

National and international security

Professor Glenn Diesen

g.diesen@hse.ru

Office hours: Mondays 12-13. Room number: 119 – Malaya Ordynka

Description

This class will provide an introduction to both the traditional and critical concepts and ideas that underlie international security issues. Each week focuses on a topic, which collectively give students a sense of past, present, and future security challenges. On the traditional side we will examine issues such as what is war, deterrence, geopolitics, and issues of proliferation. On the critical side we will examine such themes as terrorism, human security, and proliferation. We will also take a closer look at a select group of states and their view of national security. We will start by overviewing the definition of security and its evolution overtime. This will be followed by the overview of major and critical theoretical approaches to issues of international security. Then the class will delve into examination of institutions, regimes and elements (manifestations) of international security. The course will conclude with deeper look at contemporary security challenges and prospects for the future.

Goals

The goal of the course is to give students an understanding of the traditional and critical aspects of international security and provide you a basis for looking at emerging security issues. One important goal of the course is for students to continually reflect on the core questions that animate the field of international security. These include:

- What is “security”? Who and what gets “secured”?
- Who should provide for security?
- What is the nature of warfare? Has it changed? Where is it headed?
- What is a “threat”? Which threats are significant enough to warrant a response?
- What are the new, emerging threats in the 21st century?

Secondary goals include:

- Building oral presentation skills through leading and participating in seminar discussions.
- Sharpening concise writing skills.
- Improving research and analysis skills. Policy papers are assigned to give students a chance to improve their research and analysis skills. It will challenge students to design an interesting research question on a topic in international security, research it, and compose an essay with a coherent and compelling perspective.

Policies

Attendance: Latecomers are a distraction. Students should plan ahead and come to the classroom 5 to 10 minutes early. Coming to class is an indispensable part of the student’s training and education. Attendance is mandatory, though the instructor will not take attendance, nor assign a grade for it. Grades are based on exams and written assignments.

Reading: The reading load for this class is moderate, yet still challenging, averaging over 100 pages per week. Students are expected to do all of the required readings and come prepared to discuss them in class. Student participation in class discussions will have a major impact on your overall performance. In addition to the readings listed, students are expected to have a basic knowledge of current events for classroom discussions.

Note: There is a difference between tactical dilatory “participation,” and quality participation. While normal, quality class participation is always welcome, blather and dilatory interventions are discouraged. For example, simply posing misinformed questions about the readings or the lecture when clearly exhibiting an abject lack of proper class preparation or reading of the assigned texts may actually end up working against, rather than in favor of, the student’s grade. In contrast, active, thoughtful, quality participation, demonstrating intimate and thoughtful familiarity with the assigned readings and class topics, is highly welcome, as it will certainly help students improve his/her overall final grade.

Fair Warnings on exams and written assignments: If you miss an exam or written assignment deadline, without a well-certified and verifiable excuse, it will count as a zero. In this case, there will be no chance for a make-up exam. A written, verifiable, and valid excuse is required in order to request a make-up exam. If you have conflicting work schedule, adjust it ahead of time or drop the class to avoid future problems. I consider classes and exams more important than work at this time of your life. Examine closely the schedule included here. If you identify a schedule conflict, make your choice early on and decide whether to stay in the course or drop it to avoid future problems. Any written assignment turned in late will be penalized one letter grade (from an A to a B, for example) per 24 hour period after the deadline. Since computers have a knack for crashing right before deadlines, it is wise to save drafts and back them up in the cloud. Problems with technology are not an acceptable reason for late work. Incompletes will not be allowed.

Plagiarism and academic integrity: As a student, you are committed to honesty and integrity. Academic dishonesty is cheating of any kind, misrepresenting one’s own work, taking credit for the work of others without crediting them, and the fabrication of information. In general, I expect that you will not lie, cheat, steal, or otherwise conduct yourselves dishonorably, and will do something if you observe others engaging in such conduct. All work you submit for this course must be your own. We will not tolerate any form of academic dishonesty. Suspected cases will be referred to the university authorities. If you have questions about what constitutes proper use of published or unpublished sources, please ask the instructor.

Grading

Note: There are NO extra credit opportunities in this class. To maintain fairness, all students will have to go through the same set of assignments. No one will be awarded an extra assignment in order to boost the final grade. Therefore, students should make sure they are fulfilling the grading requirements in each section in order to obtain a desired final grade. Below is the detailed explanation of grading components:

Module Exams (50%): Half of your final grade will come from 2 exams (25% each) that you will write on the final day of each module. They are both comprehensive, covering the breadth of information covered up to that point.

“Reaction” Papers (50%): Half of your final grade will come from 2 essays (25% each) that you will write one per module. The essays are your reflection on the readings, themes and arguments covered in the module - and should cross at least one element of each theme during that module.

The purpose of the assignment is to develop an ability to critically assess the major arguments in the field concerning the theme under consideration; i.e. ability to synthesize the arguments through your own words. The papers are due on exam days.

- The short papers will be 2000 words in length. They are intended to be “reaction” papers and should assess the readings from the point of view of a policy maker – what would he or she “get” from the readings, and what kinds of policy options might be suggested by the readings in dealing with a security challenge?
- In all assessments, students will also be judged on organization, clarity of expression, and presentation of the material (proper footnoting and references, correct use of subheadings, etc., in the papers). There will be penalties for late submission of the short and term paper. The grading scale is from F (Fail) to A+ (Excellent).

Conversion to letter grade: Points accumulated across various assignments will be converted to a letter grade in accordance with the following scale

Essays (2 x 25%) – 50%

Exams (2 x 25%) – 50%

90% and above – A range

80-89% – B range

70-79 % – C range

60-69% – D; 59% below – F

Journals to be familiar with:

Foreign Affairs

International Affairs

International Organisation

International Studies Quarterly

International Security

Jane’s Defence Weekly

Journal of Strategic Studies

Millennium

Review of International Studies

Washington Quarterly

Week 1: Introduction to National and International Security (5 Nov)

We will first cover the overview of the course – the structure, assessments and expectations. We will then introduce the concept of national and international security. We will explore the evolution of the concept of ‘security’. We will discuss whether security has become too broad to the extent it loses its meaning. What is referent object to be secured and who is responsible for security? What is the process of ‘securitisation’?

Readings:

- Paul D. Williams, “Security Studies: An Introduction,” in Paul D. Williams, ed., *Security Studies: An Introduction* (New York: Routledge, 2008), pp. 1-12.
- Stephen M. Walt, “The Renaissance of Security Studies,” *International Studies Quarterly*, Vol. 35, No.2 (Jun.,1991): 211-239.
- David A. Baldwin, “The Concept of Security,” *Review of International Studies* 23 (1997): 5-26.

Week 2: Basic Political Theories – Realism, Liberalism, and Constructivism (12 Nov)

An international system is defined by international anarchy (the absence of a global sovereign) with the state as the highest sovereign. What explains how the world works and why states act the way they do? We will cover the main theories, which addresses the extent to which the international anarchy can be mitigated. Is cooperation or conflict the natural condition of the world?

Readings:

- Colin Elman, "Realism," in Paul D. Williams, ed., *Security Studies: An Introduction* (New York: Routledge, 2008), pp. 15-28.
- Cornelia Navari, "Liberalism," in Paul D. Williams, ed., *Security Studies: An Introduction* (New York: Routledge, 2008), pp. 29-43.
- Matt McDonald, "Constructivism," in Paul D. Williams, ed., *Security Studies: An Introduction* (New York: Routledge, 2008), pp. 59-72.
- Joseph Nye, "Is There an Enduring Logic of Conflict in World Politics?" In *Understanding International*
- *Conflicts: Introduction to Theory and History*, 6th ed. (New York: Longman, 2007), 1-20.
- Stephen M. Walt, "International Relations: One World, Many Theories," *Foreign Policy* (Spring 1998): 29-46.

Week 3: Security Dilemma & Deterrence (19 Nov)

Achieving one's security may lead to others' insecurity. Is it possible to enhance one's own security without undermining the security of others? Can we distinguish between offensive and defensive weapons? How can we mitigate the security dilemma?

Readings:

- Robert Jervis, "Cooperation under the Security Dilemma," *World Politics* 30,2 (January 1978): 167-214.
- Lawrence Freedman and Srinath Raghavan, "Coercion," in Paul D. Williams, ed., *Security Studies: An Introduction* (New York: Routledge, 2008), pp. 216-228.
- Charles L. Glaser, "The Security Dilemma Revisited," *World Politics* 50,1 (October 1997): 171-201.
- Sean M. Lynn Jones, "Offense Defense Theory and Its Critics." *Security Studies* 4 (Summer 1995), pp. 660-91.
- Ken Booth and Nicholas J. Wheeler, "Uncertainty," in Paul D. Williams, ed., *Security Studies: An Introduction* (New York: Routledge, 2008), pp. 133-150.

Week 4: Institutions & Regimes (26 Nov)

International organizations like the United Nations and NATO have played a critical role in uses of force and peacekeeping activities. Why do states use these security institutions? What is the difference between collective security and alliances? Do institutions mitigate the security dilemma or merely elevate conflict to a higher level? Are global or regional institutions preferable? What benefits does multilateralism provide?

Readings:

- John S. Duffield with Cynthia Michota And Sara Ann Miller, "Alliances," in Paul D. Williams, ed., *Security Studies: An Introduction* (New York: Routledge, 2008), pp. 291-306.
- Louise Fawcett, "Regional Institutions," in Paul D. Williams, ed., *Security Studies: An Introduction* (New York: Routledge, 2008), pp. 307-324.

- John J. Mearsheimer, "The False Promise of Int'l Institutions," *International Security* 19,3 (Winter 1994-5): 5-49.
- Robert Jervis, "Security Regimes," *International Organization* 36,2 (Spring 1982): 357-378.

Week 5: Nuclear Weapons & Proliferation (3 Dec)

Have nuclear weapons made the world safer or more dangerous? How has nuclear weapons changed international security? Why do states acquire nuclear weapons? Can state be deterred from acquiring nuclear weapons? How effective is the Non-Proliferation Treaty (NPT)? Will there be another nuclear arms race?

Readings:

- Waheguru Pal Singh Sidhu, "Nuclear Proliferation," in Paul D. Williams, ed., *Security Studies: An Introduction* (New York: Routledge, 2008), pp. 361-375.
- Kenneth N. Waltz, "Why Iran should get the bomb: Nuclear balancing would mean stability." *Foreign Affairs* (2012): 2-5.
- Kenneth Waltz, "Nuclear Myths and Political Realities," *American Political Science Review* 84,3 (September 1990): 731-745.
- Scott Sagan, "Why Do States Build Nuclear Weapons? Three Models in Search of a Bomb," *International Security* 21,3 (Winter 1996-97), pp. 54-86.

Week 6: Human Security & Interventionism (10 Dec)

Does human security benefit state security or are the two concepts in conflict? Does the emergence of human security promote better governance and peace in accordance with liberal theory, or does not promote sovereign inequality and conflict? The Western intervention to overthrow Qaddafi in Libya in 2011 was considered by many an instance of the emerging humanitarian norm of a "responsibility to protect", while others viewed it as a symptom of an unbalanced and expansionist West. Should the individual be the referent object of security, and who will take on the responsibility to protect?

Readings:

- Fen Osler Hampson, "Human Security," in Paul D. Williams, ed., *Security Studies: An Introduction* (New York: Routledge, 2008), pp. 229-243.
- Gary King and Christopher J.L. Murray, "Rethinking Human Security," *Political Science Quarterly* 116,4 (December 2001): 585-610.
- Alex J. Bellamy, "The Responsibility to Protect," in Paul D. Williams, ed., *Security Studies: An Introduction* (New York: Routledge, 2008), pp. 422-438.
- Richard K. Betts, "The Delusion of Impartial Intervention," *Foreign Affairs* 73,6 (November/December 1994), 20-33.

Reaction papers due: Please submit in class

Week 7: Terrorism & Counterinsurgency (17 Dec)

The attacks on September 11, 2001 led to a wave of policy and scholarly attention on understanding the tactics of international terrorism, goals of terrorists, and the effectiveness of measures to prevent terrorism. Why do terrorists target what they target? How is terrorism best addressed? The related wars in Iraq and Afghanistan and the counterinsurgencies campaigns they ended up demanding led to a cottage industry of policy and academic analysis on how to defeat insurgencies. What role does counterinsurgency abroad play in national security?

Readings:

- Paul Rogers, "Terrorism," in Paul D. Williams, ed., *Security Studies: An Introduction* (New York: Routledge, 2008), pp. 171-184.
- Paul R. Pillar, "Counterterrorism," in Paul D. Williams, ed., *Security Studies: An Introduction* (New York: Routledge, 2008), pp. 376-388.
- Joanna Spear, "Counterinsurgency," in Paul D. Williams, ed., *Security Studies: An Introduction* (New York: Routledge, 2008), pp. 389-406.
- Austin Long, "Small is Beautiful: The Counterterrorism Option in Afghanistan," *Orbis* 54,2 (Spring 2010), 199-214.

(Mid-term exam: In-class exam during regular time 13:40-16.40)

Week 8: Review of first module

This class is meant, primarily as a review. The following readings will provide a base from which to do so.

Readings:

- Richard Ullman, "Redefining Security," *International Security* 8(1) (Summer, 1983): pp. 129-153.
- Hedley Bull, "The Concept of Order in World Politics," in *The Anarchical Society: A Study of Order in World Politics* (New York: Palgrave, 1977), 3-21.

Week 9: No class

Week 10: Energy Security

Energy security entails safe, reliable and affordable access to energy resources. Since the First World War, the control over energy resources has been imperative to win wars. Developed states also rely on affordable and reliable supply of energy resources to keep their economies alive. How does energy security impact relations between states?

Readings:

- Michael T. Klare. "Energy Security", in *Security Studies: an Introduction (Second edition.)*, Williams, Paul D (ed.). Routledge, 2013, 535-552.
- Daniel Yergin. "Ensuring energy security." *Foreign affairs* (2006): 69-82.
- Tom Casier. "Russia's Energy Leverage over the EU: Myth or Reality?." *Perspectives on European Politics and Society* 12.4 (2011): 493-508.
- Lee, John. "China's geostrategic search for oil." *The Washington Quarterly* 35.3 (2012): 75-92.

Week 11: Environmental Security

Environmental degradation and global warming are expected to have profound consequences on both human security and state security. Does environmental security bring the world together in the pursuit for positive-sum gain, or will it destabilise and intensify rivalries? How can we conceptualise environmental security?

Readings:

- Simon Dalby. "Climate Change and Environmental Security", in *Security Studies: an Introduction (Second edition.)*, Williams, Paul D (ed.). Routledge, 2013, 311-323.
- Jon Barnett and W. Neil Adger. "Climate change, human security and violent conflict." *Political Geography* 26, no. 6 (2007): 639-655.

Week 12: Health Security

What is the relationship between poverty, health and security? Poverty fuels insecurity that are no longer contained to a specific region. While extreme poverty is in decline, inequality (also in the West) is on the rise. Health issues have also climbed on the security agenda over the last years as diseases such as HIV/AIDS are considered both a risk and threat to human security and state security.

Readings:

- Colin McInnes. "Health", in *Security Studies: an Introduction* (Second edition.), Williams, Paul D (ed.). Routledge, 2013, 324-336.
- Caroline Thomas, and Paul D. Williams. "Poverty", in *Security Studies: an Introduction* (Second edition.), Williams, Paul D (ed.). Routledge, 2013, 295-310.

Week 13: Societal Security

Societal security is defined as the ability of a society to reproduce its culture, traditions, language, religion, and general distinctiveness. Can societies be the referent object of security analysis? Is there a security dilemma between competing societies within a state? Is China and Tibet locked in a societal security dilemma? Does the EU challenge the societal security of its member states? Can the polarisation of Ukraine be understood as a societal security dilemma?

Readings:

- Barry R. Posen, "The security dilemma and ethnic conflict." *Survival* 35.1 (1993): 27-47.
- Ole, Waever et.al, 1993. Identity, migration and the new security agenda in Europe. *London: Pinter*.
- Barry Buzan, et.al., 1998. *Security: a new framework for analysis*. Lynne Rienner Publishers.
- Paul Roe. *Ethnic violence and the societal security dilemma*. London: Routledge, 2004.
- Glenn Diesen, and Conor Keane. "The two-tiered division of Ukraine: historical narratives in nation-building and region-building." *Journal of Balkan and Near Eastern Studies* 19.3 (2017): 313-329.

Week 14: The Rise of China

How does the rise of China affect the international system? Liberal scholars expected that the rise of China would be peaceful due to growing economic interdependence, shared institutions and reliance on predictable international law. In contrast, realist scholars warned that there is a lack of instances of a hegemon being replaced peacefully. Does China's push towards multipolarity destabilise or stabilise the world? How can we understand the growing tensions between the US and China?

Readings:

- John J. Mearsheimer. "Can China rise Peacefully?." *The National Interest* 25 (2014): 23-37.
- David C. Kang, "China's Rise: Intentions, Power and Evidence," in Myriam Dunn Cavelty and Victor Mauer, eds., *The Routledge Handbook of Security Studies* (New York: Routledge, 2010), pp. 257-267.
- Adam Segal, "Globalization Is a Double-Edged Sword: Globalization and Chinese National Security," in Jonathan Kirshner, ed., *Globalization and National Security* (New York: Routledge, 2006), pp. 293-320.
- G. John Ikenberry, "The Rise of China and the Future of the West: Can the Liberal System Survive," *Foreign Affairs* (January/February 2008), 23-37.
- Takashi Terada. "The Competing US and Chinese Models for an East Asian Economic Order." *Asia Policy* 25.2 (2018): 19-25.

Week 15: Russia – A Rising or Declining Power?

Russia is commonly portrayed as either being at the brink of collapse or all-powerful and menacing. What are the security concerns of Russia and what explains its foreign policy? Is Russia a revisionist power or a status-quo power? Is Russia currently pivoting to Asia?

- Seva Gunitsky, and Andrei P. Tsygankov. "The Wilsonian Bias in the Study of Russian Foreign Policy." *Problems of Post-Communism* (2018): 1-9.
- Richard Sakwa. "The death of Europe? Continental fates after Ukraine." *International Affairs* 91.3 (2015): 553-579.
- Thomas Graham, "The Sources of Russia's Insecurity," *Survival* 52,1 (September 2010): 55-74.
- Mearsheimer, John J. "Why the Ukraine crisis is the West's fault: the liberal delusions that provoked Putin." *Foreign Aff.* 93 (2014): 77.
- Jeffrey Mankoff. "Russia's Asia Pivot: Confrontation or Cooperation?." *Asia Policy* 19 (2015): 65-88.

Week 16: The EU and US in a Post-Western World?

For almost three decades the West has enjoyed collective global hegemony under US leadership, which impacted institutions, international law, and security arrangements. With 'the rise of the rest', how does the US and EU adjust to new realities? The West perceives itself as being stuck between preserving the 'international liberal order' and accommodating multipolarity, yet how to respond to this challenge is not clear.

Karl P. Mueller, "The Paradox of Liberal Hegemony: Globalization and U.S. National Security," in Jonathan Kirshner, ed., *Globalization and National Security* (New York: Routledge, 2006), pp. 143-170.

Layne, Christopher. "The unipolar illusion revisited: The coming end of the United States' unipolar moment." *International security* 31.2 (2006): 7-41.

Wohlforth, William C., and Stephen G. Brooks. "American primacy in perspective." *Paradoxes of Power*. Routledge, 2015. 29-38.

Nathalie Tocci, "From European Security Strategy to EU Global Strategy-Explaining the Journey," *International Politics* 54,4 (July 2017), 487-502.

Week 17: Summary and the Future of Security Studies

This class is meant, primarily, as a review for the second module and the final exam. The following readings will provide a base from which to do so.

- Stuart Croft, "What Future for Security Studies?" in Paul D. Williams, ed., *Security Studies: An Introduction* (New York: Routledge, 2008), pp. 497-511.
- Robert Ayson, "The Future of National Security," in Robert G. Patman, ed., *Globalization and Conflict: National Security in a New Strategic Era* (New York: Routledge, 2006), pp. 253-260.
- Joseph Nye, "A New World Order?" In *Understanding International Conflicts: Introduction to Theory and History*, 6th ed. (New York: Longman, 2007), 261-285.

Week 18: Exam

Appendix: Suggestions and Tips on Writing

Sources: Preference should be given to academic journals and monographs. You should always approach sources as a critical reader. Make your own judgment about the credibility of what they say and critically evaluate the sources they use and whether the empirical evidence justifies the conclusions that they reach. Internet sources can be suspect (anyone can put materials up on the web) so please approach these cautiously. Use a standard citation format, like Chicago Style/Turabian, or MLA; and footnotes rather than endnotes. No bibliography.

Focus Your Paper: A common structural problem with student papers is that they lack sufficient focus. There are some easy ways to avoid this problem. The first and best is to give yourself a very specific question (this is surprisingly hard to do well) and then structure your paper to address it. The worst case is a paper where you do not have a question. Thus it may have a general title like “The Crimean Crisis” and it may contain a lot of facts. However, there will be no explanation of why the facts matter and no explanation for why events transpired as they did rather than some other way. In short, the paper will be an unstructured discursive wander around the issues. You may show some research skills in answering in this fashion, but you will not necessarily show any structuring or analytical skills; these are essential in both academic and policy writing.

Better approach: Where you have a question, but it allows you to just give a narrative answer. For example, “What role has Russia played in the Crimean crisis?” This at least suggests a structure for the paper and could be used to establish some categories (for example, political role, military role, peacemaking role, reconstruction role). In an answer to this you would certainly display some research skills, but not the analytical skills that bring you closer to a grade of ‘A’.

Best approach: The question is focused and forces you to make judgments about causality and event importance. For example, “Why has Russia become involved in the Crimean crisis?” The difficulty with this type of a question is that there are a number of contending answers, so you really have to think about what you include, how you approach it, what you argue and how persuasive that argument is. This type of question also encourages a more sophisticated structure than merely a narrative. Thus, in answering this, your paper could be structured to summarize the event, explain its significance, and make your own interpretation of what the key factors were that produced Russian, or European, or U.S. involvement in Ukraine. You would use course material, your own research, and your own judgment to justify your conclusions about what really mattered.

Showcase Your Skills: The best papers showcase skills like:

- Your understanding of the course materials (not just your original research)
- Your ability to conduct broad and deep original research
- Your ability to comprehend and use different kinds of documents (scholarly; policy-focused; primary government)
- Your ability to situate your knowledge in wider context (historical; academic discipline)
- Your ability to draw insights from interesting, creative places (from other disciplines or expertise areas; from other historical eras; from other domains in international security)
- Your ability to make judgments about what causes what
- Your ability to present work in a suitable academic format, for example, to write a paper with a strong introduction and conclusion, to effectively footnote to provide an accurate ‘paper trail’.
- Your ability to edit your work effectively

Twenty Basic Rules: These are derived from Stephen Van Evera, *Guide to Methods for Students of Political Science* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1997), pp. 123-128 and Wayne C. Booth,

Gregory G. Colomb and Joseph M. Williams, *The Craft of Research* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1995).

Selecting a Topic, Making an Argument and Organizing Your Work

- Pick an important topic
- Pick a manageable topic
- Say something new and important
- Concentrate on making a single set of arguments
- Do not over-state or under-state your claims
- Acknowledge other viewpoints and treat them with respect
- Anticipate and preempt counterarguments
- Outline everything before writing anything
- Start with a proper introduction and end with a proper conclusion
- Use headings and sub-headings to provide structure and to convey your main points

Writing

- Identify – and write to – your audience
- Get to the point
- Stick to the point
- Stay out of the weeds
- Be precise
- Be concise
- Avoid jargon
- Always write second and third drafts
- Never plagiarize
- Proofread every single words