

# The War on Terror

The final part of course examines counterterrorist organizations, policies, and actions. It includes defensive acts, such as diplomacy and homeland security, and offensive acts, such as sanctions & war.



**Counterterrorism** - strategies and practices of governmental, military, law enforcement, and private orgs to prevent, detect, punish persons and organizations committing terrorist acts

**War on Terror** – global offensive after 9/11 by U.S. & its allies to root out terrorists from safe havens using intelligence services and military

What are the six pillars of U.S. counterterrorism?

How much does counterterrorism cost, for homeland security + military ops?

Is “War on Terror” an accurate or confusing concept? What other labels apply?

What was the Bush Doctrine? What were some consequences of implementing it?

What is Obama’s national security strategy? How (dis)similar to the Bush Doctrine?

What are the policy options in Afghanistan coming up for review in December?

# Pillars of Counterterrorism

U.S. counterterrorism rests on six pillars, each a complex system of bureaucratic agencies prone to fighting turf wars over information & power. In weeks ahead, we'll examine these pillars in greater detail.



The six pillars of counterterrorism & examples:

- **Military:** Pentagon, NATO, ISAF
- **Intelligence Community:** NSA, CIA, FBI, MI5
- **Diplomatic/Legal:** State Dept, World Court
- **Homeland Security:** HS Dept agencies
- **Law Enforcement:** FBI, local police
- **Preparedness/Disaster Relief:** FEMA, CDC

U.S. President's counterterrorism role as head of the executive branch is to propose national policies and oversee their implementation

**President George W. Bush led a huge expansion and reorganization of the counterterror system in response to 9/11 and the Iraq & Afghanistan wars**

**President Barack Obama, inheriting the CT system and both wars, had to decide how much to continue the Bush legacy and how much to change**

# Fighting Terror Isn't Cheap

Table 1: Gross Budget Authority for Homeland Security—by Summarized Agency

Dollars in millions

Agency	FY 2002		FY 2003		FY 2004 <sup>a</sup>	
	Gross budget authority	Percent of total	Gross budget authority	Percent of total	Gross budget authority	Percent of total
Department of Homeland Security <sup>b</sup>	17,380	53	23,063	54	22,925	56
Department of Defense	5,159	16	8,442	20	7,025	17
Department of Energy	1,220	4	1,409	3	1,363	3
Department of Health and Human Services	1,913	6	4,144	10	4,060	10
Department of Justice	2,144	7	2,349	6	2,181	5
Other agencies	5,068	15	3,042	7	3,283	8
<b>Total</b>	<b>\$32,884</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>\$42,449</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>\$40,837</b>	<b>100</b>

Fiscal Years  
2007 2008

\$56.4 \$61.1

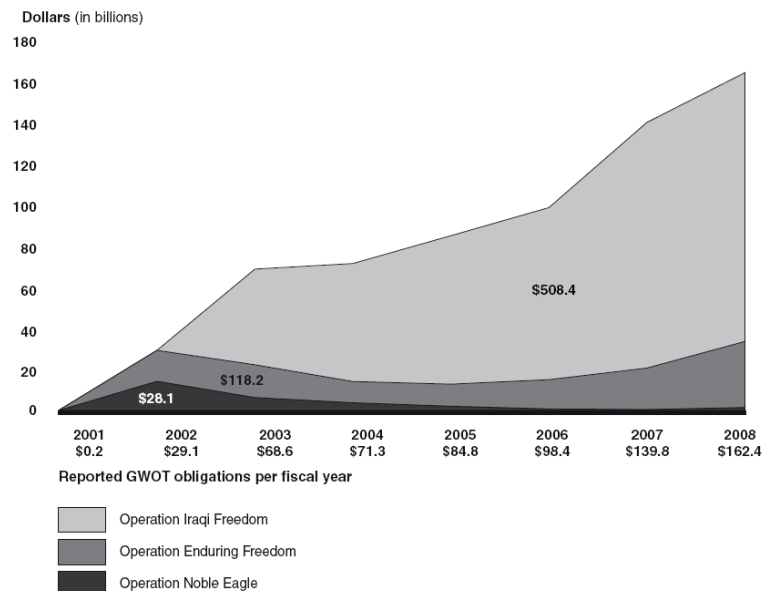
GAO-06-161 Combating Terrorism

POTUS 2007 Analytic Perspectives on the Budget FY2008

General Accounting Office and the President's office calculated that homeland security was costing more than \$60 billion by Fiscal Year 2008.

The Defense Department's FY2008 GWOT obligations for Afghanistan and Iraq exceeded \$160 billion. 2001-08 cumulative total = \$646B.

Figure 1: DOD's Reported Cumulative GWOT Obligations for Fiscal Years 2001 through 2008 by Contingency Operation



Source: GAO analysis of DOD data.

GAO-09-302 Global War On Terrorism

# War on Terror? Long War? ... ?

After 9/11 Bush Admin began using phrase “Global War on Terror” to describe the scope of threat to the U.S. and the operations to counter it.



“Our **war on terror** begins with al Qaeda, but it does not end there. It will not end until every terrorist group of global reach has been found, stopped and defeated.”

Pres. Bush to Congress 9/20/01

“Our own generation is in **a long war** against a determined enemy, a war that will be fought by presidents of both parties who will need steady bipartisan support from the Congress..”

Pres. Bush in State of the Union 1/31/06

Some generals began call it “the Long War” in 2004, implying indefinite duration, perhaps 50-80 years before it would conclude in U.S. “victory” over its enemies.

Does “war” imply successful defeat of terrorists (*Battleship Missouri* surrender)?

Does “war” give legitimacy & status to the criminal acts of nonstate actors?

What other label do you think is more accurate? Do words even matter? Why?

British historian Michael Howard argued that a better label is **confrontation**:  
“... continuing hostility, normally conducted by propaganda, economic pressure, political agitation and low-level violence, occasionally erupting into armed conflict over finite local objectives, never quite rising to major military operations.”

# The Bush Doctrine

The Bush Administration formulated a series of post-9/11 counterterror policies, which collectively came to be known as the **Bush Doctrine**.



Initially, the new policy justified the invasion of Afghanistan to destroy Al-Qaida. It evolved into the rationale for invading Iraq and imposing sanctions on Iran.

Drawing from **neoconservative** ideas, key points in the Bush Doctrine were:

- ✓ Countries that harbor or give aid to terrorists are themselves terrorists
- ✓ Any hostile country seeking to acquire **weapons of mass destruction** (WMD) – nuclear, chemical, biological – is a security threat to the U.S.
- ✓ U.S. has the **right of pre-emption** – to use military force against any foreign regime that poses a security threat, even if it's not immediate
- ✓ Pre-emption is unlimited, not accountable to the UN or international law
- ✓ U.S. policy promotes democracy worldwide, especially in the Middle East

# Other Views of Bush Doctrine

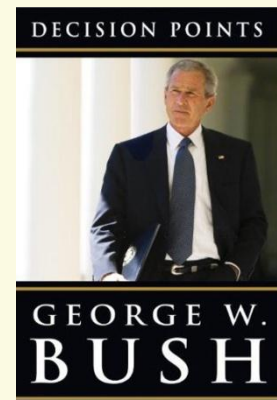
Critics of the Bush Doctrine argued that its unilateral actions violated international law, leading to perpetual war & human rights abuses. Germany, France and others did not join U.S. in the Iraq War, seeing it as unprovoked aggression against a nation not involved in 9/11.



Do **international counterterror conventions**, most signed by U.S., provide sufficient legal basis for nations to cooperate in extraditing & prosecuting terrorists?

- 1963 & 1971 Aircraft Conventions on Hijacking
- 1979 Taking of Hostages Convention
- 1988 & 2005 Maritime Conventions
- 1991 Marking Plastic Explosives for Detection
- 1997 Suppression of Terrorist Bombings
- 1999 Suppression of Terrorist Financing
- 2005 Suppression of Acts of Nuclear Terrorism

In his memoir, Pres. Bush wrote he considers the Iraq War justified and believes it left America safer, despite Abu Ghraib. He writes about having “a sickening feeling” upon learning there were no weapons of mass destruction in Iraq, and says “cutting troop levels too quickly was the most important failure of execution in the war.” He stands by harsh interrogations.



# What is Obama's Doctrine

Candidate Obama promised to follow different policies. His Admin relabeled the GWOT as “Overseas Contingency Operations.” How much does the Obama Doctrine differ from the Bush Doctrine and what elements does it continue?



Hired Sec. of State Hillary Clinton to boost diplomatic ties to allies; pressure human rights violators; make greater use of “soft power” or “smart power” and military force as last resort

Use international system against rogue states like N. Korean and Iran; try prevent wars from breaking out

Waterboarding = torture & is banned; pursuing law enforcement

**But** failed to close Guantánamo; relented on military commission trials; continued CIA rendition of suspects to other nations; invoked “state secrets” to block lawsuits on disclosure

Students take opposing sides of the Obama Doctrine and debate:

- (1) Pres. Obama's emphasis on “soft/smart power” is naïve about the ruthlessness of terrorists and their state sponsors. His programs are “now making some choices that ... raise the risk to the American people of another attack” (former Vice President Dick Cheney on CNN 3/16/09)
- (2) Obama's approach is a more realistic in seeking to prevent terrorism by cooperating with other nations. “We have to view our security in terms of a common security and a common prosperity with other peoples and other countries” (candidate Barack Obama 12/07)

# Obama's Wars

Bob Woodward details late-2009 Afghan war strategy decision as a struggle of the Joint Chiefs of Staff vs. Obama and the civilian officials.



Chiefs & Def. Sec. Gates pushed for 40,000 troops for Petraeus' protect-the-people CT plan; no timetable to end occupation

VP Biden's hybrid: 20,000 to hunt Taliban & train police, army

Pentagon rigged a war game to show hybrid wouldn't work

Obama compromised, sending 30,000 but setting July 2011 as the date to begin withdrawing troops from Afghanistan

This was a redefined mission, the president said, with a narrower focus on clearing violent areas, holding them, building them up and then transferring responsibility to the Afghan government, army and police. 'It can't be an open-ended nation-building, unrealistic nation-building endeavor,' he said. 'It's not a full-blown counterinsurgency strategy, but obviously has many elements of a counterinsurgency strategy.'

Did Chiefs "roll" the inexperienced Obama?

After midterm election results, will Obama be even less able to stand up to them next July?



Left to right, Adm. Michael Mullen, chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff; Defense Secretary Robert Gates; Vice President Joe Biden; the President; National Security Advisor Gen. James Jones; Secretary of State Hillary Clinton; Director of National Intelligence Adm. Dennis C. Blair (partially obscured); and CIA Director Leon Panetta.



# Petraeus' Views on the Long War

Is Gen Petraeus implementing a war policy he doesn't fully agree with & support?

He told Woodward: "You have to recognize also that I don't think you win this war. I think you keep fighting. ... You have to stay after it. This is the kind of fight we're in for the rest of our lives and probably our kids' lives."



He told Katie Couric: "We should remember why we're here – this is where the 9/11 attacks were planned. It is very much a vital national security interest to the U.S. and really all of the countries of the world that are fighting extremism to make sure that there are not sanctuaries in this country once again from which transnational extremists can launch attacks. ... There is no intent to look for the exits and turn out the light come next July 2011." (CBS News 8/10/10)

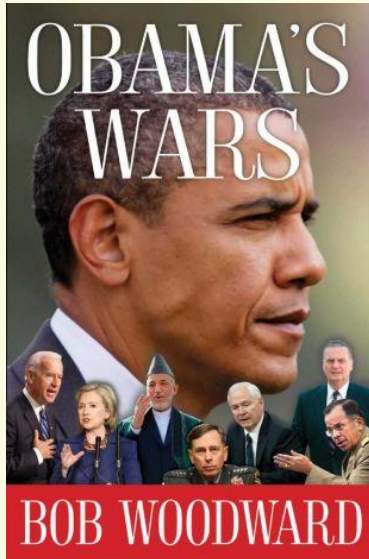
ABC News asked Petraeus whether success over the Taliban could be 9 or 10 years away; he answered: "Yeah, again, in some respects, I'd say obviously what took place up until this point has been of enormous importance. ... [Pres. Obama] has been very clear ... that July 2011 is the date when a process begins, the pace of which is determined by conditions on the ground."

"And that process consists of two elements. One is transition of tasks to Afghan forces and elements of institutions because [of] its functions, not just geographic areas. And the other is the beginning of a responsible drawdown of our surge forces. ... You do a little bit less and the Afghans do a little bit more instead of saying, 'Tag, you're it. You take the ball and run with it. We're out of here.' And we think that's the logical approach to this."

(ABC News 9-14-10; Part 2): <http://abcnews.go.com/WNT/video/exclusive-interview-gen-petraeus-part-ii-11637764>

# Assignment #3

In *Obama's Wars*, Bob Woodward revealed arguments last winter over sending more forces to Afghanistan. The military asked for 40,000 more troops. VP Biden warned “we’re locked into Vietnam.” Pres. Obama decided to send 30,000 troops, but said he would begin to withdraw them next summer. Gen. Petraeus said drawdown must be “conditions-based.”



As Pres. Obama’s adviser, you will write him a Presidential Daily Briefing for the December 2010 review of Afghan war strategy:

Choose **either** why he should withdraw troops regardless of Petraeus’ advice **or** why he cannot start withdrawing in July

Give three arguments supporting your position, which might include: threats to U.S. national security; costs of continuing to fight; preparedness of Afghan army forces; reliability of Pres. Karzai’s government; U.S. public opinion and politics; encouraging/discouraging the Taliban & Al-Qaida; others ...

Support your PDB analysis by reference to any relevant theories of terrorism, insurgency, and/or counterinsurgency doctrine that you’ve learned in the course

Be sure to **cite all sources** you use; e.g., articles, books, lectures, conversations

**Due MONDAY, November 22 (also submit to SafeAssign)**

**Maximum word limit = 750.** Include name & student ID#, “Word Count = \_\_\_”.