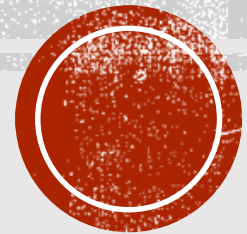


A SHORT HISTORY OF THE WAR ON TERROR

Today: Choosing the path of the Bush Doctrine.

No Class On March 10! Makeup Class March 24.

Write me at jjayes@ilstu.edu And there are notes below the slides in the PPT.



WHAT KIND OF WAR IS THIS, ANYWAY?

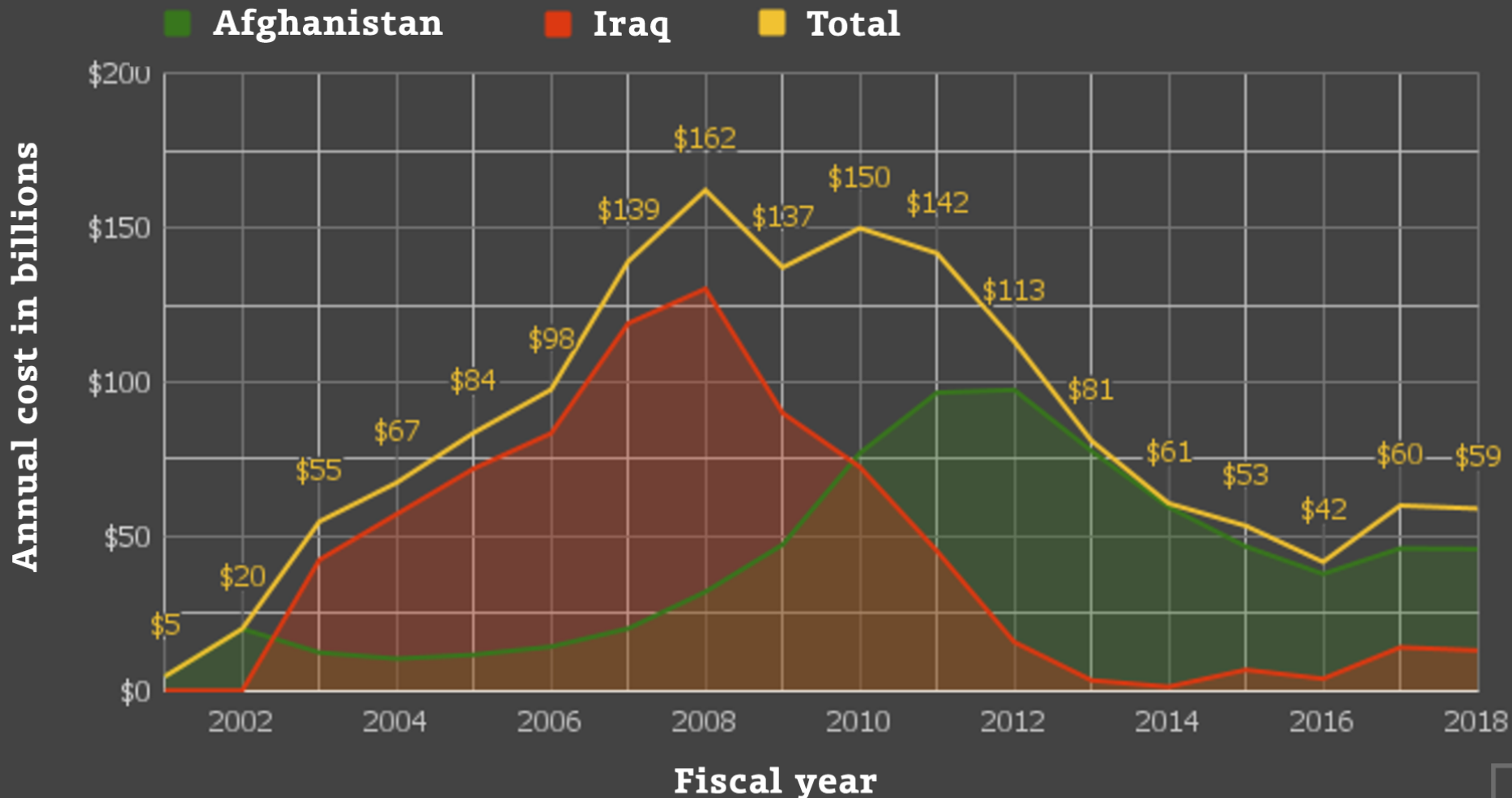
- Expensive in Money
- Expensive in Lives (especially for Non-Americans)
- Completely Altered the American Global Security Footprint, American Interaction with Allies and “Partners,” Changed American Reputation?
- Rewrote the Balance between the Executive, Legislative and Judicial Branches; and between State, Intelligence and the Pentagon
- Has created a culture of Secrecy and Militarism. Excessive Classification of Material undermines the role of the Press, controls employees
- Domestic Climate of Fear reshaping Culture, Local Policing (Securitization and Surveillance)
- New Military-Industrial Complex with reliance on Tech/Information Industry Expertise and the reorientation of Govt. Partnerships



\$6 Trillion? \$12 Trillion? Intelligence Budget, Legacy Costs, and other War theaters not included in Defense figures for the GWOT.

That's about \$100,000 per taxpayer over the next three decades.

The Cost of America's Wars



U.S. Wars Abroad Increase Inequality at Home

Who Foots the Bill for American Hegemony?

By [Rosella Cappella Zielinski](#)

October 5, 2018



Jan. 2020 issue addresses the lost investment in infrastructure, social services, unequal debt burden, etc., of the GWOT price tag.



Human Cost? Looking *just* at Iraq, Syria and Afghanistan since 9-11:

6900 US troop deaths

7000 estimated US contractor deaths

50,000 Iraqi and Afghani allied soldier deaths

800,000 civilian deaths caused by direct war violence

335,000 civilians killed due to civil disorder

21 million (conservative estimate) refugees and displaced persons

[The True Cost of War Project](#)

[Watson Center, Brown University](#)

<https://watson.brown.edu/costsofwar/>

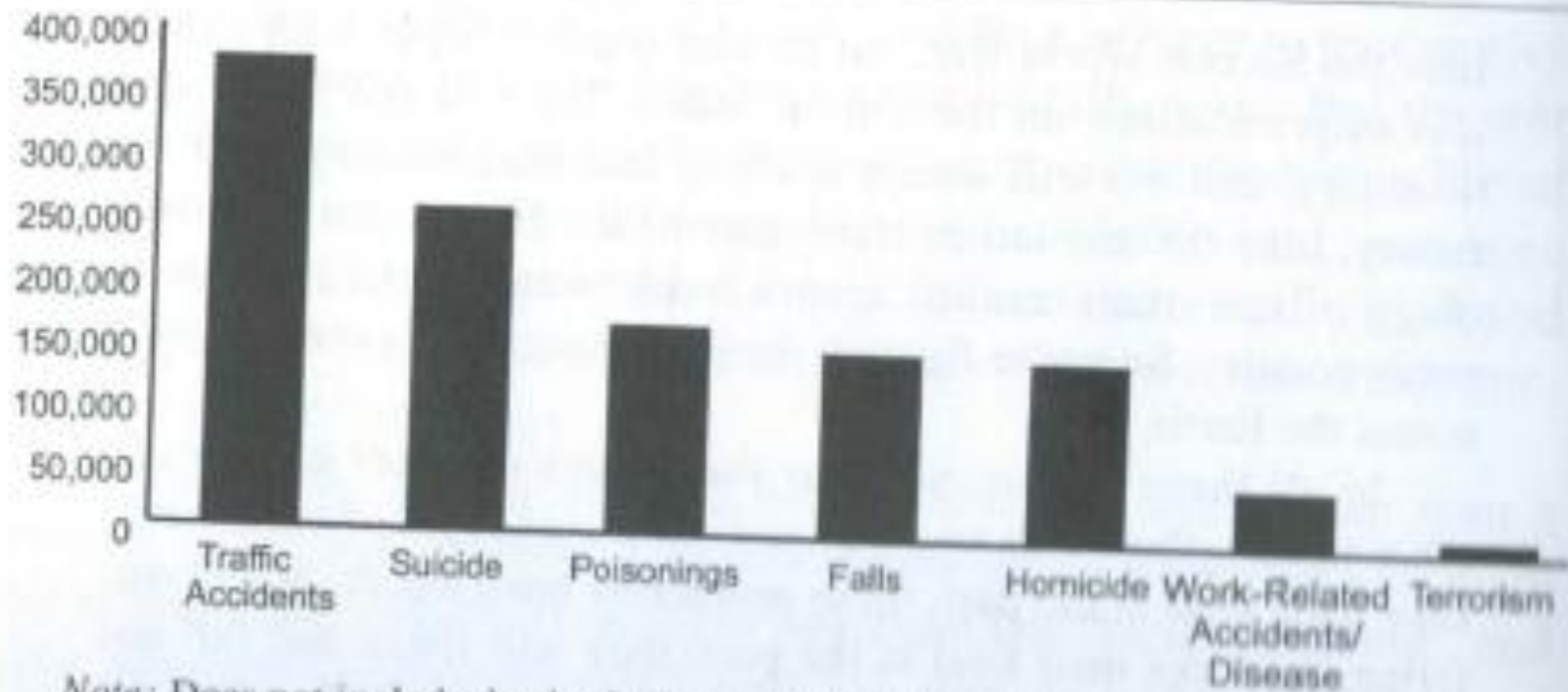


More than 80 military training GWOT partners globally, but who determines how local governments use the arms and training?

(2008 map)



Figure 10.1 Leading Causes of Death in the United States, 1999-2007

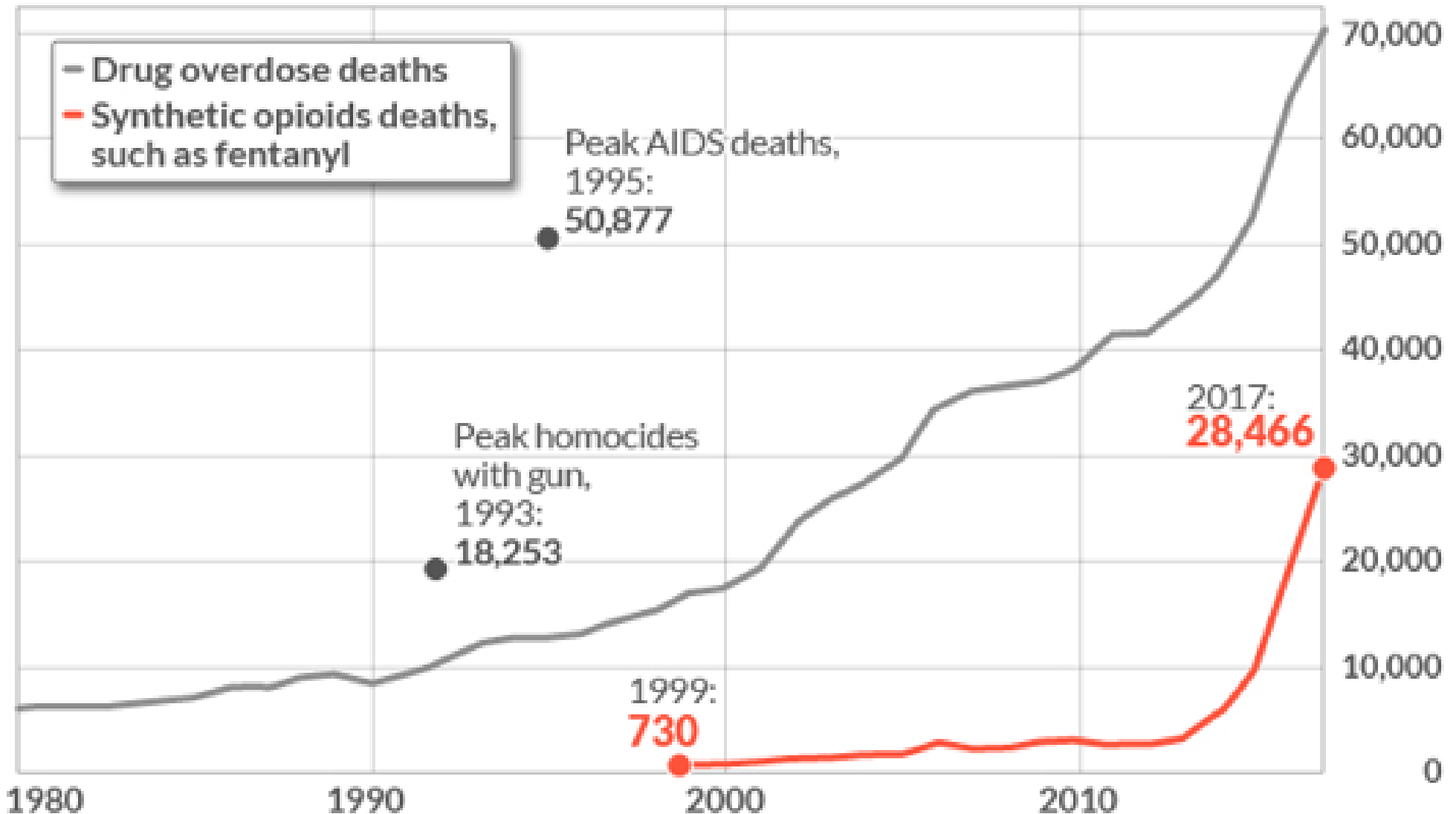


Note: Does not include deaths due to natural causes, old age.



Greater than guns: the surge in overdose deaths

Overdose deaths have lowered overall U.S. life expectancy



Source: CDC, New York Times



Since this entire “War” predicated on the goal of defeating “terrorism,” it seems we should be able to define it.

Terrorism is a non-strategic target attacked to create fear for political purpose by an illegitimate actor.

Nothing is really clearly defined above – every segment can be debated. What is a legitimate target? Are all attacks in physical space? What about a cyber attack that induces terror? What is the line between War and Terrorism? Who decides who is allowed to use violence to pursue a goal and what goals are legitimate? Can a state commit acts of terror by disproportionately causing civilian harm? What if the state does not allow participation in politics – is it legitimate then to use terror to lobby the state since there is no other recourse?



Debates over how to historicize the topic reveal different understandings of Terrorism

- **By Ideologies: Anarchists? Anti Colonial? New Left/Right? Religious? “Tribal?”** (*This view assumes what drives terrorism is the goal of bringing banned views into the public sphere.*)
- **By Methods: Bombs, Hijacking, Spectacle Violence, WMD, Cyberterrorism,** (*This approach assumes availability of new technologies drives their use and that any group will use the tactics it needs to meet its goals.*)
- **By Response: from safeguarding against a tactic, to prosecuting after an event, to declaring war on a category of actors: “terrorists.”** (*This approach focuses on the*



Post 9-11 The U.S. GWOT Combined Two Different Traditions:

- Categorizing the violence as Terrorism (in the realm of the Barbaric, irrational, inexplicable, illegitimate actor)**
- yet choosing to place the response in the category of War implied an organized enemy with a capacity for sustaining an organized campaign threatening National Security.**



9-12-01 GWB addresses the nation, declaring 9-11 an “Act of War”

9-18-01 Authorization of Military Force from Congress (AUMF 2001)

“The President is authorized to use all necessary and appropriate force against those nations, organizations, or persons he determines planned, authorized, committed or aided the terrorist attacks that occurred on September 11, 2001, or harbored such organizations or persons, in order to prevent any future acts of international terrorism against the United States by such actions, organizations or persons.”

10-7-01 Airstrikes begin in Afghanistan,

12-7-01 Capture of Kandahar completes US control of Afghanistan

Would it have been possible to separate the war on the Taliban and the War on Al Qaeda? (Taliban never given enough chance or latitude to make a deal with the U.S.)



The Afghan War presented to the American people as a war “brought upon” the U.S. by others, but was the choice of war inevitable after 9-11?

Could have gone to the ICJ at the UN (oops, wait, the U.S. isn't a member!) But a case could be made that 9-11 could have pushed the US to realize it was time for more active international legal mechanisms.

Could have chosen a limited strike on Bin Laden

Could have chosen to address the grievances of Al Qaeda. Could the US make a case that US role in the region had brought more good than harm?



What explains the choice of the War Strategy?

- Domestic Political Considerations require action after 9-11?
- GWB Personality? The ideology of his Advisors?
- The Anthrax scare? The NIE shift to raw intelligence?
- Perception that Terrorism undid the logic of Deterrence?
- Military Lobbying to reclaim role after Cold War?
- American Cultural Predisposition to see itself in the role of John Wayne among the tribes?



Not only did the U.S. choose to respond to the 9-11 as an act of War from the beginning, but it expanded the role of the CIA early on in the new war.

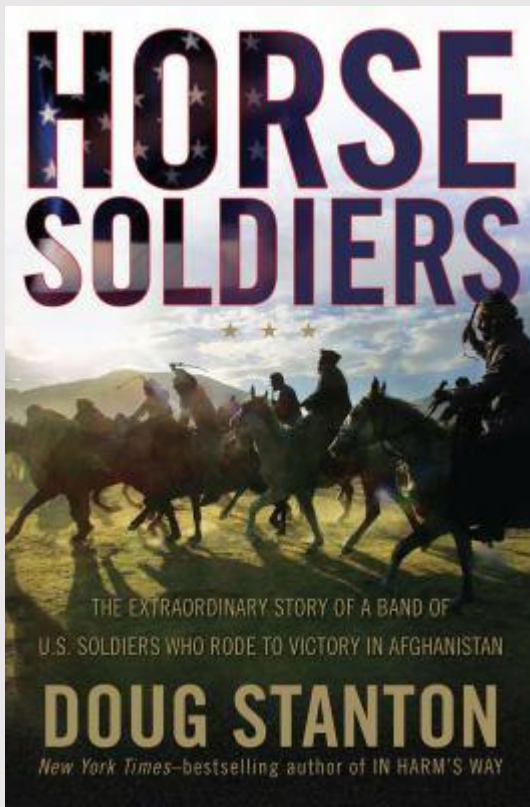
9-17-2001 Presidential Finding Authorizes CIA to pursue Al Qaeda and its Taliban Supporters wherever they may be found. Including use of:

- Secret Prisons – Black Sites
- Renditions
- Kill List
- Enhanced Interrogation techniques approved

CIA authorized to be first on the ground in Afghanistan. 100 CIA officers, 300 Special Forces precede Invasion. Mapping for occupation, not for whereabouts of Bin Laden.



I can't bring myself to see this 2018 film about the CIA Special Activities Division members and Army Special Forces soldiers who were the first on the ground in Northern Afghanistan, but it is based on the book below. I think the author intended it to be a hagiographic account of Men being Men among bad guys, but the way he describes the asymmetry between American and local resources is pretty sobering. In some ways Afghanistan the perfect showcase for the RMA Doug Rumsfeld had been planning for a decade.



Also the book suggest the tension between the CIA/Special Forces with their different training and different institutional cultures.



By late 2001 The Bush Doctrine becoming clear:

1. Take War to the Enemy wherever they are.

Challenges vision of national borders, states as actors, spheres of interest...

Reverses reduction trend in defense

2. Use all means necessary

(no Geneva Rules or Church Committee rules)

3. Anticipate and Preempt Threats –first strike

Challenges International Law

Requires Extensive Surveillance

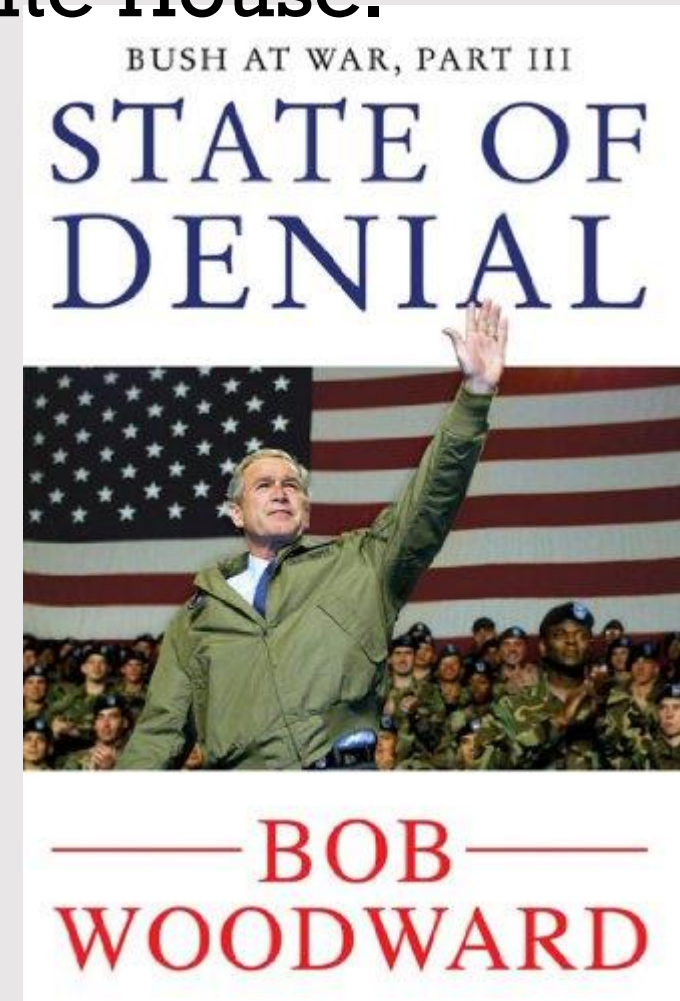
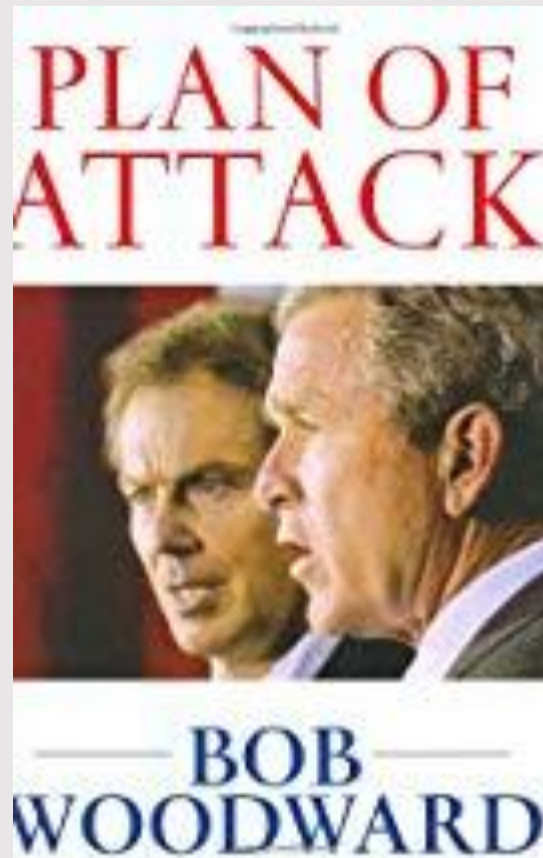
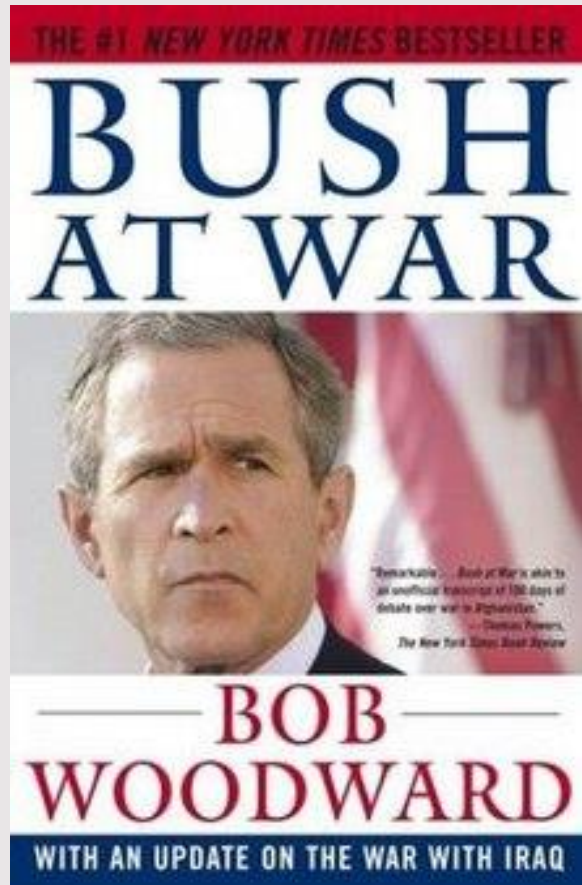
4. Domestic Component Key element in the War

(coordinate with Police, FBI

DHS reorganization, Patriot Act)



Bob Woodward's Trilogy on the Bush White House may not be perfect scholarship, but it provides one kind of context with its view of the personalities and different institutional interests meeting in the White House.



Next Week: from Afghanistan to Iraq

-- How did the Axis of Evil fit into the War on Terror?

JANUARY 29 2002 - PRESIDENT BUSH OUTLINES THE 'AXIS OF EVIL'



IRAQ



IRAN



**NORTH
KOREA**

