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# NEWSLETTER

*of the Association of Chinese Political Studies*

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## Editor's Note

United States-China relations were in a fragile state in late 2019. Talk about “decoupling”, which had seemed farfetched not so long ago, had become credible as Washington and Beijing squared off on economic and security issues such as tariffs and technology theft. In the economic sphere, a trade war raged, contributing to a 15.5 percent decline in U.S. exports to China in the first nine months of 2019 and a 13.5 percent drop in Chinese imports compared with the same period a year earlier, according to CNBC, and setting the stage for a generally sour environment in which two-way direct investment and venture capital flows between the United States and China in the first half of 2019 declined to the lowest six-month level in five years, according to Rhodium Group and the National Committee on U.S.-China Relations. In the security realm, tensions also existed, with Beijing still irked by the U.S.'s deployment of its Terminal High Altitude Area Defense system in South Korea and the United States concerned about Beijing's vast sovereignty claims in the South China Sea and its insistence on the legitimacy of carrying out “freedom of navigation” activities in what it saw as international waters. Other security issues played out in the United States and China

themselves in the form of “visa wars” which likely contributed to a 2 percent year-to-year decline in students from China in the United States from March 2018 to March of this year as revealed by data from U.S. Immigration and Customs Enforcement, and the closure of many Confucius Institutes on the campuses of U.S. colleges or universities, some of which had to choose between U.S. government money and funding from China in an environment in which “things Chinese” had become suspect.

Underlying many of these developments was a much harder line by the Trump administration towards China, which caught Beijing off guard. Among the headlines of University World News which told the story were: “FBI chief warns universities to guard against China threat,” “Hundreds of Chinese scholars face U.S. visa restrictions,” “White House discussed unilateral ban on Chinese students,” and “When trade war spills over into academic cooperation.” In such an environment, it is understandable that the Hoover Institution Press would publish a report entitled *Chinese Influence & American Interests: Promoting Constructive Vigilance* whose most memorable part for this author is the dissenting opinion by former U.S. government official and University of California, San Diego professor Susan Shirk who says that while she accepts the facts of particular sections of the report, she believes the overall assessment of the threat from China is “inflated.” As Shirk writes, “Especially during this moment in American political history, overstating the threat of subversion from China risks causing overreactions reminiscent of the Cold War with the Soviet Union, including an anti-Chinese version of the Red Scare that would put all ethnic Chinese under a cloud of suspicion. Right now, I believe the harm we could cause our society by our own overreactions actually is greater than that caused by Chinese influence seeking.”

Against this background, the Association of Chinese Political Studies forged ahead with activities and events. The main event of 2019 has been the ACPS's annual meeting and international symposium held in Hangzhou,

## Editor's Note Continued

China with the support of Zhejiang University. One of the highlights of this very successful and highly interesting conference was a talk by Nanjing University Professor Feng Zhu who painted a sober picture of China-U.S. relations and poignantly recounted his involvement in the “visa wars” which was also reported by *The New York Times*. Other major achievements of the association – or its individual members – were the publication of edited volumes that consist of mostly papers presented at the ACPS annual conference at Nankai University in 2017 and a long list of books, book chapters, journal articles and policy pieces. So far from the U.S.-China trade tension thwarting scholarship, it did, in one sense, facilitate it by providing a bevy of topics to write about on matters such as trade conflict and the “Thucydides trap”, the latter of which was the topic of a special issue in *Journal of Chinese Political Science* in March 2019. In a more profound sense, however, the new wave of mutual suspicion between the United States and China – which has had its equivalent in some other democratic countries such as Australia where one of its think tanks produced a report entitled *Picking flowers, making honey: The Chinese military's collaboration with foreign universities* – has had a chilling effect on scholarship, sometimes for very mundane reasons. Among the facts in the Hoover Institution report worth noting are those related to difficulties that some American scholars have had in getting visas to travel to China, which is known to be very prickly on issues such as Taiwan, Tibet and Tiananmen – not to mention Xinjiang.

The multi-billion dollar question now is whether the United States and China will be able to stop their downward spiral in relations. There were indications in late 2019 that the two countries might be able to reach a “phase one” trade deal, but that was not assured and even if they were it seemed likely that conflict could exist for decades ahead as China has become a “peer competitor” with the United States and the two countries have very different economic and political systems. Much will depend on the goodwill of people like the multinational members of ACPS, who we start to profile in this newsletter. It is hoped that many members of the association will be profiled in the years ahead.

James F. Paradise

## Report on the 32<sup>nd</sup> Association of Chinese Political Studies Annual Meeting and International Symposium

The 32<sup>nd</sup> Association of Chinese Political Studies Annual Meeting and International Symposium was held in Hangzhou, China from June 22-23, 2019. Hosted by School of Public Affairs, Zhejiang University, The Association of Chinese Political Studies and *Journal of Chinese Governance*, the conference was organized around the theme “Visions of China's Future Governance: An International Perspective.” Panels were divided into two groups: domestic politics and international relations. On the domestic politics side, panels included “Government Performance and Political Trust”; “Governance in Land Administration and Urbanization in China”; “Reconceptualizing State-Bureaucracy Relations in China”; “Governance Innovation”; “State-society Relations and Responsive Governance”; “Managing the Military and State Cadres”; and “Participatory Governance.” On the international relations side, panels included “China's Response to Nontraditional Security Dilemmas”; “China's Global Strategies”; “Foreign Aid and Investment”; “China's Geo-economic Strategy”; “New Trends in China's Global Governance”; “Global Influence and Domestic Governance in China”; and “Understanding the Belt and Road Initiative.” Opening remarks were made by Jessica Teets, ACPS President, and Sujian Guo, co-editor of *Journal of Chinese Governance*.



Left to right: Youxing Lang, Jessica Teets, Sujian Guo, Jianxing Yu

Talks were given by Feng Zhu, Executive Director, China Center for Collaborative Studies of the South China Sea, and Director and Professor, Institute of International Studies of Nanjing University, and Jianxing Yu of Zhejiang University. Zhu painted a bleak picture of United States-China relations, noting that they had “fundamentally changed,” that the “moment has never been more controversial” and that China’s belief in co-dependency



*Feng Zhu*

with the United States was a “fantasy.” Part of the blame he attributed to the United States for its desire to force structural change in China – a state capitalist country. He also noted that China was over-confident and less prepared to deal with “changes in the international environment and American policy in particular.” Among the options he mentioned for China – an “unfinished transitional power” – were “getting back to 1978” and reversing the “current negative trajectory.”

The conference closed with an ACPS Business Meeting whose topics included growth, professionalization and institutionalization of ACPS; publisher matters concerning the *Journal of Chinese Political Science*; networking, future research, and collaboration; and new membership recruitment. Participants in the conference came from universities in China, the United States, Canada, Austria, Germany, Hong Kong, and South Korea.



*Participants in the annual meeting and international symposium*





*Left to Right: Huisheng Shou, Wei Liang, Sheng Ding*



*Clockwise: Yongdong Shen, Ciqi Mei, Xiang Gao, Kent Freeze, Yue Hu, Chengqiu Wu*



*Left to Right: Jessica Teets, Ka Zeng and Xi Chen*



*Clockwise: Liwen Zhang, Dennis Hickey, Jun Xiang, Elizabeth Wishnick, Gregory J. Moore and Jing Chen*



*Left to Right: Gregory J. Moore, Denise van der Kamp and Steven J. Balla*



*Clockwise: Gaye Christoffersen, Dongmin Lee, Josef Gregory Mahoney and Yumin Sheng.*



*A well-attended panel session*

### **ACPS Panel at American Political Science Association Annual Meeting, Washington, D.C.**

Frontiers in China's Foreign Policy: UN PKOs, the Arctic, and the Middle East  
August 30, 2019

#### Session Description

China's economic rise has been accompanied by the appearance of new behaviors in its foreign policy. For instance, China has increased its personnel contributions to UN peacekeeping operations, intensified its engagement with the Arctic, and has become more confident in its outreach to the Middle East. Do these new behaviors indicate that China has become a great power? What factors motivate China's new behaviors in its foreign policy? Scholars have not reached consensus on these questions. Four papers in this panel engage these debates and provide different perspectives to answer the above questions depending on their area of focus. Min Ye and Quan Li's paper compares China's peacekeeping personnel contributions with that of other 21 major countries and argues that China behaves in a manner more similar to that of the middle powers rather than that of the established great powers. In their view, as far as the UN PKO policy is concerned, China is not yet a great power. Jing Chen's paper similarly points out that seeking great power status cannot sufficiently explain the increase in China's personnel contributions to the UN peacekeeping. Other factors play a significant role in motivating China's new policy towards UN peacekeeping --such as the promotion by Kofi Annan and ICISS of the discourse of Responsibility to Protect, which echoes China's discourse on being a responsible power. By contrast, Fuzuo Wu's paper focuses on China's engagement with the Arctic and argues that China has emulated the established major polar powers such as the US and Russia in its policy towards the Arctic, seeking a higher status and aspiring to be recognized as a responsible major country in global governance. Xi Chen's paper turns to China's more confident outreach to the Middle East during the Xi Jinping administration and aims at exploring the driving forces behind China's policy change towards the Middle East. In sum, papers in this panel will help advance our understanding of the new behaviors in China's foreign policy.

Chair: Yi Edward Yang, James Madison University  
Discussant: Cathy Xuanxuan Wu, Old Dominion University

#### Papers:

Is China Indeed a Great Power? Evidence from China's Participation in UN PKOs (Min Ye, Coastal Carolina University; Quan Li, Wuhan University)

China, UN Peacekeeping, and Responsibility to Protect: 1990-2015 (Jing Chen, Hartwick College)

China's Engagement with the Arctic: Seeking Status (Fuzuo Wu, Independent Researcher)

China's Middle East Policy under Xi Jinping (Xi Chen, University of Texas, Rio Grande Valley)

### **Upcoming ACPS Events**

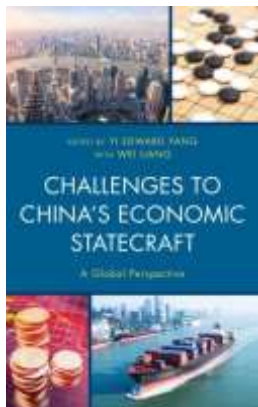
1.) ACPS's next annual meeting and international symposium will be held September 19-20, 2020 at Middlebury's Bread Loaf campus in Vermont. This conference will focus on mentoring, as did the 2019 Zhejiang University one, but will also have sessions to discuss new methodologies in Chinese politics and publishing with a panel of editors. A call for papers will go out in January.



*Middlebury's Bread Loaf campus*

2.) ACPS will also be sponsoring the mini-conference on Chinese Politics at the 2020 APSA annual conference, and members are encouraged to apply. The conference is open to papers solely focused on China's domestic politics or international relations, as well as those involving comparisons with other cases. If you would like to submit a proposal for the conference, please do so by sending an email with your paper title and abstract attached to 2020\_AP.u15z9nnwpponkb1t@u.box.com by December 6 (midnight EST).

## ACPS 2017 Annual Conference-Related Publications



*Challenges to China's Economic Statecraft  
A Global Perspective*

EDITED BY YI EDWARD YANG - WITH WEI LIANG - CONTRIBUTIONS BY LAURA BUNTING; JAMES F. PARADISE; CHARLES BURTON; STEPHEN NOAKES; PIPPA MORGAN; JONATHAN FULTON; BAS HOOIJMAAIJERS; BIAO ZHANG; SOW KEAT TOK; MARCIA DON HARPAZ; MIN YE AND QUAN LI

Fueled by its surging economic strength, China has been increasingly utilizing economic tools such as trade, foreign aid, foreign direct investment, and sanctions to pursue strategic and security interests on the world stage. This approach, known as economic statecraft, has thus far received mixed policy results and ambivalent reactions from the international community. This book presents a collection of global assessments of China's economic statecraft. The contributors to this volume answer three key questions: What are the challenges faced by China's economic statecraft? Why is China sometimes able to achieve its foreign policy objectives via economic statecraft and sometimes not? How do foreign countries, particularly the targets of China's economic statecraft, respond to China's strategies? This comprehensive study examines economic statecraft in the context of more than a dozen nations and international organizations across four continents, thus providing a truly global perspective.



*Governance Innovation and Policy Change  
Recalibrations of Chinese Politics under Xi Jinping*

EDITED BY NELE NOESSELT - CONTRIBUTIONS BY BAOGANG GUO; SUJIAN GUO; KENT FREEZE; WEI-CHIN LEE; NELE NOESSELT; ELIZAVETA PRIUPOLINA; JON TAYLOR; YAN JIAN; FAN YANG; XUEDONG YANG AND ZHIYUAN ZHANG

This edited volume assesses governance innovation and institutional change under the fifth generation of China's political leaders headed by Xi Jinping. The configuration of long-term policy innovation without regime change requires skilled political actors who secure strategic majorities and set up coalitions to design and launch new policies. Recalibrations or reconfigurations of the governance model respond to domestic reform pressures or external shocks in order to secure regime survival. Given that most structural constraints and reform pressures do not arise out of a sudden occurrence, the thrilling question is why the political elites sometimes decide not to engage in institutional reforms despite widespread societal support for major restructuring and why they suddenly launch institutional changes in times of relative stability. The authors address these issues by focusing on basic patterns and paradigms of governance and institutional change in China, the actors and drivers of governance innovation, as well as the impact of norms, values, and socio-cognitive orientations. This is added by some reflections on the interplay between abstract ideas, reform debates, and the making of concrete decisions as outlined by the Third Plenum on (socio-)economic reforms in 2013 and the Fourth Plenum on rule-based governance (fazhi) in 2014.



## Highlights of Member's Scholarly Publications

### Books:

Copper, John Franklin. 2019. *Donald J. Trump and China*. Lanham, MD: Hamilton Press.

Copper, John Franklin. *Taiwan: Nation-State or Province?* 7<sup>th</sup> edition. New York: Routledge.

Hsiung, James C. 2018. *The South China Sea Disputes and the U.S.-China Contest : International Law and Geopolitics*. Singapore and London: World Scientific.



Lee, Wei-chin, ed. 2019. *Taiwan's Political Re-Alignment and Diplomatic Challenges*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan.

Moore, Gregory J. 2020. *Niebuhrian International Relations: The Ethics of Foreign Policymaking*. New York: Oxford University Press. (Forthcoming)

Sun, Feng and Wanfa Zhang. 2019. *Why Communist China Isn't Collapsing--The CCP's Battle for Survival and State-Society Dynamics in the Post-Reform Era*. Lanham, MD: Lexington Books.

Zhu, Zhiqun. 2019. *A Critical Decade: China's Foreign Policy (2008-2018)*. Singapore: World Scientific Publishing Co.

### Book Chapters or Contributions:

Copper, John Franklin. "Cross-Strait Relations in the Wake of Taiwan's January 2016 Elections: Taiwan's Narratives." In *Chineseness and Modernity: Essays in Honor of Professor Wang Gungwu*, edited by Zheng Yongnian and Zhao Litao. Singapore: World Scientific, 2019.

Copper, John Franklin. "Taiwan: Self-Governing Island, Asia." In *Encyclopedia Britannica*, February 17, 2019. (updated)

Hickey, Dennis V. "The Trajectory of Taiwan-US Relations." In *Taiwan: The Development of an Asian Tiger*, edited by Hans Stockton and Yao-Yuen Yeh. Denver: Lynne Rienner Publishers, 2020.

Lee, Wei-chin. "The Acrobatic Justice on the Marching Order: China's Fourth Judicial Reform in Perspective." In *Governance Innovation and Policy Change: Re-Calibrations of Chinese Politics under Xi Jinping*, edited by Nele Noesselt. Lanham, MD: Lexington Books, 2018.

Lee, Wei-chin. "The Dynamics of the Cross-Strait Relations." In *Taiwan: The Development of an Asian Tiger*, edited by Hans Stockton and Yao-Yuan Yeh. Lynne Rienner Publishers, 2019.

Ratigan, Kerry and Jessica C. Teets. "The Unfulfilled Promise of Collaborative Governance: The Case of Low-Income Housing in Jiangsu." In *The Palgrave Handbook of Local Governance in Contemporary China*, edited by Yu J. and S. Guo. Palgrave Macmillan, 2019.



**Journal Articles:**

Hasmath, Reza, Jessica C. Teets, and Orion Lewis. "The Innovative Personality? Policymaking and Experimentation in an Authoritarian Bureaucracy." *Public Administration and Development* (2019).

Miura, Kacie and Jessica Chen Weiss. "Campaign Rhetoric and Chinese Reactions to New Leaders." *Asian Security* (2019).

Weiss, Jessica Chen and Allan Dafoe. "Authoritarian Audiences, Rhetoric, and Propaganda in International Crises: Evidence from China." *International Studies Quarterly* (2019).

Weiss, Jessica Chen. "How Hawkish Is the Chinese Public? Another Look at 'Rising Nationalism' and Chinese Foreign Policy." *Journal of Contemporary China* 28: 119 (2019), 679-695.

Weiss, Jessica Chen. "A World Safe for Autocracy? China's Rise and the Future of World Politics." *Foreign Affairs*(July/August 2019).

**Policy Paper:**

Copper, John Franklin. "U.S.-Taiwan Relations as Warming: Significant or Not." EAI Background Brief. September 19, 2019

**Other Member Information**

Gregory J. Moore is a Fellow of the Foreign Policy Institute of the School of Advanced International Studies at Johns Hopkins University in Washington, D.C. from 2019-2020. He will return to University of Nottingham Ningbo China for the spring semester of next year after a one-semester sabbatical in which he was in residence at SAIS in fall 2019.

The Annual John Franklin Copper student award for excellence in courses on Asia in the Department of International Studies at Rhodes College was established in Professor Copper's name in 2019.

John Copper addressed the Taiwan Studies Association at Simon Frazer University in Vancouver on September 10, 2019 on the subject of Taiwan's coming national presidential/vice presidential and legislative election in January 2020. He also addressed a luncheon ceremony at Stanford University commemorating the opening of the Chiang Ching-kuo papers at the Hoover Institution Library on December 17, 2019.

Professor Baogang He has been elected fellow of the Academy of Social Sciences in Australia in 2019.



## Member Profiles

Dr. Mingjiang Li



Dr. Mingjiang Li is an Associate Professor at S. Rajaratnam School of International Studies (RSIS), Nanyang Technological University, Singapore. He is also the Coordinator of the China Program at RSIS. He received his Ph.D. in Political Science from Boston University. His main research interests include Chinese foreign policy, Chinese economic statecraft, the Belt and Road Initiative, Chinese politics, China-ASEAN relations, Sino-U.S. relations, and Asia-Pacific security. He is the author (including editor and co-editor) of 13 books. His recent books are *China's Economic Statecraft* (World Scientific, 2017) and *New Dynamics in US-China Relations: Contending for the Asia Pacific* (lead editor, Routledge, 2014). He has published papers in various peer-reviewed outlets including *International Affairs*, *Asian Perspective*, *Asian Security*, *Oxford Bibliographies*, *Journal of Asian Security and International Affairs*, *Journal of Strategic Studies*, *Global Governance*, *Cold War History*, *Journal of Contemporary China*, the *Chinese Journal of International Politics*, the *Chinese Journal of Political Science*, *China: An International Journal*, *China Security*, *Harvard Asia Quarterly*, *Security Challenges*, and the *International Spectator*.

Lina Liu



Lina Liu is a doctoral candidate at Swiss Federal Institute of Technology Zurich where she studies the impact of China's Belt and Road Initiative on world order. A native of Hebei Province, she has a Bachelor of Arts degree from Jilin University in International Politics and a Master's degree from Renmin University in Diplomacy. She is interested in European and China studies using event data, text mining and comparative qualitative analysis. One of her goals is to study artificial intelligence and big data as it relates to international relations.

**Comments, suggestions or contributions can be directed to James F. Paradise, Newsletter Editor, at [paradise@ucla.edu](mailto:paradise@ucla.edu) or Jessica C. Teets, ACPS President, at [jteets@middlebury.edu](mailto:jteets@middlebury.edu).**