**中欧关系史**

**History of Sino-European relations**

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Course Code (课 程 号) 02132590

Selective Course (全校公选课)

Credits (学分): 3.0

Location (理教)

Time (上课起止周): weeks 1-16 (March 1st to June 14th); Thursday (周四) 6.40 - 9.30 pm

***INTRODUCTION***

A bird's-eye view of the Cold War system allows for the identification of three macro-phenomena: the supremacy of the superpowers, the division and weakening of Europe and a progressive multi-polarization of the international system based on a growing relevance of Asia and especially China.

While the historical narrative has dwelt mainly on the first macro-phenomenon or, at most, on the relations between it and the second phenomenon, this project aims to analyse relations between the latter two, namely between the 'weak' Europe and the ‘new’ China to understand how they interacted and how this interaction affected the supremacy of the superpowers, their *policy-making* processes, their strategic choices and, more in general, the very Cold War system.

Europe and China were undoubtedly the most important *third actors* in the Cold War system. Being territorial entities and political and economic spaces located at the crossroads of the mutual spheres of action of the two superpowers, they played a key role in the evolution and reshaping of the bipolar system.

The Cold War defined the outlines of these two spaces: on the one hand, it accelerated the decline of Europe as a central player - a process already started during World War II and intensified by the dismantling of the colonial system - and favoured, on the other, the shift of the centre of gravity of the international system towards Asia and hence to an *Asianization* of the international system, which is still in progress today.

The enforcement of the bipolar logic in the 1950s inspired a set of hedging strategies from the most sensitive peripheries of the two blocks – Europe and China in particular - as an attempt to gain space of actions in foreign policy and accumulate political capital to invest in the relationship with the superpowers.

The 1960s was a crucial decade in this respect. The emergence of Sino-Soviet discord and the extreme distress caused by the Great Leap Forward made Beijing particularly active in setting up an independent cooperation with the ‘intermediate zones’. While Moscow’s tight control restricted the limit of actions of Eastern European countries - with the sole exception of Romania and Albania – on the other side of the iron curtain they seemed more keen to gain advantage from China’s resilience towards bipolar conformism, first and foremost De Gaulle’s France.

The normalization of diplomatic relations between France and China was the crossroads between two separate historical courses: the ascent of the People's Republic of China as it sought for a new sphere of influence and autonomy in the international system and the decline of a European colonial power like France, which found it difficult to adapt to the demise of the Euro-centrism of the post-war era. As Malraux prophetically said during his trip to China in 1965, "300 years of European energy are fading while the Chinese era begins."

Sino-French normalization had a profound symbolic result: it signaled the beginning of a new socialization between China and the West, a socialization driven this time by Beijing’s proud search for independence in international relations. In 1960s Mao’s fierce struggle against revisionism - and the Cultural Revolution as its corollary – revised the logic of the ‘leaning of one side’ dictated by Yalta’s bipolar logic and created the conditions for a further diversification in the international system, as shown in its reconfiguration of the intermediate zone theory presented at that very same time.

In 1970s Western Europe helped to facilitate and consolidate this historical shift by progressively recognizing the PRC and setting up trading strategies aimed at integrating its market, and its economic policies, into the capitalist system.

If this entente seemed favoring a partial multipolarization of the international relations, this still happened however within the frame of the superpower dominion and its strategic rationale: the logic of détente both between the superpowers and within Europe conflicted with the Chinese desire to isolate the social imperialist threat coming from Moscow. As a sort of inverse proportionality when the logic of détente prevailed Beijing’s space for action diminished, and vice-versa: at the end of 1970s the demise of Mao’s radicalism followed by the launch of Deng’s reform coupled with the crisis of détente between the superpowers and transformed Sino-Western partnership into a decisive element for the defeat of the Soviet Union and the creation of the contemporary system we live in today.

This course aims to attribute a balanced historical position to the role played by Sino-European relations in these crucial passages. It attempts to reach an accurate assessment of this relationship by analyzing the development of bilateral relations within the complex framework of the Cold war structure and the superpowers dominion within it. Therefore, it looks at the bilateral relations between China and the individual European countries not simply per se but as a segment of a complex matrix of relations ordered by the hierarchy imposed by the superpowers hegemony. An objective historical evaluation of the function that these segments produced in the transformation of the Cold War hierarchies has yet to come.

This course aims to fill this gap by providing PKU undergraduate students with a unique analytical tool to decipher the evolution of Sino-European relations from the Cold War until today. A special attention will be given to the current evolution of Sino-European relations within the framework of the Belt and Road Initiative launched by President Xi Jinping at the end of 2013.

The course, opened to **ALL PKU UNDERGRADUATE** students will last **48 hours** (3 credits) and it will be divided in **several subtopics**.

The students will be evaluated on their attendance & participation to weekly debates, class presentations, the Mid term and final exams. More specifically:

a) Debates: a structured debate examining a controversial proposition with three students asked to speak in support of the proposition and three students asked to speak against the proposition. The rest of the class is expected to ask questions of both sides after the debate. Each side has 15 minutes to present their case – 10 minutes primary statement and a 5-minute rebuttal. There will be 15 minutes for Q&A once both sides have presented their case. Debate teams and individuals will be evaluated based on:

a) Persuasiveness of the argument,

b) Evidence used to support the argument,

c) Overall clarity of the presentation (organization, clarity, rhetoric).

b) Mid-term exam: a set of questions with multiple answer based on the readings of class 1-4

c) Final exam: a set of questions with multiple answer based on the readings of class 5-10

The final grade of the course will be based upon the following scale:

* 50% attendance&debates
* 25% mid-term exam
* 25% final exam

**Attendance and readings are compulsory.**

**Plagiarism**

The University takes plagiarism very seriously and is committed to ensure that as far as possible it is detected and dealt with accordingly.

**TEXT BOOKS:**

• Primary and secondary sources for each subtopic

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**COURSE CALENDAR**

***1) Intro: Europe & Asia: from polarity to fusion***

March 1st, 2018

This lecture is a conceptual introduction to the course.

It is based on two historical ‘movements’ the *Asianization* of Europe and the *Europeanization* of Asia, as the pillars of a new futurist transition towards an Hegelian synthesis of Eurasian identity, symbolized by the ‘One Belt, One Road’ project.

These lectures will try to trace first back the concept of Europe to its ‘Asian’ origins and, following its path towards the West, will try to identify its progressive transformation by underlying the dynamic of conflict with the ‘others’ as its main defining feature.

The second part will address the ‘return’ of Europe to Asia after the ‘Great Divergence’ through the powerful legitimation of the notion of ‘progress’ and its corollaries: ‘revolution’ and ‘reform’.

The conclusion of this section will be addressed at the end of the course with the analysis of the new Eurasian connectivity and the Chinese initiative of ‘One Belt, One Road’.

Readings:

• David Landes, ‘*Why Europe and the West? Why not China’*, The Journal of Economic Perspectives, Vol. 20, No. 2 (Spring, 2006), pp. 3-22

***2) China and the Cold War: an overview***

March 8th and 15th, 2018

This section will provide an introduction to China’s role in the Cold War from its foundation in 1949 to the end of the Cold War in Asia. Thanks to the support of Chen Jian and Odd Arne Westad the analysis will focus on China’s mutant relations with the superpowers: the rise and demise of Sino-Soviet alliance in 1950s and 1960s and the Sino-American détente and semi-alliance of 1970s and 1980s. A special emphasis will be given to the new process of ‘socialization’ between China and the West activated in the 1970s through the combination of Deng Xiaoping’s reform and opening and Brzezinski’s China policy.

Readings:

• Chen Jian, *Mao’s China and the Cold War*. (Chapell Hill and London: University of North Carolina Press, 2001) Chapter 3

• O.A. Westad, *Restless Empire,* (New York: Basic Books, 2013) Chapter 9

• Chen Zhimin, ‘Nationalism, Internationalism and Chinese Foreign Policy’ in *Journal of Contemporary China* (2005), 14(42), February, 35–53

• Enrico Fardella, “The Sino-American Normalization: A Reassessment”, in *Diplomatic History*, Vol. 33, No. 4 (September 2009), 545-578.

***3) Sino-Eastern European relations: the Polish and Hungarian cases***

March 22th, 2018

This section will restrict the focus on the relations between the main ‘third actors’ of the Cold War, namely Europe and China. It will begin with a conceptual overview on Sino-Eastern European relations from 1950s to the end of 1980s and then will analyze two text cases, namely Sino-Polish and Sino-Hungarian relations, focusing on their evolution after the Sino-Soviet split in 1960s and 1970s.

Suggested readings:

• Chen Jian, *Mao’s China and the Cold War*. (Chapell Hill and London: University of North Carolina Press, 2001) Chapter 6.

• Shen Zhihua, and Yafeng Xia. “The Whirlwind of China: Zhou Enlai’s Shuttle Diplomacy in 1957 and its Effects.” *Cold War History* 10, no. 4 (November 2010): 513-535.

• Peter Vamos (2015), “China and Eastern Europe in the 1980s: an Hungarian perspective”, (Edossier) in https://www.wilsoncenter.org/publication/china-and-eastern-europe-the-1980s-hungarian-perspective

***4)* *Sino-French relations: revolutionary diplomacy***

March 29th, 2018

The normalization of diplomatic relations between France and China was the crossroads between two separate historical courses: the ascent of the People's Republic of China as it sought for a new sphere of influence and autonomy in the international system and the decline of a European colonial power like France, which found it difficult to adapt to the demise of the Euro-centrism of the post-war era. As Malraux prophetically said during his trip to China in 1965, "300 years of European energy are fading while the Chinese era begins."

Sino-French normalization had a profound symbolic result: it signalled the beginning of a new socialization between China and the West, a socialization driven this time by Beijing’s proud search for independence in international relations.

Readings:

• Garret Martin “Playing the China Card?: Revisiting France’s Recognition of Communist China, 1963-1964.” *Journal of Cold War Studies* 10, no. 1 (Winter 2008): 52-80.

• Garret Martin, A ‘diplomatic nuclear explosion’? Sino-French relations in the 1960s, (Edossier) in https://www.wilsoncenter.org/publication/diplomatic-nuclear-explosion-sino-french-relations-the-1960s

**APRIL 12th 2018 MID-TERM EXAM**

***5) Sino-Italian relations (1945-1992): the importance of marginality***

April 19th, 2018

This lecture aims to analyze the evolution of Sino-Italian relations from the foundation of the PRC to the end of the Cold War, with a special focus on the construction of the official relationship from 1970 to 1992. The presentation will be divided in three parts: a critical reflection on the historical context that set the ground for the evolution of Sino-Italian relations between the 1950s and the 1970s; an assessment of the historical impact of normalization; and a reconstruction of the main dynamics in bilateral relations between 1970 and 1992.

Readings:

• Enrico Fardella (2016): “A significant periphery of the Cold War: Italy-China bilateral relations, 1949–1989”, Cold War History, http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/14682745.2015.1093847

* Enrico Fardella (2015), “Negotiating Sino-Italian Normalization, 1968-1970” (E-dossier), https://www.wilsoncenter.org/publication/negotiating-sino-italian-normalization-1968-1970

***6) Sino-Western Europe relations: the Sino-British case***

April 26th, 2018

In this segment we will introduce the role of Sino-Western European relations within the broader spectrum of the Cold War. We will then take the Sino-British case as a useful model of Western European ambiguity towards the PRC in the 1950s and a typical example of the political effect that China’s attraction as a trade partner created on the course of European China policies during the Cold War.

Readings:

• Christopher Howe “Thirty Years of Sino-British Relations: A Foreign Office View.” *The China Quarterly* 139 (September 1994): 794-799.

• Ritchie Ovendal, “Britain, the United States, and the Recognition of Communist China.” *Historical Journal* 26, no. 1 (March 1983): 139-158.

• David C. Wolf, “To Secure A Convenience: Britain Recognizes China – 1950.”*Journal of Contemporary History* 18, no. 2 (April 1983): 299-326.

***7) Europe and China: trends and prospects in the Belt and Road Initiative framework***

May 3rd/10th, 2018

(Fardella & Romano Prodi; Fardella & Giorgio Prodi)

An expert analysis of former President of the EU Commission, Prof Romano Prodi, on the evolution of Sino-European relations after the Cold War and its future prospects will be followed by a more in depth outlook on the impact of the Belt and Road Initiative on Sino-European relations. In particular, the intersection of this plan with Europe’s traditional sphere of influence in the Mediterranean will be taken into account from a geopolitical and economic angle.

Speakers:

• **Romano Prodi** (Former President of EU Commission) “China & Europe in the Belt and Road Initiative Framework” May 3rd, 2018

• **Giorgio Prodi** (University of Ferrara) *The economics of Sino-European relations in the Silk Road Initiative,* May 10th, 2018

Readings:

• Enrico Fardella & Giorgio Prodi, “The Belt and Road Initiative Impact on Europe: an Italian Perspective" in *China&World Economy,* Special Issue: *Eurasian Perspective on China's Belt and Road Initiative*, Volume 25, Issue 5, September–October 2017, 125-138.

***8) Sino-Vatican relations (1949 – present): Patience and Silence***

May 17th, 2018

(Fardella & Zhang)

This section of the course will examine relations between Vatican and the People’s Republic of China after 1949. First, we will conduct a conceptual overview of the evolution of Vatican’s position in the international system over the years, with a special emphasis on how the Cold War transformed this position. Then, we will examine how the Vatican sought to preserve its presence in Mainland China against the domestic background of Communist hostility to religions, especially those with foreign links. We will also see how the Vatican’s ambiguous attitude toward Chiang Kai-shek’s regime can be a litmus test of its hopes and aspirations for the Catholic Church in the Mainland. Finally, we will look at how, in the 1960s, after the Second Vatican Council, the successive popes after Paul VI attempted to reach out to China in order to normalize relations, and how those efforts impact the Chinese Catholic Church today

Readings:

• Chan, Gerald. “Sino-Vatican Diplomatic Relations: Problems and Prospects,” The China Quarterly 120 (1989)

• Coppa, Frank J. Politics and the Papacy in the Modern World. Westport: Praeger Publishers, 2008 (Chapters 8-10)

* Bays, Daniel H. A New History of Christianity in China. Chichester: Wiley-Blackwell, 2012 (Chapters 7-8)

***9) Sino-German (DDR-FRG) relations: a triangular conundrum***

May 24rd, 2018

(Fardella & Berfkosky)

In this week the course will touch upon China’s curious relationship with DDR and FRG both in the Cold War context in 1950s and then in the crucial decade of 1960s vis-à-vis the Sino-Soviet split. The 1970s will be taken in particular consideration as the decade of the Ostpolitik and the Helsinki Process and the beginning of intra-European détente whose effect deteriorated China’s posture in Central Europe.

Readings:

• Berkofsky, Axel, From Foes to Fair-Weather Friends and Comrades in Arms: The Ups and Downs of Relations between the GDP and China in the 1980s; in: The Journal of Northeast Asian History Volume 14 Number 1 Summer 2017

• Bernd Schaefer (2015), “Sino-West German relations during the Mao Era” (E-dossier) in https://www.wilsoncenter.org/publication/sino-west-german-relations-during-the-mao-era

***10) Sino-European relations: the tyranny of distance***

May 31st, 2018

(Fardella & Berfkosky)

This section aims to analyze Europe and China’s temptations and dissatisfactions in an age of critical change of the international system. The structural and ideological limits of both actors will be discussed in light of their mutual capability to to cope – individually or cooperatively - with the challenges created by the rapid global transformations of the last years. The analysis will be framed within the context of the new ‘Belt and Road Initiative’ as a Chinese version of Eurasian connectivity and an attempt to create a community of shared interest.

Readings:

• Berkofsky, Axel, The EU and China - Myth of a (not so) Strategic Partnership; in Beretta, Silvio, Berkofsky, Axel, Zhang, Lihong (eds.), Understanding China; Springer Heidelberg/Milan 2017.

**June 7th/14th, 2018 CLASS PRESENTATIONS & FINAL EXAM**