

**University of Toronto  
Department of Political Science**

POL 196H/S  
The China Challenge

Winter, 2024  
Mr. Falkenheim

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### **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 20<sup>th</sup> century renaissance.

The course will begin by tracing the long period of imperial decline in the 19<sup>th</sup> 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 (February 13)	25%
Final Test (April 2)	25%
Participation	20%
Essay (Due: April 5)	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**

January 9      **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)

January 16

### **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”

January 23

### **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)

January 30

### **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”

February 6

### **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\*\*

- February 13            **Midterm Test**
- February 20           **No Class: Reading Week**
- February 27           **China: “A New Tianxia?”**
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,” International Affairs, 2018.\*
  3. Nadege Rolland, “China’s Vision for a New World Order”\*
  4. Iain Johnston, “China in a World of Orders.”\*\*
- March 5                **Chinese Nationalism Reassessed**
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.”\*\*
- March 12              **China’s “Soft Power” Challenge**
1. Stanley Rosen, “China and US Soft Power Compared.”\*\*
  2. David Shambaugh, “China’s Cultural Power”\*
  3. Daniel Lynch, China’s Futures: Chapter 6 (Soft Power)\*\*
  4. J. Michael Cole, “The Hard Edge of Soft Power.”
  5. Anne Marie Brady, “Magic Weapons.”
  6. Maria Repnikova “Soft Power-Ethiopia”
- March 19              **The Military-Technology Challenge**
1. Tai Ming Cheung, “Innovate to Dominate”
  2. Adam Liu and Xiaojing Li, “Support for Unification”
  3. CRS PLA Update (2022)
  4. Dennis Blasko, “PLA Weaknesses....”
  5. TBA
- March 26              **The Economic Challenge**
1. David Shambaugh, China Goes Global: The Partial Power, 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”

April 2      **Territory, Identity and Security**

1. Nathan and Scobel, China's Search for Security Chapter 9.\*\*
2. James Leibold, Xinjiang, CLM 59\*\*
3. Kharis Templeman, "How Taiwan Stands up to China."\*\*
4. Victoria Tinbor Hui, "HK faces Tianmen 2.0"\*

April 2      **End-of-Term Test** (Takehome)