

“RISING POWERS AND THE CHANGING GLOBAL SYSTEM”

INTA 689-DC

FALL 2022

Credit Hours: 3

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OVERVIEW

Following the collapse of the Soviet Union, the world entered a unipolar moment, with the United States remaining the sole superpower. But more recently the global order has undergone transformations, with non-Western powers playing an increasing role in global governance. This course explores the “rise of the rest,” most notably China, Russia, Brazil and India, the so-called BRICS. These states account for 40% of the world’s population and 22% of the global economy. As we move toward a post-unipolar world, the norms of global governance, including liberal peacebuilding, intervention and development, are becoming an increasingly contested terrain. Not only have the rising powers challenged some of these notions and deployed their own non-liberal responses to them, but disillusionment with the liberal international order has grown in the West, with the election of Trump and Brexit having further shaken confidence in the durability of the liberal international order.

In this module, we will define and explore the concept of “Rising Powers,” and examine the recent history and foreign policy of the BRICS countries. We will examine their positions on central tenets of the liberal order. We will debate the consequences of the rise of new powers in the international system. Where some analysts have argued that these rising powers will integrate smoothly into the international system causing minimal disruption, others are alarmed about the shifting dynamics in the international system, predicting future conflicts. We will debate these key questions for global politics and U.S. foreign policy over the coming decades.

COURSE PREREQUISITES

None

LEARNING OUTCOMES

By the end of this course, students will be able to:

- Understand the debates surrounding rising powers and their impact on peace and security;
- Comprehend the perspectives of rising powers on key global issues;
- Apply the ideas, approaches and concepts learned in class to address foreign policy issues related to rising powers;
- Write a policy paper.

REQUIRED TEXTS

There is no textbook for the course.

Readings will be assigned throughout the course and will be available to the students in the form of handouts or e-mails.

COURSE REQUIREMENTS

Critical Response. You must choose an article or book chapter from the reading list and write a critical review of it. The review will be 10 pages double-spaced, 12pt font. You will summarize the arguments made by the author, examine the author's use of sources, the logic of their argument and make reference to relevant literature. If you would like to review an article or chapter which is not on the reading list, please contact me. I am happy to accommodate your professional and research interests.

Response Papers: Students will write two short essays responding to questions related to the themes of the class.

Policy Brief: Students will choose a key international issue (Iran's nuclear program, the war in Afghanistan, China's policies in Xinjiang or the South China Sea) and examine the role of one or more rising powers in addressing the issue. The policy brief will examine the context and background to the problem, the policies adopted by

rising powers, the U.S, multilateral organizations and local players, weigh up policy alternatives for the different actors, and make policy recommendations. The policy brief will be 20 pages, excluding references. .

Participation and Attendance. All students are expected to attend each class and to participate actively in classroom discussions.

GRADING

Participation (Attendance and classroom discussion)

10%

Response Papers

30%

Critical Response

20%

Policy Brief

40%

The following scale will be used for calculating final grades for this course:

90-100 A; 80-89 B; 70-79 C; 60-69 D; and 0-59 F

GRADING POLICY

<http://student-rules.tamu.edu/rule10>

LATE WORK POLICY

All course work must be submitted no later than the due date unless prior arrangements are made with the professor and a new due date is established. If a student submits an assignment after the due date without having made arrangements with the professor, a minimum of 5 points, (based on an assignment grading scale of 100 points), will be deducted for each week, or part thereof, that the assignment is late.

KEY DATES

Response Paper 1 Due- **September 26**

Critical Response Due- **October 24**

Response Paper 2 Due- **November 14**

Policy Paper Due- **December 5**

ADA POLICY STATEMENT

The Americans with Disabilities Act (ADA) is a federal anti-discrimination statute that provides comprehensive civil rights protection for persons with disabilities. If you believe you have a disability requiring accommodation, please make that fact known to me and I will assist you in every way possible.

<http://disability.tamu.edu/>

DIVERSITY AND INCLUSION

The Department of International Affairs is committed to fostering a diverse, equitable, and inclusive learning environment for all students, staff, and faculty. We welcome individuals of all ages, backgrounds, citizenships, disabilities, ethnicities, family statuses, genders, gender identities, geographical locations, languages, military experiences, political views, races, religions, sexual orientations, socioeconomic statuses, and/or work experiences (see diversity.tamu.edu/). We recognize a special responsibility to undertake particular efforts to include the participation and voices of those from historically underrepresented groups. In all of this, diversity alone is not the only goal; we also strive to hear, listen to, and incorporate new voices in our teaching, research, and service. We hold that embracing and supporting new perspectives, individuals, and ideas invigorates academic excellence and pushes our entire community forward. The Department of International Affairs and the Bush School expect everyone to demonstrate respect for different experiences, beliefs and values expressed by other members of our community and to engage in reasoned discussions. As a department of international affairs, within a university dedicated to the public good, a commitment to diversity, equity, and inclusion is critical for preparing and ensuring the success of the next generation of leaders.

ATTENDANCE

The university views class attendance as an individual student responsibility. Students are expected to attend class and to complete all assignments. Instructors are expected to provide notice of the dates on which major exams will be given and assignments will be due on the course syllabus, which must be made available by the first

class period. Graduate students are expected to attend all examinations required by departments or advisory committees as scheduled formally.

The School of Law requires regular and punctual attendance of students in all courses. Juris Doctorate (JD) students are not required to seek an excused absence from an instructor or equivalent, but students will be administratively dropped from a class for excessive absences as defined in the School of Law Academic Standards. JD students are expected to take examinations as scheduled. Requests to reschedule an examination must be submitted to the Associate Dean for Academic Affairs in accordance with the process set forth in the School of Law Academic Standards.

Students who are requesting an excused absence are expected to uphold the Aggie Honor Code and Student Conduct Code (See Rule 24).

Excused Absences

7.1 The student is responsible for providing satisfactory evidence to the instructor to substantiate the reason for absence. Among the reasons absences are considered excused by the university are the following: (1Muster)

7.1.1 Participation in an activity appearing on the university authorized activity list. (see List of Authorized and Sponsored Activities)

7.1.2 Death or major illness in a student's immediate family. Immediate family may include: mother, father, sister, brother, grandparents, spouse, child, spouse's child, spouse's parents, spouse's grandparents, step-mother, step-father, step-sister, step-brother, step-grandparents, grandchild, step-grandchild, legal guardian, and others as deemed appropriate by faculty member or student's academic Dean or designee.

7.1.3 Illness of a dependent family member.

7.1.4 Participation in legal proceedings or administrative procedures that require a student's presence.

7.1.5 Religious holy day. (See Appendix IV.)

7.1.6 Injury or Illness that is too severe or contagious for the student to attend class.

7.1.6.1 Injury or illness of three or more days. For injury or illness that requires a student to be absent from classes for three or more business days (to include classes on Saturday), the student should obtain a medical confirmation note from his or her medical provider. The Student Health Center or an off-campus medical professional can provide a medical confirmation note only if medical professionals are involved in the medical care of the student. The medical confirmation note must contain the date and time of the illness and medical professional's confirmation of needed absence.

7.1.6.2 Injury or illness less than three days. Faculty members may require confirmation of student injury or illness that is serious enough for a student to be absent from class for a period less than three business days (to include classes on Saturday). At the discretion of the faculty member and/or academic department standard, as outlined in the course syllabus, illness confirmation may be obtained by one or both of the following methods:

Texas A&M University Explanatory Statement for Absence from Class.

Confirmation of visit to a health care professional affirming date and time of visit.

7.1.6.3 An absence for a non acute medical service does not constitute an excused absence.

7.1.7 Required participation in military duties.

7.1.8 Mandatory admission interviews for professional or graduate school which cannot be rescheduled.

7.1.9 Mandatory participation as a student-athlete in NCAA-sanctioned competition.

7.1.10 In accordance with Title IX of the Educational Amendments of 1972, Texas A&M University shall treat pregnancy (childbirth, false pregnancy, termination of pregnancy and recovery therefrom) and related conditions as a justification for an excused absence for so long a period of time as is deemed medically necessary by the student's physician. Requests for excused absence related to pregnancy should be directed to the instructor; questions about Title IX should be directed to the University Title IX Coordinator.

7.2 The associate dean for undergraduate programs, or the dean's designee, of the student's college may provide a letter for the student to take to the instructor stating that the dean has verified the student's absence as excused.

7.3 Students may be excused from attending class on the day of a graded activity or when attendance contributes to a student's grade, for the reasons stated in Section 7.1, or other reason deemed appropriate by the student's instructor. Except in the case of the observance of a religious holiday, to be excused the student must notify his or her instructor in writing (acknowledged e-mail message is acceptable) prior to the date of absence if such notification is feasible. In cases where advance notification is not feasible (e.g. accident, or emergency) the student must provide notification by the end of the second working day after the absence. This notification should include an explanation of why notice could not be sent prior to the class. Accommodations sought for absences due to the observance of a religious holiday can be sought either prior or after the absence, but not later than two working days after the absence.

If needed, the student must provide additional documentation substantiating the reason for the absence that is satisfactory to the instructor, within one week of the last date of the absence.

If the absence is excused, the instructor must either provide the student an opportunity to make up any quiz, exam or other work that contributes to the final grade or provide a satisfactory alternative by a date agreed upon by the student and instructor. If an instructor has a regularly scheduled make up exam, students are expected to attend unless they have a university approved excuse. The make-up work must be completed in a timeframe not to exceed 30 calendar days from the last day of the initial absence.

7.4 The instructor is under no obligation to provide an opportunity for the student to make up work missed because of an unexcused absence.

7.5 See Part III, Grievance Procedures: 49. Unexcused Absences, for information on appealing an instructor's decision.

7.6 If the student is absent for excused reasons for an unreasonable amount of time during the semester, the academic Dean or designee of the student's college may consider giving the student a grade of W during the semester enrolled or a NG (no grade) following posting of final grades.

7.7 Whenever a student is absent for unknown reasons for an extended period of time, the instructor should initiate a check on the welfare of the student by reporting through the head of the student's major department to the Dean or designee of the student's college.

In accordance with Faculty Senate Resolution FS.14.101 (see Faculty Senate meeting minutes of Feb. 10, 1997), "faculty members are encouraged not to hold exams on the day of Muster. Any absence from classes beginning after 5 p.m. to attend Muster will be considered a university excused absence."

AGGIE HONOR CODE

For many years Aggies have followed a Code of Honor, which is stated in this very simple verse:

An Aggie does not lie, cheat or steal or tolerate those who do.

The Aggie Code of Honor is an effort to unify the aims of all Texas A&M men and women toward a high code of ethics and personal dignity. For most, living under this code will be no problem, as it asks nothing of a person that is beyond reason. It only calls for honesty and integrity, characteristics that Aggies have always exemplified.

The Aggie Code of Honor functions as a symbol to all Aggies, promoting understanding and loyalty to truth and confidence in each other.

<http://aggiehonor.tamu.edu>

ACADEMIC INTEGRITY

The Bush School is committed to the development of principled leaders for public service. Entering a Bush School course as a student means accepting this commitment personally. The commitment to "principled leadership" is a further expansion of the Texas A&M student honor code. Every student in this course must comply with this code in all work submitted for a grade and will be held accountable accordingly for both individual and team assignments. Anyone who is not prepared to be held accountable to this standard should immediately withdraw from this course.

It is imperative to avoid plagiarism or the appearance of plagiarism through sloppy citation. As commonly defined, plagiarism consists of passing off as one's own ideas, words, writings, etc. that which belongs to another. In accordance with this definition, you are committing plagiarism if you copy the work of another person and turn it in as your own, even if you have the permission of that person. It does not matter from where the material is borrowed--a book, an article, material off the web, another student's paper--all constitute plagiarism unless the source of the work is fully identified and credited. It is important when using a phrase, a distinct idea, concept, a sentence, or sentences from another source to credit explicitly that source either in the text, a footnote, or endnote. Plagiarism is a violation of academic and personal integrity and carries extremely serious consequences. Scholastic dishonesty (including cheating, multiple submission of work for grades in different courses, and plagiarism) will not be tolerated and will be punished. Further information can be found at <http://www.tamu.edu/aggiehonor/acadmisconduct.htm>

TITLE IX AND STATEMENT ON LIMITS TO CONFIDENTIALITY

Texas A&M University is committed to fostering a learning environment that is safe and productive for all. University policies and federal and state laws prohibit gender-based discrimination and sexual harassment, including sexual assault, sexual exploitation, domestic violence, dating violence, and stalking.

With the exception of some medical and mental health providers, all university employees (including full and part-time faculty, staff, paid graduate assistants, student workers, etc.) are Mandatory Reporters and must report to the Title IX Office if the

employee experiences, observes, or becomes aware of an incident that meets the following conditions (see University Rule 08.01.01.M1):

The incident is reasonably believed to be discrimination or harassment.

The incident is alleged to have been committed by or against a person who, at the time of the incident, was (1) a student enrolled at the University or (2) an employee of the University.

Mandatory Reporters must file a report regardless of how the information comes to their attention – including but not limited to face-to-face conversations, a written class assignment or paper, class discussion, email, text, or social media post. Although Mandatory Reporters must file a report, in most instances, you will be able to control how the report is handled, including whether or not to pursue a formal investigation. The University's goal is to make sure you are aware of the range of options available to you and to ensure access to the resources you need.

Students wishing to discuss concerns in a confidential setting are encouraged to make an appointment with Counseling and Psychological Services (CAPS).

Students can learn more about filing a report, accessing supportive resources, and navigating the Title IX investigation and resolution process on the University's Title IX webpage.

STATEMENT ON MENTAL HEALTH AND WELLNESS

Texas A&M University recognizes that mental health and wellness are critical factors that influence a student's academic success and overall wellbeing. Students are encouraged to engage in proper self-care by utilizing the resources and services available from Counseling & Psychological Services (CAPS). Students who need someone to talk to can call the TAMU Helpline (979-845-2700) from 4:00 p.m. to 8:00 a.m. weekdays and 24 hours on weekends. 24-hour emergency help is also available through the National Suicide Prevention Hotline (800-273-8255) or at suicidepreventionlifeline.org.

COURSE OUTLINE

Syllabus topics are subject to change at the discretion of the instructor.

Week 1: Rising Powers and Power within the Global System (August 29)

David Baldwin. 2012. "Power and International Relations." In: W. Carlsnaes, T. Risse, and B. Simmons (eds.) *Handbook of International Relations*. London: Sage: 177-191.

Selections from "What is Power?" *Foreign Affairs*, July/August 2022.

Michael Beckley, 2018. "The Power of Nations: Measuring What Matters." *International Security* 43, (2): 7-44.

Week 2: Approaching Rising Powers: Realism and Liberalism (September 12)

Robert Gilpin. 1988. "Theory of Hegemonic War." *The Journal of Interdisciplinary History*, 18, (4): 591-613.

John Mearsheimer. 2006. "China's Unpeaceful Rise." *Current History*, 160-162.

T.V. Paul. 2016. "The Accommodation of Rising Powers in World Politics." In: *Accommodating Rising Powers Past, Present, and Future*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press,

Stacie Goddard, 2018. "Embedded Revisionism: Networks, Institutions, and Challenges to World Order." *International Organization*, 72, (4), 763 - 797

T.V. Paul, 2005. "Soft Balancing in the Age of U.S. Primacy." *International Security*, 30, (1): 46-71

Week 3: Critical Approaches to Rising Powers (September 19)

Amitav Acharya and Barry Buzan, 2022. *Re-imagining International Relations World Orders in the Thought and Practice of Indian, Chinese, and Islamic Civilization*. Cambridge University Press, Introduction.

Christopher Chase-Dunn and Peter Grimes. 1995. "World-Systems Analysis." *Annual Review of Sociology*, 21: 387-417.

Paul K. MacDonald and Joseph M. Parent. 2021. "The Status of Status in World Politics." *World Politics*, 73, (2): 358 – 391.

Janice Bially Mattern and Ayşe Zarakol, 2016. "Hierarchies in World Politics." *International Organization*, 70, (3): 623 - 654

Week 4: The West (September 26)

Response Paper 1 due

John Ikenberry. 2018. "Why the Liberal World Order Will Survive." *Ethics & International Affairs*, 31, 1, pp. 17-29.

Stewart Patrick, 2016. "World Order: What, Exactly, are the Rules?" *Washington Quarterly*, 39, (1): 7-27.

Kishore Mahbubani, 2008. "The Case Against the West." *Foreign Affairs*, 87, (3): 111-124.

Daniel Nexon and Alexander Cooley, 2020. *Exiting from Hegemony*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, Chapter 2

Week 5: The Rise of the Rest (October 3)

Dominic Wilson and Roopa Purushothaman, 2003. "Dreaming with the BRICs: The Path to 2050." Goldman Sachs.

Amitav Acharya, 2017. "After Liberal Hegemony: The Advent of a Multiplex World Order." *Ethics & International Affairs*, 31, (3): 271-285.

Oliver Stuenkel, 2016. *Post-Western World: How Emerging Powers are Remaking World Order*. Cambridge: Polity Press, 1-28.

Daniel Nexon and Alexander Cooley, 2020. *Exiting from Hegemony*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, Chapter 3.

Week 6: China: Peaceful Rise? (October 17)

Rush Doshi, 2021. *The Long Game: China's Grand Strategy and the Displacement of American Power*. Oxford University Press, Introduction.

Hal Brands and Michael Beckley, 2021. "China Is a Declining Power—and That's the Problem." *Foreign Policy*, <https://foreignpolicy.com/2021/09/24/china-great-power-united-states/>

Selections from David Shambaugh, (ed.). *The China Reader: Rising Power*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Jessica Chen Weiss and Jeremy Wallace, 2021. "Domestic Politics, China's Rise, and the Future of the Liberal International Order." *International Organization*, 72, (2): 635-664.

Week 7: Russia: A re-emerging hegemon? (October 24)

Critical Response due

Angela Stent, 2019. *Putin's World: Russia Against the West and with the Rest*, London: Twelve, Introduction, 1 and 2

Andrei Tsygankov and Pavel Tsygankov, 2010. "National Ideology and IR Theory: Three Incarnations of the 'Russian Idea.'" *European Journal of International Relations*, 16, (4): 663-686.

Max Bergmann, 2022. "Russia's Coming Great Power Struggle," Chatham House, <https://www.csis.org/analysis/russias-coming-great-power-struggle>

Julia Gurganus and Eugene Rumer, 2019. *Russia's Global Ambitions in Perspective*, Carnegie.

Week 8: IBSA (October 31)

Rajesh Basrur, 2017. *Modi's Foreign Policy Fundamentals: A Trajectory Unchanged*, *International Affairs*, 93, (1): 7-26.

Frank O'Donnell and Mihaela Papa, 2021. "India's Multi-alignment Management and the Russia-India-China (RIC) Triangle." *International Affairs*, 97, (3): 801-822.

Gurcharan Das, 2006. *The India Model*, *Foreign Affairs*, July/August.

Sean Burges, 2013. *Brazil as a Bridge between Old and New Powers?* *International Affairs*, 89, (3): 577-594.

C. Milani et al., "Brazil's foreign policy and the 'graduation dilemma'", *International Affairs*, 93:3 (2017), pp. 585-605.

Chris Alden and Maxi Schoeman. 2013. *South Africa in the Company of Giants: The Search for Leadership in a Transforming Global Order*. *International Affairs*, 89, (1), 111-129.

Week 9: Rising Powers and International Political Economy (November 7)

Oliver Stuenkel, 2016. *Post-Western World: How Emerging Powers are Remaking World Order*. Cambridge: Polity Press, 120-153.

Dries Lesage and Thijs Van de Graaf. (eds.) 2015. *Rising Powers and Multilateral Institutions*. Palgrave Macmillan, Chapters 9 and 10.

Kristen Hopewell, 2017. "The BRICS—Merely a Fable? Emerging Power Alliances in Global Trade Governance." *International Affairs*, 93, (6): 1377-1396.

Maha Kamel and Hongying Wang. 2019. "Petro-RMB? The Oil Trade and the Internationalization of the Renminbi." *International Affairs*, 95, (5): 1131–1148.

Congressional Research Service, 2021. "De-Dollarization Efforts in China and Russia," <https://crsreports.congress.gov/product/pdf/IF/IF11885>

Week 10: Sovereignty/Intervention (November 14)

Response Paper 2 due

Simulation: Libya 2011: Students will play the part of members of the UN Security Council (U.S., Russia, China, India and South Africa) for a mock debate on the 2011 intervention in Libya.

ICISS, 2001. *The Responsibility to Protect*. Ottawa: The International Development Research Centre: 1-16.

Brian Job, 2016. Evolution, retreat or rejection: Brazil's, India's and China's normative stances on R2P. *Cambridge Review of International Affairs*, 29, (3): 891-910.

Ruth Deyermond, 2016. The Uses of Sovereignty in Twenty-first Century Russian Foreign Policy. *Europe-Asia Studies*, 68, (6): 957-984.

Courtney J Fung, 2020. Rhetorical Adaptation, Normative Resistance and International Order-making: China's Advancement of the Responsibility to Protect, *Cooperation and Conflict*, 55, (2): 193-215.

Week 11: Peacebuilding (November 21)

Cedric de Coning and Charles T. Call, 2017. Introduction: Why Examine Rising Powers' Role in Peacebuilding? In: *Rising Powers and Peacebuilding*, Springer, 1-12.

Alexandre Marc and Bruce Jones, 2021. "The New Geopolitics of Fragility: Russia, China, and the Mounting Challenge For Peacebuilding." *Brookings*.

Roland Paris, 2010. Saving Liberal Peacebuilding. *Review of International Studies*, 36, (2): 337-365.

David Lewis, John Heathershaw and Nick Megoran, Iliberal Peace? Authoritarian Modes of Conflict Management. *Cooperation and Conflict*, 53, (4): 486-506.

Sandra Destradi, 2018. "Reluctant Powers? Rising Powers' Contributions to Regional Crisis Management." *Third World Quarterly*, 39, (12): 2222-2239.

Week 12: Development (November 28)

Gerda Asmus, Andreas Fuchs and Angelika Müller, 2017. "BRICS and Foreign Aid." *AidData*.

CFR, 2020. "China's Belt and Road Implications for the United States."

Moises Naim, 2007. "Rogue Aid." *Foreign Policy*, March 1.

Haley J. Swedlund, 2017. "Is China Eroding the Bargaining Power of Traditional Donors in Africa?" *International Affairs*, 93, (2): 389-408.

Shahar Hamieri and Lee Jones, 2020. "Debunking the Myth of 'Debt-trap Diplomacy'" *Chatham House*.

Week 13: The Future of the World Order (December 5)

John Ikenberry, 2020. The Next Liberal Order: The Age of Contagion Demands More Internationalism, Not Less, *Foreign Affairs*, July/August Issue.

Michelle Murray, 2019. *The Struggle for Recognition in International Relations: Status, Revisionism, and Rising Powers*. Oxford University Press, Chapter 8.

Steven Kotkin, 2022. "The Cold War Never Ended Ukraine, the China Challenge, and the Revival of the West." *Foreign Affairs*.

Christopher Layne, 2020. "Coming Storms The Return of Great-Power War." *Foreign Affairs*.