

**Seminar Diplomacy and Security
PSCI / IS-4024**

**Department of Political Science
Virginia Tech
Spring 2024**

Paul Avey

Course Information

Course Time: TR 11:00am – 12:15pm
Course Room: 502 Major Williams Hall

Contact Information

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Office Hours: Thursday 2:00 – 4:00pm and by appointment

Course Description

This course explores alliance politics which combine diplomatic and security elements. The course is divided into four main parts. The first two parts examine conceptual issues and frameworks central to explaining alliances. In Part 1 the focus is on alliance formation. Part 2 turns to issues of alliance management and termination. The third and fourth sections explore the history of one of the longest and the most institutionalized alliances in world history: the North Atlantic Treaty Organization. NATO, it seems, is always in crisis. Yet in April 2024 it will celebrate its 75th anniversary, having expanded far beyond its original membership. In Part 3 the class will examine the origins and evolution of NATO in the Cold War. Then Part 4 turns to NATO's expansion after the Cold War. Students will apply the general concepts and frameworks from the first two parts in the detailed historical discussion covered in the second two parts. Having completed the course students will have a better understanding of general explanations for alliance politics and the alliance politics of NATO. Students will also be better prepared to communicate complex ideas in a professional setting.

Course Outline

Introduction

January 16 (T)	Class 1	Introduction
January 18 (Th)	Class 2	Alignment and Alliance

Part 1: Formation

January 23 (T)	Class 3	Balancing and Bandwagoning
January 25 (Th)	Class 4	Tethering and Autonomy

January 30 (T)	Class 5	Ideology
February 1 (Th)	Class 6	Domestic Politics
February 6 (T)	Class 7	Open Discussion

Part 2: Management and Termination

February 8 (Th)	Class 8	Abandonment and Entrapment
February 13 (T)	Class 9	Burden Sharing
February 15 (Th)	Class 10	Nuclear Nonproliferation
February 20 (T)	Class 11	Reputation
February 22 (Th)	Class 12	Disrupting
February 27 (T)	Class 13	Termination
February 29 (Th)	Class 14	Open Discussion

Part 3: NATO: Evolution and Endurance in the Cold War

March 12 (T)	Class 15	NATO Is Never Not Collapsing
March 14 (Th)	Class 16	Origins and Early Evolution
March 19 (T)	Class 17	Nuclear Crises and Nuclear Planning
March 21 (Th)	Class 18	Détente
March 26 (T)	Class 19	Nuclear Crises (Again) & Cold War's End
March 28 (Th)	Class 20	Open Discussion
April 2 (T)	No Class	No Class

Part 4: NATO: Expansion After the Cold War

April 4 (Th)	Class 21	Setting the Stage
April 9 (T)	Class 22	Bush Administration
April 11 (Th)	Class 23	Clinton Administration, I
April 16 (T)	Class 24	Clinton Administration, II
April 18 (Th)	Class 25	Clinton Administration, III
April 23 (T)	Class 26	Taking Stock
April 25 (Th)	Class 27	The Future of Ukraine and NATO
April 30 (T)	Class 28	Open Discussion

A detailed reading list for each day is provided below.

Grading

There are 200 total points in the class. Grades are based on participation, five reading reactions, four quizzes (lowest score dropped), one mid-term essay, and one final essay. Any late written assignment will automatically lose 10% of the grade for each day it is late. After ten days past the due date the assignment can no longer receive partial credit. Note that missed quizzes cannot be made up and the final essay can only be turned in three days late for partial credit to provide time for grading to meet end of semester grade deadlines. If you are not able to turn in an assignment the day it is due for any reason that you know of in advance, including excused

absences for athletics, religious holidays, military orders, etc., you must complete the assignment and turn it in prior to the due date. There are no extensions for any assignment except in the case of documented health or family emergencies. All such cases must be documented by a Class Absence Verification through the Dean of Students: https://dos.vt.edu/our_services.html. Information and a request form are available on their website.

All assignments will be done on or uploaded to Canvas. Upload material as a Word document. If you do not have Word, contact the professor for alternative arrangements before the assignment is due. It is your responsibility to make sure that the document properly uploads. Check that you can access and read the document after you upload it. Documents that do not appear, are blank, or cannot be opened by the professor will be marked late.

The grade you receive at the end of the semester is final and will not be rounded up or down. The only exception is if there is a calculation error in your point total. If you believe there are any errors or omissions with your grade, immediately contact the professor. There is no extra credit. Your grade is based on the assigned work so that you can demonstrate mastery of material, not simply that you can complete many tasks. This also ensures that every student is held to the same standards and has the same opportunity as every other student in the class.

Additional information on grading and university and course policies removed from public version.

Required Reading

Assigned journal articles from a book can be accessed via the links provided in the “Course Reading and Assignment Schedule” below. Articles without a link will have an * and will be available on the Course Canvas page in Files -> Class Readings. In the cases where only a single chapter from a book is assigned the reading will be available with a link or have an * and be available on the Course Canvas page. Note that the links may not work if you are not on campus or logged in to Virginia Tech. If you are not able to access a reading, first check that you’re logged in properly. If you still having difficulty accessing a reading, contact the professor.

There are two assigned books for the course. The Virginia Tech Library has one (Sayle) available as an eBook. The other (Sarotte) you will need to purchase as a physical copy or eBook from the University Bookstore or from online distributors such as Amazon or Barnes and Nobles or from [Yale University Press](https://www.yaleupress.edu/) directly.

Timothy Andrews Sayle, *Enduring Alliance: A History of NATO and the Postwar Global Order* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2019), <https://virginiatech.on.worldcat.org/oclc/1057243780>

Mary Elise (M.E.) Sarotte, *Not One Inch: America, Russia, and the Making of the Post-Cold War Stalemate* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2021). <https://virginiatech.on.worldcat.org/oclc/1283851139>.

Course Reading and Assignment Schedule

Introduction

January 16 (T) Class 1: Introduction

- No reading

January 18 (Th) Class 2: Alignment

- Thomas S. Wilkins, “‘*Alignment*’, not ‘*alliance*’ – The Shifting Paradigm of International Security Cooperation: Toward A Conceptual Taxonomy of Alignment,” *Review of International Studies*, Vol 38, No. 1 (2012), 53-76, <https://www-jstor-org.ezproxy.lib.vt.edu/stable/41485490>
- Claudette Roulo, “Alliances vs. Partnerships,” U.S. Department of Defense, March 22, 2019, <https://www.defense.gov/News/Feature-Stories/Story/Article/1684641/alliances-vs-partnerships/>

PART 1: FORMATION

January 23 (T) Class 3: Balancing and Bandwagoning

- Stephen M. Walt, “Alliance Formation and the Balance of World Power,” *International Security*, Vol. 9, No. 4 (Spring 1985), 3-43, <https://muse-jhu-edu.ezproxy.lib.vt.edu/issue/23613>
- Randall L. Schweller, “Bandwagoning for Profit: Bringing the Revisionist State Back In,” *International Security*, Vol. 19, No. 1 (Summer 1994), 72-107, <https://muse-jhu-edu.ezproxy.lib.vt.edu/issue/23809>
- OPTIONAL: Jesse C. Johnson, “External Threat and Alliance Formation,” *International Studies Quarterly*, Vol. 61, No. 3 (September 2017), pages 736-745, <https://www-jstor-org.ezproxy.lib.vt.edu/stable/48539047>

Group A reading reaction due in Classes 3-6 Discussions Tab on Canvas by 9am, January 23

January 25 (Th) Class 4: Tethering and Autonomy

- Patricia A. Weitsman, “Intimate Enemies: The Politics of Peacetime Alliances,” *Security Studies*, Vol. 7, No. 1 (Autumn 1997), 156-192, <https://doi-org.ezproxy.lib.vt.edu/10.1080/09636419708429337>
- James D. Morrow, “Alliances and Asymmetry: An Alternative to the Capability Aggregation Model of Alliances,” *American Journal of Political Science*, Vol. 35, No. 4 (Nov. 1991), 904-933, <https://www-jstor-org.ezproxy.lib.vt.edu/stable/2111499>

Group B reading reaction due in Classes 3-6 Discussions Tab on Canvas by 9am, January 25

January 30 (T) Class 5: Ideology

- John M. Owen IV, “When do Ideologies Produce Alliances? The Holy Roman Empire, 1517-1555,” *International Studies Quarterly*, Vol. 49, No. 1 (March 2005), 73-100, <https://www-jstor-org.ezproxy.lib.vt.edu/stable/3693625>
- Mark L Haas, “When Do Ideological Enemies Ally?” *International Security*, Vol. 46, No. 1 (Summer 2021), 104-146, <https://muse-jhu-edu.ezproxy.lib.vt.edu/pub/6/article/800026>

Group C reading reaction due in Classes 3-6 Discussions Tab on Canvas by 9am, January 30

February 1 (Th) Class 6: Domestic Politics

- Steven R. David, “Explaining Third World Alignment,” *World Politics*, Vol. 43, No. 2 (January 1991), 233-256, <https://www-jstor-org.ezproxy.lib.vt.edu/stable/2010472>
- Aaron Rapport and Brian Rathbun, “Parties to an Alliance: Ideology and the Domestic Politics of International Institutionalization,” *Journal of Peace Research*, Vol. 58, No. 2 (2021), <https://doi-org.ezproxy.lib.vt.edu/10.1177/0022343319900916>

Group D reading reaction due in Classes 3-6 Discussions Tab on Canvas by 9am, February 1

February 6 (T) Class 7: Open Discussion

- No Reading

Quiz 1 is available on Canvas beginning at 11:00am on February 5 and closes at 11:00am on February 6. Once you start the quiz you will have ten minutes to complete it.

PART 2: MANAGEMENT AND TERMINATION

February 8 (Th) Class 8: Abandonment and Entrapment

- * Alexander Lanoszka, *Military Alliances in the Twenty-First Century* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 2022), chapters 2-3, pages 50-106

February 13 (T) Class 9: Burden Sharing

- Mancur Olson, Jr. and Richard Zeckhauser, “An Economic Theory of Alliances,” *The Review of Economics and Statistics*, Vol. 48, No. 3 (August 1966), 266-279, <http://login.ezproxy.lib.vt.edu/login?url=https://search.ebscohost.com/login.aspx?direct=true&db=bth&AN=4644072&scope=site>
- Brian Blankenship, “The Price of Protection: Explaining Success and Failure of US Alliance Burden-Sharing Pressure,” *Security Studies*, Vol. 30, No. 5 (2021), 691-724, <http://login.ezproxy.lib.vt.edu/login?url=https://search.ebscohost.com/login.aspx?direct=true&db=a9h&AN=154902518&scope=site>

Group A reading reaction due in Classes 9-12 Discussions Tab on Canvas by 9am, February 13

February 15 (Th) Class 10: Nuclear Nonproliferation

- Francis J. Gavin, “Strategies of Inhibition: U.S. Grand Strategy, the Nuclear Revolution, and Nonproliferation,” *International Security*, Vol. 40, No. 1 (Summer 2015), 9-46, <https://muse-jhu-edu.ezproxy.lib.vt.edu/pub/6/article/589747>
- Alexander Lanoszka, “Nuclear Proliferation and Nonproliferation among Soviet Allies,” *Journal of Global Security Studies* Vol. 3, No. 2 (2018), 217-233, <https://doi-org.ezproxy.lib.vt.edu/10.1093/jogss/ogy002>

Group B reading reaction due in Classes 9-12 Discussions Tab on Canvas by 9am, February 15

February 20 (T) Class 11: Reputation

- Iain D. Henry, “What Allies Want: Reconsidering Loyalty, Reliability, and Alliance Interdependence,” *International Security*, Vol. 44, No. 4 (Spring 2020), 45-83, <https://muse-jhu-edu.ezproxy.lib.vt.edu/pub/6/article/754070>
- * Paul C. Avey, “Thank You for Being a Friend: The Primacy of Capabilities and Consultation over Reputation in Alliance Politics,” Unpublished Manuscript.

Group C reading reaction due in Classes 9-12 Discussions Tab on Canvas by 9am, February 20

Midterm essay prompts available on the course canvas page at the end of class (12:15pm)

February 22 (Th) Class 12: Disrupting

- Yasuhiro Izumikawa, “Binding Strategies in Alliance Politics: The Soviet-Japanese-US Diplomatic Tug of War in the Mid-1950s,” *International Studies Quarterly*, Vol. 62 (2018), 108-120, <http://login.ezproxy.lib.vt.edu/login?url=https://search.ebscohost.com/login.aspx?direct=true&db=poh&AN=128646109&scope=site>
- Timothy W. Crawford, “Preventing Enemy Coalitions: How Wedge Strategies Shape Power Politics,” *International Security*, Vol. 35, No. 4 (Spring 2011), 155-189, <https://muse-jhu-edu.ezproxy.lib.vt.edu/pub/6/article/423541>

Group D reading reaction due in Classes 9-12 Discussions Tab on Canvas by 9am, February 22

February 27 (T) Class 13: Termination

- Brett Ashley Leeds and Burcu Savun, “Terminating Alliances: Why Do States Abrogate Agreements?” *Journal of Politics*, Vol. 69, No. 4 (November 2007), 1118-1132, <http://login.ezproxy.lib.vt.edu/login?url=https://search.ebscohost.com/login.aspx?direct=true&db=a9h&AN=27014135&scope=site>
- Jasen J. Castillo and Alexander B. Downes, “Loyalty, Hedging, or Exit: How Weaker Alliance Partners Respond to the Rise of New Threats,” *Journal of Strategic Studies*, Vol. 46, No. 2 (2023), 227-268, <https://doi-org.ezproxy.lib.vt.edu/10.1080/01402390.2020.1797690>

February 29 (Th) Class 14: Open Discussion

- No Reading

Quiz 2 is available on Canvas beginning at 11:00am on February 28 and closes at 11:00am on February 29. Once you start the quiz you will have ten minutes to complete it.

Midterm essay due electronically via course Canvas page by 5:00pm on Thursday, February 29

March 5 & 7 No Class: Spring Break

- No reading – enjoy your break!

PART 3: NATO: EVOLUTION AND ENDURANCE IN THE COLD WAR

March 12 (T) Class 15: NATO Is Never Not Collapsing

- * Wallace J. Thies, “Was the US Invasion of Iraq NATO’s Worst Crisis Ever? How Would We Know? Why Should We Care?” *European Security*, Vol. 16, No. 1 (2007), 29-50
- * Susan Colbourn, “Donald Trump and the Terrible, Horrible, No-Good, Very Bad Deal,” in Jervis et al, *Chaos Reconsidered: The Liberal Order and the Future of International Politics*, (New York: Columbia University Press, 2023), 161-166, <https://viriniatech.on.worldcat.org/oclc/1356894148>. AND also available in the Canvas – Class Readings folder.
- Sayle, *Enduring Alliance*, Introduction, pages 1-10

Group A reading reaction due in Classes 15-18 Discussions Tab on Canvas by 9am, March 12

March 14 (Th) Class 16: Origins and Early Evolution

- Sayle, *Enduring Alliance*, chapters 1-3, pages 11-75

Group B reading reaction due in Classes 15-18 Discussions Tab on Canvas by 9am, March 14

March 19 (T) Class 17: Nuclear Crises and Nuclear Planning

- Sayle, *Enduring Alliance*, chapters 4-6, pages 76-119

Group C reading reaction due in Classes 15-18 Discussions Tab on Canvas by 9am, March 19

March 21 (Th) Class 18: Détente

- Sayle, *Enduring Alliance*, chapters 7-8, pages 147-190

Group D reading reaction due in Classes 15-18 Discussions Tab on Canvas by 9am, March 21

March 26 (T) Class 19 Nuclear Crises (Again) and The End of the Cold War

- Sayle, *Enduring Alliance*, chapters 9-10, and Conclusion pages 191-251

Group A reading reaction due in Classes 19-23 Discussions Tab on Canvas by 9am, March 26

Final essay prompts available on the course canvas page at the end of class (12:15pm)

March 28 (Th) Class 20: Open Discussion

- No reading

Quiz 3 is available on Canvas beginning at 11:00am on March 27 and closes at 11:00am on March 28. Once you start the quiz you will have ten minutes to complete it.

April 2 (T): No Class

- No reading (but you could always get a head start on reading Sarrote!)

PART 4: NATO: EXPANSION AFTER THE COLD WAR

April 4 (Th) Class 21: Setting the Stage

- Sarotte, *Not One Inch*, Introduction and Chapter 1, pages 1-42

Group B reading reaction due in Part 4 Discussions Tab on Canvas by 9am, April 4

April 9 (T) Class 22: Bush Administration

- Sarotte, *Not One Inch*, Chapters 2-4, pages 43-148

Group C reading reaction due in Classes 19-23 Discussions Tab on Canvas by 9am, April 9

April 11 (Th) Class 23: Clinton Administration, I

- Sarotte, *Not One Inch*, chapters 5-6, pages 149-212

Group D Reading reaction due in Part 4 Discussions Tab on Canvas by 9am, April 11

April 16 (T) Class 24: Clinton Administration, II

- Sarotte, *Not One Inch*, chapters 7-8, pages 213-274

Group A Reading reaction due in Part 4 Discussions Tab on Canvas by 9am, April 16

April 18 (Th) Class 25: The Clinton Administration III

- Sarotte, *Not One Inch*, chapters 9-10, pages 275-335

Group B Reading reaction due in Part 4 Discussions Tab on Canvas by 9am, April 18

April 23 (T) Class 26: NATO Expansion: Taking Stock

- Sarotte, *Not One Inch*, Conclusion, pages 338-353
- James Goldgeier and Joshua R. Itzkowitz Shiffrinson, "Evaluating NATO Enlargement: Scholarly Debates, Policy Implications, and Roads Not Taken," in Goldgeier and Shiffrinson, *Evaluating NATO Enlargement* (London: Palgrave MacMillan, 2023), 1-29, <https://virginiatech.on.worldcat.org/oclc/1371756384>

Group C Reading reaction due in Part 4 Discussions Tab on Canvas by 9am, April 23

April 25 (Th) Class 27: The Future of Ukraine and NATO

- James Goldgeier and Joshua Shiffrin, “Debating NATO Enlargement,” Exchanges of Letters, Carnegie Endowment for International Peace,
<https://carnegieendowment.org/programs/americanstatecraft/debatingnato>
- Read letters 1-7, beginning July 13, 2023 and continuing through November 30, 2023

Group D Reading reaction due in Part 4 Discussions Tab on Canvas by 9am, April 25

April 30 (T) Class 28: Open Discussion

- No reading

Quiz 1 is available on Canvas beginning at 11:00am on April 29 and closes at 11:00am on April 30. Once you start the quiz you will have ten minutes to complete it.

Final essay due electronically via course Canvas page by 5:00pm on Friday, May 3