

FUTURE OF WAR
POS 394
H.B. FARMER EDUCATION BUILDING, ROOM 226
WEDNESDAY 4:30 PM – 7:00 PM
SPRING 2015

Professor Daniel Rothenberg

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Office Hours: Coor 6675, Wednesdays 2:00-4:00 PM, and by appointment

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COURSE OVERVIEW

The Future of War engages the profound social, political, economic, and cultural implications of the changing nature of war and conflict. The course provides an overview of some classic philosophical and military-strategic theories and conceptions of war as well as an introduction to the laws of war. The class looks at key elements of the current transformation of conflict including reviews of the transformative role of new and emerging technologies such as drones and cyberwar, the far-reaching capacities of global surveillance, the complex threats of groups operating beyond and across state boundaries, and the danger of the democratization of terror and mechanisms of mass destruction. The class also engages a variety of international drivers of conflict including climate change, shifting demographics, and competition over resources as well as responses to humanitarian and human rights issues raised by conflict, such as the plight refugees and internally displaced persons. The course also reviews key aspects of the U.S. engagement with conflicts in and around Afghanistan and Iraq and how recent wars have impacted the American military and the larger society. The class is taught by Prof. Peter L. Bergen and Prof. Daniel Rothenberg, co-directors of ASU's Center on the Future of War.

COURSE STRUCTURE

The course is organized by weekly themes with associated readings. Many class meetings feature guest lectures and presentations by nationally recognized experts including former military flag officers, scientists working on emerging military technologies, former government officials, journalists, scholars, and policy makers. Bios for course guest lecturers can be found below.

COURSE REQUIREMENTS

This is a 3-credit course that meets once a week with extensive and diverse reading and significant class discussion. There are no prerequisites for this course. Grading is based on a 100 point scale as follows: 30 points for the first writing assignment; 30 points for the second writing assignment; 30 points for the final exam; and 10 points for in-class participation.

WEEKLY THEMES AND READINGS

Week 1 – Leadership and the U.S. Military: Where Are We Now? – January 14

Guest speaker

Lt. Gen. (ret.) Benjamin Freakley speaking on leadership

Watch Peter L. Bergen and Tresha Mabile's "American War Generals," National Geographic 2014.

Readings

George Packer, "The Birth of a New Century," *Foreign Policy*, Nov/Dec 2014.

James Fallows, "The Tragedy of the American Military," *The Atlantic*, January/February 2015.

Week 2 – What is War? Classic Perspectives/Post-Cold War Trends – January 21

Readings

Selection from "War," Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy, 2005.

Carl von Clausewitz, *On War*, Book 1, Chapter 1. trans. James John Graham. London: N. Trübner, 1873.

Thomas Hobbes, *The Leviathan*, Chapter XIII, 1651.

Selections from Richard K. Betts, Ed., *Conflict After the Cold War: Arguments on Causes of War and Peace*. New York: Pearson, 2013:

John J. Mearsheimer, "Why We Will Soon Miss the Cold War";

Samuel P. Huntington, "The Clash of Civilizations?"; and

Fareed Zakaria, "Economics Trumps Politics."

Week 3 – What is War? The Importance of Intelligence and Thinking About the Future – January 28

Guest speaker – Maj. Gen. (ret.) James "Spider" Marks, speaking on military intelligence

Readings

John Keegan, *Intelligence in War: Knowledge of the Enemy from Napoleon to al-Qaeda*, 2003, pp 3-6; 18-25; 295-297; 321-349.

Colin S Gray, *Another Bloody Century: Future Warfare*. London: Phoenix, 2005, selections.

Chris Hedges, *What Every Person Should Know About War*, New York: Free Press, 2003, selections.

Week 4 – Regulating War: International Humanitarian Law – February 4

Readings

Immanuel Kant "Perpetual Peace: A Philosophical Sketch," 1795.

International Committee on the Red Cross, "What is International Humanitarian Law?" 2004.

International Committee on the Red Cross, "Answers to Your Questions," 2012, pp. 6-7; 12.

IHL Resource Center, "International Humanitarian Law," selections.

Horst Seibt, "Compendium of Case Studies of International Humanitarian Law, International Committee on the Red Cross, 1994, selected cases and questions.

Week 5 – Al-Qaeda and Global Terrorism – February 11

Readings

Peter L. Bergen, *Manhunt: The Ten Year Search for Bin Laden, from 9/11 to Abbottabad*, New York: Crown, 2012, pp 18-73.

Peter L. Bergen, *The Longest War: The Enduring Conflict between America and Al-Qaeda*, New York: Free Press, 2011, pp. 95-334.

Peter L. Bergen (with others), various pieces on CNN.com.

Week 6 – War and Technological Innovation: The Case of Drones – February 18

Guest speaker – Werner Dahm

Readings

Werner Dahm, “Report on Technology Horizons: A Vision for Air Force Science & Technology During 2010-2030,” 2010.

Selections from Peter L. Bergen and Daniel Rothenberg, eds., *Drone Wars: Transforming Conflict, Law, and Policy*, eds. New York: Cambridge University Press. 2014:

Peter L. Bergen and Jennifer Rowland, “Decade of the Drone: CIA Drone Attacks, Casualties, and Policy”;

Drone Pilot, “It is War as a Very Intimate Level”;

Michael Waltz, “Bring on the Magic?: Using Drones in Afghanistan”;

Daniel Rothenberg, “Drones and the Emergence of Data-Driven Warfare.”

Week 7 – Future of War Annual Conference – February 25

Live stream of the conference by CNN, primary media sponsor, and also at

<http://www.newamerica.org/international-security/future-of-war/>

Week 8 – Case Study – Iraq: A “Forever War”? – March 4

Guest speaker – Douglas A. Ollivant

Readings

Brennan et al., *Ending the U.S. War in Iraq*, Chapters 2 and 3.

Douglas Ollivant, “Reinterpreting Counterinsurgency in Iraq.”

http://newamerica.net/sites/newamerica.net/files/policydocs/Ollivant_Reinterpreting_Counterinsurgency.pdf

Douglas A. Ollivant and Radha Iyengar, “The Next War,” *Foreign Policy*, May 3, 2012.

Brookings Institution, “Iraq Index,” July 2013.

BBC, “Iraq profile – timeline” at: <http://www.bbc.com/news/world-middle-east-14546763>

Juan Cole, “What We Lost: Top Ten Ways the Iraq War Harmed the US,” at:

<http://www.juancole.com/2013/03/what-iraq-harmed.html>

Stephen Walt, “Top Ten Lessons of the Iraq War,” *Foreign Policy*, 2012, at:

<http://foreignpolicy.com/2012/03/20/top-10-lessons-of-the-iraq-war-2/>

Council on Foreign Relations, “Was the Iraq War Worth It?,” December 2011, at:

<http://www.cfr.org/iraq/iraq-war-worth-/p26820>

First paper due on March 6

Spring Break – March 8 – 15

Week 9 – Cyberwar I and Autonomous Weapons – March 18

Guest speaker – Shane Harris

Readings

Shane Harris, *@War: The Rise of the Military-Internet Complex*, New York: Houghton Mifflin Harcourt, 2014, Prologue and first two chapters.

Kenneth Anderson and Matthew Waxman, “Law and Ethics for Autonomous Weapon Systems: Why a Ban Won’t Work and How the Laws of War Can,” Hoover Institution, Stanford University, 2013, pp 1-3, 14-27.

Human Rights Watch, “Losing Humanity: The Case Against Killer Robots,” 2014, pp 1-20; 46-48.

Week 10 – Human Cost of War: Refugees and Internally Displaced Persons – March 25

Guest speaker – Mohamed Abdullahi

Readings

United Nations, “Refugees,” at

<http://www.un.org/en/globalissues/briefingpapers/refugees/index.shtml>

U.S. refugee policy at:

<http://www.migrationpolicy.org/article/refugees-and-asylees-united-states>

From this website: <http://costsofwar.org/> read over the main pages in these sections: “human costs,” “economic costs,” “social + political costs,” and “are there benefits?”

Week 11 – Reflections on War as Social and Civilizational Conflict – April 1

Guest speaker – Brad Allenby

Readings

Brad Allenby, “The Paradox of Dominance: The Age of Civilizational Conflict,” 2014

Steven Pinker, *Better Angels of Our Nature: Why Violence Has Declined*, New York: Viking Press, 2011, selections

Lee Sandlin, “Losing the War,” *Chicago Reader*, 1997. Also at

<http://www.leesandlin.com/articles/LosingTheWar.htm>

Week 12 – Domestic Terrorism – April 8

Readings

“Lone wolves are biggest terror threat”

<http://www.cnn.com/2014/09/23/opinion/bergen-sterman-terror-threat-report/index.html>

“Is the US at risk of a Paris like attack?”

<http://www.cnn.com/2015/01/16/opinion/bergen-paris-attacks-likelihood-in-us/index.html>

“The American who inspires terror from Paris to the U.S.”

<http://www.cnn.com/2015/01/11/opinion/bergen-american-terrorism-leader-paris-attack/index.html>

“Americans have plotted to kill cartoonists who lampooned Islam”

<http://www.cnn.com/2015/01/07/opinion/bergen-americans-have-plotted-to-kill-cartoonists/index.html>

“Right wing extremists strike again”

<http://www.cnn.com/2014/06/10/opinion/bergen-las-vegas-shooting-right-wing-extremists/index.html>

“What lures Americans to Syria fight?”

<http://www.cnn.com/2014/10/14/opinion/bergen-sterman-americans-syria/index.html>

Week 13 – Conflict, Climate Change, and the Competition for Global Resources – April 15

Guest speaker – Nadya Bliss

Readings

Department of Defense, “2014 Climate Change Adaptation Roadmap,” 2014.

National Intelligence Council, “Global Trends 2030,” 2013, pp. i-xiv; 98-101.

Week 14 – Cyberwar II – April 22

Guest speaker – Tim Maurer

Readings

In document on Blackboard entitled, “Readings for guest lecturer Tim Maurer”:

Tim Maurer, “The future of war: cyber is expanding the Clausewitzian spectrum of conflict,” *Foreign Policy*, November 13, 2014;

Tim Maurer, “The Case for Cyberwarfare: Why the electronic wars of the future will actually save lives,” *Foreign Policy*, October 19, 2011; and

Tim Maurer and David Weinstein, “Flame Thrower: Stuxnet was a monster computer virus. Flame is 20 times larger - and it’s been out there, listening for years,” *Foreign Policy*, May 29, 2012.

Camino Kavanagh, Tim Maurer and Eneken Tikk-Ringas, “Baseline Review: ICT-Related Processes and Events, Implications for International and Regional Security (2011-2013),” ICT4Peace Foundation, 2014.

Herbert Lin, “Cyber conflict and international humanitarian law,” *International Review of the Red Cross*, Vol. 94, No. 886, 2012.

Week 15 – What is War?/What is Peace? – April 29

Guest speaker – Rosa Brooks

Readings

Rosa Brooks, “There’s No Such Thing as Peacetime”

<http://foreignpolicy.com/2015/03/13/theres-no-such-thing-as-peacetime-forever-war-terror-civil-liberties/>

Rosa Brooks, “How We Got Here,” from *By Other Means: How Everything Became War and the Military Became Everything*, forthcoming.

Rosa Brooks, “Civil-Military Paradoxes,” 2015.

Second paper due on May 1

Final exam on May 4

GUEST LECTURER BIOS

Week 1 – January 14 – Lt. Gen. (ret.) Benjamin Freakley

General Freakley recently retired from the U.S. Army after more than thirty-six years of active military service. He last served as Commanding General, U.S. Army Accessions Command where he was responsible for world-wide recruiting. He is a graduate of West Point and commanded all levels through division and combined joint task force, including serving as Assistant Division Commander of the 101st Airborne Division in the 2003 invasion of Iraq, commander of the Army's largest training institute, the Infantry Center and School at Fort Benning, Georgia, Commanding General of the 10th Mountain Division in Afghanistan, and Commanding General of Combined Joint Task Force-76 in Afghanistan. He is now Professor of Practice of Leadership for Arizona State University and as Special Advisor to ASU President Michael Crow for Leadership Initiatives

Week 3 – January 28 – Maj. Gen. (ret.) James “Spider” Marks

General Marks spent over three decades in the U.S. Army. During his military career, he held multiple command positions from Infantry Platoon Leader to Commanding General. He served as a strategist on the Army staff; was the Senior Intelligence Officer in the Balkans and Korea; and was in combat as the Senior Intelligence Officer in Operation Iraqi Freedom. He culminated his career as the Commanding General of the United States Army Intelligence Center and School. General Marks is a graduate of The United States Military Academy at West Point and is currently Executive Dean of the College of Criminal Justice and Security at University of Phoenix as well as frequent national security commentator on CNN.

Week 6 – February 18 – Werner J.A. Dahm

Werner J. A. Dahm is Founding Director and Chief Scientist, Security & Defense Systems Initiative (SDSI) at Arizona State University (ASU), and ASU Foundation Professor of Aerospace & Mechanical Engineering. Previously was the Chief Scientist of the U.S. Air Force, serving as the direct science and technology advisor to the Secretary of the Air Force and the Air Force Chief of Staff. As the Air Force's Chief Scientist he led development of science and technology planning for the U.S. Air Force projecting forward from 2010-2030. He is the author of over 200 refereed technical articles, conference papers, and technical publications and is Emeritus Professor of Aerospace Engineering at The University of Michigan, where he was on the faculty for twenty-five years and led the Laboratory for Turbulence & Combustion.

Week 8 – March 4 – Douglas A. Ollivant

Douglas A. Ollivant is a Senior National Security Fellow with the New America Foundation. He was Director for Iraq at the National Security Council during both the Bush and Obama administrations and was Senior Counterinsurgency Advisor to the Commander, Regional Command-East. He served in Iraq as the Chief of Plans for Multi-National Division Baghdad in 2006-2007 and led the planning team that designed the U.S. and coalition portion of Baghdad Security Plan, the main effort of what later became known as the “surge.” He is now is the Senior Vice President of Mantid International, LLC, a global strategic consulting firm with offices in Washington, Beirut and Baghdad and is writing a book comparing U.S. involvement in the Iraq and Afghanistan conflicts.

Week 9 – March 18 – Shane Harris

Shane Harris is an award-winning author and journalist who has written extensively about intelligence and national security. His new book *@War: The Rise of the Military-Internet Complex* explores the frontlines of America's new cyber war and his first book, *The Watchers*, investigates the national security apparatus and the rise of surveillance in America. He is a senior correspondent at The Daily Beast, where he covers national security, intelligence, and cyber security and is also an ASU Future of War Fellow at New America. His work has appeared in The New York Times, The Wall Street Journal, Slate, TheAtlantic.com, National Journal, and The Washington Post. He provides analysis and commentary for CNN, NPR, the BBC, The History Channel, National Geographic, and other media organizations.

Week 10 – March 25 – Mohamed Abdullahi

Mohamed Abdullahi is an Employment Specialist at the International Rescue Committee (IRC) in Phoenix. He was born in Somalia and, in 1992 he and his family were forced to flee the country as a result of the conflict. They became refugees in Kenya. In Africa, he worked with different humanitarian organizations including United Nation High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) and various non-governmental organizations (NGOs) as an interpreter, case manager, and trainer. In 2010, he settled in the Phoenix area as a refugee. Since then, he earned a bachelor degree from ASU where his field of study was Nonprofit Leadership and Management and minor in social welfare. He now works for IRC assisting members of the significant local refugee population from conflict zones around the world.

Week 11 – April 1 – Brad Allenby

Brad Allenby is the Lincoln Professor of Engineering and Ethics, and Professor of Civil, Environmental and Sustainable Engineering, and of Law at ASU. He is the founding director of the Center for Earth Systems Engineering and Management, and the founding chair of the Consortium for Emerging Technologies, Military Operations, and National Security, at ASU. He is also an AAAS Fellow, a Batten Fellow in Residence at the University of Virginia's Darden Graduate School of Business Administration, and a Fellow of the Royal Society for the Arts, Manufactures & Commerce and was the U.S. Naval Academy Stockdale Fellow in 2009-2010 and a Templeton Fellow in 2008-2010. During 1995 and 1996 he served as Director of Energy and Environmental Systems at Lawrence Livermore National Laboratory. He is a lawyer, engineer and expert in emerging technologies and the co-author (with Dan Sarewitz of ASU) of *The Techno-Human Condition*.

Week 13 – April 15 – Nadya Bliss

Nadya Bliss is Assistant Vice President for Research Strategy in ASU's Office of Knowledge Enterprise Development. She is a computer scientist who previously spent a decade at MIT Lincoln Laboratory, most recently as the founding Group Leader of the Computing and Analytics Group where she developed, led, and managed research initiatives in advanced analytics, high performance computing systems, and computer architectures to address the challenges facing the Department of Defense and the Intelligence Community. She has over 60 publications and presentations, holds a patent, and has served as a chair and member of multiple technical and organizational committees.

Week 14 – April 22 – Tim Maurer

Tim Maurer is a journalist and researcher who focuses on cyberspace and is a Fellow at New America. His works on cyberwarfare, the global cyber-security norms process, transatlantic cooperation on security and freedom in the digital age, and internet freedom. His work has been published in *Foreign Policy*, CNN, and Slate and has been featured by print, radio, and television media including PRI's *The World*, Al Jazeera, Agence France Presse, the LA Times, and the German *Die Zeit*. Previously, he worked at the Center for Strategic and International Studies and gained experience with the United Nations in Rwanda, Geneva, and New York focusing on humanitarian assistance and the coordination of the UN system.

Week 15 – April 29 – Rosa Brooks

Rosa Brooks is a professor at the Georgetown University Law Center, where she teaches courses on international law, national security, constitutional law, and related subjects. She writes a weekly column for *Foreign Policy* and is a Senior Fellow at New America. Recently, she served as Counselor to Under Secretary of Defense for Policy Michele Flournoy where she founded the Office for Rule of Law and International Humanitarian Policy and led a major overhaul of the Defense Department's strategic communication and information operations efforts. She has also served as a senior advisor at the U.S. Department of State, a consultant for Human Rights Watch, a fellow at the Carr Center at Harvard's Kennedy School of Government, a board member of Amnesty International USA, a Term Member of the Council on Foreign Relations, and a member of the Executive Council of the American Society of International Law. In addition to her popular writing, Brooks has written numerous scholarly articles on international law, failed states, post-conflict reconstruction and the rule of law, human rights, terrorism and the law of war.

STUDENT CONDUCT STATEMENT

Students are required to adhere to the behavior standards listed in Arizona Board of Regents Policy Manual Chapter V – Campus and Student Affairs: Code of Conduct (http://www.abor.asu.edu/1_the_regents/policymanual/chap5/5Section_C.pdf), ACD 125: Computer, Internet, and Electronic Communications (<http://www.asu.edu/aad/manuals/acd/acd125.html>), and the ASU Student Academic Integrity Policy (<http://www.asu.edu/studentaffairs/studentlife/srr/index.htm>).

Students are entitled to receive instruction free from interference by other members of the class. If a student is disruptive, an instructor may ask the student to stop the disruptive behavior and warn the student that such disruptive behavior can result in withdrawal from the course. An instructor may withdraw a student from a course when the student's behavior disrupts the educational process under USI 201-10 <http://www.asu.edu/aad/manuals/usi/usi201-10.html>.

Appropriate classroom behavior is defined by the instructor. This includes the number and length of individual messages online. Course discussion messages should remain focused on the assigned discussion topics. Students must maintain a cordial atmosphere and use tact in expressing differences of opinion. Inappropriate discussion board messages may be deleted if an instructor feels it is necessary. Students will be notified privately that their posting was inappropriate.

Student access to the course Send Email feature may be limited or removed if an instructor feels that students are sending inappropriate electronic messages to other students in the course.

SYLLABUS DISCLAIMER

The instructor views the course syllabus as an educational contract between the instructor and students. Every effort will be made to avoid changing the course schedule but the possibility exists that unforeseen events will make syllabus changes necessary. The instructor reserves the right to make changes to the syllabus as deemed necessary. Students will be notified in a timely manner of any syllabus changes face-to-face, via email or in the course site Announcements. Please remember to check your ASU email and the course site Announcements often.

TECHNICAL SUPPORT CONTACT INFORMATION

For technical assistance 24 hours a day, 7 days a week, please contact the University Technology Office Help Desk:

Phone: 480-965-6500

Email: helpdesk@asu.edu

Web: <http://help.asu.edu/>

For information on systems outages see the ASU systems status calendar, please visit <http://syshealth.asu.edu/> and <http://systemstatus.asu.edu/status/calendar.asp>

ACCESSIBILITY STATEMENT

In compliance with the Rehabilitation Act of 1973, Section 504, and the Americans with Disabilities Act of 1990, professional disability specialists and support staff at the Disability Resource Centers (DRC) facilitate a comprehensive range of academic support services and accommodations for qualified students with disabilities. DRC staff coordinate transition from high schools and community colleges, in-service training for faculty and staff, resolution of accessibility issues,

community outreach, and collaboration between all ASU campuses regarding disability policies, procedures, and accommodations.

Students who wish to request an accommodation for a disability should contact the Disability Resource Center (DRC) for their campus.

Tempe Campus

<http://www.asu.edu/studentaffairs/ed/drc/>
480-965-1234 (Voice)
480-965-9000 (TTY)

Polytechnic Campus

<http://www.asu.edu/studentaffairs/ed/drc/>
480.727.1165 (Voice)
480.727.1009 (TTY)

West Campus

<http://www.west.asu.edu/drc/>
University Center Building (UCB), Room 130
602-543-8145 (Voice)

Downtown Phoenix Campus

<http://campus.asu.edu/downtown/DRC>
University Center Building, Suite 160
602-496-4321 (Voice)
602-496-0378 (TTY)

TITLE IX

Title IX is a federal law that provides that no person be excluded on the basis of sex from participation in, be denied benefits of, or be subjected to discrimination under any education program or activity. Both Title IX and university policy make clear that sexual violence and harassment based on sex is prohibited. An individual who believes they have been subjected to sexual violence or harassed on the basis of sex can seek support, including counseling and academic support, from the university. If you or someone you know has been harassed on the basis of sex or sexually assaulted, you can find information and resources at

<http://sexualviolenceprevention.asu.edu/faqs/students>.