JACK MCDONALD

DIRTY WARS

Contents

Prerequisites

This is the handbook for a course that I run at the Department of War Studies, King's College London. You will find all the administrative details for the course on KEATS. This includes, but isn't limited to: venues/timings for lectures and seminars, deadlines for assessments, my office hours/location. For your convenience, this handbook is available as a pdf file and as a static website.

- The pdf version of this handbook is available here.
- The website version of this handbook is available here.

0.1 Auditing

Usually I am fine with auditing, but for 2020-21, I will not be permitting auditing of this module. Email me if you would like access to the lectures.

0.2 Tasks to Complete Before The First Class

- Important (You won't be able to do the first classes without this)
  - Skim read the first two sections of this handbook
  - Check you have access to the readings for week 1 via the reading list link in KEATS
  - Check that you have access to the lecture and seminar meetings for week 0 via the link in KEATS
  - Check you have access to the Microsoft TEAMS page for the class via the link in KEATS
- Optional
  - Add a picture of yourself to your KEATS profile, and to your KCL Microsoft Office profile
  - Say hello on the welcome discussion thread in KEATS
  - Perform the baseline reflection task in Chapter 9

Course Outline

1
Introduction

This chapter is designed to give you a big picture overview of the course, and a guide to using this handbook.

1.1 The Idea

Like it says on the tin, this module is about "dirty wars" in theory and practice. The idea for the course is to explore what can be learned about war by thinking through and examining a subset of conflicts that have been labelled "dirty wars" (or equivalent) by theorists and/or participants.

In formal terms, we will be studying the relationship between categories of political order, political violence, normative theory, and strategy. As a subset of that, the course focuses upon the role of institutions, organisations, and organisational perspectives in war and national security. In particular, how do ideas and cultural beliefs shape state bureaucracies responsible for national security? As a counterpoint to this, we will also be looking at irreducible strategic dilemmas associated with war and national security. These derive from the adversarial relationship between states and those that seek to challenge them utilising clandestine means.

In less formal terms, this course is a trawl through some of the nastiest things that human beings do to one another. It explores the logics of mass killing and political repression, alongside a range of other kinds of atrocity. We will look at states killing people and claiming they are at war, states killing people while denying they are at war, and why these claims matter. In tandem, we'll look at the bleed-through of intelligence collection and identification processes into everyday life and the political consequences of "securing the state." It'll be interesting, trust me.

The Course

This course is divided into a main lecture series, two series of research lectures, and 3 seminar series that run independent of the lectures. The lectures are designed to give the broad overview of the concepts and methods related to the study of dirty wars. The seminars focus upon particular topics taught as specialist subjects by the academic leading the seminar. For the structure of the teaching sessions see chapter 2, for the content of each teaching session see chapter 6.

Project Work

There are a range of projects that complement the course. These are designed to develop your individual research skills, as well as your group working skills. There are two major group projects which are designed so that the course produces learning resources that support the entire group. These are explained in chapter 7.

Assessments

The assessments for this course are a 2500 word literature review and a 5000 word research essay on a topic of your own choosing. I am open minded about your disciplinary approach/topic for the research essay so long as you can justify a connection to the course. The course is designed to enable you to perform both tasks. The assessed literature review comes after group work on a similar task, and guidance for the 5000 word essay is built into the lectures of term 2. Full details of the assessments can be found in chapter 8.

1.2 Course Expectations

Here is where I read you the riot act ahead of schedule. Just kidding. There is one hard and fast rule for this course: Stay in contact. I aim to be available via email Monday - Friday during normal work hours.[1] Please also be considerate of your fellow students when working together on group projects and don't expect them to be available outside normal working hours.[2]

The core reading for this module is intentionally short (4-5 articles/chapters total per week), and this is the amount of reading that will enable you to engage with the course. I understand that not all students are able to dedicate 100% of their time during their MA to learning, so don't worry if circumstances mean you can't do the reading for a week. Try to catch up if you can, and email me if you get into trouble. That said, reading one article is better than nothing.

As noted above, this course places a heavy emphasis on group

[1] That's 0900-1800 GMT. Generally speaking I process my inbox once a day. I may answer emails at other times, but please do not expect immediate replies at weekends.

[2] That's 0900-1800 GMT, Monday to Friday.

learning (small group discussions, seminars, small group projects). My starting assumption is that everyone is an adult, and is here to learn. I therefore expect that people will approach discussions and group work with respect for each other. In particular, please be aware that other students may have to balance their studies with work or care commitments. If you are unable to devise a way of working around such issues, please contact me.

You are expected to attend all teaching sessions. In the event that you are unable to attend a class, you must email the class convener, and complete an asynchronous learning task.[3]

[3] These tasks are detailed in chapter 2

1.3 Privacy

Please respect the privacy of your classmates and do not make private recordings of lectures or seminars without my permission, either offline or online.[4] If there is a need for recording, and you wish to make a point either off the record or under the Chatham House Rule, please indicate to the lecturer who will stop the recording for the duration of the contribution. Any chat and video recordings will be wiped at the end of the academic year.[5] If you would like to opt out of all recording, please notify Dr McDonald and we can discuss this.

[4] KCL has a system of King's Inclusion Plans so that students with particular learning support needs may record teaching sessions. If there is a need to record sessions to enable equal access to the course then I will do so, which should obviate the need for individual recording.

[5] There is one edge-case: if a student has to repeat a year, I will restrict access to recorded material to that student at the end of the year, and then delete data once they have submitted their final assessment.

Some definitions:

Off the record - a point or contribution that should not be repeated outside the classroom, nor should it ever be attributed to the person who made it.[6]

[6] This is a privilege of engaging in academic discussion. Making a pointlessly offensive comment is not covered by this privilege.

Chatham House Rule - As Chatham House put it:

> When a meeting, or part thereof, is held under the Chatham House Rule, participants are free to use the information received, but neither the identity nor the affiliation of the speaker(s), nor that of any other participant, may be revealed.

So if someone draws upon their experience working as a human rights investigator and discusses their experience under the Chatham House rule, you are allowed to discuss what they say with other people, but you are not allowed to say who they are, who they worked for, or that you heard it in my classroom.[7]

[7] Note the third point about not revealing the identity of other participants…

1.4 Learning Resources

Tools

- KEATS: A Moodle platform that acts as a central hub for accessing learning resources, as well as essay submissions. Access using your KCL email address and password: `https://keats.kcl.ac.uk`

- MS Teams: Used to schedule online meetings, access learning resources, and chat (for real-time project work and Q&A during online teaching). You will be signed up to the course's team by me, and you can download the app from Microsoft: Download here
- TALIS: KCL's host for online reading lists. Here you will find links to the digital copies of readings used for the course. The structure mirrors the course outline in chapter 6 of this handbook.
- MS OneNote: A project folder to enable group projects. There are links to the OneNote notebook in KEATS and Teams.
- Padlet: A website that enables individuals to add/view material in real time. All you will need from this is to be able to open a web browser while using MS Teams for small group discussions.

Accessing Learning Resources

KEATS and MS Teams are the hubs of this course. You will be added to KEATS automatically, I will add students to MS Teams upon enrollment into the course. You will find links to all the material for the course on both KEATS and MS Teams, however the MS Teams page has much better integrations with a number of the course elements, meaning it is easier to navigate.

There are a couple of important differences between KEATS and MS Teams:

- You can only submit assessments on KEATS
- MS Teams has chat functions that do not transfer to KEATS

For your convenience, there is a static website featuring links to the important everyday material for the course here: site Bookmark the page and you'll be able to access everything you need to study.[8] Lecture slides are in HTML, so no need for powerpoint on your chosen device.

[8] From student feedback, this is useful when watching lectures on a mobile device, or opening up lecture slides on a separate device

1.5 How To Use This Course Handbook

This handbook consists of four sections: Course Outline, Course Guide, Assessments & Projects, and Further Material.

The course outline consists of this chapter, plus the following chapter detailing the teaching arrangements for the course. These should give you everything that you need to know about how the course is structured and run, as well as outlining expectations about your preparation for teaching sessions and engagement with the course.

The course guide consists of an introduction to the teaching staff, a course outline, and a (long) chapter that gives week by week breakdowns of the teaching session topics, discussion questions, and read-

ings for each teaching session. Together with the course outline, this should be all you need to get started on the course.

The assessments and group work section consists of two chapters: skills assessments, and group work.

The further material section contains optional extras to aid your independent study: skills development, further reading, case studies, and details of my research lab. The skills development chapter is optional, but will give you a sense of why the assessments and group work have been designed in this way, and may be of particular benefit to those who have not studied in the UK system before. The further reading is built from a cohort group project in 2019-20, and gives a lot more sources for you to follow up on particular dimensions of the course. The case studies exist to mirror the primary lecture series, so that if you are interested you can examine a single case study in depth, referring back to the theoretical discussions in this course. Lastly, I run a teaching and research lab to develop new teaching methods for transferring research skills. If you would like to join a research project, please check it out.

2
Online Teaching Arrangements

Introduction

This course is designed for blended learning. Due to the Covid-19 pandemic, this course will be delivered online-only in the 2020/21 academic year. This is your 1-stop guide to the teaching structure of the course. Here you will find structural details about online lectures and online seminars - the content of each lecture and seminar is detailed in chapter 6.

2.1 Course Structure & Delivery

There are two types of scheduled online learning on this course:

- Lectures
- Seminars

Online sessions will run via Teams. Please download and install MS Teams as soon as possible. Online teaching sessions are arranged by channel (Lectures, Seminars). Due to there being multiple seminar groups taking the course, each seminar group will have a letter corresponding to its timeslot (A, B, C, etc). There will be a Teams channel for each seminar group, please feel free to use it.

Both lectures and seminars will be scheduled by the course convener to appear at the same time as your timetabled seminars and lectures. There will be a link to these reoccuring seminars in KEATS.[1]

There will be a series of channels in the Teams page dedicated to breakout rooms. This is so that the lecturer can split the class into small discussion groups during the lecture or seminar. You should be able to see the channels for breakout rooms in Teams. The lecturer will start the meetings for these rooms prior to the lecture/seminar, and will instruct you as to which room to join. There is no need to exit the main lecture/seminar meeting to join a breakout room, joining a breakout room simply puts you on hold for the main meeting. If you

[1] If the Teams seminar you are alotted does not correspond with your timetabled seminar, please contact Dr McDonald immediately to rectify the issue. Do not wait until the first seminar!

accidentally quit out of a lecture/seminar or a breakout room, simply click on the channel in Teams and join the ongoing meeting.

Please mute your microphone upon entering teaching sessions on MS Teams. For lectures and Q&A sessions, I'll be taking questions via the chat function. I may call upon individuals to explain the question more fully to make sure that I get it right.

Chat etiquette:

- When asking about lecture material, please identify the slide number - this lets me put it up on screen so everyone can follow when I answer
- I'll go through questions in the order that they are received. If you have a follow on question, please identify it as such, e.g. "Following from Elizabeth's question" or "Following from your answer to Liam"

Lectures

The full lecture will be available online for you to view prior to the class. The online session in lieu of a physical lecture will take place on MS Teams, at the same time as the timetabled lecture.

Each lecture session after week 1 has a "problem" attached. This is a specific case study, issue, or dilemma. Take five minutes to consider how you think about the problem or issue prior to reading the material for the week, and prior to watching the lecture material.

There are specific discussion questions for each lecture, please prepare your thoughts on these questions prior to the lecture session. Please also prepare one or more substantive points about one or more of the readings for the week. In short, the lecture session will mostly be active learning and small-group discussions, so please come prepared.

I will start the session with a short run-through of the material for Q&A purposes (e.g. we'll run through the lecture and make sure we're all on the same page). I'll then split the class into groups to discuss the problem for the week, and how the readings/lecture material has informed your thinking on the problem. Someone from each group should be allocated to give short feedback on the group's discussion via Padlet, which will be used by the lecturer to work through the issue in a full-group discussion. The class will then do a small-group discussion on the first discussion question, which will be followed by free discussion. We will then discuss the second discussion question.

Seminars

Each seminar group will be run as a webinar. The online session in lieu of a physical seminar will take place on MS Teams, at the same time as the timetabled seminar.

Each individual should prepare:

- A point about one or more of the readings for the week
- Their thoughts about the discussion questions for the week

I will start the session by asking each participant to give their point or reflection about the reading material. We will then split into small groups to discuss the first discussion question, followed by a whole-seminar discussion. Again, please nominate someone from your break-out group to give feedback on the group's discussion on Padlet. This will be repeated for the second discussion question.

Asynchronous Learning Tasks

You only have to do an ALT if you cannot attend a teaching session. I will be using ALTs as a stand-in for course engagement. That means that if you don't attend, don't email, and don't submit an ALT for the week, then that counts as absence. You have to submit an ALT for each session that you miss (lecture/seminar).

An ALT should be roughly 150 words (a paragaph) or so, and demonstrate engagement with the session. *You should post your ALT to the weekly discussion thread on KEATS.*

- Read the assigned readings for the session, and explain the relevance of one of them to a particular event in one of the case studies in Chapter 10. Provide a link to a digital resource that provides background information about the event.
- Identify a relationship between one of the readings for this session and one from a prior teaching session that you find interesting. Explain the reason for your interest.
- Identify and explain a key argument in one of the readings from the session that you disagree with. Explain your disagreement. If possible, provide a link to a piece of academic work that supports your disagreement.
- Respond to one of the discussion questions (found in the lecture slides, or the set questions for the seminar). Remember to identify the question you're responding to!
- Identify a connection between the lecture or seminar theme and a contemporary conflict. Explain the connection and provide a link to a digital resource that enables the reader to understand the theme in the context of the conflict.

3
Reading and Preparation

Introduction

This is a practical guide to getting you started on the course, and to help you prepare for teaching sessions.

To sum up this entire section: Do the readings for each teaching session, prepare a point about the reading for each teaching session, reflect upon the problem and questions for the week before each teaching session, and do an asynchronous learning task if you have to miss a teaching session.

To make this more efficient as a guide, this chapter consists of a guide to preparing prior to the start of the course, preparation for each week of the course, and a wider guide to reading around or beyond the course.

3.1 Before You Start

Do I Need to Buy Anything?

No. The library should provide digital access to all core resources on the course.[1] There are three books that we will be reading extensively on the course: Austin Carson's (2018) *Secret Wars*, Mariah Zeisberg's (2013) *War Powers* and Helen Frowe's (2015) *The Ethics of War and Peace*. Feel free to get a head start on reading these as soon as you get the course guide.

[1] If you can't access something online, email me and I will solve the problem asap

Preparing for the Course

There are a couple of key concepts that we'll be using in this course a lot. If you are not familiar with them, you should try to familiarise yourself with them as soon as possible. By "familiarise" I don't mean "read ten articles on the subject", I mean understand the basic meaning of the word/phrase as it is generally used in discussions about war and national security. If you are unfamiliar with any of the following

terms as they are used in strategic studies or security studies, here are quick links to chapters/articles that you can read.

- War. See Beatrice Heuser's (2010) *The Evolution of Strategy*, chapter 1
- Strategy. See Beatrice Heuser's (2010) *The Evolution of Strategy*, chapter 1
- Security. See Barry Buzan and Lene Hansen's (2009) *The Evolution of International Security Studies*, chapter 2
- National security. See David Omand's (2010) *Securing the State*, chapter 1
- Political repression. See, christian Davenport's (2007b) *State Repression and the Domestic Democratic Peace*, chapter 1
- Violence. See Stathis N. Kalyvas' (2006) *The Logic of Violence in Civil War*, chapter 1
- Legitimacy. See Andrew Hurrell's (2005) "Legitimacy and the Use of Force: Can the Circle Be Squared?" In *Force and Legitimacy in World Politics*
- Ethics. See Mark Timmons' (2013) *Moral Theory: An Introduction* , chapter 1
- Norm theory (International Relations). See Martha Finnemore and Kathryn Sikkink's (1998) "International Norm Dynamics and Political Change."
- Intelligence. See Loch K. Johnson's (2017) *National Security Intelligence*, chapter 1

3.2 Preparing for Teaching Sessions

You will need to prepare for each teaching session (lectures and seminars). This means reading the assigned texts for the week prior to scheduled teaching sessions, and viewing or listening to the course material available online. Independent of whether a teaching session takes place in a physical classroom, or online, you will need to do roughly the same amount of work in order to prepare.

Weekly Checklist

- Have you reflected on the problem for the lecture?
- Have you done the readings?
- Have you viewed or listened to the online material for the teaching session?
- Have you read the outline for the teaching session, and reflected upon the questions for the week?
- Have you prepared a point about the readings?
- Are you able to attend the teaching session?

- No?
  - Email the relevant lecturer
  - Complete an asynchronous learning task and post it to the weekly discussion thread on KEATS

3.3 Reading for the Course

This course is designed so that it is, effectively, what you make of it. I won't be forcing anyone to submit assessed work in a discipline that they do not care for. The flipside of this freedom is that you are expected to get an understanding of how the different disciplines that the course engages with interact with one another. This section is designed to give you an idea of how to go about doing that, even though it is embedded into the core lectures for the course.

The Idea

What makes a war a "dirty war"? Why do some people state that some "dirty wars" in history were in fact instances of political repression, or one-sided violence, or state terrorism? This course examines the role that rules, and expected standards of conduct play in such questions.

The fundamental question underlying all of these is: What makes violence legitimate,[2] or illegitimate?[3] Let's start with a basic unit of analysis: When is it right, or wrong, for the state to kill someone?[4] Now let's take a step back: *How do people arrive at an answer to the previous question?* Typically the answer can be found in three interrelated disciplines. There's law, where national (constitutional) law and international law both regulate the conduct of states to some degree. There's morality, whether you want to think about a form of external objective morality, or social norms and customs. Then there's political science and political theory, where we find discussions about the effective and/or proper limits of state authority and the use of force by state agents.[5] We find concepts running through all three disciplines, like justice, but we also find significant differences.

One such difference is the idea of status. For example, in moral philosophy we're usually talking about the relations between individuals, but political theory is very much concerned with relations between states and citizens. Citizenship can confer different rights, depending upon the legal system, but international human rights law contains the idea that there are human rights possessed by individuals regardless of their country of citizenship. The law of armed conflict contains a whole bunch of different categories of person - combatant, civilian, etc - which denote whom it is lawful to attack in an armed conflict,

[2] Oxford English Dictionary definitions: "Conforming to the law or to rules." or "Able to be defended with logic or justification; valid."

[3] OED: "Not authorized by the law; not in accordance with accepted standards or rules."

[4] Over the course we'll be talking about violence beyond killing, and things like torture which some people consider to be worse than killing. We'll also be talking about actions short of killing which some people nonetheless consider to be harmful or wrong.

[5] Like: Should the death penalty exist?

and who is off limits. As such, a lot of what we will be talking about is not only the legitimation of violence, but expectations of status, and resulting expectations of behaviour.

This means that a particular feature of this course will be its focus upon the competition between multiple frames of evaluating, justifying, excusing, explaining, or criticising the use of violence. The question is therefore not so much "Did x do wrong to y?" but how different ways of evaluating the actions of x can give entirely different answers. A key commonality of the course is therefore the "is/ought" problem in the context of war and political violence.[6] By this, I mean the way in which we jump from the empirical analysis of human behaviour to normative standards by which we judge said behaviour. However, and this is important, there is a world of difference between the "should" that one encounters in moral philosophy, and the "should" that one encounters in strategic theory.

[6] This construction is taken from David Hume, who made the point better than I could a could a couple of hundred years ago. See Cohon (2018)

Okay, So How Do We Explore That?

Read a book. Or, rather, pick a perspective that interests you from the list below, and read the relevant book over the Christmas break.

- Strategic thought or strategic studies, read one out of: Beatrice Heuser's (2010) *The Evolution of Strategy*, Colin S. Gray's (2010) *The Strategy Bridge*, or Lawrence Freedman's (2015) *Strategy: A History*.
- Security studies, try Barry Buzan's (2007) *People, States & Fear*.
- International relations, try Vivienne Jabri's (2010) *War and the Transformation of Global Politics*.
- Political violence, try Christian Davenport's (2007b) *State Repression and the Domestic Democratic Peace*.
- Political theory, try Judith Butler's (2016) *Frames of War*.
- War, try Stathis N. Kalyvas' (2006) *The Logic of Violence in Civil War*, or Christopher Coker's (2009) *War In an Age of Risk*.
- Ethics, read Helen Frowe's (2015) *The Ethics of War and Peace*.[7]
- International law, try reading Stephen C. Neff's (2014) *Justice Among Nations*. If you are doing the International Peace & Security MA, you might want a more technical book, so try Gary D. Solis' (2016) *The Law of Armed Conflict*.
- The lecturer's opinion,[8] try Jack McDonald's (2017) *Enemies Known and Unknown*.

[7] Sharp-eyed readers will note that we're reading this anyway for the course this year, so it's a fall-back position by default

[8] Hey, some people are interested in that sometimes…

After you've picked a book/subject, start picking it apart for the following clusters of questions:

- The problem and legitimacy of violence
- Power structures and objects of analysis

- Knowledge and uncertainty
- Ideas and objectivity

The Problem and Legitimacy of Violence

A good way to read a text through on a first pass is to keep in mind the problem of violence. Or, rather, read the text to see if the author frames violence as a problem, and how central the concept of violence is to the argument that they are making. In some texts, violence might be the central object of concern, in others, violence might be an important factor, in others, it might be a secondary issue. Moreover, some texts will depict violence as aberrant, whereas in some disciplines, the fact of violence and violent interactions is taken as something of a given.

The point here is that we might be concerned with violence, but violence is not the central concern of many texts or disciplines in which violence features as a concern or problem. Even though article 2(4) of the UN Charter and international humanitarian law are uber-important in international relations, we should keep in mind that reading international law for issues related to the use of force is a bit like skinny-dipping in a discipline.

A second concern is to read the text for the structure of legitimate force, if it exists. By this, I mean that each will text will have something to do with the legitimacy or illegitimacy of violence. Most texts contain some discussion of what makes violence legitimate, or from a more neutral perspective, legitimate to participants. Some texts, however, won't contain a "pro" violence argument. The absence of such an argument doesn't necessarily mean the author is a pacificist, more that their work doesn't seek to provide a legitimating structure for violence.

Power Structures and Objects of Analysis

A second cluster of questions you should keep in mind while reading a text is the way in which it defines, or assumes, power structures or relations between agents. Does, for example, the text take the problem of adversity seriously? Or, rather, how are people or states meant to respond to hostile opponents? Again, the absence of answers to adversaries doesn't necessarily indicate ignorance, rather a different perspective on the matter.

Bear in mind that relationships between adversaries and agents may be completely implicit in a text. For example, states are often treated as equals in the big-S sense that States form an international system of States. That said, in many cases discussion of power relationships and hierarchies will focus upon particular asymmetries or differences,

e.g. the relations between states and rebels, or discussion of the role of violence in hegemonic or post-colonial world orders. The point here is to read a text for both its presumptions of equality and inequality, alongside the way it frames particular power relations or structures. Depicting a pair of states as entirely free to choose how they relate to one another not only presumes the equality of the actors, but also brackets out the power structure implicit in the context of international society.

As a last set of issues to consider in this cluster, you should read the text to understand the ontology it is mapping out. Does, for instance, it talk about social groups, or social networks? Is the worldview of the text cosmopolitan - taking individuals as equal regardless of things like citizenship or community, or are the building blocks social institutions like military organisations or states? How does, for example, the text describe the relationship between individuals and social groups? How complex are the social relationships under consideration? Bear in mind that any single piece of analysis by definition foregrounds some social features and flattens or sidelines a whole bunch of social complexity.

Knowledge and Uncertainty

What assumptions does the text you've chosen make about knowledge? This is a big topic. The best way to approach it for this course is to read your text for its treatment of uncertainty. For example, does it even consider the uncertainty, or does it presume knowledge of certain features of the world? Given that imperfect information and epistemic uncertainty are constitutive factors in political conflict or war,[9] does your chosen text engage with these problems, or largely avoid them?

[9] And that's before you get to disagreements over the interpretation of facts…

The point here is that some disciplines are essentially built upon a worldview of human fallibility and ignorance. Strategic studies and intelligence studies wouldn't really exist in a world of omniescent hominids. Other disciplines, for instance moral theory, acknowledge the imperfections of the "real" world, but the bulk of the discipline is built upon discussions where facts under consideration can be fixed for the purposes of discussion. This isn't to diss the latter category of disciplines, but each approach serves as a mirror to the other.

Ideas and Objectivity

The last set of questions to consider relate to the role of ideas. Some people think ideas are really powerful, that they shape our whole world. Other people think ideas matter, but that there are underlying structures that are independent of ideas themselves. It is extraordinar-

ily difficult to compare and contrast the role of ideas across disciplines. You should, however, read your chosen text with an eye for the impact, if any, that human ideas and the imagination are meant to have on the world around us. Do shared sets of ideas and concepts constitute our reality? Moreover, what role does the text presuppose for the reconstitution of reality via changing ideas? Will, for example, persuading everyone of some idea make for a better world? How?

A key element to consider here is the role that objectivity plays in your selected text. Often objective or universal positions are presented as somehow value neutral. The text you have chosen might equally be an open or veiled criticism of this kind of abstract universal thinking.[10] So in a wider sense while reading your text for the role of ideas, it is often a good idea to note where and how discussions of objectivity and subjectivity fit into the structure of the work, or discipline, and why that is so.

[10] Sometimes universal pretence masks underlying power dynamics, etc.

Dirty Wars: Course Guide

4
Teaching Staff

Introduction

The course will be taught by Dr Jack McDonald, and Dr Mark Condos. Dr McDonald is the course convener, and therefore should be your first point of contact for questions about the course. Dr Condos will be running one of the seminar series this year, and any questions about the content of that series (difficulty with texts, suggested further readings, etc) should be communicated to him.

4.1 Mark Condos

Mark Condos is a historian interested in the intersections between violence, race, and law within the British and French empires, with a particular focus on India and Algeria.

His previous research has examined the relationship between militarism, violence, and state-building in colonial Punjab and along the North-West Frontier of British India. This work explored how colonial anxieties, fears, and vulnerabilities played an important role in determining the authoritarian and often violent practices of the British colonial state.

Mark has also written extensively on the phenomenon of 'fanaticism' along the North-West Frontier of British India, tracing the colonial origins of some of the key legal and discursive tropes in contemporary engagements with terrorist violence.

He is currently working on two different projects. The first examines how various forms of legal and extrajudicial violence were incorporated by the British and French empires in their attempts to police different frontier regions, with particular emphasis on the ways that Indian revolutionaries used the tangled legal geography of British and French India to carry out their activities in the early 20th century. The second project looks at how concepts of prestige, dignity, and honour informed imperial practices of retributive violence, and

the ways that imperial powers attempted to justify these within legal, moral, and other normative frameworks.

4.2 Jack McDonald

Jack McDonald is a lecturer in war studies at the Department of War Studies, King's College London. He is the author of two books examining the relationship between the law and ethics of war, and emerging technology. His first book, *Ethics, Law and Justifying Targeted Killings* (Routledge), examined American justifications for drone strikes and targeted killings during the Obama administration. His second book, *Enemies Known and Unknown* (OUP/Hurst), analysed the relationship between law, technology, and strategy in America's "transnational armed conflict" with al-Qaeda and demonstrated the key role law plays in the constitution of war.

Dr McDonald's research examines the relationship between ethics, law, technology, and war. He takes an interdisciplinary approach to the study of war and warfare, and is primarily interested in the philosophical questions underlying the regulation of warfare both in the present and the past. He is currently researching the role of ICTs in the generation of ethical debates, working towards a book project on data ethics in armed conflict. This is part of a wider research project on power and political violence in digital societies, and the role of tradition in Anglo-American warfare.

5
Course Overview

Introduction

The Dirty Wars module features a number of overlapping components. These are:

- The core lecture series (term 1) that examines the concept of "dirty war" and the relationship between war and political repression. This is taught by Dr Jack McDonald.
- Two series of 5 research lectures (term 2) that apply these concepts to contemporary warfare and international security. These are taught by Dr Jack McDonald.
  - Series 1: Interdependence and war - Examining the extent to which Henry Farrell and Abraham L. Newman's new interdependence approach can explain troubling areas of contemporary conflict such as remote warfare and proxy wars.
  - Series 2: Digital rights between war and national security - Examining the context collapse between war and domestic security caused by global reliance upon digital communications technologies, and the implications of this for civil and political rights.
- Three seminar series designed to explore an element of the main course at depth in a specific disciplinary context.
  - Weeks 1-7 - Explaining Secrecy in War, this series examines the issue of secret wars in international politics, providing a means of engaging with different explanations for why states or governments might seek to keep a war secret. Taught by Dr Jack McDonald.
  - Weeks 8-15 - Intelligence ethics and just war theory, this series examines the emergence of the field of intelligence ethics, its interaction with just war theory, and the challenges of defining ethical behaviour in the intelligence world. Taught by Dr Jack McDonald.

– Weeks 16-22 - "Savage Warfare," designed and taught by Dr Mark Condos. This series interrogates the ways that Western imperial powers have historically reconciled the realities of colonial conquest and domination with the ideals of the 'civilizing mission'. In particular, it examines the ways that local populations resisting colonial rule were constructed as 'uncivilized', 'savage', and 'fanatical' in order to legitimize various kinds of brutal violence.

In addition, there is a workshop at the start of term 2 to prepare you for the research essay assessment.

The Core Lecture Series: What Makes a War a 'Dirty' War?

This is an 11 lecture series on the concept of "dirty war." This series with a "toolset" for ways of thinking through what counts as a war, how people and institutions judge/justify wars and warfare in normative terms, and the connection between the two. Please note that the lectures will be about two thirds lecture, and one third small group discussion/full cohort discussion.

Lectures:

- War and Dirty Wars
- War and Political Order
- Restraint in War
- Human Dignity and Political Community in War and National Security
- Status in War & Sexual Violence in Conflict
- Citizenship in War and National Security
- Political Warfare and Political Repression
- Strategy and Population Control
- Identity, Identification, and Intelligence Organisations
- Torture
- One-Sided Violence

Research Lecture Series: Interdependent Warfare

The first research lecture series is designed to complement and prepare you for the final evaluation for this module: writing a 5000 word research essay. In this lecture series, I will be explaining and guiding you through one of my research projects that relates to the course. However the point of the research lecture series is that you will be using a substantial portion of your time in class to discuss and debate your own research projects. Unlike lectures in the first term, in some

early lectures we will be paying specific attention to the practicalities of designing and conducting a research project in each and every class.

This year's research lectures extend the original courses' examination of the relationship between war and political repression by examining the way in which information technologies can collapse these two spheres in the present day. The research lectures will cover contemporary conflicts such as Ukraine and Syria, alongside issues related to digital repression and censorship.

Lectures:

- Interdependent Warfare
- Twilight Conflicts
- Remote Warfare
- War in a Goldish Bowl
- The Shock of the Old

Research Lecture Series: War and Digital Rights

In the second half of the second term we will be looking at the applications of the first term's concepts to contemporary conflicts. Specifically, we will be engaging with the problems of conflict in the digital age, characterised by densely connected communications infrastructures that have significantly reduced the costs of mass communication. A good way of thinking about this is "war in the age of the smartphone."

In particular, we will be looking at how the development of communications infrastructure collapses context for action in war and national security. The cryptography that enables online banking, and private communications between citizens also serves to protect the communications of terrorists. Efforts to stifle terrorist propaganda on the internet cannot be disconnected from free speech debates and political repression.

Lectures:

- War and Digital Rights
- Information Warfare and Disinformation
- Guns, Smartphones, and Liability to Attack
- The State/Platform/Copyright Nexus of Repression
- Exporting Repression

First Seminar Series: Explaining Secrecy in War

This seminar series takes a comparative approach to the topic of secret wars and covert warfare: what explains secrecy in war? The seminar focuses upon two texts, Mariah Zeisberg's *War Powers* and Austin

Carson's *Secret Wars* to examine the relationship between domestic politics and covert or unacknowledged wars. In particular we'll be focusing upon a set of competing explanations for state behaviour - rationalism, constructivism, and domestic institutions - to consider how and why secrecy features in debates and discussions about the resort to the use of force in international politics.

Seminars:

- Secrecy in International Security
- Explaining Secret Wars
- Presidential Discretion and Secrecy
- The Emergence of Covert Warfare
- The Cold War and Korea
- The Vietnam Wars
- Legislative Politics and Secret War

Second Seminar Series: Intelligence Ethics

This seminar series examines the relationship between ethics and intelligence, complementing the main course's focus upon the role of normative constraints in state security organizations. Intelligence ethics is fast-emerging field, and one that speaks to some of the core themes of the course, namely the moral dilemmas facing adversaries in war and conflict. We will use this seminar series to develop a sound understanding of the fundamentals of practical ethics, and explore the particular problems facing intelligence agencies in the contemporary world.

Seminars:

- Intelligence Ethics
- Just and Unjust Intelligence
- Intelligence Harms
- Privacy and Intelligence
- Intelligence and Self Defence
- War and Privacy
- Immunity to Intelligence Harms

Third Seminar Series: Savage Warfare

In his classic work, *Small Wars*, Charles Calwell argued that in colonial conflicts 'regular forces are compelled, whether they like it or not, to conform to the savage method of battle'. Using Calwell, and the recent debates generated by his work as its starting point, this seminar series interrogates the ways that Western imperial powers have historically reconciled the realities of colonial conquest and domination

with the ideals of the 'civilizing mission'. In particular, it examines the ways that local populations resisting colonial rule were constructed as 'uncivilized', 'savage', and 'fanatical' in order to legitimize various kinds of brutal violence. Through an examination of a range of different colonial conflicts from the early nineteenth century through to the period of decolonization in the mid-twentieth century, this series seeks to unravel some of the colonial origins of contemporary modes of counterinsurgency and conquest employed around the globe today. The series will explore these issues using four core themes: 1) the cultural nature of colonial conflicts; 2) the racialized aspects of colonial violence; 3) the use of spectacular violence and 'terror' tactics to subdue resistance; and 4) the relationship between law and violence.

Seminars:

- 'Savage Warfare'
- The French Conquest of Algeria
- The Indian Uprising, 1857
- The Boxer Rebellion
- The Herero and Nama Wars
- The Mau Mau Rebellion
- The Algerian War of Independence

6
Course Week-By-Week Guide

Introduction

This is the week-by-week guide to the course. Each section gives you a short outline of the lecture topic, and the seminar topic, for you to consider before watching the lecture material and reading for the week. The discussion questions are what we will be discussing during teaching sessions, so please consider your answers to these questions, alongside preparing for the teaching sessions as per chapter 2.

6.1 Week 0 (w/c September 28th)

Course Notes

- This week is dedicated to getting the technology right: There are no readings for this week.
- You are advised to spend the time that you would spend preparing for this session reading Mariah Zeisberg's *War Powers* and Austin Carson's *Secret Wars* in preparation for the coming seminars in weeks 1-7.
- The lecture will be a chance to practice using Teams for breakout rooms and small group discussions.
- The seminar will be a chance to introduce yourselves to your seminar groups, and practice small group discussions.

Lecture: Onboarding

There are no readings for this week. Please take the time to read through the handbook and come to class prepared with any questions about how the course operates. Dr Jack McDonald will give a short presentation about the course structure, as well as the group projects that form part of the learning in term 1. We will break into small groups to discuss some set questions, and to test out using MS Teams Channels for breakout rooms, as well as Padlet for feedback from small

group sessions. The idea here is that we practice using the technology we'll rely upon to learn without the pressure of missing out on course material if there are technical issues.

Please prepare for this session by ensuring that you have a working internet connection/mic, as well as having Teams loaded on your computer. Please check to make sure that you have access to the MS Teams page for the course. This session is likely to run for half the time of a full lecture session, but it is your chance to ensure that you are able to participate fully in the lectures for this course.

Seminar: Meet & Greet

Please attend your scheduled seminar session to practice the routine for seminars, as well as to meet your fellow seminar participants. We'll be doing small group discussions so this is a chance to meet the members of your course. The session is likely to run for about half the time of a normal seminar session, but this is your chance to ensure that you'll be able to participate fully in the seminars for the course.

6.2 Week 1 (w/c October 5th)

Course Notes

- This is the first week of the course that you need to read for.
- There are some additional videos about course administration to view this week at the end of the lecture material.

Problem: The Soleimani Strike

On January 3rd 2020 the US killed the Iranian General Qassim Soleimani in Iraq. You are probably familiar with this event, which resulted in retaliatory strikes by Iran against US forces stationed in Iraq. If not, read this article. This week's lecture engages with the fundamental problem of evaluating violence in war and national security. What did you think about this event? How did you arrive at your opinion, and why? More importantly, and the question we'll be discussing in the lecture: how should this strike be evaluated?

Lecture: War and Dirty Wars

This week is a "gentle introduction" to the course. We'll be covering course admin, as well as setting ground rules for learning/seminar discussions. This week's lecture also serves as an introduction to the course itself, notably the idea that we'll be using and examining over the first two thirds of the course. This, in a nutshell, is my own definition of "dirty wars" and what makes them interesting to study:

> Dirty wars are conflicts where one or more parties to the conflict denies the political, legal, and/or moral status or standing of their opponents.

The importance of this definition is where the *expectations* of status and standing come from. In particular, this course will engage with the construction of necessity claims. That is, the reasons for which states (and their opponents) claim it is sometimes, or always, necessary to deny the status or standing of their opponents.

This lecture introduces a couple of important frames where necessity claims are an integral feature of the frame itself: war and national security. This isn't to say that these are the only frames with which to examine the kind of conflicts the course covers, but they are important in that they often guide state responses to threats.

- Discussion Questions:
  - What use is the concept of "dirty wars"?
  - Is the "War on Terror" a war? When did it start?
- Readings:
  - Smith, M. L. R., and Sophie Roberts. "War in the gray: exploring the concept of dirty war." *Studies in Conflict & Terrorism* 31, no. 5 (2008): 377–398.
  - French, David. "Nasty not nice: British counter-insurgency doctrine and practice, 1945–1967." *Small Wars & Insurgencies* 23, no. 4–5 (2012): 744–761.
  - Barkawi, Tarak. "Decolonising War." *European Journal of International Security* 1, no. 2 (2016): 199–214.

Seminar: Secrecy in International Security

This is the opening seminar for the seminar series, here we will be discussing different explanations for state behaviour in international politics. We'll also discuss what we mean by "secret war" - particularly given the varieties of secretive conflict that exist in the present day. For this seminar, we'll be considering these questions from a more abstract perspective - what kind of approach to the study of international politics might enable us to understand the occurance of secret wars in international politics?

- Discussion Questions
  - What defines and differentiates a secret war from a non-secret war?
  - Which of the approaches from the readings do you think is best suited to explain the relationship between secrecy and war?

- Readings
  - Fearon, James D. "Rationalist Explanations for War". *International Organization*, 49 (1995): 379-414.
  - Finnemore, Martha and Sikkink, Kathryn. "TAKING STOCK: The Constructivist Research Program in International Relations and Comparative Politics". *Annual Review of Political Science*, 4 (2001): 391-416.
  - Bueno de Mesquita, Bruce and Smith, Alastair. "Domestic Explanations of International Relations". *Annual Review of Political Science*, 15 (2012): 161-181.

6.3 Week 2 (w/c October 12th)

Course Notes

- You are expected to do an article critique on the reading by Mary Dudziak this week.

Problem: Kosovo 1999

In 1999 NATO bombed the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia in response to the ethnic cleansing during the Kosovo War. This intervention was, famously, labelled as "illegal, but legitimate" since it violated international law against the use of force, but did so in order to protect civilians from harm. NATO's intervention in Kosovo is emblematic of the fundamental problem of humanitarian intervention, which is the use of force justified for humanitarian reasons, in that there was an irreconcilable tension between international law and the moral views of much of the international community. This leads to the problem that we will discuss in this lecture: How do political orders legitimate the breaking of rules that in part constitute the order itself?

Lecture: War and Political Order

In this lecture we will examine the relationship between political orders and rules that govern political violence. National security presumes the existence of a nation, and these days, a nation state. This session looks at the connection between political authority, community, and coercive means of defending the former (supposedly on behalf of the latter) against internal threats. The reason this matters for this course is that we now pre-suppose the nation state as the standard type of polity in international politics, when empires dominated until the early-mid 20th century. We'll look at what an "internal threat" looks like in the context of Empire, and how might this give

us a better understanding of the concept of national security that is so important to the present day.

The second half of this lecture covers a range of explanations for rule-breaking hostility in conflict, primarily focused upon internal conflicts. These explanations range from those rooted in ideas and ideology, to power relations, to strategic dilemmas facing insurgents and underdogs in asymmetric conflicts. Two key ideas that this lecture will cover are political enmity, and political ethics that lead to dehumanisation and/or escalation.

- Discussion Questions:
  - How important are legal and moral rules to political orders?
  - When, if ever, is the existence of war an objective fact?
- Readings:
  - Kaldor, Mary. *New and Old Wars: Organized Violence in a Global Era*. 3rd ed. Polity Press, (2012). Chapter 2
  - Tang, Shipin, "Order: A Conceptual Analysis." *Chinese Political Science Review* 1, (2016): 30-46.
  - Mary L. Dudziak, "Law, War, and the History of Time." *California Law Review* 98, no. 5 (2010): 1669-1710.

Seminar: Explaining Secret Wars

This seminar introduces the two texts that we will be reading in full over the coming weeks. These texts are paired to give alternate perspectives upon the rationale for decisions to use force in international politics. The seminar will be focusing upon the US, since Constitutional arrangements are a country-specific issue in decisions to go to war, however we can contrast this Constitutional approach with the wider model developed by Carson to explain state actions. In this seminar we will look at the absences of each text in the other.

- Discussion Questions
  - How important is the absence of secrecy in Zeisberg's explanation of US war powers?
  - Does Carson's model and explanation of secret wars underplay the importance of domestic politics?
- Readings
  - Zeisberg, Mariah. *War Powers: The Politics of Constitutional Authority*, Princeton University Press (2013). Chapter 1.
  - Carson, Austin. *Secret Wars: Covert Conflict in International Politics*, Princeton University Press (2018). Chapters 1 & 2.

6.4 Week 3 (w/c October 19th)

Course Notes

- The book reading task is this week. Please complete it by the time of the lecture.

Problem: The Highway of Death

The Highway of Death refers to Highway 80 that runs between Iraq and Kuwait. In the closing stages of the Persian Gulf War, Coalition forces obliterated Iraqi land forces retreating from Kuwait. As early strikes caused a traffic jam on the road, the aerial attacks destroyed swathes of Iraqi armour and military vehicles. This led to significant criticism of the attacks, not least because the visual imagery of destroyed vehicles and combatants burned alive were some of the most visually arresting imagery of the war on the ground to emerge from the conflict. At the same time, the attacks themselves were justifiable under the law of armed conflict. One of the key issues is who died - most of the slain were combatants. However some argue that just because a combatant is a member of state's armed forces, they should not be killed at will. This raises the question: Why should a state restrain its military from killing members of opposing armed forces? Do some reasons transcend the existence of war?

Lecture: Restraint in War

This lecture examines theories of restraint in war in order to situate examinations of status in the following three weeks. The lecture will examine cover explanations of restraint in war and the core sets of rules that govern contemporary discussions of right and wrong conduct in war.

This lecture covers the evolution of ideas that are now taken as standard — even self-evident — explanations for why dirty wars are wrongful by definition. We will pick over the origins of and differences between concepts like "humanity", "humanitarianism", and "human rights". We will also look at two different logics of restraint in conflict as found in the ideas of Francis Lieber and Henri Dunant, in order to compare them to ideas of restraint that originate in human rights, and human rights law.

An important theoretical point that complements this discussion is the emergence of the individual-as-centre in the normative evaluation of war. The "individualisation of war" is a horrible phrase, but an important emerging field of interdisciplinary study. The importance of these ideas for this course is that the intersection of individual rights

and categories of permission for/protection from violence arising from war is quite unsettled, and the analysis of dirty wars provides a means of thinking through these questions from an unusual perspective.

- Discussion Questions:
  - What theories explain the decision by participants to abide by a shared set of rules in war?
  - Do you agree more with Francis Lieber, or Henri Dunant? Why?
- Readings:
  - Neff, Stephen C. *Justice Among Nations: A History of International Law*, Harvard University Press, (2014). (This reading is the basis of the book reading task described in full in Chapter 7)
  - Milanović, Marko. "A norm conflict perspective on the relationship between international humanitarian law and human rights law." *Journal of Conflict & Security* Law 14, no. 3 (2009): 459–483.

Seminar: Presidential Discretion and Secrecy

In this seminar we'll consider some of the wider questions raised by the texts, particularly how political leaders are able to exercise their discretion to commit a country to war, and whether or not this is a good thing. We'll also look at an early example highlighted by Carson - foreign intervention in the Spanish Civil War - and discuss whether examples from this far back in history can help us to explain secret wars in the present day.

- Discussion Questions
  - To what extent should political leaders be able to exercise their discretion to ensure the security of their country?
  - What features of international intervention in the Spanish Civil War are relevant for today?
- Readings
  - Zeisberg, Mariah. *War Powers: The Politics of Constitutional Authority*, Princeton University Press (2013). Chapter 2.
  - Carson, Austin. *Secret Wars: Covert Conflict in International Politics*, Princeton University Press (2018). Chapters 3 & 4.

6.5 Week 4 (w/c October 26th)

Course Notes

Problem: Mask Laws

Should the state have the right to demand that citizens cover, or uncover, their face or head? This is big issue for democracies in the current Covid-19 epidemic, but it also touches upon significant long-running issues about the legal power of the state to enforce violations of religious practices (for example, demands to ban face coverings associated with the Islamic faith) in the name of public opinion and security concerns. For the problem this week, consider how and why your own country is seeking to enforce (or refuse to enforce) mask-wearing in response to the Covid-19 epidemic: What does that say about the nature of the country that you live in? (or lived in until moving to the UK to study).

Lecture: Human Dignity and Political Community in War and National Security

This lecture explores the concept of human worth in war and national security. Simply put, why does it matter if a state (or a non-state actor) kills someone? This week we will be covering the emergence of ideas of universal moral standing, notably the concept of human dignity as an explanation of inherent moral standing. We will also cover the development of the idea of citizenship and political status, notably the development of ideas of universal political rights within a given state or political system, and cosmopolitan ideas of universal rights.

The importance of the above for the course is twofold. First is to place the course into historic context - at what point was political, legal, and/or moral status the expectation?[1] The second is to provide an understanding of the role that these expectations play (or do not play) in judgements of right and wrong in international politics. This also provides a good point to consider the implications of the course, which is the function that normative judgements play in the judgement of, explanation of, and justification for political violence.

[1] Spoiler alert: I'm going to say "After the Second World War at the earliest, and there's a good case for starting in the 1970s."

- Discussion Questions:
  - Are members of ISIS who have committed genocide, slavery, rape, and/or war crimes still "owed unconditional respect"? What would you say to someone who would deny them such respect?
  - Is it right or wrong for political leaders to value the lives of their own citizens above the lives of non-citizens?

- Readings:
  - Schabas, William A. "Origins of the genocide convention: From Nuremberg to Paris." *Case Western Reserve Journal of International Law* 40 (2007): 35.
  - Van Schaack, Beth. "The Definition of Crimes Against Humanity: Resolving the Incoherence." *Columbia Journal of Transnational Law* 37 (1999): 787.

Seminar: The Cold War and Korea

The Korean War was a defining conflict of the early Cold War. At the same time, it is a conflict that is sometimes under-studied, compared to other conflicts in the Cold War such as those in South East Asia. In this seminar we will be looking at two different perspectives on the decision to use force in the Korean war, and how they might be important in the present day.

- Discussion Questions
  - How important is the absence of treaty commitments and international organisations in Carson's account of escalation dynamics?
  - Why might the debates about the Korean War be relevant today?
- Readings
  - Zeisberg, Mariah. *War Powers: The Politics of Constitutional Authority*, Princeton University Press (2013). Chapter 3.
  - Carson, Austin. *Secret Wars: Covert Conflict in International Politics*, Princeton University Press (2018). Chapter 5.

6.6 Week 5 (w/c November 2nd)

Course Notes

- Deadline for the book digest group project this week.

Problem: "Horizontal Collaboration"

In the aftermath of liberation during World War 2, those who had collaborated with the Vichy Regime, and the German Occupiers, were often punished, exiled, or killed for their collaboration. One group that bore the brunt of these reprisals were women who had had, for one reason or another, sexual relations with Germans during the occupation. If this case of so-called "horizontal collaboration" is unfamiliar to you, then you can read this article by Anthony Beevor or this article

by Ann Mah that give a good (and short) outline of the situation. The gendered nature of the violence and punishment inflicted upon women accused of collaboration is undeniable, but should this be classed as sexual violence in conflict?

Lecture: Status in War & Sexual Violence in Conflict

An important class of constraints that are meant to protect individuals from harm derive from the laws of war, or the law of armed conflict. This class of legal status, however, is tied to the existence of a war or armed conflict. In this lecture, we'll be covering three modes by which the protective aspect of the law of armed conflict can be denied: by denying the existence of a war, by categorising individuals as permissible targets, and via the internal logic of the law of armed conflict itself.[2] In addition we'll be looking at the reverse: how the declaration of the existence of war, and reliance upon its permissive aspects, is used to override other statuses that protect against violence.

[2] Notably proportionality calculations

Building upon this, we'll examine the recognition of sexual violence in conflict as a war crime to understand the role of power and politics in determining who gets to define wrongful action in conflict (or to ignore it), and the implications of this for the normative frameworks that legitimise violence in wars. Following from this, this lecture will examine the role gaps, lacunae, and silences play in the regulation of violence. In particular, we'll be discussing the wider implications of this way of thinking, with reference to Miranda Fricker's concept of *epistemic injustice*.

- Discussion Questions:
  - Are "normal" acts of violence commensurable with sexual violence?
  - Which of the descriptive, causal, and normative issues associated with sexual violence in conflict do you find most troubling? Why?
- Readings:
  - Grossmann, Atina. "A Question of Silence: The Rape of German Women by Occupation Soldiers." *October* 72 (1995): 43–63.
  - Baaz, Maria Eriksson, and Maria Stern. "Why do soldiers rape? Masculinity, violence, and sexuality in the armed forces in the Congo (DRC)." *International Studies Quarterly* 53, no. 2 (2009): 495–518.
  - Gottschall, Jonathan. "Explaining wartime rape." *The Journal of Sex Research* 41, no. 2 (2004): 129–136.

Seminar: The Vietnam Wars

The conflicts in and around Vietnam during the Cold War contained a significant mix of covert, semi-covert and open-secret violence alongside acknowledged conflicts. To what extent is it possible to classify these wars as secret or non-secret, and does this binary classification make sense? In this seminar we'll lok at the relationship between the overarching construct of the Cold War and decisions to employ secret force. In particular, how can we consider the use of secret force in the present day which lacks such an overarching division in global politics.

- Discussion Questions
  - How important are Zeisberg's 'security orders' to evaluating the potential escalation of conflicts?
  - Were there different degrees of secret war in the conflicts in South East Asia during the Vietnam War?
- Readings
  - Zeisberg, Mariah. *War Powers: The Politics of Constitutional Authority*, Princeton University Press (2013). Chapter 4.
  - Carson, Austin. *Secret Wars: Covert Conflict in International Politics*, Princeton University Press (2018). Chapter 6.

6.7 Week 6 (w/c November 9th)

Course Notes

- Book digest project will be discussed this week

Problem: Returning ISIS Members to Europe

Many members of ISIS are also European citizens. At the peak of ISIS's terroritorial control in Syria and Iraq, numerous Europeans travelled to these countries to join Islamic State either as fighters, in support roles, or as citizens of the (failed, so far) attempt at carving out a new state in the Middle East. As the Islamic State crumbled, some of these citizens attempted to return home, others found themselves detained by parties to the conflict, or trapped in refugee camps in the region. This has led to debates across Europe over whether citizens who have repudiated their country retain a right to return home, and whether governments have a duty or obligation to accept the return of these people despite concerns that they may pose a threat to national security. Do states have an obligation to accept the return of citizens despite the potential threat they pose? Does this extend to a positive duty to proactively help these citizens to return home?

Lecture: Citizenship in War and National Security

A third kind of protective status or identity that we will consider in this course is citizenship. How does political and legal membership of a polity give individuals rights, and how do states explain the voiding of the protections of citizenship in conflict?

In this lecture we will examine the relationship between citizens, states, and state security institutions charged with ensuring national security. In particular we'll be looking at the problem of political enmity involving a state's own citizens. As such the lecture will cover a variety of issues, such as the unilateral removal of citizenship by state authorities, as well as the rule of law in political emergencies.

- Discussion Questions:
  - What, if anything, do you owe to your fellow citizens that you don't owe to people from another country?
  - Is revoking the citizenship of suspected terrorists an act of cowardice?
- Readings:
  - Osterhammel, Jürgen. *The Transformation of the World: A Global History of the Nineteenth Century*. Princeton University Press, (2015). Chapter 8.
  - Schmitt, Carl. *Theory of the Partisan: Intermediate Commentary on the Concept of the Political*. Telos Press, (2007).
  - Hack, Karl. "Everyone lived in fear: Malaya and the British way of counter-insurgency." *Small Wars & Insurgencies* 23, no. 4–5 (2012): 671–699.

Seminar: Legislative Politics and Secret War

In the second to last session for the seminar series we will look at a key issue in contemporary politics, which is the role of legislatures in holding governments to account. The ability of governments to withold information about military operations from political representatives is key to many instances of secret war and warfare as waged by democracies. In this seminar we will consider these issues in relation to observations by Carson and Zeisberg about American covert conflicts in the late 1970s and 1980s.

- Discussion Questions
  - How important is the control of information by the executive branch to the prosecution of secret wars?
  - How realistic is it to expect governments to be transparent about their use of force in international politics?

- Readings
  - Zeisberg, Mariah. *War Powers: The Politics of Constitutional Authority*, Princeton University Press (2013). Chapter 5.
  - Carson, Austin. *Secret Wars: Covert Conflict in International Politics*, Princeton University Press (2018). Chapter 7.

6.8 Week 7 (w/c November 16th)

Course Notes

- Deadline for literature search projects

Problem: Revenge in War

Political hatred is part and parcel of war. A key problem in internal conflicts are the cycles of revenge and political repression that follow from victory on the battlefield. Whereas European states are faced with the problem of returning ISIS members, Iraq is faced with the problem of eliminating ISIS on its own soil often with security forces prone to taking revenge on its supporters. If you're not familiar with this aspect of the wars in Iraq and Syria, Ben Taub's piece provides a good overview. This highlights a key problem: is it possible to commit the political repression that might eliminate an actor like ISIS without becoming trapped in cycles of revenge?

Lecture: Political Warfare and Political Repression

A defining feature of many dirty wars is the way in which they blend into police action, or, more specifically, political repression under a "law enforcement" banner. Moreover, dirty wars are often characterised by the resort to emergency powers, and repressive legislation. This lecture examines the problem that subversion and insurgency poses to states, and explanations for the resort to emergency powers by government authorities. Specifically, we'll focus on state security institutions that conduct counter-subversion and seek to identify/disrupt subversive political movements. We'll look at common dilemmas present in democratic societies, notably relating to surveillance, and the political implications of this activity.

- Discussion Questions:
  - What types of political actors can/can't commit political repression?
  - How open should democracies be about counter-subversion?
- Readings:

  - Earl, Jennifer. "Political Repression: Iron Fists, Velvet Gloves, and Diffuse Control." *Annual Review of Sociology* 37 (2011): 261–284.
  - Davenport, Christian. "State Repression and Political Order." *Annual Review of Political Science* 10 (2007a): 1–23.

6.8.1 Seminar: Contemporary Secret Wars

This seminar completes our reading of Carson and Zeisberg's books, and we will be discussing how these can help us to understand conflict in the contemporary world. Please take some time before the seminar to consider some secret or secretive conflicts that interest you in the present day. In the seminar itself we will discuss our overall impression of the utility of these text for understanding secret war, and how they can help to explain contemporary wars.

- Discussion Questions
  - Which of the two approaches to explaining the use of force by states do you think best explains the resort to secret wars by states?
  - How might the work of Zeisberg and Carson be applied to contemporary conflicts?
- Readings
  - Zeisberg, Mariah. *War Powers: The Politics of Constitutional Authority*, Princeton University Press (2013). Chapter 6.
  - Carson, Austin. *Secret Wars: Covert Conflict in International Politics*, Princeton University Press (2018). Chapter 8.

6.9 Week 8 (w/c November 23rd)

Course Notes

- The intelligence ethics seminar series starts this week

Problem: Barriers and Walls

One response to political violence in counterinsurgency is to erect walls to separate communities or to control populations. Temporary solutions, such as the "peace walls" in Northern Ireland can end up becoming permanent features of life and re-shape society. Similar effects have been observed in Iraq, where American forces erected miles of concrete barriers dividing Baghdad as they attempted to defeat insurgents in the city. Yet these effects are necessarily unpredictable, leading to a problem of prediction: Is it possible for military planners

to balance the short term utility of walls and barriers against their unknown long term impact on societies?

Lecture: Strategy and Population Control

This lecture covers population control as a way of thinking about the logic of dirty wars. This session revisits the concept of strategy, with a particular focus upon the problems of applying strategic theory to wars and conflicts without battles. We'll cover how strategic theorists and practitioners have tackled this problem in the past.

The lecture is organised around the perceived problem of controlling populations, in particular drawing upon the ideas of John C. Wylie.[3] We will look at the tools of coercion that states use to control restive populations. This class primarily focuses upon physical control — notably driving people away, moving populations around, or corralling them into camps — whereas later weeks will cover forms of ideological control and political warfare. These obviously can't be separated in theory or practice, but it's necessary to focus like this for lectures to make the scope of topics manageable. In addition, we'll look at the role that physical violence plays in producing conditions of fear and complicity in populations.

[3] Fun fact: This emphasis is inspired by the PhD research of Dr Nick Prime, who took this course back in 2012/13.

- Discussion Questions:
  - Is it possible to distinguish between acceptable and unacceptable forms of population control? How?
  - Are there instances of individual extrajudicial detention, mass internment, or population control that you have encountered in your reading that you consider to be justifiable? Why?
- Readings:
  - Ucko, David H. " 'The People are Revolting': An Anatomy of Authoritarian Counterinsurgency." *Journal of Strategic Studies* 39, no. 1 (2016): 29–61.
  - Smith, Iain R., and Andreas Stucki. "The Colonial Development of Concentration Camps (1868-1902)." *The Journal of Imperial and Commonwealth History* 39, no. 3 (2011): 417–437.
  - McCollum, James K. "The CORDS Pacification Organization in Vietnam: A Civilian-Military Effort." *Armed Forces & Society* 10, no. 1 (1983): 105–122.

Seminar: Intelligence Ethics

The first seminar in this series examines the concept of intelligence ethics. Is it possible to be ethical in the intelligence space? Or does the duty to collect and provide intelligence to decisionmakers outweigh

moral concerns about the means of doing so? Intelligence ethics has emerged as a distinct field since 9/11, often drawing upon concepts from just war theory to understand and examine the moral issues involved in espionage and intelligence collection. Here we will examine two early works in this movement to look at how the field has established itself.

- Discussion Questions:
  - Is there a difference between the ethics of domestic intelligence and the ethics of foreign intelligence?
  - Do organisation types (police, military, intelligence agencies) matter in intelligence ethics?
- Readings:
  - Erskine, Toni. "'As Rays of Light to the Human Soul'? Moral Agents and Intelligence Gathering." *Intelligence and National Security* 19, no.2 (2004): 359-381.
  - Gendron, Angela. "Just War, Just Intelligence: An Ethical Framework for Foreign Espionage." *International Journal of Intelligence and CounterIntelligence* 18, no.3 (2005): 398-434.

6.10 Week 9 (w/c November 30th)

Course Notes

Problem: Identity Cards

In some states identity cards are a legal requirement, in others, such as the UK, there are no central identity card systems, and strong political opposition to creating them. Identity registers, either centralised, or fragmented, required, or optional (such as driver's licenses) enable states to exert power over populations. This week rather than discuss a problem, we'll discuss whether you see identity cards (and like systems) as a problem: What is your opinion about mandatory identity cards, or national identity registers?

Lecture: Identity, Identification, and Intelligence Organisations

This week focuses on a key element of dirty wars — bureaucratic security institutions. These institutions, developed to monitor and combat internal threats, are key to understanding the types of violence that occur in dirty wars, so we'll be looking at the connection between different types of polity, and the institutions that they developed to combat perceived threats. In particular, we will focus on the development of formal intelligence institutions, both domestic and foreign, as a response to perceived threats. This is important for a couple of

reasons. One is that institutional perspectives shape state responses to threats, the second is that many dynamics of the conflicts covered in this course can't be understood without reference to conflicts and competition between state security institutions.

- Discussion Questions:
  - To what extent do intelligence institutions shape government perceptions of conflict?
  - Why would a government tolerate or use death squads?
- Readings:
  - Scott, James C. *Seeing Like a State: How Certain Schemes to Improve the Human Condition Have Failed*. Yale University Press, (1998). Chapter 3.
  - Clutterbuck, Lindsay. "Countering Irish Republican Terrorism in Britain: Its Origin as a Police function." *Terrorism and Political Violence* 18, no. 1 (2006): 95–118.
  - Higgs, Edward. "The Rise of the Information State: the Development of Central State Surveillance of the Citizen in England, 1500-2000." *Journal of Historical Sociology* 14, no. 2 (2001): 175–197.

Seminar: Just and Unjust Intelligence

In this seminar we will be looking at two works that compare the evolution of contemporary work on just war theory and intelligence ethics. Importantly, we'll look at how intelligence ethics has drawn concepts from just war theory. In so doing, we'll discuss the promise and pitfalls of interdisciplinary research, as well as the issues of drawing concepts into new fields of inquiry.

- Discussion Questions:
  - Does just war theory make sense as a basis for intelligence ethics?
  - How different are the depictions of what constitutes just war theory between the two readings?
- Readings:
  - Lazar, Seth. "Just War Theory: Revisionists Versus Traditionalists." *Annual Review of Political Science* 20, no. 1 (2017): 37–54. *https://doi.org/10.1146/annurev-polisci-060314-112706*.
  - Ronn, Kira Vrist. "Intelligence Ethics: A Critical review and Future Perspectives." *International Journal of Intelligence and CounterIntelligence* 29, no.4 (2016): 81-102.

6.11 Week 10 (w/c December 7th)

Course Notes

Problem: The Five Techniques

The five techniques - referring to interrogation techniques of stress positions, hooding, exposure to loud noise, limiting food/drink, and limiting sleep - were used by British forces in Northern Ireland against men suspected of belonging to the Provisional IRA. In an important 1978 case before the European Court of Human Rights, the court held that the use of these techniques breached prohibitions against inhuman and degrading treatment, but did not amount to torture. This was controversial at the time, and campaigners have sought to overturn this ruling ever since, arguing that the use of these techniques by British forces constituted torture. This touches upon a key issue with torture - how do you define torture? With this in mind, do you think the use of the five techniques for interrogation purposes amount to torture? Why/Why not?

Lecture: Torture

You may be forgiven for wondering why torture features toward the end of the lecture series, not the start. My reason for placing it here is twofold. First, from experience, if torture features early in the course, then everyone focuses upon the topic of torture for essays, discussions, etc. As a topic, it tends to crowd everything out for the simple reason that it covers some of the most reprehensible things that humans do to each other. However, and secondly, you'll have better discussions about the topic having spent the previous nine weeks discussing the wider aspects of the course. This class examines rationales for the use of torture, and the emergence of "torture for information" as a key debate in contemporary politics. The lecture will cover issues of definition, and "torture lite." We will also look at the institutional context of torture, particularly in light of the idea of denial of standing — who decides whether a person should be tortured, how, and why? Such questions are key to understanding contemporary debates.

- Discussion Questions:
  - Can you define a particular element of torture that you find more disturbing than others?
  - Can you know if torture "works" or not? How would such knowledge alter your opinion of the use of torture?
- Readings:

  - Wolfendale, Jessica. "The Myth of "Torture Lite"." *Ethics & International Affairs* 23, no. 1 (2009): 47–61.
  - David Luban, "Liberalism, Torture, and the Ticking Bomb," *Virginia Law Review* 91, no. 6 (2005): 1425-1462
  - Kennedy-Pipe, Caroline, and Andrew Mumford. "Torture, Rights, Rules and Wars: Ireland to Iraq." *International Relations* 21, no. 1 (2007): 119–126.

Seminar: Intelligence Harms

In this seminar we will discuss the notion of harm, and the harms caused by intelligence collection and surveillance. Here we will examine the analysis of harm internal to the field of intelligence ethics, as well as what gets included in the scope of intelligence activity.

- Discussion Questions:
  - What is the harm of intelligence collection?
  - Is it possible to distinguish between different classes of harms caused by intelligence collection?
- Readings:
  - Bellaby, Ross. *The Ethics of Intelligence: A New Framework*. Routledge, (2014). Chapter 1.
  - Pfaff, Tony and Tiel, Jeffrey R. "The Ethics of Espionage." *Journal of Military Ethics* 3, no. 1 (2004): 1-15.
  - Johnson, Loch K. "National Security Intelligence." In *The Oxford Handbook of National Security Intelligence*, edited by Loch K. Johnson, 3-32. Oxford University Press, (2010).

6.12 Week 11 (w/c December 14th)

Course Notes

- Literature review will be due this week
- Research Design Prototyping Project due next year, January 10th

Problem: Asymmetric Killing

Some campaigners and academics argue that the use of drones for killing in war is wrong because of the extreme asymmetry involved. That is, pilots of a Reaper drone can use lethal force and kill their targets without the possibility of harm to themselves since they can pilot vehicles from thousands of miles away. At the heart of this issue is the idea that war involves the possibility of reciprocal violence - that what justifies a combatant's use of force is their acceptance of

the possibility that harm may be done to them in return. Without the possibility of such harm, some argue, killing via drone is inherently wrongful. What do you think about this? Is it possible for the risks of harm in war to become so asymmetric that violence ceases to be justifiable? Why?

Lecture: One-Sided Violence

The home stretch. You made it. Time to talk about my book (just kidding, sorta). Again, this lecture may seem misplaced, but it's here for a reason. We'll be wrapping up the lecture series by examining the concept of one-sided violence and asymmetry in conflict. Here I'll locate what is called targeted killing - the use of violence against specific individuals — in the wider context of asymmetric violence in war, and similar asymmetries found in terrorism and political repression.

We will discuss how and why are some people singled out for violent death in warfare, and how that relates to the normative frameworks we've encountered over the course. In particular, we will be drawing heavily from the seminar series of the course, and the relationship between individuals, social groups, and war/warfare. Targeted killings are important not because they kill many people (at least in comparison to what this course has covered), but because they draw attention to the processes of identification and categorisation that can be viewed as standard targeting practices, or extrajudicial death sentences.

- Discussion Questions:
  - Is there anything specific about the forms of killing found in "dirty wars"?
  - Is it more disturbing to intentionally kill people whose identities you know, or people you only know via their status?
- Readings:
  - Carvin, Stephanie. "The Trouble with Targeted Killing" *Security Studies* 21, no. 3 -carvin2012: 529–555.
  - McDonald, Jack. *Enemies Known and Unknown: Targeted Killings in America's Transnational Wars*. Oxford University Press, (2017). Chapter 7

Seminar: Privacy and Intelligence

Privacy harms are a key issue in intelligence ethics. At the same time, the very definition of privacy is often hard to agree upon. In this seminar we will look at the work of two key authors to examine different conceptualisations of privacy, and what these differences might mean

for how we think of both privacy harm, and for the use of privacy within the field of intelligence ethics.

- Discussion Questions:
  - What are the strengths and weaknesses of Solove's approach to the concept of privacy?
  - How well is privacy theorised in intelligence ethics?
- Readings:
  - Solove, Daniel J. "A Taxonomy of Privacy." *University of Pennsylvania Law Review* 154, (2006): 477.
  - Nissenbaum, Helen. "Privacy as Contextual Integrity." *Washington Law Review* 79, (2004): 119-158.

6.13 Week 12 (w/c January 18th)

Course Notes

- There is no problem/lecture/seminar this week
- The lecture session this week will involve discussion of, and feedback on, the case study projects

Lecture: Research Projects Workshop

In this session we will be discussing the case study projects and research essay assessment. This lecture focuses upon the development of research projects from the identification of interesting research problems and puzzles. The session will start by going over the recorded material about research skills, and then there will be some feedback about the case study projects. We will use these projects to protoype a research design that would make for a good research essay, and discuss any questions about the essay assessment.

- Discussion Questions:
  - What makes an academic research project worth doing?
  - To what extent is a "research puzzle" necessary for the research essay that you wish to do?
- Readings:
  - Gustafsson, Karl, and Linus Hagström. "What Is the Point? Teaching Graduate Students How to Construct Political Science Research Puzzles." *European Political Science* 17, no. 4 (2018): 634–48.
  - Bennett, Andrew, and Colin Elman. "Case Study Methods in the International Relations Subfield." *Comparative Political Studies* 40, no. 2 (February (2007)): 170–95.

6.13.1 Seminar: No Seminar This Week

6.14 Week 13 (w/c January 25th)

Course Notes

- This is the first week of the lecture series on Interdependent Warfare

Problem: TBC

Problems in term 2 will be generated by suggestions from students at the end of term 1.

Lecture: Interdependent Warfare

In this lecture we will examine two aspects of warfare that have been re-shaped by digital technologies: interoperability between security institutions, and interdependence in warfare. Many of the legal, political, and moral quandaries of contemporary conflict arise from the fact that domestic and foreign institutions can collaborate in ways that, to some, enable them to circumvent political or legal limitations on action. For example, remote piloted vehicles can be turned over to the control of pilots from another state while flying, and data streams that enable such operations pass through allied countries, giving rise to questions of responsibility when mistakes are made.

Over the next four lectures we will be examining these issues, and related ones such as proxy warfare, through the lens of interdependence. The new interdependence approach, a theory advanced by political scientists, provides a good way of thinking through many of the issues discussed in the first term of the course. In this lecture, we'll look at how we can apply these ideas to the conduct of war.

- Discussion Questions:
  - Are proxy wars another way of describing interdependence in war?
  - To what extent are members of a military coalition responsible for the civilian casualties inflicted by their allies?
- Readings:
  - Farrell, Henry and Newman, Abraham L. "Domestic institutions beyond the nation-state: Charting the new interdependence approach", *World Politics* 66, no.2 (2014): 331-363.
  - One of:
    * Oakford, Samuel. *Credibility Gap – UK Civilian Harm Assessments for the Battles of Mosul and Raqqa*. Airwars, (2018).

https://airwars.org/wp-content/uploads/2018/09/UK-Inquiry-into-Mosul-and-Raqqa-2018.pdf.

* Woods, Chris. *Limited Accountability: A Transparency Audit of the Coalition Air War Against so-Called Islamic State*. Airwars, (2016). *https://airwars.org/wp-content/uploads/2016/12/Airwars-report_Web-FINAL1.compressed.pdf*.

Seminar: Intelligence and Self Defence

In this seminar we'll look at the concept of self defence in just war theory, and its applicability to intelligence ethics. As a reason for performing intelligence activities, self defence, or the defence of a political community, seems to be an adequate justification. At the same time, the definition and meaning of self defence in just war theory contains some restrictive constraints that limit the applicability of the concept to pre-emptive or proactive uses of force. Therefore, is it possible to use this idea to justify intelligence activities?

- Discussion Questions:
  - Is the use of force justifiable beyond self-defence? Why?
  - To what extent can self defence justify the harms of intelligence activities?
- Readings:
  - Frowe, Helen. *The Ethics of War and Peace: An Introduction*. Routledge, (2015). Chapters 1 and 2
  - Diderichsen, Adam and Rønn, Kira Vrist. "Intelligence by consent: on the inadequacy of Just War Theory as a framework for intelligence ethics." *Intelligence and National Security* 32, no. 4 (2017): 479-493.

6.15 Week 14 (w/c February 1st)

Course Notes

- Please take time to consider what you would like to do for your final assessment prior to attending this class.

Problem: TBC

Problems in term 2 will be generated by suggestions from students at the end of term 1.

Lecture: Twilight Conflicts

This lecture will draw together discussions of secrecy and warfare throughout the course to examine open-secret conflicts in the present

day. We will be looking at the history of secrecy in war, and theories that explain the use of non-acknowledged military force by states. Building upon this we will consider how many of the issues covered in this course can enable us to analyse the epistemic dimensions of war itself. Lastly the lecture will look at some emerging bodies of work on proxy warfare and surrogates, as well as the key issue of regulating secret warfare in democracies.

- Discussion Questions:
  - Does the secret use of force violate or re-enforce global norms about the use of force?
  - How does the interdependence of surrogate warfare affect accountability mechanisms in democracies?
- Readings:
  - Van Veeren, Elspeth. "Secrecy's subjects: Special operators in the US shadow war". *European Journal of International Security*, 4, no. 3 (2019): 386-414.
  - Farrell, Henry, and Abraham L. Newman. *Of Privacy and Power: The Transatlantic Struggle Over Freedom and Security*. Princeton University Press, (2019). Chapter 1.

Seminar: War and Privacy

In this seminar we'll reverse the way we have been examining intelligence ethics, and look at the non-existence of privacy rights in war. Examining how and why just war theory explains the ethics of killing combatants in war, we will be discussing whether the conceptual scheme of *jus in bello* can accomodate concepts such as privacy and issues such as privacy harm.

- Discussion Questions:
  - Would any account of justifiable physical harm in Frowe's work prohibit prior privacy harm to the same person?
  - Do combatants have privacy rights?
- Readings:
  - Frowe, Helen. *The Ethics of War and Peace: An Introduction*. Routledge, (2015). Chapters 5 and 6.
  - McDonald, Jack. _Information, Privacy, and Just War Theory." *Ethics & International Affairs*, forthcoming (2020b).

6.16 Week 15 (w/c February 8th)

Course Notes

- The case study group project is due by the lecture this week.

Problem: TBC

Problems in term 2 will be generated by suggestions from students at the end of term 1.

6.16.1 Lecture: Remote Warfare

This lecture returns to the concept of asymmetric violence discussed throughout the first term of the course. Here we will engage with the concept of remote warfare, and examinations of extreme asymmetry in warfare. As such the class will examine the relationship between differing conceptions of distance in war and warfare, as well as the way in which the study of dirty wars can help clarify the debates about the relationship between international partnerships, jurisdictional overlaps and accountability for killing in war. In particular, this lecture will focus upon conflicts such as Libya and Yemen, and civil wars that are sustained through the engagement of outside actors confronting one another through proxies or direct military assistance.

- Discussion Questions:
  - How responsible are states for the actions of their partners in security assistance programmes?
  - Is "remote warfare" coherent enough to be useful as a way of understanding and analysing contemporary warfare?
- Readings:
  - McDonald, Jack. "Closeness in Remote War and Warfare: Interdependence in Contemporary Conflict", *Working Paper* (2020a).
  - Knowles, Emily and Watson, Abigail. "Lawful But Awful? Legal and political challenges of remote warfare and working with partners", *Remote Warfare Programme*, May (2018). Available here

Seminar: Immunity to Intelligence Harms

In this seminar we will be discussing what I consider to be the key difference between intelligence ethics and just war theory, namely the fact that intentional harm (however defined) towards civilians is a normal feature of intelligence activities, yet in just war theory it is something to be avoided at all costs. Partly, this derives from

ontological differences, namely that the difference between intelligence targets and civilians does not appear to be quite the same as that between combatants and non-combatants.

- Discussion Questions:
  - Can non-combatant immunity exist in the intelligence space?
  - How should we theorise intentional privacy harms to non-targets that are integral to some forms of surveillance and intelligence collection?
- Readings:
  - Frowe, Helen. *The Ethics of War and Peace: An Introduction.* Routledge, (2015). Chapters 7 and 8.
  - Omand, David and Phythian, Mark. *Principled Spying: The Ethics of Secret Intelligence*, Oxford University Press, (2018). Chapter 5.

6.17 Week 16 (w/c February 15th)

Course Notes

Seminar series on 'Savage Warfare' starts this week with Dr Mark Condos

Problem: TBC

Problems in term 2 will be generated by suggestions from students at the end of term 1.

Lecture: War in a Goldish Bowl

Following from examinations of secrecy, technology and contemporary warfare, this lecture examines some of the current and future strategic consequences of improved and distributed information processing. In particular, we will focus upon the relationship between smartphones and covert means of warfare. We'll look at cases like Ukraine, to consider how the increased observability of armed conflict is reshaping the conduct of warfare in the present day. We will cover the consequences of civilian casualties in contemporary operations, and the changes wrought by the rise of digital crowdsourced journalism and open source intelligence. Lastly we will discuss the strategic implications of automated and autonomous recognition systems, for both conventional military forces as well as insurgencies.

- Discussion Questions:

  - What might be the negative consequences of "war in a goldfish bowl"?
  - What role does silence play in contemporary debates about civilian casualties?

- Readings:

  - Aronson, Jay D. "The Politics of Civilian Casualty Counts." In *Counting Civilian Casualties: An Introduction to Recording and Estimating Nonmilitary Deaths in Conflict*, edited by Taylor B. Seybolt, Jay D. Aronson, and Baruch Fischhoff. Oxford University Press, (2013).
  - McDonald, Jack. "Rational Nescience or Strategic Ignorance? Epistemic Approaches to Civilian Casualty Reporting in Contemporary Conflicts." Working Paper, (2019).

Seminar: 'Savage Warfare'

We start by looking at a very recent debate about the historiography of the British Empire, racialized violence, and the legacy of its numerous 'small wars' fought across the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. In so doing, we will examine the dynamics of colonial violence and 'savage' warfare, and consider their influence upon contemporary practices of counterinsurgency across the globe.

- Discussion Questions:

  - What are Wagner's key methodological critiques of military history? Do you find them persuasive? Or do you find Bennet et. al more convincing?
  - To what extent can we draw useful connections between the 'savage wars' of empire and modern counterinsurgency practices?

- Readings:

  - Wagner, Kim A. 'Savage Warfare: Violence and the Rule of Colonial Difference in Early British Counterinsurgency'. *History Workshop Journal* 85 (2018): 217-237.
  - Bennett, Huw, Michael Finch, Andrei Mamolea, and David Owen-Morgan. 'Studying Mars and Clio: Or How Not to Write about the Ethics of Military Conduct and Military History', *History Workshop Journal* 88 (2019): 274-280.
  - Wagner, Kim A. 'Expanding Bullets and Savage Warfare'. *History Workshop Journal* 88 (2019): 281-87.

6.18 Week 17 (w/c February 22nd)

Course Notes

Problem: TBC

Problems in term 2 will be generated by suggestions from students at the end of term 1.

Lecture: The Shock of the Old

This lecture examines the continued use of raids, sieges, starvation, and slaughter in contemporary warfare. In this session we will examine attacks upon infrastructure as a means of warfare and its continuing relevance for contemporary conflict. The lecture will focus upon the conflicts in Iraq and Syria to examine the degree to which modern-day attacks upon civilian infrastructure differ from those of the past.

- Discussion Questions:
  - Is coercion possible without implicitly threatening civilians?
  - How does focusing upon infrastructure change our view of destruction in war?
- Readings:
  - Howe, Cymene, Jessica Lockrem, Hannah Appel, Edward Hackett, Dominic Boyer, Randal Hall, Matthew Schneider-Mayerson, et al. "Paradoxical Infrastructures: Ruins, Retrofit, and Risk." *Science, Technology, & Human Values* 41, no. 3 (May (2016)): 547–65.
  - Thomas, Claire. "Civilian Starvation: A Just Tactic of War?", Journal of Military Ethics 4, no. 2 ((2005)): 108-118.
  - Power, Susan. "Siege Warfare in Syria: Prosecuting the Starvation of Civilians," *Amsterdam Law Forum* 8, no. 2 ((2016)): 1-22.

Seminar: The French Conquest of Algeria

The French invasion of Algeria was one of the most disproportionately brutal acts of aggression in the annals of nineteenth-century European imperialism. The conduct of the French soldiers set a new standard of ruthlessness when it came to colonial warfare, so much so that some scholars now suggest that the scale and logic of the violence reached genocidal levels. One of the most terrifying characteristics of the French conquest and occupation of Algeria was the erosion of the distinction between civilians and combatants, in which violence was often directed against entire 'tribes' or 'populations', rather than

armies or other groups of armed combatants. This week we consider the forms and functions of French colonial violence, with specific reference to the razzia and the infamous Dahra Caves Massacre in 1845.

- Discussion Questions:
  - In what ways were French methods of colonial violence a reaction to the demands of 'savage warfare'?
  - Can we usefully consider the French conquest and pacification of Algeria as an 'absolute' or even 'total war'?
- Readings:
  - Gallois, William. 'Dahra and the History of Violence in Early Colonial Algeria'. In *The French Colonial Mind: Volume 2: Violence, Military Encounters, and Colonialism*, edited by Martin Thomas, 3-25. Lincoln, NB: University of Nebraska, (2011)
  - Rid, Thomas. 'Razzia: a Turning Point in Modern Strategy'. *Terrorism and Political Violence* 21 (2009): 617-635

6.19 Week 18 (w/c March 1st)

Course Notes

- Please have your research question for your research essay finalised by this week
- This is the start of the lecture series on War and Digital Rights

Problem: TBC

Problems in term 2 will be generated by suggestions from students at the end of term 1.

Lecture: War and Digital Rights

In the second half of this term we will be looking at the applications of the first term's concepts to contemporary conflicts. Specifically, we will be engaging with the problems of conflict in the digital age, characterised by densely connected communications infrastructures that have significantly reduced the costs of mass communication. A good way of thinking about this is "war in the age of the smartphone."

In particular, we will be looking at how the development of communications infrastructure collapses context for action in war and national security. The cryptography that enables online banking, and private communications between citizens also serves to protect the communications of terrorists. Efforts to stifle terrorist propaganda on the internet cannot be disconnected from free speech debates and political repression.

In this lecture we will revisit some of the themes found earlier in the course, but we will primarily be examining the concept of repression through the lens of technology. How and why does technology matter in the use of repression, or the avoidance of repression? In particular we will be looking at the role that information processing plays in political repression, as well as the definitions of surveillance technologies. In particular, we will look at technologies of identification, and the development of biometric identity and identification systems.

This lecture will also introduce the concept of digital repression, and run through some of the history of battles over freedom and privacy on the internet. We'll also be looking at the (connected) history of technology and surveillance, and some of the key technical/policy issues associated with the regulation of surveillance in an era where almost all communication relies upon, or is co-located with, digital devices. Lastly, we will be looking at these issues in the context of China, and introducing the case study of Xinjiang.

- Discussion Questions:
  - Why is Xinjiang almost non-existent in the academic literature on surveillance studies?
  - What types of surveillance do you think constitute repression?
- Readings:
  - Breckenridge, Keith. *Biometric State*. Cambridge University Press, (2014). Chapter 1.
  - Goede, Marieke de, and Gavin Sullivan. "The Politics of Security Lists." *Environment and Planning D: Society and Space* 34, no. 1 (2016): 67-88. *https://doi.org/10.1177/0263775815599309*.
  - Agar, Jon. *The Government Machine: A Revolutionary History of the Computer*. MIT Press, (2003). Chapter 4.
  - Pfaff, Steven. "The Limits of Coercive Surveillance." *Punishment & Society* 3, no. 3 (2001): 381–407. *https://doi.org/10.1177/14624745010003003003*.

Seminar: The Indian Uprising, 1857

The Indian Uprising of 1857 (known in the UK as 'the Mutiny' and in India as the 'First War of Independence'), was the largest anti-colonial revolt of the nineteenth century, and almost resulted in the complete annihilation of British power in the Indian subcontinent. The Uprising unleashed extreme forms of violence, and widespread atrocities were committed by both rebels and colonial soldiers. These included mass summary executions, the indiscriminate destruction of entire villages, and the slaughter of women and children. This week examines one of the most notorious incidents of the Uprising, the Cawnpore Massacre,

from the perspective of the Indian rebels and seeks to understand how extreme violence was justified on both sides of this bitter conflict.

- Discussion Questions:
  - What is the logic behind exemplary spectacles of punishment?
  - Whose interpretation of the massacre at the *ghat* do you find more convincing? Mukherjee, or English?
  - Do you agree with English that Mukherjee is 'glorifying' the massacre and anti-colonial violence more generally?
- Readings:
  - Mukherjee, Rudrangshu. ' "Satan Let Loose Upon Earth": The Kanpur Massacres in India in the Revolt of 1857'. *Past & Present* 128 (1990): 92-116.
  - English, Barbara. 'The Kanpur Massacres in India in the Revolt of 1857: Debate'. *Past & Present* 142 (1994): 169-78.
  - Mukherjee, Rudrangshu. 'Reply'. *Past & Present* 142 (1994): 178-89.

6.20 Week 19 (w/c March 8th)

Course Notes

Problem: TBC

Problems in term 2 will be generated by suggestions from students at the end of term 1.

Lecture: Information Warfare and Disinformation

Continuing from last week, this lecture examines differing conceptions of information warfare, and what "weaponised" information, or disinformation, means. This lecture will focus upon election interference, drawing again on some of the issues regarding censorship discussed in previous weeks. Continuing the theme of collapsing context, we will look at the role that disinformation campaigns play in contemporary conflicts and domestic politics, and the significant challenges facing democratic states as they seek to limit such efforts while preserving values such as free speech and attribute campaigns to hostile political actors. The lecture will point to how much of what we have learned over the course, in a variety of contexts, can better enable us to understand these issues, and provide a guide for thinking through this topic conscious of competing sets of political values.

- Discussion Questions:

  - How important is the technical study of the concept of disinformation for the analysis of election interference?
  - How central are information operations to contemporary conflict?
- Readings:
  - Fallis, Don. "What Is Disinformation?" *Library Trends* 63, no. 3 (2015): 401-426. doi:10.1353/lib.2015.0014.
  - Buchanan, Ben. *The Hacker and The State: Cyber Attacks and the New Normal of Geopolitics*, Harvard University Press (2020). Chapter 10.

Seminar: The Boxer Rebellion

In 1899, an anti-foreign, anti-imperialist uprising erupted across parts northern China in response to growing resentment over increasing Western influence in China. At the height of the uprising, Boxer insurgents and their supporters even laid siege to the foreign diplomatic legations in Beijing, and killed Western diplomats. Following the attack on the legations and a formal declaration of war by the Qing state, Britain, France, Germany, Austria, Italy, Russia, Japan, and the United States joined together to send an international relief force to rescue the besieged legations and 'punish' China for its 'crimes'. The suppression of the Boxer Rebellion by the Western powers was unquestionably brutal, and saw widespread reprisals against Chinese civilians that systematically violated many of the principles of international law set down in the recently-inked Hague Convention of 1899. This week we consider the logic of Western retributive violence, with particular reference to the conduct of the German forces, and the ways the Western powers ultimately sought to justify their actions in China.

- Discussion Questions:
  - How can we explain the excessive violence committed by German soldiers in China?
  - Were the Germans unique among the allied powers when it came to retributive violence?
  - Was the Boxer War a 'total war'?
- Readings:
  - Kuss, Susanne. *German Colonial Wars and the Context of Military Violence*. Translated by Andrew Smith. Cambridge, Mass: Harvard University Press, (2017). Chapter 1.
  - Dabringhaus, Sabine. 'An Army on Vacation? The German War in China, 1900-1901'. In *Anticipating Total War: the German and American Experiences, 1871-1914*, edited by Manfred M. Boemeke, Roger Chickering, and Stig Förster, 459-476. Cambridge: CUP, (1999).

6.21 Week 20 (w/c March 15th)

Course Notes

Problem: TBC

Problems in term 2 will be generated by suggestions from students at the end of term 1.

Lecture: Guns, Smartphones, and Liability to Attack

In the final three lectures on the course, we'll be looking at how the study of dirty wars can help to improve our analysis of key issues in contemporary warfare. This lecture examines the role of information processing in contemporary armed conflict. We will be examining the contribution of of intelligence to military operations, and the status of informational "work" in war. This highlights some key contemporary issues, for example civilian contributions to military operations via digital platforms, as well as the impact of open source investigations on contemporary conflict. Linking back to prior discussions about categorising participation in war and terrorism, we will look at the problems and pitfalls faced in regulating participation in armed conflict mediated by digital ICTs.

- Discussion Questions:
  - Is it ever reasonable to attack civilians for passing information to belligerents?
  - What duties to know exist in war?
- Readings:
  - Fabre, Cécile. "Guns, Food, and Liability to Attack in War", *Ethics* 120, no.1 (2009): 36-63.
  - Crawford, Neta. *Accountability for Killing: Moral Responsibility for Collateral Damage in America's Post-9/11 Wars*. Oxford University Press, (2013). Introduction and chapter 1.

Seminar: The Herero and Nama Wars

In January of 1904, the German colony of Southwest Africa (modern day Namibia) was rocked by a rebellion of the local Herero people as they rose up against their German colonial overlords. Germans insisted that this revolt represented a grave insult to their national honour, and the alleged atrocities committed by the Herero people against German settlers and soldiers in the colony served as a rallying cry for one of the most brutal episodes of colonial warfare of the twentieth century. German reinforcements under the command of

General Lother von Trotha descended upon the colony, and following an unsuccessful attempt to annihilate the Herero in a pitched battle at Waterberg, resorted to a programme of mass incarceration which saw the systematic enslavement, torture, and killing of Herero people in what some scholars have characterized as the twentieth century's first genocide. This week we examine the logic of German military violence, and interrogate the position of the Herero genocide within the context of other instances of mass violence and genocide.

- Discussion Questions:
  - How were German ideas about Herero racial and cultural differences used to justify colonial violence?
  - What are the key differences between Kuss and Hull's approach to understanding German colonial violence in Namibia? Which do you find more persuasive?
  - Is it possible to draw useful connections between the German use of concentration camps in Namibia and the Holocaust?
- Readings:
  - Kuss, Susanne. *German Colonial Wars and the Context of Military Violence*. Translated by Andrew Smith. Cambridge, Mass: Harvard University Press, (2017). Chapter 2.
  - Hull, Isabel V. *Absolute Destruction: Military Culture and the Practices of War in Imperial Germany*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, (2006). Chapter 1.

6.22 Week 21 (w/c March 22nd)

Course Notes

Problem: TBC

Problems in term 2 will be generated by suggestions from students at the end of term 1.

Lecture: The State/Platform/Copyright Nexus of Repression

This lecture looks at a core value that is usually threatened by political repression, freedom of speech, and the role of censorship in war and political repression. We'll use censorship, in broad terms, as a way of thinking about the interactions between states and corporations in the digital age. We will look at the span of ideals and policy options associated with the regulation of published works and speech, and how the underlying technological base of the internet and digital platforms messes with this.[4]

[4] For example, do you "speak" through ICQ or other platforms like Facebook Messenger, or are you endlessly publishing?

The interesting feature of digital censorship is the degree to which it can be repurposed. In short, the technical and social systems that suppress child pornography on the internet can also be used to keep mention of the 1989 Beijing massacre from the internet in a given country. The lecture then look at key motivators for regulation and control built into digital platforms like YouTube created by law and policy. Here we will focus on copyright and content moderation as a key issue. We can, say, contrast the development of country-wide internet filters (they exist in the UK as well as China) with the development of private regimes of content moderation in response to pre-existing law.

- Discussion Questions:
  - Are hundred-million-user platforms an inherent threat to freedom of speech?
  - Should governments and corporations err on the side of over-censoring or under-censoring when seeking to eliminate terrorist propaganda from the internet?
- Readings:
  - Schulze, Matthias. "Clipper Meets Apple Vs. FBI—a Comparison of the Cryptography Discourses from 1993 and 2016." *Media and Communication* 5, no. 1 (2017). *https://doi.org/10.17645/mac.v5i1.805*.
  - Edwards, Lilian. "Pornography, Censorship and the Internet." In *Law and the Internet*, edited by Lilian Edwards and Charlotte Waelde, Third Ed. Hart Publishing, (2010).
  - Maréchal, Nathalie. "Networked Authoritarianism and the Geopolitics of Information: Understanding Russian Internet Policy." *Media and Communication* 5, no. 1 (2017). *https://doi.org/10.17645/mac.v5i1.808*.

Seminar: The Mau Mau Rebellion

In October 1952, the Governor of the British settler colony of Kenya, Evelyn Baring, declared a state of emergency in response to a growing nationalist uprising known as the Mau Mau. Baring and his officers used this state of emergency to prosecute a brutal counterinsurgency campaign against Mau Mau rebels fighting in the forests, while also incarcerating the entire Kikuyu population of Kenya in a network of concentration camps that saw mass forced labour, systemic torture, and incidents of killing. Following the British withdrawal from Kenya in 1963, the British government ordered the systematic destruction of the records of these camps in an attempt to cover up this history, the details of which are still being unearthed by scholars and journalists. This week we ask how it was the British were able to justify the use of concentration camps so soon after the horrors of the Holocaust, while

also positioning this within the wider histories of colonial repression or violence.

- Discussion Questions:
  - How did the British justify the use of concentration camps in Kenya to fight an anti-colonial insurgency so soon after the horrors of the Holocaust and the Second World War?
  - Is it useful comparing the British camps in Kenya to the Nazi concentration camps or Stalinist gulags?
  - Why is the treatment of the Kikuyu people during the Mau Mau Revolt still such an important political issue today?
- Readings:
  - Elkins, Caroline. *Britain's Gulag: The Brutal End of Empire in Kenya*. London: Pimlico, (2005).
  - Bennett, Huw. *Fighting the Mau Mau: the British Army and Counter-insurgency in the Kenya Emergency*. Cambridge: CUP, (2013).

6.23 Week 22 (w/c March 29th)

Course Notes

- Well done, you made it!
- Please note that you will need to view the *Battle of Algiers* for the seminar.
- Don't forget that your research essay is due on March 31st.

Problem: TBC

Problems in term 2 will be generated by suggestions from students at the end of term 1.

Lecture: Exporting Repression

This lecture will cover the international trade in digital surveillance technology, particularly the kind of stuff that can track (now somewhat ubiquitous) mobile phones, or access communications between activists. In particular, we'll be looking at how and why states help other states out with surveillance technology. There are a couple of narratives at work. One is that China wants to make the world "safe for authoritarianism" and the other is that digital surveillance technology appears to be a growth export market for companies based in liberal democracies. One of the key fears is that authoritarian states armed with this kind of surveillance technology might ultimately check

the social movements that challenge them. We will be looking at recent controversies in this area, and fundamentally asking how and why liberal democracies can justify the export of technologies to authoritarian and non-democratic regimes. We will be looking at export controls on arms and other kinds of restricted technologies involved in political repression to ask how and why digital surveillance technologies might fit.

- Discussion Questions:
  - Why do liberal democracies permit the export of surveillance technologies to authoritarian states?
  - Can you reconcile your opinion about the regulation of surveillance technology with your answer to last week's second discussion question?
- Readings:
  - Bohnenberger, Fabian. "The Proliferation of Cyber-Surveillance Technologies: Challenges and Prospects for Strengthened Export Controls." *Strategic Trade Review* 4 (2017): 81-102.
  - Parsons, Christopher, Adam Molnar, Jakub Dalek, Jeffrey Knockel, Miles Kenyon, Bennett Haselton, Cynthia Khoo, and Ronald Deibert. "The Predator in Your Pocket: A Multidisciplinary Assessment of the Stalkerware Application Industry," Citizenlab, (2019). Read chapters 1, 2 & 6.

Seminar: The Algerian War of Independence

The Algerian War of Independence (1954-62) was one of the most brutal wars of decolonization of the twentieth century. This conflict, fought between the Algerian National Liberation Force (Front de Libération Nationale aka the FLN) and the French Army, saw atrocities committed on both sides, and remains a bitter source of contention between France and Algeria today. This was a guerrilla war spilled over both the countryside and urban centres, most notably in the capital of Algiers. Here, the violence of decolonization was brought forth in vivid relief to audiences in France and around the world in unprecedented ways. This week, we will look at the history of this conflict, with particular reference to the ways it was represented in Gillo Pontecorvo's classic 1966 film, *The Battle of Algiers*.

- Discussion Questions:
  - Do they think *The Battle of Algiers* is an 'accurate' film? What does it get right? What does it get wrong?
  - How did the French justify the use of torture against Algerian insurgents?

  - What are the limits of acceptable violence in an anti-colonial freedom struggle?

- Readings:
  - Pontecorvo, Gillo *The Battle of Algiers*. (1966).
  - Lazreg, Marina. *Torture and the Twilight of Empire: from Algiers to Baghdad*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, (2007).

Assessments & Project Work

7
Projects

Introduction

Project work is a core element of the course, but it is not part of your formal assessment. Individual tasks are designed to quickly deliver research skills necessary at graduate level. The group projects are designed to get you used to performing research as a team. For this reason, don't be intimidated by the scale of the output required in group projects - it is calibrated to be too much for an individual, but easily manageable for a small group. You will be assigned a group by the course convener. The projects will be organised on a OneNote notebook, which you will get access to at the start of term, and is accessible via Teams or KEATS.

I will assign you into groups for the group projects in week 1. Due to the fact that students may join the course late, these groups are subject to variation for the first few weeks, but I aim to keep them as stable as possible.

7.1 The Projects

- Article Critique
  - Deadline: By the lecture in week 2
- Book Reading
  - Deadline: By the lecture in week 3
- Book Digest
  - Deadline: By the lecture in week 5
- Literature Search
  - Deadline: By the lecture in week 8
- Research Design Prototyping Project

  - Deadline: January 10th, 2021
- Case Study
  - Deadline: By the lecture in week 14

Using OneNote

OneNote is a Microsoft product that is selected for ease of use. If you have used Microsoft Word, then the general layout of the software should be familiar to you. The notebook will be accessible if you log into your KCL email through the web portal, and then select OneNote from the options pane.

The notebook will be laid out, so you don't have to do any page creation/layout. However, there are some ground rules:

- For clarity, use Harvard referencing where needed. So "The cat sat on the mat (Doe, 2013, 3)" or similar.[1]
- Don't edit other people's work without permission.
- I'll ask you to nominate one person in your group to be the person I contact with questions.

[1] The KCL library offers referencing guides here `https://libguides.kcl.ac.uk/reference/KingsHarvardV1`

Aims

Why do this? There are four reasons that I have included this activity in the course (and like activities in other courses that I convene). First, people come to KCL from a wide variety of backgrounds, with differing expectations and understandings of graduate study - these activities allow me to establish a baseline and explain the expectations. Second is that group projects enables you to practice and develop teamworking skills. Third, this enables you to perform a related piece of group research prior to your assessment. The literature search precedes the literature review, and the case study precedes your essay. Lastly, this activity is intended to get you to think about the possibilities inherent in open and collaborative research efforts.

7.2 Article Critique

The article critique project is pretty simple: Write out a reasoned critique of what you think is the weakest point made in one of the readings for week 2's lecture, and identify a good reading that the work cites.

The critique should be about a paragraph long. This isn't a hard task and should take about 10-15 minutes on top of the normal time it takes to do the reading for the week. You don't have to write out a full critique of the article, just identify the point made that you think is weakest. It doesn't even have to be the most important point in the

article (the main thesis, contibution, etc), just the bit that you think doesn't stack up. It might be an overly broad statement, or a logical inconsistency, or something else.

The second part of the task is to identify what you would read next, drawn from the references in the article. Imagine that you are trying to answer a specific research question: "Would it ever be possible to know that the war on terror has ended?" Identify a reading from the footnotes/citations of the article that you would read next, and why you have selected it.

The point is that everyone is going to be doing this, so you can then read what other people picked up on. The idea here is that it is difficult (without spending a lot of time) to identify all the issues with an article, but developing an eye for observing issues is a key skill, as is identifying important readings from citations. Once everyone has posted their critique and selected reference, we can then review them in class, and I'll discuss the points raised.

7.3 Book Reading

The book reading project is a task that is designed for you to fail. It's okay - everyone will fail and that is the point. The idea for this project is to get an understanding of the possibilities and limits of *processing* books as sources of information. We're going to be working through a method called the Sandage method of reading books, and tracking ourselves as we go. The Sandage (or X-Ray) method is an efficient way of mining academic books for information.[2] It is as much about inverting the way you read a book as it is about extracting information from a book itself.

[2] To read the original and clarified methods, go to `https://drive.google.com/drive/folders/1Bsne3Z-VSP0iCYkZK0-ZpRuPj6cMRKe4` which includes an example of the full note-taking method.

The key thing to remember is that, again, there is no wrong answer. That is, the point of the exercise is to try your hand at a method of extracting information from a book, not getting the right answer.

We're going to read Stephen Neff's *Justice Among Nations*, and we're going to read it in a very particular way, and the output is tracking yourself as you read. At each stage in the process, I want you to write down 1-2 sentence answers to two questions:

- What is this book about?
- What is the author's argument?

This task will take 3 hours from start to finish (in fact, that's an order: don't go over 3 hours in this task). The early stages will be very short, the last couple will take most of your time.

Stages:

1. Read the book's title and subtitle, then note down your answers

(best guess is better than "I don't know", but "I don't know" is fine if you really have no clue)
2. Read the table of contents, then answer the questions again
3. Read the book's index, then answer the questions (don't spend more than 15 minutes on this stage)
4. Compare what you have read in the index to the table of contents, then answer the questions
5. Skim through the footnotes/endnotes of the book, then answer the questions (this is where you can take a while)
6. Read the acknowledgements section, then answer the questions
7. Read chapter 1, then answer the questions
8. If you still have time, read as much as you can read until the three hour mark, then answer the questions

You should have 7 or 8 pairs of answers. Read through the progression of your answers, and try to identify when and how your answers changed as you read through the book. In the lecture we will discuss this progression as a group discussion activity.

7.4 Book Digest

For this project, you'll be working with other people for the first time. The aim of this project is to build upon the X-Ray method of reading books discussed in the Book Reading project. Your group will produce a summary of a book. I'll assign your group a text, and together you'll work to produce a summary like the example one found here: `https://drive.google.com/drive/folders/1Bsne3Z-VSP0iCYkZK0-ZpRuPj6cMRKe4`

The goal of this project is to produce something that the rest of the course can use. Once all digests have been submitted, I'll review them and give feedback, then we can discuss the process in class to identify particular pinch points, or specific issues that caused multiple groups difficulty. Since I am doing the text selection, you can be sure that the books are important (and I'll correct any major errors in the digests prior to circulating them as a cohesive document).

Lastly, consider the maths here: you're asked to read and produce a digest of one book, and depending upon class size, you'll get in-depth reading guides to 10-15 of the most important books associated with different aspects of the course.

7.5 Literature Search

For this group research project, you will be tasked with performing a literature search on one of the course topics, working from a cue question provided by the lecturer. The goal of this project is a functional output. It is designed to be something of use to your fellow students.

Note that since other groups will be working on separate projects, you will be able to benefit from their work.

This project develops a number of skills that will be necessary for a successful literature review: using academic search engines, developing searches to answer a specific question, and using bibliography management software. The idea here is to develop and practice these skills in a supportive group context before needing to use them for an assessment.

For a minimum of expected output:

- A short (250 word/1 paragraph) outline of the answer to the question prompt
- 20+ key works on the topic, including
  - 1 selected introductory reading
  - 2-4 key readings for introduction to the topic (not including those on the core reading list)
  - 2 works connecting the topic to war/warfare, political repression, strategic studies, security studies, normative theory

There will be a page on the OneNote project for you to put the material up. Please use JabRef to work on this project together, and email me an output of your bibliography once the task is complete. This will allow me (once all the projects are done) to make you a professional-loooking guide built by yourselves.

7.6 Research Design Prototype

The second to last group project feeds directly into the final research assessment. This project requires you to first view and consider the recorded material for week 12 of the course, and then to discuss it with your group so as to produce a short prototype of a research project. This prototype should fit onto 1 powerpoint slide, which you should send to me by January 10th so that I can construct a slide deck of them for the workshop. During the workshop I'll be giving feedback on these prototypes, and we will discuss the process of research design so as to identify common problems.

The theme for this year's prototypes is "Dirty Wars in the Contemporary World" - You are free to draw from any of the themes of the main lecture series, so long as the problem is a contemporary one (last ten years).

Your prototype should identify

- A research problem
- A research puzzle
- A research question

- A relevant theoretical disagreement
- Research methods
- 1-2 candidate case studies
- The importance of your project (academic/policy/both)

7.7 Case Study

This is a group exercise to develop skills in case study selection. As a group it is your task to identify and provide a short write-up of a good case study that could provide a focus point for a research project. This case study can be either contemporary or historical. The key issues to focus upon here are available evidence and utility. How and why might the case study be a good basis for answering this question? How do you judge whether there is enough available evidence for the case study to serve as a good example, or as an object of inquiry?

The question to consider is: To what extent do ethical concerns shape the adoption and use of novel information processing capabilities by state security organisations?

For a minimum of expected output:

- A short (250 word/1 paragraph) outline of why your group selected the case study
- 20+ key works on the topic, including
  - 1 selected introductory reading
  - 2-4 key readings for introduction to the topic (not including those on the core reading list)
  - Any key reports, court cases, or official inquiries into the case

Given that case studies are not always covered by scholarship, use this project to explore alternate sources of evidence, e.g. journalism, official investigations, etc.

There will be a page on the OneNote project for you to put the material up. Please use JabRef to work on this project together, and email me an output of your bibliography once the task is complete. This will allow me (once all the projects are done) to make you a professional-loooking guide built by yourselves.

8
Assessment

Oh, the fun part.

This chapter is a guide to the expectations for assessments on this course. This guide refers to this course only, as other lecturers may require you to approach tasks similar to these in a different way. All assessments are marked according to KCL's PGT marking criteria. My intent here is to provide you with as complete a guide as possible to my reasoning for setting these assignments, factors for you to consider when completing these assessments, and something of an FAQ of common questions students have asked about these assessments in the past.

This course requires you to produce two pieces of written work for assessment. You will have to produce a literature review (2500 words, 33%), and a research essay answering a question that you define (5000 words, 67%). I have to sign off on each research essay title to make sure it's something related to the course.[1]

[1] You will be expected to have a topic in mind by January 2020, and should be able to have a precise research question by the end of January 2020

Why this assessment pattern? Why not two essays? How come I'm not allowed to pick my essay title for the second essay? 5000 words, are you crazy? To answer these questions, and maybe preempt others, allow me to explain.

As I see it, the point of graduate-level study is to expose you to a range of interesting problems/questions/topics (also areas, fields, disciplines, etc), help you to figure out specific things that interest you, and enable you to leverage existing research in relevant fields to begin developing expertise in a field/area/discipline of your choice. I say "begin" because it's unlikely that any MA/MSc will make you an expert on something, but doing one is likely to speed up the process of acquiring expertise.

As such, this course is designed for you to pretty much follow your own interests (within reason) and approach the course content from the disciplinary perspective (or perspectives) that you want to develop. The course will require you to consider a range of approaches to these topics in discussions (and I expect you to be willing/able to

engage with these) but I'm not going to require a historian to write an essay on international relations theory, just as I'm not going to require someone developing their own expertise in gender theory to write an essay on strategy (I advise you to consider how these disciplines can be combined, but that's besides the matter at hand).

There are some common elements to all of these assessments. One element to keep in mind is that your reader should be assumed to be an intelligent, but uninformed, person. Your level of explanation should reflect this. Don't assume that they automatically know the existence of detailed sub-debates. Research communication is about enabling other people to comprehend your research in an efficient manner.

Following from the point above, avoid verbiage and unnecessary wordplay. Plain and clear explanation is the goal. Of course, some ideas are hard to communicate and require extended sentences to do so, but please aim for clarity.

For the erasure of any doubt, I'm committed to disciplinary pluralism. Particularly with the topics this course covers, I don't think that any single discipline can provide "the" answer to some of the questions we'll discuss. That means you are free to approach the long essay any way you want. There are a few caveats to this. First, I don't care if you're a critical theorist or a hardened neorealist, but I do expect a clear and logical argument that uses a theoretical frame drawn from existing academic work, backed by evidence/explanation. Secondly, I suggest that you connect theoretical arguments to case studies. This isn't mandatory, and may not be applicable to all disciplines, but in my experience the best essays are those that connect with actual cases. Third, and last, the cardinal sin is presenting a straw man argument. Your essay should present the strongest counter-arguments to the position that you take, and engage with them.

8.1 Literature Reviews

A literature review is intended to communicate to the reader the academic importance of a research problem. For the highest grades in a literature review, your work will either:

- Demonstrate the originality and importance of a question to which there is currently no answer in existing work on the subject, or
- Provide an original critique of academic work on an existing question

In both cases, you are not expected to have an answer to the question yourself!

It is important to distinguish between the process of writing a literature review, and the end product. The end product (e.g. what you submit for assessment) is a 2500 word piece of work that should enable an intelligent but uninformed reader to understand the importance of a research problem, its academic importance, and the key academic debates that constitute current enquiry into the subject. This means that you will have to make a number of design decisions, notably which debates and authors to include, and those to exclude, which of those included are central, and those that can be relegated to a footnote.

A literature review in the sense of the product presented for assessment is slightly artificial. Usually literature reviews are integrated into research articles. To get an understanding of how this assessment fits within general academic work, read key journals in the field that you are working. Usually, in something like *Security Studies* or similar, an author will start with an introduction to a problem or issue, and then situate that issue within existing academic work on the topic, and in the process identifying a key question to answer.[2] They'll then go on to provide a reasoned method for answering the question, and answer it. What we're focused upon in this assessment is the first two steps.

[2] Here are some good examples of this:@@

You should title your literature review as a question. For example:

- What are the key objections to Michael Walzer's "Moral Equality of Combatants"?
- What is the importance of the description of "Targeted killings"?
- Is the automatic filtering of terrorism-related content by digital platforms a form of political repression?

If you are stuck for something to write about, a good formula for generating potential topics is to do some preliminary research. Ask yourself "How have X analysed Y?" where X = self-selected members of an academic discipline,[3] and Y = a case study (conflict)[4] or an element of a case study (important event/debate),[5] or disciplinary tool (ticking time bomb scenario, key theoretical discussion relevant to the course).

[3] Historians, strategists, political theorists, etc.

[4] For your own benefit, try to avoid those used as case studies on the course, it's better to use this to expand your knowledge into a new area.

[5] In the context of this course, there are no shortage of key events. Often a single, infamous, war crime forms a cornerstone for ongoing discussions about key theoretical questions.

After you have found something that looks interesting, ask yourself "Why is that important?" in the sense that you should be primarily focused upon academic importance in this assessment. Policy relevance is optional.[6] Lastly, you should be keeping in mind "Is there something important that they have missed?" because this last question is where you will find the critical engagement/originality elements that I mentioned at the outset.

[6] Outside universities this is likely to be the other way around, but you paid to take an academic course.

You are free to stick within a single discipline, but sometimes it is interesting to compare the approaches of two disciplines to the same topic. In the end, pick a topic that interests you, and that has some

demonstrable academic importance. You don't get extra marks for picking a cutting-edge or vitally important question, but without demonstrable academic importance, it is hard to score high marks in this assessment.

8.2 Research Essay

If the prospect of a 5000 word research essay worries you, please don't panic - there are effectively 10 teaching sessions to support you towards this in term 2. The basic structure of a research essay is similar to that of a research article that you will find in an academic journal, but it is likely to be shorter (most academic articles are 7000-9000 words). In short, you will need an introduction, to explain your research question, explain how and why you're going to answer it in a given way, and then provide an answer.

There are four general components for a successful research essay: Identifying a research area, identifying an interesting research puzzle, constructing a theoretical framework, and posing an answerable research question. We will be covering this in detail in the lecture series in term 2. Identifying a research area is much the same as what you do in a literature review.

Identifying research puzzles is important, because they are a good way to sharpen your thinking, and to avoid research questions with obvious answers (which means it is hard to develop original engagement with the topic). As proposed by Karl Gustafsson and Linus Hagström, research puzzles can be framed in this way:

> 'Why x despite y?', or 'How did x become possible despite y?'3 A puzzle thus formulated is admittedly a research question, but one requiring much closer familiarity with the state of the art than a 'why x-question'. The researcher considers the phenomenon x puzzling since it happens despite y – that is, previous knowledge that would seem contradicted by its occurrence.[7]

[7] Gustafsson and Hagström (2018)

However a good research puzzle might not be answerable. This is a big problem for a 5000 word essay - you don't necessarily have the space to engage at depth with some kinds of questions. One important problem is too much novelty. Here I will borrow from Michael Horowitz, a professor at the University of Pennsylvania.[8] Horowitz had a great pice of advice for choosing PhD dissertation topics that I think is also applicable to graduate-level research in general. In essence: either pick a new body of theory to analyse a pre-existing case study or substantive issue, or use pre-existing theory to analyse a new case study or substantive issue. Old theory/old case is unlikely to get you anywhere interesting, and (particularly with 5000 words) attempting to explain a new body of theory and apply it to a new case

[8] His twitter handle is mchorowitz

study for which there isn't much agreed evidence is the equivalent of a moonshot. Horowitz frames this as "High risk/high reward", here I frame it as a unicorn, because at 5000 words successful examples are pretty much figments of the imagination.

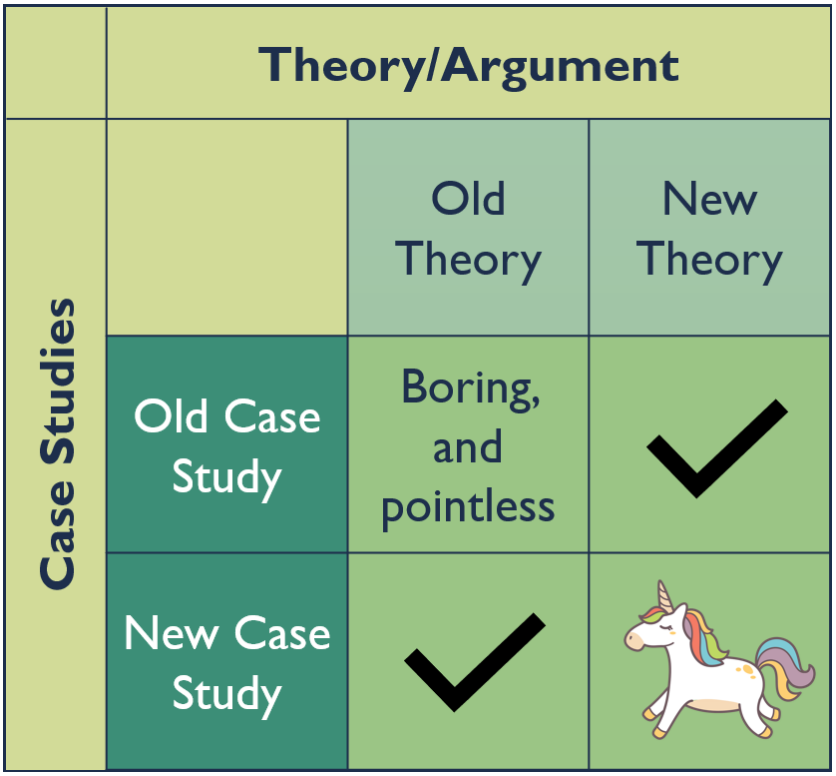

Figure 8.1: What about examples? Well, for the top left (old/old), this might be trying to evaluate whether classical or neoclassical realism best explains the origins of World War 1. For the top right (old case/new theory) this might be using emerging theories of ontological security to explain the origins of World War 1. For the bottom left, this might be applying classical/neoclassical realism to the origins of the conflict in Yemen. For unicorn status, you could attempt to apply ontological security to Yemen. I'm not saying it can't be done, but it would be very, very difficult to do in 5000 words.

Where a 5000 word essay extends on a literature review is that you are then expected to answer the question. This means that you will need to construct a theoretical framework. As above, you can pick old or new theory, but a good theoretical framework for answering a research question usually involves two competing theories or explanations, which can be used to evaluate evidence or explain events. Here it's good to research to the point where you can identify key competing explanations/authors, prior to selecting a couple to use in your essay. An important consideration here is the existence of prior work. If there is no prior work in the area, then you are going to have a really tough time. If a theory or argument is so left-field that it doesn't really connect to existing academic research, how are you going to be able to make those necessary connections *and* answer the question in 5000 words? Similarly, if the case study that you want to examine has very little written about it by reputable authors, how are you going to establish the facts of the case within the word limit? My advice

is that you pick a research puzzle where there are plenty of related pre-existing disagreements, or one that sits at the intersection of two fields/disciplines.

The last step is to consider what kind of question can be answered in 5000 words. This is primarily an issue of scoping questions. Set questions are often quite broad or vague, because part of the art of answering a set question essay is to be able to re-scope the question to something answerable in the introduction. Bear in mind when reading around for suitable questions that you are not assessed upon your ability to produce work comparable to people with a minimum of 3-5 years of professional training, but you are assessed on your ability to select a question that can be answered within 5000 words without substantial original research. To navigate this, let us turn to Greek mythology.[9]

[9] Bet you weren't expecting that line.

Per Wikipedia:

> Scylla and Charybdis were mythical sea monsters noted by Homer; Greek mythology sited them on opposite sides of the Strait of Messina between Sicily and the Italian mainland. Scylla was rationalized as a rock shoal (described as a six-headed sea monster) on the Italian side of the strait and Charybdis was a whirlpool off the coast of Sicily. They were regarded as maritime hazards located close enough to each other that they posed an inescapable threat to passing sailors; avoiding Charybdis meant passing too close to Scylla and vice versa. According to Homer, Odysseus was forced to choose which monster to confront while passing through the strait; he opted to pass by Scylla and lose only a few sailors, rather than risk the loss of his entire ship in the whirlpool.

You face two dilemmas in scoping your research question. First, whether the answer to the question is either too obvious, or frankly impossible. Second, whether the argument required to answer the question is simple, or obscenely complex. By "complex" I mean that it involves far too many factors to be able to pull them all together in a coherent manner. Per Homer, I suggest that you err on the side of difficulty and complexity, but not too much.

To give some explanation, let's say I want to write a 5000 word question about British responses to decolonisation movements. I pose the following question:

> Did ideology shape British responses to decolonisation movements?

The problem with the question is that it's quite clear the answer is yes. Read any history book about British responses to decolonisation movements, and ideas figure heavily. Moreover, the question as framed is so general that the answer is likely to be straightforward. A question at this level of abstraction is going to produce an answer full of generalities. Okay, attempt 2:

> How did ideology shape British responses to decolonisation movements?

Okay, now we've gone in completely the other direction. The scope of this question is such that we're now trying to explain how ideas influenced British responses. How many different responses were there? I don't know. How many different mechanisms of influence? I don't know. You could answer this question in a broad-brush fashion, but it's likely to be impossible to answer as posed, moreover the sheer range of factors that you'd have to account for would make it unmanageable in 5000 words. Time for round 3:

> How did doctrine shape British military responses to decolonisation movements?

Better, but still not perfect. In contrast to the previous question, we've now rescoped from all the institutions of the British empire to the military[10] and a single mechanism (How did doctrine - and the ideas embdedded therein - shape military responses). However this is still too complex. The British Empire was big, there were plenty of people pressing for independence, and frankly you can't treat different decolonisation movements as interchangeable. The question as it stands would force you to consider an extremely wide range of cases to try to provide some answer. Onto round 4:

[10] Okay, still a sprawling set of institutions, but you get the drift

> How did doctrine shape the British use of torture during the Mau Mau uprising?

This is far, far, more answerable than the previous questions. Note that it has cut "military responses" down to a single issue, and the case study down to a single conflict during the decolonisation period. To actually get an answer to this question, you'd have to go and read a lot of books and articles, but there is a substantial amount of research on Kenya and the Mau Mau uprising. This kind of question is the 'sweet spot' for a 5000 word essay, but please don't feel that you have to write on this topic, or even from a historical perspective - this is just here for an example.

Okay, so once you have a question, then you have to answer it. See the previous chapter for advice on this. But again, we'll be talking about constructing research projects in detail during term 2.

Further Material

9
Skills Development

This is written on the assumption that you want to improve your abilities.

9.1 A Roadmap for Skills Development

The first term is designed to take someone who has not written a mid-length (2500 words) academic essay before, and enable them to write one to postgraduate level. Along the way you will produce a variety of research products, each of which are opportunities to develop core transferrable research skills. The second term enables students to build upon these core skills to produce a 5000 word research essay, to postgraduate level.

If your starting point is never having written an academic essay before, then this will be hard, but it is an achievable goal. You will lack the experience that many of your peers have with academic writing, and are likely to need to put in extra effort early on to catch up with this skill. On the other hand, if you've been accepted onto a KCL MA programme without an undergraduate degree, then it is almost certain that you have significant relevant professional experience. This is something that many of your fellow students will likely lack. Academic writing is a very specific form of communication, with its own standards and expectations that may seem confusing at first,[1] but it is a skill that can be developed like any other skill. In other words, don't be intimidated!

Likewise, if you are returning to university after a significant period of time away, then it is likely that you will need to refresh your skills at writing academic essays. One particular issue here can be overconfidence - you may have excelled at university, and excelled subsequently at a job requiring intensive research, but this does not prevent your academic writing skills from declining over that period of time. Take some time early on to approach the academic research and writing process from afresh.

[1] A good example of this is the attention paid to plagiarism in academia. In the business world, plagiarism is a normal and everyday activity. In academia, plagiarism is a serious misconduct issue.

If you have gone directly from undergraduate to postgraduate, or only taken a year or two gap between the two degrees, then the academic writing element of this module is likely to come easier to you. At the same time, this is a module designed for graduates. A first at undergraduate level does not automatically translate to a distinction at MA level.[2] You will need to work to improve your academic writing skills to a postgraduate level. Equally important, you should consider the group project work as an opportunity to develop teamworking skills that will be required to translate your research skills into the professional world.

[2] From experience, the people who excel at MA level are those who put the effort in, independent of whether or not they have a prior degree or what classification that degree was

9.2 Track Your Progress

The most important step in developing skills is to identify, and reflect upon, your baseline knowledge and skills as you begin the course. This section of the handbook is primarily concerned with skills development, but we'll combine both knowledge and skills in this exercise. Take 30 minutes out of your day and work through the following questions, writing 1-2 sentences down on a piece of paper for each:

- Tasks Checklist, have you ever:
  - Read an academic article
  - Read a research monograph[3]
  - Performed a literature search[4]
  - Written an article review, or book review
  - Written a literature review
  - Written a short academic essay[5]
  - Written a mid-length academic essay[6]
  - Written a dissertation[7]
  - Researched and delivered a non-academic research product
  - Produced a basic piece of collaborative research[8]
  - Produced a substantial piece of collaborative research[9]
  - Designed a substantial piece of collaborative research[10]
- What research skills are you seeking to improve as a priority?
- How would you rate your knowledge and understanding of the following concepts:[11]
  - War
  - Security
  - Strategy
  - Surveillance
  - Justice
  - Ethics
  - Repression

[3] AKA an academic book, but we like our fancy names. Monographs are usually written very differently to books for public consumption

[4] A focused trawl through available academic literature and data to identify relevant material

[5] Upto 3000 words

[6] 5000-7000 words

[7] 10,000 - 15,000 words of academic writing

[8] Something equivalent to a 10 minute powerpoint presentation on a set topic/question

[9] As above, yet more work involved

[10] As above, except you were involved in selecting the research question/topic

[11] 1-2 lines for each

  - Insurgency
  - Terrorism
  - State terrorism
- What elements of the module interest you the most?

9.3 The Basic Structure of Academic Work

This is a guide to the basic structure of academic work, and the generic set of skills that transfer across pretty much everything you will do. It is designed to get you to think about your work process, research, analysis, and communication

9.4 Iteration

The basic academic workflow is repetition. We do something, think "Hmmm" and then do it again.[12] You may see a model like: Question -> Literature Search -> Analysis -> Write Up -> Submit. This is basically a lie, because it eliminates the repeated work at each and every interval. A more accurate workflow for a response to a set question is something like:

[12] Hopefully we think more than "Hmmm" but you get the drift

1. Read the question
2. Read a couple of things to get a basic understanding of what the question means
3. Scan databases to work out who has written on that question
4. Read a couple of major works
5. Read the question again and figure out what you need to answer the question
6. Do something like a literature search
7. Read through the key articles/books/chapters in the search
8. Begin analysing your research, and realise you need to cast the net a bit wider, or fill some gaps
9. Go back and search for more articles/books/chapters
10. Analyse your material and figure out an answer to the question
11. Plan out your answer
12. Begin writing up your answer, and start to spot holes
13. Quick search to find more material, and integrate that
14. Finish writing up your answer, realise that you now have a different take on the question
15. Re-draft your answer, maybe even go and read more material
16. Submit

The point of this is to say that academic work is a creative process. Your ideas are likely to change throughout the process of creating

an academic input. The second point is that you should begin this process early, as you may find yourself looping back to almost the start of the process quite a few times.

Many people skip step 15. My advice to you is to never submit something that has not been re-drafted at least once, but preferably two or more times. Looping steps 13-15 a couple of times will do your work the world of good. Furthermore, it's in some senses the least stressful time to actually work on your argument, because if the deadline hits, then you at least have something good to go.

9.5 Building and Reducing an Argument

In the real world of academia,[13] arguments are usually presented in abstracts of about 200 words. In the real world of business, arguments sometimes have to be compressed to an elevator pitch of 1-2 sentences. A key point is that if you can explain your answer in 1-2 sentences, then it is easy to build out that answer in a logical fashion to a book-length manuscript. A well written and structured book can be distilled into an extended review,[14] short review,[15] abstract,[16] or sales pitch.[17] For this reason, my suggested workflow for developing your argument/answer,[18] is that you explain your answer in a paragraph[19], which you then reduce to a 1-2 sentence answer, and then build back out into an essay.

So:

1. Your basic answer (250 words)
2. Your distilled answer (1-2 sentences)
3. An argument that substantiates your distilled answer (250 words)
4. Your argument written out in 7-12 sentences
5. Your argument written out in 7-12 sentences, with paragraphs to support each point

The 7-12 sentences is largely arbitrary, but is the appropriate scope for a 2500-3000 word essay. The point here is that this same framework can build out to longer research. For example, a 5000 word research essay will require your answer to be answered in a small number of sections,[20], each of which contain their own argument, which can be written out in 7-12 sentences, supported by paragraph. A book can be built out by supporting the points with 5000-7000 word chapters, which each have their own argument that can be written out in a number of sentences, each supported by a section… etc.[21]

Okay, but how do you practice this? There are two key skills at work - the reduction of an argument, and building out an argument. These are related, but you can do two distinct tasks to practice each process independently of one another.

[13] We do live in the real world, but those of us who study metaphysics sometimes reject the basic assumptions of this statement

[14] The kind you get in the *New York Review of Books*

[15] The kind you will get in the book reviews section of journals

[16] Often the publisher's description of the book

[17] Alternately, the review you get from colleagues - "Have you read Professor Doe's latest book? It's about…"

[18] You'll want an argument that answers the question. An answer without an argument usually lacks coherence, an argument that doesn't answer the question is missing the point. A piece of writing that contains neither is the shortcut to a failing grade.

[19] 250 words

[20] 2-3 maximum

[21] I'm not saying this approach makes for well-written books, only that it makes for coherent ones. The jump from coherence to good writing is, however, one way. There are a great many beautifully written non-fiction books in the world that lack a coherent argument and are, for academic purposes, the equivalent of popcorn (Fun to eat, but devoid of nutritional value).

Reducing an argument: Find a journal article, read it,[22], read the abstract, then try to reduce the abstract to 1-2 sentences. Re-read the article and see if this reduced argument matches with the text. If it does, try doing this on another article. If it doesn't, try re-phrasing your distilled argument. As an extension activity, you can try reading articles, and writing your own 200 word abstracts for the articles, based upon the main text of the article.[23]

Building out an argument: Take the seminar questions for this course, and the ones that we discuss in the lecture sections as your basis. Try to write distilled arguments that express different answers to the same question. For each of these, build out to a 200 word answer, and then a 7-12 sentence answer.[24]

[22] You don't have to take notes, and feel free to skim

[23] This is a much more time intensive activity, so try the fast version first. It's better to get in a high number of repetitions, until you cease to improve between repetitions

[24] This exercise is really good for understanding how a different answer/line of argument can lead to radically different structures for essays

9.6 Supporting Your Argument

This section reflects my expectations about the use of footnotes and references for your work in this course. This can be quite a confusing area for some people. Depending upon your background, using footnotes to support an argument may appear to be obvious, or quite strange. Regardless of your opinion or intuition, you will need to support your argument in order to pass this course.

The best way to understand footnotes is to recognise the multiple roles that they can play in a single piece of work. A footnote is a formal structure that enables your reader to understand the origins of your argument in a space-efficient manner. Despite its formal structure, a footnote can point to a variety of resources. For example, a footnote might point to the source for a figure or quote. Equally, a footnote might direct the reader to a book about a particular type of research method, or it might highlight a particular author's work that your own work is engaging with. The point of a footnote is that it saves you the need to explain fundamental elements of a disciplinary approach to a question from first principles, or the need to describe a source's reliability in full if it is tangential to your argument.

But what do I need to footnote? In my opinion, you should reference everything that is necessary to build the fundamental skeleton of your essay and argument, even if a selection of this appears to be so obvious that it seems unnecessary. A useful metaphor is to think about how you'd go about climbing a cliff. You could free-climb the whole way, without any safety gear, and trust in your ability to get to the top without an accident. Alternately, you can do what most climbers do, which is use a safety rope and clip in along the way, so that if you fall, you don't fall that far (although it might still hurt). In this sense, footnotes are the safety clips - in the event that you do make a mistake in your work, at least the person reading it can

understand the origin of the mistake that you made.

A second way to think about footnotes is that they allow you to pass the buck to someone else. A research essay should require you to focus on a particular set of topics, which requires you to understand what is necessary scaffolding (research methods, where this question sits within a discipline or two), what is very important, and what is necessary to mention but otherwise ancilliary to your answer. You don't want to spend 50% of your time re-stating first principles about quantitative or qualitative research methods, so you declare your research method and explain your choice, and then point the reader towards wider works that they can look to for a fuller explanation of your selected research method. Equally, if something requires mentioning, but is ancilliary to your argument, then you want to enable the reader to understand the concept, or idea, in a short space of time, and then point them elsewhere if they want to learn more. Both of these then permit you to maximise the time that you spend answering the important elements of the question.

On a deeper level, being rigorous with footnoting is also a way of forcing yourself to pare down your argument to its essentials, and to avoid expansive, ambiguous, or hyperbolic statements. If you absolutely cannot avoid making an over-the-top statement (eg "9/11 was the darkest day in American history" or "The 2003 invasion of Iraq was the biggest strategic error of the 21st century so far"), a footnote pointing to someone else who makes it is a pretty good way to let them take the bullet for you, should your reader disagree with what you are writing.

If you come to academia from a professional background, you may be forgiven for wondering why this is all so important. Obviously, there are different standards of plagiarism tolerance in academia to the professional world. But in the professional world it is not always necessary to show your working to the degree that academics do as a matter of routine. The best explanation I can offer for this (in the space alloted here) is that underlying all academic disciplines is the question of how knowledge is formed, and why. In some disciplines, these questions are relatively settled, but in others (IR is a good example of this) there is considerable contestation about what constitutes knowledge, how it can be attained, and why that matters. Your referencing offers a glimpse of your own world view, whether you like it or not, and people can, and will, judge you by it. So it's not only a question of what the answer to a question is, but how you arrived at it, and why you chose the path that you took. References give the reader a gist of all of these, and that is why they are so necessary.

9.7 Academic Writing

Both of the assessments for this course are types of essay. Essay writing is a creative activity. It is an art, not a science. That said, art involves craft and conventions. Wherever you see creative activity, there is likely craft at work, and essay writing is no different. This applies to academic work across disciplines, but different disciplines and fields have different conventions. Understanding these conventions is important, and can be done by sight in many cases. The Department of War Studies generally draws its conventions from history, international relations, and the social sciences. Each course will have its own specific requirements (notably for reference styles) so pay attention to what your lecturers ask for. That said, there are three elements that transcend this: the technical elements of an essay, structuring your essay, and writing your essay.

Essays have technical elements. These are, in general, non-negotiable. The absence of technical elements is a signal to a reader that something is wrong. If your essay does not have a title page, the essay title at the top, consistent citations, and a bibliography, then the reader is likely to get the impression that you are unable to produce these basic elements of academic writing. These are not finishing touches, they are foundations. An essay without a title is akin to a front page news story without a headline. Inconsistent citations indicates that you are either unaware of the importance of citations, or unable—on a technical level—to use them. Essays lacking bibliographies indicate that you are either unable to produce one, or that your work on the essay is sloppy enough to forget to include one. Either looks bad.[25]

With that in mind: Please read your essay for technical mistakes before submitting it.

I advise reading your essay backwards, and from the bottom up (if using footnotes). Keep a copy of your bibliography separate and cross out an item each time you encounter a reference to it (and if it's not there when you find a reference, make sure to add to the bibliography). Check for consistency at all points, particularly with citation formatting, spelling and grammar. I am not allergic to American English, but make sure not to mix British and American English in a single piece of work. Remember that quoted material should be quoted as-is, so don't Americanise British authors, or vice-versa.

On a structural level of an essay, boring is good. Every essay that you write will contain an introduction, your argument, and a conclusion. For 2500 word essays, I advise 5-7 paragraphs. For essays of 5000 words in length, I advise that you make your argument over at 12+ paragraphs. Try to keep paragraph length consistent. Each paragraph should consist of a point requried to make your argument, and a

[25] Technical sloppiness is best compared to an unforced error. Time pressures aside, there is no real explanation for it in an academic setting, and, from experience, it is the shortest path towards a case of unwitting plagiarism, which is not where you want to find yourself at any point.

critical engagement with the evidence, theory, etc that supports that point.

Your introduction should be a maximum of 500 words or so. That's the maximum. The best way to think about this limit is that every word in your introduction is one that can't be used to make your argument. That said, there's a good reason introductions exist. Your introduction should inform the reader of your line of argument (more on that later), how you are going to explain your argument, and where you are drawing your terms and definitions from.

A second way to think about your introduction is that it serves as one big car park for every contentious issue that relates to your answer, but is unnecessary to discuss in depth for the purposes of answering the question. You don't have the space to explain and explore every single theoretical argument that is relevant or important to your answer, but the introduction is where you park every theoretical argument that doesn't need further exploration. You will be able to read advanced forms of this kind of activity in peer-reviewed articles, and the first chapter of most academic books published by university presses. Even though you might not be in a position to comprehend the range of issues that an academic parks by the end of their introduction, or first chapter, the process is similar to what is required of you in an academic essay, even at undergraduate level.

At this point you may be (rightly) wondering how you are meant to do in 500 words what your tutors do in at least a thousand words, if not many multiples for that figure. If you read academic articles, the introduction serves multiple purposes. A good one will usually identify a gap in existing literature of a given subject, an important research puzzle associated with that gap, and propose a way of investigating that puzzle. That's a lot of heavy lifting that you don't necessarily need to do. Your title is, in essence, a research problem served to you on a plate. You'll have to identify why it's important, and the parameters for answering the question, but longer introductions are unnecessary. For a 5000 word essay, you should follow your introduction with your discussion of your theoretical frame, etc.

You will present your argument in paragraphs. I use the imperative here, because if you don't present your argument in paragraphs, then you are going to have a very bad time. The first sentence of your paragraph should identify the argument that the paragraph will make, with reference to your overall line of argument, and the last sentence should connect the paragraph to the one that follows it. Everything in between those two sentences should be evidence about the point that the paragraph is making.

The line of argument in an essay is yours. It's your answer. I can't tell you what you'll be writing about, but I can tell you that it's usu-

ally expected to be logical and coherent, even if engaging with the worst excesses of post-modernist philosophy. Your line of argument is your answer to the question, and therefore the opening line of many of your paragraphs are likely to address the essay title itself. A good way of testing your line of argument is to read your introduction, and then the first and last sentence in each paragraph, and then the conclusion. If the result doesn't sound vague or gibberish (twin demons of academic work), and the conclusion is convincing based upon what precedes it, then the chances are that you have a decent line of argument.

While the introduction of an essay differs a fair bit from academic articles, the point about a line of argument doesn't differ as much. Try reading 3–4 articles in this way, and you'll get a feeling for what I'm talking about. It's particularly important to read case studies this way, before you include them in essays. You will need to be using evidence in an essay, not describing it. There is a world of difference between the two, and the easiest way to understand that difference is to read an article using case studies in International Security or Security Studies, and compare that to a descriptive account of events that you might find in a general history of the topic.

Your reader (me) will also need to know the limits of your argument. Set your argument up, then knock it down—what remains it likely to be its most defensible form. Above all, don't think that ignoring major objections to your argument is in any way persuasive. The best way to avoid major issues is by framing your argument in the introduction (see above), however contentious points need to be addressed. How you address them, and the evidence that you use to do so, is what will get you higher grades. Remember: you're being marked on your ability to provide a reasoned argument with evidence that displays your underlying knowledge of the subject matter, it's not an election or similar rhetoric-heavy exercise.

Your conclusion ties everything together. Think Star Wars not The Sixth Sense. You should remind your reader of your answer to the question, why your answer to the question makes sense and is supported by the available evidence, and maybe you can add a few lines of "Where next?"—e.g. why your answer is important or where it could be continued. Don't throw curveballs, twists, a ton of new evidence, or a lot of material that contradicts what you have just spent 2,800 words arguing (keep your conclusion short, 250 words tops). Think of the nice warm fuzzy feeling you get while watching John McClane hug Holly McClane at the end of Die Hard 2, rather than the bleak "What happens next?" of The Thing and The Italian Job. Leave your reader thinking "What a good essay" and not "What the hell?" Also, never, ever, watch re-makes and re-boots. They suck.

If you ask me, Netflix should be forced to buy more classic films, but not musicals (except The Blues Brothers). If you're thinking "Where the hell did all this advice about movies come from?", well, that's what the person marking your essay will be thinking if you start going off on a tangent at word 4830 of a 5000 word essay.

One last point:

- Don't write essays in bullet points.
- Ever.
- Because they don't connect.
- And they make for a bad argument.

9.8 Acting Upon Feedback

The standard college feedback loop is 28 days. That is, you will receive feedback for your work within 28 days of submitting it. This is a long time, but it's necessary for me to mark your work properly and return it to you. Furthermore, although I aim to return feedback sooner, this is not always possible. The problem this poses is that by the time you get feedback, you are likely concerned with the next deadline, or maybe immersed drafting already. You might even have forgotten parts of what you wrote because mentally you have already moved on from the task. Nonetheless, you will markedly improve if you set aside a chunk of time from your schedule[26] and work on your feedback.

[26] 1-2 hours per assessment

The feedback that you get from me is likely to reflect the standard of your work. As a rule of thumb:

- If your work is below 50%, your feedback is going to state what is needed for a passing mark, and explicit standards required to achieve 60% for this kind of assessment
- If your work is between 50% and 70%, your feedback is going to explain what would be needed for the next grade boundary, and for marks of 70% and above.
- If your work is between 70-75%, I'm likely to be providing you with comments about elements that are holding your work back, and commentary on drawing out thoughtful/original points in your essay.
- If your work is above 75%, I'm likely to give you comments on how to explore or reconfigure your answer to develop the areas of particular excellence.

Please note that in the British system, 70% is the equivalent of an A grade.[27]

[27] From experience, this can cause heart attacks for students who completed their undergraduate studies in America. This is prime example of transatlantic mistranslation, because a British lecturer will say "Congratulations, that was excellent work" by giving a student the worst percentage grade that they've had since high school.

A second element of the feedback that I give you is a defined set of areas to work on, for the above reasons. I strongly suggest that you

take the time to examine these areas, and undertake tasks as noted. The reason for this is that acting upon feedback in this way is an additional mechanism of learning from that same task. The tasks that I suggest in feedback are all designed to be performed in half an hour or so, as a time-efficient way of building upon your existing work to improve your overall skillset.

9.9 Tracking Your Skills Development

Finally, one of the most important things that you can do is to track your progress over time. A very good sports coach once said to me: "Everybody makes mistakes, professionals can recover." Postgraduate study is hard. There will be ups and downs. You are highly likely to fall short of your own standards at some point. The important thing is that every high and low presents an opportunity to learn and improve.

10
Case Studies

Here are five case studies for your purposes. Each of the case studies relates to a key class of conflict associated with the concept of dirty wars. The five selected case studies are picked because all elements of the core lecture series apply to them. Each lecture in the main lecture series will contain a section that directly ties the lecture theme to each of these case studies, so as to demonstrate the variation in each case. You are not expected to become an expert on all five cases, but you should understand the basic chronology and events of each, and read at least two in depth.

The readings for the five case studies are divided into four sections. The first section for each case study contains a small selection of readings designed to give you a quick overview of the conflict itself – the origins of the conflict and a broad outline of what happened. Please read these as soon as possible, as they are the effective minimum that will allow you to understand the relevance of the conflict to the individual lectures.

The second section contains readings that tie individual lectures to the case study. These are for you to connect the thematic lectures presented each week to each case study.

The third section provides wider contextual readings that are specific to each conflict, primarily focused on its long term effects and consequences. This material isn't necessarily covered by the course, but allows you to consider the wider consequences of the kinds of wars we will be studying in this module.

The fourth section contains a selection of responses to the conflict, from non-fiction reportage, and documentaries through to films and works of fiction. This is provided to round out your understanding of these wars.

10.1 Argentina

This is a case study that lets you consider the framing of what we're talking about - war, national security, or one-sided violence, state terrorism, and political repression? Argentina is one example of a cluster of related conflicts in south America during the cold war in which conservative governments, or military dictatorships, aimed to eliminate Communist or socialist challengers to the status quo. In many cases, Argentina included, the results were brutal.

- Introductory Readings
  - Robben, Antonius CGM. "From Dirty War to Genocide: Argentina's Resistance to National Reconciliation." *Memory Studies* 5, no. 3 (2012): 305–15.
  - Lewis, Paul H. *Guerrillas and Generals: The "Dirty War" in Argentina*. Greenwood Publishing Group, (2002).
- Thematic Readings
  - **Conflict Status:** Osiel, Mark J. "Constructing Subversion in Argentina's Dirty War." *Representations* 75, no. 1 (2001): 119–58. *http://www.jstor.org/stable/10.1525/rep.2001.75.1.119*.
  - **Human Dignity and Political Community:** Disappeared, Argentine National Commission on. "Nunca Mas: The Report of the Argentine National Commission on the Disappeared." Faber & Faber, (1986). Available online here
  - **Law and Conflict:** Snyder, Frederick E. "State of Siege and Rule of Law in Argentina: The Politics and Rhetoric of Vindication." *Lawyer of the Americas* 15 (1984): 503.
  - **Reasons for Restraint:** Lew, Ilan. " 'Barbarity' and 'Civilization' According to Perpetrators of State Violence During the Last Dictatorship in Argentina." *Política Y Sociedad* 50, no. 2 (2013): 501–15. *https://doi.org/10.5209/rev_POSO.2013.v50.n2.40018*.
  - **Sexual Violence in Conflict:** Hollander, Nancy Caro. "The Gendering of Human Rights: Women and the Latin American Terrorist State." *Feminist Studies* 22, no. 1 (1996): 41–80. *http://www.jstor.org/stable/3178246*.
  - **National Security and Political Cleavages:** Pion-Berlin, David. "The National Security Doctrine, Military Threat Perception, and the"Dirty War" in Argentina." *Comparative Political Studies* 21, no. 3 (1988): 382–407. *https://doi.org/10.1177/0010414088021003004*.
  - **Population Control:** Berman, Roger S., Maureen R. Clark. "State Terrorism: Disappearances." *Rutgers Law Journal* 13 (1982): 531.
  - **Political Repression:** Pion-Berlin, David, and George A. Lopez. "Of Victims and Executioners: Argentine State Terror,

1975–1979." *International Studies Quarterly* 35, no. 1 (1991): 63–86. *https://doi.org/10.2307/2600389*.
  - **Intelligence & Institutions:** Kalmanowiecki, Laura. "Origins and Applications of Political Policing in Argentina." *Latin American Perspectives* 27, no. 2 (2000): 36–56. *https://doi.org/10.1177/0094582X0002700203*.
  - **Torture:** Carlson, Eric Stener. "The Influence of French"Revolutionary War" Ideology on the Use of Torture in Argentina's "Dirty War"." *Human Rights Review* 1, no. 4 (2000): 71–84. *https://doi.org/10.1007/s12142-000-1044-5*.
  - **One-Sided Violence:** Brysk, Alison. "The Politics of Measurement: The Contested Count of the Disappeared in Argentina." *Human Rights Quarterly* 16 (1994): 676.

- Further Reading
  - Pion-Berlin, David. *The Ideology of State Terror: Economic Doctrine and Political Repression in Argentina and Peru*. L. Rienner Publishers, (1989).
  - Armony, Ariel C. "Producing and Exporting State Terror: The Case of Argentina." In *When States Kill: Latin America, the U.s., and Technologies of Terror*, edited by Cecilia Menjívar and Néstor Rodríguez, 305–31. University of Texas Press, (2005).

- Other material
  - *El secreto de sus ojos*[The Secret in Their Eyes], 2009. Directed by Juan José Campanella.

10.2 Britain, Ireland, and Northern Ireland

This is a case study that allows you to see the 'grand sweep' - how security institutions develop and change over time. Also, the Troubles feature most of the 'dirty war' elements that we're talking about. This case study is as much about the development of the modern British state as it is about the changing patterns of resistance to British rule in Ireland and, latterly, Northern Ireland. A second role that this case study plays is that it provides a case study in accountability processes (and their failures). As such, gaining familiarity with the reports and inquiries that threaded through the conflict enables you to better analyse and reflect upon the line between the rule of law, and rule by law.

- Introductory Readings
  - Kennedy-Pipe, Caroline, and Colin McInnes. "The British Army in Northern Ireland 1969–1972: From Policing to Counter-terror." *Journal of Strategic Studies* 20, no. 2 (1997): 1–24. *https://doi.org/10.1080/01402399708437676*.

  - Kennedy-Pipe, Caroline. *The Origins of the Present Troubles in Northern Ireland*. Routledge, (2014).

- Thematic Readings

  - **Conflict Status:** Dixon, Paul. *Northern Ireland: The Politics of War and Peace*. Palgrave Macmillan, (2008). Chapter 1
  - **Human Dignity and Political Community:** Jackson, John. "Many Years on in Northern Ireland: The Diplock Legacy Rights and Justice: Essays in Honour of Professor Tom Hadden." *Northern Ireland Legal Quarterly* 60 (2009): 213.
  - **Law and Conflict:** Campbell, Colm, and Ita Connelly. "A Model for the 'War Against Terrorism'? Military Intervention in Northern Ireland and the 1970 Falls Curfew." *Journal of Law and Society* 30, no. 3 (2003): 341–75.
  - **Reasons for Restraint:** Hewitt, Christopher. "Catholic Grievances, Catholic Nationalism and Violence in Northern Ireland During the Civil Rights Period: A Reconsideration." *The British Journal of Sociology* 32, no. 3 (1981): 362–80. *http://www.jstor.org/stable/589283*.
  - **Sexual Violence in Conflict:** McWilliams, Monica. "Violence Against Women and Political Conflict: The Northern Ireland Experience." *Critical Criminology* 8, no. 1 (1997): 78–92.
  - **National Security and Political Cleavages:** McCleery, Martin J. *Operation Demetrius and Its Aftermath: A New History of the Use of Internment Without Trial in Northern Ireland 1971-75*. Manchester University Press, (2015).
  - **Population Control:** Byrne, Jonny, and Cathy Gormley-Heenan. "Beyond the Walls: Dismantling Belfast's Conflict Architecture." *City* 18, nos. 4-5 (2014): 447–54. *https://doi.org/10.1080/13604813.2014.939465*.
  - **Political Repression:** Rolston, Bill. " 'An Effective Mask for Terror': Democracy, Death Squads and Northern Ireland." *Crime, Law and Social Change* 44, no. 2 (2005): 181–203.
  - **Intelligence & Institutions:** Jackson, Brian A. "Counterinsurgency Intelligence in a"Long War"." *Military Review*, nos. January-February (2007): 74–85.; Moran, Jon. "Evaluating Special Branch and the Use of Informant Intelligence in Northern Ireland." *Intelligence and National Security* 25, no. 1 (2010): 1–23. *https://doi.org/10.1080/02684521003588070*.
  - **Torture:** Kennedy-Pipe, Caroline, and Andrew Mumford. "Torture, Rights, Rules and Wars: Ireland to Iraq." *International Relations* 21, no. 1 (2007): 119–26. *https://doi.org/10.1177/0047117807073772*.
  - **One-Sided Violence:** Newsinger, John. "From Counter-Insurgency to Internal Security: Northern Ireland 1969-1992." *Small Wars & Insurgencies* 6, no. 1 (1995): 88–111. *https://doi.org/10.1080/09592319508423100*.

- Further Reading
  - Dixon, Paul. *Northern Ireland: The Politics of War and Peace*. Palgrave Macmillan, (2008).
  - Dillon, Martin. *The Dirty War*. Routledge, (1999).
- Other material
  - *In the Name of the Father*, 1993. Directed by Jim Sheridan.
  - *Hunger*, 2008. Directed by Steve McQueen.

10.3 The Vietnam Wars

The wars in Indochina that resulted in defeats for both France and America enable us to examine the concepts of the course in the context of open warfare. Taken together, the French and American involvement in Vietnam, and wars that ran in parallel to this main conflict, demonstrate the relevance of dirty wars to the analysis of war. A particular element of this case study is the analysis of military thought and strategy as it develops in response to the problem of insurgency in this case study, and the wider intersection of politics and warfare.

- Introductory Readings
  - Porch, Douglas. "French Imperial Warfare 1945-62." In *Counterinsurgency in Modern Warfare*, edited by Daniel Marston and Carter Malkasian. Osprey, (2008).
  - Andrade, Dale. "Westmoreland Was Right: Learning the Wrong Lessons from the Vietnam War." *Small Wars & Insurgencies* 19, no. 2 (2008): 145–81. *https://doi.org/10.1080/09592310802061349*.
- Thematic Readings
  - **Conflict Status:** Prados, John. *The Blood Road: The Ho Chi Minh Trail and the Vietnam War*. Wiley, (1999).
  - **Human Dignity and Political Community:** McLeod, Mark W. "Indigenous Peoples and the Vietnamese Revolution, 1930-1975." *Journal of World History* 10, no. 2 (1999): 353–89. *http://www.jstor.org/stable/20078784*.
  - **Law and Conflict:** Greenwood, Christopher. "The Concept of War in Modern International Law." *International and Comparative Law Quarterly* 36, no. 2 (1987): 283–306. *https://doi.org/10.1093/iclqaj/36.2.283*.
  - **Reasons for Restraint:** Levie, Howard S. "Maltreatment of Prisoners of War in Vietnam." *Boston University Law Review* 48 (1968): 323.
  - **Sexual Violence in Conflict:** Weaver, Gina Marie. *Ideologies of Forgetting: Rape in the Vietnam War*. SUNY Press, (2012).

  - **National Security and Political Cleavages:** Kalyvas, Stathis N., and Matthew Adam Kocher. "Ethnic Cleavages and Irregular War: Iraq and Vietnam." *Politics & Society* 35, no. 2 (2007): 183–223. *https://doi.org/10.1177/0032329207302403*.
  - **Population Control:** Catton, Philip E. "Counter-Insurgency and Nation Building: The Strategic Hamlet Programme in South Vietnam, 1961–1963." *The International History Review* 21, no. 4 (1999): 918–40. *https://doi.org/10.1080/07075332.1999.9640883*.
  - **Political Repression:** Miller, Edward. "Religious Revival and the Politics of Nation Building: Reinterpreting the 1963 'Buddhist Crisis' in South Vietnam." *Modern Asian Studies* 49, no. 6 (2015): 1903–62. *https://doi.org/10.1017/S0026749X12000935*.
  - **Intelligence & Institutions:** Andrade, Dale, and James H. Willbanks. "CORDS/Phoenix: Counterinsurgency Lessons from Vietnam for the Future." *Military Review*, March-April (2006), 9–23.
  - **Torture:** Macmaster, Neil. "Torture: From Algiers to Abu Ghraib." *Race & Class* 46, no. 2 (2004): 1–21. *https://doi.org/10.1177/0306396804047722*.
  - **One-Sided Violence:** Clodfelter, Mark. *The Limits of Air Power: The American Bombing of North Vietnam*. University of Nebraska Press, (2006).

- Further Reading
  - Arreguín-Toft, Ivan. "How the Weak Win Wars: A Theory of Asymmetric Conflict." *International Security* 26, no. 1 (2001): 93–128. *https://doi.org/10.1162/016228801753212868*.
  - Ang, Cheng Guan. *The Vietnam War from the Other Side*. Routledge, (2002).

- Other material
  - *Hamburger Hill*, 1987. Directed by John Irvin.
  - Herr, Michael. *Dispatches*. Picador, (1991).
  - Ninh, Bao. *The Sorrow of War*. Vintage Classics, (1994).

10.4 The Global War on Terror

Is the "War on Terror" a war? Does it count as a dirty war? This case study is selected to demonstrate the contemporary relevance of much of the core course material. One key difference between this case study and the others is that the war on terror draws attention to the unclear spatial and temporal boundaries of war, as well as the role of ideas, institutions, and technologies in the constitution of war itself. The definitional question of what, if anything, related to the war on terror actually counts as a war, and why, lies at the heart of this case study, with wider applicability to the rest of the course.

- Introductory Readings
  - Carvin, Stephanie. "Caught in the Cold: International Humanitarian Law and Prisoners of War During the Cold War." *Journal of Conflict and Security Law* 11, no. 1 (2012): 67–92. *https://doi.org/10.1093/jcsl/krl005*.
  - Savage, Charlie. *Power Wars: The Relentless Rise of Presidential Authority and Secrecy*. Little, Brown; Company, (2015).
- Thematic Readings
  - **Conflict Status:** Schmitt, Michael N. "Charting the Legal Geography of Non-International Armed Conflict." *International Law Studies* 90 (2014): 1–19.
  - **Human Dignity and Political Community:** Chesney, Robert. "Who May Be Killed? Anwar Al-Awlaki as a Case Study in the International Legal Regulation of Lethal Force." *Yearbook of International Humanitarian Law* 13 (2010): 3–60.
  - **Law and Conflict:** Bradley, Curtis A., and Jack L. Goldsmith. "Obama's AUMF Legacy." *American Journal of International Law* 110, no. 4 (2016): 628–45.
  - **Reasons for Restraint:** Elsea, Jennifer K. *Treatment of 'Battlefield Detainees' in the War on Terrorism*. DIANE Publishing, (2014).; Elsea, Jennifer K. "Presidential Authority to Detain"Enemy Combatants"." *Presidential Studies Quarterly* 33, no. 3 (2003): 568–601. *https://doi.org/10.1111/1741-5705.00007*.
  - **Sexual Violence in Conflict:** Tétreault, Mary Ann. "The Sexual Politics of Abu Ghraib: Hegemony, Spectacle, and the Global War on Terror." *NWSA Journal*, (2006): 33–50.
  - **National Security and Political Cleavages:** Fisher, Louis. *Presidential War Power*. Third. University Press of Kansas, (2013).
  - **Population Control:** Steyn, Johan. "Guantanamo Bay: The Legal Black Hole." *International & Comparative Law Quarterly* 53, no. 1 (2004): 1–15.
  - **Political Repression:** Welch, Kyle. "The Patriot Act and Crisis Legislation: The Unintended Consequences of Disaster Lawmaking." *Capital University Law Review* 43 (2015): 481.
  - **Intelligence & Institutions:** Blakeley, Ruth. "Dirty Hands, Clean Conscience? The CIA Inspector General's Investigation of 'Enhanced Interrogation Techniques' in the War on Terror and the Torture Debate." *Journal of Human Rights* 10, no. 4 (2011): 544–61.
  - **Torture:** Luban, David. "Liberalism, Torture, and the Ticking Bomb." *Virginia Law Review* 91 (2005): 1425–61.
  - **One-Sided Violence:** McDonald, Jack. *Enemies Known and*

Unknown: Targeted Killings in America's Transnational Wars. Oxford University Press, (2017).

- Further Reading
  - Jordan, Javier. "The Effectiveness of the Drone Campaign Against Al Qaeda Central: A Case Study." *Journal of Strategic Studies* 37, no. 1 (2014): 4–29.
  - Johnsen, Dawn. "The Lawyers' War: Counterterrorism from Bush to Obama to Trump." *Foreign Affairs* 96 (2017): 148.
- Other material
  - -Wright, Evan. *Generation Kill*. Corgi, (2009).
  - *Zero Dark Thirty*, 2012. Directed by Kathryn Bigelow.

10.5 The Second Congo War

The Second Congo War was one of the bloodiest conflicts of the late 20th and early 21st Century. It is also a conflict demonstrating the relevance of the course topics to the study of civil wars. It is also a conflict that you could be forgiven for never having heard of, due to a relative lack of media coverage. The war featured war crimes and massacres on all sides, and drew in states from across the continent. To give some sense of the scale of the conflict, the debate about the death toll is whether the excess deaths caused by the conflict are between just under 1,000,000 or in the region of 5,400,000. In short, if you are looking for work on the logic of war crimes and attacks upon civilians, this is a good case study.

- Introductory Readings
  - Reyntjens, Filip. "Briefing: The Second Congo War: More Than a Remake." *African Affairs* 98, no. 391 Reyntjens (1999): 241–50. *http://www.jstor.org/stable/723629*.
  - Prunier, Gérard. *Africa's World Wwar: Congo, the Rwandan Genocide, and the Making of a Continental Catastrophe*. Oxford University Press, (2008).
- Thematic Readings
  - **Conflict Status:** Carayannis, Tatiana. "The Complex Wars of the Congo: Towards a New Analytic Approach." *Journal of Asian and African Studies* 38, nos. 2-3 (2003): 232–55. *https://doi.org/10.1177/0021909603038002006*.
  - **Human Dignity and Political Community:** Smis, Stefaan, and Wamu Oyatambwe. "Complex Political Emergencies, the International Community & the Congo Conflict." *Review of African Political Economy* 29, nos. 93-94 Smis and Oyatambwe (2002): 411–30. *https://doi.org/10.1080/0305624020870463*0.

  - **Law and Conflict:** Davis, Laura. "Power Shared and Justice Shelved: The Democratic Republic of Congo." *The International Journal of Human Rights* 17, no. 2 (2013): 289–306. *https://doi.org/10.1080/13642987.2013.752948*.
  - **Reasons for Restraint:** Samset, Ingrid. "Conflict of Interests or Interests in Conflict? Diamonds & War in the Drc." *Review of African Political Economy* 29, nos. 93-94 (2002): 463–80. *https://doi.org/10.1080/03056240208704633*.
  - **Sexual Violence in Conflict:** Baaz, Maria Eriksson, and Maria Stern. "Why Do Soldiers Rape? Masculinity, Violence, and Sexuality in the Armed Forces in the Congo (Drc)." *International Studies Quarterly* 53, no. 2 (2009): 495–518. *http://www.jstor.org/stable/27735106*.
  - **National Security and Political Cleavages:** Clark, John F. "A Constructivist Account of the Congo Wars." *African Security* 4, no. 3 (2011): 147–70. *https://doi.org/10.1080/19392206.2011.599262*.
  - **Population Control:** Verweijen, Judith. "Military Business and the Business of the Military in the Kivus." *Review of African Political Economy* 40, no. 135 (2013): 67–82.
  - **Political Repression:** Matti, Stephanie A. "The Democratic Republic of the Congo? Corruption, Patronage, and Competitive Authoritarianism in the Drc." *Africa Today* 56, no. 4 (2010): 42–61. *http://www.jstor.org/stable/10.2979/aft.2010.56.4.42*.
  - **Intelligence & Institutions:** Meagher, Kate. "The Strength of Weak States? Non-State Security Forces and Hybrid Governance in Africa." *Development and Change* 43, no. 5 (2012): 1073–1101. *https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1467-7660.2012.01794.x*.
  - **Torture:** Baaz, Maria Eriksson, and Maria Stern. "Making Sense of Violence: Voices of Soldiers in the Congo (Drc)." *The Journal of Modern African Studies* 46, no. 1 (2008): 57–86. *https://doi.org/10.1017/S0022278X07003072*.
  - **One-Sided Violence:** Karstedt, Susanne. "Contextualizing Mass Atrocity Crimes: Moving Toward a Relational Approach." *Annual Review of Law and Social Science* 9, no. 1 (2013): 383–404. *https://doi.org/10.1146/annurev-lawsocsci-102612-134016*.

- Further Reading

  - Nzongola-Ntalaja, Georges. *The Congo from Leopold to Kabila: A People's History*. Zed Books, (2002).
  - Berdal, Mats. "The State of UN Peacekeeping: Lessons from Congo." *Journal of Strategic Studies* 41, no. 5 (2018): 721–50. *https://doi.org/10.1080/01402390.2016.1215307*.
  - Reyntjens, Filip. *The Great African War: Congo and Regional Geopolitics, 1996-2006*. Cambridge University Press, (2009)'

- Other material

– Tansi, Sony Labou. *Life and a Half: A Novel*. Indiana University Press, (2011).
– Dongala, Emmanuel. *Johnny Mad Dog*. Picador, (2006).
– Wainaina, Binyavanga. "How to Write About Africa." *Granta* 92 (2005). Available online here

11
Further Reading

Introduction

This is further reading material for the course. It is the product of a literature search done by the 2019-20 cohort of the course. I hope that you will find it useful, and that the next generation of students taking this course will benefit from your work this year.

11.1 Human Dignity and Political Community in War and National Security

Introduction

The idea of Political community in war encapsulates many different debates. Various questions have arisen as to the legitimate use of force by the state over different parties. One of the major debates within this field is how citizenship factors into in war-for example, whether it is right for a nation to treat its own citizens as combatants and deny them a judicial process. The debate also revolves around humanitarian causes, namely legal concepts such as the Responsibility to Protect, which claims that any state has the right to protect other citizens from the actions of their own government. This also leads to the central questions regarding the role of human dignity-what do we owe to each other simply for being human? Is this basic human dignity mitigated by war, or is it non-derogable? Are a nation's citizens owed more or different rights than non-citizens? These different case studies and sources discuss various aspects of the issue of citizenship and human dignity in war.

Introductory Readings

Kelman, Herbert C. "The Conditions, Criteria, and Dialectics of Human Dignity: A Transnational Perspective." *International Studies*

Quarterly 21, no. 3 (September 1977): 529–52. https://doi.org/10.2307/2600236.

Mani, Rama. "Rebuilding an Inclusive Political Community After War." *Security Dialogue* 36, no. 4 (2005): 511–26. https://doi.org/10.1177/0967010605060452.

Case Study Readings

Argentina

- Sheinin, David M. K. *Consent of the Damned: Ordinary Argentinians in the Dirty War*. Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2012.
- Smith, Lindsay Adams. "Identifying Democracy: Citizenship, DNA, and Identity in Postdictatorship Argentina" *Science, Technology, & Human Values*,41, no. 6 (February 2016): 1037–62. https://doi.org/10.1177/0162243916658708.

Northern Ireland

- White, Timothy J. "Human Rights as War by Other Means: Peace Politics in Northern Ireland." *Human Rights Quarterly* 37, no. 2 (May 2015): 561–64, 577. https://search.proquest.com/docview/1684204732?accountid=11862.
- Eccarius-Kelly, Vera. "Human Rights and Conflict Resolution in Context." *Peace & Change* 37, no. 3 (2012): 473–77. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1468-0130.2012.00761.x.
- Benest, David. "Atrocities in Britains Counter-Insurgencies." *The RUSI Journal* 156, no. 3 (2011): 80–87. https://doi.org/10.1080/03071847.2011.591099.
- Asmal, Kader. *If Law is the Enemy: Human Rights in Northern Ireland Britain's Responsibilities*. Britain; Ireland Human Rights Project, 1990.

The Vietnam Wars

- Thi Liên, Tran. "The Challenge for Peace Within South Vietnam's Catholic Community: A History of Peace Activism." *Peace & Change* 38, no. 4 (2013): 446–73. https://doi.org/10.1111/pech.12040.
- Grinter, Laurence E. "How They Lost: Doctrines, Strategies and Outcomes of the Vietnam War." *Asian Survey* 15, no. 12 (1975): 1114–32. https://doi.org/10.2307/2643587.
- Donnell, John C. "Pacification Reassessed." *Asian Survey* 7, no. 8 (1967): 567–76. http://www.jstor.org/stable/2642597.

The Global War on Terror

- Lauritzen, Paul. "Counterterrorism, Dignity, and the Rule of Law." *Soundings: An Interdisciplinary Journal* 95, no. 4 (2012): 452–67. http://www.jstor.org/stable/10.5325/soundings.95.4.0452.
- Luban, David. "Human Dignity, Humiliation, and Torture." *Kennedy Institute of Ethics Journal* 19, no. 3 (2009): 211–30. Available from: https://muse.jhu.edu/article/361940

The Second Congo War

- Meger, Sara. "Rape of the Congo: Understanding Sexual Violence in the Conflict in the Democratic Republic of Congo." *Journal of Contemporary African Studies* 28, no. 2 (2010): 119–35. https://doi.org/10.1080/02589001003736728.
- Murithi, Tim. "A Local Response to the Global Human Rights Standard: The *ubuntu* perspective on Human Dignity." *Globalisation, Societies and Education* 5, no. 3 (2007): 277–86. https://doi.org/10.1080/14767720701661966.
- Baaz, Maria Eriksson, and Maria Stern. "Making Sense of Violence: Voices of Soldiers in the Congo (DRC)." *The Journal of Modern African Studies* 46, no. 1 (2008): 57–86. https://doi.org/10.1017/s0022278x07003072.

Theme Readings

War/Warfare

- Roberts, Adam. "Counter-Terrorism, Armed Force and the Laws of War." *Survival* 44, no. 1 (2002): 7–32. http://www.tandfonline.com/doi/abs/10.1080/00396330212331343212.
- Otterbein, Keith F. "Internal War: A Cross-Cultural Study." *American Anthropologist* 70, no. 2 (1968): 277–89. https://doi.org/10.1525/aa.1968.70.2.02a00040.

Political Repression

- Carey, Sabine C, Mark Gibney, and Steven C Poe. *The Politics of Human Rights: The Quest for Dignity.* Cambridge University Press, 2010.
- Hafner-Burton, Emilie M, and Kiyoteru Tsutsui. "Human Rights in a Globalizing World: The Paradox of Empty Promises." *American Journal of Sociology* 110, no. 5 (2005): 1373–1411.

Strategic Studies

- Barkawi, Tarak. "Strategy as a Vocation: Weber, Morgenthau and Modern Strategic Studies." *Review of International Studies* 24, no. 2 (1998): 159–84. https://doi.org/10.1017/S0260210598001594.

- Klein, Bradley S. "After Strategy: The Search for a Post-Modern Politics of Peace." *Alternatives* 13, no. 3 (1988): 293–318. https://doi.org/10.1177/030437548801300301.
- Acharya, Amitav. "Human Security: East Versus West." *International Journal* 56, no. 3 (2001): 442–60. http://www.jstor.org/stable/40203577.
- Caballero-Anthony, Mely. "Revisioning Human Security in Southeast Asia." *Asian Perspective* 28, no. 3 (2004): 155–89. http://www.jstor.org/stable/42704471.
- Newman, Edward. "Critical Human Security Studies." *Review of International Studies* 36, no. 1 (2010): 77–94. https://doi.org/10.1017/S0260210509990519.

Security Studies

- Gilbert, Paul. *Terrorism, Security and Nationality: An Introductory Study in Applied Political Philosophy.* Routledge, 2008.
- Hammerstad, Anne. "Whose Security? UNHCR, Refugee Protection and State Security After the Cold War." *Security Dialogue* 31, no. 4 (2000): 391–403. http://www.jstor.org/stable/26296710.

Normative Theory

- Donnelly, Jack. "Normative Versus Taxonomic Humanity: Varieties of Human Dignity in the Western Tradition." *Journal of Human Rights* 14, no. 1 (2015): 1–22.
- Schachter, Oscar. "Human Dignity as a Normative Concept." *American Journal of International Law* 77, no. 4 (1983): 848–54. https://doi.org/10.2307/2202536.

Further Reading

Riley, Stephen. "Human Dignity and the Rule of Law." *Utrecht Law Review* 11, no. 2 (February 2015): 91. https://doi.org/10.18352/ulr.320.

Nutt, Cullen G. "The CIA's Mole in the Viet Cong: Learning from a Rare Success." *Intelligence and National Security* 34, no. 7 (January 2019): 962–79. https://doi.org/10.1080/02684527.2019.1646959.

11.2 Regulating War and Warfare

Introduction

The challenges of regulating war and warfare are reflected in the evolution of international law. Traditional legal approaches sought to frame concepts such as state sovereignty and the distinction between

combatants and non-combatants. In light of new developments, however, scholars have increasingly challenged the applicability of existing regulations. Some highlight changes to the character of war, including the impact of globalisation and the rise of non-interstate conflict. Others note shifts in the participants and parties to war, highlighting the salience of non-state actors and a blurring of the distinction between combatants and non-combatants.

At the tactical level, technological advances have created further difficulties for the regulation of warfare or highlighted gaps in existing legal structures. Weapons targeted at the environment or the use of rape in conflict have outpaced legal frameworks designed to address traditional interstate conflict.

Moreover, the fields of counterterrorism and counterinsurgency have provided fertile ground for examining the regulation of war, with states facing a range of non-state adversaries and confronting the contested applicability of IHL and IHRL. For example, whilst the criminalisation policy adopted in Northern Ireland might contrast with new legal mechanisms created during the War on Terror, others see a clearer lineage born out of a state's continued ability to define its own conflicts.

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11.3 Reasons for Restraint

Introduction

The two bodies of law that apply restraining principles in war are international humanitarian law (IHL) and international human rights law (IHRL). While these two sets of law share similarities in their spirit of upholding a basic humanity and may sometimes be complementary (Qureshi 2017), the problems arise when IHL and IHRL conflict. Such occurrences are becoming increasingly common (Draper 2011), especially with regard to the war on terror, where an 'armed conflict' necessary for IHL is uncertain. This uncertainty allows states to pick and choose the legal principles which suit them best, rather than keep to a stringent set of restraints which normative theorists argue is crucial in war. Restraint is crucial not just to keep operations legal, but also for a more fundamental purpose of viewing the enemy as human (Evangelidi 2018). Law – especially in war – is much more often followed when it is linked to morals that the actors value (Stephens 2019). This trend must be emphasized because it is difficult to apply restraint at the tactical level even when officers know its value on the strategic level.

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11.4 Is Any War Clean?

Introduction

The risk of sexual violence is a constant in armed conflict, though like warfare itself, its effects, motives, strategic logic, and perpetration is quite varied. Sexual violence "occurs to varying extent and takes distinct forms" in warfare, depending on particular social context (Wood, 2006 p. 307). In line with this variation and contextual nature, this literature search collects examples of sexual violence from a range of historical experiences, from its use as an instrument of state terror in internal conflicts, to same sex violence, to its use as a political tactic.

Corresponding to this historical breadth, a variety of disciplines have analyzed sexual violence in conflict. The predominant question is one of motivation: what engenders sexual violence and explains its occurrence in war? Sexual violence has been linked to the strategic aims of genocide, as in the former Yugoslavia. Feminist scholars have linked rape to gendered forms of political repression. Security scholars have analyzed sexual violence among internal government forces. Normative scholars have conducted meta-analyses of the study of sexual violence as too focused on quantitative analysis and not enough on interrogating its normative motivations.

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11.5 Treason, Political Community, and National Security

Introduction

The modern literature on this vast topic predominantly revolves around the definitional work of Carl Schmitt's on his Theory of the Partisan. It is a very Western European-based work on the nature of political community and the relationship between enmity and politics, in the specific context of the rise of nation-states. Research and analysis on more recent dirty wars offer more varied and comparative literature on the topic, moving away from Schmitt's strict frame. However, many will also find the basis of the concepts of treason, enmity and political community in work dating back to the 17th century, in particular in Hobbes' political philosophy, and in literature analyzing power and warfare in ancient regimes.

The modern nation-state defines what is in the 'national interest', directly impacting the internal politics that sets the parameters for citizenship, patriotism and treason. Partisanship, rebellions and in-

surgencies for example are often considered as a by-product of the build-up and institutionalization of a political order that aims to eliminate differences, structurally but also rhetorically as the idea of nation (the Anderson's "imagined communities") and sovereignty are a construct, not a given, in which unity, enmity and multi-faceted divisions, domestic or foreign, interact in a complex way.

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11.6 Strategy and Population Control

Introduction

The theme of Strategy and Population Control is addressed by scholars with various backgrounds and academic focuses. However, despite the abundance of the material, a few major themes were identified during the literature search and review. First, most researchers tend to describe specific means of population control, such as rape, torture, propaganda and information control. This suggests that population control is not monolithic, but varies widely depending on context. Thus, as identified by the readings, population control usually occurs as part of a cost/benefit analysis, with the unethical nature of the acts being weighed against their political advantages. Secondly, as seen in the case studies, many examples of population control occur with ethnic or cultural motivations. Therefore, the analyses of causes and behaviors of population control are generally specific, to the individual level; which provides relatively subjective insight for a reader. Thirdly, there is no consensus on the definition of the topic, as understandings change based on the frame one uses to analyse it, such as politics, law

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11.7 Political Warfare and Political Emergencies

Introduction

Political emergencies are often rooted in state collapse and therefore, understanding the underpinnings of statehood is essential to understanding PEs. With the recent nature of conflicts being characterized by these emergencies, these 'small wars' need to be studied under different lenses in order to extract their causes and consequences. Additionally, political emergencies are often characterized by the interaction of multiple non-state and state actors, as in the case study of The Second Congo War. Motivated by mining interests the war in the Democratic Republic of the Congo was also heightened by disease and humanitarian crises which are often hallmarks of political emergencies.

Political Warfare, also known as psychological warfare, is a state tool dedicated to output propaganda to the needs of a war. This is done so through overt and covert means to influence the morale of the enemy or/and of an ally. Northern Ireland provides an example of political warfare, in part in the form of Britain engaging in a propaganda war with the IRA. The British government installed propaganda agencies and even forged letters to incriminate some of the IRA senior individuals, all in attempts to gain the upper hand in this dirty war.

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11.8 Identity, Identification, and Intelligence Institutions

Introduction

Secrecy and intelligence services have long been means for states to protect themselves their national security interests. The role identity and identification play in these institutions, as many authors have argued, can be crucial to how these conflicts play out. Intelligence agencies use the cloak of secrecy since the information gathered would not be available to the public. Yet nowadays the role of secrecy is increasingly being challenged by public demands for accountability, especially

after leaks which revealed the extensiveness of surveillance in Western states. This may create a problem for states regarding the safeguarding of national security without a reliance on excessive secrecy. States now have to find a new balance between national security and secrecy within the context of identity and identification.

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11.9 Torture

Introduction

The boundaries of legitimacy, morality, and legal permissibility relating to the employment of torture and enhanced interrogation techniques can become blurred by states in times of crisis. Those regimes that have openly engaged in such methods in order to extract information, or in many cases exact punishment, often seek legal loopholes (such as the denial of protected status to belligerents), or justification which places the security of the state and safety of the population above the rights of the individual. One oft-used justification is the ticking time-bomb theory, which would allow torture in extreme cases. Another common device employed by state actors is the attempt to restrict the definition of torture to exclude specific methods. The risk of hiding behind such legal ambiguity is the normalization of inhumane practices, and the possibility of impunity for inhumane acts not defined as torture specifically. The literature provides numerous case studies and theoretical models to inform definitions of torture and illuminate the practices, justifications, and both moral and legal paradoxes, which serve to highlight the disconnect between liberal democracies and the value they attach to human rights, and their resort to torture in dealing with terrorism or dissenters.

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11.10 Targeted Killing and One-Sided Violence

Introduction

Violence in war is often perpetrated and experienced asymmetrically. The increased use of targeted killing as a strategy in contemporary warfare further highlights and exacerbates war's disparity as violence can be enacted with little to no risk for one side. Technological developments, particularly in the field of drone warfare, have demonstrated targeted killing to be an effective means of achieving national security objectives in contemporary conflicts. In particular, Targeted Killing has been adopted as a central tactic by the US in the global war on terror.

However, with increased use has come extensive criticism primarily surrounding the legality and morality of targeted killing as a method of warfare. Despite these criticisms, the use of targeted killing appears only to have increased and shows no sign of discontinuation. The literature addresses questions associated with the morality and ethics of identifying and classifying targets. In other words 'Who is a legitimate target?' and 'What constitutes legitimate violence?'

There are limitations that are presented in the literature. For example, the strategic effectiveness and benefits of targeted killing are not questioned, rather the morality of such tactics. The absence of legal infrastructure explains to a certain extent the lack of clear regulation surrounding such issues. In addition, there remain key debates surrounding the distinction between targeting killing and assassination.

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12
Extended Learning

This chapter is entirely optional and contains information about my personal lab. Again, this is entirely optional, and not tied to the course. I started my lab to experiment with teaching practice and collective research projects aligned with my research interests. The idea is that lab members co-learn, develop joint research projects, and work towards publication at an appropriate level. If you are looking to round out your CV with practical experience, or develop personal research towards publication, this may be of interest.

12.1 Ethics, Technology & Conflict Lab

The lab exists to promote innovative approaches to the study of war and conflict. In practical terms, the lab is a structure to enable you to learn research skills in a short period of time, to develop your own field of expertise, to experiment with scalable research methods and digital technologies, and to get practical experience in academic research for your CV. The underlying idea is to experiment and test the limits of what is possible in a way that is mutually beneficial to all persons involved.[1]

[1] This means no filling envelopes, no fetching coffees, or any other drudgework associated with internships.

This is my personal lab. The focus of lab work is the rather wide remit of "Culture, Technology and War". If you are a student on one of my courses, the chances are that there's something you are interested in within this frame. The central idea of the lab is to provide a space to experiment with teaching methods, and to enable students to develop their practical research and communication skills through project based learning by engaging with ongoing research projects at all stages of development.

There are four strands of activity to engage with:

- Skills development. About a third of time spent in the lab is dedicated to the development of practical skills, most importantly experimenting with developing the skills required to undertake group

or personal projects. We'll experiment with learning sprints, collaboration technologies, and whole-cohort research projects alongside more standard elements like drafting and editing your prior academic work to suit different audiences.

- Research projects. A fundamental aim of the lab is to enable groups to experiment with research projects[2] that are devised by lab participants. In other words, follow your nose. This element of lab activity is intended to be creative, with the idea of producing minimum viable research products, that may be the basis for further, formal, research.
- Communicating research. A third element of lab participation is the development of your work (and group work) to publication standard. This involves working through simulated peer-review processes to develop working papers, blog posts, data sets, reports, bibliographies, or further.
- Professional experience. I have a range of ongoing research projects. If you need, or would like, experience of working on academic research projects, then we can agree upon a set of tasks that would suit your CV.

[2] Ones that do not require research ethics approval.

12.2 Research Projects for 2020/21

These are the options for practical research projects for 2020/21. If you are interested on working on any of these, please get in touch.

- Literature Reviews
  - Strategy and climate change
    - Literature on conflict and climate change, and examining it to analyse its potential consequences for strategy and warfare in the 21st century
    - Literature on strategic studies, and examining it to analyse the extent to which it is informed by current scientific assessments of the impact of climate change in the 21st century
- Theory Building
  - War and Infrastructure
    - Studying theories of infrastructure and their relevance to war and armed conflict. Ultimate aim: how do concepts of infrastructure enhance our understanding of war?
- Case Studies/Qualitative Methods
  - Data Ethics in Armed Conflict
    - Identifying interesting uses of biometric recognition systems in contemporary warfare

    - Mapping the development of artillery radars and counterfire systems in the 20th century
  - The Maintenance of Military Power
    - Identifying key military platforms that are/were used well beyond their initial expected lifespan
- Datasets/Quantitative Methods
  - War and Slavery
    - Classifying forms of coerced labour in the context of armed conflicts from the Correlates of War dataset
- Historical Research
  - A history of British surveillance controversies
    - Identifying and evaluating state surveillance controversies since the formation of the Home Office

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