

HIS 336: 9/11 & the War on Terror in U.S. Culture

Washington and Jefferson College, Fall 2020

Class Time: T & Th 9:00-10:45

Class Location: Old Main 206

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Office Hours: By Appointment & Virtual; email me to set up a Zoom call

Course Description:

The terrorist attacks of September 11, 2001 and the United States' response to them stand as the defining moment for United States foreign policy and, perhaps until COVID-19, United States culture as a whole in the twenty-first century. This course will examine the history of the post-September 11th period, asking both what the domestic and foreign policy responses to the attacks have been, how Americans engaged with those events and policies, and how they have been represented in popular culture. As we do so, we will read primary documents from the period, the best recent scholarship, and a range of popular texts that includes long-form journalism, documentary and feature film, fiction, and memorials. Our discussions will take seriously the premise that cultural texts do not simply reflect already-extant cultural ideas but rather play a critical role in the production of competing ideas about events, their cultural significance, and their political import. Our goal will be to analyze not only the events of September 11 and the United States' political, military, and cultural response to them but also how those events and responses are significant within larger debates about race, gender, citizenship, and patriotism in the contemporary United States as well as questions about the United States' role in global affairs.

Outcomes:

By the end of the semester, you will be able to:

- *Discuss* how the September 11, 2001 terrorist attacks and the wars in Iraq and Afghanistan have been represented in American culture and *analyze* how these representations contribute to broader debates over the United States' relationship to the rest of the world or to ideas about citizenship in the contemporary moment.
- *Explain* how the idea of a "war on terror" has been portrayed as a domestic issue, and *analyze* the ways in which issues like privacy, security, and law enforcement have been debated and portrayed in post-9/11 popular and political culture.
- *Discuss* the broader histories of U.S. involvement in the world, radical Islam, and domestic and international terrorism that have shaped both the events of the past twelve years and attitudes about them within and outside the United States and *Evaluate* whether 9/11 and the "War on Terror" represents a discrete, significant period in United States history.
- *Discuss* how individuals and groups have identified themselves – or been identified – in relation to September 11, 2001 and the subsequent wars, *explain* how the characteristics of "Victims," "Survivors," "Heroes," "Perpetrators," and so on have been culturally constructed and contested, and *analyze* how the claiming or conferring of these identities is culturally significant.
- *Assess* how the events of September 11, 2001 and the wars in Iraq and Afghanistan continue to shape U.S. culture and the United States' global engagements in the present moment.
- *Evaluate* the argument and evidence presented in a scholarly work.
- Conduct scholarly research in primary and secondary sources.
- Construct well-argued, clear, and properly-cited original analyses of primary and secondary

sources and present them through oral and written expression.

A Few COVID-19 Notes:

- Zoom: We will be using Zoom to hold our class discussions throughout the semester. I encourage you to download the Zoom app and install it – it works better than the browser version. I have set up a recurring Zoom meeting that you can access as follows:
 - Click this [link](#).
 - Or use this Meeting ID: 989 5992 6274 and this Passcode: 062088

I have also sent this information via email.

- **Recording Policy:** To aid in remote learning, some or all class sessions may be recorded by the instructor of this course for use by current course participants. By appearing in recorded class sessions, you grant consent to such recording and usage; you may opt out by emailing your instructor and requesting to participate via alternate means. Under federal privacy law (FERPA) and Pennsylvania law, recordings may not be made by students or visitors or shared with non-participants without the express consent of all parties whose images, voices, or intellectual work products are contained in the recording. Violations of this policy may result in academic penalties (such as grade reduction or course failure) imposed by the course instructor and/or discipline by the Offices of Academic Affairs and Student Life. Please note that recorded lectures and discussions may be used only for educational purposes and only by students enrolled in FYS199-09 in Fall 2020. Sharing of these recordings with organizations outside the college or individuals not enrolled in the course or the public posting of these recordings (such as on Facebook, YouTube, Twitter, etc.) is strictly prohibited. Any infraction will be considered a violation of the Academic Honesty Policy and subject to the penalties for academic misconduct.
- **Mask Policy:** All are required to wear masks in the classrooms and other learning spaces. IF you choose not to wear a mask in class, you will be asked to leave and this action will count as an absence. If you are unable to wear a mask for medical reasons, submit documentation of your disability. The College will offer accommodation in the form of remote learning.

Texts for the Course:

The following ten texts are available for purchase at the bookstore, though you are of course welcome to purchase them elsewhere. Other items, marked with an asterisk (*), are available electronically. Films are indicated on the reading list and are available on reserve. You may also acquire them through NetFlix, Amazon, or similar services.

1. Beth Bailey and Richard Immerman, eds., *Understanding the U.S. Wars in Iraq and Afghanistan* (NYU)
2. John Ehrenberg, et. al., eds. *The Iraq Papers* (Oxford)
3. David Finkel, *The Good Soldiers* (Picador)
4. Fawaz A. Gerges, *ISIS: A History* (Princeton)
5. Kenneth T. MacLeish, *Making War at Fort Hood: Life and Uncertainty in a Military Community* (Princeton)

6. Sunaina Marr Maira, *The 9/11 Generation: Youth, Rights, and Solidarity in the War on Terror* (NYU)
7. Alia Malek, ed., *Patriot Acts: Narratives of Post-9/11 Injustice* (McSweeney's)
8. Aaron O'Connell, ed. *Our Latest Longest War: Losing Hearts and Minds in Afghanistan* (Chicago)
9. Riverbend, *Baghdad Burning: Girl Blog From Iraq*
10. Brian Glyn Williams, *Counter Jihad: America's Military Experience in Afghanistan, Iraq, and Syria* (Pennsylvania)

Course Requirements:

The class is based on an 850-point scale, with the points distributed as follows. *In order to pass this class, you must complete all assignments and earn a passing grade on both the final paper and the final examination.*

- **Ten BLUF Memos and Forum Responses (150 points):** This assignment has two parts:
 - Each week, you will write a brief (~500 word) memorandum in which you will identify what you consider to be the key takeaway from the reading and an analysis or explanation as to why that is so – what important questions or issues it raises; how it complicates, challenges, or aligns with your prior thinking; how it connects to other issues that we have been discussing, etc. Your goal is both to demonstrate that you have read and thought about the assigned materials but also to raise interesting and valuable avenues for discussion. Each day, your comments will provide some direction to our discussions, and I will frequently call upon students to further explain or expand upon their post. Your responses must therefore be posted to the Forum section of Sakai by 6:00 AM on the morning that we discuss the readings about which you have written. You must complete ten of these and you may skip 2 weeks at your discretion. These are each worth 10 points.
 - Each week, you will also respond, after discussion, you will respond to one of your classmate's BLUF memos with a short paragraph (~150 words). That response can agree or disagree, complicate or contradict, but the key is to build upon what your colleague has written with additional insights from the readings and discussions. You must complete ten of these and you may skip 2 weeks at your discretion. Each of these are worth 5 points. These are due within 48 hours of the prior class (e.g. by 10AM on Thursdays and Saturdays).
 - *Please Note:* My hope is that the forum will become a space of continued meaningful discussion about course issues. Therefore, I am happy to take into consideration for class participation continued engagement – i.e. actual virtual conversations – in which members of the class continue to *meaningfully* and *thoughtfully* engage in the material and with one another.
- **Active and Engaged Participation (150 Points):** This class's success, and more particularly *your* success, will depend upon a) your arriving in class – in person or virtually -- having done the reading and thought carefully about it and b) your willingness to share your thoughts and engage critically but respectfully with those of others. However, good participation is not simply about talking. It is also about listening and collaborating. With

that in mind, I am borrowing from Dr. Stephen Brookfield the following list of *some* of the ways in which I will define “good participation” in this class:

- Make a comment that helps us understand the key issues in the reading and their relevance to larger issues that we are discussing in the course.
- Contribute something that builds on, or springs from, what someone else has said. Be explicit about the way you are building on the other person's thoughts. (These two the traditional definition of “Class Participation,” right?)
- Ask a question or make a comment that shows you are interested in what another person says.
- Ask a question or make a comment that encourages another person to elaborate on something they have already said.
- Bring in a resource (a reading, web link, video) not covered in the syllabus but adds new information/perspectives to our learning.
- Make a comment that underscores the link between two people's contributions & make this link explicit in your comment.
- Use body language (in only a slightly exaggerated way) to show interest in what different speakers are saying.
- Post a comment on the course blog (<http://wjracemedsoc.blogspot.com/>) that summarizes our conversations so far, highlights key points, and/or suggests new directions and questions to be explored in the future.
- Make a comment (including on the course blog) indicating that you found another person's ideas interesting or useful. Be specific as to why this was the case.
- Responding to the blog post of another student in a way that expands upon their comments by reflecting on our class discussions. This should be done within 48 hours of the class.
- Respond to the weekly reflection of another student in a way that expands upon their comments by reflecting on our class discussions. This should be done by 5:00pm on the Wednesday following the original post.
- When you think it's appropriate, ask the group for a moment's silence to slow the pace of conversation to give you, and others, time to think.
- Make a comment that at least partly paraphrases a point someone has already made.
- Make a summary observation that takes into account several people's contributions & that touches on a recurring theme in the discussion (on the blog, if you like). This should be done within 48 hours of the class.
- Ask a cause and effect question - for example, "can you explain why you think it's true that if these things are in place such and such a thing will occur?"
- Find a way to express appreciation for the enlightenment you have gained from the discussion. Try to be specific about what it was that helped you understand something better. Again this can be done on the blog if this suits you better.
- PLEASE REMEMBER that in this course we will read about and discuss issues that are contentious for a variety of reasons. Some of them – accounts of various kinds of human suffering, for example – can be gruesome and unsettling. Almost all of them are politically charged. Please note that in the classroom there will be a range of beliefs and opinions on these issues. These concerns should not prohibit us from having frank, open discussion of the texts that we read and the issues that we discuss. However, they should remind us to approach these issues, and each other, with open-minded respect and willingness to listen and discuss. The success of the course depends in large part on our striving to be aware of and sensitive to our

responses to these texts as well as those of our colleagues, to interrogate *why* we are responding as we are, and to encourage ourselves and each other to read and discuss these materials in a way that produces positive intellectual and personal growth.

- To be aware of, and sensitive to, microaggressions in the classroom (and, for that matter, elsewhere).¹ “Microaggressions,” according to *Psychology Today*, “are the everyday verbal, nonverbal, and environmental slights, snubs, or insults, whether intentional or unintentional, which communicate hostile, derogatory, or negative messages to target persons based solely upon their marginalized group membership.”² They are often intended to be innocuous, or even complimentary. However, comments like “You speak good English,” “When I look at you, I don’t see color,” or “I’m not a racist. I have several Black friends” are, in turn, derogatory and insulting, denials of the ways in which identity differences are manifest and real, and elisions of the speaker’s privilege.³ I encourage you to be cognizant of the assumptions that underlie your thinking, to consider how your comments might be perceived, and to work towards engagements that in which you are consciously respectful of difference and privilege. If you find that you are experiencing a microaggression or witness one, I would encourage you to respond in the way that you feel most comfortable. You might speak with me or someone in the office of Diversity Programs and Multicultural Affairs (<http://www.washjeff.edu/diversity-programs>). You might use it as a teachable moment, and constructively engage the other person in dialogue. In each case, what is important is that we strive for a classroom and campus environment in which all identities and perspectives are respected and valued.
- **Co-Leadership of One Class Session (50 Points):** In the second half of the semester, you and a partner will take leadership for one class session. This will require that you develop a set of guiding questions and manage the discussion. More details will follow.
- **Two Short Papers (200 points):** You will write two short papers of about 5 pages (1,500 words) in which you will engage more deeply the issues and texts that we have considered in class. More details as well as possible topics and the rubric according to which you will be assessed will be distributed two weeks ahead of each due date.
- **A Final Research Paper (200 Points):** Because this is a research seminar, your primary assignment for this class will be to write a formal, scholarly essay of about 15 pages (about 4,500 words). Early in the semester, you should identify a specific research question that interests you about the September 11th attacks and their domestic or foreign policy legacies. You will then conduct significant research in primary and secondary sources and craft an original argument that is sustained primarily through your analysis of those sources. In order to help you succeed in this assignment, you will have several due dates along the way. The completion of these will count minimally towards your overall grade for the course, but they

¹ This paragraph is adapted, with permission, from Claire Bond Potter, “Microaggressions: An Intervention,” Claire Bond Potter, July 13, 2016. <https://clairepotter.com/2016/07/13/microaggressions-an-intervention/>

² Derald Wing Sue, “Microaggressions: More Than Just Race,” *Psychology Today*, November 17, 2010. Available: <https://www.psychologytoday.com/blog/microaggressions-in-everyday-life/201011/microaggressions-more-just-race>

³ “Examples of Microaggressions,” University of Minnesota School of Public Health, n.d. Available: <http://sph.umn.edu/site/docs/hewg/microaggressions.pdf>

will enable me to offer you substantial feedback on your progress. However, the failure to turn in one of these assignments at the time specified will result in a full letter grade deduction on the final paper.

- *A list of three possible topics:* You will begin by identifying three issues, topics, or problems that you are interested in exploring in this paper. Write one well-organized paragraph about each that identifies the question that you might like to ask and identify one scholarly and one primary source about the topic that is currently shaping your thinking.
- *A two-page précis of your topic.* Here, you will write about 500 words identifying your topic, explaining its significance, and offering a preliminary thesis based on your initial research. You will also provide a bibliography of primary and secondary sources sufficient to indicate that the paper is doable.
- *A complete draft of the paper.* You will provide a complete draft of the paper, which I will read, comment on, and grade.
- *A revised, final draft of the paper.* If you wish, you may revise the paper based on my comments and submit it for a new (hopefully – and almost always – higher) grade.
- **A Final Examination (100 points):** You will take a take-home final essay examination at the date and time scheduled by the registrar. More details will be provided in class.

Course Policies:

My understanding is that by enrolling in this course you agree to adhere to the following policies

It is your responsibility to read the syllabus and be aware of policies, assignments, due dates, etc. To that end, please be sure that you read the syllabus in its entirety and make note in your calendar of important dates. To assure me that you have in fact read the syllabus, please email me a picture of a dog when you have finished reading it.

- **Attendance:** Attendance is required. You may miss **TWO** classes without penalty, and no excuses or explanations are required. Beginning with your **THIRD** absence, your final grade will fall by 1/3 (e.g. from a B to a B-) with each absence. Repeated absences could, therefore, result in a failing grade *regardless of your other work in the course.* Obviously, under the conditions in which we find ourselves, some flexibility is called for here, so please don't hesitate to email me if attendance becomes an issue.
- **Late Arrival to Class:** Class will start promptly at the scheduled time. I expect you to arrive in class on time and prepared. If you are late, please enter the room and take a seat near the door in order to cause as little disruption as possible. I will excuse one late arrival. Beginning with the second late arrival, I will deduct one point from your final grade for class participation each time that you are late.
- **Distractions and the like:** It pains me to have to include this on a syllabus, but it is increasingly necessary to remind students that class meetings should be spent paying careful attention to and participating in class activities. Other activities – checking your email, updating Facebook, trying to finish an assignment, sleeping, reading the *New York Times*, sending text messages, doing a crossword puzzle, shoe shopping – disrespect the instructor, your colleagues, and the overall purpose of higher education. Participation in such activities

will be construed as evidence of your lack on engagement in the course and will be taken into account in the evaluation of your participation.

- **Electronic Devices: You should use your laptop or tablet to access readings in PDF or to take notes.** However, you should not abuse this privilege by engaging in any of the activities described above, and you should be prepared to email me your notes immediately upon request. Students should silence and put away cell phones, etc. Recording of any portion of the course in any form is not allowed without the written permission of the instructor and all members of the class. Inappropriate use of electronic devices in class will be construed as evidence of your lack on engagement in the course and will be taken into account in the evaluation of your participation.
- **Extensions:** In most cases, I am happy to offer each student one extension per semester of up to 24 hours on major assignments, provided you let me know in advance. Extensions of more than 24 hours will be given only under the most extraordinary circumstances. Please note:
 - *I will be the sole judge of what constitutes an extraordinary circumstance.* In most cases, my granting an extension will require that you submit a note from a doctor or other appropriate official.
 - *Extensions must be negotiated at least 24 hours in advance of the date that an assignment is due.*
 - *Sending me an email or leaving me a voice mail does not constitute “negotiating” an extension.* Unless you and I have spoken and agreed on a new date, the original date stands.
 - *If you are seeking an extension within 24 hours of the date an assignment is due, you should be prepared to submit your work to that point* (e.g. an outline or draft of the paper, etc.).
 - *Malfunctioning computers, printers and so on are not reasonable grounds for an extension.* Save your work regularly and in multiple locations, including to the cloud, and be prepared to print your work in a computer lab if necessary.
- **Late Work:** Late work will not be accepted. It is your responsibility to either submit work by the due date or negotiate an extension. An assignment not submitted by the due date will receive a grade of 0 which will, in turn, result in a failing grade for the course. Barring extraordinary circumstances, the failure to take an exam on the assigned date will result in a grade of zero and students arriving late to an exam will receive the remainder of the allotted time to complete it.
- **Submitting and Returning Work:** Papers should be submitted to via W&J’s OneDrive that are open to editing. I will return all written work with comments and grades within two weeks (though usually sooner), with the exception of the final exam, which will be available for pick-up at the start of the next semester. Please note:
 - You should retain an electronic copy of your work and the sent mail containing the attachment until you receive your returned paper. In the event that work goes missing, this will provide the *only acceptable* evidence that you turned in a particular assignment.

- You should also save all graded work until you receive your final grade in the course. In the event that your final grade gets miscalculated, this will provide the *only acceptable* evidence that you received a particular grade.
- **Academic Honesty:** I expect that you will hold yourself to high standards, adhere to Washington & Jefferson's Academic Dishonesty policy, and take all efforts to avoid plagiarism. Intentional plagiarism undermines the very goals of a liberal arts education. It also has the potential to jeopardize your career here and in the future. Cases of intentional academic dishonesty will be dealt with according to university regulations and may result in significant academic penalties. Please note that W&J's academic misconduct policy is quite clear that "If a course instructor believes that the student is guilty of intentional or major academic misconduct, the instructor may give the student an 'F' for the course" and that "If the Office of Academic Affairs has a record of previous academic misconduct, or if a single infraction is judged to be sufficiently serious, the Office of Academic Affairs may impose an additional penalty, up to and including dismissal from the College."⁴

These issues are, thankfully, easy to avoid. I recommend that you bookmark Purdue University's Online Writing Lab's page that details the Chicago citation style (<https://owl.english.purdue.edu/owl/resource/717/01/>). As well, we will spend time in class discussing how to responsibly incorporate the ideas of others into your work, but *please* see me if you have any questions in this regard. It is much more pleasant to have these conversations before the fact than after.

In the meantime, here are five do's and don't's:

- **DO Know the Policy:** You are responsible for reading before the next class, and then adhering to during the semester, the College's Academic Honesty Policy (<http://wiki.washjeff.edu/display/CATALOG2015/Academic+Honesty+Policy>). Please see me if you have any questions!
- **Do Your Own Work.** With the exception of the final project, you will not need to consult outside sources to complete class reading and writing assignments. By making sure that you are relying solely on class readings and your own thoughts and words, you will avoid any problems in this regard.
- **DO Be Responsible With Citations.** There will be occasions in which you will consult secondary materials. In such cases, you must carefully format and appropriately cite all sources quoted, paraphrased, and consulted using the format described in the *Chicago Manual of Style*.
- **DO Err on the Side of Caution:** When in doubt, cite the source. There are some tricky questions – what's a summary, and what's a paraphrase? What counts as common knowledge? – if you're not sure, it's better to cite the source.

⁴ "Procedures for Academic Dishonesty," Washington and Jefferson College, n.d. Available: <http://wiki.washjeff.edu/display/CATALOG2015/Procedures+for+Cases+of+Academic+Misconduct>

- ***DON'T Try To Pass Someone Else's Work Off As Your Own:*** Cut-and-paste from the Internet, buying papers from term paper mills, having someone write a paper for you, turning in a paper you or someone else wrote for another class, and other obvious forms of dishonesty are the most egregious forms of this violation. They are also, as it turns out, the easiest to notice.
- **Extra Credit:** At various points in the semester, opportunities to attend an event related to course issues may arise. At my discretion, I may offer students modest extra-credit if they attend those events and prepare a short paper connecting that event to some aspect of the course. More details on these opportunities will be discussed as they arise.
- **Student Support Services:** This class is intended for all W&J students who have met the prerequisites. If you there are any factors that might prevent you from participating fully or succeeding to the degree that you desire, please let me know as soon as possible and we can discuss what accommodations are reasonable and fair. Students needing accommodations are encouraged to consult with Disability Support Services:
<http://www.washjeff.edu/disability-support-services>
- **PAL Program:** The Peer Assisted Learning Program (<http://www.washjeff.edu/pal>) is an excellent resource for helping you conceptualize, organize, and revise your papers. I encourage you to make good use of it. If you do visit a PAL tutor, please ask them to email me that you have done so; students who visit a tutor with a draft of their papers for this course will earn extra credit.
- **Office Hours and Contacting Me:** Please feel free to come see me about any issue relating to the course, about the History Major and the American Studies concentration, or just to chat. I am happy to work with you to improve your participation or your writing or to offer suggestions for your papers. I have scheduled office hours, indicated on the top of this document. If those aren't convenient, I am happy to set up another time to meet with you. You are also welcome to drop by my office anytime to see if I am available. *If you find yourself struggling with the concepts or the workload, or are having any other sort of difficulty see me sooner rather than later. The last week of the semester is not the best time to ask how you are doing in the course and how you can improve your grade.*
- **Emailing Me:** I respond to emails and voicemails received during the week (Monday through noon on Friday) within 24 hours; I respond to emails received over the weekend by 5:00PM on Monday. I do receive a lot of emails, though, and sometimes I miss one; if you haven't heard from me in 48 hours feel free to email me again. **Please note**, however, that email with a professor is a form of written communication that requires at least a modest level of formality. To that end, please include a *subject* for your email, and begin with an appropriate *greeting* – “Dear Professor Kieran” or “Hi DK” – rather than just launching into

your message. And please sign off – “Best, Dave” will do. This is good practice for your post-college life, when people will increasingly expect you to understand these norms, and will judge you as unprofessional for not doing so.

Schedule of Readings and Assignments:

Please Note:

- As a 300-Level Seminar, the reading expectations are high. My expectation is that you will spend 3-4 focused hours preparing for each class session. Those who do so can expect to do well.
- All readings are due on the date indicated. Please bring your readings to class with you so that we may refer to them during discussion.
- Readings and due dates may change as the semester progresses. These changes will be announced in class and/or via email.
- If you miss a class, it is your responsibility to obtain notes from a colleague.

Class	Date	Day	Topic	Writing Due
1	8/25	T	Introductions: About You, About Me, About the Course; “September 11 th ” and “9/11”	
2	8/27	R	Antecedents, Part I: Afghanistan, Iraq, and the Cold War. <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Williams, <i>Counter Jihad</i>, 1-18. • Toby Craig Jones, “America, Oil, and War in the Middle East,” <i>Journal of American History</i>, Volume 99, Issue 1, June 2012, Pages 208–218 • Odd Arne Westad, <i>The Global Cold War: Third World Interventions and the Making of Our Times</i> (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007), 288-330.* • Westad, <i>The Cold War: A World History</i>, 449-475. • Peter Hahn, <i>Missions Accomplished? The United States and Iraq Since World War I</i> (New York: Oxford University Press, 2011), 67-86.* 	R1
3	9/1	T	Antecedents, Part II: The 1991 War, and U.S. Policy Towards Iraq Between 1989 and 2001: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Williams, <i>Counter Jihad</i>, 18-63. • Joy Gordon, <i>Invisible War: The U.S. and the Iraq Sanctions</i>, Ch. 2 and 5.** • George H.W. Bush, “Address to the Nation Announcing Allied Military Action in the Persian Gulf,” January 16, 1991.* • George H.W. Bush, “Address Before a Joint Session of the Congress on the Cessation of the Persian Gulf Conflict,” March 6, 1991.* • ABC News Coverage of Desert Storm* 	T1

			<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Project for a New American Century, “Statement of Principles,” <i>Iraq Papers</i>, 19-20. • Project for a New American Century, Letter to President Clinton, <i>Iraq Papers</i>, 24-25. • Bill Clinton, “Explanation of Iraq Strike, December 16, 1998,” <i>Iraq Papers</i> 33-38. • William Kristol and Robert Kagan, “Bombing Iraq Isn’t Enough,” <i>Iraq Papers</i>, 26-27. • George H.W. Bush and Brent Scowcroft, “Why We Didn’t Remove Saddam,” <i>Iraq Papers</i>, 27-30. • Madeline Albright, Explanation of Containment, <i>Iraq Papers</i>, 38-40 • Al Qaeda’s 1998 Fatwa (http://www.pbs.org/newshour/terrorism/international/fatwa_1998.html)* 	
4	9/3	R	<p>Antecedents, Part III: Terrorism in the 1990s:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Kathleen Belew, “A Unified Movement” and “The Bombing of Oklahoma City” from <i>Bring the War Home: The White Power Movement and Paramilitary America</i> (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2018), 55-76 and 209-234. • Marita Sturken, <i>Tourists of History</i> Ch. 2 and 3.** • Linenthal, “Telling the Story: Three Narratives,” from <i>The Unfinished Bombing: Oklahoma City in American Memory</i> (New York: Oxford University Press), 2001, 41-80.* 	R2
5	9/8	T	<p>9/11: Initial Responses:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Terry Anderson, “9/11: Bush’s Response” in Bailey and Immerman, <i>Understanding the U.S. Wars in Iraq and Afghanistan</i>. • Mary Dudziak, “What is a War on Terror?” from <i>Wartime: An Idea, Its History, and Its Consequences</i>, pp. 95-132.** • Read ALL Front Page Stories from <i>The New York Times</i>, September 12, 2001 (http://www.nytimes.com/packages/html/nyregion/9-11imagemap.html) (Click on Articles and Images to Read Full Stories) • George W. Bush, “Address to the Nation on the Terrorist Attacks,” September 11, 2001.** • George W. Bush, Colin Powell, and John Ashcroft, <i>President Urges Readiness and Patience</i>, September 15, 2001, <i>Iraq Papers</i>, 482-484. • Bush, “Remarks to Police, Fireman, and Rescueworkers at the World Trade Center Site in New York City,” September 14, 2001.** • Bush, “Address Before a Joint Session of the Congress on the United States Response to the Terrorist Attacks of September 11,” September 20, 2001** 	T2

			<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Bush, “Remarks at the Department of Defense Service of Remembrance in Arlington, Virginia,” October 11, 2001.** 	
6	9/10	R	9/11, Cultural Responses: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Selected <i>New York Times Portraits of Grief</i>* • David Simpson, “An Essay on Epitaphs,” from <i>9/11: The Culture of Commemoration</i> • Watch: Naudet and Naudet, <i>9/11</i> 	R3
7	9/15	T	The War in Afghanistan: Gender and Human Rights Discourse <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Williams, <i>Counter Jihad</i>, Ch. 2 • Ronald E. Newmann, “Washington Goes to War,” in O’Connell, <i>Our Latest Longest War</i>. • Horowitz, “Human Rights as a Weapon of War,” in Bailey and Immerman, <i>Understanding the U.S. Wars in Iraq and Afghanistan</i>. • Laura J. Shepherd, “Veiled References: Constructions of Gender in the Bush Administration Discourse on the Attacks on Afghanistan Post-9/11,” <i>International Feminist Journal of Politics</i> 8:1 (2006), 19-41.** • Carol A. Stabile and Deepa Kumar, “Unveiling Imperialism: Media, Gender and the War on Afghanistan,” <i>Media, Culture, & Society</i> 27:5 (2006), 765-782.** • Laura Bush, “Radio Address by Mrs. Bush,” November 11, 2001.** 	T3
8	9/17	R	The Doctrine of Preemption and Going to War in Iraq: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Williams, <i>Counter Jihad</i>, Ch. 3 • Melvyn P. Lefrfler, “9/11 and the Past and Future of American Foreign Policy,” <i>International Affairs (Royal Institute of International Affairs 1944-)</i> Vol. 79, No. 5 (Oct., 2003), pp. 1045-1063 (19 pages) • George W. Bush, “State of the Union Address, January 29, 2002” in <i>Iraq Papers</i>, 59-61. • George W. Bush, “Graduation Speech at West Point, June 1, 2002,” in <i>Iraq Papers</i> 65-68. • “The Downing Street Memo, July 23, 2002,” in <i>Iraq Papers</i>, 68-69. • Condoleezza Rice and George W. Bush, “The National Security Strategy of the United States of America, September 2002,” in <i>Iraq Papers</i>, 81-85 • George W. Bush, “Speech Outlining Iraqi Threat, Cincinnati, Ohio, October 7, 2002,” in <i>Iraq Papers</i>, 85-92. • <i>Joint Congressional Resolution to Authorize the Use of United States Armed Forces against Iraq</i>, October 16, 2002 (excerpt), <i>Iraq Papers</i>, 92-96 • Colin Powell, “Address to the United Nations Security Council, February 6, 2003,” in <i>Iraq Papers</i>, 99-102. 	R4

			<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Robert C. Byrd, "We Stand Passively Mute," Remarks to the Senate, February 12, 2003.* 	
9	9/22	T	Operation Iraqi Freedom <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Williams, <i>Counter Jihad</i>, Ch. 4 Conrad Crane, "Learning and Adapting Under Fire at Home and in the Field," in Bailey and Immerman, <i>Understanding the U.S. Wars in Iraq and Afghanistan</i>, pp. 124-134. Michael O'Hanlon, "Iraq Without a Plan," <i>Policy Review</i> 128 (2004-2005).** George W. Bush, "Announcements that Major Combat Operations in Iraq Have Ended, May 1, 2003," in <i>Iraq Papers</i>, 174-177. Coalition Provisional Authority Orders 1 and 2, in <i>Iraq Papers</i>, 182-188. "Rumsfeld Blames Iraq Problems on 'Pockets of Dead-Enders'" in <i>Iraq Papers</i>, 188-190. Coalition Provisional Authority Number 6, in <i>Iraq Papers</i>, 190-192. L. Paul Bremer, "Iraq's Path to Sovereignty" and "Agreement on Political Process," in <i>Iraq Papers</i>, 192-197. 	T4
10	9/24	R	Life Under Occupation <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Riverbend, <i>Baghdad Burning</i> 	R5
	9/25	F	Topic Ideas for Final Papers Due	
11	9/29	T	Life Under Occupation <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Riverbend, <i>Baghdad Burning</i> <i>Iraq Papers</i>, documents 6.6, 6.7, 6.8, 6.9, and 6.10 Fallujah Project: https://www.peopleshistoryfallujah.org/?fbclid=IwAR0XvwjHrdzIZcXvLNONcksb4oUXDNssIsdB8SLfxjZFLh_-zShenzdqK_o 	T5
12	10/1	R	Abu Ghraib and Elsewhere <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <i>Iraq Papers</i> Documents 8.1-8.4 Central Intelligence Agency, KUBARK Manual on Counterintelligence Interrogation, July 1963 (excerpt), <i>Iraq Papers</i>, 417-422. Lt. Col. Jerald Phifer, "Request for Approval of Counter-resistance Strategies," October 11, 2002 in <i>The Iraq Papers</i>, <i>Iraq Papers</i>, 415-17. Alberto Gonzalez, memorandum to the President, <i>Iraq Papers</i>, 438-441. Jay Bybee to Alberto Gonzalez, "Standards of Conduct for Interrogation," <i>Iraq Papers</i>, 443-445. John Yoo, Letter to Alberto Gonzales, "Interrogation Methods to Be 	R6

			<p>Used," August 1, 2002 (excerpt), <i>Iraq Papers</i>, 441-443.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Brian Ross and Richard Esposito, "CIA's Harsh Interrogation Techniques Described," <i>Iraq Papers</i>, 450-453. • Watch: <i>Taxi to the Dark Side</i> (2007) 	
13	10/6	T	Introduction to Library Research	
14	10/8	R	No Class – Work on Research Paper Proposal – DK Available via ZOOM.	
	10/9	F	Paper #1 Due , based on Oral History analysis of either the <u>9/11 Memorial and Museum Oral History Collection</u> or the <u>Miller Center George W. Bush Presidential Oral History</u>	
15	10/13	T	Abu Ghraib and Elsewhere <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Watch: <i>Ghosts of Abu Ghraib</i> (2007)** • Michelle Brown, "Setting the Conditions' For Abu Ghraib: The Prison Nation Abroad," <i>American Quarterly</i> 57:3 (2005), 973-997.* • <i>Iraq Papers</i>, Documents 8.7, 8.10, 8.11 	T6
16	10/15	R	The War on Terror at Home: Surveillance Culture <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Louise Amoore, "Vigilant Visualites: The Watchful Politics of the War on Terror," <i>Security Dialogue</i> 38:2 (2007), 215-232. • Leti Volpp, "The Citizen and the Terrorist," from Mary Dudziak, ed., <i>September 11 in History: A Watershed Moment?</i> ** • Michel Foucault, "Panopticism," from <i>Discipline and Punish</i>** • Russ Feingold, "Statement on the Anti-Terrorism Bill (USA PATRIOT Act), October 25, 2001," in <i>Iraq Papers</i>, 528-536. • Federal Bureau of Investigation, "Sample National Security Letter, Declassified on August 3, 2004" in <i>The Iraq Papers</i>, 543-44. 	R7
	10/16	F	Prospectus and Preliminary Bibliography for Final Paper Due	
17	10/20	T	The War on Terror at Home: Surveillance Culture <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Malek, <i>Patriot Acts</i>, selections 	T7
18	10/22	R	The War on Terror at Home: The Politics of Identity and Resistance <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Maira, <i>The 9/11 Generation</i> 	R8
19	10/27	T	The War on Terror at Home: The Politics of Identity and Resistance <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Maira, <i>The 9/11 Generation</i> 	T8
20	10/29	R	Iraq: The Insurgency, Counter-Insurgency, and Leaving Iraq <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Cohen, et. al. "Principles, Imperatives, and Paradoxes of Counterinsurgency," <i>Military Review</i>, March-April 2006* 	R9

			<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Conrad Crane, “Learning and Adapting Under Fire at Home and in the Field,” in Bailey and Immerman, <i>Understanding the U.S. Wars in Iraq and Afghanistan</i>, pp. 134-143. • “Islamists Pledge Continued War on Coalition, May 2004,” in <i>Iraq Papers</i>, 250-252. • “Letter from Abu Musab al-Zarqawi to Osama bin Laden, July 2005,” in <i>Iraq Papers</i>, 252-259. • George W. Bush, “Address to the Nation on Policy in Iraq,” Jan 10, 2007* • Agreement between the United States of America and the Republic of Iraq on the Withdrawal of the United States Forces from Iraq and the Organization of Their Activities during Their Temporary Presence in Iraq, November 17, 2008 (excerpt), <i>Iraq Papers</i>, 336-349. • Charlotte F. Blatt, “Operational Success, Strategic Failure: Assessing the 2007 Iraq Troops Surge,” <i>Parameters</i> 47:1 (2017), 43-55. 	
21	11/3	T	US Military Experiences in Iraq <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Finkel, <i>The Good Soldiers</i> 	T9
22	11/5	R	US Military Experiences in Iraq <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Finkel, <i>The Good Soldiers</i> 	R10
	11/6	F	Paper #2 Due	
23	11/10	T	US Military Experiences in Iraq <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • MacLeish, <i>Making War at Fort Hood</i> 	T10
24	11/12	R	Obama’s Wars, Part I: Afghanistan <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Williams, <i>Counter Jihad</i>, Ch. 5. • Jamie Lynn DeCoster, “Building and Undermining Legitimacy: Reconstruction and Development in Afghanistan,” in O’Connell, <i>Our Latest Longest War</i>. • Daniel R. Green, “Organizing Like the Enemy: Special Operations Forces, Afghan Culture, and Village Stability Operations,” in O’Connell, <i>Our Latest Longest War</i>. • Barack Obama, “Remarks by the President in Address to the Nation on the Way Forward in Afghanistan and Pakistan,” December 1, 2009.** • Watch: Junger and Heatherington, <i>Restrepo</i> (2010) 	R11
	11/13	F	Draft of Final Paper Due	

25	11/17	T	Obama's Wars, Part II: Drones <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Ian G.R. Shaw, "Predator Empire: The Geopolitics of U.S. Drone Warfare," <i>Geopolitics</i> 18:3 (2014), 536-559.** • Barack Obama, "Address on U.S. Drone and Counterterrorism Policy," May 23, 2013.** • Matthew Power, "Confessions of a Drone Operator," <i>GQ</i>, October 22, 2013. Available: http://www.gq.com/story/drone-uav-pilot-assassination • Watch: Tahir, <i>Wounds of Waziristan</i> (2013) • Amnesty International, "Will I Be Next?" Available: https://www.amnesty.org/download/Documents/12000/asa330132013en.pdf 	T11
26	11/20	R	Aftermaths: Legacies and New Challenges <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Robert K. Brigham, "Lessons and Legacies of the War in Iraq," in Bailey and Immerman, <i>Understanding the U.S. Wars in Iraq and Afghanistan</i>. • Aaron B. O'Connell, "Lessons and Legacies of the War in Afghanistan," in Bailey and Immerman, <i>Understanding the U.S. Wars in Iraq and Afghanistan</i>. • Benjamin F. Jones, "Leaving Afghanistan," in O'Connell, <i>Our Latest Longest War</i>. • Christopher D. Kolenda, "America's Generals Are Out of Ideas For Afghanistan," <i>Survival</i> 59:5 (2017), 37-46. • Williams, <i>Counter Jihad</i>, CH. 6 	R12
27	11/24	T	Aftermaths: Legacies and New Challenges <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Gerges, <i>ISIS</i> 	T12
	12/3	R	Final Paper and Final Exam Due	