

University of St. Andrews
School of International Relations

IR 5064 The Military in Politics

Dr. Marc R. DeVore
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Office Hours:
020 Arts Building and/or Teams

Spring 2021
Fri 14:00-16:00

See personal time-
table for venue

Dr. Kristen A. Harkness
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Office Hours: Fri 10:00-12:00
141 Arts Building and/or Teams

Military forces are called upon to defend against armed aggression, both foreign and domestic. Yet militaries can also disobey civilian leaders, allow governments to fall, and even overthrow the political order themselves. The loyalty and effectiveness of security forces are thus vital to government security and stability. This module introduces students to the study of civil-military relations, beginning from the perspective of the armed forces and when they directly intervene in politics, examining the techniques, causes, and means for preventing coups d'état as well as the consequences of coup-proofing for other dimensions of military effectiveness. We then analyze how armed forces impact states' domestic politics, including their behaviour during uprisings and their effect on democratic governance. Finally, we examine different theories of how civilian leaders should manage armed forces and assess the acute challenges that leaders face as they respond to international crises.

During the Covid Pandemic

This semester, the pandemic continues to alter the way deliver teaching. This section summarizes important information on how the module will operate given changing conditions.

Lectures: All lectures will be pre-recorded and distributed via Moodle. Please listen to the corresponding lecture in advance of the weekly seminar.

Seminars: Seminars will meet in person whenever government and university policy allow, and online via Microsoft Teams otherwise. Seminars will always meet from 14:00-16:00 on Fridays. Please be aware that if you opt to study remotely from a distant time zone, you must still be able to make this meeting time. *When meeting in-person, please pay close attention to your personal timetable on MySaint as venues are subject to change.* Seminar attendance is required. You may

miss one seminar no questions asked. A second absence will result in an Academic Alert: ABSENCE and must be made up with written work (~800 word response essay to the readings). You may be absent from a maximum of two seminars, regardless of whether a self-certification is made. Missing more than two seminars will result in the issuance of an Academic Alert: FINAL and failure to complete the module, unless there are exceptional circumstances (and we know that there are many these days).

Readings: All required readings are available digitally and accessible remotely through the St. Andrews library. Search for IR5064 here: <https://sta.rl.talis.com/index.html>. In the rare case that a link doesn't work, please notify us immediately so that we can fix the problem or send a pdf. Please have all readings available to you in seminar—either by bringing a laptop or by printing hard copies. If you do wish to purchase books, we recommend these essential texts:

- Eliot Cohen. 2003. *Supreme Command: Soldiers, Statesmen, and Leadership in Wartime*. New York: Random House.
- Michael Desch, 1999, *Civilian Control of the Military: The Changing Security Environment*.
- Peter Feaver. 2003. *Armed Servants: Agency Oversight, and Civil-Military Relations*. Princeton UP.
- Samuel Huntington. 1957. *The Soldier and the State*. Cambridge: Belknap Press of Harvard UP.
- Edward N. Luttwak. 1968. *Coup d'État: A Practical Handbook*. Greenwich, Conn.: Fawcett Publications.
- Steven I. Wilkinson. 2015. *Army and Nation: The Military and Indian Democracy since Independence*. Harvard University Press.

Other Course Materials: Instructions for assignments, primary document packets, policy workshop and simulation guidelines, discussion questions, and all other course materials will be posted to Moodle in appropriately labeled folders.

Submitting Assignments: During the pandemic, you do not need to submit a hard copy of your assignments. Please upload an electronic copy via MMS. You must still fill out a cover sheet and ensure that your student ID number is on it. You have no idea how time consuming it is to dig through MMS and open individual essays in order to figure out whose paper is whose. For group assignments, please ensure that each member submits an identical copy and that all names/ID numbers are listed on the cover page. All deadlines are in UK time. All feedback will be provided electronically through MMS as well.

Office Hours: Normal office hours are by appointment on Fridays from 10:00-12:00 (Dr. Harkness) and on Y from Y-Y (Dr. DeVore). They might be held online, in-person, or a mix of the two depending on pandemic conditions. We will circulate information and sign-up sheets each week in advance.

Contact: Please contact us via email rather than through Teams (although we will try our best to see and respond to messages there). Try to have reasonable expectations about response time,

even when you feel anxious over deadlines or life circumstances. We will endeavor to respond as quickly as possible during business hours (M-F, 9:00-17:00) and certainly within two business days. At that point, feel free to send a follow-up email. Also, it's easier for us to respond if we can do so quickly. If your email takes more than a few sentences to compose, and you expect that it would take more than a few sentences to answer, then a face-to-face meeting might be a better idea (in-person or via teams). Attend office hours or, in pressing circumstances, email for a brief asap meeting.

Final Marks

Final Mark Breakdown:

5%	Simulation Strategy Memo
5%	Simulation Reflection
10%	Policy Workshop Memo
30%	Country Journal
50%	Research Essay

Assignment Due Dates

FRI MAR 12 (BEGINNING OF SEMINAR): Simulation strategy memo

MON MAR 15 (NOON): Preliminary essay topic and research question

FRI MAR 19 (BEGINNING OF SEMINAR): Simulation reflection

FRI APR 16 (BEGINNING OF SEMINAR): Policy workshop memo

MON APR 19 (NOON): Country journal

MON MAY 10 (NOON) Research essay

Assignments

Simulation Strategy Memo (~800 words): Prior to seminar, each 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.

Simulation Reflection (~800 words): After the simulation, you will individually write a reflection of your experience and what you learned from the exercise.

Policy Workshop Memo (~800 words): You will be assigned to represent different bureaucratic actors within a state facing a severe international crisis. Prior to seminar, each team should meet to develop and write up their own policy plan for addressing the crisis, from their position, according to the provided guidelines.

Country Journal (500+ words per entry): To improve both your empirical and theoretical knowledge, and to bring greater contextual depth to discussions, we are asking you to choose a country to become an expert on over the course of the semester. Every week, from weeks 2-10, it

is expected that you will do some independent research into your country and its civil-military relations and to think about how the theoretical material in the readings apply (or not) to your country. We ask that you record these reflections in a weekly journal, with proper referencing. Each entry must be posted to Moodle on Thursday by midnight. Of the entries you post on time, you should select your strongest seven to submit as your final country journal for marking. And, of course, we encourage you to bring your insights into our discussions!

Research Essay (5000 words): Write an original research paper that contributes to your knowledge of civil-military relations. Develop a compelling research question and then a clear argument (thesis) that answers that question. The best papers will engage with the existing scholarly literature on their topic (why hasn't it answered your question fully?), pay careful attention to evidence, and identify potential counter-arguments to their claims and provide additional evidence against them. You should incorporate at least 15-20 sources into your paper, the vast majority of which should be peer-reviewed books and articles. A preliminary topic and research question are due in Week 8, which we will then meet to discuss.

Weekly Overview with Readings

Week 1: Three Classic Problems of Civil-Military Relations—Loyalty, Effectiveness, and Integration (71p)

FRI JAN 29: Seminar

- Niccolò Machiavelli. 2009. *The Prince*. London: Penguin Classics. (books XII-XIV, p.48-59)
- Niccolò Machiavelli. 1997. *Discourses on Livy*. Oxford University Press. (book II, ch.33: p.244-245; book III, ch.15: p.296-297; book III, ch.24: p.315-316)
- Niccolò Machiavelli. 2003. *Art of War*. University of Chicago Press. (book I: p.7-32)
- Sun Tzu. 1994. *The Art of War* (Ralph D. Sawyer translation). New York: Basic Books. (ch.3: p.177-179)
- Sima Qian. "Biography of Sun Tzu." *The Grand Scribe's Records*. At <https://titusng.com/2013/03/04/the-test-of-sun-tzus-art-of-war-on-concubines/>.
- Carl von Clausewitz. 1984. *On War* (Howard and Paret translation). Princeton: Princeton University Press. (book I, ch.1: p.75-89; book VIII, ch.6: p.603-610)
- Independent research on the civil-military relations and history of 2-3 countries that you might want to select for your country journal.
- Begin reading the Luttwak for Week 2.

Recommended Readings

- Brian Downing. 1992. *The Military Revolution and Political Change: Origins of Democracy and Autocracy in Early Modern Europe*. Princeton UP. (chs. 1-3 & 10)

- Alexander Hamilton, James Madison, and John Jay. 2003. *The Federalist with Letters of "Brutus"* (edited by Terrence Ball). Cambridge University Press. (numbers 24-29)
- Charles Tilly. 1985. "War Making and State Making as Organized Crime." In, Peter Evans, Dietrich Rueschemeyer, and Theda Skocpol (eds.), *Bringing the State Back In*. Cambridge UP, 169-191.

Week 2: Making a Coup (335p)

FRI FEB 5: Seminar

Guest: Dr. Erica De Bruin

- Edward N. Luttwak. 1968. *Coup d'État: A Practical Handbook*. Greenwich, Conn.: Fawcett Publications. (p.1-205)
- Naunihal Singh. 2014. *Seizing Power: The Strategic Logic of Military Coups*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins UP. (ch.4-6: p.79-194)
- Erica DeBruin. 2019. "Will There Be Blood? The Determinants of Violence during Coups d'État." *Journal of Peace Research* 55(6): 797-811.

Recommended Readings

- Thomas S. Cox. 1976. "Coups and Countercoups: The Fall of the SLPP." In *Civil-Military Relations in Sierra Leone: A Case Study of African Soldiers in Politics*. Harvard University Press.
- Maggie Dwyer. 2017. *Soldiers in Revolt: Army Mutinies in Africa*. Oxford UP. [as a contrast to coups]
- Gregor Ferguson. 1987. *Coup d'Etat: A Practical Manual*. Dorset: Arms and Armour Press.
- David Hebditch and Ken Connor. 2017. *How to Stage a Military Coup: From Planning to Execution*. Skyhorse Publishing.
- Mike Hoare. 2009. *The Seychelles Affair*. Paladin Press.
- Curzio Malaparte. 1932. *Coup d'Etat: The Technique of Revolution*. New York: Dutton.
- Shuja Nawaz. 2008. *Crossed Swords: Pakistan, its Army, and the Wars Within*. Oxford University Press. (especially chs.7 & 13)
- Adam Roberts. 2006. *The Wonga Coup*. Great Britain: Profile Books Ltd.

Week 3: Why Do Armed Forces Intervene in Politics? (121p)

FRI FEB 12: Seminar

- S.E. Finer. 1988. *The Man on Horseback: The Role of the Military in Politics*. Boulder: Westview. (ch.4: p.23-60; ch.6: 72-85)
- Aaron Belkin and Evan Schofer. 2003. "Toward a Structural Understanding of Coup Risk." *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 47(5): 594-620.

- Jonathan M. Powell. 2012. "Determinants of the Attempting and Outcome of Coup d'Etat." *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 56(6): 1017-1040.
- Aníbel Pérez-Liñan and John Polga-Hacimovich. 2017. "Explaining Military Coups and Impeachments in Latin America." *Democratization* 24(5): 839-858.

Recommended Readings

- Eric Carlton. 1997. *The State Against the State: The Theory and Practice of the Coup d'Etat*. Aldershot: Scholar Press.
- Aurel Croissant. 2013. "Coups and Post-Coup Politics in South-East Asia and the Pacific: Conceptual and Comparative Perspectives." *Australian Journal of International Affairs* 67(3): 264-280.
- Ruth First. 1970. *The Barrel of a Gun: Political Power in Africa and the Coup d'État*. Penguin Press.
- David Goldsworthy. 1986. "On the Structural Explanation of African Military Interventions." *The Journal of Modern African Studies* 24(1): 179-185.
- Richard P.Y. Li and William R. Thompson. 1975. "The Coup Contagion Hypothesis." *The Journal of Conflict Resolution* 19(1): 63-88.

Week 4: Ethnicity and the Military (171p)

FRI FEB 19: Seminar

- Subhasish Ray. 2012. "The Nonmartial Origins of the 'Martial Races': Ethnicity and Military Service in Ex-British Colonies." *Armed Forces & Society* 39(3), 560-575.
- Philip Roessler. 2011. "The Enemy Within: Personal Rule, Coups, and Civil War in Africa." *World Politics* 63(2): 300-346.
- Kristen Harkness. Forthcoming 2018. *When Soldiers Rebel: Ethnic Armies and Political Instability in Africa*. Cambridge UP. (ch.2: 23-55; chs.5-6: 129-203)

Recommended Readings

- Oren Barak. 2006. "Towards a Representative Military? The Transformation of the Lebanese Officer Corps since 1945." *Middle East Journal* 60(1): 75-93.
- Oren Barak. 2010. *The Lebanese Army: National Institution in a Divided Society*. State University of New York Press.
- Adekson, J. 'Bayo. 1976. "Army in a Multi-Ethnic Society: The Case of Nkrumah's Ghana." *Armed Forces and Society* 2(2): 251-272.
- Adekson, J. 'Bayo. 1979. "Ethnicity and Army Recruitment in Colonial Plural Societies." *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 2(2): 151-165.
- Cynthia H. Enloe. 1975. "The Military Uses of Ethnicity." *Millennium* 4(3): 220-233.
- Cynthia H. Enloe. 1980. *Ethnic Soldiers: State Security in Divided Societies*. Athens, Georgia: University of Georgia Press.
- Donald Horowitz. 1985. *Ethnic Groups in Conflict*. Berkeley: University of California Press. (especially chapters 11-13)

- Philip Roessler. 2016. *Ethnic Politics and State Power in Africa: The Logic of the Coup-Civil War Trap*. Cambridge University Press.
- Heather Streets. 2010. *Martial Races: The Military, Race, and Masculinity in British Imperial Culture, 1857-1914*. Manchester University Press.

Week 5: Structural Coup Proofing and Its Consequences (162p)

FRI FEB 26: Seminar

- Cameron S. Brown, Christopher J. Fariss, and R. Blake McMahon. 2016. "Recouping after Coup-Proofing: Compromised Military Effectiveness and Strategic Substitution." *International Interactions* 42(1): 1-30.
- James Quinlivan. 1999. "Coup-Proofing: Its Practice and Consequences in the Middle East," *International Security* 24(2): 131-165.
- Caitlin Talmadge. 2015. *The Dictator's Army: Battlefield Effectiveness in Authoritarian Regimes*. Cornell University Press. (ch.2-4: p.41-138)

Recommended Readings

- Holger Albrecht. 2015. "Does Coup-Proofing Work? Political-Military Relations in Authoritarian Regimes amid the Arab Uprisings." *Mediterranean Politics* 20(1): 36-54.
- Risa Brooks. 2006. "An Autocracy at War: Explaining Egypt's (In)Effectiveness in the 1967 and 1973 Arab-Israeli Wars." *Security Studies* 15(3): 396-430.
- Paul W. Chambers. 2015. "Neo-Sultanistic Tendencies: The Trajectory of Civil-Military Relations in Cambodia." *Asian Security* 11(3): 179-205.
- Erica De Bruin. 2020. *How to Prevent Coups d'État: Counterbalancing and Regime Survival*.
- Erica De Bruin. 2017. Preventing Coups d'Etat: How Counterbalancing Works." *Journal of Conflict Resolution*, forthcoming.
- Samuel Decalo. 1989. "Modalities of Civil-Military Stability in Africa." *The Journal of Modern African Studies* 27(4): 547-578.
- Stephen Biddle & Robert Zirkle. 1996. "Technology, civil-military relations, and warfare in the developing world." *Journal of Strategic Studies* 19(2): 171-212.
- Steffen Hertog. 2011. "Rentier Militaries in the Gulf States: The Price of Coup-Proofing." *International Journal of Middle East Studies* 43(3): 400-402.
- Yezid Sayigh. 2011. "Agencies of Coercion: Armies and Internal Security Forces." *International Journal of Middle East Studies* 43(3): 403-405.
- Jun Koga Sudduth. 2017. "Coup Risk, Coup-Proofing Strategy and Leader Survival." *Journal of Peace Research* 54(1): 3-15.
- Jun Koga Sudduth. 2017. "Strategic Logic of Elite Purges in Dictatorships." *Comparative Political Studies* 50(13): 1768-1801.

Week 6: Democratization and Civil-Military Relations (234p)

FRI MAR 5: Seminar

- David Kuehn. 2017. "Midwives or Gravediggers of Democracy? The Military's Impact on Democratic Development." *Democratization* 24(5): 783-800.
- Aurel Croissant et al., 2010, "Beyond the Fallacy of Coupism: Conceptualizing Civilian Control of the Military in Emerging Democracies," *Democratization* 17(5): 950-975.
- Steven I. Wilkinson. 2015. *Army and Nation: The Military and Indian Democracy since Independence*. Harvard University Press. (introduction, chs.1-5: p.1-191)

Recommended Readings

- Mwita Chacha and Jonathan Powell. 2016. "Economic Interdependence and Post-Coup Democratization." *Democratization*, forthcoming.
- George Derpanopoulos, Erica Frantz, Barbara Geddes, and Joseph Wright. 2016. "Are Coups Good for Democracy?" *Research and Politics* 3(1), 1-7.
- Yaprak Gursoy. 2017. *Between Military Rule and Democracy: Regime Consolidation in Greece, Turkey, and Beyond*. The University of Michigan Press.
- Francis Hagopian. "Democracy by Undemocratic Means?: Elites, Political Pacts, and Regime Transition in Brazil." *Comparative Political Studies* 23(2): 147-170.
- Kristen A. Harkness. 2017. "Military Loyalty and the Failure of Democratization in Africa: How Ethnic Armies Shape the Capacity of Presidents to Defy Term Limits." *Democratization* 24(5): 801-818.
- Luckham, Robin. 1996. "Democracy and the Military: An Epitaph for Frankenstein's Monster?" *Democratization* 3(2): 1-16.
- Nikolay Marinov and Hein Goemans. 2014. "Coups and Democracy." *British Journal of Political Science* 44(4): 799-825.
- Davide Ticchi and Andrea Vindigni. 2010. "A Theory of Military Dictatorships." *American Economic Journal: Macroeconomics* 2(1): 1-42.
- Tusalem, Rollin F. 2014. "Bringing the Military Back In: The Politicisation of the Military and Its Effect on Democratic Consolidation." *International Political Science Review* 35(4): 409-429.
- Ozan O. Varol. 2018. *The Democratic Coup d'Etat*. Oxford University Press.

Week 7: The Military in Revolutions (205p)

FRI MAR 12: Seminar = Simulation (strategy memo due)

- Brian D. Taylor. 2003. *Politics and the Russian Army: Civil-Military Relations, 1689-2000*. Cambridge University Press. (ch.3: p.64-137)
- Michael Makara. 2013. "Coup-Proofing, Military Defection, and the Arab Spring." *Democracy and Security* 9(4): 334-359.

- Terrence Lee. 2015. *Defect or Defend: Military Responses to Popular Protests in Authoritarian Asia*. Johns Hopkins University Press. (chs.1-2: p.1-59; ch.4: p.104-150).

Recommended Readings

- Zoltan Barany. 2016. *How Armies Respond to Revolutions and Why*. Princeton University Press.
- Risa Brooks. 2011. "Abandoned at the Palace: Why the Tunisian Military Defected from the Ben Ali Regime in January 2011." *Journal of Strategic Studies* 36(2): 205-210.
- Erica Chenoweth and Maria J. Stephan. 2013. *Why Civil Resistance Works: The Strategic Logic of Nonviolent Conflict*. New York: Columbia University Press.
- Mike Gonzalez and Houman Barekat (eds.). 2012. *Arms and the People: Popular Movements and the Military from the Paris Commune to the Arab Spring*. Pluto Press.
- Maria Josua and Mirjam Edel. 2015. "To Repress or Not to Repress—Regime Survival Strategies in the Arab Spring." *Terrorism and Political Violence* 27(2): 289-309.
- Theodore McLauchlin. 2010. "Loyalty Strategies and Military Defection in Rebellion." *Comparative Politics* 42(3): 333-350.
- William C. Taylor. 2014. *Military Responses to the Arab Uprisings and the Future of Civil-Military Relations in the Middle East: Analysis from Egypt, Tunisia, Libya, and Syria*. Palgrave MacMillan.

Week 8: Professionalism and Objective Control (p.283)

MON MAR 15: Simulation reflection due

FRI MAR 19: Seminar= Preliminary topic and research question due by email

- Samuel Huntington. 1957. *The Soldier and the State*. Cambridge: Belknap Press of Harvard UP. (chs.1-5: 1-139; ch.17: 456-66)

Recommended Readings

- Agola Auma-Osoto. 1980. "Objective African Military Control: A New Paradigm in Civil-Military Relations." *Journal of Peace Research* 17(1): 29-46.
- Edward Coffman. 1991. "The Long Shadow of *The Soldier and the State*." *The Journal of Military History* 55(1): 69-82.
- Charles Dunlap. 1992-93. "The Origins of the American Military Coup of 2012." *Parameters* 22(4):2-20.
- Samuel Huntington. 1968. *Political Order in Changing Societies*. New Haven: Yale UP. (p.1-5, 78-80, 192-263, 460-461)

- Sam Sarkesian. 1981. "Military Professionalism and Civil-Military Relations in the West." *International Political Science Review* 2(3): 283-297.
- William Skelton. 1996. "Samuel P. Huntington and the Roots of the American Military Tradition." *The Journal of Military History* 60(2): 325-338.

***** Spring Vacation*****

It is recommended that you take this time to begin researching and writing your final essay.

Week 9: Alternative Visions of Civilian Control in Advanced Industrial States (282p)

FRI APR 9: Seminar

Guest: Prof. Peter Feaver

- Peter Feaver. 2003. *Armed Servants: Agency Oversight, and Civil-Military Relations*. Princeton UP. (chs.1-3: p.1-95; ch.6: p.180-233)
- Michael Desch. 1999. *Civilian Control of the Military: The Changing Security Environment*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins UP. (ch.2: p.8-21; ch.6: p.97-113)
- Risa Brooks. 2017. "What Should U.S. Military Leaders Do If the President Provokes a Major International Crisis?" The Monkey Cage at the *Washington Post*.
- David T. Burbach, Lindsay P. Cohen, and Danielle Lupton. 2020. "What's Happening in Portland could Hurt Civilian Control of the Military. Here's How." The Monkey Cage at the *Washington Post*.

Recommended Readings

- Peter Feaver and Christopher Gelpi. 2004. *Choosing Your Battles: American Civil-Military Relations and the Use of Force*. Princeton UP.
- Edgar Furniss. 1964. *De Gaulle and the French Army*. New York: Twentieth Century Fund.
- Dale Herspring. 2011. "Creating Shared Responsibility through Respect for Military Culture: The Russian and American Cases." *Public Administration Review* 71(4): 519-529.
- Dale Herspring. 2013. *Civil-Military Relations and Shared Responsibility: A Four-Nation Study*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins UP.
- Otto Hintze. 1975. "Military Organization and the Organization of the State." In, Felix Gilbert (ed.), *The Historical Essays of Otto Hintze*. New York: Oxford UP, 175-215.
- Morris Janowitz. 1960. *The Professional Soldier: A Social and Political Portrait*. Toronto: Collier-Macmillan Canada.
- George Kelly. 1965. *Lost Soldiers: The French Army and Empire in Crisis, 1947-1962*. Cambridge: MIT Press.
- Harold Lasswell. 1941. "The Garrison State." *American Journal of Sociology* 46(4): 455-468.

- H.R. McMaster. 1997. *Dereliction of Duty: Lyndon Johnson, Robert McNamara, the Joint Chiefs of Staff, and the Lies that Led to Vietnam*. New York: HarperCollins.

Week 10: Civil-Military Relations and International Crises (158p)

FRI APR 16: Seminar = Policy Workshop (memo due)

- Eliot Cohen. 2003. *Supreme Command: Soldiers, Statesmen, and Leadership in Wartime*. New York: Random House. (chs.1-2: p.1-51; ch.4: p.95-132; ch.7: p.208-224)
- Richard K. Betts. 1991. *Soldiers, Statesmen, and Cold War Crises*. Columbia University Press. (chs.1-2: p.3-30)
- Marc DeVore. 2012. "Armed Forces, States, and Threats: Institutions and the British and French Responses to the 1991 Gulf War." *Comparative Strategy* 31(1): 56-83.

Recommended Readings

- Marc DeVore. 2013. "Institutions, Organizational Culture, and Counterinsurgency Operations: Why Do States Fight Similar Insurgencies Differently?" *Comparative Strategy* 32(3): 169-191.
- Rosemary Foot. 1990. *A Substitute for Victory: The Politics of Peacemaking at the Korean Armistice Talks*. Cornell UP.
- Charles de Gaulle. 1960. *The Edge of the Sword* (translated by Gerhard Hopkins). London: Faber & Faber.
- John Gooch. 2007. *Mussolini and His Generals: The Armed Forces and Fascist Foreign Policy, 1922-1940*. Cambridge UP.
- A.S. Kanya-Forstner. 1969. *The Conquest of the Western Sudan: A Study in French Military Imperialism*. Cambridge UP.
- Carnes Lord. 2012. *Proconsuls: Delegated Political-Military Leadership from Rome to America Today*. Cambridge UP.
- Danielle Lupton. 2017. "Out of the Service, into the House: Military Experience and Congressional War Oversight." *Political Research Quarterly* 70(2): 327-339.
- Shuja Nawaz. 2008. *Crossed Swords: Pakistan, its Army, and the Wars Within*. Oxford University Press.

Note: A further teaching week will take the form of exam feedback in the first week of the following semester. Details of these provisions are given in the online School Handbook.

Other 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 Current Students/Postgraduates/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.

Equality and Diversity: The School of International Relations actively strives to create a diverse population within its staff and students and wishes to provide a place of welcome and tolerance for study and research. To foster diversity and inclusion, equal access to opportunity is essential. Academic quality and rigor for all students and staff is linked to the elimination of bias and discrimination. The School works with the University to investigate all cases of discrimination, harassment, and violence, and is committed to diversity and inclusivity, for students and for staff. The School adheres to strict non-discrimination policies, and will not tolerate disrespect, discrimination, harassment, or violence by, or against, any member of our community. If you need to report or talk with someone about these issues, please contact with either the School's Equality and Diversity Chair, Dr Filippo Costa Buranelli fc7@st-andrews.ac.uk or the Head of School, Professor Caron Gentry irhos@st-andrews.ac.uk Please note that we are willing to help staff and students navigate the University reporting system.

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 us 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 (we recommend One Drive or Dropbox). Late assignments will receive a 1 point deduction per day in accordance with the policies of the School of International Relations.

Director of Student Well-being: The School of International Relations now has a dedicated Director of Student Well-being, Dr. Jeffrey Murer. Email: irwellbeing@st-andrews.ac.uk . If you are facing difficulties at an academic or personal level and would like to discuss them, please get in touch with Dr. Murer. Any requests for extensions of assignments of **more** than one week and Leaves of Absence must be submitted to Dr. Murer.

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. 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 Dr. Harkness’ website (<https://kristenharkness.com/home/teaching/>) for detailed instructions on asking for a letter of reference. We each require a minimum of two weeks notice and ask that you compile a packet of relevant information.

Grading Standards for Essays

When grading, we evaluate the words on the page 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 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, Fivethirtyeight, Lawfare, Mideast Matrix, The Monkey Cage, War on the Rocks, etc. We stress reputable. Look at both who hosts the blog and the bios of the bloggers. Most good blogs are hosted by academic institutions, think tanks, or newspapers and their contributors either hold

PhDs from good universities or have extensive public policy experience. There are a lot of nut jobs writing rants from their basements, try to ignore them.