

In Conjunction with



massachusetts institute of technology

Anthropology of War and Peace



Iraqi troops and soldiers from the 101st Airborne Division board a Black Hawk helicopter for a mission near Tikrit. (Image courtesy of Spc. Teddy Wade and taken from the U.S. Army Web site: <http://www.army.mil/>.)

Course Highlights

This course features an extensive reading list and a description of the assignments.

Course Description

This class has been reorganized to focus primarily on the War in Iraq. As in previous years, the class still examines war in cross-cultural perspective, asking whether war is intrinsic to human nature, what causes war, how particular cultural experiences of war differ, and how war has affected American culture.

Syllabus

Course Description

The normal syllabus for this class has been reorganized to focus primarily on the War in Iraq. As in previous years, the class still examines war in cross-cultural perspective, asking whether war is intrinsic to human nature, what causes war, how particular cultural experiences of war differ, and how war has affected American culture. In the first third of the semester, we will read accounts of wars ranging from headhunting in the rainforest to Medieval European war and contemporary war in Rwanda. The remainder of the class will focus on the American experience of war in Vietnam and Iraq. Having established Vietnam as a frame (albeit an ambiguous one) for what follows, we will look at American reactions to September 11, the debate for and against invading Iraq, the reporting in the media of war in Iraq, and recent

accounts of the unraveling of that war. Diverse viewpoints are welcomed, and in the past students in the class have come from all across the ideological spectrum.

Course Requirements

The requirements for this course are one short paper and one longer paper preceded by a brief class presentation. The short paper will be on readings in the first third of the class. The longer paper will be on a topic, chosen by the student in consultation with the instructor, related to the War on Terror or the invasion of Iraq. Students will, in addition, be evaluated on the basis of their participation in class discussions and should come to class punctually, prepared to take part in discussion. Regular class attendance is expected. There will be no final exam.

Calendar

LEC #	TOPICS	KEY DATES
1	Introduction	
Part 1: Theoretical Perspectives		
2	Is War "Natural"?	
3	War and Sociobiology	
4	Experiences of War and Violence I	
5	Experiences of War and Violence II	
6-8	Civil War and Genocide in Rwanda	
9	Darfur	
10	Reconciliation After War?	First paper due 2 days after Lecture 10
Part II: America at War		
11	Vietnam I	
12	After Vietnam	
13-14	The First Gulf War	
15	Media and the First Gulf War	

LEC #	TOPICS	KEY DATES
16	September 11	
17	For and Against Invading Iraq I	
18	For and Against Invading Iraq II	
19	Manufacturing Consent for War	
20	Media and the War on Terror	
21	Behind Enemy Lines	
22	Abu Ghraib	
23	Class Presentations	
24	Class Presentations (cont.)	Second paper due

Readings

This section presents the readings for the course, along with the assignments and presentation sessions.

Required Texts

Gourevitch, Philip. *We Wish to Inform You that Tomorrow We Will be Killed With Our Families*. New York, NY: Picador, 1998. ISBN: 0374286973.

Swofford, Anthony. *Jarhead: A Marine's Chronicle of the Gulf War and Other Battles*. New York, NY: Simon and Schuster, 2003. ISBN: 0743235355.

Sifry, Micah, and Christopher Cerf, eds. *The Iraq War Reader: History, Documents, Opinions*. New York, NY: Touchstone Books, 2003. ISBN: 0743253477.

Rampton, Sheldon, and John Stauber. *Weapons of Mass Deception: The Uses of Propaganda in Bush's War on Iraq*. New York, NY: Tarcher/Penguin, 2004. ISBN: 1585422762.

Most of the readings for the class are available on the MIT server. In addition, students are required to read two books, which will be made available.

Readings by Session

LEC #	TOPICS	READINGS
1	Introduction	
Part 1: Theoretical Perspectives		
2	Is War "Natural"?	<p>Freud, Sigmund. "Why War?" In <i>Aggression, Hostility and Violence: Nature or Nurture?</i> Edited by Terry Maple and Douglas Matheson. New York, NY: Holt, Rinehart, and Winston, 1973, pp. 16-27. ISBN: 0030853060.</p> <p>Mead, Margaret. "Warfare is Only an Invention - Not a Biological Necessity." In <i>Approaches to Peace: A Reader in Peace Studies</i>. Edited by David P. Barash. New York, NY: Oxford University Press, 2000, pp. 19-22. ISBN: 0195123867.</p> <p>James, William. "The Moral Equivalent of War." In <i>Approaches to Peace: A Reader in Peace Studies</i>. Edited by David P. Barash. New York, NY: Oxford University Press, 1999, pp. 65-69. ISBN: 0195123867.</p> <p>Hedges, Chris. "Introduction." In <i>War is a Force That Gives us Meaning</i>. New York, NY: Public Affairs Book, 2002, pp. 1-17. ISBN: 1586480499.</p>
3	War and Sociobiology	<p>Chagnon, Napoleon. "Life Histories, Blood Revenge, and Warfare in a Tribal Population." <i>Science</i> 239, no. 4843 (February 26, 1988): 985-992.</p> <p>Ferguson, Brian. "A Savage Encounter: Western Contact and the Yanomami War Complex." In <i>War in the Tribal Zone</i>. Edited by Brian Ferguson and Neil Whitehead. Santa Fe, NM: School of American Research Press, 1992, pp. 199-227. ISBN: 0933452802.</p> <p><i>Film:</i></p> <p>Gardner, Robert. <i>Dead Birds</i>, 1965.</p> <p>Asch, Timothy and Napoleon Chagnon. <i>The Ax Fight</i>, 1975.</p>
4	Experiences of War and Violence I	<p>Rosaldo, Renato. "Grief and a Headhunter's Rage," and "An Oblique Account of Warfare." In <i>Culture and Truth: The Remaking of Social Analysis</i>. Boston, MA: Beacon Press, 1989, pp. 1-21 and 62-67. ISBN: 0807046086.</p> <p>Keegan, John. "Agincourt, October 25th, 1415." Chapter 2 in <i>The Face of Battle</i>. New York, NY: Viking, 1976, pp. 79-116. ISBN: 0670304328.</p> <p>Ellis, John. "Battle: The Reality." In <i>Eye-Deep in Hell: Trench Warfare in World War II</i>. Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1976, pp. 89-104. ISBN: 0801839475.</p> <p><i>Film:</i></p> <p>Branagh, Kenneth. <i>Henry V</i>, 1989, excerpt.</p>

LEC #	TOPICS	READINGS
		Weir, Peter. <i>Gallipoli</i> , 1981, excerpt.
5	Experiences of War and Violence II	<p>Rubin, Elizabeth. "Down the Dark Hole of Chechnya." <i>New York Times Magazine</i>, July 8, 2001.</p> <p>Ignatieff, Michael. "Virtual War." In <i>Virtual War: Kosovo and Beyond</i>. New York, NY: Metropolitan Books, 2000, pp. 161-215. ISBN: 0805064907.</p> <p>Hassan, Nasra. "An Arsenal of Believers." <i>New Yorker</i>, November 19, 2001, 36-41.</p> <p><i>Film:</i></p> <p><i>The Triumph of Evil</i>, PBS <i>Frontline</i> documentary.</p>
6-8	Civil War and Genocide in Rwanda	Gourevitch, Philip. <i>We Wish to Inform You that Tomorrow We Will be Killed With Our Families</i> . New York, NY: Picador, 1998. ISBN: 0374286973.
9	Darfur	<p>Power, Samantha. "<u>Dying in Darfur</u>." <i>The New Yorker</i>, August 30, 2004, 58.</p> <p>Leaning, Jennifer. "Diagnosing Genocide - The Case of Darfur." <i>New England Journal of Medicine</i> 351, no. 8 (August 19, 2004): 735-738.</p> <p>Ryle, John. "<u>Disaster in Darfur</u>." <i>New York Review of Books</i> 51, no. 13 (August 12, 2004).</p> <p>The following link lists all articles by <u>Nicholas D. Kristof</u>, an Op-Ed columnist for the The New York Times. Search for "Darfur" and browse his articles.</p> <p><u>Darfur Information Center</u></p> <p><u>Crisis in Darfur</u></p> <p>Moeller, Susan. "Compassion Fatigue." <i>Media Studies Journal</i> (Summer 2001): 108-112.</p>
10	Reconciliation After War?	<p>Ignatieff, Michael. "The Nightmare From Which We Are Trying to Awake." In <i>The Warrior's Honor: Ethnic War and the Modern Conscience</i>. New York, NY: Metropolitan Books, 1998, pp. 164-190. ISBN: 0805055185.</p> <p>Krog, Antjie. <i>Country of My Skull</i>. Johannesburg, South Africa: Random House, 1998, pp. vi-viii, 23-25, 36, 82-100, and 109-114. ISBN: 0958419515.</p> <p><i>Film:</i></p> <p>Moyers, Bill. <i>Facing the Truth With Bill Moyers</i>, 1999, excerpts.</p>

LECTURE TOPICS READINGS		
LEC #	TOPICS	READINGS
Part II: America at War		
11	Vietnam I	<p>Ellsberg, Daniel. <i>Secrets: A Memoir of Vietnam and the Pentagon Papers</i>. New York, NY: Viking, 2002, pp. vii-x, 7-20, 37-53, 65-73, 81-83, 88-97, 109-132, 141-147, 155-156, and 199-214. ISBN: 0670030309.</p> <p><i>Optional</i></p> <p>Appy, Chris. <i>Working Class War: American Combat Soldiers and Vietnam</i>. Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 1993, pp. 11-17, 28-43, and 145-153. ISBN: 0807843911.</p> <p><i>Film:</i></p> <p>Morris, Errol. <i>The Fog of War: Eleven Lessons from the Life of Robert S. McNamara</i>, 2003, excerpts.</p>
12	After Vietnam	<p>Broyles, William. "Why Men Love War." <i>Esquire</i>, November 1984, 55-65.</p> <p>Gibson, James William. <i>Warrior Dreams: Violence and Manhood in Post Vietnam America</i>. New York, NY: Hill and Wang, 1994, introduction, chapters 1, and 2. ISBN: 0809015781.</p> <p>Rangel, Charles. "Bring Back the Draft." In <i>The Iraq War Reader: History, Documents, Opinions</i>. Edited by Micah Sifry and Christopher Cerf. New York, NY: Touchstone Books, 2003, pp. 434-435. ISBN: 0743253477.</p> <p><i>Optional</i></p> <p>Appy, Chris. <i>Working Class War: American Combat Soldiers and Vietnam</i>. Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 1993, pp. 182-225. ISBN: 0807843911.</p>
13-14	The First Gulf War	<p>Swofford, Anthony. <i>Jarhead: A Marine's Chronicle of the Gulf War and Other Battles</i>. New York, NY: Simon and Schuster, 2003. ISBN: 0743235355.</p> <p><i>Film:</i></p> <p>Kotcheff, Ted. <i>Rambo: First Blood</i>, 1982, excerpts.</p>
15	Media and the First Gulf War	<p>Sloyan, Patrick. "The Real War." <i>Media Studies Journal</i> (Summer 2001): 58-63</p> <p>MacArthur, John. "Operation Desert Muzzle." Chapter 5 in <i>Second Front: Censorship and Propaganda in the Gulf War</i>. Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 2004, pp. 146-198. ISBN: 0520242319.</p> <p>Mermin, Jonathan. "Introduction." In <i>Debating War and Peace: Media Coverage of U.S. Intervention in the Post-Vietnam Era</i>.</p>

LEC #	TOPICS	READINGS
		Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1999, pp. 3-16. ISBN: 0691005346.
16	September 11	<p>Friedman, Jonathan. "Impaired Empire." <i>Anthropological Quarterly</i> (Winter 2001): 95-104.</p> <p>Rabinow, Paul. "St. Francis at Ground Zero." <i>Anthropological Quarterly</i> (Winter 2001): 113-116.</p> <p>Wikan, Unni. "My Son - a Terrorist? (He was Such a Gentle Boy)." <i>Anthropological Quarterly</i> (Winter 2001): 117-128.</p> <p>Arextaga, Begona. "Terror as Thrill: First Thoughts on the 'War on Terrorism'." <i>Anthropological Quarterly</i> (Winter 2001): 139-150.</p> <p>Gusterson, Hugh. "The McNamara Complex." <i>Anthropological Quarterly</i> (Winter 2001): 171-177.</p> <p><i>Film:</i></p> <p>Greenwald, Robert. <i>Outfoxed: Rupert Murdoch's War on Journalism</i>, 2004.</p>
17	For and Against Invading Iraq I	<p>Knightley, Philip. "Imperial Legacy." In <i>The Iraq War Reader: History, Documents, Opinions</i>. Edited by Micah Sifry and Christopher Cerf. New York, NY: Touchstone Books, 2003, pp. 5-17. ISBN: 0743253477.</p> <p>Makiyah, Kanan. "How Saddam Held onto Power." In <i>The Iraq War Reader: History, Documents, Opinions</i>. Edited by Micah Sifry and Christopher Cerf. New York, NY: Touchstone Books, 2003, pp. 114-125. ISBN: 0743253477.</p> <p>Butler, Richard. "The Inspections and the U.N.: The Blackest of Comedies." In <i>The Iraq War Reader: History, Documents, Opinions</i>. Edited by Micah Sifry and Christopher Cerf. New York, NY: Touchstone Books, 2003, pp. 174-185. ISBN: 0743253477.</p> <p>Wright, Susan. "The hijacking of UNSCOM." In <i>The Iraq War Reader: History, Documents, Opinions</i>. Edited by Micah Sifry and Christopher Cerf. New York, NY: Touchstone Books, 2003, pp. 186-190. ISBN: 0743253477.</p> <p>Schell, Jonathan. "Pre-emptive Defeat, or How Not to Fight Proliferation." In <i>The Iraq War Reader: History, Documents, Opinions</i>. Edited by Micah Sifry and Christopher Cerf. New York, NY: Touchstone Books, 2003, pp. 506-526. ISBN: 0743253477.</p> <p>Project for the New American Century. "An Open Letter to President Clinton." In <i>The Iraq War Reader: History, Documents, Opinions</i>. Edited by Micah Sifry and Christopher Cerf. New York, NY: Touchstone Books, 2003, pp. 199-201. ISBN: 0743253477.</p> <p>Kagan, Robert, and William Kristol. "What to do About Iraq." In <i>The Iraq War Reader: History, Documents, Opinions</i>. Edited by Micah</p>

LEC #	TOPICS	READINGS
		Sifry and Christopher Cerf. New York, NY: Touchstone Books, 2003, pp. 243-249. ISBN: 0743253477.
18	For and Against Invading Iraq II	<p>Hitchens, Christopher. "Why I am For Regime Change." In <i>The Iraq War Reader: History, Documents, Opinions</i>. Edited by Micah Sifry and Christopher Cerf. New York, NY: Touchstone Books, 2003, pp. 440-444. ISBN: 0743253477.</p> <p>Jones, Terry. "I'm Losing Patience with my Neighbors, Mr. Bush." In <i>The Iraq War Reader: History, Documents, Opinions</i>. Edited by Micah Sifry and Christopher Cerf. New York, NY: Touchstone Books, 2003, pp. 453-4. ISBN: 0743253477.</p> <p>Assorted Congressmen. "Of Pre-emption and Appeasement: Box-Cutters and Liquid Gold: Excerpts From the October 10, 2002 Congressional Debate." In <i>The Iraq War Reader: History, Documents, Opinions</i>. Edited by Micah Sifry and Christopher Cerf. New York, NY: Touchstone Books, 2003, pp. 359-366. ISBN: 0743253477.</p> <p>Byrd, Senator Robert. "No Place for Kings in America." In <i>The Iraq War Reader: History, Documents, Opinions</i>. Edited by Micah Sifry and Christopher Cerf. New York, NY: Touchstone Books, 2003, pp. 375-377. ISBN: 0743253477.</p> <p>Sifry, Micah. "The Second Superpower." In <i>The Iraq War Reader: History, Documents, Opinions</i>. Edited by Micah Sifry and Christopher Cerf. New York, NY: Touchstone Books, 2003, pp. 486-489. ISBN: 0743253477.</p> <p>Renner, Michael. "Post-Saddam Iraq: Linchpin of a New Oil Order." In <i>The Iraq War Reader: History, Documents, Opinions</i>. Edited by Micah Sifry and Christopher Cerf. New York, NY: Touchstone Books, 2003, pp. 580-587. ISBN: 0743253477.</p> <p>Coulter, Ann. "Why We Hate Them." In <i>The Iraq War Reader: History, Documents, Opinions</i>. Edited by Micah Sifry and Christopher Cerf. New York, NY: Touchstone Books, 2003, pp. 333-335. ISBN: 0743253477.</p> <p>Lemann, Nicholas. "The Next World Order." In <i>The Iraq War Reader: History, Documents, Opinions</i>. Edited by Micah Sifry and Christopher Cerf. New York, NY: Touchstone Books, 2003, pp. 253-265. ISBN: 0743253477.</p> <p>Krauthammer, Charles. "The Unipolar Moment Revisited: America, the Benevolent Empire." In <i>The Iraq War Reader: History, Documents, Opinions</i>. Edited by Micah Sifry and Christopher Cerf. New York, NY: Touchstone Books, 2003, pp. 593-607. ISBN: 0743253477.</p>
19	Manufacturing Consent for War	Rampton, Sheldon, and John Stauber. <i>Weapons of Mass Deception: The Uses of Propaganda in Bush's War on Iraq</i> . New York, NY: Tarcher/Penguin, 2003, chapters 2, 3, 6, and 7. ISBN: 1585422762.

LEC #	TOPICS	READINGS
		<p><i>Film:</i></p> <p>Achbar, Mark and Peter Wintonick. <i>Manufacturing Consent: Noam Chomsky and the Media</i>, 1992, excerpts.</p>
20	Media and the War on Terror	<p>Magder, Ted. "Watching What We Say: Global Communication in a Time of Fear." In <i>War and the Media: reporting conflict 24/7</i>. Edited by Daya Kishan Thussu and Des Freedman. London, UK: Sage 2003, pp. 28-44. ISBN: 0761943137.</p> <p>Webster, Frank. "Information Warfare in an Age of Globalization." In <i>War and the Media: reporting conflict 24/7</i>. Edited by Daya Kishan Thussu and Des Freedman. London, UK: Sage 2003, pp. 57-69. ISBN: 0761943137.</p> <p>Thussu, Daya Kishan. "Live TV and Bloodless Deaths: War, Infotainment, and 24/7 News." In <i>War and the Media: reporting conflict 24/7</i>. Edited by Daya Kishan Thussu and Des Freedman. London, UK: Sage 2003, pp. 117-132. ISBN: 0761943137.</p> <p>Williams, Bruce. "The New Media Environment, Internet Chatrooms, and Public Discourse after 9/11." In <i>War and the Media: reporting conflict 24/7</i>. Edited by Daya Kishan Thussu and Des Freedman. London, UK: Sage 2003, pp. 176-189. ISBN: 0761943137.</p> <p>McChesney, Robert. "September 11 and the Structural Limitations of US Journalism." In <i>Journalism After September 11</i>. Edited by Barbie Zelizer and Stuart Allen. New York, NY: Routledge, 2002, pp. 91-100. ISBN: 0415288002.</p>
21	Behind Enemy Lines	<p>Garrels, Anne. <i>Naked in Baghdad: The Iraq War as Seen by NPR's Correspondent</i>. New York, NY: Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 2003, pp. 113-115; 119-120, 122-127, 128-131, 149-152, 154-157, 168-170, 176-182, and 185-190. ISBN: 0374529035.</p> <p>Manyon, Julian. "Worse Than Vietnam." <i>The Spectator</i>, May 8, 2004, 14-15.</p> <p>Graham, Patrick. "Beyond Falluhah: A Year With the Iraqi Resistance." <i>Harpers</i>, June 2004, 37-48.</p> <p>Baum, Dan. "The Price of Valor." <i>The New Yorker</i>, July 12/19, 2004, 44-52.</p> <p>Corbett, Sara. "Coming Home: The Permanent Scars of Iraq." <i>New York Times Magazine</i>, February 15, 2004, 34-66.</p> <p><i>Film:</i></p> <p>Olds, Ian, and Garrett Scott. <i>Occupation: Dreamland</i>, 2005.</p>
22	Abu Ghraib	<p>Hersh, Seymour. "Torture at Abu Ghraib." <i>The New Yorker</i>, May 10, 2004.</p>

LEC #	TOPICS	READINGS
		<p>———. "The Gray Zone: How a Secret Pentagon Program Came to Abu Ghraib." <i>The New Yorker</i>, May 24, 2004.</p> <p>Barry, John, et al. "The Roots of Torture." <i>Newsweek</i>, May 24, 2004.</p> <p>Blanche, Ed. "The Secret Gulags." <i>Middle East</i>, July 2004.</p> <p>Sontag, Susan. "Regarding the Torture of Others." <i>New York Times Magazine</i>, May 23, 2004.</p> <p>Lifton, Robert Jay. "Conditions of Atrocity." <i>The Nation</i> (May 31, 2004).</p> <p>———. "Doctors and Torture." <i>New England Journal of Medicine</i> (July 29, 2004).</p> <p>Zizek, Slavoj. "What Rumsfeld Doesn't Know That He Knows About Abu Ghraib." <i>In These Times</i>, June 21, 2004.</p> <p>Moore, Patrick. "Weapons of Mass Homophobia." <i>The Advocate</i>, June 8, 2004.</p> <p>Zimbardo, Philip. "Stanford Prison Experiment." View slideshow.</p>
23	Class Presentations	
24	Class Presentations (cont.)	

Assignments

There are two assignments for this course: one short paper and one longer paper. The short paper will be on readings in the first third of the class. The longer paper will be on a topic, chosen by the student in consultation with the instructor, related to the War on Terror or the invasion of Iraq. There will be a brief class presentation preceding the longer paper.

First Paper

Write 5-7 double-spaced pages (due two days after Lecture 10) on ONE of the following topics:

1. Do you agree with William James that there can be a "moral equivalent of war"? Bring other readings into your discussion.
2. The Ilongot told Renato Rosaldo that Western warfare is immoral compared to their own. Based on the reading you have done for this class, how would you evaluate this statement.

3. How would you evaluate the sociobiologists' case that war is genetically programmed into human nature?
4. How much culpability does the West have for the genocide in Rwanda? What (if anything) could the West have done to prevent it? Be sure to refer in your answer to the Rwandan dynamics of the genocide as well.

Second Paper

Fall 2004

The following are sample paper topics for Fall 2004.

- Interview someone about Gulf War - vet? peace activist? ROTC cadet? ROTC trainer?
- Gulf War syndrome
- Depleted uranium weapons
- Halliburton
- Private contractors
- Iraq's nuclear bomb program in the 80s
- Once Were Kings
- Media treatment of peace movement
- Kurds
- Colin Powell's UN speech
- Casualties
- Injury figures
- Who is the resistance?
- Opinion polls on the war
- Was the US motivated by oil?
- Sistani
- Moqtadr al-Sadr
- Track coverage in the Nation or the Weekly Standard
- Media coverage in major newspaper
- Foreign media coverage
- Al-Jazeera
- Arab-American responses
- Chatrooms or weblogs (including Iraqi weblogs)
- Bringing back the draft
- Responses to Fahrenheit 911
- PNAC (Project for a New American Century)
- American Enterprise Institute
- Amnesty International
- International Red Cross

Fall 2002

The following are sample paper topics for Fall 2002. Please note that this version of the course did not focus specifically on the War in Iraq as was done for the Fall 2004 version of the course.

- How did the New York Times cover civilian casualties in the Kosovo War (or the first Gulf War, or the recent war in Afghanistan...)?
- Media coverage of the Rwanda conflict
- Interview a group of students about their attitudes toward War with Iraq
- Media coverage of the recent spate of wife-murders by Fort Bragg soldiers
- The Bloody Sunday incident in Northern Ireland - a comparison of British and American press reports
- The Zapatistas rebels' use of the media
- The success (or not) of the Guatemalan Truth and Reconciliation Commission
- The debate over whether the U.S. should sign the Landmine Convention
- The debate over whether the U.S. should sign the treaty establishing an international criminal court
- The extent and nature of the landmine problem today
- The debate about having ROTC on campus. Look at the debates of the 1960s? Interview MIT students today about the issue?
- A comparison of American and British reporting on the conflict between Israel and the Palestinians

Lecture Notes

LEC #	TOPICS
1	Introduction (PDF)
Part 1: Theoretical Perspectives	
2	Is War "Natural"? (PDF)
3	War and Sociobiology
4	Experiences of War and Violence I (PDF)
5	Experiences of War and Violence II (PDF)
6-8	Civil War and Genocide in Rwanda (PDF 1) (PDF 2)
9	Darfur

LEC #	TOPICS
10	Reconciliation After War? (PDF)
Part II: America at War	
11	Vietnam I (PDF)
12	After Vietnam (PDF)
13-14	The First Gulf War (PDF)
15	Media and the First Gulf War (PDF)
16	September 11
17	For and Against Invading Iraq I (PDF)
18	For and Against Invading Iraq II
19	Manufacturing Consent for War
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23	Class Presentations
24	Class Presentations (cont.)

Lectures

Introductory Lecture

We will be asking: 1) Are Humans intrinsically warlike? Some say war is hard-wired into human nature (**Chagnon**) Others (**Mead**) say it's a cultural institution, not a biological instinct There are societies that have no word for war (like Fore), but are being wiped out Also, questions as to whether we idealize "primitive" societies

2) Why do People Fight?

We'll encounter various theories (sociobiological, "realist", feminist, Marxist) What do you have to do to people to make them kill others, even their neighbors?

Is it easy or hard?

3) What are the different experiences of war? "Primitive" war, medieval war, World War I, contemporary civil war in Africa all quite different

How is war experienced differently by civilians and military personnel?

Strategists and soldiers?

Is there joy in war? Or is it just hell?

4) How do people reconcile after war? Important in current era of civil

wars Rwanda, Kosovo & Bosnia, N. Ireland, E. Timor How do you

live side by side with those who killed your relatives? Are some

cultures better at reconciliation after war than others? Do Truth and

reconciliation commissions help?

Is War Natural?

n.b.) Various theories assume it is natural & not all in readings for this session:

- (1) Sociobiology – will do that next session
- (2) “Realism” in International Relations theory (**Machiavelli, Hobbes, Morgenthau, Waltz**):

domestic/international split anarchy in the international sphere the
strong prey on the weak unless they protect themselves

dominant view in IR today, though debate with:

(a) *institutionalists* – how far can UN etc go? (**Ruggie** e..g)

(b) *culturalists* like **Tilly**:

war evolved with state power

Bard **Schmookler** & anthropological version of Tilly: war is not natural, but warlike societies defeat peaceful ones or force mimicry

(3) Feminists: war is offshoot of patriarchy Pseudo-anthropological literature on

lost matriarchy

How is this question connected to question of whether civil war caused by ancient hatreds (Robert **Kaplan**) or elite manipulation from above (Philip **Gourevitch**)?

5) What's special about war in our time?

How has the end of the cold war affected the nature of war?

Do we live in an era of a “clash of Civilizations?” (**Samuel Huntington**).

Has the danger of nuclear war increased or decreased since the end of the cold war?

How have electronic media changed war?

Vietnam = first TV war

Kosovo = first internet war

Are new technologies eroding or deepening civilian/combatant divide?

Could we convert the U.S. economy, or is the military-industrial complex too powerful?

Women seen as intrinsically cooperative They see Freud, IR theory as patriarchal thinking

Marilyn French, Beyond Power

1) **Freud** 1932 context of Nazism in which writing to Einstein

later writing (Civilization & Its Discontents) more pessimistic!

War “seems to be quite a natural thing, to have a good biological basis and to be scarcely avoidable.”ⁱ

Shared animal/human nature

War & violence = same, instinctual – no difference between the impulse and the institution Hydraulic language to describe human nature (pressures etc) Instinct = dual: eros & death instinct, intertwined

(recognizes with **William James & Chris Hedges** that

war not all about destruction) but power of dark side in

love with destruction Violence also has had functionality

– though that might be ending (war ⇨ exterminism?)

Elitist: elite who “subordinate their instinctual life to the

dictatorship of reason.”ⁱⁱ

2) Margaret Mead

Who she was, writing 1940

Ambiguity: service to national security state, supported US in Vietnam, yet revered progressive

Like Freud, sense that answer lies with “primitives” (in history or culture): There we

see essential human nature – problematic assumption!

Breaks connection of violence to war; war = institution, invention with rules One

(impulse to violence) universal, other (war as institution) not Crucial move

Nothing to do with whether a people are aggressive and violent (so much for peace education!) Highlights fact that war = highly rule-bound, not instinctual purging

Clincher: societies with no word for, or experience of war

Relocates universalism from instinct to make war to cultural processes within it: dehumanization of enemy, purification for killing.

3) William James Harvard psychology professor, writing 1906.

Instinctual argument about “innate pugnacity.” “our ancestors have bred pugnacity into our bone and marrow.”ⁱⁱⁱ

Evolution central to his argument, as to Freud’s, but hope “war may be a transitory phenomenon in social evolution”^{iv}

“pure loot and mastery seem no longer avowable motives.”^v

Stresses positive, erotic qualities of war, not death instinct

Excitement, nobility, manhood, being part of something bigger But war

increasingly irrational Functionalism: find function of war, substitute more rational

alternative

4) **Chris Hedges** NY Times war

reporter

I read as mixture of Freud and James: sees addiction to destruction, but also heroism, nobility, war as place one can be most alive

Pessimistic sense wars becoming more & more destructive They're addictive ⁱ

Freud, "why War?" p.24. ⁱⁱ p.24 ⁱⁱⁱ p.66, James ^{iv} James, Moral Equivalent of war, p.67 ^v p.66

Primitive War Lecture

Some things we can say about "primitive warfare" (dubious term):

1) Not about territory.

Seizing women (Yanomamo) & pigs is closest it gets to being about wealth

2) **Feud** = important

"These people's wars and raids yield neither prisoners, territory, nor plunder. They fulfill the obligations of the living toward the slain -- in fact, the ghosts of the slain. Unavenged ghosts bring sickness, unhappiness and possibly disaster. It is for this reason that they go to war -- and because they like to."

Feud not so foreign to us:

gang warfare

Northern ireland

Mid East

soccer hooligans in UK

Strange way killing binds together villages in Dead Birds. Locked together in endless cycles of reciprocal killing. Each killing brings village together in commemoration.

3) **Rules:** no raiding at night or during celebration of killing (Dead Birds)

Wait til each side is in position to fight (Dead Birds) --like eighteenth century armies.

Axe-fights: only use blunt side of blades

Yanomamo agree not to use bows & arrows

All forms of warfare rule-bound, but the rules differ.

Looks to an outsider like Hobbesian anarchy, but it isn't

4) **Warfare is chaotic:**

Very individualistic (dead birds & Ilongot)

though Yanomamo at least take it in turns to look out for ambush and cover one another.

Discipline = one of great achievements of Western warfare:

drilling (**Foucault** writes on this in Discipline and Punish)

getting men to stand ground while charged and to rely on others to shoot with them at assailants

We'd criticize Ilongots' & New Guineans' lack of tactics & discipline

They criticize immorality of our form of warfare where one man orders another into danger

5) **Fight to show will & save face.** (Don't always really want to fight & kill? --

Chagnon). Similar to Western chivalric code & Wild west code of manliness.

Do we see anything similar in U.S. behavior?

6) **Killing as spiritually invigorating.** Killing man = "tonic to the

soul" (Dead Birds). Resonance with WWI discourse

7) **Raiding as game with score & turn-taking.**

cf. Elaine Scarry on war as an "injuring contest"

8) **Women and children fair game for New Guineans.** Yanomamo not supposed

to kill women -- tho can rape them

Our distinction between combatants & non-combatants doesn't seem to apply -- though
war = very gendered: for men to do.

(Are feminists right that it's not women as victims but women as fighters that
male soldiers can't stand?)

9) **War as rite of passage for men** (cf. **Ehrenreich**):

Ilongot men get red hornbill earrings when take a head

10) **More wounding than killing**

Death ends fighting pretty much (Ilongot & Dead Birds)

Wounds as mnemonics:

Yanomamo skulls with scars

Chopped fingers in New Guinea

bleeding soccer fans having photo taken as
souvenir

The Evolution of War

1) Hunter-Gatherers

Some, like Fore, didn't traditionally fight wars Most did, but in local, uncoordinated way

They lack social organization to mobilize for extended warfare

Need to collect food, so can't fight a lot – which requires more division of labor

Fights over women, honor, trinkets

Often not over land per se, since may lack notion of land ownership

But may fight over customary access to territory

2) Agricultural Societies They have

territory to protect

May have invested in land, so it's worth protecting or capturing

Agrarian societies often concerned about scarcity, and there may be a logic of territorial expansion

Agrarian production sustains states: Charles Tilly: “the state made war and war made the state.”

Medieval Europe saw mobilization for war through nobles pledging allegiance to monarch and his military adventures

Medieval chivalric code: Warfare socially stratified: nobles v rest Honor to die in battle

Codes of conduct

3) **Bureaucratization of War** 18th & 19th century Europe saw new mode

of warfare:

Regimental system Keegan discusses Drilling and subordination of individual to mass New technologies: guns, artillery, then tanks & airplanes Increased distance from enemy Increased resources needed for war Æ militarization of economy

After French Revolution, nationalism legitimates this

Attempts to segregate battlefield and protect non-combatants often overwhelmed by:

- (a) New technologies
- (b) Nationalist sense that the enemy is a whole country

Hiroshima as endpoint of these trends

Yugoslavia

1) People trying to theorize new security landscape after end of cold war: a)

Bipolarity v Multipolarity John Lewis **Gaddis** argued bipolarity disciplined local conflicts

Superpowers kept client states in check in case local conflicts escalated Æ world War III

3Against this, Eqbal **Ahmed** argued superpowers fought throughrd world proxies, exacerbated local conflicts (Vietnam, Afghanistan, Korea, Angola etc).

b) **Endists**

Francis **Fukuyama**, Thomas **Friedman** Idea democracies don't fight each other

Countries with MacDonalds don't fight each other

Idea of liberal international order & Pax Americana

Tony Lake embraced to some degree – hence interventions in Haiti, Bosnia, Kosovo

“Realists” skeptical of democracy theory US should only get involved if has vital interests at stake

c) **Chaos theorists**

Predicted explosion of conflict without discipline of cold war and with pot-stirring of globalization

Samuel **Huntington** (“Clash of civilizations”)

Robert **Kaplan** (“The Coming Anarchy,” “Balkan Ghosts”) Chaos increasingly

inside state, not just between states Internal ethnic conflicts as ancient &

irremediable Democracy won’t work in Asian societies where it’s

culturally alien

Kaplan influenced Bill Clinton in first term (then read Noel Malcolm’s Kosovo in second term).

2) **Yugoslavia before 1918** Islam, Orthodox Christianity & Catholicism mixed there

Part of Austro-Hungarian empire (now Austria, Hungary, Czech Republic, Slovakia etc)

Ruled by Hapsburgs

Assassination of Archduke Ferdinand by Serb 1914 triggered World War 1

3) **1918-1944** Treaty of Versailles created Yugoslavia Kingdom with many ethnic groups

Germans invaded in World War II & divided population Croats allied with Germans,

Serbs (the good guys back then) fought with Allies (See movie

Underground) Tito led Serb communist resistance in mountains In

control by 1944

4) 1944-1989

Tito = non-aligned communist

Imprisoned opponents such as Milovan Djilas

6 republics:

Serbia Slovenia Croatia Montenegro Bosnia-Herzegovina Macedonia

The presidency rotated & governing council ethnically balanced

Ethnic identification simultaneously repressed and encouraged

Ethnic groups lived jumbled together – as in post-colonial Africa

After Tito's death in 1980, system less stable without his charismatic authority

6) **1989 - present** End of cold war Communists delegitimated and turning to nationalism to legitimate

themselves Milosevic and "red-

browns." 1991 Slovenia &

Croatia declare independence

West prefers large states, but

Germany forces EU's hands

by

recognizing Croatia 1991 Macedonia declares independence 1992 Bosnia declares independence 1992-5 three-way war between Serbs, Croats & Bosnian nationalists

Serbs wanted Greater Serbia Sarajevo (destroyed) as emblem of multiculturalism

“ethnic cleansing” – killing & rape camps 150,000 dead 3 million refugees 20-

40,000 rapes EU and NATO did nothing til 1995 UN peacekeepers failed & Dutch

peacekeepers handed over

Bosnian Muslims to be killed 1995 Serbs took UN Peacekeepers hostage to deter US bombing

1993 Cyrus Vance & Lord Owen negotiated agreement: Gave Serbs 43% of Bosnia

Condemned in West for rewarding ethnic cleansing Condemned by Serbs because it

didn't give them the 70% of

Bosnia they'd conquered Rejected US armed Croats & they rewon lost territory

NATO bombing helped Bosnian Muslims retake a third of what they lost

1995 **Dayton Accords** internally partitioned Bosnia

Kosovo:

90% Albanian, wanted independence split between gradualists & KLA Madeline

Albright aligned with KLA. Serbs refused independence Did Albright

miscalculate, or did she intend to fight

Milosevic? Left & right in US internally divided over war, which strained NATO
alliance

Post-Colonial War, Cold War and After

n.b.) Since 1945 120 wars in which 25 million killed & 75 million injured
not much less than WWII

Contra John Lewis **Gaddis**, who sees cold war as “long peace”

This is **Eqbal Ahmed**’s critique of Gaddis

90% casualties civilians

CW and era of decolonization coincided – explosive interaction

Global processes of (a) CW bifurcation of countries --> 2 alliances

(b) decolonization

Created global war system with certain distinguishing features

1) Nature of post-colonial states

Many combined different ethnic groups which had never been in same state before

- Africa, e.g. (Rwanda)

Divisions exacerbated by colonial divide and rule policies – esp. by British

civil wars in Kenya, Zimbabwe, Sudan, India, Nigeria after decolonization

all former British colonies

Intense poverty --> conflict

Weak, poor central governments
what political scientists call “failed states”

2) Cold War Policies

Global rivalry of two superpowers
Pressured other countries to join alliances
Poured resources into local civil wars in search of advantage
by mid-80s global mil. spending = \$1 trillion/year, 83% by NATO & Warsaw Pact
fuelled wars in: Korea

Vietnam

Cambodia

Israel v Arabs, 1967 & 1973

Ethiopia

Mozambique

Angola

Afghanistan

El Salvador

Nicaragua

Guatemala

Peru

2 superpowers usually present by proxy

But, “the whole concept of local wars is largely a fiction” (Carolyn **Nordstrom**)

On top of patchwork quilt of regional wars, superpowers laid arms race:

Nuclear weapons (30,000 each at height – describe characteristics)

Chemical weapons

Biological weapons

Conventional weapons

Legacies of CW:

Health & environmental problems:

Hanford

Rocky Flats

Tomsk

Chelyabinsk

Atomic veterans

In U.S. so far about \$2 billion spent on cleanup with no progress

Conventional proliferation

(superpowers wanted to decrease marginal costs of production, help allies,
and test weapons)

led to situations like Taliban having Stinger missiles (what Chalmers **Johnson** calls
“blowback”)

Nuclear proliferation

other countries followed superpowers’ example

NPT only partly successful. Nuclear countries included:

US

USSR
UK

France
China
Israel

India
Pakistan
N. Korea
S. Africa (since disarmed)
Dangers of current Russian nuke complex –

low security
impoverished scientists
Lab-to-lab program (Nunn-Lugar authorizing legislation) inadequate to task
we know Bin Laden's been trying to get nuke
may make Reagan policy of bankrupting USSR look stupid
(“blowback”)

3) Sources of Conflict in post-CW World

POVERTY:

1960: richest 20% humanity owned 70%
poorest 20% has 2.3%
1991 richest 20% had 85%
poorest 20% had 1.7%

Poverty (esp. re land distribution) fuelled fighting in El Salvador, Guatemala, Angola,
Mozambique
Helps communist guerillas

ENVIRONMENTAL SCARCITY

Thomas **Homer-Dixon**

Oil and Middle East: (provides 70% world's oil)
Gulf War

present war?
Western Sahara & rock phosphate
Israel & water (80% people get 20% water on West Bank)
Mekong Delta
global warming?

MIGRATION

Robert Kaplan and Coming Anarchy

Poverty, environmental crisis, and war --> migration

40 million refugees right now

Every war we've mentioned has created floods of refugees (Ethiopia, Vietnam,
Afghanistan etc)

Palestinian refugees & Middle East instability
Current refugee crisis on Pakistan/Afghanistan border

perfect for recruiting future suicide bombers & guerillas

4) Distinguishing Characteristics of current fighting:

When U.S. involved, “asymmetric”

In third world “Low-intensity” – U.S. misnomer

guerillas & paramilitaries

(Kidnapped) child soldiers

200,000 children under 15

(UN Treaty on children blocked by U.S.)

terror

machetes, mines, and guns

100 million active landmines

\$1 to buy

\$300-\$1,000 to remove

10 million landmines in Cambodia alone; 10,000 more Afghanistan

women, children, clinics, schools etc often targeted
Aid workers increasingly targeted & debate about whether good to bring aid that may become resource (David **Rieff**, A Bed for the Night)

S. Africa & Truth and Reconciliation Commission

1) **The Nature of Apartheid**

Originated 1948 when Afrikaaners took control of S. Africa from British S. Africans who'd practiced more genteel racism

3 racial classifications:

white

black

colored/mixed race

Separate living areas, pass restrictions on mobility

Marriage restricted to within races

Blacks denied vote

Bizarre cases of people whose lives turned upside down when their race classification changed (Geoff Bowker and Leigh Star, Sorting Things Out).

2) **1989/1990**

De Klerk initiated process to end apartheid and save S. Africa from civil war

Released **Nelson Mandela**, ANC leader, from Robben Island jail

Elections

To deal with abuses, set in place Truth & Reconciliation Commission (TRC):

Led by Archbishop Desmond **Tutu** – moral authority

Subtext of christian forgiveness

Black as well as white supplicants

Mixed adjudicators

Almost 8,000 applications

Must have been political crime

Must be full disclosure & remorse

Anything less jail time

Victims of crime in audience

Psychodrama in special ritual context

Power of confession to change people & create new public narratives
Michael **Ignatieff**: “now no one can say anymore that it never happened.”

3) **Alternatives**

Hague Tribunal & Nuremberg Trials after WWII

Nuremberg followed by executions

Rwanda – traditional courts & restorative rather than retributive justice

Czechoslovakia: law banning from office those who abused power under communists

Israel: hunt down perpetrators of holocaust & bring to justice (See **Hannah Arendt**, [Eichmann in Jerusalem](#)).

Vietnam Lecture

1) Vietnam, Laos & Cambodia had been French colonies since late 19th century.

2) Anti-colonial resistance increased by WWII.

Leader of resistance was Ho Chi Minh – communist & nationalist.

Debate about how communist he was

He admired George Washington & hoped US would side with him (as anti-colonialist) – wrote personally to Truman

1945 Vietnam had briefly been declared independent & emperor abdicated to Ho Chi Minh

Then French reconquered from south

3) By 1954 French increasingly beleaguered

Asked for US nukes at Dien Bien Phu – denied

Geneva Accords Of 1954 recognized separate North & South Vietnam with provisions for elections within two years for unified government

Had historically been strong tensions between north & south

French (with US Support) never held elections

4) As French withdrew, US military advisers stepped in

Eisenhower & JFK took over from French

Ellsberg claims JFK would never have committed ground troops. Debatable

Early 60s US working through military government in installed through US-backed coup

5) 1963 JFK assassinated & LBJ took over

This is situation we come in on in Ellsberg's book
Domino theory & progressive failure of corrupt S. Vietnamese government
Tonkin Gulf Resolution gave LBJ green light for escalation
Bombing and/or troops seen as answer

6) LBJ went for ground troops

Draft – deferments for college kids

- medical exemptions manipulated by wealthy

- national guard service for connected (like George W. Bush)

(See Chris Appy, Working Class War).

7) LBJ would decide not to run in 68 cos of war's toll on his mandate

After Tet offensive 1968
Humphrey lost to Nixon, who claimed plan to end war (sound familiar?)
Nixon & Kissinger escalated war, but eventually relied more on bombing & less on troops
Napalm, agent orange,
Secret war in Cambodia
More tonnage dropped on Vietnam than in all of WWII (including the atomic bombs)

8) US withdrew 1974 & Vietnam unified

Boat people

Postmodern War

1) Group of theorists talking about “postmodern war” or something like it include:

Chris Gray

Jean Baudrillard

Paul Virilio

Michael Ignatieff

Term means different things to different people, but these seems to be important qualities:

Lack of distinction between military and civilians

Importance of information as sinew of war

Media saturation – war as spectacle

Confusion of the real and the virtual

Sense of absurdity

Originated somewhere between WWII and Vietnam

2) Postmodern War partly created by new technologies (The “Revolution in Military Affairs”):

Cruise missiles

JDAMs

Satellites

GPS and laser-guided weapons

Drones

Mobility now key

Rear-front distinction increasingly dissolves

3) Casualties

Ignatieff argues U.S. is increasingly intolerant of casualties among own troops

Saw this in way Kosovo war fought

Does this signal lack of resolve to enemies?

Does it impose unethical warfighting where enemy casualties maximized to minimize US casualties?

Airpower over ground troops

Use of local surrogates over US troops
Or is (as **Sapolsky** worries) US becoming nervous of enemy casualties too?
Edward **Luttwak** suggests foreign mercenaries in US military
In Iraq, use of contractors = variant on this theme
Should we reintroduce draft for democracy's sake, as **Rangel** argues?

American War Culture

1) Special place in American culture for war & violence

military uniforms at commencement

military service of politicians (not an issue in Europe)

second amendment (incomprehensible to Europeans)

flag burning as issue

Richard **Slotkin** talks of "regeneration through violence" in US culture

TV westerns

Movies like Star Wars

Military service

Core precepts in this cultural frame:

Fighting is ennobling

Victor wins because he is right

Violence makes mature men

Violence regenerates the moral order

Hollywood vital in propagating this frame

2) **James William Gibson** sees mutation in TV/Hollywood war culture since Vietnam

because of:

Loss in Vietnam raised questions about American manifest destiny & American manhood

Civil rights movement

Women's movement

In pre-Vietnam movies:

US = virtuous

US wins

Soldiers integrated in hierarchical group

No civilian casualties

War is a rite of passage to manhood

Death and injury are painless

In "New War" movies:

US authorities are corrupt and useless

US has lost

Soldiers are anomic and isolated

High civilian casualties

War is still rite of passage, but now to all-male groups, not to gender-balanced adult role

Aesthetic of gore and focus on fetishized weaponry

Examples of "new war" movies:

Rambo

Dirty Harry

Lethal Weapon

Media and War

1) **Churchill** said truth so important it had to be protected by “bodyguard of lies.”

Total war is information war & propaganda war

Need disinformation to deceive enemy, undermine enemy morale

Need propaganda to sustain support on home front

2) **Media coverage attacked by right**

Claim media lost Vietnam War

Senator Alan Simpson called CNN’s **Peter Arnett** a traitor

Claim images of enemy civilians killed in bomb shelter in first Gulf War helped enemy

Al-Jazeera

3) **Media coverage attacked by left**

Noam Chomsky’s critique

Claim of corporate/ government control

Claim protests under-reported

Concerns about “the pool” in first Gulf War

Concerns about “embedding” & its effects on journalistic objectivity

Fox News

Hollywood’s post-9/11 agreement to make patriotic movies

3) **Other issues to look at**

“reader-response”: **Chomsky** treats audiences as passive dupes, but they’re active consumers

Internet & access to foreign media, independent media

Rise of Arab media

El-Qaeda’s use of internet, rock videos etc

4) **Questions**

To whom does a US journalist in Iraq owe loyalty? To the US state?

If a US journalist was offered an interview with bin Laden, should they accept?

What are the boundaries of taste in showing dead bodies?

How far should journalists go with anonymous sources?

Did the media undermine US national security with their reporting of Abu Ghraib?

Why have almost no US journalists interviewed insurgents?

Iraq Background

1) Originally part of Ottoman Empire – crumbling by 19th century

2) WWI and Mid East:

Germany, GB, and France looking to acquire territory

Rise of Arab nationalism – manipulated by T.E. Lawrence v Turks
(allied to Germans)

Balfour Declaration – plans to give away Palestine

1916 Sykes-Picot secret agreement between GB & France

Final resolution:

Iraq, Jordan, Palestine GB
Faisal as king of Iraq
Syria, Lebanon France
Jews Palestine

3) Iraqi monarchy lacked strong support

Overthrown by Baathists 1958

Neo-Stalinist regime: secular & based on terror & development

4) 1980s: Iran-Iraq War

Brutality

Chemical weapons

US tilt to Iraq – giving satellite data

5) August 1990 Iraq invades Kuwait

1991 US pushes Iraq out of Kuwait

Expected coup v Saddam, but didn't happen

Bush incites, then abandons, uprisings by Kurds & Shia

Schwarzkopf had left Saddam helicopter gunships to put down uprising

Grievance of human rights hawks like Peter Galbraith

6) 1990s: containment

Sanctions – moral?

Michael Walzer says no – kill more than war, & target civilians

Inspections:

Saddam obstructed and evaded

Dragged on partly to harass Saddam – doubted they'd ever end

Infiltrated by CIA – picking mil. targets too
(Blix's response when set up UNMOVIC)
Brinkmanship with bombing
UNSCOM withdrawn 1999 for bombing
By time GWB took office, sanctions leaky, no inspections, security council divided &
will of US publicly flouted by Saddam.
This = background to neocons' sense of grievance
2002-3 buildup new inspections (UNMOVIC under Blix)
But neocons wanted to invade & finish off Saddam