

MIDDLE EAST TECHNICAL UNIVERSITY  
DEPARTMENT OF INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS  
SPRING 2005  
IR 572: THE POLITICS OF GLOBAL SPACE  
FRIDAY, 14:40-17:30  
INSTRUCTOR: N. POLAT

Politics appears to be about space first and foremost—about the shaping of space, centring and re-centring of it, branded as the public domain. The incessant structuring of this sphere by politics often occurs in unison with various configurations of yet more space on several levels, mostly interwoven: inter-personal, communal, societal. This postgraduate course in International Relations is about the politics of space in the global association, where the concept of space receives unparalleled emphasis via a unique canonization of territoriality as the lynchpin of the sovereign state, the principle unit of the dense global spatiality. The state is not only assumed in this setting to be spatial beyond and above all else, but also the interaction among territorial states is perceived largely as a spatial play, namely one of positioning, expansion and alignment in the cosmology formed by global politics.

Space and politics as a theme in the study of international affairs is usually associated with geopolitics. Geopolitics, which originally meant a scholarly concern in the effects of geography on politics, has come to signify a quasi-systemic approach to space and strategy in global society constituted by states, or blocks of states, engaged in interest pursuit, power maximization or balance.

The present course is greatly about geopolitical thinking in the West in the last century, including an exploration of the recent critical insights into geopolitics by geographers, such as John Agnew and Gearóid Ó Tuathail. The course also includes the post-Cold War extensions or transformations of traditional geopolitics, such as Francis Fukuyama's much highlighted thesis on the global liberal space as the ultimate space, and Samuel Huntington's equally intensely debated argument on space, culture and global conflict, championed not only by a crucial number of analysts and policy-makers in the mainstream West, but also by various ideologues in the periphery, principally Islamists, who seem presently to be in the thick of a confrontation which many consider to be the new fault line in international politics supplanting the erstwhile East-West dichotomy.

## COURSE REQUIREMENTS

The course will be conducted partly in lecture mode and partly in the form of presentations and group discussions on the basis of the theme and reading material assigned for the week. Students are expected to do a presentation (40 %) and submit a term paper (40 %). The two requirements, with an assessment of individual participation in the discussions (20 %), will form the basis of the final grade.

## THE ORGANIZATION OF THE COURSE AND THE BIBLIOGRAPHY

The Arabic numerals preceding the main headings below refer to the weeks. The texts to be used and consulted on the course are to be supplied by the instructor. Still, for those who would like to reach the texts directly or, better still, electronically, the sources are marked as follows: **JS** (JStore), **Ebsco**, **METU Lib**, **Bilkent Lib**. JStore and Ebsco are accessible only through the computers on the campus. With the library books, the relevant call numbers are also indicated. The sources unmarked come from the personal library of the instructor.

### *1-2. Introduction*

### **3-7. The Geopolitics of Imperialism**

**3**

- Charles B. Hagan, 'Geopolitics,' *The Journal of Politics* (Vol. 4, No. 4, 1942), 478-490. **JS**  
Werner J. Cahnman, 'Methods of Geopolitics,' *Social Forces* (Vol. 21, No. 2, 1942), 147-154. **JS**  
Werner J. Cahnman, 'Concepts of Geopolitics,' *American Sociological Review* (Vol. 8, No. 1, 1943), 55-59.  
**JS**

### **4 Mackinder**

- Arthur Butler Dugan, 'Mackinder and His Critics Reconsidered,' *The Journal of Politics* (Vol. 24, No. 2, 1962), 241-257. **JS**  
H.J. Mackinder, 'The Geographical Pivot of History,' *The Geographical Journal* (Vol. 23, No. 4, 1904), 421-437. **JS**  
H.J. Mackinder *et al*, 'The Geographical Pivot of History: Discussion,' *The Geographical Journal* (Vol. 23, No. 4, 1904), 437-444. **JS**

### **5 German Geopolitics**

- George Kiss, 'Political Geography into Geopolitics: Recent Trend in Germany,' *Geographical Review* (Vol. 32, No. 4, 1942), 632-645. **JS**  
Friedrich Ratzel, 'The Territorial Growth of States,' *Scottish Geographical Magazine* (Vol. 12, No. 7, 1896), pp. 351-61; reprinted in J. Agnew *et al* (eds), *Human Geography: An Essential Anthology* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1996), 525-35. **Bilkent Lib GF41.H89**  
Karl Haushofer, 'Why Geopolitik? [1942]' G. O Tuathail *et al* (eds), *The Geopolitics Reader* (London: Routledge, 1998), hereafter *Reader*, 33-5.  
Karl Haushofer, 'Defense of German Geopolitics [1948],' *Reader*, 40-43.

### **6 US Perspectives**

- Kenneth L. Moll, 'A.T. Mahan, 'American Historian,' *Military Affairs* (Vol. 27, No. 3, 1963), 131-140.  
**JS**  
A.T. Mahan, *The Influence of Sea Power upon History, 1660-1783* (Boston: Little, Brown and Co., 1918 [1890]), 25-48. **Bilkent Lib D215.M342**  
Nicholas J. Spykman, 'Geography and Foreign Policy, II,' *The American Political Science Review* (Vol. 32, No. 2, 1938), 213-236. **JS**  
Edward Mead Earle, 'Power Politics and American World Policy,' *Political Science Quarterly* (Vol. 58, No. 1, 1943), 94-106. **JS**

### **7 Lenin**

- Daniel H. Kruger, 'Hobson, Lenin, and Schumpeter on Imperialism,' *Journal of the History of Ideas* (Vol. 16, No. 2, 1955), 252-259. **JS**  
Norman Etherington, 'Reconsidering Theories of Imperialism,' *History & Theory* (Vol. 21, No. 1, 1982), 1-36. **Ebsco**  
V.I. Lenin, 'Imperialism as the Highest Stage of Capitalism [1917],' in *Lenin on Imperialism and Imperialists* (Moscow: Progress Publishers, 1973), 49-86. **Bilkent Lib JC359.L45**

### **8-9. The Geopolitics of Cold War**

8

- Dwight P. Flanders, 'Geopolitics and American Post-War Policy,' *Political Science Quarterly* (Vol. 60, No. 4, 1945), 578-585. **JS**
- Ely Culbertson, 'Russia and World Security,' *Russian Review* (Vol. 4, No. 1, 1944), 10-17. **JS**
- Melvyn P. Leffler, 'The American Conception of National Security and the Beginnings of Cold War, 1945-48,' *The American Historical Review* (Vol. 89, No. 2, 1984), 346-381. **JS**
- John Lewis Gaddis, Bruce Kuniholm, 'Comments' on Leffler, *The American Historical Review* (Vol. 89, No. 2, 1984), 382-390. **JS**

9

- David Mayers, 'Soviet War Aims and the Great Alliance: George Kennan's Views, 1944-1946,' *Journal of Contemporary History* (Vol. 21, No. 1, 1986), 57-79. **JS**
- George F. Kennan, 'The Sources of Soviet Conduct [1947],' *Reader*, 61-5.
- Coral Bell, 'Kissinger in Retrospect: The Diplomacy of Power-Concert,' *International Affairs* (Vol. 53, No. 2, 1977), 202-216. **JS**
- Andrei Zhdanov, 'Soviet Policy and World Politics [1947],' *Reader*, 66-68.

### **10-11. The Post-Cold War Geopolitics**

10

- Francis Fukuyama, 'Liberal Democracy as a Global Phenomenon,' *PS: Political Science and Politics* (Vol. 24, No. 4, 1991), 659-664. **JS**
- Francis Fukuyama, 'The End of History?' *Reader*, 114-24.
- Francis Fukuyama, 'Reflections on the End of History: Five Years Later,' *History and Theory* (Vol. 34, No. 2, 1995), 27-43. **JS**

11

- Samuel P. Huntington, 'The Clash of Civilizations?' *Reader*, 159-69.
- Benjamin R. Barber, *Jihad vs. McWorld* (New York: Ballantine Books, 1995), 219-235. **METU Lib**  
**HM201.B37**
- Benjamin R. Barber, 'Beyond Jihad vs. McWorld,' *Nation* (Vol. 274, No. 2, 2002), 11-16. **Ebsco**

### **12-13. Critical Geopolitics**

12

- John Agnew and Stuart Corbridge, 'Geopolitical Discourse,' in *Mastering Space: Hegemony Territory and International Political Economy* (London: Routledge, 1995), 46-77. **METU Lib JC319.A45**
- Klaus Dodds, 'Political Geography III: Critical Geopolitics After Ten Years,' *Progress in Human Geography* (Vol. 25, No. 3, 2001), 469-484. **Ebsco**

13

- Gearoid O Tuathail, 'The Postmodern Geopolitical Condition: States, Statecraft and Security at the Millennium,' *Annals of the Association of American Geographers* (Vol. 90, No. 1, 2000), 166-178. **Ebsco**
- Simon Dalby, *Geopolitical Change and Contemporary Security Studies: Contextualizing the Human Security Agenda* (The University of Columbia Institute of International Relations Working Paper No. 30, 2000).

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Round-up  
FURTHER READING

**Introduction**

- John Agnew and Stuart Corbridge, 'The Territorial Trap,' in *Mastering Space: Hegemony Territory and International Political Economy* (London: Routledge, 1995), 78-100. **METU Lib JC319.A45**
- John V. O'Laughlin (ed), *Dictionary of Geopolitics* (Westport: Greenwood, 1994) **Bilkent Lib REF/JC319.D495**
- Klaus Dodds and D. Atkinson (eds), *Geopolitical Traditions: A Century of Geopolitical Thought* (London: Routledge, 2000). **Bilkent Lib JC319.G483**
- Klaus Dodds, *Geopolitics in a Changing World* (Harlow: Prentice Hall, 2000). **METU Lib JC319.D55**
- Ladis K. D. Kristof, 'The Origins and Evolution of Geopolitics,' *The Journal of Conflict Resolution* (Vol. 4, No. 1, 1960), 15-51. **JS**
- Francis P. Sempa, *Geopolitics from the Cold War to the 21<sup>st</sup> Century* (New Brunswick: Transaction Publishers, 2002). **METU Lib JC319.S45**
- Virginie Mamadouh, 'Reclaiming Geopolitics: Geographers Strike Back,' in D. Newman and N. Kliot (eds), *Geopolitics at the End of the Twentieth Century: The Changing World Political Map* (London: Frank Cass, 2000), 118-138. **METU Lib JC319.G486**

### ***The Geopolitics of Imperialism***

- Jean Gottmann, 'The Background of Geopolitics,' *Military Affairs* (Vol. 6, No. 4, 1942), 197-206. **JS**
- Richard Hartshorne, 'Recent Developments in Political Geography, I,' *The American Political Science Review* (Vol. 29, No. 5, 1935), 785-804. **JS**
- Richard Hartshorne, 'Recent Developments in Political Geography, II,' *The American Political Science Review* (Vol. 29, No. 6, 1935), 943-966. **JS**

### ***Mackinder***

- H.J. Mackinder, 'On the Scope and Methods of Geography,' *Proceedings of Royal Geographical Society and Monthly Record of Geography* (Vol. 9, No. 3, 1887), 141-174. **JS**
- H.J. Mackinder, 'Modern Geography, German and English,' *The Geographical Journal* (Vol. 6, No. 4, 1895), 367-379. **JS**
- H.J. Mackinder, 'Geographical Conditions Affecting the British Empire: I. The British Islands,' *The Geographical Journal* (Vol. 33, No. 4, 1909), 462-476. **JS**
- Charles Redway Dryer, 'Mackinder's "World Island" and Its American "Satellite",' *Geographical Review* (Vol. 9, No. 3, 1920), 205-207. **JS**

### ***German Geopolitics***

- Andrew Gyorgy, 'The Application of German Geo-Politics: Geo-Sciences,' *The American Political Science Review* (Vol. 37, No. 4, 1943), 677-686. **JS**
- Carl Troll, 'Geographic Science in Germany during the Period 1933-1945: A Critique and Justification,' trans. Eric Fischer, *Annals of the Association of American Geographers* (Vol. 39, No. 2, 1949), 99-137. **JS**
- Charles Kruszewski, 'International Affairs: Germany's Lebensraum,' *The American Political Science Review* (Vol. 34, No. 5, 1940), 964-975. **JS**
- Ewald W. Schnitzer, 'German Geopolitics Revived,' *The Journal of Politics* (Vol. 17, No. 3, 1955), 407-423. **JS**
- Friedrich Ratzel, 'Studies in Political Areas: The Political Territory in Relation to Earth and Continent,' *The American Journal of Sociology* (Vol. 3, No. 3, 1897), 297-313. **JS**
- Friedrich Ratzel, 'Studies in Political Areas, II: Intellectual, Political, and Economic Effects of Large Areas,' *The American Journal of Sociology* (Vol. 3, No. 4, 1898), 449-463. **JS**
- Friedrich Ratzel, 'Studies in Political Areas, III: The Small Political Area,' *The American Journal of Sociology* (Vol. 4, No. 3, 1898), 366-379. **JS**
- Henry Cord Meyer, 'Mitteleuropa in German Political Geography,' *Annals of the Association of American Geographers* (Vol. 36, No. 3, 1946), 178-194. **JS**
- H. Wickham Steed, 'From Frederic the Great to Hitler: The Consistency of German Aims,' *International Affairs* (Vol. 17, No. 5, 1938), 655-681. **JS**

### ***US Perspectives***

- Alfred Vagts, 'Geography in War and Geopolitics,' *Military Affairs* (Vol. 7, No. 2, 1943), 79-88. **JS**
- Edgar S. Furniss, Jr., 'The Contribution of Nicholas John Spykman to the Study of International Politics,' *World Politics* (Vol. 4, No. 3, 1952), 382-401. **JS**
- Isaiah Bowman, 'Geography vs. Geopolitics,' *Geographical Review* (Vol. 32, No. 4, 1942), 646-658. **JS**
- J.O.M. Broek, 'Geopolitics and Political Geography,' *Far Eastern Survey* (Vol. 12, No. 4, 1943), 143-145. **JS**

Nicholas J. Spykman and Abbie A. Rollins, 'Geographic Objectives in Foreign Policy, I,' *The American Political Science Review* (Vol. 33, No. 3, 1939), 391-410. **JS**

### **Lenin**

David G. Smith, 'Lenin's "Imperialism": A Study in the Unity of Theory and Practice,' *The Journal of Politics* (Vol. 17, No.4, 1955), 546-469. **JS**

### **The Geopolitics of Cold War**

Melvyn P. Leffler, 'Reply' to Gaddis, *The American Historical Review* (Vol. 89, No. 2, 1984), 391-400. **JS**

Paul Seabury, 'Cold War Origins, I,' *Journal of Contemporary History* (Vol. 3, No. 1, 1968), 169-182. **JS**

Brian Thomas, 'Cold War Origins, II,' *Journal of Contemporary History* (Vol. 3, No. 1, 1968), 183-198. **JS**

Curtis Keeble, 'The Roots of Soviet Foreign Policy,' *International Affairs* (Vol. 60, No. 4, 1984), 561-578. **JS**

David Mayers, 'Containment and the Primacy of Diplomacy: George Kennan's Views, 1947-1948,' *International Security* (Vol. 11, No. 1, 1986), 124-162. **JS**

J. Samuel Walker, 'The Origins of the Cold War in the United States History Textbooks,' *The Journal of American History* (Vol. 81, No. 4, 1995), 1652-1661. **JS**

John Lewis Gaddis, 'Containment: Its Past and Future,' *International Security* (Vol. 5, No. 4, 1981), 74-102. **JS**

Jonathan Night, 'George Frost Kennan and the Study of American Foreign Policy,' *The Western Political Quarterly* (Vol. 20, No. 1, 1967), 149-160. **JS**

Zbigniew Brzezinski, 'Communist Ideology and International Affairs,' *The Journal of Conflict Resolution* (Vol. 4, No. 3, 1960), 266-291. **JS**

Zbigniew Brzezinski, 'The Organization of the Communist Camp,' *World Politics* (Vol. 13, No. 2, 1961), 175-209. **JS**

Zbigniew Brzezinski, 'Deviation Control: A Study in the Dynamics of Doctrinal Control,' *The American Political Science Review* (Vol. 56, No. 1, 1962), 5-22. **JS**

Zbigniew Brzezinski and Samuel P. Huntington, 'Cincinnatus and the Apparatchik,' *World Politics* (Vol. 16, No. 1, 1963). **JS**

### **The Post-Cold War Geopolitics**

Edward N. Luttwak, 'From Geopolitics to Geo-Economics: Logic of Conflict, Grammar of Commerce,' *Reader*, 125-30.

Samuel P. Huntington, 'How Countries Democratize,' *Political Science Quarterly* (Vol. 106, No. 4, 1991/1992), 579-616. **JS**

### **Critical Geopolitics**

David Harvey, 'Between Space and Time: Reflections on the Geographical Imagination,' *Annals of the Association of American Geographers* (Vol. 80, No. 3, 1990), 418-434. **JS**

Derek Gregory, *Geographical Imaginations* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1993).

Gearoid O Tuathail, *Critical Geopolitics: The Politics of Writing Global Space* (London: Routledge, 1996).

**Bilkent Lib JC319.O29**

Gearoid O Tuathail and Simon Dalby (eds), *Rethinking Geopolitics* (London: Routledge, 1998). **Bilkent Lib JC319.R44**

Gearoid O Tuathail, 'Problematizing Geopolitics: Survey, Statesmanship and Strategy,' *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers* (Vol. 19, No. 3, 1994), 259-272. **JS**

John Agnew, 'Turning Time into Space,' in *Geopolitics: Re-Visioning World Politics* (London: Routledge, 1998), 32-48. **METU Lib JC319.A43**