

International Security in the Twenty-First Century

Political Science 7310

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Office Hours: by appt.
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Course Description

The course surveys current issues in international security and world politics. Themes that will be addressed include: What do global trends in international security tell us about where the world is heading? What are non-Western visions of global and regional order? What is U.S. grand strategy and what kind of strategy should it pursue? Is the world still unipolar or have we already entered a “post-American” multipolar or nonpolar world? What are the problems posed by the rise of China for U.S. security and the stability of East Asia? What are the prospects for peace and development in Africa? Can the world effectively manage the non-traditional security threats of epidemic disease and global climate change? What are the problems and prospects for nuclear proliferation? Can we get to “zero”? Should we want a world without nuclear weapons?

Course Requirements

In addition to class participation, you are required to write one paper of roughly 25 pages in length. A great deal of flexibility will be allowed regarding topics and formats. One possible format is to use case studies to test a theoretically-grounded argument. Historical cases are appropriate, though their relevance to contemporary issues should be explained. You may also write a policy paper, though it should be informed by relevant theories. The final version of the paper is due on the last day of class.

Required Texts:

- *Foreign Affairs* Journal (A Digital, STUDENT subscription, \$19.95).
- Randall L. Schweller, *Maxwell's Demon and the Golden Apple: Global Discord in the New Millennium* (Baltimore, Md.: Johns Hopkins UP, 2014).

Topic 1: Introduction

Topic 2: Models of the Coming International Order

The current international order is in transition. On the other side of this transition, what sort of order might emerge? What variables and circumstances might shape outcomes, e.g., demographic change, disruptive technologies, power shifts from West to East, great power alliances, economic boom and bust, etc.? What are the logics of these alternative futures and the sort of pathways of change that might facilitate or inhibit their

emergence? Six alternative futures defined in terms of a specific driver are explored:

1. **A New Cold War.** Does the rise of powerful authoritarian-capitalist states signal the advent of a new, more competitive Cold-War division of the world into armed liberal and authoritarian camps?

- Azar Gat, "The Return of Authoritarian Great Powers," *Foreign Affairs* (July/August 2007).
- Daniel Deudney and G. John Ikenberry, "The Myth of the Autocratic Revival: Why Liberal Democracy Will Prevail," *Foreign Affairs* (January/February 2009).

2. **Great Power Concert.** The unipolar system transitions to a multipolar system in which the great powers (old and new) find ways to build a global architecture for joint management of the system.

- John Ikenberry, "The Future of Multilateralism: Governing the World in a Post-Hegemonic Era," *Japanese Journal of Political Science* 16.3 (2015): 399-413.

3. **Great Power Conflict.** The unipolar system transitions to a multipolar system that is permeated by the problems of anarchy – insecurity, rivalry, arms races, nationalism, competition for resources, etc.

- John Mearsheimer, "Great Power Conflict in the 21st Century," NIC memo.
- Roger Cohen, "Yes, It Could Happen Again," *The Atlantic* (July 29, 2014).

4. **Economic Breakdown and Closure.** This is an order in which the Liberal world economy gives way to blocs, spheres, and geo-economic conflict. The 1930s are the inspiration for this future.

- Jonathan Kirshner, "Unhappy Days Are Here Again? Scenarios for Shutting Down the Global Economy," NIC memo.

5. **Global Disorder is the New Normal.** This is a system in which states do not have the capacities to shape and direct outcomes. No state or group of states is in control. What order arises must do so spontaneously or not at all.

- Randall L. Schweller, *Maxwell's Demon and the Golden Apple: Global Discord in the New Millennium* (Johns Hopkins UP, 2014).
- Richard N. Haass, "The Unraveling: How to Respond to a Disordered World," *Foreign Affairs* (November/December 2014).
- Stewart Patrick, "The Unruled World: The Case for Good Enough Global Governance," *Foreign Affairs*, Vol. 93, No. 1 (Jan./Feb. 2014), pp. 58-73.

6. **Non-State Actors and the Grey Zone Conflict.** All sorts of non-state actors – terrorist groups, bankers, NGOs, and transnational actors – grow in importance and reshape the system.

- Martha Finnemore, "Behind Every Scenario, Rising Non-State Power," NIC memo

- Jakub Grygiel, "The Primacy of Premodern History," *Security Studies*, Vol. 22, No. 1 (January-March 2013), pp. 1-32.

Topic 3: Democracy and War: Extensions of the Theory

- Alexander B. Downes and Lindsey A. O'Rourke, "You Can't Always Get What You Want: Why Foreign-Imposed Regime Change Seldom Improves Interstate Relations," *International Security*, Vol. 41, No. 2 (Fall 2016): 43–89.
- Bruce Bueno de Mesquita and George W. Downs, "Intervention and Democracy," *International Organization*, Vol. 60, No. 3 (Summer 2006), pp. 627–649.
- Nigel Lo, Barry Hashimoto, and Dan Reiter, "Ensuring Peace: Foreign-Imposed Regime Change and Post-War Peace Duration, 1914–2001," *International Organization*, Vol. 62, No. 4 (Fall 2008), pp. 717–736.
- Larry Diamond, "Facing Up to the Democratic Recession," *Journal of Democracy*, Vol. 26, No. 1 (January 2015), pp. 141-55.
- Nancy Bermeo, "On Democratic Backsliding," *Journal of Democracy*, Vol. 27, No. 1 (January 2016), pp. 5–19.
- Sarah E. Croco, "The Decider's Dilemma: Leader Culpability, Domestic Politics, and War Termination," *The American Political Science Review*, Vol. 105, No. 3 (August 2011), pp. 457-77.

Topic 4: Unipolarity and Its Consequences

- G. John Ikenberry, Michael Mastanduno, and William C. Wohlforth, "Introduction: Unipolarity, State Behavior, and Systemic Consequences," *World Politics*, Vol. 61, No. 1 (January 2009), pp. 1-27.
- Robert Jervis, "Unipolarity: A Structural Perspective," *World Politics*, Vol. 61, No. 1 (January 2009), pp. 188-213.
- Barry Posen, "Command of the Commons: The Military Foundation of U.S. Hegemony," *International Security*, Vol. 28, No. 1 (Summer 2003): 5-46.
- Jack Levy and William Thompson, "Balancing on Land and at Sea: Do States Ally against the Leading Global Power?" *International Security*, Vol. 35, No 1 (Summer 2010), pp. 7-43.
- Nuno P. Monteiro, "Unrest Assured: Why Unipolarity Is Not Peaceful," *International Security*, Vol. 36, No. 3 (Winter 2011/12), pp. 9-40.

Topic 5: Drones, Cyberwar, and Gray Zones

- Andrea Gilli and Mauro Gilli, "The Diffusion of Drone Warfare? Industrial, Infrastructural and Organizational Challenges: Military Innovations and the Ecosystem Challenge," *Security Studies*, Vol. 25, No. 1 (Jan.-March 2016): 50-84.
- Michael C. Horowitz, Sarah E. Kreps, and Matthew Fuhrmann, "Separating Fact from Fiction in the Debate over Drone Proliferation," *International Security*, Vol. 41, no. 2

(Fall 2016): 7–42.

- Erik Gartzke, "The Myth of Cyberwar: Bringing War in Cyberspace Back Down to Earth," *International Security*, Vol. 38, No. 2 (Fall 2013), pp. 41–73.

Four National Intelligence Council Memos on Gray Zone Conflict (12/16):

- 1. Michael J. Mazarr, Thinking About Gray Zone Conflict.
- 2. Keir Giles, Russian Information Warfare - Optimised for the Grey Zone.
- 3. Rosa Brooks, Legal and Normative Implications of "Gray Zone" Challenges.
- 4. Nora Bensahel, Darker Shades of Gray: Why Gray Zone Conflicts Will Become More Frequent and Complex.

Topic 6: US Grand Strategy: Deep Engagement vs. Retrenchment?

- Barry R. Posen, "Pull Back: The Case for a Less Activist Foreign Policy," *Foreign Affairs* (January/February 2013).
- John J. Mearsheimer and Stephen M. Walt, "The Case for Offshore Balancing: A Superior U.S. Grand Strategy," *Foreign Affairs* (July/August 2016), pp. 70-83.
- Stephen G. Brooks, G. John Ikenberry, and William C. Wohlforth, "Don't Come Home, America: The Case against Retrenchment," *International Security*, Vol. 37, No. 3 (Winter 2012-13): 7-51.
- Michael Beckley, "The Myth of Entangling Alliances: Reassessing the Security Risks of U.S. Defense Pacts," *International Security*, Vol. 39, No. 4 (Spring 2015), pp. 7–48.
- Paul K. MacDonald and Joseph M. Parent, "Graceful Decline? The Surprising Success of Great Power Retrenchment," *International Security*, Vol. 35, No. 4 (Spring 2011), pp. 7-44.

Topic 7: China's Rise: Implications for International and Regional Order

- Robert S. Ross, "U.S. Grand Strategy, the Rise of China, and U.S. National Security Strategy for East Asia," *Strategic Studies Quarterly*, Vol. 7, No. 2 (Summer 2013), pp. 20–40.
- Griffiths, Ryan D., "States, Nations, and Territorial Stability: Why Chinese Hegemony Would Be Better for International Order," *Security Studies*, Vol. 25, No. 3 (Summer 2016), pp. 519–545
- Yuen Foong Khong, "Primacy or World Order? The United States and China's Rise—A Review Essay," *International Security* 38, no. 3 (Winter 2013/14): pp. 153-175.
- Ja Ian Chong and Todd H. Hall, "The Lessons of 1914 for East Asia Today: Missing the Trees for the Forest," *International Security* 39, no. 1 (Summer 2014): 7-43.
- Evan Braden Montgomery, "Contested Primacy in the Western Pacific: China's Rise and the Future of U.S. Power Projection," *International Security*, Vol. 38, no. 4 (Spring 2014): 115-149.
- Stephen Biddle and Ivan Oelrich, "Future Warfare in the Western Pacific: Chinese

Antiaccess/Area Denial, U.S. AirSea Battle, and Command of the Commons in East Asia," *International Security*, Vol. 41, No. 1 (Summer 2016), pp. 7–48.

- Michael Beckley, "China's Century? Why America's Edge Will Endure," *International Security*, Vol. 36, No. 3 (Winter 2011/12), pp. 41-78.
- James R. Holmes and Toshi Yoshihara. "History Rhymes: The German Precedent for Chinese Seapower," *Orbis*, Vol. 54, Issue 1 (2010): 14–34.
- Adam P. Liff and G. John Ikenberry, "Racing toward Tragedy? China's Rise, Military Competition in the Asia Pacific, and the Security Dilemma," *International Security*, Vol. 39, No. 2 (Fall 2014), pp. 52–91.
- Sumit Ganguly and Manjeet S. Pardesi, "Can China and India Rise Peacefully?" *Orbis*, Vol. 56, Issue 3, (Summer 2012), pp 470-485.

Topic 8: Security Issues in South Asia

- Sumit Ganguly, "Nuclear Stability in South Asia," *International Security*, Vol. 33, No. 2 (Fall 2008), pp. 45-70.
- S. Paul Kapur, "Ten Years of Instability in a Nuclear South Asia," *International Security*, Vol. 33, No. 2 (Fall 2008), pp. 71-94.
- S. Paul Kapur and Sumit Ganguly, "The Jihad Paradox: Pakistan and Islamist Militancy in South Asia," *International Security*, Vol. 37, No. 1 (Summer 2012), pp. 111-141.
- Paul Staniland, "Organizing Insurgency: Networks, Resources, and Rebellion in South Asia," *International Security*, Vol. 37, No. 1 (Summer 2012), pp 142-177.
- Vipin Narang, "Posturing for Peace? Pakistan's Nuclear Postures and South Asian Stability," *International Security*, Vol. 34, No. 3 (Winter 2009/10), pp. 38-78.
- Gaurav Kampani, "New Delhi's Long Nuclear Journey: How Secrecy and Institutional Roadblocks Delayed India's Weaponization" *International Security*, Vol. 38, no. 4 (Spring 2014), pp. 79-114.

Topic 9: Intervention: Humanitarian, Impartial, and Otherwise

- Robert A. Pape, "When Duty Calls: A Pragmatic Standard of Humanitarian Intervention," *International Security*, Vol. 37, No. 1 (Summer 2012), pp. 41-80.
- Richard K. Betts, "The Delusion of Impartial Intervention," *Foreign Affairs*, Vol. 73, No. 6 (November/December 1994), pp. 20-33.
- Benjamin A. Valentino, "Still Standing By: Why America and the International Community Fail to Prevent Genocide and Mass Killing," *Perspectives on Politics*, Vol. 1, No. 3 (September 2003), pp. 565-578.
- Terry Nardin, "The Moral Basis of Humanitarian Intervention," *Ethics and International Affairs*, Vol. 16, No. 1 (March 2002), pp. 57-71.

Topic 10: Terrorism

- John Mueller and Mark G. Stewart, "The Terrorism Delusion: America's Overwrought Response to September 11," *International Security*, Vol. 37, No. 1 (Summer 2012), pp. 81-110.
- Jacob N. Shapiro, *The Terrorist's Dilemma: Managing Violent Covert Organizations* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 2013), chap. 2.
- Max Abrahms, "What Terrorists Really Want: Terrorist Motives and Counterterrorism Strategy," *International Security*, Vol. 32, No. 4 (Spring 2008), pp. 78-105.
- Mette Eilstrup-Sangiovanni and Calvert Jones, "Assessing the Dangers of Illicit Networks: Why al-Qaida May Be Less Dangerous Than Many Think," *International Security*, Vol. 33, No. 2 (Fall 2008), pp. 7-44.
- Ahmad, Aisha, "Going Global: Islamist Competition in Contemporary Civil Wars," *Security Studies*, Vol. 25, No. 2 (Spring 2016), pp. 353-384.

Topic 11: Nuclear Proliferation: Problems and Prospects

- Ivo Daalder and Jan Lodal, "The Logic of Zero: Toward a World Without Nuclear Weapons," *Foreign Affairs*, Vol. 87, No. 6 (November/December 2008), pp. 80-95.
- Josef Joffe and James Davis, "Less Than Zero," *Foreign Affairs* (January/February 2011).
- Scott Sagan, "Why Do States Build Nuclear Weapons? Three Models in Search of a Bomb," *International Security*, Vol. 21 (Winter 1996/97), pp. 54-86.
- Peter D. Feaver, "Command and Control in Emerging Nuclear Nations," *International Security*, Vol. 17, No. 3 (Winter 1992/93), pp. 160-187.
- Francis J. Gavin, "Strategies of Inhibition: U.S. Grand Strategy, the Nuclear Revolution, and Nonproliferation," *International Security*, Vol. 40, no. 1 (Summer 2015): 9-46.
- Keir A. Lieber and Daryl G. Press, "Why States Won't Give Nuclear Weapons to Terrorists," *International Security*, Vol. 38, No. 1 (Summer 2013), pp. 80-104.
- T.V. Paul, "Systemic Conditions and Security Cooperation: Explaining the Persistence of the Nuclear Nonproliferation Regime," *Cambridge Review of International Affairs*, Vol. 16 (April 2003), pp. 135-54.

Topic 12: Status in World Politics

- William C. Wohlforth, "Unipolarity, Status Competition, and Great-Power War," *World Politics*, Vol. 61, No. 1 (January 2009), pp. 28-57.
- Deborah Welch Larson, T.V. Paul, and William Wohlforth, "Introduction: Status and World Order," in Paul, Larson, and Wohlforth, eds., *Status in World Politics* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2014), chap 1.
- Deborah Larson and Alexei Shevchenko, "Admission into the Great-Power

- Club—Managing Rising Powers: The Role of Status Concerns,” in Paul, Larson, and Wohlforth, eds., *Status in World Politics*, chap. 2.
- David Lake, “Status, Authority and the End of the American Century,” in Paul, Larson, and Wohlforth, eds., *Status in World Politics*, chap. 10.
 - Dafoe, Allan, and Devin Caughey, “Honor and War: Southern US Presidents and the Effects of Concern for Reputation,” *World Politics*, Vol. 68, No. 2 (April 2016), pp. 341–381.