**NATIONAL CHENGCHI UNIVERSITY v. 2, 1-15-23**

College of Social Science

Professor Harry Harding

IDAS 265788001 **U.S.-CHINA RELATIONS: THE FAILURE OF THE AMERICAN ENGAGEMENT POLICY TOWARD CHINA**

Course Description

The Tiananmen Crisis of 1989 revealed the fragility of the newly normalized relationship between the United States and China. Within a few years, however, leaders in both countries launched efforts to build a more stable and cooperative relationship. Over the subsequent decades, they employed several recurring strategies: encouraging social and economic interdependence, integrating China into international regimes and institutions, holding frequent official dialogues to resolve outstanding issues, building personal relationships between elites in both countries, and articulating a positive vision for their future relationship. By the American presidential election of 2016, however, there was a growing consensus in the U.S. that these efforts had failed. The subsequent trade and technology “war” between the two countries, with the reciprocal imposition of various kinds of sanctions against each other, have transformed the relationship from the hope of cooperation to the reality of competition and the risk of confrontation. What went wrong? Was American China policy based on faulty assumptions? Was it poorly implemented? Did it fail to respond to the shifts in the relative power of the two countries? Or did it fall victim to changing domestic economic and political conditions in the two countries? This course will explore the causes of foreign policy failure, using American policy toward China as an important case.

Course Mechanics

Class meetings will be held on Fridays from 10.00 am to 12.00 in Room 270201 on the second floor of the North Block of the General Academic Building. Note that some classes in the month of April will be either canceled or held remotely.

Course Requirements

Students are expected to attend each class session and to participate actively in the seminar discussions. In addition, by midnight on the day before each class session, they should write a short (one page, or around 250 words) reaction paper, presenting a question or conclusion based on the required readings for the class and be prepared to present it or discuss it in class the following day. (Instructions on how to submit these reaction papers will be provided at the first-class meeting.) Class attendance and participation, and these short “take-aways” and their presentation in class will count for one-third of the course grade.

Students will also be required to write a 4,000-word term paper on one of the most important aspects of American policy toward China since the Tiananmen Square Crisis of 1989, again building on the analytical framework developed in the course. The paper should explore the goals the policy was expected to achieve and the empirical assessments and analytical assumptions on which it was based. It should then provide a description of the policy’s outcomes, and an evaluation of whether the policy was cost-effective in advancing those goals.

The topic of the paper can be one of the elements of the engagement policy discussed in class or another of the student’s own choosing. While the papers can draw on the assigned readings in the course, students are expected to do additional research. The recommended readings are a good place to start. Beyond the memoirs and biographies of key decisionmakers and the chronological treatments contained in such journals as *Asian Survey* and on-line publications such as *Comparative Connections* (<http://cc.pacforum.org/past-issues/>), students may be interested in using the primary sources available through the Miller Center’s oral history project (<https://millercenter.org/the-presidency/presidential-oral-histories>) and the declassified materials acquired by the National Security Archive at George Washington University through Freedom of Information Act (FOIA) requests. See: (<https://nsarchive.gwu.edu/guide-researchers>).

A brief statement of the proposed topic will be due on [DATE TO BE PROVIDED LATER]. The paper itself will be due on [DATETO BE PROVIDED LATER] and will account for two-thirds of the course grade.

Class Schedule and Readings

1. February 24: Orientation and Introductions
2. March 3: Analyzing policy failure

Required readings

Harding, Harry, “Policy success and policy failure: A framework for analysis.”

Walt, Stephen M., “[Making the grade](https://foreignpolicy.com/2014/01/06/making-the-grade/),” *Foreign Policy*, January 6, 2014.

Recommended readings

Andrews, Matt, “Public policy failure: ‘How often’? and ‘What is failure anyway’?” *CID Working Paper Series* (2018).

McConnell, Allan. “Policy success, policy failure and grey areas in-between,” *Journal of Public Policy* 30, no. 3 (2010): 345-362.

Schuck, Peter H., *Why Government Fails So Often: And How It Can Do Better*, Princeton; Oxford: Princeton University Press, 2014.

1. March 10: Normalization and America’s “One China Policy”

Required readings

Bush, Richard C., “[A One-China policy primer](https://www.brookings.edu/wp-content/uploads/2017/03/one-china-policy-primer-web-final.pdf),” Brookings Institution, March 2017.

Feldman, Harvey, “[President Reagan's six assurances to Taiwan and their meaning today](https://www.heritage.org/asia/report/president-reagans-six-assurances-taiwan-and-their-meaning-today),” The Heritage Foundation, October 2, 2007.

Harding, Harry*, A Fragile Relationship: The United States and China since 1972*, Washington, D.C.: Brookings Institution, 1992, chs. 2-3.

Mann, James, *About Face: A History of America's Curious Relationship with China*, New York: Vintage Books, 2000,ch. 17.

Sutter, Robert, “[Taiwan: The ‘Three No's,’ Congressional-administration differences, and U.S. policy issues](https://www.everycrsreport.com/reports/98-837.html),” CRS Report for Congress, October 1, 1998.

Tucker, Nancy Bernkopf (ed.), *China Confidential: American Diplomats and Sino-American Relations, 1945-1996*, New York: Columbia University Press, 2001, pp. 477-81

Tucker, Nancy Bernkopf, “Taiwan expendable? Nixon and Kissinger go to China.” *The Journal of American History* 92, no. 1 (2005): 109-135.

Recommended readings

Kissinger, Henry, *On China*, New York: Penguin Books, 2012, ch. 9 and 14.

1. March 17: The Tiananmen Crisis, the MFN debacle and the 1995-96 Taiwan Strait Crisis

Required readings

Harding, *A Fragile Relationship*, chs. 4, 5 and 6.

Mann, *About Face*, chs. 9 and 11.

Lampton, David, “America's China policy in the age of the finance minister: Clinton ends linkage,” *The China Quarterly* 139 (1994): 597-621.

Recommended readings

Harding, *A Fragile Relationship*, chs. 7 and 8.

Kissinger, *On China*, chs. 16 and 17.

1. March 24: Finding Aspirational Formulas for the Relationship

Required readings

Bergsten, Fred, “A partnership of equals: How Washington should respond to China's economic challenge,” *Foreign Affairs* 87, no. 4 (2008): 57-69.

Bergsten, Fred, “[Two’s company](https://www.foreignaffairs.com/articles/americas/2009-09-01/twos-company),” *Foreign Affairs*, September 1, 2009.

Feng, Zhongping, and Jing Huang, “China’s strategic partnership diplomacy: Engaging with a changing world.” ESPO Working Paper No. 8, 2014.

Harding, Harry, “The United States and China from partners to competitors,” paper for the Carter Center’s symposium to commemorate President Carter’s 1979 decision to normalize relations with China, 2019.

Lampton, David M., “A new type of major-power relationship: Seeking a durable foundation for US-China ties.” *Asia Policy* 16 (2013): 51-68.

1. March 31: Promoting and Managing Economic and Societal Interdependence

Required readings

Christensen, Thomas, *The China Challenge: Shaping the Choices of A Rising Power*, New York: W.W. Norton & Company, 2015, Prologue.

Mai, Jun, “[Former top US trade negotiator Charlene Barshefsky says China deviated from its commitments, paving way for trade war](https://www.scmp.com/news/china/diplomacy/article/2180216/former-top-us-trade-negotiator-charlene-barshefsky-says-china),” *South China Moring Post*, January 1, 2019.

Roach, Stephen, *Unbalanced: The Codependency of America and China*, New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2014, Preface, chs. 11 and 12.

Recommended readings and videos

Gordon, Bernard K. “[Getting to Investment Reciprocity with China: Why It's Time to Play Hardball](https://www.foreignaffairs.com/articles/united-states/2016-11-09/getting-investment-reciprocity-china).” *Foreign Affairs*, November 9, 2016.

Ma, Xiaoye, “[On reciprocity](https://www.chinausfocus.com/finance-economy/on-reciprocity),” *China-US Focus*, June 8, 2018.

McBride, James, andAndrew Chatzky, “[Is ‘Made In China 2025’ a threat to global trade?](https://www.cfr.org/backgrounder/made-china-2025-threat-global-trade)” Council on Foreign Relations, May 13, 2019.

Paulson, Henry, *Dealing with China: An Insider Unmasks the New Economic Superpower*, New York: Twelve, 2015,chs. 11-14.

Steven Bognar and Julia Reichert (producers), “American Factory” (A Netflix documentary)

U.S. Chamber of Commerce, “[Made in China 2025: Global ambitions built on local protections](https://www.uschamber.com/report/made-china-2025-global-ambitions-built-local-protections-0),” March 16, 2017.

1. April 7: Integrating China into a “Rules-Based” International Community

Required readings

Economy, Elizabeth, “[Why China is no climate leader](https://www.politico.com/magazine/story/2017/06/12/why-china-is-no-climate-leader-215249),” *Politico*, June 12, 2017.

Economy, Elizabeth, “[Trade: Parade of broken promises](https://democracyjournal.org/magazine/52/trade-parade-of-broken-promises/),” *Democracy: A Journal of Idea*s, no. 52, 2019.

Johnston, Alastair Iain, “Is China a status quo power?” *International security* 27, no. 4 (2003): 5-56.

Rajaratnam School of International Studies, “[China and global norms](https://www.rsis.edu.sg/rsis-publication/idss/china-and-global-norms/#.YAmR--gzaUk),” March 28, 2018.

Zoellick, Robert, “[Whither China: From membership to responsibility](https://2001-2009.state.gov/s/d/former/zoellick/rem/53682.htm),” September 21, 2005.

Recommended readings

Economy, Elizabeth, and Michel Oksenberg (eds.), *China Joins the World: Progress and Prospects*, New York: Council on Foreign Relations Press, 1999.

U.S. Trade Representative, “[2018 report to Congress on China’s WTO compliance](https://ustr.gov/sites/default/files/2018-USTR-Report-to-Congress-on-China%27s-WTO-Compliance.pdf),” February 2019.

1. April 14: Promoting Personal Relationships and ReducingMistrust

Required readings

Bader, Jeffrey A., *Obama and China's Rise: An Insider's Account of America's Asia*, Washington, D.C.: Brookings Institution Press, 2012, chs. 3, 6, 7, 11.

Lieberthal, Kenneth G., and Jisi Wang, “[Addressing U.S.-China strategic distrust](https://www.brookings.edu/research/addressing-u-s-china-strategic-distrust/)*.*” Brookings Institution, March 2012.

Shambaugh, David, “[Of U.S.-China summits, past and present](https://www.brookings.edu/opinions/of-u-s-china-summits-past-and-present/),” Brookings Institution, January 18, 2011.

Wheeler, Nicholas J., *Trusting Enemies: Interpersonal Relationships in International Conflict*, Conclusion.

Recommended readings

Chan, Steve, *Trust and Distrust in Sino-American Relations: Challenge and Opportunity*, Amherst, New York: Cambria Press, 2017.

Economy, ElizabethC. Economy, “ Xi-Obama: The Good-Enough Summit”

Graham Webster, “[A false start for Trump and Xi](https://www.foreignaffairs.com/articles/united-states/2017-04-10/false-start-trump-and-xi),” *Foreign Affairs*, April 10, 2017.

Li, Cheng, “[The Trump-Xi summit: The strategic impact of personal relationships](https://www.chinausfocus.com/foreign-policy/the-trump-xi-summit-the-strategic-impact-of-personal-relationships),” China-US Focus, April 5, 2017. [[on Mar-Lago]

Recommended video

Eikenberry, Karl, “The possibilities and limits of Sino-American military relations”   
<https://youtu.be/4WVmzPeAuAU>

1. April 21: Promoting Cooperation on Global Issues

Required readings

Blank, Stephen, “[Rethinking arms control should include China](https://thehill.com/opinion/national-security/442579-rethinking-arms-control-should-include-china),” The Hill, May 7, 2019.

Bolton, John R., “[A new Africa strategy: Expanding economic and security ties](https://trumpwhitehouse.archives.gov/briefings-statements/remarks-national-security-advisor-ambassador-john-r-bolton-trump-administrations-new-africa-strategy/)

[on the basis of mutual respect](https://trumpwhitehouse.archives.gov/briefings-statements/remarks-national-security-advisor-ambassador-john-r-bolton-trump-administrations-new-africa-strategy/),” speech delivered on December 13, 2018.

Brown, Gary, and Christopher D. Yung, “Evaluating the US-China Cybersecurity Agreement,” Parts 1-3, *The Diplomat,* January 19 and January 21, 2017.

Lipscy, Philip, “[Who’s afraid of the AIIB? Why the U.S. should support China’s Asian Infrastructure Investment Bank](https://www.foreignaffairs.com/articles/china/2015-05-07/whos-afraid-aiib),” *Foreign Affairs*, May 7, 2015.

Petti, Matthew, “[U.S.-China competition meets the climate challenge](https://nationalinterest.org/feature/us-china-competition-meets-climate-challenge-70651),” *The National Interest*, August 1, 2019.

Small, Andrew et al., “[Is China a Credible Partner in Fighting Terror?](https://www.chinafile.com/conversation/china-credible-partner-fighting-terror)” *ChinaFile*, November 19, 2015.

Stratfor, “[Why China Will Steer Clear of a New START on Arms Control](https://worldview.stratfor.com/article/why-china-will-steer-clear-new-start-arms-control),” May 14, 2019.

Zhang, Denghua, “[US-China development cooperation: New dynamics?](https://www.eastwestcenter.org/publications/us-china-development-cooperation-new-bilateral-dynamics)” East-West Center, September 13, 2018.

Recommended readings

Asia Society, “[A vital partnership: California and China collaborating on](https://asiasociety.org/center-us-china-relations/vital-partnership-california-and-china-collaborating-clean-energy-and-comb)

[clean energy and combating climate change](https://asiasociety.org/center-us-china-relations/vital-partnership-california-and-china-collaborating-clean-energy-and-comb),” 2014.

Drew Thompson, “[Trump may or may not Meet Xi. But first, Chinese and US generals need to talk](https://www.scmp.com/comment/insight-opinion/united-states/article/2169842/trump-may-or-may-not-meet-xi-first-chinese-and),” *South China Morning Post*, October 24, 2018.

Zhen, Wang, “[China-US counter-terrorism cooperation](https://www.ict.org.il/Article/1969/china-us-counterterrorism-cooperation#gsc.tab=0),” International Institute for Counter-Terrorism, February 27, 2017.

1. April 28: Hedging and Balancing Against China’s Rise

Required readings

Campbell, Kurt, *The Pivot: The Future of American Statecraft in Asia*, New York: Twelve, 2016, chs. 1, 3 and 5.

Dews, Fred, “[Pivot, rebalance, or reinvigorate? Words matter in U.S. strategy toward Asia](https://www.brookings.edu/blog/brookings-now/2014/04/21/pivot-rebalance-or-reinvigorate-words-matter-in-u-s-strategy-toward-asia/),” Brookings Institution, April 21, 2014.

Lieberthal, Kenneth, “[The American pivot to Asia](https://www.brookings.edu/articles/the-american-pivot-to-asia/),” Brookings Institution, December 21, 2011.

Zhao, Suisheng. "Shaping the regional context of China's rise: how the Obama administration brought back hedge in its engagement with China," *Journal of Contemporary China* 21, no. 75 (2012): 369-389.

1. May 5: The Political Minsky Moment and The Policy Paradigm Shift

Required readings

“[Paradigm Shift](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Paradigm_shift)” (Wikipedia)

Cassidy, John, “[The Minsky moment](https://www.newyorker.com/magazine/2008/02/04/the-minsky-moment): Subprime mortgage crisis and possible recession,” New Yorker, January 27, 2008.

Harding, Harry, “Has US China policy failed?” *The Washington Quarterly* 38, no. 3 (2015): 95-122.

Required video

McCourt, David, “American hegemony and the rise of China” (video) <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=jdAK0rJUuvQ>

1. May 12: Waging “Trade War” against China

Required readings

Bloomberg, “[How Trump lost his trade war with China](https://www.bloomberg.com/news/articles/2021-01-11/how-china-won-trump-s-good-and-easy-to-win-trade-war),” January 12, 2021.

Brown, Chad P., and Melina Kolb, “[Trump’s trade war timeline: An up-to-date guide](https://www.piie.com/blogs/trade-investment-policy-watch/trump-trade-war-china-date-guide),” Peterson Institute for International Economics, December 18, 2020.

The State Council Information Office of the People’s Republic of China, "[China’s position on the China-US economic and trade consultations](http://images.mofcom.gov.cn/fj2/201906/20190606114029957.pdf)" (June 2019)

U.S. Trade Representative, “[2019 report to Congress on China’s WTO compliance](https://ustr.gov/sites/default/files/2019_Report_on_China%E2%80%99s_WTO_Compliance.pdf),” March 2020, pp. 1-29. [skim the rest].

U.S. Trade Representative, “[Economic and trade agreement between the United States of America and the People’s Republic of China: Fact sheet](https://ustr.gov/sites/default/files/files/agreements/phase%20one%20agreement/US_China_Agreement_Fact_Sheet.pdf),” January 15, 2020.

Recommended readings and videos

“Steve Bannon and Thomas Friedman on U.S.-China trade war” (video) <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=oYraLI04WiU&t=358s>

Brown, Chad P., “[Trump's phase one trade deal with China and the US election](https://www.piie.com/blogs/trade-and-investment-policy-watch/trumps-phase-one-trade-deal-china-and-us-election),” Peterson Institute for International Economics, October 27, 2020.

Davis, Bob, and Lingling Wei, *Superpower Showdown: How the Battle between Trump and Xi Threatens A New Cold War*, New York, NY: Harper Business, 2020.

Peter Navarro, “Death by China” (video)  
 <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=mMlmjXtnIXI>

1. May 19: “Engaging in Strategic Competition”

Required readings

Pei, Minxin, “[America needs to talk about China](https://www.aspistrategist.org.au/america-needs-to-talk-about-china/),” The Strategist, July 24, 2019.

Policy Planning Staff, U.S. Department of State, “[Elements of the China Challenge](https://www.state.gov/wp-content/uploads/2020/11/20-02832-Elements-of-China-Challenge-508.pdf),” November 2020.

Pompeo, Michael R., “[Communist China and the free world’s future](https://2017-2021.state.gov/communist-china-and-the-free-worlds-future-2/index.html),” July 23, 2020.

Schadlow, Nadia, “The end of American illusion: Trump and the world as it is,” *Foreign Affairs* 99, no. 5 (2020), 35-45.

Shambaugh, David, “[Parsing the Trump administration’s broadside against China](https://www.chinausfocus.com/foreign-policy/parsing-the-trump-administrations-broadside-against-china),” China-US Focus, Juky 31, 2020.

Xinhua, “[Fact check: Pompeo's fact-twisting China speech versus the truth](http://www.xinhuanet.com/english/2020-08/24/c_139314489.htm),” August 24, 2020.

Recommended readings

National Security Council, “[US strategic framework for the Indo-Pacific](https://trumpwhitehouse.archives.gov/wp-content/uploads/2021/01/IPS-Final-Declass.pdf),” declassified on January 12, 2021.

National Security Council, “[United States strategic approach to the People’s Republic of China](https://trumpwhitehouse.archives.gov/wp-content/uploads/2020/05/U.S.-Strategic-Approach-to-The-Peoples-Republic-of-China-Report-5.24v1.pdf),” May 26, 2020.

1. May 26: What Happens Now? A New Cold War, a New Hot War, or a Return to Cooperation?

Required Readings

Hal Brands, “[China and the U.S. Are in a New Cold War](https://www.bloomberg.com/opinion/articles/2019-01-14/china-and-the-u-s-are-in-a-new-cold-war?sref=33gntO7X),” Bloomberg, January 14, 2019.

Melvin Leffler, “[China Isn’t the Soviet Union. Confusing the Two Is Dangerous](https://www.theatlantic.com/ideas/archive/2019/12/cold-war-china-purely-optional/601969/),” *The Atlantic*, December 2, 2019.

Juan Zhang and Shannon Tiezzi, “Harry Harding on the US, China, and ‘Cold War 2.0,” *The Diplomat*, October 21, 2020

Jo-Inge bekkevold, “5 Ways the U.S.-China Cold War Will Be Different From the Last One,” *Washington Post,* December 2, 2022.

1. June 2: Went Wrong? Was This a Tragedy of Flawed Choices or Inescapable Circumstances?

Required readings

Steinberg, James, “What went wrong? U.S.-China relations from Tiananmen to Trump,” *Texas National Security Review* 3, no. 1 (Winter 2019/2020): 119-133.Campbell, Kurt, and Ely Ratner. “The China reckoning: How Beijing defied American expectations,” *Foreign Affairs* 97, no. 2 (2018): 60-70.

David Stilwell, “Engagement Withj China Is Not an End in Itself,” *Eurasia Review*, January 1, 2022.

Harry Harding, “The United States and China from partners to competitors.” [review]

1. June 9: What Can We Learn? What can governments and societies learn from policy failure?

Required Readings

Levy, Jack, “Learning and Foreign Policy: Sweeping a Conceptual Minefield,” *International organization* 48, no. 2 (1994): 279-312.

1. June 16: Presentation and discussion of student term papers
2. June 23: [This class session has been set aside to allow time for guest speakers, the presentation and discussion of additional term papers, or to make up for instructor absence.]

I  
instructional staff

Instructor: Harry Harding is a political historian specializing in the modern history of U.S. relations with China and Asia. His major publications include Organizing China: The Problem of Bureaucracy, 1949-1966; China’s Second Revolution: Reform after Mao; A Fragile Relationship: The United States and China since 1972; and the chapter on the Cultural Revolution in the Cambridge History of China. His edited volumes include China’s Foreign Relations in the 1980s; Sino-American Relations, 1945-1955: A Joint Reassessment of a Critical Decade (co-edited with Yuan Ming); and The India-China Relationship: What the United States Needs to Know(co-edited with Francine R. Frankel). His next book, *A Broken Engagement: The United States and China from Clinton to Trump*, is under contract with Polity.

Harding is University Professor Emeritus and Professor of Public Policy Emeritus at the University of Virginia, where he is also a Senior Fellow in the Miller Center of Public Affairs. at UVa, Harding served as the founding dean of UVa’s Frank Batten School of Leadership and Public Policy between 2009 and 2014. Before joining the Batten School, he held faculty appointments at Swarthmore College and Stanford University and was a Senior Fellow in the Foreign Policy Studies Program at the Brookings Institution. From 1995 to 2005 he was Dean of the Elliott School of International Affairs at the George Washington University, and from 2005 to 2007 was Director of Research and Analysis at Eurasia Group, a political risk research and advisory firm based in New York. From 2005 to 2009 he was University Professor of International Affairs at GWU. He has served on the boards of several educational and non-profit institutions as well as on the U.S.-China Joint Commission on Science and Technology and the U.S. Defense Policy Board. A graduate of Princeton in public and international affairs, he holds a Ph.D. in political science from Stanford.

Office hours, by appointment in Room 271346, North Block. Appointments can be made through [hharding@virginia.edu](mailto:hharding@virginia.edu) or [hharding@nccu.edu.tw](mailto:hharding@nccu.edu.tw)

Academic intern: Reed Bauer is a Fulbright Scholar and graduate student at National Chengchi University in the International Master's Program in International Studies (IMPIS). Reed was born and raised in Pennsylvania in the United States. After graduating from high school, Reed continued his studies at the United States Military Academy at West Point, where he double majored in International Affairs and Chinese. Upon graduation, Reed was commissioned as a second lieutenant in the infantry branch of the U.S. Army. Reed has interned at the United States Department of Defense, as well as in the State Department, where he worked on U.S-China relations, and has also participated in a disaster management exchange with the Chinese the People's Liberation Army. While in Taiwan, Reed plans to conduct research on potential Taiwanese invasion and post-invasion scenarios. In his free time he enjoys running half-marathons, studying Chinese, and reading.

In his academic internship, he will also serve as Professor Harding’s course and research assistant, responsible for maintaining the course website and recording student attendance and grades. He will also conduct research for *A Broken Engagement.*