

*The University of British Columbia
Department of Political Science*

Political Science 460C
Global China and the Fragmenting World Order
Fall Session 2022
Wednesdays 17:00 - 20:00 Pacific Time
Geography Building 242
(Final Version: 18/11/22)



“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)

“The Chinese nation, which since modern times began, has endured so much for so long, has achieved a tremendous transformation: it has stood up, grown rich, and is becoming strong; it has come to embrace the brilliant prospects of rejuvenation.” Xi Jinping (2017)

Professor: Paul Evans

Office Hours: Wednesday 2-4 PM in 365 Choi or by appointment

Teaching Assistants: Panthea Pourmalek and Oliver Boucher

Subject:

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 altered in dramatic ways, in part by the pandemic but also by a shifting balance of power, a strategic competition between the US and China that is veering towards a new kind of Cold War, technology and innovation in the 4th Industrial revolution, climate change, and domestic political upheavals in key countries.

Our focus is contemporary China and its global role and presence. 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 “rule-based” order. Decisions of Chinese officials, citizens, business people, and consumers have impact across the planet.

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 player in the international system and a good neighbour? Can it provide leadership in areas including climate change, COVID control, 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 everywhere. 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 familiarization with views about China that are both inside-out and outside-in, aiming at critical analysis informed by empathy.

Caveat:

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 that reason we will not be recording any of our sessions.

Format:

The seminar will be offered in-person and without remote access. If instructed by the university and provincial health authorities we will shift later to online via Zoom.

COVID-19 Safety: Masks are no longer mandatory but are recommended in indoor public spaces. For further information see: <https://broadcastemail.ubc.ca/2022/08/25/ensuring-a-safe-start-to-the-2022-23-academic-year/>.

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, advise me in advance).

We will be using Canvas for storing the syllabus, readings, viewings, and my Power Point slides. Recording any part of the sessions is not permitted without expressed agreement in advance. My PPT's will be made available either day before or after each class depending on the topic.

I can be reached best by email (paul.evans@ubc.ca) or, on an urgent matter, on my mobile phone. The TA's are best reached through their email addresses.

Assignments and Assessment:

1 (a). Debate : 20%

The format for the debates is 8 or 10 minutes per side (8 minutes for a one or two-person team, 10 for a three-person team) for opening arguments; 4 minutes per side for rebuttal, and then 20 minutes for class rejoinders and assessment. Time limits are strictly enforced. PowerPoint and audio/visual materials are permitted, though with the caution that both are time consuming and normally less effective than the spoken word.

Grading is based on clarity of initial argument, integration of material from assigned readings, effective reactions to opponent's argument and responses to questions from the class.

1 (b). Debate summary and analysis 10%

A two-page point-form summary of the highlights from the debate including your 2 or 3 key arguments, those of your opponents, best questions from the class, and your self-assessment (i.e. what did you learn, what was the fundamental point of contention?). Due the Monday after the debate.

2. Contribution to class discussions and learning: 20%

This can take several forms: participation in discussion (quality and imagination not quantity that counts); contributions submitted to the instructor and that normally can be shared with the class; other messages and interactions, possibly including a student-designed and student-operated WeChat or Facebook group.

3. Final Paper 50%

An analytic essay or book or video review (maximum 2500 words) on a topic of your choosing and approved by me. It is not expected that papers will involve a great deal of research beyond what we have examined in assigned readings. One option is to do an extended and revised version of the debate topic recognizing that the paper needs to seek the truth of the matter rather than just present a case for one particular side. Another is to do a critical review of an important book, film or documentary selected in consultation with me. *Making connections to class readings and discussions is essential.* In advance of a private tutorial in November, students are required to submit a one-page outline for my approval that lays out the importance of the topic, the key question and argument that will be developed, and an outline of sources to be used. Readings from the syllabus can be a major component. Papers are due December 14th.

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 nine weeks but lighten as attention turns to final papers. The recommended materials can be very helpful in preparing debate positions and final papers. Read, view and listen as much as your schedule will permit, normally 2-3 hours per week. It will be useful to have a familiarity with the main arguments and insights in each of the assigned pieces. But make sure to engage at least one with intensity and come prepared to insert it into our discussion.

The amount of material 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 you think would be especially interesting for the class let me know.

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), 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 and Debate Topics

September 7 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 to ONE of the following:

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>

Recommended:

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)

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

Ching Kwan Lee, "What is Global China?", *Global China Pulse*, 2022, <https://thepeoplesmap.net/globalchinapulse/what-is-global-china/>

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

September 14 Power Shift and the Geo-Political Overlay

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

https://www.ted.com/talks/joseph_nye_global_power_shifts?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

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?", *Foreign Policy*, 14 April 2022.

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

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/>

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>

Yves Tiberghien, "Asia's Rise and the Transition to a Post-Western Global Order," Ch. 16 in Yun-han Chu and Yongnian Zheng, *Contending Views on the Decline of Western-Centric World and the Emerging Global Order in 21st Century*, 2010.

Jessica Chen Weiss, "The China Trap: US Foreign Policy and the Perilous Logic of Zero-Sum Competition," *Foreign Affairs*, September/October 2022,

https://www.foreignaffairs.com/china/china-trap-us-foreign-policy-zero-sum-competition?utm_medium=newsletters&utm_source=fatoday&utm_campaign=The%20China%20Trap&utm_content=20220818&utm_term=FA%20Today%20-%20112017

Oriana Mastro and Derek Scissors, “China Hasn’t Reached the Peak of Its Power,” *Foreign Affairs*, 22 August 2022, https://www.foreignaffairs.com/china/china-hasnt-reached-peak-its-power?utm_medium=newsletters&utm_source=fatoday&utm_campaign=China%20Hasn%20E%20%80%99t%20Reached%20the%20Peak%20of%20Its%20Power&utm_content=20220822&utm_term=FA%20Today%20-%20112017

Optional on video:

Centre for Independent Studies (Australia), Mahubani 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 2020, <https://power.lowyinstitute.org/>

Focus questions: Is the balance of power *really* shifting in the direction of multipolarity? Is America really declining and China really rising? What do China and the US fear most about each other?

Debate #1. Is war with China unavoidable?

September 21 **Techno-Nationalism, AI and Decoupling**

Katja Drinhausen and John Lee, “The CCP in 2021: Smart Governance, Cyber Sovereignty and Tech Supremacy,” *MERICCS*, 15 June 2021, <https://merics.org/en/ccp-2021-smart-governance-cyber-sovereignty-and-tech-supremacy>

Bilahari Kausikan, “The Geopolitics of Semiconductors,” *The Straits Times*, 29 August 2020, https://www.straitstimes.com/opinion/the-geopolitics-of-semiconductors-0?xtor=CS3-18&utm_source=STiPhone&utm_medium=share&utm_term=2020-08-29%207%3A08%3A12

Torsten Riecke, “Resilience and Decoupling in the Era of Great Power Competition,” *MERICCS China Monitor*, 20 August 2020, <https://merics.org/en/report/resilience-and-decoupling-era-great-power-competition>

Henry Farrell *et al.*, “Spirals of Delusion: How AI Distorts Decision-Making and Makes Dictators More Dangerous,” *Foreign Affairs*, September/October 2022, https://www.foreignaffairs.com/world/spirals-delusion-artificial-intelligence-decision-making?utm_medium=promo_email&utm_source=pre_release&utm_campaign=pre_release_083122&utm_content=20220831&utm_term=all-actives

Videos:

“The Digital Great Game: The Technological Frontier in US-China Strategic Competition,” Institute for Diplomacy and Peace, 29 July 2021, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=04G4SUDe0rk>

Recommended:

- Adam Segal, "The Coming Tech Cold War with China," *Foreign Affairs*, 9 September 2020, https://www.foreignaffairs.com/articles/north-america/2020-09-09/coming-tech-cold-war-china?utm_medium=newsletters&utm_source=twofa&utm_campaign=The%20Coming%20Tech%20Cold%20War%20With%20China&utm_content=20200911&utm_term=FA%20This%20Week%20-%20112017
- Bruce Scheiner, "China Isn't the Only Problem with 5G," *Foreign Policy*, 10 January 2020, <https://foreignpolicy.com/2020/01/10/5g-china-backdoor-security-problems-united-states-surveillance/>
- Laurie Macfarlane, "The Tensions Over Huawei are not About Trade, But Global Supremacy," *The Guardian*, 16 July 2020, https://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2020/jul/16/huawei-trade-global-supremacy-us-uk-china-liberal-capitalism?CMP=Share_AndroidApp_Yahoo_Mail
- Dieter Ernst, "Supply Chain Regulation in the Service of Geopolitics: What's Happening in Semiconductors," *CIGI Papers* #256, August 2021, <https://www.cigionline.org/static/documents/no.256.pdf>
- Yan Xuetong, "China-US Competition in the Digital Era," *Global Times*, 21 January 2020, <https://www.globaltimes.cn/content/1177615.shtml>
- Kishore Mahbubani and Tony Chan, "The Lose-Lose Tech War," *Project Syndicate*, 20 May 2022, https://www.project-syndicate.org/onpoint/us-china-tech-war-by-kishore-mahbubani-and-tony-chan-2022-05?utm_source=Project+Syndicate+Newsletter&utm_campaign=03f8ab96c7-op_newsletter_05_20_2022&utm_medium=email&utm_term=0_73bad5b7d8-03f8ab96c7-105815289&mc_cid=03f8ab96c7&mc_eid=52f79d2d07
- Gideon Rachman, "The Enemies of Globalisation are Circling," *Financial Times*, 29 August 2022.
- Jonathan Hillman, "Huawei Strikes Back," *Foreign Affairs*, 9 November 2021, https://www.foreignaffairs.com/articles/china/2021-11-09/huawei-strikes-back?utm_medium=newsletters&utm_source=twofa&utm_campaign=Can%20Ethiopia%20Survive?%20&utm_content=20211112&utm_term=FA%20This%20Week%20-%20112017
- Alex Capri, "Export Controls and the Rise of US-China Techno-Nationalism," *technode*, 24 April 2020, <https://technode.com/2020/04/24/export-controls-and-the-rise-of-us-china-techno-nationalism/>
- Daniel Araya, "China's Expanding Data Ecosystem Gathers Global Reach," *CIGI Newsletter*, 25 August 2022, https://www.cigionline.org/articles/chinas-expanding-data-ecosystem-gathers-global-reach/?utm_source=cigi_newsletter&utm_medium=email&utm_campaign=chinas-massive-sprawling-data-ecosystem
- Julian Gewirtz, "The Chinese Reassessment of Interdependence," *China Leadership Monitor*, 1 June 2020, <https://www.prcleader.org/gewirtz>
- Zoe Liu, "China is Hardening Itself for Economic War," *Foreign Policy*, 16 June 2022, https://foreignpolicy.com/2022/06/16/china-economic-war-decoupling-united-states-containment/?utm_source=PostUp&utm_medium=email&utm_campaign=Editors%20Picks%20OC&utm_term=43452&tpcc=Editors%20Picks%20OC

Dan Ciuriak, “The Data-Driven Economy Raises New Challenges for Global Governance,” CIGI Newsletter, 3 October 2022, https://www.cigionline.org/articles/the-data-driven-economy-raises-new-challenges-for-global-governance/?utm_source=cigi_newsletter&utm_medium=email&utm_campaign=data-drives-new-challenges

The Economist, “China and the West are in a Race to Foster Innovation,” 13 October 2022, <https://www.economist.com/briefing/2022/10/13/china-and-the-west-are-in-a-race-to-foster-innovation?giftId=19339b2d-3968-4f91-922f-3c013e02b95d>

Gregory Allen, “Choking Off China’s Access to the Future of AI,” CSIS Report, 11 October 2022, <https://www.csis.org/analysis/choking-chinas-access-future-ai>

Focus Questions: Why is advanced technology so geo-politically significant? What are the boundaries between national security and market-based globalization? Who is winning?

Debate #2. Technological decoupling between the United States and China is neither feasible nor desirable.

September 28 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>

Wang Yi, “China’s Diplomacy in 2021: Embracing a Global Vision and Serving the Nation and Its People,” Chinese Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 20 December 2021, https://www.fmprc.gov.cn/mfa_eng/wjb_663304/wjbz_663308/2461_663310/202112/t20211220_10471930.html

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

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>

Richard McGregor, “The CCP as a Global Force: A Long-Term View,” in Frank Pieke and Bert Hofman, eds., *CPC Futures: The New Era of Socialism with Chinese Characteristics* (NUS, 2022), pp. 175-80, <https://epress.nus.edu.sg/cpcfutures/9789811852060-21.pdf>

Sheena Greitens, Xi Jinping’s Quest for Order,” *Foreign Affairs*, October 2022, https://www.foreignaffairs.com/china/xi-jinping-quest-order?utm_medium=newsletters&utm_source=fatoday&utm_campaign=Xi%20Jinping%E2%80%99s%20Quest%20for%20Order&utm_content=20221003&utm_term=FA%20Today%20-%20112017

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.

Yan Xuetong, “Becoming Strong: The New Chinese Foreign Policy,” *Foreign Affairs*, July/August 2021, https://www.foreignaffairs.com/articles/united-states/2021-06-22/becoming-strong?utm_medium=promo_email&utm_source=special_send&utm_campaign=ja21_new_issue_launch_digital&utm_term=all-digital

Alastair Iain Johnston, “Is China Trying to Undermine the Liberal International Order?,” Michael Szonyi, ed., *China in Question*, October 2022.

Podcasts:

Elizabeth Economy, “China’s World Order,” NBR, February 2022, <https://www.nbr.org/publication/elizabeth-economy-on-her-book-the-world-according-to-china/>

Four Views Summary by Bingjun Tang -- Rudd, Rolland, Doshi and Economy, August 2022
PPT

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

Debate #3. Based on its history and current interests, China is a revisionist state intent on overthrowing the existing rule based international order.

October 5 China’s Periphery

Note: we will look at Xinjiang as one case study. Based on student preferences we will also take on one additional case, Tibet, Hong Kong, or Taiwan.

- Andrew Nathan and Andrew Scobell, “Problems of Stateness: Tibet, Xinjiang, Hong Kong and Taiwan,” in their *China’s Search for Security*, 2012, pp.195-221.
- James Leibold, “Beyond Xinjiang: Xi Jinping’s Ethnic Crackdown,” *The Diplomat*, May 2021, <https://thediplomat.com/2021/04/beyond-xinjiang-xi-jinpings-ethnic-crackdown/>
- Sean Roberts, “The Roots of Cultural Genocide in Xinjiang,” *Foreign Affairs*, 10 February 2021, https://www.foreignaffairs.com/articles/china/2021-02-10/roots-cultural-genocide-xinjiang?utm_medium=newsletters&utm_source=fatoday&utm_campaign=How%20to%20Make%20Biden%E2%80%99s%20Free%20World%20Strategy%20Work&utm_content=20220524&utm_term=FA%20Today%20-%20112017
- Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Human Rights, “OHCHR Assessment of Human Rights Concerns in the Xinjiang Uyghur Autonomous Region, Peoples Republic of China,” 31 August 2022, <https://www.ohchr.org/sites/default/files/documents/countries/2022-08-31/22-08-31-final-assesment.pdf>. Pay special attention to the Introduction, pp.1-3 and the Overall Assessment, pp. 43-45.

Recommended:

- Xinjiang Documentation Project, <https://xinjiang.sppga.ubc.ca/>
- Permanent Mission of the PRC to the UN Office in Geneva, “Fight Against Terrorism and Extremism in Xinjiang: Truth and Facts,” August 2022, https://www.ohchr.org/sites/default/files/documents/countries/2022-08-31/ANNEX_A.pdf, especially pp. 118-121.
- Sheena Greitens, “Counterterrorism and Preventive Repression: China’s Changing Strategy in Xinjiang,” *International Security*, Winter 2019, <https://direct.mit.edu/isec/article/44/3/9/12280/Counterterrorism-and-Preventive-Repression-China-s>

Focus Questions

Why is Beijing doing what it is doing in Xinjiang? 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?

Debate #4. China’s policies and activities in Xinjiang constitute a major threat to global order.

October 12 The Makers and Making of Chinese Foreign Policy

Note: the 20th Party Congress starts this week in Beijing. Readings may be adjusted.

- “Who Really Decides China’s Foreign Policy,” SCMP, 28 February 2018, 2 mins., <https://www.scmp.com/video/china/2135129/who-really-decides-chinas-foreign-policy>
- David Shambaugh, “Xi Jinping: Modern Emperor,” Ch. 5 in his *China’s Leaders from Mao Until Now* (2021), pp. 255-318 or the condensed summary pp. 336-39.
- Kevin Rudd, “How Xi Jinping Views the World,” *Foreign Affairs*, 10 May 2018. <https://www.foreignaffairs.com/articles/china/2018-05-10/how-xi-jinping-views-world>
- Bilahari Kausikan, “Zeal and China’s ‘Wolf Warrior’ Diplomacy,” *Global Brief*, 1 June 2020, <https://globalbrief.ca/2020/06/zeal-and-chinas-wolf-warrior-diplomacy/>

Recommended:

- Jean-Pierre Cabestan, "China's Foreign and Security Policy Institutions and Decision-Making Under Xi Jinping," *British Journal of Politics and International Relations*, pp. 319-36, https://journals.sagepub.com/doi/pdf/10.1177/1369148120974881?casa_token=gRRvQufvj7kAAAAA:jrduKyBvRTkXXDArqYR0jyUn_16Iq6Jfc_DaXKYXvvnvfPvzEI6jrxhJlcR_IHLELxEXsAZaTdEw. Access via UBC Library holdings
- Tony Saich, "Welcome to the Party," Ch. 1 of his *From Rebel to Ruler: One Hundred Years of the Chinese Communist Party* (Harvard University Press, 2021), pp 1-18
- Zhao Suisheng, "China's Foreign Policy Making Process: Players and Institutions," in David Shambaugh, ed., *China and the World*, (Oxford UP, 2020), pp. 85-112.
- Christopher Bishop, "To Understand China's Aggressive Foreign Policy Look at Its Domestic Politics," Council on Foreign Relations blog post, 8 October 2020, <https://www.cfr.org/blog/understand-chinas-aggressive-foreign-policy-look-its-domestic-politics>
- Kerry Brown, "Xi's Story," in Kerry Brown, *The World According to Xi*, Ch. 1, pp. 7-24. And the interview with him, "Here's Hoping," *Media Studies Asia*, 26 September 2022, <http://www.mediastudies.asia/heres-hoping-interview-with-professor-kerry-brown-on-china/>
- Cai Xia, "The Weakness of Xi Jinping," *Foreign Affairs*, September 2022, <https://www.foreignaffairs.com/china/xi-jinping-china-weakness-hubris-paranoia-threaten-future>

Focus questions: Who makes Chinese foreign policy? What does Xi Jinping think about China's place in the world?

Debate #5. The structure and leadership of the Chinese Communist Party give it a major advantage as a global leader.

October 19 China's Approach to Global Governance and Multilateral Institutions: From Norm-Taker to Norm-Maker? (Guest: Vina Nadjibulla)

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

Recommended:

- See-Won Byun, “Chinese Views of Hegemony and Multilateralism in the Biden Era”, The Asian Forum, July 2021, <https://theasianforum.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
- 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/>
- 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
- Iain Johnston, “China in a World of Orders: Rethinking Compliance and Challenge in Beijing International Relations,” *International Security*, Fall 2019, <https://direct.mit.edu/isec/article-abstract/44/2/9/12242/China-in-a-World-of-Orders-Rethinking-Compliance?redirectedFrom=fulltext> plus his slide deck prepared for the Department of National Defence in June 2021(on Canvas)

Podcast and Videos:

- 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>
- “China’s UN Peacekeeping in Africa, South China Morning Post,” 22 November 2020, <https://www.scmp.com/video/world/3120625/chinas-growing-role-un-peacekeeping-missions-africa>
- UN 70th Anniversary Video, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=gCOkMWv5TB0>

Focus questions: Can the UN remain relevant in a world defined by a “New Cold War” between the US and China? What is the impact of growing Chinese institutional influence in the UN and its role in shaping global politics? Is China remaking the UN in its own image?

Debate #6. China is a responsible international leader in global institutions.

October 26 Belt and Road Initiative and Responses

- 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>
- Roadwork Project, BRI Fact Sheets, August 2022, “Demystifying the Belt and Road Initiative,” <https://bri.roadworkasia.com/> and “China’s Global Development Model,” <https://chinadevelopmentmodel.roadworkasia.com/>
- Ammar Malik, *et al.*, “Executive Summary,” *Banking on the Belt and Road: Insights from a New Global Dataset of 13,427 Chinese Development Projects*, September 2021, <https://www.aiddata.org/publications/banking-on-the-belt-and-road>

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

Infographics and Videos:

The Guardian, “What is China’s Belt and Road Initiative?”, n.d.,

<https://www.theguardian.com/cities/ng-interactive/2018/jul/30/what-china-belt-road-initiative-silk-road-explainer>

USC US-China Institute, “China’s Belt and Road Initiative in Action, 12 April 2021, 1 hour, Interview with David Lampton, Jessica Liao, Dru Gladney, <https://china.usc.edu/video-panel-discussion-chinas-belt-and-road-initiative-action>

Yi Dai Yi Lu, CGTN, 2016, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=U0LbGx01EIo>

Yi Dai Yi Lu, Rap, People’s Daily, 2017, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=pdPK1v0UxqQ>
<https://merics.org/en/tracker/mapping-belt-and-road-initiative-where-we-stand>
<https://www.cfr.org/article/belt-and-road-tracker>

Recommended:

David Gordon, “China’s BRI: The Security Dimension,” *IISS Research Papers*, 15 September 2020, <https://www.iiss.org/blogs/research-paper/2020/09/beyond-the-myths-of-the-bri?cldee=cGF1bC5ldmFuc0B1YmMuY2E%3d&recipientid=contact-84fcab4ed6cbdf11b53a00237dde6e5a-a32cb33a1c4d4fd6ad13ad187e09b22e&esid=8e3152c3-eef8-ea11-a815-00224801ce17>

Lina Gong, “The Belt and Road Initiative: Vehicle for China’s Humanitarian Action?,” RSIS Report, June 2021, https://www.rsis.edu.sg/wp-content/uploads/2021/06/PR210628_The-Belt-and-Road-Initiative-Vehicle-for-China%E2%80%99s-Humanitarian-Action_V2.pdf

Howard French, “What Biden’s G-7 Announcement Gets Wrong About China and the Global South,” *Foreign Policy*, 7 July 2022, https://foreignpolicy.com/2022/07/07/g-7-infrastructure-investment-biden-china-africa/?utm_source=PostUp&utm_medium=email&utm_campaign=Editors%20Picks%20OC&utm_term=44215&tpcc=Editors%20Picks%20OC

Refinitiv, *BRI Focus*, 2nd edition, “The Great BRI Reset,” ca. May 2022, https://www.refinitiv.com/content/dam/marketing/en_us/documents/reports/re1638498-cross-360-brochure.pdf

Material on Laos:

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

Focus Questions: What exactly is the BRI? Who are the main drivers on the Chinese side and what are their objectives? Is it a spur to development or an instrument of a new Chinese hegemony?

Debate #7. The BRI is destined to be a colossal failure and disrupt a Rules Based International Order.

November 2 Climate Change and COVID 19

Note: half of the class will prepare on climate change, half on COVID assessing the domestic drivers, international initiatives and global implications. The comparisons are instructive.

On Climate Change...

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](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)

Sam Geall, “China, Climate Politics and COP26,” Lowy Institute, 25 October 2021, <https://www.loyyinstitute.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:

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>

Ted Nordhaus, “Russia’s War Is the End of Climate Policy as We Know It,” *Foreign Policy*, June 2022, <https://foreignpolicy.com/2022/06/05/climate-policy-ukraine-russia-energy-security-emissions-cold-war-fossil-fuels/>

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

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, https://www.scmp.com/news/china/science/article/3148751/china-taking-nuclear-option-its-drive-towards-carbon-neutrality?utm_medium=email&utm_source=cm&utm_campaign=enlz-china&utm_content=20210915&tpcc=enlz-china&UID=70009b18-520a-443a-b9c5-5b15d8b00742&next_article_id=3148719&tc=14&CMCampaignID=7dde2673befa47522ff41d0d4ad4842

Focus questions: What are the domestic factors shaping China’s response to environmental and climate change challenges? Where has it shown international leadership? What have been the impact of Cold War with US and COVID?

On Pandemic response:

Huang Yanzhong, “The COVID-19 Pandemic and China's Global Health Leadership,” Council on Foreign Relations, February 2022, <https://www.cfr.org/report/covid-19-pandemic-and-chinas-global-health-leadership>

Michael Schuman, “China’s Costly Exceptionalism,” *The Atlantic*, 18 April 2022, <https://www.theatlantic.com/international/archive/2022/04/china-zero-covid-shanghai-lockdown/629589/>

Yanzhong Huang, “The Collateral Damage in China’s COVID War,” *Foreign Affairs*, 17 May 2022, <https://www.foreignaffairs.com/articles/china/2022-05-17/collateral-damage-chinas-covid-war>

Liangtao Liu et al., “China’s Vaccine Diplomacy and Its Implications for Global Health Governance,” *Healthcare*, July 2022, https://www.researchgate.net/publication/361904939_China's_Vaccine_Diplomacy_and_Its_Implications_for_Global_Health_Governance

Recommended:

Scott Kennedy and Huang Yanzhong, “Advancing U.S.-China Health Security Cooperation in an Era of Strategic Competition,” CSIS, Dec 1 2021, <https://www.csis.org/analysis/advancing-us-china-health-security-cooperation-era-strategic-competition>

Podcast

Jörg Wuttke, “The Cost of China's Dynamic Zero-COVID Policy,” *The Sound of Economics*, 11 May 2022, <https://audioboom.com/posts/8081527-the-cost-of-china-s-dynamic-zero-covid-policy>, 36 min.

Focus questions: How has China managed its COVID-19 epidemic and what does this tell us about its political system and society? Has its COVID vaccine diplomacy abroad been a success?

Debate #8. China is a global leader in addressing climate change [or COVID 19].

November 9 **No Class – Reading Break**

November 16 **Global China’s Toolkit: Soft Power, Sharp Power and Coercive Diplomacy** (Guest: Vina Nadjibulla)

Maria Repnikova, The Balance of Soft Power: The American and Chinese Quests to Win Hearts and Minds, *Foreign Affairs*, July/August 2022, https://www.foreignaffairs.com/china/soft-power-balance-america-china?check_logged_in=1&utm_medium=newsletters&utm_source=twofa&utm_campaign=

[gn=Can%20Putin%20Survive?&utm_content=20220624&utm_term=FA%20This%20Week%20-%20112017](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=ih7Y2Fj8GZ8)

Elizabeth 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

Recommended:

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

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

Pratik Jakhar, “China’s Economic Coercion is More Bark than Bite,” *Foreign Policy*, October 5, 2021, <https://foreignpolicy.com/2021/10/05/china-economic-coercion-taiwan/>

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

Audrye Wong, “How Not to Win Allies and Influence Geopolitics: China’s Self-Deluding Economic Statecraft,” *Foreign Affairs*, May-June 2021, https://www.foreignaffairs.com/articles/china/2021-04-20/how-not-win-allies-and-influence-geopolitics?utm_medium=newsletters&utm_source=fabackstory&utm_content=20220619&utm_campaign=FA%20Backstory_061922_The%20Backstory:%20China%E2%80%99s%20Quest%20for%20Global%20Influence&utm_term=fa-backstory-2019

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/>

PPT Collection of Global Public Opinion Surveys as of June 2022

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

Debate #9. Chinese influence and interference activities are an existential threat to Western democracies.

November 23 Student Roundtables

Prepare for discussion on ONE of the following three subjects.

I. Techno-Nationalism Update

Dani Rodrik, “Don’t Let Geopolitics Kill the World Economy,” *Project Syndicate*, 10 November 2022, https://www.project-syndicate.org/commentary/us-china-high-tech-trade-restrictions-by-dani-rodrik-2022-11?utm_source=Project+Syndicate+Newsletter&utm_campaign=ebcec63c4e-sunday_newsletter_11_13_2022&utm_medium=email&utm_term=0_73bad5b7d8-ebcec63c4e-105815289&mc_cid=ebcec63c4e&mc_eid=52f79d2d07

Plus one of these:

Bert Hofman, “The Art of Economic War,” Substack on Twitter, 15 November 2022. On Canvas

Trade Talks Podcast #170, “National Security, Semi-Conductors and the US Move to Cut Off China,” 2 November 2022, 1 hour, <https://podcasts.google.com/feed/aHR0cDovL2ZlZWRzLmZlZWRidXJuZXIuY29tL3BpYWUvVHJhZGVUYWxrcw/episode/aHR0cHM6Ly90cmFkZXRhbGtzcG9kY2FzdC5jb20vP3Bvc3RfdHlwZT1wb2RjYXN0JnA9MTczNg?ep=14>

Jon Bateman, “Biden is Now All-In on Taking Out China,” *Foreign Policy*, 12 October 2022, <https://foreignpolicy.com/2022/10/12/biden-china-semiconductor-chips-exports->

[decouple/?utm_source=PostUp&utm_medium=email&utm_campaign=Subscribers%27%20Picks&utm_term=56126&tpcc=Subscribers%27%20Picks](https://www.foreignaffairs.com/world/build-better-order-great-power-rivalry-dani-rodrik-stephen-walt)

II. The Taiwan Tangle

Thomas Christensen, Taylor Fravel et. al., “How to Avoid a War Over Taiwan,” *Foreign Affairs*, 13 October 2022, <https://www.foreignaffairs.com/china/how-avoid-war-over-taiwan>
 Ryan Hass, “The Upside of Pelosi’s Unwise Taiwan Visit,” *Foreign Affairs*, 16 August 2022, <https://www.foreignaffairs.com/united-states/upside-pelosis-unwise-taiwan-visit>

III. Canada, China and the Arctic

Jeff Reeves and Angela Wang, *A Canadian Arctic Policy for the Indo-Pacific*, Asia Pacific Foundation of Canada, 2022, https://www.asiapacific.ca/sites/default/files/publication-pdf/Arctic_Policy_EN.pdf Especially pp. 7-21, 45-57, and 76-79.
 Adam Lajeunesse, “Finding Win-Win: China’s Arctic Policy and What it Means for Canada,” Canadian Global Affairs Institute, December 2018, https://d3n8a8pro7vhm.cloudfront.net/cdfai/pages/4100/attachments/original/1545187741/Finding_Win-Win_Chinas_Arctic_Policy_and_What_It_Means_for_Canada.pdf?1545187741

OR

Bryan Millard and Whitney Lackenbauer, “Trojan Dragons? Normalizing China’s Presence in the Arctic,” Canadian Global Affairs Institute, June 2021, https://d3n8a8pro7vhm.cloudfront.net/cdfai/pages/4715/attachments/original/1622484329/Trojan_Dragons_Normalizing_Chinas_Presence_in_the_Arctic.pdf?1622484329

November 30 **Private Tutorials**

December 7 **Reflections: Whither China and Global Order + Seminar Assessment**

Dani Rodrik and Stephen Walt, “how to Build a Better Order: Limiting Great Power Rivalry in an Anarchic World,” *Foreign Affairs*, September 2022, <https://www.foreignaffairs.com/world/build-better-order-great-power-rivalry-dani-rodrik-stephen-walt>