



CCSS3500: China in Regional and World Systems CHES5149: China and Regional Order in Asia

2020-21, Term 1

Lecture: Monday 14.30-16.15 (online)

Tutorials: Wednesday 13.30-14.15 (online)

Lecturer: Dr. Tim Summers (summers@cuhk.edu.hk)

Teaching Assistant: TBC

Course summary

This course looks at China's changing political, economic and security relationships in Asia and beyond through frameworks and concepts in the International Relations (IR) literature. Part I sets out the context, Part II examines some of the main approaches in IR, while Part III applies these to questions of regionalism in East Asia, maritime politics, and the Belt and Road Initiative.

Learning outcomes

The goal is to understand key IR thinking as applied to China. By the end of the course, students should be able to discuss the key elements of the IR frameworks covered in the course, especially realism and liberalism, and apply these to China's contemporary international relationships in Asia.

Learning activities

The class will consist of weekly lectures and separate tutorials when the class will be split into groups for more in-depth discussion of the lecture content and readings (schedule to be circulated after term begins). Students are expected to complete the readings before each lecture, and evidence that they have done so will contribute to assessment of course participation. The learning activities are shared between CHES5149 and CCSS3500.

Unless notified otherwise, all learning activities will be conducted online using Zoom (dial in details will be made available at the start of term).

Assessment scheme

Grading will be based on three elements:

1. 30%: A take-home mid-term essay of at least 1,200 words to be submitted by **6pm on Monday 19 October**. Guidance on preparation will be given in class during the first part of the course.
2. 60%: Final paper of at least 3,000 words (CHES5149) or 2,500 words (CCSS3500), to be submitted by **6pm on Wednesday 2 December**. Details of topics will be posted on Blackboard at the start of term.
3. 10%: Class attendance and participation (including in tutorial discussions)

Grade descriptors for MA and BA students with further indications of grading criteria will be posted on Blackboard at the start of term.

Attention is drawn to University policy and regulations on honesty in academic work, and to the disciplinary guidelines and procedures applicable to breaches of such policy and regulations. Details may be found at <http://www.cuhk.edu.hk/policy/academichonesty/>. With each assignment, students will be required to submit a signed declaration that they are aware of the policies, regulations and procedures.

Course schedule (lecture dates in brackets)

Detailed arrangements for tutorial groups will be posted on Blackboard before Week 3's class.

Part I: Introduction and context

1. Introduction: Course objectives and key concepts (7 Sept.)

- Wang Yizhou (2013), "Six Decades of China's Diplomacy: Review and Reflections", *Economic and Political Studies*, 1 (1), 120-135
- Wang Jianwei (2019), "Xi Jinping's 'Major Country Diplomacy': A Paradigm Shift?", *Journal of Contemporary China* 28(115), 15-30

2. China in Asia: Historical overview and The Chinese World Order (14 Sept.)

- Benjamin I. Schwartz (1968), "The Chinese Perception of World Order, Past and Present", in John K. Fairbank, ed, *The Chinese World Order: Traditional China's Foreign Relations*, Harvard UP
- David C. Kang (2012), "Diplomacy: The Tribute System", chapter 4 of *East Asia Before the West: Five centuries of trade and tribute*, Columbia UP
- Peter Perdue (2015), "The Tenacious Tributary System", *Journal of Contemporary China*, 24 (96): 1002-1014

3. International Relations theory and its limitations (21 Sept.)

- Zhang Baohui (2014), "Xi Jinping, 'Pragmatic' Offensive Realism and China's Rise", *Global Asia*, 9(2)
- Amitav Acharya (2017), "Theorising the international relations of Asia: necessity or indulgence?" *The Pacific Review* 30 (6): 816-828
- [optional] Qin Yaqing (2010), "Why is there no Chinese international relations theory?" in Amitav Acharya and Barry Buzan, eds, *Non-Western International Relations Theory*
- [optional] Chapters 1-3 of Wang Jianwei and Song Weiqing (2016), *China, the European Union, and the International Politics of Global Governance*, Palgrave Macmillan
- [optional] Lee Jones (2019), "Theorizing Foreign and Security Policy in an Era of State Transformation: A New Framework and Case Study of China", *Journal of Global Security Studies* 4(4), 579-597

4. Chinese foreign and security policy since 1949: ideas, institutions and debates (28 Sept.)

- Pu Xiaoyu and Wang Chengli (2018), "Rethinking China's rise: Chinese scholars debate strategic overstretch", *International Affairs* 94 (5), 1019-1035
- Nien-Chung Chang Liao (2016), "The sources of China's assertiveness: the system, domestic politics or leadership preferences?" *International Affairs*, 92 (4), 817-834
- Rosemary Foot (2014), "'Doing some things' in the Xi Jinping era: the United Nations as China's venue of choice", *International Affairs*, 90 (5), 1085-1100
- Richard Q. Turcsanyi (2017), "Assessing the Power of China: Insights from the Conceptual Thinking about Power" *Journal of Chinese Political Science* 22: 473-486
- Feng Liu (2020), "The recalibration of Chinese assertiveness: China's responses to the Indo-Pacific challenge", *International Affairs* 96(1), 9-27

II. China and Regional Order: contested frameworks

5. Offensive realism: Can China rise peacefully? (5 Oct.)

- John J. Mearsheimer (2014, 2nd edition), *The Tragedy of Great Power Politics*, Norton, chapter 10, 'Can China Rise Peacefully?'
- Jonathan Kirshner (2019), "Offensive realism, thucydides traps, and the tragedy of unforced errors: classical realism and US-China relations", *China International Strategy Review* 1, 51-63
- Jonathan Kirshner (2010), "The tragedy of offensive realism: Classical realism and the rise of China", *European Journal of International Relations*, 18(1), 53-75

6. The Liberal Order thesis (12 Oct.)

- G. John Ikenberry (2018), "The end of liberal international order?" *International Affairs* 94(1), 7-23 [optional: other articles from the same issue of *International Affairs*]
- Amitav Acharya (2014), "The Myths of Liberal Hegemony", Chapter 3 of *The End of American World Order* (Polity)
- [optional] G. John Ikenberry and Darren J. Lim (2017), "China's emerging institutional statecraft: The Asian Infrastructure Investment Bank and the prospects for counter-hegemony", Brookings Institution
- [optional] Michael Mastanduno (2014), "Order and change in world politics: the financial crisis and the breakdown of the US-China grand bargain", chapter 6 of John Ikenberry, ed., *Power, Order and Change in World Politics*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press

7. No lecture: deadline for mid-term take-home assessment (19 Oct.)

Optional consultation sessions on final papers will be offered in the weeks beginning 19 and 26 October.

Please note that Monday 26 Oct. is a public holiday in Hong Kong (Chung Yeung Festival)

8. The English School and Regional Order (2 Nov.)

- Barry Buzan (2018), "China's rise in English school perspective", *International Relations of the Asia-Pacific* 18, 449-476
- Ian Clark (2013), "China and the United States: a succession of hegemonies?" *International Affairs*, 87 (1), 13-28
- [optional] Evelyn Goh (2013), "Introduction: Order Transition in East Asia", chapter 1 of *The Struggle for Order; hegemony, hierarchy and transition in post-Cold War East Asia*, OUP
- [optional] Qin Yaqing (2010), "International Society as a Process: Institutions, Identities, and China's Peaceful Rise", *The Chinese Journal of International Politics*, Vol. 3, 129-153

9. Selected Chinese thinking on international order (9 Nov.)

The class will be allocated readings in groups from the following:

- Yan Xuetong (2011), "Xunzi's Thoughts on International Politics and Their Implications", in Callahan and Barabantseva, *China Orders the World*
- Zhao Tingyang (2011), "Rethinking Empire from the Chinese Concept 'All-under-Heaven' (Tianxia, 天下)", in Callahan and Barabantseva, *China Orders the World*
- William A. Callahan (2011), "Tianxia, Empire, and the World: Chinese Visions of World Order for the Twenty-First Century", in Callahan and Barabantseva, *China Orders the World*
- Qin Yaqing (2013), "Power Shift, Governance Deficit and a Sustainable Global Order", *Economic and Political Studies*, 1 (1), 89-106
- Yan Xuetong (2018), "Chinese Values vs. Liberalism: What Ideology Will Shape the International Normative Order?" *The Chinese Journal of International Politics* 11(1), 1-22
- Qin Yaqing (2016), "A Relational Theory of World Politics" *International Studies Review* 18, 33-47
- Ban Wang (2017), Introduction, *Chinese Visions of World Order: Tianxia, Culture and World Politics*, Durham: Duke University Press
- Yuan Peng (2020), "The Coronavirus Pandemic and Once-in-a-century Change", published online at Aisixiang; translation available at <https://www.readingthechinadream.com/yuan-peng-coronavirus-pandemic.html>

III. Case studies: China and regional order in Asia

10. China and (East) Asian regionalism (16 Nov.)

- Sarah Eaton and Richard Stubbs (2006), "Is ASEAN powerful? Neo-realist versus constructivist approaches to power in Southeast Asia", *The Pacific Review*, 19 (2), 135-155
- Zhang Yunling (2016), "China and its neighbourhood: transformation, challenges and grand strategy", *International Affairs*, 92(4), 835-848
- [optional] Jeffrey Reeves (2014), "Structural Power, the Copenhagen School and Threats to Chinese Security", *The China Quarterly* 217, 140-161

11. Maritime politics and regional order in East Asia (23 Nov.)

- Zhang Feng (2019), "China's Long March at sea: explaining Beijing's South China sea strategy, 2009-2016", *The Pacific Review*, online first
- Katherine Morton (2016), "China's ambition in the South China Sea: is a legitimate maritime order possible?" *International Affairs* 92 (4), 909-940.
- Zhai Yida (2019). "Discourse power: sovereignty claims over the Diaoyu/Senkaku Islands". *Territory, Politics, Governance* (online first)
- Zhao Kejin and Zhang Hao (2019). "Projecting Political Power: China's Changing Maritime Strategy". *The Chinese Journal of International Politics*, 229-261
- [optional] Patrick Cronin and Ryan Neuhard (2020), "Total Competition: China's challenge in the South China Sea", Center for a New American Security
- [optional] Christian Wirth (2018), "Whose 'Freedom of Navigation'? Australia, China, the United States and the Making of Order in the 'Indo-Pacific'", *The Pacific Review* [on-line first]

12. The Belt and Road Initiative and regional/global order (30 Nov.)

- Tim Summers (2018), "Rocking the boat? China's 'belt and road' and global order", in Anoushiravan Ehteshami and Niv Horesh, eds, *China's Presence in the Middle East: The implications of the One Belt, One Road Initiative*, Routledge
- Wang Yong (2016), "Offensive for defensive: the belt and road initiative and China's new grand strategy" *The Pacific Review* 29 (3): 455-463
- Ye, Min (2019). 'Fragmentation and Mobilization: Domestic Politics of the Belt and Road in China.' *Journal of Contemporary China* 28(119), 696-711