HERTOG 2017 SUMMER COURSES
CHINESE GRAND STRATEGY
Daniel Blumenthal, scholar, American Enterprise Institute

This course is a research seminar in Chinese grand strategy and foreign policy. We will explore major continuities and discontinuities in China’s approach to the world from the height of the Qing Empire through 2016 (a period roughly equivalent to the existence of the United States). And we will examine how current Chinese strategy seeks to shape its future.

As the People’s Republic of China rises to preeminence in world affairs, it is critical that US strategists have a deeper understanding of how China’s strategy and statecraft has developed over its thousands of years of history. What makes Chinese strategy unique is the fact that China is both a civilization and a nation-state – or “a civilization pretending to be a nation-state” as sinologist Lucian Pye has described it. It has a strong sense of how the world should be ordered. It is also the only country in the world that still rules most of its imperial territories.

Throughout China’s strategic history, it has faced critical turning points. Given our time constraints, we will begin with an overview of China today under Xi Jinping’s leadership. We will then turn to the late Qing China, when the Middle Kingdom was at the height of its power and had organized its foreign relations into what is now commonly referred to as the “Chinese world order.” We will then look at the attempts of the new Chinese nation-state to “reunify” the Qing borders and to contend with a succession of tectonic shifts in world affairs (1911 to 1949). Next, we will study the period of “Maoism,” during which China pursued a revolutionary, Communist foreign policy (1949 to Mao’s death). Finally, we will consider the period of “reform and opening,” from 1978 to the present, and discuss whether China’s grand strategy faces a new turning point as the post-WWII global order is undergoing severe strain.

The main objective of this course is to develop an analytical framework to assess the merits of the current debates about China’s strategy. We will answer some of the following questions:

1) What does China see as its place in world affairs, particularly in Asia? What is China’s vision of an alternative Chinese-led world order? How is such an order similar/different from Imperial China at the height of its power?
2) What strategies is China implementing to advance its ends?
3) What are some of the constraints China faces given its embrace of significant parts of the global order and the current balance of power?
4) How should the US respond?

Location: This track will take place at the Hertog Foundation:
1875 Connecticut Ave NW, Suite 500.

Sunday, July 30, 2017

3:00 p.m. to 5:00 p.m. Summer Course Fellow Arrival and Check-in —
George Washington University, Thurston Hall (1900 F St NW)
Monday, July 31, 2017

9:00 a.m. to Noon    Xi Jinping & the Chinese Dream

**Readings:**
- Dan Blumenthal, “Xi’s Chinese Dream: The Road to Rejuvenation,” *Three Chinas*, manuscript

Noon to 1:30 p.m.    Group Lunch

1:30 p.m. to 3:00 p.m.    Introduction to Research Projects

Tuesday, August 1, 2017

9:00 a.m. to Noon    The Qing Dynasty: Pre-1949 China

**Readings:**
- Dan Blumenthal, “The Qing Meet the Westphalians,” *Three Chinas*, manuscript
- Dan Blumenthal, “Republican China and Modern Diplomacy,” *Three Chinas*, manuscript

Noon to 1:30 p.m.    Lunch & Guest Speaker: The Making of Strategy & Policy
- **Andrew May**, *Office of Net Assessment, Department of Defense*

1:30 p.m. to 3 p.m.    Qing Dynasty Continued | Unification

**Readings:**
- See readings from the morning.

3 p.m. to 5:00 p.m.    Office Hours
Wednesday, August 2, 2017

9:00 a.m. to Noon
Mao Zedong

*** Research Memo Outlines Due ***

Readings:
- Chen Jian, “Introduction,” Mao’s China and the Cold War, p. 1–16
- Christopher Ford, “Chapter 13: Mao and the Middle Kingdom,” Mind of an Empire: China’s History and Modern Foreign Relations, p. 189–216

Noon to 1:30 p.m.
Lunch & Guest Speaker: The Chinese Economy
Derek Scissors, scholar, American Enterprise Institute

1:30 p.m. to 5:00 p.m.
Office Hours

Thursday, August 3, 2017

9:00 a.m. to Noon
Deng and Reform & Opening

Readings:
- Excerpts from Ezra F. Vogel, Deng Xiaoping and the Transformation of China
- Excerpts from Henry Kissinger, On China
  - “Chapter 17: A Roller Coaster Ride Toward Another Reconciliation: The Jiang Zemin Era,” p. 447–86

Noon to 5:00 p.m.
Lunch Break & Office Hours

Friday, August 4, 2017

9:00 a.m. to Noon
The End of Reform & Opening

Readings:
- Ian Johnson, “Chapter 2: Ritual: The Lost Middle,” Souls of China
- Thomas J. Christensen, Excerpt from *The China Challenge*, p. 251–65

**Noon to 2:00 p.m.**

**Lunch & Closing Conversation:**

**Ely Ratner**, fellow, *Council on Foreign Relations*

***Research Memos Due by 5 pm***

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<tr>
<td>6:00 p.m. to 8:00 p.m.</td>
<td>Closing Reception and Dinner — <em>Darlington House</em> (1610 20th St NW)</td>
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**Saturday, August 5, 2017**

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<td>11 a.m.</td>
<td>PSP and Summer Course Fellow Check-Out and Departure — <em>George Washington University</em></td>
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Suggested Background Reading
(Available electronically and in hard copy upon request)

General

1) Christopher Ford, “Chapter 3: Confucian Conceptions of Order,” Mind of an Empire: China’s History and Modern Foreign Relations, p. 29–38

2) Bruce A. Elleman, Beijing’s Power and China’s Borders: Twenty Neighbors in Asia


Qing Dynasty

1) Peter Perdue, “Chapter 16: Frontier Expansion in the Rise and Fall of the Qing,” China Marches West: The Qing Conquest of Central Eurasia, p. 547–58

2) Odd Arne Westad, “Chapter 4: Republic,” Restless Empire: China and the World since 1750, p. 123–70


4) Alain Peyrefitte, “Chapter 86: In Exchange for Tea: Opium,” and “Chapter 87: Military Action,” The Immobile Empire

Mao

1) Chen Jian, “Chapter 4: China’s Strategies to End the Korean War, 1950–1954,” Mao’s China and the Cold War, p. 85–117


Deng

China Today

1) Christopher Ford, “Chapter 16: China Imagines Its World…and Its Future,” Mind of an Empire: China’s History and Modern Foreign Relations, p. 249–82


**Instructor**

Daniel Blumenthal is the director of Asian Studies at the American Enterprise Institute, where he focuses on East Asian security issues and Sino-American relations. Mr. Blumenthal has both served in and advised the US government on China issues for over a decade. From 2001 to 2004, he served as senior director for China, Taiwan, and Mongolia at the Department of Defense. Additionally, he served as a commissioner on the congressionally-mandated US-China Economic and Security Review Commission from 2006-2012. Mr. Blumenthal is the co-author of *An Awkward Embrace: The United States and China in the 21st Century*.

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**Speakers**

Andrew D. May is Associate Director of the Office for Net Assessment at the US Department of Defense. The Office of Net Assessment was created in 1973 by President Richard Nixon to serve as the Pentagon’s “internal think tank,” responsible for “producing net assessments of US capabilities vis-a-vis those of foreign governments constituting a threat to US security.” May studied history at Dickinson College, and went on to complete a PhD at Emory University, where he wrote a dissertation on the development of nuclear strategy at RAND in the early Cold War. Prior to becoming Associate Director of Net Assessment, May served as historian to the office.

Ely Ratner is the Maurice R. Greenberg senior fellow for China studies at the Council on Foreign Relations. His work focuses on US-China relations, regional security in East Asia, and US national security policy. From 2015 to 2017, he served as Deputy National Security Advisor to Vice President Joe Biden, focusing on Asia and China policy, the South China Sea, North Korea, and US alliances in Asia. He has testified before Congress and published widely on US-China relations and US national security strategy in Asia.

Derek Scissors is a resident scholar at the American Enterprise Institute (AEI), where he focuses on the Chinese and Indian economies and on US economic relations with Asia. He is chief economist of the China Beige Book and author of the China Global Investment Tracker. He previously worked as a senior research fellow in the Asian Studies Center at the Heritage Foundation and as an adjunct professor of economics at George Washington University. He has worked for London-based Intelligence Research Ltd., taught economics at Lingnan University in Hong Kong, and served as an action officer in international economics and energy for the US Department of Defense.
Maps

Imperial China
China 1911: The Road to a Nation-State
China Enters the World of Globalized Trade

Critical Maritime Trade Chokepoints

1. The Strait of Hormuz
   The strait connects the Persian Gulf to the Gulf of Oman leading to the Arabian Sea. Close to 15.5 million barrels of oil pass through it each day. China has 40-year management rights at a nearby port in Gwadar, Pakistan.

2. The Strait of Malacca
   Located between Indonesia, Malaysia, and Singapore. It links the Indian Ocean to the South China Sea and Pacific Ocean. Close to 13.6 million barrels of oil flow through it each day. Chin is trying to establish a military base in Djibouti, which would allow it to maintain warships in the region.

3. The Suez Canal
   A major transit route from the Persian Gulf to Mediterranean countries and North America. Close to 1.8 million barrels of oil flow through it each day.

4. The Strait of Bab el-Mandeb
   Traffic from the Red Sea to the Gulf of Aden and the Indian Ocean. Close to 3.2 million barrels of oil pass through it each day.

5. The Turkish Straits
   These straits connect the Black Sea to the Sea of Marmara. Close to 0.8 million barrels of oil pass through them each day. China is trying to strike deals around this chokepoint with its "Belt and Road" or "New Silk Road" program.

6. The Panama Canal
   Connects the Pacific Ocean with the Caribbean Sea and Atlantic Ocean. Close to 0.8 million barrels of oil pass through it each day. China is trying to build a new set of locks in the Panama Canal.
String of Chinese pearls

*Other ports where China has a significant influence
Maritime Southeast Asia
South China Sea

Reclamation work by:
- China
- Taiwan
- Vietnam
- Malaysia
- Philippines

Extent of China's claim

*Unconfirmed

Sources: antl.csi.org; janes.com; lawfareblog.com

Economist.com
GREAT POWER COMPETITION IN THE INDIAN OCEAN

Source: International Maritime Bureau