

# Great Power Rivalry and the International Order PubPol 750.016 Fall, 2023

#### **Instructor Contact Information**

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#### **Course information**

The course will run from August 29 to December 5 TuTh 11:30 AM – 12:50 PM There will be no classes on October 17 (Fall Study Break); November 23 (Thanksgiving) Weill Hall, Room 1220

#### **Instructor Office Hours**

TuTh 1:00 PM – 3 PM By appointment only

#### **Course Description**

Great power rivalry is a critical concept that frames current perceptions of international affairs around China's rise, Russia's resurgence and the United States relative decline. This graduate course goes beyond the traditional focus on the U.S., China, and Russia by providing a comprehensive overview of the shifting dynamics in global power politics of the 21st century. It will explore the involvement of rising powers in the international order, such as India, Brazil, South Africa, Turkey, Morocco, Gulf countries and Indonesia. The course will examine each rising power's foreign policies and strategic priorities, their economic and military capabilities and how these shape how they engage and compete in the global order. The course will also examine how global rivalries play out within multilateral organizations (such as the United Nations, NATO, the European Union and the African Union) and will deep dive into current geopolitical crises such as the war in Ukraine, the political crises of the Sahel and China's ambitions over Taiwan.

The course will take a multidisciplinary approach, drawing on political science, international relations, economics, and security studies, and will encourage students to critically analyze the fundamental concepts, theories, history and practices of great power rivalry in the 21<sup>st</sup> century.

## **Course objectives**

- 1. Investigate the historical origins and evolutionary trajectory of great power rivalry.
- 2. Analyze the impact of rising powers on the international order, examining how these dynamics manifest on diverse continents across the globe.
- 3. Conduct a comprehensive comparative analysis of global rivalries within multilateral organizations, exploring their complexities and implications for international cooperation.
- 4. Understand the stakes of current geopolitical crises from the perspective of different world powers.

#### **Course Materials**

The following textbooks are optional readings:

- Kroenig, Matthew. "The Return of Great Power Rivalry: Democracy versus Autocracy from the Ancient World to the U.S. and China". New York, Oxford University Press, 2020 – also check out Pr. Kroenig's book talk at: <a href="https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=mo3-mQWigHM">https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=mo3-mQWigHM</a>
- Doshi, Rush. "The Long Game. China's Grand Strategy to Displace American Order". Oxford University Press, 2021 – Also check out Rush Doshi's book talk at: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=a7uW1nLnDeQ&t=5s
- Mankoff, Jeffrey. "Russian Foreign Policy: The Return of Great Power Politics". Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, 2021.

**Course Grading:** This class encompasses several graded components, including two class presentations, participation as a respondent to two class presentations, active participation in class discussions and the final student role play.

Class Presentations & Summary Briefs	25%
Participation as a Respondent	15%
Class Participation	20%
Final Student Role Play	40%
	100%

Although attendance is not a formal component of the participation grade, it plays a crucial role in the learning experience. Students should be aware that absences in class can limit their opportunities to learn, actively engage in discussions, and establish connections with their peers. Regular attendance is essential for fully benefiting from the course and making the most of the collaborative and interactive nature of our class activities. As such, students are encouraged to consider the impact of their absences on their overall learning and engagement throughout the term.

#### Class presentations

In this class, every student, including auditors, will be required to present two papers. The papers should be approximately 2 pages long and will address the week's central questions. During these presentations, designated class participants will act as respondents. Each presentation will be kept brief, with a maximum duration of 15 minutes, followed by an open discussion on the theme of the day. The written paper should be posted on Canvas at least 24 hours before the class and will count for 50% of the grade for "class presentations".

A sign-up sheet will be made available to ensure smooth planning. This sheet will allow you to schedule your paper presentations and the papers you will respond to. Please keep in mind that minor adjustments might be necessary to accommodate invited guest speakers throughout the course.

#### The class presentations will count towards 25% of the final grade

#### Participation as a Respondent

Your role as a respondent will involve being well-versed in the reading material for the week so that you can critically engage with the presentation delivered by another student. During the session, you will skillfully restate the main points your peer put forth while shedding light on potential contradictory perspectives to those points.

Maintaining a respectful and considerate approach while offering your insights is crucial. This will allow your peer to respond to your comments and encourage a constructive dialogue that fosters a deeper understanding of the subject matter. Engaging in this thoughtful exchange will enhance your comprehension of the material and contribute to a more enriching and collaborative learning environment for all participants.

#### Participating as a respondent will count toward 15% of the final grade

#### Class Participation

Active student participation is a fundamental aspect of this course, as it serves multiple essential purposes: a) Demonstrating comprehension of assigned reading materials; b) Engaging in discussions about current events related to global rivalry; c) Offering valuable perspectives, comments, and questions in response to lecture content; d) Participating in cross-student discussions and reflections.

Your active involvement in these areas will significantly contribute to your overall learning experience and class dynamics. To evaluate your participation, I will assess your engagement with these criteria, acknowledging your contributions to the class discussions and collaborative activities. Your active participation will enhance your understanding and enrich the entire class's learning environment. I encourage you to make the most of these opportunities to engage and share your insights throughout the course.

#### Active class participation will count toward 20% of the final grade

#### International Negotiations – final student role play

During the final four classes of the term, we will engage in an exciting student role-play exercise focused on international negotiations between global powers. In this activity, you will step into the shoes of negotiators facing a geopolitical crisis of your choice. Your task will be to apply the knowledge and skills you have acquired throughout the course to effectively navigate the negotiation process against a party with conflicting interests.

As part of this role-play, some students will serve as referees, ensuring fair play and adherence to the rules, while others will act as spoilers, adding complexity and challenges to the negotiation dynamics. This setup will provide a realistic and immersive experience, enabling you to sharpen your negotiation strategies in a practical and engaging manner in the context of great power rivalry.

Specific case studies will be provided through our Canvas platform to facilitate the process. You will have the opportunity to choose a case that aligns with your interests, allowing you to explore and delve into real-world scenarios that reflect the complexities of international negotiations in the 21<sup>st</sup> century.

#### Active preparation and participation in this role play will count towards 40% of the final grade

Ford School Inclusivity Statement: The Ford School community members represent a rich variety of backgrounds and perspectives. We are committed to providing an atmosphere for learning that respects diversity. While working together to build this community, we ask all members to:

- share their unique experiences, values and beliefs
- be open to the views of others
- honor the uniqueness of their colleagues
- appreciate the opportunity that we have to learn from each other in this community
- value one another's opinions and communicate in a respectful manner
- keep confidential discussions that the community has of a personal (or professional) nature
- use this opportunity together to discuss ways in which we can create an inclusive environment in Ford classes and across the UM community

**Ford School Public Health Protection Policy:** In order to participate in any in-person aspects of this course including meeting with other students to study or work on a team project--you must follow all the public health safety measures and policies put in place by the State of Michigan, Washtenaw County, the University of Michigan, and the Ford School. Up-to-date information on U-M policies can be found <a href="here">here</a>. You are expected to protect and enhance the health of everyone in the Ford School community by staying home and following self-isolation guidelines if you are experiencing any symptoms of COVID-19.

**Student Mental Health and Wellbeing:** The University of Michigan is committed to advancing its students' mental health and well-being. We acknowledge that a variety of issues, both those relating to the pandemic and other issues such as strained relationships, increased anxiety, alcohol/drug problems, and depression, can directly impact students' academic performance and overall well-being. If you or someone you know is feeling overwhelmed, depressed, and/or in need of support, services are available.

You may access counselors and urgent services at <u>Counseling and Psychological Services</u> (CAPS) and/or <u>University Health Service</u> (UHS). Students may also use the Crisis Text Line (text '4UMICH' to 741741) to be connected to a trained crisis volunteer. You can find additional resources on and off campus through the University Health Service and <u>CAPS</u>.

**Accommodations for Students with Disabilities:** If you believe you need accommodation for a disability, please reach out to U-M <u>Services for Students with Disabilities (SSD)</u> office to help determine appropriate academic accommodations and how to communicate about your accommodations with your professors. Any information you provide will be treated as private and confidential.

**Academic Integrity:** The Ford School academic community, like all communities, functions best when its members treat one another with honesty, fairness, respect, and trust. We hold all members of our community to high standards of scholarship and integrity. To accomplish its mission of providing an optimal educational environment and developing leaders of society, the Ford School promotes the assumption of personal responsibility and integrity and prohibits all forms of academic dishonesty, plagiarism and misconduct. Academic dishonesty may be understood as any action or attempted action that may result in creating an unfair academic advantage for oneself or an unfair academic advantage or disadvantage for any other member or member of the academic community. Plagiarism involves representing the words, ideas, or work of others as one's own in writing or presentations and failing to give full and proper credit to the original source. Conduct without regard to motive that violates the academic integrity and ethical standards will result in serious consequences and disciplinary action. The Ford School's policy of academic integrity can be found in the MPP/MPA, BA, and PhD Program handbooks. Additional information regarding academic dishonesty, plagiarism misconduct and their consequences is available at: http://www.rackham.umich.edu/currentstudents/policies/academic-policies/section11#112.

Use of Technology: Students should follow instructions from their instructor as to acceptable use of technology in the classroom, including laptops, in each course. All course materials (including slides, assignments, handouts, pre-recorded lectures or recordings of class) are to be considered confidential material and are not to be shared in whole or part with anyone outside of the course participants. Likewise, your own personal recording (audio or video) of your classes or office hour sessions is allowed only with the express written permission of your instructor. If you wish to post course materials or photographs/videos of classmates or your instructor to third-party sites (e.g. social media), you must first have informed consent. Without explicit permission from the instructor and in some cases your classmates, the public distribution or posting of any photos, audio/video recordings or pre-recordings from class, discussion section or office hours, even if you have permission to record, is not allowed and could be considered academic misconduct.

Please review additional information and policies regarding academic expectations and resources at the Ford School of Public Policy at: <a href="https://intranet.fordschool.umich.edu/academic-expectations">https://intranet.fordschool.umich.edu/academic-expectations</a>

#### **SYLLABUS**

#### Module 1 - Tuesday, August 29

## Class Overview and Introduction to Great Power Rivalry & the 21st Century International Order

Summary: After student and instructor introductions, we will explore the class schedule, grading for the course, assignments and expectations. In this session, we will provide a concise summary of how strategic global competition has influenced international relations and policies in the contemporary period.

#### Key questions:

- What is Great Power Competition?
- Is the current world order multipolar, bipolar or unipolar?
- What are the main differences between multipolarity and multilateralism?

#### Readings:

Boroff, Alexander. "What is Great Power Competition Anyway?". *Modern War Institute*, 2020. <a href="https://mwi.usma.edu/great-power-competition-anyway/">https://mwi.usma.edu/great-power-competition-anyway/</a>

Kupchan, Cliff. "Bipolarity is Back: Why It Matters". The Washington Quarterly, 44.4, 123-139 (2022). https://www.tandfonline.com/doi/full/10.1080/0163660X.2021.2020457

Layne, Christopher. "The Unipolar Illusion: Why New Great Powers Will Rise." *International Security* 17, no. 4 (1993): 5-51. <a href="mailto:muse.jhu.edu/article/447062"><u>muse.jhu.edu/article/447062</u></a>

Hadano, Takamitsu. "Multipolarity and the Future of Multilateralism: Towards 'Thick' Peacekeeping in the Donbas Conflict". <a href="https://www.globalpolicyjournal.com/articles/conflict-and-security/multipolarity-and-future-multilateralism-towards-thick-peacekeeping">https://www.globalpolicyjournal.com/articles/conflict-and-security/multipolarity-and-future-multilateralism-towards-thick-peacekeeping</a>

#### Module 1 (continued) - Thursday, August 31

# Introduction to Great Power Rivalry & the 21st Century International Order

Summary: The concept of power plays a crucial role in understanding international diplomacy and great power competition. In this session, we will delve into its typology and various definitions presented in the academic literature. Additionally, we will explore the notion of international cooperation and its diverse applications in global affairs.

#### Key Questions:

What are the different forms of power in international relations and diplomacy?

- How do states use those powers to defend their vital interests?
- How should the principle of international cooperation align with the broader context of state powers and great power competition?

#### Readings:

Jervis, Robert. (1978). Cooperation Under the Security Dilemma. World Politics, 30(2), 167-214 (from 167-186 is obligatory; the rest is optional). <a href="https://www.sfu.ca/~kawasaki/Jervis%20Cooperation.pdf">https://www.sfu.ca/~kawasaki/Jervis%20Cooperation.pdf</a>

Long, Tom. "Small States, Great Power? Gaining Influence Through Intrinsic, Derivative, and Collective Power". *International Studies Review*, Volume 19, Issue 2, June 2017, Pages 185–205. <a href="https://doi.org/10.1093/isr/viw040">https://doi.org/10.1093/isr/viw040</a>

Nye, Joseph. "What is Power in Global Affairs?" in Nye, J., The Future of Power (2011) New York: Public Affairs/Perseus Books. Read from p. 3-24

Tang, Shiping (2010). "The Social Evolution of International Politics: From Mearsheimer to Jervis". *European Journal of International Relations*, 16(1), 31-55. https://journals.sagepub.com/doi/epdf/10.1177/1354066109344010

#### Module 2 - Tuesday, September 5

#### The United States and the Liberal International Order

Summary: In this session, we will examine the historical origins and development of the Liberal International Order (LIO), with a particular focus on the United States' role in shaping and upholding it. We will explore key events and institutions that have contributed to the establishment of the LIO, including the creation of the United Nations, the Bretton Woods system, and the formation of NATO. Through a critical analysis of historical case studies, we will gain insights into how the United States has played a pivotal role in promoting democratic values, free trade, and multilateral cooperation within the global order.

#### Key Questions:

- How did the United States contribute to establishing and maintaining the Liberal International Order after World War II?
- How have the creation of the United Nations, the Bretton Woods system, and NATO played in shaping the LIO?
- How has the Liberal International Order promoted democratic values, free trade, and multilateral cooperation on a global scale?
- What historical case studies exemplify the United States' leadership and influence in upholding the LIO during various international crises and conflicts?

#### Readings:

Interview by Benn Steil, Interviewee and Robert McMahon, Interviewer. "Bretton Woods Lessons". Council on Foreign Relations. 2014. https://www.cfr.org/interview/bretton-woods-lessons

Carafano, James Jay (2019). "The U.S. and the new great power paradigm". https://www.gisreportsonline.com/r/great-power-competition/

Hamid, Shadi. "There are many things worse than American Power". Brookings Institute. 2022. <a href="https://www.brookings.edu/articles/there-are-many-things-worse-than-american-power/">https://www.brookings.edu/articles/there-are-many-things-worse-than-american-power/</a>

Ikenberry, G.John (2018). The end of the liberal international order? International Affairs, 94(1), 7-23.

Mearsheimer, John (2019). "Bound to fail: the rise and fall of the liberal international order". International Security, 43(4), 7-50. <a href="https://direct.mit.edu/isec/article/43/4/7/12221/Bound-to-Fail-The-Rise-and-Fall-of-the-Liberal">https://direct.mit.edu/isec/article/43/4/7/12221/Bound-to-Fail-The-Rise-and-Fall-of-the-Liberal</a>

#### Optional Readings:

Patrick, Stewart. "Four Contending U.S. Approaches to Multilateralism". Carnegie Endowment for International Peace. 2023. https://carnegieendowment.org/files/202301-Patrick\_Charter\_Club.pdf

Congressman Brendan F. Boyle (D-Pa.) (2021). "Recapturing the Spirit of Bretton Woods". *The Hill.* https://thehill.com/blogs/congress-blog/foreign-policy/540222-recapturing-the-spirit-of-bretton-woods/

## Module 2 (continued) - Thursday, September 7

#### The United States and the Liberal International Order

Summary: In this session, we will shift our focus to the contemporary challenges faced by the Liberal International Order, primarily due to great power rivalry. We will explore how shifts in geopolitical dynamics, emerging powers, and changing global priorities have strained the LIO's institutions and principles. The discussion will center on the United States' responses to these challenges, including reassessing its foreign policy and engaging in multilateral initiatives. Through in-depth case studies, we will critically analyze the implications of great power competition on the LIO and its potential consequences for global stability and cooperation.

- What are the major contemporary challenges faced by the Liberal International Order, and how has great power rivalry exacerbated them?
- How do emerging powers and shifts in geopolitical dynamics impact the effectiveness of the LIO's institutions and principles?
- What are some specific instances where great power competition has led to tensions and conflicts within the LIO's framework?
- How is the United States adapting its foreign policy and engagement strategies to address the challenges posed by great power rivalry and sustain the principles of the Liberal International Order?

#### Readings:

Lind, Jennifer and Press, Daryl G. (2020). "Reality Check. American Power in an Age of Constraints". Foreign Affairs. (PDF provided in Canvas).

Radin, Andrew (2021). "Reconsidering U.S. Decision-Making Within NATO after the fall of Kabul" <u>HTTPS://WARONTHEROCKS.COM/2021/10/RECONSIDERING-U-S-DECISION-MAKING-WITHIN-NATO-AFTER-THE-FALL-OF-KABUL/</u>

Runde, Daniel (2020). "Competing and Winning in the Multilateral System. U.S. Leadership in the United Nations." CSIS. <a href="https://csis-website-prod.s3.amazonaws.com/s3fs-public/publication/200428\_Runde\_Leadership\_v4.pdf">https://csis-website-prod.s3.amazonaws.com/s3fs-public/publication/200428\_Runde\_Leadership\_v4.pdf</a>

Speranza, Laurent (2021). "American Leadership in NATO: A Rocky Return but a Firm Future". International Center for Defence and Security. <a href="https://icds.ee/en/american-leadership-in-nato-a-rocky-return-but-a-firm-future/">https://icds.ee/en/american-leadership-in-nato-a-rocky-return-but-a-firm-future/</a>

#### Optional Readings:

Narayanan, Nisha (2022). "Changing Bretton Woods. How Non-State and Quasi-State Actors Can Help Drive the Global Development Agenda". Atlantic Council. <a href="https://www.atlanticcouncil.org/wp-content/uploads/2022/10/Changing-Bretton-Woods-How-Non-State-and-Quasi-State-Actors-Can-Help-Drive-the-Global-Development-Agenda.pdf">https://www.atlanticcouncil.org/wp-content/uploads/2022/10/Changing-Bretton-Woods-How-Non-State-and-Quasi-State-Actors-Can-Help-Drive-the-Global-Development-Agenda.pdf</a>

Shih, Victor (2022). "How China Would like to Reshape International Economic Institutions." Atlantic Council. <a href="https://www.atlanticcouncil.org/wp-content/uploads/2022/10/How-China-Would-Like-to-Reshape-International-Economic-Institutions.pdf">https://www.atlanticcouncil.org/wp-content/uploads/2022/10/How-China-Would-Like-to-Reshape-International-Economic-Institutions.pdf</a>

## Module 3 - Tuesday, September 12

# China's Ascendancy in the Global Arena: Economic and Geopolitical Dimensions

Summary: In this session, we will explore the rise of China as a major global player, with a particular focus on its economic and geopolitical dimensions. We will analyze the factors that have contributed to China's rapid economic growth and emergence as a formidable economic powerhouse. Additionally, we will examine how China's increasing influence in international organizations and regional affairs has reshaped the dynamics of great power rivalry. Through case studies and comparative analyses, we will delve into the challenges and opportunities posed by China's rise to both the existing great powers and the international system.

- What are the key economic drivers behind China's rise and how have they contributed to its ascent as a global economic power?
- How has China's increased influence in international organizations, such as the UN and WTO, impacted global governance and norms?
- What are the main geopolitical implications of China's rise in great power rivalry and the strategic interests of other major powers?

• How do the Belt and Road Initiative and China's expanding global connectivity initiatives influence its geopolitical position and its relationships with other nations?

#### Readings:

Brooks, Stefan G. and Wohlforth, William C. (2015/16). "The Rise and Fall of the Great Powers in the Twenty-first Century: China's Rise and the Fate of America's Global Position". International Security, 40(3), 7-53. https://www.belfercenter.org/sites/default/files/files/publication/isec\_a\_00225.pdf

Dollar, David (2020). "Reluctant Player: China's Approach to International Economic Institutions". The Brookings Institute. <a href="https://www.brookings.edu/articles/reluctant-player-chinas-approach-to-international-economic-institutions/">https://www.brookings.edu/articles/reluctant-player-chinas-approach-to-international-economic-institutions/</a>

Huang, Yukon (2023). "China: the abnormal great power". Carnegie Endowment for International Peace. <a href="https://carnegieendowment.org/2013/03/05/china-abnormal-great-power-pub-51112">https://carnegieendowment.org/2013/03/05/china-abnormal-great-power-pub-51112</a>

Rajah, Roland and Leng, Alyssa (2022). "Revising Down the Rise of China". The Lowy Institute. <a href="https://www.lowyinstitute.org/publications/revising-down-rise-china">https://www.lowyinstitute.org/publications/revising-down-rise-china</a>

Shih, Victor (2022). "How China Would like to Reshape International Economic Institutions." Atlantic Council. <a href="https://www.atlanticcouncil.org/wp-content/uploads/2022/10/How-China-Would-Like-to-Reshape-International-Economic-Institutions.pdf">https://www.atlanticcouncil.org/wp-content/uploads/2022/10/How-China-Would-Like-to-Reshape-International-Economic-Institutions.pdf</a>

#### Optional Readings:

Cheatham, Andrew. "In Competition with China, the U.S. Should Double Down on Multilateralism". United States Institute of Peace, 2023. <a href="https://www.usip.org/publications/2023/07/competition-china-us-should-double-down-multilateralism">https://www.usip.org/publications/2023/07/competition-china-us-should-double-down-multilateralism</a>

Morrison, Wayne M. (2019). "China's Economic Rise: History, Trends, Challenges, and Implications for the United States". Congressional Research Services. <a href="https://www.everycrsreport.com/files/20190625\_RL33534\_088c5467dd11365dd4ab5f72133db289fa1\_0030f.pdf">https://www.everycrsreport.com/files/20190625\_RL33534\_088c5467dd11365dd4ab5f72133db289fa1\_0030f.pdf</a>

## Module 3 (continued) - Thursday, September 14

# China's Ascendancy in the Global Arena: Economic and Geopolitical Dimensions

Summary: In this session, we will delve deeper into the security and diplomatic implications of China's rise in the context of great power rivalry. We will examine China's military modernization efforts and their impact on regional security dynamics, particularly in the Indo-Pacific region. Furthermore, we will analyze China's diplomatic strategies, including its Belt and Road Initiative and assertive stances on territorial disputes. Through critical discussions, we will assess how China's rise is influencing the power dynamics and shaping the strategies of other major powers, particularly the United States, and the challenges it poses to the existing international order.

#### Key Questions:

- What are the major security concerns arising from China's military modernization efforts, and how do they impact regional stability and the interests of other great powers?
- How does China's approach to territorial disputes, particularly in the South China Sea, challenge the existing regional order and international norms?
- How is China's rise influencing the security strategies and alliances of other major powers, particularly the United States and its Indo-Pacific approach?
- What diplomatic strategies has China employed to enhance its global influence, and how do they impact diplomatic relations with other major players in the international system?

#### Readings:

Lin, Bonny, Michael S. Chase, Jonah Blank, Cortez A. Cooper III, Derek Grossman, Scott W. Harold, Jennifer D. P. Moroney, Lyle J. Morris, Logan Ma, Paul Orner, Alice Shih, and Soo Kim. "Regional Responses to U.S.-China Competition in the Indo-Pacific: Study Overview and Conclusions". Santa Monica, CA: RAND Corporation, 2020. https://www.rand.org/pubs/research\_reports/RR4412.html

Fangyin, Zhou (2016). "Between Assertiveness and Self-Restraint: Understanding China's South China Sea Policy". International Affairs, 92(4), 869-890. <a href="https://academic.oup.com/ia/article-abstract/92/4/869/2688089?redirectedFrom=PDF&login=false">https://academic.oup.com/ia/article-abstract/92/4/869/2688089?redirectedFrom=PDF&login=false</a>

Feltman, Jeffrey (2020). "China's expanding influence at the United Nations – and how the United States should react". <a href="https://www.brookings.edu/articles/chinas-expanding-influence-at-the-united-nations-and-how-the-united-states-should-react/">https://www.brookings.edu/articles/chinas-expanding-influence-at-the-united-nations-and-how-the-united-states-should-react/</a>

Walters, Riley (2023). "China's military puts Indo-Pacific on edge". GIS Reports Online. <a href="https://www.gisreportsonline.com/r/china-indo-pacific-military/">https://www.gisreportsonline.com/r/china-indo-pacific-military/</a>

## Optional Readings:

BBC 2016 Report: "South China Sea: Beijing accuses US of militarization" <a href="https://www.bbc.com/news/world-asia-35610809">https://www.bbc.com/news/world-asia-35610809</a>

#### Module 4 - Tuesday, September 19

#### Russia's Path to Superpower Status: Historical and Geopolitical Perspectives

Summary: In this session, we will examine Russia's historical trajectory and geopolitical factors that have contributed to its status as a potential superpower. We will delve into Russia's historical role as a key player in international affairs, including its past influence as the Soviet Union during the Cold War era. We will analyze Russia's contemporary foreign policy, military capabilities, and regional influence to assess whether it qualifies as a superpower in the modern context. Through critical analysis and case studies, we will explore the challenges and opportunities posed by Russia's ambitions to assert itself as a major player in the realm of great power rivalry.

#### Key Questions:

- What historical events and geopolitical factors have contributed to Russia's claim as a potential superpower in the global arena?
- How does Russia's historical role as the Soviet Union during the Cold War impact its contemporary approach to great power rivalry?
- What are the main pillars of Russia's current foreign policy, and how do they align with its superpower aspirations?
- What regional and global challenges does Russia face in establishing itself as a superpower, and how does it navigate these obstacles?

#### Readings:

Berls, Robert E. Jr. (2021). "Strengthening Russia's Influence in International Affairs, Part I: The Quest for Great Power Status". NTI. <a href="https://www.nti.org/analysis/articles/strengthening-russias-influence-in-international-affairs-part-i-the-quest-for-great-power-status/">https://www.nti.org/analysis/articles/strengthening-russias-influence-in-international-affairs-part-i-the-quest-for-great-power-status/</a>

Brands, AI (2022). "Why Superpower crises are a good thing". Foreign Policy Magazine. <a href="https://foreignpolicy.com/2022/08/05/superpower-crisis-china-russia-cold-war-geopolitics-strategy/">https://foreignpolicy.com/2022/08/05/superpower-crisis-china-russia-cold-war-geopolitics-strategy/</a>

Grady, John (2021). "Russia wants to keep status as artic superpower". USNI News. https://news.usni.org/2021/11/05/russia-wants-to-keep-status-as-arctic-superpower-says-expert

Kokoshin, Andrei (2002). "What is Russia: a Superpower, a Great Power or a Regional Power?". *International Affairs: A Russian Journal*. No. 6. https://ciaotest.cc.columbia.edu/olj/iarj/iarj 02 06a.html

Tsafos, Nikos (2022). "Russia's days as an energy superpower are coming to an end". CNN Business. https://www.cnn.com/2022/03/24/perspectives/global-energy-russia-europe/index.html

#### Useful Optional Readings:

2021 CRS Report: "Russia: Foreign Policy and U.S. Relations". By Bowen, Andrew S. and Welt, Cory. <a href="https://crsreports.congress.gov/product/pdf/R/R46761">https://crsreports.congress.gov/product/pdf/R/R46761</a>

## Module 4 (continued) - Thursday, September 21

#### Challenges and Limitations: Russia's Role in a Multipolar World

Summary: This session will closely examine Russia's challenges and limitations in pursuing superpower status within a multipolar world's evolving dynamics. We will assess Russia's engagement with other major powers, such as the United States, China, and the European Union, and analyze how its actions and policies influence global stability and cooperation. Additionally, we will explore Russia's economic vulnerabilities, domestic issues, and technological advancements to understand the extent of its impact on the great power rivalry landscape. Through in-depth discussions, we will gain insights into the implications of Russia's status as a potential superpower and its role in shaping the current world order.

#### Key Questions:

- How does Russia's engagement with other major powers, such as the United States, China, and the European Union, influence the dynamics of great power rivalry?
- What are the key economic vulnerabilities and domestic issues that could limit Russia's ability to maintain its superpower status?
- How do Russia's military modernization and technological advancements impact its role in the multipolar world order?
- What are the implications of Russia's superpower ambitions on regional stability and global cooperation, particularly in areas of conflict and competition?

## Readings:

Jankowski, Dominik P. (2021). "Russia and the technological race in an era of great power competition". CSIS Report. <a href="https://www.csis.org/analysis/russia-and-technological-race-era-great-power-competition">https://www.csis.org/analysis/russia-and-technological-race-era-great-power-competition</a>

Masters, Jonathan (2023). "Ukraine: Conflict at the Crossroads of Europe and Russia". CFR. <a href="https://www.cfr.org/backgrounder/ukraine-conflict-crossroads-europe-and-russia#:~:text=Ukraine%20became%20a%20battleground%20in,annexed%20the%20territory%20of%20another.">https://www.cfr.org/backgrounder/ukraine-conflict-crossroads-europe-and-russia#:~:text=Ukraine%20became%20a%20battleground%20in,annexed%20the%20territory%20of%20another.</a>

Eberstadt, Nicholas (2022). "Russian Power in Decline". Milken Institute Review. <a href="https://www.aei.org/research-products/journal-publication/russian-power-in-decline/">https://www.aei.org/research-products/journal-publication/russian-power-in-decline/</a>

Bergmann, Max (2022). "Russia's coming great power struggle". CSIS Report. https://www.csis.org/analysis/russias-coming-great-power-struggle

## Optional Readings:

McFaul, Michael (2020). "Putin, Putinism, and the Domestic Determinants of Russian Foreign Policy". *International Security*; 45 (2): 95–139. doi: <a href="https://doi.org/10.1162/isec\_a\_00390">https://doi.org/10.1162/isec\_a\_00390</a>

Troianovski, Anton; Nechepurenko Ivan; Hopkins Valerie (2021). "How the Kremlin is Militarizing Russian Society". New York Times Report. <a href="https://www.nytimes.com/2021/12/21/world/europe/russia-military-putin-kremlin.html">https://www.nytimes.com/2021/12/21/world/europe/russia-military-putin-kremlin.html</a>

# Module 5 - Tuesday, September 26

# Rising Powers in the International Order

Summary: In this session, we will explore the phenomenon of rising powers and their increasing significance in the global arena amidst great power rivalry. We will analyze the key drivers that propel certain countries towards rising power status, including economic growth, military capabilities, technological advancements, and diplomatic influence. Additionally, we will examine how these rising powers are reshaping the dynamics of the international order and challenging the established norms

and institutions. Through case studies and comparative analysis, we will gain insights into the potential implications of rising powers on the current great power rivalry landscape.

## Key Questions:

- What factors contribute to the rise of certain countries as emerging powers in the international system?
- How do rising powers' economic growth and technological advancements influence their positioning within the global hierarchy of power?
- What diplomatic strategies are used by rising powers to extend their influence and challenge the existing international order?
- How do rising powers impact regional and global security dynamics, and how does this influence great power rivalry?

#### Readings:

Bordachev, Tomofei (2023). "BRICS at a historical turning point: unexpected challenges". Valdai Club Analysis. <a href="https://valdaiclub.com/a/highlights/brics-at-a-historical-turning-point-unexpected/">https://valdaiclub.com/a/highlights/brics-at-a-historical-turning-point-unexpected/</a>

Kahler, Miles (2013). "Rising powers and global governance: negotiating change in a resilient status quo". *International Affairs* 89: 3. 711–729.

https://ciaotest.cc.columbia.edu/journals/riia/v89i3/f\_0028325\_23043.pdf

Tank, Pinar (2012). "The Concept of Rising Powers". Noref Policy Brief. June 2012. https://www.files.ethz.ch/isn/146521/aa7c23bf5887ab060f1af737a39a000a.pdf

Vom Hau, Matthias (2017). "How the BRICS Exert Influence in the Global Politics of Development". https://www.e-ir.info/pdf/71246

## Module 5 (continued) - Thursday, September 28

## **Rising Powers in the International Order**

Summary: In this session, we will delve into the complex dynamics of great power rivalry as it intersects with the ascent of rising powers. We will explore the opportunities and risks associated with engaging rising powers in the international order, considering both their potential contributions to global stability and their potential to disrupt the established balance of power. We will assess how traditional great powers, such as the United States, China, and Russia, navigate their relationships with rising powers and the implications of cooperation or competition on the overall geopolitical landscape. Through interactive discussions, we will critically evaluate strategies for managing great power rivalry in the context of rising powers' growing influence.

- How does rising powers' alignment or competition with existing great powers shape the dynamics of great power rivalry?
- What are the potential opportunities for cooperation and collaboration between traditional great powers and rising powers to address global challenges?

- How does rising powers' pursuit of regional and global interests impact the stability of key regions and international institutions?
- What are the risks and consequences of failing to manage great power rivalry effectively amidst the ascent of rising powers in the international order?

#### Readings:

Tekines, Hasim (2021). "Turkish diplomacy by the numbers: a decade of trends". The Washington Institute. <a href="https://www.washingtoninstitute.org/policy-analysis/turkish-diplomacy-numbers-decade-trends">https://www.washingtoninstitute.org/policy-analysis/turkish-diplomacy-numbers-decade-trends</a>

Pande, Aparna (2023). "India basks on the global stage". GIS Report. <a href="https://www.hudson.org/foreign-policy/india-basks-prominence-global-stage">https://www.hudson.org/foreign-policy/india-basks-prominence-global-stage</a>

Pereira, Anthony W. (2017). "Brazil: Geopolitical Challenges in a Multipolar World". *Rising Powers Quarterly*. https://risingpowersproject.com/brazil-geopolitical-challenges-multipolar-world/

Wu, Lunting (2022). "Rising powers and global governance: dissecting the dynamics between Brazil and China". <a href="https://cebri.org/revista/en/artigo/34/rising-powers-and-global-governance-dissecting-the-dynamics-between-brazil-and-china">https://cebri.org/revista/en/artigo/34/rising-powers-and-global-governance-dissecting-the-dynamics-between-brazil-and-china</a>

2013 LSE Report "Emerging Powers in Africa": <a href="https://www.lse.ac.uk/ideas/Assets/Documents/reports/LSE-IDEAS-Emerging-Powers-in-Africa.pdf">https://www.lse.ac.uk/ideas/Assets/Documents/reports/LSE-IDEAS-Emerging-Powers-in-Africa.pdf</a>

#### Module 6 - Tuesday, October 3

#### South Africa in the International Order - Historical Context

Summary: This session will delve into the historical context of South Africa's position in the international order within the broader framework of great power rivalry. The session aims to comprehensively understand South Africa's evolution as a key player in global affairs, tracing its trajectory from colonialism to the post-apartheid era. It will explore how various historical events have shaped South Africa's foreign policy, relations with major powers, and regional and global influence.

- How did colonialism and apartheid impact South Africa's international standing and relations with other nations?
- What role did the anti-apartheid struggle and the global solidarity movement play in reshaping South Africa's position in the international community?
- How has South Africa's membership in organizations like the African Union and BRICS influenced its engagement with major powers?
- In what ways has South Africa used its diplomatic influence to address regional challenges and promote stability in Africa?

#### Readings:

Barnes, Catherine. "International isolation and pressure for change in South Africa". Conciliation Resources. <a href="https://rc-services-assets.s3.eu-west-1.amazonaws.com/s3fs-public/Accord%2019\_8International%20isolation%20and%20pressure%20for%20change%20in%20South%20Africa\_2008\_ENG.pdf">https://rc-services-assets.s3.eu-west-1.amazonaws.com/s3fs-public/Accord%2019\_8International%20isolation%20and%20pressure%20for%20change%20in%20South%20Africa\_2008\_ENG.pdf</a>

Cochran, Edwin S. "The Pivotal State: Post-Apartheid South Africa". US Army War College Papers. https://press.armywarcollege.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=2002&context=parameters

Levy, Brian, Hirsch, Alan, Naidoo Vinothan, Nxele, Musa (2021). "South Africa: When Strong Institutions and Massive Inequalities Collide". Carnegie Endowment Report. https://carnegieendowment.org/files/202103-Levy\_etal\_SouthAfrica.pdf

Peter J. Schraeder (2001) South Africa's foreign policy: From international pariah to leader of the African renaissance, The Round Table, 90:359, 229-243, DOI: <u>10.1080/00358530120050080</u>

#### Optional Reading:

Masters, Lesley (2017). "South Africa's Post-Apartheid Foreign Policy Making and the Role of the President". (PDF provided in Canvas).

#### Module 6 (continued) - Thursday, October 5

## South Africa's Geopolitical Strategy and Challenges

Summary: This session will focus on the contemporary geopolitical landscape and the challenges faced by South Africa in the international order. It will explore South Africa's current foreign policy priorities, strategic partnerships, and efforts to balance relations with different great powers. The session will also discuss the impact of emerging global issues, such as climate change, cybersecurity, and economic integration, on South Africa's foreign policy decision-making.

### Key Questions:

- How does South Africa navigate its relations with major powers like the United States, China, and the European Union while safeguarding its national interests?
- What are the implications of South Africa's engagement in regional initiatives, such as SADC and NEPAD, for its standing in the international order?
- How does South Africa approach global challenges like climate change and economic inequality, and what role does it play in international forums addressing these issues?
- What are the main geopolitical challenges and opportunities facing South Africa in the 21st century, and how does it position itself within the changing dynamics of great power rivalry?

#### Readings:

Handy, Paul-Simon and Djilo, Félicité (2021). "South Africa's foreign policy on Africa needs a revamp". ISS Report. <a href="https://issafrica.org/iss-today/south-africas-foreign-policy-on-africa-needs-a-revamp">https://issafrica.org/iss-today/south-africas-foreign-policy-on-africa-needs-a-revamp</a>

Mbanyele, Stuart (2022). "South Africa Foreign Policy: Ambiguous or Misunderstood?". GGA Online. <a href="https://gga.org/south-africas-foreign-policy-decisions-ambiguous-or-misunderstood/">https://gga.org/south-africas-foreign-policy-decisions-ambiguous-or-misunderstood/</a>

Paterson, Mark and Kudrat, Virk. "Two Decades of South Africa's Foreign Policy: Progress, Problems, and Prospects." Centre for Conflict Resolution, 2014. http://www.jstor.org/stable/resrep05158.6

Siridopoulos, Elizabeth (2022). "How do Global South politics of non-alignment and solidarity explain South Africa's position on Ukraine?". Brookings Commentary.

https://www.brookings.edu/articles/how-do-global-south-politics-of-non-alignment-and-solidarity-explain-south-africas-position-on-ukraine/

#### Module 7 - Tuesday, October 10

#### **Indonesia in the International Order - Historical Perspectives**

Summary: This session will explore Indonesia's historical role in the international order and its interactions with great power rivalry. The session aims to provide students with an understanding of Indonesia's geopolitical significance, tracing its historical relationships with major powers and regional dynamics. It will examine the impact of colonization, the independence struggle, and the Cold War on Indonesia's foreign policy and its quest for strategic autonomy and leadership in Southeast Asia.

# Key Questions:

- How did Indonesia's colonial past shape its engagement with the international community and its quest for independence?
- What role did Indonesia play during the Cold War, and how did it navigate the competing influences of major powers during that period?
- How has Indonesia's `independent and active" foreign policy doctrine influenced its relations with great powers and regional neighbors?
- In what ways has Indonesia's membership in ASEAN impacted its position in the international order and its approach to great power rivalry?

#### Readings:

Choiruzzad, Shofwan Al Banna (2020). To Build the World Anew: Decolonization and Cold War in Indonesia. *Asian Perspective* 44(2), 209-231. doi:10.1353/apr.2020.0013. (PDF provided in Canvas).

Rosyidin, Muhamad (2017). Foreign policy in changing global politics: Indonesia's foreign policy and the quest for major power status in the Asian Century. *South East Asia Research*, *25*(2), 175–191. https://doi.org/10.1177/0967828X17706570

Smith, Anthony. (1999). Indonesia's Role in ASEAN: The End of Leadership? *Contemporary Southeast Asia*, 21(2), 238–260. http://www.istor.org/stable/25798455

#### Module 7 (continued) - Thursday, October 12

## **Indonesia's Contemporary Geopolitical Challenges and Strategies**

Summary: This session will focus on Indonesia's current geopolitical challenges and its strategies for navigating the dynamics of great power rivalry in the modern era. It will examine Indonesia's economic and security interests in the context of global power shifts and regional dynamics. The session will also address Indonesia's participation in multilateral institutions, its stance on key international issues, and its efforts to balance relations with major powers to protect its sovereignty and national interests.

#### Key Questions:

- How does Indonesia manage its economic ties with major powers like China, the United States, and the European Union while safeguarding its strategic autonomy?
- What are the key security challenges faced by Indonesia in the region, and how does it engage with great powers to address these challenges?
- How does Indonesia contribute to regional stability and cooperation through its involvement in forums like ASEAN and the Indian Ocean Rim Association (IORA)?
- What is Indonesia's approach to addressing transnational issues such as climate change, maritime security, and terrorism, and how does it collaborate with other nations to tackle these challenges in the international order?

#### Readings:

Erskine, Andrew (2022). "The Middle Power Dynamic in the Indo-Pacific: Unpacking How Vietnam and Indonesia Can Shape Regional Security and Economic Issues". Journal of Indo-Pacific Affairs. <a href="https://www.airuniversity.af.edu/JIPA/Display/Article/2927137/the-middle-power-dynamic-in-the-indo-pacific-unpacking-how-vietnam-and-indonesi/">https://www.airuniversity.af.edu/JIPA/Display/Article/2927137/the-middle-power-dynamic-in-the-indo-pacific-unpacking-how-vietnam-and-indonesi/</a>

Hamilton-Hart, Natasha and McRae, Dave (2015). "Indonesia: Balancing the United States and China, Aiming for Independence". The United States Studies Center. <a href="https://www.usindo.org/assets/up/2015/12/Indonesia-Balancing-US-and-China-November-2015-MacArthur-Indonesia-ONLINE.pdf">https://www.usindo.org/assets/up/2015/12/Indonesia-Balancing-US-and-China-November-2015-MacArthur-Indonesia-ONLINE.pdf</a>

Laksmana, Evan A. (2021). "Indonesia Unprepared as Great Powers Clash in Indo-Pacific". Foreign Policy Magazine. <a href="https://foreignpolicy.com/2021/08/26/indonesia-china-us-geopolitics/">https://foreignpolicy.com/2021/08/26/indonesia-china-us-geopolitics/</a> (PDF provided in Canvas).

Nauvarian, Demas (2022). "Fixing Foreign Policy Problems. Indonesia's Multilateral Ambitions". Institute for Security & Development Policy. <a href="https://www.isdp.eu/fixing-foreign-policy-problems-indonesias-multilateral-ambition/">https://www.isdp.eu/fixing-foreign-policy-problems-indonesias-multilateral-ambition/</a>

Tuesday, October 17 --- NO CLASS, Fall Study Break

Module 7 - Thursday, October 19

Turkey in the international order – Historical Perspectives

Summary: This graduate session will delve into the historical evolution of Turkey's role in the international order and its interactions with great power rivalry. The session aims to provide students with a comprehensive understanding of Turkey's geopolitical significance, tracing its journey from the Ottoman Empire to the modern Turkish Republic. It will explore how historical events, such as the collapse of the Ottoman Empire, World War I, and the Cold War, have shaped Turkey's foreign policy, alliances, and regional influence.

## Key Questions:

- How did the collapse of the Ottoman Empire impact Turkey's position in the international order and its relations with major powers?
- What role did Turkey play during World War I, and how did it navigate the aftermath of the war to establish a new national identity and foreign policy?
- How did Turkey's decision to join NATO during the Cold War shape its role in the great power rivalry between the United States and the Soviet Union?
- In what ways has Turkey's unique geographical location influenced its regional engagement and its approach to balancing relations with various great powers?

## Readings:

Carley, Patricia (1995). "Turkey's Role in the Middle East". United States Institute of Peace. https://www.usip.org/sites/default/files/resources/pwks1.pdf

Dalay, Galip (2022). "Turkey's Recurring Quest for Security, Statuds and Geopolitical Identity". GMF. <a href="https://www.gmfus.org/news/turkeys-recurring-quest-security-status-and-geopolitical-identity">https://www.gmfus.org/news/turkeys-recurring-quest-security-status-and-geopolitical-identity</a>

Papacosma, Victor S. "The Eastern Question Revisited: Greek-Turkish Relations in the Historical Context of Great Power Policy Making". (PDF provided in Canvas)

Watson, Mason (2015). "The Collapse of Ottoman Power - Origins: Current Events in Historical Perspective". https://origins.osu.edu/review/collapse-ottoman-power?language content entity=en.

## Module 7 (continued) - Tuesday, October 24

# Turkey's Contemporary Geopolitical Challenges and Strategies

Summary: This session will focus on Turkey's contemporary geopolitical challenges and the strategies it employs to navigate great power rivalry in the modern era. It will examine Turkey's evolving foreign policy, its engagement in conflicts in the Middle East, and its efforts to assert itself as a regional power. The session will also address Turkey's relations with key actors, such as the European Union, Russia, and the United States, and how it navigates competing interests in the current international order.

- How does Turkey's involvement in conflicts in Syria, Libya, and the wider Middle East impact its relations with great powers and regional dynamics?
- What are the main drivers of Turkey's foreign policy in the Eastern Mediterranean and how does it navigate its relations with countries like Greece and Cyprus amidst great power competition?

- How does Turkey balance its historical ties with the West, particularly NATO, while forging closer economic and strategic partnerships with Russia and other non-Western actors?
- What is Turkey's stance on emerging global issues, such as human rights, climate change, and technological advancements, and how does it participate in international forums to address these challenges within the great power rivalry context?

#### Readings:

Alonso-Trabanco, Jose Miguel (2022). "Turkey as an Aspiring Great Power". Geopolitical Monitor. https://www.geopoliticalmonitor.com/turkey-as-an-aspiring-great-power/

Cagaptav, Soner (2023). "East and West: Which way does Turkey Face?". Washington Institute. https://www.washingtoninstitute.org/policy-analysis/east-and-west-which-way-does-turkey-face

Robinson, Kali (2023). "Turkey's Growing Foreign Policy Ambitions". Council on Foreign Relations. <a href="https://www.cfr.org/backgrounder/turkeys-growing-foreign-policy-ambitions">https://www.cfr.org/backgrounder/turkeys-growing-foreign-policy-ambitions</a>

Tugal, Cihan (2022). "Ottoman Revival?". https://newleftreview.org/sidecar/posts/ottoman-revival

Reynolds, Michael (2019). "Turkey and Russia: A Remarkable Rapprochement". War on the Rocks. <a href="https://warontherocks.com/2019/10/turkey-and-russia-a-remarkable-rapprochement/">https://warontherocks.com/2019/10/turkey-and-russia-a-remarkable-rapprochement/</a>

#### Optional Reading:

Cagaptay, Soner (2018). "The new sultan and the crisis of modern Turkey". Hoover Institution. https://www.hoover.org/research/new-sultan-and-crisis-modern-turkey

#### Module 8 - Thursday, October 26

#### India in the International Order - Historical Perspectives

Summary: This session will explore India's historical role in the international order and its positioning amidst great power rivalry. The session aims to provide students with an in-depth understanding of India's geopolitical significance, tracing its historical interactions with major powers, and its journey from colonial rule to independence. It will examine how India's foreign policy has evolved, taking into account key events such as the Non-Aligned Movement during the Cold War and its engagement with other major powers in shaping its international relations.

- How did India's colonial past influence its foreign policy approach and its stance on global issues in the post-independence era?
- What was the rationale behind India's adoption of the Non-Aligned Movement during the Cold War, and how did it navigate the great power rivalry between the United States and the Soviet Union?
- How has India's economic liberalization in the 1990s impacted its engagement with major powers and its position in the international order?

 In what ways has India's participation in regional forums, such as SAARC and BIMSTEC, influenced its relations with neighboring countries and the broader global community?

#### Readings:

Bhattacharjee, Joyeeta (2018). "SAARC vs BIMSTEC: The search for the ideal platform for regional cooperation". Observer Research Foundation. <a href="https://www.orfonline.org/research/saarc-vs-bimstec-the-search-for-the-ideal-platform-for-regional-cooperation/">https://www.orfonline.org/research/saarc-vs-bimstec-the-search-for-the-ideal-platform-for-regional-cooperation/</a>

Bhattacharya, Tridib (2023). "Beyond Nonalignment: The Impact of the Cold War on India's Foreign Policy". International Affairs Forum. <a href="https://www.ia-forum.org/Content/ViewInternal\_Document.cfm?contenttype\_id=5&ContentID=9246">https://www.ia-forum.org/Content/ViewInternal\_Document.cfm?contenttype\_id=5&ContentID=9246</a>

Dutta, Mousum and Bhowmik, Kaushik (2022). "India's legacy of non-alignment". Asia Times. https://asiatimes.com/2022/03/indias-legacy-of-non-alignment/

Rao, Subba S. (2020). "India's Paradigm Shift From Saarc To Bimstec". World Affairs: The Journal of International Issues, 24(1), 90–99. https://www.jstor.org/stable/48622909

## Module 8 (continued) - Tuesday, October 31

#### **India's Contemporary Geopolitical Challenges and Aspirations**

Summary: This session will focus on India's contemporary geopolitical challenges and aspirations within the context of great power rivalry. It will examine India's growing role in the global economy, increasing military capabilities, and strategic partnerships with key actors. The session will also address India's involvement in regional and international organizations, its approach to global issues, and its efforts to assert itself as a leading player in the current international order.

#### Key Questions:

- How do India's rising economic power and demographic advantage impact its relations with other great powers, and how does it seek to leverage these strengths in the international arena?
- What are the main drivers behind India's "Act East" policy and its deepening engagement with Southeast Asian countries, and how does this influence India's position vis-a-vis China's increasing influence?
- How does India address security challenges in South Asia, including its relations with Pakistan, and how does it balance these challenges with its aspirations for greater global influence?
- What role does India play in international efforts to address global challenges, such as climate change, sustainable development, and cybersecurity, and how does it collaborate with other nations in these endeavors amidst great power competition?

#### Readings:

Bunthorn, Khath (2023). "Soft Power in India's Act East Policy: A Cambodian Perspective". India Quarterly, 79(2), 189–208. https://doi.org/10.1177/09749284231165110

Chietigj Bajpaee (2023). "Reinvigorating India's 'Act East' Policy in an age of renewed power politics". The Pacific Review, 36:3, 631-661, DOI: 10.1080/09512748.2022.2110609

Cohen, Stephen P. (2009). "Rising India has a Pakistan Problem". Brookings Report. <a href="https://www.brookings.edu/articles/rising-india-has-a-pakistan-problem/">https://www.brookings.edu/articles/rising-india-has-a-pakistan-problem/</a>

Hafiz, Saad (2023). "Why Peace with India Matters Most for Pakistan". Kashmir Observer. https://kashmirobserver.net/2023/03/27/why-peace-with-india-matters-most-for-pakistan/

Panagariya, Arvind (2023). "How India's Economy Will Overtake the U.S.'s". Time Magazine. https://time.com/6297539/how-india-economy-will-surpass-us/

Tâm Sáng, Huỳnh (2022). "The Growing Importance of Vietnam to India's South China Sea Policy". Journal of Indo-Pacific Affairs. <a href="https://www.airuniversity.af.edu/JIPA/Display/Article/2980923/the-growing-importance-of-vietnam-to-indias-south-china-sea-policy/">https://www.airuniversity.af.edu/JIPA/Display/Article/2980923/the-growing-importance-of-vietnam-to-indias-south-china-sea-policy/</a>

## Module 9 - Thursday, November 2

## **Brazil in the International Order - Historical Trajectory**

Summary: This session will explore Brazil's historical trajectory in the international order and its interactions amidst great power rivalry. The session aims to provide students with an in-depth understanding of Brazil's geopolitical significance, tracing its historical relations with major powers and its evolution from colonial times to the present. It will examine Brazil's foreign policy approaches during critical periods, such as the Cold War, and its role in regional organizations, shedding light on how these factors have shaped Brazil's current position in the global arena.

#### Key Questions:

- How did Brazil's colonial history and the process of independence influence its foreign policy outlook and engagement with the international community?
- What were the defining aspects of Brazil's role during the Cold War, and how did it navigate
  the competing interests of major powers during that period?
- How has Brazil's involvement in regional organizations, such as Mercosur and the Union of South American Nations (UNASUR), impacted its relations with neighboring countries and its broader position in the international order?
- In what ways has Brazil's stance on global issues, such as climate change and sustainable development, contributed to its recognition as an emerging global player amidst great power rivalry?

# Readings:

Bevins, Vincent (2020). "Where Conspiracy Reigns". The Atlantic. <a href="https://www.theatlantic.com/ideas/archive/2020/09/how-anti-communist-conspiracies-haunt-brazil/614665/">https://www.theatlantic.com/ideas/archive/2020/09/how-anti-communist-conspiracies-haunt-brazil/614665/</a>

Cava, Bruno (2023). "Brazil's Lula is right on global politics and wrong on Ukraine". Aljazeera. <a href="https://www.aljazeera.com/opinions/2023/6/4/brazils-lula-is-right-on-global-politics-and-wrong-on-ukraine">https://www.aljazeera.com/opinions/2023/6/4/brazils-lula-is-right-on-global-politics-and-wrong-on-ukraine</a>

Long, Guillaume and Suné, Natasha (2023). "Toward a new UNASUR: Pathways for the reactivation of South American Integration". CEPR. <a href="https://cepr.net/report/toward-a-new-unasur-pathways-for-the-reactivation-of-south-american-integration/">https://cepr.net/report/toward-a-new-unasur-pathways-for-the-reactivation-of-south-american-integration/</a>

# Module 9 (continued) - Tuesday, November 7

#### **Brazil's Contemporary Geopolitical Challenges and Diplomatic Strategies**

Summary: This session will focus on Brazil's contemporary geopolitical challenges and its diplomatic strategies in the context of great power rivalry. It will examine Brazil's aspirations for greater global influence, its economic and security interests, and its role in addressing regional and international issues. The session will also discuss Brazil's relations with key actors, such as China, the United States, and regional partners, as well as its engagement in multilateral institutions.

#### Key Questions:

- How does Brazil balance its economic interests with major powers like China and the United States while preserving its strategic autonomy in the international arena?
- What are the main security challenges Brazil faces in South America and how does it collaborate with other nations to address transnational issues like organized crime and environmental threats?
- How does Brazil's participation in multilateral forums, such as the United Nations and the G20, contribute to its role in shaping global governance and addressing international challenges?
- What is Brazil's approach to promoting regional cooperation and stability in South America, and how does it navigate the interests of neighboring countries amidst great power competition?

#### Readings:

Banerjee, Stuti (2023). "Brazil and G20: The Power of the Global South". Indian Council of World Affairs. <a href="https://www.icwa.in/show\_content.php?lang=1&level=3&ls\_id=8944&lid=5832">https://www.icwa.in/show\_content.php?lang=1&level=3&ls\_id=8944&lid=5832</a>

Mariano, Negreiros and Shively, Jacob (2022). "New Directions for Brazil's Foreign Policy Ambitions". Georgetown Law. <a href="https://www.law.georgetown.edu/iiel/research/iiel-blog/new-directions-for-brazils-foreign-policy-ambitions-2/">https://www.law.georgetown.edu/iiel/research/iiel-blog/new-directions-for-brazils-foreign-policy-ambitions-2/</a>

Osborne, Catherine (2023). "Brazil and Uruguay Give South American Trade an Adrenaline Shot". Foreign Policy Magazine. <a href="https://foreignpolicy.com/2023/01/27/mercosur-celac-lula-argentina-brazil-uruguay-trade-china-eu/">https://foreignpolicy.com/2023/01/27/mercosur-celac-lula-argentina-brazil-uruguay-trade-china-eu/</a>

Trinkunas, Harold (2015). "Brazil's Global Ambitions". Brookings Institute Commentary. <a href="https://www.brookings.edu/articles/brazils-global-ambitions/">https://www.brookings.edu/articles/brazils-global-ambitions/</a>

(2023). "Brazil's foreign policy is hyperactive, ambitious and naïve". The Economist. <a href="https://www.economist.com/the-americas/2023/04/10/brazils-foreign-policy-is-hyperactive-ambitious-and-naive">https://www.economist.com/the-americas/2023/04/10/brazils-foreign-policy-is-hyperactive-ambitious-and-naive</a>

## Module 10 - Thursday, November 9

#### Saudi Arabia in the International Order - Historical Foundations

Summary: This session will examine the historical foundations of Saudi Arabia's role in the international order and its interactions amidst great power rivalry. The session aims to provide students with a comprehensive understanding of Saudi Arabia's geopolitical significance, tracing its historical relations with major powers and the evolution of its foreign policy. It will explore how factors such as religion, oil, and regional dynamics have shaped Saudi Arabia's international engagement, particularly during the Cold War era.

## Key Questions:

- How has Saudi Arabia's historical ties to Islam and its status as the custodian of the Two Holy Mosques influenced its foreign policy and relations with other Muslim-majority countries?
- What was the impact of Saudi Arabia's oil wealth on its relations with major powers during the Cold War and its positioning in the Middle East?
- How did Saudi Arabia navigate the dynamics of the Cold War, balancing relations between the United States and the Soviet Union in the region?
- In what ways has Saudi Arabia's regional leadership and involvement in organizations like the Gulf Cooperation Council (GCC) affected its relations with neighboring states and the broader international community?

### Readings:

Barmin, Yuri (2017). "How Moscow lost Riyadh in 1938". Aljazeera. <a href="https://www.aljazeera.com/opinions/2017/10/15/how-moscow-lost-riyadh-in-1938">https://www.aljazeera.com/opinions/2017/10/15/how-moscow-lost-riyadh-in-1938</a>

Bianco, Cinzia (2023). "The comeback kingdom: What a resurgent Saudi Arabia means for Europe". European Council on Foreign Relations. <a href="https://ecfr.eu/article/the-comeback-kingdom-what-a-resurgent-saudi-arabia-means-for-europe/">https://ecfr.eu/article/the-comeback-kingdom-what-a-resurgent-saudi-arabia-means-for-europe/</a>

Helfont, Samuel (2020) Islam in Saudi Foreign Policy: The Case of Maʿruf al-Dawalibi, The International History Review, 42:3, 449-464, DOI: <u>10.1080/07075332.2019.1613671</u>

Marshall, Jonathan (1988). "Saudi Arabia and the Reagan Doctrine". MERP. <a href="https://merip.org/1988/11/saudi-arabia-and-the-reagan-doctrine/">https://merip.org/1988/11/saudi-arabia-and-the-reagan-doctrine/</a>

Toby Matthiesen; The Cold War and the Communist Party of Saudi Arabia, 1975–1991. *Journal of Cold War Studies* 2020; 22 (3): 32–62. doi: <a href="https://doi.org/10.1162/jcws\_a\_00950">https://doi.org/10.1162/jcws\_a\_00950</a>

Yefet, Adam (2023). "The Influence of Religious Institutions on the Domestic and Foreign Policies of the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia". *The International Affairs Review*. <a href="https://www.iar-gwu.org/print-archive/khr7amq5jc83svz4vv20m4vxkcp6vx">https://www.iar-gwu.org/print-archive/khr7amq5jc83svz4vv20m4vxkcp6vx</a>

## Module 10 (continued) - Tuesday, November 14

## Saudi Arabia's Contemporary Geopolitical Challenges and Strategic Approach

Summary: This session will focus on Saudi Arabia's contemporary geopolitical challenges and its strategic approach in the context of great power rivalry. It will explore Saudi Arabia's efforts to diversify its economy, its role in regional conflicts, and its engagement with major powers such as the United States, China, and Russia. The session will also discuss Saudi Arabia's involvement in international organizations and its stance on global issues, including human rights and climate change.

#### Key Questions:

- How is Saudi Arabia adapting to global energy shifts and what measures is it taking to diversify its economy in the face of fluctuating oil prices and energy transition?
- What is the role of Saudi Arabia in regional conflicts, such as the Yemeni Civil War and tensions with Iran, and how does this impact its relations with major powers?
- How does Saudi Arabia navigate its relations with great powers like the United States, China, and Russia, and what are the drivers behind these engagements?
- What is Saudi Arabia's approach to addressing global issues, and how does it balance its conservative values with international pressures related to human rights and climate change?

# Readings:

Diwan, Kristin Smith (2022). "Saudi Arabia's New Nationalist Foreign Policy". The Arab Gulf States Institute in Washington. <a href="https://agsiw.org/saudi-arabias-new-nationalist-foreign-policy/">https://agsiw.org/saudi-arabias-new-nationalist-foreign-policy/</a>

Hoffman, Jon (2022). "The Middle East and the Manipulation of Great Power Competition". The National Interest. <a href="https://nationalinterest.org/feature/middle-east-and-manipulation-great-power-competition-202264">https://nationalinterest.org/feature/middle-east-and-manipulation-great-power-competition-202264</a>

Ottaway, David (2022). "Do Politics or Economics Dictate Saudi Oil Policy?". Wilson Center. https://www.wilsoncenter.org/article/do-politics-or-economics-dictate-saudi-oil-policy

Rundell, David. (2022). "Saudi Arabia Confronts Its Oil Dependence". Kleinman Center for Energy Policy. <a href="https://kleinmanenergy.upenn.edu/podcast/saudi-arabia-confronts-its-oil-dependence/">https://kleinmanenergy.upenn.edu/podcast/saudi-arabia-confronts-its-oil-dependence/</a>

## Optional Readings:

Spalding, Jenny (2023). "The deal that keeps the oil flowing". EPICENTER. <a href="https://epicenter.wcfia.harvard.edu/blog/deal-keeps-oil-flowing">https://epicenter.wcfia.harvard.edu/blog/deal-keeps-oil-flowing</a>

Tisdall, Simon (2015). "Iran-Saudi proxy war in Yemen explodes into region-wide crisis". The Guardian. https://www.theguardian.com/world/2015/mar/26/iran-saudi-proxy-war-yemen-crisis

Turak, Natasha (2023). "Saudi Arabia and China are part of a multipolar world order, and their mutual interests are 'strong and rising,' minister says". CNBC. <a href="https://www.cnbc.com/2023/06/14/china-and-saudi-arabia-are-part-of-a-multipolar-world-order-minister.html">https://www.cnbc.com/2023/06/14/china-and-saudi-arabia-are-part-of-a-multipolar-world-order-minister.html</a>

Thursday, November 16 - Instructions and Q&A for role plays

Tuesday, November 21 - ROLE PLAYS

Thursday, November 23 - NO CLASS, Thanksgiving

Tuesday, November 28 - ROLE PLAYS

Thursday, November 30 - ROLE PLAYS

Tuesday, December 5 - Course Wrap up

- Synthesis of the course material and key takeaways
- Predictions and prospects for the future of great power rivalry