

Course Form for PKU Summer School International 2023

Course Title	Title in English: The Rise of China and Change in World Politics
	Title in Chinese: 中国崛起与世界政治变局
Teacher	Xu Xin 徐昕
First day of classes	July 3, 2023
Last day of classes	July 17, 2023
Course Credit	3 credits
Course Description	
Objective:	
<p>This seminar course is intended for students to make sense of China's rise from a broad historical and theoretical perspective. It will examine major issues and topics concerning China's rise against the backdrop of changing world politics, and to engage in the academic discourse and policy debate about China's rise and its implications for world order in the 21st century, and vice versa, address how evolving world politics informs and influences rising China's strategy and practice – namely, <i>the mutual interaction and constitution of rising China and the changing world</i>.</p> <p>The objective of this course is threefold: (1) providing a working knowledge of major issues concerning the rise of China; (2) familiarizing students with different perspectives on China's international relations; and (3) equipping students with analytical skills to make sense of the evolving situation and current affairs in world politics, with a focus on China's role and influence.</p>	
Pre-requisites/Target audience	
Students wishing to enroll in this course are expected to have basic knowledge of international relations and China's foreign policy. Undergraduate and graduate students.	
Proceeding of the Course	
This course is formatted in combining lecture and seminar styles. Participation in discussion in class and TA sections constitutes a central part in this course. The proceeding of the course will be based on lectures as well as students' presentation of the required texts related to the general themes and specific topics in class and sections. There will be also group projects. Besides, the class will organize fieldtrips (as conditions permit).	
Assignments (essay or other forms)	
Throughout the course, <i>each student is expected to write 1-2 short (1-page) memos on the required readings assigned for each session</i> . The memo should summarize 1-2 important points as seen by the student and raise one question for class/group discussion. Students are required to write <i>one analytical essay</i> (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.	
Evaluation Details	
Attendance: 15%; Participation: 15%; Memos/presentations: 20%; Group project: 15%; Essay: 35%	
Text Books and Reading Materials	
There are both <i>required</i> and <i>recommended</i> readings for each session, which will be provided before class. No book purchase needed.	
Academic Integrity (If necessary)	
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: China's rise in a historical perspective	Date: 7/3
【Description of the Session】 (purpose, requirements, class and presentations scheduling, etc.) <i>Outline</i> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • What is the rise of China all about? • An analytical framework • Course objectives and requirements 	
【Questions】 <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Why does the rise of China matter? • What does Wang Gungwu mean by the “culture of modernity”? What implications does “China's fourth rise” have for the culture of modernity? • What do you expect to take away from this course? 	
【Readings, Websites or Video Clips】 <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Christensen, Thomas J. 2016. <i>The China Challenge: Shaping the Choices of a Rising Power</i>. New York: W. W. Norton & Company, Inc. pp. 13-62. • Wang Gungwu (王赓武). 2004. “The Fourth Rise of China: Cultural Implications,” <i>China: An International Journal</i>, 2:2, pp. 311-322. 	
【Assignments for this session (if any)】	
Session 2: The end of history vs. the clash of civilizations	Date: 7/4

【Description of the Session】 (purpose, requirements, class and presentations scheduling, etc.)

Outline

- The “end of history” vs. the “clash of civilizations”
- The East-West dichotomy
- Paradigm shift in world politics

【Questions】

- Is the world embracing the “end of history” or the “clash of civilizations”? As of 2023, which of these two contending paradigms, or none of them, makes better sense to you? Why?
- According to Katzenstein, where is Huntington right about post-Cold War world politics? What is wrong with his “clash of civilizations” thesis? What is wrong with the liberal view of world politics?
- What do you think of the East-West dichotomy in world politics?

【Readings, Websites or Video Clips】

- Fukuyama, Francis. 1989. “The End of History?” *The National Interest*, No. 16 (Summer), pp. 3-18.
- Huntington, Samuel P. 1993. “The Clash of Civilizations?” *Foreign Affairs*, 72:3 (Summer), pp. 22-49.
- Katzenstein, Peter. 2009 (November 6). “A World of Plural and Pluralist Civilizations,” Keynote speech delivered at the *2009 Beijing Forum*, Peking University, Beijing.

【Assignments for this session (if any)】

Session 3: Competing visions for power transition in world politics

Date: 7/5

【Description of the Session】 (purpose, requirements, class and presentations scheduling, etc.)

Outline

- Between *systemic* change and *systems* change
- The Thucydides Trap vs. the Kindleberger Trap
- Domestic politics and geopolitical competition
- Global China in a bifurcating, nonpolar world

【Questions】

- How has China defined its core national interests?
- What kind of change does the rise of China bring to world order?
- Do you find Mearsheimer’s argument that China cannot rise peacefully convincing? Why or why not?
- Can the liberal international system survive as China is rising to the status of a

<p>global power?</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> What insight can be drawn from Haass's "age of nonpolarity" for understanding China's rise? 	
<p>【Readings, Websites or Video Clips】</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Wang Jisi (王缉思). 2012. "China's Search for a Grand Strategy: A Rising Great Power Finds Its Way," <i>Foreign Affairs</i>, 90:2 (March/April), pp. 68-79. Mearsheimer, John. 2014. "Can China Rise Peacefully?" <i>The National Interest</i>, October 25. (Excerpts from John Mearsheimer's <i>The Tragedy of Great Power Politics</i>. A new, updated edition. W. W. Norton & Company, Inc.) Available at https://nationalinterest.org/commentary/can-china-rise-peacefully-10204. Haass, Richard N. 2008. "The Age of Nonpolarity: What Will Follow U.S. Dominance," <i>Foreign Affairs</i>, 87:3 (May/June). 	
<p>【Assignments for this session (if any)】</p>	
Session 4: A world in the image of Tianxia	Date: 7/6
<p>【Description of the Session】 (purpose, requirements, class and presentations scheduling, etc.)</p> <p><i>Outline</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> China's rise in a historical perspective Modernity and China's modernization Chinese view of Tianxia (天下) 	
<p>【Questions】</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> 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? According to Zhao, what are the fundamental flaws of the modern international system? Does his <i>Tianxia</i> theory offer any better alternative? Why or why not? Where does China/Asia fit in the "end of history" vs. the "clash of civilizations" debate? Where is China headed in the 21st century? 	
<p>【Readings, Websites or Video Clips】</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Hamashita, Takeshi (滨下武志). 2001. "Changing Regions and China: Historical Perspectives," <i>China Report</i>, 37:3, pp. 333-351. Kang, David C. (康灿雄), and Xinru Ma (马心如). 2018. "Thucydides Didn't Live in East Asia," <i>The Washington Quarterly</i>, 41:1, pp. 137-154. Zhao Tingyang (赵汀阳). 2009. "A Political World Philosophy in Terms of All-under-heaven (Tian-xia)," <i>Diogenes</i> 221, pp. 5-18. 	

【Assignments for this session (if any)】	
Session 5: The “history problem” in East Asia	Date: 7/7
【Description of the Session】 (purpose, requirements, class and presentations scheduling, etc.) <i>Outline</i> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> History and politics in East Asia Japan’s search for normalcy Reconciliation through enlightened, collaborative education? 	
【Questions】 <ul style="list-style-type: none"> 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? 	
【Readings, Websites or Video Clips】 <ul style="list-style-type: none"> He, Yanan (何忆南). 2007. “Remembering and Forgetting the War: Elite Mythmaking, Mass Reaction, and Sino-Japanese Relations, 1950-2006,” <i>History and Memory</i>, 19:2 (Fall), pp. 43-74. Shih, Chih-yu (石之瑜). 2011. “A Rising Unknown: Rediscovering China in Japan’s East Asia,” <i>The China Review</i>, 11:1 (Spring), pp. 1-26. Lawson, Stephanie, and Seiko Tannaka (淡中圣子). 2010. “War Memories and Japan’s ‘Normalization’ as an International Actor: A Critical Analysis,” <i>European Journal of International Relations</i>, 17:3, pp. 405-428. 	
【Assignments for this session (if any)】	
Session 6: Chinese national identity and the Taiwan question	Date: 7/10
【Description of the Session】 (purpose, requirements, class and presentations scheduling, etc.) <i>Outline</i> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> The centrality of the Taiwan issue in China’s internal and external politics Taiwan’s indigenization through democratization China’s rise and prospects for peaceful reunification 	

<p>【Questions】</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Why does Taiwan matter? What impacts has the modern concept of sovereignty had on China's traditional "center-periphery" relations? • What is at stake in the Taiwan issue for Beijing, Taipei, and Washington? • What are the implications of China's rise for the resolution of the Taiwan issue? 	
<p>【Readings, Websites or Video Clips】</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Xu Xin (徐昕). 2012. "One China, Two Worlds: Taiwan and China's Quest for Identity and Security," in Peter J. Katzenstein, ed., <i>Sinicization and the Rise of China</i>. London and New York: Routledge, 2012, pp. 65-96. • Christensen, Thomas J. 2007 (September 11). "A Strong and Moderate Taiwan," Speech to U.S.-Taiwan Business Council Defense Industry Conference, Annapolis. • Blanchette, Jude and Ryan Hass. 2023. "The Taiwan Long Game: Why the Best Solution Is No Solution," <i>Foreign Affairs</i>, 102:1 (January/February), pp. 102-114. 	
<p>【Assignments for this session (if any)】</p>	
Session 7: China's global outreach and "belt & road initiative" (BRI)	Date: 7/11
<p>【Description of the Session】 (purpose, requirements, class and presentations scheduling, etc.)</p> <p><i>Outline</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • China in the middle • China's approach to globalization • BRI: vision and practice 	
<p>【Questions】</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • What does Wang Jisi (2015) mean by "China in the middle"? • What are geopolitical implications of BRI? Do the BRI (and AIIB) initiatives represent an alternative vision for world order? • In the era of Globalization 3.0, is China willing and able to assume a world leadership by providing public goods through BRI and other initiatives? Why or why not? 	
<p>【Readings, Websites or Video Clips】</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Wang Jisi (王缉思). 2015. "China in the Middle," <i>The American Interest</i>, 10:4. Available at https://www.the-american-interest.com/2015/02/02/china-in-the-middle/. • Ye, Min (叶敏). 2015. "China and Competing Cooperation in Asia-Pacific: TPP, RCEP, and the New Silk Road," <i>Asian Security</i>, 11:3 	

<p>(September-December), pp. 206-224.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Lampton, David. 2020. "All (High-Speed Rail) Roads Lead to China," in Thomas Fingar and Jean C. Oi, eds., <i>Fateful Decisions: Choices That Will Shape China's Future</i> (Stanford University Press), pp. 287-311. 	
<p>【Assignments for this session (if any)】</p>	
Session 8: China's approach to multipolarity and multilateralism	Date: 7/12
<p>【Description of the Session】 (purpose, requirements, class and presentations scheduling, etc.)</p> <p><i>Outline</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • China's dialectics of multipolarity and multilateralism • China-led multilateralism • China's growing role in the international system and global governance 	
<p>【Questions】</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • How does China see the "liberal international system"? • What is a Chinese concept of power in world politics? • What kind of international order legitimate? 	
<p>【Readings, Websites or Video Clips】</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Kaplan, Robert D. 2010. "The Geography of Chinese Power: How Far Can Beijing Reach on Land and at Sea?" <i>Foreign Affairs</i>, 89:3 (May/June), pp. 22-41. • Ikenberry, John G. 2008. "The Rise of China and the Future of the West: Can the Liberal System Survive?" <i>Foreign Affairs</i>, 87:1 (January/February), pp.23-37. • Fung, Courtney J. 2019. <i>China and Intervention at the UN Security Council: Reconciling Status</i>. Oxford University Press. Pages TBA. 	
<p>【Assignments for this session (if any)】</p>	
Session 9: China-U.S. strategic competition	Date: 7/13
<p>【Description of the Session】 (purpose, requirements, class and presentations scheduling, etc.)</p> <p><i>Outline</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Structural constraints and strategic choices • Managing strategic competition • Mutual accommodations for peaceful coexistence 	

【Questions】

- What challenges and opportunities has a rising China brought to the United States and U.S.-led international order?
- Do you think a new cold war between China and the United States can be avoided? Why or why not?
- 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 do you expect U.S.-China relations will unfold in the next five years?

【Readings, Websites or Video Clips】

- WANG Jisi (王缉思). 2021. “The Plot Against China? How Beijing Sees the New Washington Consensus,” *Foreign Affairs*, July/August. Available at <https://www.foreignaffairs.com/articles/united-states/2021-06-22/plot-against-china>.
- Weiss, Jessica Chen. 2022 “The China Trap: U.S. Foreign Policy and the Perilous Logic of Zero-Sum Competition,” *Foreign Affairs*, 101:5 (September/October), pp. 40-84.
- Lee Hsien Loong (李显龙). 2020. “The Endangered Asian Century: America, China, and the Perils of Confrontation,” *Foreign Affairs*, 99:4 (July/August), pp. 52-64.

【Assignments for this session (if any)】

Session 10: The world ahead: global disorder vs. a community of shared future

Date: 7/14

【Description of the Session】 (purpose, requirements, class and presentations scheduling, etc.)

Outline

- Global challenges and the limits of nation-states
- The Post-Covid world: a divided or united world
- China in the world

【Questions】

- How will the Covid-19 pandemic change the world?
- What implications does this global crisis for China (or your country) and world order?
- What would be a realistic approach to building a community of shared future?

【Readings, Websites or Video Clips】

- Walt, Stephen M. 2020. “The Global Order After COVID-19,” Institute for Security Policy (ISP) Working Paper, Vienna.
- Walder, Andrew G. 2020. “China’s National Trajectory,” Thomas Fingar and Jean

C. Oi, eds., *Fateful Decisions: Choices That Will Shape China's Future*. Stanford University Press, pp. 335-357.

- Scobell, Andrew, Edmund J. Burke, Cortez A. Cooper III, Sale Lilly, Chad J. R. Ohlandt, Eric Warner, J.D. Williams. 2020. *China's Grand Strategy: Trends, Trajectories and Long-Term Competition*. Rand. Pages TBA.
- (Optional) Dalio, Ray. 2022. "The Changing World Order: Country Power Index."

【Assignments for this session (if any)】

A CV of 250-300 words and a high-resolution personal photo should also be provided



Prof. XU Xin 徐昕 (BA & MA in International Relations, Peking University; Ph.D. in Government, Cornell) is Executive Manager of Cornell University's Levenson China and Asia-Pacific Studies Program (CAPS) and Adjunct Professor in Cornell's Department of Government; he has also been Visiting Professor at Peking University Summer School International since 2013. He has taught or researched at Peking University, Ritsumeikan Asia Pacific University, Harvard University, and Princeton University. His research and teaching focus on Chinese foreign policy and East Asian international relations. His areas of interest include identity politics and the Taiwan issue, Chinese modernity, China's grand strategy, East Asian security politics, and Olympics and international relations. He has published articles and book chapters about various issues in these areas. His most recent writing, "One

China, Two Worlds: Taiwan and China's Quest for Identity and Security" is included in Peter J. Katzenstein's *Sinicization and The Rise of China* (Routledge, 2012). He is currently working on a book manuscript entitled *The Power of Identity: China and East Asian Security Politics in the Post-Cold War Era*.