

COURSE OUTLINES

EU-China Relations: Past, Present, Future
EURR 4201/5201 (4th year undergraduate and 5th year graduate course)

The course outline is provided here in generic form as a curricular resource. The course was offered in Fall 2024 with Prof. Crina Viju-Miljusevic as part of her activities for the Jean Monnet Chair in EU External Relations (Sept. 2022- August 2025), Carleton University, Ottawa.



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EU-CHINA RELATIONS: PAST, PRESENT, FUTURE DRAFT

EURR 4201B/EURR 5201B

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DESCRIPTION

The shifting balance of power, the increased assertiveness of China at global level, the Russian invasion of Ukraine and the responses of the EU to these dynamics are issues of high salience at the academic level, in Canada and internationally. The main objective of the course is to understand the types of actorness pursued by the EU and China at regional and world levels in the changing global environment as well as the evolution of their relationship.

Thus, among the most important goals of EURR 4201B/5201B are the following:

- a) To familiarize students with the history, importance, and evolution of EU-China relationship;
- b) To analyze the political, economic and security dimensions of the EU-China relationship;
- c) To investigate the role played by the EU member states on EU-China relationship;
- d) To explore and assess the external factors that impact the EU-China relationship: the US, Russia and developing world;
- e) To understand the types of actorness pursued by the two powers at regional and world levels.
- f) To grasp the significance of the EU-China relations in international politics

The course will be run seminar style. Students are expected to be active in class discussions. Completion of course readings, participation in class discussions, class presentations, participation in a simulation scenario and a course paper will be required.

REQUIREMENTS AND EVALUATION

Students will be assigned a grade for the course according to the following scheme:

Seminar Participation	20%	
Analytical paper & its presentation	15%	
Commentary on analytical paper	10%	
Research proposal & its presentation	15%	due Tuesday, Nov.12; presentation on Thursday, Nov. 14
Research paper	25%	due Thursday, December 12
Simulation scenario	15%	Thursday, Dec. 5

- ***Seminar participation:*** Regular weekly attendance is compulsory for this class. Unexcused absences will result in a significant reduction in the participation mark, which can have a marked impact on the course grade. Students will be graded on the basis of attendance, the quality of regular contributions to the class discussion, and, most importantly, demonstrated familiarity with required course readings.
- ***Analytical paper:*** The paper should address a specific question provided by the course instructor in advance (usually two weeks before the respective class). The length should be: 5-6 pages (double-spaced, 12-point font) for **graduate students**; 3-4 pages (double-spaced, 12-point font) for **undergraduate students**. The paper should contrast, critique and analyze selected readings, offering a concrete argument with respect to a question developed with the course instructor. Additional reading, beyond what is required for the week, may be required and specified by the instructor to enrich your discussion. The paper should **NOT** simply describe or reiterate the readings. The paper should be submitted to the Brightspace electronic drop-box and emailed to the student commentator by **10 a.m. on the Wednesday** before the class presentation.
- ***Presentation of analytical paper:*** All students will present their analytical paper to the class (dates will be assigned in the first meeting). In the presentation, each student should focus on the key arguments made within the written discussion paper, drawing on examples from the readings where appropriate. The student should be prepared to present the arguments verbally in a presentation of maximum 10 minutes. Students should **NOT** simply read the written paper.
- ***Commentary on analytical paper:*** Each student will also prepare an oral presentation commenting on another student's written analytical paper. Commentators will analyze the substantive arguments of the paper, offer constructive critiques, and set the stage for discussion by posing two questions. The commentator should refer to specific course readings. The commentary should be no longer than 10 minutes in length. If a discussion paper is not received or is received late, the commentator should be prepared to make comments on the question and reading(s) that were to be addressed in the paper.
- The ***research proposal*** is a maximum of 5- pages outline proposing a research topic related to the material covered in the course and should be submitted to the Brightspace drop-box by **4 p.m. on Tuesday November 12th**. The proposal will include a title, the research question, a rationale for the selected topic and an outline (1 page). Additionally, the proposal should include an annotated list of most important academic sources that will be used (min 5 academic sources) (4 pages). You should explain how you found each of the sources (google scholar, databases (such as web of science), ChatGPT etc.). Please see dates and penalties for details. Each student will present their proposed topic during the class on **November 14th**.
- **Term paper (due December 12 by 4PM on Brightspace):** The research paper should address a topic related to the material covered in class. The topic should be the one already proposed discussed and approved on November 12. The paper should be of analytical nature and, thus, explore a „why“ or „how“ question. Additional research materials are required for this paper,

including academic writings (articles, books, chapters) and, where appropriate, primary source documents (e.g., government documents). The paper will be evaluated on the basis of the quality of the research, the analysis, and the presentation. The paper should be handed in electronically through Brightspace drop-box. The paper will be no longer than 15 pages (font Times New Roman 12, double-spaced) for **graduate** students and 12 pages for **undergraduate** students (not including reference list), double-spaced and font Times New Roman 12.

- **Simulation scenario:** We will be holding a simulation on **Dec. 5** in the seminar session. This will involve a debate in the European Council, with students representing various EU Member States, about a topic related to China that we will decide on before the reading week.

Late Penalties and Failure to submit assignments:

- Any student who fails to hand in the analytical paper or the term essay will receive a failing mark in the course. Penalties for late assignments will be as follows:
 - Term essay: Two points (of a % scale) for each day late (including weekends). Papers will not be accepted more than one week after the due date without a valid (e.g., written medical) excuse.
 - Analytical paper: Late assignments will suffer an immediate deduction of 15% (on a 100% scale), and 3% for each day late.
- Students absent on a date of an oral presentation or commentary will receive a “0” unless a valid medical (or equivalent) excuse is provided. Advance notice should be provided to the instructor.
- Consistent attendance is expected in this weekly seminar; it is expected that students who must miss a class for any reason will contact the instructor in advance, if possible.

Course Readings:

The main course readings will be accessible through the Ares Course Reserves system (there is a link in Brightspace). In some cases, the library will only make items available on physical reserves to be consulted onsite in the library (they will be indicated as such in the Ares system).

Additional complementary readings may be posted on Brightspace.

Week 1, Sept. 5

Introduction to the course and organizational matters

Europe and China: the importance of history, ideas, and concepts

Discussion of course syllabus, readings and requirements

Division of class presentations

Week 2, Sept. 12

EU Institutions and EU Foreign Policy

Evolution of EU foreign policy

The role of member states in EU foreign policy

Institutional framework and EU external relations

The nature of EU foreign policy

- Keukeleire, S. and Delreux, T. (2022). *The Foreign Policy of the European Union* (Bloomsbury Academic, 3rd edition), chapters 3 (pp. 77-86; 91-116), 4.
- Müller, P., Pomorska, K. and Tonra, B. (2021). “The Domestic Challenge to EU Foreign Policy-Making: From Europeanisation to de-Europeanisation?” *Journal of European Integration*, Vol. 43(5), pp. 519-534.
- Background material: Politico, 12 June 2023: <https://www.politico.eu/article/eu-foreign-policy-ukraine-russia-war-its-time-for-more-majority-decision-making/>

Optional readings:

- Blavoukos, S. and Bourantonis, D. (eds.) (2011). *The EU Presence in International Organizations* (London: Routledge).
- Devuyst, Y. (2012). “The European Council and the CFSP after the Lisbon Treaty.” *European Foreign Affairs Review*, Vol. 17(3), pp. 327–350.
- Galariotis, I. and Gianniou, M. (2016). “The European External Action Service: Towards a More Coherent EU Foreign Policy?” *St Antony’s International Review*, Vol. 12(1), pp. 104-119.
- Howorth, J. (2014) *Security and Defence Policy in the European Union* (London: Palgrave, 2nd edition).
- Nugent, N. (2010) *The Government and Politics of the European Union* (London: Palgrave, 7th edition).
- Smith, M. (2004) *Europe’s Foreign and Security Policy: The Institutionalization of Cooperation* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press).

Week 3, Sept. 19

EU as a global actor

Type of EU actorness at global level

Various theoretical approaches

- Dijkstra, H. and Vanhoonacker, S. (2016). “The Common Foreign and Security Policy”. *Oxford Encyclopedia of Politics*. <https://doi.org/10.1093/acrefore/9780190228637.013.155>.
- Meunier, S. and Vachudova, M.A. (2018). “Liberal Intergovernmentalism, Illiberalism and the Potential Superpower of the European Union,” *Journal of Common Market Studies*, Vol. 56(7), pp. 1631-1647.
- Meijer, H. and Brooks, S. (2021). “Illusions of Autonomy: Why Europe Cannot Provide for Its Security If the United States Pulls Back, International Security,” Vol. 45(4), pp. 7-43.
- Costa, O. and Barbé, E. (2023). “A moving target. EU actorness and the Russian invasion of Ukraine.” *Journal of European Integration*, Vol. 45(3), pp. 431–446.
<https://doi.org/10.1080/07036337.2023.2183394>.
- McNamara, K. R. (2023). “Transforming Europe? The EU’s industrial policy and geopolitical turn.” *Journal of European Public Policy*, Vol. 31(9), pp. 2371–2396.
<https://doi.org/10.1080/13501763.2023.2230247>.

Optional readings:

- Manners, I. (2006). “Normative Power Europe Reconsidered.” *Journal of European Public Policy*, Vol. 13(2), pp. 182-199.
- Hyde-Price, A. (2006). “‘Normative’ Power Europe: A Realist Critique.” *Journal of European Public Policy*, Vol. 13(2), pp.217-234.

- Wagner, W. (2017). "Liberal Power Europe." *Journal of Common Market Studies*, Vol. 55(6), pp. 1398-1414.
- Helwig, N. and Sinkkonen, V. (2022). "Strategic Autonomy and the EU as a Global Actor: The Evolution, Debate and Theory of a Contested Term", *European Foreign Affairs Review*, Vol. 27(2), pp. 1-20.
- Damro, C. (2012). "Market Power Europe." *Journal of European Public Policy*, Vol. 19(5), pp. 682-699.
- Pollack, M.A. (2001). "International Relations Theory and European Integration." *Journal of Common Market Studies*, Vol. 39 (2), pp. 221-244.
- Moravcsik, A. (2005). "The European Constitutional Compromise and the Neofunctionalist Legacy." *Journal of European Public Policy*, Vol. 12(2), pp. 349-386.
- Webber, D. (2014). "How Likely Is It that the European Union will Disintegrate? A Critical Analysis of Competing Theoretical Perspectives." *European Journal of International Relations*, Vol. 20(2), pp. 341-365.
- Tocci, N. (2017). "From the European Security Strategy to the EU Global Strategy: explaining the journey." *International Politics*, pp. 487-502.
- Raik, K., Blockmans, S., Osypchuk, A., and Suslov, A. (2024). "EU Policy towards Ukraine: Entering Geopolitical Competition over European Order." *The International Spectator*, Vol. 59(1), pp. 39–58. <https://doi.org/10.1080/03932729.2023.2296576>.

Week 4, Sept. 26

Chinese Foreign Policy: History and Drivers

Evolution of Chinese foreign policy
Main foreign policy principles and priorities
China's domestic agenda and its foreign policy
Chinese foreign policy actors
Main drivers of Chinese foreign policy

- Jakobson, L. and Manuel, R. (2016). "How Are Foreign Policy Decisions Made in China?" *Asia & The Pacific Policy Studies*, Vol. 3(1), pp. 101-110.
- Cabestan, J.-P. (2021). "China's foreign and security policy institutions and decision-making under Xi Jinping." *The British Journal of Politics and International Relations*, Vol. 23(2), pp. 319-336. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1369148120974881>.
- Poh, A. and Li, M. (2017). "A China in Transition: The Rhetoric and Substance of Chinese Foreign Policy under Xi Jinping," *Asian Security*, Vol. 13(2), pp. 84-97.
- Yu, J. (2018). "The belt and road initiative: domestic interests, bureaucratic politics and the EU-China relations," *Asia Europe Journal*, Vol. 16, pp. 223-236.
- Nathan, A.J. and Zhang, B. (2022). "A Shared Future for Mankind': Rhetoric and Reality in Chinese Foreign Policy under Xi Jinping," *Journal of Contemporary China*, Vol. 31(133), pp. 57-71.

Optional readings:

- Jie, Y. and Ridout, L. (2021). "Who decides China's foreign policy? The role of central government, provincial-level authorities and state-owned enterprises." Briefing paper *Asia-Pacific Programme*. <https://www.chathamhouse.org/sites/default/files/2021-10/2021-11-01-who-decides-chinas-foreign-policy-jie-et-al.pdf.pdf>.

- Hameiri, S., Jones, L. and Heathershaw, J. (2019). "Reframing the rising powers debate: state transformation and foreign policy," *Third World Quarterly*, Vol. 40(8), pp. 1397-1403.
- Jones, L. and Zeng, J. (2019). "Understanding China's 'Belt and Road Initiative': beyond 'grand strategy' to a state transformation analysis," *Third World Quarterly*, Vol. 40(8), pp. 1415-1439.
- Greer, T. (2019). "Xi Jinping in Translation: China's Guiding Ideology," *Palladium*, May 31, 2019.

Week 5, Oct. 3

China as a global actor

Theoretical approaches

China's rise: a more assertive actor?

- Buzan, B. (2010). "China in International Society: Is 'Peaceful Rise' Possible?" *The Chinese Journal of International Politics*, Vol. 3(1), pp. 5–36.
- Liao, N.-C. C. (2015). "The Sources of China's Assertiveness: The System, Domestic Politics or Leadership Preferences?" *International Affairs*, Vol. 92, pp. 817-833.
- Graham, A. (2015). "The Thucydides Trap: Are the U.S. and China Headed for War?" *The Atlantic*, September 24, 2015,
<https://www.theatlantic.com/international/archive/2015/09/united-states-china-war-thucydides-trap/406756/>.
- Kavalski, E. (2013). "The struggle for recognition of normative powers: Normative power Europe and normative power China in context," *Cooperation and Conflict*, Vol. 48(2), pp. 247–267.
- Perez, M. F. (2024). "Farewell to revolution: the 'Chinese School of IR' and the depoliticisation of IR theory in post-Mao China." *International Politics*, Vol. 61, pp. 703–717.
<https://doi.org/10.1057/s41311-023-00468-2>

Optional readings

- Jerden, B. (2014). "The Assertive China Narrative: Why Is It Wrong and How So Many Still Bought into It?" *The Chinese Journal of International Politics*, pp. 47-88.
- Levy, J.S. (2015). "Power Transition Theory and the Rise of China." in Ross, R.S. and Feng, Z. (eds.) *China's Ascent. Power, Security, and the Future of International Politics*. Cornell University Press, pp. 11-33.
- Ross, R.S. and Feng, Z. (2015). "The Rise of China: Theoretical and Policy Perspectives." in Ross, R.S. and Feng, Z. (eds.) *China's Ascent. Power, Security, and the Future of International Politics*. Cornell University Press, pp. 293-316.
- Ikenberry, G. J. (2015). "The Rise of China: Power, Institutions, and the Western Order." in Ross, R.S. and Feng, Z. (eds.) *China's Ascent. Power, Security, and the Future of International Politics*. Cornell University Press, pp. 89-114.
- Peters, M.A., Green, B., Mou, C., Hollings, S., Ogunniran, M.O., Rizvi, F., Rider, S. and Tierney, R. (2022). "US–China Rivalry and 'Thucydides' Trap': Why this is a misleading account," *Educational Philosophy and Theory*, Vol. 54(10), pp. 1501-1512.
- Yves-Heng, L. (2015). "How (Dis)Satisfied is China? A power transition theory perspective," *Journal of Contemporary China*, Vol. 24(92), pp. 280-297.
- Gates, R. M. (2023). "The Dysfunctional Superpower: Can a Divided America Deter China and Russia?," 102 *Foreign Aff.*, pp. 30-44,

Week 6, Oct. 10

The Evolution of EU-China Relations

Chronological evolution of EU-China relations

Main factors impacting the EU-China relations

Perspectives on EU-China relations

- Casarini, N. (2009). "From Cold War to New Possibilities." In Casarini N. (ed.) *Remaking Global Order: The Evolution of Europe-China Relations and Its Implications for East Asia and the United States*, pp. 25-40. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Christiansen, T., Kirchner, E. and Wissenbach, U. (2019). *The European Union and China*. MacMillan International, pp. 13-29.
- Christiansen, T. and Maher, R. (2017). "The rise of China—challenges and opportunities for the European Union." *Asia Europe Journal*, Vol. 15, pp. 121–127.
- Geeraerts, G. (2019). "The EU-China partnership: balancing between divergence and convergence." *Asia Europe Journal*, Vol. 17, 281–294.
- Politi, A. (2023). "The paradigm-shift in EU-China relations and the limits of the EU's current strategy towards China: A relational perspective." *Asian Affairs*, Vol. 54(4), pp. 670–693. <https://doi.org/10.1080/03068374.2023.2281164>.
- Jones, C. (2021). "Understanding the Belt and Road Initiative in EU-China relations," *Journal of European Integration*, Vol. 43(7), pp. 915-921.

Optional readings:

- Duarte, P.A.B. and Ferreira-Pereira, L.C. (2021). "The Soft Power of China and the European Union in the context of the Belt and Road Initiative and Global Strategy," *Journal of Contemporary European Studies*, DOI: [10.1080/14782804.2021.1916740](https://doi.org/10.1080/14782804.2021.1916740).
- Biscop, S. (2020). "Weaker together or weaker apart? Great power relations after the coronavirus," *Asia Europe Journal*, Vol. 18, pp. 231–234.
- Mattlin, M. (2012). "Dead on arrival: Normative EU policy towards China." *Asia Europe Journal*, Vol. 10 (July), pp. 181–198.
- Crookes, P.I. (2013). "Resetting EU–China relations from a values-based to an interests-based engagement." *International Politics*, Vol. 50, pp. 639-663.
- Minghao, Z. (2016). "The Belt and Road Initiative and its Implications for China-Europe Relations," *The International Spectator*, Vol. 51(4), pp. 109-118.
- Miskimmon, A. and O'Loughlin, B. (2021). "The EU's Struggle for a Strategic Narrative on China." in Miskimmon, A., O'Loughlin, B. and Zeng, J. (eds.) *One Belt, One Road, One Story?* Palgrave Studies in European Union Politics.

Week 7, Oct. 17

The Political and Security Dimensions of EU-China Relations

Drivers of political relations

Political dialogues

Actors' security focuses

EU-China security cooperation

- Maher, R. (2016). "The elusive EU-China strategic partnership." *International Affairs*, Vol. 92(4), pp. 959–976.
- Christiansen, T., Dorussen, H. and Kirchner, J. (2018). "Security Cooperation in EU–China Relations: Towards Convergence?" *European Foreign Affairs Review*, Vol. 23(3), pp. 287–304.
- Taylor, M.R. (2020). "Inside the EU–China Human Rights Dialogue: assessing the practical delivery of the EU's normative power in a hostile environment," *Journal of European Integration*, Vol. 44(3), pp. 365–380.
- Barton, B. (2021). "The Belt-and-Road Initiative as a paradigm change for European Union-China security cooperation? The case of Central Asia." *Asia Europe Journal*, Vol. 19, pp. 391–409.
- Biedermann, R. (2021). "China's impact on the European Union's Arctic policy: critical junctures, crossovers, and geographic shifts." *Asia Europe Journal*, Vol. 19, 467–487.
- Optional readings:**
- Shen, W. (2013). "EU-China Relations on Human Rights in Competing Paradigms: Continuity and Change." In Christiansen, T. Kirchner, E. and Murray, P. (eds.) *The Palgrave Handbook of EU-Asia Relations*. Basingstoke: Palgrave.
- Mattlin, M. (2009). "Thinking clearly on political strategy: The formulation of a common EU policy toward China." In: B. Gaens, J. Jokela and E. Linnell (eds.) *The Role of the European Union in Asia: China and India as Strategic Partners*. Farnham, UK: Ashgate, pp. 95–120.
- Men, J. (2011). "Between human rights and sovereignty – An examination of EU–China political relations." *European Law Journal*, Vol. 17 (4), pp. 534–550.
- Panda, J.P. (2022). "Shifting China-NATO Relations: From Selective Cooperation to Strategic Rivalry?" *China Brief, The Jamestown Foundation* 22(8), <https://jamestown.org/program/shifting-china-nato-relations-from-selective-cooperation-to-strategic-rivalry/>.

Week 8, Oct. 24: No classes, Fall break

Week 9, Oct. 31

The Economic Dimension of EU-China Relations

Trade relations

Foreign direct investment

Impact of Eurozone crisis on EU-China relations

- Christiansen, T., Kirchner, E. and Wissenbach, U. (2019). *The European Union and China*, Palgrave. Chapter 6, pp. 88–109.
- Gruebler, J. and Stehrer, R. (2022). "Economic (policy) implications of the Belt and Road Initiative for Central, East, and Southeast Europe." in Gerstl, A. and Wallenböck, U. (eds.) *China's Belt and Road Initiative. Strategic and Economic Impacts on Central Asia, Southeast Asia, and Central Eastern Europe*. Routledge. pp. 212–228.
- Wu, P.-K. and Jensen, M.D. (2017). "Examining the EU-China Relationship in the Aftermath of the Economic Crisis," *International Journal of Public Administration*, Vol. 40(14), pp. 1223–1236.

- Wang, L. and Li, Y. (2020). "The negotiation of EU–China comprehensive agreement on investment and its potential impact in the post-pandemic era," *Journal of Chinese Economic and Business Studies*, Vol.18(4), pp. 365-372.
- De Ville, F., Happersberger, S. and Kalimo, H. (2023). "The Unilateral Turn in EU Trade Policy? The Origins and Characteristics of the EU's New Trade Instruments." *European Foreign Affairs Review*, Vol. 28(SI), pp. 15-34.
- Raimundo, A., Stavridis, S. and Tsardanidis, C. (2021). "The Eurozone crisis' impact: a de-Europeanization of Greek and Portuguese foreign policies?" *Journal of European Integration*, Vol. 43(5), pp. 535-550.

Optional readings:

- Bermann, S. and Fabry, E. (edited by) (2023) "EU and China between De-Risking and Cooperation: Scenarios by 2035" *Report n. 126*, Paris: Jacques Delors Institute, November, pp. 53-65. <https://institutdelors.eu/en/publications/eu-and-china-between-de-risking-and-cooperation-scenarios-by-2035/>.
- Telo, M. (2021). "Controversial Developments of EU-China Relations: Main Drivers and Geopolitical Implications of the Comprehensive Agreement on Investments," *Journal of Common Market Studies*, Vol. 59, pp. 162-174.
- Kuang, S., Orbie, J. and Blancquaert, S. (2023). "The rise and fall of the EU-China Comprehensive Agreement on Investment: 'open strategic autonomy' in action." *Journal of Contemporary European Studies*, Vol. 32(3), pp. 772–786.
- Bergsen, P. (2021). "The EU's unsustainable China strategy," Research paper Europe Programme, July 2021, <https://www.chathamhouse.org/sites/default/files/2021-07/2021-07-07-eu-unsustainable-china-strategy-bergsen.pdf>.
- Meunier, S. (2014). "'Beggars can't be Choosers': The European Crisis and Chinese Direct Investment in the European Union," *Journal of European Integration*, Vol.36(3), pp. 283-302.
- Egger, P.H. (2021). "Putting the China-EU comprehensive agreement on investment in context," *China Economic Journal*, Vol. 14(2), pp.187-199.
- Xu, Q. (2022). "Scoping the impact of the Comprehensive Agreement on investment: liberalization, protection, and dispute resolution in the next era of EU–China relations," *Asia Pacific Law Review*, Vol. 30(1), pp. 93-122.

Week 10, Nov. 7

China and EU member states

Historical evolution of China-Western/Eastern Europe relations

Economic and political relations in current times

Implications on EU-China relations

- Center for European Policy Analysis (2022). "Chinese Influence in Central and Eastern Europe," <https://cepa.org/chinese-influence-in-central-and-eastern-europe/>. (selective reading)
- Barkin, N. (2020). "Germany's Strategic Gray Zone with China," *Carnegie Endowment for International Peace*. March 2020.
https://carnegieendowment.org/files/Barkin_Germany_China_Policy.pdf.

- Nicolas, F. (2022). "France, China and the BRI: The challenge of conditional engagement." In Ntousas, V. and Minas, S. (eds.) *The European Union and China's Belt and Road. Impact, Engagement and Competition*. Routledge. pp. 153-170.
- Suetyi, L. and Yidong, C. (2022). "Mapping perception of China in Central and Eastern Europe," *Asia Europe Journal*, Vol. 20, pp. 305–327.
- Markovic Khaze, N. and Wang, X. (2021). "Is China's rising influence in the Western Balkans a threat to European integration?" *Journal of Contemporary European Studies*, Vol. 29(2), pp. 234-250.
- Furst, R. (2021). "China and Central Europe: cooperation in difficult times during the Covid-19 outbreak," *Journal of Chinese Economic and Business Studies*, Vol. 19(3), pp. 181-196.

Optional readings:

- Matura, T. (2019). "China–CEE Trade, Investment and Politics," *Europe-Asia Studies*, Vol. 71(3), pp. 388-407.
- Pepermans, A. (2018). "China's 16+1 and Belt and Road Initiative in Central and Eastern Europe: economic and political influence at a cheap price," *Journal of Contemporary Central and Eastern Europe*, Vol. 26(2-3), pp.181-203.
- Kratz, A., Szczudlik, J. and Pavlicevic, D. (2016). "China's Investment in Influence: The Future of 16+ 1 Cooperation." *European Council on Foreign Relations*.
https://www.ecfr.eu/publications/summary/chinas_investment_in_influence_the_future_of_161_cooperation7204.
- Vangeli, A. (2017). "Chinas Engagement with the Sixteen Countries of Central, East and Southeast Europe under the Belt and Road Initiative," *China & World Economy*, Vol. 25(5): 101-124.
- Pavličević, D. (2019). "Structural power and the China-EU-Western Balkans triangular relations," *Asia Europe Journal*, Vol. 17, pp. 453–468.

Week 11, Nov. 14

Research proposal presentations

Week 12, Nov. 21

EU, China and other actors: The US, Russia and Africa

Impacts of US-China and Russia-China relations on the EU-China dynamics

Role of international development and cooperation/competition in Africa

- Feng, Z. (2022). "Internal and external factors affecting China–EU relations," *China International Strategy Review*, Vol. 4, pp. 74–90.
- Perthes, V. (2021). "Dimensions of rivalry: China, the United States, and Europe." *China International Strategy Review*, Vol. 3, pp. 56–65.
- Sverdrup-Thygeson, B. (2017). "The bear and the EU-China-US triangle: transatlantic and Russian influences on EU's "pivot to Asia"." *Asia Europe Journal*, Vol. (15), pp. 161-172.
- Heldt, E. (2023). "Europe's Global Gateway: A New Instrument of Geopolitics." *Politics and Governance*, Vol. 11(4), pp. 223-234.
- Sabanadze, N., Vasselier, A. and Wiegand, G. (2024). "China-Russia Alignment: a threat to Europe's security," *Mercator Institute for China Studies*. June 26, 2024.
<https://merics.org/en/report/china-russia-alignment-threat-europes-security>.

Grimm, S. and Hackenesch, C. (2017). "China in Africa: What challenges for a reforming European Union development policy? Illustrations from country cases," *Development Policy Review*, Vol. 35(4), pp. 549-566.

Optional readings:

Can, C.M. and Soto, X.D. (2020). "China, the EU, the US, and global governance," in Men, Schunz and Freeman (eds.) *The Evolving relationship between China, the EU and the USA: A new global order?* (Routledge), Ch. 3, pp. 33-51.

Fabry, E. (2023). "Europe's response to the Sino-American rivalry", *Jacques Delors Institute Policy paper n°288*, February 2023. <https://institutdelors.eu/en/publications/comment-leurope-repond-a-la-rivalite-sino-americaine/>.

Lau, S. (2023). "Why China wants Macron to drive a wedge between Europe and America", *Politico Europe*, Apr. 8. <https://www.politico.eu/article/china-xi-jinping-hope-emmanuel-macron-france-drive-wedge-between-europe-america-joe-biden/>.

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Carbone, M. (2023). "When elephants fight, it is the grass that suffers: the Russo-Ukrainian conflict and the decentring-recentring conundrum in EU-Africa relations." *Journal of European Integration*, Vol. 45(3), pp. 539-557.

Foot, R. and King, A. (2021). "China's world view in the Xi Jinping Era: Where do Japan, Russia and the USA fit?" *The British Journal of Politics and International Relations*, Vol. 23(2), pp. 210-227.

Stahl, K. A. (2021). "An EU Trilateral Cooperation Agenda with Africa and China for a Post-COVID-19 World." Jacques Delors Centre, April 15, 2021. https://opus4.kobv.de/opus4-hsog/frontdoor/deliver/index/docId/3826/file/210415_VisionsPaper_EU_China_Stahl.pdf.

Stahl, K. A. (2018). "Chinese and African Responses," in Stahl, K.A. *EU-China-Africa Trilateral Relations in a Multipolar World*, Chapter 6, pp. 127-151.

Duggan, N. and Hodzi, O. (2021). "The challenges of China-European Union security cooperation in Africa," *Asia Europe Journal*, Vol. 19, pp. 43-57.

Carbone, M. (2011). "The European Union and China's rise in Africa: Competing visions, external coherence and trilateral cooperation," *Journal of Contemporary African Studies*, Vol. 29(2), pp. 203-221.

Week 13, Nov. 28

Simulation scenario

Week 14, Dec. 5

The EU and China in Global Context

Perspectives on global governance

Multilateralism/multipolarity
EU's and China's attitudes towards global regimes

- Ikenberry, G.J. (2018). "The end of liberal international order?" *International Affairs*, Vol. 94(1), pp. 7–23.
- Mearsheimer, J. J. (2019). "Bound to Fail. The Rise and Fall of the Liberal International Order", *International Security* Vol. 43(4), pp. 7-50.
- Acharya, A. (2014) *The End of American World Order* (Polity Press) pp. 1-11.
- Zhao, S. (2018). "A Revisionist Stakeholder: China and the Post-World War II World Order," *Journal of Contemporary China*, Vol. 27(113), pp.643-658.
- Kim, P. M. (2023). "The Limits of the No-Limits Partnership: China and Russia Can't Be Split, but They Can Be Thwarted," *Foreign Affairs* Vol. 102(2) (March/April 2023), pp. 94-105.
- Montesano, F.S. (2020). "Caught between a withdrawing hegemon and an emerging leader – what role for the European Union in the evolving US-China-EU 'triangle'?" in Men, Schunz and Freeman (eds.) *The Evolving relationship between China, the EU and the USA: A new global order?* (Routledge), Ch. 4, pp. 52-75.
- Economy, E. (2024). "China's alternative order: and what America should learn from it." *Foreign Affairs*, Vol. 103(3), pp. 8-24.

Optional readings:

- Beeson, M. and Zeng, J. (2018). "The BRICS and global governance: China's contradictory role," *Third World Quarterly*, Vol. 39(10), pp. 1962-1978.
- Hooijmaaijers, B. (2021). "China, the BRICS, and the limitations of reshaping global economic governance," *The Pacific Review*, Vol. 34(1), pp. 29-55.
- Chaban, N. and Elgström, O. (2014). "The Role of the EU in an Emerging New World Order in the Eyes of the Chinese, Indian and Russian Press," *Journal of European Integration*, Vol. 36(2), pp. 170-188.
- Chen, Z. (2016). "China, the European Union and the Fragile World Order." *Journal of Common Market Studies*, Vol. 54(4), pp. 775-792.

Statement on Student Mental Health

As a University student you may experience a range of mental health challenges that significantly impact your academic success and overall well-being. If you need help, please speak to someone. There are numerous resources available both on- and off-campus to support you. Here is a list that may be helpful:

Emergency Resources (on and off campus): <https://carleton.ca/health/emergencies-and-crisis/emergency-numbers/>

Carleton Resources:

- Mental Health and Wellbeing: <https://carleton.ca/wellness/>
- Health & Counselling Services: <https://carleton.ca/health/>
- Paul Menton Centre: <https://carleton.ca/pmc/>
- Academic Advising Centre (AAC): <https://carleton.ca/academicadvising/>

- Centre for Student Academic Support (CSAS): <https://carleton.ca/csas/>
- Equity & Inclusivity Communities: <https://carleton.ca/equity/>

Off Campus Resources:

- Distress Centre of Ottawa and Region: (613) 238-3311 or TEXT: 343-306-5550, <https://www.dcottawa.on.ca/>
- Mental Health Crisis Service: (613) 722-6914, 1-866-996-0991, <http://www.crisisline.ca/>
- Empower Me: 1-844-741-6389, <https://students.carleton.ca/services/empower-me-counselling-services/>
- Good2Talk: 1-866-925-5454, <https://good2talk.ca/>
- The Walk-In Counselling Clinic: <https://walkincounselling.com>

Academic Accommodations:

Requests for Academic Accommodation

You may need special arrangements to meet your academic obligations during the term. For an accommodation request, the processes are as follows:

Pregnancy obligation

Please contact your instructor with any requests for academic accommodation during the first two weeks of class, or as soon as possible after the need for accommodation is known to exist. For more details, please review the Student Guide to Academic Accommodation at <https://carleton.ca/equity/wp-content/uploads/Student-Guide-to-Academic-Accommodation.pdf>

Religious obligation

Please contact your instructor with any requests for academic accommodation during the first two weeks of class, or as soon as possible after the need for accommodation is known to exist. For more details, please review the Student Guide to Academic Accommodation at <https://carleton.ca/equity/wp-content/uploads/Student-Guide-to-Academic-Accommodation.pdf>

Academic Accommodations for Students with Disabilities

If you have a documented disability requiring academic accommodations in this course, please contact the Paul Menton Centre for Students with Disabilities (PMC) at 613-520-6608 or pmc@carleton.ca for a formal evaluation or contact your PMC coordinator to send your instructor your Letter of Accommodation at the beginning of the term. You must also contact the PMC no later than two weeks before the first in-class scheduled test or exam requiring accommodation (if applicable). After requesting accommodation from PMC, meet with your instructor as soon as possible to ensure accommodation arrangements are made. For more details, visit the Paul Menton Centre website at <http://carleton.ca/pmc>

Survivors of Sexual Violence

As a community, Carleton University is committed to maintaining a positive learning, working and living environment where sexual violence will not be tolerated, and where survivors are supported through academic accommodations as per Carleton's Sexual Violence Policy. For more information about the services available at the university and to obtain information about

sexual violence and/or support, visit the Equity and Inclusive Communities Website at <https://carleton.ca/equity/focus/sexual-violence-prevention-survivor-support/>

Accommodation for Student Activities

Carleton University recognizes the substantial benefits, both to the individual student and for the university, that result from a student participating in activities beyond the classroom experience. Reasonable accommodation must be provided to students who compete or perform at the national or international level. Please contact your instructor with any requests for academic accommodation during the first two weeks of class, or as soon as possible after the need for accommodation is known to exist. For more details, see the [Senate Policy on Accommodation for Student Activities](https://carleton.ca/senate/wp-content/uploads/Accommodation-for-Student-Activities-1.pdf) at <https://carleton.ca/senate/wp-content/uploads/Accommodation-for-Student-Activities-1.pdf>

For more information on academic accommodation, please contact the departmental administrator or visit: students.carleton.ca/course-outline

Plagiarism

The University Senate defines plagiarism as “presenting, whether intentional or not, the ideas, expression of ideas or work of others as one’s own.” This can include:

- reproducing or paraphrasing portions of someone else’s published or unpublished material, regardless of the source, and presenting these as one’s own without proper citation or reference to the original source;
- submitting a take-home examination, essay, laboratory report or other assignment written, in whole or in part, by someone else, including the unauthorized use of generative AI tools (e.g., ChatGPT);
- using ideas or direct, verbatim quotations, or paraphrased material, concepts, or ideas without appropriate acknowledgment in any academic assignment;
- using another’s data or research findings;
- failing to acknowledge sources through the use of proper citations when using another’s works and/or failing to use quotation marks;
- handing in “substantially the same piece of work for academic credit more than once without prior written permission of the course instructor in which the submission occurs.

Plagiarism is a serious offence which cannot be resolved directly with the course’s instructor. The Associate Deans of the Faculty conduct a rigorous investigation, including an interview with the student, when an instructor suspects a piece of work has been plagiarized. Penalties are not trivial. They may include a mark of zero for the plagiarized work or a final grade of "F" for the course.

Student or professor materials created for this course (including presentations and posted notes, labs, case studies, assignments and exams) remain the intellectual property of the author(s). They are intended for personal use and may not be reproduced or redistributed without prior written consent of the author(s).

Submission, Return and Grading of Term Work:

Written assignments must be submitted directly to the instructor(s) according to the instructions in the course outline. For written assignments not returned in class please attach a stamped, self-addressed envelope if you wish to have your assignment returned by mail. Final exams are intended solely for the purpose of evaluation and will not be returned.

Final standing in courses will be shown by alphabetical grades. The system of grades used, with corresponding grade points is:

Percentage	Letter grade	12-point scale	Percentage	Letter grade	12-point scale
90-100	A+	12	67-69	C+	6
85-89	A	11	63-66	C	5
80-84	A-	10	60-62	C-	4
77-79	B+	9	57-59	D+	3
73-76	B	8	53-56	D	2
70-72	B-	7	50-52	D-	1

Standing in a course is determined by the course instructor subject to the approval of the Faculty Dean. This means that grades submitted by an instructor may be subject to revision. No grades are final until they have been approved by the Dean.

Carleton E-mail Accounts: All email communication to students from the Institute of European, Russian and Eurasian Studies will be via official Carleton university e-mail accounts and/or cuLearn. As important course and university information is distributed this way, it is the student's responsibility to monitor their Carleton and cuLearn accounts.

Official Course Outline: The course outline posted to EURUS website is the official course outline.