

The Rise of China 中国崛起

Politics 161 | 43800 | Winter 2021
University of California, Santa Cruz
Prof. Benjamin L. Read

Professor's email: bread (at) ucsc (dot) edu. Email is the best way to reach me, much better than Canvas.
Course web site: <https://canvas.ucsc.edu/>
Professor's web site: <https://benread.net>
Course meetings: Monday, Wednesday, Friday, 10:40–11:45am; attendance required
Classroom: Remote via Zoom
Office hours: Wednesdays, 1:00–3:00pm; please sign up at <https://tinyurl.com/benreadofficehours>
You may also email me to make an appointment outside this time slot.
Date of this syllabus: January 3, 2021, 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 U.S. 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 technological competition. Relatedly, we examine how China interacts with other states in the Asia/Pacific, and how countries such as the two Koreas, Japan, Taiwan, Australia, and New Zealand 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 global governance. In exploring each of these topics, we assess the value of major theoretical approaches to the study of international relations, particularly the realist tradition. We endeavor to understand the perspectives of China’s Communist Party leadership and ordinary people as well as external and critical points of view. There are no prerequisites for this course, nor is any Chinese language required, though there is an optional add-on module for students who are learning to read Chinese.

Course Goals and Core Questions

The goals of this course are:

- Students will build greater competence and confidence in interpreting international affairs.
- Students will gain a deeper understanding of China’s rise in power and prominence, and a host of related questions and issues, including aspects of U.S. foreign policy.
- Students will sharpen skills of reading, research, speaking, and writing.

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

- How should we understand China’s rising regional and global prominence and what are its implications?
- What drives or what explains China’s foreign policy decisions?
- In what ways are other countries responding to China’s rise?
- How have the United States and China dealt with one another across a range of issues and problems?
- 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. Zoom will automatically compile attendance data. 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.
- **Reading responses:** Short reading responses will be due in Canvas prior to the start of most classes (30% of 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 to me via email as MS Word (or Open Office / Libre Office) documents. I will circulate detailed instructions early in the quarter.
 - A one-paragraph summary and a bibliography with at least 10 high-quality and substantive sources is due at noon on Saturday, February 6, 2021 (5% of class grade).
 - A 5-page preliminary draft of the paper is due at noon on Saturday, February 20, 2021 (5% of class grade).
 - The final version of the paper is due at noon on Saturday, March 13, 2021 (25% of class grade.)
- **Take-home final exam:** The final exam will be due at 3pm on Monday, March 15, 2021 (20% of class grade). The final exam covers all the lectures, discussions, readings and themes of the course. I will distribute the questions the day before.
- **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.

- **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 of class meetings

Note that most of the readings can be found under the corresponding session # in Canvas, under Files / Readings /.

#1, Monday, January 4, 2021 Introduction

- Chris Buckley, "[China's Combative Nationalists See a World Turning Their Way](#)," *New York Times* (December 14, 2020), <https://nyti.ms/3acJMPN>

#2, Wednesday, January 6, 2021 Realism as a general theory of international relations

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

#3, Friday, January 8, 2021 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

Optional further reading:

- Odd Arne Westad, *Restless Empire: China and the World since 1750* (New York: Basic Books, 2012)

#4, Monday, January 11, 2021 Institutions and leaders

- Andrew J. Nathan and Andrew Scobell, "Who Runs Chinese Foreign Policy?" in *China's Search for Security* (Columbia, 2012), pp. 37-62
- Nadège Rolland, first thirteen pages of "China's Vision for a New World Order," National Bureau of Asian Research special report #83 (2020). (Pages 1–13 by the numbers at the bottom right corner of each page; this will take you through page 21 of the PDF file.)

#5, Wednesday, January 13, 2021 China's rise under Xi Jinping

- Nadège Rolland, the remainder of "China's Vision for a New World Order," National Bureau of Asian Research special report #83 (2020)
- Andrew Small and Dhruva Jaishankar, "['For Our Enemies, We Have Shotguns': Explaining China's New Assertiveness](#)," *War on the Rocks* commentary (July 20, 2020)

Optional further reading:

- Xi Jinping, “[Secure a Decisive Victory in Building a Moderately Prosperous Society in All Respects and Strive for the Great Success of Socialism with Chinese Characteristics for a New Era](#),” speech delivered at the 19th National Congress of the Communist Party of China (October 18, 2017)
- Jianying Zha, “[China’s Heart of Darkness — Prince Han Fei & Chairman Xi Jinping](#),” *China Heritage* (2020)
- Peter Ferdinand, “Westward Ho—The China Dream and ‘One Belt, One Road’: Chinese Foreign Policy under Xi Jinping,” *International Affairs* 92:4 (2016) 941–957
- Elizabeth C. Economy, *The Third Revolution: Xi Jinping and the New Chinese State*. New York, NY: Oxford University Press, 2018.

#6, Friday, January 15, 2021

The China-U.S. relationship: Key events and themes 1

- 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, pp. 274–317

Optional further reading:

- Thomas J. Christensen, *The China Challenge: Shaping the Choices of a Rising Power* (New York: W. W. Norton & Company, 2015)
- John Pomfret, *The Beautiful Country and the Middle Kingdom: America and China, 1776 to the Present* (New York: Henry Holt and Co., 2016)
- Robert G. Sutter, *U.S.-Chinese Relations: Perilous Past, Pragmatic Present*, 3rd edition (Lanham, Md.: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, 2017)
- David Shambaugh, *Tangled Titans: The United States and China* (Lanham, Md.: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, 2013)

Monday, January 18, 2021

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

#7, Wednesday, January 20, 2021

The China-U.S. relationship: Key events and themes 2

- Kurt M. Campbell and Ely Ratner, “The China Reckoning: How Beijing Defied American Expectations,” *Foreign Affairs*, March/April 2018

#8, Friday, January 22, 2021

The China-U.S. relationship today

- Congressional Research Service, “U.S.-China Relations,” updated September 3, 2019
- For this session and throughout the course, we will also be considering news articles reflecting the legacy of the Trump administration and the beginning of the Biden administration

Optional further reading:

- Information Office of the State Council, People’s Republic of China, “[The Facts and China’s Position on China-US Trade Friction](#),” white paper, September 2018

#9, Monday, January 25, 2021

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)
- 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)

Optional further reading:

- Gary J. Bass, “Human Rights Last,” *Foreign Policy* (March/April 2011)

#10, Wednesday, January 27, 2021 The China-Taiwan-U.S. triangle 1

- Shelley Rigger, “Taiwan in U.S.-China Relations,” in David Shambaugh, *Tangled Titans: The United States and China* (Lanham, Md.: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, 2013)

#11, Friday, January 29, 2021 The China-Taiwan-U.S. triangle 2

- 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

#12, Monday, February 1, 2021 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.]
- David Bandurski, “[Xi Jinping: Leader of the Wolf Pack](#),” *Global Asia* 15:3 (2020)

Optional further reading:

- The Hoover Institution, “Chinese Influence & American Interests: Promoting Constructive Vigilance” (2018)
- Bonnie S. Glaser and Deep Pal, “Is China’s Charm Offensive Dead?” *China Brief*, 14/15, July 31, 2014
- Joshua Kurlantzick, *Charm Offensive: How China’s Soft Power is Transforming the World* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2007)

#13, Wednesday, February 3, 2021 China’s influence in New Zealand

- Anne-Marie Brady, “Magic Weapons: China’s Political Influence Activities under Xi Jinping” (2017)

#14, Friday, February 5, 2021 China and Australia

- Rory Medcalf, “Australia and China: Understanding the Reality Check,” *Australian Journal of International Affairs* 73:2 (2019), 109–118
- ““If You Make China the Enemy, China will Be the Enemy’: Beijing’s Fresh Threat to Australia,” *The Sydney Morning Herald* (November 18, 2020)

Optional further reading:

- John Fitzgerald, “Overstepping Down Under,” *Journal of Democracy* 29:2 (April 2018), 59–67
- James Reilly, “Counting on China? Australia’s Strategic Response to Economic Interdependence,” *The Chinese Journal of International Politics*, Vol 5, 2012, 369–394
- Clive Hamilton, *Silent Invasion: China’s Influence in Australia* (Hardie Grant, 2018)
- Critical review of *Silent Invasion* by David Brophy

#15, Monday, February 8, 2021 China and the Korean Peninsula 1

- 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

#16, Wednesday, February 10, 2021 China and the Korean Peninsula 2

- 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

#17, Friday, February 12, 2021 The Belt and Road Initiative

- *The Economist* magazine, set of articles from a special report on China’s Belt and Road Initiative (February 2020)
- Maria Abi-Habib, “[How China Got Sri Lanka to Cough up a Port](https://www.nytimes.com/2018/06/25/world/asia/sri-lanka-port.html),” *New York Times* (June 25, 2018), <https://nyti.ms/2lwfNHU>
- Check out this photo essay: <https://www.newyorker.com/magazine/2018/01/08/a-new-silk-road>

Monday, February 15, 2021 *** No class meeting (Presidents’ Day) ***

#18, Wednesday, February 17, 2021 China and Southeast Asia

- David M. Lampton, Selina Ho, and Cheng-Chwee Kuik, *Rivers of Iron: Railroads and Chinese Power in Southeast Asia* (Oakland, California: University of California Press, 2020), 1–9, 84–150

Optional further reading:

- Howard W. French, “China’s Dangerous Game,” *The Atlantic*, October 13, 2014

#19, Friday, February 19, 2021 China and the developing world 1

- Prior to class, watch the movie “When China Met Africa” (2010). I will explain how to view it.
- 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

#20, Monday, February 22, 2021 China and the developing world 2

- International Crisis Group, “China’s Foreign Policy Experiment in South Sudan” (2017)

Optional further reading:

- 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

#21, Wednesday, February 24, 2021 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)

#22, Friday, February 26, 2021 Nationalism and societal sources of foreign policy

- Yang Lijun, “A Clash of Nationalisms: Sino–Japanese Relations in the Twenty-First Century,” in Lam, Peng Er, ed., *China–Japan Relations in the 21st Century: Antagonism Despite Interdependency* (Singapore: Palgrave Macmillan, 2019), 83–101
- Jessica Chen Weiss, “Authoritarian Signaling, Mass Audiences, and Nationalist Protest in China,” *International Organization* (Winter 2013), 1–35

Optional further reading:

- 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, *Powerful Patriots: Nationalist Protest in China’s Foreign Relations* (Oxford University Press, 2014)
- Wang Zheng. *Never Forget National Humiliation: Historical Memory in Chinese Politics and Foreign Relations* (Columbia University Press, 2012)
- Linda Jakobson and Dean Knox, “New Foreign Policy Actors in China,” SIPRI Policy Paper #26, 2010

#23, Monday, March 1, 2021 China and Japan

- Lam Peng Er, “China–Japan Paradox: Antagonism Despite Interdependency,” in Lam, ed., *China–Japan Relations in the 21st Century: Antagonism Despite Interdependency* (Singapore: Palgrave Macmillan, 2019), 1–22
- (While you’re at it, check out this [short profile](#) of Prof. Lam!)
- Saadia M. Pekkanen, “China, Japan, and the Governance of Space: Prospects for Competition and Cooperation,” *International Relations of the Asia-Pacific* (2020)

Optional further reading:

- Ezra F. Vogel, *China and Japan: Facing History* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Belknap Press, 2019)
- June Teufel Dreyer, *Middle Kingdom and Empire of the Rising Sun: Sino-Japanese Relations, Past and Present* (Oxford University Press, 2016)
- Sheila A. Smith, *Intimate Rivals: Japanese Domestic Politics and a Rising China* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2015)
- 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

#24, Wednesday, March 3, 2021 Technology 1: Artificial intelligence

- Kai-Fu Lee. *AI Superpowers: China, Silicon Valley, and the New World Order*. Houghton Mifflin Harcourt, 2018. Pages to be announced.

#25, Friday, March 5, 2021 Technology 2: 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>

#26, Monday, March 8, 2021 China and the international economy

- Heilmann and Schmidt, “China in the World Economy,” chapter 5 of *China’s Foreign Political and Economic Relations* (2014)
- Rush Doshi, “[China’s Ten-Year Struggle against U.S. Financial Power](#),” NBR: The National Bureau of Asian Research, January 6, 2020

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.)

#27, Wednesday, March 10, 2021 China’s rise and international institutions

- Melanie Hart and Blaine Johnson, “Mapping China’s Global Governance Ambitions,” (Center for American Progress, 2019)
- Ted Piccone, “China’s Long Game on Human Rights at the United Nations,” (Brookings, 2018)

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
- 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)
- Scott Kennedy and Shuaihua Cheng, eds, *From Rule Takers to Rule Makers: The Growing Role of Chinese in Global Governance* (2012).
- Michael Fullilove, “China and the United Nations: The Stakeholder Spectrum,” *The Washington Quarterly* 34:3, 2011, pp. 63-85

#28, Friday, March 12, 2021 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
- Other readings to be announced

Optional further reading:

- 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