POL 16: Politics of Global China

Part IIB HSPS Tripos 2023/2024

Course Organiser:

Dr. Christian Sorace

Room 228, Alison Richard Building, cs2205@cam.ac.uk

Michaelmas Term:

Lectures on Tuesdays, Weeks 1-8, 11am in Room 11, Sidgwick Lecture Block

Lent Term:

Lectures on Tuesdays, Weeks 1-8, 11am in in Alison Richard Building, Room SG2

Supervisors:

Dr. Christian Sorace cs2205@cam.ac.uk

Dr. Linda Qian lq236@cam.ac.uk

Outline:

China's increasingly prominent role in the world has attracted all kinds of attention, ranging from adulation to anxiety and war-mongering. Despite the spotlight given to Global China, much of it uncovers only glimpses and shadows. The reason for this is that it focuses on only part of the picture. It is difficult, if not impossible, to disentangle China's global aspirations from its domestic politics. This paper will begin with an overview of twentiethcentury history in China, with special attention given to pivotal moments in the history of the People's Republic of China. During the Michaelmas Term, the paper will delve into the core issues of domestic politics, including: legitimation, ideology, and discourse; organisation and institutions; political economic models and their internal tensions; energy and environmental politics; as well as, China's borderlands and minority nationalities. In the Lent Term, the paper will expand its scope to track several of the multiple trajectories and disputed impacts of China's presence across the globe. Throughout the paper, it will be necessary to reflexively grapple with how concepts and narratives come with their own sedimented histories and normative inscriptions. Any engagement with Global China requires an attentiveness to multiple voices and perspectives, which are too often submerged in the framing of US-China rivalry.

Supervisions:

Supervision for this paper will be centrally organised across Michaelmas and Lent terms.

Each term will have three supervisions based on two papers and one oral presentation, for a total of six supervisions across both terms.

Assessment:

There will be a one five-hour written examination. Candidates must answer three questions with a limit of 4,500 words. Revision will be organised in the Easter Term.

Online Resources:

Sinocism: https://sinocism.com/

ChinaFile: https://www.chinafile.com/

The China Project: https://thechinaproject.com/

China Law Translate: https://www.chinalawtranslate.com/en/

Made in China Journal: https://madeinchinajournal.com/

Global China Pulse: https://thepeoplesmap.net/globalchinapulse/

People's Map of Global China: https://thepeoplesmap.net/

Reading the China Dream: https://www.readingthechinadream.com/

Lausan: https://lausancollective.com/

Chuang: https://chuangcn.org/about/

Podcasts:

Sinica: https://www.chinafile.com/library/sinica-podcast

Pekingology: https://www.csis.org/podcasts/pekingology

Lectures Michaelmas Term:

Lecture 1. Historical Foundations

Core Reading:

Rebecca E. Karl, *China's Revolutions in the Modern World*. London and New York: Verso (2020):

110-192.

Suggested Supervision Question: Why is Beijing concerned about "historical nihilism?"

Further Reading:

Marc Blecher, *China Against the Tides: Restructuring through Revolution, Radicalism and Reform, 3rd Edition,*

Continuum (2009).

Lin Chun, *Revolution and Counterrevolution in China: The Paradoxes of Chinese Struggle*, Verso (2021).

Howard French, Everything Under the Heavens: How the Past Helps Shape China's Push for Global Power,

Vintage, 2018.

William Callahan, "National Insecurities: Humiliation, Salvation, and Chinese Nationalism," *Alternatives* 29 (2004): 199-218.

Evan Osnos, "Does Xi Jinping's Seizure of History Threaten his Future?" The New Yorker,

November 10, 2021: https://www.newyorker.com/news/daily-comment/does-xi-jinpings-seizure-of-history-threaten-his-future

Lecture 2. *Legitimation, resilience or collapse? Three approaches*

Core Reading:

Legitimation

Dingxin Zhao, "The Mandate of Heaven and Performance Legitimation in Historical and Contemporary China," *American Behavior Scientist* (2009).

Christian Sorace, "The Chinese Communist Party's Nervous System: Affective Governance from

Mao to Xi," The China Quarterly, Volume 248(S1) (2021), pp. 29-51.

Resilience

Andrew J. Nathan, "China's Changing of the Guard: Authoritarian Resilience," *Journal of Democracy*, Vol. 14/1 (2003): 6-17.

Yuen Yuen Ang, "How Resilient Is the CCP?" *Journal of Democracy*, Volume 33, Number 3 (July

2022).

Collapse

Pei Minxin, "China's Coming Upheaval: Competition, the Coronavirus, and the Weakness of Xi

Jinping," Foreign Affairs 99 (2020).

David Shambaugh, "The Coming Chinese Crackup," *The Wall Street Journal* (2015).

Suggested Supervision Question: What are the underlying epistemological assumptions that guide the main approaches to the study of politics in China?

Further Reading:

Bruce Dickson, *The Dictator's Dilemma: The Chinese Communist Party's Strategy for Survival*, Oxford

University Press (2016).

Joseph Fewsmith and Andrew J. Nathan, "Authoritarian Resilience Revisited: Joseph Fewsmith

with Response from Andrew J. Nathan," *Journal of Contemporary China* Volume 28, Issue 116 (2019): 167-179.

Vivienne Shue, "Regimes of Resonance: Cosmos, Empire, and Changing Technologies of CCP Rule," *Modern China* Volume 47, Issue 4 (2022): 679-720.

Jessica C. Teets, "Let Many Civil Societies Bloom: The Rise of Consultative Authoritarianism in

China," *The China Quarterly* (March 2013), pp. 19-38.

Lecture 3. *Political Institutions*

Core Reading:

Susan V. Lawrence, Susan and Micheal F. Martin, "Understanding China's Political System." CRS Report for Congress. Congressional Research Service (2013).

Sebastian Heilmann and Elizabeth J. Perry, "Embracing Uncertainty: Guerilla Policy Style and

Adaptive Governance in China," in *Mao's Invisible Hand: The Political Foundations* of *Adaptive Governance in China* edited by Sebastian Heilmann and Elizabeth J. Perry, Harvard University Press (2011): 1-29.

Joseph Fewsmith, Rethinking Chinese Politics, Cambridge University Press (2021): 1-23.

Patricia Thornton, "Crisis and Governance: SARS and the Resilience of the Chinese Body Politic," *The China Journal*, No. 61 (2009), pp. 23-48.

Suggested Supervision Question: To what degree is Chinese politics institutionalized?

Further Reading:

On Cadres:

Susan H. Whiting, "The Cadre Evaluation System at the Grass Roots: The Paradox of Party Rule," in *Critical Readings on the Communist Party of China*, Brill (2017): 461-478.

Kevin J. O'Brien and Lianjiang Li, "Selective Policy Implementation in Rural China," *Comparative Politics* Vol. 31, No. 2 (1999): 167-186.

Jie Yang, "Hidden Rules and the 'Heartache' of Chinese Government Officials," *Made in China*

Journal (2019): https://madeinchinajournal.com/2019/04/18/hidden-rules-and-the-heartache-of-chinese-government-officials/

Christian Sorace, "Party Spirit Made Flesh: The Production of Legitimacy in the Aftermath of

the 2008 Sichuan Earthquake," *The China Journal*, Volume 76 (2016): 41-62.

Christian Sorace, "Extracting Affect: Televised Cadre Confessions in China," *Public Culture*31 (

(2019): 145-171.

On Bureaucracy:

Andrew Mertha, "'Fragmented Authoritarianism 2.0'": Political Pluralization in the Chinese Policy Process," *The China Quarterly* 200 (2009): 995-1012.

Iza Ding and Michael Thompson-Brusstar, "The Anti-Bureaucratic Ghost in China's Bureaucratic Machine," *The China Quarterly* 248 (2021): 116-140.

On Security:

Suzanne Scoggins, *Policing China: Street-Level Cops in the Shadow of Protest*, Cornell University Press

(2021).

Marie-Eve Reny, *Authoritarian Containment: Public Security Bureaus and Protestant*Church Houses in Urban

China, Oxford University Press (2018).

Lynette Ong. *Outsourcing Repression: Everyday State Power in Contemporary China*Oxford University

Press (2022).

Yuhua Wang and Carl Minzner, "The Rise of the Chinese Security State." *The China Quarterly*

222 (2015): 339-59.

Lecture 4. Power and Space

Core Reading:

Aihwa Ong. "Zoning Technologies in East Asia," in *Neoliberalism as Exception: Mutations in Citizenship and Sovereignty*, Duke University Press (2006): 97-120

Jane Hayward. "1958: Reorganising Chinese Labour: The Establishment of Household Registration." *Proletarian China*: *A Century of Chinese Labour*, edited by Ivan Franceschini and Christian Sorace, Verso (2022): 291-300.

Li Zhang, Strangers in the City: Reconfigurations of Space, Power, and Social Networks within China's Floating

Population, Stanford University Press (2002): 23-46.

Pun Ngai and Chris Smith, "Putting transnational labor process in its place: the dormitory labour regime in post-socialist China," *Work, Employment and Society* Volume 21, Issue 1 (2007): 27-45.

Eli Friedman, "Escape from the Closed Loop," *Boston Review* (2022):

https://www.bostonreview.net/articles/escape-from-the-closed-loop/

Wei Zhu, "Grid Managers, the Moral Logic of Guan, and State-Society Dynamics in China,"

Made in China Journal (2023): https://madeinchinajournal.com/2023/06/20/grid-managers-the-moral-logic-of-guan-and-state-society-dynamics-in-china/

Suggested Supervision Question: Was China's "Zero Covid" response an exportable/replicable model?

Further Reading:

Urban China

You-Tien Hsing, *The Great Urban Transformation: Politics of Land and Property in China*, Oxford

University Press (2010).

Eli Friedman, *The Urbanization of People: The Politics of Development, Labor Markets, and Schooling in the*

Chinese City, Columbia University Press (2022): 21-42.

Jeremy Wallace, *Cities and Stability: Urbanization, Redistribution, and Regime Survival in China*, Oxford

University Press (2020): 71-121.

Luigi Tomba, *The Government Next Door: Neighborhood Politics in Urban China*, Cornell University

Press (2014).

David Bray, Social Space and Governance in Urban China: The Danwei System from Origins to Reform,

Stanford University Press (2005).

Rural China

Brian Demare, *Land Wars: The Story of China's Agrarian Revolution*, Stanford University Press (2019).

Julia Chuang, Beneath the China Boom: Labor, Citizenship, and the Making of a Rural Land Market.

Berkeley: University of California Press (2020).

Rachel Murphy, *How Migrant Labor is Changing Rural China*, Cambridge University Press (2002).

Miriam Drissien, "Rural Voids," Public Culture Volume 30, Number 1 (2018): 61-84.

Linda Qian, "The Political Economy and Cultural Politics of Rural Nostalgia in Xi-Era China:

The Case of Heyang Village," *International Journal of Communication* 11(2017): 4423-4442.

Pandemic Response

Carwyn Morris, "The Surveillance Vaccine: Surveillance, Censorship, and the Body under Covid-19" *Made in China Journal* (2023):

https://madeinchinajournal.com/2020/09/23/the-surveillance-vaccine/

Mary Ann O'Donnell, "Covid among Us: Viral Mobilities in Shenzhen's Moral Geography," *Made in China Journal* (2023):

https://madeinchinajournal.com/2022/04/22/covid-among-us-viral-mobilities-in-shenzhens-moral-geography/

L.G. "The Shanghai Lockdown as a Chronotope: The Biopolitics of Zero Covid, Auto-immunisation, and the Security Discourse." *Made in China Journal 2022* https://madeinchinajournal.com/2022/07/29/the-shanghai-lockdown-as-a-chronotope-the-biopolitics-of-zero-covid-auto-immunisation-and-the-security-discourse/

Ralph Litzinger and Yanping Ni, "Inside the Wuhan cabin hospital: Contending narratives during the Covid-19 pandemic," *China Information*, 35(3): 346-365.

Lecture 5. *Political Economy*

Core Reading:

Margaret M. Pearson, Meg Rithmire, and Kellee S. Tsai, *The State and Capitalism in China*, Cambridge University Press (2023).

Pang Laikwan, "China's Post-Socialist Governmentality and the Garlic Chives Meme:

Economic

Sovereignty and Biopolitical Subjects," *Theory, Culture & Society* Vol. 39, Issue 1 (2022): 81-100.

Mary Gallagher, "China's Struggle for Common Prosperity," *China Leadership Monitor*, Issue

75 (Spring 2023).

Suggested Supervision Question:

What concept best describes China's political economy?

Further Reading:

Macroeconomic Trajectories

Yuen Yuen Ang, *How China Escaped the Poverty Trap*, Cornell University Press (2022).

Mary Gallagher, *Contagious Capitalism: Globalization and the Politics of Labor in China, Princeton*

University Press (2005).

Isabella M. Weber, *How China Escaped Shock Therapy: The Market Reform Debate*, Routledge (2021).

Ya-Wen Lei, "Upgrading China through Automation: Manufacturers, Workers and the Techno-

Developmental State," Work, Employment and Society Volume 36, Issue 6 (2021): 999-1168.

Debates

Barry Naughton, "Is China Socialist?" *Journal of Economic Perspectives*, Vol. 31, No. 1 (2017): 3-24.

Eli Friedman, "Why China is Capitalist: Toward an Anti-Nationalist Anti-Imperialism,"

Spectre

Journal (2020): https://spectrejournal.com/why-china-is-capitalist/
Richard Smith, "Why China Isn't Capitalist (Despite the Pink Ferraris)," Spectre Journal (2020):

https://spectrejournal.com/why-china-isnt-capitalist-despite-the-pink-ferraris/

Labour

Proletarian China: A Century of Chinese Labour, edited by Ivan Franceschini and Christian Sorace,

Verso (2022).

Mun Young Cho, *The Specter of "The People,"* Cornell University Press (2013).

Pun Ngai, *Made in China: Women Factory Workers in a Global Workplace*, Duke University Press

(2005).

William Hurst, *The Chinese Worker after Socialism*, Cambridge University Press (2009).

Zhang Yueran, "Leninists in a Chinese Factory: Reflections on the Jasic Labour Organisingc Strategy," *Made in China Journal* (2020):

https://madeinchinajournal.com/2020/06/25/leninists-in-a-chinese-factory/

Rural Development

Kristen E. Looney, *Mobilizing for Development: The Modernization of Rural East Asia*.

Cornell

University Press (2020): 1-48; 117-154.

Hugh Whitaker, et. al., "Compressed Development," *Studies in Comparative International Development* (2010): 439-467.

Lecture 6. *Ecological Politics*

Core Reading:

Anna-Lora Wainwright, "Removing Mountains and Draining Seas," in *Afterlives of Chinese*

Communism: Political Concepts from Mao to Xi, edited by Christian Sorace, Ivan Franceschini,

Nicholas Loubere, Verso/ANU Press (2019): 221-224.

Mette Halskov Hanson and Zhaohui Liu, "Air Pollution and Grassroots Echoes of 'Ecological Civilization' in Rural China," *The China Quarterly*, 234 (2018), pp. 320-339.

Iza Ding, "Performative Governance," World Politics, Volume 72, Issue 4 (2020): 525-556.

Denise S. van der Kamp, "Blunt force regulation and bureaucratic control: Understanding China's war on pollution," *Governance* (2020): 191-209.

Chris Buckley. "China's Role in Climate Change, and Possibly in Fighting It." *New York Times*,

June 2, 2020: https://www.nytimes.com/2017/06/02/world/asia/chinas-role-in-climate-change-and-possibly-in-fighting-it.html

Li Shuo, "Is China really leading the clean energy revolution? Not exactly." *The Guardian*, July 6,

2023: https://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2023/jul/06/china-clean-energy-

revolution-coal-power

Suggested Supervision Question: To what extent is China capable of leading a green energy transition at home and globally?

Further Reading:

Jerry Zee, *Continent in Dust: Experiments in a Chinese Weather System*, University of California Press

(2022).

Jesse Rodenbiker, *Ecological States: Politics of Science and Nature in Urbanizing China*, Cornell

University Press (2023).

Emily T. Yeh, "The Making of Natural Infrastructure in China's Era of Ecological Civilization,"

The China Quarterly (2023).

Sigrid Schmalzer, "Prometheus and the Fish Pond," Made in China Journal, 2022.

Ralph Litzinger and Fan Yang, "Eco-media Events in China: From Yellow Eco-Peril to Media Materialism," *Environmental Humanities* 12 (2020): 1-22.

Week 7: *Borderlands*

Core Reading:

James A. Milward, "The Qing Conception of Strategic Space," Strategic Space (2023):

https://strategicspace.nbr.org/the-qing-conception-of-strategic-space/

Uradyn E. Bulag, "Nationality" in *Afterlives of Chinese Communism: Political Concepts from Mao to Xi,*

edited by Christian Sorace, Ivan Franceschini, Nicholas Loubere, Verso/ANU Press (2019): 149-154.

Darren Byler, Terror Capitalism: Uyghur Dispossession and Masculinity in a Chinese City,

Duke University

Press (2021): 1-60.

Emily Yeh, *Taming Tibet: Landscape Transformation and the Gift of Chinese Development*,
Cornell

University Press (2013), Introduction.

Suggested Supervision Question: Can China be characterized as a settler colonial state?

Further Reading:

Ethnic Policy

Thomas Mullaney, Coming to Terms with the Nation: Ethnic Classification in Modern China, University of

California Press (2011).

Enze Han, *Contestation and Adaptation: The Politics of National Identity in China*, Oxford University

Press: 2013.

Uradyn E. Bulag, "Minority Nationalities as Frankenstein's Monster? Reshaping 'the Chinese Nation' and China's Quest to Become a 'Normal Country,'" *The China Journal* Volume 86 (2021).

Ma Rong, "The Historical Evolution of China's System of Autonomous Ethnic Regions," translated by David Ownby, *Reading the China Dream*:

https://www.readingthechinadream.com/ma-rong-ethnic-regional-autonomy.html

Sinica Podcast: Tashi Rabgey and Jim Milward on China's ethnic policy in Xinjiang
and

Tibet, February 15, 2019: https://thechinaproject.com/2019/02/15/sinica-podcast https://thechinaproject.com/2019/02/15/sinica-podcast

Tibet:

Carole McGranahan, "Chinese Settler Colonialism: Empire and Life in the Tibetan

Borderlands," in *Frontier Tibet: Patterns of Change in the Sino-Tibetan Borderlands*,

Amsterdam

University Press (2019): 517-540.

Tsering Shakya, "Tibet Questions," *New Left Review* 51 (May-June 2008): 5-26.

Jonathan Mirsky, "Tibet: The CIA's Cancelled War," *The New Yorker* (2013).

Gyal Lo, "The One Million Tibetan Children in China's Boarding Schools." *The New York Times*, September 15, 2023.

Xinjiang:

Darren Byler, *In the Camps: China's High Tech Penal Colony*. Duke University Press (2021). Gardner Bovingdon, *The Uyghurs: Strangers in Their Own Land*. Columbia University Press (2010).

Xinjiang Year Zero, edited by Darren Byler, Ivan Franceschini and Nicholas Loubere, ANU Press

(2021).

Online Resources:

Xinjiang Papers 'Absolutely No Mercy':

https://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2019/11/16/world/asia/china-xinjiang-documents.html

go

Xinjiang Documentation Project (UBC): https://xinjiang.sppga.ubc.ca

Inner Mongolia

Enze Han, "The dog that hasn't barked: assimilation and resistance in Inner Mongolia, China."

Asian Ethnicity, Vol. 12, No. 1(2011) 55-75.

Nimrod Baranovitch, "The 2011 Protests in Inner Mongolia: An Ethno-environmental Perspective," *The China Quarterly* (2016): 214-233.

Uradyn E. Bulag, "Dying for the Mother Tongue: Why have people in Inner Mongolia recently

taken their lives?" Index on Censorship, Volume 49, Issue 4 (2020): 49-51.

Christopher Atwood, "Bilingual Education in Inner Mongolia: An Explainer," Made in China Journal, August 30, 2020: https://madeinchinajournal.com/2020/08/30/bilingual-education-in-inner-mongolia-an-explainer/

Thomas White, "Pastoralism and the State in China's Inner Mongolia," *Current History* (2021):

227-232.

Week 8: Hong Kong

Core Reading:

Rey Chow, "King Kong in Hong Kong: Watching the 'Handover' from the U.S.A." *Social Text*No. 55 (1998) 93-108.

Ho-fung Hung, *City on the Edge: Hong Kong under Chinese Rule*, Cambridge University Press (2022).

1-22; 45-71; 122-150; 172-217.

Suggested Supervision Question: Were the Hong Kong protests (2019-2020) inevitable/avoidable?

Further Reading:

Ching Kwan Lee, *Hong Kong: Global China's Restive Frontier*, Cambridge University Press (2022).

Jeffrey Wasserstrom, Vigil: Hong Kong on the Brink, Columbia University Press (2020).

"Protest Tech: Hong Kong," *The Wilson Quarterly* (website):

http://wq.proof.press/quarterly/the-power-of-protest/protest-tech-hong-kong/

"Hong Kong in Revolt: A Conversation with Au Loong-Yu," Made in China Journal,

September 10, 2020: https://madeinchinajournal.com/2020/09/10/hong-kong-in-revolt-a-conversation-with-au-loong-yu/

Lectures Lent Term

Lecture 1. Global China

Core Reading:

Ivan Franceschini and Nicholas Loubere, *Global China as Method*, Cambridge University Press

2022: 1-8; 20-47.

M. Taylor Fravel, Melanie Manion, and Yuhua Wang, "A 'China in the World' Paradigm for Scholarship," *Studies in Comparative International Development* 56 (2021): 1-17.

Mikkel Bunkenborg, Moreten Nielsen, Morten Axel Pedersen, *Collaborative Damage: An Experimental Ethnography of Chinese Globalization*. Cornell University Press (2022): 1-34.

Suggested Supervision Question: Is "Global China" a coherent concept?

Further Reading:

Arif Dirlik, *Complicities: The People's Republic of China in Global Capitalism*, Prickly Paradigm Press

(2017).

Andy Liu, "'Chinese Virus,' World Market," n + 1 magazine, March 20, 2020

https://www.nplusonemag.com/online-only/online-only/chinese-virus-world-market/

Lecture 2. Chinese Capitals

Core Reading:

Ching Kwan Lee, *The Specter of Global China: Politics, Labor and Foreign Investment in Africa,* University

of Chicago Press (2017): 1-30.

Meg Rithmire, "Going Out or Opting Out? Capital, Political Vulnerability, and the State in China's Outward Investment," *Comparative Politics* 54, no. 3 (April 2022): 477–499. Juliet Lu, "For Profit or Patriotism? Balancing the interests of the Chinese state, host country

and firm in the Lao rubber sector," The China Quarterly 250 (2022): 332-355.

Mingwei Huang, "The Chinese Century and the City of Gold: Rethinking Race and Capitalism," *Public Culture* 33:2 (2021): 193-217.

Suggested Supervision Question: Does Chinese capital(s) differ from other forms of foreign investment?

Lecture 3. China's Global Infrastructure

Core Reading:

Jonathan Bach, "China's Infrastructural Fix," limn (2016): https://limn.it/articles/chinas-infrastructural-fix/

Alessandro Rippa and Tim Oakes, "Infrastructural Thinking in China: A Research Agenda,"

The China Quarterly, 255 (2023): 547-559.

Selina Ho, "Infrastructure and Chinese power," *International Affairs*, Volume 96, Issue 6 (2020):

1461-1485.

Kosntantinos Tsimonis, Anthi Giannoloulou, "Piraeus versus COSCO: A Conversation with Anthi Giannoulou and Anastasia Frantzeskaki," *Global China Pulse* Volume 1, Issue 2 (2022): https://thepeoplesmap.net/globalchinapulse/piraeus-versus-cosco-a-conversation-with-anthi-giannoulou-and-anastasia-frantzeskaki/

James A. Milward, "Is China a Colonial Power?" *The New York Times*, May 4, 2018.

https://www.nytimes.com/2018/05/04/opinion/sunday/china-colonial-power-jinping.html

Deborah Brautigam and Meg Rithmire, "There is No Chinese 'Debt Trap'," *The Atlantic*, February 6, 2021:

https://www.theatlantic.com/international/archive/2021/02/china-debt-trap-diplomacy/617953/

Suggested Supervision Question: Do China's infrastructural projects abroad represent a new model of global development or reproduce existing patterns of debt, dependence, and inequality?

Further Reading:

Alessandro Rippa, *Borderland Infrastructures: Trade, Development, and Control in Western China*,

Amsterdam University Press (2020).

- Shaoling Mao, "Big Earths of China: Remotely Sensing Xinjiang along the Belt and Road," *Critical Inquiry* Vol. 49 (2022): 77-101.
- Julie Chu. "When Infrastructures Attack: The Workings of Disrepair in China." *American Ethnologist* 41 (2014):351-376.
- Tong Lam, "Futures and Ruins: The Politics, Aesthetics, and Temporality of Infrastructure," *Made in China Journal* (2019):

https://madeinchinajournal.com/2019/07/23/futures-and-ruins% EF% BB% BF-the-politics-aesthetics-and-temporality-of-infrastructure/

Lecture 4. China and the Seas

Core Reading:

M Taylor Fravel, "China's Strategy in the South China Sea," *Contemporary Southeast Asia* Vol.

33, No 3 (2011): 292-319.

Carla P. Freeman, "An Uncommon Approach to Global Commons: Interpreting China's

Divergent Positions on Maritime and Outer Space Governance," *The China Quarterly*,

vol. 241 (March 2020): 1-21.

Corey Byrnes, "The Infrastructure of Coral," *Verge: Studies in Global Asias* Volume 6, Issue 2

(2020): 29-34.

Aihwa Ong, "Buoyancy: Blue Territorialization of Asian Power," in *Voluminous States:*Sovereignty,

Materiality and the Territorial Imagination, edited by Franck Billé, Duke University Press (2020): 191-203.

https://amti.csis.org/island-tracker/

Suggested Supervision Question: How can two different conceptions of legality speak to each other?

Further Reading:

Bill Hayton, *The South China Sea: The Struggle for Power in Asia*, Yale University Press (2014).

Feng Zhang, "China's Long March at Sea: Explaining Beijing's South China Sea Strategy, 2009-

2016," *The Pacific Review* (2019).

Gao Zhiguo and Bing Bing Jia, "The Nine-Dash Line in the South China Sea: History, Status, and Implications." *American Journal of International Law* 107, no. 1 (2013): 98–124. Andrew Chub. "PRC Assertiveness in the South China Sea: Measuring Continuity and Change,

1970–2015." International Security 45 (2021): 79-121.

Robert Kaplan, "The South China Sea is the Future of Conflict," *Foreign Policy*, Washington (2011).

Erin Y. Huang, "Ocean Media: Digital South China Sea and Gilles Deleuze's Desert Island," Verge: Studies in Global Asias Volume 7, Issue 2 (2021), pp. 173-203.

Week 5. China and Soft Power

Core Reading:

Joseph S. Nye, Jr. "Soft Power," Foreign Policy No. 80 (1999): 153-171.

Maria Repnikova, *Chinese Soft Power*, University of Cambridge Press (2022).

Suggested Supervision Question: Why does China struggle with soft power?

Further Reading:

Maria Repnikova, "Rethinking China's Soft Power: 'Pragmatic Enticement' of Confucius Institutes in Ethiopia," *The China Quarterly* (2022): 440-463.

Zhao Yuezhi, "China's Quest for 'Soft Power'": Imperatives, Impediments and Irreconcilable

Tensions?" *Journal of the European Institute for Communication and Culture*,

Volume 20, 2013: 17-29.

Marshall Sahlins, Confucius Institutes - Academic Malware, Prickly Paradigm Press, 2015.

Lecture 6: Sino-America Cold War(s)

Chen Jian, *Mao's China and the Cold War*, University of North Carolina Press (2001): 1-48; 238-

277.

Mao Zedong, "U.S. Imperialism is a Paper Tiger," July 14, 1956:

https://www.marxists.org/reference/archive/mao/selected-works/volume-5/mswv5 52.htm

Hal Brands and John Lewis Gaddis, "The New Cold War: America, China, and the Echoes of

History," Foreign Affairs 100, no. 6 (November/December 2021): 10-21.

Yao Yang, "Is a New Cold War Coming?" interview with Beijing Cultural Review, April 28, 2020, translated by David Ownby, *Reading the China Dream*:

https://www.readingthechinadream.com/yao-yang-the-new-cold-war.html

Fabio Lanza, "Always Already and Never Yet: Does China Even Have a Present," *Modern Intellectual* 20 (2023): 601-611.

Correspondence

Open Letter 1: "China Is Not an Enemy" (July 2019): https://www.ncuscr.org/open-letter-china-is-not-the-enemy/

Open Letter 2: "Stay the Course: Confront China's Totalitarian Expansionism," (July 2019): https://www.jpolrisk.com/stay-the-course-on-china-an-open-letter-to-president-trump/

Suggested Supervision Question: Is the "New Cold War" an accurate or misleading analogy to describe the current state of Sino-U.S. relations?

Further Reading:

Covell F. Meyskens, "After empire?: Cold War scholarship on Mao's China," *Cold War History*

(2023).

Ban Wang, "The Cold War, Depoliticization, and China in the American Classroom," in *China in the World: Culture, Politics, and World Vision*, Duke University Press (2022): 148-169.

Lecture 7: Geopolitics of Taiwan

Core Reading:

Steven M. Goldstein, China and Taiwan, Polity (2015): 1-23.

Anne-Marie Brady, "Unifying the Ancestral Land: The CCP's 'Taiwan' Frames," *The China Quarterly*, No. 223 (2015): 787-806.

Brian Hioe, "Taiwan in the Crosshairs," Dissent Magazine, Volume 69, Number 2 (2022).

Wang Hui, "Okinawa and Two Dramatic Changes to the Regional Order," in *The Politics of Imagining Asia*, translated by Zhang Yongle, Harvard University Press (2011): 228-263.

Historical Documents

Shanghai Communique: https://digitalarchive.wilsoncenter.org/document/joint-communique-between-united-states-and-china

Focus on Semiconductors.

Alex W. Palmer, "'An Act of War': Inside America's Silicon Blockade Against China," *New York*

Times, July 12, 2023:

https://www.nytimes.com/2023/07/12/magazine/semiconductor-chips-us-

china.html

Grey Anderson, "Strategies of Denial," Sidecar, 2023:

https://newleftreview.org/sidecar/posts/strategies-of-denial?pc=1519

Suggested Supervision Question: Discuss the geopolitical order from the perspective of Taiwan at different periods of history.

Further Reading

Johnathan Sullivan and Lev Nachman, *Taiwan: A Contested Democracy Under Threat*. Agenda

Publishing, 2023.

Week 8: China and the Future

Core Reading:

Alistair Iain Johnston, "Is China a Status Quo Power?" *International Security* 27:4 (Spring 2003): 5-

56.

Jessica Chen Weiss and Jeremy L. Wallace, "Domestic Politics, China's Rise, and the Future of

the Liberal International Order," International Organization 75 (2021): 635-664.

Alexander Cooley and Daniel Nexon, *Exit from Hegemony: The Unraveling of the American Global Order*, Oxford University Press (2020), Chapters 3-4.

Suggested Supervision Question: Is China a status quo power?

Further Reading:

Alastair Iain Johnston, "China in a World of Orders: Rethinking Compliance and Challenge in

Beijing's International Relations," *International Security*, Vol. 44(2), 2019, pp. 9-60 Ikenberry, G. John. 2008. "The Rise of China and the Future of the West: Can the Liberal System Survive?" Foreign Affairs 87(1): 23-37.

Suisheng Zhao, "China as a Rising Power Versus the US-led World Order," *Rising Powers Quarterly*, Volume 1/Issue 1 2016: 13-21.

Susan Shirk, China: Fragile Superpower, Oxford University Press, 2007.