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

Professor Daniel Rothenberg  
Email: daniel.rothenberg@asu.edu  
Office Hours: Coor 6692, Wednesdays 2:00-4:00 PM and by appointment

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 major philosophical and military-strategic theories and conceptions of war, an introduction to the laws of war and a consideration of broad trends in global politics. The class looks at some significant issues related to contemporary conflict including: drones and autonomous weapons; intelligence operations; refugees and internally displaced persons; the use of rape and sexual violence as tools of war; and the challenges of protecting civilians. It also engages issues of war and conflict in Afghanistan, Haiti, Iraq, North Korea and elsewhere. In general, the course contextualizes these issues and debates in relation to the post-9/11 wars, with a review of how the U.S. goes to war, the rise of ISIS, domestic terrorism and how recent conflicts have impacted 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/). Many class meetings feature guest lectures and presentations by nationally and internationally recognized experts including: journalists specializing in conflict reporting; scholars; former general officers; current military officers; former high ranking government officials; and key policy makers, the majority of whom are Center on the Future of War Faculty Affiliates or ASU Future of War Fellows at New America, a DC-based think tank. All course material including readings, assignments and other relevant class information is available on the course Canvas site.

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 Canvas. 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 or 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. Course faculty 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 personal reflection paper (4-6 pages); one critical essay (7-10 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: 20 points for multiple choice exams (we use the best 10 of 12 at 2 points each); 15 points for the reflection paper; 40 points for the critical essay; 15 points for the final exam (based on mini-exam questions); and 10 points for in-class participation/attendance. Specific and detailed descriptions of each assignment will be provided through the course Canvas 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 Baltazar Hernandez, Coordinator for the Center on the Future of War at bherna13@mainex1.asu.edu

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**

**Week 1 – U.S. and Post-9/11 Conflicts – January 9**
- **Guest speaker**
  - Lt. Gen. (ret.) Benjamin Freakley, Professor of Practice of Leadership, Special Advisor to President Crow on Leadership Initiatives, ASU
- **Readings**

**Week 2 – What is War?/Is Violence Declining? – January 16**
- **Readings**

**Week 3 – Immersive Reporting in North Korea/Law of War – January 23**
- **Guest speaker**
  - Suki Kim, ASU Future of War Fellow at New America
- **Readings**
  - International Committee on the Red Cross, “What is International Humanitarian Law?” 2004.

**Reflection paper due on January 28**

**Week 4 – Strategy in a Networked World – January 30**
- **Guest speaker**
  - Anne-Marie Slaughter, President and CEO, New America
- **Readings**

**Note:** Class will be held in the second floor lounge of the University Club from 6:00 – 7:45 pm, located at 425 E. University Drive on the ASU Tempe Campus.
Week 5 – Global Trends/How the U.S. Goes to War – February 6

Readings

Week 6 – Changing Character of War/U.S. and Afghanistan – February 13

Abdul Salam Zaeef’s My Life With the Taliban, NY: Columbia Univ. Press, 2010, pp. 229-244.
Azmat Khan, “Ghost Students, Ghost Teachers, Ghost Schools,” Buzzfeed, July 9, 2015.

Week 7 – Yemen: World’s Most Severe Humanitarian Crisis/U.S. Costs of War – February 20

Guest speaker
Iona Craig, ASU Future of War Fellow at New America

Readings
Iona Craig, “Britain’s Involvement in Yemen is Making the Situation Worse,” Prospect Magazine, December 9, 2017.
Materials from the Watson Center’s “Costs of War” project at: http://costsofwar.org/
Week 8 – U.S. Intelligence/Autonomous Weapons – February 27

Guest speaker
Frank Archibald, former director of the National Clandestine Service of the CIA, Senior Advisor, Crumpton Group

Readings
CIA, “The Office of Strategic Services America's First Intelligence Agency” and “Strategic Warning and the Role of Intelligence”. pp. 1-14.
Director of National Intelligence, “What We Do” and “National Mission Centers”
President's Daily Brief, selections.

Spring Break – March 3–10

Week 9 – Haiti and International Assistance/International Criminal Court – March 13

Guest speaker
Jonathan Katz, ASU Future of War Fellow at New America

Readings

Week 10 – The Future of Domestic and International Terrorism – March 20

Readings
Peter Bergen, various CNN pieces.
Week 11 – Reproductive Rights in Conflict/Refugees – March 27

Guest speaker
Jill Filipovic, ASU Future of War Fellow at New America

Readings
- Migration Policy Institute, selections.
- United Nations High Commission on Refugees, selections.

Week 12 – US Military Planning and Operations/Weaponized Narrative – April 3

Guest speaker
Col. Dennis Wille, U.S. Army Fellow at New America

Readings

Week 13 – Iraq: U.S.-led Invasion and Aftermath – April 10

Readings
- Some reflections on the Iraq War by CFR, Stephen Walt and Juan Cole, 2011-2013
- BBC, “Iraq profile – timeline” at: https://www.bbc.com/news/world-middle-east-14542954 (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.
- International Crisis Group, selections.
- Additional readings.
Week 14 – Protecting Civilians During War/U.S. Drone Policy – April 17
Guest speaker
Sarah Holewinski, Professor of Practice, Center on the Future of War, School of Politics and Global Studies
Readings
Zeid Ra’ad Al Hussein, UN High Commissioner for Human Rights, final statement at 38th session of the Human Rights Council, June 18, 2018.
Peter Bergen and Alyssa Sims, forthcoming book chapter on drones published by West Point.
Essay due on April 20

Week 15 – What is War and What is Peace?/Course Reflections – April 24
Readings

Future Security Forum 2019 in Washington, DC – live streamed – April 29 (all day)
Final exam on May 1, 4:50-6:40 pm in the regular classroom
COURSE FACULTY

Peter L. Bergen is co-director of the 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 co-director of the Center on the Future of War and Professor of Practice, School of Politics and Global Studies at ASU and a Senior 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. Rothenberg 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 has a Ph.D. from the University of Chicago and his books include With These Hands, Memory of Silence: The Guatemalan Truth Commission Report and Drone Wars: Transforming Conflict, Law, and Policy.
GUEST LECTURERS

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.

Week 3 – January 23 - Suki Kim
Suki Kim is an ASU Future of War Fellow at New America. She is currently working on a book how North Korea’s ruling class engage the legacy of war and its psychological consequences. She is the author of The New York Times best-seller Without You, There Is No Us: Undercover Among the Sons of North Korean Elite based on her work as the only writer to have ever to have lived undercover in North Korea. Her novel The Interpreter was the winner of PEN Open Book Award and a finalist for the PEN/Hemingway Award, and her articles have appeared in Harper’s, The New York Times, New York Review of Books, and New Republic, where she is a contributing editor. She has been awarded Guggenheim, Fulbright, and Open Society fellowships, and her recent TED Talk has drawn millions of viewers.

Week 4 – January 30 – Anne-Marie Slaughter
Anne-Marie Slaughter is the president and CEO of New America, a think and action tank dedicated to renewing America in the Digital Age. She is also the Bert G. Kerstetter ’66 University Professor Emerita of Politics and International Affairs at Princeton University. From 2009–2011, she served as director of policy planning for the United States Department of State, the first woman to hold that position. Prior to her government service, Slaughter was the Dean of Princeton’s Woodrow Wilson School of Public and International Affairs from 2002–2009 and the J. Sinclair Armstrong Professor of International, Foreign, and Comparative Law at Harvard Law School from 1994-2002. Foreign Policy magazine named her to their annual list of the Top 100 Global Thinkers in 2009, 2010, 2011, and 2012. She has written or edited eight books, including The Chessboard and the Web: Strategies of Connection in a Networked World and Unfinished Business: Women, Men, Work, Family as well as over 100 scholarly articles.

Week 7 – February 20 – Iona Craig
Iona Craig is an ASU Future of War Fellow at New America. She investigating U.S. counterterrorism and foreign policy in Yemen. From 2010 to 2015, she was the Yemen correspondent for The Times (of London). She has won numerous awards, including the 2016 Orwell Prize for journalism and the 2014 Martha Gellhorn Prize (two of the UK’s top awards) and was a runner-up for the James Foley Medill Medal for Courage in Journalism. Her investigation for The Intercept of a Navy SEAL raid in a remote Yemeni village won the 2018 George Polk Award for foreign reporting.
Week 8 – February 27 – Frank Archibald
Frank Archibald retired from the CIA in April 2015 as the Director of the National Clandestine Service (Now the Directorate of Operations) after over 30 years of service. As Director NCS, Mr. Archibald partnered with the Director of CIA (DCIA) in developing and leading strategy for the Agency and provided advice to senior US policymakers. He led thousands of officers in several hundred locations worldwide in clandestine intelligence collection, covert action, and collaboration with foreign partners. He managed a budget of several billion dollars. He placed special emphasis on interagency teamwork, leadership, and workforce development. At CIA, Mr. Archibald also served at the Chief of the Latin America Division, leading operations in South and Central America. He was the DCIA’s Representative to the President’s Special Representative for Afghanistan and Pakistan, Ambassador Richard Holbrooke, at the State Department. He was earlier the Deputy Director for Community Human Intelligence, spearheading coordination with the larger intelligence community, with a special focus on operational synchronization and training. Post-9/11, Mr. Archibald was a Deputy Department Chief in the CIA’s Counterterrorism Center, generating initial strategy for CIA’s response in Afghanistan and the region, managing intelligence collection and covert action in the region. He served as Chief of Station in three countries, including key Southeast and Southwest Asia locations and in Africa. His career included a number of other operational assignments in the foreign field. Mr. Archibald was awarded the Distinguished Intelligence Cross (CIA’s highest award for valor), the Intelligence Medal of Merit, the Donovan Award and the George HW Bush Medallion for Counterterrorism. Mr. Archibald is a graduate of Clemson University and holds a Master’s in Security Studies from the National War College. He served as an infantry sergeant in the US Marine Corps. Mr. Archibald speaks French. He is a member of the Board of Directors of the Office of Strategic Services Society and is active in supporting the CIA Memorial Fund. Since his retirement in 2015 Mr. Archibald has worked as a Senior Advisor with the Crumpton Group.

Week 9 – March 13 – Jonathan Katz
Jonathan Katz is an ASU Future of War Fellow at New America. He is writing a book about the forgotten wars that created America’s empire in the early twentieth century as told through the life of a legendary Marine. His first book, *The Big Truck That Went By: How the World Came to Save Haiti and Left Behind a Disaster*, was a finalist for the PEN/John Kenneth Galbraith Award for Nonfiction and won the Overseas Press Club’s Cornelius Ryan Award for the year’s best book on international affairs, and the J. Anthony Lukas Work-in-Progress Award. Katz is a former Associated Press correspondent who has reported from more than a dozen countries and territories around the world as well as Congress and the Pentagon. He was awarded the Medill Medal for Courage in Journalism and directs the Media & Journalism Initiative at Duke University’s John Hope Franklin Humanities Institute.

Week 11 – March 27 – Jill Filipovic
Jill Filipovic is an ASU Future of War Fellow at New America. She is working on a series of stories about abortion access for rape survivors in conflict and crisis zones, examining the impacts of local law, abortion stigma, and U.S. foreign policy on reproductive rights. A non-practicing lawyer, she is a weekly columnist for CNN and a contributing opinion writer to *The New York Times*. Her work has also appeared in the *Washington Post*, *Foreign Policy*, *TIME*, and other major publications. She is the author of *The H-Spot: The Feminist Pursuit of Happiness*. 
Week 12 – April 3 – Col. Dennis Wille
Col. Dennis Wille is a U.S. Army Fellow at New America. He has been an active duty member of
the United States Army for more than 23 years. He began his career as an Armor officer in 1995 and
served in Armored Cavalry units at Fort Carson, Colorado and Fort Stewart, Georgia. He has also
served as a space operations staff officer at Fort Hood, Texas; Fort Leavenworth, Kansas; Peterson
Air Force Base, Colorado; and most recently in Germany. During his career, Colonel Wille has
participated in deployments to Bosnia, Kuwait, Iraq, and Afghanistan. During his year-long tour in
Afghanistan, he focused on integrating non-military applications into NATO’s strategy.

Week 14 – April 17 – Sarah Holewinski
Sarah Holewinski is Professor of Practice at the Center on the Future of War and the School of Politics
and Global Studies. She currently works with the International Committee of the Red Cross and
previously worked at the Joint Chiefs of Staff and as an assistant to Amb. Samantha Powers at the
U.S. Mission to the United Nations. For a number of years, she was executive director of Center for
Civilians in Conflict, leading the organization’s efforts to make warring parties more responsible for
their actions to civilians before, during, and after armed conflict. Prior to joining the Center in 2006,
Holewinski was a member of the White House AIDS Policy team and founding member of West
Wing Writers, a firm of former White House speechwriters with clients including former President
Clinton and Bill Gates. She is a Senior Fellow with Truman National Security Project and a Term
Member with the Council of Foreign Relations.
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/

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. 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”).