IIS 128/228 Spring, 2014

Class: Tu, Th, 1:15-2:30pm

Pitzer College

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#### The War on Terror

# **Course Description:**

After exploring basic terms, such as "war" and "terror," the course will survey various analyses of the War on Terror focusing on national policy, gender and sexuality, religion, history, legal issues, and political economy. Interpretations introduced will range from those of state elites and women or subaltern groups in conflict zones to postmodern theorists. Baseline documents for modern analysis will be introduced, such as the Hague and Geneva Conventions and the U.S. Constitution, as will postmodern analyses by feminists and critics of capitalism. Course materials will include readings, films, websites, and humor to explore what it means to fight a war without end.

# **Learning Objectives:**

- •Understand politics of key terms: terrorism, nation, network, violence, jihad, public diplomacy, etc.
- •Analyze war on terror in terms of national foreign and domestic policy, international and domestic legal issues, gender and sexuality, critiques of westernization/development, secularism and religion, Islam and Christianity, political economy, globalization and imperialism;
- •Become familiar with baseline documents for evaluating war on terror: Hague Convention; Fourth Geneva Convention; U.S. Constitution; Nuremberg Principles; etc.;
- •Learn to negotiate between competing constructions of the war on terror from national perspectives, insurgent perspectives, people on ground where conflict taking place (women, youth, men, refugees/exiles, subalterns), postmodern perspectives, and humor;
- •Strengthen critical thinking skills about modern institutions (the nation-state, mass media, mass education, capitalism) as relevant to the war on terror;
- •Develop ability to see how "reality" of war on terror changes depending on epistemic frame.

# **Course Requirements:**

Course attendance, preparation, and informed discussion (40%); Two Quizzes (15% x 2 = 30%); Two Short Papers (15% x 2 = 30%).

**Note:** If students do not give sources for all ideas and/or information not their own or common knowledge, they risk plagiarism and assignment grade may be reduced.

**Note:** Students with learning or physical disabilities will be given reasonable accommodations. To request accommodations or assistance, contact the Academic Support Services Office, extension 73553.

### **Required Textbooks:**

Bhattacharyya, Gargi, <u>Dangerous Brown Men: Exploiting Sex, Violence, and Feminism in the War on Terror</u>, Zed Books, 2008.

<u>Crimes of War 2.0: What the Public Should Know (Revised and Expanded)</u>, Anthony Dworkin, Roy Gutman, David Rieff, and Sheryl A. Mendez, W.W.Norton & Co., 2007 (1999).

Lincoln, Bruce. <u>Holy Terrors: Thinking About Religion after September 11</u>. Univ. Chicago Pr., 2003. Mazzetti, Mark, <u>The Way of the Knife: The CIA, a Secret Army, and a War at the Ends of the Earth,</u> Penguin Boooks, 2013.

United States Department of the Army, <u>The U.S. Army/Marine Corps Counterinsurgency Field Manual</u>, Intro. Sarah Sewall, Foreword David Petraeus and James Amos, Univ. Chicago Pr., 2007 (2006). Sakai course materials.

#### **Course Schedule:**

Note: Readings marked with an asterisk\* are from course textbooks; textbooks are available at Honnnold library (reserve or ebook); other readings are available on Sakai course website.

## Jan 21-23 Perspective Wars in the War on Terror

Readings: Stack, "Chasing Ghosts," 17-29.

Geltzer & Forest, "Conceptual Battlespace," 343-55.

El- Naggar & Worth, "Yemen's Drive on Al Qaeda Faces Internal Skepticism."

# Jan. 28-30 The Politics of the Real.

Readings: Jackson, "Constructing Enemies," 394-426.

Ahmad, Terrorism: Theirs and Ours, 11-26.

Baudrillard, "Requiem for the Twin Towers," "Hypotheses on Terrorism," 35-83.

## Feb. 4-6 A Comparative Analysis of 9/11.

Readings: \*Lincoln, Holy Terrors, Ch. 1-3, App. A-D.

### Feb. 11-13 What/Where/When/Who is the War on Terror?

Readings: Derrida, Rogues, x-xv, 28-41, 95-107.

Brown, "Securitization of British Muslims," 171-82. Bachman, "Danger of 'Ungoverned Spaces," 131-61.

Priest and Arkin, "Top Secret America (website)," Selections TBA.

Guest Lecture: Rebekah Sinclair, CGU.

#### Feb. 18-20 Al Qaeda New and Old

Readings: Riedel, The Search for Al Qaeda, 14-37, 37-60.

Hellmich, "Fighting Al Qaeda in Yemen?" 619-33.

Feb. 18 Identifications Quiz.

### Feb. 25-27 Official U.S. Counterterrorism Policy.

Readings: \*U.S. Army, Counterinsurgency Field Manual, xxi-xxxii, 1-18, 23-28, 34-45, 244-53,

313-317, 350-57.

## Mar. 4-6 Democracy and Subaltern Agency.

Readings: \*U.S. Army, Counterinsurgency Field Manual, xxxii-xliii.

Nordland, "Killings of Afghan Relief Workers," A1, A4.

GRAIN, "Soils of War."

Stites, "Women and Food Security," 212-228.

Zangana, "Resistance," 127-47.

# Mar. 4 First Paper Due.

# Mar. 11-13 Legal Issues: Rendition and Rights.

Readings: \*Crimes of War 2.0, 22-26, 103-6, 135-6, 159-70, 180-82, 198-204, 245-7, 260-67,

307-310, 328-32, 335-37, 396-401, 420-22.

Convention Against Torture and Other Cruel...Treatment (Excerpts), 466-72.

UNHCR Special Rapporteurs, "Joint Study on Secret Detention," p. 2-7, 43-61, 68-76.

The U.S. Constitution (Excerpts), 426-31.

The [U.S.] Bill of Rights, 431-34.

Recommended: \*Crimes of War 2.0, 30-36, 117-18, 132-34, 275, 390-91.

# Mar. 18-20 Spring break

## Mar. 25-27 Gender and the War.

Readings: \*Bhattacharyya, Dangerous Brown Men, Intro. (1-17), Ch. 1 (only 18-25 only),

Ch. 2 (only 46-50), Ch. 3 (only 74-78 & 92-104), Ch. 4 (105-33), & Concl. (134-44).

Recommended: \*Bhattacharyya, Dangerous Brown Men, 39-45, 58-73.

### Apr. 1-3 Citizenship and Counterpublics.

Readings: Ireland, "This Fragile Body."

Butler, "Explanation and Exoneration," 177-88.

Bogad, "Patriot Acts," 191-207.

Dept. Homeland Decency, Intro., Sec. 1, & App. B, 13-31, 141-50.

Fusco, Field Guide for Female Interrogators, 36-58, 107, & #2, 8, 12 & 16.

### Apr. 8-9 Rethinking the "Real."

Readings: Simpson, "Theory in the Time of Death," 121-2, 128-38, 154-70. Recommended: Simpson, "Theory in the Time of Death," 122-28, 138-46, 146-54.

#### Apr. 15-17 Secrecy I: Shadow Wars.

Readings: \*Mazzetti, Way of the Knife, Prologue (1-7), Ch. 1 (1-17), Ch. 4 (70-83), Ch. 7 (115-36),

Ch. 15 (279-98).

UNAMA, Protection of Civilians in Armed Conflict, 2010 Annual Report, p. 29-35.

Recommended: \*Mazzetti, Way of the Knife, Ch. 12.

Video: James Spione, <u>Silenced</u>. **Apr. 15 Second Paper Due.** 

## Apr. 22-24 Secrecy II: Intelligence and Surveillance.

Readings: Snowden Files (<u>The Guardian</u> website), Opening Page Timeline Articles (5 June

2013, 27 June 2013, 20 August 2013); opening page center column "Background" & "The Story in a Nutshell"; opening page left column

"Exclusives" read, "NSA Collects Customers' Records Daily" & "Email and Bank Encryption Undone" and "Interactives" read: "A Guardian Guide to Your Metadata"; after "Click to Launch: Decoded" read center column "Verizon Court

Order"; s.a. class exercises.

President's Review Group, "Liberty and Security," Appendix A, B, C & D., p. 265-272 and then Executive Summary & Chap. 2&3, 16-25, 55-73, 81-87, 91-96, 108-

117, 124-131.

Bonditti, "From Territorial Spaces to Networks," 465-82.

## Apr. 29-May 1 Secrecy III: Drone Warfare At Home and Abroad.

Readings: \*Mazzetti, Way of the Knife, Ch. 16 (299-322).

UN Special Rapporteur, Lethal Force Through Armed Drones, "Intro," "Protecting

People," & "Protecting Sovereignty,"4-6,7-17, & 17-20.

Stanford & NYU Law Schools, "Living Under Drones," 15-26, 73-99.

Guest Speaker: Kristina Benson, UCLA.

# May 6 Concluding Discussion.

Readings: Douglas, "A Kangaroo in Obama's Court."

# May 6 Talking Points Quiz.

# **Sakai Readings**

- Stack, Megan, "Chasing Ghosts," <u>Every Man in this Village is a Liar: An Education in War</u>, Doubleday, 2010, 17-29.
- Geltzer, Joshua, & James Forest, "Conclusion: Assessing the Conceptual Battlespace," in <u>Influence Warfare: How Terrorists and Governments Fight to Shape Perceptions in a War of Ideas</u>, ed. James Forest, Praeger Security International, 2009, 343-55.
- El-Naggar, Mona & Robert Worth, "Yemen's Drive on Al Qaeda Faces Internal Skepticism" NYT11-4-10.
- Jackson, Richard, "Constructing Enemies: 'Islamic Terrorism' in Political and Academic Discourse," Government and Opposition, 42.3 (2007): 394-426.
- Ahmad, Eqbal, "Terrorism: Theirs and Ours," in Terrorism: Theirs and Ours, Seven Stories Press, 11-26.
- Baudrillard, Jean, "Requiem for the Twin Towers" and "Hypotheses on Terrorism," <u>The Spirit of Terrorism</u>, 35-83.
- Derrida, Jacques, Rogues: Two Essays on Reason, Stanford University Press, 2005.
- Brown, Katherine, "Contesting the Securitization of British Muslims: Citizenship and Resistance," Interventions 12.2 (2010): 171-82.
- Bachman, Jan, "The Danger of 'Ungoverned' Spaces," in Julia Eckert, ed., <u>The Social Life of</u>
  <u>Anti-Terrorism Laws: The War on Terror and the Classifications of the "Dangerous Other, 131-161</u>
- Priest, Dana and William Arkin, "Top Secret America," Washington Post, 2010. <a href="http://projects.washingtonpost.com/top-secret-america/">http://projects.washingtonpost.com/top-secret-america/</a>.
- Hellmich, Christina, "Fighting Al Qaeda in Yemen? Rethinking the Nature of the Islamist Threat and the Effectiveness of U.S. Counterterrorism Strategy," <u>Studies in Conflict and Terrorism</u>, 35 (2012): 619-33.
- Husar, Deborah Gertz, "Foreign Trip Not First for Pleasant Hill Farmer," 6-2-2010 (8-23-08). <a href="http://www.whig.com/story/news/dolbeare-sidebar-SUN">http://www.whig.com/story/news/dolbeare-sidebar-SUN</a>
- Husar, "Pleasant Hill Farmer Serving as Ag Advisor," 6-2-2010 (7-4-09). http://www.whig.com/story/news/dolbeare-update
- Husar, "Pleasant Hill Man Lends Assistance to Iraqi Farmers," 6-2-2010 (3-8-2010). http://www.whig.com/story/news/dolbeare-update-030810
- Husar, "Pleasant Hill Farmer's Time in Iraq," 10-14-2010 (9-21-2010) http://www.whig.com/story/news/dolbeare-092110.
- Nordland, Rod, "Killing of Afghan Relief Workers Stirs Debate," New York Times, 14 Dec 2010. http://www.nytimes.com/2010/12/14/world/asia/14afghan.html
- GRAIN, "The Soils of War: The real agenda behind agricultural reconstruction in Afghanistan and Iraq," <a href="https://www.grain.org/briefings/?id=217">www.grain.org/briefings/?id=217</a>
- Elizabeth Stites, "A Question of Access: Women and Food Security," in <u>Land of the Unconquerable</u>: The Lives of Contemporary Afghan Women, ed. Jennifer Heath and Ashraf Zahedi, University of California Press, 2011, p. 212-228.
- Zangana, Haifa, "Resistance," <u>City of Widows: An Iraqi Woman's Account of War and Resistance</u>, Seven Stories Press, 2007, 127-47.
- "Convention Against Torture and Other Cruel...Treatment (Excerpts)," <u>Challenging U.S. Human Rights Violations Since 9/11</u>, Ed., Ann Fagan Ginger, Amherst, NY: Prometheus Books, 2005, 466-72.
- "The U.S. Constitution (Excerpts)," <u>Challenging U.S. Human Rights Violations Since 9/11</u>, Ed., Ann Fagan Ginger, Amherst, NY: Prometheus Books, 2005, 426-31.
- "The [U.S.] Bill of Rights. <u>Challenging U.S. Human Rights Violations Since 9/11</u>, Ed., Ann Fagan Ginger, Amherst, NY: Prometheus Books, 2005, 431-4.

## Sakai Readings (cont.)

- UNHCR Special Rapporteurs (Human Rights; Torture; Arbitrary Detention), "Joint Study on...secret detention in...countering terrorism," United Nations, 19 Feb. 2010. <a href="http://daccess-dds-ny.un.org/doc/UNDOC/GEN/G10/134/99/PDF/G1013499.pdf">http://daccess-dds-ny.un.org/doc/UNDOC/GEN/G10/134/99/PDF/G1013499.pdf</a>?OpenElement
- Ireland, Julia, "This Fragile Body: Susan Crile's 'Abu Grahib: Abuse of Power," in Shampa Biswas and Zahi Zallona, ed., <u>Torture: Power, Democracy, and the Human Body</u>, Univ. Washington Pr., 2011.
- Butler, Judith, "Explanation or Exoneration, Or What We Can Hear," <u>Social Text</u> 72 (20.3; Fall, 2002): 177-188.
- Fusco, Coco, Field Guide for Female Interrogators, Seven Stories Press, 2008.
- Fuller, Frank and Susan Fuller, <u>The Department of Homeland Decency: Decency Rules and Regulations Manual</u>, 3 Rivers Press, 2008, 13-31, 141-50.
- Bogad, L.M., "Patriot Acts: All-American Tactical Performance in the Age of Permawar," in Jenny Spencer, ed., Political and Protest Theater after 9/11: Patriotic Dissent, Routledge, 2011, 191-207.
- Simpson, David, "Theory in the Time of Death," <u>9/11: The Culture of Commemoration</u>, University of Chicago Press, 2006, 121-70.
- UNAMA (United Nations Assistance Mission in Afghanistan), Protection of Civilians in Armed Conflict, "Afghanistan 2010 Annual Report," 29-35.
- President's Review Group On Intelligence and Communications Technologies, "Liberty and Security," <a href="http://www.theguardian.com/world/interactive/2013/dec/18/nsa-review-panel-report-document">http://www.theguardian.com/world/interactive/2013/dec/18/nsa-review-panel-report-document</a>
- Bonditti, Phillippe, "From Territorial Spaces to Networks: A Foucauldian Approach to the Implementation of Biometry," <u>Alternatives</u>, 29.4 (Oct., 2004): 465-82.
- UN Special Rapporteur (Christopher Heyns), "Report of the Special Rapporteur on Extrajudicial, Summary, or Arbitrary Executions, A/68/382: The Use of Lethal Force Through Armed Drones from the Perspective of the Right to Life,"
- http://justsecurity.org/wp-content/uploads/2013/10/UN-Special-Rapporteur-Extrajudicial-Christof-Heyns-Report-Drones.pdf?utm\_source=Press+mailing+list&utm\_campaign=6de0426c90-
- <u>%3E%3E%202013\_10\_17\_Heyns\_drones\_report\_UN&utm\_medium=email&utm\_term=0\_022da08134-</u> %3E%3E%206de0426c90-286021377
- Douglas, Lawrence and Steve Mumford, "A Kangaroo in Obama's Court: Will the Guantanamo Tribunal Execute a Man We Tortured?" <u>Harper's Magazine</u>, Oct. 2013.