To Build Socialism with Chinese Characteristics," June 30, 1984, in *coursepack*;

Hu Jintao: "China will stick to socialist road: President Hu"; *People's Daily*, Dec. 3, 2004; in *coursepack*;

Hu Jintao: "To Build Democracy with Chinese Characteristics," *People's Daily*, September 8, 2005; in *coursepack*;

Peter Nolan: "China, Russia Contrasting Case Studies," *Inside China Today*, in *coursepack*.

Part V. Case Studies on U.S. – China Diplomacy in the Cold War

February 15: Historical Case Studies (I): U.S.- China Conflict in Taiwan

Required Readings:

President Truman's Statement on the Taiwan Question, January 5, 1950, in *coursepack*;

Secretary of State Dean Acheson's Speech on the Taiwan Question at the National Press Club, Jan. 12, 1950, in *coursepack*;

Gordon H. Chang and He Di: "The Absence of War in the U.S.-China Confrontation over Quemoy and Matsu in 1954-1955: Contingency, Luck, and Deterrence?" *American Historical Review*, Dec. 1993; in *coursepack*.

February 20: Historical Case Studies (II): U.S.-China Confrontation in Korea

Required Readings:

Rosemary Foot: *The Wrong War*, chapters 1-4 and 8 (pp. 23-130, 232-246), on reserve in JMC library;

Newly Declassified Documents on the Origins of the Korean War: the Nehru government's message to the Truman administration on Zhou Enlai's warning, Stalin's telegram to Kim, and State Department's memo; on reserve in JMC library.

February 22 Historical Case Study (III): U.S.-China Confrontation in Vietnam

Required Readings:

Hans J. Morgenthau: "Ideology and the National Interest," *U.S. Policy in Far East: Ideology, Religion & Superstition*, in *coursepack*;

Gordon Chang: *Friends and Enemies*, chapters 3, 5, 8 and 9 (pp. 81-115, 143-174, 228-284).

February 27: Historical Case Studies (IV): U.S.- China Accommodation in the 1970s

Required Readings:

Douglas Jehl: "Secret Papers about China are released by the CIA," NYT, Oct. 19, 2004, in JMC library;

Evelyn Goh: Constructing the U.S. Rapprochement with China, 1961-1974, Parts 1-III.

March 1: Workshop on Writing Senior Thesis

March 13 Workshop on Using Primary Sources

March 15: **Midterm Exam (Bluebooks are Required)**

Part VI. U.S.- China Diplomacy in the post-Cold War and the Post-9/11 World

March 20 America's China Policy Debates: Containment vs. Engagement

Required Readings:

John Mearsheimer: "The Future of the American Pacifier," in *coursepack*;

Sam Huntington: "If Not Civilization, What?" in *coursepack*.

James Kitfield: "Old China hands wave a cautionary flag," *National Journal*, Washington, Sep. 25, 1999; in *coursepack*;

Robert Ross: "Engagement in US China Policy," on reserve in JMC library.

Paper Proposal Due

March 22 The Taiwan Question in U.S. – China Diplomacy

Required Readings:

"The Joint U.S.- China Communiqué, Shanghai, February 27, 1972," in *coursepack*;

"Joint Communiqué on the Establishment of Diplomatic Relations between the People's Republic of China and the United States of America," January 1, 1979, in *coursepack*.

"The Taiwan Relations Act", 1979, on website;

Alan Romberg: *Rein In at the Brink of the Precipice: American Policy Toward Taiwan and U.S.-PRC Relations* (Washington, D.C.: The Henry L. Stimson Center, 2003), pp. 1-232, on reserve in JMC library.

March 27 The Tibetan Question in U.S. – China Diplomacy

Required Readings:

Tom Grunfeld: *The Making of Modern Tibet*, chapters 1-2 (New York: M.E. Sharpe, 1996), in *coursepack*;

Melvyn C. Goldstein: "Change, Conflict and Continuity among a Community of Nomadic Pastoralists: A Case Study from Western Tibet, 1950-1990," in *coursepack*;

Reuter: "Internet Brings Market Economy to Tibet," July 4, 1999; in *coursepack*.

March 29 Issues of Democracy and Human Rights in U.S.- China Diplomacy

Required Readings:

Wei Jinsheng: “Democracy: The Fifth Modernization,” in *coursepack*;

CNN World News: “Backgrounder: Direct Election of People’s Deputies in China (I),” in *coursepack*;

CNN World News: “U.S. Delegation Gets First-Hand Look at China’s Local Elections,” Jan. 10, 1999; in *coursepack*;

David Lampton: *Same Bed, Different Dreams: Managing U.S. – China Relations, 1989-2000*, chapters 3,6, 7.

April 3 China, WTO, and U.S. – China Economic Relations in the post-Cold War World

Required Readings:

Nicholas Lardy, “Forward” by Michael H. Armacost; and chapters 4 and 5;

Zweig & Jianhai: “Hunting Globally for Resources,” *Foreign Affairs*, September / October 2005; in *coursepack*;

“China-U.S. Energy Policies: A Choice of Cooperation or Collision – Remarks by Senator Joseph I. Lieberman,” November 30, 2005; on reserve in JMC library;

AP: “China to raise energy efficiency by 20%,” December 12, 2005; on reserve in JMC library;

Zhao Li: “China Remains Committed to Cooperative U.S. Relations, Experts Insist,” in *Newsletter, Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars*, July 1999, in *coursepack*;

David Lampton: *Same Bed, Different Dreams*, chapters 4, 5, and 8.

April 5: China’s Foreign Policy Objectives in the Age of Reform

Required Readings:

Marita Siika: “The Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence,” in *coursepack*;

Premier Wen: “Peace is a logical choice for China,” December 12, 2005; on reserve in JMC library;

Zheng Bijian: “ ‘Peacefully Rising’ to Great-Power Status,” *Foreign Affairs*, Sep./Oct. 2005; on reserve in JMC library;

Wang Jisi: “Search for Stability with America,” *Foreign Affairs*, Sep./Oct. 2005; on reserve in JMC library;

Kishore Mahhubani: “Understanding China,” *Foreign Affairs*, Sep./Oct. 2005; on reserve in JMC library.

Part VII. Class Simulations and Debates

April 10: Class Simulation on China’s Population Control Policy (Human Rights);

April 12: Class Simulation on China’s Energy and Currency Policy (Economy);

April 17: Class Simulation on the Taiwan Question (Security).

April 19: Class Debates: Containment vs. Engagement;

Debate on U.S.-China Relations in the 21st Century: Zbigniew Brzezinski vs. John J. Mearsheimer: “Clash of the Titans”, *Foreign Policy*, January/February, 2005; in JMC library.

April 24 Class Debates: Containment vs. Engagement (cont’d).

Debate on U.S.- China Diplomacy in the 21st Century: Sam Huntington’s “A Clash of Civilizations” vs. Akira Iriye’s *Cultural Internationalism*, in *coursepack*.

******* Course Summary *******

April 26: Ways of War and Peace: The Future of International Relations Theory

April 28 (W) (5:00 pm): **Senior Paper Due (30 pages)**

May 1 (M) (5:45 – 7: 45 pm): **Final Exam (Bluebooks are Required):
To ensure fairness in grading, no make-up exam
will be given without your doctor’s note.**

