1장. Introduction

- 이 책의 출발점. How can we think about a future Chinese hegemony if it is possible?
  다음 세 가지 목적:
  ① 세계사적 패권의 일환으로서 동아시아 지역에서 중국 패권 연구
  ② 동아시아 신흥 패권 중국의 역사적 배경 설명
  ③ 근대 서구 경험이에서 나온 기존 IR 이론을 수정할 동아시아 역사 사례의 제출

- 질문들
  - What were the grand strategic choices that imperial China and its neighbors adopted toward one another under the condition of Chinese hegemony?
  - What were the fundamental institutional practices that sustained their interactions as part of an international society of Chinese hegemony?
  - And how can we explain these strategic and institutional choices?

- policy implications
  the potential of ethical relationalism in contemporary Chinese foreign policy

The Argument

- relational theory of grand strategy
  a relational perspective requires looking beyond actor attributes to their patterned relationships in social explanation.
  - the structural effects of patterned relationships on actor strategy.
  - the theoretical synthesis of Chinese and Western relationalisms and empirical application to historical East Asia

※ 장평은 사회학의 새로운 존재론(관계사회학)을 국제사회론에 적용, 선호가 주어진 것으로 가정했던 기존의 관리적 선형이론에 대한 수정. 자아를 유의미하게 만드는 목표의 가치 확립에 관여하는 합리성을 '표현적 합리성(expressive rationality)'라고 한다. (Heap 1992)

1. hierarchy in regional politics
  - hierarchy as a relational structure of international authority(David Lake) and hierarchy as a Chinese international strategy(David Kang).
  -degrees of relational hierarchy in regional politics 추가, degree of Chinese hegemony in regional politics를 생각함
  - hegemony as the conjunction of material primacy and social legitimacy.
  -Most of the time, early Ming emperors adopted a strategy of instrumental hierarchy for the maximization of self-interest by exploiting hierarchical relationships with foreign rulers. Less frequently, but still significantly, they practiced a strategy of expressive hierarchy in accordance with Confucian propriety by establishing ethically endowed relationships for the sake of having such relationships.
2. expressive rationality vs. instrumental rationality
- expressive rationality embodying Confucian relational affection and obligation, as opposed to instrumental rationality of consequentialist means-end calculation, was an essential feature of regional relations in Ming China. -Expressive rationality was the Confucian paradigm of psychologically natural and ethically appropriate social action.
- This finding challenges the Eurocentric IR literature, which has hardly any conception of expressive rationality at all. It also qualifies the traditional Chinese view of "Confucian pacifism" and the recent realist approach of reducing Confucianism to a residual variable in accounting for strategic formation.
- My overall argument is that regional relations reflected both expressive and instrumental strategies. The adoption of these strategies was conditioned by the degree of the conflict of interest in particular relationships. Expressive strategies were more likely to be adopted under the condition of relational amity.

3. the tribute system
- Fairbank's tribute system은 중국 및 동아시아 국제관계의 전체상 설명 못함. 그럼에도 불구하고, David Kang, Zhang Yongjin, Barry Buzan 등 IR 학자들은 페이낼크를 원용하여 조공체제를 동아시아 역사상 사회 구조, 국제 사회로 간주. 그러나 웨스트필리아 주권이 "organized hypocrisy"였던 것처럼, it was an incomplete system that was constantly revised, challenged, or avoided by different actors.
- 조공체제를 국제사회로 보면, 조공체제가 개별 행위자의 행동에 미치는 구조적,제도적 효과가 분석되어야 함. 장, 장, 부진은 조공체제의 구조적 특성만 강조하고 행위자 수준의 과정을 보지 않음.
- 조공체제를 국제사회로 보면, 조공의계(a hierarchical relationship)가 기본제도(fundamental institution). 조공의계에는 행위자들 간에 네 가지 전략이 존재했음. expressive hierarchy for Confucian propriety and instrumental hierarchy for self-interest maximization in the case of China, and identification with Chinese values and deference to Chinese power in the case of other actors. 따라서 조공체제에는 중국의 시대적 전략적인 양 측면 모두 존재

4. the strategic responses of China's neighbors to Chinese hegemony in the region.
- China's neighbors adopted an impressive variety of strategies, including, from the most to the least cooperative, identification with Chinese values, deference to Chinese power, access to China's resource network, and exit from that network. The strategy of deference in order to maximize self-interest by exploiting Chinese resources was the most prominent.
- the strategies of identification, deference, access, and exit

Case Selection
- 선택의 기준
- when China achieved regional hegemony. (표1.1, 그림1.1, pp.13-14)
- when the international society existed, composed of China and its neighbors and sustained by some fundamental institutional practices.
- the one in which the tribute system was most fully developed in Chinese history.
=> The early Ming dynasty (1368-1424), spanning the reigns of the founding Hongwu emperor (r. 1368-1398) and his son the Yongle emperor (r. 1403-1424), offers the best methodological fit in case selection.
Method
- The qualitative case studies. the method of contextualizing historical narratives. process
tracing.
-use the term polity rather than state to refer to the political units of premodern East
Asia

2장. A Relational Theory of Grand Strategy

Relational International Structure

- ordering principles
  - Confucian relationalism, the expressive principle (qingganxing yuanze 情感
性原則) and the instrumental principle (gongjuxing yuanze 工具性原則).
  - two dimensional principle of action: intimacy-distance (qinshu 親疏) and superiority-
inferiority (zunbei 尊卑), the principle of respecting the superior (zunzun
yuanze 尊尊原則), the principle of favoring the intimate (qingqing yuanze
親親原則).

- the differentiation of roles
  - two hierarchical axes of sovereign-subordinate and father-son relationships
  - Normative obligations; Chinese imperial grace (en 恩) and humaneness (ren 仁).
    Non-Chinese loyalty (zhong 忠) and integrity (cheng 诚).
  - the extent of intimacy or distance comes to be determined more by culture than by
race, that is, by foreign polities' perceived cultural affinity with China.

| TABLE 2.1 |
| Logics of action in Confucian relationalism |

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Ordering principle</th>
<th>Logic of relational action</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Expressive</td>
<td>Hierarchical differentiation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Instrumental</td>
<td>Self-interest maximization</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

- the distribution of ties
  - social network analysis.
  - actor degree centrality(行位自連结中心) can be used to estimate the extent of
centralization in a network—how much other actors rely on a single actor, a proxy for
power and influence

- Waltz와의 차이 ① viewing international hierarchy and anarchy as a continuum or
matter of degree ② functional differentiation 대신 role differentiation
  - Waltz' 구조이론은 국가 행위를 구체화하지 못하는(아나키의 논리적 결과인 자구 열리
이외에는) 반면, 관계적 구조 이론은 행위 패턴을 구체적으로 특정
  - Wendt는 정체성을 고정된 자아의 본질로 취급함으로써 'thin' constructivism에 머물.
관계적 구조 이론은 정체성을 관계적 상호작용 속에서 변화, 발전되는 일련의 동일화에
의해 구성되는 것으로 파악

- 3 -
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Structural components</th>
<th>Analytical indicators</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Ordering principles</td>
<td>Expressive and instrumental</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Differentiation of roles</td>
<td>Sovereign-subordinate and father-son hierarchy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Distribution of ties</td>
<td>Actor degree centrality</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Instrumental Relational Grand Strategies**

- **instrumentalism coupled with role differentiation**
  - A grand strategy of instrumental hierarchy, whereby China seeks to establish hierarchical relationships with other polities in order to achieve some other end, such as security, power, or legitimacy.
  - In response, other actors might pursue a grand strategy of deference, whereby they defer to, but do not necessarily accept as legitimate Chinese hierarchy in order to achieve their own ends.
  - The Confucian cultural norm of hierarchical differentiation is only strategically used for self-interest. Confucianism as imperial ideology.

- **Instrumentalism coupled with the distribution of ties**
  - A grand strategy of centralization whereby China as the central actor in its international network seeks to maintain its central position in the network.
  - If other actors expect China's resource network to bring them benefits, they might respond with a grand strategy of access, whereby they try to obtain access to the resources controlled by or mediated through China by establishing relations with it.
  - But if the actors believe that such access would actually damage their interests, they may instead opt for the strategy of exit, whereby they reduce the strengths of their ties with China (alienation), sever ties with China in the present network in order to be left alone (isolation), or enter into relations with other actors in a different network (switching).

**Expressive Relational Grand Strategies**

- **Expressive rationality coupled with Confucian role differentiation**
  - A grand strategy of expressive hierarchy, hierarchical relationships along the sovereign-subordinate and father-son axes.
  - China's differential treatment of different polities on the basis of their cultural intimacy to or distance from it.
  - The principles of reciprocity and mutuality, not exploitation. A strategy of simultaneous integration and differentiation. To establish ethically and emotionally endowed relationships.
  - Other actors may pursue deference, access, or a grand strategy of identification.
passionate and sincere belief in the positive, transformative power of Chinese civilization.

Conditions of Grand Strategies

- rationalities
- the first major condition that makes particular strategies possible

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Relational grand strategies (Table 2.3)</th>
<th>Instrumental</th>
<th>Expressive</th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>China</td>
<td>Centralization, instrumental hierarchy</td>
<td>Expressive hierarchy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other actors</td>
<td>Exit, access, deference</td>
<td>Identification</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

- Rational choice theory는 social action에서 instrumental rationality만 강조; Confucian relationalis은 유교 영향으로 동아시아 전통에서 expressive rationality만 강조.
- 두 개의 합리성은 상호체계적이지 않고 동일한 행위에서 모두 발견될 수 있음. 합리성이 또한 관계적, 구체적 상황에 따라 정해짐. 동일한 합리성을 공유하는 국가들의 관계가 더 안정적으려 지속되려는 가정.

- the degree of the conflict of interest
- situation specific, a facilitating condition of instrumental or expressive rationality, but not a necessary or sufficient condition of either.
- authority 또한 정도의 문제로 접근해야 함; from secondary actors' strategies of access and exit (no authority), through deference (some authority), to identification (great authority).

- 가설
- China ① the grand strategy of expressive hierarchy: the degree of interest conflict low; other actors' strategy of identification과 상응할 때.
- ② the grand strategy of instrumental hierarchy: the degree of interest conflict high; when Confucian norms only constrain their behavior rather than constitute their identities and interests.
- ③ the grand strategy of centralization: the degree of interest conflict high; when Confucian norms have little influence on their behavior.

- Non-Chinese actors ①the grand strategy of identification: the degree of interest conflict low; the strategy is reciprocated with expressive hierarchy from China.
- ② the grand strategy of deference: the degree of interest conflict high; motivated by resource gains; Confucian norms constrain only their behavior rather than constitute their identities and interests.
- ③ the grand strategy of access: the degree of interest conflict high; motivated by resource gains; Confucian norms have little influence on their behavior.
- ④ the grand strategy of exit: the degree of conflict of interest high; reducing the strength of ties with China is a better protection of their interests.

Confucianism in Chinese Grand Strategy

- 5 -
- In instrumental hierarchy
  - constraining Chinese behavior
  - Confucian norms and institutions are used instrumentally to promote other interests.
  - compatible with coercion and inducement. Confucianism as an imperial ideology.
- In expressive hierarchy
  - constituting Chinese identities and interests and causing actual policies
  - it exerts its causal power as an intellectual source and an ethical guide.
  - a "truly" Confucian grand strategy. In instrumental hierarchy,
  - inducement as a fulfillment of the expressive principle of er (恩 grace). Its purpose is
    not economic or commercial exchange (e.g., trade), but the enhancement of the
    expressive relationship itself.
    - if the li (禮)—the fundamental basis of the Confucian ethical order—is seen as having
      been violated in Chinese eyes, coercion, whether rhetorical or actual, will be considered
      a legitimate instrument to restore it. (刑 penal law)—"ethical coercion."
- How can one tell whether a given coercion is a reflection of expressive hierarchy or
  instrumental hierarchy?
  - "War" in instrumental hierarchy entails the expansion of its aims and revision of the
    status quo.
  - punishment should entail force withdrawal after military operations.
- expressive hierarchy serves the interest of both China and its interacting actors
  in their relationships. In terms of interest, the strategy is neither altruistic nor egoistic,
  but relational.

Alternative Explanations
- Confucian pacifism with preference for a defensive or accommodationist grand strategy
- Ritual integration, ritual domination, or ritual hegemony. It claims that China wanted
  to establish symbolic but not actual domination over other polities, by initiating
  tributary hierarchies with them but not imposing direct political or military rule over
  them.
  --> expressive hierarchy is only one among three possible grand strategies China might
  adopt.
- Cultural realism. (Alastair Iain Johnston) China had a realpolitik grand strategy
  determined by its parabellum strategic culture and modulated by military capabilities,
  with a preference for offensive and power-maximizing strategies.
- Realpolitik grand strategy. (Yuan-kang Wang) the logic of offensive realism.
  --> instrumental hierarchy. confucianism을 부수적 변수로 취급.
- Confucianism is the major causal variable in accounting for the strategy of
  expressive hierarchy, but it plays only an ideological, and thus a noncausal,
  role in the strategy of instrumental hierarchy. Moreover, neither expressive
  hierarchy nor instrumental hierarchy can be characterized as a realpolitik offensive
  strategy, which Johnston and Wang posit.