

China and Russia: Great Powers in an Era of Global Disorder

Instructor: Prof. Andrej Krickovic
akrickovic@gmail.com

The burgeoning Sino-Russian strategic partnership focuses our attention not only on the growing geopolitical importance of their relationship but also to the larger role they play in global politics. China, the most dynamic rising power has been content to work within the existing hegemonic order, while Russia, a declining power, has sought to challenge it. This is surprising and contradicts the expectations of most International Relations (IR) theories, which see rising powers as the most likely challengers. Moreover, an interesting symbiotic relationship has developed between the two. China uses Russia to push back against the aspects of US hegemony it does not like, while avoiding the costs of doing so. As Russia becomes estranged and isolated from the West, it is increasingly forced to rely on China as an alternative source of markets and finance. All this is happening within a larger context where political, economic and technological changes have produced a new “global disorder” that is eroding the relevance of traditional great power politics and the ability of great powers to shape international politics.

The course will examine the two countries as 21st century Great Powers, including their prospects for domestic growth and political development, their foreign policies and strategic cultures, as well as the developing Sino-Russian partnership. Particular emphasis will be paid to the impact that the two powers are having on the wider US- led international order, and on such issues as security, global governance, and democracy and human rights. The course will consist of lectures and organized in-class debates and scenario games, which will pit student teams against one another, testing their knowledge of readings and materials presented in class.

Course requirements and grading:

Participation and attendance: 50%

This course requires not only attendance but active participation. In addition to lecture we will have in-class activities (three structured debates and three scenario games) that will require students’ active engagement. Students will be graded based on their performance in these in-class activities.

Final Exam: 50%

The take home exam will test your knowledge of topics covered in reading and lecture. The exam will consist of 5 one paragraph IDs and two short (7-10 paragraph) essay questions.

Readings:

Readings are in electronic format and will be distributed to students either by email or through an internet drop box.

In addition to the assigned readings, here are a couple of useful websites that can help you keep an eye on international events.

1) The Financial Times' Beyond BRICS blog provides a great source of info on the latest developments in emerging markets.

<http://blogs.ft.com/beyond-brics/>

(You need to register for the Blog but it is free).

2) Foreign Policy's website also gives a nice view into how US elite's and policy makers are thinking about the latest developments.

<http://www.foreignpolicy.com/>

I particularly recommend Steve Walt's Blog:

<http://www.foreignpolicy.com/voices/walt>

Course Schedule

Session 1:

Lecture 1: Great Power Politics in an Era of "Global Disorder"

Readings:

Karaganov, Sergei (2013) "The Map of the World: Geopolitics Stages a Comeback", *Russia in Global Affairs*, <http://eng.globalaffairs.ru/pubcol/The-Map-of-the-World-Geopolitics-Stages-a-Comeback-15974>.

Ikenberry G. John (2014) "The Illusion of Geopolitics: The Enduring Power of the Liberal Order", *Foreign Affairs*, 93:3/

Haass, Richard (2008) "The Age of Nonpolarity", *Foreign Affairs*, 87:3.

Session 2:

Lecture 2: China's Path to Preeminence

Readings:

Arrighi, Giovanni (2007), *Adam Smith in Beijing: Lineages of the Twenty-First Century*, (London: Verso), Ch 12 "Origins and Dynamic of the Chinese Ascent"

Ho-Fung, H. (2009). "America's Head Servant?". *New Left Review*, 60, p23.

Shambaugh, David (2013) *China: Partial Power* (Oxford University Press), Chapter 1 Introduction: 1-10

Lecture 3: China's Grand Strategy: Dangers and Opportunities

Readings:

Schweller, Randall L and Xiaoyu Pu (2011) "After Unipolarity: China's Visions of International Order", *International Security*, Vol. 36, No. 1

Brooks, Stephen G. and William C. Wohlforth (2016) "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* Vol. 40, No. 3: 7–53.

Luttwak, Edward (2012). *The Rise of China vs. the Logic of Strategy* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press). Chapter 5: The Coming Geo- Economic Resistance to the Rise of China

Session 3:

Lecture 4: Russia: Great Power in Recovery

Readings:

Rutland, Peter (2013). "Neoliberalism and the Russian transition." *Review of International Political Economy* 20.2: 332-362.

Sakwa, Richard (2007) *Putin: Russia's Choice*. (Routledge), Chapter 9: Russian Capitalism

Fish, M. Steven (2005) *Democracy Derailed in Russia: The Failure of Open Politics* (Cambridge) Chapter 5: The Structural Problem: Does Resource Abundance Undermine Democracy?

Debate 1: Will China be the Next Hegemon?

Session 4:

Lecture 5: Understanding Russia's Challenge to the International Order

Readings:

Suslov, Dmitry (2014) "For a Good Long While: Global Aspects of the New Russia-U.S. Confrontation", *Russia in Global Affairs*, <http://eng.globalaffairs.ru/number/For-a-Good-Long-While-17211>

Lo, Bobo (2015) *Russia and the New World Disorder* (Washington D.C.: Brookings). Chapter 2: Two Worlds

Krickovic, Andrej and Yuval Weber (2016) "To Harass and Wait Out: Sources of American Conduct Towards Russia" *Russia in Global Affairs*, 30 March. <http://eng.globalaffairs.ru/number/To-Harass-and-Wait-Out-18070>.

Debate 2: Will Russia continue to be a Great Power?

Session 5:

Lecture 6: China-Russia Relations – Cautious Riser and Desperate Challenger

Readings:

Gabuev, Alexander (2015). "A "Soft Alliance": China-Russia Relations After the Ukraine Crisis", *European Council on Foreign Relations Policy Brief*, February, http://www.ecfr.eu/page/-/ECFR126_-_A_Soft_Alliance_Russia-China_Relations_After_the_Ukraine_Crisis.pdf

Trenin, Dmitry (2015), *From Greater Europe to Greater Eurasia: The Sino-Russian Entente* (Moscow: Carnegie).

Rozman, Gilbert (2014). *The Sino-Russian Challenge to the World Order*. (Princeton: Princeton University Press). Chapter 7: The national identity Gap and Bilateral Relations

Session 6:

Scenario Game 1: Eurasian Integration

Session 7:

Lecture 7: China, Russia and Global Security

Readings:

Goldstein, Avery (2013) "China's Real and Present Danger", *Foreign Affairs* 92:136

Averre, Derek (2016) "The Ukraine Conflict: Russia's Challenge to European Security Governance." *Europe-Asia Studies* 68.4: 699-725.

Krickovic, Andrej "Catalyzing Conflict: The Internal Dimension of the Security Dilemma", *Journal of Global Security Studies* Vol1:No2 (June 2016): 111-126.

Scenario Game 2: Crisis in the Taiwan Strait

Session 8:

Lecture 8: China, Russia and Global Governance

Readings:

Krickovic, Andrej (2015) "'All Politics Is Regional': Emerging Powers and the Regionalization of Global Governance." *Global Governance: A Review of Multilateralism and International Organizations* 21.4: 557-577.

Lo, Bobo (2015) *Russia and the New World Disorder*, Chapter 3: Russia and Global Governance

Zeng, Jinghan, and Shaun Breslin (2016) "New type of great power relations: a G2 with Chinese characteristics?" *International Affairs* 92:4: 773-794.

Scenario Game 3: Global Meltdown

Session 9:

Lecture 9: China, Russia and Democracy and Human Rights

Readings:

Gat, Azar, Daniel Deudney and G. John Ikenberry , and Ronald Inglehart and Christian Welzel (2009), "Which Way Is History Marching? Debating the Authoritarian Revival", *Foreign Affairs*, Vol. 88, No. 4: 150-159.

Cooley, Alexander (2015). "Countering democratic norms." *Journal of Democracy* 26.3 49-63.

Averre, Derek, and Lance Davies. "Russia, humanitarian intervention and the Responsibility to Protect: the case of Syria." *International Affairs* 91.4 (2015): 813-834.

Session 10:

Lecture 10: China, Russia and Soft Power

Readings:

Shambaugh, David (2015). "China's Soft-Power Push." *Foreign Affairs* 94:99

Wilson, Jeanne L (2015) "Russia and China Respond to Soft Power: Interpretation and Readaptation of a Western Construct." *Politics* 35.3-4 : 287-300.

Nye, Joseph (2013) "What China and Russia Don't Get About Soft Power", *Foreign Policy*, April 2013

Tsygankov, Andrei (2016) "The Age of Transition and the Soft Power Decline", *Valdai Discussion Club*, 26 June. <http://valdaiclub.com/news/the-age-of-transition-and-the-soft-power-decline/>

Debate 3: Are Democracy and Human Rights Universal Values?

Take-home Final Exam to be given at the end of the last class.