

## **The Global Politics of China**

**Instructor:** Daniel Large

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**Department:** School of Public Policy, Central European University

**Number of Credits:** 2.

**Teaching Format:** Seminar.

**Semester:** Winter 2019.

**Course Status:** Elective.

**Office Hours:** Tuesday 4-5pm, October 6 u. 7, 2<sup>nd</sup> floor, Office 241.

### **Course Description**

This course provides an intensive introduction to the global politics of China. As well as a crucial intellectual challenge today, China is increasingly important for a range of policy engagements. While China has become globally prominent in recent times, this course is not just about current affairs or foreign policy per se. It also explores how China came to be in its current circumstances, and the interconnections between China's 'domestic' and 'global' relations. The first part of the course explores the politics of history and China's modern historical trajectory. Going beyond a unitary conception of the Chinese state, the second part examines the nature and domestic sources of China's foreign policy before exploring key themes in its global politics. Finally, it analyses China's changing engagement with and role in global governance. Throughout, it will involve active learning.

### **Learning Goals and Outcomes**

This course aims to provide an intensive orientation to the changing global politics of China. While providing a structured framework to achieve this, it also seeks to enable individual learning pathways and enhance analytical, writing and verbal skills. By the end of the course, students should be able to:

- Understand the historical trajectory behind China's current world role, and the politics of history;
- Understand the interplay between China's domestic and global politics;
- Critically assess and engage debates about China's (re)emergence and evolving global role;
- Undertake further, more indepth study into the global politics of China.

## Course Overview

Seminar 1: Introduction (7 January)

Seminar 2: ‘Make The Past Serve the Present’ (14 January)

Seminar 3: ‘Crossing the River by Feeling the Stones’: Reform and Going Global (21 January)

Seminar 4: ‘Major-Country Diplomacy with Chinese Characteristics’ (28 January)

Seminar 5: Foreign Policy Making (4 February)

### **Reading Week**

Seminar 6: CPC Political Influence and the PLA’s Evolving Role (18 February)

Seminar 7: China and the United States (25 February)

### *Optional Course and Final Paper Consultation*

Seminar 8: Belt and Road Initiative: Case Studies (4 March)

Seminar 9: China and Global Governance (11 March)

Seminar 10: China in Global Governance: Policy Evidence (18 March)

Seminar 11: Conclusions (25 March)

## Assessment

- Participation, including preparation: 15%
- Presentation exercise (with accompanying one page of speaking notes): 15%
- Final paper (3,000 words): 70%. Questions can be chosen from a list provided **OR** you can define your own, in consultation and agreement with me. Deadline: 5pm, 23 April 2019 (submission to Moodle).

*During the week starting 25 February, you are invited to attend a recommended but optional short consultation about your progress in the course and your final paper. Should you want feedback on your final paper, you can submit a complete draft version by 3 April. This is a **strict deadline** after which written feedback on drafts will not be possible. However, if you submit a draft in time, I will offer feedback designed to help you redraft and produce a better final paper.*

## Course Requirements and Classroom Policy

Full attendance is expected. *Please arrive in time for classes to begin on time.* You are required to complete assigned readings prior to class. Given the richness and complexity of the subject, you are also encouraged to read more than these, especially concerning questions and subjects that particularly interest you. *Use of phones, laptops or other electronic devices is strictly **not permitted** during class.*

## Good Academic Practices

Students are expected to abide by standards of academic integrity. Academic dishonesty – plagiarism, cheating or breaking other norms stipulated by the CEU Code of Ethics – will result in a failing grade. For detailed information about what constitutes plagiarism and its consequences, please consult the CEU Code of Ethics.

***Please note: This syllabus is accurate at the time of publication. Amendments may be made during the course of the term. You will be notified via Moodle about any changes.***

## China Watching

This course encourages you to keep up to date with China-related current events. Classes may start with a 'China Watching' slot where you will be asked to succinctly share a key current news story (or stories) and, at times, respond to follow-up questions. It is up to you what you choose to cover. Try to define the themes or issues that interest you most, and use this as a chance to pursue these in greater depth. As well as complementing the more general coverage of the course, this might help prepare for your final paper.

## Background Reading

You are encouraged to read into and around each subject, and to develop and pursue your own interests within – and beyond - these. The Supplementary Readings annex – available on the course Moodle site - provides a selection of topical sources or seminal texts from different periods of scholarship. Books worth consulting for background to the course as whole include:

Yu Hua, *China in Ten Words* (London: Gerald Duckworth & Co Ltd, 2012). *Short essays by a Chinese novelist.*

Rana Mitter, *A Bitter Revolution: China's Struggle with the Modern World* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004). *Instead of basing its narrative on the Chinese Communist Party, this readable interpretation of China's modern history offers a more diverse way of looking at Chinese politics in the past, and today.*

Wang Hui, *The End of the Revolution* (London: Verso, 2009). *Collection of essays accounting for China's 1980s and beyond by a leading intellectual.*

Elizabeth Economy, *The Third Revolution: Xi Jinping and the New Chinese State* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2018). Useful overview.

## Academic Journals

You are encouraged to use academic journals as a quick, often more useful and up to date way to engage with China, especially on recent and current affairs. Try [\*The China Quarterly\*](#), [\*The China Journal\*](#), [\*The Journal of Contemporary China\*](#), and [\*The Chinese Journal of International Relations\*](#).

## Supplementary Background

You are strongly encouraged to read fiction and other non-fiction works about China. This will enhance your cultural literacy and provide alternative windows on to many of the themes that we will explore. Try, for starters, *The Real Story of Ah-Q and Other Tales of China: The Complete Fiction of Lu Xun* (Penguin, 2009; Julia Lovell trans.), and Qian Zhongshu, *Fortress Besieged* (Penguin, 2006). Wang Xiaofang's *The Civil Servants Notebook* (Melbourne: Penguin, 2012) and Chan Koonchung's *The Fat Years* (London: Transworld Publishers, 2012) illuminate aspects of domestic politics and (imagined) foreign policy.

You are also encouraged to explore primary news film footage, documentaries, films, music and popular culture about China. Consider the political themes raised in, for example, Jing Wu's popular smash hit *Wolf Warrior II* (2017). There have been a number of official documentaries released for the 40<sup>th</sup> anniversary celebrations of Reform and Opening (many not with English sub-titles yet; see, for example, the [18-episode series](#) released in December 2018 by the Central Propaganda Department and CCTV). See 'Like a Flowing River', a 2018 TV show on people's experiences and struggles from the start of Reform and Opening (available on [Youtube with English subtitles](#)).

## **News and Information**

For the latest developments in China, see [Pacific Forum: Comparative Connections](#), [China Leadership Monitor](#), [China Brief](#), [East Asia Forum](#); [China Digital Times](#); [China Dialogue](#), and the [South China Morning Post](#); [Sinica](#) podcast; [China Policy Institute Analysis](#); [Chublic Opinion](#); [Sixth Tone](#). [China Vitae](#) is a very useful who's-who and who's-doing-what guide to Chinese politics.

Major Chinese news outlets have English editions. Try the [People's Daily](#), [Liberation Army Daily](#), [Global Times](#) and [Xinhua](#). Government websites, such as the [Ministry of Foreign Affairs](#), [State Council](#), or the [Ministry of Commerce](#) are also worth checking. There are good Twitter news feeds about different aspects of China, as well as on [Weibo](#). An invaluable mailing list is Bill Bishop's [Axios newsletter](#) (his [Sinocism](#) requires subscription). SupChina likewise have a subscription email news service; try listening to their [Sinica podcasts](#).

## **Feedback**

Rolling feedback and suggestions of readings and new sources to incorporate are welcome.

## Course Sessions

### 1. Introduction (7 January)

This session introduces the course, and will seek to clarify your expectations and key questions about China. It will also set the scene for course.

#### *Recommended reading/watching*

- Beijing Olympics opening ceremony (2008) [highlights](#)
- China's [Major Country Diplomacy Episode 1: Historic Path](#) (12 September 2017).
- Short Story: Hao Jingfang, 'Folding Beijing', in Ken Liu (ed.), *Invisible Planets* (Head of Zeus, 2016).

### 2. 'Make The Past Serve the Present' (14 January)

Taking the long view, this session surveys the change from China's relative historic strength to weakness in the face of European-led encroachment and incorporation into the modern international nation-states system. It also considers the pertinence of the past today. How are different interpretations of history mobilized in the pursuit of political purposes today?

#### *Required Watching/Reading*

- Excerpts: '[River Elegy](#)' (Héshāng; first broadcast by CCTV in June 1988; 58 mins).
- Document no. 9 (2013).
- Peter C. Perdue, 'The Tenacious Tributary System', *Journal of Contemporary China* 24, 96 (2015): 1002-114.
- If you are not familiar with general historical context, please read Rana Mitter, 'Making China modern', in *Modern China: A Very Short Introduction* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008): 40-73.

#### *Supplementary Reading/Watching*

- Yan Xuetong, *Ancient Chinese Philosophy, Modern Chinese Power* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2010).
- Maximilian Mayer, 'China's historical statecraft and the return of history', *International Affairs* 94, 6, 1 (2018): 1217-1235.
- Orville Schell, 'To Forget or Remember? China's Struggle with Its Past', *The Washington Quarterly* 39, 3 (2016): 143-157.
- Haiyang Yu, 'Glorious Memories of Imperial China and the Rise of Chinese Populist Nationalism', *Journal of Contemporary China* 23, 90 (2014): 1174-1187.
- Su Xiaokang and Wang Luxiang, *Deathsong of the River* (Cornell Uni. East Asia Program: 1999).
- Documentary: [Chung Kuo, Cina](#) (Michelangelo Antonioni, 1972).
- Documentary: [China on the Cusp of Change](#) (ChannelNews Asia 2018). *Rare footage of the late Qing dynasty.*
- Speech: Xi Jinping, 18 December 2018 [on the 40<sup>th</sup> anniversary of reform.](#)

### 3. 'Crossing the River by Feeling the Stones': Reform and Going Global (21 January)

This class explores China's Reform and Opening period, and the main trends and debates in foreign policy after 1989. These are essential to understanding and engaging current debates.

#### **Required Reading**

- Dingding Chen and Jianwei Wang, 'Lying Low No More? China's New Thinking on the Tao Guang Yang Hui Strategy', *China: An International Journal* 9, 2 (2011): 195-216.
- William A. Callahan, 'China's Strategic Futures: Debating the Post-American World Order', *Asian Survey* 52, 4 (2012): 617-642. [Please become familiar with these debates]
- Zheng Bijian, 'China's 'Peaceful Rise' to Great Power Status', *Foreign Affairs* 84, 5 (2005): 18-24.

#### **Supplementary Reading**

- \*Deng Xiaoping, '[Speech At An Enlarged Meeting Of The Military Commission Of The Central Committee Of The Communist Party Of China](#)', 4 June 1985.
- Thomas W. Robinson and David Shambaugh (eds.), *Chinese Foreign Policy: Theory and Practice* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1994).
- Samuel S Kim, 'Chinese Foreign Policy Face Globalization Challenges', in Alastair Iain Johnston and Robert S. Ross (eds.), *New Directions in the Study of China's Foreign Policy* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2006): 276-306.
- Kerry Brown, 'Power and the Politburo', in *The New Emperors: Power and the Princelings in China* (London: I.B.Tauris, 2014): 12-56.
- James Mann, *The China Fantasy* (London: Penguin, 2007): 1-27.
- Yu Liu and Dingding Chen, 'Why China Will Democratize', *The Washington Quarterly* 25, 1 (2012): 41-63.
- Ross Garnaut and Ligang Song Cai Fang eds, [China's 40 Years of Reform and Development: 1978-2018](#) (Australian National University Press, 2018)
- Documentary: '[The Gate of Heavenly Peace](#)' (Richard Gordon and Carma Hinton, 1995).

### 4. 'Major-Country Diplomacy with Chinese Characteristics' (28 January)

As Chinese leaders, policy makers and intellectuals consider how the country can and should move forward, this class explores China's foreign policy under President Xi Jinping. What should we make of debates about China's 'overstretch'?

#### **Required Reading**

- Zhao Xiaochun, 'In Pursuit of a Community of Shared Future: China's Global Activism in Perspective', *China Quarterly of International Strategic Studies* 4, 1 (2018): 23-37.
- Weifeng Zhou and Mario Esteban, 'Beyond Balancing: China's approach towards the Belt and Road Initiative', *Journal of Contemporary China* 27, 112 (2018): 487-501.
- Xiaoyu Pu and Chengli Wang, 'Rethinking China's rise: Chinese scholars debate strategic overstretch', *International Affairs* 94, 5, 1 (2018): 1019-1035.

### *Supplementary Reading*

- Jianwei Wang, 'Xi Jinping's 'Major Country Diplomacy': A Paradigm Shift?', *Journal of Contemporary China* (2018).
- Flynt Leverett and Wu Bingbing, 'The New Silk Road and China's Evolving Grand Strategy', *China Journal* 77 (2016): 110-132.
- Jingzhan Zeng and Sean Breslin, 'China's 'new type of Great Power relations': a G2 with Chinese characteristics?', *International Affairs* 92, 4 (2016): 773-794.
- Liu Mingfu, *The China Dream: Great Power Thinking and Strategic Posture in the Post-American Era* (New York: CN Times Books, 2015).
- '[China's AI Dream](#)', Marcopolo.org December 2018.
- Podcast: Shi Yinhong and Paul Haenle, '[China's Shift to a More Assertive Foreign Policy](#)', Carnegie-Tsinghua Center for Global Policy, 9 December 2018.

## **5. Foreign Policy Making (4 February)**

This class examines the key individuals, institutions and processes of the CPC-state involved in foreign policy making. It will require you to map these out and discuss the relative significance of the various bodies we will examine.

### ***Required Reading***

- Cheng Li, "China's Communist Party State: The Structure and Dynamics of Power," in William A. Joseph, ed., *Politics in China: An Introduction* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014): 192-223.
- Linda Jakobson and Ryan Manuel, 'How are Foreign Policy Decisions Made in China?', *Asia and the Pacific Policy Studies* 3, 1 (2016): 101-110.
- Jing Sun, 'Growing Diplomacy, Retreating Diplomats: How the Chinese Foreign Ministry has been Marginalized in Foreign Policymaking', *Journal of Contemporary China* 26, 105 (2017): 419-433.

### ***Supplementary Reading***

- Audrye Wong, 'More than Peripheral: How Provinces Influence China's Foreign Policy', *The China Quarterly* 235 (2018): 735-757.
- Weixing Hu, 'Xi Jinping's 'Major Country Diplomacy': The Role of Leadership in Foreign Policy Transformation', *Journal of Contemporary China* (2018).
- Zhang Qingmin, 'Bureaucratic Politics and Chinese Foreign Policy-making', *The Chinese Journal of International Politics* 9, 4 (2016): 435-458.
- Hongyi Lai and Su-Jeong Kang, 'Domestic Bureaucratic Politics and Chinese Foreign Policy', *Journal of Contemporary China* 23, 86 (2014): 294-313.
- Haig Patapan and Yi Wang, 'The Hidden Ruler: Wang Huning and the Making of Contemporary China', *Journal of Contemporary China*, 21 August 2017.
- James Reilly, *Strong Society, Smart State: The Rise of Public Opinion in China's Japan Policy* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2012): 207-228.

*Reading Week*



## 6: CPC Political Influence and the PLA's Evolving Role (18 February)

What are the interconnections between the CPC's exercise of domestic power and its evolving global engagement? How is the PLA's role in China's global politics evolving? How are traditional foreign policy principles being reconciled with new challenges of protecting Chinese overseas nationals and interests?

### **Required Reading**

- Anne-Marie Brady, 'Exploit Every Rift: United Front Work Goes Global', in Julia Bowie and David Gitter eds., *Party Watch Annual Report*, 18 October 2018: 34-40.
- Jonas Parello-Plesner and Mathieu Duchatel, *China's Strong Arm: Protecting Citizens and Assets Abroad* (Routledge/IISS: 2015): 19-65.

### **Supplementary Reading**

- Anne-Marie Brady, 'Magic Weapons: China's political influence activities under Xi Jinping', conference paper 16-17 September 2017.
- Samantha Hoffman, 'Programming China: The Communist Party's autonomic approach to managing state security', *MERICs China Monitor*, 12 December 2017.
- Richard McGregor, *The Party: The Secret World of China's Communist Rulers* (London: Allen Lane, 2010).
- David Shambaugh, 'China's "Quiet Diplomacy" The International Department of the Chinese Communist Party', *China: An International Journal* 5, 1 (2007): 26-54.
- Weixing Hu, 'Xi Jinping's 'Big Power Diplomacy' and China's Central National Security Commission', *Journal of Contemporary China*, 25, 98 (2016): 163-177.
- White Paper on China's Military Strategy (Beijing: Government of China, Information Office of the State Council, The People's Republic of China, 26 May 2015).
- James Char and Richard A. Bitzinger, 'A New Direction in the People's Liberation Army's Emergent Strategic Thinking, Roles and Missions', *The China Quarterly* 232 (2017): 841-865.
- Film: *Operation Red Sea* (Dir. Dante Lam, 2018).

## 7. China and the United States (25 February)

China's relations with the US are by far the most important of all, the significance of which has important implications for world order as well. This class will take stock of the background context and key current issues in US-China relations.

### **Required Reading**

- Evan Osnos, 'Making China Great Again', *New Yorker* 8 January 2018.
- Yan Xuetong, 'The Age of Uneasy Peace: Chinese Power in a Divided World', *Foreign Affairs* Jan/Feb 2019.
- TBC

### **Supplementary Reading**

- Harry Harding, 'Has U.S. China Policy Failed?' *The Washington Quarterly* 38, 3 (2015): 95-122.



- Yang Jiemin, ‘Managing China-U.S. Relations in the Trump Era: Approaches and Policies’, *China Quarterly of International Strategic Studies* 3, 3 (2017): 357-375.
- Richard McGregor, *Asia's Reckoning: China, Japan, and the Fate of U.S. Power in the Pacific Century* (Penguin, 2017).
- Suisheng Zhao, ‘A New Model of Big Power Relations? China–US strategic rivalry and balance of power in the Asia–Pacific’, *Journal of Contemporary China* 24, 93 (2015): 377-397.
- John J. Mearsheimer, ‘The Gathering Storm: China’s Challenge to US Power in Asia’, *The Chinese Journal of International Politics* 3 (2010): 381-396.
- Arthur Waldron, ‘There is no Thucydides Trap’, SupChina 12 June 2017.
- Andrew B. Kennedy and Darren J. Lim, ‘The innovation imperative: technology and US–China rivalry in the twenty-first century’, *International Affairs* 94, 3 (2018): 553–572.
- Adam Liff, ‘China and the US Alliance System’, *The China Quarterly*, 233 (2018): 137-165.
- Larry Diamond ed., ‘Chinese influence and American interests: promoting constructive vigilance’ (Hoover Institution, 29 November 2018).

### *Optional Course and Final Paper Consultation*

#### **8. Investigating the Belt and Road Initiative: Case Studies (4 March)**

This will require you to choose and research a BRI project case study in a region (Africa, Asia, Europe, Latin America) and country of your choice. This will form the basis of a discussion about BRI implementation, politics and futures. Why is there talk of a ‘backlash’ against China?

One useful starting point is the MERICS [Belt and Road Tracker](#).

#### *Background Reading*

- Yitzhak Shichor, ‘Gains and Losses: Historical Lessons of China’s Middle East Policy for Its OBOR Initiative’, *Asian Journal of Middle Eastern and Islamic Studies* 12, 2 (2018): 127-141.
- Li Xue, ‘China's Foreign Policy Decision-Making Mechanism and “One Belt One Road” Strategy’, *Journal of Contemporary East Asia Studies* 5, 2 (2016): 23-35.
- Lauren A. Johnston, ‘The Belt and Road Initiative: What is in it for China?’, *Asia and the Pacific Policy Studies* 31 October 2018.
- Kevin G. Cai, ‘The One Belt One Road and the Asian Infrastructure Investment Bank: Beijing’s New Strategy of Geoeconomics and Geopolitics’, *Journal of Contemporary China* 27, 114 (2018): 831-847.

## 9. China and Global Governance (11 March)

This class explores China's evolving engagement with and contribution to global governance. Should Beijing enhance its contribution to global public goods? Or is such an idea – and global governance more generally - a new containment strategy by the West? Is China now the main champion of an open, rules-based international order?

### **Required Reading**

- Suisheng Zhao, 'A Revisionist Stakeholder: China and the Post-World War II World Order', *Journal of Contemporary China* 27, 113 (2018): 643-658.
- Shaun Breslin, 'Global Reordering and China's Rise: Adoption, Adaptation and Reform', *The International Spectator*, 53 (1 (2018): 57-75.
- Beverley Loke, 'China's economic slowdown: implications for Beijing's institutional power and global governance role', *The Pacific Review* 31 (5 (2017): 673-691.

### **Supplementary Reading**

- Wu Xinbo, 'China in search of a liberal partnership international order', *International Affairs* 94, 5 (2018): 995-1018.
- Francois Godement, 'Expanded Ambitions, Shrinking Achievements: How China sees the Global Order', ECFR Policy Brief March 2017.
- Cai Tuo, 'Global Governance and State Governance: Two Strategic Considerations in Contemporary China', *Social Sciences in China*, 37, 4 (2016): 138-151.
- Rosemary Foot, "'Doing some things" in the Xi Jinping era: the United Nations as China's venue of choice', *International Affairs* 90, 5 (2014): 1085-1100.
- Sebastian Heilmann et al., 'China's Shadow Foreign Policy: Parallel Structures Challenge the Established International Order', MERICS China Monitor 18, 24 October 2014.
- Shahar Hameiri and Lee Jones, 'China challenges global governance? Chinese international development finance and the AIIB', *International Affairs* 94, 3 (2018): 573-593.
- Robert Zoellick, '[Whither China: From Membership to Responsibility?](#)', remarks to the National Committee on U.S.- China Relations, New York, 21 September 2005.

## 10. China in Global Governance: Policy Evidence (18 March)

Please select a policy theme in global governance you are interested in (such as trade, security, climate change, cyberspace, or human rights), research China's role in this and present your conclusions to the group. Full details will be made available on the Moodle site.

## 11. Conclusions (25 March)