

## International and Public Affairs 0300

### Costs of War

Summer 2021

**Instructor: Dr. Catherine Lutz**

**Class time: T, Th 10.30-11:50**

**Office hours: by appointment on Zoom**

**Course Website is available on Canvas, readings without links are available on Library Reserve**

**Summary.** This interdisciplinary seminar explores a ground-level view of war and its physical/ environmental, human, economic, and social consequences. We primarily take up the examples of the post-9/11 wars in the Middle East and Southwest Asia but we also look at comparative examples from Africa and Southeast Asia.

The focus is less on the causes of war, on battles, elite war strategies, and relations between states than it is about what war is like for those caught within it, what larger social and economic contexts and what myths make it more or less likely, and how the category of war itself often obscures its fuller extent and understanding. Course readings and lectures use ethnographic, political economic, historical, and feminist approaches to understanding war and its effects. We will also look at efforts made to prevent or ameliorate those consequences.

We begin the course by identifying the questions about war that bring you to the class, and we examine the social roots of questions and inquiry. Among the questions this course can address are: How are societies changed, in the short and long term, by war? How are they changed by war preparation in putative peacetime? Are wars and their costs inevitable, and in particular, how does war relate to human nature? Who is most likely to die in wartime? Who is most likely to kill? What are the environmental effects of war, arms production, and military training? How long can the consequences of war be detected in a social order after the return of formal peace? What kinds of global and local humanitarian and governmental actions have been taken to ameliorate the damages of war?

**Learning Goals.** This course introduces a critical approach to the problem of war and its relationship to society. It is designed with three main learning goals in mind:

- to identify common myths about the nature of war and unlearn them as we introduce evidence that war should not be understood as simply the result of human nature, the motivations of combatants, or the strategies of political and military elites or that wars and their costs are as limited in scope (temporal, economic, and spatial) as might be assumed;
- while the course is interdisciplinary, a goal is to introduce the methods anthropologists in particular use to understand social institutions like the military, and to encourage you to cultivate an “anthropological imagination” which is connected to the ability to empathize (if not agree) with people in a very diverse range of situations and, relatedly;
- to learn how to engage in critical social analysis, and in particular to use what you learn here in future as a method for reading the newspaper “against the grain” as you read about future wars and post-war zones around the world. Reading “against the grain” of

conventional understanding in the U.S. means also understanding how colonial and neocolonial relations between nations shape war and its consequences and shape previous academic work on the subject of war.

**Format.** This class will be taught either in person or online depending on the health situation as the summer progresses. The course will begin online through the first 4 weeks. Class time will be spent in both short lectures and discussion of research materials brought before the class. Lectures will be devoted to the presentation of new material that is not covered in the reading and to explanation and exploration of the reading. There will be a number of guest lecture/discussions with the authors of our course readings. Participation will be key to your success in understanding course themes. Students will be responsible for posting discussion starting thoughts and questions to our website periodically through the semester. The format for these thoughts is provided below.

**Requirements.**

1. Prepare for each class by close reading of our syllabus materials. Preparation will include web postings on our Canvas site six times through the semester (see description of format below). Each posting should be at least 250 words in length. Those reflections will form the basis for discussion in class. Everyone can get full credit for each of these postings by reading and engaging seriously with the syllabus material.
2. Write a 1500 word (c. 5 page) paper that explores your own experience with the costs of war, with a focus on an aspect of those costs covered in the syllabus.
3. Group presentation based on research on one kind of cost of war in the ongoing Yemen Conflict.
4. Choose a topic from the Costs of War website. Write a 3200 word (c. 10 page) research paper that expands on an aspect of the research reported there.

**Grading.**

Web postings	(30 points)
Class participation	(10 points)
Paper on personal war experience	(20 points)
Yemen Group Presentation	(10 points)
Research paper	(30 points)

**Web Posting Guidelines:**

Six times of your choosing during the semester, you will be writing out some reflections on the class readings. You will post these on-line at the course website by 9 p.m. the night before class. They should include your responses to that following day's reading. Each posting should be about 250 words in length.

In more detail, each posting should be in two parts:

- (1) An Ah-Ha! observation that describes the most important thing you learned from the readings and lectures. This would be something that you did not know before and/or that contradicted and/or improved your understanding of the costs of war.

(2) A Head-Scratcher that describes the point that most perplexed you. The Head-Scratcher is particularly important, because students too often think that mastering concepts means just committing them to memory and being able to use them. Think about the daily conversations that you have with friends, however. The best ones usually spring from confusions, disagreements, or puzzles you notice rather than shared certainty. Indeed, certainty elicits mutual affirmation more than discussion, and is usually an absolute conversation-killer.

These postings should primarily include responses to readings. These can also draw on your own experience as it relates to them. The goal of these cyber-posts is to encourage thoughtful and consistent engagement with the readings and thereby to enhance your comprehension of course content. They will also help you come to class ready to raise some of the issues that you wrote about in discussion.

### **Required Books**

1. Catherine Lutz and Andrea Mazzarino, eds. 2019. War and Health: The Medical Consequences of the Wars in Iraq and Afghanistan. NY: New York University Press.
2. Thomas Smith. 2016. Human Rights and War through Civilian Eyes. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press.

## **Weekly Outline**

**\*\*\*\*Please note that asterisks separate the readings for each week that are to be completed for discussion on Tuesdays v. Thursdays.**

*Th 05/13*

### **Introduction**

- Hosseini, Khalid. 2017. Sea Prayer. <https://youtu.be/LKBNEEY-c3s>

*Tu 05/18, Th 05/20*

### **Myths of War**

- Michael C.C. Adams. 2015. The Best War Ever: America and World War II, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press. Ch. 1, No Easy Answers, pp. 1-21, Ch. 7, The Life Cycle of a Myth, pp. 130-47.

- Carolyn Nordstrom. 1998. Deadly myths of aggression. Aggressive Behavior 24 (2): 147-59.

\*\*\*\*

- Ryan, Christopher. 2011. Steven Pinker's Stinker on the Origins of War. Psychology Today. March 29.

- Jonathan Haas and Matthew Piscitelli. 2013. *The Prehistory of Warfare: Misled by Ethnography*. In Douglas P. Fry (ed.), *War, Peace, and Human Nature: The Convergence of Evolutionary and Cultural Views*. New York: Oxford University Press.

*T 05/25, Th 05/27*

## **Theories of Violence and the Problem of “Human Nature”**

- Paul Farmer. 2004. On suffering and structural violence: A view from below. In Nancy Scheper-Hughes and Philippe Bourgois, eds. *Violence in War and Peace*, pp. 281-88.
- Martha Huggins. 2004. The sociology of torture. *Anthropology News*, September.  
\*\*\*\*
- Catherine Lutz, “The Military Normal: Feeling at Home with Counterinsurgency in the United States,” in *Militarization: A Reader*, ed. Roberto J. González, Hugh Gusterson, and Gustaaf Houtman (Duke University Press, 2019), 0, <https://doi.org/10.1215/9781478007135-034>.
- Maryam Mohajer. 2012. “And Life Went on.” *Vimeo* <https://vimeo.com/36779372>.

*For Yemen project:*

- Blackburn, Christine Crudo, Paul E. Lenze, and Rachel Paige Casey. 2020. “Conflict and Cholera: Yemen’s Man-Made Public Health Crisis and the Global Implications of Weaponizing Health.” *Health Security Vol 18: 2*: 125–31. <https://doi.org/10.1089/hs.2019.0113>.
- Omer Karasapan. 2020. “Yemen and COVID-19: The Pandemic Exacts Its Devastating Toll,” *Brookings* <https://www.brookings.edu/blog/future-development/2020/06/15/yemen-and-covid-19-the-pandemic-exacts-its-devastating-toll/>.

*T 06/01, Th 06/03,*

## **The Human Toll in Death and Injury**

- Catherine Lutz and Andrea Mazzarino, eds. 2019. *War and Health: The Medical Consequences of the Wars in Iraq and Afghanistan*. NY: New York University Press. Introduction, pp. 1-38.
- Stockholm International Peace Research Institute. 2020. *SIPRI Yearbook 2020: Armaments, Disarmaments, and International Security, Summary*, pp. 1-21. [https://www.sipri.org/sites/default/files/2020-06/yb20\\_summary\\_en\\_v2.pdf](https://www.sipri.org/sites/default/files/2020-06/yb20_summary_en_v2.pdf)

*Political Meaning of Wounds*

- Catherine Lutz and Andrea Mazzarino, eds. 2019. *War and Health: The Medical Consequences of the Wars in Iraq and Afghanistan*. NY: New York University Press. Chapter 6, pp. 137-151.
- Hugh Gusterson. 1991. Nuclear war, the Gulf War, and the disappearing body. *Journal of Urban and Cultural Studies* 2 (1): 45-55.

*The Injuries of War Preparation*

- Barbara Rose Johnston, ed. 2007. *Half-Lives and Half-Truths: Confronting the Radioactive Legacies of the Cold War*. Santa Fe: School for Advanced Research Press, Introduction, pp. 1-12.

Recommended:

*Kashmir Case Study*

- Zia, Ather. 2019. "Blinding Kashmiris: The Right to Maim and the Indian Military Occupation in Kashmir." Interventions: International Journal of Postcolonial Studies 21(6): pp. 773-786. [https://www.researchgate.net/publication/332578549\\_Blinding\\_Kashmiris\\_The\\_Right\\_to\\_Maim\\_and\\_the\\_Indian\\_Military\\_Occupation\\_in\\_Kashmir](https://www.researchgate.net/publication/332578549_Blinding_Kashmiris_The_Right_to_Maim_and_the_Indian_Military_Occupation_in_Kashmir)
- "Out of Sight in Kashmir | Close Up | Kashmir News | Al Jazeera," 2020 <https://www.aljazeera.com/programmes/aj-close-up/2019/11/191119074855200.html>.

T 06/08, Th 06/10

## The Medical Consequences of Wars

*(Yemen Group Project: Injury Presentation due)*

- Catherine Lutz and Andrea Mazzarino. 2019. War and Health: The Medical Consequences of the Wars in Iraq and Afghanistan. NY: New York University Press. Chapters 1, 2, 3, pp. 41-89, Ch. 10, pp. 210-230.  
\*\*\*\*
- Valeria Cetorelli. 2014. The Effect on Fertility of the 2003–2011 War in Iraq. Population and Development Review 40 (4): 581-604. <https://www-jstor-org.revproxy.brown.edu/stable/24638492>
- Elisabeth Mahase. 2019. Kashmir communications blackout is putting patients at risk, doctors warn. BMJ 366 <https://doi.org/10.1136/bmj.l5204>

T 06/15, Th 06/17

## Dislocation

*(Yemen Group Project: Health Costs Presentation due)*

- David Vine, et al. 2020. Creating Refugees: Displacement Caused by the United States' Post-9/11 Wars. September 21, 2020. [Costsofwar.org](http://Costsofwar.org).
- Hala Ghattas, AnnieBelle J. Sassine, Karin Seyfert, Mark Nord and Nadine R. Sahyoun. 2014. Food insecurity among Iraqi refugees living in Lebanon, 10 years after the invasion of Iraq: data from a household survey. British Journal of Nutrition 112 (1): 70-79. <https://doi.org/10.1017/S0007114514000282>  
\*\*\*\*
- Noah Coburn. 2017. The Guards, Cooks, and Cleaners of the Afghan War: Migrant Contractors and the Cost of War. [Costsofwar.org](http://Costsofwar.org). pp. 1-10

<https://watson.brown.edu/costsofwar/papers/2017/guards-cooks-and-cleaners-afghan-war-migrant-contractors-and-cost-war>

- Catherine Lutz and Andrea Mazzarino. 2019. War and Health: The Medical Consequences of the Wars in Iraq and Afghanistan. NY: New York University Press. Chapter 7, pp. 152-171.

T 06/22, Th 06/24

## War and the Production of Inequality

- John Dower. 1986. Apes and others. In Cancian and Gibson, eds., Making War, Making Peace: The Social Foundations of Violent Conflict. Belmont, CA: Wadsworth, pp. 100-110.
- Ülkü Güney. 2010. "'We See Our People Suffering': The War, the Mass Media and the Reproduction of Muslim Identity among Youth." Media, War & Conflict 3 (2): 168–81.  
[https://www.researchgate.net/publication/258173344\\_'We\\_see\\_our\\_people\\_suffering'\\_The\\_war\\_the\\_mass\\_media\\_and\\_the\\_reproduction\\_of\\_Muslim\\_identity\\_among\\_youth](https://www.researchgate.net/publication/258173344_'We_see_our_people_suffering'_The_war_the_mass_media_and_the_reproduction_of_Muslim_identity_among_youth)
- \*\*\*\*
- Ann Jones and Mahbouba Seraj. 2021. The Effects of the War on the Women of Afghanistan. Costsofwar.org (to be posted on website).
- Lila Abu-Lughod. 2002. "Do Muslim Women Really Need Saving? Anthropological Reflections on Cultural Relativism and Its Others." American Anthropologist, 104 (3): 783–790.

T 06/29, Th 07/01

## Economic Consequences

*(Yemen Group Project: Dislocations Presentation due)*

*Sanctions Debate*

- Mina Khanlarzadeh. 2013. The effects of the economic sanctions against Iran. Jadaliyya, July 26, 2013.  
<https://www.jadaliyya.com/Details/29182/The-Effects-of-The-Economic-Sanctions-Against-Iran>
- Takian, Amirhossein et al. 2020. COVID-19 battle during the toughest sanctions against Iran. Lancet (London, England) vol. 395,10229 (2020): 1035-1036.  
<https://www.ncbi.nlm.nih.gov/pmc/articles/PMC7138170/pdf/main.pdf>
- Reem Bahdi. 2002. Iraq, Sanctions and Security: A Critique," Duke Journal of Gender Law and Policy Vol 9:237 pp. 237–252  
<https://scholarship.law.duke.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=1067&context=djglp>

\*\*\*\*

### *Illicit Economies*

- Peter Andreas. 2009. Symbiosis between Peace Operations and Organized Crime in Bosnia. International Peacekeeping, 16 (1): 33-45.

### *Extraction Economies*

- Karen Ballentine and Heiko Nitzschke. 2005. Transforming War Economies. Dilemmas and Strategies. Ch. 1, The Political Economy of Civil War and Conflict Transformation, pp. 11-29. [Access here](#)
- Carolyn Nordstrom. 2004. Shadows of War: Violence, Power, and International Profiteering in the 21st Century. Berkeley: University of California Press. [Chapters 7, 8](#), pp. 87-119.

Th 07/08, T 07/13

## **Economic Consequences: The United States and Iraq**

*(Yemen Group Project: Economic Consequences Presentation due)*

- Heidi Peltier. 2020. The Growth of the “Camo Economy” and the Commercialization of the Post-9/11 Wars. Costsofwar.org, pp. 1-26  
<https://watson.brown.edu/costsofwar/files/cow/imce/papers/2020/Peltier%202020%20-%20Growth%20of%20Camo%20Economy%20-%20June%2030%202020%20-%20FINAL.pdf>
- Rosella Cappella Zielinski. 2019. How Do War Financing Strategies Lead to Inequality? A Brief History from the War of 1812 through the Post-9/11 Wars. Costsofwar.org, pp. 1-15  
[https://watson.brown.edu/costsofwar/files/cow/imce/papers/2018/Cappella%20Zielinski\\_June%202018\\_War%20Financing%20and%20Inequality.pdf](https://watson.brown.edu/costsofwar/files/cow/imce/papers/2018/Cappella%20Zielinski_June%202018_War%20Financing%20and%20Inequality.pdf)
- Heidi Peltier. 2017. Job opportunity costs of war. Costsofwar.org, pp. 1-7  
<https://watson.brown.edu/costsofwar/files/cow/imce/papers/2017/Job%20Opportunity%20Cost%20of%20War%20-%20HGP%20-%20FINAL.pdf>

\*\*\*\*

- Iraq For Sale: War Profiteers. 2015. Brave New Films <https://youtu.be/3Q8y-4nZP6o>
- Bridget Guarasci. 2017. Environmental Rehabilitation and Global Profiteering in Iraq. CostsofWar.org pp. 1-11.  
[https://watson.brown.edu/costsofwar/files/cow/imce/papers/2018/Guarasci\\_Environmental%20Profiteering%20in%20Iraq%2C%20April%2023%202018%20.pdf](https://watson.brown.edu/costsofwar/files/cow/imce/papers/2018/Guarasci_Environmental%20Profiteering%20in%20Iraq%2C%20April%2023%202018%20.pdf)

Th 07/15

## **Environmental Consequences**

*(Yemen Group Project: Environmental Costs Presentation due)*

- Neta Crawford. 2019. Pentagon Fuel Use, Climate Change, and the Costs of War. Costsofwar.org. <https://watson.brown.edu/costsofwar/files/cow/imce/papers/2019/Pentagon%20Fuel%20Use,%20Climate%20Change%20and%20the%20Costs%20of%20War%20Final.pdf>
  - Bhan, Mona and Nishita Trisal. 2017. "Fluid Landscapes, Sovereign Nature: Conservation and Counterinsurgency in Kashmir." *Critique of Anthropology* 37(2): 67-92. [https://www.academia.edu/29279661/Fluid\\_landscapes\\_sovereign\\_nature\\_Conservation\\_and\\_counterinsurgency\\_in\\_Indian-controlled\\_Kashmir](https://www.academia.edu/29279661/Fluid_landscapes_sovereign_nature_Conservation_and_counterinsurgency_in_Indian-controlled_Kashmir)
  - Samuel Kanyamibwa. 1998. Impact of war on conservation: Rwandan environment and wildlife in agony. *Biodiversity and Conservation* 7 pp. 1399–1406 <https://doi.org/10.1023/A:1008880113990>
- \*\*\*\*
- Heidi Peltier. 2019. Cut Military Spending, Fund Green Manufacturing. *Costsofwar.org* pp. 1-4 <https://watson.brown.edu/costsofwar/files/cow/imce/papers/2019/Peltier%20Nov2019%20Short%20GND%20CoW.pdf>
  - George Black. 2019. Fifty Years After, A Daunting Cleanup of Vietnam’s Toxic Legacy. *Yale Environment* 360, Yale School of Environment, May 13, 2019. <https://e360.yale.edu/features/fifty-years-after-a-daunting-cleanup-of-vietnam-toxic-legacy-dioxin-agent-orange>

T 07/20

## Human Rights and Civil Liberties

*(Yemen Group Project: Human Rights and Civil Liberties Presentation due)*

Choose to read the articles for **one out of the two following** case studies. Class will be divided into two discussion sections and report back out to the rest of the class on their reading and discussion.

Case Study One: Iraq, Abu Ghraib, Torture and Prison Rights

- Thomas Smith. 2016. *Human Rights and War through Civilian Eyes*. Chapter 1, pp. 1-36.
- Thomas Smith. 2016. *Human Rights and War through Civilian Eyes*. Chapter 3, pp. 68-107.
- Mohamedou Ould Slahi. 2015. *Guantanamo Diary selected excerpts*:
  - Introductory Video: [https://youtu.be/YozKFwQKq\\_0](https://youtu.be/YozKFwQKq_0)
  - Podcast 7: <https://soundcloud.com/canongate-books/nick-cave-reads-from-guantanamo-diary?in=canongate-books/sets/guant-namo-diary>
  - Podcast 11: <https://soundcloud.com/canongate-books/benedict-cumberbatch-reads-from-guantanamo-diary-1?in=canongate-books/sets/guant-namo-diary>
  - Podcast 14: <https://soundcloud.com/canongate-books/stephen-fry-reads-from-guantanamo-diary?in=canongate-books/sets/guant-namo-diary>

**OR**

Case Study Two: Gaza, Military violation of human rights, Goldstone Report



- Thomas Smith. 2016. Human Rights and War through Civilian Eyes. Chapter 1, pp. 1-36.
- Thomas Smith. 2016. Human Rights and War through Civilian Eyes. Chapter 4, pp. 108-148.
- Key Points of the Goldstone Report  
<https://www.aljazeera.com/news/middleeast/2009/10/200910395820396287.html>
- Moshe Halbertal. 2009. The Goldstone Illusion. The New Republic, Nov. 5, 2009.  
<https://newrepublic.com/article/70956/the-goldstone-illusion>
- Kenneth Roth. 2009. Human Rights Watch Applies Same Standards to Israel, Hamas. Human Rights Watch, Oct. 26, 2009. <https://www.hrw.org/news/2009/10/26/human-rights-watch-applies-same-standards-israel-hamas#>

*Recommended:*

- Eyal Weizman. 2010. Legislative Attack. Theory, Culture and Society, 27 (6): 11-32. <https://journals-sagepub-com.revproxy.brown.edu/doi/pdf/10.1177/0263276410380937>

*Th 07/22, T 07/27, Th 07/29*

## **Responses to War's Costs**

*(Yemen Group Project: Responses to War presentation due)*

*Judicial Response, the ICC, Justice Cascade*

- Thomas Smith. 2016. Human Rights and War through Civilian Eyes. 1st edition. Chapter 5: Justice and Accountability: Who's Responsible?, pp. 148-178
- Kathryn Sikkink and Hun Joon Kim. 2013. The Justice Cascade: The Origins and Effectiveness of Prosecutions of Human Rights Violations. Annual Review of Law and Social Science, 9: 269-85.  
<https://www.annualreviews.org/doi/pdf/10.1146/annurev-lawsocsci-102612-133956>
- Kenneth Rodman. 2015. Intervention and the Justice Cascade – Lessons from the Special Court for Sierra Leone on Prosecution and Civil War. Human Rights Review, 16: 39-58.  
<https://link.springer.com/article/10.1007/s12142-014-0324-4>

\*\*\*

*Humanitarian Intervention*

- Thomas Smith. 2016. Human Rights and War through Civilian Eyes. 1st edition. University of Pennsylvania Press. Ch 6: Kind-Hearted Gunmen, pp. 179-204.

\*\*\*

*Political/Social Movements, Transnational Advocacy Networks and NGOs*

- Scott Harding and Kathryn Libal. 2012. Iraqi refugees and the humanitarian costs of the Iraq war: What role for social work? International Journal of Social Welfare, 21 (1): 94-104.

*Reconstruction Aid*

- Catherine Lutz and Sujaya Desai. 2015. US Reconstruction Aid for Afghanistan: The Dollars and the Sense. Costsofwar.org, pp.1-18  
<https://watson.brown.edu/costsofwar/files/cow/imce/papers/2015/US%20Reconstruction%20Aid%20for%20Afghanistan.pdf>