

*UNIVERSITY OF PITTSBURGH
GRADUATE SCHOOL OF PUBLIC AND INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS
DEPARTMENT OF POLITICAL SCIENCE
EUROPEAN UNION CENTRE OF EXCELLENCE*

***PIA 2492-PS 2320 HUMAN SECURITY AND SECURITIZATION OF AID POLICIES:
EUROPEAN AND NORTH AMERICAN PERSPECTIVES
(PROF. ERIC REMACLE)***

January-February 2006, Fri. 9:00 a.m.–12:00 noon, Room 3430 Posvar Hall

COURSE DESCRIPTION

Because of civil wars in several parts of the world, especially in Sub-Saharan Africa, the international organizations have reshaped their development agenda by emphasizing the importance of security and peace as preconditions for development. This approach has been explicitly mentioned among the aims of the United Nations by the Summit of the Millennium in year 2000. In parallel, the concept of Human Security has been promoted by several Western governments, NGOs and independent commissions in order to take into account the need to address not only state security needs but also human individuals' vulnerability in crisis situations. Aid policies of both European and North American states have taken into account these evolutions, though the concept of Human Security itself has been discussed in a controversial way. The 9.11 attacks have e.g. reduced the U.S. interest for this concept. But Canada is favouring this new approach and the E.U. is progressively integrating it into its security agenda and the Cotonou convention with African states. Furthermore, all these actors have started 'securitizing' their development and aid agenda.

The course compares the evolution of the European and North American debate about the link between security and development, within the wider context of the United Nations, World Bank and OECD documents. It aims at understanding positions of governmental, intergovernmental and non-governmental actors about the concept of Human Security and discusses several concrete case studies.

The course will run for 5 regular sessions on Fridays, from 9:00 to 12:00, plus one additional lecture and a videoconference (the latter tbc).

READINGS AND GENERAL BIBLIOGRAPHY

There is no book for the course. A package of compulsory readings is displayed.

To support the course, students can use several electronic resources:

<http://ochaonline.un.org/webpage.asp?ParentID=10139&MenuID=10145&Page=2043>

www.humansecurity-chs.org/activities/meetings/first/bibliography.pdf

www.humansecurity.info/

www.humansecuritygateway.com/

www.humansecuritybulletin.info/

www.fordinstitute.pitt.edu/

Useful journals are (among other IR, security & development journals):

International Security

Journal of Peace Research

Journal of Conflict Resolution

OECD DAC Journal on Development (www.oecdwash.org/PUBS/PERIOD/per-dac.htm)

Security Dialogue

SIPRI Yearbook

Third World Quarterly

The four main documents issued by the United Nations referring to Human Security are:

United Nations Development Programme, *Human Development Report 1994* (Oxford University Press, 1994), See especially Chapter 2, "New Dimensions of Human Security," pp. 22-39.

Commission on Human Security, *Human Security Now: Final Report*, (New York: CHS, 2003), see especially Chapter 1 and Chapter 8, pp. 2-19 and 130-143. Available on-line at www.humansecurity-chs.org

United Nations General Assembly, Fifty-sixth session, *Road map towards the implementation of the United Nations Millennium Declaration. Report of the Secretary-General*, A/56/326, 6 September 2001. Available on-line at <http://daccessdds.un.org/doc/UNDOC/GEN/N01/526/07/PDF/N0152607.pdf?OpenElement>

A More Secure World: Our Shared Responsibility, Report of the Secretary-General's High Level Panel on Threats, Challenges and Change, United Nations, New York, 2004. Available on-line at www.un.org/secureworld/

ASSIGNMENTS AND ASSESSMENT

All members of the course will be assigned pieces of compulsory reading and additional bibliography for each session. Students will be called upon to make one presentation during the course and to participate in general discussion. Tasks for class presentations will be distributed at the end of class 1.

As far as final paper is concerned, students are required to conduct research about one specific case study and to explore whether the concept of "human security" does contribute to provide a new approach to it. Theory is required for PhD students, welcome but not compulsory for MA students. The use of a comprehensive bibliography about the case study is required.

Size of the paper: 10-15 pages, including bibliography. Submission **by email** by February 15, 2006 (to eremacle@ulb.ac.be).

Assessment will be determined as follows:

* paper	60%
* class presentation	30%
* class participation	10%

Office hours : Monday Jan. 9, 16 and 30 and Thur. Jan. 26, each time between 9 am and 12 pm (no need to make any more precise appointment, I stay in the office anyway).

Office : Room 4443 Wesley W. Posvar Hall. **Tel.** (412-64)8-7292.

E-mails : eremacle@ulb.ac.be; remacle@pitt.edu

WEEK 1. FRIDAY JANUARY 6
INTRODUCTION: WHY HUMAN SECURITY ?

Presentation of the Human Security Report 2005 (<http://www.humansecurityreport.info/>)

The Theoretical Foundations

- Ken Booth, "Security and Self: Reflections of a Fallen Realist", YCISS Occasional Paper 26, Centre for International and Strategic Studies, York University, Toronto, October 1994.
- John Burton, Chapter 3, "Institutional Values and Human Needs," in *Deviance, Terrorism & War*, St. Martin's, New York, 1979, pp. 55-84.
- Barry Buzan, *People, States and Fear: an Agenda for International Security Studies in the Post-Cold War Era*, Harvester-Wheatsheaf, New York, 1991.
- A.J.R. Groom, "Paradigms in Conflict: the Strategist, the Conflict Researcher and the Peace Researcher" *Review of International Studies*, Vol. 14 (1988), pp. 71-98.
- Michael T. Klare & Daniel C. Thomas (eds), *World Security. Challenges for a New Century*, St. Martin's Press, New York, 1994.
- Keith Krause, *Critical Theory and Security Studies*, YCISS Occasional Paper 33, Centre for International and Strategic Studies, York University, Toronto, 1996.
- Jessica Tuchman Mathews, "Redefining Security", *Foreign Affairs*, Spring 1989.
- Michael C. Williams, "Words, Images, Enemies: Securitization and International Politics", *International Studies Quarterly*, vol.47, no.4, (2003), pp. 511-531.

The Concept and Its Critiques

- , "What is 'Human Security'?" Comments by 21 authors and Taylor Owen, "Human Security—Conflict, Critique and Consensus: Colloquium Remarks and a Proposal for a Threshold-Based Definition." *Security Dialogue*, Vol. 35, No. 3, September 2004, pp. 347-387.
- Lloyd Axworthy, *Human Security: Safety for People in a Changing World*, Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade, Canada, 1999.
- Paul Evans, "Human Security and East Asia: In the Beginning," *Journal of East Asian Studies*, Vol. 4 (2004), pp. 263-84.
- Fen O. Hampson, Ch. 1, "Introduction" and Ch. 2, "The Many Meanings of Human Security", in his *Madness in the Multitude: Human Security and World Disorder*, Oxford University Press, 2002, pp. 1-37.
- Helsinki Process on Globalization and Democracy, *Empowering People at Risk: Human Security Priorities for the 21st Century*, Finnish Ministry for Foreign Affairs, Helsinki, 28 January 2005 (www.helsinki.fi).
- Gary King & Christopher J.L. Murray, "Rethinking Human Security", *Political Science Quarterly*, vol. 116, n° 4, 2001-2002, pp. 585-610.
- Rob Mcrae & Don Hubert (eds), *Human Security and the New Diplomacy: Protecting People, Promoting Peace*, McGill-Queen's University Press, Montreal, 2001.
- George Maclean, "Instituting and Projecting Human Security: A Canadian Perspective", *Australian Journal of International Affairs*, Vol. 54, N. 3, November 2000, pp. 269-276.
- Matt McDonald, "Human Security and the Construction of Security", *Global Society*, vol. 16, n° 3, July 2002, pp. 277-295.

- Roland Paris, « Human Security : Paradigm Shift or Hot Air », *International Security*, Vol. 26, N. 2, Fall 2001, pp. 87-102.
- Jean-François Rioux (ed.), *La sécurité humaine. Une nouvelle conception des relations internationales*, L'Harmattan, Paris, 2001.
- Hussein Solomon & Jakkie Cilliers (eds), *People, Poverty and Peace : Human Security in Southern Africa*, ISS Monograph Series 4, Institute for Security Studies, Halfway House, 1996.
- Astrid Suhrke, « Human Security and the Interests of States », *Security Dialogue*, Vol. 30, N. 3, September 1999, pp. 265-276.
- Caroline Thomas, *Global Governance, development and human security: the Challenge of Poverty and Inequality*, Pluto Press, London, 2000 (electronic version on PittCat).
- Nicholas Thomas & William T. Tow, "The Utility of Human Security: Sovereignty and Humanitarian Intervention", *Security Dialogue*, Vol. 33, N. 2, June 2002, pp. 177-192.

WEEK 2. FRIDAY JANUARY 13
ECONOMIES OF WAR AND PEACE – LINKS BETWEEN CONFLICTUALITY AND
(UNDER)DEVELOPMENT

Compulsory reading:

Paul Collier, *Development and Conflict*, Centre for the Study of African Economies, Department of Economics, Oxford University, October 1, 2004.

Additional Bibliography

Karen Ballentine & Jake Sherman, eds., *The Political Economy of Armed Conflict: Beyond Greed and Grievance*, Lynne Rienner, Boulder, 2003.

Mats Berdal & David M. Malone (eds), *Greed and Grievance: Economic Agendas in Civil Wars* Lynne Rienner, Boulder, 2000.

Centre for the Study of African Economies: <http://www.csae.ox.ac.uk/>

Neil Cooper & Michael Pugh, with Jonathan Goodhand, *War Economies in a Regional Context: The Challenges of Transformation*, Lynne Rienner, Boulder, 2004.

Mary Kaldor, *New and old wars: organized violence in a global era*, Stanford University Press, Stanford, 1999.

James C. Murdoch and Todd Sandler, "Economic Growth, Civil Wars and Spatial Spillovers," *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 46, no.1, 2002.

Abdul Noury & Khalid Sekkat, "Les déterminants économiques de l'instabilité politique: une analyse empirique pour l'Afrique", in Pierre Calame, Benjamin Denis & Eric Remacle (eds), *L'Art de la Paix: Approche transdisciplinaire*, PIE-Peter Lang, Bruxelles-Berne, 2004, pp. 93-105.

Kaysie Studdard, *War Economies in a Regional Context: Overcoming the Challenges of Transformation*, IPA Policy Report, The International Peace Academy, New York, March 2004.

World Bank, *Economics of Civil Wars and Violence*
(<http://econ.worldbank.org/programs/conflict>).

Two or three (groups of) students will be formed in order to address the following case studies.

Anti-Personal Landmines – Additional Bibliography

Don Hubert, "The Landmine Treaty: A Case Study in Humanitarian Advocacy." Thomas J. Watson Jr. Institute for International Studies, Occasional Paper # 42, 2000, Chapter 2.

Richard Price, "Reversing the Gun Sights: Transnational Civil Society Targets Landmines," *International Organization*, Vol. 52, No.3, Summer 1998, pp. 613-632

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

Landmine Monitor 2003. Available on-line at: <http://www.icbl.org/lm/2003/findings.html>.

Lloyd Axworthy, "The Ottawa Process," Ch. 6, in *Navigating the New World*, Vintage Canada, 2004, pp. 126-54.

Small Arms and Light Weapons – Additional Bibliography

Small Arms Survey 2002, Ch. 5, "Reaching Consensus in New York: the 2001 UN Small Arms Conference", Oxford University Press, 2002, pp. 203-231.

Krause Keith, *Multilateral Diplomacy, Norm Building, and UN Conferences: The Case of Small Arms and Light Weapons*. *Global Governance* 8 (2002) 247-263.

For more background on the small arms issue, including the United Nations 2001 Programme of Action, see: <http://www.iansa.org>, www.smallarmssurvey.org and www.nisat.org

Diamond Trafficking in Conflict Areas – Additional Bibliography

See <http://www.globalpolicy.org/security/issues/diamond/>

WEEK 3. JANUARY 20
THE SECURITY-DEVELOPMENT NEXUS,
SECURITY SECTOR/SYSTEM REFORM,
“FRAGILE STATES”, PEACE-BUILDING AND NATION-BUILDING

Compulsory Reading:

Mark Duffield, *Global Governance and the New Wars. The Merging of Development and Security*, Zed Books, London-New York, 2001, pp. 1-43 & 257-265.
(the whole book is available at GSPIA library: HC59.72.D44 D84 2001).

Two (groups of) students will be formed in order to prepare two follow-up discussions :

- 1. What is the influence of aid in violent conflict ? Discuss DDR, SSR and “Security Governance”**
- 2. Why and how should the USA and Europe co-operate in nation-building ?**

Additional bibliography about Security Sector/System Reform

Mary Anderson, *Do No Harm: How Aid can Support Peace or War*. Boulder: Lynne Rienner Publishers, 1999.

Bonn International Center for Conversion : www.bicc.de

Alan Bryden & Heiner Hänggi (eds), *Security Governance in Post-Conflict Peacebuilding*, LIT Verlag, Münster, 2005.

Bjorn Hagelin & Elisabeth Skons, “The military sector in a changing context”, *SIPRI Yearbook 2003*, Oxford University Press, 2003.

OECD, *Conflict Prevention and Development Co-operation Papers*, off-print of the *DAC Journal*, vol. 2, n° 3, 2001.

Other documents from OECD DAC: see <http://www.oecd.org/dac/conflict>

Additional bibliography about the US Debate on Nation-building

Gary T. Dempsey, “Old Folly in a New Disguise: Nation Building to Combat Terrorism,” Cato Institute *Policy Analysis* No. 429, 21 March 2002, pp. 1-21.
<http://www.cato.org/pubs/pas/pa429.pdf>

Francis Fukuyama, “Nation Building 101”, *Atlantic Monthly*, Jan/Feb 2004, pp. 159-62.
[[This is a distillation of his *State-Building: Governance and World Order in the 21st Century*, Cornell University Press, 2004]].

Minxin Pei and Sara Kasper, “Lessons from the Past: The American Record of Nation Building,” Carnegie Endowment Policy Brief No. 24, May 2003, pp. 1-7.
<http://www.ceip.org/files/pdf/Policybrief24.pdf>

Michael Ignatieff, “Introduction” and “Nation Building Lite” in his *Empire Lite: Nation Building in Bosnia, Kosovo and Afghanistan* (2003), pp. 1-25, 77-108.

WEEK 4. FRIDAY JANUARY 27
DILEMMA'S ABOUT JUSTICE AND PEACE:
TRANSITIONAL JUSTICE AND/OR "HUMANITARIAN INTERVENTION"
THE CASE OF GREAT LAKES AFRICA

Compulsory readings

- Kofi Annan, "Two Concepts of Sovereignty", *The Economist*, September 18, 1999, see <http://www.un.org/News/oss/sg/stories/kaecon.html>
- Gareth Evans and Mohamed Sahnoun, co-chairs. *The Responsibility to Protect: A Report by the International Commission of Intervention and State Sovereignty*. December 2001. Ottawa, Canada, International Development Resource Centre (IDRC). <http://www.idrc.ca>. Also available in html format at <http://www.iciss-ciise.gc.ca>.
- Priyankar Upadhyaya, "Human Security, Humanitarian Intervention, And Third World Concerns", *Denver Journal of International Law and Policy*, December 2004.

Two (groups of) students will be formed, one about Rwanda and the other one about Uganda; each of them will introduce the area case study and discuss the dilemma's between justice and peace and the question of humanitarian intervention and transitional justice. If there are candidates, Democratic Republic of Congo and Burundi can also be addressed as area case studies and the wider question of the International Criminal Court (ICC) can be put on the list too.

Additional Bibliography about Rwanda

- Alison Des Forges, "Leave None to Tell the Story", Human Rights Watch, New York, 1999, pp. 1-30.
- Erin Baines, "Body politics and the Rwandan crisis," *Third World Quarterly*, 24, 3, (2003), pp. 479-493.
- Jack Snyder, and Leslie Vinjamuri, "Trials and Errors: Principle and Pragmatism in Strategies of International Justice." *International Security* 28, 2004, pp.5-44.
- Mahmood Mamdani, *When Victims Become Killers: Colonialism, Nativism and the Genocide in Rwanda*. Princeton University Press, Princeton, 2001.
- Mark Drumbl, "Punishment, Postgenocide: From Guilt to Shame to Civis in Rwanda," *New York University Law Review*, 75, 5, (November 2000), pp. 1222-1267; available at <http://www.nyu.edu/pages/lawreview/75/5/drumbl.html>
- Prosecuting Genocide in Rwanda: The Gacaca System and the International Criminal Tribunal for Rwanda*. The Norwegian Helsinki Committee, Report II/2002. available at http://www.donika.com/prosecuting_genocide_in_rwanda.htm
- Position paper on the announcement of formal investigations of the LRA by the Chief Prosecutor of the ICC ...2004*. Refugee Law Project: Faculty of Law, Makerere University.; <http://www.refugeelawproject.org/working%20papers/RLP%20statement%20on%20the%20ICC%20investigation.pdf>

Additional Bibliography about Uganda

- Behind the Violence: Causes, Consequences, and the Search for Solutions to the War in Northern Uganda*. 2004. *Refugee Law Project Working Paper No. 11*; available at <http://www.refugeelawproject.org/working%20papers/RLP%20WP11%20Northern%20Uganda.pdf> 9 (red especially sections 1,2,5, and 6)
- Northern Uganda: Understanding and Solving the Conflict*. 2004. *Africa Report No. 77*. Nairobi/Brussels: International Crisis Group; available at http://www.icg.org/library/documents/africa/central_africa/077_uganda_conflict.pdf

ADDITIONAL LECTURE(S)

**TUESDAY JANUARY 31
2:00 – 4:00 P.M. 4130 POSVAR HALL**

**ERIC REMACLE
WRAP-UP LECTURE “HUMAN SECURITY AND AID POLICIES:
EUROPEAN AND NORTH AMERICAN PERSPECTIVES”**

(FOLLOWED BY A FAREWELL RECEPTION)

**THURSDAY FEBRUARY 2
12:00 – 2:00 P.M.**

**BRIAN JOB & PAUL EVANS,
UNIVERSITY OF BRITISH COLUMBIA**

“HUMAN SECURITY IN ASIA: A CANADIAN POINT OF VIEW”

(VIDEOCONFERENCE LECTURE)

!!!!!!! TO BE CONFIRMED !!!!!!!!

WEEK 5. FRIDAY FEBRUARY 3
DEBATES AND POLICIES IN THE EUROPEAN UNION

Compulsory Reading :

A Human Security Doctrine for Europe, The Barcelona Group Report, 2004 (available at <http://www.lse.ac.uk/Depts/global/Publications/HumanSecurityDoctrine.pdf>).
(or Marlies Glasius & Mary Kaldor eds, *A Human Security Doctrine for Europe*, Routledge, London, 2005).

Additional Bibliography :

Council of the European Union, *A Secure Europe in A Better World. European Security Strategy*, Brussels, 12 December 2003 (<http://ue.eu.int/uedocs/cmsUpload/78367.pdf>).

Commission of the European Communities, *EU Strategy for Africa: Towards a Euro-African pact to accelerate Africa's development*, Communication from the Commission to the Council, the European Parliament and the European Economic and Committee, COM (2005) 489 final, Brussels, 12 October 2005.

Cotonou Partnership Agreement Between the ACP Countries and the European Union and Its Member States (http://europa.eu.int/comm/development/body/cotonou/index_en.htm).

European Union, *Statement on Human Security: Peace-Building and Conflict Prevention*, EU-Canada Summit, Lisbon, 26 June 2000
http://europa.eu.int/comm/external_relations/canada/summit_06_00/hum_sec_stat.htm

Sven Grimm, *Human Security. Placing Development at the Heart of the EU's External Relations*, Overseas Development Institute for the Irish Presidency of the EU, Dublin, 2004 (http://www.dochas.ie/Working_Groups/Presidency/BriefingPaper.pdf).

Students will be asked to make a research and a presentation about the following EU security activities and answer the question : is there an “EU added value” and is there any influence from the “human security” approach ?

- Africa Peace Facility of the EU
- EU Rapid reaction Mechanism
- Artemis operation in Ituri (DRC), 2003.
- EU Police force in Kinshasa (DRC), 2005.
- EU peace-building presence in Bosnia and Herzegovina, 2003-...
- Others ? (proposals are welcome)

For doing the preparatory research about these topics, there is a vast literature about EU's foreign and security policy. See e.g. <http://www.fornet.info/>