

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

International Relations II: Beyond International Relations?

2008 - 2009

Module Code: 1ISP7A5

Length: One Semester

Module leader: Professor David Chandler

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Full Module Title:	INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS II: BEYOND INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS?
Short Module Title:	International Relations II
Module Code:	1ISP7A5
Module Level:	7
Academic credit weighting:	20
Length:	1 semester
School:	School of Social Sciences, Humanities and Languages
Department:	Politics and International Relations
Module Leader(s):	Professor David Chandler
Extension:	7605
Room :	WS504
Email:	D.Chandler@Westminster.ac.uk
Host course:	MA International Relations
Status:	Core
Subject Board:	MA International Relations
Pre-requisites:	International Relations I
Co-requisites:	None
Assessment:	1 essay 5,000 words (100%)

Summary of Module Content

Divided into five parts we analyse the theory and the practice involved in giving international content to universal values and aspirations today. Part I analyses how two central tenets of Realism have come under question: national interest and sovereignty. Part II considers the rights of the individual in the international sphere, focusing on humanitarian assistance and human rights. Part III traces the impact of new international practices to extend democracy at the international level. Part IV analyses the recent developments in international justice and international law; Part V considers whether a new global political actor is emerging – global civil society – which is able to overcome the international/ domestic divide.

Module Aims

The aim of this advanced level module is to address the question at the heart of the existence of International Relations as an academic discipline: To what extent is the international political sphere separate and distinct from the domestic one? Realist theory held that order, progress and justice stopped at the boundaries of the nation-state, however, since the end of the Cold War, international relations theory has tended to reject the dualism of the domestic and the international. This course discusses where and how the boundaries between the domestic and the international can be drawn, through a consideration of legal, political, ethical questions raised by the blurring of the traditional categories of international relations.

Learning Outcomes

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

- 1) Analyse a range of specialised theories that can be applied to the study of international relations;
- 2) Critically evaluate where the current frontiers of IR theory are located, and why;
- 3) Analyse the relevance to IR of work in other disciplines
- 4) Select and apply specialised IR theories to specific research problems and recognise the basic costs and benefits of those selections.

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 at the ground floor of Wells 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 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.

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

This advanced level course addresses the question at the heart of the existence of International Relations as an academic discipline: To what extent is the international political sphere separate and distinct from the domestic one? Realist theory held that order, progress and justice stopped at the boundaries of the nation-state, leaving the international sphere as a distinct realm of academic study, fixed in a 'timeless present', shaped by anarchy and conflicting power-relations. Since the end of the Cold War, international relations theory has tended to reject the Realist dualism of the domestic and the international.

Many commentators argue that in a globalised world the international and the domestic are so intermeshed that any distinction would be artificial. Others suggest that there has been a sea-change in the international order with the protection and enforcement of individual rights acquiring equal or greater priority, than the rights of state sovereignty. The prioritisation of individual rights in the international sphere suggests an inversion of the Realist thesis: rather than the sovereign state being the guarantor of peace, justice, democracy and the rule of law these core values would seem to be best guaranteed at the international level.

This course explores these key questions of politics, morality, rights, justice, order, war and law to assess how far, and in which ways, the political divide between the international and the domestic has been narrowed or overcome. What are the issues and questions raised in the attempt to realise universal values at the international level?

Divided into five parts the course analyses the theory and the practice involved in giving international content to universal values and aspirations today. Part I analyses how two central tenets of realism have come under question: national interest and sovereignty. Part II considers the rights of the individual in the international sphere, focusing on humanitarian assistance and human rights. Part III traces the impact of new international practices to extend democracy at the international level. Part IV analyses the recent developments in international justice and international law; Part V considers whether a new global political actor is emerging – global civil society – which is able to overcome the international/ domestic divide.

Key Readings

Christopher Bickerton, Philip Cunliffe and Alexander Gourevitch (eds) *Politics without Sovereignty: A Critique of Contemporary International Relations* (London: UCL Press, 2007).

David Chandler *Constructing Global Civil Society: Morality and Power in International Politics* (Basingstoke: Palgrave, 2004).

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

David Chandler, *Empire in Denial: The Politics of State-building* (London: Pluto Press, 2006).

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

Ken Booth and Steve Smith (eds) *International Relations Theory Today* (Cambridge: Polity, 1995/2002).

Hedley Bull, *The Anarchical Society: A Study of Order in World Politics* (London: Palgrave-Macmillan, 1977, 1995).

Chris Brown, *Sovereignty, Rights and Justice: International Political Theory Today* (Cambridge: Polity, 2002).

Karen E. Smith and Margot Light (eds) *Ethics and Foreign Policy* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001).

James N. Rosenau and Ernst-Otto Czempiel (eds) *Governance Without Government: Order and Change in World Politics* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992/2000).

Stephen D. Krasner, *Sovereignty: Organized Hypocrisy* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1999).

Andrew Linklater, *The Transformation of Political Community* (Cambridge: Polity, 1998).

David Reiff, *A Bed for the Night: Humanitarianism in Crisis* (Vintage Books, 2002)

Fiona Terry, *Condemned to Repeat?: The Paradox of Humanitarian Action* (Cornell University Press, 2002)

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

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

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

Danilo Zolo, *Invoking Humanity: War, Law and Global Order* (London: Continuum, 2001).

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

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

William Bain, *Between Anarchy and Society: Trusteeship and the Obligations of Power* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003).

Roland Paris, *At War's End: Rebuilding Peace after Civil Conflict* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004).

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

David Held, *Democracy and the Global Order: From the Modern State to Cosmopolitan Governance* (Cambridge: Polity, 1995).

Barry Holden (ed) *Global Democracy: Key Debates* (London: Routledge, 2000).

Archibugi, Daniele, Held, David and Kohler, Martin (eds) *Re-imagining Political Community: Studies in Cosmopolitan Democracy* (London: Polity Press, 1998)

Margaret Keck and Kathryn Sikkink, *Activists Beyond Borders: Advocacy Networks in International Politics* (New York: Cornell University Press, 1998).

Thomas Risse, Stephen C. Ropp and Kathryn Sikkink, *The Power of Human Rights* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999/2001).

Danilo Zolo, *Cosmopolis: Prospects for World Government* (London: Polity, 1997).

Mary Kaldor, *Global Civil Society: An Answer to War* (London: Polity, 2003)

Martin Shaw, *Theory of the Global State: Globality as an Unfinished Revolution* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000)

John Keane, *Global Civil Society?* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003)

Michael Hardt and Antonio Negri, *Empire* (Cambridge, Mass: Harvard University Press, 2000).

Seminar programme

Introduction

1. Introduction: What is Distinct about the International Sphere?

Part I: The Decline of the Realist Paradigm

2. What Happened to the National Interest?
3. Sovereign Equality in Question

Part II: Individual Rights?

4. Right to Humanitarian Aid
5. Human Rights

Part III: Extending Democracy?

6. Exporting Democracy
7. Cosmopolitan Democracy

Part IV: Developing International Law?

8. The Changing Nature of International Law
9. War Crimes Tribunals and the ICC

Part V: A New Global Politics?

10. Global Civil Society (1): Constructing Global Identities and Interests
11. Global Civil Society (2): Building Global Community From Below

Conclusion

12. Conclusion: Theorising the International Sphere

Seminar questions and readings

Introduction

1. Introduction: What is Distinct about the International Sphere?

Questions:

Can political theory take us beyond the sovereignty/anarchy problematic?
What is the 'domestic analogy'? Is it more or less relevant today?
What has undermined Realist theory?
Does sovereignty divide the domestic from the international?

Essential reading:

Hedley Bull, 'Society and Anarchy in International Relations', in Herbert Butterfield and Martin Wight (eds), *Diplomatic Investigations: Essays in the Theory of International Relations* (London: George Allen & Unwin, 1966), pp.35-50. ALSO AVAILABLE IN James Der Derian (ed.) *International Theory: Critical Investigations* (London: Macmillan, 1995).

David Chandler, 'The Interregnum: Sovereignty and International Relations in Flux', draft paper for brown bag seminar at the Centre for Defence Studies, Kings College London, 22 April 2004.

<http://www.wmin.ac.uk/sshl/pdf/The%20Interregnum%20PDF.pdf>

Recommended reading:

Hidemi Suganami, 'Reflections on the Domestic Analogy: the Case of Bull, Beitz and Linklater', *Review of International Studies*, Vol.12 (1986), pp.145-158.

R. B. J. Walker, 'The Subject of Security', in Keith Krause and Michael C. Williams (eds) *Critical Security Studies: Concepts and Cases* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1997)

Danilo Zolo, *Cosmopolis: Prospects for World Government* (London: Polity, 1997), esp. Chapter 3: The Blind Alleys of International Ethics

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

Hedley Bull, *The Anarchical Society: A Study of Order in World Politics* (Palgrave-Macmillan: London, 1977, 1995).

Christopher Bickerton, Philip Cunliffe and Alexander Gourevitch (eds) *Politics without Sovereignty: A Critique of Contemporary International Relations* (London: UCL Press, 2007).

Chris Brown, *Sovereignty, Rights and Justice: International Political Theory Today* (Polity: Cambridge, 2002).

Ken Booth and Steve Smith (eds) *International Relations Theory Today* (Cambridge: Polity, 1995/2002). Especially:

Chapter 11: Andrew Linklater, 'Neo-realism in Theory and Practice'

Chapter 14: R. B. J. Walker, 'International Relations and the Concept of the Political'

Chapter 15: Ken Booth, 'Dare Not to Know: International Relations Theory versus the Future'

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

Chapter 4: Security and the International Political System

James N. Rosenau and Ernst-Otto Czempiel (eds) *Governance Without Government: Order and Change in World Politics* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992/2000).

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

Daniele Archibugi, David Held, and Martin Kohler, (eds) *Re-imagining Political Community: Studies in Cosmopolitan Democracy* (London: Polity Press, 1998)
Especially:

David Held (Chapter 1); James Rosenau (Chapter 2); David Beetham (Chapter 3); James Crawford and Susan Marks (Chapter 4); Andrew Linklater (Chapter 6); Daniele Archibugi (Chapter 10), Martin Kohler (Chapter 11); Richard Falk (Chapter 15).

Mary Kaldor *New and Old Wars: Organized Violence in a Global Era* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 1999). Especially, Chapter 6: Towards a Cosmopolitan Approach

Richard K. Ashley, 'Untying the Sovereign State: A Double Reading of the Anarchy Problematique', *Millennium* (1988), Vol.17, No.2, pp. 227-262.

R. B. J. Walker, *Inside/Outside: International Relations as Political Theory* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993).

Part I: The Decline of the Realist Paradigm

2. What Happened to the National Interest?

Questions:

Does the decline of national interest mean the rise of universal values?
What is ethical foreign policy?
Is ethical foreign policy new? Is it ethical?
What does Zaki Laïdi mean by the 'divorce between power and meaning'?

Essential reading:

Tony Blair, 'A Battle for Global Values', *Foreign Affairs*, January/February 2007.
<http://www.foreignaffairs.org/20070101faessay86106/tony-blair/a-battle-for-global-values.html?mode=print>

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

Alain Badiou, *Ethics: An Essay on the Understanding of Evil* (London: Verso, 2001).

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

Frank Furedi, *Invitation to Terror: The Expanding Empire of the Unknown* (London: Continuum, 2007).

David Chandler, 'Hollow Hegemony: Theorising the Shift from Interest-Based to Value-Based International Policy-Making', *Millennium: Journal of International Studies*, Vol. 35, No. 3, Special Issue: Theorising the International, September 2007, pp. 703-723.

http://www.davidchandler.org/pdf/journal_articles/Millennium%20-%20Hollow%20Hegemony%20published.pdf

Recommended reading:

Mahmood Mamdani, 'The Politics of Naming: Genocide, Civil War, Insurgency', *London Review of Books*, Vol.29, No.5, 8 March 2007.

http://www.lrb.co.uk/v29/n05/mamd01_.html

David Chandler, *Constructing Global Civil Society: Morality and Power in International Politics* (Basingstoke: Palgrave, 2005), Chapter 3.

OR

David Chandler, 'National Interests, National Identity and "Ethical Foreign Policy"', paper presented at International Sociology Association Conference, 'Racisms, Sexisms and Contemporary Politics of Belonging/s' London, 25 - 27 August 2004.

<http://www.wmin.ac.uk/sshl/page-563>

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, 2007).

<http://www.wmin.ac.uk/ssh/pdf/CSDCHandlerOtherRegarding%20Ethics0306.pdf>

David Chandler and Volker Heins (eds) *Rethinking Ethical Foreign Policy: Pitfalls, Possibilities and Paradoxes* (London: Routledge, 2007).

Condoleezza Rice, 'Campaign 2000: Promoting the National Interest', *Foreign Affairs*, Jan/Feb 2000. OR

Condoleezza Rice, 'How to Pursue the National Interest', Hoover Digest, 2000, No.2
<http://www.hooverdigest.org/002/rice.html>

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

Christopher Bickerton, Philip Cunliffe and Alexander Gourevitch (eds) *Politics without Sovereignty: A Critique of Contemporary International Relations* (London: UCL Press, 2007).

Ken Booth and Steve Smith (eds) *International Relations Theory Today* (Cambridge: Polity, 1995/2002). Especially:

Chapter 1: Steve Smith, 'The Self-Images of a Discipline: A Genealogy of International Relations Theory'

Chapter 15: Ken Booth, 'Dare Not to Know: International Relations Theory versus the Future'

David Chandler, 'Rhetoric without Responsibility: The Attraction of "Ethical" Foreign Policy', *British Journal of Politics & International Relations*, Vol.5, No.3, 2003, pp. 295-316.

<http://www.wmin.ac.uk/ssh/pdf/BJPI1.pdf>

OR

David Chandler, *From Kosovo to Kabul: Human Rights and International Intervention* (London: Pluto Press, 2002), Chapter 3.

Philip Allott, 'The Concept of International Law', *European Journal of International Law*, Vol.10, pp.1-9.

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.idrc.ca/acb/showdetl.cfm?&DID=6&Product_ID=2682&CATID=15

Especially, Chapter 6: Rights and Responsibilities

http://www.idrc.ca/books/963/09_Rights.html

Alexander Wendt 'Anarchy is what States Make of It' *International Organization*, Vol. 46, No.2 (1992), pp.394-419.

Danilo Zolo, *Cosmopolis: Prospects for World Government* (London: Polity, 1997), esp:
Chapter 3: The Blind Alleys of International Ethics

Thomas Risse, Stephen C. Ropp and Kathryn Sikkink (eds), *The Power of Human Rights* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999/2001).

Peregrine Worsthorne, 'Good Intentions', *Guardian*, 8 May 1999.
<http://www.guardian.co.uk/Kosovo/Story/0,2763,207138,00.html>

Tom Bentley and Daniel Stedman Jones (eds) *The Moral Universe* (London: Demos, 1991).

Karen E. Smith and Margot Light (eds) *Ethics and Foreign Policy* (Cambridge University Press: Cambridge, 2001).

George W. Bush, 'President Rallies Troops at Fort Hood, Texas, 3 January 2003.
<http://www.whitehouse.gov/news/releases/2003/01/20030103.html>

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

Alexander Wendt, 'Constructing International Politics', *International Security*, Vol. 20, No. 1 (1995)

How Might We Live? Global Ethics in a New Century, *Review of International Studies*, Vol.26, Special Issue, December 2000.

Ian Clark *Globalization and International Relations Theory* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999): Chapter 7: The Normative State

Chris Brown *International Relations Theory: New Normative Approaches* (Hemel Hempstead: Harvester Wheatsheaf, 1992)

Andrew Linklater *Beyond Realism and Marxism* (London: Macmillan, 1990)

Andrew Linklater *The Transformation of Community: Ethical Foundations of the Post-Westphalian Era* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 1998)

M. Cochran *Normative Theory and International Relations* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999)

Mervyn Frost *Ethics in International Relations: A Constitutive Theory* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996)

3. Sovereign Equality in Question

Questions:

What is sovereign equality? Is formal equality a vital attribute for sovereignty?
Can sovereignty be redefined as responsibility? Does 'The Responsibility to Protect' undermine sovereign equality?
What are the implications of redefining sovereignty as 'domestic capacity'?
Can external accountability co-exist with sovereignty?

Essential reading:

Christopher Bickerton, Philip Cunliffe and Alexander Gourevitch (eds) *Politics without Sovereignty: A Critique of Contemporary International Relations* (London: UCL Press, 2007). Especially:

Chapter 1, Christopher Bickerton, Philip Cunliffe, Alex Gourevitch, 'Politics without Sovereignty?'

Chapter 5, Christopher Bickerton, 'State-building: Exporting State Failure'.

Robert Keohane, 'Political Authority after Intervention: Gradations in Sovereignty', in J. L. Holzgrefe and R. O. Keohane (eds) *Humanitarian Intervention: Ethical, Legal and Political Dilemmas* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003).

Stephen D. Krasner, 'Sharing Sovereignty: New Institutions for Collapsing and Failing States', *International Security*, Vol.29, No.2, (2004), pp.5-43.

James D. Fearon, and David D. Laitin, (2004) 'Neotrusteeship and the Problem of Weak States', *International Security*, Vol.28, No.4, pp.5-43.

Ashraf Ghani, Clare Lockhart, and Michael Carnahan, 'Closing the Sovereignty Gap: an Approach to State-Building', *Overseas Development Institute Working Paper*, No.253, ODI, September 2005. Available at: http://www.odi.org.uk/publications/working_papers/wp253.pdf.

David A. Lake, 'Delegating Divisible Sovereignty: Sweeping a Conceptual Minefield', 11 October 2006.
<http://weber.ucsd.edu/~dlake/documents/DelegatingDivisibleSovereigntypublic.pdf>

David Chandler, *Empire in Denial: The Politics of State-Building* (London: Pluto, 2006), chapter 2. OR

David Chandler, 'International State-Building: Beyond Conditionality, Beyond Sovereignty', Guest Seminar, Royal Institute for International Relations (IRRI-KIIB), Brussels, 17 November 2005.

<http://www.wmin.ac.uk/sshl/pdf/CSDCHandlerInternationalState-Building180206.pdf>

Recommended reading:

Robert Keohane, 'Ironies of Sovereignty: The European Union and the United States', *Journal of Common Market Studies*, Vol.40, No.4, (2002) pp. 743-765.

Stephen D. Krasner, *Sovereignty: Organized Hypocrisy* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1999).

Stephen D. Krasner, 'The Case for Shared Sovereignty', *Journal of Democracy*, Vol. 16, No. 1, (2005) pp. 69-83.

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

Gerry Simpson, 'The Guises of Sovereignty' SAID seminar, London School of Economics, 26 January 2006.

<http://www.said-workshop.org/simpson.paper.doc>

Kofi Annan, 'Two Concepts of Sovereignty', *The Economist*, 18 September 1999.

<http://www.un.org/News/ossg/sg/stories/kaecon.html>

The Responsibility to Protect 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/pdf/Commission-Report.pdf>

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>

David Chandler, 'The Responsibility to Protect: Imposing the "Liberal Peace"?' , *International Peacekeeping*, Vol.11, No.1, Special Issue: Peace Operations and Global Order, 2004, pp.59-81.

http://www.davidchandler.org/pdf/journal_articles/IPK%20-%2011.1%20R2P.pdf

OR

David Chandler, *Constructing Global Civil Society: Morality and Power in International Politics* (Basingstoke: Palgrave, 2005), Chapter 4.

Gareth Evans and Mohamed Sahnoun, 'The Responsibility to Protect', *Foreign Affairs*, Vol. 81, No. 6, Nov-Dec 2002, pp.99-110.

Kofi Annan, 'Secretary-General Addresses International Peace Academy Seminar On 'The Responsibility To Protect'', UN Press Release SG/SM/8125

<http://www.un.org/News/Press/docs/2002/sgsm8125.doc.htm>

William Maley et al (eds) *From Civil Strife to Civil Society: Civil and Military Responsibilities in Disrupted States* (New York, United Nations University, 2003).

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/pdffiles/webwp25.pdf>

Roberta Cohen, *Sovereignty as Responsibility: The Guiding Principles on Internal Displacement*, Public Lecture Hosted by the Calcutta Research Group and the Refugee Studies Center of Jadavpur University, Calcutta, December 5, 2003
<http://www.brookings.edu/dybdocroot/views/speeches/cohenr/20031205.pdf>

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

Francis M. Deng et al., *Sovereignty as Responsibility: Conflict Management in Africa* (Brookings: Washington, 1996).

John W. Harbeson, (book reviews) 'Sovereignty as Responsibility: Conflict Management in Africa', *American Political Science Review*, June, 1998.
http://www.findarticles.com/cf_dls/m0259/n2_v92/20851365/p1/article.jhtml

Simon Chesterman, 'Responsibility to Protect Discussed at New York Seminar', International Peace Academy Report.
http://www.ipacademy.org/PDF_Reports/UNDIP-IPA.pdf

Alain Pellet, 'State sovereignty and the protection of fundamental human rights: an international law perspective', *Pugwash Occasional Papers*, I:I, Feb. 2000
<http://www.pugwash.org/reports/rc/pellet.htm>

3rd Pugwash Workshop on Intervention, Sovereignty and International Security, 4-6 May 2001, Castellón de la Plana, Spain
<http://www.pugwash.org/reports/rc/rc10.htm>

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

Albrecht Schabel and Ramesh Thakur (eds) *Kosovo and the Challenge of Humanitarian Intervention: Selective Indignation, Collective Action and International Citizenship* (United Nations University Press: New York, 2000)

Jon Holbrook, 'Law and Humanitarian Intervention' in David Chandler (ed.) *Rethinking Human Rights: Critical Approaches to International Politics* (London: Palgrave, 2002).

Ken Booth (ed) *The Kosovo Tragedy: The Human Rights Dimensions* (Frank Cass, London, 2001).

Mark Littman, *Kosovo: Law and Diplomacy* (London: Centre for Policy Studies, 1999).

Adrian Kuah, 'War on Iraq: Implications for Sovereignty', Perspectives, Institute of Defence and Strategic Studies, Nanyang Technological University, Singapore.
http://www.ntu.edu.sg/idss/Perspective/research_050315.htm

Part II: Individual Rights?

4. Right to Humanitarian Aid

Questions:

How has the division between the domestic and the international been reflected in changing humanitarian practices?

Why has there been a shift from needs-based to rights-based humanitarianism?

Is there a universal right to humanitarian assistance?

Essential reading:

Michael Ignatieff, *Warrior's Honor: Ethnic War and the Modern Conscience* (London: Chatto & Windus, 1998). Esp, Chapter 4: 'The Warrior's Honor'

William Easterly, *The Whiteman's Burden: Why the West's Efforts to Aid the Rest have Done so Much Ill and so Little Good* (Oxford: OUP, 2006).

Tony Vaux, *The Selfish Altruist: Relief Work in Famine and War* (London: Earthscan, 2001)

Zoë Marriage, *Not Breaking the Rules Not Playing the Game: International Assistance to Countries at War* (London: Hurst & Co, 2006).

David Reiff, *A Bed for the Night: Humanitarianism in Crisis* (Vintage Books, 2002)

Fiona Terry, *Condemned to Repeat?: The Paradox of Humanitarian Action* (Cornell University Press, 2002)

Recommended reading:

Michael Marren, *The Road to Hell: The Ravaging Effects of Foreign Aid and International Charity* (New York: Free Press, 1997).

Roger C. Riddell, *Does Foreign Aid Really Work?* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007).

Robert Calderisi, *The Trouble with Africa: Why Foreign Aid Isn't Working* (New Haven, Yale University Press, 2006).

David Chandler, 'The Road to Military Humanism: How the Human Rights NGOs Shaped a New Humanitarian Agenda', *Human Rights Quarterly* (2001), Volume 23, No.3, pp.678-700.

<http://www.wmin.ac.uk/ssh/pdf/HRQ1.pdf>

OR

David Chandler, *From Kosovo to Kabul: Human Rights and International Intervention* (London: Pluto Press, 2002), Chapter 2.

Hugo Slim, 'Not Philanthropy but Right: Rights-Based Humanitarianism and the Proper Politicisation of Humanitarian Philosophy', *Politics and Humanitarian Aid: Debates, Dilemmas and Dissension*, Conference Papers, Overseas Development Institute.

http://www.odi.org.uk/hpg/confpapers/slim_new.pdf

Nicholas Leader, *The Politics of Principle: the Principles of Humanitarian Action in Practice* (London: Overseas Development Institute, 2000).

<http://www.odi.org.uk/hpg/papers/hpgreport2.pdf>

Henry F. Carey and Oliver P. Richmond, *Mitigating Conflict: The Role of NGOs* (London: Frank Cass, 2003).

Nicholas Stockton, 'In Defence of Humanitarianism', *Disasters* (1998), Vol.22, No.4, pp.352-360.

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See Annex VI Code of Conduct for the International Red Cross and Red Crescent Movement in Disaster

<http://www.icrc.org/icrceng.nsf/8ec4e051a8621595c12564670032d7ef/67f8496a05b19d47412563100044b5ae?OpenDocument>

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<http://www.msf.org/>

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www.sphereproject.org

Overseas Development Institute

www.odi.org/hpg/aidandpolitics.html

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5. Human Rights

Questions:

Are human rights universal?

Do human rights empower the victims?

Does the human rights framework undermine or enhance the power of states?

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Gwyn Prins, 'The politics of intervention', *Pugwash Occasional Papers*, I:1, Feb. 2000

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Part III: Extending Democracy?

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Questions:

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Are there limits to the 'export of democracy'?

How has democracy been redefined?

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European Stability Initiative debate: 'The Future of Liberal Imperialism'

<http://www.esiweb.org/europeanraj/>

David Potter, David Goldblatt, Margaret Kiloh and Paul Lewis (eds) *Democratization* (Cambridge: Polity/ Open University, 1997).

Julie Hearn, 'Foreign Aid, Democratisation and Civil Society in Africa: A Study of South Africa, Ghana and Uganda'. Institute of Development Studies (IDS), UK (1999).

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Simon Chesterman, 'Bush, the United Nations and Nation-building', *Survival*, Vol.46, No.1, Spring 2004, pp.101-116.

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7. Cosmopolitan Democracy

Questions:

What are the contrasts and continuities between Kantian cosmopolitanism and today's cosmopolitan theories?

What is the democratic deficit at the global level?

What is global citizenship?

What are the strengths and limitations of the project of cosmopolitan democracy?

Essential reading:

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Barry Holden (ed) *Global Democracy: Key Debates* (London: Routledge, 2000), esp:
Chapter 1: David Held, 'The changing contours of political community: rethinking democracy in the context of globalisation'

Chapter 2: Michael Saward, 'A critique of Held'

Chapter 7: Boutros Boutros-Ghali, 'An agenda for democratisation: democratisation at the international level'

Chapter 8: Danielle Archibugi (et al), 'The United Nations as an agency of global democracy'

Chapter 9: Johan Galtung, 'Alternative models for global democracy'

Chapter 10: Richard Falk, 'Global civil society and the democratic prospect'

David Chandler, 'New Rights for Old? Cosmopolitan Citizenship and the Critique of State Sovereignty', *Political Studies*, Vol.51, No.2, 2003, pp. 339-356.

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Recommended reading:

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Chapter 4: James Crawford and Susan Marks, 'The Global Democracy Deficit: an Essay in International Law and its Limits'

Chapter 6: Andrew Linklater, 'Citizenship and Sovereignty in the Post-Westphalian European State'

Chapter 10: Daniele Archibugi, 'Principles of Cosmopolitan Democracy'

Chapter 11: Martin Kohler, 'From the National to the Cosmopolitan Public Sphere'

Chapter 15: Richard Falk, 'The United Nations and Cosmopolitan Democracy: Bad Dream, Utopian Fantasy, Political Project'

Jean Grugel, 'Democratisation Studies Globalisation: the Coming of Age of a Paradigm', *British Journal of Politics and International Relations*, Vol.5, No.2, May 2003, pp.258-283.

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Chapter 3: Vivienne Jabri: Discourse Ethics, Democratic Practice and the Possibility of Intercultural Understanding

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Anthony McGrew in Anthony McGrew (ed) *The Transformation of Democracy?* (London: Polity/Open University, 1997):

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Chapter 10: 'Democracy Beyond Borders?: Globalization and the Reconstruction of Democratic Theory and Politics' pp.231-266.

David Held and Anthony McGrew (eds) *Governing Globalization: Power, Authority and Global Governance* (Cambridge: Polity, 2002).

Part IV: Universal Justice?

8. The Changing Nature of International Law

Questions:

Why does Bull argue that the Grotian conception of international law is problematic?
Is the UN Charter a barrier to the development of international law?
What is the difference between developing international law by treaty and by custom?
What is the difference between international law and domestic law?
How has international law been able to contain the contradiction between Great Power privilege and formal legal equality?

Essential reading:

David Kennedy, *Of War and Law* (Princeton: Princeton UP, 2006).

Simon Chesterman, *Just War or Just Peace?: Humanitarian Intervention and International Law* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001). Particularly Chapter 4: 'The New Interventionism'; Chapter 5: 'Passing the Baton'; and Chapter 6: 'Just War or Just Peace'.

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Gerry Simpson, *Great Powers and Outlaw States: Unequal Sovereigns in the International Legal Order* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004).

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Hedley Bull, *The Anarchical Society: A Study of Order in World Politics* (London: Palgrave-Macmillan, 1977, 1995), esp:
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Benedict Kingsbury 'Sovereignty and Inequality', in Andrew Hurrell and Ngaire Woods (eds) *Inequality, Globalisation and World Politics* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999).

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China Miéville, 'The Commodity-Form Theory of International Law: An Introduction', *Leiden Journal of International Law*, Vol.17 (2004), pp.271-302.

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Adam Branch, 'American Morality Over International Law: Origins in UN Military Interventions, 1991-1995', *Constellations*, Vol. 12, No. 1 March 2005.

Tony Blair, Speech given by the prime minister in Sedgefield, justifying military action in Iraq and warning of the continued threat of global terrorism, Friday March 5, 2004.

<http://politics.guardian.co.uk/iraq/story/0,12956,1162991,00.html>

Lee Feinstein and Anne-Marie Slaughter, 'A Duty to Prevent', *Foreign Affairs*, Vol.83, No.1, Jan/Feb 2004, pp.136-150.

'Uneasy Bedfellows: "The Responsibility to Protect" and Feinstein-Slaughter's "Duty to Prevent"', Commentary by Gareth Evans, Co-Chair of the International Commission on Intervention and State Sovereignty, on Lee Feinstein and Anne-Marie Slaughter, "The Duty to Prevent" (*Foreign Affairs*, Jan/Feb 2004), The American Society of International Law Conference, Washington DC, 1 April 2004.

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Mark Littman, *Kosovo: Law and Diplomacy* (London: Centre for Policy Studies, 1999).

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<http://www.kosovocommission.org/>

David Held, *Democracy and the Global Order* (London: Polity?): Chapter 12: Cosmopolitan Democracy and the New International Order

Simon Chesterman and Michael Byers 'Has US power destroyed the UN?' *London Review of Books*, Vol. 21, No. 9, 29 April 1999.

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9. New International Courts: War Crimes Tribunals, Universal Jurisdiction and the ICC

Questions:

Are international courts a good idea? Why or why not?

Are international war crimes tribunals just 'victor's justice'?

The Nuremberg Judgement states: 'The war of aggression, is not only an international crime; it is the supreme international crime differing only from other war crimes in that it contains within itself the accumulated evil of the whole.' Would the judgement be different today?

[\[http://www.yale.edu/lawweb/avalon/imt/proc/judnazi.htm#common\]](http://www.yale.edu/lawweb/avalon/imt/proc/judnazi.htm#common)

What is the difference between the International Court of Justice and the International Criminal Court?

Can Universal Jurisdiction work?

Essential reading:

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

David Chandler, *From Kosovo to Kabul: Human Rights and International Intervention* (London: Pluto Press, 2002). Especially, Chapter 5: International Law and the Challenge of Human Rights.

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<http://www.newleftreview.net/NLR24003.shtml>

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Chap 4: An International Political Justice

Recommended reading:

International War Crimes Tribunals:

The Nuremberg War Crimes Trials, The Avalon Project at Yale Law School

<http://www.yale.edu/lawweb/avalon/imt/imt.htm>

International Criminal Tribunal for the Former Yugoslavia

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Kirsten Sellars, *The Rise and Rise of Human Rights* (Stroud: Sutton Publishing, 2002). Especially Chapters 2 and 3.

David Chandler, 'The "Butcher of the Balkans"? The Crime of "Joint Criminal Enterprise" and the Milosevic Indictments at International Criminal Tribunal at The Hague', amended draft Expert Witness Report for the International Criminal Tribunal for the former Yugoslavia (ICTY) at The Hague, 13 March 2006.

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International Courts:

International Court of Justice

<http://www.icj-cij.org/>

International Criminal Court

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http://web.amnesty.org/web/web.nsf/pages/14_principles

Henry Kissinger, 'The Pitfalls of Universal Jurisdiction: Risking Judicial Tyranny', *Foreign Affairs*, July/August 2001.

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Benjamin B. Ferencz, 'A Nuremberg Prosecutor's Response to Henry Kissinger', 2 July 2001.

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Kenneth Roth, 'The Case for Universal Jurisdiction', *Foreign Affairs*, September/October 2001.

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Madeline H. Morris, 'Universal Jurisdiction in a Divided World: Conference Remarks'.

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Part V: Global Politics

10. Global Civil Society: (1) Constructing Global Identities and Interests

Questions:

Why have global civil society actors achieved increased prominence?

How do non-state actors blur the boundaries between the domestic and the international?

How do global civic networks shape the identities and interests of states?

Essential reading:

Margaret Keck and Kathryn Sikkink, *Activists Beyond Borders: Advocacy Networks in International Politics* (New York: Cornell University Press, 1998).

Thomas Risse, Stephen C. Ropp and Kathryn Sikkink, *The Power of Human Rights* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999/2001).

Michael Edwards and John Gaventa (eds) *Global Citizen Action* (London: Earthscan, 2001).

David Chandler, 'Constructing Global Civil Society', draft chapter for David Chandler and Gideon Baker (eds) *Global Civil Society: Contested Futures* (forthcoming London: Routledge, 2005).

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Rorden Wilkinson and Steve Hughes, *Global Governance: Critical Perspectives* (London: Routledge, 2002).

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Paul Wapner, 'Politics Beyond the State: Environmental Activism and World Civic Politics', *World Politics*, Vol.47, (1995), pp.311-40.

Recommended reading:

Gordon Laxer and Sandra Halperin (eds) *Global Civil Society and its Limits* (Basingstoke: Palgrave, 2003).

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John Pender, 'Empowering the Poorest? The World Bank and the "Voices of the Poor"', in David Chandler (ed) *Rethinking Human Rights: Critical Approaches to International Politics* (London: Palgrave, 2002).

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Kathryn Sikkink, 'Human Rights, Principled Issue-Networks, and Sovereignty in Latin America', *International Organization*, Vol.47 (1993), pp.411-441.

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Mary Kaldor, 'Transnational Civil Society', in Tim Dunne and Nicholas J. Wheeler (eds) *Human Rights in Global Politics* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999)

Henry F. Carey and Oliver P. Richmond, *Mitigating Conflict: The Role of NGOs* (London: Frank Cass, 2003).

Peter Willets, 'Transnational Actors and International Organizations in Global Politics', in John Baylis & Steve Smith *The Globalization of World Politics: An Introduction to International Relations* 2nd edition (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001).

Martin Shaw, 'Global Voices: Civil Society and Media in Global Crises', in Timothy Dunne and Nicholas Wheeler (eds.) *Human Rights in Global Politics* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), pp. 214-232.

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

World Bank (2000) *Consultations with Civil Society Organizations: General Guidelines for World Bank Staff* (Washington, D.C.: World Bank).

World Bank (2001) *World Bank-Civil Society Collaboration – Progress Report for Fiscal Years 2000 and 2001* (Washington, D.C.: World Bank).

11. Global Civil Society: (2) Building Global Community From Below

Questions:

What is the connection between the East European civil society opposition groups of the 1980s and the global civil society discourse of today?

What is attractive about 'global space'?

Is the rise of global civil society good or bad for democracy?

What are the limitations to extending political community through global civil society?

Essential reading:

Mary Kaldor, *Global Civil Society: An Answer to War* (Cambridge: Polity, 2003)

John Keane, *Global Civil Society?* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003)

Ronnie Lipschutz, 'Power, Politics and Global Civil Society', *Millennium: Journal of International Studies*, Vol.33, No.3, (2005), pp.747-769.

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Recommended reading:

David Chandler, 'Deriving Norms from "Global Space": The Limits of Communicative Approaches to Global Civil Society Theorising', *Globalizations*, Vol. 4, No.2, (2007), pp.283-298.

http://www.davidchandler.org/pdf/journal_articles/Globalizations%20-%20Global%20Space.pdf

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For draft of the responses replied to click below

http://www.davidchandler.org/pdf/journal_articles/Gobalizations%20-%20Reply%20Global%20Space.pdf

Martin Shaw, *Theory of the Global State: Globality as an Unfinished Revolution* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000)

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Olivier Roy, *Globalized Islam: The Search for a New Ummah* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2004).

Fazal Devji, *Landscapes of the Jihad: Militancy, Morality, Modernity* (London: Hurst & Co., 2005).

Andrew Linklater, *The Transformation of Political Community* (Cambridge: Polity, 1998).

Ronnie Lipschutz, 'Reconstructing World Politics: The Emergence of Global Civil Society', *Millennium: Journal of International Studies*, Vol.21, No.3, (1992), pp.389-420.

David Chandler *Constructing Global Civil Society: Morality and Power in International Politics* (Basingstoke: Palgrave, 2005), especially:
Chapter 5: The Communicative Realm
Chapter 6: Radical Resistance from Below

Neera Chandhoke, 'The Limits of Global Civil Society', in Marlies Glasius et al *Global Civil Society 2002* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002).

Louise Amoore and Paul Langley, 'Ambiguities of Global Civil Society', *Review of International Studies*, Vol.30, No.1, (2004), p.89-110.

Naomi Klein, *Fences and Windows: Dispatches from the Front-lines of the Globalization Debate* (London: Flamingo, 2002).

Richard Falk, *On Humane Governance: Toward a New Global Politics* (Cambridge: Polity, 1995).

William F. Fisher and Thomas Ponniah (eds) *Another World Is Possible: Popular Alternatives to Globalization at the World Social Forum* (London: Zed, 2003).

Notes from Nowhere (ed.) *We Are Everywhere* (London: Verso, 2003).

Tom Mertes (ed.) *A Movement of Movements: Is Another World Really Possible?* (London: Verso, 2004).

Paul Kingsnorth, *One No, Many Yeses: A Journey to the Heart of the Global Resistance Movement* (London: Free Press, 2003).

Alejandro Colas, *International Civil Society* (Oxford: Polity, 2002).

Gideon Baker, *Civil Society and Democratic Theory: Alternative Voices* (London: Routledge, 2002).

Gideon Baker, 'Problems in the Theorisation of Global Civil Society', *Political Studies*, Vol.50, No.5, December 2002, pp.928-943.

Conclusion

12 Conclusion: Theorising the International Sphere?

Questions:

Do we need International Relations? Why?

What is the nature of the distinction between the domestic and international realms?

How and why has this distinction become less legitimate?

Essential reading:

Christopher Bickerton, Philip Cunliffe and Alexander Gourevitch (eds) *Politics without Sovereignty: A Critique of Contemporary International Relations* (London: UCL Press, 2007).

Martin Jacques, 'The Interregnum: Divided We Stand', *London Review of Books* essay, 3 March 2004.

<http://books.guardian.co.uk/lrb/articles/0,6109,1160493,00.html>

David Chandler, 'The Interregnum: Sovereignty and International Relations in Flux', draft paper for brown bag seminar at the Centre for Defence Studies, Kings College London, 22 April 2004.

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Hidemi Suganami, 'Reflections on the Domestic Analogy: the Case of Bull, Beitz and Linklater', *Review of International Studies*, Vol.12 (1986, pp.145-158.

Hedley Bull, 'Society and Anarchy in International Relations', in Herbert Butterfield and Martin Wight (eds), *Diplomatic Investigations: Essays in the Theory of International Relations* (London: George Allen & Unwin, 1966), pp.35-50.

David Chandler *Constructing Global Civil Society: Morality and Power in International Politics* (Basingstoke: Palgrave, 2005), especially Conclusion.