

**Topics in International Relations:
The U.S. Intervention in Iraq
WWS 555d**

Wednesday, 7 pm - 10 pm

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The U.S. intervention in Iraq presents some of the most difficult and compelling foreign policy and national security issues facing the United States at the start of the 21st Century. In this seminar, students will consider them, one by one: the rationales for the intervention, its impact on law and practice relating to the use of force in international relations, and on the role of the United Nations in U.S. national security strategy. We will also consider implications of U.S. policy in Iraq for U.S. relations with European allies and the Arab world; and the impact of Iraq policy on U.S. counter-terrorism efforts. We will explore issues relating to human rights, as well those relating to post-conflict stability, reconstruction and development, the political transition process, civilian assistance efforts, and the challenge of public security.

The class will consist of weekly seminars, which will usually begin with a short lecture followed by class discussion. As described below, students will be asked to make occasional informal presentations based on the weekly readings.

Course requirements:

Readings: We will have twelve weeks of readings in the course. Books will be available from the University Store and in the Reserve Reading Room of the Library. Other material, which may include excerpted book chapters, will be on e-reserve, though I have also indicated in the syllabus direct links where they are available.

It is important that all students complete the readings before class.

The following books will either be in the reserve reading library, or excerpted in e-reserves.

Unless otherwise indicated below, all the books will be available for purchase at the UStore.

Books in **boldface**, below, are those from which we will be reading considerable portions (see syllabus for details).

Books marked with an asterisk (*) will be labeled on the UStore shelves as “optional”. This is because we will be reading less than 25% of the text in each of those books (again, see syllabus for details), and you may simply wish to rely on the library (or e-reserve) versions.

Benjamin and Simon, *The Age of Sacred Terror* (Random House, New York 2002).*

Blix, *Disarming Iraq* (Pantheon, 2004).

Cordesman, *The Iraq War: Strategy, Tactics, and Military Lessons* (CSIS Press, 2003).
Gordon and Shapiro, *Allies at War, America, Europe and the Crisis Over Iraq* (McGraw-Hill, 2004).*

Haass (ed.), *Economic Sanctions and American Diplomacy* (Brookings, 1998).
Keegan, *The Iraq War* (Knopf, New York, 2004).*

Kaplan and Kristol, *The War Over Iraq: Saddam’s Tyranny and America’s Mission* (Encounter Books, San Francisco, 2003).*

Makiya, *The Politics of Fear* (Updated Edition) (University of California Press, 1998).

Marr, *The Modern History of Iraq* (Second Edition), (Westview, 2004).

Pollack, *The Threatening Strom: the Case for Invading Iraq* (Random House, 2002).

Record, *Bounding the Global War on Terrorism* (Strategic Studies Institute, Army War College, 2003), available free of charge at
<<http://www.washingtonpost.com/wp-srv/nation/shoulders/report011204.pdf>>. (Need not be purchased; available online.)

Record, *Dark Victory: America’s Second War Against Iraq* (Naval Institute Press, Annapolis, 2004).*

Telhami, *The Stakes: The Consequences of Power and the Choice for Peace* (Westview, Reprint 2003).

Tardy, Editor, *Peace Operations After 11 September 2001* (Frank Cass, London and New York, 2004). (Not available for purchase; relevant chapter will be on reserves or e-reserves.)

Woodward, *Plan of Attack* (Simon and Schuster, 2004).

Thought Papers: At the beginning of the semester, students will be asked to designate four sessions for which they will prepare short thought papers relating to the assigned readings. The thought papers, which will respond to questions I will distribute a week

before the papers are due, should be between 700 and 900 words. For weeks you are assigned these papers, you will need to find at least a couple of additional hours for writing. The papers should be sent to me at schwartz.eric@comcast.net, and through the electronic blackboard, by noon on Tuesday each week, so that I can comment on them in writing and return them to you before class. Students should be prepared to make short, informal oral presentations of their papers in class. I will determine which students will make presentations after I read the papers, and will let you know at the beginning of class whether you will be asked to present.

Final paper: You will be required to write a final research paper of between 4500 and 5000 words. The paper will take the form of a strategy memorandum to the incoming administration. It can focus quite broadly on Iraq strategy, or look more narrowly, and in detail, at how Iraq has altered (or altered thinking about how to respond to) a particular challenge facing U.S. foreign policy-makers -- whether it is human rights, the United Nations, sanctions policy, post-conflict peace-building, etc. The memo should chart a way ahead for the new administration. I will describe the paper in further detail in early sessions of the course. Moreover, at about the mid-point of the semester, students will meet with me to discuss and reach a decision on topics.

Final Grade: Your overall evaluation will be based, in equal parts, on 1) the quality of your thought papers; 2) your class participation (including any informal presentations I ask you to give; and 3) your final paper.

PART ONE: INTRODUCTION AND GENERAL OVERVIEW

**September 13 (special Monday date for class:
remainder of classes will meet on Wednesdays):**
Introduction and Recent History of Iraq

Readings:

Marr, *The Modern History of Iraq (Second Edition)*, (Westview, 2004). Pages 3-217.

Questions for the first session

I am not requesting any thought papers for the first session of our seminar. But I do ask that you consider the following questions as you read the Marr excerpt and prepare for our class on the 13th. Please do not be intimidated by their scope or complexity, as I do not presume expert knowledge on your part of Iraq, the region, or the components of effective “nation-building.”

- In Iraq, what factors have inhibited the development of a modern state, if that is defined as one where the government exercises effective control over its territory, the government (whether or not democratically elected) enjoys a high degree of legitimacy, disputes are generally settled by peaceful means through public institutions whose role is accepted by most of the population, and there is a

framework of laws/rules that create predictability in economic relations and facilitate growth and development.

- Based on the history as described in the Marr reading, what was the most hopeful period of Iraqi history, and why? If you were an Iraqi political activist, which of the contending political philosophies/ideologies would you have embraced, and why?
- Given its history, is it possible that Iraq can develop into a liberal democracy in the foreseeable future? If not, what are the implications for U.S. policy?
- Consider Iraqi history in general, and the British experience in particular. If you were advising U.S. officials planning the 2003 military intervention and the post-conflict occupation, what would you identify as the 3-5 key “lessons of the past” from which to learn. To put in another way, what were the major “pitfalls to be avoided”. Based on your general reading, where have U.S. and allied officials succeeded? Where have they failed?
- What were the primary causes of the Iran-Iraq war, and its implications for the political development of Iraq and for regional stability? Why did the war go on for so long? Did the United States make the right policy calls in the context of this conflict?
- Are there any aspects of the Marr description and analysis that you would question? (You will have the chance on September 22.)

September 22: Introduction and Recent History of Iraq (continued)

Readings:

Makiya, *The Politics of Fear* (Updated Edition) (University of California Press, 1998).

September 29: The First Gulf War and its Aftermath; UN regimes, Dual Containment

Readings:

Marr, pages 217-308

Pollack, *The Threatening Storm: the Case for Invading Iraq* (Random House, 2002), Introduction to 108.

UN Security Council Resolution 678 (November 29, 1990), accessible through http://www.un.org/Docs/sc/unsc_resolutions.html

UN Security Council Resolutions 686 (March 2, 1991), 687 (April 3, 1991), and 688 (April 5, 1991), accessible through <http://www.un.org/Docs/sc/unsc_resolutions.html>.

Indyk, “The Clinton Administration’s Approach Toward the Middle East”, address at Soref Symposium, May 18, 1993, at <<http://www.washingtoninstitute.org/pubs/soref/indyk.htm>>.

Reidel, “U.S. Policy in the Gulf: Five Years of Dual Containment“, address at Soref Symposium, May 6, 1998, at <<http://www.washingtoninstitute.org/pubs/soref/riedel.htm>>.

Gause, “The Illogic of Dual Containment”, *Foreign Affairs*, March-April 1994, on e-reserve.

Letter from prominent former officials on U.S. policy toward Iraq, at website of Project for a New American Century, at <<http://www.newamericancentury.org/iraqclintonletter.htm>>.

U.S. Policy Toward Iraq, Panel II of a hearing of the House National Security Committee, September 16, 1998, on e-reserve. Read document 4 of 25, and others at your discretion. On e-reserve.

October 6: The Evolution and Execution of Bush Administration Policy on Iraq

Candidate Bush statements on Iraq policy, at <<http://www.foreignpolicy2000.org/library/index.html>>. Please select Iraq, Bush, and the statements. When you get to the text, there is a link on the upper right hand side for the specific references to Iraq.

Powell, Testimony at Budget Hearing Before the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, March 8, 2001, at <<http://www.state.gov/secretary/rm/2001/1164.htm>>.

Lynch, “Smart Sanctions: Rebuilding Consensus or Maintaining Conflict?”, June 28, 2001, Middle East Report online, in e-reserves.

Graham-Brown, “Iraq: Rolling Over Sanctions, Raising the Stakes”, MERIP Press Information Note 77, November 28, 2001, in e-reserves.

“U.N. Council Votes To Extend Iraq Plan”, *Reuters report in NY Times*, July 4, 2001, in e-reserves.

Woodward, *Plan of Attack* (Simon and Schuster, 2004).

Bockman, Marshall, Sandhu, Hildrith, Iraq: Differing Views in the Domestic Debate”, Congressional Research Service Report to Congress, October 16, 2002. At <<http://www.usembassy.it/pdf/other/RL31607.pdf>>.

Kaplan and Kristol, Chapter 6 (A Distinctly American Internationalism, 63-78).

Resolution proposed by Spain, the UK and the United States, March 7, 2003, at <<http://www.casi.org.uk/info/undocs/scres/2003/20030307draft.pdf>>.

Joint statement, by France, Germany, Russia, March 5, 2003, at <http://www.un.int/france/documents_anglais/030305_mae_france_irak.htm>.

Statement by France, March 19, at <http://www.un.int/france/documents_anglais/030319_cs_villepin_irak.htm>.

Statement by Germany, March 19, at <http://www.germany-un.org/archive/speeches/2003/sp_03_19_03.html>

Resolutions 1441 (at <<http://www.un.org/Docs/scres/2002/sc2002.htm>>) and 1483 (at <http://www.un.org/Docs/sc/unsc_resolutions03.html>)

October 13: The Conduct of the War

Bowman, "Iraq: U.S. Military Operations", Congressional Research Service, updated October 2, 2003, at <<http://fpc.state.gov/documents/organization/25375.pdf>>.

Keegan, *The Iraq War* (Knopf, New York, 2004), chapters 1 (1-7); 6 (127-164), 7 (165-182), and 8 (183-203).

Forthcoming (if available), proceedings of Jane's-CSIS conference on lessons learned from Iraq, September 18, 2003.

Cordesman, *The Iraq War: Strategy, Tactics, and Military Lessons* (CSIS Press, 2003). Sections to be determined, based on availability of other material, above.

PART II: KEY FOREIGN POLICY ISSUES

October 20: The Intervention: Was it Legal, and Does it Matter?

Pre-emption

-- Is deterrence enough?

Pollack, Chapters 5 (The Threat, 148-180), Chapter 8 (The Dangers of Deterrence, 243-280).

Statement of Eliot A. Cohen, Professor of Strategic Studies, Johns Hopkins University School of Advanced International Studies, before the House Armed Services Committee, October 2, 2002, at <<http://www.house.gov/hasc/openingstatementsandpressreleases/107thcongress/02-10-02cohen.html>>.

“Iraq: the War Debate”, Council on Foreign Relations Debate involving John Mearsheimer, Stephen Walt, William Kristol, and Max Boot, February 5, 2003, at <http://www.cfr.org/pub5513/stephen_m_walt_william_kristol_john_j_mearsheimer_leslie_h_gelb_max_boot/iraq_the_war_debate.php>.

[Students with the inclination to do so may wish also to look at the Mearsheimer-Walt piece that lays out their position in a polished article, at Mearsheimer and Walt, “Can Saddam be Contained? History Says Yes.” Paper, Cambridge, MA: Belfer Center for Science and International Affairs, November 2002. At <http://bcsia.ksg.harvard.edu/publication.cfm?program=CORE&ctype=paper&item_id=361>.]

-- The Doctrine and Systemic Implications.

The National Security Strategy of the United States of America, September 2002, at <<http://www.whitehouse.gov/nsc/nss.pdf>>.

Spencer, “The New National Security Strategy: An Effective Blueprint for the War on Terror”, *Heritage Foundation*, September 25, 2002, at <<http://www.heritage.org/Research/HomelandDefense/WM149.cfm>>.

Litwak, “The New Calculus of Pre-emption”, *Survival* (2002; 44; 53-79).

Berger, “The Bush Administration’s National Security Strategy: A Limited View of Leadership”, Testimony before the House Armed Service Committee, November 19, 2003, at <<http://armedservices.house.gov/openingstatementsandpressreleases/108thcongress/03-11-19berger.pdf>>.

-- The Law

UN Charter, at <http://www.un.org/aboutun/charter/index.html> (on electronic reserve). Focus, in particular, on introductory paragraphs; Chapter I, Article 2; and Chapter Chapter VII.

Articles by Damrosch and Oxman, Taft and Buchwald, Yoo, Wedgwood, Gardner, Falk, Sapiro, Franck, Farer, and Stromseth, from “Agora: Future Implications of the Iraq Conflict”, *American Journal of International Law*, July 2003, 553-642, on e-reserves.

A Duty to Protect?

International Commission on Intervention and State Sovereignty, *The Responsibility to Protect*, Forward and Synopsis. On e-reserves (<<http://www.iciss.gc.ca/report-e.asp>>).

Roth, “War in Iraq: Not a Humanitarian Intervention”, in *Human Rights Watch World Report, 2004*, at <http://hrw.org/wr2k4/3.htm#_Toc58744952>.

November 3: Sanctions Against Iraq -- Effective Containment, Excessive “Realpolitik”, or Appeasement by Another Name?

Haass (ed.), *Economic Sanctions and American Diplomacy* (Brookings, 1998), Introduction (1-9), Iraq (107-128), and Conclusion (197-212).

Economic Sanctions and Oil for Food

UN Security Council Resolutions: 661 (August 9, 1990); 687 (April 3, 1991); 706 (August 15, 1991); 712 (September 19, 1991); 986 (April 15, 1995); 1051 (March 27, 1996); 1153 (February 20, 1998); 1284 (December 17, 1999); and 1409 (May 14, 2002). All accessible through <http://www.un.org/Docs/sc/unsc_resolutions.html>.

Chronology of UN oil for food program, at <<http://www.un.org/Depts/oip/background/chron.html>>.

Katzman, *Iraq: Oil for Food Program, International Sanctions, and Illicit Trade*, Congressional Research Service Report for Congress, updated May 19, 2003. At <<http://fpc.state.gov/documents/organization/21122.pdf>>

Rouleau, “America’s Unyielding Policy Toward Iraq”, *Foreign Affairs*, January-February 1995, on e-reserve.

UNICEF report on Child Mortality in Iraq, accessible in parts, at <<http://www.fas.org/news/iraq/1999/08/990812-unicef.htm>>. (Note: While I have not been able to access this document from a UNICEF site, I am reasonably confident the document that the FAS site has the document as it was published by UNICEF.)

Bellamy press conference on release of the Child Mortality Surveys, at

Jones, press briefing on Iraq sanctions, August 13, 1999, at <<http://www.unicef.org/newsline/99pr29.htm>><<http://www.un.int/usa/99jon813.htm>>.

Weapons Inspection and Coercive Inducement

Katzman, “Iraq: Weapons Programs, UN Requirements, and U.S. Policy”, CRS Issue Brief for Congress, updated September 2, 2003, pp. 1-9. As you read the chronology, review the resolutions described, which can be accessed on e-reserves, or at <http://www.un.org/Docs/sc/unsc_resolutions.html>. Their numbers: 678, 686, 687, 688, 707, 715, 1051, 1060, 1115, 1134, 1137, 1194, 1205, 1284, and 1441.

UNSCOM chronology, at <<http://www.un.org/Depts/unscom/Chronology/chronologyframe.htm>>.

UNMOVIC “Basic Facts” and “Chronology”, at <<http://www.unmovic.org>>.

Byman, “A Farewell to Arms Inspections”, *Foreign Affairs*, January 1, 2000, on e-reserve.

Blix, *Disarming Iraq* (Pantheon, 2004), Chapter 1 (3-14), chapters 8-11, pp. 175-254).

Cirincione, Iraq’s “WMD Arsenal: Deadly But Limited”, *Proliferation Brief*, Vol. 5, No. 11, August 28, 2002. at <http://www.ceip.org/files/Publications/Iraq's%20WMD%20Arsenal1.asp?from=pubproject>.

Mathews et al., *Iraq: A New Approach* (Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, August 2002), at <http://www.ceip.org/files/pdf/Iraq.Report.pdf>.

Assessments

Byman, “After the Storm: U.S. Policy Toward Iraq Since 1991”, *Political Science Quarterly*, Winter 2001, at http://www.psqonline.org/99_article.php3?year=2000&month=winter&a=01free.

Lopez and Cortright, “Containing Iraq: Sanctions Worked”, *Foreign Affairs*, July-August 2000, 90-103, on e-reserves.

Kaplan and Kristol, Chapter 8 (From Containment to Regime Change, 95-111).

November 10: Intelligence: Why was it so wrong, and how do we fix the problem?

Remarks to the UN Security Council by Secretary Powell, February 5, 2003, with links, at <http://www.state.gov/secretary/rm/2003/17300.htm>.

Central Intelligence Agency, “Iraq’s Weapons of Mass Destruction Programs”, October 2002, at http://www.cia.gov/cia/reports/iraq_wmd/Iraq_Oct_2002.htm.

Iraq's Weapons of Mass Destruction - The assessment of the British Government, 8/7/2004 (could be July or August), at <http://www.number10.gov.uk/output/page271.asp>.

Cirincione, Mathews, Perkovich and Orton, *WMD in Iraq: Evidence and Implications* (Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, 2004) 5-62, at <http://www.ceip.org/files/pdf/Iraq3FullText.pdf>.

Pollack, “Spies, Lies and Weapons: What Went Wrong”, *The Atlantic Monthly*, January/February 2004, at <http://www.theatlantic.com/issues/2004/01/pollack.htm>.

Senate Select Committee on Intelligence, *Report on the U.S. Intelligence Community’s Prewar Intelligence Assessments on Iraq*, Chapters I (1-39), VII (239-257), IX (272-285),

X (286-292), XII (304-349), XIII (350-356), XIV (357-365), and XV (366-370), at <<http://intelligence.senate.gov/iraqreport2.pdf>>.

Mayer, "A Reporter at Large: The Manipulator: How Ahmad Chalabi Sold the War", *The New Yorker*, June 2, 2004, at 58. On e-reserves.

Pletka, "U.S. Only Wounded Itself When it Betrayed Chalabi", *Los Angeles Times*, June 4, 2004, at <http://www.aei.org/news/filter.,newsID.20646/news_detail.asp>.

Transcript of Wolf Blitzer interview with Ahmad Chalabi, May 23, 2004, at <<http://www.cnn.com/TRANSCRIPTS/0405/23/le.00.html>>.

**November 17: U.S. Diplomacy, the UN, and the European Allies:
Impact on Relations and Implications for U.S. Interests**

Note: Please briefly review the last six readings for the session of October 6, and then read the following:

Kagan, "Power and Weakness," *Policy Review*, June/July 2002, at <<http://www.ceip.org/files/publications/2002-06-02-PolicyReview.asp>>, and on e-reserve.

Kupchan, "The End of the West", in *Atlantic Monthly Online*, November 2002, at <<http://www.theatlantic.com/issues/2002/11/kupchan.htm>>

Hansen, "The Decline and Fall of the American Empire" (interview with Kupchan), December 2, 2002, *Salon.com*, at <<http://www.salon.com/books/int/2002/12/02/kupchan>>.

Hulsman, "Cherry-Picking: U.S. and European Relationship", Testimony before the House International Relations Subcommittee on Europe, June 11, 2003, at <<http://www.heritage.org/about/staff/johnhulsman.cfm>>.

Gordon and Shapiro, *Allies at War, America, Europe and the Crisis Over Iraq* (McGraw-Hill, 2004).

**November 24: U.S. Policy and the Middle East:
Impact and Implications for U.S. relations with the region,
stability and democratic development, and
counter-terrorism.**

Ajami, "Iraq and the Arabs' Future", *Foreign Affairs*, January-February 2003, on e-reserve.

Doran, "Palestine, Iraq and American Strategy", *Foreign Affairs*, January-February 2003, on e-reserve.

Telhami, *The Stakes: The Consequences of Power and the Choice for Peace* (Westview, Reprint 2003), pp. Chapter 2 (37-66), and Chapters 4-5 (95-166).

Lynch, "Taking Arabs Seriously", *Foreign Affairs*, September-October 2003, at <http://www.foreignaffairs.org/20030901faessay82506/marc-lynch/taking-arabs-seriously.html>. And author update, April 2004, at <http://www.foreignaffairs.org/20040428faupdate83375/marc-lynch/losing-hearts-and-minds.html>.

Brumberg, Arab Public Opinion and U.S. Foreign Policy: a Complex Encounter, testimony before the Subcommittee on National Security, Veterans Affairs and International Relations, of the House Committee on Government Reform, at <http://www.ceip.org/files/pdf/2002-10-08-BrumbergHilltestimony.pdf>.

Telhami, "Arab Public Opinion on the United States and Iraq: Postwar Prospects for Changing Prewar Views", *The Brookings Review*, Summer 2003, pp. 24-27, at <http://www.brook.edu/press/review/summer2003/telhami.htm>.

Benjamin and Simon, *The Age of Sacred Terror* (Random House, New York 2002), Chapters 2 (38-94), and 5 (167-218).

Record, *Bounding the Global War on Terrorism* (Strategic Studies Institute, Army War College, 2003), at <http://www.washingtonpost.com/wp-srv/nation/shoulders/report011204.pdf>.

Feith, "Iraq: One Year Later", Remarks By Under Secretary of Defense for Policy Douglas J. Feith, the American Enterprise Institute for Public Policy Research, Washington, D.C., May 4, 2004, on website of U.S. Embassy Tokyo, at <http://japan.usembassy.gov/e/p/tp-20040510-17.html>.

December 1: The Challenge of Post-Conflict Transition, and of a UN Role in Iraq under Legal Occupation.

Schwartz, "U.S. Policy Toward Peace Operations", in *Peace Operations After 11 September 2001* (Frank Cass, London and New York, 2004), 39-58. On e-reserve.

UN Security Council Resolutions: 1483, 1500, 1511, 1546, accessible through <http://www.un.org/apps/news/infocusRel.asp?infocusID=50&Body=Iraq&Body1=inspect>.

Dobbins et al., *America's Role in Nation-Building: from Germany to Iraq* (Rand 2003), chapter 10 (Iraq, pp. 167-219).

Schwartz (principal author), *Iraq: One Year After* (March 2004), at http://www.cfr.org/pdf/Iraq_yearafter.pdf. See, especially, section on political transition and the UN.

Fallows, "Blind into Baghdad", *Atlantic Monthly*, January-February 2004, on e-reserves.

Response by Joseph Collins, *Atlantic Monthly*, April 2004.

Response by Walt Slocombe, *Atlantic Monthly*, May 2004, on e-reserves.

Hearing on Reconstruction Portion of Iraq Supplemental, Subcommittee on Foreign Operations, Export Financing and Related Program, House Appropriations Committee, September 24, 2003, on e-reserves.

Report of Fact-Finding Mission to Iraq led by Lakhdar Brahimi, February 2004, S/2004/140, at <<http://www.un.org/News/dh/iraq/rpt-fact-finding-mission.pdf>>.

Iraq's Transitional Administrative Law, at <<http://www.washingtonpost.com/ac2/wp-dyn/A39825-2004Mar8?language=printer>>.

Briefing of Special Adviser to UN Secretary-General, Lakhdar Brahimi, to Security Council on the political transition process in Iraq, June 7, 2004, at <<http://www.un.org/apps/news/infocusnewsiraq1.asp?NewsID=753&sID=19>>.

National Security Presidential Directive on U.S. Operations in Iraq, May 11, 2004, at <<http://www.fas.org/irp/offdocs/nsdp/nspd051104.pdf>>.

Report of the Secretary General Pursuant to paragraph 24 of Resolution 1483 (2003) and paragraph 12 of Resolution 1511 (2003), at <<http://ods-dds-ny.un.org/doc/UNDOC/GEN/N04/449/31/PDF/N0444931.pdf?OpenElement>>.

The Torture Issue

Barry, Hirsh and Isakoff, "The Roots of Torture," *Newsweek*, May 24, 2004, at <msnbc.msn.com/id/4989422/>. Also read the Timeline and "What the rules say". Go through all three articles that are reproduced there.

Stevenson, "President Rejected Torture of Prisoners; Documents Show His Directive Ran Counter to Options Offered Later by Justice Department," *New York Times* reprint in *San Francisco Chronicle*, June 23, 2004, at <<http://www.sfgate.com/cgi-bin/article.cgi?file=/c/a/2004/06/23/MNGI27AJ9Q1.DTL>>.

Press Briefing by White House Counsel Judge Alberto Gonzales, DOD General Counsel William Haynes, DOD Deputy General Counsel Daniel Dell'Orto and Army Deputy Chief of Staff for Intelligence General Keith Alexander, at PR Newswire, at <<http://www.prnewswire.com/cgi-bin/stories.pl?ACCT=109&STORY=/www/story/06-22-2004/0002198282&EDATE=>>>.

Human Rights Watch, *The Road to Abu Ghraib*, June 2004, at <<http://hrw.org/reports/2004/usa0604/>>.

“Dershowitz: Torture Could be Justified”, debate between Alan Dershowitz and Ken Roth, CNN.com, March 4, 2003, at <<http://edition.cnn.com/2003/LAW/03/03/cnna.Dershowitz/>>.

Dershowitz, “Rules of War Enable Terror”, *Baltimore Sun*, June 4, 2004. E-reserves.

**December 8: The Way Ahead: Future Political Disposition;
Assessments of Progress So Far**

Remarks by the President on Iraq and the War on Terror, United States Army War College, Carlisle, Pennsylvania, May 24, 2004, at <<http://www.whitehouse.gov/news/releases/2004/05/print/20040524-10.html>>.

Wolfowitz, Testimony as Delivered to the Senate Armed Services Committee on the Transition in Iraq, June 25, 2004, at <<http://www.dod.gov/speeches/2004/sp20040625-depsecdef0541.html>>.

Record, Chapter 9, pp 141-157.

GAO, *Rebuilding Iraq: Resource, Security, Governance, Essential Services and Oversight Issues*, June 2004, at <<http://www.gao.gov/new.items/d04902r.pdf>>, read the transmittal letter, as well as Chapter I (9-16), and Chapter 5 (43-52).

Note: Please review briefly the last three items on the reading list for December 1 (dealing with the UN and Iraq).

Phillips, “A Plan for Iraq’s Kurds”, *Wall Street Journal*, June 10, 2004, at <http://www.cfr.org/pub7096/david_1_phillips/a_plan_for_iraqs_kurds.php>.

Galbraith, “Kurds Show Their Grit”, *Los Angeles Times*, February 11, 2004, at <<http://www.gulf-news.com/Articles/opinion.asp?ArticleID=110497>>.

