

Professor Samuel Huntington,
assisted by Mr. James Perry

Spring 2003

I. PURPOSE

The purpose of this course is to explore the patterns of conflict, cooperation, and change in contemporary international politics. The topics to be dealt with include but are not limited to: general theories and interpretations of contemporary global politics, changes in the relevance of different forms of power and in the distribution of power among states, the interests of the major powers, conflictual and cooperative relations among those powers, threats to global security, the most prevalent and dangerous forms of violent conflict, alternative ways of promoting global order, and the implications of all this for the policies of the United States, other governments, and international organizations.

II. REQUIREMENTS

This course is a research and discussion seminar. Students have two major responsibilities.

First, each student is to write a major research paper on a topic within the framework of the course and chosen and developed in consultation with the instructor and his assistant.. Each student will be expected to submit a 2 to 5 page paper prospectus no later than Friday, March 21. Papers are due Wednesday, May 14. A graduate student may secure an extension and take an "Incomplete" in the seminar if he/she submits a written request to that effect to the instructor by May 14th and specifies precisely in that request the date on which he/she proposes to turn in the paper. Failure to submit the paper on the specified date will result in a penalty. The paper will account for roughly two-thirds of a student's grade.

Second, students are expected to do the assigned reading each week and to participate regularly in class discussions. Each student will initiate discussion at one class for no more than ten minutes by discussing issues in that week's reading. Class participation will account for roughly one-third of a student's grade.

Professor Huntington will be delighted to meet with students at mutually agreeable times to discuss matters related to the course. His office is in Room 341, Weatherhead Center, 1033 Massachusetts Ave. Please contact Beth Baiter, (495-4432) bbaiter@wcfia.harvard.edu to make an appointment. Mr. Perry also will meet with students. He can be reached at 617-868-4006 and by e-mail at jdperry@fas.harvard.edu, and holds office hours on Thursdays from 10-12 in Loker Commons.

III. CLASS SCHEDULE

A. Understanding Global Politics

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| 1. January 29 | Contemporary global politics: paradigms and issues |
| 2. February 5 | Realism or liberal institutionalism |
| 3. February 12 | Global empire or multicivilizational uni-multipolarity |

B. Changing Power Relationships

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| 4. February 19 | Great power relations: the North Atlantic |
| 5. February 26 | Great power relations: East Asia |
| 6. March 5 | Great power relations: Eurasia |

C. Threats to Security

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| 7. March 12 | Militant Islam |
| 8. March 19 | Immigration, demographic change, and societal security |
| 9. April 2 | Communal conflicts and fault line wars |
| 10. April 9 | State decay and the breakdown of order |
| 11. April 16 | Superpower coercion and intervention |

D. Approaches to International Order

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|--------------|-------------------|
| 12. April 23 | Global governance |
| 13. April 30 | Global pluralism |

IV. ASSIGNED READING

Note: Items marked with asterisk (*) will be available on reserve in Littauer Library, and on e-reserves. Other items are on reserve in the Littauer Library or can be purchased at the Coop.

2. February 5: Offensive Realism or Liberal Institutionalism

Mearsheimer, John J. *The Tragedy of Great Power Politics* (W.W. Norton, 2001), chaps. 1–2 (pp. 1–54), chaps 9–10 pp. 334–402).

*Slaughter, Anne-Marie, “[The Real New World Order](#),” *Foreign Affairs*, Vol. 76 (Sept-Oct. 1997), pp. 183–197.

Keck, Margaret E. and Kathryn Sikkink, *Activists Beyond Borders: Advocacy Networks in International Politics* (Cornell Univ. Press, 1998), Chaps 1 (pp.1–38) and 6 (pp. 199–218).

Nye, Joseph S. Jr., *The Paradox of American Power* (Oxford University Press, 2002), chap 1 (pp. 1–12 only) and chap. 2 (pp. 41–76).

3. February 12: Global Empire or Multicivilizational Uni-multipolarity

*Rosen, Stephen Peter. “Imperial Strategy and American Statecraft: A Speculative Essay”. (unpublished paper, Jan. 2003), pp. 1–27.

*Walker, Marin. “What Kind of Empire?” *Wilson Quarterly*, Vol. 26 (Summer 2002), pp. 36–49.

*Bacevich, Andrew J. “New Rome, New Jerusalem,” *Wilson Quarterly*, Vol. 26 (Summer 2002), pp. 50–58.

Kissinger, Henry. *Does America Need a Foreign Policy?* (Simon & Schuster, 2001), Chap. 1 (pp. 17–31).

Huntington, Samuel P. *The Clash of Civilizations and the Remaking of World Order*, (Simon and Schuster, 1996), chaps.1–2 (pp.19–55), chap. 4 (pp.61–101), chaps. 6–7 (pp. 125–179).

*Huntington, Samuel P., “[The Lonely Superpower](#),” *Foreign Affairs*, Vol. 78 (Mar–Apr 1999), pp. 35–49.

4. **February 19: Great Power Relations: The North Atlantic**

*Kagan, Robert. "Power and Weakness," Policy Review Vol. XXX (June–July 2002), pp. 3–28.

Kupchan, Charles A. *The End of the American Era* (Alfred A. Knopf, 2002), chap.4 (pp. 119–159).

Vedrine, Hubert. *France in an Age of Globalization* (Brookings Institution Press, 2001), pp. 1–15, 43–54.

Kissinger, *Does America Need a Foreign Policy?* Chap. 2 (pp. 32–82).

*Bergsten, C. Fred. "[America's Two-Front Economic Conflict](#)," Foreign Affairs, Vol. 80 (Mar–Apr 2001), pp. 16–27.

*Wallace, William. "[Europe the Necessary Partner](#)," Foreign Affairs, Vol. 80 (May–June 2001), pp. 16–34.

*Walt, Stephen M. "[The Ties That Fray](#)," The National Interest, No. 54 (Winter 1998–1999), pp. 3–11.

*Gordon, Philip H. "Bridging the Atlantic Divide," Foreign Affairs, Vol. 82 (Jan.–Feb. 2003), pp. 70–83.

5. **February 26: Great Power Relations: East Asia**

*Nye, Joseph S. "[China's Re-emergence and the Future of the Asia-Pacific](#)," Survival, Vol. 39 (Winter 1997–98), pp. 65–79.

Huntington, *The Clash of Civilizations and the Remaking of World Order*, chap. 9 (pp. 207–245).

*Christensen, Thomas J., "China, the U.S.-Japan Alliance and the Security Dilemma in East Asia," International Security, Vol. 23 (Spring 1999), pp. 49–80.

*Horner, Charles. "[China and the Historians](#)," The National Interest No.63 (Spring 2001), pp. 86–96.

*Friedberg, Aaron L. "Will Europe's Past Be Asia's Future?" Survival, Vol. 42 (Autumn 2000), pp. 147–59.

Kissinger, *Does America Need a Foreign Policy?* Chap. 4 (pp.110–163).

*Betts, Richard K. and Thomas J. Christensen “China: Getting the Questions Right,” National Interest, No. 62 (Winter 2000–01), pp. 17–29.

*Kurlantzick, Joshua. “Is East Asia Integrating?” Washington Quarterly, Vol. 24 (Autumn 2001), pp. 19–28.

*Barron, Michael J. “China’s Strategic Modernization: The Russian Connection,” Parameters, Vol. 31 (Winter 2001–02), pp. 71–86.

6. **March 5: Great Power Relations: Eurasia**

Huntington, *The Clash of Civilizations and the Remaking of World Order*, chaps. 6–7 (pp. 125–179).

*Brzezinski, Zbigniew. “[Living With Russia](#),” The National Interest, No. 61 (Fall 2000), pp. 5–16.

*Weisbrode, Kenneth. “Central Asia: Prize or Quicksand?” (International Institute for Strategic Studies, Adelphi Paper 338, 2001), pp. 7–85.

*Wishnick, Elizabeth. *Growing U.S. Security Interests in Central Asia* (U.S. Army War College, Strategic Studies Institute, October 2002), pp. 1–49.

*Jalali, Ali A. “The Strategic Partnership of Russia and Iran,” Parameters, Vol. 31 (Winter 2001–02) pp. 98–111.

*Garnett, Sherman. “Challenges of the Sino-Russian Strategic Partnership,” Washington Quarterly, Vol. 24 (Autumn 2001), pp. 41–54.

*Prizel, Ilya. “Putin’s Russia, the Berlin Republic, and East Central Europe: A New Symbiosis?” Orbis Vol. 46 (Fall 2002), pp. 679–693.

7. **March 12: Militant Islam**

Tibi, Bassam. *The Challenge of Fundamentalism: Political Islam and the New World Disorder* (University of California Press, 1998), chaps. 1 (pp. 1–19) and 5–6 (pp. 82–137).

Gunaratna, Rohan. *Inside Al Qaeda: Global Network of Terror* (Columbia University Press, 2002), Introduction and chaps. 1–2 (pp. 1–94).

*Lewis, Bernard. “What Went Wrong?” Atlantic Monthly, Vol. XXX (Jan. 2002), pp. 43–45.

Stern, Jessica, The Ultimate Terrorists (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1999), chaps 1–2 (pp. 1–30) and 5–6 (pp. 69–106).

8. Mar 19: Immigration, Demographic Change, and Societal Security

Huntington, *The Clash of Civilizations and the Remaking of World Order*, “Immigration” (pp. 198–206).

*Waever, Ole, et al, *Identity, Migration and the New Security Agenda in Europe* (Pinter, 1993), chaps. 2-3 (pp. 15-58).

*McSweeney, Bill, “Identity and Security: Buzan and the Copenhagen School,” Review of International Studies, Vol. 12 (Jan. 1998), pp. 81-94.

*National Intelligence Council, [*Growing Global Migration and Its Implications for the United States*](#). (National Intelligence Council, NIE 2001–02D, 2001), pp. 1–42.

*Weiner, Myron. “A Security Perspective on International Migration,” Fletcher Forum of World Affairs, Vol. 20 (Summer/Fall 1996), pp. 17–34.

*Nichiporuk, Brian, *The Security Dynamics of Demographic Factors* (Rand Corporation, 2000), pp. 1–52.

9. April 2 Communal Conflicts and Fault Line Wars

Huntington, *The Clash of Civilizations and the Remaking of World Order*, chaps. 10-11 (pp. 246-298).

Brown, Michael E. et al, eds., *Nationalism and Ethnic Conflict* (MIT Press, revised edition, 2001), pp. 3–25, 126–160, 366–414, 444–483.

*King, Charles. “The Benefits of Ethnic War,” World Politics, Vol. 53 (July 2001), pp. 524–552.

10. April 9: State Decay and the Breakdown of Order

*Kaplan, Robert. “[The Coming Anarchy](#),” Atlantic Monthly, Vol. 273 (Feb 1994), pp. 44–76).

Friman, H. Richard and Peter Andreas, eds., *The Illicit Global Economy* (Rowman & Littlefield, 1999), chaps. 1 (pp. 1-24) and 5-6 (pp. 125-172).

*Young, Crawford. "Deciphering disorder in Africa: Is Identity the Key?" World Politics, Vol. 54 (July 2002), pp. 532–557.

*Singer, P.W. "Corporate Warriors: The Rise of the Privatized Military Industry and Its Ramifications for International Security," International Security, Vol. 26 (Winter 2001–02), pp. 186–220.

*Rakey, Ray and Nikolas Gvosdev, "Do Terrorist Networks Need a Home?" Washington Quarterly, Vol. 25 (Summer 2002), pp. 97–108.

*Cohen, Stephen Philip. "The Nation and State of Pakistan," Washington Quarterly, Vol. 25 (Summer 2002), pp. 109–122.

*McLean, Philip "Colombia: Failed, Failing, or Just Weak?" Washington Quarterly, Vol. 25 (Summer 2002), pp. 123–34.

*Wanandi, Jusuf. "Indonesia: A Failed State?" Washington Quarterly, Vol. 25 (Summer 2002), pp. 135–46.

11. **April 16: Superpower Coercion and Intervention**

Huntington, *The Clash of Civilizations and the Remaking of World Order*, "Western Universalism" (pp. 183–186), "Human Rights and Democracy" (pp. 192–198).

Bacevich, Andrew J. *American Empire: The Realities and Consequences of U.S. Diplomacy* (Harvard University Press, 2002), Introduction (pp. 1–6), chap. 5 (pp. 117–140), chap. 7 (pp. 167–197), and chap. 9 (pp. 225–244).

*Heisbourg, Francois, "[American Hegemony? Perceptions of the U.S. Abroad](#)," Survival, Vol. 41 (Winter 1999–2000), pp. 5–19.

Lennon, Alexander T.J. *What Does the World Want From America?* (MIT Press, 2002), pp. 14–24, 39–49, 59–74, 84–94, 106–114, 126–139.

*U.S. National Security Council, *The National Security Strategy of the United States of America* (National Security Council, Sept. 2002), pp. 1–31.

*Gaddis, John Lewis. "A Grand Strategy of Transformation," Foreign Policy, No. XX (Nov.–Dec. 2002), pp. 50–57.

12. **April 23: Global Governance**

Nye, Joseph S. Jr. and John D. Donahue, eds., *Governance in a Globalizing World* (Brookings Institution Press, 2000), Introduction (pp. 1–41), chaps. 13 (pp. 297–318) and 16 (pp.

347–365.).

Bull, Hedley. *The Anarchical Society: A Study of Order in World Politics* (Columbia University Press, 2nd edition, 1995), Chaps. 1-3 (pp. 3–73), 10–11 (pp. 233–281), 13–14 (pp. 297–320).

*Cronin, Bruce. “The Paradox of Hegemony: America’s Ambiguous Relationship with the United Nations,” European Journal of International Relations, Vol. 7 (March 2001), pp. 103–130.

13. **April 30: Global Pluralism**

Huntington, *The Clash of Civilizations and the Remaking of World Order*, chap. 12 (pp. 301–321).

Bull, Hedley and Adam Watson, eds., *The Expansion of International Society* (Oxford University Press, 1984), chaps. 26–27 and Conclusion (pp. 387–436).

Richardson, Louise. “The Concert of Europe and Security Management in the Nineteenth Century,” in Helga Haftendorn, Robert Keohane, Celeste Wallander, eds., *Imperfect Unions: Security Institutions over Time and Space*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999), pp. 48–79.

*Schraeder, Peter J. “Cold War to Cold Peace: Explaining U.S.–French Competition in Francophone Africa,” Political Science Quarterly, Vol. 115 (Fall 2000), pp. 395–419.

Mansfield, Edward D. and Helen V. Milner, eds., *The Political Economy of Regionalism* (Columbia University Press, 1997), chaps. 1 (pp. 1–19), 7-8 (pp. 164–208).