

PSCI 282: Comparative Foreign Policy: Between Self-help and Global Governance

Winter, 2013

MC 2035, Wednesday and Thursday, 2:30-3:50

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Course Description: This course examines the comparative foreign policy of big, middle and small countries. In many respects the course follows the route of a generic course on comparative foreign policy, with a focus on internal/domestic as well as external determinants. Where it is different is in its focus on how a range of countries perceive and operate their foreign policy choices between a self-help orientation and an orientation that privileges global governance in the way of globally oriented rules of the game. The focus in general will be on the multilateral focus of these countries. What is their approach to universal (UN) multilateralism versus selective club (G20/IFIs/WTO) multilateralism? Do certain values inform multilateralism or is it simply interest based? Can the countries be categorized as stabilizers, hedgers, or transformers? Are they flexible or rigid on issues of sovereignty? Do they have a tight state-based approach or is there space for non-state activity? Is there a sense of rise or fall in setting the rules of the international system? Does the neighborhood countries are located shape their perception and operation of the system?

University Regulations:

Cross-listed courses:

Please note that a cross-listed course will count in all respective averages no matter under which rubric it has been taken. For example, a PHIL/PSCI cross-list will count in a Philosophy major average, even if the course was taken under the Political Science rubric.

Academic Integrity:

Academic Integrity: In order to maintain a culture of academic integrity, members of the University of Waterloo are expected to promote honesty, trust, fairness, respect and responsibility.

Discipline: A student is expected to know what constitutes academic integrity, to avoid committing academic offences, and to take responsibility for his/her actions. A student who is unsure whether an action constitutes an offence, or who needs help in learning how to avoid offences (e.g., plagiarism, cheating) or about “rules” for group work/collaboration should seek guidance from the course professor, academic advisor, or the Undergraduate Associate Dean. When misconduct has been found to have occurred, disciplinary penalties will be imposed under Policy 71 – Student Discipline. For information on categories of offenses and types of penalties, students should refer to Policy 71 - Student Discipline, <http://www.adm.uwaterloo.ca/infosec/Policies/policy71.htm>.

Grievance: A student who believes that a decision affecting some aspect of his/her university life has been unfair or unreasonable may have grounds for initiating a grievance. Read Policy 70 - Student Petitions and Grievances, Section 4, <http://www.adm.uwaterloo.ca/infosec/Policies/policy70.htm>.

Appeals: A student may appeal the finding and/or penalty in a decision made under Policy 70 - Student Petitions and Grievances (other than regarding a petition) or Policy 71 - Student Discipline if a ground for an appeal can be established. Read Policy 72 - Student Appeals, <http://www.adm.uwaterloo.ca/infosec/Policies/policy72.htm>.

[Academic Integrity website \(Arts\): http://arts.uwaterloo.ca/arts/ugrad/academic_responsibility.html](http://arts.uwaterloo.ca/arts/ugrad/academic_responsibility.html)

[Academic Integrity Office \(uWaterloo\): http://uwaterloo.ca/academicintegrity/](http://uwaterloo.ca/academicintegrity/)

Turnitin.com: Plagiarism detection software (Turnitin) will be used to screen assignments in this course. This is being done to verify that use of all material and sources in assignments is documented. In the first week of the term, details will be provided about the arrangements for the use of Turnitin in this course. [DELETE IF YOU ARE NOT USING TURNITIN. Note: students must be given a reasonable option if they do not want to have their assignment screened by Turnitin. See: [Turnitin http://uwaterloo.ca/academicintegrity/Turnitin/index.html](http://uwaterloo.ca/academicintegrity/Turnitin/index.html) for more information.]

Accommodation for Students with Disabilities:

Note for students with disabilities: The Office for Persons with Disabilities (OPD), located in Needles Hall, Room 1132, collaborates with all academic departments to arrange appropriate accommodations for students with disabilities without compromising the academic integrity of the curriculum. If you require

academic accommodations to lessen the impact of your disability, please register with the OPD at the beginning of each academic term.

Texts:

Alan Alexandroff and Andrew F. Cooper, *Rising States, Rising Institutions: Challenges for Global Governance* (Washington, D.C.: Brookings Institution Press, 2010).

Andrew F. Cooper and Timothy M. Shaw eds (2012) *The Diplomacies of Small States: Between Vulnerability and Resilience* (London: Palgrave MacMillan) (paperback edition).

Supplementary readings come from various forms of journal articles. These can be accessed via the University of Waterloo's library system. Please use the links outlined below and search using the journal title.

Texts are available for purchase at the University of Waterloo bookstore.

Texts are on 3-hour reserve at the Dana Porter Library.

Course Requirements, Expectations, and Standards:

Assignments:

Paper: The essay assignment is a term paper between 8-12 pages (12 point font double spaced) - 40%. This paper will be due March 28. Topics will be handed out in the second week of class.

Tests:

Three tests, with short questions identifying and giving significance of specific terms in different thematic/country components of the course - 20% each – 60%

Schedule:

Week 1 - January 9

Overview of the Course A focus on the major questions: Concepts of Realism and Global governance in the context of Comparative Foreign Policy

Debates on Realism/Self Help and Global Governance

Reading 1: Lawrence Finkelstein, “What is Global Governance” *

[Reading 1 http://classes.maxwell.syr.edu/intlmgmt/readings/Finkelstein.PDF](http://classes.maxwell.syr.edu/intlmgmt/readings/Finkelstein.PDF)

Reading 2: Overview of John Mearsheimer’s Great Power Politics

[Reading 2 http://www.people.fas.harvard.edu/~plam/irnotes07/Mearsheimer2001.pdf](http://www.people.fas.harvard.edu/~plam/irnotes07/Mearsheimer2001.pdf)

Week 1 - January 10

The US as the pivotal actor A declining hegemon or rogue state? The pull of domestic politics – parochialism/isolationism The return to multilateralism? Institutions/clubs of necessity and choice

Reading 1: Ikenberry, G. John (2011) “The Three Faces of Liberal Internationalism” in Alexandroff and Cooper, Rising States, Rising Institutions, 17-47.*

Week 2 - January 16

The US in comparative perspective

Reading 1: Zakaria, Fareed (2008) “The Rise of the Rest”

[The Rise of the Rest http://www.thedailybeast.com/newsweek/2008/05/03/the-rise-of-the-rest.html](http://www.thedailybeast.com/newsweek/2008/05/03/the-rise-of-the-rest.html)

Reading 2: Joffe, Josef (2009) “The Default Power: The False Prophecy of US Decline”, Foreign Affairs, September/October. [Available via, UW Library’s online eJournal selection.](#)

Reading 3: Rachman, Gideon, “Liberal Leviathan”

<http://www.ft.com/intl/cms/s/2/8990e32e-7766-11e0-824c-00144feabdc0.html#axzz1gQV8V7c9>

Week 2 - January 17

The European Union: a normative/material force in global governance; constraints from national interests and inter-governmentalism; the impact of economic vulnerability; consolidation or fragmentation.

Reading 1: Moravcsik, Andrew (2010) In Alexandroff and Cooper, Rising States, Rising Institutions, 151-176.

Reading 2: Kagan, Robert (2002) “Power and Weakness”

[Power and Weakness http://www.hoover.org/publications/policy-review/article/7107](http://www.hoover.org/publications/policy-review/article/7107)

Reading 3: Leonard, Mark (2005) “Ascent of Europe”

[Ascent of Europe http://forum.europarl.europa.eu/jiveforums/servlet/JiveServlet/download/13-126-369-118/Ascent%20of%20Europe%20\(Mark%20Leonard\).pdf](http://forum.europarl.europa.eu/jiveforums/servlet/JiveServlet/download/13-126-369-118/Ascent%20of%20Europe%20(Mark%20Leonard).pdf)

Reading 4: Grant, Charles (2011) “Monnet loses to de Gaulle”

[Monnet loses to de Gaulle http://www.cer.org.uk/publications/archive/bulletin-article/2011/monnet-loses-de-gaulle](http://www.cer.org.uk/publications/archive/bulletin-article/2011/monnet-loses-de-gaulle)

Reading 5: Youngs, Richard “European foreign policy and economic crisis: what impact and how to respond?”

[European foreign policy and economic crisis http://www.fride.org/publication/959/working-paper](http://www.fride.org/publication/959/working-paper)

Week 3 - January 23

The EU (Continued)

Week 3 - January 24

BRICS and other acronyms of the changing global order

Reading 1: Cooper, Andrew (2010) “Labels Matter” in Alexandroff and Cooper, Rising States, Rising Institutions, 63-82*

Reading 2: Goldman Sachs (2011) “Building Better Global Economic BRICs”

[Building Better Global Economic BRICs http://www2.goldmansachs.com/our-thinking/brics/brics-reports-pdfs/build-better-brics.pdf](http://www2.goldmansachs.com/our-thinking/brics/brics-reports-pdfs/build-better-brics.pdf)

Week 4 - January 30

China From outsider to pivotal country Stabilizer, hedger, or transformer? The New Prussia? Nationalism and/or Interdependence? Party and collective leadership as domestic determinants

Reading 1: Gregory T. Chin (2010) “China’s Rising Institutional Influence” in Alexandroff and Cooper, *Rising States, Rising Institutions*, 183-104.*

Week 4 - January 31

Does China possess a unique/exceptional status among the BRICS?

Reading 1: G. John Ikenberry (2008) “The Rise of China and the Future of the West: Can the Liberal System Survive?”, *Foreign Affairs*, 87(1), January/February. [Available via, UW Library’s online eJournal selection.](#)

Reading 2: Robert Kagan (2005) “The Illusion of “Managing” China”, *The Washington Post*, May 15, p.B07.

[The Illusion of Managing China http://www.washingtonpost.com/wp-dyn/content/article/2005/05/13/AR2005051301405.html](http://www.washingtonpost.com/wp-dyn/content/article/2005/05/13/AR2005051301405.html)

Week 5 - February 6

First Test

Week 5 - February 7

Brazil - The country of the future? Multi-identities Lula to Dilma; Domestic/regional constraints
Status issues – UNSC Too big for its neighborhood?

Reading 1: Hurrell, Andrew (2010) ‘Brazil: What Kind of Rising State in What Kind of Rising Order’ in Alexandroff and Cooper, *Rising States, Rising Institutions*, 128-150.*

Reading 2: Juan de Onis (2008) “Brazil’s Big Moment”, *Foreign Affairs*, 87(6): pp. 101-122.
[Available via, UW Library’s online eJournal selection.](#)

Week 6 - February 13

India A champion of the global South Middle Power to Rising Power Domestic/regional

constraints Status issues – UNSC Multilateral versus bilateral – the US and China

Reading 1: Narlikar, Amrita (2010) “Reforming Institutions: Unreformed India?” in Alexandroff and Cooper, *Rising States, Rising Institutions*, 105-127. *

Reading 2: Cox, Simon (2010) “India and the G20: Enjoy the Silence” pp. 1-8

[India and the G20 http://www.cepr.org/pubs/other/IndiaG20.pdf](http://www.cepr.org/pubs/other/IndiaG20.pdf)

Week 6 - February 14

Canada as Middle state system stabilizer Kudos and criticisms Picking Niches – soft power to selective hard power What sort of identity? Club overload?

Reading 1: Hayes, Geoff (1993-4)

Reading 2: “Middle Powers and the New World Order” *

[Middle Powers and the New World Order http://www.opencanada.org/wp-content/uploads/2011/05/BTH_vol51_no2.pdf](http://www.opencanada.org/wp-content/uploads/2011/05/BTH_vol51_no2.pdf)

Reading 3: Heinbecker, Paul “Canada the middle power: Lost in translation” *

[Canada the middle power Lost in translation http://robarts.info.yorku.ca/files/2012/03/CW_Spring2011.pdf](http://robarts.info.yorku.ca/files/2012/03/CW_Spring2011.pdf) (page 23)

Reading 4: Hurst, Lynda (2007) “On World Stage, a best supporting actor”

[On World Stage a best supporting actor http://www.thestar.com/columnists/article/261324](http://www.thestar.com/columnists/article/261324)

Reading 5: Ibbitson and LeBlanc (2011) “Canada turns commitment into clout in Libya”
[Canada turns commitment into clout in Libya http://www.theglobeandmail.com/news/politics/canada-turns-commitment-into-clout-in-libya/article558644/](http://www.theglobeandmail.com/news/politics/canada-turns-commitment-into-clout-in-libya/article558644/)

Week 7 - Reading Week

Week 8 - February 27

Canada (Continued)

Week 8 - February 28

Australia

Picking Niches The importance of leadership style Ascendant middle power? Constraints on the model? Korea and Indonesia as middle states

Reading 1: Evans, Gareth (2011) "Middle Power Diplomacy" *

[Middle Power Diplomacy http://www.gevans.org/speeches/speech441.html](http://www.gevans.org/speeches/speech441.html)

Reading 2: Shannan, D. (2009) "PM Kevin Rudd wins place at new G20 seat of power", The Australian, 26 September.

[PM Kevin Rudd wins place at new G20 seat of power http://www.cigionline.org/articles/2009/09/pm-kevin-rudd-wins-place-new-g20-seat-power](http://www.cigionline.org/articles/2009/09/pm-kevin-rudd-wins-place-new-g20-seat-power)

Reading 3: Milman, Oliver (2011) "Wikileaks cables reveal Australian 'middle power diplomacy' on green issues.

[Wikileaks cable reveal Australian middle power diplomacy on green issues
http://www.guardian.co.uk/environment/2011/sep/08/wikileaks-australia-environmental-relations](http://www.guardian.co.uk/environment/2011/sep/08/wikileaks-australia-environmental-relations)

Reading 4: Croucher, G "Australia as a creative middle power, again"
[Australia as a creative middle power again http://apo.org.au/commentary/australia-creative-middle-power-again](http://apo.org.au/commentary/australia-creative-middle-power-again)

Week 9 - March 6

South Africa and a new Middle?

South Africa Isolation to Global Icon Cultural and economic constraints South African soft power

Reading 1: Alden, Chris and Mills Soko (2005) "South Africa's Economic Relations with Africa: hegemony and its discontents", Journal of Modern African Studies, 43:3: 367-392. [Available via, UW Library's online eJournal selection.](#)

Reading 2: Miller, Darlene (2005) "South Africa and the IBSA Initiative: Constraints and Challenges", Africa Insight, 35(1) April: 52-55. [Available via, UW Library's online eJournal selection.](#)

Reading 3: Wende, Hamilton (2009) “Why the world will be watching Zuma”, CNN.com, 13 May.

[Why the world will be watching Zuma](http://edition.cnn.com/2009/WORLD/africa/05/13/south.africa.zuma.analysis/)
<http://edition.cnn.com/2009/WORLD/africa/05/13/south.africa.zuma.analysis/>

Week 9 - March 7

Turkey: a Middle State or in the Middle?

Reading 1: Hasan Basri Yalçın “The Concept of “Middle Power” and the Recent Turkish Foreign Policy Activism,” Afro Eurasian Studies, Vol. 1, Issue 1, Spring 2012, 195-213.

[The Concept of Middle Power and the Recent Turkish Foreign Policy Activism](http://www.afroeurasianstudies.net/9.pdf)
<http://www.afroeurasianstudies.net/9.pdf>

Reading 2: “A Muslim Tiger? Turkey’s rising power and influence,”

[Turkeys rising power and influence](http://www.oxfamblogs.org/fp2p/?p=12591) <http://www.oxfamblogs.org/fp2p/?p=12591>

Week 10 - March 13

Second Test **

Week 10 - March 14

Are there Rising Asian Middle Powers?

South Korea/Indonesia

Reading 1: Parelló-Piesner, J (2009) ‘KIA – Asia’s middle powers on the rise’

[KIA Asia's middle powers on the rise](http://www.eastasiaforum.org/2009/08/10/kia-asias-middle-powers-on-the-rise/) <http://www.eastasiaforum.org/2009/08/10/kia-asias-middle-powers-on-the-rise/>

Reading 2: Bruce Gilley, “The Rise of the Middle Powers,” September 10, 2012

[The Rise of the Middle Powers http://www.nytimes.com/2012/09/11/opinion/the-rise-of-the-middle-powers.html?_r=0](http://www.nytimes.com/2012/09/11/opinion/the-rise-of-the-middle-powers.html?_r=0)

Reading 3: Sook-Jong Lee (2012), “South Korea as New Middle Power Seeking Complex Diplomacy,” East Asia Institute

[South Korea as New Middle Power Seeking Complex Diplomacy http://www.eai.or.kr/data/bbs/eng_report/2012091211454078.pdf](http://www.eai.or.kr/data/bbs/eng_report/2012091211454078.pdf)

Reading 4: South Korea, Proud to be a Middle Power?

[South Korea Proud to be a Middle Power http://diplomatic-knots.blogspot.ca/2011/10/south-korea-proud-to-be-middle-power.html](http://diplomatic-knots.blogspot.ca/2011/10/south-korea-proud-to-be-middle-power.html)

Week 11 - March 20

Mexico - constitutional and neighborhood constraints; between North America, the Americas and the world Status seeking and domestic constraints

Reading 1: Lee, Erik et al (2011) “From Thick Borders to Shared Governance”

[From Thick Borders to Shared Governance http://www.puentesconsortium.org/papers/thick-borders-shared-governance-challenges-building-sustainable-and-secure-us-mexico-border](http://www.puentesconsortium.org/papers/thick-borders-shared-governance-challenges-building-sustainable-and-secure-us-mexico-border)

Reading 2: Nava, Major Juan (2011) “Mexico: Failing State or Emerging Democracy”

[Mexico Failing State or Emerging Democracy http://usacac.army.mil/CAC2/MilitaryReview/Archives/English/MilitaryReview_20110430_art007.pdf](http://usacac.army.mil/CAC2/MilitaryReview/Archives/English/MilitaryReview_20110430_art007.pdf)

Week 11 - March 21

Small states in crisis Self-reliance or reliance on the system. The decline of collective solidarity; responses to global stresses

Reading 1: Andrew F. Cooper and Timothy M. Shaw, The Diplomacies of Small States at the Start of the Twenty-first Century: How Vulnerable? How Resilient? The Diplomacies of Small States: Between Vulnerability and Resilience (London: Palgrave MacMillan), 1-18

Reading 2: Baldur Thorhallson (2008) “Can Small States Choose Their Own Size: The Case of a Nordic State - Iceland” in Andrew F. Cooper and Timothy M. Shaw, eds, *The Diplomacies of Small States: Between Vulnerability and Resilience* (London: Palgrave MacMillan), 119-142.

Week 12 - March 27

Qatar: a Case of Small State Resilience (guest lecturer)

Reading 1: Cooper and Momani, “Qatar and expanded contours of Small State Diplomacy” *

[Qatar and expanded contours of Small State Diplomacy](http://www.arts.uwaterloo.ca/~bmomani/documents/IS-%20qatar.pdf)
<http://www.arts.uwaterloo.ca/~bmomani/documents/IS-%20qatar.pdf>

Reading 2: David Broaberts (2009) “Qatar’s diplomacy shunned” *The Gulf Blog*, 29 September.

[The Gulf Blog](http://thegulfblog.com/2009/09/29/qatars-diplomacy-shunned/) <http://thegulfblog.com/2009/09/29/qatars-diplomacy-shunned/>

Reading 3: *Economist* (2008) “Small country, big ideas; Qatar.(The clever diplomacy of Qatar)”, 7 June. Available via, [UW Library’s online eJournal selection](#).

Week 12 - March 28

PAPER DUE

Vulnerability and/or Resilience in the Caribbean: coping with geo-political and economic dilemmas; using innovation as a tool in global governance

Reading 1: J.A. Braveboy-Wagner, “The Diplomacy of Caribbean Community States: Searching for Resilience” in Andrew F. Cooper and Timothy M. Shaw, eds, *The Diplomacies of Small States: Between Vulnerability and Resilience* (London: Palgrave MacMillan), 96-116.

Reading 2: Antigua: A case of Small State Vulnerability or Resilience/?

Reading 3: Cooper, “Confronting Vulnerability through Resilient Diplomacy: Antigua and the WTO Internet Gambling Dispute with the United States” in *The Diplomacies of Small States: Between Vulnerability and Resilience* (London: Palgrave, 2009), 207-218.

Week 13 - April 3

Singapore and small island states

Reading 1: Naren Prasad (2008) "Small but Smart: Small States in the Global System" in Andrew F. Cooper and Timothy M. Shaw, eds, *The Diplomacies of Small States: Between Vulnerability and Resilience* (London: Palgrave MacMillan), 41-64.

Reading 2: Alan Chong (2008) "Singapore and the Soft Power Experience" in Andrew F. Cooper and Timothy M. Shaw, eds, *The Diplomacies of Small States: Between Vulnerability and Resilience* (London: Palgrave MacMillan), 65-80.

Week 13 - April 4

Third Test***