

Centre for the Study of Democracy
University of Westminster
32-38 Wells Street,
London, W1T 3UW

International Security

2006 - 2007

Module Code: 1ISP7A8

Length: One semester

Module Leader: Professor David Chandler

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Summary of Module Content

This module introduces students to the concept of international security and the debates about it. The course seeks to link theory to practical questions of policy, and participants may choose to pitch their research in either direction. The module focuses on contemporary trends in security analysis and considers the issues raised at three levels: those of individual security, for example, human rights protection; state security, especially the risks posed by failed states; and international security, in particular the new security architecture of the UN, 'coalitions of the willing' and unilateral state intervention.

Module Aims

The aim of this module is to provide an understanding of the development of the idea of international security. Opening with an examination of the changing focus of security concerns away from a narrow preoccupation with 'state security' to 'human security', the module considers the problematisation of the non-Western state and the 'securitization' of a range of issues from democracy to development. Through a focus on humanitarian intervention and the 'war against terrorism' the module aims to consider how international security frameworks have been reshaped since the end of the Cold War.

Learning Outcomes

At the end of this module students will be able to:

- 1) Demonstrate a wide-ranging and sophisticated understanding of the concept of international security, and relate it to other approaches to understanding international relations;
- 2) Describe the main debates within the field and apply the costs and benefits of different approaches to analysis.

Assessment

This consists of **one essay of 5000 words**. This should be presented typed and double-spaced and must be placed in the secure boxes for course work submission in the University building at 309 Regent Street.

The deadline for the submission of the essay will be finalised shortly. Essay titles are to be agreed through tutorials with the module leader. The essays must relate to at least one seminar topic. You are advised to state the word count on the first page.

The essays should be presented with an appropriate system of references for the sources that have been consulted in the preparation and writing of the work. Section 14 of the MA course handbook details how references should be cited. Your attention is drawn to section 8 of the course handbook on plagiarism and cheating. If you are unclear as to what constitutes cheating and/or plagiarism you should consult the module leader or the course leader at the earliest opportunity.

It is most important that in the submission of course work you are aware of the penalties that apply for the late submission of course work and what action you should take if there are extenuating circumstances that inhibit the preparation or the submission of your work. Please refer to section 6 of the Course Handbook for detailed information.

Teaching

The course is taught as a weekly three-hour seminar extending over the second semester. The opening seminars will be given by staff. The rest will be based on team presentations by the students. The exact agenda and distribution of these tasks will depend on the configuration of numbers and interests in the group and will be determined when the course first meets in week 1 of the second semester.

The working method of the seminar will be based on teams which will need to meet regularly in order to work out their division of labour, and to work out the conclusions and discussion topics that they will present to the seminar. Each presentation will require the team to summarise a specified body of literature and to make a critical assessment of its strengths and weaknesses.

Students are encouraged, but not required to formulate their essay topics around subjects that they have worked on for these presentations. **Full attendance and participation is a mandatory requirement for completion of the course.**

Introduction

Current international security questions are a challenge to the traditional Realpolitik discourse of 'state-security' based on power politics and inter-state competition and its regulation through the balance of power, collective security, diplomacy and military deterrence. In today's fluid international context, security concerns are posed in relation to an absence of traditional mechanisms of power or security framework. This perceived lack of power and attempts to develop a new regulatory security framework are addressed in the course by focusing on three interconnected levels – individual, state and international.

1) Individual - the focus for current 'human security' or 'people-centred' security concerns are the victims of world politics, those powerless and open to abuse through their own state's failure to protect and enforce human rights. These new security needs have led to the development of new 'norms' of humanitarian intervention and the international protection of human rights which have further challenged the UN Charter framework of sovereignty and international law.

2) State – today there is a focus on the dangers of powerless states open to internal conflict and civil war and vulnerable to gangsterism and corruption. Failed states are held to pose a threat not only to their own people but to international peace and security through becoming hosts to terrorists and international criminal gangs. These security concerns have led to the development of new mechanisms of international regulation, including an emphasis on preventive approaches dealing with the broader issues of 'governance' in 'failing states', and new developments in post-conflict 'nation-building' and new international protectorates.

3) International - Western powers and international institutions are increasingly held to lack the political will, the resources or the coordinating capacity to respond to security threats. This is highlighted in the focus on the United Nations' failure to act in Bosnia or Rwanda and US vulnerability in the face of attack by a terrorist network rather than a state. These new security needs have led to discussion on the need to reform the UN, new roles for NATO and the European Union, and the possibility of unilateral 'pre-emptive' actions by 'coalitions of the willing'.

This course considers the problems and possibilities posed at each of these levels and analyses the theoretical as well as the practical developments in this field. The contemporary focus on international security concerns and the ongoing developments in constructing a new international security framework mean that a high proportion of the course readings will be available on the internet

Preparatory Reading

Barry Buzan, *People, States and Fear* (2nd ed) (Harlow: Person, 1991).

Barry Buzan, Ole Wæver and Jaap de Wilde, *Security: A New Framework for Analysis* (Boulder, Co/London: Lynne Reiner, 1998).

Terry Terriff, Stuart Croft, Lucy James and Patrick M. Morgan, *Security Studies Today* (Cambridge: Polity, 1999).

Keith Krause and Michael C. Williams (eds) *Critical Security Studies: Concepts and Cases* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1997)

Key Readings

Kenneth Waltz, *Man the State and War* (New York: Columbia University Press: 1959)

K. Holsti, *The State, War, and the State of War* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996).

Mary Kaldor, *New and Old Wars: Organized Violence in a Global Era* (Polity Press: Cambridge, 1999).

Michael Walzer, *Just and Unjust Wars: A Moral Argument with Historical Illustrations* (New York: Perseus, 2000).

James Gow, *Defending the West* (Cambridge: Polity, 2005).

Martin Shaw, *The New Western Way of War: Risk - Transfer War and Its Crisis in Iraq* (Cambridge: Polity, 2005).

David Chandler, *From Kosovo to Kabul: Human Rights and International Intervention* second edition (Pluto Press, London, 2006)

David Campbell, *Writing Security: United States Foreign Policy and the Politics of Identity* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press 1992/ 1998).

Robert Jackson, *Quasi-states: Sovereignty, International Relations and the Third World* (Cambridge University Press: Cambridge, 1990).

Johan Galtung, 'Violence, Peace and Peace Research', *Journal of Peace Research*, Vol.6, No.3 (1969), pp.167 – 191

Ken Booth, 'Security and Emancipation', *Review of International Studies*, Vol.17, No.4 (1991), pp.313-327

Study Group on Europe's Security Capabilities, *A Human Security Doctrine for Europe*, Barcelona: 15 September 2004.

<http://www.lse.ac.uk/Depts/global/Human%20Security%20Report%20Full.pdf>.

Report of the Secretary-General's High-level Panel on Threats, Challenges and Change, *A More Secure World: Our Shared Responsibility*, New York: United Nations, 2004.

<http://www.un.org/secureworld/>

Robert Cooper, *The Breaking of Nations: Order and Chaos in the Twenty-first Century* (London: Atlantic Books, 2003)

Robert Kagan, *Paradise and Power: America and Europe in the New World Order* (London: Atlantic Books, 2003)

Geoffrey Robertson QC, *Crimes Against Humanity: The Struggle for Global Justice* (Penguin, London, 1999/2000).

Jack Straw, 'Failed and Failing States', Speech by the UK Foreign Secretary at the European Research Institute, Birmingham University, 6 September 2002.

<http://www.eri.bham.ac.uk/jstraw.htm>

The Responsibility to Protect and Supplementary Volume *The Responsibility to Protect: Research, Bibliography, Background*, Report of the International Commission on Intervention and State Sovereignty, (Ottawa: International Development Research Centre, December 2001).

<http://www.dfait-maeci.gc.ca/iciss-ciise/menu-en.asp>

<http://www.dfait-maeci.gc.ca/iciss-ciise/pdf/Commission-Report.pdf>

Report of the Panel on UN Peace Operations (Brahimi Report), August 2000

http://www.un.org/peace/reports/peace_operations/

Francis Fukuyama, *State Building: Governance and World Order in the Twenty-First Century* (London: Profile, 2004).

Michael Ignatieff, *Empire Lite: Nation-Building in Bosnia, Kosovo and Afghanistan* (London: Vintage, 2003)

Kofi Annan, the UN Millennium Report, "*We the Peoples*": *The Role of the United Nations in the 21st Century*

<http://www.un.org/millennium/sg/report/>

National Security Strategy of the United States, September 2002

<http://www.whitehouse.gov/nsc/nss.html>

<http://www.whitehouse.gov/nsc/nss.pdf>

US Dept of State Response to Terrorism

<http://usinfo.state.gov/topical/pol/terror/>

Foreign Office: The International Fight against Terrorism

<http://www.fco.gov.uk/servlet/Front?pagename=OpenMarket/Xcelerate/ShowPage&c=Page&cid=1007029394239>

Seminar programme

Introduction: What is Security?

1. Introduction – Course Outline and State of the Discipline

Part I: Theorising Security

2. Expanding the Security Agenda
3. Critical Security Studies
4. Security Discourses

Part II: Human Security

5. From State-centred to People-centred Security
6. From Just Peace to Just War

Part III: State Security

7. From Rogue States to Failed States
8. From Peacekeeping to Peace-building and State-building

Part IV: International Security

9. The United Nations and Coalitions of the Willing
10. American and European Perspectives
11. The War against Terrorism

Conclusion

12. Conclusion – is there a framework for international security?

Seminar questions and reading

Introduction: What is Security?

1. Introduction –Course Outline / State of the Discipline

Questions:

What is security?

Why does Barry Buzan argue that security is an ‘essentially contested concept’?

What are security referents? What are security threats?

What has been the impact of the end of the Cold War on International Security studies?

Essential reading:

Barry Buzan, *People, States and Fear* (2nd ed) (Harlow: Pearson, 1991), esp. Introduction

Terry Terriff, Stuart Croft, Lucy James and Patrick M. Morgan, *Security Studies Today* (Cambridge: Polity, 1999), especially:

Introduction

Chapter 1: International Relations and Security Studies

Chapter 2: Traditional Views of Security in International Relations

Conclusion: Security and Security Issues

Simon Dalby, ‘Contesting an Essential Concept: Reading the Dilemmas in Contemporary Security Discourse’, in Keith Krause and Michael C. Williams (eds) *Critical Security Studies: Concepts and Cases* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1997)

David A. Baldwin, ‘The Concept of Security’, *Review of International Studies*, Vol.23 (1997), pp.5-26.

Jessica Mathews, ‘Redefining Security’, *Foreign Affairs*, Vol.68, No.2 (1989), pp.162-177.

Recommended reading:

Kenneth Waltz, *Man the State and War* (New York: Columbia University Press: 1959)

Michael E. Brown (ed.) *The Perils of Anarchy: Contemporary Realism and International Security* (Cambridge: MIT Press, 1995)

Keith Krause and Michael C. Williams (eds) *Critical Security Studies: Concepts and Cases* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1997)

John Baylis in John Baylis & Steve Smith *The Globalization of World Politics: An Introduction to International Relations* 2nd edition (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001): Chapter 12: International and Global Security in the Post-Cold War World

Michael Nicholson *International Relations: A Concise Introduction* 2nd edition (London: Palgrave, 2002): Chapter 8: Security, Violence and the Military

Our Global Neighbourhood Report of the Commission on Global Governance (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1995): Chapter 3: Promoting Security

Part I: Theorising Security

2. Expanding the Security Agenda

Questions:

How does anarchy influence security? How does interdependence influence security? What is the importance of military, political, economic, environmental and societal security?

What is the relationship between individual security and national security?

Why are states the principal referent for security? What is 'mature anarchy'? Why does Buzan support strong states?

Essential reading:

Barry Buzan, *People, States and Fear* (2nd ed) (Harlow: Pearson, 1991), esp. Introduction

Chapter 1: Individual Security and National Security

Chapter 2: National Security and the Nature of the State

Chapter 3: National Insecurity: Threats and Vulnerabilities

Chapter 4: Security and the International Political System

Recommended reading:

Essential reading for seminar 1

Terry Terriff, Stuart Croft, Lucy James and Patrick M. Morgan, *Security Studies Today* (Cambridge: Polity, 1999), esp:
Chapter 1: International Relations and Security Studies
Chapter 6: Non Traditional Security Threats: The Environment as a Security Issue
Chapter 7: Non Traditional Security Threats: Economics, Crime and Migration

Jessica Mathews, 'Redefining Security', *Foreign Affairs*, Vol.68, No.2 (1989), pp.162-177.

Barry Buzan, Ole and Jaap de Wilde, *Security: A New Framework for Analysis* (Boulder, Co/London: Lynne Reiner, 1998)

3. Critical Security Studies

Questions:

What is the security referent in Critical Security Studies?

How did Critical Security move into the mainstream?

Is there a difference between Critical Security approaches and Human Security?

Essential reading:

Johan Galtung, 'Violence, Peace and Peace Research', *Journal of Peace Research*, Vol.6, No.3 (1969), pp.167 – 191 (available from J Stor)

Keith Krause and Michael C. Williams (eds) *Critical Security Studies: Concepts and Cases* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1997)

J. Ann Tickner, 'Re-visioning Security', in Ken Booth and Steve Smith (eds) *International Relations Theory Today* (Cambridge: Polity, 1995/2002), pp.175-197.

Ken Booth, 'Security in Anarchy: Utopian Realism in Theory and Practice', *International Affairs*, Vol.67, No.3 (1991), pp.527-545.

Ken Booth, 'Security and Emancipation', *Review of International Studies*, Vol.17, No.4 (1991), pp.313-327

Recommended reading:

Terry Terriff, Stuart Croft, Lucy James and Patrick M. Morgan, *Security Studies Today* (Cambridge: Polity, 1999), esp:
Chapter 3: Peace Studies
Chapter 4: The Impact of Gender on Security
Chapter 5: The Post-Positivist Turn

Ken Booth (ed.) *Critical Security Studies and World Politics* (New York: Lynne Rienner Publishers, 2005).

Mary Kaldor, *New and Old Wars: Organized Violence in a Global Era* (Polity Press: Cambridge, 1999).

Mark Duffield, *Global Governance and the New Wars: The Merging of Development and Security* (London: Zed Books, 2001).

Ken Booth, 'Dare Not to Know: International Relations Theory Versus the Future', in Ken Booth and Steve Smith (eds) *International Political Theory Today* (London: Polity, 1994).

Ken Booth, 'Human Wrongs and International Relations', *International Affairs*, Vol.71, No.1, pp.103-122.

4. Security Discourses

Questions:

Where does the 'Copenhagen School' differ from both realism and postmodernism?
Why does Ole Wæver argue that security is an inter-subjective construction? What is the distinction between 'securitization' and 'politicization'?
Why does David Campbell suggest that the end of the Cold War will make little difference to international security?
How does Laïdi inverse tradition conceptions of identity, power and interest?
How does Cynthia Weber argue that sovereignty is simulated?

Essential reading:

Zaki Laïdi, *A World without Meaning: The Crisis of Meaning in International Relations* (London: Routledge, 1998).

Barry Buzan, Ole Wæver and Jaap de Wilde, *Security: A New Framework for Analysis* (Boulder, Co/London: Lynne Reiner, 1998), esp.
Chapter 2: Security Analysis: Conceptual Apparatus
Chapter 9: Conclusion

David Campbell, *Writing Security: United States Foreign Policy and the Politics of Identity* (2nd ed) (University of Minnesota Press, 1998).

Cynthia Weber, *Simulating Sovereignty: Intervention, the State and Symbolic Exchange* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994).

Recommended reading:

Jean Baudrillard, *The Gulf War Did Not Take Place* (Bloomington & Indianapolis, Indiana University Press, 1995).

Jean Baudrillard, *The Spirit of Terrorism* (London: Verso, 2002).

Christopher Coker, 'The United States and the Ethics of Post-Modern War', in Karen E. Smith and Margot Light (eds) *Ethics and Foreign Policy* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001).

Ole Wæver, 'Securitization and Desecuritization', in Ronnie D. Lipschutz (ed.) *On Security* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1995).

Edward Newman 'Human Security and Constructivism' *International Studies Perspectives*, Vo. 2, No. 3, (2001) pp.239-251

James Der Derian, 'The Value of Security: Hobbes, Marx, Nietzsche, and Baudrillard', in Ronnie D. Lipschutz (ed.) *On Security* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1995).

James Der Derian, *Anti-Diplomacy – Spies, Terror, Speed and War* (Cambridge, Mass.: Blackwell, 1992).

Kanishka Jayasuriya, '9/11 and the New 'Anti-politics' of 'Security'', SSRC, <http://www.ssrc.org/sept11/essays/jayasuriya.htm>

Giorgio Agamben, 'On Security and Terror', *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung*, September 20, 2001.
<http://www.egs.edu/faculty/agamben/agamben-on-security-and-terror.html>

Giorgio Agamben, 'The State of Emergency', extract from a lecture given at the Centre Roland-Barthes (Universite Paris VII, Denis-Diderot).
<http://info.interactivist.net/analysis/04/01/05/1544205.shtml?tid=8>

Part II: Human Security

5. From State-Centred to Individual-Centred Security

Questions:

Does Human Security exist?

Does Human Security challenge the idea that security is an 'essentially contested concept'?

How does Human Security relate to Critical Security approaches?

How and why did the individual become a fundamental security referent?

What are the implications of the human-centred approach?
What role do states play in human-centred approaches?

Essential reading:

Final Report of the Commission on Human Security
<http://www.humansecurity-chs.org/finalreport/index.html>
especially Chapter 1: Human Security Now
<http://www.humansecurity-chs.org/finalreport/chapter1.pdf>

United Nations Development Project, *Human Development Report 1994: New Dimensions of Human Security*.
<http://hdr.undp.org/reports/global/1994/en/>
especially Chapter 2, 'New Dimensions of Human Security'
http://hdr.undp.org/reports/global/1994/en/pdf/hdr_1994_ch2.pdf

United Nations Development Project, *Human Development Report 1997: Human Development to Eradicate Poverty*
<http://hdr.undp.org/reports/global/1997/en/>

Study Group on Europe's Security Capabilities, *A Human Security Doctrine for Europe*, Barcelona: 15 September 2004.
<http://www.lse.ac.uk/Depts/global/Human%20Security%20Report%20Full.pdf>.

Report of the Secretary-General's High-level Panel on Threats, Challenges and Change, *A More Secure World: Our Shared Responsibility*, New York: United Nations, 2004.
<http://www.un.org/secureworld/>

David Chandler, *Empire in Denial: The Politics of State-Building* (London: Pluto, 2006), chapter 4 OR
'The "Other-Regarding" Ethics of Empire in Denial', draft chapter for forthcoming book: V. Heins and D. Chandler (eds), *Rethinking Ethical Foreign Policy: Pitfalls, Possibilities and Paradoxes* (London: Routledge).
<http://www.wmin.ac.uk/sshl/pdf/CSDCHandlerOtherRegarding%20Ethics0306.pdf>

United Nations, Millennium Development Goals
<http://www.un.org/millenniumgoals/>

United Nations Development Project, UN Millennium Goals
<http://www.undp.org/mdg/>

Recommended reading:

Human Security Gateway
<http://www.humansecuritygateway.info/>

Marlies Glasius and Mary Kaldor, 'Individuals First: A Human Security Strategy for the European Union', *Internationale Politik und Gesellschaft*, No.1, 2005, pp.62-82.
http://fesportal.fes.de/pls/portal30/docs/FOLDER/IPG/IPG1_2005/GLASIUSKALDOR.PDF

Clare Short MP, "Security, development and conflict prevention", Department for International Development, 13 May 1998.
<http://www.dfid.gov.uk/news/speeches/files/sp13may.html>

Mark Duffield, *Global Governance and the New Wars: The Merging of Development and Security* (London: Zed Books, 2001).

Kofi Annan, the UN Millennium Report, "*We the Peoples*": *The Role of the United Nations in the 21st Century*
<http://www.un.org/millennium/sg/report/>

Ken Booth, 'Security and Emancipation', *Review of International Studies*, Vol.17, No.4 (1991), pp.313-327

Simon Dalby, 'Geopolitical Change and Contemporary Security Studies: Contextualizing the Human Security Agenda', Working Paper No.30, Institute of International Relations, University of British Columbia, April 2000.
<http://www.iir.ubc.ca/pdffiles/webwp30.pdf>

Definitions of Human Security
http://www.hsph.harvard.edu/hpcr/events/hsworkshop/list_definitions.pdf

Commission on Human Security
<http://www.humansecurity-chs.org/>

6. From Just Peace to Just War

Questions:

How and why has peace been re-conceptualised?
What is the difference between Old Wars and New Wars?
Is there a contradiction between peace and justice?
Why has there been renewed interest in 'Just War' theory today?

Essential reading:

Mary Kaldor, *New and Old Wars: Organized Violence in a Global Era* (Polity Press: Cambridge, 1999)

K. Holsti, *The State, War, and the State of War* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996).

Michael Walzer, *Just and Unjust Wars: A Moral Argument with Historical Illustrations* (New York: Perseus, 2000).

David Chandler *From Kosovo to Kabul: Human Rights and International Intervention* (London: Pluto Press, 2002), esp.
Chapter 6: War: The Lesser of Two Evils?

Hedley Bull, 'The Grotian Conception of International Society', in Herbert Butterfield and Martin Wight (eds), *Diplomatic Investigations: Essays in the Theory of International Relations* (London: George Allen & Unwin, 1966), pp.51-73.

The Responsibility to Protect Report of the International Commission on Intervention and State Sovereignty (Ottawa: International Development Research Centre, December 2001). Especially chapter 6, 'The Question of Authority'
<http://www.iciss.ca/pdf/Commission-Report.pdf>

Recommended reading:

Hedley Bull, *The Anarchical Society: A Study of Order in World Politics* 2nd ed. (London: Macmillan, 1995 (1977)), esp.
Chapter 6: International Law and International Order

Alessandro Columbo, 'Asymmetrical Warfare or Asymmetrical Society? The Changing Form of War and the Collapse of International Society', in A. Gobbicchi (ed.) *Globalization, Armed Conflicts and Security*, Rome: Cemis-Rubbettino, 2004, pp.111-27.

Simon Chesterman, *Just War or Just Peace?: Humanitarian Intervention and International Law* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001). Particularly last three chapters.

J. L. Holzgrefe and Robert O. Keohane (Eds) *Humanitarian Intervention: Ethical, Legal and Political Dilemmas* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003).

Anthony F. Lang, Jr. (ed.) *Just Intervention* (Washington: Georgetown University Press, 2003).

Fabrice Weissman, (ed.) *In the Shadow of 'Just Wars': Violence, Politics and Humanitarian Action* (London: Hurst, 2004).

Jennifer M. Welsh, (ed.) *Humanitarian Intervention and International Relations* (Oxford: OUP, 2004).

Nicholas J Wheeler, *Saving Strangers: Humanitarian Intervention in International Society* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000).

Human Rights and Armed Conflict: World Report 2004, Human Rights Watch
<http://hrw.org/wr2k4/>

Ken Roth, 'War in Iraq not a Humanitarian Intervention'
http://hrw.org/wr2k4/3.htm#_Toc58744952

Prime Minister Tony Blair's Speech to the Labour Party Conference, 2 October 2001.
<http://politics.guardian.co.uk/labourconference2001/story/0,1220,561985,00.html>
<http://politics.guardian.co.uk/labourconference2001/story/0,1220,561988,00.html>

Nicholas J. Wheeler and Alex J. Bellamy, 'Humanitarian Intervention and World Politics', in John Baylis & Steve Smith (eds) *The Globalization of World Politics: An Introduction to International Relations* 2nd edition (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001).

James Mayall *World Politics: Progress and its Limits* (Cambridge: Polity, 2000):
Chapter 9: Pluralism and Solidarism Revisited Chapter 10: Intervention in Liberal
International Theory; Chapter 11: Humanitarian Intervention in the 1990s

Chris Brown *Sovereignty, Rights and Justice: International Political Theory Today*
(Cambridge: Polity, 2002): Esp.
Chapter 8: Humanitarianism and Humanitarian Intervention.

Michael Pugh, 'Peacekeeping and Humanitarian Intervention', in Brian White,
Richard Little and Michael Smith (eds) *Issues in World Politics* 2nd edition (London:
Palgrave, 2001).

Barry Buzan, *People, States and Fear* (2nd ed) (Harlow: Person, 1991), esp.
Chapter 1: Individual Security and National Security

Anonymous, 'Human Rights in Peace Negotiations', *Human Rights Quarterly*,
Vol.18, No.2 (1996), pp.249-58.

Felice Gaer, 'UN-Anonymous: reflections on Human Rights in Peace Negotiations',
Human Rights Quarterly, Vol. 19, No.1 (1997), pp.1-8.

The Responsibility to Protect: Research, Bibliography, Background, Supplementary
Volume to the Report of the International Commission on Intervention and State
Sovereignty (Ottawa: International Development Research Centre, December 2001).
<http://www.dfait-maeci.gc.ca/iciss-ciise/research-en.asp>

Geoffrey Robertson QC, *Crimes Against Humanity: The Struggle for Global Justice*
(Penguin, London, 1999/2000).

UN Office for the Co-ordination of Humanitarian Affairs, *Protection of Civilians in
Armed Conflict*.
http://www.reliefweb.int/ocha_ol/civilians/index.html

David Chandler (ed) *Rethinking Human Rights: Critical Approaches to International
Politics* (London: Palgrave, 2002).

Tim Dunne and Nicholas J. Wheeler (eds) *Human Rights in Global Politics* (Cambridge University Press: Cambridge, 1999).

David Chandler, *From Kosovo to Kabul: Human Rights and International Intervention* (Pluto Press, London, 2002).

Martin Shaw, *On Slaughter: From War to Genocide: An Introduction to War and Genocide Studies* (forthcoming Polity Press). Especially Chapter 2: Genocide as a Form of War

<http://www.martinshaw.org/slaughter/2.htm>

Martin Shaw, 'Review Essay: The Contemporary Mode of Warfare? Mary Kaldor's Theory of New Wars', *Review of International Political Economy*, Vol.7, No.1, 2000, pp.171-80.

<http://www.sussex.ac.uk/Users/hafa3/kaldor.htm>

Barrie Collins in David Chandler (ed) *Rethinking Human Rights: Critical Approaches to International Politics* (London: Palgrave, 2002): Chapter 8: New Wars and Old Wars?: The Lessons of Rwanda

Alexander Zahar, 'Focus on Rwanda', Review Article. *Journal of Genocide Research*, Vol.3, No.2 (2001), pp.293-300.

David Rieff, 'David Rieff, Author of *A Bed for the Night* talks with Robert Birnbaum'. Posted 20 November 2002.

<http://www.identitytheory.com/printme/rieffprint.html>

Part III: State Security

7. From Rogue States to Failed States

Questions:

What is the difference between the concept of 'rogue state' and 'failed state'?

What is a 'failed' or 'failing' state

What are the consequences of the 'failed state' security thesis?

Essential reading:

Paul D Hoyt, "'Rogue States" and International Relations', Paper presented at International Studies Association, 40th Annual Convention, Washington, D.C., February 16–20, 1999

<http://www.ciaonet.org/isa/hop01/>

U.S. Department of State, Daily Press Briefing. Briefer: Richard Boucher, Spokesman, Dpb #61, Monday, June 19 2000 12:15 P.M.
<http://globalization.about.com/blrogue.htm>

Meghan L. O'Sullivan, 'Sanctioning 'Rogue' States: A Strategy in Decline?', *Harvard International Review*, Summer 2000.
<http://www.brook.edu/dybdocroot/views/articles/osullivan/2000summerHIR.htm>

Thomas H. Henriksen, 'The Rise and Decline of Rogue States', *Journal of International Affairs*, Spring 2001, Vol.54, No.2, pp.349-371.
http://jia.sipa.columbia.edu/media/henriksen_rogues.pdf

Jack Straw, 'Failed and Failing States', Speech by the UK Foreign Secretary at the European Research Institute, Birmingham University, 6 September 2002.
<http://www.eri.bham.ac.uk/jstraw.htm>

OR

Jack Straw 'Order out of Chaos: The Challenge of Failed States', in Mark Leonard (ed.) *Reordering the World* (London: Foreign Policy Centre, 2002).
<http://fpc.org.uk/fsblob/36.pdf> (PRINT ONLY pp.59-61)

Robert H Jackson, 'Surrogate Sovereignty, Great Power Responsibility and "Failed States"', Institute of International Relations, University of British Columbia, Working Paper No.25, November 1998.
<http://www.iir.ubc.ca/pdf/files/webwp25.pdf>

Robert I. Rotberg (ed.) *When States Fail: Causes and Consequences* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2004).

Jennifer Milliken (ed.) *State Failure, Collapse and Reconstruction* (Oxford, Blackwell, 2003).

Daniel Thurer, 'The Failed State and International Law', *International Review of the Red Cross* (1999), No.836, pp.731-761.
<http://www.icrc.org/Web/eng/siteeng0.nsf/iwpList175/438B7C44BDEAC7A3C1256B66005DCAAB>

Recommended reading:

Robert Cooper, 'The New Liberal Imperialism', *Observer Worldview Extra*, 7 April, 2002.
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8. From Peacekeeping to Peace-Building and State-Building

Questions:

Has there been a shift away from human-centred to state-centred approaches?

Why has there been a shift from peacekeeping to peace-building?

What the limits to external state-building?

How important are states for the maintenance of order and security domestically and internationally?

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Part IV: International Security

9. The United Nations and Coalitions of the Willing

Questions:

Has the UN been strengthened or weakened since the end of the Cold War?
Can the UN Charter be reformed? Should the UN be reformed? In what way?
What has encouraged the creation of 'Coalitions of the Willing'?

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10. US and European Perspectives

Questions:

Why does Kagan argue that Americans are from Mars and Europeans from Venus?

Is Europe a normative power?

Why does Cooper argue that Europe is a 'postmodern' power?

What are the key areas of agreement between Cooper and Kagan?

Is there a European alternative?

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11. The War against Terrorism

Questions:

What is the 'war on terror'? Can the 'war on terror' be won?
Why is terrorism different from traditional security threats?
Was 9/11 a turning point in international security relations? What are the similarities and differences between security discourses of humanitarian intervention and the 'war on terror'?
Does the 'war on terror' herald the return to power politics?

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Conclusion

12. Conclusion – is there a framework for international security?

Questions:

What is the best approach to understanding international security?
Has the current security framework strengthened state capacity and international capacity to deal with security threats?
Is there a new international order?

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