

## International Security Affairs

Professor Robert Axelrod

This is a policy-oriented course on international security issues of the contemporary era. The course deals with fundamental problems of security, and the ways that these problems might manifest themselves in the future. Among the fundamental problems that will be considered are:

1. The major forces in the world today, including religion, nationalism, ethnicity, and energy dependence.
2. Selected global issues such as terrorism, changing relative powers of states, and proliferation.
3. Emerging regional issues and opportunities, especially in South Asia and East Asia.
4. Long run trends and opportunities in the world, such as the effects of the information revolution, changing roles of nation-states, transnational movements, democratization and international organizations.

Final grades will be calculated in the following way:

Class participation	20%
Class presentation	10%
Draft First Policy Paper ( <u>due October 7</u> )	10%
Final First Policy Paper ( <u>due October 28</u> )	20%
Draft Second Policy Paper ( <u>due November 18</u> )	15%
Final Second Policy Paper ( <u>due noon Dec.9</u> )	25%

The policy papers should be written in the form of a memo to a specific person such as a senior staff person at the UN, a member of U.S. Congress, the Secretary of State, the Secretary of Defense, or a counterpart in another country. The paper should state the scope of the issue, and then advocate a policy. It should consider alternative policies and evaluate the full range of relevant considerations. The paper will be evaluated on the basis of the sophistication and completeness of the argument. A good idea is to imagine that the reader is well informed, but slightly skeptical about the position you are advocating. For three examples of student policy papers, see Weeks 7 and 9 below.

Most of the readings are available on the web at the addresses given. You should purchase Joseph Nye, Jr., Understanding International Conflicts (NY: HarperCollins, Fifth Edition, 2005.) and The 9/11 Commission Report, Authorized Edition (N.Y.: W.W. Norton, 2004).

This syllabus, with active links, is available on the Ford School web site and on my personal home page. My personal web page is <http://www-personal.umich.edu/~axe/>

## **2. Energy Dependence. September 16.**

Nye, Joseph, Jr., Understanding International Conflicts (NY: HarperCollins, 2005), Chapter 7.

Allison, Graham, "The Impact of Globalization on National and International Security," in Joseph S. Nye Jr. and John D. Donahue (eds.), Governance in a Globalizing World (Washington DC: Brookings, 2000), pp. 72-85. In coursepack.

Summers, Lawrence, "The New Wealth of Nations: Lessons from the 1990s", Bulletin of the American Association for the Advancement of Science, vol. 53, Nov. 1999, pp. 26-35. In coursepack.

"Yergin: US Energy Security Lies in Diversified Supply." Oil & Gas Journal, September 2, 2000, vol. 100, pp. 26-28. New York Times, "The Oil Hierarchy," April 13, 2003. Chart. In coursepack.

Grau, Lester, W., "Hydrocarbons and a New Strategic Region: The Caspian Sea and Central Asia," Military Review, May-June 2001.

Banerjee, Neela, "Oil's Pressure Points," New York Times, April 13, 2003.

U.S. Department of Energy, "Annual Energy Outlook, 2005."

U.S. Department of Energy, "World Energy 'Areas to Watch,'" August 2004. Read first paragraph for each country, and skim the rest.

Lizza, Ryan, "A Green Car That the Energy Industry Loves," New York Times, February 2, 2003.

Tutorial on a valuable research tool, the Cited Reference Search. Read the first 7 pages starting at <http://www.isinet.com/tutorials/wos7/> The tool itself is at <http://isi02.isiknowledge.com/portal.cgi?DestApp=WOS&Func=Frame>

## **3. Viability of The All Volunteer Army. September 23.**

O'Hanlon, Michael E., Defense Strategy for the Post-Saddam Era. (Washington: Brookings). 2005. pp. 39-71 and 125-8. Note paragraph on p. 57 starting with "Someday..." In coursepack.

Selective Service Home Page <http://www.sss.gov/>

Schmitt, Eric, "For the First Time in Months, Army Meets Its Recruiting Goal," New York Times, June 30, 2005.

Shanker, Thom and Eric Schmitt, "Pentagon Weighs Strategy Change to Deter Terror," New York Times, July 5, 2005.

Clark, Richard A. "War and Weakness," New York Times Magazine, June 19, 2005. In coursepack.

Moskos, Charles, "Feel That Draft?" Chicago Tribune, June 8, 2005, p. A19

"Congressman Charles Rangel Renews Call for Military Draft." Press Release, May 26, 2005. On line.

Carafano, James Jay, "No More Troops," New York Post, July 9, 2004.

Jacobs, Bruce, "Lessons Lost?" National Guard Magazine, March 2003.

Moskos, Charles, "Toward a New Conception of the Citizen Soldier," Orbis, forthcoming.

#### **4. Religion and Nationalism. September 30.**

Huntington, Samuel, Clash of Civilizations (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1996), pp. 81-101. In coursepack.

Tilly, Charles, "Europe and the International State System," in John Hutchinson and Anthony D. Smith (eds.), Nationalism (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1994), pp. 251-54. In coursepack.

Eidelson, Roy and Judy I. Eidelson, "Dangerous Ideas," American Psychologist, vol. 58, March 2003, pp. 182-92.

Gurr, Ted Robert, "Ethnic Warfare on the Wane," Foreign Affairs, May-June 2000; vol. 79, May 2000, pp. 52-64.

Tamir, Yael, "The Enigma of Nationalism," World Politics, vol. 47, April 1995, pp. 418-40. You may skim p. 420.7 - 425.2 and 428.5 - 430.5.

Lewis, Bernard, "The Revolt of Islam," New Yorker, Nov. 19, 2001.

## **5. Terrorism. October 7.**

United States Department of State, Country Reports on Terrorism 2004. Released April 2005. Pages 3-8, 12-14, 27, 73-5, 80-92, 113.

<http://www.state.gov/documents/organization/45313.pdf>

9/11 Commission Report, Authorized Edition (NY: Norton, 2004), Chapter 2, "The Foundation of the New Terrorism," pp. 47-70 and 466-71.

Berman, Paul, "The Philosopher of Islamic Terror," New York Times Magazine, March 23, 2003.

Juergensmeyer, Mark, Terror in the Mind of God, (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, updated edition 2001), pp. 3-15, 216-243. In coursepack.

Atran, Scott, "Genesis of Suicide Terrorism," Science, v. 299, 7 March 2003, pp. 1534-9.

Talbott, Strobe, "The Other Evil: The War on Terrorism Won't Succeed without a War on Poverty," Foreign Policy, Nov./Dec. 2001, pp. 75-76.

"Defining Terrorism," in A More Secure World: Our Shared Responsibility, Report of the Secretary-General's High-level Panel on Threats, Challenges and Change, Nov. 2004. pp. 51-2. (paragraphs 157-164).

<http://www.un.org/secureworld/report2.pdf>

Allison, Graham, Nuclear Terrorism: The Ultimate Preventable Catastrophe. 2004 (NY: Times Books, 2004.) pp.140-175. In coursepack.

Richards, Whitman, "Computational Models of Belief Structures and Intentions," Department of Defense Multidisciplinary University Research Initiative Proposal, August 10, 2004. In coursepack.

Atran, Scott, et al., "Sacred Values in Decision Making and Cultural Conflict," NSF Proposal, February 23, 2005. In coursepack.

## **6. Democratization. October 14 (to be rescheduled).**

Russett, Bruce, Grasping the Democratic Peace: Principles for a Post-Cold War World (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1993), pp. 3-42, 119-141 and 149. In coursepack.

Fukuyama, Francis, "Liberal Democracy as a Global Phenomenon," PS: Politics and Society, December 1991, vol. 24, pp. 659-664.

Bush, George, Second Inaugural Speech, January 20, 2005.

<http://www.whitehouse.gov/news/releases/2005/01/print/20050120-1.html>

Note: President Bush said that the book that summarizes how he feels is Sharansky, Natan, The Case for Democracy: The Power of Freedom to Overcome Tyranny & Terror (New York: Public Affairs, 2004).

Halperin, Morton H.; Siegle, Joseph T., and Weinstein, Michael M., The Democracy Advantage: How Democracies Promote Prosperity and Peace. New York, New York: Routledge; 2005, pp. 1-24. In coursepack.

Axelrod, Robert, "Promoting Democracy Through International Organizations," in Ernesto Zedillo (ed.), Reforming the United Nations for Peace and Security (New Haven: Yale Center for the Study of Globalization, 2005), pp. 19-38.  
<http://www-personal.umich.edu/~axe/research/PromotingDemocracy.pdf>

Ottaway, Marina and Thomas Carothers, "Middle East Democracy," Foreign Policy, vol. 145, Nov/Dec 2004, pp. 22-28.

Haass, Richard N., "Freedom Is Not a Doctrine: Promoting Democracy Is the Wrong Priority for Foreign Policy," Washington Post, January 24, 2005.

Snyder, Jack, "Empire: A Blunt Tool for Democratization," Daedalus. Spring 2005. Vol. 134, p. 58-71.

## 7. Collective Action. October 21.

Nye, Joseph, Jr., Understanding International Conflicts (NY: HarperCollins, 2005), Chapters 4 and 9.

Soros, George, Open Society: Reforming Global Capitalism (New York, Public Affairs, 2000), pp. 303-305. In coursepack.

Annan, Kofi, "Prevention is Better Than Cure," Presidents & Prime Ministers, September-October 1999, pp. 17-18 and 24-25.

Gareth Evans and Mohamed Sahnoun. "The Responsibility to Protect," Foreign Affairs. New York: Nov/Dec 2002. Vol. 81, Iss. 6; pp. 99-110. Online via <http://proquest.umi.com/pqdweb>

"The Security Council," in A More Secure World: Our Shared Responsibility, Report of the Secretary-General's High-level Panel on Threats, Challenges and Change, Nov. 2004. pp 79-83 (paragraphs 244-258).  
<http://www.un.org/secureworld/report2.pdf>

Rosenau, James, "Governance in the Twenty-First Century," Global Governance, vol. 1, 1995, pp. 13-43. In coursepack.

Pan, Michael, "Increasing Support for UN Rapid Deployment Capabilities," Student Report, April 10, 1998. In coursepack.

Gholston, Willacin, "UN Maintenance of International Peace and Security," Student report, April 23, 2002. In coursepack.

Matthew, Richard A. and Kenneth R. Rutherford, "The Evolutionary Dynamics of the Mine Ban Movement," Alternatives, vol. 28, no. 1, January 2003, pp. 29-56. In coursepack.

## **8. The Case of Kashmir. October 28.**

Varshney, Ashutosh, "India, Pakistan, and Kashmir: Antimonies of Nationalism," Asian Survey, Nov. 1991, vol. 31, no. 11, pp 997-1019.

Ganguly, Sumit, "Explaining the Kashmir Insurgency: Political Mobilization and Institutional Decay," International Security, vol. 21, Fall 1996, pp. 76-107.  
<http://www.mtholyoke.edu/acad/intrel/sumit.htm>

Schofield, Victoria, Kashmir in Conflict (London: I.B. Tauris) 2003, p 8, 26 and 225-46 and 272-75. In coursepack.

Cohen, Stephen Philip, "India, Pakistan and Kashmir," Journal of Strategic Studies, vol. 25 no 4, Dec 2002, 32-60. In coursepack.

"Kashmir Crisis, 2002" (Actually updated to 2003). GlobalSecurity.Org.  
Theis, Wallace and Dorle Hellmuth, "Critical Risk and the 2002 Kashmir Crisis," Nonproliferation Review, Fall/Winter 2004, vol. 11, no 3 p 1-24. In coursepack.

United States Department of State, Country Reports on Terrorism 2004. Released April 2005. Review pages 73-5 from Week 5.

Mazari, Shireen M., "Nature of Future Pak-Indian Wars," Strategic Studies (Islamabad), Summer 2002, vol. 22 no 2 p 1-8. In coursepack.

## **9. East Asia. November 4.**

Christensen, Thomas, "China," in Richard J. Elings and Aaron L Freidberg (eds.), Strategic Asia: Power and Purpose (Washington, National Bureau of Asian Research, 2001). 27-69. In coursepack.

Council on Foreign Relations, Chinese Military Power (New York: 2003), pp. 1-19, 51-61, 74-92. Available online at [http://www.cfr.org/pdf/China\\_TF.pdf](http://www.cfr.org/pdf/China_TF.pdf)

“Chinese Strength, U.S Weakness,” Editorial, New York Times, June 26, 2005.

Landweber, Mike, “U. S. Military Involvement in the South China Sea,” Student Report, April 10, 1998. In coursepack.

Bolton, John R. “A Dictatorship at the Crossroads,” Speech at Seoul, South Korea, July 31, 2003.

Bracken, Paul, “The Structure of the Second Nuclear Age,” Orbis, vol. 47, no. 3, Summer 2003, pp. 399-413.

Pyle, Kenneth B. and Eric Heginbotham, “Japan,” in Richard J. Elings and Aaron L. Freidberg (eds.), Strategic Asia: Power and Purpose (Washington, National Bureau of Asian Research, 2001), pp. 70-126. In coursepack.

## 10.Revolution in Military Affairs. November 11.

Nye, Joseph, Jr., Understanding International Conflicts (NY: HarperCollins, 2005), Chapter 8.

Rosecrance, Richard, "The Rise of the Virtual State," Foreign Affairs, July/August 1996, pp. 45-61.

Wilson, Clay, “Network Centric Warfare: Background and Oversight Issues for Congress,” Washington, DC: Congressional Research Service, Library of Congress. June 4, 2004. 35p.

Umansky, Eric, “A Place to Find Out for Yourself About the War,” The New York Times, September 22, 2002

GlobalSecurity.Org, American K2 Airbase at Khanabad, Uzbekistan, near the Afghan border. Click on images to see the quality of the photos publicly available. <http://www.globalsecurity.org/military/world/centralasia/khanabad-imagery.htm>

Risen, James and Eric Lichtblau, “Intelligence on China Was Forwarded to Presidents,” New York Times, April 29, 2003. An example of the complexities of relying on human agents for intelligence.

Axelrod, Robert, “Coping with Unknown Unknowns,” Chapter IV of Risk in Networked Information Systems, Report prepared for the Office of the Assistant Secretary of

Defense for Networks and Information Integration. October 20, 2003. pp. 43-49.  
Full report at [umich.edu/~axe/risk.pdf](http://umich.edu/~axe/risk.pdf)

## **11. Weapons of Mass Destruction.** November 18.

Nye, Joseph, Jr., Understanding International Conflicts (NY: HarperCollins, 2005),  
Chapter 5.

Cirincoine, Joseph, Jon B. Wolfsthal and Miriam Rajkumar, Deadly Arsenal, Tracking  
Weapons of Mass Destruction (New York, Council on Foreign Relations, 2002),  
Chapter 1. Online at [http://www.ceip.org/files/pdf/Deadly\\_Arsenals\\_Chap1.pdf](http://www.ceip.org/files/pdf/Deadly_Arsenals_Chap1.pdf)

Steinbruner, John D., Principles of Global Security (Washington, DC: Brookings, 2000),  
pp. 198-212. In coursepack.

Schelling, Thomas C., Arms and Influence (New Haven, Yale University Press, 1966)),  
pp. 35-43, 92-99, 234-39. In coursepack.

O'Neill, Barry, Honor, Symbols and War (Ann Arbor, University of Michigan Press,  
1999), pp. 139-58 and 296. In coursepack.

Bracken, Paul, "Asia's Militaries and the New Nuclear Age," Current History, Dec. 1999,  
pp. 415-21.

"Russia's National Security Concept," Arms Control Today, January-February 2000, pp.  
15-20.

## **12. United States.** December 2.

Nye, Joseph, Jr., Understanding International Conflicts (NY: HarperCollins, 2005),  
Chapter 6.

Ikenberry, G. John, "America's Imperial Ambition," Foreign Affairs, September, 2002,  
pp.44-60.

Kissinger, Henry, "Keynote Address at Naming Ceremony of the Gerald R. Ford School  
of Public Policy," Ann Arbor, MI. September 12, 2001. In coursepack.

Payne, Rodger, "Is an Outlaw State Calling the Shots?" International Studies  
Perspectives, May 2001, v2, n2. In coursepack.

9/11 Commission Report, Authorized Edition (NY: Norton, 2004), Chapter 11-13, pp.  
339-428 and 560-567. Skim 383-98 and 423-8.

Freedman, Lawrence D., "Calling the Shots: Should Politicians or Generals Run Our Wars?" Foreign Affairs, vol. 81. September 2002, pp. 188-94.

### 13. The Long Run. December 9.

Peterson, Peter G., "Riding for a Fall," Foreign Affairs. September 2004, p 111-125.

Mandelbaum, Michael and John J. Mearsheimer, "Is Major War Obsolete," Great Debate Series, Council on Foreign Relations, New York, NY, February 25, 1999. Note: you may skip the question period at the end.

Goldstein, Joshua, "Feminism," International Relations, (New York: Longman, Third Edition, 1999). pp. 115-135. In coursepack.

"The Use of Research in Public Policy on Violence," Harry Frank Guggenheim Foundation, Annual Report, 2005, pp. 41-42. In coursepack.

Nye, Joseph, "Essay on Career Choice," Chapter 17 in Power and the Global Information Age (NY: Routledge, 2004), pp. 217-23. In coursepack.