

Liberalism, the State and the War on Terror

Class Meeting Time: MW 1:00pm – 4:30pm

Location: McHenry Library 1340

Office hours: Merrill 135, Mon. 11:00am-1:00pm & by appointment

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Course overview

The debates and discussions about the War on Terror and the violence associated with it often prioritize the sociological and cultural making of terrorists as well as the production and justification of particular narratives by the media and terrorism experts. Going beyond these, the course asks: What is the relationship between the dominant ideas and assumptions of liberalism, the state, and the War on Terror? It especially examines the complex correlation between the liberal state and perceived challenges to state sovereignty posed by transnational terrorism. Using 9/11 as a point of departure, the course attempts to shine a broader light on the discourses and debates of the War on Terror by examining how the ideas and practices of the liberal state produce, manage, and reorient transnational terrorism.

The course begins by delving into the conceptual discussions about liberalism and the state, with a specific emphasis on the construction of liberalism by its “the other.” It then examines the theoretical debates surrounding the modern state, highlighting how its rationale for security and stability constantly constructs “the other,” thereby making its use of violence inevitable and justified. It then goes on to analyze the debates and discourses regarding the War on Terror in order to illustrate how the ideas and assumptions of liberalism and the state are utilized in the management of transnational terrorism and the justification for counterterrorism projects. The course also explores the encounter between 20th-century Muslim revolutionary thought on the one hand and liberalism and the state’s othering practices on the other.

Learning Outcomes

By the end of this course, you are expected to:

- Acquire an analytical and historical (i.e., deep) understanding of some of the major ideas associated with liberalism, the state, and transnational terrorism.
- Acquire basic knowledge of the main intellectual debates in Islamist discourses on terrorism.
- Develop your ability to read texts closely, sympathetically, and critically.
- Communicate your ideas more effectively and in a scholarly way.

COURSE REQUIREMENTS:

The course will evaluate your performance in several ways:

- 1- **Three reading reflections (400 words: 45% total):** You will choose three weeks of readings to write reflection papers. They are not merely summaries but are expected to offer commentaries on one or two significant ideas taken from the readings assigned. It is expected that you have kept up with the readings, have a clear understanding of them, and can communicate your thoughts about them clearly, accurately, and concisely.
- 2- **Participation 25%:** Your presence and active participation in class, and your delivery of the assignments

prescribed during the class, are all necessary to attain these grades. ***You are allowed one unexcused lecture absences. More than one absence will significantly affect your grade.***

- 3- 4- **Final Essay (1200 words) 30% due on Canvas July 28, by 11:59 pm.** Final essay prompts will be circulated beforehand. For paper-writing guidelines, read on!

Essays: The midterm and final essays are designed to strengthen and show your ability to:

- Synthesize course ideas
- Formulate arguments and articulate them clearly
- Provide textual evidence for your arguments
- Write clearly and compellingly

Accordingly, your grade will depend upon the clarity and analytical rigor of your arguments, your provision of evidence for these arguments from the texts under study, and the style and grace of your writing. I will provide you with as much guidance as possible to help you deliver the best essay you are capable of writing. Improving these skills from the mid-term to the final essay is one of the major objectives of this course.

Grading Guidelines (as close to a rubric as it gets!):

Format: 12-point font; Times or Times New Roman. Use your referencing style of choice for in-text citations and bibliography (Chicago Style, APA, APSA, etc.) **but be consistent.**

A range paper: This is a paper that offers a clear and compelling argument that tries to analyze, clarify, criticize, and/or compare one text/author/argument with another. It moves beyond the terminology used by the author to offer an explanation and a synthesis of what the author means by the concepts he/she uses, and how he/she connects these core concepts (such as: human nature, human flourishing, freedom, equality, happiness, progress, etc.) and how do these connections relate to those laid out by other authors. An A-paper may also be one that offers a criticism of the author's argument, though it must provide a fair and accurate portrayal of that argument and recognize how the author might potentially respond to that criticism.

In terms of structure, a solid paper should start with an introductory paragraph that outlines its major question, and thesis. All subsequent paragraphs should start with a topic sentence and conclude with a sentence that ties them up to the more general topic of the paper. The concluding paragraph should wrap up your argument and reassert it in light of your discussion of the topic at hand.

B range paper: This is a paper that provides a solid and accurate summary (i.e., not an analysis or a synthesis) of the material at hand.

C range paper (and less): This is either an incomplete paper or a paper that provides a poor (a very general or incoherent) summary of a topic. This may also be a paper that is riddled with grammatical or spelling errors that prevent the reader from grasping its core argument.

Grading Policy for Late Submissions:

Assignments handed in a day late will be docked down by half a grade (i.e., a B will become a B-, etc.). Assignments handed in four days late will incur a D grade.

CLASSROOM ETIQUETTE:

1. **Be on time:** Comings and goings are disruptive for your classmates. Class ends at 2:25. Please do not leave early. If you know in advance that you will absolutely need to, please let me know and make sure you are seated as close to the exit as possible.
2. **Limited electronic devices in class:** This is in order to cut back on distractions as much as possible. Since lecture is a major source of information-gathering for this course, you will need to take extensive notes, so please have pen and paper handy every time you come to class. If you need to take notes electronically due to a disability, please let me know right away.

3. **Eating and drinking:** Please do not eat in class. It is distracting. Drinking is fine.

PLAGIARISM AND ACADEMIC INTEGRITY:

Academic Misconduct: The cornerstone of intellectual life at UC Santa Cruz is a commitment to integrity in all forms of teaching, learning, and research. Misconduct violates the standards of our community and is punishable by warning, suspension, dismissal, or revocation of degree. Academic misconduct is any behavior in a credit-bearing course that violates the UCSC Student Code of Conduct. Violations include:

- Cheating (defined as fraud, deceit, or dishonesty in an academic assignment, or using or attempting to use materials, or assisting others in using materials, which are prohibited or inappropriate in the context of the academic assignment in question).
- Plagiarism (defined as the use of intellectual material produced by another person without acknowledging its source).
- Furnishing false information in the context of an academic assignment.
- Creating an improper academic disadvantage to another student or an improper academic advantage to oneself.
- Interfering with instruction and interfering with the work of other students, notably during group projects.

Read and understand the university's policies on academic misconduct:

https://www.ue.ucsc.edu/academic_misconduct.

Plagiarism: All sources must be cited. Plagiarism is copying ideas or words that are not your own and attributing them to yourself. When in doubt, cite. All cases of plagiarism are offensive and will be prosecuted per university policy with course sanctions, university sanctions, or both.

How to Cite Properly: Courses in the Politics Department use one of two standard forms of citation: (1) Parenthetical (or in-text) citations; and (2) Footnotes. For the footnotes style used in your assignments for this course, refer to the Chicago Manual of Style. For the in-text system, the department follows the Modern Language Association (MLA). Familiarize yourself with the style guides for the two systems, found on the Politics website, <http://politics.ucsc.edu/undergraduate/citation.html>. These two systems are also outlined in other style guides, including Diana Hacker's, A Pocket Style Manual. **AI-generated papers are also considered plagiarized works and, upon detection, will receive an automatic failing grade.**

Process: All students who are charged with misconduct will be invited to discuss the matter with their instructors and with the provosts of the colleges with which they are affiliated. They are also entitled to bring their cases to the Academic Tribunal. Each of these stages of the process is described below.

The online Academic Misconduct Form is available at: <https://ucsc-advocate.symplicity.com/public-report>.

The student comment form is available at: <https://ue.ucsc.edu/documents/report-of-academic-misconduct-student-comment.docx>

In cases of academic misconduct, the instructor of record has sole discretion to determine academic sanctions (e.g., grade for the work in question, the student's final grade for the course). College provosts, Academic Tribunals, and the Vice Provost and Dean of Undergraduate Education (VPDUE) share discretion for determining disciplinary sanctions (including warning, suspension, dismissal, and revocation of degree). Both students and faculty bear responsibility for preventing academic misconduct. Students are responsible for becoming familiar with Sections 102.01–102.016 and 105.15 of the UC Santa Cruz Student Policies and Regulations Handbook. These sections include a listing of the many types of academic misconduct covered by this policy. Students need to avoid academic misconduct themselves and are enjoined to report any cases of academic misconduct that are known to them. Students making such reports may maintain anonymity.

STUDENT SUPPORT RESOURCES

DRC: UC Santa Cruz is committed to creating an academic environment that supports its diverse student body. If you are a student with a disability who requires accommodations to achieve equal access in this course, please submit your Accommodation Authorization Letter from the Disability Resource Center (DRC) to me privately during my office hours or by appointment, preferably within the first two weeks of the quarter. At this time, I would also like us to discuss ways we can ensure your full participation in the course. I encourage all students who may benefit from learning more about DRC services to contact DRC by phone at 831-459-2089 or by email at drc@ucsc.edu.

CARE: UCSC Campus Advocacy, Resources & Education (CARE) believes that all people deserve to live and engage in an environment free from violence. The CARE program provides support, advocacy, resources and violence prevention education to the UC Santa Cruz community. It responds to the needs of students, staff, faculty and non-affiliates impacted by stalking, dating/domestic violence and sexual assault by providing free and confidential services. CARE also works collaboratively with students, faculty and staff to educate the campus community about the vital role that each of us has in preventing violence and creating social justice locally and globally. Care is located at Kresge, Building R-7, office 714 (across from the Owl's Nest). For an appointment, contact CARE by phone at 831-502- 2273 or by email at care@ucsc.edu.

Title IX: Title IX prohibits gender discrimination, including sexual harassment, domestic and dating violence, sexual assault, and stalking. If you have experienced sexual harassment or sexual violence, you can receive confidential support and advocacy at the Campus Advocacy Resources & Education (CARE) Office by calling (831) 502-2273. In addition, Counseling & Psychological Services (CAPS) can provide confidential, counseling support, (831) 459-2628. You can also report gender discrimination directly to the University's Title IX Office, (831) 459-2462. Reports to law enforcement can be made to UCPD, (831) 459-2231 ext. 1. For emergencies call 911.

CLASS SCHEDULE

Week 1: Liberalism and its Critics

- **Monday 6/24**

Stuart Hall (1986) "Seven Variants of Liberalism"

Recommended readings:

Duncan Bell (2014) "What is liberalism?"

Michael J. Sandel eds. (1985) *Liberalism and its Critics*, 1-12

- **Wednesday 6/26**

Uday Mehta (1990) "Liberal Strategies of Exclusion"

Recommended Readings:

Joseph Massad (2015) *Islam in Liberalism*, 1-13

Edward W. Said (1977) *Orientalism*, 31-49.

Pitts, Jenifer (2010) "Political Theory of Empire and Imperialism"

Week 2: The Modern State and its Critics

- **Monday 7/1**

David Held (1984) "Central Perspectives on the Modern State" 11-55

Recommended Readings:

Thomas Hobbes (1651) *Leviathan* Ch 17

Max Weber (1919) "Politics as Vocation"
Stuart Hall (1984) "the State in Question"

- **Wednesday 7/3**

Michel Foucault (1975) "Panopticism"
Agamben, Giorgio (1998) *Homo Sacer*, 102-105.
Talal Asad (1992) "Conscript of Western Civilization"

Recommended readings:

Charles Tilly (1985) "War Making State Making as Organized Crime."
Hasan Al-Turabi (2002) "The Islamic State"

Week 3: Producing Terrorism

- **Monday 7/8**

Lisa Stampinzky (2013) *Disciplining Terror*, 3-11, 21-49
Thomas Barnett (2003) "Why the Pentagon Changes its Maps."

Recommended reading

Jabri, Vivienne (2006) "War, Security and the Liberal State."
Fred Vultee (2010) "Securitization: A new approach to the framing of the war on Terror."

- **Wednesday 7/10**

Jean Baudrillard (2003) *The Spirit of Terrorism*, 51-83.
Talal Asad (2008) "On Suicide Bombing"

Recommended Readings

Toby Dodge (2009), "Coming face to face with bloody reality: Liberal common sense and the ideological failure of the Bush doctrine in Iraq."
Ariel Merari (1993), "Terrorism as a Strategy of Insurgency."

Week 4: Muslim Revolutionary thought and its other

- **Monday 7/15**

Ali Shariati (1988). *Religion vs Religion*, 43-64.
Sayyid Qutb (2006 -1964) *Milestones*, 63-86.

Recommended readings

Ali Shariati (1980) *Marxism and other Western Fallacies*.
Andrew McGregor (2003) "Jihad and the Rifle Alone."

- **Wednesday 7/17**

Mahmood Mamdani (2002) "Good Muslim, Bad Muslim"
Sayyid Qutb (1951) *The America I have Seen*.

Recommended readings:

Frantz Fanon "Algeria Unveiled"
Lila Abu-Lughod (2002) "Do Muslim Women Really Need Saving?"

Week 5: Counterterrorism and Beyond

- **Monday 7/22**

Eyal Weizman (2006) "Lethal Theory."
Grégoire Chamayou (2015) *Drone Theory*, 30-45

Recommended Readings:

Foucault, Michel (2008) *The Birth of Biopolitics*, 63-67.

Steven Simon and Jonathan Stevenson (2015) “The End of Pax Americana”

- **Wednesday 7/24**

Darrly Li (2019) *The Universal Enemy*, 1-26

Faisal Devji (2014) “Politics after Al-Qaeda”

Recommended readings

Gilles Kepel and Joanne Myers (2008) “Beyond Terror and Martyrdom”