

International Relations/Political Science

Academic year 2019-2020

International sanctions in a shifting geopolitical order: where next for the world's foreign & security policy instrument of choice?

RI-SP110 - Printemps - 3 ECTS

Course Description

Sanctions increasingly represent the foreign policy tool of choice for governments and international organisations seeking to address some of the world's most pressing political and security challenges. Student participants on this course will have the opportunity to examine the design, utility and consequences of sanctions, including in the UN, EU and US contexts. Occupying the space between war and words in the contemporary international system, we will examine their impact and effectiveness and the complex interplay between overlapping sanctions regimes. We will consider how they interact with other policy tools (mediation, peacekeeping, humanitarian ops) and draw on perspectives from international law and other disciplines. We will pay close attention to the unintended consequences of sanctions, particularly from a humanitarian angle (e.g. in Syria/ Iran/ DPRK/ Venezuela) especially in light of financial sector “de-risking” in light of a more complex global compliance environment. We will situate the growing rise of unilateral coercive measures in the context of the current crisis of faith in global governance, along with the importance now played by informal forms of governance in many sanctions regimes. By tracking the shift in objectives of sanctions over time, we will cover those used for more traditional challenges (armed conflicts, human rights abuses, respect for democracy, nuclear non-proliferation) to those intended to tackle emerging security challenges (counter-terrorism, chemical weapons, cyber security, gender-based violence). Through lectures, group discussions and thematic presentations, students will gain a strong grounding in this highly topical, multi-disciplinary and cross-sectoral field and will have the opportunity to pursue independent lines of research that could serve as a basis for a publishable paper. Classes will be taught in English with the option of discussions and student presentations/ written work in French. We will be joined by **Professor Thomas Biersteker** for some of the later classes and interaction with sanctions practitioners may also be possible.

> PROFESSOR

[Erica Moret](#)

[Office hours](#)

09 March: 13.00-15.00
16 March: 13.15-15.15
02 April: 10.00-12.00
09 April: 10.00-12.00
27 April: 13.15-15.15
30 April: 12.15-14.00
04 May: 10.15-12.30

> ASSISTANT

Vanessa Gauthier Vela

[Office hours](#)

Syllabus

Course evaluation

1. Active course participation (seminar discussions): 30%
2. One short (10 min max) presentation to the wider group providing a synopsis of reading on a pre-defined topic: 30%
3. Literature review on a pre-agreed topic that could serve as the basis for an academic article* (that could be submitted by the student to a peer-review journal at a later stage; 2500 words max including refs) or a policy briefing on a pre-agreed topic (1500 max including refs): 40%

* For those students interested in pursuing this further, they will also be offered the opportunity of presenting their research plan and initial findings at a later stage to the Geneva International Sanctions Network (GISN, based at the Graduate Institute) to receive feedback on their paper (outside the course assessment framework and timeframe).

Week 1: Background to sanctions practice (09 March 10.15-12.15)

Alexander, K. (2009) *Economic Sanctions: Law and Public Policy*. Springer, chapter 1

Biersteker, T. & van Bergeijk, P. (2015) "How and when do sanctions work? The evidence," *EUISS Sanctions Report*, Chapter 1 (EUISS, Paris, September)

- Giumelli, F. (2016) "The Purposes of Targeted Sanctions", in Thomas J. Biersteker, Sue E. Eckert & Marcos Tourinho. *Targeted Sanctions: The Impacts and Effectiveness of United Nations Action*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press

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Week 2: Multilateralism vs unilateralism in international sanctions (exploring cases of Iran, Russia, Syria & Venezuela) (16 March 10.15-12.30)

Cohen, D. S. & Goldman, Z. K. (2019) "Like it or Not, Unilateral Sanctions Are Here to Stay" Vol 113, 146-151. <https://www.cambridge.org/core/journals/american-journal-of-international-law/article/like-it-or-not-unilateral-sanctions-are-here-to-stay/16A1150A4E2E3366034347278B10E783>

Harrell, P. (2018) "Is the U.S. Using Sanctions Too Aggressively? The Steps Washington Can Take to Guard Against Overuse" *Foreign Affairs*. 11 September.

Moret, E., Biersteker, T., Giumelli, F., Portela, C., Veber, M., Jarosz, D. & Bobocea, C. (2016). "The new deterrent? International sanctions against Russia over the Ukraine crisis: Impacts, costs and further action". Programme for the Study of International Governance, Graduate Institute, Geneva. 12 October. <https://repository.graduateinstitute.ch/record/294704?ln=en> [Introduction & Part 1]

Week 3: Unintended humanitarian consequences (02 April 12.15-14.00)

Debarre, A. (2019) "Safeguarding Humanitarian Action in Sanctions Regimes" *International*

Peace Institute, IPI, New York.

Moret, E. (2015) "Humanitarian Impacts of Economic Sanctions on Iran and Syria" in *European Security*. Vol 24. Issue 1.

Optional reading

Cortright, D, Lopez, G. & Minear, L & Weiss, T. (1997) *Political Gain or Civilian Pain?* Chapter 1

Craven, M. (2002) "Humanitarianism and the Quest for Smarter Sanctions" *European Journal of International Law* 13(1): 43-61.

Eriksson, Michael (2010) "Unintended Consequences of Sanctions" in Christopher Daase and Cornelius Friesendorf, eds., *Rethinking Security Governance*

Gordon Joy, (2010) *Invisible War* Chapter 5

Peksen, Dursun (2009) "Better or Worse? The Effect of Economic Sanctions on Human Rights." *Journal of Peace Research* 46, no. 1: 59-77.

Week 4: Interactive effects of multiple sanctions regimes (UN, US, EU & other regional/ national actors) (09 April 12.15-14.00)

- Charron, A & Portela, C. (2016) "The relationship between United Nations sanctions and regional sanctions regimes" *Targeting Sanctions: The Impacts and Effectiveness of UN Action*, Chapter 5.

Nephew, R. (2017) *The Art of Sanctions: A View from the Field*, Introduction

SanctionsApp (downloadable tool on UN sanctions, developed at the Graduate Institute)

Week 5: Interactive effects of sanctions & other policy instruments (27 April 101.5-12.30)

Biersteker, T., Brubaker, R. & Lanz, D. (2019) "UN Sanctions & Mediation: Establishing Evidence to Inform Practice" UNU report. <https://cpr.unu.edu/un-sanctions-and-mediation-establishing-evidence-to-inform-policy.html>

Brubaker, R. & Dörfler, T. (2017) *UN Sanctions and the Prevention of Conflict*, United Nations University Centre for Policy Research, Conflict Prevention Series No. 4

Optional reading

Biersteker, T. & Hudáková, Z. (2015) "UN Sanctions and Peace Negotiations: Possibilities for Complementarity," *Oslo Forum Paper* No. 4 January.

Welsh, J. M. (2015) 'Mediation and sanctions: applying conflict prevention tools in atrocity prevention,' in *The Responsibility to Prevent: Overcoming the Challenges of Atrocity Prevention*, ed. by Jennifer Welsh & Serena Sharma, Oxford University Press.

SanctionsApp

Week 6: Shifting use of sanctions over time: from traditional threats to emerging security challenges (30 April 12.15-14.00)

- Biersteker, T. J., Tourinho, M. & Eckert, S. E. (2016) "Conclusion" in Thomas J. Biersteker, Eckert, S. Tourinho, M.. *Targeted Sanctions: The Impacts and Effectiveness of United Nations Action*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press

Portela, C.(2019) "The Spread of Horizontal Sanctions" CEPS <https://www.ceps.eu/the-spread-of-horizontal-sanctions/> [covers the EU's recent development of cyber, chemical weapons & human rights sanctions]

Optional reading on emerging uses of sanctions (further reading available upon request)

Fanusie, Y. (2018) "Seeking Sanctions Resistance Through Blockchain Technology" *Forbes online*. 11 October. <https://www.forbes.com/sites/yayafanusie/2018/10/11/seeking-sanctions-resistance-through-blockchain-technology/#7154c4e56392>

Huve, S. (2018) "The Use of UN Sanctions to Address Conflict-Related Sexual Violence" Georgetown Institute for Women, Peace and Security. <https://giwps.georgetown.edu/wp-content/uploads/2018/03/Use-of-UN-Sanctions-to-Address-Conflict-related-Sexual-Violence.pdf>

Pawlak, P. & Biersteker, T. (eds.) *Guardian of the Galaxy: EU Cyber Sanctions and Norms in Cyberspace*. EUISS, Chalet Report, pp 13-20.

Saravalle, E. (2019) "Why world leaders should impose green sanctions" *Alphaville: Financial Times*.08 August.

Week 7: Assessing sanctions' impact and effectiveness (04 May 10.15-12.30)*

Biersteker, T., Eckert, S & Tourinho, M. (2015) *Targeting Sanctions: The Impacts and Effectiveness of UN Action*

Moret, E., Biersteker, T., Giumelli, F., Portela, C., Veber, M., Jarosz, D. & Bobocea, C. (2016). "The new deterrent? International sanctions against Russia over the Ukraine crisis: Impacts, costs and further action". Programme for the Study of International Governance, Graduate Institute, Geneva. 12 October. <https://repository.graduateinstitute.ch/record/294704?ln=en> [see section on impacts & effectiveness]

SanctionsApp

Optional reading

Hufbauer, G. C., Schott, J. & Elliott, K. (2009) *Economic Sanctions Reconsidered*, Washington, DC, Peterson Institute for International Economics

Portela, C. (2010) *European Union Sanctions and Foreign Policy: When and why do they work?*

Additional general reading/ resources (throughout course; further reading available upon request)

Baldwin, D. (1985) *Economic Statecraft*, Chapters 4 and 12, 51-69 and 370-374

Cortright, David and George A. Lopez (2002) *Sanctions and the Search for Security*, Chapter 1, 1-19

Drezner, D. W. (2003). "The Hidden Hand of Economic Coercion" *International Organization* 57(3): 643-659.

Moret, E. & Pothier, F. (2018) "Sanctions After Brexit" *Survival, Global politics and Strategy*, 60:2, pp. 179-200.

Pape, R. (1997), "Why Economic Sanctions Do Not Work," *International Security*, 22(2): 90-136

Subramanian, S. (2019) "What if the World Treated the US Like a Rogue State?" <https://www.huffpost.com/highline/article/sanctions/> Highline, Huffpost. 10 February.