Course Overview
This course engages the 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 a number of broad trends in global conflict. The class looks at key elements of the current transformation of conflict including new and emerging technologies such as drones and autonomous weapons and the complex threats of global terrorism. It also considers the psychological, social and humanitarian impact of conflict through a review of the plight of refugees and internally displaced persons with a focus on recent events in Syria. The course contextualizes these issues and debates in relation to the post-9/11 wars, with 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/). All course material including readings, assignments and other relevant class information is available on the course Blackboard site.

Course Structure
The course is organized by weekly themes and 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, graduate teaching assistant, 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 posted on Blackboard. Occasionally, course faculty may send out additional material.
ATTENDANCE
Students are required to attend class and must arrive on time. If a student cannot attend class or arrive on time, the student should notify Prof. Rothenberg by email as far in advance of the absence of lateness as possible. Two absences per semester are allowed (no need to have a reason). Failure to attend and/or failure to arrive on time will affect your course grade. Please note that absences will be allowed when related to religious observances/practices that are in accord with ACD 304–04 ("Accommodation for Religious Practices"). Also absences will be allowed when related to university sanctioned events/activities that are in accord with ACD 304–02 ("Missed Classes Due to University-Sanctioned Activities").

USE OF COMPUTERS, CELL PHONES, TABLETS, RECORDING DEVICES, ETC.
Use of computers, cell phones, tablets, recording devices etc. are not allowed in class. Students who want to take notes, may use a pen and paper, but the instructors encourage listening, questions and open conversation.

ASSIGNMENTS AND GRADING
Course assignments include: weekly short answer exams that are based on study questions provided in advance; one reflection paper (4-6 pages); two writing assignments (5-7 pages); a final exam; and, a grade for in-class participation and attendance.

The course grade is based on a 100 point scale as follows: 24 points for multiple choice exams (we use the best 12 at 2 points each); 10 points for the reflection paper; 20 points for the first writing assignment; 20 points for the second writing assignment; 20 points for the final exam; and 6 points for in-class participation/attendance. Specific and detailed descriptions of each assignment will be provided through the Blackboard site. There are also some opportunities for extra credit during the semester.

Letter grades are assigned based on ASU grading policies (A+, A, A-, B+, B, B-, C+, C, D or E) and are awarded upon completion of the course. Grades are based on the following point calculations:

A+ 100
A  95-99
A- 90-94
B+ 87-89
B  84-86
B- 80-83
C+ 77-79
C  74-76
D  70-73
E  69 and below

All assignments must be turned in on time for full credit and should be emailed to Pablo Ortega Poveda, the Graduate Teaching Assistant for the class, using the email presented above.

If you cannot complete an assignment on time, please contact Professor Rothenberg as far in advance as possible by email to request an extension. Assignments that are turned in late without an extension will be marked down a full grade for every 24 hour delay.
**WEEKLY THEMES AND READINGS**


*Guest speaker*
Lt. Gen. (ret.) Benjamin Freakley

*Readings*

**Week 2 – 9/11, Al-Qaeda, ISIS, and Global Terrorism – January 17**

*Readings*

**Week 3 – What is Strategy/What is the Future of War? – January 24**

*Guest speaker*
Lt. Gen. (ret.) Robert Schmidle

*Readings*
Robert Schmidle, “Can Strategy Be Taught?”
Robert Schmidle, Presentation, Future of War Conference 2016

**Week 4 – Afghanistan and Reconstruction – January 31**

*Guest speaker*
Candace Rondeaux

*Readings*

Reflection paper due on February 7
Week 5 – U.S. Drone Policy/Autonomous Weapons – February 7

Readings

Week 6 – Law of War/How the U.S. Goes to War – February 14

Readings
International Committee on the Red Cross, “What is International Humanitarian Law?” 2004.

Week 7 – Countering Violent Extremism (CVE)/Changing Character of War – February 21

Guest speaker
Robert MacKenzie

Readings
Week 8 – Iraq/the International Criminal Court – February 28

Readings
Some reflections on the Iraq War by CFR, Stephen Walt and Juan Cole, 2011-2013
(review to answer key study questions)
Richard R. Brennan, et. al., Ending the U.S. War in Iraq, Santa Monica, CA: RAND, pp. 21-40; 50-64.

Spring Break – March 4–11

Week 9 – Global Trends and Weaponized Narrative – March 14

Guest speaker
Brad Allenby

Readings

First paper due on March 18

Week 10 – Counterinsurgency and Counterterrorism/Costs of War – March 21

Guest speaker
David Kilcullen

Readings
PDF materials from the Watson Center’s “Costs of War” project at: http://costsofwar.org/

Week 11 – Syria, Iraq and US foreign policy today – March 28

Guest speaker
Anand Gopal

Readings
Peter Bergen, selected articles from CNN.com
Week 12 – Counterterrorism Policy / Is War Declining? – April 4

Guest speaker
Josh Geltzer

Readings

Future of War 2018 Conference in Washington, DC – live streamed – April 9

Week 13 – Women in ISIS/Refugees and the Impact of War – April 11

Guest speaker
Azadeh Moaveni

Readings

In addition, please review these websites/URLs:
https://www.migrationpolicy.org/article/refugees-and-asylees-united-states
United Nations High Commission on Refugees, “Syria Emergency”
BBC, “Migrant crisis: Migration to Europe explained in seven charts”
MercyCorps, “Quick facts: What you need to know about the Syria crisis”
Zac Beauchamp, “9 maps and charts that explain the global refugee crisis,” Vox.

Week 14 – Domestic Terrorism – April 18


Week 15 – What is War and What is Peace?/Course Reflections – April 25

Readings

Second paper due on April 30
Final exam on May 2, 4:50-7:35 pm
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. His books include With These Hands, Memory of Silence: The Guatemalan Truth Commission Report, Drone Wars: Transforming Conflict, Law, and Policy.

GRADUATE TEACHING ASSISTANT

Pablo Ortega is a Ph.D. student in Political Science in the School of Politics and Global Studies at ASU. His research interests are broadly focused on conflict processes, political violence, and social mobilization. Before coming to ASU, Pablo was a researcher for five years in the Colombian-based, Conflict Analysis Research Center (CERAC in Spanish), a think tank/research center on the study of armed violence, intrastate wars, human rights, security, and peacebuilding. In CERAC, Pablo led research projects for Colombian and international NGOs, governmental agencies, the United Nations, and companies, while also publishing in Colombian newspapers such as El Espectador, and Razón Pública.
Week 1 – January 10 – 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.

Lt. Gen. Schmidle is the University Advisor on Cyber Capabilities and Conflict Studies at ASU as well as a Professor of Practice in the School of Politics and Global Studies and a Senior Fellow in the Center on the Future of War. While on active duty he served as the first Deputy Commander of United States Cyber Command, responsible for standing up the command while executing full spectrum cyber operations. Subsequently he was the Principal Deputy Director, Cost Assessment and Program Evaluation in the Office of the Secretary of Defense. Lt. Gen. Schmidle has nearly 4,700 hours in tactical fighters, participating in combat operations in Iraqi and Bosnia. He commanded an F-18 squadron, VMFA-251 in combat and aboard USS America as part of Carrier Air Wing One, and was selected for an extraordinary second operational command of VMFA-115, another F-18 squadron. He has a Ph.D. in philosophy from Georgetown University and is a member of the Council on Foreign Relations and the Defense Science Board.

Week 4 – January 31 – Candace Rondeaux
Candace Rondeaux is a Professor of Practice in the School of Politics and Global Studies and a Senior Fellow in the Center on the Future of War. Previously, she was Senior Program Officer at the United States Institute of Peace, Director of the Researching Solutions to Violent Extremism (RESOLVE) Network, a Strategic Advisor to the U.S. Special Inspector General for Afghanistan Reconstruction, and a Researcher for the Open Society Foundations Regional Policy Initiative on Afghanistan/Pakistan and the International Crisis Group. Before that, she was a journalist with the Washington Post where she was the Bureau Chief for Afghanistan/Pakistan and a reporter focusing on crime and law issues where she was a member of a team that won a Pulitzer Prize for breaking news coverage of the Virginia Tech University Massacre. She has M.A.s from the Woodrow Wilson School of Public and International Affairs at Princeton University and the Arthur L. Carter Journalism Institute at New York University.

Week 7 – February 21 – Robert MacKenzie
Robert L. McKenzie is a senior fellow at New America and director of its Muslim Diaspora Initiative. McKenzie is a domestic and foreign policy analyst and scholar of the Middle East and North Africa with fifteen years of applied research and work experience for the U.S. government, private sector, and academia. McKenzie is an expert in displaced persons, refugee resettlement and integration, and Arab and Muslim communities in the United States and Europe. He is an adjunct professor at Georgetown University and he has been a lecturer at Wayne State University (Detroit), a researcher at the American University in Cairo, and a visiting scholar at the University of Oxford. Until recently, he was a visiting fellow and nonresident senior fellow at the Brookings Institute.
Institution, where he focused on Muslim communities in the West and the Syrian refugee crisis. In his most recent government position, McKenzie served as senior advisor for countering violent extremism (CVE) at the U.S. Department of State. Prior to that position, McKenzie was project director and responsible for establishing and launching the Hedayah Center in Abu Dhabi—the world’s first-ever international center on CVE. He has a Ph. D. in anthropology from the School of Oriental and African Studies at the University of London.

Week 8 – February 28 – Joshua Geltzer
Joshua Geltzer is an ASU Future of War Fellow at New America and executive director and visiting professor of law at Georgetown University Law Center's Institute for Constitutional Advocacy and Protection. From 2015 to 2017, he served as senior director for counterterrorism at the National Security Council staff, having served previously as deputy legal advisor to the National Security Council and as counsel to the assistant attorney general for national security at the Department of Justice. He also served as a law clerk to Justice Stephen Breyer of the U.S. Supreme Court and, before that, as a law clerk to Chief Judge Alex Kozinski of the Ninth Circuit Court of Appeals. He has a J.D. from Yale Law School, where he served as editor-in-chief of the *Yale Law Journal*, and a PhD in War Studies from King's College London, where he was a Marshall Scholar. He is the author of *US Counter-Terrorism Strategy and al-Qaeda: Signaling and the Terrorist World-View*, published by Routledge; and his work has appeared in *The Atlantic*, *Foreign Policy*, *Parameters*, *Studies in Conflict & Terrorism*, the *Journal of Constitutional Law*, and the *Berkeley Journal of International Law*.

Week 9 – March 14 – Brad Allenby
Braden R. Allenby is currently Lincoln Professor of Engineering and Ethics, and Professor of Civil, Environmental and Sustainable Engineering, and of Law at ASU and is an Affiliated Faculty at the Center on the Future of War. Previously, he was the Environment, Health and Safety Vice President for AT&T and the Director of Energy and Environmental Systems at Lawrence Livermore National Laboratory. 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. He received a J.D. and MA from the University of Virginia and a Ph.D. in Environmental Sciences from Rutgers. He is the author of many scholarly articles and books, including *Industrial Ecology and Sustainable Engineering* (co-authored with Tom Graedel), *The Theory and Practice of Sustainable Engineering*, and *The Techno-Human Condition* (with Dan Sarewitz).

Week 10 – March 21 – 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*
Week 11 – March 28 – Anand Gopal
Anand Gopal is Assistant Research Professor, Center on the Future of War, School of Politics and Global Studies at ASU. He is a journalist and sociologist (Ph.D., Columbia University) who has worked extensively in Afghanistan, Syria and Iraq. He has reported for Harpers, the New Yorker, the Wall Street Journal, the Christian Science Monitor and other publications while also producing scholarship based on his fieldwork and complex network analysis. His book, *No Good Men Among the Living: America, the Taliban and the War Through Afghan Eyes*, was a finalist for the 2015 Pulitzer Prize for general non-fiction and the 2014 National Book Award. He won a George Polk award for magazine reporting in 2017 for his article “The Hell After ISIS” in The Atlantic, which tells the struggles of one Iraqi family caught between Islamic State terrorists and United States-backed forces. His current work focuses on ISIS and other political actors in Iraq and Syria, where he travels frequently. He speaks Dari, Pashto and some Arabic.

Week 13 – April 11 – Azadeh Moaveni
Azadeh Moaveni is journalist and ASU Future of War Fellow at New America. She is currently writing a book about women and ISIS. Moaveni is the author of *Lipstick Jihad, Honeymoon in Tehran*, and *Iran Awakening*, which she co-wrote with Nobel Laureate Shirin Ebadi. As a correspondent for *TIME* and the *Los Angeles Times*, she reported from across the Middle East for over a decade. Her writing appears in the *New York Times*, the *New Yorker*, the *Financial Times*, and other publications. She is also a senior lecturer in journalism at Kingston University, London.
**STUDENT CONDUCT**
Students are required to adhere to behavior standards of ASU. 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. For questions on these policies, please reference the *Student Services Manual*, SSM 104–02 (“Handling Disruptive, Threatening, or Violent Individuals on Campus”). Also, students may not sell notes taken during the conduct of the course. For questions on this policy, please reference ACD 304–06 (“Commercial Note Taking Services”).

**ACADEMIC INTEGRITY**
In accordance with ASU policies, students must uphold academic integrity and are prohibited from engaging in cheating, plagiarism or related activities. ASU takes these issues very seriously and there are significant penalties for violating the university’s academic integrity policies. For questions on these policies, please reference the Student Academic Integrity Policy.

**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/](http://help.asu.edu/)

For information on systems outages see the ASU systems status calendar, please visit [http://syshealth.asu.edu/](http://syshealth.asu.edu/) and [http://systemstatus.asu.edu/status/calendar.asp](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. These accommodations are confidential.

**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.

As a mandated reporter, I am obligated to report any information I become aware of regarding alleged acts of sexual discrimination, including sexual violence and dating violence. ASU Counseling Services, https://eoss.asu.edu/counseling, is available if you wish discuss any concerns confidentially and privately.

**PROHIBITION AGAINST DISCRIMINATION, HARASSMENT AND RETALIATION**

ASU has explicit policies against discrimination, harassment and retaliation. For questions on these policies, please reference ACD 401 (“Prohibition Against Discrimination, Harassment, and Retaliation”).

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