



Postgraduate Program
School of Economics, Business & International Studies
Department of International & European Studies

Geopolitics of Energy

Module 1

2nd Semester

Course Convenor

Professor Athanassios Platias



University of Piraeus 2024

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2. Aim of the Course

The course on the Geopolitics of Energy explores the intersection of energy, security, and international politics. This course aims to improve our understanding of how energy demand and supply shape international politics – and vice versa. It also endeavors to inform students about major challenges to global energy security. The course focuses both on conventional and alternative energies, as both will influence and be influenced by geopolitical realities.

3. Seminars Program

Seminar 1: Geopolitics, Energy and War

Required:

Blackwill, Robert D. & Harris, Jennifer M., *War By Other Means: Geoeconomics and Statecraft* (Cambridge, Massachusetts & London, England: The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2016)

Colgan, Jeff D., *Petro-Aggression: When Oil Causes War* (Cambridge & New York: Cambridge University Press, 2013)

Colgan, Jeff D., “Fueling the Fire: Pathways from Oil to War”, *International Security*, Vol. 38, No. 2, 2013, pp.147-180.

Kaplan, Robert D., *The Revenge of Geography: What the Map Tells Us About Coming Conflicts and the Battle Against Fate* (New York: Random House, 2013) (Chapter II-VII)

National Intelligence Council, *Global Trends 2040: A more contested world*, March 2021.

O’Sullivan, Meghan L., “The Entanglement of Energy, Grand Strategy, and International Security”, in Goldthau, Andreas (Ed.), *The Handbook of Global Energy Policy* (West Sussex, UK: Wiley-Blackwell, pp.30-47.

Stratfor, *Exploring the Geopolitics of the 21st Century*, November 2020.

Strongly Suggested:

Agnew, John, *Geopolitics: Re-visioning World Politics* (London & New York: Routledge, 2003, 2nd edition)

Ahuja, Amit & Kapur, Devesh, “India’s geoeconomic strategy”, *India Review*, Vol. 17, No. 1, 2018, pp.76-99.

- Alami, Ilias & Dixon, Adam D. & Gonzalez-Vicente, Ruben & Babic, Milan & Lee, Seung-Ook & Medby, Ingrid A. & de Graaff, Nana, "Geopolitics and the 'New' State Capitalism", *Geopolitics*, 2022.
- Alami, Ilias & Babic, Milan & Dixon, Adam D. & Liu, Imogen T., "Special issue introduction: what is the new state capitalism?", *Contemporary Politics*, 2022.
- Allison, Graham, *Destined for War: Can America and China Escape Thucydides Trap?* (Boston & New York: Houghton Mifflin Harcourt, 2017)
- Auzanneau, Matthieu & Heinberg, Richard, *Oil, Power, and War: A Dark History* (London: Chelsea Green Publishing, 2018)
- Barnett R. Rubin, "Geography Lessons: American Decline and the Challenge of Asia", *Survival*, Vol. 64, No. 1, 2022, pp.121-130.
- Babic, Milan, "State capital in a geoeconomic world: mapping state-led foreign investment in the global political economy", *Review of International Political Economy*, 2021.
- Beeson, Mark, "Geoeconomics with Chinese characteristics: the BRI and China's evolving grand strategy", *Economic and Political Studies*, Vol. 6, No. 3, 2018, pp. 240-256.
- Cai, Kevin G., "The One Belt One Road and the Asian Infrastructure Investment Bank: Beijing's New Strategy of Geoeconomics and Geopolitics", *Journal of Contemporary China*, Vol. 27, No. 114, 2018, pp.831-847.
- Carminati, Daniele, "The economics of soft power: reliance on economic resources and instrumentality in economic gains", *Economic and Political Studies*, 2020.
- Claes, Dag Harald, *The Politics of Oil: Controlling Resources, Governing Markets and Creating Political Conflicts* (Cheltenham, UK & Northampton, MA, USA: Edward Elgar Publishing, 2018)
- Cohen, Saul Bernard, *Geopolitics The Geography of International Relations* (Lanham & Boulder & New York & London: Rowman & Littlefield, 3rd edition, 2015)
- Chapman, Bert, *Geopolitics: A Guide to the Issues* (Santa Barbara, California & Denver, Colorado & Oxford, England: Praeger, 2011)
- Colgan, Jeff D., "Oil and War: An Exchange", *Security Studies*, Vol. 30, No. 4, 2021, pp.637-660.
- Cooper, Andrew Scott, *The Oil Kings: How the U.S., Iran, and Saudi Arabia Changed the Balance of Power in the Middle East* (New York & London: Simon & Schuster, 2011)
- Csurgai, Gyula, "The Increasing Importance of Geoeconomics in Power Rivalries in the Twenty-First Century", *Geopolitics*, Vol. 23, No. 1, 2018, pp.38-46.
- Deng, Yong, "How China Builds the Credibility of the Belt and Road Initiative", *Journal of Contemporary China*, Vol. 30, No. 131, 2021, pp.734-750.
- Dodds, Klaus, *Geopolitics: A Very Short Introduction* (Oxford & New York: Oxford University Press, 2007)
- Drezner, Daniel W., "Economic Statecraft in the Age of Trump", *The Washington Quarterly*, Vol. 42, No. 3, 2019, pp.7-24.
- Fraihat, Ibrahim, *Iran and Saudi Arabia: Taming a Chaotic Conflict* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2020) (Chapter 2)

- Gaddis, John Lewis, *Strategies of Containment: A Critical Appraisal of American National Security Policy during the Cold War* (Oxford & New York: Oxford University Press, 2005)
- Garrett, Crister S., “Constructing narratives of global order: The Obama presidency, TPP, TTIP, and the contested politics of geoeconomics”, *Atlantic Studies*, Vol. 16, No. 2, 2019, pp.261-281.
- Gerace, Michael P., “Between Mackinder and Spykman: Geopolitics, containment, and after”, *Comparative Strategy*, Vol. 10, No. 4, 1991, pp.347-364.
- Gertz, Geoffrey & Evers, Miles M., “Geoeconomic Competition: Will State Capitalism Win?”, *The Washington Quarterly*, Vol. 43, No. 2, 2020, pp.117-136.
- Gong, Jiong & Li, Yinzhu, “Overseas economic interest perspective in foreign policy—a case study of China”, *Cambridge Review of International Affairs*, 2021.
- Gould-Davies, Nigel, “Russia, the West and Sanctions”, *Survival*, Volume, 62, No. 1, 2020, pp.7-28.
- Gray, Colin S. & Sloan (eds.), Geoffrey, *Geopolitics, Geography and Strategy* (London & New York: Routledge, 1999)
- Grosse, Tomasz Grzegorz, “Geoeconomic Relations Between the EU and China: The Lessons From the EU Weapon Embargo and From Galileo”, *Geopolitics*, Vol. 19, No. 1, 2014, pp.40-65.
- Grygiel, Jakub J., *Great Powers and Geopolitical Change* (Baltimore: The John Hopkins University Press, 2006)
- Haass, Richard, *The World: A Brief Introduction* (New York: Penguin Press, 2020)
- Kaldor, Mary & Karl, Terry Lynn & Said, Yahia (Eds.), *Oil Wars* (London & Ann Arbor, MI: Pluto Press, 2007)
- Kao, Pei-Shan, “The Political Economy of China’s Strategic Layout in Europe: A Case Study of the Belt and Road Initiative”, *The Chinese Economy*, 2021.
- Kaplan, Robert D., *The Return of Marco Polo’s World: War, Strategy and American Interests in the 21st Century* (New York: Random House, 2018)
- Kearns, Gerry, *Geopolitics and Empire: The Legacy of Halford Mackinder* (Oxford & New York: Oxford University Press, 2009)
- Kelanic, Rosemary A., *Black Gold and Blackmail: Oil and Great Power Politics* (Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, 2020)
- Kelanic, Rosemary A., “The Petroleum Paradox: Oil, Coercive Vulnerability, and Great Power Behavior”, *Security Studies*, Vol. 25, No. 2, 2016, pp.181-213.
- Kelly, Phil, *Classical Geopolitics: A New Analytical Model* (Stanford, California: Stanford University Press, 2016)
- Kim, Dong Jung, “Europe as a geoeconomic pivot: geography and the limits of US economic containment of China”, *European Security*, Vol. 31, No. 1, 2022, pp.97-116.
- Kim, Dong Jung, “A Case for Geoeconomic Restraint: Offensive Realism and the Inflated Threat of Chinese Economic Initiatives”, *Geopolitics*, Vol. 26, No. 5, 2021, pp.1421-1441.
- Kim, Dong Jung, “The Perils of Geoeconomics”, *The Washington Quarterly*, Vol. 42, No. 1, 2019, pp.153-170.
- Klare, Michael T., *Resource Wars: The New Landscape of Global Conflict* (New York: Owl Books, 2001)

- Kundnani, Hans, "Germany as a Geo-economic Power", *The Washington Quarterly*, Vol. 34, No. 3, 2011, pp. 31-45.
- Leech, Garry, *Crude Interventions: The US, oil and the new world (dis)order* (London & New York: Zed Books, 2006)
- Lew, Jacob J. & Nephew, Richard, "The Use and Misuse of Economic Statecraft", *Foreign Affairs*, No. 97, Vol. 6, 2018, pp.139-149 .
- Luttwak, Edward N., *Turbo-Capitalism: Winners and Losers in Global Economy* (New York: Harper Perennial, 2000)
- Luttwak, Edward N., *The Endangered American Dream - How to Stop US from Becoming Third World Country and How to Win Geo-Economic Struggle for Industrial Supremacy* (New York & London: Touchstone, 1994)
- Mackinder, Halford, *Democratic Ideals and Reality A Study in the Politics of Reconstruction* (New York: Henry Holt and Company, 1919)
- Mearsheimer, John J., "Why the Ukraine Crisis is the West's Fault: The Liberal Delusions that Provoked Putin," *Foreign Affairs*, September / October 2014: <https://www.mearsheimer.com/wp-content/uploads/2019/06/Why-the-Ukraine-Crisis-Is.pdf>.
- Meierding, Emily, "Dismantling the Oil Wars Myth", *Security Studies*, Vol. 25, No. 2, 2016, pp.258-288.
- Mionel, Viorel & Neagu, Silviu & Mionel, Oana, "Pandemopolitics. How a public health problem become a geopolitical and geoeconomic issue", *Eurasian Geography and Economics*, Vol. 61, No. 5, 2020, pp.389-403.
- Moisio, Sami, "Towards Geopolitical Analysis of Geoeconomic Processes", *Geopolitics*, Vol. 23, No. 1, 2018, pp.22-29
- Mulder, Nicholas, *The Economic Weapon: The Rise of Sanctions as a Tool of Modern War* (New Haven & London: Yale University Press, 2022)
- Nie, Wenjuan, "China's State-Owned Enterprises: Instruments of Its Foreign Strategy?", *Journal of Contemporary China*, 2022.
- Parepa, Laura-Anca, "The Belt and Road Initiative as continuity in Chinese foreign policy", *Journal of Contemporary East Asia Studies*, Vol. 9, No.2, pp.175-201.
- Platias, Athanassios & Trigkas, Vasilis, "Unravelling the Thucydides' Trap: Inadvertent Escalation or War of Choice?", *The Chinese Journal of International Politics*, 2021, pp.1-37.
- Scholvin, Sören & Wigell, Mikael, "Power politics by economic means: Geoeconomics as an analytical approach and foreign policy practice", *Comparative Strategy*, Vol. 37, No. 1, 2018, pp.73-84.
- Sempa, Francis P., *Geopolitics: From the Cold War to the 21st Century* (New Brunswick (U.S.A.) and London (U.K.): Transaction Publishers, 2002)
- Sparke, Matthew, "Geoeconomics, Globalisation and the Limits of Economic Strategy in Statecraft: A Response to Vihma", *Geopolitics*, Vol. 23, No. 1, 2018, pp.30-37.
- Spykman, Nicholas John, *America's Strategy in World Politics: The United States and the Balance of Power* (New York: Harcourt, Brace and Company, Inc., 1942)
- Stratfor Global Intelligence, "China's Opportunity to Break Into Arctic Governance", *Stratfor Worldview*, May 13, 2022.
- Stratfor Global Intelligence, "The Geopolitics of Climate Change: Russia's Paradigm Shift", *Stratfor Worldview*, June 30, 2021.

Stratfor Global Intelligence, “Russia’s Emerging Arctic Maritime Frontier”, *Stratfor Worldview*, September 15, 2020.

Sum, Ngai-Ling, “The intertwined geopolitics and geoeconomics of hopes/fears: China’s triple economic bubbles and the ‘One Belt One Road’ imaginary”, *Territory, Politics, Governance*, Vol. 7, No. 4, 2019, pp.528-552.

Suzuki, Shogo, “Economic statecraft, interdependence, and Sino-Japanese ‘rivalry’”, *The Pacific Review*, 2022.

Svoboda, Karel, “On the Road to Maidan: Russia's Economic Statecraft Towards Ukraine in 2013”, *Europe-Asia Studies*, Vol. 71, No. 10, 2019, pp.1685-1704.

Szabo, Stephen F., “Germany’s Commercial Realism and the Russia Problem”, *Survival*, Vol. 56, No. 5, 2014, pp. 117-128.

Toprani, Anand, *Oil & the Great Powers: Britain & Germany, 1914-1945* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2019)

Tuathail, Gearoid Ó & Dalby, Simon & Routledge, Paul (eds), *The Geopolitics Reader* (London: Routledge, 1998)

Vihma, Antto, “Geoeconomics Defined and Redefined”, *Geopolitics*, Vol. 23, No. 1, 2018, pp.47-49.

Vihma, Antto, “Geoeconomic Analysis and the Limits of Critical Geopolitics: A New Engagement with Edward Luttwak”, *Geopolitics*, Vol. 23, No. 1, 2018, pp.1-21.

Wigell, Mikael & Scholvin, Sören & Aaltola, Mika (eds.), *Geo-economics and power politics in the 21st century: the revival of economic statecraft* (London & New York: Routledge, 2019)

Winegard, Timothy C., *The First World Oil War* (Toronto, Buffalo, London: University of Toronto Press, 2016)

Wu, Fuzuo, “India’s Pragmatic Foreign Policy toward China’s BRI and AIIB: Struggling for Relative and Absolute Gains”, *Journal of Contemporary China*, Vol. 29, No. 123, 2020, pp.354-368.

Wigell, Mikael & Scholvin, Sören & Aaltola, Mika (eds.), *Geo-economics and Power Politics in the 21st Century: The Revival of Economic Statecraft* (London & New York: Routledge, 2019)

Seminar 2: Energy Geopolitics

Required:

Bordoff, Jason & O’Sullivan, Meghan L., “Green Upheaval: The New Geopolitics of Energy”, *Foreign Affairs*, Vol. 101, No. 1, 2022, pp.68-84.

Grigas, Agnia, *The New Geopolitics of Natural Gas* (Cambridge, Mass. & London: Harvard University Press, 2017)

Högselius, Per, *Energy and Geopolitics* (London & New York: Routledge, 2019) (Chapters: 3, 4, 5, 6)

Yergin, Daniel, *The new map: energy, climate, and the clash of nations* (New York: Penguin Press, 2020)

Strongly Suggested:

- Blanchard, Charles, *The Extraction State: A History of Natural Gas in America* (Pittsburgh Pa.: University of Pittsburgh Press, 2020)
- Casier, Tom, "Great Game or Great Confusion? The Geopolitical Understanding of EU-Russia Energy Relations", *Geopolitics*, Vol. 21, No. 4, 2016, pp.763-778.
- Claes, Dag Harald, *The Politics of Oil: Controlling Resources, Governing Markets and Creating Political Conflicts* (Cheltenham, UK & Northampton, MA, USA: Edward Elgar Publishing, 2018)
- Cooper, Andrew Scott, *The Oil Kings: How the U.S., Iran, and Saudi Arabia Changed the Balance of Power in the Middle East* (New York & London: Simon & Schuster, 2011)
- de Jong, Moniek & de Graaf Thijs Van, "Lost in Regulation: Nord Stream 2 and the Limits of the European Commission's Geo-Economic Power", *Journal of European Integration*, Vol. 43, No. 4, 2021, pp.495-510.
- Galkin, Philipp & Chen, Dongmei & Ke, Junyuan, "China's Energy Investment Through the Lens of the Belt and Road Initiative", *KAPSARK*, December 2019.
- Goldthau, Andreas & Sitter, Nick, "Power, authority and security: the EU's Russian gas dilemma", *Journal of European Integration*, Vol. 42, No. 1, 2020, pp.111-127.
- Hafner, Manfred & Tagliapietra, Simone, *The Geopolitics of the Global Energy Transition* (Springer, 2020)
- Inderwildi, Oliver R. and King, David A., "Energy shift: decline of easy oil and restructuring of geo-politics", *Frontiers in Energy*, Vol. 10, No. 3, 2016, pp.260-267.
- Jentleson, Bruce, *Pipeline Politics: The Complex Political Economy of East-West Energy Trade* (Cornell University Press, 1986)
- Krane, Jim, *Energy Kingdoms: Oil and Political Survival in the Persian Gulf* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2019)
- Ladislav, Sarah O. & Leed, Maren & Walton, Molly A., *New Energy, New Geopolitics: Balancing Stability and Leverage* (Center for Strategic & International Studies-CSIS), April 2014.
- Lehmann, Timothy C. (ed.), *The Geopolitics of Global Energy The New Cost of Plenty* (Boulder, London: Lynne Rienner Publishers, 2017).
- McFarland, Victor, *Oil Powers: A History of the U.S.-Saudi Alliance* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2020)
- Prontera, Andrea and Ruszel Mariusz, "Energy Security in the Eastern Mediterranean", *Middle East Policy*, Vol. 24, No. 3, 2017, pp.145-162.
- Rhodes, Richard, *Energy: a human history* (New York & London: Simon & Schuster, 2019)
- Sanderson, Henry, *Volt Rush: The Winners and Losers in the Race to Go Green* (Oneworld Book, 2022)
- Scholten, Daniel (ed.), *The Geopolitics of Renewables* (Springer International Publishing AG 2018)
- Simonov, Konstantin & Grivach, Alexei, *Political Risks in Global Energy: From "Resource Nationalism" to "Molecules of Freedom" and Climate Weapons*, Valdai Discussion Club, July 2020.

Tagliapietra, Simone, “The Geoeconomics of Sovereign Wealth Funds and Renewable Energy Towards a New Energy Paradigm in the Euro-Mediterranean region”, *European Energy Journal*, Vol. 3, No. 1, 2013, pp.75-79.

Taylor, Monique, “China’s Evolving Energy Security Strategy”, *Asian Affairs*, Vol. 52, No. 4, 2021, pp.890-913.

Vidakis, Ioannis and Baltos, Georgios, “Security Aspects of “Geoenergeia” and the Significance of Energy Resources Management in International Politics”, *Geopolitics of Energy*, Vol. 37, No. 3, 2015, pp.2-16.

Vihma, Antto & Wigell, Mikael, “Unclear and present danger: Russia’s geoeconomics and the Nord Stream II pipeline”, *Global Affairs*, Vol. 2, No. 4, 2016, pp. 377-388.

Vihma Antto and Turksen, Umut, *The Geoeconomics of Russian-EU Gas Trade: Drawing Lessons from the South Stream Pipeline Project*, MIT Center for Energy and Environmental Policy Research, November 2015.

Wigell, Mikael & Scholvin, Sören & Aaltola, Mika (eds.), *Geo-economics and power politics in the 21st century: the revival of economic statecraft* (London & New York: Routledge, 2019)

Yergin, Daniel, *The Prize: The Epic Quest for Oil, Money & Power* (New York & London: Simon & Schuster, 1991)

Seminar 3: US Grand Strategy: Sea Supremacy and Energy Dominance

Required:

Baker, Rodger, “Alaska’s Geopolitical Significance for the United States”, *Risk Insights*, June 24, 2019.

Glaser, Charles L., “How Oil Influences U.S. National Security”, *International Security*, Vol. No. 38, No. 2, 2013, pp.112-146.

Jones, Bruce D., *To Rule the Waves: How Control of the World’s Oceans shapes the fate of the Superpowers* (New York & London: Scribner, 2021)

O’Sullivan, Meghan L., *Windfall: How the New Energy Abundance Upends Global Politics and Strengthens America’s Power* (New York & London: Simon & Schuster, 2017)

Posen, Barry, *Restraint: A New Foundation for U.S. Grand Strategy* (Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, 2014)

Posen, Barry, “Command of the Commons: The Military Foundation of U.S. Hegemony”, *International Security*, Vol. 28, No. 1, 2003, pp.5-46.

Strongly Suggested:

Allin, Dana H., “President Trump”, *Survival*, Vol. 58, No. 6, 2016, pp.237-248.

Art, Robert J., *A Grand Strategy for America* (Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, 2003)

Allison, Graham, “The New Spheres of Influence: Sharing the Globe With Other Great Powers”, *Foreign Affairs*, Vol. 99, No. 2, 2020, pp.30-40.

Betts, Richard K., “The Grandiosity of Grand Strategy”, *The Washington Quarterly*, Vol. 42, No. 4, 2019, pp.7-22.

- Biden, Joseph R. Jr., “Why America Must Lead Again: Rescuing U.S. Foreign Policy After Trump”, *Foreign Affairs*, Vol. 99, No. 2, 2020, pp.64-76.
- Borgwardt, Elizabeth & McKnight Nichols, Christopher & Preston, Andrew (Eds.), *Rethinking American Grand Strategy* (Oxford & New York: Oxford University Press, 2021)
- Brands, Hal, *American Grand Strategy in the Age of Trump* (Washington D.C.: Brookings Institution Press, 2018)
- Brands, Hal & Feaver, Peter, “Stress-Testing American Grand Strategy”, *Survival*, Vol. 58, No. 6, 2016, pp.93-120.
- Brands, Hal, *What Good is Grand Strategy? Power and Purpose in American Statecraft from Harry S. Truman to George W. Bush* (Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, 2014)
- Brooks, Stephen G. & Wohlforth, William C., “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, 2015/6, pp. 7-53.
- Corbett, Julian S., *Principles of Maritime Strategy* (Mineola, New York: Dover Publications, Inc., 2004)
- Craig, Campbell & Friedman, Benjamin H. & Green, Brendan Rittenhouse & Logan, Justin & Brooks, Stephen G. & Ikenberry, John G. & Wohlforth, William C., “Correspondence: Debating American Engagement: The Future of U.S. Grand Strategy”, *International Security*, Vol. 38, No. 2, 2013, pp.181-199.
- Drezner, Daniel W. & Krebs, Ronald R. & Schweller, Randall, “The End of Grand Strategy: America Must Think Small”, *Foreign Affairs*, Vol. 99, No. 3, 2020.
- Drezner, Daniel W., “This Time Is Different Why U.S. Foreign Policy Will Never Recover”, *Foreign Affairs*, Vol. 98, No. 3, 2019, pp.10-17.
- Drezner, Daniel W., “Military Primacy Doesn’t Pay (Nearly As Much As You Think)”, *International Security*, Vol. 38, No. 1, 2013, pp.52-79.
- Dueck, Colin, *The Obama Doctrine: American Grand Strategy Today* (Oxford & New York: Oxford University Press, 2015)
- Dueck, Colin, “Review Essay: New Perspectives on American Grand Strategy”, *International Security*, Vol. 28, No. 4, 2004, pp.197-216.
- Elleman, Bruce A. & Paine, S.C.M. (eds.), *Naval Blockades and Seapower Strategies and Counter-Strategies, 1805–2005* (London & New York: Routledge, 2006)
- Friedberg, Aaron L. & Boustany, Charles W. Jr., “Partial Disengagement: A New US Strategy for Economic Competition with China”, *The Washington Quarterly*, Vol. 43, No. 1, 2020, pp.23-40.
- Glaser, Charles L., “A U.S.-China Grand Bargain?: The Hard Choice between Military Competition and Accommodation”, *International Security*, Vol. 39, No.4, 2015, pp 49-90.
- Glaser, John & Preble, Christopher A. & Thrall Trevor A., “Towards a More Prudent American Grand Strategy”, *Survival*, Vol. 61, No. 5, 2019, pp.25-42.
- Hillison, Joel R., “The Potential and Pitfalls of a Zero-Sum Grand Strategy”, *Orbis*, Vol. 63, No. 2, 2019, pp.240-257.
- Hoffman, F.G., “Forward Partnership: A Sustainable American Strategy”, *Orbis*, Vol. 57, No. 1, 2013, pp.20-40.

- Johnston, Alastair Iain, "The Failures of the 'Failure of Engagement' with China", *The Washington Quarterly*, Vol. 42, No. 2, 2019, pp.99-114.
- Jones, Bruce D., *To Rule the Waves: How Control of the World's Ocean Shapes the Fate of the Superpowers* (New York & London: Scribner, 2021)
- Krasner, Stephen D., *How to Make Love to a Despot: An Alternative Foreign Policy for the Twenty-First Century* (New York & London: Liveright Publishing Corporation, 2020)
- Krasner, Stephen D., "Learning to Live With Despots: The Limits of Democracy Promotion", *Foreign Affairs*, Vol. 99, No. 2, 2020, pp.49-55.
- Lambert, Andrew D., *Seapower states: maritime culture, continental empires and the conflict that made the modern world* (New Haven & London: Yale University Press, 2018)
- Le Miere, Christian, "Rebalancing the Burden in East Asia", *Survival*, Vol. 55, No. 2, 2013, pp.31-41.
- Lind, Jennifer & Press, Daryl G., "Reality Check: American Power in an Age of Constraints", *Foreign Affairs*, Vol. 99, No. 2, 2020, pp.41-48.
- Lindberg, Michael & Todd, Daniel, Brown-, *Green-and Blue-Water Fleets: The Influence of Geography on Naval Warfare, 1861 to the Present* (Westport, Connecticut & London: Praeger, 2002)
- Mahan, Alfred Thayer, *The Influence of Sea Power Upon History, 1660-1783* (Boston: Little, Brown, and Company: 1898, 15th edition / New York: Dover Publications Inc.: 1987)
- Manning, Robert A., "US Strategy in a Post-Western World", *Survival*, Vol. 55, No. 5, 2013, pp.115-132.
- McLean, Bethany, *Saudi America: The Truth About Fracking and How It's Changing the World* (New York: Columbia Global Reports, 2018)
- Mearsheimer, John, "Imperial by Design", *The National Interest*, No. 111, 2011.
- Miller, Paul, "Five Pillars of American Grand Strategy", *Survival*, Vol. 54, No. 5, 2012, pp.7-44.
- Murdock, Clark & Kallmyer Kevin, "Applied Grand Strategy: Making Tough Choices in an Era of Limits and Constraint", *Orbis*, Vol. 55, No. 4, 2011, pp.541-557.
- Nye, Joseph S. Jr., "Power and Interdependence with China", *The Washington Quarterly*, Vol. 43, No. 1, 2020, pp. 7-21.
- Nye, Joseph S. Jr., *Is the American Century Over?* (Cambridge, UK: Polity Press 2015)
- Posen, Barry and Ross, Andrew L., "Competing Visions of U.S. Grand Strategy", *International Security*, Vol. 21, No. 3, Winter 1996/97, pp.5-53.
- Rapp-Hooper, Mira, "Saving America's Alliances: The United States Still Needs the System That Put It on Top", *Foreign Affairs*, Vol. 99, No. 2, 2020, pp.127-140.
- Rapp-Hooper, Mira & Lissner, Rebecca Friedman, "The Open World What America Can Achieve After Trump", *Foreign Affairs*, Vol. 98, No. 3, 2019, pp.18-25.
- Schake, Kori, "Back to Basics How to Make Right What Trump Gets Wrong", *Foreign Affairs*, Vol. 98, No. 3, 2019, pp.36-43.
- Ratner, Ely, "Rebalancing to Asia with an Insecure China", *The Washington Quarterly*, Vol. 36, No. 2, 2013, pp.21-38.
- Schake, Kori, "Republican Foreign Policy After Trump", *Survival*, Vol. 58, No. 5, 2016, pp.33-52.

- Shiffrinson, Joshua R. Itzkowitz, “Partnership or Predation? How Rising States Contend with Declining Great Powers”, *International Security*, Vol. 45, No. 1, 2020.
- Schweller, Randall & Pu Xiaoyu, “After Unipolarity: China’s Visions of International Order in an Era of U.S. Decline”, *International Security*, Vol. 36, No. 1, 2011, pp.41-72.
- Shlapak, David A., “Towards a More Modest American Strategy”, *Survival*, Vol. 57, No. 2, 2015, pp.59-78.
- Silove, Nina, “The Pivot before the Pivot: U.S. Strategy to Preserve the Power Balance in Asia”, *International Security*, Vol 40, No. 4, 2016, pp.45–88.
- Simón, Luis, “Understanding US Retrenchment in Europe”, *Survival*, Vol. 57, No. 2, 2015, pp.157-172.
- Tellis, Ashley J., “Balancing without Containment: A U.S. Strategy for Confronting a China’s Rise”, *The Washington Quarterly*, Vol. 36, No. 4, 2013, pp.109-124.
- Till, Geoffrey, *Seapower: A Guide for the Twenty-First Century* (London & New York: Routledge, 2nd edition, 2009)
- Walldorf, C. William Jr. & Yeo, Andrew, “Domestic Hurdles to a Grand Strategy of Restraint”, *The Washington Quarterly*, Vol. 42, No. 4, 2019, pp.43-56.
- Walt, Stephen M., “The End of Hubris And the New Age of American Restraint”, *Foreign Affairs*, Vol. 98, No. 3, 2019, pp.26-35.
- Wertheim, Stephen, “The Price of Primacy: Why America Shouldn’t Dominate the World”, *Foreign Affairs*, Vol. 99, No. 2, 2020, pp.19-29.
- Wright, Thomas, “The Folly of Retrenchment: Why America Can’t Withdraw From the World”, *Foreign Affairs*, Vol. 99, No. 2, 2020, pp.10-18.
- Wyne, Ali, “How to Think about Potentially Decoupling from China”, *The Washington Quarterly*, Vol. 43, No. 1, 2020, pp.41-64.

Seminar 4: The Politics of Nuclear Power: Energy and Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons

A) Nuclear Energy

Required:

- Blasio, Nicola de & Nephew, Richard, *The Geopolitics of Nuclear Power and Technology* (Center on Global Energy Policy, March 2017)
- Schwarz, Peter M., *Energy Economics* (London & New York: Routledge, 2018) (Chapter 8)
- Stulberg, Adam N. & Fuhrmann, Matthew (Eds.), *The Nuclear Renaissance and International Security* (Stanford, Ca.: Stanford University Press, 2013) (Chapters: 1, 2, 3)

Strongly Suggested:

- Bodansky, David, *Nuclear Energy: Principles, Practices and Prospects* (Springer, 1996, 2004)

- Brenner, Michael J., *Nuclear Power and Non-Proliferation: The Remaking of U.S. Policy* (Cambridge & New York: Cambridge University Press, 1981, 2009)
- Kadak, Andrew C., *A Comparison of Advanced Nuclear Technologies*, Center on Global Energy Policy, Columbia/SIPA, March 2017.
- Poneman, Daniel B., *Double Jeopardy: Combating Nuclear Terror and Climate Change* (Cambridge, Massachusetts & London, England: The MIT Press, 2019)
- Siracusa, Joseph M., *Nuclear Weapons: A Very Short Introduction* (Oxford & New York: Oxford University Press, 2008)

B) Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons

Required:

- Futter, Andrew, *The Politics of Nuclear Weapons* (Springer Nature Switzerland AG 2021, 2nd edition). (Chapters: 2, 4, 7, 9)
- Gheorghe, Eliza, “Proliferation and the Logic of the Nuclear Market”, *International Security*, Vol. 43, No. 4, 2019, pp.88-127.
- Sagan, Scott D., Waltz, Kenneth N., *The Spread of Nuclear Weapons: A Debate* (W.W. Norton & Company, Inc., 2003)
- Sagan, Scott D., “Why Do States Build Nuclear Weapons? Three Models in Search of a Bomb”, *International Security*, Vol. 21 No. 3, Winter 1996/97.
- Whitlark, Rachel Elizabeth & Mehta, Rupal N., “Hedging Our Bets: Why Does Nuclear Latency Matter?”, *The Washington Quarterly*, Vol. 42, No. 1, 2019, pp.41-52.

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- Allison, Graham, *Nuclear Terrorism: The Ultimate Preventable Catastrophe* (Times Books, 2004)
- Brenner, Michael J., *Nuclear Power and Non-Proliferation: The Remaking of U.S. Policy* (Cambridge & New York: Cambridge University Press, 1981, 2009)
- Dalton, Toby & Levite, Ariel, “The Nonproliferation Regime Is Breaking Fixing It Will Require Tougher, Smarter Inspections”, *Foreign Affairs*, January 13, 2022, <https://www.foreignaffairs.com/articles/world/2022-01-13/nonproliferation-regime-breaking>
- Fihn, Beatrice, “The Logic of Banning Nuclear Weapons”, *Survival*, Vol. 59, No. 1, 2017, pp. 43-50.
- Levite, Ariel, “Never Say Never Again: Nuclear Reversal Revisited”, *International Security*, Vol. 27, No. 3, Winter 2002/03.
- Mearsheimer, John J., “The Case for a Ukrainian Nuclear Deterrent”, *Foreign Affairs*, Vol. 72, No. 3, 1993.
- Monteiro, Nuno P. & Debs, Alexandre, “The Strategic Logic of Nuclear Proliferation”, *International Security*, Vol. 39, No. 2, 2014.
- Bellany, Ian (ed.), *Terrorism and Weapons of Mass Destruction: Responding to the Challenge* (London and New York, Routledge, 2007)
- Laqueur, Walter, *The New Terrorism: Fanaticism and the Arms of Mass Destruction* (New York, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999)

Mehta, Rupal N., *Delaying Doomsday: The Politics of Nuclear Reversal* (Oxford & New York: Oxford University Press, 2020)

Narang, Vipin, *Seeking the Bomb: Strategies of Nuclear Proliferation* (Princeton & Oxford: Princeton University Press, 2022)

Sagan, Scott D., "Armed and Dangerous When Dictators Get the Bomb", *Foreign Affairs*, Vol. 97, No. 6, 2018.

Tannenwald, Nina, *The Nuclear Taboo: The United States and the Non-Use of Nuclear Weapons Since 1945* (Cambridge, New York: Cambridge University Press, 2007)

Waltz, Kenneth, "Why Iran Should Get the Bomb", *Foreign Affairs*, Vol. 91, No. 4, 2012, pp.2-5.