Richard Boucher, Senior Fellow and Ambassador-in-Residence Watson Institute, Brown University, Fall 2017

In this course, we will examine a dozen diplomatic episodes to identify the players, their interests, their tools and how they produced outcomes. We will focus especially on the economic factors – pressures, incentives and influences – that contributed to the results. By examining these elements we will understand the economic tools of diplomacy and power, and how to wield them. We will look closely at China's growing role in the world economy and consider how China's rise will change world affairs.

The class will be <u>highly participatory</u>. In each session, four to five students will each give a 3-5 minute presentation on aspects of the day's topic, having provided us with a short paper 24 hours in advance of their presentation. (Note: This should work out so that each student will present twice over the semester.) We will all raise questions and discuss the issues, finally drawing specific and then more general conclusions. Each class will focus on a major event, but we will look for contemporary themes and parallels. So, keeping up with current foreign affairs issues is important.

Participation is a key component (23%) of the grade, along with the presentations (20%), comments on the readings (12%), one take-home midterm of short answers (20%) and one 2500-word foreign policy memo, which will make up 25% of the grade. Five classes --perhaps more-- will involve role playing exercises. In these classes, you should do you own research on the player you represent and their positions.

Writing: Students will write approximately 10,000 words for this course, focusing on straight, to-the-point, policy papers. Each student will submit half-a-page (250 words) per week to the class blog on some aspect of the reading they found interesting. In addition, for each of their presentations over the semester they will write a one-page (500 words) paper. There will be one midterm take-home exam plus an analytical and research-based policy memo of 2,500 words. The paper for the end of the semester will address a current international situation in the form of a policy "Memo to My Leader" – together we will choose the situation and the leader. I will provide feedback on an initial outline of the paper, if you wish.

We will follow the Chicago Manual of Style as regards presentation, footnotes, etc. An online version is available through the library.

Readings: Students will be expected to read 100-150 pages of material per week (supplemented by video material). Readings will cover the historical background for the class and provide views and commentary which students should be prepared to discuss. All readings and course materials will be posted on Canvas; watch there for changes from the syllabus if I find new materials of interest.

<u>Learning Objectives</u>: Upon completion of this course, students will be equipped to analyze diplomatic situations, identify interests of the players, deploy diplomatic tools and incentives, and write diplomatic strategies and policy memos.

Contact information: richard_boucher@brown.edu

Phone: 240-242-9563

Office Hours: Generally all day Tuesday, Wednesday and Thursday. Drop by or

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contact me to set a time. My office is in Watson Room 124.

<u>Time Expectations</u>: Over 14 weeks, students will spend 2.5 hours per week in class (35 hours total). Required reading for the seminar meetings is expected to take up approximately 4-6 hours per week (70 hours total). Preparing for role playing and providing weekly comments on the reading should take up about 1-3 hours a week (total 35 hours) In addition, preparing three presentations, writing the midterm take-home exam and the final paper are estimated to require approximately 55 hours over the term.

<u>Students with disabilities</u>: Brown University is committed to full inclusion of all students. Please inform me early in the term if you have a disability or other condition that might require accommodations or modification of any of these course procedures. You may speak with me after class or during office hours. For more information, please contact <u>Student and Employee Accessibility Services</u> at 401-863-9588 or SEAS@brown.edu.

Students in need of short-term academic advice or support can contact one of the deans in the Dean of the College office.

THE COURSE

Read before First Class:

- Dale Carnegie, *How to Win Friends and Influence People*, Parts 1 & 2 (pages 3-108)
- Joseph Nye, *The Future of Power*, 2011, "Smart Power," pages 207-234, print

Episode One: Introduction to Influence

- Introduction: Diplomacy, Statecraft & Smart Power
 Handout: Pickering and Luers, "Diplomatic success always trumps a
 military victory," Financial Times, December 18, 2013,
 http://www.ft.com/intl/cms/s/0/9855c1cc-642b-11e3-98e2-00144feabdc
 0.html#axzz3JA1T6UAd
- 2. Economic power and pressure
 Handout: Joseph Nye, *The Future of Power*, 2011, pg 80, print

Episode Two: Benjamin Franklin in Paris

- 1. Power of Personality: Franklin, Vergennes & the British
- 2. Negotiating

Presentation Topics:

- Franklin's Goals and Strategy
- Vergennes and the King: What did they want?
- 47 Rue Vieille du Temple, Paris 4eme Beaumarchais & Franklin

Adam's negotiations and style

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Readings:

- Walter Isaacson, *Benjamin Franklin: An American Life*, Simon & Schuster, 2004, pages 325-435, print
- Instructions to Silas Deane from the Committee of Correspondence, http://franklinpapers.org/franklin/framedVolumes.jsp?vol=22&page=369b
- Instructions to John Adams from the Continental Congress, October 18, 1780, http://founders.archives.gov/documents/Franklin/01-35-02-0121
- Instructions from the Comte de Vergennes to Conrad Alexandre Gerard, Paris, March 29, 1778 from The Record of American Diplomacy, Edited by Ruhl Bartlett, Knopf, 1950.
- Dennis Ross, Statecraft, Chapter 9, Negotiating.

Video:

- PBS, Benjamin Franklin: Diplomat, Episode 3 of 3, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=v9AdP6r8G70
- Video Clip of Paul Nitze, C-Span, 7 mins: https://www.c-span.org/video/?c4619426/shorter-paul-nitze-walk-woods

Episode Three,: Fundamental US Policy: Monroesevelt

- 1. Monroe Doctrine
- 2. Roosevelt Corollary

Presentation topics:

- Greek Independence revolt
- The Venezuelan Debt Crisis of 1902-1903
- De Lesseps: A man, A Plan, A Canal Panama
- Spheres of Influence: Who gets one?

<u>Activity:</u> Meeting of the UN Security Council: What should we do for the Rohingya refugees from Myanmar?

Readings:

- The Monroe Doctrine, Message to Congress, Dec 2, 1823
- Charles Edel -- Nation Builder, John Quincy Adams and the Grand Strategy of the Republic, Chapter 3, pages 107-133
- Charles Edel John Quincy Adams and American Foreign Policy in a Revolutionary Era - Foreign Policy Research Institute, February 26, 2013. https://www.fpri.org/article/2013/02/john-quincy-adams-and-american-foreign-policy-in-a-revolutionary-era/
- Henry Kissinger, World Order, Pages 234-256, Acting for All Mankind, the United States and its Concept of World Order
- President Roosevelt's Annual Message to Congress, December 6, 1904, House Documents, 58th Congress

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- McCullough, *Path between the Seas*, Chapter 12, pages 329-360.
- Edmund Morris, Theodore Rex, Chapter 15, The Big Stick, http://erenow.com/modern/theodorerex/15.html

<u>Audio</u>

 NPR, Why Prejudice Runs Deep Against Rohingya Muslims Of Myanmar, September 12, 20175:04 AM ET, Morning Edition

<u>Video</u>

 PBS Documentary on Building the Panama Canal, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=VOu8aqE5GN0

Episode Four: Peaces to End all Peaces

- 1. League of Nations Wilson and Congress
- 2. The Marshall Plan and Containment

Presentation Topics:

- President Wilson's background: Why the 14 points?
- Congress and the League of Nations
- Renegotiations of the 1920s: Dawes and Young Plans
- The Marshall Plan: Altruism or anti-Communism?
- Self Determination: principle or mistake?

Readings:

- John Maynard Keynes, *Economic Consequences of the Peace*, Harcourt, Brace and Howe, 1920,
 - http://www.gutenberg.org/files/15776/15776-h/15776-h.htm
- Woodrow Wilson, The Fourteen Points: Address of President Wilson to the Congress of the United States, January 8, 1918, http://www.firstworldwar.com/source/fourteenpoints.htm
- Woodrow Wilson, Address to Congress on International Order, Addendum to the Fourteen Points
- Henry Cabot Lodge, Reservations with Regard to the Versailles Treaty, November 19, 1919,
 http://www.kingsacadomy.com/mbodges/07_Special-Documents/History
 - http://www.kingsacademy.com/mhodges/07 Special-Documents/Historical-Documents/1919 Lodge's-reservations-concerning-the-Versailles-Treaty.html
- Gerard Bossuat, *The Marshall Plan: Lessons Learned for the 21st Century,* "History and Legacy," Chapter 1, print
- X, Foreign Affairs Article, July 1947, Sources of Soviet Conduct, https://www.foreignaffairs.com/articles/russian-federation/1947-07-01/sourc
 es-soviet-conduct
- Speech by President Harry S. Truman, March 12, 1947, http://www.ourdocuments.gov/doc.php?doc=81&page=transcript

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Video:

• "The Marshall Plan Speech," The Marshall Foundation, June 1947, 11 minutes, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=dg9 GgXa770

Episode Five: Suez – A Moment of History and Currency

- 1. Suez Nasser, Eisenhower, Eden
- 2. Using the IMF Monetary squeeze

Presentation Topics:

- Nasser What was he thinking?
- Eisenhower Politics or Principle?
- Soviet Union Big winner?
- British Pound Fetishism: Suez to Black Wednesday
- What's in your wallet? What makes a reserve currency?

Readings:

- "The Suez Crisis: An Affair to Remember," *Economist* Special Report, July 27, 2006, http://www.economist.com/node/7218678
- James Boughton, "Northwest of Suez: The 1956 Crisis and the IMF," International Monetary Fund Staff Papers, 2001, Vol. 48, No. 3, print
- Michael Doran, Chuck Hagel's misreading of Suez crisis, The Washington Post, January 31, 2013.
- Frances Coppola, "The long decline of the Great British Pound," Credit Writedowns, September 24, 2014, https://www.creditwritedowns.com/2014/02/long-decline-great-british-pound.html
- Alan Wheatley, The Power of Currencies and the Currencies of Power, The International Institute for Strategic Studies, 2013, "The origins and use of currency power," Chapter 1.
- Huang and Lynch, "Does Internationalizing the RMB Make Sense for China?,"
 Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, September 1, 2013,
 http://carnegieendowment.org/2013/09/01/does-internationalizing-rmb-mak
 e-sense-for-china
- Ben S. Bernanke, Brookings Blog, December 1, 2015, China's gold star, http://www.brookings.edu/blogs/ben-bernanke/posts/2015/12/01-chinas-gold-star

Video:

BBC Documentary - The Other Side of Suez.
 https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=ETOUALw2EIs

<u>Episode Six:</u> German reunification – Active diplomacy

- 1. Kohl, Bush, Baker & 2 Plus Four Active Diplomacy
- 2. Buy in: Incentives and Disincentives for East Germans, Thatcher,

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Gorbachev, Mitterrand

Presentation Topics:

- Kohl and the Eastern Germans: Who's driving the train?
- Thatcher and Mitterrand: Why'd they go along?
- Bush, Baker Working the Allies
- Gorbachev's Goodie Bag

Readings:

- Dennis Ross, Statecraft, Farrar, Straus and Grioux, 2007, "Cases of Statecraft," Chapter 2, pages 29-47, print
- James Baker, The Politics of Diplomacy: Revolution, War and Peace, G. P. Putnam's Sons, "The Arithmetic of Unification," Chapter 12, pages 195-259, print
- Bush and Scowcroft, *A World Transformed*, Knopf, 1998, "Summit and Solutions," pages 299-301, print
- Mikhail Gorbachev, I am against all Walls, http://rbth.com/international/2014/10/16/mikhail-gorbachev-i-am-against-all-walls-40673.html
- Spiegel Online, Klaus Wiegrefe, An Inside Look at the Reunification Negotiations, http://www.spiegel.de/international/germany/germany-s-unlikely-diplomatic-triumph-an-inside-look-at-the-reunification-negotiations-a-719848.html
- William Taubman, Gorbachev: His Life and Times, Norton 2017, pages 486-499.

Video:

• "Moments in History - The Fall of the Berlin Wall," November 15, 2008, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=MM2qq5J5A1s&feature=youtu.be

Episode Seven: Tiananmen - Reacting to Crisis but avoiding historic mistakes

- Reacting to crisis:
- Sanctions: Easier to do than undo

<u>Activity</u>: Role Playing Exercise for Chinese leaders, demonstrators, Outside Powers and the Media. Approximately 1 hour.

Presentation Topics:

- U.S. Sanctions on China: How much? How long? Why?
- Chinese Sanctions on the US: Why? What?
- Deng Xiaoping's Southern Tour

Readings:

• "It is necessary to take a clear cut stand against disturbances," *Beijing Domestic Service*, April 26, 1989, pages 23-24,

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www.tsquare.tv/chronology/April26ed.html

- "Tiananmen Sanctions: 20 years & Counting," Dui Hua Foundation, January 29, 2010, http://duihua.org/wp/?p=2662
- The Tiananmen Papers, Edited by Perry Link, Excerpts, 63 pages.
- Suzanne Maloney, "Why 'Iran Style' Sanctions Worked Against Tehran (And Why They Might Not Succeed with Moscow)," *Brookings*, March 21, 2014, http://www.brookings.edu/blogs/iran-at-saban/posts/2014/03/21-iran-sanctions-russia-crimea-nuclear
- Gary Hufbauer, "The Snake Oil of Diplomacy: When Tensions Rise, the US Peddles Sanctions," Peterson Institute for International Economics, July 12, 1998, http://www.piie.com/publications/opeds/oped.cfm?ResearchID=316
- Eckert, The Security Council, Role of Sanctions from The UN Security Council in the Twenty-First Century, Chapter 20

Videos:

- Gordon and Hinton, "The Gate of Heavenly Peace Tiananmen Square Protests," 1995, 132 mins.
 - Part 1:

https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=1Gtt2JxmQtg&feature=youtu.be,

• Part 2:

https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=o0lgc4fWkWI&t=630s

or

• "The Tank Man," PBS Frontline, DVD, April 11, 2006, One Hour. http://www.pbs.org/video/frontline-the-tank-man/

Optional video:

 Mike Chinoy - Assignment China - Tiananmen - 90 mins. https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=1Aazg KaSyE

Episode Eight: Southeast Asia Smackdown and Sources of Growth

- 1. Asian Financial Crisis: Larry Summers vs Jeffrey Sachs, Indonesia & Malaysia
- 2. Conditionality and reforms
- 3. Value Chains and Beyond

Presentation Topics

- Indonesia and Malaysia: Crisis to Now
- Greece
- How Goop is Made: Nutella
- Value Chains and Skills
- Robots are Taking Our Jobs (or Not)

Readings:

- Pearlstein, Steven, "Tiff in the Economists' Temple," *The Washington Post*, April 5, 1998, http://www.wright.edu/~tdung/sachsumm.htm
- "Ten Years On: How Asia shrugged off its economic crisis," *The Economist*, July 4, 2007, http://www.economist.com/node/9432495/print

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- Anwar Ibrahim, "What have we learned," address at Nanyang Technological University, August 22, 2007, http://anwaribrahimblog.com/2007/08/22/
- "Greece's debt crisis odyssey," BBC News, September 22, 2011, http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/business-14977728?print=true
- Bản in bài viết _ Vietnam's options in international integration.pdf,
 VietnamPlus, September 11, 2008,
 http://en.vietnamplus.vn/Home/Vietnams-options-in-international-integration/201311/42264.vnplus
- Recode: This is the first Adidas shoe made almost entirely by robots, April Glaser, September 27, 2016.
 http://www.recode.net/2016/9/27/13065822/adidas-shoe-robots-manufactur ing-factory-jobs
- OECD, Inclusive Global Value Chains, Executive Summary, October Pages 1-14, https://www.oecd.org/trade/OECD-WBG-g20-gvc-report-2015.pdf
- Joonkoo Lee, Gary Gereffi and Stephanie Barrientos, Capturing the Gains Briefing Notes 03: Global value chains, upgrading and poverty reduction. http://www.capturingthegains.org/publications/briefingnotes/bp-03.htm

Video

 "21st Century Production Revolution," OECD, May 27, 2013, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=ktx2 Dzy3tM&feature=youtu.be

Episode Nine: Afghanistan – Nation building

- 1. Initial reactions Decision to go to war
- 2. Aid and nation building Afghanistan Assistance record, Graduation

Activity: Spend Your Scoots

Presentation Topics:

- Soviet Assistance to Afghanistan in the 1980s
- How much US money has gone to Afghanistan?
- Afghanistan: State of the economy.
- Development Success: Korea? Rwanda? Georgia? Colombia? (pick two)
- How does a small country target assistance? Explain the strategy of Sweden, Norway, UAE or another
- The military-industrial-AID-NGO complex: big contractors and assistance

Readings:

 "9/11 Commission report," National Commission on Terrorist Attacks Upon the United States, August 21, 2004, Section 10.2, http://www.9-11commission.gov/report/911Report Ch10.htm

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- Special Inspector General for Afghanistan, Lessons Learned from the Coalition: International Experience from Reconstruction, April 2016. https://www.sigar.mil/pdf/lessonslearned/SIGAR-16-59-LL.pdf
- Acemoglu and Robinson, "Why Foreign Aid fails and how to really help Africa," The Spectator, January 25, 2014, http://www.spectator.co.uk/features/9121361/why-aid-fails/
- The National Interest, Francis Fukuyama on Acemoglu and Robinson, March 26, 2012.
 http://www.the-american-interest.com/2012/03/26/acemoglu-and-robinson-on-why-nations-fail/
- Steven Radelet, The Great Surge, Chapter 9: Foreign Aid: Blessing or Curse?

Episode Ten: Green Climate Fun:

<u>Activity</u>: A role-playing of active diplomacy at the meeting of the Conference of the Parties to the Paris Climate Agreement. The actual meeting takes place in Bonn from 6 to 17 November 2017.

<u>Task</u>: Develop a one page plan for your participation in the Meeting. Then play it out.

You will meet as members of the Ad Hoc working Group of the Members of the Parties to the Paris Agreement to prepare for the High Level segment of the Conference of the Members of the Agreement on November16. You will meet to decide issues of accountability, measurement, ambition and targets. First you will confer with each other on strategy, then decide on the list of questions relating to these issues.

In addition to deciding how to save the planet, you will make allies, overcome difficult members and achieve results in a disparate group committed to a common goal. If you don't, millions of people suffer.

Readings:

- Bonn COP23 Website: http://unfccc.int/meetings/bonn nov 2017/meeting/10084.php
- The Paris Agreement, Articles 4, 13, and 14.
 https://unfccc.int/files/essential-background/convention/application/pdf/english-paris-agreement.pdf
- Carbon Brief, Bonn climate talks: key outcomes from the May 2017 UN climate conference, 19 November 2017,
 https://www.carbonbrief.org/cop23-key-outcomes-agreed-un-climate-talks-b
 onn
- Al Jazeera, Kigali Deal Agreement Reached to Phase out CFCs, http://www.aljazeera.com/news/2016/10/kigali-deal-agreement-reached-phase-hfcs-161015075725587.html

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- Excerpts on sustainability from Walmart Global Responsibility Report, 2016. http://corporate.walmart.com/2016grr
- David Keith, TEDSalon 2007 Hot Science: A critical look at geoengineering against climate change.
 https://www.ted.com/talks/david keith s surprising ideas on climate change

<u>Episode Eleven</u>: Arab Spring – Things fall apart, the center cannot hold.

- 1. Arab spring how the revolution was made
- 2. Google, Facebook, Platforms

<u>Activity</u>: Video conversation with Ambassador Anne Patterson, US Ambassador to Egypt during the Arab spring and Assistant Secretary for Near Eastern Affairs at the State Department until 2017.

Presentation Topics

- North African Revolutions: Scorecard of Success
- Internal reform: Morocco, Jordan
- ISIS: How do they use the internet now?
- Social media in US politics: Trump, Occupy, Tea Party

Readings:

- Arab Human Development Report 2009, Executive Summary, http://arab-hdr.org/publications/contents/2009/execsummary-e.pdf
- Robert F. Worth, <u>A Rage for Order</u>, Chapters 1 and 5, pages 17-35 & 127-169.
- Clay Shirky, The Political Power of Social Media: Technology, the Public Sphere, and Political Change, Foreign Affairs, Vol. 90, No. 1 (JANUARY/FEBRUARY 2011), pp. 28-41, http://www.jstor.org/stable/25800379
- Jared Cohen, Foreign Affairs, Nov-Dec 2015, Digital Counterinsurgency, https://www.foreignaffairs.com/articles/middle-east/digital-counterinsurgency/
- Project Syndicate, Nabil Fahmy, Managing Compromise in the Middle East.
 October 21, 2016.
 https://www.project-syndicate.org/commentary/middle-east-compromise-ne-cessary-by-nabil-fahmy-2016-10

Video:

 Wael Ghonim, "Inside the Egyptian revolution," TED Talk, March 2011, www.ted.com/talks/wael ghonim inside the egyptian revolution.html

<u>Episode Twelve</u>: Ukraine – Pressures, Sanctions and Incentives

- 1. Spheres of Influence
- 2. European vs Russian association What's your neighborhood?

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Activity: Role-Play Ukraine Chess: Making Minsk Meet (one hour)

Presentation Topics:

- Yanukovich: Tween a rock and a hard place
- Minsk and the European Role in Peace
- European Neighborhood Policies
- NATO Expansion: Good idea or not?

Readings:

- Eve Conant, "How history, geography, help explain Ukraine's political crisis,"
 National Geographic News, January 29, 2014,
 http://news.nationalgeographic.com/news/2014/01/140129-protests-ukraine-russia-geography-history/
- John Mearsheimer, "Why the Ukraine Crisis Is the West's Fault: The Liberal Delusions That Provoked Putin," Foreign Affairs, Vol. 93, September/October 2014,
 - http://www.foreignaffairs.com/articles/141769/john-j-mearsheimer/why-the-ukraine-crisis-is-the-wests-fault
- The Economist Explains What are the Minsk Agreements. September 13, 2016.
 - http://www.economist.com/blogs/economist-explains/2016/09/economist-explains-7
- Brookings Institution, Pifer and Hill: Dealing with a Simmering Ukraine Russia Conflict. October 6, 2016.
 - https://www.brookings.edu/research/dealing-with-a-simmering-ukraine-russia-conflict/
- U.S. Embassy in Ukraine, Readout of Meeting between U.S. Special Representative Volker and Russian Presidential Representative Surkov, November 14, 2017.
 - https://ua.usembassy.gov/readout-meeting-u-s-special-representative-volker-russian-presidential-representative-surkov/
- Atlantic Council, Alexander Vershbow How to End the War in Eastern Ukraine, 30 October 2017.
 - http://www.atlanticcouncil.org/blogs/ukrainealert/how-to-end-the-war-in-eas tern-ukraine
- Foreign Affairs, Rajan Menon and William Ruger, The Trouble With Arming Ukraine, October 11, 2017.
 - https://www.foreignaffairs.com/articles/ukraine/2017-10-11/trouble-arming-ukraine

Audio:

• "Nuland: F**k the EU," https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=r5n8UbJ8jsk

Episode Thirteen: Big China - So?

1. Sources of China's Power

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2. How do they use their influence?

Activity: One hour role-playing on the South China Sea

Presentation Topics:

- Japanese Purchases of Rockefeller Center and Pebble Beach
- The Nine dash line
- One Belt. One Road
- Xi's New Model of Big Power Relations: What's China's strategy?

Readings:

- Laura Zhou and Kristin Huang, South China Morning Post, Launch of Beijing's new dredger may spark concerns of renewed island building UPDATED: Saturday, 04 November, 2017, 8:27pm, http://www.scmp.com/news/china/diplomacy-defence/article/2118359/launch-beijings-new-dredger-may-spark-concerns-renewed
- Noel Tarrazona, The Maritime Executive, August 9, 2017. ASEAN, China Adopt Framework for Maritime Code of Conduct, https://www.maritime-executive.com/article/asean-china-adopt-framework-for-maritime-code-of-conduct
- Kristin Huang, South China Morning Post. China, Vietnam sign cooperation pacts in bid to play down South China Sea tensions, UPDATED: 14
 November, 2017, 10:46pm.

 http://www.scmp.com/news/china/diplomacy-defence/article/2119868/china-vietnam-sign-cooperation-pacts-bid-thaw-ties
- Richard C. Paddock and Felipe Villamor, New York Times, November 12, 2017. Duterte Warms to Trump, but Keeps His Focus on China. https://www.nytimes.com/2017/11/12/world/asia/trump-duterte-philippines-killing.html? r=0
- Foreign Affairs, March/April 2011. Wang Jisi, China's Search for a Grand Strategy.
 https://www.foreignaffairs.com/articles/china/2011-02-20/chinas-search-grand-strategy
- The Atlantic. Graham Allison, Destined for War: Can China and the United States Escape Thucydides Trap? September 24, 2015.
 http://www.theatlantic.com/international/archive/2015/09/united-states-china-war-thucydides-trap/406756/
- James Fallows, The Atlantic. December 2016 issue, China's Great Leap Backward, https://www.theatlantic.com/magazine/archive/2016/12/chinas-great-leap-b ackward/505817/
- New York Times, Sinosphere Blog, June 15, 2015. Q and A with Zhang

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Weiwei. Why China will succeed.

http://sinosphere.blogs.nytimes.com/2015/06/12/q-and-a-zhang-weiwei-on-why-china-will-succeed-under-the-communist-party/

- Joseph Nye, Financial Times Op-ed, The American Century will Survive the Rise of China,
 - $\frac{\text{http://www.ft.com/intl/cms/s/0/48c84460-d250-11e4-ae91-00144feab7de.h}}{\text{tml}}$
- "UN Convention on Law of the Sea," Articles dealing with Islands, Rocks, and Economic Zones.
- Permanent Court of Arbitration, Decision of July 12, 2016, Press Release, https://pcacases.com/web/sendAttach/1801
- Asian Development Bank. June 2, 2016. Ganeshan Wignaraja, A Tale of Two Trade Pacts in Asia: TPP and RCEP.
 https://www.adb.org/news/op-ed/tale-two-trade-pacts-asia-tpp-and-rcep-ga-neshan-wignaraja
- Asia Maritime Initiative, CSIS, website: https://amti.csis.org/