



# Talk 52: “War on Terror” US and world 2001-2008

## Module 7: America in a multi polar world

Talk	Title	Time Period	Date of Talk
51	The Year when the world changed	2000-2001	March 2nd
52	War on Terror US and the world	2001-2009	March 17th
53	From “compassion to collapse”: Bush Presidency	2001-2008	March 30th
54	US Culture and Society during the “aughts”	2001-2008	April, 20th
55	The politics of Hope: Obama Presidency	2008- 2016	May 18th
56	Adapting to a multi polar world	2009-2016	June 1st

# US and the world 2001-2009 The War on Terror

- 
- US post 9/11
  - The Neocons
  - Invasion of Afghanistan
  - Iraq invasion
  - The forever wars
  - A Changing world
  - The Bush Legacy
- 



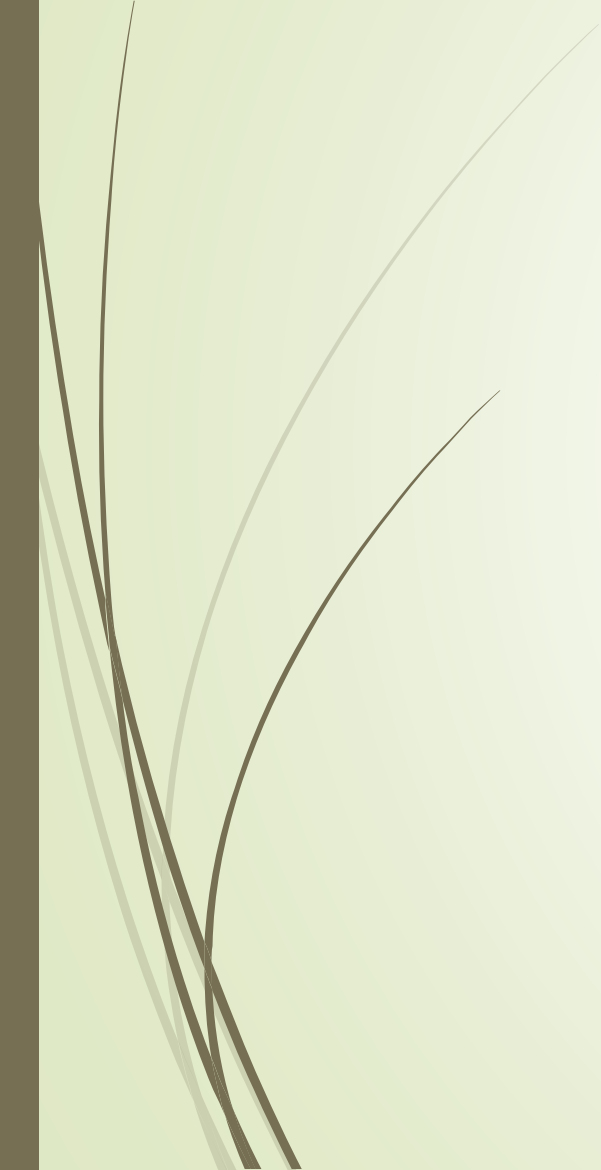
# 9/11 and invasion of Afghanistan

# Twin Towers....day after



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Credit: Graham MORRISON





# GW September 12<sup>th</sup> ...a united nation



# Reaction World

- ▶ September 12<sup>th</sup> NATO invokes Article 5...authorise use of force to resist attack
- ▶ September 12<sup>th</sup>: UN Resolution 1368: condemns attacks, okays punishment
- ▶ September 14<sup>th</sup> US Intelligence identifies Al Qaeda as responsible
- ▶ Letters of support for USA from everywhere....
  - ▶ Russia...” "Dear George, such an inhuman act must not go unpunished." [
  - ▶ Palestine.....Yassah Arafat condemns ...small pro Bin Laden demonstration....
  - ▶ China...Condemns terrorism.....10,000 signatures US embassy....

But.....polls taken Pakistan, Afghanistan. Palestine in 2008  
.....65% population belief attacks “justified”

# Reaction USA

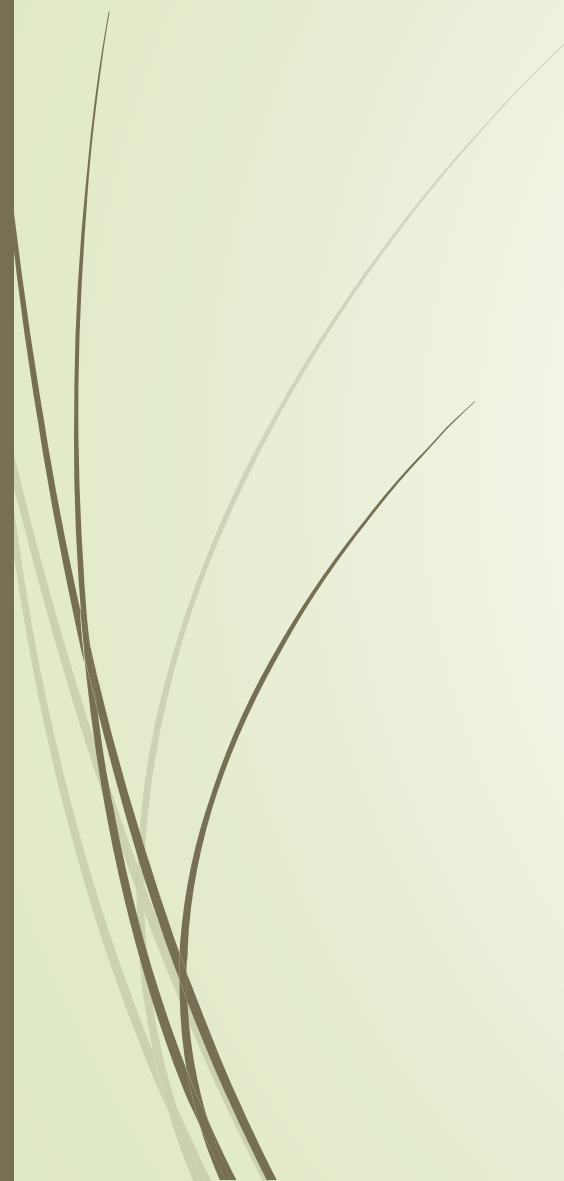
National shock and demand for vengeance

- Ongoing fear more terrorist attacks imminent
- Increased xenophobia
  - Minimal anti Muslim/ Asian violence
  - “Hard Right” & Christian Fundamentalists validated
- September 14<sup>th</sup> US Congress passes “Authorisation for use of military force against terrorists and those who harbour them”

Empowerment of the “Neocons”



# The Neo Cons



# Neo Conservatism:...a movement...not organisation

US world dominance beneficial and ensured by military superiority

- World a battleground between forces of good and evil...US “good”
- US should intervene wherever necessary to ensure dominance
  - Negotiations a sign of weakness
  - Global institutions and alliances ineffectual and used only when useful
  - Pre-emptive intervention justified...no more 9/11's
  - Change secured by changing the Regime
- Israel a projection of US ideals and a source for stability and democracy
  - Destruction of Israel enemies in the interest of the USA
  - Reject Palestinian state/ Enemy of Israel =US enemy....Iraq

# Neo-con Rise to power

## Origins

- 1970's fusion Conservative Democrats/ Liberal Republicans
- Oppose "appeasement USSR", "Big Society" programmes
- Unite with Reagan Administration vs "isolationists" vs Kissinger "balance of power"
  
- 1980's. 1990's
  - Cold War "victory" validates movement and power within Republican Party
  - HW Bush resists: belief in UN, restraint, non ideological
  
- GW Bush election campaign
  - GW no interest foreign policy/ delegates international affairs to "experts"
  - Default policy: "isolationist", non intervention
  - Delegates policy to "experts" ....

# Donald Rumsfeld (1932-2021) Secretary of Defence

Navy career....self made  
Law School

8 year congressman Illinois

International Experience

Nixon: Ambassador to NATO

Ford: Chief of Staff/ Sec of Defence

Reagan : Envoy to Middle East,

International Businessman

...Pharmaceuticals ..Oil industry

... met Saddam Hussein

...North Korea

Sec of Defence

...convinced Iraq involved 9/11

...rejects military 60,000 army want

...minimise "occupation"



# Dick Cheney (1941-2025): Vice President



Wyoming family

....BA Political Science

....avoids Vietnam

Political Career

....Aide to congress

....Assistant to Don Rumsfeld

...congressman 1979-1989

...Secretary Defence HW Bush

Elected VP GW Bush...

...”shadow president”

...Strong ne-con background

...Threat imminent to US

...US to be greeted as liberators

# GW Bush and 9/11

- Most ill prepared President for national crisis since 1920's
  - Zero international experience or interest
  - Working style “chairman”...maker of decisions worked out by others
  - “Born Again” mind-set: convictions set/ evidence irrelevant
  - Entitled/ easily dominated by Rumsfeld/ Cheney
- Politically astute
  - Public demand for immediate vengeance
  - Need for clearly defined “enemy”
  - Public have low appetite for casualties

# Bush Doctrine

- ▶ US entitled to act with or without International support  
“With us or against us” ... “Our way or the highway”
- ▶ Pre-emptive strikes required to prevent future terrorism
- ▶ Security achieved by regime change and imposition of Democracy
  - ▶ US model obviously superior
  - ▶ Secured by minimal force.....precision missiles & drones

Plans made to invade **both** Afghanistan and Iraq start afternoon of 9/11

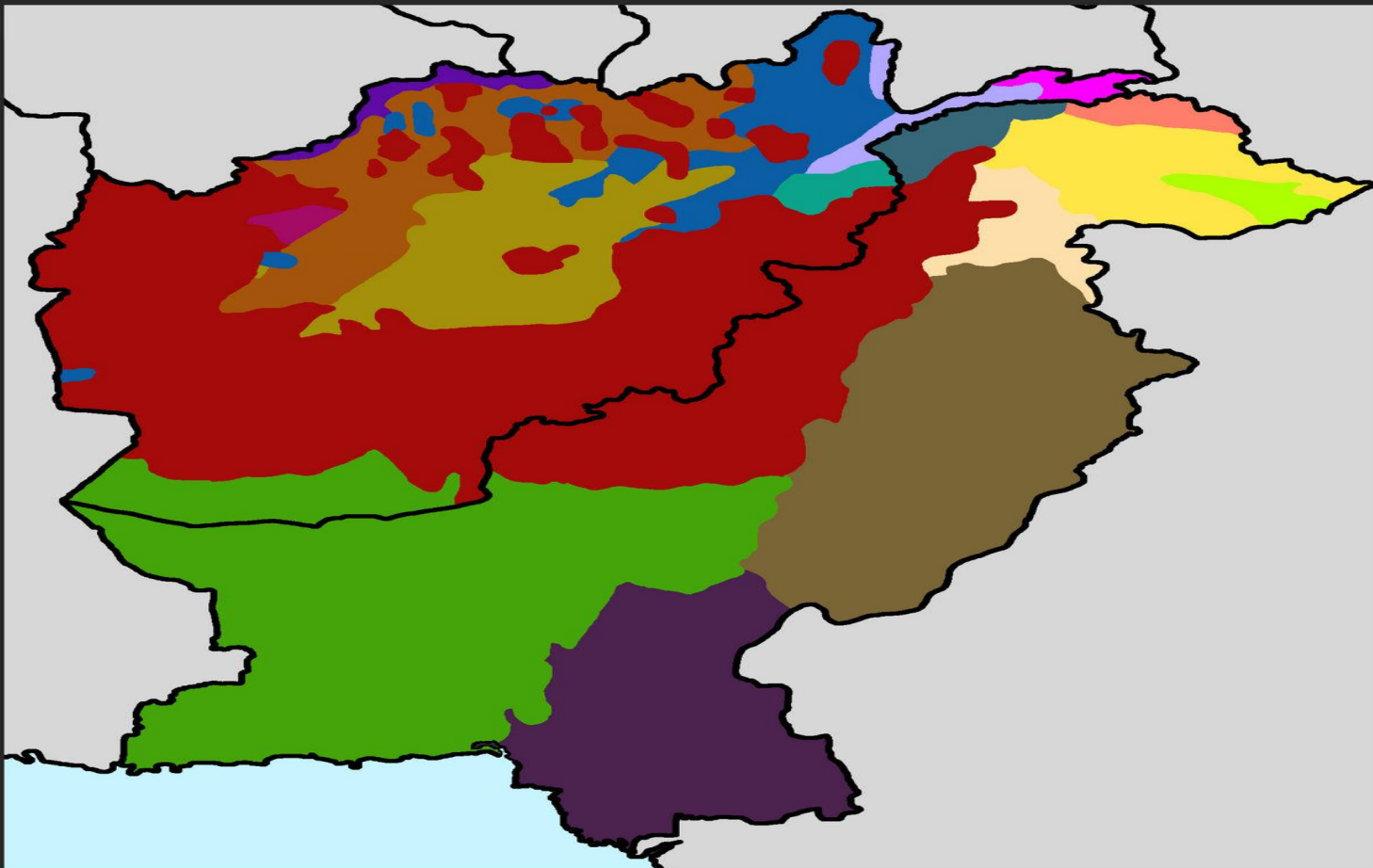


# Invasion of Afghanistan

# Afghanistan/ Pakistan realities

## Ethnicities of Afghanistan and Pakistan

<b>Iranian</b>	<b>Nuristani</b>	<b>Dardic</b>	<b>Turkic</b>
 Pashtun	 Nuristani	 Kho	 Uzbek
 Pamiris	<b>Indic</b>	 Shina	 Turkmen
 Wakhi	 Punjabi	<b>Turko-Mongolian</b>	 Kyrgyz
 Tajik	 Sindhi	 Hazara	<b>Tibetic</b>
 Baluch	 Hindko	 Aimaq	 Balti



Afghanistan 2000

20 million, 80% rural, poor,  
90% Sunni, 8% Shiite

Tribe > nation Unite when invaded  
Conflict: modernize vs Islamic con

Decades of war

Modernizers/ USSR 1973-1989

...tribal alliances > King

...Pashtun 60% Taliban

...others "Northern Alliance"

"Pakistan"....created 1948

....Secular Military control

... US "ally" ...enemy India

...Tribal feuds (Baluchis,  
Pashtun, Punjabis)

# Afghanistan invasion : prelude

## Preliminaries

- September 20<sup>th</sup>...Demands Taliban hand over Ben Laden
- US demand Pakistan close border, declare itself “friend or foe” In
- Taliban claim Bin Laden not responsible...rejected
- October 4<sup>th</sup>: British/ CIA prove Bin Laden al-Qaeda connection

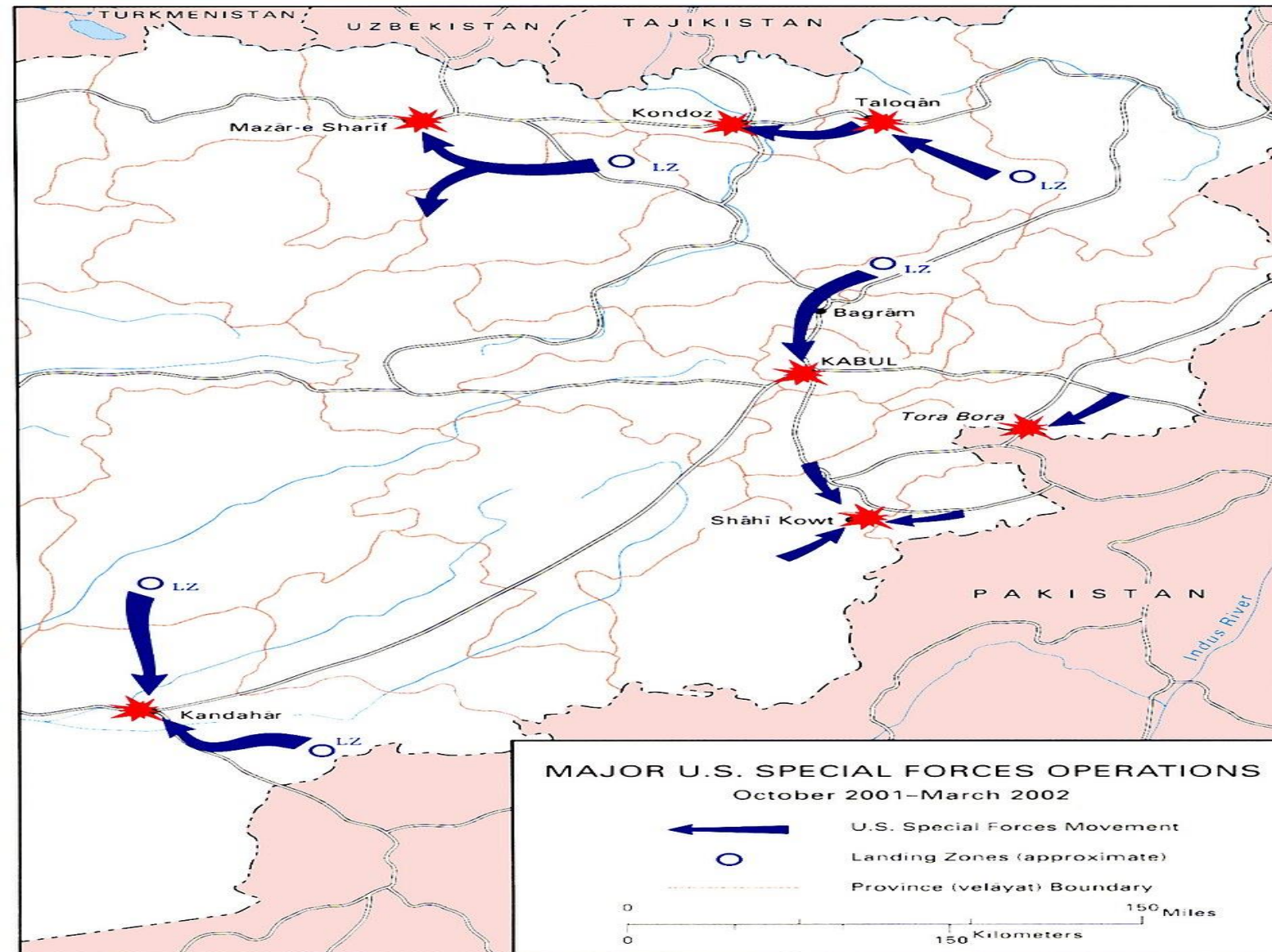
## ➤ US Invasion goals

- Bring Bin Laden to justice destroy Al-Qaida
- Remove Taliban from power
- Prevent Afghanistan becoming future haven for terrorism:

## ➤ Invasion plan: “Operation Enduring Freedom”

- Minimise casualties....cruise missiles + air attacks (lack of target issue)
- Minimize size of forces avoid unpitying Afghans vs infidels by use of Northern Alliance
- Focus on urban areas

# Invasion: October 2001 - March 2002



Multiple attacks on major  
Cities by small operational unit

Cruise missiles/ Air raids

...5,000 US + 1,000- UK

... 20,000 Northern Alliance

Taliban:50,000 “soldiers”,

..10,000 Pakistan, 500 Al-Qaida

Taliban retreat to countryside

And mountains/ Pakistan

...Alliance takes Kabul October

Allies... 13 deaths,

Afghans 1,000 air raids

....300 combat deaths,100,000

...refugees to Pakistan. Iran

# US Special Forces and Northern Alliance



# Northern Alliance fighters



# Helicopter landings from Central Asia



# Low Tech warfare...US and Northern Alliance fighters



Resistance minimal....welcomed



gettyimages®  
Credit: Paula Bronstein

# Hunting Bin Laden: Battle of Tora Bora October 2001



Bin Laden & Al-Qaida  
Located by satellite

US ...reject advise to mass force  
...100 US+ 10 UK  
..”Trust” 5,000 Alliance+ Pakistan

Air attacks useless  
....cave system, tunnels  
...Ramadan warfare  
...stop for prayers, breaks  
...collusion “allies & enemies”

# Torra Borra mountains



gettyimages®  
Credit: Chris Hondros

Air attacks and cruise missiles...ineffective



.....The search



# Bin Laden escapes



# Invasion Aftermath: November December 2001

## ➤ Consider major success

- Cities captured Taliban removed , 8,000 killed, 7,000 captured (2,000 + executed by N/A)
- Minimal US casualties (13 killed) high support 80% USA , 70% UK, 65% Germany France

## ➤ Problems

- Pakistan “double game” ....secure US Aid, avoid unrest, safe haven Taliban, Bin Laden
- Bin Laden survives, al-Qaeda only damaged
- Taliban control countryside and 80% population
- Pashtuns alienated by systematic massacres and rapes by North Alliance tribes

## ➤ US Decisions

- Minimise US military presence
- Hand over to (UN) International Security Assistance Force (8,000 US and 5,000 coalition)
- Create Afghan government and national army to retain status quo

# Bonn Conference November – December 2001



US flies Afghan tribal  
leaders to  
Petersburg hotel...Bonn  
....suitcases \$100 bills  
....joined by Russia, Iran  
...goal: elect government

No Taliban present,

US selects Hamid Karzai  
.....sub tribe Pashtun...anti Taliban  
.... Indian educated, aristocrat  
....English speaker  
...led “army of 50 during invasion

# Hamid Karzai (1957....)

Karzai in Washington January 2002



gettyimages  
Credit: Brooks Kraft

Karzai

...leader Afghan Clan

...goal “unite tribes”

...traditional Afghan “king”

Goals

...Accommodate Taliban

...US to force Pakistan

...cut off Taliban support

...Marshall Plan/ big army

Cheney Bush VS Karzai

.... minimal army (70,000)

....ISAF & AF to focus on ci

....Pakistan US ally

...main event Iraq

...hold elections mid 2002

...create Democracy

“Victory Declared” ..war over?  
...Donald Rumsfeld December 2001



# The US plan for Afghanistan...end 2001

- ▶ Find/ kill Bin Laden, destroy power of Taliban
- ▶ Install new Afghan Government, validate by national elections
  - ▶ Build 75,000 national Afghan army: secure cities, avoid alienating tribes
  - ▶ Support Afghan government by securing cities via 20,000 US and 20,000 Coalition military
  - ▶ Earn goodwill by infrastructure projects/ restoring women education
- ▶ Rely on Pakistan as logistics centre and partner hunting Bin Laden

**Priority shifts to Iraq within one month of invasion**



# Invasion of Iraq

# GW Bush: Axis of Evil Speech: January 2002

➤ "Iraq continues to flaunt its hostility toward America and to support terror. The Iraqi regime has plotted to develop anthrax and nerve gas and nuclear weapons for over a decade. This is a regime that has already used poison gas to murder thousands of its own citizens, leaving the bodies of mothers huddled over their dead children. This is a regime that agreed to international inspections, then kicked out the inspectors. This is a regime that has something to hide from the civilized world."

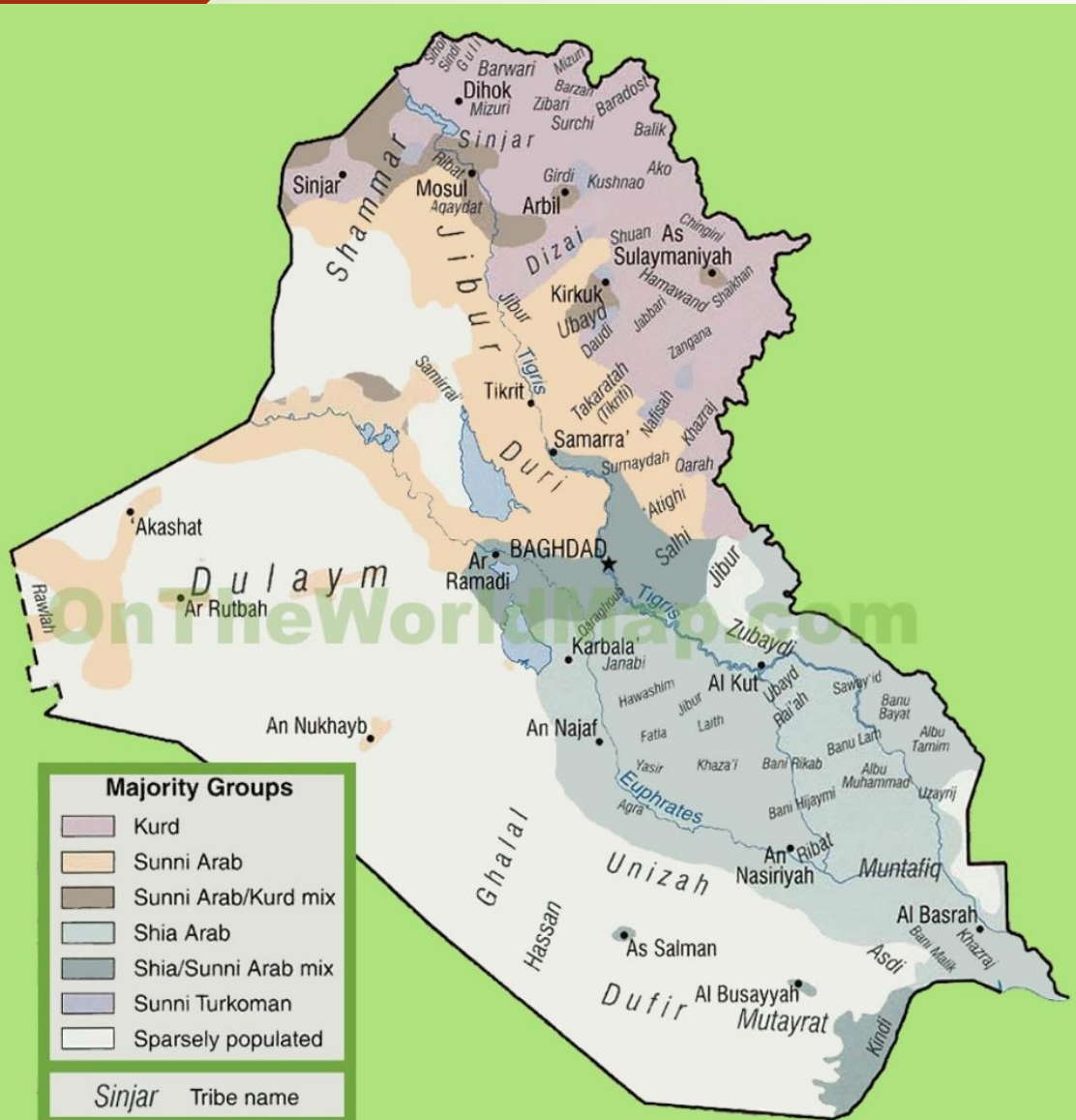
➤ "Iran, North Korea" Axis of evil ...."States like these and their terrorist allies constitute an axis of evil, arming to threaten the peace of the world."<sup>[1]</sup>

# Perils of “Confirmation Bias”

- “Rumsfeld developed, produced, and then disseminated alternative intelligence assessments on the Iraq and al-Qaeda relationship, which included some conclusions that were inconsistent with the conclusions of intelligence community and senior decision makers” .Douglas Feith Inspector General (2009)
- “There are known knowns; there are things we know we know. We also know there are known unknowns; that is to say we know there are some things we do not know. But there are also unknown unknowns - the ones we don't know we don't know.”

# About Iraq

## Iraq tribal & religious map



Ancient civilisation

...Irrigation technology

...Strong urban central state

...90% land uninhabitable

Abassid caliphate (750AD -1258)

.....Mongols>Chaos

.....4 Ottoman provinces 1550-1921

Modern Iraq 1921

...British Mandate. Oil 1927

...Independent Kings

...Industrialised oil 1950's...army

coup...Secular, modernist (Baathist Party)

Divided by religion & nationality

...Sunni 60% Shia 35%, other 5%

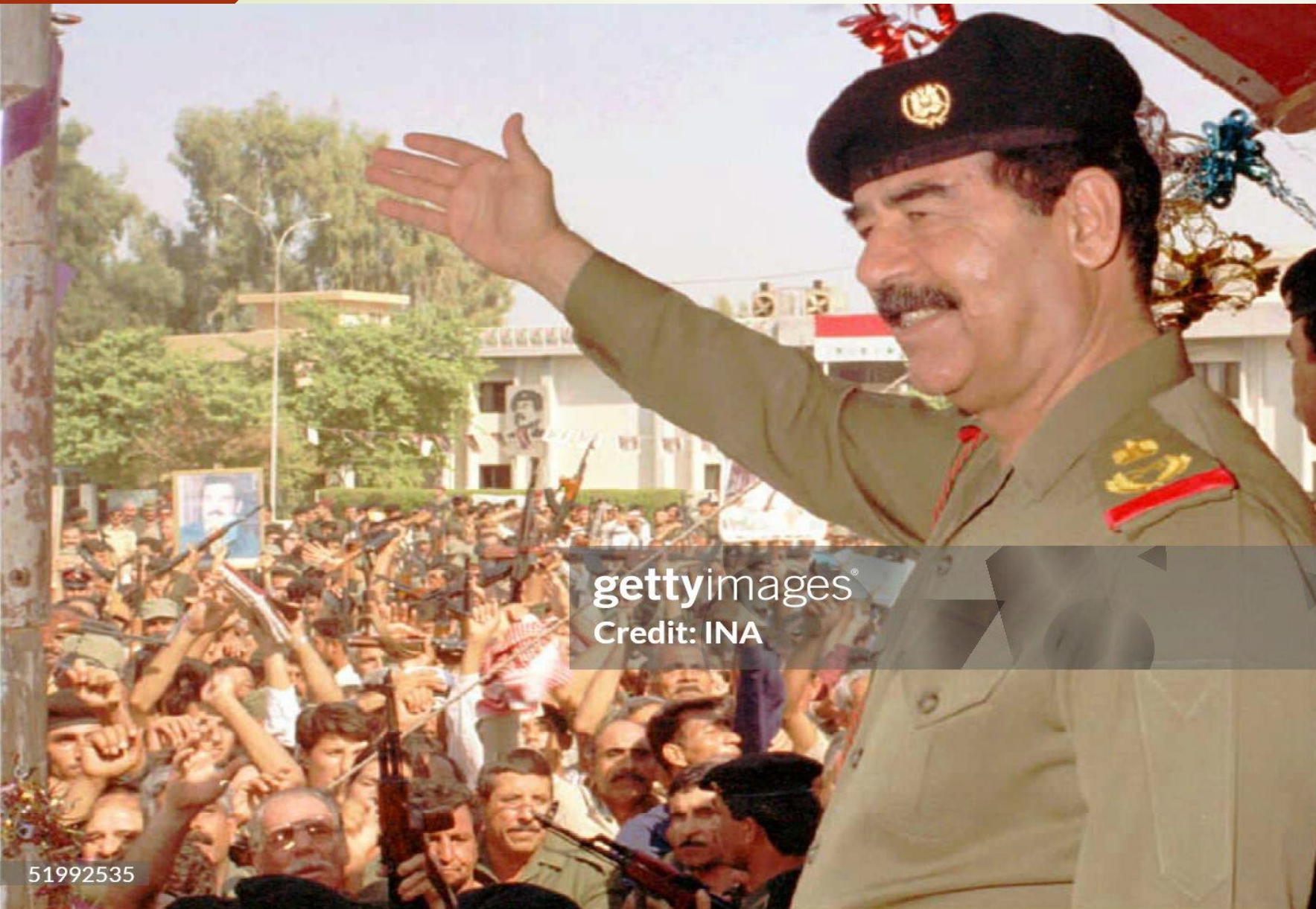
...Kurds 20%, Arabs 80%

Population 40 million, 75% urban, 60%

literate. 20% females/ 35% Gov employees

# Saddam Hussein (1937-2006)

President 1979-2006



Popular moderniser  
...infrastructure, education  
...repress control  
...Secular but Shia led  
...nuclear development

Invades Iran 1980-1988  
...resist Islam revolution  
...gain territory/ ..use of  
WMD...2m dead

Invades Kuwait 1989  
...US/UK defeat, but stop

Crush internal revolt 1991  
....use of chemical weapons  
...repressive state/

# Weapons of Mass Destruction ...proven use of chemicals vs Iran 1988



# US and Iraq 1991-1998

## No Fly Zones



- “No Fly Zone” Imposed 1991 (UN Resolution 688)
  - Protect Kurds in North, Shia in South
  - US, UK and France air force
  - 1 Iraq jet shot down 1992, no allied
- Inspection Regime UN Resolution 687
  - UN inspection begin chemical nuclear facilities
  - Anywhere, anytime, samples, interview
- Sanctions Imposed
  - Bans weapons, consumer items, chemicals, oil
  - Economic collapse, agriculture declines
  - Widespread malnutrition, 100-500 child deaths
  - Strengthen Saddam: control of aid

# The Inspection for WMD Process

- ▶ Iraqi compliance 1991-1998: Nuclear programme abandoned/ Chemicals destroyed
- ▶ Saddam's dangerous "game"
  - ▶ Policy of obstructions, delay, harassment, surveillance vs Inspectors
  - ▶ Evasive answers on existence: intimidate Iran and Kurds, military and civilians
- ▶ 1998 "Operation Desert Fox"
  - ▶ Saddam Hussein bans inspections ....demands relief from sanctions
  - ▶ US and UK bomb "likely sites" ..... "assumption of evasion"
  - ▶ US "Iraq Liberation Action 1998 "It should be the policy of the United States to support efforts to remove the regime headed by Saddam Hussein from power"

Inspections resume 1999...WMD not found...assumption of evasion

# 9-11 and Iraq

September 11, 2001 afternoon Rumsfeld orders plan prepared to invade

- Assumes Iraq Al-Qaida alliance
- “Absence of evidence” proof of existence?
- September 21, 2001 : Cheney rejects CIA Report no Al-Qaida - Iraq connection
  - “Absence of evidence” proof of existence?
  - Cheney: CIA incompetent, UN inspections
- September 2002 Bush Doctrine
  - US has right to make pre-emptive strikes to eliminate intention and capabilities
  - US has right to act unilaterally vs “Rogue States”/ promote democracy

**Bush....”Chairman of Board”...defers to Neon thinking**

Bush at UN September 2002: ...proposes case for war  
...Resolution 1441... “last chance to comply” comply  
...US and UK start deployment Kuwait



# Rafid Ahmed Alwan al-Janabi (“Curveball”)



Iraq chemical engineer

...lowest in class

...employee Iraq tv

...embezzles company

...on run 1999 to Germany

Claims top scientist

...wants asylum/avoid death

...describes WMD

...German view: “not normal  
share with CIA, MI6

CIA/MI6 belief evidence

....do not interview

....frustrated lack of WMD p

Escalate, embellished to B

& Sec of State...fits Neoco

Confesses....made up story

Image of Iraq portable weapons system  
...based on "Curveball" testimony



It did not exist....outside "Curveball" imagination

# Colin Powell (Sec of State) at UN: February 2003

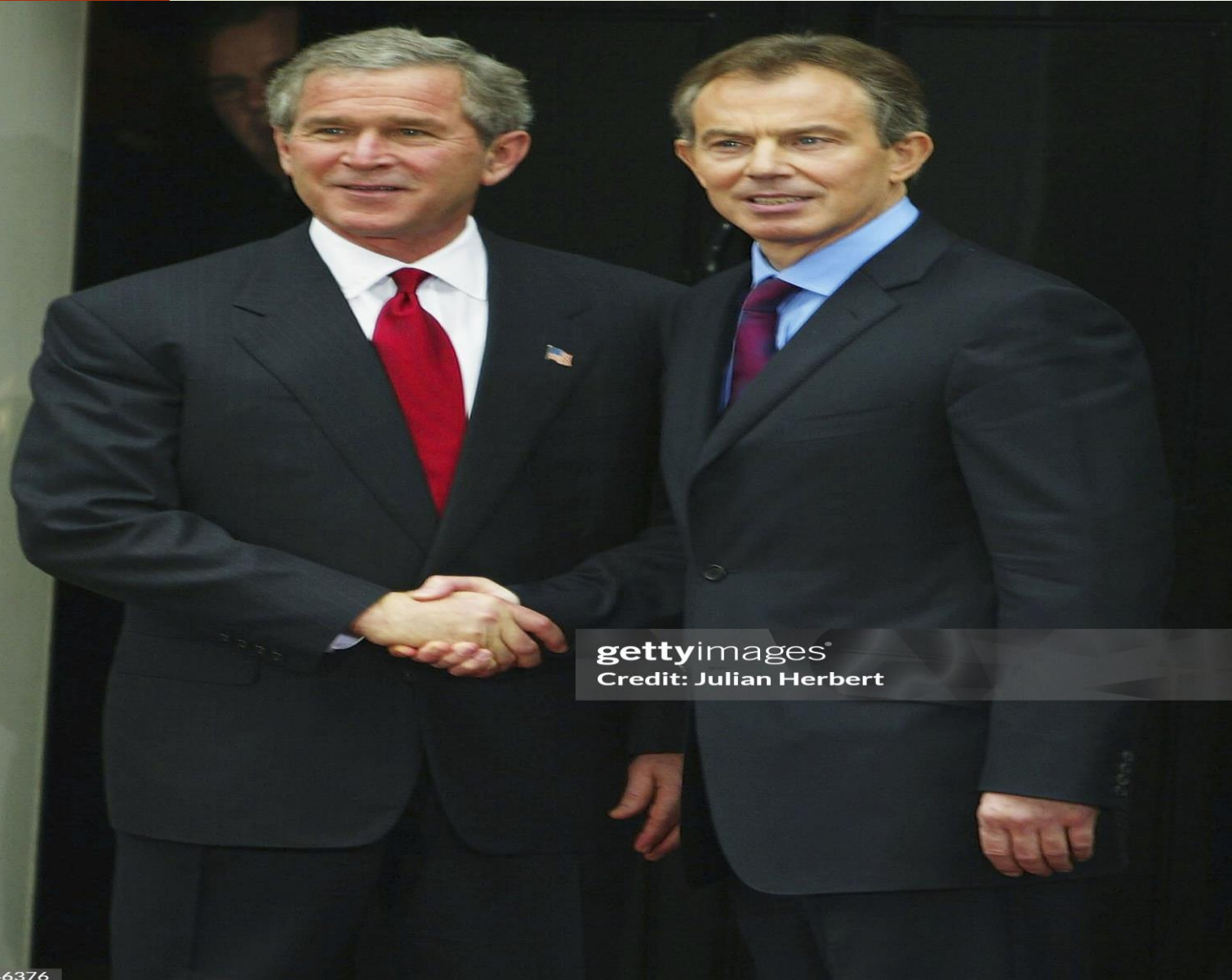


US Congress authorises  
Use of force October 2003  
Goal...get UN support

Anthrax capsule demo  
...believes "Curveball"  
...demands UN support war

US abandons attempt at  
vote opposition France,  
Russia, China...relies on  
1441...last chance

# Special Relationship



Britain only major ally US Iraq 2003  
...zero Arab involvement  
...France, Germany refuse to join

Blair motives:

.....US ally and should be supported  
....."UK to guide US policy"  
.....moral outrage vs Saddam Hussein  
.....shared intelligence/ bias  
....."what if I am wrong" ....Iraq at risk

UK Parliament supports war March 2003  
412 vs 149...largest back bench vote  
...opposition 139 Labour MP's

# Evidence real and imagined

Hans Blix



Hans Blix Inspection Report March 2003

.....no evidence WMD

....Ignored/ Cheney...UN blind

\*"Israeli?" Forged records

...chemical imports by Iraq

Iraq drone test.....rumour, fake

Uranium import from Sudan claim

Multiple interest groups feeding war narrative

....Mossad (Netanyahu visits to USA)

...Neon mind-set

..



# Bush addresses the nation



Destroy WMD

Remove Saddam

End terrorism

Enforce UN  
Sanctions ?

“Shock and Awe” air campaign March 19<sup>th</sup>  
...objective decapitation Iraq leadership  
...Government buildings Baghdad



# Iraq Invasion March 20, 2003

USA dominant  
.....US 450,000  
.....UK 50,000  
.....Auz 2,000

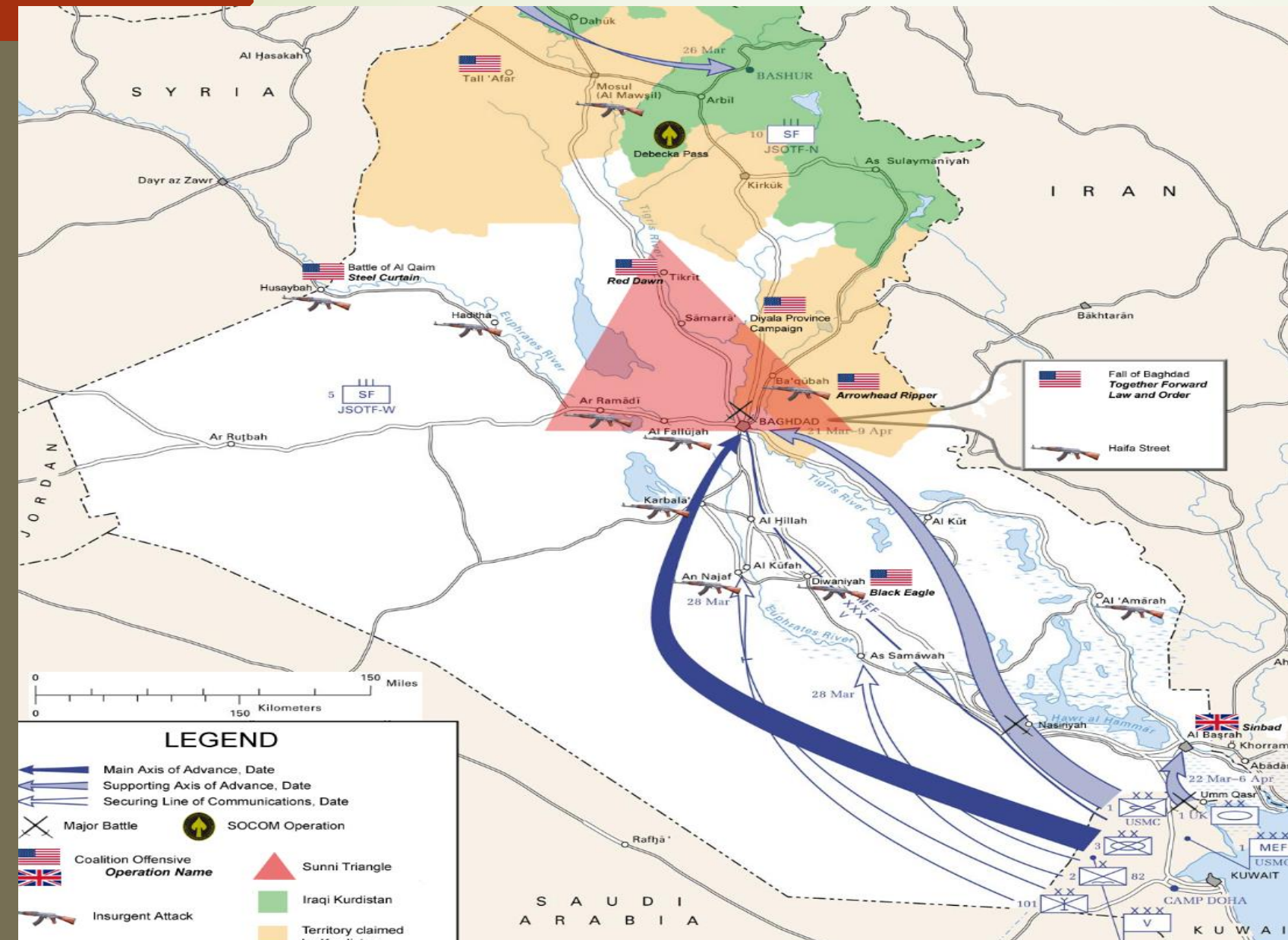
Iraqi army 450,000

Allies

...overwhelming air power  
...technology advantage

Two pronged attack  
US North & Central  
UK South...capture Basra

Air attack destroys Iraqi



# Air attack wipes out most Iraqi tanks



# US armed vehicles race to North Iraq



# British army in action South Iraq



# US marines escort Iraqi prisoners



# Bagdad captured April 9<sup>th</sup>, 2003



Saddam Hussein statue toppled  
...American flag raised...then removed



# Invasion Success...as of May 2003

- ▶ Iraqi resistance collapses on impact
  - ▶ 10,000 soldiers killed, 200,000 captured, Airforce does not engage
  - ▶ 45,000 Army surrenders ....400,000 desert
  - ▶ Secret infrastructure collapse ...police disappears, Saddam hides
- ▶ Allied losses
  - ▶ 200 killed (33UK) , 45 aircraft...mechanical failure & accidents
- ▶ US in control North and Central Bagdad, British South and coast ..Basra

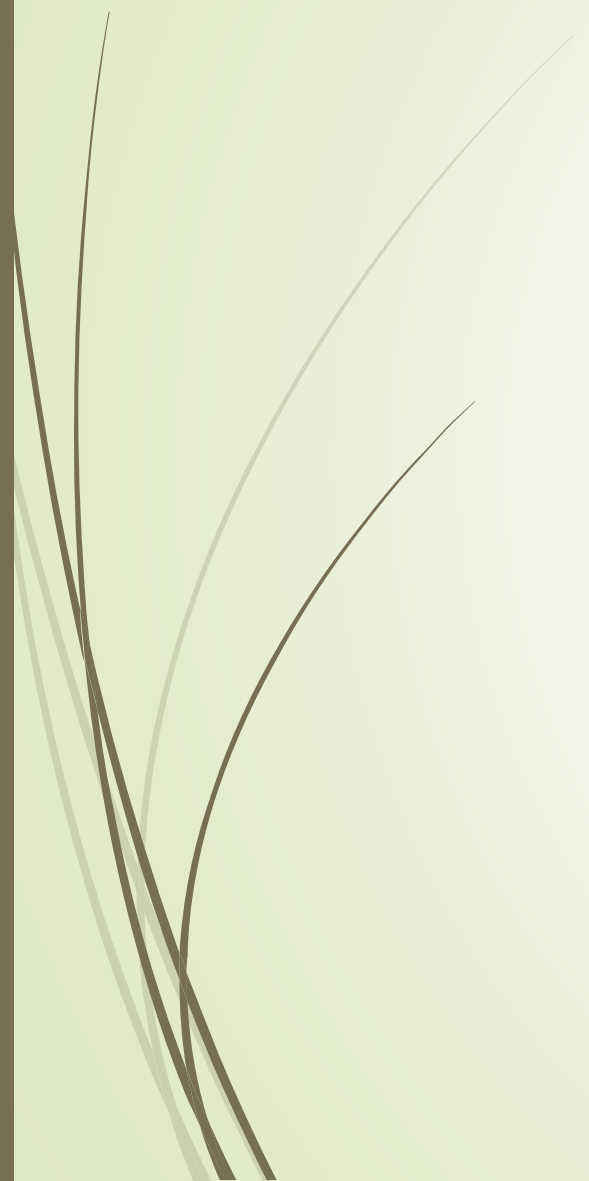
# GW "Victory Accomplished" speech May 1, 2003



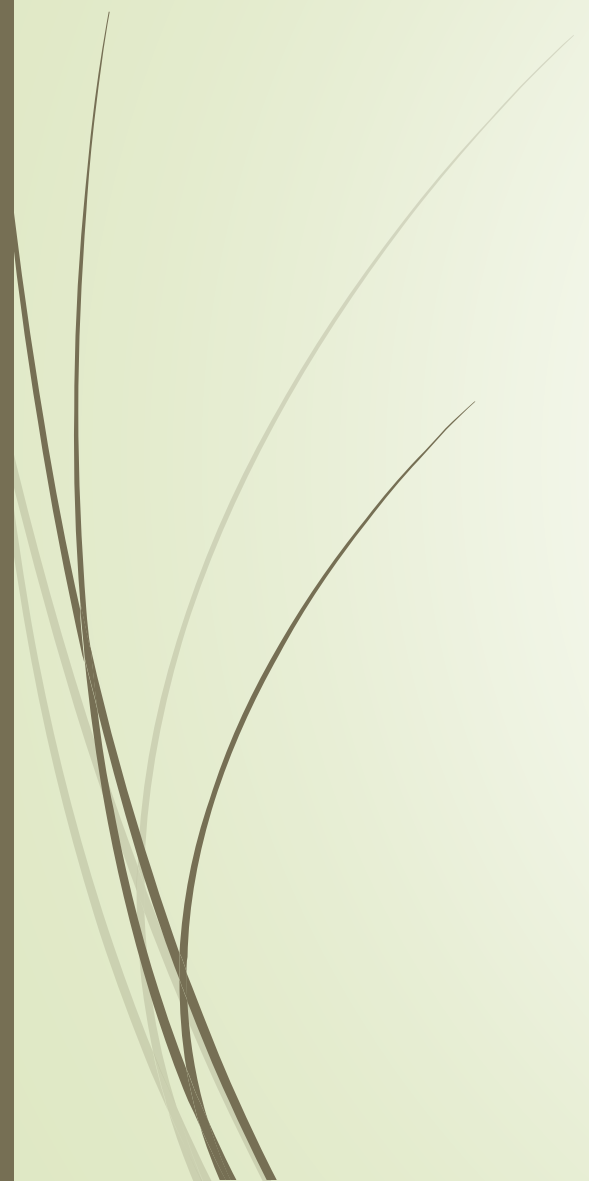
gettyimages®  
Credit: STEPHEN JAFFE

80% Approval rating...job done

Or was it



# Intermission



# The forever wars



Afghanistan

# The trouble with Afghanistan: size of France or Texas decentralised



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Credit: Philartphace

Land of 50,000 villages each a power centre  
...and closed society, indifferent to government



gettyimages®

Credit: Muzafar Ali, former UN worker in  
Afghanistan.

Every valley hard to access, easy to defend



gettyimages®  
Credit: Jean-Philippe Tournut

# Major cities densely populated, polluted and a potential fortress



First national elections ...including women

.....Taliban refuse to participate (Kharzi wins 55% vote)



# Girls return to school....but only in urban areas



gettyimages®  
Credit: Alison Wright

\$25 Billion pledged  
...75% Security related, 50% delivered  
...bulk of aid to Iraq (\$50bn US + \$15Bn)



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Credit: Darren McColleston

# The only growth industry: Opium

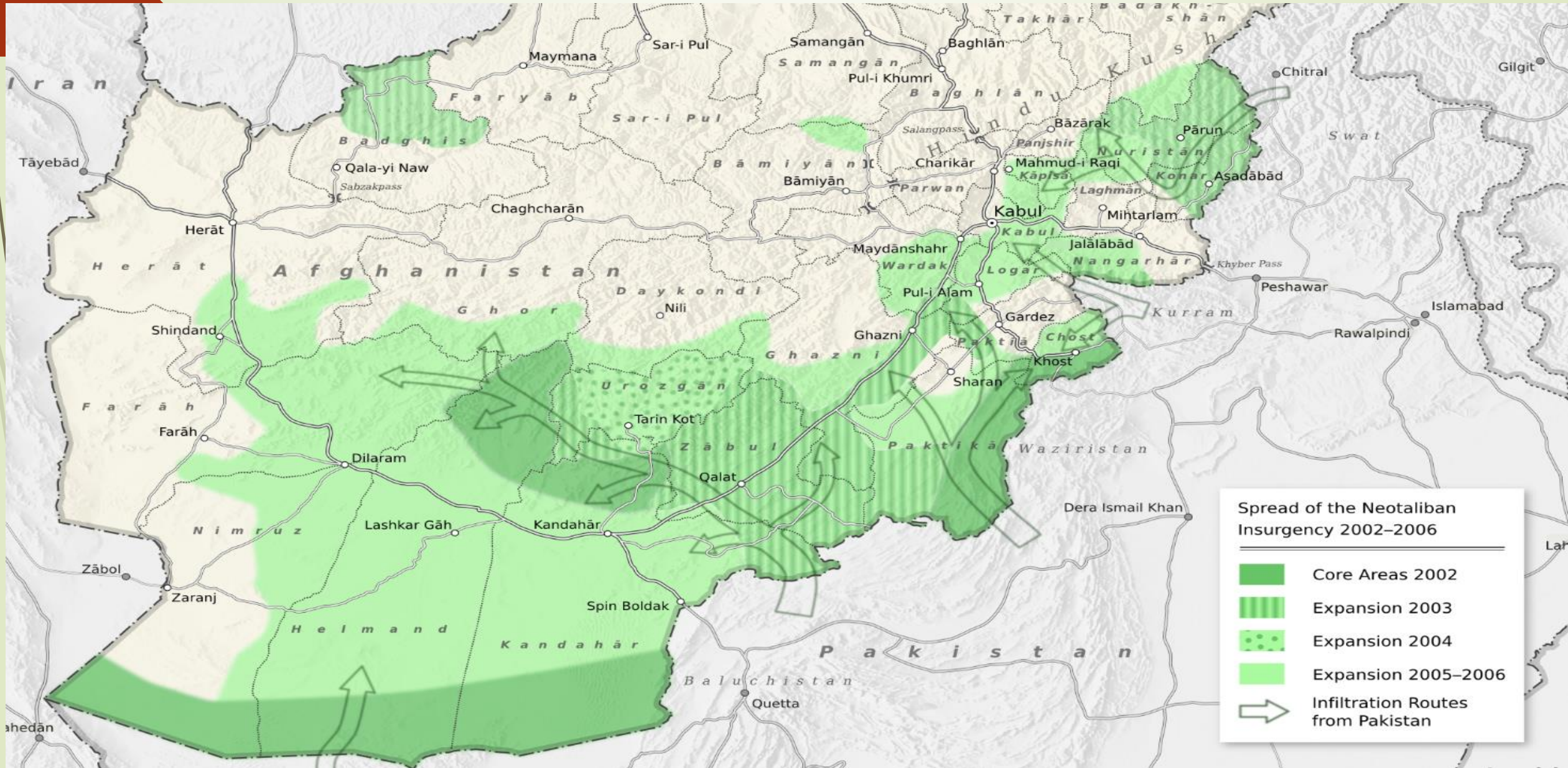


gettyimages  
Credit: OMER ABRAR

# Afghan War 2001-2005

- ▶ “Government” control limited to cities
  - ▶ No National “army” total force 2,000 in 2001
  - ▶ Increases to 30,000 by 2008...slow, tribal loyalties dominate
- ▶ US reject efforts by Kharzi to negotiate with Taliban
- ▶ US and Coalition minimise casualties by relying on missiles and air strikes
  - ▶ Less than 1,000 allied deaths 2001-2005...mostly by mines 5x wounded
  - ▶ Accidents kill hundreds of civilians/ Used by Taliban to legitimise resistance
- ▶ Pakistan “with us and against us”:
  - ▶ Protect Ben Laden, provide haven for Taliban
  - ▶ Support US logistics via Karachi.....corruption

# Taliban resurgence 2002-2006



Allied control: cities, mountain top forts  
.....Taliban control countryside



# Afghanistan stalemate 2005-2008

- US military study recommends army of 500,000 + Afghanistan “Marshall Plan”
  - Bush rejects: aid primarily piecemeal, security related
  - Doubles US military to 30,000, Coalition 15,000/ Afghan army to 75,000
- “War 2005-2008”
  - Attempts to expand beyond cities....mountain bases
  - Taliban respond by Improvised Explosive Devices/ Suicide bombings
  - Allied Casualties double to 500 deaths per year
- The “forgotten war”: Iraq priority
  - Ben Laden continues to survive
  - Taliban withdraw, regroup to Pakistan

No longer Bush problem by 2009.....New Presidency, new challenges



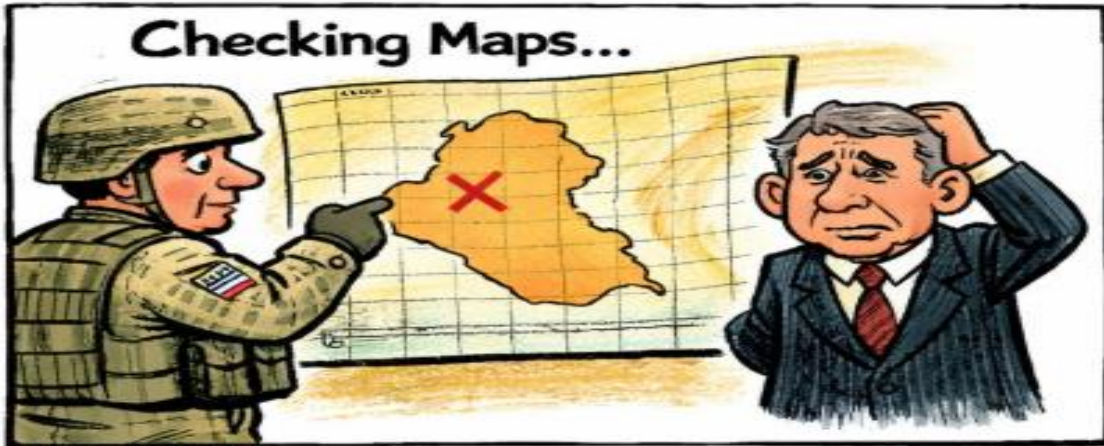
Iraq



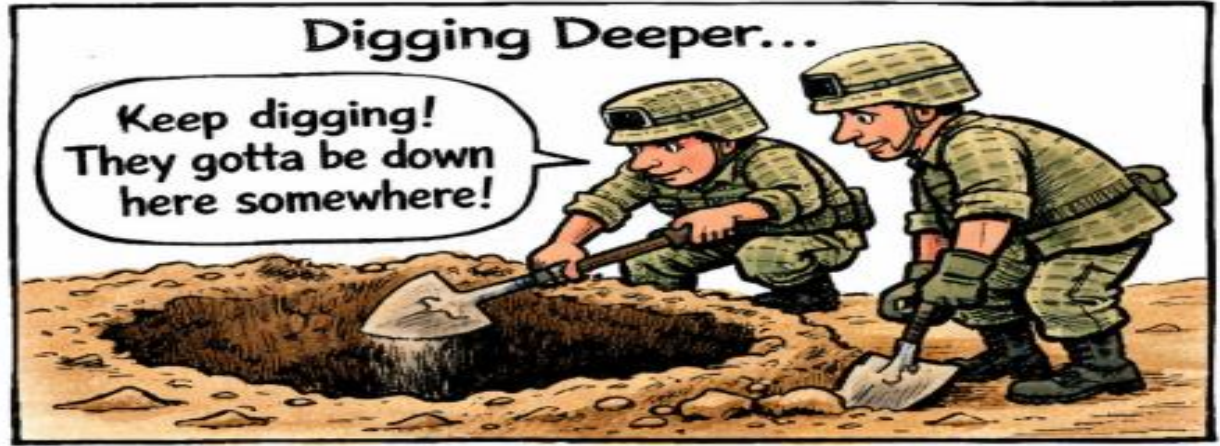
# The trouble with Iraq ...no WMD, or links Iraq and al-Qaeda

## SEARCHING FOR WMDs IN IRAQ!

Checking Maps...

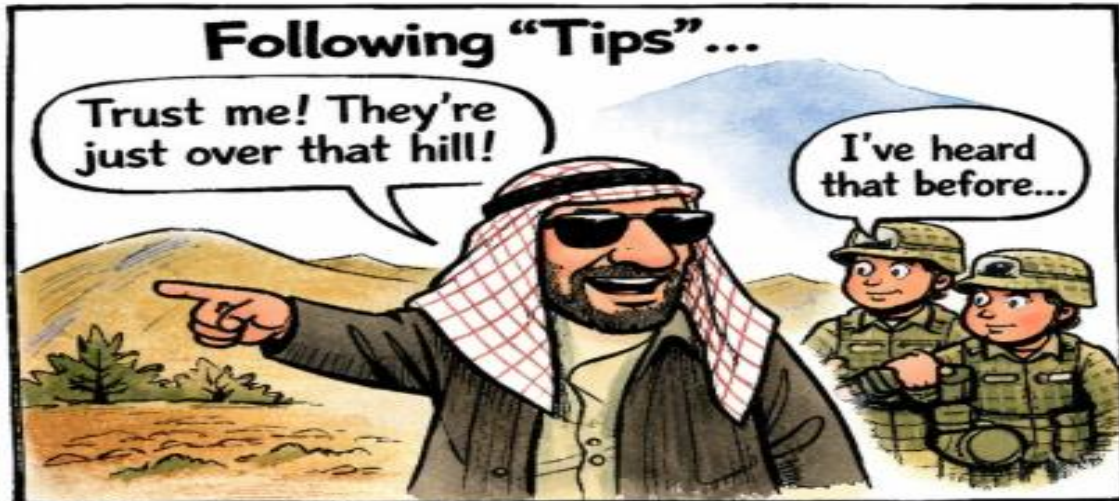


Digging Deeper...



Keep digging!  
They gotta be down  
here somewhere!

Following "Tips"...



Trust me! They're  
just over that hill!

I've heard  
that before...

Searching Everywhere...



Nope, not  
in here!

Not under here  
either!



## Rumsfeld explains absence of WMD

“.....the absence of evidence is not the evidence of absence. It is basically saying the same thing in a different way. Simply because you do not have evidence that something does exist does not mean that you have evidence that it doesn't.!”

??????????

# Ominous sign: collapse of order April 9, 2003 .....Police, army disappear...US Army watches



gettyimages®

Credit: MediaNews Group/Boston Herald via  
Getty Images

# From “liberators” to occupiers ...as US and British try to impose order



gettyimages®  
Credit: ODD ANDERSEN

# Coalition Provision Authority 2003-2004

Paul Bremner (1941-)



Career Diplomat  
Harvard Business School  
Kissinger Associate  
Chairman National Association Terrorism

Zero time in Iraq prior to invasion  
Unable to speak Arabic

Appointed head of CPA  
....empowered to rule by decree  
....appoints pro invasion Iraqis only  
( ex pats, English speaking)

# Bremner Decisions and new war

## De-Bathisation:

- dismissal of all public employees belonging to Baathis party
  - Elimination of 100,000's employees...mass unemployment, end of expertise
  - Elimination of Iraqi Military
    - 500,000 soldiers unemployed....join religious groups...with their arms
    - No national Iraq army....drift to insurgent religious militants
  - Economic "Shock Therapy"
    - Instant shift to market economy/ Removal price controls
    - High inflation, impoverishment....
- "Coalition of Willing" US/UK seen as occupiers & bringers of economic collapse

The one success: Saddam captured  
December 2003...hanged 2006



# Iraq war 2004-2008

## Political Chaos

- ▶ CPA hands over to Interim Authority
  - ▶ Elections 2006..Sunnis boycott.
  - ▶ Secular control disintegrates into religious parties
- 
- ▶ Intermittent warfare
    - ▶ Use of IED,s mortars, booby traps
    - ▶ Occasional urban warfare Fallujah, Ramadi
    - ▶ Rising sectarian killings Sunni vs Shia...international Muslim fighters
  - ▶ “Coalition of the Willing” becomes US only
    - ▶ UK anti war protests/ UK announce decision to withdraw 2007
    - ▶ Iraqi army disillusioned. demotivate....widespread corruption

# Urban warfare



# Widespread destruction



# Improvised explosion device (IED): the new war



# Constant flow of causalities



# The outsourced war

## US limits military...outsources war to contractors



Security` Services,  
helicopter support

Higher daily rates  
...faster to deploy  
...avoid responsibility  
...disguise casualties/ costs



HALLIBURTON

The logo for Halliburton, consisting of the word "HALLIBURTON" in white, bold, sans-serif capital letters on a solid red rectangular background.

Logistics, food services  
VP Cheney former CEO

First major outsourced war  
2003: 2,000 contractors vs 150,000 arm  
2009: 200,000 contracts vs 140,000 arm



DynCorp  
INTERNATIONAL

The logo for DynCorp International, featuring the word "DynCorp" in a stylized, blue, italicized font with a swoosh under the "y", and the word "INTERNATIONAL" in a smaller, blue, sans-serif font below it.

Police, prison service

Operate outside US or Iraqi government  
...financial oversight minimised  
...standards decline  
...US military demoralised by higher pay  
...benefit only if war continues

# Collapsing of standards

## Use of enhanced interrogation techniques....Rumsfeld memo Dec 2<sup>nd</sup> 2001

### ► **Re: Counter-Resistance Techniques**

The following enhanced interrogation procedures **are authorized for U.S. forces to use on prisoners at Guantánamo Bay, Cuba**, effective immediately.

► **Stress positions** (e.g., standing and holding positions for up to *four hours*)

► **Isolation** (up to *30 days in some cases*)

► **Deprivation of light and auditory stimuli**

► **Removal of clothing**

► **Forced grooming** (e.g., shaving)

► **Use of phobias** (such as **fear of dogs**) to induce stress

► **20-hour interrogation sessions**

► **Mild, non-injurious physical contact** (grabbing, poking, light pushing, etc.)

.....Authorised by Donald Rumsfeld Secretary of Defence

Suspected terrorists to sent to Guantanamo Bay Cuba,

.....Insurgents to Abu Ghraib Iraq

Abu ghraib prison : Contractors + military photographs  
...commander no prison experience / loses control

Photos leaked to US (And Arab) press



# Institutionalised humiliation/degradation



Distributed across  
Islamic world

US Gov response:  
3 Enlisted to prison  
Officers “demoted”

No consequence US  
government

US & Coalition discredited  
...inspires Insurgents  
...killings by insurgents ignored

# Incompatible cultures

..... Acts of operation offset by



# Iraq War ...end of GW Bush Presidency

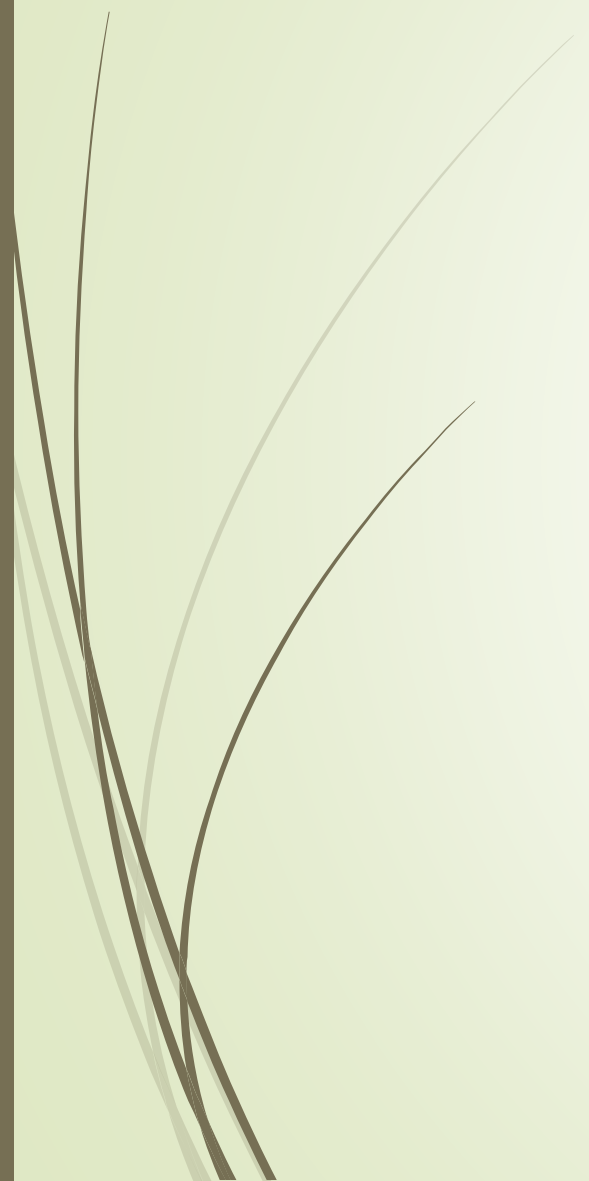


# Forever wars 2008

War on Terror and Neo cons discredited (but not apparently forever)


- US “brand” discredited: Abu Ghraib, absence of “victory”, unstable regimes
- Rising casualties: & costs of failure
  - 500,000 civilians dead, spread of r
  - 4,000 US troops \_ 3,500 “contractors” (180 UK) killed 80,000 injured (IEDs), US costs 2003-2008 \$590 BN Iraq, \$151Bn Afghanistan
  - Osama Bin Laden at large...Al Qaeda still active
- Political impact
  - Rumsfeld fired 2006..
  - Collapsing in US support from 80% to 30%

Consumes US foreign policy .surrounding world changing...and fast



# The Changing World

# Russia Resurgent

- 
- ▶ Putin consolidates power
    - ▶ deal with Oligarchs”.
    - ▶ stability beats freedom
    - ▶ .increases control over state media...local media remains “free”
  - ▶ Economy improves throughout decade
    - ▶ Stable political framework
    - ▶ Rising oil and gas prices
    - ▶ Western investment fuels growth

Putin Regime goal: Secure borders and recover territory

# The first meeting GW Bush Putin November 2001 ....Russian support vs 9/11 and invasion Afghanistan



# US and Russia 2001-2008

- ➔ Bush vs Putin: "I looked the man in the eye. I found him to be very straight forward and trustworthy and we had a very good dialogue...I was able to get a sense of his soul. He's a man deeply committed to his country and the best interests of his country and I appreciate very much the frank dialogue and that's the beginning of a very constructive relationship,"
- ➔ Putin vs Bush:
  - ➔ Support US response to 9/11, enable access to US via former Republics.
  - ➔ Able to label any opposition as Islamic Terrorists
  - ➔ Licence to begin "Making Russia Great Again"

# Wars in the Caucasus (1): stabilising borders



Russian conquests 18<sup>th</sup> 19<sup>th</sup> century

.. "Soviet Republics! 20<sup>th</sup> century

... ethnic cleansing Stalin WW2`

... all declare independence 1991

Russia reject Chechnya (Muslim  
Independence .. 1st War

.... Invade 1996, repulsed

.. bombing Grozny 20,000 deaths

Bombings Moscow 2000,, 300 killed

... Chechens blamed

.. Ryazan incident "false flag"

Putin "invades" Chechnya

... 2nd Chechnya war 1999-2009

... Russians victorious, instal warlords  
guerrilla war 100,000+ deaths,

# Destruction of Grozny: 1995 ...non precision carpet bombing



# Wars in the Caucasus (2) : Recovering lands “lost”



Georgia/ Armenia/ Azerbaijan  
...border disputes  
...ethnic Russian populations  
migration...seek to join NATO & EU

Putin.....determine to stop. Avoid con

Separatists movement. Two “Repub  
..prevent Nato expansion  
...unite “Russian peoples”  
..strategy support “separatists

Georgia army moves to occupy  
....Russian army invades  
...Creates “new” Republics  
....Russian satellites

## US Russian relations end 2008 ..cooling

- No response to Russian invasion of Georgia
  - Criticises use of force, rejects calls for sanctions
- Green light to Putin.....recover territories via creation of “Republics”
- Bush priorities elsewhere
  - Retain Russian support Afghanistan
  - Russian support dealing with “Axis of Evil
  - Welcomes Russia into World Trade Organisation

# USA and China 2001-2008

Hi Jintao (Premier 2002-2012) meets the Bushes 2008



US sees China as strategic partner

Supports China into WTO

Chinese turbo charge growth  
...2% World Trade 2000. 10%  
...upgrade to autos, computers  
telephones, consumer electronics

No US Vs China tensions  
...Bush assumes China to  
Control "Axis of Evil" North Korea

# Axis of Evil #1 North Korea



Axis of evil member

....Kim Family dictatorship

....starvation 1990, refuse aid

...commit to nuclear programme

Rogue Pakistani scientists)

GW Bush & Clinton policy

.....economic sanctions

....hope China will control

....North Korea agree to talks

China goals

...stability, non immigration

...pressure on USA to abandon Asia

North Korea continues

...first underground 2006 (10% Hiroshima)

...second 2009 (50% Hiroshima kilotons)

North Korea nuclear power by 2010

# Axis of Evil #2 Iran

Iran Abakan nuclear research centre



Nuclear energy program  
Launched by Shah 1970's

USSR/ France support  
Energy/ not weapons  
1980's...US monitor  
...sanctions on Iran

Active developing  
Weapons 1980

Grand Bargain proposed  
....abandon weapons  
....release sanctions  
... deal rejected  
US threats/ Israel

Iran halted weapon  
Development...ongoing  
power development

# And the rest of the world

- ▶ Americas
  - ▶ US support ...Free Trade Agreement
  - ▶ Growing unrest as drug cartels threaten national governments...new “Terror”
  - ▶ US provides military support, fund killing Coca crops
- ▶ Israel/ Palestine: US support Israel....nominal commitment to 2 state solution
  - ▶ US continues \$2Bn+ annual aid to Israel
  - ▶ Criticises settlement expansion from 300,000 to 500,000, does nothing
  - ▶ Second Intifada 2000-2005 rise of Islamic groups ( Hamas ) , suicide bombings
  - ▶ Israel abandons Gaza, Hamas seizes control...rise of Terror groups

Bush Presidency greatest “foreign policy” achievement: campaign against AIDS

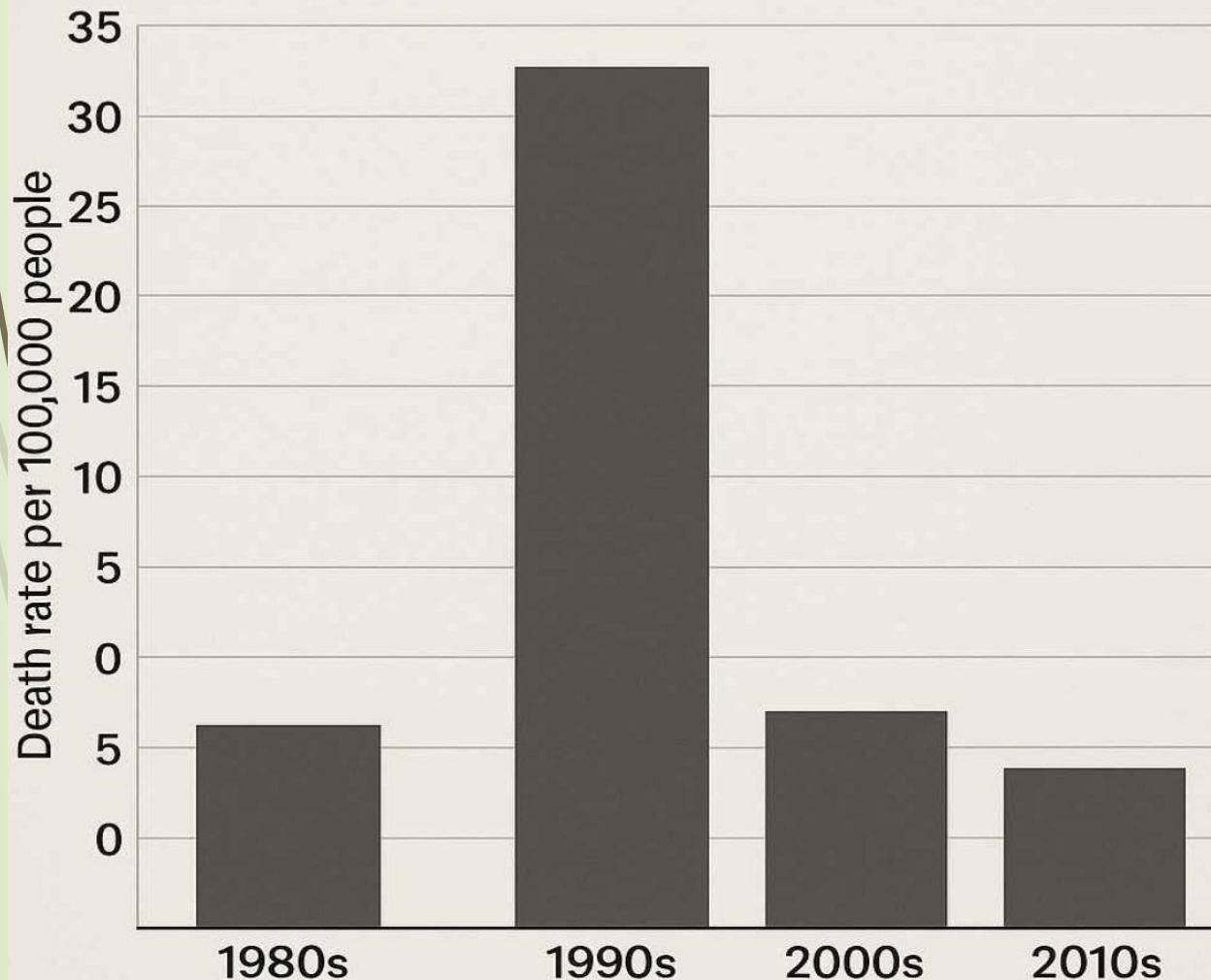
# The war on Aids..GW Bush White House 2008 .....the “terror” he confronted and beat



AIDS 2m deaths per year by 2000

...80% deaths Africa, 40% women/children

## AIDS Death Rates by Decade



Bush "Compassionate Conservativ

Anti retroviral medication developed  
1990's...too expensive for Africa

GW Bush launches Presidents  
Emergency Plan for Aids

\$15Bn Aid delivered 2000-2010  
...continued by Obama

Deaths in Africa reduced from 2m  
Per year to 1m 2010, 500K year too



# GW Bush Foreign Policy

# Bush foreign policy legacy

## Afghanistan

- Taliban intact, Osam Bin Laden at large 2008
- No ineffective government, 7<sup>th</sup> century tribal / Allies too few, resources to Iraq
- Pakistani haven for Islamist movements funded by Saudi “education”
- Iraq
  - Basis for war false, no WMD, no international terrorism
  - US destroys national institutions, replaced with sectarian warlords
- “Terrorism” and “rule of law” weakened globally due to focus on wars
  - Cartels South/ Central America/ Fundamentalists Middle East, North Africa
  - Russian “recovery” of lost Empire given green light (Georgia)
  - North Korea nuclear power

Reduction Global Aids campaign only success



US public has lost interest in foreign affairs by 2008

Financial System in state of collapse

Next Talk: March 30<sup>th</sup>:

“From Compassion to Collapse” Bush Presidency 2002-2009