

**PKU Summer School International  
IARU Course**

**THE RISE OF CHINA AND CHANGE IN WORLD POLITICS  
“中国崛起与世界政治变局” 专题研讨课**

~ Syllabus ~

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**Peking University**

**Objective**

The rise of China is one of the most important and defining themes in contemporary international relations. This seminar course is intended for advanced undergraduate students to examine major issues and topics concerning the rise of China from a broad theoretical perspective, and to engage in the academic discourse and policy debate about implications of China's rise for world politics. The seminar is organized around the central question – what kind of change will China's rise bring to the international system? – and roughly divided into three parts: (1) China's rise and the “paradigm change” in world politics; (2) China's quest for national identity and rejuvenation; and (3) impacts of China rising on Asia and the world. Under each of these sections, a few specific topics are identified for class discussion.

Students wishing to enroll in this course are expected to have basic knowledge of international relations and China's foreign policy.

**Proceeding of the Course**

Participation and discussion (including attending TA-led sections and class fieldtrips) constitute a central part in this course. Attendance is mandatory. Students are expected to complete all required readings prior to class meetings and to actively participate in class discussion. Absence without legitimate reasons will lead to deduction in scores for participation and discussion, and **3 unexcused absences** will lead to a student's failure in the course.

The proceeding of the course will be based on students' presentation of the required texts related to the general themes and specific topics. Throughout the course, each student is expected to write one short (1-page) memo which briefly critiques required texts and raises questions for a particular session. Memos and presentations will count toward scores in participation. The students who prepare memos should circulate the memos via the course public email before class, and each make a 5 minute presentation in class, which is followed by class discussion.

Students will take 4 quizzes mainly about readings and lectures; scores for 3 of the quizzes count toward the evaluation.

**Group Presentation**

There will be three group presentations on three different topics. Each group is expected to work together as a team on one of the recommended topics, making the best of assigned texts and any other

available resources in Beijing. Initiatives and research are encouraged. The presentation is given in the format of ppt slides in class for no more than 20 minutes, and followed by Q&A and class discussion. The three topics and presentation schedule are as follows:

- The China Model debate (7/19);
- China and globalization: The Belt and Road initiative (7/21);
- China and the North Korean nuclear issue (7/25).

## Fieldtrips

The class will organize two fieldtrips, as part of course requirements: (1) Tour to Tianjin, *legacies and representations of foreign concessions*, tentatively scheduled for Sunday, July 8; (2) Visit to the Marco Bridge and the Museum of the War of Chinese People's Resistance Against Japanese Aggression, the exhibition "*Great Victory, Historical Contributions*", tentatively scheduled for Sunday, July 15, 9:00A-12:00P.

Two optional tours: The Old Summer Palace (Yuanmingyuan Park); The National Museum of China, the exhibition "*The Road of Rejuvenation*".

## Paper Assignment

Students are required to write one analytical paper (about 1,200-1,500 words, double-space and 12-point font) on a topic that is relevant for the central theme of this course. The paper should focus on one or more specific issues/topics of this course, and may be related to your group project or fieldtrips.

Paper does not require research on primary sources, but it should be associated with the assigned texts and other relevant literature.

The paper is ***due on Friday, August 3***. No late submission will be accepted unless a legitimate reason is presented to the instructor at least three days in advance. If you have any question concerning how to pick up a topic and/or how to write a paper, please consult with the instructor or TAs.

## Evaluation

Five parts of the evaluation will be calculated as follows:

Attendance	Participation	Group Presentation	Quizzes	Paper
20%	20%	15%	15%	30%

## Texts

There are both *required* and *recommended* readings for each class. No book purchase needed. Yet you may read any of the following books as a background reading:

- Ezra F. Vogel. 2011. *Deng Xiaoping and the Transformation of China*. Cambridge, MA and London, England: The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press.
- Henry Kissinger. 2011. *On China*. New York: The Penguin Press.
- Thomas J. Christensen. 2016. *The China Challenge: Shaping the Choices of a Rising Power*. New York: W. W. Norton & Company, Inc.

All the required texts (those highlighted in **bold**) will be available and accessible through the course public email which will be available during the summer school.

## Academic Integrity

Participation in this class commits the students and instructor to abide by a general norm of equal opportunity and academic integrity. It implies permission from students to submit their written work to services that check for plagiarism (such as Turnitin.com). It is your responsibility to familiarize yourself with the definition of plagiarism. Violations of the norm of academic integrity will be firmly dealt with in this class.

## CLASS SCHEDULE (Subject to adjustment)

### Session 1

### **Introduction: Understanding the Rise of China**

*China is a sleeping lion. Let her sleep, for when she wakes, she will shake the world.*

*Napoléon Bonaparte, 1803 (or 1817)*

*It is not possible to pretend that China is another player. This is the biggest player in the history of man.*

*Lee Kuan Yew, 1993*

### Outline:

- What is the rise of China all about?
- International *systemic* change and international *systems* change
- The purpose and scope of the course
- Course requirements
- Class and presentations scheduling

### Questions:

- Why study the rise of China?
- According to Gilpin, what is the difference between *international systemic change* and *international systems change*?
- What kind of change does the rise of China bring about to world politics?
- What do you expect to take away from this course?

### Readings:

#### Required

- **Christensen, Thomas J. 2016. *The China Challenge: Shaping the Choices of a Rising Power*. New York: W. W. Norton & Company, Inc. pp. 13-62.**

#### Recommended

- Katzenstein, Peter. 2009. “China’s Rise: Return, Rupture or Recombination?” Presented at the Annual Meeting of the International Studies Association, February 15-18, New York, N.Y.
- Kissinger, Henry. 2011. *On China*. New York: The Penguin Press.
- Gilpin, Robert. 1981. *War and Change in World Politics*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, pp. 1-49.
- Rosenau, J. 1990. *Turbulence in World Politics: A Theory of Change and Continuity*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, pp. 3-20, 443-461.

## TA Section 1

- Self-introduction and warm-up
- Form groups

### Session 2

### Contending Paradigms in World Politics

### Memo Presentation I

*What we are witnessing is not just the end of the Cold War, or the passing of a particular period of postwar history, but the end of history as such: that is, the end point of mankind’s ideological evolution and the universalization of Western liberal democracy as the final form of human government.*

Francis Fukuyama, 1989

*The clash of civilizations will dominate global politics. The fault lines between civilizations will be the battle lines of the future.*

Samuel P. Huntington, 1993

### Questions:

- Is the world embracing the “end of history” or the “clash of civilizations”? As of 2018, which of these two contending paradigms, or none of them, makes sense to you? Why?
- Does Fukuyama abandon his belief in the triumph of liberal democracy in his latest reflection on the “end of history”?
- According to Katzenstein, where is Huntington right about post-Cold War world politics? What is wrong with his “clash of civilizations” thesis?
- What policy implications do you draw from Katzenstein’s thesis differently than from Huntington’s and Fukuyama’s?

### Readings:

#### Required

- **Fukuyama, Francis. 1989. “The End of History?” *The National Interest*, Summer.** Available at <http://www.wesjones.com/eoh.htm>.
- **Huntington, Samuel P. 1993. “The Clash of Civilizations?” *Foreign Affairs*, 72:3 (Summer), pp. 22-49.**
- **Katzenstein, Peter. 2009. “A World of Plural and Pluralist Civilizations,” Keynote speech delivered at the 2009 Beijing Forum, November 6, Peking University, Beijing.**

#### Recommended

- Fukuyama, Francis. 2006. “After the ‘End of History’,” *Open Democracy*. May 2.
- Fukuyama, Francis. 2011. “US democracy has little to teach China,” *Financial Times*, January

17. Available at <http://www.ft.com/cms/s/0/cb6af6e8-2272-11e0-b6a2-00144feab49a.html#axzz1BIHTXYAb>.
- Fukuyama, Francis. 2012. "The Future of History: Can Liberal Democracy Survive the Decline of the Middle Class?" *Foreign Affairs*, 91:1 (January/February), pp. 53-61.
  - Fukuyama, Francis. 2012. "The Patterns of History," *Journal of Democracy*, 23:1 (January), pp. 14-26.
  - Fukuyama, Francis. 2014. "America in Decay: The Sources of Political Dysfunction," *Foreign Affairs*, 93:5 (September/October), pp. 5-26. Available online through Cornell's e-journals.
  - Fukuyama, Francis. 2015. "Why Is Democracy Performing so Poorly?" *Journal of Democracy* 26:1 (January), pp. 11-20.
  - Fukuyama, Francis. 2017. "US against the world? Trump's America and the new global order," *Financial Time*, November 11, 2016. Available at <https://www.ft.com/content/6a43cf54-a75d-11e6-8b69-02899e8bd9d1>.
  - Kagan, Robert. 2008. "The End of the End of History: Why the Twenty-first Century Will Look Like the Nineteenth," *The New Republic*. April 23. Available at <http://www.carnegieendowment.org/publications/index.cfm?fa=view&id=20030&prog=zgp&proj=zusr>.
  - M.S. 2011. "The end of the end of history," *Economist*, January 18. Available at [http://www.economist.com/blogs/democracyinamerica/2011/01/china\\_v\\_america](http://www.economist.com/blogs/democracyinamerica/2011/01/china_v_america)
  - Stanley, Timothy, and Alexander Lee. 2014. "It's Still Not the End of History," *The Atlantic*, September. Available at <https://www.theatlantic.com/politics/archive/2014/09/its-still-not-the-end-of-history-francis-fukuyama/379394/>.
  - Hamid, Shadi. 2016. "The End of the End of History," *Foreign Policy*, November 15. Available at <http://foreignpolicy.com/2016/11/15/the-end-of-the-end-of-history/>.
  - Huntington, Samuel P. 1993b. "If Not Civilizations, What?" Samuel Huntington Responds to His Critics, *Foreign Affairs*, November/December. Available online through Cornell's e-journals.
  - Sen, Amartya. 2006. "What Clash of Civilizations? Why Religious Identity Isn't Destiny," *Slate*, March 29. Adapted from Amartya Sen's *Identity and Violence* (Norton, 2006). Available at <http://www.slate.com/id/2138731/>.
  - Katzenstein, Peter J. ed. 2010. *Civilizations in World Politics: Plural and Pluralist Perspectives*. London and New York: Routledge.
  - Katzenstein, Peter J. ed. 2012a. *Anglo-America: Civilizational Politics Beyond West and East*. London and New York: Routledge.
  - Zakaria, Fareed. 1994. "Culture Is Destiny: A Conversation with Lee Kuan Yew," *Foreign Affairs*, 73:2 (March/April), pp.109-126. Available online through Cornell's e-journals.
  - Kim Dae Jung. 1994. "Is Culture Destiny? The Myth of Asia's Anti-Democratic Values," *Foreign Affairs*, 73:6 (November/December), pp.189-194. Available online through Cornell's e-journals.
  - Furguson, Y.H., and Mansbach, R.W. 1999. "Global Politics at the Turn of the Millennium: Changing the Bases of 'Us' and 'Them'," *International Studies Review*, 1:2 (Summer), pp.77-107.
  - Kymlicka, Will. 2007. *Multicultural Odysseys: Navigating the New International Politics of Diversity*. Oxford University Press.
  - Kuhn, Thomas S. 1970. *The Structure of Scientific Revolutions*. Second Edition. The University of Chicago Press.

- Betts, Richard. 2010. "Conflict or Cooperation? Three Visions Revisited," *Foreign Affairs*, 89:6 (November/December), pp. 186-194. Available at <http://www.foreignaffairs.com/articles/66802/richard-k-betts/conflict-or-cooperation>.

#### Videos:

- *The End of Democracy?* Cornell's Sesquicentennial event, "Will Democracy Have Competitors in the 21st Century?" will featured a keynote address by Fukuyama and responses from John Mearsheimer M.A. '78, Ph.D. '80 (University of Chicago) and Peter Katzenstein, W.S. Carpenter, Jr. Professor of International Studies. Isabel Hull, John Stambaugh Professor of History, served as moderator. November 18, 2014. Available at <http://as.cornell.edu/150/fukuyama.cfm>.
- *Samuel Huntington on the "Clash of Civilizations."* Available at [https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=3SNicJRcUqs&list=PLoGM52h\\_DPK4L1txZ5YGKbUBQaF\\_tZdNJ](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=3SNicJRcUqs&list=PLoGM52h_DPK4L1txZ5YGKbUBQaF_tZdNJ).
- *Samuel Huntington's Clash of Civilizations or Francis Fukuyama's End of History?* Available at <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=zS-tSbZh6eQ>.

#### Session 3

#### A World in the Image of *Tianxia*

#### Memo Presentation II

*The Chinese, though as yet incompetent in politics and backward in economic development, have, in other respects, a civilization at least as good as our own, containing elements which the world greatly needs, and which we shall destroy at our peril.*

*Bertrand Russell, 1922*

*The last 100 years have been a most trying time for the majority of Chinese wanting to keep faith with their culture of values. The transition has been long and bitter. The battle for a convergence between the old values that people are comfortable with and the new values that promise to free them from drudgery and poverty is likely to go on indefinitely.*

*Wang Gengwu, 2004*

#### Questions:

- What does Wang Gungwu mean by the "culture of modernity"? What implications does "China's fourth rise" have for the culture of modernity?
- According to Kang, how and why does western IR theory get Asia wrong? Do you agree?
- According to Zhao, what are the fundamental flaws of the modern international system? Does his *Tianxia* theory offer any better alternative? Why or why not?
- Will Asia's future return to its own past of the Sino-centric world, or replicate Europe's past of conflicts and war, or remain under the American hegemonic domain, or unfold as something else?
- Where does China/Asia fit in the "end of history" vs. the "clash of civilizations" debate? Where is China headed in the 21<sup>st</sup> century?

#### Readings:

##### Required

- Wang Gungwu. 2004. "The Fourth Rise of China: Cultural Implications," *China: An International Journal*, 2:2, pp. 311-322.
- Kang, David. 2003. "Getting Asia Wrong: The Need for New Analytical Frameworks," *International Security*, 27:4 (Spring), pp.57-85.
- Zhao Tingyang. 2009. "A Political World Philosophy in Terms of All-under-heaven (Tianxia)," *Diogenes* 221, pp. 5-18.

#### Recommended

- Callahan, William A. 2008. "Chinese Visions of World Order: Post-hegemonic or a New Hegemony," *International Studies Review*, 10, pp. 749-761.
- Wang Gungwu (王赓武). 2006. "Tianxia and Empire: External Chinese Perspectives," Inaugural Tsai Lecture, Harvard University, May 4.
- Jacques, Martin. 2009. *When China Rules the World: The End of the Western World and the Birth of A New Global Order*. New York: The Penguin Press.
- Chai Shao-jin. 2011. "Wang Yang-ming and Chinese Cosmopolitanism in Comparative Perspectives: Implications for Global Governance," *Fudan Journal of the Humanitarians and Social Sciences*, 4:1, pp. 38-63.
- Chan, Steve. 1999. "Chinese Perspectives on World Order," in T.V. Paul and J. A. Hall, eds., *International Order and the Future of World Politics*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, pp. 197-212.
- *Economist*. 2009. "How China Sees the World, and How Should the World See China," March 19. [http://www.economist.com/opinion/PrinterFriendly.cfm?story\\_id=13326106](http://www.economist.com/opinion/PrinterFriendly.cfm?story_id=13326106).
- Fairbank, John K., ed. 1968. *The Chinese World Order: Traditional China's Foreign Relations*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.
- Goldsmith, Benjamin E. 2007. "A Liberal Peace in Asia?" *Journal of Peace Research*, Vol. 44, No. 1, pp. 5-27.
- Kang, David. 2003/04. "Hierarchy, Balancing, and Empirical Puzzles in Asian International Relations," *International Security*, 28:3 (Winter), pp. 165-180. Available online through Cornell's e-journals.
- Kang, David. 2007. *China Rising: Peace, Power, and Order in East Asia*. Columbia University Press. Chapter 2, pp. 18-49.
- Kang, David. 2010a. *East Asia Before the West: Five Centuries of Trade and Tribute*. Columbia University Press.
- Katzenstein, Peter J. 2008. "China's Rise: East Asia and Beyond," *EAI Working Paper Series 12* (April). Seoul: East Asia Institute.
- Katzenstein, Peter J., ed. 2012. *Sinicization and the Rise of China*. London and New York: Routledge.
- Morrison, Charles, ed. 2001. *East Asia and the International System*. pp. 1-56.
- Wang Gungwu (王赓武). 1999. *China and Southeast Asia: Myths, Threats and Culture*. Singapore University Press.
- Zhao Tingyang (赵汀阳). 2005. 《天下体系——世界制度哲学导论》 (*The Tianxia System: A Philosophy for the World Institution*). Nanjing: Jiangsu Jiaoyu Chubanshe.
- Zhang, Feng (张锋). 2010. "The Tianxia System: World Order in a Chinese Utopia," Chinese Heritage Project, The National University of Australia, No. 21 (March). Available at [http://www.chinaheritagequarterly.org/tien-hsia.php?searchterm=021\\_utopia.inc&issue=021](http://www.chinaheritagequarterly.org/tien-hsia.php?searchterm=021_utopia.inc&issue=021).



- Zhang Weiwei (张维为). 2011. “An Apt Example of ‘Civilizational-state’,” *China Daily*, April 27, 9. Available at [http://www.chinadaily.com.cn/opinion/2011-04/27/content\\_12401986.htm](http://www.chinadaily.com.cn/opinion/2011-04/27/content_12401986.htm). Accessed November 27, 2011.

### Concessions in Tianjin: Foreign Influence and China's Modernity

Fieldtrip to Tianjin | Sunday, July 8 (tentative)

*The concessions reveal an element of heterocronies, since they can be considered like museums but living ones.*

Marinelli, 2009



#### Suggested Readings:

- Marinelli, Maurizio. 2010. “Internal and External Spaces: The Emotional Capital of Tianjin’s Italian Concession,” *Emotion, Space and Society*, 3, pp. 62-70.
- Wei, Yehua Denis, and Yanjie Jia. 2003. “The Geographical Foundations of Local State Initiatives: Globalizing Tianjin, China,” *Cities*, 20:2, pp. 101-114.
- Marinelli, Maurizio. 2009. “Making Concessions in Tianjin: Heterotopia and Italian Colonialism in Mainland China,” *Urban History*, 36, pp 399-425.
- Dryburgh, Marjorie. 2007. “Japan in Tianjin: Settlers, State and the Tensions of Empire before 1937,” *Japanese Studies*, 27:1, pp. 19-34. Available at <http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/10371390701268620>.

#### Session 4

### China's Quest for Modern Identity

#### Memo Presentation III

*China is not just another nation-state in the family of nations. China is a civilization pretending to be a state. The story of modern China could be described as the effort by both Chinese and foreigners to squeeze a civilization into the arbitrary, constraining framework of the modern state, an institutional invention that came out of the fragmentation of the West's own civilization.*

Lucian Pye (1990: 58)



*An important, perhaps even dominant feature of Chinese national identity has been a preoccupation with creating and maintaining a strong centralized state.*

*Michael Hunt (1993: 62)*

*Questions:*

- What is the central motif that was consistently manifest in the increasing *radicalization* of Chinese elites or “politically engaged intellectuals” – from self-strengthening campaign, to institutional reform, to the Republican revolution, and all the way to the socialist/communist revolution – in the late 19<sup>th</sup> century and early 20<sup>th</sup> century? What accounts for this radicalization?
- What is your understanding of the paradox that “to save China meant destroying important parts of it” (Hunt, 1993: 69)? How did radical revolutionaries in the early 20<sup>th</sup> century characterize the relationship between the state, society/people, and the outside world?
- Where do the intellectual trends in the late 20<sup>th</sup> century and early 21<sup>st</sup> century resemble those in the late 19<sup>th</sup> century and early 20<sup>th</sup> century, and where do they differ? What insights can be drawn from the Chinese critique of modernity?
- Perry Link (2015), as one of the most outspoken critics of the CCP, argues that many of the young Chinese become nationalistic and hostile to the West due to “government-sponsored anti-Western indoctrination.” What do you think of this assertion?

*Readings:*

Required

- **Hunt, Michael H. 1993. “Chinese National Identities and the Strong State: The Late Qing-Republican Crisis,” in L. Dittmer and S. Kim, eds., *China’s Quest for National Identity*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University, pp. 62-79 (you may skip pp. 77-79).**
- **Meissner, Werner. 2007. “China’s Search for Cultural and National Identity from the Nineteenth Century to the Present,” *China Perspectives*, 68 (November-December), pp. 1-19.**
- **Link, Perry. 2015. “What It Means to Be Chinese: Nationalism and Identity in Xi’s China,” *Foreign Affairs*, May/June Issue. Available at [www.foreignaffairs.com/articles/china/2015-04-20/what-it-means-be-chinese](http://www.foreignaffairs.com/articles/china/2015-04-20/what-it-means-be-chinese).**

Recommended

- Pye, Lucian W. 1990. “China: Erratic State, Frustrated Society,” *Foreign Affairs*, 69:4 (Fall), pp. 56-74.
- Zhao, Suisheng. 1997. “Chinese Intellectuals’ Quest for National Greatness and Nationalistic Writing in the 1990s,” *The China Quarterly*, 152. (December), pp. 725-745.
- Golden, Seán. 2006. “The Modernisation of China and the Chinese Critique of Modernity,” *Revista HMiC*, número IV, pp. 7-22.
- Tu Wei-ming. 1991. “Cultural China: The Periphery as the Center,” *Daedalus*, 120:2 (Spring), “The Living Tree: The Changing Meaning of Being Chinese Today”, pp. 1-32.
- Jia, Wenshan. 2011. “On the Discourse of Cultural China,” *Journal of Asia-Pacific Communication*, 21:1, pp. 165-176.
- Callahan, William A. 2003. “Beyond Cosmopolitanism and Nationalism: Diasporic Chinese and Neo-Nationalism in China and Thailand,” *International Organization*, Vol. 57, No. 3. (Summer), pp. 481-517.

- Callahan, William A. 2005. "Nationalism, Civilization and Transnational Relations: The Discourse of Greater China," *Journal of Contemporary China*, 14:43 (May).
- Carlson, Allen. 2009. "A Flawed Perspective: The Limitations Inherent within the Study of Chinese Nationalism," *Nation and Nationalism*, 15:1, pp.20-35.
- Crossley, Pamela Kyle. 2011. "China's Century-Long Identity Crisis," *The Wall Street Journal Asia*, October 10, p. 17.
- Deng, Yong. 2008. *China's Struggle for Status: The Realignment of International Relations*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.
- Dittmer, L., and S. Kim, eds. 1993. *China's Quest for National Identity*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University.
- Gries, Peter H. 2004. *China's New Nationalism: Pride, Politics, and Diplomacy*. University of California Press.
- Gries, Peter H. 2006. "Identity and Conflict in Sino-American Relations," in A. I. Johnston and R. S. Ross, eds., *New Directions in the Study of China's Foreign Policy*. Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, pp.309-339.
- Hsiao, Kung-chuan. 1975. *A Modern China and a New World*. Seattle: University of Washington Press.
- Hu, Shih. 1962. "The Chinese Tradition and the Future," in *Sino-American Conference on Intellectual Cooperation: Report and Proceedings*. Seattle: University of Washington Department of Publications and Printing.
- Liang Shuming (梁漱溟). 2003. *《中国文化要义》 (Essence of Chinese Culture)*. Shanghai: Century Publishing Group of Shanghai.
- Ou, Chen. 2010. "China's National Identity during Hu Jintao's Age," *Asian Social Science*, 6:9 (September), pp.147-151.
- Rozman, Gilbert. 1999. "China's Quest for Great Power Identity," *Orbis*, 43:3 (Summer).
- Teng, Ssu-yu, and John K. Fairbank, 1954. *China's Response to the West*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press.
- Zhang, Tiejun. 2004. "Self-Identity Construction of the Present China," *Comparative Strategy*, 23:3, pp. 281-301. Available online through Cornell's e-journals.

## TA Section 2

- Discuss the issues covered in the first week
- Start to prepare for group projects

### Session 5

#### One China and the Taiwan Issue

#### Presentation IV

*The Taiwan issue presents us with a case of Sinicization in which the identity and representation of China are constantly contested, negotiated, compromised, and redefined by competing forces in and outside of China corresponding to changed circumstances.*

*Xu Xin, 2012*

*While the United States has good reasons to want Taiwan as part of the balancing coalition it will build against China, there are also reasons to think this relationship is not sustainable over the long term. For starters, at some point in the next decade or so it will become impossible for the United States to help Taiwan defend itself against a Chinese attack.*

John Mearsheimer, 2014

*Questions:*

- What impacts has the modern concept of sovereignty had on China's traditional "center-periphery" relations?
- To what extent do China's traditional statecrafts of dealing with peripheries remain valid and viable?
- Why does Taiwan matter? What is at stake in Taiwan for Beijing, Taipei, and Washington?
- Why is the Taiwan issue so salient in China's politics and external policy?
- What are the implications of Taiwan's democratization and generational change for cross-Strait relations?
- What are the implications of China's rise for the resolution of the Taiwan issue?

*Readings:*

Required

- **Xu Xin. 2012. "One China, Two Worlds: Taiwan and China's Quest for Identity and Security,"** in Peter J. Katzenstein, ed., *Sinicization and the Rise of China*. London and New York: Routledge, 2012, pp. 65-96.
- **Rigger, Shelly. 2008. "Rising Nationalists: The Next Generation of Leadership in Taiwan,"** *NBR Analysis*, September. Available at: [http://www.nbr.org/publications/specialreport/pdf/Free/02112012/NextGen\\_Leadership\\_Taiwan.pdf](http://www.nbr.org/publications/specialreport/pdf/Free/02112012/NextGen_Leadership_Taiwan.pdf).
- **Mearsheimer, John J. 2014. "Say Goodbye to Taiwan,"** *The National Interest*, March-April. Available at <http://nationalinterest.org/article/say-goodbye-taiwan-9931?page=show>.

Recommended

- Oksenberg, M. 2001. "The Issue of Sovereignty in the Asian Historical Context," in Stephen D. Krasner, ed., *Problematic Sovereignty: Contested Rules and Political Possibilities*. New York: Columbia University Press, pp. 83-104.
- Christensen, Thomas. 1996. "Chinese Realpolitik: Reading Beijing's World-View," *Foreign Affairs*, 75:5 (September/October), pp. 37-52.
- Hughes, Christopher R. 2011. "Negotiating national identity in Taiwan: between nativisation and de-sinicisation," in Robert Ash, John W. Garver, and Penelope Prime (eds.), *Taiwan's democracy: economic and political challenges*. Routledge: New York and London.
- Shih, Chih-yu. 2002. "The Global Constitution of "Taiwan Democracy," conference paper.
- Sutter, Robert. 2011. "Taiwan's Future: Narrowing Straits," *NBR Analysis*, May. Available at: <http://www.nbr.org/Publications/issue.aspx?id=7fc766e7-15b8-4d5d-93c0-6724b969626e>.
- Zhu Feng. 2011. "What the U.S. Needs to Realize," *New York Times*, September 24. Available at: <http://www.nytimes.com/roomfordebate/2011/09/23/should-the-us-continue-selling-arms-to-taiwan/what-the-us-needs-to-realize-about-chinas-nationalism>.
- Rigger, Shelley. 2011. "Why Giving Up Taiwan Will Not Help Us with China," AEI, No. 21 (November).
- Brown, Melissa J. 2004. *Is Taiwan Chinese? The Impacts of Culture, Power and Migration on Changing Identities*. Berkeley, CA: University of California Press.
- Christensen, Thomas J. 2002. "The Contemporary Security Dilemma: Deterring a Taiwan Conflict," *The Washington Quarterly*, 25:4 (Autumn), pp. 7-21.
- Dittmer, Lowell. 2006. "Taiwan as a Factor in China's Quest for National Identity," *Journal of Contemporary China*, 15:49 (November), pp. 671-686.

- Hughes, Christopher. 1997. *Taiwan and Chinese Nationalism: National Identity and Status in International Society*. London: Routledge.
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- Ross, R. 2006a. "Taiwan's Fading Independent Movement," *Foreign Affairs*, 85:2 (March/April).
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#### Session 6

#### China and Japan: The "History Issue" in East Asia

#### Memo Presentation V

*Ruling elites often make pernicious national myths for instrumental purposes, creating divergent historical memories of the same events in different countries. But they tend to exploit international history disputes only when they feel insecure domestically. Societal reactions to elite mythmaking, reflected in radicalized public opinion, can reinforce history disputes.*

Yinan He (2007: 43)

*[T]he politics of Japan's war memories and its identity as an international actor are fraught precisely because both its "memories" and the moral status of its war actions are deeply contested domestically.*

Stephanie Lawson and Seiko Tannake (2010: 408)

#### Questions:

- What is the "history issue" in China-Japan relations all about? Are historical memories always subject to political manipulation or more deeply embedded in society?
- How is the contestation over the "history problem" related to Japan's quest for identity/normalcy in international relations? How is it related to geopolitics involving China, Japan and the United States?
- Why are Japan and China (and Korea) thus far incapable of reconciling their past as Germany and its European neighbors have done after World War II?
- Is a joint history textbook a constructive first step for reconciliation?

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##### Required

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- A dispute over islands in the East China Sea has inflamed relations between Japan and China for the last two years - but they were tense even before. The BBC's Mariko Oi visited both countries with a Chinese journalist to find out why the wounds of World War Two refuse to heal.
- Listen to *Missing Histories – China and Japan*:
  - Episode 1 (February 16, 2014): <http://www.bbc.co.uk/programmes/p01ryk62>
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## History Education in China

*Field trip to the Museum of the War of Chinese People's Resistance Against Japanese Aggression at the Marco Polo Bridge | Sunday, 7/16 (Details TBA)*

### Suggested Reading:

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## Session 7

### Chinese Soft Power: The Beijing Olympics and the Revival of Confucianism

#### Memo Presentation VI

*The wall that stands in China's way to the world is thick. ... simply a sincere heart was not enough to ensure China's smooth integration with the world.*

*Fu Ying, Chinese Ambassador to UK, 2008*

*Paradoxically, China's engagement with the Olympic Games has exacerbated the communication gap between East and West.*

*Wolfram Manzenreiter, 2010*

### Questions:

- Does soft power really matter in international relations? Does one country's soft power gain mean another country's soft power loss? How does it relate to hard power?
- What did the Beijing Olympics mean to China and to the world? What image(s) does China try to project through mega-events such as Olympic Games? How has China's self-image been perceived and received by the outside world?
- What does Manzenreiter mean by the "weak power" of China's soft power?
- What do you think are major problems with China's soft power? How can China overcome its image problem?
- Do you think Bell's argument for a Confucian approach to Chinese soft power convincing? Why or why not?

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#### Recommended

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#### *Revival of Confucianism*

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#### Videos:

- *2008 Beijing Olympic Opening Ceremony (NBC)*
- *Olympic Nightmare / Season 12: The China Problem (South Park):*  
<http://www.southparkstudios.com/clips/187263>

#### Movie:

- *Confucius (2010)*, starring Chow Yun-fat

#### TA Section 3

- Discuss the issues covered in the second week
- Discuss the group projects

#### Session 8

#### The China Model Debate

#### Group Presentation I

*China is 200-300 years away from a market economy. Our economy is still built on privilege rather than on rights and lacks the three elements of a market economy: freedom, property rights, and entrepreneurship.*

*Zhang Weiying, 2012*

*2012 might one day be seen as marking the end of the idea that electoral democracy is the only legitimate and effective system of political governance.*

*Eric Li, 2013*

#### Questions:

- According to Fukuyama, why didn't China develop the rule of law and political accountability as Europe did?
- Do you find Eric Li's argument about the resilience of China's one-party rule based on adaptability, meritocracy, and legitimacy convincing? Or Yasheng Huang's argument for democracy more convincing?
- Do you think that Zhang Weiying's vision for the market economy can be reconciled with Wang Shaoguang's Socialism 3.0? If so, how? If not, why not?
- What insights may you draw from the China Model debate regarding non-Western countries' path to modernity?
- Does Confucianism offer an alternative to liberal democracy as Daniel Bell (2010) asserts?



Readings:

Required

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- ***Market Economy vs. Socialism 3.0***
  - Zhang Weiyang. 2012. “From Privilege to Rights,” in Leonard, Mark, ed., *China 3.0. The European Council on Foreign Relations*, pp. 54-59. (Adapted from Zhang Weiyang’s keynote speech at the twelfth Yabuli Conference of China Entrepreneurs, which was held in February 2012).
  - Wang Shaoguang. 2012. “Chinese Socialism 3.0,” in Leonard, Mark, ed., *China 3.0. The European Council on Foreign Relations*, pp. 60-66. (Originally published in *Studies on Marxism*, February 2011).

Recommended

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Video:

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Session 9

**China and Globalization: “The Belt and Road Initiative”**

Group Presentation II

*There was a time when China also had doubts about economic globalization, and was not sure whether it should join the World Trade Organization. But we came to the conclusion that integration into the global economy is a historical trend. To grow its economy, China must have the courage to swim in the vast ocean of the global market. If one is always afraid of bracing the storm and exploring the new world, he will sooner or later get drowned in the ocean.*

*Xi Jinping, 2017*

*With these initiatives, Beijing, and particularly the CCP, seeks to reinforce the emerging global narrative that China is moving to the center of global economic activity, strength, and influence.*

*Christopher K. Johnson, 2016*

*China needs to do something which can help it be recognized as a responsible member of the international economic community and maybe in the future be recognized as a responsible leader.*

*Jin Liqun, 2017*



*Questions:*

- What is economic and political rationale behind China's "One Belt, One Road" (OBOR) initiatives?
- What are risks and challenges for China to implement OBOR?
- What are geopolitical implications of OBOR?
- In the era of Globalization 3.0, is China willing and able to assume a world leadership by providing global public goods? Why or why not?
- Do the OBOR (and AIIB) initiatives represent an alternative vision for world order?

*Readings:*

Required

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- Jin Bei. 2017. "Economic Globalization 3.0 and the Concept of Interconnectivity under the Belt and Road Initiative," *China Economist*, 12:2 (March-April), 2-20.

Recommended

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#### Session 10

#### China, U.S., and the North Korean Nuclear Issue

#### Group Presentation III

*It is hard to imagine North Korea’s leaders using nuclear weapons unless they felt that the regime itself was in grave danger of being ousted, most obviously by a conventional war being waged by the United States and South Korea.*

*Robert Carlin & Robert Jervis, 2015*

*With Kim Jong-un hell-bent on extending his nuclear reach, an angry and anxious China is getting fed up with its long-time ally – and preparing, it appears, to flex its strength.*

*Nathan VanderKlippev, 2017*

*If the United States really hopes to achieve peace on the Korean Peninsula, it should stop looking for ways to stifle North Korea’s economy and undermine Kim Jong Un’s regime and start finding ways to make Pyongyang feel more secure.*

*John Delury, 2017*

#### Questions:

- What is at the heart of the North Korean nuclear issue? What does North Korea intend to achieve through its nuclear weapon development? How is Kim Jong Un’s policy different from his father’s and grandfather’s policy?
- What do you think of the U.S. strategy toward North Korea? What may be a better alternative to its current policy?
- How did South Korea’s internal and external policies affect geopolitics in Northeast Asia?
- What are China’s main concerns about the Korean Peninsula? What role can China play constructively on the Korean Peninsula?

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#### TA Section 4

- Watch and discuss *The Chinese Mayor* (BBC 2015) or another video

#### Session 11

#### China's Rise as a Maritime Power

#### Memo Presentation VII

*The challenge China poses is primarily geographic – notwithstanding critical issues about debt, trade, and global warming. China's emerging area of influence in Eurasia and Africa is growing, not in a nineteenth-century imperialistic sense but in a more subtle manner better suited to the era of globalization.*

Robert D. Kaplan, 2010

*The deterioration of China's ties with many neighbors was not the product of a new policy or strategy toward the region. Instead, it has occurred because a stronger and more capable China has acted to defend what it believed to be important or vital interests being challenged by other states.*

M. Taylor Fravel, 2014

#### Questions:

- What is at stake in the South China Sea for China and East Asia? To what extent is China's approach to the South China Sea dispute part of its expanding maritime power and influence? How does the South China Sea dispute affect China's relations with ASEAN?
- What are American interests in the South China Sea? How do you interpret the Obama Administration's "rebalancing/pivot to Asia" posture?
- Will China's rise as a maritime power challenge the U.S. hegemony? Can the geopolitical interests of the United States and China be reconciled or managed by peaceful means?

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Session 12

**China's Peaceful Rise vs. America's Hegemonic Stability in the Era of Globalization**

Presentation VIII



*China and the United States will not necessarily transcend the ordinary operation of great-power rivalry. But they owe it to themselves, and the world, to make an effort to do so.*

Henry Kissinger, 2012

*China and the United States are currently on a collision course for war – unless both parties take difficult and painful actions to avert it.*

Graham Allison, 2017

*There is no such thing as the so-called Thucydides trap in the world. But should major countries time and again make the mistakes of strategic miscalculation, they might create such traps for themselves.*

Xi Jinping, 2015

### Questions:

- What challenges and opportunities has a rising China brought to the United States and U.S.-led international order?
- How can China as a rising, “nonwestern” power and the U.S. as an established, “western” power accommodate to each other in order to escape the “Thucydides Trap”?
- What is a sensible, effective, and sustainable approach to managing U.S.-China competition against the backdrop of changing and globalizing world politics?
- What do you expect U.S.-China relations will unfold in the next five years?

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