IGA-116
GREAT POWER COMPETITION IN THE INTERNATIONAL SYSTEM

Professor Nicholas Burns
Autumn 2016
Tuesdays, 4:15 – 7:00 pm
Land Hall (4th floor Belfer Building)

Contact Information:
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Office hours: Tuesday, 11:00 am – 12:00 pm; 2:00 – 3:15 pm, Littauer 374
A sign-up sheet will be distributed electronically at the beginning of the semester. Please check date/time on sign-up sheet when you sign-up to note any variation to normal office hours schedule.

I will hold an optional class discussion session each week. Days/times for sessions are included in the syllabus and will be posted to the course calendar online.

COURSE DESCRIPTION

This course will focus on the future balance of power in the world and cooperation as well as competition among the 21st Century Great Powers. We will study the rise of China, India and other rising powers in the decade ahead and assess whether these countries are prepared and willing to lead effectively. We will look closely at the changing nature of American power. In addition, we will focus on the relationship between the United States and China and their likely competition for strategic influence in the Asia-Pacific region. We will also investigate whether the Russian Federation and European Union will be more or less influential in the future. The major objective of the course is to reflect on how this group of countries and other regional powers can work together to address some of the principal challenges of the new century including on climate change, avoiding conflict in the South and East China Seas, limiting nuclear proliferation, enhancing cooperation on energy, and dealing with the dilemma of intervention in regional wars worldwide.

ASSIGNMENTS, GRADING AND CLASS EXPECTATIONS

Students should commit to be well prepared for class and to engage in discussion and debate. I will encourage active class participation with cold calling as the norm. Each of you will be assigned to a team to represent one of the countries that are the focus of the course. Each team will be asked to research and make presentations in class on topics to be assigned.

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<tr>
<th>Assignment</th>
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<tr>
<td>Individual Class Participation</td>
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<td>Team Briefings</td>
<td>20%</td>
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<td>Policy memos</td>
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<td>Final Exam</td>
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**Individual Participation:** I expect your full participation in class discussions. It is important that you complete the readings and come to class ready to participate, ask questions, debate with your colleagues, and contribute to our collective enterprise. Attendance is mandatory, and 20% of your grade will be based on class participation. I will do my best to make it possible for everyone in this class to participate to their full potential. **This is a screen-down class** so no laptops, tablets or smartphones can be used in class (ADA exceptions apply).

**Online discussion forum:** Students are expected to use the course's online forum in advance of class to present reflections and comments on the class readings and to respond to other students' reflections and comments. Pre-class comments will be used to inform the teaching team of topics of particular interest for in-class discussion. I will ask each of you to contribute a short reflection on the major issues before each class.

**Team Breifings:** Students will be divided into country groups at the beginning of the semester – China, Russia, EU, USA, India, and “Wildcard” – and will remain in those groups for the duration of the semester. Teams should come to each class prepared to brief their principle on a briefing scenario that will be posted online in advance.

**Absence policy:** with the exception of illness, family emergency or job interviews, attendance is mandatory. Out of respect for your classmates and the discussion, please be on time to class.

**REQUIRED READINGS**

Required readings will be posted electronically to Canvas. “For further exploration” readings noted on the syllabus are not mandatory but are offered for students interested in delving more deeply into particular issues. As this is a course that looks at several contemporary global issues, students are encouraged to read a major international newspaper daily and *The Economist* weekly, which is available for free online in the Harvard Library system’s e-resources. Students are also encouraged to post articles and discussion topics and to start conversations on the course website.

**COURSE CALENDAR**

*Optional class discussion sessions

**Rescheduled class

Tuesday, August 30 – Shopping Day

*Introduction to the Course and the Five Maps*
4:15 – 4:45 pm (Session I)
5:00 – 5:30 pm (Session II)
Land Hall (4th floor Belfer Building)
CLASS 1
Tuesday, September 6 - The Current World Order and Shifting Balance of Power
Required readings:
• Ikenberry, John G., Liberal Leviathan: The Origins, Crisis and Transformation of the American World Order, Chapter 1; Chapter 2; Chapter 4; Chapter 5; Chapter 7
• Posner, Eric, “Sorry, America, the New World Order Is Dead,” Foreign Policy, May 6, 2014
• National Intelligence Council, “Global Trends 2030: Alternative Worlds.” Executive Summary

*Wednesday, September 7 – Class Discussion Session
8:30 – 10:00 am
Bell Hall (5th floor Belfer)

**CLASS 2
Friday, September 9 - The Two Great Global Powers: the United States and China
9:00 am – 11:50 am
Wiener Auditorium (ground floor Taubman)
Required Reading
• “The new class war,” The Economist, July 9, 2016.
• “China’s economy likely to follow ‘L-shaped’ path in coming years, says an ‘authoritative insider’,” People’s Daily, May 9, 2016.
• “Full text: Xi Jinping in military parade speech vows China will ‘never seek hegemony, expansion,’” South China Morning Post, September 3, 2015.
• “The Great Fall of China,” The Economist, August 29, 2015.
• “Xi’s History Lessons,” The Economist, August 15, 2015.
• Colby, Elbridge and Paul Lettow, “Have We Hit Peak America?,” Foreign Policy, July 3, 2014.
For further exploration:
• Wu, Xinbo. “Cooperation, competition and shaping the outlook: the United States and China’s neighbourhood diplomacy,” International Affairs, Vol. 92, No. 4, July 2016

**Tuesday, September 13 – NO CLASS – RESCHEDULED FOR FRIDAY, SEPTEMBER 9**

*Wednesday, September 14 – Class Discussion Session*
12:00 – 1:30 pm
Taubman 102

**CLASS 3**

**Tuesday, September 20 - The European Union and Russia: Declining Powers?**

_required readings:_
• “A Brexiteer’s Celebration: A Conversation with Kwasi Kwarteng”, Foreign Affairs, 10 July 2016.
• “Doping and Hacking”, The Economist, 30 July 2016.
• “United Russia, Divided Putin,” The Economist, 4 June 2016.
• Mikhail Gorbachev Interview with Der Spiegel on January 16, 2015.

_for further exploration_
• Ashford, Emma. “Not-So-Smart Sanctions,” Foreign Affairs, January/February 2016.


*Wednesday, September 21 – Class Discussion Session on Brexit and the future of the EU with Douglas Alexander, former UK Shadow Foreign Secretary (confirmed)

8:30 – 10:00 am
Malkin Penthouse (4th floor Littauer)

Suggested reading:

**CLASS 4

Friday, September 23 - India and the Rise of Middle Powers

8:30 – 11:10 am
Littauer 140

Required readings:
- “Reviving the Cause”, The Economist, 13 August 2016.
- Hussain, Touqir and Silverman, David. “In with the Old: India-Pakistan Relations at a Standstill,” Foreign Policy, September 2, 2015.

For further exploration:
- Liu, Zhun. “India’s vision cannot be realized by containing China,” Global Times, June 8, 2016


**CLASS 5**

Tuesday, September 27 - The New Great Game in the Middle East: The U.S., Russia and China Compete for Power; Intervention in Syria as a Case Study

*Wednesday, September 28 – Class Discussion Session on Israel’s Future Security Challenges with The Honorable Ehud Barak, former Prime Minister of Israel (confirmed)*

8:30 – 10:00 am
Malkin Penthouse (4th floor Littauer)

*Monday, October 3 – Class Discussion Session on NATO and the Putin Threat in Europe with The Honorable Anders Fogh Rasmussen, former NATO Secretary General and former Prime Minister of Denmark (confirmed)*

8:30 – 10:00 am
Malkin Penthouse (4th floor Littauer)

*Suggested Reading:*

- Burns, Nicholas R. and James L. Jones. “Restoring the Power and Purpose of the NATO Alliance”, Atlantic Council, June 2016 (Executive Summary).

**Tuesday, October 4 – NO CLASS – RESCHEDULED FOR FRIDAY, SEPTEMBER 23**

**CLASS 6**

Tuesday, October 11 – The Fight Against the Islamic State, Boko Haram and other Terrorist Groups in the Middle East and Africa

Guest speaker: Farah Pandith, former Special Representative to Muslim Communities, U.S. Department of State; author; and Senior Fellow, Future of Diplomacy Project (HKS)

**POLICY MEMO #1 DUE** (bring hard copy to class and upload to course website)

*Required Readings:*


*Wednesday, October 12 – Class Discussion Session on the fight against ISIS, the war in Yemen and struggles with Iran with His Excellency Yousef Otaiba, UAE Ambassador to the United States (confirmed)
8:30 – 10:00 am
Malkin Penthouse (4th floor Littauer)

CLASS 7
Tuesday, October 18 - Contest for Predominance in the Indian Ocean and the Western Pacific: U.S.-China Military Competition
Guest speaker: Shankar Menon, author; Distinguished Fellow, Brookings Institution; former Indian National Security Advisor (2010-2014) and Foreign Secretary (2006-2009)

Required readings:
- Kyenge, James (2015) "Chinese overseas lending dominated by One Belt, One Road strategy", FT, June 18, 2015
- Kaplan, Robert D. Monsoon, Introduction, Chapter 1, "China Expands Vertically, India Horizontally,” Afterword, “The Post-Imperial Order and the Indian Ocean”
- De Luce, Dan. “In South China Sea, a Tougher U.S. Stance,” Foreign Policy, October 2, 2015.


For further exploration:


*Thursday, October 20 – Class Discussion Session*

5:00 – 6:00 pm
Taubman 275

CLASS 8
Tuesday, October 25 - The South and East China Sea Crises

Required readings:


“Yang Jiechi Gives Interview to State Media on the So-called Award by the Arbitral Tribunal for the South China Sea Arbitration,” July 16, 2016


For further exploration:
• Videographic: What does China want?, The Economist, August 27, 2014

*Thursday, October 27 – Class Discussion Session
5:00 – 6:00 pm
Taubman 275

*Tuesday, November 1 – Class Discussion Session on Ukraine and Russia with The Honorable Natalie Jaresko (MPP 1989), former Minister of Finance for Ukraine, Chair of Aspen Institute Kyiv (confirmed)
8:30 – 10:00 am
Allison Dining Room (5th floor Taubman)

CLASS 9
Tuesday, November 1 - Putin’s Re-division of Europe and Threats to the European Union
Guest speaker: The Honorable Natalie Jaresko (MPP 1989), former Minister of Finance for Ukraine, Chair of Aspen Institute Kyiv
Required Readings:
• Trenin, Dmitri. “Russia and NATO must communicate better,” Carnegie Moscow Center, 8 August 2016.
• Burns, Nicholas R. and James L. Jones. “Restoring the Power and Purpose of the NATO Alliance”, Atlantic Council, June 2016 (read Executive Summary).

CLASS 10
Tuesday, November 8 - Emerging Domains of Strategic Competition: Energy, Cyber and Space
Guest speaker: Meghan O’Sullivan, Kirkpatrick Professor of the Practice of International Affairs (TBC)
Required Readings:
• Paikowsky, Deganit and Gil Baram. “Space Wars”, Foreign Affairs, 7 January 2015.
• Mandiant Report, Executive Summary (pg. 2-6).
• Significant Cyber Events since 2006, Center for Strategic & International Studies
For further exploration:

*Wednesday, November 9 – Class Discussion Session
8:30 – 10:00 am
Malkin Penthouse (4th floor Littauer)

CLASS 11
Tuesday, November 15 - The Future Global Governing Board of the World: International Financial Institutions and UN Security Council Reform
POLICY MEMO #2 DUE (bring hard copy to class and upload to course website)

Required readings:

- “The UN Security Council (UNSC)” CFR.org, September 2, 2015.

*Thursday, November 17 – Class Discussion Session
5:00 – 6:00 pm
Taubman 275

*Tuesday, November 22 – Class Discussion Session
8:30 – 10:00 am
Malkin Penthouse (4th floor Littauer)

CLASS 12
Tuesday, November 22 - Climate Change and Global Public Health: Arenas of Great Power Cooperation?

Required readings:


For further exploration:

- Malaria No More, “Q&A with Ray Chambers,” Co-founder of Malaria No More and UN Special Envoy for Financing the Health MDGs and for Malaria, November 13, 2014
*Monday, November 28 – Class Discussion Session*
5:00 – 6:00 pm
Malkin Penthouse (4th floor Littauer)

**CLASS 13**
Tuesday, November 29 - Final Class and Review of Semester

**Dates TBC – FINAL EXAMS**
There will be a final exam for all credit students. A study guide will be distributed one week prior to the first day of exams.