

# **POL 3082 ALLIANCES AND ALIGNMENT IN IR: THE CASE OF NATO\***

*Spring Semester 2015*  
*Department of Political Science*  
*University of Cincinnati*  
15-POL-3082

Meeting time: Tue and Thu 12:30-1:50 pm      Office Hours: Tue and Thu 9:30am- noon  
Location: Rieveschl 422B      Phone: 513-556-3318  
Instructor: Dr. Ivan Dinev Ivanov      Instructor's Office: 1121 Crosley Tower  
EMAIL: [Ivan.Ivanov@uc.edu](mailto:Ivan.Ivanov@uc.edu)\*

\* I prefer to contact me via email and I should be able to respond you within next 12-24 hrs.

## **COURSE DESCRIPTION:**

Alliances are among the oldest forms of interaction between states that affect almost every aspect of international politics, from the flows of trade and investments to the incidence of war or the character of international law. This is a specialized international security course that surveys theoretical and contemporary case arguments of alliance politics. In the first part, the focus will be on the origins of alliances, the ways in which they affect the behaviors of states, and the ways that alliance politics has evolved in the last two centuries. The second part of the course will offer a survey of a contemporary case – NATO's transformation and its role international security. We will discuss various aspects such as Partnership for Peace Program, the expansion process, the incorporation of the new members, including the Membership Action Plan (MAP), as well as NATO's new missions in Europe and the Middle East in the 1990s and 2000s. Also, students will present group projects related to NATO's involvement in new, non-traditional aspects of security (such as smart defense, cyber security, energy security, and protection of critical infrastructures). Finally, as a part of the course, we will run a simulation of a North Atlantic Council (NAC) Meeting.

## **COURSE OBJECTIVES:**

Students should be able to identify key alliance concepts such as balancing, bandwagoning, collective defense, collective security and collective action, public and club goods. Also, they need to distinguish between explanations of alliance formation and mechanisms for their persistence, as well as establish analytical links between these explanations and the major theories of international relations. The students are expected to relate the analytical frameworks discussed in this class to understanding NATO politics and other contemporary cases of allied behavior.

## **REQUIREMENTS AND GRADING:**

<i>Course Requirements:</i>	<u>% of final grade</u>	<u>Due Date</u>
In-class midterm exam	25%	3/5
Online Quiz on NATO	15%	4/9
Simulation Paper and Participation	15%	4/14-4/16

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\* This syllabus is subject to change. I reserve the right to add supplementary readings if necessary.

Group Project: presentation and report	10%	3/31-4/7
Take home final (reflection and policy analysis)	25%	4/28 @ 11:59 pm
Class attendance and participation	10%	throughout the semester

*Grading Scale:*

93-100%	A	73-76%	C
90-92%	A-	70-72%	C-
87-89%	B+	67-69%	D+
83-86%	B	63-66%	D
80-82%	B-	60-62%	D-
77-79%	C+	0-59%	F

Please note that grades represent **NON-NEGOTIABLE** assessments of a student's comprehension of course material.

**A NOTE ABOUT THE NAC SIMULATION**

The course simulation will deal with negotiation at the North Atlantic Council (NAC) meeting. Each student will represent one member state; selected students will be assigned the role of NATO Secretariat and the Secretary-General. The simulation will reflect the negotiation process accurately as possible. There will be several separate steps of the process (also see the tentative schedule):

Step one (research phase): Representative of each NATO member will study their country's position and provide the Secretariat for topics that they would like to have included at summit.

Step two (consultation phase): the Secretariat will meet with the representatives of the NATO members and the Secretary General will present a report with a text of the final declaration. Members will caucus among themselves and provide feedback to the secretariat.

Step three (the actual NAC meeting): The NAC will meet at the level of Foreign Ministers/Secretaries to discuss the text of the Declaration. Allies will negotiate the exact wording of the document.

Consider the following links to prepare for the in-class simulation:

<http://www.natochannel.tv/>

**POLICIES AND CAVEATS:**

If you have a disability that affects your performance in class, please notify the instructor **at the beginning of the semester** in order to find an accommodation that meets best student's interests. Also, for advice and assistance you may contact the university's disability services office, located in 210 University Pavilion, Phone 513-556-6823, Email: [disabisv@ucmail.uc.edu](mailto:disabisv@ucmail.uc.edu).

Students are expected to attend class, and attendance will be recorded at each class meeting. If students are not able to attend a scheduled test or exam due to extraordinary circumstances (medical), I should be informed **PRIOR** to the test about the their impending absence and documentation must be provided when you return to class. Absences due to illness or injury will not be excused retroactively unless documentation is provided to the instructor. A student

who misses a total of **TEN** or more class meetings (1/3) will receive a class participation grade of zero (0), and may also have his or her overall course grade reduced. A student who has a total of **THIRTEEN** or more unexcused absences (1/2) will receive a course grade of F. Even though I do NOT necessarily require a note from the doctor, I expect you to contact me in advance (preferably by email) and inform me if you are not feeling well. I do **NOT** plan makeup examinations or quizzes. Missing an exam without prior permission of the instructor may result in a zero on that exam. Make-up tests will only be arranged in extreme cases, so please be sure to let me know as soon as possible if you will not be able to attend at the scheduled time.

Please note that most readings will be posted on the course's webpage on Blackboard or links will be available from Blackboard. When electronic versions of readings are not available, paper copies will be distributed in class or course pack will be available in the library and/or one of the university bookstores.

Lastly, I need to remind you that all of the work you submit in this course is expected to be your own. Students should review the UC student code of conduct and be aware of all activities defined as academic dishonesty. Although I do encourage students to exchange ideas and/or work together on certain assignments, *each student is responsible for completing and submitting his or her own homework*. Please be advised that according to the UC Student Code of Conduct plagiarism is defined as:

Submitting another's published or unpublished work in whole, in part or in paraphrase, as one's own without fully and properly crediting the author with footnotes, quotation marks, citations, or bibliographical reference.

Submitting as one's own original work, material obtained from an individual or agency without reference to the person or agency as the source of the material.

Submitting as one's own original work material that has been produced through unacknowledged collaboration with others without release in writing from collaborators.<sup>†</sup>

Please, understand the proper use of technology in the classroom. Laptop computers, tablets, cell phone and other electronic devices **can be used for solely for academic purposes and with discretion**. Their volume should be muted during class time. If students use online resources for anything, other than the course content, they will be penalized (e.g. watching sport events, shopping online, or doing other non-academic activities). Penalties may include dismissal from class, 0 points on course participation, or failing the course altogether.

## **COURSE STRUCTURE AND READINGS:**

### **I. Introduction. Why Studying Alliances and Alliance Politics? Alliance Politics in the XIX and early XX century**

Glenn Snyder, *Alliance Politics*, Chapter 1 (Alliances in a Multipolar System), pp. 1-42.

### **II. Explaining Alliance Formation**

#### *1) General theory of alliance formation*

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<sup>†</sup> The University of Cincinnati Student Code of Conduct, Last revised on 4/29/04.

Glenn Snyder, *Alliance Politics*, Chapter 2 (Theory: Alliance Formation), pp. 43-79.

2) *The balancing and bandwagoning explanations (balance of power and balance of threat)*  
Stephen Walt, *The Origins of Alliances*, Chapter 5 (Balancing and Bandwagoning), pp. 147-180.

Stephen Walt, *The Origins of Alliances*, Chapter 8 (Conclusion), pp. 262-280.

Randall L. Schweller, "Bandwagoning for Profit: Bringing the Revisionist State Back," *International Security*, Vol. 19, No. 1. (Summer, 1994), pp. 72-107.

3) *Appeasement and wedge strategies*

Timothy W. Crawford, "Wedge Strategy, Balancing, and the Deviant Case of Spain, 1940-41," *Security Studies*, Vol. 17, no. 1 (2008), 1-38.

4) *Internal vs. External Sources*

Richard Harknett and Jeffrey VanDenBerg, *Alignment Theory and Interrelated Threats*, *Security Studies*, Vol. 6 no. 3 (Spring 1997).

### **III. Explaining the Functioning of Alliances**

1) *The Collective and Club Goods Frameworks*

Glenn Snyder, *Alliance Politics*, Chapter 6 (Theory: Alliance Management), pp. 165-201.

Mancur Olson and Richard Zeckhauser, *The Economic Theory of Alliances*, pp. v-38.

Cornes and Sandler, *The Theory of Externalities, Public Goods and Club Goods*, (Homogeneous Clubs and Local Public Goods) pp. 159-174; (Issues in Club Goods Theory) pp. 184-210 and (Intergenerational Clubs) pp. 227-243.

2) *The Role of Affect*

Lucile Eznack, "Crises as Signals of Strength: The Significance of Affect in Close Allies' Relationships," *Security Studies*, Vol. 20, no. 2, (2011), pp. 238-265.

3) *Institutional Approaches*

David Bearce, Kristen Flanagan and Katherine Floros, "Alliances, Internal Information and Military Conflict among Member States, *International Organization*, Vol. 60 (2006), pp. 595-625.

Celeste Wallander, Institutional Assets and Adaptability: NATO after the Cold War, *International Organization*, Vol. 54 (2000), pp. 705-35.

Brett Ashley Leeds and Sezi Anac, "Alliance Institutionalization and Alliance Performance," *International Interactions*, Vol. 31, no 3 (2005), pp. 183-202

4) *Alliances as Security Communities*

Karl Deutsch et al, *Political Community and the North Atlantic Area*, Princeton, New Jersey, 1957; (Introduction), pp. 3-21.

### **IV. History and Politics of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization**

Sloan, (Chapters 2, 3&4), pp. 11-71.

Renee de Nevers, "NATO's International Security Role in the Terrorist Era," *International Security*, Vol. 31, No. 4, (Spring 2007), pp. 34-66.

### **V. NATO's post-Cold War Expansion**

Zoltan Barany, Chapter 1 (The Pros and Cons of Further Enlargement), pp. 9-44.

Peter Svec, The Legacy of Military Cultures in Central and Eastern European Countries in Kristina Spohr Readman, "Building Sustaining Military Capabilities," pp. 123-135.  
Rebecca Moore, *NATO's New Mission: Projecting Stability in a Post-Cold War World*, Praeger Security International, 2007, pp. 1-31.

## **VI. NATO's Operations in the 1990s and 2000s**

### *1) Operations in former Yugoslavia*

Kersti Larsdotter, "The Development of a NATO Strategy in Bosnia and Herzegovina" in *Pursuing Strategy: NATO Operations from the Gulf War to Gaddafi* (eds.) Håkan Edström and Dennis Gyllensporre, Palgrave MacMillan (2012), 60-78.

Ryan Hendrickson, "NATO's Operation *Allied Force*: Strategic Concepts and Institutional Relationships" in *Pursuing Strategy: NATO Operations from the Gulf War to Gaddafi* (eds.) Håkan Edström and Dennis Gyllensporre, Palgrave MacMillan (2012), 82-93.

### *2) NATO in Afghanistan*

Stephen Saideman and David P. Auerswald, "Comparing Caveats: Understanding the Sources of National Restrictions upon NATO's Mission in Afghanistan." *International Studies Quarterly* 56 no. 1 (2012), 67-84

Alexandra Gheciu and Roland Paris. "NATO and the Challenge of Sustainable Peacebuilding." *Global Governance* 17 no. 1 (March 2011): 75-9

MJ Williams, "(Un)Sustainable Peacebuilding: NATO's Suitability for Post-conflict Reconstruction in Multi-actor Environments." *Global Governance* 17, no 1 (March 2011), 115-134.

Recommended: Sten Rynning, *NATO in Afghanistan: the Liberal Disconnect*. Stanford University Press (2012).

### *3) Other operations: Iraq, Libya, the Mediterranean*

Dennis Gyllensporre, "NATO Engagements in Africa: Is there a Strategy for the Continent?" in *Pursuing Strategy: NATO Operations from the Gulf War to Gaddafi* (eds.) Håkan Edström and Dennis Gyllensporre, Palgrave MacMillan (2012), 157-186.

## **VII. NATO's New Capabilities and Global Outreach**

Petersen, Binnendijk, Barry and Nielsen, "Implementing NATO's Complex Approach to Complex Operations" in *NATO in Search of a Vision* (eds.) Aybet and Moore, Georgetown University Press (2010), pp. 75-98.

Gulnur Aybet, "NATO's New Strategic Concept Revisited: Grand Strategy and Emerging Threats" in *NATO in Search of a Vision* (eds.) Aybet and Moore, Georgetown University Press (2010), pp. 35-50.

Rebecca Moore, "Partnership Goes Global: the Role of Non-Member, non-EU states in the Evolution of NATO" in *NATO in Search of a Vision* (eds.) Aybet and Moore, Georgetown University Press (2010), pp. 219-42.

## **VIII. NATO, the European Union and other International Organizations**

Stanley Hoffman, "Toward a Common European Foreign and Security Policy," *Journal of Common Market Studies*, Vol. 38, No. 2 (2002), pp. 189-98.

Kent Kille and Ryan Hendrickson, "NATO and the United Nations: debates and trends in institutional collaboration." *Journal of International Organizations Studies* 2, no. 1 (2011): 28-49.

### **IX. NATO and Modern Transatlantic Relations**

Ronald Asmus and Alexandr Vondra, The Origins of Atlanticism in Central and Eastern Europe, *Cambridge Review of International Affairs*, Vol. 18, No 2, July 2005.

Antonio Missiroli, "Central and Eastern Europe between the EU and NATO," *Survival*, Vol. 46, No. 4, Winter 2004-2005, p. 127.

### **Literature:**

Alexandra Gheciu and Roland Paris. "NATO and the Challenge of Sustainable Peacebuilding." *Global Governance* 17 no. 1 (March 2011): 75-9

Antonio Missiroli, "Central and Eastern Europe between the EU and NATO," *Survival*, Vol. 46, No. 4, Winter 2004-2005, p. 127.

David S. Yost, *NATO Transformed: the Alliance's New Roles in International Security*. (Washington, DC: United States Institute of Peace Press, 1998).

Glenn A. Snyder, *Alliance Politics* (Cornell University Press, 1997).

Gulnur Aybet and Rebecca Moore, *NATO in Search of a Vision*. Georgetown University Press (2010).

Håkan Edström, Janne Haaland Matlary and Magnus Petersson, *NATO: The Power of Partnerships*. (Palgrave Macmillan, 2011).

Håkan Edström and Dennis Gyllensporre, *Pursuing Strategy: NATO Operations from the Gulf War to Gaddafi* (Palgrave McMillan, 2012).

Ivan Dinev Ivanov, *Transforming NATO: new allies, missions and capabilities* (Lexington Books/ Rowman and Littlefield Inc, 2011).

Karl Deutsch et al, "Political Community in the North Atlantic Area" in *Readings on the Theory and Practice of the European Integration* (eds.) Brent Nelsen and Alexander Stubb. Boulder, London (1994).

Kristina Spohr Readman, *Building Sustaining Military Capabilities*. Cambridge University Press (2003).

MJ Williams, "(Un)Sustainable Peacebuilding: NATO's Suitability for Post-conflict Reconstruction in Multi-actor Environments." *Global Governance* 17, no 1 (March 2011), 115-134.

Mancur Olson and Richard Zeckhauser, *The Logic of Collective Action*. RAND Corporation, Washington DC (1966).

Mark Brawley and Pierre Martin, "Balancing Acts: NATO's Unity and the Lessons to Learn," in *Alliance Politics, Kosovo and NATO's War: Allied Force or Forced Allies?* (eds.) Martin and Brawley. (Palgrave, New York, 2001).

- Rebecca Moore, *NATO's New Mission: Projecting Stability in a Post-Cold War World*. Praeger Security International (2007).
- Philip Gordon and Jeremy Shapiro, *Allies At War*. McGraw-Hill, 2004.
- Richard Harknett and Jeffrey VanDenBerg, "Alignment Theory and Interrelated Threats," *Security Studies*, Vol. 6 no. 3 (Spring 1997).
- Rob De Wijk, *NATO on the Brink of the New Millennium: the Battle for Consensus*. Brassey's Atlantic Commentaries (1997).
- Ronald Asmus and Alexander Vondra, "The Origins of Atlanticism in Central and Eastern Europe," *Cambridge Review of International Affairs*, Vol. 18, No 2, July 2005.
- Ryan Hendrickson, *Diplomacy and War at NATO: The Secretary General and Military Action After the Cold War*. (Columbia, MO: University of Missouri Press, 2006).
- Kent Kille and Ryan Hendrickson, "NATO and the United Nations: debates and trends in institutional collaboration." *Journal of International Organizations Studies* 2, no. 1 (2011): 28-49.
- Stanley R. Sloan, *NATO, the European Union and the Atlantic Community: The Transatlantic Bargain Reconsidered*. Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, Lanham, MD (2003).
- Sten Rynning, *NATO in Afghanistan: the Liberal Disconnect*. Stanford University Press (2012).
- Stephen David, "Explaining Third World Alignment," *World Politics*, Vol. 43, no 2 (January 1991), pp. 233-57.
- Stephen Saideman and David P. Auerswald, "Comparing Caveats: Understanding the Sources of National Restrictions upon NATO's Mission in Afghanistan." *International Studies Quarterly* 56 no. 1 (2012), 67-84.
- Stephen M Walt, "Alliance Formation in Southwest Asia: Balancing and Bandwagoning in Cold War Competition," in Robert Jervis and Jack Snyder (eds.) *Dominos and Bandwagons: Strategic Beliefs and Great Power Competition in the Eurasian Rimland*. New York: Oxford University Press, (1991), pp. 51-84.
- \_\_\_\_\_, *The Origins of Alliances*. Cornell University Press, Ithaca (1987).
- Todd Sandler, *Collective Action*. The University of Michigan Press, 1992.
- Victor Papacosma and Mary Ann Heiss, *NATO in the Post-Cold War Era: does it have a future*. Palgrave Macmillan, November 1995.
- Victorio Emanuele Parsi, *The Remains of the West*. Palgrave MacMillan, 2006.
- Wallace Thies, *Why NATO Endures*. Cambridge University Press (2009)
- Zoltan Barany, *The Future of NATO Expansion*. Cambridge University Press, 2003.

## POL 3082 TENTATIVE SCHEDULE (SPRING 2015)

Week	Tuesday	Thursday
Week One 1/12-1/16	1/13 Introduction: Why studying alliance politics?	1/15 Formation of alliances: Power
Week Two 1/19-1/23	1/20 Formation of alliances: balancing	1/22 Formation of alliances: bandwagoning
Week Three 1/26-1/30	1/27 Formation of alliances wedge strategies	1/29 Formation of alliances: internal sources
Week Four 2/2-2/6	2/3 Formation of alliances: psychology and affection	2/5 Alliance management: collective goods theory
Week Five 2/9-2/13	2/10 Alliance management: club goods theory	2/12 Alliances, collective defense and collective security
Week Six 2/16-2/20	2/17 Alliance management: institutional assets	2/19 Preparation for the simulation: Instructions and Roles
Week Seven 2/23-2/27	2/24 Alliance management and security communities	2/26 Introduction to NATO politics: structure and decision-making
Week Eight 3/2-3/6	3/3 NATO Politics during the Cold War	3/5 <b>Midterm Exam</b>
Week Nine 3/9-3/13	3/10 NATO's transformation: regional and global partnerships	3/12 NATO's post-Cold War expansion
Spring Break	3/17 No classes	3/19 No classes
Week Ten 3/23-3/27	3/24 NATO's Mission's in Former Yugoslavia	3/26 NATO's Missions in Afghanistan, Libya
Week Eleven 3/30-4/3	3/31 NATO's new capabilities (research team 1): <b>Part 1</b>	3/19 NATO's new capabilities (research team 2): <b>Part 2</b>
Week Twelve 4/6-4/10	4/7 NATO's new capabilities (research team 3): <b>Part 3</b>	4/9 NATO, the United Nations and other IOs <b>Online quiz on NATO Politics</b>
Week Thirteen 4/13-4/17	4/14 NAC Simulation (Part 1) TBD	4/16 NAC Simulation (Part 2) TBD
Week Fourteen 4/20-4/24	4/ 21 The future of NATO: transatlantic relations and global outreach	4/23 No class Q&A on the Final Exam

**Final paper due: 4/28 @ 11:59 pm EST (submit via Blackboard)**