



IR298 US-CHINA RELATIONS IN A CHANGING WORLD
IES Abroad Shanghai

DESCRIPTION:

This course offers an analysis of US-China relations in our current fast-changing world, consisting of four interrelated parts: the first (week 1) is an introduction to US-China relations. The second part (week 2-5) covers China-US interactions around the world, especially in the developing world and China's home region East Asia. The third part (week 6-11) features thematic topics on US-China relations, such as the US and China's nationalism, the US and the Taiwan issue, mutual perceptions between the US and China, and war on terror and China-US relations. In the end, we conclude with discussion about the future of China and the prospects of US-China relations.

We start our introduction to US-China relations on topics such as "Trump's China policy." These will be followed by an analysis on thematic topics on US-China relations.

The course encourages active discussions and debates in the classroom. The reading materials for the course include sources from analysts in the US and beyond.

CREDITS: 3 credits

CONTACT HOURS: 45 hours

LANGUAGE OF INSTRUCTION: English

INSTRUCTOR: Dr. Tiejun Zhang

PREREQUISITES: None

ADDITIONAL COST: None

METHOD OF PRESENTATION:

The course is to be conducted with a mixture of lectures, PowerPoint presentations and discussions, classroom debates, role plays, quizzes, and writing assignments.

REQUIRED WORK AND FORM OF ASSESSMENT:

- Participation - 10%
- Presentation - 20%
- Role Play - 10%
- Classroom Debates - 10%
- Quizzes - 5%
- Midterm Essay - 20%
- Final Essay - 25%

Participation

Since this is a discussion-based course, students' active participation in classroom activities is essential.

Approximately 60 pages of academic works are assigned every week, although this workload will be reduced during preparation for midterm and final exams. Since this course stresses the importance of your interpretation and analysis of the textual data, you will find beneficial to: 1) read the texts carefully; 2) underline the passages, sentences and words that you think are significant; 3) select several quotes that you believe are central to the works; 4) raise important ideas and/or questions in the seminar that have occurred during your reading.

A rubric on student participation is provided below:

A	Excellent Participation The student’s contributions reflect an active reading of the assigned bibliography. Skillfully synthesizes the main ideas of the readings and raises questions about the applications and implications of the material. Demonstrates, through questions and comments, that he or she has been capable of relating the main ideas in the readings to the other information discussed in the course, and with his or her own life experience. The student makes informed judgments about the readings and other ideas discussed in class, providing evidence and reasons. He/she respectfully states his/her reactions about other classmates’ opinions and can contribute to the inquiry spiral with other questions. The student gets fully involved in the completion of the class activities.
B	Very Good Participation The student’s contributions show that the assigned materials are usually read. Most of the time the main ideas are identified, even though sometimes it seems that applications and implications of the information read were not properly reflected upon. The student can construct over others’ contributions, but sometimes seems to interrupt the shared construction to go over tangents. He/she is respectful of others’ ideas. Regularly involved in the activities but occasionally loses concentration or energy.
C	Regular Participation The participant evidences a regular reading of the bibliography, but in a superficial way. He/she tries to construct over others’ ideas, but commonly provides comments that indicate lack of preparation about the material. Frequently, contributions are shallow or unarticulated with the discussion in hand.
F	Insufficient Participation Consistently, the participant reads in a shallow way or does not read at all. Does not participate in an informed way and shows lack of interest in constructing over others’ ideas.

Presentation

Each student is required to make one oral presentation.

Presentation consists of: 1) presentation summary handout (one page), including list of works consulted, to be distributed to the instructor and other students before the presentation takes place; 2) oral presentation of about 15 minutes, with questions to the audience in the end; and 3) comments from other students and the instructor, and response from the presenter.

The ABC criteria for being a good presentation: 1) your analytical skills shown in the presentation, referring to the logic and nuance of your arguments, as well as your ability to get others involved (an effective way of achieving so is presenting questions in the end of your presentation) (40%); 2) your build-up for the presentation, which can be seen from the data you carefully selected (they need to be significant and up-to-date) (40%); and c) the coherence of your presentation (20%)

Presentations could either be a review on the week’s reading or a self-selected topic relating to the week’s topic. Students should sign up for the presentation in the first two weeks of the course.

Role Play

Two role play exercises will be arranged in the course. The first is about a big Chinese state-owned company’s bidding for drilling rights in an African country, and the other is about the Six Party Talks on North Korean nuclear issues. Detailed description of the role plays is in the Weekly Schedule. The exercise takes about 40 minutes (10-15 minutes for your preparation and the rest for the role play itself).

Your performance in the role play is judged on the following factors: 1) Speech is clear with appropriate volume (20%); 2) Role is played in a convincing and consistent manner (20%); 3) Arguments and viewpoints expressed fit role played (20%); 4) Role-play is well prepared and organized (20%); 5) Role-play captures and maintains audience interest (20%).

You should sign up for role play within the first two weeks of the course.

Classroom Debates

Classroom debates are to be arranged in two camps of students, debating between each other. Three classroom debates are to be scheduled during the course. Topics and time for debates are listed in the Weekly Schedule below. One of the essential aims for this arrangement is to give every student the opportunity of engaging each other actively.

Classroom debates comprise: 1) every student should choose one of the two camps; 2) students in each camp should present their camp's ideas (in two minutes) in the beginning of the debate; 3) the two camps engage in debates with one another, and individual involvement in the debate is an essential requirement.

Quizzes

Four quizzes are administered in the course. Each quiz consists of three parts as follows: reading an article about 5 pages (10 minutes), oral Q & A focusing on the content of the article (10 minutes), and discussion (10 minutes). You will get the article in the beginning of each respective class. All the articles are chosen to reflect the latest development in US-China relations.

Midterm Essay

For the mid-term evaluation, each student is required to submit an essay of at least 1500 words. The topics of the essay could be chosen from the following three: 1) "Chinese engagement in Africa: implications for the US"; 2) "US responses to China's enhancing role in East Asia"; and 3) "US role in Territorial disputes in East Asia". After choosing the topic, you might need to narrow down the exact title of your essay (though it should be closely related to your chosen topic), for the reasons spelt out in the "Criteria for being a good essay" below.

Final Essay

Final essay should be at least 2000 words. The topics of the essay could be chosen from the following three: 1) "My view on China as an international player--seen from within Shanghai"; 2) "Taiwan issue and US-China relations"; and 3) "War on terror and US-China relations". After choosing the topic, you might need to narrow down the exact title of your essay (though it should be closely related to your chosen topic), for the reasons spelt out in the "Criteria for being a good essay" below.

Criteria for being a good essay: you need to keep in mind the following criteria. 1) Your analytical skills, referring to how deep your analysis can reach (normally we do not encourage students to write on a very broad topic, for that would under most circumstances sacrifice the depth of your analysis) (40%); 2) originality of your views (20%); 3) your application of data, which could include the course reader, online sources, and (for some topics) interviewing Chinese people and IES faculty, etc. (40%).

LEARNING OUTCOMES:

By the end of the course, students will be able to:

- Develop a critical understanding of US-China relations, and interaction between the two on global and regional levels and in different issue areas.
- Compare and contrast, on the one hand, between the Chinese (including the instructor's) and Western interpretations of US-China relations; on the other, between various Western analyses.
- Analyze critically how the differences in interpretations and perspectives might reflect comprehensively US-China relations.
- Present (both vocally and in written form) their views on those issues of US-China relations, by means of classroom activities (discussions, quizzes, and presentations), and written assignments.

ATTENDANCE:

Class attendance is mandatory. Students are expected to have completed each week's required reading assignments before the class. Participation in discussions is an essential part of the class. Attendance will be taken by the professor in the beginning of each class. Any unexcused absence will result in students' grade being lowered one half-grade (i.e. from a B+ to a B). Proper documentation **MUST** be provided for all absences.

CONTENT:

Week	Content	Assignments
<p>Week 1</p>	<p>Introduction to US-China relations</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Session one: Key words in US-China relations • Session two: Trump’s China policy • Session three: US-China competition--Is a new cold War coming? 	<p>Required readings:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Feigenbaum, Evan. "Not Since Nixon Has a U.S. President Faced Such a Tough China Challenge", pp 1-13 • Zhao Shuisheng. "Chinese foreign policy as a rising power to find its rightful place", pp. 101-128 • Kissinger, Henry. "The future of U.S.-Chinese relations: conflict is a choice, not a necessity", pp. 1-6 • Jacobson, Linda. "China's foreign policy dilemma", pp. 1-19
<p>Week 2</p>	<p>The US reaction to BRI and China’s engagement in the developing world</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Session one: Belt and Road initiative (BRI) and China’s comprehensive engagement in the developing world • Session two: China’s engagement in Africa • Session three: three agents influencing China’s engagement in Africa • Session four: US responses to the BRI and China’s active engagement in the developing world 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <u>Quiz 1</u>: article to be selected before class begins <p>Required readings:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Alden, 8-36 • Standard Chartered 1-7 • Brautigam 203-222 • Economy 1-8 • Tugendhat 1-5 • Wissenbach 1-4

Week	Content	Assignments
Week 3	<p>The Strengthening presence of the US in East Asia and regional countries' responses</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Session one: An article analysis--"The Mistakes of American Strategic Pivot to Asia" (Zheng Yongnian) • Session two: The strengthening US presence in East Asia--from Obama to Trump • Session three: Regional countries' responses to the strengthening US presence 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <u>Role play 1</u>: "CNPC's bid for the drilling right in an Angolan oil field" In this exercise, there will be 6 roles to play, i.e. chief negotiator for China National Petroleum Corporation (CNPC, the largest state-owned oil company in China), a Chinese gov. representative, chief negotiator for Exxon Corporation (biggest American oil company that is competing with CNPC in the bid), a U.S. gov. representative, a representative from the Angolan government that owns the oil field, and a representative from an environmental NGO in Angola, which concerns much about the environmental effects of the possible investment. <p>Required readings:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Ratner, <u>Rising China and the U.S. rebalancing to Southeast Asia</u>, pp.1-4 • Shambaugh, <u>Assessing the US 'pivot' to Asia</u>, pp. 10-19 • Ratner, <u>Rebalancing to Asia with an insecure China</u>, pp. 21-38 • Zhu, <u>US rebalance in the Asia-Pacific: China's response and the future regional order</u>, pp. 1-25
Week 4	<p>China's enhancing role in East Asia and the US responses</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Session one: theoretical approaches to East Asian regionalization • Session two: China's promotion of East Asian cooperation • Session three: Asia's China vs. China's Asia--prospects of East Asian regionalization • Session four: US responses to China's enhancing role in East Asia 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <u>Classroom debate 1</u>: Is China's engagement in the developing world a zero-sum game for the West? • Explanation on the term of zero-sum game: zero-sum game refers to a situation in which one party's gain causes directly the other party's lost. In the real world though, there is no 100% zero-sum or non-zero-sum. So, what we debate about in the activity should be on whether the conflicting aspect outweighs the cooperative aspect <p>Required readings:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Sutter, <u>China's Rise, Southeast Asia, and the United States: is a China-Centered order marginalizing the United States</u>, pp. 91-106 • Barfield, <u>The United States and East Asian regionalism—competing paths to integration</u>, pp. 157-178

Week	Content	Assignments
Week 5	Territorial disputes in East Asia and the US reaction <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Session one: the Crimea effect-- implications for China's territorial policies • Session two: South China Sea disputes— significance of South China Sea for China and current disputes • Session three: Diaoyu/Senkaku Islands disputes—symbolism and real interests • Session four: U.S. roles in the two disputes 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <u>Quiz 2</u>: article to be selected before class begin <p>Required readings:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Valencia, <u>The South China Sea disputes— recent developments</u>, pp. 1-26 • Bader, <u>Keeping the South China Sea in Perspective</u>, pp. 1-12 • Swaine, <u>Chinese views regarding the Senkaku/Diaoyu Islands Disputes</u>, pp. 1-27
Week 6	The US and China’s nationalism <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Session one: Construction of China's national identity • Session two: China’s nationalism in the post-Cold War era • Session three: The US and China’s nationalism 	<p>Required readings:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Callahan, <u>National insecurities: Humiliation, Salvation, and Chinese Nationalism</u>, pp. 199-218 <p><u>Deadline</u>: Mid-term essay to be e-mailed to the instructor</p>
Week 7	The US factors in Sino-Indian and Sino-Japanese relationships <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Session one: An article analysis--"The upcoming Sino-US new Cold War" (Zheng Yongnian) • Session two: Differences between Sino-Indian and Sino-Japanese relationships • Session three: China and Japan--competition for regional dominance • Session four: China and India--competition and cooperation between the two emerging powers • Session five: US factors in Sino-Indian and Sino-Japanese relationships 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <u>Quiz 3</u>: article to be selected before the class begins <p>Required readings:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Pant, <u>The Pakistan thorn in China-India-US relations</u>, pp. 83-95 • Vargo, <u>Mending Sino-Japanese relations</u>, pp. 1-2 • Godement, <u>Shockwaves from the China/Japan island dispute</u>, pp. 1-11 • Godement, <u>China and India: rivals always, partners sometimes</u>, pp. 1-12 <p><u>Field trip</u> (1-4 PM, Friday): Shanghai Jewish Museum (the museum is for the history of Jewish refugees from Europe to Shanghai during Nazi era, a sign highly valued by Israel even now for the Chinese-Jewish friendship)</p>

Week	Content	Assignments
Week 8	<p>The US factors in China-Russia and China-EU relationships</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Session one: China and the European Union--with strategic partnership • Session two: China and Russia--friends of convenience? • Session three: the US factors in the two relationships 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <u>Classroom debate 2: Is the world already multipolar? Who gain and who lose?</u> Explanation on the term of multipolar world: the multipolar world is a structure where at least three countries (or groups of countries like the highly integrated EU) have similar strength and influences in areas as follows, military might, political influences, economic strength and influences, and cultural and social attractiveness (or normally termed in IR theory as soft power) <p>Required readings:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Geeraerts, <u>China, the EU, and the new multipolarity</u>, pp. 57-67 • Wacker, <u>Recent EU-China relations and Obama's 'pivot' towards Asia</u>, pp. 1-10 • Trenin, <u>True partners? How Russia and China see each other</u>, pp. 1-29 • Cheng, <u>How Washington should manage US-Russia-China relations</u>, pp. 1-13
Week 9	<p>US and China: mutual perception and soft power</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Session one: examining an online survey (Chinese people view the U.S.) • Session two: China and the USA--the mutual perception • Session two: Soft power of China--gains and deficits 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <u>Quiz 4:</u> article to be selected before class begins <p>Required readings:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Nathan, <u>How China sees America: the sum of Beijing fears</u>, pp. 32-47 • Liss, <u>Images of China in the American Print Media: A Survey from 2000 to 2002</u>, pp. 299-318 • Kurlantzick, <u>A Charm Strategy</u>, pp. 37-60
Week 10	<p>The Taiwan issue and US-China relations</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Session one: Cross-strait relations--economics, politics and identity • Session two: geopolitics of the Taiwan issue • Session three: Chinese perceptions on the US Taiwan policy • Session four: future of the Taiwan issue and US-China relations 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <u>Debate 3:</u> Should the US contain China or not? • Explanation on the concept of containment: containment is the action or policy of keeping another country's power or area of control within acceptable limits or boundaries • Romberg, <u>Cross-strait relations: portrayals of consistency, calm on the surface, padding like hell underneath</u>, pp. 1-26 • Bush, <u>The challenges of a nuclear North Korea: dark clouds, only a silver lining</u>, pp. 1-25

Week	Content	Assignments
Week 11	<p>War on terror and US-China relations</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Session one: Different approaches to the war on terror • Session two: American war on terror and US-China relations • Session three: China's war on terror 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Role play 2: Six-Party Talk on South China Sea disputes. The six parties are: China (claiming the ownership to almost all the islands in South China Sea), the Philippines (as one of the two main disputants against China, it claims the ownership of the Spratly Islands), Vietnam (as one of the two main disputants against China, it claims the ownership of the Parcel and Spratly Islands), the United States (having no territorial claim over South China Sea but concerning seriously about the impacts of Chinese activities over South China Sea on the sea lane communication), Japan (having no territorial claim over South China Sea but firmly opposing China's recent moves over South China Sea, for Japan sees South China Sea as part of its life line of overseas transportation), and Singapore (having no claim over South China Sea but worrying much about the consequences of China's moves over South China Sea, and seeking actively a stronger presence of the USA in East Asia in general and over South China Sea in particular) <p>Required readings:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Garrett, <u>US-China relations in the era of globalization and Terror: a framework for analysis</u>, pp. 389-415 • Zhao, <u>China and Afghanistan: China's interests, stances, and perspectives</u>, pp. 1-32 • Small, <u>Afghanistan: the views from China</u>, pp. 1-2 • Sun, <u>Syria: What China has learned from its Libya experience</u>, pp. 1-2
Week 12	<p>Future of China and US-China relations</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Session one: International discourse on the "long peace" of East Asia • Session two: Future of China--the next hegemon or a fragile superpower? • Session three: Future of US-China relations 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <u>Deadline</u>: final essay to be e-mailed to the instructor <p>Required readings:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Layne, <u>China's challenge to US hegemony</u>, pp. 13-18

REQUIRED READINGS:

- Acharya, Amitav, "Theoretical perspectives on international relations in Asia", *Draft Paper for the Conference on International Relations in Asia*, George Washington University, 27-29 September 2007, 1-21
- Bader, Jeffrey, et al, "Keeping the South China Sea in Perspective", *The Foreign Policy Brief*, Brookings Institution, Aug. 2014

- Barfield, Claude, "The United States and East Asian regionalism—competing paths to integration", *International Journal of Korean Studies*, Vol. XVI, No. 2, 157-178
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- Bush, Richard, "The challenges of a nuclear North Korea: dark clouds, only a silver lining", *Policy Paper*, No. 23, Sep. 2010, Brookings Institution, 1-25
- Callahan, Williams, "National insecurities: Humiliation, Salvation, and Chinese Nationalism", *Alternatives* 29 (2004), 199-218
- Campbell, Horace, "China in Africa—Challenging US global hegemony", *Third World Quarterly*, Vol. 29, No. 1, 2008, 89-105
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- Geeraerts, Gustaaf, "China, the EU, and the new multipolarity", *European Review*, Vol. 19, No. 1, 2011, 57-67
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- Godement, Francois, et, al, "Shockwaves from the China/Japan island dispute", *China Analysis*, Asia Centre, Paris, Feb. 2013, 1-11
- Henderson, Jeffrey, "China and the future of the developing world", *Research Paper* No. 2008/58, UNU-WIDER, 1-23
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- Jacobson, Linda. "China's foreign policy dilemma". Analysis. Lowy Institute: Sydney. February 2013. Pp. 1-19
- Kaeding, Malte, "Identity formation in Taiwan and Hong Kong—How much difference, how many similarities?" in Gunter Schubert et, al (eds), *Taiwanese identity in the 21st century: domestic, regional and global perspectives*, Routledge, London, 2011, 258-279
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- Kissinger, Henry. "The future of U.S.-Chinese relations: conflict is a choice, not a necessity". *Foreign Affairs*. March/April 2012. Pp. 1-6
- Kurlantzick, Joshua, "A Charm Strategy", in Joshua Kurlantzick, *Charm Offensive: How China's Soft Power is Transforming the World*, Yale University Press, New Haven, 2007, 37-60
- Layne, Christopher, "China's challenge to US hegemony", *Current History*, Jan. 2008, 13-18
- Lee, Ji-Young, "Historicizing China's rise and international relations of East Asia", *EAI Fellows Program Working Paper Series* No. 47, December 2014, 1-20
- Liss, Alexander, "Images of China in the American Print Media: A Survey from 2000 to 2002". *Journal of Contemporary China* 12 (2003): 299-318
- Nathan, Andrew, et, al, "How China sees America: the sum of Beijing fears", *Foreign Affairs*, Vol. 91, No. 5, Sep/Oct. 2012, 33-47
- Pant, Harsh, "The Pakistan thorn in China-India-US relations", *The Washington Quarterly*, Winter 2012, 35:1, 83-95
- Ratner, Ely, "Rebalancing to Asia with an insecure China", *The Washington Quarterly*, 36:2, Spring 2013, 21-38
- Ratner, Ely, "Rising China and the U.S. rebalancing to Southeast Asia", *Testimony before the US-China Economic and Security Review Commission*, March 13, 2014, 1-4
- Romberg, Alan, "Cross-strait relations: portrayals of consistency, calm on the surface, padding like hell underneath", *China Leadership Monitor*, Fall 2014: Issue 45, 1-26
- Sahashi, Ryo, "Contest without management: Gridlock of Japan-China relations", *8th Berlin Conference on Asian Security* (BCAS), Berlin, June 22-24, 2014, 1-15
- Shambaugh, David, "China engages Asia—reshaping the regional order", *International Security*, Vol. 29, No. 3 (Winter 2004/05), 64-99
- Shambaugh, David, "Assessing the US 'pivot' to Asia", *Strategic Studies Quarterly*, Vol. 7, No. 2, Summer 2013, 10-19
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- Yamada, Yasuhiro, “International relations of East Asia in transition, and ASEAN, China, the United States and Japan”, *Discussion Papers in Contemporary China Studies*, No. 2009-3, 1-12
- Yamashita, Yeong-ae, “Nationalism and gender in comfort women issue”, *Kyoto Bulletin of Islamic Area Studies*, 3-1 (July 2009), 208-219
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- Zhao, Shuisheng. “Chinese foreign policy as a rising power to find its rightful place”. *Perceptions*. Vol. XVIII (No.1), 2013. Pp. 101-128
- Zhu, Feng, “US rebalance in the Asia-Pacific: China’s response and the future regional order”, *Discussion Paper No. 12*, 2012, Center for Strategic Studies, 1-15

INSTRUCTOR BIOGRAPHY:

Professor Zhang Tiejun received his Ph.D. (2004), Licentiate Degree (1996) and MSS (1995) in the Department of Peace and Development Research at Göteborg University in Sweden, where he completed his dissertation on Chinese security strategy in the early 21st century. Dr. Zhang is director of Shanghai Sinovision Center for Cultural Exchanges, and previously (2004—2009) head of the Department of European Studies at the Shanghai Institute for International Studies (SIIS), a premier domestic policy institute influential in advising the national government on international policy. In addition to his academic career, Dr. Zhang has a private consulting company of his own, on overseas investment risk assessment.

Dr. Zhang is an associate researcher at the Institute of Security and Development Policy in Stockholm, Sweden, and at the China Program of Torino University in Italy. He serves as a member of the Advisory Board for the Asia-Europe Network of Peace and Conflict Studies, an institution under the Asia-Europe Meeting (ASEM), based in Copenhagen, Denmark.

Dr. Zhang has worked as a visiting scholar and researcher at Policy Research and Planning Division of Finnish Foreign Ministry (2007—2008), Silk Road Program of Conflict Studies at Uppsala University in Sweden (2006), the German Institute of International and Security Studies in Berlin (2005); the Department of Security and Strategic Studies at the National University of Malaysia (2001), where he researched the ASEAN approach to Asia-Pacific security cooperation with funding from the Ford Foundation; and at the World Institute for Development Economics Research (WIDER) of United Nations University in Helsinki, Finland.

Dr. Zhang is well published in Chinese and English, including three books (one in Chinese and two in English), a number of book chapters and articles in international journals, such as the *Stockholm Journal of East Asian Studies*, and *Comparative Strategy*. His research interests include Chinese foreign and security policies, East Asian regionalism, Sino-U.S., Sino-European and Sino-African relations.