

## **Module 1**

Stiglitz, Joseph, "The Chinese Century," Vanity Fair, available at:

<http://www.vanityfair.com/news/2015/01/china-worlds-largest-economy>

1. China has overtaken the US as the largest economy as of 2015
2. This is a return to the position that it has held throughout most of history
3. China is not so eager to have the no. 1 status as it means
  - a. Paying more to support international bodies
  - b. Has to take an enlightened leadership role
  - c. Have to worry about the reaction of Americans to the news
4. In terms of exports and household savings China surpassed long ago
5. They have similar levels of inequality
6. The US still has more military power, but they rely on soft power like economic influence more
7. After the Napoleonic wars, the UK emerged as the dominant power
  - a. Their power continued even after the US surpassed economically
  - b. They lost power after WW1
8. After WW2 the UK lost almost all of its colonies and the US became the leader
  - a. Created the UN and Bretton Woods
9. Rather than creating a global reserve currency as suggested by Keynes, they put the dollar as the reserve
  - a. Allows them to borrow at low-interest rates but at the same time the value of the dollar rises and creates a trade deficit and a weaker economy
10. For 45 years after WW2 global politics was dominated by the US and USSR
  - a. USSR fell from internal corruption
11. First mistake was that the US inferred that their cold-war triumph meant a triumph of their ideology, but in the third world concerns about poverty remained paramount
12. Second mistake was that they used their period of dominance to pursue their own interests rather than to create a new world order
13. During east asia crisis they undermined Japan's aid
  - a. Pushed austerity and high interest rates on countries instead
14. China's growth does not come at the expense of the US's
15. America is losing soft power to China
16. China is doing some good for most of its citizens while the american middle class enters stagnation
17. Efforts for containment will prove futile
18. They are preventing China from getting involved in current international organizations
19. US deterred China's aid to developing countries
20. Economic interests of both countries are intertwined

Glaser, John, "The US and China can avoid a collision course – if the US gives up its empire," the Guardian, available at

[http://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2015/may/28/conflict-us-china-not-inevitable-empire?CMP=fb\\_gu](http://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2015/may/28/conflict-us-china-not-inevitable-empire?CMP=fb_gu)

1. Americans fear that China's economic growth will lead to a war with the US

2. Americans like to see their overseas military presence as stabilizing
3. China sees America as intrusive, militaristic, offense-minded, expansionist, and selfish
4. Many Americans see US hegemony as something that makes life safer, richer and bestows peace and prosperity
5. US dominance does not reap many tangible rewards for most Americans
6. Even if China has a lot of economic strength the US may maintain economic and military advantage for a few more decades

## Chapter 2

1. International security - remaining free from attack and coercion by other states
2. Realism - theory that addresses how states achieve security and other goals
3. Competitive approaches - building arms, allies, military force
4. Cooperative approaches - negotiating arms control agreements, exercising restraint in the use of force
5. Realists employ a general framework that abstracts away from the details of specific states
6. Realism is the dominant theory of international politics

### **What is Realism**

1. Not a single well defined theory

### **Basic Shared Elements**

1. Emphasise the international system is anarchic - no international authority that can enforce agreements and prevent the use of force
2. For most power is the defining feature - resources available to a state for building military force
3. Without an international authority to protect the states need to rely on their own capabilities
4. Envisions states as essentially unitary actors - not an accurate assumption, but it is analytically productive
5. Sees states as rational actors
6. See states as key actors in the international system, with international institutions playing a smaller role
7. Associated with its bottom line - states exist in an international system characterized by competition and war

### **Map of the Realist Family**

#### International Structure vs State Motives

1. Structural realism or neorealism - emphasizes the impact of state motives and fundamental goals
  - a. Constraints and opportunities are the key to understanding its behaviors
  - b. Creates security seekers - want to be secure in the status quo
2. Motivational realism - thinks conflict can be explained by a state's desire to expand
  - a. Greedy states - interested in territorial expansion

#### Divides within structural realism - Waltz vs offensive vs defensive realism

1. Structural realism has been influential since the 1970s
2. Kenneth Waltz established the foundation of structural realism

- a. International structure generates a tendency towards competition between security seeking states
  - b. Pressures and incentives of the international system limit the cooperative aspects
  - c. States recognise that if they acquire excessive power then other states will align against it
- 3. John Mearshimer and offensive realism - state pursues power as a means but states try to maximise their power and pursue hegemony when possible
  - a. Finds it to be more competitive than neorealism
- 4. Defensive realism - international structure does not create a tendency towards competition, but rather they best achieve by cooperating
  - a. Competitive policy that increase one states security can reduce its adversaries security, and this is a potential danger because decreasing their security may mean they pursue policies that reduce the state's own security
  - b. In some situation the international system, while anarchic, can be secure

#### Realism and Suboptimality

- 1. Suboptimal policies - states not acting rationally
- 2. Some theories commonly defined as defensive realist have this feature
- 3. Militaries believe their operations are easier than is the case
- 4. Competition and war are more frequent than the international structure alone
- 5. Neoclassical realism - built on a motivational realist foundation which emphasises greedy motives
  - a. International environment is complex and their assessments of power are influenced by domestic variables
  - b. Power does not translate directly into outcomes

#### **Waltz Structural Realism**

- 1. Began with assumption that states give priority to their own survival
- 2. They wish to protect what they already have

#### Competition

- 1. International anarchy puts states in a condition of self help where they have to look out for themselves
- 2. States will pursue unilateral competitive policies to protect their interests
- 3. Self-help is a high risk situation
- 4. Possibility that force may be used to weaken or destroy others makes it hard to break out of competitive system
- 5. State cannot be certain about others future motivations
- 6. May reject cooperation if another state would gain more

#### Balancing

- 1. Key to security is the state's ability to protect itself from attack
- 2. Economic resources provide the state with the option of building military capabilities and can deter attacks
- 3. Militaries allow states to fight and defend
- 4. States have to options for acquiring power and the capability to defend
  - a. External balancing - forming alliances with other states allowing them to draw on others resources

- b. Internal balancing - increasing the state's economic capability and building larger military forces
- 5. Balancing is possible when there are 3 cases for external, and 2 powerful states when there is internal
- 6. Alliances can reduce resources required to protect security
- 7. Bandwagoning alliance - a weaker state joins a stronger state
  - a. Can provide additional territory for the stronger state and protect the weaker state
- 8. States do not desire balance, but they try to offset the power of others

### **Offensive Realism**

#### Power Maximization

- 1. John Mearsheimer - states face uncertainty and fear the intentions of other states, meaning they compete for power
- 2. States attempt to maximise their power so that they have better prospects if attacked
- 3. This theory argues that states do try to maximise their power, not simply balance it

#### Inefficient Balancing and Buckpassing

- 1. Balancing is insufficient
- 2. Allies are often geographically separated making it difficult to come to each others aid
- 3. States may be slow to balance as they disagree on how to share costs of fighting
- 4. States may not choose to balance hoping that if the state is threatened then its allies will come to its aid - buckpass
- 5. Offensive realism says that states prefer to buckpass than balance
- 6. Both them and Waltz see a world where the international system creates anarchy
- 7. Mersheimer - while major powers desire more power they recognise the constraints posed by the system and do not always pursue it

#### Defensive Realism

- 1. Cooperation and restraint are the states best option
- 2. International system does not necessarily create competition and states can be highly secure
- 3. When the military attacks it is unable to defend

#### Risks of Competition

- 1. Adversaries insecurity may reduce the states security
- 2. Adversaries insecurity may lead it to pursue policies that increase the probability of crisis and war
- 3. As the adversary is more insecure it is more willing to pursue dangerous risky policies
- 4. Adversaries build up can make the state think that if has a greedy state making cooperation riskier

#### Benefits of Cooperation

- 1. This can include arms control and this makes both states more secure
- 2. Can also improve political relations and increase security
- 3. As they find their adversary to be more of a security seeker cooperation becomes more attractive
- 4. Communication increases security but this can be costly as greedy states may mislead
- 5. An adversary may cheat on an agreement increasing state vulnerability

#### Variation in the Security Dilemma

1. Includes the additional variable of the security dilemma
2. When this is severe security will be harder to achieve, states will find competition attractive and war will be likely
3. Intensity of security dilemma depends on rpo material variables
  - a. Offence-defence balance - relative difficulty of missions, more an adversary needs to invest to defeat a states defence the larger the advantage of the defense
  - b. When defence has the advantage security dilemma is less severe because a state can increase it easily and it will not create arms races easily
  - c. Offensive advantage has the opposite effect - intensifies arms races and increased insecurity
  - d. Offence-defence balance is influenced by a variety of factors mostly geography and technology
  - e. Nuclear weapons favour defence
  - f. Of offence and defensive forces are the same than a state can create only defence and thus reducing the severity of the security dilemma
  - g. Criticisms include that offence and defence is not well defined or measurable

#### Threats and Balancing

1. Defensive realism focuses on the danger or threat of potential adversaries
2. Thread is a combination of their capabilities and motives
3. Threat increases with their level of greed
4. Emphasises their ability to perform military missions, not power alone
5. Places a greater weight on others assessments of others motives and their political relationships

#### **Motivational Realism**

1. Emphasizes the importance of variations in states motives and goals
  - a. Argues the key to understanding competitive behavior lies in the nature of individual states, not in the international order
2. The structure of the international order does not cause the competitive behavior
3. This contrasts the Walzian, offensive and defensive variants
4. Does not look at the motivations for greedy states, but just look at how their motivations influence their policy
5. Han Morgenthau says that the states pursuit of power is rooted in human nature
6. Greedy states do not always pursue competitive policies if they are unlikely to succeed
7. The combined impact of anarchy and the security dilemma can be the driving force behind states decisions to compete

#### **Realism and War**

1. Question if war is more likely in bipolar or multipolar systems
2. Balancing multipolar systems can provide large power advantages in defending the status quo
3. A state in decline can have motivation to attack before it become more vulnerable - preventive war
4. When offensive has the advantage competition will be more intense and political reactions will be worse

5. Defence advantage makes peace more likely

## Chapter 11

1. Security is central to IR
2. In the 20th century security was limited to military security
3. After the cold war the definition was widened
4. Military security - responses to military threats, use of military instrument to address social issues, humanitarian interventions and peace operations

### **Approaches to Military Security**

1. Arnold Wolfers - security measures the absence of threats to acquired values
2. Possible to study military security through non-realist analytical lenses
3. Social-constructivist approach - all human reality is the product of human interaction
  - a. Cultural factors and norms are central to this
  - b. Security of the state is essential, but not a sufficient condition for making citizens secure
4. Post-war peacebuilding is seen as a crucial policy objective
5. Militaries must plan for missions where they operate with civilians and NGO's
6. Snyder - introduced the concept of strategic culture - beliefs and historical behavior patterns are crucial for understanding their policy decisions
  - a. Argued that beliefs and historical behavior patterns are crucial for understanding policy decisions
7. Prior to the development on a national police force the military was the only force the state had
8. The military can sometimes be the threat that faces the state itself
9. Social constructivist approach sees notions of identity as more fluid, conflict can be the forge of national identities, rather than a struggle between pre-existing revival identities
10. The socially constructed meaning societies give to events shapes the way that they respond to them
11. Militarization is not a politically neutral step

### **Traditional Military-Security Studies**

1. Military security was about protection from other states through acquiring sufficient military capacity or through allying with other states
2. Strategic studies focused on military security
3. Security studies are a subset of IR and strategic studies as a subset of security studies
4. For traditionalists the government needs to focus on military because of the anarchical structure of the international system
5. Traditional security approach assumed that the domestic political order was stable and peaceful
6. States define threats in terms of danger and actions that frustrate certain foreign policy objectives
7. Positive epistemology - an understanding of what constitutes legitimate knowledge
8. Scientific objectivism was thought to be the way military issues should be studied
9. Reus-Smit - traditional security specialists see the state as an idealized political community

10. Booth - this is illogical as it gives priority to the means as opposed to the security of the ends
11. Military power is relative to the situation that the state tried to use it
12. During the cold war the developed world focused on maintaining the balance of power
13. Offensive realism - traditional interpretation of the security dilemma where conflict is inevitable
14. Defensive realists - do not assume that the international anarchy always leads to conflict

## **War**

1. States acquire military capabilities because they face the possibility of war
2. Clausewitzian perspective - war is not a social aberration or a psychological disorder, but a rational instrument of power
3. War is a brutal form of bargaining
4. 1970s and 1990s fashionable to argue that war was on the decline
  - a. Argued that foreign policy objectives had become more intangible and there was more emphasis on trade
5. War was a risky option
6. Question of if there was a revolution in military affairs (RMA)
  - a. Technological superiority of American forces
  - b. Emphasis on technological developments
  - c. Identity politics are central to the explanation of political violence
7. Kaldo and Munkler - new wars
  - a. K - wars are a new phenomenon
  - b. M - new terrorism is the central challenge facing contemporary states
  - c. Identity politics are central to the explanation of political violence
  - d. The groups struggle to control the state
  - e. These conflicts are internal, being insurgencies and civil wars

## **Alliances and Neutrality**

1. States seek membership of an alliance if they believe their resources are inadequate to maintain sovereignty
2. Linked to the balance of power theory
  - a. States balayage against a threatening state
  - b. States also bandwagon with the likely to win hegemon
3. Powerful states may create alliance to extend protection over smaller friendly states
4. Can also be a way to exercise influence over allies
5. States do not always form alliances strictly with ideological similars
6. NATO can be seen as a typical alliance but is actually unusual as it exists in peacetime
7. Most military alliances are created for the purpose of waging war and end once war is over
8. Critics argue that alliances are destabilizing for the international system
9. However, Kegley and Raymond found that most alliances make a positive contribution as long as alliance structure is flexible and agreement is considered binding
10. A state is likely to avoid alliances if they feel strong enough to maintain security unaided
11. Some states have declared themselves mutual
  - a. These states have to maintain large military forces hand have national service

12. Neutral states must remain out of military alliances and refrain from aligning actions

### **Deterrence**

1. For the cold war period deterrence focused on nuclear
2. Nuclear weapons deterred full scale war between nuclear states but did nothing for states that did not have nuclear
3. Encouraged development of a balance of power system that created a nuclear balance
4. States aim for defense, then deterrence
5. Deterrence is based on the threat of retaliation
6. Nuclear provides increased deterrence
7. Against another nuclear state the use of nuclear weapons is suicide, and thus genocide against its own citizens and the citizens of the other country
8. Michael McGuire argues that the brutal nature of nuclear strikes countervalue city targeting strikes
9. Deterrence encouraged efforts to paint the adversary as people deserving of a terrible fate

### **Cooperative Security and Arms Control**

1. Assume that the traditional approach to security assumes that the existence of international anarchy leads to the security dilemma
2. Wendt - while anarchy may exist, this does not necessarily produce security dilemma and may produce state cooperation
3. States pursue arms control and disarmament
4. Classical disarmament theory assumed that weapons were a cause of insecurity
5. Arms controllers - weaponry is normal and acceptable
6. Disarmament implies weapons reductions, arms control may freeze or increase through mutual consent
7. Objectives are to reduce likelihood of war, reduce its scope and violence and the costs of preparing for it
8. Problem that policy makers experienced with these was that the public expected lowered nuclear balances, a shift from the character of weapons to an obsession with numbers
9. In post cold-war period arms control lost momentum
  - a. Daalder - threat deconstruction became more popular
  - b. Arms control was applied to light weapons and conventional weapons proliferation

### **The Cost of Military Security**

1. Some strategies can be self-defeating for generate other security problem
2. The right of people to maintain their way of life through military is recognized under international law
3. Klaus Knorr - military power is the power to destroy, kill, occupy and control and thus commerce
4. All states struggle to acquire and maintain military forces
  - a. Capability is expensive to acquire and spending may be unpopular
  - b. Defence spending generate opportunity costs - clause of a social good a government could not invest in because they spent it on the military
  - c. Question of how much capability a state can afford



- d. A government may build a military to protect their democracy, but this can in turn militarise the state
- e. Acquiring a substantial military may mean that use military options when others are available

## Discussion Post

1. Make at least one posting per topic board
2. 250 words max
3. Respond to other students

On the discussion board we will address this topic because it is very important for many reasons. First, it is historically important. We are witnessing, before our very eyes, a power transition where one great power, the United States, is slowly but seemingly inexorably being supplanted as the world's most powerful state. This is actually the norm in human history, since the rise and fall of great powers is a constant factor in political evolution. In the past, these power transitions have resulted in war, which raises the question of whether the rise of China will also lead to conflict. For the discussion board, please read the assigned articles while thinking about the following questions:

- Is the rise of China a good or a bad thing? Why?
- How might a China-dominated world order look?
- How should China's rivals respond?

The first question asks if the rise of China is a good or a bad thing. It is neither as the rise of China and transfer of the balance of power does not have to be violent. As seen after the Napoleonic wars and WW1, the UK and America became the most powerful states. This transfer was not violent but rather was caused by a violent event. As discussed by Stiglitz, China does not desire to be the world leader but would prefer economic power, indicating they are not a traditional greedy state. They are unlikely to start military conflicts and the transfer may happen peacefully.

The second question asks what a China-dominated world order would be. While individuals may not see differences, China would have more influence over international organizations previously excluded from. China-dominated world order may also center financial or trade practices on themselves. This impact would be impactful on international relations, but not on individuals.

The third question asks how China's rivals, primarily America, should respond. America should follow the advice of Glaser and let their power fade as they would be unlikely to succeed in a war, it would be unpopular at home, and the use of nuclear weapons would be ethically questionable. The US would have to focus on their "opportunity costs," especially as the pandemic recovery has citizens demanding more government support. Due to these factors, it is irrational to militarily fight China, and their rise is inevitable.

When China becomes the world leader, what effect will that have on international politics in America? Being the most powerful country is an aspect of national pride and losing this may further fragment the country.

## **Module 2**

Filkins, Dexter, "The Fight of Their Lives," New Yorker, available at:

<http://www.newyorker.com/magazine/2014/09/29/fight-lives>

1. Kurdish fighters are called the peshmerga
2. Kurds claim to be the world's largest ethnic group without a country
3. Iraqi Kurdistan is surrounded by neighbours who oppose its bid for statehood
4. As Iraq soldiers flee ISIS the Kurds move in
5. The US administration while supporting Kurdistan also has a unified Iraq police
6. Saddam Hussein participated in an ethnic cleansing chemical warfare genocide
7. Iraq was created in 1920 with 3 provinces of the Ottoman Empire - Shiite in the south, Sunni in the center and Kurdish in the north
8. Kurds were split between Iraq, Syria, Turkey and Iran
9. In the 1970s the Kurdish got a large self-governing area in Northern Iraq
10. When the Shah withdrew his aid for this area the CIA and Israel followed
11. As Saddam attacked Bush refused to intervene, but once confronted with a humanitarian disaster ordered Americans to enforce a no-fly zone
  - a. This created some peace in the region and allowed them to move towards self-rule
12. Barzani is more of a populist than a deep policy thinker
  - a. Established a condition that allowed the Kurds to vote down any nationwide constitutional referendum
  - b. Secured the right to overseas discoveries of oil and gas
  - c. Created the primacy of the law of the local government
13. ISIS's plans were expanding and they aimed to gain territory to govern
14. Kurds took possession of Kirkuk
15. ISIS is well funded and staffed, often by foreigners or supportive locals
16. Their method is
  - a. Sustained artillery bombardment
  - b. Waves of suicide bombers
  - c. Then race in on trucks
17. Obama armed the peshmerga who were better trained, but less equipped than the Iraqi army
18. Kurdish businesses and economy flourish under less restrictive laws and greater international involvement
19. They only receive 17% of Iraq's oil revenues, despite having 25% of the oil
  - a. Went around this by independently exporting, but they are refused internationally
20. Two families own everything and control the government
  - a. Little appetite for change before the referendum

## **Chapter 3**

1. Liberalist tradition can be traced back to John Locke and Immanuel Kant
2. Reached an initial high just after WW1 with Woodrow Wilson
3. Believed in transforming international politics to do away with major warfare
4. It was eclipsed by fascism and WW2, followed by the cold war, but re-emerged after the cold war ended

### **Characteristic Features of the Liberalist Approach**

1. It is fundamentally optimistic about politics, economics, and international politics
  - a. Believes in cooperation and the chances of a peaceful world
2. Believes that international politics is not inherently violent, and peace and security are attainable
3. There is no inherent security dilemma
4. While it holds some elements of a theory, it is instead a broad analytical approach with related ideas and preferred preferences
  - a. Short on theoretical explanations
5. Old enough to be a classical approach
  - a. Overlaps with realism while discarding central realist assumptions
  - b. Nation-states are the most important actors
  - c. Gives attention to other actors as well
  - d. The international system can have important effects on the behaviour of actors, yet the system is not as important as the behaviour of states
6. Nation-states are not alike
  - a. International politics reflects their differences in character
  - b. With liberal actors running them international cooperation can flourish and toilet the participation of international organizations and non-state actors
  - c. International politics is not the same everywhere
  - d. IR is shaped by political, economic and social choices made
  - e. It can be realist in character, but it does not have to be
7. They use an inside out approach - states are more important the external factors
  - a. Domestic politics is a competition among perspectives and interests with everyone vying for power, office and influence
  - b. External pressures are important but not decisive
  - c. Foreign policy can be domestic preferences projected outwards
8. The state is an entity apart from society
  - a. Not a semi-autonomous actor, and more of an agent of dominant interests
  - b. States are not unitary actors

### **Central Elements in Liberalist Thinking: Commercial Liberalism**

1. Liberalism is associated with
  - a. Strong support for democracy
  - b. Private property and free enterprise
  - c. Market economy
  - d. Open relationships among societies
  - e. International cooperation
  - f. Commitment to human rights based on the importance of the individual
2. Oldest category is commercial or economic liberalism
  - a. Descends from free trade ideas
  - b. Free trade is flow of goods and capital
3. Production and accumulation of wealth are the most predictive if done by private owners and actors
  - a. The US became the main proponent of this after 1945

4. Before WW1 it was thought that wars would decline because they were bad for business
  - a. After ww2 this view was important in the creation of the EU
5. When the main governments in a region are controlled by liberalism they will promote export-led national development and chances of war between them decline
6. The continued expansion of capitalism brings wealth and higher living standards in such a way that war is unproductive
7. Globalization is the contemporary expression of the liberalist view

### **The Pursuit of Human Rights**

1. Roots lie in concerns about how religious and ethnic groups were treated by their neighbours
2. Thinking then expanded to universal human rights, and then national self-determination
3. Modern liberalism is still concerned with self-determination but does not widely support separatism as multi-ethnic states would produce chaotic dissolutions
4. Support a board list of human rights about economic, medical, political, sexual, deprivation and discrimination

### **Liberalism and International Organizations**

1. Sought to enhance international cooperation and bolster security via international organizations
2. Early in the 20th century, there was interest in forming a league or alliance to prevent wars
3. Woodrow Wilson inserted this into agreements signed after WW1
4. The US did not join the league of nations, and it failed to prevent wars
5. However, it was revised with the creation of the UN and Bretton Woods associations
6. Has been a surge in NGOs and their activities
7. More international regimes/international institutions - expanded notions of international cooperation
8. Neoliberal institutionalism/ rational choice liberalism - anarchy makes cooperation difficult but explains how regimes facilitate it
  - a. International organizations can facilitate these agreements and monitor for compliance
9. Another view is that international institutions are natural - as cooperation grows so does everyone' stake in it, giving rise to increased support to organizations, rules and laws
10. Functionalist view - rising interactions generate important functions that need to be performed, international organizations turn out to meet these functions
11. Another approach says that governments can be induced to accept less sovereignty to create governing international institutions
  - a. Parting with sovereignty and autonomy is a large step
  - b. To get states to take this they need a hegemon (like the us)
  - c. Another argument is that if cooperation is important enough, nations will redefine the national interest to embrace shrinking autonomy
12. Idea that international politics develops elements of community
13. Idea that sovereignty is not simply a right to national autonomy, also obligation of a government to rest its society with decency

14. Cooperation is encouraged and reinforced when it is referred to as the shadow of the future

### **Liberalism and Democracy**

1. Rejects the idea that warfare is inevitable
2. Preference for using nonviolent methods to achieve national objectives
3. Democratic-peace thesis/democratic liberalism - statistical pattern in relations among liberal democracies - modern liberal democracies never go to war with each other
  - a. They are amply armed with offensive military forces but display no sign of a security dilemma
4. Champion the spread of democracy to achieve security
5. Western peacebuilding process includes installing democracy
6. Rise of the international civil society

### **Chapter 7**

1. Social constructivism brings the importance of ideas, identity, and interaction in the international system
2. The human world is constructed through the actions of actors themselves
3. Nicholas Onuf coined the term in 1989 and the concept has risen rapidly challenging neorealism and neoliberalism
4. Core concepts have been shaped by sociological theory
5. With the emergence of critical security studies, the constructivist approach forms part of the cold war transformation in security studies
6. Argues that security can be socially constructed
7. The world is social, not purely material
8. 3 basic ontological positions
  - a. Normative and ideational structures are important and matter as much as material structures, ideas should be privileged
  - b. Identities matter - they give actors interests and these interests tell us something about how they act and the goals they pursue
  - c. Agents and structures are mutually constituted - how actors shape the world and their relationships
9. Contributed to understanding security by focusing on this agenda
10. Identities and interests are not fixed, and are open to change and revision

### **Definitions and Key Concepts**

#### **Identity**

1. Identity tells us who actors are, what their preferences are and how those preferences might inform their actions
2. Interests cannot be pursued without a particular identity
3. Shared ideas construct identity
4. Intersubjectivity meanings are ideas and concepts shared and held in common and from these, we can understand action and behaviour
5. For rationalists, identity is either given or negligible as a factor in relation to security
6. For realists, states are like units - seeking security in an anarchic world
  - a. The anarchic system tells states what they want and what they should do to get it
  - b. States have material interests

7. Interaction for rationalists is largely for strategic reasons
8. May examine the domestic realm as exogenous rather than endogenous
9. Constructivist think that the process of acquiring identity is the interaction
10. Wendt distinguishes between different types of identity
  - a. Corporate identity - the intrinsic self-realized identity of an actor
  - b. Social identity - set of meanings that an actor attributes to itself while taking the perspectives of others
  - c. Type identities - multiple intrinsic to actors, self-organizing and in the international system capitalist states and monarchical states are examples of type identities
  - d. Role identities only exist in their relation to others (teacher-student)
  - e. collective identity - the relationship between self and other to its logical conclusion

### **Beliefs, collective ideas and culture**

1. Identity emerges as a part of a process of interaction
2. Frederking - beliefs are social rules that make truth claims about the world
3. Shared knowledge is important in identity formation
4. Collective meaning and shared knowledge constitute how we perceive and respond to the world
5. Constructivism gives more attention to culture

### **Norms**

1. Shared knowledge and practices build norms
2. The norms we adhere to is part of how we define ourselves
3. Norms provide guides for behaviour
4. Finnemore and Sikkink examine the cycle of norms which start when cognitive frames are set against existing norms
5. Berger and Luckmann - institutionalism as habitualized human activity
6. Constitutive norms - define interests of an actor
7. Regulatory norms - standards that tell and identity how to act
8. States that possessed nuclear weapons were judged by their restraint in using them
9. Also examine epistemic communities - groups with specialized expert knowledge, play an important role in transmitting shared ideas
10. Norm entrepreneurs

### **Mutual Constitution**

1. Alexander Wendt - constructivism leading figures say that anarchy is what states make of it
2. Neorealists think that anarchy produces a self-help world
3. Wendt argues that self-help and power politics are not a logical or causal cause of anarchy and that anarchy contains no logic in itself
4. He has two critiques of anarchy structuring the world
  - a. Structure is not given but rather constituted by the actions and identity of actors
5. Karl Deutsch - security community-integrated interests produce a we-feeling and a preference for peaceful conflict resolution
6. Neorealist theorizing pays little attention to the possibility of change in the international system

7. Neorealism acknowledges structural change accounts for this only with the distribution of power from one to another

### **Wendt's Three Cultures of Anarchy**

1. Three cultures are Hobbesian, Lockean and Kantian
2. Wendt suggests there can be more than one system
3. At each center of the type exists a particular posture
  - a. Hobbesian - relationship between states is that of enemies where there must be full self-help
  - b. Lockean - characterized by rivalry, dominated since the treaty of Westphalia
  - c. Kantian - characterized by friendship where they favour cooperation and have collective security
    - i. First-degree internalization - forced to comply with a norm
    - ii. Second degree - states will comply because of their self-interest
    - iii. Third-degree - when states internalize a norm as legitimate
4. Structural change occurs when actors redefine who they are and why they want
5. 4 master variables - interdependence, common rule, homogenization and self-restraint
  - a. First 3 are active capsules and the more people engage in these the more the self erodes and others increase
  - b. Identity sing with others may pose a threat to the self, but this concern can be managed through self-restraint

### **Conventional and Critical Constructivism**

1. Wendt tends to generate the most debate, but constructivism is not a uniform approach
2. Divided into conventional and critical camps
3. Conventional
  - a. Accept key aspects of neorealist systemic such as the centrality of the state and importance of scientific or positivist approach to comprehend
  - b. See it as a bridge between rationalist and reflective approaches
4. Critical
  - a. Find the reliance on positivism problematic
  - b. Says that many of the categories we treat as natural are actually products of past social construction processes
  - c. Pay attention to language
    - i. By speaking we make the world the way it is
  - d. Security knowledge produced by police, the military and the media are powerful in that they can articulate threat or danger and in this can construct security problems
  - e. There is an ability to construct history

### **Critiques of Constructivism**

1. Rationalists claim that it cannot test its claims empirically and fails to recognize that alternative theory may say essentially the same thing
2. It fails to account for the realist category of uncertainty
3. Fails to take the states as given and assumes it to be the most important neglecting internationalization



4. Treatment of identity is always constructed as a difference and this creates insides and outsides

To answer your question, I think that this may sour relationships between the Kurds and the US, but it also might not. The determining factor might be security. As mentioned in Jim's post this week, the Kurds are surrounded by countries that are hostile, or potentially hostile to them. The Kurds might judge that continuing US military support is essential to survival. However, their more liberal members might push them towards stronger relationships with nations who believe in free trade and the free market, and away from the US who is using economics as a political tool. I believe that the determining factor in this would be how stable the region is, and if they deem it possible to both have free trade and security.

I also found that part of the article super interesting, but for a slightly different reason. I think that I often forget that people's lives and livelihoods continue even in war. I also think that this example is not only inspirational on an individual level, but it also shows the capability of the Kurdish region to succeed economically after conflict. They are liberalizing, and businesses are growing, and this points to the idea that if they were to get independence they could be an economically viable country, and be a stable liberal presence in a sometimes tumultuous region.

### **Module 3**

#### **To the Women of Canada**

[http://www.archives.gov.on.ca/en/explore/online/posters/big/big\\_30\\_war\\_poster.aspx](http://www.archives.gov.on.ca/en/explore/online/posters/big/big_30_war_poster.aspx)

#### **Chapter 8**

1. Human security literature confirms Cox's theory that security is a contested concept
2. It thinks that individuals rather than the state are the way that security is obtained
  - a. Other than this point the theory us in disarray

#### **Establishment of the Human Security Concept**

1. Concepts are developed in a response to the context
2. First appear in 1994 in UNDP report
  - a. Less concern about power between major powers, more concern about intrastate conflict
  - b. Humanitarian intervention was recast as a responsibility, not a right
3. UN established the concept of human security to increase attention and resources for development and assist vulnerable populations
4. Canada, Norway and Japan included human security in foreign policies
5. Human-centric focus is derived from liberalism

#### **Debate Among Advocates of Human Security**

1. What does human security mean?
2. Divided over the type of threat that should be prioritized

The Narrow School

1. The threat of political violence to people by the state is the proper focus
2. There are threats that are non-systemic
3. However he sees these threats as correlating to systemic issues
4. This is seen as freedom from fear

#### The Broad Schools

1. Argue human security is more than a concern with violence
2. Also includes freedom from want
3. Included underdevelopment, freedoms and values
4. Focus is on individuals and communal groups
5. Alkiri - objective of human security is to protect the core of human lives in a way that advance human freedoms and fulfillment
6. Broad definitions receive the most criticism

#### Difference over Means

1. The sort of the types of threats that should be included in the definition
2. Broad school has no connection between threats except that they are perceived to be threats
3. Narrow school is very focused on political violence towards people
4. Further complicated over arguments about the role of the state
  - a. Human security is impossible to achieve if the state is the major actor
  - b. Just because some states behave badly doesn't mean that all states should be dismissed
  - c. Difficult to address security issues without the state

#### Differences over the Normative Objectives of Human Security

1. Seek to explain and improve how the state works
2. It is seen by some to have failed as it did not achieve emancipation, but rather it is co-opted by the state
3. They have failed to change the system

#### **Establishing Common Ground: a Dual Conceptualization of Security**

1. The discussion between the different approaches raises questions about its capacity to challenge the state-centric argument

#### Common Ground

1. The use of human security might lead to a transformation of politics and IR
2. Connections between narrow and broad understandings of the concept
3. There are links between political violence and problems of underdevelopment, and these can be multifactorial and interconnected
4. As it provides a conceptual framework and identifies the problem it provides a strong basis for policy

#### Dual Concept of State Security and Human Security

1. State centric argument is dominant
2. Clear traditional approach cannot be dismissed
3. Buzan argues that security includes political, economic, societal, and environmental, it does not incorporate human security
  - a. He says that human security is a problematic concept as humans are difficult to construct as referent objects

4. Structural perspective still needs to explain what states that do not accept responsibility for its citizens are legitimate
5. Until the french revolution conceptions of security concerned people
6. Human security also has shortcomings - fails to give attention to state-to-state conflict
7. Lodgaard draws out the conceptual dimensions of this - dual concept of state and human security as a dual concept of state and human security

### **Human Security in Practice**

1. Debate around how extensively human security has been adopted by states
  - a. Some claim that many states practice it, others claim that only a few states do and that there is a declining interest in foreign policy in the supporters
2. Martin and Owen - all though the first generation of human security is retreating, the second degeneration is emerging in the US and EU
3. Second debate focuses on the intulity of human security for practitioners
4. Practions wers can use a human security language to conceal state practices and interests
5. It fails to provide policy advice or pracitial options
6. Question if human security includes the R2P principle

### **The Increasing Practice of a Dual Conceptuation of Security**

1. Second generation objectives are to protect citizens from political violence and then the long term objective of human security

### **Chapter 9**

1. Practical aspects are exemplified by the role of women in armed forces or as victims, bisandars or helpers of conflict and militarization in general
2. Discursive aspects are exemplified by connections between militarism and masculinities and between nurturing, peace and femininity
3. Technological innovation allowed for a virtual war removing the need for men in pattel
4. Tehcnoogy means military interaction could save strangers in sanger without cost
5. The gender roles remained intact on the receiving end of military intervention
6. Advent of female suiciede bombers and terrorist groups have right an interest in women and violent political activity

### **Discursive Representations**

1. Growing recognition in ideas in political life
2. Traditionally states have ranked their national security as the highest interest
3. Loyalty to the state has been apparent in times of war and national emergency
4. Primary task of defining and defending the security of the state has been the work of men
  - a. This rests on the co-option and exploitation of women
5. Idea that combat serves a purpose of maleness and is associated with masculine values
6. War and combat have historically represented the highest aspirations of men
7. Women have long been regarded as the carers and nurturers of the young
8. Women have been represented as the spoils of war
9. Rape is a common feature of many wars
10. Rape was a way of undermining the male population and as an act of revenge

11. Some male scholars have depicted women as the cause of war through pointing to battles where women have urged men in
12. The modern state was born and consolidated through war
13. Jen Elshtain - claims the distinction between beautiful souls (women) and just warriors (men) is that the core of theorising about men and women and narratives of war play into traditional gender roles
14. Histories of states are constructed in highly gendered ways with memorials to war revolving around men
15. Equality for women is achieved first through equal opportunities in education, social institution, workplace, and then government, judiciary, military
  - a. Men have captured the state, so women must reclaim it

#### **Practical Context: Soldiering**

1. Women have typically been seen as unfit to hold high offices of military or national security
2. Women were often employed in intelligence agencies
3. Difficult in America to get political office without military successes
4. Reality of being a veteran does not point to a glorious post-war life
5. Women were excluded along with the infirm from battle
6. Some feminist groups claimed that taking part in combat will advance the position of women

#### **Contradictions: Biology and Security**

1. Women are seen as the weaker sex and were often excluded from conscription
2. Women were dependent on men for protection
3. There were continual demands on the female and its ability to child-bear
4. Role of women as breeders to make up for population lost in war

#### **Victims**

1. Women had little say in how they were rendered to be safe
2. Women often suffered at those meant to protect them
3. They are also inflicted violence on after soldiers return due to the trauma of war
4. This could be partially solved through an increase in female soldiers

#### **Women and Peace**

1. Allegations of domestic violence are hard to substantiate
2. Militarism does not always equate to masculinity
3. Women are often associated with campaigns for peace and justice
4. The bearers of children are thought to be more anti-war
5. Engagement of women in the politics of peace was a concern to those in power during the cold war
6. Women have always been involved in the business of war
7. The stories of women's involvement have often been left out of histories

#### **Multiple Perceptions, Same Realities**

1. We in the west have the ability to acknowledge the problems of war
2. In many democracies the notion of a soldier as a citizen has disappeared
3. The west mostly participated in wars at a distance
4. In most of the world men and women have fewer choices

I think that you make a very interesting point on the poster, but I would argue that it still does depict women somewhat as wanting peace and fulfilling gender roles. In World War One, which this poster is based on, Canadian wives had to give permission for their husbands to go to war. I feel that this poster is urging women to go against their peaceful nature for their country, but not necessarily denying their feminine role, as they were only to allow men to protect them. Women were urged to send their men off in order to continue male pride and ensure the protection of women and children. Women in this poster are still seen as vulnerable and desiring peace, and while I personally believe that women were vital for the war effort, I do not feel that this poster saw them as anything other than a group holding men back from the war.

Are men natural warriors?

I do not believe that men are natural warriors, but rather they are just placed in situations where they have access to war. As discussed in chapter 9, men are typically the ones in military and political power while women are left to domestic and childbearing tasks. In times of war, men are the leaders who declare and control the war, while other men are conscripted or able to volunteer. While women have an important role in war, such as nurses, in home-front factories, and in other positions, they are not warriors or soldiers. The histories of war perpetuate this even further, with women being left out of the historical war record entirely. This serves to create an image in the mind of the public as war being the domain of men, and as men being the victors and protecting their nation, their women and their children. As demonstrated by the female Kurdish fighters, the increasing numbers of women in the military, and historical female fighters, women are fully capable of being soldiers and warriors. Despite the clear capabilities of women, the bias of histories, and the gender roles of being delicate child-bearers, have painted a picture of men being far more warrior-like than women.

In reading this, I wondered that if there were to be a third world war now, where conscription was required, would women be conscripted as well as men?

I think that the Kurdish female fighters are still breaking traditional western gender roles, not because of what they are fighting for, but how they are fighting it. While they are trying to protect their homes and families, typically things seen in the domestic sphere, they are going about this protection in a traditionally masculine way, with violence and war. If they were to protect their families and homes in a traditional female western way, they would do what the poster suggested, and support their men in fighting and on the home front, but not get directly involved.

#### **Module 4**

#### **A Hopeful Continent**

1. Africans read stories about european countries the way that we read stories about their poverty

2. Most africans no longer fear a violent or premature death
3. Human development in sub-saharan africa has made huge leaps
4. Booming economy has made a big difference
5. Its countries are taking different routes to become better places
6. At the end of the cold war only 3/53 counties had democracies
  - a. Now it is 25
7. Many more hold imperfect but worthwhile elections
8. Democracy has led to better governance

#### Ways to Salvation

1. Where democracies has struggled they have taken three other paths
2. Stopped fighting - war and civil strife have declined
  - a. Wars have become less deadly
  - b. Number of coups has fallen
3. More private citizens are engaging in politics
4. Retreat from socialist economic models have made everyone better off

#### Wait for it

1. Takes time for results from investments to come through
2. Aid pipeline is full

#### Making Africa Work

1. A few years people were wanted to invest in adica
2. Now investors worry

#### From oil in the gears to sand in the wheels

1. Commodity pieces have rapidly risen and hallen
2. Commodity busts don't last forever and they make energy cheaper
3. Africa is more peaceful
4. It is far more democratic and voters have real choices which improve policies
5. Inflation has largely been tamed and poverty has fallen
6. Worrying signs that they are reverting as they step backwards on democracy and make economic mistakes
7. Most mistakes are the exception rather than the rule

#### Minds not mines

1. Need to recognise the new reality
2. Need to keep improving the basics to improve trade and infrastructure
3. Its future rests on the productivity of its people

#### Chapter 15

1. Technology provides new opportunities for good and bad
2. People behave mostly predictably

#### **Economic Science of Security**

1. Economics the science of individuals making decisions on conditions of scarcity

#### Overview of Economic Theory

1. This theory does not differentiate between good and bad actors
2. Economic theories of conflict begin with adam smith
  - a. Concerned with fundamental human nature

3. Economics assume that humanity acts with purpose and exchanges in order to achieve goals
4. Smith suggests that the division of labour comes from human nature itself
5. Purposeful human action must apply universally not be subject of language, religion or other socio cultural volatilities
6. If we apply this aspect of human nature to leaders we can understand something about their actions
7. Socio-cultural knowledge plays a role in helping to understand scrutiny environments and their incentives
8. Modeling their actions can come from observing prior actions
9. In order to trade individuals need other people
10. To succeed any leader relies on other people
11. Self-interest motivates exchange
12. People make their choices based on risk-benefit assessments
13. To change the behavior of a leader we must propose a bargain for something they might prefer, offer good or avoidance of something bad

#### Five Vectors of Economic Incentives

1. Goals - People maximise
2. Resource constraints - limit the amount of resources that can be spend on some good
3. Institutional constraints - man-made rules that structure and govern behavior, policy makes can influence these through formal rulemaking or name and shame policy
4. Information - rational action depends on the information available, people make choices on what they perceive to be their best choices
  - a. Prospect theory - people make decisions not based on objective analysis but on their perception of a situation
5. Time horizon - decision are affected by how far someone looks into the future

#### **Economic Tools of Security Policy**

1. Four categories, sanctions, trade, finance, aid
2. Not mutually exclusive or all encompassing
3. Policy makes use economic instruments to achieve security policy goals

#### Sanctions

1. Politically motivated denial of normal economic relations with the intent of changing a behavior or disassociating with another economy
2. Tools have become more targeted on individuals rather than conmenations of an entire population
3. Success at causing regime change appears limited
4. Since 9/11 targeted has become more popular
5. Sanctions ecarte economic power to advance peace and freedom
6. They can also deny economic participation to evils
7. Militarily they isolate dangerous regimes
8. When targeted to cripple an economy they typically fail as doctors magime the reimage reventure to remain in power
9. Sanctions may solidi a dictator's power as it applies them to turn to other partners when facing unilateral sanctions

10. Multilateral often have loopholes that help a dictator sustain power
11. Dictators are different people and have different motivations
12. Tin-pot - seeks to seal wealth, governs in a place with frequent changes in governments, face the challenge of staying alive and in power
13. Totalitarian - seeks power and uses wealth to invest in tools for remaining in power, purchases the tools or repression, long time horizon
14. Tyrant invests in repression, timocrat by contrast seeks support and loyalty
15. Political leaders must spend money to stay in power
16. Biggest challenge to a dictator is transition

#### Trade

1. Trade when voluntary makes all parties better off and creates wealth
2. We do not see free trade everywhere
3. Dictators may not favour free trade if it increases the power of political opposition
4. Democratic leaders must take politicians that serve some constituencies more than others
5. Domestic interests of re-election may hinder free trade
6. Export controls protect technological advantage, maintain security, and further foreign policy objectives

#### Finance

1. Exchange of money influences national security and creates opportunities to leverage world leaders and events
2. In finance people benefit from access to the market through the ability to trade weak currency for strong currency and to finance today's consumption with tomorrow's income
3. Fiat currency - have no intrinsic value, only in the fact that a state will protect its value
4. Not all central banks exercise the same degree of responsibility so some currencies hold their value better than others
5. Sovereign wealth funds can help or harm a country's economy
6. When people trade across time one party purchases debt from the other
7. Access to debt markets is an economic good
8. Offering or denying credit can provide incentives to leaders

#### Aid

1. Many give aid out of compassion but it can also offer national security power
2. Aid money can incentivise individual decision making
3. Some argue that ending poverty increases security
4. Can incentivise decision making and advance national security
5. Aid became candidate to leaders who advanced policies advancing FDI
6. Terror takes root in poor failing nations

#### Chapter 16

1. Globalization encapsulates new technology supported by open politics to create a more interconnected world
2. Can deliver material progress for the poor
3. There is a lot of inequality in this process
4. Uneven development may pose a risk to global security
5. Poverty can push people into violence



## **Globalization as a Neoliberal Ideology for Development**

### Globalization as a concept

1. Susan Strange - globalization is vague
2. Global connectivity has reached unprecedented levels
3. Shrinking of the world brought about by technological improvements
4. Socio-economic needs are geared towards producing or meet the needs of absent others

### The Neoliberalism of Globalization

1. International financial institutions have overshadowed other international institutions
2. Economics of globalization are typically considered superior
3. Liberalism treats economics in isolation from other social relations
4. Key aspect of economics liberalism is that it was the ideology behind European colonialism
5. Adam Smith - colonialism is economically beneficial to all, only opposed to monopolistic trade conditions
6. Contemporary liberalism (neoliberalism) - emphasises microfoundations such as market competition, consumers and criticisms of distortions
7. Governments and International agencies have played a large role in creating development strategies grounded in Neoliberalism

### Neoliberal Ideology for Development

1. New forms of colonialism
2. Old forms had an emphasis on domination, subjugation and exploitation
3. Under globalization it is driven through policies and systems
4. For neoliberal organizations causes of underdevelopment lay within the affected countries rather than from the structure of the system
5. To fix it there needs to be domestic reform
6. Believe the solution is to cut government expenditure and reduce demand in the economy
7. Created a recession in developing countries and a debt crisis
  - a. Crisis addressed through loans from the World Bank and IMF, but they were also put on Structural Adjustment Programs (SAPs)

### Structural Adjustment Programmes and Loans

1. As more countries faced difficulties servicing their debts from the 1970s pressure to adopt SAPs grew
2. SAPs were based on neoliberal policies
3. Were meant to help countries solve payment problems and prevent future crises through structural reforms
4. Reforms led to periods of austerity
5. Criticism meant that a greater focus would be put on social sectors
6. Developing countries are earning less despite being more open
7. This is attributed to several things
  - a. Their focus on primary commodities
  - b. Failure to shift to technology intensive products
  - c. Export price decreases

8. Concern about a wage race to the bottom

#### The Legacy of SAPs

1. Pushed people into vulnerability
2. Adopt coping mechanism that expose them to greater death and disease

#### **Neoliberalism and Fostering Inequality**

##### Rising Inequality between and within nations

1. Growing gap between the rich and the poor
2. Divide between the global north and south
3. Christine Lagarde - director of the IMF - believes that integration has potential for the developing world but concedes that many people have been left behind
4. Differences in access and income
5. Two different conceptions

##### Inequality between nations

1. Greater openness in trade is correlated negatively with income growth among the poorest 40%
2. North holds the most FDI and attracts the most FDI
3. Foreign investment is concentrated in Thailand, Indonesia, Columbia, Malaysia and Taiwan

##### Inequality within nations

1. Even if growth happens it does not necessarily translate into development
2. Increased openness does not help the poor as much as it helps the rich
3. There are really rich and really poor people in the north and south
4. Fewer people have the top in rich countries

#### **Global Inequality as a Threat to Global Security**

1. Globalization has failed to deliver macroeconomic stability and growth with trickle down benefits
2. Globalization continues to grow the gap between rich and the poor
3. Globalization services the interests of its advocates at the expense of the majority of people in developing countries

##### Anti-Neoliberal Revolution

1. Egypt and Tunisia were considered at the front of instituting neoliberal policies in the middle east
2. Both of the republic suffered stagnant wages and high unemployment
3. Arab spring rising emerged as a result of this
4. Their grievances were intrinsic to neoliberalism

##### A Neoliberal Response

1. Revolution brought regime change
2. It was just restructuring
3. Assistance was offered in language of supporting a transition to democracy and freedom
4. Attempted to accelerate the neoliberal program
5. Institutions are remodeled within the neoliberal drive
6. Anti-neoliberal revolutionary spirit has been sorted
7. The crisis in 2002 wrought havoc with national economics and individual livelihoods

8. Some European countries are unable to pay their debt
9. Greece has had anti-austerity protests

## Should we be optimistic about Africa?

I think we should be optimistic about Africa as things are getting better and developing. As discussed in *A Hopeful Continent*, most Africans no longer fear a violent or premature end, there is increasing democracy, less war and conflict now is less deadly. While there are many issues, such as continuing high rates of poverty, a growing population, and climate change impacts, we are still able to see improvement on the continent.

One area that worries me however, is the issue of inequality. The two articles focused a lot on economic improvements, things Chapter 16 discussed as benefiting mainly the rich, with the poor being left behind. Africa has been subjected to a lot of structural adjustment programs and austerity measures, which often benefit the rich, but through the reduction in social spending disproportionately affects the poor.

Africa is still emerging from the Colonial era, and the progress made is substantial. We should be optimistic about the continent as things are getting better. If Africa is able to get away from western mandated neoliberalism then they could develop more equally, however the progress that has been made gives hope that more improvement and development is to come.

My question is, with increasing democracy do you think there will be a shift away from neoliberal policies, as they do not benefit the majority of the population, or do you think these policies are here to stay, and will just be renamed as was seen in Egypt.

To answer your question, yes I think that Africa could stabilize its economy and regain the confidence of investors. As discussed in Chapter 16, Africa mainly produces primary commodities. These are very volatile and are limited in nature. Their prices tend to fluctuate more, and this would make some investors wary. If Africa were to diversify and produce more secondary or tertiary goods, they would have more stable prices and would likely attract more investment.

To tie your point in with Chapter 15, I think we should maybe be concerned about the motivation of actors in countries in Africa. By giving out aid to countries, or by offering them finance in either loans or grants, the countries in Africa and their leaders may fall under the increasing influence of countries like China or the US. We do not fully understand the intent of these countries, so their increasing influence in Africa has the potential to be concerning, not only in concern over if African countries can pay their debt back, but also in concerns about them losing sovereignty.

### **Module 5**

#### **Obama rolls the dice on Iran**

1. Iran would earn billions with the lifting of sanctions
2. Supply weapons to radical Islamist groups
3. Fund ongoing military operations
4. Would become a nuclear state in 13-14 years
5. Seeks domination of the middle east and the elimination of Israel
6. Obama hopes that a nuclear detente will change Iran

7. If they are further integrated with the world economy it makes it harder for them to engage in actions that are contrary to international norms
8. Iranian liberals and western analysts underestimated the power of Iran's deep state
9. Most now predict that the state will remain the same or maybe get worse

## Chapter 18

1. Obama embraced nuclear disarmament as a long term policy objective
2. Several states are seeking WMD
3. It provides a way to offset their inferiority in conventional armaments
4. Can be status symbols
5. Possibility that they fall into the hands of terrorists
6. They have been used in terrorist attacks with limited effects
7. Can generate high levels of death and destruction than conventional weapons

### **Nuclear Weapons**

1. Based on advancements in Physics
2. First nuclear weapon was created in the Manhattan project
3. First detonation were at Hiroshima and Nagasaki
4. Fusion weapons can be small and lightweight but have virtually unlimited destructive force

### **Nuclear Weapons Effects**

1. Nuclear weapons operate at the extremes of time pressure and temperature
2. A lot of radiation is released quickly
3. Question of a nuclear exchange causing a nuclear winter
4. Panic set off by the destruction may cause more danger and destruction

### **Methods of Delivery**

1. Advent of thermonuclear meant that the size and weight of weapons decreased as their yields increased
2. US cannot use over Middle East as the trajectory would bring it over Russia
3. Policy makes are unlikely to trust robot weapons
4. Concern that terrorists would acquire weapons
5. Weapons that terrorists would produce would likely be relatively crude and very large

### **Impact on International Politics**

1. Creation of nuclear non-proliferation after 1945
2. International community has taken steps to address non-compliance
3. Some believe that nuclear arsenals help to deter attack and offer second strike capability
4. Concern that the cold war nearly erupted and it could happen again
5. There could be accidental nuclear war
6. No guarantee every country will take care of their arsenals and they could be vulnerable to attack
7. Some nations are pursuing a policy of attrition, while others are pursuing a modernization policy

### **Chemical Weapons**

1. Chemical weapons emerged in the 1800s
2. Debate if it should be considered a WMD or not
3. They can be employed to cause massive casualties

4. Concern that they could convert chemical production from civilian use to weapons manufacturing
5. First significant use was in WW1
6. Were not used extensively on WW2 battlefield

#### Chemical Weapons Effects

1. Chemical weapons vary in lethality, complexity, and methods
2. Blood agents interfere with the body's ability to transport oxygen in the blood
3. Choking agents - get their name from victims drowning in fluids from their lungs
4. Blister agents - place demands on their medical services
5. Nerve agents are the most lethal as they cause muscles to fire continuously
6. Incapacitants are used for riot control or personal protection

#### Methods of Delivery

1. Delivered from a line or point source like a crop duster
2. Proper dispersal is necessary for use

#### Impact on International Politics

1. By the 1970s NATO began to view it as a deterrent not a battlefield weapon
2. Difficulties in transport and handling
3. Geneva protocol banned their use
4. States party to the CWC are prevented from holding large stockpiles and must declare existing stocks
5. About 20 countries that have large arsenals have not signed on to the CWC

#### **Biological Weapons**

1. BW
2. Use living organism to kill humans, animals or plants
3. Difficult to differentiate these from a natural disease
4. Most people in war die from disease not combat
5. Deliberate use has been sporadic and has produced mixed results
6. Biological reasons were thought in the west to lack military use
7. Soviets undertook an extensive BW program

#### Biological weapon effects

1. Not every disease is an effective biological weapon
2. Might be attractive and available to terrorists
3. 3 varieties - bacteria, viruses, and toxins
4. Anthrax is often the agent of choice as it is not contagious or treatable
5. There is the most concern about smallpox as there are no longer inoculation programs
6. Toxins are best thought of as poisons and the most common is ricin

#### Methods of Delivery

1. Typically delivered through an aerosol
2. Difficult to control
3. It can backfire as attacks cross ideological boundaries
4. Rich countries are likely to cope better as they have better health care systems

#### Impact on International Politics

1. Created a BWC to inspect
2. Reached an impasse in 2001 as it is difficult to inspect all laboratories

3. Efforts shifted to strengthening the domestic realm against the production and possession of agents and improving international health monitoring to spot the outbreak of infectious diseases

## Chapter 19

1. Since 9/11 large scale attacks have occurred more
2. They gain attention and kill many people
3. During the cold war terrorist groups were often supported by the Soviet union or the US
4. Terrorist organizations have developed networks that provide mutual assistance and links with criminal organizations
5. Peter Senderberg - it can be viewed through three perspectives
  - a. Terrorism is an enemy to be defeated in war
  - b. Rely on normal police tactics
  - c. Consider terrorism as a disease emphasising symptoms and underlying causes

### **Conceptions and Definitions**

1. Difficult to determine domestic vs international terrorism
2. Different types, ethnic, religious, ideological

#### Definition of Terrorism

1. The definitions are created to include or exclude groups that the definers would like
2. Terrorism contains six main elements
  - a. Use or threat of violence
  - b. Organized group
  - c. Achieve political objectives
  - d. Violence is directed at a groups that extends beyond immediate victims
  - e. Only terrorism is one or both actors are not governments
  - f. Terrorism is the weapon of the weak
3. Definition excludes kidnapping for financial gains and acts by individuals
4. Terrorism can bring about change in governance
5. There are sometimes leaderless movements
6. Violence generates fear in a target audience by attacking individuals that are representative of a larger group
7. Civilians are often targets because they are more vulnerable and their deaths can cause insecurity and media attention
8. Terrorism does not include cases during hot and cold wars as these are government-to-government attacks

#### Techniques and Targets

1. Range of techniques available to terrorists is varied
2. Car bombs have become a favorite
3. Ransoms from kidnapping often provides funding
4. Hijackings and demonstrate the vulnerability of society
5. Concern that terrorists will get more WMD
6. Suicide attacks have been used more
7. Terrorists have a lot of flexibility in choosing targets

#### Prevalance of Terrorism

1. Terrorism has been present for centuries

2. Number of terrorism increased until 2010 and now shows signs of declining
3. Asia, the middle east and Africa have accounted for the increases in terrorism

### **Types and Causes of Terrorism**

1. No single cause or motivation
2. Objectives are religious, ethnic, nationalist and ideological
3. Some groups have a mix of these motivations

#### Categories

1. Al-Qaeda is the most prominent example of a religious group
2. Jewish extremists have used their beliefs against Palestinians
3. Groups can also be defined by their ethnic or linguistic category
4. Other groups draw their ideas from ideologies, like Marxism for right wing

#### Causes

1. Similar to the causes of other political violence
2. Individuals become discontented and resort to violence
3. Many regard terrorists as mentally deranged or suffering from psychological problems, there is little evidence to support this
4. Terrorism is not linked to poverty
5. Democracies offer opportunities for terrorists to develop due to lack of surveillance
6. With globalization some economies loose and secularism can reduce the influence of religion
7. Long term, democracies reduce terrorism but in the short term they increase it

#### Prevention

1. All governments practice prevention
2. There may be a desire to capture terrorists and get information from them
  - a. This can be difficult
3. Not every possible target can be protected by key places can be secured
4. Increased security means increased costs

#### Responses

1. They can often do pre-emptive strikes
2. Some see them as soldiers or in a warfare context, while others do not
3. Arrest, capture and trial demonstrate a crime perspective
4. If terrorism is a disease then they will address underlying causes such as religious discrimination
5. Reforms can be seen to reward the terrorist for their violence
6. Demands from terrorists may also not be acceptable for the general population

#### International Measures

1. International cooperation can be an important counter-terrorist technique
2. Sanctions against countries supporting terrorists can be effective
3. Some countries support or empathise with dissidents
4. They can establish agreements they prohibit asylum for individuals associated with certain organizations

#### Civil Liberties in Peril

1. Democracies cannot routinely use torture, threatening, guaranteed conviction or maintain extensive surveillance while authoritarian states do not have to worry about these things

2. Persons captured overseas by the US has been placed in the Guantanamo Naval Base in Cuba
3. There have been efforts to create tribunals that make convictions more lily
4. Judges and Juries may be quick to suspect the suspected terrorists
5. Concern that individuals will be produced
6. This is the least issue when terrorism is viewed as a disease
7. Overreaction and general repression can destroy democracy



I wrote a large section of my research paper on terrorism and nuclear weapons as a form of WMD. I think one of the connections between the two chapters was in who uses these weapons. As discussed in chapter 18, many countries have signed agreements like the Geneva Protocol that moderate or limit the use of WMD. Terrorist groups are not signed onto these agreements and have free reign to use WMD.

I think another difference between states having WMD and terrorist groups is their motives. States wish to gain additional power, territory, economic strength and protect themselves through violence. Terrorist groups wish to create fear in a target group and often do this by targeting civilians. WMDs often have morality considerations for countries as they can hurt civilians. Nuclear weapons have a large scale and are often planned to be dropped on population centers. Chemical weapons have dispersal issues, meaning they could blow into neighbouring towns. Biological weapons have uncontrolled spread once deployed. All of these WMDs are difficult to target for military capabilities, something that would make states pause before their use, as they may not wish to harm civilians. Terrorist groups often set out to hurt civilians, such as in the Japanese sarin gas attacks, and would have fewer qualms with hurting civilians through WMD attacks.

My question is, do you think it would be possible for terrorist groups to sign onto military conventions, or does it go against their nature to do so?

Your closing question is a really interesting one. I have two main points to make.

Firstly, I think that if any major terrorist attack occurred that the international community would come together to respond. As seen after 9/11, many western nations were willing to go to war with the US against terrorism. If a larger attack occurred even more countries may get involved.

Secondly, I think that it is nearly impossible to destroy a terrorist group. Terrorism relies on its ideology to function, and you cannot bomb an ideology. The best hope would be to destroy the leadership of a terrorist group, perhaps through targeted strikes. Although a leadership might be destroyed, it would still be possible for a group to reform with a different leader, or in a leaderless way.

Your discussion question was really interesting. While we cannot change the past, hindsight can help us to learn. However, I do not believe that these sorts of agreements would have worked particularly well during WW2 or the Cold War. Military restraints and rules have almost always been made between countries that are at some degree of peace with each other. Throughout most of history, even during peacetime militaries still were modernizing and preparing for future conflicts. War is a time of intense distrust, and I think it would have been hard for countries on opposite sides of a war to trust each other to limit military building. Now that we are at a degree of peace, however, movements to decommission weapons and to stop building them are useful, as it might decrease the degree to which raw materials and knowledge are available to terrorist groups and unstable states.

## **Module 6**

### **Chapter 14**

1. Insecurity is the risk of something happening to something that is valued
2. Environmental security is one of the new non-traditional security issues
  - a. It helps to deepen security
  - b. Critical security project - asks questions about who and what is being secured
3. Environmental changes can undermine national security and war affects the environment

### **The Origins of Environmental Security**

1. It emerged in the 1960s as a result of 4 interrelated developments
2. Silent spring was posted that explained the impacts of DDT on animals and the food chain
3. Environmental organizations grew and increased international awareness and lobbying
4. 1970s saw the beginning of international summits on the environment
  - a. Term sustainable development and environmental security became known
5. Scholars began to critique the security discourse
  - a. Argued that environmental problems pose threats to international security and national well-being
6. Ullman defined a national security threat as anything that can quickly degrade the quality of life of the inhabitants of a state or that narrows the choices available to people and organizations within the state
7. These concerns were peripheral to winning the cold war
8. They were troubled by OPECs restriction of oil exports
9. End of the bipolar war created a vertigo for security policy and security studies
10. 1989 onwards there were more publications and studies on the environment in security journals
11. Growing recognition that environmental changes pose risks to human well-being

### **Major Interpretations of Environmental Security**

1. It's very vague
2. 6 principle approaches
  - a. About the impacts of human activities on the environment (ecological security)
  - b. Common security - causes of environmental problems are not confined to the borders of nation states

### **Environmental Change and Violent Conflict**

1. Does environmental change contribute to violent conflict, and if so in what ways
2. Borrows ideas from realist international relations
3. Clear connections between environmental degradation and violence
4. Population growth and links to degradation and violence were early links, but these are not straight forward
5. Poverty and technology are important variables
6. Toronto Project carried out studies to investigate links of population growth, renewable resource scarcities and conflict
  - a. When adaptation mechanisms fail violent conflict is a more likely outcome
7. Strong states tend to be less prone to internal conflicts

8. Seek to learn from peaceful responses
9. Detailed studies of places that have experienced environmental problems and violence
10. Statistical studies show correlations between periods of cooler weather and increased conflict in Europe and China
11. Evidence for connections between climate change and conflict is still inconclusive
12. Climate change is often seen as a threat multiplier

### **Environmental Change and National Security**

1. Most interpretations take existing theories of national security and then factor in environmental issues
2. Environmental change can weaken the economic base that determines military capacity
3. Natural resources and environmental services are important to economic growth and employment
4. If the natural base of an economy erodes so does the capacity of its armed forces
5. Can weaken legitimacy and stability of regimes by decreasing the income they gain
6. Climate change is a risk to the territorial integrity of a state
7. Poses risks to military facilities such as naval yards and training grounds
8. Understanding environmental problems as national security issues is not unproblematic
  - a. Military threats are different from environmental threats in the military is deliberately imposed
  - b. Does not increase attention for environmental problems but strengthens existing security logic and institutions
  - c. Environmental change is not likely to cause wars between countries

### **Armed forces and the Environment**

1. The way they fight wars can have devastating environmental consequences
2. Warfare almost always involves environmental degradation
3. Spending on warfare is often funded by resource extraction
4. War deters spending on other things
5. War damages the labour force and creates a health burden
6. Impacts people's ability to access the things that they need
7. Military can have environmental impacts even in peacetime

### **Environmental Change and Human Security**

1. Environment is one of 7 sectors identified in the UNDP's definition of human security
2. People are environmentally insecure in many ways
3. Hunger can be related to weather and poverty
4. Human environmental insecurity is created rather than naturally determined
5. Past processes of colonization and war shape present insecurities

### **Environment or Security**

1. Security is a power word
2. Tries to dilute the opportunity costs of defence spending
3. Securitizing move
4. Environmental problems have been incorporated into mainstream security discourse and policy
5. Can serve as a good link between local, national and global

## Chapter 21

1. Energy security is a term in vogue
2. Energy security exists when there are energy forces large enough to meet the needs of the political community which include all military economic and societal activity
3. Many communities live in conditions of energy insecurity where shortages of energy are a part of everyday life
4. It affects communities in the north as well
5. Energy underpins economic activity
6. Oil wealth can have large impacts on nations
7. Regime security is often bound with oil rents
8. The world relies on fossil fuels for energy

### **The Problem of Energy Security**

1. Demand for energy is increasing and it is uncertain if reliable and stable sources of energy will match it
2. Future rise of industrial states will increase energy demand
3. China and India will need more energy
4. Peak oil may come sooner than thought
5. States that consume the most do not have sufficient supplies to meet their demand

### Energy-Security Nexus

1. Almost every powerful state requires imported oil to sustain demand
2. This reliance is set to grow
3. Controlling oil has become a key strategic concern for powerful states
4. Billions of dollars of economic and military assistance has been given to oil rich nations to ensure their oil keeps flowing

### **Energy Security and IR Theory**

#### Liberalism and Energy Security

1. According to liberal wisdom, the irrepressible spread of liberal democratic rule in the post-cold war era has ensured that more regions benefit
2. Processes of globalization are accelerating
3. Increasing reliance on oil reserves in the south are unlikely to lead to major conflict as IR mediates relations
4. They all have similar interests in stability

#### Realism and Energy Security

1. Skeptical about the durability of the current order
2. Concerns about resource wars
3. Will be increasing statism and neo-mercantilism

#### Historical Materialism and Energy Security

1. Place it within the context of the development of global capitalism
2. Capitalist state is a tool for elites to maximize profit
3. Stress the relative autonomy of capitalist states
4. See a return to a geopolitical rivalry

### **Energy Security and Human Insecurity**

1. Oil-rich zones are the most insatiable

2. Dutch Disease - oil income drives up exchange rates, slowing growth and hollow out non-oil sectors
3. Control over natural resources gives leaders the way to buy legitimacy rather than earn it through election
4. Vast income inequalities
5. There is often resistance to the oil operations
6. Risk in military assistance to rich states
7. Trained to treat protesters as counterinsurgents
  - a. Seen as terrorists, or subversive
8. IOC has forces to guarantee the security of their investments (PMC)
9. These operations have a terrible human rights record, bad labour rights, abuses of local communities and indigenous people

### **Energy Security and the US**

1. US is continued with ensuring the stability of the energy supply
2. Interventions in oil-rich regions
3. US relies a lot on foreign oil
4. They often subtly control the oil owners
5. Focus on control of the Persian gulf

#### **US Hegemony, Oil, and Intervention in the Middle East**

1. Worked to forge relationships with Saudi Arabia
2. Also working with Iran
3. Created CIA sponsored coup
4. Iranian revolution and Soviet invasion of Afghanistan meant that counter-hegemonic forces were present
5. Carter created a policy of direct intervention
6. 9/11 provided a window for strategists to remove Saddam Hussein a threat to US power

#### **US Strategy of Diversification**

1. Concern about the vulnerability of the US economy
2. Entrench dominance in Persian gulf, and diversify away from it
3. Look for other oil-rich regions in the south like west Africa, South America, Caspian basin