

Michigan State University
James Madison College
MC 220, Section 4
Fall 2007

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by appointment

INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS I: WORLD POLITICS AND INTERNATIONAL SECURITY

Course overview and objectives: MC 220 is the first half of a year-long introduction to the field of International Relations. We will be examining many of the central concepts, theories, and analytical tools used in contemporary social science to understand and explain international politics, with an emphasis on security. The course will focus on the strengths and weaknesses of different theoretical approaches in explaining the causes of war and of war termination, just means and ends for war, and the use of force including humanitarian intervention. We will use case studies to illustrate the use of competing theoretical approaches and concepts. The course is designed to enhance students' abilities to think critically and analytically about current problems and challenges in international politics.

This course has five main objectives:

- 1) To familiarize yourself with key theories and approaches in the field of international relations. This will include Realism, Neo-Realism, Liberalism, Neo-Liberalism, Constructivism, Feminism, and Political Psychology.
- 2) To be able to apply these different theories and approaches to explaining particular cases of conflict and cooperation. In doing so, we will explore the strengths and weaknesses of these various approaches: the valuable insights each perspectives can give, to what extent the approaches are complimentary and to what extent they are contradictory, as well as the limits of these approaches in fully being able to explain patterns of conflict and cooperation.
- 3) To give you the concepts you will need to evaluate both theory and empirical cases of conflict and cooperation, and to understand the contested nature of the concepts. These concepts include war, power, balance of power, the security dilemma, collective security, foreign policy, security, anarchy, humanitarian intervention, globalization, and ideology.
- 4) To better understand the particular cases of conflict and cooperation we will study, as well as understand changing conceptions of international security and ways to promote international cooperation.
- 5) To provide you with opportunities to improve your critical thinking, reading, writing, and speaking abilities. Particular attention will be given to developing argumentation skills, both orally and in writing, through written assignments, in class discussions and weekly discussions on ANGEL, in class debates, and simulations. We will focus on the use of logic and evidence to build an argument, and address weaknesses and exceptions in order to determine the limits of an argument.

Course organization:

The course is organized so that case studies can illuminate a better understanding of international relations theory. We begin with an introduction to international relations theory and to different levels of analysis used to explain war and war termination. We will analyze the major debates among the different theories, and the extent to which they are complementary or contradictory. We will also pay particular attention to the insights different theories can shed on issues of just war (just ends and means to war), international law, as well as to humanitarian intervention and to collective security.

Moving to our first case study, we will examine the bombing of Hiroshima and Nagasaki by the U.S. in WWII. We will examine each of the various theories of international relations in turn, and apply them to the case of Hiroshima and Nagasaki, to see how each would provide different explanations and insights into the case. Is this just another case of war among great powers that traditionally international relations theory tried to explain? How can this be explained through the balance of power? If Japan had been a democracy, would the war with Japan have been avoided? Could further negotiations or different conditions for surrender have avoided the bombings? Can and should international law limit the goals and means for war? What role do ideology, culture, and the worldviews of leaders play in these decisions?

Our next case study will be the causes of the genocide in Rwanda, and the failure of the international community to stop the genocide. This case study will particularly enable us to examine the strengths and limits of theory. It gives us the opportunity to examine intra-state rather than inter-state war, war that involves a small state rather than a great power, the causes of the genocide, the role of international law and UN peacekeeping/peacemaking in stopping genocide, and the reasons for the failure of the international community to stop the genocide. We will also examine the extent to which powers should be motivated by values/interests in decisions for humanitarian intervention, how civil war in one country can lead to regional war, and how democratization is a delicate process that can lead to violence.

Our third case study will analyze the genocide in Darfur. We will be asking similar questions to the ones we posed for Rwanda, and explore the analogy that is made between the two. What are the insights one can gain from analogies? What are the pitfalls of drawing analogies? What are the strengths and limits of international institutions? We will explore the policy options open to the international community and hold a formal debate on what the policy should be. The assumptions for policy prescriptions in this debate should be embedded in some of the theoretical assumptions that we have explored. You will also be writing a letter to your representative offering an analysis and recommendations.

Our final and fourth case study analyzes the Israeli-Palestinian conflict – the causes of the conflict, possibilities for its resolution, as well as its role in regional conflict in the Middle East, and in U.S. national security interests. As with the previous cases, this case will serve as a real-world example in which to ground the various theories we have studied. The main emphasis will be on the ability of the theories to explain efforts at cooperation and the difficulties of reaching

successful peace negotiations. We will be focusing on the Camp David Negotiations led by President Clinton and the varied reasons for the failure to reach an agreement. We will not only be looking at issues of power and the relevance of democracy as highlighted by realist and liberal approaches, but will also be looking at the importance of culture, ideology, personality, and domestic constraints on efforts at cooperation. After conducting research concerning the interests and goals of participants to the negotiations, you will have the opportunity to present your findings and engage in a simulation of the Camp David negotiations.

Finally, we will end the semester with revisiting the strengths and limits of theory to explain patterns of conflict and particular instances of conflict and cooperation. How can we use these approaches in a complementary fashion to explain these phenomenon? How has the study of security issues, the concept of security and security threats, and the nature of conflict changed since the end of the Cold War? What role does nationalism, ideology, democratization, globalization, and non-state actors play in influencing conflict and cooperation?

Evaluation:

The final grade will be based on the following:

1) Participation in class: 12%

On-time attendance to all classes is expected. You are allowed two absences during the semester for sickness, job interviews, important family events such as weddings, activities related to such activities as debate team or model UN, etc. Use these wisely and only when you absolutely need to. You cannot miss class during the simulation or debate classes. Any absence beyond these two will require medical notification from a doctor. Otherwise, any additional absences will negatively impact your participation grade. If you have several absences, you will receive a very poor participation grade. Students must faithfully complete a close reading of assigned readings before class, and participate regularly in class discussions. You will have the opportunity to engage the viewpoints of other students, make connections among the readings and link theory with empirical examples, and ask clarifying questions. Participation also includes full engagement in more formal in class debates and simulations.

2) Class participation on class discussion board, ANGEL: 8%

Discussion question(s) regarding each week's reading will be posted for your response. I will be posting a question or set of questions each Thursday and you will have until Tuesday, before class, to respond. Participation in web forums will enable you to come to class prepared for discussion, and will give you an opportunity to discuss the material outside of class. I will be checking, and at times participating in, these discussions.

3) Midterm, Thursday, October 11: 20%

The mid-term will cover all material covered until the exam. It will consist of short answer questions (you will explain in a paragraph certain terms, concepts, or statements made by a particular author) and one longer essay question. It is an opportunity for you to show your

knowledge of the readings, and to be able to integrate and synthesize the readings and lectures in order to creatively analyze questions raised in the course.

4) Final Exam, Tuesday, December 11: 20%

The final will be comprehensive. It will consist of short answer questions, and one longer essay question. You must take the exams at the designated time, unless you have been given permission from me prior to the exam due to an emergency.

5) Letters to congressional representatives on policy to Sudan: 10%

Letters are due October 23 at the beginning of class.

Write a 500 word letter to one of your representatives in Congress (if you are a citizen of a country other than the U.S., you can address the letter to a representative of your own government) in which you make a policy recommendation based on your analysis of the needed response to the genocide. Rely on lessons learned from Rwanda, and on theoretical perspectives we have learned in class to better understand the sources of conflict and ways of ending conflict. You are free to suggest anything that you would like, but try to be as specific as possible in your recommendations. Also try to find out from the representative's office you have chosen, what his or her present stance is so that you can better tailor your letter to the representative's past and present actions. After receiving my comments, my hope is that you will mail your letters (I will provide stamped envelopes).

6) Simulation-related work: 20% for research paper, 10% for participation in negotiations

You will be assigned to represent Israel, the Palestinian Authority, or the United States (as mediator). You will write an 8 page research paper, outlining your interests and the broad outlines of what you would expect in terms of a peace agreement in regard to the three main issues of borders, refugees, and Jerusalem. In writing your paper, you will be expected to explain your interests and expectations both in terms of your knowledge of this particular case, and international relations theory. The American negotiator will of course have to show an understanding of both Israeli and Palestinian interests, and offer creative compromises. Use theory to support your articulation of interests. During the simulation, students will make their "case," based on their research, to the other two representatives. All three negotiators will then try to negotiate the broad outlines of an agreement and then present these outcomes to the class. We will be holding the simulation in class on November 15 and 20th. There can be no absences from these in class simulations. The papers are due at the beginning of class on November 15th. All papers should be written in double-spaced and in 12pt font. Include footnotes and a bibliography for each paper. Put in the footnotes as you write your initial draft, almost guaranteed to forget to put some in if you wait until the end, and then are responsible for plagiarism. Example for citing a book in a footnote, Itamar Rabinovitch, *Waging Peace: Israel and the Arabs 1948-2003*, (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2004, pp. 24-25.

Late papers will not be accepted as they need to be done to be fully prepared for the simulation.

Extra Credit: There are five evening events listed on the syllabus including speakers and films related to the class. You are encouraged to attend as many of these events as you can and write a

one page analysis of the speech or movie, for extra credit. You will receive extra credit for each evening event for which you do this.

Evaluation Criteria: I use the following criteria for assessing work:

4.0 – Your work is excellent relative to the level necessary to meet course requirements; you not only make strong, organized arguments that make good use of evidence and link theory to empirical cases, but also are able to recognize the limits of those arguments through thoughtful assessments of alternative explanations. Your work is probing, perceptive, and well expressed.

3.0 – Your work is good relative to the level of course requirements; it demonstrates very good command of the materials, is well written, and insightful.

2.0 – Your work meets requirements of the assignment, demonstrates adequate command of materials, and is fairly well expressed. Please note that an average grade is a 2.5.

1.0 – Your work meets minimum requirements for credit but shows weaknesses in the mastery of material and expression.

0.0 – Your work is unsatisfactory for credit because of major problems in understanding and expressing that understanding of course material.

Office Hours and Availability: I strongly encourage everyone to take advantage of the 4 hours a week I have devoted to office hours. Please do contact me if you cannot make the office hours due to your class schedule, and I will be happy to make an appointment with you at another time. Please come with questions concerning lectures, readings, or assignments, or if you would just like to discuss the reading, relate the reading to what you are doing in another class or your past experiences. I encourage you to come to office hours with outlines for all written assignments, so that we can discuss your ideas and so that I have the opportunity to advise you. I also encourage you to write outlines for answers to possible essay questions on the midterm and final, and I would be happy to discuss those with you in office hours as well. I am also happy to comment on rough drafts of written assignments. My door is open to you, and I look forward to having stimulating discussions with you outside class (over lunch and in office hours), as well as in class. I would like everyone to succeed, and am available to help you do so.

Resources: JMC Writing Consultancy and MSU Writing Center: The Madison Writing Center (located in Case Hall, Room 230) and the campus-wide Writing Center (located in Bessey Hall, room 300) provide free consultations at any stage of the writing process.

Required Readings:

You are asked to purchase the following three books at the book store. They will also be available at the Madison library and in the reserve reading section at the University's main library. All other articles and chapters assigned in this syllabus, which are not designated as being in one of these three books, will be available on ANGEL. All students are required to read the *New York Times*, or a comparable newspaper, on a daily basis (it is readily available around the College).

Karen A. Mingst and Jack L. Snyder, *Essential Readings in World Politics, 2nd Edition*

Michael Barnett, *Eyewitness to a Genocide: The United Nations and Rwanda*, (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2002)

Charles Enderlin, *Shattered Dreams: The Failure of the Peace Process in the Middle East, 1995-2002*. (New York: Other Press, 2002)

All other readings listed on the syllabus are on ANGEL.

Recommended Readings:

For those students who choose the honors option, please purchase Robert Jervis, *Systems Effects: Complexity in Political and Social Life* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1998).

Academic Integrity: James Madison College and Michigan State University policies on academic integrity and plagiarism will be strictly enforced in this course. See the James Madison College Handbook section, Standards and Expectations, and the MSU Academic Programs catalogue, for further information. If you have questions about what constitutes plagiarism, please see me.

Honors Option:

The topic for the Honors Option will be understanding complexity theory and its challenge to the very foundations of political science theories. We will be discussing Robert Jervis's, *Systems Effects: Complexity in Political and Social Life*. Jervis argues that things are so interconnected that the assumption of independent variables is questionable and that due to the phenomenon of unintended consequences, prediction is also too ambitious. There will be extra meetings in which students will present critiques and analysis of each chapter, within the context of competing theories of international relations we are learning in class. The written assignment is a 5 page book review. A 3.5 must be maintained in order to receive Honors credit. The honors designation for this course requires outstanding work in all aspects of the class, in addition to satisfactory completion of the additional work that is required of those participating in the honors option sessions.

CLASS SCHEDULE AND READINGS

August 28, T: Introduction to the class

Contending Theories of International Relations

August 30, TH: Introduction to the dominant theories of international relations

Reading: Walt, "International Relations: One World, Many Theories,"

Essential Readings, pp. 4-10

Gaddis, "History, Theory, and Common Ground" *Essential Readings*, pp. 11-17

September 4, T: Introduction to levels of causation/levels of analysis

Reading: J. David Singer, "The Level-of-Analysis Problem in International Relations" pp.133-147

Ole Holsti, "Models of International Relations and Foreign Policy"

September 9, Sunday: Class is invited for dinner at my home 5:00

September 6, TH: Realism, Neo-Realism and limitations to war

Reading: Thucydides, "Melian Dialogue" *Essential Readings*, pp. 18-20

Hans Morgenthau, "A Realist Theory of International Politics" and "Political Power", *Essential Readings*, pp. 49-53

John Mearsheimer, "Anarchy and the Struggle for Power," *Essential Readings* 54-72

Michael Walzer, "Against 'Realism'" pp. 36-54;

Walzer, Just and Unjust Wars, chapter 16, pp. 251-268, 323-325

September 11, T: Liberalism and Neo-Liberalism

Reading: Immanuel Kant, "To Perpetual Peace" *Essential Readings*, pp. 20-25
Essential Readings pp. 49-85,

Michael Doyle, "Liberalism and World Politics," *Essential Readings*, pp. 94-101,
article by Tickner.

Robert Keohane, "Cooperation and International Regimes," pp. 320-330

William Coplin, "International Law and Assumptions About the State System," pp. 302-319

September 13, TH: no class, Rosh Hashana, make up class is October 9th 11:40-1:00

In addition there are five evening events listed in the syllabus which are highly recommended

September 18, T: Constructivism, the individual level of analysis, and feminist critiques

Reading:

Margaret Hermann and Joe Hagan, "International Decision Making: Leadership

Matters," *Essential Readings* pp. 182-188
Robert Jervis, "Hypotheses on Misperception," *Essential Reading* pp. 189-201
Cynthia Enloe, "The Personal Is International," *Essential Reading* pp. 202-207
Ann Tickner, "Man, the State, and War: Gendered Perspectives on National Security," *Essential Reading* pp. 94-101
Alexander Wendt, "Anarchy is What States Make of It," pp. 352-373

September 19, W: 7pm Israeli film, "Halleluyah" 118 Psych Building

First Case Study: Rules of War and the Dropping of the Bombs on Hiroshima and Nagasaki

September 20, TH: Alternative means and goals available for U.S. decision makers
Reading: Rufus Miles, "Hiroshima: The Strange Myth of Half a Million American Lives Saved," *International Security*, autumn 1985, pp. 121-140. Fussell, *Thank God for the Atom Bomb and Other Essays*, pp. 14-44.
Op-eds by Stephen Ambrose and by Jim Holt on the dropping of the atomic bomb, *The New York Times*;
Statement by President Truman, August 6, 1945.

Second Case Study: Humanitarian Intervention: Learning from the Genocide in Rwanda

September 25, T: Cases of non-intervention by superpower
Reading: Samantha Power, "Bystanders to Genocide: Why the United States Let the Rwandan Tragedy Happen" *Essential Readings* pp. 233-252
Richard J. Norton, "Rwanda" in *Case Studies in Policy Making & Process 9th Edition* pp. 71-93
Recommended Reading: Peter Uvin, "Reading the Rwandan Genocide," *International Studies Review* 3:3 Fall 2001, pp. 75-102

September 27, TH: Roots of the genocide – relevance of IR theory?
Reading: *Eyewitness to a Genocide*, pp. 1-73
Barry Posen, "The Security Dilemma and Ethnic Conflict," *Essential Readings* pp. 357-366

October 2, T: Genocide and the failure of the United Nations
Reading: *Eyewitness to a Genocide*, pp. 74-181

October 4, TH Norms and Criteria for Humanitarian Intervention – the Role of International Institutions
Reading: Finnemore, "Constructing Norms of Humanitarian Intervention" *Essential Readings* pp. 102-119
Michael Doyle, "International Intervention," *Essential Readings* pp. 347-356
Joseph S. Nye, Jr., "Redefining the National Interest," *Foreign Affairs*

Stanley Hoffman, "The Crisis of Liberal Internationalism," *Foreign Policy* No. 98.
Michael Glennon, "Why the Security Council Failed," *Essential Readings*, pp. 208-218
Edward C. Luck, Anne-Marie Slaughter and Ian Hurd, "Responses" *Essential Readings*, pp. 219-222.

October 4, TH: We will have pizza and then watch *Sometimes in April* from 7-9 in the evening. For those of you who cannot make this extra session, I will have the video for you to see at your convenience this week.

October 9, T: Research session with Terri Miller followed by discussion - Should the UN be strengthened to stop genocide?
Reading: "Should a Permanent UN Military Force Be Established?" pp. 148-172
"Should the United Nations Be Given Stronger Peacekeeping Capabilities?"

October 9, T: Extra session to review for midterm, 11:40-1:00. For those of you who cannot make this session, you are welcome to come to office hours or set up an appointment if you cannot make office hours.

October 11, TH: **In class midterm**

Third Case Study: Analogies to the Genocide in Darfur

October 16, T: Lessons not Learned for Darfur
Scott Straus, "Darfur and the Genocide Debate," pp. 123-133, *Foreign Affairs* January/February 2005
"Heart of Darkness, Rwanda and Darfur" in John Stoessinger, *Why Nations Go to War*, 2008.
Darfur Humanitarian Emergency – U.S. Dept. of State
USinfo.state.gov/af/Africa/darfur.html

October 17, W: 7pm, lecture by Yakov Katz, security writer for the Jerusalem Post, 339 Case.

October 18, TH: Lessons not learned for Sudan:
Reading: Relevant UN resolutions regarding Darfur will be posted on ANGEL
Human Rights Watch reports on Darfur
Additional readings will be posted.

October 23, T: Letter to your representative regarding policy toward Darfur due at the beginning of class. Debate on policy toward Sudan

Fourth Case Study – Conflict and Cooperation Between Israelis and Palestinians

- October 25, TH: Causes of conflict and efforts at cooperation
Reading: Amos Oz, “Between Right and Right” in *How to Cure a Fanatic* pp. 1-36
 First chapter of *Shattered Dreams*, pp. 1-41
- October 30, T: Spoilers of the Oslo process
Reading: Enderlin book, second and third chapters, pp. 42-176
- November 1, TH: The Negotiations at Camp David
Reading: Enderlin book, fourth chapter, pp. 177-260
- November 5, M: 7pm, Israeli film, “Green Chariot” 108 Bessey Hall
- November 6, T: Continued negotiation and violence
Reading: Enderlin book, chapters 5 and 6, pp. 261-362; Book review of *Shattered Dreams* by Itamar Rabinovich in *Forward*, July 25, 2003; Response by Charles Enderlin *Forward*, August 8, 2003.
- November 6, T: 7-9pm. We will eat some Middle Eastern food, and then watch the documentary, *Shattered Dreams*. For those of you who cannot make it at this time, I will have the video available for you to see at your convenience this week.
- November 8, TH: Competing and Complementary Narratives of failed efforts at cooperation
Reading: Ron Pundak, “From Oslo to Taba: What Went Wrong?” Survival Autumn 2001; Robert Malley and Hussein Agha, “Camp David: The Tragedy of Error,” New York Review of Books, August 9, 2001; Reply by Ehud Barak and Benny Morris and the response to them by Malley and Agha.
- November 13, M: What can international relations theory contribute to understanding this case of conflict and cooperation?
Reading: All the readings for this class are in *Essential Readings*
 Carl Von Clausewitz, “War as an Instrument of Policy,” pp. 297-300
 Thomas C. Schelling, “The Diplomacy of Violence,” pp. 301-308
 Barry R. Posen, “The Security Dilemma and Ethnic Conflict,” pp. 357-402
 Robert Pape, “The Strategic Logic of Suicide Terrorism” pp. 382-402
 Robert Jervis, “Hypotheses on Misperception,” pp. 189-202
- November 15, TH: Research papers due at the beginning of class. Simulation of Negotiations between Israelis and Palestinians – don’t arrive late!
- November 20, T: Simulation of Negotiations between Israelis and Palestinians
- November 22, TH: **No class, Thanksgiving**

Conclusion: Strengths and Weaknesses of International Relations Theory/Future Trends

November 27, T: Limits and strengths of theory

Reading: Robert Jervis, "Complexity and the Analysis of Political and Social Life" *Political Science Quarterly* pp. 569-594

Jack Snyder, "One World, Rival Theories," *Foreign Policy*, 2004, pp. 402-412

November 29, TH: Globalization and Globalizing Issues

Reading: Held, McGrew, Goldblatt, and Perraton, "Globalization," *Essential Readings*, pp. 462-470

Thomas Friedman, "The Backlash" from *The Lexus and the Olive Tree: Understanding Globalization*, *Essential Readings*, pp. 471-476

Amartya Sen, "Universal Truths: Human Rights and the Westernizing Illusion," *Essential Readings*, pp. 477-480

Audrey Kurth Cronin, "Behind the Curve: Globalization and International Terrorism," *Essential Readings*, pp. 367-381

December 4, T: Changing concepts of security? Threats measured by battles of ideology, civilization, and the growing importance of public opinion to national security

Reading: Nye book, "A New World Order?" pp. 242-261

Joseph Nye, "Limits of American Power," pp. 707-716

Samuel Huntington, "The Clash of Civilizations?" *Essential Readings*, pp. 157-162

Edward Said, "The Clash of Ignorance," *Essential Readings*, pp. 170-180

December 6, TH: Review for the final exam

December 11, T: **Final Exam**, 10:00-12:00