International Relations / Political Science Department
Academic Year 2019-2020

International Security
RI/SP044
Autumn – 6 ECTS

Tuesdays 10:15 – 12:00
Room S4

Course Description

This course provides an introduction and (partial) overview of both conventional and critical Security Studies. It will deal with some of the discipline's "classical" debates and foundational texts (alliance theory, deterrence, and the causes of war) as well as explore a variety of newer international security issues and approaches. Questions addressed will include: the systemic impact of violent conflict, cooperation under the security dilemma, cyber-security, securitization theory, security assemblages, and gendered approaches to international security. The reading list includes a variety of concepts and approaches to encourage different strategies for research. The approach is eclectic, and broad enough to allow students to explore a range of conceptual and practical issues within contemporary mainstream security studies. It makes no claim to comprehensiveness.

> **PROFESSOR**

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Syllabus

Expectations

Full participation is expected of students in the seminar. This includes reading **all** the required readings, as well as being prepared to discuss them critically. Final grades will in part be determined by the level and quality of seminar participation. Readings are *not* introductory-level, and presume some familiarity with main theoretical developments in International Relations. For those with too-little background, I recommend reading:

Michael Sheehan, *International Security: An Analytical Survey*
Paul Williams, *Security Studies: An Introduction*.
Peter Hough, *Understanding Global Security*.
Barry Buzan and Lene Hansen, *International Security Studies*

J. Peter Burgess, ed., *The Routledge Handbook of New Security Studies.*
Alexandra Gheciu and William Wolhforth, eds., *The Oxford Handbook of International Security.*

These will not substitute for the course readings, but can bring you somewhat "up to speed."

Assignments

Requirements:
There are five requirements for the class:
(1) A **short essay** (three double-spaced pages) due on 8 October, on a topic to be distributed in the second session.
(2) **Active participation** in the seminar discussions is required. Students are expected to attend every class having done the required readings in advance, and to participate actively in discussions.
(3) Each student will be once assigned the role of "**authors' defendant**" to defend the merits of the week's readings in a presentation of no more than 10 minutes.
(4) Each student will write **one discussion paper** in advance of any session from week three onwards. This paper should be five double-spaced pages, and must be submitted before the relevant class discussion. It should not summarize the readings, but develop an argument around a particular theme of the readings for the session as well as offer some issues for discussion. Making links to previous sessions (if applicable) is a plus.
(5) **Research reflection paper** (12-15 pages). There will be a final paper due sometime after the last week of the semester, with the exact due date to be determined later.

Assignments (3) and (4) must be completed on separate weeks; you cannot fulfill both requirements with the same readings.

Short essay question	10%
Readings discussion paper (five pages), due before relevant week	20%
Participation in the seminar	20%
"Author's defendant" presentation	10%
Research Reflection paper	40%

Readings

The required readings will be made available via Moodle. You must do the readings to participate in (or do well in) the course, and it is important that you have them at hand during the seminar – either in hard copy or electronically (and annotated).

Finally, some sessions of the seminar may have to be rescheduled to accommodate unavoidable commitments on my part. I will provide as much warning as possible for this.

Introduction: Strategy, Security and Conflict Studies (Sept. 17)

Alexandra Gheciu and William Wohlforth, *The Oxford Handbook of International Security,* vii-xi (Contents).

The Causes of (Interstate) War and Peace (Sept. 24)

Gary Goertz, Paul Francis Diehl, Alexandru Balas, *The Puzzle of Peace: The Evolution of Peace in the International System*, 1-19.

Jack Levy, "The Causes of War and the Conditions of Peace," *Annual Review of Political Science* 1.1 (1998), 139-165.

Dale Copeland, "Systemic Theory and the Future of Great Power War and Peace," in Gheciu and Wohlforth, *Handbook of International Security*, 211-226.

Thérèse Pettersson, Stina Högbladh, and Magnus Öberg, "Organized Violence, 1989–2018 and Peace Agreements," *Journal of Peace Research*, 56:4 (2019), 589-603.

Alliance Theory and the Balance of Power (Oct. 1)

Shiping Tang, "The Security Dilemma: A Conceptual Analysis," *Security Studies* 18.3 (2009), 587-623.

William Wohlforth, et al. "Testing Balance-of-Power Theory in World History." *European Journal of International Relations* 13:2 (2007), 155-185.

Tierney, Dominic. "Does Chain-Ganging Cause the Outbreak of War?" *International Studies Quarterly* 55.2 (2011): 285-304.

Kimberly Martens "Reconsidering NATO Expansion: A Counterfactual Analysis of Russia and the West in the 1990s," *European Journal of International Security* 3:2 (2018), 135-161.

Deterrence Theory and Proliferation: Then and Now (Oct. 8)

Richard Ned Lebow and Janice Stein, "Rational Deterrence Theory: I Think, Therefore I Deter," *World Politics* 41:2 (January 1989), 208-224.

Francis Gavin, "Same As It Ever Was. Nuclear Alarmism, Proliferation, and the Cold War," *International Security* 34:3 (2009/10), 7-37.

Robert Litwak, "Recalibrating Deterrence to Prevent Nuclear Terrorism," *The Washington Quarterly* 40:1 (2017), 55-70.

Jonathan D. Pollack, "North Korea's Nuclear and Missile Programs: Strategies, Directions, and Prospects," unpublished paper, Brookings Institution, 2018.

International Security and the Global War on Terror (Oct. 15)

Alex Schmid, "Frameworks for Conceptualising Terrorism," *Terrorism and Political Violence* 16:2 (2004), 197–221.

Martha Crenshaw, "The Debate Over 'New' vs. 'Old' Terrorism", American Political Science Association Annual Meeting, paper, September 2007.

Andrew H. Kydd and Barbara F. Walter, "The Strategies of Terrorism," *International Security*, 31:1 (2006), 49-80.

Daniel Byman, "Explaining al Qaeda's Decline," *Journal of Politics* 79:3 (2017), 1106-1117.

Ruth Blakeley and Sam Raphael, "Understanding Western State Terrorism," in Richard Jackson, ed., *Routledge Handbook of Critical Terrorism Studies,* 159-169.

New Wars, New Actors (Oct. 22)

Newman, Edward. "The 'New Wars' Debate: A Historical Perspective is Needed," *Security Dialogue* 35:2 (2004), 173-189.

Stathis Kalyvas, "The Ontology of 'Political Violence': Action and Identity in Civil Wars," *Perspectives on Politics*, 1:3 (September 2003), 475-494.

Paul Staniland, "States, Insurgents, and Wartime Political Orders," *Perspectives on Politics* 10:2 (2012), 243-264.

Kristin M. Bakke, Kathleen Gallagher Cunningham, and Lee Seymour, "A Plague of Initials: Fragmentation, Cohesion, and Infighting in Civil Wars," *Perspectives on Politics* 10:2 (2012), 265-283.

Cyber Security and Cyber War (Oct. 29)

Accessing Russian Activities and Intentions in Recent US Elections. *Intelligence Committee Assessment.* https://www.documentcloud.org/documents/3254239-Russia-Hacking-report.html

David Lyon, "Surveillance, Snowden, and Big Data: Capacities, Consequences, Critique," *Big Data & Society* 1:2 (2014), 1-13.

Ron Deibert, "Cyberspace under Siege," *Journal of Democracy* 26:3 (2015), 64-78.

Thomas Rid, "Cyberwar will not Take Place," *Journal of Strategic Studies*, 35:1 (2012), 5-32.

Miriam Dunn Cavelty, "From Cyber-Bombs to Political Fallout: Threat Representations with an Impact in the Cyber-security Discourse," *International Studies Review* 15:1 (2013), 105-122.

(Re)Defining Security and Security Studies (Nov. 5)

Barry Buzan, *People, States & Fear,* 1-32.

Barry Buzan and Lene Hansen, *The Evolution of International Security Studies* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009), 1-38.

Steven Miller, "The Hegemonic Illusion? Traditional Strategic Studies in Context," *Security Dialogue*, 41:6 (2010), 639-648.

Tarak Barkawi and Mark Laffey, "The Postcolonial Moment in Security Studies," *Review of International Studies* 32:2 (2006), 329-352.

Identity and Ontological Security (Nov. 12)

Jennifer Mitzen, "Ontological Security in World Politics: State Identity and the Security Dilemma," *European Journal of International Relations*, 12:3 (2006), 341-370.

Ayse Zarakol, "Ontological (In)security and State Denial of Historical Crimes: Turkey and Japan," *International Relations*, 24:1 (2010), 3-23.

Jelena Subotić, "Narrative, Ontological Security, and Foreign Policy Change," *Foreign Policy Analysis*, 12:4 (2016), 610-627.

Flemming Hansen, "Russia's Relations with the West: Ontological Security through Conflict, *Contemporary Politics*, 22:3 (2016), 359-375.

Security Assemblages and Private Actors (Nov. 19)

Rita Abrahamsen and Michael C. Williams, "Security beyond the State: Global Security Assemblages in International Politics," *International Political Sociology* 3:1 (2009), 1-17.

Mark Salter, "Imagining Numbers: Risk, Quantification, and Aviation Security," *Security Dialogue*, 39:2-3 (2008), 243-266.

Anna Leander, "The Power to Construct International Security: On the Significance of Private Military Companies," *Millennium*, 33:3 (2005), 803-826.

Jan Bachmann, "Policing Africa: The US Military and Visions of Crafting 'Good Order'," *Security Dialogue* 45:2 (2014), 119-136.

Gendered (In)security (Nov. 26)

Laura Sjoberg, "Introduction to Security Studies: Feminist Contributions," *Security Studies*, 18:2 (2009), 183-213.

Henri Myrttinen, Lana Khattab, and Jana Naujoks, "Re-thinking Hegemonic Masculinities in Conflict-Affected Contexts," *Critical Military Studies* 3:2 (2017), 103-119.

Laura J. Shepherd, "Loud Voices Behind the Wall: Gender Violence and the Violent Reproduction of the International," *Millennium*, 34:2 (2005), 377-401.

Valerie M. Hudson, et al., "The Heart of the Matter: The Security of Women and the Security of States," *International Security* 33:3 (2009), 7-45.

Securitization and Migration (Dec. 3)

Barry Buzan, Ole Waever and Jaap de Wilde, *Security: A New Framework for Analysis*, 21-47.

Georgios Karyotis, "Securitization of Migration in Greece: Process, Motives and Implications," *International Political Sociology*, 6 (2012), 390-408.

Roxanne Doty, "Bare Life: Border-crossing Deaths and Spaces of Moral Alibi," *Environment and Planning D: Society and Space*, 29 (2011), 599-612.

Thomas Diez and Vicki Squire, "Traditions of Citizenship and the Securitisation of Migration in Germany and Britain," *Citizenship Studies*, 12:6 (December 2008), 565–581.

Asli Ilgit and Audie Klotz, "How Far does 'Societal Security' Travel? Securitization in South African Immigration Policies," *Security Dialogue* 45:2 (2014), 137-155.

State-building and Intervention (December 10)

James Scott, *Seeing like a State*, 1-8, 342-357.

Charles Tilly, "War Making and State Making as Organized Crime", in Peter Evans, Dietrich Rueschemeyer, Theda Skocpol, eds., *Bringing the State Back In* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985), 169-191.

Roland Paris, "International Peacebuilding and the 'Mission Civilisatrice'," *Review of International Studies*, 28 (2003), 637-656.

Willemijn Verkoren and Bertine Kamphuis, "State Building in a Rentier State: How Development Policies Fail to Promote Democracy in Afghanistan," *Development and Change* 44:3 (2013), 501-526.

Michael Barnett and Christoph Zürcher, "The Peacebuilder's Contract: How External Statebuilding Reinforces Weak Statehood," in Roland Paris and Tim Sisk (eds.), *The Dilemmas of Statebuilding: Confronting the Contradictions of Postwar Peace Operations* (Routledge, 2009), 23–52.

Toby Dodge, "Iraq: the Contradictions of Exogenous State-building in Historical Perspective, *Third World Quarterly*, 27:1 (2006), 187-200.

Final Session (Dec. 17)

(no readings). We will review the course and cover any questions associated with the research reflection paper.