McGill University

Political Science 679

INTERNATIONAL SECURITY: CONFLICT AND COOPERATION

Prof. T.V. Paul   Fall 2023
Leacock 528   Office Hours: Tues/Thu: 4:00-5:00 pm
t.paul@mcgill.ca

This seminar will cover a broad array of theoretical and historical literature on conflict, strategy, war, and cooperation. We will discuss the key explanations for both systemic and regional conflicts and will address the question: how does cooperation evolve among states in an anarchic international system? The course will include structural, societal, and psychological explanations of war. Strategies of war and peace, including deterrence, the impact of nuclear revolution and the dynamics of nuclear proliferation form the other core parts of the course. We will also cover the topic of change in international politics, especially at the global and regional levels.

Requirements

Students are expected to write a substantive research paper (maximum 25 double-spaced pages for MA and 30 double-spaced pages or PhD students- inclusive of bibliography and footnotes) dealing with: (a) an application of one or more of the theories discussed to a significant event in international relations (e.g. crisis, war, or an event that resulted in a peace settlement or cooperation), or (b), explaining one of the above questions, using one's own theory, or (c) explaining a puzzle or a paradox in the realm of international conflict or cooperation. A one-page outline of the paper should be distributed among the participants beginning from the third week, and the seminar will discuss each of the research topics individually. The proposal should discuss the research question, possible alternative hypotheses, your own hypothesis or argument, methodology, theoretical and policy implications, and conclusions. All papers should conform to Chicago style footnotes and bibliography. In addition, each student is expected to make oral presentations on the basis of the required readings for the week. The deadline for paper submission is November 30, 2023.

Evaluation

Essay outline and presentations	10%
Class presentations & Weekly participation	30%
Class attendance	10%
Research essay	50%

Statement of Academic Integrity
McGill University values academic integrity. Therefore, all students must understand the meaning and consequences of cheating, plagiarism and other academic offences (including the use of ChatGPT) under the Code of Student Conduct and Disciplinary Procedures (see www.mcgill.ca/students/srr/honest/ for more information).

Language of Submission: In accord with McGill University's Charter of Students' Rights, students in this course have the right to submit in English or in French any written work that is to be graded.

Extraordinary Circumstances Statement: In the event of extraordinary circumstances beyond the University's control, the content and/or evaluation scheme in this course is subject to change.

Copyright of Lectures Statement; All slides, recordings, lecture notes, etc. remain the instructor's intellectual property. As such, you may use these only for your own learning (and research, with proper referencing/citation) ends. You are not permitted to disseminate or share these materials; doing so may violate the instructor's intellectual property rights and could be cause for disciplinary action.

Indigenous Land Statement: McGill University is on land which has long served as a site of meeting and exchange amongst Indigenous peoples, including the Haudenosaunee and Anishinabeg nations. We acknowledge and thank the diverse Indigenous people whose footsteps have marked this territory on which peoples of the world now gather.

Inclusive learning Environment: *As the instructor of this course I endeavor to provide an inclusive learning environment. However, if you experience barriers to learning in this course, do not hesitate to discuss them with me and the* [Office for Students with Disabilities](#), *514-398-6009.*

(Aug 31)
Introduction, Overview

Cashman, Greg, *What Causes War?* New York: Rowman &Littlefield, 2013.
Holsti, K.J. *Peace and War*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991:Ch 1.
Dessler, David, "Beyond Correlations: Toward a Causal Theory of War," *International Studies Quarterly*, 35(3), Sept. 1991:337-55.
Levy, Jack S., "Theories of General War," *World Politics* 37(3), April 1985:344-74.
Gheciu, Alexandra and William C. Wohlforth eds. *The Oxford Handbook of International Security*. (Oxford University Press, 2018).
John Baylis et.al., *Strategy in the Contemporary World*, 2nd edition, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2019.
Ashok Swain, "Climate Change, Collective Action and Peaceful Change," in T.V. Paul et al eds. *Oxford Handbook of Peaceful Change in International Relations* (Oxford University Press, 2021), Ch.18 (pp.337-350).
Craig Albert , Amado Baez, and Joshua Rutland, "Human Security as Biosecurity Reconceptualizing National Security Threats in the Time of COVID-19," *Politics and the Life Sciences*, 40, 1 (Spring 2021), 83-105.

(Sept 7)
Is the International System Anarchic? Realism vs. Constructivism

Buzan, Barry and Lene Hansen, *The Evolution of International Security Studies*, Cambridge University Press, 2009, pp.8-65.
Bull, Hedley *The Anarchical Society*, Columbia University Press, 1977, Inro; Chs 1-4.
Waltz, Kenneth, *Theory of International Politics*, New York, Random House, 1979, Chs. 4-6 and 8.
Mearsheimer, John J. *The Tragedy of Great Power Politics*, W.W. Norton, 2001, 1-54.
Norrin M. Ripsman, Jeffrey Taliaferro and Steven E. Lobell, *Neoclassical Realist Theory of International Politics* (Oxford University Press, 2016). Intro & Ch1.
Wendt, Alexander, "Anarchy is What States Make of It," *International Organization*, 46(2) Spring 1992:391-425.
Katzenstein, Peter ed. *The Culture of National Security: Norms and Identity in World Politics*. New York: Columbia University Press, 1996: Chs.1, 2, 5.

(Sept 14)
Liberalism

Doyle, Michael, "Liberalism and World Politics," *APSR*, 80(4), December 1986: 1151-69.
Russett, Bruce, *Grasping the Democratic Peace*, Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1993: Chs. 1-2, 4-6.
G John Ikenberry, *A World Safe for Democracy* (New Haven: Yale University press, 2020), Chs 1-3 &6.
Mearsheimer, John J. *The Great Delusion: Liberal Dreams and International Realities* (Yale University Press, 2018), chs.1-4.
Russett and John Oneal, *Triangulating Peace: Democracy, Interdependence and International Organizations*, WW Norton 2001,Chs. 1, 4, 5.
Keohane, Robert, Keohane, Robert O, *After Hegemony*, Princeton, Princeton University Press, 1984, Chs. 1, 4-6.
Wivel, Anders and T.V. Paul Eds. *International Institutions and Power Politics: Bridging the Divide* (Washington DC: Georgetown University Press, 2019), Chs. 1 & 4.

(Sept 21)
Critical Security Studies

Cox, Robert W. 1981. "Social Forces, States and World Orders: Beyond International Relations
Theory," *Millennium: Journal of International Studies* 10(2), 1981: 126-55.

Hoffman, Mark. "Critical Theory and the Inter-Paradigm Debate." *Millennium* 16, 2 (1987): 231-50.

Jahn, Beate, "Critical Theory in Crisis? A Reconsideration." *European Journal of International
Relations* 27, no. 4 (2021): 1274-99.

Tickner, J. Ann, and Jacqui True. "A Century of International Relations Feminism: From World War
I Women's Peace Pragmatism to the Women, Peace and Security Agenda." *International
Studies Quarterly* 62, no. 2 (2018): 221-33.

Sylvester, Christine, ed. *War as Experience: Contributions from International Relations and Feminist
Analysis.* London: Routledge, 2013. Intro and Ch. 2.

Barkawi, Tarak. "Decolonising War." *European Journal of International Security* 1, no. 2 (2016):
199-214.

Barder, Alexander D. *Global Race War: International Politics and Racial Hierarchy*. New York, NY:
Oxford University Press, 2021, Intro, chapters 1 and 2.

(Sept 28)
Change in World Politics: Status and Rising Powers

Paul, T.V. Deborah Larson and William Wohlforth eds. *Status in World Politics*, (Cambridge:
Cambridge University Press, 2014), Chs.1 &2.

Larson, Deborah Welch, and Alekseĭ Shevchenko. *Quest for Status: Chinese and Russian Foreign
Policy.* New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2019, Chs. 1, 2. and 6.

Ward, Steven. *Status and the Challenge of Rising Powers: Obstructed Ambitions.* Cambridge:
Cambridge University Press, 2017. Intro, Chs. 1 and 2.

Paul, T.V. ed., *Accommodating Rising Powers: Past, Present and Future,* Cambridge University
Press, 2016, ch.1 and 10.

Evelyn. "Contesting Hegemonic Order: China in East Asia." *Security Studies* 28, no. 3 (2019): 614-
44.

Steve Chan, Huiyun Feng, Kai He, and Weixing Hu. *Contesting Revisionism: the United States,
China, and Transformation of International Order* (Oxford Uni. Press, 2021), Chs. 1 &2.

Viola, Lora Anne, *The Closure of the International System* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press,
2020, chs. 1 & 2.

(Oct 5)
Change in World Politics: Global IR; Peaceful Change

Acharya, Amitav and Barry Buzan, *The Making of Global International Relations* (Cambridge:
Cambridge University Press, 2019), Introduction; Chs. 9-10.

Paul, T.V. et al, Eds. *The Oxford Handbook of Peaceful Change in International Relations* (New
York: Oxford University Press, 2021), Chs. 1, 9, 11, 12 & 13. Crawford, Neta. *Argument and Change
in World Politics*. Cambridge: Cambridge University
Press, 2004, Intro, Ch.1-4.

Holsti, K.J. *Taming the Sovereigns: Institutional Change in International Politics*. Cambridge:
Cambridge University Press, 2004: Chs. 1-4.

Kupchan, Charles A. *How Enemies Become Friends: The Sources of Stable Peace* (Princeton:
Princeton University Press, 2010), 1-72; 389-414.

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(Oct 19)

Parity vs. Preponderance; Balancing vs. Bandwagoning

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Levy, Jack, "What do Great Powers Balance against and When?," in Paul T.V., et al., eds., *Balance of Power: Theory and Practice in the 21ˢᵗ Century* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2005), 29-51.

Paul, T.V. *Restraining Great Powers: Soft Balancing from Empires to the Global Era* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2018), chs.1, 2 &8.

Goddard, Stacie, "The Outsiders: How the International System can Still Restrain China and Russia," *Foreign Affairs*, 101(3), May-June 2022, 28-39.

Walt, Stephen, *The Origins of Alliances*, Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1987: Chs. 1-2, 8.

Gilpin, Robert. 1981. *War and Change in World Politic*s. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1981, Preface, Chs., 1& 5.

Kugler, Jacek and Douglas Lemke, eds. *Parity and War*, Ann Arbor: The University of Michigan Press, 1996: Chs. 1&2.

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(Oct 26)

Limited Wars; The Paradox of Power

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Paul, T.V., *Asymmetric Conflicts: War Initiation by Weaker Powers*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994: Chs. 1-2, and 9.

Mack, Andrew, "Why Big Nations Lose Small Wars: The Politics of Asymmetric Conflict," *World Politics*, 27(2), Jan. 1975: 175-200.

Ivan Arrequin-Toft, "How the Weak Win Wars: A Theory of Asymmetric Conflict," *International Security* Vol. 26, No. 1 (Summer 2001):93-128.

Chenoweth Erica and Maria J. Stephan, *Why Civil Resistance Works, The Strategic Logic of Nonviolent Conflict* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2011), Part I and Part III.

Adler, Kapur, Toft chapters in Paul et al eds., *Complex Deterrence: Strategy in the global Age* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2009).

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(Nov 2)

Conflict and Cooperation in the Developing World

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Paul, T.V. ed., *International Relations Theory and Regional Transformation* (Cambridge; Cambridge University Press, 2012), chs. 1, 2, 8, 11.

Ayse Zarakol, *Before the West: The Rise and Fall of Eastern World Orders* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2022), chs.1 & 6.

Buzan, Barry and Ole Waever, *Regions and Powers* Cambridge University Press, 2003, Chs. 1-3.

Miller, Benjamin, *States, Nations and Great Powers,* Cambridge University Press, 2007: Chs.1-3.

Adler, Immanuel and M. Barnett eds., *Security Communities*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1998: Chs.1 & 2.

Zacher, Mark W., "The Territorial Integrity Norm," *International Organization*, 55(2), Spring 2001, 15-50.

Altman, Dan. "The Evolution of Territorial Conquest after 1945 and the Limits of the Territorial Integrity Norm." *International Organization* 74, no. 3 (2020): 490-522.

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(Nov 9)

Security Dilemma; The Spiral Model; Arms Races and War

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

Shiping Tang, "The Security Dilemma: A Conceptual Analysis," *Security Studies*, 18 (3) 2009: 587 – 623.

Van Evera, Stephen, *Causes of War: Power and the Roots of Conflict*, Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1999, chapters 1, 2, 3, 4, and 6.

Lebow, Richard, "Windows of Opportunity: Do States Jump Through Them?," *International Security*, 9(1), Summer 1984: 147-86.

Johnson, Dominic D. P. and Dominic Tierney, "The Rubicon Theory of War," *International Security* 36, no.1, Summer 2001, 7-40.

Slayton, Rebecca. "What Is the Cyber Offense-Defense Balance? Conceptions, Causes, and Assessment." *International Security* 41, no. 3 (2017): 72-109.

(Nov 16)
Domestic Sources of International Conflict

Jack Levy, "Domestic Politics and War," *Journal of Interdisciplinary History*, 18(4), 1988: 653-73.

Snyder, Jack. *Myths of Empire: Domestic Politics and International Ambitions* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1992) chs. 1 and 4.

Zakaria, Fareed, *From Wealth to Power: The Unusual Origins of America's World Role*," Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1998:chs:1-2; 6.

Walt, Stephen M., "Revolution and War," *World Politics*, 44(3), April 1992:321-68.

Posen, Barry, *The Sources of Military Doctrine*, Ithaca, Cornell University Press, 1984, Chs. 1-2, and 7.

(Nov 23)
Deterrence & Strategic Interaction

Schelling, Thomas, *The Strategy of Conflict*, Cambridge, Harvard University Press, 1980, Chs. 1-2, 4, 8.

Jervis, Robert, "Deterrence Theory Revisited," *World Politics*, January 1979:289-24.

Achen, Christopher and Duncan Snidal, " Rational Deterrence Theory and Comparative Case Studies," *World Politics*, 41(2), Jan. 1989: 143-69.

Paul, T.V. ed., *Complex Deterrence: Strategy in the Global Age*, University of Chicago Press, 2009: Chapters: 1, 3, and 5.

Goodman, Will, "Cyber Deterrence: Tougher in Theory than in Practice?" *Strategic Studies Quarterly*, 4, no. 3 (Fall 2010), pp. 102-135.

(Nov 30)
Nuclear Weapons; Nuclear Proliferation

Jervis, Robert, *The Meaning of the Nuclear Revolution*, Ithaca, Cornell University Press, 1989; Chs. 1-4; 7.

Tannenwald, Nina,*The Nuclear Taboo*, Cambridge University Press, 2007:1-71.

Paul, T.V., *The Tradition of Non-use of Nuclear Weapons*, Stanford University Press, 2009, Chs 1-2, conclusions.

Paul, T.V., *Power versus Prudence: Why Nations Forgo Nuclear Weapons*, McGill-Queens University Press, 2000, Chs. 1-2.

Hymans, Jacques, *The Psychology of Non-Proliferation*, Cambridge, 2006, Chs. 1-3.

Knopf, Jeffrey W., "Recasting the Proliferation Optimism-Pessimism Debate," *Security Studies* 12(1), Autumn 2002:41-96.

Narang, Vipin. "Strategies of Nuclear Proliferation: How States Pursue the Bomb." *International Security* 41, no. 3 (2017): 110-150.