



University of Toronto
Department of Political Science

POL380Y1Y Special Topics: International Security

2017-2018 Fall & Winter sessions OISE 2122, Thurs. 4:00-6:00 p.m.

Course Instructors:

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Office hours 3:00-3:45, place TBD

Course description:

War touches international politics in many ways, forcing caution on some, aggression on others, and serving to (re)shape the conditions of how communities of people interact with one another. The study of international security and conflict is thus an essential part of the field of International Relations. Ranging from grand strategy and balances of power to terrorism or the ethics of war, scholarship on international security tackles topics central to the way organised intercommunal violence is threatened, conducted, and, crucially, avoided.

This course provides an introduction to key perspectives and problems related to topics of security and conflict in international politics. It offers a survey of key philosophical, conceptual, and methodological approaches, along with a series of sessions devoted to specific issue-areas. Students will read academic literature and participate in facilitated class discussions to evaluate and apply what they've read. The emphasis will be on understanding and using real scholarship, and on honing analytical writing skills to develop informed perspectives.

There are no textbooks in this course, and thus students should consider reviewing their notes on basic international relations theory prior to starting.

Course Evaluation

| Assignment | Percentage | Details |
|--------------------------|------------|-------------------------------|
| First paper | 15% | 1500 words, due 2 November |
| Research paper | 25% | 4000 words, due 15 March |
| Mid-term test | 25% | First term-only, 2 hours |
| Final test | 25% | Cumulative, 2 hours |
| Response notes (5 total) | 10% | 400 words, due before classes |

First paper:

This class requires that you submit one short paper, worth 15%, due at the beginning of class on 2 November. The full prompt will be provided in late September. The paper should be double-spaced, 12 point Times New Roman font, 1-inch margins. Note that 1500 words is around 6 pages, not including bibliography.

Research paper:

A 4000-word research paper (approximately 15 pages) will be due on March 15. A full prompt will be provided, but the general purpose of the paper is to provide an explanation for the occurrence and termination/continuation (as applicable) of a security crisis or conflict. A list of crises and conflicts will be provided, but students may also choose their own.

Written tests:

There will be two tests in this course, one covering the first half of the course and the second covering all course material cumulatively, but with emphasis on the second half. We will provide more information on the tests during the course, but expect a mix of short term definitions for the mid-term; and a mix of short term definitions and a choice of essay question on the final test.

Response notes:

Students are required to write a total of five (5) short response notes concisely summarising a selected reading and analysing the value of that reading to the session's topics and themes. This is how participation will be assessed – seminar attendance is not mandatory, nor is speaking during class discussions, but responses to readings will receive only partial marks if they do not demonstrate significant engagement with the material.

Grading policy:

All matters of grading, exemptions, and discipline procedures will be handled in accordance with the Faculty of Arts and Science Academic Handbook. Late assignments will be penalized 5% per day for the first ten days of lateness. After ten calendar days of lateness, the assignment will be

given a zero. Extensions may only be granted prior to the day of the deadline or exam. Students whose health renders them unable to complete the assignment should contact the professor before deadlines under non-exceptional circumstances.

Any student who believes that any work has been unfairly graded may ask the instructor to re-evaluate his or her work. Grading appeals should be submitted with a cover letter explaining the basis of the appeal to the instructor or the teaching assistant. No oral or emailed appeals will be considered. Such re-marking may involve the entire piece of work, and may raise or lower the mark. All other appeals and complaints will be handled in a manner consistent with the regulations described in the handbook. See <http://www.artsandscience.utoronto.ca/studentaffairs/handbook.shtml> for the complete handbook.

Accessibility:

The University of Toronto is committed to accessibility. If you require accommodations for a disability, or have any accessibility concerns about the course, the classroom or the course materials, please contact Accessibility Services as soon as possible. **Once you do this, we can be accommodating. Before you do this, there's not much we can do.**

Academic honesty:

Using the words, content, or ideas of others in written work for which you will receive credit in this course requires citing that work. This includes ideas or articles found on the internet. Failure to properly cite other people's words or ideas constitutes plagiarism and is a **very serious** academic offence, as are other forms of academic dishonesty. *If you are uncertain whether citation is needed, or how to cite properly, please consult the instructors.* Ignorance of citation requirements does not constitute an excuse.

Turnitin:

Normally, students will be required to submit their course essays to Turnitin.com for a review of textual similarity and detection of possible plagiarism. In doing so, students will allow their essays to be included as source documents in the Turnitin.com reference database, where they will be used solely for the purpose of detecting plagiarism. The terms that apply to the University's use of the Turnitin.com service are described on the Turnitin.com web site.

Session Structure and Readings

Students will be expected to complete the *required readings* for each week by the beginning of lecture. These readings are listed directly underneath each week's topic in the course plan, which follows. The required readings will be made available through Blackboard.

Fall Term

Week I – Introduction: What is International Security? September 7

No readings.

Week II – Approaches I: Rationalist theories of security September 21

Fearon, James. "Rationalist Explanations for War," *International Organization* 49, no. 3 (July 1995): 379-414.

Gartzke, Erik. "War is in the Error Term," *International Organization* 53, no. 3 (July 1999): 567-587.

Senese, Paul D. and John A. Vasquez. "Assessing the Steps to War," *British Journal of Political Science* 35, no. 4 (October 2005): 607-633.

Ahmad, Aisha. "The Security Bazaar: Business Interest and Islamist Power in Civil War Somalia," *International Security* 39, no. 3 (Winter 2014/2015): 89-117.

Week III – Approaches II: Constructivist theories of security September 28

Katzenstein, Peter J., ed., The Culture of National Security: Norms and Identity in World Politics (New York, NY: Columbia University Press, 1996): 1-32.

Adler, Emanuel and Michael Barnett, eds., Security Communities (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 1998): 1-67.

Mitzen, Jennifer. "Ontological Security in World Politics: State Identity and the Security Dilemma," *European Journal of International Relations* 12, no. 3 (2006): 341-370.

Fujii, Lee Ann. "'Talk of the Town': Explaining pathways to participation in violent display," *Journal of Peace Research* (2017): Early Access.

Week IV – Approaches III: Critical theories of security

October 5

Barkawi, Tarak and Mark Laffey. “The postcolonial moment in security studies,” *Review of International Studies* 32, no. 2 (2006): 329-352.

Browning, Christopher and Matt McDonald. “The future of critical security studies: Ethics and the politics of security,” *European Journal of International Relations* 19, no. 2 (June 2013): 235-255.

Ole Waever. “Securitization and Desecuritization,” in *On Security*, ed. Ronnie D. Lipschutz (New York: Columbia University Press, 1995)

Sjoberg, Laura. “Introduction,” in *Gendering International Security*, ed. Laura Sjoberg (New York: Routledge, 2009).

Week V – Balances of Power

October 12

Schroeder, Paul. “The Nineteenth Century System: Balance or Equilibrium?” *Review of International Studies* 15, no. 2 (1989): 135-153.

Gause, F. Gregory III. “Balancing What? Threat Perception and the Gulf,” *Security Studies* 13, no. 2 (December 2003): 273-305.

Hui, Victoria Tin-bor. “Toward a dynamic theory of international politics: Insights from comparing Ancient China and Early Modern Europe,” *International Organization* 58, no. 1 (February 2004): 175-205.

Nexon, Daniel. “The Balance of Power in the Balance,” *World Politics* 61, no. 2 (April 2009): 330-359.

Week VI – Grand Strategy

October 19

Posen, Barry R. “Pull Back: The Case for a Less Activist Foreign Policy,” *Foreign Affairs* 92, no. 1 (January/February 2013): 116-128.

Brooks, Stephen G., G. John Ikenberry and William C. Wohlforth. “Lean Forward: In Defence of American Engagement,” *Foreign Affairs* 92, no. 1 (January/February 2013): 130-142.

Mitzen, Jennifer. “Illusion or Intention? Talking Grand Strategy into Existence,” *Security Studies* 24, no. 1 (January 2015): 61-94.

Silove, Nina. "Beyond the Buzzword: The Three Meanings of 'Grand Strategy'," *Security Studies* (forthcoming).

Week VII – Nuclear Security

October 26

Monteiro, Nuno and Alexandre Debs. "The Strategic Logic of Nuclear Proliferation," *International Security* 39, no. 2 (October 2014): 7-51.

Narang, Vipin. "What Does It Take to Deter? Regional Power Nuclear Postures and International Conflict," *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 57, no. 3 (2012): 478-508.

Sescher, Todd S. and Matthew Fuhrmann. "Crisis Bargaining and Nuclear Blackmail," *International Organization* 67, no.1 (January 2013): 173-195.

Tannenwald, Nina. "Stigmatizing the Bomb: The Origins of the Nuclear Taboo," *International Security* 29, no. 4 (2005): 5-49.

Week VIII – The Liberal Peace

November 2

Owen, John M. "How Liberalism Produces Democratic Peace," *International Security* 19, No. 2 (Autumn 1994): 87-125.

Russett, Bruce and John Oneal. Triangulating Peace: Democracy, Interdependence, and International Organizations (New York: W.W. Norton, 2001). Selections.

Oren, Ido. "The Subjectivity of the 'Democratic' Peace: Changing U.S. Perceptions of Imperial Germany," *International Security* 20, no. 2 (1995): 147-184.

Barkawi, Tarak and Mark Laffey. "The Imperial Peace: Democracy, Force and Globalization," *European Journal of International Relations* 5, No. 4 (December 1999): 403-434.

FALL READING WEEK

November 6-10

Week IX – Individuals' Perception and Psychology

November 16

Byman, Daniel L. and Kenneth M. Pollack. "Let Us Now Praise Great Men: Bringing the Statesmen Back In." *International Security* 25, no. 4 (2001): 107-146.

Saunders, Elizabeth. "Transformative Choices: Leaders and the Origins of Intervention Strategy," *International Security* 34, no. 2 (2009): 119-161.

Goemans, H.E. "Fighting for Survival: the Fate of Leaders and the Duration of War," *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 44, no. 5 (2000): 555-579.

Hall, Todd and Keren Milo-Yarhi. "The Personal Touch: Leaders' Impressions, Costly Signaling, and Assessments of Sincerity in International Affairs." *International Studies Quarterly* 56, No. 3 (September 2012): 560-573.

Week X – Normative Approaches I: the Just War Tradition

November 23

Walzer, Michael. Just and Unjust Wars: A Moral Argument with Historical Illustrations, Fifth Edition (New York, NY: Basic Books, 2015). Selections.

McMahan, Jeffrey. "Rethinking the 'Just War,'" Parts 1 & 2, *New York Times*, November 12, 2012.

Crawford, Neta. "Just War Theory and the U.S. Counterterror War," *Perspectives on Politics* 1, no. 1 (March 2003): 5-25.

Hashmi, Sohail H., and James Turner Johnson. "Introduction," in Sohail H. Hashmi, ed., Just Wars, Holy Wars, and Jihads: Christian, Jewish, and Muslim Encounters and Exchanges (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012).

Week XI – Normative Approaches II: the Laws of Armed Conflict

November 30

Solis, Gary D. The Law of Armed Conflict: International Humanitarian Law in War (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2016). Selections.

Jo, Hyeran and Beth A. Simmons. "Can the International Criminal Court Deter Atrocity?" *International Organization* 70, no. 3 (Summer 2016): 443-475.

Oberleitner, Gerd. "Human Security: A Challenge to International Law?" *Global Governance* 11, No. 2 (April-June 2005): 185-203.

MID-TERM TEST

December 7

WINTER TERM

Week I – The Evolution of War

January 4

Gat, Azar. War in Human Civilization (New York: Oxford University Press, 2006). Selections.

Carvin, Stephanie and Michael John Williams. Law, Science, and the American Way of Warfare: The Quest for Humanity in Conflict (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2015). Selections.

Kaldor, Mary. “In defence of new wars,” *Stability: International Journal of Security and Development* 2, no. 1 (March 2013).

Rid, Thomas. “Cyber war will not take place,” *Journal of strategic studies* 35, no. 1 (2012): 5-32.

Week II – Civil Wars and Insurgencies

January 11

Tarrow, Sidney. “Inside insurgencies: Politics and violence in an age of civil war,” *Perspectives on Politics* 5, no. 3 (September 2007): 587-600.

Kalyvas, Stathis N. The Logic of Violence in Civil War (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2000): introduction and pp. 87-208.

Lyall, Jason and Isiah Wilson III. “Rage against the Machines: Explaining Outcomes in Counterinsurgency Wars,” *International Organization* 63, no. 1 (January 2009): 67-106.

Jones, Seth G., and Patrick B. Johnston. “The future of insurgency,” *Studies in Conflict & Terrorism* 36, no. 1 (2013): 1-25.

Week III – Terrorism

January 18

Weinberg, Leonard, Ami Pedahzur and Sivan Hirsch-Hoefler. “The Challenges of Conceptualizing Terrorism,” *Terrorism and Political Violence* 16, no. 4 (Winter 2004): 777-794.

Kydd, Andrew H., and Barbara F. Walter. “The Strategies of Terrorism,” *International Security* 31, no. 1 (Summer 2006): 49-79.

McCauley, Clark and Moskalenko, Sophia. “Mechanisms of Political Radicalization: Pathways to Terrorism,” *Terrorism and Political Violence* 20, no. 3 (2008): 415-433.

Wolfendale, Jessica. "Terrorism, Security, and the Threat of Counterterrorism," *Studies in Conflict & Terrorism* 30, no. 1 (2005): 75-92.

Week IV – Ethnic Violence

January 25

Fearon, James D. and David D. Laitin. "Explaining Interethnic Cooperation," *American Political Science Review* 90, No. 4 (1996): 715-735.

Kaufmann, Chaim D. "When All Else Fails: Ethnic Population Transfers and Partitions in the Twentieth Century," *International Security* 23, no. 2 (1998): 120-156.

Sambanis, Nicholas. "Partition as a Solution to Ethnic War: An Empirical Critique of the Theoretical Literature," *World Politics* 52, no. 4 (2000): 437-483.

Saideman, Stephen M. For Kin or Country: Xenophobia, Nationalism, and War (New York, NY: Columbia University Press, 2008). Selections.

Week V – Humanitarian Intervention

February 1

Welsh, Jennifer. "The responsibility to prevent: assessing the gap between rhetoric and reality," *Cooperation and Conflict* 51, no. 2 (June 2016): 216-232.

Paris, Roland. "The 'Responsibility to Protect' and the Structural Problem of Preventive Humanitarian Intervention," *International Peacekeeping* 21, no. 5 (2014): 569-603.

Chandler, David. "Resilience and human security: the post-interventionist paradigm," *Security Dialogue* 43, no. 3 (June 2012): 213-229.

Menon, Rajan. The Conceit of Humanitarian Intervention (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2016). Selections.

Week VI – Environmental Security, Resources, and Development

February 8

Barnett, Jon. "Security and Climate Change," *Global Environmental Change* 13, no. 1 (April 2003): 7-17.

Homer-Dixon, Thomas F. "Environmental Scarcities and Violent Conflict: Evidence from Cases," *International Security* 19, no. 1 (Summer 1994): 5-40.

Colgan, Jeff D. "Fueling the Fire: Pathways from Oil to War," *International Security* 38, no 2 (Fall 2013): 147-180.

Lujala, Päivi. "The spoils of nature: Armed civil conflict and rebel access to natural resources," *Journal of Peace Research* 47, no. 1 (2010): 15-28.

Week VII – Borders and Territory

February 15

Atzili, Boaz. "When Good Fences Make Bad Neighbours: Fixed Border, State Weakness, and International Conflict," *International Security* 31, no. 2 (2006/2007): 139-173.

Duffy Toft, Monica and Dominic D.P. Johnson. "Grounds for War: The Evolution of Territorial Conflict," *International Security* 38, no. 3 (Winter 2013): 7-38.

Fazal, Tanisham M. "State death in the international system," *International Organization* 58 (2004): 311-344.

Hassner, Ron E. "'To Have and to Hold': Conflicts over Sacred Space and the Problem of Indivisibility," *Security Studies* 12, no. 4 (2003): 1-33.

READING WEEK

February 19-23

Week VIII – Ending Wars and Securing Peace

March 1

Barnett, Michael. "Building a Republican Peace: Stabilizing States after War," *International Security* 30, no. 4 (Spring 2006): 87-112.

Fortna, Virginia Page. "Scraps of Paper? Agreements and the Durability of Peace," *International Organization* 57, no. 2 (Spring 2003): 337-372.

Caplan, Richard and Anke Hoeffler. "Why Peace Endures: An Analysis of Post-Conflict Stabilization," *European Journal of International Security* 2, no. 2 (July 2017): 133-152.

Glassmyer, Katherine and Nicholas Sambanis. "Rebel-Military Integration and Civil War Termination," *Journal of Peace Research* 45, no. 3 (2008): 365-384.

Week IX – Hegemonic Stability and Hegemonic War

March 8

Gilpin, Robert. “The Theory of Hegemonic War,” *The Journal of Interdisciplinary History* 18, no. 4 (Spring 1988): 591-613.

Kupchan, Charles. “The Normative Foundations of Hegemony and the Coming Challenge to Pax Americana,” *Security Studies* 23, no. 2 (April 2014): 219-257.

Monteiro, Nuno. “Unrest Assured: Why Unipolarity Is Not Peaceful,” *International Security* 36, no. 3 (2011): 9-40.

Brooks, Stephen G. and William Wohlforth. “The Rise and Fall of the Great Powers in the Twenty-first Century: China's Rise and the Fate of America's Global Position,” *International Security* 40, no. 3 (January 2016):7-53.

Week X – A New Peace?

March 15

Pinker, Steven. *The Better Angels of Our Nature: Why Violence Has Declined* (New York, Penguin Books, 2011). Selections.

Mitzen, Jennifer. “The Irony of Pinkerism,” *Perspectives on Politics* 11, no. 2 (June 2013): 525-528.

Fettweis, Christopher J. “Unipolarity, Hegemony, and the New Peace,” *Security Studies* 26, no. 3 (July 2017): 423-451.

Week XI: Simulation (details to come)

March 22

FINAL TEST

March 29