

Course Organiser

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Introduction

This paper consists of two Long Essays on topics chosen to pursue your particular interests in politics and international relations. The first essay is started in Michaelmas term, and should be submitted by noon on **25th January 2021**. The second essay is started in Lent term, and has to be submitted by noon on Monday **3rd May 2021**.

The aim of this paper is to enable you to develop further your skills in diverse areas of research in the fields of politics and international studies, in critical engagement with key texts, and in the presentation of arguments and writing on varied topics related to debates in these fields.

As the list below shows, your approach to these topics may be primarily theoretical or empirical. Many of the questions are generally phrased in order to allow you to decide, in discussion with your supervisor, whether to answer them in a general way or to concentrate on particular aspects or examples of the issue at hand. In doing so, you should consider conceptual issues, although not to the exclusion of relevant facts or specific arguments. Some of the questions relate to and cover similar issues as material covered in your other papers this year. You may use this paper to extend your work for another paper or prepare the ground for further studies.

In choosing a topic and preparing the essays, a balance should be struck between extending work done for other papers, and taking care that there is not too much overlap between your essay and an exam answer in your other papers. This may be avoided by

referring to different examples and readings than in other papers or exams; if in doubt, your supervisors or Directors of Studies will be able to advise further.

Lecture, selection dates, deadlines

There is an introductory lecture on Zoom at the start of Michaelmas Term by Dr Glen Rangwala to introduce the questions and the approach to essay writing. This will be on Wednesday **7th October 2020 at 11am**. This lecture will outline approaches to research, reading and writing for the Long Essay, and offer opportunities to ask questions about the paper. A recording will be available afterwards.

At the start of both Michaelmas and Lent Terms, you will be asked for their essay choices: a first choice, and a reserve choice. These choices will need to be received by noon on Friday **9th October 2020** for the Michaelmas choice and noon on Wednesday **27th January 2021** for the Lent term choice. In advance of those dates, you will receive a link by email asking you to make your choices, and please select your first and second choice via that link. We will then be in touch with you directly to notify you of your supervisor. While we try to give you supervision on your first choice questions, you may be asked to write on your reserve choice if there is a very high demand for certain questions. If you didn't receive your first choice in Michaelmas, you will be given priority in Lent; conversely, choices submitted late will be given lowest priority. You can't choose the same question number for your second essay that you took for your first essay.

The deadline for the submission of your first essay is **noon on Monday, 25th January 2021**. The deadline for your second essay is **noon on Monday, 3rd May 2021**. The deadline however is firm, and work that is submitted after these deadlines will receive penalties. If you have good reason to request an extension (such as a serious health problem, or a major family difficulty), you should contact your College as soon as possible; all requests must be sent from your Director of Studies or your Tutor to Dr Jeremy Green (jbg35@cam.ac.uk), the Senior Examiner of Politics and International Relations Part II. All requests must be accompanied by appropriate evidence, and should be submitted at least 48 hours before the deadline if at all possible. Each essay should be submitted as a **pdf document**, along with a cover sheet that will be circulated to you by email. The essay and the cover sheet should be uploaded on Moodle. You will be enrolled in a Moodle course ('POL5 and POL19 essay submissions') and you upload it to that course by the deadline.

The questions

**** Please note that this list is not yet complete – we expect to add a few more questions before the start of Michaelmas term, and to fill in a few more reading lists. ****

You make your selection from the list below. The subheadings that group questions together are purely to help you navigate the list, and are not intended to restrict your essays thematically. Note that some questions can only be taken in Michaelmas (MT) or Lent (LT) due to availability of supervisors. Below each question are some initial ideas on where you might start your reading for each essay.

ELECTORAL POLITICS

1. Are elections necessarily democratic?

- Brian Klass, Nic Cheeseman, *How to Rig an Election* (2018)

- Anne Applebaum, *The Twilight of Democracy* (2020)
- David Van Rebrouck, *Against Elections* (2016)
- Jason Brennan, *Against Democracy* (2016)

2. **To what extent does voter dissatisfaction with globalisation explain the recent rise of populism?**

- Hopkin, J., & Blyth, M. (2019). The Global Economics of European Populism: Growth Regimes and Party System Change in Europe. *Government and Opposition*, 54(2), 193-225.
- Norris, P., & Inglehart, R. (2019). *Cultural Backlash: Trump, Brexit, and Authoritarian Populism*. Cambridge, Cambridge University Press. (Chapter 2, pp. 32-64).
- Rodrik, D. (2018). Populism and the economics of globalization. *Journal of International Business Policy*, 1, 12–33.

POLITICAL ECONOMY

3. **Are high levels of economic inequality a major threat for democracies?**

- Atkinson, A. B., 2015. *Inequality: what can be done?* Cambridge: Harvard University Press.
- Solt, F., 2008. Economic Inequality and Democratic Political Engagement. *American Journal of Political Science*, 52, 48-60.
- Mankiw, N. G., 2013. Defending the One Percent. *The Journal of Economic Perspectives*, 27(3), 21-34.
- Gaventa, J. and Martorano, B., 2016. Inequality, power and participation—revisiting the links. *IDS Bulletin*, 47(5), 11-29.

4. **What explains the persistence of neoliberal policymaking in advanced economies?**

- Crouch, C. (2011). *The Strange Non-Death of Neoliberalism*. Cambridge, Polity.
- Fisher, M. (2009). *Capitalist Realism*. Ropley, Orca Books. (pp. 1-20).
- Gamble, A. (2014). *Crisis Without End? The Unravelling of Western Prosperity*. Basingstoke, Palgrave. (Chapter 2. pp. 28-50).
- Stahl, R. M. (2019). Ruling the Interregnum: Politics and Ideology in Nonhegemonic Times. *Politics & Society*, 47, 333-360.

5. **What does oil explain about modern politics?**

- Timothy Mitchell, *Carbon Democracy: Political Power in the Age of Oil* (London: Verso, 2011).
- Michael Ross, 'Does oil hinder democracy?' *World Politics*, 2001, 53 (3), 325-261.
- Jeff D. Colgan, *Petro-Aggression: When Oil Causes War* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2013).
- Charles Glaser, 'How oil influences US security,' *International Security*, 2013, 38, (2), 112–146.
- Tim DiMuzio 'Capitalising a future unsustainable: finance, energy and the fate of market civilisation,' *Review of International Political Economy*, 2012, 19 (3) 363-388.

6. **Does the concept of 'secular stagnation' explain the weak performance of advanced capitalist economies since the financial crisis of 2007/8?**

[Reading suggestions to follow]

7. **Why do tax havens exist?**

- Ronen Palan, 'Trying to Have your Cake and Eating It: How and Why the State System has Created Offshore' *International Studies Quarterly* (1998) 42: 635-644
- Ronen Palan *The Offshore World: Sovereign Markets, Virtual Places, and Nomad Millionaires* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2003)

- Andrew P. Morriss (2008) "The Role of Offshore Centers in Financial Regulatory Competition." *Illinois Law and Economics Research Paper Series* LE07 032
- Gabriel Zucman, *The Hidden Wealth of Nations: The Scourge of Tax Havens* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2015).

THE ENVIRONMENT

8. **Is the Green New Deal an appropriate framework for reconfiguring political economy within the Anthropocene?**
[Reading suggestions to follow]
9. **Is public apathy the biggest impediment to political action on climate change within nation-states?**
- Peter Newell and Matthew Patterson (1998), 'Climate for business: Global warming, the state, and capital', *Review of International Political Economy*, 5 (4), pp.679-704
 - Rebecca Willis (2019), 'The role of national politicians in global climate governance', *Environment and Planning E: Nature and Space*, 0 (0), pp.1-19
 - Neil Carter (2018), *The Politics of the Environment: Ideas, Activism, Policy*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press
 - Robert A. Huber, Michael L. Wicki and Thomas Bernauer (2020), 'Public support for environmental policy depends on beliefs concerning effectiveness, intrusiveness, and fairness', *Environmental Politics*, 29 (4), pp.649-673

REVOLUTION

10. **Have we reached an age where social revolutions are no longer possible?**
- Lawson, George (2019) *Anatomies of Revolution*. Cambridge University Press.
 - Chenoweth, Erica and Maria Stepan (2012) *Why Civil Resistance Works: The Strategic Logic of Nonviolent Conflict*. Columbia University Press.
 - Goldstone, Jack (2013) *Revolutions: A Very Short Introduction*. Oxford University Press.
11. **Must revolutions fail?**
- Edmund Burke, *Reflections on the Revolution in France*
 - Theda Skocpol, *States and Social Revolutions*
 - Arno Mayer, *The Furies*

IDENTITY POLITICS

12. **Discuss the relationship between policing, race and political order.**
- Hinton, Elizabeth. (2016). *From the War on Poverty to the War on Crime*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.
 - Malka, A. (2018). *The Men of Mobtown: Policing Baltimore in the Age of Slavery and Emancipation*. UNC Press Books.
 - Singh, N. P. (2014). The whiteness of police. *American Quarterly*, 66(4), 1091-1099.
 - Williams, R. (2003). A state of permanent exception: The birth of modern policing in colonial capitalism. *Interventions*, 5(3), 322-344.
13. **Does anti-semitism bring people together across class and racial divides? (LT ONLY)**
- Albert Lindemann, *The Jew accused* (Cambridge, 1991)
 - Denis McShane, *Globalising hatred the new anti-semitism* (London, 2008)
 - Dave Rich, *The left's Jewish problem. Jeremy Corbyn, Israel and anti-semitism* (London, 2016)

- Brendan Simms, *Hitler. Only the world was enough* (London, 2019)

14. What is the political role of belief in an age of secularity?

- Taylor, Charles, *A Secular Age*. Harvard University Press, 2007.
- Doostdar, Alireza, *The Iranian Metaphysicals: Explorations in Science, Islam, and the Uncanny*. Princeton University Press 2018.
- Rudnyckyj, Daromir, *Spiritual Economies: Islam, Globalization, and the Afterlife of Development*. Cornell University Press 2010.
- Bubandt, N. "Spirits as technology: tech-gnosis and the ambivalent politics of the invisible in Indonesia," *Contemporary Islam* 13, 103–120 (2019).

15. Is globalization creating a crisis of identity within the world order?

- Burchill, S. (and others) *Theories of International Relations*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan 2009 (4th edition)
- Cooper, R. *The Breaking of Nations: Order and Chaos in the Twenty-First Century*. London: Atlantic Books 2004
- Ritzer, G. *Globalization: A Basic Text*. Chichester: Wiley-Blackwell 2010

GENERAL POLITICAL THOUGHT

16. Is democracy an ideology?

- Adam Przeworski, *Democracy and the Limits of Self-Government*
- David Runciman, *How Democracy Ends*
- Karl Mannheim, *Ideology and Utopia*
- John Dunn, *Setting the People Free* (2nd ed Princeton 2018)

17. Should we speak more or less about luck in politics?

- Toni Erskine, Moral Responsibility—and Luck?—in *International Politics, The Oxford Handbook of International Political Theory*, Edited by Chris Brown and Robyn Eckersley (Mar 2018)
- Lisa Tessman, 'Moral Luck in the Politics of Personal Transformation', *Social Theory and Practice*, Vol. 26, No. 3 (Fall 2000), pp. 375-395. At: <http://www.jstor.com/stable/23559244>
- Dena M. Gromet, Kimberly A. Hartson and David K. Sherman, The politics of luck: Political ideology and the perceived relationship between luck and success, at: <https://www.sciencedirect.com/science/article/abs/pii/S0022103115000244?via%3Dihub>

18. Is dignity a meaningful political concept?

- Andrea Sangiovanni, *Humanity without Dignity: Moral Equality, Respect, and Human Rights*, Harvard University Press, 2017.
- Stella Gaon, 'More than Life: Human Dignity and the Problem of Rights', *Mosaic: An Interdisciplinary Critical Journal* 48, no. 4 (2015): 77-92. www.jstor.org/stable/44030408
- Robert Streiffer, "Human/Non-Human Chimeras", *The Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy* (Summer 2019 Edition), Edward N. Zalta (ed.), at <https://plato.stanford.edu/archives/sum2019/entries/chimeras/>
- Robin S Dillon, "Respect", *The Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy* (Spring 2018 Edition), Edward N. Zalta (ed.), at <https://plato.stanford.edu/archives/spr2018/entries/respect/>

19. Is envy a threat to democratic societies?

- John Rawls, *A Theory of Justice* (1971), esp. §80 'The Problem of Envy' and §81 'Envy and Equality'.

- Martha C. Nussbaum, *Political Emotions: Why love matters for justice*, (2013) esp. ch. 10, 'Compassion's enemies: fear, envy, shame', pp. 314-377.
- Raymond Geuss, 'Identification and the Politics of Envy', in B. Kapossy et al., eds, *Markets, Morals, Politics: Jealousy of Trade and the History of Political Thought* (2018), pp. 244-264.
- Friedrich Nietzsche, 'Homer's Contest', in *The Genealogy of Morality and Other Writings*, 3rd ed., ed. by K. Ansell-Pearson, trans. by C. Diethe, (2017), pp. 177-184.

20. What is the political value, if any, of utopian literature?

- Paul Kirby, "Political Speech in Fantastical Worlds," *International Studies Review* (2017)
- Ruth Levitas, *The Concept of Utopia* (1990)
- Lyman Tower Sargent, "The Three Faces of Utopia Revisited," *Utopian Studies* (1994)
- Matthias Thaler, "Hope Abjuring Hope: On the Place of Utopia in Realist Political Theory," *Political Theory* (2017)
- Alessa John, "Feminism and Utopianism" in Gregory Claeys (ed.), *The Cambridge Companion to Utopian Literature* (2010)

21. What would a 'global history of political thought' be a history of?

- Samuel Moyn and Andrew Sartori, eds, *Global Intellectual History* (2013)
- Rosario Lopez, "The Quest for the Global: Remapping Intellectual History." *History of European Ideas* 42, (2016), 155–160.
- John Dunn, 'Why we need a global history of political thought', in B. Kapossy et al., eds, *Markets, Morals, Politics: Jealousy of Trade and the History of Political Thought* (2018), pp. 285-309.
- J. G. A. Pocock, 'On the unglobality of contexts: Cambridge methods and the history of political thought', *Global Intellectual History*, 4 (2019), 1-14.

HISTORY AND MEMORY

22. What is the best historical analogy for the period we are living through at the moment?

- Hobson, John and George Lawson (2008) What is History in International Relations? *Millennium* 37.2: 415-38.
- Lawson, George (2012) 'The eternal divide? History and international relations', *European Journal of International Relations* 18.2: 203-226.
- Mahoney, James and Dietrich Rueschemeyer, eds. (2003) *Comparative Historical Analysis in the Social Sciences*. NY: Cambridge University Press.
- Mahoney, James (2010) 'After KKV: The New Methodology of Qualitative Research.' *World Politics* 62 (1): 120-47.

23. Which statues should come down, and which should not?

- Joanna Burch-Brown, "Is it Wrong to Topple Statues & Rename Schools?" *Journal of Political Theory & Philosophy*, vol. 1 (2017), pp. 59–86.
- Nakul Krishna, "Rhodocycles", N+1, no. 26 (Fall 2016) <https://nplusonemag.com/issue-26/politics/rhodocycles/>
- Dan Demetriou & Ajume Wingo, "The Ethics of Racist Monuments", in David Boonin, ed. *The Palgrave Handbook of Philosophy and Public Policy* (2018).
- Further suggestions: <http://dailynous.com/2020/06/15/statues-monuments-philosophy/>.

BRITISH POLITICS

24. Is the Labour Party still the party of labour?

- Thomas Piketty, 'Brahmin Left vs. Merchant Right: Rising Inequality and the Changing Structure of Political Conflict' (2018) <http://piketty.pse.ens.fr/files/Piketty2018.pdf>

- Cutts, Goodwin, Heath, Surridge, 'Brexit, the 2019 General Election and the Re-alignment of British Politics' (*Political Quarterly*, 2020) <https://onlinelibrary.wiley.com/doi/full/10.1111/1467-923X.12815>
- *2019 Labour Party Manifesto* <https://labour.org.uk/wp-content/uploads/2019/11/Real-Change-Labour-Manifesto-2019.pdf>
- Lisa Nandy, 'Bridging the Brexit Divide' (IPPR, 2020) <https://onlinelibrary.wiley.com/doi/abs/10.1111/newe.12168>

25. **Has Brexit increased or decreased British sovereignty?** (LT ONLY)

- Christopher Bickerton, *The European Union. A citizen's guide* (London, 2016)
- Gordon Brown, *Britain leading not leaving. The patriotic case for remaining in Europe* (Selkirk, 2016)
- Kevin O'Rourke, *A short history of Brexit. From Brentry to backstop* (London, 2018)
- Brendan Simms, *Britain's Europe. A thousand years of conflict and cooperation* (London, 2016)

26. **Does British foreign policy 'punch above its weight'?**

- Gaskarth, Jamie (2013), *British Foreign Policy: Crises, Conflicts and Future Challenges* (Cambridge: Polity) chapters 5-7
- Hill, Christopher (2019), *The Future of British Foreign Policy: Security and Diplomacy in a World after Brexit* (Cambridge: Polity).
- Houghton, David and Sanders, David (2017) *Losing an Empire and Finding a Role* (2nd Ed. (Basingstoke: Palgrave), pp1-55, 286-307.
- Ralph, Jason, Gifkins, Jess & Jarvis, Samuel (2020), 'The United Kingdom's special responsibilities at the United Nations: diplomatic practice in normative context', *British Journal of Politics and International Relations*, 22:2, pp164-181.

27. **What are the strongest arguments for and against Scottish independence?**

- Ben Jackson, *The Case for Scottish Independence: A History of Nationalist Political Thought in Modern Scotland* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2020).
- Colin Kidd, *Union and Unionisms: Political Thought in Scotland, 1500-2000* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010).
- The Scottish Government, *Scotland's Future: Your Guide to an Independent Scotland* (Edinburgh, 2013).

28. **Why is the United Kingdom Union vulnerable to secession?**

- Jim Bulpitt, *Territory and Power in the United Kingdom*. London: ECPR Press, 2008.
- Linda Colley, *Acts of Union and Disunion*. London: Profile, 2014.
- T.M. Divine, *The Scottish Nation: a Modern History*, 2012

CHINA and SOUTH-EAST ASIA

29. **To what extent is China seeking to change the World Order?**

- Acharya, A. *The Making of Southeast Asia: International Relations of a Region*. Cornell University Press 2012
- Bertrand, J. *Political Change in Southeast Asia*. Cambridge University Press 2013
- Halper, S. *The Beijing Consensus: How China's Authoritarian Model Will Dominate the Twenty-First Century*. New York: Basic Books, 2010

30. **What role does the Global South or South-South diplomacy play in US-PRC economic and geopolitical contention?**

[Reading suggestions to follow]

31. Is the rule of law a requirement for or an obstacle to the consolidation of human rights? Discuss with reference to Thailand and/or Myanmar.

- Tyrell Haberkorn. 2018. *In plain sight: Impunity and human rights in Thailand*. University of Wisconsin Press.
- Duncan McCargo. 2020. *Fighting for virtue: Justice and politics in Thailand*. Cornell University Press.
- Nick Cheesman. 2015. *Opposing the rule of law: How Myanmar's courts make law and order*. Cambridge University Press.
- Andrew Harding, "Law and development in its Burmese moment: Legal reform in an emerging democracy." In *Law, society, and transition in Myanmar*, edited by Melissa Crouch and Tim Lindsey. Hart Publishing 2014, pp. 377-399.

32. How useful is the analytic category "populism" for the study of Southeast Asian politics?

- Paul D. Kenny. 2018. *Populism in Southeast Asia*. Cambridge University Press.
- William Case. 2017. *Populist threats and democracy's fate in Southeast Asia*. Routledge.
- Kosuke Mizuno and Pasuk Phongpaichit. 2009. *Populism in Asia*. NUS Press.
- Rogers Brubaker. 2017. "Why populism?" *Theory and Society* 46, 357-385.

MIDDLE EAST

33. Has 'everyday resistance' brought about significant political change in the Middle East?

- Asef Bayat, *Life as Politics: How Ordinary People Change the Middle East*, Second Edition (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2013). Chapters 1-2.
- Charles Tripp, *The Power and the People: Paths of Resistance in the Middle East* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013), Introduction.
- James Scott, *Weapons of the Weak: Everyday Forms of Peasant Resistance* (New Haven, Conn: Yale University Press, 1985). Chapters 1-2.

34. Do the armed conflicts in the Middle East have a common cause? (MT ONLY)

- Ariel I. Ahram & Ellen Lust, 'The decline and fall of the Arab state', *Survival*, 58/2 (April/May 2016), pp.7-34.
- Andrew Bacevich, *America's War for the Greater Middle East* (New York: Random House, 2016), especially chapter 12.
- Jean-Paul Filiu, *From Deep State to Islamic State: The Arab Counter-Revolution and its Jihadi Legacy* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015), chapter 1.
- Nader Hashemi and Danny Postel, 'The sectarianization thesis', in Hashemi/Postel, eds., *Sectarianization: Mapping the New Politics of the Middle East* (London: Hurst, 2017), pp.1-22.

LATIN AMERICA

35. What was the role of social movements in the rise, rule, and fall of left-leaning parties in Latin America over the past decades? Answer with regards to one or two countries.

- Gonzalez, M., 2018. *The Ebb of the Pink Tide: The Decline of the Left in Latin America*. London: Pluto Press.
- Levitsky, S. and Roberts, K. M., eds., 2011. *The Resurgence of the Latin American Left*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press.
- Modenesi, M., 2019. *The Antagonistic Principle: Marxism and Political Action*. Leiden: Brill. (Particularly chs. 8-9.)

- Silva, E. and Rossi, F. eds., 2018. *Reshaping the Political Arena in Latin America: From Resisting Neoliberalism to the Second Incorporation*. Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press.

EUROPE

36. What are the implications of the French state's attachment to 'civic nationalism'?

- *French Politics* (2019) Special issue on 'critical French citizenship' Vol 17:4
- Hill, Christopher (2013), *The National Interest in Question: Foreign Policy in Multicultural Societies* (Oxford: OUP) chapters 3, 7 & 9
- Hussey, Andrew (2014), *France's Intifada: the Long War between France and its Arabs* (Cambridge: Granta) pp391-405.
- Ivernizzi Accetti, Carlo, and Bickerton, Chris (2016) 'Neither Right nor Left: How the National Front has Changed Politics in France', *Foreign Affairs*, 18 February 2016.

EMPIRES and IMPERIALISM

37. How does the legacy of European colonialism shape contemporary political struggles? (MT ONLY)

- Achille Mbembe, *On the Postcolony* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2001), chapters 1-2.
- Mahmood Mamdani, *Citizen and Subject: Contemporary Africa and the Legacy of Late Colonialism* (new edition, Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2018), especially the Introduction.
- Rashid Khalidi, *Resurrecting Empire: Western Footprints and America's Perilous Path in the Middle East* (London: IB Tauris, 2004), chapter 1.
- The Comparative Politics of Colonialism and Its Legacies, special issue of *Politics & Society*, Volume 45 Issue 2, June 2017, especially the introduction and the article by Foa.

38. What role has religion played in empire, and empire in religion?

- Said, Edward. *Orientalism*. Penguin 2003.
- Hobsbawm, Eric and Terence Ranger. 1983. *The Invention of Tradition*. Cambridge University Press (2012 edition). Chapters 1, 4, 5.
- Cannadine, David. *Ornamentalism: How the British Saw Their Empire*. Penguin 2002.
- Rajah, Jothie. "Policing Religion," in *Authoritarian Rule of Law: Legislation, Discourse and Legitimacy in Singapore*. Cambridge University Press 2013.
- Aydin, Cemil, *The Idea of the Muslim World: A Global Intellectual History*. Harvard University Press 2017.

39. How were Asian empires different from European empires, if at all? Explain by comparing one example of each.

- Michael W. Doyle, *Empires* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1986)
- John Darwin, *After Tamerlane: The Global History of Empire* (London: Penguin, 2007)
- Douglas E. Streusand, *Islamic Gunpowder Empires: Ottomans, Safavids and Mughals* (London: Routledge 2010)
- William T. Rowe, *China's Last Empire: The Great Qing* (Cambridge MA: Belknap Press, 2012)
- Daniel H. Nexon and Thomas Wright, 'What's at Stake in the American Empire Debate' *American Political Science Review* 2007 Vol. 101 2 253-271

WAR & PEACE

40. Why do some secessionist armed conflicts end without reaching their goal of independence?

- Monica Toft (2012) 'Self-Determination, Secession and Civil War', *Terrorism and Political Violence*, 24(4).

- Gyda Sindre (2018) From secessionism to regionalism: Intra-organizational change and ideological moderation within armed secessionist movements', *Political Geography*, 64.
- Brad Simpson (2014) 'The Biafran secession and the limits of self-determination', *Journal of Genocide Research*, 16, 2-3.

41. What can we learn about the politics of war from memoirs?

- Yuval Noah Harari (2007), 'Military Memoirs: A Historical Overview of the Genre from the Middle Ages to the Late Modern era', *War in History* 14(3).
- Kieran D (2012) 'It's a different time. It's a different era. It's a different place': The legacy of Vietnam and contemporary memoirs of the wars in Iraq and Afghanistan. *War & Society* 31: 64-83.
- Dyvik, SL (2016) "Valhalla Rising": Gender, Embodiment and Experience in Military Memoirs. *Security Dialogue* 47(2): 133–150.
- Hynd S (2020) Trauma, violence, and memory in African child soldier memoirs, *Culture, Medicine and Psychiatry*.

SECURITY

42. Is national security obtainable?

- Mark Neocleous, *Critique of Security* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2008).
- Andrew Preston, "Monsters Everywhere: A Genealogy of National Security", *Diplomatic History* 38/3 (2014), pp. 477–500.
- Dexter Fergie, "Geopolitics Turned Inwards: The Princeton Military Studies Group and the National Security Imagination", *Diplomatic History* 43/4 (2019), 644-670.

43. What is political about running away?

- Chamayou, G. (2012). *Manhunts: A philosophical history*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.
- Denyer Willis, G. (2020). Mundane Disappearance: The politics of letting disappear in Brazil. *Economy and Society*.
- Miki, Y. (2012). Fleeing into slavery: The insurgent geographies of Brazilian quilombolas (Maroons), 1880–1881. *The Americas*, 68(4), 495-528.
- Seigel, M. (2020). Places without Police: Brazilian Visions. *Radical History Review*, (137): 177–192.

44. Is piracy political?

- Dawdy, Shannon Lee. "Why Pirates Are Back." *Annual Review of Law and Social Science* 7, no. 1 (2011): 361–85. <https://doi.org/10.1146/annurev-lawsocsci-102510-105433>.
- Bueger, Christian. "Practice, Pirates and Coast Guards: The Grand Narrative of Somali Piracy." *Third World Quarterly* 34, no. 10 (December 2013): 1811–27. <https://doi.org/10.1080/01436597.2013.851896>.
- Leeson, Peter T. *The Invisible Hook: The Hidden Economics of Pirates*. Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 2011.

INTERNATIONAL POLITICS and GOVERNANCE

45. Is a world state desirable and plausible?

- Alexander Wendt, "Why a World State is Inevitable" *European Journal of International Relations* (2003)
- Luis Cabrera, *Political Theory of Global Justice: A Cosmopolitan Case for the World State* (2006)
- Thomas Weiss, "What Happened to the idea of World Government" *International Studies Quarterly* (2009)
- Or Rosenboim, *The Emergence of Globalism* (2017), ch. 6.

46. Is US hegemony over?

- Beckley, Michael. *Unrivaled: Why America Will Remain the World's Sole Superpower*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2018.
- Cooley, Alexander, and Daniel Nexon. *Exit from Hegemony: The Unraveling of American Global Order*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2020.
- Wright, Thomas J. *All Measures Short of War: The Contest for the Twenty-First Century and the Future of American Power*. Yale University Press, 2018.

47. How has international organisation undergone reform to accommodate the views of global South states?

- Viola, Lora Anne. 2020. *The Closure of the International System: How Institutions Create Political Equalities and Hierarchies*. New York: Cambridge University Press. Chapter 5.
- Fioretos, Orfeo, and Eugénia C. Heldt. 2019. Legacies and innovations in global economic governance since Bretton Woods. *Review of International Political Economy* 26 (6). Routledge: 1089–1111.
- Bernstorff, Jochen von, and Philipp Dann. 2019. The Battle for International Law: An Introduction. In *The Battle for International Law: South-North Perspectives on the Decolonization Era*, edited by Jochen von Bernstorff and Philipp Dann, 1–31. New York: Oxford University Press.

48. How do social dynamics between states influence the operation of international law?

- Kelley, Judith G. 2017. *Scorecard Diplomacy: The Power of Reputation to Influence States*. New York: Cambridge University Press. Chapters 1 and 2.
- Mantilla, Giovanni. 2020. Social pressure and the making of wartime civilian protection rules. *European Journal of International Relations* 26 (2): 443–468.
- Hamidi, Sidra. 2020. Law as discursive resource: the politics of the nuclear/non-nuclear distinction in the Non-Proliferation Treaty. *European Journal of International Relations* 26 (2): 545–568.

49. Do the negative consequences of economic sanctions outweigh their benefits?

- Thomas Biersteker, Sue Eckert and Marcos Tourinho (eds.), *Targeted Sanctions: The Impacts and Effectiveness of United Nations Action*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2016
- Johan Galtung, 'On the Effects of International Economic Sanctions, With Examples from the Case of Rhodesia', *World Politics* 19:3, 1967, pp. 378-416.
- Rose Gottemoeller, 'The Evolution of Sanctions in Practice and Theory', *Survival* 49:4, 2007, pp. 99-110.
- Susan Hannah Allen, 'The Domestic Political Costs of Economic Sanctions', *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 52:6, 2008, pp. 916-944

50. Why do states spy on their friends?

- Leif-Eric Easley, "Spying on Allies", *Survival* 56/4 (2014), 141-156.
- Knowing Your Friends: Intelligence Inside Alliances and Coalitions from 1914 to the Cold War, special issue of *Intelligence and National Security* 13/1 (1998).
- Kathryn Brown, "Intelligence and the Decision to Collect It: Churchill's Wartime American Diplomatic Signals Intelligence", *Intelligence and National Security* 10/3 (1995), 449-467.

PUBLIC POLICY

51. To what extent do public opinion and electoral reward shape public policy outcomes in the UK?

- Jordan G & Cairney P (2013), 'What is the 'dominant model' of British policymaking? Comparing majoritarian and policy community ideas', *British Politics*, 8 (3), pp.233-259
- Ward, H & John, P (1999), 'Targeting Benefits for Electoral Gain: Constituency Marginality and the Distribution of Grants to English Local Authorities', *Political Studies*, 47(1), pp.32-52.

- Bernhagen, P. (2012), 'Who Gets What in British Politics – and How? An Analysis of Media Reports on Lobbying around Government Policies, 2001–7', *Political Studies*, 60(3), pp.557-577.
- Scott James & Lucia Quaglia (2019), 'Brexit, the City and the Contingent Power of Finance', *New Political Economy*, 24 (2), pp.258-271

52. Which types or features of states offer a comparative advantage in mitigating the impact of public health crises on the domestic economy and trade relations?

[Reading suggestions to follow]

Supervisions

The paper is primarily taught by supervision, three for each essay. The first supervision will consider the nature and scope of the question, and your approach to it. The second will discuss progress normally on the basis of a written outline or plan. The third will review a first draft. Supervisors will not read more than one draft of the essay, and will not offer more than three supervisions. You are expected to work for the essay during term time and supervisors will expect to give you each of the three supervisions during term time. Other than in exceptional circumstances, where your Director of Studies has provided evidence that you have been unable to work for some period of the term, supervisors can—and often will—refuse to read drafts during the vacation.

Writing and Researching the Essay

Essays must answer the question, and they must make an argument in doing so. The Examiners expect an argument in answer to the question, evidence of having read the important literature, and independent thinking. They have no fixed expectations for the nature, direction, or conclusion of answers to any of the questions set, and with the general questions you are free to approach them in a way that particularly interests you. More is needed than a straightforward review of the literature. Assertion and rhetorical flourishes cannot substitute for argument. Polemical writing will be penalised by the Examiners. Many essays will deploy detailed examples from past or contemporary politics and international relations, or theoretical arguments or texts, and will build their argument through these. If you do use a particular example or theoretical argument (or set of examples or theoretical arguments) to answer a general question, you will need to explain at the beginning of the essay why these examples or arguments are pertinent to the question. When you make arguments, you will need to explain your judgements, and you will need to engage with counter-arguments to the arguments you are making. Argue against the strongest claims of counter-arguments, not their weakest points. You also should avoid grand generalisations. These almost always fail to stand up to empirical or theoretical scrutiny and do not advance arguments.

For this paper, you are expected to learn how to use bibliographical searches, if you have not done so already, and not to rely solely upon your supervisor to provide a full reading list. It will also be useful to familiarise yourself with the University Library, as it is likely that some of the sources for your essay will only be available there. Many of the most useful databases are listed in the library guide to research in Politics

<https://libguides.cam.ac.uk/POLIS>. One of the most useful databases is JSTOR

<http://www.jstor.org/>, and, to search across a broader range, Google Scholar <http://scholar.google.co.uk/>

It is important to be aware that work that is poorly written and presented cannot be marked above a 2.2. This includes work that contains a significant number of typographical errors, has many grammatical mistakes, or does not have a proper system of referencing and a bibliography. It is therefore crucial that you proofread your essay carefully before submitting it. It may also be useful to recruit a friend to do so as well.

The Examiners' reports from previous Long Essay papers, which are available on the website, contain specific comments about the respects in which essays submitted in that year did, or did not, approach the questions in suitable ways.

Presentation, length, layout, references and bibliographies

Developing your ability to write in an accurate, focussed, and compelling way is an important part of this paper. You are expected to write clearly, to punctuate carefully, and to proofread your essays before submitting them. Casualness in presentation of essays and syntactical and grammatical confusion will be penalised by the Examiners. As mentioned above, essays in which there are a significant number of typographical errors and syntactical and grammatical mistakes cannot receive a mark higher than a Lower Second.

Students and supervisors should note that the word limit is 5,000 words for Long Essays. **There is no leeway. Students exceeding the word limit will be penalised.** The word count must be included on the coversheet for your essay at submission and the Department will carry out checks. At the final Examiners' meeting in June, the Examiners will discuss all cases of over-length work and impose penalties.

The word limit will include all text except the Bibliography. This means that the main text, essay title, all data in tables or figures, appendices, captions, the table of contents, footnotes, endnotes and all prefatory material at the start of the essay will be counted against the word limit. As a general rule, any content that the Examiners must read in order to assess your work should be included in the main body and not in an appendix. Overuse of appendices or footnotes may be penalised if it impairs the understanding of your work.

Students are also expected to use the 5,000 words available to them. Essays that fall more than 200 words short may also be penalised.

Long essays must be word-processed, use double line-spacing, have a font size of 11 or 12, have right and left margins of at least 2.5 cm, include page numbers and a Bibliography, and provide references for all quotations.

You must use the formal title from the list of questions, and put this at the top of the first page. Do not create your own essay title.

For a Long Essay, it is often useful to use sub-sections marked by sub-titles. It is generally best not to use too many; any more than four or five would be unusual. It would also usually be excessive to go beyond two levels of subsections (so, sub-sub-headings may be justifiable, but not more). If you use a considerable number of specialist acronyms, abbreviations, or non-English terms, a list of these at the start may also be helpful. It's worth

repeating that these items are all included in the word count, as is everything except the Bibliography.

You should **NOT** include your name or College anywhere on your Long Essay. The Department will supply a coversheet for completion that will include a declaration on plagiarism (see the section on this, below).

References and Bibliographies

There are two common conventions for references: (1) full references in notes at the foot of the page or the end of the document, with a Bibliography at the end of the work; or (2) 'author-date' citations in the text, with a Bibliography at the end of the work. Follow just one of these, and, whichever one you use, make sure that your referencing is complete and consistent.

1. The full referencing convention. If using this approach, references are included in the notes, which should be numbered serially from 1 from the start of the essay. For references in notes, give full details at the first mention in the chapter; for subsequent mentions in the essay, a brief citation will do. Notwithstanding their widespread use, avoid *op. cit.*, *loc. cit.*, and *ibid.*; these can confuse. The Bibliography should include the full references in alphabetical order.

Examples:

For books -

Robert D. Putnam, *Making Democracy Work: Civic Traditions in Modern Italy*, Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1993, p. 36.

Thereafter: Putnam, *Making Democracy Work*, pp. 12-13.

For journals -

Sidney Tarrow, 'Making social science work across space and time: a critical reflection on Putnam's "Making Democracy Work"', *American Political Science Review* 90 (1996), pp. 389-98.

Thereafter: Tarrow, 'Making social science work', pp. 389-98.

For chapters in edited volumes -

Maud Eduards, 'Sweden', in Joni Lovenduski and Jill Hills (eds), *The Politics of the Second Electorate: Women and Public Participation*, Boston: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1981, pp. 208-27.

Thereafter: Eduards, 'Sweden', pp. 208-27.

For corporate authors (where there is no individual author) -

Economist, 'Between the Caudillo and the Democrat', 17 April 1999, pp. 39-40.

Thereafter: *Economist*, 'Between the Caudillo and the Democrat', pp. 39-40.

For edited and/or translated volumes -

Friedrich Nietzsche, 'On the uses and disadvantages of history for life', in *Untimely Meditations*, Daniel Breazeale, ed., and R. J. Hollingdale, trans., Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997 [1874], pp. 57-123.

Thereafter: Nietzsche, 'On the uses and disadvantages', pp. 57-123.

For internet links -

Oxford Dictionary of National Biography (ODNB), 'Keynes, John Maynard', September 2004, www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/34310, accessed 26 July 2013.

Thereafter: ODNB, 'Keynes, John Maynard'.

2. The author-date system. Footnotes and endnotes, including the references in such notes, count towards the total number of words in Long Essays and dissertations in Politics & International Relations; references in a Bibliography at the end of the work do not. For this reason, you may prefer to adopt the second convention—the 'author-date' style, or the 'Harvard' style, as it is sometimes known. In this, references are included in the text or the notes. There should then be a complete Bibliography at the end of the Long Essay, in which all the items cited should be arranged alphabetically by author's surname (or where there is no author listed, by corporate author).

Examples:

For books -

In text: ...elite political culture in Italy changed dramatically over the course of the 1970s (Putnam 1993: 33) ... *or:* Putnam (1993: 33) argues that elite political culture in Italy changed dramatically over the course of the 1970s...

In Bibliography: Putnam, R. D. 1993. *Making Democracy Work: Civic Traditions in Modern Italy*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.

For journals -

In text: ...although others have questioned his measurements of institutional performance (e.g., Tarrow 1996: 389-98) *or:* Tarrow (1996: 389-98) is critical of the measurements of institutional performance that are used...

In Bibliography: Tarrow, S. 1996. Making social science work across space and time: A critical reflection on Putnam's 'Making democracy work'. *American Political Science Review* 90: 389-98.

For chapters in edited volumes -

In text: ...whereas in Sweden, female parliamentarians had a significant role in raising the profile of distinctively women's issues in debates about legislation (Eduards 1981)...

In Bibliography: Eduards, M. 1981. Sweden. In Joni Lovenduski and Jill Hills (eds) *The Politics of the Second Electorate: Women and Public Participation*. Boston: Routledge & Kegan Paul.

For corporate authors -

In text: (Economist 1999: 39-40)

In Bibliography: Economist. 1999. Between the Caudillo and the Democrat. 17 April, 39-40.

For edited and/or translated volumes -

In text: (Nietzsche 1994: 176-86)

In Bibliography: Nietzsche, F. 1994. The Greek State. In *On the Genealogy of Morality*, ed. K. Ansell-Pearson, trans. C. Diethe. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 176-86.

For internet links –

In text: (Oxford Dictionary of National Biography 2004)

In Bibliography: Oxford Dictionary of National Biography. 2004. Keynes, John Maynard, www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/34310.

With the full referencing system (1), it may be useful to have separate lists of primary (archival and unpublished texts, interviews) and secondary (including those on the web, which are counted as ‘publications’) sources in the Bibliography. With the author-date system (2), a single Bibliography is usually to be preferred. It is never advisable to divide Bibliographies between types of secondary sources (e.g. separate list of books, articles, items on the web, etc.).

Your Bibliography should only include works cited in the main text, and should not be a list of everything you’ve read that is relevant to the essay.

Plagiarism and unfair practice

Plagiarism is presenting, as your own, words and thoughts that are not your own. Plagiarism is a form of cheating and regarded as such by the University’s Ordinances. At the beginning of each academic year you must sign a form saying that you have read the Faculty’s document on the matter and fully understand what plagiarism is. If you are in any doubt at all on this subject, ask your Director of Studies to talk you through the issue.

Below, three different forms of plagiarism are explained. Most students will be aware that the first two are wrong. The third form, involving copying text that is otherwise referenced from a book or article, still generates confusion in some students, and therefore it is important to read this section, even if you are confident that you know what plagiarism is.

What Constitutes Plagiarism

1. Copying text from unpublished sources.

Submitting essays that have been obtained in whole or in part from websites or from other students is plagiarism. There are no grey lines. This always constitutes a deliberate attempt to deceive and shows a wilful disregard for the point of a university education. Each

piece of work is expected to be the original, independent work of the student, and so if this is not the case it must be declared in the essay.

Proofreading, reading drafts, and suggesting general improvements to other students' essays—and receiving such help from others—is not collusion, and is often helpful. If, however, another student were to carry out detailed redrafting of the entire conclusion of an essay, this would be considered collusion. If this is not acknowledged in the essay, it is considered a form of plagiarism.

Reproducing the thoughts of lecturers and the advice from a supervisor is not regarded as plagiarism. Merely reproducing lecture notes, however, is always obvious and takes away the purpose of writing essays.

2. Copying from published literature without acknowledgement.

This applies, without distinction, to material from the internet and from printed sources. Work that is drawn upon in your essays must be referenced appropriately. If you quote from a source, or draw from a particular section of a text, you should reference the relevant page numbers. Avoiding plagiarism means getting into the habit of careful referencing, and it is useful to start developing this habit, if you haven't already, throughout your supervisions as well as in the final submitted work.

3. Copying text without using quotation marks.

This is a form of plagiarism, even if you acknowledge the source of the text. That is, if you are including text that is not in quotation marks, you are asserting that you have written these words yourself; if this is not so, it is passing off someone else's words as your own.

This is the most common form of plagiarism found in this university, and so requires a few more words of explanation.

Take the following passage from the *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (ODNB):

For two years from the autumn of 1941 Keynes was mainly occupied with proposals for the post-war international monetary system. In the immediate post-war years the existing system of exchange controls and bilateral payments agreements would have to continue, but in the long term these arrangements should be superseded by a multilateral scheme with currencies freely convertible. Keynes prepared a plan for an international clearing union to supersede the gold standard and put forward a set of rules for balance of payments adjustment that required creditor countries to take the main initiative. His plan underwent many revisions before being submitted to the Americans, who had prepared a plan of their own—the White plan—for a stabilization fund and (in the initial version) an international bank for reconstruction and development.

If you quote from any part of this, you must put it in quotation marks and attribute it as: *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/34310. If you paraphrase any part, you must reference it in the same way.

To write something like what follows is plagiarism:

From 1941 to 1943 Keynes was mainly occupied with proposals for the post-war international monetary system (*Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* 2004). Immediately after the Second World War, the existing system of exchange controls and bilateral payments agreements by necessity had to endure, but ultimately these arrangements would be superseded by a multilateral scheme with currencies freely convertible. The *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (2004) relates how Keynes' plan underwent many revisions before being given to Washington, where White had devised his own plan for a stabilization fund and in the initial version an international bank for reconstruction and development.

In this text, there are five phrases that are repeated word-for-word from the original source, or with only tiny amendments: 'Keynes was mainly occupied...', 'the existing system of exchange controls and bilateral payments agreements', 'superseded by a multilateral scheme...', 'underwent many revisions before', and 'for a stabilization fund and in the initial version...'. Even though the *ODNB* is referred to twice in the text, these words are not in quotation marks, and therefore this would constitute plagiarism. One could put each of these phrases in quotation marks. Much better though would be to put the text in your own words, so that you are not just repeating someone else's words.

This form of plagiarism may sometimes occur due to poor note-taking. If you are reading a book or article and taking notes on paper, or on your computer, you may sometimes find yourself copying out apt sentences or paragraphs mechanically. When it comes to turning your reading into an essay, students in a hurry may string their notes together into an essay. The result is an unintentional—but still serious—form of plagiarism. It is important to guard against this, and to develop a way to distinguish in your own notes the legitimate paraphrase from the quotation, for example by including quotation marks in your own notes or by highlighting such text.

This form of plagiarism is often from texts that have technical language, and students may take someone else's words because they are unsure of their precise meaning. In the hypothetical example above, students who are not quite sure what exactly is meant by 'the existing system of exchange controls and bilateral payments agreements' in the *ODNB* entry may be tempted just to copy the entire phrase. Again, this is something to guard yourself against. If you are reading a book or article with language in it that continues to mystify, it is worthwhile to read around the topic, to make an effort to put it into your own words, and to use part of a supervision to discuss the terms themselves until you are satisfied that your understanding is solid.

Use of originality checking software

All POL5/19 Long Essays will be run through 'Turnitin'. This is a service to which the University subscribes that provides an electronic means of checking student work against a very large database of material from the internet, published sources, and other student essays. 'Turnitin' also helps to protect the work submitted by students from future plagiarism and thereby to maintain the integrity of any qualifications you are awarded by the University. The copyright of the material remains entirely with the author, and no personal data will be uploaded with the work.

Consequences of plagiarism

Any Examiner who finds evidence of plagiarism in a Long Essay will contact the Chair of Examiners, who will follow the University's guidance as to how to handle such cases. There may be an investigative meeting, which will seek to establish how any plagiarised material was generated. Some cases can be investigated and dealt with by the Examiners themselves, who can impose a marks penalty proportionate to the offence. Other cases will be reported to the University Proctors. In very serious cases of plagiarism, the Senior Proctor will inform the University Advocate, who can take the student before the University's Court of Discipline. The Court of Discipline has the power to deprive any student found guilty of plagiarism of membership of the University, and to strip them of any degrees awarded by it.

Marking criteria

Mark	Quality of Answer
80+	A wholly clear, powerful, sophisticated and persuasive argument focused on the question, supported throughout by relevant texts and/or evidence, dealing decisively with the most important counter-arguments, containing some original thought or insight, sustained over the length of the essay, displaying a very high degree of accuracy, and faultlessly written and presented. To fall into this range, essays have to display all of these qualities.
70-79	A wholly clear and persuasive argument, supported throughout, as the case may be, by relevant texts and/or evidence, which deals effectively with the more important counterarguments, shows clear independence of mind, is sustained over the length of the essay, displays a high degree of accuracy, and is well written and presented. To fall into this range, an essay has to display all of these qualities.
60-69	A generally clear and persuasive argument focused on the question, generally well supported by relevant texts and/or evidence, that pays due attention to the important counter-arguments, , sustained over the length of the answer/essay, displaying a good level of accuracy, and well written and presented. To fall into this range, an essay has to display all of these qualities, and should not decisively show any of the negative qualities listed under the criteria for 50-59. Essays where there is some evidence of the negative qualities listed under the criteria for 50-59 will receive a mark between 60 and 64.
50-59	A moderately clear argument, reasonably well supported by relevant texts and/or evidence, but that shows some mistakes or accuracy, or weakness in its reasoning or textual and/or evidential support, or is not focused on the question, or is not well sustained over the length of the answer/essay, or fails to address counter-arguments, or is in whole or in part not well written and presented. To fall into this range, essays have to display both positive qualities and should not show any of the negative qualities listed under the criteria for a 40-49. An essay that is in whole or in part not well written or presented will receive a mark in this range regardless of its positive qualities or the absence of other negative features.
40-49	A discernible argument that receives modest support from relevant texts and/or evidence, but which is seriously problematic in its reasoning or textual

	and/or evidential support, or disregards the question, or makes a significant number mistakes of fact, or is not sustained over anywhere near the length of the essay, or is in significant part poorly written and presented. To fall into this range, essays have to display both positive qualities and should not show any of the negative qualities listed under the criteria for a 21-39.
21-39	A barely discernible argument on the subject of the question, that is either thinly supported, ignoring the evidence and/or texts in its argument, or makes a large number of mistakes of fact, or is poorly structured throughout the essay, or is poorly written and presented throughout.
1-20	An essay that is irrelevant to the subject of the question, or shows a complete failure of understanding of the subject, or that is radically incomplete.
0	No essay submitted, or submitted more than ten days after the deadline.