

INTL 102: Economics, Politics, and International Change

The Taiwan Question in U.S.-China Relations

Spring 2021

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Course Overview

The Taiwan question is a long-standing dispute in Chinese politics and China's foreign relations. The People's Republic of China considers Taiwan to be a "renegade province" of China and has threatened to use military force to prevent Taiwan from becoming formally independent. The people of Taiwan, however, see themselves as living under their own democracy. Under the One-China policy, the United States takes no position on the question of Taiwan's sovereignty, but it has a policy of supporting Taiwan as it sees fit. The Taiwan question has been a source of growing tension between the United States and China in recent years, raising the possibility of a military conflict between the great powers. This course will teach the history and the politics of the Taiwan question, focusing on how the governments of the United States, the PRC, and Taiwan have defined their positions in this dispute.

Lectures

Mondays 5:00 – 6:20 PM PST
Wednesdays 5:00 – 6:20 PM PST

Discussion Sections

| Section | Day | Time | TA |
|---------|-----|---------------|----------------|
| A01 | Tu | 9:00a-9:50a | David Reimer |
| A02 | Tu | 10:00a-10:50a | David Reimer |
| A03 | Tu | 11:00a-11:50a | Samantha Beu |
| A04 | Th | 9:00a-9:50a | Damin Curtis |
| A05 | Th | 10:00a-10:50a | Damin Curtis |
| A06 | Th | 11:00a-11:50a | Samantha Beu |
| A07 | M | 9:00a-9:50a | Rolando Almada |
| A08 | W | 9:00a-9:50a | Rolando Almada |

Office Hours

Instructor:

Dr. James Lee (jal013@ucsd.edu): Tuesdays 12:00 – 2:00 PM PST (and by individual appointment)

Teaching Assistants:

Rolando Almada (ralmazadar@ucsd.edu): Wednesdays 6:30 – 7:30 PM PST

Samantha Beu (sbeu@ucsd.edu): Wednesdays 4:00 – 5:00 PM PST

Damin Curtis (djcurtis@ucsd.edu): Thursdays 4:00 – 5:00 PM PST

David Reimer (dreimer@ucsd.edu): Mondays 4:00 – 5:00 PM PST

Grading

Participation: 10% (based on quizzes on the lecture material during the discussion sections; or on written assignments if attending asynchronously)

Midterm essay: 40%

Final essay: 50%

Week 1: Introduction

- 1.1 (3/29) The Taiwan Question
- 1.2 (3/31) The Decline of the Qing Dynasty

Week 2: The Eve of War

Discussion sections start this week

- 2.1 (4/5) The Republic of China
- 2.2 (4/7) Colonial Taiwan

Required reading for Week 2:

Samuel Pao-San Ho. “Chapter 9: Colonialism and Development: Korea, Taiwan, and Kwantung.” In *The Japanese Colonial Empire, 1895-1945* by Ramon H. Myers and Mark R. Peattie (eds.) (Princeton University Press, 1987), pp. 347-398.

Optional readings for Week 2:

The Japanese Colonial Empire, 1895-1945 by Ramon H. Myers and Mark R. Peattie (eds.) (Princeton University Press, 1987), pp. 275-311, 399-419.

The Search for Modern China by Jonathan Spence (W.W. Norton, 1990 edition), pp. 361-434.

The Generalissimo: Chiang Kai-shek and the Struggle for Modern China by Jay Taylor (Harvard University Press, 2011 paperback edition), pp. 97-140.

Week 3: The Second World War and its Aftermath

- 3.1 (4/12) The Second World War
- 3.2 (4/14) The Chinese Civil War

Required readings for Week 3:

“A One-China Policy Primer” by Richard Bush. March 2017. *Brookings Institution*. Available at <https://www.brookings.edu/research/a-one-china-policy-primer/> (read the PDF).

The Pacific War: A Critical Perspective on Japan's Role in World War II by Saburo Ienaga (Pantheon Books, 2010), pp. 57-96.

(Nominated for the Nobel Peace Prize, Saburo Ienaga was a Japanese historian who campaigned against censorship of wartime atrocities in Japan's postwar history textbooks. *The Pacific War* is an uncensored alternative to those textbooks; it presents a graphic account of racism and brutality in Japan's military in WWII.)

Optional readings for Week 3:

The Pacific War: A Critical Perspective on Japan's Role in World War II by Saburo Ienaga (Pantheon Books, 2010), pp. 129-202.

China's Good War: How World War II is Shaping a New Nationalism by Rana Mitter (Harvard University Press, 2020), pp. 212-262.

The Generalissimo: Chiang Kai-shek and the Struggle for Modern China by Jay Taylor (Harvard University Press, 2011 paperback edition), pp. 339 – 410.

Week 4: Taiwan in the Cold War: Chiang Kai-shek

- 4.1 (4/19) Taiwan under Martial Law
- 4.2 (4/21) Crises in the Taiwan Strait

Required readings for Week 4:

China's Quest: The History of the Foreign Relations of the People's Republic by John Garver (Oxford University Press, 2016), pp. 29-91 (skim this reading).

Useful Adversaries: Grand Strategy, Domestic Mobilization, and Sino-American Conflict, 1947-1958 by Thomas Christensen (Princeton University Press, 1996), pp. 194-241 (focus on this reading).

Optional readings for Week 4:

Useful Adversaries: Grand Strategy, Domestic Mobilization, and Sino-American Conflict, 1947-1958 by Thomas Christensen (Princeton University Press, 1996), pp. 77-193.

A Tragic Beginning: The Taiwan Uprising of February 28, 1947 by Lai Tse-han, Ramon H. Myers, and Wei Wou (Stanford University Press, 1991).

The Generalissimo: Chiang Kai-shek and the Struggle for Modern China by Jay Taylor (Harvard University Press, 2011 paperback edition), pp. 410-502.

Midterm Essay Prompt Posted on 4/23

Week 5: Taiwan in the Cold War: Chiang Ching-kuo

- 5.1 (4/26) The Developmental State
- 5.2 (4/28) Democratization and the Loss of Recognition

Required readings for Week 5:

Why Taiwan Matters: Small Island, Global Powerhouse by Shelley Rigger (Rowman and Littlefield, 2011), pp. 59-94

Stephan Haggard and Yu Zheng. 2013. "Institutional innovation and investment in Taiwan: the micro-foundations of the developmental state." *Business and Politics* 15(4): 435-466. Available at <https://www.stephanhaggard.com/research>.

Optional readings for Week 5:

Governing the Market: Economic Theory and the Role of Government in East Asian Industrialization by Robert Wade (Princeton University Press, 2005), pp. 195-255.

Pathways from the Periphery by Stephan Haggard (Cornell University Press, 1990) pp. 76-99.

The Generalissimo's Son: Chiang Ching-kuo and the Revolutions in China and Taiwan by Jay Taylor (Harvard University Press, 2000), ch. 14-16.

Midterm Essay Due on 4/30 at 11:59 PM

Week 6: U.S.-China Normalization and the One-China Policy

- 6.1 (5/3) The U.S.-China Joint Communiqués
- 6.2 (5/5) The Taiwan Relations Act and the Six Assurances

Required reading for Week 6:

A Fragile Relationship by Harry Harding (Brookings Institution, 1992), pp. 23-106.

Optional reading for Week 6:

A Fragile Relationship by Harry Harding (Brookings Institution Press, 1992), pp. 107-172.

China's Quest: The History of the Foreign Relations of the People's Republic by John Garver (Oxford University Press, 2016), pp. 286-348, 401-427.

Rein in at the Brink of the Precipice: American Policy Toward Taiwan and U.S.-PRC Relations by Alan Romberg. 3 September 2001. *The Henry L. Stimson Center*. Available at <<https://www.stimson.org/2001/rein-brink-precipice-american-policy-toward-taiwan-and-us-prc-relations/>>.

Week 7: Democracy in Taiwan

- 7.1 (5/10) Politics and Institutions
- 7.2 (5/12) National Identity and Voting Behavior

Required readings for Week 7:

Taiwan's Democracy Challenged: The Chen Shui-Bian Years by Yun-han Chu, Larry Diamond, and Kharis Templeman (eds.) (Lynne Rienner, 2016), pp. 29-50 (skim), 73-94.

Dynamics of Democracy in Taiwan: The Ma Ying-jeou Years by Yun-han Chu, Larry Diamond, and Kharis Templeman (eds.) (Lynne Rienner, 2016), pp. 1-28 (skim), 245-270.

“Taiwan’s 2020 Election Analysis” by Shelley Rigger. 1 March 2020. *China Leadership Monitor*. Available at <<https://www.prcleader.org/shelley-rigger-taiwan-election>>.

Optional readings for Week 7:

Taiwan's Democracy Challenged: The Chen Shui-Bian Years by Yun-han Chu, Larry Diamond, and Kharis Templeman (eds.) (Lynne Rienner, 2016), pp. 1-28, 51-72, 241-266.

Dynamics of Democracy in Taiwan: The Ma Ying-jeou Years by Yun-han Chu, Larry Diamond, and Kharis Templeman (eds.) (Lynne Rienner, 2016), pp. 55-130.

The Taiwan Voter by Christopher H. Achen and T. Y. Wang (eds.) (University of Michigan Press, 2017), pp. 45-70, 158-169.

Week 8: Cross-Strait Relations

- 8.1 (5/17) Cross-Strait Relations, 1992 – 2007
- 8.2 (5/19) Cross-Strait Relations, 2008 – present

Required readings for Week 8:

Taiwan's Democracy Challenged: The Chen Shui-Bian Years by Yun-han Chu, Larry Diamond, and Kharis Templeman (eds.) (Lynne Rienner, 2016), pp. 313-336.

Dynamics of Democracy in Taiwan: The Ma Ying-jeou Years by Yun-han Chu, Larry Diamond, and Kharis Templeman (eds.) (Lynne Rienner, 2016), pp. 339-360.

“Xi Jinping’s Taiwan Policy and Its Impact on Cross-Strait Relations” by Syaru Shirley Lin. *China Leadership Monitor*. 1 June 2019. Available at <https://www.prclleader.org/lin>.

Week 9: U.S.-Taiwan Relations

- 9.1 (5/24) Strategic Ambiguity and its Critics
- 9.2 (5/26) Taiwan and U.S. Grand Strategy

Guest lecture by Vice Admiral Robert Thomas (Ret.), Professor of Practice at UCSD, Commander of the U.S. Seventh Fleet (2013-2015)

Required reading for Week 9:

“Toward a Stronger U.S.-Taiwan Relationship” by Bonnie Glaser, Michael Green, and Richard Bush. 21 October 2020. *Center for Strategic and International Studies*. pp. 3-28. Available at <https://www.csis.org/analysis/toward-stronger-us-taiwan-relationship>.

“Taiwan, ‘Strategic Clarity’ and the War Powers: A U.S. Commitment to Taiwan Requires Congressional Buy-In” by Patrick Hulme. 4 December 2020. *Lawfare*. Available at <https://www.lawfareblog.com/taiwan-strategic-clarity-and-war-powers-us-commitment-taiwan-requires-congressional-buy>.

“Time for a U.S.-China Grand Bargain” by Charles Glaser. *Harvard Kennedy School Belfer Center*. July 2015. Available at <https://www.belfercenter.org/publication/time-us-china-grand-bargain>.

Optional readings for Week 9:

Thomas Christensen. 2002. "The Contemporary Security Dilemma: Deterring a Taiwan Conflict." *The Washington Quarterly* 25(4): 7-21.

"American Support for Taiwan Must be Unambiguous" by Richard Haass and David Sacks. *Foreign Affairs*. Available at <https://www.foreignaffairs.com/articles/united-states/american-support-taiwan-must-be-unambiguous>.

Week 10: Taiwan's Security

(5/31) Memorial Day Holiday (no class)
10.1 (6/2) The Prospects for Stability in the Taiwan Strait

Required readings for Week 10:

Why Taiwan Matters: Small Island, Global Powerhouse by Shelley Rigger (Rowman and Littlefield, 2011), pp. 117-132.

"The Chinese National Security State Emerges from the Shadows to Center Stage" by Tai Ming Cheung. 1 September 2020. *China Leadership Monitor*. Available at <https://www.prcleader.org/cheung>.

"Factors Shaping China's Use of Force Calculations Against Taiwan" by Mark Cozad. 18 February 2021. *Rand Corporation*. Available at <https://www.rand.org/pubs/testimonies/CTA1195-1.html>.

Optional readings for Week 10:

Why Taiwan Matters: Small Island, Global Powerhouse by Shelley Rigger (Rowman and Littlefield, 2011), pp. 165-198.

"U.S.-Taiwan Relations: Prospects for Security and Economic Ties" by Shelley Rigger, Dennis Hickey, and Peter Chow. April 2017. *The Wilson Center*. Available at <https://www.wilsoncenter.org/publication/us-taiwan-relations-prospects-for-security-and-economic-ties>.

Final Essay Prompt Posted on 6/4

Final Essay Due on 6/11 at 11:59 PM