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6. Memorandum, Jay S. Bybee to Alberto R. Gonzales, Counsel to the President, and William J. Haynes, General Counsel of the Department of Defense, Subject: Application of Treaties and Laws to al Qaeda and Taliban Detainees, 22 January 2002 printed in *The Torture Papers*, p. 111.

7. Stephen Van Evera, *The Causes of War: Power and the Roots of Conflict* (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1999), pp. 191–192.

8. Van Evera, pp. 182–183.

9. President Bush's Interview with Diane Sawyer, 16 December 2003, http://www.abc.org.

10. Elias Canetti, *Crowds and Power* (New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 1984), p. 73.

11. Bradley A. Thayer, *Darwin and International Relations: On the Evolutionary Origins of War and Ethnic Conflict* (Lexington: The University Press of Kentucky, 2004), pp. 77–78, 243–274.

12. Title 18, Sections 1340–1340A, http://uscode.house.gov/download/pls/18C113C.txt

13. Memorandum, Jay S. Bybee, Assistant Attorney General to Alberto R. Gonzales, Subject: Standards of Conduct for Interrogation under 18 U.S.C. 2340–2340A, 1 August 2002, in *The Torture Papers*, pp. 172–217, at pp. 200, 203.

14. David Alan Rosenberg, "The origins of overkill: Nuclear weapons and American strategy, 1945–1960," *International Security* Spring 1983, 7(4):3–71.

15. "A nation challenged: Notes found after the hijackings," *New York Times*, September 29, 2001.

16. "Focus special: The Atta document in full: Last words of a terrorist: 'All of their equipment and gates and technology will not prevent, not harm, except by God's will. The believers do not fear such things. The only ones that fear it are the allies of Satan,"' *The Observer*, September 30, 2001, p. 17.

17. Gustav Niebuhr, "A nation challenged: The letter; Injunctions to pray and orders to kill," *New York Times*, September 29, 2001.

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Inside this issue

Politics and the Life Sciences

VOL. 33, NO.2 FALL 2014

Welcome to *PLS* ii

From the editor: New beginnings 1

SPECIAL ISSUE: THE PRESIDENCY AND DISABILITY

Introduction
Presidential disability and presidential succession
Robert E. Gilbert and Erik P. Bucy 2

RESEARCH ARTICLES

Presidential inability
Filling in the gaps
John D. Feerick 11

Vice-presidential behavior in a disability crisis
The case of Thomas R. Marshall
Joel K. Goldstein 37

The politics of presidential illness
Ronald Reagan and the Iran-Contra Scandal
Robert E. Gilbert 58

The politics of presidential medical care
The case of John F. Kennedy
Rose McDermott 77

PERSPECTIVES

Campaigns and disability
When an incumbent president questions his potential successor's mental health status during the campaign
Michael S. Dukakis 88

Executive dysfunction, brain aging, and political leadership
Mark Fisher, David L. Franklin, and Jerrold M. Post 93

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