

# Chinese Foreign Policy

POSC 232 – Spring 2020  
Mon. & Wed. 11:10am-12:20pm, Fri. 12-1pm  
Zoom Code:

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**Office Hours:** Monday 2-4pm and Thursday 1:30-3-30pm and by appointment

## Course Description

The “Rise of China” presents challenges and opportunities for the United States and other countries around the world. In this course, we will examine China’s growing and changing influence in the world. We will begin by investigating a variety of different theories and factors explaining the general nature of China’s foreign policy, as well as the implications of China’s rapid economic development for international relations. In the second half of the class we will detail China’s relationships with countries and regions around the world.

## Course Requirements and Expectations

Typically readings will average around 150 pages a week, although this may be higher in certain weeks (so plan ahead accordingly). You are expected to come to class having read the material, and prepared to discuss the topics for the day.

We will be meeting virtually at the scheduled time in Northfield via a zoom meeting. Attendance at the zoom meeting is NOT mandatory, but I would really appreciate it if you could make an effort to participate synchronously. The typical class period will have a very short lecture from me (maybe 15 minutes at the most), as well as opportunities for questions and answer. I will record and post the meeting online for later reference or if you miss the meeting. This is a brave new world for me too, so I appreciate your patience as I figure out how best to navigate the technology. I am open to suggestions and advice you can offer for how I might make these meetings more effective, so feel free to let me know.

In addition to reading, I have a series of simple worksheets for you to fill out in advance of class. Sometimes the answers will come from the readings, sometimes they will require you to do your own digging, and sometimes I am looking for you to develop your own argument. We will use your responses in the online discussion forum slack at <https://carletonposc232.slack.com/>.

Any plagiarism, copying other student’s work, or other forms of academic misconduct will be referred to the college for disciplinary action. Please review the website on Academic

Integrity at <https://apps.carleton.edu/campus/doc/integrity/> or talk to me if you have any questions.

## Texts

The readings for this course will be provided electronically on Moodle. I encourage students to print out the course materials and read them in paper format rather than electronically, as this facilitates note taking, and better retention of the material. That said, you don't have access to your Carleton print quota, so do whatever works for you.

## Grading

Your grade will be based on the following:

Reading Responses	25%
Slack Participation and Discussion	25%
Class Reviews	25%
Two Oral Exams	25%
<b>Total</b>	<b>100%</b>

Please refer to the separate document with guidelines for all evaluated class activities.

### **Class Worksheets - 25%**

I will be making a shared Google Drive worksheet, which you will fill out one hour prior (using Northfield (Central) time) to the start of the class session. These will be graded on a simple pass/fail basis.

### **Slack Participation and Discussion - 25%**

During the regularly scheduled class period, we will have a NON-MANDATORY synchronous class session via zoom, where I will give a short lecture on the topic of the day (no more than 15 minutes), and have opportunity for open class discussion. I will record these lectures and put the link on the class slack page.

You will be expected to comment and participate on the slack page, including responses to the lecture, with questions, comments relating to the topic for the day. For each class session, I will mark your participation on a simple pass/fail basis.

### **Class Reviews - 25%**

To facilitate your learning of the topics and materials covered in the class, you will prepare one page review guides for your fellow students on one of the previous daily discussions in

preparation for each of the oral exams. These will be due by noon the day prior to the oral exams.

### **Oral Exams - 25%**

We will have two oral exams completed individually over the telephone or zoom. I will give you the potential questions in advance, so that you may prepare your answers accordingly. These will be approximately 15 minutes in length and will be scheduled individually in advance.

### **Disability-Related Accomodations**

It is the policy of Carleton College to provide reasonable accommodations to students with documented disabilities. Students, however, are responsible for registering with Disabilities Services, in addition to making requests known to me in a timely manner. If you require accommodations in this class, please make an appointment with me as soon as possible (during the 1st week of the term), so that appropriate arrangements can be made. The procedures for registering with Disabilities Services can be found at <http://apps.carleton.edu/disabilityservices/>.

# Course Schedule

Readings should be completed prior to class. I reserve the right to make changes to the course schedule. I will alert you to any changes made in class, via email, and I will post the updated syllabus on Moodle.

## Section I: Historical Legacies/Theoretical Overview

### April 6: Rising Power/Power Transition Theories: The Pessimistic View

- John J Mearsheimer. China's unpeaceful rise. *Current History*, 105(690):160–162, 2006
- Graham Allison. *Destined for War: Can America and China escape Thucydide's Trap?* 2017. Chapters 1 and 6: pgs. 3-24; 107-132.

### Apr. 8: Rising Power Theories: Alternative Views

- Bijian Zheng. China's "peaceful rise" to great-power status. *Foreign Affairs*, pages 18–24, 2005
- Thomas Christensen. *The China challenge: Shaping the choices of a rising power.* WW Norton & Company, 2015, Chapter 2: pgs. 37-62.

### Apr. 10: Foreign Relations in Imperial China

- Zhaojie Li. Traditional Chinese world order. *Chinese Journal of International Law*, 1:20–58, 2002
- Maximilian Mayer. China's historical statecraft and the return of history. *International Affairs*, 94(6):1217–1235, 2018

## Section II: Sources and Nature of Chinese Foreign Policy

### Apr. 13: Nationalism and Domestic Influences on Foreign Policy

- Jessica Chen Weiss. Authoritarian signaling, mass audiences, and nationalist protest in China. *International Organization*, 67(01):1–35, 2013
- Zheng Wang. *Never forget national humiliation: Historical memory in Chinese politics.* Columbia University Press, 2012, Chapter 9, "Memory, Nationalism, and China's Rise", pgs. 221-242.

### Apr. 15: OBOR/BRI

- Stephen Blank. Silk Roads and global strategy: China's quest. In *The Red Star and the Crescent: China and the Middle East*, pages 171–188. Oxford University Press, 2018

- Astrid HM Nordin and Mikael Weissmann. Will Trump make China great again? the belt and road initiative and international order. *International Affairs*, 94(2):231–249, 2018

#### **Apr. 17: China, Climate Change and the Environment**

- Scott L Kastner, Margaret M Pearson, and Chad Rector. *China's Strategic Multilateralism: Investing in Global Governance*. Cambridge University Press, 2018, Chapter 7, pgs. 173-216.
- Scott Malcolmson. How China became the worlds leader in green energy. *Foreign Affairs*, 2020

#### **Apr. 20: Territorial Disputes**

- M. Taylor Fravel. Regime insecurity and international cooperation: Explaining China's compromises in territorial disputes. *International Security*, 30(2):46–83, 2005

#### **Apr. 22: Military Modernization**

- Eric Heginbotham, Michael Nixon, Forrest E Morgan, Jacob L Heim, Jeff Hagen, Sheng Li, Jeffrey Engstrom, Martin C Libicki, Paul DeLuca, David A Shlapak, et al. *The US-China military scorecard: Forces, geography, and the evolving balance of power, 1996–2017*. Rand Corporation, 2015 – This is a long report, and we will break this up, with small groups of students being responsible for some sections, while skimming the rest.

#### **Apr. 24: Cybersecurity**

- Yuxiao Li and Xu Lu. China's cybersecurity situation and the potential for international cooperation. In Jon R. Lindsay, Tai Ming Cheung, and Derek S. Reveron, editors, *China and Cybersecurity: Espionage, Strategy, and Politics in the Digital Domain*, pages 225–241. Oxford University Press, 2015
- Zheng Ye. From cyberwarfare to cybersecurity in the Asia-Pacific and beyond. In Jon R. Lindsay, Tai Ming Cheung, and Derek S. Reveron, editors, *China and Cybersecurity: Espionage, Strategy, and Politics in the Digital Domain*, pages 123–137. Oxford University Press, 2015

#### **Apr. 27: Culture and “Soft Power”**

- David Shambaugh. *China Goes Global: The Partial Power*. Oxford University Press, 2013, Chapter 6, pgs. 207-268.

### **Apr. 29: Oral Exam Day**

- I will schedule these for roughly 15 minute sessions with you in advance. To completed via telephone.

## **Section III: Bilateral and Regional Relationships**

### **May 1: USA**

- “Did America Get China Wrong?” series of responses in July and August 2018 Foreign Affairs.
- Evan Osnos article in New Yorker: Making China Great Again – Jan. 8, 2018.

### **May 6: Taiwan**

- Yitan Li and Enyu Zhang. Changing Taiwanese identity and Cross-Strait relations: A post 2016 Taiwan presidential election analysis. *Journal of Chinese Political Science*, 22(1):17–35, 2017
- Rush Doshi article “China Steps Up Its Information War in Taiwan” in Jan. 2020 Foreign Affairs Magazine.

### **May 8: Korean Peninsula**

- Bonnie Glaser and Lisa Collins “China’s Rapprochement With South Korea” in Nov. 2017 Foreign Affairs Magazine.
- Andrew H Kydd. Pulling the plug: Can there be a deal with China on Korean unification? *The Washington Quarterly*, 38(2):63–77, 2015

### **May 11: Japan**

- Zheng Wang. *Never forget national humiliation: Historical memory in Chinese politics*. Columbia University Press, 2012, Chapter 8, “Memory, Textbooks, and Sino-Japanese Reconciliation”, pgs. 203-220.
- Ryosei Kokubun, Yoshihide Soeya, and Shin Kawashima. *Japan–China Relations in the Modern Era*. Taylor & Francis, 2017, Chapter 7, pgs. 188-199.

### **May 13: South China Sea**

- Robert Kaplan. *Asia’s Cauldron: The South China Sea and the End to a Stable Pacific*. Random House, 2014, Chapter 8, pp. 164–183

### May 15: Southeast Asia

- Richard Javad Heydarian. Tragedy of small power politics: Duterte and the shifting sands of Philippine foreign policy. *Asian Security*, 13(3):220–236, 2017
- Cheng Guan Ang. China’s influence over Vietnam in war and peace. In Evelyn Goh, editor, *Rising Chinese Influence in Developing Asia*, pages 80–100. Oxford University Press, 2016

### May 18: Russia

- Paul J Bolt and Sharyl N Cross. *China, Russia, and twenty-first century global geopolitics*. Oxford University Press, 2018, Chapter 1, pgs. 1-66.

### May 20: Central Asia

- Daniel Markey. *China’s Western Horizon: Beijing and the New Geopolitics of Eurasia*. Oxford University Press, 2020, Chapter 4, pgs. 80-118.

### May 22: South Asia

- Kanti Bajpai. Narendra Modi’s Pakistan and China policy: Assertive bilateral diplomacy, active coalition diplomacy. *International Affairs*, 93(1):69–91, 2017
- Jeremy Garlick. Deconstructing the China–Pakistan economic corridor: Pipe dreams versus geopolitical realities. *Journal of Contemporary China*, 27(112):519–533, 2018

### May 25: Latin America

- Adrian H. Hearn and Jose Luis Leon-Manriquez. China and Latin America: A new era of an old exchange. In Adrian H. Hearn and Jose Luis Leon-Manriquez, editors, *China Engages Latin America*, pages 1–20. Lynne Rienner Publishers, Inc., 2011 Read pgs. 1–14.
- Jose Luis Leon-Manriquez. China’s relations with Mexico and Chile: Boom for whom? In Adrian H. Hearn and Jose Luis Leon-Manriquez, editors, *China Engages Latin America: Tracing the Trajectory*, pages 159–187. Lynne Rienner Publishers, Inc., 2011

### May 27: Northern Africa/Middle East

- Zakir Hussain. *Saudi Arabia in a Multipolar World: Changing Dynamics*. Routledge, 2016, Chapter 4
- Joseph Sassoon. China and Iraq. In *The Red Star and the Crescent: China and the Middle East*, pages 149–169. Oxford University Press, 2018

### **May 29: Sub-Saharan Africa**

- Jean-Pierre Cabestan. China's involvement in Africa's security: The case of China's participation in the UN mission to stabilize Mali. *The China Quarterly*, 235:713–734, 2018
- Howard W French. *China's second continent: How a million migrants are building a new empire in Africa*. Alfred A. Knopf, 2014, Chapter 8, *Ghana*, pgs. 185-207

### **June 1: Europe**

- Jingkun Li, Chen Zhao, Lei Zhang, Hui Cao, and Haiyang Zheng. China-EU political relations. In Hong Zhou, editor, *China-EU Relations: Reassessing the China-EU Comprehensive Strategic Partnership*, pages 35–68. Springer, 2017
- Chen Xin. China-EU economic and trade relations. In Hong Zhou, editor, *China-EU Relations: Reassessing the China-EU Comprehensive Strategic Partnership*, pages 69–92. Springer, 2017

### **June 3: Oral Exams**