IR 206: Politics of Authoritarian Regimes

University of Rochester Fall 2016 TR, 11:05am-12:20pm Classroom: Harkness 329

Instructor: Jack Paine
Office: Harkness 326
jackpaine@rochester.edu
www.jackpaine.com
OHs: Thursdays 12:30-2:30

Course overview. This course will teach students about politics in authoritarian regimes, the predominant form of political regime throughout history and one that is still prevalent today. The goals of the course are three-fold. First, students will learn about various strategies that authoritarian rulers use to stay in power. Second, students will be exposed to contemporary debates about authoritarian regimes (e.g., Arab Spring, Western democracy promotion). Third, students will learn about the varieties of authoritarian regimes and their implications for regime transition and other outcomes.

Grading

- **5x10% Essays/short responses:** There will be 5 essay questions assigned throughout the course that will each require student responses of 500-750 words. The questions will be closely related to topics discussed in class and in the readings. Essays must demonstrate substantial use of the assigned readings to earn better than a C. You are encouraged to use your notes and to consult the readings when writing your essays, but you CANNOT discuss the essays with any classmates until you have handed them in.
- 30% Final paper: There will be a final paper of 10-12 pages for W students and 5-6 pages for non-W students. The papers provide students with an opportunity to examine the topics discussed in class from the in-depth perspective of one or several empirical cases of their choosing (although other suitable projects may be substituted for this; for example, students may be allowed to write a paper that includes statistical analysis if they prefer). The paper will require W students to cite at least six academic sources not among assigned readings for the class, and three sources for non-W students. More details about the final paper will be forthcoming in the first few weeks of class.
- 20% Class participation: This is a small seminar class that requires active participation from each student. This is not a free 20% of the grade for students that simply show up. Quality participation requires attending class, demonstrated attempts to understand the readings to the best of your ability, and thoughtful responses to comments by your classmates and the instructor.

Reading. Almost all the topics will cover two classes, one on Tuesday and one on Thursday. I expect students to have completed all the readings for the week before Tuesday's class. The order of readings in the syllabus does not necessarily indicate the order in which we will discuss them, so do not expect readings at the bottom to be discussed only on Thursday. All readings will be uploaded to the course Blackboard site. Also, pay close attention to the specific pages assigned for each reading because often it is only several pages from a longer article. Note that all aspects of your grade (written assignments, class participation) are highly contingent on thoughtful completion of the readings.

Reading advice: On par with an upper-level political course, there is a considerable reading load per week. Some of these readings make theoretical points, and below I provide advice on how to best handle such readings. Case studies also compose a large number of these pages. The goal of the case studies is to provide examples of general theoretical patterns, rather than to make you an expert on individual cases. Do not ignore the details, but do not dwell on specific events, either. Instead, think about how information from the cases provides insight into the broader themes of the course and into the specific key questions posed that week. A student that is well-prepared for a particular session will have spent several hours with the readings and perhaps an additional hour writing notes that link the readings to the key questions. Students should be prepared to discuss the readings in some amount of depth (e.g., if you missed the dictator's name or the name of the ruling party, then you probably did not read closely enough) but will not be guizzed on or expected to memorize a wealth of specific details.

Finally, every week contains questions to help guide the readings. This should not encourage students only to read until the point where they can answer those specific questions. Although we will discuss all these topics in class, we will cover other questions that arise from the readings as well. Students are encouraged to produce questions of their own that we can discuss.

Attendance. Attendance is required at all sessions. Please notify me of any known and unavoidable absences (e.g., University-sponsored academic or sporting event) at the beginning of the semester, and any unforeseen circumstances (e.g., death in the family, illness) as soon as possible if they arise. I understand that unforeseen events do happen on occasion, but it is your responsibility, not mine, to keep me updated.

Submitting assignments and late policy. All assignments will be emailed directly to the instructor as a Microsoft Word document by the day and time indicated on the syllabus. I will make comments on the papers, and this is easiest to do in Word. The late policy is that assignments handed in between 1 and 24 hours late will receive a full grade off, assignments handed in between 24 and 48 hours late will receive two full grades off, and assignments handed in more than 48 hours late will not be accepted. As with attendance, it is your responsibility to keep me updated and to coordinate an alternative plan if needed as soon in advance as possible.

Academic honesty. Tempted to cheat? Don't do it. Fortunately, there are few possible opportunities for cheating in this course. Students are encouraged to talk to each other about the readings and about their final papers outside of class, and are encouraged to use their notes and readings when writing the five essays and final paper. The only exception is that students are NOT ALLOWED to discuss their answers to essay questions with each other or with anyone else prior to handing them in. If I learn that students collaborated or otherwise received help on an essay, then they will receive no credit for that essay and there may be further repercussions. The university's academic honesty policy can be found at: http://www.rochester.edu/college/honesty.

Anything else. If any of this is unclear or if there are other relevant details for your situation, please contact me sooner rather than later. If you have a disability for which you may request an academic accommodation, you are encouraged to contact both myself and the access coordinator for your school to establish eligibility for academic accommodations (please see https://www.rochester.edu/disability/students.html). I hope this course will be an enjoyable experience for everyone, which I suppose makes me a benevolent authoritarian ruler.

Schedule of classes

September 1 – No class

September 6 and 8 – Introduction to and conceptualizing authoritarian regimes

Key questions: What distinguishes authoritarian from democratic regimes? What are distinguishing characteristics of different types of authoritarian regimes? What are major trends over time regarding the frequency of dictatorships relative to democracies, as well as the frequency of different types of authoritarian regimes?

- Read the syllabus for this course.
- Geddes, Barbara. 1999. "What Do We Know About Democratization After 20 Years?" *Annual Review of Political Science*, 2: 115-144.
- Read chapter 2 "The world of authoritarian politics" (pgs. 19-50) from Svolik, Milan W. 2012. The Politics of Authoritarian Rule. New York: Cambridge University Press
- Read pgs. 501-513 (only the top three lines of 513) of Miller, Michael K. 2015. "Democratic Pieces: Autocratic Elections and Democratic Development since 1815." *British Journal of Political Science*, 45(3): 501-530.
- Read section "Two meanings of state power" (pgs. 188-192) from Mann, Michael. 1988. "The Autonomous Power of the State: Its Origins, Mechanisms and Results." *European Journal of Sociology*, 25(2): 185-213.
- Useful empirical trends to know:
 - The distribution of authoritarian and democratic regimes over time: https://cdn3.vox-cdn.com/thumbor/Nd2SQ5o8Lo17-
 https://cdn3.vox-cdn.com/seets/4337013/democracy_advance_gif.gif
 - o Recent democratic regression:

Part I. Core tools of authoritarian regimes

September 13 and 15 – Political survival without institutions

Key questions: A dictator is singular, compared to its inner circle and to the masses of society. How can a leader possibly retain power in the absence of institutions to govern politics? What prevents the masses from rushing the gates of the palace—especially in the face of highly autocratic rule?

Reading:

- Theory. Note: All of these contain a technical element (some a heavy one, which is why you are skipping a good chunk of the Svolik and Acemoglu et al. articles). To the best of your ability, given the pages assigned, try to understand the core theoretical point that the authors make. What key tradeoffs do the main actors face? How do they resolve those tradeoffs? What are the implications of actors' choices for authoritarian stability and for the types of authoritarian regimes that should form? You might have to read each several times to understand the main point, which is why the total number of assigned pages for each is intentionally short.
 - Read pgs. 477-483 (stop at section "The formal model") of Svolik, Milan W.
 2009. "Power Sharing and Leadership Dynamics in Authoritarian Regimes."
 American Journal of Political Science, 53(2): 477-494.
 - Read pgs. 245-253 (stop at section "Democratic stability") in Weingast, Barry R. 1997. "The Political Foundations of Democracy and the Rule of Law." American Political Science Review, 91(2): 245-263.
 - Read the Nielsen handout on collective action.
 - Read the intro, conclusion, and examples 1 through 4 (but not any of the math outside the examples) in Acemoglu, Daron, Georgy Egorov, and Konstantin Sonin. 2009. "Do Juntas Lead to Personal Rule?" *American Economic Review: Papers & Proceedings*, 99(2): 298-303.

• Empirics:

- Read chapter 3 "The Egyptian Polity at Zenith: The New Kingdom" (pgs. 179-209) from Finer, S.E. 1997. The History of Government from the Earliest Times: Volume 1: Ancient Monarchies and Empires. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Katouzian, Homa. 1998. "The Pahlavi Regime in Iran." In Sultanistic Regimes, Eds. H.E. Chehabi and Juan J. Linz. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press, pp. 182-205.

September 20 and 22 – Resources and patronage politics

Key questions: How do authoritarian rulers use revenues and other state discretionary tools to build support? What makes patronage strategies more or less successful? How does the amount of revenue affect prospects for survival?

Reading:

- Read chapter 2 (pgs. 37-76) of Bueno de Mesquita, Bruce, Alastair Smith, Randolph M. Siverson, and James D. Morrow. 2003. The Logic of Political Survival. Cambridge: MIT Press.
- Ross, Michael L. 2001. "Does Oil Hinder Democracy?" World Politics, 53(3): 325-361.
- Arriola, Leonardo R. 2009. "Patronage and Political Stability in Africa." *Comparative Political Studies* 42(10): 1339-1362.
- Read either:
 - o If you are more interested in the Middle East and/or oil: Chapter 3 "Oil and Politics" (pgs. 42-77) of Gause III, Gregory F. 1994. Oil Monarchies: Domestic and Security Challenges in the Arab Gulf States. New York: Council on Foreign Relations.
 - If you are more interested in Africa: Chapter 4 "The Domestic Currency of International Sovereignty" (pgs. 59-98) of Englebert, Pierre. 2009. Africa: Unity, Sovereignty, and Sorrow. Boulder: Lynne Rienner.

Note: Two of these articles, like many we will encounter throughout the semester, contain a statistical testing component. If you are able to understand any of the details, that is great, but that is not expected or required. Instead, as with the more difficult theoretical readings, I want you to understand what the takeaway from the article is and what hypotheses the authors claim to find evidence for or against. If possible, think about the virtues and shortcomings of the testing strategy. But do not dwell on technical aspects of the articles that you do not understand.

September 27 and 29 – Repression

Key questions: What goals do authoritarian rulers seek to achieve by using repression? How do rulers create incentives for their military to follow orders to use force? Why does repression sometimes fail, and what are the consequences?

- Read section 3 "The Logic of Terror" (pgs. 6-7 of the pdf) from Haber, Stephen. 2008. "Authoritarian Government." In *The Oxford Handbook of Political Economy*, Eds. Donald A. Wittman and Barry R. Weingast. New York: Oxford University Press. (We will read the entire chapter later in the class.)
- Read Sections 1.2 (pgs. 15-23) and Sections 4.1 (pgs. 59-63) of the conceptual prologue from Finer, S.E. 1997. *The History of Government from the Earliest Times: Volume 1: Ancient Monarchies and Empires*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Bellin, Eva. 2004. "The Robustness of Authoritarianism in the Middle East: Exceptionalism in Comparative Perspective." Comparative Politics, 36(2): 139-157.
- Read either:

- Byman, Daniel and Jennifer Lind. 2010. "Pyongyang's Survival Strategy: Tools of Authoritarian Control in North Korea." *International Security*, 35(1): 44-74.
- Quinlivan, James T. 1999. "Coup-proofing: Its Practice and Consequences in the Middle East." *International Security*, 24(2): 131-165.
- Thompson, Mark R. 2001. "To Shoot or Not to Shoot: Posttotalitarianism in China and Eastern Europe." *Comparative Politics*, 34(1): 63-83.
- Goodwin, Jeff and Theda Skocpol. 1989. "Explaining Revolutions in the Contemporary Third World." *Politics & Society*, 17(4): 489-509.

October 4 and 6 - Application: Surviving the Arab Spring

Key questions: What enabled ordinary citizens to suddenly rise up and precipitate authoritarian turnover in several Middle Eastern/North African countries in spring of 2011? What accounts for the differences in outcomes across countries in the region? Which authoritarian tools that we have discussed proved most or least effective?

- Bellin, Eva R. 2012. "Reconsidering the Robustness of Authoritarianism in the Middle East: Lessons from the Arab Spring." *Comparative Politics*, 44(2): 127-149.
- Read either:
 - The following article and the commentary that follows: Chaney, Eric. 2012.
 "Democratic Change in the Arab World, Past and Present." Brookings Papers on Economic Activity, Spring: 363-414.
 - Kuran, Timur. 1991. "Now Out of Never: The Element of Surprise in the East European Revolution of 1989." World Politics, 44(1): 7-48.
- Read each of these short pieces by leading Middle East or oil scholars:
 - Anderson, Lisa. 2011. "Demystifying the Arab Spring." Foreign Affairs. 90(3): 2-7.
 - Gause III, Gregory F. 2011. "Why Middle East Studies Missed the Arab Spring." Foreign Affairs, 90(4): 81-90.
 - Ross, Michael L. 2011. "Will Oil Drown the Arab Spring?" Foreign Affairs, 90(5): 2-7.
- Anderson, Lisa. 1991. "Absolutism and the Resilience of Monarchy in the Middle East." *Political Science Quarterly*, 106(1): 1-15.
- Gause III, Gregory F. 2013. "A King for All Seasons: How the Middle East's Monarchies Survived the Arab Spring." *Brookings Doha Center Analysis Paper*, No. 8.
- Read pgs. 478-482 from Meirowitz, Adam and Joshua A. Tucker. 2013. "People Power or a One-Shot Deal? A Dynamic Model of Protest." *American Journal of Political Science*, 57(2): 478-490.
- Short newspaper clips about Egypt five years later:
 - https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/worldviews/wp/2016/02/10/fiveyears-after-egypts-arab-spring-we-didnt-need-a-revolution/
 - o http://www.cnn.com/2016/04/27/middleeast/egypt-how-we-got-here/

- http://www.dw.com/en/five-years-on-egypt-after-the-arab-spring/a-18973463
- http://www.theatlantic.com/international/archive/2015/10/middle-eastegypt-us-policy/409537/

[Essays #1 and #2 assigned after class on October 6. Due at 5pm on October 14]

Part II. Authoritarian institutions and types of authoritarian regimes

October 11 and 13 – Military regimes

Key questions: Why do militaries sometimes intervene in politics? Because the military has the guns, how do civilian dictators ever maintain control over their military? Why do leaders of military regimes ever relinquish power? Why have military regimes become so rare since the Cold War ended?

Reading:

- Geddes, Barbara, Erica Frantz, and Joseph G. Wright. 2014. "Military Rule."
 Annual Review of Political Science, 17: 147-162.
- Skim pgs. 1-61 and 72-85 of Finer, Samuel E. 1962. *The Man on Horseback: The Role of the Military in Politics*. London: Pall Mall.
 - By skim, from this reading I simply want you to get a sense of the factors that might cause the military to intervene in politics and the reasons it might withdraw.
- Read chapter 5 "The End of the Regime: Political Society and the Military" (pgs. 55-67) of Stepan, Alfred. 1988. *Rethinking Military Politics: Brazil and the Southern Cone.* Princeton: Princeton University Press.
- Marinov, Nikolay and Hein Goemans. 2014. "Coups and Democracy." *British Journal of Political Science*, 44(4): 799–825.
- Read pgs. 132-152 in Slater, Dan. 2009. "Altering Authoritarianism: Institutional Complexity and Autocratic Agency in Indonesia." In *Explaining Institutional Change: Ambiguity, Agency, and Power*, Eds. James Mahoney and Kathleen Thelen. New York: Cambridge University Press, pp. 132-167.

October 18 – No class. Enjoy fall break.

October 20, 25, and 27 – Party regimes

Key questions: In what ways do parties provide effective organizations for helping authoritarian regimes remain in power? What are the difficulties and tradeoffs involved in creating strong authoritarian parties? What are sources of vulnerability in party regimes? **Assignment:** Think about what you want to write about for your final paper. In addition to discussing the readings, we will discuss students' final paper ideas in class on October 25.

Reading:

• Magaloni, Beatriz and Ruth Kricheli. 2010. "Political Order and One Party Rule." Annual Review of Political Science, 13: 123-143.

- Huntington, Samuel P. 1970. "Social and Institutional Dynamics of One-Party Systems." In Authoritarian Politics in Modern Society, Eds. Samuel P. Huntington and Clement H. Moore. New York: Basic Books, pp. 3-47.
- Nathan, Andrew J. 2003. "Authoritarian Resilience." Journal of Democracy, 14(1): 6-17.
- Read the theory section and sections on Malaysia (pgs. 44-52, 74-93, 116-124, 146-163, 211-225) in Slater, Dan. 2010. Ordering Power: Contentious Politics and Authoritarian Leviathans in Southeast Asia. Levitsky and Way (2010, 318-328) provide a condensed summary of more recent events in Malaysia that may prove useful

There is more reading than usual for this topic because it will span three class sessions. We will not get to the following readings until either October 25 or 27, so you are not required to have read them by October 20.

- Read Sections 1 and 2 (pgs. 1-11) of Meng, Anne. 2016. "Ruling Parties in Authoritarian Regimes: A Theory of Endogenous Institutional Change." Working paper, Department of Politics, University of Virginia.
- Read the chapter intro and section "Organizational Power and Authoritarian Stability" (pgs. 236-258) in Levitsky, Steven and Lucan A. Way. 2010. *Competitive Authoritarianism: Hybrid Regimes After the Cold War*. New York: Cambridge University Press.

November 1 and 3 – Economic development in authoritarian regimes

Recommendation: Visit me in office hours to discuss your final paper sometime before you have to hand in a one-page description of your final paper on November 16.

Key questions: Because regimes that are strong enough to enforce property rights are also strong enough to take them away, how can dictators ever credibly commit to protect property rights? What incentives do authoritarian regimes have to pursue policies that either promote or undermine economic growth? Under what conditions can authoritarian regimes succeed at promoting economic development?

- Haber, Stephen. 2008. "Authoritarian Government." In The Oxford Handbook of Political Economy, Eds. Donald A. Wittman and Barry R. Weingast. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Olson, Mancur. 1993. "Dictatorship, Democracy, and Development." *American Political Science Review*, 87(3): 567-576.
- Read pgs. 123-125 and 134-139 (skip section 2 "Model and analysis") of Gehlbach, Scott and Philip Keefer. 2011. "Investment without Democracy: Rulingparty institutionalization and credible commitment in autocracy." *Journal of Comparative Economics*, 39: 123-139.
- Read either:
 - Chapters 1 and 2 (pgs. 3-51) of Shirk, Susan. 1993. The Political Logic of Economic Reform in China. Berkeley: University of California Press.
 - Pgs. 53-97 (i.e., you do not need to read the commentary that follows the article) in Rodrik, Dani. 1995. "Getting Interventions Right: How South Korea and Taiwan Grew Rich." *Economic Policy*, 10(20): 53-107.

• Read chapter 3 "Decision Making in Postcolonial Africa" (pgs. 113-151) in van de Walle, Nicolas. 2001. *African Economies and the Politics of Permanent Crisis,* 1979-1999. New York: Cambridge University Press.

November 8 and 10 – Electoral authoritarianism

Key questions: It is very common for contemporary authoritarian regimes to hold at least semi-competitive elections, in contrast to 30 years ago. Why have so many dictators agreed to hold elections? In what ways can these elections facilitate democracy? In what ways can these elections serve as a tool to bolster authoritarian rule?

Reading:

- Gandhi, Jennifer and Ellen Lust-Okar. 2009. "Elections Under Authoritarianism." *Annual Review of Political Science*, 12: 403-422.
- Levitsky, Steven and Lucan A. Way. 2002. "The Rise of Competitive Authoritarianism." *Journal of Democracy*, 13(2): 51-65.
- Thompson, Mark R. and Philipp Kuntz. 2006. "After Defeat: When Do Rulers Steal Elections?" In *Electoral Authoritarianism: The Dynamics of Unfree Competition*, Ed. Andreas Schedler. Boulder: Lynne Rienner, pp. 113-128.
- Brownlee, Jason. 2009. "Portents of Pluralism: How Hybrid Regimes Affect Regime Transitions." *American Journal of Political Science*, 53(3): 515-532.
- Tucker, Joshua A. 2007. "Enough! Electoral Fraud, Collective Action Problems, and Post-Communist Color Revolutions." *Perspectives on Politics*, 5(3): 535-551.

November 15 and 17 – Controlling the media

Assignment due November 17: Hand in a brief (~1 pg.) description of what you will write about for your final paper. *This document is due by noon on November 16* to give me a chance to read all of them before class on Thursday. It must mention at least two outside sources (i.e., not assigned readings for this course) that you plan to use.

Key questions: What are authoritarian rulers' goals when imposing media controls? Under what conditions can rulers achieve these goals? When might authoritarian regimes benefit from loosening media controls? How has the advent of the Internet and social media affected prospects for authoritarian regime survival?

- Read everything except pgs. 652-654 from Egorov, Georgy, Sergei Guriev, and Konstantin Sonin. 2009. "Why Resource-Poor Dictators Allow Freer Media: A Theory and Evidence from Panel Data." *American Political Science Review*, 103(4): 645–668.
- King, Gary, Jennifer Pan, and Margaret E. Roberts. 2013. "How Censorship in China Allows Government Criticism but Silences Collective Expression." *American Political Science Review*, 107(2): 326-343.
- Read pgs. 402-405 (stop at section "Setup") and pgs. 410 (starting with "Evidence") to the end of Lorentzen, Peter. 2014. "China's Strategic Censorship."

- American Journal of Political Science, 58(2): 402-414.
- McMillan, John, and Pablo Zoido. "How to subvert democracy: Montesinos in Peru." *Journal of Economic Perspectives*, 18(4): 69-92.
- Three brief newspaper articles:
 - http://www.dw.com/en/african-authoritarian-regimes-dread-of-social-media/a-19067717
 - https://www.washingtonpost.com/opinions/authoritarian-regimes-retooltheir-media-control-strategy/2014/01/10/5c5bfa6e-7886-11e3-af7f-13bf0e9965f6 story.html?utm term=.3f3e72e7370c
 - http://www.wired.com/2016/01/social-media-made-the-arab-spring-butcouldnt-save-it/
- Read pgs. 193-194 (the brief remarks about literacy and industrial production) from Mann, Michael. 1988. "The Autonomous Power of the State: Its Origins, Mechanisms and Results." *European Journal of Sociology*, 25(2): 185-213.

[Essays #3 and #4 assigned after class on November 15. Due at 5pm on November 20]

Part III. International influences

November 22 – Colonialism and democracy

Key questions: What aspects of colonial rule are correlated with democracy? Why did some colonial rulers care about promoting democracy? What may have been unique about the colonial era that facilitated international democracy promotion?

Reading:

- Narizny, Kevin. 2012. "Anglo-American Primacy and the Global Spread of Democracy: An International Genealogy." *World Politics*, 64(2): 341-373.
- Lee, Alex and Jack Paine. 2016. "Did British Colonialism Promote Democracy? Divergent Inheritances and Diminishing Legacies." Working paper, Department of Political Science, University of Rochester.

November 29 and December 1 - The West during the Cold War and afterwards Key questions: Have Western countries consistently promoted democracy? Under what conditions are Western countries able to promote democracy? What tools can authoritarian rulers use to thwart democracy promotion? How has Western democracy promotion differed between the colonial era and post-colonial eras? **Reading:**

- Read section "The International Dimension: Linkage and Leverage" (pgs. 38-54) and chapter 3 (pgs. 87-129) in Levitsky, Steven and Lucan A. Way. 2010. Competitive Authoritarianism: Hybrid Regimes After the Cold War. New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Boix, Carles. 2011. "Democracy, Development, and the International System." *American Political Science Review,* 105(4): 809-828.

- Read pgs. 86-142 from Cheeseman, Nic. 2015. *Democracy in Africa: Successes, Failures, and the Struggle for Political Reform*. New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Read chapter 8 "The Protection of Investments after 1950: The Use of Force" in Krasner, Stephen D. 1978. *Defending the National Interest*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.

December 6 and 8 – Application: The United States and Nation-Building Key questions: You decide! Reading:

- Brownlee, Jason. 2012. "Can America Nation-Build?" World Politics, 59(2): 314-340.
- Read chapter 6 "Democratizing Japan and Germany" in Smith, Tony. 2012. America's Mission: The United States and the Worldwide Struggle for Democracy. Princeton: Princeton University Press.
- Diamond, Larry. 2004. "What Went Wrong in Iraq." Foreign Affairs, 83(5): 34-56.
- Fearon, James D. 2007. "Iraq's Civil War." Foreign Affairs, 86(2): 2-15.
- Dodge, Toby. 2012. "Iraq's Road Back to Dictatorship." Survival, 54(3): 147-168.
- Some recent commentary on Iraq: http://www.theatlantic.com/international/archive/2015/06/america-win-loss-iraq-afghanistan/394559/

December 13 - Essay #5 in class

Assignment: Work on your final papers.

In class: Essay #5 to be assigned and written in class.

[Final paper due at 5pm on December 16]