

(DRAFT020317GUPoITerrLewisBuckleyBALS)

Georgetown University: ONLINE SUMMER 2017

***BLHV 274-101: Politics of Terrorism: Just War, Torture, Drones, and Humanitarian Intervention***

Professors William J. Buckley and Paul Lewis  
[wjb22@georgetown.edu](mailto:wjb22@georgetown.edu); [pl33@georgetown.edu](mailto:pl33@georgetown.edu)

**How do bullets and ballots affect each other?** This exciting course explores the reality and interpretations of Terrorism(s), Torture, Drones, and Humanitarian Interventions. “Politics of Terrorism” focuses on their roles in the American national elections by means of readings, lectures, media, research and focused discussions. “Politics of Terrorism” weighs vibrant electoral processes, living institutions and actual, historical personalities exercising executive power, with pressing foreign policy challenges and nuanced theories of international relations (e.g. termed realism, liberalism and constructivism). For example, do wars and warlike behaviors make presidents into kings— “act[ing] on executive power as... accelerant, causing it to burn hotter, brighter, and swifter” or do they actually constrain leaders with fewer real choices (Yoo, 2009, vii in Howell, 2015)? Close examination of political lessons learned from actual cases, yields different (and sometimes rival) interpretive frameworks. Weekly online practice in learning and applying these interpretive skills to our unfolding national elections enables students to gain new insights into the politics of terrorism, here and elsewhere.

**WHAT MUST I DO AS STUDENT?** This course is highly interactive. All course readings, videos, notes and outline materials are posted online. Each week, students do six items online: review learning goals, watch a video(s), read selected posted readings, post a one page essay (250 words) that answers an assigned posted question about the readings and video(s), post responses to other student answers, and work on a self-chosen end of semester research project with the Instructor. Every other week, students may choose to participate in a real-time Blackboard online chat with course Instructors. Detailed instructions, outlines, transcripts and notes for all course materials are available online.

WEEK	TOPIC	VIDEO	READING (SELECTIONS )	POST
Prior To Course		<i>Esposito (or)</i>	Mueller, Ghosh, Esposito, Kelsay	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Biog Blog</li> <li>• Online Scavenger Hunt</li> <li>• VARK self-inventory</li> <li>• Honors Pledge</li> </ul>

<p><b>ONLINE MEETING WEEK 1:</b> Posted work Deadline MONDAY MAY 22</p>	<p>Presidential Elections and Terrorism Talk</p>	<p><i>Clinton and Trump; 2016 Presidential Candidates</i></p>	<p>Ginsberg, Tilley, Kegley, Gelb, Arthur, Lim, Reus-Smit and Snidal; Merica, Sanger and Haberman, Kessler and Ye Hee, DeYoung</p>	<p>Analysis: 09/11 doc, OR Candidate Speeches OR Party Platforms</p>
<p><b>ONLINE WEEK 2</b> Posted work Deadline Sunday JUN 04</p>	<p>Historical Lessons: Presidents and Foreign Policy</p>	<p><i>Interviews: Beschloss &amp; Leuchtenburg</i></p>	<p>Mead, Jentleson, Nincic, Shirley, Rapoport, Howell, Ginsberg, Bolton, Winkley, Beschloss, Leuchtenburg</p>	<p>Use three readings, select president, institutional arrangement, policy, in response to foreign urgency.</p>
<p><b>WEEK 3</b> Posted work Deadline Sunday JUN 11</p>	<p>Vietnam War: Gulf of Tonkin</p>	<p><i>LBJ: Gulf of Tonkin Incident (08/1964) [09-10/1991]</i></p>	<p>Lewis (Paul, 2016); Halberstam, 1992; Prados, 2004; McNamara, 1996; Hanyok, 2001; Johnson Tapes 08/4/64; White House Staff Meeting 08/05/65; Johnson, Message to Congress 08/05/64; Congress, Gulf of Tonkin Resolution, 08/07/64; McNamara, 1968.</p>	<p>Were the government's actions regarding the Gulf of Tonkin incident ethical?</p>
<p><b>WEEK 4</b> Posted work Deadline Sunday JUN 18</p>	<p>09/11 and Just War Response</p>	<p><i>Inside the White House on 9/11; Top Secret America (09/2015); The Man</i></p>	<p>NPR 10/12; Olson, Savage, Leffler, Kelsay, Arendt, Ricks</p>	<p>How is the world different after 09/11? : SELECT One: White House NSS 2015; Kennedy 1963; Reagan, 1987;</p>

		<i>Who Knew (John O'Neill) (10/3/02)</i>		Bush, 2001.
<b>WEEK 5</b> <i>Posted work Deadline Sunday JUN 25</i>	<b>IRAQ WAR(S):</b> <i>defeat of Baathism and Hussein</i>	<i>Interview: General David Petraeus</i>	Savage, Winkler, Woodward, Grey, Monten, Dubrin, Lefeber, Filkins, Weinberger, Hashim, Lockett, Ricks, Simons	DEBATE: Are Iraq Wars Just/ Unjust? Compare Weigel, Neuhaus, Shaw; Christiansen, USCCB, Hehir (or others)
<b>WEEK 6</b> <i>Posted work Deadline Sunday JULY 02</i>	Afghan War; bin Laden Assassination	<i>Presidential Statement Death of Osama bin Laden (02/02/11) &amp; 'We Got Him': President Obama, Bin Laden and the Future of the War on Terror" (05/2/16)</i>	Savage, Mahler, Hastings, Bergen, Smith, COIN, Landler	How did Afghan war/ bin Laden operation impact electoral politics?
<b>WEEK 7</b> <i>Posted work Deadline Sunday JULY 09</i>	Politics of Counter-Terrorism	<i>Interviews: former Secretary of Defense Robert Gates &amp; Presentation by FBI Director James Comey</i>	Savage, Gates	How do and which CT policies impact electoral politics?
<b>WEEK 8</b> <i>Posted work Deadline Sunday JULY 16</i>	Torture and Politics	<i>Secrets, Politics, Torture, FRONTLINE, (05/19/15)</i>	Savage; Senate Intelligence Committee Study on CIA Detention and Interrogation Program	What is a definition of torture (custody and mistreatment)? According to what criteria is torture right or wrong? How does torture

			(December 2014); National Journal Staff, December 9 2014; Hartnett.	impact electoral politics?
<b>WEEK 9</b> <i>Posted work</i> <i>Deadline</i> <i>Sunday JULY 23</i>	GITMO and Politics	<i>Interview: Paul Lewis and Charlie Savage</i>	Savage, Luban	How does GITMO impact electoral politics?
<b>WEEK 10</b> <i>Posted work</i> <i>Deadline</i> <i>Sunday JUL 30</i>	The Politics Of Drones	<i>Frontline "Rise of the Drones" (1/23/13)</i>	Savage, Luban, Lewis	How does drone usage impact electoral politics? Or <i>Select one element of Luban Essay and write Essay PRO/CON.</i>
<b>WEEK 11</b> <i>Posted work</i> <i>Deadline</i> <i>Sunday AUG 06</i>	The Politics of Cyber- Conflicts as War, Crime or Business?	<i>CPAN Hearings: National Security Agency (09/24/15); Worldwide Cybersecurity Threats, House (Select) Intelligence Committee (09/11/2015); Cybersecurity Policy, Senate Armed Services Committee Senate Intelligence Committee (09/28/15)</i>	Savage, FBI, Cyber Security Task Force	What are the political implications of understanding cyber-security as crime, war and business?
<b>WEEK 12</b> <i>Posted work</i> <i>Deadline</i> <i>OPTIONAL</i>	Humanitarian Intervention, Ethnic Cleansing, State Terrorism: CASE STUDY: <b>Kosovo/a</b>	<i>Samantha Power</i>	"Responsibility to Protect" (UN 2005), Power, Osnos, Buckley, Ben-Porath, ICTY (2002), Bizirake,	(1) Is there an R2P and (2) how does it apply in stateless parts of the world?

			<b>MANTLE</b>	
<b>WEEK 13</b> <i>Posted work Deadline SUN AUG 13</i>	Terrorisms and Presidential Politics in : CASE STUDY: <b>Syria</b>	<b>FRONTLINE:</b> <i>Obama At War (5/26/15); Escaping ISIS, (07/14/15); ISIS in Afghanistan (11/17/15) CSPAN: Petraeus (09/15)</i>	Goldberg, Cordesman, Lister, Sky, Weiss and Hassan, Gerth and Warrick, Stern and Berger, Kakutani, Baker, Howell, Warrick, Boghani; Cordesman;	Is Syria a failed state or invaded nation? Describe how at least three key events, with at least three principal sides evolved into no fewer than a three sided Syrian civil conflict with at least three parties in an ethnic conflict with no fewer than four outside parties supporting at least three different groups.
<b>WEEK 14</b> <i>Posted work Deadline OPTIONAL</i>	Terrorisms and Presidential Politics in : CASE STUDY: <b>Northern Ireland</b>	<i>Frontline; IRA and SEIN FEIN (1997); Interviews: George Mitchell (1998-2015)</i>	Mitchell, Fawcett, McGarry & O'Leary, Tilley	Are solutions in Northern Ireland suggestive for other conflicts (consociational, McGarry/O'Leary) ?
<b>WEEK 15:</b> <b>Final PAPER DUE WED AUG 16 DEC MIDNIGHT</b>	STUDENT FINAL PAPER ONLINE	<b>TBA</b>	<b>TBA</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>● Case Study <u>OR</u></li> <li>● Policy Memo <u>OR</u></li> <li>● Assess Social Media/News Cycle re some event</li> </ul>
<b>16 OPTIONAL WEEK</b>	Terrorisms and Presidential Politics in : CASE STUDIES: tba: Africa-Rwanda? Russia-Ukraine? China? Israel- Palestine?; Iran- India-Pakistan? Indonesia- Malaysia- Philippines?	<b>TBA</b>	<b>TBA</b>	<b>TBA</b>

--	--	--	--	--

## **COURSE GRADES:**

### Weighting Of Assigned Work

- 25% Class weekly postings
- 20% Peer Review
- 35% Final Paper
- 25% Instructor Grade based on your Participation (Replies to Peers, Muddiest Points, Contributions to Course)=105%
- **SCALE:** Grades will be determined by the following
  - A: 93% to 100%
  - A-: 90% to 92%
  - B+: 87% to 89%
  - B: 83% to 86%
  - B-: 80% to 82%
  - C+: 77% to 79%
  - C: 73% to 76%
  - C-: 70% to 72%
  - D+: 67% to 69%
  - D: 63% to 66%
  - F: 62% and below

PLEASE COMPLETE at least **ONE OF THE FIVE** (or more) BEFORE COURSE BEGINS:

- **READ:** Monday, August 15, 2016 How Safe Are We? Asking the Right Questions About Terrorism John Mueller and Mark Stewart Foreign Affairs
- **WATCH Video** John Esposito (4/28/14) The Islamic Threat: Myth or Reality? (Adams State University) (1.00 of 1.136)  
<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=5xNrygyeN2k>
- **READ:** Kelsay, John. Osama bin Laden and the Just Conduct of War, America October 2001 <http://americamagazine.org/issue/345/article/osama-bin-laden-and-just-conduct-war>
- **READ:** Ghosh, Bobby (Dearborn), Islamophobia: Does America Have a Muslim Problem? Time Magazine (08/30/2010)  
<http://content.time.com/time/magazine/article/0,9171,2011936,00.html>
- **WATCH Video:** CSPAN John Esposito (4/26/02) : "Unholy War: Terror in the Name of Islam" (1:01) <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=oMyxF0f8-MQ>
- **READ:** Esposito, John. Unholy War: Terror in the Name of Islam (New York: Oxford, 2002) (SELECTIONS POSTED) and REVIEW, Kahn, Muqtedar, Review of John L. Esposito, Unholy Wars: Terror in the Name of Islam (New York: Oxford University Press, 2002) at <http://www.ijihad.org/esposito.htm>

## **POST**

- Biog Blog (peer self-introductions)
- Online Scavenger Hunt (MC q's familiarizes learners with website)

- VARK self-inventory (self-review of learning styles)
- Post Honors Pledge

+++++

+++++

+++++

## **WEEK 1. CHANGING THE SUBJECT: MAPPING THE POLITICS of TERRORISM TALK:**

### **ONLINE MEETING WEEK 1: *Posted work Deadline Sunday***

Terror Talk as Political Performance: CASES: Recurrent Public Models for Interpreting Terrorism/National Security: (Selections: Presidential Speeches and Debates, Memorials, bin Laden, The 09/11 Commission Report; Republican and Democratic Conventions)

As you view/write keep in mind three **key questions**: What enables and constrains political participation in the USA (political parties and elections)? How is terrorism or national security being described (*topical rhetoric*)? What key images are used (*rhetoric of the tropes or poetics*)?

### **WATCH Videos**

- Donald Trump on “Terrorism” (08/15/16)  
<http://www.politico.com/story/2016/08/donald-trump-terrorism-speech-227025>  
( See listed commentaries by Sanger and Haberman, Kessler and Ye Hee, DeYoung)
- Donald Trump “We Are Going to Defeat the Barbarians of ISIS (FAST)!”  
<https://youtu.be/s3SBOGOETm4>
- Hillary Clinton Remarks on Counterterrorism (March 23 2016). She spoke a day after a major terrorist attack in Brussels, Belgium. (46:05)  
<https://www.c-span.org/video/?407164-1/hillary-clinton-remarks-counterterrorism>  
(See Remarks by Merica)

For Questions to keep in kind, see Charlie Savages’ Q’s from

<http://www.charliesavage.com/?p=796>

- “Executive Unilateralism”
- “Citizens Accused of Terrorism”
- “War Powers”
- “Secrecy”
- “Wrapping Up”

### **READ SELECTIONS:**

- Ginsberg, Benjamin and Theodore J. Lowi, Margaret Weir , Caroline J. Tolbert , Robert J. Spitzer, authors, *We the People: An Introduction to American Politics 10th edition*, (New York: Norton, 2015), Chapter 9 (“Political Parties”) 340-383 Chapter 10, (“Campaigns and Elections” ) 384-431;

- Tilley, Charles, "Varieties of Violence"(1-26) and "Violence as Politics" (26-54) in *The Politics of Collective Violence* (New York, Cambridge, 2003).
- Kegley Introduction in Kegley (1-14) and Sederberg, Chapter 21 in Kegley 267-284 in Kegley, Charles W. (ed.) *The New Global Terrorism: Characteristics, Causes, Controls* (Upper Saddle River, New Jersey, 2003).
- Gelb, Leslie H. *GDP Matters More Than Force*. *Journal of Politics & Society* [Columbia University] , Vol. 22, No. 1, pp. 3-5.  
<http://www.helvidius.org/journal/spring-2011/> ;  
<http://www.helvidius.org/essays/gdp-now-matters-more-than-force/>
- Arthur, C. Damien, *Economic Actors, Economic Behaviors, and Presidential Leadership: The Constrained Effects of Rhetoric* (Lexington Studies in Political Communication), Lanham, MD, 2014: Prolegomenon and Chapter 1, "Presidential Rhetoric and the Economy" (1-15).
- Lim, E. T. (2002). Five trends in presidential rhetoric: An analysis of rhetoric from George Washington to Bill Clinton. *Presidential Studies Quarterly*, 32, 328--366.
- Reus-Smit, Christian and Duncan Snidal "Between Utopia and Reality: The Practical Discourses of International Relations," in Christian Reus-Smit, Christian and Duncan Snidal, *The Oxford Handbook of International Relations* (Oxford Handbooks) Oxford, 2010, 1-33.
- Merica, Dan, Clinton makes general election pitch with focus on terrorism  
12/15/2015 CNN Politics  
<http://www.cnn.com/2015/12/15/politics/hillary-clinton-terrorism-isis-bernie-sanders/>
- Sanger, David E. and Maggie Haberman, Donald Trump's Terrorism Plan Mixes Cold War Concepts and Limits on Immigrants New York Times AUG. 15, 2016  
<http://www.nytimes.com/2016/08/16/us/politics/donald-trump-terrorism.html>
- Kessler, Glenn, and Michelle Ye Hee Lee Fact-checking Donald Trump's 'major' speech on the Islamic State, Washington Post 08/15/16  
[https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/fact-checker/wp/2016/08/16/fact-checking-donald-trumps-major-speech-on-the-islamic-state/?hpid=hp\\_hp-cards\\_hp-card-politics%3Ahomepage%2Fcard](https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/fact-checker/wp/2016/08/16/fact-checking-donald-trumps-major-speech-on-the-islamic-state/?hpid=hp_hp-cards_hp-card-politics%3Ahomepage%2Fcard)
- DeYoung, Karen, Trump proposes ideological test for Muslim immigrants and visitors to the U.S. Washington Post 08/15/16  
[https://www.washingtonpost.com/world/national-security/trump-to-propose-ideological-test-for-muslim-immigrants-and-visitors-to-the-us/2016/08/15/3192fdb4-62fc-11e6-be4e-23fc4d4d12b4\\_story.html?hpid=hp\\_hp-top-table-main\\_trumpisis-0715pm%3Ahomepage%2Fstory](https://www.washingtonpost.com/world/national-security/trump-to-propose-ideological-test-for-muslim-immigrants-and-visitors-to-the-us/2016/08/15/3192fdb4-62fc-11e6-be4e-23fc4d4d12b4_story.html?hpid=hp_hp-top-table-main_trumpisis-0715pm%3Ahomepage%2Fstory)

**Select, Read and POST COMPARISON OF ANY TWO** POST REPLIES TO TWO OTHER POSTINGS (See *POSTED ADVICE FOR DISCUSSION POSTINGS*).

- READ/POST COMPARISON only the Introduction OR the first Section from the 9/11 Commission Report <http://www.9-11commission.gov/> with
- only one Republican and one Democratic candidate speech POSTED ABOVE (and commentators listed) at [http://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/2016\\_election.php](http://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/2016_election.php)
- OR WITH only the **Republican and Democratic Convention Platforms** from their respective National Conventions. In 2012 the Republican platform, under



“American Exceptionalism,” used “terror[ism]” some 25 times. In 2016 “Islamic terrorism” is used four times in the Republican platform, and “terror/ism” some 21 other times, and “national security” 18 times. For Democrats, the 2012 Platform uses “terrorism” in a more focused way than “the Bush administration’s sweeping and internationally-divisive rhetoric of a global war on terrorism ... [to a focus] against an identifiable network of people: al-Qaeda and its affiliates....” but uses “national security” some twelve times. In 2016 the Democratic platform uses terror/ism 22 times (typically but not always in relation to ISIS) and “national security” six times.

- For **Democrats**, see 2016 [http://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/papers\\_pdf/117717.pdf](http://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/papers_pdf/117717.pdf); for 2012 at <https://www.democrats.org/party-platform>;
- For **Republicans** 2016, see [https://prod-static-ngop-pbl.s3.amazonaws.com/media/documents/DRAFT\\_12\\_FINAL\[1\]-ben\\_1468872234.pdf](https://prod-static-ngop-pbl.s3.amazonaws.com/media/documents/DRAFT_12_FINAL[1]-ben_1468872234.pdf) and 2012 at <https://www.gop.com/platform/>.

“*What to look for?*” Key Question: From our posted readings, determine which among many models are used to describe terrorism/national security as threat (crime, war, disease, psychological affliction, etc.). Please note whether, and if so, where and why there are indications within texts of battles over categories used for terror, national security, etc. (E.G. where does the 9/11 document reflect partisan battles fought over the content and language use to describe terrorism?). Do these embattled terms reflect preferences for any of the models of terrorism/national security discussed in readings? What campaign and policy implications do you think these choices entail? E.g. Some argue contemporary terrorism/national security are matters of “war”; others favor models based on public health (“a spreading epidemic”); still others offer legal or jurisprudential frameworks of “crime” (e.g. Cynthia C. Combs, *Terrorism in the Twentieth Century*, 7th Edition, Upper Saddle River NJ, Pearson, 2012; 378); still others prefer categories suggestive of psychological afflictions (five grievances: Alienation, Humiliation, Demographics, History, and Territory in Jessica Stern, *Terror in the Name of God Why Religious Militants Kill*, New York: Harper Perennial, 2004).

++++  
 +++  
 +++

## **WEEK 2. TERRORISM AND PRESIDENTIAL POLITICS: Lessons from History**

**ONLINE WEEK 2** *Posted work Deadline Sunday*

CASES: TERRORISM AND PRESIDENTIAL POLITICS: FOREIGN AND DOMESTIC HISTORICAL LESSONS: Jefferson (Barbary Pirates; 1801ff); Hamilton, 1814; Foreign Conflicts and Eighteenth, Nineteenth and Twentieth Century "Race" Riots; ethnicities; reconstruction and race; Jim Crow south; Wilson (race, suffragettes); labor; (Molly Maguires, Coal Miners); Roosevelt, Truman, Kennedy, Johnson (Weatherman; 1968, Chicago); Nixon undermines Paris peace talks on the eve of the 1968 election); Nixon, Carter (Reagan

undermines hostage negotiations), Reagan, Bush, Clinton, Bush, Obama.

As you view/read, keep in mind a key question: How is “Foreign Policy” understood (Who speaks for whom, to whom, using what ideas?)

### **WATCH VIDEO INTERVIEWS** (PORTIONS OF):

- C-Span How Brave Presidents Changed America: Michael Beschloss Author Interview - Books (2012) <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=revGGC1RWc> (1.30 OF 3:00)
- William Leuchtenburg introduces his new book, "The American Presidency." (04/27/2016) with Jeff Glor on Charlie Rose at <https://charlierose.com/videos/27930> (30:53)

### **READ SELECTIONS**

- *Mead, Walter Russell, Special Providence: American Foreign Policy and How it Changed the World. New York: Knopf, 2001; Chapter 1, “The American Foreign Policy Tradition” (3-30). OPTIONAL, “Chapter 2, The Kaleidoscope of American Foreign Policy, (30-55) RECOMMENDED, Ch. 3, “Changing the Paradigms, esp 86-98 (“four schools”).*
- *Beschloss, Michael, Presidential Courage: Brave Leaders and How They Changed America 1789-1989, New York: Simon And Schuster, 2008; 36 (“A Miracle Has Taken Place”313-326); 327-331, Epilogue: Presidential Courage.*
- Leuchtenburg, William, *The American President: From Teddy Roosevelt to Bill Clinton*, New York: Oxford, 2015; How and why was the modern Presidency in domestic and foreign affairs defined by Teddy Roosevelt’s imperial reach? 23-70; Reagan, 579-673. (Is the comparison between Reagan and FD Roosevelt convincing?)
- Jentleson, Bruce W. *American Foreign Policy: The Dynamics of Choice in the 21st Century (Fifth Edition) W.W. Norton, 2014, Chapter 1 (“The Strategic Context: Foreign Policy Context and the Essence of Choice”; 1-26); Chapter 2; (“The Domestic Context: The Three Branches and the Process of Choice,) 27-55), Chapter 3 (“The Domestic Context: Inter Groups, Media and Public Opinion” 56-88).*
- Nincic, Miroslav, “External Affairs and the Electoral Connection” in *The Domestic Sources of American Foreign Policy: Insights and Evidence 6th Edition*, edited by James M. McCormick New York City: Rowman & Littlefield, 2012: 139-156.
- Shirley, Craig. How Gerald Ford beat Ronald Reagan at the last contested GOP convention. *Opinions. Washington Post* 04/22/16  
[https://www.washingtonpost.com/opinions/how-gerald-ford-outmaneuvered-ronald-reagan-at-the-last-contested-gop-convention/2016/04/22/6bed14ec-07cf-11e6-b283-e79d81c63c1b\\_story.html](https://www.washingtonpost.com/opinions/how-gerald-ford-outmaneuvered-ronald-reagan-at-the-last-contested-gop-convention/2016/04/22/6bed14ec-07cf-11e6-b283-e79d81c63c1b_story.html)
- Rapoport, “*The Four Waves of Rebel Terrorism and Sept 11,*” (III) and Martha Crenshaw, *The Causes of Terrorism (VIII) in Kegley, Charles W. (ed.) The New Global Terrorism: Characteristics, Causes, Controls (Upper Saddle*

- River, New Jersey, 2003).*
- Ginsberg, Benjamin and Theodore J. Lowi, Margaret Weir , Caroline J. Tolbert , Robert J. Spitzer, authors, *We the People: An Introduction to American Politics 10th edition*, (New York: Norton, 2015 2015), Chapter 9 ("Political Parties") 340-383) Chapter 10, ("Campaigns and Elections" ) 384-431; Chapter 13 ("The Presidency") 518-558; Chapter XVIII ("Foreign Policy and Democracy"), 724-761.
  - Howell, William G. and Jon C. Rogowski (2013), "War, the Presidency, and Legislative Voting Behavior," *American Journal of Political Science* [http://home.uchicago.edu/~whowell/papers/AJPS\\_2013](http://home.uchicago.edu/~whowell/papers/AJPS_2013)
  - Bolton, Alexander and Sharece Thrower (2015), "Legislative Capacity and Executive Unilateralism," *American Journal of Political Science* [https://static1.squarespace.com/static/53557985e4b049723f6e96f3/t/54f10fa9e4b080da0c9be231/1425084329274/ajps\\_final.pdf](https://static1.squarespace.com/static/53557985e4b049723f6e96f3/t/54f10fa9e4b080da0c9be231/1425084329274/ajps_final.pdf)
  - Dow, Bonnie J, [Reagan] The Function of Epideictic and Deliberative Strategies in Presidential Crisis Rhetoric *Western Journal of Speech Communication* 53 1989 299-310
  - Vaughn, J. S., & Villalobos, J. D., Conceptualizing and measuring White House staff influence on presidential rhetoric *Presidential Studies Quarterly*, Vol. 36, No. 4 (Dec., 2006), pp. 681-688

**POST:** Using readings, discuss at least one president, one historical event, one institutional arrangement and one policy choice that have influenced the power of the presidency (executive) in responding to domestic and/or foreign urgencies. Evaluate whether these are good or bad. POST REPLIES TO TWO OTHER POSTINGS.

+++++

+++++

+++++

### **WEEK 3. VIETNAM WAR: The Gulf of Tonkin**

**WEEK 3 Posted work Deadline Sunday**

As you read/listen and view, keep in a key question: Were the government's actions regarding the Gulf of Tonkin incident ethical? Why or why not?

**WATCH VIDEO:** LBJ: Gulf of Tonkin Incident at 1:32:53 to 1:49:04 of 3:43:29 of 1991 PBS American Experience <http://www.pbs.org/wgbh/americanexperience/films/lbj/player/>

**LISTEN TO AUDIO:** Excerpts at: 40th Anniversary of the Gulf of Tonkin Incident by John Prados Posted August 4, 2004 <http://nsarchive.gwu.edu/NSAEBB/NSAEBB132/essay.htm>

- Lewis, Professor Paul. Vietnam and Gulf of Tonkin Lecture Notes 081816
- Halberstam, David. The Best and the Brightest. Twentieth Anniversary Edition. New York: Ballantine, 1969, 1971, 1972, 1992: 77-85; 93-96; 120; IX, 401-429.
- Hanyok, Robert J. "Skunks, Bogies, Silent Hounds and the Flying Fish: The Gulf of

Tonkin Mystery, 2-4 August, 1964 *Cryptologic Quarterly* 19, no. 4/20, no. 1 (Winter 2000-Spring 2001): 1-55.  
[\[http://www.nsa.gov/public\\_info/files/gulf\\_of\\_tonkin/articles/rel1\\_skunks\\_bogies.pdf\]](http://www.nsa.gov/public_info/files/gulf_of_tonkin/articles/rel1_skunks_bogies.pdf)

- House Armed Services Committee [HASC], Memo War Powers Resolution March 21, 2011
- Johnson, James Turner. "Just War As It Was and Is." *First Things* (2005) 149:14-24.
- *Hehir, Brian, The Just War Ethic: Its Role in a Changing Strategic Context, Harvard, 4/29/2004; <http://ethics.harvard.edu/event/just-war-ethic-its-role-changing-strategic-context>*
- Johnson, President Lyndon Baines, August 4, 1964 Tapes on Gulf of Tonkin, from John Prados, *The White House Tapes* (New York: The New Press, 2003)
- Johnson, President Lyndon Baines. President's Message To Congress, August 5, 1964. U.S. Congress, Senate, Committee on Foreign Relations, 90th Congress, 1st Session, Background Information Relating to Southeast Asia and Vietnam (3d Revised Edition) (Washington, DC: U.S. Government Printing Office, July 1967), pp. 120-22.
- Congress, Gulf of Tonkin Resolution Text, Joint Resolution of Congress H.J. RES 1145 August 7, 1964.
- Johnson, Lyndon Baines. *The Vantage Point: Perspectives of the Presidency, 1963-1969*. New York: Holt, Reinhart and Winston, 1971: Chapter 3, "Steady on Course [Vietnam, 1963-1964]" 42-68; Chapter 6, "Challenge and Response" [Vietnam, 1964-1965], 112-153.
- McNamara, Robert S. McNamara Testimony S. PRT. 111-23 Executive Sessions Of The Senate Foreign Relations Committee (Historical Series) Volume XX Ninetieth Congress Second Session 1968 (Made Public 2010) Printed For The Gulf Of Tonkin The 1964 Incidents.
- McNamara, Robert S. with Brian VanDeMark, "The Tonkin Gulf Resolution: July 30-Aug 7, 1964" from Robert S. McNamara, Robert S. with Brian VanDeMark, *In Retrospect: The Tragedy and Lessons of Vietnam*, New York: Vintage Press, 1996: 127-133.
- Prados, John, Essay 40th Anniversary of the Gulf of Tonkin Incident, August 4, 2004.
- White House Staff Meeting, 5 August, 1964.
- *Winkler, Carol K. "The Vietnam War and Communist Terrorists," In the Name of Terrorism: Presidents on Political Violence in the Post-World War II Era (Suny Series on the Presidency: Contemporary Issues; Suny Series in the Trajectory of Terror, 2006), 17-36.*



**WEEK 4. 09/11, RESPONSES TO TERROR AND JUST WAR ETHICS:**  
**WEEK 4 Posted work Deadline Sunday**

Candidates, Parties, Executive, Congressional, Judicial, International, Philosophical, Religious

## Traditions

As you read, view and listen, keep in mind two **key questions**: Who has learned what, why and how? What are the policy implications of the event, its memory and responses?

### WATCH VIDEO : (SELECTIONS)

- **Inside the White House on 9/11; Top Secret America (09/2015) | FRONTLINE (50:05)**  
<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=ydBCdCGsPD0>
- **The Man Who Knew (John O’Neill) (10/3/02) (1:26)**  
<http://www.pbs.org/wgbh/frontline/article/remembering-911-three-docs-to-watch/>
- **LISTEN TO “How 9/11 Changed How Americans View the World,” Talk of the Nation, National Public Radio, Sept. 10, 2012. Available:**  
<http://www.npr.org/2012/09/10/160886676/how-9-11-changed-how-americasees-the-world> . (30:00)
- **(OPTIONAL) Faith And Doubt At Ground Zero (09/03/2002) (1:54)**  
<http://www.pbs.org/wgbh/frontline/film/showsfaith/>
- **(OPTIONAL COMPARE)**
  - **Watch:** “Ich bin ein Berliner” (speech), President John F. Kennedy, Berlin Wall, June 26, 1963. Online:  
<http://millercenter.org/president/speeches/detail/3376> .  
<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=56V6r2dpYH8>
  - **Watch:** “President Reagan’s Address at the Brandenburg Gate in West Berlin Germany,” June 12, 1987. Online:  
<http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=5MDFXdNtsM> .  
<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=5MDFX-dNtsM>
  - **Watch:** “Remarks from Ground Zero,” President George W. Bush, September 14, 2001. Online:  
[http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=U\\_Yoq5PVcql](http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=U_Yoq5PVcql) .
  - (Adapting and Thanks to B Alexander)

### READ SELECTIONS

- Olson, Kathryn M. "Constraining Open Deliberations In Times of War: Presidential War Justifications for Grenada and the Persian Gulf." *Argumentation and Advocacy* 27 (1991): 64-79.
- Savage, Charlie. *Takeover: The Return of the Imperial Presidency and the Subversion of American Democracy*, (New York: Back Bay Books, 2007) Chapters 1 and 2 at [http://www.charliesavage.com/?page\\_id=81](http://www.charliesavage.com/?page_id=81) ; [http://www.charliesavage.com/?page\\_id=235](http://www.charliesavage.com/?page_id=235) Former Vice President Dick Cheney served in many roles. How did these different roles—and his

*understanding of the need for presidential power lead to his emphasis on the need for an "imperial presidency"?*

- Leffler, Melvin P. "The Foreign Policies of the George W. Bush Administration: Memoirs, History, Legacy," *Diplomatic History* 37 (April 2013), pp. 190–216
  - Cook, Martin, Glen Stassen, Jean Bethke Elshtain, James Turner Johnson. *Terrorism & Just War*, *Christian Century* Nov. 14, 2001
  - Kelsay, John. *Osama bin Laden and the Just Conduct of War*, *America* October 2001 <http://americamagazine.org/issue/345/article/osama-bin-laden-and-just-conduct-war>
  - Arendt, Hannah, "Reflections On Violence," *New York Review of Books*, February 27, 1969 (excerpted July 11, 2013). Available: <http://www.nybooks.com/articles/1969/02/27/a-special-supplement-reflections-on-violence/>
  - Ricks, Thomas R. *Fiasco: The American Military Adventure in Iraq, 2003-2005*, New York: Penguin, 2007, "This Changes Everything: The Aftermath of 09/11", 29-46.
  - Gates, Robert. *A Passion for Leadership: Lessons on Change and Reform from Fifty Years of Public Service*. New York: Knopf, 2016;
  - McMahon, Robert Balance of War Powers: The U.S. President and Congress, CFR Backgrounders, Council on Foreign Relations 06/21/2011; <http://www.cfr.org/united-states/balance-war-powers-us-president-congress/p13092>
  - White House. May 2010. National Security Strategy. [https://www.whitehouse.gov/sites/default/files/rss\\_viewer/national\\_security\\_strategy.pdf](https://www.whitehouse.gov/sites/default/files/rss_viewer/national_security_strategy.pdf)
  - White House February 2015, National Security Strategy [https://www.whitehouse.gov/sites/default/files/docs/2015\\_national\\_security\\_strategy.pdf](https://www.whitehouse.gov/sites/default/files/docs/2015_national_security_strategy.pdf)
  - Yoder, John Howard. *Nevertheless. The Varieties and Shortcomings of Religious Pacifism*. Scotsdale, PA: Herald Press, 1971. Revised 1992. Ebook at <http://tyndale.worldcat.org/title/nevertheless-the-varieties-and-shortcomings-of-religious-pacifism/oclc/45732743>; <http://www.tyndale.ca/seminary/mtsm modular/reading-rooms/theology/yoder> ;
  - Yoder, John Howard, *Just War Tradition: Is it Credible?*, *The Christian Century* (March 13, 1991): 295-298. At <http://www3.nd.edu/~theo/jhy/writings/justwar/credible.htm>
- **POST:** *What were you doing on 09/11? How is the world different than then for you? How did people in the administration respond to threats (e.g. Vice President Cheney?) OR how would you compare different styles of Presidential power and leadership as different crises were faced?*

(Adapting and Thanks to B Alexander)





## **WEEK 5. IRAQ WAR(S):**

### **WEEK 5 Posted work Deadline Sunday**

2003 Invasion of Iraq, Defeat of Baathism, Capture of Hussein, Insurgency, Surge : Roles of media, Candidates, Parties, Executive, Congressional, Judicial, International, Philosophical, Religious Traditions (election impact of occupation, insurrection, insurgency, counter-insurgency, sovereignty, future Americans in country)

As you read, view and write, keep in mind three questions: How were political arguments shaped by a key ethical issue? Was it a Just or Unjust War to invade Iraq, defeat Baathism, capture Saddam Hussein and respond to post-conflict insurgencies (was force justified, how was it used, how was the post-conflict situation handled)? Did the use of force in Iraq help or hinder efforts against terrorism elsewhere?

### **WATCH VIDEOS:**

- Chuck Hagel questions Petraeus and Crocker Iraq Surge report (09/11/2007) (30:04)| CLIP OF [STATUS OF WAR IN IRAQ](https://www.c-span.org/video/?c4288896/chuck-hagel-questions-petraeus-crocker)  
<https://www.c-span.org/video/?c4288896/chuck-hagel-questions-petraeus-crocker>
- Peter Mansoor, General David Petraeus's executive officer in 2007 and 2008, talked about his book, *Surge: My Journey with General David Petraeus and the Remaking of the Iraq War* (02/06/2014) (1:24:53)  
<https://www.c-span.org/video/?317658-1/book-discussion-surge>

### **READ SELECTIONS**

- Savage, Charlie, *Takeover: The Return of the Imperial Presidency and the Subversion of American Democracy*. (New York: Little Brown and Company, 2007), II, pp. 10-38; "The Fall of the Imperial Presidency and the Rise of Dick Cheney, 1789-1976"
- Savage, Charlie, *Power Wars: Inside Obama's Post-9/11 Presidency* (New York: Little, Brown and Co 2015) INDEX:  
[http://www.charliesavage.com/?page\\_id=519](http://www.charliesavage.com/?page_id=519), Chapter 2, "Acting Like Bush" 32-74
- Winkler, C. (2007). Parallels in preemptive war rhetoric: Reagan on Libya, Bush 43 on Iraq. *Rhetoric & Public Affairs*, 10, 303–334.
- Bob Woodward, *Plan of Attack: The Definitive Account of the Decision to Invade Iraq*. New York: Simon and Schuster, 2004 and Review by Ted Widmer 04/28/04 New York Times, "Plan of Attack: All the President's Mentors" at <http://www.nytimes.com/2004/04/28/books/review/plan-of-attack-all-the-presidents-mentors.html> ; Selection on how and why President Bush decided to go to war against Iraq, see: Behind Diplomatic Moves, Military Plan Was Launched 'We're Going to Have to Go to War,' Bush Said to Rice By Bob

Woodward at <http://www.washingtonpost.com/wp-dyn/articles/A19691-2004Apr17.html>

- Gray, Colin S. "The Implications of Preemptive and Preventive War Doctrines: A Reconsideration," Strategic Studies Institute, July 2007, <http://www.strategicstudiesinstitute.army.mil/pdffiles/pub789.pdf>.
- Monten, Jonathan; Andrew Bennett (2010). "Models of Crisis Decision Making and the 1990–91 Gulf War". *Security Studies* 19: 486–520. doi:10.1080/09636412.2010.505129
- Powell, Colin. *My American Journey*, with Joseph E. Persico. New York: Ballantine Books, 1996, *Afterward*, 1996, esp 85-105 (Vietnam Experience)
- Powell, Colin L. U.S. Forces: Challenges Ahead *Foreign Affairs* Winter 1992 Issue 5 Vol. 71 pp. 32-45 <http://www.cfr.org/world/us-forces-challenges-ahead/p7508> [What became known as The Powell Doctrine, summarized at [http://military.wikia.com/wiki/Powell\\_Doctrine](http://military.wikia.com/wiki/Powell_Doctrine)]; <http://web.archive.org/web/20130116194223/http://www.pbs.org/newshour/extra/teachers/lessonplans/iraq/powelldoctrine.html>
- Powell, Colin, with Tony Koltz, *It Worked for Me: Lessons In Life and Leadership*. New York: Harper, 2014 (Chapter 1, "My Thirteen Rules")
- LaFeber, Walter (March 2009). "The Rise and Fall of Colin Powell and the Powell Doctrine" *Political Science Quarterly* 124 (1): 71–93.
- Weinberger, Kaspar W. "The Uses of Military Power" 11/28/84 National Press Club, Washington , DC [aka "The Weinberger Doctrine, later revised as "the Powell Doctrine"] <http://www.pbs.org/wgbh/pages/frontline/shows/military/force/weinberger.html>; [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Weinberger\\_Doctrine](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Weinberger_Doctrine)
- Filkins, Dexter. *The Forever War*, New York: Vintage, 2009, "Prologue: Hells Bells, Fallujah, Iraq, 2004" (pp 3-13)
- Ricks, Thomas R. *Fiasco: The American Military Adventure in Iraq, 2003-2005*, New York: Penguin, 2007, Intro/ ("A Bad Ending" 1-12); VI. ("The Silence of the Lambs" ), 85-115; VIII. (How to Create an Insurgency I") 149-188; ("How to Create an Insurgency II), 189-202.
- Hashim, Ahmed, *Insurgency and Counter-Insurgency in Iraq*. Ithaca, New York: Cornell University Press, 2006: II "Origins and Motives of the Insurgency" (59-124).
- Lockett John, S., Domke, D., Coe, K., & Graham, E. S. (2007). Going public, crisis after crisis: The Bush administration and the press from September 11 to Saddam. *Rhetoric & Public Affairs*, 10, 195-219.
- Ricks, Thomas R. *The Gamble: General Petraeus and the American Military Adventure in Iraq* New York: Penguin, 2010; "After the Surge (Summer, 2008)", 294-306.
- Simons, H. W. (2007). From post-9/11 melodrama to quagmire in Iraq: A rhetorical history. *Rhetoric & Public Affairs*, 10, 183-194. ; at [http://astro.temple.edu/~hsimons/from-post-9\\_11.html](http://astro.temple.edu/~hsimons/from-post-9_11.html)
- Hartnett, S. J., & Mercieca, J. R. (2007). "A discovered dissembler can achieve nothing great"; or, four theses on the death of presidential rhetoric in an age of empire. *Presidential Studies Quarterly*, 37 (2007): 599–621.



**POST: PRO/CON debates: Just or Unjust? The Iraq Wars Debate: WAS IRAQ INVASION/WAR(S) JUST/UNJUST AND WHY (NOT)?**

- Johnson, James Turner. [Just] "Just War As It Was and Is." First Things (2005) 149:14-24.
- Neuhaus, Richard John, [Just:] Iraq and the Moral Judgment: First Things, 10/2005 <http://www.firstthings.com/article/2005/10/iraq-and-the-moral-judgement>
- Weigel, George. [Just:] Just War and Iraq Wars. First Things 04/2007 <http://www.firstthings.com/article/2007/04/just-war-and-iraq-wars>
- Russell Shaw, [Unjust] (12/12/2007) <http://www.catholicity.com/commentary/rshaw/01887.html>
- Christiansen, Drew. [Unjust] Whither the Just War? America (03/24/2003): <http://americamagazine.org/issue/427/article/whither-just-war>
- Hehir, Brian, [Unjust] The Just War Ethic: Its Role in a Changing Strategic Context, Harvard, 04/29/2004; <http://ethics.harvard.edu/event/just-war-ethic-its-role-changing-strategic-context>
- United States Conference of Catholic Bishops, A Statement of Bishop Thomas G. Wenski Bishop of Orlando Chairman, USCCB Committee on International Policy, [Unjust] Disproportionate: "Toward a Responsible Transition in Iraq," January 12, 2006; <http://www.usccb.org/issues-and-action/human-life-and-dignity/global-issues/middle-east/iraq/statement-by-bishop-wenski-toward-a-responsible-transition-in-iraq-2006-01-12.cfm>
- "Readings on the Iraq War Debate/ "War on Terror" [catholicjustwartradition.blogspot.com/2008/01/additional-readings-on-iraq-war-debate.html](http://catholicjustwartradition.blogspot.com/2008/01/additional-readings-on-iraq-war-debate.html); <http://www.ratzingerfanclub.com/justwar/> ; <http://catholicjustwartradition.blogspot.com/2008/01/iraq-war-debate-james-turner-johnson.html>
- United States Conference of Catholic Bishops, The Challenge of Peace: God's Promise and Our Response A Pastoral Letter on War and Peace by the National Conference of Catholic Bishops May 3, 1983 See sections #71-101 on "Just War Criteria" <http://www.usccb.org/upload/challenge-peace-gods-promise-our-response-1983.pdf> Also see: <http://www.americancatholic.org/News/JustWar/justwar.asp>
- United States Conference of Catholic Bishops, The Harvest Of Justice Is Sown In Peace A Reflection of the National Conference of Catholic Bishops on the Tenth Anniversary of The Challenge of Peace November 17, 1993 <http://www.usccb.org/beliefs-and-teachings/what-we-believe/catholic-social-teaching/the-harvest-of-justice-is-sown-in-peace.cfm> (Restates just war criteria and applies them to era of applied airpower and humanitarian intervention)

+++++

+++++

+++++

**WEEK 6. AFGHAN WAR(S) AND BIN LADEN OPERATION:**

**WEEK 6** *Posted work Deadline Sunday*

Counter-Insurgency, Roles of media, Candidates, Parties, Executive, Congressional, Judicial, International, Philosophical, Religious Traditions (election impact of occupation,

sovereignty, future Americans in country)

As you read, view and write, keep in mind two key questions: How did Afghan war(s)/bin Laden operation impact electoral politics? Is “counter-insurgency” a solution or part of the problem in Afghanistan?

### **WATCH VIDEO:**

Presidential Statement Death Osama bin Laden (05/02/11) (9:40)

<http://www.c-span.org/video/?299281-1/presidential-statement-death-osama-bin-laden>

- 'We Got Him': President Obama, Bin Laden and the Future of the War on Terror" on "Anderson Cooper 360°" Monday 05/2/16  
<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=QK8h9qbrR0Q>

### **READ SELECTIONS**

- Charlie Savage, *Power Wars: Inside Obama's Post-9/11 Presidency* (New York: Little, Brown and Co 2015) INDEX:  
[http://www.charliesavage.com/?page\\_id=519](http://www.charliesavage.com/?page_id=519) , Chapter 6, “Targeted Killing” 224-293, esp 256-271
- Mahler, Jonathan, What Do We Really Know About Osama bin Laden’s Death? The history of Obama’s most important foreign-policy victory is still being written. *New York Times* 10/18/2015;  
<http://www.nytimes.com/2015/10/18/magazine/what-do-we-really-know-about-osama-bin-ladens-death.html>
- Hastings, Michael, COIN IN AFGHANISTAN AND POLITICS IN WASHINGTON; (July 8–22, 2010). "The Runaway General". *Rolling Stone*,  
<http://www.rollingstone.com/politics/news/the-runaway-general-20100622>
- Bergen, Peter. How Petraeus Changed the U.S. Military.” *CNN* 11/11/12;  
<http://www.cnn.com/2012/11/10/opinion/bergen-petraeus-legacy/>
- Smith, MLR and David Martin Jones. *The Political Impossibility of Modern Counterinsurgency: Strategic Problems, Puzzles, and Paradoxes*. Series: *Columbia Studies in Terrorism and Irregular Warfare* Copyright Date: 2015; Conclusion, 179-187. At  
<https://www.ciaonet.org/attachments/27869/uploads?1438792990>
- Army, Headquarters. COIN, FM 3-24 MCWP 3-33.5 *Insurgencies And Countering Insurgencies*. May 2014. Approved for Public Release.  
<http://fas.org/irp/doddir/army/fm3-24.pdf> ; United States’ Strategy and Policy to Counter an Insurgency, 1-4; Legitimacy and Control, 1-8; [Direct Methods] Shape-Clear-Hold-Build-Transition Framework, 9-1; [Indirect Methods]; Identify, Separate, Isolate, Influence, and Reintegrate; [prohibition against] torture; 13-7; 13-8; 13-9; 13-10.
- **Landler, Mark. How Hilary Became a Hawk, *New York Times Magazine* 04/24/16** [http://www.nytimes.com/2016/04/24/magazine/how-hillary-clinton-became-a-hawk.html?\\_r=0](http://www.nytimes.com/2016/04/24/magazine/how-hillary-clinton-became-a-hawk.html?_r=0) adapted from Landler, Mark “Alter

**Egos: Hillary Clinton, Barack Obama and the Twilight Struggle Over American Power,” published New York: Random House, 2016.**

**ASSIGNED POST:** As you read, view and write, keep in mind three questions How did the Afghan war/bin Laden assassination impact electoral politics?

Index to Charlie Savage’s Power Wars, See [http://www.charliesavage.com/?page\\_id=519](http://www.charliesavage.com/?page_id=519)

Abbotabad compound; as al-Qaeda leader; CIA proposal for attacking in 1998; indictment for al-Qaeda’s bombings of embassies in Africa; intelligence leading to; interment of body; kill or capture option of raid; legality of raid; and Obama’s courses of action; Operation Neptune Spear; as target.

++++  
++++  
++++

### **WEEK 7. POLITICS OF COUNTER-TERRORISM:**

**WEEK 7** Posted work Deadline Sunday

CASE: Measuring the Political Impact of CT Policies (roles of media, civil liberties and national security): Candidates, Parties, Executive, Congressional, Judicial, International, Philosophical, Religious Traditions

Keep two key questions in mind as you read, watch videos and write: How do and which CT policies impact electoral politics? According to readings how does one balance Leadership, Civil Liberties, Privacy, National Security And Terrorism Suspects Rights?

### **WATCH VIDEOS:**

- **INTERVIEWS WITH ROBERT GATES:** “What Should the Next President Do As Leader?” 01/22/2016 C-SPAN: (58:17) <http://www.c-span.org/video/?402922-1/ga-robert-gates>
- **FBI DIRECTOR JAMES COMEY SPEECH** "The Expectation of Privacy: Encryption, Surveillance, & Big Data" on April 6, 2016 at Kenyon College: (1:20) <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=ovGGihesFaY>

### **READ SELECTIONS**

#### **Read selections:**

- Charlie Savage, Power Wars: Inside Obama's Post-9/11 Presidency (New York: Little, Brown and Co 2015), Chapter 5 (Stellarwind; Surveillance, 1928-2009) 162-223; The Leak Crackdown 350-415; Secrecy And Secret Laws 415-475; Institutionalized (Surveillance 2009-2015), 555-627. INDEX: [http://www.charliesavage.com/?page\\_id=519](http://www.charliesavage.com/?page_id=519); terrorism suspects
- Robert Gates, A Passion for Leadership: Lessons on Change and Reform from

Fifty Years of Public Service. New York: Knopf, 2016; Chapter 1, “Why Bureaucracies So Often Fail Us”; Chapter 3, “Formulating A Strategy”; Chapter 4, “Techniques for Implementing Change”; Chapter 7, “The Agent of Change: ‘Mirror, Mirror, on the Wall’”

- Silver, Nate; Five-Thirty-Eight Website see <http://fivethirtyeight.com/>; <http://fivethirtyeight.com/tag/terrorism/> (If Americans Perceive A World In Chaos, Will They Turn To Trump? 07/19/16)
- Hayden, Michael V. Playing to the Edge: American Intelligence in An Age of Terror (New York: Penguin, 2016 5 (“Stellarwind”) , 18 (“There will be No Explaining Our Inaction”); See Reviews; Savage, Charlie, General Hayden’s Offensive, New York Review of Books, 5/26/2016, <http://www.nybooks.com/articles/2016/05/26/general-haydens-offensive/> ; <http://www.nybooks.com/articles/2016/05/26/general-haydens-offensive/?printpage=true> ; by Packer, George, Can You Keep a Secret? The former C.I.A. chief Michael Hayden on torture and transparency. The New Yorker, March 7, 2016, <http://www.newyorker.com/magazine/2016/03/07/michael-hayden-comes-out-of-the-shadows>

**ASSIGNED POST ON** ASSIGNED POST: How do and which CT policies impact electoral politics? According to readings how does one balance Leadership, Civil Liberties, Privacy, National Security And Terrorism Suspects Rights? (Cite specific examples with pros and cons. Respond to two other postings).

+++++

### **WEEK 8. TORTURE AND RESPONSES:**

***WEEK 8 Posted work Deadline Sunday***

CASE: Roles of Media, Candidates, Parties, Executive, Congressional, Judicial, International, Philosophical, Religious Traditions

As you read, view and write keep in mind three questions: How is torture defined? According to what criteria are claims right or wrong about mistreatment and custody (for enemy combatants, accused criminals or suspects)? How do claims about torture impact electoral politics and foreign policy?

### **WATCH VIDEOS:**

**Kirk, Michael. Secrets, Politics, Torture, FRONTLINE, May 19, 2015 (54:30)**  
<http://www.pbs.org/wgbh/frontline/film/secrets-politics-and-torture/>

### **READ SELECTIONS**

- Charlie Savage, *Power Wars: Inside Obama's Post-9/11 Presidency* (New York:

*Little, Brown and Co 2015) INDEX:*

[http://www.charliesavage.com/?page\\_id=519](http://www.charliesavage.com/?page_id=519) Chapter 7 (“Ratchet”), 293-350; especially 114-116; 299-325; 334-339; “torture” and “interrogation practices”

- Senate Intelligence Committee Study on CIA Detention and Interrogation Program (December 2014)  
<http://www.feinstein.senate.gov/public/index.cfm/senate-intelligence-committee-study-on-cia-detention-and-interrogation-program> See “Executive Summary” At  
[http://www.feinstein.senate.gov/public/index.cfm/files/serve?File\\_id=7c85429a-ec38-4bb5-968f-289799bf6d0e&SK=D500C4EBC500E1D256BA519211895909](http://www.feinstein.senate.gov/public/index.cfm/files/serve?File_id=7c85429a-ec38-4bb5-968f-289799bf6d0e&SK=D500C4EBC500E1D256BA519211895909)
- National Journal Staff, December 9 2014. The Senate’s Torture Report: What You Need to Know;  
<https://www.nationaljournal.com/s/619354?mref=search-result>
- Lyte, Brittany, Americans Have Grown More Supportive Of Torture, 12/09/2014 at <http://fivethirtyeight.com/datalab/senate-torture-report-public-opinion/>

**POST ASSIGNED ESSAY** ON “Torture” and “Interrogation Practices,” Savage, 2015:

*QUESTION: What is a definition of torture (custody and mistreatment)? According to what criteria is torture right or wrong? HOW does torture impact electoral politics?*

*Index to Charlie Savage’s Power Wars, See [http://www.charliesavage.com/?page\\_id=519](http://www.charliesavage.com/?page_id=519)*

*George W. Bush’s authorization of; George W. Bush’s legal reasoning concerning; George W. Bush’s torture memos; effectiveness of evidence obtained under; and executive power; and extraordinary rendition; Geneva Convention Against Torture; Holder’s criminal investigation of; Obama’s ban on, campaign speeches on; and Office of Legal Counsel; Senate investigation of; waterboarding; interrogation practices; army field manual techniques; and George W. Bush’s policies; and George W. Bush’s state secrets privilege; enhanced interrogation’s legality and techniques; of Federal Bureau of Investigation; and Miranda warning; Obama’s detention policy; Obama’s executive order restricting techniques; Obama’s interagency task force on*

+++++

**WEEK 9. GITMO:**

**WEEK 9** Posted work Deadline Sunday

CASE: History and Legal Background: Roles of Media, Candidates, Parties, Executive, Congressional, Judicial, International, Philosophical, Religious Traditions

Key four key questions in mind: How are GITMO issues defined? According to what criteria are claims right or wrong about mistreatment and custody (for enemy combatants, accused criminals or suspects)? How do claims about GITMO impact electoral politics and foreign policy? How do and which policies balance Leadership, Civil Liberties, Privacy, National Security And Terrorism Suspects Rights?

### **WATCH VIDEOS:**

**Interview:** Paul Lewis and Charlie Savage, "GITMO"

### **READ SELECTIONS**

- Charlie Savage, *Power Wars: Inside Obama's Post-9/11 Presidency* (New York: Little, Brown and Co 2015) INDEX: [http://www.charliesavage.com/?page\\_id=519](http://www.charliesavage.com/?page_id=519) Chapter 4, **101-162** ("Look Forward, Not Back, Captives 2009"), 101-162; Chapter 7 ("Ratchet"), **293-350**; Chapter 11)
- Luban, David. What Would Augustine Do? The President, Drones, and Just War Theory *Boston Review Online* June 6, 2012. <http://bostonreview.net/david-luban-the-president-drones-augustine-just-war-theory>

**POST ASSIGNED GITMO QUESTION:** *viz.*, How are GITMO issues defined? According to what criteria are claims right or wrong about mistreatment and custody (for enemy combatants, accused criminals or suspects)? How do claims about GITMO impact electoral politics and foreign policy?

*Savage, 2015: Index to Charlie Savage's Power Wars,*  
See [http://www.charliesavage.com/?page\\_id=519](http://www.charliesavage.com/?page_id=519)

*Guantánamo Bay Naval Base, Cuba; alternatives to; George W. Bush's opening and goals for closure of; civil trials for detainees of; conditional transfers of Yemeni detainees; Congressional restrictions on transfer of detainees; costs of; force-feeding detainees; and Geneva Convention Against Torture; habeas corpus rights of detainees; Hamdan decision on protection of detainees; hunger strike of detainees; indefinite detention of detainees; military commission trials; moratorium on repatriation of Yemeni detainees; Obama forbidding new prisoners to; Obama's closing detention center; Obama's executive order for parole-like hearings of detainees; Obama's interagency task force on detainees; Obama's policies toward detainees of; prison conditions; recidivism rate of detainees; recidivism rate of detainees; torture of detainees; transfer of detainees from*

++++  
++++  
++++

**WEEK 10. DRONES:****WEEK 10** *Posted work Deadline Sunday*

CASE: History and Legal Background: Roles of Media, Candidates, Parties, Executive, Congressional, Judicial, International, Philosophical, Religious Traditions

**Key questions** about drone usage include: On what grounds is drone usage defensible (just war)? Can Drone use be rule governed? If so—should it be supported—if not can it be controlled? How does drone usage impact electoral politics or foreign relations?

**WATCH VIDEOS:**

Frontline “Rise of the Drones” (1/23/13) 53:04

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=HopKAYthJV4>

**REVIEW Discussion/ Response:** <http://fair.org/take-action/action-alerts/pbs-drone-coverage-brought-to-you-by-drone-makers/> :

**[Review] DRONE STRIKE MAPS websites (media sourced and unvetted)**

- **Globally—map and satellite telemetry 2002-2013;** [https://fusiontables.googleusercontent.com/embedviz?q=select+col17+from+1xNnxQuZwV8y3q\\_PiWqQLkMcWXm\\_MVY6nuCVGnqY&viz=MAP&h=false&lat=32.316540002146446&lng=71.66347768750005&t=1&z=7&l=col17&y=3&tmplt=5](https://fusiontables.googleusercontent.com/embedviz?q=select+col17+from+1xNnxQuZwV8y3q_PiWqQLkMcWXm_MVY6nuCVGnqY&viz=MAP&h=false&lat=32.316540002146446&lng=71.66347768750005&t=1&z=7&l=col17&y=3&tmplt=5;);
- **Iraq:** <http://isis.liveuamap.com/en/time/22.05.2016>
- **Syria:** <http://isis.liveuamap.com/en/time/22.05.2016>
- **Pakistan:** <http://wherethedronesstrike.com/report/83> ; <http://wherethedronesstrike.com/> ; <http://drones.pitchinteractive.com/> **Discussion at** <https://bretterblog.wordpress.com/2013/06/20/obtaining-and-mapping-us-drone-strike-data-with-r-and-google-fusion-tables/>
- **Afghanistan:** <http://www.mapreport.com/cmonth/May-2016-afghanistan.html>
- **Yemen;** <http://www.mapreport.com/citysubtopics/yemen-w-w.html>
- **Somalia:** <http://www.mapreport.com/citysubtopics/somalia-w-w.html>

**READ SELECTIONS**

- *Charlie Savage, Power Wars: Inside Obama's Post-9/11 Presidency (New York: Little, Brown and Co 2015) INDEX:*  
[http://www.charliesavage.com/?page\\_id=519](http://www.charliesavage.com/?page_id=519) Chapter 6, “Targeted Killing” 224-293, **especially 271-290**;
- *Gerstein, Josh. “Obama releases drone strike 'playbook'” Under the Radar Josh Gerstein on the Courts, Transparency, & More Politico 0816/16*  
<http://www.politico.com/blogs/under-the-radar/2016/08/obama-releases-drone-strike-playbook-226760>
- *Presidential Policy Guidance (05/22/2013) Procedures For Approving Direct Action Against Terrorist Targets Located Outside The United States And Areas Of Active Hostilities at*



[https://www.aclu.org/sites/default/files/field\\_document/presidential\\_policy\\_guidance.pdf](https://www.aclu.org/sites/default/files/field_document/presidential_policy_guidance.pdf)

- Luban, David. What Would Augustine Do? The President, Drones, and Just War Theory Boston Review Online June 6, 2012. <http://bostonreview.net/david-luban-the-president-drones-augustine-just-war-theory>
- Lewis, Michael W. Clearing the Air: The Real Reason Why Drones are the Weapon of Choice in Counterterrorism and Why That is a Good Thing for Civilians Engage [The Federalist Society for Law and Public Policy Studies] Volume 14, Issue 3 October 2013 <http://www.fed-soc.org/publications/detail/clearing-the-air-the-real-reason-why-drones-are-the-weapon-of-choice-in-counterterrorism-and-why-that-is-a-good-thing-for-civilians>
- Byman, Daniel, "Why Drones Work: The Case for Washington's Weapon of Choice," Foreign Affairs (July/August 2013), pp. 32-43. <https://www.brookings.edu/articles/why-drones-work-the-case-for-washingtons-weapon-of-choice/>
- Davis, Lynn E. and Michael J. McNerney, James S. Chow, Thomas Hamilton, Sarah Harting, Daniel Byman [RAND] "Armed and Dangerous? UAVs and U.S. Security" (Spring 2014), pp. 1-31 [http://www.rand.org/pubs/research\\_reports/RR449.html](http://www.rand.org/pubs/research_reports/RR449.html)
- Shane, Scott, "Drone Strikes Reveal Uncomfortable Truth: U.S. Is Often Unsure About Who Will Die," New York Times, April 23, 2015 [http://www.nytimes.com/2015/04/24/world/asia/drone-strikes-reveal-uncomfortable-truth-us-is-often-unsure-about-who-will-die.html?\\_r=0](http://www.nytimes.com/2015/04/24/world/asia/drone-strikes-reveal-uncomfortable-truth-us-is-often-unsure-about-who-will-die.html?_r=0)
- Zenko, Micah, "Reforming US Drone Strike Policies" Council on Foreign Relations (2013) [http://i.cfr.org/content/publications/attachments/Drones\\_CSR65.pdf](http://i.cfr.org/content/publications/attachments/Drones_CSR65.pdf)
- Walsh, James Igoe and Marcus Schulzke. The Ethics of Drone Strikes: Does Reducing the Cost of Conflict Encourage War? U.S. Army War College Strategic Studies Institute. September 2015.

### **POST ASSIGNED DRONE QUESTION:**

*Index to Charlie Savage's Power Wars, See [http://www.charliesavage.com/?page\\_id=519](http://www.charliesavage.com/?page_id=519); aid workers killed by; on Anwar al-Awlaki; George W. Bush's use of; CIA drone strikes in Pakistan; CIA drone strikes in Yemen; and intelligence reports; and international law; and legal issues; and March 13 Standard; and national security law; Obama's continuity with George W. Bush's national security policy; Obama's use of; in Yemen; Kill List; John Brennan on Strengthening Our Security; Attorney General Holder Speech at Northwestern Law School; Too Much Power for a President?; John Brennan on Efficacy and Ethics of US CT Strategy; Secret US Memo: compare to actual memo; More Thoughts on Kill List; Future for Drones; AF Drones*

+++++

+++++



**WEEK 11. CYBER-CONFLICT:****WEEK 11** Posted work Deadline Sunday

CASE: Marketing Strategy, Cyber-Crime, Cyberwarfare? Candidates, Parties, Executive, Congressional, Judicial, International, Philosophical, Religious Traditions

As you read, view videos and write, keep **four key questions** in mind: How are CYBER-Conflict issues defined (war, crime, economic opportunity)? According to what criteria are claims right or wrong about cyber-conflicts (for enemy combatants, accused criminals or civilian suspects, market entrepreneurs)? How do claims about CYBER-CONFLICT impact electoral politics and foreign policy? How do and which policies balance Leadership, Civil Liberties, Privacy, National Security And CYBER-CONFLICT Rights?

**WATCH VIDEO INTERVIEWS (Select One) :**

- (09/24/15) **Intelligence and Cyber-Security**, National Security Agency Director Michael Rogers, <http://www.c-span.org/video/?328309-1/hearing-cybersecurity> (1:26)
- (09/11/2015) **Worldwide Cybersecurity Threats, House (Select) Intelligence Committee Hearing**, Representative Devin Nunes (R-CA) Witnesses: Director of National Intelligence James Clapper; CIA Director John Brennan; Defense Intelligence Agency Director Lt. Gen. Vincent Stewart; FBI Director James Comey; and National Security Agency Director Adm. Michael Rogers (01:46) <http://www.c-span.org/video/?328021-1/hearing-worldwide-cybersecurity-threats>
- (09/28/15) **Cybersecurity Policy, Senate Armed Services Committee**, Director of National Intelligence James Clapper, Deputy Defense Secretary Robert Work, and U.S. Cyber Command Commander Michael Rogers (2:16) <http://www.c-span.org/video/?328411-1/hearing-cybersecurity-policy>
- Suggestion?: Greg Jaffe (Washington Post) Interviews Robert Gates on terrorism/national security advice for new administration, (based on Jaffe's Review of Gates' Memoir at [https://www.washingtonpost.com/opinions/book-review-duty-memoirs-of-a-secretary-at-war-by-robert-m-gates/2014/01/07/0d8acad0-634d-11e3-a373-0f9f2d1c2b61\\_story.html?hpid=z1](https://www.washingtonpost.com/opinions/book-review-duty-memoirs-of-a-secretary-at-war-by-robert-m-gates/2014/01/07/0d8acad0-634d-11e3-a373-0f9f2d1c2b61_story.html?hpid=z1))

**READ SELECTIONS**

- Charlie Savage, *Power Wars: Inside Obama's Post-9/11 Presidency* (New York: Little, Brown and Co 2015) 5 ("Stellarwind"), 8 ("Leak Crackdown") 11 Institutionalized ("Surveillance")
- Cyber Security as "Crime" model; Cyber Security Task Force Takes 'Whole Government' Approach 10/20/14 <https://www.fbi.gov/news/stories/2014/october/cyber-security-task-force-takes-whole-government-approach/>

**POST:** ASSIGNED Cyber Conflict question.

+++++

## WEEK 12. HUMANITARIAN INTERVENTION:

**WEEK 12** *Posted work Deadline SUNDAY*

Case Study: Topic Kosovo: Political Support For Multilateral Humanitarian Intervention Against State Terrorism **CASE: FRAMING CASE by WJB "Izbica Massacre"**  
(Supplemented online with video, imagery, telemetry and Hague Court Tribunal documentation).

We ask **key questions** about state terrorism: How is state terrorism, ethnic cleansing and humanitarian intervention defined and described? Who is responsible, why and how, for protecting persons against acts of terror committed by governments (state actors)? What responses are appropriate and what risks are involved in acting and not acting for whom? How do and which human rights abuses impact electoral politics?

### WATCH VIDEOS:

- Interview Samantha Power (with posted transcript): A Problem From Hell: America and the Age of Genocide at <http://www.booknotes.org/Watch/170542-1/Samantha+Power.aspx>
- **[MPG] Videotape of Izbica Massacre (extracts) (English, 1 Pages)**  
United Nations International Criminal Tribunal at the Hague Evidence IT-02-54:Milosevic English • Pages: 1 • Document Type: Exhibit  
P308A • Date: 03/09/2002 • By: Prosecution Translations  
**ADDITIONAL Izbica Massacre VIDEO AT**  
<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=od45ckxZmfg>
- **OPTIONAL REVIEW/WATCH SELECTIONS:** Complete Case  
[ [http://www.icty.org/case/slobodan\\_milosevic/4](http://www.icty.org/case/slobodan_milosevic/4)] and Video Archive of the United Nations Trial of Slobodan Milosevic by the International Criminal Tribunal for the former Yugoslavia / March 15 2002 at <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=fPQxv8peEA>

### **Related IZBICA MASSACRE MATERIALS**

State Department Briefings on Izbica Kosovo

- May 19, 1999  
[http://www.phdn.org/archives/www.ess.uwe.ac.uk/Kosovo/Kosovo-Current\\_News190.htm](http://www.phdn.org/archives/www.ess.uwe.ac.uk/Kosovo/Kosovo-Current_News190.htm)  
<http://www.alb-net.com/pipermail/kcc-news/1999-May/000077.html>

- MAY 28, 1999  
<http://www.hri.org/news/usa/std/1999/99-05-28.std.html>
- **FINAL ICTY COURT RULINGS: “Measure Taken Regarding Izbica” #879 pp 362, Judgment of: 26 FEBRUARY 2009** at United Nations Trial by the International Criminal Tribunal for the former Yugoslavia  
<http://www.icty.org/x/cases/milutinovic/tjug/en/jud090226-e3of4.pdf>

### **READ SELECTIONS**

- “Responsibility to Protect”\_Pp 138-140; “Responsibility to Protect” (Statement) [2005]  
<http://www.un.org/en/preventgenocide/adviser/pdf/World%20Summit%20Outcome%20Document.pdf#page=30> ;  
<http://www.un.org/en/preventgenocide/adviser/responsibility.shtml>
- pp1-18; “The Responsibility to Protect” at  
[http://www.globalr2p.org/media/files/iciss\\_report.pdf](http://www.globalr2p.org/media/files/iciss_report.pdf)
- Power, Samantha. A Problem from Hell: America and the Age of Genocide. pp. xvii-xviii. Basic Books, 2002; 4, 47-61 (“Lemkin’s Law”), 5, (“A Most Lethal Pair of Foes”)
- Osnos, Evan, “In the Land of the Possible” The New Yorker (2014): [aka “The Power Doctrine”] <http://www.newyorker.com/magazine/2014/12/22/land-possible>
- [Selections] William Joseph Buckley, ed. Kosovo: Contending Voices on Balkan Interventions (Cambridge/Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2000)
- William Joseph Buckley, “Ethnic Cleansing Stopped! Humanitarian Intervention’s Lessons” DRAFT 08/21/16
- UNITED NATIONS ICTY United Nations Trial by the International Criminal Tribunal for the former Yugoslavia Prosecutor of the Tribunal against Slobodan Milošević
- Statement on Death of Milosevic, Press conference by the ICTY Prosecutor, The Hague, 12 March 2006 ICTY Chief Prosecutor Carla Del Ponte delivered her public statement following Milošević’s death
- Kuperman, Alan J. “The Moral Hazard of Humanitarian Intervention: Lessons from the Balkans,” International Studies Quarterly 52,1 (March 2008), pp. 49-80.
- \_\_\_\_\_. “Rethinking the Responsibility to Protect,” The Whitehead Journal of Diplomacy and International Relations (2009): 19-29 at Winter/Spring 2009 at <https://www.ciaonet.org/attachments/15956/uploads>
- Ben-Porath, E. N. (2007). Rhetoric of atrocities: The place of horrific human rights abuses in presidential persuasion efforts. Presidential Studies Quarterly, 37 (2007): 181-202.
- Bazirake, Joseph Besigye and Bukuluki, Paul. 2015. 'A critical reflection on the conceptual and practical limitations of the Responsibility to Protect'. The International Journal of Human Rights 19(8): 1017–1028
- MANTLE Whose Responsibility to Protect?, debate between four R2P practitioners,

The Mantle, October 2009. <http://www.mantlethought.org/roundtables/whose-responsibility-protect>

**POST:** Answers to Assigned Questions

**POST:** Assigned Discussion Questions

++++  
 +++  
 +++

### **WEEK 13. HUMANITARIAN INTERVENTION AND PRESIDENTIAL POLITICS:**

**WEEK 13** Posted work Deadline Sunday

CASE STUDIES: Syria

We ask **key questions** about about the multi-front and multi-party conflict in Syria: How do efforts against ISIS/ISIL and for regime change in Syria account for the history of key internal and external stakeholders described in sociological affiliations (linguistic, territorial, ethnic, religious, tribal, religious, national, international sponsorship)? How are regional changes related to internal changes in Syria? What kind of electoral support is there for leadership regarding different policy options in Syria?

#### **WATCH VIDEO:** (SELECTIONS)

- Obama At War (FRONTLINE) (5/26/15) (54:14)  
<http://www.pbs.org/video/2365496883/>
- Escaping ISIS, FRONTLINE (54:11) (Aired: 07/14/15)  
<http://www.pbs.org/video/2365527957/>
- ISIS in Afghanistan, FRONTLINE (35:52) (Aired: 11/17/15)  
<http://www.pbs.org/video/2365608927/>
- U.S. Policy in the Middle East Former CIA Director and General David Petraeus (Ret.) testified at a hearing on U.S. policy toward the Middle East and combating ISIS\* in the region, SEPTEMBER 22, 2015 <https://www.c-span.org/video/?328261-1/former-cia-director-david-petraeus-testimony-us-middle-east-policy>

#### READ SELECTIONS:

- pp1-18; "The Responsibility to Protect" at  
[http://www.globalr2p.org/media/files/iciss\\_report.pdf](http://www.globalr2p.org/media/files/iciss_report.pdf)
- Goldberg, Jeffrey. The Obama Doctrine, The Atlantic 2/2016;  
<http://www.theatlantic.com/magazine/archive/2016/04/the-obama-doctrine/471525/>
- Cordesman, Anthony. "Failed State Wars" in Syria and Iraq (III): Stability and Conflict in Syria, Center for Strategic and International Studies. 2 March

2016. [http://csis.org/files/publication/160302\\_Syria\\_Iraq\\_ISIS\\_III-Syria.pdf](http://csis.org/files/publication/160302_Syria_Iraq_ISIS_III-Syria.pdf)
- Charles R. Lister, *The Syrian Jihad: Al-Qaeda, the Islamic State and the Evolution of an Insurgency*, Oxford, 2015: 1-51 ch 1 (“Breaking down the Barriers: Protest”); 2, (“Underlying Instability” 3 (“Syria’s Flirtation with Jihadism”); 7, Apr-Jun 2013, “The Islamic State Joins the Conflict”)119-151, 11. (“The Islamic State”) 261-279, 14, (“The Syrian Jihad”) 369-395.
  - *Review*: “Emma Sky, “The Making of An Insurgency”: A Study of the Syrian Civil War Offers a Guide to Jihadi Faction: How They Are Organized, Why People Join Them” *Review of Lister’s The Syrian Jihad*, *New York Times Book Review* (Sunday March 10, 2016): 15. <http://www.nytimes.com/2016/03/20/books/review/the-syrian-jihad-by-charles-r-lister.html>
  - Charles Lister, *Evolution of an Insurgency How Syria Was Radicalized*, *Foreign Affairs*, March 14, 2016, <https://www.foreignaffairs.com/articles/syria/2016-03-14/evolution-insurgency>
  - Michael Weiss and Hassan Hassan, *ISIS: Inside the Army of Terror*, New York: Regan Arts, 2015, 1-20; 99-114, 131-153
  - Jessica Stern and J.M. Berger, *ISIS: The State of Terror*, Ecco Reprint, 2016; 3; 53-74 (“From Vanguard to Smartmob”); 6, 127-146 (Jihad Goes Social”); 7, 147-176 (“The Electronic Brigades”); 9, 199-218 (ISIS’s Psychological Warfare”).
  - *Review*: Kakutani, Michiko, *New York Times*, “Books of the Times,” (April 2, 2015): : ‘ISIS: The State of Terror,’ by Jessica Stern and J. M. Berger, and ‘ISIS: Inside the Army of Terror,’ by Michael Weiss and Hassan Hassan, [http://www.nytimes.com/2015/04/03/books/review-isis-the-state-of-terror-by-jessica-stern-and-j-m-berger-and-isis-inside-the-army-of-terror-by-michael-weiss.html?\\_r=0](http://www.nytimes.com/2015/04/03/books/review-isis-the-state-of-terror-by-jessica-stern-and-j-m-berger-and-isis-inside-the-army-of-terror-by-michael-weiss.html?_r=0)
  - Baker, Peter, “Obama’s Dual View of War Power Seeks Limits and Leeway,” *New York Times*, February 11, 2015 [http://www.nytimes.com/2015/02/12/us/obama-war-authorization-congress.html?\\_r=0](http://www.nytimes.com/2015/02/12/us/obama-war-authorization-congress.html?_r=0)
  - Howell, William G. (2014) “Count on Congress: The Logic of Handing Syria Over to the Lawmakers,” *Foreign Affairs* <https://www.foreignaffairs.com/articles/syria/2013-09-03/count-congress> ;
  - Warrick, Joby, *Black Flags: The Rise of ISIS*. New York: Doubleday, 2015, *Prologue*, 1-11; *Chapter 1*; 15-30; , *chapter 12*, (151-161 (“The Sheikh of the Slaughterers”);18; 239-251; “Where is this Islamic State of Iraq that You Are Talking About?” ; 19; 251-167 (“This is the State for which Zarqawi Paved the Way”) and Kakutani, Michiko, *New York Times*. 11/30/2015. *Review*: ‘Black Flags,’ Tracing the Birth of ISIS. [http://www.nytimes.com/2015/12/01/books/review-black-flags-tracing-the-birth-of-isis.html?\\_r=0](http://www.nytimes.com/2015/12/01/books/review-black-flags-tracing-the-birth-of-isis.html?_r=0)
  - Boghani, Priyanka. David Petraeus: ISIS’s Rise in Iraq Isn’t a Surprise (07/29/2014), *FRONTLINE INTERVIEW*, <http://www.pbs.org/wgbh/frontline/article/david-petraeus-isis-rise-in-iraq-isnt-a-surprise/>

**POST:** Is Syria a failed state or invaded nation? Describe how at least three key events,

with at least three principal sides evolved into no fewer than a three sided Syrian civil conflict with at least three parties in an ethnic conflict with no fewer than four outside parties supporting at least three different groups.

++++  
 +++  
 +

## **WEEK 14. TERRORISMS AND PRESIDENTIAL POLITICS IN :**

**WEEK 14** *Posted work Deadline Sunday*

CASE STUDIES: Northern Ireland Case Study

### **WATCH VIDEO INTERVIEW WITH The IRA and SINN FEIN Frontline (10/21/97)**

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

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=zAal17smUAw>

**GEORGE MITCHELL** ABOUT NORTHERN IRELAND PEACE PROCESS: (Select two)

4/13/98 (11:06) <https://charlierose.com/videos/3658>

07/16/98 (11:01) <https://charlierose.com/videos/6034>

04/20/99 (30.00) <http://www.c-span.org/video/?122650-1/making-peace-northern-ireland>

05/8/15 (1:17) on "The Negotiator" <http://www.c-span.org/video/?325906-1/former-senator-george-mitchell-dme-negotiator>

### **READ SELECTIONS**

- Mitchell, George. The Negotiator: A Memoir, New York: Simon and Schuster, 2015: "Northern Ireland" 239-257
- Mitchell, George. Making Peace, University of California, Updated edition, 2001; New York Knopf, 2012; Chapter 14, "I don't Talk to Murderers;" Chapter 15, "An Agreement at Last;" Chapter 16, "Peace"
- Fawcett, Liz, "Civil Religion, Symbolic Resources and Social Change," in Liz Fawcett, Religion, Ethnicity and Social Change. New York: St. Martin's Press, 2000, 81-103.
- John McGarry & Brendan O'Leary (2015): Power-Sharing Executives: Consociational and Centripetal Formulae and the Case of Northern Ireland, Ethnopolitics, DOI: 10.1080/17449057.2015.1088231
- Tilley, Charles, "Coordinated Destruction (esp. Ulster as Hard Case)" in The Politics of Collective Violence by Charles Tilley (New York, Cambridge, 2003), 111-129

**POST:** How did politics of the "Irish Diaspora" influence resolutions of ethnic conflict in Northern Ireland? Why and what role did American leaders play in this conflict (George Mitchell)? Are solutions in Northern Ireland suggestive for other conflicts (consociational, McGarry/O'Leary)? After 1700, about nine to ten million Irish emigrate, and according to various data, Scots-Irish (mostly Protestants)

emigrate to North America before the 1830's and "Irish" (principally Catholics) after—leaving about 10.5% of the USA population (2013 Census) as part of the "Irish Diaspora".

<http://factfinder.census.gov/faces/tableservices/jsf/pages/productview.xhtml?src=bkmk>; [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Irish\\_Americans](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Irish_Americans). How did the "Irish Diaspora" have a role in "Presidential" politics and various resolutions of issues in Ireland/Northern Ireland? Post replies to at least two answers.

+++++

**WEEK 15. STUDENT PRESENTATIONS/FINAL RESEARCH PAPER:**  
**WEEK 15: Final PAPER DUE WED MIDNIGHT**

- **DEADLINE:** WEEK 15 (*Each hour late drops one letter grade*)
- **LENGTH:** Not more than 5 double-spaces pages of 250 words@ or 1250 words (not including ENDNOTES/Bibliography)
- **TOPIC:** Students Select ONE OF Three Formats BELOW:
- **AT LEAST SIX REQUIRED CITED SOURCES:** At least THREE from Course; at least three from outside course; among which include peer reviewed journals (no wikipedia)
- **STYLE:** Consult MLA 8<sup>th</sup> Edition Re Footnoting And Bibliography <https://style.mla.org/whats-new/> ;For online examples of each, see "Citation and Documentation" at <http://www.tc.umn.edu/~jewel001/grammar/#Citation%20&%20Documentation> For help with references and citations, see: <http://www.easybib.com/>; <http://www.bibme.org/>
- **HOW TO SUBMIT:** Post FIRST TO "SAFEASSIGN" THEN Online Under Discussion Board: (Give yourself an extra three hours.) Instructions posted and tba
- **ASSESSMENT:** How carefully are directions below followed; How clearly is the question formulated? How clearly is the thesis stated and demonstrated? See attached checklist.

**Forms:**

**CASE STUDY: Particular example of Foreign Policy issue and Presidential decision**

- Describe Perceived Facts
- Succinctly describe policy choices
- Narrate Decision made
- Assess outcome with supporters and critics
- Give your Own opinion
- Use five peer reviewed sources



**WRITE POLICY MEMO** about historic or contemporary issue

- Describe Perceived Facts
- Succinctly describe at least three policy choices
- Narrate Decision options with **THREE PROS** and **THREE CONS**
- Assess outcome with anticipated replies to supporters and critics
- Give your Own opinion
- Use five peer reviewed sources

**ASSESS NEWS/SOCIAL MEDIA CYCLE** ABOUT “LEADERSHIP DILEMMA” AND SOME HISTORICAL EVENT (e.g. “2016 Brussels bombings”)

- Describe how special social/news media “represent” Perceived Facts
- Succinctly describe at least three policy choices for President that elaborate the “leadership dilemma”; viz., “leadership dilemma”—the gap between the expectations that are placed on presidents and their limited institutional powers.
- Narrate how special social/news media “represent” Decision options with **THREE PROS** and **THREE CONS**
- Assess outcome with anticipated replies to supporters and critics
- Give your Own opinion
- Use three peer reviewed sources

+++++

+++++

+++++

**WEEK 16 OPTIONAL. TERRORISMS AND PRESIDENTIAL POLITICS IN :** *CASE STUDIES:* **TBA** Africa-Rwanda? Russia-Ukraine? Israel-Palestine?; Iran-India-Pakistan? Indonesia-Malaysia-Philippines? China? India?

**WATCH VIDEO INTERVIEW WITH (Paul Your Suggestions?)**  
**READ SELECTIONS**

Africa-Rwanda? Russia-Ukraine? Israel-Palestine?; Iran-India-Pakistan, Indonesia-Malaysia-Phillipines?

**Europe, Ukraine, Russia:**

- Legvold, R. “Managing the New Cold War: What Moscow and Washington Can Learn from the Last One” *Foreign Affairs*, (2014).
- Mearsheimer J.J. (2014) Why the Ukraine Crisis Is the West’s Fault. *The Liberal Delusions That Provoked Putin* // *Foreign Affairs*, Vol. 93, No 5. September/October



**Africa:**

- Banks, John P et al., Brookings Africa Growth Initiative. 2013. Top Five Reasons Why Africa Should Be a Priority to the United States [http://www.brookings.edu/~media/Research/Files/Reports/2013/04/africa%20priority%20united%20states/04\\_africa\\_priority\\_united\\_states.pdf](http://www.brookings.edu/~media/Research/Files/Reports/2013/04/africa%20priority%20united%20states/04_africa_priority_united_states.pdf)
- 

**Indonesia:**

- Tadjoeidin, Mohammad Zulfan, Explaining Collective Violence in Contemporary Indonesia: From Conflict to Cooperation. New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2014, 1-23.  
(secessionist, ethnic, routine-everyday and electoral violence)  
<http://www.palgraveconnect.com/pc/doi/finder/view/10.1057/9781137270641.0001>  
[http://www.conflictrecovery.org/bin/Patterns\\_of\\_collective\\_violence\\_July04.pdf](http://www.conflictrecovery.org/bin/Patterns_of_collective_violence_July04.pdf) (1990-2003)

**China:**

- Friedburg, Aaron. 2012. "Bucking Beijing: An Alternative U.S. China Policy." Foreign Affairs, September/ October 2012.

**India:**

- Burns, Nicholas. 2014. "Passage to India: What Washington Can Do to Revive Relations With New Delhi." Foreign Affairs, September/ October 2014.

++++  
++++  
++++  
++++

**Citation Style:** Please select a singular, consistent citation style for each submission, whether APA, MLA or Turabian. Consult MLA 8<sup>th</sup> Edition Re Footnoting And Bibliography <https://style.mla.org/whats-new/>; For online examples of each, see "Citation and Documentation"

at <http://www.tc.umn.edu/~jewel001/grammar/#Citation%20&%20Documentation> For help with references and citations, see: <http://www.easybib.com/>; <http://www.bibme.org/>

**Disabilities**

If you are a student with a documented disability who requires accommodations or if you think you may have a disability and want to inquire about accommodations, please contact the Academic Resource Center at 202-687-8354 or [arc@georgetown.edu](mailto:arc@georgetown.edu).

**Turnitin.com**

Students acknowledge that by taking this course all required papers can be submitted

for a Textual Similarity Review to Turnitin.com for the detection of plagiarism. Use of the Turnitin.com service is subject to the terms of use agreement posted on the Turnitin.com site.

### **Extreme weather, Emergencies, and Instructional Continuity**

During inclement weather or other emergencies on a day when we are scheduled to meet face-to-face, check the university's Web site or call (202) 687-7669 for information on whether the university is open. If the university is open, this class will meet. If the university is closed, this class will meet through distance means such as online videoconferencing; check your e-mail for a message from me on how we will proceed in that situation. Due dates for written assignments submitted through Blackboard will not be changed due to campus closings.

The university recently has acquired the capability to send text messages and recorded messages about emergencies to cell phones and other mobile devices. Sign up on MyAccess.

### **Georgetown Honor System**

All students are expected to follow Georgetown's honor code unconditionally. We assume you have read the honor code material located at <http://scs.georgetown.edu/academic-affairs/honor-code>, and in particular have read the following documents: Honor Council Pamphlet, What is Plagiarism, Sanctioning Guidelines, and Expedited Sanctioning Process. Papers in this course will all be submitted to turnitin.com for checking.

Submitting material in fulfillment of the requirements of this course means that you have abided by the Georgetown honor pledge:

*In the pursuit of the high ideals and rigorous standards of academic life, I commit myself to respect and uphold the Georgetown Honor System: To be honest in any academic endeavor, and to conduct myself honorably, as a responsible member of the Georgetown community, as we live and work together.*

### **Plagiarism**

In accord with university policy, all incidents of suspected plagiarism or other Honor Code violations will be reported to the Honor Council without fail.

If the Honor Council finds that a student has plagiarized or has violated the Honor Code in any other way, the student will receive a grade of F for the course.

### **Policy Accommodating Students' Religious Observances**

The following is university policy:

Georgetown University promotes respect for all religions. Any student who is unable to attend classes or to participate in any examination, presentation, or assignment on a

given day because of the observance of a major religious holiday or related travel shall be excused and provided with the opportunity to make up, without unreasonable burden, any work that has been missed for this reason and shall not in any other way be penalized for the absence or rescheduled work. Students will remain responsible for all assigned work. Students should notify professors in writing at the beginning of the semester of religious observances that conflict with their classes.

**Library Reserves:** access through GU email. Click the link below and go to town!

Want to place an item on reserve? Physical or electronic? Book or streaming media? Check to see if Georgetown University Library owns the item(s) [here](#) . Secondly, complete the [appropriate reserve request form](#).

### **TURNITIN Directions for Profs**

Georgetown has a full license to use [Turnitin.com](#) and other iParadigm products, such as Grademark, etc. Go to [www.turnitin.com](#) and click on the "Create Account" button at the top of the Turnitin homepage.

If you haven't already signed up, the information you will need is as follows: account code: **81031**; "join" password: **classreg2**. With that information you can establish your own profile, register your classes(s), and instruct students to submit their papers to Turnitin. Signing up is really very easy, and Turnitin has good "help" features, including a step-by-step tutorial about the process.

2 - Former users:

Many faculty used Turnitin regularly before there was a hiatus year due to budget constraints. Consequently, these former users may experience difficulty accessing their old accounts. Please reply to this email if this happens to you.

We'd like to provide the best help to you. If you would like the Honor Council to submit a paper for you, we can do that, and send the Originality Report back right away.

On using Turnitin, this page is very helpful. [http://turnitin.com/en\\_us/support/help-center](http://turnitin.com/en_us/support/help-center)

**Turnitin available via Blackboard:**

### **Phone Appointments**

Because neither phone nor video chat replaces online learning, instructors discern whether and how to make and keep phone and lchat Skype appointments with students and colleagues. At the Instructor's discretion, such personal access is meant to help you as student address specific problems and enhance learning, not replace course participation in the website. To schedule a phone or lchat/Skype appointment, email us with a phone number where you can be reached, and some good weekdays and times of day for receiving calls and/or participating in online video chat. Instructors can choose to reply with available hours that overlap with your good times, and we can confirm an appointment. Instructors do not share your phone number or other contact information with any person for any reason.

++++  
 +++  
 +++

## Websites

- UN Terrorism Reports (<http://www.un.org/terrorism/a57273.htm> )
- 09/11 Commission (<http://www.9-11commission.gov> )
- assorted US gov't docs (<http://www.library.uiuc.edu/doc/terrorism.htm>)
- [http://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/2016\\_election.php](http://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/2016_election.php)
- <https://www.gop.com/platform/>
- [http://www.yale.edu/lawweb/avalon/sept\\_11/sept\\_11.htm](http://www.yale.edu/lawweb/avalon/sept_11/sept_11.htm)
- <https://www.whitehouse.gov/>
- [http://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/2016\\_election.php](http://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/2016_election.php)
- <http://rjensen.people.uic.edu/pol-gl.htm> (American Political History online)
- <https://www.start.umd.edu/qtd/>
- <https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Counter-insurgency>  
<http://catholicjustwartradition.blogspot.com/2008/01/additional-readings-on-iraq-war-debate.html>
- <http://www.ratzingerfanclub.com/justwar/>
- <http://factfinder.census.gov/faces/tableservices/jsf/pages/productview.xhtml?src=bkmk>
- [http://rhetoricalgoddess.wikia.com/wiki/Presidential\\_Rhetoric:\\_General\\_and\\_Comparative\\_Sources](http://rhetoricalgoddess.wikia.com/wiki/Presidential_Rhetoric:_General_and_Comparative_Sources)
- <http://users.wfu.edu/louden/Political%20Communication/Bibs/Rhetoric.html>
- [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/List\\_of\\_Frontline\\_\(PBS\)\\_episodes](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/List_of_Frontline_(PBS)_episodes)
- <http://cain.ulst.ac.uk/>
- <http://duckofminerva.com/2013/10/duck-forum-on-teaching-us-foreign-policy-1.html>

Ideas for Possible academic sources:

- Google Scholar searches (regular or advanced search) <https://scholar.google.com/>
- Citations to a relevant article (Google Scholar)  
[https://scholar.google.com/citations?view\\_op=new\\_profile&hl=en](https://scholar.google.com/citations?view_op=new_profile&hl=en)
- Annual Review of Political Science <http://www.annualreviews.org/journal/polisci>
- Historical, media, and polling data:
- Roper Center for Public Opinion Research ; <http://ropercenter.cornell.edu/>
- The Policy Agendas Project , <http://www.policyagendas.org/>
- The American Presidency Project , <http://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/>
- Lexis Nexis Academic <http://www.lexisnexis.com/hottopics/Inacademic/>
- Media coverage of the president/White House – Public Papers of the Presidents  
[https://www.gpo.gov/help/about\\_public\\_papers\\_of\\_the\\_presidents\\_of\\_the\\_united\\_states.htm](https://www.gpo.gov/help/about_public_papers_of_the_presidents_of_the_united_states.htm)
- WhiteHouse.gov ; <https://www.whitehouse.gov/>
- Huffington Post Pollster <http://elections.huffingtonpost.com/pollster> and

- PollingReport.com <http://www.pollingreport.com/> ; five thirty eight politics; <http://fivethirtyeight.com/politics/>
- Morning Consult Intelligence <https://morningconsultintelligence.com/> ; <http://www.gallup.com/products/170987/gallup-analytics.aspx>

Resources consulted include:

- [http://harris.uchicago.edu/sites/default/files/course\\_descriptions/recent\\_syllabus/Vabulas\\_US%20Foreign%20Policy%20Syllabus%20Winter%202016.pdf](http://harris.uchicago.edu/sites/default/files/course_descriptions/recent_syllabus/Vabulas_US%20Foreign%20Policy%20Syllabus%20Winter%202016.pdf)
- [http://www.nyu.edu/qsas/dept/politics/undergrad/syllabi/V53.0710\\_rama\\_f01.html](http://www.nyu.edu/qsas/dept/politics/undergrad/syllabi/V53.0710_rama_f01.html)
- <http://www.dartmouth.edu/~nyhan/presidency-syllabus.pdf>
- <http://spgia.gmu.edu/wp-content/uploads/Govt-344-Fall-14-Alexander.pdf>

+++++

+++++

+++++

**VIDEOS AND AUDIO**  
**(posted separately)**  
**SELECTED BIBLIOGRAPHY**

- (Attached Separately and POSTED)
- *(DRAFT020317GUPolTerrLewisBuckleyBALS)*