



INSTEP-WFU London

THE NEW SECURITY AGENDA

Introduction

This course is an introduction to Security Studies, a branch of International Relations that dates back to the beginning of the Cold War. During the Cold War, the security environment was dominated by the Superpower struggle between the US and USSR and the focus was on nuclear deterrence, the arms race, national liberation struggles and Superpower involvement in proxy wars in the Third World.

Since the end of the Cold War and the rise of globalization, the strategic agenda has changed considerably. The traditional focus on peace and war between states has been broadened to include the threats to international peace and security deriving from conflicts within states, from transnational actors – such as terrorist groups, insurgents and criminal organizations – and from environmental factors. It also embraces a more inclusive understanding of security that includes individual and societal freedom in terms of human rights and development.

While the state remains the most important actor in the contemporary international security environment, it is facing new security threats such as weapons proliferation, international terrorism and migration. The course explores how contemporary states have met these challenges and if they have been successful in preserving their citizens' security.

Week 1	Understanding Security
Week 2	Conflict and War in Society
Week 3	The Evolution of Warfare
Week 4	Guerrilla Warfare and Insurgency
Week 5	Conflict in the Post-Cold War Era: New Wars?
Week 6	Imperial War Museum
Week 7	Peacekeeping and Humanitarian Intervention
Week 8	Terrorism and the 'War on Terror'
Week 10	Weapons of Mass Destruction (WMDs) and Small Arms
Week 11	Climate Change and Environmental Threats
Week 11	'Outlaw States' and Hybrid Warfare

Assessments

There will be class presentations, in addition to which students are required to submit mid-term and final essays of 2,500 words each on the questions at the end of this course outline. Essay topics and the dates when written work is due will be arranged by each student with the

course tutor. **Please note** that for the essays you are expected to consult a good range of literature, which should be properly referenced. A bibliography is essential.

MAIN COURSE TEXTS

Students are required to prepare for seminars by reading, at the very least, the set readings listed under each subject heading. Several readings are to be found in two edited collections:

Baylis John, et al., (eds), *Strategy in the Contemporary World*, 4th ed. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013)

Collins, Alan, (ed.) *Contemporary Security Studies*, 3rd ed. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013).

All other set readings are available in folders provided by INSTEP

1) Introduction: Understanding Security

Set Reading United Nations Development Programme, *Human Development Report* (Oxford University Press, 1994); 22-33.

What is security? What is human security? What are the most significant security threats today? Should states or individuals be prioritized as the subjects of security?

Newman, Edward. 'Critical Human Security Studies', *Review of International Studies*, 36:1 (2010); 77-94.

Buzan, Barry & Hansen, Lene, 'Widening and Deepening Security', in *The Evolution of International Security Studies* (Cambridge: CUP, 2009); 187-225.

Mathews, Jessica T. 'Redefining Security', *Foreign Affairs*, 68:2 (1989); 162-77.

Newman, Edward. 'Critical Human Security Studies', *Review of International Studies*, 36:1 (2010); 77-94.

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

Taureck, Rita. 'Securitization Theory and Securitization Studies', *Journal of International Relations and Development*, 9 (2006); 53-61.

Ullman, Richard. 'Redefining Security', *International Security*, 8:1, (Summer 1983); 129-153.

2) Conflict and War in Society

Set Reading Freedman, Lawrence, 'Defining War', in J. Lindley-French (ed.), *The Oxford Handbook of War* (Oxford: OUP); 17-29.

What is war? How does it differ from other forms of social violence? How can states guarantee national security?

English, Richard, *Modern War: A Very Short Introduction* (Oxford: OUP, 2013)

Keegan, John, *A History of Warfare* (London: Hutchinson, 1993), new ed. 2004.

3) The Evolution of Warfare

Set Reading Sheehan, Michael, 'The Evolution of Modern Warfare,' in Baylis, *Strategy in the Contemporary World*; 39-59.

How has the character of war changed in history? Is technology the most significant factor in the transformation of war? Was World War One the first modern war? Have drones and robots changed the relationship between humans and war?

- Bailey, Jonathan, 'The First World War and the Birth of the Modern Style of Warfare' (Camberley Strategic and Combat Studies Unit, *Occasional Paper*, no. 22, 1996).
- Coker, Christopher, *Warrior Geeks: How 21st Century Technology is Changing the Way we Fight and Think About War* (Hurst, 2013).
- Eliot, Cohen, 'Technology and Warfare', in Baylis, *Strategy in the Contemporary World*; 132-50.
- Gat, Azar 'The Changing Character of War', in H. Elk, Grey, Colin S. 'Technology: Magic Bullets?' in Grey, *Perspectives on Strategy* (Oxford: OUP 2013), pp. 153-90.
- Strachan & S. Scheipers (eds), *The Changing Character of War* (Oxford: OUP, 2011); 27-47.
- Singer, P.W. 'Robots at War: The New Battlefield', in H. Strachan & S. Scheipers (eds), *The Changing Character of War* (Oxford: OUP, 2011), pp. 333-51.
- Windsor, Philip, 'The Transformation of War', in Windsor, *Strategic Thinking: An Introduction and Farewell*, ed. M. Berdal & S. Economides, (Boulder, CO: Lynne Rienner, 2002); 37-47.

4) Guerilla Warfare and Insurgency

Set Reading Petraeus, David, Amos, James & McClure, John., *U.S. Army/U.S. Marine Corps Counterinsurgency Field Manual* (Kissimmee: Signalman, 2009); 1-31.

What is guerrilla warfare? What is insurgency? How important is securing hearts and minds to successful counterinsurgency? What have the wars in Iraq and Afghanistan taught us about the effectiveness of counterinsurgency?

- Beckett, Ian F.W., 'From Guerrilla War to Insurgency', in K. E. Haug & O. J. Maa (eds), *Conceptualising Modern Warfare* (London: C. Hurst 2011); 89-110.
- Gentile, Gian P. 'A Strategy of Tactics: Population-centric COIN and the Army', *Parameters*, XXXIX (Autumn 2009); 5-17.
- Galula, David, *Counterinsurgency Warfare: Theory and Practice*. (Westport, Connecticut: Praeger, 1964).
- Kilcullen, David, 'Countering Global Insurgency', *Journal of Strategic Studies*, 28:4 (August 2005); 597-617
- Marston, Daniel & Malakasian, Carter (eds), *Counterinsurgency in Modern Warfare* (Oxford: Osprey, 2008).
- Metz, Steven, *Learning from Iraq: Counterinsurgency in American Strategy* (Carlisle: US Army War College, 2007) at <http://www.strategicstudiesinstitute.army.mil/pdffiles/PUB752.pdf>

Tse Tung, Mao, *On Guerrilla Warfare*, (New York: Praeger, 1961). Available at <http://www.marxists.org/reference/archive/mao/works/1937/guerrilla-warfare/index.htm>

5) Conflict in the Post-Cold War Era: New Wars?

Set Reading Newman Edward, 'The 'New Wars' Debate: A Historical Perspective is Needed', *Security Dialogue*, 35 (2004); 173-89.

Are New Wars more about economics than politics? Which actors fight New Wars? What role, if any, do states have in New Wars? In what ways are the conflicts in Bosnia and Somalia typical of New Wars? Are New Wars really new?

Berdal, Mats, 'The New Wars Thesis Revisited', in Strachan, Hew and Scheipers, Sibylle (eds), *The Changing Character of War* (Oxford, OUP, 2011), pp. 109-34.

Kaldor, Mary, *New & Old Wars: Organized Violence in a Global Era*, 3rd ed., (Cambridge: Polity, 2011).

Kalyvas, Stathis, "'New' and 'Old' Civil Wars: A Valid Distinction?", *World Politics*, 54 (2001); 99-118.

Melander, E., Oberg M & Hall J., 'Are New Wars' More Atrocious? Battle Severity, Civilians Killed and Forced Migration before and after the end of the Cold War', *European Journal of International Relations* 15 (2009); 505-36

Münkler, Herfried, *The New Wars* (Cambridge: Polity, 2005), esp. pp. 5-31 & 74-98.

6) The Imperial War Museum

This week comprises a visit to the Imperial War Museum. The museum's collection traces the evolution of war from medieval times to the present day.

7) Peacekeeping and Humanitarian Intervention

Set Reading Bellamy, Alex J., 'Humanitarian Intervention', in Collins, *Contemporary Security Studies*; 289-305.

Is genocide always a clear justification for humanitarian intervention? How has the doctrine of the Responsibility to Protect challenged international order? What lessons are to be learned from the humanitarian crises in Kosovo, Libya and Syria?

Bellamy, Alex J., 'Realizing the Responsibility to Protect', *International Studies Perspectives*, 10:2 (2009); 111-28.

The Responsibility to Protect, Report of the International Commission on Intervention and State Sovereignty (ICISS), Evans & Sahnoun, (Government of Canada, Ottawa, 2001).

Welsh, Jennifer M., *Humanitarian Interventions and International Relations* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003).

Wheeler, Nicholas J. & Bellamy, Alex J., 'Humanitarian Intervention in World Politics', in Baylis, J & Smith S. (eds.), *The Globalization of World Politics*, 5th ed., (Oxford: OUP, 2011); 510-28.

Williams Paul D. & Bellamy, Alex J., 'The Responsibility to Protect and the Crisis in Darfur', *Security Dialogue*, 36:1 (2005); 27-47.

8) Terrorism and the 'War on Terror'

Set Reading Lutz, Brenda and Lutz, James, 'Terrorism', in Collins, *Contemporary Security Studies*; 273-88

What is terrorism? What is the relationship between globalisation and terrorism? What, if anything is particular about Islamic terrorism? Can the 'Global War on Terror' be won? What other forms of terrorism are emerging?

Howard, Michael, 'What's in a Name? How to Fight Terrorism', *Foreign Affairs* (Jan/Feb 2002).

Hoffmann, Bruce, *Inside Terrorism*, revised ed., (New York: Columbia University Press, 2006); 1-42.

Horgan, John & Braddock, Kurt. *Terrorism Studies: A Reader* (London: Routledge, 2011).

Kiras, James D. 'Terrorism and Globalization', in Baylis, J & Smith S. (eds.), *The Globalization of World Politics*, 5th ed., (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011); 364-80.

Miller Christopher (ed), *War on Terror (Oxford Amnesty Lectures)* (Manchester University Press, 2009)

Neumann, Peter, *Old and New Terrorism* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 2009).

Rose, Gideon & Tepperman, Jonathan (eds), *The U.S. vs. Al Qaeda: A History of the War on Terror* (Council on Foreign Relations Press, 2011)

Townshend, C., *Terrorism: A Very Short Introduction*, 3rd edition (Oxford: OUP, 2018)

9) Weapons of Mass Destruction (WMDs) and Small Arms

Set reading Grillot, Suzette R., 'The Defence Trade', in Collins, *Contemporary Security Studies*, 320-33

What are weapons of mass destruction? Why do states seek to develop such weapons? Why do states constantly seek to buy and develop arms? Which states produce the most arms? What is the military industrial complex? What factors drive the trade in small arms? Can the arms trade be controlled? Is the arms trade immoral?

Bitzinger, Richard A., *Towards a Brave New Arms Industry?*, IISS Adelphi Paper 356 (London: Routledge, 2003).

Carr, Christopher, *Kalashnikov Culture: Small Arms Proliferation and Irregular Warfare* (Westport, CT: Praeger, 2008).

Cirincione, Joseph, Wolfsthal, Jon B. & Rajkumar, Miriam, *Deadly Arsenal: Nuclear, Biological, and Chemical Threats*, 2nd ed. (Washington, DC: Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, 2005); esp 1-118.

Dannreuther, Roland, 'Proliferation of Weapons of Mass Destruction', in Dannreuther, *International Security: The Contemporary Agenda* (Cambridge: Polity, 2007); 186-208.

Singer, P.W., 'Outsourcing War', *Foreign Affairs*, 84:2 (March 2005); 119-32.

Spiers, Edward M., *A History of Chemical and Biological Weapons* (London: Reaktion Books 2010).
Stohl, Rachel and Grillot, Suzette, *The International Arms Trade* (Cambridge: Polity, 2009).

10) Climate Change and Environment Threats

Set Reading Ker-Lindsay, James, 'Climate Change and State Death', *Survival*, Volume 58, Number 4, 2016, 73-94

What security challenges do climate change and global warming pose? How can the international community respond to these threats? How will we deal with climate change refugees? How can the international community manage disappearing states?

Baldwin, Andrew, Chris Methman and Delf Rothe, 'Securitizing 'Climate Refugees: The Futurology of Climate-Induced Migration'', *Critical Studies on Security*, Volume 2, Number 2, 2014, 121-130

Brown, Oli, Anne Hammill and Robert McLeman, 'Climate Change as the "New" Security Threat: Implications for Africa', *International Affairs*, Volume 83, Number 6, November 2007, 141-54.

Fetzek, Shiloh and Jeffrey Mazo, 'Climate, Scarcity and Conflict', *Survival*, Volume 56, Number 5, October- November 2014, 143-70.

Goldstein, Joshua S., 'Climate Change as a Global Security Issue', *Journal of Global Security Studies*, Volume 1, Number 1, February 2016, 95-98.

United Nations, *Climate Change and Its Possible Security Implications* (New York: United Nations, 2009)

White, G., *Climate Change and Migration: Security and Borders in a Warming World* (Oxford: Oxford University Press. 2011).

11) 'Outlaw States' and Hybrid Warfare

Set reading Peinhardt, Clint and Todd Sandler, 'Rogue and Failed States', *Transnational Cooperation: An Issue Based Approach* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015)

What is a rogue state? What are failed and de facto states? How have they posed a challenge to international security? Are de facto states merely conflicts waiting to be reignited? Is isolation of engagement the best way to manage the security threats posed by failed and de facto states?

Coggins, Bridget L. 'Does State Failure Cause Terrorism? An Empirical Analysis (1999-2008)', *Journal of Conflict Resolution*, Volume 59, Number 3, 2015, 455-483

Giegerich, Bastian, Hybrid Warfare and the Changing Character of Conflict, *Connections: The Quarterly Journal*, Number 2, 2016

Howard, Tiffany, *Failed States and the Origins of Violence: A Comparative Analysis of State Failure as a Root Cause of Terrorism and Political Violence* (London: Routledge, 2016)

Mazarr, Michael J. 'The Rise and Fall of the Failed-State Paradigm: Requiem for a Decade of Distraction', *Foreign Affairs*, Volume 93, Number 1, 2014

Patrick, Stewart, ““Failed” States and Global Security: Empirical Questions and Policy Dilemmas’, *International Studies Review*, Volume 9, Number 4, 2007, 644-662.

Peinhardt, Clint and Todd Sandler, ‘Rogue and Failed States’, *Transnational Cooperation: An Issue Based Approach* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015)