



# **Small States and International Security**

**Spring 2009**

**International Program Geneva  
Boston University**

**Dr. Christina Schori Liang**  
c.liang@gcsp.ch

## **1. Course Overview**

*“At the beginning of the 21st century, we face a world of extraordinary challenges—and of extraordinary interconnectedness. We are all vulnerable to new security threats, and to old threats that are evolving in complex and unpredictable ways. Either we allow this array of threats, and our responses to them, to divide us, or we come together to take effective action to meet all of them on the basis of a shared commitment to collective security.”*

*(Kofi Annan, former UN Secretary-General, 1997-2007)*

This course will describe the value of small states in the international system, emphasising predominantly Switzerland’s contributing role to global peace and security. The course will then widen its scope to describe the major international security issues which define the post Cold War world. Lectures will focus primarily on contemporary global security and the broadening security environment describing the main actors (states and institutions) and their multilateral and unilateral approaches to security. The course will focus on the increasing importance of new security issues that defy individual government control, climate change, pandemics, migration, and terrorism which have called for new approaches to international security. States can no longer solve these issues alone, they must act collaborate with intergovernmental agencies both International Organisations and Non-Governmental Organisations to develop new forms of global governance. Simultaneously, theorists and policymakers have acknowledged that the very concept of security has changed. The traditional approach of security which referred to traditional military threats to the security of states and their national boundaries have been eclipsed by new more complex security threats. In the 1980s, Barry Buzan broadened the definition of security to include five dimensions: military, political, economic, environmental and societal security.

The terrorist attacks in the US on 9/11 which were closely followed by military interventions in Afghanistan and Iraq have recently triggered a new debate about the sources of security and the different policy responses to them. National and ‘homeland security’ have once again emerged as predominant security issues. Especially transnational issues such as terrorism, organised crime, proliferation have become predominant security issues.

Finally, the interconnectedness of global peace and security were recognised by world leaders at the UN World Summit in 2005, where they declared: “We believe today, more than every before, we live in a global and interdependent world. No State can stand wholly alone. We acknowledge that collective security depends on effective cooperation, in accordance with international law, against transnational threats.”

The World Watch Institute has highlighted this broadening of security in its annual State of the World 2005 Report:

- The meaning of security has changed radically since 1989. It is no longer confined to state or national security and the preservation of national integrity;
- The sources of insecurity are no longer restricted to threats to national borders and do not stem primarily from military sources;
- Peace is more than the absence of war or hostilities, just as security is more than the guarantee of national security interests and territorial integrity. The primary agents of security are human beings, alongside states;
- No single country can achieve its security or safeguard against threats in isolation, because the world is more interconnected than ever before. Cooperative responses to peace and security are increasingly essential and unavoidable;
- Conflict and insecurity often have regional dynamics and contexts. Each region has a different context and set of factors determining its security. Nevertheless, beyond regional analysis and cooperation, there is also a need for international and global cooperation.

This course will explore these issues through a series of readings, and discussions that begin with the traditional concepts and practices of security and end with the broadening definition of security.

### **2. Incoming Competency of the Student Expected by Instructor:**

The course is aimed at undergraduates in their third or fourth year, with an interest in history, politics, international relations and security issues. There are no prerequisites but background reading is required.

### **3. Course objectives:**

- (a) to provide an assessment of the new security challenges in the post Cold War world;
- (b) to understand how governments and international organizations meet these security challenges;
- (c) to understand the most appropriate tools and instruments in dealing with current security challenges;
- (d) to determine how future global trends will affect global peace and security.

### **3. Terms and conditions**

**Class participation:** since this course is taught by seminar, it is expected that each student does the reading and comes to class prepared to discuss the readings. Attendance at every session is compulsory unless an acceptable excuse is provided (e.g. written medical certificate).

**Term paper:** every student will also write a term paper. The paper should be 10 pages (double-spaced), plus bibliography.

**Term paper presentation:** each student will present their term paper.

**Final test:** the final test will assess the knowledge gained throughout the course.

### **4. Course requirements**

The course will be evaluated as follows:

Class Participation (10%)

Class Presentation (10%)

Term Paper (30%)

Term Paper presentation (10%)

Final test (40%)

## **5. Plagiarism**

All students are responsible for having read the Boston University statement on plagiarism, which is available in the Academic Conduct Code. Students are advised that the penalty against students on a Boston University program for cheating on examinations or for plagiarism may be “expulsion from the program or the University or such other penalty as may be recommended by the Committee on Student Academic Conduct, subject to approval by the dean.”

Moreover, students are invited to consult the *Nuts and Bolts of College Writing* website <http://nutsandbolts.washcoll.edu/> in order to learn how to write down their ideas and also to avoid accidental plagiarism.

### **Week 1. Friday, Jan. 23, 14:00-17:00**

**Introduction.** The aim of this introductory session is to introduce students to the concept of security and provide an overview of the different perspectives, concepts, institutions and challenges that are part of security studies. This session will also provide students with an overview of the course and its requirements.

### **Week 2. Tuesday, Jan. 27, 17.30-20:00**

#### **Small States and International Security**

This session will also introduce the concept of a small states in world politics and international relations theory while exploring the all-important question of power and the various dimensions of diplomacy.

#### **Required Readings**

Kagan, Robert: "Power and Weakness," *Policy Review*, No. 113 (June and July 2002)

Zartman, William I., “Dimensions of Diplomacy,” SAIS, 2003.

Maass, Maathias (2007). *Small States from the Perspective of International Relations Theory: Realism and Liberalism Considered*. Diplomacy of Small States E-book, International Conference on the Diplomacy of Small States, 8-9 February 2007, Malta.

## **Week 2: Thursday, Jan. 29, 17:30-20:00**

**Swiss government and politics.** This session will outline the Swiss political system, political instruments and political customs. It will also explore the foreign and security policy of Switzerland.

### **Required Readings**

“Swiss Foreign Policy: Strategies of a Niche Player, CSS Analyses in Security Policy”, Vol. 3, No. 44, November 2008.

Möckli, Daniel. “Switzerland’s Controversial Middle East Policy”, CSS Brief, Center for Security Studies, Zurich: ETH Publications. (3p)

Swiss Government. (2006). "2006 Report on Switzerland's Relations with the United Nations and with International Organisations Based in Switzerland." 7 June 2006, available at:

[http://www.eda.admin.ch/etc/medialib/downloads/edazen/topics/intorg/un.Par.0017.File.tmp/Brochure%20UNO\\_engl.pdf](http://www.eda.admin.ch/etc/medialib/downloads/edazen/topics/intorg/un.Par.0017.File.tmp/Brochure%20UNO_engl.pdf).

Switzerland and the Partnership for Peace. Published by the Interdepartmental Office EAPC/PfP, September 2004.

Swiss Neutrality, Swiss Federal Department of Defence, Civil Protection and Sports (DDPS) in conjunction with the Swiss Department of Foreign Affairs (DFA), November 1998.

### **Suggested Readings**

Möckli, Daniel. “The Long Road to Membership: Switzerland and the United Nations,” in Gabriel, Jürg Martin, and Thomas Fischer. (2003). *Swiss Foreign Policy, 1945-2002*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, pp 46-57 & 62-67. (15p)

Websites:

Website provides an overview of Swiss history:

<http://history-switzerland.geschichte-schweiz.ch>

Website introduces the federal authorities of the Swiss Confederation

<http://www.admin.ch>

## **Week 2: Friday, Jan. 30, 11:00-16:30**

**Introduction to the Swiss Federal Government.** A trip to Bern, the Swiss capital, has been organized. The class will have the opportunity to visit the Swiss Parliament and will be introduced to the federal government of the Swiss Confederation.

### **Suggested Readings:**

Swiss Confederation a Brief Guide 2008, Federal Chancellery.

Websites also provide overview:

<http://www.ch.ch>

Website provides an overview of Swiss history:

<http://history-switzerland.geschichte-schweiz.ch>

Website introduces the federal authorities of the Swiss Confederation

<http://www.admin.ch>

## **Week 3: Tuesday, Feb. 3, 17:30-22:00**

**The changing face of security in the post-Cold War.** This session will outline our new global security threats including climate change, pandemics, migration and terrorism and will define the instruments and institutions needed to improve global governance.

### **Required Readings**

*A More Secure World: Our Shared Responsibility*, Executive Summary & Synopsis, Report of the High-level Panel on Threats, Challenges and Change, (United Nations, 2004), (8p).

Dannreuther, Roland: "Introduction: The Challenges of the New Security Agenda", *International Security: The Contemporary Agenda*, (Cambridge, UK: Polity 2007), pp. 1-10 (10p).

*Global Risks 2007: A Global Risk Network Report*, (The World Economic Forum, 2007), pp. 4-30, available at:

[http://www.weforum.org/pdf/CSI/Global\\_Risks\\_2007.pdf](http://www.weforum.org/pdf/CSI/Global_Risks_2007.pdf).

Kofi Annan, *We the Peoples: The Role of the UN in the 21<sup>st</sup> Century*, 2000.

<http://www.un.org/millennium/sg/report/full.htm>

### **Suggested Readings**

*State of the World 2005: Redefining Global Security*, The World Watch Institute (Norton & Company Ltd., 2005), pp. 3-19. (17p)

*A More Secure World: Our Shared Responsibility*, Report of the High-level Panel on Threats, Challenges and Change, (United Nations, 2004), pp. 1- 80.

### **Week 3: Thursday, Feb. 5, 17:30-20:00**

**Global Dynamics and Geopolitics:** This session will describe some of the principle actors in global politics. It will describe how global governance perspectives sometimes compete with state and power-oriented approaches.

#### **Required Readings**

Dannreuther, Roland: “Thinking About Security After the Cold War,” in *International Security: The Contemporary Agenda*, (Cambridge, UK: Polity 2007), pp. 1-10 (10p).

Nye, Joseph: “A New Order”, *Understanding International Conflicts*, (NY, Longmans Classics, 6<sup>th</sup> ed, 2007), Chapter 9, pp. 261-285 (24p).

Nye, Joseph: “The Information Revolution, Transnational Actors and the Diffusion of Power,” *Understanding International Conflicts*, (NY, Longmans Classics, 6<sup>th</sup> ed, 2007), Chapter 8, pp. 233-260. (27p).

### **Week 3: Friday, Feb. 6, 14:00-17:00**

**International Organisations and NGOs:** This session will describe the importance of International Organisations and NGO’s in improving global security. The important work of some of the major international organisations in Geneva will be described.

#### **Required Readings**

Berdal, Mats: “The UN Security Council: Ineffective but Indispensable” *Survival*, vol. 45, no. 2, Summer 2003, pp. 7-30. 22p.

Peter Leuprecht, Peter: “International Institutions: Well Guaranteed Rights” in *France Diplomatie* (6 September 2004).

Vladimir Petrovsky: “The Role of Geneva in the Years to Come”, *United Nations Chronicle* online edition (Geneva: UN Department of Public Information, 2000), Vol. XXXVII, No. 4.

The United Nations System: *Principal Organs of the United Nations* (Geneva: UN Department of Public Information, DPI/229, February 2003).

UN Millennium Development Goals

<http://www.un.org/millenniumgoals/>

## **Week 4: Tuesday, Feb. 9, 17:30-20:00**

**The changing face of security and conflict.** This session will describe human security and some of the instruments created to protect against human security violations.

### **Required Readings**

“What is human security” in *Human Security Report 2005. War and Peace in the 21st Century* (US, Oxford University Press, 2005), viii, available at:  
[http://www.humansecurityreport.info/HSR2005/HTML/What\\_is\\_HS/index.htm](http://www.humansecurityreport.info/HSR2005/HTML/What_is_HS/index.htm).

SEN, Amartya: “Development, rights and human security” in *Human Security Now: Protecting and Empowering People*, Report of the Independent Commission on Human Security to the UN Secretary-General, Kofi Annan, pp. 8-9, available at:  
<http://www.humansecurity-chs.org>.

“The Responsibility to Protect,” Report of the International Commission on Intervention and State Sovereignty, pp. 11-18, available at:  
<http://www.iciss.ca/pdf/Commission-Report.pdf>

*UN 2005 World Summit Outcome Fact Sheet: World Summit 14-16 Sept 2005*, United Nations (2005), 2p. available at:  
[http://www.un.org/summit2005/presskit/fact\\_sheet.pdf](http://www.un.org/summit2005/presskit/fact_sheet.pdf).

“Global Inequalities are Massive” (Excerpt) in *World Development Report 2006: Equity and Development* (World Bank: 2006), pp. 6-7.

“Why Inequality Matters” (Excerpt) in *Human Development Report 2005* (United Nations Development Program, 2005), pp. 5-11.

ROGOFF, Kenneth: “A Development Nightmare: What if poor nations actually caught up with rich ones?”, *Foreign Policy* (January/February 2004), pp. 64-65.

FALK, Richard: “Human Rights”, *Foreign Policy* (March/April 2004), pp. 18-26 and 28.

WINKLER, Theodore: “Slaughtering Eve, Gendercide” (Foreword) in VLACHOVÁ, Marie and Lea BIASON (eds.), *Women in an Insecure World – Violence against women: facts, figures and analysis* (Geneva: DCAF, 2005).

### **Suggested Readings**

ARBOUR, Louise: “Human Rights”, *International Herald Tribune* (20 March 2006).

GINGRICH, Newt, and George MITCHELL: “Rethinking UN Reform”, *International Herald Tribune* (14 March 2006), 1p.

“A Year in Review” in *State of the World 2006*, The World Watch Institute (Norton & Company Ltd., 2006).

#### **Week 4: Thursday, Feb. 12, 17:30-20:00**

Tackling Human Trafficking. This session will describe the globalisation of crime, emphasizing the problems that governments face in preventing transnational and decentralized criminal networks which are becoming increasingly difficult to eradicate. This session will focus specifically on human trafficking.

#### **Required Reading:**

DCAF Backgrounder on Human Trafficking, Geneva Centre for Democratic Control of Armed Forces, 2007.

<http://www.dcaf.ch/publications/kms/details.cfm?lng=en&id=44906&nav1=4>

Demand Drives Human Trafficking

[http://www.sistersofprovidence.net/documents/backgrounder\\_1\\_english.pdf](http://www.sistersofprovidence.net/documents/backgrounder_1_english.pdf)

Arsovska, Jana, Decline, Change or Denial: Human Trafficking and EU Responses in the Balkan Triangle, *Policing Advance Access*, published 2008.

Feingold, David A., "Human Trafficking, Foreign Policy," *Foreign Policy*, September/October, 2008.

Friesendorf, Cornelius, Pathologies of Security Governance : Efforts Against Human Trafficking in Europe, *Security Dialogue*, 2007 ; 38 ; 379.

#### **Suggested Readings:**

Friesendorf, Cornelius, Introduction. The Security Sector and Counter-Trafficking, Draft release, not for distribution.

#### **Week 5: Tuesday, Feb. 17, 17:30-20:00**

**Tackling terrorism.** This session will describe the globalisation of crime, emphasizing the problems that governments face in preventing transnational and decentralized criminal networks which are becoming increasingly difficult to eradicate. The session will focus specifically on terrorism.

#### **Required Readings**

Moises Naim, "The Five Wars of Globalization", *Foreign Policy*, January/February 2003, 8p.

[http://www.fsa.ulaval.ca/personnel/vernag/EH/F/noir/lectures/Five\\_wars\\_of\\_globalization.htm](http://www.fsa.ulaval.ca/personnel/vernag/EH/F/noir/lectures/Five_wars_of_globalization.htm)

Cole, Juan: "Think Again: 9/11", *Foreign Policy*, no. 156, (September/ October 2006), pp. 26, 28, 30, 31, 34.

Fromkin, David: "The Strategy of Terror", *Foreign Affairs*, vol. 53, no. 4, (July 1975), pp. 683-698. (*Supplies background and perspective.*)

"Disengaging from Terrorism", *Jane's Intelligence Review*, vol. 18, no. 12, (December 2006), pp. 34-37.

"Europe's Islamist Terrorism Problem: Challenges and Responses", *Strategic Comments*, vol. 12, no. 9, (London, IISS, November 2006), 2p.

"Fourth Generation Warfare and the International Jihad", *Jane's Intelligence Review*, vol. 18, no. 10, (October 2006), pp. 18-23.

"Western Converts to Radical Islam: the Global Jihad's New Soldiers?", *Jane's Intelligence Review*, vol. 18, no. 8, (August 2006), pp. 20-26.

### **Week 5: Thursday, Feb. 19, 17:30-20:00**

**Tackling Organized Crime.** This session will describe the globalisation of crime, emphasizing the problems that governments face in preventing transnational and decentralized criminal networks which are becoming increasingly difficult to eradicate. This session will focus specifically on organized crime.

### **Required Readings**

COCKAYNE, James: "Transnational Organized Crime: Multilateral Responses to a Rising Threat", *Coping with Crisis – Working Paper Series*, (International Peace Academy, April 2007), pp. 1-19, (19p.)

[http://www.ipacademy.org/asset/file/159/CWC\\_Working\\_Paper\\_ORGANIZED\\_CRIME\\_JC.pdf](http://www.ipacademy.org/asset/file/159/CWC_Working_Paper_ORGANIZED_CRIME_JC.pdf)

WAGLEY, John R.: "Transnational Organized Crime: Principal Threats and US Responses", *CRS Report for Congress*, 20 March 2006, pp. 1- 24 (24p.)

<http://www.fas.org/sgp/crs/natsec/RL33335.pdf>.

### **Suggested Readings:**

BRADY, Hugo: "The EU and the fight against organized crime", Working Paper, Centre for European Reform, London, April 2007, Chapters 3-5, pp. 15-37 (22p).

NAIM, Moisés: "What to Do?", in *Illicit: How Smuggler, Traffickers and Copy Cats Are Hijacking the Global Economy*, (London: William Heinemann, 2006), Chapter 12, pp. 236-260.

ASSADOURIAN, Erik: "Transnational Crime", *State of the World 2005: Redefining Global Security*, The World Watch Institute, (Norton & Company Ltd., 2005), (2p.)

NAIM, Moisés: "It's the Illicit Economy, Stupid", *Foreign Policy*, No. 151, (November/December 2005), pp. 95-96.

NAIM, Moisés: "The Five Wars of Globalization", *Foreign Policy*, January/February 2003, pp. 29-37.

GODSON, Roy: "Transnational Crime, Corruption and Security", in BROWN, Michael (ed.): *Grave New World: Security Challenges in the 21st Century*, (Washington .DC.: Georgetown University Press, 2003), Chapter 12, pp. 259-278.

Links

<http://www.apcss.org/core/Library/Bibliography/trans.htm>

### **Week 5: Friday, Feb. 20, 14:00-17:00**

#### New Frontiers of Intelligence Analysis

This session will describe the work of intelligence services. The success of strategic terrorism have unleashed a withering critique of intelligence services. What do intelligence services have to do to become more effective? What should be their priorities?

#### **Required Readings:**

Pellaris, Chris, "Open Source Intelligence: A Strategic Enabler of National Security, 2008 Center for Security Studies (CSS), ETH Zurich, 2008.

<http://www.isn.ethz.ch/isn/Digital-Library/Publications/Detail/?ots591=0C54E3B3-1E9C-BE1E-2C24-A6A8C7060233&lng=en&id=50169>

Intelligence Issues for Congress, Congressional Research Service Report, updated May 30, 2008

<http://www.fas.org/sgp/crs/intel/RL33539.pdf>

#### **Suggested Readings:**

Treverton, Greg, "Reorganizing U.S. Domestic Intelligence." New report for Congress, 2008.

[http://homestation.typepad.com/home\\_station/2008/10/reorganizing-us-domestic-intelligence-new-report-from-greg-treverton-of-the-rand-corporation.html](http://homestation.typepad.com/home_station/2008/10/reorganizing-us-domestic-intelligence-new-report-from-greg-treverton-of-the-rand-corporation.html)

### **Week 6: Tuesday, Feb. 24, 17:30-20:00**

**Core paper presentations. Core papers due.**

### **Week 6: Wednesday, Feb. 25, 9:00-11:00**

#### **Final Exam**

#### **Supplemental Readings:**

Chester A. Crocker and Fen Osler Hampson with Pamela Aall. *Managing Global Chaos: Sources of and Responses to International Conflict* (Washington, D.C.: United States Institute of Peace Press 1996).

Church, Clive H. (2004). *The Politics and Government of Switzerland*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan: 2004).

Roland Dannreuther. *International Security: The Contemporary Agenda*, (Cambridge, UK: Polity 2007).

Mary Kaldor, *New and Old Wars: Organised Violence in a Global Era* (Stanford, Cal: Stanford University Press, 2001).

Joseph S. Nye, *Soft Power: The Means to Success in World Politics*, (Public Affairs, New York: 2004).

