**POL380S: Topics in International Relations: Contemporary International Security Issues
Summer 2024**

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Course time: Monday and Wednesday, 09:00 AM - 11:00 AM
Office Hours: By appointment only

COURSE OVERVIEW

This seminar covers the key foreign policy and security related challenges and developments in the post-Cold War world. Topics include great power competition; contemporary cases of inter-state conflict; conventional, nuclear, and non-traditional warfare; terrorism and other transnational threats; disruptive technologies, cyber warfare; and the interrelated problem set associated with climate change and environmental protection as well as energy, water, food, and health security. Departing from the conventional emphasis on military power and security alliances prevalent in mainstream International Relations (IR) literature, the course seeks a more comprehensive understanding of international security and its implications.

Special attention is dedicated to alternative theoretical approaches in Security Studies that have emerged since the 1990s. These approaches are explored to illuminate the intricate expressions of security in contemporary global politics. The course unfolds in two main parts: Part 1 provides conceptual and analytical insights into the evolving nature and conditions of international security post the Cold War, with a particular focus on great power rivalry, rise of emerging powers, alliance building including both traditional alliances like NATO and newer coalitions. Part 2 addresses contemporary security threats and the responses they have elicited, with a particular focus on international terrorism, proliferation of Weapons of Mass Destruction, cyber warfare. It also assesses the challenges of environmental security, including the threat of resource-based conflict, most notably over oil and water, and the perceived security challenges of international migration.

By the end of the course students should be able to: 1) recognize the pivotal actors and processes shaping the current security agenda; 2) exhibit proficiency in the primary issues and debates

found in contemporary literature on Security Studies; and 3) employ theoretical frameworks to analyze critical contemporary security issues.

ASSESSMENT

The course will meet twice per week on Mondays and Wednesdays between 9AM-11AM for a two-hour seminar. Students will be expected to complete ALL required readings prior to class. Assessment in the course will be based on the following five (5) graded components:

1. Attendance and Participation (15%)
2. Mid-term exam (30%) – TAKE HOME -
3. Paper proposal (15%) – DUE <u>July 15th</u> prior to class
4. Final Research Paper (40%) – DUE August 13th, 2024 prior to class

Participation in class discussion (15%): The course will be run as a discussion-based seminar and students are expected to complete all required readings prior to class. Students will be assessed on their attendance (5%), their level of participation (5%), and their degree of preparation for class discussions (5%).

Mid-term exam (30%): The mid-term exam will be in a take-home format, consisting of two essay questions on contemporary international security issues. Students will choose two out of four potential questions to answer. Each answer should not exceed 750 words. The questions will be released on <u>July 24th at 9 AM</u>, and submissions will be due by <u>July 25th at 9 AM</u>.

Paper proposal (15%): A **1-2 page (maximum)** proposal for the final research paper. The summary is intended to provide feedback to help with writing the final paper. The summary should include: 1) a research question to be answered in the paper; 2) a proposed hypothesis or answer to the question (i.e. a preliminary argument); 3) the proposed empirical approach and justification; and 4) a draft annotated bibliography (minimum of 5 sources). **This paper must be submitted via Quercus by July 15th, prior to the class.**

Final paper (40%): A **maximum 10-12 page** double-spaced paper that addresses a contemporary issue in international security. The paper should include a clear question to be answered, a brief literature review, a theoretical argument, and an empirical test of the argument. **The paper will be due August 13th before the start of class. Please submit a hard copy before class and also upload on Quercus for plagiarism detection.**

PREREQUISITES

Prerequisite:

3.0 POL credits, including 1.0 POL credit at the 300-level

Recommended:
POL208Y5 or POL208Y1 or POL209H5 or POL210H5

Prerequisites are strictly checked and enforced and must be completed before taking a course. By taking this course you acknowledge that you will be removed from the course at any time if you do not meet all requirements set by the Department of Political Science. Further information can be found in the 2023-24 Academic Calendar which is available from the Office of the Registrar.

DEPARTMENT POLICIES

Missed Term Work: Late or missed assignments: Late papers will be penalized 5% per calendar day, excepting only personal emergencies. If you find yourself in such a situation, please email me as soon as possible to inform me. Substantiating documentation may be required. Note that assignments or tests from other courses scheduled for the same day do not constitute acceptable reasons – please plan accordingly. In the absence of notice, late or missed assignments will receive a mark of zero.

Academic accommodations

You may need special arrangements to meet your academic obligations during the term. Please note I will work very hard to make sure accommodations are made to help you succeed in the course. Please see below for details on particular accommodation request processes:

Pregnancy obligation: please write to me with any requests for academic accommodation during the first two weeks of class or as soon as possible after the need for accommodation is known to exist. For more details, please visit the Family Care Office at: https://familycare.utoronto.ca/family-leaves/leaves-for-undergraduate-students/.

Religious obligation: please write to me with any requests for academic accommodation during the first two weeks of class or as soon as possible after the need for accommodation is known to exist. For more details, please visit Equity and Diversity at U of T at: https://people.utoronto.ca/inclusion/edi-at-u-of-t/.

Students requiring academic accommodations: The University of Toronto is committed to accessibility. If you require accessibility accommodations of any kind, please contact Accessibility Services at accessibility.services@utoronto.ca as soon as possible.

UNIVERSITY POLICIES

Commitment to equity, human rights, and respect for diversity: The University of Toronto is committed to equity, human rights, and respect for diversity. All members of the learning environment in this course should strive to create an atmosphere of mutual respect where all members of our community can express themselves, engage with each other, and respect one another's differences. U of T does not condone discrimination or harassment against any persons or communities.

Academic Integrity: Plagiarism is a serious academic offence and will be dealt with accordingly. For further clarification and information on plagiarism please see Writing at the University of Toronto http://www.writing.utoronto.ca/advice/using-sources

It is important for all students in the course to recognize that plagiarism is a serious academic offence that can carry significant consequences. If you are uncertain about what constitutes plagiarism, please speak to me as soon as possible to avoid any potential issues down the road in the course. The following are some of the most common instances of plagiarism:

1. Submitting as your own an assignment written by someone else.

2. Quoting an author without indicating the source of the words.

3. Using words, sentences, or paragraphs written by someone else and failing to place quotation marks around the material and reference the source and author. Using either quotation marks or reference alone is not sufficient. Both must be used!

4. Adapting an author's ideas or theme and using it as your own without referencing the original source.

5. Seeking assistance from a friend or family member in respect to work you claim as your own.

It will be assumed that students understand what constitutes plagiarism and that they will ensure that they avoid doing it. Again, please feel free to ask me about any aspect of plagiarism if you are unsure!

Normally, students will be required to submit their course essays to the University's plagiarism detection tool 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 tool's reference database, where they will be used solely for the purpose of detecting plagiarism. The terms that apply to the University's use of this tool are described on the Centre for Teaching Support & Innovation web site (https://uoft.me/pdt-faq).

We will be using Ouriginal in this course to screen assignments for originality. Assignments submitted on Quercus will be automatically screened through its system to do so.

See the link below for additional tips on how not to plagiarize:

https://advice.writing.utoronto.ca/using-sources/

well as any other relevant information, to determine if these passages represent plagiarism.

The Use of AI for Course Work:

The use of AI (e.g. GPT-4, ChatGPT, etc.) for course is assignments is permitted under the following conditions:

• Students may use artificial intelligence tools for creating an outline for an assignment, but the final submitted assignment must be original work produced by the individual student alone

• Students may not use artificial intelligence tools for writing research papers or completing major course assignments. However, these tools may be useful when gathering information from across sources and assimilating it for understanding

• If you have any question about the use of AI applications for course work, please speak with the instructor

Writing Support

1. All seven Faculty of Arts & Science (FAS) writing centres will be operating during the 2023 Summer session, and all will be offering synchronous one-on-one instruction (in-person and online) with asynchronous options at some colleges. Students should visit each individual centre's site for information on how to make an appointment.

The FAS centres are listed at https://writing.utoronto.ca/writing-centres/arts-and-science.

Note that undergraduate students taking Summer courses in the Faculty of Arts & Science are eligible to seek help at their home college's centre and at other centres for work in college program courses. In the summer, students may book up to TWO appointments per week.

2. More than 60 Advice files on all aspects of academic writing are available from http://advice.writing.utoronto.ca. Students benefit from your recommendation of specific material relevant to your course and assignments. Printable PDF versions are listed at http://advice.writing.utoronto.ca/student-pdfs.

You may especially want to refer students to "How Not to Plagiarize" and other advice on documentation format and methods of integrating sources. These pages are listed at http://advice.writing.utoronto.ca/using-sources.

For general information about writing resources at U of T, students can start here: https://writing.utoronto.ca.

3. Information about the English Language Learning program (ELL)'s summer offerings is available at English Language Learning | Faculty of Arts & Science (utoronto.ca). For more

information, please contact the ELL coordinator Leora Freedman at ell.newcollege@utoronto.ca.

A note from my side that I will be grading essays based on ideas, evidence, and arguments and not perfect grammar, especially for students using English as a second language.

COURSE OUTLINE

All required and recommended readings listed on the syllabus can be found and downloaded using UofT library website. Any readings which are not available on the UofT library website will be uploaded to the course Quercus page for students to access.

Required Readings: Readings listed as "Required" are considered mandatory readings for the week and must be completed prior to class. Material from Required Readings is subject to appear on course exams or assignments.

Suggested Readings: Readings listed as "Suggested" are not mandatory but encouraged if students would like to learn more about a particular topic. Material from suggested readings will not appear on any course exams or assignments.

PART I: Recent developments in International Security

Lecture 1 (July 3rd): Organizational Session and Preview of the Course

Recommended readings:

UN press release – 18 February 2022: https://press.un.org/en/2022/sgsm21146.doc.htm

Speed reading guidelines (posted on Quercus)

Lecture 2 (July 8th): What is international security?

Required readings:

Baldwin, David A. "The Concept of Security." *Review of International Studies* 23, no. 1 (1997): 5–26. http://www.jstor.org/stable/20097464.

Collins, Alan. (2015). *Contemporary security studies*. (4th revised edition.). Oxford University Press: Chapter 1: Introduction: What is Security Studies?

Recommended readings:

Baldwin, David A. 1995. "Security Studies and the End of the Cold War." *World Politics* 48 (1). Cambridge University Press: 117–41. doi:10.1353/wp.1995.0001.

Drezner, Daniel. "Military Primacy Does Not Pay," *International Security* Vol. 38, No. 1 (Summer 2013), pp. 52–79.

Lecture 3 (July 10th): Redefining Security Landscapes: Navigating the Post-Cold War Era

Required readings:

Dannreuther, Roland. International Security: The Contemporary Agenda. 2nd ed. Cambridge: Polity, 2013: Chapter 1: Thinking about Security after the Cold War.

Gunitsky, Seva. "Great Powers and the Spread of Autocracy Since the Cold War." In *Before and After the Fall*, 225–43, 2021. https://doi.org/10.1017/9781108910194.014.

Recommended readings:

Gavin, Francis J. "Same as It Ever Was: Nuclear Alarmism, Proliferation, and the Cold War." *International Security* 34, no. 3 (2010): 7–37. https://doi.org/10.1162/isec.2010.34.3.7.

International Crisis Group's "10 Conflicts to Watch in 2023": https://www.crisisgroup.org/global/10-conflicts-watch-2023

Lecture 4 (July 15th): The return to great power rivalry

Required readings:

Gruszczak, Artur, and Sebastian Kaempf, eds. *Routledge Handbook of the Future of Warfare*. Abingdon, England: Routledge, 2024: Chapter 5 - Great Powers and War in the 21st Century.

Mearsheimer, John J. 2021. *The Inevitable Rivalry: America, China, and the Tragedy of Great-Power Politics.* Foreign Affairs (New York, N.Y.). Vol. 100. New York: Council on Foreign Relations, Inc.

Gates, Robert M. 2023. "The Dysfunctional Superpower: Can a Divided America Deter China and Russia?" Foreign Affairs, Nov, 30-34, 36-44.

Recommended readings:

"The Cold War Holds Lessons for America's Rivalry with China, Say Condoleezza Rice and Niall Ferguson." 2023.*The Economist (Online)*, Sep 07.

Chandra, Vikash. "Rising Powers and The Future International Order." *World Affairs* 22, no. 1 (2018): 10-23.

Lecture 5 (July 17th): Regional powers and security

Frazier, Derrick, and Robert Stewart-Ingersoll. "Regional Powers and Security: A Framework for Understanding Order Within Regional Security Complexes." *European Journal of International Relations* 16, no. 4 (2010): 731–53. https://doi.org/10.1177/1354066109359847.

Lake, David A., and Patrick M. Morgan. *Regional orders: Building security in a new world*. Penn State Press, 2010: Chapter 1 – The New Regionalism in Security Affairs.

Recommended readings:

Nolte, Detlef. "How to Compare Regional Powers: Analytical Concepts and Research Topics." *Review of International Studies* 36, no. 4 (2010): 881–901. https://doi.org/10.1017/S026021051000135X.

Hameiri, Shahar, and Lee Jones. "Rising powers and state transformation: The case of China." *European journal of international relations* 22, no. 1 (2016): 72-98.

Stephen, Matthew D. "Rising regional powers and international institutions: The foreign policy orientations of India, Brazil and South Africa." *Global society* 26, no. 3 (2012): 289-309.

Lecture 6 (July 22nd): Security alliances in the post-Cold War context

Glaser, Charles L. "A Flawed Framework: Why the Liberal International Order Concept Is Misguided." *International Security* 43, no. 4 (2019): 51–87. https://doi.org/10.1162/ISEC_a_00343.

Tessman, Brock F. "System Structure and State Strategy: Adding Hedging to the Menu." *Security Studies* 21, no. 2 (2012): 192–231. https://doi.org/10.1080/09636412.2012.679203.

Recommended readings:

Paul, T. V. "Soft Balancing in the Age of U.S. Primacy." *International Security* 30, no. 1 (2005): 46–71. https://doi.org/10.1162/0162288054894652.

Rodrik, D., & Walt, S. M. (2022, September 6). How to Build a Better Order. *Foreign Affairs*, 101(5). https://www.foreignaffairs.com/world/build-better-order-great-power-rivalry-dani-rodrik-stephen-walt

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

Yarhi-Milo, Keren, Alexander Lanoszka, and Zack Cooper. 2016. "*To Arm or to Ally? The Patron's Dilemma and the Strategic Logic of Arms Transfers and Alliances.*" *International Security* 41 (2): 90–139. https://doi.org/10.1162/ISEC_a_00250.

Lecture 7 (July 24th): TAKE HOME - Mid-term exam

PART II: Contemporary Security Environment

Lecture 8 (July 29th): International conflict, non-traditional warfare

Rauta, Vladimir, and Andrew Mumford. "Proxy wars and the contemporary security environment." *The Palgrave handbook of security, risk and intelligence* (2017): 99-115.

Lanoszka, Alexander. "Russian hybrid warfare and extended deterrence in eastern Europe." *International affairs* 92.1 (2016): 175-195.

Recommended readings:

Anderson, Noel. "Competitive Intervention, Protracted Conflict, and the Global Prevalence of Civil War." *International Studies Quarterly* 63, no. 3 (2019): 692–706. https://doi.org/10.1093/isq/sqz037.

Cormac, R., & Aldrich, R. J. (2018). "Grey is the new black: Covert action and implausible deniability". *International Affairs*, 94(3), Article 3. https://doi.org/10.1093/ia/iiy067
Paliwal, Avinash, and Paul Staniland. 2023. "Strategy, Secrecy, and External Support for Insurgent Groups." *International Studies Quarterly* 67 (1): sqad001. https://doi.org/10.1093/isq/sqad001.

Lecture 9 (July 31st): Terrorism

Gruszczak, Artur, and Sebastian Kaempf, eds. *Routledge Handbook of the Future of Warfare*. Abingdon, England: Routledge, 2024: Chapter 12: Terrorism

Bapat, Navin A. "The Internationalization of Terrorist Campaigns." *Conflict Management and Peace Science*, vol. 24, no. 4, 2007, pp. 265–80.

Hoffman, B. (2017). "The Internationalization of Terrorism" (Chapter 3). In *Inside Terrorism*. New York: Columbia University Press.

Recommended readings:

Wilner, A. (2018). "The Dark Side of Extended Deterrence: Thinking through the State Sponsorship of Terrorism." *Journal of Strategic Studies* 41(3): 410-437.

Duncan, Ken. "A Blast from the Past: Lessons from a Largely Forgotten Incident of State-Sponsored Terrorism." *Perspectives on Terrorism* 5.1 (2011): 3-21.

Zanchetta, Barbara. "Between Cold War Imperatives and State-Sponsored Terrorism: The United States and "Operation Condor"." *Studies in Conflict & Terrorism* 39.12 (2016): 1084-1102.

August 5th: Civic holiday - University closed

Lecture 10 (August 7th): Guest lecture – Technology and Security

Henry Farrell, Abraham L. Newman; Weaponized Interdependence: How Global Economic Networks Shape State Coercion. International Security 2019; 44 (1): 42–79.

Maschmeyer, L., Deibert, R. J., & Lindsay, J. R. (2020). A tale of two cybers - how threat reporting by cybersecurity firms systematically underrepresents threats to civil society. *Journal of Information Technology & Politics*, 18(1), 1–20

Recommended readings:

Gallagher, Nancy. "China on arms control, nonproliferation, and strategic stability." *Centre for International and Security Studies at Maryland* (2019).

Gruszczak, Artur, and Sebastian Kaempf, eds. *Routledge Handbook of the Future of Warfare*. Abingdon, England: Routledge, 2024: Chapter 8: How Our Accelerating Interactions in Cyberspace Have Shifted Global Power and Made a Kinetic World War More Likely.

Kello, Lucas. 2013. "The Meaning of the Cyber Revolution: Perils to Theory and Statecraft." International Security no. 38 (2):7-40.

O Valeriano, Brandon and Ryan Maness. 2012. "The Fog of Cyberwar: Why the Threat Does not Live up to the Hype," Foreign Affairs.

Gartzke, Erik. 2013. "The Myth of Cyberwar: Bringing War on the Internet Back Down to Earth." International Security, Vol. 38, No. 2: 41–73.

Townsend, Brad. "Strategic choice and the orbital security dilemma." *Strategic Studies Quarterly* 14.1 (2020): 64-90.

Lecture 11 (August 12th: Environmental security)

Required reading:

Dunn Cavelty, M., & Balzacq, T. (Eds.). (2016). Routledge Handbook of Security Studies (2nd ed.). Routledge: Chapter 20 - Resources, the Environment, and Conflict.

Hendrix, Cullen S., and Idean Salehyan. 2014. "Climate Shocks and Political Violence." G*lobal Environmental Change* 28: 239-250.

Recommended reading:

Busby, Joshua W., Todd G. Smith, Kaiba L. White, and Shawn M. Strange. "Climate change and insecurity: mapping vulnerability in Africa." *International Security* 37, no. 4 (2013): 132-172.

Reuveny, Rafael. 2007. "Climate Change-Induced Migration and Violent Conflict." *Political Geography* 26 (6): 656-673.

Klare, Michael T. 2001. "The New Geography of Conflict." *Foreign Affairs* 80 (3): 49-61.

Lecture 12 (August 13th): Present and future of international security
Documentary: The New Cold War: More Nuclear Weapons in Europe?