



**St. George Campus  
2016-2017**

## **POL459/2216Y: The Military Instrument of Foreign Policy**

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### **Synopsis:**

This combined undergraduate-graduate course analyzes the relationship of military force to politics. Nuclear war and deterrence, conventional war, revolutionary war, terrorism, counter-insurgency, cyberwar, and drone warfare are examined from the perspectives of the U.S., Russia, China, and other contemporary military powers.

Foreign policy provides the context within which one should examine the existence of and the utility of the military instrument of foreign policy. And, as Henry Brandon has said, foreign policy begins at home. Therefore, the introductory part of the course deals with the theory and politics of civil-military relations and examines the military establishments of the major powers with special emphasis on those of the USA, Russia/CIS, and China. This section will also explore the problems of measuring equivalence.

The second part investigates the various theories of conflict, the problems of nuclear war and deterrence, the diverse forms of conventional war, and the efficacy of war termination strategies. The final section contains case studies of some of these problems.

The aim of this course is to help acquaint students of international relations with the vital importance of the military instrument in the formulation and implementation of foreign policy and in the functioning of the international system. It is also hoped that thus they will be able to employ additional tools of analysis in the study of international relations.

### **Course Requirements:**

1. Two papers: 10-15 double-spaced pages (each). First paper due November 21, 2016. Second paper due March 13, 2017. **Each paper is worth 30%. Graduate students** will present one paper, 25-30 double-spaced pages due March 13, 2017. **(60%)**
2. Two reaction papers to any of the readings: 1 page double-spaced (each). First reaction paper due November 14, 2016. Second reaction paper due March 13, 2017. **Each paper is worth 5%.**
3. Seminar presentations (**one** per term), and participation (**30%**) Seminar presentations are up to 15 minutes each.

*Late Penalty: 2% per day (includes weekends)*

**Agenda:**

Each week students will be directed to some specific readings, both current and “classical”, within each topic. The student presenters are encouraged to research and read considerably more widely on the topic when they address the particular seminar.

**Prerequisite:** POL 208Y, or permission of instructor.

**Statement on Plagiarism:**

Cheating and plagiarism are serious academic offences and will be dealt with accordingly. For further clarification and information, please see the University of Toronto’s policy on plagiarism at <http://www.writing.utoronto.ca/advice/using-sources/how-not-to-plagiarize>

## Topics and Readings

### Week 1: Civil—Military Relations

#### *Required readings:*

- Janine Davidson, "The Contemporary Presidency: Military Friction and Presidential Decision Making: Explaining the Broken Dialogue", *Presidential Studies Quarterly* 43:1 (March 2013): 129-145.
- David M. Lampton, "How China is Ruled: Why it's Getting Harder for Beijing to Govern." *Foreign Affairs* 93, no. 1 (January 2014): 74-84.
- Dale Herspring, "Civil-Military Relations in the United States and Russia", *Armed Forces & Society* Vol. 35, No. 4, 2009: 667-687.
- Sumit Ganguly, "A Tale of Two Trajectories: Civil-Military Relations in Pakistan and India", *Journal Of Strategic Studies*, Vol. 39, Iss. 1, 2016  
<http://www.tandfonline.com/doi/abs/10.1080/01402390.2015.1051285?journalCode=fjss>  
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#### *Additional (suggested) readings:*

- Aurel Braun, "The Politics of International Relations: Building Bridges and the Quest for Relevance", *Romanian Political Science Review, Studii Politice, Analele Universitatii Bucuresti, Bucharest*, Vol. XV. No. 4, 2015 pp. 557-569.  
<http://www.studiapolitica.eu/Archive/2015/studia-politica-vol-xv-no-4-2015>
- Suzanne C. Nielsen, "American civil–military relations today: the continuing relevance of Samuel P. Huntington's *The Soldier and the State*", *International Affairs*, 88:2 (2012): 369-376
- James Pattison, "The legitimacy of the military, private military and security companies, and just war theory", *European Journal of Political Theory*, 11:2 (2012) 131-154.
- Laura R. Cleary, "Lost in Translation: The Challenge of Exporting Models of Civil-Military Relations", *Prism* Vol. 3, No. 2, 2012: 21-37.
- Michael F. Wuthrich, "Factors influencing military—media relations in Turkey." *The Middle East Journal* 66:2 (2012) 253-272.
- Marybeth P. Ulrich, "The General Stanley McChrystal Affair: A Case Study in Civil Military Relations." *Parameters* 41, no. 1 (2011): 86-100
- Markus, Kienscherf, "A programme of global pacification: US counterinsurgency doctrine and the biopolitics of human (in) security", *Security Dialogue* Vol. 42, No.6, 2011: 517-535.
- Peter D. Feaver, "Right to be Right: Civil-Military Relations and the Iraq Surge Decision", *International Security*, Spring 2011, Vol. 35, No. 35: 87-125.
- Jaroslawa, Cwiek-Karpowicz, "Who Makes Decisions? Foreign Policy-Shaping Mechanisms in Russia", *The Polish Quarterly of International Affairs* Vol. 19, No. 3, 2010: 69-90, 1.
- Clay Risen, "Is Less Defense the Best Offense", *The New York Times*, August 5, 2011.
- Michael P. Noonan, "Mind the Gap: Post-Iraq Civil-Military Relations in America", *Foreign Policy Research Institute*, FPRI article: January, 2008.
- Michael Desch, "Civil-Militarism: The Civilian Origin of the New American Militarism", *Orbis*, Vol. 50, No. 3: Summer 2006.
- Robert Hislope, "Crime and Honor in a Weak State: Paramilitary Forces and Violence in Macedonia", *Problems of Post-Communism*, May-June 2004, pp. 18-27.
- Amanda J. Dory, "American Civil Security: The U.S. Public and Homeland Security", *The Washington Quarterly*: Winter, 2004.
- Jack Snyder, "Civil-Military Relations and the Cult of the Offensive, 1914 and 1984", from *Military Strategy and the Origins of the First World War*, edited by Steven E. Miller, Sean M. Lynn-Jones, and Stephen Van Evera, Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1991, pp. 20-58.
- Sam C. Sarkesian, "The Price Paid by the Military", *Orbis*, Vol. 45, No. 4, Fall 2001, pp. 557-568.
- Kurt Dassel, "Civilians, Soldiers and Strife: Domestic Sources of International Aggression", *International Security*, Vol. 23, No. 1 Summer 1998 pp. 107-140.

- Joseph J. Collins, and Ole R. Holsti, "Correspondence: Civil-Military Relations: How wide is the Gap?" *International Security*, Fall 1999, pp. 199-207.
- Constantine P. Danopoulos and Daniel G. Zirker, eds., *Civil Military Relations in the Soviet and Yugoslav Successor States*, Westview, 1996.
- Don M. Snider and Miranda A. Carlton Carew eds., *U.S: Civil Military Relations: In Crisis or Transition?* Washington CSIS Books 1995.
- Eliot A. Cohen, "A Revolution in Warfare", *Foreign Affairs*, March/April 1996, pp. 37-55.
- S. Andreski, *Military Organization and Society*, London, Routledge & Kaegan Paul 1968.
- Myron Rush, "Guns Over Growth in Soviet Policy" *International Security*, Vol. 7, No. 3 (Winter 1982/83) pp. 167- 179.
- Dimitri, K. Simes, "The Military and Militarism in Soviet Society" *International Security*, Vol: 5, No. 3 (Winter 1981/82) pp. 112 - 143.
- Kenneth Waltz, *Man, the State, and War*, New York, Columbia University Press 1959.
- Morris Janowitz, *The Professional Soldier*, Glencoe, Ill, Free Press 1960.
- "Armed forces and Society: A world perspective", in J. Van Doern ed., *Armed Forces and Society: Sociological Essays*, *The Hague*, Mauton, pp. 15 - 38.
- Military Institutions and Coercion in the Developing Nations*, Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 1977
- Steven D. Westbrook eds., *The Political Education of Soldiers*, Beverly Hills Calif.) Sage Publications, 1983.
- S. P. Huntington, *The Soldier, and the State*, New York, Wiley 1957.
- Timothy J. Colton, *Commissars, Commanders, and Civilian Authority*, Cambridge, Harvard, U.P. 1979.
- Kenneth E. Boulding, "The University, Society and Arms Control", *The Journal of Conflict Resolution*, Vol. VII, No. 3, 1962, pp. 458-63.
- S. E. Finer, *The Man on Horseback: The role of the military in politics*, New York, Praeger 1962.

## **Week 2: Power Projection**

### **Required readings:**

- Barry R. Posen. "Pull Back: The Case for a Less Activist Foreign Policy." *Foreign Affairs* 92:1 (January/February 2013).
- John R. Bell, "Libya crisis: Wishful thinking still isn't a viable strategy", *Comparative Strategy*, Vol. 35 , Iss. 2,2 016<http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/01495933.2016.1176464>.
- Aurel Braun, "Tougher Sanctions Now: Putin's Delusional Quest for Empire," *World Affairs* (July/August 2014).
- Stephen G. Brooks and G. John Ikenberry and William C. Wohlforth. "Don't Come Home, America: The Case against Retrenchment." *International Security* 37:3 (2012): 7-51.
- Aurel Braun, "Do the Russian and NATO War Games Increase the Risk of Real Clash?", OpEd. *The Polish Institute of International Affairs*, Warsaw, Poland, (PISM). August 29 2015, [https://blog.pism.pl/blog/?p=1&id\\_blog=36&lang\\_id=12&id\\_post=630](https://blog.pism.pl/blog/?p=1&id_blog=36&lang_id=12&id_post=630). Accessed on April 29 2016.

### **Additional (suggested) readings:**

- Michèle Flournoy, and Janine Davidson, "Obama's New Global Posture: The Logic of U.S. Foreign Deployments", *Foreign Affairs* Vol. 91, No.4, 2012: 54-63.
- David Scott, "India's "Extended Neighborhood" Concept: Power Projection for a Rising Power." *India Review* 8:2 (2009) 107-143
- Alexander Lukin, "What the Kremlin is Thinking: Putin's Vision for Eurasia." *Foreign Affairs* 93, no. 4 (July, 2014): 85-93.
- Alastair Iain Johnston. "How New and Assertive Is China's New Assertiveness?" *International Security* 37:4 (April 2013): 7-48.
- James Kurth, "Confronting a Powerful China with Western Characteristics", *Orbis*, Vol. 56, No.1, 2012: 39-59.
- Michael Beckley, "China's Century? Why America's Edge Will Endure", *International Security*, Vol. 36, No. 3, 2011: 41-78.

- Niall Ferguson, "A World Without Power", *Foreign Policy*, July/August 2004.
- Aurel Braun, "All Quiet on the Russian Front? Russia, Its Neighbors, and the Russian Diaspora", in Michael Mandelbaum, ed., *The New European Diasporas, Council on Foreign Relations*, NY, 2000, pp. 81-159.
- Aurel Braun, "The Russian Factor", in Aurel Braun and Z. Barany, eds., *Dilemmas of Transition*, Boulder, Co. and Oxford, UK, 1999, pp. 273-301.
- G. J. Ikenberry, "A Crisis of Global Governance?", *Current History* Vol. 109, No.30, 2010: 315-321.
- Derek, Gregory, "From a View to a Kill: Drones and Late Modern War", *Theory, Culture & Society* Vol. 28, No.7-8, 2011: 188-215.
- Alexander B. Downes, "How Smart and Tough are Democracies? Reassessing Theories of Democratic Victories in War", *International Security*, Spring 2009, Vol. 33 No. 4, pp. 9-51.
- Nuno P. Monteiro, "Unrest Assured: Why Unipolarity Is Not Peaceful", *International Security* Vol. 36, No. 3, 2011: 9-40.
- Alexander L. Vuving, "The Future of China's Rise: How China's Economic Growth Will Shift the Sino U.S. Balance of Power, 2010-2040." *Asian Politics & Policy* 4:3 (2012): 401-423.
- Kenneth B. Moss, "War Powers and the Atlantic Divide", *Orbis* Vol. 56, No. 2, 2012: 289-307.
- John R. Schmidt, "Last Alliance Standing? NATO after 9/11", *The Washington Quarterly*, Winter 2007.
- Klaus Bechter, "German Forces in International Military Operations", *Orbis*, Summer 2004.
- Robert A. Pape, "The True Worth of Air Power", *Foreign Affairs*, March/April 2004.
- Lee Feinstein and Anne-Marie Slaughter, "A Duty to Prevent", *Foreign Affairs*, January/February 2004. Peter Bender, "America: The New Roman Empire?", *Orbis*, Winter 2003, pp. 145-159.
- Andrew L. Stigler, "A Clear Victory for Air Power: NATO's Empty Threat to Invade Kosovo", *International Security*, Winter 2002/2003, pp. 124-157.
- Immanuel Wallerstein, "The Eagle has Crash Landed", *Foreign Policy*, July/August 2002.
- Jon Western, "Sources of Humanitarian Intervention", *International Security*, Spring 2002, pp. 112-142.
- Benjamin O. Ford and Christopher C. Sarver, " Militarized Interstate Disputes and United States Uses of Force", *International Studies Quarterly*, September 2001, pp. 455-466.
- John Western, "Sources of Humanitarian Intervention: Beliefs, Information, and Advocacy in the U.S., Decisions on Somalia and Bosnia", *International Security*, Vol. 26, No. 4, Spring 2002, pp. 112-142.
- Daryl G. Press, "The Myth of Air Power in the Persian Gulf War and the Future of Warfare", *International Security*, Vol. 26, No. 2, Fall 2001, pp. 5-49.
- Elmo R. Zumwalt Jr., "Blockade & Geopolitics" *Comparative Strategy*, Vol. 4, No. 2, 1983, pp. 166 - 185.
- Kenneth N. Waltz, "A Strategy for the Rapid Deployment Force", *International Security*, Vol. 5, No. 4, Spring 1981, pp. 49 - 73.
- Albert Wohlstetter, et. al., *Interest and Power in the Persian Gulf*, Los Angeles, Pan Heuristics, 1980.
- "Meeting the Threat in the Gulf", *Survey*, Vol. 25, No. 2, Spring 1980, pp. 128 - 88.

### **Week 3: Measuring Equivalence**

#### ***Required readings:***

- Benjamin H. Friedman, and Justin Logan, "Why the U.S. Military Budget is "Foolish and Sustainable", *Orbis* Vol. 56, No.2, 2012) 177-191.
- Charles Glaser and Chaim Kaufmann, "What is the Offense-Defense Balance and How Can we Measure It?" *International Security*, Vol.22, No. 4, Spring 1998 pp. 44-82.
- Mohan Malik, "China and India Today", *World Affairs*, July/August 2012, Vol. 175 Issue 2, pp. 74-84.

Phil Haun and Colin Jackson, "Breaker of Armies: Air Power in the Easter Offensive and the Myth of Linebacker I and II in the Vietnam War", *International Security*, Winter 2015/16, Vol. 40, No. 3, Pages 139-178, Posted Online February 10, 2016. [http://www.mitpressjournals.org/doi/full/10.1162/ISEC\\_a\\_00226](http://www.mitpressjournals.org/doi/full/10.1162/ISEC_a_00226)

***Additional (suggested) readings:***

- Robert Legvold, "Managing the New Cold War: What Moscow and Washington can learn from the Last One." *Foreign Affairs* 93, no. 4 (Jul, 2014): 74-84.
- Francine R. Frankel, "The Breakout of China-India Strategic Rivalry in Asia and the Indian Ocean", *Journal of International Affairs* Spring/Summer2011, Vol. 64 Issue 2, pp. 1-17.
- Thomas Donnelly, "Countering Aggressive Rising Powers: A Clash of Strategic Cultures", *Orbis*, Vol. 50, No. 3: Summer 2006.
- Aurel Braun, "Soviet Naval Policy in the Mediterranean", *Orbis*, Vol. 22, No. 1, Spring 1978, pp. 101-135.
- Stephanie G. Neuman, "Defense Industries and Global Dependency", *Orbis*, Vol. 50, No. 3, Summer 2006.
- John E. Peters, "A Potential Vulnerability of Precision-Strike Warfare", *Orbis*, Summer 2004.
- Christopher Layne, "Offshore Balancing Revisited", *The Washington Quarterly*, Spring 2002.
- Keir A. Lieber, "Grasping the Technological Peace: The Offense-Defense Balance and International Security", *International Security*, Vol. 25, No. 1, Summer 2000, pp. 71-104.
- Robert A. Pape, "The Limits of Precision-Guided Air Power", *Security Studies*, Vol. 7, Winter 1997/8, pp. 93-114.
- Mark Lanteigne, "Water dragon? China, power shifts and soft balancing in the South Pacific", *Political Science* Vol. 64, No.1, 2012: 21-38.
- John A. Warden III, "Success in Modern War: A Response to Robert Pape's Bombing to Win", *Security Studies*, Vol. 7, Winter 1997/8, pp. 172-190.
- E. Luttwak, "Perceptions of military force and U.S. defense policy", *Survival*, January/February 1977.
- Mohan Malik, "India Balances China", *Asian Politics & Policy* Vol. 4, No. 3, 2012: 345-376.
- Steven L. Canby, "Mutual Force Reductions: A Military Perspective", *International Security*, No. 2 Winter 1978, pp. 122-135.
- Herbert Goldhammar, "The U.S. - Soviet Strategic Balance as Seen from London and Paris", *Survival*, September/October 1977.
- Stanley Sienkiewicz, "Observations by the Impact of Uncertainty in Strategic Analysis," *World Politics*, 32, Oct. 1979, pp. 98-99.
- J. D. Steinbrunner and Richard Garwin, "Strategic Vulnerability: The Balance between Prudence and Paranoia", *International Security*, Vol. 1, No. 1, Summer 1976, pp. 138-181.
- Thomas G. Mahnken and Barry D. Watts, "What the Gulf War can (and cannot) tell us about the Future of Warfare", *International Security*, Fall 1997, Vol. 22 No. 2 pp. 151-63.

**Week 4: The Military Establishments**

***Required readings:***

- The International Institute for Strategic Studies, *The Military Balance*, 2016.
- Stockholm International Peace Research Institute, *SIPRI Yearbook 2015: Armaments, Disarmaments and International Security* (Stockholm: Oxford University Press, 2015).
- Michael O'Hanlon and David Petraeus, "America's Awesome Military and How to Make it Even Better", *Foreign Affairs*, September/October 2016, <https://www.foreignaffairs.com/articles/americas/2016-07-22/america-s-awesome-military>
- Andrew Monaghan, "The vertical: power and authority in Russia", *International Affairs* Vol.88, No.1, 2012: 1-16.
- Barry Blechman, and Russell Rumbaugh. "Bombs Away: The Case for Phasing Out U.S. Tactical Nukes in Europe." *Foreign Affairs*, 93, no. 4 (Jul, 2014): 163-174.

**Additional (suggested) readings:**

- Chris McKinney, Mark Elfendhal, and H.R. McMaster. "Why the U.S. Army Needs Armor: The Case for a Balanced Force." *Foreign Affairs* 92:3 (May/June 2013).
- Bettina Renz, and Rod Thornton, "Russian Military Modernization", *Problems of Post Communism* Vol. 59, No. 1, 2012: 44-54.
- Jim Thomas. "Why the U.S. army needs missiles: a new mission to save the service." *Foreign Affairs* 92:3 (May/June 2013).
- Aurel Braun, "Resetting Russian-Eastern European Relations for the 21st Century" in special edition "Disintegration of the Soviet Union Twenty Years Later", ed. Lucy Kerner *Communist and Post Communist Studies*, Volume 45, Issues 3-4, September-December 2012, pp.389-400.
- Aurel Braun, "The Warsaw Treaty Organization", *Yearbook on International Communist Affairs*, Stanford, Hoover Institution Press, 1981, 1982, 1983, 1984.
- Murray Weidenbaum, "The Changing Structure of the U.S. Defense Industry", *Orbis*, Fall 2003.
- Michele A. Flournoy, "Did the Pentagon Get the Quadrennial Defense Review Right?" *The Washington Quarterly*, Spring 2006.
- Laurent Guy, "Competing Visions for the U.S. Military", *Orbis*, Fall 2004.
- Steve Rosefelde, "Back to the Future? Prospects for Russia's Military Industrial Revival", *Orbis*, Summer 2002, pp. 499-509.
- Peter J. Dombrowski, Eugene Gholz and Andrew Ross, "Selling Military Transformation: The Defense Industry and Innovation", *Orbis*, Summer 2002, pp. 523-536.
- James Fallows, "The Military Industrial Complex", *Foreign Policy*, Nov./Dec. 2002, p. 46.
- Alexei G. Arbatov, A Military Reform in Russia: Dilemmas, Obstacles and Prospects, *International Security*, Vol. 22, No. 4: Spring 1998 pp. 83-134.
- Harriet F. Scott & William F. Scott, *The Soviet Control Structure Capabilities for Wartime Survival*, New York, National Strategy Information Center 1983.
- Robin F. Laird, "French Nuclear Forces in the 1980s and 1990s" *Comparative Strategy*, Vol. 4, No. 4., 1984.
- R.W. Clawson & L.S. Kaplan, eds. *The Warsaw Pact: Political Purpose and Military Means*, Wilmington (Del.) Scholarly Resources 1982.
- Ivan Volgyes. *The Political Reliability of the Warsaw Pact Armies: The Southern Tier*, Durham, N.C., Duke U.P. 1982.
- Edwin H. Fedder. *NATO: The dynamics of alliance in the postwar world*, New York: Dodd, Mead, 1973.
- A. Ross Johnson, R.N., Dean, and A. Alexiev. *East European Military Establishments: The Warsaw Pact's Northern Tier*, Santa Monica, Rand Corporation R-2417-AF/FF December 1980.
- Marshal V.D. Sokolovsky, ed., *Military Strategy: Doctrine and Concepts*, London, Pall Mall Press 1963.
- T.W. Wolfe, *Soviet Power & Europe 1945-1970*, Baltimore, Johns Hopkins Press 1970.
- Raymond Garthoff, *How Russia Makes War*, London, George Allen & Unwin.
- "New Dimensions and Directions in the Warsaw Pact", *Millennium, London*, Vol. 6, No. 3, Winter 1978, pp. 236-50.
- "The Evolution of the Warsaw Pact", *Canadian Defence Quarterly*, Vol. 3, No. 3, Winter 1973-74, pp. 27-37.

**Week 5: Macrocconomic Theories of Conflict****Required readings:**

- Roger Mason and Eric Patterson, "War Gaming Peace Operations", *Simulation & Gaming*, 44:1 (2013): 118-133.
- Jack Snyder, "Trade Expectations and Great Power Conflict—A Review Essay", *International Security*, Winter 2015/16, Vol. 40, No. 3, Pages 179-196, Posted Online February 10, 2016. (doi:10.1162/ISEC\_r\_00229)
- Jeremy Black, "War and Strategy in the 21st Century", *Orbis*, Winter 2002, pp. 137-144.

Samuel Layton, "Reframing European security: Russia's proposal for a new European security architecture." *International Relations*, 28, no.1 (March 2014): 25-45.

**Additional (suggested) readings:**

Quan Li, "Does trade prevent or promote interstate conflict?" *Journal of Peace Research* Vol. 48, No.4, 2011: 437-453

Quincy Wright, *A Study of War*, Revised. Chicago, University of Chicago, 1965. (Selected parts)

Clara Ponsati and Santiago Sanchez-Pages, "Optimism and commitment: an elementary theory of bargaining and war", *SERIES: Journal of Spanish Economic Association* Vol. 3, No. 1-2, 2012: 157-179.

Stephen Van Evera, "Offence, Defense and the Causes of War", *International Security*, Vol. 22, No. 4, Spring 1998 pp. 5-44.

Richard K. Betts, ed., *Conflict After the Cold War: Arguments on Causes of War and Peace*, Second Edition (Longman, 2001) – selected parts

Aurel Braun, "On Reform, Perceptions, Misperceptions, Trends and Tendencies" and "Epilogue" in Aurel Braun, ed., *The Soviet-East European Relationship in the Gorbachev Era*, Westview Press, 1990, pp. 135-231.

Tudor Onea, "Putting the 'Classical' in Neoclassical Realism: Neoclassical Realist Theories and US Expansion in the Post-Cold War", *International Relations* Vol. 26, No. 2, 2012: 139-164.

Arnaud Blin, "Armed groups and intra-state conflicts: the dawn of a new era?" *International Review of the Red Cross*, Vol. 93, No. 882, 2011: 287-310.

Mark Evans, "Just war, democracy, democratic peace", *European Journal of Political Theory*, Vol. 11, No. 2, 2012: 191-208.

Muhammet A. Bas, and Andrew J. Coe, "Arms Diffusion and War", *The Journal of Conflict Resolution*, Vol. 56, No. 4, 2012: 651-674.

Thomas Schwartz and Kiron K. Skinner, "The Myth of the Democratic Peace", *Orbis*, Winter 2002, pp. 159-172.

Michael Walzer, *Just and Unjust Wars*, New York, Basic Books, 1992.

Stephen Van Evera, *Causes of War: Power and the Roots of Conflict*, New York, Cornell University Press, 1999.

Friedrich Kratochwil, "Constructing a New Orthodoxy? Wendt's 'Social Theory of International Politics' and the Constructivist Challenge," *Millennium: Journal of International Studies* 29:1 (2000), pp. 73-101.

Robert Gilpin, *War and Change in World Politics*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1989.

J. Hobson, *Imperialism*, Ann Arbor, U. of Michigan Press 1965.

L. Robbins, *The Economic Causes of War*, N.Y. Fertig 1968.

D. G. Pruitt & R. C. Snyder, *Theory and Research on the Causes of War*, Englewood Cliffs, N.J. Prentice Hall, 1969.

J.D. Singer, *Explaining War: Causes and Correlates*, Beverly Hills, Calif. Sage 1979.

K.L. Nelson & S.C. Olin Jr., *Why War? Ideology, Theory and History*, Berkeley, University of California Press 1979.

Geoffrey Blainey, *The Causes of War*, 3rd. Edition, London, Macmillan 1988.

Henry A. Kissinger, *The Necessity for Choice*, Garden City, N.Y., Doubleday 1962.

Ernest L. Fortin "Christianity and the Just-War Theory" *Orbis*, Vol. 25, No. 3, Fall 1983, pp. 523-535.

J.S. Levy, "Alliance Formation and War Behavior", *Journal of Conflict Resolution*, No. 25, 1981, pp. 581-614.

Edward Mansfield and Jack Snyder, "Democratization and the Danger of War", *International Security*, Vol. 20, No.1, Summer 1995 pp. 196-207.

Charles S. Gochman, Henry S. Farber and Jeanne Gowa, "Correspondence", "Democracy and Peace", *International Security*, Vol. 21 No. 3, Winter 1996/97 pp. 177-87.



**Week 6: Nuclear War (problems and choices)****Required readings:**

- Charles L. Glaser and Steve Fetter, "Should the United States Reject MAD? Damage Limitation and U.S. Nuclear Strategy toward China", *International Security*, Summer 2016, Vol. 41, No. 1, Pages 49-98 (doi: 10.1162/ISEC\_a\_00248)
- Mark S. Bell, "Beyond Emboldenment: How Acquiring Nuclear Weapons Can Change Foreign Policy", *International Security*, Summer 2015, Vol. 40, No. 1, Pages 87-119 (doi: 10.1162/ISEC\_a\_00204)
- Thomas K. Scheber and John R. Harvey, "Assessment of U.S. readiness to design, develop and produce nuclear warheads: Current status and some remedial steps", *Comparative Strategy* Vol. 35, Iss. 3, 2016, <http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/01495933.2016.1194654>
- Paul Bracken, "The Structure of the Second Nuclear Age", *Orbis*, Summer 2003, pp. 399-414.

**Additional (suggested) readings:**

- Paul Bracken, "How Iran can beat Israel", National Post, March 2013. Available at: <http://fullcomment.nationalpost.com/2013/03/18/paul-bracken-how-iran-can-beat-israel/>.
- Alan Robock and Owen Brian Toon. "Self-assured destruction: The climate impacts of nuclear war." *The Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists* 68:5 (September 2012) 66-74.
- Erik Gartzke, Jeffrey Kaplow, and Rupal Mehta, "The Determinants of Nuclear Force Structure." *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 58, no. 3 (April 2014): 481-508.
- Ashton B. Carter, Michael M. May and William J. Perry, "The Day After: Action Following a Nuclear Blast in a U.S. City", *The Washington Quarterly*, Autumn 2007.
- Andrew L. Ross, "The Role of Nuclear Weapons in International Politics", FPRI article, 5/2009.
- Paul Bracken, "The Second Nuclear Age" New York: Times Books: 2012.
- Daniel Deudney and John G. Ikenberry, "Pushing and pulling: The Western system, nuclear weapons and Soviet change", *International Politics* Vol. 48, No. 4-5, 2011: 496-544.
- William Walker, "A Perpetual Menace: Nuclear Weapons and International Order", *Foreign Affairs*, May/June 2013. Reviewed by Lawrence D. Freedman.
- William Walker, "A Perpetual Menace: Nuclear Weapons and International Order", Routledge: 2011, ISBN: 0415421063.
- Wu Riqiang, "Survivability of China's Sea-Based Nuclear Forces", *Science & Global Security* Vol. 19, No.2, 2011: 91-120.
- Joel S. Wit, "Enhancing U.S. Engagement with North Korea", *The Washington Quarterly*, Spring, 2007.
- Dingli Shen, "Iran's Nuclear Ambitions Test China's Wisdom", *The Washington Quarterly*, Spring, 2006.
- Kurt M. Campbell, "Nuclear Proliferation Beyond Rogues", *The Washington Quarterly*, Winter 2003.
- Ariel E. Levite, "Never Say Never Again: Nuclear Reversal Revisited", *International Security*, Winter, 2002/2003, pp. 59-88.
- Helen E. Purkitt and Stephen F. Burgess/Peter Liberman, "Correspondence: South Africa's Nuclear Decisions", *International Security*, Summer, 2002, pp. 186-194.
- Peter Liberman, "The Rise and Fall of the South African Bomb", *International Security*, Fall 2001, pp. 45-86.
- Robert Rudney and Willis Stanley, "Dealerting Proposals for Strategic Nuclear Forces: A Critical Analysis", *Comparative Strategy*, Jan.-March. 2000, pp. 1-34.
- Scott D. Sagan, "Why Do States Build Nuclear Weapons?" *International Security*, No. 21, No. 3, 1996/97 pp. 54-86.
- Kenneth N. Waltz and Scott Sagan, *The Spread of Nuclear Weapons: A Debate*, New York: W. W. Norton, 1995.
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### **Week 7: Deterrence and Nuclear Deterrence**

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- Stephen L. Quackenbush, "Deterrence theory: where do we stand?" *Review of International Studies*, Vol. 37, No. 2 (2010): 741-762.
- Stephen Biddle, "Future Warfare in the Western Pacific: Chinese Antiaccess/Area Denial, U.S. AirSea Battle, and Command of the Commons in East Asia" *International Security*, Summer, 2016, Vol. 41, No. 1, Pages 7-48 Posted Online August 9, 2016. (doi:10.1162/ISEC\_a\_00249)
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- Bruce Blair, et al. "One Hundred Nuclear Wars: Stable Deterrence between the United States and Russia at Reduced Nuclear Force Levels Off Alert in the Presence of Limited Missile Defences", *Science & Global Security*, Vol.19, No.3, 2011: 167-194.

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- Joseph F. Pilat, "A Reversal of Fortunes? Extended Deterrence and Assurance in Europe and East Asia", *Journal Of Strategic Studies* Vol. 39, Iss. 4, 2016 <http://www.tandfonline.com/doi/full/10.1080/01402390.2016.1168016?scroll=top&needAccess=true>
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- Stephen J. Cimbala, "Nuclear Deterrence and Cyber: The Quest for Concept." *Air & Space Power Journal* 28, no. 2 (Mar, 2014): 87-107.
- Jack S. Levy, "Balancing on Land and at Sea: Do States Ally Against the Leading Global Power?" *International Security*, Summer 2010, Vol. 35, No. 1: 7-43.
- Kenneth N. Waltz, "Why Iran should Get the Bomb: Nuclear Balancing would Mean Stability", *Foreign Affairs* Vol.91, No.4, 2012: 2-5.
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- Michael Ruhle, "NATO and Extended Deterrence in a Multinuclear World", *Comparative Strategy*, Vol. 28, No. 1, 2009, pp. 10-16.

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- Matthew Phillips, "Uncertain Justice for Nuclear Terror: Deterrence of Anonymous Attacks through Attribution", *Orbis*, Vol. 51, No. 3, Summer 2007.
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- Bruno Tétrais, "The Changing Nature of Military Alliances", *The Washington Quarterly*, Spring 2004.
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- Martin Aguera, "The Transatlantic Way Ahead: U.S. Readiness Problems Show Why European Capabilities Will Be So Important", *Comparative Strategy*, Vol. 20, No. 3, July-September 2001, pp. 271-276.
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- Colin S. Gray, "Deterrence in the 21st Century", *Comparative Strategy*, Vol. 19, No. 3, July-September, 2000, pp. 255-262.
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- Scott D. Sagan, "The Commitment Trap: Why the United States Should Not Use Nuclear Threats to Deter Biological and Chemical Weapons Attacks", *International Security*, Spring 2000, pp. 85-115.
- Robert E. Harkavy, "Triangular or Indirect Deterrence/Compellence: Something New in Deterrence Theory?" *Comparative Strategy*, January-March 1998, pp. 63-81.
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- Thomas Schelling, *Arms and Influence*, Newhaven, Conn. Yale U.P. 1966.
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### **Week 8: Criticism of Deterrence and Certain Problems of Arms Control**

#### ***Required readings:***

- Francis J. Gavin, "Strategies of Inhibition: U.S. Grand Strategy, the Nuclear Revolution, and Nonproliferation", *International Security*, Summer 2015, Vol. 40, No. 1, Pages 9-46  
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- Charles A. Duelfer, "Chronic Misperception and International Conflict: The U.S.-Iraq Experience", *International Security*, Summer 2011, Vol. 36, No. 1: 73-100.
- Andrew Brown, and Lorna Arnold, "The Quirks of Nuclear Deterrence", *International Relations* Vol. 24, No. 3 (2010): 293-312.
- John Borrie, "Humanitarian reframing of nuclear weapons and the logic of a ban." *International Affairs* 90, no. 3 (May 2014): 625-646.

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- Daryl G. Kimball, "Obama's Second Chance", *Arms Control Today* 43:1 (January/February 2013). (1 page only)
- Zdzislaw Lachowski, "Half-Century of Arms Control: A Tentative Score Sheet", *The Polish Quarterly of International Affairs* Vol.19, No. 4, 2010: 40-II.
- Matthew Fuhrmann, and Jeffrey D. Berejikian, "Disaggregating Noncompliance: Abstention versus Predation in the Nuclear Non-proliferation Treaty", *The Journal of Conflict Resolution* Vol. 56, No.3, 2012: 355-381.
- Sachio Nakato, "North Korea's Second Nuclear Test: Neoclassical Realism Perspectives", *Pacific Focus*, Vol. 27, No. 1, 2012: 10-35.
- Marvin Schaffer, "Moral nuclear deterrence – the ascendancy of missile defense", *Foresight*, Vol. 14, No. 3 (2012): 260-271.
- Aurel Braun, "Confidence Building Measures, Security and Disarmament", in R. Spencer, ed., *Canada and the Conference on Security on Co-operation in Europe*, University of Toronto, 1984, pp. 204-28.
- Stephen Blank, "Resets, Russia and Iranian Proliferation", *Mediterranean Quarterly* Vol. 23, No. 1, 2012: 14-38.
- Målfrid Braut-Hegghammer, "Revisiting Osirak: Preventive Attacks and Nuclear Proliferation Risks", *International Security*, Summer 2011, Vol. 36, No. 1: 101-132.
- Rajesh Basrur. "China, India and Pakistan: models for an intermediate stage towards disarmament?" *Australian Journal of International Affairs* 67:2 (2013) 176-189.
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- David H. Sharp, "Nuclear Testing: Deterrence, Stewardship, and Arms Reduction", *Comparative Strategy* Vol. 29, No.4 (2010): 295-307.
- Michael Krepon, "The Mushroom Cloud That Wasn't", *Foreign Affairs*, Vol. 88, No. 3, 2009.
- James Goodby, "Arms Control Since the Cold War", FPRI article, 5/2009.
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- Michael McFaul, Abbas Milani and Larry Diamond, "A Win-Win U.S. Strategy for Dealing with Iran", *The Washington Quarterly*, Winter 2007.
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- Charles L. Glaser, "When Are Arms Races Dangerous", *International Security*, Spring 2004.
- Paul Bracken, "Thinking (Again) About Arms Control", *Orbis*, Winter 2004.
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- Deborah Ozga, "Getting to Omega: Structural Impediments to Nuclear Disarmament", *Comparative Strategy*, Vol. 21, No. 1, January-March 2002, pp. 47-62
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- Alexander Tarasov, "Arms Control in Russia Today", *Comparative Strategy*, Jan.-Feb. 2000, pp. 69-77.
- Robert E. Harkavy, "Triangular or Indirect Deterrence/Compellence: Something New In Deterrence Theory?" *Comparative Strategy*, January-March 1998 pp. 63-82.
- Colin S. Gray, "Deterrence and Regional Conflict: Hopes, Fallacies and 'Fixes'", *Comparative Strategy*, January/ March 1998 pp. 45-62.
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John W. R. Lepingwell, "Start II and the Politics of Arms Control in Russia", *International Security*: Fall 1995, pp. 63-91.

**Week 9: Russian/CIS, Chinese, and American Approaches to Deterrence and Nuclear War—Russia/CIS/China**

**Required readings:**

Leon Aron, "The Putin Doctrine: Russia's Quest to Rebuild the Soviet State", *Foreign Affairs*, March 8, 2013.

Sergey Karaganov, "Should We Overcome Deterrence?" *Russia in Global Affairs*, No. 2, 2011.

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Richard Katz, "Mutually Assured Production: Why Trade Will Limit Conflict Between China and Japan", *Foreign Affairs*, July/August 2013: 92:4.

Milosz Kucharski, "China in the age of American Primacy", *International Relations* Vol.26, No.1, 2012: 60-77.

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pp. 55-72.

- Aurel Braun, "Conclusion: Tendency and Prospects for Security and Democracy", in Aurel Braun ed., *NATO-Russia Relations in the Twenty-First Century*, New York and London, Routledge, 2008/2009, pp. 184-191.
- Aurel Braun, "Facing the Twenty First Century: Lessons, Questions, and Tendencies," Sabrina P. Ramet ed., *Central and Southeast Politics Since 1989*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 2010, pp. 536-550.
- Aurel Braun vs. Dmitry Rogozin, "How NATO Could Improve its Relations with Russia", *Europe's World*, Spring 2009, No. 11, pp. 44-50.
- Aurel Braun, "NATO and Russia: Post Georgia Threat Perception", *IFRI* May 2009 (No.40)
- Aurel Braun, "The Risks of Selective Europeanization: Russia and Eastern Europe", *International Journal* Summer 2000, pp. 510-521.
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- Tong Zhao, "Conventional Counterforce Strike: An Option for Damage Limitation in Conflicts with Nuclear-Armed Adversaries?" *Science & Global Security* Vol. 19, No.3, 2011: 195-222.
- Alexei Arbatov, "Superseding U.S.-Russia Nuclear Deterrence", *Arms Control Today*, January/February 2005.
- Mark Schneider, "The Nuclear Doctrine and Forces of the People's Republic of China", *Comparative Strategy*, Vol. 28, No. 3, 2009, pp. 244-270.
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- Sarah E. Mendelson, "Russians' Rights Imperiled", *International Security*, Vo. 26, No. 4, Spring 2002, pp. 39-69.
- Andrei Shoumikhin, "Current Russian Perspectives on Arms Control and Ballistic Missile Defence", *Comparative Strategy*, Jan.-March 1999, pp. 49-58.
- Jacob W. Kipp, "Russia's Northwest Strategic Direction", *Military Review*, July-Aug. 1999, pp. 52-65.
- Matthew Evangelista, "The Paradox of State Strength: Transnational Relations, Domestic Structures, and Security Policy in Russia and the Soviet Union," *International Organization* 49, no. 1 (Winter 1995), pp. 1-38.
- Andrei Kortunov and Andrei Shoumikhin, "Russia: Changing Attitudes Toward Proliferation of Missiles and Weapons of Mass Destruction," *Comparative Strategy*, Vol. 15 No. 2, 1996, pp. 161-169.
- "Russia and Nato: Theses of the Council on Foreign and Defense Policy". January-March, 1996 pp. 91-102.
- R. Kolkowicz, "Strategic Parity and Beyond: Soviet Perspectives", *World Politics*, April 1971.
- Rajan Menon, "In the Shadow of the Bear", *International Security*, Summer 1995, pp. 149-181.
- H. Sonnenfelt & W. Hyland, "Soviet Perspectives on Security", *Adelphi Papers* No. 150, 1979.
- The Garthoff-Pipes Debate in *Strategic Review*, Fall 1982.
- R. Garthoff, "Mutual Deterrence and Soviet Arms Limitation in Soviet Policy", *International Security*, Summer, 1978.
- R. Pipes, "Why the Soviet Union thinks it could fight and win a Nuclear War", *Commentary*, July 1977.

Harriet Fast Scott and William F. Scott, eds., *The Soviet Art of War: Doctrine Strategy & Tactics*, Boulder (Co.) Westview Press 1982.

**Week 10: Russia/CIS and American Approaches to Deterrence and Nuclear War—The United States**

**Required readings:**

- Dr. Robert Soofer, Documentation: “The Politics of Nuclear Weapons Policy,” Presentation to Johns Hopkins University Graduate School Symposia, Washington, DC, April 8, 2015, *Comparative Strategy*, Vol. 35, Iss. 2, 2016, <http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/01495933.2016.1176478>
- Baohui Zhang, “US missile defence and China's nuclear posture: changing dynamics of an offence–defence arms race”, *International Affairs* Vol.87, No.3, 2011: 555-569.
- David S. Yost, “The US debate on NATO nuclear deterrence”, *International Affairs* Vol.87, No.6, 2011: 1401-1438.
- Richard K. Betts, “The Lost Logic of Deterrence: What the Strategy That Won the Cold War Can –and Can't –Do Now”, *Foreign Affairs* March/April 2013 (92:2).

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- Michael S. Gerson, “No First Use: The Next Step for U.S. Nuclear Policy”, *International Security*, Fall 2010, Vol. 35, No. 2: 7-47.
- Michele A. Flournoy, “Did the Pentagon Get the Quadrennial Defense Review Right?” *The Washington Quarterly*, Spring 2006.
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- François Heisbourg, “A Work in Progress: The Bush Doctrine”, *The Washington Quarterly*, Spring 2003.
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- Kristin S. Kolet, “Asymmetric Threats to the United States”, *Comparative Strategy*, Vol. 20, No. 3, July-September 2001, pp. 277-292.
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- William Burr and Jeffrey T. Richelson, “Whether to ‘Strangle the Baby in the Cradle’: The United States and the Chinese Nuclear Program, 1960-64”, *International Security*, Vol. 25, No. 3, Winter 2000/01, pp. 54-99.
- Barry R. Posen, “U.S. Security Policy in a Nuclear-Armed World, or What If Iraq Had Nuclear Weapons?” in Victor A. Utgoff (ed.), *The Coming Crisis: Nuclear Proliferation, U.S. Interests, and World Order*, Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 2000, pp. 157-190.
- Richard L. Russell, “Swords and Shields: Ballistic Missiles and Defenses in the Middle East and South Asia”, *Orbis*, Vol. 46, No. 2, Summer 2002, pp. 483-498.
- “Executive Report: Rationale and Requirements for U.S. Nuclear Forces and Arms Control”. *Comparative Strategy*, Vol. 20, No. 2, April-June 2001, pp. 105-128.
- Hans Rühle and Michael Rühle, “Missile Defense for the 21st Century: Echoes of the 1930s”, *Comparative Strategy*, Vol. 20, No. 2, April-June 2001, pp. 221-226.
- Stephen G. Brooks and William C. Wohlforth, “Power, Globalization, and the End of the Cold War: Reevaluating a Landmark Case for Ideas”, *International Security*, Vol. 25, No. 3, Winter 2000/01, pp. 5-53.
- Keith Payne, “Deterrence and U.S. Strategic Force Requirements After the Cold War”, *Comparative Strategy*, July-September 1992 pp. 269-282.
- Fritz Ermath, "Contrasts in American Soviet Strategic Thought", *International Security*, Vol. 3,

No. 2, Fall 1978, pp. 138-159.

- Warner Schilling, "U.S. Strategic Nuclear Concepts in the 1970's: The Search for Sufficiently Equivalent Countervailing Parity", *International Security*, Fall 1981.
- Albert Wohlstetter, "Racing forward or ambling back", *Survey*, Vol. 22, No. 3-4, pp 163-217.
- B. Brodie, "The Development of Nuclear Strategy", *International Security*, Spring 1978.
- Colin s. Gray, "Nuclear Strategy: A Case for a Theory of Victory", *International Security*, Vol. 4, No. 1, Summer 1979, pp. 54-87., Nuclear Strategy and Strategic Planning, Philadelphia, Pa. Foreign Policy Research Institute, 1984.

**Week 11: Conventional War: large-scale inter-state conflict**

**Required readings:**

- Michael Bernhard, Jeff Carter, and Glenn Palmer, "Social Revolution, the State, and War: HowRevolutions Affect War-Making Capacity and Interstate War Outcomes", *Journal of Conflict Resolution* Vol.56, No.3, 2012: 439-466.
- Daniel R. Lake, "The Limits of Coercive Airpower", *International Security*, Summer 2009, Vol. 34 No. 1, pp. 83-112.
- Whitney Raas and Austin Long, "Osirak Redux? Assessing Israeli Capabilities to Destroy Iranian Nuclear Facilities", *International Security*, Vol. 31, No. 4, Spring 2007, pp. 7-33.
- Walter Russell Mead, "The Return of Geopolitics: The Revenge of the Revisionist Powers." *Foreign Affairs* 93, no. 3 (May, 2014): 69-79.
- Seung-Whan Choi, "Re-Evaluating Capitalist and Democratic Peace Models", *International Studies Quarterly* Vol. 55, No. 3, 2011: 759-769.

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- Andris Zimelis, "Trust and normative democratic peace theory: nexus between citizens and foreign policies?" *International Journal of Sociology and Social Policy* Vol. 32, No. 1/2, 2012: 17-28.
- D. Brooks, "Modest Little War", *The Atlantic Monthly*, February 2002, pp. 22-23.
- Fatih Balci, "Do democracies promote peace in the lights of democratic peace theory?" *International Journal of Human Sciences* Vol. 8, No. 1, 2011: 728-739.
- Jesse C. Johnson and Brett Ashley Leads. "Defense Pacts: A Prescription for Peace?" *Foreign Policy Analysis* 7:1 (January 2011): 45-65.
- Daryl G. Press, "The Myth of Air Power in the Persian Gulf War and the Future of Warfare", *International Security*, Vol. 26, Fall 2001, pp. 5-44.
- Aurel Braun, *Small-State Security in the Balkans*, London, Macmillan Ch. I.
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- Fen Osler Hampson and David Malone, *From Reaction to Conflict Prevention: Opportunities in the UN System*, (Boulder, CO: Lynne Rienner Publishers, 2002).
- Chester A. Crocker and Fen Osler Hampson with Pamela Aall, *Turbulent Peace: The Challenges of Managing International Conflict*, (United States Institute of Peace, 2001).
- Kevin M. Cahill, ed., *Preventive Diplomacy: Stopping Wars Before they Start*, (New York: Routledge and The Center for International Health and Cooperation, 2000).
- Mary Kaldor, *New and Old Wars*, Stanford, Stanford U. Press 1999.
- Stephen M. Walt, "Rigor or Rigor Mortis? Rational Choice and Security Studies", *International Security*, Spring 1999, pp. 5-48.
- Edward N. Luttwak, "A Post-Heroic Military Policy" *Foreign Affairs*, July/August 1996, pp. 33-45
- Samuel P. Huntington, "Conventional Deterrence and Conventional Retaliation in Europe", *International Security*, Vol. 8, No. 3, Winter 1983-94, pp. 32-57.
- M. Howard, "War and the Nation State", *Daedalus* 108, Fall 1979, pp. 101-110.
- Jonathan Alford, "Security Dilemmas of Small States", *The World Today*, Vol. 40, No. 8-9, Aug.-Sept. 1984, pp. 363-370.
- Joshua M. Epstein, "On Conventional Deterrence in Europe: Questions of Soviet Confidence"



*Orbis*, Vol. 26, No. 1, Spring 1982, pp. 71-89.

**Week 12: Internal War/Counterinsurgency/Counterterrorism**

***Required readings:***

- Michael J. Boyle, "Do counterterrorism and counterinsurgency go together?" *International Affairs* Vol.86, No.2, 2010: 333-353.
- Erica Chenoweth, and Maria J. Stephan. "Drop Your Weapons: When and Why Civil Resistance Works." *Foreign Affairs* 93, no. 4 (Jul, 2014): 94-106.
- Reyko Huang, "Rebel Diplomacy in Civil war", *International Security*, Spring 2016, Vol. 40, No. 4, Pages 89-126 (doi: 10.1162/ISEC\_a\_00237) Philip D. Zelikow, "Civil Liberties, Counterterrorism, and Intelligence: What's Left to Be Done", *Foreign Affairs*, September 8, 2011.
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- Thomas Braun. "Beyond Counterinsurgency: Why the Concept is Failing." *Connections: The Quarterly Journal* 11:3 (2012) 77-84.
- Harsh V. Pant, "The Pakistan Thorn in China-India-U.S. Relations", *Washington Quarterly* Winter 2010/2012, Vol. 35 Issue 1, p83-95.
- Lawrence Freedman, "The Counterrevolution in Strategic Affairs", *Daedalus* Vol.140, No.3, 2011: 16-32.
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### **Week 13: Cyber-warfare and Drone Wars**

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- Stephen J. Cimbala, "Nuclear cyberwar and crisis management", *Comparative Strategy* Vol. 35, Iss. 2, 2016 <http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/01495933.2016.1176461>
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- Nazli Choucri, and Daniel Goldsmith, "Lost in cyberspace: Harnessing the Internet, international relations, and global security." *Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists* 68:2 (2012) 70-77.
- Sarah Kreps, and Micah Zenko. "The Next Drone Wars: Preparing for Proliferation." *Foreign Affairs* 93, no. 2 (March 2014): 68-79.
- Thomas Rid, "Cyberwar and Peace," *Foreign Affairs* 92:6 (November/December 2013): 77-87.
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- Ronald Deibert, Rafal Rohozinski and Masashi Crete-Nishihata, "Cyclones in cyberspace: Information shaping and denial in the 2008 Russia–Georgia war," *Security Dialogue* 43:1 (2012) 3-24.
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- Tom Gjelten, "Shadow wars: debating cyber 'disarmament'," *World Affairs* 173:4 (2010) 33-42.
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#### **Week 14: Termination of War**

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- David A. Simon, "Ending Perpetual War? Constitutional War Termination Powers and the Conflict Against Al Qaeda", 41 *Pepp. L. Rev. Iss.* 4 (2013)  
Available at: <http://digitalcommons.pepperdine.edu/plr/vol41/iss4/1>
- Dominic D.P. Johnson, Dominic Tierney, "The Rubicon Theory of War: How the Path to Conflict Reaches the Point of No Return", *International Security*, Summer 2011, Vol. 36, No. 1: 7-40.
- Peter Wallensteen, and Isak Svensson. "Talking peace: International mediation in armed conflicts." *Journal of Peace Research* 51, no. 2 (March 2014): 315-327.
- F.C. Iklé, *Every War Must End*, New York, Columbia U.P. 1971 (selected parts)

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- Katherine Sawyer, Kathleen Gallagher Cunningham, William Reed, "The Role of External Support in Civil War Termination", *Journal of Conflict Resolution* September 4, 2015, doi: 10.1177/0022002715600761
- Tobias Böhmelt, "The effectiveness of tracks of diplomacy strategies in third-party interventions", *Journal of Peace Research* Vol. 47, No.2, 2010: 167-178.
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- I.W. Zartman, ed., *Collapsed States: The Disintegration and Restoration of Legitimate Authority*
- Kevin M. Cahill, ed., *Preventive Diplomacy: Stopping Wars Before they Start*, (New York: Routledge and The Centre for International Health and Cooperation, 2000).
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- Krishna Kumar, *Rebuilding Societies After Civil War: Critical Roles for International Assistance*
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- M. Howard, ed., *Restraints on War: Studies in the Limitation of Armed Conflict*.
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W.T.R. Fox, ed., "How Wars End", *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Sciences*, No. 392, November 1970 whole issue.

Leon V. Sigal, "Fighting To A Finish: The Politics Of War Termination In The United States And Japan," Cornell University Press (1989).

### **Week 15: Hiroshima and Nagasaki: The Use of Nuclear Weapons**

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Brent Dyck, "Hiroshima and Nagasaki" *Historian* 99 (2008): 26-28.

Wand Wilson, "The Winning Weapon: Rethinking Nuclear Weapons in Light of Hiroshima," *International Security* 31:4 (2007): 162-179.

Richard B. Frank, "Ending the Pacific War: Harry Truman and the Decision to Drop the Bomb", *FPRI article*, 4/2009.

Herbert Feis, "The Atomic Bomb and the End of World War II." Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1966. (Selected chapters)

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Kamiya Mataka, "Nuclear Japan: Oxymoron or Coming Soon?" *The Washington Quarterly*, Winter 2003.

Paul Baker, ed., "The Atomic Bomb: The Great Decision." Illinois: Dryden Press, 1976.

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### **Week 16: The Case of the SS-20s/Pershings and Cruise**

**Required readings:**

William Burr, "Thirtieth Anniversary of NATO's Dual-Track Decision The Road to the Euromissiles Crisis and the End of the Cold War", *The National Archive*, December 10, 2009, <http://nsarchive.gwu.edu/nukevault/ebb301/>

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- William Stueck, "Reassessing U.S. Strategy in the Aftermath of the Korean War," *Orbis* 53:4 (January 2009): 571-590.
- Oh Kongdan, and Ralph Hassig, "Putting Together the North Korea Puzzle", *FPRI article*, 6/2009.
- Robert Ayson, and Brendon Taylor, "Attacking North Korea", *Comparative Strategy*, July/Aug./Sept. 2004.
- Michael J. Mazarr, "Going Just a Little Nuclear: Nonproliferation Lessons from North Korea", *International Security*, Fall, 1995, pp. 92-122.

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- Alan Guttman, ed., *Korea and the Theory of Limited War* Boston: D.C. Heath and Company, 1967. Selected authors. See especially last section.
- Robert Jervis, "The Impact of the Korean War on the Cold War," *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 24:4 (December 1980): 563-592.
- Kenneth Kinney, "The Use of Force by the Great Powers? in The Use of Force in International Relations, Northedge, F., ed., London: 1976: Faber and Faber, 1976. pp. 49-54, 65-66, 68-69.
- John Garnett, "Limited 'Conventional' War in the Nuclear Age", in *Restraints on War: Studies in Limitations on Armed Conflict*, Howard, Michael. ed., Toronto: Oxford University Press, 1979. pp. 81, 86, 87.
- Morton Halperin, *Limited War in the Nuclear Age*. New York: John Wiley and Sons, 1963, pp. 39-57.

**Week 18: The Invasion of Czechoslovakia in 1968: The Utility of Force****Required readings:**

- A. A. Gordin, "Czechoslovakia in 1968: Soviet Propaganda and the Mood of Russia's Provinces," *Russian Studies in History* 49:4 (Spring 2011): 18-33.
- Mircea Munteanu, "When the Levee Breaks: The Impact of the Sino-Soviet Split and the Invasion of Czechoslovakia on Romanian-Soviet Relations, 1967-1970," *Journal of Cold War Studies* 12:1 (2010): 43-61.
- George Urban, "The Invasion of Czechoslovakia, 1968: The View from Washington (A Conversation with Eugene V. Rostow)," *The Washington Quarterly* 2:1 (1979): 106-120.
- E. Hinterhoff, "Military Implications of the Soviet Invasion of Czechoslovakia" in *Contemporary Review*, November 1968, pp. 235-240.

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- Fred Eidlin, "'Capitulation', 'Resistance', and the Framework of 'Normalization': The August 1968 Invasion of Czechoslovakia and the Czechoslovak Response", in *Journal of Peace Research*, Vol. 18, #4, pp. 319-332.
- Kenneth Kinney, "The Use of Force by the Great Powers", in *The Use of Force in International Relations*, Northedge, F. ed., London: 1976: Faber and Faber, 1976. pp. 46-49, 65-69.
- M. Zaninovich, and D. Brown, "Political Implications in Czechoslovakia: The Implications of the Prague Spring and Soviet Intervention", in *Journal of International Affairs*, Vol. 27, #1, 1973, pp. 66-79.
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- "Czechoslovakia: The Brief Spring of 1968", in *Problems of Communism*, November 1968, pp. 2-68.
- Alan Levy, *Rowboat to Prague*. New York: Grossman, 1972.
- Isaac Levine, *Intervention*. New York: David McKay, 1969.

Robert Littell, Robert. ed., *The Czech Black Book*, New York: Praeger, 1969.

**Week 19: The USSR and Afghanistan: The Projection of Force**

**Required readings:**

- Alexander Antonovich Liakhovsky (Translations by Gary Goldberg and Artemy Kalinovsky) "Inside the Soviet Invasion of Afghanistan and the Seizure of Kabul", The Wilson Center, 2007, [https://www.wilsoncenter.org/sites/default/files/WP51\\_Web\\_Final.pdf](https://www.wilsoncenter.org/sites/default/files/WP51_Web_Final.pdf)
- Rafael Reuveny, and Aseem Prakash, "The Afghanistan war and the breakdown of the Soviet Union," *Review of International Studies* 25:4 (October 1999): 693-708.
- Fred Halliday, "Soviet foreign policymaking and the Afghanistan war: from 'second Mongolia' to 'bleeding wound'," *Review of International Studies* 25:4 (October 1999): 675-691.
- A. Abraham, and A. Majid, "Miscalculation of Afghanistan", in *Contemporary Review*, February 1983, pp. 57-62.

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- C. Dunbar, "Afghanistan", in *Bulletin of Atomic Scientists*, No. 39, June/July 1983, pp. 16-23.
- N. Bethell, "Afghanistan: Can Russia Win?", in *Contemporary Review*, March 1982, pp. 125-130.
- "Moscow's Afghanistan War deepening, too", in *U.S. and News and World Report*, 19 September 1983, p. 11.
- "Getting Away with Murder", in *U.S. News and World Report*, 20 June 1983, p. 84.
- Shen Yuquiang, and Fengzhuoun, Zhong. "Afghan People's Two-Year Struggle Against Soviet Occupation", in *Beijing Review*, Vol. 25, #2, 11 January 1982, p. 13.

**Week 20: The 1973 American Nuclear Alert**

**Required readings:**

- Mitch Ginsburg, "Dayan pushed PM Meir to consider using nuclear weapons in 1973 war" Former government aide says the defense minister, badly shaken on day two of the Yom Kippur War, suggested the ultimate option... and Meir told him to 'forget it' ", *Times of Israel*, October 3, 2013, <http://www.timesofisrael.com/dayan-pushed-pm-meir-to-consider-using-nuclear-weapons-in-1973/>
- Marvin Kalb and Bernard Kalb, Kissinger Boston: Little, Brown, 1974. pp. 491-492.
- Seymour Hersh, *The Price of Power, Kissinger in the Nixon White House* New York: Summit, 1983. pp. 124-125.
- Desmond Bell, "U.S. Strategic Force: How Would They Be Used?", *International Security* Vol. 7, #3, Winter 1982/1983, pp. 42-43.
- William Burr, and Jeffrey Kimball. "Nixon's Nuclear Ploy." *Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists* 59, no. 1 (Jan, 2003): 28-37

**Week 21: The 2007 Cyber attacks on Estonia**

**Required readings:**

- Christopher Rhoads, "Estonia wrestles with cyber attack," *The Wall Street Journal Europe* 18 May 2007.
- Greg Goth, "The Politics of DDoS Attacks." *Distributed Systems Online*, IEEE 8:8 (2007) 1-4.
- Herzog, Stephen. "Revisiting the Estonian Cyber Attacks: Digital Threats and Multinational Responses." *Journal of Strategic Security* 4, no. 2 (2011): 49-60.
- Binoy Kampmark, "Cyber warfare between Estonia and Russia." *Contemporary Review* 289:1686 (2007) 288-293.

**Additional (suggested) readings:**

- "The 2007 Estonian Cyber attacks: New Frontiers in International Conflict," Harvard Law School Blog, 21 December 2012.
- "Estonia and Russia: a cyber riot," *The Economist* 10 May 2007. <http://www.economist.com/node/9163598>.

- Agata Włodarska, "Russian-Estonian relations after 2007: current status and development prospects," *International Studies* 13:1 (2011): 11-21.
- Kertu Ruus, "Cyber War I: Estonia Attacked from Russia," *European Affairs* 9:1/2 (Winter/Spring 2008).

### **Week 22: Drone attacks in Pakistan**

#### ***Required readings:***

- Muhammad Saleem Mazhar, and Naheed S. Goraya. "Drone War Against Pakistan: An Analytical Study." *Journal of Political Studies* 18, no. 2 (Winter, 2011): 187-206.
- Sarah Kreps, and Micah Zenko. "The Next Drone Wars: Preparing for Proliferation." *Foreign Affairs* 93, no. 2 (March 2014): 68-79.
- Ryan J. Vogel, "Drone Warfare and the Law of Armed Conflict," *Denver Journal of International Law and Policy* 39:585 (2010-2011): 101-138.
- Christian Enemark, "Drones over Pakistan: Secrecy, Ethics, and Counterinsurgency," *Asian Security* 7:3 (September 2011): 218-237.

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- Daniel Byman, "Taliban vs. Predator," *Foreign Affairs* 18 March 2009.
- Leila Hudson, Colin S. Owens, Matt Flannes, "Drone Warfare: Blowback from the New American Way of War," *Middle East Policy* 18:3 (September 2011): 122-132.
- Michael W. Lewis and Emily Crawford, "Drones and distinction: How IHL encouraged the rise of drones," *Georgetown Journal of International Law* No. 44 (2012-2013): 1127-1166.
- Rosa Brooks, "Drones and the International Rule of Law," *Ethics & International Affairs* 28:1 (Spring 2014): 83-103.
- Diana E. Schaffner, "The Legality of Using Drones to Unilaterally Monitor Atrocity Crimes," *Fordham International Law Journal* 35 (2011-2012): 1121-1164.
- Mary Ellen O'Connell, "Remarks: The Resort to Drones under International Law," *Denver Journal of International Law and Policy* 39:585 (2010-2011): 585-600.
- Daniel Brunstetter and Megan Braun, "The Implications of Drones on the Just War Tradition," *Ethics & International Affairs* 25:3 (2011): 337-358.
- Shuja Nawaz, "Drone Attacks Inside Pakistan: Wayang or Willing Suspension of Disbelief?" *Georgetown Journal of International Affairs* 12:2 (Summer 2011): 79-87.

### **Week 23: Annexation of Crimea: Power Projection and International Law**

#### ***Required readings:***

- Aurel Braun, "Tougher Sanctions Now: Putin's Delusional Quest for Empire," *World Affairs* (July/August 2014).
- Alexander J. Motyl, "War Comes to Ukraine: The Consequences of the Crash in Donetsk," *Foreign Affairs*, 17 July, 2014.
- Vera Mironova, and Valerie Hopkins, "Ukraine's Do-It-Yourself War," *Foreign Policy*, 11 July, 2014.
- Jeffrey Lewis, "The Source of Putin's Conduct: The only way to contain Moscow is to understand that there's still a Cold Warrior in the Kremlin," *Foreign Policy* 15 July 2014.

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- Aurel Braun, "How Putin bested Obama," *Commentary* 1 November 2013.
- Lilia Shevtsova, "Crisis in Ukraine: Blurred Lines Between War and Peace," *The American Interest*, 11 July, 2014.
- Gordon C. Chang, "The Second Cold War?" *World Affairs* (July/August 2014).
- Alexander J. Motyl, "What's Rong with Wrussia?" *World Affairs* (July/August 2014).
- Keith Darden, "Ukraine's Crisis of Legitimacy," *Foreign Affairs* 3 March 2014.
- Cynthia A. Roberts, "The Czar of Brinkmanship," *Foreign Affairs* 5 May 2014.
- Jeffrey Gedmin, "Beyond Crimea: What Vladimir Putin Really Wants," *World Affairs* (July/August 2014)

