

*The University of British Columbia  
School of Public Policy and Global Affairs*

**PPGA 591D**

**Global China and the Crisis of World Order**

Summer Session 1 2022

Mondays and Wednesdays 16:00 - 19:00 Pacific Time

Online by Zoom

**(Version 3: 03/06/22)**



“What China sees today is not an international order at all, least of all *the* international order, but merely the product of the struggle of the Great Powers of half a century ago.” Wang Gungwu (2008)

“The 21st-century world will be rich and complex: multicivilizational, multipolar, and multilateral.” Kishore Mahbubani (2021)

**Instructor:** Paul Evans  
Office Hours: by appointment

**Instructor:** Vina Nadjibulla  
Office Hours: Mon/Wed 1-3pm; Tues 1-4 pm (online, appointments by email)

**Teaching Assistants:**  
Nancy Wei  
Tang Bingjun

**Subject:**

We are living at a turbulent moment as a series of global crises are shaking nations and people everywhere.

A world order can be defined as the combination of the balance of power plus the institutions, rules and norms that shape acceptable international behaviour. The current world order is being challenged in dramatic ways, in part by the pandemic and the war in Ukraine as well as by a shifting balance of power, a strategic competition between the US and China that is veering towards a new kind of Cold War, climate change, and domestic political upheavals in key countries.

Our focus is contemporary China and its role in the world. It is debated whether China is aiming to rule the world. But it does aim to lead it in several ways as the world is being reshaped by its fourth rise, its role in regional and global production systems, its efforts to move upward in the international division of labour, its outward investment and infrastructure projects, its diplomatic and military assets, its deepening role in international institutions, the persistence and dynamics of its particular form of authoritarian capitalism, and its challenge to the United States and an American-centric world order. Decisions of Chinese officials, citizens, business people, and consumers have impact around the world.

Just what is *global* China? What are its traditions of relations with the outer world? What do its current leaders want to achieve? Is it a responsible or revisionist player in the international system? Can it provide leadership in areas like climate change and international development? Will it support, supplement, revise, or destroy the institutions, norms, practices and values of what some have labelled the *liberal* international order? Is it a defender of globalization in a suddenly de-globalizing world? Is a Sino-centric world order imaginable or desirable?

How to interpret and understand China and formulate the right responses are controversial and hotly contested around the world. Policy choices are difficult and the stakes high. Our approach will involve materials from a variety of different sources and perspectives. One key objective will be to be familiar with views about China that are both inside-out and outside-in, critical analysis informed by empathy.

**Format:**

The seminar will be offered by Zoom but there may well be occasional in-person gatherings for those based in Vancouver. Any of the teaching team can be reached best by email or, on an urgent matter for the instructors, by phone.

It is expected that participants will (a) bring the full measure of their intellect, skills and curiosity (plus a sense of humour) to the class and (b) attend all of the sessions (if you can't, let us know in advance). The class works best if all participants are visible on screen.

We will be using a combination of overviews and introductions by the instructors, opening student comments, breakout groups, plenary discussion, and concluding summaries by the instructors and student designates.

We will be using Canvas for sharing the syllabus, readings, viewings, and our Power Point slides. It is best to reach us by email. Appointments normally will be by Zoom though Professor Nadjibulla will be keeping regular office hours for those who would like to see her in person.. Our PPT's will be made available the day after each class (and occasionally the day before) and may be shared.

It is important to note that the seminar deals with issues and employs sources that are considered sensitive in some domestic jurisdictions including mainland China and the Hong Kong SAR. For this reason we will not be recording any of our sessions unless there is unanimous agreement among all members of the seminar.

### **Assignments and Assessment:**

#### *1. Contribution to class discussions:* 25%

This can take several forms: thoughtful participation in discussion (quality and imagination not quantity that counts); contributions to the chat box set up for each session; and messages that can be sent to instructors after class.

#### *2. Leadership in one session:* 25%

Each student will play a lead role in one session, usually in partnership with one or two others, with responsibility for making a short statement in the opening part of the seminar about the two or three most important issues and questions raised by the readings; providing a brief 2 minute synopsis of the highlights of one of the breakout groups (highlights, not summaries); and after class preparing a summary in one paragraph of the key issue in debate and a second of the best insights that will be shared with the full group. This will be due the morning after each class for distribution to the full group.

#### *3. Final Paper* 50%

Three options, all in consultation with an instructor: (1) an analytic essay on a topic of your choosing; (2) a review essay focused on a book, video, podcast, or report of your choosing; or (3) a two-page policy brief with accompanying explanatory note on an actionable issue by an identified actor. Papers should not exceed 2500 words inclusive of notes and bibliography. It is not expected that these will involve a great deal of research beyond what we have examined in assigned readings. But making connections to class readings and discussion topics is essential.

Each student will need to submit a one-page outline of their paper that indicates its importance, the main question it will assess, the main argument, and sources to be used 24 hours before their private tutorial. Papers are due June 29<sup>th</sup>.

### **A Note About Assigned Materials**

It is important to do the required readings and viewings in advance of each session. They are relatively heavy for the first 7 session but lighten as attention turns to final papers. The recommended materials can be very helpful in preparing papers. Read, view and listen at will.

The amount of material available on contemporary China is enormous and constantly expanding. Finding informed, balanced and nuanced views remains a challenge. The selection on the

syllabus is intended to provide a glimpse into some of the best and most recent English-language sources. Considering the dynamism of our topic and the coverage it receives, there may be additions and substitutions to the list as term proceeds. If you spot something that is especially interesting and relevant, do share.

Places to start for analysis beyond books and academic journals are the publications and podcasts of the Eurasia Group, Gavekal, the South China Morning Post (Hong Kong), Foreign Affairs/the Council on Foreign Relations, Foreign Policy, the MERICS group, Sinocism, Sinica (SupChina), China Global, and China\*Africa.

### **Academic Integrity:**

*UBC expects all students to conform to the highest standards of academic integrity. It takes plagiarism very seriously, whether direct, indirect, or self-plagiarism. Direct plagiarism is intentionally and completely lifting the words, equations, charts, graphs or artistic material of another author or authors. Indirect plagiarism is failing to cite completely or accurately, and/or copying themes, ideas, or sources the student has not read from another author or authors. Self-plagiarism is recycling papers, documents, equations, and so forth from a document previously submitted by the student without quotation, citation, or attribution of the previous work.*

*The University provides resources to support student learning and to maintain healthy lifestyles but recognizes that sometimes crises arise and so there are additional resources to access including those for survivors of sexual violence. UBC values respect for the person and ideas of all members of the academic community. Harassment and discrimination are not tolerated nor is suppression of academic freedom. UBC provides appropriate accommodation for students with disabilities and for religious and cultural observances. UBC values academic honesty and students are expected to acknowledge the ideas generated by others and to uphold the highest academic standards in all of their actions. Details of the policies and how to access support are available here (<https://senate.ubc.ca/policiesresources-support-student-success>).*

### **Schedule, Materials, Focus Questions**

#### **May 16            Introductions and the What and When of Global China**

A: Send me a one-page description of why you are interested in the seminar, any prior China connections or expertise, and the ONE key question that you hope to be able to better answer when the class is finished.

B: View/Listen: CHOOSE ONE

Niall Ferguson, "China: Triumph and Turmoil," 2016, Part 3, 47 mins,  
<http://www.dailymotion.com/video/xs684o> OR

Zanny Minton Beddoes, "Duelling Superpowers: What Does this Mean for the Rest of Us?," 18 June 2021, 55 mins, <https://www.ohboy.ca/jmdf2021> OR

Rana Mitter, BBC Sounds, "Meanwhile in Beijing," 25 May 2020, 28 mins,  
<https://www.bbc.co.uk/sounds/play/m000jf70>

## Required Reading:

David Shambaugh, "Understanding China's Global Impact," Ch. 1 in his *China Goes Global: The Partial Power* (Oxford University Press, 2013), pp. 1-12. (PDF on Canvas)

## Recommended:

McKinsey and Company "China and the World: Inside a Changing Economic Relationship," July 2019, <https://www.mckinsey.com/featured-insights/china/china-and-the-world-inside-the-dynamics-of-a-changing-relationship>. Pay special attention to the Introductory video and text and the report itself, especially the Executive Summary and pp. 25-43.

Stephen Walt, "The Geopolitics of Empathy," *Foreign Policy*, 27 June 2021, [https://foreignpolicy.com/2021/06/27/the-geopolitics-of-empathy/?utm\\_source=PostUp&utm\\_medium=email&utm\\_campaign=34330&utm\\_term=Flashpoints%20OC&tpcc=34330](https://foreignpolicy.com/2021/06/27/the-geopolitics-of-empathy/?utm_source=PostUp&utm_medium=email&utm_campaign=34330&utm_term=Flashpoints%20OC&tpcc=34330)

**Focus questions:** What is *global* China? In what ways is it a global presence?

## May 18 Power Shift and the Geo-Political Overlay

Joseph Nye, "On Global Power Shifts," TED Talk, July 2010, 18 minutes,

[https://www.ted.com/talks/joseph\\_nye\\_global\\_power\\_shifts/transcript?language=en](https://www.ted.com/talks/joseph_nye_global_power_shifts/transcript?language=en)

Graham Allison, "Is War Between the US and China Inevitable?", TED Talk, September 2018, 18 minutes,

[https://www.ted.com/talks/graham\\_allison\\_is\\_war\\_between\\_china\\_and\\_the\\_us\\_inevitable?language=en](https://www.ted.com/talks/graham_allison_is_war_between_china_and_the_us_inevitable?language=en)

Michael Beckley and Hal Brands, "The End of China's Rise," *Foreign Affairs*, 1 October 2021, <https://www.foreignaffairs.com/articles/china/2021-10-01/end-chinas-rise>

Andrew Nathan, "What Exactly is America's China Policy?", 14 April 2022, *Foreign Policy*, [https://foreignpolicy.com/2022/04/14/us-china-biden-strategy-geopolitics/?utm\\_source=PostUp&utm\\_medium=email&utm\\_campaign=Editors%20Picks%20OC&utm\\_term=41359&tpcc=Editors%20Picks%20OC](https://foreignpolicy.com/2022/04/14/us-china-biden-strategy-geopolitics/?utm_source=PostUp&utm_medium=email&utm_campaign=Editors%20Picks%20OC&utm_term=41359&tpcc=Editors%20Picks%20OC)

Matt Sheehan, "The Chinese Way of Innovation," *Foreign Affairs*, 21 April 2022,

[https://www.foreignaffairs.com/articles/china/2022-04-21/chinese-way-innovation?utm\\_medium=newsletters&utm\\_source=fatoday&utm\\_campaign=The%20Return%20of%20Statecraft&utm\\_content=20220421&utm\\_term=FA%20Today%20-%20112017](https://www.foreignaffairs.com/articles/china/2022-04-21/chinese-way-innovation?utm_medium=newsletters&utm_source=fatoday&utm_campaign=The%20Return%20of%20Statecraft&utm_content=20220421&utm_term=FA%20Today%20-%20112017)

## Recommended:

John Mearsheimer, "The Inevitable Rivalry: American, China and the Tragedy of Great-Power Politics," *Foreign Affairs*, November/December 2021,

<https://www.foreignaffairs.com/articles/china/2021-10-19/inevitable-rivalry-cold-war>

Kishore Mahbubani, "China: Threat or Opportunity?", *Noema*, 15 June 2020,

<https://www.noemamag.com/china-threat-or-opportunity/>

Chas Freeman, "The Struggle with China is not a Replay of the Cold War," 25 September 2020,

<https://chasfreeman.net/the-struggle-with-china-is-not-a-replay-of-the-cold-war/>

Anatol Lieven, "Stay Calm About China," *Foreign Policy*, 26 August 2020,

<https://foreignpolicy.com/2020/08/26/china-existential-threat-united-states-xi-jinping/>

Adam Tooze, “Why There is No Solution to Our Age of Crisis Without China,” *The New Statesman*, 21 July 2021, <https://www.newstatesman.com/international/places/2021/07/why-there-no-solution-our-age-crisis-without-china>

Farid Zakaria, “The New China Scare: Why American Shouldn’t Panic About Its Latest Challenger,” *Foreign Affairs*, Jan-Feb 2020, <https://www.foreignaffairs.com/articles/china/2019-12-06/new-china-scare>

Optional on video:

Centre for Independent Studies (Australia), Mahbubani vs. Mearsheimer, 11 May 2020, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=ZnkC7GXmLdo>, 58’33”

Center for Strategic and International Studies, “China Power,” short video plus website, <https://chinapower.csis.org/about-us/>

Lowy Power Index, Fall 2021, <https://power.lowyinstitute.org/>

**Focus questions:** Basket A: Is the balance of power *really* shifting in the direction of multipolarity? Is American really declining and China really rising? Basket B: Is a Cold War 2.0 conflict with China inevitable? Is it desirable? How would it/will it differ from Cold War 1.0? Basket C: What does the US fear most about China’s rise? Basket D: What does China fear most about the West?

## May 25 Chinese Views of World Order and Its Place in It

Wang Gungwu, “China in the International Order: Some Historical Perspectives,” *China and the New International Order* (Routledge 2008), pp. 21-31. (PDF on Canvas)

Xi, Jinping, “For a Shared Future and Our Common Home,” Special Summit to Commemorate The 30th Anniversary of China-ASEAN Dialogue Relations, 22 November 2021, <https://news.cgtn.com/news/files/For-a-Shared-Future-and-Our-Common-Home.pdf>

Rana Mitter, “The World China Wants,” *Foreign Affairs*, January/February 2021, [https://www.foreignaffairs.com/articles/china/2020-12-08/world-china-wants?utm\\_medium=newsletters&utm\\_source=twofa&utm\\_campaign=Latin%20America%E2%80%99s%20Lost%20Decades&utm\\_content=20201225&utm\\_term=FA%20This%20Week%20-%20112017](https://www.foreignaffairs.com/articles/china/2020-12-08/world-china-wants?utm_medium=newsletters&utm_source=twofa&utm_campaign=Latin%20America%E2%80%99s%20Lost%20Decades&utm_content=20201225&utm_term=FA%20This%20Week%20-%20112017)

Elizabeth Economy, “Xi Jinping's New World Order: Can China Remake the International System?,” *Foreign Affairs*, 2022. <https://www.foreignaffairs.com/articles/china/2021-12-09/xi-jinpings-new-world-order>

Recommended:

Nadege Roland, “The China Model,” Testimony Before the U.S.-China Economic and Security Review Commission, 27 April 2020, <https://www.nbr.org/publication/a-china-model-beijings-promotion-of-alternative-global-norms-and-standards/>. Based on her “China’s Vision for a New World Order,” *NBR Special Report*, #83, January 2020, <https://www.nbr.org/publication/a-china-model-beijings-promotion-of-alternative-global-norms-and-standards/>

Stephen Walt, “Can China Create a New World Order,” *Foreign Policy*, 4 May 2021, <https://foreignpolicy.com/2021/05/04/the-world-might-want-chinas-rules/>

Liu Ming, “Xi Jinping’s Vision of a Community with a Shared Future for Mankind: A Revised International Order?”, National Bureau of Asian Research Special Report, 2 June 2020, pp. 13-23. <https://www.nbr.org/publication/xi-jinpings-vision-of-a-community-with-a-shared-future-for-humankind-a-revised-international-order/>

Harry Harding, “How the Past Shapes the Present: Five Ways in Which History Affects China’s Contemporary Foreign Relations,” *The Journal of American-East Asian Relations*, Spring 2009. PDF on Canvas.

**Focus questions:** Basket A: What world order does China desire now? Basket B: How has China’s past influenced its current conception of world order and China’s place in it? Basket C: How does it differ from the world order favoured by America and its democratic allies? Basket D: In a Rules Based International Order, who makes the rules?

### May 30 **China, Russia, Ukraine: Implications for World Order**

Bilahari Kausikan, “China’s Strategic Dilemmas,” *Asia Sentinel*, 22 March 2022, [https://www.asiasentinel.com/p/china-strategic-dilemmas?r=tv&s=r&utm\\_campaign=post&utm\\_medium=web](https://www.asiasentinel.com/p/china-strategic-dilemmas?r=tv&s=r&utm_campaign=post&utm_medium=web)

Yan Xuetong, “China’s Ukraine Conundrum,” *Foreign Affairs*, 2 May 2022, <https://www.foreignaffairs.com/articles/china/2022-05-02/chinas-ukraine-conundrum>

Dmytro Kuleba, “The Fight for Ukraine is Forging a New World,” *Foreign Policy*, 27 April 2022, <https://foreignpolicy.com/2022/04/27/ukraine-war-internet-metaverse-cyber-cryptocurrency/>

Yun Sun, “The War in Ukraine: China as the Mediator?” Stimson Center, 22 April 2022, <https://www.stimson.org/2022/the-war-in-ukraine-china-as-the-mediator/>

China File Contributors, “What Lessons Does China Take from Putin’s War?” *Foreign Policy*, 7 April 2022 <https://foreignpolicy.com/2022/04/07/china-russia-putin-ukraine-war-lessons-taiwan/>

“The War in Ukraine Will determine How China Sees the World”, *The Economist*, 19 March 2022, <https://www.economist.com/leaders/2022/03/19/the-war-in-ukraine-will-determine-how-china-sees-the-world>

#### Recommended:

Russia-China Joint Statement on International Relations, US-China Institute, 4 February 2022 <https://china.usc.edu/russia-china-joint-statement-international-relations-february-4-2022>

Russian-Ukraine War, Munk Debate, <https://munkdebates.com/debates/russia-ukraine-war>

Marc Saxer, “The Coming World Order,” IPS, 14 April 2022 <https://www.ips-journal.eu/topics/economy-and-ecology/the-return-of-geo-economics-5874/>

Ryan Hass, “Learning the Right Lessons from Ukraine for Taiwan” Brookings *Global China*, 22 February 22, 2022 <https://www.brookings.edu/blog/order-from-chaos/2022/02/22/learning-the-right-lessons-from-ukraine-for-taiwan/>

Diana Choyleva, “China is Reassessing Western Financial Power After Ukraine,” *Foreign Policy*, 15 April 2022, [https://foreignpolicy.com/2022/04/15/china-western-financial-power-ukraine/?utm\\_source=PostUp&utm\\_medium=email&utm\\_campaign=Subscribers%27%20Picks&utm\\_term=41970&tpcc=Subscribers%27%20Picks](https://foreignpolicy.com/2022/04/15/china-western-financial-power-ukraine/?utm_source=PostUp&utm_medium=email&utm_campaign=Subscribers%27%20Picks&utm_term=41970&tpcc=Subscribers%27%20Picks)

**Focus questions:** Basket A: How has the war in Ukraine altered the “post WWII world” order? Basket B: How is the war impacting China’s relations with Europe and the US? Basket C: Can Sino-Russian “friendship with no limits” survive the war and under what circumstances and scenarios? Basket D: To end the war, should Ukraine and the West make a deal with Putin’s Russia (Ukrainian land in exchange for peace scenario)?

## **June 1            China’s Approach to Global Governance and Multilateral Institutions: From Norm-Taker to Norm-Maker?**

Rosemary Foot, “China’s Challenge to the UN and Global Order,” *Global Asia*, June 2020, [https://www.globalasia.org/v15no2/cover/chinas-challenge-to-the-un-and-global-order\\_rosemary-foot](https://www.globalasia.org/v15no2/cover/chinas-challenge-to-the-un-and-global-order_rosemary-foot)

Rosemary Foot, “Beijing and the UN, 50 Years On”, *The Diplomat*, October 2021, <https://magazine.thediplomat.com/#/issues/-MkDJ1FMiRaPunY5-kyb>

Tung Cheng-Chia and Alan H. Yang, “How China Is Remaking the UN In Its Own Image,” *The Diplomat*, April 2020 <https://thediplomat.com/2020/04/how-china-is-remaking-the-un-in-its-own-image/>

Andréa Worden, “China at the UN Human Rights Council: Conjuring a “Community of Shared Future for Humankind””? pages 33-49 Special Report #87, The National Bureau of Asian Research, August 2020 [https://www.nbr.org/wp-content/uploads/pdfs/publications/sr87\\_aug2020.pdf](https://www.nbr.org/wp-content/uploads/pdfs/publications/sr87_aug2020.pdf)

Thomas Dyrenforth, “Beijing’s Blue Helmets: What to Make of China’s Role in UN Peacekeeping in Africa,” The Modern War Institute, August 2021 <https://mwi.usma.edu/beijings-blue-helmets-what-to-make-of-chinas-role-in-un-peacekeeping-in-africa/>

Dr. Courtney Fung, “China’s Evolving Role at the United Nations” CSIS Podcast, 2019, <https://www.csis.org/podcasts/chinapower/chinas-evolving-role-united-nations-conversation-courtney-fung>

### Recommended:

See-Won Byun, “Chinese Views of Hegemony and Multilateralism in the Biden Era”, The Asian Forum, July 2021, <https://theasanforum.org/chinese-views-of-hegemony-and-multilateralism-in-the-biden-era/>

Jeffrey Feltman, “China’s Expanding Role at the United Nations and How the United States Should Respond,” Brookings, *Global China*, September 2020, [https://www.brookings.edu/wp-content/uploads/2020/09/FP\\_20200914\\_china\\_united\\_nations\\_feltman.pdf](https://www.brookings.edu/wp-content/uploads/2020/09/FP_20200914_china_united_nations_feltman.pdf)

Speech by Vice Foreign Minister Le Yucheng at “Seeking Peace and Promoting Development: An Online Dialogue of Global Think Tanks of 20 Countries”, 6 May 2022 [https://www.fmprc.gov.cn/mfa\\_eng/wjbxw/202205/t20220507\\_10683086.html](https://www.fmprc.gov.cn/mfa_eng/wjbxw/202205/t20220507_10683086.html)

Howard W. French, “While America Slept, China Became Indispensable,” *Foreign Policy*, 9 May 9, 2022. <https://foreignpolicy.com/2022/05/09/us-china-competition-africa-central-asia-infrastructure-development/>



“China’s UN Peacekeeping in Africa, South China Morning Post,” 25 October 2021, Video embedded in [https://www.scmp.com/news/china/diplomacy/article/3153569/chinas-50-years-un-xi-jinping-says-international-rules-and?utm\\_medium=email&utm\\_source=cm&utm\\_campaign=enlz-today\\_international&utm\\_content=20211025&tpcc=enlz-today\\_international&UUID=749240bf-2c33-4ab2-af33-355e5d115a6e&next\\_article\\_id=3153466&article\\_id\\_list=3153569,3153466,3153561,3153601,3153586,3153592,3153593,3153587&tc=7&CMCampaignID=9221d2cef6b8331b56f1d1f79055e874](https://www.scmp.com/news/china/diplomacy/article/3153569/chinas-50-years-un-xi-jinping-says-international-rules-and?utm_medium=email&utm_source=cm&utm_campaign=enlz-today_international&utm_content=20211025&tpcc=enlz-today_international&UUID=749240bf-2c33-4ab2-af33-355e5d115a6e&next_article_id=3153466&article_id_list=3153569,3153466,3153561,3153601,3153586,3153592,3153593,3153587&tc=7&CMCampaignID=9221d2cef6b8331b56f1d1f79055e874)

**Focus questions:** Basket A: Can the UN remain relevant in a world defined by a “New Cold War” between the US and China? Basket B: What is the impact of growing Chinese institutional influence on the UN and its role in shaping global politics? Basket C: Is China remaking the UN in its own image (what can we learn for China’s engagement in the UN Human Rights Commission)?

**June 6            The Belt and Road Initiative and Responses (Guests: Jessica DiCarlo and Esther Ocheni)**

Yuen Yuen Ang, “Demystifying Belt and Road: The Struggle to Define China’s ‘Project of the Century’,” *Foreign Affairs*, 22 May 2019, <https://www.foreignaffairs.com/articles/china/2019-05-22/demystifying-belt-and-road>

Bert Hofman, Slide Deck from his presentation at Columbia University, June 2021. On Canvas.

Material on Laos

<https://thepeoplesmap.net/project/boten-special-economic-zone-boten-beautiful-land/>

Material on Africa

China\*Africa Research Initiative, <http://www.sais-cari.org/> Anything you find interesting.

Esther Ocheni, “Unpacking Infrastructure-for-Resources Deals in Africa’s Mining Sector and Best Practices for Future Investment,” *African Policy Journal*, Vol. 16, forthcoming Fall 2022. PDF of first draft on Canvas.

**June 8            Climate Change and COVID**

**Note: the class will be divided into two halves: the first focused on Climate Change; the second on COVID. Choose your focus.**

I. Climate Change

Sam Geall, China, Climate Politics and COP26, Lowy Institute, 25 October 2021,

<https://www.lowyinstitute.org/publications/china-climate-politics-and-cop26>

Marina Kaneti, “China’s Vision for Environmental Leadership,” *The Diplomat*, December 2021,

<https://thediplomat.com/2021/12/chinas-vision-for-environmental-leadership/>

#### Recommended:

David Sandalow, “China’s Response to Climate Change: A Study in Contrasts and a Policy at a Crossroads,” Asia Society Policy Institute *Issues Paper*, July 2020, 20

pp. <https://asiasociety.org/sites/default/files/2020-07/ASPI%20Issue%20Paper%20-%20China%E2%80%99s%20Response%20to%20Climate%20Change%20-%20David%20Sandalow%20-%20July%202020.pdf>

William Hurst, “Explaining China’s Climate Cop Out,” *The Diplomat*, December 2021,

<https://thediplomat.com/2021/12/explaining-chinas-climate-cop-out/>

China File Contributors, “How Should the U.S. Approach Climate Diplomacy with China?”

*ChinaFile*, July 2021, <https://www.chinafile.com/conversation/how-should-us-approach-climate-diplomacy-china>

Roderick Kefferpütz, “It’s Time for Climate Competition with China,” *MERICs*, Jan 2022,

<https://merics.org/en/opinion/its-time-climate-competition-china>

#### Podcasts and Videos

David Sandalow, “China’s Response to Climate Change,” Asia Society Podcast, 10 August

2020, [https://asiasociety.org/blog/asia/asia-inside-out-podcast-chinas-response-climate-change?utm\\_source=Asia%20Society&utm\\_medium=email&utm\\_campaign=114338-2020\\_8\\_19](https://asiasociety.org/blog/asia/asia-inside-out-podcast-chinas-response-climate-change?utm_source=Asia%20Society&utm_medium=email&utm_campaign=114338-2020_8_19)

Joanna Lewis, “Analyzing China’s Commitment to Climate Change,” *Chinapower Podcast*,

November 2021, <https://chinapower.csis.org/podcasts/analyzing-chinas-commitment-to-climate-change/>

“The History of Climate Change in 83 Seconds,” 2012 video,

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=B11kASPfYxY>

“Who is Responsible for Climate Change?”, Gravitas Plus, 9 mins 23sec,

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=NVyM6J2jbAU>

SCMP. “What is China Doing About Climate Change?”, 7 mins, 15 September 2021,

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#### Podcast

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### Focus Questions

What do China's actions tell us about the drivers and instruments, the strengths and weaknesses of China as a key player in dealing with both of these global crises?

### June 13                      China and Its Periphery: Xinjiang and Hong Kong

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#### Recommended:

Xinjiang Documentation Project, <https://xinjiang.sppga.ubc.ca/>

### Focus Questions

Why is Beijing doing what it is doing in Xinjiang and Beijing? What are the implications for a rules based international order? Can we conclude that the type of global order a power pursues is the outward projection of its political order at home?

### June 15                      Global China's Toolkit: Soft Power, Sharp Power and Coercive Diplomacy

Osamu Sayama, "China's Approach to Soft Power: Seeking a Balance between Nationalism, Legitimacy and International Influence," *Royal United Service Institute, Occasional Paper*, March 2016, 19 pp., [https://static.rusi.org/201603\\_op\\_chinas\\_soft\\_power.pdf](https://static.rusi.org/201603_op_chinas_soft_power.pdf)

Liz Economy, “Is China’s Soft Power Strategy Working?” Council on Foreign Relations, April, 2019. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=ih7Y2Fj8GZ8>

Benjamin Herscovitch, “Australia’s Answer to China’s Coercive Challenge,” RUSI, August 2021, <https://rusi.org/explore-our-research/publications/commentary/australias-answer-chinas-coercive-challenge>

Christopher Walker and Jessica Ludwig, “The Long Arm of the Strongman: How China and Russia Use Sharp Power to Threaten Democracies,” *Foreign Affairs*, 12 May 2021, [https://www.foreignaffairs.com/articles/china/2021-05-12/long-arm-strongman?utm\\_medium=newsletters&utm\\_source=twofa&utm\\_campaign=The%20Age%20of%20Impunity&utm\\_content=20210514&utm\\_term=FA%20This%20Week%20-%20112017](https://www.foreignaffairs.com/articles/china/2021-05-12/long-arm-strongman?utm_medium=newsletters&utm_source=twofa&utm_campaign=The%20Age%20of%20Impunity&utm_content=20210514&utm_term=FA%20This%20Week%20-%20112017)

#### Recommended:

Jonathan Eyal and Anatol Lieven, “The Duel: Is China Now the Enemy?” *Prospect Magazine*, 29 August 2021, 29 August 2021, <https://www.prospectmagazine.co.uk/world/the-duel-is-china-now-the-enemy-military-conflict-power-war>

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Fergus Hanson, “The Chinese Communist Party’s Coercive Diplomacy,” Australian Strategic Policy Institute, August, 2020, <https://www.aspi.org.au/report/chinese-communist-partys-coercive-diplomacy>

Scott Kennedy, “Beijing Suffers Major Loss from Its Hostage Diplomacy,” CSIS, 29 September 2021, <https://www.csis.org/analysis/beijing-suffers-major-loss-its-hostage-diplomacy>

“China’s Hostage Triumph”, *Wall Street Journal*, 27 September 2021, <https://www.wsj.com/articles/china-hostage-triumph-meng-kovrig-spavor-huawei-11632673151> PDF

#### Podcasts:

Maria Repnikova, “China’s Soft Power Collides With the Hard Realities of the Russo-Ukrainian War,” SINICA Podcast, March 2022, <https://supchina.com/podcast/chinas-soft-power-collides-with-the-hard-realities-of-the-russo-ukrainian-war-a-conversation-with-maria-repnikova/>

Rana Mitter podcast, “Meanwhile in Beijing,” BBC Sounds, 25 May 2020, <https://www.bbc.co.uk/sounds/play/m000jf70>, 28 minutes

#### Indexes and Surveys:

Global Soft Power Index 2020, <https://brandirectory.com/globalsoftpower/download/brand-finance-global-soft-power-index-2020.pdf>

The Soft Power 30, 2019, <https://softpower30.com/wp-content/uploads/2019/10/The-Soft-Power-30-Report-2019-1.pdf>

Pew Global Survey, <https://www.pewresearch.org/global/2020/10/06/unfavorable-views-of-china-reach-historic-highs-in-many-countries/>

Gallup, China, 2021, <https://news.gallup.com/poll/1627/china.aspx>

Folashade Soule and Edem Selormey, “What Africans Really Think About China’s Role in Africa,” *Quartz*, 21 November 2020, <https://qz.com/africa/1936504/what-africans-really-think-about-chinas-role-in-africa/>

**Focus questions:** Basket A: What are the main ingredients of China’s soft power? Is China’s soft power rising or declining? Basket B: What are the main tools of China’s sharp power, especially foreign influence and foreign interference operations? Basket C: Do wolf warrior and coercive diplomacy advance China’s interests?

**June 20 Private Tutorials to Discuss Papers**

**June 22 What is to be Done? Canadian Roles and Positioning**

Suggested readings:

Paola Subacchi, “How to Engage with China,” *Project Syndicate*, 27 May 2022, [https://www.project-syndicate.org/commentary/us-china-cooperation-no-need-for-common-values-by-paola-subacchi-2022-05?utm\\_source=Project+Syndicate+Newsletter&utm\\_campaign=85e7623223-sunday\\_newsletter\\_05\\_29\\_2022&utm\\_medium=email&utm\\_term=0\\_73bad5b7d8-85e7623223-105815289&mc\\_cid=85e7623223&mc\\_eid=52f79d2d07](https://www.project-syndicate.org/commentary/us-china-cooperation-no-need-for-common-values-by-paola-subacchi-2022-05?utm_source=Project+Syndicate+Newsletter&utm_campaign=85e7623223-sunday_newsletter_05_29_2022&utm_medium=email&utm_term=0_73bad5b7d8-85e7623223-105815289&mc_cid=85e7623223&mc_eid=52f79d2d07)

David Crane, “On China, Canada Cannot Blindly Follow the U.S. Into Another Cold War,” *Hill Times*, 23 May 2022, PDF on Canvas

Jeremy Paltiel, “Not with a Bang But with a Whimper,” *IPD*, 24 May 2022, PDF

David Carment, “Navigating the US-Canada-China Triangular Relationship,” *Institute for Disarmament and Peace*, 13 December 2021, <https://peacediplomacy.org/2021/12/13/navigating-the-us-canada-china-triangular-relationship/>

Kevin Lynch and Jeffrey Reeves, “It’s Time for a Policy Reset on Canada-China Relations,” *Asia Pacific Foundation of Canada*, 17 January 2022, <https://www.asiapacific.ca/publication/its-time-policy-reset-canada-china-relations>

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