

International Relations 226: America's 21st Century Wars

Thomas M. Dolan, Instructor

Fall Semester 2010

Class: Bausch and Lomb Meliora 269, MW 12:30-1:45 PM

Office Hours: Tuesdays, 9:30-11:30 AM at Harkness Hall 323 and by appointment;

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The Middle East (Al Qaeda, Iraq) and Southwest Asia (Iran, Afghanistan, Pakistan) have been the source of 21st century America's most difficult political, military, and security problems. This course will investigate the causes, nature, and conduct of these conflicts and wars, with a particular focus on the Wars in Afghanistan and Iraq, intensively studying who fights, why they fight, and how they fight. In doing so it will address important theoretical and practical questions about the nature of warfare, terrorism and intelligence in 21st century warfare. More broadly, it will address questions of the relationship between violence, culture, and politics in the globalized era, and the relationships between politics, development, diplomacy, and the use of force in modern politics.

Goals

The presentation of this course, and the evaluation of students' efforts in it, will be tailored to the following aims:

- Students will gain an understanding of the American experience of war and conflict during the first decade of the 21st century, with a focus on decisions to use force and the challenges associated with using force.
- Students will acquire an understanding of the politics of Iraq and Afghanistan, and the effects of the American invasion and occupation of these countries.
- Students will develop their powers of political and social analysis, with an emphasis on logical argument and the effective use of evidence in drawing conclusions.
- Students will develop their faculties in writing and speaking about politics and political phenomena.

Please note that none of these goals involve the advancement of anyone's political or policy opinions (including those of the instructor). We will be discussing and analyzing contentious and, at times, upsetting situations. While our personal views necessarily shape how we think, the demands of clear-eyed analysis and, no less important, civility, demand that we leave political agendas at the door.

Course Design

This course involves a combination of class seminars, directed readings, papers, a final exam, and opportunities for informal discussion during office hours. Each part serves a purpose, be it information transmission and retention, promoting rigorous analysis, or encouraging the development of new ideas. Failing to engage with all parts will diminish the return on your efforts. For this reason, pre-class preparation is essential for this course. Students are expected to have read and considered the assigned material prior to the course, and be prepared to discuss it in class. Please remember that the material of the course is delivered in *both* texts and in-class discussion, which means that the texts contain valuable ideas and information which may not be specifically addressed in class, and discussions and lectures will go beyond the readings. You are responsible for understanding both, so please be sure to raise questions about things you are unsure about.

Readings:

The following books should be purchased:

Michael Gordon and Gen. Bernard Trainor, *Cobra II*, Vintage Books, 2006/2007.

Abdel Bari Atwan, *Secret History of Al Qaeda*, University of California Press, 2006.

Charles Tripp, *A History of Iraq*, 3rd ed., Cambridge University Press, 2007.

Thomas Ricks, *Fiasco*, Penguin, 2006.

Thomas Ricks, *The Gamble*, Penguin, 2009.

Ahmed Hashim, *Insurgency and Counter-insurgency in Iraq*, Cornell University Press, 2006.

Anthony Shadid, *Night Draws Near*, Picador 2005.

Seth Jones, *In the Graveyard of Empires*, Norton, 2009.

And one of the following:

N. Fick, *One Bullet Away*; OR A. Exum, *This Man's Army*; OR C. Mullaney, *The Unforgiving Minute*

Beyond these readings, texts are available electronically via the Blackboard site.

Note that there may be some changes in assigned readings as the course develops; the nature of the topic demands a certain flexibility. You will be notified with ample time.

Assignments

Midterm: 20%; 20 October

Includes essays and specific tests of knowledge; a study guide will be distributed one week before.

Simulation: 5% preparation paper (Due 25 October), 10% participation

Between 1-5 November we will conduct a simulation of the conflict in Afghanistan. Each student will have a 'role' to play; assignments will be handed out in early October. The preparation paper (no more than 2 pages) will describe the resources, capabilities, interests, and attitudes of the role.

Participation—10%

Your active participation in class is necessary if this class is to be a successful learning experience. This means you must come in having read the assignments and join in the class-room discussion of them, making evident that you have read and thought about them. You should expect to make at least one comment every week or so. While attendance is not graded as such, excessive truancy can affect this grade, since you are unable to participate when absent. *Excused absences, regardless of duration, will not affect this grade. **Incivility toward fellow students during seminar can negatively affect this grade.

Final Paper, 8 Pages, Due 1 December—25%

Students will write on a topic of relevance to the class. Topics must be submitted to instructor by 10 November.

Final Exam—25%; Friday, 17 December, 19:15 (7:15 PM)

Includes essays and specific tests of knowledge; a study guide will be distributed one week before.

Assignments are to be turned in by class time on the day they are due. They should be in hardcopy unless unforeseen circumstances prevent printing them in or handing them in a timely manner. For every 24 hours that pass thereafter, 5% of credit is lost, to a maximum of 40% lost.

Exams are to be sat at the date and time specified, unless prior approval has been given or a doctor's excuse is submitted at the next attended class meeting. Exams should be sat within 1 week of the general administration of the exam.

Grades

Grades are assigned to both individual pieces of work and cumulatively. The grade scale I use for both is below (note that “g” refers to the numerical grade you receive). I do not usually curve grades, but reserve the right to do so if I deem it necessary. All material is graded on its own terms, rather than through comparison with other students’ work. For the cumulative grades, I do not round: what you get is what you get.

100>g≥93: A	90>g≥88: B+	80>g≥78: C+	70>g≥68: D+	60>g: E
	88>g≥83: B	78>g≥73: C	68>g≥63: D	
93>g≥90: A-	83>g≥80: B	73>g≥70: C-	63>g≥60: D	

Cheating and plagiarism are, of course, unacceptable in academic work, and when suspected will be pursued through the appropriate university channels. Proper citations and standards of integrity are not optional. If you have questions about what this means, please ask the instructor.

Changes to the Syllabus:

In the event that there is a need for there to be any changes to the syllabus, an e-mail will be sent to all students’ e-mail accounts (as maintained by the registrar), and will be mentioned in class at two class meetings. Changes become effective immediately after their second mention in class, or the sending of the e-mail, whichever comes last.

Cancellation of Class: In the event that the instructor needs to cancel class, an e-mail will be sent to all students’ e-mail accounts (as maintained by the registrar) prior to class time.

Schedule of Classes:

1 September: Introduction

Section 1: The Context--Decolonization, Nationalism, and Islamism

8 September: Effects of Colonization

J. Cole and D. Kandiyote, Nationalism and the Colonial Identity in the Middle East and Central Asia, *International Journal of Middle East Studies*, 34:2

Mehran Kamrava, *The Modern Middle East*, University of California Press, Chapter 8, “The Problem of Economic Development,”

G. Kepel, *On the Trail of Political Islam*, selection

13 September: Islamism

O. Roy, *Globalized Islam*, Selection

SHAQ, pp. 9-109

15 September: History of Afghanistan

Jones, *GoE*, pp. xix-85

Advised: Nancy Dupree, Cultural Heritage and National Identity in Afghanistan, *Third World Quarterly*, 23:5

20 September: History of Iraq, I

C. Tripp, *HoI*, 1-142

22 September: History of Iraq, II

C. Tripp, *HoI*, 143-276.

Section Recommendations:

E. Said, *Orientalism*, Vintage, 1978

TE Lawrence, *Seven Pillars of Wisdom*

Lawrence of Arabia

R. Visser, Historical Myths of a Divided Iraq, *Survival*, 50:2

S. Zubaida, The Fragments Imagine the Nation: the Case of Iraq, *International Journal of Middle East Studies*, 34:2

A. Hyman, Nationalism in Afghanistan, *International Journal of Middle East Studies*, 34:2

D. Gilmartin, Pakistan and South Asian History, *Journal of Asian Studies*, 57:4

F. Shaikh, From Islamisation to Shariatisation, *Third World Quarterly*, 29:3

S. Rahnema, Islamism and Failed Developmentalism, *Third World Quarterly*, 29:3

The Arab Human Development Reports, 2002-2009. United Nations Development Program.

Ernest Gellner, *Nationalism*

R. Smith, *Stories of Peoplehood*

B. Anderson, *Imagined Communities*

Section 2: American, 9-11, and the War in Afghanistan

27 September: American Military Thought after Vietnam

Selection from A. Krepenevich, *The Army and Vietnam*

Selection from H. Summers, *On Strategy*

29 September: Al Queda and the 9-11 Attacks

9-11 Commission Report, §1.3, 7, 8.1

SHAQ, pp. 110-178

4 October: Attacking Afghanistan

Jones, *GoE*, 86-133

Section 3: Attacking Iraq

6 October: The Decision to Go In

Stanley Renshon, George W. Bush's Cowboy Politics: An Inquiry. *Political Psychology*, 26:4

Gordon and Trainor, *Cobra II*, 63-58, 134-207

13 October: The Public and the International Dimension

D. Foyle, Leading the Public to War? *International Journal of Public Opinion Research*, 16:3

Simon Serfaty, *Architects of Delusion*, University of Pennsylvania Press, 2008, pp. 1-45

W. Haumman and T. Peterson, German Public Opinion and the Iraq Conflict, *International Journal of Public Opinion Research*, 16:3

18 October: The War

Gordon and Trainor, *Cobra II*, 208-496

Section Recommendations:

Pollack, *The Threatening Storm*

Mark Joslyn, "Determinates of Recall Error about Gulf War Preferences," *American Journal of Political Science*, 47:3

Alex Thompson, *Channels of Power*, Cornell UP, 2009

R. Kagan, Power and Weakness, *Policy Review* 2002

R. Gottemoeller, The Evolution of Sanctions, *Survival*, 94:4

M. Alexander and J. Kieger, Limiting Arms, Enforcing Limits: International Inspections and the Challenges of Compellence in Germany Post-1919 and Iraq post-1991, *Journal of Strategic Studies*, 29:2

P. Kowert and M. Hermann, Who Takes Risks? *Journal of Conflict Resolution*, 41:5

M. Hermann and T. Preston, Presidents, Advisors, and Foreign Policy: The Effect of Leadership Style on Executive Arrangements, *Political Psychology*, 15:1

V. Shannon and J. Keller, Leadership Style and Norm Violation, *Foreign Policy Analysis*, 3:1

Leonie Huddle, Stanley Feldman, Charles Taber, and Gallya Lahav, "Threat, Anxiety, and Support of Antiterrorism Policies," *American Journal of Political Science*, 49:3.

20 October Midterm

Section 4: The Occupation of Iraq

25 October: Initiating the Occupation **Simulation Preparation Paper Due**

J. Dobbins, A Short History of the CPA, *Survival*, 51:3

N. Bensahel, What Went Wrong with Iraqi Reconstruction, *Journal of Strategic Studies*, 29:3

27 October: The Iraqi Experience of War and Occupation

A. Shadid, *Night Draws Near*

*****Afghanistan Simulation, 1-5 November*****

1 November: A Failing Occupation?

Thomas Ricks, *Fiasco*

3 November: The Insurgency

Hashim, *Insurgency and Counter-Insurgency in Iraq*, pp. 59-213.

SHAQ, 179-218

Section Recommendations:

P. Bremer, J. Dobbins, and D. Gompert, Early Days in Iraq: Decisions of the CPA, *Survival*, 50:4
Battle of Algiers

W. Gray, *Embedded*. USNI Press, 2009

Mao, *On Guerilla Warfare*

Rieko Kage, "Making Reconstruction Work: Civil Society and Information after War's End,"
Comparative Political Studies, 43:2.

C. Malkasian, Signaling Resolve, Democratization, and the First Battle of Falluja, *Journal of Strategic Studies*, 29:3

T. Dodge, The Causes of US Failure in Iraq, *Survival*, 49:1

Tripp, 277-316

E. Herring and G. Rangwala, *Iraq in Fragments*, 2006

T. Dodge, The Causes of US Failure in Iraq, *Survival*, 49:1

C. Malkasian, Signaling Resolve, Democratization, and the First Battle of Falluja, *Journal of Strategic Studies*, 29:3

Section Five: Turning the Corner in Iraq?

8 November: Simulation Debriefing

10 November: The Surge **Paper Topic Due**

Thomas Ricks, *The Gamble*

15 November: Success in Iraq?

TBA

Stephen Biddle, Michael O'Hanlon, Kenneth Pollack, "How to Leave a Stable Iraq," *Foreign Affairs*,
Sept-Oct 2008

Section Recommendations:

US Army Field Manual FM-23, *Counter-Insurgency*

P. Rottman, D. Tohn, J. Wharton, Learning Under Fire, *Survival*, 51:4

G. Gentile, Learning, Adapting, and the Perils of the New Counterinsurgency, *Survival*, 51:6

M. Fitzsimmons, Hard Hearts, and Open Minds? Governance, Identity, and the Intellectual
Foundations of Counterinsurgency Strategy, *Journal of Strategic Studies*, 31:3

L. Krause, Playing For Breaks: Insurgent Mistakes. *Parameters*, Aut 2009

S. Telhami, America In Arab Eyes, *Survival*, 49:1

Bruce Moon, "Long Time Coming: Prospects for Democracy in Iraq," *International Security*, 33:4
(2009)

17 November: Meanwhile, in Afghanistan...

Jones, *GoE*, 134-326

Section 6: Afghanistan after the Invasion

22 November: The Problem of Pakistan

C. Fair and S. Jones, Pakistan's War Within, *Survival*, 51:6

Jacob Shapiro and Christine Fair, "Understanding Support for Islamist Militancy in Pakistan,"
International Security, 34:3, Winter 2009/2010

29 November: Iran in all this

Shahram Chubin, Iran's Power in Context, *Survival*, 51:1, (2009), pp. 165 – 190

1 December: How are things working? **Term Paper Due**

TBA

Advised:

The McCrystal Report

S. Biddle, "Is it Worth it?" *The American Interest*

White House White Paper on Iraq, November 2009

Section 7: America at War

6 December: Electoral Politics and Public Opinion

David Karol, Edward Miguel, "The Electoral Cost of the War," *Journal of Politics*, 69:3

Dominic Tierney, America's Quagmire Mentality, *Survival*, 49:4

8 December: Americans at War, I

N. Fick, *One Bullet Away* OR A. Exum, *This Man's Army* OR C. Mullaney, *The Unforgiving Minute*
Recommended:

Finkel, *The Good Soldiers*, Ch. 9-10

C. Grigsby, Binding the Nation, *Parameters*, Win 2008-9

S. Schooner, Why Contractor Fatalities Matter, *Parameters*, Aut 2008

D. Grossman, *On Killing*, 1995.

The Hurt Locker, Voltage Pictures, 2008.

Section 8: The Future of War?

13 December

Selection from P. W. Singer, *Wired For War*, 2009.

Selection from C. Gray, *Another Bloody Century*

Final Exam, Friday, 17 December, 19:15 (7:15 PM)