**SAST 383-401: Global War on Terror**

Meets: MWF, 11-12, PSYL A30 (in Solomon Labs, between Stiteler and Huntsman)
Instructor: James Caron: jcaron@sas.upenn.edu
Hours: Fridays, 12-4 pm, or by appointment

**Course Introduction:**

This course addresses the globality of contemporary warfare, through a focus on US involvement in Afghanistan and Pakistan in particular, as well as domestic trends in the US and Europe. It is interdisciplinary in nature, and emphasis is on critical examination of primary and secondary texts about 21st century globalized violence, from all disciplines and fields.

We will explore the development of increasingly wide-reaching non-state interests in formerly localized conflicts. More importantly, readings and discussion will focus on the local, regional and global cultural changes that have resulted. How have people in Afghanistan and Pakistan; in the US and in Europe; and in the transnational spaces that interpenetrate all these regions, been shaped by globalized violence in the first decade of the twenty-first century? How have they actively framed and reframed this violence? We will analyze primary sources, not only in the textual production of international and local political actors but in more popular cultural production as well.

**Reading:**

All readings will be supplied in electronic form on Blackboard.

**Requirements:**

RESPONSE PAPERS (30%): Weekly response papers must address the readings under the relevant week heading in this syllabus, due strictly by 9am on the Wednesday of the week in question, via email to my account (mailto:jcaron@sas.upenn.edu). You need to complete ten responses by the end of the semester for full credit.

In addition to the readings, your responses should also demonstrate active monitoring of, and engagement with, news that ties in to the themes of the week, even if tangentially. News sources may include opinion pieces or standard reportage in any globally reputable source in any language.

Papers will be accepted up to a week late, in which case the response should not ordinarily exceed 2.5 pages, including discussion both of news and of readings. It should very briefly summarize the arguments or central narratives of the readings, not the supporting evidence or historical details. But much more importantly it must weigh the readings’ arguments, narrative emphases, or other ramifications against each other where applicable (in which case, describing the supporting evidence might be relevant, but only insofar as this description is organic with your larger discussion).

The response should also contain a few discussion questions, addressed to your peers, in preparation for the class meetings of Wednesday and Friday for the week in question. We
will often begin discussion sessions by raising some of these; please come prepared as I may call on people randomly. You may work these into your prose organically.

See the Response Paper Guidelines document in the “Assignments” folder of our course site for a description of how these papers will be scored.

PARTICIPATION (15%): Regular attendance and participation in class discussion is important in this class, and will count for 15% of the final grade. Most weeks, we will have discussion on Wednesdays and/or Fridays, based on your response papers/discussion questions, and on the Monday lectures.

SUMMARY ESSAY 1 (15%): This will be a short essay in 4 pages excluding citations (Chicago style). This will build on the class engagement with the materials in the first third of the semester, and you may draw upon your response papers heavily in writing this essay; the specific topic will be announced on the date listed in the syllabus. See rubric in “Assignments” folder of our course site for a description of how the papers will be scored. You may revise and resubmit this paper at any time.

SUMMARY ESSAY 2 (15%): This will be a short essay in 4 pages excluding citations (Chicago style). This will build on the class engagement with the materials in the second third of the semester, and you may draw upon your response papers heavily in writing this essay; the specific topic will be announced on the date listed in the syllabus. See rubric in “Assignments” folder of our course site for a description of how the papers will be scored. You may revise and resubmit this paper at any time.

FINAL PAPER (25%): The final will be an in-depth, research-based paper in 12-15 pages. You may choose to explore any of the course themes in greater depth than we did in class, or you may choose a topic of your own. You may draw heavily upon what you have already written in your response and summary papers; in fact, I encourage this. You must submit a half-page (12-pt, double-spaced) statement of your paper topic strictly by 17 Feb. 2012 for full points. Primary arguments or hypotheses must be added onto this document strictly by 19 Mar. 2012. Failure to submit either one of these will result in 10% deducted from the final paper score.

Course participants will be presented with a clear rubric for completion and assessment of each task in the “Assignments” folder of the Blackboard site. All assignments must be submitted via email to me, by 9am of the due date. Assignments submitted by Blackboard dropbox or any other means, including hard copy, will not be considered.

COURSE UNITS and WEEKLY TOPICS

INTRODUCTION: GENRES, SCALES

Readings (for two weeks, by the 18th of January):

Lustick, Eland, Beers, Luttwak: “Are we Trapped in the War on Terror?”, 1-27
Kilcullen, “Chapter 1”, The Accidental Guerrilla, 1-38
Gregory, “The Everywhere War”, 238-250
Kumar, A Foreigner Carrying in the Crook of His Arm a Tiny Bomb, 66-91
For Background (recommended, but required only if background is needed):

Juan Cole, “Pakistan and Afghanistan: Beyond the Taliban”
James Gelvin, selections from The Modern Middle East

WEEK 1 – COURSE INTRODUCTION

WED. Jan. 11: Course Introduction

WEEK 2 – COURSE INTRODUCTION

Discussion:

Come prepared to discuss the following:  (a) What is terror? (b) What is war? (c) What are some ways that the Global War on Terror affect you? (d) Can experience of the effects of the War on Terror be separate from the terms on which they are discussed in public, or even from the terms in which they are consciously understood by those affected? For whom might these propositions be true, and for whom could they be false? (e) Is it possible that the Global War on Terror doesn't affect you at all?

MON. Jan. 16: No Class: MLK Jr. Day
WED. Jan. 18: Discussion.
FRI. Jan. 20: Discussion continues.

UNIT ONE: GLOBALITY

WEEK 3: US ACTION IN THE WORLD; IDEALISM, INTERESTS

Discussion:

Come prepared to give multiple and thorough treatment to various ramifications of a deceptively simple question that can be taken in a number of different ways: “So, what are we doing there?” What parts of this question need to be clarified; how would different ways of clarifying it produce different answers?

Readings:

Schrecker, “US Strategy in Afghanistan”, 1-9
Boot, “Liberal Empire Strikes Back”, 361-366
Spence, “World Risk”, 284-302
Callinicos, “Iraq as Fulcrum of World Politics”, 593-608
Bacevich, “Interview”, 1-12
Kline, “The Culture War Gone Global”, 453-466
Mahmood, “Politics of Islamic Reformation”, 323-347
WEEK 4: A WIDER WORLD: CIVILIZATION, HISTORY, MEDIATION

Discussion:

Come prepared to (a) give good faith arguments for and against “Clash of Civilizations” as a framework of understanding history, (b) give alternate arguments when arguing against the thesis.

Readings:

Chopra, “Islam, Terror, and the Failures of the Intellectual Left”
Essays by Lewis, Said, Buruma
Makdisi, “Anti-Americanism in the Arab World”, 131-156
Gelvin, “9/11 in Historical Perspective”, 1-8
Ho, “Empire through Diasporic Eyes”, 210-246

Start on Devji, *Landscapes of the Jihad*, Preface, Ch. 1; 3-4; 6

MON. Jan. 30: Lecture: Global History in the Middle East and South Asia
FRI. Feb. 3: Discussion

WEEK 5: SYNTHESIS

Discussion:

Come prepared to discuss (a) How do local conflicts and global ones mutually produce each other, according to each author? Through what sorts of mechanisms and in what sorts of social settings? (b) What is the balance of description and prescription in each text? (c) How do the descriptive and prescriptive tensions in each selection manifest themselves? (d) What are some other ways that these selections talk to each other, or talk past each other?

Readings:

Finish Devji.
Kilcullen, *The Accidental Guerrilla*, Ch. 4 and Conclusion
Barkawi, *Globalization and War*, Ch. 1-2, 5 and Afterword

MON. Feb. 6: Lecture
WED. Feb. 8: Discussion
FRI. Feb. 10: *No class*. Begin Summary Paper 1, to be due on Fri., Feb. 17

UNIT TWO: LOCAL HISTORIES OF THE WORLD

WEEK 6: PAKISTAN – HISTORICAL FRAMEWORKS

Discussion:

Come prepared to discuss differing frameworks for understanding Pakistani history, and in particular, its relationships to “Islam” and “the west”.

Readings:

Devji, “Pakistan, the Privatised State”, 1-2
Saadia Toor, Interview with Jadaliyya
Start on Jalal, Partisans of Allah, Ch. 6 + Conclusion
Start on Toor, State of Islam, selections.

MON. Feb. 13: Lecture
WED. Feb. 15: Lecture
FRI. Feb. 17: Discussion

WEEK 7: PAKISTAN TODAY – LOCAL AND GLOBAL PERSPECTIVES

Discussion:

Come prepared on Friday to discuss the overlaps and disjunctures between the vastly varied voices we find in the week’s readings (and film). Also be prepared to discuss the layers and filters of mediation through which those voices reach us, and most importantly, each other. In particular, ask yourself about how “experience” is constructed in each; and whether different people’s experience is constructed differently. But please note any other aspects of these voices that strike you.

Readings:

Finish Jalal and Toor
Zaidi, “Negotiations and the Anti-Taliban Counterinsurgency”, 257-277
News and Blog Selections
The Ally from Hell (Atlantic); The Ally from Hell (Salon)
Khan, “The Afghan Beat”, 79-93

MON. Feb. 20: Lecture
WED. Feb. 22: Film: Chinoy
FRI. Feb. 24: Discussion

WEEK 8: AFGHANISTAN: HISTORICAL FRAMEWORKS

Discussion:

Come prepared to discuss (a) differing frameworks for understanding Afghan history; (b) the texts and their social domains that those frameworks circulate through; and (c) what the relationships may be between author, intended audience, broader publics, and the narratives presented in the texts.

Readings:

Steward, “Afghanistan in a Globalized World”, 51-74
Sarwary and Crews, “Pax Americana”, 311- 355
Pain, “Empire Light – State Light”, 1-23
Extra Directions for reading:

Please read Rubin et al. as it is intended: both (1) as a corporate primary source document written by academics (mostly from IR and Poli Sci), opinion-shapers, and policy-makers before 9/11, when the Taliban were still in power throughout most of Afghanistan; and (2) as a potted history of transnational Afghanistan up to 2001. Please do the same for Adam Pain’s lecture: read simultaneously as (1) a primary source document reflecting on state of the NGO field as it was experiencing a great deal of new resource-allocation, as well as (2) a piece aiming to reconceptualize state, society, and economy.

MON. Feb. 27: Lecture
WED. Feb. 29: Lecture
FRI. Mar. 2: Discussion

SPRING BREAK:

MON. Mar. 5
WED. Mar. 7
FRI. Mar. 9

WEEK 9: AFGHANISTAN TODAY: LOCAL PERSPECTIVES?

Discussion:

Come prepared on Friday to discuss the overlaps and disjunctures between the varied voices we find in this and last week’s readings. In particular, pay attention to the processes by which narrative is constructed., and the ways that the authors depict narratives being constructed. Be prepared to discuss (a) the layers and filters of mediation through which those voices reach us, and most importantly, each other; (b) issues of intended audience; and (c) why those things matter.

Readings:

Daulatzai, “Acknowledging Afghanistan”,
Caron, “Plains of Layla”
Caron, “Taliban Real and Imagined”
Rzehak, “Remembering the Taliban”
US Embassy Cable
Joya, A Woman Among Warlords, 1-5; 62-83; 94-109; 225-239
Sulamal, Selections (The Old Fort; The Village and the Bus; The Rain)

MON. Mar. 12: Lecture
WED. Mar. 14: Discussion
FRI. Mar. 16: No Class. Begin Summary Paper 2. Due Friday, Mar. 23
UNIT THREE: GLOBAL AND LOCAL ENCOUNTERS

WEEK 10: COUNTERINSURGENCY, COUNTERTERRORISM

Discussion:

Come prepared to reflect upon: (a) Who are the people producing these texts; (b) to what extent do the primary producers of these texts control the voices of others who are represented in them; (c) who are the multiple audiences the respective authors are producing them for; (d) how does audience expectation shape the text; and (e) if expectations from multiple audiences play a considerable role in shaping the end texts, then where should authorship rest? Second, and just as importantly, how do these texts interact with actually-existing events, especially violent ones?

Readings:

Mulla Omar, 2009 Taliban Code of Conduct (Laiha)
Rosen, Aftermath, 439-519
Blog Selections

MON. Mar. 19: Lecture
WED. Mar. 21: Video – NATO
FRI. Mar. 23: Discussion

WEEK 11: MILITARY KNOWLEDGE

Discussion:

Come prepared to discuss the overlaps and disjunctures between the accounts we find in the week’s readings (and pay careful attention to the chronology of sources here). How do the authors create authoritative accounts of “how the world works”; whose authority (if anyone’s) do they rely upon, other than their own? Also be prepared to discuss the extent to which these accounts cross-fertilize each other, if at all; and how they inform broader public discussions, if at all.

Readings:

Anderson, “Poetics and Politics”
Avallone, “Flirting with Afghanistan” (skim very cursorily)
Media Selections (NYT sequence on tribal engagement)
TRADOC, “My Cousin's Enemy”
Connable, “All Our Eggs in a Broken Basket”
Porter, Military Orientalism, Ch. 5 + Conclusion
Other Media Selections

MON. Mar. 26: Lecture
WED. Mar. 28: Lecture
FRI. Mar. 30:

WEEK 12: INTIMATE SPACES IN GLOBAL VIOLENCE, I – THE SYSTEM

Discussion:
Come prepared to discuss the overlaps and disjunctures between the voices we find in the week’s readings. Also be prepared to discuss the layers and filters of mediation through which those voices reach us and each other, if at all. Please note other points of linkage between populations that come through in the readings – ways that borders between populations are maintained or broken down; and concrete actions or forms of expression that dehumanize or humanize individuals and groups. Please note any other thoughts that also arise.

Readings:

Hakimi, “Council of Europe Addresses CIA and Rendition Program”, 442-452
Stratfor selections on rendition and torture
Roth, “Rule of Law in War”
Moore, “Liberal Institutions”
Interrogation Log of al-Qahtani (skim very cursorily)
Hesford, “Staging Terror”
Shaw and Akhter, “The Unbearable Humanness of Drone Warfare”

MON. Apr. 2: Lecture
WED. Apr. 4: Lecture and Discussion
FRI. Apr. 6: Discussion

WEEK 13: INTIMATE SPACES IN GLOBAL VIOLENCE, II – EXPERIENCE

Discussion:

Come prepared to discuss the overlaps and disjunctures between the voices we find in the week’s readings. Also be prepared to discuss the layers and filters of mediation through which those voices reach us and each other, if at all. Please note other points of linkage between populations that come through in the readings – ways that borders between populations are maintained or broken down; and concrete actions or forms of expression that dehumanize or humanize individuals and groups. Please note any other thoughts that also arise.

Readings:

King, “The Afghan War and Postmodern Memory: Commemorating the Dead of Helmand”, 1-23
Salaita, “Ethnic Identity and Imperative Patriotism”, 146-168
Kumar, A Foreigner Carrying in the Crook of His Arm a Tiny Bomb, excerpts TBA
Media selections

Start reading Hamid, The Reluctant Fundamentalist, excerpts TBA

MON. Apr. 9: Lecture
WED. Apr. 11: Discussion – individual experience in collective history
FRI. Apr. 13: TED Talk, Hasan Elahi; Clip, “Eye in the Sky”; Discussion

WEEK 14: INTIMATE SPACES IN GLOBAL VIOLENCE, PART III - AGENCY

Readings:
Finish Hamid excerpts
Kumar, *A Foreigner Carrying in the Crook of His Arm a Tiny Bomb*, Ch. 4
*Granta 116*: Aslam, “Punnu's Jihad”
Sulamal, short story: “50 Million”
Postcards in Time of War

MON. Apr. 16: Lecture
WED. Apr. 18: Discussion
FRI. Apr. 20: Discussion

*MON. Apr. 23: Loose Ends*