

**BUSH SCHOOL OF GOVERNMENT AND PUBLIC SERVICE
TEXAS A&M UNIVERSITY**

Chinese Strategic Thought

INTA 622

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COURSE OBJECTIVES:

This course is an intensive reading and research course in Chinese strategic thought from the Warring States period (403-221 BC) to 21st Century China. Much of the secondary literature on Chinese strategic thought argues there are key continuities in approaches to war and peace that cut across time and historical context. For the past two decades there has been a renewed attention to Sun Zi both inside the Chinese military professional education system and out. The U.S. Department of Defense is increasingly interested in how traditional strategic concepts from Chinese classics may influence current Chinese approaches to deterrence, crisis management, pre-emption, and deception. However, few students of Chinese strategic thought have articulated exactly what those elements of continuity are, how influential these have been, or whether there are elements of discontinuity. Moreover, no one has conclusively demonstrated whether current Chinese approaches to war and peace are the result of a unified strategic tradition or multiple and diverse traditions. If it is the latter that affects the conflict behavior of contemporary China, which traditions are they and why are they influential? Addressing these issues is essential to achieving a good understanding of contemporary China's conflict behavior.

The course has two goals. The first is to provide an introductory understanding of the nature of strategic thinking throughout Chinese history. The second is to provide the conceptual tools to put Chinese strategic thought in a comparative perspective. Although this is not a course in comparative strategy, we will look at some concepts, questions and methods which can be used to put Chinese strategic thought in a comparative framework. The central organizing question of this course is: What do Chinese texts on strategy tell a strategist to do in a given situation?

CLASS PRESENTATIONS

As a seminar, this course will approach its subject material primarily through discussion. This means that each student is responsible for the upkeep and the success of the class. **Therefore, presence, preparation, and participation are essential.**

Students will give two presentations. In the first presentation, students will be asked to review the materials assigned for a specific week and to lead the discussion. The class presentations will be graded. **The presentations are the starting point for your research paper. The topic of the presentation will be similar to that of the final paper.** Presentations can take the form of a power point presentation where the discussant raises the main issues he/she found relevant in the readings. **Please do not regurgitate/rehash everything in the readings.** As your presentation is the basis for your paper, you should bring in extra materials about the topic and introduce them to the

class. This way you can start the research for your midterms and final paper. In the presentation, you are also expected to give the following:

- A chronology of the main dates in the lives of strategic thinkers, texts, or historical events you are studying
- A short analysis of the particular strategic thinker or texts

The second presentation will be an overview of your research paper. It should identify the thesis, your main arguments, and provide concrete evidence to support them. You should not read your entire paper; rather you should summarize its main points and major findings.

MIDTERMS

The two midterms are a preparation for the final paper.

1. In the first midterm you will be asked to start preliminary research on your paper and formulate the outline. In the outline, you should include the following: The question/issue you are analyzing, your argument and working hypothesis in addition to a preliminary bibliography.
2. In the second midterm, you will also be expected to submit an annotated bibliography of 2-3 pages. You are asked to write a couple of lines on each work you plan to use, summarizing the main argument and possibly highlighting omissions or criticizing flaws in the argument. You are also required to write a summary of what other authors say about the topic (a Literature review).

To ensure that students understand the requirements for preparing an outline, a bibliography and writing a research paper, you are required to attend at least one session on academic writing with the writing instructor of the Bush School, Ms. Sally Dee Wade. The writing sessions will be announced in class and emailed on the class list (to your neo account).

RESEARCH PAPER

To complete the requirements for this seminar, the student is asked to write a research paper on a 20-25 page paper on topic agreed upon with the instructor. **The paper can only exceed the number of allotted pages by 5%.** The research paper is to be based on the class presentations and will therefore focus on one or more questions/issues raised in this syllabus. Once he/she has decided on a topic for the paper, the student can ask the instructor for a list of readings to start off his/her research.

The final paper will draw on the work done for the midterms. The midterms and the final (hard copies *only*) are due in my box in the Faculty Workroom **5:00 PM on the due date.** **Late assignments will lose ONE GRADE letter.** Papers submitted by fax or email will *not* be accepted. Each student must select a topic for their research paper, and receive the instructor's approval. Topics may be submitted to me by email.

GRADE DISTRIBUTION

Class Presentation I: 10%
 Class Presentation II: 10%
 Class Participation: 15%
 Midterm 1: 15%
 Midterm 2: 15%
 Final Paper: 35%

EXAMINATION DUE DATES

Class presentations: weekly
 Midterm 1: 8 October @ 5PM
 Midterm 2: 5 November @ 5PM
 Research paper: 10 December @ 5PM

AMERICAN DISABILITY ACT

The Americans with Disability Act (ADA) is a federal anti-discrimination statute that provides comprehensive civil rights protection for persons with disabilities. Among other things, this legislation requires that all students with disabilities be guaranteed a learning environment that provides for reasonable accommodation of their disabilities. If you believe you have a disability requiring accommodation, please advise the instructor.

PLAGIARISM

As commonly defined, plagiarism consists of passing off as one's own ideas, the words, writings, music, graphs/charts, etc that were created by another. In accordance with this definition, you are committing plagiarism if you copy the work of another person and turn it in as your own, even if you have the permission of that person. It does not matter from where the material is borrowed—a book, article, material off the web, another student's paper—all constitute plagiarism unless the source of the work is fully identified and credited. Plagiarism is cheating and a violation of academic and personal integrity and will not be tolerated. **Plagiarism carries extremely serious consequences.** To avoid plagiarism it is necessary when using a phrase, a distinctive idea, concept or sentence from another source to reference that source in your text, a footnote, or endnote.

Every student in this course must comply with this code in all work submitted for a grade and will be held accountable accordingly for both individual and team assignments.

Anyone who is not prepared to be accountable to this standard should immediately withdraw from this course. Remember: **AN AGGIE DOES NOT LIE, CHEAT OR STEAL, OR TOLERATE THOSE WHO DO.** Further information can be found at <http://www.tamu.edu/aggiehonor/acadmisconduct.htm>

APSR STYLE GUIDE

The Bush School faculty agreed that in all written assignments prepared for courses in the Bush School, the American Political Science Association Style Guide would be the default standard for citations, endnotes and references.

REQUIRED TEXTS

The following books are required texts for this course, and it is strongly suggested that you purchase them. All should be available online from Amazon.com.

Roger Ames and Henry Rosemont (trans.), *The Analects of Confucius: A Philosophical Translation* (Ballantine Books, 1999).
 Annping Chin, *The Authentic Confucius: A Life of Thought and Politics* (Scribner, 2007).
 Avery Goldstein, *Rising to the Challenge: China's Grand Strategy and International Security* (Stanford University Press, 2005).
 Ralph Sawyer, *The Seven Military Classics of Ancient China* (Basic Books, 1993).
 Ralph Sawyer, *The Tao of Deception: Unorthodox Warfare in Historic and Modern China* (Basic Books, 2007).

This list of weekly reading assignments contains both *required* and *recommended* readings. It is **mandatory** that you read the required readings and be prepared to discuss them in class. The recommended readings are just that: recommended only. It is *not* mandatory that you read them, and you will *not* be held accountable for them. They are included for informational purposes *only* in the event you wish to pursue a particular topic in greater depth than is covered in the assigned readings. Depending on the topic you choose, the recommended readings may also be useful in connection with your research papers.

Readings denoted by * are (or will be) either on electronic reserve or on reserve at PESL.

In addition to the assigned readings, it is your responsibility to keep up with current developments affecting China. You must read the relevant news stories published in at least one of the major newspapers everyday. Major newspapers are: the *New York Times*, the *Washington Post*, the *Los Angeles Times*, the *Financial Times*, and *Wall Street Journal*. It is strongly recommended that you also read the relevant stories in at least one of the weekly news magazines: *The Economist*, *Newsweek*, *Time*, *U.S. News & World Report*. There are also important articles on key national security and strategic issues in the following journals: *China Security*, *Foreign Affairs*, *International Security*, the *National Interest*, and the *Washington Quarterly*.

COURSE SESSIONS AND READING ASSIGNMENTS

Week I—1 SEPTEMBER—Introduction and Orientation:

- a. Scope, overview, format, and expectations
- b. Instructor lecture: *Chinese? Strategy? Thought?*

Week II—8 SEPTEMBER—What is Strategy?

Required readings:

- *Andre Beaufre, *An Introduction to Strategy* (Praeger, 1966), pp. 19-50.
- *John Collins, *Grand Strategy: Principles and Practices* (Naval Institute Press, 1974), esp. 14-43.
- *Barry Posen, "Explaining Military Doctrine," in *Sources of Military Doctrine: France, Britain, and Germany Between the World Wars* (Cornell University Press, 1984), pp. 13-33.
- *Joseph Cerami and James Holcomb, eds., *U.S Army War College Guide to Strategy* (Strategic Studies Institute, 2001).

Recommended readings:

- Alastair Iain Johnston, "Thinking About Strategic Culture," *International Security* 19:4 (Spring 1995), pp. 32-64.
- Colin Gray, "Strategic Culture as Context: the first generation strikes back," *Review of International Studies* 25:1 (January 1999), pp. 49-69.

Week III—15 SEPTEMBER—Confucianism

Required Readings:

- Roger Ames and Henry Rosemont (trans.), *The Analects of Confucius: A Philosophical Translation* (Ballantine Books, 1999) [entire book].
- Annping Chin, *The Authentic Confucius: a Life of Thought and Politics* (Scribner, 2007) [entire book].

Recommended readings:

- *Benjamin Schwartz, *The World of Thought in Ancient China* (Harvard University Press, 1985), chaps. 3, 7, 10.
- Wm. Theodore de Bary, *The Trouble with Confucianism* (Harvard University Press, 1991).

Week IV—22 SEPTEMBER—Taoism, Mohism, and Legalism

Required readings:

- *Lao Ze [aka Lao Tse] (Robert Henricks, trans.) *Te-Tao Ching* (Columbia University Press, 2000), pp. 25-111.
- *Mo Zi [aka Mo Tse] (Burton Watson, trans.) *Basic Writings of Mo Tzu, Hsun Tzu and Han Fei Tzu* (Columbia University Press, 1967). pp. 37-61, 124-137.
- *Shang Yang (J.J.L. Duyvendak, trans.) *The Book of Lord Shang* (Law School Exchange, 2003), chaps 3, 4, 10, 11, 12, 18, 22, 25.

Recommended readings:

- *John K. Fairbank, "Varieties of the Chinese Military Experience," in Frank Kierman, ed., *Chinese Ways in Warfare* (Harvard University Press, 1974), pp. 1-26.
- *Schwartz, *The World of Thought in Ancient China*, chaps 4, 6, 8, 9.
- Roger Ames, *The Art of Rulership* (State University of New York Press, 2007).

Week V—29 SEPTEMBER—Sun Zi

Required readings:

Ralph Sawyer, *The Seven Military Classics*, pp. 1-18, 145-186.

*Roger Ames, trans. *Sun Tzu: The Art of Warfare* (Ballantine Books, 1993), pp. 3-96; skim text.

*Samuel B. Griffith, *Sun Tzu's Art of War* (Oxford University Press, 1962).

Recommended readings:

Edward O'Dowd and Arthur Waldron, "Sun Zi for Strategists," *Comparative Strategy* 10 (1991).

*Scott Boorman, "Deception in Chinese Strategy," in William W. Whitson, ed., *The Military and the Political Power of China in the 1970s* (Praeger, 1972), pp. 313-337.

Mark Lewis, *Sanctioned Violence in Early China*, (State University of New York Press, 1990), chapters 3, 5.

Week VI—6 OCTOBER—Ancient Strategists I: Wu Zi, The Methods of the Si Ma (Si Ma Fa), Wei Liaozi, Three Strategies of Huang Shigong (San Lue), Tai Gong's Six Secret Teachings (Liu Tao), Questions and Replies (Wen Dui)

Required readings:

Ralph Sawyer, *The Seven Military Classics*, pp. 187-224, 107-143, 225-276, 281-306, 19-105, 307-360.

Recommended readings: TBA

Week VII—13 OCTOBER—Ancient Strategists II: Zhuge Liang and Liu Ji

Required readings:

*Thomas Cleary, *Mastering the Art of War: Zhuge Liang's and Liu Ji's Commentaries on the Classic by Sun Tzu* (Shambhala Books, 2000), p. 35-134.

Ralph Sawyer, *The Tao of Deception*, chaps.1-12.

Recommended readings:

*Luo Guanzhong (aka Lo Kuan-chung), *The Romance of the Three Kingdoms*, chapters 95-100 [various translations. Recommend: Brewitt-Taylor trans. (Silk Pagoda, 2005)].

Week VIII—20 OCTOBER—Writing Workshop

Required readings: TBA

Week IX—27 OCTOBER—Mao Zedong

Required readings:

*Mao Zedong, *Selected Military Writings*, "Problems of Strategy in China's Revolutionary War,"; "Problems of Strategy in the Guerilla War Against Japan,"; "On Protracted War,"; "Problems of War and Strategy,".

*Mao Zedong, "On Contradiction," *Selected Works*, vol. 1, pp. 311-347.

*Jacques Guillermaz, "The Soldier," in Dick Wilson, ed, *Mao Tse-tung in the Scales of History* (Cambridge University Press, 1977), pp.117-143.

Recommended readings:

- *Shu Guang Zhang, *Mao's Military Romanticism: China and the Korean War* (University Press of Kansas, 1995), chaps 1, 10.
- Chalmers Johnson, *Autopsy on People's War* (University of California Press, 1973).
- *Alastair Iain Johnston, "Cultural Realism and Strategy in Maoist China," in Peter Katzenstein, ed., *The Culture of National Security* (1996).
- *Chong-pin Lin, *China's Nuclear Weapons Strategy: Tradition within Evolution* (Lexington Books, 1988).
- *Allen S. Whiting, *The Chinese Calculus of Deterrence* (University of Michigan Press, 1975).

Week X—3 NOVEMBER—The Era of Deng Xiaoping

Required readings:

- *June Teufel Dreyer, "Deng Xiaoping: The Soldier," *China Quarterly* no. 135 (September 1993), pp. 536-550.
- *Paul Godwin, "From Continent to Periphery: PLA Doctrine, Strategy, and Capabilities Toward 2000," *China Quarterly* no. 146 (June 1996):464-487.
- *Nan Li, "The PLA's Evolving Warfighting Doctrine, Strategy and Tactics, 1985-1995: A Chinese Perspective," *China Quarterly* 146 (June 1996):443-463.
- *Peng Guangqian and Yao Youzhi, *The Science of Strategy (Zhanlue xue)*, Academy of Military Sciences, (2005) chaps 3, 10.
- *Wang Houqing and Zhang Xingye, *Operation Studies (Zhanyi xue)* Academy of Military Sciences, (2000) chaps. 3, 6.
- *Michael Yahuda, "Deng Xiaoping: The Statesman," *China Quarterly* no. 135 (September 1993), pp. 551-572.

Recommended readings:

- *Deng Xiaoping, in *Selected Works of Deng Xiaoping*. Vol. 2 (Foreign Languages Press, 1984): "Speech at a Plenary Session of the Military Commission of the Central Committee of the CPC" (December 1978) pp. 87-100; "The Present Situation and the Tasks Before Us" (January 1982), pp. 224-258.
- Mark Stokes, *China's Strategic Modernization* (SSI, 1999).

Week XI—10 NOVEMBER—Jiang Zemin and Hu Jintao

Required readings:

- Avery Goldstein, *Rising to the Challenge* (2005)
- *David Shambaugh, *Modernizing China's Military: Progress, Problems, Prospects* (University of California Press, 2002) chap. 3, esp. pp. 56-93.
- *Zheng Bijian, "China's Peaceful Development" *Foreign Affairs* 84:5 (September/October 2005), pp. 18-24.
- China National Defense in 2008* (Information Office of the State Council, January 2009).

Recommended Readings:

- Chinese Defense White Papers of 1998, 2000, 2002, 2004, and 2006.
- *Michael Pillsbury, ed., *Chinese Views of Future Warfare* (National Defense University

Press, 1998).

*Michael Pillsbury, *China Debates the Future Security Environment* (National Defense University Press, 2000).

Week XII—17 NOVEMBER—Approaches to Understanding Chinese Strategy

Required readings:

*Scott Boorman, *The Protracted Game: A Wei-ch'i Interpretation of Maoist Revolutionary Strategy* (Oxford University Press, 1969).

*Alastair Iain Johnston, *Cultural Realism: Grand Strategy in Chinese History* (Princeton University, 1995), chaps 2, 3, 6, 7, 8.

*David Lai and Joel Cassman, "Football vs. Soccer: American Warfare in an Era of Unconventional Threats." *Armed Forces Journal* (November 2003), 49-53.

*Andrew Scobell, *China's Use of Military Force: Beyond the Great Wall and the Long March* (2003), chaps. 1, 2, 3 and 9.

*Ralph Sawyer, *The Tao of Deception*, chaps.13, 14.

Recommended readings:

Li Jijun, *Traditional Military Thinking and the Defense Strategy of China* (SSI, 1997).

David Lai, *Learning from the Stones: A Go Approach to Mastering China's Strategic Concept: Shi* (Strategic Studies Institute, 2004).

*Edward S. Boylan, "Chinese Cultural Style of Warfare," *Comparative Strategy* 3:4 (1982), 341-364.

Andrew Scobell, *China and Strategic Culture* (SSI, 2002).

Week XIII—24 NOVEMBER—Is there a Chinese Strategic Style?

Required readings:

*Andrew Scobell, "Is there a Chinese Way of War?" *Parameters* XXXV:1 (Spring 2005):118-122.

*Laure Paquette, "Strategy and Time in Clausewitz's On War and Sun Tzu's The Art of War," *Comparative Strategy* 10 (1991), pp. 37-51.

*Arthur Waldron, *The Great Wall of China: From History to Myth* (Cambridge University Press, 1990), chaps. 1, 2, 3, 10, 11.

*David Finkelstein, Michael McDevitt, and Mark Ryan, "Patterns of Chinese Warfighting," in Finkelstein, McDevitt and Ryan, eds., *Chinese Warfighting: the PLA Experience since 1949* (M.E. Sharpe, 2003), pp. 3-22.

Recommended readings:

*Michael Handel, *Masters of War, Sun Tzu, Clausewitz and Jomini* (Frank Cass, 1992), pp. 32-50, 61-64, 75-132.

*Carl von Clausewitz, *On War* edited and translated by Michael Howard and Peter Paret (Princeton University Press, 1976).

Week XIV—1 DECEMBER—Presentations of Student Papers

Required readings: TBA

Week XV—8 DECEMBER—Presentation of Student Papers

Required readings: TBA