האוניברסיטה העברית בירושלים

סילבוס

תיאוריות של ביטחון בינ"ל - קורס יסוד לתלמידי מחקר - 58929

תאריך עדכון אחרון 2021-09-12

נקודות זכות באוניברסיטה העברית: 4

תואר: מוסמך

היחידה האקדמית שאחראית על הקורס: יחסים בין-לאומיים

השנה הראשונה בתואר בה ניתן ללמוד את הקורס: 0

סמסטר: שנתי

שפת ההוראה: אנגלית

קמפוס: הר הצופים

מורה אחראי על הקורס (רכז): גליה בר נתן

דוא"ל של המורה האחראי על הקורס: galia.press-barnathan@mail.huji.ac.il

שעות קבלה של רכז הקורס:

מורי הקורס:

פרופ גליה בר-נתן

תאור כללי של הקורס:
הקורס מציע סקירה מקיפה ויסודית של גישות שונות לחקר הביטחון הבינלאומי במחקר היחסים הבינלאומיים. הוא בוחן הן גישות פוזיטיביסטיות מסורתיות לביטחון והן גישות ביקורתיות לביטחון. לאורך הקורס נבחן ונשווה את הגישות השונות דרך בחינה של מושגי יסוד ושל ויכוחים מרכזיים בתוך התחום של לימודי ביטחון. הקורס הינו קורס תל"ם ויתנהל כולו באנגלית.

מטרות הקורס:
Enhance students' understanding of the core concepts in the field of international security. Critically compare the main theoretical approaches in the field.

תוצרי למידה
בסיומו של קורס זה, סטודנטים יהיו מסוגלים:
By the end of the course students should be able:
1. To be familiar with the core concepts of international security studies and the development of the field.
2. To critically compare different research approaches- positivist and critical.
3. To be familiar with the central theoretical debates surrounding issues of International Security
4. To apply theory to study empirical security challenges and to form an opinion with regard to best conceptual tool for understanding security in the 21st century.

דרישות נוכחות (%):
100%

שיטת ההוראה בקורס:The class will combine a lecture and active discussions, some led by the students. Students are expected to come prepared to class, after reading the obligatory readings and commenting on Moodle, and participate actively in class. Class discussion is conducted in English

רשימת נושאים / תכנית הלימודים בקורס:
What is "security"?
Positivist vs. critical approaches to international security
Securitization
Ontological security
Feminist security studies
Emotions and security
Technology and security

Realism and security- Balance of Power
Realism and security- Hegemony
Deterrence
Neoliberalism and security- What role to international institutions? Institutions and cooperation, institutions and strategic restraint
Constructivism and security- the systemic level- the role of systemic norms
Constructivism and security- the regional level- regional security communities, diffusion of systemic norms, practices
Constructivism and security- the domestic level- Identity, culture and security
Domestic politics and international security- the impact of interest groups, regime type, public opinion, on the making of security decisions and on broader systemic trends
The role of non-state actors in the security realm- privatization of security
Asymmetric warfare and its implications
Transnational security challenges- the spread of non-conventional weapons
Transnational security challenges- Environmental security
Transnational security challenges- terrorism and organized crime
The political economy of security I- the economic foundations of power; the role of economic sanctions
The political economy of security II- the "commercial peace"- interdependence and conflict
The second image reversed- impact of a conflictual international environment on the state

חומר חובה לקריאה:
[Changes in the sylabus may occur. Final version will be on moodle]
Week 1: Introduction, What is "security"? How do positivist and critical approaches conceptualize security?
Miller, B. 2001. "The Concept of Security: Should it be Redefined?" Journal of Strategic Studies 24: 13-42.
Steven Walt, "The Renaissance of Security Studies" International Studies Quarterly 35 1991 [see also reply by Kolodiejc].
Paris, Roland. (2006). "Human Security: Paradigm Shift or Hot Air?" International Security 26(2): 87-102.
Arnold Wolfers, "National Security as an Ambiguous Concept" in Wolfers, Discord and Collaboration- Essays on International Politics (Johns Hopkins University Press, 1962), pp.147-166.
Buzan Barry and Hansen Lene, The Evolution of International Security Studies (Cambridge University Press, 2009), Chapter 1, NOT "Introduction".

Week 2: Unconventional approaches to security I- Securitization theory
Buzan, Barry. Waever, Ole and de Wilde Jaap. (1998). Security: A New Framework

for Analysis. Boulder: Lynne Rienner. pp. 21-48.

Stritzel, Holger. (2007). "Towards a Theory of Securitization: Copenhagen and Beyond" European Journal of International Relations 13(3): 357-383.

Williams, C. Michael (2003). "Words, Images, Enemies: Securitization and International Politics" International Studies Quarterly 47(4): 511-31.

Lupovici, Amir, "Pacifization: Toward a Theory of the Social Construction of Peace " International Studies Review (2013) 15, 204–228.

Lupovici Amir, "The Limits of Securitization Theory: Observational Criticism and the Curious Absence of Israel", International Studies Review 2014, pp.1-21.

Philippe Bourbeau, "Moving Forward Together: Logics of the Securitisation Process," Millennium - Journal of International Studies 43, no. 1 (September 1, 2014): 187–206.

See also:

Security Dialogue, August-October 2011; 42 (4-5) Special issue on "The Politics of Securitization" Guest editors: Ulrik Pram Gad and Karen Lund Petersen

Thierry Balzacq, "The 'Essence' of Securitization: Theory, Ideal Type, and a Sociological Science of Security," International Relations 29, no. 1 (March 1, 2015): 103–13

Rita Floyd, "Extraordinary or Ordinary Emergency Measures: What, and Who, Defines the 'Success' of Securitization?," Cambridge Review of International Affairs 0, no. 0 (September 24, 2015): 1–18

Huysmans, Jeff, (2000) "The European Union and the Securitization of Migration", Journal of Common Market Studies 38(5): 751-777

Week 3: Unconventional approaches to security II- Ontological security

Steele, Brent. (2008) Ontological Security in International Relations: Self-Identity and the IR State. London: Routledge. pp. 49-75 (Chp. 3).

Mitzen, Jennifer. (2006). "Ontological Security in World Politics: State Identity and the Security Dilemma". European Journal of International Relations 12(3): 341-70.

Lupovici, Amir. (2012). Ontological Dissonance, Clashing Identities, and Israel's Unilateral Steps towards the Palestinians. Review of International Studies 38(4): 809-833.

Zarakol Ayse, "Ontological (In)security and State Denial of Historical Crimes: Turkey and Japan" International Relations 2010 24: 3.

Kinnvall Catarina (2004) "Globalization and Religious Nationalism: Self Identity, and the Search for Ontological Security", Political Psychology 25(5):741-767.

Week 4: Unconventional approaches to security III- Feminist security studies and The role of emotions in security - In this week we will discuss two issues that are not necessarily related. First we will discuss feminist security studies. Then we will shift to a topic that in many ways was able to develop in our field thanks to the growing acceptance of critical approaches to security- the place of emotions in international politics and security more specifically. What can be the impact of emotions on motivations to go to war, negotiation styles, taking upon oneself international commitments, the importance attributed to status and prestige etc.? Can we study emotions 'scientifically'? Whose emotions should we study- decision-makers? the public? Or "the State"? Specific readings will be assigned before the class.

Feminist security studies:
Laura Sjoberg (2009)"Introduction to Security Studies: Feminist Contributions",
Security Studies, 18:2, 183-213.
J. Ann Tickner. (1992). Gender and International Relations: Feminist Perspectives on
Achieving Global Security. New York: Columbia University Press. Chapter 2 [On
National Security]
Carol Cohn. (1987). "Sex and Death in the Rational World of Defense Intellectuals".
Signs, 12(4): 687-718.
Eric M. Blanchard. (2003). "Gender, International Relations, and the Development
of Feminist Security Theory." Signs, 28 (4): 1289.
Hansen, L. (2000). "The Little Mermaid's Silent Security Dilemma and the Absence
of Gender in the Copenhagen School," Millennium 29: 285-306
Tickner, Ann. (2013). "Gender in World Politics", in: John Baylis, Steve Smith, and
Patricia Owens (eds.). The Globalization of World Politics: An Introduction to
International Relations. 6th ed. Oxford: Oxford University Press. pp. 259-272 [כללי
יותר]
Emotions and Security
Roland Bleiker and Emma Hutchison, "Fear no more: emotions and world politics"
Review of International Studies (2008), 34, pp.115–135.
Neta C. Crawford , "The Passion of World Politics: Propositions on Emotion and
Emotional Relationships" International Security, Vol. 24, No. 4 (Spring, 2000), pp.
116-156.
Oded Lowenheim and Gadi Heimann, "Revenge in International Politics", Security
Studies, 17:4 (2008), pp. 1–40.
Gadi Heimann, "What does it take to be a great power-The story of France joining
the big Five" Review of International Studies September 2014, pp 1 – 22.
Steve Wood, " Prestige in world politics: History, theory, expression", International
Politics Vol. 50, 3, 387–411.
Mercer, Jonathan. 2014. "Feeling like a state: social emotion and identity,"
International Theory 6(3): 515-535.
Reus-Smit, Christian. 2014. "Emotions and the social," International Theory 6(3):
568-574

Week 5: Technology and Security- Technology has a significant impact on many
security dynamics, influencing many of the debates we will discuss. Most familiar is
the impact of technology on the offense-defense balance, but other issues include
the impact of technology on the likelihood of cooperation, on the nature of the
battlefield (casualties, automated weapons systems). These, in turn, have long term
impact on more fundamental issues of identity and norms. We want to touch upon
all these in this class, bringing examples from various technological innovations and
their impact- from the pike to the age of cyber.

G. Herrera (2006) Technology and International Transformation: The Railroad, The
Atom Bomb and the politics of Technological Change. State University of New York
Press. Ch.1.
- K. Adams (2003/4) "Attack and Conquer? International Anarchy and the Offense
Defense-Deterrence Balance" International Security 28(3): 45-83.

Keir Lieber, "Grasping the Technological Peace: The Offense-Defense Balance and International Security" International Security, Vol. 25, No. 1 (Summer, 2000), pp. 71-104.

Michael i. Boyle (2013) "The Costs and Consequences of Drone warfare" International Affairs 89(1): 1-29.

On Cyber:
Joseph Nye, The Future of Power, Chapter 5: Diffusion and Cyber Power
Thomas Rid, "Cyber War will not take place", Journal of Strategic Studies, 35(1) 2012.

Week 6: Realism and International Security- Balance of Power , Balancing, and Deterrence- In this week we will discuss one of the core concepts of realist theory-the balance of power- what it means, what forms of balancing exist, what is the role of the security dilemma in the maintenance of the BOP. We will then turn to one of the core concepts that- if operates well- is a key for a stable BOP, namely the concept of Deterrence. Can deterrence build on rational choice assumptions (that is, on the relative material power of the actors), or are there other important factors involved in producing stable deterrence? What is the impact of polarity? What can a constructivist reading of deterrence as a social construct tell us? And what if MAD may no longer be the 'real' situation? So many questions, so little time....Lots of things to read and review here. Specific readings, as usual, will be assigned ahead of time.

Balancing
Mearsheimer, Tragedy of Great Power Politics, chapter 2: "Anarchy and the Struggle for Power" [מכם לרבים ודאי מוכר], chapter 10: "Great Power Politics in the Twenty-First Century."

[and of course: Kenneth Waltz, Theory of International Politics 1979- the eternal reference point]

Joseph M. Parent and Sebastian Rosato, "Balancing in Neorealism," International Security 2, 40 (Fall 2015), 51-86. (on internal and external balancing)

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

Jeffrey Taliaferro, "Security Seeking under Anarchy: Defensive Realism Reconsidered," International Security 25, 3 (Winter 2000/2001), 128-61.

Stacie E. Goddard, "When Right Makes Might: How Prussia's Rhetoric Overturned the Balance of Power," International Security 33, 3 (winter 2008/2009), 110-142.

Variations on the concept of Balancing
Stephen Walt, "Alliance Formation and the Balance of Power," International Security 9, 4 (Spring 1985), 3-43. (Balance of threats)

Steven David, "Explaining Third World Alignment," World Politics 43, 2 (January

1991), 233-56. (Omni-balancing)

Mohammad Ayoob, "Subaltern Realism: International Relations Theory Meets the Third World," International Relations Theory and the Third World, Stephanie G. Neuman, ed., (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1997), 31-54.

Michael Barnett and Jack S. Levy, "Domestic Sources of Alliances and Alignment: The Case of Egypt, 1962–73," International Organization 45, 3 (Summer 1991), 369-95. (another omni balancing example)

..and now to the popular notion of "soft balancing"- useful or conceptual stretching?
Robert A. Pape, "Soft Balancing against the United States," International Security 30, no. 1 (Summer 2005);
T. V. Paul, "Soft Balancing in the Age of U.S. Primacy," International Security 30, no. 1 (Summer 2005);
Stephen G. Brooks and William C. Wohlforth, "Hard Times for Soft Balancing," International Security 30, no. 1 (Summer 2005);
Keir Lieber and G Alexander, "Waiting for balancing: why the world is not pushing back", International Security (2005)
If not balancing, then what?
Randall Schweller, "Bandwagoning for profit- Bringing the Revisionist State back in" International Security 1994.
William Wohlforth "The stability of a unipolar world", International Security (Summer 1999).
Paul Schroeder, "Historical Reality vs. Neorealist Theory," International Security 19/1 (Summer 1994), pp. 108-148. [on hiding]
Stephen G. Brooks and William C. Wohlforth, World out of balance- International Relations and the challenge of American Primacy (Princeton University Press, 2008).
Jack S. Levy and William R. Thompson, Balancing on Land and at Sea: Do States Ally against the Leading Global Power?" International Security 35, 1 (Summer 2010), 7-43.

Daniel H. Nexon, "Balance of Power on Balance", World Politics, Volume 61 (2), April 2009, pp. 330-359.
Deterrence
Robert Jervis, "Rational Deterrence: Theory and evidence" World Politics 1989 pp.183-207.
Joseph Nye, "Nuclear learning and US-Soviet Security Regimes", International Organization Vol.41(3) (Summer 1987) 371-402.
Amir Lupovici, Power of deterrence: emotions, identity and American and Israeli wars of resolve (Cambridge University Press, 2016), ch.1-3.
Keir A. Lieber and Daryl G. Press, "The End of MAD? The Nuclear Dimension of US Primacy", International Security Vol.30(4) (Spring 2006), 7-44.
Deterrence in a-symmetric conflicts
Lupovici, Amir (2010). "The Emerging Fourth Wave of Deterrence Theory—Toward a New Research Agenda". International Studies Quarterly 54(1): 705-32.

Adler, Emanuel. (2009). "Complex Deterrence in the Asymmetric-Warfare Era". In .V. Paul, James J. Wirtz and Patrick M. Morgan (eds.) Complex Deterrence: Strategy in the Global Age. pp. 85-108.
Nuclear deterrence and nuclear proliferation- motivations and implications for stability [this is probably a topic for a separate class, but for now it fits well here]
Matthew Fuhrmann, "Spreading Temptation: Proliferation and Peaceful Nuclear Cooperation," International Security 34, 1 (summer 2009), 7-41.

Scott D. Sagan, "Why do States Build Nuclear Weapons? Three Models in Search of the Bomb," International Security, 21, 3 (1996-97), 54-86;

Scott D. Sagan, "The Causes of Nuclear Weapons Proliferation," Annual Review of Political Science 14 (2011), 225–244.

Nuno P. Monteiro and Alexandre Debs, "The Strategic Logic of Nuclear Proliferation," International Security 39, 2 (fall 2014), 7-51.

Etel Solingen, Nuclear Logics: Contrasting Paths in East Asia and the Middle East (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2007).

Scott D. Sagan and Kenneth N. Waltz, The Spread of Nuclear Weapons: A Debate Renewed, 2nd ed. (New York: Norton, 2003).

Kenneth Waltz, "The Spread of Nuclear Weapons: More May Better," Adelphi Papers, Number 171 (London: International Institute for Strategic Studies, 1981)

Week 7: Hegemony and Unipolarity-
Unlike arguments about the dunamics of balance-of-power, a competing (?) Realist argument suggests that the international system is often characterized by a highly uneven distribution of power- leading to work on the concept of Unipolarity and the concept of Hegemony. We explore here both. Hegemony, unlike unipolarity, is a concept that despite its realist underpinnings in fact builds also on neoliberal institutionalist arguments, as well as having some constructivist developments. We explore these later.

Unipolarity

Christopher Layne, "The Unipolar Illusion Revisited- The Coming End of the United States' Unipolar Moment" International Security, Vol. 31, No. 2 (Fall 2006), pp. 7–41. …and the opposite argument about the endurance of unipolarity below. What do you think?
Special volume of World Politics 61(1) 2009:
G. John Ikenberr y, Michael Mastanduno, and William C. Wohlforth, "Introduction: Unipolarity, State Behavior, and Systemic Consequences."
Stephen M. Walt, "Alliances in a Unipolar World."

William C. Wohlforth, "Unipolarity, Status Competition, and Great Power War."
Nuno Monteiro, "Unrest Assured: Why Unipolarity is not Peaceful," *International Security*, 36, 3 (Winter 2011/12), pp. 9–40.

Hegemony, hegemonic aspirations, and the consequences for war and peace
Robert Gilpin, *War and Change in World Politics* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1981), pp. 9-49.
John Mearsheimer, *The Tragedy of Great Power Politics* (New York: Norton, 2001), Chapter 2.(the part on aspiration for hegemony)
G. John Ikenberry, and Charles Kupchan (1990) "Socialization and Hegemonic Power." *International Organization* 44 (Summer). (hegemony and socialization)
Robert O. Cox, "Social Forces, States and World Orders: Beyond International Relations Theory", in: Robert Keohane (ed.,), *Neorealism and its Critics* , pp.205-249 [especially from 217] (on Gramscian hegemony. Adopted by both constructivist and critical IR scholars)
International Studies Perspectives Vol.9 (3) August 2008, "ISP Forum: American Empire", pp.272-330. – Interesting articles on what Empire means and what is the nature of "American empire".
Barry R. Posen, "Command of the Commons: The Foundation of U.S. Hegemony," *International Security*, 28,1 (Summer 2003), pp. 5-46.

Christopher J. Fettweis, "Unipolarity, Hegemony and the New Peace", *Security Studies* 26(3):423-451 May 2017. [another skeptic on unipolarity and peace]

Week 8: Neoliberal Institutionalism and security-
The question of the independent role of international institutions is at the heart of the Realist-Neoliberal debate. The discussion over the role of institutions takes several forms: the role of institutions in facilitating cooperation under anarchy in general, and its applicability to the challenging security realm, the ability of powerful states to use international institutions to gain legitimacy and provide reassurance, the Realist competition dynamics that also take place in institutional settings, and from a constructivist perspective- the ability of institutions to socialize actors into the desirable rules and norm. We will explore here these different issues, as well as the role of regional institutions in maintain regional stability.

Robert Jervis, "Security Regimes" *International Organization*, Vol. 36, No. 2, [special issue on International Regimes] (Spring, 1982), pp. 357-378.
G. John Ikenberry, *After Victory: Institutions, Strategic Restraint, and the Rebuilding of Order After Major Wars* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2001). Chapter ?

John J. Mearsheimer, "Bound to Fail: The Rise and Fall of the Liberal International Order," *International Security* 43, 4 (Spring 2019), pp., 7-50.

David Lake, "Beyond Anarchy- The Importance of Security Institutions"

International Security Vol.26(1) (Summer 2001), pp.129-160.
Celeste A. Wallander and Robert O. Keohane, "Risk, Threat, and Security Institutions" (Ch.1), and , Robert Keohane, Helga Haftendorn and Celeste Wallander, "Conclusion", in: Helga Haftendorn , Robert O. Koehane and Celeste Wallander (eds.,) Imperfect Unions- Security Institutions over Time and Space (Oxford University Press, 1999).
Alexandra Gheciu. 2005. "Security Institutions as Agents of Socialization? NATO and the "New Euorpe", International Organization, 59:4, 973-1012.
Regional Organizations and Security
- Michael Barnett, "Partners in peace? The UN, regional organizations, and peace keeping" Review of International studies 21(1995).
Arie Kacowicz and Galia Press-Barnathan, Regional Security Governance chapter [upload].

Week 9: Constructivism and security- the systemic, regional and state levels- the role of systemic norms, state identity and regional identity and norms
Constructivist arguments are prevalent at most levels of analysis linked to questions of international stability, managing conflicts, identifying threats and explaining motivations for action. In this week we will explore these different dynamics. We will start with the systemic level- What is the impact, if at all, of the normative international environment within which actors operate? At the deepest level we can find Wendt's notion of cultures of anarchy, constituting who the actors are and how they fundamentaly view other units in the system. At a more functional level, different norms exist about conflict management- just war theory, prohibition norms regarding different weapons, the norm of humanitarian intervention (R2P), or the attempt to establish a norm on preventive war. What is the role of these norms? Do they really contrain actors? How? Under what conditions? We will then discuss the literature on identity, culture and security policy. We will conclude, if there is time, with a discussion of the concept of regional security communities.
The systemic level
Alexander Wendt, Social Theory of International Politics, chapter 6 ("Three cultures of Anarchy")
Norms about il/legitimate weapons:
Nina Tannenwald, "The Nuclear Taboo: The United States and the Normative Basis of Nuclear Non-Use," International Organization 53/3 (Summer 1999): 433-68.
Richard Price, "Reversing the Gun Sights: Transnational Civil Society Targets Land Mines," International Organization 52/3 (Summer 1998): 613-44
Norms regarding legitimate military intervention:
Dingott Alkopher, Tal. (2007). "The Role of Rights in the Social Construction of Wars: From the Crusades to Humanitarian Interventions" Millennium, vol.36, no.1.
Or
Tal Dingott Alkopher, Fighting for Rights: From Holy Wars to Humanitarian Military Intervention (Ashgate 2013), Ch. 4 (Kosovo)
Martha Finnemore, "Constructing Norms of Humanitarian Intervention," in: Peter Katzenstein, ed., Culture of National Security, pp.153-85.
Security Communities

Emanuel Adler and Michael Barnett (eds.), Security Communities (Cambridge University Press, 1998), Ch. 1-2. [עדין המושג את מכיר שלא למי רק]
Amitav Acharya, "Collective identity and conflict management in Southeast Asia" in: Adler and Barnett (eds.,) Security Communities, pp.198-227. - Communities of Practice
Adler Emanuel and Patricia Greeve, "When Security Community meets Balance of Power: overlapping regional mechanisms of security governance" Review of International Studies, (2009) Vol.35, pp. 59-84.
Adler, Emanuel. (2008) "The spread of security Communities: Communities of Practice, Self –Restraint and NATO's Post Cold War Transformation" European Journal of International Relations 14 (2):195-230. אירופה
Vincent Pouliot, "The Logic of Practicality: A Theory of Practice of Security Communities," International Organization 62, 2 (April 2008), 257-288.

Identity, Culture and Security
- Thomas Berger, "From Sword to Chrysanthemum- Japan's Culture of Anti Militarism" International Security 17(4) (1993), pp.119-150.] the classic article that you are very likely to know already]
Alastair Iain Johnston, " Thinking about Strategic Culture" International Security, Volume 19, Number 4, Spring 1995, pp. 32-64.
Jeff Checkel,"Ideas, Institutions and the Gorbachev Foreign Policy Revolution", World Politics Vol. 45, No. 2 (Jan., 1993), pp. 271-300.
Benjamin Kienzle, "The role of ideas in EU responses to international crises: Comparing the cases of Iraq and Iran", Cooperation and Conflict 48 (3) (2013) pp.424-443. [on competing domestic ideas and the ability to generate a common European foreign policy].
Amitav Acharya, " How Ideas Spread: Whose Norms Matter? Norm Localization and Institutional Change in Asian Regionalism" International Organization Vol. 58, No. 2, Spring, 2004 pp.239-275. [Why are certain ideas/norms adopted by certain states and others are rejected? Southeast Asia and the norm of humanitarian intervention.] [see also his book: Whose Ideas Matter? Agency and Power in Asian Regionalism (Cornell University Press, 2009)].

Week 10: Domestic politics and international security
There is no "theory of the domestic sources of security". Under this heading we discuss multiple bodies of literature that examine the impact of interest groups, regime type, public opinion, on the making of security decisions and on broader systemic trends. While most of this literature is identified with liberal, second image arguments, another important body of literature that directly combines external pressures and domestic constraints in the making of state international behavior is that of Neoclassical Realism. Each of the articles below represents one such genre of work.
Jack Snyder, Myths of Empire- Domestic Politics and International Ambition (Cornel University Press, 1993), ch.1-2. על[impact of domestic structure and interest groups on over-expansion].
Mansfield Edward and Snyder Jack, "Democratic Transitions, Institutional Strength,

and War" International Organization, Vol. 56, No. 2 (Spring, 2002), pp. 297-337 [Democratization and war]
OR: Jack Snyder and Edward Mansfield, Electing to Fight: Why Emerging Democracies Go to War (Cambridge: MIT Press, 2005).
Chaim Kaufmann, "Threat Inflation and the Failure of the Marketplace of Ideas: The Selling of the Iraq War," International Security 29 (1) (Summer 2004): 5-48. [Why does the 'free market of ideas' does not always work, also in democracies]
Christopher Gelpi, Peter Feaver, and Jason Reifler, "Success Matters: Casualty Sensitivity and the War in Iraq," IS 30/3 (Winter 2005/06): 7-46 [impact of public opinion]
Amy Oakes, "Diversionary War and Argentina's Invasion of the Falkland Islands," Security Studies 15, no. 3 (July-September 2006): 431-46[diversionary war theory]
Neoclassical Realism:
Norrin M. Ripsman, Jeffrey W. Taliaferro, and Steven E. Lobell, Neoclassical Realist Theory of International Politics (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2016). (choose chapter)

Randall L. Schweller, "Unanswered Threats: A Neoclassical Realist Theory of Underbalancing," International Security 29, 2 (Fall 2004), 159-201.

Week 11- A new security environment? Non-state violent actors and their implications, both on asymmetric warfare and on what is termed the 'privatization of security'.
Into the 21st century we see a growing prominence of non-state violent actors- some working with states (like PMCs), some challenging them (terrorist groups, mercenaries..). What are the implications of this phenomenon for our basic premises on the actors relevant for providing and "doing" security? What are the historical precedence of this? How different are they? In this week we will discuss some of these implications, including the interesting phenomenon of the rise of private military contractors, and the perhaps most central current-day phenomenon of asymmetric warfare and its many implications.
The privatization of security
Deborah Avant, "The Privatization of Security and Change in the Control of Force" International Studies Perspectives 5 (2004): 153-157. [also see her book: Deborah D. Avant ,The Market for Force: The Consequences of Privatizing Security (Cambridge University Press, 2005).]
D. J. Francis, "Mercenary Intervention in Sierra Leone: Providing National Security or International Exploitation?" Third World Quarterly 20(2) (1999): 319-338.
Anna Leander, " The Power to Construct International Security: On the Significance of Private Military Companies" Millennium - Journal of International Studies 2005 33: 803.
P.W. Singer, 'Corporate Warriors: The Rise and Ramifications of the Privatized Military Industry' International Security 26, No. 3, (Winter 2001/2002).
Oded Löwenheim, Predators and Parasites -Persistent Agents of Transnational

Harm and Great Power Authority (Michigan University Press, 2007) ch.??

Asymmetric warfare-
With the growing prominence of asymmetric conflicts, what are the implications for our traditional theories? For the nature of conflict? What are the challenges facing states in such conflicts (military, political and normative)?

Ivan Arreguin-Toft, "How the Weak win wars- a Theory of Asymmetric Conflict" International Security, Vol. 26, No. 1 (Summer 2001), pp. 93–128.

OR HIS BOOK: Ivan Arreguín-Toft, How the weak win wars : a theory of asymmetric conflict (Cambridge University Press 2005) Ch.?? [see e-reserve, open to class] על

Gil Merom, How Democracies Lose Small Wars: State, Society, and the Failures of France in Algeria, Israel in Lebanon , and the United States in Vietnam (Cambridge University Press, 2003), ch.

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Thomas Homer-Dixon, "On The Threshold: Environmental Changes as Causes of Acute Conflict" International Security 1991 Vol.16(2).

- Colin H. Kahl, "Population Growth, Environmental Degradation, and State Sponsored Violence: The Case of Kenya, 1991-93", International Security Vol.23(2) (Fall 1998), pp.80-119.

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Week 13: The political economy of security - the economic foundations of power;
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Norrin M. Ripsman, "False Dichotomies: Why Economics is High Politics", in: Peter
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(Lynn Rienner 2005), pp. 15-34.
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Robert Pape, "Explaining Military Coercion," Bombing to Win (Ithaca: Cornell
University Press, 1996), 12-54. (ER)
Daniel Byman and Matthew Waxman, The Dynamics of Coercion: American Foreign
Policy and the Limits of Military Might (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press,
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Jean-Marc F. Blanchard, Edward D. Mansfield, and Norrin M. Ripsman, eds., Power
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(London: Frank Cass, 2000). (ER)
Mark R. Brawley, "The Political Economy of Balance of Power Theory," in Balance of
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Galia Press-Barnathan, The Political Economy of Transitions to Peace (Pittsburgh University Press) ch.1
Mor Mitrani and Galia Press-Barnathan, The (de)Construction of "Economic Peace"- "Economic Peace" Strategies in the Israeli-Palestinian Conflict: Between Theory and Reality", in: Lutmar Carmela and Miller Benjamin (eds.,) Regional peacemaking and conflict management- A comparative perspective (Routledge 2015)
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Dale C. Copeland, Economic Interdependence and War (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2014), 16-50.
See also:
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Joanne Gowa and Edward D. Mansfield, "Power Politics and International Trade," American Political Science Review 87 (June 1993), 408-420.
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Erik Gartzke, Quan Li, and Charles Boehmer, "Economic Interdependence and International Conflict," International Organization 55 (spring 2002), 391-438.

<u>חומר לקריאה נוספת:</u>
Final sylabus appears on Moodle

<u>הערכת הקורס - הרכב הציון הסופי :</u>
מבחן מסכם בכתב/בחינה בעל פה 40 %
הרצאה 0 %

השתתפות 30 %
הגשת עבודה 30 %
הגשת תרגילים 0 %
הגשת דו"חות 0 %
פרויקט מחקר 0 %
בחנים 0 %
אחר 0 %

<u>מידע נוסף / הערות:</u>
1. Active participation (readings discussion on Moodle at least 6 times per semester, class discussion, brief in-class presentations) 30%
2. Short paper (due at the end of the Fall semester) 20%
3. Review paper (due at the end of the Spring semester) 50%