

# Foreign Relations of China

Politics 161 | 42898 | Winter 2019  
University of California, Santa Cruz  
Prof. Benjamin L. Read

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Course web site: <https://canvas.ucsc.edu/>  
Professor's web site: <https://benread.net>  
Course meetings: Monday, Wednesday, Friday, noon–1:05pm  
Classroom: Baskin Engineering, room 165  
Office hours: Mondays, 1:30pm–3:30pm, and by appointment, in 157 Merrill Faculty Annex  
Date of this syllabus: January 3, 2019, 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, 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.

## Course Goals and Core Questions

The goals of this course are:

- Students will build greater competence and confidence in interpreting international affairs.
- More specifically, students will gain a deeper understanding of China's rise in power and prominence, and a host of related questions and issues.
- Students will sharpen skills of reading, research, speaking and writing.

The course accomplishes the above goals through sustained consideration of the following core questions:

- What drives or what explains China's foreign policy decisions?
- What are the most important issues and problems in the U.S.-China relationship?
- How should we understand China's rising regional and global prominence and what are its implications?
- What are the advantages and limitations of the realist theory of international relations in illuminating the above questions?

## Readings

All readings will be available on Canvas (canvas.ucsc.edu), unless otherwise indicated on the syllabus.

## 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) or quizzes 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 (~10 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 5, 2019 (5% of class grade).
  - A 6-page preliminary draft of the paper is due by noon on Tuesday, February 19, 2019 (5% of class grade).
  - You must submit the final version of the paper by noon on Saturday, March 16, 2019 (25% of class grade.)
- **Final exam:** The final exam will be held from 4pm to 7pm on Wednesday, March 20, 2019 (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.
- **Time Commitment:** The UCSC Academic Senate reminds us: "Systemwide Senate Regulation 760 specifies that one academic credit corresponds to three hours of work per week for students during a 10-week quarter. This means that the average workload for a 5-credit course is 150 hours or 15 hours per week." With this in mind, expect to spend each week, on average:
  - Lectures and discussion: 3 hours and 15 minutes
  - Reading, note-taking, and review for the exams: 6 hours and 45 minutes
  - Research and writing for the paper: 5 hours
- **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).

- **Course materials:**

- **Slides and audio recording:** Within a few days after each lecture I will post the slides and an audio recording. The recording is mainly in case you had to miss class for some good reason. Please bear in mind that these are for your personal use only and shouldn't be distributed or posted on the public internet. The Academic Senate has asked faculty to include a note to this effect, as follows:
- **Warning from the university about distribution of lecture notes and materials:** Please note that students may be disciplined for selling, preparing, or distributing course lecture notes, including notes created independently by students. The unauthorized sale of lecture notes, handouts, readers or other course materials is a violation of campus policies as well as state law. Violation by distribution to the public may also constitute copyright infringement subject to legal action.

## Schedule

Monday, January 7, 2019 Introduction

- No readings are assigned for this day.

Wednesday, January 9, 2019 Realism as a general theory of international relations

- John J. Mearsheimer, *The Tragedy of Great Power Politics* (Norton, 2001), chapters 1 and 2

Friday, January 11, 2019 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
- Sebastian Heilmann and Dirk H. Schmidt, "What Does China Want?" from *China's Foreign Political and Economic Relations* (2014), pp. 1–13

Monday, January 14, 2019 Institutions and individual leaders, session I

- 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

Wednesday, January 16, 2019 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
- Ferdinand, "Westward Ho—The China Dream and 'One Belt, One Road': Chinese Foreign Policy under Xi Jinping," *International Affairs* 92:4 (2016) 941–957

**Optional further reading:**

- Elizabeth C. Economy, *The Third Revolution: Xi Jinping and the New Chinese State*. New York, NY: Oxford University Press, 2018.

Friday, January 18, 2019

The China-U.S. relationship: Key events and themes

- James Mann, *About Face: A History of America's Curious Relationship with China, from Nixon to Clinton* (Knopf, 1998), chapters 15 and 16 on the Clinton administration and Most Favored Nation status

**Optional further reading:**

- Robert G. Sutter, *U.S.-Chinese Relations: Perilous Past, Pragmatic Present*, 3rd edition (Lanham, Md.: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, 2017)
- John Pomfret, *The Beautiful Country and the Middle Kingdom: America and China, 1776 to the Present* (New York: Henry Holt and Co., 2016)

Monday, January 21, 2019

\*\*\* No class meeting (ML King Jr. Day) \*\*\*

Wednesday, January 23, 2019

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)
- Kurt M. Campbell and Ely Ratner, "The China Reckoning: How Beijing Defied American Expectations," *Foreign Affairs*, March/April 2018
- Wayne M. Morrison, "China-U.S. Trade Issues," Congressional Research Service report, update of July 30, 2018

**Optional further reading:**

- Susan V. Lawrence, "U.S.-China Relations: Policy Issues," Congressional Research Service report, 2013
- David Shambaugh, *Tangled Titans*, Chapter 1
- Aaron Friedberg, "Bucking Beijing: An Alternative U.S. China Policy," *Foreign Affairs* (September/October 2012)

Friday, January 25, 2019

Values, culture, and human rights

- Zhou Qi and Andrew J. Nathan, "Political Systems, Rights, and Values," ch. 3 in Nina Hachigian, ed., *Debating China* (2014)
- 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 28, 2019

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)

Wednesday, January 30, 2019 The China-Taiwan-U.S. triangle, session II

- Jia Qingguo and Alan D. Romberg, “Taiwan and Tibet,” ch. 9 in Nina Hachigian, ed., *Debating China* (2014)
- June Teufel Dreyer, “The Big Squeeze: Beijing’s Anaconda Strategy to Force Taiwan to Surrender,” Foreign Policy Research Institute, August 13, 2018

Friday, February 1, 2019 China’s “soft” power and “sharp” power, session I

- 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.]
- The Hoover Institution, “Chinese Influence & American Interests: Promoting Constructive Vigilance” (2018), section 4, “Universities,” pp 39–56

Monday, February 4, 2019 China’s “soft” power and “sharp” power, session II

- The Hoover Institution, “Chinese Influence & American Interests: Promoting Constructive Vigilance” (2018), sections 2 and 3, “State and Local Governments” and “The Chinese American Community,” pp. 19–38

Wednesday, February 6, 2019 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
- Su Fei, “China’s Potential Role as Security Guarantor for North Korea,” 38 North, October 24, 2018

Friday, February 8, 2019 China and the Korean Peninsula, session II

- Ellen Kim and Victor Cha, “Between a Rock and a Hard Place: South Korea’s Strategic Dilemmas with China and the United States,” *Asia Policy* #21 (January 2016), pp. 101-121
- Patricia M. Kim, “Lost Illusions: How Beijing Failed to Woo Seoul,” *Foreign Affairs*, September 30, 2016

Monday, February 11, 2019 China and Australia

- James Reilly, “Counting on China? Australia’s Strategic Response to Economic Interdependence,” *The Chinese Journal of International Politics*, Vol 5, 2012, 369–394
- John Fitzgerald, “Overstepping Down Under,” *Journal of Democracy* 29:2 (April 2018), 59–67

**Optional further reading:**

- Clive Hamilton, *Silent Invasion: China’s Influence in Australia* (Hardie Grant, 2018)
- Critical review of *Silent Invasion* by David Brophy

Wednesday, February 13, 2019 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 15, 2019

\*\*\* No class meeting \*\*\*

Monday, February 18, 2019

\*\*\* No class meeting (Presidents’ Day) \*\*\*

Wednesday, February 20, 2019 China and the Developing World, session I

- Prior to class, watch the movie “When China Met Africa” (2010). I will explain how to view it.
- “Gateway to the globe: China has a vastly ambitious plan to connect the world,” *The Economist*, July 26, 2018
- Brook Larmer, “Is China the World’s New Colonial Power?” *New York Times Magazine*, May 2, 2017

**Optional further reading:**

- Ching Kwan Lee, *The Specter of Global China: Politics, Labor, and Foreign Investment in Africa* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2018)
- 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

Friday, February 22, 2019

China and the Developing World, session II

- Cynthia A. Watson, “Concentrated Interests: China’s Involvement with Latin American Economies,” in DeLisle and Goldstein, eds., *China’s Global Engagement* (Brookings, 2017), 123–154
- Nicholas Casey and Clifford Krauss, “It Doesn’t Matter if Ecuador Can Afford This Dam. China Still Gets Paid.” *New York Times*, December 24, 2018

Monday, February 25, 2019

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

Wednesday, February 27, 2019 Nationalism and societal sources of foreign policy

- 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
- Jessica Chen Weiss, “Authoritarian Signaling, Mass Audiences, and Nationalist Protest in China,” *International Organization* (Winter 2013), 1–35

**Optional further reading:**

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

Press, 2014)

- Linda Jakobson and Dean Knox, “New Foreign Policy Actors in China,” SIPRI Policy Paper #26, 2010

Friday, March 1, 2019      China and Japan

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

Monday, March 4, 2019      Technology, session I: Hacking

- 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>

Wednesday, March 6, 2019      Technology, session II: 5G

- Reading to be announced. Special guest: Brittany Young, who is writing a senior thesis on this topic

Friday, March 8, 2019      Military issues

- Christopher P. Twomey and Xu Hui, “Military Developments,” ch. 8 in Nina Hachigian, ed., *Debating China* (2014)
- Robert S. Ross, “The Rise of the Chinese Navy: From Regional Naval Power to Global Naval Power?” in DeLisle and Goldstein, eds., *China’s Global Engagement* (Brookings, 2017), 207-234

Monday, March 11, 2019      China and the international economy

- Barry Naughton and Yao Yang, “The Economic Relationship,” ch. 2 in Nina Hachigian, ed., *Debating China*, (2014)
- Heilmann and Schmidt, “China in the World Economy,” chapter 5 of *China’s Foreign Political and Economic Relations* (2014)

**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 13, 2019      China’s rise and international institutions

- 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:**

- Allen Carlson, “Is There Something Beyond No? China and Intervention in a New Era,” in DeLisle and Goldstein, eds., *China’s Global Engagement* (Brookings, 2017), 183–205
- Scott Kennedy and Shuaihua Cheng, eds, *From Rule Takers to Rule Makers: The Growing Role of Chinese in Global Governance* (2012).

Friday, March 15, 2019

China-U.S. wrapup: Doomed to clash?

- Graham Allison, “The Thucydides Trap: Are the U.S. and China Headed for War?,” *The Atlantic*, September 24, 2015
- Adam P. Liff and G. John Ikenberry, “Racing toward Tragedy? China’s Rise, Military Competition in the Asia Pacific, and the Security Dilemma,” *International Security* 39.2 (2014): 52–91

**Final exam: Wednesday, March 20, 2019, 4pm to 7pm**

- Note that the final exam must be taken at the above time; alternative times cannot be arranged.