

IR 333: China in International Affairs

University of Southern California
Fall 2016

Instructor: Erin Baggott Carter
Office: VKC 355
Email: baggott@usc.edu

Course meetings: TuTh 5:00pm–6:20pm
Location: Taper Hall 114
Course website: blackboard.usc.edu
Office hours: Thursday 11:00am–12:00pm and by appointment

Version: August 23, 2016

Description

China has been interacting with the world for millennia. No course can attempt a meaningful synthesis of that history in one semester. Therefore it is useful to begin with what this course is not. It is not a history course, nor is it a course on China's domestic politics (though they often influence its international affairs in decisive ways). Instead, this course aims to explain China's contemporary engagement with the world. To do so, it draws upon historical cases, empirical evidence, and international relations theory. Part I of the course presents students with theoretical tools and historical background on China's foreign relations. Part II introduces the domestic political institutions that shape China's engagement with the world. Part III focuses on China's economic relations with the world. Part IV focuses on China's political-military relations with major powers and multilateral organizations. The course concludes by asking, does China have a grand strategy in international affairs? If so, what is it, who is responsible for crafting it, and how successful has it been?

Requirements

The course has five requirements. First, students are expected to have read all assigned materials prior to class and contribute substantially to class discussions. Weekly reading assignments will average roughly 150 pages and will be available via Blackboard. This will constitute 10% of final grades. Second, a quiz on international relations theory and regional geography will be given on Tuesday, September 6, which will constitute 10% of final grades.¹ Third, students will participate in an international crisis simulation on Thursday, November 10. Students will be assigned to countries implicated in the crisis and will prepare a three-minute presentation and a one-page memorandum on their country's position. They will then attempt to resolve the crisis during the emergency UN meeting convened during class. This will constitute 10% of final grades.

Fourth, students will complete a midterm and final exam; they constitute 20% and 25% of final grades, respectively. The exams will require students to skillfully synthesize the course's themes

¹To enable students to prepare, we will not meet on Thursday, September 1.

and draw on relevant scholarship. The midterm will be administered in class on Thursday, October 13; the final exam will be scheduled later.

The final course requirement is a presentation during the final week of class, which will constitute 25% of final grades. Working in groups, students will give 15 minute “briefings” to the class. These “briefings” should introduce the class to pressing issues in China’s international affairs, and may focus upon any topic that, due to time constraints, I have neglected during previous weeks. Prior to class presentations, each group will submit a 2,000 word written brief of the topic, which will anticipate the presentation and provide a foundation for discussion afterwards. Student groups will meet with me during Week 11 or Week 12 to discuss preliminary ideas. Possible topics include China’s engagement with Latin America, its policies on rare earth exports, or its stance on terrorism, among countless others.

Technology Policy

Please make sure that your cell phones are silenced and put away before class starts. I leave it to students to decide whether they will use laptops to take notes. Before making this decision please consult recent research that shows that students take better notes by hand² and that they learn less, both individually and collectively, when laptops are in the classroom.³

Statement on Academic Conduct and Support

Plagiarism – presenting someone else’s ideas as your own, either verbatim or recast in your own words – is a serious academic offense with serious consequences. Please familiarize yourself with the discussion of plagiarism in *SCampus* in Section 11, Behavior Violating University Standards.⁴ Other forms of academic dishonesty are equally unacceptable. See additional information in *SCampus* and university policies on scientific misconduct.⁵ If you engage in plagiarism or any other form of academic misconduct, you will fail the course. If you aid someone else’s misconduct, you will fail the course.

Discrimination, sexual assault, and harassment are not tolerated by the university. You are encouraged to report any incidents to the Office of Equity and Diversity⁶ or to the Department of Public Safety.⁷ This is important for the safety of the whole USC community. Another member of the university community – such as a friend, classmate, advisor, or faculty member – can help initiate the report, or can initiate the report on behalf of another person. The Center for Women and Men⁸ provides 24/7 confidential support, and the sexual assault resource center webpage⁹ describes reporting options and other resources.

A number of USC’s schools provide support for students who need help with scholarly writing. Check with your advisor or program staff to find out more. Students whose primary language is

²<http://pss.sagepub.com/content/25/6/1159>

³<http://www.sciencedirect.com/science/article/pii/S0360131512002254?np=y>

⁴<https://scampus.usc.edu/1100-behavior-violating-university-standards-and-appropriate-sanctions>

⁵<http://policy.usc.edu/scientific-misconduct>

⁶<http://equity.usc.edu>

⁷<http://adminopsnet.usc.edu/department/department-public-safety>

⁸<http://www.usc.edu/student-affairs/cwm/>

⁹<http://sarc.usc.edu>

not English should check with the American Language Institute,¹⁰ which sponsors courses and workshops specifically for international graduate students. The Office of Disability Services and Programs¹¹ provides certification for students with disabilities and helps arrange the relevant accommodations. If an officially declared emergency makes travel to campus infeasible, USC Emergency Information¹² will provide safety and other updates, including ways in which instruction will be continued by means of blackboard, teleconferencing, and other technology.

Students requesting academic accommodations based on disability are required to register with Disability Services and Programs (DSP) each semester. A letter of verification for approved accommodations can be obtained from DSP when adequate documentation is filed. Please be sure the letter is delivered to me as early in the semester as possible. DSP is open Monday-Friday, 8:30am-5:00pm. The office is in Student Union 301 and their phone number is 213.740.0776.

Required for Purchase

Warren I. Cohen (2010). *America's Response to China: A History of Sino-American Relations*. Fifth Edition. New York: Columbia University Press.

Recommended Reference Works

Jonathan Spence (2001). *The Search for Modern China*. New York: WW Norton.

Thomas Christensen (2015). *The China Challenge: Shaping the Choices of a Rising Power*. New York: W.W. Norton.

Robert G. Sutter (2016). *Chinese Foreign Relations: Power and Policy since the Cold War*. Fourth Edition. Lanham: Rowman & Littlefield.

Part I: Analytical Tools and Historical Background

Lecture 1: Introduction and Course Overview

Date: Tuesday, August 23

The introductory lecture provides an overview of the course.

Lecture 2: Theories of International Politics

Date: Thursday, August 25

This lecture introduces international relations theories that we will use to explain China's international behavior throughout the rest of the course. We begin by asking, what are the leading IR paradigms? How well do they explain various aspects of Chinese foreign policy?

¹⁰<http://dornsife.usc.edu/ali>

¹¹http://sait.usc.edu/academicssupport/centerprograms/dsp/home_index.html

¹²<http://emergency.usc.edu>

Jack Snyder (2004). "One World, Rival Theories." *Foreign Policy*, Nov/Dec, 52-62.

Anne-Marie Slaughter (2012). "International Relations, Principal Theories." In Rüdiger Wolfrum, ed., *Max Planck Encyclopedia of Public International Law* 129.

Samuel Kim (1998). "Chinese Foreign Policy in Theory and Practice." In Samuel Kim, ed., *China and the World: Chinese Foreign Policy Faces the New Millennium*. Boulder, CO: Westview Press. Chapter 1.

Lecture 3: Historical Foundations

Date: Tuesday, August 30

This lecture describes the historical background that is crucial to understanding China's contemporary interactions with the world. It summarizes the broad contours of China's engagement with the world from the dynastic period to the present.

Joseph W. Esherick (2010). "From Tribute to Treaties to Popular Nationalism." In Brantley Womack, ed., *China's Rise in Historical Perspective*. Lanham: Rowman and Littlefield, 19-38.

Michael D. Swaine and Ashley Tellis (2000). *Interpreting China's Grand Strategy*. Santa Monica: RAND, 21-95.

Jonathan D. Spense (2012). *The Search for Modern China*. Third Edition (second also acceptable). W.W. Norton and Company. Chapters 6-8.

No Class: Prepare for Quiz

Date: Thursday, September 1

Quiz

Date: Tuesday, September 6

Part II: Institutions and Actors

Lecture 4: Institutions

Date: Thursday, September 8

This lecture introduces the institutions of Chinese politics and foreign policy. Which institutions enable the generation and execution of that policy? Has authority over foreign policymaking become fragmented over time, as with authority over domestic policy?

Susan V. Lawrence and Michael F. Martin (2013). "Understanding China's Political System." Congressional Research Service Report, March.

Lu Ning (2001). “The Central Leadership, Supraministry Coordinating Bodies, State Council Ministries, and Party Departments.” In David M. Lampton, ed., *The Making of Chinese Foreign and Security Policy in the Era of Reform*. Stanford: Stanford University Press.

David M. Lampton (2001). “China’s Foreign and National Security Policy-Making Process: Is It Changing and Does It Matter?” In David M. Lampton, ed., *The Making of Chinese Foreign and Security Policy in the Era of Reform*. Stanford: Stanford University Press.

Lecture 5: The Paramount Leader

Date: Tuesday, September 13

China’s paramount leader possesses an extraordinary amount of power. How have different generations of Chinese leaders shaped China’s relations with the world? What priorities did they set? Are Chinese leaders today less powerful than their predecessors, and if so, why?

Daniel L. Byman and Kenneth M. Pollack (2001). “Let Us Now Praise Great Men: Bringing the Statesman Back In.” *International Security* 25(4): 107-147.

Lu Ning (1997). “Main Actor — The Central Leadership.” In Lu Ning, *The Dynamics of Foreign-Policy Decisionmaking in China*. Westview Press.

Michael D. Swaine (2015). “Xi Jinping on Chinese Foreign Relations: *The Governance of China* and Chinese Commentary.” *China Leadership Monitor* 48: 1-14.

Suisheng Zhao (2016). “Xi Jinping’s Maoist Revival.” *Journal of Democracy* 27(3): 83-97.

Lecture 6: The Public

Date: Thursday, September 15

This week, we will examine various arguments about the role of public opinion in China’s foreign policy. Does public opinion systematically affect foreign policymaking? If not, has it in some cases? Do Chinese policymakers employ public opinion strategically?

Jessica Weeks (2008). “Autocratic Audience Costs: Regime Type and Signaling Resolve.” *International Organization*.

Joseph Fewsmith and Stanley Rosen (2001). “The Domestic Context of Chinese Foreign Policy: Does Public Opinion Matter?” in David M. Lampton, ed., *The Making of Chinese Foreign and Security Policy*. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 151-187.

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

Lecture 7: Political Elites

Date: Tuesday, September 20

China's domestic politics have long been characterized by factionalism among competing groups of political elites. Is Chinese foreign policy factional as well? Who are China's political elites? What are their foreign policy preferences and how do they pursue them? How influential are elites compared to other actors such as the paramount leader or the public?

Andrew J. Nathan (1973). "A Factionalism Model for CCP Politics." *The China Quarterly* 53: 34-66.

Robert Ross (1989). "From Lin Biao to Deng Xiaoping: Elite Instability and China's US policy." *The China Quarterly* 118, 265-299.

David A. Steinberg and Victor C. Shih (2012). "Interest Group Influence in Authoritarian States: The Political Determinants of Chinese Exchange Rate Policy." *Comparative Political Studies* 45(11): 1405-1434.

Erin Baggott Carter (2016). "Diversionary Aggression and Elite Welfare Shocks in Autocracies: Evidence from China." Manuscript.

Recommended but not required:

Andrew J. Nathan and Bruce Gilley (2003). *China's New Rulers: The Secret Files*. Second Edition. New York: New York Review Books. Chapters 1-3.

Lecture 8: The Military

Date: Thursday, September 22

The military plays a crucial role in the politics of many autocracies. Yet in China, party leaders claim, the "gun serves the party." To what extent is that true? Does the People's Liberation Army (PLA) simply execute the military aspects of China's foreign policy, or does it play a role in policy formulation? How are PLA capabilities and goals evolving in the conventional, cyber, and nuclear realms?

US Department of Defense (2016). *Annual Report to Congress: Military and Security Developments Involving the People's Republic of China*. Washington: Office of the Secretary of Defense, i-iii.

Thomas J. Christensen (2006). "Windows and War: Trend Analysis and Beijing's Use of Force." In Alastair Iain Johnston and Robert S. Ross, eds., *New Directions in the Study of China's Foreign Policy*. Stanford: Stanford University Press. Chapter 3.

Kenneth Lieberthal and Peter W. Singer (2012). "Cybersecurity and U.S.-China Relations." Report. Washington, DC: Brookings Institute.

M. Taylor Fravel and Evan S. Medeiros (2010). "China's Search for Assured Retaliation: The Evolution of Chinese Nuclear Strategy and Force Structure." *International Security* 35(2): 48-87.

Lecture 9: The Media

Date: Tuesday, September 27

This lecture describes China's robust propaganda machine. How does China's state-affiliated media present China to the world? How does it attempt to filter Chinese citizens' access to the world? Who is the target audience for Chinese propaganda?

Xiao Qiang (2011). "The Rise of Online Public Opinion and Its Political Impact." In Susan Shirk, ed., *Changing Media Changing China*. New York: Oxford University Press, 202-224.

Gary King, Jennifer Pan, and Margaret E. Roberts, "How Censorship in China Allows Government Criticism but Silences Collective Expression." *American Political Science Review*.

Gary King, Jennifer Pan, and Margaret E. Roberts (2016). "How the Chinese Government Fabricates Social Media Posts for Strategic Distraction, not Engaged Argument." Working Paper.

Margaret E. Roberts (2015). "Experiencing Censorship Emboldens Internet Users and Decreases Government Support in China." Working Paper, September.

Part III: "Low" Politics

Lecture 10: China's Domestic Economy

Date: Thursday, September 29

Scholars sometimes characterize political affairs as high politics and economic affairs as low politics. However, some statesmen and women leave office convinced that economic relations between states are as—if not more—important than political-military relations. In Part III of the course, we explore the economic sources of Chinese foreign policy. What explains China's massive growth since the late 1970s? To what extent do economic interests shape Chinese foreign policy? If so, whose economic interests matter? Do China's economic interests conflict with its political and military interests?

Barry Naughton (2007). *The Chinese Economy: Transitions and Growth*. MIT Press. Chapters 1,3,4.

Yasheng Huang (2012). "How Did China Take Off?" *Journal of Economic Perspectives* 26(4): 147-170.

Lecture 11: China's Trade

Date: Tuesday, October 4

Barry Naughton (2007). *The Chinese Economy: Transitions and Growth*. MIT Press. Chapter 16.

K.C. Fung and Sarah Y. Tong (2015). "Foreign Trade of China." In Gregory C. Chow and Dwight H. Perkins, eds., *Routledge Handbook of the Chinese Economy*. New York: Routledge.

Gustavo A. Flores-Macías and Sarah E. Kreps (2013). “The Foreign Policy Consequences of Trade: China’s Commercial Relations with Africa and Latin America, 1992-2006.” *Journal of Politics* 75(2): 357-371.

Lecture 12: Investment, Inward and Outward

Date: Thursday, October 6

Barry Naughton (2007). *The Chinese Economy: Transitions and Growth*. MIT Press. Chapter 17.

Yasheng Huang (2015). “China’s Inbound and Outbound Foreign Direct Investment.” In Gregory C. Chow and Dwight H. Perkins, eds., *Routledge Handbook of the Chinese Economy*. New York: Routledge.

Daniel Drezner (2009). “Bad Debts: Assessing China’s Financial Influence in Great Power Politics.” *International Security* 34(2): 7-45.

Part IV: “High” Politics

Lecture 13: China-US Relations I

Date: Tuesday, October 11

This week we review the history of China’s engagement with the United States. How can that relationship be periodized (that is, have there been distinct eras in US-China relations)? What are the major turning points? What international relations theories best explain US-China interactions in each period?

Warren I. Cohen (2010). *America’s Response to China: A History of Sino-American Relations*. New York: Columbia University Press, 195-292.

Midterm Exam

Date: Thursday, October 13

Lecture 14: China-US Relations II

Date: Tuesday, October 18

This lecture examines various arguments about how China’s “rise” may affect US-China relations. Does China’s “rise” make conflict between the two states more likely? How might the two sides decrease the risk of conflict?

Steve Chan (2006). “Exploring Puzzles in Power-Transition Theory: Implications for Sino-American Relations.” *Security Studies* 13(3): 103-141.

Kenneth Lieberthal and Wang Jisi (2012). "Addressing US-China Strategic Distrust." John L. Thornton China Center Monograph Series, No. 4.

Avery Goldstein (2013). "First Things First: The Pressing Danger of Crisis Instability in U.S.-China Relations." *International Security* 37(4): 49-89.

Johnathan Kirshner (2008). "The Consequences China's Economic Rise for Sino-U.S. Relations: Rivalry, Political Conflict, and (Not) War." In Robert Ross and Zhu Feng, eds., *China's Ascent: Power, Security, and the Future of International Politics*. Cornell University Press: 238-249.

Lecture 15: China-Russia Relations

Date: Thursday, October 20

The Chinese Communist Party drew heavily from the Soviet example in the early years of the People's Republic. Soon thereafter, the Sino-Soviet split emerged. Why did early relations sour? What were the dominant themes in Sino-Soviet relations during the Cold War? What are the main issues in China-Russia relations today?

Danhui Li and Yafeng Xia (2014). "Mao and the Sino-Soviet Split, 1961-1964." *Journal of Cold War Studies* 16(1): 24-60.

Lowell Dittmer (1981). "The Strategic Triangle: An Elementary Game-Theoretical Analysis." *World Politics* 33(4): 485-515.

Jacob Shapiro (2016). "Will Russia and China Become Allies?" *Real Clear Politics*, April 8.

Lecture 16: China-Japan Relations

Date: Tuesday, October 25

China's relations with Japan are some of its most fractious. What role does historical memory play in the relationship? To what extent does nationalism influence China's policy toward Japan? What is China's Japan policy, and does that policy serve China's national interests? What is the role of the US-China-Japan security triangle?

Richard C. Bush (2010). *The Perils of Proximity: China-Japan Security Relations*. Washington, DC: Brookings Institution Press. Chapters TBD.

James Reilly (2011). *Strong Society, Smart State: The Rise of Public Opinion in China's Japan Policy*. New York: Columbia University Press, 55-98, Chapter 2.

Ezra F. Vogel, Gilbert Rozman, and Ming Wan (2003). "The US-Japan-China Triangle: Who's the Odd Man Out?" Wilson Center Asia Program Special Report 113, 1-18.

Lecture 17: China and the Korean Peninsula

Date: Thursday, October 27

China has long been one of North Korea's few supporters. How has this relationship evolved, and why does China continue to support North Korea? What are Chinese policies toward South Korea?

Bates Gill (2011). "China's North Korea Policy: Assessing Interests and Influences." Special Report. Washington, DC: United States Institute of Peace.

Bonnie S. Glaser (2009). "China's Policy in the Wake of the Second DPRK Nuclear Test." *China Security* 5(2): 1-11.

Lecture 18: South China Sea

Date: Tuesday, November 1

The empirical international relations literature shows that territorial disputes are the most intractable conflicts among states. China has dozens of ongoing territorial disputes with neighbors in the South and East China Seas. What is the source of these disputes? What prevents their resolution? Which parties enjoy stronger claims under international law? What explains China's construction of military bases upon disputed islands? Is China pursuing a Monroe Doctrine?

Paul R. Hensel (2000). "Territory: Theory and Evidence on Geography and Conflict." In John A. Vazquez, *What Do We Know About War?* Boulder: Rowman and Littlefield.

Peter Dutton (2011). "Three Disputes and Three Objectives: China and the South China Sea." *Naval War College Review* 64(4): 42-67.

John W. Lewis and Xue Litai (2016). "China's Security Agenda Transcends the South China Sea." *Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists*

Lecture 19: Taiwan

Date: Thursday, November 3

How was Taiwan first integrated into the Chinese political body? How has China's Taiwan policy evolved over time? What is public opinion about unification on both sides of the strait? How have recent political developments in Taiwan affected mainland policy? What are the prospects for regional conflict over Taiwan?

Jonathan D. Spense (1990). *The Search for Modern China*. Second Edition. New York: W.W. Norton, 53-58.

Eleanor Albert (2016). "China-Taiwan Relations." CFR Backgrounder.

Bush, Richard (2006). *Untying the Knot: Making Peace in the Taiwan Strait*. Washington, DC: Brookings Institution Press. Chapters TBD.

Scott L. Kastner (2006). "Does Economic Integration Across the Taiwan Strait Make Military Conflict Less Likely?" *Journal of East Asian Studies* 6(3): 319-346.

Alan D. Romberg (2016). "Tsai Ing-Wen Takes Office: A New Era in Cross-Strait Relations." *China Leadership Monitor* 50: 1-13.

Election Day

Date: Tuesday, November 8

Class will not be held as American election results will be coming in during our scheduled lecture time. In lieu of class, students should read Chinese state media coverage of the presidential election results. *China Daily*, *People's Daily*, and *Xinhua* provide English language coverage. In addition, students should read:

Erin Baggott Carter (2016). "Chinese Propaganda Coverage of the American Presidential Election." Working Paper.

Michael D. Swaine (2016). "Chinese Views on the Presumptive U.S. Presidential Candidates Hillary R. Clinton and Donald J. Trump."

Crisis Simulation

Date: Thursday, November 10

In this class, students will participate in an international crisis simulation. The crisis scenario will be announced in lecture on November 1; students will be assigned to countries then. In lieu of reading assignments for November 3, students will meet before class to write a one page brief on their country's position on the crisis. In class on November 3, groups will present their nation's position in a 3-minute statement. Groups will employ the rest of the UN emergency meeting to attempt to resolve the crisis through official and unofficial channels.

Lecture 20: China and Africa

Date: Tuesday, November 15

Much has been written on Chinese influence in Africa, real and imagined. What is the extent of Chinese investment in and trade with African countries? What are the reasons for this economic engagement? To what extent is it centrally planned? How has it affected the politics and economics of African countries?

Deborah Brautigam (2009), *The Dragon's Gift: The Real Story of China in Africa*. Oxford: Oxford University Press. Chapters TBD.

Y. Sun (2014). "Africa in China's Foreign Policy." Report. Washington, D.C.: Brookings Institution Press.

Lecture 21: China and International Organizations

Date: Thursday, November 17

Thus far, the course has predominantly focused upon China's bilateral relationships. What are China's attitudes toward multilateral institutions? Have those attitudes evolved over time? When

is China more likely to pursue multilateral approaches to international issues as opposed to bilateral ones?

Suisheng Zhao (2011). "China's Approaches toward Regional Cooperation in East Asia: Motivations and Calculations." *Journal of Contemporary China* 20(68): 53-67.

Elizabeth Economy (2001). "The Impact of International Regimes on Chinese Foreign Policy-Making: Broadening Perspectives and Policies... But Only to a Point." In David M. Lampton ed., *The Making of Chinese Foreign and Security Policy*. Stanford University Press, 230-253.

Thomas G. Moore (2007). "Racing to Integrate, or Cooperating to Compete?: Liberal and Realist Interpretations of China's New Multilateralism," in Guoguang W. and Helen Landsdowne, eds., *China Turns to Multilateralism: Foreign Policy and Regional Security*. London: Routledge, 35-50.

Joel Wuthnow, Xin Li, and Lingling Qi (2012). "Diverse Multilateralism: Four Strategies in China's Multilateral Diplomacy." *Journal of Chinese Political Science* 17(3): 269-290.

Part VI: Conclusion

Lecture 22: Does China Have a Grand Strategy?

Date: Tuesday, November 22

In the final week of the course, we reflect upon the material covered thus far. What is a grand strategy? To what extent does China have one? If it does, who is principally responsible for formulating it, and what are its aims? How successful have Chinese policymakers been in pursuing their international goals to date, and are their strategies likely to succeed in the future?

Paul Kennedy (1991). "Grand Strategy in War and Peace: Toward a Broader Definition." In Paul Kennedy, ed., *Grand Strategies in War and Peace*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1-7.

Wang Jisi (2011). "China's Search for a Grand Strategy: A Rising Great Power finds its Way." *Foreign Affairs* 90(2).

Avery Goldstein (2005). *Rising to the Challenge: China's Grand Strategy and International Security*. Stanford: Stanford University Press. Chapters TBD.

Alastair Iain Johnston (2003). "Is China a Status Quo Power?" *International Security* 27:4.

Lectures 24 and 25: Student Presentations

Dates: Tuesday, November 29, and Thursday, December 1