

**Chinese Foreign Policy  
POL S 445/POL S 560  
Tuesdays: 12:30-3:20PM  
Classroom: Tory 1 83**

Professor Ashley Esarey  
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Office Hours: Monday 2-4pm or by appointment

**Course Objectives:**

This course seeks to understand Chinese perspectives toward foreign affairs through the consideration of international relations theory, the behavior of national leaders and foreign policy-making institutions, and China's major geopolitical partnerships and historical rivalries. A secondary goal is to grasp how China's rising political influence has been perceived by other states in the Asia Pacific region, including Canada and the United States. A third, and related objective, is to determine what China's neighbors plan to do: Will they actively support, accommodate, or inhibit the expansion of Chinese territorial claims and influence? Over the course of the semester, students will be expected to conduct theoretically nuanced and empirically informed analyses of China's foreign policy as well as to appraise the global outlook for peace in Asia during the early 21<sup>st</sup> century.

**Required Readings**

The following books are available for purchase in the University of Alberta Bookstore:

Paul Evans, *Engaging China: Myth, Aspiration, and Strategy in Canadian Policy from Trudeau to Harper*. (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2014)

Nina Hachigan ed., *Debating China: The U.S.-China Relationship in Ten Conversations* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2014)

Andrew J. Nathan and Andrew Scobell, *China's Search for Security* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2012)

Robert D. Kaplan, *Asia's Cauldron: The South China Sea and the End of a Stable Pacific* (New York: Random House)

All other readings will be available on eclass/Moodle, unless specified. Course readings must be brought to class, whether in digital form or printed out in "hard copy," on the day for which they are assigned. **PLEASE NOTE:** If for any reason you have a problem obtaining a reading, please let Professor Esarey know via email immediately; he will do his best to find a solution. Any changes to the required readings will be announced in class and subsequently noted on the course website.

**Class Format**

This seminar meets once per week for roughly three hours per session. The primary forms of instruction will be in-depth analysis and discussion of assigned readings, supplemented by lectures.

## **Evaluation**

The course assignments are outlined below. Students should note that all major components of the course—midterm, policy brief, discussion facilitation, and final exam—must be completed to receive a passing grade. The policy concerning missed work is outlined in Section 23.4(3) of the University Calendar. Assignments will be graded on a 1000-point scale using a raw score equivalent to the percentage weight of the assignment. For example, if the midterm essay is worth 20 percent of the final grade, it will be marked out of a total of 200 points. Final grades will be determined through a combination of adding up total raw scores and placing the raw score within the university range for letter grades. The instructor will not “curve” or adjust final grades according to any preset formula. Evaluation of the following course requirements will determine students’ grades.

## **Course Assignments**

	<b><u>Value (1,000 points=perfect score)</u></b>
<b>(a) Midterm Essay</b>	<b>200 points or 20 percent</b>
<b>(b) Policy Brief</b>	<b>250 points or 25 percent</b>
<b>(c) Discussion Facilitation</b>	<b>100 points or 10 percent</b>
<b>(e) Active Participation</b>	<b>100 points or 10 percent</b>
<b>(f) Take-Home Final</b>	<b>350 points or 35 percent</b>

## **Midterm Essay**

The midterm is a “take-home” essay pertaining to topics considered in course seminars. It requires students to demonstrate a nuanced understanding of course readings and concepts as well as to advance a clear argument in response to a prompt that Professor Esarey will distribute in class on **October 6**, one week prior to the due date of **October 13**. The maximum length for the midterm is six double-spaced pages.

## **Policy Brief**

The policy brief relates findings and recommendations emerging from a research project concerning one aspect of China’s foreign relations. This exercise permits students to explore an issue that may not be directly covered in course seminars. The policy brief must have a clear argument, establish the policy-making context or challenge, make specific recommendations, provide corroborating citations, and be written for “non-specialist” audience. It is due in class on **November 3**; a very short “elevator presentation” scheduled for the same day will allow you to earn additional points. Further direction on writing policy briefs will be provided in class. The topic considered by the policy brief should be determined after consultation with Professor Esarey. Maximum length for the brief is 2,000 words or four single-spaced A4-size pages, whichever is shorter.

Policy briefs might address (but are by no means restricted to) the following questions, although ideally they will pertain to topics somewhat narrower in scope:

- Who makes Chinese foreign policy? What is the role of public opinion? Why do these questions matter for Canadian political interests?
- What are the advantages/disadvantages of a “containment” strategy vis-a-vis China’s rise as opposed to “engagement” or simply accommodation?

- How is China's involvement in global trade or in such international institutions as the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund changing Chinese foreign policy?
- What factors or specific scenarios might precipitate a military clash between China and Taiwan, China and the United States, China and Japan, or all of the above?
- What has been China's "grand strategy" or "strategic culture" since ancient times? Compare a certain aspect of Chinese foreign relations from a certain historical period to the present. How might understanding China's strategic culture from the past help us to understand China's current and future foreign relations?
- How do Chinese domestic politics affect its foreign policy? If China rejects international norms for human rights, for example, how could this affect foreign relations with Canada, the European Union or with developing states in Southeast Asia, Africa, or Latin America?
- What do Beijing's efforts to procure energy resources worldwide reveal suggest about China's strategy for pursuing its national interest? Does the Chinese government behave any differently from other states in this regard?
- How does Chinese pollution affect its relations with neighbors in Asia or international NGOs championing the fight against climate change? What are Chinese doing to combat the country's large carbon footprint?
- What are China's current cyber war capabilities? How might computer hacking for corporate secrets or computerized counter intelligence advance Chinese national interests and affect the countries foreign relations?

### **Final Exam**

The take-home final exam requires students to utilize course theory, demonstrate empirical knowledge, and showcase the ability to analyze developments in Chinese foreign relations. A maximum of 10 pages in length, the final exam is the most significant course assignment and should be sent to Professor Esarey via email by 4PM on **December 9**.

### **Procedure for Submitting Assignments**

The midterm exam and policy brief must be submitted in class in hard copy; the final exam must be submitted via email to Professor Esarey at [esarey@ualberta.ca](mailto:esarey@ualberta.ca) and in Microsoft Word format, 12-point font, on the assignment due date.

### **Discussion and Active Participation**

It is essential that all required readings are completed *prior* to seminars. Students are expected to have read, thought about, and be prepared to discuss the readings. This is a discussion-based class and active engagement with the course material and with other participants is crucial to doing well in the course. Respect for and valuing opposing arguments, viewpoints, and other students are baseline requirements. If you experience difficulties contributing to class discussions and would like to try out new strategies for participating more fully, come to see the instructor early in the semester for assistance.

**Discussion Leadership**

All students are required to attend seminars and to lead one seminar discussion. Discussion leadership is graded and will count for 10 percent of the course grade. Dates for discussion leadership (or co-leadership) will be decided early in the term.

**Stay Current!**

You should stay informed about the politics of China and East Asia by reading online coverage from *New York Times*, *BBC*, *Globe and Mail*, *Wall Street Journal*, *Washington Post*, *China Daily*, *Shanghai Daily*, *Taipei Times*, *Asahi News*, and so on. Professor Esarey will also circulate select media coverage concerning Chinese foreign policy, and East Asia generally, via Twitter, where you are welcome to follow him @ashleyesarey. These readings are optional.

**GRADING SCHEME:**

<i>Descriptor</i>	<i>Letter Grade</i>	<i>Grade Point</i>
Excellent	A+	4.0
	A	4.0
	A-	3.7
Good	B+	3.3
	B	3.0
	B-	2.7
Satisfactory	C+	2.3
	C	2.0
	C-	1.7
Poor	D+	1.3
Minimal Pass	D	1.0
Failure	F	0

### **Academic Integrity**

“The University of Alberta is committed to the highest standards of academic integrity and honesty. Students are expected to be familiar with these standards regarding academic honesty and to uphold the policies of the University in this respect. Students are particularly urged to familiarize themselves with the provisions of the Code of Student Behaviour (online at <http://www.governance.ualberta.ca/en/CodesofConductandResidenceCommunityStandards/CodeofStudentBehaviour.aspx> ) and avoid any behaviour that could potentially result in suspicions of cheating, plagiarism, misrepresentation of facts and/or participation in an offence. Academic dishonesty is a serious offence and can result in suspension or expulsion from the University.”

### **Learning and working environment**

The Faculty of Arts is committed to ensuring that all students, faculty and staff are able to work and study in an environment that is safe and free from discrimination and harassment. It does not tolerate behaviour that undermines that environment. The department urges anyone who feels that this policy is being violated to:

- Discuss the matter with the person whose behaviour is causing concern; or
- If that discussion is unsatisfactory, or there is concern that direct discussion is inappropriate or threatening, discuss it with the Chair of the Department.

For additional advice or assistance regarding this policy you may contact the student ombudservice: (<http://www.ombudservice.ualberta.ca/> ). Information about the University of Alberta Discrimination and Harassment Policy and Procedures is described in UAPPOL at

<https://policiesonline.ualberta.ca/PoliciesProcedures/Pages/DispPol.aspx?PID=110> .

### **Academic Honesty:**

**All students** should consult the information provided by the [Office of Judicial Affairs](#) regarding avoiding cheating and plagiarism in particular and academic dishonesty in general (see the [Academic Integrity Undergraduate Handbook](#) and [Information for Students](#)). If in doubt about what is permitted in this class, ask the instructor.

**Students involved in language courses and translation courses** should be aware that on-line “translation engines” produce very dubious and unreliable “translations.” **Students in language courses** should be aware that, while seeking the advice of native or expert speakers is often helpful, **excessive editorial and creative help** in assignments is considered a form of “cheating” that violates the code of student conduct with dire consequences.

An instructor or coordinator who is convinced that a student has handed in work that he or she could not possibly reproduce without outside assistance is obliged, out of consideration of fairness to other students, to report the case to the Associate Dean of the Faculty. See the [Academic Discipline Process](#) .

### **Recording of Lectures:**

Audio or video recording of lectures, labs, seminars or any other teaching environment by students is allowed only with the prior written consent of the instructor or as a part of an approved accommodation plan.

### **Attendance, Absences, and Missed Grade Components:**

Regular attendance is essential for optimal performance in any course. In cases of potentially excusable absences due to illness or domestic affliction, notify your instructor by e-mail within two days. Regarding absences that may be excusable and procedures for addressing course components missed as a result, consult sections [23.3\(1\)](#) and [23.5.6](#) of the University Calendar. Be aware that unexcused absences will result in partial or total loss of the grade for the “attendance and participation” component(s) of a course, as well as for any assignments that are not handed-in or completed as a result.

**Policy for Late Assignments:**

It is your responsibility to inform the instructor as soon as it becomes clear that your work will be turned in late. If you do not communicate in advance, and your reason for being late does not also explain this lack of communication, then you should be prepared to be penalized 10 percent of the assignment’s score for each day that the assignment is late.

**Specialized Support & Disability Services:**

If you have special needs that could affect your performance in this class, please let me know during the first week of the term so that appropriate arrangements can be made. If you are not already registered with Specialized Support & Disability Services, contact their office immediately ( 2-800 SUB; Email [ssdsrec@ualberta.ca](mailto:ssdsrec@ualberta.ca); Email; phone 780-492-3381; WEB [www.ssds.ualberta.ca](http://www.ssds.ualberta.ca) ).

**FEELING OVERWHELMED? (In need of student, social, financial or security services?):**

The Student Distress Centre is there to listen, offer support, supply information and provide services:

- Call: 492-HELP (492-4357)
- Drop in: 030-N in the S.U.B.
- Visit: [www.su.ualberta.ca/sdc](http://www.su.ualberta.ca/sdc)
- Chat: <http://www.campuscrisischat.com/>

**\*\*\*\*Please note that the instructor may revise this course outline at any time. Any changes will, however, be announced in class and via the course eclass website\*\*\*\***

**Course Schedule**

**1 September—Introductory Session: China’s (Recent) Rise in World Affairs**

**8 September—What Drives Chinese Foreign Policy? Topography, Culture, Leaders, and Institutions**

Andrew J. Nathan and Andrew Scobell, *China’s Search for Security*, pp. 3-62

Alastair Iain Johnston, “What (If Anything) Does East Asia Tell Us About International Relations Theory?” *Annual Review of Political Science*, 2012: 15, pp. 53-78

**15 September—China’s Military Strategy and Territorial Aspirations: Past and Present**

Alastair Iain Johnston, “How New and Assertive is China’s New Assertiveness?” *International Security*, Vol. 37, No. 4 (Spring 2013), pp. 7-48

Robert D. Kaplan, *Asia’s Cauldron: The South China Sea and the End of a Stable Pacific*, pp. 5-31

**22 September—The Effect of Domestic Pressures on Foreign Policy**

Jessica Chen Weiss, Authoritarian Signaling, Mass Audiences, and Nationalist Protest in China, *International Organization* 67, Winter 2013, pp. 1-35

Andrew J. Nathan and Andrew Scobell, *China’s Search for Security*, pp. 195-221

**29 September—New Dangers in the South China Sea**

Robert D. Kaplan, *Asia’s Cauldron: The South China Sea and the End of a Stable Pacific*, pp. 32-70, 117-183

**6 October—Sino-United States: The Cold War to the Present**

Andrew J. Nathan and Andrew Scobell, *China’s Search for Security*, pp. 65-113.

Kenneth Lieberthal and Wang Jisi, “An Overview of the U.S.-China Relationship,” in Nina Hachigan ed., *Debating China: The U.S.-China Relationship in Ten Conversations*, pp. 1-20.

Barry Naughton and Yao Yang, “The Economic Relationship,” in Nina Hachigan ed., *Debating China: The U.S.-China Relationship in Ten Conversations*, pp. 21-42.

**\*\*Midterm prompt distributed\*\***

**13 October— The U.S. and China on the PRC’s Claims to Taiwan and Tibet**

Andrew J. Nathan and Andrew Scobell, *China’s Search for Security*, pp. 222-239

Jia Qingguo and Alan Romberg, “Taiwan and Tibet,” in Nina Hachigan ed., *Debating China: The U.S.-China Relationship in Ten Conversations*, pp. 176-197.

Nancy Bernkopf Tucker and Bonnie Glaser, “Should the United States Abandon Taiwan?” *The Washington Quarterly*, 34: 4, pp. 23-37.

**\*\*Midterm due in class\*\***

## **20 October—Sino-Japanese Relations: Historical Legacies, Interdependence, and Military Tensions**

International Crisis Group, “Dangerous Waters: China-Japan Relations on the Rocks,” April 8, 2013, pp. 1-63

Andrew J. Nathan and Andrew Scobell, *China’s Search for Security*, pp. 114-126

Kazuhiko Togo, “Abe’s Yasukuni Visit Isolates Japan,” December 29, 2013; online: <http://www.eastasiaforum.org/2013/12/29/abes-yasukuni-visit-isolates-japan/>

## **27 October— International Norms as a Constraint: Human Rights and Democracy**

Andrew J. Nathan and Andrew Scobell, *China’s Search for Security*, pp. 318-342

Zhou Qi and Andrew J. Nathan, “Political Systems, Rights, and Values” in Nina Hachigan ed., *Debating China: The U.S.-China Relationship in Ten Conversations* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2014), pp. 43-66.

Sean Silbert, “Hong Kong Democracy Movement Feels Beijing’s Pressure,” *Los Angeles Times*, September 3, 2014. Online at <http://www.latimes.com/world/asia/la-fg-hong-kong-democracy-fight-20140903-story.html>.

## **3 November— Sino-Korean Relations: Legacies of Communism and Nationalism**

Scott W. Harold, “Leodo as Metaphor? The Growing Importance of Sovereignty Disputes in South Korea-China Relations and the Role of the United States,” *Asian Perspective*, 36 (2012), pp. 287-307.

*Chosun Ilbo*, “Our Dispute with China Isn’t About Ancient History,” February 27, 2007.

**\*\*Policy brief due in class\*\***

## **10 November—\*\*No Class\*\* Reading Week**

## **17 November—China’s Engagement with Africa**

Victor Mallet, “The Ugly Face of China’s Presence in Africa,” *The Financial Times*, September 14, 2006, p. 13.

Joshua Eisenman, “China-Africa Trade Patterns: Causes and Consequences,” *Journal of Contemporary China*, 21 (77), September 2012, pp. 793-810.

Deborah Brautigam and Haisen Zhang, "Green Dreams: Myth and Reality in China's Agricultural Investment in Africa," *Third World Quarterly*, Vol. 34, No. 9, 2013, pp. 1676-1696.

**24 November—In-class Video on China's Engagement of Africa**

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=JNx5DvTIbQE>

**1 December—Canada-China Relations Amid Tensions and Opportunities**

Paul Evans, *Engaging China: Myth, Aspiration, and Strategy in Canadian Policy from Trudeau to Harper*, pp. 1-104.

**9 December—\*\*\*\*Take-home Final Exam Due by 4PM\*\*\*\***