# Vitae

# Craig A. Whiteside

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#### **Current Duties**

Associate Professor, National Security Affairs, Naval War College Monterey

Adjunct Professor, Non-proliferation and Terrorism Studies, Middlebury Institute of International Studies at Monterey

Associate Fellow, Center for Irregular Warfare and Armed Groups, Newport RI

Associate Fellow, International Centre for Counter Terrorism – The Hague

Nonresident Fellow, Schusterman Center of Israel Studies, Brandeis University

Education

Ph.D. Political Science, Washington State University, December 2014. Dissertation: "The Smiling, Scented Men: The Political Worldview and Strategy of the Islamic State of Iraq, 2003-2013."

United States Army Command and General Staff College, 2004, Fort Leavenworth

M.A., Leadership and Counseling, 2000, Long Island University

B.S., Civil Engineering, 1991, United States Military Academy, West Point

Honors and Awards

Finalist, Art of Future Warfare "After the War" writing contest, Atlantic Council, 2015.

Second Place, MacArthur Writing Award, 2004, Command and General Staff College.

Professional Experience

1991-2011: U.S. Army Officer

Awards: Combat Infantryman Badge, Master Parachutist Badge, Ranger Tab

Current Research

Islamic State's strategy and targeting methodology from 2003-2014; leader succession in militant organizations; Islamic State doctrinal publications

Teaching Experience and Fellowships

NW3285, Theater Security Decision Making, Fall 2013 to present, Naval War College Monterey

NPTG8610, *Counterterrorism*, Fall 2017 to present, Middlebury Institute of International Studies at Monterey

Visiting Fellow, Schusterman Center for Israel Studies, Brandeis University, Summer 2018

Visiting Fellow, International Center for Counterterrorism (ICCT) – The Hague, Summer 2017

Political Science 424, American Foreign Policy, Summer 2013, Washington State University

Political Science 101, American Government, Spring 2013, Washington State University

University College 304, Seminar in Exploration and Leadership, Aug 2011-May 2013, Washington State University

Chair, Department of Military Science at Washington State University, Jun 2008-Jun 2011

Military Science 401 & 402, Advanced Military Leadership, Aug 2008-Dec 2010, Washington State University

Military Science 400, Military Leadership, Winter Session 2000-2002, United States Military Academy, West Point

Peer Reviewed/Edited Publications

- C. Whiteside (Sep 2018). "Nine Bullets for the Traitors, One for the Enemy: The Slogans and Strategy behind the Islamic State's Campaign to Defeat the Sunni Awakening (2006-2017)," International Centre for Counterterrorism The Hague <a href="https://icct.nl/publication/nine-bullets-for-the-traitors-one-for-the-enemy-the-slogans-and-strategy-behind-the-islamic-states-campaign-to-defeat-the-sunni-awakening-2006-2017/">https://icct.nl/publication/nine-bullets-for-the-traitors-one-for-the-enemy-the-slogans-and-strategy-behind-the-islamic-states-campaign-to-defeat-the-sunni-awakening-2006-2017/</a>
- C. Whiteside (2018). "A new paradigm of hybrid warfare," in *Hybrid Conflicts and Information Warfare*, Ofer Fridman, Vitaly Kabernik, and James C. Pearce (eds.), Roman & Littlefield.
- C. Whiteside (2018). "Suffer, the Weak Must: A History of the Galactic Civil War," in *Strategy Strikes Back*, Brooks, Amble, Cavanaugh, and Gates (eds.), Nebraska University Press.

Nicholas Kramer and C. Whiteside (2017). "The Thin Blue Line: Police Advising in Dynamic Environments, Iraq (2003-2014) and Afghanistan (2009-2015)," in *Expeditionary Police Advising and Militarization*, D. Stoker and E. Westermann (eds), Helion and Company, Limited.

C. Whiteside (June 2017). "Pedigree of Terror: The Myth of the Ba'ath Influence in the Islamic State," *Perspectives on Terrorism*<a href="http://www.terrorismanalysts.com/pt/index.php/pot/article/view/605/html">http://www.terrorismanalysts.com/pt/index.php/pot/article/view/605/html</a>

C. Whiteside and V. Mironova (Nov 2017). "Adaptation and Innovation with an Urban Twist: Changes to Suicide Tactics in the Battle for Mosul," *Military Review,* Fort Leavenworth: U.S. Army Press, <a href="http://www.armyupress.army.mil/Portals/7/military-review/Archives/English/Adaptation-and-Innovation-with-an-urban-twist.pdf">http://www.armyupress.army.mil/Portals/7/military-review/Archives/English/Adaptation-and-Innovation-with-an-urban-twist.pdf</a>

Wright, Berger, Braniff, Bunzel, Byman, Cafarella, Ghambir, Gartenstein-Ross, Hassan, Lister, McCants, Nada, Olidort, Thurston, Watts, Wehrey, Whiteside, Wood, Zelin, and Zimmerman. (Dec 2016). "The Jihadi Threat: ISIS, al Qaeda and Beyond," United States Institute of Peace <a href="http://www.usip.org/publications/2016/12/12/the-jihadi-threat-isis-al-qaeda-and-beyond">http://www.usip.org/publications/2016/12/12/the-jihadi-threat-isis-al-qaeda-and-beyond</a>

C. Whiteside (Nov 2016). "Lighting the Path: the Evolution of the Islamic State Media Enterprise," International Centre for Counterterrorism – The Hague <a href="https://icct.nl/publication/lighting-the-path-the-evolution-of-the-islamic-state-media-enterprise-2003-2016/">https://icct.nl/publication/lighting-the-path-the-evolution-of-the-islamic-state-media-enterprise-2003-2016/</a>

C. Whiteside (Aug 2016). "New Masters of Revolutionary Warfare: The Islamic State Movement (2002-2016), *Perspectives on Terrorism*. http://www.terrorismanalysts.com/pt/index.php/pot/article/view/523/html

C. Whiteside (Aug 2016). "The Islamic State and the Return of Revolutionary Warfare," *Small Wars and Insurgencies*.

http://www.tandfonline.com/doi/abs/10.1080/09592318.2016.1208287?tab=permissions&scroll=top (republished in Jihadist Insurgent Movements, Routledge (2018), ed. Rich and Burchill).

C. Whiteside (2015). "A Case for Terrorism as Genocide in an era of weakened states," *Dynamics of Asymmetric Conflict*, vol. 8:3. http://www.tandfonline.com/eprint/vqDXmVcZKQaB7WqCf4Cy/full#.VpmSrEbNJ4w

C. Whiteside (2004, Sep-Oct), "From One to 360; Assessing Leaders," Military Review, Fort Leavenworth: U.S. Army Press: <a href="http://cdm15040.contentdm.oclc.org/cgi-bin/showfile.exe?CISOROOT=/p124201coll1&CISOPTR=178&filename=179.pdf">http://cdm15040.contentdm.oclc.org/cgi-bin/showfile.exe?CISOROOT=/p124201coll1&CISOPTR=178&filename=179.pdf</a>

### **Other Publications**

Reviewed Work: "Illusions of Victory: The Anbar Awakening and the Rise of the Islamic State" by Carter Malkasian, Bustan: The Middle East Book Review (Penn State University Press), Vol 9, No. 2 (2018).

USCENTCOM White Paper, "Islamic State as a Spoiler in Afghanistan, October 2018.

- H. Ingram and C. Whiteside (Oct 25, 2018). The Caliph's Role in the (un)Surprising Resilience of the Islamic State, Foreign Policy Research Institute <a href="https://www.fpri.org/article/2018/10/the-caliphs-role-in-the-unsurprising-resilience-of-the-islamic-state/">https://www.fpri.org/article/2018/10/the-caliphs-role-in-the-unsurprising-resilience-of-the-islamic-state/</a>
- D. Brown, T. Hoyt, and C. Whiteside (Sep 11, 2018). The Python Problem: Reflections on the War on Terror, 17 years later, War on the Rocks <a href="https://warontherocks.com/2018/09/the-python-problem-reflections-on-the-war-on-terror-17-years-later/">https://warontherocks.com/2018/09/the-python-problem-reflections-on-the-war-on-terror-17-years-later/</a>
- C. Whiteside (Feb 12, 2018). "War Books: Put on your Boots, Boots, Boots..." Modern War Institute at West Point <a href="https://mwi.usma.edu/war-books-put-boots-boots-boots/">https://mwi.usma.edu/war-books-put-boots-boots/</a>

- C. Whiteside (Jan 29, 2018). "While Transitioning, Please Mind the Gap!" 1001 Iraqi Thoughts <a href="http://1001iraqithoughts.com/2018/01/29/while-transitioning-please-mind-the-gap/">http://1001iraqithoughts.com/2018/01/29/while-transitioning-please-mind-the-gap/</a>
- C. Whiteside (2017). "The Islamic State," in *War and Religion: An Encyclopedia of Faith and Conflict*, ed. by T. Demy and J. Shaw. Santa Barbara: ABC-CLIO Books.
- C. Whiteside and V. Mironova (Dec 8, 2017). "Changing Calculus and Learning from Our Enemies," *The Strategy Bridge*, <a href="https://thestrategybridge.org/the-bridge/2017/12/8/changing-calculus-and-learning-from-our-enemies">https://thestrategybridge.org/the-bridge/2017/12/8/changing-calculus-and-learning-from-our-enemies</a>
- C. Whiteside (Oct 3, 2017). "Political Primacy, Strategic Risks, and ISIL after the Caliphate," *IraqInContext (blog)*, <a href="https://www.iraqincontext.com/single-post/2017/09/26/Political-Primacy-Strategic-Risks-and-ISIL-after-the-Caliphate">https://www.iraqincontext.com/single-post/2017/09/26/Political-Primacy-Strategic-Risks-and-ISIL-after-the-Caliphate</a>
- H. Ingram and C. Whiteside (Sep 27, 2017). "In Search of the Virtual Caliphate: Convenient Fallacy, Dangerous Distraction," *War on the Rocks*, <a href="https://warontherocks.com/2017/09/insearch-of-the-virtual-caliphate-convenient-fallacy-dangerous-distraction/">https://warontherocks.com/2017/09/insearch-of-the-virtual-caliphate-convenient-fallacy-dangerous-distraction/</a>
- C. Whiteside (Autumn 2017). "After ISIS Symposium: Will the counter-insurgency tactics used to defeat ISIS help it recruit new fighters?" Fathom <a href="http://fathomjournal.org/after-isis-symposium-will-the-counter-insurgency-tactics-used-to-defeat-isis-help-it-recruit-new-fighters-craig-whiteside/">http://fathomjournal.org/after-isis-symposium-will-the-counter-insurgency-tactics-used-to-defeat-isis-help-it-recruit-new-fighters-craig-whiteside/</a>
- C. Whiteside (Jul 18, 2017). "The Day after ISIS: Tending Flowers in the Desert," *BICOM* <a href="http://www.bicom.org.uk/blogpost/day-isis-middle-east-islamic-state-tending-flowers-desert/">http://www.bicom.org.uk/blogpost/day-isis-middle-east-islamic-state-tending-flowers-desert/</a>
- C. Whiteside (Jul 13, 2017). "Winning the Blame Game: The Caliphate of Complete Disaster," *ICCT*, <a href="https://icct.nl/publication/winning-the-blame-game-the-caliphate-of-complete-disaster/">https://icct.nl/publication/winning-the-blame-game-the-caliphate-of-complete-disaster/</a>

Colin Clarke and C. Whiteside (3 May 2017). "Charting the Future of the Modern Caliphate," War on the Rocks <a href="https://warontherocks.com/2017/05/charting-the-future-of-the-modern-caliphate/">https://warontherocks.com/2017/05/charting-the-future-of-the-modern-caliphate/</a>

C. Whiteside and Rasha al-Aqeedi (10 Mar 2017). "The Enduring Fight against the Islamic State," Macdonald-Laurier Institute <a href="http://www.macdonaldlaurier.ca/the-enduring-fight-against-the-islamic-state-craig-whiteside-and-rasha-al-aqeedi-for-inside-policy/">http://www.macdonaldlaurier.ca/the-enduring-fight-against-the-islamic-state-craig-whiteside-and-rasha-al-aqeedi-for-inside-policy/</a>

Haroro Ingram and C. Whiteside (Feb 9, 2017). "The Yemen Raid and the Ghost of Anwar al-Awlaki," *The Atlantic* <a href="https://www.theatlantic.com/international/archive/2017/02/yemen-raid-trump-awlaki-al-qaeda-isis/516180/?utm">https://www.theatlantic.com/international/archive/2017/02/yemen-raid-trump-awlaki-al-qaeda-isis/516180/?utm</a> source=atltw#article-comments

C. Whiteside (12 Dec 2016). "Lighting the Path: The Story of the Islamic State's Media Enterprise," *War on the Rocks* <a href="https://warontherocks.com/2016/12/lighting-the-path-the-story-of-the-islamic-states-media-enterprise/">https://warontherocks.com/2016/12/lighting-the-path-the-story-of-the-islamic-states-media-enterprise/</a>

Will McCants and C. Whiteside (Oct 2016). "The Islamic State's Coming Rural Revival," Lawfare blog: https://www.lawfareblog.com/islamic-states-coming-rural-revival

- H. Ingram and C. Whiteside (Summer 2016). "Unexamined Consequences: Leadership Decapitation and the Rise of ISIL," *On Track*, The Conference of Defense Associations Institute (Canada).
- http://www.cdainstitute.ca/images/on track/On Track Summer 2016/On Track 21.1.pdf
- C. Whiteside (June 2016). "Don't Kill the Caliph! The Islamic State and the Pitfalls of Leadership Decapitation, *War on the Rocks*. <a href="http://warontherocks.com/2016/06/dont-kill-the-caliph-the-islamic-state-and-the-pitfalls-of-leadership-decapitation/">http://warontherocks.com/2016/06/dont-kill-the-caliph-the-islamic-state-and-the-pitfalls-of-leadership-decapitation/</a>
- C. Whiteside (Winter 2016). "Hassan, Hassan and Michael Weiss. ISIS: Inside the Army of Terror," *Naval War College Review*, p. 163-4.
- C. Whiteside (Feb 2016). "The Moral Hazard of the Fight against the Islamic State in Iraq," *War on the Rocks*. https://t.co/d1GUp9f3EB
- lan Rice and C. Whiteside (Jan 2016). The Return of the Zarqawists: How to deal with the Islamic State movement," *CTX Journal*. <a href="https://globalecco.org/ctx-vol.-6-no.-1-february-2016">https://globalecco.org/ctx-vol.-6-no.-1-february-2016</a>
- C. Whiteside (Nov 2015). "Nobody Expects the Islamic State!" *War on the Rocks*. <a href="http://warontherocks.com/2015/10/nobody-expects-the-islamic-state/">http://warontherocks.com/2015/10/nobody-expects-the-islamic-state/</a>
- C. Whiteside (2015, Apr 29). "ISIL's Small Ball Warfare: An Effective Way to Get Back Into a Ballgame," *War on the Rocks*: <a href="http://warontherocks.com/2015/04/isils-small-ball-warfare-an-effective-way-to-get-back-into-a-ballgame/">http://warontherocks.com/2015/04/isils-small-ball-warfare-an-effective-way-to-get-back-into-a-ballgame/</a>
- C. Whiteside (2015, Mar 18). "Mosul: A Bridge Too Far," *War on the Rocks*: http://warontherocks.com/2015/03/mosul-a-bridge-too-far/?singlepage=1
- C. Whiteside (2014, Dec 18). "Catch and Release in the Land of Two Rivers," *War on the Rocks*: <a href="http://warontherocks.com/2014/12/catch-and-release-in-the-land-of-two-rivers/3/">http://warontherocks.com/2014/12/catch-and-release-in-the-land-of-two-rivers/3/</a>
- C. Whiteside (2014, Nov). Fallujah Redux: The Anbar Awakening and the Struggle with al Qaeda, Naval Historical Foundation: <a href="http://www.navyhistory.org/2014/11/book-review-fallujah-redux-the-anbar-awakening-and-the-struggle-with-al-qaeda/">http://www.navyhistory.org/2014/11/book-review-fallujah-redux-the-anbar-awakening-and-the-struggle-with-al-qaeda/</a>
- C. Whiteside (2014, Nov 5-6). "War, Interrupted," *War on the Rocks*: <a href="http://warontherocks.com/2014/11/war-interrupted-part-i-the-roots-of-the-jihadist-resurgence-in-iraq/">http://warontherocks.com/2014/11/war-interrupted-part-ii-from-prisoners-to-iraq/</a> and Part II: <a href="http://warontherocks.com/2014/11/war-interrupted-part-ii-from-prisoners-to-rulers/">http://warontherocks.com/2014/11/war-interrupted-part-ii-from-prisoners-to-rulers/</a>
- C. Whiteside (2014, Sep 4). "Obama Shouldn't Lose his Cool over the Islamic State," *War on the Rocks:* <a href="http://warontherocks.com/2014/09/obama-shouldnt-lose-his-cool-over-the-islamic-state/">http://warontherocks.com/2014/09/obama-shouldnt-lose-his-cool-over-the-islamic-state/</a>
- C. Whiteside (2014, Jul 9). "The New Caliph: Just another Broadway Joe," *War on the Rocks:* <a href="http://warontherocks.com/2014/07/the-new-caliph-just-another-broadway-joe/">http://warontherocks.com/2014/07/the-new-caliph-just-another-broadway-joe/</a>

C. Whiteside (2013, Feb), "Innovation in Integration – Task Force Ranger and Village Stability Operations in Afghanistan, 2010-11," *Small Wars Journal*:

http://smallwarsjournal.com/jrnl/art/innovation-in-integration-task-force-iron-ranger-and-village-stability-operations-in-afghan

# **Conference Presentations**

International Institute for Counter-Terrorism (ICT) 18<sup>th</sup> World Summit, Herzliya, Israel, Sep 2018, "The Future of ISIS in Syria," as part of the panel "The Syrian Quagmire," chaired by Ely Karmon.

International Studies Association (ISA) annual convention, San Francisco, Apr 2018, "Understanding ISIS," chaired by James Forrest; "The Dark Side of Special: IS Emulation of Western SpecOps Capability," chaired by Leo Blanken.

Panel member, *Information Warfare in the 21<sup>st</sup> Century: Media Jihad, a new cold war, and fake news*, Australian National University, Canberra, Oct 2017, "In Search of the Virtual Caliphate."

International Studies Association (ISA) annual convention, Baltimore, Feb 2017, "Non-State Group's Strategic Decisions about Violence," chaired by Erica Chenoweth; Discussant, "The Changing Nature of Foreign Fighters," chaired by Mia Bloom.

Panel member, *The Informational Dimension of Hybrid Warfare; Eastern and Western Perspectives,* Kings College, London, Jan 2017, "How the Islamic State (IS) Uses Information Warfare."

Panel member, *Middle Eastern Studies Association Conference (MESA)*, Boston, MA, Nov 2016, "Ba'athism, Islamism, and ISIS," chaired by Joseph Sassoon.

*ISA* annual convention, New Orleans, Feb 2015, "A Case for Terrorism as Genocide" as part of the New Directions on Genocide Research panel, chaired by Manus Midlarsky.

*ISA* annual convention, Toronto, March 2014, "The Rise of Identity over Nationalism: The Expanding Worldview of the Islamic State of Iraq", chaired by Mia Bloom.

*ISA* annual convention, San Francisco, April 2013, "A Mixed Methods Approach to Understanding Political Violence," chaired by Lawrence Rubin.

*ISA* annual convention, San Diego, April 2012, "Crazy or Cagey? A Psychological Profile of Hamid Karzai, President of the Islamic Republic of Afghanistan," chaired by Margaret Hermann.

ISA annual convention, Montreal, March 2011, "Apocalyptic Opportunism: Cult Formation and Violence in an Unstable Nation-State," chaired by Bruce Jentleson.

# **Academic Presentations**

"The Islamic State and Revolutionary Warfare," and "Islamic State Information Warfare," Jedburgh (JITC) Seminar, Defense Analysis, NPS, Oct 24, 2018.

"ISIS Media," Information Warfare students, Defense Analysis, NPS, Oct 11, 2018.

"The Islamic State as a Global Jihadi Movement," guest lecture for National Security Affairs course on Islamism, NPS, July 18, 2018.

USCENTCOM reachback support - Afghanistan, with John Arquilla, Hy Rothstein, Afshon Ostovar, May 16, 2018.

"ISIS Media Evolution," guest lecture, Defense Analysis, NPS, Apr 12, 2018.

"Mythbusting the Islamic State" to CGSR, Lawrence Livermore National Laboratory, 29 Nov 2017.

"ISIS" to Tunisian military officers visiting NPS, 26 Apr 2017.

"ISIS and the Wilayet Sinai" to Egyptian military officers visiting the NPS, 8 Mar 2017.

"Lighting the Path: The History of the Islamic State Media Department," in the UK Parliament, hosted by Henry Jackson Society and Lord Kilclooney, 10 Jan 2017.

"Two trajectories of a future ISIS insurgency in Iraq post-Mosul," SMA CENTCOM Reachback Cell, Nov 2016.

"Lighting the Path: The evolution of the Islamic State Media," SMA CENTCOM Speaker Series, Nov 2016.

"Introduction to ISIS," Executive Leader Program for the Center for Homeland Defense and Security (CHDS), Naval Postgraduate School, 2 Nov 2016.

"The Islamic State and the Return of Revolutionary Warfare," SMA CENTCOM Speaker Series, Oct 2016.

"Perceptions of ISIL and its Leaders," Major Terrorist Group Leaders' Perceptions of US and Western Counterterrorism Resolve, USG Intelligence Agencies, Washington DC, Jun 2016.

"The Islamic State and the Return of Revolutionary Warfare," TRENDS Research, Stimson Center, Mar 2016.

Discussant, "Jihadi Alliance Building (and Breaking): Osama Bin Laden, Abu Mus'ab al-Zarqawi, and the Strategy to Build the Caliphate in Syria," talk by Brian Fishman, Stanford Center for International Security and Cooperation (CISAC), May 2016.

"Introduction to ISIS," Executive Leader Program for the Center for Homeland Defense and Security (CHDS), Naval Postgraduate School, 11 Nov 2015.

Discussant, "ISIS: Remaining and Expanding," Naval War College Monterey/Department of Defense Analysis Panel, Naval Postgraduate School, 20 Aug 2015.

Panel Member, "The Contemporary Strategic Environment," *Naval War College Monterey Conference on the "Terror War*," Naval Postgraduate School, 24 April 2015.

Panel Member, "The Islamic State and its Adversaries," *Naval War College Monterey Faculty Workshop*, Naval Postgraduate School, 27 February 2015.

"The New Caliphate," Fleet Seminar Program Workshop, U.S. Naval War College, Aug 2014.

"The New Caliph: Just another Broadway Joe," *Naval War College Faculty Workshop*, Naval Postgraduate School, Aug 2014.

"When Images and Identity Collide: Islamic State of Iraq, 2003-2012," *Naval War College Faculty Workshop*, Naval Postgraduate School, Jan 2014.

"Government Sanctioned Militias: Poisoning the Patient or Miracle Cure?" The Joseph Kruzel Memorial Foreign and Defense Group, Washington State University, March 2012.

Panel Member, "Assembling a Toolkit for Global Exchange," as part of the W.S.U. Common Reading Program, Department of Foreign Languages and Culture, January 2011.

"A Tour of Duty in North Babil Province, Iraq." The Joseph Kruzel Memorial Foreign and Defense Group, Washington State University, Fall 2009.

Media Interviews/Featured Articles

"Behind The Revival of the Islamic State in Iraq, Interview with Naval War College Prof Craig Whiteside," *Musings on Iraq* blog, Jun 22, 2015: http://musingsonirag.blogspot.com/2015/06/behind-revival-of-islamic-state-in-irag.html

"The Rise and Fall of America's Favorite Iraqi Sheik," *Bloomberg View*, E. Lake, Jun 11, 2015: <a href="http://www.bloombergview.com/articles/2015-06-11/the-rise-and-fall-of-america-s-favorite-iraqi-sheik">http://www.bloombergview.com/articles/2015-06-11/the-rise-and-fall-of-america-s-favorite-iraqi-sheik</a>

"The Islamic State's Rise and Worldview": Interview on *Cdr Salamander/Midrats Podcast*, Dec 20, 2014:

http://cdrsalamander.blogspot.com/2014/12/the-islamic-state-rise-world-view-with.html

"Silence of the sheikhs puts Washington's Iraq strategy in doubt," Sydney Morning Herald, Paul McGeough, Dec 19, 2014:

http://www.smh.com.au/world/silence-of-the-sheikhs-puts-washingtons-iraq-strategy-in-doubt-20141219-12ajq4.html

"Stopping an Awakening before it can start," *Washington Post*, David Ignatius, Nov 20, 2014: <a href="https://www.washingtonpost.com/opinions/david-ignatius-stopping-an-awakening-before-it-can-start/2014/11/20/5939c22a-70fc-11e4-8808-afaa1e3a33ef">https://www.washingtonpost.com/opinions/david-ignatius-stopping-an-awakening-before-it-can-start/2014/11/20/5939c22a-70fc-11e4-8808-afaa1e3a33ef</a> story.html