

**The Hertie School**  
**Master of International Affairs**  
Spring Semester 2023

**Course Syllabus**

**GRAD-C10: War, Peace, and Strategy**

*Concentration: International Security*

**Professor Marina E. Henke, PhD**

Instructor Information:

**Marina Henke** is Professor of International Relations at the Hertie School and Director of the Centre for International Security. She researches and publishes on grand strategy, nuclear security and European security and defence policy. Before joining the Hertie School, she was an Associate Professor (with tenure) at Northwestern University, specialising in international relations, as well as at Princeton University where she was a Lecturer and Postdoctoral Research Associate at the Woodrow Wilson School of Public and International Affairs. She holds a PhD in Politics and Public Policy from Princeton University, a Double Master of Science in Development Studies and International Political Economy from Sciences Po Paris and the London School of Economics and Political Science, and a Bachelor of Arts in Economics, Politics and Latin American Studies from Sciences Po Paris. Her book "Constructing Allied Cooperation" published with Cornell University Press in 2019 won the prestigious 2020 Leggold Best Book Award, the ISA 2020 Diplomacy section Best Book Award, and the APSA 2020 International Collaboration section Best Book Award.

**1. Course Contents and Learning Objectives**

Course contents:

In this course, we will study *Grand Strategy* - a state's plan to achieve its core strategic objectives such as peace, prosperity, and democracy. Grand strategy serves as an *organizing principle* that is consciously held and used by decision-makers to guide foreign policy. It represents the highest level of long-term political, diplomatic, military, and economic statecraft and sets the parameters for day-to-day policies and responses to crises and contingencies. It clarifies which threats and challenges should receive the most resources, which allies, and which international institutions are most reliable, which battles one might and perhaps should fight, and which ones to avoid at all costs. Grand strategy is thus distinct from policy with regards to the level of detail it provides.

This course consists of three parts. In Part I we examine the building blocks of *Grand Strategy*: what is it exactly? How to develop good grand strategy and how to implement it? In Part II, we look at the key strategic challenges that Germany, Europe, and the world face at present analyzing their origins and impact. These challenges are of geographical nature (e.g., Russia's military aggression, China's global expansion, U.S. changing attitudes toward global leadership) and of topical nature (climate change, WMDs and rapid technological innovation). Finally, in Part III, we use Grand Strategy via means of a simulation.

Main learning objectives:

The course is designed to help students think strategically and cultivate an ability to evaluate policy options accordingly. It also aims to teach students to communicate the strengths and weaknesses of

alternative approaches orally and in writing. In this way, the course can help students prepare for careers as researchers (both academic and non-academic) or policy practitioners (both in the public and non-profit sectors).

Target group:

The course is a core course for MIA students in the International Security concentration.

Teaching style:

The course will combine weekly 50min lectures with 50min discussion groups. The discussion groups will focus on an intensive discussion of the readings as well as student presentation. The readings for each session are not merely a background but constitute the core content of each session. The better you prepare the readings, the more we can focus on discussing the underlying deeper issues in class.

Prerequisites:

The course requires a basic knowledge of the standard theories used in international relations (IR) research. Students who have never taken a class in international relations/international politics, please read the following articles prior to the start of the course:

- Hans Morgenthau, "A Realist Theory of International Politics," Politics among Nations, 3rd ed. (1960), pp. 3-17.
- Andrew Moravcsik, "Liberal Theories of International Relations," unpublished manuscript.
- John T. Rourke, "Foreign Policy," in Rourke, International Relations on the World Stage 11th edition (McGraw-Hill, 2007), selections. pp. 63-76.

Students are expected to stay current with foreign policy developments by reading a major newspaper (i.e., Financial Times, New York Times, Wall Street Journal, or Washington Post) and listening to international security-related podcasts such as "Hold your Fire" by the International Crisis Group.

Diversity Statement:

In this class we are inclusive. We celebrate multiple approaches and points of view and build a culture where difference is valued. We believe diversity is a fundamental component to critical thinking and growing as an intellectual and human being.

**2. Grading and Assignments**

Composition of Final Grade:

<b>Assignment 1:</b> Strategic Autobiography	Deadline: February 14, 2023, 8am	Submit via Moodle	10%
<b>Assignment 2:</b> Strategy briefing	Deadline: as assigned in discussion session	Submit via Moodle	40%
<b>Assignment 3:</b> Strategy essay	Deadline: May 21, 2023, 8am	Submit via Moodle	40%
<b>Participation grade</b>			10%

## Assignment Details

The final grade will be based on the following components

### **Assignment 1:** Strategic Autobiography (max. 250 words)

This assignment will serve as a first exercise to think strategically. It requires students to develop a grand strategy that centers on their own past and future. The autobiography should address the following four questions (and no other): (1) What do you hope to accomplish, or to contribute to the world, over the next twenty years? (2) What are the greatest obstacles to achieving your goals? (3) Why do these obstacles exist? (4) What means/tools/skills do you need to overcome those obstacles? During our second discussion group session, a few students will present their strategic autobiography. The session will serve as an opportunity for further brainstorming and refinement of your ideas with your classmates.

### **Assignment 2:** Strategy briefing (max 1.000 words)

This assignment trains students to draft briefings for top executives or government officials of a government or international organization of your choosing. Each briefing must present (1) a clear statement of the strategic goal to be achieved, (2) a rigorously researched assessment of the obstacles that hinder achieving this goal including an analysis of why these obstacles exist and (3) based on this assessment possible strategies to overcome these obstacles. The briefing should consider multiple strategies and explain why the recommended strategy is best. The trade-offs of the selected strategy should also be identified and addressed, and a high-level timeline for action can be included. All underlying assumptions of your briefing must be based on scientific research, which needs to be cited in the memo. Each student will submit and present their strategy briefing in one of the discussion sessions throughout the semester. Slots will be assigned during our first meeting. Presentation style will count toward the overall grade. Presentations cannot be longer than 10min. A power point presentation is encouraged.

### **Assignment 3:** Strategy essay (max 1.000 words)

This assignment trains students how to translate grand strategy to a generalist audience. The essay should be written as if it was a submission to an outlet such as *Foreign Policy* or *Foreign Affairs*. Similar to the Strategy briefings, all assumptions made in the essay need to be based on scientific research, which needs to be cited accordingly (e.g., via a hyperlink or footnote). The essay should convince the audience that the proposed action is the best way forward.

**Course participation:** In this class, students take part not as passive consumers of knowledge but as active participants in the exchange, production, and critique of ideas—their own ideas and the ideas of others. Therefore, students should come to class not only having read and viewed the materials assigned for that day but also prepared to discuss the readings of the day and to contribute thoughtfully to the conversation. Active and insightful participation is also expected by the student during the grand strategy simulation exercise.

**Grading policy:** an 85 is a good grade, a 90 an excellent grade, grades over 90 are rare.

**Late submission of assignments:** For each day the assignment is turned in late, the grade will be reduced by 10% (e.g., submission two days after the deadline would result in 20% grade deduction).

**Attendance:** Students are expected to be present and prepared for every class session. Active participation during lectures and seminar discussions is essential. If unavoidable circumstances arise which prevent attendance or preparation, the instructor should be advised by email with as much

advance notice as possible. Please note that students cannot miss more than two out of 12 course sessions. For further information please consult the [Examination Rules](#) §10.

**Academic Integrity:** The Hertie School is committed to the standards of good academic and ethical conduct. Any violation of these standards shall be subject to disciplinary action. Plagiarism, deceitful actions as well as free-riding in group work are not tolerated. See [Examination Rules](#) §16 and the Hertie [Plagiarism Policy](#).

**Compensation for Disadvantages:** If a student furnishes evidence that he or she is not able to take an examination as required in whole or in part due to disability or permanent illness, the Examination Committee may upon written request approve learning accommodation(s). In this respect, the submission of adequate certificates may be required. See [Examination Rules](#) §14.

**Extenuating circumstances:** An extension can be granted due to extenuating circumstances (i.e., for reasons like illness, personal loss or hardship, or caring duties). In such cases, please contact the course instructors and the Examination Office *in advance* of the deadline.

### 3. Session Overview

Session	Session Title
1	Introduction: What is <i>Grand Strategy</i> ?
2	How to Design Good <i>Grand Strategy</i> ?
	<i>Talk by Prof Graham Allison (Harvard University) on Feb 16, 6pm.</i>
3	The Russia Challenge
4	U.S. Grand Strategy in the 21 <sup>st</sup> Century
	<i>NATO ice breaker on March 6, 7:30pm.</i>
5	NATO simulation (start on March 7, 7:30am)
6	China and the Asia Pacific
7	The Middle East Conundrum
8	The Future of Sub-Saharan Africa
9	Nuclear Security
10	The Technological Landscape Ahead
11	The Climate Challenge
12	Europe as a Strategic Entity

### 4. Course Sessions and Readings

Session 1: Introduction: What is Grand Strategy?	
Learning Objective	This session provides an overview of the concept of Grand strategy. What is it? Why is it useful? What do its critics say?

<b>Required Readings</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Kennan’s Long Telegram</li> <li>• “Winning Marriage” Concept Paper (2005)</li> </ul>
<b>Optional Readings</b>	<p>Principles of Grand Strategy</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Nina Silove, "Beyond the buzzword: the three meanings of "grand strategy"." <i>Security Studies</i> 27.1 (2018): 27-57.</li> <li>• Gaddis, John Lewis. <i>On grand strategy</i>. Penguin Books, 2019. Chapter 3 and 7.</li> <li>• Layton, Peter. "The idea of grand strategy." <i>The RUSI journal</i> 157.4 (2012): 56-61.</li> </ul> <p>Critics of Grand Strategy:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Daniel W Drezner, Ronald R. Krebs, and Randall Schweller. "The End of Grand Strategy: America Must Think Small." <i>Foreign Affairs</i> 99 (2020): 107.</li> </ul> <p>Further readings on the case studies:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Frank, Nathaniel. <i>Awakening: How gays and lesbians brought marriage equality to America</i>. Harvard University Press, 2017. Introduction.</li> <li>• Hal. Brands, <i>What Good Is Grand Strategy?</i> Cornell University Press, 2014, Chapter 1.</li> </ul>

## Session 2: How to Design Good Grand Strategy?

<b>Learning Objective</b>	In this session we examine how to write “good” Grand Strategy? What have we learned over the years as best practices? What are strategic no-gos?
<b>Required Readings</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Marina Henke, <i>How Europe can thrive in World Politics</i>, Manuscript 2022, Chapter 1</li> <li>• EU Strategic Compass (2022) <a href="https://www.eeas.europa.eu/sites/default/files/documents/strategic_compass_en3_web.pdf">https://www.eeas.europa.eu/sites/default/files/documents/strategic_compass_en3_web.pdf</a></li> <li>• US National Security Strategy (2022) <a href="https://www.whitehouse.gov/wp-content/uploads/2022/10/Biden-Harris-Administrations-National-Security-Strategy-10.2022.pdf">https://www.whitehouse.gov/wp-content/uploads/2022/10/Biden-Harris-Administrations-National-Security-Strategy-10.2022.pdf</a></li> </ul>
<b>Optional Readings</b>	<p>Further readings on the power tools of states and non-state actors:</p> <p><i>Military power</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Barry R Posen, "Command of the Commons: The Military Foundation of US hegemony." <i>International Security</i> 28.1 (2003): 5-46.</li> </ul> <p><i>Economic power</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Henry Farrell and Abraham L. Newman. "Weaponized interdependence: How global economic networks shape state coercion." <i>International Security</i> 44.1 (2019): 42-79.</li> </ul> <p><i>Institutional power</i></p>

	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Marina E. Henke, "The politics of diplomacy: How the United States builds multilateral military coalitions." <i>International Studies Quarterly</i> 61.2 (2017): 410-424.</li> </ul> <p><i>Soft power</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Joseph S Nye, "Soft power." <i>Foreign policy</i> 80 (1990): 153-171.</li> <li>Hurd, Ian. "Legitimacy, Power, and the Symbolic Life Of The UN Security Council." <i>Global Governance</i> 8 (2002), pp. 35.</li> <li>Erik Voeten, "The Political Origins of The UN Security Council's Ability to Legitimize The Use Of Force." <i>International Organization</i> 59.03 (2005), pp. 527-557.</li> </ul> <p><i>Societal power</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Zeynep Tufekci, <i>Twitter and Tear Gas</i>. Yale University Press, 2017.</li> <li>Erica Chenoweth and Maria J. Stephan. <i>Why civil resistance works: The strategic logic of nonviolent conflict</i>. Columbia University Press, 2011.</li> </ul>
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### Session 3: The Russia Challenge

<b>Learning Objective</b>	In this session we look at Russia. It's military invasion in 2022 shocked the world. How can we explain this behavior? And what strategic options exist to respond to it?
<b>Required Readings</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Podcast: Inside Russia's Military Catastrophe (The Daily) <a href="https://podcasts.apple.com/us/podcast/inside-russias-military-catastrophe/id1200361736?i=1000592346702">https://podcasts.apple.com/us/podcast/inside-russias-military-catastrophe/id1200361736?i=1000592346702</a></li> <li>Putin's War, New York Time's Report <a href="https://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2022/12/16/world/europe/russia-putin-war-failures-ukraine.html">https://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2022/12/16/world/europe/russia-putin-war-failures-ukraine.html</a></li> <li>Ulrich Kuehn 2018. <i>Preventing Escalation in the Baltics: A NATO Playbook</i>. New York, NY: Carnegie Endowment for International Peace. (read pp.41-66 ONLY)</li> </ul>
<b>Optional Readings</b>	<p>Primary documents</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Vladimir Putin, "Speech and the Following Discussion at the Munich Conference on Security Policy, 2007," <a href="http://en.kremlin.ru/events/president/transcripts/24034">http://en.kremlin.ru/events/president/transcripts/24034</a></li> <li>Vladimir Putin, Speech on Crimea, March 18, 2014, <a href="http://en.kremlin.ru/events/president/news/20603">http://en.kremlin.ru/events/president/news/20603</a></li> <li>Vladimir Putin, Speech on Ukraine, February 25, 2022, <a href="https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=1qS6J-WbTD8">https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=1qS6J-WbTD8</a></li> <li>Putin: The Most Powerful Man in the World, CNN documentary (2018) <a href="https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=f6YPw_ragzA">https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=f6YPw_ragzA</a></li> </ul> <p>NATO and European response to the war</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Podcast: How Europe came around on Sanctions (The Daily) <a href="https://www.nytimes.com/2022/03/02/podcasts/the-daily/russia-ukraine-invasion-eu-sanctions.html">https://www.nytimes.com/2022/03/02/podcasts/the-daily/russia-ukraine-invasion-eu-sanctions.html</a></li> </ul> <p>Russian politics and society:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Marlene Laruelle, "The three colors of Novorossiya, or the Russian nationalist mythmaking of the Ukrainian crisis." <i>Post-Soviet Affairs</i> 32.1 (2016): 55-74.</li> </ul>

	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Olga Oliker, <i>Russia's Nuclear Doctrine: What We Know, What We Don't, and What That Means</i>. Center for Strategic &amp; International Studies, 2016.</li> </ul> <p>Russian hybrid warfare:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Heir Hågen Karlsen, "Divide and rule: ten lessons about Russian political influence activities in Europe." <i>Palgrave Communications</i> 5.1 (2019): 1-14.</li> <li>• Alexander Lanoszka, "Russian hybrid warfare and extended deterrence in eastern Europe." <i>International affairs</i> 92.1 (2016): 175-195.</li> </ul> <p>Further readings on the legacy of the Cold War:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Stephen G. Brooks and William C. Wohlforth, "Power, Globalization and the End of the Cold War: Reevaluating a Landmark Case for Ideas," <i>International Security</i>, (Winter 2000/2001), pp.5-53.</li> <li>• Robert English, "The Sociology of New Thinking: Elites, Identity Change, and the End of the Cold War," <i>Journal of Cold War Studies</i> 7 (2) 2005, pp. 43-80.</li> <li>• Sarotte, Mary Elise. "Perpetuating US Preeminence: the 1990 deals to "Bribe the Soviets out" and move NATO in." <i>International Security</i> 35.1 (2010): 110-137.</li> </ul>
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#### Session 4: U.S. Grand Strategy in the 21<sup>st</sup> Century

<b>Learning Objective</b>	In this session, we examine US grand strategy. Why and how is it changing? Will these changes be permanent? How will they affect global politics?
<b>Required Readings</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Stephen G Brooks, G. John Ikenberry, and William C. Wohlforth. "Don't come home, America: The case against retrenchment." <i>International Security</i> (2012).</li> <li>• Eugene Gholz, Daryl G. Press, and Harvey M. Sapolsky. "Come home, America: The strategy of restraint in the face of temptation." <i>International Security</i> 21.4 (1997): 5-48.</li> </ul>
<b>Optional Readings</b>	<p>Further readings on liberal internationalism:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Ikenberry, G. John. "Liberal internationalism 3.0: America and the dilemmas of liberal world order." <i>Perspectives on Politics</i> 7.1 (2009): 71-87.</li> </ul> <p>Further readings on "restraint":</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Barry Posen, <i>Restraint</i> (2014), pp.87-127 ("Implementing restraint in key regions" to "A Change of U.S. Policy").</li> <li>• Patrick Porter, "Why America's grand strategy has not changed: Power, habit, and the US Foreign policy establishment." <i>International Security</i> 42.4 (2018): 9-46.</li> </ul> <p>Further development on U.S. domestic developments:</p>

	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Nathan P Kalmoe and Lilliana Mason, <i>Radical American Partisanship: Mapping Violent Hostility, Its Causes, and the Consequences for Democracy</i>, University of Chicago Press, 2022.</li> </ul> <p>Further readings on the transatlantic relationship:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Brendan Rittenhouse Green, "Two concepts of liberty: US Cold War grand strategies and the liberal tradition." <i>International Security</i> 37.2 (2012): 9-43.</li> <li>• Müller, Harald, and Thomas Risse-Kappen. "Origins of estrangement: The peace movement and the changed image of America in West Germany." <i>International Security</i> 12.1 (1987): 52-88. (stop at page 84)</li> </ul>
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### Session 5: NATO Simulation

<b>Learning Objective</b>	This simulation will provide an opportunity to put into practice the knowledge acquired in this class so far. It will simulate the NATO North Atlantic Council. We will develop a NATO Arctic Policy.
<b>Required Readings</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• <a href="#">The North Atlantic Council – A summary.</a></li> </ul>
<b>Optional Readings</b>	Tbd

### Session 6: China and the Asia Pacific

<b>Learning Objective</b>	In this session we look at China and the Asia Pacific. China's rise has shifted the global geopolitical landscape. What is China doing with its wealth? Is a US-China conflict inevitable?
<b>Required Readings</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Listen to The Economist Podcast "The prince" Episode 7: The Wolf Warrior <a href="https://podcasts.apple.com/us/podcast/wolf-warriors/id1642926713?i=1000580896566">https://podcasts.apple.com/us/podcast/wolf-warriors/id1642926713?i=1000580896566</a></li> <li>• Aaron L. Friedberg, "The Future of U.S.-China Relations: Is Conflict Inevitable?" <i>International Security</i>, Vol. 30, No. 2 (Fall 2005), pp. 7-45.</li> <li>• Benner, Thorsten, Jan Gaspers, and Mareike Ohlberg. "Authoritarian advance." Responding to China's Growing Political Influence in Europe. Global Public Policy Institute/Merics (2018).</li> </ul>
<b>Optional Readings</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Xi Jinping's Speech at the 100<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the CPC: <a href="https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=ZYUmztqXEjI">https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=ZYUmztqXEjI</a></li> <li>• Maria Adele Carrai, "Chinese Political Nostalgia and Xi Jinping's Dream of Great Rejuvenation." <i>International Journal of Asian Studies</i> 18.1 (2021): 7-25.</li> <li>• Andrea Gilli and Mauro Gilli, "Why China Has Not Caught Up Yet: Military-Technological Superiority and the Limits of Imitation, Reverse Engineering, and Cyber Espionage," <i>International Security</i> 43:3, 2018, pp.141-189.</li> </ul>



	<p>For a refresher on the Security Dilemma:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Robert Jervis, "Cooperation under the security dilemma." <i>World Politics</i> 30.2 (1978): 167-214.</li> </ul>
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**Mid-term Exam Week: 21 – 25.03.2023 – no class**

<b>Session 7: The Middle East Conundrum</b>	
<b>Learning Objective</b>	In this session we examine strategic challenges related to the Middle East, including terrorism and the rise of the Islamic State. What are the drivers behind these malignant forces? What strategic options exist to confront them?
<b>Required Readings</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Watch Frontline documentary: The Rise of the ISIS: <a href="https://www.pbs.org/wgbh/frontline/film/rise-of-isis/">https://www.pbs.org/wgbh/frontline/film/rise-of-isis/</a></li> <li>• Lawrence Wright, <i>Looming Towers</i> (2006), Chapters 1, 6 and 7 "The Martyr," "The Base" and "Return of the Hero."</li> <li>• David Kilcullen, <i>The Accidental Guerrilla: Fighting Small Wars In The Midst Of A Big One</i>. Oxford University Press, 2009, pp. 28-38</li> <li>• Berlin Security Beat podcast on the 20<sup>th</sup> anniversary of 9/11: <a href="https://berlinsecuritybeat.podigee.io/10-20-years-of-war-on-terror">https://berlinsecuritybeat.podigee.io/10-20-years-of-war-on-terror</a></li> </ul>
<b>Optional Readings</b>	<p>Further readings on 9/11 and subsequent interventions:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Watch PBS documentary on 9/11 and Al-Qaeda: <a href="https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=gfRTBi1_YCo">https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=gfRTBi1_YCo</a></li> <li>• Chaim Kaufmann, "Threat Inflation and the Failure of the Marketplace of Ideas: The Selling of the Iraq War," <i>International Security</i> 29.1 (2004): 5-48.</li> </ul> <p>Further readings on terrorism:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Andrew H Kydd and Barbara F. Walter. "The Strategies of Terrorism." <i>International Security</i> Vol. 31, No.1, (2006), pp. 49-80.</li> <li>• Aisha Ahmad, "The Security Bazaar: Business Interests and Islamist Power in Civil War Somalia," <i>International Security</i> 39.3 (2015): 89-117.</li> <li>• Jeff Victoroff, "The Mind of the Terrorist: A Review and Critique of Psychological Approaches," <i>Journal of Conflict Resolution</i>, Vol. 49, No. 1 (2005) pp. 3-42</li> </ul>

<b>Session 8: The Future of Sub-Saharan Africa</b>	
<b>Learning Objective</b>	In this session we focus on Sub-Saharan Africa and its security challenges. We also examine how foreign actors have contributed to instability and why.

<p><b>Required Readings</b></p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Darin Christensen &amp; David D Laitin, <i>African States since Independence</i> (Yale University Press, New Haven CT, 2019). <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- A Retrospective on Democratic Failure (pp.66-81)</li> <li>- Chapter 9: The Colonial State (pp.189-204)</li> </ul> </li> <li>• Mark Shaw, Tuesday Reitano, and Sahara Knowledge Exchange. "The political economy of trafficking and trade in the Sahara: Instability and opportunities." <i>Sahara Knowledge Exchange Paper</i>, Washington, DC, World Bank (2014).</li> </ul>
<p><b>Optional Readings</b></p>	<p>General overview:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Paul D. Williams, <i>War and Conflict in Africa</i> (Polity Press, Cambridge Mass., 2011), Part I and II</li> <li>• Darin Christensen &amp; David D Laitin, <i>African States since Independence</i> (Yale University Press, New Haven CT, 2019), Part I and II</li> </ul> <p>On ethnic war:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Watch History Channel documentary on Rwanda "Do Scars ever fade?": <a href="https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=gidFRLW6zo4">https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=gidFRLW6zo4</a></li> <li>• Philip Roessler and David Ohls. "Self-enforcing power sharing in weak states." <i>International Organization</i> 72.2 (2018): 423-454.</li> <li>• Julian Wucherpfennig et al. "Ethnicity, the state, and the duration of civil war." <i>World Politics</i> 64.1 (2012): 79-115.</li> </ul> <p>On the strengths and weaknesses of peacekeeping:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Marina E. Henke, "Buying Allies: Payment Practices in Multilateral Military Coalition-Building," <i>International Security</i> 43.4 (2019).</li> <li>• Severine Autesserre, "Hobbes and the Congo: frames, local violence, and international intervention." <i>International Organization</i> (2009): 249-280.</li> <li>• Monica Duffy Toft, "Ending Civil Wars: A Case for Rebel Victory?" <i>International Security</i> 34.4 (2010), pp. 7-36.</li> </ul>

**Session 9: Nuclear Security**

<p><b>Learning Objective</b></p>	<p>Grand Strategy in the 21<sup>st</sup> century always has a nuclear component: how do states use their weapons, and why do non-nuclear states seek or eschew nuclear weapons?</p>
<p><b>Required Readings</b></p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Berlin Security Beat podcast on nuclear weapons: <a href="https://berlinsecuritybeat.podigee.io/9-nuclear-weapons-then-and-now">https://berlinsecuritybeat.podigee.io/9-nuclear-weapons-then-and-now</a></li> <li>• Scott D. Sagan, "Why Do States Build Nuclear Weapons?: Three Models in Search of a Bomb." <i>International Security</i> 21.3 (1996), pp. 54-86.</li> </ul>

	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Adler, Emanuel. 1992. "The Emergence of Cooperation: National Epistemic Communities and the International Evolution of the Idea of Nuclear Arms Control." <i>International Organization</i>. 46(1): 101-145.</li> </ul>
<b>Optional Readings</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Francis J Gavin, "Strategies of inhibition: US grand strategy, the nuclear revolution, and non-proliferation." <i>International Security</i> 40.1 (2015): 9-46.</li> <li>Caitlin Talmadge, "Would China Go Nuclear? Assessing the Risk of Chinese Nuclear Escalation in a Conventional War with the United States," <i>International Security</i> 2017 41:4, pp.50-92</li> </ul> <p>Further readings on the Eurodeterrent debate:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Ottavia Credi (2019), US Non-Strategic Nuclear Weapons in Europe: Necessary or Obsolete?, American Security Project.</li> <li>Alex Lanoszka (2017), "Why Eurodeterrent Will Not Work," East-West Institute.</li> </ul>

### Session 10: The Technological Landscape Ahead

<b>Learning Objective</b>	Technology is a key component of Grand strategy. How is it expected to change over the next decades and why does this matter?
<b>Required Readings</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Allison et al." The Great Tech Rivalry: China vs. US." Harvard KSG Belfer Center (Dec 2021) [read Executive summary, skim the rest]</li> <li>Jon Randall Lindsay, "Restrained by design: the political economy of cybersecurity." <i>Digital Policy, Regulation and Governance</i> (2017).</li> <li>Sophie-Charlotte Fischer et al. „Technological Change and Grand Strategy," in <i>The Oxford Handbook of Grand Strategy</i> (2021) <a href="https://academic.oup.com/edited-volume/35431/chapter-abstract/303227714?redirectedFrom=fulltext">https://academic.oup.com/edited-volume/35431/chapter-abstract/303227714?redirectedFrom=fulltext</a></li> </ul>
<b>Optional Readings</b>	<p>On artificial intelligence:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Michael C Horowitz et al. <i>Artificial intelligence and international security</i>. Center for a New American Security, 2018.</li> </ul> <p>On semiconductors:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Jan-Peter Kleinhans &amp; Dr. Nurzat Baisakova, <i>The global semiconductor value chain: A technology primer for policy makers</i>, Stiftung Neue Verantwortung, Oct 2020.</li> </ul> <p>On Russia &amp; China exploiting the digital space:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Polyakova, Alina, and Chris Meserole. "Exporting digital authoritarianism: The Russian and Chinese models." <i>Policy Brief, Democracy and Disorder Series (Washington, DC: Brookings, 2019)</i> (2019): 1-22.</li> </ul> <p>Possible regulation ahead:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Michele Flournoy and Michael Sulmeyer. "Battlefield internet: a plan for securing cyberspace." <i>Foreign Affairs</i>. 97 (2018): 40.</li> </ul>

### Session 11: The Climate Challenge

<b>Learning Objective</b>	Climate change is without a doubt the greatest challenges humanity faces over the long run. But how does it impact international security in the short-to medium term?
<b>Required Readings</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• National Intelligence Estimate, <i>Climate Change and International Responses increasing Challenges to US National Security Through 2040</i>. (2021)</li> <li>• Katharine J Mach et al. "Climate as a risk factor for armed conflict." <i>Nature</i> 571.7764 (2019): 193-197.</li> </ul>
<b>Optional Readings</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Joshua Busby, "The Field of Climate and Security: A Scan of the Literature." SSRC April 2019.</li> <li>• European Parliament, "Preparing the CSDP for the new security y environment created by climate change," June 2021.</li> <li>• Xu et al., "Future of the human climate niche," <i>PNAS</i> vol. 117, no.21 (May , 26, 2020)</li> <li>• "A Reader's Guide to the Paris Climate Agreement," <a href="https://www.theatlantic.com/science/archive/2015/12/a-readers-guide-to-the-paris-agreement/420345/">https://www.theatlantic.com/science/archive/2015/12/a-readers-guide-to-the-paris-agreement/420345/</a></li> </ul>

### Session 12: Europe as a Strategic Entity

<b>Learning Objective</b>	Europe currently stands at a crossroad. Fundamental decisions need to be taken of it will engage in world politics in the near future. What are Europe's options? What are the trade-offs it faces?
<b>Required Readings</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Marina E. Henke, <i>How Europe can thrive in World Politics</i>, Manuscript 2022, Chapter 3.</li> <li>• Ulrich Krotz, "Momentum and Impediments: Why Europe won't emerge as a Full Political Actor on the World Stage soon," <i>Journal of Common Market Studies</i> 2009, pp.555-578</li> </ul>
<b>Optional Readings</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Ian Manners, "Normative Power Europe: A Contradiction in Terms?" <i>Journal of Common Market Studies</i> 40 (2002), pp. 235–258.</li> <li>• Robert Cooper, <i>The Breaking of Nations</i> (2003), Ch. 2: "The New World Order," pp. 16-40; 50-54.</li> <li>• Mark Leonard, "The End of the American World Order," in <i>Why Europe will Run the 21st Century</i>, pp.121-133</li> <li>• Andrew Moravcsik, "Europe: Quietly Rising Superpower in a Bipolar World," (2009).</li> </ul>

**Final Exam Week: 15 – 19.05.2023 – no class**