

# Geopolitics and Grand Strategy (915M1)

Core Course

***MA Geopolitics and Grand Strategy***  
Autumn Term 2010

Course Co-Convenors: Dr Fabio Petito  
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**Office hours:**

**Stefanie Ortmann: Friday 1-2, Tues 11-12**

## Course Description

*Geopolitics and Grand Strategy* critically investigates the “new geopolitics” of an emerging multipolarity, the return to Great Power politics and the renewed interest in geopolitical narratives in the 2000s and beyond. This phenomenon is closely connected to the “rise of the new Great Powers”, including China, Russia and India, and the emerging shift of economic power away from the West.

The course aims to provide students with an overview of this changing nature of contemporary geopolitics and the foreign policy strategies of the US and rising Great Powers in a globalizing world. We will investigate changing conceptions of world order against the background of major historical shifts of *longue durée* - economic and civilizational - which may now challenge the western-centric nature of modern international society. The first part of the course will provide a set of analytical tools to make sense of the contemporary international system, with a focus on geopolitics and grand strategy. Particular attention will be given to Great Powers and the geopolitical imagination, Grand Strategy, the role of history, and the shifts in international politics and global political economy as a result of the rise of China and other BRICs. The second part of the course will focus on the grand strategies and foreign policy practices developed by the US and key rising powers in a regional and global context, including the transatlantic relationship, the rise of China and India and Russia’s vision of a multipolar world order.

By the end of the course, a successful student should be able to: (i) have developed a critical understanding of geopolitics and grand strategy and relate this to the analysis of the international system presented in this course; (ii) comprehend the foreign policy practices of selected established and rising Great Powers in the international system; (iii) understand some of the key regional dynamics of contemporary geopolitics (iv) formulate academically informed arguments about the themes of this course.

This syllabus is intended to provide you with all the essential details about the course. It also contains the reading list for all the sessions.

## **Course Outline**

- 1. Geopolitics: a critical introduction**
- 2. The Great Powers and the balance of power**
- 3. Grand strategies? The national interest and the formulation of foreign policies**
- 4. Grand Strategy in History: Learning from the Past? [with Justin Rosenberg]**
- 5. Globalisation, Geo-economics and Global Economic Rivalries**
- 6. US Grand Strategy: An American empire? [with Stephen Burman]**
- 7. Russia and the West: new Cold War?**
- 8. China: Peaceful Rising?**
- 9. The rise of India [with Stephen Burman]**
- 10. The end of Eurocentrism? Rising powers and the future of world order**

## Learning Methods

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The course is structured around a series of weekly two-hour seminars. The seminars are designed to provide students with the opportunity to explore particular issues in depth and to engage in discussion in a small group context. This format relies on active engagement with the material presented in the core readings and requires students to **have read and thought about this material before the seminar!** Equally importantly, students will also be expected to engage in continuous independent study, employing the reading list below as a starting point to deepen their knowledge of the subject. There is a vast amount of material available on the topics covered in this course, and the reading list provides only an indicative selection. If you want to deepen your knowledge of a topic and cannot find appropriate material on the reading list, please do not hesitate to contact your course tutors.

### Course Assessment:

**There are two assessed pieces of coursework for this course:**

1. **A 1,000 words book review**, counting 20% towards the final mark of the course. The book review is **due at the end of week 5 (November 5<sup>th</sup>)**. The book should be chosen from the list of useful books at the beginning of this syllabus. At least one copy of each title is available in the library.

A book review is an opportunity to critically evaluate a longer, coherent piece of work in its entirety. It should contain the following elements:

- a concise summary of the book's most important arguments, with an emphasis on how these arguments relate to broader issues raised in the course.
- a critical evaluation of the arguments, theoretical framework, and empirical examples used in the book – what are the strengths and weaknesses of these, how well do empirical material and analysis hang together, how consistent is the argument, what objections could be raised? Do not just state your opinion, but provide a reasoned argument, backed up if necessary by reference to other sources and apposite examples.
- the questions this book opens or leaves unanswered; what would be interesting avenues for further research?

More information and a sample (published) review will be circulated in class.

2. **A 3500-4000 word essay**, counting 80% towards the final mark of the course and due at the end of the first week of the Spring Term (**Friday January 14<sup>th</sup>, 4pm**).

## Essay questions

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1. "There is no such thing as geopolitical determinism". Do you agree?
2. "Globalization is rendering the concepts of geopolitics and Great Powers obsolete." Do you agree?
3. Does the rise of the "BRICs" herald a seminal shift in the global order?
4. Is the language of "grand strategy" an adequate tool for explaining the foreign policies of the powers?
5. Since the end of the cold war, has the international outlook of Russia been determined by its quest for Great Power status?
6. "The global power of the United States is in decline and there is nothing the US can do about it". Would you agree?
7. What does the rise of India tell us about the interplay of global and regional concerns?
8. Must a rising China destabilize the international system?
9. "The fault lines between civilizations will be the battle lines of the future" (Huntington). Do you agree?

I will schedule extra office hours in the last week of the Autumn Term when I will be available to discuss essay outlines. Questions should be chosen from the list above.

### Feedback:

The course will be evaluated by you using an anonymous Student Evaluation Questionnaire which will be distributed towards the end of the term. Feel free, however, to raise issues and suggestions with us as they arise during the course, especially since this is the first time this course is being run.

## Books and Readings

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For each seminar you are expected to read at least four items from the material you'll find in the study pack (core readings). You are also encouraged to read additional material from the recommended reading lists. Given the interdisciplinary and broad nature of the subject, the recommended reading lists are also meant as a starting point for further bibliographic search - there is in fact a vast amount of sources (including journals and internet sources) that you can explore to deepen your understanding of any specific topic. What follows is a list of useful books that you might want to consult and that can be found in the library:

### **Introductions to IR (for those with no background in the discipline):**

John Baylis & Steve Smith (eds.), *The Globalization of World Politics*, 4<sup>th</sup> ed. (Oxford University Press, 2008)  
Chris Brown with Kirsten Ainley *Understanding International Relations*, 4<sup>th</sup> Ed. (Palgrave Macmillan, 2009)  
Robert Jackson & Georg Sørensen, *An Introduction to International Relations* (Oxford UP, 3<sup>rd</sup> Ed. 2007)  
Michael Doyle, *Ways of War and Peace: Realism, Liberalism, and Socialism* (New York: W.W. Norton, 1997).

### **International history (for those with no background in the international history of the 20<sup>th</sup> century):**

Peter Calvocoressi, *World Politics since 1945* (Addison Wesley Longman, 1999)  
W. Keylor, *The Twentieth Century World*, 4th ed. (New York, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000)  
C. J. Bartlett, *The Global Conflict: the international rivalry of the great powers 1880-1990* 2<sup>nd</sup> ed. (London ; New York : Longman, 1994)  
Geoffrey Berridge, *International Politics: States, Power and Conflict since 1945* (Prentice Hall, 1999)  
Geoffrey Stern, *The Structure of International Society*, 2nd ed. (Continuum, 2000)  
D. Reynolds, *One World Divisible: A Global History Since 1945*. (New York : W.W. Norton, 2000)

### **General background reading:**

(These books provide a general overview of topics relevant for the course and/or are seminal texts on themes of the course - for region- or country-specific volumes please see the recommended reading lists of the relevant seminar topic)

Brzezinski, Zbigniew, *The Grand Chessboard: American primacy and its geostrategic imperatives*, Basic Books 1997.

Bull H. and Adam Watson (eds.), *The Expansion of International Society* (Oxford, 1984)

Bull, Hedley, *The Anarchical Society: a study of order in world politics*, 2nd ed. Basingstoke: Macmillan 1995.

Jane Burbank and Frederick Cooper *Empires in World History: Power and the Politics of Difference*, (Princeton University Press, 2010)

Buzan, B. and Wæver, *Regions and Powers: the Structure of International Security*, Cambridge University Press, 2003

Buzan, Barry, *The United States and the Great Powers: World Politics in the Twenty-First Century*, Cambridge: Polity, 2004.

Corbridge Stuart and John Agnew, *Mastering Space*, London: Routledge, 1995

Dodds, Klaus and David Atkinson, *Geopolitical traditions: a century of geopolitical thought*, New York: Routledge, 2000

Niall Ferguson. *Empire: The Rise and Demise of the British World Order and the Lessons for Global. Power*. New York: Basic Books, 2003

Geoffrey Parker, *Geopolitics: Past, Present and Future*, London; Washington, DC : Pinter,

Gowan, Peter, *The search for order: historical reflections on the crisis of grand strategy*, London: Verso 2008

Huntington, Samuel, *The Clash of Civilisations and the Remaking of World Order*, London: Simon & Schuster, 1996

Hurrell, Andrew, *On global order: power, values, and the constitution of international society*. Oxford; New York: Oxford University Press 2007

Johnson, Chalmers, *Blowback: The costs and consequences of American empire*, Metropolitan Books 2000

Kennedy, Paul M., *The rise and fall of the great powers : economic change and military conflict*, London : Unwin Hyman, 1988

Kennedy Paul, (ed), *Grand Strategies in War and Peace*, New Haven : Yale University Press, 1991

Kupchan, Charles A., *The End of the American Era: U.S. foreign policy and the geopolitics of the twenty-first century*, Alfred A. Knopf 2002.

Kupchan, Charles A., *How Enemies Become Friends: The Sources of Stable Peace*, Princeton University Press 2010

Mahbubani Kishore, *The New Asian Hemisphere: The Irresistible Shift of Global Power to the East*, Philadelphia: Perseus Books 2008

Mearsheimer, John J., *The Tragedy of great power politics*, New York: Norton, 2001.

Ó Tuathail, Gearóid, *Critical geopolitics: the politics of writing global space*, Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1996.

Overholt, William H. *Asia, America, and the transformation of geopolitics*, Cambridge: CUP 2008

Simpson, Gerry, *Great Powers and Outlaw States: Unequal Sovereigns in the International Legal Order*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press 2004

Van Der Pijl, Kees, *Global Rivalries from the Cold War to Iraq*, London: Pluto, and New Delhi: Sage Vistaar, 2006

Wallerstein, Immanuel, *Geopolitics and geoculture: essays on the changing world-system*, Cambridge CUP 1991

Watson, Adam, *The Evolution of International Society. A Comparative Historical Analysis*, London: Routledge 1992 (2009, enhanced reissue)

Wight, M. *Systems of States* ed. Hedley Bull, Leicester: Leicester University Press, 1977.

Williamson et al (eds.) *The Making of Strategy: Rulers, States and War*, Cambridge; New York : Cambridge University Press, 1994

Zakaria, Fareed *The post-American world and the rise of the rest*. London: Allen Lane, 2008

### **Journals:**

You are also strongly encouraged to make use of the wide selection of electronic journals available through the library. The library subscribes to many, but not all, of these journals: *Foreign Affairs; The National Interest; International Organization; International Security; Survival; International Affairs; International Relations Geopolitics; International Politics, International Studies Quarterly; Millennium; Orbis; Security Studies; Review of International Studies; Global Peace, Change and Security; Political Geography; Third World Quarterly; World Politics; New Left Review; Dissent; Europe-Asia Studies, China quarterly.*

### **www:**

The Internet is an important source of information and analysis, both in terms of ideas and with reference to specific geographical regions. However, be careful about your selection of sources – much of the material available on the net can be biased and unverified, or simply badly researched.



These are only some of the websites that you can consult:

[www.lib.umich.edu/govdocs/psintl.html](http://www.lib.umich.edu/govdocs/psintl.html), a gateway to web based IR resources,

[www.psa.ac.uk/www/international\\_relations.htm](http://www.psa.ac.uk/www/international_relations.htm), another useful portal;

[www.opendemocracy.net](http://www.opendemocracy.net), an online forum of global news and culture, good up-to-date commentary on global political issues.

[www.isn.ethz.ch](http://www.isn.ethz.ch) for the International Relations and Security Network at Eidgenössische Hochschule Zurich; useful links and research material

[www.biu.ac.il/SOC/besa/meria/research-q/us-policy.html](http://www.biu.ac.il/SOC/besa/meria/research-q/us-policy.html). A research guide to internet resources on American foreign policy. See other websites referenced there.

[www.gwu.edu/~nsarchiv/](http://www.gwu.edu/~nsarchiv/). This is the National Security Archive website, a good source of primary documents about U.S. foreign and security policy.

<http://uc.princeton.edu/main/> A collection of public affairs lectures, panels and events from academic institutions all over the world.

**Think tanks: Some of the most influential think tanks in Europe and the US have useful online presences**

<http://www.chathamhouse.org.uk/> The Royal Institute of International Affairs, research-led with strong links to the UK policy establishment. Originator of the “Chatham House Ruse”.

<http://www.iiss.org/> Based in the United Kingdom, the International Institute of Strategic Studies is a leading think-tank focusing on international security

<http://www.rusi.org/> The Royal United Services Institute (RUSI) is an independent think tank engaged in defence and security research

[www.cfr.org/](http://www.cfr.org/) The website of the Council on Foreign Relations (CFR) provides a wealth of online resources on foreign policy and America’s role in the world.

<http://ceres.georgetown.edu/esp/about/> The Eurasian Strategy Project, with an useful archive of policy papers (PONARS papers) on the Eurasian space.

<http://www.carnegie.ru/ru/> Carnegie Moscow Centre, now an independent think tank in its own right; analysts broadly critical of the current regime; in Russian and English

<http://eng.globalaffairs.ru/> Russia in Global affairs, a pluralist collection of commentary on Russia and beyond by Russian academics, in English

<http://www.svop.ru/live/> Influential think tank spanning government and private individuals; in Russian

<http://www.swp-berlin.org/> German research-oriented think tank, some material in English

<http://english.nupi.no/> Norwegian Institute of International Affairs, material in English

For background information on global, regional and country risk-analysis:

Paul Bracken, Ian Bremmer, David Gordon, eds., *Managing Strategic Surprise: Lessons from Risk Management and Risk Assessment*, CUP 2008

Ian Bremmer and Preston Keat, *The fat tail: the power of political knowledge for strategic investing..* Oxford: Oxford University Press. 2009. 254pp

## 1. Geopolitics: a critical introduction

### Questions:

- What is the “geopolitical imagination”? What is the relationship between the kind of geopolitical imagination found in politician’s speeches and academic or “expert” approaches to geopolitical analysis?
- What are the strengths and weaknesses of thinking about the world in geopolitical terms?
- Are we entering a new age of geopolitics? Is it more justified to speak about geopolitics now than immediately after the end of the Cold War?
- Why does critical geopolitics contend that geopolitical thinking seems based on objective facts, but in reality is always highly politicized? Is this necessarily the case?

### Core Readings:

Agnew, John A., “Introduction”, pp. 1-13 and “Three ages of geopolitics”, 85-114. *Geopolitics : re-visioning world politics*, 2nd ed., Routledge, 2003,

Gearóid Ó Tuathail “Introduction: Thinking Critically About Geopolitics” Tuathail, Gearóid, Simon Dalby, and Paul Routledge (editors), *The Geopolitics Reader*, Routledge, London and New York: 2006, pp. 1-14.

O Tuathail, Gearoid, “Theorizing practical geopolitical reasoning: the case of the United States’ response to the war in Bosnia”, *Political Geography* 21 (2002) 601–628

Brzezinski, Zbigniew, *The Grand Chessboard: American primacy and its geostrategic imperatives* (Basic Books 1997), ch.2 “The Eurasian Chessboard”, 30-56.

Extracts from Geopolitics reader: H.J. Mackinder, "The Geographical Pivot of History", Haushofer "Why Geopolitik?", Kennan, G. "The Sources of Soviet Conduct", 78-81. "The Truman Doctrine"

### Further reading:

Blouet, B. (ed.), *Global Geostrategy: Mackinder and the Defence of the West* (Abingdon: Frank Cass, 2005)

- Clover, Charles, 'Dreams of the Eurasian Heartland', *Foreign Affairs*, Vol. 78, No. 2, 1999, pp. 9-13.
- Cohen Saul (2003), 'Geopolitical Realities and United States Foreign Policy', *Political Geography* 22(1), pp. 1-33.
- Dodds, K., and Atkinson, D. (eds.), *Geopolitical Traditions: Critical Histories of a Century of Political Thought* (London: Routledge, 2000), chs. 1, 2.
- Dodds, K., *Geopolitics: A Very Short Introduction* (Oxford: OUP, 2007)
- Dalby, Simon. "Imperialism, Domination, Culture: The Continued Relevance of Critical Geopolitics" *Geopolitics* 13.3 (2008)..
- Gray Colin, "Sir Halford Mackinder and Geopolitics" in *The Geopolitics of Super Power* (Lexington: University of Kentucky Press 1998).
- Heffernan, Michael, *The Meaning of Europe: Geography and Geopolitics*, New York, Arnold, 1998
- Henrikson Alan K. (2002), "Distance and Foreign Policy: A Political Geography Approach" *International Political Science Review*, 23(4), pp. 437-466.
- Mearsheimer, J., *The Tragedy of Great Power Politics* (New York: Norton, 2001), esp. chs. 4, 7, 8.
- Muir, Richard, *Political Geography: a new introduction*, Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1997
- Pacione, Michael (ed.), *Progress in Political Geography*, London: Croom Helm, 1985, [especially chs. by S.D. Brunn & K.A. Mingst on "Geopolitics" & J.N.H. Douglas on "Conflict between states"].
- Parker, G., *Western Geopolitical Thought in the Twentieth Century* (London, Croom Helm, 1985), esp. ch. 3.
- Parker, Geoffrey, *The Geopolitics of Domination*, London, Routledge, 1988
- Philip A. Crowl, "Alfred Thayer Mahan: The Naval Historian," in Paret, *Makers of Modern Strategy from Machiavelli to the Nuclear Age*
- Schwarzenberger, G., *Power Politics: A Study of World Society*, 3rd edn. (London: Stevens, 1964), ch. 2.
- Spykman, N., *America's Strategy in World Politics: The United States and the Balance of Power* (Edison, NJ: Transaction, 2007 [1942]).
- Sumida Jon, 'Alfred Thayer Mahan, Geopolitician', *The Journal of Strategic Studies*, Special Issue on Geopolitics, Geography and Strategy, vol. 22, nos. 2-3 (June/September 1999): 39-62.
- Taylor, Peter J., *Geography: World Economy, Nation-state and Locality*, London, Longman Scientific & Technical, 1989
- Tuathail Gearóid Ó, "A Geopolitical Discourse with Robert McNamara" (2000) in Ó Tuathail et al.
- Tuathail, G., *Critical Geopolitics* (London: Routledge, 1996), chs. 1-3.
- Ward, Michael Don (ed.), *New Geopolitics*, Philadelphia, Gordon & Breach, 1992
- Zoppo, C. and Zorbigbe, C. (eds.), *On Geopolitics: Classical and Nuclear*, The Hague, Martinus Nijhoff, 1985
- Ó Tuathail, Gearóid, *Critical geopolitics: the politics of writing global space*, Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1996.
- Ó Tuathail G. and J. Agnew, 'Geopolitics and Discourse: Practical Geopolitical Reasoning in American Foreign Policy', *Political Geography* 11 (1992) 190–204.

Bialasiewicz L. et al., 'Performing Security: The Imaginative Geographies of Current US Strategy', *Political Geography* 26 (2007) 405–422.

## **2. Great Powers and the Balance of Power in a changing world**

### **Questions:**

- What are Great Powers? What are the different assumptions about Great Powers and world order to be found in the discussions below? Are there significant differences in these understandings?
- What is the balance of power, multipolarity, unipolarity? What kind of international system has developed since the end of the Cold War?
- Are we witnessing the rise of new Great Powers? Or are we witnessing the rise of new regional powers and the regionalization of world politics? Will this transform world politics?

### **Core Readings:**

Wight, Martin, *Power Politics*, London: Leicester University Press, 1995, "Powers", "Dominant Powers", "Great Powers", "World Powers" ch. 1-2-3-4, 22-59.

Buzan, B. and Wæver, *Regions and Powers: the Structure of International Security*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003, ch 1-2, pp 6-39

Hurrell, A., Hegemony, Liberalism and Global Order: What space for would-be Great Powers?, *International Affairs* 82/1 2006

Christopher Layne, "The Unipolar Illusion: Why New Great Powers Will Rise," *International Security*, Vol. 17, No. 4 (Spring 1993), pp. 5–51.

Brooks, Stephen G. and William C. Wohlforth "Hard times for soft balancing", *International Security*, 30: 1 2005

### **recommended readings:**

Acharya Amitva 'The Emerging Regional Architecture of World Politics', *World Politics*, 59:4 (July 2007)

Bull, Hedley (1977) *The Anarchical Society*, esp Chapter 5 'The Balance of Power and International Order'

- Bull, Hedley, *The Anarchical Society: a study of order in world politics*, 2nd ed. Basingstoke: Macmillan 1995.
- Burbank Jane and Frederick Cooper *Empires in World History: Power and the Politics of Difference*, (Princeton University Press, 2010)
- Buzan, B. and Wæver, *Regions and Powers: the Structure of International Security*, Cambridge University Press, 2003
- Buzan, Barry, *The United States and the Great Powers: World Politics in the Twenty-First Century*, Cambridge: Polity, 2004
- Charles A. Kupchan, "After Pax Americana: Benign Power, Regional Integration, and the Sources of a Stable Multipolarity," *International Security*, Vol. 23, No. 2 (Fall 1998), pp. 40–79
- Clark, I, *Legitimacy in International Society* (Oxford: OUP, 2005), chs. 5, 12.
- Clark, I., *The Hierarchy of States: Reform and Resistance in the International Order* (Cambridge: CUP, 1989), Part 2.
- Claude, I., *Power and International Relations* (New York: Random House, 1962), chs. 2,
- Darwin John, *After Tamerlane: the global history of empire*, Allen Lane 2007
- Ethan B. Kapstein, and Michael Mastanduno, eds., *Unipolar Politics: Realism and State Strategies after the ColdWar* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1999)
- Ferguson Niall. *Empire: The Rise and Demise of the British World Order and the Lessons for Global. Power.* New York: Basic Books, 2003
- G. John Ikenberry, "Institutions, Strategic Restraint, and the Persistence of the American Postwar Order," *International Security*, Vol. 23, No. 3 (Winter 1998/99), pp. 43–73
- G. John Ikenberry, ed., *America Unrivaled: The Future of the Balance of Power* (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 2002).
- Haslam, J., *No Virtue like Necessity: Realist Thought in International Relations since Machiavelli* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2002)
- Hentz James J. and Martin Bøås (eds), *New and Critical Security and Regionalism: Beyond the Nation State* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2003),
- Holbraad, C., *The Concert of Europe: A Study in German and British International Theory, 1815-1914* (London: Longman, 1970).
- Holsti, K. J., 'Governance without Government: Polyarchy in Nineteenth-Century European International Politics', in J. N. Rosenau and E.-O. Czempiel (eds.), *Governance without Government: Order and Change in World Politics* (Cambridge: CUP, 1992).
- Hurrell Andrew, 'One World? Many Worlds? The Place of Regions in the Study of International Society', *International Affairs*, 83/1 (January 2007), 151-66.
- Hurrell, Andrew, *On global order: power, values, and the constitution of international society*. Oxford; New York: Oxford University Press 2007
- Immerman Richard H., *Empire for Liberty: A History of American Imperialism* Princeton UP 2010
- Jervis, R., 'From Balance to Concert: A Study of International Security Cooperation', *World Politics*, 38, 1 (1985).
- John A. Vasquez and Colin Elman, eds., *Realism and the Balancing of Power: A New Debate* (Saddle River, N.J.: Prentice Hall, 2003)
- John J. Mearsheimer, "Back to the Future: Instability in Europe after the Cold
- John J. Mearsheimer, *The tragedy of great power politics* (New York: Norton, 2001)

- Johnson, Chalmers, *Blowback: The costs and consequences of American empire*, Metropolitan Books 2007
- Kapstein, Ethan B and Michael Mastanduno (eds) *Unipolar Politics: Realism and State Strategies after the Cold War* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1999)
- Katzenstein, Peter, *A World of Regions: Asia and Europe in the American Imperium*, Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 2005, ch.1 , 1-42.
- Kennedy, Paul M., *The rise and fall of the great powers : economic change and military conflict*, London : Unwin Hyman, 1988
- Kupchan, Charles A., *The End of the American Era: U.S. foreign policy and the geopolitics of the twenty-first century*, Alfred A. Knopf 2002.
- Lieven Dominic, *Empire: The Russian Empire and Its Rivals*, London: John Murray, 2000
- Little, R., *The Balance of Power in International Relations: Metaphors, Myths and Models* (Cambridge: CUP, 2007), esp. Parts 1, 2.
- Little, Richard (1989) 'Deconstructing the Balance of Power: two traditions of thought', *Review of International Studies*, 15:2, 87-100. (and see rest of that special issue on the balance of power).
- Ludwig Dehio, *The Precarious Balance: Four Centuries of the European Power Struggle*, translated by Charles Fullman (New York: Knopf, 1962)
- Mahbubani Kishore, *The New Asian Hemisphere: The Irresistible Shift of Global Power to the East*, Philadelphia: Perseus Books 2008
- Michael Mastanduno, "Preserving the Unipolar Moment: Realist Theories and U.S. Grand Strategy after the Cold War," *International Security*, Vol. 21, No. 4 (Spring 1997), pp. 49–88
- Morgenthau, H. J., *Politics Among Nations: The Struggle for Power and Peace*, 5<sup>th</sup> rev. and subsequent edns. (New York: Alfred Knopf, 1978 [1948]), Part 4.
- Mouritzen Hans, 'Security Communities in the Baltic Sea Region: Real and Imagined', *Security Dialogue*, 32:3 (2001).
- Paul, James J. Wirtz, and Michel Fortmann, eds., *Balance of Power Revisited: Theory and Practice in the Twenty-first Century* (Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press, 2004)
- Review of International Studies*, (2009), vol 35 no. 1, Special Issue on 'Globalising the Regional, Regionalizing the Global'
- Stephen G. Brooks and William C. Wohlforth, "American Primacy in Perspective," *Foreign Affairs*, Vol. 81, No. 4 (July/August 2002), pp. 20–33
- Voeten Erik , "Resisting the Lonely Superpower: Responses of States in the United Nations to U.S. Dominance," *Journal of Politics*, Vol. 66, No. 3 (May 2004), pp. 729–754
- Waltz, Kenneth *Theory of International Politics*, pp.117-28 and163-70.
- War," *International Security*, Vol. 15, No. 1 (Summer 1990), pp. 5–56
- Watson, A., *The Evolution of International Society: A Comparative Historical Analysis* (London: Routledge, 1992), ch. 21.
- William C. Wohlforth, "The Stability of a Unipolar World," *International Security*, Vol. 24, No. 1 (Summer 1999), pp. 5–41
- Zakaria Fareed, *The post-American world and the rise of the rest*. London: Allen Lane. 2008. 292pp.

### **3. Grand strategies? The national interest and the formulation of foreign policies**

#### **Questions:**

- What is grand strategy? Is it useful to study the grand strategies formulated in policy documents in order to understand the behaviour of Great Powers? What might be the problems with such a focus?
- What is the national interest? Are Realists right to state that there is an objective, immutable national interest that remains the same irrespective of the specific government in power?
- Should we think of states as unitary actors or do we need to take domestic and transnational influences into account?
- What might be specific about the foreign policy behaviour of the Great Powers? How much freedom of action do Great Powers really have when it comes to implementing grand strategies?

#### **Core readings:**

Paul Kennedy, 'Grand Strategy in War and Peace: Toward a Broader Definition', in Paul Kennedy, ed., *Grand Strategies in War and Peace* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1991), pp. 1-7.

W. Murray and M. Grimsley, 'Introduction: On strategy', in W. Murray, M. Knox, A. Bernstein, eds., *The making of strategy. Rulers, states, and war* (Cambridge, 1994), 1-23.

Arnold Wolfers, "National Security" as an Ambiguous Symbol" *Political Science Quarterly*, Vol. 67, No. 4. (Dec., 1952), pp. 481-502

Maoz, Zeev, 'Framing the National Interest: the Manipulation of Foreign Policy Decisions in Group Settings', *World Politics*, October 1990, Vol. 43, no. 1, pp. 73-110

Chris Hill, "The Changing politics of Foreign Policy" and "Implementation: translating decisions and capabilities into action", Chs.2 and 6 of his *The Changing Politics of Foreign Policy*

#### **Recommended reading:**



- Brown, Chris, 'The State in Foreign Policy', in Brown, Chris, *Understanding International Relations* (Basingstoke, Macmillan, 3<sup>rd</sup> edition, 2005), pp. 63-7
- Breuning M. 'The Role of Analogies and Abstract Reasoning in Decision-Making: Evidence from the Debate over Truman's Proposal for Development Assistance', *International Studies Quarterly*, vol. 47, no. 2, 2003, pp. 229-245(17).
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#### **4. Grand Strategy: A (world) historical dimension? [with Justin Rosenberg]**

##### **Questions:**

- What recurring factors have historically exerted the greatest influence on the behaviour of great powers? Do we need a long-term view of history to understand current developments in world politics?
- How do the cases presented in the readings differ from each other, and how are they similar? What do they suggest about the significance of a world-historical perspective for strategic studies?
- What would be the major elements of a World Historical analysis of grand strategy in the 21st century?

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## 5. Globalisation, Geo-economics and Global Economic Rivalries

### Questions:

- Are we living in a world of globalization or in a world of Great Powers? Are these incompatible visions?
- In how far is the status of Great Powers now determined by their economic might rather than military capabilities, and what does this mean for thinking about Great Powers in world affairs?
- In a world of increasingly scarce natural resources and global environmental threats, what are we to make of the current revival in Great Power thinking? Can these issues be resolved with a focus on geo-economics?

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Gilpin, Robert *The Challenge of Global Capitalism*, Princeton: Princeton University Press 2002, Introduction, 3-14

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## **6. US Grand Strategy: An American empire?**

### **Questions:**

- Do you agree with Posen and Ross' classification and discussion of the main competing post-89 visions of US Grand Strategy? At the end, are not all these visions about preserving the US primacy and the unipolar moment?
- How can we theoretically interpret the Bush administration's Grand Strategy (US NSS 2002)? In which sense can be said to be based on a Neoconservative worldview? Do you think "Empire" is a useful way of thinking about US hegemony/primacy/leadership/unilateralism..?
- How to assess the US position in the world after the end of the Cold War? Is the United States unipolar moment over?

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Huntington, Samuel P. "The Lonely Superpower", *Foreign Affairs*, Vol. 78, No. 2, March/April 1999, pp. 35-49.

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## **7. Russia and the West: new Cold War?**

### **Questions:**

- What is the nature of the specific Russian geopolitical imagination?
- Are we in a "new Cold War" with Russia?
- Is there a "new Great Game" between Russia and the West in the post-Soviet space?
- What is the role of self-perceptions as Great Power in Russian foreign policy?
- What does Russia's control over oil and gas mean for its interaction with

the West?

### **Core Readings:**

Richard Sakwa, "New Cold War" or Twenty Years' Crisis? Russia and International Politics', *International Affairs*, Vol. 84, No. 2, 2008, pp. 241-267.

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## **8. India – new Great Power?**

### **Questions:**

- In how far is India a “rising power”?
- What is the regional context that India faces?
- What problems are there in the relationship between India and China?
- How does the relationship between India and the West differ from that of Russia?

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## 9. China: peaceful rising?

### Questions:

- What does the “rise of China” say about shifts in current geopolitical imaginations?
- Is a rising China a threat to US hegemony?
- Should the US contain or engage China?
- What are the implications of the rise of China for international society?

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## 10. The end of Eurocentrism?

### Questions:

- Are we at the end of the "end of history"?
- Does the form of government of a state matter for its success in the post-9/11 world?
- Is a multipolar world order to be welcomed?

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