

POL 14: International Security

Department of Politics and International Studies
University of Cambridge
2024-25

Paper organizer: Dr. Steven Ward

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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 two questions. There will be two sections, and students must answer **exactly 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 second time that this paper has been taught, there is only one exam paper from a prior year (last year) 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 well-supported 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**. Students with an SSD explicitly indicating a need for lecture recordings may produce their own recordings. Students without an SSD with an explicit recording accommodation 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 10 (Security and security studies)

Monday, October 14 (Anarchy and the security dilemma)

Thursday, October 17 (Bargaining and war)

Monday, October 21 (Domestic politics and war)

Thursday, October 24 (Leaders and war)

Monday, October 28 (Explaining victory and defeat)

Thursday, October 31 (War termination)

Monday, November 4 (Reputations and credibility)

Thursday, November 7 (Signaling and commitment)

Monday, November 11 (Nuclear weapons and deterrence)

Thursday, November 14 (Emerging technologies and crisis escalation)

Lent Term Lectures:

Monday, January 27 (Classics of great power thinking)

Thursday, January 30 (Balance of power)

Monday, February 3 (Hegemonic stability; power transition)

Thursday, February 6 (Critiques I – assumptions)

Monday, February 10 (Critiques II – history, theory, and politics)
 Thursday, February 13 (Security: what do you mean?)
 Monday, February 17 (Securitization theory)
 Thursday, February 20 (Ontological security)
 Monday, February 24 (Feminist security studies; gender & security)
 Thursday, February 27 (Hierarchies in security studies)

Reading List

MICHAELMAS LECTURES

1: Thursday, October 10 – 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 (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 (1988)

Jessica Tuchman Matthews, “Redefining Security,” *Foreign Affairs* vol. 68 (1989)

Emma Rothschild, “What is Security?” *Daedalus* vol 124 (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)

Daniel Drezner, “How Everything Became National Security,” *Foreign Affairs* September/October 2024

Part I: Interstate War

2: Monday, October 14 – Anarchy and the security dilemma (Yang)

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* 1991 17 (1): 67-85.

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* 2001 3 (1): 36-60.

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* 1992 46 (2): 391-425.

Charles Glaser, “Fear Factor: How to Know When You’re In a Security Dilemma,” *Foreign Affairs* July/August 2024

3: Thursday, October 17 – 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. 40/41 (1987)
- Jonathan Kirshner, "The Economic Sins of IR Theory and the Classical Realist Alternative," *World Politics* vol. 67, no. 1 (2015)
- Scott Wolford, "The Bargaining Framework and Russia's Invasion of Ukraine," *Conflict Management and Peace Science* (2024)
- Bradley Smith, "Commitment Problems and Russia's Invasion of Ukraine," *Conflict Management and Peace Science* (2024)
- Işıl Idrisoğlu and William Spaniel, "Information Problems and Russia's Invasion of Ukraine," *Conflict Management and Peace Science* (2024)

4: Monday, October 21 – Domestic politics and war (Ward)

Core readings:

- 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:

- Sasha de Vogel and Jessica Sun, "Crisis Bargaining, Domestic Politics and Russia's Invasion of Ukraine," *Conflict Management and Peace Science* (2024)
- Scott Bodderly and Graig Klein, "Presidential Use of Diversionary Drone Force and Public Support," *Research & Politics* (2021)
- Philip Arena and Dahee 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* vol. 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 Gibling, "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)

Michael Doyle, "Why They Don't Fight: The Surprising Endurance of the Democratic Peace," *Foreign Affairs* July/August 2024

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 24 – 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)

Supplementary readings:

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 of 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 28 – Explaining victory and defeat (Ward)

Core readings:

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)

Supplementary readings:

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 31 – 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* (2022)

Part II: Coercive Diplomacy

8: Monday, November 4 – 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)

Supplementary readings:

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)

Deniz Aksoy, Ted Enamorado, and Tony Zirui Yang, "Russian Invasion of Ukraine and Chinese Public Support for War," *International Organization* (2024)

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, "Reputation Building in International Relations: An Experimental Approach," *International Organization* vol. 65 (2011)

Alex Weisiger and Keren Yarhi-Milo, "Revisiting Reputation: How Past Actions Matter in International Relations," *International Organization* vol. 69 (2015)

Todd Sechser, "Goliath's Curse: Coercive Threats and Asymmetric Power," *International Organization* (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)

Keren Yarhi-Milo, “The Credibility Trap: Is Reputation Worth Fighting For?” *Foreign Affairs* July/August 2024

9: Thursday, November 7 – 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)

Supplementary readings:

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* (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)

Makito Takei, “Audience Costs and the Credibility of Public versus Private Threats in International Crises,” *International Studies Quarterly* vol. 68, no. 3 (2024)

10: Monday, November 11 – 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)

Supplementary readings:

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)

Joshua Schwartz, “When Foreign Countries Push the Button,” *International Security* vol. 48, no. 4 (2024)

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* (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)

Benjamin Zala, "Nuclear-Conventional Entanglement in Northeast Asia: The Case for Crisis Management Interoperability," *Journal for Peace and Nuclear Disarmament* (2024)

11: Thursday, November 14 – 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

Supplementary readings:

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* (2021)
- 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* (2021)
- Michael Horowitz and Erik Lin-Greenberg, "Algorithms and Influence: Artificial Intelligence and Crisis Decision-Making," *International Studies Quarterly* vol. 66 (2022)
- Jeffrey Ding and Allan Dafoe, "Engines of Power: Electricity, AI, and General-Purpose Military Transformations," *European Journal of International Security* (2023)
- Toni Erskine and Steven Miller, "AI and the Decision to go to War: Future Risks and Opportunities," *Australian Journal of International Affairs* (2024)
- Carrie Lee, "Technology Acquisition and Arms Control: Thinking Through the Hypersonic Weapons Debate," *Texas National Security Review* (Fall 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)

LENT LECTURES

Part III: Great Power Politics

12: Monday, January 27 – 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* (New York: 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: Oxford University Press, 2006)

13: Thursday, January 30 – Balance of power (Zarakol)

Core readings:

Kenneth N. Waltz, "The Stability of a Bipolar World," *Daedalus*, Vol. 93 (1964): 881-909

John Lewis Gaddis, "The Long Peace: Elements of Stability in the Postwar International System," *International Security*, Vol. 10 (1986): 99-142

Stephen M. Walt, "Alliance Formation and the Balance of World Power," *International Security*, Vol. 9, No. 4 (1985): 3-43*

John J. Mearsheimer, "Back to the Future: Instability in Europe after the Cold War," *International Security*, Vol. 15, No. 1 (1990): 5-56*

Supplementary readings:

Jack Snyder, "Civil-Military Relations and the Cult of the Offensive, 1914 and 1984," *International Security*, Vol. 9 (1984): 108-146

Scott Sagan, "1914 Revisited: Allies, Offense, and Instability," *International Security*, Vol. 11 (1986): 151-175

Jack Levy and William Thompson, "Hegemonic Threats and Great Power Balancing in Europe, 1495-2000," *Security Studies*, Vol. 14 (2005): 1-30

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, International Relations Theory and the Consequences of Unipolarity (2009)" 86-120

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

14: Monday, February 3 – Hegemonic stability theory; power transition (Zarakol)

Core readings:

Robert Gilpin, "The Theory of Hegemonic War," *Journal of Interdisciplinary History*, Vol. 18 (1988): 591-614

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): 23-36

Christopher Layne, "This Time It's Real: The End of Unipolarity and the Pax Americana", *International Studies Quarterly* Vol. 56, No.1 (2012): 203-13

Graham Allison, "The Thucydides Trap: Are the U.S. and China Headed for War?" *The Atlantic* September 24(2015)

Supplementary readings:

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): 579-614

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): 675-704

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): 687-701

Aaron Friedberg, "The Future of U.S.-China Relations: Is Conflict Inevitable?" *International Security*, Vol. 30 (2005): 7-45

Robert Pape, "Empire Falls," *National Interest*, No. 99 (2009): 21-34

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): 35-66

15: Thursday, February 6 – Critiques I - assumptions (Zarakol)

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 (1999), 197-216

Shogo Suzuki, "Japan's socialization in Janus-faced European International Society," *European Journal of International Relations* vol. 11, no. 11 (2005)

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 and Xinru Ma, "Power Transitions: Thucydides Didn't Live in East Asia" *The Washington Quarterly*, Vol. 41, No.1 (2018): 137-54

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): 393-401

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>

16: Monday, February 10 – Critiques II – History, theory, & politics (Zarakol)

Paul W. Schroeder, "Did the Vienna Settlement Rest on a Balance of Power?" *The American Historical Review*, Vol. 97, No. 3 (1992): 683-706

Paul Schroeder, "Historical Reality vs. Neo-Realist Theory", *International Security*, Vol. 19, No. 1 (1994): 108- 148

Dale Copeland, "Neorealism and the Myth of Bipolar Stability: Toward a New Dynamic Realist Theory of Major War," *Security Studies*, Vol. 5 (1996): 29-89

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): 899-912

Stephen M. Walt, "The Progressive Power of Realism," *The American Political Science Review*, Vol. 91, No. 4 (1997): 931-935

Jeffrey W. Legro and Andrew Moravcsik, "Is Anybody Still a Realist?" *International Security*, Vol. 24,

No. 2 (1999): 5-55

Keir Lieber, "The New History of World War I and What It Means for International Relations Theory," *International Security*, Vol. 32 (2007): 155-191

Daniel H. Nexon, "The Balance of Power in the Balance," *World Politics* Vol. 61 (2009): 330-359

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): 77-84, 85-89

Isaac Chotiner, "Why John Mearsheimer Blames the U.S. for the Crisis in Ukraine," *The New Yorker* March 1, 2022

Gustav Meibauer, "Neorealism, neoclassical realism and the problem(s) of history", *International Relations*, Vol. 37, No.2 (2023): 348-69

Part IV: Alternative Conceptions of Security

17: Thursday, February 13 – Security: what do you mean? (Zarakol)

Peter J. Katzenstein, ed., *The Culture of National Security* (New York: 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* 50, no. 2 (1998): 324-48

Jef Huysmans, "Security! What Do You Mean?: From Concept to Thick Signifier", *European Journal of International Relations*, Vol.4, No. 2 (1998): 226-255

Emanuel Adler and Michael Barnett, eds. *Security Communities* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998)

Nina Tannenwald, "The Nuclear Taboo: The United States and the Normative Basis of Nuclear Non-Use", *International Organization*, Vol. 53, No. 3 (1999): 433-468

Jutta Weldes et al. eds., *Cultures of Insecurity: States, Communities and the Production of Danger* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1999)

Edward Newman, "Human Security and Constructivism," *International Studies Perspectives* Vol. 2, no. 3 (2001): 239-51

Gary King and Christopher J. L. Murray, "Rethinking Human Security." *Political Science Quarterly* Vol. 116, no. 4 (2001): 585-610

Roland Paris, "Human Security: Paradigm Shift or Hot Air?" *International Security*, vol. 26, no. 2 (2001): 87-102

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): 58–85

18: Monday, February 17 – Securitization theory (Zarakol)

Ole Waever, Barry Buzan, Morten Kelstrup, et al. *Identity, Migration and the New Security Agenda in Europe* (London: Pinter, 1993)

Ole Waever ‘Securitization and Desecuritization’, in Ronnie D. Lipschutz (ed) *On Security* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1995), pp. 46-86

Barry Buzan, Ole Waever, and Jaap de Wilde, *Security: A New Framework for Analysis* (Boulder, CO: Lynne Rienner, 1998)

Michael C. Williams, ‘Words, Images, Enemies: Securitization and International Politics’, *International Studies Quarterly* Vol. 47, no. 4 (2003): 511-531

Lene Hansen, *Security as Practice* (London: Routledge, 2006)

Barry Buzan and Lene Hansen, *The Evolution of International Security Studies* (Cambridge University Press, 2009)

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): 51-74

Amir Lupovici, “The Limits of Securitization Theory: Observational Criticism and the Curious Absence of Israel,” *International Studies Review*, vol. 16, no. 3, (2014): 390–410

Corey Robinson, “Tracing and Explaining Securitization: Social Mechanisms, Process Tracing and the Securitization of Irregular Migration,” *Security Dialogue*, vol. 48, no. 6 (2017): 505–23

19: Thursday, February 20 – Ontological security (Zarakol)

Catarina Kinnvall, “Globalization and Religious Nationalism: Self, Identity, and the Search for Ontological Security,” *Political Psychology*, vol. 25, no. 5 (2004): 741–67.

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): 519–40

Jennifer Mitzen, “Ontological security in world politics: state identity and the security dilemma”, *European Journal of International Relations*, Vol.12, No. 3 (2006): 341–370

Ayse Zarakol, “Ontological (In)security and State Denial of Historical Crimes: Turkey and Japan,” *International Relations*, Vol. 24, No. 1 (2010): 3-23

- Amir Lupovici, "Ontological Dissonance, Clashing Identities, and Israel's Unilateral Steps towards the Palestinians," *Review of International Studies*, vol. 38, no. 4 (2012): 809–33
- Maria Mälksoo, "Memory must be defended': Beyond the politics of mnemonical security," *Security Dialogue*, Vol. 46, No. 3 (2015): 221-237
- Bahar Rumelili, ed. *Conflict Resolution and Ontological Security: Peace Anxieties* (London: Routledge, 2016)
- Jelena Subotić, "Narrative, Ontological Security, and Foreign Policy Change", *Foreign Policy Analysis*, Vol. 12, No. 4 (2016): 610–627
- Dmitry Chernobrov, "Ontological Security and Public (Mis)Recognition of International Crises: Uncertainty, Political Imagining, and the Self," *Political Psychology*, vol. 37, no. 5 (2016): 581–96
- Christopher S. Browning and Pertti Joenniemi, "Ontological Security, Self-Articulation and the Securitization of Identity," *Cooperation and Conflict*, vol. 52, no. 1 (2017): 31–47

20: Monday, February 24 – Feminist security studies, gender & security (Zarakol)

- Carol Cohn, "Sex and Death in the Rational World of Defense Intellectuals" *Signs*, 1987, Vol. 12, No. 4, (1987): 687-718
- J. Ann Tickner, "You Just Don't Understand: Troubled Engagements between Feminists and IR Theorists." *International Studies Quarterly*, vol. 41, no. 4 (1997): pp. 611-32
- Cynthia Weber, "Performative States", *Millennium* 1998 27:1, 77-95
- J. Ann Tickner, "Feminist Perspectives on 9/11." *International Studies Perspectives*, vol. 3, no. 4 (2002): 333–50
- 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): 155–174
- Cynthia Enloe, "The Risks of Scholarly Militarization: A Feminist Analysis", *Perspectives on Politics*, Vol. 8, No. 4 (2010): 1107-1111
- Nicole Detraz, *International Security and Gender* (Cambridge: Polity, 2012)
- Laura Sjoberg, "Introduction to *Security Studies*: Feminist Contributions," *Security Studies* 18 (2009)
- Jennifer Lobasz, "Beyond Border Security: Feminist Approaches to Human Trafficking," *Security Studies* 18 (2009): 319-344
- Laura Sjoberg, "Seeing Sex, Gender, and Sexuality in International Security," *International Journal*, vol.

70, no. 3 (2015): 434–53

Annick T. R. Wibben, “Everyday Security, Feminism, and the Continuum of Violence,” *Journal of Global Security Studies*, Vol. 5, No. 1 (2020): 115–121

21: Thursday, February 27 – Hierarchies in security studies (Zarakol)

Ayoob, Mohammed. “The Third World in the System of States: Acute Schizophrenia or Growing Pains?” *International Studies Quarterly*, vol. 33, no. 1, (1989): 67–79

Mohammed Ayoob, “Defining Security: A Subaltern Realist Perspective,” *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): 653–83

Pinar Bilgin and Adam D. Morton, “From ‘Rogue’ to ‘Failed’ States? The Fallacy of Short-termism” *Politics*, Vol. 24, No.3 (2004): 169–180

Pinar Bilgin, “Whose ‘Middle East’? Geopolitical Inventions and Practices of Security”, *International Relations*, Vol.18, No.1 (2004): 25–41

Tarak Barkawi and Mark Laffey, “The Postcolonial Moment in Security Studies”, *Review of International Studies*, Vol. 32, No. 2 (2006): 329– 352

Ikechi Mgbefo, “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): 855–69

Mohammed Ayoob, “Challenging Hegemony: Political Islam and the North-South Divide,” *International Studies Review*, vol. 9, no. 4 (2007): 629–43

Pinar Bilgin, “The ‘Western-Centrism’ of Security Studies: ‘Blind Spot’ or Constitutive Practice?” *Security Dialogue*, vol. 41, no. 6 (2010): 615–22

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 (2007) 91–116

Kelebogile Zvobgo and Meredith Loken, “Why race matters in international relations,” *Foreign Policy* (2020)

Kelebogile Zvobgo et al. “Race and Racial Exclusion in Security Studies: A Survey of Scholars,” *Security Studies* (2023): 1–29.

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 3; Weisiger 2013; Reiter 2010.

3. What do nuclear weapons deter?

Readings for Lecture 10

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 8

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 11

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

Readings for Lecture 5

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

Readings for lecture 7

9. 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

10. **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

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

Readings for lectures 13 and 14

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

Readings for lectures 15 and 16

13. **Is anthropogenic climate change a security threat?**

Readings for lectures 1, 17, and 18

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

Readings for lecture 19

15. **Does realism get history wrong?**

Waltz 1964, 1979; Mearsheimer 2001; Gilpin 1988; Allison 2015; readings for lecture 16.

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

Readings for lectures 14 and 16

17. **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 20

18. **How has the history of “security studies” influenced the way we understand security and insecurity?**

Readings for Lectures 1, 17, and 21

Exam Preparation Materials

Mock Exam

Answer *two* questions, including *exactly 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. What explains the absence of major war since 1945?
5. What is the value of “prestige” in foreign policy?

Section II

6. Is the security dilemma a universal law of international security?
7. Is realism Eurocentric?
8. What is the best way to define security?
9. Has climate change been securitized?
10. Is the concept of security “gendered”?

2023-2024 Exam

Answer three questions, including at least one question from Section A, and at least one question from Section B.

Section A: War and Coercive Diplomacy

- 1) Is the “bargaining model” a useful way to understand why wars begin and when they end?
- 2) Have nuclear weapons made the world safer or more dangerous?
- 3) Why do states invest in prestige?
- 4) Why is it so difficult to send credible signals of commitment in international politics?
- 5) Are we living through a new “revolution in military affairs”?
- 6) To understand security policy, is it more important to pay attention to the characteristics and interests of *leaders*, or to the characteristics and interests of *states*?

Section B: Great Power Politics, Critiques, and Alternative Conceptions of Security

- 7) Have recent developments in world politics (e.g. Russia-Ukraine or Israel-Gaza) rendered realist great power arguments more or less relevant?
- 8) What is the most compelling critique against balance of power theory?
- 9) Are we in a period of power transition? Why or why not?
- 10) Are all security threats “securitized”? Or can we distinguish between real threats and those that securitized?
- 11) EITHER How do realist explanations for conflict differ from ontological security explanations for conflict? Discuss with reference to at least one historical or current conflict.
OR How do realist explanations for conflict differ from critical explanations for conflict? Discuss with reference to at least one historical or current conflict.
- 12) What is the most compelling definition of security? Discuss with reference to at least three of the different ways that IR scholars have defined the term.