



**St. George Campus
Fall 2022**

POL405H/2217H: The Military Instrument of Foreign Policy

Professor A. Braun

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Synopsis:

Course Description and Objectives:

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 written, foreign policy begins at home. Therefore, the introductory part of the course starts with the theory and politics of civil-military relations. Then, in light of endemic international threats and conflicts, the seminar analyzes the use of the military instrument of foreign policy. We meld theoretical and pragmatic approaches. Among the subjects covered are the causes of conflict, the development of nuclear weapons, deterrence and nuclear deterrence, arms control and war, and the problems of measuring equivalence and assessing the military establishments and strategies of the major powers, with special emphasis on the defense forces of the USA, Russia/CIS, and China.

Desired Outcomes:

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. One paper: 10-15 double-spaced pages (**40%**). Paper due November 28, 2022. **Graduate students** will present one paper, 20-25 double-spaced pages, due December 5, 2022. (**60%**)
2. Presentation of a developed outline of final paper (two pages, double-spaced, in week 8, November 14) and brief comment (one double-spaced page or less) on a designated colleague's presentation: (**20%**). **Graduate students don't have this requirement.**

3. Two reaction papers to any of the readings: 1 page double-spaced (each). First reaction paper due October 17, 2022. Second reaction paper due October 31, 2022. **Each paper is worth 5%.**
4. Seminar presentations (**one** per term), and participation (combined **30%**) Seminar presentations are up to 15 minutes each.

Missed Term Work:

Late assignments will be subject to a late penalty of **5%** per day (including weekends) of the total marks for the assignment. Assignments submitted five calendar days beyond the due date will be assigned a grade of zero. Assignments handed in **AFTER** the work has been returned to the class cannot be marked for credit. Accommodations due to late registration into the course will **NOT** be approved.

Missed Tests

Students who miss a term test will be assigned a grade of zero for that test unless they are granted special consideration. If the term test/midterm was missed for reasons entirely beyond the student's control, a written request for special consideration must be submitted to the Academic Advisor at advisor.pol.utm@utoronto.ca, within 3 days of the missed test as well as informing the instructor. This request must explain the reason for missing the test and include appropriate documentation, e.g. Verification of Student Illness or Injury form www.illnessverification.utoronto.ca.

A student whose explanation is accepted by the department may be granted a makeup test. The department will assign the date(s) for makeup tests, administer them, evenings and Saturdays included, and will inform the students.

If the student is granted permission to take a makeup test and misses it, they will be assigned a grade of zero for the test.

Accessibility

Students with diverse learning styles and needs are welcome in this course. In particular, if you have a disability/health consideration that may require accommodations, please feel free to approach me and/or the AccessAbility Resource Centre as soon as possible.

- **Accessibility Services Reception**
455 Spadina Avenue, 4th floor, Suite 400 Toronto, Ontario, M5S 2G8
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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: September 12, 2022 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>

Renanah Miles Joyce, "Soldier's Dilemma: Foreign Military Training and Liberal Norm Conflict", *International Security*, April 2022, <https://direct.mit.edu/isec/article/46/4/48/111176/Soldiers-Dilemma-Foreign-Military-Training-and>

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>
- 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.
- 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.
- Jaroslav, 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 Doorn ed., *Armed Forces and Society: Sociological Essays, The Hague*, Mouton, 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: September 19, 2022 Power Projection

Required readings:

- Lawrence, Freedman, "Why War Fails: Russia's invasion of Ukraine and the Limits of Military Power", *Foreign Affairs*, July/August 2022, <https://www.foreignaffairs.com/articles/russian-federation/2022-06-14/ukraine-war-russia-why-fails>
- 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).
- 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>.
- 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.
- 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: September 26, 2022 Measuring Equivalence

Required readings:

- Jason Lyall, "How Inequality Hobbles Military Power", *Foreign Affairs*, July 2022, <https://www.foreignaffairs.com/ukraine/how-inequality-hobbles-military-power>
- 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#>

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:

Benjamin H. Friedman, and Justin Logan, “Why the U.S. Military Budget is “Foolish and Sustainable”, *Orbis* Vol. 56, No.2, 2012) 177-191.

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.

Required readings:

- The International Institute for Strategic Studies, *The Military Balance*, 2022.
Stockholm International Peace Research Institute, SIPRI Yearbook 2021: Armaments, Disarmaments and International Security (Stockholm: Oxford University Press, 2021).
- Ploumis, Michail. 2022. "AI Weapon Systems in Future War Operations; Strategy, Operations and Tactics." *Comparative Strategy* 41 (1): 1–18.
<https://doi.org/10.1080/01495933.2021.2017739> <https://www.tandfonline.com.myaccess.library.utoronto.ca/doi/pdf/10.1080/01495933.2021.2017739?needAccess=true>
- 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>

Additional (suggested) readings:

- 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.
- 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 vertical: 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 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: Oct, 17, 2022 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.
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Week 8: Nov.14, 2022 Criticism of Deterrence and Certain Problems of Arms Control**Required readings:**

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Week 9: Nov. 21, 2022 Russian/CIS, Chinese, and American Approaches to Deterrence and Nuclear War—

(A) Russia/CIS/China

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- R. Garthoff, "Mutual Deterrence and Soviet Arms Limitation in Soviet Policy", *International Security*, Summer, 1978.
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Week 10: Nov. 21,2022 Russia/CIS and American Approaches to Deterrence and Nuclear War—

(B)The United States

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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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Patrick Porter, “[Why America's Grand Strategy Has Not Changed: Power, Habit, and the U.S. Foreign Policy Establishment](#)”, *International Security* ,2018 42:04, 9-46, https://doi.org/10.1162/isec_a_00311

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François Heisbourg, “A Work in Progress: The Bush Doctrine”, *The Washington Quarterly*, Spring 2003.

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July-September 2001, pp. 277-292.

Daniel Goure and James Blaker, "A Blueprint for Transforming U.S. Defense", *Comparative Strategy*, Vol. 20, No. 5, October-December 2001, pp. 445-452.

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.

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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: Nov. 28, 2022 Conventional War: large-scale inter-state conflict

Required readings:

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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.

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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.

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Aurel Braun, *Small-State Security in the Balkans*, London, Macmillan Ch. I.

Ivan Arreguin-Toft, "How the Weak Win Wars: A Theory of Asymmetric Conflict", *International Security*, Vol. 26, No. 1, Summer 2001, pp. 93-128.

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: Dec. 5, 2022 Internal War/Counterinsurgency/Counterterrorism

Required readings:

Asfandyar Mir, "What Explains Counterterrorism Effectiveness? Evidence From The U.S. Drone War In Pakistan," *International Security* 43, no. 2 (2018): 45-83, doi:10.1162/isec_a_00331, https://www.mitpressjournals.org/doi/full/10.1162/isec_a_00331.

Max Boot, "America still needs Counterinsurgency" *Foreign Affairs*, June 2021, <https://www.foreignaffairs.com/articles/afghanistan/2021-06-02/america-still-needs-counterinsurgency>

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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Jon Kyl, Douglas J. Feith, and John Fonte, “The War of Law: How New International Law Undermines Democratic Sovereignty”, *Foreign Affairs* July/August 2013: Vol. 92, Issue 4.

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.

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Patrick B. Johnston, “Does Decapitation Work? Assessing the Effectiveness of Leadership Targeting in Counterinsurgency Campaigns”, *International Security* Vol. 36, No. 4, 2012: 47-79.

Thomas Braun. “Beyond Counterinsurgency: Why the Concept is Failing.” *Connections: The Quarterly Journal* 11:3 (2012) 77-84.

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Christopher O. Bowers, “Identifying Emerging Hybrid Adversaries”, *Parameters* Vol. 42, No. 1, 2012: 39- 50.

S. Paul Kapur, and Sumit Ganguly, “The Jihad Paradox: Pakistan and Islamist Militancy in South Asia”, *International Security* Vol. 37, No. 1, 2012: 111-141.

John Mueller, and Mark G. Stewart, “The Terrorism Delusion: America's Overwrought Response to September 11”, *International Security* Vol. 37, No. 1, (2012): 81-110.

Bryan C. Price, “Targeting Top Terrorists: How Leadership Decapitation Contributes to Counterterrorism”, *International Security* Vol. 36, No. 4, 2012: 9-46.

Jeffrey Treistman, “Home Away From Home: Dynamics of Counterinsurgency Warfare”, *Comparative Strategy* Vol. 31, No. 3, 2012: 235-252.

Megan Braun, and Daniel Brunstetter. "The implications of drones on the just war tradition", *Ethics & International Affairs* Vol. 25, No.3, 2011: 337-358.

Ahmed Mahmud, and Juan Vargas. “Combatant recruitment and the outcome of war”, *Economics of Governance* Vol.12, No.1, 2011: 51-74.

Larry Goodson, and Thomas H. Johnson. “Parallels with the Past – How the Soviets Lost in Afghanistan, How the Americans are Losing”, *Orbis* Vol. 55, No.4, 2011: 577-599.

Daniel H. Levine, “Care and Counterinsurgency”, *Journal of Military Ethics* Vol.9, No.2, 2010: 139-159.

Erica Chenoweth et. al., “What Makes Terrorists Tick”, *International Security*, Spring 2009, Vol. 33 No. 4, pp. 180- 202.

Amitav Acharya and Arabinda Acharya, “The Myth of the Second Front: Localizing the ‘War on Terror’ in Southeast Asia”, *The Washington Quarterly*, Autumn 2007.

- Jeremy Pressman, "Rethinking Transnational Counterterrorism: Beyond a National Framework", *The Washington Quarterly*, Autumn 2007.
- Renee de Nevers, "NATO's International Security Role in the Terrorist Era", *International Security*, Vol. 31, No. 4, Spring 2007, pp. 34-66.
- Peter R. Neumann, "Negotiating with Terrorists", *Foreign Affairs*, January/February 2007.
- Derek S. Reveron, "Old Allies, New friends: Intelligence-Sharing in the War on Terror", *Orbis*, Vol. 50, No. 3, Summer 2006.
- Ron E. Hassner, "Fighting Insurgency on Sacred Ground", *The Washington Quarterly*, Spring 2006.
- Paul R. Pilar, "Counterterrorism After Al Qaeda", *The Washington Quarterly*, Summer 2004.
- Chantal de Jonge Oudraat, "Combating Terrorism", *The Washington Quarterly*, Autumn 2003.
- Michael Howard, "What's in a Name?: How to Fight Terrorism", *Foreign Affairs*, January/February 2002, pp. 8-13.
- Stephen M. Walt, "Beyond bin Laden: Reshaping U.S. Foreign Policy", *International Security*, Vol. 26, No. 3, Winter 2000/01, pp. 56-78.
- Ashton Carter, "The Architecture of Government in the Face of Terrorism", *International Security*, Vol. 26, No. 3, Winter 2001/02, pp. 5-23.
- Philip B. Heymann, "Dealing with Terrorism: An Overview", *International Security*, Vol. 26, No. 3, Winter 2001/02, pp. 24-38.
- Barry R. Posen, "The Struggle against Terrorism: Grand Strategy, Strategy, and Tactics", *International Security*, Vol. 26, No. 3, Winter 2001/02, pp. 34-55.
- Russell W. Ramsey, "Internal Defense in the 1980s: The Colombian Model", *Comparative Strategy*, Vol. 4, No. 4, 1984, pp. 349-369.
- Chaim Kaufmann, "Possible and Impossible Solutions to Ethnic Civil Wars", *International Security*, Spring 1996 pp. 136-175.
- 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 America" *Monthly Review*, No. 19, July-August 1967.

Plagiarism

The importance of a proper scholarly apparatus (i.e., good footnoting, use of academically respectable sources, being careful not to abuse electronic sources, etc.) in writing assignments: Recently, the UTM Political Science department drafted a document which contains the following helpful statement of principles. This should guide you in your writing assignments in this course.

• Why Proper Citations are Necessary

Many students mistakenly believe that the sole purpose of proper citations and referencing is to safeguard against suspicion of academic dishonesty. In actual fact, a reader may wish simply to learn more about the issue in question, and citations make that possible. Instructors should emphasize to students three points:

1. Academic inquiry is an ongoing 'conversation' within a scholarly community. Proper references are the 'record' of that conversation.

2. The advance of knowledge presupposes such a record. Proper references enable scholars to do research that builds upon, complements, or challenges views reached by other members of the community.
3. A reference or a citation is therefore a claim that the author has read the material, understood it, and proposes either to build upon it or to contest its validity. An author who offers a citation is therefore claiming familiarity with the material cited or referenced.

- When Citations and References are Required

The idea of a continuous 'conversation' is especially appropriate for political science, which rarely settles on definitive conclusions. For students to participate in the conversation, they must understand that while references always involve judgments, there are commonly accepted reasons to cite source material:

1. To indicate the source of every direct quotation;
2. To indicate the source of material that is being paraphrased or summarized;
3. To acknowledge indebtedness to other authors for opinions, data and ideas that are not generally regarded as common knowledge;
4. To lend authority to a claim that the reader may reasonably be expected to question;
5. To support a statement for which there is either a single authority or about which there are conflicting perspectives;
6. To inform the reader of where to find alternative perspectives, corroborative authorities, or more extensive discussion of the topic.

As regards use of the Internet: While no one would deny that Google & other digital resources can be very helpful in doing academic research, there are also significant potential perils involved in relying too heavily on the Internet (taking shortcuts to minimize actual reading, which leads to intellectual laziness; using sources that are not academically respectable; forgetting what the inside of a library looks like; etc.). Again, I would urge you to exercise maximum caution in your use of the Internet, & consult me if you're unsure whether you're making wise or unwise use of it!

A WARNING ABOUT PLAGIARISM

Plagiarism is an academic offence with a severe penalty.

It is essential that you understand what plagiarism is and that you do not commit it. In essence, it is the theft of the thoughts or words of others, without giving proper credit. You must put others' words in quotation marks and cite

your source(s). You must give citations when using others' ideas, even if those ideas are paraphrased in your own words. Plagiarism is unacceptable in a university. What the university calls "plagiarism", non-university institutions might call "fraud".

The University of Toronto provides a process that faculty members must initiate when they suspect a case of plagiarism. In the Department of Political Science, suspected evidence of plagiarism must be reported to the Chair; in most cases, the Chair passes the case on to the Dean.

A faculty member may not mark an assignment or assess a penalty if he or she finds evidence of plagiarism – the matter must be reported. Penalties are assigned by the Chair, by the Dean or by the University of Toronto Tribunal.

The following are some examples of plagiarism:

1. Submitting as your own an assignment written by someone else.
2. Quoting an author without indicating the source of the words.
3. Using words, sentences, or paragraphs written by someone else and failing to place quotation marks around the material and reference the source and author. Using either quotation marks or reference alone is not sufficient. Both must be used!
4. Adapting an author's ideas or theme and using it as your own without referencing the original source.
5. Seeking assistance from a friend or family member in respect to work you claim as your own.

Ignorance of the rules against plagiarism is not a defense; students are presumed to know what plagiarism is and how to avoid it. Students are especially reminded that material taken from the web must be quoted and cited in the same manner as if it came from a book or printed article. If you are not sure whether you have committed plagiarism, it is better to ask a faculty member or teaching assistant than risk discovery and be forced to accept an academic penalty.

Plagiarism is cheating. It is considered a serious offence against intellectual honesty and intellectual property. Penalties can be severe, ranging from a mark of "0" for the assignment or test in question, up to and including expulsion from the university.

'How to Use Sources and Avoid Plagiarism' - available at:
<http://www.writing.utoronto.ca/advice/using-sources/how-not-to-plagiarize>

Other Advisory Material available at:

<http://www.writing.utoronto.ca/advice/using-sources>