Topics in International Relations and Security Policy
TUFTS-MGIMO March 2019

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Overview

This course examines core issues in international relations and security policy. It is designed to give students a fundamental understanding of physical security and broader dimensions of human security and threats in light of the contemporary challenges states and citizens face around the use of force and violence.

We will investigate whether the nature of violence has changed such that states and citizens have had to reassess how to respond. For example, since the end of the Cold War the locus of security threats has shifted. No longer is it great powers tilting against one another as the only and greatest threat to security, but dynamics within states and across states by actors with global reach. Saying this however does not imply that dynamics between states no longer matter for global security. We live in an unprecedented era in which not only states, but individuals, and groups of individuals can do great harm to global peace and security. Just consider the digital revolution and cyber security or transnational networks and jihadists.

Furthermore, events of the past three decades have impressed upon scholars and policy-makers alike that the problem of fragile and failed states and internal war are no longer peripheral issues that can be ignored as they are often at the center of major shifts in world affairs. As recent events in Afghanistan, Syria, South Sudan, Nigeria, Libya, Yemen, Iraq and Ukraine demonstrate fragile states and those states experiencing civil war pose serious threats to international stability through the overflow of violence, refugee flows, disruption of trade, and serving as potential sanctuaries for terrorist networks. Never before has the threat environment been so varied and the nature of violence so dispersed. Today we recognize that a handful of men and women can wreak havoc with far reaching global consequences. Furthermore, we have come to understand that security is more than just physical. That issues of identity, justice, and societal well-being are core elements of security that also need to be considered.

We will investigate the data-driven nature of existing research, but also recognize its limitations. As we know from research on armed conflict organized political violence has been declining, particularly interstate war, and trends indicate that people dying from war has also declined. In addition, the course will consider human rights and intervention and the conditions under which external actors might intervene in the affairs of other states and how difficult the decision to intervene into the affairs of other states turns out to be.

Learning outcomes
- Have a critical understanding of key issues in the security realm in terms of history, theory and policy.
- Understand the nature of (political) violence and instability and what it means for citizens, states and the global community in trying to deal with it.
- Understand notions of legitimacy, institutions, meanings of security beyond the physical, and state capacity.
- Understand key contemporary political events and policy challenges.

This course will be led as a seminar and will demand the active, direct engagement and participation of the students. It is essential that students complete all of the readings prior to each session and be prepared to discuss those readings.

Assignments

There are **two writing assignments** for the course.

- Students are to draft **two op-eds**—no more than 750 words each— on the same issue, with each op-ed taking opposing sides on the same issue. They are to be handed in at the same time. They are due on Saturday, 23 March.

Overview of Course

Session	Date	Time	Subject
1 Thursday	14 March	12.30–14.00	Vanishing War and Violence?
2 Thursday	14 March	14.20–15.50	The Nature of Large-Scale Violence and its Causes Today
3 Friday	15 March	12.30–14.00	The Ambivalence of Religion in Global Politics
4 Friday	15 March	14.20–15.50	Terrorism
5/6 Saturday	16 March	14.30–17.30	What to do with State Violence? Human Rights, Intervention and the Case of Libya

Session 1:   Vanishing War and Violence?

For this session we will interrogate whether/why we should continue to study organized violence and war when the empirical trends indicate that they are in decline. We also consider what violence is and consider old and new conceptions of security.

- Kaplan, Robert. D. 1994. "The Coming Anarchy," *The Atlantic Monthly*, 273 (February 2): 44–76. Also available online from:
  http://www.theatlantic.com/magazine/archive/1994/02/the-coming-anarchy/304670/
  - Although written 20 years ago, Kaplan's predictions about coming crises are pretty accurate.
- Pinker, Steven. 2011. "Violence Vanquished," *Wall Street Journal*, September 24, 2011 and Pinker, Steven. 2014. "Has the Decline of Violence Reversed since *The Better Angels of Nature* was written?"

(http://stevenpinker.com/files/pinker/files/has_the_decline_of_violence_reversed_since_the_better_angels_of_our_nature_was_written.pdf)
- o Argues there's been a decline in violence *of all forms* among humans as a result of human development, particularly empathy and institutions to regulate human social behavior, and this decline has continued since the publication of his book, regardless of news account.

For further reading/perusal

- Arreguin-Toft, Ivan, 2001. "How the Weak Win Wars," *International Security*
- Collier, P. 2003. *Breaking the Conflict Trap: Civil War and Development Policy,* A World Bank Policy Research Report.
- Krause, K.; Muggah, R. and Gilgen, E. 2011. *Global Burden of Armed Violence*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Caldor, M. 2007. *Human Security*, Cambridge, UK: Polity Press.
- Breslin, S. and George Christou. 2015. "Has the Human Security Agenda come of Age? Definitions, Discourses and Debates," *Contemporary Politics*, 21: 1-1.
- Goldstein, Joshua. 2011. *Winning the War on War: The Decline of Armed Conflict Worldwide*. New York: Penguin, chapter 2.
- Fazal, Tanisha. 2014. "Dead Wrong," *International Security* 39 (1) (Summer): 95–125.

Session 2: *The Nature of Large-scale Violence and its Causes Today*

Regardless of whether there is a decline in violence and war, much remains. This session will take a look at what motivates individuals and groups to challenge the state and states system.

- van den Berghe, Pierre. 1978. "Race and Ethnicity: A Sociobiological Perspective," *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, 1 (4): 401–411.
  - o Provides an overview of individual motivations towards violence.
- Mueller, John. 2000. "The Banality of 'Ethnic War,'" *International Security*, 25 (1): 42–70.
  - o Any war that remains is the result of thugs and greed.

For further reading
- Reiter, Daniel. 2003. "Exploring the Bargaining Model of War," *Perspectives on Politics*, 1 (1): 27–43.
- Glaeser, E. (2005) "The Political Economy of Hatred" *Quarterly Journal of Economics*. (http://qje.oxfordjournals.org/content/120/1/45.full.pdf)
- Kilcullen, David. S. 2009. *The Accidental Guerilla: Fighting Small Wars in the Midst of a Big One*, New York: Oxford University Press, Chapter 5.

Session 3: *The Ambivalence of Religion in Global Politics*

This session will address the role of religion and its various manifestations around the world. Religion is clearly a force to be reckoned with in global politics. At the same time, its connection to peace, conflict, and international affairs is not well understood. We will discuss the conditions under which religion contributes to conflict or cooperation in selected aspects of international

politics, such as the spread of nationalism and terrorism, economic and political development, and human rights, as well as in enforcing, making, and building international peace.

- Huntington, Samuel. 1993. "Clash of Civilizations," *Foreign Affair*, 72 (3) (Summer): 22–49.
    - o Argues that global conflict will emerge as a result of culture and religious cleavages.
- Shah, Timothy Samuel and Monica Duffy Toft. 2006. "Why God is Winning*," Foreign Policy* (July/August): 38–43.
    - o Examines and explains the global resurgence of religion, in both its good and bad manifestations.
- Toft, Monica Duffy, 2007. "Getting Religion?" *International Security*.
    - o Traces religion in civil wars, argues that religion motivates differently.

For further reading

- Norris, Pippa, Inglehart Ronald. 2004. *Sacred and Secular: Religion and Politics Worldwide*. Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, first part.
- Bernard Lewis, "The Roots of Muslim Rage," *The Atlantic* 1990
- Edward Said, "The Clash of Ignorance," *The Nation* 2001.
- Toft, Monica Duffy, Daniel Philpott, Timothy Samuel Shah, 2011. *God' Century: Resurgent Religion and Global Politics*, Norton.
- Cox, Harvey. 2000. "The Myth of the Twentieth Century: The Rise and Fall of Secularization," *Japanese Journal of Religious Studies*, 27 (1-2): 1–13. Available online at http://www.nanzan-u.ac.jp/SHUBUNKEN/publications/jjrs/pdf/556.pdf.
- Berger, Peter L. 2010. "Max Weber is Alive and Well, and Living in Guatemala: The Protestant Ethic Today," *The Review of Faith & International Affairs*, 8 (4): 3–9.

Session 4: Terrorism

This session will introduce students to the history of terrorism, different trends, and the different motivations that might lead individuals and groups to turn to terrorism. It also considers why these movements often fail and when they might succeed.

- Shughart, William F. 2006. "An Analytical History of Terrorism, 1945-2000." *Public Choice* 128 (1-2): 7–39.
    - o Provides an overview of the three historical periods and types of terrorism since 1945.
- Grame Wood, "What ISIS Wants," *The Atlantic*
    - o An overview of what motivates ISIS fighters and the organization itself.

For further reading/perusal

Jurgensmeyer, Mark *Terror in the Mind of God*
Stern, Jessica, *Terror in the Name of God*
Pape, Robert, *APSR*
Hoffman, Bruce, *Inside Terrorism*

Tilly, Charles. 2004. "Terror, Terrorism, Terrorists." *Sociological Theory* 22 (1): 5–13.

Sessions 5 and 6:   What do to with State Violence?
*   Human Rights, Intervention and the Case of Libya*

This session will consider the question of human rights and the conditions under which outside actors might consider intervening in the affairs of other states in support of human rights. It will provide an overview of the historical movement from conceptions of non-intervention—as outlined in the United Nations Charter—to more recent developments, such as the Responsibility to Protect (R2P) framework that call for a weakening of the non-intervention and sovereignty norms that have reigned since 1648 as part of the general, more globalized movement to international law and its codification in treaties and agreements.

Midway through the first session, students will be divided into several groups and will work through whether the international community should have intervened in Libya, with some groups advocating for the intervention and other making the case that states should not have intervened. They will then present their ideas to the class during the second session and the entire class will discuss them.

- Falk, Richard. 1993. "Dilemmas of Intervention," *The Nation*, 257 (21): 755–764.
  - Argues that you are 'damned if you do and damned if you don't' intervene.
- Evans, Gareth and Mohamed Sahnoun. 2002. "The Responsibility to Protect," *Foreign Affairs*, 81 (6) (November/December): 99-110.
  - Provides an overview of the relatively new doctrine of R2P and why it should be considered and adopted by the international community to protect the world's population from predatory and failing states.

On Libya and intervention

- https://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2011/oct/26/libya-war-saving-lives-catastrophic-failure
- https://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2011/oct/28/intervention-libya-success
- https://www.vox.com/2016/4/5/11363288/libya-intervention-success
- https://foreignpolicy.com/2016/03/22/libya-and-the-myth-of-humanitarian-intervention/
- https://foreignpolicy.com/2011/10/27/what-the-libya-intervention-achieved/
- https://www.foreignaffairs.com/articles/libya/obamas-libya-debacle
  https://www.brookings.edu/blog/markaz/2016/04/12/everyone-says-the-libya-intervention-was-a-failure-theyre-wrong/

For further reading

- Luttwak. Edward. 1999. "Give War a Chance," *Foreign Affairs*, Vol. 78, No. 4 (July/August), pp. 36-44.
- Etzioni, Amitai. 1993. "The Evils of Self-Determination," *Foreign Policy*, (Winter): 21-34.
- The Universal Declaration of Human Rights, http://www.un.org/en/documents/udhr/

- International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights, http://www.ohchr.org/EN/ProfessionalInterest/Pages/CESCR.aspx
- Charter of the United Nations, particularly through Chapter VII (and definitely Chapters VI and VII): http://www.un.org/en/documents/charter/
- "A More Secure World, Our Shared Responsibility" Report to the United Nations Secretary General from the High-level Panel on Threats, Challenges and Change: http://www.responsibilitytoprotect.org/index.php/about-rtop/core-rtop-documents
- "Implementing the Responsibility to Protect," Report to the Secretary-General, 12 January 2009" http://www.un.org/en/ga/search/view_doc.asp?symbol=A/63/677