

Department of International History

Academic year 2020-2021

An International History of the Post-11 September Era

HI122 - Spring - 6 ECTS
Mondays 14:15-16:00

Course Description

This course examines the international history of the post-9/11 September era. Almost two decades have elapsed since the 11 September 2001 terrorist attacks on the United States. In the aftermath of these events, the world entered a period characterised by a number of distinct dynamics which persisted and significantly impacted the configuration of the global order. What is the nature of these changes, notably the militarisation of international relations, the securitisation of social affairs, the expansion of technology, the rise of cultural and religious tensions and the crisis of democracy? What explains their materialisation and resilience? The course aims at providing students with a comprehensive understanding of what already constitutes an international history of the most recent period in global affairs and to enhance their critical ability to assess and write *in situ* political, geopolitical and cultural history.

> PROFESSOR

Mohammad-Mahmoud Ould Mohamedou

mahmoud.mohamedou@graduateinstitute.ch

Office: MdP-P2-547
Phone: +4122 908-5848

Office hours:
Tuesdays 14:30-16:00
or by appointment

> TEACHING ASSISTANT

Mona Bieling

mona.bieling@graduateinstitute.ch

Syllabus

This course is a political and cultural study of the international history of the post-9/11 September era. The participation of students in class discussion is expected.

/...

The main assignment is an individual **research paper** which counts for 80% of the grade. The term paper should be approximately 4,000 words or 20 pages long (12 point Times New Roman font, double-spaced), with proper citations and a bibliography (additional to the text page length). The paper should put forth a cogent argument or examine analytically, comparatively and historically an issue, rather than summarize the literature. The paper may discuss any particular aspect of the course themes. The topic of the research paper should be thematic. If the student opts for a case-study, the paper must nonetheless cast the analysis against thematic questions, historically and comparatively.

Students are invited to select a topic for their paper and submit an **outline** of their paper no later than Session Six (**March 29**). Please make an appointment with me if you have questions or would like to discuss research topics. **The completed term paper is due at the course's last session (May 31).**

The overall grade received in this class will be distributed as follows:

Research paper:	80%
Class participation:	20%

Plagiarism – the copying of another person's text or ideas and passing the copied material as your own work – is prohibited. Please familiarise yourself with the Institute's policy on plagiarism and its consequences for violators.

Readings

For each session, there will be three (3) required readings. Students are expected to familiarize themselves ahead of the class with all the readings and be prepared to discuss them critically in the context of the session's scheduled issues and the course's overall themes.

Please note that this syllabus is subject to change, and that specific sessions may be rescheduled to meet unavoidable commitments on my part. Should that be the case, students will be informed ahead of time and proper rescheduling arrangements made promptly.

If you have a special condition that requires accommodation in this course, let me know after class or in office hours during the first week of class. I will be happy to consider appropriate accommodations provided timely notice is received and the arrangement is consistent with the Graduate Institute's policies.

Session One (February 22): Introduction: The Post-9/11 Era and the Study of the Present

Issues:

- How do we study the present in history?
- What is referred to as the 'post-9/11 era'?
- How do we delineate the contours and issues of this period?

Readings:

- Agnes Heller, "Present, Past and Future", in Agnes Heller, *A Theory of History*, London: Routledge, 1982, pp. 36-50.
- Saime Durmaz, "On the Possibility of Writing Contemporary History", *Sosya Bilimber*, 2, 1, January 2012, pp. 110-120.
- Michael North, "Introduction", in Michael North, *What is the Present?*, Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 2018, pp. 1-18.

Session Two (March 1): The pre-9/11 Era: Global *Fin de Siècle*

- Issues:*
- What was the pre-9/11 context?
 - What dominant dynamics were at play internationally?
 - How does the post-Cold War relate to the post-9/11 era?

- Readings:*
- Emanuele Saccarelli and Latha Varadarajan, “A Preemptive History of World War III (1991-?)”, in Emanuele Saccarelli and Latha Varadarajan, *Imperialism – Past and Present*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015, pp. 165-217
 - Mahmood Mamdani, “From Proxy War to Open Aggression”, in Mahmood Mamdani, *Good Muslim, Bad Muslim – America, the Cold War and the Roots of Terror*, New York: Doubleday, 2005, pp. 178-228.
 - David Holloway, “History from the Clash of Civilisations to New Empire Revisionism”, in David Holloway, *9/11 and the War on Terror*, Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2008, pp. 7-30.

Session Three (March 8): Al Qaeda’s 11 September 2001 Attacks on the United States

- Issues:*
- What is the background to Al Qaeda’s 9/11 attacks on the US?
 - What took place on 11 September 2001?
 - What immediate consequences did the attack have?

- Readings:*
- “The Foundations of the New Terrorism”, in *The 9/11 Commission Report – Final Report of the National Commission on Terrorist Attacks Upon the United States*, New York: W.W. Norton and Company, 2004, pp. 47-70.
 - Terry McDermott, “The Plot”, in Terry McDermott, *Perfect Soldiers – The Hijackers: Who They Were, Why They Did It*, New York: HarperCollins, 2005, pp. 171-244.
 - Abdel Bari Atwan, “”, in Abdel Bari Atwan, *The Secret History of Al Qaeda*, updated edition, Berkeley, California: University of California Press, 2008, pp. 39-63.

Session Four (March 15): The Global War on Terror and its Discontents (I)

- Issues:*
- How was the Global War on Terror defined and launched?
 - What were its immediate consequences?
 - What lasting changes has the policy had?

- Readings:*
- Antony Anghie, “On Making War on the Terrorist: Imperialism as Self-Defence”, in Antony Anghie, *Imperialism, Sovereignty and the Making of International Law*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004, pp. 273-309.
 - Tim Gauthier, “Conceptual Confusion: The Ambiguities of the War on Terror in Roy Bhattacharya’s *The Watch* and O’Hagan’s *The Illuminations*”, in Peter C. Herman, ed., *Terrorism and Literature*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2018, pp. 413-431.
 - Richard English, “Change and Continuity across the 9/11 Faultline: Rethinking Twenty-first Responses to Terrorism”, *Critical Studies on Terrorism*, 12, 1, 2019, pp. 78-88.

Session Five (March 22): The Global War on Terror and its Discontents (II)

Discussion on issues from Session Four continued.

Session Six (March 29): The Iraq War of 2003

PAPER TOPICS AND OUTLINE DUE

- Issues:*
- Where does the Iraq War of 2003 fit into the post-9/11 puzzle?
 - How did the march to war and the conflict play out?
 - What have been the consequences of the war?

- Readings:*
- Charles H. Ferguson, "The Civilian Occupation and the Coalition Provisional Authority", in Charles H. Ferguson, *No End in Sight – Iraq's Descent into Chaos*, pp. 266-311.
 - James DeFronzo, "Post-invasion Iraq: Occupation and Insurgency", in James DeFronzo, *The Iraq War – Origins and Consequences*, Boulder, Colorado: Westview Press, 2018, pp. 195-224.
 - Gareth Stansfield, "From the Brink to the Brink", in Gareth Stansfield, *Iraq*, London: Polity, 2016, pp. 195-223.

Spring Break – no class on April 5

Session Seven (April 12): Beyond Iraq: ISIS, Russia and Europe

- Issues:*
- How did the Iraq conflict evolve after the US withdrawal?
 - What changes did the Islamic State bring in the Middle East and in Europe?
 - What consequences did Russia's involvement in Syria produce?

- Readings:*
- Michael Kofman and Matthew Rojansky, "What Kind of Victory for Russia in Syria", *Military Review*, March-April 2018, pp. 6-23.
 - Stefano Braghiroli and Andrey Makarychev, "Redefining Europe: Russia and the 2015 Refugee Crisis", *Geopolitics*, 23, 4, 2018, pp. 823-848.
 - Mohammad-Mahmoud Ould Mohamedou, "Modernity and the Globalised Insurgent" in Mohammad-Mahmoud Ould Mohamedou, *A Theory of ISIS – Political Violence and the Transformation of the Global Order*, London: Pluto Press, 2017, pp. 124-165.

Session Eight (April 19): The Spectacle of 9/11

- Issues:*
- How has been '9/11' represented beyond policy?
 - What have been the techniques and vignettes of the language (re)introduced?
 - What impact did this imagery and experience have on the contemporary era?

- Readings:*
- Susan Jeffords, "Terror, the Imperial Presidency, and American Heroism", in Tarak Barkawi and Keith Stanski, eds., *Orientalism at War*, London: Hurst and Company, 2012, pp. 65-82.
 - John Markert, "Cinema Simplicity: Heroes and Villains", *Post-9/11 Cinema – Through a Lens Darkly*, Lanham, Maryland: The Scarecrow Press, 2011, pp. 1-56.
 - Eli Jelly-Schapiro, "History, Narrative and the War on Terror", in Eli Jelly-Schapiro, *Security and Terror – American Culture and the Long History of Colonial Modernity*, Oakland, California: University of California Press, pp. 1-19.

Session Nine (April 26): Othering and Orientalism Redux

- Issues:*
- What place do 'othering' and 'Orientalism' occupy in the post-9/11 construct of international affairs?
 - How, in that context, has culture been weaponised?
 - What relationship to 'security' and 'insecurity' does this have?

- Readings:*
- Stuart Croft, "The Construction of Ontological Insecurity", in Stuart Croft, *Securitising Islam – Identity and the Search for Security*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012, pp. 200-243
 - Frank Furedi, "Perceptions of the Threat", in Frank Furedi, *An Invitation to Terror – The Expanding Empire of the Unknown*, London: Continuum, 2007, pp. 1-22.
 - Erin Steuter and Deborah Wills, "Making Enemies: Propaganda and the Making of the Orientalist Other", in Erin Steuter and Deborah Wills, *At War With A Metaphor – Media, Propaganda and Racism in the War on Terror*, Plymouth, United Kingdom: Lexington Books, 2008, pp. 17-36.

Session Ten (May 3): The Militarisation of World Affairs

- Issues:*
- To what extent have international relations been militarised since 2001?
 - What forms does such trend take?
 - What are the historical implications of this evolution?

- Readings:*
- Radley Balko, "The 2000s: A Whole New War", in Radley Balko, *Rise of the Warrior Cop – The Militarisation of America's Police Forces*, New York: PublicAffairs, 2014, pp. 239-308.
 - Stephen Graham, "Cities Under Siege", in *Cities Under Siege – The New Military Urbanism*, London: Verso, 2010, pp. 60-88.
 - Ariane Chebel d'Appollonia, "Securitisation after 9/11", in Ariane Chebel d'Appollonia, *Frontiers of Fear – Immigration and Insecurity in the United States and Europe*, Ithaca, New York: Cornell University Press, 2012, pp. 77-110.

Session Eleven (May 10): Ubiquitous Technology, New Revolts and Neo-Authoritarianism

- Issues:*
- What place does technology occupy in contemporary international affairs and with what overall impact?
 - What is the nature of the new social movements since 2001 and to what extent has there been a criminalisation of protest and dissent in recent years?
 - How has authoritarianism returned round the world in the 2010s?

- Readings:*
- Nick Couldry and Ulises A. Mejias, "The Hollowing Out of the Social" in Nick Couldry and Ulises A. Mejias, *The Costs of Connection – How Data is Colonising Human Life and Appropriating it for Capitalism*, Stanford, California: Stanford University Press, 2019, pp. 115-152.
 - Paolo Gerbaudo, "Movements in the Crisis of Neoliberalism", in Paolo Gerbaudo, *The Mask and the Flag – Populism, Citizenism and Global Protest*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2017, pp. 29-60.
 - Timothy Snyder, "Equality or Oligarchy", in Timothy Snyder, *The Road to Unfreedom*, New York: Random House, 2018, pp. 217-276.

Session Twelve (May 17):

Empire and the Boomerang Effect

- Issues:*
- What is the relationship between post-9/11 neo-imperial projection abroad and the domestic theatres?
 - To what extent has there been a boomerang effect of imperial violence and control?
 - What patterns can be discerned and what meaning does this have?

Readings:

- Michel Paradis, “The Illiberal Experiment: How Guantánamo Became a Defining American Institution”, in Karen J. Greenberg, *Reimagining the National Security State – Liberalism on the Brink*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2020, pp. 71-88.
- Christopher J. Coyne and Abigail R. Hall, “The Boomerang Effect: How Social Control Comes Home”, in Christopher J. Coyne and Abigail R. Hall, *Tyranny Comes Home – The Domestic Fate of U.S. Militarism*, Stanford, California: Stanford University Press, 2018, pp. 19-52.
- Alexander D. Barber, “Imperial Subjects at Home and the Rise of the Modern Surveillance State, in *Empire Within – International Hierarchy and its Imperial Laboratories of Governance*, London: Routledge, 2015, pp. 78-102.

Session Thirteen (May 24):

From the Post-9/11 World to the Post-Corona Era

- Issues:*
- Does the Coronavirus outbreak mark a new era in international politics?
 - If so, what are the characteristics of this (new) era?
 - What elements of continuity or change can we discern with the post-9/11 era?

Readings:

- Ileana I. Diaz and Alison Mountz, “Intensifying Fissures: Geopolitics, Nationalism, Militarism, and the US Response to the Novel Coronavirus”, *Geopolitics*, 25, 5, 2020, pp. 1037-1044.
- Sabelo J. Ndlovu-Gatsheni, “Geopolitics of Knowledge in the Covid-19 Pandemic: Decolonial Reflections on a Global Crisis”, *Journal of Developing Societies*, 36, 4, 2020.
- Xiaofeng Liu and Mia M. Bennett, “Viral Borders: Covid-19’s Effects on Securitization, Surveillance, and Identity in Mainland China and Hong Kong”, *Dialogues in Human Geography*, 10, 2, 2020.

Session Fourteen (May 31):

Conclusions

FINAL RESEARCH PAPERS DUE

- Issue(s):*
- Review of course issues

Further Reading and Research Resources

The sources of print and electronic information below may be useful to the students in the preparation of their research papers, and for further reflection on the issues discussed in class.

Books and articles

Alzubairi, Fatemah. *Colonialism, Neo-Colonialism and Anti-Terrorism Law in the Arab World*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2019.

Arsenault, Elizabeth Grimm. *How the Gloves Came Off – Lawyers, Policy Makers and Norms in the Debate on Torture*. New York: Columbia University Press, 2017

Atkins, Stephen E. *The 9/11 Encyclopedia*. Two Volumes. Santa Barbara, California: ABC-CLIO, 2011.

Ayoob, Mohammed and Etga Ugur, eds. *Assessing the War on Terror*. Boulder, Colorado: Lynne Rienner, 2013.

Bacevich, Andrew J. *American Empire – The Realities and Consequences of U.S. Diplomacy*. Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 2002.

Bacevich, Andrew J. *The New American Militarism – How Americans are Seduced by War*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005.

Barber, Benjamin. *Fear's Empire – War, Terrorism and Democracy*. New York: W.W. Norton and Company, 2003.

Booth, Ken and Tim Dunne, ed. *Worlds in Collision – Terror and the Future of the Global Order*. New York: Palgrave/MacMillan, 2002.

Bridle, James. *New Dark Age – Technology and the End of Our Future*. London: verso, 2019

Brown, Wendy. *Neoliberalism – The Rise of Antidemocratic Politics in the West*. New York: Columbia University Press, 2019.

Buck-Morss, Susan. *Thinking Past Terror – Islamism and Critical Theory on the Left*. London: Verso, 2003.

Burgat, François. *Islamism Under the Shadow of Al Qaeda*. Austin, Texas: University of Texas Press, 2008.

Burke, Jason. *The 9/11 Wars*. London: Penguin, 2011.

Dabashi, Hamid. *Europe and its Shadows – Coloniality after Empire*. London: Pluto Press, 2019.

Daulatzai, Sohail and Junaid Rana, eds. *With Stones in Our Hands – Writings on Muslims, Racism and Empire*. Minneapolis, Minnesota: University of Minnesota Press, 2018.

Delphy, Christine. *Separate and Dominate – Feminism and Racism after the War on Terror*. London: Verso, 2015.

Farmer, John. *The Ground Truth – The Untold Story of America Under Attack on 9/11*. New York: Riverhead Books, 2009

Fassin, Didier. *Enforcing Order – An Ethnography of Urban Policing*. London: Polity, 2013.

Friend, David. *The Naughty Nineties – The Triumph of the American Libido*. New York: Twelve, 2017

- Hedges, Chris. *Wages of Rebellion – The Moral Imperative of Rebellion*. New York: Nation Books, 2015.
- Juss, Satvinder S., ed. *Human Rights and America's War on Terror*. London: Routledge, 2019.
- Larsen, Eric. *A Nation Gone Blind – America in an Age of Simplification and Deceit*. Emeryville, California: Shoemaker Hoard 2006.
- Li, Darryl. *The Universal Enemy – Jihad, Empire, and the Challenge of Solidarity*. Redwood City, California: Stanford University Press, 2019.
- Mamdani, Mahmood. *Good Muslim, Bad Muslim – America, the Cold War, and the Roots of Terror*. New York: Penguin Random House,
- Mann, James. *Rise of the Vulcans – The History of Bush's War Cabinet*. New York: Penguin, 2004.
- Mayer, Jane. *The Dark Side – The Inside Story of How the War on Terror Turned Into a War on American Ideals*. New York: Doubleday, 2008.
- Mishra, Pankaj. *Age of Anger – A History of the Present*. New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 2017.
- Packer, George. *Interesting Times – Writings from a Turbulent Decade*. New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 2009.
- Priest, Dana and William M. Arkin. *Top Secret America – The Rise of the New American Security State*. New York: Little, Brown, and Company, 2011.
- Ricks, Thomas E. *Fiasco – The American Military Adventure in Iraq*. London: Penguin, 2007.
- Rosen, Nir. *Aftermath – Following the Bloodshed of America's Wars in the Muslim World*. New York: Nation Books, 2010.
- Scahill, Jeremy. *Dirty Wars – The World is a Battlefield*. New York: Nation Books, 2013.
- Shafir, Gershon, Everard Meade and William J. Aceves, eds. *Lessons and Legacies of the War on Terror – From Moral Panic to Permanent War*. London: Routledge, 2013.
- Terwindt, Carolijn. *When Protest Becomes Crime – Politics and Law in Liberal Democracies*. London: Pluto Press, 2019.
- Turse, Nick. *Mapping America's Military, Industrial, Technological, Entertainment, Academic, Media, Corporate Matrix*. New York: Henry Holt and Company, 2008.
- Whitehead, John W. *Battlefield America – The War on the American People*. New York: SelectBooks, 2015.
- Woodward, Bob. *Obama's Wars*. New York: Simon and Schuster, 2010.

Films

- The Siege*, directed by Edward Zick, 1998
Naqoyqatsi, directed by Godfrey Reggio, 2002
Sicario, directed by Denis Villeneuve, 2015

Documentaries

Fahrenheit 9/11, directed by Michael Moore, 2004

Do Not Resist, directed by Craig Atkinson, 2016

Fahrenheit 11/9, directed by Michael Moore, 2018

Dark Money, directed by Kimberly Reed, 2018

The Great Hack, directed by Jehane Noujaim and Karim Amer, 2019

The Perfect Weapon, directed by John Maggio, 2020