

REFERENCES

- Alston, Philip. (2010). *Report of the Special Rapporteur on Extrajudicial, Summary or Arbitrary Executions*. United Nations General Assembly Human Rights Council. May 28.
- Baker, James. (2007). *In the Common Defense: National Security Law for Perilous Times*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Benjamin, Daniel, and Simon, Steven. (2003). *The Age of Sacred Terror: Radical Islam's War against America*. New York: Random House.
- Boot, Max. "Back to Nation-Building in Afghanistan. Good," *New York Times*, August 22, 2017.
- Brooks, Rosa (2016). *How Everything Became War and the Military Became Everything: Tales from the Pentagon*. New York: Simon & Shuster.
- Brooks, Rosa. Interview with author. April 18, 2017.
- Bunzel, Cole. (2015). From *Paper State to Caliphate: The Ideology of the Islamic State*. Washington, DC: Brookings Institution Analysis Paper.
- Byman, Daniel L., and Williams, Jennifer R. (2015). "ISIS v. Al Qaeda: Jihadism's Global Civil War." *The National Interest*, February 24.
- Coll, Steve (2013). *Private Empire: ExxonMobil and American Power*. New York: Penguin Books.
- Cronin, Audrey Kurth. (2015). "ISIS is not a Terrorist Group." *Foreign Affairs*, March/April.
- Department of Defense transcript, Stephen W. Preston, Remarks before the American Society of International Law, "The Legal Framework for the United States' Use of Military Force Since 9/11," April 10, 2015.
- DePlato, Justin. (2015). *American Presidential Power and the War on Terror*. New York: Palgrave Pivot.

- Edelson, Chris. (2016). *Power without Constraint*. Madison: University of Wisconsin Press.
- Finkelstein, Claire, Ohlin, Jens David, and Altman, Andrew, eds. (2012). *Targeted Killings: Law and Morality in an Asymmetrical World*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Fisher, Louis. (2004). *Presidential War Power*. 2nd ed. Kansas: University of Kansas Press.
- Fisher, Louis. (2010). Interview with author for *Presidential Policies on Terrorism*.
- Flynn, Michael T., and Ledeen, Michael. (2016). *The Field of Fight: How We Can Win the Global War Against Radical Islam and Its Allies*. New York: St. Martin's Press.
- Glennon, Michael J. (2015). *National Security and Double Government*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Glennon, Michael J. "Security Breach: Trump's Tussle with the Bureaucratic State," *Harper's Magazine*, June 2017.
- Glennon, Michael J. "Trump's Looming Showdown with the 'Secret Government,'" *The Boston Globe*. December 1, 2016.
- Goldsmith, Jack. (2012). *Power and Constraint: The Accountable Presidency after 9/11*. New York: W. W. Norton and Company.
- Gorka, Sebastian L., and Gorka, Katharine C. (2015). ISIS: The Threat to the United States," *Threat Knowledge Group Special Report*. November.
- Hamilton, Alexander, Madison, James, and Jay, John. *The Federalist Papers*. Clinton Rossiter, ed. (1961). New York: Signet Classics.
- Horton, Scott. (2015). *Lords of Secrecy: The National Security Elite and America's Stealth Warfare*. New York: Nation Books.
- Koh, Harold. (1990). *The National Security Constitution: Power Sharing after the Iran-Contra Affair*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press.
- Landler, Mark, and Risen, James. "Trump Finds Reason for the U.S. to Remain in Afghanistan: Minerals," *New York Times*, July 25, 2017.
- March, Andrew, and Revkin, Mara. (2015). "Caliphate of Law." *Foreign Affairs*, April 15.
- Marshall, William P. (2008). Eleven Reasons Why Presidential Power Inevitably Expands and Why It Matters. *Boston University Law Review*. Vol. 88, pp. 505-522.
- Mayer, Jane. (2009). *The Dark Side: The Inside Story of How the War on Terror Turned into a War on American Ideals*. New York: Anchor Books.
- McCants, William. (2016). *The ISIS Apocalypse: The History, Strategy, and Doomsday Vision of the Islamic State*. New York: Picador Books.
- McFarland, K. T. "Putin is the One who really Deserves that Nobel Peace Prize," *Foxnews.com/opinions*. September 10, 2013.
- McMaster, H.R. "The Pipe Dream of Easy War," *New York Times*, July 20, 2013.

- McPike, Erin. "Transcript: Independent Journalism Review's Sit-Down Interview with Secretary of State Rex Tillerson," *Independent Journalism Review*. March 20, 2017.
- National Commission on Terrorist Attacks upon the United States. (2004). *The 9/11 Commission Report: Final Report of the National Commission on Terrorist Attacks upon the United States*. New York: W.W. Norton and Co.
- Nikitin, Mary Beth, Kerr, Paul, and Feickert, Andrew. (2013). *Congressional Research Service Report Syria's Chemical Weapons: Issues for Congress*. Washington, DC: Congressional Research Service.
- Nye, Joseph S. (2002). *The Paradox of American Power*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Powell, Colin. (2003). Presentation to the U.N. Security Council: A Threat to International Peace and Security. February 5. As cited in Sifry, M., and Cerf, M., eds. *The Iraq War Reader: History, Documents, and Opinions*. New York: Simon & Shuster.
- Revin, Mara, and Mhidi, Ahmad. "Why ISIS is Rooting for Trump: Islamophobic Politicians Make the Best Enemies," *Foreign Affairs*, August 2016.
- Richardson, Louise. (2006). *What Terrorists Want: Understanding the Enemy, Containing the Threat*. New York: Random House.
- Savage, Charlie. (2015). *Power Wars: Inside Obama's Post 9/11 Presidency*. New York: Little, Brown, and Company.
- Savage, Charlie. "Barack Obama's Q & A," *The Boston Globe*, December 20, 2007. Senior Diplomat, NATO country. Interview with author. April 5, 2017.
- Starr-Deelen, Donna. (2014). *Presidential Policies on Terrorism: From Ronald Reagan to Barack Obama*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Thrush, Glenn, and Landler, Mark. "Bold, Unpredictable Foreign Policy lifts Trump, but has Risks," *New York Times*, April 20, 2017.
- United Nations Charter, articles 2(4) and 51.
- Warrick, Joby. (2016). *Black Flags: The Rise of ISIS*. New York: Anchor Books.
- Wilkinson, Paul. (1986). *Terrorism and the Liberal State*. 2nd ed. New York: New York University Press.
- Wills, David C. (2003). *The First War on Terrorism: Counter-terrorism Policy during the Reagan Administration*. Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers.
- Wood, Graeme. (2015). "What ISIS Really Wants." *The Atlantic*, March.
- Zenko, Micah, (2010). *Between Threats and War: U.S. Discrete Military Operations in the Post-Cold War World*. Stanford, CA.: Stanford University Press.
- Zenko, Micah. "Bush and Obama Fought a Failed 'War on Terror.' It's Trump's Turn," *New York Times*, August 25, 2017.

INDEX

A

Afghanistan, 2, 4, 19, 20, 34, 40, 42, 50, 54n25, 61–64, 69n7
Al Qaeda, 2, 3, 5, 7, 20–24, 25n10, 34, 38, 41, 46, 47, 49, 51, 52, 58, 64
Al-Baghdadi, Abu Bakr, 22
Al-Zarqawi, Abu Musab, 19–23
Al-Zawahiri, Ayman, 21–23
America First, 35, 44, 45, 65
9/11 Attacks, 1, 4, 24, 35, 47, 48, 52, 53, 65
Authorization for the Use of Military Force against Terrorists (AUMF), 22, 24, 30, 51, 52

B

Bannon, Steve, 39, 40, 42
Bin Laden, Osama, 4, 20, 22
Boot, Max, 62, 69n7
Brennan, John, 4, 7, 8
Brooks, Rosa, 5, 16n8, 45, 54n16
Bush, George W., 1–8, 10, 11, 20, 21, 24, 28, 35, 36, 39, 42, 44,

47, 50, 57, 58, 61, 62, 64, 65, 69n11

C

Cheney, Dick, 35
Cicero, 44
Clinton, Bill, 2, 11, 34, 43, 70n17
Clinton, Hillary, 8, 30, 33, 34, 41, 43, 44
Comey, James, 11, 42–44
Congress, 6, 12–15, 24, 28, 29, 36, 38, 39, 42, 43, 46, 52, 56, 58, 59, 67–69
Congressional acquiescence, 6, 11–15, 59, 67, 68
Countering Violent Extremism (CVE), 48, 49

E

Executive branch, 5, 6, 9, 12–15, 28, 35, 36, 39, 55–58, 60, 65, 67, 68
Executive initiatives, 6, 11–15, 57, 60, 67, 68
Executive Order 13769, 58
Executive Order 13780, 58, 59

Note: Page numbers followed by “n” refers to notes.

F

Fait Accompli War, 1–15, 53, 64
 Farook, Syed, 57, 59
 Flynn, Michael, 8, 11, 37–42, 53n5
 Freeh, Louis, 43

G

Glennon, Michael, 8–10, 16n11,
 16n12, 16n13, 16n14, 36, 53n2,
 55, 56, 68, 69n1
 Gorka, Katharine, 41, 53n9
 Gorka, Sebastian, 40–42, 53n9, 56
 Gorsuch, Neil, 60

H

Hussein, Saddam, 20, 22, 24, 50

I

India, 63
International Refugee Assistance Project
v. Trump, 55, 59
 Iraq, 2, 4, 20–25, 34, 44, 47, 49, 50, 57,
 58, 61
 ISIS/ISIL/the Islamic State, 3, 5, 6,
 8, 10, 15, 19–25, 27, 28, 30,
 34, 38, 40, 41, 44, 46–52, 58,
 61, 64

J

Judicial tolerance, 6, 11, 12, 14, 15, 57,
 67
 Judiciary, 15, 36, 56, 68

K

Kelly, John F., 35, 36, 40
 Koh, Harold, 6, 8, 11–15, 16n15,
 16n20, 16n23, 56, 57, 59, 60,
 69n6
 Kushner, Jared, 36

L

Law enforcement paradigm, 3, 7
 Libya, 2, 5, 57, 63
 Lone wolf terrorists, 58, 63

M

Madisonian institutions, 9, 10
 “Make America Great Again”, 14, 34,
 40, 56
 Malik, Tashfeen, 57, 59
 Mattis, James, 35, 50
 McFarland, K.T., 41, 48, 53n11
 McMaster, H.R., 42, 45, 53n13
 Mueller, Robert, 11, 38, 43

N

North Atlantic Treaty Organization
 (NATO), 44, 45, 47, 50, 54n18
 Nuclear weapons, 46, 68

O

Obama, Barack, 1–11, 15, 19, 21, 23–25,
 27–30, 33–35, 37, 38, 40–42, 44,
 46–49, 51, 56, 61–64, 66, 69n11

P

Pakistan, 20, 59, 63
 Pence, Mike, 35, 38
 Powell, Colin, 20, 25n3
 Principled realism, 60–64

Q

Qaddafi, Muammar, 63

R

Radical Islamic terrorism, 7, 8, 34, 37–42
 Reagan, Ronald, 2, 5, 11, 40, 41, 63
 Ryan, Paul, 59

S

Sessions, Jeff, 39, 59
 Somalia, 47, 50–52, 57
 Syria, 5, 22–25, 27, 38, 47, 48, 50, 52,
 57, 66–68

T

Taliban, 24, 50, 63, 64
 Tillerson, Rex, 35–37, 44, 47, 48, 53n4
 Truman, Harry, 9, 28
 Trumanite network/Security
 directorate, 9, 10, 56, 64
 Trump, Donald, 5–11, 13–15, 19, 27,
 30, 33–53, 55–69, 69n1, 69n5,
 69n11

U

*United States v. Curtiss-Wright Export
 Corp.*, 60
 US Constitution, 5, 9, 49, 52
 Use of Force, 1, 2, 4–8, 11, 15, 24,
 28–30, 35, 50–53, 63, 66–69

W

Wray, Christopher, 43

Y

Yemen, 47, 50–52, 57
*Youngstown Sheet and Tube
 Co. v. Sawyer*, 60