International and European Security
2012-2013

Lectures: Mondays, 9-10am, room SG1
Seminar Group A: Mondays, 1-2.30pm, room S1
Seminar Group B: Tuesdays, 4.00-5.30pm, room S3
Dr. Geoffrey Edwards and Dr. Stefano Recchia

Course Description:
This course is designed to provide students with a foundation in contemporary international security studies. To that end, the first part of the course deals in-depth with some of the main concepts, theories, and issues in international security. Central questions include: What are the causes of war and the conditions of peace? Can military intervention be a cause for good in the world? How have state failure, ethnic conflict, and transnational terrorism changed the nature of international politics? The second part of the course focuses specifically on the European Union (EU) as an emerging actor in the field of international security. Special attention will be given to how the EU, through its new institutional architecture, has responded to some of the challenges identified in the first part of the course. Throughout the year, we will apply different theories to select historical and contemporary cases in order to illustrate how theory can help us make sense of complex, real-world events. Students with no prior background in international relations theory will benefit from reading one of the following two books as a general introduction to the course: Michael W. Doyle, Ways of War and Peace (Norton, 1997); or Chris Brown and Kirsten Ainley, Understanding International Relations, 4th edition (Palgrave, 2009).

Course Materials:
Students are encouraged to purchase the following textbook for this course, given that we will be reading substantial portions of it:

- Chester A. Crocker, Fen Osler Hampson and Pamela Aall, eds., Leashing the Dogs of War: Conflict Management in a Divided World (United States Institute of Peace Press, 2007).

Note on readings: Readings marked with ** are required (students should read ALL of them); readings marked with * are recommended (students should read two or three of them for each session). The required and recommended readings can be downloaded from the CamTools course website (except those to be found in the textbook). The other readings are intended as further background and guidance for students with a specific interest in the topic, and for those who are preparing seminar presentations and/or writing their MPhil thesis on a related subject.

Seminars: Beginning on 15 October, there will be weekly seminar sections (on Mon and Tue). Participation in one of the seminar sections is required, and students should come to their section prepared to discuss the required and recommended readings for that week. Each student will further have to contribute to a group presentation in the course of the year (details TBA).
Course Schedule and Readings:
Michaelmas Term (lectures by Dr. Stefano Recchia)

5 October, 2012

General introduction: Presentation of the syllabus, goals, and requirements.

Lecture One (8 October, 2012): What is Security and Why should we study it? (Overview of concepts and issues: national security, human security, securitization.)


*S. Neil MacFarlane and Yuen Foong Khong, Human Security and the UN (Bloomington, IN: Indiana UP, 2006), esp. the introduction. [Examines the UN’s role in promoting the concept.]


** Barry Buzan et al., Security: A New Framework for Analysis (Lynne Rienner, 1998), esp. chapters 1, 2. [The locus classicus for “securitization.”]


TRADITIONAL SECURITY ISSUES

Lecture Two (15 October): The Causes of Inter-State War
(Three levels of analysis: the individual, domestic politics, the international system.)

The level-of-analysis framework:


The individual:

** Albert Einstein and Sigmund Freud, “Why War? The Einstein-Freud Correspondence (1931-32),” available online: click here.

Kenneth N. Waltz, *Man, the State, and War*, Chap. 2.


The domestic level:


* Jack Snyder, *Myths of Empire: Domestic Politics and International Ambition* (Cornell UP, 1993), chapters 1-2. [War and imperial expansion as the result of domestic logrolling among groups with parochial interests.]

Stephen Walt, *Revolution and War* (Cornell UP, 1997), Chap. 2. [Domestic revolution as a cause of interstate war.]

** Edward D. Mansfield and Jack Snyder, “Turbulent Transitions: Why Emerging Democracies Go to War,” in *Crocker et al. Reader* [Transitions to democracy can be rocky.]


The international system:

*Kenneth N. Waltz, “The Origins of War in Neorealist Theory,” Journal of Interdisciplinary History 18:4 (Spring 1988), pp. 615-628. [Wars happen because there is no common authority to prevent them.]


Steven Van Evera, “Offense, Defense, and the Causes of War,” International Security 22:4 (Spring, 1998), pp. 5-43 [War is more likely when conquest is easy, or thought to be easy.]


John Vasquez, and Christopher S. Leskiw, “The Origins and War Proneness of Interstate Rivalries,” Annual Review of Political Science 4 (2001), pp. 295-316. [States with territorial disputes are likely to become “enduring rivals,” significantly increasing the probability of war.]

*Jack S. Levy, “International Sources of Interstate and Intrastate War,” in Crocker et al. Reader [Good overview of the literature.]

*Samuel P. Huntington, “The Clash of Civilizations?” Foreign Affairs 72:3 (Summer 1993), pp. 22-49. [Future wars will take place along cultural and civilizational fault lines.]

Lecture Three (22 October): The Conditions of Peace
(The balance of power; democracy and interdependence; institutions; changing norms.)

The balance of power vs. hegemony/unipolarity:


*Josef Joffe, “Europe’s American Pacifier,” *Foreign Policy* 54 (Spring 1984), pp. 64-82. [American hegemony explains the postwar peace in Europe.]


Nuclear deterrence and mutually assured destruction:


*Thomas Schelling, *Arms and Influence*, chapter 2. [Discusses the challenges of “extended deterrence”—i.e., how to deter an attack on your allies.]


Democracy and economic interdependence:

*Immanuel Kant, “Perpetual Peace,” in H. Reiss, ed., *Kant’s Political Writings* (Cambridge UP, 1991). [Foundational text of liberal internationalism; read it if you have not done so before.]


International organizations (IOs):


Karen A. Mingst and Margaret P. Karns, “The United Nations and Conflict Management: Relevant or Irrelevant?” in *Crocker et al. Reader*


Changing norms and expectations:


John Mueller, “The Obsolescence of Major War,” *Security Dialogue* 21:3 (1990), pp. 321-328. [Major war is unlikely because we have come to view it as repulsive and uncivilized.]


*Robert L. Jervis, “Theories of War in an Era of Leading-Power Peace,” *American Political Science Review* 91:1 (2002), pp. 1-14. [The world’s most developed states have formed a security community, which makes war among its members unthinkable.]

Charles A. Kupchan, *How Enemies Become Friends* (Princeton UP, 2010), Chapters 1, 2. [Explains how sustained diplomatic engagement can turn rivals into friends.]


*Lecture Four (29 October): Coercive Diplomacy and Humanitarian Intervention*  
(Compellence as an instrument of statecraft; the ethics, law, and politics of humanitarian intervention; the Responsibility to Protect.)

**Compellence:**


**Robert J. Art, “Coercive Diplomacy,” in *Crocker et al. Reader* [Explains why “forceful persuasion short of all-out war” is exceedingly difficult].


Ruth Wedgwood, “War and Law: The Dilemmas of International Law and Coercive Enforcement,” in *Crocker Reader* [Good discussion of the limits and potential of the contemporary international legal framework regulating the use of force.]

Daniel Byman and Andrew Waxman, *The Dynamics of Coercion* (Cambridge UP, 2002), Chapters 1, 3, 6, 7.

Lawrence Freedman, “Using Force for Peace in the Age of Terror,” in *Crocker Reader* [What humanitarian interventions of the 1990s have in common with the ‘war against terror.’]
Humanitarian intervention:


Taylor Seybolt, Humanitarian Military Intervention: The Conditions for Success and Failure (Oxford UP, 2007), esp. Chaps. 1, 8. [Explains when humanitarian interventions are most likely to succeed at saving lives.]

Arguments for humanitarian intervention:


Arguments against humanitarian intervention:


Richard K. Betts, “Confused Interventions,” in his American Force: Dangers, Delusions, and Dilemmas in National Security (Columbia UP, 2012), pp. 50-80. [If you choose to intervene, avoid half-measures and support one side decisively. Skeptical realist analysis.]


*Edward Luttwak, “Give war a chance,” Foreign Affairs 78:4 (July-August 1999), pp. 36-44. [Forget about external intervention—just let them fight it out.]


Case study: Libya


Erica Borghard and Costantino Piscchedda, “Allies and Airpower in Libya,” Parameters (Spring 2012), pp. 63-74. [Can NATO airpower effectively support local insurgents?]
NEW” SECURITY ISSUES

Lecture Five (5 November): Ethnic Conflict, State Failure, and Civil War
(The causes of war within states: nationalism, ruthless elites, fear & resentment, economics, weak institutions. Understanding state failure and its implications.)

Ethnic conflict and civil war:


Roger D. Petersen, Understanding Ethnic Violence (Cambridge UP, 2002), pp. 17-84. [Popular emotions and collective resentment as the source of ethnic violence.]


*Paul Collier, “Economic Causes of Civil Conflict and Their Implications for Policy,” in Crocker Reader.


State Failure:


Lecture Six (12 November): Terrorism and Counterterrorism
(Causes of terrorism; suicide terrorism; strategies of counterterrorism; targeted killing.)

Terrorism – understanding the causes:


**Robert A. Pape and James K. Feldman, Cutting the Fuse: The Explosion of Global Suicide Terrorism and How to Stop It (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2010), chaps. 1-2, pp. 19-86. [Suicide terrorism as a form of resistance to foreign military occupation.]


Michael C. Horowitz, “Nonstate Actors and the Diffusion of Innovations: The Case of Suicide Terrorism,” International Organization 64:1 (Winter 2010), pp. 33-64. [Why do certain groups adopt suicide bombing, while others don’t?]

Debating counterterrorism strategies:


Bruce Hoffman, “American Jihad,” *The National Interest*, May-June 2010, pp. 17-28. [The U.S. has been too narrowly focused on a “kill or capture” approach targeting individuals.]

William B. Messmer and Carlos L. Yordan, “A Partnership to Counter International Terrorism: The UN Security Council and the UN Member States,” *Studies in Conflict & Terrorism* 34:11 (2011), pp. 843-861. [Counterterrorism cooperation at the UN has been reasonably effective.]

The politics and ethics of targeted killing:


Lecture Seven (19 November): Peacekeeping, Peacebuilding, and Trusteeship
(Peacekeeping: evolution and effectiveness; challenges of peace-building in divided societies; politics and ethics of international trusteeship)

Peacekeeping:
Alex J. Bellamy et. al., Understanding Peacekeeping, second revised ed. (Polity Press, 2010), chaps. 1, 3, 4, 5. [Good conceptual and historical overview.]

*V. Page Fortna, Does Peacekeeping Work? (Princeton UP, 2008), esp. chap. 4, pp. 76-103. [Examines the causal mechanisms that make peacekeeping effective.]


Building lasting peace:


Marina Ottaway, “Is Democracy the Answer?” in Crocker Reader [Coercive democratization doesn’t work.]

**Kimberly Marten, “Is Stability the Answer?” in Crocker Reader [Focus on political stability.]

Fen Osler Hampson and David Mendeloff, “Intervention and the Nation-Building Debate,” in Crocker Reader [Good overview of the contemporary debate.]


Philip G. Roeder and Donald Rothchild, “Power Sharing as an Impediment to Peace and Democracy,” in Roeder and Rothchild eds., Sustainable Peace: Power and Democracy after Civil Wars (Cornell UP, 2005), pp. 29-50. [Power sharing is part of the problem.]


**International Trusteeship and Jus Post Bellum**


Stefano Recchia, “Just and Unjust Postwar Reconstruction: How much external interference can be justified?” *Ethics & International Affairs*, 23:2 (2009), pp. 165-187. [The degree of foreign interference needs to be strictly proportional to local impediments to self-rule.]

26 November and Lent Term: lectures by Dr. Geoffrey Edwards