

Introduction to International Security 2020

Instructors

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Objective

This course will provide students with the foundational concepts to understand and analyze the contemporary security environment. While news cycle are replete with information on the North Korean nuclear programme, the potential Russian challenge to European security or the development of new military technologies, there is a need to better understand the dynamics underpinning those issues.

The class is divided into three parts. The first part discusses the key dynamics of international systems, and their impact on the likelihood of war and peace. The second part addresses major concepts that help make sense of the international security environment. The third part deals in more details with selected contemporary security issues.

Course structure

Because of the COVID-19 crisis, the university cannot host all students on campus while maintaining safety and distancing measures. We will therefore adopt a “flipped classroom” approach to teaching.

Each week, you will be required to watch a few pre-recorded videos (available on blackboard), and read key texts related to the week’s topic. The videos are designed to be introductory and provide you with the foundational knowledge necessary to better understand the readings, *so watch the videos before reading the mandatory texts*. Unless indicated otherwise, the texts are all available through the SDU library.

We will meet once a week for one-hour seminars in which we will discuss the texts and major issues related to the topic of the week. **It is critical that you have watched the videos and read the mandatory texts before attending these seminars: there will be no lecturing and the instructors will assume that you have acquired the background knowledge provided by the videos and the texts.**

The seminars will also provide training for the final exam (more on this below).

The class will combine online and presential teaching. You will be divided into four groups, which will alternate between presential teaching with Vicky in Odense (room 70) and online teaching with Olivier. A detailed schedule for each group will be posted on Blackboard.

The seminars will take place on Wednesdays between 11am and 14pm. Each week, Vicky and Olivier will send an announcement regarding the starting time of the seminar the week after. You are also welcomed to contact us and make an appointment for any question you may have.

The class assumes a knowledge of international political history (especially since 1945) commensurate with what can be normally expected from master students in the social sciences. If you feel you need to refresh your memory on the Cuban missile crisis, the timeline of the

Vietnam War or else, we recommend regularly checking the handbook by John W. Young and John Kent, *International Relations since 1945*, Oxford UP, 2013. We also strongly recommend Odd Arne Westad, *The Cold War, A World History*, Allen Lane, 2017: comprehensive, ambitious and well-written.

Your work and preparation does not end when you are done reading the mandatory texts. It is expected of you to follow national and international news through the quality newspapers of your choice, depending on your language skills (*Politiken*, *Washington Post*, *New York Times*, *Süddeutsche Zeitung*, *Le Monde*, etc.). We also encourage you to read the following websites that offer detailed (and free) analyses on international security:

- [War on the Rocks](#), on security and strategic issues
- [Lawfare](#), on the legal aspects of both US politics and international security
- [The Monkey Cage](#), US political scientists showing how political science explains US and international politics
- [Political Violence at a Glance](#), dedicated to conflict analysis

Finally, your professors are also active publishing their research, organizing events or commenting in the media. Make sure to regularly check the website of the Center for War Studies (<https://www.sdu.dk/en/cws>), ‘like’ its Facebook page and subscribe to its Twitter account (@CWSWarStudies) in order to not miss any news. Most of your professors are also on Twitter. We are indifferent as to whether you follow us or not, but we regularly post articles and news that could be of interest to you and your studies. Finally, we have signalled the articles authored by your professors with an asterisk (*) in the syllabus.

Assessment

A 72-hours take-home exam in January, in which you will be asked to answer two questions out of a list of six. The length of the exam is 16 pages (in total, each page with 2,400 strokes. Spacing, appendix and notes included, but table of content and bibliography excluded.). *Assignments failing to report the numbers of strokes and assignments exceeding the maximum number of strokes will be dismissed.*

All aides are allowed but writing 16 pages in 72 hours is no easy task: you will simply not have the time to go back to the videos or discover the mandatory readings *and* write the exam in that timespan. In other words, *you need to be already familiar with the readings and the content of each class*, and simply refresh your memory if needed. Therefore, you must do all the necessary readings and watch the videos during the semester, and not wait for the last minute, or you will in all likelihood fail the exam.

The seminars will have an important role in preparing you for the final exam, since the questions we will be discussing will be similar to the ones you will have to answer during the exam.

Other rules regarding the formatting of the assessments:

- Font: Times New Roman 12
- Include page numbers
- Consistent use of one citation style (Chicago, APA, etc.)
- A standard cover page including the number of strokes.

Plagiarism and cheating

Plagiarism is a very serious offense, and will not be tolerated. It could result in a grade of zero for the course or expulsion from the University. The Danish university act defines the following actions as cheating :

- Plagiarise, including reusing own texts (autocitation) without source reference and citation
- Omit information
- Mislead about their own efforts or results
- Participate in unauthorised cooperation
- Receive help during examinations or help others during a non-group examination
- Unlawfully have prior knowledge of the examination assignment
- Provide false attendance information

Academic integrity

As professors, we strive to provide an exceptional learning environment. Feel free to contact us, and use our office hours for any issue you may have. As students, the Danish University act prescribes that “students, must act in a manner that ensures the University’s uninterrupted function. (...) Students must act considerately towards staff and fellow students. Students must act in regard to the University’s property, buildings and possessions when present on the University area. Noisy behavior, eating, drinking, etc. must not take place in such a manner that it causes inconvenience to others. This implies e.g. that threatening or harassing behavior and violation of the University’s smoking ban may be considered violations of the code of conduct. Students must abide by the rules set by the University or by rules the University are bound to”. We will not tolerate inappropriate behavior towards us or towards other students.

Equity and Disability Policies

The University of Southern Denmark and us are committed to providing a supportive learning environment. If you are facing medical, emotional or personal circumstances that will affect your attendance and performance, please see us.

Part 1. The dynamics of international systems

Class 1: International system and international order (78 pages)

Mandatory readings:

Deudney, D. and Ikenberry, G. J. (1999). The Nature and Sources of Liberal International Order, *Review of International Studies*, 25:2, 179-196. (18 pages).

Mazarr, M.A et al. (2016), *Understanding the Current International Order*. Santa Monica: Rand Corporation. Chapter 2: Defining the International Order. (19 pages).

Goddard, S. and Nexon, D. (2016). The Dynamics of Global Power Politics. A Framework for Analysis, *Journal of Global Security Studies*, 1:1, 4-18. (14 pages).

*Flockhart, T. (2016). The Coming Multi-Order World. *Contemporary Security Policy*, 37:1, 3-30. (27 pages).

Recommended readings:

Kissinger, H. (2014), *World Order*. London: Penguin.

Cooley, A. and Nexon, D. (2020), *Exit from Hegemony. The Unraveling of the American Global Order*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Class 2: Power in International relations (83 pages)

Mandatory readings:

Nye, J. S. (2011) Power and foreign policy, *Journal of Political Power*, 4:1, 9-24 (15 pages)

Akgul O., & Renda K.K. (2020). Reconsidering Power in International Relations. *Chinese Political Science Review*. (23 pages)

Strange, S. (1990). Finance, Information and Power. *Review of International Studies*, 16(3), 259-274. (15 pages)

Morgenthau, H. (2018). *Politics among nations: The struggle for power and peace*, 6th ed. Chapter 8: The Essence of National Power. (9 pages)

Nye J. S. (1992). *Understanding international conflicts: An introduction to theory and history*. New York: HarperCollins. Chapter 8: The Informational Revolution, Transnational Actors, and the Diffusion of Power. (21 pages)

Recommended readings:

Morgenthau, H. (2018). *Politics among nations: The struggle for power and peace*. Chapters 3: Political Power, Chapter 9: Elements of National Power.

Emerson, R. (1962). Power-Dependence Relations. *American Sociological Review*, 27(1), 31-41.

Nadskakuła-Kaczmarczyk, O. (2017). Sources of the legitimacy of Vladimir Putin's power in today's Russia. *Politeja: Pismo Wydziału Studiów Międzynarodowych i Politycznych Uniwersytetu Jagiellońskiego*, 2017, 335-349.

Class 3: International Institutions, cooperation and diplomacy (78 pages)

Mandatory readings:

Sluga G. (2019). Remembering 1919: International Organizations and the Future of International Order. *International Affairs* 95:1, 25-43. (18 pages)

Jervis R. (1994-1995). Realism, Neoliberalism and Cooperation: Understanding the Debate. *International Security* 24:1, 42-63. (22 pages).

Hurd I. (2017). The Permissive Power of the Ban on War. *European Journal of International Security* 2:1, 1-18. (17 pages).

Pouliot V. (2016). Hierarchy in Practice: Multilateral Diplomacy and the Governance of International Security. *European Journal of International Security*, 1:1, 5-26. (21 pages).

Recommended readings:

*Schmitt O. (2017). International Organization at War. NATO Practices in the Afghanistan Campaign. *Cooperation and Conflict*, 52:4, 502-518.

Mearsheimer, J. (1994). The False Promise of International Institutions. *International Security*. 19:3, 5-49.

Class 4: International Norms (89 pages)

Mandatory readings:

Finnemore, M., & Sikkink, K. (1998). International norm dynamics and political change. *International Organization (Print)*. 887-917. (30 pages)

Paris, R. (2020). The Right to Dominate: How Old Ideas About Sovereignty Pose New Challenges for World Order. *International Organization*, 74, 3, 453-489. (36 pages)

Barkin, J. S., & Cronin, B. (January 01, 1994). The State and the nation: Changing norms and the rules of sovereignty in international relations. *International Organization*, 48 (1), 107-130. (23 pages)

Recommended reading:

Hurrell, A. & Macdonald, T. (2013). Ethics and Norms in International Relations. In Carlsnaes, W., Risse-Kappen, T., & Simmons, B. A. (2013). *Handbook of international relations*.

Class 5: Causes of War, Conditions for Peace (84 pages)

Mandatory readings:

Galtung, J. (1969). Violence, Peace, and Peace Research. *Journal of Peace Research*, 6(3), 167-191. (24 pages)

Jenkins, I. (1973). The Conditions of Peace. *The Monist*, 57, 4, 507-526. (19 pages)

Levy, J. (2013). War and Peace. In Carlsnaes, W., Risse-Kappen, T., & Simmons, B. A. (2013). *Handbook of international relations*. (18 pages)

Nye J. S. (1992). *Understanding international conflicts: An introduction to theory and history*. New York: HarperCollins. Chapter 3: Balance of Power and World War 1. (23 pages)

Recommended readings:

Braumoeller, B. (2019). *Only the Dead. The Persistence of War in the Modern Age*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Williams. P. (2008). War. In Williams, P. (2008). *Security studies: an introduction*. London, Routledge.

Van Evera, S. (1999). *Causes of war: Structures of power and the roots of international conflict*. Ithaca, N.Y: Cornell University Press.

Suganami, H. (1996). *On the Causes of War*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Part 2. Key concepts

Class 6: What is Security? (82 pages)

Mandatory readings:

Williams. P. (2008). *Security studies: an introduction*. London, Routledge. Chapter 1: Security Studies.

Also, Hampson, F. O. Chapter 19: Human Security.

Also, Avant, D. Chapter 28: Private Security. (39 pages in total)

McSweeney, B. (2006). *Security, identity and interests: A sociology of international relations*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. Chapter 2: Early States of Development. Chapter 3: Broadening the Concept of Security. (43 pages in total)

Recommended Readings

Williams, M. C. (2003). Words, Images, Enemies: Securitization and International Politics. *International Studies Quarterly*, 47, 4, 511-531.

Class 7: The security dilemma (94 pages)

Mandatory readings:

Tang, S. (2009). The Security Dilemma: A Conceptual Analysis. *Security Studies*, 18:3, 587-623. (36 pages)

Johnson, D. and Tierney, D. (2018/2019). Bad World: The Negativity Bias in International Politics. *International Security*, 43:3, 96-140 (46 pages)

Libicki, M. (2016). Is there a Cybersecurity Dilemma? *The Cyber Defense Review*, 1:1, 129-140 (12 pages)

Recommended readings:

Jervis, R. (1978). Cooperation under the Security Dilemma. *World Politics*, 30:2, 167-214.

Buchanan, B. (2016). *The Cybersecurity Dilemma: Hacking, Trust and Fear Between Nations*. London: Hurst.

Class 8: Coercion, deterrence, covert action (96 pages)

Mandatory readings:

Biddle, T. D. (2020). Coercion Theory: A Basic Introduction for Practitioners. *Texas National Security Review*, 3:2, 94-109. (15 pages)

Morgan, P. (2012). The State of Deterrence in International Politics Today. *Contemporary Security Policy*, 33:1, 85-107 (22 pages).

Adamsky, D. (2018). From Moscow with Coercion: Russian Deterrence Theory and Strategic Culture. *Journal of Strategic Studies*, 41/1-2, 33-60 (27 pages).

Carson A. and Yarhi-Milo K. (2017). Covert Communication: The Intelligibility and Credibility of Signaling in Secret. *Security Studies*, 26/1, 124-156 (32 pages).

Recommended readings:

Greenhill K. and Krause P. (eds.) (2018). *Coercion. The Power to Hurt in International Politics*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Gartzke E. and Lindsay, J. (eds.) (2019). *Cross-Domain Deterrence. Strategy in an Era of Complexity*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Carson A. (2018). *Secret Wars. Covert Conflict in International Politics*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.

Class 9: Alliances and security cooperation (87 pages)

Mandatory readings:

Walt, S. (1985). Alliance Formation and the Balance of World Order. *International Security*, 9:4, 3-43 (41 pages).

*Rynning, S. (2013). Coalitions, Institutions and Big Tents: The New Strategic Reality of Armed Intervention. *International Affairs*; 89:1, 53-68. (15 pages).

*Schmitt, O. (2019). More Allies, Weaker Missions? How Junior Partners Contribute to Multinational Military Operations. *Contemporary Security Policy*. 40:1. 70-84 (14 pages).

Mello, P. A. (2019). National Restrictions in Multinational Military Operations. A Conceptual Framework. *Contemporary Security Policy*. 40:1. 38-55 (17 pages).

Recommended readings:

Poast, P. (2019). *Arguing About Alliances: the Art of Agreement in Military-Pact Negotiations*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press.

Lanozka A., Simòn L. and Meijer H. (2019). Nodal Defence: The Changing Structure of U.S. Alliance Systems in Europe and East Asia. *Journal of Strategic Studies*. Early View.

Part 3. Security issues

Class 10: The rise of China in the international system (89 pages)

Mandatory readings:

Brooks, S. G. and Wohlforth, W. C. (2015/16). The Rise and Fall of Great Powers in the Twenty-First Century. *International Security*, 40:3, 7-53. (46 pages).

Friedberg, A. (2018). Globalisation and Chinese Grand Strategy. *Survival*, 60:1, 7-40 (33 pages).

Tooze, A. (2020). Whose Century? *London Review of Books*, 42:15 (10 pages).

Recommended readings:

Lebow, R and Zhang, F (2020). *Taming Sino-American Rivalry*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Patey, L. (2020). *How China Loses. The Pushback against Chinese Global Ambitions*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Class 11: Russia and European Security (88 pages)

Mandatory readings:

Neumann, I. (2016). Russia's Europe, 1991-2016: Inferiority to Superiority. *International Affairs*, 92:6, 1381-1399 (18 pages).

Allison, R. (2017). Russia and the post-2014 international legal order: revisionism and *realpolitik*. *International Affairs*, 93:3, 519-543 (24 pages).

*Schmitt, O. (2020). How to Challenge an International Order. Russian Diplomatic Practices in Multilateral Security Organisations. *European Journal of International Relations*, 26:3, 922-946 (24 pages).

Baev, P. (2020). Transformation of Russian Strategic Culture: Impacts from Local Wars and Global Confrontation, *Russia.Nei.Visions*, N°118, IFRI, June (22 pages).

Recommended readings:

Golts A. (2018). *Military Reform and Militarism in Russia*. Washington, DC: Jamestown Foundation.

Jonsson. (2019). *The Russian Understanding of War. Blurring the Lines Between War and Peace*. Washington, DC: Georgetown University Press.

Class 12: International Terrorism (72 pages)

Mandatory readings:

Kydd, A. H. and Walter, B.F. (2006). The Strategies of Terrorism. *International Security*, 31:1, 49-80 (31 pages).

Hegghammer, T. (2016). The Future of Jihadism in Europe: A Pessimistic View. *Perspectives on Terrorism* 10:6, 156-170 (14 pages).

Soufan Center (2019). *White Supremacy Extremism. The Transnational Rise of the Violent White Supremacist Movement*.

Read: "Introduction" + "Trends & Organizing Principles of Global White Supremacy Extremism" + "Comparing Salafi-Jihadists and White Supremacy Extremists". (27 pages in total).

Recommended readings:

Bruce Hoffmann, *Inside Terrorism* (3rd ed.). New York: Columbia University Press.

Class 13: Environmental Security (81 pages)

Mandatory readings:

*Burke, D. C. (2018). *International Disputes and Cultural Ideas in the Canadian Arctic: Arctic Sovereignty in the National Consciousness*. Palgrave. Chapter 4: Who Owns the Northwest Passage? (41 pages)

Williams. P. (2008). *Security studies: an introduction*. London, Routledge. Dalby, S. Chapter 21: Climate Change and Environmental Security. (12 pages)

Rahbek-Clemmensen, J. (2019). When do ideas of an arctic treaty become prominent in arctic governance debates? *Arctic*, 72, 2, 116-130. (14 pages)

Briggs, C. M. (2010). Environmental Change, Strategic Foresight, and Impacts on Military Power. *Parameters : Journal of the Us Army War College*, 40, 3, 76-90. (14 pages)

Class 14: Soft Power & Propaganda (79 pages)

Mandatory readings:

*Keating, V. C., & Kaczmarska, K. (2019). Conservative soft power: liberal soft power bias and the 'hidden' attraction of Russia. *Journal of International Relations and Development*, 22, 1, 1-27. (27 pages)

*Schmitt, O. (2018). When are strategic narratives effective? The shaping of political discourse through the interaction between political myths and strategic narratives. *Contemporary Security Policy*, 39, 4, 487-511. (24 pages)

Gerber, T. P., & Zavisca, J. (2016). Does Russian Propaganda Work?. *The Washington Quarterly*, 39, 2, 79-98. (19 pages)

Schiffrin, A. (2017). Disinformation and Democracy: The Internet Transformed Protest but Did Not Improve Democracy. *Journal of International Affairs*, 71, 1, 117-126. (9 pages)

Recommended reading:

Johnson, T. H. (2019). *Taliban narratives: the use and power of stories in the Afghanistan conflict*. Oxford, Oxford University Press. Chapters 2 and 3.

Class 15: Nuclear security, WMDs, and proliferation (92 pages)

Mandatory readings:

Scharre, P. (2019). *Army of none: autonomous weapons and the future of war*. New York, W. W. Norton & Company. Chapter 20: “The Pope and The Crossbow: A Mixed History of Arms Control”. Will be made available on Blackboard. (15 pages)

Bar-Yaacov, N. (2015). Achieving Universality of the Chemical Weapons Convention in the Middle East. *Survival*, 57, 6, 159-180. (21 pages)

Lewis, P. (2015). *Too close for comfort: Cases of near nuclear use and options for policy*. Chatham House. <https://www.chathamhouse.org/publications/papers/view/199200> (30 pages)

Heuser, B. (2000). Beliefs, culture, proliferation and use of nuclear weapons. *Preventing the Use of Weapons of Mass Destruction*, 74-100. (26 pages)