War on Terror

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Defining the “Global War on Terror”

- What is terrorism?
- What constitutes a war?
- There is a non-state actor involved
- Inherent dichotomy between Americans and “terrorists”
- No definitive end to an abstract war
- No fixed geographic borders
- No limits to extent of measures taken to combat terrorism
  - Patriot Act (Oct. 2001): Funding allocation, legal process and deregulation of domestic surveillance
  - Stellar Wind: NSA data-mining of American citizens’ private communications
  - Dep. of Homeland Security
  - National Counterterrorism Center
  - Militarization of Law Enforcement Agencies
Background of the Modern War on Terror

- First Gulf War, 1990
- Bombing of the World Trade Center, 1993
- 9/11 attacks, World Trade Center and the Pentagon, 2001
- Invasion of Afghanistan, 2001
- Invasion of Iraq commenced by U.S. troops under Bush Administration, 2003
- Sunni Awakening in Iraq and “The Surge”, 2006
First Gulf War, 1990

- August 2, 1990
- Iraqi military invasion of Kuwait sparks international coalition response
- US led coalition forces forced Iraqi army out
- ground campaign 100 hours
- Kurdish & Shiite rebellions in Iraq following ceasefire
- No U.S. support of rebellions

Bombing of the World Trade Center, 1993

- February 26, 1993
- Bomb was placed in the parking garage of one of the towers.
- The FBI found evidence that it was a terrorist attack.
- Leader of the attack (Ramzi Yousef) was captured in Pakistan in 1995.

- Negotiation with Taliban regarding Osama bin Laden in Afghanistan 1998
- USS Cole bombed in Gulf of Aden - Al Qaeda

“Bin Laden is now under full Taliban control and in no position to commit terrorist acts. [We] have always and will condemn terrorism, including hijacking” - Taliban spokesperson, 1998
9/11 Attacks on U.S., 2001

- Series of plane hijackings that were organized by al-Qaeda
- Targets:
  - **The World Trade Center in NY** → two planes crashed into the twin towers
  - **The Pentagon** → one plane crashed into the side of the Pentagon
  - **Washington D.C.** → the plane was taken down before reaching its intended target of either the White House or Capitol building.
9/11 Attacks on U.S., 2001
- Deadliest terrorist attacks on U.S. soil in American History
- September 20th, 2001: President Bush declares a War on Terror
- Explanations as stated in Osama bin Laden’s Letter to America:
  - “you attacked us and continue to attack us”
  - “You steal our wealth and oil at paltry prices because of you international influence and military threats. This theft is indeed the biggest theft ever witnessed by mankind in the history of the world”
  - “Your forces occupy our countries; you spread your military bases throughout them; you corrupt our lands, and you besiege our sanctities”
  - “Allah, the Almighty, legislated the permission and the option to take revenge. Thus, if we are attacked, then we have the right to attack back. Whoever has destroyed our villages and towns, then we have the right to destroy their villages and towns. Whoever has stolen our wealth, then we have the right to destroy their economy. And whoever has killed our civilians, then we have the right to kill theirs”
U.S. Invasion of Afghanistan - Sep 26, 2001 (CIA)


- Spearheaded by Central Intelligence Agency
  - Northern Alliance (Massoud Assassinated 09SEP2001)
- NATO ISAF - Formed to reinforce and take Kabul, build government
- Ousted Taliban from power in 3 months -
  - Installed Hamid Karzai (Ethnic Pashtun)
- Pakistani ISI proxy: Haqqani network (offshoot of Taliban)
  - Well-organized insurgent group operating on both sides of Afghan-Pakistan border
  - Frequently attack Indian construction projects in Afghanistan
Invasion of Iraq, 2003

- Operation Iraqi Freedom
- Spearheaded by U.S. forces, multinational coalition
- 160,000 troops, 130,000 U.S., 49 coalition countries
- Ended with the capture of Baghdad
- Coalition mission “to disarm Iraq of weapons of mass destruction, to end Saddam Hussein’s support for terrorism, and to free the Iraqi people”
- U.S. Military occupation of Iraq began May 1, 2003
Sunni Awakening, 2006

- Sons of Iraq or Anbar Awakening, Sunni tribal groups of Anbar region
- Resistance to Al Qaida operations in the region
- Former radical militias turn to rejection of Al Qaida
- Anbar region communities displeased by Al Qaida’s brutal civilian killings
- Many awakening groups have a questionable history of combating U.S. occupying force from 2003-2006
- Awakening groups had deep seated mistrust for U.S. installed Shia government
Sunni Awakening Cont. 2006

- Originally funded by U.S. government, promise of democratic elections in Iraq
- Shia lead Al-Maliki administration warned of funding former radical groups
- Iraqi government pledged to disband independant Awakening groups
- American Government transfers responsibility of funding to Iraqi gov., 2008
- Maliki government planned to integrate only ¼ of Awakening groups
- U.S. retained Maliki government in 2010 despite democratic elections
- U.S. believed Maliki would allow troops to remain in Iraq past 2011
- Awakening groups forced to disband, unemployed or ISIL

"We completely, absolutely reject the Awakening becoming a third military organization,"

Iraqi Defense Minister Abdul-Qadir al-Obaidi
Theories

- Individual Analysis (bin Laden, Bush)
- Scapegoat:
  - U.S. POV
  - Islamic POV
- Hegemonic
- Liberal
- Conservative
- Marxian
Individual Analysis - Osama bin Laden

- Mujahideen victories in Afghanistan, CIA Operation Cyclone 1979-1989
- Rejected by Saudi Minister of Defense in favor of U.S. forces, 1990
- Perceived colonization of Saudi Arabia
- Rejection of U.S. “domination” of the Middle East, post Gulf War, 1991

“the Nation that rejects your attacks, wishes to remove your evils, and is prepared to fight you. You are well aware that the Islamic Nation, from the very core of its soul, despises your haughtiness and arrogance.” - Osama bin Laden, Letter to America, 2002
Individual Analysis - George W. Bush

- Texas Governor - “War on Illiteracy” Supported Nixon’s “War on Drugs”

- Psychological Milieu: George W. Bush sees world in binary terms. Black & White (conservative)

- Introduces “War on Terror” as an end-all term to combat “enemies of freedom” around the globe.

- Massive consolidation of power to the presidency after 9/11

“Good and evil are present in this world, and between the two of them there can be no compromise” -- George W. Bush
Scapegoat: U.S

- Response after 9/11, but not after the 1993 attack
- The hunt for Osama bin Laden was used as a distraction.
- Responses to 9/11 could have occurred earlier and prevented the second attack.
- The CIA knew that there was potential for a second attack by Al-Qaeda.

“the American public needs more of an education in the complexities of international terrorism, and fewer of the oversimplifications that have characterized the current blame game” -- Paul R. Pillar, 2004
Scapegoat: Islamic Fundamentalist

- U.S. military failings to protect civilians, Gulf War
- Bin Laden teachings, western **control of Islam**
- Western influence as result of failure to live by the Quran, punishment of God
- Concept of the **West vs. Islam**
- Fundamentalist vs. Infidel, little to no middle ground

“In today’s wars, there are no morals. We believe the worst thieves in the world today and the worst terrorists are the Americans. We do not have to differentiate between military or civilian. As far as we are concerned, they are all targets.”
Hegemonic Theory

“Al Qaeda is to terror what the mafia is to crime. But its goal is not making money; its goal is remaking the world -- and imposing its radical beliefs on people everywhere” - George W. Bush, Sep. 20, 2001

- George W. Bush: America must remain unipolar leader to defend freedom

- Osama Bin Laden: Islam to counter U.S. imperialist hegemony

“Mr Fisk, I pray to God that He permits us to turn America into a shadow of itself”
- Osama Bin Laden to British journalist Robert Fisk

Zero-Sum Game: If the enemy gains power, we lose power (Power is relative)
Liberal: U.S. Spread of Freedom, Democracy, and Human Rights

“We are led, by events and common sense, to one conclusion: The survival of liberty in our land increasingly depends on the success of liberty in other lands. The best hope for peace in our world is the expansion of freedom in all the world” -President Bush, Second Inaugural Speech, 2005

- War on terror in Iraq framed as spread of freedom
- Promise Iraqi democracy
- Humanitarian intervention, Human rights offenses by Saddam condemned by international community
- Promote unified religiously tolerant Iraq
- Remove Saddam regime and active support of terror organizations
Liberal: Saddam Regime’s Support of Terror

- No publicized connection between Saddam and Al Qaida
- Saddam regime actively supported terror organizations in Baghdad
- Used international terror that supported Iraqi government interests
- Saddam knew Osama bin Laden would never support secular government
Conservative (Realist)

- The United States is larger, more powerful, and stronger politically and economically than the fundamentalist groups.
- The War on Terror was declared by President Bush
  - Official start of the war
- National Role Conceptions → America’s role in the world is to be a peacekeeper, and leader for other nations.

“America cannot know peace, security, and prosperity by retreating from the world. America must lead by deed as well as by example” -- Bush Administration

Conservative (Realist)

- U.S. interventions in the Middle East are due to economic, political, and humanitarian factors, but mainly it was as a result of their role of a global leader.
- U.S. = large state = large role in global politics
- Interests: Persian Gulf oil, counterterrorism measures, increased political influence in the Middle East.
  - Post 9/11 national security became another major reason for intervention.
- The second pillar of the national security strategy is “confronting the challenges of our time by leading a growing community of democracies. Many of the problems we face – from threat of pandemic disease, to proliferation of weapons of mass destruction, to terrorism, to human trafficking, to natural disasters – reach across borders. Effective multinational efforts are essential to solve these problems. Yet history has shown that only when we do our part will others do theirs. America must continue to lead.” -- George W. Bush
Marxian - Big Oil

- 2000 U.S. Presidential election, big oil donates more money than any previous campaign to Bush Cheney ticket
- Bush administration creates National Energy Policy Development Group one week into first term
- 2000, energy group begins assessing Iraqi oil production capabilities
- Feb, 2001 Treasury Secretary Paul O’Neill “Not the why [to invade Iraq], but the how and how quickly.”
Marxian - Big Oil

- 9/11 attacks galvanize American public, War on Terror in Iraq justifies removal of Saddam regime
- 2003, The State Department Future of Iraq Project's Oil and Energy Working Group states Iraqi oil "should be opened to international oil companies as quickly as possible after the war."
- Oil executives appointed by U.S. government to advise Iraqi oil ministry
- Iraqi government pressured to pass Hydrocarbon Laws
- 2008-2013 Iraqi oil production increases 40% but only represents 2% of domestic jobs
Marxian - Engineering and Defense Contracting

**Revolving Door**: In/Out relationship as leaders between policymakers and the corporations that are affected by those policies

**Halliburton - Dick Cheney**
- LOGCAP - Logistics Civil Augmentation Program

**Bechtel - George Shultz**
- Near-exclusive rights to infrastructure reconstruction projects in Iraq

**Lockheed Martin - Lynn Cheney**

“As monopoly capitalism progresses, giant corporations begin to divide up the world. Owing to the "fusion of state and capital," the government becomes the agent of the capitalist class.”

-Greg Cashman
Marxian - Engineering and Defense Contracting

Dick Cheney - Halliburton:
- 1991: As Secretary of Defense to Bush Sr., awarded $9 million to Halliburton to study privatization of military logistics (LOGCAP), awarding them first contract.
- 1995-1998: Cheney became CEO of Halliburton
- 2001: As Vice President, advocated Iraq War, with U.S. government giving $11 billion in contract to Halliburton under same privatized logistics
- Halliburton’s stocks tripled in the post-Iraq War period
George Shultz - Bechtel:

- 1972-74: Secretary of Treasury to Nixon
- 1975-82: Executive Vice President & President of Bechtel
- 1982-1989: Secretary of State to Reagan
- 1982-2009: Bechtel Board of Directors
- 1998: Vets George W. Bush for presidency and helps build his campaign
- 2003: Bechtel receives “Iraq Infrastructure I and II” contracts, with revenue increasing from $11.6 billion in 2002 to $17.4 billion by 2004. 158% increase in 2003 of non-U.S.-generated revenue.
Marxian - Engineering and Defense Contracting

Lockheed Martin:

- James Ellis Jr. - USSTRATCOM commander under Bush, board of directors
- Gordon England - Deputy Defense Secretary, former VP of Lockheed

- Stocks **tripled** and sales increased by **$13.2 billion** from 2001-2006
- Arms Trade Resource Center findings that **80%** of Lockheed’s 2004 earnings were paid for by U.S. taxpayers.
Conclusion

Global War on Terrorism ended 2013

- Has anything changed?
- U.S. Forces still engaged in Afghanistan and Iraq
- Halliburton continues to drill Iraqi oil in 2015, despite IS occupation.
Questions

Can the Arab Spring and the rise of Political Islam be compared to Bin Laden’s attempts to use Islam as a counter to U.S. global dominance?

If the War on Terror is truly an effort to eradicate terrorism around the world, what actions has the American government taken regarding declared terrorist groups such as Hizballah, HAMAS, or Palestine Liberation Front?
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