

Dr. Geoffrey Wiseman

Office: VKC 319

Office Hours: T 2.00–4.00 p.m.; W 5.00–5.45 p.m. (& by appointment)

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Thursday

2 – 4.50 p.m.

VKC 204

IR 502
Conflict and Cooperation
Fall 2007
(August 6, 2007)

Course Goals

Against the background of twentieth century history, this graduate-level course addresses the twin themes of conflict and cooperation, introducing some of the major literatures on the causes, strategy, practice, and future possibilities of war and peace. For over eighty years the academic study of international security, grounded in the realist paradigm and criticized by the idealists, focused on the reasons why states developed military power, how that power was constituted, and how and why, and with what consequences, military force was projected into the international system. Consequently, the study of security emphasized grand strategy, defense policy, weapons systems, nuclear deterrence, military intervention, and war. These central preoccupations embraced the multi-polar, pre-nuclear age and the bipolar Cold War period.

In addition to providing a grounding in some of these traditional themes, this course explores the writings of security scholars who – since the end of the Cold War in the late 1980s and early 1990s – have sought to understand the unfinished business of the Cold War (continuity) as well as the new patterns of conflict and cooperation that emerged with the collapse of the Berlin Wall and the break-up of the Soviet Union (change). As a result of these developments, scholars, practitioners and – increasingly – activists have generated new ideas, concepts, and strategies. Security studies have largely supplanted strategic studies. New normative and policy agendas have emerged, many seeking practical and durable solutions to a range of troublesome conflicts and thorny issues: defining the rules for robust peacekeeping and preventive diplomacy, rediscovering humanitarian intervention, containing weapons proliferation and terrorism, preventing and punishing genocide, and finding a place in the international policy discourse for non-state actors. The course examines these problems in terms of the conflict/cooperation dichotomy with an overlay of a three-part framework consisting of force, order, and justice. The course seeks to enhance empirical, policy, and theoretical knowledge of these themes and to strengthen advanced graduate-level writing and argumentation skills.

Grading

First Paper	20%
Mid-term (2-hours, in-class)	20%
Second Paper	20%
Final (take-home)	20%
Class presentations and contribution	20%

Course Texts: You are encouraged to buy the four required texts as indicated (**) and any others, depending on your interests. Required texts and Readers on Reserve at Leavey Library. New readings are in the Course Box in Berkes Media Room.

- ** Graham Allison, Nuclear Terrorism: The Ultimate Preventable Catastrophe, New York, Times Books, 2004.
- Michael E. Brown et al. (eds), America's Strategic Choices, rev. ed., Cambridge: MIT Press, 2000.
- Barry Buzan, Ole Wæver and Jaap de Wilde, Security: A New Framework for Analysis, Boulder: Lynne Rienner, 1998.
- Barry Buzan, People, States and Fear, 2d. ed., New York: Harvester Wheatsheaf, 1991.
- ** Tim Dunne, Inventing International Society: A History of the English School, London: Macmillan, 1998.
- ** Lawrence Freedman, Deterrence, Cambridge, UK: Polity, 2004.
- ** Peter Katzenstein, The Culture of National Security, New York: Columbia University Press, 1996.
- Jeffrey A. Larsen (ed), Arms Control: Toward the 21st Century, Boulder: Lynne Rienner, 2002.
- Thomas Risse-Kappan and R.N. Lebow, (eds), International Relations Theory and the End of the Cold War, New York: Columbia University Press, 1995.
- Scott Sagan and Kenneth Waltz, The Spread of Nuclear Weapons, A Debate, New York: W.W. Norton, 1995 (2nd edn. 2003).
- Richard Smoke, National Security and the Nuclear Dilemma, 3d ed. New York: McGraw-Hill, 1993.
- IR 502 Course Reader (Parts A and B). Assigned readings from the Reader are marked below with an asterisk (*).
- Useful bibliography: Muthiah Alagappa, Asian Security Practice: Material and Ideational Influences, Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1998, pp.745-819 (Reserve).

COURSE CONTENT

1. Th Aug 30: Introduction: Scope and Content of Course

2. Th Sept 6: The Nature of Security Studies: Theories, paradigms, and concepts

Main text:

Buzan, People, States and Fear, Introduction, pp.1-34; and chapter 10, pp.363-82.

Required:

- *Stephen Walt, "The Renaissance of Security Studies," International Studies Quarterly, 35 (June 1991), pp.211-39.
- *Edward Kolodziej, "Renaissance in Security Studies?," International Studies Quarterly, 36 (December 1992), pp.421-428.
- Buzan, Wæver and de Wilde, Security, Chs 1 and 2.
- Katzenstein, Culture of National Security, chs 1 and 2.

*Muthiah Alagappa, Asian Security Practice, ch.1, "Rethinking Security: A Critical Review and Appraisal of the Debate," pp. 27-64.

Recommended:

Michael Williams, "Identity and the Politics of Security," European Journal of International Relations, IV, 2 (June 1998), pp. 204-225.

Ken Booth, "Security and Emancipation," Review of International Studies, 1991, 17, pp. 313-326.

3. Th Sept 13: Force, Order, & Justice: The English School's Contribution

Main text:

Tim Dunne, Inventing International Society, esp. Intro and ch.1.

Required:

*Hedley Bull, The Anarchical Society, 2d.ed., London: Macmillan, 1995, Preface and ch.4 "Order vs. Justice in World Politics," pp.74-94.

*Robert H. Jackson, "Martin Wight, International Theory and the Good Life," Millennium, vol.19, no 2 (Summer 1990), pp.261-272.

*Andrew Linklater, "Rationalism," in Scott Burchill and Andrew Linklater, Theories of International Relations, New York: St. Martin's Press, 1996.

*Yongjin Zhang, "The 'English School' in China: A Story of How Ideas Travel and are Transplanted," Canberra, Australia: Department of International Relations Working Paper No. 2000/4, December 2000. Later published in European Journal of International Relations, vol. 9, no 1, 2003 (Course Box).

Recommended:

Roger Epp, "The English School on the Frontiers of International Relations," Review of International Studies, vol.24 (December 1998).

Stephen Walt, "International Relations; One World, Many Theories," Foreign Policy, 110 (Spring 1998).

CONFLICT AND COOPERATION DURING THE COLD WAR

4. Th Sept 20: Evolution of Nuclear Deterrence and the Missile Defense Controversy

Main text:

Lawrence Freedman, Deterrence, Cambridge, UK: Polity, 2004.

Required:

Smoke, National Security and the Nuclear Dilemma, esp. ch. 13, "Star Wars?"

Larsen, Arms Control, chs. by Jeffrey Larsen, "Introduction," pp.1-18, and James Wirtz, "Conclusion," pp.343-351.

*Richard Ned Lebow and Janet Gross Stein, "Deterrence and the Cold War", Political Science Quarterly, 110, (Summer 1995) pp.157-182.

*Philip H. Gordon, "Bush, Missile Defence and the Atlantic Alliance," Survival, vol.43, no.1 (Spring 2001), pp.17-33.

*Jack Hitt, "Battlefield: Space," The New York Times Magazine, August 5, 2001.

Recommended:

Thomas C. Schelling and Morton H. Halperin, Strategy and Arms Control, New York: Twentieth Century Fund, 1961, 1985 edition, Intro. and chs. 1-3.

Herman Kahn, Thinking About The Unthinkable, New York: Horizon Press, 1962, ch. 4, "Thinking About Deterrence."

Robert Jervis, "Cooperation Under the Security Dilemma", World Politics, vol.30, no.2 (January 1978), pp.167-214.

Richard Price and Nina Tannenwald, "Norms and Deterrence: The Nuclear and Chemical Weapons Taboos," in Katzenstein, Culture of National Security, pp.114-143.

Stephen Van Evera, "Offense, Defense, and the Causes of War," International Security, vol.22, no.4 (Spring 1998), pp.5-43.

Lawrence Freedman, "The First Two Generations of Nuclear Strategists," in Peter Paret (ed.). Makers of Modern Strategy, Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1986, pp.735-778.

5. Th Sept 27: Assessing the Significance of the Ending of the Cold War

Main text:

William C. Wohlforth (ed.), Cold War Endgame: Oral History, Analyses, Debates, University Park, Penn.: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2003. (Leavey Reserve). Chapter 7, by Vladislav M. Zubok, pp.207-41; Ch. 8 by Robert D. English, pp.242-72; and Ch. 9 by Stephen G. Brooks and William C. Wohlforth, pp.273-309.

Required:

*Daniel L. Byman and Kenneth M. Pollack, "Let Us Now Praise Great Men: Bringing the Statesman Back In," International Security, vol.25, no.4 (Spr. 2001), pp.107-46.

*John Lewis Gaddis, "The Long Peace," International Security, vol.10 (Spring 1986).

*Robert Patman, "Reagan, Gorbachev and the Emergence of 'New Political Thinking,'" Review of International Studies, vol.25, no.4 (October 1999).

Recommended:

Alan Collins, The Security Dilemma and the End of the Cold War, New York: St Martin's Press, 1997, ch.1, pp. 9-27.

Stephen G. Brooks and William C. Wohlforth, "Power, Globalization, and the End of the Cold War: Reevaluating a Landmark Case for Ideas", International Security, vol.25, no.3 (Winter 2000/01). See also exchange between Brooks and Wohlforth and Robert D. English in International Security, vol.26, no.4 (Spring 2002).

Risse-Kappan and Lebow, International Relations Theory and the End of the Cold War, esp. chs. 2, 8.

CONFLICT AND COOPERATION AFTER THE COLD WAR

6. Th Oct 4: Humanitarian Intervention: Responding to Humanitarian Disasters

Main text:

Nicholas J. Wheeler, Saving Strangers: Humanitarian Intervention in International Society, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000, esp. ch. 1 and cases on Iraq, Somalia, Rwanda, and Bosnia/Kosovo. (Reserve).

Required:

Martha Finnemore, "Constructing Norms of Humanitarian Intervention," in Katzenstein. The Culture of National Security, ch. 5.

Recommended:

*Essays by Richard Betts and Tony Smith on intervention, Foreign Affairs vol.73, no.6 (Nov.-Dec. 1994).

*Georg Sørensen, "An analysis of contemporary statehood: consequences for conflict and cooperation," Review of International Studies, vol.23, no.3 (July 1997), pp.253-269.

7. Th Oct 11: Resolving Post-Cold War Nuclear Dilemmas: Non-Proliferation and Disarmament

2.00 p.m.: Mid-term exam

Main text:

Scott Sagan and Kenneth Waltz. The Spread of Nuclear Weapons, A Debate Renewed, New York: Norton, 2003, esp. ch.3 on India-Pakistan, pp.88-124.

Recommended:

Brahma Chellaney, "After the Tests: India's Options," Survival, Winter 1998-99.

Barry Buzan and Eric Herring, The Arms Dynamic in World Politics, Boulder, Lynne Rienner, 1998, chs 13, 15.

Larsen, Arms Control, ch.14; see appendices for details of key treaties.

*Jonathan Schell, "The Folly of Arms Control," Foreign Affairs, vol.79, no.5 (Sept/Oct 2000), pp.22-46.

8. Th Oct 18: Debating the US World Role after the Cold War and 9/11

Main text:

Joseph Nye, Soft Power, New York: Public Affairs, 2004, pp.1–32, 127-47 (Reserve).

Required:

Richard N. Haass, The Opportunity: America's Moment to Alter History's Course, New York: Public Affairs, 2005.

Robert Kagan, Of Paradise and Power: America and Europe in the New World Order, New York: Vintage Books, 2004.

Christian Reus-Smit, American Power and World Order, Cambridge, UK: Polity, 2004.

Tzvetan Todorov, The New World Disorder: Reflections of a European, Cambridge, UK: Polity, 2005.

Recommended:

*Samuel P. Huntington, "The Lonely Superpower," and Garry Wills, "Bully of the Free World," in Foreign Affairs, vol. 78, no.2 (March/April 1999).

Barry Posen and Andrew Ross, "Competing Visions for U.S. Grand Strategy," in Brown et al., America's Strategic Choices (see also other essays).

9. Th Oct 25: Restraining Hegemony: Middle Powers and Multilateralism

Main text:

*Andrew F. Cooper (ed.), Niche Diplomacy: Middle Powers after the Cold War, London: Macmillan, 1997, ch. 1.

Required:

*Denis Stairs, "Of medium powers and middling roles," in Ken Booth (ed.), Statecraft and security: The Cold War and beyond, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998, pp.270-86.

*Geoffrey Hayes, "Canada as a Middle Power: The Case of Peacekeeping" in Cooper, Niche Diplomacy, pp.73-89.

*John Mearsheimer, "The False Promise of International Institutions," International Security, vol.19 (Winter 1995), pp.5-49.

Recommended:

James Hamill & Donna Lee, "South African Diplomacy in the Post-Apartheid Era: An Emergent Middle Power?", International Relations, vol.15, no.4, 2001 (Box).

REDUCING CONFLICT AND PROMOTING COOPERATION IN THE QUEST FOR JUSTICE

10. Th Nov 1: Abolishing Inhumane Weapons: Transnational Actors and the Ban on Anti-Personnel Landmines

Required:

- *Martha Finnemore, "Norms and War: The International Red Cross and the Geneva Conventions," National Interests in International Society, Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1996, pp.69-88.
- *P.J. Simmons, "Learning to Live with NGOs," Foreign Policy, no.112 (Fall 1998), pp.82-96.
- *Maxwell A. Cameron, Robert J. Lawson, and Brian W. Tomlin (eds.), To Walk Without Fear: The Global Movement to Ban Landmines, Toronto: Oxford Univ. Press, 1998, ch. 2 by Jody Williams and Stephen Goose. See Appendix B for text of Ottawa Convention.
- *Richard Price, "Reversing the Gun Sights: Transnational Civil Society Targets Land Mines," International Organization, vol.52, no.3 (Summer 1998), pp.613-44.

Recommended:

Andrew Linklater "The evolving spheres of international justice," and Richard Devetak and Richard Higgott, "Justice unbound? Globalization, states and the transformation of the social bond," in International Affairs, vol.75, no.3 (July 1999).

11. Th Nov. 8: Dealing with Global Bullies: Crime and Terrorism

Main text:

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

Required:

- *Edward S. Herman, "Terrorism: Misrepresentations of Power," in David J. Brown and Robert Merrill (eds), Violent Persuasions, Seattle: Bay Press, 1993.
- *Walter Laqueur, "Postmodern Terrorism," Foreign Affairs, vol.75, no.5 (Sept/Oct 1996), pp.24-36.
- Bill Keller, "Nuclear Nightmares," New York Times Magazine, May 26, 2002 (Box).
- *Phil Williams, "The dark side of global civil society: The role and impact of transnational criminal organizations as a threat to international security," in Alagappa and Inoguchi, International security management and the United Nations, pp.173- 209.

12. Th Nov 15: Securing Refugees, Protecting the Environment

Main text:

Gil Loescher and James Milner, "'The Long Road Home: Protracted Refugee Situations in Africa," *Survival*, vol.47, no.2 (Summer 2005), pp.153-174. (Cf. Adelphi Paper #375)

Required:

- *Alan Dowty & Gil Loescher, "Refugee Flows as Grounds for International Action," *International Security*, vol.21, no.1 (Summer 1996), pp.43-71.
- *Daniel L. Byman, "Uncertain Partners: NGO's and the Military," *Survival*, vol.43, no.2 (Summer 2001), pp.97-114.
- *Astri Suhrke, "Environmental Change, Migration, and Conflict," in Crocker and Osler Hampson (eds.), *Managing Global Chaos*, Wash.D.C: USIP Press, 1998, ch. 7.
- Carola Weil, "The Protection-Neutrality Dilemma in Humanitarian Emergencies: Why the Need for Military Intervention?," *International Migration Review*, 35 (1), Spring 2001, pp.79-116 (Course Box).

Nov 22–24: Thanksgiving recess

13. Th Nov 29: Genocide, War Crimes, and Crimes against Humanity

- *Tim Dunne and Daniela Krosiak, "Genocide: Knowing What It Is That We Want to Remember, or Forget, or Forgive," ch. 1 in Ken Booth (ed.), *The Kosovo Tragedy: The Human Rights Dimensions*, London: Frank Cass, 2001, pp.27-46.
- *Richard Falk, "The challenge of genocide and genocidal politics in an era of globalisation," in Dunne and Wheeler (eds.), *Human Rights in Global Politics*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1999, pp.177-194.
- *Caroline Kennedy-Pipe and Penny Stanley, "Rape in War: Lessons of the Balkan Conflicts in the 1990s," ch.3 in Booth, *The Kosovo Tragedy*, pp.67-84.
- *Alan J. Kuperman, "Rwanda in Retrospect," *Foreign Affairs*, vol.79, no.1 (Jan/Feb 2000), pp.94-118; and Wheeler, *Saving Strangers*, ch.7 on Rwanda, pp.208-241.

14. Th Dec 6: Justice through Norms of "Good International Citizenship"? ("Mini-reader" on Reserve/ in VKC Lounge).

- Gareth Evans, *Making Australian Foreign Policy*, Melbourne, Australia: Australian Fabian Society Pamphlet No. 50, 1989, pp.21-46.
- Andrew Linklater, "What is a Good International Citizen?," Paul Keal (ed.), *Ethics and Foreign Policy*, St Leonards, NSW, Australia: Allen & Unwin, 1992, pp.21-43.
- Nicholas Wheeler and Tim Dunne, "Good international citizenship: a third way for British foreign policy," *International Affairs*, 74, 4 (October 1998), pp.847-70.
- *Martha Finnemore and Kathryn Sikkink "International Norm Dynamics and Political Change," in Peter Katzenstein et al. (eds.), *Exploration and Contestation in the Study of World Politics*, Cambridge: MIT Press, 1999, pp.247-277.
- Amitav Acharya, "How Ideas Spread: Whose Norms Matter? Norm Localization and Institutional Change in Asian Regionalism," *IO*, Spring 2004, 239-75 (Box).

Course Review and Final exam distributed. Due: Th 13 Dec. at 4.00 p.m.