

GVPT 409H, Fall 2017
Class meets: W 2-4:45

Professor Scott Kastner
office hours: Wed 10-11
or by appointment
3117G Chincoteague
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Professor Margaret Pearson
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Honors Seminar: China and the World

In this course we will explore the development and execution of Chinese foreign policy, with emphasis on the post-1978 era, in which the PRC has emerged as an important global actor. After briefly examining China's dramatic rise as an economic and military power, we will explore some of the domestic drivers of China's international behavior in weeks 3-4. We will then consider topics including: whether China's continued rise is likely to be peaceful; how much influence China has regionally and globally; how we can account for China's behavior in regional and global institutions; China's approach to regional issues such as the Taiwan issue and the Korean nuclear issue; and China's approach to the developing world and development assistance.

Requirements

This course will be conducted primarily as a discussion seminar, though there will be some lectures. As such, participation in course discussions and in-class group projects will constitute an important part of the final grade, and students must come to class prepared, having completed the readings for the week. The reading load is heavy, as this is an honors class.

Students will write a research paper (approximately 12-15 pages in length) on a topic approved in advance by the instructors. A short proposal will be due in class on October 11. Students will present their findings to the class during the final two weeks of the course (November 29 and December 6). The paper will be due on the scheduled date of the final exam (**December 16**).

Students will also be expected to write a reaction paper to one week's readings (approximately 5 pages in length), and will be expected to present their arguments to the class.

Grades will be determined as follows:

Class participation (including participation in in-class group projects and discussions): 35%
Research paper (due on December 16): 35%
Reaction paper: 15%
In-class presentations: 15%

Grades will be assessed on a letter (A, A-, B+ etc.) scale, not a point scale, even when grades posted on ELMS may be converted by the ELMS software to points. Grades will not automatically be curved. Late work will be assigned a penalty, usually a half grade per day.

Learning Outcomes

After completing this course, students should have a better understanding of China's foreign relations. The course also aims to improve research skills, writing and communication skills, critical thinking skills, and analytical skills.

Readings

The following book is required and has been ordered at the campus bookstore:

- David Shambaugh, *China Goes Global: The Partial Power* (Oxford University Press, 2014).

Additionally, numerous articles are assigned. Some of these are book chapters that will be posted on ELMS course reserves. But most are journal articles: students are responsible for downloading journal articles themselves via the library webpage.

Class policies and other important information

Cheating:

We take cheating very seriously, and will not hesitate to forward a case to the Office of Student Conduct if we suspect academic misconduct.

The University of Maryland, College Park has a nationally recognized Code of Academic Integrity, administered by the Student Honor Council. This Code sets standards for academic integrity at Maryland for all undergraduate and graduate students. As a student you are responsible for upholding these standards for this course. It is very important for you to be aware of the consequences of cheating, fabrication, facilitation, and plagiarism. For more information on the Code of Academic Integrity or the Student Honor Council, please visit: <http://www.studenthonorcouncil.umd.edu/whatis.html>.

Laptops, cellphones, and other distractions:

Using electronic devices in class not only undercuts your ability to learn, but also distracts others (including the instructors!), thus affecting the ability of other students to learn.

Students wishing to use laptops in class must first sign a statement indicating that they will only use their laptops for legitimate course-related reasons such as taking notes, and that they will sit near the front of the class while using their laptop. Failure to comply (such as by surfing the web, checking email, etc.) will result in loss of laptop-using privileges.

Cellphone use (including texting) will not be tolerated. Please silence your cellphone and refrain from using it during class.

Violation of these policies will negatively affect your course participation grade.

Absences, etc.

For information on University policies regarding excused absences for medical or other reasons, and information on other course related policies, please refer to the Office of Undergraduate Studies webpage on course related policies: <http://www.ugst.umd.edu/coursereLATEDpolicies.html>.

DAILY READING ASSIGNMENTS AND CLASS SCHEDULE

Week 1: August 30

Introduction to the Course

Week 2: September 6

The Parameters of China's "Rise"

- Shambaugh, Chapter 1.
- Thomas J. Christensen, *The China Challenge: Shaping the Choices of a Rising Power* (New York, NY: Norton, 2015), ch. 1 [ELMS].
- Ying ZHOU and Sabrina Luk, "Establishing Confucius Institutes: a tool for promoting China's soft power?," *Journal of Contemporary China* Vol. 25 , Issue 100 (2016).
- Arthur Kroeber, "China and the World," *China's Economy: What Everyone Needs to Know* (Oxford University Press, 2016) ch.13 pp. 232-62 [ELMS].

Week 3: September 13

Domestic Drivers of Foreign Policy I: China's Political System and the making of Chinese foreign policy

- Susan L. Shirk, *China, Fragile Superpower: How China's Internal Politics Could Derail its Peaceful Rise* (New York, NY: Oxford University Press,

2008), chapter 3 [ELMS].

- Jing Sun, “Growing Diplomacy, Retreating Diplomats: How the Chinese Foreign Ministry has been Marginalized in Foreign Policymaking,” *Journal of Contemporary China* Vol. 26, issue 105 (2017): 419-433.
- Susan Lawrence and Michael F. Martin, “Understanding China’s Political System,” *CRS Report for Congress*, May 2013. Online at <http://www.fas.org/sgp/crs/row/R41007.pdf>
- Jessica Batke, “The National People’s Congress in 2017: Security, Ideology, and Experimentation,” *China Leadership Monitor* Issue 53 (Spring 2017). Online at <http://www.hoover.org/sites/default/files/research/docs/clm53jb.pdf>

Week 4 September 20

Domestic Drivers of Foreign Policy II: Nationalism and Public Opinion

- Shambaugh, Chapter 2.
- Yinan He. 2007. “History, Chinese Nationalism and the Emerging Sino-Japanese Conflict,” *Journal of Contemporary China*, Vol. 16, Issue 50: 1-24.
- Michael Tomz. 2007. “Domestic Audience Costs in International Relations: An Experimental Approach.” *International Organization* 61 (4): 821-840.
- Jessica Chen Weiss. 2013. “Authoritarian Signaling, Mass Audiences, and Nationalist Protest in China.” *International Organization* 67 (1): 1-35.
- Alastair Iain Johnston, “Is Chinese Nationalism Rising? Evidence From Beijing,” *International Security* Vol. 41, no. 3 (Winter 2016/17): 7-43.

Week 5: September 27

Power Transition and the Security Dilemma: Can China’s rise be peaceful?

- Jack S. Levy, “Power Transition Theory and the Rise of China.” In Robert Ross and Zhu Feng, eds, *China’s Ascent: Power, Security, and the Future of International Politics* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2008), pp. 11-33 [ELMS].
- Alastair I Johnston, “Is China a Status Quo Power?” *International Security*, 27: 4 (2003), p.5-56.
- Robert Jervis, “Cooperation under the Security Dilemma,” *World Politics*, Vol. 30, No. 2. (Jan., 1978), READ pages 186-214 ONLY.
- Thomas J. Christensen, “China, the US-Japan Alliance, and the Security Dilemma in East Asia,” *International Security*, Vol. 23, No. 4 (1999): 49-80.
- 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*, Vol. 39, no. 2 (fall 2014): 52-91.

Week 6: October 4

Assessing China's Overseas Influence

- Shambaugh, chapters 3, 5 & 6.
- Daniel W. Drezner, "Bad Debts: Assessing China's Financial Influence in Great Power Politics." *International Security*, Vol. 34, No. 2 (2009): 7-45.
- Scott L. Kastner, "Buying Influence? Assessing the Political Effects of China's International Trade." *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 60, no. 6 (2016), pp. 980-1007.

Week 7: October 11

China and International Institutions I: Regional Institutions

- Scott L. Kastner, Margaret M. Pearson, and Chad Rector, "Invest, Hold-up, or Accept? China in Multilateral Governance." *Security Studies* 25, no. 1 (2016):142-179.
- Hong Yu, "Motivation Behind China's 'One Belt, One Road' Initiatives and Establishment of the Asian Infrastructure Investment Bank," *Journal of Contemporary China* Vol. 26, issue 105 (2017): 353-368.
- John D. Ciorciari, "China's Influence in Asian Monetary Policy Affairs." In Evelyn Goh, ed., *Rising China's Influence in Developing Asia* (Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press, 2016), pp. 217-236 [ELMS].
- Alice Ba, "Is China Leading? China, Southeast Asia, and East Asian Integration," *Political Science* 66:2 (2014).
- David Kang, "Hierarchy and Legitimacy in International Systems: the tribute system in early modern East Asia," *Security Studies* 19, no. 4 (December 2010), pp. 591-622.

Week 8: October 18

China and International Institutions II: Global Institutions

- Shambaugh, chapter 4.
- Falin Zhang, "Holism Failure: China's Inconsistent Stances and Consistent Interests in Global Financial Governance," *Journal of Contemporary China* Vol. 26, issue 105 (2017): 369-384.
- Xinyuan Dai and Duu Ren, "China and the International Order: The Limits of Integration," *Chinese Journal of Political Science*, Vol. 21, no. 2 (June 2016): 177-197.
- Fuzuo Wu, "Shaping China's Climate Diplomacy: Wealth, Status, and

Asymmetric Interdependence,” *Chinese Journal of Political Science*, Vol. 21, no. 2 (June 2016): 199-215.

- Li Xiaojun, “Understanding China’s Behavioral Change in the WTO Dispute Settlement System: Power, Capacity and Normative Constraints in Trade Adjudication”, *Asian Survey* (2012), Volume 52, Issue 6: 1111-1137.

Week 9: October 25

The Taiwan Strait

- Richard C. Bush, *Uncharted Strait: The Future of China-Taiwan Relations* (Washington DC: Brookings, 2013), chapter 2 [ELMS].
- Shelley Rigger, *Why Taiwan Matters: Small Island, Global Powerhouse* (Lanham, MD: Rowman and Littlefield, 2011, updated edition 2014), chapters 1 and 8 [ELMS].
- Scott L. Kastner, “Is the Taiwan Strait Still a Flash Point? Rethinking the Prospects for Armed Conflict between China and Taiwan.” *International Security* 40, no. 3 (Winter 2015/16), pp. 54-92.
- “Correspondence: Stability or Volatility across the Taiwan Strait?” *International Security* 41, vol. 2 (Fall 2016), pp. 192-197.
- Hsin-Hsin Pan, Wen-Chin Wu, and Yu-Tzung Chang, “How Chinese Citizens Perceive Cross-Strait Relations: Survey Responses from Ten Major Cities in China,” *Journal of Contemporary China* Vol. 26, issue 106 (2017): 616-631.
- John J. Mearsheimer, “Say Goodbye to Taiwan,” *The National Interest*, March/April 2014, online at: <http://nationalinterest.org/article/say-goodbye-taiwan-9931>

Week 10: November 1

The Korean Peninsula

- Andrei Lankov, *The Real North Korea: Life and Politics in the Failed Stalinist Utopia* (New York, NY: Oxford University Press, 2013), chapter 4 [ELMS].
- John S. Park, “Assessing the Role of Security Assurances in Dealing with North Korea.” In Jeffrey W. Knopf, ed., *Security Assurances and Nuclear Nonproliferation* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2012), pp. 189-218 [ELMS].
- Zhu Feng and Nathan Beauchamp-Mustafaga, “North Korea’s Security Implications for China.” In Carla P. Freeman, ed., *China and North Korea: Strategic and Policy Perspectives from a Changing China* (New York, NY: Palgrave, 2015), pp. 37-64 [ELMS].

- Lyle J. Goldstein, “Follow Beijing’s Lead on Defusing the Volatile North Korea Crisis,” *The National Interest*, 4 July 2017: <http://nationalinterest.org/feature/follow-beijings-lead-defusing-the-volatile-north-korea-21397>
- Bonnie S. Glaser and Wang Liang, “North Korea: The Beginning of a China-U.S. Partnership?” *The Washington Quarterly*, Vol. 31, no. 3 (summer 2008): 165-180.

Week 11: November 8

Territorial and maritime disputes

- M. Taylor Fravel, “Power Shifts and Escalation: Explaining China’s Use of Force in Territorial Disputes,” *International Security* Vol. 32, no. 3 (Winter 2007/2008): 44-83.
- Wei Zongyou, “China’s Maritime Trap,” *The Washington Quarterly*, Vol. 40, no. 1 (Spring 2017): 167-184.
- Brendon Taylor, “The South China Sea is not a Flashpoint,” *The Washington Quarterly*, Vol. 37, no. 1 (Spring 2014): 99-111.
- Jacques deLisle, “Troubled Waters: China’s Claims in the South China Sea,” *Orbis*, Vol. 54, no. 4 (Autumn 2012): 608-642.
- Jean-Marc F. Blanchard, “The Political Economy of Sino-Japanese Ties: The Limits and Risks of Economic Statecraft.” In Steven E. Lobell and Norrin M. Ripsman, eds., *The Political Economy of Regional Peacemaking* (Ann Arbor, MI: University of Michigan Press, 2016), pp. 118-143 [ELMS].
- Andrew Erickson and Adam Liff, “Installing a Safety on the ‘Loaded Gun’? China’s institutional reforms, National Security Commission and Sino–Japanese crisis (in)stability,” *Journal of Contemporary China* (2015).

Week 12: November 15

China and the Developing World

- Deborah Bräutigam. “Aid ‘With Chinese Characteristics’”: Chinese Foreign Aid and Development Finance Meet the OECD-DAC Aid Regime,” *Journal of International Development* v. 23, n. 5 (2011).
- JIANG, Yang, "The Limits of China's Monetary Diplomacy," in Kirshner and Helleiner (eds.), *The Great Wall of Money* (Ithaca: Cornell Univ. Press, 2014): 156-83 [ELMS].
- Yun Sun, *Africa in China’s Foreign Policy* (Washington: Brookings), online at: https://wlv.ac.uk/media/departments/faculty-of-social-sciences/documents/Africa_in_China_Brookings_report.pdf

Week 13: Thanksgiving Break (university closed November 22-24)

Week 14: November 29

Student Presentations

Week 15: December 6

Student Presentations