



## LSE-PKU Summer School 2018

### LPS-IR206 | Opening the Black Box: Understanding Chinese Foreign Policy Making

#### **COURSE INSTRUCTOR:**

Zhang Qingmin is Professor and Chair of the Department of Diplomacy, the School of International Studies Peking University. He is the author of more than 100 academic journal articles, book chapters, and books in Chinese Foreign Policy, Diplomatic Studies, and Foreign Policy Analysis, which he has been teaching and studying for more than twenty years. With rich international working and teaching experiences, including a Senior Fulbright Visiting Scholar at George Washington University (2004-2005), a visiting professor at

University Paris Sud (2007), Niigata University, Japan (2008), University of Palermo, Italy (2009), Tokyo University (Jan.-Feb.2013), National Chengchi University of Taiwan (Oct. 2013), Yale University (July-August 2016), he has taught the LSE-PKU summer course for seven years. In addition to several leading Academic Journals in China, he is also an associate editor of Oxford University's *Foreign Policy and Diplomacy*, a founding editorial board member of *Foreign Policy Analysis*, and an editorial board member of *The Hague Journal of Diplomatic Studies*. He received his M.A. from Brigham Young University in Utah, USA and his Ph.D. from China Foreign Affairs University.

#### **COURSE SUMMARY:**

An economically more powerful and confident China is exerting unprecedented influence on global affairs with its proactive diplomacy. In order to predict and respond to China's international behaviour, it is essential to understand the causes behind such conduct. But the very nature of the structure of Chinese society and government has made this a difficult, if not impossible, task, albeit appealing. The saying that foreign policy making is a black box is more accurate in China than in many other countries. Aiming to open the black box of Chinese foreign policy-making, this course tries to bridge foreign decision-

making theories and Chinese foreign policy-making practice to understand the major factors that shape Chinese foreign policy and how they exert their influences. These include: the impact of historical legacies; systematic constraints; personality and the decision-making style of principal leaders; evolving foreign policy-making structure and changing bureaucratic process; fluid domestic politics; and the impact of the military, nationalism and public opinion on Chinese foreign policy. It will unveil how leaders coordinate domestic and international situations in foreign affairs as they always emphasize today. It intends to inform students of China's international behavior and provide an analytical understanding of the dynamics of China's foreign policy decision-making.

### **PREREQUISITES AND PREMINARY READINGS:**

This is an intensive graduate level seminar. No specific prerequisite is mandatory but some background on China or international relations will be helpful. Most of the readings are the most recent published journal articles and book chapters, which are updated constantly. The following three books are highly recommended in preparing for this course.

Lu Ning, *The Dynamics of Foreign-Policy Decision-making in China*, (Boulder, CO: Westview, 1998).

David M. Lampton, ed. *The Making of Chinese Foreign and Security Policy in the Era of Reform*, (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2001).

Phillip Saunders and Andrew Scobell eds. *PLA Influence on China's National Security Decision-making*, (Stanford, CA: California, Stanford University Press, 2015).

### **COURSE OUTLINE:**

#### **Session 1, Western Theory and Study of Chinese Foreign Policy Questions:**

- How has the study of Chinese foreign policy evolved and what are the major features of different generations of scholars of Chinese foreign policy? • Understand the relationship between narrative, analytical, and normative studies of foreign policy.
- How does a Chinese understanding of theory differ from a Western understanding?
- What are the major perspectives of foreign policy analysis?

- Is it feasible and reasonable to bridge western practice-based FPA theory and Chinese foreign policy? If so, how can this be done?

**Reading assignments:**

1. Bin Yu, "The Study of Chinese Foreign Policy: Problems and Prospect," *World Politics*, January 1994, Vol.46, pp.236-241.
2. Samuel Kim, "Chinese Foreign Policy in Theory and Practice," in Samuel Kim ed. *China and the World*, (Westview Press, 1989), pp. 3-34.
3. Wang Jisi, "IR Theory and the Study of Chinese Foreign Policy: A Chinese Perspective," in Robinson and Shambaugh, *Chinese Foreign Policy Theory and Practice*, (Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1994, 1997), pp.524-554.
4. Michael Ng-Quinn, "The Analytic Study of Chinese Foreign Policy," *International Studies Quarterly* Vol. 27, No. 2 (Jun., 1983): pp.203-224.

## **Session 2. China's Foreign Policy as the Continuation of Chinese History**

### **Questions:**

- How and why is the traditional Chinese international system of "all under heaven" different from the Westphalian system?
- How does pre-revolutionary Chinese history shape Chinese nationalism?
- How does the Chinese history of revolution affect current Chinese politics and foreign policy?
- How and when does history impact China's foreign relations, and in what ways?
- Will the traditional Chinese world order return or will the current international order be replaced as China continues to rise?

**Reading assignments:**

1. John Garver, "The Legacy of the Past," in *Foreign Relations of the People's Republic of China*, (Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice Hall, 1993), pp. 2-30.
2. Suisheng Zhao, "Rethinking the Chinese World Order: the imperial cycle and the rise of China," *Journal of Contemporary China*, published online: 11 May 2015.
3. Zheng Wang, "National Humiliation, History Education, and the Politics of Historical Memory: Patriotic Education Campaign in China," *International Studies Quarterly* (2008) 52, 783–806.

### **Session 3, Structural Constraints on China's Foreign Policy Questions:**

- How did the PRC's foreign policy strategy change during the Cold War? Does the PRC have a foreign policy strategy today as it had during the Cold War? If yes, what is it? If no, why?
- To what extent has Chinese foreign policy been shaped by the international balance of power?
- Do you think that the U.S. and China can avoid the Thucydides Trap? Why? Or why not?
- Why did the PRC adopt a revolutionary diplomacy toward the international order upon its founding?
- What are the general patterns or remarkable features of China's interaction with the international system?
- What drives China's changing relations with the international system?

#### **Reading Assignments:**

1. Joseph Yu-Shek Cheng and Franklin Wankun Zhang, "Chinese Foreign Relation Strategies Under Mao and Deng: A Systematic and Comparative Analysis,"

2. Dingding Chen and Jianwei Wang, "Lying Low No More? China's New Thinking on the Tao Guang Yang Hui Strategy," *China: an International Journal* 9, 2 (Sept. 2011), pp.195 – 216
3. John Mearsheimer, "The Gathering Storm: China's Challenge to US Power in Asia," *The Chinese Journal of International Politics*, Vol. 3, No. 4 (Winter 2010).
4. "Toward a New Model of Major-Country Relations Between China and the United States: --Speech by Foreign Minister Wang Yi at the Brookings Institution 20 September 2013;
5. John Ikenberry, "The Rise of China and the Future of the West, Can the Liberal System Survive?" *Foreign Affairs*, January/February 2008.

#### **Session 4, The Evolving Structure of Chinese Foreign Policy-Making Questions:**

- What are the major features of the Chinese foreign policy-making structure?
- What kind of role does the Chinese Communist Party play in Chinese politics in general and in Chinese foreign policy in particular?
- How does China's foreign policy-making structure differ from that in your country?
- What are the advantages and disadvantages of the Chinese foreign policy structure?

#### **Reading assignments:**

1. Lu Ning, "The Central Leadership, Supraministry Coordinating Bodies, State Council Ministries, and the Party Department," in David M. Lampton, ed., *The Making of Chinese Foreign and Security Policy in the Era of Reform*, pp. 39-60.

2. Hongyi Lai & Su-Jeong Kang, "Domestic Bureaucratic Politics and Chinese Foreign Policy," *Journal of Contemporary China*, 23:86 (2014), 294-313
3. Chapter 2, "Who Runs Chinese Foreign Policy," in Andrew Nathan and Andrew Scobell, *China's Search for Security*, pp. 37-62.
4. Alice Miller, "The CCP Central Committee's Leading Small Groups," *China Leadership Monitor*, No. 26, pp.1-21.
5. Joel Wuthnow, "Decoding China's 'National Security Commission'," [https://www.cna.org/CNA\\_files/PDF/PPP-2013-U-006465-Final.pdf](https://www.cna.org/CNA_files/PDF/PPP-2013-U-006465-Final.pdf).

### **Session 5, Paramount Leaders and Chinese Foreign Policy Questions:**

- Why has leadership been so important in Chinese foreign policy?
- How have the personalities of Chinese leaders influenced Chinese foreign policy?
- What will be the similarities and differences between Xi Jinping's foreign policy decision-making style and those of Mao and Deng?
- Do you think the personalities of leaders also impact your country's foreign policy? Are there any differences between their impact on your country's foreign policy and the impact of Chinese leaders' personality on Chinese foreign policy?

### **Reading Assignments:**

1. Chapter 4, "Main Actor—The Central Leadership" in Lu Ning, pp.77-105.
2. Chapter 6, "Changing Dynamics in Foreign-Policy Decision-making," in Lu Ning, pp.150-170.

3. Zhang Qingmin "Toward an Integrated Theory of Chinese Foreign Policy: Bringing Personality back in," in *Journal of Contemporary China* 33:89, 2014, pp.1- 21.
4. Willy Lam, "Modern Cult of Personality? Xi Jinping Aspires To Be The Equal of Mao and Deng," *China Brief Volume: 15 Issue: 5*, March 6, 2015.
5. "Chinese politics, Beware the cult of Xi," <http://www.economist.com/news/leaders/21695881-xi-jinping-stronger-his-predecessors-his-power-damaging-country-beware-cult>
6. "China's Chairman Builds a Cult of Personality," by Hannah Beech, March 31, 2016, <http://time.com/4277504/chinas-chairman/>

### **Session 6, The Bureaucratic Politics of Chinese Foreign Policy Questions:**

- What were the major determinants for Chinese foreign policy during the Cold War? Do these determinants still play the same role as they did during the Cold War, and why?
- What is bureaucratic politics? What are the Chinese characteristics of bureaucratic politics?
- How and why has Chinese bureaucratic politics changed?
- How would the foreign policy-making in a democratic nationalist China differ from in a communist authoritarian China?

#### **Reading Assignments:**

1. Yun Sun, "Chinese National Security Decision-Making: Progress and Challenges," The Brookings Institutions, May 2013, pp. 1-27.
2. David M. Lampton, "China's foreign and national security policymaking process: is it changing and does it matter?" in David M. Lampton, ed., *The Making of Chinese*

*Foreign and Security Policy*, pp. 1–38. Linda Jakobson and Dean Knox,

3. Linda Jakobson and Dean Knox, “China’s New Foreign Policy Actor” SIPRI Policy Paper No.26, Sept. 2010. <http://books.sipri.org/files/PP/SIPRI26.pdf>
4. Alice Miller, “The Trouble with Factions,” *China Leadership Monitor*, Winter, 2015.
5. David M. Lampton, “Xi Jinping and the National Security Commission: policy coordination and political power,” *Journal of Contemporary China* Published online: 18 Mar 2015.
6. Joel Wuthnow, “China’s Much-Heralded NSC Has Disappeared: Is it a sign of Beijing’s secrecy or Xi Jinping’s weakness?” *Foreign Policy*, June 30, 2016, [http://foreignpolicy.com/2016/06/30/chinas-much-heralded-national-security-council-has-disappeared-nsc-xi-jinping/?utm\\_content=buffer9854f&utm\\_medium=social&utm\\_source=twitter.com&utm\\_campaign=buffer](http://foreignpolicy.com/2016/06/30/chinas-much-heralded-national-security-council-has-disappeared-nsc-xi-jinping/?utm_content=buffer9854f&utm_medium=social&utm_source=twitter.com&utm_campaign=buffer)

### **Session 7, The PLA and Chinese Foreign Policy Questions:**

- What is special about the Chinese People’s Liberation Army in Chinese politics compared with the role of military in your country?
- Explain the relations between the CCP and PLA.
- To what extent does the PLA influence Chinese foreign policy?
- What are the major channels through which the PLA influences China’s foreign policy?



## Reading Assignments:

1. Chapter 2. Alice Miller, “The PLA in the Party Leadership Decision making System,” in Phillip Saunders and Andrew Scobell eds. *PLA Influence on China’s National Security Decision-making*, (Stanford, CA: California, Stanford University Press, 2015), pp.58-83.
2. Chapter 3. Tai Ming Cheung, “The Riddle in the Middle: China’s Central Military Commission in the Twenty-first Century,” in *PLA Influence on China’s National Security Decision-making*, pp. 84-119.
3. Chapter 4. Nan Li, “Top Leaders and the PLA: The Different Styles of Jiang, Hu, and Xi,” in *PLA Influence on China’s National Security Decision-making*, pp. 120-140.
4. Michael D. Swaine, “China’s Assertive Behavior—Part Three: The Role of the Military in Foreign Policy,” *China Leadership Monitor*, No. 36 (2012).
5. You Ji “The PLA and Diplomacy: unraveling myths about the military role in foreign policy making,” in *Journal of Contemporary China*, 23:86 (Sept. 2013), pp. 236-254
6. Phillip C. Saunders and Joel Wuthnow, “China’s Goldwater-Nichols? Assessing PLA Organizational Reforms,” National Defense University, Strategic Forum, April, 2016.

## Session 8, Domestic Politics, Media, Public Opinion and Chinese Foreign Policy

### Questions:

- How does the Chinese Government understand national security?
- What are the major features of Chinese nationalism and how does it affect Chinese FP?

- When and why does nationalism become important in shaping PRC's FP?
- How do changes with the Chinese media affect its relations with and impact on Chinese foreign policy?
- How does commercialization impact the roles of Chinese media and the internet in Chinese foreign policy-making?• Compare the similarities and differences of media and public opinion in their influence on foreign policy in China and in your country.

### **Reading Assignments:**

1. *National Security Law of the People's Republic of China*, passed and went into effect as of July 1, 2015.
2. Sun Yun, "Chinese Public Opinion: Shaping China's Foreign Policy, or Shaped by It?" at [http://www.brookings.edu/opinions/2011/1213\\_china\\_public\\_opinion\\_sun.aspx?rssid=foreign%20policy](http://www.brookings.edu/opinions/2011/1213_china_public_opinion_sun.aspx?rssid=foreign%20policy)
3. Susan Shirk, "Public Opinion and Chinese Foreign Policy," Susan Shirk ed. *Changing Media, Changing China*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press), 2011, pp. 225-252
4. Jianwei Wang and Xiaojie Wang, "Media and Chinese Foreign Policy," in *Journal of Contemporary China*, 23:86 (2014), pp.216-235.
5. "Xi's history lessons: The Communist Party is plundering history to justify its present-day ambitions," *Economist*, 15 August 2015 cover story, at [www.economist.com/news/leaders/21660977-communist-party-plundering-history-justify-its-present-day-ambitions-xis-history](http://www.economist.com/news/leaders/21660977-communist-party-plundering-history-justify-its-present-day-ambitions-xis-history)

## Session 9, Nationalism, Society and Chinese Foreign Policy Questions:

- What kind of role do you think the Chinese Government play in the recent anti- foreign protest?
  - Do you think the reading of the government's role in China's anti-foreign protest can be used to explain nationalism among the Chinese living overseas? How do you understand anti-foreign protest among the Chinese living in other countries?
  - If protest is expected but does not happen, can we say that it is a result of government "stifling"?
  - How do you understand the protest against the Chinese Government?

## Reading Assignments:

1. Suisheng Zhao, "Foreign Policy Implications of Chinese Nationalism Revisited: The strident Turn," *Journal of Contemporary China*, Vo. 22, No, 82 (Mar.) 2013, pp. 535-553.
2. Jessica Chen Weiss, "Authoritarian Signaling, Mass Audiences and Nationalist Protest in China," *International Organization*, Vol. 67, Issue 1, (Jan.) 2013, pp.1-35.
3. James Reilly, "A Wave to Worry About? Public opinion, foreign policy and China's anti-Japan protests," *Journal of Contemporary China*, Published online: 04 Oct 2013, <http://www.tandfonline.com/loi/cjcc20>.
4. Zhang Qingmin "Harmonizing the Management of Foreign and Domestic Affairs in Chinese Foreign Policy," in Shao Binhong ed., *China Under Xi Jinping: Its Economic Challenges and Foreign Policy Initiatives*, (Leiden Netherland: Koninklijke Brill, 2015), pp. 143-166.

## **Session 10, Western Theory and Chinese Foreign Policy Practice: A Chinese School of IR Theory?**

### **Questions:**

What kind of foreign policy can domestic politics (regime security, nationalism, public opinion, mass media, and the military) explain?

What kinds of foreign policy can classic realism explain?

How do you explain foreign policies that appear to be abnormal from the classic perspective?

How do you explain the discrepancies/inconsistencies in China's foreign policy?

What are the benefits for bridging Chinese foreign policy and Western practice based foreign policy analysis theory?

### **Reading assignments:**

1. Chapter 1, "Perception and the Level of Analysis Problem," in Robert Jervis, *Perception and Misperception in International Politics* (Princeton University Press, 1976), pp.13-31.
2. Chapter 7, "Western Theories and Chinese Practices," in Lu Ning, pp. 171-184.