INR 4104.001 Topics and Cases in American Foreign Policy

Instructor: Thomas M. Dolan, thomas.dolan@ucf.edu
Class: Tuesdays-Thursdays, 12:00-1:15 PM, 308 CL1
Office Hours: Tuesday-Thursday 2:30-5:30, and by appointment at 305D
Credit: 3 Hours

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.

<u>Course Design</u>
This course involves a combination of class seminars, readings, papers, exams, a simulation, 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 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.

Assignments

Midterm: 20%; 6 October
Includes essays and specific tests of knowledge; a study guide will be distributed one week before.

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.

Simulation: 5% preparation paper (Due 25 October), 10% participation
Each student will participate in one weeklong simulation of the conflict in Afghanistan; to maximize student participation opportunities, two separate simulations will be conducted. The first will be conducted between 31 October and 4 November and the second between 7 November and 11 November. Each student will have a 'role' to play; assignments will be distributed on 11 October. The preparation paper (no more than 2 pages) will describe the resources, capabilities, interests, and attitudes of the role. Students will be expected to participate during each day of their simulation, including filing an action plan by a specified deadline, and should anticipate that it may require multiple hours of their time each day. (But, it will be fun.)

Final Paper, 8 Pages, Due 22 November—25%
Students will write on a topic of relevance to the class. Topics must be submitted to instructor by **1 November**.

Final Exam—30%; 8 December at 10 AM
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.
Participation in the simulation cannot be made up. In the event of unforeseen circumstances, please contact the instructor immediately.

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	

As reflected in the UCF creed, integrity and scholarship are core values that should guide our conduct and decisions as members of the UCF community. Plagiarism and cheating contradict these values, and so are very serious academic offenses. Penalties can include a failing grade in an assignment or in the course, or

suspension or expulsion from the university. Students are expected to familiarize themselves with and follow the University's Rules of Conduct (see http://www.osc.sdes.ucf.edu/).

Plagiarism and Cheating of any kind on an examination, quiz, or assignment will result at least in an "F" for that assignment (and may, depending on the severity of the case, lead to an "F" for the entire course) and may be subject to appropriate referral to the Office of Student Conduct for further action. See the UCF Golden Rule for further information. I will assume for this course that you will adhere to the academic creed of this University and will maintain the highest standards of academic integrity. In other words, don't cheat by giving answers to others or taking them from anyone else. I will also adhere to the highest standards of academic integrity, so please do not ask me to change (or expect me to change) your grade illegitimately or to bend or break rules for one person that will not apply to everyone.

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' knights-mail accounts (as maintained by the registrar), and will be mentioned in class meetings. Changes become effective immediately after their 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' knights-mail accounts (as maintained by the registrar) prior to class time.

Readings:

The following books should be obtained:
Abdel Bari Atwan, *Secret History of Al Qaeda*, University of California Press, 2006.
Thabit Abdullah, *A Short History of Iraq*, Longman.
Thomas Ricks, *Fiasco*, Penguin, 2006.
Thomas Ricks, *The Gamble,* Penguin, 2009.
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 webcourses site.

23 August: Introduction

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

25 August Effects of Colonization
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

30 August Islamism
O. Roy, *Globalized Islam,* Selection
SHAQ, pp. 9-109

1 September—No Class (APSA Annual Meetings)
2 points mid-term exam extra credit for attending Anthony Shadid, "Dispatches from the Middle East: Covering the Arab Spring," 3:00-4:30 at the Pegasus Ballroom in the UCF Student Union. Must sign in at the door to get credit.

6 September History of Afghanistan
Jones, *GoE*, pp. xix-85
Advised: Nancy Dupree, Cultural Heritage and National Identity in Afghanistan, *Third World Quarterly*, 23:5

8 September History of Iraq, I
Abdullah, *SHI*, pp. 74-117

13 September History of Iraq, II
Abdullah, *SHI*, pp.118-158

Section Recommendations:
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
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

15 September: American Military Thought after Vietnam
Selection from A. Krepenevich, *The Army and Vietnam*
Selection from H. Summers, *On Strategy*

20 September: Al Queda and the 9-11 Attacks
9-11 Commission Report, §1.3, 7, 8.1
SHAQ, pp. 110-178

22 September: Attacking Afghanistan
Jones, GoE, 86-133

Section 3: Attacking Iraq

27 September The Decision to Go In
Stanley Renshon, George W. Bush's Cowboy Politics: An Inquiry. *Political Psychology*, 26:4

29 September: The Public and the International Dimension
D. Foyle, Leading the Public to War? *International Journal of Public Opinion Research*, 16:3

4 October The War
Ricks, *Fiasco*, 58-135
Recommended:
Michael Gordon and Gen. Bernard Trainor, *Cobra II*, Vintage Books, 2006/2007.

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

6 October Midterm

Section 4: The Occupation of Iraq

11 October Initiating the Occupation
J. Dobbins, A Short History of the CPA, *Survival*, 51:3
2 points extra credit on the final exam for attending Peter Bergen, "After Osama bin Laden," at 3:00-4:30 at the Cape Florida Ballroom in the UCF Student Union. Must sign in at the door to get credit.

13 October: The Iraqi Experience of War and Occupation
A. Shadid, *Night Draws Near,* 97-329

18 October A Failing Occupation?
Thomas Ricks, *Fiasco,* pp. 214-362.

20 October The Insurgency
Selections from Ahmed Hashim, "Iraq's Sunni Insurgency" *Adelphi Paper 402*.
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
Abdullah, *SHI,* 159-176
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
N. Bensahel, What Went Wrong with Iraqi Reconstruction, *Journal of Strategic Studies*, 29:3

Section Five: Turning the Corner in Iraq?

25 October The Surge ***Simulation Paper Due***
Thomas Ricks, *The Gamble*

27 October: Success in Iraq?
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)

Section 6: Afghanistan after the Invasion

1 November: Meanwhile, in Afghanistan… ***Paper Topics Due***
Jones, *GoE*, 134-326

3 November: The Problem of Pakistan
C. Fair and S. Jones, Pakistan's War Within, *Survival*, 51:6
Advised: Jacob Shapiro and Christine Fair, "Understanding Support for Islamist Militancy in Pakistan," *International Security*, 34:3, Winter 2009/2010

8 November: Iran in all this
Shahram Chubin, Iran's Power in Context, *Survival*, 51:1, (2009), pp. 165 – 190
2 Points extra credit on the final exam for attending Bing West, "Lessons from Iraq," 3:00-4:30, Cape Florida Ballroom, UCF Student Union. Must sign in at the door to get credit.

10 November: Afghanistan Today

TBA
Advised:
The McCrystal Report
S. Biddle, "Is it Worth it?" *The American Interest*
White House White Paper on Iraq, November 2009

15 November: Simulation Discussion

17 November: The Death of bin Laden and its Aftermath
TBA

Section 7: America at War

22 November: The War in American Politics
David Karol, Edward Miguel, "The Electoral Cost of the War," *Journal of Politics,* 69:3
Dominic Tierney, America's Quagmire Mentality, *Survival,* 49:4

24 November (No Class—Thanksgiving)

29 November: Americans at War
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.

1 December: The future of War,
Selection from P. W. Singer, *Wired For War*, 2009.
Selection from C. Gray, *Another Bloody Century*

Final Exam: 8 December at 10:00.