OIB History-Geography
David Shambaugh

READING GUIDE

INSTRUCTIONS

- PART 1: Annotate your copy of *China Goes Global* to highlight the answers to these guiding questions.
  - You should write the question numbers in the margins of your text.
- PART 2: Produce a schematic diagram (*schéma*) by printing Annex 1.
- PART 3: Produce an annotated map (*croquis*) by printing the blank map in Annex 2.
  - The two mapping exercises will be collected in September.

PART 1: GUIDING QUESTIONS

I. Introduction & Chapter 1 – Understanding China’s Global Impact (Thesis & Arguments)

1. What is the author’s principal argument (thesis)? [pp. x, 7]
2. When did the Chinese path to global expansion begin? [5]
3. To become a “genuine multidimensional power,” China has cultivated power across what sectors? [6]
4. Which six spheres or dimensions of power does this author assess? [6]
5. How does he define “power”? [8]
6. Why is the United States a “superpower,” according to the author? [10]

II. Chapter 2 – China’s Global Identities

1. What identity has been created by historic discourses of Chinese power & nationalism? [17]
2. How have Chinese scholars viewed American power since the 1970s? i.e., steady or declining? [22-23]
5. What were the attributes of former President Hu Jintao’s concept of a “harmonious world”? [25]
6. Define “hegemony”. [26]
7. What brought about a sense of triumphalism among Realists in 2008-10? [33]
8. Why was priority placed on maintaining harmonious ties with the US during the presidencies of Jiang Zemin and Hu Jintao? [35]
9. How does geography dictate that China should “protect its own yard” through an “Asia First” foreign policy? [37]
10. How does Chinese foreign policy express its allegiance to developing countries in what was formerly known as the “Global South”? [38]
11. How does identifying itself as a developing country pay dividends in terms of diplomatic support from other developing countries? [39]
12. What do “Globalists” believe China must do, given its global rise? [41]
13. What interactions occur in Chinese government, military and society to generate multiple international identities? [43]
III. Chapter 3 – China’s Global Diplomatic Presence

1. What opportunities does China possess to exercise power? [45]
2. Why is it a “partial power,” according to the author?
3. Why does Shambaugh consider the Chinese role in North Korean talks a failure? [46]
4. Why does the author conclude that China is an international “actor,” rather than a “power”? [46]
5. Historical background since 1949: What ten phases of diplomatic history does the author identify? [47-52]
6. What are the historical features of Chinese diplomacy? [54-55]
7. Why did Mao turn to the Soviet Union in the 1950s and the US & Japan in the 1970s, which Deng deepened after 1978?
8. Where did China’s diplomatic attention shift after its economic boom took off in the 1990s & 2000s? [55]
9. How does the Chinese Communist Party situate its claims to power based on past “shame and humiliation” endured at the hands of foreigners (Westerners & Japanese)? [56]

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10. How are the United States & China interconnected? [73]
11. What “titanic struggle” appears in the relations between China & the US? [74]
12. What is the difference between the global Sino-American relationship today and the cold war between the US & USSR from 1945-1991? [76]
13. How did China provoke an “American pivot” or reorientation of global foreign, economic, and security policies toward Asia in 2011? [77]
14. How has China interpreted the “American pivot”?
15. Does the author agree?
16. What are American concerns? [78]
17. What is the heart of the Sino-Russian geostrategic axis in the UN Security Council? [83]
18. What is the EU-China relationship anchored in? [86]
19. What was the turning point in China-EU relations? [88-89]
20. What issues have caused turmoil in China-EU relations? [90-93]
21. In the late 1990s in a move to reassure Asian neighbors at the ASEAN Regional Forum, how did China articulate a “New Security Concept” that in fact borrowed heavily from the “Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence” articulated by Zhou Enlai at the Afro-Asian People’s Conference in Bandung, Indonesia (1955)? [97]
22. What is the Shanghai Cooperation Organization? [104]
23. How does China successfully manage diplomatic relations with all Middle Eastern countries? [107]
25. In 1995, China’s attention returned to engagement with Africa because its economy boomed. What three factors became apparent in its position vis-à-vis Africa? [109]
26. What critiques have been raised about Chinese aid & development projects in Africa? [110]
27. What is the growing impression of China across the developing world? [120]

IV. Chapter 4 – China & Global Governance (Hesitations in Integrating International Institutions)

1. How is “global governance” defined? [122]
2. What instances of global governance have prevailed in the 20th century? [123]
3. How are Western & Chinese visions of global governance distinct? [124-25]
4. What four phases does Shambaugh identify for China’s evolving approach to and role in global governance & international institutions? [125]
5. What is China’s contribution to concepts of reorganizing global finance? [126-27]
6. How does the author argue that Chinese political culture constrains its potential future contributions to global governance? [154-55]
Chapter 5 – China’s Global Economic Presence (Economic Power & Limitations)

1. How does China measure up to being a global economic powerhouse? [156-57]
2. By what measures does China remain a partial economic power? [157]
3. China is the world’s largest producer of what products? [158]
4. Draw a schematic diagram (schéma) entitled “China’s Top Trade Partners (2010)” to illustrate heuristically the data provided in Table 5.1. [158] (See Annex 1.)
5. Who was China’s largest trading partner in 2010? [158-59]
6. How did China’s overseas direct investment originate & progress? [174-178]
7. What problems do Chinese MNCs encounter in conducting global business? [191]
8. What explains the anti-China backlash in developing countries? [201]
9. What is the author’s concluding argument? [206]

VI. Chapter 6 – China’s Global Cultural Presence (Soft Power Evaluated)

1. What was the Chinese Communist Party’s official communiqué in 2011? [208]
2. How did President Hu Jintao explain the threat to China’s “cultural security”? [208]
3. How does the “father” of the concept of soft power, Harvard Professor Joseph S. Nye, define soft power? [209]
5. How did journalist Ding Gang (People’s Daily/ Global Times) lament China’s lack of soft power? [215]
7. Consult major Chinese English-language media outlets to discover how the Chinese state is attempting to project its image abroad:
   d. “Dialogue” program:
      i. Co-host Yang Rui’s segments: http://cctv.cntv.cn/lm/dialogue/host/yangrui/
      ii. Co-host Tian Wei’s segments: http://cctv.cntv.cn/lm/dialogue/host/tianwei/
8. What two international events promoted China’s image on the world stage? [240-41]
9. How many Chinese students have studied in international universities since 1978? [241]
11. Which Chinese universities are globally ranked? [243]
12. How many Americans studied in China in 2010-11? [242]
13. What is President Obama’s “100,000 Strong Initiative”? [242]
   a. Watch New York University market its study abroad center in Shanghai:
14. In 2008, China surpassed the US in awarding the most what in the world? [243]
15. What have been some obstacles to developing basic research in China? [244]
16. What are Confucius Institutes? [245]
17. Who is Ai Weiwei? [250-51]
20. What claims do Chinese officials, scholars, and citizens make about foreign (especially Western) misunderstandings of China? [262-65]
21. How does Shambaugh analyze Western media portrayals of China after having lived there & studied China for years? [266]
22. What confusion did Joseph Nye observe in Chinese policies? [266-67]
23. What advice did Shambaugh give the State Council Information Office (SCIO) Minister Wang Chen? [267]

VII. Chapter 7 – China’s Global Security Presence (Hard Power Assessed)

1. What is the “traditional” form of establishing power, which China has eschewed (avoided) thus far? [269]
2. How is China a regional military power & a partial power in the military/strategic realm? [269-70]
3. When does China deploy its forces abroad, thus contributing to global governance? [270-71]
4. What factors could contribute to transforming China’s military power? [270]
5. How are Chinese officials attempting to “learn” from the collapse of the USSR? [274]
6. What factors have been catalysts in China’s drive to modernize its military power? [275-77]
7. What historic border conflicts engaged Chinese armed forces? [278]
8. What did the US Pentagon assess the Chinese military capability in its 2010 report to Congress? [281]
9. What is the size of China’s military? [284]
10. Draw an annotated map (croquis) entitled “Chinese Naval Capability in the Pacific: 2013 and Beyond” to represent three stages of Chinese naval expansion to project its power:
   a. First Stage: 200 nautical miles from shore encompassing the Kurile Islands, the Senkaku Islands, Taiwan and some of the South China sea.
   b. Second Stage: 700 nautical miles & beyond encompassing all of the South China Sea down to Indonesia & East Timor.
   c. Third Stage (future): naval range will extend to Guam, Australia, and New Zealand & Western Pacific
11. What is China’s “Malacca dilemma,” as it was described by Hu Jintao? [291]
12. Why was the launch of an aircraft carrier in August 2011 so important? [292]
13. What does the Chinese navy still lack en route to projecting comprehensive global military power? [293]

VIII. Chapter 8 – Coping with a Globalized China (Prescriptions)

1. How has China dealt with foreigners since 1911? [308]
2. If China is indeed a “partial power” and “not about to rule the world” to cite the author, then what risks do he and Joseph Nye foresee, nonetheless? [311]
3. What strategy did President Nixon advocate in 1967? [313-14]
4. Does the author endorse “containment” of China to resurrect cold war policy? [315]
5. What is his prescription for future action? [314]
6. What does Fareed Zakaria predict will complicate this approach in the future? [317]
7. Ultimately, what are China’s objectives? [317]
8. Which view do you find most persuasive or credible?
PART 2: EXERCISE

- Draw a schematic diagram (*schéma*) entitled “China’s Top Trade Partners (2010)” to illustrate heuristically the data provided in Table 5.1. [158]
- Your diagram should consist of 10 countries represented as proportionally-sized rectangles relative to their trade with China.

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  a. First Stage: 200 nautical miles from shore encompassing the Kurile Islands, the Senkaku Islands, Taiwan and some of the South China Sea.
  b. Second Stage: 700 nautical miles & beyond encompassing all of the South China Sea down to Indonesia & East Timor.
  c. Third Stage (future): naval range will extend to Guam, Australia, and New Zealand & Western Pacific
- In your key and on your map use three colored lines to depict the three stages described above.
- On your map label the islands & countries that are mentioned above.
- On your map label the South China Sea, Pacific Ocean & Straits of Malacca.