



**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:

1. Two papers: 10-15 double-spaced pages (each). First paper due November 25, 2019. Second paper due March 16, 2020. **Each paper is worth 30%. Graduate students** will present one paper, 25-30 double-spaced pages due March 16, 2020. **(60%)**
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:

James Golby and Mara Karlin, “Why ‘Best Military Advice’ is Bad for the Military—and Worse for Civilians”, *Orbis*, Volume 62, Issue 1, 2018, Pages 137-153, <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.orbis.2017.11.010>

Janine Davidson, “The Contemporary Presidency: Civil-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>
20

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.

Jaroslaw, 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:

- Ketian Zhang, "Cautious Bully: Reputation, Resolve, And Beijing's Use Of Coercion In The South China Sea," *International Security* 44, no. 1 (2019): 117-159, doi:10.1162/isec_a_00354, https://www.mitpressjournals.org/doi/full/10.1162/isec_a_00354.
- 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, 2016 <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. Accessed on April 29 2016.

Additional (suggested) readings:

- John R. Bell, "Libya crisis: Wishful thinking still isn't a viable strategy", *Comparative Strategy*, Vol. 35, Iss. 2, 2016 <http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/01495933.2016.1176464>.
- 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:

Caleb Pomeroy, and Michael Beckley, "Correspondence: Measuring Power In International Relations," *International Security* 44, no. 1 (2019): 197-200, doi:10.1162/isec_c_00355, https://www.mitpressjournals.org/doi/full/10.1162/isec_c_00355.

Richard Connolly and Mathieu Boulegue, "Russia's New State Armament Programme: Implications for the Russian Armed Forces and Military Capabilities to 2027", *International Affairs*, May 2018, <https://reader.chathamhouse.org/russia-s-new-state-armament-programme-implications-russian-armed-forces-and-military#>

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.

Additional (suggested) readings:

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

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*, 2019.

Stockholm International Peace Research Institute, SIPRI Yearbook 2019: Armaments, Disarmaments and International Security (Stockholm: Oxford University Press, 2019).

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>

Bret Stephens, "The U.S. Needs More Nukes," *The New York Times*, Aug 9, 2019, <https://www.nytimes.com/2019/08/09/opinion/russia-nuclear-treaty-inf.html?action=click&module=Opinion&pgtype=Homepage>

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).

Andrew Monaghan, "The vertikal: power and authority in Russia", *International Affairs* Vol.88, No.1, 2012: 1-16.

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 Rosefielde, "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: Macrocsmic Theories of Conflict

Required readings:

- Deborah Jordan Brooks, Stephen G. Brooks, Brian D. Greenhill, and Mark L. Haas, "The Demographic Transition Theory Of War: Why Young Societies Are Conflict Prone And Old Societies Are The Most Peaceful," *International Security* 43, no. 3 (2019): 53-95, doi:10.1162/isec_a_00335, https://www.mitpressjournals.org/doi/full/10.1162/isec_a_00335.
- 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)
- 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:

- Jeremy Black, "War and Strategy in the 21st Century", *Orbis*, Winter 2002, pp. 137-144.
- 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:

- Christopher Clary, and Vipin Narang, "India's Counterforce Temptations: Strategic Dilemmas, Doctrine, And Capabilities," *International Security* 43, no. 3 (2019): 7-52, doi:10.1162/isec_a_00340, https://www.mitpressjournals.org/doi/full/10.1162/isec_a_00340.
- James M. Acton, "Escalation through Entanglement: How the Vulnerability of Command-and-Control Systems Raises the Risks of an Inadvertent Nuclear War", *International Security* 2018 43:1, 56-99, https://www.mitpressjournals.org/doi/full/10.1162/isec_a_00320
- 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)
- 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:

- 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>
- 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)
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Week 8: Criticism of Deterrence and Certain Problems of Arms Control

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

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

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- 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

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Week 12: Internal War/Counterinsurgency/Counterterrorism

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- Marika Landau-Wells, "High Stakes and Low Bars: How International Recognition Shapes the Conduct of Civil Wars", *International Security*, 2018 43:1, 100-137, https://www.mitpressjournals.org/doi/full/10.1162/isec_a_00321
- 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.
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- Megan Braun, and Daniel Brunstetter. "The implications of drones on the just war tradition", *Ethics & International Affairs* Vol. 25, No.3, 2011: 337-358.
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- Sir Robert Thompson, *No Exit from Vietnam*, Basic, 1971.
- Seymour M. Lipset, *Revolution and Counterrevolution: Change and Persistence in Social Structures*, New York, Basic Books 1968.
- Régis Debray, "Revolution in the Revolution? Armed Struggle and Political Struggle in Latin

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- Aqil Shah, "Do U.S. Drone Strikes Cause Blowback? Evidence from Pakistan and Beyond", *International Security* 2018 42:04, 47-84, https://doi.org/10.1162/isec_a_00312
- 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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- Daniel K. Rosenfield, "Rethinking Cyber War," *Critical Review* 21:1 (2009) 77-90.
- David Fulghum, "Israel Embraces 'Faster, Cheaper, Smaller,'" *Aviation Week & Space Technology* July, 2012.
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- Tom Gjelten, "Shadow wars: debating cyber 'disarmament'," *World Affairs* 173:4 (2010) 33-42.
- Michael Breen, and Joshua A. Geltzer. "Asymmetric strategies as strategies of the strong." *Parameters* 41:1 (2011) 41-55.

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- Michael Mousseau, "The End Of War: How A Robust Marketplace And Liberal Hegemony Are Leading To Perpetual World Peace," *International Security* 44, no. 1 (2019): 160-196, doi:10.1162/isec_a_00352, https://www.mitpressjournals.org/doi/full/10.1162/isec_a_00352

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- F.C. Iklé, *Every War Must End*, New York, Columbia U.P. 1971 (selected parts)
- 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.
- Richard N. Haass, "The Irony of American Strategy: Putting the Middle East in Proper Perspective", *Foreign Affairs* 92:3 (May/June 2013).
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- I.W. Zartman, ed., *Collapsed States: The Disintegration and Restoration of Legitimate Authority*
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- Lawrence E. Cline, "Defending the End: Decision Making in Terminating the Persian Gulf War", *Comparative Strategy*, Oct.-Dec. 1998, pp. 363-380.
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- M. Howard, ed., *Restraints on War: Studies in the Limitation of Armed Conflict*.
- P. Klingberg, "Predicting the termination of war: battle casualties and population losses", *Journal of Conflict Resolution*, June 1966, pp. 129-171.
- Robert S. Woito, *To End War: A New Approach to International Conflict*, New York, The Pilgrim Press 1982.
- Roy Licklider, ed., *Stopping the Killing: How Civil Wars End*
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

Required readings:

- 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.

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Additional (suggested) readings:

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

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

Required readings:

Peter Wallensteen, and Isak Svensson. "Talking peace: International mediation in armed conflicts." *Journal of Peace Research* 51, no. 2 (March 2014): 315-327.

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/>

Mary Caldor, "Europe After Cruise and Pershing II," *Journal of International Studies* 13:1 (March 1984): 73-81

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Sverre Lodgaard, "Long Range Theater Nuclear Forces" in *SIPRI Yearbook*, 1983, PP. 3-25.

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

Required readings:

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.
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- 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.
- Robin Remington, "Czechoslovakia: Multilateral Intervention" in *Comparative Defense Policy*, Horton, F., Rogerson, A., and Warren, E., ed., Baltimore: John Hopkins Press.
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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
- 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

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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.

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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/>

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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.

Additional (suggested) readings:

- 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.
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- 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).
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