

GINS 4090 / PMAP 4000

Fall 2026

The Return of the Rest. Non-Western Political Economy Perspectives on International Relations

Fall 2026

Instructor: Pablo Heidrich, pablo.heidrich@carleton.ca , Dunton Tower 2114

Office hours: Wednesday 9:30-11am

Course Brightspace page: <https://brightspace.carleton.ca/d2l/home/453319>

Course Description, format and learning outcomes

This seminar will focus exclusively on non-Western views of contemporary global economics and politics. The purpose is to familiarize students with the dominant perspectives in China, India, Russia, Brazil, as well as other rising powers in the Global South as to how the global economy works, should be like and what political changes are necessary for that. The key elements researched and discussed will be original writings by non-Western academics on recent economic and foreign policies, challenges, and successes. Non-Western diplomats and some specialist academics will be invited to the seminar to give additional perspectives.

Format: Meetings will take place once/week for a three-hour block. The majority of the time will be spent in class presentations and discussion based on examinations of non-Western international relations and political economy writings. Occasionally, students may be asked to watch a short documentary or listen to a podcast outside class.

Learning Outcomes: This course aims to re-consider our understanding of international political and economic relations from the viewpoint of Non-Western powers, in some cases rising to global pre-eminence or regional hegemonic positions that added together, are transforming the world away from the Western framework.

Students in this course will demonstrate an understanding of these Non-Western perspectives, will research further on these countries' foreign policies, will engage in critical political economy discussions, and will complete a high-quality research project.

Readings and Texts

- Core readings are obtainable via the links provided in this outline or will be made available through Brightspace.
- If you are unclear on the current forms of mainstream Western views regarding international relations and political economy, come and see me ASAP for reading recommendations.
- If you lack sufficient knowledge of the recent political and economic history of the Non-Western countries being discussed in this seminar, you should independently brush up your understanding with

freely available news services, educational primers, and encyclopedias. Your instructor expects all students to have a sharp, clear view of the country discussed each week.

- You are responsible for checking the Brightspace regularly and reading, watching, and/or listening to all material listed for each week. Occasionally, I will post additional articles or links that are course-related and informative.

Assignments, Evaluation, and Grading

Participation	Ongoing	Ongoing	15%
Seminar Leader	Once/course	Ongoing	30%
Adversarial questioning	Once/course	Ongoing	15%
Proposal	November 8	Week 9	5%
Research Paper	December 6	Week 13	35%

(I) Participation (15%) – ongoing

- Seminar attendance is expected and attendance will be taken. The participation grade will reflect the extent to which students contribute to class discussions in an informed and critical manner, not only attendance. Participants are expected to arrive each week having completed the readings, prepared or answered the discussion questions (as applicable), and equipped to discuss the material.
- Students are expected to be in attendance for the duration of class (3 hours) each week. Arriving late/leaving at the break/leaving early does not count as ‘attendance for the duration’ and will be noted. Absences and weak and/or limited participation will result in a diminished final grade.

(II) Seminar Leader (30%) - ongoing

- Each participant will lead a fraction of the 3-hour weekly class the seminar. This includes giving a 20-minute presentation on the week’s reading and themes, preparing 2-3 discussion questions to distribute to the class two (2) days ahead of seminar (by Tuesday at 5:00 pm), preparing an engaging teaching activity, and writing a 3–5 page reflection to be submitted by the Friday. Each student will lead the seminar a minimum of once/course.

(III) Adversarial questioning (15%) – ongoing

- Each participant will provide a counterpoint to the views presented by the other seminar leaders from the perspective of a country often considered a possible rival, security or economic concern of the leaders’ one. Additional details will be given in the first session as an orientation on what is expected. Purpose is to test the theories or views of each presented country.

(IV) Research Paper or Project Proposal (10%) – due Week 9

- Students will write a 1-3 page proposal and abstract in anticipation of the main research paper or project. Points for creativity, clarity, and historical specificity. The proposal should contain a short description, a tentative thesis, and a bibliography.

(V) Research Paper or Project (30%) – final paper due Week 13

- Students will write a 15–20-page research paper or project on one element/episode/aspect of 20th century imperialism and/or resistance. Primary sources are imperative.

Class 1 Task Assignment and Introduction

Course introduction, summary of current Western IR-IPE thought to establish baseline.

Role assignments for readings, adversarial questioning, details on research paper, etc.

Class 2 CHINA

Yang, Y. (2023) China and the West. A Pragmatic Confucian's View. Chapter 1

<https://link.springer.com/book/10.1007/978-981-99-1882-9>

Ho, B. (2021). China's Political Worldview and Chinese Exceptionalism: International Order and Global Leadership (1st ed.). Routledge. <https://doi.org/10.5117/9789463725149>

https://ocul-crl.primo.exlibrisgroup.com/permalink/01OCUL_CRL/1jui968/alma991023069032005153

Zhao, S. (2023). The Dragon Roars Back: Transformational Leaders and Dynamics of Chinese Foreign Policy (First edition.). Stanford University Press. <https://doi.org/10.1515/9781503634152>

https://ocul-crl.primo.exlibrisgroup.com/permalink/01OCUL_CRL/1jui968/alma991023215456605153

Class 3 CHINA

Guo, H. (2026). Rethinking Chinese Foreign Policy: Security, Development, and Ideology (1st ed. 2026.). Springer Nature Singapore. <https://doi.org/10.1007/978-981-95-5374-7> CHAPTER 8 IS MOST USEFUL

https://ocul-crl.primo.exlibrisgroup.com/permalink/01OCUL_CRL/1jui968/alma991023533623205153

Shi, Z. (2019). China and international theory: the balance of relationships (1st ed.). Routledge.

<https://doi.org/10.4324/9780429423130>

https://ocul-crl.primo.exlibrisgroup.com/permalink/01OCUL_CRL/1jui968/alma991023196331405153

Deng, Y. (2022). China's strategic opportunity: change and revisionism in Chinese foreign policy (1st ed.). Cambridge University Press.

https://ocul-crl.primo.exlibrisgroup.com/permalink/01OCUL_CRL/1jui968/alma991023189832105153

Class 4 INDIA

Ranjan, A. (2022). The colonial origins of Nehru's foreign policy. The Round Table. Volume111, No.3, 385-397.

Singha, A. (2022) India in a changing global world: understanding India's changing statecraft and Delhi's international relations. THE ROUND TABLE. VOL. 111, NO. 3, 398–411

<https://doi.org/10.1080/00358533.2022.2087992>

Pethiyagoda, K. (2021). Indian Foreign Policy and Cultural Values. Springer International Publishing.

<https://books-scholarsportal-info.proxy.library.carleton.ca/uri/ebooks/ebooks6/springer6/2021-06-13/3/9783030546960> REFERENCE BOOK

Class 5 INDIA

Pant, H. V. (2016). Indian foreign policy: an overview. Manchester University Press. https://ocul-crl.primo.exlibrisgroup.com/permalink/01OCUL_CRL/1jui968/alma992978463105151 REFERENCE BOOK

Sikri, R. (2014). Challenge and Strategy: Rethinking India's Foreign Policy. Indian Foreign Affairs Journal, 9(1), 56–69. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/45340951>

Ganguly, S., & Pardesi, M. S. (2009). Explaining Sixty Years of India's Foreign Policy. India Review, 8(1), 4–19. <https://doi.org/10.1080/14736480802665162>

Class 6 JAPAN

Funabashi, Y., & Ikenberry, G. J. (2020). The crisis of liberal internationalism: Japan and the world order. Brookings Institution Press.

https://ocul-crl.primo.exlibrisgroup.com/permalink/01OCUL_CRL/1jui968/alma991022788029605153

Atsuko Watanabe, Socio-Spatial Multiplicity in World Politics: Non-Western Regional Imaginations of the Indo-Pacific, International Political Sociology, Volume 18, Issue 2, June 2024, olae010, <https://doi.org/10.1093/ips/olae010>

Class 7 INDONESIA

Valhan Hamdiana Rachman (2025) Global Geopolitical Dynamics: BRICS' Collective Strategy in Facing Western Domination and Its Implications for Indonesia. Jurnal Ilmiah Multidisiplin Indonesia (JIM-ID). Volume 4, Number 04, 117-132. <https://ejournal.seaninstitute.or.id/index.php/esaprom>

Shekhar, V., & Vibhanshu Shekhar. (2018). Indonesia's emerging power status signalling. In Indonesia's Foreign Policy and Grand Strategy in the 21st Century (1st ed., Vol. 1, pp. 42–79). Routledge. <https://doi.org/10.4324/9781315560977-2>

Rosyidin, M. (2025). Reconciling revisionism with the status quo in IR: Indonesia's foreign policy and the ASEAN Outlook on the Indo-Pacific. The Pacific Review, 1–30. <https://doi.org/10.1080/09512748.2025.2597450>

I Gede Wahyu Wicaksana, The changing perspective of international relations in Indonesia, International Relations of the Asia-Pacific, Volume 18, Issue 2, May 2018, Pages 133–159, <https://doi.org/10.1093/irap/lcw014>

Class 8 RUSSIA

Lagutina, M., Tsvetkova, N., & Sergunin, A. (Eds.). (2023). The Routledge Handbook of Russian International Relations Studies (1st ed.). Routledge. <https://doi.org/10.4324/9781003257264>

2025. Tsygankov, A. 2025. Russia in a just world. How to overcome the new bipolarity? Vestnik RUDN. International Relations. Vol. 25 No. 2 161–176 <http://journals.rudn.ru/international-relations>

Tsygankov, Andrei P., and Pavel A. Tsygankov. (2021) Constructing National Values: The Nationally Distinctive Turn in Russian IR Theory and Foreign Policy. Foreign Policy Analysis, <https://doi.org/10.1093/fpa/orab022XX>

Class 9 RUSSIA

Tsygankov, A. (2025) The Ukraine War and the Power/Order Debate in Russia. 'Let the Storm Rage On!' in Hill, A. (Ed.). The Routledge Handbook of Soviet and Russian Military Studies (1st ed.). Routledge.

<https://doi-org.proxy.library.carleton.ca/10.4324/9781003354635>

Rutland, Peter, 'The place of economics in Russian national identity debates', in Pål Kolstø, and Helge Blakkisrud (eds), The New Russian Nationalism: "Imperialism, Ethnicity and Authoritarianism 2000-2015"

<https://doi.org/10.3366/edinburgh/9781474410427.003.0013>

Alexeev, Michael, and Shlomo Weber (eds), The Oxford Handbook of the Russian Economy, Oxford Handbooks (2013; online edn, Oxford Academic, 1 Oct. 2013), <https://doi-org.proxy.library.carleton.ca/10.1093/oxfordhb/9780199759927.001.0001>

Class 10 IRAN

Shahram Akbarzadeh & James Barry (2016) State Identity in Iranian Foreign Policy, British Journal of Middle Eastern Studies, 43:4, 613-629, <https://doi.org/10.1080/13530194.2016.1159541>

Narges Bajoghli and Vali Nasr. (2026) Iran's New Grand Strategy. How a Remade Islamic Republic Will Reshape the Middle East. July/August 2026. Foreign Affairs. Washington DC.

<https://proxy.library.carleton.ca/login?url=https://www.proquest.com/magazines/irans-new-grand-strategy-how-remade-islamic/docview/3357268464/se-2?accountid=9894>

Esfahani, H. S., & Pesaran, M. H. (2009). The Iranian Economy in the Twentieth Century: A Global Perspective. Iranian Studies, 42(2), 177–211. doi:10.1080/00210860902764896

Class 11 TURKIYE

Ataman, M. (2023) The 'Century of Türkiye'. A New Foreign Policy Vision for Building the Türkiye Axis. Insight Turkey, Vol. 25, No. 3, pp. 73-96. <https://www.jstor.org/stable/48744762>

Kaliber, A., & Kaliber, E. (2019). From De-Europeanisation to Anti-Western Populism: Turkish Foreign Policy in Flux. The International Spectator, 54(4), 1–16. <https://doi.org/10.1080/03932729.2019.1668640>

Kemal Kirişçi & Neslihan Kaptanoğlu (2011) The Politics of Trade and Turkish Foreign Policy, Middle Eastern Studies, 47:5, 705-724, <https://doi.org/10.1080/00263206.2011.613226>

Class 12 SOUTH AFRICA

Landsberg, C. (2011) 'Transformation, continuity and diffusion: South Africa's foreign policy under Thabo Mbeki and Jacob Zuma', Inroads: A Journal of Opinion, (29), 64+, available: https://link-gale-com.proxy.library.carleton.ca/apps/doc/A275852066/AONE?u=ocul_carleton&sid=bookmark-AONE&xid=d8f61af6

Ian Taylor (2011) South African 'Imperialism' in a Region Lacking Regionalism: a critique, Third World Quarterly, 32:7, 1233-1253, <https://doi.org/10.1080/01436597.2011.596743>

Hendricks, C., & Majozi, N. (2021). South Africa's International Relations: A New Dawn? Journal of Asian and African Studies, 56(1), 64-78. <https://doi.org/10.1177/002190962094685>

Class 13 BRAZIL

Malamud, A. (2011) A Leader Without Followers? The Growing Divergence Between the Regional and Global Performance of Brazilian Foreign Policy. *Latin American Politics and Society* 53: 3, pp. 1-24.

Ana Livia Vilhena Ramos & Laura C. Ferreira-Pereira (01 Jan 2026): Brazil's foreign policy identity: a western player in the international arena of the twenty-first century? *Contemporary Politics*
<https://doi.org/10.1080/13569775.2025.2606685>

Chagas Bastos, F. and Burges, S. (2025) Time to Go Home: An Isolationist Foreign Policy Approach for Brazil in a Reordering World. *Forthcoming in Dudelin, J. et al (2027) Canada Among Nations 2025: Southern Powers and Global Dis/Order.*

Academic Accommodations: The Paul Menton Centre for Students with Disabilities (PMC) provides services to students with Learning Disabilities (LD), psychiatric/mental health disabilities, Attention Deficit Hyperactivity Disorder (ADHD), Autism Spectrum Disorders (ASD), chronic medical conditions, and impairments in mobility, hearing, and vision. If you have a disability requiring academic accommodations in this course, please contact PMC at 613-520-6608 or pmc@carleton.ca for a formal evaluation. If you are already registered with the PMC, contact your PMC coordinator to send me your **Letter of Accommodation** at the beginning of the term, and no later than two weeks before the first in-class scheduled test or exam requiring accommodation (*if applicable*). After requesting accommodation from PMC, meet with me to ensure accommodation arrangements are made. Please consult the PMC website for the deadline to request accommodations for the formally-scheduled exam (*if applicable*).

Accommodation for Religious Observance: Students requesting accommodation for religious observances should apply in writing to their instructor for alternate dates and/or means of satisfying academic requirements. Such requests should be made during the first two weeks of class, or as soon as possible after the need for accommodation is known to exist, but no later than two weeks before the compulsory academic event. Accommodation is to be worked out directly and on an individual basis between the student and the instructor(s) involved. Instructors will make accommodations in a way that avoids academic disadvantage to the student. Instructors and students may contact an Equity Services Advisor for assistance (www.carleton.ca/equity).

Accommodation for Pregnancy: Pregnant students requiring academic accommodations are encouraged to contact an Equity Advisor in Equity Services to complete a *letter of accommodation*. Then, make an appointment to discuss your needs with the instructor at least two weeks prior to the first academic event in which it is anticipated the accommodation will be required.

Plagiarism: The University Senate defines plagiarism as “presenting, whether intentional or not, the ideas, expression of ideas or work of others as one’s own.” This can include:

- reproducing or paraphrasing portions of someone else’s published or unpublished material, regardless of the source, and presenting these as one’s own without proper citation or reference to the original source;

- submitting a take-home examination, essay, laboratory report or other assignment written, in whole or in part, by someone else;
- using ideas or direct, verbatim quotations, or paraphrased material, concepts, or ideas without appropriate acknowledgment in any academic assignment;
- using another's data or research findings;
- failing to acknowledge sources through the use of proper citations when using another's works and/or failing to use quotation marks;
- handing in "substantially the same piece of work for academic credit more than once without prior written permission of the course instructor in which the submission occurs.

Plagiarism is a serious offence which cannot be resolved directly with the course's instructor. The Associate Deans of the Faculty conduct a rigorous investigation, including an interview with the student, when an instructor suspects a piece of work has been plagiarized. Penalties are not trivial. They may include a mark of zero for the plagiarized work or a final grade of "F" for the course.

Intellectual Property: Student or professor materials created for this course (including presentations and posted notes, labs, case studies, assignments and exams) remain the intellectual property of the author(s). They are intended for personal use and may not be reproduced or redistributed without prior written consent of the author(s).

Submission and Return of Term Work: Papers must be submitted directly to the instructor according to the instructions in the course outline. Late assignments may be submitted to the BGIInS office in 2404R, River Building. For essays not returned in class please attach a **stamped, self-addressed envelope** if you wish to have your assignment returned by mail. Final exams are intended solely for the purpose of evaluation and will not be returned.

Grading: Standing in a course is determined by the course instructor, subject to the approval of the faculty Dean. Final standing in courses will be shown by alphabetical grades. The system of grades used, with corresponding grade points is:

Percentage	Letter grade	12-point scale	Percentage	Letter grade	12-point scale
90-100	A+	12	67-69	C+	6
85-89	A	11	63-66	C	5
80-84	A-	10	60-62	C-	4
77-79	B+	9	57-59	D+	3
73-76	B	8	53-56	D	2
70-72	B-	7	50-52	D-	1

Approval of final grades: Standing in a course is determined by the course instructor subject to the approval of the Faculty Dean. This means that grades submitted by an instructor may be subject to revision. No grades are final until they have been approved by the Dean.

