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:


2. Two reaction papers to any of the readings: 1 page double-spaced (each). First reaction paper due November 18, 2019. Second reaction paper due March 16, 2020. 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:**


**Additional (suggested) readings:**


Jack Snyder, “Civil-Military Relations and the Cult of the Offensive, 1914 and 1984”, from Military
Kenneth Waltz, Man, the State, and War, New York, Columbia University Press 1959.

**Week 2:**  
**Power Projection**

**Required readings:**


**Additional (suggested) readings:**


Immanuel Wallerstein, “The Eagle has Crash Landed”, Foreign Policy, July/August 2002.


**Week 3: Measuring Equivalence**

**Required readings:**


**Additional (suggested) readings:**


Herbert Goldhammar, "The U.S. - Soviet Strategic Balance as Seen from London and Paris",


Week 4: The Military Establishments

Required readings:


Michael O’Hanlon and David Petraeus, “America’s Awesome Military and How to Make it Even Better”, Foreign Affairs, September/October 2016, 


Additional (suggested) readings:


Week 5: Macrocosmic Theories of Conflict

Required readings:


Additional (suggested) readings:

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


Arnaud Blin, “Armed groups and intra-state conflicts: the dawn of a new era?” International Review
Week 6: Nuclear War (problems and choices)

Required readings:


**Additional (suggested) readings:**


Week 7: Deterrence and Nuclear Deterrence

**Required readings:**


**Additional (suggested) readings:**


Amatzia Baram, "Deterrence Lessons from Iraq: Rationality is Not the Only Key to Containment", *Foreign Affairs* Vol.91, No.4, 2012: 76-90.


**Week 8: Criticism of Deterrence and Certain Problems of Arms Control**

*Required readings:*


**Additional readings:**


Daryl G. Kimball, “Obama’s Second Chance”, *Arms Control Today* 43:1 (January/February 2013). (1 page only)


Howard Stoertz, "Monitoring or Nuclear Freeze" International Security, Vol. 8, No. 4, Spring 1984, pp. 91-111.


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

Required readings:


Additional (suggested) readings:


Andrei Lankov, “Cheap at any price”, Foreign Policy, July 12, 2012.

James M. Acton, "TARGET-?" Foreign Policy no. 206 (May, 2014): 52-57.


Aurel Braun, “Will NATO upgrades on the eastern flank be enough to counter Russia?”, OpEd. The Polish Institute of International Affairs, Warsaw, Poland, (PISM). March 5 2016.
Aurel Braun, "Will the Warsaw NATO Summit Calm or Aggravate Relations with Russia?" Second article, PISM, Polish Institute of International Affairs, Warsaw, 22 July 2016.


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

**Required readings:**

**Additional (suggested) readings:**
Richard L. Russell, “Swords and Shields: Ballistic Missiles and Defenses in the Middle East and


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

**Required readings:**


**Additional (suggested) readings:**


Ivan Arreguin-Toft, “How the Weak Win Wars: A Theory of Asymmetric Conflict”, *International
Fen Osler Hampson and David Malone, From Reaction to Conflict Prevention: Opportunities in the UN System, (Boulder, CO: Lynne Rienner Publishers, 2002).

Week 12: Internal War/Counterinsurgency/Counterterrorism

Required readings:

Additional (suggested) readings:
Philip D. Zelikow, “Civil Liberties, Counterterrorism, and Intelligence: What’s Left to Be Done”, Foreign Affairs, September 8, 2011.
Kenneth M. Pollack and Barbara F. Walter , Escaping the Civil War Trap in the Middle East”, The Washington Quarterly, August 03, 2015 https://twq.elliott.gwu.edu/escaping-civil-war-trap-middle-east
Philip D. Zelikow, “Civil Liberties, Counterterrorism, and Intelligence: What’s Left to Be Done”, Foreign Affairs, September 8, 2011.


Régis Debray, "Revolution in the Revolution? Armed Struggle and Political Struggle in Latin
Week 13: **Cyber-warfare and Drone Wars**

**Required readings:**


Michael Kenney, “Cyber-Terrorism in a Post-Stuxnet World”, *Orbis* Volume 59, Issue 1, 2015, Pages 111–128, [http://dx.doi.org/10.1016/j.orbis.2014.11.009](http://dx.doi.org/10.1016/j.orbis.2014.11.009)


**Additional (suggested) readings:**


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Week 14: **Termination of War**

**Required readings:**


Additional (suggested) readings:

F.C. Iklé, *Every War Must End*, New York, Columbia U.P. 1971 (selected parts)


I.W. Zartman, ed., *Collapsed States: The Disintegration and Restoration of Legitimate Authority*


M. Howard, ed., *Restraints on War: Studies in the Limitation of Armed Conflict*.


**Additional (suggested) readings:**
"The Bomb", in *Time*, Special Issue #34, October 1983.

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

**Required readings:**

**Additional (suggested) readings:**

**Week 17:** The Korean War: Limits on the Use of Power

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

Week 18: The Invasion of Czechoslovakia in 1968: The Utility of Force

Required readings:

Additional (suggested) readings:
"Czechoslovakia: The Brief Spring of 1968", in Problems of Communism, November 1968, pp. 2-68.

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

Required readings:
Fred Halliday, “Soviet foreign policymaking and the Afghanistan war: from ‘second Mongolia’ to

Additional (suggested) readings:
"Moscow’s Afghanistan War deepening, too", in U.S. and News and World Report, 19 September 1983, p. 11.

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/

Week 21: The 2007 Cyber attacks on Estonia

Required readings:

Additional (suggested) readings:

Week 22: Drone attacks in Pakistan

Required readings:


**Additional (suggested) readings:**


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

**Required readings:**


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.

**Suggested readings:**


