



The Beijing Center

北京中国学中心

Spring 2019 TBC 2320 The China-U.S. Relations: Dynamic History and Formidable Realities

Credit Hours: 3.0

Class Times and Location: TBA

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Course Description

The goal of this course is to help students obtain, in the context of dynamic history and complex realities of power and ideas, a better grasp of the China-U.S. relations, the most important bilateral relations to China at the present as well as in a large part of her modern history, and also increasingly likely the most important ones to the United States in the coming decades. There is already little doubt in the world that the prospects of this bilateral relationship will in a large part shape the world political economy and more. The general orientation of the past evolution of the intercourses between these two powers with very different traditions but the similar “continental” magnitude will be surveyed, the developments in the most recent years and months emphasized, and the predictable future prospects discussed.

The course is characterized, among other things, by prominence of the political and strategic aspects of the international relations and foreign policy, while their social and economic ones are also touched from time to time, especially when they do have significant politico-strategic implications. As in most other courses in the field of international studies almost anywhere, students are expected to have at least a minimum grounding in general international political theories. There may be often a largely consistent theme or framework of “grand strategy” emerged in discussing, which has been marked by a holistic approach, a focus on the calculated relationship between ends and means, a constant concern with the cost-effectiveness of different policy options, and the most important strategic quality of unrelenting adaptation to the unending changes of the world.

Weekly Themes

1. The emergence of the American preponderance and China’s evolving relations with the international society
2. Conflict, confrontation, and rapprochement: the China-U.S. relations in the Cold War years and beyond
3. Crisis in Tiananmen and its aftermath
4. From the Embassy bombing, through 9/11, to the 16th Party Congress of the CCP
5. Toward partnership through vicissitudes

6. Drastic ups and downs: Obama and China
7. Obama and China again: Historic rivalry and competition over Asia-Pacific
8. Effects of political economy and culture: The United States and the Chinese Politics, and ongoing strong trend of reverse under Xi Jinping
9. South China Sea dispute: U.S. power in the Pacific and China's maritime aspiration
10. Northeast Asia: China's intensive maritime confrontation with Japan
11. Northeast Asia: China, U.S., and the oft-dramatic North Korea problem, and troubled China-ROK relations
12. New problems at a new agenda: Finance, trade, energy, investment, strategic weaponry, and more
13. China's new troubles domestic, with Trump storm the harbinger of New Cold War (?)

Readings and Books

Most readings are to be provided by instructor through TBC in course-pack form, others are available in TBC libraries. In addition, students should keep up with current related affairs in publications such as the *New York Times* (which can be found for free at www.nytimes.com), the *Washington Post* (www.washingtonpost.com), the *Asian Times* (www.atimes.com), the *Straits Times*, a prestigious Singapore newspaper with much related reporting or comments (it free website as www.straitstimes.asia1.com), and the China's no.1 official newspaper, the *People's Daily* (in English at <http://english.peopledaily.com.cn/home.html>), etc. A truly excellent and free web service is *Taiwan Security Research* (www.taiwansecurity.org), update on the Taiwan issue, China's foreign policy, Sino-American relations, and East Asian security.

There are four books for this course, i.e.: (1) **Harry Harding, *A Fragile Relationship: The United States and China since 1972*** [Washington, D.C.: The Brookings Institution, 1992]; (2) **C. Fred Bergsten, Charles Freeman, Nicholas R. Lardy, and Derek J. Mitchell, *China's Rise: Challenges and Opportunities*** [Washington, D.C.: Peterson Institute for International Economics & Center for Strategic and International Studies, 2008]; (3) **Mark Leonard, *What Does China Think*** [London: Fourth Estate, 2008]; (4) **Jefferey A. Bader, *Obama and China's Rise: An Insider's Account of America's Asia Strategy*** [Washington, D.C.: The Brookings Institution Press, 2012].

All of them are excellent and very useful. If one would be particularly interested in historical and "philosophical" thinking about China and her probable impacts upon the future course of world history, one could read **Martin Jacques, *When China Rules the World: The Rise of the Middle Kingdom and the End of the Western World*** [London: Allen Lane: 2009], an innovative, insightful, and controversial book.

Course Requirements

1. Course Format

The course is organized as a seminar. It requires students to complete reading the assigned materials, and bring to class their own questions or comments about the readings. It also requires students to actively engage in in-class interactions in the general context of their course reading as well as lecture-listening. Insights with highly practical relevance are particularly welcome.

Each session will begin with a lecture by the instructor, which takes about half of the session time. Then the course will focus on a presentation on one of the sub-topics of the each session by a pre-designated student, with discussions from other course participants, and related topics/issues they want to have discussed. The presentation in its written form (or its outline) can serve as a short reflection paper (see more below).

2. Grading

Participation (25%)

One short reflection paper (25%)

Final research paper (50%)

A short reflection paper is meant to be 3-4 pages in length, typed. It should demonstrate a student's strength and scope in reflecting on one sub-topic in China-U.S. relations covered by the course. Documentation of sources of information is not required, but the writer ought to base his/her comments on reliable data and expert opinions as much as possible.

A research paper is meant to be 8-9 pages in length, typed. It should deal with a significant research topic within the general line of the course, be documented and written according to rules and conventions governing in the Beijing Center (TBC). Plagiarism and other academic dishonesty are strictly forbidden. The due date of the final research paper will be announced during the class.

3. Attendance Policy

Only valid medical or family emergencies qualify as an absence, and documentation of the same must be presented to the professor no later than the next class meeting.

4. Academic Honesty Statement

Please click the following link to see The Beijing Center's policy on Academic Integrity: <http://thebeijingcenter.org/academic-integrity>

Course Schedule

I. The emergence of the American preponderance and China's evolving relations with the international society

Required readings:

- 1) Geoffrey Barraclough, *An Introduction to Contemporary History* (Harmondsworth, Middlesex, England: Penguin Books, 1967), Chapter 4 ("From the European Balance of Power to the Age of World Politics");
- 2) Akira Iriye, *Across the Pacific: An Inner History of American-East Asian Relations* (New York and London: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, 1967), Chapter 1 ("The Initial Encounter, 1780-1880");
- 3) Gerrit W. Gong, *The Standard of "Civilization" in International Society* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1984), Chapter 5 ("The Standard of 'Civilization' and the Entry of China into International Society");

- 4) Martin Jacques, *When China Rules the World: The Rise of the Middle Kingdom and the End of the Western World* (London: Allen Lane: 2009), Chapter 4 (“China’s Ignominy”).

II. Conflict, confrontation, and rapprochement: the China-U.S. relations in the Cold War years and beyond

Required readings:

- 1) Warren Cohen, *America’s Response to China*, 2nd edition (New York: John Wiley & Sons, 1971), Chapter 7 (“Great Aberration”);
- 2) Michal H. Hunt ed., *Crisis in U.S. Foreign Policy* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1996), Chapter 4 (“The Sino-American Collision in Korea, 1948-1951”);
- 3) Roderick MacFarquhar and Michael Schoenhals, *Mao’s Last Revolution* (Cambridge, Mass. and London: The Belknap Press of Harvard University, 2006), Introduction;
- 4) Li Jie, “Chinese Domestic Politics and the Normalization of Sino-U.S. Relations, 1969-1979,” in William C. Kirby, Robert S. Ross, and Gong Li, eds., *Normalization of U.S.-China Relations* (Cambridge, Mass. and London: Harvard University Asia Center, 2005);
- 5) Harry Harding, *A Fragile Relationship: The United States and China since 1972* (Washington, D.C.: The Brookings Institution, 1992), pp. 33-66.

III. Crisis in Tiananmen and its aftermath

Required readings:

- a) John Lewis Gaddis, *The Cold War: A New History* (New York: Penguin Books, 2005), Chapter 7 (“The Triumph of Hope”);
- b) Harry Harding, *A Fragile Relationship: The United States and China since 1972* (Washington, D.C.: The Brookings Institution, 1992), Chapters 7 and 8 (“Crisis” and “Deadlock”);
- c) Andrew J. Nathan and Perry Link, eds., *The Tiananmen Papers* (New York: PublicAffairs, 2001), pp. xxix-xxxv, 455-457 (“Deng Xiaoping’s Struggle for Reform”);
- d) Andrew J. Nathan, “Authoritarian Resilience: Institutionalization and the Transition to China’s Fourth Generation,” in Christopher Marsh and June Teufel Dreyer, eds., *U.S.-China Relations in the 21st Century* (Lanham, Maryland: Lexington Books, 2003), pp. 13-25.

IV. From the Embassy bombing, through 9/11, to the 16th Party Congress of the CCP

Required readings:

- 1) Michael Pillsbury, *China Debates the Future Security Environment* (Washington, D.C.: National Defense University Press, 2000), Chapter 7 (“Conclusions”);

- 2) Michael D. Swaine and Ashley J. Tellis, *Interpreting China's Grand Strategy: Past, Present, and Future*, Santa Monica, Calif.: RAND, 2000, p. 112-140;
- 3) "Bending in the U.S. Storm," *The Far Eastern Economic Review*, October 24, 2002;
- 4) Shi Yinong, "The Fifteen Years of China's Diplomacy and Strategy toward the United States: The Process of Evolution, Fundamental Experiences, and Remaining Problems" (unpublished English outline, written in 2003, of a 2004 published Chinese article).

V. Toward partnership through vicissitudes

Required readings:

- 1) Ching Cheong, "Pressure from US and China Limits Taiwan Separatism," *Straits Times*, May 21, 2004;
- 2) Bonnie S. Glaser and Jane Skanderup, "Anxiety About Taiwan Hits New Highs," *Pacific Forum*, CSIS, 2nd quarter 2004;
- 3) Murry Hiebert, Jason Dean, and Charles Hutzler, "U.S.-China Tensions Resurface," *The Wall Street Journal*, February 25, 2005;
- 4) "The Dragon Comes Calling," *The Economist*, September 2, 2005;
- 5) Demetri Sevastopulo, "Pentagon Report to Portray China as Emerging Rival," *Financial Times*, May 24, 2005;
- 6) Paul Kelly, "US Seeks New Path to China," *Australian*, December 10, 2005;
- 7) Kaveh L. Afrasiabi, "Iran: Russia, China Drift toward U.S.," *Asia Time*, May 12, 2006;
- 8) Glenn Kessler, "Rice Sees Bright Spot in China's New Role since N. Korean Test," *The Washington Post*, October 22, 2006.

VI. Drastic ups and downs: Obama and China

Required readings:

- 1) Chris Buckley, "China Weighs Assertion and Caution in U.S. Shadow," Reuters, January 20, 2009;
- 2) Helene Cooper, Michael Wines, and David E. Sanger, "China's Rule as U.S. Lender Alters Dynamics for Obama," *The New York Times*, November 14, 2009;
- 3) Calum MacLeod, "No Breakthroughs Made, but China Keeps Obama Busy," *USA Today*, November 17, 2009;
- 4) "Copenhagen Talks Show G2 Far from Reality," Agency France Presse, December 21, 2009;
- 5) Peter Ford, "Clinton Bluntly Condemns China on Internet Censorship," *Christian Science Monitor*, January 21, 2010;
- 6) Tania Branigan, "Chinese Media Accuses U.S. of 'Cold War Thinking' over Taiwan Arms Deal," *Guardian*, February 1, 2010;
- 7) "It's Time for Obama Administration to Burst Beijing's Bubble," Editorial, *The Washington Post*, February 4, 2010;
- 8) Ewen MacAskill and Mark Tran, "China and U.S. Extend Thaw as Hu Jintao Confirms Nuclear Summit Visit," *Guardian*, April 1, 2010;
- 9) Michael Wines, "Behind a Military Chill: A More Forceful China," *The New York Times*, June 8, 2010;

- 10) Michael Sainsbury, "Beijing Furious over U.S. Exercises," *The Australian*, August 14, 2001;
- 11) Mark Landler, "U.S. Challenge China on Island Chain," *The New York Times*, July 23, 2001;
- 12) Mark Landler and Sewell Chan, "Taking Harder Stance toward China, Obama Lines Up Allies," *The New York Times*, October 25, 2010;
- 13) Keith Richburg, "U.S.-China Relationship Shifts toward Deep Distrust," *The Washington Post*, November 7, 2010.

VII. Obama and China again: Historic rivalry over Asia-Pacific

Required readings:

- 1) David Shambaugh, "US-China Relations Take A New Direction?" YaleGlobal, January 24, 2011;
- 2) Shi Yinong, "Trouble in the Backyard," *China Economic Quarterly*, March 2012;
- 3) David E. Sanger, "Three Faces of the New China," *The New York Times*, September 25, 2010;
- 4) Ian Johnson and Jackie Calmes, "As U.S. Looks to Asia, It Sees China Everywhere," *The New York Times*, November 15, 2011;
- 5) Jackie Calmes, "U.S. and Australia Seal Expand Military Ties," *The New York Times*, November 16, 2011;
- 6) Floyd Whaley, "Clinton Reaffirm Military Ties with Philippines," *The New York Times*, November 16, 2011;
- 7) Jackie Calmes, "Obama's Trip Emphasizes Role of Pacific Rim," *The New York Times*, November 18, 2011;
- 8) Thomas Fuller and Mark Landler, "As Myanmar Eases Controls, U.S. Sees Diplomatic Opening," *The New York Times*, November 18, 2011;
- 9) Jane Perlez, "China to Seek More Equal Footing with U.S. in Talks," *The New York Times*, May 29, 2013;
- 10) Scott Wilson and William Wan, "Obama, Xi Summit Could Help Define U.S.-China Relationship for Years to Come," *The Washington Post*, June 5, 2013;
- 11) Edward Wong, "China's Communist Party Chief Acts to Bolster Military," *The New York Times*, December 14, 2012;
- 12) Calum MacLeod, "China Launches Charm Offensive as Obama Cancels Asia Trip," *USA Today*, October 4, 2013.

VIII. Effects of Political Economy and Transnational Culture: The United States and the Chinese High Politics

Required readings:

- 1) David Barboza and Sharon LaFraniere, "'Princelings' in China Use Family Ties to Gain Riches," *The New York Times*, May 18, 2012;
- 2) Andrew Higgins and Maureen Fan, "Chinese Communist Leaders Denounce U.S. Values but Send Children to U.S. Colleges," *The Washington Post*, May 19, 2012;
- 3) Andrew Jacobs and Dan Levin, "Sons Parties and Privilege Aggravate Fall of Elite Chinese Family," *The New York Times*, April 17, 2012;

- 4) Mark McDonald, "In China, a Ferrari Crashes and the Party Is Dented," *International Herald Tribune*, September 3, 2012;
- 5) Michael Wines, "A Populist's Downfall Exposes Divisions in China's Ruling Party," *The New York Times*, April 7, 2012;
- 6) John Garnaut, "The Revenge of Wen Jiabao," *Foreign Policy*, March 29, 2012;
- 7) Steven Lee Myers and Mark Landler, "Frenzied Hours for U.S. on Fate of a China Insider," *The New York Times*, April 17, 2012;
- 8) Jane Perlez, "A New Pawn in China's Two Tugs of War," *The New York Times*, April 28, 2012;
- 9) Barbara Demick, "China's Xi Jinping Appears More Maoist than Reformer So Far," *Los Angeles Times*, June 8, 2013.

IX. South China Sea dispute: U.S. power in the Pacific and China's maritime aspiration

Required reading:

- 1) Chris Buckley, "China Reported Saying U.S. Navy Ship Was Breaking Law," Reuters, March 10, 2009;
- 2) Don Lee, "China Says U.S. Provoked Naval Confrontation," *Los Angeles Times*, March 10, 2009;
- 3) Mark Landler, "U.S. Challenges China on Island Chain," *The New York Times*, July 23, 2010;
- 4) Greg Torode and Minnie Chan, "For China, War Games Are Steel behind the Statements," *South China Morning Post*, July 31, 2010;
- 5) "Seas Fill with Tension over China's Moves," *Asahi Shimbun*, October 2, 2010;
- 6) Seth Mydans, "Shared Concern About China Aligns U.S. and Vietnam," *The New York Times*, October 10, 2010;
- 7) John Pomfret, "Clinton urges Cambodia to strike a balance with China," *The Washington Post*, November 1, 2010;
- 8) Craig Whitlock, "U.S. Eyes Return to Some Southeast Asia Military Bases," *The Washington Post*, June 23, 2012;
- 9) Mark Landler, "Obama Expresses Support for Philippines in China Rift," *The New York Times*, June 8, 2012;
- 10) Jane Perlez, "China Asserts Sea Claim With Politics and Ships," *The New York Times*, August 11, 2012;
- 11) Simon Denyer, "China's Rise and Asian Tensions Send U.S. Relations into Downward Spiral," *The Washington Post*, July 7, 2014;
- 12) Robert D. Kaplan, "South China Sea Will Be the Battleground of the Future," *Business Insider*, February 21, 2015;
- 13) Keith Johnson, "China's Gone Ballistic since the Hague Ruling," *Foreign Policy*, August 6, 2016.

X. Northeast Asia: China's intensive maritime confrontation with Japan

Required reading:

- 1) Norimitsu Onishi and Howard D. French, "Japan's Rivalry with China Is Stirring a Crowded Sea," *The New York Times*, September 11, 2005;

- 2) "Government Leader Flinch at China Intimidation," *Yomui Shimbun*, September 26, 2010;
- 3) "Official OK to Anti-Japan Rallies Backfired in China," *Asahi Shimbun*, October 23, 2010;
- 4) Chico Harlan and Jia Lynn Yang, "China Sends Patrol Boats to Contested Islands," *The Washington Post*, September 11, 2012;
- 5) Malcolm Moore, "China Seized by Second Day of Violent Anti-Japan Protests," *Daily Telegraph*, September 16, 2012;
- 6) Martin Fackler, "In Shark-Infested Waters, Resolve of Two Giants Is Tested," *The New York Times*, September 22, 2012;
- 7) William Wan, "Chinese Government Both Encourages and Reins in Anti-Japan Protests, Analysts Say," *The Washington Post*, September 17, 2012;
- 8) Chico Harlan, "With China's Rise, Japan Shifts to the Right," *The Washington Post*, September 21, 2012;
- 9) "China Must Stop Threats in Maritime Disputes, Says US Defence Chief Panetta," *South China Morning Post*, February, 7, 2013;
- 10) Yuka Hayashi, "Abe's Military Push May Please U.S. But Rattle Neighbors," *The Wall Street Journal*, April 22, 2014.

XI. Northeast Asia: China, U.S., and the oft-dramatic North Korea problem, with troubled China-ROK relations

Required reading:

- 1) Shi Yinhong, "China and the North Korean Nuclear Issue: Competing Interests and Persistent Policy Dilemmas," *The Korean Journal of Defense Analysis*, Vol. 21, No. 1 (March 2009);
- 2) Shi Yinhong, "New Games in the Tightly Fixed Structures: North Korea's Volatile Desperation and China's Cornered Strategy," *The Korean Journal of Defense Analysis*, Vol. 23, No. 3 (September 2011);
- 3) Shi Yinhong, "Painful Lessons, Reversing Practices, and Ongoing Limitations: China Facing North Korea since 2003," in Carla P. Freeman, ed., *China and North Korea: Strategic and Policy Perspectives from a Changing China* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2015);
- 4) "Trump, growing frustrated with China, weighs trade actions, officials say," Reuters, June 28, 2018;
- 5) Paul Gewirtz, "How China Misread Donald Trump?" *PoliticoMagazine*, July 6, 2017;
- 6) "Trump announces new executive order targeting those who trade with North Korea," CBS, Sep 21, 2017;
- 7) Faith Karimi, "North Korea calls latest UN sanctions 'an act of war'," CNN, December 24, 2017;
- 8) Shi Yinhong, "The Current Fundamental Situation of the North Korea Problem," (note written in December 2017);
- 9) Shi Yinhong, "How to Interpret Kim Jun En's Initiative on January 1, 2018? A Strategic Magic Strike," (note written on January 9, 2018);
- 10) Shi Yinhong, "China and ROK: Bizarre Political Relationship and Huge Strategic Suspicions" [An excerpt from idem, "China, the North Korea Problem, and the Korean Peninsula," paper presented to a conference organized by Research Institute for National Security Studies at KNDU on December 8, 2009];

- 11) Giles Hewitt, "U.S. Missile Shield Spotlights Division on Handling North Korea," Agence France Presse, February 8, 2016;
- 12) Jane Perlez, "News Analysis: China Blinks on South Korea, Making Nice After a Year of Hostilities," *The New York Times*, November 1, 2017.

XII. New problems in a new agenda: Finance, trade, energy, investment, strategic weaponry, and more

Required readings:

- 1) Goh Sui Noi, "China and US Economies on Collision Course," *Straits Times*, September 14, 2004;
- 2) Charles Horner, "What Will China Do with All that Money," *The Washington Post*, January 16, 2007;
- 3) Joseph Kahn and Jim Yardley, "As China Rises, Pollution Soars," *International Herald Tribune*, August 25, 2007;
- 4) Harry Harding, "China: Think Again!" PacNet #17, Pacific Forum, CSIS, April 5, 2007;
- 5) Peter Ford, "Clinton Bluntly Condemns China on Internet Censorship," *The Christian Science Monitor*, January 21, 2010;
- 6) James Kynge, "China and West: Full Circle," *Financial Times*, January 15, 2010;
- 7) Chietigi Bajipae, "China Fuels Energy Cold War," *Asia Time*, March 2, 2005;
- 8) Barton W. Marcois and Leland R. Miller, "China, U.S. interests Conflict," *Washington Times*, March 25, 2005;
- 9) Shi Yinhong, "The Truth Regarding Tibet: From A Chinese Perspective," *The Washington Post*, August 4, 2008;
- 10) Kathrin Hille, "Xinjiang Ethnic Groups United in Hostility," *Financial Times*, September 4, 2009;
- 11) Al Guo, "U.S. Groups Accused of Backing Separatists," *South China Morning Post*, July 9, 2009;
- 12) Mark Stokes and Dan Blumenthal, "Why China's Missiles Should Be Our Focus," *The Washington Post*, January 2, 2011;
- 13) Brad Lendon, "US commissions largest-ever warship: What does it mean for Asia?" CNN, July 24, 2017;
- 14) John Pomfret, "China's Military Seems to Have a New Attitude: Lots of Chutzpah," *The Washington Post*, January 7, 2011;
- 15) Keith Bradsher, "China's Missile Advances Could Thwart U.S. Defenses, Analysts Say," *The New York Times*, August 24, 2012;
- 16) David E. Sanger, David Barboza, and Nicole Perlroth, "Chinese Army Unit Is Seen as Tied to Hacking against U.S.," *The New York Times*, February 18, 2013;
- 17) Kathrin Hille, "Global Insight: China's Silence over US Snooping Is Golden," *Financial Times*, June 13, 2013.

I. XIII. China's new troubles domestic, with Trump storm the harbinger of New Cold War (?)

Required readings:

- 1) Fran Wang, "China Manufacturing Activity Shrinks at Fastest in 4 years: Govt," Agence France Presse, March 1, 2016;

- 2) Jim Edwards, "Capital Flight from China Is So Intense People Are Trying to Sneak Money Out without Authorities Noticing," *Business Insider*, February 1, 2016;
- 3) Rachel Butt, "China Is Walking Itself into a Trap," *Business Insider*, September 2, 2016;
- 4) "Beware the Cult of Xi," *The Economist*, April 2, 2016; February 28, 2016;
- 5) James Fallows, "China's Great Leap Backward," *Atlantic Monthly*, December 2016 issue;
- 6) Shi Yinhong, "An Ominous Harbinger: What A Trump Presidency Means to the World and China," A speech delivered in Sasakawa Foundation, Tokyo, January 21, 2017, and published in its large part in *China & US Focus*, November 18, 2016;
- 7) "Trump's World: New Nationalism," *The Economist*, November 19, 2016;
- 8) Charles Krauthammer, "After A Mere 25 Years, the Triumph of the West Is Over," *The Washington Post*, December 1, 2016;
- 9) Dirk Kurbjuweit, "One-Hundred Years of Fear: America Has Abdicated Its Leadership of the West," *Der Spiegel*, November 14, 2016;
- 10) Nicole Gaouette, "Tillerson raps China as 'predatory' rule breaker," CNN, October 19, 2017;
- 11) Shi Yinhong, "China-US Rivalry in the Recent Past, Present, and Future";
- 12) "Mike Pence at the Hudson Institute," Voltaire Network, Washington D.C., October 4, 2018;
- 13) Jake Werner, "Politicians Pait China as the Vallian Who Will 'Rip-off Amrican Jobs and Industries...'," *Foreign Policy*, August 12, 2018;
- 14) Zhang Lin, "Economic Cold War Betwee China and US Inevitabla," *South China Morning Post*, September 25, 2018;
- 15) John Maurer, "Is China Repeating Germany's World War I Mistakes?" *The National Interest*, August 26, 2018.