POL459H/2216H: The Military Instrument of Foreign Policy
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Synopsis:

Course Description and Objectives:

This combined undergraduate-graduate course analyses 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 analyses the use of the military instrument of foreign policy. We meld theoretical and pragmatic approaches. Among the subjects covered are, deterrence and nuclear deterrence, arms control and war, power projection, limited war 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:


2. Presentation of a developed outline of final paper (two pages, double-spaced, in week 8, November 13) 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 16, 2023. Second reaction paper due October 30, 2023. 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 professor within 3 days of the missed test. 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](http://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.

Absences:

**Effective Fall/Winter 2023–24 Session**

During the academic term, if you are absent from your studies and unable to complete course work, you should follow the missed term-work policy outlined in your course syllabus. This policy will normally outline what a student should do if they miss a deadline, term test or a class activity such as a lab.

Your instructor may indicate that documentation is required to support your request for academic consideration (e.g., extension, make-up test, re-weighting).

The following are recognized forms of documentation:

- Absence declaration via ACORN (see below for important information on eligibility)
- U of T Verification of Illness or Injury Form (VOI)
- College Registrar's letter
- Letter of Academic Accommodation from Accessibility Services

If you submit the above documentation to your instructors, you do not need to submit additional supporting documentation. The following documentation should not be requested or accepted by instructors:

- Detailed medical information beyond the Verification of Illness or Injury Form (VOI)
- Letters from friends, parents or other family members

For extended absences and for absences due to non-medical reasons, make sure to contact your College Registrar’s Office. They can help you decide between a request for an extension or other types of academic consideration. They may be able to email your instructor directly to provide a College Registrar's letter of support and connect you with other helpful resources on campus.

If you suspect or know that you have a disability that is affecting your studies, learn about the services and supports available through Accessibility Services. A disability can be physical disability, sensory disability, a learning
disability, mental health disorder or a short-term disability like an injury. If you are not sure whether you have a disability, you can confidentially contact Accessibility Services with your questions.

If you observe religious Holy Days that might conflict with academic activities (e.g., a class or test), see U of T’s religious accommodations policy for more information.

ACORN Absence Declaration Tool:

As an A&S undergraduate student, if you miss an academic obligation and wish to seek academic consideration, you may declare an absence using the Absence Declaration Tool in ACORN. Students who declare an absence in ACORN should expect to receive reasonable academic consideration from their instructor without the need to present additional supporting documentation.

The ACORN Absence Declaration Tool is intended to be used in the following circumstances:

- A health condition or injury (e.g., illness, serious physical harm, mental health issue, scheduled surgery)
- A personal or family emergency (e.g., unanticipated and unavoidable familial incident beyond the student’s control)
- Bereavement (e.g., the death of a student’s immediate family member or close friend)

The ACORN Absence Declaration Tool is not intended to be used in the following circumstances:

- Personal social obligations
- Travel not related to your academic program
- Technological issues
- The avoidance of deadlines or tests

Visit the ACORN how-to page for a step-by-step guide on how to submit an absence declaration. If for any reason you are unable to submit your declaration, contact your College Registrar’s Office.

Follow the links below to learn about your options for absences due to the following circumstances:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Reason for Absence</th>
<th>More Information</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Religious observances</td>
<td>Muti-Faith Centre</td>
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<tr>
<td>Athletic obligations</td>
<td>Varsity Blues</td>
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<tr>
<td>Chronic and ongoing health conditions</td>
<td>College Registrar’s Office</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Attendance at a University sponsored event</td>
<td>College Registrar’s Office</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mandatory legal obligations (e.g., jury duty)</td>
<td>College Registrar’s Office</td>
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Absence Declaration Guidelines & Eligibility:

Review the following main considerations and eligibility criteria for declaring an absence through the Absence Declaration Tool on ACORN. In addition, visit the University Registrar’s Office website for the complete absence declaration policy.

- Students may submit one absence declaration per academic term, e.g., the Fall (F) term.
  - Students taking any Y-courses may declare one absence in the F-term and one absence in the S-term.
- The Absence Declaration Tool can be used to declare an absence for a maximum period of seven consecutive calendar days.
The seven-day declaration period can be retroactive for up to six days in the past, or up to six days in the future.

For absences that extend beyond the seven-day period, a VOI form will also need to be submitted.

If you need to declare an absence outside of the seven-day period, please contact your College Registrar's Office.

- Absence declaration will only be available to students on ACORN from the first day of classes to the last day of classes during each term. It will not be available in the following periods:
  - During the final exam period
  - On study days
  - On any discretionary teaching day after classes end (as make up for a class missed due to a holiday)

- Absence declaration must cover the period in which the missed academic obligation occurred.

- After an absence declaration is submitted in ACORN, it cannot be cancelled.

- Students seeking to correct information in the declaration may modify the absence declaration until the end of the submission day (11:59 pm ET). Students are granted the ability to update the absence end date, courses selected, notes and email addresses within this period.

- Students seeking to modify an absence declaration after this period should contact their College Registrar’s Office.

- It is the student’s responsibility to let their instructor(s) know that they have used the absence declaration so that they can arrange for academic consideration specific to the missed academic obligation (e.g., deadline, term test, lab).

- Evidence of an absence from the ACORN Absence Declaration Tool cannot be used to seek academic consideration for matters that require a petition (e.g., missed final exam)

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
Address: 455 Spadina Avenue, 4th floor, Suite 400 Toronto, Ontario, M5S 2G8
Phone number: 416-978-8060
Email: 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 11, 2023): Civil—Military Relations**

**Required readings:**


**Additional (suggested) readings:**


NIELSEN SC. American civil-military relations today: the continuing relevance of Samuel P. Huntington’s The soldier and the state. *International Affairs (Royal Institute of International Affairs 1944-)*. 2012;88(2):369-376. doi:10.1111/j.1468-2346.2012.01076.x


2011;35(4):87-125. doi:10.1162/ISEC_a_00033


Week 2 (Sept. 18): Cyber-warfare and Drone Wars

**Required readings:**


**Additional (suggested) readings:**


Handler SG. The new cyber face of battle: Developing a legal approach to accommodate emerging trends in warfare.


**Week 3 (Sept. 25): Termination of War**

**Required readings:**


**Additional (suggested) readings:**


**Week 4 (October 2): Hiroshima and Nagasaki: The Use of Nuclear Weapons**

*Required readings:*


*Additional (suggested) readings:*


**Week 5 (Oct.16): The Case of the SS-20s/Pershings and Cruise**

*Required readings:*


Thirtieth Anniversary of NATO’s Dual-Track Decision The Road to the Euromissiles Crisis and the End of the Cold War. https://nsarchive2.gwu.edu/nukevault/ebb301/
Sverre Lodgaard. Long Range Theater Nuclear Forces. SIPRI. Published online 1983.

Additional (suggested) readings:
doi:10.1177/03058298840130011001

https://link.springer.com/chapter/10.1007/978-1-349-17410-2_4


doi:10.1080/00963402.1983.11459002


Week 6 (Oct. 23): The Korean War: Limits on the Use of Power

Required readings:


Additional (suggested) readings:


Week 7 (OCT. 30): The Invasion of Czechoslovakia in 1968: The Utility of Force

Required readings:


**Additional (suggested) readings:**

Available at: https://scholarlycommons.law.case.edu/jil/vol7/iss2/12


Levine ID. *Intervention*. McKay; 1969.


**Week 8 (November 13): The USSR and Afghanistan: The Projection of Force**

*Required readings:*


*Additional (suggested) readings:*


**Week 9 (Nov. 20): The 1973 American Nuclear Alert**

*Required readings:*


Estonia wrestles with cyber attack.
https://www.proquest.com/docview/308679537/30F54AD2F6854692PQ/1?accountid=14771


**Additional (suggested) readings:**


**Week 10 (Nov. 27): The 2007 Cyber attacks on Estonia**

**Required readings:**

Joubert Vincent, Five years after Estonia’s cyber attacks: lessons learned for NATO?  
https://www.files.ethz.ch/isn/143191/rp_76.pdf

Rhoades, Christopher, Estonia wrestles with cyber attack.  
https://www.proquest.com/docview/308679537/30F54AD2F6854692PQ/1?accountid=14771


**Additional (suggested) readings:**

https://blogs.harvard.edu/cyberwar43z/2012/12/21/estonia-iss-attackrussian-nationalism/


**Week 11 (December 4): Drone attacks in Pakistan**

**Required readings:**

https://www.foreignaffairs.com/ukraine/back-trenches


**Additional (suggested) readings:**


Lewis MW, Crawford E. Drones and distinction: how IHL encouraged the rise of drones. *Georgetown journal of international law*. 2013;44(3):1127-.


Schaffner DE. The legality of using drones to unilaterally monitor atrocity crimes. *Fordham international law journal*. 2012;35(4):1121-.


**Week 12 (Dec. 7): Russia’s War against Ukraine: Power Projection and International Law**

*Required readings:*


*Additional (suggested) readings:*


**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