

International Security in the Twenty-First Century
Political Science 752

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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

One paper, about 25 pages. 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.

In addition, students will be expected to write one memo regarding a policy topic or a book that we will discuss during the session.

Required Texts:

- *Foreign Affairs* Journal (A Digital, STUDENT subscription, \$19.95).
- Jeffrey Herbst, *States and Power in Africa: Comparative Lessons in Authority and Control* (Princeton University Press, 2000).
- Robert H. Bates, *When Things Fell Apart: State Failure in Late-Century Africa* (Cambridge University Press, 2008).
- Robert S. Ross and Zhu Feng, eds., *China's Ascent: Power, Security, and The Future of International Politics* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2008).

Topic 1: 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 are the possibilities and what variables and circumstances will shape outcomes? This session will explore alternative futures. We seek to identify the logic of these alternative futures and the sort of pathways of change that might facilitate or inhibit their emergence. We are open to all sorts of variables that might shape alternative futures – demographic change, disruptive technologies, power shifts from West to East, great power alliances, economic boom and bust, etc. While the reordering of global politics might actually be a blend of alternative logics of (dis)order, the exercise is to identify and isolate the ideal-types so as to see the various moving parts that are at work. The class will be organized around five alternative futures, each defined in terms of a specific driver:

- Economic Breakdown and Closure. This is an order in which the open, rule-based 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; Jonathan Kirshner, "The Consequences of China's Economic Rise for Sino-U.S. Relations," in Robert S. Ross and Zhu Feng, eds., *China's Ascent: Power, Security, and The Future of International Politics* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2008)..
- Diffusion of Power. A state system in which states do not have the capacities to shape and direct the system. This is not a power transition process but a power diffusion process. No state or group of states is in control. Randall Schweller, "The Diffusion of Power Model," NIC Memo; Randall Schweller, "Ennui Becomes Us," *The National Interest* (Jan./Feb. 2010); Richard Haass, "The Age of Nonpolarity: What Will Follow U.S. Dominance," *Foreign Affairs* (May/June 2008).
- Great Power Concert. The unipolar system transitions to a multipolar system in which the great powers (old and new) find ways to build an architecture for joint management of the system. John Ikenberry, "From Unipolarity to a Great Power Concert," NIC memo; John Ikenberry, "The Rise of China: Power, Institutions, and the Western Order," in Robert S. Ross and Zhu Feng, eds., *China's Ascent: Power,*

Security, and The Future of International Politics (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2008).

- 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; Azar Gat, “The Return of Authoritarian Great Powers,” *Foreign Affairs* (July/August 2007).
- Non-state actors Drive the System. The rise of 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; Deborah Avant, Martha Finnemore, and Susan K. Sell, *Who Governs the Globe?* (Cambridge UP, 2010), chap. 1 (available on-line).
- Background reading: National Intelligence Council, *Global Trends, 2025* (November, 2008). Available on-line at: http://www.dni.gov/nic/NIC_2025_project.html

Topic 2: Eroding Unipolarity and American Decline? _

- 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 Pape, “Empire Falls,” *The National Interest* (Jan/Feb 2009).
- Niall Ferguson, “Complexity and Collapse,” *Foreign Affairs*, (March/April 2010).
- Josef Joffe, “The False Prophecy of America’s Decline,” *Foreign Affairs* (Sept./Oct. 2009).
- Fareed Zakaria, “The Future of American Power,” *Foreign Affairs*, (May/June 2008).
- Barry Eichengreen, “The Dollar Dilemma: The World’s Top Currency Faces Competition,” *Foreign Affairs* (September/October 2009).
- C. Fred Bergsten, “The Dollar and Deficits,” *Foreign Affairs* (Nov./Dec. 2009).
- Roger Altman and Richard N. Haass, “American Profligacy and American Power,” *Foreign Affairs* (November/December 2010).
- Leslie H. Gelb, “GDP Now Matters More Than Force,” *Foreign Affairs* (Nov./Dec. 2010).

Topic 3: Non-Western Visions of a Post-American World Order

With power more diffused and authority more contested, how will the newly powerful states try to shape (or remake) global rules and order? Are the struggles over order and governance essentially struggles over the distribution of authority (who has a seat at the table; rights and privileges within existing institutions) or deeper struggles over basic principles and organizational visions (who commands and who benefits)? Is Washington’s “stake holder” vision based on a misreading of what non-Western rising states seek? Do ideological divides run North and South or East and West or along other dimensions? Are there any liberal internationalists outside the West?

China is a key player, of course, but this session will look at other states such as India, Brazil, Indonesia, and Turkey. What do these rising states want? What are their ideologies, visions, grand designs for global order? This agenda fits nicely with what is a growing interest in the policy community on rising states and challenges to global/regional architecture. There is also the growing debate about whether the goal of rising states (leave aside China for the moment) is to gain “stake holder” status in existing institutions or to push for more sweeping changes in the principles and organizational logic of global order.

- Steve Weber, Overview. NIC memo, November 2010.
- Omer Taspinar, Turkish visions. NIC memo, November 2010.
- Hugh Pope, “Pax Ottomana?” *Foreign Affairs* (November/December 2010).
- Rahul Sagar, “India and International Order,” NIC memo, November 2010.
- Matias Spektor, “Brazilian Visions of Global Order,” NIC memo, November 2010.
- Stewart Patrick, “Irresponsible Stakeholders? The Difficulty of Integrating Rising Powers,” *Foreign Affairs* (November/December 2010).
- Nancy Birdsall and Francis Fukuyama, “The Post-Washington Consensus,” *Foreign Affairs*, 90, no. 2 (March/April 2011), pp. 45-53.
- Kishore Mahbubani, “The Case Against the West: America and Europe in the Asian Century,” *Foreign Affairs*, Vol. 87, no. 3 (May/June 2008), pp. 111-124.
- Robert D. Kaplan, “Center Stage for the Twenty-first Century: Power Plays in the Indian Ocean,” *Foreign Affairs* (March/April 2009).
- Jack A. Goldstone, “The New Population Bomb: The Four Megatrends That Will Change the World,” *Foreign Affairs*, Vol. 89, No. 1 (January/February 2010).

Topic 4: Chinese Thinking About Future International and Regional Order

David Shambaugh focuses on Chinese thinking about sovereignty, institutions, and engagement of Western order. Minxin Pei surveys elite debates on grand strategy. Taylor Fravel focuses on Chinese thinking about territory, border issues and visions of Asian regionalism. Barry Naughton explores Chinese views of global economic order – trade, resources, energy, etc. Roger Irvine provides a survey of Chinese elites – including IR figures and other policy experts – and their ideas and debates about international order. Evelyn Goh outlines Southeast Asian views of the consequences of China's rise in the military, political, and economic realms and, then, analyzes Southeast Asian responses to the China challenge with regard to their larger regional security strategies. Iain Johnston explores the issue of whether China is a revisionist or status-quo power. Avery Goldstein looks at crucial systemic and domestic considerations that bear on China's rise. Jeff Legro focuses on “purpose” changes in Chinese grand strategic thinking. Wu Xinbu takes a Chinese view of the US-Japanese alliance. Evan Medeiros explains US and Chinese hedging policies vis-à-vis each other. Robert Kaplan discusses the geography of Chinese power. And Tom Christensen

examine US policy toward China.

- M. Taylor Fravel, "China's Behavior in Its Territorial Disputes: Past, Present, and Future," NIC Memo, February 2011
- Barry Naughton, "The Geo-economic Thinking of China's Elite," NIC memo, February 11, 2011.
- Minxin Pei, "Competing Ideologies in China," NIC memo, Feb. 2011.
- David Shambaugh, "Chinese Thinking About World Order," NIC memo, Feb. 2011.
- Roger Irvine, "Primacy and Responsibility: China's Perception of Its International Future," *China Security*, Issue 18 (2010).
- Evelyn Goh, "Southeast Asian Perspectives on the China Challenge," *The Journal of Strategic Studies*, Vol. 30, No. 4-5 (August-October 2007), pp. 809-832.
- Wu Xinbu, "The End of the Silver Lining: A Chinese View of the U.S.-Japanese Alliance," *Washington Quarterly* 29 (Winter 2005-6), pp. 119-131.
- Evan S. Medeiros, "Strategic Hedging and the Future of Asia-Pacific Stability," *Washington Quarterly* 29 (Winter 2005-6), pp. 145-67.
- Avery Goldstein, "Parsing China's Rise: International Circumstances and National Attributes," in Robert S. Ross and Zhu Feng, eds., *China's Ascent: Power, Security, and The Future of International Politics* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2008).
- Jeffrey W. Legro, "Purpose Transitions: China's Rise and the American Response," in Robert S. Ross and Zhu Feng, eds., *China's Ascent: Power, Security, and The Future of International Politics* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2008).
- Thomas J. Christensen, "The Advantages of an Assertive China: Responding to Beijing's Abrasive Diplomacy," *Foreign Affairs* 90 (March/April 2011), pp. 54-67.
- Robert Kaplan, "The Geography of Chinese Power," *Foreign Affairs*, Vol. 89, no. 3 (May/June 2010), pp. 22-41.
- Alastair Iain Johnston, "Is China a Status Quo Power?" *International Security*, Vol. 27, No. 4 (Spring 2003), pp. 5-56.

Topic 5: Africa: Collapsed and Failing States, Insecurity, and War

- Jeffrey Herbst, *States and Power in Africa: Comparative Lessons in Authority and Control* (Princeton University Press, 2000)
- Robert H. Bates, *When Things Fell Apart: State Failure in Late-Century Africa* (Cambridge University Press, 2008).
- Séverine Autesserre, "The Trouble with Congo," *Foreign Affairs*, Vol. 87, no. 3 (May/June 2008), pp. 94-110.

Suggested Readings:

- Stephen Krasner, "Shaping Sovereignty: New Institutions for Collapsed and Failing States." *International Security*, Vol. 29, No. 2 (Fall 2004), pp. 85-120.
- Michael Barnett, "Building a Republican Peace: Stabilizing States after War," *International Security*, Vol. 30, No. 4 (Spring 2006), pp. 87-112.

Topic 6: Non-Traditional Threats: Epidemic Disease, Climate Change, Cybersecurity

- Susan Peterson, "Epidemic Disease and National Security," *Security Studies*, Vol. 12, No. 2 (Winter 2002/03), pp. 43-81.
- Susan Peterson and Stephen Shellman, "Aids and Violent Conflict: Indirect Effects of Disease on National Security," (unpublished ms., 2006). Paper available at the "Aids and International Security," College of William and Mary webpage.
- Joshua W. Busby, "Who Cares About the Weather?: Climate Change and U.S. National Security," *Security Studies*, Vol. 17, No. 3 (July-September 2008), pp. 468-504.
- David G. Victor, M. Granger Morgan, Jay Apt, John Steinbruner, and Katharine Ricke, "The Geo-engineering Option," *Foreign Affairs* (March/April 2010).
- Michael A. Levi, "Copenhagen's Inconvenient Truth," *Foreign Affairs* (September/October 2009).
- William J. Lynn III, "Defending a New Domain: The Pentagon's Cyberstrategy," *Foreign Affairs* (September/October 2010).
- Wesley K. Clark and Peter L. Levin, "Securing the Information Highway: How to Enhance the United States' Electronic Defenses," *Foreign Affairs* (Nov./Dec. 2009).

Topic 7: International Relations Theory after 9/11

- William J. Brenner, "In Search of Monsters: Realism and Progress in International Relations Theory after September 11," *Security Studies*, Vol. 15, no. 3 (July-September 2006), pp. 496-528.
- Walter Enders and Todd Sandler, "After 9/11: Is it All Different Now?" *Journal of Conflict Resolution*, Vol. 49, no. 2 (April 2005), pp. 259-277.
- Daniel Philpott, "The Challenge of September 11 to Secularism in International Relations," *World Politics*, Vol. 55, no. 1 (October 2002), pp. 66-95.
- Charles Glaser, "Structural Realism in a More Complex World," *Review of International Studies*, Vol. 29, no. 3 (July 2003), pp. 403-414.
- Andrew Kydd and Barbara Walter, "The Strategies of Terrorism," *International Security*, Vol. 31, No. 1 (Summer 2006), pp. 49-80.
- 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.

Topic 8: 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* 21 (Winter 1996/97), pp. 54-86.
- 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.