INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

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POST-BIPOLAR MODALITIES OF POWER, RECAST IDENTITY-FORMATION, AND CONFLICT IN AN EMERGENT 'NEW WORLD ORDER'. IS THE SHAPE OF THE INTERNATIONAL SYSTEM MORPHING?

INTRODUCTION

While not wanting by any means to skirt a rather thorny issue, the present Program was not designed for future International Relations specialists, but rather for future jurists. Its ambitions are modest, as it aims to provide little more than an introduction to an academic discipline – even if it does so in fairly rich and somewhat demanding manner. Mostly, it offers to provide students with a detailed series of analyses of contemporary international relations from the social-scientific perspective of International Relations (IR). This is by no means a cop-out, as the Program nevertheless does convey much of the gist of what IR has become: a lively and very technical subject-matter, one deeply concerned with the most pressing international political issues of today's world.

These ambitions and aims will be carried out selectively during the semester. We live in a time of change and multi-centered conflicts and accordingly these form the hard core of what follows. The sessions, accordingly, focus a great deal of attention on issues pertaining to identity and its recognition in today's world, and also on the many tensions and conflicts that beset us all as we try to cope with the very rapid national, sub-national, regional and global transformations which give us no respite. That is not all: the sessions and their ordering also give body to didactic constraints. 'Narrative' in style, the semestral introduction that follows is presented in both a wide-angle lens and an in-depth one – as we shall attempt to cover as many examples as it is possible in a semester of as detailed an analytical fashion as we can. Moreover, particular care

is taken with concepts and the methodological specificities of International Relations as a discipline.

A quick map may prove useful at this juncture. The Program is organized into three major sections (I cast them as one Introduction, and two Parts). As noted, these follow a sequence, which is both a narrative one and one of increasing conceptual complexity. The first step, as this is an introductory program designed for future jurists, maps out concepts and crucial notions relevant in International Relations theory; it consists of two subsets, linked to the chosen topic of the semester. The two following Parts, by far the biggest parcel of this program, includes a series of analyses of some of the most important 'live fronts' of contemporary international political dynamics. The middle section (Part 1), larger than the Inteoduction but smaller than the second and last Part 2, focuses on some of the general traits of the relevant international post-bipolar transitions – from the mergence of secessionist infra-state entities to supra-state ones, to different forms of state reactions to their sovereignty and territorial integrity, to the reemergence of religion as a political dimension, to new types of asymmetrical warfare, and the implications of all these factors. Part 2 is an attempt at pulling together the string woven , and does so by trying out a wider take on the highly complex, thickly intertwined, and often very harsh and violent processes we are living through.

For each session there is a must-read bibliography. At the end, I added a few more references which are optional. All texts listed are either available at the Faculty, in the Library, or freely available for download at the sites indicated.

While the first four sessions of the Program are "magisterial lectures", the latter ones include a small presentation of the theme by selected groups of students, followed by discussions around them. In terms of Faculty rules there is an obligatory final exam. Both for the exam and the short papers that will serve as the bases for discussions in the second part of the Program, evaluation will depend on clarity in the use of International Relations concepts used and discussed (40%), on knowledge of the examples treated (20%), and on the creativity displayed (40%).

A FRAMEWORK: PERSPECTIVES AND CONCEPTS

section 1
SOME GENERAL OPERATIONAL CONCEPTS

THE SEDIMENTATION OF THE DISCIPLNE OF INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS. FROM INTERNATIONAL SYSTEM TO INTERNATIONAL SOCIETY. THE STATE, SOVEREIGNTY, FOREIGN POLICY, AND DIPLOMACY (1)

The historical rise of the discipline of International Relations (IR). International anarchy and international society. The Peace of Westphalia, and the international state system. Sovereignty and international politics. Diplomacy as a political instrument.

Headley Bull, (1977), "The nature of order in world politics", em *The Anarchical Society. A study of order in world politics*: 3-53, MacMillan, London.

Armando M. Marques Guedes (1984), "O estatuto científico das Relações Internacionais", *Nação e Defesa* 28: 3-15, Instituto de Defesa Nacional, Lisboa.

Martin Hollis e Steven Smith (1990), "The growth of a discipline", in *Explaining and Understanding International Relations*: 16-45, Clarendon Press, Oxford.

Henry Kissinger (1994), "The new world order", in *Diplomacy*: 17-29, Simon & Schuster, New York.

Armando Marques Guedes (2007), "A Teoria Internacional de Adriano Moreira: uma apresentação", em Adriano Moreira, *A Comunidade Internacional em Mudança*: 7-34, Almedina, Lisboa, in https://www.academia.edu/9305125/A_Teoria_Internacional_de_Adriano_Moreira_uma_apresentação

_____(2008), *Raising Diplomats. Political, genealogical and administrative constraints in training for diplomacy*, Favorita Series, *Diplomatiche Akademie*, Vienna, Austria., in

REALISM, LIBERALISM AND STRUCTURALISM. POWER, ITS PLACES AND SCOPE. FROM BALANCE OF POWER TO COLLECTIVE SECURITY. THE RISE AND PROGRESSION OF INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS (2)

The three "classical" theoretical paradigms in the study of IR. The progression of international scenarios. "hegemonic domination" by the US and the liberal proposals for "wars and other immoralities of international anarchy". From the League of Nations to the United Nations. Power distribution in the world and the emergent forms of its exercise.

Chris Pentland (1991, original 1976), "International organizations and their roles ", in (ed.) R. Little and M. Smith, *Perspectives on World Politics*: 242-249*,* Routledge.

Joseph S. Nye (1992, original 1990) "O Mundo pós-Guerra Fria: uma nova ordem no Mundo?", *Política Internacional* 5(1): 79-97 [from the original US edition, entitled *The Sources of American Power*].

Henry Kissinger (1994), ""The new face of diplomacy: Wilson and the Treaty of Versailles", in *Diplomacy*, *op. cit*.: 218-246, "The dilemmas of the victors", *op. cit*.: 246-266, e "America re-enters the arena: Franklin Delano Roosevelt", *op. cit*.: 369-394.

Joseph S. Nye (1997), "Balance of power and World War I", "The failure of collective security and World War II" and "The Cold War", and *Understanding International Conflict. An introduction to theory and history*: 50-71, 74-95 e 98-129., Longman.

_____(2002), "Redefining the national interest", in *The Paradox of American Power. Why the world's only superpower can't go it alone*: 137-173, Oxford University Press.

Edward Keene (2002), *Beyond the Anarchical Society. Grotius, colonialism and order in world politics*, Cambridge University Press.

Armando Marques Guedes (2007), "As Organizações Internacionais de hoje: de onde e para onde?", *Portugal e as Relações Internacionais*, em *Negócios Estrangeiros* 11.2: 27-45, Ministério dos Negócios Estrangeiros, Lisboa.

section 2
A FEW SPECIFIC CONTROVERSIES AND NOTIONS

NATIONALISM, ETHNICITY, AND IDENTITY: CONTEXTS AND TYPOLOGIES (3)
The old and new formats of nationalism, ethnic affiliations and other modalities of constitution and affirmation of sociopolitical identities. Their explanations and their configurations and roles in modern political communities. Nationalisms and the end of the bipolar world: tradition or change? The advantages of dynamic comparisons.

Ernest Renan (1994, original 1883), *Qu'est-ce qu'une nation?,* in (ed.) J. Hutchinson and A. Smith, *Nationalism*: 17-18, Oxford University Press [from here onward *(1)*].

Hans Kohn (1945), "Western and Eastern nationalisms", in *The Idea of Nationalism*: 18-20, 329-331, MacMillan, New York.

Frederik Barth (1996, original 1969), "Ethnic groups and boundaries" in (ed.) J. Hutchinson and A. Smith, *Ethnicity*: 69-74, Oxford University Press [doravante *(2)*].

Walker Connor (1978), "A nation is a nation, is a state, is an ethnic group, is a …", *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 1-4: 379-388.

Anthony Smith (1991), "National and other identities", in *National Identity*: 1-18, Penguin.

Benedict Anderson (1991), "The origins of national consciousness", in *Imagined Communities. Reflections on the origin and spread of nationalism*: 36-46, Verso London.

Michael Ignatieff (1993), "Civic and ethnic nationalism", in *Blood and Belonging: journeys into the new nationalism*: 5-14, The Noonday Press, New York.

Eric Hobsbawm (1997), "An anti-nationalist account of nationalism since 1989", in (eds.) M. Guibernov and J. Rex, *The Ethnicity Reader: nationalism, multiculturalism and migration*: 69-79, Polity Press, Cambridge.

Benedict Anderson (2001), "Western nationalism and Eastern nationalism. Is there a difference that matters?", *New Left Review* 9: 31-42, London.

Andrew C. Kuchins and **Igor A. Zevelev** (2012), "Russian Foreign Policy. Continuity and Change", *The Washington Quarterly* 35.1. pp. 147-161, CSIS, Washington (http://csis.org/files/publication/twq12winterkuchinszevelev.pdf)

ON THE VARIOUS INTERPRETATIONS OF NATIONALISM AND ETHNICITY. FROM PRIMORDIALISM TO INSTRUMENTALISM AND CONSTRUCTIVISM (4)
Three major theoretical paradigms? Are identities better understood as expressions of timeless feelings of belonging to social units, pragmatic choices responding to rational choices, or sociocultural and political constructs? Are these alternative or complementary takes on the roots of identity?

Clifford Geertz (1963), "The integrative revolution: primordial sentiments and civic politics in the new states", em (ed.) C. Geertz, *Old Societies and New States: the quest for modernity in Asia and Africa*: 107-113, Free Press, New York.

Donald Horowitz (1985), "A family resemblance", in *Ethnic Groups in Conflict*: 55-89, University of California Press.

Michael Hechter (1996, original 1986), "Ethnicity and rational choice theory", em *(2)*: 90-98.

Manning Nash (1996, original 1989), "The core elements of ethnicity", in *(2)*: 24-28.

Walker Connor (1996, original 1994), "Beyond reason: the nature of the ethnonational bond", in *(2)*: 69-75.

Will Kymlika (1997), "Liberal nationalism", in *States, Nations and Cultures*: 13-43, Van Gorcum.

Jack Goody (2001), "Bitter icons", *New Left Review* 7: 5-15, London.

Timothy Snyder (2014), "Fascism, Russia, and Ukraine", *The New York Review of Books*, (http://www.nybooks.com/articles/archives/2014/mar/20/fascism-russia-and-ukraine/)

Part I

THE END OF THE POST-1945 BIPOLAR SETTING: RECONFIGURATIONS FOLLOWING THE IMPLOSION AND FRAGMENTATION OF THE TWO GREAT BLOCS.

IMAGES OF CONFLICTS, POST-BIPOLAR STATES AND CONFLICT REGULATION MODELS

OLD AND MODERN STATES AND ETHNO-RELIGIOUS-NATIONAL CONFLICTS: COMPARING COLONIAL AND POSTCOLONIAL CONTEXTS (5)

Some contemporary scenarios: a first look at the new emergent conflicts. Causes and mechanisms; the levels of analysis. From colonial to postcolonial settings?

Benedict Anderson (1991), "Census, map, museum" in *Imagined Communities. Reflections on the origin and spread of nationalism*: 163-187, Verso, London.

Mary Kay Gilliland (1995), "Nationalism and ethnogenesis in the former Yugoslavia", in (eds.) L. Romanucci-Rossi e G. A. de Vos, *Ethnic Identity: creation, conflict and accomodation*: 197:221, Atheneum Press, London.

Mahmood Mamdani (2001), "Thinking about genocide", in *When Victims Become Killers*: 2-18, Princeton University Press.

George Friedman (2009), The *next 100 years, a forecast for the 21st century*, STRATFOR.

Armando Marques Guedes (2014), "Proxy Wars", in (org.) Nuno Canas Mendes e Francisco Pereira Coutinho, *Enciclopédia das Relações Internacionais*, pp. 457-461, D. Quixote, Lisboa.

THE GENERAL COMMON DENOMINATORS: TRADITION AGAINST MODERNTY, ECONOMICS, POLITICS, DEVELOPMENT, AND SELF-DETERMINATION (6)

The usual forms of "anti-assimilationist resistance". Anti-modernization as a defense of tradition, a yearning for economic well-being, or the expression of a "natural right" to "self-determination"? A growth of irredentism and secession or the appearance of supra-state forms of regional integration?

Ernest Gellner (1983) "Nationalism and high cultures" in *Nations and Nationalism*: 48-49, 55-62, Blackwell, Oxford.

Robert Bates (1983), "Modernization and the rationality of ethnic competition in Africa" in (eds.) D. Rothschild e V. Olorunsola, *State vs. Ethnic Claims: African policy dilemmas*: 152-171, Westview Press, Boulder, Colorado.

Donald Horowitz (1985), "The logic of secessions and *irredentas*" in in *Ethnic Groups in Conflict*: pp. 229-288, University of California Press.

Charles Tilly (1993), "National self-determination as a problem for us all", *Daedalus* 3: 29-36, New York.

Katherine Verdery (1993), "Ethnic relations, economies of shortage, and the transition in Eastern Europe", in (ed.) C. Hann, *Socialism: ideals, ideologies, and local practices*: 172-186, Routledge, London.

David Brown (1994) "Class, state and ethnic politics in peninsular Malaysia" em *The State and Ethnic Politics in Southeast Asia*: 206-257, New York.

Giovanni Arrighi (2002), "The African crisis. World systemic and regional aspects", *New Left Review* 15: 5-36, London.

Paula Escarameia (2003), "O que é a autodeterminação", em *O Direito Internacional Público nos Princípios do Século XXI*: 123-163, Almedina, Coimbra.

ETHNIC CLEANSING AND GENOCIDES, VIOLENCE AND URBAN RIOTING (7)

Comparative structure and dynamics of contemporary genocides. The political logics of intolerance and premeditation. The specter of the Holocaust. Riots and their organization and symbolic dimensions: an internal view.

Mark Juergensmeyer (1993), "Why religious confrontations are violent", in *The New Cold War? Religious nationalism confronts the secular states*: 153-170, Berkeley and Los Angeles, The University of California Press.

Stanley J. Tambiah (1996), "Some general features of ethnic riots and riot crowds", in *Leveling Crowds: ethnonationalist conflicts and collective violence in south Asia*: 213-221, Berkeley and Los Angeles, The University of California Press.

Joane Nagel (1998), "Masculinity and nationalism: gender and sexuality in the making of nations", *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 21(2): 242-269.

Mart Bax (2000), "Warlords, priests and the politics of ethnic cleansing: a case-study from rural Bosnia-Hercegovina", *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, 23-1: 16-36.

Ger Duijzings (2000), "The exodus of Kosovo's Croats: a chronicle of ethnic unmixing", in *Religion and the Politics of Identity in Kosovo*: 37-65, Hurst & Company, London.

Ashraf Khallil (2013), "The Irony of Tahrir Square", *Foreign Affairs*, July 2, (http://www.foreignaffairs.com/features/letters-from/the-irony-of-tahrir-square)

Nicu Popescu (2014), "The Eurasian Union: the real, the imaginary and the likely", *Chaillot Paper* 132, EUISS, Paris.

Timothy Snyder (2014), "The Origins of the Final Solution: Eastern Europe and the Holocaust", *LSE Ideas, The London School of Economics and political Science*, downloadable at https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=fxyHV90ESIY

AUTONOMIC OR FEDERALIST SOLUTIONS, POWER-SHARING AND ELITE ACCOMMODATION, TERRITORIAL ARRANGEMENTS, INDIGENIZATION AND AFFIRMATIVE ACTION, PLURALIST MODELS AND DEMOCRACY (8)
The varieties of State reactions to identity and recognition threats to both unity and stability. Pragmatism or accountability? Or, instead, the will to survive as a pretext for clamping down?

Donald Horowitz (1985), "Perspectives on ethnic accommodation"*,* in *Ethnic Groups in Conflict*: pp. 55-89, 566-576, 628-651, University of California Press.

Arend Lijphart (1989), "The power-sharing approach", in (ed.) J. Montville, *Conflict and Peacemaking in Multiethnic Societies*: 93-106, The Free Press.

Diane Mauzy (1993), "Malay political hegemony and coercive consociationalism" in (eds.) J. McGarry e B. O'Leary, *The Politics of Ethnic Conflict Regulation*: 106-127, Routledge, London**.**

S. J. Noel (1993), "Canadian responses to ethnic conflict: consociationalism, federalism and control", in (eds.) J. McGarry and B. O'Leary *The Politics of Ethnic Conflict Regulation*: 41-62, Routledge, London.

Jeyaratnam Wilson (1993) "Ethnic strife in Sri Lanka: the politics of space", in (ed.) J. Coakley, *ibid*.: 144-169, Frank Cass & Co..

Martin Dent (1996), "Ethnicity and territorial politics in Nigeria", in (ed.) G. Smith *Federalism: the multi-ethnic challenge*: 157-179, Addison-Wesley Publishing Co..

Elek Bojan (2013), *Limits of Ethnic Bargaining. Serbian enclaves in Kosovo*, Central European University, Budapest, Hungary. (google it to download the pdf)

CONTEMPORARY NATIONALISMS, ETHNICITY AND RELIGION. EROSION, OR RECASTING AND RESSURECTION? ARE WE WITNESSING THE RISE OF NEW TYPES OF POLITICAL COMMUNITY AND MOVING TOWARD A NOVEL INTERNATIONAL SYSTEM AND A NEW TYPE OF WORLD ORDER? (9)

Are "traditional" political communities being recast? Are cosmopolitanism and tribal fragmentation growing? Are the Nation-State, contractualism and Democracy in crisis? Emergent traits of new political formats. The limits of utopia. Weighting of some of the most influential interpretations on new types of conflictuality. Is the world fast breaking up into distinct "civilizational blocs" and are we witnessing the opening notes of a new international Concert? Is there na ongoing neo-tribalization? a homogeneizing globalization, instead? Or all of that simultaneously?

Samuel Huntington (1993), "The Clash of Civilizations?", *Foreign Affairs* 72(3): 1-25.

Benjamin Barber (1996), *Jihad vs. McWorld. How globalism and tribalism are reshaping the World*, Ballantine Books, New York, extractos.

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Michael Mann (1999, original !997), "Has globalization ended the rise and rise of the nation-state?", em (ed.) T. V. Paul and J. A Hall, *International Order and the Future of World Politics*: 237-262, Cambridge University Press.

Andrew Linklater (1998), "Community and citizenship in the post-Westphalian era" in *The Tranformation of Political Community. Ethical foundations of the post-Westphalian era*: 179-213, Cambridge, Polity Press.

José Manuel Pureza (1998), "Eternalizing Westphalia? International law in a period of turbulence", *Nação e Defesa* 87: 31-49.

Zygmunt Bauman (2000), "Community", in *Liquid Modernity*: 168-202, Polity Press.

Armando Marques Guedes (2000), "As guerras culturais, a soberania e a globalização", *Boletim do Instituto de Altos Estudos Militares*, 51: 165-162, Lisboa.

_____(2005), "Sobre a NATO e a União Europeia", em *Estudos sobre Relações Internacionais*: 227-279, Instituto Diplomático, Ministério dos Negócios Estrangeiros, Lisboa, (original from 2001, published in *Nação e Defesa*).

David Frum (2014), "Obama's Emotional Reaction to ISIS", *The Atlantic*, September 10, (http://www.theatlantic.com/international/archive/2014/09/obama-speech-iraq-syria-isis-war/379979/)

WHAT IS THE ACTUAL INTERNATIONAL POLITICAL IMPACT OF OUR NEW COMMUNICATION TECHNOLOGIES? (10)

New communication technologies (NCTs) and democracy. The utopian view. The dystopian view. Do NCTs bring about democracy? The Egyptian 2011 revolution and Facebook, twitter, and Google. Mobile telephones SMSs and the Moldovan, Iranian, and Filipino uprisings. WikiLeaks. Is there really an ongoing Internet Revolution? The limits of these recent models. Cyberwar, what is it?

Clay Shirky (2009), *Here Comes Everybody. The Power of Organizing Without Organizations*, Allen Lane, Penguin Books.

Sarita Yardi and **danah boyd** (2010), "Tweeting from the Town Square. Measuring Geographic Local Networks", (google it, by title).

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Yochai Benkler (2011), "A Free Irresponsible Press. Wikileaks and the Battle Over the Soul of the Networked Fourth Estate", *CRCL Working Paper* Feb. 8, Harvard Law School (google it, by title).

Sean Lawson (2012), "Putting the "war" in cyberwar: metaphor, analogy, and cybersecurity discourse in the United States" `[SEP]`*First Monday*, vol 17, no 7, 2012`[SEP]` http://firstmonday.org/ojs/index.php/fm/rt/printerFriendly/3848/3270`[SEP]`doi:10.5210/fm.v17i7.3848

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Part 2

SOME OF THE EMERGENT INTERNATIONAL SCENARIOS, GEOPOLITCS, THE NEW OCEAN BASIN CENTRALITY, AND RELIGION: PROSPECTIVE TAKES

RUSSIA AND HER AUGUST 2008 INVASION OF GEORGIA. AN ETHNO-NATIONALIST CONFLICT OR A DRESS-REHERSAL FOR A MULTIPOLAR FUTURE? THE INITIAL GEOPOLITICAL FRAMING OF TENSIONS AND CONFLICTS IN SYRIA, THE REST OF THE GREATER MIDDLE EAST, UKRAINE, THE WIDER CAUCASUS, AND CENTRAL ASIA (11)

The synchronized enlargements of the EU and NATO. The post-Soviet space. The European Neighbourhood Policy and the "strategic depth" of the Russian State. Oil and natural gas. The geopolitics of these conflicts. The old Silk Road and North-American strategy. Russian "privileged interests" in the post-Soviet space.

Nico Popescu (2006), **"**Outsourcing *de facto* statehood. Russia and secessionist entities in Georgia and Moldova*", CEPS Policy Brief,* Central European University, Budapest, Hungary.

Sergey Markedonov (2008), "The Big Caucasus. Consequences of the "Five Day War", threats and political prospects," ICBSS, *Xenophon Papers* 7, Athens, Greece.

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ISIS AND MODERN RADICAL 'ISLAMISM': A NEW POLITICAL-MILITARY DEMEANOUR AND ITS ORGANIZATIONAL FORMS. THE NOVEL FACIES OF POST-MODERN RELIGIOUS IRREDENTISM OR STILL A MODERN (OR EVEN PRE-MODERN) TEMPLATE? (12)

The uni-multipolar (or apolar) world and the rise of assymetrical threats like al-Qaeda. The evoving organization of these movements as an adaptive mechanism. A descentered device of outsourcing by copy-catting? Cascade effects generated by complex interdependence and its effects for Portugal. ISIS and returning jihadists.

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Armando Marques Guedes (2006), "O Pensamento Estratégico Nacional. Que futuro?", em José Manuel Freire Nogueira e João Vieira Borges, *O Pensamento Estratégico Nacional*: 143-199, Cosmos e Instituto de Defesa Nacional, Lisboa. (downloadable at academia.edu Armando Marques Guedes)

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