

**The Division of Global Affairs
Rutgers University**

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Class time: TH, 2-4:40
Class meets: CON-445
Office hours: TH 5:00-7:00

Human Security Seminar

The growth in the number of failed and fragile states, marked by the failure of the rule of law, has been sustained over the course of the last decade. The product in many countries has been civil conflict, the deprivation of human rights and the displacement of large numbers of the population who are subject to violence in a variety of forms. From Latin America to Africa and Asia, internally displaced persons and refugees have sought sanctity. These efforts, however, have often proved unsuccessful, often resulting in high mortality rates. In this seminar we shall examine the questions of how and why human security emerged, what it entails, and the issue of the protection of vulnerable populations in the context of civil conflict.

Goals of the Course

This course has three major goals:

- To inform students about the content and substance of debates concerning the threats to vulnerable populations.
- To develop professional verbal and written skills for either a professional policy or academic career.
- To produce an original piece of research suitable as a writing sample, publishable piece or a discernable part of a doctoral dissertation.

Design of the Course

The course has three sections. After an introductory week, the first section looks at the background to the emergence of human security, its location within security studies and common questions about its definition and purpose.

The second section of the course examines issues about the causes of violence and the actors involved. We will also examine the options open to the international community and the trends of the last decade.

The final section of the course will examine some recent critical cases, notably (although not exclusively) Libya and Syria. Our goal is to understand the basis for different policies and the implications of those choices for global norms, global and regional institutions and great power politics.

Requirements

Students will be graded according to two criteria: Class participation and written papers. Class participation and presentations will account for twenty percent of their grade. This component is composed of a combination of their contribution to class discussion of the readings; their individual presentations; and their feedback to other students presenting their research. The written component constitutes eighty-percent of the final grade, to be assessed by evaluating the project proposal, intermediate report and final paper. The proposal paper will constitute a five-page assessment of the central questions in a specified area of research in the construction of a paper; the intermediate paper will provide a five-page preliminary assessment of the research findings to accompany their presentation. The final papers should be 25-30 pages (double spaced) in length. Each should offer a statement of the puzzle, a statement of contending explanations, a presentation of the evidence, and an evaluation of your explanation in view of the evidence.

Course policies:

For this course, neither G nor I grades will be granted. Failure to complete all assignments on time will result in a failing grade.

Students in this course will be expected to comply with Rutgers University's Policy on Academic Integrity. Any student suspected of violating this obligation for any reason during the semester will be required to participate in the procedural process, initiated at the instructor level, as outlined in the University Guidelines on Academic Integrity. This may include, but is not limited to, the confiscation of the examination or papers of any individual suspected of violating University Policy.

For details on the policy visit <http://academicintegrity.rutgers.edu/students.shtml>

Readings.

There are no required purchases for this course. All readings should be available on blackboard or for download via the web where indicated. Several are very short magazine or newspaper articles that are used to demonstrate a point related to the week's readings. So they should be read with care. The last section of the course has no readings to facilitate individual research and class presentations.

For information on or more materials for any of the subjects below, and for help with your research papers, I suggest you begin by clicking on

<http://www.humansecuritygateway.info/> and https://worldbankhive.logicaladvantage.com/_layouts/WBHive/Buzz.aspx.

1. September 5. Intro week

Subjects: 1. Objectives and content of the course
 2. Studying Human Security

3. Writing research papers

NB. Following class, please sign up to see me during my office hours, scheduled to follow after class, for a short introductory meeting where we can discuss your research interests.

SECTION 1: BACKGROUND

2. September 12. The State of the World and the State of Security Studies

Global Trends 2030, read Executive Summary, (i-xiv), 1-5, 20-30, and 59-69.

Global Peace Index 2013, pp. 3-73, available to download at

<http://www.visionofhumanity.org/#/page/our-gpi-findings>

Keith Krause and Michael C. Williams, 'Broadening the Agenda of Security Studies: Politics and Methods,' *Mershon International Studies Review*, 40:2, 1996, pp. 229-254.

P.H. Liotta, 'Boomerang Effect: The Convergence of National and Human Security', *Security Dialogue*, 33:4, pp.473-488

Roland Paris, 'Human Security: Paradigm Shift or Hot Air?' *International Security*, 26:2, fall 2001, pp. 87-102

3. September 19. Origins of the Concept of Human Security- Why Human Security?

Taylor Owen, 'Human Security – Conflict, Critique and Consensus', *Security Dialogue* 35:3, September 2004, pp. 345-387

Congressional Research Service, 'Weak and Failing States: Evolving Security Threats and U.S. Policy', Updated April 18, 2008,

<http://fpc.state.gov/documents/organization/104714.pdf>

Commission on Human Security, *Human Security Now: Final Report*, Preface and Ch. 1, New York: CHS, 2003, <http://www.humansecurity-chs.org/finalreport/>

UNDP, 'New Dimensions of Human Security', Ch. 2, *Human Development Report 1994*, Oxford University Press, 1994, pp. 22-39,

http://hdr.undp.org/en/media/hdr_1994_en_chap2.pdf

NB. The student deadline to submit paper topics proposal is the start of class of week 4.

4. September 26. The Agenda of Human Security

Fen Osler Hampson et al., *Madness in the Multitude: Human Security and World Disorder*, Chapter 1-3.

Kofi Annan, 'We the Peoples: The Role of the United Nations in the 21st Century,' *Millennium Report*, Chapters 1, 4 and 7, <http://www.un.org/millennium/sg/report/full.htm>

Human Security Report Project, 'The Changing Face of Global Violence (Part 1)', *The Human Security Report 2005*,

<http://www.hsrgroup.org/docs/Publications/HSR2005/2005HumanSecurityReport-Part1-ChangingFaceOfViolence.pdf>

The Fund for Peace, *The Failed State Index 2013*, downloads available at <http://library.fundforpeace.org/cfsir1306>, pp. 3-21.

‘UN declares Somalia famine in Bakool and Lower Shabelle’, BBC News, <http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/mobile/world-africa-14211905>

SECTION 2: CONFLICT AND GLOBAL RESPONSES

5. October 3. The Conundrum of Ethnic Conflict

Paul Collier et al. ‘What Makes a Country Prone to Civil War?’ Chapter 3, *Breaking the Conflict Trap*, Washington, D.C.: World Bank, 2003

<http://econ.worldbank.org/prr/CivilWarPRR/text-26671/>

Ronnie Lipshutz and Beverly Crawford, ‘Ethnic Conflict Isn’t’, *IGCC Policy Brief No.2*, 1995, <http://igcc.ucsd.edu/pdf/policybriefs/pb02.pdf>

TED, ‘Paul Collier's new rules for rebuilding a broken nation’ (Video),

http://www.ted.com/talks/paul_collier_s_new_rules_for_rebuilding_a_broken_nation.html

Franklin Foer, *How Soccer Explains the World*, Chapter 1 entitled ‘How Soccer Explains the Gangsters Paradise,’ pp. 7-34.

Stathis Kalyvas, “New” and “Old” Civil Wars: A Valid Distinction? *World Politics* 54:1, pp. 99-118, <http://stathis.research.yale.edu/files/New.pdf>

6. October 10. The Question of Intervention

Martha Finnemore, *The Purpose of Intervention: Changing Beliefs About the Use of Force*, Ch1-3, Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2003

Ann Hironaka, *Neverending Wars: The International Community, Weak States, and the Perpetuation of Civil Wars*, Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2005, Chapters, 1-3.

Bruce W. Jentleson, ‘Coercive Prevention: Normative, Political and Policy Dilemmas’ *Peaceworks No. 35*, Washington, DC: United States Institute of Peace, October 2000

<http://www.usip.org/pubs/peaceworks/pwks35.pdf>

Kofi Annan, ‘Two Concepts of Sovereignty’, *the Economist*, September 18, 1999,

<http://www.economist.com/node/324795>

7. October 17. The Responsibility to Protect

Gareth Evans and Mohamed Sahnoun, *The Responsibility to Protect: A Report by the International Commission of Intervention and State Sovereignty*, Ottawa: ON,

International Development Research Center, 2001, <http://www.dfait-maeci.gc.ca/iciss-ciise/pdf/Commission-Report.pdf>

Simon Reich, 'The Evolution of a Doctrine: The Curious Case of Kofi Annan, George Bush and the Doctrines of Preventative and Preemptive Intervention' in William Keller and Gordon Mitchell, (eds.), *Hitting First: Preventive Force in U.S. Security Strategy*. Jon Western and Joshua Goldstein, 'Humanitarian Intervention Comes of Age,' *Foreign Affairs*, 90, no. 6, November/December 2011, pp. 48-59.

Mónica Serrano, "The Responsibility to Protect and its Critics: Explaining the Consensus," *Global Responsibility to Protect*, 3 (2011) pp. 1–13

8. October 24. No Class. Prepare five-page research summary to hand in at the start of class on October 31. Make up class will be scheduled for presentation weeks.

9. October 31. Who are the Victims? Refugees and IDPs

UNDP, 'Rights Empowering people in the fight against poverty', Chapter 4, *Human Rights Development Report 2000*, pp.73-88,

http://hdr.undp.org/en/media/hdr_2000_ch4.pdf

UNHCR, 'The Changing Dynamics of Displacement', *State of the World's Refugees, 2000:Fifty Years of Humanitarian Action*, pp. 275-87,

<http://www.unhcr.org/3ebf9bb80.html>

Bill Frelick 'Assistance without Protection: Feed the Hungry, Clothe the Naked and Watch Them Die' *US Committee for Refugees*, 1997

Fiona Terry, 'Humanitarian Action and Responsibility', Ch1, *Condemned to Repeat? The Paradox of Humanitarian Action*

Howard Adelman, 'Why Refugee Warriors are Threats', *The Journal of Conflict Studies*, Vol. XVIII No. 1, (Spring 1998)

'Somalis displaced by drought hit by Mogadishu rains', BBC News, 15 July 2011,

<http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/world-africa-14165509>

10. November 7. Who are the perpetrators? Governments, Refugees, NSAs and Child Soldiers

Aristide Zolberg, Astri Suhrke and Sergio Aguayo, *Escape from Violence: Conflict and Refugee Crisis in the Developing World*, New York: Oxford University Press, 1989, Chapters 1 and 10.

Howard Adelman, 'The Use and Abuse of Refugees in Zaire', April 1996- March 1997

*Scott Gates and Simon Reich, *Child Soldiers in the Age of Fractured States* (Chapters by Gates and Reich, McMahan, Wessells, Mack).

'Spain summons Iraqis over deaths of Iranian exiles', BBC News, 14 July 2011,

<http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/world-middle-east-14159897>

Research Update

Students have to present a two-page paper and brief summary regarding the status of their research projects at the start of class on November 10.

SECTION 3: RECENT CRITICAL CASES

11. November 14. America and R2P: Libya

Simon Reich and Richard Ned Lebow, *Good-bye Hegemony! Power and Influence in the Global System* (pages to be assigned).

Bruce Jentleson, 'The Obama Administration and R2P: Progress, Problems and Prospects,' *Global Responsibility to Protect*, Volume 4, Number 4, 2012, pp. 399-423 (25)

Simon Chesterman, "Leading from Behind': The Responsibility to Protect, the Obama Doctrine, and Humanitarian Intervention After Libya" (2011). New York University Public Law and Legal Theory Working Papers. Paper 282.

Aidan Hehir, 'The Permanence of Inconsistency: Libya, the Security Council, and the Responsibility to Protect,' *International Security*, Volume 38, Number 1, Summer 2013, pp. 137-159

Alan J. Kuperman, "A Model Humanitarian Intervention? Reassessing NATO's Libya Campaign." *International Security*, Vol. 38, No. 1 (Summer 2013), pp. 105–136.

12. November 21. America and R2P: Syria

Patrick Stewart, 'Does Syria Mean the End of Responsibility to Protect?' *The Atlantic*, 13 June 2013, <http://www.theatlantic.com/international/archive/2013/06/does-syria-mean-the-end-of-the-responsibility-to-protect/276866/>

Chris Keeler, 'The End of Responsibility to Protect?' *Foreign Policy Journal*, October 12, 2011, <http://www.foreignpolicyjournal.com/2011/10/12/the-end-of-the-responsibility-to-protect/>

Jon Western and Joshua Goldstein, 'R2P After Syria,' *Foreign Affairs*, March 26, 2013

Patrick Quinton-Brown 'Saving R2P from Syria,' OpenCanada.org, August 14, 2012, <http://opencanada.org/features/the-think-tank/comments/saving-r2p-from-syria/>

Rosa Brooks, 'So You Want to Intervene in Syria Without Breaking the Law?

Good luck with that,' *Foreign Policy*, 20 June 2013,

http://www.foreignpolicy.com/articles/2013/06/20/so_you_want_to_intervene_in_syria_without_breaking_the_law#.Ucdqvap0lhw.email

13. November 26. Student Presentations.

(NOTE THIS CLASS WILL BE HELD ON A TUESDAY DUE TO THANKSGIVING SCHEDULING CHANGES).

THIS CLASS MAY RUN LONG. PLEASE SCHEDULE ACCORDINGLY.

Students presenting at this class will send out five-page summary of research findings by 10AM on Friday November 22.

14. December 5. Student Presentations.

THIS CLASS MAY RUN LONG. PLEASE SCHEDULE ACCORDINGLY.

Students presenting at this class will send out five-page summary of research findings by 10AM on Monday December 2.

14. December 12. Final Class. Hand in Papers at start of class.