POLI/INTL 361, Review 2, Summer 2023

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This will be a take home exam.

Basic Requirements

* ***Wednesday August 2 to Friday August 4***: This will be a take home exam. I will place the exam in the Files folder of Canvas at about 9:00 AM on Wednesday August 2. It will be due back to me (emailed) by midnight on Friday August 4 (as August 4 becomes August 5). As always, this is a soft deadline.
* Type or write the exam.
* Either way, email me a file or pdf or even jpeg of the written answers by the deadline
* 11- or 12-point font
* One-inch margins
* Double-spaced
* Please use your name is the name of the file you send me.  I’d be happiest if you named the file like this: Exam 2 POLI or INTL 361 Your Name (so if it was my exam, it would be Exam 2 POLI 361 Newmann)
* The exam is open notes (so you can use your notes, the assigned books, the review sheet, and the PPT slides)
* I do not expect any outside research on this at all
* Each question has a specific page number target.  You can go over the limit, not a problem, but don’t go too far over the limit. You don’t need to.
* I think **three hours** will be enough time for you to write the exam and do well. You can take more time of course, as much as you need. The point here is that I don't think you need to spend hours and hours.
* It might be helpful to read the questions, then review your notes, and the review sheet.  Maybe make an outline of the essay. And then start to write.
* As always, the review sheets should be very helpful. You can use the review sheets while you take the exam. It might be a good organizational tool.
* The PPT slides are also useful. They are my way of organizing the material, and they can serve that purpose for you too.
* Feel free to email me questions if you have them, but as usual, there are limits to how I can help you

The exam has two parts:

* Part 1: Short Answers: Choose 2 of 8: (*20 points each; roughly one half of a page*): Define the term and tell me why it’s important in the context of Japanese politics.
* Part 2: Essay: Choose 1 of 2: (*60 points; roughly 3-4 pages).* Each essay has several parts to it. Make sure to do all parts of the essay. There are choices even within the essay, so make sure you read the directions. A part of an essay may say “choose 3 of 5.” Don’t do all five.

**And, important**:

* Sharing this exam with anyone outside the class is a violation of the **VCU** **Honor Code**
* Working with another student in the class or anyone else while you take this exam is a violation of the **VCU Honor Code**
* As with any take home, the **plagiarism rules** that exist for research papers apply here. Your exams must be your written work. I will run this through the standard plagiarism programs as I do with all research papers.

**List of Terms:**

(Terms with an (\*) are discussed in the readings)

**US-China Relations and International Relations Theory**

Theories of Great Power Relations

Rise and Fall of Great Powers

Hegemony

Basic Premise

US is declining hegemon?

China is rising challenger?

Western Ideas

1. Neorealism

 Anarchy

Self-help

States seek power

Security dilemma

Rivalry

 Balance of power = peace

 Imbalance of power = war

Balancing or Bandwagoning in Asia

But liberalism? Do values matter? If so, how does that impact balancing and bandwagoning?

1. Power Transition (Hegemonic Realism)

Leadership = stability

 international system needs leadership, needs rules

Imbalance of power = peace

 Balance of power = war

Long Cycle Theory: 100-year cycle of leadership

“Thucydides Trap”

 Hegemon fears challenger’s rise; may preemptively go to war

Hegemonic Stability Theory

Values, ideas, the system

Liberal democracy vs. authoritarian state capitalism

“Rules-based international order”

1. Neo-classical Realism

 how it differs from neorealism: the nature of the state matters

 all states don’t behave the same way (opposite of neorealist assumption)

 ideology, domestic system matter

 Choice in foreign policy

 interdependence, ideology, nationalism, leadership

Chinese Ideas on Great Powers and Leadership

1. Realism and the balance of power

Mao’s thinking in late 1960s, early 1970s

using the US to balance against rising Soviet power in Asia

1. Order-Chaos Cycle

the pattern of dynasties rising and falling

why do dynasties rise and fall?

importance of quality of leadership

quality of leadership and stability of dynasty (challenges, war, collapse)

neo-classical realism?

1. Hegemony and Stability in Confucianism

Harmony

Humane Authority: the quality of your ideas

Leader earns legitimacy

nation that wants to lead the international system needs legitimacy; needs to earn leadership

Confucian Spin on hegemonic stability theory

hegemony vs. legitimacy

it’s not power than matters; it’s ideas

But China tribute system: power or legitimacy?

Chinese dynasties led East Asian because the emperor earned his legitimacy?

1. Strategy

Sage King, hegemon, tyrant relationship to interstate order

It’s about strategic choice -- strategy

\*Qin Dynasty and Warring states era: Qin strategy allowed it to conquer other states; \*unite China

But tyranny caused its downfall

Han Dynasty and successors learned the lesson

Rome fell; China didn’t

**New Cold War**

US-USSR vs. US-China

1. Capitalist completion, unlike the Cold War

capitalism, interdependence, and mutually assured bankruptcy

1. Direct maritime disputes

 Freedom of Navigation (US) vs. South China Sea Nine Dash Line (China)

1. Democracy vs. dictatorship
2. Global vs. regional Power
3. Nuclear Deterrence

*Advantages/Disadvantages*

US advantage – alliances

US advantage – military

China advantage – expanding presence, while US moves inward

US advantage – political system and soft power

China advantage – US polarization

Does China need to be the dominant power in East Asia before it becomes a global power?

How much is US willing to do to maintain its central role in the Indo-Pacific?

**History of US-China Relations**

1. *Pre-WW II*

China

Chinese Dynasties since 2205 BC

Qin Dynasty 221-206 BC as the “first” unified China

\*Chinese tribute system during dynastic period

\*Chinese civilization vs. barbarians

\*Emperor as “Son of Heaven”

Size of China during Han Dynasty

Wealth of China during dynastic period

China conquered by Mongos 1279-1368 (Yuan Dynasty)

Ming regains Chinese control (1368) and old tribute system

Admiral Zheng He’s voyages and China’s isolation

British colonialism and Opium Wars

\*Colonial powers in China

\*“100 Years of Humiliation”

\*The importance of regaining past glory in Chinese foreign policy

 \*Core theme in Xi Jinping’s Chinese Dream

Japanese Threat: 1890s to 1940s

US

US policy: free trade

US Open Door Policy for China

China

Qing Dynasty falls 1911: Birth of Republic of China

Nationalists and Sun Yatsen

Warlord Period

Japanese invasion

US vs. Japan over the future of China

US wants open door

Japan wants to conquer China

Pearl Harbor and WW II

1. *WW II*

Big Four Powers

Japan loses; leaves China

Chinese Civil War

Nationalists (Chiang Kaishek

vs.

Communists (Mao Zedong)

Communist Victory

Two China’s?

PRC vs. ROC

Both agree on eventual reunification

Both accept force as method of reunification (1950s and 1960s)

PRC still accepts force as a method of reunification

Modern Taiwan (ROC) divided about reunification with China

1. *\*Cold War: Isolation*

Bipolarity in Asia

\*US recognizes Taiwan as China; no recognition of PRC

Soviet Union recognizes PRC as China

PRC: brutal communist dictatorship under Mao

ROC/Taiwan: capitalist dictatorship under Chiang Kaishek

Korean War

 US vs. China

\*US-ROC Mutual Defense Treaty 1954

 US will defend Taiwan

\*China wants to spread global communist revolution

\*Chinese Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence

 \*Non-aligned movement

US wants to contain communism and Soviet/Chinese power

1. *Cold War: Engagement*

Sino-Soviet Split

US, Domino Theory, and Vietnam War

 US sees Vietnam war as a fight against Chinese expansionism (poor analysis)

Change in US Thinking: Triangular Diplomacy (Nixon)

 Balance of power thinking

 Use Sino-Soviet split to drive a wedge between USSR and PRC

\*Chinese Thinking: Balance of Power (Zhou Enlai)

 \*Use US to balance against growing USSR threat

Kissinger and Nixon to China 1971/72

Shanghai Communique (joint Communique no. 1) and its key elements

 Agree to Disagree but name each element

One China and Taiwan is part of that

US to remove troops from Taiwan

Anti-hegemony

Mao and Zhou deaths

Politics in Three Capitals 1970s

Official Recognition 1979 (joint communique no. 2)

 One China and Taiwan is part of that

Anti-hegemony

Taiwan Relations Act 1979

US Arms Sales to Taiwan

Establishment of non-embassy embassies

US-PRC joint communique no. 3 (1982)

One China and Taiwan is part of that

Disagreement about arms sales

US Six Assurances July 1982

 And arms sales

Politics in Three Capitals 1980s

US “strategic ambiguity” 1970s to today

**Big Changes Since 1970s**

1. *Chinese Economic reform*

The goal of Chinese economic reform

Integration with the world for the first time since Ming Dynasty (16th century)

\*Amazing success of economic reform

Deng’s Policies

 priority on economic modernization

\*Low profile/bide time

Special economic zones and integrating into the world economy

\*Rapid Chinese growth

\*The economic boom in China

\*Export-led growth

Defense spending increases

China and US as trading partners

1. *Taiwan Democratization*

Chiang Kaishek

Lifting of martial law 1987

Lee Teng-hui and the transition to democracy

KMT vs. DPP on relations with China

People of Taiwan establishing an identity: Taiwanese, not Chinese

Challenging idea of reunification

Taiwan trade with China

interdependence of economies

1996 first direct presidential election and Chinese coercion

\*1992 Consensus

 \*One China, with interpretations

 \*Taiwan challenges to the idea

\*Tsai Ing-wen

Chinese response to Pelosi visit Summer 2022

1. *US Response 1980s-1990s*

China as…

 balancer

economic opportunity

dictatorship

threat to Taiwan

Tiananmen Square

Bush View: Balance of power (Triangular Diplomacy still)

Congress: use MFN to punish China for human rights violations

Congress vs. Bush

Three groups debating

 business interests

 human rights lobbies

 Realists

Clinton’s choice

Debate in the US: what is China?

economic opportunity

dictatorship

great power rival

**US and China Foreign Policies in the 1990s**

For the US: what is China (range of opinion)

For China: what is the US (range of opinion)

Deng Xiaoping’s policies

 \*Low profile/bide time

Clinton’s policies

 human rights, but economic priority

 Big Emerging Markets

\*Hu Jintao’s peaceful rise

 \*vs. China Threat Theory

George W. Bush: Two Views

1. Strategic competitor
2. \*Robert Zoellick’s “responsible stakeholder”

2008: Chinese view of the meaning of the Great Recession and decline of the West

\*Xi Jinping’s Chinese Dream

 \*End of low profile

 \*China returning to its proper Asian and global role

\*Belt and Road Initiative

 \*as China’s way of preventing maritime encirclement

 \*as a way of gaining leverage over other nations

 \*as a move toward global leadership

 \*as competition with the US

World Class Military by 2049

Anti-western ideology

Confucianism and a new rival ideology

 Authoritarian state capitalism

\*Xi’s consolidation of power

State Capitalism and SOEs

\*Nationalism and Chinese public (Gries chapter in Shambaugh book)

 \*Current Chinese foreign policy in the context of Chinese history

Obama Response

TPP

\*Rules-based international order

\*The Pivot

Balance of power and US-Indian relations

\*The Quad

\*Is China trying to reinforce the rule-based international order or change it? (Morton in Shambaugh)

**US-China Trade**

Similar to English-German rivalry?

 Hegemon vs. Challenger?

Zero Sum Game or Complex Game

Key issues

1. Is Chinese wealth a threat to the US?
2. US Liberal world order post WW II vs. Nationalism

FDR to Obama

Nationalist Trend

Does China want to change the rules?

Trump changing the rules

1. \*State Capitalism as a rival model

\*SOEs

\*And debt

1. \*US Trade Deficit and Trump Tariffs

decline in US manufacturing

Trump: China’s fault

Or maturity of US economy and shift to services

Growth in US exports to China

Manufacturing and industrial robots (technology)

\*US-China trade: largest economic relationship in the world

What if US and China blame each other for their economic problems?

\*Trump policy: China is the threat

\*US-China Tariff duel 2018 –

Biden: back to Obama policy on trade?

\*China’s trade leverage over every nation in Asia (Yahuda in Shambaugh)

Biden Trade Policy (Sullivan Speech April 2023)

**South China Sea**

\*Paracel and Spratly Islands

\*Nations involved in the disputes

\*Competing claims

\*Vietnam vs. China 1975

\*China’s Nine Dash Line

\*oil and natural gas

\*Debate over how much oil

\*Trade through S. China Sea

\*Strait of Malacca as key chokepoint

\*Establishing sovereignty?

\*1970s to today – Nations begin to occupy islands

\*2009 China assertiveness in S. China Sea

\*China building islands and military bases

\*China using nationalism to gain public support for actions in South China Sea

\*UNCLOS

\*12-mile territorial sea

\*200-mile Exclusive Economic Zone

\*Philippines Case at Permanent Court of Arbitration

Court Ruling on Nine Dash Line

\*A path to resolution

\*The ASEAN Way (three elements)

\*Code of Conduct for S. China Sea: ASEAN and China

\*Debate continues on key issues

\*China allies delay the debate

 \*Cambodia

\*How China benefits from delay

“New Status Quo” or “Facts on the Ground”

Chinese Coast Guard Law 2021

\*UNCLOS and innocent passage through territorial sea

\*China requires permission for crossing into territorial waters

 \*Contradicts UNCLOS

China expanded definition of its territorial waters (Nine Dash line)

\*US FONOPs

\*“innocent passage”

\*“excessive maritime claims”

**China and Russian Invasion of Ukraine**

Joint Statement February 2022

Declaration of independence from US-led rules-based international order?

Declaration of independence from US hegemony?
Key Highlights

 Multipolarity

 Cultural diversity/civilizational defined

 Democracy is defined by civilization

 Certain states impose their values on others

 Non-interference in internal affairs

 Alliances are divisive

 Russia-China friendship with no limits

 Russia believes Taiwan is part of China

Then Russian Invasion three weeks later

Global Civilization Initiative

Why would China support Russian invasion of Ukraine?

US Response to invasion

Asian Response

Japanese response

The Quad

AUKUS

US-Japan-Philippine Agreement

US-South Korea Agreement

US-India Agreement

Why is defense of Ukraine so important?

 First test of Chinese-Russian new rules?

 Authoritarianism vs. Liberal democracy?

Dry run to invasion of Taiwan?