

## China's International Relations

PLSC 132 / 686 / GLBL 379 | Fall 2014 | W 9:25-11:15 A.M. RKZ 102

Professor Jessica Chen Weiss

Office Hours W 1:15-2:15 P.M. or by appointment | RKZ 335

### Course Overview

This course is a graduate and advanced undergraduate-level seminar on China's international relations. It seeks to put China's contemporary diplomacy and foreign relations in dialogue with mainstream ideas and arguments in international relations. The course is not a survey of Chinese foreign policy but instead challenges students to think deeply and critically about China's growing influence and its relations with foreign leaders and peoples. Analytic topics will include power transitions, deterrence and reassurance, nationalism and sovereignty, domestic constraints, political leadership, perceptions and misperceptions, soft power and public diplomacy, and regional balancing and alliances. Each week will include applications to current events and debates in Chinese foreign policy, including China's activities in the South China Sea, the U.S. "pivot" to Asia, relations with Japan, Vietnam, and the Philippines, crises in U.S.-China relations, such as the 1999 bombing of the Chinese Embassy in Belgrade, the 2008 Beijing Olympics, and the so-called "China model."

### Readings

Most course readings are available online (use the hyperlinks in the electronic version of this syllabus) or via the Resources tab of the classes\*v2 website. The following book is available for purchase at the Yale University bookstore (also on [Kindle](#) at Amazon):

- Jessica Chen Weiss, *Powerful Patriots: Nationalist Protest in China's Foreign Relations* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2014).

No prior coursework on China is required, but students should be prepared to fill in any gaps in background knowledge by consulting other references, such as the following (supplementary, not required) books:

- ❖ Jeffrey Wasserstrom. *China in the 21st Century: What Everyone Needs to Know*. Oxford University Press, 2010.
- ❖ Kenneth Lieberthal. *Governing China: From Revolution to Reform*. W.W. Norton, 2003.

### Requirements

#### 1. Written assignments (60%)

Three discussion papers (20% each) of between 1000 and 1200 words (approx. 4 pages) that incorporate and discuss at least four assigned readings and three additional short news pieces or policy commentary (six for graduate students) from sources such as *NYT*, *WP*, *FT*,

*Economist, Straits Times, China Daily, People's Daily, South China Morning Post, FP.com, Foreign Affairs, Council on Foreign Relations, Brookings, China Leadership Monitor, Atlantic Monthly, New Yorker, et al.*

Good response papers will provide: 1) clarity on difficult questions and debates by identifying competing viewpoints and points of agreement and disagreement; 2) critical analysis of commonly used phrases and sound bites, unpacking concepts and identifying tensions or challenges to implementing concepts in specific cases. Students wishing to write essays that culminate in a normative conclusion, opinion, or policy recommendation are welcome to do so. However, such conclusions should not comprise more than a third of the total essay.

Response papers are due before the start of class. At least one paper must be submitted by week 6 (October 3). Students submitting response papers will speak for no more than 5 minutes, presenting the main points of their paper. Before class, students will upload their response papers and copies of additional news pieces to classes\*v2 forum for the class to read and comment during the following week.

In addition to in-class discussion, the quality and quantity of each student's comments and posts to the classes\*v2 forum will count toward the final course grade.

2. In-class participation (20%)
3. Comments posted to classes\*v2 forum and feedback on other students' papers (20%)

## Schedule

### **Aug. 27: Introduction**

**\*\* NO CLASS. PROF. WILL BE ATTENDING CONFERENCE. TO ENROLL, [APPLY](#) ONLINE. ADMITTED STUDENT LIST WILL BE POSTED BY SEP. 1**

### **September 3: The rise of China & power transition theory**

- 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
- Zbigniew Brzezinski, John J. Mearsheimer, "[Clash of the Titans](#)," *Foreign Policy*, January/February 2005.
- Alastair Iain Johnston, "Is China a Status Quo Power?" *International Security*, No. 27, 2003, pp. 5-56.
- Michael Beckley, "China's Century? Why America's Edge Will Endure," *International Security*, Vol. 36, No. 3 (Winter 2011/12), pp. 41-78

Recommended:

- Remarks by Dai Bingguo on China's White Paper on Peaceful Development, [http://www.chinadaily.com.cn/opinion/2011-09/16/content\\_13712807.htm](http://www.chinadaily.com.cn/opinion/2011-09/16/content_13712807.htm)

### **September 10. Deterrence, reassurance, and signaling**

- Andrew Kydd, "[Trust, Reassurance, and Cooperation](#)," *International Organization*, No. 54, 2000, pp. 325-57.
- Avery Goldstein, "[First Things First: The Pressing Danger of Crisis Instability in U.S.-China Relations](#)," *International Security*, Spring 2013, Vol. 37, No. 4, pp. 49-89.
- 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.

Recommended

- Michael D. Swaine, "[Chinese Leadership and Elite Responses to the U.S. Pacific Pivot](#)," *China Leadership Monitor*, No. 38, Summer 2012.
- Hillary Clinton, "[America's Pacific Century](#)," *Foreign Policy*, October 2011.

### **September 17. Domestic constraints**

- 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.
- 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.

Recommended:

- Zhang, Tuosheng, "The Sino-American Aircraft Collision: Lessons for Crisis Management," in Michael D. Swaine, Zhang Tuosheng and Danielle F. S. Cohen, eds., *Managing Sino-American Crises: Case Studies and Analysis* (Washington, D.C.: Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, 2006).
- Wu, Baiyi, "Chinese Crisis Management During the 1999 Embassy Bombing Incident," in *Managing Sino-American Crises: Case Studies and Analysis*

### **September 24. Nationalism and anti-foreign protest**

- Jessica Chen Weiss, *Powerful Patriots: Nationalist Protest in China's Foreign Relations* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2014). Chapters 1, 2, 3, and conclusion. Available at the Yale University Bookstore or on [Kindle](#).
- 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.

### October 1. Domestic vulnerability and diversionary incentives

- Brett Ashley Leeds, and David R. Davis, "[Domestic Political Vulnerability and International Disputes](#)," *Journal of Conflict Resolution*, Vol. 41, No. 6 (1997), pp. 814-834.
- Chiozza, Giacomo, and Henk E. Goemans. "[Avoiding Diversionary Targets](#)," *Journal of Peace Research*. 41.4 (2004): 423-43.
- M. Taylor Fravel, "[Regime Insecurity and International Cooperation: Explaining China's Compromises in Territorial Disputes](#)," *International Security* 30 (2):4, 2005.
- Chapter 1, Thomas J. Christensen, *Useful Adversaries: Grand strategy, domestic mobilization, and Sino-American conflict, 1947-1958*. Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1996.

#### Recommended:

- "Philippine President Aquino plays tough over China's Huangyan Island to revive popularity: author," Xinhua, May 9, 2012, [http://news.xinhuanet.com/english/indepth/2012-05/09/c\\_131577746.htm](http://news.xinhuanet.com/english/indepth/2012-05/09/c_131577746.htm).
- Xinhua, "Commentary: Never test China's will to defend its own sovereignty," May 9, 2012, [http://news.xinhuanet.com/english/china/2012-05/09/c\\_131578027.htm](http://news.xinhuanet.com/english/china/2012-05/09/c_131578027.htm).
- Rigoberto Tiglao, "Scarborough Fail: How Aquino Blew It," *Philippine Daily Inquirer*, May 3, 2012, <http://opinion.inquirer.net/27985/scarborough-fail-how-aquino-blew-it>.

### October 8. Leaders

- Kenneth A. Schultz, "[The Politics of Risking Peace: Do Hawks or Doves Deliver the Olive Branch?](#)" *International Organization*, Vol. 59, No. 1 (Winter, 2005), pp. 1-38.
- Richard Solomon, *Chinese Political Negotiating Behavior, 1967-84*, RAND Corporation, 1995, pp. 17-46, 83-126.
- Scott Wolford, 2007. "[The Turnover Trap: New Leaders, Reputation, and International Conflict](#)," *American Journal of Political Science* 51 (4): 772-88.
- Jessica Chen Weiss and Kacie Miura, "[Campaign Rhetoric and the Surprising Stability of Leadership Transitions in the Asia-Pacific](#)," working paper (available on classes\*v2).

#### Recommended:

- Shambaugh, David. "[China's Leadership Transition: Will it Go Deep Enough?](#)" *Global Asia*. v8. n1. Spring 2013.
- Yu Jinghao, "Why Philippines becomes so 'radical' in South China Sea?" April 27, 2012, <http://english.peopledaily.com.cn/90883/7802156.html>

## October 15. Perceptions

- Chapter 6, Robert Jervis, *Perception and Misperception in International Politics*, Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1976 (available on classes\*v2).
- Keren Yahri-Milo, "[In the Eye of the Beholder](#)," *International Security*, Vol. 38, No. 1 (Summer 2013), pp. 7-51.
- Peter Hays Gries et al., '[The Spectre of Communism in US China Policy: Bipartisanship in the American Subconscious](#)', *The Chinese Journal of International Politics*, No. 3, 2010, pp. 397-413.
- Peter Hays Gries, "[Problems of Misperception in U.S.-China Relations](#)," *Orbis*, Vol. 53, No. 2 (2009), pp. 220–232.

## FALL BREAK

### October 29. Mutual images and popular reactions

- [U.S.-China Security Perceptions Survey: Findings and Implications](#), Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, 2013
- Chapters 2 and 3 in Page, Benjamin I. and Tao Xie. 2010. *Living With the Dragon: How the American Public Views the Rise of China*. Columbia University Press. (classes\*v2)
- Andrew Nathan and Andrew Scobell, "[How China Sees America](#)," *Foreign Affairs*, September/October 2012.
- Johnston and Stockmann, "[Chinese Attitudes toward the United States and Americans](#)," in Katzenstein and Keohane, *Anti-Americanisms and World Politics*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2007.

### November 5. Regional challenges

- M. Taylor Fravel, "[Power Shifts and Escalation: Explaining China's Use of Force in Territorial Disputes](#)," *International Security* 32:3 (Winter 2007/2008).
- 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.
- Jennifer Lind and Thomas Christensen, "[Correspondence: Spirals, Security, and Stability in East Asia](#)," *International Security*, Spring 2000, Vol. 24, No. 4, Pages 190-200.
- Bonnie Glaser and Deep Pal, "[Is China's Charm Offensive Dead?](#)" *Jamestown China Brief*, Vol. 14, no. 15, July 2014.

### November 12. Tensions in the East and South China Seas

- Jessica Chen Weiss, *Powerful Patriots*, chapters 7 and 8.
- M. Taylor Fravel, "[China's Strategy in the South China Sea](#)," *Contemporary Southeast Asia*, No. 33, 2011.

- Oriana Mastro, “[Signaling and Military Provocation in Chinese National Security Strategy: A Closer Look at the Impeccable Incident](#),” *Journal of Strategic Studies*, Vol. 34, no. 2, 2011.

Recommended:

- Li Jianwei, “[Managing Tensions in the South China Sea: Comparing the China-Philippines and the China-Vietnam Approaches](#),” S. Rajaratnam School of International Studies, April 23, 2014.

### **November 19. From “soft power” toward a “China Model”?**

- Li, Mingjiang, ‘[China Debates Soft Power](#)’, *The Chinese Journal of International Politics*, No. 2, 2008, pp. 287-308.
- Zhao, Suisheng. 2010. "[The China Model: can it replace the Western model of modernization?](#)" *Journal of Contemporary China* 19 (65):419-36.
- Barry Naughton, “[China's Distinctive System: can it be a model for others?](#)” *Journal of Contemporary China* 19 (65):437-460.
- Yu, Keping. [Democracy is a Good Thing](#). Brookings, 2009, Chapter 1.

Recommended:

- Dai Bingguo: “National realities and development stages of different countries vary greatly, and there is no universally applicable path or model that can stay unchanged. China's development path is based on its own national conditions. It is the result of long-term and gradual exploration and practice and of learning from others' experience and lessons. It is not to be copied or exported to other countries.”  
[http://www.chinadaily.com.cn/opinion/2011-09/16/content\\_13712807\\_3.htm](http://www.chinadaily.com.cn/opinion/2011-09/16/content_13712807_3.htm)
- “[China State Media at Odds Over Myanmar Censorship Move](#),” WSJ China Real Time Report, August 21, 2012.

## **THANKSGIVING BREAK**

### **December 3. Conclusions**

- Alastair Iain Johnston, “[What \(If Anything\) Does East Asia Tell Us About International Relations Theory?](#)” *Annual Review of Political Science*, Vol. 15: 53 -78, June 2012.
- Johnston, Alastair I. "[How New and Assertive Is China's New Assertiveness?](#)" *International Security* 37.4 (2013)
- David Shambaugh, “[Coping with a conflicted China](#),” *Washington Quarterly*, Winter 2011.
- Jeffrey W. Legro, "[What China Will Want: The Future Intentions of a Rising Power](#)," *Perspectives on Politics*, Vol. 5, No. 03 (2007), pp. 515-534.