Chinese Foreign Relations and Security

Course Description

This course aims to provide students with a background in the politics of China's foreign relations, economic statecraft, and security activities. The course is aimed at Masters level students in policy programs.

Learning goals:

After completion, successful students in this course will be able to:

- 1. **describe** the most important topics in Chinese foreign relations and security, including both their *domestic* and *international* dimensions.
- 2. present **concise and incisive** analyses of developments in these areas.

Course Policies

[...]

Evaluation

Student Simulations:

Every other week student groups (randomly assigned on Canvas) will present a simulation scenario and structured activity for class based on current events or the week's topic, after consultation with me. Please consult the assignment sheet and example folder on Canvas for more details, which include public opinion emergencies based on real events; a downed aircraft simulation; and a simulation based on real declassified documents after the US bombing of the Chinese Embassy in Belgrade. The student group will then lead the class in the 35 minute simulation and a 15 minute debrief. This simulation is worth 30% of the course grade.

Memos: Each student will submit a 1200 word *situation or institution* analysis in the style of a policy memo once every 3 weeks, for a total of **3** memos (for a combined total of 60% of the total grade). These assignments serve two purposes: practicing concise, declarative writing, and deepening our engagement with the weekly materials.

To these ends, they will deviate from actual policy writing only in that they should use scholarly citations extensively and explicitly to support positions and analysis; these do not count towards the word count. Please consult the memo assignment guide and Canvas examples for more details, but note especially the formatting and style requirements. The grading weights for each component of the memos will escalate as we learn to write policy memos and follow new writing conventions.

They will change as follows:

- **First memo:** Completion 60%; style 10%; analysis 30%.

- **Second memo**: Completion 30%; style 10%; analysis 60%.
- Third memo: Completion 20%; style 10%; analysis 70%.

Attendance and participation count for 10% of the final grade.

Class Schedule and Readings

Week 1: Introduction, Frameworks, Sources

We will discuss the general arc of PRC foreign relations, and discuss source material in Chinese and in translation.

- John W. Garver, China's Quest: The History of the Foreign Relations of the People's Republic of China (Oxford University Press, 2016), selections.
- Allen Carlson, Mary E. Gallagher, Kenneth Lieberthal, and Melanie Manion, Contemporary Chinese Politics: New Sources, Methods and Field Strategies (Cambridge UP, 2010), selections.
- Andrew Nathan and Andrew Scobell, China's Search for Security (Columbia UP, 2014), Chapter 1.

Week 2: Decision-making, decision makers, and bureaucracy

We will skip forward in time to discuss how the bureaucracy of the PRC foreign relations apparatus works and how this can improve our understanding of decision-making.

- Yang Kuisong and Xia Yafeng, "Vacillating between Revolution and Détente: Mao's Changing Psyche and Policy toward the United States, 1969–1976," *Diplomatic History* 34:2 (2010), pp. 395-423.
- Kenneth Lieberthal, "Domestic Politics and Foreign Policy"; in Harding, China's Foreign Policy in the 1980s (1984) 43-70.
- Chen Qi and Liu Lanyu, "The debates among Chinese IR scholars on China's national interest strategy," in Huiyun Feng, Kai He, and Yan Xuetong, eds., *Chinese Scholars and Foreign Policy: Debating International Relations* (Routledge, 2019), Chapter 4.
- Linda Jakobson, and Dean Knox. New Foreign Policy Actors in China. Policy Paper. Stockholm: SIPRI, September 2010. Pp. 4-16; 24-46.
- Hongyi Lai and Su-Jeong Kang, "Domestic Bureaucratic Politics and Chinese Foreign Policy," *Journal of Contemporary China*, 23:86 (2014), 294-313.

Week 3: The Korean War:

The Korean War is a crucial inflection point for understanding PRC foreign relations in the same way the first World War was for the general study of international relations.

- Taylor Fravel and Brad Carson, "A Look at the PLA's History of Planning for War with Taylor Fravel" War on the Rocks (2019, podcast).
- Chen Jian, China's Road to the Korean War (Columbia UP, 1994), pp. 125-189.
- Michael Sheng, (2014) "Mao's Role in the Korean Conflict: A Revision," *Twentieth Century China* 39:3, pp. 269-290.

• Son Daekwon, "Domestic Instability as a Key Factor Shaping China's Decision to Enter the Korean War," The China Journal, Vol. 83 (January 2020), pp. 34-57.

Week 4: Foreign Relations under Mao:

We will dispel several myths about Maoist foreign policy and analyze breaks and continuities in Chinese foreign policy.

- Danhui Li and Yafeng Xia "Mao and the Sino-Soviet Split, 1961-1964" *Journal of Cold War Studies* 16:1 (Winter 2014) pp. 24-60.
- Li Jie, "Changes in China's Domestic Situation in the 1960s and Sino-US Relations," in Robert S. Ross and Jiang Changbin, eds., *Re-examining the Cold War, US-China Diplomacy* 1964-1973 (Harvard 2001) pp. 288-320.
- Elidor Mëhilli, "The Great Leap," From Stalin to Mao: Albania and the Socialist World (Cornell 2017), selections.
- Andrew Mertha, *Brothers in Arms: Chinese Aid to the Khmer Rouge, 1975–1979* (Cornell 2014), Chapter 1,3,7 (skim).

Week 5: US-China:

We will discuss economic, cultural, and security elements of the US-China relationship across the Mao divide.

- Ruodi Duan. "Solidarity in Three Acts: Narrating US Black Freedom Movements in China, 1961–66." *Modern Asian Studies* 53, no. 5 (2019): 1351–80.
- Aaron L. Friedberg; The Future of U.S.-China Relations: Is Conflict Inevitable?.
 International Security. 2005; 30 (2): 7–45.
- Fajgelbaum, Pablo D., and Amit K. Khandelwal. "The economic impacts of the US–China trade war." *Annual Review of Economics* 14 (2022): 205-228.
- Book on DuBois visit? PD visits

Week 6: Taiwan:

We will dovetail from China-US to China-US-Taiwan, cover the context of the changing relationship, and discuss contemporary debates about the changing relationship across the Taiwan strait.

- Steven Goldstein, China and Taiwan (Polity: 2015) chronology and pp.70-190.
- Allen S. Whiting, "China's Use of Force, 1950-96, and Taiwan," *International Security* Vol. 26, No. 2 (Fall 2001), pp. 103-131.
- Saunders, Phillip C. "Long-Term Trends in China-Taiwan Relations: Implications for U.S. Taiwan Policy." *Asian Survey*, vol. 45, no. 6, 2005, pp. 970–91.
- Ketian Zhang, "Cautious Bully: Reputation, Resolve, and Beijing's Use of Coercion in the South China Sea," *International Security* Vol. 44, No. 1 (Summer 2019), pp.117-159.

Week 7: PLA Decision-making and Strategy:

We will cover the PLA's decisionmaking and its role in general foreign policy formulation and execution.

- Alice L. Miller, "The PLA in the Party Leadership Decisionmaking System," in Phillip C. Saunders and Andrew Scobell, eds., PLA Influence on China's National Security Policymaking (Stanford, 2015), pp. 58-83.
- You Ji, "The PLA and Diplomacy: Unraveling Myths About the Military Role in Foreign Policy Making," *Journal of Contemporary China* Vol. 23, No. 86 (2014), pp. 236-254.
- M. Taylor Fravel, "Shifts in Warfare and Party Unity: Explaining China's Changes in Military Strategy," *International Security* Vol. 42, No. 3 (2018), pp. 37-83.

Week 8: Economic Competition and Statecraft

We will survey some aspects of Chinese economic statecraft and the implications of its economic rise for its foreign, military, and technological policies.

- Chip Wars, selections.
- Barry Naughton and Briana Boland, "CCP Inc.: The Reshaping of China's State Capitalist System," CSIS. Read one country case study.
- Tai Ming Cheung, Fortifying China: The Struggle to Build a Modern Defense Economy (Cornell University, 2013), selections.
- Margaret M. Pearson, "China's Foreign Economic Policies and Relations," in *Oxford Handbook of International Relations of Asia* (Oxford UP, 2014), pp. 160-178.
- <u>US-China Technology Competition</u>, *Brookings Institution* (2021).

Week 9: Belt and Road, Past and Present

We will place the Belt and Road Initiative (BRI) in historical context, and briefly consider other ways Chinese aid and development assistance has expanded beyond the BRI.

- Nadège Rolland, "Drivers of the Belt and Road Initiative" in Nadège Rolland, China's Eurasian Century? Political and Strategic Implications of the Belt and Road Initiative (Washington DC, National Bureau of Asian Research, 2017).
- Austin Strange, "Seven decades of Chinese state financing in Africa: Tempering current debates," Economic History of Developing Regions 34:3 (2019), pp. 259-279.
- Wendy Leutert, Elizabeth Plantan, and Austin Strange. "Puzzling Partnerships: Overseas Infrastructure Development by Chinese State-Owned Enterprises and Humanitarian Organizations." Studies in Comparative International Development (2022).

Week 10: China and international organizations

We will consider China's engagement with the UN, and begin thinking about the implications of its rise for 'international order.'

- Rosemary Foot, "'Doing some things' in the Xi Jinping era: The United Nations as China's venue of choice," *International Affairs* Vol 90, No. 5 (September 2014), pp. 1085–1100.
- Courtney J. Fung, *China and Intervention at the UN Security Council: Reconciling Status* (Oxford UP, 2019), Intro, Ch. 3 and one case study.
- Weiss, Jessica Chen, and Jeremy L. Wallace. "Domestic Politics, China's Rise, and the Future of the Liberal International Order." *International Organization* 75, no. 2 (2021): 635–64.

Week 11: Alternative Order and China "Model"?

We will dive into the debate about the "Beijing consensus," whether there is such a thing, and how China is or is not reshaping the global environment.

- Testimony by Jessica Chen Weiss, Hearing on "China's Digital Authoritarianism: Surveillance, Influence, and Political Control" (2019).
- Elizabeth Economy, "Yes, Virginia, China Is Exporting Its Model" (2019). See also her testimony in a ChinaPower debate on YouTube or the whole hearing on the topic in March, 2020 at the US-China Security and Economic Review Commission.
- Yuen Yuen Ang, "The Real China Model: It's not what you think it is" (2018).
- Alastair Iain Johnston, "China in a World of Orders: Rethinking Compliance and Challenge in Beijing's International Relations." *International Security* 2019; 44 (2): 9–60.