St. George Campus
2019-2020-

POL459/2216Y: The Military Instrument of Foreign Policy
Professor A. Braun
abraun@chass.utoronto.ca
abraun@fas.harvard.edu

Office hours:
Trinity College, Room #309N
Munk School, 1 Devonshire Pl.
Mondays, 12-1pm (other times by arrangement)
Telephone: 416-946-8952

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:


**Week 3:** Measuring Equivalence

**Required readings:**

**Additional (suggested) readings:**

Week 4: The Military Establishments

Required readings:


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.


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/


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

**Required readings:**


Additional readings:
Zdzislaw Lachowski, "Half-Century of Arms Control: A Tentative Score Sheet", The Polish Quarterly of International Affairs Vol.19, No. 4, 2010: 40-II.


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

**Required readings:**


**Additional (suggested) readings:**


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.


Aurel Braun, “NATO and Russia: Post Georgia Threat Perception”, IFRI May 2009 (No.40)


**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:**


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)


Krishna Kumar, *Rebuilding Societies After Civil War: Critical Roles for International Assistance*.


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


Roy Licklider, ed., *Stopping the Killing: How Civil Wars End*.


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

**Required readings:**


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:
Oh Kongdan, and Ralph Hassig, “Putting Together the North Korea Puzzle”, FPRI article, 6/2009.
**Additional (suggested) readings:**


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

**Required readings:**


**Additional (suggested) readings:**


**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.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Week 20:</th>
<th>The 1973 American Nuclear Alert</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Required readings:</td>
<td>Mitch Ginsburg, &quot;'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' &quot; Times of Israel, October 3, 2013, <a href="http://www.timesofisrael.com/dayan-pushed-pm-meir-to-consider-using-nuclear-weapons-in-1973/">http://www.timesofisrael.com/dayan-pushed-pm-meir-to-consider-using-nuclear-weapons-in-1973/</a></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Week 21:</th>
<th>The 2007 Cyber attacks on Estonia</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Week 22:</th>
<th>Drone attacks in Pakistan</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

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:**