

Georgetown University
School of Foreign Service
Center for Contemporary Arab Studies

INAF 243
INAF 543
Spring 2004
MW: 10:15-11:30

Dr. M. Hudson and Dr. S. Shehata

Location: ICC 115
Location: NN MCN

The United States, the Middle East and the “War on Terrorism”

This course examines the historical and contemporary relationship between the United States and the Middle East in order to offer a better understanding of the tragic events of September 11, 2001 and the U.S. ‘War on Terrorism.’ A wide range of topics will be covered, including: the Modernization of the Middle East and the first American encounters in the region; the Arab-Israeli conflict and the U.S. role in this conflict; U.S. foreign policy in the Middle East since 1945; the politics of authoritarianism and human rights issues in the Arab World; Afghanistan; Iraq; US-Saudi relations; definitions of terrorism; terrorist networks and Al-Qa`eda; Weapons of Mass Destruction (WMD); Arab and Muslim public opinion; the problems of building and maintaining an international coalition; and ‘phase two’ in the ‘War on Terrorism.’

In addition to lectures by Professors Hudson and Shehata, a number of guest speakers (including both Georgetown faculty and outside specialists) will also participate in class meetings. In previous semesters distinguished guest speakers from Georgetown and elsewhere spoke about U.S. understandings of Terrorism; Weapons of Mass Destruction and Iraq; the Arab-Israeli conflict; the recent economic history of the Middle East and the financing of terrorism; Osama Bin Laden and the Al-Qa`eda organization; Terrorism and U.S. Foreign Policy; and authoritarianism and human rights in the Middle East and U.S. foreign policy; Homeland Security, among other subjects.

Throughout the course, students will be asked to reflect on major policy questions: Has the war on terrorism being successful? Has US policy toward the region changed as a result of September 11th and the attacks on America? Has the US-led regime change in Iraq affected the terrorism threat? Can the Administration’s new determination to democratize the Arab world succeed, and if so will it reduce the terrorism threat?

Students will view several films outside of class, both documentary and commercial. Students will also participate in an intensive three-week electronic Middle

East Politics simulation exercise with students at Macquarie University in Sydney, Australia via the Internet. Students choose roles in the game supervised by faculty at both universities culminating in a two-hour teleconference with the Australian students.

Required Books:

Rohan Gunaratna, *Inside Al Qaeda: Global Network of Terror* (Columbia University Press: 2002).

John Cooley, *Unholy Wars: Afghanistan, America and International Terrorism* (London and Sterling, VA: Pluto Press, 2002). 3rd Edition.

Fawaz A. Gerges, *America and Political Islam: Clash of Cultures or Clash of Interests?* (Cambridge, UK; New York: Cambridge University Press, 1999).

Hammond Atlas of the Middle East (2001) Hammond World Atlas Corporation.

Recommended Books:

William Polk, *The Arab World Today* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1991).

Reading Packets: will be made available for purchase at the copy center on the 2nd floor of the library.

Course Requirements: A) one midterm, B) participation in the simulation and C) a take-home final. D) Students are required to attend *both* lectures and discussion sections and to actively participate in discussion. E) You will also be required to view any *three* films listed on the syllabus and write one-page *reaction* papers to these films (Films are located in the Geraldine Media Center on the first floor of Lauinger Library). Reaction papers are *not* summaries of the films but your critical analysis and reaction to what you viewed. Finally, it is essential that you meet individually with either Professor Hudson or Shehata (depending on your section) at some point early in the semester.

Graduate Students: In addition to the requirements listed above, graduate students will be required to A) write an additional eight-page paper on a relevant topic of their choice, in consultation with either Professor Hudson or Shehata and B) compose a short two to three page bibliographic essay evaluating any two of the web sites listed above.

Film Reaction Papers – Due Dates: 1st film reaction paper due Monday February 9th; 2nd film reaction paper due Wednesday March 17th; 3rd film reaction paper due Wednesday April 7th.

Grading: mid-term 20%; simulation 20%; film response reaction papers 10%; attendance and participation in class discussion 20%; final exam 30%.

Office Hours:

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Dr. Shehata --
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Tel: 7x0350
ICC 251

Useful Internet Resources:

Alternative Resources on the U.S. 'War Against Terrorism'
<http://www.pitt.edu/~ttwiss/irtf/Alternative.html>

ArabNet: The Resource for the Arab World in the Middle East & North Africa
<http://www.arab.net/>

The Avalon Project: September 11, 2001: Attack on America
http://www.yale.edu/lawweb/avalon/sept_11/sept_11.htm

University of Michigan website "America's war on terrorism"
<http://www.lib.umich.edu/govdocs/usterror.html?navAction=jump#religion>

Scholars of Islam & the Tragedy of September 11
<http://groups.colgate.edu/aarislam/response.htm>

The September 11 Digital Archive
<http://911digitalarchive.org>

Television Archive: A Library of World Perspectives Concerning September 11th, 2001
<http://tvnews3.televisionarchive.org/tvarchive/html/index.html>

[www.September11.archive.org]
Web Archive of September 11 related materials

[www.freepint.com/gary/91101.html]
Speeches and Transcripts, video and audio, links to full text articles,
Congressional Research Service publications and Congressional hearings,
Executive Branch documents, Charts and Maps

[www.nytimes.org/pages/national/dayofterror]

New York Times Nation Challenged

[www.columbia.edu/cu/research]

Columbia International Affairs Online (CIAO)

Links to: Counter-terrorism policy, Center for the Study of terrorism and political violence, St. Andrews University, Scotland, Treaties and major multilateral and regional conventions, UN Resolutions, video excerpts

[<http://www.commondreams.org/911topten.htm>]

Popular articles concerning 9/11

PBS Frontline

<http://www.pbs.org/wgbh/pages/frontline/>

(Please note that transcripts and longer interviews are available on the Frontline web page. These are excellent resources)

TEXT: U.S. GOVERNMENT FACTSHEET ON USAMA BIN LADIN, August 1998

<http://usembassy.state.gov/afghanistan/wwwhtr01.html>

Attack on America: Osama bin Laden, al-Qa'ida, and Terrorism (Joyner Library – Library Academic Services) (This site is excellent and includes the texts of Osama Bin Laden's speeches)

<http://www.lib.ecu.edu/govdoc/terrorism.html#binladen>

Library of Congress site which includes links to relevant sites dealing with 9/11, terrorism, etc....

<http://corc.oclc.org/WebZ/XPathfinderQuery?sessionid=0:term=2944:xid=LCP>

Osama Bin Laden and Al Qaeda

<http://www.ict.org.il/articles/bombings.cfm>

Text of Fatwah Urging Jihad Against Americans

Published in Al-Quds al-'Arabi on February 23, 1998

<http://www.ict.org.il/articles/fatwah.htm>

CNN Transcript of Osama Bin Laden's October 2001 Interview

<http://www.cnn.com/2002/WORLD/asiapcf/south/02/05/binladen.transcript/index.html>

<http://www.nytimes.com/library/world/mideast/041600iran-cia-index.html>

[Covering CIO operation AJAX and Prime Minister Mohammed Mossadeq]

Syllabus

Introduction: Monday January 12

President George Bush, "Statement by the President in his address to the Nation,"
September 11, 2001

<http://www.whitehouse.gov/news/releases/2001/09/20010911-16.html>

Statements by Osama bin Laden and his lieutenants released by al-Jazeera satellite TV
<http://www.ict.org.il/spotlight/det.cfm?id=688>

New York Times and *Washington Post*, Front Page Stories, September 12, 2001.

Topic 1: Wednesday January 14

Modernization of the Middle East and First American Encounters

Robert J. Allison, 'Americans and the Muslim World -- First Encounters' in D. Lesch (ed.) *The United States and the Middle East, Second Ed.* (Westview Press, 1999) pp 453-463.

Albert Hourani, 'Part V: The Age of Nation States' (since 1939) in *A History of the Arab Peoples* (New York: Warner Books, 1991) pp 353-458.

Roger Owen, 'The End of Empires: The Emergence of the Modern Middle Eastern States' in *State, Power and Politics in the Making of the Modern Middle East* (Routledge: London, 1992) pp 8-31.

Usama Makdisi, "Anti-Americanism in the Arab World: an Interpretation of a Brief History," *Journal of American History* 89:2 (Sept 02), 538-57.

Monday January 19 -- No Class (Martin Luther King Day)

Topic 2: Wednesday January 21

Development of U.S. Policy: Oil, Israel and Anti-Communism

Michael C. Hudson 'To Play the Hegemon: Fifty Years of U.S. Policy Toward the Middle East' *Middle East Journal* 50:3 (Summer 1996).

William R. Polk, Part Eight, 'The U.S. And the Arab World' *The Arab World Today* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1991) pp 383-492.

Seth Tillman, 'American Interests and the American Political System' in *The United States in the Middle East: Interests and Obstacles* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1982) pp 43-72.

Monday January 26: Discussion Session

Topic 3: Wednesday January 28

Guest Speaker: Prof. John Ruedy

The Arab Israeli Conflict and American Diplomacy

William B. Quandt, *Peace Process: American Diplomacy and the Arab-Israeli Conflict since 1967*: Revised edition (Washington, D.C.: Brookings Institution; Berkeley: University of California, 2001) Chapters 1, 12-13.

Charles D. Smith, *Palestine and the Arab-Israeli Conflict, (4th edition)* 'Chapter 6: Beginning of the Arab-Israeli Conflict, 1949-1957'.

Edward W. Said, *The Question of Palestine* (New York: Times Books, 1979) Chapter 1.

Highly Recommended:

Hussein Agha and Robert Malley, 'Camp David: The Tragedy of Errors,' *The New York Review of Books*, August 9, 2001
<http://www.nybooks.com/articles/14380>

Denis Ross, Gidi Grinstein, Reply by Hussein Agha, Robert Malley, 'Camp David: An Exchange,' (In Response to 'Camp David: The Tragedy of Errors,') 'Camp David: An Exchange,' *The New York Review of Books*, September 20, 2001.
<http://www.nybooks.com/articles/14529>

Hussein Agha and Robert Malley, 'Camp David and After: An Exchange – A Reply to Ehud Barak,' *New York Review of Books*, June 13, 2002
<http://www.nybooks.com/articles/14380>

Benny Morris and Ehud Barak, Reply by Hussein Agha and Robert Malley, 'Camp David and After Continued,' *New York Review of Books*, June 27, 2002.
<http://www.nybooks.com/articles/15540>

Suggested:

Walid Khalidi, *Before their Diaspora: A Photographic History of the Palestinians 1876-1948* (Institute for Palestine Studies) 1984. (*skim*)

Film: Frontline Episode: *Shattered Dreams of Piece: the Road from Oslo* (2002)
<http://www.pbs.org/wgbh/pages/frontline/shows/oslo/>

Film: Frontline Episode: *The Siege of Bethlehem: inside the secret negotiations, strategies and maneuvers between the Israelis and Palestinians during the deadly 38-day standoff at the church of the Nativity* (2002). <http://www.pbs.org/wgbh/pages/frontline/shows/siege/>

Film: Frontline Episode: *Battle for the Holy Land* (2002)
<http://www.pbs.org/wgbh/pages/frontline/shows/holy/>

Topic 4: Monday February 2

GULF SECURITY I: Oil, Wars and Political Ferment

*Rosemary Said Zahlan, "The Impact of US Policy on the Stability of the Gulf States: A Historian's View," Ch. 20 in Joseph Kechichian (ed.), Iran, Iraq and the Gulf States (Palgrave, 2001), pp. 351-65.

*Geoffrey Kemp and Robert Harkavy, Strategic Geography and the Changing Middle East (Carnegie/Brookings, 1997), Ch. 2, "Strategic Access and Middle East Resources: Lessons from History," pp. 25-63.

*Gary Sick and Lawrence Potter (eds), *The Persian Gulf at the Millennium* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1997) Chapter 1 (Sick) 'Coming Crisis in the Persian Gulf' Chapter 2 (Herrmann and Ayrew) 'The New Geo-Politics of the Gulf' and Chapter 3 (Gause) 'The Political Economy of National Security in the GCC States'.

*The Failure of US Policy Toward Iraq and Proposed Alternatives,' *Middle East Policy*, vol. VII, No. 3, September 2001 (pp. 101-109).

***Film:** *The Gulf War* (1996) (Frontline)
<http://www.pbs.org/wgbh/pages/frontline/gulf/>

***Film:** *Spying on Saddam* (Frontline) (VHS 5802 in library)
<http://www.pbs.org/wgbh/pages/frontline/shows/unscom/>

***Film:** *Survival of Saddam* (Frontline) (VHS 5810 in library)
<http://www.pbs.org/wgbh/pages/frontline/shows/saddam/>

***Film:** *Gunning For Saddam: Should Saddam Hussein be America's next target in the war on terrorism?* (Frontline)

<http://www.pbs.org/wgbh/pages/frontline/shows/gunning/>

Highly Recommended:

***Feature Film:** *Three Kings* (1999) (Written and directed by David O. Russell. Based on a story by John Ridley) Starring: George Clooney, Mark Wahlberg, Ice Cube, Spike Jonze, Nora Dunn. 115 minutes; Rated R.

Supplementary:

1) Anthony H. Cordesman and Abraham R. Wagner, *The Lessons of Modern War, Volume Two* (Boulder: Westview Press; London: Mansell Pub., 1990).

2) Lawrence Freedman and Efraim Karsh, *The Gulf Conflict 1990-91: Diplomacy and War in the New World Order* (Princeton, N.J: Princeton University Press, 1993).

3) Scott Ritter, *Endgame: Solving the Iraq Problem -- Once and for all* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 1999).

Wednesday February 4 -- Discussion Session

Topic 5: Monday February 9:

Guest Speaker: Prof. Jean Francois Seznec

Regional Social and Economic Tensions

*Eichenwald, Kurt, "Terror Money Hard to Block, Officials Find," New York Times, 10 December 2001, p. 1.

*Farah, Douglas, "Al Qaeda's Road Paved with Gold," Washington Post, 17 February 2002, p. 1.

**Arab Human Development Report 2002*. (178 pp.) The full text of the report (in .pdf format) is available at: <http://www.undp.org/rbas/ahdr/>

*Clement Henry and Robert Springborg, Chapter 2: 'Challenges of Globalization' *Globalization and the Politics of Development in the Middle East* (2001).

*Alan Richards and John Waterbury, *A Political Economy of the Middle East: State, Class and Economic Development* (Boulder: Westview Press) Revised Edition., Ch. 10, "Urban Political Economy," pp. 251-74.

Film: *Saudi Time Bomb* (Frontline) 2001.
<http://www.pbs.org/wgbh/pages/frontline/shows/saudi/>

Film: *Looking for Answers* (Frontline) 2001.
<http://www.pbs.org/wgbh/pages/frontline/shows/terrorism/>

Supplementary:

E. Anthony Wayne, “International Dimension of Combating the Financing of Terrorism,”
Testimony to the House Committee on International Relations, March 26, 2003.
<http://www.state.gov/e/eb/rls/rm/2003/19113.htm>

Wednesday February 11 - discussion

Monday February 16 – No Class President’s Day

**Wednesday February 18: Gulf Security II
(Iranian Revolution; Iran-Iraq war; Gulf War II)**

Topic 6: Monday February 23

Guest Speaker:

Afghanistan: From the Soviets to the Taliban

John Cooley, *Unholy Wars: Afghanistan, America and International Terrorism* (London and Sterling, VA: Pluto Press, 2000).

Marina Ottaway and Anatol Lieven, “Rebuilding Afghanistan: Fantasy versus Reality”
Carnegie Endowment for International Peace. www.ceip.org/pubs

Suggested:

Ahmed Rashid, *Taliban: Militant Islam, Oil and Fundamentalism in Central Asia* (2001).

Wednesday February 25: Discussion Section

Topic 7: Monday March 1:

Politics: Authoritarianism and its Implications

Michael C. Hudson, "Obstacles to Democratization in the Middle East" *Contention* (Winter 1996).

Michael Doran, 'Somebody Else's Civil War,' *Foreign Affairs* (January/February 2002) pp. 22-42)

Leonore G. Martin (ed.), *New Frontiers in Middle East Security* (1999), "Part I: Political Legitimacy" -- Ch. 2 (Al Rasheed) 'Political Legitimacy . . . The Case of Saudi Arabia', and Ch. 4 (Kazemi and Norton) 'Political Challenges to Middle East Governments in the 21st Century'.

Seymour M. Hersh, "King's Ransom: How vulnerable are the Saudi royals?," *The New Yorker*, October 17, 2001.

Wednesday March 3: MIDTERM

Spring Break

Topic 8: Monday March 15

Guest Speaker:

Politics and Islam

R. Scott Appleby and Martin E. Marty, "Fundamentalism" *Foreign Policy* (January/February 2002) pp 16-22.

Barnett R. Rubin, 'Arab Islamists in Afghanistan,' in John Esposito (ed.), *Political Islam: Revolution, Radicalism, or Reform?* (Lynne Rienner, 1997) pp. 179-206.

Quintan Wiktorowicz and John Kaltner, "Killing in the Name of Islam: Al-Qaeda's Justification for September 11," *Middle East Policy*, Vol. X, No. 2, Summer 2003.

Film: *Muslims* (Frontline) 2002

<http://www.pbs.org/wgbh/pages/frontline/shows/muslims/>

Topic 9: Wednesday March 17

U.S. Policy toward the Middle East post 9/11

*Fawaz A. Gerges, *America and Political Islam: Clash of Cultures or Clash of Interests?* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press) 1999.

*Lemann, Nicholas, "The Next World Order: The Bush Administration may have a brand-new doctrine of power," The New Yorker, April 1, 2002.

*George Bush, President Bush Discusses Freedom in Iraq and the Middle East, Remarks by the President at the 20th Anniversary of the National Endowment for Democracy, November 6, 2003.

<http://www.ned.org/events/anniversary/oct1603-Bush.html>

Recommended:

Thomas Carothers, "Promoting Democracy and Fighting Terrorism," *Foreign Affairs* (January/February) 2003.

Film: *Campaign Against Terror*: one year later, the behind the scenes story of how the U.S. and world responded to the Sept. 11th terrorist attacks (Frontline) 2002.

<http://www.pbs.org/wgbh/pages/frontline/shows/campaign/>

Topic 10: Monday March 22

Guest Speaker:

Terrorism and Islamist Groups

*Rohan Gunaratna, *Inside Al Qaeda: Global Network of Terror* (Columbia University Press: 2002).

*Paul Pillar, *Terrorism and US Foreign Policy* (Washington DC: Brookings) 2001, Chapter on terrorist groups, esp. Egyptian ones....

*"Qaeda's new Links Increase Threats from Far-Flung Sites," New York Times, 16 June 2002, p. 1.

*Finn, Peter, "Arrests Reveal Al Qaeda Plans," Washington Post, 16 June 2002.

John Arquilla and David Ronfeldt, "Networks, Netwars and the Fight for the Future" *First Monday* 6:10 (October 2001).

*Michael O'Hanlon, "A Flawed Masterpiece" (US Afghan campaign), *Foreign Affairs*, 81:3 (May/June 2002), 47-63.

*"Present at the Creation: A Survey of America's World Role," *The Economist*, special report, June 29, 2002.

*Ranstorp, Magnus, *Hizb'Allah in Lebanon* (1997), Ch. 2, "Background to the Formation of Hizb'Allah in Lebanon," pp. 25-59. Also recommended: "Conclusions," 178-206.

*Hroub, Khaled, *Hamas: Political Thought and Practice* (2000), Ch. 4, "Hamas's Political Relations" (with Arab states, the Islamic world, and the international community), 145-208. Also recommended: Ch. 1 ("How It All Began") and Appendix (Charter and Communiques).

***Film:** *Target America* (Frontline) (VHS 5813 in library)
<http://www.pbs.org/wgbh/pages/frontline/shows/target/>

***Film:** *Hunting Bin Laden* (Frontline) 1999/2001.
<http://www.pbs.org/wgbh/pages/frontline/shows/binladen/>

Film: *Trail of a Terrorist* (Frontline) 2001.
<http://www.pbs.org/wgbh/pages/frontline/shows/trail/>

Film: *In Search of Al Qaeda* (Frontline) 2002
<http://www.pbs.org/wgbh/pages/frontline/shows/search/>

Recommended:

*Ahmed Rashid, "Osama Bin Laden: How the U.S. Helped Midwife a Terrorist," September 13, 2001, *The Public I*
http://www.public-i.org/excerpts_01_091301.htm

*Abu-Amr, Ziad, *Islamic Fundamentalism in the West Bank and Gaza* (1994), , Chs. 3 ("The Intifada") and Ch. 4 ("The Islamic Jihad").

Film: *Inside the Terror Network* (Frontline)
<http://www.pbs.org/wgbh/pages/frontline/shows/network/>

Suggested:

Moussaoui indictment full text
<http://www.usdoj.gov/ag/moussaouiindictment.htm>

Al Qaeda training manual
<http://www.usdoj.gov/ag/trainingmanual.htm>

Wednesday March 24: Discussion Section

Topic 10 continued - Terrorism and Islamist Groups: Monday March 29:

Guest speaker:

Topic 11: Wednesday March 31:

Guest Speaker:

Confronting the Double Threat: Terrorism + WMD

Bill Keller, "Nuclear Nightmares," *The New York Times Magazine* (May 26, 2002)

Kenneth Pollack, "Next Stop Baghdad?" *Foreign Affairs*, March/April 2002, pp. 32-47.

Noam Chomsky, "On the Bombings."

Robert Fisk, "Bush is Walking into a Trap" *Independent/UK* (September 16, 2001).

Seymour M. Hersh, "The Iran Game: How will Tehran's Nuclear Ambitions Affect our Budding Partnership?" *The New Yorker* (December 3, 2001).

Recommended:

***Film:** *Terror and Tehran: Does America's War on Terror Hold Democracy Hostage in Iran?* (Frontline)

<http://www.pbs.org/wgbh/pages/frontline/shows/tehran/>

Topic 12: Monday April 5

Iraq: Past, Present and Future

Guest Speaker:

TBA

Tariq Ali, Bush in Babylon: The Recolonization of Iraq, chs. 5, 6, 7.

Phebe Marr, The Modern History of Iraq (2nd ed., 2004), for background; esp. ch. 10.

Toby Dodge, Inventing Iraq: The Failure of Nation Building and a History Denied (Columbia, j2003), preface and conclusion.

Wednesday April 7: Discussion

Monday April 12 – No Class – Easter Break

Topic 13: Wednesday April 14

Arab and Muslim Public Opinion: The War for Hearts and Minds:

David Hoffman, 'Beyond Public Diplomacy,' *Foreign Affairs* (March/April 2002) pp. 83-95.

Lamis Andoni, 'Deeds Speak Louder than Words,' *The Washington Quarterly* (Spring 2002) pp. 85- 100).

Frank Rich, 'How To Lose A War,' *New York Times*, October 27, 2001

Samer Shehata, 'Why Bush's Middle East Propaganda Campaign Won't Work,' in *salon.com* (July 12, 2002)

The Al-Jazeera Debates

[http://www.wbur.org/special/specialcoverage/archive_111601.asp]

[<http://www.wbur.org/special/specialcoverage/archives.asp>]

Fouad Ajami, "What the Muslim World is Watching" *New York Times Magazine* (November 18, 2001).

Edmund Ghareeb, "New Media and the Information Revolution in the Arab World" *Middle East Journal* 54:3 (Summer 2000).

The Bin Laden Tapes

[<http://www.usjod.gov/aj/trainingmanual/htm>]

Mary Anne Weaver, "Democracy By Decree" *The New Yorker* (November 20, 2001).

Recommended:

John Waterbury, "Loving and Hating America: Hate your policies, Love your institutions," *Foreign Affairs* (January/February) 2003.

Monday April 19: Discussion Section

Topic 14: Wednesday April 21

Guest Speaker:

Homeland Repercussions and the Domestic Politics of the War on Terrorism: Patriot I and II; Civil Liberties & Political Freedoms in the US post 9/11

John Mintz and Tom Jackman, "Finances Prompted Raids on Muslims," U.S. Suspected Terror Ties to N.Va. for Years,' *Washington Post* Sunday, March 24, 2002; Page A01.

Jacob Levich, "Happy New Year It's 1984 -- Bush's Orwellian Address" Rense.com.

Anthony Lewis, "Wake Up, America" *The New York Times* (November 30, 2001).

William Safire, "Seizing Dictatorial Power" *Truth Out Issues* (November 15, 2001).

William Safire, "Voices of Negativism" *The New York Times* (December 6, 2001).

Film: *'In My Own Skin: the complexity of living as an Arab American in America'* (by Jennifer Jajeh & Nikki Byrd). This short independently made documentary examines what it is like to be an Arab in New York City after 9/11 (available in the library).

Supplementary:

Amnesty International

[www.amnesty-usa.org/usacrisis/] and

[www.amnesty.org/web/content/nsf/pages/gbrsep11crisis]

Human Rights Watch

[www.hrw.org/campaigns/September11]

American Civil Liberties Union

[<http://www.aclu.org/>] and [<http://www.aclu.org/issues/security/hmns.html>] and

[<http://www.aclu.org/issues/immigrant/hmir.html>]

Monday April 26 – Discussion Session

Topic 15: Wednesday April 28

Conclusion: The U.S., the Middle East and the Changing Global Order

Chalmers Johnson, *Blowback: The Costs and Consequences of American Empire* (New York: Holt Metropolitan Books, 2000). (introduction and conclusion).

Paul Pillar, *Terrorism and U.S. Foreign Policy* (Washington, D.C.: Brookings Institution Press, 2001) Chapter 3.

Bamyeh, Mohamed A., The Ends of Globalization (2000), Ch. 2, "The New Imperialism: Six Theses," pp. 59-87.

Michael Ignatieff, "The Burden," *New York Times Magazine*, January 5, 2003

Niall, Ferguson, "The Empire Slinks Back," *New York Times Magazine* (April 27, 2003).

http://web.lexis-nexis.com/universe/document?_m=89af8cb47b83fe00dba62a8775374c2d&_docnum=3&wchp=dGLbVtz-zSkVA&_md5=b86e6df0139130de42a232de4a107b28

Monday May 3 -- Review Session