

IR 4548
Force and Statecraft

Fall 2021

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Lectures: posted by Tue evening to Moodle

Tutorials:

Fri 14:00-15:00
Fri 15:00-16:00

Office Hours:
Tue 13:00-14:00 online
Tue 14:00-15:00 in person
141 Arts Building

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.

During the Covid Pandemic

This semester, the pandemic continues to alter the way we deliver teaching. While in-person teaching will slowly return to normal, some elements of the module must remain online and

students studying remotely must always be able to participate. This section summarizes important information on how the module will operate given these complex conditions. PLEASE READ CAREFULLY.

Lectures: All lectures will be pre-recorded in Panopto and distributed via Moodle by Tuesday evening. Please listen to the corresponding lecture in advance of your tutorials on Fridays.

Tutorials: Tutorials will mainly meet in person, assuming government and university policy so allow. Students studying remotely will be brought into tutorials via Microsoft Teams and the hybrid technology in our classrooms. There are, however, some “interactive” elements to the module that cannot work in a hybrid teaching environment or with social distancing rules—such as the simulation. They will most likely be conducted over Microsoft Teams (I’ve gotten good at this). I may also be traveling in mid-October, due to postponed obligations. These tutorials will also be conducted over Microsoft Teams to minimize disruption to your schedules. I ask for your empathy and patience in coping with these circumstances. More information and a comprehensive schedule will be provided in Week 1 after I know how many remote learners we have in the module.

Tutorials will always meet from 14:00-15:00 or 15:00-16:00 UK time 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.*

Readings: The library has made every effort to provide digital access to the vast majority of required readings. Search for IR4548 here: <https://sta.rl.talis.com/index.html>. In the rare case that a link doesn’t work, please notify me immediately so that I can fix the problem or send a pdf. There are three books that do not exist as e-books. I strongly recommend purchasing them. You can usually get a used copy on Amazon for under £5:

- George C. Herring. 2002. *America’s Longest War: The United States and Vietnam, 1950-1975* (4th edition). Boston: McGraw Hill.
- Barbara Tuchman. 1962. *The Guns of August*. New York: Ballantine Books.
- Bob Woodward. 2003. *Bush at War*. London: Simon & Schuster.

We also read most of these two books. The library provides access to the e-book, but you might want your own copy:

- Alan Kuperman. 2001. *The Limits of Humanitarian Intervention: Genocide in Rwanda*. Washington, D.C.: Brookings Institute Press.
- Michael Walzer. 2006. *Just and Unjust Wars*. New York: Basic Books.

Other Course Materials: Instructions for assignments, 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: Drop-in online office hours are on Tuesdays from 13:00-14:00 on Microsoft Teams. Send me a message via chat and I will video call when I'm available. In-person office hours are on Tuesdays from 14:00-15:00, pandemic permitting, and will likely require advance sign-up to space people out. There is a permanent sign-up sheet on Microsoft Teams in the "Files" area. Please be courteous to your fellow students and only sign-up for one 15 min block of time for the upcoming week.

Contact: Please contact me via email and try to have reasonable expectations about response time, even when you feel anxious over deadlines or life circumstances. I will endeavor to respond as quickly as possible during business hours (M-F, 9:00-17:00) and certainly within two business days. After that feel free to send a follow-up email. Also, it's easier for me to respond if I 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 an asap meeting.

General university advice and support on covid can be found here: <https://www.st-andrews.ac.uk/coronavirus/covid-code/>

Assignments

Final Mark Breakdown:

- 20% Tutorial Exercises
 - Simulation Strategy Memo (5%)
 - Debate Preparation Notes (5%)
 - Policy Workshop I Memo (5%)
 - Policy Workshop II Memo (5%)
- 30% Policy Essay
- 50% Cumulative Final Exam

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. Detailed instructions for each exercise and assignment will be provided about one week in advance. But here is a teaser:

- *WWI Simulation Strategy Memo* (~1500 words): You will explore the decision-making behind the first stages of the Great War through a simulation of troop mobilization, fortification, and initial attacks. Each team will collectively write a memo outlining their general strategy and potential contingency plans.
- *Debate Preparation Notes* (nae limits): The rise of Hitler posed a deep challenge to British foreign policy, which you will explore through debating the differences between Churchill and Chamberlain’s positions. Your mark will be based on your individual debate preparation, within the context of team assigned tasks, and you will be asked to turn in a memo summarizing that preparation.
- *Policy Workshop Memos* (~1500 words each): These workshops explore contemporary crises and ask you to coordinate state or international responses to them. I have a bank of possibilities—including the Russian invasion of Ukraine, the use of chemical weapons in Syria, famine in East Africa, ballistic missile testing by North Korea, and the Turkish attack on Kurdish forces—but reserve the right to incorporate breaking crises into the module. Each team develops their own policy plan according to provided guidelines and submits a collective memo outlining it.

Policy Essay (3000 words): Select an international crisis requiring the serious contemplation of force and write a compelling policy memo recommending and defending a particular course of action. 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. I also encourage you to delve into primary source documents, such as online government archives and newspaper databases.

Cumulative Final Exam: This will be an online (open-book, open-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.

Assignment Due Dates

All assignments are due at noon. Marked assignments should be uploaded to MMS. Drafts and pitches should be uploaded to Moodle.

THR SEP 30 (WEEK 3) Simulation strategy memo

THR OCT 7 (WEEK 4) Debate prep notes

THR NOV 4 (WEEK 8) Policy workshop I memo

THR NOV 11 (WEEK 9) Policy workshop II memo

MON NOV 22 (WEEK 11) Policy essay

Weekly Overview with Readings

Week 1: Force as an Instrument of Statecraft

MON SEP 13: Lecture, "Force as Statecraft"

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

MON SEP 20: Lecture, "The Moral Dilemmas of Strategy"

THR SEP 23: Tutorial

- Thucydides, 1984. *The Peloponnesian War* (Rex Warner trans.). New York: Penguin Books. (72-108 (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," ch1-8: 577-616)
- 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 [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)

MON SEP 27: Lecture, "Inadvertent War?: The Cult of the Offensive"

THR SEP 30: Tutorial = **Simulation**

- 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 (207p + independent research)

MON OCT 4: Lecture, “The Rise of Hitler”

THR OCT 7: Tutorial = Debate

- Richard J. Evans. 2005. *The Third Reich in Power, 1933-1939*. New York: The Penguin Press. (Prologue: 1-17)
- Eberhard Jäckel. 1972. *Hitler’s World View: A Blueprint for Power*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press. (chapters 1-3: 13-66)
- Zara Steiner. 2011. *The Triumph of the Dark: European International History 1933-1939*. Oxford University Press. (chapters 10-11: 552-670; I also recommend chapter 6 on rearmament and appeasement)
- 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 and parliamentary debates from the time—all online at <https://hansard.parliament.uk/>)

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.
- 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)
- Richard J. Evans. 2005. *The Third Reich in Power, 1933-1939*. New York: The Penguin Press. (the rest)
- “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)

- 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.
- 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 (245p)

MON OCT 11: Lecture, "Killing the Innocent"

THR OCT 14: Tutorial

- Alexander Downes. 2008. *Targeting Civilians in War*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press. (chapters 1 & 4: 13-41 & 115-155)
- 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. (chapters 4 & 5: 176-288)
- Michael Walzer. 2006. "War's Means and the Importance of Fighting Well," "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 20th Century*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press.
- 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)

- J. Samuel Walker. 1997. "Recent Literature on Truman's Atomic Bomb Decision: A Search for Middle Ground." *Diplomatic History* 29(2): 311-334.
- Explore primary sources on the decision to deploy the atomic bombs, available here: <https://nsarchive2.gwu.edu/NSAEBB/NSAEBB162/>
- 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.

***** 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; 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)

MON OCT 25: Lecture, "Vietnam"

THR OCT 28: Tutorial

- George C. Herring. 2002. *America's Longest War: The United States and Vietnam, 1950-1975* (4th 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* (4th 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 (202p)

MON NOV 1: Lecture, "The End of the Cold War and the Rise of Humanitarian Intervention(?)"

THR NOV 4: Tutorial = Policy Workshop I

- Michael Walzer. 2006. "Interventions." In *Just and Unjust Wars*. New York: Basic Books. (chapters 6, p.86-108)
- Kirsten Ainley. 2017. "From Atrocity Crimes to Human Rights: Expanding the Focus of the Responsibility to Protect." *Global Responsibility to Protect* 9(3): 243-266.
- Mahmood Mamdani. 2010. "Responsibility to Protect or Right to Punish?" *Journal of Intervention and Statebuilding* 4(1): 53-67.
- 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)

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.
- Mahmood Mamdani. 2001. *When Victims Become Killers: Colonialism, Nativism, and the Genocide in Rwanda*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.
- Yukiko Nishikawa. 2018. "The Reality of Protecting the Rohingya: An Inherent Limitation of the Responsibility to Protect." *Asian Security*. Online first at <https://doi.org/10.1080/14799855.2018.1547709>.
- 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 (134p + independent research)

Mon NOV 8: Lecture, "Coercion through Markets: Economic Sanctions"

THR NOV 11: Tutorial = Policy Workshop II

- Robert A. Pape. 1997. "Why Economic Sanctions Do Not Work." *International Security* 22, no.2 (Autumn): 90-136.
- 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.

- Joy Gordon. 2017. “Reconsidering Economic Sanctions.” In, Michael L. Gross & Tamar Meisels (eds.), *Soft War: The Ethics of Unarmed Conflict*, Cambridge University Press, 49-62.
- Clara Portela. 2016. “Are European Union Sanctions ‘Targeted’?” *Cambridge Review of International Affairs* 29(3): 912-929.
- Arne Tostenen and Beate Bull. 2002. “Are Smart Sanctions Feasible?” *World Politics* 54(3): 373-403.
- Independent research for policy workshop

Recommended Readings

- David A. Baldwin. 1985. “What Is Economic Statecraft?” In *Economic Statecraft*. Princeton: Princeton University Press. (chapter 8: 29-50)
- David A. Baldwin. 1985. “Classic Cases Reconsidered.” In *Economic Statecraft*. Princeton: Princeton University Press. (chapter 8, excerpt, “The United Nations and Rhodesia”: 189-204)
- David Cortright and George A. Lopez. eds. 2002. *Smart Sanctions: Targeting Economic Statecraft*. Rowman & Littlefield Publishers.
- 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.
- Bryan R. Early and Marcus Schulzke. 2018. “Still Unjust, Just in Different Ways: How Targeted Sanctions Fall Short of Just War Theory’s Principles.” *International Studies Review*” online first at <https://doi.org/10.1093/isr/viy012>.
- John Galtung. 1967. “On the Effects of International Economic Sanctions with Examples from the Case of Rhodesia.” *World Politics* 19(3): 378-416.
- Joy Gordon. 1999. “A Peaceful, Silent, Deadly Remedy: The Ethics of Economic Sanctions.” *Ethics & International Affairs* 13:123-142.
- 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.
- Philip I. Levy. 1999. “Sanctions on South Africa: What Did They Do?” *The American Economic Review* 89(2): 415-420.
- 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 (~440p but gripping stuff)

MON NOV 15: Lecture, “The Wars in Iraq and Afghanistan”

THR NOV 18: 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)

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 Jervis. 2006. "Reports, Politics, and Intelligence Failures: The Case of Iraq." *Journal of Strategic Studies* 29(1): 3-52.
- 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 (111p + film)

MON NOV 22: Lecture, "Secret Force and the Covert Drone War"

THR NOV 25: Tutorial

- Kathryn Bigelow (director), *Zero Dark Thirty* (a film on the assassination of Osama Bin Ladin, 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.
- Christine Sixta Rinehart. 2016. "Somalia: Lords of War." In *Drones and Targeted Killing in the Middle East and Africa: An Appraisal of American Counterterrorism Policies*, Lexington Books, 65-82.
- Ophir Falk. 2014. "Permissibility of Targeted Killing." *Studies in Conflict & Terrorism* 37(4): 295-321.
- Daniel Bruntetter and Megan Braun. 2011. "The Implications of Drones on the Just War Tradition." *Ethics & International Affairs* 25(3): 337-358.
- Independent research for policy workshop (see section below "resources for research on current events")

Recommended Movie!

- *Eye in the Sky* (2015)

Recommended Readings

- 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).
- Patrick B. Johnston & Anoop K. Sarbahi. 2016. "The Impact of U.S. Drone Strikes on Terrorism in Pakistan." *International Studies Quarterly* 60(2): 203-219.
- James D. Kiras. 2006. *Special Operations and Strategy: From World War II to the War on Terror*. Routledge.
- Mary Ellen O'Connell. 2010. "Unlawful Killing with Combat Drones: A Case Study of Pakistan, 2004-2009." 26p. Unpublished manuscript available on MMS.
- 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.
- Christine Sixta Rinehart. 2016. *Drones and Targeted Killing in the Middle East and Africa: An Appraisal of American Counterterrorism Policies*. Lanham: Lexington Books (the rest).
- Bob Woodward. 1987. *Veil: The Secret Wars of the CIA, 1981-1987*. New York: Simon & Schuster.

Other Module Policies

Students are responsible for knowing and must adhere to the contents of the School handbook which is available on the School website under Current Students/Undergraduates/Handbooks AND the Student Handbook Webpages, found here: <https://www.st-andrews.ac.uk/education/handbook/>.

Attendance: 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: This module is fast-paced and involves frequent smaller pieces of writing, teamwork, and juggling deadlines. For your own sake, extensions are not a wise idea. Part of what I want to teach you this semester are good project management skills (which employers love). I am also happy to sit down with you one-on-one, in office hours, and develop a weekly schedule to help you stay on top of things. That being said, unanticipated crises

do happen and we live in precarious times. If you cannot meet a deadline, please contact me as soon as possible. True emergencies receive no penalties. Everything else I try to negotiate reasonably, but anticipate some consequences. That is only fair to those who turn their work in on time (even if they really wanted to squeeze in just one more round of editing but the clock ran out). I can grant extensions up to two weeks, after which I need to consult with and seek the approval of the Director of Student Well-being (see below). You also need to complete an online Self-Certificate for any extension, using the self-certificate task on the ‘my details and development’ page on MySaint.

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.

Director of Student Well-being: The School of International Relations now has a dedicated Director of Student Well-being, Dr. Ryan Beasley (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. Any requests for Leaves of Absence must be submitted to the Director of Student Well-being.

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 Ali Watson (irhos@st-andrews.ac.uk). Please note that we are willing to help staff and students navigate the University reporting system.

Essay Formatting and Other Rules: Failure to properly format your essay will result in a small deduction to your mark. All assignments must be word-processed (not that your generation would write anything out by hand...) Proofread your writing for typographical, grammatical, and punctuation errors. If you consistently make these kinds of errors, your mark will drop. Word counts are inclusive of endnotes/footnotes, but exclusive of the bibliography. For the policy essay, 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

Asking for a Letter of Reference: Please see my website (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.

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.

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, Political Violence at a Glance, 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? Is there a screening process to have a post accepted and published? There are a lot of nut jobs writing rants from their basements, try to ignore them.