

University of St. Andrews  
School of International Relations

IR 4548  
Force and Statecraft

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Fall 2017

Dr. Kristen A. Harkness  
[kh81@st-andrews.ac.uk](mailto:kh81@st-andrews.ac.uk)

Lecture: Sem Rm 1  
Thu 13:00-14:00

Tutorials: 141 Arts Building  
Thu 15:00-16:00  
Thu 16:00-17:00

Office Hours:  
Wed 10:00-12:00  
141 Arts Building

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In moments of crisis, state leaders often find themselves contemplating the use of force. Should a rising threat be neutralized before it can inflict harm? Should economic sanctions be applied to coerce the behavior of a recalcitrant leader? Should troops be deployed abroad to stop a growing famine or genocide? Should civilians be targeted or punished as a war drags on and casualties mount? Should losses be cut and soldiers brought home even though no resolution to a particular conflict has been found? These are difficult questions embedded in complicated contexts, replete with a myriad of strategic, moral, and legal contradictions.

This module will make you walk a mile in the shoes of a world leader; to contemplate force as an instrument of statecraft as they would. To what ends should force be deployed? Under what conditions? At what cost? And with what sacrifice to one's personal sense of morality?

To best accomplish these ends—to fully understand the complexity and sometimes the impossibility of a given situation—we take an historically-rich, case-study approach. To inform later debate, the first week provides some general background on strategic, moral, and legal thinking on war in the western world. Thereafter, each week tackles a particular crisis (or set of crises) illustrative of a given question (or set of questions) over the use of force. Cases covered include preemptive force and the outbreak of WWI, strategic bombing and the purposeful targeting of civilians in WWII, force as a means to protect reputation in Vietnam, failed humanitarian intervention in Rwanda, economic sanctions against Rhodesia and Iraq, the wars in Iraq and Afghanistan, and targeted assassinations through unmanned drone strikes, among others.

## Required Texts and Materials

### Essential Texts

Strongly recommended for purchase (most of book assigned):

- George C. Herring. 2002. *America's Longest War: The United States and Vietnam, 1950-1975* (4<sup>th</sup> edition). Boston: McGraw Hill.
- Alan Kuperman. 2001. *The Limits of Humanitarian Intervention: Genocide in Rwanda*. Washington, D.C.: Brookings Institute Press.
- Barbara Tuchman. 1962. *The Guns of August*. New York: Ballantine Books.
- Michael Walzer. 2006. *Just and Unjust Wars*. New York: Basic Books.
- Bob Woodward. 2003. *Bush at War*. London: Simon & Schuster.

Recommended for purchase (multiple chapters assigned):

- Alexander Downes. 2008. *Targeting Civilians in War*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press.
- Eberhard Jäckel. 1972. *Hitler's World View: A Blueprint for Power*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press

During several weeks we will focus on an important book and it is therefore crucial that you ensure you have access to these texts and have sufficient time to read them carefully. I strongly recommend that you purchase them. I also recommend ordering your books through Amazon (students have previously complained of long delays in receiving books or receiving the wrong editions from Blackwell's). All readings, including the books, are available either electronically or on reserve through the St. Andrews Library. You can access the module reading list through MMS, Moodle, or via the library home page. Please have all readings available to you in class—either by bringing a laptop or by printing hard copies.

## Final Marks

Final Mark Breakdown:

20%	Tutorial Exercises
	5% Simulation
	5% Debate
	10% Policy Workshops
30%	Policy Essay (2500-3000 words)
50%	Cumulative Final Exam

## Assignments

**Tutorial Exercises:** Because this course seeks to force you into the role of a state leader—to understand the complex and difficult choices they often face—heavy emphasis is placed on tutorial exercises. Beyond completing the readings for class and engaging actively in

discussions, you are also expected to exert serious energy in preparing for the various simulations, debates, and policy workshops at the heart of the course:

*Simulation* (week 3): Prior to tutorial, each country-team must read over the provided simulation packet and meet to develop a general strategy and discuss potential contingency plans. As a team, write a brief strategy document outlining your goals and general plan of action—about 1 single-spaced page—that you will turn in at the beginning of tutorial.

*Debate* (week 4): Prior to tutorial, each debate team (Churchill or Chamberlain) should both read the required readings and engage in independent research to defend their assigned position on intervention. Performance will be marked on the basis of debate preparation and you will be asked to turn in a memo summarizing that preparation.

*Policy Workshops* (weeks 9 & 11): Prior to tutorial, each team should meet to develop their own policy plan according to the provided guidelines. Each team will submit a memo outlining their plan for marking.

**Policy Essay (2500-3000 words):** Choose one week’s topic covered in the module (i.e., a single week) and write a compelling policy memo recommending a particular course of action given the strategic, ethical, and legal complexity of the crisis at hand. You may choose any case covered (or a case not covered in the week but run it by me) and any dimension of the crisis you wish to address. The more specific you get the better. The best essays I have seen chose to address a particular moment in time from the viewpoint of a specific actor or agency. Be sure to discuss alternative choices as well as the potential objections to your recommendation. Independent research should be conducted to supplement the required and supplementary readings. A good bibliography would contain no fewer than 15-20 sources.

**Cumulative Final Exam:** This will be an in-class (closed-book, closed-note) exam covering the entire semester’s course material. The format of the exam will include both “short answer” and “essay question” sections—each of which will count equally toward the final exam mark.

## **Important Due Dates**

**THR OCT 5 (BEGINNING OF TUTORIAL)** Simulation memo due

**THR OCT 12 (BEGINNING OF TUTORIAL)** Debate memo due

**THR NOV 16 (BEGINNING OF TUTORIAL)** Policy Workshop I memo due

**MON NOV 20 (NOON)** Policy Essay due

**THR NOV 30 (BEGINNING OF TUTORIAL)** Policy Workshop II memo due

## Module Policies

**In all respects, students are responsible for and must adhere to the contents of the School Handbook which is available on the School website under Students/Undergraduates/Handbooks and resources.**

**Academic Integrity:** Students are expected to comply with the integrity standards of the University of St. Andrews. You must cite your sources properly and fully acknowledge the origins of all data, facts, ideas, arguments, or interpretations you rely on in your own work. Suspected cases of plagiarism, cheating, or other acts of academic dishonesty will be punished to the fullest extent possible.

**Tutorials:** Tutorial attendance is required. You may miss one tutorial no questions asked. A second tutorial absence will result in an Academic Alert: ABSENCE and must be made up with *written work* (~500 word response essay to the readings). You may be absent from a maximum of two tutorials, regardless of whether a self-certification is made. Missing more than two tutorials will result in the issuance of an Academic Alert: FINAL and failure to complete the module, unless there are exceptional circumstances.

**Extensions and Late Assignments:** All deadlines are firm except in cases of medical or family emergency, religious observance, documented disability, or other exceptional circumstances. If, due to such circumstances you cannot meet a deadline, please contact me as soon as possible so that we may work out an acceptable alternative due date. Avoid computer disaster by regularly saving your work to a cloud-based program (I recommend Dropbox) OR periodically printing out drafts and/or emailing them to yourself while you write. In this day and age there is absolutely no technological excuse worthy of an extension. Late assignments will receive a 1 point deduction per day in accordance with the policies of the School of International Relations.

**Office Hours:** Normal, drop-in office hours are on Wednesdays from 10:00-12:00—no appointment necessary. But bring something to read in case you have to wait. If this time does not work with your schedule, I am also happy to arrange an alternative appointment.

**Essay Formatting and Other Rules:** Writing assignments *must be word-processed*. Proofread your writing for typographical, grammatical, and punctuation errors. If you consistently make these kinds of errors, your mark will drop. For any essays, the word count is inclusive of endnotes/footnotes, but exclusive of the bibliography. A margin of 5 (five) percent either way is permissible before a penalty is applied. The details of that penalty can be found in the School Handbook which is available on the School website. One hard copy and one electronic copy of all essays are required. There is provision for electronic submission in MMS. The electronic copy and the hard copy must be identical, and both copies **MUST** be submitted by the stated deadline. Also make sure to use:

- Times 12 or its close equivalent (usually the default setting)
- 1” margins all around
- Double-spacing
- Page numbers—if your first page is the cover page, set this page number to 0 (in Word, select “Page Numbers” from the “Insert” menu, and click on “Format”)
- A standard citation style (Chicago, APA, MLA, etc.)
- A standard **cover page**, including the word count, available online or in the school office

Failure to properly format your essay will result in a small deduction to your mark.

**Asking for a Letter of Reference:** Please see my website ([kristenharkness.com](http://kristenharkness.com)), under teaching, for detailed instructions on asking for a letter of reference. I require a minimum of two weeks notice and ask that you compile a packet of relevant information for me.

## Weekly Overview with Readings

### Week 1: Force as an Instrument of Statecraft

**THR SEP 21:** Lecture, “Force as Statecraft”

### Week 2: Strategy, Ethics, and International Law (226p)

**THR SEP 28:** Lecture, “The Moral Dilemmas of Strategy”

**THR SEP 28:** Tutorial

- Thucydides, 1984. *The Peloponnesian War* (Rex Warner trans.). New York: Penguin Books. (72-107 (the Congress of the Peloponnesian League at Lacedaemon), 400-08 (the Melian Dialogue); optional p.49- (war origins))
- Sun Tzu. 1994. *The Art of War* (Ralph D. Sawyer translation). New York: Basic Books. (p.127-150)
- Carl von Clausewitz. 1984. *On War* (Howard and Paret translation). Princeton: Princeton University Press. (book VIII, “War Plans”: 577-640)
- Thomas C. Schelling. 1966. “The Diplomacy of Violence.” In *Arms and Influence*. New Haven: Yale University Press. (chapter 1: 1-34)
- Michael Walzer. 2006. “Against ‘Realism,’” “The Crime of War,” and “The Rules of War.” In *Just and Unjust Wars*. New York: Basic Books. (chapters 1-3, p.3-47)
- Hague II, “Laws and Customs of War on Land,” Section III on military authority over hostile territory, Articles 42-56 on military occupation (about 2p total). At [http://avalon.law.yale.edu/19th\\_century/hague02.asp](http://avalon.law.yale.edu/19th_century/hague02.asp) [last accessed January 5, 2015]. These excerpts are also available on MMS in the “Content” area in the folder “Digitised Readings.”
- The Geneva Convention III, Part I. Articles 1-16 on prisoners of war and Geneva Convention IV, Part II, Articles 13-26 on civilians during wartime (about 10p total). At

<https://www.icrc.org/applic/ihl/ihl.nsf/vwTreaties1949.xsp> [last accessed January 5, 2015]. These excerpts are also available on MMS in the “Content” area in the folder “Digitised Readings.”

#### Recommended Readings (more on strategy)

- Roger Boesche. 2003. “Kautilya’s ‘Arthashastra’ on War and Diplomacy in Ancient India.” *The Journal of Military History* 67: 9-38.
- Bernard Brodie. 1984. “A Guide to the Reading of On War.” In Carl von Clausewitz, *On War* (Howard and Paret translation). Princeton University Press. (p. 641-711)
- Azar Gat. 1989. *The Origins of Military Thought: From the Enlightenment to Clausewitz*. Oxford University Press.
- B.H. Liddell Hart. 1954. *Strategy: The Indirect Approach*. London: Faber and Faber.
- Le Baron de Jomini. 1992 [orig. 1832]. *The Art of War*. London: Greenhill Books.
- John Keegan. 1993. *A History of Warfare*. London.
- Williamson Murray et al., eds. 2011. *The Shaping of Grand Strategy: Policy, Diplomacy, and War*. Cambridge University Press.
- Thomas C. Schelling. 1981. *The Strategy of Conflict*. Harvard University Press.

### **Week 3: The Outbreak of WWI (227p)**

**THR OCT 5:** Lecture, “Inadvertent War?: The Cult of the Offensive”

#### **THR OCT 5:** Tutorial = **Simulation (strategy memo due)**

- Barbara Tuchman. 1962. *The Guns of August*. New York: Ballantine Books. (chapters 1-9: 1-133)
- Marc Trachtenberg. 1991. “The Meaning of Mobilization in 1914.” In Steven E. Miller, Sean M. Lynn-Jones, and Stephen Van Evera, eds., *Military Strategy and the Origins of the First World War*. Princeton: Princeton University Press. (p.195-225)
- Stephen Van Evera. 1991. “The Cult of the Offensive and the Origins of the First World War.” In Steven E. Miller, Sean M. Lynn-Jones, and Stephen Van Evera, eds., *Military Strategy and the Origins of the First World War*. Princeton: Princeton University Press. (p.59-108)
- Michael Walzer. 2006. “Anticipations.” In *Just and Unjust Wars*. New York: Basic Books. (chapters 5, p.74-85)
- Read simulation guidelines (handout) and strategize with country-team

#### Recommended Readings (more on WWI)

- Fritz Fisher. 1974. *World Power or Decline: The Controversy over Germany’s Aims in the First World War*. New York: Norton. (especially p.3-19)
- Holger H. Herwig. 2002. “Germany and the ‘Short-War’ Illusion: Toward a New Interpretation?” *The Journal of Military History* 66: 681-694.

- Donald Kagan. 1994. *On the Origins of War and the Preservation of Peace*. New York: Doubleday. (p.81-231)
- Keir A. Lieber. 2007. “The New History of World War I and What It Means for International Relations Theory.” *International Security* 32(2): 155-191.
- Steven E. Miller, Sean M. Lynn-Jones, and Stephen Van Evera, eds., *Military Strategy and the Origins of the First World War*. Princeton: Princeton University Press. [the rest of the chapters]
- Jack Snyder and Keir A. Lieber. 2008. “Defensive Realism and the ‘New’ History of World War I.” *International Security* 33(1): 174-194.
- Hew Strachan. 2003. *The First World War: Volume I: To Arms*. Oxford University Press.

#### **Week 4: WWII—The Rise of Hitler (154p + independent research)**

**THR OCT 12:** Lecture, “The Rise of Hitler”

**THR OCT 12:** Tutorial= **Debate (memo due)**

- Richard J. Evans. 2005. *The Third Reich in Power, 1933-1939*. New York: The Penguin Press. (Prologue: 1-17)
- Wilhelm Deist. 1994. “The Road to Ideological War: Germany, 1918-1945.” In Williamson Murray, MacGregor Knox and Alvin Bernstein, eds., *The Making of Strategy: Rulers, States, and War*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. (exerpts: 371-385)
- “The Hossbach Memorandum, 10 November 1937.” In Anthony P. Adamthwaite, ed., *The Making of the Second World War*. London: William Clowes (Beckes) Limited. (primary source document, p.167-172)
- Eberhard Jäckel. 1972. *Hitler’s World View: A Blueprint for Power*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press. (chapters 1-3: 13-66)
- Jeffrey L. Hughes. 1988. “The Origins of World War II in Europe: British Deterrence Failure and German Expansionism.” *The Journal of Interdisciplinary History* 18, no.4 (Spring): 851-891.
- Paul Kennedy. 1983. “Strategy versus Finance in Twentieth-Century Britain.” In *Strategy and Diplomacy, 1870-1945*. Great Britain: Fontana Paperbacks. (chapter 3: 87-106)
- Independent research for debate (may be useful to look at the memoirs of British leaders)

Recommended Readings

- Stephen Biddle. 2006. *Military Power: Explaining Victory and Defeat in Modern Battle*. Princeton University Press.
- Thomas J. Christensen and Jack Snyder. 1990. “Chain Gangs and Passed Bucks: Predicting Alliance Patterns in Multipolarity.” *International Organization* 44(2): 137-168.

- Lucy S. Dawidowicz. 1986. *The War Against the Jews 1933-1945*. New York: Bantam.
- Richard J. Evans. 2005. *The Third Reich in Power, 1933-1939*. New York: The Penguin Press. (the rest)
- Donald Kagan. 1994. *On the Origins of War and the Preservation of Peace*. New York: Doubleday. (p.334-436)
- William L. Shirer. 2011 (reissue edition). *The Rise and Fall of the Third Reich*. Simon and Schuster.
- Timothy Snyder. 2011. *Bloodlands: Europe Between Hitler and Stalin*. London: Vintage.

## **Week 5: Total War—Targeting Civilians (209p + primary sources)**

**THR OCT 19:** Lecture, “Killing the Innocent”

**THR OCT 19:** Tutorial

- Alexander Downes. 2008. *Targeting Civilians in War*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press. (chapters 1,4,7: 13-41, 115-155, 210-242)
- Kenneth P. Werrell. 1986. “The Strategic Bombing of Germany in World War II: Costs and Accomplishments.” *The Journal of American History* 73, no.3 (December): 702-713.
- J. Samuel Walker. 1997. “Hiroshima and Nagasaki.” In *Prompt & Utter Destruction: Truman and the Use of Atomic Bombs Against Japan*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press. (chapter 6: 76-97)
- Explore primary sources on the decision to deploy the atomic bombs, available here: <http://nsarchive.gwu.edu/NSAEBB/NSAEBB162/>
- Michael Walzer. 2006. “Non-combatant Immunity and Military Necessity,” “War Against Civilians: Sieges and Blockades,” and “Supreme Emergency.” In *Just and Unjust Wars*. New York: Basic Books. (chapters 8-10 and 16, p.127-175 and p.251-268)

Recommended Readings

- Tami Davis Biddle. 2002. *Rhetoric and Reality in Air Warfare: The Evolution of British and American Ideas About Strategic Bombing, 1914-1945*. Princeton University Press.
- James Corum and Wray Johnson. 2003. *Airpower in Small Wars: Fighting Insurgents and Terrorists*. Lawrence: University of Kansas Press.
- Alexander Downes. 2007. “Draining the Sea by Filling the Graves: Investigating the Effectiveness of Indiscriminate Violence as a Counterinsurgency Strategy.” *Civil Wars* 9(4): 420-444.
- Stathis Kalyvas. 2006. *The Logic of Violence in Civil War*. Cambridge University Press.
- Robert A. Pape. 1996. *Bombing to Win: Air Power and Coercion in War*. Cornell University Press.



- Benjamin A. Valentino. 2004. *Final Solutions: Mass Killing and Genocide in the 20<sup>th</sup> Century*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press.

**\*\*\* Week 6: Independent Learning Week \*\*\***

It is recommended that you take this time to conduct a substantial amount of the research for your policy essay; divvy up research duties for your first group policy workshop and get a head start on writing that memo for Week 9; read at least half of the lengthy and yet gripping *Bush at War* for Week 10; and, of course, complete your Week 7 readings.

**Week 7: Vietnam—Force, Reputation, and Escalation (237p) [\*note change to Monday\*]**

**MON OCT 30:** Lecture, “Vietnam” (\*seminar room 3\*)

**MON OCT 30:** Tutorial

- George C. Herring. 2002. *America’s Longest War: The United States and Vietnam, 1950-1975* (4<sup>th</sup> edition). Boston: McGraw Hill. (chapters 3-6: 89-268)
- Thomas C. Schelling. 1966. “The Art of Commitment.” In *Arms and Influence*. New Haven: Yale University Press. (chapter 2: 35-91)

Recommended Readings

- John Lewis Gaddis. 2005. *Strategies of Containment*. Oxford University Press.
- David Galula. 1964. *Counterinsurgency Warfare: Theory and Practice*. Praeger Security International.
- George C. Herring. 2002. *America’s Longest War: The United States and Vietnam, 1950-1975* (4<sup>th</sup> edition). Boston: McGraw Hill. (the rest)
- Henry Kissinger. 2003. *Ending the Vietnam War: A History of America’s Involvement in and Extrication from the Vietnam War*. Simon and Schuster. (views of a major policy maker)
- John A. Nagl. 2002. *Counterinsurgency: Lessons from Malaya and Vietnam: Learning to Eat Soup with a Knife*. London: Praeger.
- Marc Trachtenberg. 1991. “Strategic Thought in America, 1952-1966.” In *History & Strategy*. Princeton University Press. (p.3-46)

**Week 8: Force for Good? Contemplating Humanitarian Intervention (204p)**

**THR NOV 9:** Lecture, “The End of the Cold War and the Rise of Humanitarian Intervention(?)”

**THR NOV 9:** Tutorial

- Michael Walzer. 2006. “Interventions.” In *Just and Unjust Wars*. New York: Basic Books. (chapters 6, p.86-108)

- J.L. Holzgfe. 2003. "The Humanitarian Intervention Debate." In J.L. Holzgfe and Robert Keohane, eds., *Humanitarian Intervention: Ethical, Legal, and Political Dilemmas*. Cambridge University Press: 15-52.
- Samantha Power. 2001. "Bystanders to Genocide: Why the United States Let the Rwandan Tragedy Happen." *The Atlantic Monthly* (September): 84-108.
- Alan Kuperman. 2001. *The Limits of Humanitarian Intervention: Genocide in Rwanda*. Washington, D.C.: Brookings Institute Press. (p.1-119)
- Independent research for policy workshop

#### Recommended Readings

- Walter A. Dorn and Jonathan Matloff. 2000. "Preventing the Bloodbath: Could the UN have Predicted and Prevented the Rwandan Genocide?" *Journal of Conflict Studies* 20(1). At <http://journals.hil.unb.ca/index.php/JCS/article/viewArticle/4333/4968> [last accessed January 5, 2015].
- J.L. Holzgfe and Robert Keohane. 2003. *Humanitarian Intervention: Ethical, Legal, and Political Dilemmas*. Cambridge University Press. (the rest)
- Mahmood Mamdani. 2001. *When Victims Become Killers: Colonialism, Nativism, and the Genocide in Rwanda*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.
- Brendan Simms and DJ.B. Trim, eds. 2013. *Humanitarian Intervention: A History*. Cambridge University Press.
- Peter Uvin. 1999. "Ethnicity and Power in Burundi and Rwanda: Different Paths to Mass Violence." *Comparative Politics* 31(3): 253-271.
- Nicolas J. Wheeler. 2002. *Saving Strangers: Humanitarian Intervention in International Society*. Oxford University Press.

### **Week 9: Economic Sanctions (152p + independent research)**

**THR NOV 16:** Lecture, "Coercion through Markets: Economic Sanctions"

#### **THR NOV 16:** Tutorial = **Policy Workshop I (memo due)**

- Robert A. Pape. 1997. "Why Economic Sanctions Do Not Work." *International Security* 22, no.2 (Autumn): 90-136.
- Margaret Doxey. 1972. "International Sanctions: A Framework for Analysis with Special Reference to the UN and Southern Africa." *International Organization* 26, no.3 (Summer): 527-550.
- David A. Baldwin. 1985. "'Classic Cases Reconsidered.'" In *Economic Statecraft*. Princeton: Princeton University Press. (chapter 8, excerpt, "The United Nations and Rhodesia": 189-204)
- Philip I. Levy. 1999. "Sanctions on South Africa: What Did They Do?" *The American Economic Review* 89(2): 415-420.
- George A. Lopez and David Cortright. 2004. "Containing Iraq: Sanctions Worked." *Foreign Affairs* 83, no.4 (July/August): 90-103.

- John Mueller and Karl Mueller. 1999. "Sanctions of Mass Destruction." *Foreign Affairs* 78, no.3 (May/June): 43-53.
- Richard Garfield. 2001. "Health and Well-Being in Iraq: Sanctions and the Impact of the Oil-for-Food Program." *Transnational Law & Contemporary Problems* 11, no.2 (Fall): 277-298.

#### Recommended Readings

- David A. Baldwin. 1985. "What Is Economic Statecraft?" In *Economic Statecraft*. Princeton: Princeton University Press. (chapter 8: 29-50)
- David Cortright and George A. Lopez. eds. 2002. *Smart Sanctions: Targeting Economic Statecraft*. Rowman & Littlefield Publishers.
- John Galtung. 1967. "On the Effects of International Economic Sanctions with Examples from the Case of Rhodesia." *World Politics* 19(3): 378-416.
- Jay Gordon. 1999. "A Peaceful, Silent, Deadly Remedy: The Ethics of Economic Sanctions." *Ethics & International Affairs* 13:123-142.
- Arne Tostenen and Beate Bull. 2002. "Are Smart Sanctions Feasible?" *World Politics* 54(3): 373-403.
- Reed M. Wood. 2008. "A Hand upon the Throat of the Nation: Economic Sanctions and State Repression, 1976-2001." *International Studies Quarterly* 52(3): 489-513.

### **Week 10: Countering Terrorism and Imposed Democratization—Post-9/11 Interventions (~490p but gripping stuff)**

#### **Mon NOV 20 (NOON): Policy Essay Due**

#### **THR NOV 23: Lecture, "The Wars in Iraq and Afghanistan"**

#### **THR NOV 23: Tutorial**

- Bob Woodward. 2003. *Bush at War*. London: Simon & Schuster. (~400p, read as much as you can)
- Robert S. Litwak. 2007. "Iraq: From Containment to Regime Change." In *Regime Change: U.S. Strategy through the Prism of 9/11*. Washington, D.C.: Woodrow Wilson Center press. (chapter 4, p.125-168)
- Robert Jervis. 2006. "Reports, Politics, and Intelligence Failures: The Case of Iraq." *Journal of Strategic Studies* 29(1): 3-52.

#### Recommended Readings

- Christoph Bluth. 2004. "The British Road to War: Blair, Bush, and the Decision to Invade Iraq." *International Affairs* 80(5): 871-892.
- Alexander B. Downes and Jonathan Monten. 2013. "Forced to be Free?: Why Foreign Imposed Regime Change Rarely Leads to Democratization." *International Security* 37(4): 90-131.

- Robert S. Litwak. 2007. *Regime Change: U.S. Strategy through the Prism of 9/11*. Washington, D.C.: Woodrow Wilson Center press. (rest)
- The National Security Strategy of the United States of America 2002. At <http://www.state.gov/documents/organization/63562.pdf> [last accessed January 5, 2015].
- Bob Woodward. 2004. *Plan of Attack*. London: Simon & Schuster.

## **Week 11: Special Ops and Drone Strikes (98p + film) and Contemporary Crisis—The Islamic State**

**THR NOV 30:** Lecture, “Secret Force and the Covert Drone War”

**THR NOV 30: \*\*\*Double Tutorial (2 hrs)\*\*\* = **Policy Workshop II (memo due)****

- Film on the assassination of Osama bin Ladin: *Zero Dark Thirty* (2 copies in library)
- Brian Glyn Williams. 2010. “The CIA’s Covert Predator Drone War in Pakistan, 2004-2010: The History of an Assassination Campaign.” *Studies in Conflict & Terrorism* 33(10): 871-892.
- Daniel Byman. 2013. “Why Drones Work: The Case for Washington’s Weapon of Choice.” *Foreign Affairs* 92(4): 32-43.
- Leila Hudson, Colin S. Owens, and Matt Flannes. 2011. “Drone Warfare: Blowback From the New American Way of War.” *Middle East Policy* 18(3): 122-132.
- Mary Ellen O’Connell. 2010. “Unlawful Killing with Combat Drones: A Case Study of Pakistan, 2004-2009.” 26p. Unpublished manuscript available on MMS.
- Ophir Falk. 2014. “Permissibility of Targeted Killing.” *Studies in Conflict & Terrorism* 37(4): 295-321.
- Independent research for policy workshop (see section below “resources for research on current events”)

### Recommended Readings

- Daniel Bruntetter and Megan Braun. 2011. “The Implications of Drones on the Just War Tradition.” *Ethics & International Affairs* 25(3): 337-358.
- Thomas J. Jackamo. 1992. “From the Cold War to the New Multilateral World Order: The Evolution of Covert Operations and the Customary International Law of Non-Intervention.” *Virginia Journal of International Law* 32: 929-952 (not the whole article).
- James D. Kiras. 2006. *Special Operations and Strategy: From World War II to the War on Terror*. Routledge.
- Avery Plaw and Matthew S. Fricker. 2012. “Tracking the Predators: Evaluating the US Drone Campaign in Pakistan.” *International Studies Perspectives* 3(4): 344-365.
- John Prados. 1986. *Presidents’ Secret Wars: CIA and Pentagon Covert Operations Since WWII*. New York: William Morrow and Company, Inc.
- Bob Woodward. 1987. *Veil: The Secret Wars of the CIA, 1981-1987*. New York: Simon & Schuster.

## Grading Standards for Essays

When grading, I evaluate the words on the page before me and do not factor in “improvement” or “effort” or other mushy criteria. Standards are standards.

A paper in the **First range (16.5+)** displays exceptional grace and demonstrates a high degree of mastery over both the substantive content of the paper as well as the fundamentals of academic writing: it advances an interesting, arguable thesis; establishes a clear motive to suggest why the thesis is original or worthwhile; employs a logical and progressive structure; analyzes evidence insightfully and in depth; draws from well-chosen sources; and is written in a clear, sophisticated style.

A **2-1 range (13.5-16.4)** paper resembles a First range paper in some ways, but may exhibit a vague, uninteresting, or inconsistently argued thesis; establish a functional but unsubstantial motive; employ a generally logical but somewhat disorganized or undeveloped structure; include well-chosen but sometimes unanalyzed and undigested evidence; use sources in a correct but limited fashion; or be written in an unsophisticated or grammatically problematic style.

A **2-2 range (10.5-13.4)** paper resembles a 2-1 range paper in some ways, but may also feature a confusing, simple, or descriptive thesis; provide a simplistic motive or none at all; lack a coherent structure; fail to present enough evidence, or present evidence that is insufficiently analyzed; drop in sources without properly contextualizing or citing them; and be written in a generally unclear, simplistic, or technically flawed style.

A **Third range (7.5-10.4)** paper resembles a 2 range paper but may include a purely descriptive or obvious thesis; lack a motive; display an unfocused, confusing, or rambling structure; and draw on under-analyzed evidence and few sources. A 7-8 paper has trouble engaging with the assignment and may not show awareness of the conventions of academic discourse and style. It does, however, show signs of *attempting* to engage with the issues, topics, and sources of the assignment.

A **Failing (below 7.5)** paper is similar to a 7-8 range paper but is significantly shorter than the assigned length and addresses the assignment superficially.

A **0** paper is less than half the assigned length and does not fulfill the basic expectations of the assignment (for example, in a research paper, there is evidence of little or no research). Unlike a Failing paper, a 0 does not count as successful completion of the assignment and may result in an incomplete.

## Writing Exam Essays

In-class exam essays are their own beast—a strange hybrid of paper writing skills and the regurgitation of knowledge that characterizes short answer exam questions. To effectively and efficiently write them you need to know, in advance, something of how they are marked and thus how to allocate your precious writing minutes.

First, like a paper, an exam essay should make an *interesting, original, and compelling argument* about the assigned material. A First range (17+) essay will teach the reader of the exam something new or make them think about the material in a novel way. Yet, unlike most papers, knowledge or research outside of what was covered in the module should not be brought to bear on the prompted question. This is still an exam and you should be demonstrating your knowledge of the module's material (not another module's readings).

Second, unlike a normal paper, you are under severe time constraints and thus should do away with anything not absolutely necessary to demonstrating and substantiating your main claims. No lengthy introduction or conclusion is necessary. You should, in fact, consider beginning your essay with a simple statement of your argument, treat each body paragraph as a place to demonstrate the available evidence for each step of your reasoning, and conclude (if you have time) by re-summarizing that argument. Focusing on the evidence, in this way, will let you spend the maximum amount of words showing off all that you have learned in an intelligible and structured way.

Finally, do not waste your time memorizing citation information while studying for the exam or trying to execute proper citations while writing it. While you must still acknowledge the work of others—as well as demonstrate that you know the material—it is sufficient to mention the author (or title) of a reading in the text of your essay. So long as the marker can identify the reading in question, you should be fine.

## Writing Resources

**On MMS:** There is a folder on MMS, “Writing Resources” within the “Content” area, which contains handouts and other guides for a wide variety of writing skills—including constructing a good thesis statement, structuring an academic essay, using evidence effectively, and creating compelling introductions and conclusions. While no amount of writing prowess can substitute for skilled analysis and clever insights, problems with the techniques and mechanics of writing often obscure the creativity, persuasiveness, and originality of a paper's substantive ideas—thereby often doubly-harming the resulting mark.

### Online Help with Citations:

University of St. Andrews Library Help for Citing Sources:

<http://www.st-andrews.ac.uk/library/information/furtherhelp/citingreferences/>

American Psychological Association (APA Style) homepage:

<http://www.apastyle.org/>

Chicago Manual of Style homepage:

<http://www.chicagomanualofstyle.org/home.html>

## Resources for Research on Current Events

**News Outlets:** such as the BBC, the Guardian, Al Jazeera (English), the New York Times, Foreign Affairs, Foreign Policy, the Economist, Huffington Post, and pretty much any other reputable newspaper, magazine, or policy journal.

**Think Tanks:** often have extensive papers, commentary, and links to other resources on their websites. Important international relations think tanks include the Center for Strategic and International Studies, Chatham House, Council on Foreign Relations, Hoover Institution, and RAND, etc.

**Reputable Academic Blogs:** including Dart-Throwing Chimp, Duck of Minerva, Lawfare, Mideast Matrix, The Monkey Cage, War on the Rocks, etc. I stress reputable. Look at the bios of the bloggers: do they hold PhDs from good institutions or have they worked for many years in their field? Is their CV impressive? There are a lot of nut jobs writing rants from their basements, try to ignore them.