

Friedrich Schiller Universität
Institut für Politikwissenschaft
Lehrstuhl für Internationale Beziehungen

War on Terror in Critical Security Studies

(Pol 740/41/42), SS 2016

Thursday 2-4 p.m., c.t.

Room 384

Teacher: Matthias Schulze, M.A.

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search for „War on Terror“, click „Raum betreten“ (Enter Room)

PW: SOSE2016

all Friedolin-registered students are enrolled automatically

Course Description

This course will analyze the Global War on Terror and post 9/11 security discourse from a theoretical perspective called critical security studies. This recent school in IR research reminds us that security is no objective condition but rather an intersubjective process. Security and security politics *does* something: it constructs identities, enemies, narratives and has a political function, often to legitimize controversial policies. Critical security studies argue, that it is not just about the state and the military as referent objects, but rather that security is broader and wider. It deals with questions of human security, private military companies, espionage and surveillance and much more. As such, this seminar is not genuine foreign-oriented, but rather focuses on one limited case: the post-9/11 security policy under US president George W. Bush.

The course has two sections. First (indicated in grey), we will introduce the theoretical framework. Here we will learn what critical means, what epistemological assumptions constructivism has and how to study discourses.

After that we will turn to our case and shed light on several aspects of US national security in terms of general counterterrorism strategy and particular response such as domestic surveillance and the militarization of cyberspace (or cyberwar).

Content

Date	Topic	Mandatory and *optional reading
07.04.16	1. Introduction	
14.04.16	Brief Introduction to Critical Security Studies	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Peoples, C., & Vaughan-Williams, N. (2010). Critical security studies: an introduction. Routledge, (p. 1-33) - Collective, C. A. S. E. (2006). Critical Approaches to Security in Europe: A Networked Manifesto. Security Dialogue, 37(4), 443-487. - *Buzan, B., & Hansen, L. (2009). <i>The Evolution of International Security Studies</i> (1 ed.). Cambridge University Press, Chap. 7. - *Browning, C. S., & McDonald, M. (2013). The future of critical security studies: Ethics and the politics of security. <i>European Journal of International Relations</i>, 19(2), 235-255.
21.04.16	no session (conference)	- Home-reading Week
28.4.2016 (double session)	1) Theory - (Critical) Constructivism	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Williams, P. D. (2008). Security studies: an introduction. Routledge, Chap. 5 Constructivism - Heller, R., Kahl, M., & Pisiou, D. (2012). The 'dark' side of normative argumentation – The case of counterterrorism policy. <i>Glob. Con.</i>, 1(02), 278-312. - *McKeown, R. (2009). Norm regress: US revisionism and the slow death of the torture norm. <i>International Relations</i>, 23(1), 5-25. - *Liese, A. (2009). Exceptional Necessity-How Liberal Democracies Contest the Prohibition of Torture and Ill-Treatment When Countering Terrorism. <i>Journal of International Law and International Relations</i>, 5(1), 17-47. - *Heller, R., & Kahl, M. (2013). Tracing and understanding "bad" norm dynamics in counterterrorism: the current debates in IR research. <i>Critical Studies on Terrorism</i>, 6(3), 414-428.
	2) Methodology: Discourse Analysis	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Hansen, L. (2006). Security as practice. Discourse Analysis and the Bosnian War, London, Chap 1+2. - Flick, U., & Willig, C. (2014). Discourses and Discourse Analysis. In <i>Discourses and Discourse Analysis The SAGE Handbook of Qualitative Data Analysis</i> (pp. 341-353). London: SAGE Publications Ltd. - Jørgensen, M., & Phillips, L. (2002). <i>Discourse analysis as theory and method</i>.
		<p><u>preferred assignments:</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - abstract - input presentation
05.05.16	no session (holiday)	- Home-reading Week
12.5.2016 (double session)	1) Theory - Securitization	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Buzan, B., Waever, O., & Wilde, J. D. (1997). Security: A New Framework for Analysis (Unabridged. ed.). London: Lynne Rienner Publishers Inc, Chapter 2 - Security Analysis - Peoples, C., & Vaughan-Williams, N. (2010). Critical security studies: an introduction. Routledge, Chap. 5. - Buzan, B. (1997). <i>Rethinking Security after the Cold War. Cooperation and Conflict</i>, 32(1), 5-28. - McDonald, M. (2008). Securitization and the Construction of Security. <i>European Journal of International Relations</i>, 14(4), 563-587.

Date	Topic	Mandatory and *optional reading
	2) Constructing Enemies	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Bigo, D., & Tsoukala, A. (2008). Terror, Insecurity and Liberty. Illiberal practices of liberal regimes after 9/11. Abdingdon New York, Chapter 3. - Jackson, R. (2007). Constructing enemies: Islamic terrorism in political and academic discourse. <i>Government and Opposition</i>, 42(3), 394-426. <p>preferred assignments:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - abstract - input presentation
19.05.16	The Bush Doctrine	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Buckley, M., & Singh, R. (2006). <i>The Bush Doctrine and the War on Terrorism: Global Responses, Global Consequences</i> (New Ed ed.). Routledge. - Gadinger, F., Heck, A., & Dittgen, H. (2008). Amerikanische Außenpolitik im Zeichen des „Krieges gegen den Terror“. <i>PVS</i>, 49(4), 726-755. [for German students] - <i>Monten, J. (2005). The roots of the Bush doctrine: Power, nationalism, and democracy promotion in US strategy. International Security, 29(4), 112-156. [for international students]</i> - <i>Badie, D. (2010). Groupthink, Iraq, and the War on Terror: Explaining US Policy Shift toward Iraq: Groupthink, Iraq, and the War on Terror. Foreign Policy Analysis, 6(4), 277-296.</i> - <i>Bacevich, A. J. (2013). The New American Militarism: How Americans Are Seduced by War (Updated Edition ed.). Oxford University Press.</i> <p>preferred assignments:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - abstract - input presentation - fact sheet, - discussion moderator
26.05.16	Counter-Terrorism Strategy	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Starr-Deelen, D. (2014). <i>Presidential Policies on Terrorism: From Ronald Reagan to Barack Obama</i>. Palgrave Macmillan, Chap. 6. - <i>Williams, P. D. (2008). Security studies: an introduction. Routledge, Chap. 25 Counterterrorism</i> <p>preferred assignments:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - abstract - input presentation, - fact sheet, - discussion moderator
02.06.16	no session (conference)	- Home-reading Week
9.6.2016 (double session)	1) Surveillance & Wiretapping - Legal Background	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Miller, R. A. (Ed.). (2008). <i>US National Security, Intelligence and Democracy: From the Church Committee to the War on Terror</i> (Studies in Intelligence). Routledge, Chap. 4 - Donohue, L. K. (2008). <i>The Cost of Counterterrorism Power, Politics, and Liberty</i>. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. Chap 4 (218-266) - <i>Shorrock, T. (2009). Spies for Hire: The Secret World of Intelligence Outsourcing- (First Edition ed.). New York: Simon & Schuster., Chap. 6. and 9.</i> - <i>Miller, R. A. (Ed.). (2008). US National Security, Intelligence and Democracy: From the Church Committee to the War on Terror</i> (Studies in Intelligence). Routledge, Chap. 8.

Date	Topic	Mandatory and <i>*optional reading</i>
	2) The NSA Program	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Risen, J. (2006). <i>State of War: The Secret History of the CIA and the Bush Administration</i>. Free Press, Chap. 2. - Greenwald, G. (2014). <i>No place to hide. Edward Snowden, the NSA and the Surveillance State</i>, Chapter 3. - Risen, J., & Lichtblau, E. (2005). <i>Bush lets US spy on callers without courts</i>. <i>New York Times</i>, 16, A1. - Harris, S. (2006). <i>Two controversial counter-terror programs share parallels</i>. <i>Government Executive</i> http://www.govexec.com/defense/2006/06/two-controversial-counter-terror-programs-share-parallels/22064/. - <i>Clarke, R. A., Morell, M. J., Stone, G. R., & Sunstein, C. R. (2014). The NSA Report: Liberty and Security in a Changing World. The President's Review Group on Intelligence and Communications Technologies.</i> <p>Debate or Group Work</p> <p><u>preferred/suggested assignments:</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - abstract - input presentation, - fact sheet (i.e. on the most important legal provisions for wiretapping)
16.06.16	@War - The Securitization of Cyberspace	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Deibert, R. (2003). <i>Black Code: Censorship, Surveillance, and the Militarisation of Cyberspace</i>. <i>Millennium - Journal of International Studies</i>, 32(3), 501-530. - Hansen, L. N., Helen. (2009). <i>Digital Disaster, Cyber Security, and the Copenhagen School</i>. <i>International Studies Quarterly</i>, 53, 1155-1175. - <i>Deibert, R., & Crete-Nishihata, M. (2012). Global Governance and the Spread of Cyberspace Controls. Global Governance, 18, 339-361.</i> - <i>Deibert, R. (2015). Cyberspace Under Siege. Journal of Democracy, 26(3), 64-78.</i> - <i>Harris, S. (2014). @War: The Rise of the Military-Internet Complex (Reprint ed.). Eamon Dolan/Mariner Books, Chap. 4.</i> <p><u>preferred assignments:</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - abstract/discussion - input presentation - fact sheet
23.06.16	no session (Tag der Powi)	Please celebrate with the department of political science @ Universitätshauptgebäude (courtyard)
30.6.2016 (double Session)	1) The Cost of the War on Terror	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - de Lint, W., & Kassa, W. (2015). <i>Evaluating U.S. Counterterrorism Policy: Failure, Fraud, or Fruitful Spectacle</i>. <i>Crit Crim</i>, 23(3), 349-369. - Donohue, L. K. (2008). <i>The Cost of Counterterrorism Power, Politics, and Liberty</i>. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. Chap 4 (266-272)
	2) Session 2	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Hughes, S. S. (2012). <i>US Domestic Surveillance after 9/11: An Analysis of the Chilling Effect on First Amendment Rights in Cases Filed against the Terrorist Surveillance Program</i>. <i>Canadian Journal of Law and Society</i>, 27(3), 399-425. - Priest, D., & Arkin, W. M. (2012). <i>Top Secret America: The Rise of the New American Security State (Reprint ed.)</i>. New York, Boston, London: Back Bay Books, Chap. 5.

Date	Topic	Mandatory and <i>*optional reading</i>
		<u>Debate</u> : Is domestic wiretapping for in the name of national security appropriate?
		<u>preferred/suggested assignments</u> : - abstract/discussion - input presentation, - fact sheet (i.e. on the cost of counter-terrorism efforts) - discussion moderator
07.07.16	Final Session	Discussion of Exposéés (research proposal), Deadline Monday 4.7 by 6 p.m.
		- http://libguides.usc.edu/writingguide/researchproposal - http://www.fas.nus.edu.sg/soc/documents/WRITING%20research%20proposal.pdf

Requirements

- By participating in this seminar I expect you to read all the mandatory literature (**optional literature is indicated like this*) and actively engage in the seminar discussion.
- There are different types of assignments in this course. To be admitted to the final exam (Hausarbeit) and thus to gain 5 ECTS points you must do **one** of the following:
 - 1) *Input-presentation* (max 15 minutes)
 - 2) *Abstract/comment* of one of the course readings (3 pages)
 - 3) *Fact-sheet* on an individually chosen topic (including own research), (2-3 Pages)
 - 4) *Discussion Moderator*
- If all assignments are handed in, you are permitted to write a research paper (Hausarbeit, 15-20 pages) on a topic of your choice (but within the general topic of the seminar).
 - To do so, please prepare a short Exposéé(research proposal) describing your project for the last session in the seminar. We will collectively discuss your projects.

Assignments

- Observe that some assignments are tied to particular sessions. If you decide to do one assignment for a session it must be handed on the Monday before this session so that the other students can read your work.
 - It should be uploaded to metacoon, our e-learning platform before the session it is tied to. The idea is that all students have access to your assignments and can use them for preparation.
- You have to decide what you want to do until the second session. To register for an assignment, please go on Metacoon to the forums and write your top 3 preferences (type of assignment, preferred topic and preferred date) into the assignment thread.
- Whatever your assignment choice, please coordinate the exact topic and content with me at least one week in advance (better two weeks).
- The assignments count for 30% of your course grade. The remaining 70% are covered by the final paper.

Input-Presentation

- The task is to shortly introduce a topic fitting to the seminars theme and thereby to lay the foundation for further discussion. The aim is not to simply reproduce the course reading in an oral presentation. Rather you should present an argument (hypothesis) or a critique about which you elaborate in your presentation.
- Make bold and interesting claims and give arguments for your reasoning.
- There should be no more than two people in one presentation.
- 15 minutes max!
- Conduct own research. Add interesting sources, images and movie-clips!
- Use visual material (ppt) only where it is necessary! If you do so, work with it, don't just let it "explain itself".
- Prepare a short summary (Thesenpapier) of your argumentation for the audience on which you outline your argument and literature!
- If you sign in for a presentation and get sick before, I expect a short info per mail one day in advance!

Abstract

- The task is to discuss one of the course readings in detail. There should be two parts included: 1) a short summary of the main line of argumentation and 2) a critical discussion/reflection of it. In other words: What is the author saying? What is wrong with it?
- Please write min. 3 pages (Times New Roman 12pt, 1 1/2 spacing).
- If you point to other arguments/literature, please add a short literature list as well.

Fact-Sheet

- A Fact-sheet should sum up relevant data (statistics, maps, bullet-points) on a topic and thereby presenting key elements of a topic on a short space. It has often two columns and is divided into short chapters.
- The aim is to provide a quick and easy accessible introduction to a topic. Fact-sheets are often used in politics to prepare politicians for meetings.
- A fact sheet is not a reproduction of the course reading. You are required to make a small research effort (mostly Google Search) and add additional Information and Data.
- Fact sheets are suitable for our discussion/debate sessions.

Discussion-Moderator

- Become teacher for one session! The aim is that you start and moderate the group discussion in a session.
- You should be well prepared for this (mandatory and optional reading). While reading the literature you should extract discussion questions or bold claims out of the text. Your aim is to activate your fellow students to engage in the discussion, for example by providing pro and contra arguments.
- If there is a oral presentation in this session, you should coordinate yourself with the speaker.

Final Paper (Hausarbeit)

- The final paper will count for 70% of your grade in this course.
- 20 pages of text, 12 pt Times New Roman, 1 1/2 spacing
- You should prepare a "research proposal" (Exposé) beforehand. We are going to discuss this proposal during the last session
 - It should contain a formulated research question, a theoretical perspective, a hypothesis or assumption, an appropriate case to study and a very first index (Gliederung).
 - You can find some information on how to write those in the seminar reading for the last session.
- Please follow the style & citation guide on <http://www.powi.uni-jena.de/Studium/Hinweise+Abschlussarbeiten.html>
 - An english-version should become available by the end of the semester
- Language: English or German.

Deadlines & Assignments

- All the assignments are tied to a session and must be handed in 1 day in advance (on Wednesday) so that each participant has a chance to read it.
 - Please upload everything to Metacoon
- last Chance to register for final exam on Friedolin: 17.05.2016
- Deadline final paper: 15.8.16
 - Please hand-in 1) a print version in one of the offices (Mrs Beyer or Schildhauer) at the department and 2) a digital version per mail.
- Deadline final paper 2nd attempt: 30.09.16

General Informatione-learning

- We will use the **e-learning** platform Metacoon. There you can find the reading materials, topics and tasks and general information about the course. It is mandatory for all (including Erasmus & foreign students), that you register there! On metacoon I will give you additional information (interesting links), please check them out.
 - Feel free to share your ideas or interesting links on that platform. Feel free to use the forum for discussions and your own research projects (finding sources, asking for ideas, sharing insights etc.).
 - If you have any questions about procedures and administrating stuff (like deadlines or exam formalities), please use the forum for questions of general interest instead of writing me an email.

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- I will use Metacoon for feedback and evaluation as well. Now and then I will create some polls which you should answer to. Feel free to do the same if you are unsatisfied with the course.
- The seminar is held in English and so should be the discussions and assignments. Don't be afraid about speaking English for the first time in a Seminar. I will not evaluate your English skills.
- Academic honesty: final papers will be checked for plagiarism. A plagiarism incident will be added to your student documents.