



# COURSE OUTLINE

## POLS318 Chinese Foreign Policy

### Introduction

This paper describes and evaluates the foreign policy of the People's Republic of China. It is divided into three sections. In the first section, students are introduced to two major theoretical perspectives—structural realist theory and ideology—used by academics to analyse China's international behaviour. The second section focuses on China's foreign policy during the Cold War. Attention will be paid to China's relations with the Soviet Union, the United States, and states in Asia. For section three, which deals with the Post-Cold War era (1991-present), we first examine the evolution of Sino-U.S. relations and China's relations with states in Southeast Asia and Northeast Asia. Our attention then focuses on the increasing salience of internal challenges for China's foreign policy, reflected in the issues surrounding and Hong Kong, Xinjiang, and Tibet, the debate on China's rise, and the future of Chinese foreign policy.

### Semester 1, 2021

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Office: Burns Building, Room 4C14

Office Hours: Thursday 4 pm – 5 pm

### Off-campus access

The expectation is that all students enrolled in this course will be on campus for semester 1. However, if you are an overseas student who is unable to return to campus due to border restrictions, or if you are a domestic student unable to return to campus due to exceptional health/financial/family circumstances, please contact the lecturer immediately to make alternative arrangements for distance learning.

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## COURSE SPECIFIC INFORMATION

**Lecture:** WED, 9 am – 11 am in ARCHWAY 3

**Tutorials:** See tutorial schedule below. Attend one stream. The tutorials for this paper occur on Monday 1:00 PM- 1:50 PM in BURNS4, and Wednesday 2:00 pm -2: 50 pm in DC102, which is the University of Otago College of Education Drama Centre and Theatre building, 145 Union Street East. Tutorials begin in Week 10 and end in Week 21. There are no tutorials in week 9, 17, and 22.

Tutorials held on the following dates:

WEEK 9: No tutorials  
WEEK 10: Tutorials  
WEEK 11: Tutorials  
WEEK 12: Tutorials  
WEEK 13: Tutorials  
WEEK 14: Mid-Semester Break  
WEEK 15: Tutorials  
WEEK 16: Tutorials  
WEEK 17: No tutorials [ANZAC Day, Monday]  
WEEK 18: Tutorials  
WEEK 19: Tutorials  
WEEK 20: Tutorials  
WEEK 21: Tutorials  
WEEK 22: No tutorials

**LECTURE PROGRAMME** (University of Otago Calender)

Schedule (University of Otago Calendar)

Week 9 (3 March): Introduction – Role of Geography and History [**No Tutorials**]  
Week 10 (10 March): Interpreting Chinese Foreign Policy I: Realism [**Tutorial Week**]  
Week 11 (17 March): Interpreting Chinese Foreign Policy II: Ideology [**Tutorial Week**]  
Week 12 (24 March): 1950-1962: Rise and Fall of the Sino-Soviet Alliance [**Tutorial Week**]  
**Essay#1 due Monday 29 March**  
Week 13 (31 March): 1963-1979: China as a Revolutionary Power, Sino-American Rapprochement, Termination of Sino-Vietnamese Alliance [**Tutorial Week**]  
Week 14 (5 April – 9 April): Mid-Semester Break  
Week 15 (14 April): 1980-1991: China and The End of the Cold War [**Tutorial Week**]  
**Essay#2 due Monday 19 April [40%]**  
Week 16 (21 April): U.S.-China Relations in the Post-Cold War Era I [**Tutorial Week**]  
Week 17 (28 April): U.S.-China Relations in the Post-Cold War Era II [**No Tutorials**]  
Week 18 (5 May): China's and its Regional Neighbors – South East Asia [**Tutorial Week**]  
Week 19 (12 May): China's and its Regional Neighbors – North East Asia [**Tutorial Week**]

Week 20 (19 May): Domestic Issues and Chinese Foreign Policy [**Tutorial Week**]

Week 21 (26 May): Debating China's Rise [**Tutorial Week**]

**Essay #3 due Monday 31 May [40%]**

Week 22 (2 June): The Future of Chinese Foreign Policy [**No Tutorials**]

## OBJECTIVES AND INTENDED LEARNING OUTCOMES

On completion of POLS 318, students will have acquired the following:

- an understanding of the major theoretical approaches to the study of Chinese foreign policy covered in this paper.
- detailed empirical knowledge of the major developments in China's foreign policy since 1949.
- an ability to critically evaluate the relevant literature on Chinese foreign policy since 1949.

A note on email communication: While email communication can be useful, it has its limitations. Experience has shown that it is often a poor substitute for speaking directly with the instructor and the tutor. Students are therefore strongly encouraged to engage with the instructor and the tutor during office hours.

## GRADE SCHEME

A+	90-100
A	85-89
A-	80-84
B+	75-79
B	70-74
B-	65-69
C+	60-64
C	55-59
C-	50-54
D	40-49
E	<40

The University of Otago's criteria for marking the essay is as stated below:

A+ 90-100: Absolutely outstanding answer. Factually faultless; strong degree of originality; clearly directed, comprehensive coverage; very extensive evidence of engagement with assigned reading; very well-written.

A 85-89: Outstanding answer. Factually almost faultless; clearly directed; logical; extensive evidence of engagement with assigned reading; original; very well-written.

A- 80-84: Very good answer. Presentation is fresh, logical and perhaps enlightening; originality of thought or approach; clear evidence of engagement with reading; good coverage; very well-written and directed.

B+ 75-79: Comprehensive answer. Clear, logical; thorough; factually sound (sufficiency of facts and/or no serious errors); evidence of engagement with the readings; demonstration of originality; well-written and directed. Competently summarises, but does not move on to critically evaluate the readings.

B 70-74: Adequate answer. Competent but largely limited to lecture and some of the assigned material; perhaps some errors or key facts missing; no originality; expression/style/grammar moderate.

B- 65-69: Answer that demonstrates areas of important weakness, either in terms of argument construction and/or in the ability to understand aspects of the assigned material. Limited engagement with assigned readings.

C+ 60-64: Very weak answer. Lacks a clear argument. Problems in understanding the course literature. Some attempt to answer the question. Limited engagement with assigned readings.

C 55-59: Incomplete answer. Information fairly sparse; some inaccuracies; broadly relevant to the question but poor coverage of lecture material; expression/style/grammar poor. Little, if any engagement with assigned readings.

C- 60-54: Deficient answer. Poorly directed at question; many omissions or errors but some relevant facts correct; understanding poor; expression/style/grammar poor. Little, if any engagement with assigned readings.

D 40-49: Very deficient answer. Largely irrelevant to the question; a few facts correct, but many omissions and errors; expression/style/grammar very poor.

E <40 Totally inadequate answer. Little or no relevance to the question; approach may be wrong; expression/style/grammar weak.

#### **ADVICE ON EMAILING THE LECTURER AND THE TUTOR**

- If you are emailing for information on the paper, read the handbook first. Since the lecturer has honed this handbook over a number of years, the information will in all likelihood be here.
- If your query is addressed in the handbook, the instructor and the tutor will refer you back to the handbook.
- That said, genuine and necessary queries for information exist.
- If yours is such a case, identify yourself. There is often more than one Jack or one Jill in the class. The instructor often cannot respond effectively without knowing who he is communicating with. Knowing your first and last name helps in answering your query.
- Ensure the subject line for the email indicates what your email is about.

- By definition, a person only has one chance to make a positive first impression. Help yourself to be understood. Ensure your email is brief, to the point, with all the details required for the lecturer to understand your query. Avoid sending unclear or confusing emails containing spelling errors, which are unlikely to create a positive impression.
- Do not use text language. Check for spelling mistakes.
- Avoid inappropriate informal salutation. Examples that the lecturer has encountered in the past include include: "Hey" or "Bro."
- Like you, the lecturer is a busy person. Do not expect an immediate reply. Allow enough time for an answer.

## E-RESERVE AND CLOSE RESERVE INFORMATION

1. There is no coursepack for this paper.
2. The vast majority (but not all) of the readings are available in electronic format on the University of Otago Blackboard web-site: <https://blackboard.otago.ac.nz/> Readings drawn from books will be in the close reserves section of the library. There is a two hour loan period. Some readings can simply be downloaded from the web.
3. To familiarise yourself with the E-reserve system, see the University of Otago library guide web-sites: <http://unitube.otago.ac.nz/view?m=IQYR146POHY> & <http://www.otago.ac.nz/library/help/learn/index.html>

## PODCAST

All lectures are available on Capture. <https://help.otago.ac.nz/capture/student-help/accessing/>

## STUDENT INFORMATION [THIS IS IMPORTANT]

You will find there is a lot of helpful information and resources on the Department's website. In particular, we require you to check out the section called 'Essential Student Information.' You'll find it here: <http://www.otago.ac.nz/politics/study/current-students>. This page provides a number of useful resources such as the Study and Style Guide and the Plagiarism Declaration Form you must attach to your assignments. It supplies detailed information on assessment and student support. In particular, it contains guidance on the topics of plagiarism and deadlines, both of which can incur penalties if not heeded. This also is where you will find instructions for making online discussion posts and submitting assignments electronically if required, as well as guidance on using Otago Connect and Blackboard. So, it is very important you make yourself familiar with this material. Our assumption is that you have read it.

## GETTING INFORMATION AND ASKING QUESTIONS

Information about the course is communicated to you through the course outline, through emails sent to your student email address, and through lectures. It is your responsibility to

ensure that you read the course outline, attend the lectures and tutorials, and read your emails.

## **STUDENT EMAIL**

The University's online learning tools use your student email address to communicate with you. If you do not wish to use this address, you should forward all incoming emails to your preferred email address. Instructions on how to do this can be found on the ITS FAQ webpage. If you choose to use your student email address for all correspondence related to the online learning tools which your course uses (the default) then it is essential that you check your student email address regularly.

## **BLACKBOARD**

Blackboard is the learning management system used at the University of Otago. It allows lecturers to upload lecture notes, reading lists, assessment information and other course-related material to each paper's Blackboard site so that students may access them. It may also hold things such as additional literary resources, videoconference podcasts, audioconference podcasts, Otago Connect recordings and facilities for online discussion. It also contains functions that enables students and teachers to interact via class announcements, email, discussion boards and tools used for assessing students, such as on-line tests and assignment submission.

To access Blackboard, go to <http://blackboard.otago.ac.nz>, login using your University Username and Password. For further help go to the ITS [Frequently Asked Questions](#)

If you experience any difficulties using Blackboard, contact the ITS Service Desk on 0800 479888 (8.30am to 9.00pm Monday to Friday, 10:00am to 5:00pm Weekends) or email [its.servicedesk@otago.ac.nz](mailto:its.servicedesk@otago.ac.nz)

## **REFERENCING SYSTEM**

The department does not have a specific referencing style, the emphasis is on the consistent application of the chosen style selected by the student. For recommended referencing styles please go to <https://www.otago.ac.nz/cs/groups/public/@politics/documents/webcontent/otago660537.pdf>

## **SUBMITTING WRITTEN WORK**

All assignments need to be submitted to the Political programme essay submission box on the 4<sup>th</sup> floor of the Arts Building. See p.9 for further details.

## RETURN OF MARKED WORK

Assignments will be handed back in tutorials or lectures in the first instance. After that, they will be available for collection from Politics reception (room 4C12, 4<sup>th</sup> floor, Arts Building) between 9.00 – 10.00am or 1.30 – 2.30pm Monday to Friday.

NOTE: Assignments/exams will only be available for collection during these hours.

## PLAGIARISM

All Assignments submitted in the Department of Politics must be prefaced with a student *Plagiarism Declaration Form*. This form can be downloaded from the Department website <https://www.otago.ac.nz/politics/study/current-students/index.html>

Students should make sure that all submitted work is their own. Plagiarism is a form of dishonest practice. Many students seem to be unsure of what plagiarism is, or why it is penalised heavily. Here is a definition. According to the Senate of the University of Otago: "Plagiarism is defined as copying or paraphrasing another's work, whether intentionally or otherwise, and presenting it as one's own (approved University Council, December 2004). In practice, this means plagiarism includes any attempt in any piece of submitted work (e.g. an assignment or test) to present one's own work as the work of another (whether of another student or a published authority)."

### Penalty for Plagiarism

Any student found responsible for plagiarism in any piece of work submitted for assessment shall be subject to the University's dishonest practice regulations which may result in various penalties, including forfeiture of marks for the piece of work submitted, a zero grade for the paper, or in extreme cases exclusion from the University. Students are required to submit electronic versions of all assignments they submit. These will be subject to a plagiarism check.

## ACADEMIC INTEGRITY

Academic integrity means being honest in your studying and assessments. It is the basis for ethical decision-making and behaviour in an academic context. Academic integrity is informed by the values of honesty, trust, responsibility, fairness, respect and courage. Students are expected to be aware of, and act in accordance with, the University's Academic Integrity Policy.

Academic Misconduct, such as plagiarism or cheating, is a breach of Academic Integrity and is taken very seriously by the University. Types of misconduct include plagiarism, copying, unauthorised collaboration, taking unauthorised material into a test or exam, impersonation, and assisting someone else's misconduct. A more extensive list of the types of academic misconduct and associated processes and penalties is available in the University's Student Academic Misconduct Procedures.

It is your responsibility to be aware of and use acceptable academic practices when completing your assessments. To access the information in the Academic Integrity Policy and learn more, please visit the University's Academic Integrity website at [www.otago.ac.nz/study/academicintegrity](http://www.otago.ac.nz/study/academicintegrity) or ask at the Student Learning Centre or Library. If you have any questions, ask your lecturer.

**Academic Integrity Policy** - [www.otago.ac.nz/administration/policies/otago116838.html](http://www.otago.ac.nz/administration/policies/otago116838.html)

**Student Academic Misconduct Procedures** - [www.otago.ac.nz/administration/policies/otago116850.html](http://www.otago.ac.nz/administration/policies/otago116850.html)

## STUDENT SUPPORT

For all **administrative enquiries**, please contact:  
Bronwyn Craig, Administrator for Politics.  
Email: [politics@otago.ac.nz](mailto:politics@otago.ac.nz) Phone: 03 479 8663

*Subject Librarian (Humanities)*

Kate Knox  
Office: Central Library: meetings by appointment only.  
Phone: 479 8976 Email: [kate.knox@otago.ac.nz](mailto:kate.knox@otago.ac.nz)

**We recommend that you contact the Department as soon as possible if you have any problems participating in the course or accessing resources. Please remember to check your University email account regularly for updates and announcements.**

## POLITICS DEPARTMENTAL POLICIES

### ASSIGNMENT SUBMISSION

Essay#1 due 1 pm Monday 29 March [20%] 1200-1500 word essay  
Essay#2 due 1 pm Monday 19 April [40%] 2400-3000 word essay  
Essay #3 due 1 pm Monday 31 May [40%] 2400-3000 word essay

### ESSAY SUBMISSION

**All essays to be submitted ONLY in hard copy in the Politics department's essay drop off box. There is no email submission, and no submission via turnitin.**

All assessments must be submitted through the appropriate box (100-, 200-, 300- or 400-level) in the 4<sup>th</sup> floor lobby (north). Students must keep a copy of their essay.

A coversheet is available under the forms section of the departmental website, and is required to be attached to the front of your essays. Ensure that you put your name, student number, paper code, signature, and tutor's name (if appropriate) on the front page of your assignments and essays.

## EXTENSIONS

Essays must be handed in by the due date unless an extension has been requested from the lecturer in charge of the paper before the due date.

The Extension Request form can be downloaded from the Politics webpage, or may be available on Blackboard. Completed forms must be emailed to the Department at [politics@otago.ac.nz](mailto:politics@otago.ac.nz) in advance of the assignment due date. **No retrospective application will be accepted except in the case of serious medical condition, for which a medical certificate is required.**

Extensions will be granted only for the following cases:

1. Ill-health
2. Bereavement
3. Personal difficulties of a serious nature
4. Provincial or national representative activities
5. Job interviews outside Dunedin

Nothing else (such as pressure of other university work) will be accepted as a legitimate reason for extensions. Computer problems do not constitute an exceptional circumstance unless it is an officially notified failure of University equipment.

Your application for an extension **must be accompanied by evidence:**

1. Medical certificate for ill-health
2. Documentary evidence for bereavement
3. Written statement in support of your application from another university officer for personal difficulties of a serious nature
4. Documentary evidence for provincial or national representative activities

No other evidence will be accepted. The evidence must be submitted to the Department at [politics@otago.ac.nz](mailto:politics@otago.ac.nz), at the same time as, or within three working days after, the application for an extension either in hardcopy or as an email attachment of scanned image.

Applications with evidence does not guarantee the grant of extensions. **The maximum length of an extension is ONE WEEK, i.e. five working days (except the case of serious medical conditions supported by documentation from a medical practitioner). Work that is more than one week late without an extension may be commented on, but will not be graded.**

Politics programme policy specifies that late essays in all papers will be penalised by a grade deduction of 5% for each day of lateness. Thus, for example, an essay handed in three working days late which received a grade of 65% (B-) would be lowered to 50% (C-).

## QUESTIONS

For specific inquiries about tutorials and tutorial assignments, please write to your tutor in the first place. For more general inquiries about the course as a whole, please write to the course co-ordinator. Please do not write about things that you can easily find out yourself from this coursebook, Blackboard, eVision, or the departmental noticeboard (such as tutorial locations).

## CLASS REPRESENTATIVE

Please direct any feedback you may have to your class representative. The representative will meet with the Head of Department to provide feedback on each course.

## CONCERNS ABOUT THE COURSE

We hope you will feel comfortable coming to talk to us if you have a concern about the course. The instructors (lecturer and tutor) are happy to discuss any concerns you may have. To facilitate the timely resolution of any issues, it is highly recommended that the instructors be alerted as soon as possible. Alternatively, you can report your concerns to the Class Representative who will follow up with departmental staff. If, after making approaches via these channels, you do not feel that your concerns have been addressed, there are University channels that may aid resolution. For further advice or more information on these, contact the departmental administrator or head of department.

## ADDITIONAL SUPPORT

Any student should feel free to approach their tutor or lecturer, if they are having any problems or concerns with a course.

### 1. Student Learning Centre

The Student Learning Centre at the University of Otago provides support for students in reading, writing, study skills, note taking and much more. They even provide individual essay consultations and can assist with your grammar and essay planning. Check their website for information and contacts: <http://hedc.otago.ac.nz/hedc/sld.html>

### 2. Support for International Students

The Department of Politics encourages international students to seek support if they are having difficulties with their studies or meeting other challenges while they are a student at Otago. The Department of Politics contact is Lena Tan, [politics@otago.ac.nz](mailto:politics@otago.ac.nz)

Students can also contact International Student Support:

Telephone: 479 8344

Email: [international.support@otago.ac.nz](mailto:international.support@otago.ac.nz)

Website: [www.otago.ac.nz/international](http://www.otago.ac.nz/international)

Location: Archway West Building

### **3. Maori and Pacific Students**

Humanities Division contacts:

Ana Rangi is the Kaiāwhina Māori – Māori Student Support Officer for the Division of Humanities. She is of Ngāti Porou/Ngāti Kahungunu/Whakatōhea/Ngāti Kuia/Ngāti Koata descent, and originally from Christchurch. Her contact details are: Room 5C9, 5th Floor, Te Whare Kete Aronui (Arts Building). Email: [ana.rangi@otago.ac.nz](mailto:ana.rangi@otago.ac.nz) Tel: 479 8681

Esmay Eteuati is the Pacific Islands Students' Support Officer for the Division of Humanities. She is of Samoan descent, born in Wellington and raised in Dunedin. Her contact details are: Room 5C9a, 5th Floor, Arts Building. Email: [esmay.eteuati@otago.ac.nz](mailto:esmay.eteuati@otago.ac.nz) Tel: 479 9616

### **4. Disability support**

If you are experiencing difficulty with your studies due to a disability, temporary or permanent impairment, injury, chronic illness or deafness, you may contact, in confidence, the department's support person, or the University support staff (contacts below) to discuss adaptations in teaching and learning strategies and resources that may be helpful.

### **5. University Contact: Disability Information and Support**

Email: [disabilities@otago.ac.nz](mailto:disabilities@otago.ac.nz)

Phone: 479 8235

Website: <http://www.otago.ac.nz/disabilities>

Library Search Video Tutorial

This 3 minute video covers the basics <https://unitube.otago.ac.nz/view?m=qlU154rkNHj>

### **6. Self Help resources**

This guide offers tips and techniques in developing independent research & information skills. <http://otago.libguides.com/selfhelp>

### **7. Library Website**

The Library website provides online access to resources and services, including the Catalogue, Library Search, Article Databases, Group Room Bookings, Hours, Library Locations, Library News, New Books, Exam Papers, Subject Guides, and more!

Library Website: <http://www.otago.ac.nz/library>

### **8. Politics Subject Guides**

These guides will help you find information for your assignments including articles, books, websites and more! <http://otago.libguides.com/politics>

### **9. Ask a Question**

Library staff at any Lending and idesk are available Monday to Friday, 9am to 6pm. Try these people first to answer any questions you might have about using the Library and its resources. Phone: 64 3 479 8910 Email: [ask.library@otago.ac.nz](mailto:ask.library@otago.ac.nz)

## DISCLAIMER

While every effort is made to ensure that the information contained in this document is accurate, it is subject to change. Changes will be notified in class and via Blackboard. Students are encouraged to check Blackboard regularly. It is the student's responsibility to be informed.

### Week 9 (3 March): Introduction – The Historical Context

Discussion of the contents of the handbook. Lecture on pre-1949 Chinese history, with an emphasis on the 1839-1949 era, and how that can help us understand post-1949 Chinese foreign policy.

#### Required

John Garver, *Foreign Relations of the People's Republic of China* (New Jersey: Prentice-Hall, 1993), 2-30.

#### Recommended

Harry Harding, "How the Past Shapes the Present: Five Ways in which History Affects China's Contemporary Foreign Relations," *Journal of American-East Asian Relations*, 16 no.1-2 9 (2009): 119-134.

Wang Yuankang, "Explaining the Tribute System: Power, Confucianism and War in Medieval East Asia," *Journal of East Asian Studies* 13, no.2 (May-August 2013): 207-232.

### Week 10 (10 March): Interpreting Chinese Foreign Policy I: Realism

- Interpretations of China as an international actor.

#### Required

John Mearsheimer, "Structural Realism," in Tim Dunne, Milja Kurki, and Steve Smith, eds., *International Relations Theories: Discipline and Diversity*, 3rd Edition (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013), 77-93.

#### Recommended

Kenneth Waltz, "The Origins of War in Neorealist Theory," *Journal of Interdisciplinary History*, 18 no. 4 (Spring 1988): 615-628.

Jonathan Kirshner, "The Political Economy of Realism," in Ethan Kapstein and Michael Mastanduno eds. *Unipolar Politics: Realism and State Strategies After the Cold War* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1999), 69-102.

Brian Rathburn, "A Rose by Any Other Name: Neoclassical Realism as the Logical and Necessary Extension of Structural Realism," *Security Studies*, 17 no. 2 (2008): 294-321. Note: This reading discusses the compatibility between structural realism/neorealism and a variant called neoclassical realism. Specifically, Rathburn demonstrates how neoclassical realism, with its inclusion of domestic political factors is both a logical extension of, and compatible with structural realism.

#### Week 11 (17 March): Interpreting Chinese Foreign Policy II: Ideology

- Interpretations of China as an international actor.

#### Required

William A. Joseph, "Ideology and China's Political Development," in William A. Joseph ed. *Politics in China: An Introduction* 3<sup>rd</sup> ed. (Oxford University Press, 2019), 129-164.

#### Recommended

Hal Brands, "Democracy vs Authoritarianism: How Ideology Shapes Great Power Conflict," *Survival*, 60 no. 5 (2018): 61-114.

Chen Jian, *Mao's China and the Cold War* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2001), 1-16.

Ian Hurd, "Constructivism," in Christian Reus-Smit and Duncan Snidal eds. *The Oxford Handbook of International Relations*, Paperback Version (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010), 298-316.

Alexander Wendt, "Anarchy is What States Make Of It: The Social Construction of Power Politics," in Robert Art and Robert Jervis eds. *International Politics*, 8th Ed. (New York: Addison-Wesley, 2006), 61-68.

#### Week 12 (24 March): Sino-US Relations and the Rise and Fall of the Sino-Soviet Alliance, 1949-1963

- Critical Developments in the Sino-Soviet Relationship (1945-63)
- China and the Korean War (1950-53)
- Sino-U.S. Relations during the early Cold War

#### Required

Shu Guang Zhang, "The Sino-Soviet Alliance and the Cold War in Asia, 1954-62," in Melvyn P. Leffler and Odd Arne Westad eds., *The Cambridge History of the Cold War, Origins 1945-62, Vol.1* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2010), 353-375.

John Garver, "Little Chance," *Diplomatic History*, 21 no. 1, (Winter 1997): 87-94. Ideology made Sino-American conflict from 1949-1971 unavoidable.

Sergei N. Goncharov, John W. Lewis, and Xue Litai, *Uncertain Partners: Stalin, Mao, and the Korean War* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1993), 168-202.

### Recommended

Sergei N. Goncharov, John W. Lewis, and Xue Litai, *Uncertain Partners: Stalin, Mao, and the Korean War* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1993), 1-35 (Google books).

Note: For copyright reasons, only one chapter (i.e. pp.168-202) from the *Uncertain Partners* book listed above can be used in blackboard. The remaining reading, Chapter One (pp.1-35), is therefore only available in Google Books version, which you can access below at the following link:

<https://books.google.co.nz/books?id=Ck3vTN28TGwC&lpg=PP1&pg=PA1#v=onepage&q&f=false>

Wooseon Choi, "Structure and Perceptions: Explaining American Policy Toward China (1949–50)," *Security Studies* 16, no. 4 (October–December 2007): 555–582. A structural realist/neorealist counter to an ideological interpretation of Sino-US conflict as reflected in the John Garver reading above.

Thomas Christensen, *Worse Than A Monolith: Alliance Politics and the Problems of Coercion in Asia* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2011), 28-62.

Week 13 (31 March): China as a Revolutionary Power, Sino-American Rapprochement, Termination of Sino-Vietnamese Alliance, 1963-1979

- Renewed Sino-Soviet conflict
- Sino-U.S. rapprochement and normalisation of relations
- Sino-Vietnamese Relations

### Required

John Garver, *Foreign Relations of the People's Republic of China* (New Jersey: Prentice-Hall, 1993), 133-165. Note to Students: For copyright reasons, only one chapter from this book can be placed on Blackboard. This chapter is therefore only available in hardcopy, from the close reserve desk.

Yang Kuisong, "The Sino-Soviet Border Clash of 1969: From Zhenbao Island to Sino-American Rapprochement," *Cold War History*, 1 no.1 (2000): 21-52.

Harry Harding, *A Fragile Relationship: The United States and China Since 1972* (Washington, DC: Brookings Institution, 1992), 1-22.

Nicholas Khoo, "Revisiting the Termination of the Sino-Vietnamese Alliance, 1975-79," *European Journal of East Asian Studies*, 9 no. 2 (December 2010): 321-361.

#### Recommended

John Garver, *China's Quest: The History of the Foreign Relations of the People's Republic of China* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2016), Chapter 8.

Qiang Zhai, "An Uneasy Relationship: China and the DRV during the Vietnam War," in Lloyd C. Gardner and Ted Gittinger eds. *International Perspectives on Vietnam* (College Station: Texas A & M University, 2000), 108-139.

Nicholas Khoo, *Collateral Damage: Sino-Soviet Rivalry and the Termination of the Sino-Vietnamese Alliance* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2011), 78-102.

Week 14 (5 April – 9 April): Mid-Semester Break

Week 15 (14 April): China and The End of the Cold War, 1979-1991

- China's role in the termination of the Third Indochina War
- Tiananmen and Chinese foreign policy
- Normalisation of Sino-Soviet Relations

#### Required

Robert Ross, "China and the Cambodian Peace Process: The Value of Coercive Diplomacy," *Asian Survey*, 31 no.12 (December 1991): 1170-1185.

John Garver, *China's Quest: The History of the Foreign Relations of the People's Republic of China* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2016), 505-527.

#### Recommended

Rosemary Foot, "China and the Tiananmen Bloodshed of 1989," in Steve Smith, Amelia Hadfield, Tim Dunne eds. *Foreign Policy: Theories, Actors, Cases 2nd ed.* (Oxford University Press, 2012), 327-347.

## Week 16 (21 April): U.S.-China Relations in the Post-Cold War Era I

### Required

- Sino-U.S. relations in the context of the collapse of communism
- China in an age of US unipolarity

David Lampton, *Same Bed, Different Dreams: Managing U.S.-China Relations, 1989-2000* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2002), 15-63.

Robert G. Sutter, *U.S.-Chinese Relations: Perilous Past, Pragmatic Present* 3<sup>rd</sup> ed. (Lanham, Maryland: Rowman & Littlefield publishers, 2018), 119-144.

### Recommended

Robert L. Suettinger, *Beyond Tiananmen: The Politics of US-China Relations* (Washington DC: Brookings, 2003), 410-442.

## Week 17 (28 April): U.S.-China Relations in the Post-Cold War Era II

- Sino-U.S. relations in an era of rising Chinese power

### Required

Marc Santora, "Pompeo Calls China's Ruling Party 'Central Threat of Our Times'," *New York Times*, January 30, 2020.

Adam Liff, "China and the U.S. Alliance System," *China Quarterly* Vol. 233 (March 2018): 1-29.

Harry Harding, "Has U.S. China Policy Failed?" *Washington Quarterly*, 38 no. 3 (2015): 95-122.

### Recommended

Office of the President of the United States, *United States Strategic Approach to the People's Republic of China* (Washington DC, 2020), 1-16.

<https://www.whitehouse.gov/wp-content/uploads/2020/05/U.S.-Strategic-Approach-to-The-Peoples-Republic-of-China-Report-5.20.20.pdf>

Michael Swaine, "Chinese Leadership and Elite Responses to the U.S. Pacific Pivot," *China Leadership Monitor*, No. 38 (Summer 2012): 1-25. Also available for download at: <https://www.hoover.org/sites/default/files/uploads/documents/CLM38MS.pdf>

Robert Sutter, "Trump's China Policy: Bi-partisan Hardening, Uncertain Resolve," *H-Diplo*, 16 January 2019, 1-13. Available for download at: <https://issforum.org/ISSF/PDF/Policy-Roundtable-1-5BL.pdf>

#### Week 18 (5 May): China and its Regional Neighbors – Southeast Asia

- Examination of China's relations with the states on its periphery: Southeast Asia
- Cross cutting patterns of increased economic ties, institutional interaction, and military friction.

#### Required

Ian Storey, *Southeast Asia and the Rise of China: The Search for Security* (New York: Routledge, 2011), 38-98.

Michael D. Swaine, "Chinese Views on the South China Sea Arbitration Case Between the People's Republic of China and the Philippines," *China Leadership Monitor*, No. 51 (2016): 1-13. Also available for download at: <http://carnegieendowment.org/files/CLM51MS.pdf>

#### Recommended

Robert S. Ross, "China-Vietnamese Relations in the Era of Rising China: Power, Resistance, and Maritime Conflict," *Journal of Contemporary China* (forthcoming issue in 2021). This article has yet to be published. To access this article, search for 'Journal of Contemporary China' in the University of Otago Journal database, and then access the article via this link: <https://www.tandfonline-com.ezproxy.otago.ac.nz/doi/full/10.1080/10670564.2020.1852737>

Renato Cruz De Castro, "From Appeasement to Soft Balancing: The Duterte Administration's Shifting Policy on the South China Sea Imbroglio," *Asian Affairs: An American Review* (forthcoming issue in 2021). This article has yet to be published. To access this article, simply click on the weblink: <https://www.tandfonline.com/doi/pdf/10.1080/00927678.2020.1818910?needAccess=true>

Dai Bingguo, "Speech by Dai Bingguo at the China-US Dialogue on the South China Sea Between Chinese and US Think Tanks," Carnegie Endowment for International Peace. Washington DC, July 5, 2016. Also available for download at: [http://www.fmprc.gov.cn/mfa\\_eng/zxxx\\_662805/t1377747.shtml](http://www.fmprc.gov.cn/mfa_eng/zxxx_662805/t1377747.shtml)

Adam Liff and G. John Ikenberry, "Racing Toward Tragedy? China's Rise, Military Competition in the Asia-Pacific, and the Security Dilemma," *International Security*, 39 no. 2 (Fall 2014): 52-91.

## Week 19 (12 May): China and its Regional Neighbors – Northeast Asia

- Examination of China's post-Cold War era relations with the states on its periphery: Northeast Asia
- Cross cutting patterns of increased economic ties, institutional interaction, and military friction.

### Required

Andrew Nathan and Andrew Scobell, *China's Search for Security* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2012), 114-138, 222-240.

### Recommended

Michael D. Swaine, "Chinese Views on South Korea's Deployment of THAAD," *China Leadership Monitor*, No. 52 (2016): 1-15. Also available for download at: <http://carnegieendowment.org/files/CLM52MS.pdf>

Adam P. Liff, "Maritime Gray Zone Operations in the East China Sea and Japan's Response," in Andrew S. Ericsson and Ryan D. Martinson eds., *China's Maritime Gray Zone Operations* (Newport, R.I. : Naval Institute Press, 2019), 217-231.

Scott Kastner, "Does Economic Integration Across the Taiwan Strait Make Military Conflict Less Likely?," *Journal of East Asian Studies*, 6 no.2 (2006): 319-346.

Nicholas Khoo, "Retooling Power Projection Theory: Explaining the Failure of China's North Korea Nuclear Weapons Policy," *Pacific Review*, 34 no. 1 (March-April 2021). This article has yet to be published. To access this article, search for 'Pacific Review,' in the University of Otago Journal database, and then access article via this link: <https://www.tandfonline-com.ezproxy.otago.ac.nz/doi/full/10.1080/09512748.2019.1689287>

## Week 20 (19 May): Domestic Issues and Chinese Foreign Policy

- Internal challenges and China's foreign policy
- Hong Kong, Xinjiang, Tibet.

### Required

Note to Students: Due to the 10% copyright rule which the University of Otago is required by law to uphold, the required readings cannot be made available on Blackboard, and are available from the library short-loan desk.

Sonny Shiu-Hing Lo, "Hong Kong," in William A. Joseph ed. *Politics in China: An Introduction* 3<sup>rd</sup> ed. (Oxford University Press, 2019), 517-537.

Robert Barnett, "Tibet," in William A. Joseph ed. *Politics in China: An Introduction* 3<sup>rd</sup> ed. (Oxford University Press, 2019), 457-486.

Garder Bovingdon, "Xinjiang," in William A. Joseph ed. *Politics in China: An Introduction* 3<sup>rd</sup> ed. (Oxford University Press, 2019), 487-516.

### Recommended

Victoria Tin-bor Hui, "Beijing's Hard and Soft Suppression in Hong Kong," *ORBIS* 64 no.2 (Spring 2020): 289-311.

Keith Bradsher, Elaine Yu, Stephen Lee Myers, With Security Law as a Cudgel, Beijing Cracks Down on Hong Kong," *New York Times*, 31 July 2020.

Vivian Wang, "To Build Loyalty to China, Hong Kong Rewrites History," *New York Times*, 24 February 2021.

Austin Ramzy and Chris Buckley, " 'Absolutely No Mercy': Leaked Files Expose How China Organized Mass Detentions of Muslims," *New York Times*, 16 November 2019.

On Xinjiang, access the BBC's extensive reporting at [https://www.bbc.co.uk/news/resources/idt-sh/China\\_hidden\\_camps](https://www.bbc.co.uk/news/resources/idt-sh/China_hidden_camps) - click the various tabs for more information: 'Detention,' 'Mistakes,' 'Identity,' 'From Above,' 'Blocked,' and 'Control.'

Press Statement, Michael Pompeo, Determination of the Secretary of State on Atrocities in Xinjiang, 19 January 2021. Available at: <https://2017-2021.state.gov/determination-of-the-secretary-of-state-on-atrocities-in-xinjiang/index.html>

Adrian Zenz, "Xinjiang's System of Militarized Vocational Training Comes to Tibet," *China Brief*, 20 no. 17 (September 2020), 7-17. Available at: <https://jamestown.org/wp-content/uploads/2020/09/Read-the-09-28-2020-CB-Issue-in-PDF-rev2.pdf?x78980>

Michel Bristow, Gedhun Choekyi Niyima: Tibetan Buddhism's 'reincarnated' leader who disappeared aged six," BBC, 16 May 2020. Available at <https://www.bbc.com/news/world-asia-china-52660198>

Enze Han, *Contestation and Adaptation: The Politics of National Identity in China* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2016), 1-23.

Li Yuan, "Two Arrests, Two Outcomes Tell a Tale of Xi Jinping's China," *New York Times*, 12 February 2021.

Javier Hernandez and James Gorman, "On W.H.O. Trip, China Refused to Hand Over Important Data," *New York Times*, 12 February 2021.

## Week 21 (26 May): Debating China's Rise

- Examination of the various interpretations of China's rise

### Required

Gilbert Rozman, "Chinese National Identity and Its Implications for International Relations in East Asia," *Asia-Pacific Review*, 18 no. 1 (2011): 84-97. Pay particular attention to Rozman's discussion of the linkage between ideology and identity.

John Mearsheimer, *The Tragedy of Great Power Politics* Updated edition (New York: W.W. Norton, 2014), 360-411.

Charles Glaser, "Will China's Rise Lead to War? Why Realism Does Not Mean Pessimism, Foreign Affairs," *Foreign Affairs*, 90 no.2 (March/April 2011): 80-91.

David Shambaugh, "Coping with a Conflicted China," *Washington Quarterly*, 34 no. 1 (2011): 7-27.

## Week 22 (2 June): The Future of Chinese Foreign Policy

- Discussion on the future of Chinese foreign policy

### Required

State Council Information Office of the People's Republic of China, *China and the World in the New Era* (Beijing: 2019). Available at: <http://hr.china-embassy.org/eng/gdxw/t1705713.htm>

### Recommended

Wang Yuan-kuang, "Managing Regional Hegemony in Historical Asia: The Case of Early Ming China," *Chinese Journal of International Politics*, 5 no.2 (2012): 129-153.

Bruce Bueno De Mesquita and George W. Downs, "Development and Democracy," *Foreign Affairs* 84 no. 5 (September/October 2005): 77-86.

## Essay Questions & Instructions

### General instructions

1. Given the copious readings in this handbook, there is absolutely no requirement or expectation that students cite readings outside this handbook.
2. Demonstrate that you have done the assigned readings. Be sure to cite the relevant assigned readings.

3. If you have any queries about the essay questions, please ask the instructor (ideally during lecture (so that other students can benefit from your questions) or at office hours.
4. Before asking the instructor questions, you are strongly advised to read the 'Elements of a Strong Essay' and 'Questions About Questions' sections below. If your question is discussed there, you will be referred back to the handbook.
5. **All Assignments submitted in the Department of Politics must be prefaced with a student *Plagiarism Declaration Form*.** This form can be downloaded from the Department website <https://www.otago.ac.nz/politics/study/current-students/index.html>

Essay#1 due 1 pm Monday 29 March [20%] 1200-1500 word essay

Essay #1 Question: To answer this essay, you will have to read and make detailed reference to the John Garver (Week 9) reading, and either the John Mearsheimer reading in Week 10 or the William Joseph reading in Week 11.

Choose one question to answer:

How can structural realism help us to interpret China's relationship with the imperialist powers in the era from 1839 to 1949?

How can ideology help us to interpret China's relationship with the imperialist powers in the era from 1839 to 1949?

Specific Instructions for Essay #1:

There should be four parts to this essay: (1) introduction which contains a thesis statement/central idea (2) summary of either structural realist theory or ideology (3) analysis showing how developments described in the reading by John Garver (Week 9) illuminate the role of either structural realist theory OR ideology, and (4) conclusion.

Specific Instructions for Essay #1: My advice is that approximately fifty per cent of the essay should consist of an introduction and a summary of the selected author's argument as presented in the reading. The remaining fifty per cent of the review should contain your analysis of how the developments described in the reading by John Garver (Week 9) illuminate the role of either structural realist theory OR ideology, and a conclusion.

Essay#2 due 1 pm Monday 19 April [40%] 2400-3000 word essay

Specific Instructions:

1. Whichever essay question you select to answer, it necessary to engage with the readings in both WEEK 10 and WEEK 11 on "Interpreting Chinese Foreign Policy," and the other

relevant readings in this paper. Given the copious readings in this handbook, there is no requirement to use readings that are not included in this handbook.

2. Also, through your choice of examples, you are required to demonstrate a familiarity with Chinese foreign policy over the entire Cold War era (1949-91). For example, answers that focus on only a certain portion of the Cold War (such as 1946-72) will **not** have demonstrated a familiarity with Chinese foreign policy during this era.

3. Be sure to include a well thought-out thesis statement in the first paragraph, that responds directly to the question posed.

#### Essay #2 Questions (Select 1 of the 2 questions)

1. Identify three or more turning points in China's Cold War relationship with the Soviet Union from 1949-1991. What is the most convincing way to explain China's foreign policy during these turning points?

2. Is China's Cold War relationship with the United States from 1949-1991 most powerfully explained by reference to structural realism or ideology?

#### Essay #3 due 1 pm Monday 31 May [40%] 2400-3000 word essay

##### Specific Instructions:

1. Whichever essay question you select to answer, it is necessary to engage with the readings in both WEEK 10 and WEEK 11 on "Interpreting Chinese Foreign Policy" and the other relevant assigned readings in this paper. Given the copious readings in this handbook, there is no requirement to use readings that are not included in this handbook.

2. Your choice of examples should seek to demonstrate a familiarity with Chinese foreign policy over the entire era from the Tiananmen protests of 1989 through 2020. For example, answers that focus on a certain portion of the Post-Cold War (for example, from 1989 to 2011 or only from 2011-2020) will not have demonstrated a thorough familiarity with Chinese policy during this era.

3. Be sure to include a well thought-out thesis statement in the first paragraph, that responds directly to the question posed.

#### Essay #3 Questions (Choose 1 of the 2 questions)

1. "In the post-1989 era, the concept of ideology offers a more compelling explanation for China's foreign policy than concepts associated with neorealist theory." Do you agree or disagree? Discuss with reference to one issue in China's relations with a

Northeast Asian state, one issue in China's relations with a Southeast Asian state, and one domestic issue (either Tibet, Xinjiang, or Hong Kong).

2. Identify three or more turning points in China's post-Cold War relationship with the US since 1989. With reference to the debate on structural realism and ideology, what is the most convincing way to explain China's foreign policy during these turning points?

### Some Thoughts On How (and How Not) to Craft a Strong Essay Answer

"A scholar's first duty is to make it easy for the reader to figure out what you are saying. If the reader is confused, that's probably your fault."<sup>1</sup>

Stephen Walt

"Modern English, especially written English, is full of bad habits which spread by imitation and which can be avoided if one is willing to take the necessary trouble. If one gets rid of these habits one can think more clearly, and to think clearly is a necessary first step toward political regeneration: so that the fight against bad English is not frivolous and is not the exclusive concern of professional writers."<sup>2</sup>

George Orwell

### Elements of a Strong Essay

1. Thesis Statement: Consists of a well thought-out thesis statement in the first paragraph, that responds directly to the question posed.
2. The Facts: Demonstrates accurate knowledge of the facts relating to the question.
3. Analysis: Moves beyond a knowledge of the facts to become an exercise in analysis. In other words, the answer moves beyond summarizing to develop a distinct argument. Answers that are restricted to a basic summary (however well-accomplished) of the subject matter, are not, strictly speaking, analytical answers.
4. Cites the Assigned Readings: Cites the required readings. Given the copious readings in this handbook, there is absolutely no requirement for, or expectation, that students cite readings outside this handbook.

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<sup>1</sup> Stephen Walt, *Foreign Policy Blog*, [http://walt.foreignpolicy.com/posts/2013/05/13/kenneth\\_n\\_waltz\\_1924\\_2013?wp\\_login\\_redirect=0](http://walt.foreignpolicy.com/posts/2013/05/13/kenneth_n_waltz_1924_2013?wp_login_redirect=0)

<sup>2</sup> George Orwell, "Politics and the English Language," [https://www.npr.org/blogs/ombudsman/Politics\\_and\\_the\\_English\\_Language-1.pdf](https://www.npr.org/blogs/ombudsman/Politics_and_the_English_Language-1.pdf)

5. Simple Prose: A strong essay does not contain abstruse, long and complex sentences. Typically, strong essays utilise simple, straight-forward language to articulate well-thought out sentences, which are themselves guided by their relationship to the thesis statement.

6. Reflects An Attention to Basic Essay Writing Issues: **Double-space your essay; Spell-check the essay; number the pages of your essay.**

#### What to Avoid in Writing Your Essay

1. Avoid Summarizing with little analysis.
2. Avoid Non-assigned Readings: Avoid citing readings that are not assigned in this handbook.
3. Avoid Convoluting Essays: Relatedly, avoid unclear, complex, long and convoluted sentences. This almost always reflects unclear thinking. The best writers express themselves in use simple and clear writing.
4. Avoid sloppy writing practice. Take care not to submit unedited or partially edited essays that have not been spell-checked.

#### Questions About Questions

While questions are encouraged, there are certain questions that have been asked by some students in the past. To save all of us time, I list the more obvious ones below, as well as the answers.

1. Question: Can I have a copy of your lecture notes?

The instructor cannot provide you with the lecture notes. There is a pedagogical reason for this. One of the old-fashioned, but nevertheless critical skills that university level students are required to learn, is to pay attention in the lecture and take accurate notes. Providing lecture notes severely undermines a student's incentive to develop this difficult skill.

2. Question: In my essay and the final examination, will I get a higher mark if I support one theoretical perspective or interpretation of events as opposed to another?

Yes. A key skill that a university education is designed to inculcate in students is the ability to develop an independent point of view, backed up by evidence. Your mark will be as strong as your ability to do this.

Relatedly, I often receive questions (in email or during office hours) asking if a certain approach is "right" or "wrong." There are no right or wrong answers in this paper, only convincing and less convincing ones.

3. Question: Can I pass the paper, or score a certain mark, if I selectively study the assigned material for only a certain number (for example: 6, 7, 8 ) of the 13 weeks?

No one can answer that question with any certainty. All I can say is that there is a strong correlation in university (dare I say, even life?) between hard-work and marks achieved.

4. Question: Will my mark be stronger if I make relevant reference to the assigned and recommended readings.

Yes.

5. Question: Will my mark be less strong if I make limited or no reference to any of the assigned readings?

Yes.

6. Question: What is the ideal number of references to make in the essay to the relevant readings?

The more the better, but as always, exercise wisdom and a sense of appropriateness. Citing a limited readings repeatedly in order to inflate the number of references is both counter-productive and easy for an examination marker to see through.

7. Question: Should I use readings that are not assigned in this handbook? No. Given the copious readings in this handbook, there is absolutely no requirement for, or expectation, that students cite readings outside this handbook.