

Course Title	Chinese Perspectives on International and Global Affairs
	本土视野下的中国外交与国际事务
Course number	02432090
Teacher	Assoc. Prof. Chen Changwei
Contact information	Email: changwei.chen@pku.edu.cn / Tel: 010-62760566 Office: Rm A302, SIS / Office hours: by appointment
First day of classes	July 5, 2021
Last day of classes	July 16, 2021
Course Credit	3 credits
Course Description	
Objective:	
<p>This undergraduate seminar course is designed to survey the major international relations topics of the People's Republic of China with a specific focus on the Chinese perspective. China's reform and opening up, launched in the late 1970s, has produced an economic miracle unprecedented in world history. Riding on the wave of globalization, China has managed to rise economically as well as geopolitically and is now a crucial actor in global governance. This course will focus on Chinese diplomacy in the era of globalization, and will unravel the role that Chinese diplomacy has played in integrating China into the existing international system. The course will further explore China's desire to be a part of the architecture of global governance and its stated policy of continuing to work within the present international system. This course pays attention to the application of different international relations theories to the problems under study. The course also aims to familiarize students with China's involvement in world affairs from both historical and contemporary perspectives and equip students with an analytical understanding of the dynamics of China's foreign policy.</p>	
Pre-requisites /Target audience	
<p>✧ The course is for students who are interested in China's foreign policy, particularly China's participation in global governance. Although no prior knowledge of international</p>	

relations is assumed, a general understanding of Chinese history and politics will be conducive to classroom discussion.

Proceeding of the Course

Date	Lectures (9am – 12pm)	Discussion (2-4pm)
07/05	One - Introduction	Tutorial
07/06	Two - China and the UN System	Tutorial
07/07	Three - China and Global Financial Governance	Tutorial
07/08	Four - China and the Global Trading System	Tutorial
07/09	Five - Global Policy Coordination	Tutorial
07/12	Six - Sovereignty versus Regionalism	Tutorial
07/13	Seven - Global Climate Regime	Tutorial
07/14	Eight - The Belt and Road Initiative	Tutorial
07/15	Nine – Global Partnership Network in China’s Diplomacy	Tutorial
07/16	Ten - Identities and Cultural Diversities in a Globalized Age (<i>Final paper due</i>)	Final Exam

This schedule is subject to change with prior notice.

Assignments (essay or other forms)

Presentation & Discussion

The presentation and discussion session is organized according to the following pattern:

Each student is required to do at least one 20 minutes presentation on a selected topic (based on the reading assignment) and take key learning points from the class.

After the presentation, another student will be invited to make some comments on the presentation, and contrast it with his or her reading notes.

The order of presentation will be decided at the beginning of the semester. However, the

discussants will be selected randomly on the spot.

Though ample time for preparation is given, and the presentation grade is separate from the grade on participation, this does not mean that one can lean back after completing the presentation – critical key learning points relating to the presentation of others, and how it relates to the readings, will follow!

Term Paper

Students will be asked to write a research paper (no more than 3,000 words in length, excluding bibliographies & citations) on a topic relevant to one of the themes of the course. The paper should be submitted via email with the essay as an attachment in MS-word to the TA no later than the designated due date: Friday, July 16, 2021 at 9 a.m.

Essays and assignments not received on or before the due date are subject to penalty. Late work is penalized at the rate of 20% of the full marks of the assignment per day submitted after the applicable above subscribed due dates. The maximum penalty for any assessment will be 100%.

All papers should be typed in Times News Roman font style, double-spaced, with 12-point font and standard margins, have page numbers, and should include references following the Chicago style.

Evaluation Details

1. Presentation (15%): Students will be divided into 9 groups through a random sorting. Beginning with the second lecture, class meetings will start with student-led presentation (approximately 20 minutes), followed by Q&A Session (approximately 25 minutes). Presentation topics should align with the theme of that particular week and need to be confirmed beforehand in consultation with the Professors and TA. Recommended topic areas are provided in the reading assignment section. Students are also encouraged to go beyond the suggestions and propose new ideas related to the theme of the week. Presentations are expected: to describe specific policy issue(s) in a clear and understandable manner; to analyze the topic from several different perspectives; and to provide a set of clear recommendations for

policy makers.

2. Participation/Performance (10%): Discussion constitutes a key component of the class. Students are expected to complete all the required readings prior to class meetings and to actively engage in and contribute to class discussions in a manner that is helpful for understanding and learning. Students are strongly encouraged to share their opinions and perspectives on issues pertaining to the lectures and will be evaluated based on the quality of their contributions in terms of key learning points and engagement. The TA will keep a record of students' contributions to class discussion. The key criteria for assessing performance are: How much and how well did each student mobilize understanding and learning for fellow students in the class?

3. Attendance (5%): Students are expected to attend all the classes. If you can't attend a class for an unavoidable reason, please seek permission from the Professor in advance for approved leave and subsequently inform the TA.

4. Research paper (30%): Students are encouraged to define a research topic of their choice. However, this must be negotiated with Professor or TA and relate directly to the themes of the course. A writing template will be provided as a guide for technical issues such as citation style, line space, bibliography, etc.

5. Final Exam (40%): is scheduled for July, 16, 2021 (to be confirmed).

Text Books and Reading Materials

A course reader (electronic version) containing core readings for each topic will be provided. Please note that students are responsible for finding readings that are not included in the course reader.

Academic Integrity

Students are expected to maintain a high standard of academic integrity throughout course. Plagiarism and cheating is absolutely NOT tolerated in this course!

CLASS SCHEDULE
(Subject to adjustment)

Session 1: Introduction: Globalization, Global Governance and China's Role	Date: 05/07/2021
<p>【Description of the Session】 <i>This lecture offers an overview on how China's development has been shaped by globalization and China's contribution to the international community. To have an in-depth understanding of this topic, a general introduction of the concepts of globalization and global governance is necessary.</i></p>	
<p>【Key learning points】</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ✧ <i>The concept of global governance</i> ✧ <i>Liberal international order versus an emerging new order</i> ✧ <i>Is it true that the new era of globalization calls for global governance reform and why?</i> ✧ <i>China's growth into a major player in the evolution of global governance</i> 	
<p>【Readings, Websites or Video Clips】</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. He, Yafei. "A Proactive Approach to Global Governance Is China's Historic Choice." <i>China Quarterly of International Strategic Studies</i> 1, no. 2 (2015): 183-204. 2. Parmar, Inderjeet. "The US-Led Liberal Order: Imperialism by Another Name?" <i>International Affairs</i> 94, no. 1 (January 2018): 151-172. 	
<p>【Suggested Topics】 (for term papers, no class presentation)</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ✧ <i>What is globalization? What are its dynamics? Its principal dimensions?</i> ✧ <i>The concept of global governance; Major differences between global governance and global government; Liberal international order versus an emerging new order</i> 	
Session 2: China and the UN System	Date: 06/07/2021
<p>【Description of the Session】 <i>The UN System consists of the United Nations, and the six principal organs of the United Nations: the General Assembly, Security Council, Economic and Social Council (ECOSOC), Trusteeship Council (it is not active since 1994), International Court of Justice (ICJ), and the UN Secretariat, specialized agencies, and affiliated organizations. How does the UN system work? Is the UN system still of relevance to the changed world we live in today? Why the United Nations matters to China's foreign policy? How does China work with the international community to uphold the UN system in coping with global challenges?</i></p>	
<p>【Key learning points】</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ✧ <i>Security Council and its role in maintaining peace and security of the world</i> ✧ <i>Peacekeeping and humanitarian intervention (R2P)</i> 	

- ✧ *UN Specialized Agencies (WHO, UNHCR) and their unique roles in rule-based global governance*
- ✧ *China and the UN Reform, in particular Security Council reform, with a view to shape an emerging global order*

【Readings, Websites or Video Clips】

1. Fullilove, Michael. "China and the United Nations: The Stakeholder Spectrum." *Washington Quarterly* 34, no. 3 (August 2011): 63-85.
2. Fung, Courtney J. "What explains China's deployment to UN peacekeeping operations?" *International Relations of the Asia-Pacific* 16, no. 3 (2016): 409-441.
3. Primiano, Christopher B, and Xiang Jun. "Voting in the UN: a Second Image of China's Human Rights." *Journal of Chinese Political Science* 21, no. 3 (September 2016): 301-319.
4. Vanhullebusch, Matthias. "Regime Change, the Security Council and China." *Chinese Journal of International Law* 14, no. 4 (2015): 665-707.

【Suggested Presentation Topics】

- ✧ *United Nations: Brief history; Organizational structure; Strengths & weaknesses; Is the UN system still of relevance to the changed world we live in today? Give specific examples of UN strengths and weaknesses, and explain why the UN is more effective in some ways than others.*
- ✧ *Security Council and its role in maintaining peace and security of the world; Should the UN Security Council Expand?*
- ✧ *Pick one UN specialized agency (UNHCR, WHO etc.) to illustrate how it contributes to global rule-making in a particular field.*

Session 3: *China and Global Financial Governance*

Date: 07/07/2021

【Description of the Session】 *In this lecture, we will look into China's roles in global economic and financial governance. What are the key issues in China's external economic relations? What is China doing to shape and remake the international economic order in the post-crisis world? With dollar-centered global monetary system beginning to show signs of fray, what are the prospects for a multicurrency monetary system?*

【Key learning points】

- ✧ *IMF, World Bank and their inadequacy in dealing with global financing needs both in terms of their recipe for economic reform and resources they can mobilize in crises.*
- ✧ *New mechanisms are in great need for infrastructure-building in developing countries. What has*

been done and what should be done?

- ✧ *Trinity as part and parcel of global financial and trade governance regimes is at a historical cross-road and its future is full of uncertainty. Therefore, its reform and remaking is a must, not an option we can afford not to take.*

【Readings, Websites or Video Clips】

1. Paradise, James F. "The Role of 'Parallel Institutions' in China's Growing Participation in Global Economic Governance." *Journal of Chinese Political Science* 21, no. 2 (June 2016): 149-175.
2. Ren, Xiao. "China as an Institution-Builder: The Case of the AIIB." *The Pacific Review* 29, no. 3 (2016): 435-442.
3. Wu, Chien-Huei. "Global Economic Governance in the Wake of the Asian Infrastructure Investment Bank: Is China Remaking Bretton Woods?" *The Journal of World Investment & Trade* 19 (2018): 542-569.
4. Zangl, B., Heußner F., Kruck, A., Lanzendörfer, X., "Imperfect adaptation: how the WTO and the IMF adjust to shifting power distributions among their members." *The Review of International Organizations* 11, no. 2 (June 2016): 171-196.

【Suggested Presentation Topics】

- ✧ *What are IMF's main roles in global economic governance? What are the main controversies about it? Compare the major goals of IMF (International Monetary Fund) and World Bank operation.*
- ✧ *IMF, World Bank and their inadequacy in dealing with global financing needs both in terms of their recipe for economic reform and resources they can mobilize in crises.*

Session 4: *China and the Global Trading System*

Date: 08/07/2021

【Description of the Session】 *This lecture is centered on the evolution of the international trading system and its China's roles in it. We will examine the rise of protectionism and what it means for globalization as well as the rise of bilateral and regional trade agreements.*

【Key learning points】

- ✧ *Is breakdown of global trading system looming? What went wrong with the global trading system?*
- ✧ *WTO and on-going debate about its relevance and possible reforms to produce a "new WTO".*

【Readings, Websites or Video Clips】

1. Esserman, Susan "The WTO on Trial," *Foreign Affairs*, Volume 82, No. 1 (Jan/Feb 2003), 130-141.
2. Kazzi, Habib, "Why a U.S.-China Trade Deal will not Ensure an Effective Global Trade Governance" *European Scientific Journal*, Vol 15, No 16 (2019)
3. Liu Mingli, "Analysis of Western Countries' Anti-globalization," *Contemporary International Relations*, Vol.27, No.2 (2017), 40-50.
4. Mavroidis, Petros C. and André Sapir, "China and The World Trade Organisation: Towards A Better Fit." *Bruegel Working Paper*, Issue 6 (June 2019)
(<https://bruegel.org/2019/06/china-and-the-world-trade-organisation-towards-a-better-fit/>)

【Suggested Presentation Topics】

- ✧ *What are WTO's main roles in global economic governance? What are the main controversies about it?*
- ✧ *Will WTO succumb to the onslaught of rising anti-globalization and populism underpinned by "America First" and what can be done to preserve the global free trade regime represented by WTO?*
- ✧ *China-US trade dispute: what role can the World Trade Organisation play?*

Session 5: *Global Policy Coordination: G7 and G20*

Date: 09/07/2021

【Description of the Session】 *The G20 has undoubtedly emerged as the primary platform for the coordination of global economic affairs. In this lecture, we will map out the evolution of China's stance and its essential role in G20 as well as the latter's potentials for global economic governance. What is the significance of the ending of G7 as the leading managing group of world economy? Does it suggest the wholesale decline of the US-led global order? As geopolitics get an upper hand in global governance, can G20 continue to perform as expected and evolve into some "the Economic Security Council"?*

【Key learning points】

- ✧ *G7's dominance in global economic governance and its declining influence, reflecting changing world balance of power*
- ✧ *G20 with its multi-functional capacity in global governance is a big step forward in updating global governance system. However, as the complexity of the geopolitical and geoeconomical situation continues to grow, G20 faces a stringent need to adapt in order to play the role of a major platform for global governance.*

【Readings, Websites or Video Clips】	
<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. He, Yafei. "China's New Role in Global Governance Shaping the Emerging World Order." <i>China Quarterly of International Strategic Studies</i> 3, no. 3 (2017): 341-355. 2. Larionova M., Kolmar O. "The Hangzhou Consensus: Legacy for China, G20 and the World." <i>International Organisations Research Journal</i> 12, no. 3 (2017): 53-72. 3. Prodi, Amano. "Global Governance and Global Summits from the G8 to the G20: History, Opportunities and Challenges." <i>China & World Economy</i> 24, no. 4 (July-August 2016): 5-14. 4. Yu, Ye. "Global Economic Governance Reenergized? The Chinese Presidency of the G20 in 2016." <i>China Quarterly of International Strategic Studies</i> 1, no. 4 (2015): 647-665. 	
【Suggested Presentation Topics】	
<p>✧ <i>What are G7 and G20's main roles in global economic governance? What are the main controversies about it? Evaluate the efficiency of the G7 and the G20 in global governance.</i></p>	
Session 6: Sovereignty versus Regionalism	Date: 12/07/2021
【Description of the Session】 <i>Sovereignty versus regionalism is always a matter of give and take for nation states to balance. For the US, sovereignty has always been at the heart of its foreign policy. How do you assess Trump's foreign policy in that perspective? Will the EU model continue to progress or regress? What are the major obstacles? ASEAN and ASEAN+ is something totally different, with China, Japan and the US trilateral relationship in a mess, what needs to be done to push ahead regionalism in Asia and South-East Asia in particular?</i>	
【Key learning points】	
<p>✧ <i>European Union</i></p> <p>✧ <i>ASEAN and ASEAN+</i></p>	
【Readings, Websites or Video Clips】	
<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. De Prado, César. "Regions in the world: The EU and East Asia as foreign policy actors." <i>International Politics</i> 47, no. 3-4 (May 2010): 355-370. 2. Kacowicz, Arie M. "Regional Governance and Global Governance: Links and Explanations." <i>Global Governance</i> 24, no. 1 (January-March 2018): 61-79. 3. Kahler, Miles. "Asia and the Reform of Global Governance." <i>Asian Economic Policy Review</i> 	

5, no. 2 (2010): 178–193.

4. Kahler, Miles. “Regional Challenges to Global Governance.” *Global Policy* 8, no. 1 (February 2017): 97-100.

【Suggested Presentation Topics】

- ✧ *EU as model or experiment for regionalism, merits and demerits. Will the EU model continue to progress or regress? What are the major obstacles?*
- ✧ *ASEAN and ASEAN+. Its members, goals and the decision-making mechanism. ASEAN Economic Community.*
- ✧ *“ASEAN +” versus the increasingly complex trilateral relationship among and between China, Japan and the US?*
- ✧ *The bifurcation between economic and security arrangements in South-East Asia and what to do about it?*
- ✧ *With China, Japan and the US trilateral relationship in a mess, what needs to be done to push ahead regionalism in Asia and South-East Asia in particular?*
- ✧ *SCO. Its members. The goals and objectives. The main directions of economic and political cooperation.*
- ✧ *APEC. Its members. The causes and purposes of creation. The organizational structure. The main areas of activities.*

Session 7: *Global Climate Regime*

Date: 13/07/2021

【Description of the Session】 *What are the global challenges, including security, economic, humanitarian and others, that the world is facing today? Choosing the issue of climate change as an example, this lecture will review the process of how the challenge of dealing with climate change has led to new models of global governance based on win-win solutions through cooperation and common development. With the US under Trump retreating from global cooperation, how should other major powers and other countries cope with global challenges? As the gap between rich and poor both among countries and within countries is getting wider, should the international community, if there is such a thing, tackle that challenge which probably is the root cause for almost all the troubles in the world?*

【Key learning points】

- ✧ *Climate Change, energy security, food security and other major challenges*
- ✧ *Global cooperation is withering instead of increasing as the US is retreating from providing global commons. Can any other country or group of countries fill that gap left by the US? Should they do*

so?

【Readings, Websites or Video Clips】

1. Gao, Yun. "China's response to climate change issues after Paris Climate Change Conference." *Advances in Climate Change Research* 7, no. 4 (December 2016): 235-240.
2. Goron, Coraline and Cyril Cassisa. "Regulatory Institutions and Market-Based Climate Policy in China." *Global Environmental Politics* 17, no. 1 (February 2017): 99-120.
3. Liang, Dong, "Bound to lead? Rethinking China's role after Paris in UNFCCC negotiations." *Chinese Journal of Population Resources and Environment* 15, no. 1 (2017): 32-38.
4. Wang, Pu, Lei Liu, and Tong Wu. "A review of China's climate governance: state, market and civil society." *Climate Policy* 18, no. 5 (2018): 664-679.

【Suggested Presentation Topics】

- ✧ *Climate Change, the evolving of the global climate regime.*

Session 8: *The Belt and Road Initiative*

Date: 14/07/2021

【Description of the Session】 *What is the "Belt & Road" Initiative? What sort of new world outlook it represents? And what sorts of global governance concepts does it put forward through B&R? The Initiative is viewed in China and elsewhere as an innovative idea for strengthening regional and global cooperation, but it is taken by the US as an effort to expand China's economic influence and therefore, it continues to oppose the idea. What will you suggest is the best way forward that will help translate the initiative into reality?*

【Key learning points】

- ✧ *B & R and its impact on regional and global economic growth*
- ✧ *B & R as an innovative initiative for building up momentum for developing countries in their efforts in industrialization, starting from infrastructure construction*
- ✧ *B & R as a new model of regional and global cooperation will be instrumental in eliminate poverty and creating bigger market. Will it be useful in global governance reform?*

【Readings, Websites or Video Clips】

1. Kaplan, Yilmaz, "China's OBOR as a Geo-Functional Institutional Project." *Baltic Journal Of European Studies* 7, no. 1 (June 2017): 3-19.

<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 2. Lin, Justin Yifu. “‘One Belt and One Road’ and Free Trade Zones-China's New Opening-up Initiatives.” <i>Frontiers of Economics in China</i> 10, no. 4 (2015): 585-590. 3. Nordin, Astrid H. M., and Mikael Weissmann. “Will Trump make China great again? The belt and road initiative and international order.” <i>International Affairs</i> 94, no. 2 (2018): 231-249. 4. Yu, Hong. “Motivation behind China’s ‘One Belt, One Road’ Initiatives and Establishment of the Asian Infrastructure Investment Bank.” <i>Journal of Contemporary China</i> 26, no. 105 (2017): 353-368. 		
<p>【Suggested Presentation Topics】</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ✧ <i>What is the “Belt & Road” Initiative? What sort of new world outlook it represents? And what sorts of global governance concepts does it put forward through B&R?</i> ✧ <i>B & R: How to make it work? Any possible obstacles, especially from major powers and China’s neighbors?</i> ✧ <i>China’s Foreign Aid and Its Role in the International Architecture.</i> 		
<table border="1" style="width: 100%; border-collapse: collapse;"> <tr> <td style="padding: 5px;">Session 9: Global Partnership Network in China’s Diplomacy</td> <td style="padding: 5px; text-align: right;">Date: 15/07/2021</td> </tr> </table>	Session 9: Global Partnership Network in China’s Diplomacy	Date: 15/07/2021
Session 9: Global Partnership Network in China’s Diplomacy	Date: 15/07/2021	
<p>【Description of the Session】 <i>Global partnership is an innovation in China’s diplomatic thinking and practice. What is it all about? What is your take on the juxtaposition of military alliances with global partnership? If China will move from non-alignment to global partnership, what are the means of change in China’s diplomacy and what impact will they have on global security governance structure? Partnership versus alliance, is it a conceptual difference or something else? Is the idea too idealistic to be successful? To what extent will the US and other western powers accept the idea?</i></p>		
<p>【Key learning points】</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ✧ <i>Global Partnership versus military alliances</i> ✧ <i>Community of nations with Shared Destiny</i> ✧ <i>Global partnership as a way for countries to adapt to the changed world</i> ✧ <i>No more zero-sum game</i> ✧ <i>China from non-alignment to global partnership</i> 		
<p>【Readings, Websites or Video Clips】</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Bang, Jiun. “Why So Many Layers? China’s ‘State-Speak’ and Its Classification of Partnerships.” <i>Foreign Policy Analysis</i> 13, no. 2 (April 2017): 380-397. 2. Strüver, Georg. “China's Partnership Diplomacy: International Alignment Based on 		

<p>Interests or Ideology." <i>The Chinese Journal of International Politics</i> 10, no. 1 (March 2017): 31-65.</p> <p>3. Yang, Jiemian. "Seeking for the International Relations Based On the Concept Of the Community of Shared Future." <i>Monde chinois</i> 49, no. 1 (2017).</p> <p>4. Zhao, Xiaochun. "In Pursuit of a Community of Shared Future: China's Global Activism in Perspective." <i>China Quarterly of International Strategic Studies</i> 4, no. 1 (January 2018): 23-37.</p>	
<p>【Suggested Presentation Topics】</p> <p>✧ <i>China's Global Partnership Network. What is it all about? What are the basic blocks for building the global partnership network as proposed by China? What is your take on the juxtaposition of military alliances with global partnership?</i></p>	
<p>Session 10: <i>Identities and Cultural Diversities in a Globalized Age</i></p>	<p>Date: 16/07/2021</p>
<p>【Description of the Session】 <i>Why peaceful development is China's inevitable choice? Any alternatives? What are the challenges for China to adhere to this road? Should future confrontation with the US as the incumbent power surface, can China continue on this course or will it have to change? China's continual economic, political and military growth cannot be stopped, China has adamantly chosen a path for peaceful development, in sharp contrast with historically different approaches of other major powers. But is it only about China or it cannot decide alone? China's peaceful development needs a corresponding peaceful environment regionally and globally.</i></p>	
<p>【Key learning points】</p> <p>✧ <i>China's Global Identities: The Largest Developing Nation and a Major Power</i></p> <p>✧ <i>Clashes of Civilizations or mutual enrichment among different civilizations</i></p> <p>✧ <i>Cultural diversity and equality among countries</i></p> <p>✧ <i>Good economic developmental model and its cultural background</i></p>	
<p>【Readings, Websites or Video Clips】</p> <p>1. Cha, Chang Hoon. "China's Search for Ideological Values in World Politics: Chinese Adaptation to Liberal Order Drawn from Political Reports of the Chinese Communist Party Congress since 1977." <i>Pacific Focus</i> 32, no. 3 (December 2017): 416-444.</p> <p>2. Chen, Zhimin, Guorong Zhou, and Shichen Wang. "Facilitative Leadership and China's New Role in the World." <i>Chinese Political Science Review</i> 3, no. 1 (March 2018): 10-27.</p> <p>3. De Graaff, Nana, and Bastiaan Van Apeldoorn. "US-China relations and the liberal world order: contending elites, colliding visions?" <i>International Affairs</i> 94, no. 1 (2018): 113-131.</p> <p>4. Zheng, Yongnian, and Wen Xin Lim. "The Changing Geopolitical Landscape, China and</p>	

the World Order in the 21st Century." *China: An International Journal* 15, no. 1 (February 2017): 4-23.

【Suggested Presentation Topics】

- ✧ *Identity politics: main theory and critiques.*
- ✧ *What are China's international identities? Why is China still a developing country? How does it compromise with China's status as a great power?*