

INTERNATIONAL SECURITY

POL380

UC179, Thursday , 16:00-18:00

Course Description

The desire to prevent (or at least curtail) the devastating effects of war has long been the normative core of international relations. Yet, in order to move toward peace, we must first understand the root causes and dynamics of war. Thus, scholars of international security have traditionally focused on topics such as the balance of power, deterrence, and grand strategy. In more recent decades, the field has moved from a narrow focus on interstate war to a broader interest in other forms of organized violence, especially civil wars and terrorism. The readings for this course reflect this trajectory.

This course provides a broad introduction to contemporary security studies in international relations. It surveys some of the major concepts, theories, and accumulated knowledge in the area of international security, through an exploration of a series of empirical puzzles. Each week opens with an empirical puzzle (contemporary or historical) and explores the adequacy of the answers provided by the literature.

*“ I must study politics
and war that my sons
may have liberty to
study mathematics and
philosophy .”*

- John Adams, 1780



Bougainville, Solomon Islands, Mar 1944

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Grade Breakup

The final grade for this course will be evaluated on the basis of the following components:

Paper (fall)	25%
Paper (winter)	25%
Group assignment	15%
Test	25%
Attendance/ participation	10%

Course Requirements

Our weekly course meetings will often combine a lecture, discussion and group work. Attendance is mandatory, and together with active participation in class discussion will count toward your final grade.

The course requires a not insignificant amount of reading. The structure of the lecture presupposed familiarity with the readings. Active and productive participation in class is impossible in the absence of prior preparation. Readings that were not directly covered in class could appear in the midterm. Moreover, students are expected to demonstrate familiarity with the literature as part of any written course assignment.

Familiarity with international history and current affairs can assist you in this course. While it is not a formal requirement, being able to support your discussion with historical or contemporary examples is almost always a key to a stronger argument. It is therefore highly recommended that students read newspapers and follow news broadcasts or other media as a way to acquire knowledge on current affairs. In addition, there are several engaging and interesting blogs of political scientists and international relations scholars that often relate scholarly work to current events (e.g. [The Monkey Cage](#), [The Duck of Minerva](#), and [Daniel Drezner](#)).

Papers

Students are expected to submit one short paper (5-7 pages) each term. Each paper will focus on one of the puzzles discussed in class during that semester. The paper will present the puzzle, review the relevant literature, and argue for the student's preferred explanation. Papers are due on Dec. 3 and Mar. 31 at the beginning of class.

“ War is only a cowardly escape from the problems of peace .”

- Thomas Mann

Academic Integrity

All written assignments must follow academic citation rules. All words and ideas of works of other individuals should be properly acknowledged. For further clarification and information please consult the University of Toronto's policy on plagiarism. Failure to understand what constitutes plagiarism will not be accepted as an excuse.

In order to promote an atmosphere of academic integrity, this course will uphold the following policies:

Students must attach a signed copy of the Academic Integrity Checklist to their essay. The Checklist form is available on Blackboard. Please note that we will not accept your paper without this form. Accordingly, we will apply late penalties to your paper (as detailed below) until the Checklist is submitted.

Lastly, students are strongly advised to keep rough draft-work and hard copies of their essays and assignments. These should be kept until the marked assignments have been returned.



Afghanistan

Group Assignment

The reading list for the last weeks of the year is incomplete. The content of these weeks will be determined by students and this will be done as a team. You will be divided to groups at the beginning of the winter term. Each group will pick a topic that has not been covered by the course and that you wish to add to the class' reading list. Each group will write a short 2-3 page paper justifying the importance of their chosen topic. This introduction will be followed by an annotated list of suggested reading. In order to compile this list, each group member will put forward one suggested item of reading. This suggestion should include a full citation as well as a short paragraph describing and summarizing the reading and justifying its inclusion in the syllabus. I will pick one reading from the list of each group and these selections will constitute our course readings for the end of the winter terms. Each group is also expected to prepare a short class presentation introducing their chosen topic and offering initial questions for class discussion.

Test

We will hold a test, during regular class time, on the last week of the academic year (April 7). The format will be discussed in class in the weeks leading to the test.

Attendance and Participation

Since this course involves group work and class discussion, attendance is mandatory. Accordingly, attendance and participation account for 10% of your final grade. The lion's share of this grade rewards you for simply being in class. Some of it, however, seeks to reward informed in-class participation. Attending fewer than 60% of the lectures, in either semester, could lead to a final attendance grade of 0%.

Rules and Regulations

Please note the following carefully!

If you are unable to submit an assignment at the appointed time, you must request permission for an extension. Extensions should be secured ahead of time. In general, extensions will not be granted unless it is a case of *unavoidable and unforeseeable* extenuating circumstances. *Assignments in other courses are NOT grounds for an extension.*

Written assignments are due on the date stated on the course syllabus *at the beginning of the lecture*. Late submissions will be penalized as follows: There is a 2% penalty for assignments received after class has begun but before 5 pm on the due date. After that the late submission penalty is 4% per each late day or fraction of a day, *weekends included*. The cut off time for the determination of a late day is 5pm. Late-assignments should be submitted to the main desk of the Political Science Department (on the 3rd floor of Sidney Smith Hall). Students should make sure that late submissions are signed and dated by departmental staff. Only hard copies are acceptable, e-mailed or faxed assignments will not be accepted.

“The release of atomic energy has not created a new problem. It has merely made more urgent the necessity of solving an existing one.”

- Albert Einstein



Hiroshima, 1945

Important POL380 Dates:

- December 3: Paper I
- February 25: Group assignment
- March 31: Paper II
- April 7: Test



The War Room, Dr. Strangelove

A POL380 Film Club?

If there is sufficient class interest, I am happy to organize screenings of relevant movies following the lecture. Films such as Dr. Strangelove, the Gatekeepers, the Battle of Algiers, No Men's Land, or the Act of Killing (to name but a few), can enrich and contribute to our collective discussion and class experience. If you are interested, let me know.

All papers should be printed, double spaced (and preferably double sided), 12 font, with proper margins, page numbers and securely stapled. Papers that go beyond the stated page limit for the assignment, or papers that do not conform to the directions above, may be penalized. Make sure that a signed copy of the integrity checklist is attached to your paper (see the 'academic integrity' box above).

If you have concerns regarding your grade (either a paper grade or an exam grade) you should first discuss the matter in person with me. If this discussion does not resolve the problem you can submit a grade appeal. All appeals must be accompanied by a detailed written explanation of why you feel the grade is unjustified. And must be submitted within two weeks of getting your graded work back. Once an appeal is submitted I will reexamine the entire assignment, not just the question or paragraph mentioned in the appeal. Since I will be re-grading the assignment anew, the appeal process can result in one of three outcomes: no change to the original grade, a higher grade, or a lower grade.

Finally, the final grades in this class are final. I will not round grades up or add a few points to the grade without a reason. The grades are not arbitrary; they reflect an assessment of your work. If you need to maintain a certain average, or get a specific minimum grade in this class, make sure that the quality your work warrants this grade. I will be happy to offer help prior to the paper/exams. However, once the grades are in, I will not make any changes.

Blackboard

We will be using Blackboard in order to manage and coordinate this course. Important course information will be distributed electronically through Blackboard. It is your responsibility to log on to Blackboard and obtain the posted information. Feel free to use the electronic forums and message boards for any course related topics.

*“Gentlemen,
you can't fight in
here! This is the
War Room.”*

*- Dr. Strangelove or: How I
Learned to Stop Worrying and
Love the Bomb.*



The fall of the Berlin Wall, 1989

Course Readings

The course relies on an eclectic collection of texts and sources: books, articles, podcasts, and videos. Except for one book (Pinker, 2011), all are available electronically freely either through the university's library or on the web. Since this course is oriented toward research, I did not collect all these items for you. By looking these up you may discover other articles or books of interest. You will also familiarize yourselves with many of the leading scholarly journals in this field. Since few of the readings are not easy to find, I will post links to them (and only to them) on Blackboard's 'course documents' section.

The first few weeks of the class assign little to no readings. This time is meant to allow you to catch up with the reading for week four. In general, you can expect an average of three articles/chapters of reading per week. Some of the readings are technical; others are meant for the general public. Some of the texts are purely theoretical while others focus on empirical cases. Some deal with contemporary issues, others revisit distant histories. My hope is that through this diversity of texts you will get a broad sense for the kind of questions and approaches utilized by social scientists in the study of international security.

Steven Pinker's book, *The Better Angels of Our Nature*, will serve as a general frame for our discussion. We will read significant portion of this book and hence I strongly recommend purchasing a copy.

Throughout the year I may make small changes to the reading list to reflect current events or scholarly developments. In all cases, changes such as these will not add to amount of reading on the course's initial reading list.

“ For every thousand pages published on the causes of wars there is less than one page directly on the causes of peace.”

- Geoffrey Blainey, 1988

Book to Purchase:

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

Better Angels is available for purchase in electronic form and soft cover on most online vendors. Alternatively, some copies of Pinker's book can be found in the university's library as well as in many public libraries.

“ With violence, as with so many other concerns, human nature is the problem, but human nature is also the solution.”

- Steven Pinker



The Battle of Waterloo, 1815

Fall Term

Week I- Introduction (Sept. 17)

Week II- What is International Security? (Sept. 24)

Rothschild, Emma. 1995. What is Security? *Deadalus*, 53-98.

Week III- Waffles, Pancakes and Social Science Inquiry (Oct. 1)

Week IV- The Better Angels of Our Nature? (Oct. 8)

Pinker, Steven. 2011. *The Better Angels of Our Nature: Why Violence Has Declined*. Penguin Books: New York. Pp. 1-294.

Week V- To Balance or Not to Balance? (Oct. 15)

Kaufman, Stuart J., Richard Little and William C. Wohlforth. 2007. *The Balance of Power in World History*. New York: Pal grave. Pp.1-21.

Schroeder, Paul W. 1989. The Nineteenth Century System: Balance of Power or Political Equilibrium? *Review of International Studies*, 15/2: 135-153.

Gause, F. Gregory, III. 2003. Balancing What? Threat Perception and Alliance Choice in the Gulf. *Security Studies*, 13/2: 273-305.

Week VI- What's in a Border? (Oct. 22)

Atzili, Boaz. 2006/7. When Good Fences Make Bad Neighbors: Fixed Borders, State Weakness, and International Conflict. *International Security*, 31/3: 139-173.

Fazal, Tanisha M. 2004. State Death in the international System. *International Organization*, 58: 311-344.

Hassner, Ron E. 2003. “To Halve and to Hold”: Conflicts over Sacred Space and the Problem of Indivisibility. *Security Studies*, 12/4: 1-33.



Week VII- Si vis pacem, para bellum? (Oct. 29)

Smith, Alastair. 1995. Alliance Formation and War. *International Studies Quarterly*, 39/4: 405-425.

Fearon, James D. 1997. Signaling Foreign Policy Interests: Tying Hands versus Sinking Costs. *Journal of Conflict Resolution*, 41/1: 68-90.

Week VIII- The Destroyer of Worlds? (Nov. 5)

Schelling, Thomas. 2005. Nobel Prize Lecture (video): <http://www.nobelprize.org/mediaplayer/index.php?id=626>

Sagan, Scott D. 1996/7. Why do States Build Nuclear Weapons? *International Security*, 21/3: 54-86.

Price, Richard. 1995. A Genealogy of the Chemical Weapons Taboo. *International Organization* 49/01: 73-103.

Week IX- "I'm the Decider, and I Decide What's Best" (Nov. 12)

Byman, Daniel L. and Kenneth M. Pollack. 2001. Let Us Now Praise Great Men: Bringing the Statesmen Back In. *International Security*, 25: 107-146.

Saunders, Elizabeth. 2009. Transformative Choices: Leaders and the Origins of Intervention Strategy. *International Security*, 34/2: 119-161.

Hans Koning. 1988. "Ifs: Destiny and the Archduke's Chauffeur," *Harper's* (May), pp.74-76.

“ There will one day spring from the brain of science a machine or force so fearful in its potentialities, so absolutely terrifying, that even man, the fighter, who will dare torture and death in order to inflict torture and death, will be appalled, and so abandon war forever.

- Thomas A. Edison

Week X- “Is Your Money That Good? Will It Buy You Forgiveness? Do You Think That It Could?” (Nov. 19)

Friedberg, Aaron L. 1992. Why didn't the United States Become a Garrison State? *International Security*, 16/4: 109-142.

Young, Patricia T. and Jack S. Levy. Domestic Politics and the Escalation of Commercial Rivalry: Explaining the War of Jenkins' Ear, 1739-48. *European Journal of International Relations*, 17/2: 209-232.

Tierney, Dominic. 2011. The F-35: A Weapon That Costs More than Australia. *The Atlantic*, March 15.

Week XI- Democratic Exceptionalism? (Nov. 26)

Bueno de Mesquita, Bruce, James D Morrow, Randolph M Siverson, Alastair Smith. 1991/2. An Institutional Explanation of the Democratic Peace. *American Political Science Review*, 93/4: 791-807.

Rosato, Sebastian. 2003. The Flawed Logic of Democratic Peace Theory. *American Political Science Review*, 97: 585-602.

Kaufmann Chaim and Robert Pape. 1999. Explaining Costly Moral Action: Britain's sixty Year Campaign Against the Atlantic Slave Trade. *International Organization*, 53: 631-668.

“In the councils of government, we must guard against the acquisition of unwarranted influence, whether sought or unsought, by the military-industrial complex. The potential for the disastrous rise of misplaced power exists and will persist.”

- Dwight D. Eisenhower



A reminder:

- December 3: Paper I is due at the start of the lecture
- Make sure a signed academic integrity checklist is attached



“ The Falklands thing was a fight between two bald men over a comb.”

- Jorge Luis Borges

Week XII- Is Bad Behavior Good Politics? (Dec. 3)

Goemans, H.E. 2000. Fighting for Survival: the Fate of Leaders and the Duration of War. *Journal of Conflict Resolution*, 44/5: 555-579.

De Mesquita, Bruce and Alastair Smith. 2011. *The Dictator's Handbook: Why Bad Behavior is Almost Always Good Politics*. New York: Public Affairs. Introduction and Ch. 1.

Levy, Jack S. and Lily Vakili. 1992. Diversionary Action by Authoritarian Regimes: Argentina in the Falklands/Malvinas Case. In Manus Midlarsky, ed. *The Internationalization of Communal Strife*. London: Routledge, pp.118-146.

Winter Term

Week I- When Neighbors Become Enemies (Jan. 14)

Kalyvas, Sthatis N. 2006. *The Logic of Violence in Civil War*. New York: Cambridge university Press, Introduction and pp.87-208.

Tip:

Kalyvas' *The Logic of Violence* is available as an e-book through the university's library. Since we will be reading a good chunk of this book, you may want to get a head start during the winter break...

“ To understand how neighbors are turned into enemies, how people who once had a lot in common end up having nothing in common but war”
- Michael Ignatieff, 1998



Week II- An Ethnic Security Dilemma? (Jan. 21)

Fearon, James D. and David D. Laitin. 1996. Explaining Interethnic Cooperation. *American Political Science Review*, 90/4: 715-735.

Kaufmann, Chaim D. 1998. When All Else Fails: Ethnic Population Transfers and Partitions in the Twentieth Century, *International Security*, 23/2: 120-156.

Sambanis, Nicholas. 2000. Partition as a Solution to Ethnic War: An Empirical Critique of the Theoretical Literature. *World Politics*, 52/4: 437-483.

Week III- Win, Lose or Draw? (Jan. 28)

Lyall, Jason and Isiah Wilson III. 2009. Rage against the Machines: Explaining Outcomes in Counterinsurgency Wars. 63/1: 67-106.

On Point (NPR). 2006. Interpreting the Messages from Iraq (Audio): <http://onpoint.wbur.org/2006/09/27/interpreting-the-messages-from-iraq>

Harari, Yuval N. 2007. The Concept of ‘Decisive Battles’ in World History. *Journal of World History*, 18/3: 251-266

Week IV- Dying to Win? (Feb. 4)

Pape, Robert. 2003. The strategic logic of suicide terrorism. *American Political Science Review*, 97: 343-361.

Clinton, Joshua, Adam Meirowitz and Kristopher Ramsay, Design. 2008. Inference, and the Strategic Logic of Suicide Terrorism, *American Political Science Review*, 102/2: 269-273.

Pape, Robert. 2008. Methods and Findings in the Study of Suicide Terrorism. *American Political Science Review*, 102/2: 275-277.

Ashworth, Scott, Joshua Clinton, Adam Meirowitz, and Kristopher Ramsay. 2008. Design, Inference, and the Strategic Logic of Suicide Terrorism: A Rejoinder” <http://scholar.princeton.edu/sites/default/files/rejoinder3.pdf>

Week V- How Do Wars End? (Feb. 11)

Tierney, Dominic. 2014. Mastering the Endgame of War. *Survival*, 56/5: 69-94.

Licklider, Roy. 1995. The Consequences of Negotiated Settlements in Civil Wars, 1945-1993. *American Political Science Review*, 89/3: 681-690

Fortna, Virginia Page. 2003. Scraps of Paper? Agreements and the Durability of Peace. *International Organization*, 57/2: 337-372.

Katherine Glassmyer and Nicholas Sambanis. 2008. Rebel-Military Integration and Civil War Termination. *Journal of Peace Research*, 45/3: 365-384.

Reading Week (Feb. 18)

Week VI- Can External Intervention Help? (Feb. 25)

Fortna, Virginia Page. 2004. Interstate Peacekeeping: Causal Mechanisms and Empirical Effects. *World Politics*, 56/4: 481-519.

Betts, Richard K. 1994. The Delusion of Impartial Intervention. *Foreign Affairs*, November/December: 20-33.

Lischer, Sarah Kenyon. 2003. Collateral Damage: Humanitarian Assistance as a Cause of Conflict. *International Security*, 79-109.

“The grim fact, however, is that we prepare for war like precocious giants and for peace like pygmies.”

- Lester B. Pearson



A reminder:

- Group assignments are due on Feb. 25
- I will update the reading list for weeks 9-11 once I review your input and suggestions.

Week VII- The Externalities and Lasting Impact of Civil War (March 3)

Salehyan, Idean. 2008. The Externalities of Civil Strife: Refugees as a Source of International Conflict. *American Journal of Political Science*, 52: 787-901.

Blattman, Christopher and Jeannie Annan. 2010. The consequences of Child Soldiering, *Review of Economics and Statistics*, 92/4: 882-898.

Ghobarah, Hazem Adam, Paul Huth and Bruce Russett. 2004. The Post War Public Health Effects of Civil Conflict. *Social Science and Medicine*, 59/4: 869-884.

Week VIII- A New Peace? (March 10)

Pinker, *Better Angels*, pp. 295-377; 671-696

Adler, Emanuel and Michael N. Barnett. 1996. Governing Anarchy: A Research Agenda for the Study of Security Communities. *Ethics & International Affairs*, 10: 63-98.

Week IX- Group Assignment (March 17)

Week X- Group Assignment (March 24)

Week XI- Group Assignment (March 31)

Week XII- Midterm (April 7)

“We must concentrate not merely on the negative expulsion of war, but on the positive affirmation of peace.”

- Martin Luther King, Jr.



Refugees crossing the Turkish border, 2015

A reminder:

- Term papers are due on March 31
- Make sure a signed academic integrity checklist is attached