

International Policy Seminar: The United States and China

Fall 2012
University of California, Washington Center
Prof. **Benjamin L. Read**
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Course meetings: Thursdays, noon to 3pm
Classroom: Room 314
Office hours: Thursdays, 11am to noon and by appointment
Date of this syllabus: September 19, 2012, version 2

Overview:

This research seminar is particularly aimed at students whose interests and/or internships involve international matters. It examines the making of foreign policy in the United States through the lens of U.S.-China ties. From the Korean War to trade conflicts, from human rights to weapons proliferation, this bilateral relationship has arguably become the most complex and formidable of all of Washington's diplomatic challenges. It provides much case material through which to interrogate the dynamics of international relations. We will examine a wide range of topics and also avail ourselves of the opportunities that the capital provides for firsthand observation.

Readings:

All the assigned readings will be available on the UCDC network drive.

Assignments:

Shorter assignments

- Do the weekly core readings on the syllabus and come to class prepared to discuss them.
- Read any shorter, timely material on current events that is assigned on the fly. Unless there is particularly urgent, "breaking" news to cover, this will be distributed electronically at least five days in advance. One or two students will be assigned to report on this material.
- Each week we will consider a type of information source that you may find useful for your research paper or for other future purposes. All students will be assigned to browse an example of each particular source, and one or two students will be assigned to assess this source each week.
- All reports that you do in class will together be 10% of your class grade.
- We will have a map quiz on September 27 based on materials distributed on September 20 — [5% of course grade].
- Attend one Congressional hearing (in person!) over the quarter and write a two-page report on it [10% of course grade]. The report should briefly summarize the content of the hearing and explain what you learned about international politics from it. The Senate Foreign Relations committee and the House Foreign Affairs committee would be logical choices, but other hearings are possible too. You may attend with one or more other students, but each student must write his or her own report. The last

day to submit your report is the last day of class, but do it well before then because you'll be busy with your research paper later in the quarter. See these sites:

- o http://www.senate.gov/pagelayout/committees/d_three_sections_with_teasers/committees_home.htm
- o <http://www.foreign.senate.gov/hearings/>
- o <http://www.house.gov/committees/>
- o <http://www.house.gov/legislative/>

Research paper

- Students will develop an original research paper over the course of the quarter. It needs to be about some aspect of international politics. It can be about China but need not be. It might deal with the international relations of any country other than the United States, or U.S. foreign policy, or an international organization, non-governmental organization, or social movement.
- You should keep me posted, by email, about your thoughts on your paper. I strongly recommend running a preliminary version of the topic by me via email prior to submitting the one-page statement of your research question. You should talk to me about your paper at least once in person (in office hours) or by phone/Skype.
- Everything you submit should be both in hard copy (in class) and electronically as an email attachment (prior to class.) Follow the guidelines at:
<http://benread.net/forstudents/ChecklistForWrittenWork.htm>
- Deadlines:
 - o One-page statement of research question: Due in class Week 3 (October 4)
 - o Bibliography: Due in class Week 5 (October 18) — [5% of course grade]
 - o Partial draft: Eight pages, due in class Week 7 (November 1) — [5% of course grade]
 - o Full first draft: Due in class Week 9 (November 15) — [10% of course grade]
 - o Final draft: Due in class Week 10 (November 29) — [30% of course grade]

Ground Rules:

- Class attendance is a firm requirement. Attendance will be taken at every session at the beginning of class. Missing class will affect your quarter grade.
- This course involves a certain amount of reading. The amount of reading is considerably less than would normally be assigned in a UC course of this kind. This is because 1) your UCDC experience is special; we want to take advantage of the Washington environment; 3) research and writing are a significant part of the work for this course. Still, the readings are required; complete them before the class meeting for which they are assigned.
- Self-introduction: please send me an email after the first class session. It should state your home campus, your year in school; and your major. More importantly, please describe: prior courses in international relations or about specific countries outside the United States; all international travel; your internship in DC (I'm curious about these); your career goals; anything special you'd like to get out of this class; and anything else you would like me to know about you.
- Preparation for class and active and consistent class participation is emphatically expected [20% of course grade].

Week 1: Backdrop and introduction

Thursday, September 20

Core readings:

- No readings are assigned prior to this first class meeting.

Current-events reading:

- Press conference transcript, Secretary of State Hillary Clinton and Foreign Minister Yang Jiechi, Beijing, September 5, 2012 [To be read and discussed in class.]

Information source of the week:

- Web sites of the State Department (U.S.) and Ministry of Foreign Affairs (China). These will be discussed in class.

Week 2: The presidential election and the party congress of 2012 — Leadership turning points in the United States and China

Thursday, September 27

Map quiz today!

Core readings (there are several of them, but they are short):

- Richard McGregor, “The Red Machine,” chapter 1 of *The Party: The Secret World of China’s Communist Rulers* (2010), pp. 1-33
- Susan Lawrence, “China’s Vice President Xi Jinping Visits the United States: What Is at Stake?” Congressional Research Service report, February 6, 2012
- Jeremy Page, “Early Hardship Shaped Xi’s World View: Rural Experience During China’s Cultural Revolution Upended Heir Apparent’s Privileged Political Lifestyle,” *Wall Street Journal*, February 12, 2012
- Alice Miller, “Prospects for Solidarity in the Xi Jinping Leadership,” *China Leadership Monitor*, No. 37 (Spring 2012)
- Kenneth Lieberthal and Jonathan Pollack, “Establishing Credibility and Trust: The Next President Must Manage America’s Most Important Relationship,” 2012

Current-events assignment:

- What is Mitt Romney’s position on China? How does it contrast with the Obama campaign’s approach to China? Prepare to answer these questions using campaign documents, statements, and any other relevant information.

Information source of the week:

- China Leadership Monitor [free online publication]: <http://www.hoover.org/publications/china-leadership-monitor>

Further reading

- Jacob Stokes and Nina Hachigian, “U.S.-China Relations in an Election Year: Taking the Long View in a Season of Heated Rhetoric,” *Center for American Progress*, March 2012

Week 3: History of the relationship: The Mao Era and normalization

Thursday, October 4

One-page statement of research question due.

Core readings:

- Andrew J. Nathan and Robert S. Ross, *The Great Wall and the Empty Fortress* (Norton, 1997), pp. 35-48
- James Mann, *About Face: A History of America’s Curious Relationship with China, From Nixon to Clinton* (New York: Vintage, 1998), pp. 13-52
- Patrick Tyler, *A Great Wall: Six Presidents and China: An Investigative History* (New York: PublicAffairs, 1999), pp. 229-273

Current-events assignment

- TBA

Information source of the week

- Instead of a specific type of information source, this week we will look at two key documents: The Shanghai Communiqué and the Taiwan Relations Act. These documents, and a few others, are frequently referred to by United States officials in dealings with China. What are the critical phrases and elements of these documents? What is their overall significance?

Further reading

- Chen Jian, *China's Road to the Korean War* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1994)
- Thomas J. Christensen, *Useful Adversaries: Grand Strategy, Domestic Mobilization, and Sino-American Conflict, 1947-1958* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1996)
- Sergei N. Goncharov, John W. Lewis, and Litai Xue, *Uncertain Partners: Stalin, Mao, and the Korean War* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1993)
- Robert S. Ross, *Negotiating Cooperation: The United States and China, 1969-1989* (Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press, 1995)

Week 4: History of the relationship: 33 years since normalization

Thursday, October 11

Core readings:

- Robert G. Sutter, *U.S.-Chinese Relations: Perilous Past, Pragmatic Present* (Rowman & Littlefield, 2010), pp. 80-122 [note that we start in the middle of Chapter 4 and continue through Chapter 5].
- James Mann, *About Face: A History of America's Curious Relationship with China, From Nixon to Clinton* (New York: Vintage, 1998), pp. 175-193, 274-314

Current-events assignment

- Explain the ongoing struggle — which heated up this year — between China and its neighbors concerning the South China Sea
- One good source: International Crisis Group, “Stirring up the South China Sea,” 2012

Information source of the week

- Congressional hearings and transcripts/recordings of them

Further reading

- Robert L. Suettinger, *Beyond Tiananmen: The Politics of U.S.-China Relations 1989-2000* (Washington, D.C.: Brookings Institution Press, 2003).

Week 5: Key bilateral issues in the present day

Thursday, October 18

Preliminary bibliography for research paper due today.

Core readings:

- Aaron Friedberg, “Bucking Beijing: An Alternative U.S. China Policy,” *Foreign Affairs* (September/October 2012)
- Andrew J. Nathan and Andrew Scobell, “How China Sees America: The Sum of Beijing’s Fears,” *Foreign Affairs* (September/October 2012)
- Thomas J. Christensen, “The Advantages of an Assertive China,” *Foreign Affairs* (March/April 2011)

- Susan V. Lawrence and David MacDonald, “U.S.-China Relations: Policy Issues,” Congressional Research Service report, 2012

Current-events assignment

- TBA

Information source of the week

- We will be thinking about the texts of policy-makers’ speeches, with specific reference to:
- Robert B. Zoellick, “Whither China: From Membership to Responsibility?” speech given on September 21, 2005, available at: http://www.ncuscr.org/files/2005Gala_RobertZoellick_Whither_China1.pdf

Further reading

- Kenneth Lieberthal and Wang Jisi, “Addressing U.S.-China Strategic Distrust,” John L. Thornton China Center Monograph Series, Number 4, March 2012
- David Shambaugh, “Coping with a Conflicted China” *The Washington Quarterly*, 2011 [explores different schools of thought influencing China’s foreign policy]
- Elizabeth Economy and Adam Segal, “Time to defriend China: The quest for the illusory ‘G-2’ has wasted everyone’s time for long enough,” *Foreign Policy* (2010)

Week 6: Taiwan

Thursday, October 25

Core readings:

- Shelley Rigger, *Why Taiwan Matters: Small Island, Global Powerhouse* (Lanham, Md.: Rowman & Littlefield, 2011), pp. 133-197
- Alan D. Romberg, “After the Taiwan Elections: Planning for the Future” *China Leadership Monitor* (Spring 2012)

Current-events assignment

- The October 22 presidential debate (the third of the 2012 debates between Obama and Romney) is slated to focus on foreign policy. What was said about China? Was Taiwan mentioned?

Further reading

- Alan D. Romberg’s various other essays in *China Leadership Monitor* are an excellent resource. For example: “Cross-Strait Relations: First the Easy, Now the Hard,” *China Leadership Monitor* (2009)
- Michael D. Swaine, “Chinese Decision-Making Regarding Taiwan, 1979-2000,” in David M. Lampton, ed., *The Making of Chinese Foreign and Security Policy in the Reform Era* (2001)

Week 7: The economic relationship

Thursday, November 1

Partial draft of research paper due today.

Core readings:

- Margaret M. Pearson, “The Case of China’s Accession to GATT/WTO,” in Lampton (2001)
- Wayne M. Morrison, “China-U.S. Trade Issues,” Congressional Research Service report, August 10, 2011
- United States Trade Representative, “2010 Report to Congress on China’s WTO Compliance”

Current-events assignment

- TBA

Information source of the week

- Washington think tanks and their publications

Further reading

- Nicholas R. Lardy, *Sustaining China's Economic Growth After the Global Financial Crisis* (2012)
- James Fallows, "China Makes, the World Takes," *The Atlantic* (July/August 2007)
- Barry Naughton, *The Chinese Economy: Transitions and Growth* (Cambridge, Mass.: The MIT Press, 2007)
- Edward S. Steinfeld, *Playing Our Game: Why China's Rise Doesn't Threaten the West* (Oxford; New York: Oxford University Press, 2010)

Week 8: Human rights

Thursday, November 8

Core readings:

- Liu Xiaobo, *No Enemies, No Hatred: Selected Essays and Poems* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 2012) [pages to be selected]
- 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)
- Gary J. Bass, "Human Rights Last," *Foreign Policy* (March/April 2011)

Current-events assignment

- Assess the Obama administration's handling of the Chen Guangcheng case in the spring of 2012.

Information source of the week

- The Caixin Online web magazine (English edition is <http://english.caixin.com/>)

Further readings:

- See reports by the United States State Department, and other reports by Human Rights Watch, on China's human rights situation
- The Chinese government also issues reports on human rights in the United States.

Week 9: China, the United States, and third countries

Thursday, November 15

- **Note:** Please be extra-sure to bring your laptop computers to class. The first 30 minutes of class will be used for online evaluations of the course.

First full draft of research paper due today

Core readings:

- Joshua Kurlantzick, *Charm Offensive: How China's Soft Power is Transforming the World* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2007), pp. 37-81
- Brendan Taylor, "China's Foreign Policy Aggressiveness," in Geremie R. Barmé, ed., *The China Story Yearbook 2012: Red Rising, Red Eclipse* (2012), available online
- Congressional Research Service, "Comparing Global Influence: China's and U.S. Diplomacy, Foreign Aid, Trade, and Investment in the Developing World," August 2008

Current-events assignment

- TBA

Information source of the week

- International Crisis Group reports (www.crisisgroup.org)

Further readings

- David Shambaugh, "Return to the Middle Kingdom? China and Asia in the Early Twenty-First Century," in Shambaugh, ed., *Power Shift: China and Asia's New Dynamics* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2005), pp. 23-47
- David Shambaugh, "China and the Korean Peninsula: Playing for the Long Term," *The Washington Quarterly*, 26/2 (2003), 43-56
- Edward N. Luttwak, *The Rise of China vs. The Logic of Strategy* (in press)
- George J. Gilboy and Eric Heginbotham, *Chinese and Indian Strategic Behavior: Growing Power and Alarm* (2012).
- Deborah Brautigam, *The Dragon's Gift: The Real Story of China in Africa* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009)
- Edward Friedman, "How Economic Superpower China Could Transform Africa," *Journal of Chinese Political Science*, 14 (2009), 1-20
- William A. Callahan and Elena Barabantseva (eds.), *China Orders the World: Normative Soft Power and Foreign Policy* (Washington, D.C.: Woodrow Wilson Center Press, 2011).

Week 10: China's rise and international institutions

Thursday, November 22 [No class meeting due to Thanksgiving holiday]

Thursday, November 29

Final version of research paper due today

Core readings:

- David M. Lampton, "China's Rise in Asia Need Not Be at America's Expense," in David Shambaugh (ed.), *Power Shift: China and Asia's New Dynamics* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2006), 306-26
- Robert Sutter, "China's Regional Strategy and Why It May Not Be Good for America," in *Power Shift* (2006), 289-305
- Gregory Chin and Ramesh Thakur, "Will China Change the Rules of Global Order?" *Washington Quarterly* (October 2010)

Current-events assignment

- TBA

Information source of the week

- Blogs (and microblogs or *weibo*?) that pertain to the topics of this class

Further reading:

- Randall L. Schweller, "Managing the Rise of Great Powers: History and Theory" in Alastair Iain Johnston and Robert S. Ross, eds., *Engaging China: The Management of an Emerging Power* (1999)
- G. John Ikenberry, "The Rise of China: Power, Institutions, and the Western Order," in Robert S. Ross and Zhu Feng, eds., *China's Ascent: Power, Security, and the Future of International Relations* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2008), pp. 89-114
- Elizabeth Economy, "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 in the Reform Era* (2001)

- Jack S. Levy, "Power Transition Theory and the Rise of China," in Robert S. Ross and Zhu Feng, eds., *China's Ascent: Power, Security, and the Future of International Relations* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2008), pp. 11-33