



FACULTY OF HUMANITIES AND SOCIAL SCIENCES

SCHOOL OF HISTORY, PHILOSOPHY, POLITICAL SCIENCE AND INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

POLITICAL SCIENCE AND INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS PROGRAMME

STRA 536: Special Topic: Allies and Adversaries: Understanding Strategic Relationships

TRIMESTER 2 2012

16 July to 17 November 2012

Trimester dates

Teaching dates: 16 July to 19 October 2012
Mid-trimester break: 27 August to 9 September 2012
Final test: 25 October 2012

Withdrawal dates

Information on withdrawals and refunds may be found at
<http://www.victoria.ac.nz/home/admisenrol/payments/withdrawalsrefunds.aspx>

Names and contact details

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Class times and locations

Lecture Time: Thursday 5.40 – 8.30 pm
Lecture Venue: Rutherford House (RH) LT1

Course Schedule (all dates are Thursday)

1. 19 Jul Icebreaker: Alliances, Geopolitics and the Syrian and Libyan Crises: Syria and Libya
2. 26 Jul Why be friends? What goes into cooperation?
3. 2 Aug What goes into a threat? Why do states fight and fear one another?
4. 9 Aug Thinking About Alliances
5. 16 Aug Case study – NATO and the Warsaw Pact
6. 23 Aug Case study – ANZUS then and now

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| 7. | 13 Sep | Case study – The US Pivot and China |
| 8. | 20 Sep | Case study – Alliances and Terrorism |
| 9. | 27 Sep | Case Study – Non-state alliances and franchises? |
| 10. | 4 Oct | Case study – A New Alliance for Cybersecurity? |
| 11. | 11 Oct | Case study – ASEAN and The Pacific Islands Forum |
| 12. | 18 Oct | Conclusions – Can We Find a Middle Ground? |

Teaching and learning summary

This is a 30 point course for students in the Strategic Studies programme and for students from related subject areas. It is about strategic relationships most of which are neither purely cooperative nor purely adversarial but exist somewhere on the spectrum between these extremes. And it is about the interesting interplay between allies that come together to pursue cooperative endeavours in the face of what appear to be common adversaries. Part of that interplay resides in the fact that even the closest allies bring different priorities to the table and sometimes divergent interpretations of the changing external circumstances they are facing. The teaching of this course will emphasise both the literature on relationships of cooperation, competition, alliance and enmity on the one hand, and case studies which allow students to explore particular examples of alliance and adversarial relations.

The sessions for this course are on Thursday evenings from 16 July. Teaching will be from a range of experts including scholars associated with the Centre for Strategic Studies and the Political Science and International Relations programme. As well, there will be ample opportunities for question and answer interaction and discussion involving the students in this course. Students will have access to the core readings for this course at the start of the trimester to allow them to prepare for the week of teaching. They will then complete two written assignments due over the remainder of the trimester and a final test which will be administered electronically.

Communication of additional information

This course uses Blackboard and presumes that all enrolled students have valid myvuw.ac.nz addresses. Please check that this account is active and you have organised email forwarding. Additional information and any changes to the timetable or lecture and tutorial/seminar programme will be advised by email, announced in lectures, and posted on the STRA 536 Blackboard site.

Course prescription

This course investigates contemporary strategic relationships from alliances to rivalries. It asks whether even potential adversaries can have common interests or whether different value systems make some partnerships impossible. The course raises important questions for New Zealand's security policy globally and in the Asia-Pacific.

Learning Objectives

Students passing this course should be able to:

1. Analyse the roles of and relationships between competition and cooperation in strategic relationships
2. Analyse the relationship between the building and maintenance of alliances and the appearance and disappearance of external threats
3. Evaluate the strategies possible within an alliance to ensure it remains relevant for its members
4. Evaluate the suitability of existing theories of strategic relationships for current and future circumstances including for New Zealand's environment and interests

Expected workload

Over the course of the trimester students are expected to spend 300 hours in class contact, preparing for the lectures and seminars in advance of the teaching week, the completion of the two written assignments, and preparation for and sitting of the final test.

Group work

There is no assessed group work for this course.

Readings

There is no set textbook for this course. Instead essential readings have been specially selected for each of the teaching sessions and will be made available on Blackboard to assist students with their preparation. Students are expected to read all of the essential readings and as time allows, to read more widely and deeply into each topic.

Students should be aware that a number of the essential readings are from a particular period within an alliance or adversarial relationship. Developments in that relationship may have changed but this does not render the broader ideas obsolete. Some of the best readings on these topics may appear dated but are still very useful.

The essential readings are as follows:

Session 1: Icebreaker: Alliances, Geopolitics and the Syrian and Libyan Crises: Syria and Libya

Katerina Dalacoura, 'The 2011 uprisings in the Arab Middle East: political change and geopolitical implications,' *International Affairs*, 88: 1, 2012, pp. 63-79

James Kitfield, 'The Global Dangers of Syria's Looming Civil War,' *The Atlantic*, (Online: www.theatlantic.com/international/archive/2012/02/the-global-dangers-of-syrias-looming-civil-war/252988).

Joshi Shashank, 'The Complexity of Arab Support,' in *Short War, Long Shadow: The political and military legacies of the 2011 Libya campaign*, *Royal United Services Institute* (Online: http://www.rusi.org/downloads/assets/WHR_1-12.pdf)

Session 2: Why be friends? What goes into cooperation?

Thomas Schelling, *The Strategy of Conflict*, Cambridge MA: Harvard University Press, 1960, pp. 83-118.

Mancur Olson Jr. and Richard Zeckhauser, 'An Economic Theory of Alliances', *The Review of Economics and Statistics*, 48:3, August 1966, pp. 266-279.

Emanuel Adler and Michael Barnett, 'A framework for the study of security communities', in Adler and Barnett (eds.), *Security Communities*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998, pp. 29-65.

Session 3: What goes into a threat? Why do states fight and fear one another?

George Levinger and Jeffrey Z. Rubin 'In Theory: Bridges and Barriers to a More General Theory of Conflict' *Negotiation Journal* 10:3, July 1994, pp. 201-215.

Zeev Maoz et al, 'What Is the Enemy of My Enemy? Causes and Consequences of Imbalanced International Relations, 1816–2001', *The Journal of Politics*, 69:1, February 2007, pp. 100–115.

William R. Thompson, 'Identifying Rivals and Rivalries in World Politics', *International Studies Quarterly* 45:4, 2001, pp. 557– 86.

Session 4: Thinking About Alliances

Stephen Walt, 'Why Alliances Endure or Collapse', *Survival*, 39:1, Spring 1997, pp. 156-179.

Rajan Menon, 'The End of Alliances', *World Policy Journal*, 20:2, Summer 2003, pp. 1-20.

Bruno Tertrais, The Changing Nature of Military Alliances, *Washington Quarterly*, 27:2, 2004, pp. 133-150.

Session 5: Case study – NATO and the Warsaw Pact

Terry L. Deibel, 'Alliances and Security Relationships: A Dialogue with Kennan and His Critics', in Terry L. Deibel and John Lewis Gaddis, (eds), *Containment: Concept and Policy*, Vol 1, Washington DC: National Defense University, 1986, pp. 189-215.

John J. Mearsheimer, 'Back to the Future: Instability in Europe after the Cold War', *International Security*, 15:1 (Summer, 1990), pp. 5-56.

Timo Noetzel and Benjamin Schreer, 'Does a multi-tier NATO matter? The Atlantic alliance and the process of strategic change', *International Affairs*, 85: 2, 2009, pp. 211–226

Session 6: Case study – ANZUS then and now

Henry W. Brands Jr, 'From ANZUS to SEATO: United States Strategic Policy towards Australia and New Zealand, 1952–1954', *The International History Review*, 9:2, May 1987, pp. 250-270.

James M. McCormick, 'Healing the American Rift with New Zealand', *Pacific Affairs*, 68:3, Autumn 1995, 392-410.

William Tow and Henry Albinski, 'ANZUS – Alive and Well After Fifty Years', *Australian Journal of Politics and History*, 48:2, 2002 pp. 153-173.

Hugh White, 'The limits to optimism: Australia and the rise of China', *Australian Journal of International Affairs*, 59:4, 2005, pp. 469-480

Session 7: Case study – The US Pivot and China

Hillary Clinton, 'America's Pacific Century', *Foreign Policy*, 189, November 2011, pp. 56-63.

Kenneth Lieberthal and Wang Jisi, *Addressing U.S.-China Strategic Distrust*, John L. Thornton China Center Monograph Series, No. 4 Washington DC: Brookings Institution, 2012, pp. 7-19.

Michael J. Green and Andrew Shearer, 'Defining U.S. Indian Ocean Strategy', *The Washington Quarterly*, 35:2, 2012, pp. 175-189.

Session 8: Case study – Alliances And Terrorism

Daniel Byman, 'Remaking alliances for the war on terrorism', *Journal of Strategic Studies*, 29:5, 2006, pp. 767-811.

Todd Sandler, 'Collective verses unilateral responses to terrorism', *Public Choice*, 124, 2005, pp. 75-93.

Nora Bensahel 'A Coalition of Coalitions: International Cooperation Against Terrorism', *Studies in Conflict & Terrorism*, 29:1, 2006, pp. 35-49

Session 9: Case Study – Non-state alliances and franchises?

Joshua McLaughlin, 'The al Qaeda Franchise Model: An Alternative', *Small Wars Journal*, 2009.

Brian A. Jackson, 'Groups, Networks, or Movements: A Command-and-Control-Driven Approach to Classifying Terrorist Organizations and Its Application to Al Qaeda', *Studies in Conflict & Terrorism*, 29:3, 2006, pp. 241-262

Ray Takeyh, 'Do Terrorists Need a Home?', *The Washington Quarterly*, 25:3, Summer 2002, pp. 97-108.

Tamara Makarenko, 'The Crime-Terror Continuum: Tracing the Interplay between Transnational Organised Crime and Terrorism', *Global Crime*, 6:1, 2004, pp. 129-145

Session 10: Case study – A New Alliance for Cybersecurity?

Tim Stevens, 'A Cyberwar of Ideas? Deterrence and Norms in Cyberspace', *Contemporary Security Policy*, 33:1, 2012, pp. 148-170.

Nicholas Thomas 'Cyber Security in East Asia: Governing Anarchy', *Asian Security*, 5:1, 2009, pp. 3-23.

Alexander Klimburg, 'Mobilising Cyber Power', *Survival*, 53:1, 2011, pp. 41-60

Session 11: Case study – ASEAN and The Pacific Islands Forum

Amitav Acharya, 'The Association of Southeast Asian Nations: "Security Community" or "Defence Community"?'', *Pacific Affairs*, 64:2, Summer 1991, pp. 159-178.

Damon Bristow, 'The Five Power Defence Arrangements: Southeast Asia's Unknown Regional Security Organization', *Contemporary Southeast Asia*, 27:1, April 2005, pp. 1-20

Christopher Hemmer and Peter J. Katzenstein, 'Why is there no NATO in Asia?', *International Organization*, 56:3, Summer, 2002, pp. 575-607

Greg Fry, 'Pooled Regional Governance in the Island Pacific: Lessons from History' in Satish Chand, ed., *Pacific Islands Regional Integration and Governance*, Canberra, Asia-Pacific Press, 2005, pp. 89-104.

Eden Cole et al, *Enhancing Security Sector Governance in the Pacific Region: A Strategic Framework*, Suva: UNDP Pacific Centre, Pacific Islands Forum Secretariat, 2010, pp. 29-37. Available at <http://www.undppc.org.fj/resources/article/files/Enhancing%20Security%20Sector%20Governance%20in%20the%20Pacific%20Region.pdf>

Session 12: Conclusions: Can We Find a Middle Ground Between Allies and Adversaries?

Robert L. Rothstein, *Alliances and Small Powers*, New York: Columbia University Press, 1968, pp. 237-264.

Efraim Karsh, 'International Co-operation and Neutrality', *Journal of Peace Research*, 25:1, March 1988, pp. 57-67.

Johan Saravanamuttu, 'ASEAN Security for the 1980s: The Case for a Revitalized ZOPFAN', *Contemporary Southeast Asia*, 6:2, September 1984, pp. 186-196.

Assessment requirements

Assessment Task	Weighting	Due Date	Learning Outcomes	Word Length
1. Short essay	25%	Wednesday 15 August	1,2	2,500
2. Long essay	40%	Wednesday 26 September	2,3,4	5,000
3. Final test	35%	Thursday 25 October	1,2,3,4	3 hour test

There will be three pieces of assessment for this course:

1. A first assignment (25%) to be submitted to the Blackboard site for STRA536. Using a significant number (and certainly a majority) of the readings for sessions 2, 3 and 4, please write 2,500 words on ONE of the following topics:

(a) 'The building of alliances only makes sense in the presence of a shared adversary. When the latter disappears the alliance should fold too.' Evaluate.

(b) 'Strategic relationships exist on a spectrum. We can differ with our allies and agree with our adversaries. Our policy should reflect the fact that we have no pure enemies and no pure friends.' Evaluate.

(c) 'As there is no clear agreement on what constitutes an alliance, there can be no general theory about what an alliance consist of or achieves for its members.' Evaluate.

2. A second and longer written assignment (40%) to be submitted to the Blackboard Site for STRA536. Students will 5000 words on a topic to be agreed in advance with the course lecturer which relates to a particular alliance and adversary relationship pairing. That topic needs to be identified by 26 August. Potential topics include:

(a) Is any strengthening of alliances in Asia to cope with the challenges posed by China's rise bound to be counterproductive?

(b) Since the fall of the Soviet Union, has NATO been an alliance in search of a purpose without being able to find one?

(c) Should New Zealand seek to return to full ANZUS membership or is it best to have a de facto trilateral alliance, or to do nothing at all about re-energising trilateral relations?

(d) Will anything stop the strategic cooperation which has been fashioned around Afghanistan from dissolving after 2014?

(e) Are alliances and partnerships between non-state actors including Al Qaeda anything more than marriages of convenience, designed to demonstrate a unity of effort where none exists?

3. Open book test (35%) to be sat, and submitted, VIA BLACKBOARD. A list of questions, dealing with the entire course, will be put up on the Blackboard site for STRA536 at 5:30pm on the day of the test. Students will be required to answer 3 essay-style questions from the list. Answer are to be submitted as a single word document VIA BLACKBOARD by 9pm on the day of the test.

This is a three hour test and you have been given an extra 30 minutes to get yourself organised. It is therefore expected that everyone will sit the test at the same time.

As this test is conducted via Blackboard, students need to have access to a computer with an internet connection – this should be organised by the student in advance to avoid any problems.

Penalties may apply to test that are submitted after the 9pm deadline.

Students must keep a copy of all submitted work.

Submission of Work

All written work must be typewritten and submitted via Blackboard and include a completed Declaration Form which will also be available on the STRA536 Blackboard site.

The course expects students to submit their assignments on time. Requests for **extensions** should be made with the lecturer in person with proper documentation *before* the due date. Extensions are normally given only to those with a medical certificate, or other evidence of forces beyond your control.

Penalties

Written assignments handed in beyond the stated deadlines (and beyond extended deadlines when an extension has been requested and agreed before the original deadline with one of the course coordinators), will be penalised on the basis of 5 percentage marks per day, including weekend days.

Mandatory course requirements

To gain a pass in this course each student must:

- Submit the written work specified for this course, on or by the specified dates (subject to such provisions as are stated for late submission of work)
- Attend all of the lectures and seminars. (Written permission must be gained in advance from one of the course coordinators for any absences)
- Complete the final test

Return of marked course work

Essays and tests will be returned in class. If students fail to attend these times, they may collect their essay from the School Office in level 5, Murphy Building between the hours of 2.00 and 3.00 pm from Monday to Friday and must show their Student ID card before collection.

Class representative

A class representative will be elected in the first week, and that person's name and contact details will be available to VUWSA, the Course Coordinator and the class. The class representative provides a communication channel to liaise with the Course Coordinator on behalf of students.

Academic integrity and plagiarism

Academic integrity means that university staff and students, in their teaching and learning are expected to treat others honestly, fairly and with respect at all times. It is not acceptable to mistreat academic, intellectual or creative work that has been done by other people by representing it as your own original work.

Academic integrity is important because it is the core value on which the University's learning, teaching and research activities are based. Victoria University's reputation for academic integrity adds value to your qualification.

The University defines plagiarism as presenting someone else's work as if it were your own, whether you mean to or not. 'Someone else's work' means anything that is not your own idea. Even if it is presented in your own style, you must acknowledge your sources fully and appropriately. This includes:

- Material from books, journals or any other printed source
- The work of other students or staff
- Information from the internet
- Software programs and other electronic material
- Designs and ideas

- The organisation or structuring of any such material

Find out more about plagiarism, how to avoid it and penalties, on the University's website:

<http://www.victoria.ac.nz/home/study/plagiarism.aspx>

Use of Turnitin (*only for courses which make use of Turnitin*)

Student work provided for assessment in this course may be checked for academic integrity by the electronic search engine <http://www.turnitin.com>. Turnitin is an online plagiarism prevention tool which compares submitted work with a very large database of existing material. At the discretion of the Head of School, handwritten work may be copy-typed by the School and subject to checking by Turnitin. Turnitin will retain a copy of submitted material on behalf of the University for detection of future plagiarism, but access to the full text of submissions is not made available to any other party.

Where to find more detailed information

Find key dates, explanations of grades and other useful information at www.victoria.ac.nz/home/study. Find out how academic progress is monitored and how enrolment can be restricted at <http://www.victoria.ac.nz/home/study/academic-progress.aspx>. Most statutes and policies are available at www.victoria.ac.nz/home/about/policy, except qualification statutes, which are available via the *Calendar* webpage at www.victoria.ac.nz/home/study/calendar.aspx (See Section C).

Other useful information for students may be found at the Academic Office website, at

www.victoria.ac.nz/home/about_victoria/avcacademic.