FUTURE OF WAR – POS 394  
WEDNESDAY 4:30 PM – 7:15 PM  
COLLEGE OF DESIGN NORTH 62  
SPRING 2016

Professor Daniel Rothenberg  
Email: daniel.rothenberg@asu.edu  
Office Hours: Coor 6675, Wednesdays 2:00-4:00 PM and by appointment

Professor Peter L. Bergen  
Email: peter.bergen@asu.edu

Paul Lohse, Graduate Teaching Assistant  
Email: paul.lohse@asu.edu  
Office Hours: Coor 6775, Wednesdays 1:00-2:00 PM and by appointment

COURSE OVERVIEW  
This course engages the profound social, political, economic, and cultural implications of the changing nature of war and conflict. The class provides an overview of some classic philosophical and military-strategic theories and conceptions of war, an introduction to the laws of war and a consideration of broad trends in global conflict including the decline in interstate war and emerging ideas on civilizational conflict and preventative war. The class looks at key elements of the current transformation of conflict including new and emerging technologies such as drones and cyberwar and the complex threats of global terrorism. It also considers the psychological and humanitarian impact of conflict through a review of the plight refugees and internally displaced persons with a focus on recent events in Syria as well as a review of moral injury among U.S. soldiers and their families. The course contextualizes these issues and debates in relation to the post-9/11 wars, with a special focus on the case of Iraq from 2003 to the present, including a consideration of how the U.S. goes to war, the rise of ISIS, domestic terrorism and how recent conflicts have impacted the U.S. military and the larger American 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 (https://futureofwar.asu.edu/).

COURSE STRUCTURE  
The course is organized through weekly themes with associated readings. Many class meetings feature guest lectures and presentations by nationally and internationally recognized experts including former military officers, former government officials, journalists, scholars, and policy makers, the majority of whom are Center on the Future of War Faculty Affiliates or members of the Future of War team at New America, a DC-based think tank. Short biographies of course faculty and guest lecturers can be found below.

COURSE MATERIALS AND REQUIREMENTS  
This is a 3-credit course that meets once a week with extensive and diverse readings and significant class discussion. All course readings are either posted on Blackboard or accessible using the URLs listed in the syllabus (or available in both ways). There are no prerequisites for this course. Grading is based on a 100 point scale as follows: 10 points for the reflection paper; 25 points for the first writing assignment; 25 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 13

Guest speaker
Lt. Gen. (ret.) Benjamin Freakley speaking on the state of the U.S. military and leadership

Readings
Defense One, “What is the Future of War?”

Video – homework
Watch Peter L. Bergen and Tresha Mabile’s “American War Generals,” National Geographic 2014 on YouTube
[https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=5N1s-mWPWs](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=5N1s-mWPWs)

Week 2 – What is War?/Forecasting War – January 20

Guest speaker
Will H. Moore, ASU political science professor, speaking on the growing relevance of forecasting for understanding war and conflict

Readings

Reflection paper due on January 17

Week 3 – Case of Iraq: 2003 to the Present – January 27

Guest speaker
Douglas A. Ollivant, former Director for Iraq at the National Security Council, speaking about the case of Iraq from the U.S.-led overthrow of the Hussain regime to the present

Readings
Brennan et al., *Ending the U.S. War in Iraq*, RAND, Chapters 2 and 3.
[http://newamerica.net/sites/newamerica.net/files/policydocs/Ollivant_Reinterpreting_Coun terinsurgency.pdf](http://newamerica.net/sites/newamerica.net/files/policydocs/Ollivant_Reinterpreting_Counterinsurgency.pdf)
Juan Cole, “What We Lost: Top Ten Ways the Iraq War Harmed the US,” Informed
Comment, March 18, 2013.
http://www.juancole.com/2013/03/what-iraq-harmed.html
http://foreignpolicy.com/2012/03/20/top-10-lessons-of-the-iraq-war-2/
http://www.cfr.org/iraq/iraq-war-worth-/p26820
For background review:
BBC, “Iraq profile – timeline.”

Week 4 – Regulating War/Laws of War – February 3
Guest speaker
Rosa Brooks, Georgetown University law professor, on the laws of war and how “war has become everything”
Readings
International Committee on the Red Cross, “What is International Humanitarian Law?” 2004.
http://foreignpolicy.com/2015/03/13/theres-no-such-thing-as-peacetime-forever-war-terror-civil-liberties/

Week 5 – How the U.S. Goes to War/Experience of War/Post-Cold War Conflict – February 10
Readings

Week 6 – 9/11, Al-Qaeda, Global Terrorism and the Future of War – February 17
Readings

Week 7 – Impact of War: Refugees and Internally Displaced Persons – February 24
Guest speaker
Mohammed Alqaysi, former refugee and case worker for the International Rescue Committee speaking about refugees abroad and in the U.S.
Readings
http://www.migrationpolicy.org/article/refugees-and-asylees-united-states
BBC, “Syria: The story of the conflict.”  
http://data.unhcr.org/syrianrefugees/regional.php
Catholic Relief Services, “Syrian Refugees: Meet the People Everyone’s Talking About.”  
George Bowden, “Refugee Crisis In Europe Explained Through Infographics Laying Bare Current Situation,” The Huffington Post UK, October 27, 2015.  
http://www.huffingtonpost.co.uk/2015/10/27/europe-refugee-crisis-graphics-latest-developments_n_8398868.html

Week 8 – Domestic Terrorism/Nuclear Proliferation, Deterrence and Preventative War – March 2  
Guest speaker  
Scott A. Silverstone, professor of international relations at West Point, on nuclear proliferation, deterrence and preventive war  
Readings  
Scott A. Silverstone, Germany Rising: The Preventative War Dilemma and the Tragic Twists of History, forthcoming, selections.  

First paper due on March 6

Spring Break – March 8 – 15

March 10 – Second Annual Future of War Conference in Washington, DC – live streamed

Week 9 – Civilizational Conflict/Patterns of Violence/End of Interstate War? – March 16  
Guest speaker  
Brad Allenby, ASU engineering professor, on civilizational conflict  
Readings  

Week 10 – War and Technological Innovation: The Case of Drones – March 23  
Readings  

Week 11 – Current Crises in Syria/Iraq, Counterinsurgency and Future Conflicts – March 30  
Guest speaker  
David Kilcullen, former counterinsurgency advisor to the U.S. State Department and to Gen
Petraeus in Iraq, on ISIS, Iraq/Syria and understanding the future conflict environment

Readings

Week 12 – Moral Injury and the Costs of the Post-9/11 Wars – April 6

Guest speaker
David Wood, Pulitzer Prize winning journalist and former conscientious objector, on moral injury and the psychological challenges faced by veterans of the post 9/11 wars

Readings
David Wood, “I’m A Good Person And Yet I’ve Done Bad Things”: A Warrior’s Moral Dilemma Huffington Post, 2014, parts 1, 2 and 3 and sidebar.
http://projects.huffingtonpost.com/moral-injury
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 13 – The Rise of ISIS and the Future of War – April 13

Readings
Peter Bergen, United Stated of Jihad Investigating America's Homegrown Terrorists, 2016, Chapter 11: Final Jihad, pp. 244-280.

Week 14 – Cyberwar and the Importance of Imagining World War III – April 20

Guest speaker
Peter W. Singer, Strategist and Senior Fellow at New America and author of many influential books on national security speaking about cyberwar and the future of conflict

Readings
Peter W. Singer and August Cole, “The Reality of Cyberwar: World War III would be unlike any
other conflict,” *Politico*, July 9, 2015.

Week 15 – Global Trends and the Future of War – April 27

**Readings**

**Second paper due on May 1**

**Final exam on May 4**
COURSE FACULTY

Peter L. Bergen is Co-Director, Center on the Future of War, Professor of Practice, School of Politics and Global Studies and Vice President of New America, a DC-based think tank and civic engagement institution. His books Manhunt: The Ten Year Search for Bin Laden, from 9/11 to Abbottabad, The Longest War: The Enduring Conflict between America and Al-Qaeda, Holy War, Inc.: Inside the Secret World of Bin Laden have all been New York Times bestsellers and listed as among the best non-fiction books of the year by the Washington Post, the Guardian, Amazon, Foreign Policy, the Sunday Times, The Times and other major publications. HBO turned Manhunt into a film that won the Emmy for best documentary and CNN used a prior book The Osama bin Laden I Know: An Oral History of al Qaeda’s Leader for a film that was nominated for an Emmy and named the best documentary of 2006 by the Society of Professional Journalists. He is National Security Analyst at CNN and has written extensively about al-Qaeda, Afghanistan, Pakistan, counterterrorism, homeland security and the Middle East for the New York Times, Los Angeles Times, Foreign Affairs, The Washington Post, Wall Street Journal, The Atlantic, and other newspapers and publications around the world.

Daniel Rothenberg is Professor of Practice, School of Politics and Global Studies, the Lincoln Fellow for Ethics and International Human Rights Law at ASU and a Fellow at New America. Previously, he was the founding executive director of the Center for Law and Global Affairs at the Sandra Day O’Connor College of Law, Managing Director of International Projects at the International Human Rights Law Institute at DePaul University College of Law, Senior Fellow at the Orville H. Schell, Jr. Center for International Human Rights at Yale Law School, Assistant Professor in the Department of Anthropology at the University of Michigan, and a Fellow in the Michigan Society of Fellows. He has designed and managed rule of law and human rights projects in Afghanistan, Iraq, Central Africa and throughout Latin America, including programs to train human rights NGOs, aid indigenous peoples in using international legal remedies, support gender justice, and collect and analyze thousands of first-person narratives from victims of atrocities. He books include With These Hands, Memory of Silence: The Guatemalan Truth Commission Report, Drone Wars: Transforming Conflict, Law, and Policy.
Week 1 – January 13 – Lt. Gen. (ret.) Benjamin Freakley

Lt. Gen. (ret.) Benjamin Freakley 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 2 – January 20 – Will H. Moore

Will H. Moore is a professor in the School of Politics and Global Studies and a Faculty Affiliate of the Center on the Future of War. His research focuses on quantitative studies of conflict, human rights, coercion, protest, rebellion, repression and terror. He is particularly interested in how political institutions impact these interactions and lead escalations and de-escalations of conflict. He co-directs the Conflict Consortium, and is the founder of the Citizen Media Evidence Research Partnership as well as an editor and contributor to the Political Violence @ a Glance blog. He previously taught at University of California, Riverside and Florida State University and was 2014-15 President of the Peace Science Society and 2015-16 President of Human Rights Section of the American Political Science Association.

Week 3 – January 27 – Douglas A. Ollivant

Douglas A. Ollivant is a Senior ASU Future of War Fellow at New America as well as Senior Vice President of Mantid International, LLC, a global strategic consulting firm with offices in Washington, Beirut and Baghdad. 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 currently writing a book comparing U.S. involvement in the Iraq and Afghanistan conflicts.

Week 4 – February 3 – Rosa Brooks

Rosa Brooks is an ASU Senior Future of War Fellow and a professor at the Georgetown University Law Center. 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.
Week 7 – February 24 – Mohammed Alqaysi

Mohammed Alqaysi is a Case Manager at the International Rescue Committee (IRC) in Phoenix. He was born in Iraq and received a BA in Computer Science at the University of Baghdad, attending classes during the height of the country’s brutal civil war and completing his degree in 2008. He fled the country and settled in the Phoenix area as a refugee. He now assists members of the significant local refugee population, who are from multiple conflict zones around the world.

Week 8 – March 2 – Scott A. Silverstone

Scott A. Silverstone is an ASU Future of War Fellow at New America and a professor of international relations at West Point. His main areas of research include international relations theory, international security, and American foreign policy. He is the author of Preventive War and American Democracy and Divided Union: The Politics of War in the Early American Republic and is currently writing a book on preventive war and the rise of German power in the 1930s. Earlier in his career professor Silverstone was a U.S. naval officer where he deployed extensively throughout the western Pacific, the Indian Ocean, the Persian Gulf and East Africa, conducting anti-submarine operations and maritime reconnaissance. He managed the Navy's portion of the White House-directed nuclear attack survivability program and directed Navy participation in the Joint Chiefs of Staff-sponsored global crisis management exercise program and the NATO crisis exercise program and also worked on the Haiti intervention and NATO’s war in Kosovo.

Week 9 – March 16 – 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 11 – March 30 – David Kilcullen

David Kilcullen is a Senior ASU Future of War Fellow at New America author, strategist and counterinsurgency expert. He is Founder and Chairman of Caerus Global Solutions, a strategic research and design firm that helps governments, global institutions, businesses and communities build resiliency in conflict, disaster-affected and post-conflict environments. Before joining private industry he served 25 years as an army officer, diplomat and policy advisor for the Australian and United States governments, in command and operational missions (including peacekeeping, counterinsurgency and foreign internal defense) across the Middle East, Southeast Asia and Europe. In the United States he served as Chief Strategist in the State Department’s Counterterrorism Bureau, and served in Iraq as Senior Counterinsurgency Advisor to General David Petraeus, before becoming Special Advisor for Counterinsurgency to Secretary of State Condoleezza Rice. He is the author of a number of influential books including, The Accidental Guerrilla: Fighting Small Wars in the Midst of a Big One and Counterinsurgency, Out of the Mountains and, Blood Year: The Unraveling of Western Counterterrorism based on an essay that received the Walkley Award, the Australian version of the Pulitzer Prize.
David Wood is an ASU Future of War Fellow at New America. A staff correspondent for The Huffington Post, he won the 2012 Pulitzer Prize for National Reporting for a series on the severely wounded of those wars. He is a former conscientious objector who has covered the military and wars since 1977 as a staff correspondent for TIME magazine, the Los Angeles Times, Newhouse News Service, and other publications. His new book on moral injury, the effects of war on those who fought in Iraq and Afghanistan, and on civilians at home who sent them.

Peter W. Singer is a Strategist and Senior Fellow at New America, the author of multiple award-winning books and one world's leading experts on 21st century security issues. His books include Corporate Warriors: The Rise of the Privatized Military Industry; Children at War; Wired for War: The Robotics Revolution and Conflict in the 21st Century; and Cybersecurity and Cyberwar: What Everyone Needs to Know. He has been named by the Smithsonian Institution-National Portrait Gallery as one of the 100 leading innovators in the nation, by Defense News as one of the 100 most influential people in defense issues, and by Foreign Policy magazine to their Top 100 Global Thinkers List. He has worked as a consultant for the US military, Defense Intelligence Agency, and FBI, as well as advised a wide-range of technology and entertainment programs, including for Warner Brothers, Dreamworks, Universal, HBO, and the video game series Call of Duty. His most recent book is Ghost Fleet: A Novel of the Next World 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.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Campus</th>
<th>Website</th>
<th>Contact Information</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>West Campus</td>
<td><a href="http://www.west.asu.edu/drc/">http://www.west.asu.edu/drc/</a></td>
<td>University Center Building (UCB), Room 130 602-543-8145 (Voice)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Downtown Phoenix Campus</td>
<td><a href="http://campus.asu.edu/downtown/DRC">http://campus.asu.edu/downtown/DRC</a></td>
<td>University Center Building, Suite 160 602-496-4321 (Voice) 602-496-0378 (TTY)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**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](http://sexualviolenceprevention.asu.edu/faqs/students).