

THE RISE OF CHINA (GOVT 50)



Professor Jennifer Lind

Winter 2012

Tu Th 2:00-3:50pm; X-hr. Wed. 4:15-5:05pm

Office Hours: Wed 3-5pm

Department of Government

Dartmouth College

Silsby 219

Course Description and Objectives. This course explores the international strategic implications of the growth of Chinese power. We begin by studying historical periods of Chinese strength and decline, and by studying China's past relations with the United States and its neighbors. We examine China's transition from a position of weakness into one of growing wealth and power, and how this may affect its relations with the world's most powerful country, the United States. Are the United States and China doomed for superpower confrontation, or can China's rise be accommodated? Next, we explore rising China's relations and disputes with its neighbors. This course has two primary goals: (1) to familiarize students with the international strategic issues that are salient to China's rise (in East Asia, and in U.S.-China relations); and (2) to provide students with analytic tools (theories and military analysis) useful to the study of East Asian international security relations.

Readings. Readings are drawn from academic journals, the popular press, and book excerpts. Readings not located in required books are posted on Blackboard. You should purchase the following books (available at Wheelock Books or online booksellers). They are on reserve at Baker/Berry.

Henry Kissinger, *On China* (NY: Penguin, 2011)

Susan Shirk, *China: Fragile Superpower* (Oxford 2008)

Aaron L. Friedberg, *A Contest for Supremacy: China, America, and the Struggle for Mastery in Asia* (Norton 2011)

Ian Johnson, *Wild Grass: Three Portraits of Change in Modern China* (Vintage 2005)

Requirements

Class participation	15% of grade
Mid-term examination (take-home, Tues Feb 7)	25%
Issue paper (due Monday Feb 27: 2pm in Govt Dept office)	25%
Final exam (Monday, March 12, 3:00pm)	35%

Class Meetings and Office Hours. The class meets in the 2A slot (Tuesdays and Thursdays, 2:00pm to 3:50pm). Students must also be available during the X-hour period (Wed 4:15pm–5:05pm), in which office hours and occasional class meetings may be held. Office hours are Wednesdays, 3:00–5pm, in 219 Silsby, subject to change due to department and other meetings.

Please sign up in advance for office hour slots. To sign up, please go to the following website and enter your name at the desired time.

<http://spreadsheets.google.com/cc?key=0AowmtWr0bRfRdGZraUpzemVjS3YyQkg0dktlaXhKZVE&hl=en>

Policies. Class attendance is mandatory. Students are expected to have done all readings before class, and are expected to participate in class discussions. Students should make sure that travel plans do not coincide with exams or paper deadlines; extensions or makeups will only be made in case of illness or emergency. If you have a sudden illness before an exam, no makeup will be given unless you contact your class Dean, and ask him/her to contact me to confirm that you have a legitimate excuse for missing the exam. The Dean should confirm to me 1) that you were seen about your illness, and 2) that your medical situation made you unable to take an exam or meet a paper deadline. I need no specific information about your condition.

Accommodations. If you cannot meet a class requirement for a reason related to religious observance or disability and require accommodations, please contact me within the first two weeks of class so that we can make appropriate arrangements.

Plagiarism. Plagiarism will not be tolerated; at a minimum it will result in a “F” grade for the course, and may also involve College-level disciplinary action. Plagiarism is “a piece of writing that has been copied from someone else and is presented as being your own work.” This includes ideas as well as specific phrases, sentences or paragraphs. For guidelines see <https://www.dartmouth.edu/~sources/index.html>.

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Course Schedule and Reading List

I. FROM WEAKNESS TO STRENGTH

TH Jan 5 **Introduction**

Recommended:

Fareed Zakaria, *The Post-American World* (New York: Norton, 2009). Read Chapter 2 (pp. 1-48) and excerpt from Chapter 4, pp. 86-108.

Kishore Mahbubani, “The Case Against the West; America and Europe in the Asian Century,” *Foreign Affairs* Vol. 87, no. 3 (May/Jun 2008).

TU Jan 10 **Humiliations**

Henry Kissinger, *On China* (Penguin, 2011), Chapters 2 and 3.

Jean Pfaezel, *Driven Out: the Forgotten War Against Chinese Americans* (Random House, 2007), read Introduction and Chapter 1 (pp. xv – 46).

John Garver, “The Legacy of the Past,” from *Foreign Relations of the People’s Republic of China*; read p. 1 to top of p. 15.

Shirk, “The Burden of History,” in *China: Fragile Superpower*, pp. 153-158.

TH Jan 12 ***NO CLASS***

Start next week’s reading

TU Jan 17 **Weakness**

Kissinger, *On China*, Chapters 4, 5, 6, and 7.

Friedberg, *Contest for Supremacy*, pp. 9-27; and Chapter 3.

W Jan 18
X-HOUR

Ascent

Friedberg, *Contest for Supremacy*, pp. 27-35.

Kissinger, *On China*, chapter 12.

Shirk, *China: Fragile Superpower*, chapter 2.

Peter Hessler, “The Wonder Years,” *New Yorker*, March 31, 2008.

Evan Osnos, “The Grand Tour,” *New Yorker*, April 18, 2011.

TH Jan 19

Power

Arvind Subramanian, "The Inevitable Superpower: Why China's Rise is a Sure Thing," *Foreign Affairs*, Vol. 90, No. 5 (September-October 2011).
Salvatore Babones, "The Middling Kingdom: the Hype and Reality of China's Rise," *Foreign Affairs*, Vol. 90, No. 5 (September-October 2011).
Nicholas Eberstadt, "Demographic Trends Cloud China's Long-Term Economic Outlook," *Japan Spotlight*, March/April 2011, pp. 26-29.
Yanzhong Huang, "The Sick Man of Asia: China's Health Crisis," *Foreign Affairs*, Vol. 90, No. 6 (Nov/Dec 2011).
Friedberg, *Contest for Supremacy*, Chapter 9.

TU Jan 24

Intentions

Zheng Bijian, "Peacefully Rising to Great Power Status," *Foreign Affairs*, Sept/Oct 2005, pp. 18-24
Wang Jisi, "China's Search for a Grand Strategy," *Foreign Affairs*; Mar/Apr 2011, Vol. 90, No. 2: 68-79.
Robert Ross, "Chinese Nationalism and Its Discontents," *National Interest*, Nov/Dec 2011.
Taylor Fravel, "Regime Insecurity and International Cooperation," *International Security*, Vol. 30, no. 2 (Fall 2005): 46-83.
Friedberg, *Contest for Supremacy*, Chapter 6 and 7

II. U.S.-CHINA RELATIONS

TH Jan 26

Transition

Avery Goldstein, *Rising to the Challenge: China's Grand Strategy and International Security* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2008), chapter 4.
Jia Qingguo and Richard Rosecrance, "Delicately Poised: Are China and the U.S. Headed for Conflict?" *Global Asia*, Vol. 4, No. 4 (Winter 2010).
Robert Kaplan, "Where's the American Empire When We Need It?" *Washington Post*, Dec 3, 2010.
Michael Mandelbaum, *The Frugal Superpower* (New York: PublicAffairs, 2010), Chapters 1 and 4.
Robert Pape, "Empire Falls," *National Interest* (January/February 2009).
Stephen Walt, "The End of the American Era?" *National Interest* (Nov/Dec 2011).

Tu Jan 31

WestPac

Robert Kaplan, "The South China Sea is the Future of Conflict," *Foreign Policy*, Sept/Oct 2011.
Robert Ross, "China's Naval Nationalism: Sources, Prospects, and the U.S. Response," *International Security* 34 (Fall 2009): 46-81.
Yang Yi, "Navigating Stormy Waters: The Sino-American Security Dilemma at Sea," *China Security*, Vol. 6, no. 3, pp. 3-11.
Google search: read 10 news articles about Obama's November 2011 visit to Australia and Philippines.

Th Feb 2

Taiwan

1979 Joint Communiqué: <http://www.taiwandocuments.org/communique02.htm>
1979 Taiwan Relations Act <http://www.taiwandocuments.org/tra01.htm>

David Shambaugh, "A Matter of Time: Taiwan's Eroding Military Advantage," *Washington Quarterly*, Vol. 23, No. 2 (Spring 2000).

David Schlapak, et. al., "A Question of Balance," RAND, Santa Monica, Calif., 2009. Read the Summary, pp. xiii-xix; skim other sections of interest.

T.J. Cheng, "China-Taiwan Economic Linkage: Between Insulation and Superconductivity," in Nancy Bernkopf Tucker, ed., *Dangerous Strait: The U.S.-Taiwan-China Crisis* (NY: Columbia University Press, 2005).

Shirk, *Fragile Superpower*, chapter 7.

TU Feb 7 – TH Feb 9

****NO CLASS****

TAKE-HOME MIDTERM is available on Blackboard Tuesday, 10:00am.
Email to Prof. Lind by 5:00pm. Then, *enjoy winter carnival!*

TU Feb 14

Money

James Fallows, "The \$1.4 Trillion Question," *Atlantic*, Jan/Feb 2008.
review Subramanian, "The Inevitable Superpower" (from Jan 24)
Daniel Drezner, "Bad Debts: Assessing China's Influence in Great Power Politics," *International Security*, Vol. 34, No. 2 (Fall 2009), pp. 7–45.

W Feb 15
X-HOUR

BOOK CLUB

Johnson, *Wild Grass*, "Dream of a Vanished Capital"

III. REGIONAL RELATIONS

TH Feb 16

Neighbors (1)

Hugh White, "Power Shift: Australia's Future Between Washington and Beijing," *Quarterly Essay*, no. 39 (2010), pp. 1-74.
Shirk, *Fragile Superpower*, chapter 6.
James Reilly, "Remember History, Not Hatred: Collective Remembrance of China's War of Resistance to Japan," *Modern Asia Studies* 45: 2 (March 2011): 463–490.
Akio Takahara, "A Japanese Perspective on China's Rise and the East Asian Order," in Robert Ross and Zhu Feng, eds., *China's Ascent* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2008), pp. 218-237.

TU Feb 21

Neighbors (2)

David C. Kang, "Hierarchy and Stability in East Asian Relations," in Michael Mastanduno and John Ikenberry, eds., *International Relations Theory and the Asia-Pacific* (Columbia: 2003), Chapter 4 (pp. 163-184).
Friedberg, *Contest for Supremacy*, pp. 200-214.
David C. Kang, *China Rising* (NY: Columbia, 2009), chapter 5 (South Korea), pp. 104-125.
Council on Foreign Relations Backgrounder, "The China-North Korea Relationship," at <http://www.cfr.org/china/china-north-korea-relationship/p11097>
Zhu Feng, "China's North Korean Contradictions," December 12, 2010 at <http://www.project-syndicate.org/commentary/zhu1/English>

TH Feb 23

Energy

Vijay Vaitheeswaran, "Think Again: Oil," *Foreign Policy*, Nov/December 2007.
Shirk, *Fragile Superpower*, pp. 134-138; pp. 249-251 (on UNOCAL).
Michael Klare, "The New Geography of Conflict," *Foreign Affairs*, 2001.
Erica Downs, "The Chinese Energy Security Debate," *China Quarterly* (2004), pp. 21-41.
James Traub, "China's African Adventure," *New York Times Magazine*, November 19, 2006.

****MON, Feb 27 Issue Paper due in Govt Dept office, 2pm****

TU Feb 28

BOOK CLUB

Johnson, *Wild Grass*, "Turning the Wheel"

TH Mar 1

Islands

Su-Won Park, "[The East China Sea Dispute: Short-Term Victory and Long-Term Loss for China?](#)"
Brookings Institution, November 1, 2010.
Mark Valencia, "Diplomatic Drama: The South China Sea Imbroglio," *Global Asia*, September 19, 2011.
http://www.globalasia.org/V6N3_Fall_2011/Mark_J_Valencia.html
Peter Hayes Gries, *China's New Nationalism* (2004), chapter 7 (pp. 116-134).

TU Mar 6

Descent?

"How China Could Yet Fail Like Japan," *Financial Times*, June 14, 2011.
["Japan As Number One: Land of the Setting Sun,"](#) *Economist*, November 12, 2009.
Alan Wheatley, "[Hard Lessons for China From Japan's Rise and Fall,](#)" *Reuters*, January 3, 2011.
Review Huang and Eberstadt (Jan 24)