

IR 563: Chinese Foreign Policy

University of Southern California
Fall 2023

Instructor: Erin Baggott Carter
Office: DMC 355
Email: baggott@usc.edu

Course meetings: Friday 1p-3:50p
Location: DMC 254
Course website: Blackboard
Office hours: By appointment

Version: August 24, 2023

Description

This graduate seminar reviews the political science literature on the international relations of China. It asks students to apply analytical tools from international relations and comparative politics to China, including approaches that involve systemic theories, identity, ideology, domestic factors, and psychology. Methodologically, the course reviews case study, archival, survey, field, and computational approaches to studying Chinese foreign policy. The purpose of this class is to understand Chinese foreign policy in the context of international relations theory, with the goal of developing students as academic scholars. Students should expect 200-300 pages of reading a week. Students who are interested in a less theoretical approach to Chinese foreign policy should consider IR 407, Professor Carter's advanced undergraduate seminar.

Requirements

The course has two requirements, listed below.

1. Participation, 30%
2. Research Paper, 70%

First, students are expected to have carefully read all assigned materials prior to class. Class discussions will be devoted to analyzing the theoretical and empirical contributions of the readings. Seminar participants should approach the readings as political science reviewers at an academic journal or university press. What is the argument of the article or manuscript? How does it contribute to the field? How does it relate to existing works? Is the data collection novel? Is the methodological approach sound? Is it well organized and written? What revisions or extensions would you recommend to improve the work?

Second, students will write a 20-30 page document on a topic related to China. This can be a dissertation prospectus or a research paper. If a dissertation prospectus, the work should outline

the research question, the preliminary theory, and the observable implications of the theory. It should then discuss the data to be gathered, and the methodological approach to testing the observable implications of the theory. It should explain why there is a gap in the field, and how this dissertation project will advance current scholarship. If a research paper, the work should be a publishable contribution to the field. Throughout the semester, some time in the seminar will be devoted to discussing and refining students' research projects.

Statement on Academic Conduct and Support

Plagiarism – presenting someone else's ideas as your own, either verbatim or recast in your own words – is a serious academic offense with serious consequences. Please familiarize yourself with the discussion of plagiarism in *SCampus* in Section 11, Behavior Violating University Standards.¹ Other forms of academic dishonesty are equally unacceptable. See additional information in *SCampus* and university policies on scientific misconduct.² If you engage in plagiarism or any other form of academic misconduct, you will fail the course. If you aid someone else's misconduct, you will fail the course.

Discrimination, sexual assault, and harassment are not tolerated by the university. You are encouraged to report any incidents to the Office of Equity and Diversity³ or to the Department of Public Safety.⁴ This is important for the safety of the whole USC community. Another member of the university community – such as a friend, classmate, advisor, or faculty member – can help initiate the report, or can initiate the report on behalf of another person. The Center for Women and Men⁵ provides 24/7 confidential support, and the sexual assault resource center webpage⁶ describes reporting options and other resources.

A number of USC's schools provide support for students who need help with scholarly writing. Check with your advisor or program staff to find out more. Students whose primary language is not English should check with the American Language Institute,⁷ which sponsors courses and workshops specifically for international graduate students. The Office of Disability Services and Programs⁸ provides certification for students with disabilities and helps arrange the relevant accommodations. If an officially declared emergency makes travel to campus infeasible, USC Emergency Information⁹ will provide safety and other updates, including ways in which instruction will be continued by means of blackboard, teleconferencing, and other technology.

Students requesting academic accommodations based on disability are required to register with Disability Services and Programs (DSP) each semester. A letter of verification for approved

¹<https://scampus.usc.edu/1100-behavior-violating-university-standards-and-appropriate-sanctions>

²<http://policy.usc.edu/scientific-misconduct>

³<http://equity.usc.edu>

⁴<http://adminopsnet.usc.edu/department/department-public-safety>

⁵<http://www.usc.edu/student-affairs/cwm/>

⁶<http://sarc.usc.edu>

⁷<http://dornsife.usc.edu/ali>

⁸http://sait.usc.edu/academicsupport/centerprograms/dsp/home_index.html

⁹<http://emergency.usc.edu>

accommodations can be obtained from DSP when adequate documentation is filed. Please be sure the letter is delivered to me as early in the semester as possible. DSP is open Monday-Friday, 8:30am–5:00pm. The office is in Student Union 301 and their phone number is 213.740.0776.

Week 1: Introduction and Course Overview

Date: August 25

Week 2: No Class due to APSA (for now...)

Date: September 1

Week 3: Leader Based Approaches

Date: September 8

Daniel L. Byman and Kenneth M. Pollack (2001). “Let Us Now Praise Great Men (and Women): Restoring the First Image” *International Security* 25:4 (Spring) pg. 107-147

Hein Goemans and Alexandre Debs (2010). “Regime Type, The Fate of Leaders and War.” *American Political Science Review*, Volume 104, No. 3 (August), pp.430-446. Also peruse Archigos dataset online.

Keren Yarhi-Milo (2014). *Knowing the Adversary: Leaders, Intelligence, and Assessment of Intentions in International Relations*. Princeton: Princeton University Press. Chapter 1.

Michael D. Swaine (2015). “Xi Jinping on Chinese Foreign Relations: The Governance of China and Chinese Commentary.” *China Leadership Monitor* 48: 1-14.

Suisheng Zhao (2016). “Xi Jinping’s Maoist Revival.” *Journal of Democracy* 27(3): 83-97.

Victor Shih (2022). *Coalitions of the Weak: Elite Politics in China from Mao’s Stratagem to the Rise of Xi*. Cambridge University Press. Conclusion.

Susan Shirk (2023). *Overreach: How China Derailed Its Peaceful Rise*. Oxford University Press. Chapters TBD.

Week 4: Public and Elite Opinion I

Date: September 15

Erin Baggott Carter, Brett Carter, and Stephen Schick (2023). “Do Chinese Citizens Conceal Opposition to the CCP in Surveys? Evidence from Two Survey Experiments.” Forthcoming, *China Quarterly*.

Haifeng Huang (2023). “Triumphalism and the Inconvenient Truth: Correcting Inflated National Self-Images in a Rising Power.” Working paper, UC Merced.

Chen, Yuyu, and David Y. Yang. "The impact of media censorship: 1984 or brave new world?" *American Economic Review* 109.6 (2019): 2294-2332.

Iain Johnston (2016/17). "Is Chinese Nationalism Rising? Evidence from Beijing." *International Security* 41(3).

Jessica Chen Weiss (2019). "How Hawkish Is the Chinese Public? Another Look at 'Rising Nationalism' and Chinese Foreign Policy." *Journal of Contemporary China* 28 (119): 679-695.

Week 5: Public and Elite Opinion II

Date: September 22

Jessica Weeks (2008). "Autocratic Audience Costs: Regime Type and Signaling Resolve." *International Organization*.

Jessica Chen Weiss (2014). *Powerful Patriots: Nationalist Protest in China's Foreign Relations*. Chapter 1. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

David A. Steinberg and Victor C. Shih (2012). "Interest Group Influence in Authoritarian States: The Political Determinants of Chinese Exchange Rate Policy." *Comparative Political Studies* 45(11): 1405-1434.

Jessica Chen Weiss and Allan Dafoe (2019). "Authoritarian Audiences, Rhetoric, and Propaganda in International Crises: Evidence from China." *International Studies Quarterly* 63(4): 963-973.

Erin Baggott Carter (2023). "How Domestic Politics Yield Nationalist Propaganda and International Conflict in Autocracies." Working paper.

Week 6: Security Competition I

Date: September 29

James D. Fearon (1995). "Rationalist Explanations for War." *International Organization* 49(3): 379-414.

Charles L. Glaser (1997). "The Security Dilemma Revisited." *World Politics* 50(1): 171-201.

Robert Powell (2006). "War as a Commitment Problem." *International Organization* 60(1): 169-203.

Keren Yarhi-Milo (2014). *Knowing the Adversary: Leaders, Intelligence, and Assessment of Intentions*. Princeton University Press. Introduction and Chapter 1.

G. John Ikenberry and Daniel H. Nexon (2019). "Hegemony Studies 3.0: The Dynamics of Hegemonic Orders." *Security Studies* 28: 395-421.

Alastair Iain Johnston (2003). "Is China a Status Quo Power?" *International Security* 27(4): 5-56.

Thomas J. Christensen (2006). “Windows and War: Trend Analysis and Beijing’s Use of Force.” In Alastair Iain Johnston and Robert S. Ross, eds., *New Directions in the Study of China’s Foreign Policy*. Stanford University Press, Chapter 3.

M. Taylor Fravel (2008). *Strong Borders, Secure Nation: Cooperation and Conflict in China’s Territorial Disputes*. Princeton University Press, Chapter 1.

Week 7: Security Competition II

Date: October 6

Rush Doshi (2021). *The Long Game: China’s Grand Strategy to Displace American Order*. Oxford University Press, Chapter 1.

Michael Beckley (2023). “The Peril of Peaking Powers: Economic Slowdowns and Implications for China’s Next Decade.” *International Security* 48(1): 7-46.

Wang Jisi (2021). “The Plot Against China?” *Foreign Affairs*.

Ketian Zhang (2019). “Cautious Bully: Reputation, Resolve, and Beijing’s Use of Coercion in the South China Sea.” *International Security*.

Andrew Chubb (2021). “PRC Assertiveness in the South China Sea: Measuring Continuity and Change, 1970-2015.” *International Security* 45(3): 79-121.

Isaac B. Kardon and Wendy Leutert (2022). “Pier Competitor: China’s Power Position in Global Ports.” *International Security* 46(4): 9-47.

Tyler Jost (2023). “The Institutional Origins of Miscalculation in China’s International Crises.” *International Security* 48(1): 47-90.

Break: Fall Recess

Date: October 13

Week 8: Taiwan

Date: October 20

Richard Haass and David Sacks (2020). “American Support for Taiwan Must Be Unambiguous,” *Foreign Affairs*, September 2.

Bonnie S. Glaser, Michael J. Mazarr, Michael J. Glennon, Richard Haass, and David Sacks (2020). “Dire Straits: Should American Support for Taiwan be Ambiguous?” *Foreign Affairs*, September 24.

Jia Qingguo (2021). “Taiwan: Can A Perfect Storm Be Averted?” *China International Strategy Review* 3: 66-82.

Tsai Ing-wen (2021). "Taiwan and the Fight for Democracy," *Foreign Affairs* 100(6).

Joel Wuthnow, Derek Grossman, Phillip C. Saunders, Andrew Scobell, and Andrew N.D. Yang, eds. (2023). *Crossing the Strait: China's Military Prepares for War with Taiwan*. National Defense University Press. Introduction and Chapter 1.

Brendan Rittenhouse Green and Caitlin Talmadge (2022). "Then What? Assessing the Military Implications of Chinese Control of Taiwan." *International Security* 47(1): 7-45.

Week 9: Systems Competition I

Date: October 27

John Gerard Ruggie (1982). "International Regimes, Transactions, and Change: Embedded Liberalism in the Postwar Economic Order." *International Organization* 36 (2):379-415.

Stacie E. Goddard (2018). "Embedded Revisionism: Networks, Institutions, and Challenges to World Order." *International Organization* 72(4): 763-797.

Alastair Iain Johnston (2019). "China in a World of Orders: Rethinking Compliance and Challenge in Beijing's International Relations." *International Security* 44(2): 9-60.

Rebecca Adler-Nissen and Ayse Zarakol (2020). "Struggles for Recognition: The Liberal International Order and the Merger of Its Discontents." *International Organization* 75(2): 611-634.

Jessica Chen Weiss and Jeremy L. Wallace (2021). "Domestic Politics, China's Rise, and the Future of the Liberal International Order." *International Organization* 75(2): 635-664.

Wu Xinbo (2018). "China in Search of a Liberal Partnership Order," *International Affairs*.

Henry Farrell and Abraham L. Newman (2021). "The Janus Face of the Liberal International Information Order: When Global Institutions Are Self-Undermining." *International Organization* 75(2): 333-358.

Week 10: Systems Competition II

Date: November 3

Joseph S. Nye, Jr. (2008). "Public diplomacy and soft power." *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science* 616(1): 94-109.

Daniel Mattingly, Trevor Incerti, Changwook Ju, Colin Moreshead, Seiki Tanaka, and Hikaru Yamagishi (2023). "Chinese Propaganda Persuades a Global Audience That the 'China Model' is Superior: Evidence From A 19-Country Experiment." Working Paper, <https://osf.io/5cafd/>.

Erin Baggott Carter (2023). "Chinese Government Lobbying in Washington." Working paper.

Robert Blair, Robert Marty, and Philip Roessler (2021). "Foreign Aid and Soft Power: Great Power Competition in Africa in the Early Twenty-first Century." *British Journal of Political Science*, 1-22.

Alastair Iain Johnston (2007). *Social States: China in International Institutions, 1980-2000*. Princeton: Princeton University Press. Chapter 1.

Courtney J. Fung (2019). *China and Intervention at the UN Security Council: Reconciling Status*. Oxford University Press, Chapter 1.

Mary E. Sarotte (2012). “China’s Fear of Contagion: Tiananmen Square and the Power of the European Example.” *International Security* 37(2): 156-182.

Karrie J. Koesel and Valerie J. Bunce (2013). “Diffusion-Proofing: Russian and Chinese Responses to Waves of Popular Mobilizations against Authoritarian Rulers.” *Perspectives on Politics* 11(3): 753-768.

Erin Baggott Carter (2023). “The Revolution From Below: VOA and Democracy Promotion in China.” Working paper.

No Class: Veterans’ Day

Date: November 10

Week 11: Foreign Economic Policy

Date: November 17

Axel Dreher, Andreas Fuchs, Bradley Parks, Austin M. Strange, and Michael J. Tierney (2022). *Banking on Beijing: The Aims and Impacts of China’s Overseas Development Program*. Cambridge University Press, Chapter 2.

Axel Dreher, Andreas Fuchs, Roland Hodler, Bradley C. Parks, Paul A. Raschky, and Michael J. Tierney (2016). “Aid on Demand: African Leaders and the Geography of China’s Foreign Assistance.” World Bank.

Autor, David H., David Dorn, and Gordon H. Hanson (2016). “The China Shock: Learning from Labor-Market Adjustment to Large Changes in Trade.” *Annual Review of Economics* 8: 205-240.

Randall W. Stone, Yu Wang, and Shu Yu (2021). “Chinese Power and the State-Owned Enterprise.” *International Organization* 76(1): 229-250.

Martin Beraja, Andrew Kao, David Y. Yang, and Noam Yuchtman (2023). “Exporting the Surveillance State via Trade in AI.” Working paper.

Henry Farrell and Abraham Newman (2019). “Weaponized Interdependence: How Global Economic Networks Shape State Coercion.” *International Security* 44(1): 42-79.

Jennifer Lind and Daryl G. Press (2018). “Markets or Mercantilism? How China Secures its Energy Supplies.” *International Security* 42(4): 170-204.

Margaret M. Pearson, Meg Rithmire, and Kellee S. Tsai (2022). “China’s Party-State Capitalism and International Backlash: From Interdependence to Insecurity.” *International Security* 47(2): 135-176.

No Class: Thanksgiving Break

Date: November 24

Week 12: Technology

Date: December 1

Henry A. Kissinger, Eric Schmidt, and Daniel Huttenlocher (2021). *The Age of AI and Our Human Future*. Little, Brown, & Company, Chapter 5.

Chris Miller (2022). *Chip War: The Fight for the World's Most Critical Technology*. Scribner. Chapters TBD.

Jonathan E. Hillman (2021). *The Digital Silk Road: China's Quest to Wire the World and Win the Future*. Harper Business, Chapters 5-7.

Andrea Gilli and Mauro Gilli (2019). "Why China Has Not Caught Up Yet: Military-Technological Superiority and the Limits of Imitation, Reverse Engineering, and Cyber Espionage." *International Security* 43(3): 141-189.