

ASIAN/CAPS/GOV 4877/6877: China and Asian Security
Fall 2016
Wednesday, 10:10- 12:05
URIS 494

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COURSE DESCRIPTION

This course is a graduate and advanced undergraduate-level seminar that focuses primarily on China's evolving role in world politics, with a particular emphasis on Asia and the Sino-US relationship. China stands at the center of the security dynamic in Asia. What China does in Asia may not necessarily be the sole determinant of what type of security order will prevail there, but it has a profound influence. To gain an understanding of the state of security issues in Asia today it is essential to come to terms with the evolving nature of China's foreign policy and national security strategies.

The course will read the most influential academic work on China's foreign relations and national security policies over the last twenty years. Whereas in the early 1990s the field of "Chinese foreign policy studies" was quite small, over the past decade scholars have produced a wave of new work on China's external relations and Asian security. In addition, China's rise and evolving foreign policy has attracted widespread interest among general scholars of international relations as well as China specialists. These intellectual conversations about China are happening simultaneously but not always in dialogue with each other. This course will engage a diverse array of approaches, encouraging students to explore different levels of analysis and paradigmatic approaches to understanding this critical topic.

COURSE REQUIREMENTS

1. Students are asked to do a significant amount of reading for this seminar, it is expected that all reading assigned in any given week will be completed before we meet. **Class participation will count as 30% of your grade for the course.**

2. Students are also expected to write 5 weekly response papers (2 pgs. single spaced) over the course of the semester. Each paper will critically evaluate some aspect of the assigned readings. You should NOT write a descriptive, general essay for these assignments, papers MUST identify a key aspect of the reading and develop a sustained, cogent argument about the readings that have been assigned. These papers are due as e-mail attachments at midnight the day before the seminar meets. **These papers will count as 40% of your grade for the course.**
3. Finally, students will be required to write a 10 page literature review OR research proposal. A literature review should review the readings assigned during any given week of the semester and follow the style of the literature reviews that appear in *World Politics*. A research proposal should follow a different format: first posing a question or puzzle about Chinese foreign policy or Asian security, then reviewing the relevant readings and literature that speaks to this question, and finally proposing a research design to evaluate potential answers or hypotheses to address this question. In either case, **this paper will constitute 30% of your grade for the course.** A first draft of the paper must be written before the final paper is submitted. These papers are due on December 10.

Please note that participation in this class commits students and instructors to abide by Cornell's expectations and policies regarding equal opportunity and academic integrity. Further, it implies permission from students to submit their written work to services that check for plagiarism. Each student in this course is expected to abide by the Cornell University Code of Academic Integrity. It is your responsibility to familiarize yourself with university policies regarding plagiarism and other violations of academic integrity. In particular, please make yourself familiar with the definition of plagiarism, and be aware that you may not turn in the same piece of work (or part thereof) for credit in multiple classes, either in the same semester or while at Cornell in general. Violations of the University Code of Academic Integrity will be firmly dealt with in this class. The Code can be found on the web at (a link to the Code can also be found on the Government 386 web page):

<http://cuinfo.cornell.edu/Academic/AIC.html>

A Cornell tutorial called "Recognizing and Avoiding Plagiarism" can be found at:

<http://plagiarism.arts.cornell.edu/tutorial/index.cfm>

Please make yourself familiar with the contents of these documents.

In addition, this course follows all university policies addressing racial, ethnic, gender, sexual preference, or religious discrimination and all forms of harassment; class will be conducted in conformance with provisions of the Americans with Disabilities Act. Students are expected to familiarize themselves with pertinent policies and to bring any concerns related to them to the attention of the instructor(s).

REQUIRED TEXTS

- Alastair Iain Johnston, *Cultural Realism*, Princeton University Press, 1995.
- M. Taylor Fravel, *Strong Borders, Secure Nation*, Princeton University Press, 2008.
- Jessica Chen Weiss, *Powerful Patriots: Nationalist Protest in China's Foreign Relations* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2014).
- James Steinberg and Michael O'Hanlon, *Strategic Reassurance and Resolve: U.S.-China Relations in the Twenty-First Century*. Princeton University Press, 2014.

All books are available on Amazon. Additional readings are available either through the Cornell Library website or directly from the instructors.

COURSE SCHEDULE

Week 1: Introduction (August 24)

Iain Johnston, "How New and Assertive is China's New Assertiveness," *International Security*, Spring, 2013. Cornell Library System.

PART I. SYSTEM & STRUCTURE

Week 2: Structural Approaches (August 31)

John J. Mearsheimer, "The Gathering Storm: China's Challenge to US Power in Asia," *The Chinese Journal of International Politics*, No. 3, 2010, pp. 381-96. Cornell Library System.

G. John Ikenberry, "The rise of China and the future of the West: can the liberal system survive?" *Foreign Affairs* (2008): 23-37. Cornell Library System.

Stephen G. Brooks and William C. Wohlforth. 2015/16. "The Rise and Fall of the Great Powers in the Twenty-first Century: China's Rise and the Fate of America's Global Position." *International Security* 40(3):7-53.

Scott L. Kastner, Margaret M. Pearson & Chad Rector. "Invest, Hold Up, or Accept? China in Multilateral Governance," *Security Studies*, (2016) 25:1, 142-179

Further Reading

- ❖ Griffiths, Ryan D. 2016. "States, Nations, and Territorial Stability: Why Chinese Hegemony Would Be Better for International Order." *Security Studies* 25(3).

Week 3: A Different Way of Thinking About Structure: The Systemic Impact of Ideas (September 7)

A. Iain Johnston, *Cultural Realism*, Princeton University Press, 1995.

Further Reading

- ❖ A. Iain Johnston, "Cultural Realism and Strategy in Maoist China," chapter in *The Culture of National Security*, ed. Peter Katzenstein, Columbia Univ. Press.
- ❖ A. Iain Johnston. "Thinking about strategic culture." *International Security* 19.4 (1995): 32-64.

Week 4: But, Is that Really How Things Were Structured (and How Constitutive Ideas Mattered in Asia) (September 14)

Victoria Hui, "Toward a Dynamic Theory of International Politics: Insights from Comparing the Ancient Chinese and Early Modern European Systems," *International Organization*, vol. 58, No. 1, Winter 2004: 175-205.

David Kang, "Hierarchy and Legitimacy in International Systems: the tribute system in early modern East Asia," *Security Studies* 19, no. 4 (December 2010): 591-622.

David Kang, "International Relations Theory and East Asian History," *Journal of East Asian Studies* 13, no. 2 (May 2013), pp. 181-205.

Seo-Hyun Park, "Changing Definitions of Sovereignty in Nineteenth-Century East Asia: Japan and Korea Between China and the West," *Journal of East Asian Studies* 13 (2013): 281-307.

Further Reading

- ❖ Amanda Cheney, *Lost in Translation*, unpublished dissertation chapter.

PART II. REGIONAL DYNAMICS & INTERACTIONS

Week 5: Deterrence & Reassurance (September 21)

James Steinberg and Michael O'Hanlon, *Strategic Reassurance and Resolve: U.S.-China Relations in the Twenty-First Century*. Princeton University Press, 2014. Chapters TBA.

Thomas Christensen, "[China, the U.S.-Japan Alliance, and the Security Dilemma in East Asia](#)," *International Security*, Spring 1999, Vol. 23, No. 4, Pages 49-80.

Week 6: Regional Alliances and Institutions (September 28)

Alliances

Evelyn Goh, *The Struggle for Order: Hegemony, Hierarchy, and Transition in Post-Cold War East Asia*, Oxford University Press, Oxford, 2013. Chapters TBA.

Acharya, Amitav. 2014. "Power Shift or Paradigm Shift? China's Rise and Asia's Emerging Security Order." *International Studies Quarterly* 58(1):158-173.

Institutions

David Shambaugh, "China Engages Asia," *International Security*, Winter 2004/05, Vol. 29, No. 3: pp. 64–99.

Micheal Kolmas, "China's Approach to Regional Cooperation," *China Report*, 2016, Vol. 52, No. 3: 192-210.

Ren Xiao, "China as an Institution-builder: The Case of the AIIB," *The Pacific Review*, Vol. 29, NO. 3, 435-.442

PART III. DOMESTIC & UNIT-LEVEL FACTORS

Week 7: Domestic Constraints & Incentives (October 5)

Fravel, *Strong Borders, Secure Nation*. Chapters TBA.

Thomas J. Christensen, *Useful Adversaries: Grand strategy, domestic mobilization, and Sino-American conflict, 1947-1958*. Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1996. Chapter 6.

Susan L. Shirk, "The Domestic Context of Chinese Foreign Security Policies," chapter 20 in *Oxford Handbook of the International Relations of Asia*, ed. Pekkanen et al, 2014.

Further Reading

- ❖ Robert Putnam, "Diplomacy and Domestic Politics: The Logic of 2-Level Games," *International Organization*, Vol. 42, No. 3 (1988), pp. 427-460.
- ❖ James D. Fearon, "Domestic Political Audiences and the Escalation of International Disputes," *American Political Science Review*, Vol. 88, No. 3 (1994), pp. 577-592.

Week 8: National Identity, Public Opinion, and Dimensions of Mass Participation (October 12)

Carlson, A. R., Costa, A., Duara, P., Leibold, J., Carrico, K., Gries, P. H., Eto, N., Zhao, S., and Weiss, J. C., "Nations and Nationalism roundtable discussion on Chinese nationalism and national identity," *Nations and Nationalism*, vol. 22 (2016): 415–446.

Elina Sinkkonen, "Nationalism, patriotism and foreign policy attitudes among Chinese university students." *The China Quarterly* 216 (2013): 1045-1063.

Christopher Cairns and Allen Carlson, "Real World Islands in a Social Media Sea," *The China Quarterly*, 2016. Cornell Library System.

Jeremy Wallace and Jessica Chen Weiss, "The Political Geography of Nationalist Protests in China: Cities and the 2012 Anti-Japanese Protests," *The China Quarterly*, 2015. Cornell Library System.

Further Reading

- ❖ Carlson, Allen. "A flawed perspective: the limitations inherent within the study of Chinese nationalism1." *Nations and Nationalism* 15.1 (2009): 20-35.
- ❖ Helen Gao, "[Diaoyu in Our Heart: The Revealing Contradictions of Chinese Nationalism](#)," *Atlantic.com*, August 22, 2012.
- ❖ Li Chengpeng, "[Patriotism with Chinese Characteristics](#)," *New York Times*, May 25, 2012.

Week 9: Nationalist Protests and Their Foreign Policy Impact (October 19)

Weiss, *Powerful Patriots*, Chapters 1, 3, 8, 9.

James Reilly, "A Wave to Worry About: Public Opinion, Foreign Policy and China's Anti-Japan Protests," *The Journal of Contemporary China*, 2013, vol. 23, issue 86.

Further Reading

- ❖ Weiss, Jessica Chen, "[Authoritarian Signaling, Mass Audiences, and Nationalist Protest in China](#)," *International Organization* 67(1), 2013.

Week 10: The Chinese Military and Security Policy (October 26)

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* (2015), Stanford Univ. Press, pp. 58-83

You Ji, "The PLA and Diplomacy: Unraveling myths about the military role in foreign policy making," *Journal of Contemporary China*, March 2014: 236-254

Ross, Robert S. "China's naval nationalism: Sources, prospects, and the US response." *International Security* 34.2 (2009): 46-81.

Linda Jakobson and Dean Knox, "[New Foreign Policy Actors in China](#)," SIPRI Policy Paper No. 26, September 2010.

Further Reading

- ❖ Linda Jakobson, "[China's unpredictable maritime security actors](#)," Lowy Institute for International Policy, December 11, 2014.

Week 11: Decision-making and Leadership (November 2)

He Kai and Feng Huiyun, "Xi Jinping's Operational Code Beliefs and China's Foreign Policy," *Chinese Journal of International Politics* (Autumn 2013) 6 (3): 209-231

Pascal Abb, "China's Foreign Policy Think Tanks: institutional evolution and changing roles" *Journal of Contemporary China*, 24:93 (2015) pp. 531-553 [also see 2002 *China Quarterly* special issue on think-tanks]

Hongyi Lai & Su-Jeong Kang, "Domestic Bureaucratic Politics and Chinese Foreign Policy," *Journal of Contemporary China*, 23:86 (2014), 294-313.'

Recommended: 张清敏, "领导人人格特点与 中国外交研究," 《世界经济与政治》(2014年) 第6期, 93-119.

PART IV. CURRENT DEVELOPMENTS AND PROSPECTS

Week 12: Crisis Behavior (November 9)

Robert S. Ross, "The 1995–96 Taiwan Strait Confrontation: Coercion, Credibility, and the Use of Force," *International Security*, Vol. 25, No. 2 (Fall 2000), pp. 87–123.

A. Iain Johnston, "[The Evolution of Interstate Security Crisis-Management Theory and Practice in China](#)," *Naval War College Review*. 2016.

Erickson, Andrew S. and Adam P. 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* 25, no. 98 (2016), pp. 197-215.

Goldstein, Avery. "First things first: The pressing danger of crisis instability in US-China relations." *International Security* 37.4 (2013): 49-89.

Further Reading

- ❖ Zhang, Tuosheng, "The Sino-American Aircraft Collision: Lessons for Crisis Management," in Swaine, Zhang, and Cohen, eds., *Managing Sino-American Crises: Case Studies and Analysis* (Washington, D.C.: Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, 2006).

Week 13 South China Sea (November 16)

Readings TBA.

THANKSGIVING BREAK (No class November 23)

Week 14 China around the Globe (November 30)

Readings TBA.