

Pol 21
2019-20

CHINA IN THE INTERNATIONAL ORDER

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Lecturers and supervisors for the paper: Dr. Kun-Chin Lin (kcl35@cam.ac.uk) and Ms Qinyi Xu (qx224@cam.ac.uk)

Paper outline

Aims and objectives

This paper provides an application of international relations and international political economy theories to the case study of China's decline, isolation, and rise in global politics and market over the past century and half. Reassessing power transition, economic integration, and institution-building theories developed in the Western historical context, the paper prepares students to take a critical view on one of the most systemic shift of our time – the rise of China as the world's largest economy with great power aspirations. Combining historical and theoretical perspectives, this course will examine major events and issues that have created pressures and opportunities for China's foreign relations, market expansion, corporate internationalization, military modernization, and influence in international organizations.

Mode of teaching

The paper consists of eighteen lectures by KC Lin plus two guest lectures by Commander Ian Park and Ms Qinyi Xu: with twelve lectures in Michaelmas term (one per week 1-4, and two per week 5-8) and eight lectures in Lent term (one per week). In addition, there will be one revision class in Easter term.

Supervisions

The paper organiser will organise supervisions. Students are expected to write six essays for this paper. Each essay is expected to represent 4-5 days of intense work on your chosen topic. Essays should be at least 2,000 words. They should be word-processed, double-spaced, paginated, and include a bibliography and references for citations and quotations. You must proof read your essays thoroughly before submitting them.

Plagiarism will not be tolerated. Any student found plagiarising supervision essays will be reported to his or her college. Students are expected to have read the Faculty's statement on plagiarism.

Mode of assessment

There will be a three hour unseen examination paper in the Easter term, in which students will be required to answer three questions. Students will be expected to apply international relations theories discussed in the first two lectures in answering the questions.

Readings

The readings under the lectures are divided into *essential* for the supervision essay, and *recommended* for students who want to explore the weekly topics in greater depth.

When you go through the readings, do so with a critical eye. Always try to answer these (and similar)

questions: What is the question that the author is trying to answer? What outcome is being explained? What factors cause the outcome? How do these factors cause the outcome? What type of evidence is used to support the argument? How good is that evidence? Have some important factors/considerations been left out? Are there alternative explanations that are just as plausible?

The SPS library will have most of the specified readings; others will be available at the UL. Many of the specified books are also available in the Faculty of Asian and Middle Eastern Studies Library and the Department of History library on the Sidgwick site. Many articles can be accessed electronically through the course website on Moodle. It is also possible to get online access to articles by obtaining a password from the University Library (see www.lib.cam.ac.uk/electronicresources).

The following books provide helpful general introductions to the Chinese foreign policy history, economic development, and contemporary issues:

Shaun Breslin, ed., *Handbook of China's International Relations*.

Shenggen Fan, Ravi Kanbur, Shang-Jin Wei, Xiaobo Zhang, ed., *The Oxford Companion to the Economics of China*.

Mazaar et al. *China and International Order*. Rand Corporation, 2018. Free Ebook at: https://www.rand.org/pubs/research_reports/RR2423.html

Kerry Brown, *The Future of UK-China Relations: The Search for a New Model*.

Jae Ho Chung, ed. *Assessing China's Power*.

Rana Mitter, *Modern China: A Very Short Introduction*.

Frank Pieke, *Knowing China: A Twenty-First Century Guide*.

David Shambaugh and Michael Yahuda, eds. *International Relations of Asia*.

Robert S. Ross and Øystein Tunsjø, ed. *Strategic Adjustment and the Rise of China: Power and Politics in East Asia*.

Jonathan Spence, *The Search for Modern China*.

Robert Sutter, *Chinese Foreign Relations*.

Yong-nian Zheng, *Contemporary China: A History since 1978*.

Major academic journals on contemporary China include *China Quarterly*, *Modern China*, *The China Journal*, *Chinese Journal of International Politics*, *China Information*, *China Economic Quarterly*, *Journal of Chinese Political Science*, *Journal of Current Chinese Affairs*, and *China: An International Journal*. In addition, there are a number of excellent journals that regularly cover Asian affairs more generally, including *Pacific Review*, *Asian Survey*, *Journal of Contemporary Asia*, *Journal of East Asian Studies*, *Modern Asian Studies*, and *Journal of Asian Studies*. Chatham House and Center for Strategic and International Studies (CSIS) research reports, *China Leadership Monitor* by the Hoover Institute and the *China Brief* of the Jamestown Foundation provide expert analyses of current events.

Reading list

China in the International Order

There are no formal prerequisites for this paper, although students who have taken Pol 2 (International Relations) in Part I of the HSPS Tripos would revisit many theories and themes in a new empirical context. It would be helpful for you to read widely on Chinese history, political economy, diplomacy, and follow current debates. If you could use more background information, or would be interested in further in-depth analysis or an introduction to specialised topics, please alert Dr Lin as soon as possible and he will provide additional readings.

The course starts with two survey lectures on the applications of international relations theories to China's ascendancy in global economy and politics. Thematically, the remaining eighteen lectures are divided into three parts: The Fall of the Traditional Order and Communist Experiment (Lectures 3-6), China's Incorporation into the American World Order (Lectures 7-13), Defining a Great Power (Lectures 14-20).

Theoretical Perspectives on China as a Rising Power

Lectures 1 & 2: Introduction & IR Theories on Rising China

Essential

- Barry Buzan, "China in International Society: Is 'Peaceful Rise' Possible?" *Chinese Journal of International Politics* 3(2010).
- Jack S. Levy, 'Power Transition Theory and the Rise of China', in Robert S. Ross and Zhu Feng, eds., *China's Ascent: Power, Security, and the Future of International Politics* (Cornell 2009)
- G. John Ikenberry, 'The Rise of China: Power, Institutions, and the Western Order', in Ross and Zhu, eds., *China's Ascent*.
- David C. Kang & Xinru Ma, "Power Transitions: Thucydides Didn't Live in East Asia, *The Washington Quarterly* 41:1 (2018): 137-154.
- Woosang Kim and Scott Gates, ed. "Special Issue: Power transition theory and the rise of China," *International Area Studies Review* 18(3, 2015): 219-226.
- Yves-Heng Lim, "A Tale of Two Realisms in Chinese Foreign Policy", *China: An International Journal* 9/2 (Sep 2011): 299-312; and "How (Dis)Satisfied is China? A power transition theory perspective", *Journal of Contemporary China* 24/92 (2015).
- Robert S. Ross, "Balance of Power Politics and the Rise of China: Accommodation and Balancing in East Asia", *Security Studies*, vol. 15, no. 3, Fall 2006.
- Randall Schweller and Xiaoyu Pu, "After Unipolarity China's Visions of International Order in an Era of U.S. Decline", *International Security*, Vol. 36, No. 1 (Summer 2011): 41-72.
- Suisheng Zhao, "A Revisionist Stakeholder: China and the Post-World War II World Order", *Journal of Contemporary China* 27/113 (2018): 643-658.
- Browse various special issues (mostly edited by Yan Xuetong) of the *The Chinese Journal of International Politics* for insights into Chinese academic debates on Western IR theories

Recommended

Bentley B. Allan, Srdjan Vucetic, and Ted Hopf. "The Distribution of Identity and the Future of International Order: China's Hegemonic Prospects." *International Organization* 72.4 (2018): 839-869.

Amitav Acharya, "Will Asia's Past Be Its Future?", *International Security* 28:3 (Winter 2003/04).

- Michael Beckley, "China's Century? Why America's Edge Will Endure", *International Security*, Vol. 36 No. 3 (Winter 2011/2).
- Jean-Marc Blanchard and Kun-Chin Lin, "Contemplating Chinese Foreign Policy: Approaches to the Use of Historical Analysis." Special Issue: Chinese Foreign Policy: The Quest for Power, Security, and Status. *Pacific Focus* 28/2 (August 2013): 145–16.
- Breslin, Shaun. "Understanding China's regional rise: interpretations, identities and implications." *International Affairs* 85.4 (2009): 817-835.
- Steve Chan, "Exploring Puzzles in Power Transition Theory: Implications for Sino-American Relations", *Security Studies* 13:3 (2004): 103-141
- Sheena Chestnut and Alastair Johnson, "Is China Rising?" in E. Paus, P. Prime, and J. Western ed., *Global Giants: Is China Changing the Rule of the Game?* (Palgrave 2009).
- Ian Clark, "China and the United States: a succession of hegemonies?" *International Affairs* 87:1 (2011): 13–28.
- Ji Young Choi, "Historical and Theoretical Perspectives on the Rise of China: Long Cycles, Power Transitions, and China's Ascent", *Asian Perspective* 42 (2018): 61–84.
- Aaron Friedberg, "Will Europe's Past Be Asia's Future?", *Survival* 42:3 (2000).
- Charles Glaser, "Will China's Rise Lead to War? Why Realism Does Not Mean Pessimism", *Foreign Affairs* Vol. 90 No. 2 (March/April 2011).
- Avery Goldstein, "Power Transitions, Institutions, and China's Rise in East Asia: Theoretical expectations and evidence", *Journal of Strategic Studies* 30:4-5 (2007): 639-682.
- Avery Goldstein, "Great Expectations: Interpreting China's Arrival", *International Security* 22.3 (Winter 1997/98): 36–73.
- Stephan Haggard, "Liberal Pessimism: International Relations Theory and the Emerging Powers: Liberal Pessimism." *Asia & the Pacific Policy Studies* 1, no. 1 (2014): 1-17.
- Andrew Hurrell, "Hegemony, liberalism and global order: what space for would-be Great Powers?", *International Affairs* 82(1), Jan. 2006.
- G. John Ikenberry, "The Rise of China and the Future of the West: Can the Liberal System Survive?" *Foreign Affairs*, Vol. 87 No. 1 (Jan/Feb 2008).
- G. John Ikenberry, "The End of Liberal International Order?" *International Affairs* 94/1 (2018) 7–23.
- Robert Jervis, "The Remaking of a Unipolar World", *Washington Quarterly*, Vol. 29 No. 3 (Summer 2006).
- Charles Kupchan, "Minor League, Major Problems—The Case against a League of Democracies," *Foreign Affairs* 87(6), Nov/Dec 2008: 96-109.
- Peter Katzenstein, "China's Rise: Return, Rupture or Recombination?" in Peter Katzenstein and Takashi Shiraiishi, eds., *Beyond Japan, the Dynamics of East Asian Regionalism* (Cornell University 2006).
- Paul Kennedy, *The Rise and Fall of Great Powers: Economic Change and Military Conflict from*

1500-2000 (Vintage 1987).

Henry A. Kissinger, "Power Shifts", *Survival* 52:6 (2010): 205-212.

Jonathan Kirshner, "The Tragedy of Offensive Realism: Classical realism and the rise of China", *European Journal of International Relations* 18:1 (2012).

Christopher Layne, "The Waning of US Hegemony – Myth or Reality? A Review Essay", *International Security*, Vol. 34 No. 1 (Summer 2009).

----- "From Preponderance to Offshore Balancing: America's Future Grand Strategy", *International Security*, Vol. 22 No. 1 (Summer 1997)

----- "The Unipolar Illusion: Why New Great Powers Will Rise", *International Security*, Vol. 17 No. 4 (Spring 1993).

Richard Ned Lebow and Benjamin Valentino, "Lost in Transition: A Critical Analysis of Power Transition Theory", *International Relations* 23(3): 389–410.

Jeffery Legro, "What China Will Want: The Future Intentions of a Rising Power", *Perspectives on Politics* 5:3 (2007).

John J. Mearsheimer, "The Gathering Storm: China's Challenge to US Power in Asia," *Chinese Journal of International Politics*, Vol. 3 (2010).

----- "China's Unpeaceful Rise", *Current History*, Vol. 105, No. 690 (April 2006).

Joseph Nye, "The rise and fall of American hegemony from Wilson to Trump", *International Affairs* 95/1 (2019): 63–80.

Yaqing Qin. "International society as a process: institutions, identities, and China's peaceful rise." *The Chinese Journal of International Politics* 3.2 (2010): 129-153.

Yaqing Qin, "Why is there no Chinese International Relations Theory?" *International Relations of the Asia-Pacific* 7.3 (2007): 313-340.

Simon Reich and Richard Ned Lebow. *Good-Bye Hegemony: Power and Influence in the Global System* (Princeton UP 2014), Chap 1.

Jonathan Renshon, *Fighting for Status: Hierarchy and Conflict in World Politics* (PrincetonUP 2017), Chap 1.

A. Tellis, J. Bially, C. Layne and M. McPherson, *Measuring National Power in the Postindustrial Age* (RAND 2000).

Thomas W. Robinson and David Shambaugh, eds., *Chinese Foreign Policy: Theory and Practice* (Clarendon Press 1995). Esp. chapters by Allen Whiting, "IR Theory vs. the Fortune Cookie" and Wang Jisi, "International Relations Theory and the Study of Chinese Foreign Policy: A Chinese Perspective."

Xinbo Wu, "China in search of a liberal partnership international order", *International Affairs* 94/5 (2018): 995–1018.

Essay

Identify the premises of two variants of power transition theories on China's rise since the end of the Cold War, and propose some evidence that may refute these theories.

PART I: The Fall of the Traditional Order and Communist Experiment

Lecture 3: From the Tributary System to the Great Divergence

Essential

- Shaohua Hu, "Revisiting Chinese Pacifism," *Asian Affairs*, Vol. 32 No. 4 (Winter 2006).
- Robert E. Kelly, "A 'Confucian long peace' in pre-Western East Asia?" *European Journal of International Relations* 18.3 (2012): 407-430.
- David C. Kang. "Hierarchy and Stability in Asian International Relations", in Ikenberry and Mastanduno, *International Relations Theory and the Asia-Pacific* (Columbia University Press 2003)
- Benjamin Schwartz. "The Chinese Perception of World Order, Past and Present," in John K. Fairbank, *The Chinese World Order: Traditional China's Foreign Relations* (Harvard 1968).
- Brantly Womack, "Asymmetry and China's Tributary System", *The Chinese Journal of International Politics*, Vol. 5 (2012): 37–54. Or *China's Rise in Historical Perspective*. (Rowman & Littlefield 2010).
- Zhang Feng, "Confucian Foreign Policy Traditions in Chinese History", *The Chinese Journal of International Politics* 2015: 197–218.
- Fangyin Zhou, "Equilibrium analysis of the tributary system", *The Chinese Journal of International Politics* 4.2 (2011): 147-178.

Recommended

Warren Cohen, *East Asia at the Center, Four Thousand Years of Engagement with the World*, (Columbia 2000), Chapters 1-7.

Ja Ian Chong, "Popular Narratives versus Chinese History: Implications for China's Rise", *European Journal of International Relations*, 0(0, Dec. 2014): 1-26.

Prasenjit Duara, *The Global and Regional in China's Nation-Formation* (Routledge 2009).

Victoria Tin-bor Hui, "Toward a Dynamic Theory of International Politics: Comparing Ancient China and Early Modern Europe", *International Organization* (Winter 2004).

Alastair Iain Johnston, *Cultural Realism, Strategic Culture and Grand Strategy in Chinese History* (Princeton 1995).

David C. Kang. *East Asia Before the West: Five Centuries of Trade and Tribute* (Columbia UP 2010).

David C. Kang, "Why was there no religious war in premodern East Asia?" *European Journal of International Relations* 20.4 (2014): 965-986.

William C. Kirby, "Traditions of Centrality, Authority, and Management in Modern China's Foreign Relations," in T. Robinson and D. Shambaugh, ed., *Chinese Foreign Policy: Theory and Practice* (Clarendon Press 1997).

James Zhaojie Li, "Traditional Chinese Order", *Chinese Journal of International Law* 1/1 (2002): 20-58.

Andrew J. Nathan and Robert S. Ross, *Great Wall and Empty Fortress* (W.W. Norton 1997), Chap. 2.

Kenneth Pomeranz, *The Great Divergence: China, Europe, and the Making of the Modern World Economy* (Princeton 2001).

Jean-Laurent Rosenthal and R. Bin Wong, *Before and Beyond Divergence: The Politics of Economic Change in China and Europe* (Harvard 2011).

R. Bin Wong, *China Transformed: Historical Change and the Limits of European Experience* (Cornell 2000).

Yan Xuetong, *Ancient Chinese Thought: Modern Chinese Power* (Princeton 2011)

Essay

Chinese leaders in recent years have argued that imperial China had typically pursued peaceful diplomacy with its neighbours. Assess this historical generalization by examining the elite philosophy, strategy, and structural relationships of the Middle Kingdom to other suzerainties in the region.

Lecture 4: Adaptations under Imperialism

Essential

- Bruce A. Elleman, *International Competition in China, 1899–1991: The rise, fall, and restoration of the Open Door Policy* (Routledge 2015).
- Shogo Suzuki, *Civilization and Empire: China and Japan's encounter with European international society* (Routledge 2009), Chapters 4, 6.
- Hans Van De Ven, *Breaking with the Past: The Maritime Customs Service and the Global Origins of Modernity in China* (Columbia 2013), Chapters 3-5.
- Suisheng Zhao, “Failed Multilateralism in the Age of Imperialism”, in *Power Competition in East Asia: From the Old Chinese World Order to Post-Cold War Regional Multipolarity* (St. Martin’s Press 1998)
- Zhang Xiaomin and Xu Chunfeng, “The Late Qing Dynasty Diplomatic Transformation: Analysis from an Ideational Perspective”, *Chinese Journal of International Politics* Vol. 1 (2007): 405–445.

Recommended

William A. Callahan, “National Insecurities: Humiliation, Salvation, and Chinese Nationalism”, *Alternatives* 29 (2004).

----- “History, Identity, and Security: Producing and Consuming Nationalism in China”, *Critical Asian Studies*, 38: 2 (2006), 179-208.

Frank Dikötter, *Age of Openness: China before Mao* (UC Press 2008).

Prasenjit Duara, “The Multi-National State in Modern World History: The Chinese Experiment”, *Frontiers of History in China*, 6(2, 2011): 285-295.

William C Kirby, “Reappraising Republican China: The Internationalization of China: Foreign Relations At Home and Abroad in the Republican Era”, *The China Quarterly* 150 (June 1997): 433-458.

Xiaoyuan Liu, *A Partnership for Disorder: China, the United States, and Their Policies for the Postwar Disposition of the Japanese Empire, 1941-1945* (Cambridge UP 2002).

Rana Mitter, *China's War with Japan, 1937-1945: The Struggle for Survival* (Allen Lane 2013).

William T. Rowe, "The Public Sphere in Modern China." *Modern China*, Vol. 16, No. 3 (Jul., 1990), pp. 309-329. Followed up discussions in *Modern China*, Vol. 19, No. 2, Symposium: "Public Sphere"/"Civil Society" in China? Paradigmatic Issues in Chinese Studies, III (Apr., 1993).

Julia Strauss, *Strong Institutions in Weak Polities: State Building in Republican China, 1927-1940* (Cornell 1998).

Hans van de Ven, *War and Nationalism in China: 1925-1945* (Routledge 2003).

Madeleine Zelin, "Economic Freedom in Late Imperial China" in *Realms of Freedom in Modern China*, William Kirby, ed. (Stanford 2005).

Zhang Xiaomin and Xu Chunfeng, "The Late Qing Dynasty Diplomatic Transformation: Analysis from an Ideational Perspective", *Chinese Journal of International Politics*, Vol. 1, 2007: 405–445.

Essay

How did the Chinese foreign policymakers attempt to mediate foreign interests given the country's position of relative weakness to imperial powers from the late-1800s to 1949?

Lecture 5: "Leaning to One Side" and Independence during the Cold War

Essential

- John Garver, *Foreign Relations of the People's Republic of China* (Prentice Hall 1993), Chapters 2-4.
- Alastair Iain Johnston, "Cultural Realism and Strategy in Maoist China," in Peter J. Katzenstein, ed., *The Culture of National Security* (Columbia 1996).
- Zhihua Shen and Danhui Li, *After Leaning to One Side: China and Its Allies in the Cold War*. (Woodrow Wilson Center Press 2011).
- Zhihua Shen and Yafeng Xia, *Mao and the Sino-Soviet Partnership, 1945-1959: A New History* (Lexington Books 2015).
- Suisheng Zhao, "The Origins of the Bipolar Cold War Competition", in *Power Competition in East Asia: From the Old Chinese World Order to Post-Cold War Regional Multipolarity* (St. Martin's Press 1998).

Recommended

James David Armstrong, *Revolutionary Diplomacy: Chinese Foreign Policy and the United Front Doctrine* (UC Press 1977).

Anne-Marie Brady, *Making the Foreign Serve China: Managing Foreigners in the People's Republic* (Rowman & Littlefield 2003), Chapters 2-5.

Prasenjit Duara, "The Cold War as a Historical Period: an interpretive essay", *Journal of Global History*, November 2011.

Chen Jian, *Mao's China and the Cold War* (University of North Carolina Press 2001).

Tom Christensen, *Useful Adversaries, Grand Strategy, Domestic Mobilization, and Sino-American Conflict, 1947-1958* (Columbia 1996).

Jeremy Friedman, *Shadow Cold War: The Sino-Soviet Competition for the Third World* (University of North Carolina Press 2015).

Sergei N. Goncharov, John W. Lewis and Xue Litai, *Uncertain Partners: Stalin, Mao and the Korean War* (Stanford 1993).

Hao Yufan and Zhai Zhihai, "China's Decision to Enter the Korean War: History", *The China Quarterly* 121 (Mar. 1990): 94-115.

Lorenz M. Lüth, *The Sino-Soviet Split: Cold War in the Communist World* (Princeton UP 2008).

Peter Van Ness, *Revolution and Chinese Foreign Policy: Peking's Support for Wars* (UC Press 1970).

Odd A. Westad, ed., *Brothers in Arms: The Rise and Fall of the Sino-Soviet Alliance, 1945-1962* (Stanford 1998).

Yafeng Xia, *Negotiating with the Enemy: U.S.-China Talks during the Cold War, 1949-1972* (Indiana UP 2006).

Shu Guang Zhang, *Economic Cold War: America's Embargo Against China and the Sino-Soviet Alliance, 1949-1963* (Stanford UP 2001).

Essay

What was Mao Zedong's degree of freedom in foreign diplomacy within the Moscow-led Communist International? Discuss with references to the Korean War, the Taiwan Strait Crises, the Bandung Conference, and/or other major Chinese diplomatic initiatives.

Lecture 6: Rapprochement via Ping-Pong Diplomacy

Essential

- Evelyn Goh, "Nixon, Kissinger, and the 'Soviet Card' in the U.S. Opening to China, 1971–1974", *Diplomatic History* Vol. 29, No. 3 (June 2005), or read the whole book! *Constructing the U.S. Rapprochement with China, 1961-1974* (Cambridge UP 2011).
- James Mann, *About Face: A History of America's Curious Relationship with China, from Nixon to Clinton* (Vintage, 2000)
- Yafeng Xia, "China's Elite Politics and Sino-American Rapprochement, January 1969–February 1972", *Journal of Cold War Studies* Vol. 8, No. 4 (Fall 2006): 3–28.

Recommended

William Burr, ed., *The Kissinger Transcripts: The Top Secret Talks with Beijing and Moscow* (New Press 1999).

Henry Kissinger, *On China* (Penguin 2012).

John Garver, *Foreign Relations of the People's Republic of China* (Prentice Hall 1993), Chapter 5.

Miyumi Itoh, *The Origin of Ping-pong Diplomacy: the forgotten architect of Sino-U.S. rapprochement* (Routledge 2011).

Lawrence Reardon, *The Reluctant Dragon: The Impact of Crisis Cycles on Chinese Foreign Economic Policy* (UWashington 2002).

David Shambaugh, *Beautiful Imperialist: China Perceives the United States, 1972-1990* (Princeton 1990).

Zhihua Shen and Danhui Li, *After Learning to One Side: China and Its Allies in the Cold War* (Stanford 2011).

Robert G. Sutter, *U.S.-Chinese Relations: Perilous Past, Pragmatic Present* (Rowman & Littlefield 2010).

Ezra Vogel et al., ed., *The Golden Age of the U.S.-China-Japan Triangle, 1972-1989* (Harvard 2002).

Kuisong Yang, "The Sino-Soviet Border Clash of 1969: From Zhenbao Island to Sino-American Rapprochement", *Cold War History* 1/1 (2000): 21-52.

Suisheng Zhao, "The Deterioration of the Bipolar System" and "The Dynamics of the Strategic Triangle", in *Power Competition in East Asia: From the Old Chinese World Order to Post-Cold War Regional Multipolarity* (St. Martin's Press 1998).

Essay

Were the causes of the dramatic shift in Sino-American relations in the early 1970s mainly domestic (re: US and/or to China) or regional and international?

PART II: China's Incorporation into the American World Order

Lecture 7: US-China Relations – Far from the “End of History”

Essential

- Kurt M. Campbell and Ely Ratner, "The China Reckoning: How Beijing Defied American Expectations", *97 Foreign Aff.* 60 (2018)
- Dale Copeland, "Economic Interdependence and the Future of U.S.-Chinese Relations", in Ikenberry and Mastanduno, eds., *International Relations Theory and the Asia Pacific* (Columbia 2003)
- Rosemary Foot, "China and the United States: Between Cold and Warm Peace", *Survival* 51:6 (Dec.2009-Jan.2010).
- Marc Lynch, "Why engage? China and the logic of communicative engagement", *European Journal of International Relations* 8.2 (2002): 187-230.
- Kenneth Lieberthal, "The China-US Relationship Goes Global", *Current History* (Sept 2009).
- Oriana Skylar Mastro, "In the Shadow of the Thucydides Trap: International Relations Theory and the Prospects for Peace in U.S.-China Relations", *Journal of Chinese Political Science* 24 (2019): 25–45.

- Yong Deng, “Hegemon on the Offensive: Chinese Perspectives on U. S. Global Strategy”, *Political Science Quarterly*, 116/3 (Autumn 2001): 343-365.
- Suisheng Zhao, “Engagement on the Defensive: From the Mismatched Grand Bargain to the Emerging US–China Rivalry”, *Journal of Contemporary China* 2019.

Recommended

Vinod K. Aggarwal and Kun-Chin Lin, “Strategy without Vision: The U.S. and Asia-Pacific Economic Cooperation” in *Asia-Pacific Economic Cooperation (APEC): The First Decade*, Jurgen Roland, Eva Manske, and Werner Draguhn, ed. (RoutledgeCurzon 2002).

Graham Allison, “How America and China Could Stumble to War: Can Beijing and Washington escape the Thucydides Trap?” *The National Interest*, May-June 2017.

Robert Blackwill & Ashley Tellis, *Revising US Grand Strategy Toward China*. CFR, April 2015. <https://www.cfr.org/report/revising-us-grand-strategy-toward-china>

Ash Carter, “Reflections on American Grand Strategy in Asia”, Belfer Center Report, Oct 2018.

Victor D. Cha, “Winning Asia: Washington’s Untold Success Story”, *Foreign Affairs* (Nov./Dec. 2007).

China Development Research Foundation, *China's Exchange Rate Regime* (Routledge 2014).

Fiona S. Cunningham and M. Taylor Fravel. “Assuring Assured Retaliation: China's Nuclear Posture and US-China Strategic Stability“, *International Security* 40.2 (2015): 7-50.

Thomas Fingar and Fan Jishe, “Ties that Bind: Strategic Stability in the U.S.-China Relationship”, *The Washington Quarterly* 36:4 (Fall 2013).

M. Taylor Fravel and Evan S. Medeiros, “China's search for assured retaliation: the evolution of Chinese nuclear strategy and force structure”, *International Security* 35.2 (2010): 48-87.

Aaron Friedberg, *A Contest for Supremacy: China, America, and the Struggle for Mastery in Asia* (W.W. Norton 2011).

Yoichi Funabashi. “Keeping Up With Asia: America and the New Balance of Power”, *Foreign Affairs* (Sept./Oct. 2008).

Nana de Graaff and Bastiaan van Appeldoorn, “US–China relations and the liberal world order: contending elites, colliding visions?” *International Affairs* 94:1 (2018): 113–131.

Michael Green, “China’s Periphery: Implications for US Policy and Interests.” *Orbis* 56(3), Summer 2012: 357-369.

Peter Gries & Yiming Jing, “Are the US and China fated to fight? How narratives of ‘power transition’ shape great power war or peace”, *Cambridge Review of International Affairs* 2019.

Kai He, “Dynamic Balancing: China's balancing strategies towards the United States, 1949–2005”, *Journal of Contemporary China* 18:58 (2009): 113-136.

Kenneth Lieberthal and Wang Jisi, *Addressing U.S.-China Strategic Distrust* (The Brookings Institution, March 2012). Available at: <http://www.brookings.edu/~media/research/files/papers/2012/3/30-us-china->

[lieberthal/0330_china_lieberthal.pdf](#)

Adam P. Liff, “China and the US Alliance System“, *The China Quarterly* 233 (Mar 2018): 137–165.

Kun-Chin Lin, “Rhetoric or Vision? Chinese Responses to U.S. Unilateralism” in *Northeast Asia: Ripe for Integration?* V.K. Aggarwal, M.G. Koo, S. Lee, C.I. Moon, ed., (SpringerVerlag 2008).

James MacDouhall, Review Essay on Graham T. Allison, *Destined for War: Can America and China Escape Thucydides's Trap?* (Houghton Mifflin Harcourt, 2017),
<https://pdfs.semanticscholar.org/b9ad/5c29be85e8e95a3a3a344c945394e5998faf.pdf>.

Evan S. Medeiros. “The New Security Drama in East Asia: The Responses of U.S. Allies and Security Partners to China’s Rise”, *Naval War College Review* (Autumn 2009).

Evan Braden Montgomery, “Contested primacy in the Western Pacific: China's rise and the future of US power projection”, *International Security* 38.4 (2014): 115-149.

T.J. Pempel. “How Bush Bungled Asia”, *Pacific Review* (Dec. 2008).

Randall Schweller, “Opposite but Compatible Nationalisms: A Neoclassical Realist Approach to the Future of US–China Relations”, *The Chinese Journal of International Politics* 11/1 (2018): 23–48.

Doug Stokes, “Trump, American hegemony and the future of the liberal international order”, *International Affairs* 94/1 (2018): 133–150.

J. Steinberg and M. O’Hanlon, *Strategic Reassurance and Resolve: U.S.-China Relations in the Twenty-First Century* (Princeton UP 2014), Chap 1.

Michael Swaine, “China: Exploiting a Strategic Opening” in *Strategic Asia 2004–05*. NBR 2004.

Jisi Wang, “China’s Search for Stability with America”, *Foreign Affairs* 84:5 (Sept/Oct 2005).

Zheng, Yongnian, Liang Fook Lye, Gang Chen, et al. , *China's Foreign Policy in 2012: Responding to the US Pivot to Asia and Territorial Disputes with its Neighbours* (Singapore, East Asian Institute, National University of Singapore, 2012).

Zhao, Suisheng. "American Reflections on the Engagement with China and Responses to President Xi's New Model of Major Power Relations." *Journal of Contemporary China* 26, no. 106 (2017): 489.

Bonus readings on the US-PRC trade-war in 2018-9:

Hugo Meijer, *Trading with the Enemy: The Making of US Export Control Policy toward the People’s Republic of China*. OUP 2016.

Anthony W. Chen, Jim Chen & V. Reddy Dondeti, “The US-China trade war: dominance of trade or technology?” *Applied Economics Letter*, 26 July 2019.

Tai Ming Cheung, “Introduction: The Emergence of Direct US–China Defense Technological Competition”, UC San Diego SITC Research Briefs, 2017:
<https://escholarship.org/uc/item/4j31w315>

David A. Lake, “Economic Openness and Great Power Competition: Lessons for China and the United States”, *The Chinese Journal of International Politics* 2018: 1–34.

Marco Rubio, “Made in 2025 and the Future of American Industry”, The Project for Strong Labor Markets and National Development, U.S. Senate Committee on Small Business and Entrepreneurship, 2019.

Orville Schell and Susan Shirk, “Course Correction: Toward an Effective and Sustainable China Policy”, US-China Task Force Report, 2019, AsiaSociety.org/USChinaTaskForce

Robert Sutter, “Congress and Trump Administration China Policy: Overlapping Priorities, Uneasy Adjustments and Hardening toward Beijing”, *Journal of Contemporary China*, 2018.

Keith Bradsher and Steven Lee Myers, Trump’s Trade War Is Rattling China’s Leaders, New York Times, Aug 14, 2018 <https://www.nytimes.com/2018/08/14/world/asia/china-trade-war-trump-xi-jinping-.html>

Rafiq Dossani, The U.S.-China Trade War: Different Messages, The RAND Blog, July 20, 2018, <https://www.rand.org/blog/2018/07/the-us-china-trade-war-different-messages.html>

China’s advantages in a protracted trade war (Op-ed article), Global Times, July 15, 2018, <http://www.globaltimes.cn/content/1110911.shtml>

Essay

How has the global financial and economic crisis since 2008 changed the core interests, contentious issues, and relative bargaining positions of the US and China? Discuss with reference to two specific issues.

Lecture 8: Shop Floor of the World: East Asian Developmental States and Deng’s Economic Reform

Essential

- Loren Brandt and Thomas Rawski, *China’s Great Economic Transformation* (Cambridge 2008).
- Loren Brandt and Eric Thun, “The Fight for the Middle: Upgrading, Competition, and Industrial Development in China”, *World Development*, Vol. 38 No. 11 (November 2011).
- Shaun Breslin, “Power and Production: Rethinking China’s Global Economic Role”, *Review of International Studies* Vol. 31 (2005).
- Dwight Perkins, *East Asian Development* (Harvard 2013).

Recommended

Giovanni Arrighi, *Adam Smith in Beijing* (Verso books 2007).

Ha-Joon Chang, *The East Asian Development Experience* (Zed 2006).

Alexander Gershenkron, *Economic Backwardness in Historical Perspective* (Harvard 1962).

George Gilboy, “The Myth Behind China’s Miracle”, *Foreign Affairs*, Vol. 83 No. 4 (Jul/Aug 2004).

Doug Guthrie, *China and globalization: The social, economic and political transformation of Chinese society* (Routledge 2012).

Shigehisa Kasahara, "The Asian Developmental State and the Flying Geese Paradigm", UNCTAD Discussion Papers, No. 213, November 2013

John B. Knight, "China as a developmental state", *The World Economy* 37.10 (2014): 1335-1347.

Nicholas Lardy, *Markets over Mao: The Rise of Private Business in China* (PIIE 2014).

Justin Yifu Lin, Cai Fang, and Li Zhou, *The China Miracle: Development Strategy and Economic Reform* (Chinese University Press 2003).

Mark Selden, "China, Japan, and the Regional Economy of East Asia, 1945-1995", in Katzenstein and Shiraiishi, eds., *Network Power: Japan and Asia* (Cornell 1997).

Jinglian Wu, *Understanding and Interpreting Chinese Economic Reform* (Texere 2005).

Henry Wai-chung Yeung, "Governing the market in a globalizing era: Developmental states, global production networks and inter-firm dynamics in East Asia" *Review of International Political Economy* 21.1 (2014): 70-101.

Zheng, Yongnian. *Globalization and state transformation in China* (Cambridge University Press 2004).

Essay

How comparable is China's export-oriented industrialization strategy in the 1990s-2000s to the developmental experience of the East Asian "tigers" in previous decades?

Lecture 9: Running Surpluses - Trade and Foreign Direct Investment

Essential

- Shaun Breslin, *China and the Global Political Economy* (Palgrave 2007), Chapters 3-4.
- Ross Garnaut and Ligang Song, ed., *China: New Engine of World Growth* (ANU 2003), Chapters 8-11.
- Edward Steinfeld, "China's Shallow Integration: Network Production and the New Challenges of Late Industrialization", *World Development*, Vol. 32 No. 11, (April 2004).
- Wanda Tseng and Markus Rodlauer, ed., *China: Competing in the Global Economy* (IMF 2003), Chapters 5, 6, 7, 12.
- Yılmaz Akyüz, "Export Dependence and Sustainability of Growth in China," *China & World Economy*, 19(1, 2011): 1-23. Available at: http://www.southcentre.int/wp-content/uploads/2013/05/RP27_China-and-East-Asian-Production-Network_EN.pdf

Recommended

Yılmaz Akyüz, "The Global Economic Crisis and Trade and Growth Prospects in East Asia," ADB Economics Working Paper Series No. 242, January 2011.
http://www.un.org/en/development/desa/policy/wesp/wesp_current/wesp2014.pdf

Stephen Bell and Hui Feng, "Made in China: IT infrastructure policy and the politics of trade opening in post-WTO China", *Review of International Political Economy* 14.1 (2007): 49-76.

- Yasheng Huang, *Selling China: Foreign Direct Investment During the Reform Era* (Cambridge 2002).
- Barry Naughton, *The China Circle: Economics and Technology in the PRC, Taiwan, and Hong Kong* (Brookings Institution Press 1997).
- Sotiris Petropoulos, “The 2008 Global Crisis and the East Asian Developmental States Shifts of Export-Driven Strategies”, *European Journal of East Asian Studies* 10.2 (2011): 181-202.
- Adam Segal, “The Global Diffusion of S&T and the Rise of China”, in T. Galama and J. Hosek, ed., *Perspectives on US Competitiveness in Science and Technology* (RAND 2007).
- Eric Thun, *Changing Lanes in China: Foreign Direct Investment, Local Governments, and Auto Sector Development* (Cambridge 2006).
- Chun Yang, “Market rebalancing of global production networks in the Post-Washington Consensus globalizing era: Transformation of export-oriented development in China”, *Review of International Political Economy* 21.1 (2014): 130-156.
- Min Ye, *Diasporas and Foreign Direct Investment in China and India* (CUP 2014).
- Ka Zeng, ed., *China's Foreign Trade Policy: The New Constituencies* (Routledge 2007).
- Yu Zheng, *Governance and Foreign Investment in China, India, and Taiwan: Credibility, Flexibility, and International Business* (Michigan 2014).
- David Zweig, “China and the World Economy: The Rise of a New Trading Nation” – Paper presented at the WISA, Ljubljana, Slovenia, 24 July 2008, www.cctr.ust.hk/materials/working_papers/WorkingPaper25_DZ_China_World.pdf
- David Zweig and Chen Zhimin, ed., *China's Reforms and International Political Economy* (Routledge 2007).

Essay

What are the fundamental causes of China's export-dependency? What kinds of vulnerability do they cause, and what measures are the Chinese policymakers taking to move on to an alternative basis of growth?

Lecture 10: China in the Post-WWII Liberal Economic Order

Essential

- Mark Beeson & Jinghan Zeng, “The BRICS and Global Governance: China's contradictory role”, *Third World Quarterly* 39:10 (2018): 1962-1978.
- Leslie Elliott Armijo and Saori Katada, ed., *The Financial Statecraft of Emerging Powers: Shield and Sword in Asia and Latin America* (Palgrave 2014), Chapters 5-7.
- Daniel Drezner, “Bad Debts: Assessing China's Financial Influence in Great Power Politics”, *International Security*, Vol. 34 No. 2 (Fall 2009).
- Shahar Hameiri and Lee Jones, “China challenges global governance? Chinese international development finance and the AIIB”, *International Affairs* 94.3 (2018): 573-593.
- James Scott and Rorden Wilkenson, “China in the WTO”, in S. Kennedy and Cheng Shuaihua, eds., *From Rule Takers to Rule Makers: The Growing Role of Chinese in Global Governance*.

Available at:

<http://www.indiana.edu/~rccpb/pdf/Chinese%20Rule%20Makers%20RED%20Sept%202012.pdf>

- Eric Helleiner and Jonathan Kirshner, ed., *The Great Wall of Money: Power and Politics in China's International Monetary Relations* (Cornell 2014), Chapters 1, 2, 7, 8.

Recommended

Vinod Aggarwal, "Introduction: The Rise of Mega-FTAs in the Asia-Pacific," *Asian Survey* 56(6), November/December 2016: 1005-1016.

Penghong Cai, "China's Responses to Mega-Regional FTAs, A Chinese Perspective," *Asian Survey* 56(6), November/December 2016: 1123-1144.

Paul Cammack, "The G20, the Crisis, and the Rise of Global Developmental Liberalism," *Third World Quarterly*, 33(1, 2012): 1-26.

Joseph Y.S. Cheng, "China's Approach to BRICS", *Journal of Contemporary China* 24/92 (2015): 357-375.

Gregory Chin and Richard Stubbs, "China and Regional Institution Building: The China-ASEAN FTA", *Review of International Political Economy* 18:3 (2011).

G. Chin and Ramesh Thakur, "Will China Change the Global Order?" *The Washington Quarterly* 33:4 (2010): 119-138.

Elizabeth Economy and Michel Oksenberg, "Introduction: China Joins the World", in *China Joins the World: Progress and Prospects* (Council on Foreign Relations Press 1999).

Elizabeth Economy, "The Impact of International Regimes on Chinese Foreign Policy-Making", in David M. Lampton, eds., *The Making of Chinese Foreign and Security Policy in the Era of Reform* (Stanford 2001).

Barry Eichengreen and Masahiro Kawai, ed., *Renminbi Internationalization* (Brookings Institute 2014).

Simon Evenett, "The WTO after TPP, How Worried Should Asian Governments Be?" *Asian Survey*, Vol. 56 No. 6, November/December 2016; (pp. 1101-1122)

Alastair Iain Johnston, *Social States: China in International Institutions, 1980-2000* (Princeton 2007).

Nina Hachigian, with Winny Chen and Christopher Beddor, *China's New Engagement in the International System: In the ring, but punching below its weight*. Centre for American Progress, November 2009.

Heike Holbig and Robert Ash, eds, *China's Accession to the World Trade Organization* (Routledge 2002).

Yang Jiang, "China's pursuit of free trade agreements: Is China exceptional?" *Review of International Political Economy* 17.2 (2010): 238-261.

Scott L. Kastner, "Buying Influence? Assessing the Political Effects of China's International Trade", *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 60/6 (2016): 980-1007.

Ann Kent, "China and International Organizations: From Alienation to Integration," in *Beyond*

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Mingjiang Li ed., *China Joins Global Governance* (Lexington Books 2012).

Ricardo Meléndez-Ortiz, Christophe Bellmann and Shuaihua Cheng, *A Decade in the WTO: Implications for China and Global Trade Governance* in China, Trade and Sustainable Series; International Centre for Trade and Sustainable Development, Geneva 2011.

Jochen Prantl, "Taming Hegemony: Informal Institutions and the Challenge to Western Liberal Order", *The Chinese Journal of International Politics* 7.4 (2014): 449-482.

Pu Xiaoyu, "Socialization as a Two-way Process: Rising Powers and the Diffusion of International Norms", *Chinese Journal of International Politics* 5/4 (2012): 341-367.

John Ravenhill, "The Political Economy of an "Asian" Mega-FTA, The Regional Comprehensive Economic Partnership," *Asian Survey* 56(6), November/December 2016: 1077-1100.

Matthew D. Stephen, "Rising powers, global capitalism and liberal global governance: A historical materialist account of the BRICs challenge", *European Journal of International Relations* 20.4 (2014): 912-938.

Helen Thompson, *China and the Mortgaging of America: Economic Interdependence and Domestic Politics* (Palgrave 2010).

Luolin Wang, *China's WTO Accession Reassessed* (Routledge 2015).

Yan Xuotong, "Chinese values vs. liberalism: what ideology will shape the international normative order?." *The Chinese Journal of International Politics* 11.1 (2018): 1-22

Ka Zeng and Wei Liang, eds., *China and Global Trade Governance: China's Ten Year Experience in the WTO* (Routledge 2013).

Zhang Yongjin, "China and Liberal Hierarchies in Global International Society: Power and Negotiation for Normative Change," *International Affairs*, vol. 92/no. 4, (2016), pp. 795-816.

Ka Zeng, "China's Free Trade Agreement Diplomacy," *Chinese Journal of International Politics* 9/3 (Autumn 2016): 277-305.

Essay

Has China thus far largely conformed to the norms and practices of international organizations led by the US and its allies? Discuss with respect to at least one global economic governance institution.

Lecture 11: Coping with Regional and Global Financial Crises

Essential

- Andrew Sheng, *From Asian to Global Financial Crisis* (CUP 2009), Chapter 11.
- John Ciorciari, "China's Structural Power Deficit and Influence Gap in the Monetary Policy Arena", *Asian Survey*, 54/5 (2014): 869-893.
- Amitai Etzioni, "The Asian Infrastructure Investment Bank: A case study of multifaceted containment," *Asian Perspective* 40(2), Apr-Jul 2016: 173-196.

- Alice de Jonge, “Perspectives on the emerging role of the Asian Infrastructure Investment Bank”, *International Affairs* 93/5 (2017): 1061–1084.
- C. E. Walter and F. J. Howie, *Red Capitalism: The fragile financial foundation of China's extraordinary rise* (John Wiley & Sons 2011), Chapter 3.
- Gregory Chow, *China as a Leader of the World Economy* (World Scientific 2011), chap 13

Recommended

Jean-Pierre Cabestan and Jean-François Di Meglio, ed., *China and the Global Financial Crisis: A Comparison with Europe* (Routledge 2012).

Geoffrey Garrett, “G2 in G20: China, the United States and the World after the Global Financial Crisis”, *Global Policy* 1(1), 2010): 29-39.

Arjan De Haan, “A defining moment? China's social policy response to the financial crisis“, *Journal of International Development* 22.6 (2010): 758-771.

Peter Drysdale, Adam Triggs and Jiao Wang, “China's New Role in the International Financial Architecture“, *Asian Economic Policy Review*, 12/2 (July 2017): 258-277.

Eric Helleiner, “A Bretton Woods moment? The 2007-2008 crisis and the future of global finance“, *International Affairs* 86(3), 2010): 619-636.

Nicholas R. Lardy and Arvind Subramanian, *Sustaining China's Economic Growth after the Global Financial Crisis* (PIIE, 2011).

Geoffrey Garrett, “G2 in G20: China, the United States and the World after the Global Financial Crisis”, *Global Policy* 1(1), January 2010.

Julian Gruin, Peter Knaack, and Jiajun Xu, “Tailoring for Development: China's Post - crisis Influence in Global Financial Governancem”, *Global Policy* 9.4 (2018): 467-478.

Yang Jiang, “Vulgarisation of Keynesianism in China's response to the global financial crisis”, *Review of International Political Economy* 22.2 (2015): 360-390.

Walter Mattli & Ngaire Woods, ed. *Politics of Global Regulation* (Princeton UP 2009).

Wayne Morrison, “China and the Global Financial Crisis: Implications for the United States” – A *Congressional Research Service Report*, June 3, 2009.

Joseph S. Nye Jr, “American and Chinese Power after the Financial Crisis”, *The Washington Quarterly*, 33:4 (2010): 143-153.

William H. Overholt, “China in the global financial crisis: Rising influence, rising challenges”, *The Washington Quarterly* 33.1 (2010): 21-34.

Victor Shih, “Financial Instability in China: Possible pathways and their likelihood,” *Merics China Monitor* 20 Oct 2017. <https://www.merics.org/en/microsite/china-monitor/financial-instability-china>

Laura-Marie Töpfer, “Institutional change in Chinese cross-border finance: foreign investors, the party-state and power resources”, *Review of International Political Economy* 24.1 (2017): 144-175.

Essay

How had China's domestic policy responses to global and regional financial crises affected the stability of global goods and financial markets?

Lecture 12: Sino-Russian Relations since the end of the Cold War

Essential

- J.I. Bekkevold and Bobo Lo, ed., *Sino-Russian Relations in the 21st Century* (Palgrave 2019).
- Paul J. Bolt and Sharyl N. Cross, *China, Russia, and Twenty-First Century Global Geopolitics* (Oxford UP 2018),
- Alexander Lukin, *China and Russia: The New Rapprochement* (Cambridge UP 2018).
- Updated commentaries at theasiadialogue.com

Recommended

Pavel K. Baev, "Three turns in the evolution of China-Russia presidential pseudo - alliance", *Asia & Pacific Policy Studies* 6/1 (Jan 2019): 4-18.

Paul J. Bolt, "Sino-Russian Relations in a Changing World Order", *Strategic Studies Quarterly* 8/4 (Winter 2014): 47-69.

Michael Cox, "Not just 'convenient': China and Russia's new strategic partnership in the age of geopolitics", *Asian Journal of Comparative Politics* 1/4 (2016): 317-334.

Richard J. Ellings and Robert Sutter, eds., *Axis of Authoritarians: Implications of China-Russia Cooperation* (National Bureau of Asian Research 2018).

Bobo Lo, *Axis of Convenience: Moscow, Beijing, and the New Geopolitics* (Brookings Institution Press 2008).

Gilbert Rozman, "Sino-Russian Relations in the 1990s: A Balance Sheet," *Post-Soviet Affairs* 14/2 (Spring 1998): 93-113.

Gilbert Rozman, *The Sino-Russian Challenge to the World Order: National Identities, Bilateral Relations, and East vs. West in the 2010s* (Stanford UP 2014).

Simon Saradzhyan Ali Wyne, "Sino-Russian Relations: Same Bed, Different Dreams?" in Donette Murray and David Brown, ed., *Power Relations in the Twenty-First Century: Mapping a Multipolar World?* (Routledge 2017).

Lecture 13: China-Southeast Asia Relations

Essential

- Evelyn Goh, "Southeast Asian Strategies toward the Great Powers: Still Hedging after All These Years?" <http://www.theasianforum.org/southeast-asian-strategies-toward-the-great-powers-still-hedging-after-all-these-years/>
- Ja Ian Chong, "Deconstructing Order in Southeast Asia in the Age of Trump," *Contemporary Southeast Asia: A Journal of International and Strategic Affairs* 39(1), April 2017: 29-35.
- Evan A. Feigenbaum and Robert A. Manning, "A Tale of Two Asias," *Foreign Policy* (October 31, 2012).

- Robert S. Ross, “On the fungibility of economic power: China’s economic rise and the East Asian security order”, *European Journal of International Relations* 25.1 (2019): 302-327. David Shambaugh. “China Engages Asia: Reshaping the Regional Order”, *International Security* 29:3 (Winter 2005); and “US-China Rivalry in Southeast Asia: Power Shift or Competitive Coexistence?” *International Security* 42.04 (2018): 85-127.
- Huong Le Thu, “China's dual strategy of coercion and inducement towards ASEAN, *The Pacific Review* 32 (2018),
- Joel Wuthnow, “U.S. ‘Minilateralism’ in Asia and China’s Responses: A New Security Dilemma?”, *Journal of Contemporary China* 28/115 (2019): 133-150.

Recommended

Yoon Ah, “Power asymmetry and threat points: negotiating China's infrastructure development in Southeast Asia”, *Review of International Political Economy* 25.4 (2018): 530-552.

Aileen Baviera, “China’s Strategic Foreign Initiatives Under Xi Jinping, An ASEAN Perspective,” *China Quarterly of International Strategic Studies* 2(1), 2016: 57-79.

Amitav Acharya, “Power Shift or Paradigm Shift? China's Rise and Asia's Emerging Security Order”, *International Studies Quarterly* 58(1), 2014:158–173.

Amitav Acharya, *Constructing a security community in Southeast Asia: ASEAN and the problem of regional order* (Routledge 2014), Chapter 2.

Mark Beeson, “Hegemonic transition in East Asia? The dynamics of Chinese and American power”, *Review of International Studies* 35 (2009): 95-112.

Thomas U. Berger. “Power and Purpose in Pacific East Asia: A Constructivist Interpretation”, in Ikenberry and Mastanduno, 387-419.

Gregory Chin and Richard Stubbs, “China, regional institution-building and the China–ASEAN Free Trade Area”, *Review of International Political Economy* 18.3 (2011): 277-298.

CSIS, *Power and Order in Asia*, and *Decoding China’s Emerging “Great Power” Strategy in Asia*. 2014.

Thomas Christensen, *Worse Than a Monolith: Alliance Politics and Problems of Coercive Diplomacy in Asia* (Princeton UP 2011), Chap. 1.

Evelyn Goh, “The Modes of China’s Influence, Case from SEA,” *Asian Survey* 54(5), September/October 2014: 825-848, and “China’s Power in the Regional Context (II): Southeast Asia” in J.H. Chung, eds. *Assessing China’s Power* (Palgrave Macmillan 2015)

Kai He, “Institutional balancing and international relations theory: Economic interdependence and balance of power strategies in Southeast Asia”, *European Journal of International Relations* 14.3 (2008): 489-518.

Ce Liang, “The rise of China as a constructed narrative: Southeast Asia’s response to Asia’s power shift”, *The Pacific Review* 31(3), 2018: 279-297

James Reilly, “A norm-taker or a norm-maker? Chinese aid in Southeast Asia”, *Journal of Contemporary China* 21.73 (2012): 71-91.

Nicholas Khoo and Michael L.R. Smith, David Shambaugh. “Correspondence: China Engages Asia?”

Caveat Lector”, *International Security* 30:1 (Summer 2005).

Xiaobo Su, “Rescaling the Chinese state and regionalization in the Great Mekong Subregion,” *Review of International Political Economy* 19:3 (2012) 501-527,

Akira Suehiro, “China’s offensive in Southeast Asia: regional architecture and the process of Sinicization”, *Journal of Contemporary East Asia Studies* 6:2 (2017): 107-131,

Siew Yean Tham, Andrew Jia Yi Kam, and Nor Izzatina Abdul Aziz, “Moving Up the Value Chain in ICT: ASEAN Trade With China”, *Journal of Contemporary Asia* 46.4 (2016): 680-699.

Czeslaw Tubilewicz & Kanishka Jayasuriya, “Internationalisation of the Chinese subnational state and capital: the case of Yunnan and the Greater Mekong Subregion”, *Australian Journal of International Affairs* 69:2 (2015): 185-204,

Truong-Minh Vu, International Leadership as a Process: The case of China in Southeast Asia, *Revista Brasileira de Política Internacional* 60(1), 2017

Liqin Wang, “Competitive or Complementary?: China's Role in Trade Cooperation with ASEAN in the 1990s and 2000s”, *China: An International Journal* 10.3 (2012): 63-85.

Xenia Wickett, John Nilsson-Wright and Tim Summers, “The Asia-Pacific Power Balance - Beyond the US–China Narrative.” Research Paper of the US Project and Asia Programme, *The Chatham House* (RIIA), September 2015.
<https://www.chathamhouse.org/sites/default/files/publications/research/20150924AsiaPacificWickettNilssonWrightSummersFinal.pdf>

Essay

What is the role of narratives in international relations? How do regional responses affect China’s rising to great power status and power competition (i.e. US-China relations) in the Asia-Pacific?

PART III: Defining a Great Power

Lecture 14: “The China Model” as Global Discourse

Essential

- Mark Beeson and Li Fujian, “What Consensus? Geopolitics and policy paradigms in China and the United States”, *International Affairs*, 91(1, 2015) 93–109 and “China's Place in Regional and Global Governance: A New World Comes Into View”, *Global Policy* 7/4 (Nov 2016): 491-499.
- Lai-Ha Chan, Pak Lee and Gerald Chan, “Rethinking Global Governance: A China Model in the Making?” *Contemporary Politics* 14(1), 2008: 3-19.
- Bruce Dickson, “Updating the China Model”, *The Washington Quarterly* 34:4 (2011).
- M Ferchen, “Whose China Model is it Anyway? The contentious search for consensus”, *Review of International Political Economy* 20:2 (2013).
- Roger Irvine, “Nationalists or Internationalists? China’s International Relation Experts Debate the Future,” *Journal of Contemporary China* 26(106), 2017: 586-600.
- David Kerr, “Has China Abandoned Self-Reliance?” *Review of International Political Economy* 14:1, 2007: 77-104.
- The China Model debate in *Journal of Contemporary China* Volume 26, Issue 1, Jan 2017

Recommended

- Shaun Breslin, "The 'China model' and the global crisis: from Friedrich List to a Chinese mode of governance?", *International Affairs* 87.6 (2011): 1323-1343.
- William A Callahan, "China's 'Asia Dream': The Belt Road Initiative and the new regional order", *Asian Journal of Comparative Politics* 2016: 1-18.
- Toby Carroll and Darryl Jarvis, "Theorising Asian's Marketisation under Late Capitalism: Risk, Capital and the New Politics of Development" in *The Politics of Marketising Asia*, T. Carroll and D. Jarvis, ed. (Palgrave 2014).
- A. Dirk, "The idea of a 'Chinese model': A critical discussion", *China Information* 26 (Nov. 2012).
- Elizabeth C. Economy, "The Problem With Xi's China Model: Why Its Successes Are Becoming Liabilities", *Foreign Affairs*, March 6, 2019.
- Stefan Halper, *The Beijing Consensus: How China's Authoritarian Model Will Dominate the Twenty-First Century* (Basic Books 2010).
- Scott Kennedy, "The Myth of the Beijing Consensus", *Journal of Contemporary China* 19(65, 2010). Available at: <http://chinatrack.typepad.com/files/kennedy-myth-pub-june-10.pdf>
- Becky Carter, "A Literature Review on China's Aid", *Institute of Development Studies*, 7 September 2017.
- Lowell Dittmer and Kun-Chin Lin, "Multiple Institutional Templates for Corporate China: The Evolution of Industrial Networks During Marketization" in *A Comparative Study of East Asian Capitalism*, Hong Yung Lee, ed. (University of California Press 2014).
- Niv Horesh and Kean Fan Lim, "China: an East Asian alternative to neoliberalism?", *The Pacific Review* 30.4 (2017): 425-442.
- Jennifer Hsu, "China's Development: A New Development Paradigm?" *Third World Quarterly* 36/9 (2015): 1754-1769.
- Roselyn Hsueh, "State capitalism, Chinese - style: Strategic value of sectors, sectoral characteristics, and globalization", *Governance* 29.1 (2016): 85-102.
- Hu Weixing, "China and the US: Towards a New Model of Major Power Relations?" *China: An International Journal* 15(1), February 2017: 63-82.
- Christopher A. McNally, "Sino-Capitalism: China's Reemergence and the International Political Economy", *World Politics* 64:4 (October 2012).
- Barry Naughton, "China's Distinctive System: Can it be a Model for Others?" *Journal of Contemporary China* 19:65 (2010).
- John Osburg, "Global capitalisms in Asia: beyond state and market in China", *The Journal of Asian Studies* 72.4 (2013): 813-829.
- Daniel Slater and Joseph Wong, "The Strength to Concede: Ruling Parties and Democratization in Developmental Asia," *Perspectives on Politics* 11/3 (September 2013): 717-733
- Angela Stanzel et al., "Grand Designs: Does China Have a 'Grand Strategy'?" European Council on Foreign Relations, 13 Jan 2018.

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Suisheng Zhao, "The China Model: can it replace the Western model of modernization?" *Journal of Contemporary China* 19/65 (Jun 2010): 419–436.

Essay

Why is the China Model or Beijing Consensus a threat to the West? Does the model/consensus need to be coherent and sustainable to provide a challenge to Western liberalism?

Lecture 15: "Going Out" – Internationalizing Chinese Companies

Essential

- Gregory Chin, "China's Bold Economic Statecraft," *Current History* 114(773), Sep 2015: 217-223.
- S. Parker and G. Chefitz, "Debtbook Diplomacy", Belfer Center Report, May 2018.
- Agatha Kratz, Allen Feng, and Logan Wright, "New Data on the "Debt Trap" Question", Rhodium Group, April 29, 2019, <https://rhg.com/research/new-data-on-the-debt-trap-question/>
- RAND Corporation, "At the Dawn of Belt and Road: China in the Developing World." 2018.
- Rhodium Group and the Mercator Institute for China Studies (MERICS), "Chinese FDI in Europe: 2018 Trends and Impact of New Screening Policies", Mar, 2019.
- Daniel H. Rosen and Thilo Hanemann, "China's Changing Outbound Foreign Direct Investment Profile: Drivers and Policy Implications," *PIIE Policy Brief*, Number Pb09-14, June 2009. Available online at: <http://www.w.iie.com/publications/pb/pb09-14.pdf>
- Karl P. Sauvant and Victor Zitian Chen, "China's Regulatory Framework for Outward Foreign Direct Investment," *China Economic Journal* 7(1, 2013): 141-163.
- Kōichi Sakamoto, *Japan and China: A Contest in Aid to Sub-Saharan Africa* (Singapore, World Scientific Publishing Co. Pte Ltd, 2018). Chap 1

Recommended

AIDDATA, "Connective Financing: Chinese Infrastructure Projects and the Diffusion of Economic Activity in Developing Countries", Working Paper 64, Sep 2018.

Chris Alden and Cristina Alves. 'History & Identity in the Construction of China's Africa Policy', *Review of African Political Economy*, vol. 35/no. 115, (2008), pp. 43-58.

Chris Alden and Daniel Large. "On Becoming a Norms Maker: Chinese Foreign Policy, Norms Evolution and the Challenges of Security in Africa." *The China Quarterly* 221, no. 221 (2015): 123-142.

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Jean-Marc F. Blanchard, "Chinese MNCs as China's new Long March: a review and critique of the Western literature", *Journal of Chinese Political Science* 16.1 (2011): 91-108.

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- Ian Taylor, *China’s New Role in Africa* (Lynne Rienner Publishers 2009).
- Alex Vines, “China in Africa: a Mixed Blessing?”, *Current History* (May 2007).
- Fei-Ling Wang and Esi A. Elliot, “China in Africa: Presence, Perceptions and Prospects”, *Journal of Contemporary China* 22:24 (May 2014)
- Hongying Wang, and XueYing Hu, “China’s ‘going-out’ strategy and corporate social responsibility: preliminary evidence of a ‘boomerang effect’”, *Journal of Contemporary China* 26.108 (2017): 820-833.
- Huiyao Wang, David Zweig, and Xiaohua Lin, “Returnee Entrepreneurs: Impact on China's globalization process”, *Journal of Contemporary China* 20.70 (2011): 413-431.
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Henry Wai-chung Yeung and Kris Olds, ed., *The Globalisation of Chinese Business Firms*. Macmillan, 2000.

Henry Wai-Chung Yeung, *Chinese Capitalism in a Global Era: Towards a Hybrid Capitalism*. Routledge, 2004.

Essay

What are domestic market and policy causes for Chinese firms to invest abroad? How important is Beijing's economic and security diplomacy in affecting firm investment and operational decisions?

Lecture 16: The New Silk Road - Energy Security and Transport Connectivity

Essential

- Shaofeng Chen, "Regional Responses to China's Maritime Silk Road Initiative in SEA," *Journal of Contemporary China* 27(111), 2018: 344-361.
- Peter Ferdinand, "Westward ho—the China dream and 'one belt, one road': Chinese foreign policy under Xi Jinping", *International Affairs* 92:4 (2016): 941–957.
- Colin Flint and Cuiping Zhu, "The geopolitics of connectivity, cooperation, and hegemonic competition: The Belt and Road Initiative", *Geoforum* 99 (Feb 2019): 95-101.
- Aaron L. Friedberg, "'Going Out': China's Pursuit of Natural Resources and Implications for the PRC's Grand Strategy", *NBR Analysis* 17(3), September 2006.
- Jonathan Holslag, "China's Roads to Influence," *Asian Survey*, 50(4), Jul/Aug 2010: 641-662.
- Flynt Leverett and Wu Bingbing, "The New Silk Road and China's Evolving Grand Strategy", *The China Journal*, no. 77.
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- BRI updates: IFIs have regular project-based reports. Also see:
- *The Diplomat*: <http://thediplomat.com/tag/silk-road-economic-belt/>
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Harry Broadman, *Africa's Silk Road: China and India's new economic frontier* (The World Bank 2007).

Chris Devonshire-Ellis, "China – The Great Infrastructure Developer," China Briefing, 27 March 2013, <http://www.china-briefing.com/news/2013/03/27/china-the-great-infrastructure-developer.html>

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- Peng Er Lam, "China's Asian Infrastructure Investment Bank: East Asian Responses," *East Asian Policy* 06/127 (2014).
- Jessica C. Liao, "A Good Neighbor of Bad Governance? China's Energy and Mining Development in Southeast Asia", *Journal of Contemporary China*, 2018.
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- Jennifer Lind and Daryl G. Press, "Markets or mercantilism? How China secures its energy supplies", *International Security* 42.04 (2018): 170-204.
- Maximilian Mayer and Jost Wübbeke, "Understanding China's International Energy Strategy." *Chinese Journal of International Politics* 6(3), Sept 2013: 273–298.
- Pradumna B. Rana and Wai-Mun Chia, "The Revival of the Silk Roads (Land Connectivity) in Asia," *RSIS Working Paper No. 274* (12 May 2014). Available at: <http://www.rsis.edu.sg/publications/workingpapers/wp274.pdf>
- J. Reeves et al, ed., *Chinese-Japanese Competition and the East Asian Security Complex* (Routledge 2017).
- Simon Xu Hui Shen, ed., "Special Issue: New Silk Road Project," *East Asia: An International Quarterly*. April 2015.
- Ben Simpfendorfer, *The New Silk Road: How a Rising Arab World is Turning Away from the West and Rediscovering China* (Palgrave 2009).
- Veysel Tekdal, "China's Belt and Road Initiative: at the crossroads of challenges and ambitions", *Pacific Review* 31.3 (2018): 373-390.
- David Zweig and Yufan Hao, *Sino-US Energy Triangles: Resource Diplomacy under Hegemony*. Routledge 2016.
- John Wong and Liang Fook Lye, "Reviving the Ancient Silk Road: China's New Diplomatic Initiative," *East Asian Policy* 06/5 (2014).
- Joel Wuthnow, "Asian Security without the United States? Examining China's Security Strategy in Maritime and Continental Asia", *Asian Security* 14/3 (2018): 230-245.

Essay

China's pursuit of energy security abroad and its strategic approach to great power competitions are two foreign policy objectives in tension. Discuss with reference to at least one Asian region.

Lecture 17: Sovereignty at Sea - Regionalism and Maritime Disputes (guest lecture by

Commander Ian Park of the Royal Navy)

Essential

- A. J. Johnston, “How New and Assertive Is China’s New Assertiveness?” *International Security* 37:4 (2013).
- Robert D. Kaplan, “The South China Sea Is the Future of Conflict”, *Foreign Policy* (Sept/Oct 2011) or “The Geography of Chinese Power: How Far Can Beijing Reach on Land and at Sea?” *Foreign Affairs*, May/June 2010.
- Leszek Buszynski and Christopher Roberts, ed., *The South China Sea Maritime Dispute: Political, Legal and Regional Perspectives* (Routledge 2014).
- Kun-Chin Lin and Andres Villar-Gertner, *Maritime Security in the Asia-Pacific: China and the Emerging Order in the East and South China Seas*. A Chatham House Report, July 2015.
- Liza Tobin, “Underway—Beijing’s Strategy to Build China into a Maritime Great Power,” *Naval War College Review* 71(2), Article 5: <http://digital-commons.usnwc.edu/nwc-review/vol71/iss2/5>
- Michael Yahuda, “China’s New Assertiveness in the South China Sea”, *Journal of Contemporary China* 22 (2013), pp. 446-459.

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Boon, Hoo Tiang, Mingjiang Li, and James Char. "New Trends in Chinese Foreign Policy." *Asian Security* 13, no. 2 (2017): 81-83.

Ja Ian Chong and Todd H. Hall, “The lessons of 1914 for East Asia today”, *International Security* 39: 1, Summer 2014, pp. 7–43.

Irene Chan and Li Mingjiang, “New Chinese Leadership, New Policy in the South China Sea Dispute?” *Journal of Chinese Political Science*, 20(1, 2015): 35–50.

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M. Taylor Fravel. “Regime Insecurity and International Cooperation: Explaining China’s Compromises in Territorial Disputes”, *International Security* 30:2 (Fall 2005).

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Euan Graham, “Maritime Security and Threats to Energy Transportation in Southeast Asia,” *The RUSI Journal* 160/2 (2015): 20-31.

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Geoffrey Hartman and Jane Nakano, “The Impact of Regional Maritime Disputes on Energy Security in Asia.” A report in the CSIS-Pertamina Southeast Asia Energy Security Roundtable Series. CSIS 2017. [http://csis-prod.s3.amazonaws.com/s3fs-public/publication/171208Hartman_RegionalMaritimeDisputes_interior WEB.pdf](http://csis-prod.s3.amazonaws.com/s3fs-public/publication/171208Hartman_RegionalMaritimeDisputes_interior_WEB.pdf)

Christopher Hemmer and Peter J. Katzenstein. “Why Is There No NATO in Asia? Collective Identity, Regionalism, and the Origins of Multilateralism”, *International Organization* 56:3 (Summer 2002).

- Alastair Johnston, “Is China a Status Quo Power?”, *International Security* 27:4 (Spring 2003).
- Joachim Kraus, “Assessing the danger of war: parallels and differences between Europe in 1914 and East Asia in 2014”, *International Affairs* 90: 6 (2014) 1421–1451
- Oriana Skylar Mastro, “How China Ends Wars: Implications for East Asian and U.S. Security”, *The Washington Quarterly* 41:1 (2018): 45-60.
- Chung-In Moon and Chaesung Chun. “Sovereignty: Dominance of the Westphalian Concept and Implications for Regional Security”, in Muthiah Alagappa (ed.), *Asian Security Order: Instrumental and Normative Features* (Stanford 2003).
- Liselotte Odgaard, *Maritime Security between China and Southeast Asia: Conflict and Cooperation in the Making of Regional Order* (Routledge 2017).
- Ian Storey, “China’s Bilateral and Multilateral Diplomacy in the South China Sea”, in Patrick M. Cronin, ed., *Cooperation from Strength: the United States, China and the South China Sea* (Center for a New American Security, January 2012).
- Reinhard Wolf, “Rising Powers, Status Ambitions, and the Need to Reassure: What China Could Learn from Imperial Germany’s Failures”, *The Chinese Journal of International Politics*, 2014, 185–219
- Wu Shicun and Zou Keyuan, ed., *Maritime Security in the South China Sea* (Ashgate 2013).
- Wu Shicun and Zou Keyuan, ed., *Non-Traditional Security Issues and the South China Sea* (Ashgate 2014).
- Wu Shicun and Nong Hong, ed., *Recent Developments in the South China Sea Dispute* (Ashgate 2014).

Essay

What are the fundamental interests driving China and its neighbours to attempt cooperation over maritime issues?

Lecture 18: Being a Responsible Power – Peacekeeping

Essential

- P. K. Lee, G. Chan, L-H. Chan, “China in Darfur: humanitarian rule-maker or rule-taker?”, *Review of International Studies* 38:2 (April 2012).
- Allen Carlson, ‘More Than Just Saying No: China’s Evolving Approach to Sovereignty and Intervention’, in Alastair Iain Johnston and Robert S. Ross, eds., *New Directions in the Study of China’s Foreign Policy* (Stanford 2006).
- Rosemary Foot and Rana Siu Inboden, “China’s Influence on Asian states during the creation of the UN human rights council: 2005-2007” in E. Goh, ed., *Rising China’s Influence in Developing Asia* (OUP 2016).
- Courtney J. Fung, “Global South solidarity? China, regional organisations and intervention in the Libyan and Syrian civil wars”, *Third World Quarterly* 37:1 (2016): 33-50, and “What explains China’s deployment to UN peacekeeping operations?” *International Relations of the Asia-Pacific* Volume 16 (2016): 409–441.

- Bates Gill and James Reilly, “Sovereignty, Intervention, and Peacekeeping: The View from Beijing”, *Survival* 42:3 (Autumn 2000), pp.41-59.
- Bates Gill and Chin-hao Huang, *China’s Expanding Role in Peacekeeping* (SIPRI, 2009). Available at: <http://books.sipri.org/files/PP/SIPRIIPP25.pdf>
- Marc Lanteigne, “The Role of UN Peacekeeping in China’s Expanding Strategic Interests”, *US Institute of Peace Special Report* 30, Sep 2018.
- Christoph Zürcher, “30 Years of Chinese Peacekeeping”, CEPI/CIPS, University of Ottawa, January 2019. <https://www.cips-cepi.ca/wp-content/uploads/2019/01/30YearsofChinesePeacekeeping-FINAL-Jan23-1.pdf>

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Jing Chen, “Explaining the Change in China's Attitude toward UN Peacekeeping: a norm change perspective”, *Journal of Contemporary China* 18.58 (2009): 157-173.

Chen Zheng, “China Debates the Non-Interference Principle,” *The Chinese Journal of International Politics* (2016): 349–374; and “China and the responsibility to protect,” *Journal of Contemporary China* 25.101 (2016): 686-700.

Sunghee Cho, “China’s Participation in UN Peacekeeping Operations since the 2000s”, *Journal of Contemporary China* 2018.

Andrew S. Erickson and Austin M. Strange, *No Substitute for Experience: Chinese Anti-Piracy Operations in the Gulf of Aden* (Naval War College CMSI China Maritime Study 10, November 2013).

S. Fang, X. Li and F. Sun, “China’s evolving motivations and goals in UN peacekeeping participation”, *International Journal* 73(3, 2018): 464–473.

Michael Fullilove, “China and the UN: The Stakeholder Spectrum”, *Washington Quarterly*, 34:3 (2011). Available at: <http://csis.org/files/publication/twq11summerfullilove.pdf>

International Crisis Group, *China’s Growing Role in UN Peacekeeping, Asia Report No. 166* (April 2009).

Jian Junbo and Álvaro Méndez, “Change and Continuity in Chinese Foreign Policy: China’s Engagement in the Libyan Civil War as a Case Study”, LSE Global South Unit Working Paper No. 5/2015.

Alastair Iain Johnston and Paul Evans, “China's Engagement with Multilateral Security Institutions”, in Alastair Iain Johnston and Robert S. Ross, eds., *Engaging China: the Management of An Emerging Power* (Routledge 1999).

Alastair Iain Johnston, ‘International Structures and Chinese Foreign Policy’, in Sam Kim, ed., *China and the World* (Westview Press 1998).

Marc Lanteigne, “Chimeras or Peacebuilders? China’s New Approach to Strategic Regimes”, in *China and International Institutions: Alternate Paths to Global Power* (Routledge 2005).

Marc Lanteigne and Miwi Hirono, “Introduction: China and UN Peacekeeping”, *International Peacekeeping* 18(3) (June 2011). Available at: <http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/13533312.2011.563070>

Jochen Prantl and Ryoko Nakano, “Global norm diffusion in East Asia: How China and Japan

implement the responsibility to protect”, *International Relations* 25.2 (2011): 204-223.

Courtney J. Richardson, “A responsible power? China and the UN peacekeeping regime”, *International Peacekeeping* 18.3 (2011): 286-297.

Stefan Stähle, “China's shifting attitude towards United Nations peacekeeping operations”, *The China Quarterly* 195 (2008): 631-655.

Essay

What general lessons have the Chinese taken away from China’s participation in multilateral peacekeeping missions?

Lecture 19: Being a Responsible Power – Climate Change (guest lecture by Qinyi Xu)

Essential

- Gerald Chan, 2004. “China's compliance in global environmental affairs”, *Asia Pacific Viewpoint* 45(1): 69-86.
- Gerald Chan, Pak K. Lee, Lai-Ha Chan, “China's Environmental Governance: The Domestic-International Nexus”, *Third World Quarterly* Feb. 2008.
- Amy Myers Jaffe, “Green Giant: Renewable Energy and Chinese Power”, 97 *Foreign Aff.* 83 (2018)
- A.I. Johnston, “China and International Environmental Institutions: A decision rule analysis,” in *Energizing China*.
- Paul G. Harris, “China and Climate Change: From Copenhagen to Cancun,” *Environmental Law Reporter*, 2010. Available at: <http://www.epa.gov/ogc/china/harris.pdf> Joanna Lewis, “Climate Change and Security: Examining China’s Challenges in a Warming World”, *International Affairs*, 85:6 (2009). Available at http://www.chathamhouse.org/sites/default/files/public/International%20Affairs/2009/85_6lewis.pdf.
- Jonas Meckling, “The Developmental State in Global Regulation: Economic change and climate policy”, *European Journal of International Relations* 24.1 (2018): 58-81.
- Mukul Sanwal and Xinzhu Zheng, “China’s Changing Economy and Emissions Trajectory: following global trends”, *Climate Policy* 18.1 (2018): 36-41.
- Coraline Goron and Cyril Cassisa, “Regulatory Institutions and Market-based Climate Policy in China”, *Global Environmental Politics* 17.1 (2017): 99-120.
- Phillip Stalley, “Principled strategy: the role of equity norms in China's climate change diplomacy”, *Global Environmental Politics* 13.1 (2013): 1-8.
- “Paris Climate Conference, The Road From Paris: China’s progress toward its climate pledge.” NDRC 2017, <https://www.nrdc.org/sites/default/files/paris-climate-conference-China-IB.pdf>

Recommended

J. Aldy et al, “Bilateral cooperation between China and the US: Facilitating progress on climate-change policy.” Harvard Project on Climate Agreements Paper, Harvard Belfer Centre, Feb 2016: <https://www.belfercenter.org/publication/bilateral-cooperation-between-china-and-united-states-facilitating-progress-climate>

Samuel Corwin and Timothy L. Johnson, “The Role of Local governments in the Development of

China's solar photovoltaic industry”, *Energy Policy* 130 (2019): 283-293.

Joanna I. Lewis, “The Rise of Renewable Energy Protectionism: Emerging trade conflicts and implications for low carbon development”, *Global Environmental Politics* 14.4 (2014): 10-35.

Dawei Liu and Hang Xu, “The Politics of Curtailment: multi-level governance and solar photovoltaic power generation in China”, *Environmental Politics* 27.5 (2018): 852-871.

Leah C. Stokes, Amanda Giang, and Noelle E. Selin, “Splitting the South: China and India’s divergence in international environmental negotiations”, *Global Environmental Politics* 16.4 (2016): 12-31.

Mahmood H. Shubbak, “The Technological System of Production and Innovation: The case of photovoltaic technology in China”, *Research Policy* 48.4 (2019): 993-1015.

J. Timmons Roberts, “Multipolarity and the new world (dis)order: US hegemonic decline and the fragmentation of the global climate regime”, *Global Environmental Change*, 21/3 (August 2011): 776–784,

Torney, Diarmuid. "Bilateral climate cooperation: The EU’s relations with China and India." *Global Environmental Politics* 15.1 (2015): 105-122.

Toufiq Siddiqi, “China and India: More Cooperation than competition in energy and climate change”, *Journal of International Affairs*, 64(2), Spring 2011).

Ministry of Environmental Protection. “Report on the State of the Environment in China” (SOE). People's Republic of China, Beijing. http://english.mep.gov.cn/standards_reports/

UNDP – China – Energy and Environment:
<http://www.undp.org.cn/modules.php?op=modload&name=News&file=article&catid=10&sid=8>

The Wilson Center, China Environment Forum: <http://www.wilsoncenter.org/program/china-environment-forum>

The World Bank – Supporting Environmental Management in China:
<http://web.worldbank.org/WBSITE/EXTERNAL/COUNTRIES/EASTASIAPACIFICEXT/EXT/APREGTOPENVIRONMENT/0,,contentMDK:20515211~menuPK:502915~pagePK:34004173~piPK:34003707~theSitePK:502886,00.html>

Fanxu Zeng, Jia Dai, and Jeffrey Javed, “Frame Alignment and Environmental Advocacy: the influence of NGO strategies on policy outcomes in China”, *Environmental Politics* 28.4 (2019): 747-770.

Essay

How does US-China bilateral relations shape China’s interests and negotiation position in multilateral climate change agreements?

Lecture 20: Defining a Great Power in the 21st Century

Essential

- Yuen Foong Khong, “Primacy or World Order? The United States and China’s Rise — A Review Essay”, *International Security* 38:3 (Winter 2013/14).
- Liu Ruonan and Liu Feng, “Contending Ideas on China’s Non-Alliance Strategy”, *The Chinese Journal of International Politics* 2017, 151–171.
- Zhang Yongjin, “Introduction: Dynamism and contention: understanding Chinese foreign policy under Xi Jinping,” *International Affairs* 92(4), 2016: 769–772.
- Jianwei Wang, “Xi Jinping’s ‘Major Country Diplomacy:’ A Paradigm Shift?”, *Journal of Contemporary China* 28:115 (2019): 15-30.
- Yan Xuotong, “From Keeping a Low Profile to Striving for Achievement,” *The Chinese Journal of International Politics* 7:2 (Summer 2014).
- William Callahan, “Tianxia, Empire and the World: Soft Power and China’s Foreign Policy Discourse in the 21st Century”, in W. Callahan and E. Barabantseva, eds., *China Orders the World? Soft Power, Norms and Foreign Policy* (Woodrow Wilson Center Press, 2009). Or "Chinese visions of world order: post-hegemonic or a new hegemony?" *International Studies Review* 10.4 (2008): 749-761.
- Mark Beeson and Shaomin Xu, “Leadership with Chinese Characteristics: What role for soft power” Chapter 10 in *Global and Regional Leadership of BRICS Countries* (Springer 2016).
- Rosemary Foot, “Remembering the Past to Secure the Present: Versailles legacies in a resurgent China”, *International Affairs* 95:1 (2019): 143–160.
- David Shambaugh, *China’s Future*. Polity 2016.
- Gungwu Wang, “The Fourth Rise of China: Cultural Implications”, *China: An International Journal* 2: 2 (Sep. 2004): 311–322.
- Zhang, Weiwei, *The China Wave: Rise of a Civilizational State'*, (Hackensack, N.J, World Century Pub. Co, 2012), Chap 1&2

Recommended

Zheng Bijian. “China’s ‘Peaceful Rise’ to Great-Power Status”, *Foreign Affairs* (Sep.-Oct. 2005), 18-24.

William Callahan, *China: The Pessimistic Nation* (Oxford 2012).

Gerald Chan, “China Faces the World: Making Rules for a New Order?” *Journal of Global Policy and Governance* Jul. 2013.

Tom Christensen, *The China Challenge - Shaping the Choices of a Rising Power* (WW Norton 2015).

Ian Clark, “International Society and China: The Power of Norms and the Norms of Power”, *The Chinese Journal of International Politics*, 7.3 (2014), pp. 315-340.

Yong Deng, *China’s Struggle for Status: The Realignment of International Relations* (Cambridge 2008).

Elizabeth C. Economy, “China’s New Revolution: The Reign of Xi Jinping”, *Foreign Affairs*, May/June 2018.

Aaron L. Friedberg, “Globalisation and Chinese Grand Strategy”, *Survival* 60:1 (2018): 7-40,

Avery Goldstein, “An Emerging China’s Emerging Grand Strategy: A Neo-Bismarckian Turn?”, in Ikenberry, G. John, and Michael Mastanduno, ed. *International Relations Theory and the Asia-Pacific* (Columbia UP 2003).

Hameiri, Shahar, and Lee Jones. "Rising powers and state transformation: The case of China." *European Journal of International Relations* 22.1 (2016): 72-98.

- Kai He, *China's Crisis Behavior: Political Survival and Foreign Policy after the Cold War*. CUP 2016.
- Cary Huang, "From Strongman to Consensus Rule" in J. Sharp, ed., *The China Renaissance: The Rise of Xi Jinping and the 18th Communist Party Congress* (World Scientific 2013).
- David Kang, *China Rising: Peace, Power, and Order in East Asia* (Columbia 2007).
- Peter Katzenstein, ed., *Sinicization and the Rise of China: Civilizational Processes beyond East and West* (Routledge 2012).
- Joshua Kurlantzick, *Charm Offensive: How China's Soft Power Is Transforming the World* (Yale 2008).
- David M. Lampton, *The Three Faces of Chinese Power: might, money, and minds* (UC Press 2008).
- Mingjiang Li and Kalyan M. Kemburi, ed., *New Dynamics in US-China Relations: Contending for the Asia Pacific* (Routledge 2015).
- Jennifer Lind, "Life in China's Asia: What Regional Hegemony Would Look like," 97 *Foreign Aff.* 71 (2018)
- Beverley Loke, "Unpacking the politics of great power responsibility: Nationalist and Maoist China in international order-building", *European Journal of International Relations* 22.4 (2016): 847-871.
- Oriana Skylar Mastro, "The Stealth Superpower: How China Hide Its Global Ambitions", 98 *Foreign Aff.* 31 (2019)
- Evan S. Medeiros. *China's International Behaviour* (RAND 2009). Available at: http://www.rand.org/content/dam/rand/pubs/monographs/2009/RAND_MG850.pdf
- Joseph S. Nye, "China and Soft Power", *South African Journal of International Affairs* 19/2 (2012): 151-155.
- Yaqing Qin, "Continuity through Change: Background knowledge and China's international strategy", *The Chinese Journal of International Politics* 7.3 (2014): 285-314.
- Randell Schweller, "Emerging Powers in an Age of Disorder", *Global Governance* 17 (2011): 285-297.
- David Shambaugh, *Charting China's Future: Domestic and International Challenges* (Routledge 2011).
- Orville Schell and John Delury, *Wealth and Power: China's Long March to the Twenty-First Century* (Little, Brown 2013).
- Susan L. Shirk, *China: Fragile Superpower* (Oxford 2008).
- Edward Steinfeld, *Playing Our Game: Why China's Rise Doesn't Threaten the West* (Oxford 2010).
- Robert Sutter, "China and America: The Great Divergence?", *Orbis* (Summer 2014).
- A. Tellis, A. Marble and T. Tanner, *Asia's Rising Power and America's Continued Purpose* (NBER 2010).

Liz Tobin, “Xi’s Vision for Transforming Global Governance: A Strategic Challenge for Washington and Its Allies”, *The Strategist*, Texas National Security Review, 2/1 (Nov 2018).

Han Shih Toh, *Is China an Empire* (World Scientific 2017), Chap 1.

Wang, Hui, and Theodore Hutters., *The Politics of Imagining Asia* (Harvard University Press, 2011).

Yan Xuetong, “The Age of Uneasy Peace: Chinese Power in a Divided World”, 98 *Foreign Aff.* 40 (2019); and “Political leadership and power redistribution”, *The Chinese Journal of International Politics* 9.1 (2016): 1-26.

Feng Zhang, “The Rise of Chinese Exceptionalism in International Relations”, *European Journal of International Relations* 19.2 (2013): 305-328.

Yongjin Zhang, “China and the Struggle for Legitimacy of a Rising Power”, *The Chinese Journal of International Politics* 8.3 (2015): 301-322.

J. Zeng, Y. Xiao and S. Breslin, “Securing China’s Core Interests: the state of the debate in China”, *International Affairs* 91/2 (2015): 245–266.

Essay

Does China have a grand strategy for overtaking the US? And if so, what are its inspirations/sources?

End of Lectures

One Revision Class

In this class, the lecturer will address questions from students.

Past Exam Papers and Reports

2019

- 1) How might different schools of international relations theory explain the current trade war between the United States and China?
- 2) How did the Sinocentric worldview of the Qing elite shape their reactions to the European imperialist threat in the 19th Century?
- 3) What caused the critical change in Beijing's perception of threat from the US and USSR in the 1960s?
- 4) Describe American strategies to integrate China into the Western-centric international global order in the 1980s and 1990s, and offer your assessment of the outcome.
- 5) How closely does China conform to the post-World War II experience of economic development in the East Asian developmental state?
- 6) What are the economic and political logic behind renminbi (Chinese yuan) internationalization?
- 7) Why has China become more assertive of its maritime sovereignty and territorial claims since 2009?
- 8) It has been argued that the US has undermined international organisations and agreements on trade, climate change, and weapons proliferation through unilateral actions. Evaluate this view and explain the impact on China's rise in global politics.
- 9) Has China been a constructive partner in Asian regionalism? Discuss with reference to specific issue areas.
- 10) Is more outward direct investment always good for China's national interest?
- 11) Is China's increasing commitment to UN peacekeeping consistent with its core principles in international relations? Discuss with reference to either non-interventionism or anti-hegemony.
- 12) Can China be a credible leader of a political bloc of less developed countries in global affairs?

2017

- 1) Suggest how the United States could accommodate China's military modernization in the Asian region with reference to realist or international society theories of International Relations.
- 2) Assess China's approach to regional economic governance and diplomatic relations around the middle of the 19th century.

- 3) Identify two important lessons of Western imperialism and ‘one hundred years of humiliation’ for China’s long-term state-building and economic development.
- 4) How did US-USSR relations during the Cold War shape Mao Zedong’s options in international affairs in the 1950s and 1960s?
- 5) Who benefited the most strategically from the Sino-American rapprochement?
- 6) How was China’s rapid economic development in the 1980s and 1990s seen by its neighbours in Asia?
- 7) How did the 2008 global financial and economic crisis affect China’s assessment of its own developmental model?
- 8) Are interest group conflicts within the US and China destabilising US-China trade relations?
- 9) To what extent are political conflicts and military build-ups in the South China Sea since 2011 a direct consequence of President Obama’s policy of the ‘US pivot to Asia’?
- 10) Is the concept of ‘revisionism’ applicable to China’s approach to multilateral agreements on trade and finance? Analyse with reference to ONE of the following regimes: 1) the World Trade Organisation; 2) the World Bank; 3) the International Monetary Fund; 4) the Asia-Pacific Economic Cooperation (APEC) forum and the ASEAN–China Free Trade Area (ACFTA).
- 11) How closely do increasing economic ties align with China’s national interests in EITHER African, OR Latin American, OR South Asian developing countries in the 21st century?
- 12) To what extent and why has China’s approach and commitment to global climate change mitigation negotiation changed over the past two decades?

2016

1. Discuss how the different schools of realism inform the foreign policy of the United States towards China.
2. How did the tributary system up to the 19th Century structure China’s diplomatic and external economic relations?
3. What is the legacy of Western imperialism on Chinese national interests in the 20th century? Discuss with reference to one or two of the following areas: a) economic development, b) sovereignty and territorial integrity, c) legal and political development, and d) international cooperation?
4. Was being a Communist country a major constraint on China’s foreign policy from 1949 to 1972?
5. Analyse the strategic objectives of Mao Zedong and Richard Nixon, respectively, in entering into the US-USSR-PRC “strategic triangle”.

6. How did the first Gulf War (1990-1) and 9/11 (2001) affect China's strategic interests and military doctrines?
7. Discuss developmental and political problems with China's increasing dependence of economic growth on exports since the late 1990s.
8. Is China playing by the existing "rules of the game" in participating in international society? Discuss with reference to one or two of the following multilateral regimes: a) the World Trade Organisation, b) the World Bank and International Monetary Fund, c) UN Convention on the Law of the Sea, and d) UN Framework Convention on Climate Change.
9. Is China's economic development after 1978 characterised by exceptionalism or can parallels be drawn with the developmental experience of other nations?
10. Are the motivations of the Chinese government and firms different in investing in developed and developing countries?
11. Explain China's contribution to UN peacekeeping through realist and/or liberal institutionalist theories.
12. According to power transition and/or international society theories, is the United States likely to be accommodating of China's rise? If so, how would accommodation be achieved?

Examiner's Report 2019

Pol 21 – The nineteen exam takers as a whole performed admirably well for a course that covers historical and contemporary issues, and spans regional and theoretical perspectives. Students averaged 66.96 on their final exam, which falls within the range of expected average for HSPS Part II modules. The highest mark was 75; lowest was 56. Five students received First Class marks. Students in the 2.1 cohort demonstrated strong empirical knowledge and aptitude in reference to theories and authors. The main issue for them was incomplete arguments, neglecting to cover important aspects of the topic raised in lectures. Two questions out of twelve were answered by a majority of students, and two received no response, other responses reflected the diverse interests of students in the topics and approaches in the syllabus.

Examiner's Report 2017

Pol 19 – The twenty-two students as a whole performed admirably well for a course that required them to develop regional expertise and apply theories of international relations and political economy. Responding to changes in the syllabus and examination requirements from the first/last year of the course, students averaged 68 on their final exam with six of them scoring over 70. The standard deviation is low at 4.5 reflecting a relatively equally motivated student body and quality of supervision. The examiner and assessor were largely in agreement over marks, which is an encouraging sign that the students are tested on core knowledge that can be validated by non-China specialists. There remains some unevenness in the distribution of questions answered, with Q6 showing no taker – however, again, it shows an improvement over last year's distribution.

Examiner's Report 2016

We marked thirty (30) scripts. Students were free to choose four out of twelve questions on the exam. This is the inaugural year of this module and the final exam. The average mark was around 66. Eight scripts received an agreed mark of 70 or above, and no one failed. The standard deviation was initially below the expectation of 6, due to what we perceive to be a fairly uniform level of general competence of the answers. Questions 5, 9 and 10 received disproportional numbers of answers, while question 6 had no taker. The scripts were stronger in the historical analysis of Chinese foreign policy orientation during the Cold War, China's recent positions in international regimes, and in determinants of Chinese overseas direct investment and contribution to UN peacekeeping operations. While generally capable of relating to international relations theories, most students seemed to have avoided questions that directly asked for applications of main schools of IR theories to a specific issue (Q1 on US-China relations and Q12 on hegemonic power transition). The most common criticisms for the exam scripts centered on two problems: 1) a superficial understanding of realist, liberal-institutional, and constructivist theories and associated hypotheses. We sense that students have forgotten quite a bit of the fundamentals of Pol 2 despite reminders in lectures. 2) A lack of specificity in identifying foreign policy actors and their interests in relations to the context of the questions. As a result the explanations veered toward being static and oversimplified. This problem was found in the 2.2 exams, and may derive from a lack of attention to the required readings, or inadequate reflections on how countries' strategic calculus and policy options evolve over time.