

University of Toronto
Department of Political Science

POL 196H/F
The China Challenge

Fall, 2023
Mr. Falkenheim

Office: SS 3029
Office Hours: Tuesday, 2:30-4:00 PM and by appointment
Email: victor.falkenheim@utoronto.ca

Course Description

China's meteoric rise to great power status has triggered an intense international debate over its global implications. While many analysts see Beijing's rise as posing a threat to global political and economic stability, Chinese leaders have argued forcefully that China's efforts to regain its historic preeminence will result in a 'win-win' outcome for all states. This course will assess the merits of these contending positions through an historical examination of China's 20th century renaissance.

The course will begin by tracing the long period of imperial decline in the 19th century, culminating in China's revolutionary rebirth as a Marxist state in 1949. A major focus will be on the Mao-era legacy of revolutionary diplomacy and the foreign policy consequences of its later transformation into a market-authoritarian powerhouse. The course will end with an assessment of the implications for Canada and the international community of China's expanding power and influence.

This course is organized in a seminar format, with students rotating responsibility for summarizing and commenting on the readings.

Grading Scheme

Midterm Test (October 17)	25%
Final Test (December 6)	25%
Participation	20%
Essay (Due: December 6)	30%

Readings

Topics and assigned readings will be posted as PDFs or links on a weekly basis in the **Modules** sections of Quercus, on the schedule contained in the syllabus. No text is required. Required readings are marked with asterisks. Read double asterisked articles first.

Topics and Readings

September 12 **Course Introduction and Overview: Defining the 'China Challenge'**

1. Ding Gang, "Western Intellectuals have weak minds...."***
2. Kaiser Kuo, "Why do the Chinese People like their government?" 2019.**
3. Martin Jacques, When China Rules the World, Chapter 11**.
4. Randall Peerenboom, The China Model: Threat to the West or Model for the Rest, Chapter 1.
5. Graham Allison, "The Thucydides Trap: Are the US and China Headed for War?" Atlantic, September 24, 2015.
6. US VP, Mike Pence, "US Policy Towards China," (October 4, 2018)

September 19

The Sinocentric World Order and its Collapse

1. Martin Jacques, When China Rules the World, Chapter 4 ("China's Ignominy").**
2. Howard French, All Under Heaven, Introduction**
3. Peter Perdue, "The Tributary System," Journal of Contemporary China, 2015*
7. Video: "Two Coasts of China"

September 26

China as Revolutionary State: The Mao Era

1. Mao Zedong, "On People's Democratic Dictatorship," (1949)**
2. John Gittings, The World and China: 1922-1972, Intro. & Chap. 1**
3. John Garver, "The Opportunity Costs of Mao's Foreign Policy Choices," The China Journal, 49 (2003)**
4. John Garver, "China as the Epicenter of the World Revolution."**
5. Video (The Mao Years)

October 3

China's 'Second Revolution': Deng's 'Going Out' Policies

1. Henry Kissinger, China ("The Indestructible Deng")**
2. Kenneth Lieberthal, "The Reform Era." *
3. Fravel and Medeiros, "China's New Diplomacy,"**
4. Video "Born Under the Red Flag"

October 10

China's 'Third Revolution': Foreign Policy under Xi Jinping

1. Evan Osnos, "Making China Great Again," New Yorker.*
2. Minxin Pei, "China Under Xi Jinping"***
3. Ian Johnson, "Will China Be Supreme?" NYRBa*
4. Rush Doshi, "Who's to blame for China's foreign assertiveness?" Global China, 2021**

October 17	Midterm Test
October 24	China: “A New Tianxia?” <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Dan Tobin, “How Xi Jinping’s ‘New Century’ Should Have Ended the US debate on Beijing’s Ambitions” CSIS, 2021.** 2. Xiaoyu Pu, “Rethinking China’s Rise: China’s Scholars Debate Strategic Overstretch,” <u>International Affairs</u>, 2018.* 3. Nadege Rolland, “China’s Vision for a New World Order”* 4. Iain Johnston, “China in a World of Orders.”**
October 31	Chinese Nationalism Reassessed <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Lucian Pye, “Chinese Nationalism Shanghaied.”** 2. Suisheng Zhao, China’s Pragmatic Nationalism, Can it be Managed?* 3. Julia Lovell, “It’s Just History: Patriotic Education in the PRC.”**
November 7	Reading Week: No Class
November 14	China and the World: The Economic Dimension <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. David Shambaugh, <u>China Goes Global: The Partial Power</u>, Chapter 5* 2. Aaron Friedberg and Charles Boustany, “Answering China’s Economic Challenge.”** 3. James Reilly, “China’s BRI.”* 4. Video: “China from the Inside Out”
November 21	China’s “Soft Power” Challenge <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Stanley Rosen, “China and US Soft Power Compared.”** 2. David Shambaugh, “China’s Cultural Power”* 3. Daniel Lynch, <u>China’s Futures: Chapter 6 (Soft Power)</u>** 4. J. Michael Cole, “The Hard Edge of Soft Power.” 5. Anne Marie Brady, “Magic Weapons.”
November 28	Territory, Identity and Security <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Nathan and Scobel, <u>China’s Search for Security</u> Chapter 9.** 2. James Leibold, <u>Xinjiang</u>, CLM 59** 3. Kharis Templeman, “How Taiwan Stands up to China.”** 4. Victoria Tinbor Hui, “HK faces Tianmen 2.0”*
December 5	End-of-Term Test