

**Kick-off Conference | May 4 – 5, 2018**

**CHINA global – ideas, values, practices**



**Three main sessions:**

- **History of Ideas: Centers and Margins**
  - **Schemes of Global Cooperation**
- **Expanding Exchange and the Globalization of Norms**

## **Excellence Forum**

### **CHINA global – ideas, values, practices**

**Chair Anthropology of Globalization**  
**Department of Cultural and Social Anthropology**

**University of Cologne**  
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#### **Speakers**

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## Conference Schedule

### **Friday May 4, 2018, 9am - 17.30pm**

**Venue:** University of Cologne, Universitätsstraße 37, 50931 Köln (Seminargebäude, Tagungsraum)

**09:00 - 09:15h Welcome (Susanne Brandtstädter, Cologne)**

**09:15 - 10:15h Keynote Prasenjit Duara (History, Durham):**

**Revisiting the Chinese World Order: Soft Power of the Imperialism of Nation-states**

**10:15 - 10:30h Coffee Break**

**10:30 - 13:00h Panel 1: Expanding Exchange and the Globalization of Norms**

(Chair: Nora Sausmikat, Stiftung Asienhaus)

Flora Sapio (Law, ANU, Australia): The Making of Shared Global Norms with Chinese Characteristics: What is it That We Ignore About Structures of Chinese Constitutionalism?

Mette Halskov Hansen (China Studies, Oslo): Ecological Civilization: Interpreting the Chinese Past, Projecting the Global Future

Eva Pils (Law, London): Human rights with Chinese characteristics as a challenge to global governance

Adam Yuet Chau (East Asian Studies, Cambridge): China and its Globalizing Religions

**13:00 - 14:00h Buffet Lunch (for invited guests)**

**14:00 - 16:30h Panel 2: Schemes of Global Cooperation (Chair: Björn Ahl, Cologne)**

Flemming Christiansen (Sociology, Duisburg-Essen): Ideology and Power: China's International Cooperation

Paul Anderson (Social Anthropology/Middle Eastern Studies, Cambridge): Emerging Regionalisms in West Asia: the Case of Chinese Commodities in the Levant

May Tan-Mullins (International Relations, Nottingham Ningbo): Political Ecology of Rising China

Ming Du (Law, Surrey): The Metaphor of Market Economy in International Economic Relations: China and the World

**16:30 - 16:45h Coffee Break**

**16:45 - 17:30h Film Presentation** (Chair: Susanne Brandtstädter, Cologne)

"King Cobra and the Dragon" by Solange Guo Chatelard (International Relations, Brussels/filmmaker)

**19:00h Conference Dinner (for invited guests)**

**Saturday May 5, 2018, 9.30am - 16pm**

**Venue:** University of Cologne, Albertus-Magnus-Platz, 50931 Köln (Hauptgebäude, Neuer Senatssaal)

**09:30 - 13:00h Panel 3: Centers and Margins: History of Ideas**

(Chair: Wilfried Hinsch, Cologne)

Bai Tongdong (Philosophy, Fudan): A Confucian New Tianxia Model of National Identity and Global Governance - And Why Is It Superior to the Nation-State and Liberal Models

Klaus Mühlhahn (History, FU Berlin): (cancelled)

Iwo Amelung (History, Frankfurt): Dealing with environmental determinism in Republic China

Christoph Harbsmeier (Chinese Studies, Oslo): Self-Construal in China: Historical and Comparative Perspectives

**13:00 - 14:00h Buffet Lunch (for invited guests)**

**14:00 - 16:00h Conclusion and the CHINA global project**

Susanne Brandtstädter/ Wilfried Hinsch (Speakers of CHINA global) & Open Discussion

## Abstracts

### Keynote

**Prasenjit Duara (History, Durham): *Revisiting the Chinese World Order: Soft Power of the Imperialism of Nation-states***

There are unexpected convergences between the imperial Chinese order and the emergent global order. The historical evolution of forms of global domination since the end of the 19th century saw modern imperialism succeeded by what I have called 'the imperialism of nation-states' which represented the principal form of domination among states during much of the 20th century and in some form also through the Cold War. Despite continued warfare conducted by the US and other states, post-Cold War geopolitical dominance is said to be shaped by the pull of 'soft power'. While soft power is an inadequate concept, it suggests a new balance between expressions of violent power and other modes of domination. I will examine the extent to which this notion—which is popular in the Chinese media-- has any purchase in understanding the rise of China.

### Panel 1: Expanding Exchange and the Globalization of Norms

**Flora Sapio (Law, ANU, Australia): *The Making of Shared Global Norms with Chinese Characteristics: What is it That We Ignore About Structures of Chinese Constitutionalism?***

Few syntagms are more polysemic, perhaps, than the words 'globalization' and 'norms'. What is globalization? And how are global norms made? These questions transverse the boundaries of domestic political mechanisms. The making of global norms involves dynamics distinct from domestic decision-making processes, which are situated at the boundary between nation-states, public and non-governmental actors, global elites and their audiences. Given the increasing role China is playing in creating a system of global norms, an understanding of the emerging consensus about globalization 'with Chinese characteristics' ought to be premised on how global norms are made, who the actors involved in global norm-making are, and what mechanism are used to create global norms. By definition, any actor involved in the formation of global norms is a constitutional actor. This simple constatation provokes the question of how much do we know about the structures of Chinese constitutionalism. For the most part, Western scholarship on Chinese constitutionalism has identified the birthpoint of the Constitution of China with the promulgation of the administrative Constitution of the state, in 1954. Two other structures exist, which pre-date the apparatus of the Chinese state, and are deeply involved in the making global norms. Despite their importance, these structures are either overlooked, made an object of de-legitimizing narratives, or else they are dismissed as secondary actors in globalization. The presentation will shed light on these structures, as they exist within China's constitutional system, by describing their domestic and transnational role and functions in the creation of *shared global norms*.

**Mette Halskov Hansen (China Studies, Oslo): *Ecological Civilization: Interpreting the Chinese Past, Projecting the Global Future***

Ecological civilization (生态文明) is China's official ideological response to the environmental degradation that threatens the country's population and economy. It projects a global future that draws on interpretations of Chinese traditional philosophy and a socialist legacy, and it constitutes an ideological framework for the present development of China's environmental policies, laws, and education. This paper suggests that eco-civilization is best understood as a sociotechnical imaginary in which cultural and moral virtues constitute key components that are inseparable from its more well-known technological and political aims. The imaginary of eco-civilization seeks to construct a sense of cultural and national continuity, and to place China at the center of the world by invoking its civilization's more than 2000 years of traditional philosophical heritage as a part of the Communist Party's solution for the planet's future.

**Eva Pils (Law, London): *Human rights with Chinese characteristics as a challenge to global governance***

Despite its recognition of human rights norms in the wake of June Fourth, the Chinese Party-State has relied on an array of counter-norms and rights-violating practices to sustain political control. As sought to justify the suppression of human rights challenges brought from within Chinese society by reference to national and cultural specificity, the suppression of human rights claims became part of 'human rights with Chinese characteristics.' In the Xi era, the Party-State has sought to re-model law on anti-liberal lines both at the domestic and international levels. Analysing the December 2017 'Beijing Declaration' on human rights and the 2018 Resolution on 'Win-win Win-Win Cooperation for the Common Cause of Human Rights' this paper argues that most recently the Party-State has sought to internationalize the Party-state's state-centric conception of 'human rights.' The state-centric view is flawed; it threatens to undermine human rights protection, including in particular freedom of expression.

**Adam Yuet Chau (East Asian Studies, Cambridge): *China and its Globalizing Religions***

In this paper I will examine factors that have contributed to the globalisation of religious traditions emanating from the Sinosphere (mostly mainland China but also Hong Kong and Taiwan). One of the starting points of the paper is positing that China's religious globalisation is not only about the spread of 'Chinese religions' to non-Chinese locales around the world (which is the conventional and narrower definition); rather, it should more importantly include the discursive and imagistic constructions of Chinese (and other 'Oriental') religions by foreign observers (and their Chinese collaborators, interlocutors and detractors), which affect the overall contour of the eventual 'reception' (including creative adoption, resistance and rejection) of elements of Chinese religions around the world as well as that of their ongoing production/construction within China (by religious communities, by the state, etc.). Some key images and words in this narrative include 'flows', 'encounters', 'borrowing', 'congresses', 'mergers', 'exiles', 'taking advantage', 'collaboration', 'collusion', 'elective affinities', 'mistaken

identities', fetishisation', 'dialogues', 'appropriations', 'mystifications', 'accommodations', 'politicisation', 'resistance', 'rejections', etc. My cases will include a wide range of 'Chinese' religious traditions, from *fengshui* to Tibetan Buddhism, from Catholicism to Protestantism, from the Mazu cult to Islam.

## **Panel 2: Schemes of Global Cooperation**

### **Flemming Christiansen (Sociology, Duisburg-Essen): *Ideology and Power: China's International Cooperation***

The presentation will examine China's developmental ideology in some of its international cooperation dimensions. The focus will be on the integration of Chinese and global development goals, as well as on China's international role in infrastructure and other development initiatives seen on the background of Chinese domestic development strategy of the last 40 years. I will discuss the main features of ideology-driven planned and coordinated development policy and the significance of this for various modes of international cooperation.

### **Paul Anderson (Social Anthropology/Middle Eastern Studies, Cambridge): *Emerging Regionalisms in West Asia: the Case of Chinese Commodities in the Levant***

How should the social sciences explore of the emergent worlds of a new global China? This paper argues for a multi-polar approach, exploring the way that the transnational circulation of Chinese commodities is shaping conceptions of regional identity and new forms of regional connectedness in West Asia. It documents some of the trans-Asian trade routes operated by contemporary Syrian merchants who purchase commodities from the city of Yiwu in Zhejiang province for sale in markets in Syria. The city of Yiwu is home to the largest wholesale market of 'commodities of everyday use' in the world and attracts traders and merchants from across the planet. By describing how the Syrian conflict has altered the way that low-grade Chinese commodities purchased in Yiwu move around the Middle East, the paper argues that far from being an isolated "war economy", Syria has since 2011 been embedded in shifting patterns of regional circulation. The routes of these Chinese commodities – between Turkey, Syria and Jordan; and between Syria's coastal ports and Beirut – are giving new prominence to Levantine regional identities. Thus, the "emergent worlds of a new global China" should be studied not just as the universalisation or local appropriation of Chinese values, but in a multi-polar way, as the emergence of new regionalisms in West Asia under the umbrella of trans-Asian connectivity. West Asian regional circuits and identities are shaped both by local conditions – such as the Syrian conflict and its shifting zones of sovereignty – and by transregional forms of connectedness that have been revitalised by the globalisation of Chinese manufacturing.



**May Tan-Mullins (International Relations, Nottingham Ningbo): *Political Ecology of Rising China***

China's greater role in the global economy has profound implications for the world. Along with its economic presence in forms of trade, aid and foreign direct investment, China has rapidly magnified its overseas and global environmental footprint. Substantial amount of Chinese investment are concentrated in sectors that are environmentally sensitive such as oil, gas and mineral exploration and hydropower provision. In addition, President Xi announced the Belt Road Initiative (BRI) in 2013 to look at improving and creating new trading routes and investment opportunities, and will pass through over 60 countries in Asia, Europe, Middle East and Africa. These investment could have both positive and/or negative impacts on the environment, depending on the differential strategies and practices of the Chinese firms and actors. This paper examines the differential environmental implications of Chinese actors and impacts on the global environment through the lens of political ecology. Power relations between different actors are at the heart of this approach as all actors possess some form of power to control and access resources. By developing the political ecology of rising China theoretical framework, and examining these unequal power relations between the different stakeholders, this paper provides a way to explain the uneven distribution of environmental resources and outcomes due to a rising China.

**Ming Du (Law, Surrey): *The Metaphor of Market Economy in International Economic Relations: China and the World***

International economic rules embodied in international trade agreements and investment treaties have long been imagined as providing an "interface" for states with different political and economic systems, without which it is claimed that international trade and investment activities would be severely impeded. Further, it is safe to conclude that the bedrock idea of such an "interface" is "market economy", a heavily contested and ambiguous concept. Indeed, the widely shared perception that China is not a market economy is precisely the root cause of many economic woes between China and the western powers. This paper intends to explore how and why the metaphor of market economy has emerged as the key concept defining international economic relations with China in the context of chronic (and recently intensified) trade and investment disputes between China and other major economic powers such as the US and the EU. The paper attempts to answer the following questions: to what extent the metaphor of market economy has been embedded in current international economic rules? Is it a justiciable concept? Is China a market economy? Will it be one in the future? Is it possible to strike a delicate balance between maintaining free, fair and reciprocal economic cooperation based on market economy principles on the one hand, and avoiding the abuse of the concept as a discriminatory and protectionist tool wielded against China on the other hand? Both positively and normatively, what are the prospects and limits of international economic institutions in nudging China in the right direction so what international cooperation could be maintained and flourished?

### **Panel 3: Centers and Margins: History of Ideas**

#### **Bai Tongdong (Philosophy, Fudan): *A Confucian New Tianxia Model of National Identity and Global Governance - And Why Is It Superior to the Nation-State and Liberal Models***

An assumption of this paper is that China's Zhou-Qin transition is a modernization, and the pre-Qin Chinese thinkers already addressed issues of modernity. On the issues of national identity and international relations, early Confucians developed a *tianxia* model. According to this model, state identity is based upon a Confucian conception of universal but unequal compassion and the distinction between the civilized and the barbaric. It recognizes the legitimacy of sovereignty, but allows it to be overridden under certain conditions ("humane (*ren*) responsibility overrides sovereignty"). I will argue in this paper that, on the aforementioned issues, an updated *tianxia* model is superior to two models developed in the West, the nation-state model and the liberal cosmopolitan model. The new *tianxia* model offers a coherent theory of the peaceful rise of China, and implies a hierarchical world order that is to replace the UN. It also addresses various ethnic issues in contemporary China.

#### **Iwo Amelung (History, Frankfurt): *Dealing with environmental determinism in Republic China***

Explaining the Chinese development by means of considering the natural environment has been – and to a certain extent still is – a popular means of historical, economic and social analysis. This was true for scholars in traditional China and it was even more so with Western scholars beginning with Montesquieu. It is well known, that in the early 20<sup>th</sup> century environmental determinist explanations became very popular, and they did not fail to exert an influence on China herself. This in particular is true for the ideas of Ellsworth Huntington relating to the effect of climate on social and economic development. In this preliminary paper, I will discuss the impact of environmental determinist ideas in Republican China. I am especially interested into the question of how Chinese scientists reacted to the challenge of environmental determinism and how they attempted to counter arguments, which seemed to deny China and her citizens the capacity for modern development. I also will show that the discussion of environmental determinism sparked research in historical meteorology, which greatly contributed to meteorologists understanding of climate change and thus can be considered as a particular interesting example of localized science.

#### **Christoph Harbsmeier (Chinese Studies, Oslo): *Self-Construal in China: Historical and Comparative Perspectives***

In this lecture I shall compare some characteristic ways of construing one's Self in ancient Greece and in Rome with those in pre-Qin China. I shall try to link styles of self-construal to the various literary traditions of authorial self-presentation and intended readership in later European and Chinese traditions.