

PS 4004– Spring 2011
Strength and Weakness in International Relations

Michael Allen
Office: Professional Building 311
E-mail: allenmi@missouri.edu

Class: MWF 1:00–1:50, Room: Eckles 113
Office Hours: Monday 3-5pm.
and by appointment.

Course Description

For many of the great theories of International Relations, power is the driving force of relationships between actors. However, the common rules we expect between major powers appear to change when the great powers deal with weak states and non-state actors. In this course, we examine the role power plays in relationships between actors of extreme power differences. Given situations of asymmetric power, the rules (and lack of them) enable the powerful as well as bind them in areas such as alliances, conflict, terrorism, trade, and international governance. The course attempts to answer the questions such as: what can weak actors do in international affairs? Can the weak win wars against the powerful? How do alternatives to state actors affect the choices of the powerful? Students will be evaluated based on participation, paper assignments, the midterm, and the final exam.

Course Format

Given the size of this course, the primary means of learning the material will be through a seminar style of discussion. As such, each student should have read the material for the day and be equipped to discuss the material in a meaningful manner; it is not enough for students to be merely present, but they should also contribute actively to the discussions.

Course Requirements

1. **Class Participation: 20%**

Given the format of the class will be centered around discussing pivotal concepts of asymmetric actors in international relations, a primary tenet of the class is for the students to be active participants in their learning of the material. Merely attending class is not enough to earn an A for the day, but actively asking questions, contributing, and debating the material is the key to success. Attending class will earn a student a 50% on their daily participation grade. Thus, to not fail, students need to be engaged.

2. **Midterm: 20%**

Given the 50 minute format of our classes, the midterm will cover 2 days. Day 1 will be on Wednesday and contain a set of multiple choice questions. Day 2 (Friday) will contain short answer and essay questions.

3. **Research Paper 20%**

You will write a 10 page paper where you analyze a particular hypothesis in the context of asymmetric relations. You can take two different approaches to this project. A) You can evaluate your hypothesis with 2-3 case studies where the interactions of your concern are demonstrated (or fail to materialize). B) You can collect data for multiple countries from existing sources and conduct some analysis of the data and whether or not the relationship you expect holds. A 1-page proposal is due on **March 23rd**.

The proposal will contain the hypothesis you wish to test and the manner in which you will test (be somewhat explicit on the latter). The final paper will be due on the final Monday of the course. Students will be expected to discuss their proposal, results, and conclusions of the project on that Monday.

4. **Reaction Papers 20%**

For two of the popular press books, you will write a 2-3 page paper (double space, 12 pt. Times New Roman font, 1" margins) focusing on one particular aspect of the book and analyzing it. The reaction paper should either be critical of the point or embrace the point and expand it to another region not covered by the book. Each paper is worth 10% of your grade and is due on the **first** day in which we are discussing the book in class. Typically, this will be a Wednesday.

5. **Final 20 %**

The final is cumulative and will be primarily in the same format as the midterm. There may be 1-2 essay style questions on the final exam.

This course does not require to subscribe to a newspaper or a magazine, but being knowledgeable about current events will certainly help your performance in the class as it will become easier to relate the topics we are discussing to ongoing events. A few recommended sources include:

- *The New York Times*
- *The Wall Street Journal*
- *The Economist*

Additionally, academic blogs can provide a wealth of information on specific topics. A few blogs worth following are (click to go to the website):

- The Quantitative Peace
- The Monkey Cage
- Trade Diversion
- IPE at UNC

Required Text

There are six books required for the course:

1. Chomsky, Noam. 2004. *Hegemony or Survival: America's Quest for Global Dominance*. New York:Metropolitan Books.
2. Kilcullen, David. 2010. *Counterinsurgency*. New York:Oxford University Press.
3. Pape, Robert. *Dying to Win: The Strategic Logic of Suicide Terrorism*. New York:Random House.
4. Paul, T.V. 1994. *Asymmetric Conflicts: War Initiation by Weaker Powers*. Cambridge:Cambridge University Press.
5. Regan, Patrick. 2009. *Sixteen Million One.*, Boulder, CO: Paradigm Publishers
6. Vinci, Anthony. 2010. *Armed Groups and the Balance of Power*. New York:Routledge.

In addition to the books, there will be several articles required throughout the course. These articles will be available on blackboard and should also be accessible through JSTOR.

General Guidelines and Information

1. **Lectures will begin on time.** Avoid arriving late to class; otherwise, you may miss important material, quizzes, or information about class assignments. However, being late is better than not showing up at all. If you do arrive late, attempt to arrive quietly into class and avoid making too much of a disruption. The same is true if you have to leave class early. If you miss any information due to your absence, ask a classmate to help you catch up.
2. **Lecture slides will not be posted online.** My lecture style generally uses limited slide information and do not nearly contain enough information. If you miss a class, I encourage you to get the notes from another student. Establishing a study group early in the semester where you can collaborate and share notes is a useful strategy for taking this course.
3. **Study guides and extra credit.** I do not offer either of these.
4. **Please avoid classroom disruptions.** Turn your cellphones to silent before class begins.
5. **Use the APSA style of reference.** To standardize citations and references, follow the guidelines set out by the *American Political Science Association*. Information and guidelines can be found in the following pdf file: <http://www.ipsonet.org/data/files/APSASStyleManual2006.pdf>. Additionally, the library's website on writing and citing is quite useful if you have any questions regarding the appropriate ways to cite the material you are using (<http://mulibraries.missouri.edu/guides/WritingCiting.htm>). Finally, if you any questions that are not covered by either website, do ask on Blackboard.
6. **Cheating and plagiarism will not be tolerated.** All written work is subject to being submitted to SafeAssignment through Blackboard. This is a program that will find copied work from both published sources, the internet, and other work by students. Student who are found to be plagiarizing or cheating on a given assignment or test will automatically fail that assignment or test.
7. **SafeAssignment:** All written assignments must be turned in through SafeAssignment given the appropriate links on Blackboard as well as providing a physical copy to the instructor/teaching assistant. The digital copy is due by 5pm on the day the assignment is due to be turned in. Assignments not turned in digitally as well as physically will not be graded and receive a zero for that assignment. If you have trouble with submitting an assignment, contact the instructor immediately.
8. **Missing exams and late assignments:** There will not be makeup exams or quizzes. Late paper assignments will be severely penalized—as such, having work completed early will increase your chances of avoiding penalties to your grade. The standard deduction will be one full letter grade per day that the assignment is late. That is, an B– will become a C–.
9. **Grade appeals.** If you believe that you were not graded appropriately for a given assignment and wish to contest that grade, you must do so in writing. Appeals will not be accepted for 48 hours from which the assignment was returned. The appeal should clearly state your objection and request that your work be re-evaluated. Re-evaluated work will be graded from scratch and the grade can be increase or decrease from the grade originally assigned.
10. **The syllabus.** the syllabus is a living document that can and will be altered throughout the duration of the course based both on need and design. Generally, this may means readings will be removed or added as needed. All changes will be listed on Blackboard, so make sure to check announcements for any such change.
11. **Contacting the instructor.** The best way to get in touch with me is either through Blackboard or email. Any question that is of general interest to the entire class should be posted on Blackboard first. Such questions will be redirected to Blackboard if they are emailed to me.

Course Schedule

This is the reading you are expected to have done *by the day it is assigned*. As mentioned earlier, the books are going to be the longest part and you should start reading them well in advance of the due date for discussion. Suggestions for readings will also be welcomed if they are offered early enough.

Note: Any author year listed in parentheses (e.g. (Gallagher & Robinson 1953)) will be found in the reference list at the very end of this document. These are usually articles or books chapters and can be found via JSTOR or Blackboard. Readings marked FLB, Article X come from the Frieden, Lake, and Broz book.

Introduction and Theory

Week 1, January 16th–January 20th

Introduction to Asymmetry

January 18th	Introduction, Syllabus
January 20th	(Thucydides 1910)

Week 2, January 23rd–27th

Understanding Major Theories of Power

January 23rd	(Waltz 1959, Chapter 2)
January 25th	(Lake 1996)
January 27th	(Fearon 1995)
Suggested Reading	(Powell 1994)

The Role of War between the weak and strong

Week 3, January 30th–February 3rd

Inter-state wars

January 30th	(Arreguin-Toft 2001)
February 1st	Start discussing Paul
February 3rd	Finish Paul
Suggested Reading	(Sullivan 2007, Allen & Fordham 2011)

Week 4, February 6th–February 10th

Civil Wars, Part I

February 6th	(Lake 2003)
February 8th	(Lichbach 1994)
February 10th	(Fearon 2005)
Suggested Reading	(Collier, Hoeffler & Söderbom 2004, Collier & Hoeffler 2005)

Week 5, February 13th–February 17th

Civil Wars, Part II

February 13th	(Moore 2000)
February 15th	Start discussing Regan
February 17th	Finish Regan
Suggested Reading	(Regan 2002, Fortna 2004)

Week 6, February 20th–February 24th

Wars of Conquest and Extra-state Wars

February 20th (Lawrence 1929)
February 22nd (Mack 1975)
February 24th (Regan & Allen 2011)

Week 7, February 27th–March 2nd

Terrorism and the State

February 27th (Crenshaw 1981)
February 29th **Start discussing Paper**
March 2nd **Finish Paper**

Week 8, Midterm

Midterm Week

March 5th Review
March 7th Midterm
March 9th (Bennett 2008)

Week 9, March 12th–March 16th

Counter-Insurgency

March 12th *The Battle of Algiers I,*
March 14th *The Battle of Algiers II*
March 16th **Start and finish Kilcullen**
Suggested REading (Dixon 2009)

Week 10, March 19th–March 23rd

Alliances and Basing

March 19th (Keohane 1971)
March 21st **Start discussing Vinci**
March 23rd **Finish Vinci, Paper Proposal Due**
Suggested Reading (Olson Jr & Zeckhauser 1966, McKeown 2005)

Spring Recess, March 26–March 30th

No Class

Beyond Warfare

Week 11, April 2nd–April 6h

Hegemonic Stability Theory and Trade

April 2nd **No Class, ISA**
April 4th **No Class, ISA**
April 6th (Krasner 1976, Gowa 1989)

Week 11, April 9th –April 13th

Using IOs to bind the Hegemon

April 9th	(Abbott & Snidal 1998, Cortell & Davis Jr 1996)
April 11th	No Class, MPSA
April 13th	No Class, MPSA

Week 12, April 16th–April 20th

The role of NGOs and Civil Society

April 16th	(Blaydes 2004)
April 18th	(Kaldor 2003)
April 20th	(Moore 2004)
Suggested Reading	(Loureiro & Lotade 2005, Barnett & Finnemore 1999, Lipschutz 1992)

Week 14, April 23rd–April 27th

Moving beyond power politics and the future

April 23rd	(Lemke 1997)
April 25th	Start Chomsky
April 27th	Finish Chomsky
suggested Reading	(Mares 1988, Chan 2004)

Week 15, April 30th–May 2nd

Final Discussion

April 30th	Final Paper Due , Class discussion of papers.
May 2nd	Review for the Final

Final

Monday, May 7, 12:30–2:30pm

Other Information

Students with Disabilities

Please inform the instructor immediately if you anticipate barriers related to the format or requirements of this course, if you have important emergency medical information that should be shared with the instructor, or if you need to make arrangements in case the building must be evacuated. If disability related accommodations are necessary, please register with the Office of Disability Services (<http://disabilityservices.missouri.edu>), S5 Memorial Union, 882-4696, and notify the instructor accordingly. For other MU resources for students with disabilities, click on "Disability Resources" on the MU homepage.

Intellectual Pluralism

The University community welcomes intellectual diversity and respects student rights. Students who have questions or concerns regarding the atmosphere in this class (including respect for diverse opinions) may contact the Departmental Chair or Divisional Director; the Director of the Office of Students Rights and Responsibilities (<http://osrr.missouri.edu/>); or the MU Equity Office (<http://equity.missouri.edu/>),

or by email at equity@missouri.edu. All students will have the opportunity to submit an anonymous evaluation of the instructor(s) at the end of the course.

List of Articles

- Abbott, Kenneth W. & Duncan Snidal. 1998. "Why states act through formal international organizations." *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 42(1):3–32.
- Allen, Michael A. & Benjamin O. Fordham. 2011. "From Melos to Baghdad: Explaining Resistance to Militarized Challenges from More Powerful States." *International Studies Quarterly* 55(4):1–21.
- Arreguin-Toft, Ivan. 2001. "How the weak win wars: A theory of asymmetric conflict." *International Security* 26(1):93–128.
- Barnett, M.N. & M. Finnemore. 1999. "The politics, power, and pathologies of international organizations." *International Organization* 53(4):699–732.
- Bennett, D. Scott. 2008. "Governments, Civilians, and the Evolution of Insurgency: Modeling the Early Dynamics of Insurgencies." *Journal of Artificial Societies and Social Simulation* 11(4).
URL: <http://jasss.soc.surrey.ac.uk/11/4/7.html>
- Blaydes, Lisa. 2004. "Rewarding Impatience: A Bargaining and Enforcement Model of OPEC." *International Organization* 58:213–237.
- Chan, Steve. 2004. "Exploring puzzles in power-transition theory: Implications for Sino-American relations." *Security Studies* 13(3):103–141.
- Collier, P. & A. Hoeffler. 2005. "Resource rents, governance, and conflict." *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 49(4):625.
- Collier, P., A. Hoeffler & M. Söderbom. 2004. "On the duration of civil war." *Journal of Peace Research* 41(3):253.
- Cortell, Andrew P. & James W. Davis Jr. 1996. "How Do International Institutions Matter? the Domestic Impact of International Rules and Norms." *International Studies Quarterly* pp. 451–478.
- Crenshaw, Martha. 1981. "The causes of terrorism." *Comparative politics* 13(4):379–399.
- Dixon, Paul. 2009. "'Hearts and Minds'? British Counter-Insurgency Strategy in Northern Ireland." *Journal of Strategic Studies* 32(3):353–381.
- Fearon, J.D. 1995. "Rationalist explanations for war." *International Organization* pp. 379–414.
- Fearon, J.D. 2005. "Primary commodity exports and civil war." *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 49(4):483.
- Fortna, Virginia Page. 2004. "Does Peacekeeping Keep Peace? International Intervention and the Duration of Peace After Civil War." *International Studies Quarterly* 48(2):269–292.
- Gallagher, J. & R. Robinson. 1953. "The imperialism of free trade." *The Economic History Review* 6(1):1–15.
- Gowa, Joanne. 1989. "Rational Hegemons, Excludable Goods, and Small Groups: An Epitaph for Hegemonic Stability Theory?" *World Politics: A Quarterly Journal of International Relations* 41(3):307–324.
- Kaldor, Mary. 2003. "The idea of global civil society." *International Affairs* 79(3):583–593.
- Keohane, Robert O. 1971. "The Big Influence of Small Allies." *Foreign Policy* pp. 161–182.

- Krasner, Stephen D. 1976. "State Power and the Structure of International Trade." *World Politics: A Quarterly Journal of International Relations* 28(3):317–347.
- Lake, David A. 1996. "Anarchy, Hierarchy, and the Variety of International Relations." *International Organization* 50(01):1–33.
- Lake, David A. 2003. "International relations theory and internal conflict: insights from the interstices." *International Studies Review* 5(4):81–90.
- Lawrence, T. E. 1929. Guerilla. In *Encyclopedia Britannica*. Encyclopedia Britannica Online.
URL: <http://www.search.eb.com/eb/article-9047425>
- Lemke, Douglas. 1997. "The continuation of history: Power transition theory and the end of the Cold War." *Journal of Peace Research* 34(1):23–36.
- Lichbach, Mark I. 1994. "What Makes Rational Peasants Revolutionary?: Dilemma, Paradox, and Irony in Peasant Collective Action." *World Politics* 46(3):383–418.
- Lipschutz, Ronald D. 1992. "Reconstructing World-Politics: the Emergence of Global Civil Society." *Millennium Journal of International Studies* 21(3):389–420.
- Loureiro, Maria L. & Justus Lotade. 2005. "Do fair trade and eco-labels in coffee wake up the consumer conscience?" *Ecological Economics* 53(1):129–138.
- Mack, A. 1975. "Why Big Nations Lose Small Wars: The Politics of Asymmetric Conflict." *World Politics* 27(2):175–200.
- Mares, David R. 1988. "Middle powers under regional hegemony: To challenge or acquiesce in hegemonic enforcement." *International Studies Quarterly* 32(4):453–471.
- McKeown, Timothy. 2005. The Big Influence of Big Allies–Transgovernmental Relations as a Tool of Statecraft. In *Essays in Honor of Robert O. Keohane*, ed. Helen Milner & Andrew Moravcsik. Princeton University Press, Princeton p. 10.
- Moore, G. 2004. "The Fair Trade movement: parameters, issues and future research." *Journal of Business Ethics* 53(1):73–86.
- Moore, Will H. 2000. "The Repression of Dissent: A Substitution Model of Government Coercion." *The Journal of Conflict Resolution* 44(1):107–127.
- Olson Jr, Mancur & Richard Zeckhauser. 1966. "An Economic Theory of Alliances." *The Review of Economics and Statistics* 48(3):266–279.
- Powell, Robert. 1994. "Anarchy in international relations theory: the neorealist-neoliberal debate." *International Organization* 48(2):313–344.
- Regan, Patrick M. 2002. "Third-party Interventions and the Duration of Intrastate Conflicts." *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 46(1):55.
- Regan, Patrick & Michael Allen. 2011. "The Outcome of Extra-systemic War." *Unpublished Manuscript* .
- Sullivan, Patricia L. 2007. "War Aims and War Outcomes." *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 51(3):496–.
- Thucydides. 1910. *The Peloponnesian War*. New York: E.P. Dutton.
- Waltz, Kenneth N. 1959. *Man, the State and War*. New York: Columbia University Press.

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