



**St. George Campus  
Fall 2023**

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

**Professor A. Braun**

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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:**

1. One paper: 10-15 double-spaced pages (**40%**). Paper due November 27, 2023. **Graduate students** will present one paper, 20-25 double-spaced pages, due December 7, 2023. (**60%**). **Please use University of Chicago style endnotes.**
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:

<b>Reason for Absence</b>	<b>More Information</b>
Religious observances	<a href="#">Muti-Faith Centre</a>
Athletic obligations	<a href="#">Varsity Blues</a>
Chronic and ongoing health conditions	<a href="#">College Registrar's Office</a>
Attendance at a University sponsored event (e.g., field trip, awards ceremony)	<a href="#">College Registrar's Office</a>
Mandatory legal obligations (e.g., jury duty)	<a href="#">College Registrar's Office</a>

#### 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](mailto: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](http://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:***

Thucydides. *The Essential Thucydides : Selections from the History of the Peloponnesian War*. 2nd ed. (Woodruff P, ed.). Hackett Publishing Company, Incorporated; 2021.

How Putin’s War in Ukraine Became a Catastrophe for Russia.

<https://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2022/12/16/world/europe/russia-putin-war-failures-ukraine.html>

Golby J, Karlin M. Why “Best Military Advice” is Bad for the Military—and Worse for Civilians. *Orbis (Philadelphia)*. 2018;62(1):137-153. doi:10.1016/j.orbis.2017.11.010

Joyce RM. Soldiers’ Dilemma: Foreign Military Training and Liberal Norm Conflict. *International security*. 2022;46(4):48-90. doi:10.1162/isec\_a\_00432

Lampton DM. *How China Is Ruled: Why It’s Getting Harder for Beijing to Govern*. Vol 93. Council on Foreign Relations; 2014.

Herspring D. Civil–Military Relations in the United States and Russia: An Alternative Approach. *Armed forces and society*. 2009;35(4):667-687. doi:10.1177/0095327X09332140

Ganguly S. A Tale of Two Trajectories: Civil-Military Relations in Pakistan and India. *Journal of strategic studies*. 2016;39(1):142-157. doi:10.1080/01402390.2015.1051285

##### ***Additional (suggested) readings:***

Braun A. The Politics of International Relations: Building Bridges and the Quest for Relevance. *Studia Politica (Bucuresti)*. 2015;15(4):557-566.

Davidson J. The Contemporary Presidency: Civil-Military Friction and Presidential Decision Making: Explaining the Broken Dialogue. *Presidential studies quarterly*. 2013;43(1):129-145. doi:10.1111/psq.12006

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

Pattison J. The legitimacy of the military, private military and security companies, and just war theory. *European journal of political theory*. 2012;11(2):131-154. doi:10.1177/1474885111425119

CLEARY LR. Lost in Translation: The Challenge of Exporting Models of Civil-Military Relations. *Prism (Washington, DC)*. 2012;3(2):19-36. <https://www.jstor.org/stable/26469726>

Wuthrich FM. Factors Influencing Military-Media Relations in Turkey. *The Middle East journal*. 2012;66(2):253-272. doi:10.3751/66.2.13

Ulrich MP. The General Stanley McChrystal Affair: A Case Study in Civil-Military Relations. *Parameters (Carlisle, Pa)*. 2011;41(1):86-. doi:10.55540/0031-1723.2576

Kienscherf M. A programme of global pacification: US counterinsurgency doctrine and the biopolitics of human (in)security. *Security dialogue*. 2011;42(6):517-535. doi:10.1177/0967010611423268

Feaver PD. The Right to Be Right: Civil-Military Relations and the Iraq Surge Decision. *International security*.

2011;35(4):87-125. doi:10.1162/ISEC\_a\_00033

Ćwiek-Karpowicz J. Who Makes Decisions? Foreign Policy-shaping Mechanisms in Russia. *The Polish quarterly of international affairs*. 2010;19(3):69-90.

Mind the Gap: Post-Iraq Civil-Military Relations in America. *Foreign Policy Research Institute*.  
https://www.fpri.org/article/2008/08/mind-the-gap-post-iraq-civil-military-relations-in-america/

Desch M. Civil-Militarism: The Civilian Origins of the New American Militarism. *ORBIS*. 2006;50(3):573-583.  
doi:10.1016/j.orbis.2006.04.012

Hislope R. Crime and Honor in a Weak State : Paramilitary Forces and Violence in Macedonia. *Problems of post-communism*. 2004;51(3):18-26. doi:10.1080/10758216.2004.11052166

Dory A. American civil security: The US public and homeland security. *The Washington quarterly*. 2004;27(1):37-52.

Snyder J. Civil-Military Relations and the Cult of the Offensive, 1914 and 1984. *International security*. 1984;9(1):108-146. doi:10.2307/2538637

Sarkesian SC. The price paid by the military. *Orbis (Philadelphia)*. 2001;45(4):557-568. doi:10.1016/S0030-4387(01)00092-8

Dassel K. Civilians, Soldiers, and Strife: Domestic Sources of International Aggression. *International security*. 1998;23(1):107-140. doi:10.1162/isec.23.1.107

Collins JJ, Holsti OR. Civil-Military Relations: How Wide is the Gap? *International security*. 1999;24(2):199-207.  
doi:10.1162/016228899560121

Danopoulos CP (Constantine P, Zirker D, eds. *Civil-Military Relations in the Soviet and Yugoslav Successor States*. Westview Press; 1996.

Sarkesian SC. U.S. Civil-Military Relations: In Crisis or Transition? Edited by Don M. Snider and Miranda A. Carlton-Carew. Washington, D.C.: Center for Strategic and International Studies, 1995. 224p. \$18.95 paper. *The American political science review*. 1996;90(3):706-707. doi:10.2307/2082699

Eliot A. Cohen. *A Revolution in Warfare*.; 1996.

Andreski S. *Military Organization and Society* . Routledge; 1954. doi:10.4324/9781315007380

Rush M. Guns over growth in Soviet policy. *International security*. 1983;7:167-179.

SIMES D. THE MILITARY AND MILITARISM IN SOVIET-SOCIETY. *International security*. 1982;6(3):123-143.

Waltz KN (Kenneth N. *Man, the State, and War : a Theoretical Analysis* . Anniversary edition. (Walt SM, ed.). Columbia University Press; 2018.

Janowitz M. *The Professional Soldier, a Social and Political Portrait*. Free Press; 1960.

Janowitz M. *Military Institutions and Coercion in the Developing Nations* . Expanded ed. of The military in the political development of new nations. --. University of Chicago Press; 1977.

Janowitz M, Westbrook SD, eds. *The Political Education of Soldiers* . Sage Publications; 1983.

Huntington SP. *The Soldier and the State : the Theory and Politics of Civil-Military Relations*. The Belknap Press

of Harvard University Press; 1985.

Colton TJ. *Commissars, Commanders, and Civilian Authority : The Structure of Soviet Military Politics* . Reprint 2014. Harvard University Press,; 2014. doi:10.4159/harvard.9780674497443

Boulding KE. The University, Society, and Arms Control. *The Journal of conflict resolution*. 1963;7(3):458-463. doi:10.1177/002200276300700326

Finer S. *The Man on Horseback : The Role of the Military in Politics* . Routledge; 1962.

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

### **Required readings:**

Russia's shadow war: Vulkan files leak show how Putin's regime weaponises cyberspace.

<https://theconversation.com/russias-shadow-war-vulkan-files-leak-show-how-putins-regime-weaponises-cyberspace-203146>

Ashraf C. Defining cyberwar: towards a definitional framework. *Defense & security analysis*. 2021;37(3):274-294. doi:10.1080/14751798.2021.1959141

Cimbala SJ. Nuclear cyberwar and crisis management. *Comparative strategy*. 2016;35(2):114-123. doi:10.1080/01495933.2016.1176458

Byman D. *Why Drones Work: The Case for Washington's Weapon of Choice*. Vol 92. Council on Foreign Relations; 2013.

Cronin AK. *Why Drones Fail: When Tactics Drive Strategy*. Vol 92. Council on Foreign Relations; 2013.

### **Additional (suggested) readings:**

Kenny M. Cyber-Terrorism in a Post-Stuxnet World. *Orbis (Philadelphia)*. 2015;59(1):111-128. doi:10.1016/j.orbis.2014.11.009

Meyer P. Diplomatic Alternatives to Cyber-Warfare: A Near-Term Agenda. *The RUSI journal*. 2012;157(1):14-19. doi:10.1080/03071847.2012.664357

Choucri N, Goldsmith D. Lost in cyberspace: Harnessing the Internet, international relations, and global security. *Bulletin of the atomic scientists*. 2012;68(2):70-77. doi:10.1177/0096340212438696

Kreps S, Zenko M. *The Next Drone Wars: Preparing for Proliferation*. Vol 93. Council on Foreign Relations; 2014.

Rid T. *Cyberwar and Peace: Hacking Can Reduce Real-World Violence*. Vol 92. Council on Foreign Relations; 2013.

Fair CC, Kaltenthaler K, Miller WJ. Pakistani Opposition to American Drone Strikes. *Political science quarterly*. 2016;131(2):387-419. doi:10.1002/polq.12474

Rid T. *Think Again: Cyberwar: Don't Fear the Digital Bogeyman. Virtual Conflict Is Still More Hype Than Reality*. Foreign Policy; 2012.

Deibert RJ, Rohozinski R, Crete-Nishihata M. Cyclones in cyberspace: Information shaping and denial in the 2008 Russia-Georgia war. *Security dialogue*. 2012;43(1):3-24. doi:10.1177/0967010611431079

Chinese Microchips Are Considered Impossible To Regulate. <https://www.csis.org/analysis/chinas-new-strategy-waging-microchip-tech-war>

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

*Stanford journal of international law*. 2012;48(1):209-237.

Ryan DJ, Dion M, Tikk E, Ryan JJC. International cyberlaw: a normative approach. *Georgetown journal of international law*. 2011;42(4):1161-1197.

Sharma A. Cyber Wars: A Paradigm Shift from Means to Ends. *Strategic analysis*. 2010;34(1):62-73. doi:10.1080/09700160903354450

Rosenfield DK. RETHINKING CYBER WAR. *Critical review (New York, NY)*. 2009;21(1):77-90. doi:10.1080/08913810902812156

Israel Embraces 'Faster, Cheaper, Smaller. <https://aviationweek.com/defense-space/israel-embraces-faster-cheaper-smaller>

Hjortdal M. China's Use of Cyber Warfare: Espionage Meets Strategic Deterrence. *Journal of strategic security*. 2011;4(2):1-24. doi:10.5038/1944-0472.4.2.1

Gjeltén T. SHADOW WARS: Debating Cyber "Disarmament." *World affairs (Washington)*. 2010;173(4):33-42. doi:10.3200/WAFS.173.4.33-42

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

#### **Required readings:**

Macmillan M. How Wars Don't End: Ukraine, Russia, and the Lessons of World War, *Foreign Affairs I*. Vol 102. Council on Foreign Relations, Inc; 2023.

Mousseau M. The End of War: How a Robust Marketplace and Liberal Hegemony Are Leading to Perpetual World Peace. *International security*. 2019;44(1):160-196. doi:10.1162/isec\_a\_00352

Howard LM, Stark A. How Civil Wars End: The International System, Norms, and the Role of External Actors. *International security*. 2018;42(3):127-171. doi:10.1162/ISEC\_a\_00305

Simon DA. Ending perpetual war? Constitutional war termination powers and the conflict against Al Qaeda. *Pepperdine law review*. 2014;41(4):685-.

Johnson DDP, Tierney D. The Rubicon Theory of War: How the Path to Conflict Reaches the Point of No Return. *International security*. 2011;36(1):7-40. doi:10.1162/ISEC\_a\_00043

#### **Additional (suggested) readings:**

Iklé FC. *Every War Must End*. 2nd rev. ed., with a new preface. Columbia University Press; 2005.

Sawyer K, Cunningham KG, Reed W. The Role of External Support in Civil War Termination. *The Journal of conflict resolution*. 2017;61(6):1174-1202. doi:10.1177/0022002715600761

Boehmelt T. The effectiveness of tracks of diplomacy strategies in third-party interventions. *Journal of peace research*. 2010;47(2):167-178. doi:10.1177/0022343309356488

Haass RN. *The Irony of American Strategy: Putting the Middle East in Proper Perspective*. Vol 92. Council on Foreign Relations; 2013.

Stanley EA. Ending the Korean War: The Role of Domestic Coalition Shifts in Overcoming Obstacles to Peace. *International security*. 2009;34(1):42-82. doi:10.1162/isec.2009.34.1.42

Adam HM, Deng FM, Fituni LL, et al., eds. *Collapsed States : The Disintegration and Restoration of Legitimate Authority*. Lynne Rienner Publishers,; 2022. doi:10.1515/9781685853907

Cahill KM, ed. *Preventive Diplomacy : Stopping Wars before They Start*. Rev. and updated ed. Routledge; 2000.



Cline LE. Defending the end: Decision making in terminating the Persian Gulf War. *Comparative strategy*. 1998;17(4):363-380. doi:10.1080/01495939808403153

Kumar K, ed. *Rebuilding Societies after Civil War : Critical Roles for International Assistance* . L. Rienner; 1997.

COSER LA. The termination of conflict: REFERENCES. *The Journal of conflict resolution*. 1961;5(4):347-.

Deutsch M. *The Resolution of Conflict : Constructive and Destructive Processes*. Yale University Press; 1973.

Howard M, ed. *Restraints on War : Studies in the Limitation of Armed Conflict* . Oxford University Press; 1979.

Klingberg FL. Predicting the Termination of War: Battle Casualties and Population Losses. *The Journal of conflict resolution*. 1966;10(2):129-171. doi:10.1177/002200276601000201

Woitto R, ed. *To End War : a New Approach to International Conflict* . 6th ed. --. Pilgrim Press; 1981.

Licklider RE, ed. *Stopping the Killing : How Civil Wars End* . New York University Press; 1993.

Sigal LV. *Fighting to a Finish : the Politics of War Termination in the United States and Japan, 1945* . Cornell University Press; 1988.

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

##### **Required readings:**

Can nuclear war be morally justified? <https://www.bbc.com/future/article/20200804-can-nuclear-war-ever-be-morally-justified>

Brent Dyck. Hiroshima and Nagasaki. *Historian*. 99 (2008), pp.22-26

Wilson W. The Winning Weapon?: Rethinking Nuclear Weapons in Light of Hiroshima. *International security*. 2007;31(4):162-179. doi:10.1162/isec.2007.31.4.162 Frank,

Richard B. Ending the Pacific War: Harry Truman and the Decision to Drop the Bomb. *FPRI*. <https://www.fpri.org/article/2009/04/ending-the-pacific-war-harry-truman-and-the-decision-to-drop-the-bomb/>

Feis H. *The Atomic Bomb and the End of World War II* . [Rev. ed.]. Princeton University Press; 2015. doi:10.1515/9781400868261

##### **Additional (suggested) readings:**

Kamiya M. Nuclear Japan: Oxymoron or coming soon? *The Washington quarterly*. 2002;26(1):63-75. doi:10.1162/016366003761036499

Baker PR, ed. *The Atomic Bomb : the Great Decision* . 2nd rev. ed. --. Dryden Press; 1976.

Lifton RJ. *Death in Life; Survivors of Hiroshima*. Random House; 1968.

Glasstone S, Dolan PJ, United States. Department of Defense, United States. Department of Energy, eds. *The Effects of Nuclear Weapons* . 3d ed. --. U.S. Dept. of Defense; 1977.

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

##### **Required readings:**

Wallensteen P, Svensson I. Talking peace: International mediation in armed conflicts. Levy JS, Buhaug H, eds. *Journal of peace research*. 2014;51(2):315-327. doi:10.1177/0022343313512223

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:**

Caldor M. Europe After Cruise and Pershing II. *Millennium*. 1984;13(1):73-81.  
doi:10.1177/03058298840130011001\

Long-term Threats to Western Security. *International Security Yearbook 1983/1984*.  
[https://link.springer.com/chapter/10.1007/978-1-349-17410-2\\_4](https://link.springer.com/chapter/10.1007/978-1-349-17410-2_4)

*Aviation Week and Space Technology*. McGraw-Hill.; 1960.

Arkin WM. Pershing II and U.S. nuclear strategy. *Bulletin of the atomic scientists*. 1983;39(6):12-13.  
doi:10.1080/00963402.1983.11459002

Euromissiles. *Bulletin*.

[https://books.google.ca/books?id=mQYAAAAAMBAJ&pg=PA11&source=gbs\\_toc\\_r&cad=2#v=onepage&q&f=false](https://books.google.ca/books?id=mQYAAAAAMBAJ&pg=PA11&source=gbs_toc_r&cad=2#v=onepage&q&f=false)

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

**Required readings:**

Matray J. I. US Entry into the Korean War: Origins, Impact, and Lessons. *Journal for peace and nuclear disarmament*. 2022;5(sup1):167-184. doi:10.1080/25751654.2022.2053407

Stueck W. Reassessing U.S. Strategy in the Aftermath of the Korean War. *Orbis (Philadelphia)*. 2009;53(4):571-590. doi:10.1016/j.orbis.2009.07.007

Kongdan O., Hassing R. Putting Together the North Korea Puzzle, *FPRI article*, 6/2009.  
[https://www.files.ethz.ch/isn/103039/North\\_Korea\\_Puzzle.pdf](https://www.files.ethz.ch/isn/103039/North_Korea_Puzzle.pdf)

Ayson R., Taylor B. (2004) Attacking North Korea: Why War Might Be Preferred, *Comparative Strategy*, 23:3, 263-279, DOI: [10.1080/01495930490479051](https://doi.org/10.1080/01495930490479051)

Mazarr MJ. Going Just a Little Nuclear: Nonproliferation Lessons from North Korea. *International security*. 1995;20(2):92-122. doi:10.2307/2539230

**Additional (suggested) readings:**

Jervis R. The Impact of the Korean War on the Cold War. *The Journal of conflict resolution*. 1980;24(4):563-592.  
doi:10.1177/002200278002400401

Halperin MH. *Limited War in the Nuclear Age*. Wiley; 1966.

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

**Required readings:**

Gordin AA. Czechoslovakia in 1968: Soviet Propaganda and the Mood of Russia's Provinces. *Russian studies in history*. 2011;49(4):18-33. doi:10.2753/RSH1061-1983490401

Munteanu M. 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*. 2010;12(1):43-61.  
doi:10.1162/jcws.2010.12.1.43

Urban G. The Invasion of Czechoslovakia, 1968: The View from Washington: A Conversation with Eugene V. Rostow. *The Washington quarterly*. 1979;2(1):106-120. doi:10.1080/01636607909450255

HINTERHOFF E. *Military Implications of the Soviet Invasion of Czechoslovakia*. Vol 213. A. Strahan; 1968.

**Additional (suggested) readings:**

Aurel Braun, *Socialist Concepts of Sovereignty: The Case for Romania*, 7 Case W. Res. J. Int'l L. 169 (1975)  
Available at: <https://scholarlycommons.law.case.edu/jil/vol7/iss2/12>

Eidlin, F., "Capitulation', 'Resistance', and the Framework of 'Normalization': The August 1968 Invasion of Czechoslovakia and the Czechoslovak Response", *Journal of peace research*. 1981;18(4):319-332.  
doi:10.1177/002234338101800402

ZANINOVICH MG, BROWN DA. Political Integration in Czechoslovakia: The Implications of the Prague Spring and Soviet Intervention. *Journal of international affairs (New York)*. 1973;27(1):66-79.

*Lessons of Prague, The*. Vol 75. Statesman and Nation Publishing; 1968.

Lowenthal R, and others. Czechoslovakia: the brief spring of 1968 [five articles on the background and the effects of the Russian occupation]. *Problems of communism*. 1968;17:1-68.

Levy A. *Rowboat to Prague* . Grossman Publishers; 1972.

Levine ID. *Intervention*. McKay; 1969.

Historický ústav (Československá akademie věd). *The Czech Black Book* . (Littell R, ed.). Praeger; 1969

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

Drawing Lessons from the Soviet-Afghan War: A Conversation with Title VIII Research Scholar Jonathan Brunstedt. <https://www.wilsoncenter.org/article/drawing-lessons-soviet-afghan-war-conversation-title-viii-research-scholar-jonathan>

Alexander Antonovich Liakhovsky (Translations by Gary Goldberg and Artemy Kalinovsky), Inside the Soviet Invasion of Afghanistan and the Seizure of Kabul. <https://www.wilsoncenter.org/publication/inside-the-soviet-invasion-afghanistan-and-the-seizure-kabul-december-1979>

HALLIDAY F. Soviet foreign policymaking and the Afghanistan war: from "second Mongolia" to "bleeding wound." *Review of international studies*. 1999;25(4):675-691. doi:10.1017/S0260210599006750

**Additional (suggested) readings:**

Abraham AJ, Majid AA. *Miscalculations on Afghanistan*. Vol 242. A. Strahan; 1983.

Bethell N. *Afghanistan: Can Russia Win?* Vol 240. A. Strahan; 1982.

Yuqiang S, Fengzhun Z. *Afghan People's Two-Year Struggle Against Soviet Occupation*. Vol 25. Beijing Review, etc; 1982.

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

Peck, Michael, "In 1973, America and Russia Almost Fought a Nuclear War over Syria". <https://nationalinterest.org/blog/the-buzz/1973-america-russia-almost-fought-nuclear-war-over-syria-25340>

Ginsburg, Mitch, "Dayan pushed PM Meir to consider using nuclear weapons in 1973 war". <https://www.timesofisrael.com/dayan-pushed-pm-meir-to-consider-using-nuclear-weapons-in-1973/>

Estonia wrestles with cyber attack.

<https://www.proquest.com/docview/308679537/30F54AD2F6854692PQ/1?accountid=14771>

Winham GR. White House Years Henry Kissinger Boston: Little, Brown, 1979, pp. 1,521. *Canadian journal of political science*. 1980;13(4):839-841. doi:10.1017/S0008423900034405

Hersh SM. *The Price of Power : Kissinger in the Nixon White House* . 1st ed. --. Summit Books; 1983.

Burr W, Kimball J. Nixon's nuclear ploy. *Bulletin of the atomic scientists*. 2003;59(1):28-73.  
doi:10.1080/00963402.2003.11460643

**Additional (suggested) readings:**

Desmond Ball. U.S. Strategic Forces: How Would They Be Used? In: Steven E. Miller, ed. *Strategy and Nuclear Deterrence*. Princeton University Press; 2014:215-.

**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](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>

Goth G. The Politics of DDoS Attacks. *IEEE distributed systems online*. 2007;8(8):3-3. doi:10.1109/MDSO.2007.50

Herzog S. Revisiting the Estonian Cyber Attacks: Digital Threats and Multinational Responses. *Journal of strategic security*. 2011;4(2):49-60. doi:10.5038/1944-0472.4.2.3

Kampmark B. *CYBER WARFARE BETWEEN ESTONIA AND RUSSIA*. Vol 289. Contemporary Review Company Ltd; 2007.

**Additional (suggested) readings:**

The 2007 Estonian Cyber attacks: New Frontiers in International Conflict.  
<https://blogs.harvard.edu/cyberwar43z/2012/12/21/estonia-ddos-attackrussian-nationalism/>

A cyber-riot; Estonia and Russia. *The Economist (London)*. 2007;383(8528):55-.

Wlodarska A. RUSSIAN-ESTONIAN RELATIONS AFTER 2007: CURRENT STATUS AND DEVELOPMENT PROSPECTS. *International studies (Łódź, Poland)*. 2011;13(1):40-47. doi:10.2478/v10223-011-0005-1

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

**Required readings:**

Back in the Trenches Why New Technology Hasn't Revolutionized Warfare in Ukraine.  
<https://www.foreignaffairs.com/ukraine/back-trenches>

Mazhar MS, Goraya NS. Drone war against Pakistan: An analytical study. *Journal of political studies (Lahore, Pakistan)*. 2011;18(2):187-206.

Shah A. Do U.S. Drone Strikes Cause Blowback? Evidence from Pakistan and Beyond. *International security*. 2018;42(4):47-84. doi:10.1162/isec\_a\_0031

Enemark C. Drones over Pakistan: Secrecy, Ethics, and Counterinsurgency. *Asian security (Philadelphia, Pa)*. 2011;7(3):218-237. doi:10.1080/14799855.2011.615082

**Additional (suggested) readings:**

Vogel RJ. Drone warfare and the law of armed conflict. *Denver journal of international law and policy*. 2010;39(1):101-.

Hudson L, Owens CS, Flannes M. Drone Warfare: Blowback from the New American Way of War. *Middle East policy*. 2011;18(3):122-132. doi:10.1111/j.1475-4967.2011.00502.x

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

Brooks R. Drones and the International Rule of Law. *Ethics & international affairs*. 2014;28(1):83-103. doi:10.1017/S0892679414000070

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

O'Connell ME. Remarks: the resort to drones under international law. *Denver journal of international law and policy*. 2011;39(4):585-.

Brunstetter D, Braun M. The Implications of Drones on the Just War Tradition. *Ethics & international affairs*. 2011;25(3):337-358. doi:10.1017/S0892679411000281

Nawaz S. Drone Attacks Inside Pakistan: Wayang or Willing Suspension of Disbelief? *Georgetown journal of international affairs*. 2011;12(2):79-87.

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

#### **Required readings:**

Freedman L. *Why War Fails: Russia's Invasion of Ukraine and the Limits of Military Power*. Vol 101. Council Foreign Relations Inc; 2022.

Braun A. TOUGHER SANCTIONS NOW: Putin's Delusional Quest for Empire. *World affairs (Washington)*. 2014;177(2):34-42.

War Comes to Ukraine: The Consequences of the Crash in Donetsk. <https://www.foreignaffairs.com/articles/russian-federation/2014-07-17/war-comes-ukraine>

Ukraine's Do-It-Yourself War. <https://foreignpolicy.com/2014/07/11/ukraines-do-it-yourself-war/>

The Sources of Putin's Conduct. <https://foreignpolicy.com/2014/07/15/the-sources-of-putins-conduct/>

#### **Additional (suggested) readings:**

Braun A. *How Putin Bested Obama*. Vol 136. Commentary; 2013.

Ukraine's Crisis of Legitimacy. <https://www.foreignaffairs.com/articles/europe/2014-03-03/ukraines-crisis-legitimacy>

The Czar of Brinkmanship. <https://www.foreignaffairs.com/articles/russia-fsu/2014-05-05/czar-brinkmanship>

### **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>