

## **America in an Age of Terrorism**

KHC PO 101 A1

Spring 2014

Mondays and Wednesdays, 11am-12:30pm

KHC 107

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### **Course Description**

Today's undergraduate cohort came of age in the shadow of 9/11. This course explores the genesis of the attacks, the evolution of the American military response, and the consequences of American foreign policy both at home and abroad. Specific questions we will address include: can just war theory serve as a guide when responding to non-traditional threats from terrorists?; what alternatives were available to American policymakers in Afghanistan and Iraq, how were the key decisions made, and how might policy have unfolded differently?; how has the war on terror shaped our politics here at home and what are its lasting impact on our separation of powers system?; what will the future of the war on terror look like as the war in Afghanistan winds down even as drone strikes intensify? We will explore these and similar ethical, historical, and political questions from a variety of perspectives.

### **Course Objective**

To introduce students to the use of survey experimental techniques and allow students to engage in original empirical research on the dynamics driving public opinion regarding different aspects of the war on terror.

### **Attendance**

Attendance in class is required.

### **Academic Conduct**

As a reminder, plagiarism or cheating of any kind is strictly prohibited. The policy memo should strictly be the original work of each student. Please be aware of the following Boston University policy: "All students are responsible for having read the Boston University statement on plagiarism, which is available in the Academic Conduct Code. Students are advised that the penalty for cheating on examinations or for plagiarism may be '... expulsion from the program or the University or such other policy as may be recommended by the Committee on Student Academic Conduct, subject to approval by the dean." Copies of the academic conduct code are available online at: <http://www.bu.edu/academics/resources/academic-conduct-code/>. All cases of suspected academic misconduct will be referred to the Dean's Office.

## Assignments and Grading

1. First and foremost, it is essential that everyone do the readings for each session and come to class prepared to discuss. Although I will occasionally lecture briefly to introduce material to help guide our discussions, this is a seminar style class and it will be much more rewarding if we all engage the material together. Remember, class participation accounts for 20% of your grade!
2. There will be an in-class, essay-based, midterm examination during week 9 that will account for an additional 30% of your grade.
3. One of the key components of the class is an original survey experiment to explore the determinants of public support for war. Students will break up into pairs to design two survey modules for possible inclusion on an original survey. Each team will present their two ideas during an in-class workshop on April 7. We will discuss each proposed module as a group and make suggestions and recommendations. The quality of your two proposed experiments as well as your participation in the class research workshop on April 7 will comprise 10% of your grade. Each team will then have one week to select one of their modules and revise it for inclusion on the final survey. Each team's survey module must be completed and ready to go on Qualtrics ([bucas.qualtrics.com](https://bucas.qualtrics.com)), a survey design program that we will learn to use during the course, by Friday April 11 at 5pm. During class on April 14 we will have dedicated time to learning to conduct simple analyses of the survey data using Excel as well as more advanced analysis using STATA. Finally, each team will present the results of their research in an 8-10 minute, professional meeting style presentation on April 30. The presentation will comprise 20% of your grade.
4. Finally, each team will write up their results in a final research paper of approximately 15-20 pages in length. Papers must be submitted electronically no later than May 7 at 5pm – because of the strict deadlines for submitting final grades, papers will be docked a half letter grade for each day they are turned in late. The final paper will comprise the remaining 20% of your grade.

## Course Outline & Readings

### 9/11 AND THE INITIATION OF THE WAR ON TERROR

January 15: Introduction – September 11, 2001

*9/11 Commission Report*. Chapter 1, pp. 1-46.

January 20: MLK Day – No Class

January 22: The Origins of the 9/11 Attacks

*9/11 Commission Report*. Chapter 2, pp. 47-70.

Tom Pyszczynski, Sheldon Solomon, and Jeff Greenberg, *In the Wake of 9/11: The Psychology of Terror*, "The Roots of Islamic Terrorism," chapter 7, pp 143-170.

January 27: Does Terrorism Work?

Max Abrahms. 2006. "Why Terrorism Does Not Work." *International Security*. 31: 42-78.

William Rose, Rysia Murphy, and Max Abrahms. 2007. "Correspondence: Does Terrorism Ever Work? The 2004 Madrid Train Bombing." *International Security*, 32: 185-192.

January 29: Constitutional War Powers

Louis Fisher. 2000. *Congressional Abdication on War and Spending*. College Station, TX: Texas A&M University Press, Chapter 1, pp. 3-14.

John Yoo. 2006. *The Powers of War and Peace: The Constitution and Foreign Affairs After 9/11*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press. Chapter 1, pp. 1-29.

February 3: Just War Theory and Decision-Making

Neta Crawford. 2003. "Just War Theory and the U.S. Counterterror War." *Perspectives on Politics*, vol. 1, no. 1 (March 2003), pp. 1-21.

Alexander George and Eric Stern. "Harnessing Conflict in Foreign Policymaking: From Devil's Advocacy to Multiple Advocacy." *Presidential Studies Quarterly*, 32 (2002): 484-508.

February 5: The Road to War in Afghanistan

Matthew Evangelista. 2011. "Coping with 9/11: Alternatives to the War Paradigm." *Costs of War Project*, pp. 1-15.

Bob Woodward 2003. *Bush at War*. New York: Simon and Shuster, pp. 60-100.

Watch excerpts from *Frontline's* "The War Behind Closed Doors."

February 10: The Problem of Detainees: The Applicability of the Geneva Conventions

Geneva Convention Relative to the Treatment of Prisoners of War, 1949, articles 12-16;  
Additional Protocol I, Geneva Convention, 1977, article 75.

Military Order of 16 November 2001. "Detention, Treatment, and Trial of Certain Non-Citizens in the War Against Terrorism."

Taft-Haynes Memo, 22 March 2002, regarding the President's Decision about Applicability of Geneva Conventions to Al Qaeda and Taliban. Pp. 283-309.

February 12: The Problem of Detainees: Interrogation Tactics

Bybee-Gonzales Memo, 1 August 2002, Re. Standards of Conduct for Interrogation. Pp. 1-13; 31-39.

Lisa Hajjar. 2009. "Does Torture Work? A Sociolegal Assessment of the Practice in Historical and Global Perspective." *Annual Review of Law and Social Science*, 5: 311-45, pp. 312-15; 330-337.

Watch excerpts from *Frontline's* "The Torture Question."

February 17: President's Day – No Class

February 19: GWOT on the Home Front

Michael McCarthy. "Recent Developments: USA Patriot Act." *Harvard Journal on Legislation*, 39: 435-453.

United States Department of Justice. January 19, 2006. "Legal Authorities Supporting the Activities of the National Security Agency Described by the President." Pp. 1-13.

## **THE SHIFT TOWARD IRAQ**

February 24: Pivoting Toward Iraq

Bush Doctrine, George W. Bush, address, United States Military Academy, West Point, 1 June 2002. <http://teachingamericanhistory.org/library/index.asp?document=916>

National Security Strategy of the United States. 2002. pp. 1-31.

Gary Jacobson. 2006. *A Divider, Not a Uniter: George W. Bush and the American People*. New York: Pearson-Longman. Chapter 5, pp. 75-92.

February 26: Civil-Military relations and the road to war in Iraq

Bob Woodward 2003. *Plan of Attack*. New York: Simon and Shuster, selected chapters.

Glenn Sumasy and John Yoo. 2007. "Challenges to Civilian Control of the Military: A Rational Choice Approach to the War on Terror." *UCLA Law Review* 54: 1-32.

March 3: The Occupation

Rajiv Chandrasakaran, *Imperial Life in the Emerald City: Inside Iraq's Green Zone*, chapters 5, 6 and 10, pp. 94-143; 209-234.

Watch excerpts from *Frontline's* "Truth, War, and Consequences."

March 5: COIN and the Iraq Surge

United States Army and Marine Corp, *U.S. Army/Marine Corps Counterinsurgency Field Manual: Field Manual no. 3-24: Marine Corps Warfighting Publication no. 3-33.5* (Chicago: University of Chicago, 2007). Skim pp. 1-33.

Peter D. Feaver, "The Right to Be Right: Civil-Military Relations and the Iraq Surge Decision." *International Security* 35, no. 4 (Spring 2011): 87-125.

March 8-16 SPRING BREAK

March 17: Costs of War

Hannah Fischer. 2010. "U.S. Military Casualty Statistics: Operation New Dawn, Operation Iraqi Freedom, and Operation Enduring Freedom." *Congressional Research Service* RS22452, Pp. 1-11.

Linda Bilmes and Joseph Stiglitz. 2008. *The Three Trillion Dollar War*. New York: W.W. Norton. Chapter 2. Pp. 32-60.

March 19: **Midterm Examination**

## **PUBLIC OPINION AND THE WAR ON TERROR – SURVEY EXPERIMENTS**

March 24: Public Support for the GWOT Using Aggregate Data

Gary Jacobson. 2006. *A Divider, Not a Uniter: George W. Bush and the American People*. New York: Pearson-Longman. Chapter 6, pp. 93-121.

Adam Berinsky. 2007. "Assuming the Costs of War: Events, Elites, and American Public Support for Military Conflict." *Journal of Politics*. 69: 975-997.

March 26: An Introduction to Survey Experiments

Michael Horowitz and Matthew Levendusky. 2011. "Drafting Support for War: Conscription and Mass Support for Warfare." *Journal of Politics* 73: 1-11.

Douglas Kriner and Francis Shen. 2010. *The Casualty Gap: The Causes and Consequences of American Wartime Inequalities*. Oxford: Oxford University Press. Chapter 4. Pp. 92-108.

March 31: The Mechanics of Survey Experiments

Douglas Kriner and Francis Shen. 2013. "All Politics (Even Wars) are Local." *Public Opinion Quarterly*.

April 2: Designing Survey Experiments in Qualtrics

Gelpi, Christopher, Peter Feaver and Jason Reifler. 2009. *Paying the Human Costs of War*. Princeton: Princeton University Press. Chapter 4. Pp. 117-123.

Scott Gartner. 2011. "On Behalf of a Grateful Nation: Conventionalized Images of Loss and Individual Opinion Change in War." *International Studies Quarterly* 55: 545-561.

Brendan Nyhan and Jason Reifler. 2010. "When Corrections Fail: The Persistence of Political Misperceptions." *Political Behavior* 32: 303-330. Read pp. 303-315.

April 7: In-Class Workshop of Original Survey Experiments

## OBAMA AND THE FUTURE OF THE WAR ON TERROR

April 9: Obama and the Afghanistan Surge

Michael Hastings. "The Stanley McChrystal Scoop that Changed History," *Rolling Stone*. June 22, 2010. <http://www.rollingstone.com/politics/news/17390/119236>

Bob Woodward. 2010. *Obama's Wars*. New York: Simon and Schuster. Chapters 1, 6, 9-10, 13-15, 23, 25-26, 28. **SKIM**.

Watch excerpts of *Frontline's* "Obama's War."

April 14: Analyzing Survey Data in Excel and STATA

April 16: The Ethics of Drone Warfare

Peter Bergen and Katherine Tiedemann. 2011. "Washington's Phantom War: The Effects of the U.S. Drone Program in Pakistan." *Foreign Affairs* 90(4): 12-18.

Daniel Brunstetter and Megan Braun. 2011. "The Implications of Drones on the Just War Tradition." *International Ethics* 3: 337-358.

April 21: Patriot's Day – No Class

April 23: The Efficacy of Drone Warfare

Patrick Johnston and Anoob Sarbahi. "The Impact of US Drone Strikes on Terrorism in Pakistan and Afghanistan." Paper Presented at the 2011 Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association. Pp. 1-44.

April 24: (A BU Monday) Concluding Thoughts: The Future of the War On Terror

Readings to be determined as events unfold over the next year.

April 30: Research Presentations