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
  416-978-8060
  accessibility.services@utoronto.ca
Notice of Collection

The University of Toronto respects your privacy. The information on medical certificates is collected pursuant to section 2(14) of the University of Toronto Act, 1971. It is collected for the purpose of administering accommodations for academic purposes based on medical grounds. The department will maintain a record of all medical certificates received. At all times it will be protected in accordance with the Freedom of Information and Protection of Privacy Act.

If you have questions, please refer to www.utoronto.ca/privacy or contact the University’s Freedom of Information and Protection of Privacy Office at 416-946-5835. Address: Room 201, McMurrich Bldg., 12 Queen’s Park Crescent, Toronto, ON, M5S 1A1.

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:


Sumit Ganguly ,”A Tale of Two Trajectories: Civil-Military Relations in Pakistan and India”,
Additional (suggested) readings:


Kenneth Waltz, Man, the State, and War, New York, Columbia University Press 1959.

**Week 2: September 19, 2022  Power Projection**

**Required readings:**


**Additional (suggested) readings:**


**Week 3: September 26, 2022  Measuring Equivalence**

*Required readings:*


Caleb Pomeroy, and Michael Beckley, “Correspondence: Measuring Power In International


**Additional (suggested) readings:**


**Week 4: Oct. 3, 2022  The Military Establishments**
**Required readings:**


**Additional (suggested) readings:**


R.W. Clawson & L.S. Kaplan, eds. The Warsaw Pact: Political Purpose and Military Means,
Wilmington (Del.) Scholarly Resources 1982.

Week 5: Oct, 17, 2022  Macrocospic Theories of Conflict

Required readings:

Additional (suggested) readings:
Quincy Wright, A Study of War, Revised. Chicago, University of Chicago, 1965. (Selected parts)
Week 6: Oct. 24, 2022 Nuclear War (problems and choices)

Required readings:


**Additional (suggested) readings:**


Paul Bracken, “How Iran can beat Israel”, National Post, March 2013. Available at: http://fullcomment.nationalpost.com/2013/03/18/paul-bracken-how-iran-can-beat-israel/


**Week 7: Oct. 31, 2022 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.


Philipp Bleek, and Eric Lorber. “Security Guarantees and Allied Nuclear Proliferation.” *Journal of
Conflict Resolution 58, no. 3 (April 2014): 429-454.
Week 8: Nov. 14, 2022  Criticism of Deterrence and Certain Problems of Arms Control

**Required readings:**

**Additional readings:**
Daryl G. Kimball, “Obama’s Second Chance”, *Arms Control Today* 43:1 (January/February 2013). (1 page only)
Week 9: Nov. 21, 2022 Russian/CIS, Chinese, and American Approaches to Deterrence and Nuclear War—

(A) Russia/CIS/China

Required readings:


https://doi.org/10.1080/01495933.2021.1912509
Tony Capaccio, “What would happen if the US goes to war with China over Taiwan”, Bloomberg News and Jerusalem Post, August 9, 2022, https://www.jpost.com/international/article-714273


Additional (suggested) readings:


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


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: Nov. 21,2022

Russia/CIS and American Approaches to Deterrence and Nuclear War—

(B) The United States

Required readings:


Additional (suggested) readings:


Kristin S. Kolet, “Asymmetric Threats to the United States”, *Comparative Strategy*, Vol. 20, No. 3,


Week 11: Nov. 28, 2022  Conventional War: large-scale inter-state conflict

Required readings:


https://www.mitpressjournals.org/doi/full/10.1162/isec_a_00342

https://doi.org/10.1080/01495933.2022.2039005.  


Additional (suggested) readings:


Fen Osler Hampson and David Malone, From Reaction to Conflict Prevention: Opportunities in the UN System, (Boulder, CO: Lynne Rienner Publishers, 2002).


Week 12: Dec. 5, 2022 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.


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**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