

PCS
Pol 460 Y1Y

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Contemporary Issues in Peace and Conflict Studies

1) Description:

The seminar is about security, as a contested concept and as diverse practices. The agenda of security studies has been widely broadened, even before the end of the Cold war. Beyond classical geopolitics of state (in)securities, the concept came to encompass different meanings and approaches to cover terrorist, ecological, cultural, identity, trans-boundary threats and vulnerabilities. The seminar will review these security issues, in their theoretical aspects but also in their practical manifestations.

During the first term, the seminar will have active discussions about the readings on a wide range of selected topics, starting with the recent debates on the concept of security and its emancipation, and then proceed to review traditional and non-traditional approaches to security: state insecurities, contemporary threats, modern warfare, terrorism, etc. For each class, except 1 and 2, the general discussion will be followed by a case study that will need to be prepared carefully by students.

During the second term, you present your own research on topics of particular interest to them. The range of permissible topics is very wide: as long as the topic is relevant to some understanding of security, the choice is yours. Examples include: the sources of intrastate violence, risk assessment, terrorism, use of force, resources scarcity and conflict, cybersecurity, organized crime, peacekeeping, peacebuilding, disarmament and arms control, culture and identity, etc. Topic will have to be discussed and agreed by the end of October, a concept paper will be due at the end of November.

2) Requirements:

You will submit written assignments electronically, via Turnitin.com. Please see the special section on Turnitin.com below for details. Submissions cannot be e-mailed or mailed, a hard copy must be delivered at the Pol. Sci. Department with the clock-stamp that will be the official mark of reception for deadlines. Extensions can be provided but will not be granted for “good” reasons. Multiple assignments coming due at the same time, or midterms in other courses, do *not* constitute “good” reasons. If you have several assignments due at the same time, you should plan ahead so that you finish some of them early. Needless to say, words or ideas from published works of another individual must properly acknowledged. If you do not, you are committing plagiarism, which is a *serious* academic offense. If you are at all uncertain about what constitutes plagiarism, or what are acceptable forms of citation and referencing, please consult me.

Turnitin.com compares your paper to a massive database of other papers and various online sources, flagging overlaps, generating an “originality report”, specific to your paper. In the vast majority of cases, these are not instances of plagiarism, and there is clearly no attempt on the part of students to deceive; but the originality reports indicates who is inadvertently leaving out quotation marks or putting them in the wrong place; who is being imprecise in quoting; who is mistakenly citing source X when the real source is Y; and so on. Turnitin.com is thus more a tool for help than a device for punishment. The University of Toronto has purchased a licence for the use of Turnitin.com. As a condition of use, the University requires that the following statement be put on the course syllabus:

“Students agree that by taking this course all required papers may be subject to submission for textual similarity review to Turnitin.com for the detection of plagiarism. All submitted papers will be included as source documents in the Turnitin.com reference database solely for the purpose of detecting plagiarism of such papers. The terms that apply to the University's use of the Turnitin.com service are described on the Turnitin.com web site”.

The requirements run as follows. Class in the first semester will start by an extensive *discussion* of the topic of the day by reviewing readings. Then each student will be responsible to start the discussions on the specific case of the class by presenting a 10 minutes introduction of the main issues at stake. For example, for the class 3 on Security and Survival, a presentation about Iran's proliferation problems could be asked to each of you. For the cases, although some readings may be linked to them, it is your responsibility to find the adequate documentation. I will be available to advise you for each case, but you will have to start looking for sources and documentation on your own. Going through the plethora of information in our digitalized age is an important part of acquiring necessary skills.

Requirement	Value	Due
Concepts paper, 10-12 pages <i>Submitted electronically to Turnitin.com</i>	20%	November 30th, 2009, 14h00
Research paper, 25+ pages <i>Submitted electronically to Turnitin.com</i>	25%	Apr. 5th, 2010, 14h00
Seminar performance (discussion, cases presentation and participation in both terms)	30%	Assessed once at the end of the fall term and once at the end of the spring term (15% each).
Presentation on research paper topic (1-hour, in the spring term)	25%	To be decided.

3) Classes

1) Introduction

The class will define the general orientation of the seminar, review the syllabus, clarify assignments, organize the cases reviews and discuss possible research topics.

2) Security: Concept, Definitions and Strategies

What is Security? Can the concept be enlarged without losing its significance? How did the concept evolve and why? Does the Copenhagen Agenda mean the obsolescence of classic strategic studies?

Readings:

Jessica Tuchman Mathews, "Redefining Security", *Foreign Affairs*, Vol. 68, n°2, (Spring 1989), pp. 162-177.

Emma Rothschild, "What Is Security?", *Daedalus*, Vol. 124, No. 3, (Summer, 1995), pp. 53-98.

Jef Huysmans, "Security! What Do You Mean? : From Concept to Thick Signifier", *European Journal of International Relations*, Vol. 4, n°2, (June 1998), pp. 226-255.

David A. Baldwin, "The Concept of Security", *Review of International Studies*, Vol. 23, n°1, (January 1997), pp. 5-26.

Ken Booth, "Two Terrors, One Problem", in Ersel Aydinli and James N. Rosenau, *Globalization, Security, the Nation State*, State University of New York Press, 2005, pp. 27-48.

- What is a Grand Strategy? Does it matter?

3) States Insecurity: (1) Survival and Nuclear Proliferation

State survival is the most basic security needs. Since Hiroshima, -and the Cuban missile crises-, nuclear proliferation has dominated international strategy. Why do States decide to build nuclear weapons? Are prestige, status, symbol key factors? Can Iran proliferation be stopped?

Readings:

Shiping Tang, "Fear in International Politics: Two Positions", *International Studies Review*, Vol. 10, n°3, (Sept. 2008), pp. 451-471.

James G. Blight and David A. Welch, "Risking the Destruction of Nations: Lessons of the Cuban Missile Crisis for New and Aspiring Nuclear States", *Security Studies*, vol. 4, n°4, (Summer 1995), pp. 811-850.

Scott D. Sagan, "Why Do States Build Nuclear Weapons? : Three Models in Search of a Bomb", *International Security*, Vol. 21, No. 3 (Winter, 1996-1997), pp. 54-86.

Kenneth N. Waltz, "More May be Better", in Scott D. Sagan and Kenneth N. Waltz, eds. *The Spread of Nuclear Weapons: A Debate* (New York: Norton, 1995), Chapter 1.

Robert L. Jervis, "The Confrontation between Iraq and the US: Implications for the Theory and Practice of Deterrence", *European Journal of International Relations*, Vol. 9, n°2, (June 2003), pp. 315-337.

Scott Sagan, Kenneth Waltz and Richard K. Betts, "A nuclear Iran: promoting stability or courting disaster? ", *Journal of International Affairs*, Vol. 60, n°2, (Spring-Summer 2007): pp. 135-150.

- Can Iran nuclear proliferation be stopped?

4) States Insecurity (2): Beyond survival: strategies for uncertainty

States face complex, multiple and evolving threats. In an environment where uncertainty is the crucial characteristic, they adopt various strategies to address them: internal and external balancing, bandwagoning, appeasing, hiding, etc. Do these classic state strategies have still a meaning in a globalized and increasingly multipolar world?

Readings:

- Brian C. Rathbun, "Uncertain about Uncertainty: Understanding the Multiple Meanings of a Crucial Concept", *International Studies Quarterly*, Vol. 51, n°3, (Sept. 2007) 533–557.
- Knorr Klaus, "Threat Perception", in Knorr Klaus (Ed.), *Historical Dimension of National Security Problems*, University of Kansas, 1976, pp. 78-120.
- Barry Buzan, "The Security Dynamics of a 1 + 4 World", in Ersel Aaydinli and James N. Rosenau, *Globalization, Security, the Nation State*, State University of New York Press, 2005, pp. 177-197.
- Randall L. Schweller, "Unanswered Threats: A Neoclassical Realist Theory of Underbalancing", *International Security*, Vol. 29, No. 2 (Fall 2004), pp. 159–201.

► Is Europe Soft-balancing the US?

5) Modern Warfare (1): Solving Wicked Problems

The use of force evolves with technologies, strategic goals, complex environments and enemy's objectives. From international piracy to counter-insurgency, current conflicts demand long lasting commitments, resources and efforts. Can the modern democracies cope? Can the use of private security companies and reliance on increasingly sophisticated and unmanned technologies help?

Readings:

- Philip Hammond, "Postmodern war in a world without meaning", in Philip Hammond, *Media, War and Postmodernity*, Routledge, 2007, pp. 13-36.
- Christopher Coker, *War in an Age of Risk*, Polity Press, 2009, Chap. 1, pp. 1-28.
- Rupert Smith, *The Utility of Force, The Art of War in the Modern World*, Penguin Books, 2005, pp. 6-29 and pp. 267-305.
- Frank G. Hoffman, "Hybrid Threats: Reconceptualizing the Evolving Character of Modern Conflict", *Strategic Forum*, N° 240, (April 2009), pp. 1-8, available at: http://www.ndu.edu/inss/docUploaded/Hybrid%20Threats_SF240.pdf
- P.W. Singer, "Corporate Warriors: The Rise of the Privatized Military Industry and Its Ramifications for International Security", *International Security*, Vol. 26, N°3, (Winter 2001/02), pp. 186–220.
- Christopher Spearin, "The Changing Forms and Utility of Force", *International Journal*, Vol. LXIV, n°2, (Spring 2009), pp. 481-500.
- Adam Roberts, "Doctrine and Reality in Afghanistan", *Survival*, Vol. 51, n°1, (Feb-March 2009), pp. 29-60.

► Is Afghanistan lost ?

6) Modern Warfare (2): Information Age ?

Media and War had forged complex relationships. Since at least the Vietnam War, television and other media have been part of the strategic landscape. Does the media (from radio to the internet) influence the decision to go to war, its shape and conduct? If

yes, can a (coalition of) state actor(s) control and use the media? How the media fits in winning the heat and minds, at home and abroad?

Readings:

- Michael C. Williams, "Words, Images, Enemies: Securitization and International Politics", *International Studies Quarterly*, Vol. 47, n°4, (Dec. 2003), pg. 511-531.
- James Der Derian, "The Question of Information Technology in International Relations", *Millennium*, Vol.32, N°3, (Dec. 2003), pp. 441-456.
- Philip Hammond, "The Humanitarian Spectacle", in Philip Hammond, *Media, War and Postmodernity*, Routledge, 2007, pp. 37-58.
- Lawrence Freedman, *The Transformation of Strategic Affairs*, Adelphi Paper, n°379, (2006), Chap. 5, pp. 73-93.
- Nick Gowing, "Real-Time TV Coverage from War: Does it Make or Break Government policy?"; James Gow and James Tilley, "The Strategic Imperative for Media management", both in James Gow, Richard Paterson and Alison Preston, *Bosnia by Television*, British Film Institute Publishing, 1996, pp. 81-91 and 103-111.
- Martin Bell, "The death of News", *Media, War & Conflict*, Vol. 1, n°2, (August 2008), pp. 221-231.

► Kosovo: a virtual, media war?

7) Terrorist Threat (1): the nature of the threat

Terrorism is not a new phenomenon. Traditionally, terrorists wanted few casualties but a lot of people watching. Since 9/11, mass murder seems to be an objective in itself. What are the roots of terrorism, what are terrorists' strategies? What explains suicide terrorism?

Readings:

- Neil J. Smelser, "The infernal problems of Definition and Designation", in Neil J. Smelser, *Faces of Terrorism, Social and Psychological Dimension*, Princeton University Press, 2007, pp. 229-250.
- Assaf Moghadam, "Motives for Martyrdom: Al-Qaida, Salafi Jihad, and the Spread of Suicide Attacks", *International Security*, Vol. 33, No. 3 (Winter 2008/09), pp. 46-78.
- Rbert Pape, *Dying to Win, The Strategic Logic of Suicide Terrorism*, Random House, 2005, Chap. 2, pp. 8-24.
- Mark Sedgwick, "Al Qaeda and the Nature of Religious Terrorism", *Terrorism and Political Violence*, Vol. 16, n°4, (Winter 2004), pp. 795-814.
- Louise Richardson, "Why do terrorists Kill Themselves?", in Louise Richardson, *What Terrorist Want, Understanding the Terrorist Threat*, John Murray Publisher, 2006, pp. 133-169.
- Olivier Roy, "EuroIslam: The Jihad Within? ", *The National Interest*, Vol. 72, (Spring 2003), pp. 63-74.

► Why did London 07/07 happen?

8) Terrorist Threats (2): Countering the threat

US and European approaches in counter-terrorism significantly differ. More than 8 years after 9/11, will the "War on Terror" ever end? How do terrorist group decline? Is negotiating part of the process?

Readings:

- Michael Howard, "What's in a Name? ", *Foreign Affairs*, Vol. 81, No. 1 (Jan. - Feb., 2002), pp. 8-13.
- Philip Hammond, "The media War on Terrorism", in Philip Hammond, *Media, War and Postmodernity*, Routledge, 2007, pp. 59-80.
- Louise Richardson, "Why the war on Terror Can Never be Won", in Louise Richardson, *What Terrorist Want, Understanding the Terrorist Threat*, John Murray Publisher, 2006, pp. 209-242.
- Audrey Kurth Cronin, "How al-Qaida Ends, The Decline and Demise of Terrorist Groups", *International Security*, Vol. 31, No. 1 (Summer 2006), pp. 7-48.
- Peter R. Neumann, "Europe's Jihadist Dilemma", *Survival*, Vol. 48 n° 2, (Summer 2006), pp. 71-84.
- Wyn Rees And Richard J. Aldrich, "Contending cultures of counterterrorism:: transatlantic divergence or convergence?", *International Affairs*, Vol. 81, n°5, pp. 905-923.
- David Oman, "Countering International Terrorism: The Use of Strategy", *Survival*, Winter 2005-2006, Vol. 47, n°4, pp. 107-116.

► Negotiating with Hamas?.

9) Transboundary Threats

Increasingly, it seems that we live in a risk society. What are the consequences of complex and global risks for decision-makers? Is planning for transboundary threats doomed to fail?

Readings:

- Ulrich Beck, *Ecological enlightenment: essays on the politics of the risk society*, Humanities Press, 1995, Chap. 1, pp. 1-18.
- Arjen Boin and Mark Rhinard, "Managing Transboundary Crises: What Role for the European Union?", *International Studies Review*, Vol. 10, n°1, (March 2008), pp. 1-26.
- Enemark, Christian, "Is Pandemic Flu a Security Threat?", *Survival*, vol. 51 no. 1, (Feb-March 2009), pp. 191-214.
- Allan McConnell and Lynn Drennan, "Mission Impossible? Planning and Preparing for Crisis", *Journal of Contingencies And Crisis Management*, Volume 14 Number 2 (June 2006), pp. 59-70.
- Paul 't Hart, Uriel Rosenthal and Alexander Kouzmin, "Crisis decision making: the centralization thesis revisited", *Administration & Society*, Vol. 25., n°1, (May 1993): pp. 12-45.
- Bradley T. Smith, et alii, "Navigating the Storm: Report and Recommendations from the Atlantic Storm Exercise", *Biosecurity and Bioterrorism*, Volume 3, Number 3, (2005), pp. 256-263.

► The "Atlantic Storm" exercise will be replayed in class.

10) Ecospheric Threat

Environmental issues have increasingly become part of the global political agenda. Is there a real consensus on climate change and if so, where does it come from? What are the links between environmental issues and conflicts?

Readings:

The Stern Report, executive summary, available at http://www.hm-treasury.gov.uk/stern_review_report.htm

Daniel Deudney, "The Case against Linking Environmental Degradation and National Security", *Millennium*, Vol. 19, No. 3 (Dec 1990), pp. 461-476.

Steve Bernstein, "Ideas, Social Structure and the Compromise of Liberal Environmentalism", *European Journal of International Relations*, Vol. 6, n°4, (Dec. 2000), pp. 464-512.

Thomas Homer-Dixon and Jessica Blitt, "A Theoretical Overview", in Thomas Homer-Dixon and Jessica Blitt, *Evidence: links among environment, population, and security*, Rowman & Littlefield, 1998, pp. 1-18.

Nils Petter Gleditsch, "Armed Conflict and the Environment"; Daniel M. Schwartz, Tom Deligiannis and Thomas Homer-Dixon, "The Environment and Violent Conflict", both in Paul F. Diehl and Nils Petter Gleditsch, *Environmental Conflict*, Westview press, 2001, pp. 251-272 and pp. 273-294.

- The “good side” of global warming: the case of the Arctic

11) Human (In)Security

The concept of human security has made remarkable progress in the last decade and it is, at least formally, a key objective of Canada's diplomacy and international actions. Is the concept really innovative? How could it be better implemented?

Readings:

"What is Human Security", Comments from 20 authors, *Security Dialogue*, (Sept. 2004), Volume 35, No. 3, pp: 347-387.

Mary Kaldor, "Human Security: A New Strategic Narrative for Europe", *International Affairs*, Vol. 83, n°2, (March 2007), pp. 273-288.

Roland Paris, "Human Security. Paradigm Shift or Hot Air?", *International Security*, Vol. 26, n°2, (Fall 2001), pp. 87-102.

"Canada: A Contradictory Human Security Agenda", in Sandra J. McLean, David R. Black and Timothy M. Shaw, *A Decade of Human Security*, Ashgate, 2006, pp. 53-82.

- How to improve human security in Haiti ?

12) Peace and State-building in Crisis?

The number of UN Peacekeeping operations has never been so high. Yet successes in state-building are rare. Liberal internationalism is inherently difficult. Spoilers, bad governance, misperceptions, absence of justice, all contribute to failures. Several of these factors will be assessed.

Readings:

Stanley Hoffmann, "The Crisis of Liberal Internationalism", *Foreign Policy*, Vol. 98, (Spring 95), pp. 163-182.

Virginia Page Fortna, "Does Peacekeeping Keep Peace? International Intervention and the Duration of Peace After Civil War", *International Studies Quarterly*, (June 2004), Vol. 48 n°2, pp. 269-292.

Pierre Englebert and Denis M. Tull, "Post-conflict Reconstruction in Africa: Flawed Ideas about Failed States", *International Security* (May 2008), Vol. 32, n°4, pp. 106-139.

Andrea Kathryn Talentino, "Perceptions of Peacebuilding: The Dynamic of Imposer and Imposed Upon", *International Studies Perspectives* Vol. 8 n°2, (May 2007), pp. 152-171.

Sven Gunnar Simonsen, "Building "National" Armies-Building Nations?: Determinants of Success for Post-intervention Integration Efforts", *Armed Forces & Society*, Vol. 33, n°4, (July 2007), pp. 571-590.

Michele A Flournoy and Michael Pan, "Dealing with Demons: Justice and Reconciliation", *The Washington Quarterly*, Vol. 25, n°4, (Sept. 2002), pp. 111-123.

Patrice C. McMahon and Jon Western, "The death of Dayton: how to stop Bosnia from falling apart", *Foreign Affairs*, Vol. 88, n°5 (Sept-Oct 2009), pp: 69-84.

► Bosnia a decade after: a failure in the making?