SCHOOL OF HISTORY, PHILOSOPHY, POLITICAL SCIENCE AND INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

INTP 371 – HUMAN SECURITY CRN: 13554

Trimester One 2008

COURSE COORDINATOR: Dr. David Capie

Murphy 503

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OFFICE HOURS: Wednesdays 2-4pm or by appointment

TIMETABLE: Fridays 1-3

VENUE: Cotton LT122

ASSESSMENT: Book Review (25%)

Essay (35%)

In-class test (40%)

COURSE AIMS, OBJECTIVES AND EVALUATION

AIMS: This course examines the nature of conflict and violence in world politics. It considers various causes of conflict and factors that lead to violence between and within states. In 2008, the course will give particular emphasis to conflicts *within* states, and the efforts of governments, international organizations, civil society groups and individuals to end such conflicts or at least mitigate the harm they cause to civilians. It will also explore how we learn about conflict through words, film and images, and how we learn to can critically evaluate the quality and reliability of these sources.

OBJECTIVES: The course will begin with a discussion of the scope, character and consequences of contemporary violence. Why are wars fought today? Is there more or less conflict globally than in the past? What is the role of states, armed groups and private actors in war? It introduces various theoretical explanations for armed conflict, including those that emphasize identity, ethnicity and economic incentives. While this is not a course on conflict resolution, it also examines attempts to prevent conflicts and end the harm they do by focusing on efforts to promote the concept of "human security" and an associated agenda encouraging humanitarian intervention, holding accountable corporations for their actions in conflict zones and efforts to regulate small arms, light weapons, land mines and cluster munitions.

EVALUATION: The course is internally assessed. Grades for the course will be based on the following:

- Book review (1200 words) 25%
- Research paper (2000 words) 35%
- In-class test 40%

LECTURES: The class will meet once a week, on Fridays 1-3 in Cotton LT122. Typically the first part of the class will be a traditional lecture and the second part will be taken up with multimedia, debate and discussion. Occasional guest speakers will also share their knowledge and experiences with the class. As is standard practice with 300-level politics courses, there are no tutorials.

ADDITIONAL COURSE INFORMATION

Any additional information will be posted on the School's notice board on 5th Floor of the Murphy Building or distributed by email or via Blackboard. Please note that if your primary email address is not your VUW student account, you should set it up to forward emails to your preferred address. It is your responsibility to make sure you get class email notices.

COURSE TEXT

The primary source for course materials is the course handbook for INTP 371 (2008), which is available from the notes shop. This is a new set of readings this year. Copies from previous years are now out of date.

In addition, we will be using *The Human Security Report 2005* (Oxford University Press, 2005). The good news is that a **free** version of the report is available online at: http://www.humansecurityreport.org/ **Make sure you read download and read the required sections.**

Additional readings will be handed out in class from time to time or circulated through Blackboard. If you miss a class, it is your responsibility to obtain a copy of a reading. Because this is a course on contemporary conflict, students are also expected to read widely and stay informed about current affairs. Recommended news sources include *The Economist*, *The New York Times*, *International Herald Tribune*, allafrica.com as well as the reports of organizations like the International Crisis Group (ICG), Amnesty International, the International Peace Academy, and Human Rights Watch.

LECTURE TOPICS, READINGS & DISCUSSION/STUDY OUESTIONS:

February 29 <u>Introduction: What is Human Security?</u>

This session will provide an introduction to the course, its content, mandatory requirements and assessment. It will also introduce the notion of "human security." Since the end of the Cold War there has been a proliferation of new concepts of security. One of the most prominent today is 'human security.' This session will examine the concept and its contested meanings. Why has human security gained currency? What are the different understandings? What difference can a human security approach make?

Readings:

Amitav Acharya, 'Human Security' in John Baylis and Smith (eds.), *The Globalization of World Politics*, (4th Edition, Oxford University Press, Oxford, 2008), pp.492-505.

S. Neil MacFarlane and Yuen Foong Khong, 'Human Security and the UN: A Critique', in *Human Security and the UN: A Critical History*, (Indiana University Press, Bloomington, 2006), pp.225-259, 318-322.

Taylor Owen, "Human Security – Conflict, Critique and Consensus: Colloquium Remarks and a Proposal for a Threshold Based Definition," *Security Dialogue*, vol. 35 (3) (2004) available online at http://sdi.sagepub.com/cgi/reprint/35/3/373.pdf

See also the other essays in this special issue of *Security Dialogue* vol.35 (3) (2004) and the papers available at Taylor Owen's website: http://taylorowen.com/?page_id=6

March 7 War, the State, and the State of War (I)

This is the first of two classes examining the changing nature of armed conflict. Has war changed? Is war today more or less prevalent? Where does it take place? Is it more deadly than in the past and if so, who suffers most?

These classes will explore what we know about war and how we know it. They will also debate arguments about the so-called "new" wars, criticisms of explanations that stress the "ethnic" nature of contemporary conflict and explore new typologies such as those offered by analysts of "4th-generation warfare" in Iraq and Lebanon.

Readings:

The Human Security Report 2005 – Introduction & Part One (pp 1-61) Available here: http://www.humansecurityreport.org/

Human Security Brief 2006, (Human Security Centre, The University of British Columbia, Vancouver), pp 1-32.

John Mueller, 'The Control of War and the Rise of War Aversion' and 'The Decline of War: Explanations and Extrapolations', in *The Remnants of War*, (Cornell University Press, Ithaca, 2004), p.24-38, 161-181.

Mikael Eriksson, Peter Wallensteen and Margareta Sollenberg, 'Armed Conflict, 1989-2002', *Journal of Peace Research*, Vol. 40, No.5, pp 593-599.

Film: Cry Freetown (**Warning**: this powerful film about the civil war in Sierra Leone contains scenes of graphic violence that some students may find disturbing. You are not required to watch the film and will not be penalized in any way for not watching. Please excuse yourself after the first half of the class.)

If you want to learn more about *Cry Freetown* and Sorious Samura, the filmmaker who made it, see http://www.cryfreetown.org/

March 14 War, the State, and the State of War (II)

Stathis Kalyvas, "'New' and 'Old' Wars: A Valid Distinction?" World Politics, vol. 54.1 (2001) 99-118

John Mueller, "The Banality of 'Ethnic War" *International Security*, vol. 25, no. 1 (Summer 2000) 42-70

Mats Berdal, 'How "New" are "New Wars"? Global Economic Change and the Study of Civil War', *Global Governance*, 9, 2003, pp. 477-502.

William S. Lind, "Understanding Fourth Generation Warfare", available online at http://www.antiwar.com/lind/index.php?articleid=1702

March 21 No Class: Good Friday

March 28 Shooting War: Images and Our Understanding of Conflict

How do we know what we know about war and conflict? What is the role of people who bring us stories and pictures about war? Can they ever be objective? What does it mean to take pictures of violence? Can photographs make us feel the suffering of others, or does repeated exposure make us numb? This class examines the role of the media in reporting conflict, in particular on the role of images and pictures of war. It explores what pictures do and don't tell us about the nature and causes of war.

Readings:

Susan Sontag, 'War and Photography', in Nicholas Owen (ed.), *Human Rights and Human Wrongs: Oxford Amnesty Lectures*, (Oxford University Press, Oxford, 2003), pp.253-273.

Judith Butler, 'Photography, War, Outrage' *Proceedings of the Modern Language Association*, Vol.120, No. 3, pp.822-827.

Greg Marinovich and Joao Silva, 'The Sin of Looking', *The Bang Bang Club: Snapshots from a Hidden War,* (Basic Books, New York, 2000), pp.144-153.

See also director Errol Morris's blog "Zoom" on the *New York Times*' blog page here: http://morris.blogs.nytimes.com/

Film: War Photographer – Academy Award nominated documentary looking at the life and work of one of the world's best war photographers, James Nachtwey.

Guest Lecturer: Dr. Sarah (Sally) Hill, School of Languages and Cultures. Dr Hill has written extensively about the relationship between photography and death.

4 April Greed or Grievance: Why do people fight?

Controversial World Bank research argues that greed is a much more important explanation for armed rebellion than grievances such as inequality or ethnic or religious discrimination. In this class we will assess the so-called 'greed versus grievance' debate. Are you persuaded by the World Bank's argument? What kind of economic factors or natural resources increase the probability of a country falling into civil war?

Paul Collier, "Doing Well Out of War: An Economic Perspective," in Mats Berdal and David Malone, *Greed and Grievance: Economic Agendas in Civil Wars* (Lynne Rienner, Boulder, 2000) 91-112

Don Hubert, 'Resources, Greed, and the Persistence of Violent Conflict', in Rob McRae and Don Hubert (eds.), *Human Security and the New Diplomacy*, (McGill Queens, Montreal, 2001), pp.178-189.

Anthony J. Regan, "The Bougainville Conflict: Political and Economic Agendas," in Karen Ballentine and Jake Sherman (eds.) *The Political Economy of Armed Conflict: Beyond Greed and Grievance* (Lynne Rienner, Boulder, 2003) 133-166

For more of the World Bank's publications on this topic, see its website devoted to the "Economics of Conflict" at: http://tinyurl.com/ajnxe

11 April Aid, Intervention and Conflict

Some writers have argued that humanitarian assistance can actually aggravate conflict and that the actions of even the best-intentioned aid agencies always disproportionately benefit one side or another in a conflict. Can aid or "humanitarian" interventions ever really ever be neutral? What kind of challenges do humanitarian agencies face in intrastate conflicts?

Mary B. Anderson, 'Aid's Impact on Conflict Through Resource Transfers', *Do No Harm: How Aid Can Support Peace – Or War,* (Lynne Rienner, Boulder, 1999), pp.37-53.

David Shearer, 'Aiding or Abetting? Humanitarian Aid and Its Economic Role in Civil War', in Mats Berdal and David M. Malone (eds.), *Greed and Grievance: Economic Agendas in Civil Wars*, (Lynne Rienner, Boulder, 2000), pp.189-203.

Fiona Terry, 'Introduction', in *Condemned to Repeat? The Paradox of Humanitarian Action*, (Cornell University Press, Ithaca, 2002), pp. 1-16

*** BOOK REVIEW DUE 5pm Friday April 11 ***

MID-SEMESTER BREAK

2 May The New Dogs of War? Mercenaries and the Outsourcing of War

We usually think of modern war as something fought by states and state-controlled actors. However, there is a growing move to 'outsource' or privatise important aspects of the military, including core functions such as the use of force and intelligence gathering. What has caused this shift and what are the consequences? When governments are reluctant to act in cases of humanitarian crisis is there a legitimate role for private military actors to be deployed? What can be done to regulate these 'corporate warriors'?

Peter W. Singer, 'An Era of Corporate Warriors?' in *Corporate Warriors: The Rise of the Private Military Industry*, (Cornell University Press, Ithaca) 2003, pp.3-18, 256-260.

Peter W. Singer, 'Morality and the Privatized Military Firm', in *Corporate Warriors: The Rise of the Private Military Industry*, (Cornell University Press, Ithaca, 2003), pp.216-229, 296-299.

Deborah Avant, 'Introduction', in *The Market for Force: The Consequences of Privatizing Security*', Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 2005, pp.1-39.

James R. Davis, 'Executive Outcomes in Sierra Leone', Fortune's Warriors: Private Armies and the New World Order, (Douglas and MacIntyre, Vancouver, 2000), 133-148.

Take a look at the websites of these private military corporations:

Blackwater USA http://www.blackwaterusa.com/
DynCorp http://www.dyn-intl.com/
Aegis http://www.aegisworld.com/
Erinys http://www.erinysinternational.com/

Film: *Private Warriors* (June 2005) – a dramatic look at the life and experiences of private security contractors working in Iraq.

9 May <u>Civil Society, NGOs and Norm Making</u>

This class will examine the role of NGOs and civil society organizations in pressing for the adoption of human security norms. How are civil society groups able to influence core 'national security' issues and what (if anything) does this say about the changing balance of influence between state and non-state actors in world politics? Are NGOs accountable and how can they be manipulated?

Readings:

Rebecca Peters, 'Campaigning to Create Awareness: How to Influence People and Change the World', in Paul van Tongeren et al. (eds.), *People Building Peace; Successful Stories of Civil Society*, (Lynne Rienner, Boulder, 2005), pp.519-527.

Roman Waschuk, 'The New Multilateralism', in Rob McRae and Don Herbert (eds), *Human Security and the New Diplomacy*, (McGill Queens, Montreal, 2001), pp.213-222.

Margaret Keck and Kathryn Sikkink, 'Transnational Advocacy Networks in International Politics: Introduction', in *Activists Beyond Borders; Advocacy Networks in International Politics*, (Cornell University Press, Ithaca, 1998), 1-38.

Clifford Bob, 'Insurgent Groups and the Quest for Overseas Support' and 'Power, Exchange and Marketing', in *The Marketing of Rebellion: Insurgents, Media and International Activism,* (Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 2005), pp.14-53.

16 May The New Arms Control: Landmines, Small Arms and Cluster Bombs

Following the success of the 1997 Ottawa Mine Ban treaty many NGOs expected to be able to enact similar controls over transfers of small arms and light weapons. How successful were they? What are the similarities and differences between the two cases? More recently, international efforts have turned to the regulation of cluster munitions. What are the issues and challenges involved in controlling the use of cluster bombs?

Readings:

Kenneth R. Rutherford, 'The Evolving Arms Control Agenda: Implications of the Role of NGOs in Banning Antipersonnel Landmines', *World Politics*, 53, October 2000, pp.74-114.

Mark Gwozdecky and Jill Sinclair, 'Case Study: Landmines and Human Security', in Rob McRae and Don Hubert, *Human Security and the New Diplomacy*, (McGill Queens, Montreal, 2001), pp.28-40

Diana O'Dwyer, "First landmines, now small arms? The International Campaign to Ban Landmines a Model for Small Arms Advocacy," *Irish Studies in International Relations*, vol. 17 (2006) 77-97 available online at: http://www.ria.ie/cgi-bin/ria/papers/100570.pdf

Human Rights Watch, *Flooding South Lebanon: Israel's Use of Cluster Munitions in South Lebanon in July and August 2006*, available online at: http://www.hrw.org/reports/2008/lebanon0208/

Take a look at these websites:

Cluster Munition Coalition http://www.stopclustermunitions.org/

Documents from the Wellington Conference on Cluster Munitions, 18-22 February 2008, http://www.mfat.govt.nz/clustermunitionswellington/

Coalition to Stop the Use of Child Soldiers http://www.child-soldiers.org/

The Convention on the Prohibition of the use, stockpiling, production and transfer of antipersonnel mines and on their destruction. (The Ottawa Treaty) available online at <a href="http://www.icbl.org/treaty/treaty-trea

Engaging Non-State Armed Groups on a Landmine Ban – http://www.genevacall.org

*** RESEARCH ESSAY DUE 5PM FRIDAY 16 MAY ***

23 May <u>Making a Killing? Corporations and Conflict</u>

Private corporations are frequently active in zones of conflict in the developing world. How they behave can have an important influence on the nature of the violence. This session looks at the role of extractive industries in three areas: oil, timber and diamonds and examines the efforts of NGOs and governments to control their activities and promote greater transparency and 'responsible' corporate behaviour. Should corporations have an obligation to protect human rights and prevent conflict? How do campaigns like 'Publish Way You Pay' or the 'Extractive Industries Transparency Initiative' work? How effective have they been? Are divestment campaigns an effective tool for changing the behaviour of multinationals operating in places like Darfur?

Readings:

Jill Shankleman, 'Links Between Oil and Conflict in Producing Areas' and 'Angola: Oil, Conflict, and Postconflict Reconstruction', in *Oil, Profits and Peace: Does Business Have a Role in Peacemaking?*, (US Institute for Peace Press, Washington DC, 2006), pp.37-54

Philip Swanson, "Fuelling Conflict: The Oil Industry and Armed Conflict," available online at: http://www.fafo.no/pub/rapp/378/index.htm

Publish What You Pay http://www.publishwhatyoupay.org/english/

'Extractive Industries Transparency Initiative' http://eitransparency.org/

'Divest from Darfur' http://www.savedarfur.org/page/content/index/

The Corporate Social Responsibility and FAFO websites are also useful resources: http://www.csrdaily.com/newsformat4.asp?news=218http://www.fafo.no/nsp/index.htm

30 May In-Class Test

A guide to the test will be distributed closer to the date.

GENERAL COURSE INFORMATION

ASSESSMENT

The course is internally assessed. The word limits, weighting and dates for each task are as follows:

Book review1200 words25%Due:5pm Friday 11 AprilResearch essay2000 words35%Due:5pm Friday 16 MayIn-class test40%Due:In class, Friday 30 May

BOOK REVIEW

This exercise is designed to help you critically read and comment on material dealing with armed conflict. A short book review is due 11 April. It should be no more than 1200 words. Please double-space your paper using 12-size font, with normal margins please.

In 2008, the books you can choose from are:

- Colby Buzzell, My War: Killing Time in Iraq (Berkley Caliber, New York, 2005)
- Steve Coll, *Ghost Wars* (Penguin, New York, 2004)
- Peter Gourevitch, We wish to inform you that tomorrow we will be killed with our families stories from Rwanda (Picador, New York, 1998)
- Rajiv Chandrasekaran, *Imperial Life in the Emerald City: Inside Iraq's Green Zone* (Knopf, New York, 2007)
- Uzodinma Iweala, *Beasts of No Nation (John Murray, London, 2005)*
- Thomas E. Ricks, *Fiasco: The American Military Adventure in Iraq* (Penguin, New York, 2006)

Copies are available from good bookshops like Unity or from the VUW and Wellington libraries. You may want to order a copy from Amazon.

A good book review should combine description and analysis. It should provide the reader with a basic overview of what the book is about but should not be a blow-by-blow description of its contents. (I've already read these books, so don't dwell on the description!) The review should also include analysis of the book's strengths, weaknesses, oversights (if any) as well as the contribution it makes to our understandings of conflict. More information about how to write a good book review will be posted on Blackboard once the course begins.

RESEARCH ESSAY

The research essay is designed to give you the chance to apply their understanding of key concepts and theories of internal conflicts as discussed in the first part of the course to a specific case or cases. Topics will be distributed early in the semester. The research paper is due by 5pm on Friday 16 May. It must not be more than 2000 words and should include appropriate references and a bibliography (the references and bibliography do not count towards the word limit). Appropriate references mean using academic journals and books, not a quick Google search and a few footnotes to Wikipedia. More information about the research paper will be distributed in class and posted on Blackboard.

If you have difficulties with writing, you should make use of Student Writing Services. They will look at your drafts and offer helpful suggestions.

IN-CLASS TEST

An in-class test will be held on the final day of term, Tuesday 29 May. It will involve short answer and essay-type answers and will examine <u>all of the material</u> covered in lectures and in the readings. More information about the format and kind of questions you can expect will be distributed closer to the time.

PENALTIES

Students will be penalised for late submission of essays—a deduction of 5% for the first day late, and 2% per day thereafter, up to a maximum of eight days. Work that is more than eight days late can be accepted for mandatory course requirements but will not be marked. However, penalties may be waived if there are valid grounds, e.g., illness (presentation of a medical certificate will be necessary) or similar other contingencies. In such cases prior information will be necessary. **Papers must be submitted as hard copies, email attachments will not be accepted.**

Extensions and Exemptions: Extensions will usually only be granted to those who meet the University's aegrotat rules, viz. medical certificate or personal bereavement, or critical personal circumstances involving the health of a close relative or exceptional personal circumstances beyond his or her control. If you plan to ask for an extension for any reason you should contact the lecturer as soon as possible. Please note that I will not grant extensions requested after the deadline for work to be handed in has already passed.

RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN ASSESSMENT AND COURSE OBJECTIVES

Book Review: The aim of this assignment is to demonstrate your ability to read and critically evaluate a text dealing with issues in contemporary armed conflict.

Research Essay: The aim of this assignment is to demonstrate your ability to apply the key concepts and theories discussed in the course to a specific case or cases of armed conflict.

Class Test: The aim of this test is to allow you to show an understanding of the materials covered in the readings and lectures over the entire course.

WRITTEN ASSIGNMENT INSTRUCTIONS

The required length of the assignments is indicated above and must be adhered to. Write clearly and keep quotations brief and to the point. Keep footnotes to a minimum and follow the School's style sheet (available from Pols office). Essays must be printed not handwritten, ensuring adequate line spacing (preferably double spaced) and margins, and stapled in top left hand corner. A cover page should contain: your name and student number, title of the essay, estimated word count, and time and date of submission. You must also use the formal cover sheet and plagiarism declaration form provided by the POLS office. Hard copies of assignments may either be handed to me personally or deposited in my mailbox outside the School Office on the fifth floor of the Murphy Building.

Begin planning for the book review and major research paper as soon as possible. For the research paper, ensure that the topic and approach adopted are kept within manageable boundaries. If you have any questions about content, please come and see me.

SUBMISSION OF ALL WRITTEN WORK TO TURNITIN

All written work for this course must be handed in as a hard copy and uploaded to the INTP 371 course page at http://www.turnitin.com and may be checked for academic integrity. Turnitin is an online plagiarism prevention tool which identifies material that may have been copied from other sources including the Internet, books, journals, periodicals or the work of other students. Turnitin is used to assist academic staff in detecting misreferencing, misquotation, and the inclusion of unattributed material, which may be forms of cheating or plagiarism. You are strongly advised to check with me if you are uncertain about how to use and cite material from other sources. Turnitin will retain a copy of submitted materials on behalf of the University for detection of future plagiarism, but access to the full text of submissions will not be made available to any other party. Further information about how to upload your work to Turnitin.com will be distributed once the course begins.

WORKLOADS AND MANDATORY COURSE REQUIREMENTS

The workload guideline for this course is 15 hours per week, including 2 hours weekly class contact time.

The mandatory course requirements are:

- Submission of the book review by the due date
- Submission of the research essay by the due date
- Sit the class test on 30 May

A student who has obtained an overall mark of 50% or more, but failed to satisfy a mandatory requirement for the course, will receive a K grade, while a course mark less than 50% will result in the appropriate fail grade (D, E or F)

ACADEMIC INTEGRITY AND PLAGIARISM

Academic integrity is about honesty – put simply it means *no cheating*. All members of the University community are responsible for upholding academic integrity, which means staff and students are expected to behave honestly, fairly and with respect for others at all times. Plagiarism is a form of cheating which undermines academic integrity. The University defines plagiarism as follows:

The presentation of the work of another person or other persons as if it were one's own, whether intended or not. This includes published or unpublished work, material on the Internet and the work of other students or staff.

It is still plagiarism even if you re-structure the material or present it in your own style or words.

Note: It is however, perfectly acceptable to include the work of others as long as that is acknowledged by appropriate referencing.

Plagiarism is prohibited at Victoria and is not worth the risk. Any enrolled student found guilty of plagiarism will be subject to disciplinary procedures under the Statute on Student Conduct and may be penalized severely. Consequences of being found guilty of plagiarism can include:

- an oral or written warning
- cancellation of your mark for an assessment or a fail grade for the course
- suspension from the course or the University.

Find out more about plagiarism, and how to avoid it, on the University's website:

http://www.victoria.ac.nz/home/study/plagiarism.aspx

AEGROTATS

Please note that under the Assessment Statute (Sections 4.5) students may now apply for an aegrotat pass in respect of any item of assessment falling within the last three weeks before the day on which lectures cease. In the case of **first trimester** courses in 2008 the starting point for this period is **Monday 14 May 2008**.

The following rules apply:

where a student is not able to sit a test falling within these last three weeks because of
illness or injury etc., an alternative test will be arranged where possible. If the student has
completed in the view of the course supervisor, sufficient marked assessment relevant to

- the objectives of the course, an average mark may be offered. Where a student has an essay or other piece of assessment due in the last three weeks, and has a medical certificate or other appropriate documentation, the student will be given an extension.
- if none of the above is available to the student, e.g., if she/he has an ongoing illness, than an aegrotat will be considered. See Assessment Statute (Sections 4.5) for a full explanation of the rules governing the provision of aegrotats in these circumstances.

GENERAL UNIVERSITY STATUTES AND POLICIES

Students should familiarise themselves with the University's policies and statutes, particularly the Assessment Statute, the Personal Courses of Study Statute, the Statute on Student Conduct and any statutes relating to the particular qualifications being studied; see the *Victoria University Calendar* available in hardcopy or under "about Victoria" on the Victoria homepage at:

http://www.victoria.ac.nz/home/about_victoria/calendar_intro.html

Information on the following topics is available electronically under "Course Outline General Information" at:

http://www.victoria.ac.nz/home/about/newspubs/universitypubs.aspx#general

- Academic Grievances
- Student and Staff Conduct
- Meeting the Needs of Students with Impairments
- Student Support