

Dissertation Abstract

Peace through Integration: Integrating Former Adversaries into a Cooperative Community in Search of Peace and Stability

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United States policies toward postwar Germany and Japan included demilitarization, democratization and economic restructuring and recovery. These experiences suggested that the U.S. might help fundamentally reshape Russia in the 1990s and that it was in its own interest to do so. This dissertation employs the comparative historical method to discover analytical similarities among the three cases.

The goals of the three cases were similar: transformation of a former adversary and integration of it into a peaceful community of states. The latter goal is examined with respect to Deutsch et al.'s (1957) work on political security-communities, groups of states with long-term dependable expectations of nonviolent dispute resolution. Two key differences from the postwar era were that the U.S. did not defeat Russia in a traditional military conflict and did not militarily occupy it. In response, the dissertation explores the significance that Russia was already "moving in the right direction" and possible substitutes for postwar activities.

Analysis of postwar policies reveals a number of factors (categories of tasks) and dynamics (process qualities) necessary for and indicative of successful transformation and integration. In part, these dynamics draw from and expand

upon Deutsch et al.'s "essential conditions" for integration: shared values and mutual responsiveness.

Despite a decade of dramatic progress after World War II, judgment on integration with West Germany and Japan was not yet in; so too with Russia in the 1990s. Cooperative threat reduction, competition among a variety of political perspectives, and privatization indicated progress. Concerns about proliferation, a strong presidency, a truculent bureaucracy and severe, long-lasting economic troubles persisted. But the evolution of executive-legislative relations after 1993, government and private responses after the 1998 financial crisis and cooperation in Central Asia after September 11, 2001, demonstrated possible "learning" on the part of Russia and the United States.

In the decade after the Cold War, this learning indicated progress toward shared values and the beginning of mutual responsiveness. The United States and Russia have not permanently crossed the broad threshold of integration, but have made significant progress in these two key conditions.

The findings may also offer insight into current theoretical and policy debates on U.S. and international roles in Iraq.