

Centre for the Study of Democracy
University of Westminster
32-38 Wells Street,
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International Relations II: Beyond International Relations?

2009 - 2010

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 four 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 and international intervention in the international sphere, focusing on humanitarian assistance and human rights and global liberal norms. Part III analyses the recent developments in universalising international political and legal frameworks; Part IV 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 four 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, human rights and the rights of intervention, including debates on global war and regulation. Part III analyses the recent developments in institutionalising the rights of the cosmopolitan citizen and in international justice and international law; Part IV 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).

David Chandler, *Hollow Hegemony: Rethinking Global Politics, Power and Resistance* (London: Pluto Press, 2009).

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).

Hardt, M and Negri, A. (2001) *Empire* (New York: Harvard University Press).

Hardt, M. and Negri, A. (2006) *Multitude: War and Democracy in the Age of Empire* (London: Penguin).

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>

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)

Seminar programme

Part I: Introduction: The Decline of the Realist Paradigm

1. Introduction: What is Distinct about the International Sphere?
2. What Happened to the National Interest?

Part II: Intervention and Individual Rights

3. Right to Humanitarian Aid/ Humanitarian Protection
4. Human Rights
5. Liberal Intervention and Global War

Part III: Universal Rights and Justice

6. Cosmopolitan Democracy
7. War Crimes Tribunals and the ICC

Part IV: A New Global Politics

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

Conclusion

10. Conclusion: Theorising the International/Global Sphere

Seminar questions and readings

Part I: Introduction: The Decline of the Realist Paradigm

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)

David Chandler, 'The Global Ideology: Rethinking the Politics of the "Global Turn" in IR', *International Relations*, Vol. 23, No. 4 (2009), pp. 530-547.

http://www.davidchandler.org/pdf/journal_articles/Journal%20of%20Int%20ReIs%20-%20Global%20Ideology%20published.pdf

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).

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>

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:

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, 'The Global Ideology: Rethinking the Politics of the "Global Turn" in IR', *International Relations*, Vol. 23, No. 4 (2009), pp. 530-547.
http://www.davidchandler.org/pdf/journal_articles/Journal%20of%20Int%20Rels%20-%20Global%20Ideology%20published.pdf

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/ssh/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)

Part II: Intervention and Individual Rights

3. Right to Humanitarian Aid/Humanitarian Protection

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?

What does the 'Responsibility to Protect' relate to the universalisation of rights of protection?

Essential reading:

David Chandler, 'Unravelling the Paradox of 'The Responsibility to Protect'', *Irish Studies in International Affairs*, Vol. 20 (2009), pp.27-39.

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

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:

Bellamy, A. (2009) *Responsibility to Protect: The Global Effort to End Mass Atrocities* (London: Polity).

Evans, G. (2008) *The Responsibility to Protect: Ending Mass Atrocity Crimes Once and For All* (Washington, D.C.: Brookings Institution).

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>

David Chandler, 'The People-Centred Approach to Peace Operations: The New UN Agenda', *International Peacekeeping*, Vol.8, No.1, 2001, pp.1-19.
<http://www.wmin.ac.uk/sshl/pdf/IPK%20UN%20P-KING.pdf>

Report of the Panel on UN Peace Operations (Brahimi Report), August 2000
http://www.un.org/peace/reports/peace_operations/

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>

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/sshl/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.

Nicholas Berry, *War and the Red Cross: The Unspoken Mission* (London: Macmillan, 1997).

Larry Minear, 'The Theory and Practice of Neutrality: Some Thoughts on the Tensions', *International Review of the Red Cross* (1999), No.833, March 1999, pp.63-71.

<http://www.icrc.org/Web/eng/siteeng0.nsf/iwpList172/BCC9732C087D8C0DC1256B66005CFCDB>

Daniel Warner, 'The Politics of the Political/Humanitarian Divide', *International Review of the Red Cross*, No.833, March 1999, pp.019-118.

<http://www.icrc.org/Web/eng/siteeng0.nsf/iwpList172/D54715110BDDA79EC1256B66005CFE77>

Thomas Weiss, 'The Politics of Humanitarian Ideas', *Security Dialogue* (2000), Volume 31, No.1, pp.11-23.

Mark Duffield, 'NGO Relief in War Zones: Toward an Analysis of the New Aid Paradigm', *Third World Quarterly* (1997), Vol.18, No.3.

Alistair Dutton, 'The Moral Legitimacy of "Conditionality" in Humanitarian Relief.' *The Journal of Humanitarian Assistance* (2001), 5 August.

<http://jha.ac/articles/a070.htm>

David Forsythe, *UNHCR's mandate: the politics of being non-political*. Working Paper No. 33 (Geneva: UNHCR, 2001).

L. Gostelow, 'The Sphere Project: The Implications of Making Humanitarian Principles and Codes Work.' *Disasters*, December 1999, Vol.23, No.4, pp. 316-325.

Nicholas Leader, 'Proliferating Principles; Or How to Sup With the Devil Without Getting Eaten', *Disasters* (1998), Vol.22, No.4, pp.288-308.

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>

Joanna Macrae, 'The Death of Humanitarianism?: An Anatomy of the Attack', *Disasters* (1998), Vol.22, No.4, pp.309-317.

Joanna Macrae and Anthony Zwi (eds) *War and Hunger: Rethinking International Responses to Complex Emergencies* (London: Zed Books, 1994).

Thomas Weiss, Principles, Politics, and Humanitarian Action', *Journal of Ethics and International Affairs* (1999), Volume 13, pp.1-22.

Fiona Fox, 'New Humanitarianism: Does it Provide a Moral Banner for the 21st Century?', *Disasters* (2000), Vol. 25, No. 4, pp. 275-289.

Adam Roberts, 'The role of humanitarian issues in international politics in the 1990s' *International Review of the Red Cross*, No.833, March 1999, pp.19-43.
<http://www.icrc.org/Web/eng/siteeng0.nsf/iwpList172/C7C5CDBE8C4ACB51C1256B66005CFB15>

Joanna Macrae, *Shifting sands: The search for coherence between political and humanitarian responses to complex emergencies* (London: Overseas Development Institute, 2000).
<http://www.odi.org.uk/hpg/papers/hpgreport8.pdf>

Joanna Macrae, *Aiding Recovery? The Crisis of Aid in Chronic Political Emergencies* (London: Zed Books, 2001).

Larry Minear and T. G. Weiss *Mercy Under Fire: War and Global Humanitarian Community* (Boulder, Co.: Westview Press, 1995).

Alex de Waal, *Famine Crimes: Politics and the Disaster Relief Industry in Africa* (Oxford: James Curry/ Indiana University Press, 1997).

Disasters: The Journal of Disaster Studies, Policy and Management, Special Issue: Politics and Humanitarian Aid: Debates, Dilemmas and Dissension, Vol.25, No.4, December 2001. Esp:

Mark Duffield, 'Governing the Borderlands: Decoding the Power of Aid', pp.308-320.
<http://www.odi.org.uk/hpg/confpapers/Duffield.pdf>

International Committee of the Red Cross:

<http://www.icrc.org>

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>

MSF

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

The Sphere Project: Humanitarian Charter and Minimum Standards in Disaster Response

www.sphereproject.org

Overseas Development Institute

www.odi.org/hpg/aidandpolitics.html

Humanitarian Practice Network

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

4. 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?

Essential reading:

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Ken Booth: 'Three Tyrannies'

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Recommended reading:

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<http://www.hrw.org/press/1999/dec/wr2keng.htm>

5. Liberal War/Global War

Questions:

What is the connection between liberal internationalism and global war?

What does it mean to act globally for the protection of rights?

Do you agree with Hardt and Negri that *Empire* has superseded international relations?

How does the understanding of global intervention fit with traditional IR frameworks of understanding?

Essential Reading

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Jabri, V. (2007) *War and the Transformation of Global Politics* (Basingstoke: MacMillan).

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Chandler, D. 'Risk and the Biopolitics of Global Insecurity' (review article), *Journal of Conflict, Security and Development*, Vol. 10, No. 2 (2010). (draft available)

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

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Part III: Universal Rights and Justice

6. Cosmopolitan Democracy

Questions:

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?

What drives conceptions of global frameworks of law and politics?

Essential reading:

Daniele Archibugi, 'Cosmopolitan Democracy and its Critics: A Review', *European Journal of International Relations*, Vol.10 (2004), No.3, pp.437-473.

http://www.danielearchibugi.org/downloads/papers/CD_and_critics_A_review.pdf

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

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Recommended reading:

Chantal Mouffe, 'Cosmopolitan Democracy or Multi-Polar World Order', *Soundings*, No.28, Winter 2004, pp.62-74.

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

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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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<http://www.newleftreview.net/PDFArticles/NLR24702.pdf>

Daniele Archibugi, 'Cosmopolitical Democracy', *New Left Review*, No.4, July/August 2000.

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

Chapter 1: David Held, 'Democracy and Globalization'

Chapter 2: James Rosenau, 'Governance and Democracy in a Globalizing World'

Chapter 3: David Beetham, 'Human Rights as a model for Cosmopolitan Democracy'

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 1: Hazel Smith: Why is there no International Democratic Theory?
Chapter 2: Kimberly Hutchings: Modelling Democracy
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Andrew Linklater, 'Globalization and the Transformation of Political Community', in John Baylis & Steve Smith *The Globalization of World Politics: An Introduction to International Relations* 2nd edition (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001).

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Chapter 1: 'Globalization and Territorial Democracy: an introduction'
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).

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

Questions:

What is the difference between international law and domestic law?
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?

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

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

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Martti Koskenniemi, 'The Police in the Temple: A Dialectical View', *European Journal of International Law*, Vol.6 (1995), No.1, pp.1-25.

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

Carl Schmitt, *The Nomos of the Earth: in the International Law of the Jus Publicum Europaeum* (New York: Telos Press, 2003).

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

Burns H. Weston, 'Security Council Resolution 678 and Persian Gulf War Decision Making: Precarious Legitimacy', *American Journal of International Law*, Vol.85, No.3, (1991) pp.516-35.

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International War Crimes Tribunals:

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International Courts:

International Court of Justice
<http://www.icj-cij.org/>

International Criminal Court
<http://www.un.org/law/icc/>
<http://www.iccnw.org/>

Universal Jurisdiction:

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Amnesty International, 'Universal Jurisdiction: 14 Principles on the Effective Exercise of Universal Jurisdiction'
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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<http://www.foreignaffairs.org/20010901faresponse5577/kenneth-roth/the-case-for-universal-jurisdiction.html>

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

<http://www.nesl.edu/lawrev/Vol35/35-2/morris.pdf>

Part IV: Global Politics

8. 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).

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Ann C. Huddock *NGOs and Civil Society: Democracy by Proxy* (Cambridge: Polity, 2001)

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

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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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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>

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

9. 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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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).

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Conclusion

10 Conclusion: Theorising the International/Global 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.

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