

# Syllabus of Record



**Program:** CET Shanghai

**Course Code / Title:** (SH/INTR 320) China's Foreign Policy

**Total Hours:** 45

**Recommended Credits:** 3

**Primary Discipline / Suggested Cross Listings:** International Relations / Political Science, East Asian Studies, History

**Language of Instruction:** English

**Prerequisites / Requirements:** Introductory International Relations course or instructor permission required

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## Description

The re-emergence of China raises important questions about its role in international politics and the likely consequences for world order. This seminar examines patterns of China's foreign relations and its influences. Themes covered include the historical legacy and evolution of China's foreign policy; the impact of contemporary Chinese diplomacy on traditional national security concerns as well as economic, environmental, and humanitarian issues; China's foreign policy in Asia, Africa, Europe, and Latin America; and Sino-U.S. relations. Topics such as The Belt and Road Initiative, China's foreign aid system, and the WTO will spotlight the implications of China's increasing wealth and power for the evolution of global governance and the international order.

## Objectives

At the end of this course students will be able to:

- Understand key junctures in the evolution of Chinese foreign policy and its foreign relations.
- Identify and discuss the key debates in China's foreign relations.
- Explain the various factors that shape Chinese diplomatic choices.
- Apply the concepts and theoretical frameworks of the field to analyze and explain current cases of China's diplomacy practices.
- Analyze the interplay between China's foreign policy and domestic politics.
- Advance the critical thinking, research, and communication skills that equip students to carry out independent research on China's foreign policy and related fields.

## Course Requirements

Preparation for and active engagement in the classroom is essential. Students are required to finish all assigned materials before each class and be prepared to participate thoughtfully in classroom discussions. Reading assignments are generally 50-80 pages per week. Attendance requirements are outlined in the CET Attendance Policy.

Additional details for graded assignments will be shared in class and posted on Canvas. Required course work includes:

- Class preparation and participation: Participation is evaluated qualitatively and quantitatively after each class according to a rubric found in the syllabus and on Canvas. Classroom discussion should display an understanding of the assigned materials,

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- thoughtful analysis, creativity and fresh ideas, and the ability to ask questions that advance comprehension of class themes.
- Response papers: Students select three particular class weeks according to their topical interests and then write a response essay for each of these classes. The response essays should be around 600 words and focus on critical analysis and not summary. For the weeks selected, students also read one or more “Suggested Readings.” These papers should include 2-3 questions for classroom discussion and are distributed to classmates.
  - Class discussant: For two of the three weeks students select for their response papers, they lead a 10-minute discussion of the Suggested Reading and discuss how the ideas in the piece relate to other assigned materials and course themes.
  - Mid-term (take-home) essay: Around 1,500 words, requires analysis of class and other provided materials.
  - Final research paper and presentation: On a topic related to China’s foreign policy. The project consists of submission of a preliminary outline before week 10, a research paper that is approximately 3,000 words, and a presentation of your research findings to the class.

### Grading

The final grade is determined as follows:

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|---|-----|
| • Class preparation & participation*      | 20% |
| • Response papers (3 @ 5%)                | 15% |
| • Class discussant (2 @ 5%)               | 10% |
| • Mid-term essay                          | 15% |
| • Final research project                  | 40% |
| ○ Topic statement and preliminary outline | 5%  |
| ○ Research paper                          | 25% |
| ○ Class presentation                      | 10% |

### Readings

Aoyama, Rumi. “Stability and Fragility in Japan-China Relations: China’s Pivotal Power and Japan’s Strategic Leverage.” *China Review* 23, no. 1 (2023): 187-211.

Carlson, Allen. “Moving Beyond Sovereignty? A Brief Consideration of Recent Changes in China’s Approach to International Order and the Emergence of the Tianxia Concept.” *Journal of Contemporary China* 20, no. 68 (2011): 89-102.

Carrai, Maria Adele, Jennifer Rudolph, and Michael Szonyi. *The China Questions 2: Critical Insights Into US-China Relations*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2022.

Carrozza, Ilaria. “Legitimizing China’s Growing Engagement in African Security: Change within Continuity of Official Discourse.” *The China Quarterly* 248, no. 1 (December 2021): 1174-99.

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- Chen, Zheng and Guangtao Wang. "The Japanese 'Free and Open Indo-Pacific' and Sino-Japanese Relations: A Chinese Perspective." *China Review* 23, no. 1 (2023): 161-186.
- Chen, Zheng and Hang Yin. "China and Russia in R2P debates at the UN Security Council." *International Affairs* 96, no. 3 (2020): 787-805.
- Chen, Zhimin. "China, the European Union and the Fragile World Order." *Journal of Common Market Studies* 54, no. 4 (2016): 775-792.
- Christensen, Thomas J. "Chinese Realpolitik: Reading Beijing's World-View." *Foreign Affairs* 75, no. 5 (1996): 37-52.
- Christensen, Thomas J. *The China Challenge: Shaping the Choices of a Rising Power*. New York: W. W. Norton & Company, 2016.
- Chubb, Andrew. "PRC Assertiveness in the South China Sea: Measuring Continuity and Change, 1970–2015." *International Security* 45, no. 3 (2021): 79-121.
- Eisman, Joshua and Eric Heginbotham. "China's Relations with Africa, Latin America, and the Middle East." In *China and the World*, edited by David Shambaugh, 291-312. New York: Oxford University Press, 2020.
- Fardella, Enrico. "China's Debate on the Middle East and North Africa: A Critical Review." *Mediterranean Quarterly* 26, no. 1 (2015): 5-25.
- Feng, Huiyun. "The Operational Code of Mao Zedong: Defensive or Offensive Realist?" *Security Studies* 14, no. 4 (2015): 637-662.
- Feng, Huiyun and Kai He. "China's Institutional Challenges to the International Order." *Strategic Studies Quarterly* 11, no. 4 (2017): 23-49.
- Foot, Rosemary. "Positioning Human Rights in China-U.S. Relations." In *Reclaiming Human Rights in a Changing World Order*, edited by Christopher Sabatini, 31-59. Washington, DC: Brookings Institution Press, 2023.
- Fravel, M. Taylor. "Regime Insecurity and International Cooperation: Explaining China's Compromises in Territorial Disputes." *International Security* 30, no. 2 (2005): 46-83.
- Fung, Courtney J. "Separating Intervention from Regime Change: China's Diplomatic Innovations at the UN Security Council Regarding the Syria Crisis." *The China Quarterly* 235 (September 2018): 693-712. <https://doi.org/10.1017/S0305741018000851>.

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- Garver, John. *China's Quest: The History of the Foreign Relations of the People's Republic of China*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2016.
- Ghiselli, Andrea and Pippa Morgan. "A Turbulent Silk Road: China's Vulnerable Foreign Policy in the Middle East and North Africa." *The China Quarterly* 247 (September 2021): 641-661.
- Glaser, Bonnie S. and Evan S. Medeiros. "The Changing Ecology of Foreign Policy-Making in China: The Ascension and Demise of the Theory of 'Peaceful Rise.'" *The China Quarterly* 190 (June 2007): 291-310.
- Goldstein, Avery. "China's Grand Strategy under Xi Jinping: Reassurance, Reform, and Resistance." *International Security* 45, no. 1 (2020): 164-201.
- Greitens, Sheena Chestnut. "Dealing with Global Demand for China's Surveillance Exports." Brookings Global China Project. Washington, DC: Brookings Institution, 2020. [https://www.brookings.edu/wp-content/uploads/2020/04/FP\\_20200428\\_china\\_surveillance\\_greitens\\_v3.pdf](https://www.brookings.edu/wp-content/uploads/2020/04/FP_20200428_china_surveillance_greitens_v3.pdf).
- Gries, Peter Hays, Derek Steiger, and Tao Wang. "Popular Nationalism and China's Japan Policy: The Diaoyu Islands Protests, 2012–2013." *Journal of Contemporary China* 25, no. 98 (2016): 264-276.
- Hall, Todd H. and Alanna Krolikowski. "Making Sense of China's Belt and Road Initiative: A Review Essay." *International Studies Review* 24, no. 3 (2022). <https://doi.org/10.1093/isr/viac023>
- Hilton, Isabel and Oliver Kerr. "The Paris Agreement: China's 'New Normal' Role in International Climate Negotiations." *Climate Policy* 17, no.1 (2017): 48-58.
- Ikenberry, G. John, Andrew J. Nathan, Susan Thornton, Sun Zhe, and John J. Mearsheimer. "A Rival of America's Making? The Debate Over Washington's China Strategy/Mearsheimer Replies." *Foreign Affairs* 101, No. 2 (March-April 2022).
- Jervis, Robert. *Perception and Misperception in International Politics*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1976.
- Johnston, Alastair Iain. "China in a World of Orders: Rethinking Compliance and Challenge in Beijing's International Relations." *International Security* 44, no. 2 (2019): 9-60.
- Johnston, Alastair Iain. "How New and Assertive Is China's New Assertiveness?" *International Security* 37, no. 4, (2013): 7-48.
- Kaplan, Stephen B. "Banking Unconditionally: The Political Economy of Chinese Finance in Latin America." *Review of International Political Economy* 23, no. 4 (2016): 643-676.

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- Kastner, Scott L., Margaret M. Pearson, and Chad Rector. "Invest, Hold Up, or Accept? China in Multilateral Governance." *Security Studies* 25, no. 1 (2016): 142-179.
- Kaufman, Alison Adcock. "The 'Century of Humiliation' Then and Now: Chinese Perceptions of the International Order." *Pacific Focus* 25, no. 1 (2010): 1-33.
- Kissinger, Henry. *On China*. New York: The Penguin Press, 2011.
- Lai, Hongyi and Su-Jeong Kang. "Domestic Bureaucratic Politics and Chinese Foreign Policy." *The Chinese Journal of International Politics* 23, no. 86 (2014): 294-313.
- Liu, Feng and Kai He. "China's Bilateral Relations, Order Transition, and the Indo-Pacific Dynamics." *China Review* 3, no. 1 (2023): 11-43.
- Liu, Ruonan. "Reinforcing Wedging: Assessing China's Southeast Asia Policy in the Context of Indo-Pacific Strategy." *China Review* 23, no. 1 (2023): 277-306.
- Malkin, Anton. "The Made in China Challenge to US Structural Power: Industrial Policy, Intellectual Property and Multinational Corporations." *Review of International Political Economy* 29, no. 2 (2020): 538-570.
- Mearsheimer, John J. "The Inevitable Rivalry: America, China, and the Tragedy of Great-Power Politics." *Foreign Affairs* 100, no. 6 (2021): 48-59.
- Pu, Xiaoyu. "Controversial Identity of a Rising China." *The Chinese Journal of International Politics* 10, no. 2 (2017): 131-149.
- Pu, Xiaoyu and Chengli Wang. "Rethinking China's Rise: Chinese Scholars Debate Strategic Overstretch." *International Affairs* 94, no. 5 (2018): 1019-1035.
- Qiang, Xin. "Having Much in Common? Changes and Continuity in Beijing's Taiwan Policy." *The Pacific Review* 34, no. 6 (2021): 926-945.
- Shambaugh, David, ed. *China and the World*. New York: Oxford University Press, 2020.
- Shirk, Susan L. "The Domestic Context of Chinese Foreign Security Policies." In *Oxford Handbook of the International Relations of Asia*, edited by Saadia M. Pekkanen, John Ravenhill, and Rosemary Foot, 391-410. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014.
- Stephan, Matthew D., and David Skidmore. "AIIB in the Liberal International Order." *The Chinese Journal of International Politics* 12, no. 1 (Spring 2019): 61-91.  
<https://doi.org/10.1093/cjip/poy021>.

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- Singh, Ajit. "The Myth of 'Debt-trap Diplomacy' and Realities of Chinese Development Finance." *Third World Quarterly* 42, no.2 (2021): 239-253.
- Tan, Yeling. "Disaggregating 'China, Inc.': The Hierarchical Politics of WTO Entry." *Comparative Political Studies* 53, no. 13 (2020): 2118-2152.
- Wang, Jisi. "China's Search for a Grand Strategy: A Rising Great Power Finds Its Way." *Foreign Affairs* 90, no. 2 (2011): 61-79.
- Wang, Jisi and Hu Ran. "From Cooperative Partnership to Strategic Competition: A Review of China-U.S. Relations 2009-2019." *China International Strategy Review* 1, no. 1 (June 2019): 1-10.
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- Weiss, Jessica Chen. "Authoritarian Signaling, Mass Audiences, and Nationalist Protest in China." *International Organization* 67, no. 1 (January 2013): 1-35.
- Westad, Odd Arne. *Restless Empire: China and the World Since 1750*. Basic Books, 2012.
- Wong, Audrye. "More than Peripheral: How Provinces Influence China's Foreign Policy." *The China Quarterly* 235 (2018): 735-757.
- Wu, Fuzuo. "Shaping China's Climate Diplomacy: Wealth, Status, and Asymmetric Interdependence." *Journal of Chinese Political Science* (2016): 199-215.
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- Yan, Xuotong. "Becoming Strong: The New Chinese Foreign Policy." *Foreign Affairs* 100, no. 4 (2021): 40-47.
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- Zhang, Denghua and Graeme Smith. "China's Foreign Aid System: Structure, Agencies, and Identities." *Third World Quarterly* 38, no.10 (2017): 2330-2346.
- Zhang, Feng. "Rethinking the 'Tribute System': Broadening the Conceptual Horizon of Historical East Asian Politics." *The Chinese Journal of International Politics* 2, no. 4 (2009): 545-574.
- Zhang, Ketian. "Cautious Bully: Reputation, Resolve, and Beijing's Use of Coercion in the South

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- China Sea.” *International Security* 44, no.1 (2019): 117-159.
- Zhang, Qingmin. “Bureaucratic Politics and Chinese Foreign Policy-making.” *The Chinese Journal of International Politics* 9, no. 4 (2016): 435-458.
- Zhao, Suisheng. “China’s Foreign Policy Making Process: Players and Institutions.” In *China and the World*, edited by David Shambaugh, 85-110. New York: Oxford University Press, 2020.
- Zhou, Fangyin. “Between Assertiveness and Self-Restraint: Understanding China’s South China Sea Policy.” *International Affairs* 92, no. 4 (2016): 869-890.
- Zuo, Xiyang. “The Trump Effect: China’s New Thoughts on the United States.” *The Washington Quarterly* 44, no. 1 (2021): 107-127.

### Outline of Course Content

#### Topic 1 – History of Chinese Foreign Relations

- Historical and Cultural Legacies
- The Mao Era
- Reform and Opening Up
- The “New” Era of Xi Jinping

#### Topic 2 – Chinese Foreign Policy Decision-making

- Actors, Institutions, and Process
- Social Influences

#### Topic 3 – “Sensitive Issues” in Chinese Diplomacy

- Human Rights
- Taiwan, Tibet, and Xinjiang
- Territorial and Maritime Disputes

#### Topic 4 – Shanghai in China’s Evolving Relations with the “Outside” World

- Technology Diffusion in the 19th and 20<sup>th</sup> Centuries and Why China Lagged Behind
- Cultural Exchanges or Clash of Civilizations

#### Topic 5 – China’s Relations with Other Countries and Regions

- China and Its Neighbors
- Sino-U.S. Relations
- Europe, Africa, Latin America, Middle East, and the Pacific

#### Topic 6 – China in the Global Political Economy

- The Belt and Road Initiative
- China’s Foreign Aid System

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- China and the WTO

### Topic 7 – China in Global Governance

- China’s International Institutional Statecraft
- China’s Climate Diplomacy

### \*Class Participation Grading Rubric

Class preparation and participation will be assessed according to the following guidelines:

Grade	Discussion	Reading/Prep
A	Excellent: consistent contributor; offers original analysis and comments; always has ideas on readings and class topics and easily connects them to larger themes. Takes care not to dominate discussion.	Demonstrates fluency with all readings; thoughtfully and critically uses resultant understanding to formulate comments and advance the class discussion.
B+	Very Good: frequent, willing, and able contributor; often offers thoughtful comments that connect to class topics and advance class learning through discussion.	Demonstrates knowledge with most of the readings; provides competent analysis of the readings and applies insights in class discussions appropriately.
B / B-	Satisfactory: frequent contributions to discussion; basic grasp of key concepts but little original insight; comments are of a general nature.	Displays familiarity with some readings and related concepts but tends not to analyze or connect them in a meaningful way to the class discussion.
C	Can Improve: sporadic contributor; comments/questions often show lack of understanding of key concepts; digresses or contributes in unhelpful ways.	Displays familiarity with fewer readings; rarely demonstrates analytical thought.
D	Subpar: rarely speaks; merely quotes text and repeats own comments or those of others. Comments are disconnected from topics and do not advance class learning.	Little apparent familiarity with the assigned material or application to relevant topics.
F	Failing: Absent from or does not participate in class. Online or using phone during class.	No familiarity with the readings and not able to apply their content in class discussion.