**2022–2023 Academic Year**
**Fall Session**

UNIVERSITY OF
CALGARY

**DEPARTMENT OF POLITICAL SCIENCE**

**FACULTY OF ARTS**

**Political Science 491.01**

# US SECURITY POLICY

**Instructor**        Dr. T. Terriff        SS 732        Ph:  403 220 - 5502
                                    Email: tterriff@ucalgary.ca

**Instructor Office Hours**      By appointment only, to be held via Zoom. To book, contact the
                                    instructor at: tterriff@ucalgary.ca

**Classes:**        TR   15:30 PM - 16:45 PM

**Lecture Room**:        MS 217

**Course TA**        Alec Rembowski
                        Office Hours:  To Be Announced
                        Office:  SS 732
                        Email:  alec.rembowski@ucalgary.ca

**D2L Website:**         https://d2l.ucalgary.ca

**Required Prerequisite:** Poli 381 Introduction to International Relations

**Course Description**
This course examines US security policy, with an emphasis both on how US security policy is made and on the main contemporary security issues the US faces today.  The course emphasis is on the post Cold War era.

**Course Objective**
To understand the factors, influences and actors which have shaped and continue to shape American defence and foreign policy in the post Cold War period, and to gain an understanding of the main current issues in US security and defence policy.

**Method of Assessment**

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1 | Research Proposal | Tues 31 January | 10% |
| 2 | Mid Term Exam | Tues 14 Feb | 15% |
| 3 | Research Essay | Thurs 23 March | 40% |
| 4 | Final exam | as scheduled by the Registrar | 35 % |

**Research Proposal**   The research proposal shall be 800 words in length (3-4 pages), double spaced, paginated, use the course citation style (on D2L), and include a short bibliography. Further instructions will be furnished in class and in a separate handout that will be posted on D2L.

**Research Essay:**   The essay shall be 3,500 to 4,000 words in length, double spaced, paginated, use the course citation style (on D2L), and include a bibliography.  Further instructions will be furnished in a separate handout that will be posted on D2L.

**READINGS**

Core Texts

John T. Fishel, *American National Security Policy: Authorities, Institutions, and Cases*
        (Rowman and Littlefield Publishers, Feb 2017)
Ivo H. Daalder and James M. Lindsay, *America Unbound: The Bush Revolution in Foreign*
    *Policy* (Brookings Institution, 2003/2005).   ISBN-13: 978-0471741503  pb
     Library - E902 INTERNET, and E902 .D33 2003

Additional Readings

Mead, Walter Russell *Special providence: American foreign policy and how it changed the*
    *world*
Dueck, Colin, *Reluctant Crusaders: Power, Culture, and Change in American Grand Strategy*.
John Lewis Gaddis, *Strategies of Containment* (Cold War era)
Halberstam, David,  *War in a time of peace: Bush, Clinton, and the generals*
Bacevich, A. J *American empire: the realities and consequences of U.S. diplomacy*
Suskind, Ron, *The one percent doctrine: deep inside America's pursuit of its enemies since 9/11*
Woodward, Bob,  *Bush at War*
Woodward, Bob  *Plan of Attack*
Woodward, Bob   *State of Denial*
Woodward, Bob  *The war within : a secret White House history, 2006-2008*
Ricks, Thomas,  *Fiasco: the American military adventure in Iraq*

Ricks, Thomas, *The Gamble: General David Petraeus and the American military adventure in Iraq, 2006-2008*
Jones, Seth G *In the graveyard of empire: America's war in Afghanistan*
Bacevich, A. J., *The limits of power: the end of American exceptionalism* 1st ed.

**Current Events**

The character and content of US security policy often may be fast changing.  The course instructor reserves the right to digress from the course subject matter as laid out below in the course outline to discuss ongoing events that are relevant to the overall course subject matter.

Thus, it is useful to pay attention to current events relating to US security policy.  The main US newspapers are *New York Times*, *The Washington Post*, *Wall Street Journal*, *Los Angeles Times*,  *The Washington Times*, *Christian Science Monitor*, among others; unfortunately, almost all of these have imposed subscription fees and are now behind pay walls. RealClearPolitics' World and Defense sections are free (access may be limited), and provide some coverage. The weekly news magazines such *Time* also do cover some elements of US security policy but again seem to be at least partially behind pay walls.

There are also a large number of useful internet sources, including US government and US military websites,  that can be accessed for free; indeed, many if not most subjects being currently debated are done so in a mixture of journals, newspapers and blogs, and this holds true for US security issues.

**Learning Technologies and Requirements**

If there is deemed a need to move this course to an online lectures model, the following applies: There is a D2L site for this course which contains relevant class resources and materials (see d2L.ucalgary.ca).

In order to successfully engage in their learning experiences at the University of Calgary, students taking online, remote and blended courses are required to have reliable access to the following technology:
• A computer with a supported operating system, as well as the latest security, and malware, updates;
• A current and updated web browser;
• Webcam (built-in or external);
• Microphone and speaker (built-in or external), or headset with microphone;
• Current antivirus and/or firewall software enabled;
• Broadband internet connection.
Most current laptops will have a built-in webcam, speaker and microphone.

**Class Participation**

There is no mark for class participation, but students will be expected to come to class prepared for discussion. This means staying up with the readings and current affairs as it may concern the subject of the course. Students must also be prepared to be called upon to offer their assessment of the issues being discussed.

**Research Paper Proposal**

A hard copy paper proposal must be submitted at the beginning of class, on ***Tuesday, 31 January 2023.*** The proposal (800 words, or 3-4 pages, double spaced) must include a clear identification of the research question to be addressed in the paper, the context and relevance of the question, any relevant concepts, and the methodology to be utilized. The proposal must cite research sources. In addition to the main body of the proposal, a one page preliminary list of sources (bibliography), including those cited, must be included. The research question may be on any aspect of US security policy.

  The clarity of writing style (including grammar and punctuation) as well as the correct formatting of citations are evaluated as part of the grade assessment. Information on the research proposal, on how it is assessed, and on the appropriate citation style is available on D2L.

   *Do note that the generation of a research proposal requires conducting research!*

**Midterm Exam**

The midterm exam will consist of long-answer, essay questions. The midterm exam is closed book and no aids will be permitted. The midterm exam will be written on ***Tuesday, 14 February 2023***.

**Research Paper**

A hard copy research paper must be submitted at the beginning of class, on ***Thursday, 23 March 2023.*** This paper (3,500 to 4,000 words, not including footnotes or bibliography) is to provide an analytical study of an aspect of US security policy. The essay will use an appropriate citation style and include a bibliography. The clarity of writing style (including grammar and punctuation) as well as the correct formatting of citations are evaluated as part of the grade assessment. Information on the research essay, how it is assessed, and on the appropriate citation style is available on D2L.

**Final Exam**

The final exam will be two hours in length and will consist of long-answer, essay questions. The final exam is closed book and no aids will be permitted. The final exam is scheduled by the Office of the Registrar during the examination period, ***Saturday, 15 April to Wednesday, 26 April 2023.***

**Writing Statement**

Written assignments are often required in Political Science courses, including this one, and the quality of writing skills, including but not limited to such elements as grammar, punctuation, sentence structure, clarity, citation, and organization, will be taken into account in the determination of grades, including in the written essay answer exams. Students are encouraged to make use of the services offered through Writing Support Services in the Student Success

Centre (3ʳᵈ floor of the Taylor Family Digital Library) or at http://www.ucalgary.ca/ssc/writing-support.

## Grade Scale

The following grading scale will be used:

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| A+ = 95-100 | B+ = 77-79 | C+ = 67-69 | D+ = 55-59 |
| A  = 86-94 | B  = 73-76 | C  = 63-66 | D  = 50-54 |
| A- = 80-85 | B- = 70-72 | C- = 60-62 | F  = 0-49 |

## Late Penalties

A late penalty of three (3) percent will be applied for each day past the required submission date a piece of work is submitted.  This late penalty applies to the research proposal and the research essay.

## Class Preparation and Desire2Learn

Lectures focus on the material presented in the textbook and general discussion relating to the topic(s) outlined in the lecture schedule.  Students are expected to read the assigned text chapters and readings before class, and be prepared for class discussion.  Any important information and additional readings for US Security Policy (Poli 491.01) will be posted on D2L. Students should regularly check the Announcements section of D2L for ongoing notices.

*Your instructor may not necessarily cover all of the materials in the course outline or in the required readings, but it is the responsibility of the student to understand the concepts presented in the textbook and lectures.  If you are unsure of any of the concepts, please take the initiative to ask the instructor during class. The instructor may also address current events relevant to the course subject matter.*

## Instructor Instructions

Students requiring assistance are encouraged to speak to the instructor during or after class.. Should you wish to meet outside of office hours, please email the instructor or teaching assistant to make an appointment.  It is to the student's advantage to keep such appointments.

Email is commonly used by students to communicate with their instructor. However, it does limit the effectiveness of the communications and may not be the best way for instructors to answer student questions, especially those requiring an explanation of concepts covered in this course or some personal concerns.  Therefore the instructor may request a telephone call,Zoom meeting or personal meeting. *Your instructor will inform you as to his/her expectations about emails.*

Students are welcome to use laptops and other electronic note-taking devices in this course. Please be considerate of others and switch off all cell phones when you enter the classroom.

Sending/receiving texts and browsing the Web is extremely disruptive to others and will not be tolerated.

# Course Outline

## Part I:  Sources of Influence

*Week 1*   Tues (10 January) **Introduction**

Thurs   **American Political and Strategic Culture**

*Required Reading:*
Fishel, *American National Security Policy*, Ch 1.

*Week 2*   Tues **American Political and Strategic Culture** cont.

Thurs  **The National Security System and Actors: Policymakers, Bureaucracies, and Organizations**

*Required Reading:*
Fishel, *American National Security Policy*, Ch. 2-5.
The National Security Council: An FPRI Primer, Foreign Policy Research Institute, 5 Sept 2017  (5:20 Min video)  At:
https://www.fpri.org/multimedia/2017/09/national-security-council/
Van Jackson, "I Got a Story to Tell: Who Does What in National Security Policy?", *War on the Rocks*, 14 February 2017, at: Footnote 1 [1]

*Week 3*   Tues & Thurs   **The National Security System and Actors: Policymakers, Bureaucracies, and Organizations** cont.

*Week 4*   Tues  **The Cold War and a Small War in Southeast Asia**

*Required Reading*:
Heather Stur. "Why the United States Went to War in Vietnam", *Foreign Policy Research Institute*, 28  April 2017, at:
https://www.fpri.org/article/2017/04/united-states-went-war-vietnam/

***Research Proposal Due: Tuesday, 31 January 2023***

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[1] https://warontherocks.com/2017/02/i-got-a-story-to-tell-who-does-what-in-national-security-policy/

# Part II:   US Security Policy Before 9/11

*Week 4*  Thurs   **From 11/9 to 9/11: The Post-Cold War Interregnum**

>    *Required Reading*:
>        Fishel, *American National Security Policy*, Ch. 6-10
>        Hal Brands, "Choosing Primacy: U.S. Strategy and Global Order at the Dawn
>            Of the Post-Cold War Era", *Texas National Security Review*, Vol 1, Iss 2
>            February 2018, at Foot note Two [2]
>        John Dumbrell, "Was There a Clinton Doctrine? President Clinton's
>            Foreign Policy Reconsidered", *Diplomacy & Statecraft*, Vol. 13, No. 2
>            (2002).

*Week 5*  Tues & Thurs  **From 11/9 to 9/11: The Post Cold War Interregnum** cont.

*Week 6*  Tues   (14 February)   ***Mid Term Exam***

# Part III:   US Security Policy Since 9/11

>    *Required Reading for Entire Section*:
>        Daalder and Lindsey, *America Unbound* (entire book).

*Week 6*  Thurs   **9/11 & The 'Long War': America's Global War on Terror (GWOT)**

>    *Required Reading:*
>        Jessica Stern, "Obama and Terrorism: Like It or Not, the War Goes On",
>            *Foreign Affairs*, Sept-Oct 2015: 62-70 see Footnote Three [3]
>        Hal Brands & Michael O'Hanlon, "The War on Terror Has Not Yet Failed:
>            A Net Assessment After 20 Years", *Survival*, 63:4, (2021) pp. 33-54.

*Week 7*   **Break Week: Sunday-Saturday, 19-25 February 2023**

*Week 8*   Tues   **9/11 & The 'Long War': America's Global War on Terror (GWOT)** cont.

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[2] https://tnsr.org/2018/02/choosing-primacy-u-s-strategy-global-order-dawn-post-cold-war-era-2/

[3] NOTE: The easiest way to find this article through the UofC Library's is to use the advanced search function and the title of the article.  You may have to scroll down through a few or a considerable number of identified suggestions (the Library's search function is far from precise) but the right one can be identified as the author will be indicated.

    Thurs   **The Threat of Nuclear Proliferation**

        *Required Reading:*
            Sarah Lohschelder, "Three Presidents Facing North Korea - A Review of
                U.S. Foreign Policy", *Huffington Post*, 27 February, 2017, at:
                Footnote Four [4]
            Joe Cirincione and Michelle Dover, "Progress, Peril, Hope: The Nuclear
                Decade in Review", *Defense One*, 30 December 2019, at: Footnote Five [5]

*Week 9*   Tues & Thurs  **Blind into Baghdad? Theory, Optimism and Reality**

        *Required Reading:*
            Fishel, *American National Security Policy*, Ch. 12
            Hakan Tunç, "What was it all about after all? The causes of the Iraq war",
                *Contemporary Security Policy*, 26/2 (2005) pp. 335-355.

*Week 10*  Tues & Thurs  **Boldly into the Graveyard of Empires: Kosovo, Afghanistan,
                          Iraq and all that**

        *Required Reading:*
            Fishel, *American National Security Policy*, Ch. 11, 13 & 14
                Donald S. Travis, "Why the U.S. Military Lost Afghanistan", *Armed
                    *Forces & Society* 2022, pp. 1–14; see Footnote Six [6]
                 P. Michael McKinley, "We All Lost Afghanistan: Two Decades of
                      Mistakes, Misjudgments, and Collective Failure" *The CSS Point*,
                      at: Footnote Seven [7]

*Week 11*  Tues & Thurs  "**Leading from Behind": Obama, the Arab Spring, Libya, and
                        Syria/Iraq**

        *Required Reading:*
            Fawaz A. Gerges, "The Obama Approach to the Middle East: The End of
                America's Moment", *International Affairs*, 80/2 (2013) 299-323.
            Mikael Blomdahl, "Bureaucratic Roles and Positions: Explaining the United
                States Libya Decision", *Diplomacy & Statecraft*, 27:1, (2016) pp. 142-161
            Jeffrey Goldberg, "The Obama Doctrine", *The Atlantic*, April 2016, at:
                Footnote Eight [8]

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[4] https://www.huffingtonpost.com/young-professionals-in-foreign-policy/three-presidents-facing-n_b_9335546.html.

[5] https://www.defenseone.com/ideas/2019/12/nuclear-risks-are-rising-after-nearly-decade-decline/162137/ .

[6] NOTE: The easiest way to find this article through the UofC Library's is to use the advanced search function and the title of the article. You may have to scroll down through a few or a considerable number of identified suggestions (the Library's search function is far from precise) but the right one can be identified as the author will be indicated.

[7] https://thecsspoint.com/we-all-lost-afghanistan-by-p-michael-mckinley/ .

Colin Dueck, "The Real Obama Doctrine Exposed", *The National Interest*, 28 April 2015, at Footnote Nine [9]

### *Research Essay Due Week 11:  Thursday, 23 March 2023*

*Week 12*  Tues  **Leading from Behind": Obama, the Arab Spring, Libya, and Syria/Iraq**
cont.

*Required Reading:*
 J. B. Schulhofer-Wohl "The Obama administration and civil war in Syria, 2011–2016: US presidential foreign policy making as political risk management", *Journal Of Transatlantic Studies*, *19*(4), (2021) pp. 517–547.

Thurs **The Decline of America? America and its (Near) Peer Competitors**

*Required Reading:*
 Thomas J. Christiansen, "Obama and Asia: Confronting the Challenge of China", *Foreign Affairs*, Sept-Oct 2015: 28-36. see Footnote Ten [10]
 Peter Rudolf, "The Sino-American World Conflict", *Survival*, 63:2 (2021) pp. 87-114.
 "Is There National Security Continuity Between the Trump and Biden Administrations (Nadia Schadlow in Conversation)", *Orbis*, Summer 2021 pp. 377-384.
 Toma McTaque and Peter Nicholas, "How 'America First' Became America Alone", *The Atlantic*, 29 Oct 2020;  at Footnote Eleven [11]

*Week 13*   Tues & Thurs  **The Decline of America? America and its (Near) Peer Competitors**

*Required Reading*:
 Angela Stent, "Trump's Russia Legacy and Biden's Response", *Survival*, 63:4 (2021) pp. 55-80.

*Week 14*  Tues  **Course Review** (11 April)

### **Winter Term Ends, Wednesday 12 April, 2023**

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[8] https://www.theatlantic.com/magazine/archive/2016/04/the-obama-doctrine/471525/ .
[9] http://nationalinterest.org/feature/the-real-obama-doctrine-exposed-12745?page=show .
[10] NOTE: This article can be most easily located by using the UofC Library's advanced search function and the title of the article.  You may have to scroll down through a few or a considerable number of identified suggestions (the Library's search function is fairly wonky) but the right one can be identified as the author will be indicated.
[11] https://www.theatlantic.com/international/archive/2020/10/donald-trump-foreign-policy-america-first/616872/

**NB**.  All articles listed above without internet addresses can be found in the Library or through the Library's electronic access to journals.

## IMPORTANT POLICIES AND INFORMATION

### Absence From a Mid-term Examination
Students who are absent from a scheduled term test or quiz for legitimate reasons are responsible for contacting the instructor via email within 48 hours of the missed test to discuss alternative arrangements. A copy of this email may be requested as proof of the attempt to contact the instructor. Any student who fails to do so forfeits the right to a makeup test.

**Deferred Term Work Form:** Deferral of term work past the end of a term requires a form to be filled out by the student and submitted, along with any supporting documentation, to the instructor. The form is available at: https://live-ucalgary.ucalgary.ca/sites/default/files/teams/14/P22_deferral-of-term-work_lapseGrade.pdf

Once an extension date has been agreed between instructor and student, the instructor will email the form to the Faculty of Arts Program Information Centre (ascarts@ucalgary.ca) for approval by the Associate Dean.

### Deferral of a Final Examination
Deferral of a final examination can be granted for reasons of illness, domestic affliction, and unforeseen circumstances, as well as to those with three (3) final exams scheduled within a 24-hour period. Deferred final exams will not be granted to those who sit the exam, who have made travel arrangements that conflict with their exam, or who have misread the examination timetable. The decision to allow a deferred final exam rests not with the instructor but with Enrolment Services. Instructors should, however, be notified if you will be absent during the examination. The Application for Deferred Final Exam, deadlines, requirements and submission instructions can be found on the Enrolment Services website at
https://www.ucalgary.ca/registrar/exams/deferred-exams.

### Reappraisal of Grades:
*For Reappraisal of Graded Term Work, see Calendar I.2*
 http://www.ucalgary.ca/pubs/calendar/current/i-2.html

*For Reappraisal of Final Grade, see Calendar I.3*
http://www.ucalgary.ca/pubs/calendar/current/i-3.html

### Academic Misconduct:
Academic Misconduct refers to student behavior that compromises proper assessment of students' academic activities and includes: cheating; fabrication; falsification; plagiarism; unauthorized assistance; failure to comply with an instructor's expectations regarding conduct required of students completing academic assessments in their courses; and failure to comply with exam regulations applied by the Registrar.

For information on the Student Academic Misconduct Policy, Procedure and Academic Integrity, please visit: https://www.ucalgary.ca/pubs/calendar/current/k-3.html

**Plagiarism And Other Forms Of Academic Misconduct**
Academic misconduct in any form (e.g. cheating, plagiarism) is a serious academic offence that can lead to disciplinary probation, suspension or expulsion from the University. Students are expected to be familiar with the standards surrounding academic honesty; these can be found in the University of Calgary calendar at http://www.ucalgary.ca/pubs/calendar/current/k.html. Such offences will be taken seriously and reported immediately, as required by Faculty of Arts policy.

**Recording of Lectures:**
Recording of lectures is prohibited, except for audio recordings authorized as an accommodation by SAS or an audio recording for individual private study and only with the written permission of the instructor. Any unauthorized electronic or mechanical recording of lectures, their transcription, copying, or distribution, constitutes academic misconduct. See https://www.ucalgary.ca/pubs/calendar/current/e-6.html.

**Academic Accommodations:**
Students seeking an accommodation based on disability or medical concerns should contact Student Accessibility Services. SAS will process the request and issue letters of accommodation to instructors. Students who require an accommodation in relation to their coursework based on a protected ground other than disability should communicate this need in writing to their instructor. The full policy on Student Accommodations is available at
https://www.ucalgary.ca/legal-services/university-policies-procedures/student-accommodation-policy

*Research Ethics*
Students are advised that any research with human subjects – including any interviewing (even with friends and family), opinion polling, or unobtrusive observation – must have the approval of the Conjoint Faculties Research Ethics Board. In completing course requirements, students must not undertake any human subject research without discussing their plans with the instructor, to determine if ethics approval is required.

**Instructor Intellectual Property**
Course materials created by instructors (including presentations and posted notes, labs, case studies, assignments and exams) remain the intellectual property of the instructor. These materials may NOT be reproduced, redistributed or copied without the explicit consent of the instructor. The posting of course materials to third party websites such as note-sharing sites without permission is prohibited. Sharing of extracts of these course materials with other students enrolled in the course at the same time may be allowed under fair dealing.

**Freedom of Information and Protection of Privacy (FOIP) Act:**
Personal information is collected in accordance with FOIP. Assignments can only be returned to the student and will be accessible only to authorized faculty and staff. For more information, see https://www.ucalgary.ca/legal-services/access-information-privacy

**Copyright Legislation:**
See the University of Calgary policy on Acceptable Use of Material Protected by Copyright at https://www.ucalgary.ca/legal-services/university-policies-procedures/acceptable-use-material-protected-copyright-policy Students who use material protected by copyright in violation of this policy may be disciplined under the Non-Academic Misconduct Policy.

Course materials created by instructors (including presentations and posted notes, labs, case studies, assignments and exams) remain the intellectual property of the instructor. These materials may NOT be reproduced, redistributed or copied without the explicit consent of the instructor. The posting of course materials to third party websites such as note-sharing sites without permission is prohibited. Sharing of extracts of these course materials with other students enrolled in the course at the same time may be allowed under fair dealing.

**Evacuation Assembly Points**
In the event of an emergency evacuation from class, students are required to gather in designated assembly points. Please check the list found at https://www.ucalgary.ca/risk/emergency-management/evac-drills-assembly-points/assembly-points and note the assembly point nearest to your classroom.

**Important Dates:**
Please check: http://www.ucalgary.ca/pubs/calendar/current/academic-schedule.html.

**Faculty of Arts Program Advising and Student Information Resources**
- Have a question, but not sure where to start? The Arts Students' Centre is your information resource for everything in Arts! Drop in at SS102, call them at 403-220-3580, or email them at artsads@ucalgary.ca. You can also visit the Faculty of Arts website at http://arts.ucalgary.ca/undergraduate, which has detailed information on common academic concerns, including program planning and advice.
- For registration (add/drop/swap), paying fees and assistance with your Student Centre, contact Enrolment Services at 403-210-ROCK [7625] or visit them in the MacKimmie Tower.

**Important Contact Information**

Campus Security and Safewalk (24 hours a day/7 days a week/365 days a year)
    Phone: 403-220-5333

Faculty of Arts Undergraduate Students' Union Representatives
    Phone: 403-220-6551
    Email: arts1@su.ucalgary.ca, arts2@su.ucalgary.ca, arts3@su.ucalgary.ca, arts4@su.ucalgary.ca
    Students' Union URL: www.su.ucalgary.ca

Graduate Students' Association
    Phone: 403-220-5997
    Email: askgsa@ucalgary.ca
    URL:  www.ucalgary.ca/gsa

Student Ombudsman
    Phone: 403-220-6420
    Email: ombuds@ucalgary.ca

**Campus Mental Health Resources**

The University of Calgary recognizes the pivotal role that student mental health plays in physical health, social connectedness and academic success, and aspires to create a caring and supportive campus community where individuals can freely talk about mental health and receive supports when needed. We encourage you to explore the excellent mental health resources available throughout the university community, such as counselling, self-help resources, peer support or skills-building available through the following resources:

*SU Wellness Centre:* http://www.ucalgary.ca/wellnesscentre/

*Student Wellness Services:*
https://www.ucalgary.ca/wellness-services/services/mental-health-services

*Campus Mental Health Strategy website:*  https://www.ucalgary.ca/mentalhealth/**.**