

UNIVERSITY OF GEORGIA
INTL 1100H
Introduction to Global Issues

Spring 2005

Office

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Class

Moore College 302
MWF 9-9:55AM
Office Hours: Open Door

Course Description

The primary purposes of this course are to interest you in thinking about “global issues” and to give you the tools to start analyzing how nations and multinational institutions respond to such matters. What is a global issue? Roughly speaking, it’s any problem or challenge that spans national borders. In some cases individual nations can grapple effectively with an issue. More often an international approach is either desirable or mandatory, both to pool resources and to confer greater legitimacy on the endeavor. Such challenges differ widely in character and scope. War, proliferation, transnational terrorism, globalization, and environmental degradation are only some of the phenomena that qualify as global issues.

It would be impossible to cover the full range of issues in any meaningful depth this semester, so we won’t make the attempt. Instead we will read several books in their entirety. I chose these works based on several criteria. First, in keeping with the theme of this course, they cover a wide range of topics, actors, political approaches, and geographical regions. Second, they are well-written. Third, they require no special background knowledge. Fourth, they put forth forceful arguments in an effort to shape policy. While the authors make use of history and philosophy, reaching as far back as classical Greece for guidance, they are relentlessly forward-looking. Our focus thus will be less on explaining what is than on determining what should be.

This course serves as the entry point for a major in international affairs. Even if you don’t end up choosing the international-affairs major, the course will help you think critically about the world around us and, with any luck, acquire an enduring interest in how we should engage that world.

Readings

The books will be available in the UGA Bookstore, or you can order them online through Amazon.com or BarnesandNoble.com.

1. Allison, Graham. *Nuclear Terrorism: The Ultimate Preventable Catastrophe*. New York: Times Books, 2004.

2. Barnett, Thomas P. M. *The Pentagon's New Map: War and Peace in the Twenty-first Century*. New York: Putnam, 2004.
3. Ferguson, Niall. *Colossus: The Price of America's Empire*. New York: Penguin, 2004.
4. Flynn, Stephen. *America the Vulnerable: How Our Government Is Failing to Protect Us from Terrorism*. New York: HarperCollins, 2004.
5. Friedman, Thomas L. *The Lexus and the Olive Tree: Understanding Globalization*. New York: Anchor, 2000.
6. Huntington, Samuel. *The Clash of Civilizations & the Remaking of World Order*. New York: Simon & Schuster, 1998.
7. Kagan, Robert. *Of Paradise and Power: America and Europe in the New World Order*. New York: Vintage, 2004.
8. Kaplan, Robert D. *Warrior Politics: Why Leadership Demands a Pagan Ethos*. New York: Vintage Books, 2003.
9. Langewiesche, William. *The Outlaw Sea: A World of Freedom, Chaos, and Crime*. New York: North Point Press, 2004.

Course Policies and Requirements

The course will blend discussion with more traditional lectures. The readings fall into three broad units, which I have dubbed America and the World, Globalization and International Security, and Catastrophic Terrorism. I will normally lecture during the first session after we start a new book. The remaining sessions covering that book will be more Socratic in format, meaning that I will ask you to brief certain aspects of the reading or critique someone else's remarks (or, for that matter, my own). Bottom line: Come prepared to discuss the reading.

Office hours: I have no formal office hours. Drop by whenever the door is open—it usually is—to discuss any aspect of the course. If you do wish to make an appointment, the easiest way to do so is by email, jholmes@uga.edu.

Course requirements: Three papers (40 percent of the final grade), an essay final (40 percent), and class participation (20 percent).

Paper Topics

I will assign three analytical papers, one for each unit. Each paper should be two to three single-spaced pages in length. Topics are supplied below; pick one for each unit. Papers that pull in a wide range of material from the works covered in that unit will fare the best. If you wish, you may go beyond the assigned readings when composing a paper, but it is not required. Document your sources fully. Refer to the *Nonproliferation Review* style sheet,

<<http://cns.miis.edu/pubs/npr/style.htm>>, for guidance on footnoting. Also acceptable is the *Chicago Manual of Style*, 13th or 14th ed.

Grammar, style, and clear writing count. You will be expected to revise the first two papers after I review the initial drafts. This will help you sharpen up your analysis. I will average the grades for the two drafts.

Paper #1 Topics

1. Is America an empire? Should it become one?
2. Did 9/11 trigger a “clash of civilizations” of the kind envisioned by Huntington? If so, how should the United States and the West approach this clash?
3. Do Americans have a predilection for Kaplan’s brand of “warrior politics”? Does this help explain the recent frictions in the transatlantic relationship? Can these frictions be reduced? How?

Paper #2 Topics

1. Can the tension between prosperity and traditional ways of life—between the “Lexus and the olive tree,” that is—be resolved? How?
2. Is Barnett’s strategic vision of perturbing the “Non-Integrating Gap” and integrating the Gap into the “Functioning Core” workable? Why or why not?
3. Is real maritime security possible? Can globalization proceed without it? How can maritime security be improved?

Paper #3 Topics

1. Are nuclear terror attacks inevitable? How can the international community fend off catastrophic terrorism over the long haul?
2. Is true “homeland security” feasible in terms of material and human resources? How can homeland security be improved?
3. Will “rogue regimes” pass weapons of mass destruction to terrorists? How can the international community discourage them from doing so?

Analyzing Global Issues

This analytical “framework” will help you impose some structure on your thinking about global issues. Matters of politics and strategy cannot be reduced to formulas or checklists, and the list makes no pretense of being exhaustive. Nor will every theme or question apply to every issue. Even so, the framework should give you a useful starting point as you organize your thoughts. Use it.

1. **Nature of the Issue.** What is the nature of the issue? What sources of information pertaining to the issue are available? How complete and reliable is the information obtained from these sources?

Does information supplied by outside sources jibe with that supplied by domestic sources, and, if not, to what effect? To what extent are the facts relating to the issue or the interpretation of the facts in dispute? Is a common view of the issue possible?

2. Precedent. Has this issue or a similar one ever been confronted before? If so, what lessons can be learned from previous efforts? Was a systematic effort ever undertaken to analyze past experience and develop guidance for the future? How complete and reliable was this analysis? How does this issue differ from previous ones? To what extent do the lessons-learned from past experience need to be tailored to current circumstances?

Precedent is valuable. But is the issue likely to be framed largely or entirely in terms of historical precedent, along the lines of the Munich, Vietnam, and Somalia analogies? If so, are such analogies likely to limit the policy options available to decisionmakers or force them to compromise the political objectives? How can political leaders counteract an excessive reliance on the “lessons of history”?

3. Instruments of Policy. What political objectives should guide the response to the issue? How well equipped in material terms is the state to attain these objectives? Will its economic and financial strength, natural resources, and prowess at manufacturing and technological innovation allow it to execute an effective policy? Will these material factors prove decisive to the effort to address the issue, or will adept policy and strategy be required to overcome material shortcomings?

How much diplomatic clout does a state enjoy? How can its political leaders wield “hard” and “soft” power to good effect? Can they use information technology and “public diplomacy” to influence others? Will cultural affinities help? Are hard-power instruments such as military power and law enforcement relevant to the issue, and, if so, how well-suited are the state’s military and law-enforcement institutions to likely missions? How can any deficiencies be overcome or offset?

4. Institutional Factors. How well do the institutions spearheading the state’s response to the issue work together? How will any interagency frictions influence the formulation and execution of policy and strategy? Can rivalries within the government be surmounted, and, if so, how? How effective are the state’s political leaders likely to be at imposing their own vision on bureaucratic institutions? Can they surmount or work around bureaucratic impediments?

What international institutions are available to help respond to the issue? How formal are these institutions? How capable are they? Will there be a tradeoff between the legitimacy international institutions bestow and the constraints they sometimes impose on bold action? How can the benefits of international action be maximized while holding down the drawbacks? Would unilateral action or a loose “coalition of the willing” offer a better chance of success than multilateralism?

5. Social Factors. How will the state’s cultural traditions and history shape its response to the issue? Is there, for instance, an American “political culture” or “strategic culture”? If so, what are its fundamental characteristics, and is it a reliable predictor of American actions? To what extent do religious, ideological, or moral considerations influence the state’s policy and strategic preferences, and will these factors constrain its approach to the issue?

Are these social factors likely to undermine the state’s response to an issue that requires sustained, painstaking effort? Will its political leaders be able to rally public opinion behind the chosen policy

and strategy? Must the state's policy and strategy pay "incremental dividends," in the form of occasional successes or tokens of progress, to keep the public mind focused? Once public opinion is aroused, will political leaders be able to keep it under control?

What impact will nongovernmental institutions and interests have on the formulation and execution of policy? Will, for example, private interests such as the media, business, or ethnic lobbies push for (or against) certain policies or strategies? Will the government need the help of private industry or other institutions to make its chosen course of action work? How should political leaders handle relations with nongovernmental institutions and interests?

6. International Environment. How will the prevailing system of international relations influence efforts to organize a joint approach to the issue? Is the current system, for instance, more favorable to hegemony, multipolar "spheres of interest," balance-of-power politics, isolationism, or collective security? Does the issue at hand intersect with other transnational issues, and to what effect? Are such intersections likely to impede unity of effort and strategic coordination?

7. Coalition Politics. What common interests are there among the prospective partners in any coalition, and are these interests powerful enough to withstand internal stresses or external pressure? How can political leaders assure effective strategic coordination and burden sharing? How rapidly are circumstances changing with respect to this issue, and what impact will change have on the solidarity of the coalition? Is new information likely to undermine the coalition?

If the issue involves confronting an adversary, how may that adversary's actions influence the coalition's ability to pursue its chosen course of action? Will the adversary be able to exploit latent or open sources of tension within the coalition? How can political leaders hold the coalition together?

8. Ends-Means Match. What are the political objectives of the state or coalition? Which policy instruments are best suited to attaining these objectives? How can these instruments be used in concert to achieve political results? Have the costs and benefits of various courses of action been carefully evaluated? Do the political ends justify the likely expenditure of resources? Are political leaders' assumptions about various policy options sound?

9. Interaction, Adaptation, and Feedback. Did political leaders understand the different policy instruments and forms of power at their disposal, and did they tap into the synergies among various instruments? How well did various governmental and nongovernmental institutions work together? Did leaders take into account political, social, logistical, and other constraints on their ability to deploy and use the implements of policy? Did the strategy achieve its intended political aims?

How effectively did the leaders of states and international institutions prosecute the campaign? Before taking the first step in the campaign, did they contemplate what the last step ought to be? Did they miss opportunities to bring a swift end to the campaign? How well did they manage public and world opinion, and how well did they work together among themselves? Did they undertake systematic efforts to learn the lessons of the enterprise, and, if so, were they candid about mistakes?

Are the lessons-learned from this endeavor likely to form a new historical analogy, shaping the state's approach to future controversies? If so, to what effect?

Schedule

Introduction

Monday	January 10	Introduction and Analytical Framework
Wednesday	January 12	Writing About International Affairs Read: George Orwell, "Politics and the English Language," in any Orwell collection or at < http://www.cato.org/research/articles/orwell.html >

America and the World

Robert Kaplan, *Warrior Politics*

Friday	January 14	Chapters I-IV
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No Class Monday, January 17 (Martin Luther King Day)

Wednesday	January 19	Chapters V-VIII
Friday	January 21	Chapters IX-XI

Robert Kagan, *Of Paradise and Power*

Monday	January 24	pp. 3-53
Wednesday	January 26	pp. 53-103

Samuel Huntington, *The Clash of Civilizations*

Friday	January 28	Chapter 1; Guest Speaker: Dr. Toshi Yoshihara
Monday	January 31	Chapters 2-3
Wednesday	February 2	Chapters 4-5
Friday	February 4	Chapters 6-7
Monday	February 7	Chapters 8-9
Wednesday	February 9	Chapters 10-11
Friday	February 11	Chapter 12

Niall Ferguson, *Colossus*

Monday	February 14	Chapters 1-2
Wednesday	February 16	Chapters 3-4
Friday	February 18	Chapters 5-6
Monday	February 21	Chapters 7-8
Wednesday	February 23	Conclusion

Globalization and International Security

Thomas Friedman, *Lexus and the Olive Tree*

Friday	February 25	Chapters 1-3
Monday	February 28	Chapters 4-6; Paper #1 Due
Wednesday	March 2	Chapters 7-9
Friday	March 4	Chapters 10-12
Monday	March 7	Chapters 13-15
Wednesday	March 9	Chapters 16-18; Revised Paper #1 Due

Thomas Barnett, *The Pentagon's New Map*

Friday	March 11	Chapter 1
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No Class March 14, 16, 18 (Spring Break)

Monday	March 21	Chapter 2
Wednesday	March 23	Chapter 3
Friday	March 25	Chapter 4
Monday	March 28	Chapter 5
Wednesday	March 30	Chapter 6
Friday	April 1	Chapters 7-8

William Langewiesche, *The Outlaw Sea*

Monday	April 4	pp. 3-61
Wednesday	April 6	pp. 61-126
Friday	April 8	pp. 127-96
Monday	April 11	pp. 197-239

Catastrophic Terrorism

Graham Allison, *Nuclear Terrorism*

Wednesday	April 13	Introduction and Chapter 1; Guest Speaker: TBA
Friday	April 15	Chapters 2-3; Paper #2 Due
Monday	April 18	Chapters 4-5
Wednesday	April 20	Chapters 6-7
Friday	April 22	Chapter 8 and Conclusion; Revised Paper#2 Due

Stephen Flynn, *America the Vulnerable*

Monday	April 25	Chapters 1-3
Wednesday	April 27	Chapters 4-5
Friday	April 29	Chapters 6-8
Monday	May 2	Wrap-up; Paper #3 Due

Final Exam Time and Place TBA
