POL 14: International Security

Department of Politics and International Studies University of Cambridge 2023-24

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Overview

"Security" is a contested concept in international relations. To some analysts, it refers primarily to issues related to the use and control of military force. Others contend that this definition is unhelpfully narrow, and suggest that climate change, migration, and other transnational phenomena should also be understood as security issues. Much is at stake here: what we label security issues and what we don't may have serious implications for how we prioritize and approach different policy problems.

This paper introduces students to the academic field of "security studies", broadly conceived. Much of the focus of the paper will be on "traditional" security issues. Why do wars happen, and how do they end? What do nuclear weapons deter, and how might a conventional conflict escalate to a nuclear exchange? How should we think about the influence of rapid changes in military technology on crisis stability? Questions like these are particularly pressing in today's geopolitical context, and the paper will accordingly devote substantial attention to them. However, the paper also explores alternative perspectives on security, and helps students to think about the security implications of issues like global climate change and pandemic disease.

The paper will be taught in four parts. Part I will explore the causes, conduct, and termination of interstate war; Part II will focus on coercive diplomacy; Part III will introduce students to various aspects of "great power competition"; Part IV will explore alternative understandings of international security, and the politics of the process by which some issues become understood as security problems while others do not.

Mode of Teaching and Assessment

In each of Michaelmas and Lent terms, students will have 3 supervisions. Students will be allocated a supervisor at the beginning of Michaelmas term, For **two** of the three supervisions in each of Michaelmas and Lent terms, students should prepare a 2000-word essay based on one of the supervision questions listed at the end of this paper guide (or a similar question), selected in conjunction with the supervisor. Each supervision essay prompt has an accompanying list of suggested readings. This list is neither exhaustive nor required: it is not necessary to read *all* of the suggested readings to compose a successful supervision essay, nor is it the case that the list of suggested readings encompasses the entirety of the material that might be relevant to a particular topic. The suggested reading list is merely meant to guide you toward some helpful resources for each topic.

For **one** supervision in each term, students will not be required to compose a complete essay. Instead, this supervision may be given over to a different sort of exercise - this could involve, for instance, a close reading and discussion of one or two academic journal articles or parts of a book or books; an exploration of historical documents related to a case or episode relevant to some part of the paper material; or a discussion of an essay plan or outline. Supervisors will determine the nature and timing of this exercise, but may take into account student preferences.

In Easter term, we will have a revision seminar, and each student will have one revision supervision. Powerpoint slides will have been uploaded to the Moodle website throughout Michaelmas and Lent, available to all students enrolled in the paper.

Assessment will be via a divided three-hour essay examination, from which students will be asked to answer three questions. There will be two sections, and students must answer **at least one** question from each section. Section A will consist of questions aimed primarily at material from Parts I and II of the paper; Section B will consist of questions aimed primarily at material from Parts III and IV of the paper. Successful answers will demonstrate an ability to *synthesize* material across lectures and sections. There is a notional mock exam at the end of this paper guide. As this is the first time that this paper has been taught, there are no exam papers from prior years available.

The exam will be comprehensive, and **questions will differ from those set for supervision essays** and the mock exam. The exam will aim to evaluate your mastery of material from the entire paper, and your capacity to synthesize this material in ways that demonstrate breadth, depth in selected areas, and an ability to construct and support arguments that draw on and engage with what you've learned during the year. The best way to prepare for the exam is to read ALL core readings, attend ALL lectures, and practice writing thorough, well-organized, well-argued, and wellsupported supervision essays and mock exam essays.

Readings

Books that appear as core readings in the paper schedule below should be available at your college libraries or the Seeley Library. Core journal articles (and many books, as well) are available online without going into a library. Core readings are very likely to figure prominently during lectures. You should complete these readings prior to lecture. Supplemental readings may prove valuable to you as you revise supervision essays and prepare for the final exam. You should not feel like you need to read through the entire reading list over the course of the year. Think of it, instead, as a useful bibliography. Some readings on the supplemental list will be mentioned during lecture, though often only in passing. When appropriate, we will draw your attention to supplemental readings that may be useful if you'd like to investigate a particular topic from lecture more deeply. But you should also use the reading guide independently, or in conjunction with your supervisor, to guide your own exploration.

Lecture Attendance and Recording

You are expected to attend all lectures. Material covered in lecture *will* figure prominently on the exam, and lectures, as guides to thinking through complex topics and organizing often disparate and confusing areas of scholarship, are key elements of the paper. In line with the Department's overall policy, and based on a firm, considered belief in the importance of in-person learning environments, **lectures will not customarily be recorded**, and lecture recordings will not be available except to students with an SSD explicitly indicating such a need. Students are prohibited from making their own lecture recordings, either for their own personal use or to distribute to colleagues.

Schedule

Monday lectures run from 9 AM to 10 AM Thursday lectures run from 11 AM to 12 PM All lectures will be held in ARB room SG1

Michaelmas Term Lectures:

Thursday, October 5 (Security and security studies) Monday, October 9 (Bargaining and war) Thursday, October 12 (Anarchy and the security dilemma) Monday, October 16 (Domestic politics and war) Thursday, October 19 (Leaders and war) Monday, October 23 (Explaining victory and defeat) Thursday, October 26 (War, states, and military revolutions) Monday, October 30 (War termination) Thursday, November 2 (Reputations and credibility) Monday, November 6 (Signaling and commitment) Thursday, November 9 (Nuclear weapons and deterrence) Thursday, November 16 (Emerging technologies and crisis escalation) Thursday, November 23 (Sanctions and economic coercion)

Lent Term Lectures:

Thursday, January 18 (Classics of Great Power thinking) Monday, January 22 (Balance of Power) Thursday, January 25 (Hegemonic Stability; Power Transition) Monday, January 29 (Critiques I – Assumptions) Thursday, February 1 (Critiques II – History, Theory, and Politics) Monday, February 5 (Security: What do you mean?) Thursday, February 8 (Securitization Theory) Monday, February 12 (Ontological Security) Thursday, February 15 (Feminist Security Studies; Gender & Security) Monday, February 19 (Hierarchies in Security Studies) Thursday, February 22 (Transnational crime as a security issue)

Reading List

MICHAELMAS LECTURES

1: Thursday, October 5 – Security and security studies (Ward)

Core readings:

- Arnold Wolfers, "National Security' as an Ambiguous Symbol," *Political Science Quarterly* vol. 67, no. 4 (1952)
- Stephen Walt, "The Renaissance of Security Studies," International Studies Quarterly vol. 35, no. 2 (1991)
- Andrew Preston, "Monsters Everywhere: A Genealogy of National Security," *Diplomatic History* vol. 38, no. 3 (2014)

Supplementary readings:

- Richard Ullman, "Redefining Security," International Security vol. 8, no. 1 (1983)
- Joseph Nye and Sean Lynn-Jones, "International Security Studies: A Report of a Conference on the State of the Field," *International Security* vol. 12, no. 4 (1988)

Jessica Tuchman Matthews, "Redefining Security," Foreign Affairs vol. 68, no. 2 (1989)

Emma Rothschild, "What is Security?" Daedalus vol 124, no. 3 (1995)

J. Ann Tickner, "Re-visioning Security," in Ken Booth and Steve Smith (eds.), *International Relations Theory Today* (Oxford University Press, 1995), pp. 175-197

David Baldwin, "The Concept of Security," Review of International Studies vol. 23, no. 1 (1997)

David Ekbladh, "Present at the Creation: Edward Mead Earle and the Depression-Era Origins of Security Studies," *International Security* vol. 36, no. 3 (2011/12)

<u> Part I: Interstate War</u>

2: Monday, October 9 – Bargaining and war (Ward)

Core readings:

- James Fearon, "Rationalist Explanations for War," *International Organization* vol. 49, no. 3 (1995)
- Alexandre Debs and Nuno Monteiro, "Known Unknowns: Power Shifts, Uncertainty, and War," International Organization vol. 68, no. 1 (2014)

Supplementary readings:

- David Lake, "Two Cheers for Bargaining Theory: Assessing Rationalist Explanations of the Iraq War," *International Security* vol. 35, no. 3 (2010/11)
- Monica Duffy Toft, "Issue Indivisibility and Time Horizons as Rationalist Explanations for War," Security Studies vol. 15, no. 1 (2006)
- Steven Bear and Joshua Strayhorn, "When Will States Strike First? Battlefield Advantages and Rationalist War," *International Studies Quarterly* vol. 26, no. 1 (2018)
- David Lindsey, "Military Strategy, Private Information, and War," *International Studies Quarterly* vol. 59, no. 4 (2015)
- Mark Fey and Kristopher Ramsay, "Mutual Optimism and War," *American Journal of Political Science* vol. 51, no. 4 (2007)
- Erik Gartzke, "War is in the Error Term," International Organization vol. 53, no. 3 (1999)
- Jack Levy, "Declining Power and the Preventive Motivation for War," *World Politics* vol. 40, no. 1 (1987)
- Jonathan Kirshner, "The Economic Sins of IR Theory and the Classical Realist Alternative," *World Politics* vol. 67, no. 1 (2015)

3: Thursday, October 12 – Anarchy and the security dilemma (Sharman)

Core readings:

Jack Levy, "What Do Great Powers Balance Against When?" in T.V. Paul, James J. Wirtz, and Michael Fortmann (eds) Balance of Power Theory and Practice in the 21st Century (Stanford University Press, 2004), pp. 29-51

Charles Glaser, "The Security Dilemma Revisited," World Politics vol. 50, no. 1 (1997)

Supplementary readings:

- Helen Milner, "The Assumption of Anarchy in International Relations: A Critique." Review of International Studies vol. 17, no. 1 (1991).
- Stephen M. Walt, The Origins of Alliances (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1987). Robert Jervis, "Was the Cold War a Security Dilemma?" Journal of Cold War Studies vol. 3, no. 1 (2001)

Hedley Bull, The Anarchical Society: A Study of Order in World Politics (London: Macmillan, 1977)

Alexander Wendt, "Anarchy is What States Make of It." International Organization vol. 46, no. 2 (1992)

4: Monday, October 16 – Domestic politics and war (Ward)

<u>Core readings:</u>

- Zeev Maoz and Bruce Russett, "Normative and Structural Causes of the Democratic Peace, 1946-1986," *American Political Science Review* vol. 87, no. 3 (1993)
- Amy Oakes, "Diversionary War and Argentina's Invasion of the Falkland Islands," *Security Studies* vol. 15, no. 3 (2006)

Supplementary readings:

- Scott Boddery and Graig Klein, "Presidential Use of Diversionary Drone Force and Public Support," Research & Politics vol. 8, no. 2 (2021)
- Philip Arena and Daehee Bak, "Diversionary Incentives, Rally Effects, and Crisis Bargaining," Foreign Policy Analysis vol. 11, no. 2 (2015)
- Tobias Theiler, "The Microfoundations of Diversionary Conflict," Security Studies vol. 27, no. 2 (2018)
- John Owen, "How Liberalism Produces Democratic Peace," International Security voll 19, no. 2 (1994)
- Christopher Layne, "Kant or Cant: The Myth of the Democratic Peace," *International Security* vol. 19, no. 2 (1994)
- Ido Oren, "The Subjectivity of the Democratic Peace: Changing US Perceptions of Imperial Germany," International Security vol. 20, no. 2 (1995)
- Douglas Gibler, "Contiguous States, Stable Borders, and the Peace Between Democracies," International Studies Quarterly vol. 58, no. 1 (2014)

Erik Gartzke, "The Capitalist Peace," American Political Science Review vol. 51, no. 1 (2007)

- Joanne Gowa, "The Democratic Peace after the Cold War," *Economics & Politics* vol. 23, no. 2 (2011)
- Joslyn Barnhart, Robert Trager, Elizabeth Saunders, and Allan Dafoe, "The Suffragist Peace," International Organization vol. 74, no. 4 (2020)
- Nicholas Sambanis, Stergios Skperdas, and William Wohlforth, "Nation-Building Through War," American Political Science Review vol. 109, no. 2 (2015)
- Steven Ward, "Decline and Disintegration: National Status Loss and Domestic Conflict in Post-Disaster Spain," *International Security* vol. 46, no. 4 (2022)

5: Thursday, October 19 – Leaders and war (Ward)

Core readings:

- Robert Jervis, "Do Leaders Matter and How Would We Know?" Security Studies vol. 22, no. 2 (2013)
- Frank Harvey, "President Al Gore and the 2003 Iraq War: A Counterfactual Test of Conventional Wisdom," *Canadian Journal of Political Science* vol. 45, no. 1 (2012)

- Joshua Byun and Austin Carson, "More than a Number: Aging Leaders in International Politics," International Studies Quarterly vol. 67, no. 1 (2023)
- Elizabeth Saunders, "Transformative Choices: Leaders and the Origins of Intervention Strategy," International Security vol. 34, no. 2 (2009)
- Elizabeth Saunders, Leaders at War: How Presidents Shape Military Interventions (Cornell University Press, 2011)
- Michael Horowitz and Allan Stam, "How Prior Military Experience Influences the Future Militarized Behavior or Leaders," *International Organization* vol. 68, no. 3 (2014)
- Michael Horowitz, Allan Stam, and Cali Ellis, Why Leaders Fight (Cambridge University Press, 2015)
- Allan Dafoe and Devin Caughey, "Honor and War: Southern US Presidents and the Effects of Concern for Reputation," *World Politics* vol. 68, no. 2 (2016)
- Keren Yarhi-Milo, Who Fights for Reputation: The Psychology of Leaders in International Conflict (Princeton University Press, 2018)
- Rose McDermott, "Sex and Death: Gender Differences in Aggression and Motivations for Violence," *International Organization* vol. 69, no. 3 (2015)

Michael Goldfien, Michael Joseph, and Daniel Krcmaric, "When Do Leader Backgrounds Matter? Evidence from the President's Daily Brief," *Conflict Management and Peace Science* (2023)

6: Monday, October 23 – Explaining victory and defeat (Ward)

<u>Core readings:</u>

- Stephen Biddle, *Military Power: Explaining Victory and Defeat in Modern Battle* (Princeton University Press, 2004)
- Caitlin Talmadge, "Different Threats, Different Militaries: Explaining Organizational Practices in Authoritarian Armies," *Security Studies* vol. 25, no. 1 (2016)

- Caitlin Talmadge, The Dictator's Army: Battlefield Effectiveness in Authoritarian Regimes (Cornell University Press, 2015)
- Michael Horowitz and Ryan Grauer, "What Determines Military Victory? Testing the Modern System," *Security Studies* vol. 21, no. 1 (2012)
- Michael Beckley, "Economic Development and Military Effectiveness," Journal of Strategic Studies vol. 33, no. 1 (2010)
- Dan Reiter, "Avoiding the Coup-Proofing Dilemma: Consolidating Political Control While Maximizing Military Power," *Foreign Policy Analysis* vol. 16, no. 3 (2020)
- Dan Reiter and William Wagstaff, "Leadership and Military Effectiveness," *Foreign Policy Analysis* vol. 14, no. 4 (2018)
- Michael Desch, "Democracy and Victory: Why Regime Type Hardly Matters," *International Security* vol. 27, no. 2 (2002)
- Jason Lyle, Divided Armies: Inequality and Battlefield Performance in Modern War (Princeton University Press, 2020)
- Elizabeth Stanley and Risa Brooks (eds.), Creating Military Power: The Sources of Military Effectiveness (Stanford University Press, 2007)
- Robert Pape, Bombing to Win: Air Power and Coercion in War (Cornell University Press, 2014)
- Daniel Byman and Matthew Waxman, "Kosovo and the Great Air Power Debate," *International* Security vol. 24, no. 4 (2000)
- Stephen Biddle, "Back in the Trenches: Why New Technology Hasn't Revolutionized Warfare in Ukraine," Foreign Affairs (August 11, 2023)

7: Thursday, October 26 – War, states, and military revolutions (Sharman)

Core readings:

- Charles Tilly, "War-Making and State Making as Organized Crime," in Peter Evans, Dietrich Rueschmeyer, and Theda Skocpol (eds.) *Bringing the State Back In* (Cambridge University Press, 1985), pp. 169-191
- William Thompson and Karen Rasler, "War, the Military Revolution(s) Controversy, and Army Expansion," *Comparative Political Studies* vol. 32, no. 1 (1999)
- Peter Lorge, *The Asian Military Revolution: From Gunpowder to the Bomb* (Cambridge University Press, 2007), pp. 1-10, 19-22

Supplementary readings:

- Charles Tilly, Coercion, Capital and European States AD 990-1992. Oxford: Blackwell 1992
- Geoffrey Parker, The Military Revolution: Military Innovation and the Rise of the West, 1500-1800. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988.
- Hendrik Spruyt, "War and State Formation: Amending the Bellicist Theory of State Making." In Lars Bo Kasperson and Jeppe Strandsbjerg (Ed.) *Does War Make States? Investigations of Charles Tilly's Historical Sociology.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2017, pp. 73-97.
- Luis L. Schenoni, "Bringing War Back In: Victory and State Formation in Latin America," *American Journal of Political Science* vol. 65, no. 2 (2021)
- J.C. Sharman, *Empires of the Weak: The Real Story of European Expansion and the Creation of the New World Order*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2019.

8: Monday, October 30 – War duration and termination (Ward)

Core readings:

- Alex Weisiger, Logics of War: Explanations for Limited and Unlimited Conflicts (Cornell University Press, 2013)
- C. William Walldorf, "Narratives and War: Explaining the Length and End of U.S. Military Operations in Afghanistan," *International Security* vol. 47, no. 1 (2022)

Supplementary readings:

Dan Reiter, How Wars End (Princeton University Press, 2010)

Hein Goemans, War and Punishment: The Causes of War Termination & the First World War (Princeton University Press, 2000)

- Elizabeth Stanley and John Sawyer, "The Equifinality of War Termination: Multiple Paths to Ending War," *Journal of Conflict Resolution* vol. 53, no. 5 (2009)
- Elizabeth Stanley, Paths to Peace: Domestic Coalition Shifts, War Termination and the Korean War (Stanford University Press, 2009)
- Douglas Atkinson, "The Issues are the Issue: Intangible Salience and War Duration," International Interactions vol. 47, no. 6 (2021)
- Kristopher Ramsay, "Settling It on the Field: Battlefield Events and War Termination," *Journal of Conflict Resolution* vol. 52, no. 6 (2008)
- John Harden, "Looking Like a Winner: Leader Narcissism and War Duration," Journal of Conflict Resolution vol. 67, no. 5 (2023)

Part II: Coercive Diplomacy

9: Thursday, November 2 – Reputations and credibility (Ward)

Core readings:

- Allan Dafoe, Jonathan Renshon, and Paul Huth, "Reputation and Status as Motives for War," Annual Reviews of Political Science vol. 17 (2014)
- Jonathan Mercer, "The Illusion of International Prestige," *International Security* vol. 41, no. 4 (2017)
- Shiping Tang, "Reputation, Cult of Reputation, and International Conflict," *Security Studies* vol. 14, no. 1 (2005)

- Daryl Press, Calculating Credibility: How Leaders Assess Military Threats (Cornell University Press, 2005)
- Jonathan Mercer, Reputation and International Politics (Cornell University Press, 1996)
- D.G. Kim, Joshua Byun, & Jiyoung Ko, "Remember Kabul? Reputation, Strategic Contexts, and American Credibility after the Afghanistan Withdrawal," *Contemporary Security Policy* (2023)
- Scott Wolford, "The Turnover Trap: New Leaders, Reputation, and International Conflict," American Journal of Political Science vol. 51, no. 4 (2007)
- Dustin Tingley and Barbara Walter, "The Effect of Repeated Play on Reputation Building in International Relations: AnExperimental Approach," *International Organization* vol. 65, no. 2 (2011)

- Alex Weisiger and Keren Yarhi-Milo, "Revisiting Reputation: How Past Actions Matter in International Relations," *International Organization* vol. 69, no. 2 (2015)
- Todd Sechser, "Goliath's Curse: Coercive Threats and Asymmetric Power," *International Organization* vol. 64, no. 4 (2010)
- Mark Crescenzi, Of Friends and Foes: Reputation and Learning in International Politics (Oxford University Press, 2018)
- Danielle Lupton, Reputation for Resolve: How Leaders Signal Determination in International Politics (Cornell University Press, 2020)
- Shoko Kohama, Kai Quek, and Atsushi Tago, "Managing the Costs of Backing Down: A 'Mirror Experiment' On Reputations and Audience Costs in a Real-World Conflict," *The Journal of Politics* (2023)

10: Monday, November 6 – Signaling and commitment (Ward)

Core readings:

- James Fearon, "Signaling Foreign Policy Interests: Tying Hands versus Sinking Costs," *The Journal* of *Conflict Resolution* vol. 41, no. 1 (1997)
- Dan Reiter and Paul Poast, "The Truth About Tripwires: Why Small Force Deployments Do Not Deter Aggression," *Texas National Security Review* vol. 4, no. 3 (2021)
- Jack Snyder and Erica Borghard, "The Cost of Empty Threats: A Penny, Not a Pound," *American Political Science Review* vol. 105, no. 3 (2011)

- Thomas Schelling, The Strategy of Conflict (Harvard University Press, 1960)
- Thomas Schelling, Arms and Influence (Yale University Press, 1966)
- James Fearon, "Domestic Political Audiences and the Escalation of International Disputes," *American Political Science Review* vol. 88, no. 3 (1994)
- Brian Blankenship and Erik Lin-Greenberg, "Trivial Tripwires? Military Capabilities and Alliance Reassurance," *Security Studies* vol. 31, no. 1 (2022)
- Paul Musgrave and Steven Ward, "The Tripwire Effect: Experimental Evidence Regarding U.S. Public Opinion," *Foreign Policy Analysis* vol. 19, no. 4 (2023)
- Michael Tomz and Jessica Weeks, "Military Alliances and Public Support for War," *International Studies Quarterly* vol. 65, no. 3 (2021)

- Michael Tomz, Jessica Weeks, and Kirk Bansak, "How Membership in the North Atlantic Treaty Organization Transforms Public Support for War," *PNAS Nexus* vol. 2 (2023)
- Jeffrey Berejikian and Florian Justwan, "Defense Treaties Increase Domestic Support for Military Action and Casualty Tolerance: Evidence from Survey Experiments in the United States," *Contemporary Security Policy* vol. 43, no. 2 (2022)
- Michael Tomz, "Domestic Audience Costs in International Relations," International Organization vol. 61, no. 4 (2007)
- Marc Trachtenberg, "Audience Costs: An Historical Analysis," *Security Studies* vol. 21, no. 1 (2012)

11: Thursday, November 9 – Nuclear weapons and deterrence (Ward)

Core readings:

- Scott Sagan and Kenneth Waltz, *The Spread of Nuclear Weapons: A Debate Renewed* (W.W. Norton, 2012)
- Matthew Kroenig, "Nuclear Superiority and the Balance of Resolve: Explaining Nuclear Crisis Outcomes," *International Organization* vol. 67, no. 1 (2013)
- James Acton, "Escalation through Entanglement: How the Vulnerability of Command-and-Control Systems Raises the Risks of an Inadvertent Nuclear War," *International Security* vol. 43, no. 1 (2018)

<u>Supplementary readings:</u>

- Bernard Brodie, The Absolute Weapon: Atomic Power and World Order (Harcourt, Brace, 1946)
- John Slessor, Strategy for the West (Cassel & Co., 1954)
- Glenn Snyder, Deterrence and Defense: Toward a Theory of National Security (Princeton University Press, 1961)
- John Mueller, "Nuclear Weapons Don't Matter," Foreign Affairs vol. 97, no. 10 (2018)
- Keir Lieber and Daryl Press, The Myth of the Nuclear Revolution: Power Politics in the Atomic Age (Cornell University Press, 2020)
- Paul Avey, "Just Like Yesterday? New Critiques of the Nuclear Revolution," *Texas National* Security Review vol. 6, no. 2 (2023)
- Robert Jervis, "Why Nuclear Superiority Doesn't Matter," *Political Science Quarterly* vol. 94, no. 4 (1979)

Todd Sechser and Matthew Fuhrmann, "Crisis Bargaining and Nuclear Blackmail," International

Organization vol. 67, no. 1 (2013)

- David Logan, "Nuclear Superiority Is What States Make of It," *International Security* vol. 46, no. 4 (2022)
- Abby Fanlo and Lauren Sukin, "The Disadvantage of Nuclear Superiority," *Security Studies* vol. 32, no. 3 (2023)
- Barry Posen, Inadvertent Escalation: Conventional War and Nuclear Risks (Cornell University Press, 1991)
- Caitlin Talmadge, "Would China Go Nuclear? Assessing the Risk of Chinese Nuclear Escalation in a Conventional War with the United States," *International Security* vol. 41, no. 4 (2017)
- Giles David Arceneaux, "Whether to Worry: Nuclear Weapons in the Russia-Ukraine War," Contemporary Security Policy (2023)

12: Thursday, November 16 – Emerging technologies and crisis escalation (Ward)

Core readings:

Robert Jervis, "Cooperation Under the Security Dilemma," World Politics vol. 30, no. 2 (1978)

- Erik Lin-Greenberg, "Evaluating Escalation: Conceptualizing Escalation in an Era of Emerging Military Technologies," *Journal of Politics* vol. 85, no. 3 (2023)
- Bryan Early and Erik Gartzke, "Spying from Space: Reconnaissance Satellites and Interstate Disputes," *Journal of Conflict Resolution* vol. 65, no. 3-4

- Todd Sechser, Neil Narang, and Caitlin Talmadge, "Emerging Technologies and Strategic Stability in Peacetime, Crisis, and War," *Journal of Strategic Studies* vol. 42, no. 6 (2019)
- Michael Horowitz, "Do Emerging Military Technologies Matter for International Politics?" Annual Review of Political Science vol. 23 (2020)
- Jaganath Sankaran, "Russia's Anti-Satellite Weapons: A Hedging and Offsetting Strategy to Deter Western Aerospace Forces," *Contemporary Security Policy* vol. 43, no. 2 (2022)
- Erik Gartzke, "The Myth of Cyberwar: Bringing Cyberspace Back Down to Earth," International Security vol. 38, no. 2 (2013)
- Rebecca Slayton, "What Is the Cyber Offense-Defense Balance? Conceptions, Causes, and Assessment," *International Security* vol. 41, no. 3 (2016-17)
- Erica Borghard and Shawn Lonergan, "Deterrence by Denial in Cyberspace," *Journal of Strategic Studies* vol. 46, no. 3 (2023)

- Erica Borghard and Shawn Lonergan, "The Logic of Coercion in Cyberspace," *Security Studies* vol. 26, no. 3 (2017)
- Erik Gartzke and Jon Lindsay, "Weaving Tangled Webs: Offense, Defense, and Deception in Cyberspace," *Security Studies* vol. 24, no. 2 (2015)
- Antonio Calcara, Andrea Gilli, Mauro Gilli, Raffaele Marchetti, and Ivan Zaccagnini, "Hider-Finder Competition in Air Warfare: Why Drones Have Not Revolutionized Military Affairs," *International Security* Vol. 46, No. 4 (2022)
- Erik Gartzke, "Blood and Robots: How Remotely Piloted Vehicles and Related Technologies Affect the Politics of Violence," *Journal of Strategic Studies* vol. 44, no. 7 (2021)
- Amy Zegart, "Cheap Fights, Credible Threats: The Future of Armed Drones and Coercion," Journal of Strategic Studies vol. 43, no. 1 (2020)
- Erik Lin-Greenberg, "Wargame of Drones: Remotely Piloted Aircraft and Crisis Escalation," Journal of Conflict Resolution vol. 66, no. 10 (2022)
- James Johnson, "Inadvertent Escalation in the Age of Intelligent Machines: A New Model for Nuclear Risk in the Digital Age," *European Journal of International Security* vol. 7, no. 3 (2022)
- Michael Horowitz and Erik Lin-Greenberg, "Algorithms and Influence: Artificial Intelligence and Crisis Decision-Making," *International Studies Quarterly* vol. 66, no. 4 (2022)
- Jeffrey Ding and Allan Dafoe, "Engines of Power: Electricity, AI, and General-Purpose Military Transformations," *European Journal of International Security* vol. 8, no. 3 (2023)
- Carrie Lee, "Technology Acquisition and Arms Control: Thinking Through the Hypersonic Weapons Debate," *Texas National Security Review* vol. 5, no. 4 (2022)

Dean Wilkening, "Hypersonic Weapons and Strategic Stability," Survival vol. 61, no. 5 (2019)

James Stavridis and Elliott Ackerman, 2034: A Novel of the Next World War (Penguin Books, 2022)

13: Thursday, November 23 – Sanctions/economic coercion (Sharman)

Core readings:

T. Clifton Morgan, Constantinos Syropoulos, and Yoto Yotov, "Economic Sanctions: Evolution, Consequences, and Challenges," *Journal of Economic Perspectives* vol. 37, no. 1 (2023)

Juan Zarate, Treasury's War: The Unleashing of a New Era of Financial Warfare (PublicAffairs, 2013), pp. 1-44

- Susan Strange, "The Persistent Myth of Lost Hegemony," *International Organization* vol. 41, no. 4 (1987)
- Daniel Drezner, All Politics is Global: Explaining International Regulatory Regimes. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2007.

Nicholas Mulder, The Economic Weapon: The Rise of Sanctions as a Tool of Modern War (Blackwell's, 2022)

- Gregoire Mallard and Jin Sun, "Viral Governance: How Unilateral U.S. Sanctions Changed the Rules of Financial Capitalism," *American Journal of Sociology* vol. 128, no. 1 (2022)
- Henry Farrell and Abraham Newman, "Weaponized Interdependence: How Global Economic Networks Shape State Coercion," *International Security* vol. 44, no. 1 (2019)

LENT LECTURES

Part III: Great Power Politics

14: Thursday, January 18 – Classics of Great Power Thinking (Zarakol)

Core readings:

Kenneth Waltz, Theory of International Politics (Addison Wesley, 1979)

John Mearsheimer, The Tragedy of Great Power Politics (W.W. Norton, 2001)

Supplementary readings:

Hans Morgenthau, Politics among Nations: The Struggle for Power and Peace (A. A. Knopf, 1997 [1948])

Paul Kennedy, The Rise and Fall of Great Powers (William Collins, 2017 [1987])

John Mearsheimer, "Structural Realism," in Dunne, Kurki, and Smith, editors, *International Relations Theories: Discipline and Diversity* (Oxford University Press, 2006)

15: Monday, January 22 – Balance of Power (Zarakol)

Core readings:

Kenneth N. Waltz, "The Stability of a Bipolar World," Daedelus vol. 93, no. 3 (1964)

- John Lewis Gaddis, "The Long Peace: Elements of Stability in the Postwar International System," *International Security*, vol. 10, no. 4 (1986)
- Stephen M. Walt, "Alliance Formation and the Balance of World Power," *International Security*, vol. 9, no. 4 (1985)

John J. Mearsheimer, "Back to the Future: Instability in Europe after the Cold War," International Security, vol. 15, no. 1 (1990)

Supplementary readings:

- Jack Snyder, "Civil-Military Relations and the Cult of the Offensive, 1914 and 1984," *International Security*, vol. 9, no. 1 (1984)
- Scott Sagan, "1914 Revisited: Allies, Offense, and Instability," *International Security*, vol. 11, no. 2 (1986)
- Jack Levy and William Thompson, "Hegemonic Threats and Great Power Balancing in Europe, 1495-2000," *Security Studies*, vol. 14, no. 1 (2005)

Kenneth Waltz, "Structural Realism After the Cold War," International Security, vol. 25, no.1 (2000)

Stephen M. Walt, "Alliances in a Unipolar World," World Politics, vol. 61, no. 1 (2009)

Sagan, Scott D. and Kenneth N. Waltz, *The Spread of Nuclear Weapons: An Enduring Debate.* 3rd Edition (W.W. Norton and Company, 2012)

16: Thursday, January 25 – Hegemonic Stability Theory; Power Transition (Zarakol)

Core readings:

- Robert Gilpin, "The Theory of Hegemonic War," Journal of Interdisciplinary History vol. 18, no. 4 (1988)
- Douglas Lemke, "The Continuation of History: Power Transition Theory and the End of the Cold War," *Journal of Peace Research* vol. 34, no. 1 (1997)
- Christopher Layne, "This Time It's Real: The End of Unipolarity and the Pax Americana," International Studies Quarterly vol. 56, no.1 (2012)
- Graham Allison, "The Thucydides Trap: Are the U.S. and China Headed for War?" *The Atlantic* (September 24, 2015)

- A.F.K. Organski and Jacek Kugler, The War Ledger (The University of Chicago Press, 1980)
- Duncan Snidal, "The Limits of Hegemonic Stability Theory," International Organization vol. 39, no. 4 (1985)
- Jonathan M. DiCicco and Jack S. Levy, "Power Shifts and Problem Shifts: The Evolution of the Power Transition Research Program," *The Journal of Conflict Resolution* vol. 43, no. 6 (1999)

- Steve Chan, "Is There a Power Transition between the U.S. and China? The Different Faces of National Power," *Asian Survey* vol. 45, no. 5 (2005)
- Aaron Friedberg, "The Future of U.S.-China Relations: Is Conflict Inevitable?" *International Security* vol. 30, no. 2 (2005)

Robert Pape, "Empire Falls," The National Interest no. 99 (2009)

Shih-yueh Yang, "Power Transition, Balance of Power, and the Rise of China: A Theoretical Reflection about Rising Great Powers," *China Review* vol. 13, no. 2 (2013)

17: Monday, January 29 - Critiques I - Assumptions (Zarakol)

Core readings:

- David C. Kang and Xinru Ma, "Power Transitions: Thucydides Didn't Live in East Asia," *The Washington Quarterly*, vol. 41, no.1 (2018)
- H-Diplo/ISSF Roundtable 12-2 on Thucydides's Trap? Historical Interpretation, Logic of Inquiry, and the Future of Sino-American Relations (Nov 9, 2020): https://issforum.org/roundtables/12-2-Thucydides
- Shogo Suzuki, "Japan's socialization in Janus-faced European International Society," *European Journal* of International Relations vol. 11, no. 11 (2005)

Supplementary readings:

- Alexander Wendt, "Anarchy is What States Make of It," International Organization vol. 46, no. 2 (1992)
- Mlada Bukovansky, "The altered state and the state of nature the French Revolution and international politics," *Review of International Studies* vol. 25, no. 2 (1999)
- David Kang, "Why China's Rise Will Be Peaceful: Hierarchy and Stability in the East Asian Region," *Perspectives on Politics* vol. 3, no. 3 (2005)
- Mark Laffey and Jutta Weldes, "Decolonizing the Cuban Missile Crisis," *International Studies Quarterly* vol. 52, no. 3 (2008)
- David C. Kang, Alex Yu-Ting Lin, "US Bias in the Study of Asian Security: Using Europe to Study Asia," *Journal of Global Security Studies*, vol. 4, no. 3 (2019)

18: Thursday, February 1 - Critiques II - History, Theory, & Politics (Zarakol)

Core readings:

- Paul Schroeder, "Historical Reality vs. Neo-Realist Theory," *International Security* vol. 19, no. 1 (1994)
- John J. Mearsheimer, "Why the Ukraine Crisis Is the West's Fault: The Liberal Delusions That Provoked Putin," *Foreign Affairs* vol. 93, no. 5 (2014)
- Isaac Chotiner, "Why John Mearsheimer Blames the U.S. for the Crisis in Ukraine," *The New Yorker* (March 1, 2022)

<u>Supplementary readings:</u>

- Paul W. Schroeder, "Did the Vienna Settlement Rest on a Balance of Power?" The American Historical Review, vol. 97, no. 3 (1992)
- Dale Copeland, "Neorealism and the Myth of Bipolar Stability: Toward a New Dynamic Realist Theory of Major War," *Security Studies*, vol. 5, no. 3 (1996)
- John A. Vasquez, "The Realist Paradigm and Degenerative versus Progressive Research Programs: An Appraisal of Neotraditional Research on Waltz's Balancing Proposition," *The American Political Science Review* vol. 91, no. 4 (1997)
- Stephen M. Walt, "The Progressive Power of Realism," *The American Political Science Review* vol. 91, vo. 4 (1997)
- Jeffrey W. Legro and Andrew Moravcsik, "Is Anybody Still a Realist?" *International Security* vol. 24, vo. 2 (1999)
- Keir Lieber, "The New History of World War I and What It Means for International Relations Theory," *International Security* vol. 32, no. 2 (2007)
- Daniel H. Nexon, "The Balance of Power in the Balance," World Politics vol. 61, no. 2 (2009)
- Gustav Meibauer, "Neorealism, neoclassical realism and the problem(s) of history," *International Relations* vol. 37, no. 2 (2023)

Part IV: Alternative Conceptions of Security

19: Monday, February 5 – Security: What Do You Mean? (Zarakol)

Core readings:

- Nina Tannenwald, "The Nuclear Taboo: The United States and the Normative Basis of Nuclear Non-Use," International Organization vol. 53, no. 3 (1999)
- Roland Paris, "Human Security: Paradigm Shift or Hot Air?" International Security vol. 26, no. 2 (2001)

Martha Finnemore, "Legitimacy, Hypocrisy, and the Social Structure of Unipolarity: Why Being a Unipole Isn't All It's Cracked up to Be," *World Politics*, vol. 61, no. 1 (2009)

Supplementary readings:

- Peter J. Katzenstein, ed., The Culture of National Security (Columbia University Press, 1996)
- Jeffrey T. Checkel, "Review of *The Constructivist Turn in International Relations Theory*, by Martha Finnemore, Peter Katzenstein, and Audie Klotz," *World Politics* vol. 50, no. 2 (1998)
- Jef Huysmans, "Security! What Do You Mean?: From Concept to Thick Signifier," European Journal of International Relations vol. 4, no. 2 (1998)
- Emanuel Adler and Michael Barnett, eds. Security Communities (Cambridge University Press, 1998)
- Jutta Weldes et al. eds., *Cultures of Insecurity: States, Communities and the Production of Danger* (University of Minnesota Press, 1999)
- Edward Newman, "Human Security and Constructivism," International Studies Perspectives vol. 2, no. 3 (2001)
- Gary King and Christopher J. L. Murray, "Rethinking Human Security," *Political Science Quarterly* vol. 116, no. 4 (2001)

20: Thursday, February 8 – Securitization Theory (Zarakol)

Core readings:

- Ole Waever 'Securitization and Desecuritization', in Ronnie D. Lipschutz (ed) On Security (Columbia University Press, 1995), pp. 46-86
- Lene Hansen, "Theorizing the image for security studies: Visual securitization and the Muhammad cartoons crisis," *European Journal of International Relations* vol. 17, no.1 (2011)
- Amir Lupovici, "The Limits of Securitization Theory: Observational Criticism and the Curious Absence of Israel," *International Studies Review* vol. 16, no. 3, (2014)
- Ole Waever, Barry Buzan, Morten Kelstrup, et al. *Identity, Migration and the New Security Agenda in Europe* (Pinter, 1993)

- Barry Buzan, Ole Waever, and Jaap de Wilde, *Security: A New Framework for Analysis* (Lynne Rienner, 1998)
- Michael C. Williams, "Words, Images, Enemies: Securitization and International Politics," International Studies Quarterly vol. 47, no. 4 (2003)

Lene Hansen, Security as Practice (Routledge, 2006)

- Barry Buzan and Lene Hansen, *The Evolution of International Security Studies* (Cambridge University Press, 2009)
- Corey Robinson, "Tracing and Explaining Securitization: Social Mechanisms, Process Tracing and the Securitization of Irregular Migration," *Security Dialogue* vol. 48, no. 6 (2017)

21: Monday, February 12 - Ontological Security (Zarakol)

Core readings:

- Jennifer Mitzen, "Ontological security in world politics: state identity and the security dilemma," *European Journal of International Relations* vol. 12, no. 3 (2006)
- Maria Mälksoo, "Memory must be defended': Beyond the politics of mnemonical security," *Security Dialogue* vol. 46, no. 3 (2015)
- Jelena Subotić, "Narrative, Ontological Security, and Foreign Policy Change," Foreign Policy Analysis vol. 12, no. 4 (2016)

Supplementary readings:

- Catarina Kinnvall, "Globalization and Religious Nationalism: Self, Identity, and the Search for Ontological Security," *Political Psychology* vol. 25, no. 5 (2004)
- Brent J. Steele, "Ontological Security and the Power of Self-Identity: British Neutrality and the American Civil War," *Review of International Studies* vol. 31, no. 3 (2005)
- Ayse Zarakol, "Ontological (In)security and State Denial of Historical Crimes: Turkey and Japan," International Relations vol. 24, no. 1 (2010)
- Amir Lupovici, "Ontological Dissonance, Clashing Identities, and Israel's Unilateral Steps towards the Palestinians," *Review of International Studies* vol. 38, no. 4 (2012)

Bahar Rumelili, ed. Conflict Resolution and Ontological Security: Peace Anxieties (Routledge, 2016)

- Dmitry Chernobrov, "Ontological Security and Public (Mis)Recognition of International Crises: Uncertainty, Political Imagining, and the Self," *Political Psychology* vol. 37, no. 5 (2016)
- Christopher S. Browning and Pertti Joenniemi, "Ontological Security, Self-Articulation and the Securitization of Identity," *Cooperation and Conflict* vol. 52, no. 1 (2017)

22: Thursday, February 15 – Feminist Security Studies, Gender & Security (Zarakol)

Core readings:

Carol Cohn, "Sex and Death in the Rational World of Defense Intellectuals," Signs vol. 12, no. 4,

(1987)

- Laura Sjoberg, "Seeing Sex, Gender, and Sexuality in International Security," *International Journal* vol. 70, no. 3 (2015)
- Cynthia Enloe, "The Risks of Scholarly Militarization: A Feminist Analysis," *Perspectives on Politics* vol. 8, no. 4 (2010)

Supplementary readings:

J. Ann Tickner, "You Just Don't Understand: Troubled Engagements between Feminists and IR Theorists," *International Studies Quarterly* vol. 41, no. 4 (1997)

Cynthia Weber, "Performative States," Millennium vol. 27, no. 1

- J. Ann Tickner, "Feminist Perspectives on 9/11," International Studies Perspectives vol. 3, no. 4 (2002)
- Heidi Hudson, "Doing' Security As Though Humans Matter: A Feminist Perspective on Gender and the Politics of Human Security," *Security Dialogue* vol. 36, no. 2 (2005)

Nicole Detraz, International Security and Gender (Polity, 2012)

- Laura Sjoberg, "Introduction to Security Studies: Feminist Contributions," Security Studies vol. 18, no. 2 (2009)
- Jennifer Lobasz, "Beyond Border Security: Feminist Approaches to Human Trafficking," Security Studies vol. 18, no. 2 (2009)
- Annick T. R. Wibben, "Everyday Security, Feminism, and the Continuum of Violence," *Journal of Global Security Studies* vol. 5, no. 1 (2020)

23: Monday, February 19 – Hierarchies in Security Studies (Zarakol)

Core readings:

- Pinar Bilgin, "Whose 'Middle East'? Geopolitical Inventions and Practices of Security," *International Relations* vol. 18, no.1 (2004)
- John M. Hobson, "Is Critical Theory Always for the White West and for Western Imperialism? Beyond Westphalian towards a Post-Racist Critical IR," *Review of International Studies*, vol. 33, no. S1 (2007)
- Kelebogile Zvobgo and Meredith Loken, "Why race matters in international relations," Foreign Policy (2020)

Supplementary readings:

Ayoob, Mohammed. "The Third World in the System of States: Acute Schizophrenia or Growing

Pains?" International Studies Quarterly vol. 33, no. 1 (1989)

- Mohammed Ayoob, "Defining Security: A Subaltern Realist Perspective," in *Critical Security Studies: Concepts and Cases*, ed. by Keith Krause and Michael C. Williams (University of Minnesota Press, 1997), pp. 121–46
- Ian S. Lustick, "The Absence of Middle Eastern Great Powers: Political 'Backwardness' in Historical Perspective," *International Organization* vol. 51, no. 4 (1997)
- Pinar Bilgin and Adam D. Morton, "From 'Rogue' to 'Failed' States? The Fallacy of Short-termism" *Politics* vol. 24, no. 3 (2004)
- Tarak Barkawi and Mark Laffey, "The Postcolonial Moment in Security Studiesv", Review of International Studies vol. 32, no. 2 (2006)
- Ikechi Mgbeoji, "The Civilised Self and the Barbaric Other: Imperial Delusions of Order and the Challenges of Human Security," *Third World Quarterly* vol. 27, no. 5 (2006)
- Mohammed Ayoob, "Challenging Hegemony: Political Islam and the North-South Divide," International Studies Review vol. 9, no. 4 (2007)
- Pinar Bilgin, "The 'Western-Centrism' of Security Studies: 'Blind Spot' or Constitutive Practice?" Security Dialogue vol. 41, no. 6 (2010)
- Kelebogile Zvobgo, Arturo Sotomayor, Maria Rost Rublee, Meredith Loken, George Karavas, and Constance Duncombe, "Race and Racial Exclusion in Security Studies: A Survey of Scholars," *Security Studies* (2023)

24: Thursday, February 22 – Transnational Crime as a Security Issue (Sharman)

Core readings:

- Peter Andreas, "Illicit Globalization: Myths, Misconceptions and Historical Lessons," *Political Science Quarterly* vol. 126, no. 3 (2011)
- Peter Andreas and Ethan Nadelman, *Policing the Globe: Criminalization and Crime Control in International Relations* (Oxford University Press, 2008), pp. 3-45

- Anja Jakobi, Common Goods and Evils? The Formation of Global Crime Governance (Oxford University Press, 2013)
- Anja Jakobi, Crime, Security and Global Governance: An Introduction to Global Crime Governance (Palgrave, 2020)
- Christine Jojarth, Crime, War and Global Trafficking: Designing International Co-operation (Cambridge University Press (2009)

Louise Shelly, Dirty Entanglements: Corruption, Crime and Terrorism (Cambridge University Press, 2014)

Michael Barnett and Liv Coleman, "Designing Police: Interpol and the Study of Change in International Organizations." *International Studies Quarterly* vol. 49, no. 4 (2005)

Supervision Questions

MICHAELMAS

1. What accounts for the absence of war between democratic states?

Fearon 1995; Lindsey 2015; Maoz and Russett 1993; Owen 1994; Layne 1994; Oren 1995; Gibler 2014; Gartzke 2007; Gowa 2011

2. Does the "bargaining model" yield useful insights about the ongoing Russia-Ukraine war?

Readings for Lecture 2; Weisiger 2013; Reiter 2010.

3. What do nuclear weapons deter?

Readings for Lecture 11

4. Does nuclear superiority matter?

Kroenig 2013; Jervis 1979; Sechser and Fuhrmann 2013; Logan 2022; Fanlo and Sukin 2023

5. Is reputation worth fighting for?

Readings for Lecture 9

6. Are ongoing technological innovations (in areas like artificial intelligence, cyberspace, or autonomous weapons systems) likely to fundamentally change how wars are fought?

Biddle 2004; Horowitz and Grauer 2012; Pape 2014; Byman and Waxman 2000; Biddle 2023; Readings for Lecture 12

7. How different are security concerns in the economic realm from the military realm, if at all?

Readings for Lecture 13

8. Are there any lessons from the early modern military revolution for international security today?

Readings for Lecture 7

9. Do the characteristics of an individual leader influence the likelihood of war?

Readings for Lecture 5

10. Why do some wars last much longer than others?

Readings for Lecture 8

11. Are public threats an effective means of signaling commitment?

Schelling 1960 and 1966; Fearon 1997 and 1994; Snyder and Borghard 2011; Tomz 2007; Trachtenberg 2012

12. Is the "tripwire" metaphor a useful way to represent the role of British troops currently deployed in Estonia?

Schelling 1960 and 1966; Fearon 1997 and 1994; Reiter and Poast 2021; Blankenship and Lin-Greenberg 2022; Musgrave and Ward 2023.

LENT

13. What are the main differences between balance of power and power transition theories?

Readings for Lectures 15 and 16

14. What is the most compelling classical criticism of thinking about great powers?

Readings for Lectures 17 and 18

15. Is anthropogenic climate change a security threat?

Readings for Lectures 1, 19, and 20

16. Is the concept of ontological security helpful in explaining Russia's war on Ukraine? Why or why not?

Readings for Lecture 21

17. Does realism get history wrong?

Waltz 1964, 1979; Mearsheimer 2001; Gilpin 1988; Allison 2015; Readings for Lecture 18.

18. Is hegemonic stability theory adequate for explaining developments since the end of the Cold War?

Readings for Lectures 16 and 18

19. How might feminist IR theory critique traditional security studies? Discuss with reference to at least one body of scholarship from Parts I or II or the paper.

Readings for Lecture 22

20. How has the history of "security studies" influenced the way we understand security and insecurity?

Readings for Lectures 1, 19, and 23

Mock Exam

Answer three questions, including at least one from each section.

Section I

- 1. Do democracies make more credible threats and promises than non-democracies?
- 2. Is reputation at stake in the Russia-Ukraine war?
- 3. How do domestic political dynamics influence why and how states fight wars?
- 4. Is preventive war "like committing suicide from fear of death"?
- 5. What explains the absence of major war since 1945?
- 6. What is the value of "prestige" in foreign policy?

Section II

- 7. Is the security dilemma a universal law of international security?
- 8. Is realism Eurocentric?
- 9. What is the best way to define security?
- 10. Has climate change been securitized?
- 11. Is the concept of security "gendered"?
- 12. To what extent might transnational crime actually strengthen the state?