

# Foreign Relations of China

Politics 161 | 41994 | Winter 2017  
University of California, Santa Cruz  
Prof. Benjamin L. Read

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Email: bread (at) ucsc (dot) edu  
Course web site: <http://ecommons.ucsc.edu/>  
Professor's web site: <http://benread.net>  
Course meetings: Monday, Wednesday, Friday, noon–1:05pm  
Classroom: Engineering 2, room 192  
Office hours: Monday and Tuesday, 1:30pm–3:00pm, and by appointment,  
in 157 Merrill Faculty Annex  
Date of this syllabus: January 8, 2017, version 1. The syllabus may be updated during the academic term.

## Overview

This course provides a broad introduction to the foreign relations of China. The rise of China—its growing economic clout, political influence, and military muscle—is often called the single most momentous process in the international relations of our time. As many (including the Secretary of State in 2012) have observed, in the context of a post-Cold War order centered on the United States, this ascendance raises the crucial question of “what happens when an established power and a rising power meet.” Thus, this course focuses in large part on the U.S.-China relationship in its various manifestations, from differences over core values to military jostling, from technological competition to contestation over global governance. Relatedly, we examine how China interacts with other states in the Asia/Pacific, and how countries such as the two Koreas, Japan, Taiwan, India, and Australia are reacting to their neighbor’s emerging prominence. The course also examines issues such as China’s influence on the developing world, the international economy, and the environment. In exploring each of these topics, we assess the value of major theoretical approaches to the study of international relations, and we evaluate the diverging perspectives of China-based and U.S.-based analysts. We endeavor to understand the perspectives of China’s Communist Party leaders and ordinary people alike while also looking at international relations from external and critical perspectives. There are no prerequisites for this course.

## Readings

You will need to obtain one book:

Nina Hachigian, ed., *Debating China: The U.S.-China Relationship in Ten Conversations* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014)

It is available for purchase on campus at the Bay Tree Bookstore and, of course, via online stores. Alternatively, it’s on reserve at McHenry Library. Moreover, UCSC students may access the full text via the Cruzcat system (talk to me if you do not know how to do this).

There are many other readings, which will be available on eCommons. I will explain how to access them if that would be useful.

## Assignments and Ground Rules

- **Self-introduction:** please send me an email in the first week of class introducing yourself. You may wish to lay out such basic facts as your year in school; college; major; prior courses (if any) in Asian languages, history, or politics, and in international relations; international travel experience (if any); future career interests;

what you're most excited about in school and in your life; any challenges you're facing; and anything else you would like me to know about you. It can be useful for me to know such things, but really I would just like to read whatever you would like to tell me about yourself.

- **Attendance:** Attending class is firmly required. I'm not indifferent to whether you're there or not. Quite the contrary: it matters a lot to me, and more importantly, to you. Your being there helps you learn and makes the class work. Attendance will be taken at the beginning of each class. Good attendance is rewarded with a modest bonus. Unexcused absences will lower your quarter grade. Two percentage points will be deducted from your course grade for every unexcused absence. To put that in perspective, the difference between a B+ and a C+ is ten percentage points. It is entirely possible to fail the course through non-attendance; this has happened before.
- **Discussion:** Contribute actively to class discussion. Participation in class counts for 20 percent of your class grade.
- **Reading:** This course involves a fair amount of reading, and the readings are required; complete them before the class meeting for which they are assigned. I will circulate discussion questions at least 24 hours before class to help guide you and to set the stage for in-class discussion.
- **Short writing assignments:** Occasionally the class will start with a 5- or 10-minute writing assignment, in which you will answer a question about the readings assigned for that day. This will assess how well you have understood the readings. You only need to write a short paragraph, but it should answer the question effectively.
  - Alternatively, I may assign reading responses (to be written at home and turned in at the beginning of class) that serve the same purpose.
  - All together, these assignments will constitute 20 percent of your class grade.
- **Research paper:** Students will research and write an original paper (~12 pages) on a relevant topic of your choosing. Deadlines for components of this paper are as follows. All components should be submitted via email as MS Word (or Open Office / Libre Office) documents.
  - A one-paragraph summary and a bibliography with at least 15 high-quality and substantive sources is due at noon on Tuesday, February 7, 2017 (5% of class grade).
  - A 6-page preliminary draft of the paper is due by noon on Tuesday, February 21, 2017 (5% of class grade).
  - You must submit the final version of the paper by noon on Saturday, March 18, 2017 (25% of class grade.)
- **Final exam:** The final exam will be held from noon to 3pm on Wednesday, March 22, 2017 (25% of class grade). The final exam covers all the lectures, discussions, readings and themes of the course.
- **Midterm:** There will be no midterm.
- **Grading:** All assignments are scored on a 0-100 scale, where 90-100 is an A, 80-89 is a B, etc. Grades of A minus or higher are reserved for work of exceptionally high quality. The grade of B is for work that is truly good although not great. The grade of C is for minimally acceptable work.
- **Accommodations:** UC Santa Cruz is committed to creating an academic environment that supports its diverse student body. If you are a student with a disability who requires accommodations to achieve equal access in this course, please submit your Accommodation Authorization Letter from the Disability Resource Center (DRC) to me privately during my office hours or by appointment, preferably within the first two weeks of the quarter. We would also like to discuss ways we can ensure your full participation in the course. We encourage all students who may benefit from learning more about DRC services to contact DRC by phone at 831-459-2089 or by email at [drc@ucsc.edu](mailto:drc@ucsc.edu).

## Schedule

Monday, January 9, 2017      Introduction

- No readings are assigned for this day.

Wednesday, January 11, 2017      Theoretical approaches to international relations

- Selections from Bruce Russett, Harvey Starr, and David Kinsella, *World Politics: The Menu for Choice*, 8th edition (Belmont, CA: Thomson Wadsworth, 2006), ch. 1-2 and 4, pp. 3-26, 27-48, 73-101. You may read somewhat selectively; the discussion questions will explain exactly what to focus on.
- Graham Allison, "The Thucydides Trap: Are the U.S. and China Headed for War?," *The Atlantic*, September 24, 2015

Friday, January 13, 2017      Influences from history and geography

- Andrew J. Nathan and Andrew Scobell, "What Drives Chinese Foreign Policy?" in *China's Search for Security* (Columbia, 2012), pp. 3-36

Monday, January 16, 2017      \*\*\* No class meeting (ML King Jr. Day) \*\*\*

Wednesday, January 18, 2017      Institutions and individual leaders, session I

- Bruce Russett, Harvey Starr, and David Kinsella, *World Politics: The Menu for Choice*, 8th edition (Belmont, CA: Thomson Wadsworth, 2006), ch. 7, "Individuals and World Politics: Roles, Perceptions, and Decision Making," pp. 163-192
- Li Zhisui, *The Private Life of Chairman Mao* (1994), chapters 30–31, pp. 261–271
- Allen S. Whiting, "Forecasting Chinese Foreign Policy: IR Theory vs. the Fortune Cookie," in Robinson and Shambaugh, eds., *Chinese Foreign Policy: Theory and Practice* (1996), pp. 506–523

Friday, January 20, 2017      Institutions and individual leaders, session II

- Andrew J. Nathan and Andrew Scobell, "Who Runs Chinese Foreign Policy?" in *China's Search for Security* (Columbia, 2012), pp. 37-62
- Susan V. Lawrence and Michael F. Martin, "Understanding China's Political System," Congressional Research Service, January 31, 2013
- François Godement, "Xi Jinping's China," European Council on Foreign Relations, 2013

**Optional further reading:**

- Michael D. Swaine, "Xi Jinping's Address to the Central Conference on Work Relating to Foreign Affairs: Assessing and Advancing Major-Power Diplomacy with Chinese Characteristics," *China Leadership Monitor* #46, March 2015

Monday, January 23, 2017      The China-U.S. relationship: Key events and themes

- Robert G. Sutter, *U.S.-Chinese Relations: Perilous Past, Pragmatic Present* (Lanham, Md.: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, 2010), chapters 4–5, pp. 65–122

**Optional further reading:**

- John Pomfret, *The Beautiful Country and the Middle Kingdom: America and China, 1776 to the Present* (New York: Henry Holt and Co., 2016)

Wednesday, January 25, 2017    The China-U.S. relationship today

- Ashley J. Tellis, “U.S.-China Relations in a Realist World,” in David Shambaugh, *Tangled Titans: The United States and China* (Lanham, Md.: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, 2013)
- *Debating China*, ch. 1, “An Overview of the U.S.-China Relationship,” Kenneth Lieberthal & Wang Jisi
- Read at least one editorial from the Global Times, a government-backed newspaper in China, about the United States’ relationship with China. One way to find them: do a Google search including the string “site:globaltimes.cn editorial united states”

**Optional further reading:**

- Susan V. Lawrence, “U.S.-China Relations: Policy Issues,” Congressional Research Service report, 2013
- Wayne M. Morrison, “China–U.S. Trade Issues,” Congressional Research Service report, January 4, 2017
- David Shambaugh, *Tangled Titans*, Chapter 1
- Aaron Friedberg, “Bucking Beijing: An Alternative U.S. China Policy,” *Foreign Affairs* (September/October 2012)
- Andrew J. Nathan and Andrew Scobell, “How China Sees America: The Sum of Beijing’s Fears,” *Foreign Affairs* (September/October 2012)

Friday, January 27, 2017    Values, culture, and human rights

- *Debating China*, ch. 3, “Political Systems, Rights, and Values,” Zhou Qi & Andrew J. Nathan
- Gary J. Bass, “Human Rights Last,” *Foreign Policy* (March/April 2011)
- Susan B. Glasser, “Head of State: Hillary Clinton, the blind dissident, and the art of diplomacy in the Twitter era,” *Foreign Policy* (July/August 2012)

Monday, January 30, 2017    China and the Korean Peninsula, session I

- International Crisis Group, “Fire on the City Gate: Why China Keeps North Korea Close,” Asia Report #254, December 9, 2013
- Steve Tsang, “China Would Benefit from a United Korea,” *Wall Street Journal*, February 14, 2013

Wednesday, February 1, 2017    China and the Korean Peninsula, session II

- *Debating China*, ch. 10, “Regional Security Challenges,” Wu Xinbo & Michael Green
- Jonathan D. Pollack, “Is Xi Jinping Rethinking Korean Unification?” web article, Brookings Institution, January 20, 2015
- Patricia M. Kim, “Lost Illusions: How Beijing Failed to Woo Seoul,” *Foreign Affairs*, September 30, 2016

Friday, February 3, 2017    China and Australia

- Paul Kelly, “China Divides Labor Across Its Generations,” *The Australian*, August 11, 2012 [Short newspaper piece giving a taste of the debate within Australia concerning China ties]
- James Reilly, “Counting on China? Australia’s Strategic Response to Economic Interdependence,” *The Chinese Journal of International Politics*, Vol 5, 2012, 369–394

Monday, February 6, 2017      The China-Taiwan-U.S. triangle, session I

- Shelley Rigger, "Taiwan in U.S.-China Relations," in David Shambaugh, *Tangled Titans: The United States and China* (Lanham, Md.: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, 2013)
- Alan D. Romberg, "Consolidating Positions," *China Leadership Monitor*, Fall 2015 (Issue 48)

Wednesday, February 8, 2017      The China-Taiwan-U.S. triangle, session II

- *Debating China*, ch. 9, "Taiwan and Tibet," Jia Qingguo & Alan D. Romberg

Friday, February 10, 2017      China and Africa

- *Debating China*, ch. 7, "Global Development and Investment," Elizabeth Economy and Zha Daojiong
- Armin Rosen, "One Uranium Mine in Niger Says a Lot about China's Huge Nuclear-Power Ambitions," *Business Insider*, October 24, 2015

Monday, February 13, 2017      Movie: "When China Met Africa"

- Ben Lampert and Giles Mohan, "Sino-African Encounters in Ghana and Nigeria: From Conflict to Conviviality and Mutual Benefit," *Journal of Current Chinese Affairs* 43/1 (2014), pp. 9-39

Wednesday, February 15, 2017      China and Southeast Asia

- Joshua Kurlantzick, *Charm Offensive: How China's Soft Power is Transforming the World* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2007), pp. 37-81
- Bonnie S. Glaser and Deep Pal, "Is China's Charm Offensive Dead?" *China Brief*, 14/15, July 31, 2014
- Howard W. French, "China's Dangerous Game," *The Atlantic*, October 13, 2014

Friday, February 17, 2017      China, Russia and the "World Without the West" thesis

- Naazneen Barma, Ely Ratner and Steven Weber, "A World Without the West," *The National Interest* July/August 2007, pp. 23-30
- Yu-Shan Wu, "Russia and Chinese Security," *Routledge Handbook of Chinese Security* edited by Lowell Dittmer and Maochun Yu (2015)
- June Teufel Dreyer, "China and Russia: A Limited Liability Partnership," 2015

Monday, February 20, 2017      \*\*\* No class meeting (Presidents' Day) \*\*\*

Wednesday, February 22, 2017      China and Japan

- International Crisis Group, "Old Scores and New Grudges: Evolving Sino-Japanese Tensions," Asia Report #258, July 24, 2014

- Yinan He, “Remembering and Forgetting the War: Elite Mythmaking, Mass Reaction, and Sino-Japanese Relations, 1950–2006,” *History and Memory* 19/2 (2007), pp. 43–74

Friday, February 24, 2017      China and South Asia

- Three chapters from Thomas Fingar, ed., *The New Great Game: China and South and Central Asia in the Era of Reform* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2016)—all available online via Cruzcat.
  - Thomas Fingar, “China’s Goals in South Asia,” 29–52
  - S. Paul Kapur, “India’s Relationships with the United States and China: Thinking Through the Strategic Triangle,” 53–68
  - Hu Shisheng, “India’s Rise and China’s Response,” 69–92

**Optional further reading:**

- Andrew Small, *The China–Pakistan Axis: Asia’s New Geopolitics* (Hurst, 2015)

Monday, February 27, 2017      Environmental issues

- *Debating China*, ch. 6, “Climate and Clean Energy,” Kelly Sims Gallagher & Qi Ye
- Jeff Goodell, “The Secret Deal to Save the Planet,” *Rolling Stone*, December 9, 2014
- ChinaFile, “Are China’s Limits on Greenhouse Gas Emissions Meaningful?,” July 8, 2015, <http://www.chinafile.com/conversation/are-chinas-limits-greenhouse-gas-emissions-meaningful>

Wednesday, March 1, 2017      Technology issues

- Michael Riley and Ben Elgin, “China’s Cyberspies Outwit Model for Bond’s Q,” *Bloomberg*, May 2, 2013
- David E. Sanger, David Barboza, and Nicole Perlroth, “Chinese Army Unit Is Seen as Tied to Hacking Against U.S.,” *New York Times*, February 18, 2013
- Stewart Baker, “The GitHub Attack, Part 1: Making International Cyber Law the Ugly Way,” *The Volokh Conspiracy* [blog], August 16, 2015
- ChinaFile, “Spy Vs. Spy: When is Cyberhacking Crossing the Line?” April 6, 2014, <http://www.chinafile.com/conversation/spy-vs-spy-when-cyberhacking-crossing-line>

Friday, March 3, 2017      Military issues

- *Debating China*, ch. 8, “Military Developments,” Christopher P. Twomey & Xu Hui

Monday, March 6, 2017      Nationalism and societal sources of foreign policy

- Linda Jakobson and Dean Knox, “New Foreign Policy Actors in China,” SIPRI Policy Paper #26, 2010
- Rowena Xiaoqing He, “Identifying with a ‘Rising China’? Overseas Chinese Student Nationalism,” in Edward Vickers and Krishna Kumar, eds., *Constructing Modern Asian Citizenship* (Routledge, 2015), pp. 314–340

**Optional further reading:**

- Jessica Chen Weiss, *Powerful Patriots: Nationalist Protest in China’s Foreign Relations* (Oxford University Press, 2014)

Wednesday, March 8, 2017 Domestic institutions and media

- *Debating China*, ch. 4, “The Media,” Wang Shuo & Susan Shirk
- Margaret M. Pearson, “The Case of China’s Accession to GATT/WTO,” in David M. Lampton, ed., *The Making of Chinese Foreign and Security Policy in the Reform Era* (2001)

**Optional further reading:**

- David Shambaugh, “Coping with a Conflicted China” *The Washington Quarterly*, 2011 [explores different schools of thought influencing China’s foreign policy]

Friday, March 10, 2017 China’s soft power

- Marshall Sahlins, “China U,” *The Nation*, November 18, 2013
- Edward A. McCord, “Confucius Institutes in the U.S.: Let a Hundred Flowers Bloom; Let a Hundred Schools of Thought Contend” [a rebuttal to Sahlins; their exchange continued after this.]

Monday, March 13, 2017 China and the international economy

- *Debating China*, ch. 2, “The Economic Relationship,” Barry Naughton & Yao Yang

**Optional further reading:**

- Elizabeth Economy and Michael A. Levi. 2014. *By All Means Necessary: How China’s Resource Quest is Changing the World*. Oxford University Press. (And see NBR roundtable on this book.)

Wednesday, March 15, 2017 China’s rise and international institutions, session I

- Rosemary Foot, “U.S.-China Interactions in Global Governance and International Organizations,” in David Shambaugh, *Tangled Titans: The United States and China* (Lanham, Md.: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, 2013)
- Michael Fullilove, “China and the United Nations: The Stakeholder Spectrum,” *The Washington Quarterly* 34:3, 2011, pp. 63-85
- Jeremy Page and Matina Stevis, “China Discovers the Price of Global Power: Soldiers Returning in Caskets,” *Wall Street Journal*, November 15, 2016

**Optional further reading:**

- Scott Kennedy and Shuaihua Cheng, eds, *From Rule Takers to Rule Makers: The Growing Role of Chinese in Global Governance* (2012).

Friday, March 17, 2017 China’s rise and international institutions, session II

- *Debating China*, ch. 5, “Global Roles and Responsibilities,” Yuan Peng & Nina Hachigian