

American Public University  
In partnership with the Institute for Global Engagement  
**GE 500**  
**The Fundamentals of Global Engagement**  
Professor Chris Seiple

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**Introduction to the Institute for Global Engagement (IGE).** The Institute was created to facilitate more effective engagement strategies for emerging leaders within the various faith traditions through, in part, a better understanding of religious freedom. IGE believes that for religious freedom to have a face, it must have a faith. As a non-governmental organization formed and informed by the Christian faith, we seek to more fully understand the richness and fullness of our own faith even as we desire to know enough about other faiths in order to truly respect them. Mere tolerance is not enough. Religious freedom based on respect is the cornerstone of a civil society that today's emerging leaders are called to build. This perspective informs our own engagement strategies.

We believe, however, that before you develop a faith-based strategy—at any level, anywhere—you must first possess a comprehensive exposure to the world we actually live in ... not the world we would like it to be. *Consequently, we feel that informed leaders must be aware of the inter-related nature of today's issues and that they must have the tools to think about and address them. A holistic education is imperative.*

As Christians, we at IGE believe that this perspective is Biblically-based. Jesus provides the following admonition in Matthew 10:16: "I am sending you out like sheep among the wolves. Therefore be as shrewd as snakes and as innocent as doves." Jesus invented globalization with the command to go unto all the nations. He does not expect his followers to engage the world without being shrewd, without showing respect for people, all of whom are made in the image of God. This course hopes to contribute toward these ends.

**Course Background:** Christians live according to a threefold citizenship:

- National (primary allegiance group);
- Global (the human race faces challenges that no one state can solve); and,
- Kingdom (Christians worship a sovereign God).

These citizenships are not mutually exclusive and are, in fact, each from God. According to human nature, however, we quickly gravitate toward just one passport, sometimes completely ignoring the responsibility of our other citizenships. It is a natural thing, especially for many Americans whose general financial, geographical and psychological disposition has afforded them the luxury of not considering the world outside our borders.

But then the world changed on September 11<sup>th</sup> ... or at least the American world did. We felt the aberration of an incomplete and intolerant faith committed against us by the aberration of educated suicidals. War had been brought to our doorstep and it was time for justice. It did not matter, for example, that 6,000 people a day had died, for three straight months, in Rwanda just seven years ago. What now mattered was that 3000 of our own had died. And what was justice? Depending on your nuance, it would be a punitive justice for the guilty and/or a social justice for those caught up in the root causes of terrorism.

What should Americans do? What should Christians do? Is there a difference? Can a national strategy work against a global threat? What is security? Can the US military defend against terrorism? What would Jesus do? What is Jesus doing? These are not contradictory questions but issues with which, not unlike Jacob and the Angel, we are called to grapple. And if you can't agree to wrestle with them, then you flirt with a dangerous possibility: irrelevance. Worse, it might just be that your ignorance of one citizenship ensures your irrelevance in all three.

**Course Scope:** This will not be an easy course! It will challenge you to think more broadly than you ever have before. But such are our times ... and to not do so is to be morally irresponsible, even sinful. Each week we will cover topics that deserve to be discussed in a course of their own. You will feel overwhelmed, shocked, and dismayed about the amount of information covered and your own lack of previous awareness as well as understanding. As it should be.

The goal of this course is not to make you an expert, a leader, a follower ... not at all. **The goal of this course is simply this: To expose you to the complexity of our world and dare you to take account of according to your faith.**

In other words, this course is not designed to help you know all the answers; it is designed to help you get the questions right. And if the first part of wisdom is to call something by its proper name, then this course strives to contribute to your wisdom. Indeed, the ultimate measure of effectiveness will not be your grade, but your ability to balance among, and critically comment on, your three citizenships. If you can do that, then your relevance to a complex world will be assured.

### **Course Objectives – You Will:**

- Understand global trends
- Comprehend their inter-relationship and impact on security
- Deduce/Hone assessment and recommendation skills
- Employ those skills practically by writing a weekly position paper
- Develop more acute skills in discernment, critical analysis, judgment and writing

### **Course Requirements:**

- Personal information e-mail/Phone conversation with professor in first two weeks (5%)
- Terms of Reference paper (10%)
- Weekly briefing papers (30%)
- Research/Analytical Project (50%)
- Feedback on course/MAGE (5%)

**Evaluation:** Students will be graded according to the course requirements.

Papers. You will have three papers due in this course. The first paper is due at the beginning of the second session. In this paper, you will use whatever space you deem sufficient to provide your own definition of the terms of reference provided (see Session I questions on page 22 of this syllabus).

The second “paper” is actually a weekly position paper (see sample at the end of the syllabus on page 21). In this paper you will role-play a government or non-governmental staffer reporting to his/her boss. The paper, no more than two single-spaced pages, is designed to reflect the real world where your boss—with no time to think/reflect—will want a comprehensive understanding of an issue/situation, with recommendations, on one page. The paper will demonstrate a link between that week’s readings and current events as found in any major newspaper. Believe it or not, writing this kind of paper is an art form. It will take great patience, which I have in abundance, having gone through the learning process myself at the Pentagon. Your first position paper is due at the start of Session III. Your last paper will be due at the beginning of Session XIV (constituting a total of twelve).

The third paper is your final exam. This assignment will be handed out around mid-semester and due at the end of the semester. It consists of three parts and should total no more than 25 pages. Your solution is not as important as its demonstrated critical thinking.

- Part I: An assessment of your “situation” (which I will tailor to your interests) with courses of action and recommendations (around 15 pages, double-spaced).  
Your situation:
  - You work for \_\_\_\_\_ .
  - You are responsible for: \_\_\_\_\_.
  - You are confronted by the following situation: \_\_\_\_\_.
  - What is your comprehensive assessment of the environment?
  - What are the according possible courses of action (strategies) to address the situation?
  - What is your recommendation and why?
- Part II: Reduce this paper to a two-page policy recommendation paper (i.e., like your weekly position papers). (Single-spaced).
- Part III: On a separate piece of paper, explain the interaction of your faith and professional responsibilities as you addressed the situation. Tell me “how you thought about it.” (5 pages double-spaced)

**Grading:** I treat grades the same way I treat recommendations: my comment on someone else’s achievement and/or ability reflects my own achievement/ability and

therefore carries my reputation with it. In short, I regard grade inflation as sinful. Consciously inflating someone's achievement provides the false perception of an individual's standard of excellence by design even as I lower my own by default. God does not call us to either.

That said, I am not a believer in the bell curve. If each student gets an "A," it will be because each deserves that grade. Of course, the opposite is necessarily true as well.

**Academic Integrity Policy:** All assignments in this course will be your own.

**Required Texts:**

- Course Reader: This reader is arranged by weekly assignment, placed in the order you should read it.

## COURSE OVERVIEW

- Session I:     **Introducing Global Engagement**
- TOR paper assigned
- Session II:    **Leadership, Vision, Strategy & Engagement**
- TOR Paper Due
  - Position Paper #1 Assigned
- Session III:   **Engaging the Tough Places: Uzbekistan**
- Position Paper #1 due
- Session IV:    **Geo-Politics: Rediscovering a Lost Art**
- Position Paper #2 due
  - Last day for required initial office hours
- Session V:     **The Nation-State and Our Present Global System**
- Position Paper #3 due
- Session VI:    **The Depths of a Fallen Race**
- Position Paper #4 due
- Session VII:   **Terrorism & Just War**
- Position Paper #5 due
- Session VIII:  **Economics**
- Position Paper #6 due
- Session IX:    **New Issues and Actors in an Old Security Environment**
- Position Paper #7 due
- Session X:     **The Environment**
- Position Paper #8 due

Session XI: **The Relevance of Culture & Religion**

- Position Paper #9 due

Session XII: **Human Rights & Religious Freedom: Security's Missing Link?**

- Position Paper #10 due

Session XIII: **The Role of the United States**

- Position Paper # 11 due

Session XIV: **Conflict Resolution**

- Position Paper #12 due
- Terms of Reference paper assigned

Session XV: **Whither Engagement? Whither Leadership?**

- Terms of Reference paper due

**Final Exam Due**

## **Schedule:**

### Session I: Introducing Global Engagement

**Scope:** This session introduces the student to the intersection of the Christian faith and global affairs. It presents just a short reading of ideas and notions that describe this intersection, challenging students to consider their own understanding of faith in a daily, practical and international arena.

#### **Objectives:**

- Understand the Principles of Engagement that one faith-based organization has developed to practically engage the world
- Conduct a self-assessment of faith and international interaction
- Write initial definitions of key international words and concepts

#### **Required Readings:**

- IGE's Principles of Engagement: <http://www.globalengage.org/about/poe.htm>
- IGE Global Engagement Glossary : <http://www.globalengage.org/about/glossary.htm>

Terms of Reference paper assigned (See Session I questions on page 22)

### Session II: Leadership, Vision, Strategy & Engagement

**Scope:** This session considers the primary thinking tools with which we engage our world in order to change it.

#### **Objectives:**

- Define leadership, vision, strategy and engagement
- Determine the inter-relationship among these terms
- Understand the process of holistic assessment...of yourself and your environment

**Turn-In:** Terms of Reference paper

**Position Paper #1 Assigned:** Make the case for or against participating in the 27 January 2002 Uzbek Referendum as an international monitor.

#### **Required Readings:**

- J.W. Gardner, "The Nature of Leadership" and "The Tasks of Leadership," in *On Leadership*, pp. 1-22.
- Perry M. Smith, *Rules & Tools for Leaders*, 3-40.



- Paul Kennedy, ed. Grand Strategies in War and Peace. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1991. Chs. 1 and 10 (pp. 1-7, 167-185).

### Session III: Engaging the Tough Places: Uzbekistan

**Scope:** This lesson provides an immediate case-study in order to reveal the various dimensions of global engagement. This lesson, by providing the different kinds of substance and sources relevant to the assignment, models a proper research methodology for position papers. This lesson also models how issues might be framed through the presentation of a very specific question.

#### **Objectives:**

- Assess multifarious sources of information
- Determine validity of those sources and impact upon your own assessment
- Write a short paper that argues a position for the decision-maker (your boss)

#### **Turn-In:** Position Paper #1

#### **Required Readings:**

- S. Frederick Starr. “The War Against Terrorism and U.S. Bilateral Relations with the Nations of Central Asia.” Testimony to the Subcommittee on Central Asia and South Caucasus, Committee on Foreign Relations, U.S. Senate. 13 December 2001.
- Fiona Hill. “Contributions of Central Asian Nations to the Campaign Against Terrorism.” Testimony to the Subcommittee on Central Asia and South Caucasus, Committee on Foreign Relations, U.S. Senate. 13 December 2001.
- Raffi Khatchadourian, “Letter From Uzbekistan,” The Nation, 21 December 2001.
- U.S. Department of State. “2002 Annual Report on International Religious Freedom: Uzbekistan,” Bureau of Democracy, Human Rights, and Labor. September 2002. <http://www.state.gov/g/drl/rls/irf/2002/13990.htm>.
- Tom Malinowski and Acacia Shields, “A Word of Caution on a New Asian Ally,” Washington Post, 5 October 2001.
- Elizabeth Anderson and Acacia Shields, “Caveat Emptor: Central Asia’s Soviet Republic,” Wall Street Journal Europe, 18 October 2001.
- Eurasianet, “Human Rights Observers Worry That Washington Won’t Enforce US-Uzbek Economic Understanding,” Eurasianet, 7 January 2002, <http://www.eurasianet.org/departments/rights/articles/eav010702.shtml> (08 January 2002).
- Chris Seiple. “Strategic Objectives,” Institute for Global Engagement. 19 September 2001, <http://www.globalengage.org/issues/2001/09/cseiple-uzbek-strategy-p.htm>.

- Chris Seiple. “Yes Uzbekistan,” Institute for Global Engagement. 28 September 2001, <http://www.globalengage.org/issues/2001/09/cseiple-yes-uzbek-p.htm>.
- Chris Seiple, “Seeing Uzbekistan: From Cliché to Clarity,” Institute for Global Engagement, 7 January 2001, <http://www.globalengage.org/issues/2002/01/cseiple-clarity-p.htm>.
- Chris Seiple, “Engaging Complexity,” Institute for Global Engagement, 21 January 2001, <http://www.globalengage.org/issues/2002/01/cseiple-uzbek.htm>.
- Chris Seiple, “Driving in the Fog: An Uzbek Election,” Institute for Global Engagement, 7 March 2001, <http://www.globalengage.org/issues/2002/03/uzbek.htm>.

#### Session IV: Geo-Politics: Re-discovering a Lost Art

**Scope:** This class explores the old and new meanings of the phrase “geo-politics.” Its purpose is to rediscover the proper meaning of the phrase and how it is still useful today.

##### **Objectives:**

- Define geo-politics; define political geography
- Determine the value and impact of terms of reference such as geo-politics and political geography
- Explore the persuasive power and language of maps

#### **Turn In: Position Paper #2**

##### **Required Readings:**

- George J Demko and William B. Wood. Reordering the World: Geopolitical Perspectives on the 21<sup>st</sup> Century, 2nd ed. (Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 1999).
  - William B. Wood and George J. Demko, “Introduction: Political Geography for the Next Millenium,” Chapter 1 (Pp. 3-18).
  - Colin Flint, “Changing Times, Changing Scales: World Politics and Political Geography Since 1890,” Chapter 2 (Pp. 19-39).
  - Saul B. Cohen, “Geopolitics in the New World Era: A New Perspective on an Old Discipline,” Chapter 3 (Pp. 40-68)
  - Alan K. Henrikson, “The Power and Politics of Maps,” Chapter 5 (Pp. 94-116).

#### Session V: The “Nation-State” and Our Present Global System

**Scope:** This session exposes the reader to the full optimism and pessimism of our present world, both of which are real.

##### **Objectives:**

- Define nation; define state

- Examine the difference between Cold War security and “Post Cold War” security
- Determine the nature, and role, of force

### **Turn-In: Position Paper #3**

#### **Required Readings:**

- Jean-Marie Guéhenno, “The Post Cold War World: Globalization and the International System,” Journal of Democracy 10, no. 1 (1999).
- Shashi Tharoor, “The Future of Civil Conflict,” World Policy Journal 16, no. 1 (1999).
- Amos A. Jordan et al., American National Security, 5<sup>th</sup> ed. (Baltimore, MD: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1999).
  - “National Security: The International Setting,” Pp. 3-25.
  - “Military Power and the Role of Force in the Post-Cold War Era,” Pp. 26-47.

### Session VI: The Depths of a Fallen Race

**Scope:** This class asks the student to grapple with human nature, asking how much has changed since Cain committed the first murder. It begs realistic assessment and the maintenance of optimism despite the facts.

#### **Objectives:**

- Compare ancient concepts of human nature with Enlightenment perspectives with today.
- Determine a mindset through which one can consider reality and remain optimistic about change

### **Turn-In: Position Paper #4**

#### **Required Readings:**

- Thucydides, “The Melian Dialogue,” The Landmark Thucydides: A Comprehensive Guide to the Peloponnesian War, ed. Robert B. Strassler (New York: The Free Press, 1996), 350-357.
- Thomas Hobbes, Leviathan (New York: E.P Dutton, Inc., 1950), Pp. 101-108, 139-145, 154.
- Rachel Brett and Margaret McCallin, “Children: The Invisible Soldiers,” Child Soldiers Research Project, Swedish Save the Children. Pp. 13-19, 23-27, 34-47.
- Ralph Peters, “The New Warrior Class,” Parameters (Summer 1994): 16-26.
- Kenneth N. Waltz, “The Origins of War,” in American Defense Policy, ed. John Reichart and Steven Strum, 5<sup>th</sup> ed. (Baltimore, MD: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1982), Pp. 8-18.

## Session VII: Terrorism & Just War

**Scope:** This lesson considers the “legitimate” use of force, asking whether or not “legitimacy” is in the eye of the beholder. This lesson also compares the non-state actor with the state actor in the use of force.

### **Objectives:**

- Define and compare terrorism and just war
- Assess the “rationality” of terror organizations
- Determine what legitimate force is
- Consider the role of morality in the conduct of foreign policy, as an individual and as an individual representing the state

### **Turn-In: Position Paper #5**

### **Required Readings:**

- Michael Walzer, Just and Unjust Wars, Chs 1-3, 12 (New York: Basic Books, 1977).
  - Chapter 1: “Against Realism.”
  - Chapter 2: “The Crime of War.”
  - Chapter 3: “The Rules of War.”
  - Chapter 4: “Terrorism.”
- Brian M. Jenkins, “International Terrorism,” in The Use of Force, eds., Robert J. Art and Kenneth N. Waltz (5<sup>th</sup> ed).
- Crenshaw, Martha. “The Logic of Terrorism: Terrorist Behavior as a Product of Strategic Choice,” in Origins of Terrorism: Psychologies, Ideologies, States of Mind, Walter Reich, 7-24. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press and The Woodrow Wilson Center, 1990.
- John Paul Lederach, “A Traveling Essay on Terrorism.”
- George F. Kennan, “Morality and Foreign Policy,” Foreign Affairs (Winter 1985/86).
- Robert Kennedy, “Is One Person’s Terrorist Another’s Freedom Fighter? Western and Islamic Approaches to ‘Just War’ Compared,” Terrorism and Political Violence, Vol. 11, No. 1 (Spring 1999), 1-21.

## Session VIII: Economics

**Scope:** This class examines globalization and the global economic infrastructure, exposing the student to the individual and global impact thereof.

### **Objectives:**

- Define globalization
- Define global economic infrastructure
- Determine how this system impacts different players

- Assess the “fairness” of this system

### **Turn-In: Position Paper #6**

#### **Required Readings:**

- Frederic S. Mishkin, “Global Financial Instability: Framework, Events, Issues,” Journal of Economic Perspectives, Volume 13, Number 4 (Fall 1999): 3-20.
- Kenneth Rogoff, “International Institutions for Reducing Global Financial Instability,” Journal of Economic Perspectives, Volume 13, Number 4 (Fall 1999): 21-42.
- Dan Rodrik, “How Far Will International Economic Integration Go?” Journal of Economic Perspectives, Volume 14, Number 1 (Winter 2000): 177-186.
- Henry Kissinger, “The Politics of Globalization,” Does America Need a Foreign Policy?: Toward a Diplomacy for the 21<sup>st</sup> Century (New York: Simon & Schuster, 2000), Pp. 211-233.
- Thomas L. Friedman, “Introducing the China Ruling Party,” The New York Times, 11 August 2001.
- Kevin McCoy and Dennis Cauchon, “The Business Side of Terror,” USA Today, 16 October 2001, sec. b.
- Alessandra Stanley and David E. Sanger, “Italian Protester is Killed by Police at Genoa Meeting,” New York Times, 21 July 2001.

### **Session IX: New Issues and Actors in an Old Security Environment**

**Scope:** This class revisits security and how it is defined. It examines new manifestations of old threats and new threats, begging the question of how we should be organized to respond to them.

#### **Objectives:**

- Define threat and security
- Expose the student to the different dimensions of security in order to holistically assess a security environment
- Determine both the role of altruistic intentions and the role of force in complex security environments
- Develop an opinion of non-traditional, non-state actors such as NGOs and private security organizations

### **Turn-In: Position Paper #7**

#### **Required Readings:**

- Jessica Tuchman Mathews, “Redefining Security,” Foreign Affairs 68 (Spring 1989): Pp. 162-177.
- Jessica T. Mathews, “Power Shift,” Foreign Affairs (January/February 1997): Pp. 50-66.

- Ben Barber, “Feeding Refugees, or War? The Dilemma of Humanitarian Aid,” Foreign Affairs (July/August 1997): Pp. 8-14.
- Andrew Natsios, “Humanitarian Relief Interventions in Somalia: the Economics of Chaos,” International Peacekeeping 3, no.1 (Spring 1996): Pp. 68-91.
- William Hayden, “The Conflict in Kosovo and Forced Migration: The Strategic Use of Displacement and the Obstacles to International Protection,” Journal of Humanitarian Assistance, <http://www-jha.sps.cam.ac.uk/b/b396.htm> (20 December 1998).
- Betts, Richard K. “The Delusion of Impartial Intervention,” in Managing Global Chaos: Sources of and Responses to International Conflict, Chester A. Crocker, Fen Hampson, and Pamela Aall, eds., 331-341. Washington, D.C.: US Institute of Peace, 1996.
- Luttwak, Edward N. “Give War a Chance.” Foreign Affairs, July/August 1999.
- Todd A. Salzman, “Rape Camps as a Means of Ethnic Cleansing: Religious, Cultural, and Ethical Responses to Rape Victims in the Former Yugoslavia,” Human Rights Quarterly 20, no.2 (1998): 348-378.
- David Shearer, “Outsourcing War,” Foreign Policy (Fall 1998): Pp. 68-81.
- Saadia Touval, “Why the U.N. Fails,” Foreign Affairs 73, no. 5 (September/October 1994): 44-57.
- Elaine Sciolino, “Is the Devil in the Demographics?” Washington Post, 9 December 2001.
- “The Sins of the Secular Missionaries,” The Economist, 29 January 2000.
- Chris Seiple, “Homeland Security Concepts and Strategies,” Orbis (Spring 2002): Pp. 1-13.

## Session X: The Environment

**Scope:** This class reviews the connection between security and the environment. It asks the student to consider anew the role of, and responsibility to, the literal landscape of a situation and/or issue.

### **Objectives:**

- Determine the usefulness of the phrase “environment” as compared to “creation”
- Compare a security-based approach to the earth with a faith-based approach
- Formulate your own opinion about the importance of the environment to global engagement

### **Turn-In: Position Paper #8**

### **Required Readings:**

- Robert D. Kaplan, “The Coming Anarchy,” The Atlantic Monthly 273, no. 2 (February 1994): Pp. 44-76.

- Michael T. Klare, "The New Geography of Conflict," Foreign Affairs 80, no. 3 (May/June 2001): Pp. 49-61.
- Thomas Homer-Dixon, "Environmental Scarcities and Civil Violence." Working Paper for the Council on Foreign Relations Study Group, "Geo-Economics of Military Preparedness." The University of Toronto, October 23, 2002. [This paper is an adaptation of chapters 2 and 8 of Thomas Homer-Dixon, *Environment, Scarcity, and Violence* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1999), and of Thomas Homer-Dixon, "Memorandum to the President," Aspen Institute, August, 2000.]
- Evangelical Environmental Network (EEN), "Declaration on the Care of Creation."
- Jonathan Twining, "EEN Partner in Focus," Evangelical Environmental Network Newsletter (Summer 2001): Pp. 8-9, 18.
- Wendell Berry, "The Obligation," Sierra (September/October 1995): Pp. 62-67, 101.
- Calvin B. DeWitt, "Christian Environmental Stewardship: Preparing the Way for Action," Perspectives on Science and Christian Faith 46, no. 2 (June 1994): Pp. 80-89.

## Session XI: The Relevance of Culture & Religion

**Scope:** Political science has long ignored the importance of culture and religion in the motivation of people and the power of politicians. This class jumps in the deep-end, exposing the student to a panoply of perspectives.

### **Objectives:**

- Define culture and religion
- Define ethnic identity
- Assess the "Western" understanding of the end of history and globalization
- Determine the value of religion in security issues

### **Turn-In: Position Paper #9**

### **Required Readings:**

- David Rothkopf, "In Praise of Cultural Imperialism? (Effects of Globalization on Culture)," Foreign Policy no.107 (Summer 1997): Pp. 38-53.
- Francis Fukuyama, "The End of History?," The National Interest (Summer 1989): Pp. 3-18.
- Francis Fukuyama, "A Response to my Critics," The National Interest (Winter 1989/90): Pp. 21-28.
- Anthony D. Smith, "The Ethnic Sources of Nationalism," Survival 35, no. 1 (Spring 1993): Pp. 48-62

- Ralph Peters, “Spotting the Losers: Seven Signs of Non-Competitive States,” Parameters (Spring 1998): Pp. 36-47.
- Huston Smith, “Islam,” The World’s Religions (New York: HarperCollins Publishers, 1991), Pp. 221-270.
- H. Richard Niebuhr, “The Enduring Problem,” Christ and Culture, (New York: Harper& Row, 1951), Pp. 1-44.
- George Weigel, “Pope John Paul II and the Dynamics of History,” Watch on the West 1, no. 6 (22 April 2000).
- Czeslaw Milosz, “A Religious State,” Gazeta Wyborcza, no. 109 (11-12 May 1991): Pp. B1-B6.
- Philip Jenkins, “Globalization and the Transformation of Christianity,” Watch on the West 3, no. 1 (January 2002).
- Thomas Friedman, “Drilling for Tolerance,” New York Times, 30 October 2001.
- Thomas Friedman, “Breaking the Circle,” New York Times, 16 November 2001.
- Cal Thomas, “Skeptical of the Peaceful Label,” The Washington Times, 24 October 2001.
- Douglas Johnston and Cynthia Sampson, eds., Religion, the Missing Dimension of Statecraft (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1994).
  - Douglas Johnston, “Introduction: Beyond Power Politics,” Pp. 3-7.
  - Edward Luttwak, “The Missing Dimension,” Pp. 8-19.
  - Barry Rubin, “Religion and International Affairs,” Pp. 20-34.
  - Douglas Johnston, “Review of the Findings,” Pp. 258-265.

## Session XII: Human Rights & Religious Freedom: Security’s Missing Link?

**Scope:** This class takes a look at human rights and their impact on recent history as well as individual perspective. It specifically considers the intersection of *realpolitik* and the dignity of a human being.

### **Objectives:**

- Define human rights and religious freedom
- Consider human rights methodologies
- Determine the political and economic realities of implementing human rights
- Assess human rights as Western or universal

### **Turn-In: Position Paper #10**

#### **Required Readings:**

- Hurst Hannum (ed.), Guide to International Human Rights Practice, 3<sup>rd</sup> Ed., (Washington, D.C.: Transnational Publishers, Inc. and The Procedural Aspects of International Law Institute, 1999).
  - Richard B. Bilder, “An Overview of International Human Rights Law,” Pp. 3-18.



- Hurst Hannum, “Implementing Human Rights: An Overview of NGO Strategies and Available Procedures,” Pp. 19-30.
- Sandra Coliver and Alice M. Miller, “International Reporting Procedures,” Pp. 177-201.
- Ambassador Robert A. Seiple, “The Cornerstone Freedom,” Institute for Global Engagement, 28 September 2001, <http://www.globalengage.org/issues/2001/09/rseiple-cornerstone-p.htm> (08 January 2002).
- Ambassador Robert A. Seiple, “Testimony before the U.S. Commission on International Religious Freedom,” Institute for Global Engagement, 27 November 2001, <http://www.globalengage.org/resources/2001/12/rseiple-uscirf-p.htm> (08 January 2002).
- Ambassador Robert A. Seiple, “Cursing the Darkness,” Institute for Global Engagement, 11 October 2002, <http://www.globalengage.org/issues/2002/10/rseiple.htm>.
- “A Suitable Target For Foreign Policy,” The Economist, 12 April 1997, Pp. 15-16.
- “Human Rights and Diplomacy: The Bloodhounds of History,” The Economist, 12 April 1997, Pp. 19-21.
- “The Politics of Human Rights,” The Economist, 18 August 2001, P. 9.
- “Righting Wrongs,” The Economist, 18 August 2001, Pp. 18-20.

### Session XIII: The Role of the United States in the World

**Scope:** This lesson provides an overview of how the U.S. engages the world: the philosophies that have influenced its foreign policy and the organizational structure that has implemented it.

#### **Objectives:**

- Determine the definition and role of foreign policy
- Compare the alleged differences between Presidents Roosevelt and Wilson
- Examine the decision-making structure for U.S. policy
- Assess U.S. foreign policy in the Post Cold War and Post 9/11 worlds

#### **Turn-In: Position Paper #11**

#### **Required Readings:**

- Henry Kissinger, “The Hinge: Theodore Roosevelt or Woodrow Wilson,” Diplomacy (New York: Simon & Schuster, 1994), Pp. 29-55.
- Amos A. Jordan et al., American National Security, 5<sup>th</sup> ed. (Baltimore, MD: The John Hopkins University Press, 1999).
  - “Traditional Approaches to National Security,” Pp. 48-63.

- “Presidential Leadership and the Executive Branch in National Security,” Pp. 93-122.
- “The National Security Decision-Making Process: Putting the Pieces Together,” Pp. 217-234.
- Eliot A. Cohen, "The Future of Force and American Strategy," The National Interest (Fall 1990): 3-15.
- Charles Krauthammer, “The Unipolar Moment,” Foreign Affairs 70, no. 1 (1990/91): Pp. 23-33.
- Richard N. Haass, “Paradigm Lost,” Foreign Affairs (Jan/Feb 1995): Pp. 43-58.
- Henry Kissinger, Does America Need a Foreign Policy? (NY: Simon & Schuster, 2000).
  - “America at the Apex: Empire or Leader,” Pp. 17-31.
  - “Peace and Justice,” Pp. 234-282.
  - “Conclusion,” Pp. 283-288.

## Session XIV: Conflict Resolution

**Scope:** This session compares the different concepts and practical applications of the field known as “conflict resolution.” This session pays particular attention to the influence of gender, culture and religion on conflict resolution.

### **Objectives:**

- Define conflict resolution; mediation; reconciliation
- Compare/contrast these concepts in the different contexts of between people, within organizations and in armed conflict
- Compare/contrast the roles that individuals, NGOs and/or states might play
- Determine the impact of gender, religion and culture on conflict resolution efforts

### **Turn-In: Position Paper #12**

#### **Terms of Reference paper assigned**

### **Required Readings:**

- J. William Breslin and Jeffrey Z. Rubin, eds., Negotiation Theory and Practice (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Program on Negotiation Books, 1995).
  - D. M. Kolb and S. S. Silbey, “Enhancing the Capacity of Organizations to Deal with Disputes”
  - Jeffrey Z. Rubin, “Some Wise and Mistaken Assumptions about Conflict and Negotiation”
- Jacob Bercovitch and Alissa Houston. “The Study of International Mediation: Theoretical Issues and Empirical Evidence,” in Resolving International Conflict, ed. Jacob Bercovitch (Boulder: Lynne Rienner, 1996), Pp. 11-35.
- Zartman, I. William, and Saadia Touval. “International Mediation in the Post-Cold War Era,” in Managing Global Chaos: Sources of and Responses to

- International Conflict, eds. Chester A. Crocker and Fen Osler Hampson with Pamela Aall (Washington, D. C.: United States Institute of Peace, 1996), Pp. 445-461
- Kolb, Deborah M., and Gloria G. Coolidge. “Her Place at the Table: A Consideration of Gender Issues in Negotiation,” in Negotiation Theory and Practice, J. William Breslin and Jeffrey Z. Rubin, ed., (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Program on Negotiation Books, 1995), Pp. 261-277.
  - Deborah M Kolb, “Gender and the Shadow Negotiation,” Center for Gender in Organizations Insights (December 1998): Pp. 1-4.
  - Eileen F. Babbitt and Tamra Pearson D’Estrée, “An Israeli-Palestinian Women’s Workshop,” in Managing Global Chaos: Sources of and Responses to International Conflict, eds. Chester A. Crocker and Fen Osler Hampson with Pamela Aall (Washington, D. C.: United States Institute of Peace, 1996), Pp. 521-529.
  - I. William Zartman, “A Skeptic’s View,” in Culture and Negotiation: The Resolution of Water Disputes, eds. Guy O. Faure and Jeffrey Z. Rubin (Newbury Park: Sage, 1993), Pp. 17-21.
  - Cynthia Sampson, “Religion and Peacebuilding,” in Peacemaking in International Conflict: Methods and Techniques I, William Zartman and J. Lewis Rasmussen, eds., (Washington, D.C.: United States Institute of Peace Press, 1997), Pp. 273-316.
  - John Paul Lederach, “Journey from Resolution to Transformative Peacebuilding,” in From the Ground Up, eds. John Paul Lederach and Cynthia Sampson (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), Pp. 45-55.
  - Andrea Bartoli, “Mediating Peace in Mozambique: The Role of the Community of Sant’Egidio,” in Herding Cats: Multiparty Mediation in a Complex World, eds. Crocker et al. (Washington, D.C.: United States Institute of Peace Press, 1999), Pp. 245-273.
  - Stephen John Stedman, “Alchemy for a New World Order: Overselling ‘Preventive Diplomacy,’” Foreign Affairs 74, no. 3 (May/June 1995): Pp. 14-20.
  - L. Susskind and J. Crookshank, “Mediation and Other Forms of Assisted Negotiation,” Breaking the Impasse: Consensual Approaches to Resolving Public Disputes (New York: Basic Books, 1987), Pp. 142-143.
  - Christopher Moore, “How Mediation Works,” The Mediation Process: Practical Strategies for Resolving Conflicts (San Francisco: Jossey-Bass, 1986), Pp. 32-33.
  - Michael S. Lund, “The Life Cycle of a Conflict, with Types of Conflict Interventions” and “Life History of a Conflict,” Preventing Violent Conflicts (Washington D.C.: United States Institute of Peace Press, 1995).

## Session XV: Conclusion: Whither Engagement? Whither Leadership?

**Scope:** This class provides the student an opportunity to just reflect and to consider again the terms of reference regarding global engagement that were discussed at the beginning of the class. This session challenges students to really think about what these terms mean in a practical, daily manner to their everyday life.

**Objectives:**

- Consider the scope of the course and the words used to describe it
- Write a new terms of reference paper

**Turn-In: Terms of Reference paper**

**Reading:**

- None

## SAMPLE POSITION PAPER

From: Yourself, or a role-play (e.g., Director for Central Asia, NSC/Mercy Corps)

To: Me, or a role-play (e.g., National Security Advisor/President of Mercy Corps)

Subj: TOPIC TO BE ANALYZED/DISCUSSED

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**Purpose:** (What is the topic and why do I need to know about it ... usually a short sentence and no bullets)

**Background:** (What pertinent events have shaped this issue and what do I need to know regarding other personalities or positions held by colleagues/adversaries)

- Usually in bullet form

**Discussion:** (Provide for all sides of the issue, arguing objectively the pros and cons of each position and/or course of action)

- Substantive but succinct

**Recommendations:** (What is your recommended position and why)

- To the point

Remember: you are writing this memo to someone who has very little time and someone who trusts you to have done the “thinking” on the issue and therefore doesn’t need to double-check your work. This paper should ideally be one page, two at the most. Include brief attachments as absolutely necessary.

PS: If this format doesn’t work for you, come up with a better one ... but be concise and relevant.



## **Session I: Terms of Reference**

- What do the following words mean to you? Give me some short definitions.
  - Security
  - National Security
  - Homeland Security
  - Terrorism
  - Conflict Resolution
  - Conflict Transformation
  - Geo-Politics
  - Humanitarian Intervention
  - Peacekeeping
  - Vision
  - Strategy
  - Policy
  - Engagement
  - Politics
  - The Church
  - Go Ye
  - Globalization



## **Session II: Leadership, Vision, Strategy & Engagement**

- What is Leadership? Vision? Strategy? Engagement?
- Why read Kennedy first?
- What is security? What is your “mental stage” for understanding it?
- Is it important for our national security that all the elements of national power are integrated?
- Is it important for global security that America exercise its power in such an integrated fashion?
- Can such an integration deter war, simply through the threat of synergistic power (of which force is just one element)?
- If we conduct the war in Afghanistan (or Iraq) with just military power, will we “succeed?”
- If we “nation-build,” will we “succeed?”
- Is the American evolutionary experience unique?
- Is our security really related to our values? Or do values derive from security?
- Is America self-defined or other-defined?
- Read Ephesians 6...what does this say about using all means at your disposal and how you are defined?



### **Session III: Engaging the Tough Places: Uzbekistan**

- How long has Uzbekistan been an independent country?
- What experience does it have with being a state?
- Did any kind of entity ever exist by the name “Uzbekistan” prior to the formation of the Soviet Central Asian “republics” in the 1920’s?
- What are the issues at play here?
- Napoleon once said that a state’s geography is its foreign policy. How might this statement apply to Uzbekistan?
- What are Uzbekistan’s long-term interests?
- What are China’s interests in the region? Russia’s? The United States’?
- Is there a difference between an “Asian” approach to human rights and a “Western” approach?
- Do Christians care “more” about the persecuted church than the human rights of jailed pious Muslims?
- What are the lenses we use to view this part of the world?
- How does it inform our approach to solutions?
- What would a national security expert argue?
- What would a human rights advocate argue?
- What do you argue?





#### **Session IV: Geo-Politics: Re-Discovering a Lost Art**

- What is Geo-Politics? Where does it come from?
- Does geography determine a state's policy?
- Consider two examples: 1) Poland; and 2) America
- Is "geopolinomic" a useful word?
- How does Saul Cohen define "old" and "new" geo-politics?
- How does it make you feel when an author discusses "second" and "third" order powers?
- Are maps political propaganda?
- When did the United States put itself at the center of its own maps?

#### Possible Position Paper Topics:

- Kashmir: How should it be settled?
- Kosovo: Should it be independent?
- Central Asia: Should the United States have permanent bases there?
- Nagorno-Karabakh: Should it be independent?

Of course, you are welcome to choose your own topic, but it must relate specifically to geography and the implementation of policy (e.g., for an NGO or for a country) and it must reflect holistic consideration and analysis of the situation. Also, feel free to refine/define the question according to your interests. Two examples:

- You are a staffer on the Russian National Security Council. Discuss the pros/cons of US presence in Central Asia, recommending a general policy direction.
- You are a staffer for World Vision, a Christian relief and development organization working in Kosovo. Discuss what must be considered for a World Vision policy statement on Kosovar independence.

This paper will require some research, not unlike the readings I gave to you for the Uzbekistan paper. What I'm looking for is *how* you consider the topic.



## **Session V: The “Nation-State” and Our Present Global System**

- Are integration and fragmentation two sides of the same coin?
- What role does ethnicity and religion play in the consideration of identity?
- Guehenno and Tharoor are writing in the same year: Is there a difference in their perspectives on the world? If so, what is it? What’s changed since 1999 that might make one seem more realistic now and the other only optimistic?
- What is empire?
- What is a nation?
- What is a state?
- What is a border?
- Is America an “empire without an emperor?”
- What is unique about the development of the European “society of states?”
- Why does Westphalia symbolize the system into which all of us were born?
- Has the state as an organizing principle become weaker or stronger?
- Is democracy universal in its sweep (through various “waves”) across history and the world?
- In Jordan et al., do you agree with their categorization of “revolutions” and the use of force? Does it make sense to you? Why/why not?

**Session VI: The Depths of a Fallen Race**

- What is the connection among these readings?
- How do they relate to everything we've read so far?
- As humans, do we need enemies to function?
- Isn't it just easier to be other-defined?
- Is life still so simple as the Melian Dialogue? Is Might Right?
- Do we live in a world, as Hobbes argues, that is naturally in a state of war because "there is no assurance to the contrary?"
- How is it that child soldiers can even exist? Why is the "fight" to prevent child soldiers so important? Psychologically? Socially? Economically?
- Does a new warrior class exist? Is it new? Is it cultural? Is it the only thing that works against American power and the alleged "fear of casualties?"
- Do you agree with Waltz's images? Are we hopelessly anarchic?
- Does it still boil down to a man with a gun saying this is mine?



## Session VII: Terrorism & Just War

### Just War

- What is the difference between *Jus Ad Bellum* and *Jus In Bello*?
- What do you think of Walzer's critique of the Melian Dialogue?
- Why do soldiers/statesmen lie, according to Walzer? )
- Is the assumption of a moral world a valid one?
- Walzer largely argues that the reason men fight is for self-justification according to some myth, itself a part of the social creation that is war. Do you agree and what does Walzer say about the leaders who send men to war?

### Terrorism

- How does each author define terrorism? How do YOU define it?
- Is terrorism irrational?
- Can you be moral and in violation of international law?
- Lederach tells us that we should destroy their "myth not their people"... is it possible? He argues for a new constructed reality based on a "web of ethics"...can you change the system?
- Do you agree with Lederach's recommendations for attacking terrorism?
- Is the Westphalian system more or less present in our current circumstances?
- Who is George F. Kennan? Why is he important to understanding America's global engagement? He writes: "Without the power to compel change, there is no responsibility for its absence." True? And if you have the power to compel change...?
- What are the two things that Kennan finds immoral for the American state?
- Is there a common ground between the Christian and Islamic faiths for Just War?



### **Session VIII: Money**

- Read Matthew 25:14-30...What do you think about money? Theologically? Practically?
- Now read: Matthew 25:31-46...Why is the parable of talents related in the same context as social justice?
- What is the international financial structure?
- What is financial instability on a global scale? How does it effect people individually?
- What is globalization? How does Henry Kissinger define it?
- What is the perceived advantage of tariffs? Of “free” trade?
- How does Henry Kissinger define globalization?
- What is the base-line-power logic for the Communist Party in China today?
- What is the irony of the Al-Qaeda network?
- What did Carlos Giuliani die for?
- How should the Church think about the psychological dislocation that comes along with global economic forces?



## **Session IX: New Issues and Actors in an Old Security Environment**

- Read Matthew 10:16 ...What does being “shrewd” really mean?
- How is security classically defined? What does Tuchman want included in that definition? Who is the traditional security actor? Who should now be included according to Tuchman? Why? Do you agree/disagree with these arguments? What are the strengths/weaknesses of her positions?
- What are some of the dilemmas of humanitarian intervention? Can one make the situation worse by sending aid?
- Why is it so important to understand the economic forces at play amidst a humanitarian situation?
- Can NGOs make the situation worse?
- What are the “new” weapons of war? How new are they?
  - Forced migration?
  - Rape?
  - Hiring soldiers?
- What has been the response of the “international community” to these threats? Is the UN useful? What can Christians do to think about, react to, prevent these kinds of situations?
- What has been the response of the state to these situations? Is the state more or less relevant these days? Is the state more or less secure these days? Could it be that state boundaries mean less even as the state means more? Can homeland security be a domestic thing?
- Does impartiality encourage war? Might it prolong suffering?
- What is your answer to this Michael Maren question: “If the peacekeepers aren’t keeping the peace, what are they doing?”
- Are wars like forest fires? Should we let them burn out sometime?
- When was the last time you took a Hittite to lunch?
- What does Luttwack mean by “post-heroic?”



## Session X: The Creation

- Read the following scriptures:
  - John 3:16
  - Hosea 4:1-3 (especially verse 3)
  - Psalms 50:1-6 (especially verse 4)
  - Revelations 11:18
- Before you read anything, what do you think?
- What is the difference between referring to the earth as the “creation” and the “environment”?
- What is the appropriate “unit of analysis” for thinking about the degradation of the environment? Global? Regional? National? Local?
  - When is the adjective “global” first applicable?
  - What are the political ramifications?
- What do you think of Kaplan’s assessment?
  - Does the 1994 date or its West African basis limit the analysis?
  - Is Kaplan a pessimist?
- What do Klare and Kaplan have in common, besides a last name that begins with “K”?
  - Are tomorrow’s wars as predictable as the location of scarce resources? What does such a premise assume?
  - What does Klare recommend?
- What do you think of the Evangelical Environmental Network (EEN) Declaration on the Care of Creation?
- What are Berry’s two laws?
  - How do they inform your approach to thinking and action?
- Critique DeWitt’s action framework – what are the strengths and weaknesses?



## Session XI: The Relevance of Culture & Religion

- What is culture? Can you belong to more than one? What is a nation? A state?
- How much space does GT devote to religion? What does that tell you?
- What is the present and future impact of global markets and global telecommunications?
- Can, as Rothkopf argues, the US export the American model and so have an identities without culture?
- What is Fukuyama's central argument? Do you agree? When was the article published?
- How does Walker define the *ethnie*? Why is naming important?
- And what about Ralph Peters? Do you agree with him? How does he anticipate the faultlines within the Muslim world that 9/11 has brought to light?
- What did you learn from Huston about Islam that you didn't know before? Does it help your analysis of our present circumstances?
- What does the Polish example teach? Can faith overcome all? What role does a clearly identifiable bad-guy play? Can faith become a religion as thus its own secular power structure?
- Does Jenkins allow for varying shades of grey within Christianity and Islam? Is the future as dark as he portends?
- Do you agree with Tom Friedman's assessment of modern Islam and their need for tolerance? Is Friedman simplistic or just a good writer?
- What do the Johnson-Luttwak-Rubin readings suggest? When was this book written?
- Where does your ultimate citizenship belong? What does Niebuhr recommend for our consideration?





## **Session XII: Human Rights & Religious Freedom: Security's Missing Link?**

- What are human rights?
- Are they universal? Or do they relate to last week's discussion of culture?
- Should human rights be the purview of states? How does this compare/contrast with the Westphalian understanding?
- Should the United States make human rights a part of its foreign policy? Always or just sometimes?
- Does the evolution of international human rights law make sense to you? Is its structure practical? Relevant?
- What's the difference between human and social and economic rights? Is there a difference?
- What can NGOs do to impact international human rights? What are the strategies and methodologies available to them?
- What does religious freedom mean to you? Is it really a cornerstone freedom to civil society? If not, how should it be considered?
- Why did the International Religious Freedom Act come into being?
- Is there a relationship between religious freedom and civil society and conflict resolution?



### **Session XIII: The Role of the United States in the World**

- Why does Kissinger (writing in 1992) set up Roosevelt and Wilson as foils for considering US foreign policy?
  - What are the key characteristics to worldview? Do you agree, based on what you know about the two men?
  - How are the two men two sides of the American exceptionalism coin?
- Why do Amos and Jordan root their analysis in Hobbes and Locke? What are the philosophical commonalities with Roosevelt and Wilson?
- Amos et al pay tremendous attention to domestic things like media, politics, Congress, and internal organization of the US government? Why? Do such things have an impact on foreign policy?
- Some argue that the US State Department has not been the same since 1947...what logic might support such an assertion?
- Which governmental entity has the right to make treaties? The right to go to war?
- What has really changed since the end of the Cold War? Is force still relevant or are we truly a post-historical society without need of it? Does war need the “nation-state” to exist? What is the impact of these questions on US policy and the role of the American military?
- Is the Unipolar Moment momentary? Or are we amidst the a “domination” that the world has not seen since the Roman Empire?
- How have authors and scholars tried to explain the post-Cold War? Haass was writing in 1995 and is now the Director of the State Department’s Policy and Planning Bureau, working directly for Colin Powell...do you see any of his past writings in current policy?
- Why does Kissinger (writing in 2001 but prior to 9/11) set up the foils of empire or leader to describe the US role in the world? What does he mean by each? Does he define “peace and justice” sufficiently? How does he treat Roosevelt and Wilson this time around?
- What also happened on 9/11 in 1973? Who was Secretary of State (and might be charged with human rights violations)?
- Can/Should the USA be unilateral? Why/why not?

### **Session XIV: Conflict Resolution**

- Why have this discussion at the end of the course?
- What does conflict mean to you? At what levels does it exist? What forms does it take?
- What does negotiation mean to you? Mediation?
- What does conflict resolution mean to you? Mediation? Conflict settlement? Conflict Transformation? Reconciliation?
- Answer these questions before you do the reading...
  
- Is conflict prevention a useful term?
- Can a situation be ripe for resolution/transformation? Can a particular negotiator and/or mediator be ripe?
- Can a mediator be impartial? Can he/she not help but exercise some form of power?
- What role does gender play in mediation/negotiations?
- In secular terms, what has to take place for a “transformation” to take place?
- How can culture not have a role in negotiations/mediations? Why is Zartman a skeptic?
- What does religion have to offer?
- What example does Christianity provide through the practical experience of John Paul Lederach and Sant’Egidio?
- Is this conflict resolution stuff just one more form of western imperialism?



## Session XV: Conclusions

- What did you learn from this course?
- What were the themes?
- What is your biggest “take-away” from being a part of this class?
- What is the single-most improvement this course could use?
- What do the following words mean to you? Give me one sentence definitions.
  - Security
  - National Security
  - Homeland Security
  - Terrorism
  - Conflict Resolution
  - Conflict Transformation
  - Geo-Politics
  - Humanitarian Intervention
  - Peacekeeping
  - Vision
  - Strategy
  - Policy
  - Engagement
  - Politics
  - The Church
  - Go Ye
  - Globalization