The course will start with an Introduction to the United Nations: i.e. institutional structure, goals and mechanism, the Charter of the United Nations, General Assembly, Security Council, Economic and Social Council, Trusteeship Council and Secretariat. It will shed a light on International Peace and Security, peacekeeping, sanctions, authorizing military action, disarmament, human rights, global war against terrorism…etc. The course will also include classes about the United Nations mechanisms, rules of procedures, making decisions and adopting resolutions at the General Assembly, the Security Council and the six General Committees. The First Committee deals with disarmament, the Second Committee handles the economic issues, the Third Committee tackle human rights, the Fifth Committee undertake financial issues and the Sixth Committee handles legal affairs.

This course about United Nations and Political Leadership will provide students with the skills needed to better comprehend the rapid changes currently taking place in the global arena, politically, economically, socially and culturally. A good case study covering Political Leadership in the UN is Saddam Hussein’s invasion of Kuwait in August 2, 1990. Examining this event demonstrates how the UN responded to Saddam’s crimes against the Iraqi and Kuwaiti people. His regime committed war crimes, genocide and crimes against humanity such as imprisonment and torture, killing civilians and Kuwaiti POWs, using chemical weapons…etc. The Security Council considered Iraq a threat to peace and security and adopted more than 80 resolutions against Saddam’s regime, 73 of them were under chapter VII of the United Nations Charter. Chapter VII is the only chapter which authorizes the Security Council to impose sanctions and to use military force.

The resolutions adopted by the Security Council against Saddam’s regime requested an immediate withdrawal of his forces from Kuwait. They imposed sanctions against all exports and imports, developed new demarcation of borders between Iraq & Kuwait, dismantling weapons of mass destructions…etc. When I became Iraq’s Permanent Representative to the United Nations, I had the difficult task of lifting sanctions against Iraq and to take the country out of chapter VII. From my arrival date April 2006 through December 2010, I worked hard to convince the Security Council to adopt a resolution to lift sanctions against Iraq. By the end of my tenure in April 2013, all but one of the resolutions under chapter VII against Iraq ended. The remaining one regarding the compensation for Kuwait's invasion will be terminated automatically when Iraq completes payment of around $53.5 billion to the United Nations Compensation Commission.

Following Saddam’s refusal to withdraw from Kuwait peacefully, the Security Council authorized United Nations member states to use force to liberate Kuwait. The U.S. built a coalition of thirty countries that liberated Kuwait in 1991. When U.S. forces landed in Saudi Arabia to liberate Kuwait, Osama Bin Laden opposed this and considered it an American invasion of holy land of Mecca and Madina, the holiest cities for Muslims. Prophet Mohammed (PBUH) was born in Mecca in 570 AD, and immigrated to Madina in 623 AD, when people who worshiped idols rejected his message to worship God and began to kill Muslims.

Osama Bin Laden declared war against the United State and his al-Qaeda terrorist group started attacking US targets such as the attack against the World Trade Center in February 1993, the attack against US troops in Somalia in October 1993, the attack against US troops in Riyadh in Saudi Arabia in November 1995, the attack against US troops in Al-Khubar in Saudi Arabia in June 1996, the attacks against US embassies in Kenya & Tanzania in August 1998, and the attack against USS Cole in Yemen in October 2000. Hundreds of Americans and non-Americans were killed and injured in these attacks. These successful terrorist attacks’ left Osama Bin Laden with the impression that the US was weak, so he threatened Americans with attacks inside the United States. At the time, nobody believed that Bin Laden was capable of planning and executing an attack inside the US, however, he executed the terrorist attacks of 9/11 against the World Trade Center, the Pentagon and the Capitol in which around 3000 people were killed and many more were injured.

After the 9/11 attacks, the issue of extremism, fundamentalism and terrorism became a major source of concern in the world and a real threat to peace and security. The United Nations adopted many resolutions on counter-terrorism and set up counter-terrorism committees. These resolutions authorized imposing sanctions, freezing terrorist assets and using force against terrorism. The US declared a global war on terrorism and President George W. Bush decided to attack Afghanistan on October 7, 2001 to remove Taliban’s regime which harbored Bin Laden before 9/11 attacks and
refused to hand him over to the US after 9/11. US forces are still in Afghanistan and issues of success and failure in Afghanistan are still controversial.

The U.S. and the UK tried to get a resolution authorizing the use of force against Saddam’s regime but the Security Council could not reach consensus about such a war. However, President Bush unilaterally decided to attack Iraq and remove Saddam’s regime on March 20, 2003. Many countries in Europe and in the Middle East supported the US in its war against Saddam’s regime.

The war in Iraq has been and still is more controversial than the one in Afghanistan. I will explain why the Security Council adopted a resolution to support a war against Taliban in Afghanistan and not against Saddam’s regime in Iraq. I was part of an Iraqi opposition delegation invited to Washington D.C. in August 2002 to discuss the issues of the war against Saddam’s regime. We met Vice-President Dick Cheney, Secretary of State Colin Powell, Secretary of Defense Donald Rumsfeld and many other officials.


I worked with President Bush’s special envoy to “Free Iraqis” Zalmay Khalilzad from November 2002 until May 2003. I continued to work with Zalmay when he became U.S. Ambassador to Iraq on June 21, 2005. I was Deputy Foreign Minister, and when he became US Ambassador to the UN on February 12, 2007.

In May 2003 I went back to Iraq after living in exile in the UK at the same time when President Bush appointed Ambassador Paul Bremer as the civil Administrator of Iraq. I also worked with Paul Bremer from May 2003 to June 2004 and with his Deputy Sir John Sawers the British Diplomat who was the UK Ambassador to the UN from August 2007 to November 2009. Later Sir Sawers became the head of British Intelligence MI6. I worked also with US military commanders such as General David D. McKiernan, General Ricardo Sanches, General George Casey and General David Petraeus. General Petraeus later became the Commander of US Central Command, Commander of US forces in Afghanistan and Director of the CIA.

In 2011, Arab nations started rising up against dictatorial regimes in Tunisia, Egypt, Libya and Yemen and they managed to remove leaders who ruled their countries with an iron fist for decades. During the Libyan uprising against Qaddafi, the US, UK, and France managed to convince Russia and China to adopt a Security Council resolution which requested UN member states to protect Libyan civilians by all means necessary. The US, UK and France(P3) interpreted the resolution as an authority to use force against Qaddafi forces but the Russian and the Chinese believed that they were misled and the resolution was misinterpreted by the P3.

In spite of killing al-Qaeda leader Osama Bin Laden almost ten years after 9/11 on May 2, 2011 the whole world and especially the US are still facing danger from International Terrorism. On June 10, 2014 the so called Islamic State terrorist group also known as ISIL/ISIS managed to take control of Mosul the second largest city in Iraq, then Salah Al-Din and Anbar. They announced their own Islamic State called “Caliphates” and appointed their leader Abo Bakir Al-Baghdadi as a Caliph which means a political and religious successor of Prophet Mohammed.

The terrorist groups committed heinous crimes and gruesome atrocities in Iraq such as killing large numbers of Christians, Yezidis and Shiites. They confiscate their money, and sold their women as slaves. They slaughtered American and British hostages who went to Syria to provide humanitarian aid to Syrian refugees, they burnt alive a Jordanian pilot and many prisoners, they forced women to have sex which they called Jihadi marriage…etc. They managed to do all that with the help and support of the remnants of Saddam’s regime, officers of Saddam’s army and members of Saddam’s Baath Party as well as insurgency groups that fought the US occupation in Iraq.

I was part of the Iraqi opposition delegation which advised the Americans to set up an Iraqi government immediately after Saddam’s regime fall. They said they would do that as soon as possible. We warned them that if they didn’t announce an Iraqi government, Iraq would be considered under occupation and that would generate military resistance. Surprisingly, the Security Council adopted resolution 1483 in May 2003 declaring the occupying forces as the authority in Iraq. More surprising was that although France, Russia and China were against US and UK plan to launch a war against Saddam’s regime, they agreed to vote for this resolution. Those issues will also be discussed in the class.

After ISIS took over the second largest city “Mosul” on June 10, 2014 and many other places in Salah al-Din and Anbar provinces in Iraq, the United Nations adopted a new strategy on counter-terrorism and the Security Council adopted resolutions against ISIL/ISIS including the imposition of sanctions against individuals who finance such terrorist groups. President Obama promised during his election campaign to end the war in Afghanistan and Iraq however, when ISIS occupied huge swathes of Syrian and Iraqi territories, he was hesitant to get US forces involved
President Obama wanted to be remembered as the President who ended the wars started by President Bush. However he could not end the war in Afghanistan and he had to send US troops back to Iraq after the complete withdrawal of US forces from Iraq end of 2011. In August 2014 President Obama ordered US forces to start a campaign of aerial bombardment against ISIS forces in Iraq and build a coalition of around 60 countries. Later in September 2014 President Obama announced his strategy to fight ISIS and announced an aerial bombardment against ISIS forces in Syria when he realized that he will be remembered as the President who lost the wars of President Bush.

On November 13, 2015 shootings and bomb blasts left 130 people dead and hundreds wounded, with more than 100 in a critical condition in Paris. The attacks were described by President Francois Hollande as an "act of war" organized by so called the Islamic State (ISIL/ISIS). "Three coordinated teams" were believed to have been behind the attacks, according to Paris chief prosecutor Francois Molins.

On December 2, 2015, a terrorist killed 14 people in San Bernardino, California. After the deadly terrorist attacks in Paris and the day before Thanksgiving 2015, President Obama reassured Americans there was "no specific and credible intelligence indicating a plot on the homeland." Seven days later came an explosion of gunfire and the deadliest terrorist attack in America since Sept. 11, 2001. What may be most disturbing is not that Mr. Obama was wrong, but that apparently he was right. By all accounts so far, the government had no concrete intelligence warning of the attack.

On the morning of March 22, 2016, three coordinated nail bombings occurred in Belgium: two at Brussels Airport in Zaventem, and one at Maalbeek metro station in Brussels. In these attacks, 32 victims and three suicide bombers were killed, and over 300 people were injured. Another bomb was found during a search of the airport. Islamic State of Iraq and the Levant (ISIL) claimed responsibility for the attacks. The bombings were the deadliest act of terrorism in Belgium's history. The Belgian government declared three days of national mourning.

On June 12, 2016 Omar Mateen called 911 to proclaim allegiance to the ISIL/ISIS terrorist group, and who had been investigated in the past for possible terrorist ties, stormed a nightclub on Sunday morning, wielding an assault rifle and a pistol, and carried out the worst mass shooting in United States history, leaving 50 people dead and 53 wounded.

On July 3, 2016 as celebrations for the Muslim holy month of Ramadan stretched past midnight into Sunday in central Baghdad, where Iraqis had gathered to eat, shop and just be together, a minivan packed with explosives blew up and killed at least 143 people — the third mass slaughter across three countries in less than a week. The attack was the deadliest in Baghdad in years — at least since 2009 — and was among the worst Iraq has faced since the American invasion of 2003. The bombing came barely a week after Iraqi security forces, backed by American airstrikes, celebrated the liberation of Falluja from the Islamic State, which almost immediately claimed responsibility for the attack.

On 17-18 September 2016 Ahmed Khan Rahimi from Afghanistan tries to detonate four bombs in northeastern United States. The terrorists succeeded in detonating only two of the four bombs. One bomb in New York City resulted in 31 people being injured, but there were no casualties at the other sites.

The course will examine these terrorist attacks and will identify the mistakes made by intelligence agencies in their attempts to prevent the attacks. It will shed light on the positions of US Presidents on foreign policy particularly as it pertains to global terrorism. The key objective is to understand how terrorists plan and execute attacks and to develop ways and means to stop them.

The course will also highlight US Counter-Terrorism Strategy during the presidencies of Bill Clinton, George W. Bush and Barak Obama, to give some background and a base for comparison, as well as to highlight some mistakes which have been made and lessons learned. This provides a context to explore the potential impact of President Donald Trump’s policies aimed at defeating terrorism. An examination of recent American Presidents is important to understand my proposed strategy to combat terrorism.

President Trump started his election campaign and his first few weeks in office with many fiery statements, accusations and controversial issues. These statements have caused concern among many groups in the United States, including leaders of the Republican Party (his own party), lawmakers, journalists, and the public. They have
also created tensions with countries and government around the world including European countries and allies in the Middle East such as Iraq. This course will compare and contrast Trump’s foreign policy compared with that of recent past presidents.

**Course Requirements**

I expect the students to be punctual and to come prepared for class meetings. That means obviously students must do the required readings, and assignments. However, they are also expected to follow current events in the Middle East, and the current debate taking place in the U.S. in relation to these events. They are expected to read newspapers, and watch TV. I also expect them to actively participate in class activities and class discussions.

I also expect the students to take full responsibility for the research planning, and the submission of their essays on time. I will be available for guidance, instruction and to answer eventual questions concerning the assignments but it is the responsibility of the student to carry out all assignments properly.

**Grading**

- 15% Attendance
- 15% Class participation
- 35% Research paper about UN & Political Leadership due on July 20, 2016
- 35% Final research paper about Counter-Terrorism due on August 3, 2016

**Recommended Course Reading for the United Nations**


**Recommended Course Reading for Political Leadership**


**Recommended Course Reading for International Terrorism**


**Recommended Course Reading for War in Afghanistan**


**Recommended Course Reading for War in Iraq**

- Donald Rumsfeld, Known and Unknown, a memoir, Sentinel,2011, ISBN: 9781595230676
Course Outline

Class One Wednesday July 5: Introduction to the Course
- Syllabus, Course Requirements, Course Reading, Grading…etc
- Introduction to United Nations and Political Leadership
- United Nations Charter, Structure and System

Class Two Thursday July 6: UN, International Peace and Security
- Security Council and Chapter VII
- General Assembly and the Six General Committees

Required Reading
United Nations Charter
United Nations Chart
https://www.google.com/search?q=un+system+chart&espv=2&biw=1440&bih=799&site=webhp&tbnm=isch&tbo=u&source=univ&sa=X&ved=0ahUKEwjkbmTyK3MAhVINj4KHSdMCQAQsAQIJA

Class Three Monday July 10: Economic and Social Developments
- Economic and Social Council (ECOSOC)
- Human Rights
- Humanitarian Action

Required Reading
Economic and Social Council (ECOSOC)
The Universal Declaration of Human Rights
Day Four Tuesday July 11: UN, US & International Terrorism before 9/11,
- United Nations Action to Counter Terrorism
- US War Against Terrorism
Required Reading
-United Nations Action to Counter Terrorism
-US The Global War on Terrorism: The First 100 Days

Class Six Wesensday July 12: US mistakes about International Terrorism and about 9/11
Required Reading
Recommended Reading
Mistakes made before and after 9/11

Class Five Thursday July 13: UN, US and War in Afghanistan/ US mistakes about War in Afghanistan
Required Reading
-The Top 10 Mistakes Made in the Afghan War, Foreign Policy, March 2, 2014
http://foreignpolicy.com/2014/02/03/the-top-10-mistakes-made-in-the-afghan-war/

Class Seven Monday July 17: : UN, US and War in Iraq/ US mistakes about War in Iraq
Required Reading
Recommended Reading
-L. Paul Bremer, My Year in Iraq, The Struggle to Build a Future of Hope, Simon and Schuster, New York, 2006 p3-p78

Class Eight Tuesday July 18: UN, US and War in Libya/ Benghazi Gate
Required Reading

Recommended Readings
- Howard LaFranchi, US adds two Libya groups to 'terrorist' list, citing roles in Benghazi attacks, Christian Science Monitor, JANUARY 10, 2014

**Class Nine Wednesday July 19: UN, US and War in Syria/ Mistakes**
**Required Reading**
http://www.lrb.co.uk/v36/n08/seymour-m-hersh/the-red-line-and-the-rat-line

**Class Ten Thursday July 20: Rise of ISIS/ UN and US Strategy to fight ISIL/ISIS**
**Required Reading**

**Class Eleven Monday July 24: US mistakes about ISIL/ISIS**
**Required Reading**

**Class Twelve Tuesday July 25: ISIL/ISIS International Terrorist Attacks**
**Required Reading**
- Brussels attacks: Have blunders hampered Belgian investigation? 15 April 2016

**Class Thirteen Wednesday July 26: Counter-Terrorism Strategies**
**Required Reading**

**Week Fourteen Thursday July 27: ISIL/ISIS War of ideology**
**Required Reading**
-Milo Comerford, Analyst for Religion & Geopolitics, part of the Tony Blair Faith Foundation, explains the motivations behind the Jihadist group, The Independent, Monday 29 June 2015
Class Fifteen Monday July 31: ISIL/ISIS Fund and Resources

Required Reading
Janine Di Giovanni, Leah Mcgrath Goodman, and Damien Sharkov, Newsweek, November 6, 2014

-Scott Bronstein and Drew Griffin, Self-funded and deep-rooted: How ISIS makes its millions, CNN Investigations, Tue October 7, 2014
http://www.cnn.com/2014/10/06/world/meast/isis-funding/

Class Sixteenth Tuesday August 1: Visit to the United Nations
A Guided tour to the United Nations

Class Seventeenth Wednesday August 2: ISIL/ISIS Recruiting Fighters

Required Reading
-ISIS Recruitment: Social Media, Isolation, and Manipulation
http://globalsolutions.org/blog/2015/12/ISIS-Recruitment-Social-Media-Isolation-and-Manipulation#.Vx-wTNQrldU

-Jamie Yuccas, Minneapolis community struggles with ISIS recruiting tactics, CBS NEWS November 19, 2015

-Laurie Segall, ISIS recruiting tactics: Apple pie and video games, CNN, September 30, 2014
http://money.cnn.com/2014/09/30/technology/isis-recruiting/

Class Eighteenth Thursday August 3: ISIL/ISIS Using Media and Internet

Required Reading
-Ray Sanchez, ISIS exploits social media to make inroads in U.S., Fri June 5, 2015

-ISIS is Using Social Media to Reach YOU, Its New Audience, .the daily beast, August 31, 2014

-Faisal Irshaid, How Isis is spreading its message online, BBC Monitoring, 19 June 2014

Class Nineteenth Monday August 7: President Trump Counter-Terrorism Strategy Compared with previous US Presidents

Required Reading
http://factsanddetails.com/world/cat58/sub384/item2381.html
  http://www.washingtonpost.com/wp-dyn/content/article/2009/01/22/AR2009012203929.html


**Class Twentieth Tuesday August 8: President Trump Foreign Policy Compared with previous US Presidents**

**Required Reading**


- Stephen Collinson, Trump and China on collision course, *CNN*, December 5, 2016, accessed March 5, 2017
  http://www.cnn.com/2016/12/05/politics/donald-trump-china-taiwan-clash/