

# JAWAHARLAL NEHRU UNIVERSITY

## SCHOOL OF INTERNATIONAL STUDIES

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**M.A. IN POLITICS (INTERNATIONAL STUDIES): WINTER SEMESTER 2022**

### **IS 583 N: Great Powers in the International System**

Course Teacher: Professor Varun Sahni  
Classroom: To be announced later  
Class Hours: Tuesday and Wednesday, 2:30 to 4:30 PM  
Office: Room 224, SIS-I (Old Building)  
Office Hours: Wednesday, 4:30 to 5:30 PM

#### **Course Description**

During the Cold War years, the two superpowers dominated the international system to the near-total exclusion of other power centres. The term 'great power' almost totally disappeared from the scholarly analysis of international politics during this period, despite the autonomous role of states such as China and France. If anything, the notion of 'great powers' was seen as archaic, dating back to the years of European dominance before the Second World War.

With the end of East-West bipolarity, in the decade of the 1990s the great powers seemed to be re-emerging from under the shadow of the superpowers to reclaim a central place in the discipline of International Relations (IR). However, in the decade of the 2000s, it became apparent that the international system was experiencing not multipolarity but hegemony (the so-called 'unipolarity'). While the hegemony of the United States (US) continues, the rise of China is posing a number of interesting questions, the most important of which is whether the system is evolving in the direction of bipolarity or multipolarity.

It is therefore important for students of IR to gain a theoretical and historical understanding of the position, role and attributes of great powers in the international system. The purpose of this course is to provide students with an opportunity to study great powers in some depth and detail. We will focus on the Great Power concept, the attributes of Great Powers, the rise and fall of the Great Powers through history, the principal theoretical analyses and debates about Great Powers, the various ways (war, alliances and trade) in which Great Powers interact with one another, and two specific Great Powers, France and China, one of which is in relative decline and the other on the rise. Along the way, we will also seek to understand how Great Powers differ from cognate concepts like middle powers, world powers, regional powers, emerging powers, rising and declining powers, and empires.

#### **Assignments and Grading**

Students will write a Term Paper and present it in class. They will also appear for a written examination at the end of the semester. The final grade will be computed on the following basis:

Term Paper (5,000-8,000 words, to be submitted electronically by 15 April 2022)	30%
Class Presentation (using PowerPoint)	20%
Final Examination (3 hours duration)	50%

Spot tests, worth 5% each, will be held if attendance in the classroom falls below a particular threshold. In case spot tests are conducted, the weight assigned to the term paper and class presentation will correspondingly reduced.

## Course Outline, Class Schedule and Reading List

All books on this reading list are available in the JNU Central Library; books marked with an asterisk (\*) can be found in the Textbook section of the JNU Central Library. All journal articles are available in electronic repositories such as JSTOR. Students are expected to read regularly and extensively.

### Week One

#### Introduction to the Course

#### *Concepts: Cognates and Attributes*

#### I A 1. Defining Great Powers as a conceptual category

\* Jack S. Levy, *War in the Modern Great Power System* (Kentucky: University Press of Kentucky, 1983).

#### I A 2. How Great Powers differ from superpowers/middle powers/regional powers/world powers

\* Carsten Holbraad, *Middle Powers in International Politics* (London: Macmillan, 1984).

\* Carsten Holbraad (ed.), *Superpowers and World Order* (Canberra: Australian National University Press, 1971).

R. Little and R.D. McKinlay, *Global Patterns and World Order* (London: Frances Pinter, 1979).

\* Hans J. Morgenthau, 'From Great Powers to Superpowers', in Brian Porter (ed.), *International Politics 1919-1969* (London: Oxford University Press, 1972).

\* Steven Spiegel, *Dominance and Diversity: The International Hierarchy* (Boston: Little, Brown & Co., 1972).

\* Robert W. Tucker, *The Inequality of Nations* (London: Martin Robertson, 1977).

Jeffrey E. Garten, *The Big Ten: The Big Emerging Markets and How They Will Change Our Lives* (New York: Basic Books, 1997).

Robert Chase, Emily Hill and Paul Kennedy (eds.), *The Pivotal States: A New Framework for U.S. Policy in the Developing World* (New York: W.W. Norton, 1998).

### Week Two

#### I B 1. Defining Great Powers by their attributes: military capability

Jeremy Black, *War and the World: Military Power and the Fate of Continents, 1450-2000* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1998).

\* William H. McNeill, *The Pursuit of Power: Technology, Armed Forces and Society Since 1000 AD* (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1983).

Scott D. Sagan and Kenneth N. Waltz, *The Spread of Nuclear Weapons: A Debate* (New York: W.W. Norton, 1995).

Steve Chan, 'The Impact of Defense Spending on Economic Performance: A Survey of Evidence and Problems', *Orbis* 29 (2), Summer 1985: 403-434.

\* Rodney W. Jones and Steven A. Hildreth, *Modern Weapons and Third World Powers* (Boulder: Westview, 1984).

Rodney W. Jones and Steven A. Hildreth (eds.), *Emerging Powers: Defence and Security in the Third World* (New York: Praeger, 1986).

**I B 2. Defining Great Powers by their attributes: economic competitiveness**

George Modelski and William R. Thompson, *Leading Sectors and World Powers: The Coevolution of Global Politics and Economics* (Columbia, SC: University of South Carolina Press, 1996).

Robert Gilpin, *The Political Economy of International Relations* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1987).

\* Robert Gilpin, *US Power and the Multinational Corporation: The Political Economy of Direct Foreign Investment* (New York: Basic Books, 1975).

\* R.F. Holland and A.N. Porter (eds.), *Money, Finance and Empire, 1790-1960* (London: Frank Cass, 1985).

\* Raymond Vernon, *Two Hungry Giants: The United States and Japan in the Quest for Oil and Ores* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1983).

**I B 3. Defining Great Powers by their attributes: social cohesion**

Richard Rosecrance and Arthur A. Stein (eds.), *The Domestic Bases of Grand Strategy* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1993).

Jack Snyder, *Myths of Empire: Domestic Politics and International Competition* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1991).

*Week Three***I B 4. Defining Great Powers by their attributes: cultural attractiveness**

Joseph S. Nye Jr., *Soft Power: The Means to Success in World Politics* (New York: Public Affairs, 2004).

**I B 5. Defining Great Powers by their attributes: geographical reach**

Colin S. Gray and Geoffrey Sloan (eds.), *Geopolitics: Geography and Strategy* (Portland, OR: Frank Cass, 1999).

*Week Four***I B 6. Defining Great Powers by their attributes: policy coherence**

Edward N. Luttwak, *The Grand Strategy of the Soviet Union* (London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1983).

Christopher Layne, *The Peace of Illusions: American Grand Strategy from 1940 to the Present* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2006).

George K. Tanham, *Indian Strategic Thought: An Interpretive Essay* (Santa Monica, CA: RAND, 1992).

*Histories: Rise and Fall***II A. Great Powers in World History**

Robert A. Pastor (ed.), *A Century's Journey: How the Great Powers Shape the World* (New York: Basic Books, 1999).

Edward Friedman (ed.), *Ascent and Decline in the World-System* (Beverly Hills: Sage Publications, 1982).

Mancur Olson, *The Rise and Decline of Nations: Economic Growth, Stagflation and Social Rigidities* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1982).

David S. Landes, *The Wealth and Poverty of Nations* (New York: W.W. Norton, 1998).

## II B. Rise and Fall of the Great Powers

\* Paul Kennedy, *Rise and Fall of the Great Powers: Economic Change and Military Conflict from 1500 to 2000* (London: Unwin Hyman, 1988).

Richard Haas, 'The Use (and Mainly Misuse) of History', *Orbis* 32 (3), Summer 1988: 76-96.

Samuel P. Huntington, 'The U.S.: Decline or Renewal?' *Foreign Affairs* 67 (2), Winter 1988: 76-96.

### Week Five

## II C 1. The Early European Maritime Powers: Spain, Portugal, Holland

\* C.R. Boxer, *The Dutch Seaborne Empire 1600-1800* (London: Hutchinson, 1972).

\* C.R. Boxer, *The Portuguese Seaborne Empire 1415-1825* (London: Hutchinson, 1969).

\* Charles Gibson, *Spain in America* (New York: Harper Colophon, 1966).

\* K.M. Panikkar, *Asia and Western Dominance: A Study of the Vasco Da Gama Epoch of Asian History* (London: George Allen & Unwin, 1967).

## II C 2. Classical European Balance of Power: Britain, France, Russia, Austria, Prussia

\* Edward Vose Gulick, *Europe's Classical Balance of Power: A Case History of the Theory and Practice of one of the Great Concepts of European Statecraft* (New York: W.W. Norton, 1967).

D. McKay and H.M. Scott, *The Rise of the Great Powers 1648-1815* (London: 1983).

\* Alan Sked (ed.), *Europe's Balance of Power 1815-1848* (London: Macmillan, 1979).

\* A.J.P. Taylor, *Struggle for Mastery of Europe, 1848-1918* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1963).

Paul W. Schroeder, 'The nineteenth century system: balance of power or political equilibrium?' *Review of International Studies* 15, 1989: 135-153.

Henry Kissinger, *A World Restored: Metternich, Castlereagh and the Problems of Peace, 1812-22* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1957).

Paul W. Schroeder, 'Did the Vienna Settlement Rest on a Balance of Power?' *The American Historical Review* 97 (3), June 1992: 683-706.

Y.G. Kiernan, *European Empires from Conquest to Collapse, 1815-1960* (London: Fontana, 1982).

Glen St. J. Barclay, *The Empire is Marching: A Study of the Military Effort of the British Empire* (London: Weidenfeld & Nicolson, 1976).

\* D.A. Low, *Lion Rampant: Essays in the Study of British Imperialism* (London: Frank Cass, 1973).

\* Winfreid Baumgart, *Imperialism: The Idea and Reality of British and French Colonial Expansion* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1982).

\* Gordon A Craig, *The Politics of the Prussian Army 1640-1945* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1972).

L.L. Farrar, Jr., *Arrogance and Anxiety: The Ambivalence of German Power 1849-1914* (Iowa City: University of Iowa Press, 1981).

## II C 3. Britain, France, Russia, Germany, Austria, USA

C.J. Bartlett, *The Global Conflict, 1880-1970: The International Rivalry of the Great Powers* (London:

Longman, 1984).

William L. Langer, *European Alliances and Alignments, 1871-1890* (New York: Knopf, 1950).

\* David Calleo, *The German Problem Reconsidered: Germany and the World Order, 1870 to the Present* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1978).

Paul M. Kennedy, *The Rise of the Anglo-German Antagonism, 1860-1914* (London: Allen & Unwin, 1980).

\* A.J.P. Taylor, *The Course of German History: A Survey of the Development of Germany since 1815* (London: Hamish Hamilton, 1962).

### Week Six

#### II C 4. Britain, France, USA, USSR, Germany, Japan

\* Stephen E. Ambrose, *Rise to Globalism: American Foreign Policy Since 1938* (London: Allen Lane, 1971).

\* Corelli Barnett, *The Collapse of British Power* (London: Methuen, 1972).

\* Henri Grimal, *Decolonization: The British, French, Dutch and Belgian Empires, 1919-1963* (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1978).

Martin Thomas, Bob Moore and L.J. Butler, *Crises of Empire: Decolonization and Europe's Imperial States, 1918-1975* (London: Hodder Education, 2008).

R.F. Holland, *European Decolonization, 1918-1981: An Introductory Survey* (London: Macmillan, 1978).

Max Beloff, *Imperial Sunset* (New York: Knopf, 1969).

\* Edward Hallet Carr, *The Twenty Years Crisis, 1919-1939* (London: Macmillan, 1962).

Charles S. Maier, Stanley Hoffmann and Andrew Gould (eds.), *The Rise of the Nazi Regime: Historical Reassessments* (Boulder: Westview Press, 1986).

#### II C 5. Superpower bipolarity and the Cold War: USA and USSR

\* Raymond Aron, *The Imperial Republic* (London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1975).

A. W. DePorte, *Europe Between the Superpowers: The Enduring Balance* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1979).

Paul Dibb, *The Soviet Union: The Incomplete Superpower* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1985).

Paul Dukes, *The Emergence of the Super-Powers: A Short Comparative History of the USA and the USSR* (London: Macmillan, 1970).

Michael Balfour, *The Adversaries: America, Russia and the Open World, 1942-1962* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1981).

William Fox, *The Superpowers: The United States, Britain and the Soviet Union and Their Responsibility for Peace* (New York: Harcourt & Brace, 1954).

Harvey W. Nelson, *Power and Insecurity: Beijing, Moscow, and Washington, 1949-1988* (Boulder: Lynne Rienner, 1989).

F.S. Northedge, *The Troubled Giant: Britain Among the Great Powers, 1916-1939* (London: Bell, 1966).

\* F.S. Northedge, *Descent from Power: British Foreign Policy, 1945-1973* (London: Allen & Unwin, 1974).

\* Joseph S. Nye, Jr., (ed.), *Making of America's Soviet Policy* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1984).

\* William T.R Fox and Annette Baker Fox, *NATO and the Range of American Choice* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1967).

\* Edy Kaufman, *The Superpowers and their Spheres of Influence: The United States and the Soviet Union in Eastern Europe and Central America* (London: Croom-Helm, 1976).

S.M. Keeny and W.K.F. Panofsky, 'MAD vs. NUTS: The Mutual Hostage Relationship of the Superpowers', *Foreign Affairs*, vol. 60, 1981-1982.

\* Walter LaFeber, *America, Russia and the Cold War, 1945-1975* (New York: Wiley, 1976).

R. W. Tucker, 'Swollen State, Spent Society: Stalin's Legacy to Brezhnev's Russia', *Foreign Affairs*, vol. 60, 1981-1982.

Erich Weede, 'Extended Deterrence by Superpower Alliance', *Journal of Conflict Resolution*, vol. 27, June 1983, pp. 231-253.

## II C 6. After the thaw: American Hegemony

Christopher Layne, 'The Unipolar Illusion: Why New Great Powers Will Rise', *International Security* 17 (4), Spring 1993: 5-51.

Paul W. Schroeder, 'The New World Order: A Historical Perspective', *ACDIS Occasional Paper*, University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign, May 1994.

S. Van Evera, 'Primed for Peace: Europe After the Cold War', *International Security*, Winter 1990-91.

K. Waltz, 'The Emerging Structure of International Politics', *International Security*, Fall 1993.

\* Stanley Hoffmann, *Primacy or World Order? American Foreign Policy since the Cold War* (New York: McGraw Hill, 1978).

\* Richard Rosecrance (ed.), *America as an Ordinary Country: US Foreign Policy and the Future* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1976).

Stanley Hoffmann, *Gulliver's Troubles; or, The Setting of American Foreign Policy* (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1968).

Walter Russell Mead, *Mortal Splendor* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1987).

## II C 7a. After Hegemony: Power Transition or System Transformation?

## II C 7b. After Hegemony: Bipolarity or Multipolarity?

Week Seven

### *Theories: Polarity, Hegemony and Stability*

## III A. Hegemonic Stability Theory

Charles Kindleberger, *The World in Depression, 1929-39* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1973), pp. 291-308.

Antonio Gramsci, *Prison Notebooks*, 2 vols. (New York: Columbia University Press, 1992, 1996).

Robert Cox, 'Gramsci, Hegemony and International Relations: An Essay in Method', *Millennium* 12, 1983: 162-175.

Kanti Bajpai and Varun Sahni, 'Hegemony and Strategic Choice', in Chandra Chari (ed.), *War, Peace and Hegemony in a Globalized World: The changing balance of power in the twenty-first century* (London: Routledge, 2008), pp. 93-108.

\* Giovanni Arrighi, 'A Crisis of Hegemony', in Samir Amin et al., *Dynamics of Global Crisis* (London: Macmillan, 1982).

\* Robert O. Keohane, *After Hegemony: Cooperation and Discord in the World Political System* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1984).

\* David P. Calleo, *Beyond American Hegemony* (New York: Basic Books, 1987).

E.A. Cohen, 'When Policy Outstrips Power-American Strategy and Statecraft', *The Public Interest* 75, 1984.

Joseph S. Nye, Jr., *Bound to Lead: The Changing Nature of American Power* (New York: Basic Books, 1990).

Mark E. Rupert and David P. Rapkin, 'The Erosion of U.S. Leadership Capabilities', in Paul Johnson and William R. Thompson (eds.), *Rhythms in International Politics and Economics* (New York: Praeger, 1985).

Bruce Russett, 'The mysterious case of vanishing hegemony; or, Is Mark Twain really dead?' *International Organization* 39 (2), Spring 1982, pp. 207-231.

A. Stein, 'The Hegemon's Dilemma: Great Britain, the United States, and the International Economic Order', *International Organization* 38, Spring 1984.

Susan Strange, 'The persistent myth of lost hegemony', *International Organization* 41 (4), Autumn 1987: 551-574.

Charles Wolf, 'America's 'Decline': Illusion and Reality', *The Wall Street Journal*, 12 May 1988, p. 22.

T. Christensen and J. Snyder, 'Chain Gangs and Passed Bucks', *International Organization*, Spring 1990.

### **III B. The Polarity-Stability Debate**

Karl Deutsch and J. David Singer, 'Multipolar Power Systems and International Stability', *World Politics* 16, April 1964: 390-406.

Michael Haas, 'International Subsystems: Stability and Polarity', *American Political Science Review* 64 (1), March 1970: 98-123.

Ted Hopf, 'Polarity, the Offense-Defense Balance, and War', *American Political Science Review* 85, June 1991: 475-493.

Roger D. Masters, 'A Multi-bloc Model of the International System', *American Political Science Review* 55 (4), December 1961: 782-794.

John Mearsheimer, 'Back to the Future: Instability in Europe after the Cold War', *International Security* 15, Summer 1990: 5-56.

Randall L. Schweller, 'Tripolarity and the Second World War', *International Studies Quarterly* 37 (1): 73-103.

## *Week Eight*

### **III C. Power Transition Theory**

Jonathan M. DiCicco and Jack S. Levy, 'The Power Transition Research Program: A Lakatosian Analysis', in Colin Elman and Miriam Fendius Elman (eds.), *Progress in International Relations Theory: Appraising the Field* (Cambridge, MA: The MIT Press, 2003), pp. 109-157.

### III D. Long Cycles

George Modelski, *Long Cycles in World Politics* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1987).

George Modelski (ed.), *Exploring Long Cycles* (Boulder: Lynne Rienner, 1987).

Charles F. Doran and Wes Parsons, 'War and the Cycle of Relative Power', *American Political Science Review* 74 (4), December 1980: 947-965.

Karen Ressler and William R. Thompson, 'Global Wars, Public Debts, and the Long Cycle', *World Politics* 35 (4), July 1983: 489-516.

#### Week Nine

### *Relations: War, Alliance and Trade*

#### IV A. War between Great Powers

\* Robert Gilpin, *War and Change in World Politics* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1981).

\* Jack S. Levy, *War in the Modern Great Power System* (Kentucky: University Press of Kentucky, 1983).

Robert Gilpin, 'The Theory of Hegemonic War', *Journal of Interdisciplinary History* 18 (4), Spring 1988: 591-613.

Kenneth N. Waltz, 'The Origins of War in Neorealist Theory', *Journal of Interdisciplinary History* 18 (4), Spring 1988: 615-628.

Charles F. Doran and Wes Parsons, 'War and the Cycle of Relative Power', *The American Political Science Review* 74 (4), Dec. 1980: 947-965.

\* J. David Singer and Associates, *Explaining War: Selected Papers from the Correlates of War Project* (Beverly Hills: Sage, 1979).

\* J. David Singer and Melvin Small, *The Wages of War 1816-1965: A Statistical Handbook* (New York: John Wiley & Sons, 1972), ch. 11.

\* Bruce M. Russett (ed.), *Peace, War and Numbers* (Beverly Hills: Sage, 1972).

\* Steven L. Spiegel and Kenneth N. Waltz (eds.), *Conflict in World Politics* (Cambridge: Winthrop, 1971).

#### IV B. Alliances between Great Powers

Glenn W. Snyder, *Alliance Politics* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1997).

Stephen M. Walt, 'Alliances in a Unipolar World', *World Politics* 61 (1), January 2009: 86-120.

Hans Morgenthau, 'Alliances in Theory and Practice', in Arnold Wolfers (ed.), *Alliance Policy and the Cold War* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1959).

*NATO 2020: Assured Security; Dynamic Engagement: Analysis and Recommendations of the Group of Experts on a New Strategic Concept for NATO* (Brussels: NATO Public Diplomacy Division, 2010)

\* Douglas Pike, *Vietnam and the Soviet Union: Anatomy of an Alliance* (Boulder: Westview, 1987).

Annette Baker Fox, *Politics of Attraction: Four Middle Powers and the United States* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1977).

### Week Ten

#### IV C. Trade between Great Powers

Richard N. Rosecrance, 'Reward, Punishment, and Interdependence', *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 25 (1), 1981: 31-46.

Richard A. Higgott and Andrew Fenton Cooper, 'Middle power leadership and coalition building: Australia, the Cairns Group, and the Uruguay Round of trade negotiations', *International Organization* 44 (4), Autumn 1990: 589-632.

G. John Ikenberry, 'Conclusion: An Institutional Approach to American Foreign Economic Policy', in G. John Ikenberry, David A. Lake and Michael Mastanduno (eds.), *The State and American Foreign Economic Policy* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1988), pp. 219-243.

Peter Katzenstein, 'Domestic Structures and Strategies of Foreign Economic Policies', *International Organization* 31, Autumn 1977: 879-920.

Helen Milner, 'Trade Policy in France and the United States', *International Organization*, Autumn 1987.

D. Lake, 'International Economic Structures and American Foreign Economic Policy, 1887-1934', *World Politics*, Summer 1983.

E. Mansfield, 'The Concentration of Capabilities and International Trade', *International Organization*, Summer 1992.

J.D. Richardson, 'The Political Economy of Strategic Trade Policy', *International Organization*, Winter 1990.

H. Milner and D. Yoffie, 'Between Free Trade and Protectionism', *International Organization*, 1989.

R. Rogowski, 'Political Cleavages and Changing Exposure to Trade', *American Political Science Review*, December 1987.

R. Wade, 'East Asia's Economic Success', *World Politics*, January 1992.

J. Kurth, 'Political Consequences of the Product Cycle', *International Organization*, Winter 1979.

Michael Mastanduno, 'Do Relative Gains Matter? America's Response to Japanese Industrial Policy', *International Security*, Summer 1991.

J. Odell, 'Understanding Trade Policies: An Emerging Synthesis', *World Politics*, October 1990.

Stephanie Ann Lenway, 'Between War and Commerce', *International Organization*, Spring 1988.

### Week Eleven

#### *Geographies: Locations and Settings of Power*

#### V A. Geography and Information

Colin S. Gray, 'The Continued Primacy of Geography', *Orbis* 40 (2), Spring 1996: 247-259.

Martin Libicki, 'The Emerging Primacy of Information', *Orbis* 40 (2), Spring 1996: 261-274.

Colin S. Gray, 'A Rejoinder', *Orbis* 40 (2), Spring 1996: 274-276.

#### V B. Continental and Maritime Power

Colin S. Gray and Roger W. Barnett (eds.), *Seapower and Strategy* (Annapolis: United States Naval Institute, 1989).

George Modelski and William R. Thompson, *Seapower in Global Politics, 1494-1993* (Houndmills: Macmillan, 1988).

Geoffrey Till, *Seapower: A Guide for the Twenty-first Century* (London: Frank Cass, 2004).

Norman Friedman, *Seapower as Strategy: Navies and National Interests* (Annapolis: Naval Institute Press, 2001).

A.T. Mahan, *The Influence of Sea Power upon History, 1660-1783* (New York: Dover Publications, 1890).

Clark G. Reynolds, *Command of the Sea: The History and Strategy of Maritime Empires* (New York: Morrow, 1974).

### Week Twelve

#### V C. Regional Power

David A. Lake and Patrick M. Morgan (eds.), *Regional Orders: Building Security in a New World* (University Park: The Pennsylvania State University Press, 1997).

Varun Sahni, 'Regional Dynamics of Emerging Powers: Power/Control or Leadership/Consent?' in E. Sridharan (ed.), *International Relations Theory and South Asia: Security, Political Economy, Domestic Politics, Identities, and Images* (New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 2011), pp. 56-107.

Michael Leifer, *ASEAN and the Security of South-East Asia* (London: Routledge, 1989).

\* Robert O. Tilman, *Southeast Asia and the Enemy Beyond: ASEAN Perceptions of External Threats* (Boulder: Westview, 1987).

### Week Thirteen

#### Cases: *France and China*

#### VI A. France: A Great Power in Decline

Stanley Hoffmann, 'France: Two Obsessions for One Century', in Robert A. Pastor (ed.), *A Century's Journey: How the Great Powers Shape the World* (New York: Basic Books, 1999), pp. 63-89.

R. Betts, *Tricolore: The French Colonial Empire* (London: 1978).

Michael M. Harrison, *Reluctant Ally: France and Atlantic Security* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1981).

Edward Kolodziej, *French International Policy under De Gaulle and Pompidou: The Politics of Grandeur* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1974).

Edward Kolodziej, *Making and Marketing Arms: The French Experience and Its Implications for the International System* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1987).

Richard Bernstein, *Fragile Glory: A Portrait of France and the French* (New York: Plume, 1990).

Charles Cogan, *French Negotiating Behavior: Dealing with La Grande Nation* (Washington, DC: US Inst. of Peace, 2003).

Theodore Zeldin, *France 1848-1945: Intellect and Pride* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1980).

Sanche de Gramont, *The French: Portrait of a People* (New York: Putnam's Sons, 1969).

Philip Ouston, *France in the Twentieth Century* (London: Macmillan, 1972).

- Stanley Hoffmann, *Decline or Renewal? France since the 1930s* (New York: Viking Press, 1974).
- Richard F. Kuisel, *The French Way: How France embraced and rejected American values and power* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2012).
- Philippe Roger, *The American Enemy: The History of French Anti-Americanism* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2006).
- Raymonde Carroll, *Cultural Misunderstandings: The French-American Experience* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1987).
- Jean-Marie Colombani and Walter Wells, *Dangerous De-liaisons: What's really behind the war between France and the U.S.* (Hoboken, NJ: Melville House Publishing, 2004).
- Andrew Jack, *The French Exception: France: Still so Special?* (London: Profile, 1998).
- Robert Latouche, *Caesar to Charlemagne: The Beginnings of France*, translated by Jennifer Nicholson (New York: Barnes & Noble, 1968).
- James Friguglietti and Emmet Kennedy (eds.), *Shaping of Modern France: Writings in French History since 1715* (London: Collier-Macmillan, 1969).
- R.S. Rudney, 'Mitterand's New Atlanticism: Evolving French Attitudes Toward NATO', *Orbis*, vol. 28, 1984.
- D.S. Yost, 'France's Deterrent Posture', *Adelphi Papers*, nos. 194 & 195, 1985.

#### Week Fourteen

#### VI B. China: A Great Power on the Rise

- Michel Oksenberg, 'China: A Tortuous Path onto the World's Stage', in Robert A. Pastor (ed.), *A Century's Journey: How the Great Powers Shape the World* (New York: Basic Books, 1999), pp. 291-331.
- Zheng Bijian, *China's Peaceful Rise* (Washington, DC: Brookings Institution Press, 2005).
- Martin Jacques, *When China Rules the World: The Rise of the Middle Kingdom and the End of the Western World* (London: Allen Lane, 2009).
- John King Fairbank and Merle Goodman, *China: A New History* (Cambridge, MA: The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2006).
- Alan M. Wachman, *Why Taiwan? Geostrategic Rationales for China's Territorial Integrity* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2007).
- Henry Kissinger, *On China* (London: Allen Lane, 2011).
- Ann Kent, *Beyond Compliance: China, International Organizations, and Global Security* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2007).
- Evan S. Medeiros, *Reluctant Restraint: The Evolution of China's Nonproliferation Policies and Practices, 1980-2004* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2007).
- Robert S. Ross, *Chinese Security Policy: Structure, Power and Politics* (Abingdon: Routledge, 2009).
- Bruce Swanson, *Eighth Voyage of the Dragon: A History of China's Quest for Seapower* (Annapolis: Naval Institute Press, 1982).
- \* Michael B. Yahuda, *China's Role in World Affairs* (London: Croom Helm, 1978).
- \* Michael Yahuda, *Towards the End of Isolationism: China's Foreign Policy after Mao* (London: Macmillan,

1983).

\* Harry Harding (ed.), *China's Foreign Relations in the 1980s* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1984).

A. Doak Barnett, *China and the Major Powers in East Asia* (Washington, DC: Brookings, 1977).

Joseph Camilleri, *Chinese Foreign Policy: The Maoist Era and its Aftermath* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1980).

\* D. Edmund Clubb, *China and Russia: The 'Great Game'* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1971).

T. Fingar (ed.), *China's Quest for Independence* (Boulder: Westview, 1980).

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*Week Sixteen*

***Revision***