



Public Affairs 974: China's Rise and the Future of Foreign Policy
David Rank

Class Meetings: Wednesday 5:40-7:35

Office Hours: TBD (All students also will be asked to sign up for a brief individual introductory meeting via Zoom.)

Credits: 3

Instructional mode: online

Requisites: Graduate/professional standing

Policy on the credit hour: The credit standard for this course is met by an expectation of a total of 135 hours of student engagement with the course learning activities (at least 45 hours per credit), which include regularly scheduled course meeting times, reading writing and other student work as described in the syllabus.

Course designations and attributes: meets 50% Graduate coursework requirement

Course description/learning goals: After three decades of revolutionary politics, forty years of unprecedented economic growth have left China poised to become once again the predominant power in Asia. Today's China increasingly is a credible rival to the United States for global leadership. This has implications for the political, security and economic structures that have been the foundation of the international system since the end of the Second World War. This course looks at shifts within China since the low ebb of Chinese power at the turn of the last century, the impact of China's ascent on global systems and the U.S.-China relationship, the challenges a rising China will pose for policymakers in the years ahead and the issues China will need to address if it is to realize fully Xi Jinping's vision of "national rejuvenation." The course looks at these issues through the eyes of a practitioner who spent three decades working on U.S. foreign policy and U.S.-China relations. In addition to examining the substance of the challenges created by China's rise, the class will look at the mechanics of the policy process.

Enrollment: Enrollment is limited to 12 students. If more people are signed up than can enroll, I will take into consideration whether this year is the last opportunity for someone to take this course (i.e., students in their final or only year at Wisconsin) and the desire to have in the class a diverse range of views and backgrounds. To this end, interested students should provide (to rankdh64@gmail.com) a brief (1-2 paragraph maximum) email explaining their reasons for taking the class and what they could contribute.

Principal texts for the course: One of the goals of the class is to introduce students to a range of information sources on, and views about, contemporary China. This includes a selection of recent books, as well as scholarly articles, declassified diplomatic documents, podcasts and posts from influential websites that deal with China. Other than books required for purchase and texts available online as noted below, readings are posted on the "Files" and "Course Reserve" tabs on *Canvas*.

Timothy Beardson, *Stumbling Giant: The Threats to China's Future*, Yale, 2013.

Jude Blanchette, *China's New Red Guards*, Oxford, 2019.

John W. Garver, *China's Quest: The History of the Foreign Relations of the People's Republic*, Oxford, 2018 (revised).

William Hayton, *The South China Sea: The Struggle for Power in Asia*, Yale, 2015.

Arthur Kroeber, *China's Economy: What Everyone Needs to Know*, Oxford, 2016.

Daniel Markey, *China's Western Horizon*, Oxford, 2020.

Tom Miller, *China's Asian Dream*, Zed, 2017.

Thomas Orlik, *The Bubble That Never Pops*, Oxford, 2020.

Orville Schell and John Delury, *Wealth and Power*, Random House, 2016.

Michael Schuman, *Superpower Interrupted*, Public Affairs, 2020.

David Shambaugh, *Where Great Powers Meet*, Oxford, 2020.

Statement on academic integrity: Your sources must be properly documented, with attribution given to author's ideas, concepts, and words—if not your own. Violations of academic honesty are serious and inexcusable. Failure to adhere to guidelines of academic integrity will be punished, and the incident(s) may be reported to your residential college dean. Do not cheat. Submitting work you did not complete yourself distorts the entire learning and assessment process. Because some aspects of this course are designed to model the policy process, some assignments may benefit from or require collaboration. In those cases, you should note who has reviewed your work and offered comments or edits. (This mirrors the U.S. government “clearance process.”)

Attendance: Although the course will be entirely virtual, real-time class participation – in discussions, exercises and simulations – represents a large part of the overall grade for this class (see below). As such, students interested in enrolling should be prepared to commit to attend every class.

Grading: Participation is at the heart of this class. Students will take turns leading discussions, but all are expected to do the readings before class and take part in discussions. Writing assignments are modeled on the U.S. government policy process, which puts a premium on timeliness, so I will not accept late work without a prior arrangement or a Dean's excuse. The final grade for this course will be determined according to the following weights:

Class participation

25%

The participation grade will be based on class discussions and performance in exercises designed to sharpen students' ability to communicate effectively in a policy setting. Students are encouraged to use the skills they learn as they take turns leading discussions on each week's readings.

Policy Papers

30%

Students will write a series of brief papers modeled on those used in the U.S. foreign policy process. Students will receive specific guidance on writing these documents during class.

Interagency Meeting Simulation

5%

This in-class exercise is intended to illustrate the process through which governments make decisions on complicated issues and to explore some of the considerations involved in China's Belt and Road Initiative.

Mid-term

10%

Negotiation Simulation

10%

This in-class exercise will model multilateral diplomacy. Students will develop policy positions, engage in negotiations and follow up on the outcome of those talks.

"Murder Board" Exercise

5%

Officials do practice press conferences (called "murder boards") to prepare themselves to field difficult questions from the media. As the follow-up to the negotiation simulation, students will take part in a post-negotiation press event. This exercise is intended to help students understand the challenge of providing accurate, nuanced information without sending unintended messages and to practice giving and receiving constructive feedback.

Final Writing Exercise

15%

Use of electronic devices: Laptops are allowed in class for notetaking and other coursework. Other uses, and the use of other devices, is allowed only with the instructor's permission. To ensure an atmosphere that allows open debate and discussion, recordings are not allowed.

Guest speakers and recording: Most classes will be recorded. To allow for maximum candor, unless otherwise noted, comments by guest speakers are off the record (i.e., they may not be cited in any way) without the explicit written consent of the speaker.

Course adjustments: The instructor retains the right to revise readings or assignments over the course of the semester. Any such changes will be announced in class and sent out as an email message to all students.

Course Schedule:

Section I. How did we get here? *This first section of the course looks at China's history and the historiography that set the stage for the global shifts we see today. Within China, much of the official and popular narrative about the country's rise is couched in terms of restoration following "national humiliation" at the hands of foreigners. History also shapes perceptions of China's neighbors and those of the United States.*

January 27: Setting the Stage: China through 1949

- Schuman, 1-294.
- Schell and Delury, 1-59
- Beardson, 7-49

- James Millward, “*We Need a New Approach to Teaching Modern Chinese History*,” October 8, 2020. (<https://jimmillward.medium.com/we-need-a-new-approach-to-teaching-modern-chinese-history-we-have-lazily-repeated-false-d24983bd7ef2>)
- Harry W.S. Lee, “The Danger of China’s Chosen Trauma,” ChinaFile, September 2, 2015. <http://www.chinafile.com/reporting-opinion/viewpoint/danger-chinas-chosen-trauma>
- Documents from the Shufeldt collection (Copies of the original hand-written documents are available on *Canvas*, along with transcriptions. Try to read the originals, to get the feel for the challenges of diplomatic communications 140 years ago.)
- Donald J. Trump, trade deficit tweet, March 17, 2018. (<https://twitter.com/realdonaldtrump/status/971402791930552322?lang=en>)
- Podcast, “Ignorance for Dummies,” This American Life, April 22, 2016 (<https://www.thisamericanlife.org/585/in-defense-of-ignorance/act-two-5>)

Discussion prompts

- China’s history is less unique than the Communist Party – and many Western scholars – suggest. To a large extent, China looks like many other large imperial powers throughout history.
- If China does not come to terms with its past, it cannot be successful in the future.
- The practice of diplomacy has not fundamentally changed since the 1880s, when Commodore Shufeldt and the American Minister in Tianjin exchanged the letters from this week’s readings.
- Twitter is a terrible way to communicate.
- How is a discussion of the Dunning-Kruger Effect relevant to this class?

Exercise: Five Minutes

Exercise: Introductions

February 3: 1949-1978: Mao and the Era of Revolution

- Garver, 1-58
- Schell and Delury, 197-257
- Kissinger, *On China*, 236-294
- Vincent-Chou Memorandum of Conversation, May 6, 1942. (Canvas)
- Kissinger-Chou Memorandum of Conversation, October 21, 1971 (Canvas)
- Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the PRC, “*China's Initiation of the Five Principles of Peaceful Co-Existence*”

Exercise: Memcon

February 10: 1978-2018: Deng and the Era of Reform

- Garver, 349-382, 463-556, 634-673* (Read all of “Acts II and III” if you have time.)
- Kroeber, 43-66
- Schell and Delury, 259-323
- Podcast: 40 Years of Reform and Opening Up, Sinica, December 20, 2018 (<https://supchina.com/podcast/40-years-of-reform-and-opening-up-with-jude-blanchette/>)

February 17: Xi Jinping and the Era of Rejuvenation

- Garver, 758-785
- Schuman, 295-320.
- Kroeber, 1-26
- Xie, Tao, “Chinese Foreign Policy with Xi Jinping Characteristics,” Carnegie Endowment, (<http://carnegieendowment.org/2017/11/20/chinese-foreign-policy-with-xi-jinping-characteristics-pub-74765>)
- Central Committee of the Communist Party, General Office, “Communiqué on the Current State of the Ideological Sphere,” April 22, 2013. (<http://www.chinafile.com/document-9-chinafile-translation>)

Exercise: Info Memo

Section II. Where Are We Headed? *This second section of the class looks at the impact of China’s growing economic, political and military heft on post-WWII structures and systems, on its relationship with the United States and on stability and security in the Asia-Pacific.*

February 24: Shifting U.S.-China Relations

Speaker: Sarah Beran, Director of the State Department Office of Chinese and Mongolian Affairs

- Podcast: Unpacking the Present Crisis in U.S.-China Relations, University of Pennsylvania Center for the Study of Contemporary China, December 6, 2019. (<https://cscs.sas.upenn.edu/podcasts/2019/12/06/ep-22-unpacking-present-crisis-us-china-relations-ryan-hass>)
- National Security Strategy of the United States of America, December 19, 2017. (<https://www.whitehouse.gov/wp-content/uploads/2017/12/NSS-Final-12-18-2017-0905.pdf>)
- Kroeber, 233-262.
- Mike Pompeo, “Communist China and the Free World’s Future,” 7/23/2020.
- Kurt Campbell and Ely Ratner, “How American Foreign Policy Got China Wrong,” *Foreign Affairs*, April 2018. (<https://www.foreignaffairs.com/articles/united-states/2018-02-13/china-reckoning>)
- The three U.S.-China Joint Communiques

Exercise: Briefing memo with talking points

March 3: China Challenges Global Economic Structures

- Markey, 1-42
- Miller, 3-198, 236-248
- Australian Department of the Treasury, “Understanding China’s Politics, Economic Policy Makers and Policy Making Under Xi Jinping,” 2017. (<https://research.treasury.gov.au/external-paper/understanding-china-under-xi-jinping>)

- State Council of the PRC, “*Action Plan on the Belt and Road Initiative*,” March 30, 2015, (http://english.gov.cn/archive/publications/2015/03/30/content_281475080249035.htm)
- Kai Shulz, “*How China Got Sri Lanka to Cough Up a Port*,” New York Times, June 25, 2018, (<https://www.nytimes.com/2018/06/25/world/asia/china-sri-lanka-port.html>)
- Ikenberry and Lim, “*China’s emerging institutional statecraft: The Asian Infrastructure Investment Bank and the prospects for counter-hegemony*,” Brookings, April 2017, (<https://www.brookings.edu/wp-content/uploads/2017/04/chinas-emerging-institutional-statecraft.pdf>)
- Mark Wu, “*The ‘China Inc.’ Challenge to Global Trade Governance*,” Harvard Law Journal, Vol. 57, Number 2, Spring 2016, 261-324, (http://www.harvardilj.org/wp-content/uploads/HLI210_crop.pdf)

Exercise (in class): Interagency Meeting Simulation
Exercise: Reading (and Writing) a Joint Statement

March 10: Mid-term

March 17: South Asia, Central Asia and the Middle East

- Garver, 146-162.
- Markey, 43-156.
- U.S. Department of State, Circular-175 Procedure, (<https://www.state.gov/s/l/treaty/c175/>)

Exercise: Simulation memo and preparation

March 24: Southeast Asia and the South China Sea

- Shambaugh, 179-237
- Garver, 196-231
- Hayton, 1-269
- Fu Ying, *Why China Says No to the Arbitration on the South China Sea*, Foreign Policy, July 10, 2016. (<http://foreignpolicy.com/2016/07/10/why-china-says-no-to-the-arbitration-on-the-south-china-sea/>)
- U.S. Department of State, *Limits in the Seas #143*, 2014. (<https://www.state.gov/documents/organization/234936.pdf>)

March 31: ASEAN Simulation

Exercise: Press Guidance

April 7: The View from the Region

Speaker: Vu Ha Ang, Vietnamese Ministry of Foreign Affairs

Exercise: Murder Board

Section III. What Could Go Wrong? *This final section of the class looks at some of the obstacles China needs to overcome to achieve Xi Jinping's call for the "rejuvenation of the great Chinese nation. What are the implications for China, the region and the world if China's economic or political trajectory shifts? How likely is such an outcome?*

April 14: The Economy

- Orlik, 1-208.
- Nicholas Lardy, *The State Strikes Back*, Petersen Institute, 2018, 1-42.
- Dinny McMahon, *China's Great Wall of Debt*, Houghton, Mifflin, Harcourt, 2018, 1-24
- Kroeber, 149-179
- Podcast: Yasheng Huang on Diagnosing China's State-led Capitalism, University of Pennsylvania Center for the Study of Contemporary China, April 12, 2019.
(<https://cscs.sas.upenn.edu/podcasts/2019/04/12/ep-17-diagnosing-chinas-state-led-capitalism-yasheng-huang>)

April 21: Elite Politics and the End of Collective Leadership

Speaker: Jude Blanchette, CSIS Freeman Chair in China Studies

- Blanchette, 1-161.
- Podcast: Victor Shih: "Chinese Governance Under Xi Jinping," University of Pennsylvania Center for the Study of Contemporary China, April 29, 2019
(<https://cscs.sas.upenn.edu/podcasts/2019/04/26/ep-18-chinese-governance-under-xi-jinping-victor-shih>)
- Podcast: Minxin Pei, "The Rise of Emperor Xi," Project Syndicate, April 10, 2018,
(<https://soundcloud.com/projectsyndicate/minxin-pei-on-the-rise-of-emperor-xi>)
- William H Overholt, "The West is Getting China Wrong," East Asia Forum, August 11, 2018,
(<http://www.eastasiaforum.org/2018/08/11/the-west-is-getting-china-wrong/>)
- David Shambaugh, *China's Future*, Polity Press, 2016, p. 1-20, 98-136.

April 21: Disease, Demographics and Desertification (i.e., Climate and the Environment)

- Kroeber, 210-232
- Dollar, Huang and Yang, *China 2049*, Brookings, 2020, 69-111
- Chai Jing, *Under the Dome* (video), 2014 (<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=V5bHb3ljjbc>)
- Michael Greenstone, "Is China Winning Its War on Air Pollution?" Energy Policy Institute of the University of Chicago, March 2018, (<https://epic.uchicago.edu/research/publications/aqli-update-china-winning-its-war-pollution>)

Exercise: So What?

Academic Integrity

University statement: By enrolling in this course, each student assumes the responsibilities of an active participant in UW-Madison's community of scholars in which everyone's academic work and behavior are held to the highest academic integrity standards. Academic misconduct compromises the integrity of the university. Cheating, fabrication, plagiarism, unauthorized collaboration, and helping others commit these acts are examples of academic misconduct, which can result in disciplinary action. This includes but is not limited to failure on the assignment/course, disciplinary probation, or suspension. Substantial or repeated cases of misconduct will be forwarded to the Office of Student Conduct & Community Standards for additional review. For more information, refer to studentconduct.wiscweb.wisc.edu/academic-integrity/.

Accommodations for Students with Disabilities

McBurney Disability Resource Center syllabus statement: "The University of Wisconsin-Madison supports the right of all enrolled students to a full and equal educational opportunity. The Americans with Disabilities Act (ADA), Wisconsin State Statute (36.12), and UW-Madison policy (Faculty Document 1071) require that students with disabilities be reasonably accommodated in instruction and campus life. Reasonable accommodations for students with disabilities is a shared faculty and student responsibility. Students are expected to inform faculty [me] of their need for instructional accommodations by the end of the third week of the semester, or as soon as possible after a disability has been incurred or recognized. Faculty [I], will work either directly with the student [you] or in coordination with the McBurney Center to identify and provide reasonable instructional accommodations. Disability information, including instructional accommodations as part of a student's educational record, is confidential and protected under FERPA."

<http://mcburney.wisc.edu/facstaffother/faculty/syllabus.php>

Diversity & Inclusion

Institutional statement on diversity: "Diversity is a source of strength, creativity, and innovation for UW-Madison. We value the contributions of each person and respect the profound ways their identity, culture, background, experience, status, abilities, and opinion enrich the university community. We commit ourselves to the pursuit of excellence in teaching, research, outreach, and diversity as inextricably linked goals.

The University of Wisconsin-Madison fulfills its public mission by creating a welcoming and inclusive community for people from every background – people who as students, faculty, and staff serve Wisconsin and the world." <https://diversity.wisc.edu/>