The Making of
Chinese Foreign
and Security Policy

in the Era of Reform

EDITED BY DAVID M. LAMPTON

The Making of Chinese Foreign and Security Policy in the Era of Reform, 1978–2000

David M. Lampton, Editor

Stanford University Press Stanford, California

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Printed in the United States of America on acid-free, archival-quality paper.

Library of Congress Catalog Control Number: 2001086970

ISBN 0-8047-4055-0 (cloth) ISBN 0-8047-4056-9 (paper)

Original printing 2001

Last figure below indicates year of this printing: 10 09 08 07 06 05 04 03 02 01

Typeset by Princeton Editorial Associates in 11/14 Adobe Garamond

The Making of Chinese Foreign and Security Policy in the Era of Reform, 1978–2000 In Memory of A. Doak Barnett Teacher, Colleague, Friend

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Acknowledgments

As a teacher I found myself needing a volume that systematically addressed the question "How is Chinese foreign and national security policy made?" As a researcher I was interested in analyzing how the Chinese policy-making process had changed over time, whether changes were more evident in certain policy areas than in others, and what the consequences of such changes might be for Chinese external behavior. And personally I was determined to complete this, the third volume in a trilogy on the Chinese policy-making process, which includes a volume I edited entitled *Policy Implementation in Post-Mao China* (University of California Press, 1987) and another I edited with Kenneth Lieberthal entitled *Bureaucracy, Politics, and Decision-Making in Post-Mao China* (University of California Press, 1992).

It is only through the assistance of a number of persons and organizations that this volume reached completion. First I must acknowledge the Smith Richardson Foundation for both its financial and its conceptual support. In particular I thank Dr. Marin Strmecki and Dr. Samantha Ravich, who provided assistance throughout the period of this undertaking and who attended project conferences and meetings. The foundation not only supported the

research that went into this undertaking but also was farsighted enough to see value in the project's unique design.

In 1996, when I began to conceive of this undertaking, I felt that the China studies field needed a collective endeavor in the area of foreign policy that would involve both younger and more senior scholars in a common enterprise. I believed that the endeavor should involve field investigation throughout Greater China. Consequently, with the foundation's support I assembled an advisory committee, we developed and refined an overall architecture for this volume, and we sent out a national request for proposals to numerous persons we hoped might be interested in submitting their ideas for chapters. Having received a great number of proposals, we selected approximately twelve authors who would undertake research funded by the project and who would then have their draft chapters evaluated and revised following two conferences (in 1998 and 1999). We also invited the participation in these conferences of past and current U.S. policy-makers who had dealt extensively with China in areas covered by this volume, to draw on their insights in order to create a volume of both theoretical and policy significance.

For their help in developing the design of the volume, selecting the chapter authors, and subsequently implementing the project, I wish to thank the advisory committee, which included the late A. Doak Barnett, to whom this volume is dedicated by the grateful field of Chinese studies and all of the book's contributors; Dr. Thomas Fingar of the United States Department of State; Dr. Harry Harding of George Washington University; Dr. Lyman Miller of the Naval Postgraduate School and the Hoover Institution; Dr. Michel Oksenberg of Stanford University; and Dr. Michael Swaine of RAND. Doak played a seminal role not only in the development of this volume, but, more important, in the evolution of the field of contemporary Chinese studies as a whole. In its quest to bring the worlds of scholarship and policy practice together this volume is a fitting memorial to an exceptional man who inspired all of the volume's contributors.

In addition to the contributors, I thank the National Committee on United States—China Relations in New York. I began this volume prior to leaving my post as president of that organization and coming to the Paul H. Nitze School of Advanced International Studies at Johns Hopkins University and The Nixon Center in late 1997. The committee's new president, John Holden; its chairman, Barber B. Conable, Jr.; and its board of directors were kind enough to consent to administer the project after my departure. The Committee's sponsorship of this undertaking was appropriate given its historical

commitment to public education on China and United States—China relations. In particular I must express the authors' collective appreciation to Mr. Andrew Dorko of the National Committee staff, who provided the logistical and general support essential to the project's success, and to Ms. Ros Daly, National Committee vice president for administration and development, who so ably kept this undertaking on financial track.

Turning to the revision, editing, and production of this volume, I thank two anonymous outside reviewers commissioned by Stanford University Press for their trenchant, useful comments. Moreover, the chapter authors and I express our appreciation to Ms. Krista Forsgren Ahdieh for her help in editing and polishing the manuscript, as we all do to Princeton Editorial Associates and Mr. Peter Strupp. And finally, to Ms. Muriel Bell, editor at Stanford University Press, I offer my thanks for her support and guidance during the process of moving this volume toward the light of day.

In short, this book represents an enormous collective undertaking. Although the chapter authors and all of the persons and organizations involved in this undertaking may differ in their assessments of where China's policy-making process is heading and what those changes may mean for the future, all are united in their conviction that these will be among the central questions of the early twenty-first century.

David M. Lampton Washington, D.C.

Abbreviations

ADB Asian Development Bank

AFC Asian Financial Crisis

AMS Academy of Military Science ANC African National Congress

APEC Asia Pacific Economic Cooperation forum

ARATS Association for Relations Across the Taiwan Strait

ARF ASEAN Regional Forum

ASEAN Association of Southeast Asian Nations

BBC British Broadcasting Corporation

CAIFC China Association for International Friendly Contact

CASS Chinese Academy of Social Sciences
CCGO Central Committee General Office

CCP Chinese Communist Party

CCTAO Central Committee Taiwan Affairs Office

CD Conference on Disarmament
CDM Clean Development Mechanism

CICIR Chinese Institute for Contemporary International Relations

CIISS China Institute for International Strategic Studies

CMC Central Military Commission

CNNC Chinese National Nuclear Corporation

COSTIND Commission of Science, Technology, and Industry for National

Defense

CPD Center for Peace and Development

CPU central processing unit

CTBT Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty
CWC Chemical Weapons Convention

DPP Democratic Progressive Party (Taiwan)
DPRK Democratic People's Republic of Korea

DSS Department of Strategic Studies
EI economic interdependence
EOI export-oriented industrialization

ESCAP Economic and Social Commission for Asia and the Pacific

EU European Union

FALSG Foreign Affairs Leading Small Group

FAO Foreign Affairs Office

FBIS Foreign Broadcast Information Service FCCC Framework Convention on Climate Change

FDI foreign direct investment

FETC Foreign Economic and Trade Commission FISS Foundation for International Strategic Studies

FMPC Fissile Materials Production Cutoff
GAD General Armaments Department
GATT General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade

GDBOI Guangdong Board of Investment

GL global logic

GLD General Logistics Department GPL General Political Department GSD General Staff Department

IAEA International Atomic Energy Agency

ICI Imperial Chemical Industries

ICITO Interim Commission for the International Trade Organization

ID Investigation Department

IDA International Development Agency
IGO intergovernmental organization
ILD International Liaison Department

IPR intellectual property rights

ISI import-substituting industrialization

ISS Institute for Strategic Studies

KOTRA Korean Trade Promotion Association

KWP Korean Workers' Party

LD Liaison Department LSG leading small group

MCI Ministry of Chemical Industry
MEI multilateral economic institution
MFA Ministry of Foreign Affairs

MFN most favored nation

MII Ministry of Information Industries

MNC multinational corporation
MND Ministry of National Defense

MOFTEC Ministry of Foreign Trade and Economic Cooperation

MSS Ministry of State Security

MTCR Missile Technology Control Regime
NATO North Atlantic Treaty Organization
NCA Nuclear Cooperation Agreement
NDC newly democratizing country
NDU National Defense University

NEPA National Environmental Protection Agency

NGO nongovernmental organization
NIC newly industrialized country
NPC National People's Congress
NPT Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty

NTR normal trade relations
NWFZ nuclear weapon free zone

OCAO Overseas Chinese Affairs Office
ODS ozone-depleting substance

OPCW Organization for the Prohibition of Chemical Weapons

PBSC Politburo Standing Committee
PD Propaganda Department
PFA People's Friendship Association
PLA People's Liberation Army

PNE People's Liberation Army
peaceful nuclear explosion

PNTR permanent normal trade relations

PRC People's Republic of China
PRO Political Research Office
PTBT Partial Test Ban Treaty
ROK Republic of Korea

SCFAO State Council Foreign Affairs Office SAR Special Administrative Region SASS Shanghai Academy of Social Sciences

SASS Shanghai Academy of Social Sciences
SCTAO State Council Taiwan Affairs Office
SDPC State Development Planning Commis

SDPC State Development Planning Commission

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ABBREVIATIONS

SEF Strait Exchange Foundation (Taiwan)

SEPA State Environmental Protection Administration

SETC State Economic and Trade Commission

SEZ special economic zone

SIIS Shanghai Institute for International Studies

SMA State Meteorological Administration

SOE state-owned enterprise

SPA Supreme People's Assembly SPC State Planning Commission

SSTC State Science and Technology Commission

START Strategic Arms Reduction Talks
TALSG Taiwan Affairs Leading Small Group
TARO Taiwan Affairs Research Office

TIA Transparency in Armaments (committee name)

TMD Theater Missile Defense

TMN transnational manufacturing network
TRADP Tumen River Area Development Program

TRI Taiwan Research Institute

TRIMS trade-related investment measures

TTBT Threshold Test Ban Treaty

UFWD United Front Work Department

UN United Nations

UNDP United Nations Development Program .
UNEP United Nations Environment Program

UNROCA United Nations Register of Conventional Arms

U.S. United States

USFK United States Forces in Korea
USTR United States Trade Representative

VOA Voice of America

WTO World Trade Organization

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China's Foreign and National Security Policy-Making Process: Is It Changing, and Does It Matter?

DAVID M. LAMPTON

When asked what he and other economic officials thought about the February 21, 2000, white paper on Taiwan that threatened a firestorm of reaction in Washington that might affect pending China-related legislation, a PRC [People's Republic of China] economic official responded as follows: "We [economic officials] said it would be bad for WTO [the World Trade Organization], but we were not the leading group creating this policy so ours was just a voice in a room. Nobody was going to listen to us. . . . Policies are created not by the whole government, but by parts in the government. We often don't know what the other side is doing." I

INTRODUCTION

The second half of the twentieth century witnessed a gradual and important change in the Chinese foreign and national security policy-making process as it successively moved through the eras of Mao Zedong, Deng Xiaoping, and Jiang Zemin. This shift is not only of theoretical importance; it also has