

# Chinese Foreign Policy

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Spring 2023

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## Course Objective

The Chinese Foreign Policy course provides an in-depth understanding of the domestic and external factors shaping foreign policy. Students will learn about China's world view and grand strategy, the domestic and economic drivers of its foreign policy, flashpoints and territorial disputes, as well as China's diplomatic, economic, and military tools of statecraft. The class will conclude by evaluating how China's approach to technological modernization and the international order, and assess the implications for strategic competition.

## Desired Learning Outcomes

**DLO 1: Assess** China's modern security landscape, emerging 21st century challenges, and how this matters for the current era of strategic competition.

**DLO 2: Evaluate** the domestic, external, cultural, and economic pressures shaping Chinese interests, strategy, and security policy.

**DLO 3: Analyze** Chinese instruments of power, how they are used, and how China's technological modernization is shaping the future of Chinese power.

## Required Texts

Rush Doshi, *The Long Game: China's Grand Strategy to Displace American Order*, (New York, NY: Oxford University Press 2021).

Ed. David Shambaugh, *China and the World*, (New York, NY: Oxford University Press 2020).

Ed. William A Joseph, *Politics in China: An Introduction, Third Edition*, (New York, NY: Oxford University Press 2020).

## Deliverables and Assessment

### Seminar Contribution - 30%

Your success in this course depends on careful preparation for and active engagement in seminar discussions. You are expected to read and study all assigned materials, come to class prepared to contribute to the seminar, and engage in thoughtful and critical discussion with your classmates and instructor.

### Guided Reading Response- 35%

Throughout the course, students will write three reading response papers, choosing among the course IPs. Response papers will correspond to readings from one of the IPs. Most importantly, these response papers *should not simply summarize the readings*. These responses serve a couple of functions. They require that students engage deeply and critically with the course material and that they develop the habit of writing. Your response papers should make an argument that critically assesses the week's readings/videos. Please note that critical analysis is not simply criticizing a piece but instead involves carefully evaluating both its strengths and weaknesses (based on its logic and evidence). You may also write how a piece could be improved, questions raised, or unifying themes across the readings. These responses should cover multiple readings/videos, but they do not need to cover all the readings from the IP. **Your response papers should be at least one page single-spaced.** Response papers will be submitted no later than midnight the night before class (though preferably much earlier). As you only have to write three response papers, please plan ahead accordingly to allow yourself enough time to finish the response paper. Responses will be assessed on the quality of the analysis/argument, writing clarity, and grammar.

### Final Essay- 35%

Final assessment for the course will be an essay on Rush Doshi's *The Long Game: China's Grand Strategy to Displace American Order*. The final essay should be no longer than 2,000 words long. I will provide the class with the essay question at the beginning of IP1. Answers will draw on course material, though students are welcome to include outside sources. The answers should make a clear argument that is supported by evidence. Answers should not simply summarize readings from the course, but they should instead critically engage with the course material and advance an argument.

## JOURNALS, WEBSITES/ORGANIZATIONS, AND PODCASTS

For additional resources for learning about spacepower and security, please check out the following journals, websites, and podcasts.

**Journals:**

The China Quarterly  
The China Journal  
Journal of Contemporary China  
Journal of Indo-Pacific Affairs  
Journal of East Asian Studies  
Comparative Political Studies  
Journal of East Asian Security  
Chinese Journal of International Affairs  
International Security  
Security Studies

**Websites/Organizations/Blogs:**

China Power, Center for Strategic and International Studies  
China Leadership Monitor  
Jamestown Foundation, China Brief  
Brookings Institution  
Center for Naval Analysis  
Congressional Research Service  
RAND Corporation  
China Aerospace Studies Institute  
Carnegie Endowment for International Peace  
War on the Rocks  
The Diplomat

**Podcasts:**

The Prince, The Economist  
SUP China

**IP1: Worldview and Grand Strategy****Desired Learning Outcomes:**

DLO1: Assess the way material factors such as geography and China's threat environment shape its strategic behavior.

DLO2: Understand how variables such as culture, history, and nationalism shape China's approach to world affairs.

DLO3: Evaluate whether and understanding of the aforementioned variables provide any analytical leverage for understanding Chinese strategy

## **Assigned Readings and Videos (81 pages; 3 hours 8 minutes of videos):**

"China: Power and Prosperity," *PBS NewsHour*:

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=JovtmKFxi3c> (1 hour 44 minutes)

Kristin Mulready-Stone, "China and Great Power Competition," Lecture at Air War College, November 21, 2022. Link: <https://web.microsoftstream.com/video/52d75b31-c40e-49fa-8d8f-15bee7995a78> (1 hour 24 minutes)

Alison A. Kaufman, "The 'Century of Humiliation' and China's National Narratives," *Testimony Before the U.S.-China Economic and Security Review Commission*, March 10, 2011: <https://www.uscc.gov/sites/default/files/3.10.11Kaufman.pdf>. (1-10)

David C. Kang, "Hierarchy and Legitimacy in International Systems: The Tribute System in Early Modern East Asia," *Security Studies*, Vol. 19, no.4 (2010). (Skim all)

"Who is Xi Jinping," *The Economist*,

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=FElpnkksw6k> (15 minutes, 23 Seconds)

Andrew Scobell, Edmund J. Burke, Cortez A Cooper III, Sale Lilly, Chad J. R. Ohlandt, Eric Warner, J.D. Williams, "China's Grand Strategy: Trends, Trajectories, and Long-Term Competition," The RAND Corporation, 2020:

[https://www.rand.org/content/dam/rand/pubs/research\\_reports/RR2700/RR2798/RAND\\_RR2798.pdf](https://www.rand.org/content/dam/rand/pubs/research_reports/RR2700/RR2798/RAND_RR2798.pdf) (Ch.1-4, pp.1-71; Skim Ch.5-6, pp.73-121) (71 pages)

## **IP2: Economy and Governance**

### **Desired Learning Outcomes**

DLO1: Understand the basic structure of the CCP and PRC.

DLO2: Understand and critically evaluate the relative importance of ideology, economic performance, political unity, party-military relations, information control, and repression/coercion in maintaining Chinese communist rule.

DLO3: Understand the Chinese state's role in managing the Chinese economy.

### **Assigned Readings and Videos (69 pages, 1hr 51 minutes of Video):**

Cheng Li, "China's Communist Party-State: The Structure and Dynamics of Power" in William A. Joseph, ed. *Politics in China: An Introduction*, Third Edition (New York: Oxford University Press, 2019): 201-222 (22 pp).

Watch Lincoln Hines, "China's Governance," Lecture at Air War College, November 23, 2022: <https://web.microsoftstream.com/video/17c8306f-4bbc-412b-9a8f-42ddf14d01b8> (Skip Q&A; 1 hr)

Andrew Mertha, "Demystifying China's Governance," *Video*: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=QVhwIhe30SQ> (51 minutes)

David Zweig, "China's Political Economy" in William A. Joseph, ed. *Politics in China: An Introduction*, Third Edition (New York: Oxford University Press, 2019): 274-316. (32 pages)

Jeremy Wallace, "Why China Aims Too High: The Return of Beijing's Dubious Economic Growth Targets," *Foreign Affairs*, October 18, 2022: <https://www.foreignaffairs.com/china/why-china-aims-too-high> (6 pages)

Michael Pettis, "How China Trapped Itself: The CCP's Economic Model Has Left it With Only Bad Choices," *Foreign Affairs*, October 5, 2022: <https://www.foreignaffairs.com/china/how-china-trapped-itself> (9 pages)

### **IP 3: Flash Points**

#### **Desired Learning Outcomes:**

DLO1: Understand Chinese conceptions of their national interest and objectives.

DLO2: Understand how PRC leaders seek to balance domestic and international security goals, political and military objectives, and economic and military development.

DLO3: Understand PRC leadership perceptions of threat and the conditions under which they could be prepared to use force to protect or advance national objectives.

DLO4: Understand the PRC's national strategies and policies towards national sovereignty and unification and the dynamics of the PRC's relations with its major neighbors.

#### **Assigned Readings and Videos (86 pages; 1 hour 17 minutes of Video):**

M. Taylor Fravel and Charles L. Glaser, "How Much Risk Should the United States Run in the South China Sea," *International Security* Vol.47, No.2 (Fall 2022), Skim pp.88-134. (Skim; 46 pages)

Watch Commander (Ret.) Dahm, "China's Near Broad and Territorial Disputes," Lecture at Air War College, December 7, 2022:

<https://web.microsoftstream.com/video/cc1d7ad4-7bc9-4edc-9e4c-d280c05c0cf0> (1 hr 17 minutes)

Suisheng Zhao, "East Asian Disorder: China and the South China Sea Disputes," *Asian Survey*, Vol. 60, No. 3 (2020): Skim 490-509 (Skim; 19 pages)

China Power, "How Much Trade Transits the South China Sea?" *CSIS* (01/25/2021): <https://chinapower.csis.org/much-trade-transits-south-china-sea/> (9 pages)

Andrew Erickson and Gabriel Collins, "Eight New Points on the Porcupine: More Ukrainian Lessons for Taiwan," *War on the Rocks*, April 18, 2022: <https://warontherocks.com/2022/04/eight-new-points-on-the-porcupine-more-ukrainian-lessons-for-taiwan/> (15 pages)

Charles L. Glaser, "Washington Is Avoiding the Tough Questions on Taiwan and China," *Foreign Affairs*, April 28, 2021: <https://www.foreignaffairs.com/articles/asia/2021-04-28/washington-avoiding-tough-questions-taiwan-and-china> (10 pages)

Brendan Rittenhouse Green and Caitlin Talmadge, "The Consequences of Conquest: Why Indo-Pacific Power Hinges on Taiwan," *Foreign Affairs*, July/August 2022: <https://www.foreignaffairs.com/articles/china/2022-06-16/consequences-conquest-taiwan-indo-pacific> (14 pages)

Oriana Skylar Mastro, "The Taiwan Temptation: Why Beijing Might Resort to Force." *Foreign Affairs*: <https://www.foreignaffairs.com/articles/china/2021-06-03/china-taiwan-war-temptation> (19 pages)

Collin Fox, Trevor Phillips-Levine, and Kyle Gregge, "Hedging With Humility: Reassessing China's Power Projection Capabilities Against Taiwan," *War on the Rocks*, September 1, 2022: <https://warontherocks.com/2022/09/hedging-with-humility-reassessing-chinas-power-projection-capabilities-against-taiwan/> (19 pages)

## **IP4: Diplomacy and Economic Statecraft**

### **Desired Learning Outcomes:**

DLO1: Understand the different forms of Chinese diplomacy and their participation in global and regional organizations

DLO2: Identify the objectives of Chinese diplomatic activities and assess the ways in which Chinese foreign policy contributes to domestic objectives

DLO3: Evaluate the success of Chinese diplomatic activities and analyze the consequences of the Wolf Warrior phenomenon.

DLO4: Understand the sources of PRC economic power and the State's efforts to use industrial policy, technology acquisition, innovation, trade, and investment to help build China into an innovative, technologically advanced, and less dependent economy.

DLO5: Understand how the PRC employs economic tools such as trade, aid, investment, and technology transfer to exert international influence and assess the PRC's record in translating economic power into desired political outcomes.

**Assigned Readings, Videos, and Podcasts (73 pages, 23 minutes of Podcast; 46 minutes of Video :**

Watch Audrye Wong, "Thinking About China's Economic Statecraft," Virtual Lecture for the Air War College, November 30, 2022:  
<https://web.microsoftstream.com/video/268e94b8-c760-406c-b7da-cc2fe731bd5d> (Skip Q&A; 46 minutes)

Denny Roy, "Xi Jinping Thought on Diplomacy fails to impress, or reassure," *The Diplomat*, April 2, 2020; <https://thediplomat.com/2020/04/xi-jinping-thought-on-diplomacy-fails-to-impress-or-reassure/> (12 pages)

Selections from *China and the World*, David Shambaugh ed.

Katherine Morton, "China's Global Governance Interactions," Ch 8 156-180: Read introduction (156-158), skip "Power and Responsibility" (158-160); read "China's Leadership Role in Global Governance" (160-164), skip "International Trade and Investment," "Foreign Intervention and Peacekeeping" (164-169), read "Global Climate Change" (169-171), skip the rest. (8 pages)

Srikanth Kondapalli, "Regional Multilateralism with Chinese Characteristics," Ch 15. 313-334. (21 pages)

Podcast – Interview with Peter Martin, "China's Wolf Warrior Diplomacy," *Center for Strategic and International Studies*. <https://www.csis.org/podcasts/chinapower/chinas-wolf-warrior-diplomacy-conversation-peter-martin> (23 minutes)

Barry Naughton, "China's Global Economic Interactions" in *China & the World*, ed. David Shambaugh (New York: Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2020), pp. 113-118; 125-133 (13 pages)

Margaret M. Pearson, Meg Rithmire, and Kellee S. Tsai, "China's Party-State Capitalism and International Backlash: From Interdependence and International Backlash," *International Security* Vol.47, No.2 (Fall 2022), pp.135-176. (Skim; 41 pages)

Deborah Brautigam and Meg Rithmire, "The Chinese 'Debt Trap' Is a Myth," *The Atlantic*, February 6, 2021: <https://www.theatlantic.com/international/archive/2021/02/china-debt-trap-diplomacy/617953/> (11 pages)

Tanner Greer, "One Belt, One Road, One Big Mistake," *Foreign Policy*, December 6, 2018: <https://foreignpolicy.com/2018/12/06/bri-china-belt-road-initiative-blunder/> (8 pages)

## **IP5: Military Power**

### **Desired Learning Outcomes:**

DLO1: Assess the Chinese military's contribution to overall strategic competition including the current security landscape, new 21<sup>st</sup> century challenges, and overarching trends.

DLO2: Evaluate China's military areas of emphasis and assess the threat level that these areas of emphasis pose for the United States and its allies and friends regionally and globally.

DLO3: Analyze the degree to which China depends on its military in comparison to the other instruments of Chinese power.

### **Assigned Readings and Videos (77 pages, 1 hr 17 minutes of Video):**

Lieutenant General (Ret) Hooper, "The Chinese Military: Strategy and Capability," Lecture at the Air War College, December 5, 2022: <https://web.microsoftstream.com/video/5c49ca6e-8d65-470d-941a-92bc8e3e3c98> (1 hr 17 minutes)

Dennis J. Blasko, "Ten Reasons Why China Will Have Trouble Fighting a Modern War," *War on the Rocks*, February 18, 2015: <https://warontherocks.com/2015/02/ten-reasons-why-china-will-have-trouble-fighting-a-modern-war/> (12 pages)

Ben Noon and Chris Bassler, "Schrodinger's Military? Challenges for China's Military Modernization Ambitions," *War on the Rocks*, October 14, 2021: <https://warontherocks.com/2021/10/schrodingers-military-challenges-for-the-chinas-military-modernization-ambitions/> (13 pages)

Robert Haddick, "Defeat China's Navy, Defeat China's War Plan," *War on the Rocks*, September 21, 2022: <https://warontherocks.com/2022/09/defeat-chinas-navy-defeat-chinas-war-plan/> (10 pages)



Marcus Clay, Dennis J. Blasko, and Roderick Lee, "People Win Wars: A 2022 Reality Check on PLA Enlisted Force and Related Matters," *War on the Rocks*, August 12, 2022: <https://warontherocks.com/2022/08/people-win-wars-a-2022-reality-check-on-pla-enlisted-force-and-related-matters/> (17 pages)

Bonny Lin and Joel Wuthnow, "The Weakness Behind China's Strong Façade," *Foreign Affairs*, November 10, 2022: <https://www.foreignaffairs.com/china/weakness-behind-china-strong-facade> (11 pages)

Dennis J. Blasko, "The Chinese Military Speaks To Itself, Revealing Doubts," *War on the Rocks*, February 18, 2019: <https://warontherocks.com/2019/02/the-chinese-military-speaks-to-itself-revealing-doubts/> (14 Pages)

## **IP6: Technology and the Future of Strategic Competition**

### **Desired Learning Outcomes**

DLO1: Assess the ways culture, national identity, domestic/bureaucratic politics, and security concerns shape China's approach to emerging technologies.

DLO2: Evaluate the strengths and limitations of China's state-led approach to technology and reliance on theft and reverse engineering for achieving its interests.

DLO3: Examine how China's approach to emerging technologies contributes to its diplomatic, informational, military, and economic power, and the challenges this poses for U.S. interests.

### **Assigned Readings and Videos (72 pages, 1 hr 14 minutes of video):**

Andrea Gilli and Mauro Gilli, "Why China Has Not Caught Up Yet: Military-Technological Superiority and the Limits of Imitation, Reverse Engineering, and Cyber Espionage," *International Security*, Vol.43, No.3 (2018/2019), 141-189. (Skim; 48 pages)

Watch Jared McKinney, "China's Emerging Domains: Space, Network, Deep Sea, Polar Regions, Biology, Intelligence," Lecture for the Air War College December 9, 2022: <https://web.microsoftstream.com/video/90a6505e-b40f-49d5-950a-3b9df2cfdc29> (Skip Q&A; 1 hour 14 minutes)

Jessica Chen Weiss, "A World Safe for Autocracy? China's Rise and the Future of Global Politics," *Foreign Affairs*, (July/August 2019): 92-102 (10 pages)

Alastair Iain Johnston, "The Failures of the 'Failure of Engagement' with China," *Washington Quarterly*, Vol.42, No.2 (2019): 99-114. (15 pages)

Jessica Chen Weiss, "The China Trap: U.S. Foreign Policy and the Perilous Logic of Zero-Sum Competition," *Foreign Affairs*, September/October 2022:

<https://www.foreignaffairs.com/china/china-trap-us-foreign-policy-zero-sum-competition> (39 pages)

Elsa B. Kania, "Artificial Intelligence and Chinese Power: Beijing's Push for a Smart Military – and How to Respond," *Foreign Affairs*, December 5, 2017: <https://www.foreignaffairs.com/articles/china/2017-12-05/artificial-intelligence-and-chinese-power> (8 pages)