



**St. George Campus
Fall 2024**

POL405H/2217H: The Military Instrument of Foreign Policy: Concepts and Approaches

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Prerequisite: POL 208Y, or permission of instructor.

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 analyses 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 essay: 10-15 double-spaced pages (each). The essay is due **November 18, 2024**. It is worth 40% of the final grade. **Please use University of Chicago style endnotes. Graduate students** will present one paper, 15-25 double-spaced pages, due November 25, 2024 for 40% of final grade.
2. Two "reaction papers" to any of the readings: 2 pages double-spaced (each – no citations). First reaction paper due **September 30, 2024**. Second reaction paper due **October 21, 2024**. Each reaction paper is worth 10%.
3. Seminar presentation (one) and class discussions participation (40%). 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.

Absences:

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:

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

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.

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>

- **Generative AI** (e.g., ChatGPT). Generative AI tools are not permitted aids in the course when writing reaction papers or essays.

Topics and Readings**Week 1: September 9, 2024 Civil—Military Relations*****Required readings:***

- Andrew Payne, "Bargaining with the Military: How Presidents Manage the Political Costs of Civilian Control," *International Security* 48, no. 1 (July 2023): 166-207, doi: https://doi.org/10.1162/isec_a_00468.
- 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.
- 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>
- 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=fjss20>

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.
- Jaroslawn, Cwiek-Karpowicz, "Who Makes Decisions? Foreign Policy-Shaping Mechanisms in Russia", *The Polish Quarterly of International Affairs* Vol. 19, No. 3, 2010: 69-90, 1.
- Clay Risen, "Is Less Defense the Best Offense", *The New York Times*, August 5, 2011.
- Michael P. Noonan, "Mind the Gap: Post-Iraq Civil-Military Relations in America", *Foreign Policy Research Institute*, FPRI article: January, 2008.
- Michael Desch, "Civil-Militarism: The Civilian Origin of the New American Militarism", *Orbis*, Vol. 50, No. 3: Summer 2006.
- Robert Hislope, "Crime and Honor in a Weak State: Paramilitary Forces and Violence in Macedonia", *Problems of Post-Communism*, May-June 2004, pp. 18-27.
- Amanda J. Dory, "American Civil Security: The U.S. Public and Homeland Security", *The Washington Quarterly*: Winter, 2004.
- Jack Snyder, "Civil-Military Relations and the Cult of the Offensive, 1914 and 1984", from *Military Strategy and the Origins of the First World War*, edited by Steven E. Miller, Sean M. Lynn-Jones, and Stephen Van Evera, Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1991, pp. 20-58.
- Sam C. Sarkesian, "The Price Paid by the Military", *Orbis*, Vol. 45, No. 4, Fall 2001, pp. 557-568.
- Kurt Dassel, "Civilians, Soldiers and Strife: Domestic Sources of International Aggression", *International Security*, Vol. 23, No. 1 Summer 1998 pp. 107-140.
- Joseph J. Collins, and Ole R. Holsti, "Correspondence: Civil-Military Relations: How wide is the Gap?" *International Security*, Fall 1999, pp. 199-207.
- Constantine P. Danopoulos and Daniel G. Zirker, eds., *Civil Military Relations in the Soviet and Yugoslav Successor States*, Westview, 1996.
- Don M. Snider and Miranda A. Carlton Carew eds., *U.S.: Civil Military Relations: In Crisis or Transition?* Washington CSIS Books 1995.
- Eliot A. Cohen, "A Revolution in Warfare", *Foreign Affairs*, March/April 1996, pp. 37-55.
- S. Andreski, *Military Organization and Society*, London, Routledge & Kaegan Paul 1968.
- Myron Rush, "Guns Over Growth in Soviet Policy" *International Security*, Vol. 7, No. 3 (Winter 1982/83) pp. 167- 179.
- Dimitri, K. Simes, "The Military and Militarism in Soviet Society" *International Security*, Vol: 5, No. 3 (Winter 1981/82) pp. 112 - 143.
- Kenneth Waltz, *Man, the State, and War*, New York, Columbia University Press 1959.
- Morris Janowitz, *The Professional Soldier*, Glencoe, Ill, Free Press 1960.
- "Armed forces and Society: A world perspective", in J. Van Doern ed., *Armed Forces and Society: Sociological Essays*, *The Hague*, Mauton, pp. 15 - 38.
- Military Institutions and Coercion in the Developing Nations*, Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 1977
- Steven D. Westbrook eds., *The Political Education of Soldiers*, Beverly Hills Calif.) Sage Publications, 1983.
- S. P. Huntington, *The Soldier, and the State*, New York, Wiley 1957.
- Timothy J. Colton, *Commissars, Commanders, and Civilian Authority*, Cambridge, Harvard, U.P. 1979.
- Kenneth E. Boulding, "The University, Society and Arms Control", *The Journal of Conflict Resolution*, Vol. VII, No. 3, 1962, pp. 458-63.
- S. E. Finer, *The Man on Horseback: The role of the military in politics*, New York, Praeger 1962.

Week 2: September 16, 2024 Power Projection

Required readings:

- Phillips O'Brien, "The War That Defied Expectations: What Ukraine Revealed About Military Power," *Foreign Affairs*, July 27, 2023, <https://www.foreignaffairs.com/ukraine/war-defied-expectations>.
- Aurel Braun, "Tougher Sanctions Now: Putin's Delusional Quest for Empire," *World Affairs* (July/August 2014).
- 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.
- 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.
- 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>

Additional (suggested) readings:

- Barry R. Posen. "Pull Back: The Case for a Less Activist Foreign Policy." *Foreign Affairs* 92:1 (January/February 2013).
- 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.
- John R. Bell, "Libya crisis: Wishful thinking still isn't a viable strategy", *Comparative Strategy*, Vol. 35 , Iss. 2,2 016http://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 23, 2024 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.

Week 4: Sept. 30 The Military Establishments

Required readings:

Paulo Roberto de Almeida, *The Military Balance 2023*, International Institute for Strategic Studies, 2023, https://www.academia.edu/97372811/The_Military_Balance_2023_International_Institute_for_Strategic_Studies.

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>

Stockholm International Peace Research Institute, *SIPRI Yearbook 2023: Armaments, Disarmaments and International Security* (Stockholm: Oxford University Press, 2023).

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.
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Week 6: Oct. 21, 2024 Nuclear War (problems and choices)

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Week 7: Nov. 4, 2024 Deterrence and Nuclear Deterrence

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Week 8: Nov.11, 2024 Criticism of Deterrence and Certain Problems of Arms Control

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- Stephen Blank, "Resets, Russia and Iranian Proliferation", *Mediterranean Quarterly* Vol. 23, No. 1, 2012: 14-38.
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Week 9: Nov. 18, 2024. Russian/CIS, Chinese, and American Approaches to Deterrence and Nuclear War—(A) Russia/CIS/China

Required readings:

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- Aurel Braun, "Enlargement and the Perils of Containment", in Aurel Braun ed., *NATO-Russia Relations in the Twenty-First Century*, New York and London, Routledge, 2008/2009, pp. 55-72.
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Week 10: Nov. 25, 2024 Russia/CIS and American Approaches to Deterrence and Nuclear War— (B)The United States

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- Baohui Zhang, "US missile defence and China's nuclear posture: changing dynamics of an offence–defence arms race", *International Affairs* Vol.87, No.3, 2011: 555-569.
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- 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).

Additional (suggested) readings:

- 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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- Kristin S. Kolet, "Asymmetric Threats to the United States", *Comparative Strategy*, Vol. 20, No. 3, July-September 2001, pp. 277-292.
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- Warner Schilling, "U.S. Strategic Nuclear Concepts in the 1970's: The Search for Sufficiently Equivalent Countervailing Parity", *International Security*, Fall 1981.
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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: Dec. 2, 2024 Conventional War: large-scale inter-state conflict

Required readings:

- Kristiansen, Marius, and Njaal Hoem. 2022. "Small Players in a Limitless Domain: Cyber Deterrence as Small State Strategy." *Comparative Strategy* 41 (1): 19-31. <https://doi.org/10.1080/01495933.2021.2017740>, <https://www-tandfonline-com.myaccess.library.utoronto.ca/doi/pdf/10.1080/01495933.2021.2017740?needAccess=true>
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- Walter Russell Mead, "The Return of Geopolitics: The Revenge of the Revisionist Powers." *Foreign Affairs* 93, no. 3 (May, 2014): 69-79.

Additional (suggested) readings:

- Michael Bernhard, Jeff Carter, and Glenn Palmer, "Social Revolution, the State, and War: How Revolutions Affect War-Making Capacity and Interstate War Outcomes", *Journal of Conflict Resolution* Vol.56, No.3, 2012: 439-466.
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- Seung-Whan Choi, "Re-Evaluating Capitalist and Democratic Peace Models", *International Studies Quarterly* Vol. 55, No. 3, 2011: 759-769.

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- 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.
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- 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. 3, 2024 Internal War/Counterinsurgency/Counterterrorism

Make-up class

Required readings:

- Niklas Karlén and Vladimir Rauta, "Dealers and Brokers in Civil Wars: Why States Delegate Rebel Support to Conduit Countries," *International Security* 47, no. 4 (2023): 107-146, doi: https://doi.org/10.1162/isec_a_00461.
- Asfandiyar 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.
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- Audrey Kurth Cronin, "U.S. Grand Strategy and Counterterrorism", *Orbis* 56:2 (2012): 192-214.
- 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.
- Harsh V. Pant, "The Pakistan Thorn in China-India-U.S. Relations", *Washington Quarterly* Winter 2010/2012, Vol. 35 Issue 1, p83-95.
- Lawrence Freedman, "The Counterrevolution in Strategic Affairs", *Daedalus* Vol. 140, No. 3, 2011: 16-32.
- 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.
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- 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.
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- Amitav Acharya and Arabinda Acharya, "The Myth of the Second Front: Localizing the 'War on Terror' in Southeast Asia", *The Washington Quarterly*, Autumn 2007.
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- 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.
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- Stephen M. Walt, "Beyond bin Laden: Reshaping U.S. Foreign Policy", *International Security*, Vol. 26, No. 3, Winter 2000/01, pp. 56-78.
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- 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>