

China's Global Rise: Implications for the Liberal Democratic Order

Course Description:

This seminar will explore the implications of China's global rise for the liberal global democratic order constructed by the United States in the aftermath of World War II. First, we will explore how China's limited global engagement (the Maoist strategy of self-reliance) during the Cold War backfired and ultimately created a political situation in which Beijing's leaders had no choice but to open China to global market forces. Second, we will examine whether China's grand international strategy poses a serious challenge to democratic nations, including Japan, South Korea, India, Australia, the United States and Europe. We are especially interested in China's economic penetration of Southeast Asia, Africa, and Latin America, and in understanding its support for anti-democratic regimes from Burma (Myanmar) to Sudan to Venezuela. Third, we will take up the issue of how China's growing involvement in the global economy is guided by an authoritarian work style that developed in the Maoist period of state formation. We will study how this style influences China's global hunt for land and food, wild life reserves, mines and minerals, oil, energy power, financial hubs, commercial art, and fashion. To what extent does this style pose a threat to global political institutions and norms supportive of basic human rights and the rule of law? Finally, we will ask whether China's ascent will undermine the liberal global democratic order and, in time, pit a rising China against a declining United States and thus increase the chances of an armed conflict between authoritarian China and democratic America.

Course Requirements:

There is a two part mid-term examination (one part will be take home, the other most likely will be written in class). A ten page term paper is required. You are expected to submit a two page outline of the paper, including a statement of your topic, and explanation of your methodology, and a short bibliography on the topic. I will play a role in deciding the topic of your term paper.

The mid-term exam will count for 40 per cent of your course grade. The term paper will count for another 40 per cent. Each of you also will be expected to participate in an in-class debate on readings and films to be assigned, and this participation will constitute 20 per cent of your grade.

Your term paper is due in hard copy in class on Wednesday April 27.

There are six required (Req.) books (Fairbank, Dower or Chang, Cheng Jian, Gilley, Shirk, Brautigam or Mankell).

- (1) Fairbank, **The United States and China.** (Harvard). (Req)
 (2) John Dower, **War Without Mercy.** (Pantheon) (Req.)
 Or (2a) Iris Chang, **The Rape of Nanjing** (Penguin) (Req.)
 (3) Chen Jian, **China's Road to the Korean War.**(Columbia) (Req.)
 (4) Bruce Gilley, **China's Democratic Future.** (Columbia,). (Req)
 (5) Susan L Shirk, **China, Fragile Superpower.** (Oxford). (Req.)
 (6) Deborah Brautigam, **The Dragon's Gift** (Oxford) (Req)
 Or (6a) (Henning Mankell, **The Man from Beijing** (Random House) (Req.)

- I. The United States and China, Part I: American Images of China and the Shaping of American Foreign Policy—the Chinese as Ourselves

Film: *Power in the Pacific—The Place of China in American Conceptions of the Pacific Ocean as an “American Lake”*

Gerald Segal, “Does China Matter?” *Foreign Affairs*, September/October, 1999, pp. 24-36.

- II. The United States and China, Part II: American Images of the Chinese Revolution and the Shaping of American Foreign Policy—The Chinese as “Others” (The Soviets)

***Fairbank, **The United States and China,** Chapters 9-13, pp. 220-357.**

Tucker, *China Confidential*, Chapter 1.

- III. The Great Betrayal: The Failed Occupation, the New American Emperor of Japan, and the Anger in Beijing—The Origins of the Sino-Soviet Alliance and the Cold War with Washington

***Dower, **War Without Mercy,** all.
 Or Chang, **The Rape of Nanjing,** all.**

Film: *The Rape of Nanking.*

- IV. Spilling Blood: The Internationalization of the Korean Civil War and the Short and Long Term Consequences for U.S.-China Relations—The Reality of the Cold War in East Asia

***Fairbank, **The United States and China,** Chapter 17, pp. 450-457.**

***Chen Jian, **China's Road to the Korean War,** all.**

Tucker, *China Confidential*, Chapters 1 and 2.

- V. Containing Maoism, U.S. Counterinsurgency in Asia, the CIA and KGB Defeat of Neutralist Forces in Indochina, and the Multiplication of Misunderstandings

Tucker, China Confidential, Chapter 3, on Chinese Activities in Indonesia and the Third World, and the Cultural Revolution Years, pp. 212-218.

- VI. The Maoist Disaster and the Embedded Crisis of Legitimacy in Beijing

***Lecture on Mao's Great Famine.**

Tucker, China Confidential, Chapter 7, The Crisis Years, including section on Tiananmen, pp. 337-389.

***Film: TBA**

- VII. The International Consequences of the Chinese Communist Party Dominated Political System in the Post-Reform Era (1991-2010)

***Gilley, China's Democratic Future, all, especially Chapter 6, "The Democratic Breakthrough." CLASS DISCUSSION**

***Edward Friedman, "Why the Dominant Party in China Won't Lose," Chapter 14, in Edward Friedman and Joseph Wong, eds., Political Transitions in Dominant Party Systems, Routledge, 2008. google books, on line. CLASS DISCUSSION**

Friedman and McCormick, What If China Doesn't Democratize? Implications for War and Peace:

Chapter 1, Suisheng Zhao, "We Are Patriots First, Democrats Second: The Rise of Chinese Nationalism in the 1990s," pp. 21-43.

Chapter 2, Jianwei Wang, "Democratization and China's Nation Building," pp. 49-70.

Chapter 3, Minxin Pei, "China's Evolution Toward Soft Authoritarianism," pp. 74-95.

Tien and Cheng, eds., The Security Environment in the Asia-Pacific:

Chapter 6, Douglas H. Paal, "The Regional Security Implications of China's Economic Expansionism, Military Modernization, and the Rise of Nationalism," pp. 79-91.

VIII. Obstacles to China's Rise to Major Power Status in Asia: Japan and India as Competitors in the Global Economy

***Brahma Chellaney, "Asian Juggernaut: The Rise of China, India, and Japan, Chapter 1, "The Asian Renaissance," pp. 1-48.**

Whiting, China Eyes Japan, (recommended)

Friedman and McCormick, What If China Doesn't Democratize? Implications for War and Peace,

Ch. 4, Edward Friedman, "Preventing War Between China and Japan," pp. 99-124.

Tien and Cheng, eds., The Security Environment in the Asia-Pacific, Chapters. 4-5, 14.

Chapter 5, Akio Watanabe, "The PRC-Japan Relationship: Heading for a Collision?," pp. 64-77.

IX. The Promise and Dilemma of Globalization: China's Economic Rise in the Arc of Poverty, Corruption, and Instability—Looking at China in Southeast Asia, Latin America, and Africa

***Brautigam, The Dragon's Gift, all. CLASS DISCUSSION**

***Mankell, The Man from Beijing, all. CLASS DISCUSSION**

***Film: "China in Africa, Part II" (Angola Video) August 29, 2009. This film is on China in Angola.**

***Film: "China in Africa: Senegal, The Colony" Al-Jazerra. September 20, 2010.**

***Film: TBA**

***Each student will read 3 articles (newspaper, internet, scholarly journal) on China's presence in any ONE African country and join the class debate over whether and how China will transform Africa. CLASS DISCUSSION**

X. Human Rights—The Continuity of A Longstanding Problem

Foot, Rights Beyond Borders:

“Introduction,” pp. 1-26;

Chapter 2, “The Evolution of the Global Human Rights Regime,” pp. 29-60;

Chapter 3, “The Global Consequences of China’s Economic Reforms,” pp. 60-80;

Chapter 5, “Tiananmen and Its Aftermath, June 1989-November 1991,” pp. 113-149 ;

Chapter 6, “The Shift to Multilateral Venues,” 1992-1995,” pp. 150-189;

Chapter 8, “Betting on the Long Term, 1998-1999,” pp. pp. 224-250.

Some Important Recent Developments:

Elizabeth Rosenthal, “China Detains and Isolates Liberal Computer Wiz.” New York Times, April 21, 2001. (A3)

Kerry Brown and Natalia Lisenkova, “Hada, Liu Xiaobo, and China’s Fear,” Open Democracy, December 8, 2010. on line.

Oiwan Lam, “China: No More Award and Prize!” Global Voices, in English, January 16, 2011. on line.

Teng Biao, “A Hole to Bury You: A First Hand Account of How China’s Police Treat the Citizens Its Suppose to Serve and Protect,” Opinion Asia, December 28, 2010. on line.

XI. Taiwan and the Prospects for War

Tucker, China Confidential (all sections on Taiwan), Chapter 2, pp. 116-141; Chapters 3, pp. 170-177, 208-211. Chapter 4, pp. 219-280 (the Nixon Normalization); Chapter 5, 314-341 (Carter and the Taiwan Relations Act); Chapter 6, pp. 351-385, 414-428 (including Reagan Visit); Chapter 7, pp. 437-489 (Tiananmen and the Taiwan Strait Crisis of the 1990s)

Johnston and Ross, eds., Engaging China:

Chapter 3, Steven M. Goldstein, “Terms of Engagement: Taiwan’s Mainland Policy,” pp. 57-82.

Tien and Cheng, eds., The Security Environment in the Asia-Pacific:

Chapter 15, Michael Y.M. Kau, “The Challenge of Cross Strait Relations: The Strategic Implications of the Missile Crisis,” pp. 241-256.

XII. China and the United States in the Future: Towards Peace or War?

***Shirk, China, Fragile Superpower, all**

***Ralph A. Thaxton, Jr., Chapter 1, Contention and Rule in Contemporary China, (unpublished manuscript—handout).**

***Thaxton Lecture, "China's Dangerous Future," Mandatory Attendance**

Chang, The Coming Collapse of China, Chapters 1-2, 4-5, 7-10, and 12, paying special attention to Chapter 12, "Roads to Ruin: How the State Will Fall" pp. 256-282.

Johnston and Ross, eds., Engaging China,

Chapter 8, Robert S. Ross, "Engagement in U.S. China Policy, pp. 176-202.
(Compare the logic of Ross with the logic presented by Chang, above.)

Tien and Cheng, eds., The Security Environment in the Asia-Pacific, Chapters. 1-3, 17.

Chapter 3, Ralph A. Cossa, "The U.S. Asia-Pacific Security Strategy for the Twenty First Century," pp. 36-50.

Chapter 17, Richard L. Grant, "China and Confidence Building in East Asia," pp. 306-313.

***John J. Mearsheimer, "China's Unpeaceful Rise," Current History, Vol. 105. No. 690, April 2006, pp. 160-162.**

***Brahma Chellaney, Asian Juggernaut: The Rise of China, India, and Japan, Chapter 1 (again), and Chapter 3, "Asian Geopolitics of Energy," pp. 88-148.**

***Ralph A. Thaxton, Jr., Chapter 6, Contention and Rule in Contemporary China (unpublished manuscript—hand out).**

Friedman and McCormick, What If China Doesn't Democratize? Implications for War and Peace:

***Chapter 8, Edward Friedman, "Immanuel Kant's Relevance to an Enduring Asia-Pacific Peace," pp. 224-253.**

***Chapter 11, Barrett L. McCormick, "U.S.-PRC Relations and the Democratic Peace.," pp. 306-326.**