

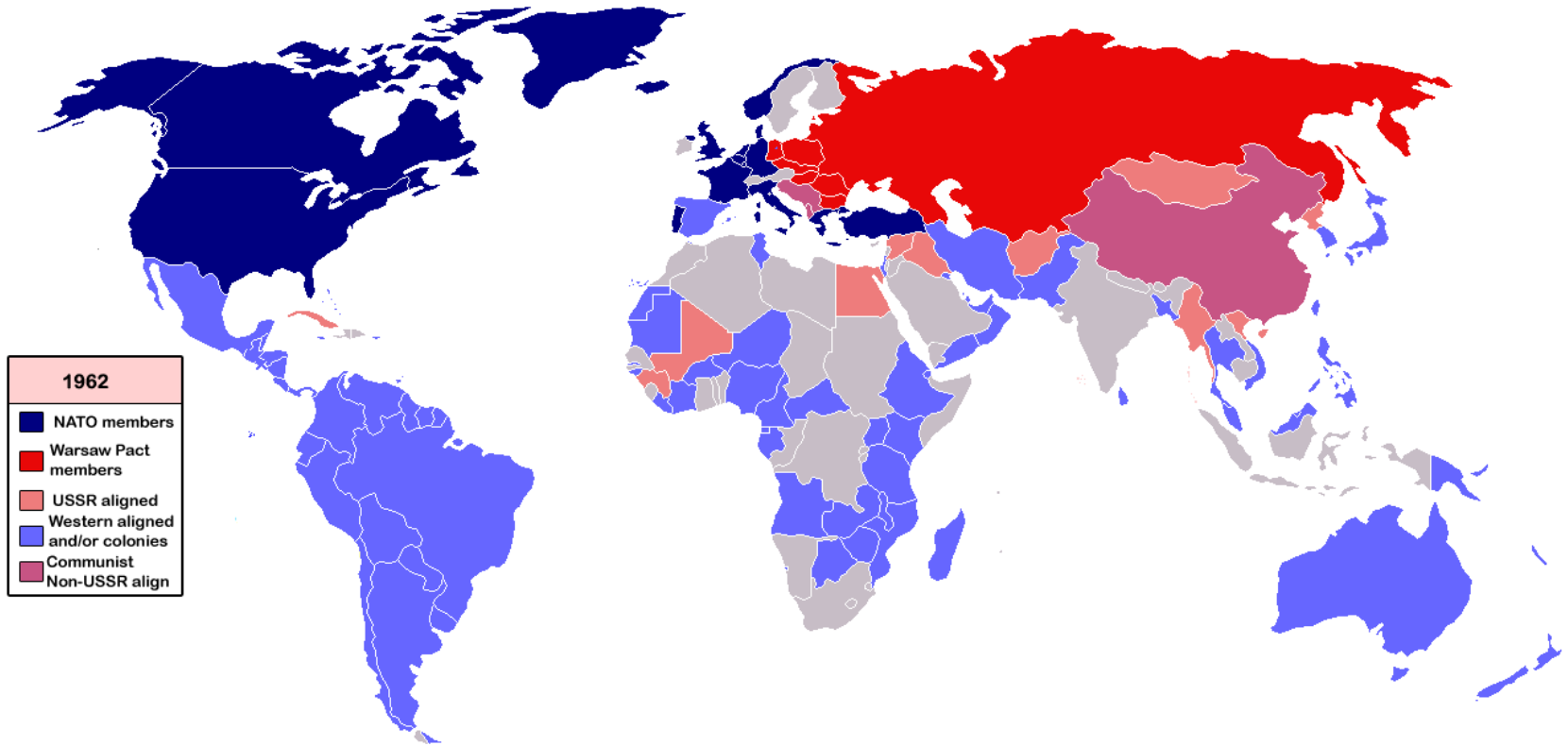
# September 11, 20 Years On Lessons Learned or Mistakes Repeated?

Saeed A. Khan  
Wayne State University

# New York City, 2021



# The World During the Cold War



# Soviet Invasion of Afghanistan (1979-89)



Afghan Mujahideen Have Lunch by Wreckage of Soviet Helicopter



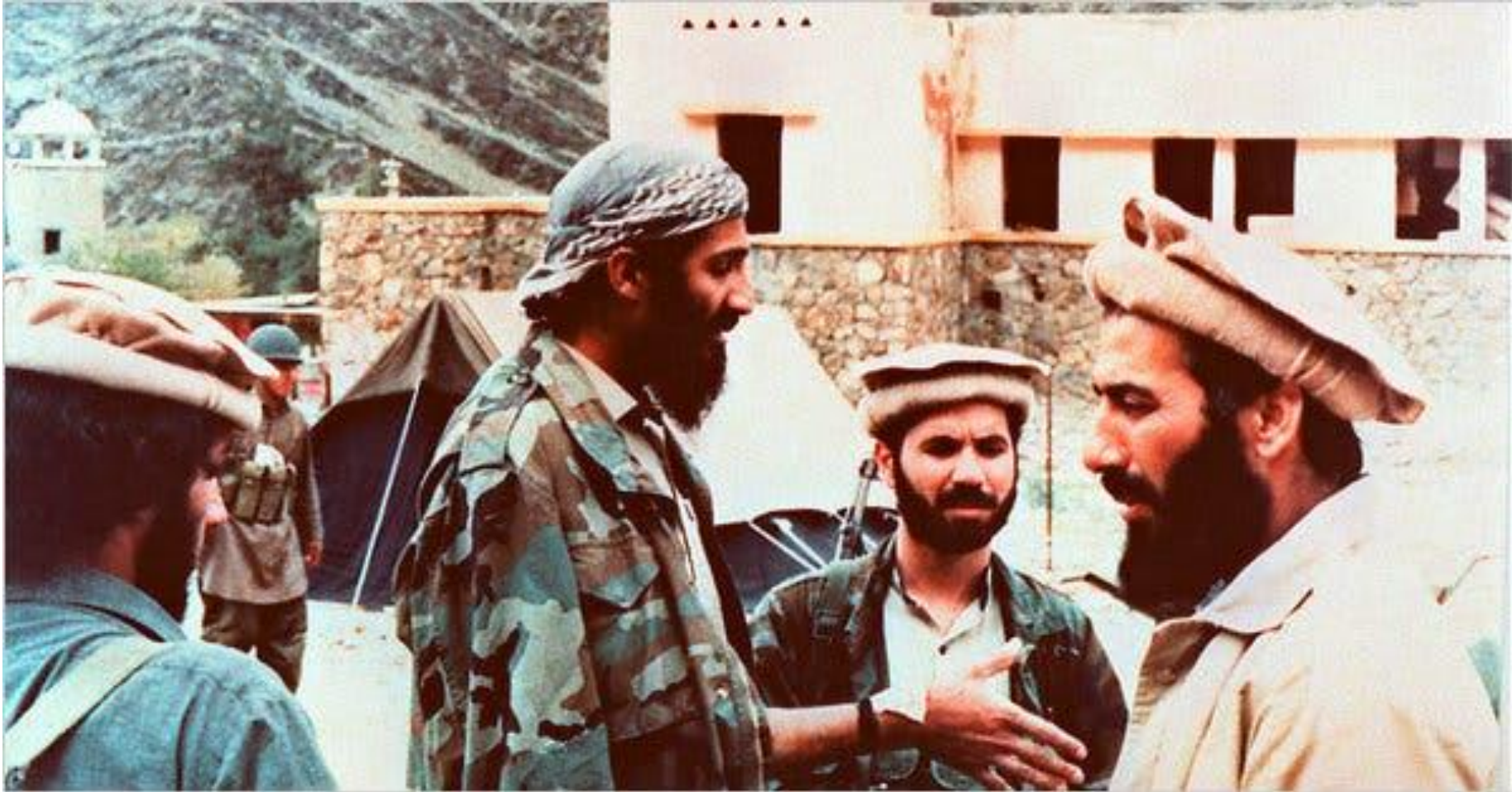
# Operation Desert Storm (1991)



USAF Jets in Saudi Desert

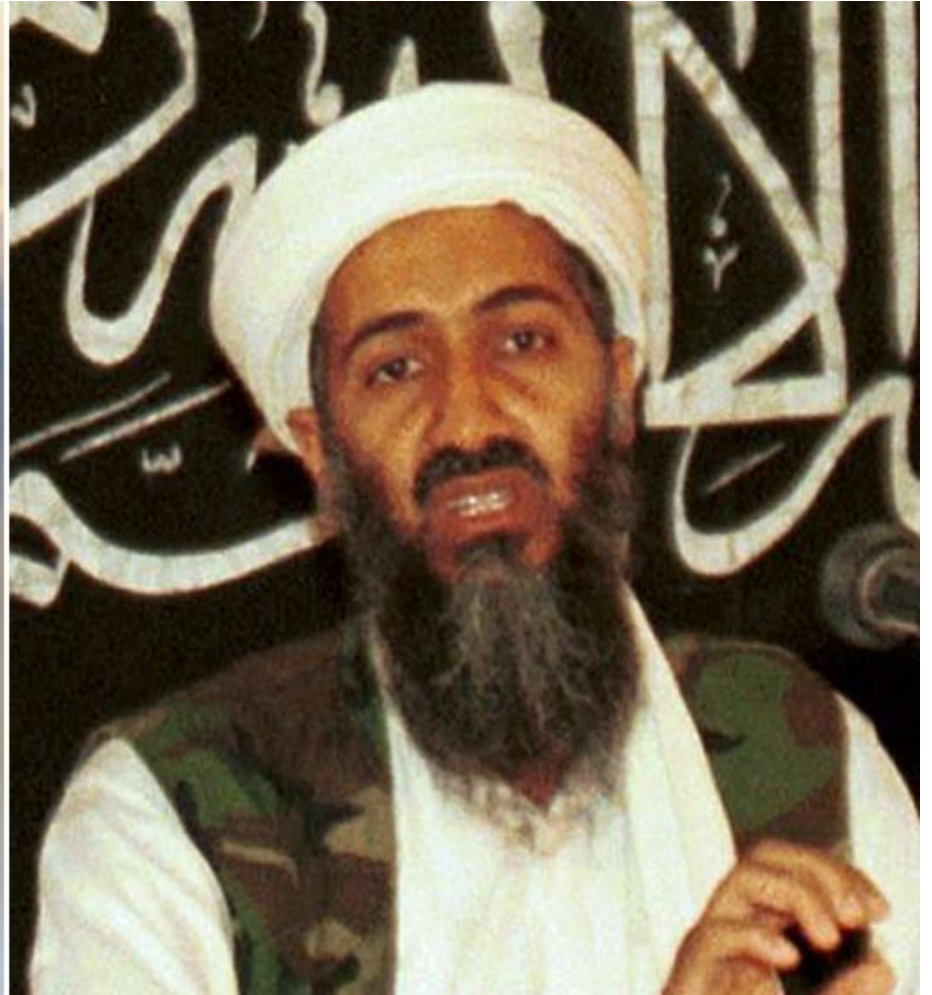


# A Different War, A Different "Veteran"



Osama Bin Laden and the Afghan Mujahideen (1979-89)

# Al Qaeda and 9/11



Osama Bin Laden Claims Responsibility for 9/11



# US Invasion of Afghanistan, 2001-2021





# Mission Accomplished?



Osama Bin Laden Killed by US forces in Pakistan, 2011

# US Invasion of Iraq (2003-2011)





# Securitization and Surveillance



Signing of USA Patriot Act, Oct. 26, 2001  
(Passed Senate 96-1; House 337-79)



# Reissue, Repackage, Renewal



President George W. Bush signs H.R. 3199, USA Patriot Improvement and Reauthorization Act of 2005- March 9, 2006

And it Goes On...



President Barack Obama signs USA Freedom Act, June 2, 2015

# “The Mauritanian”



Mohamedou Ould Salahi (r) and former Guantanamo Bay guard Steve Wood (l)

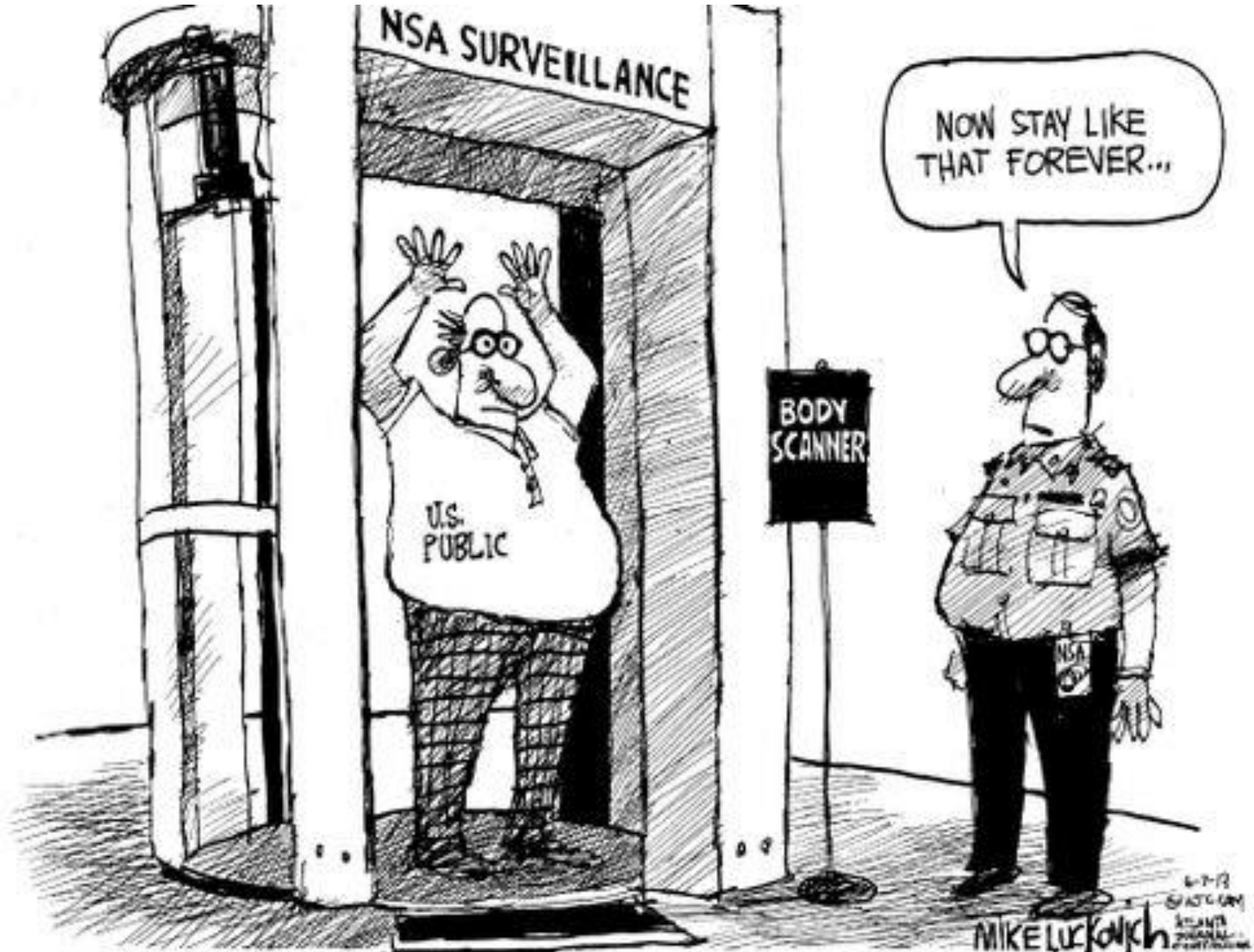


# “The US Rule of Law”



Abu Ghraib Prison, Iraq

# NSA Surveillance and Data Collection





# “Muslim” Travel Ban, 2017





# “They Hate Us For Our Freedoms”



US Capitol, DC, January 6, 2021

# White Supremacy & Domestic Terrorism



Charlottesville, VA, 2017



# Trust Factor...

## Trust in government spiked following Sept. 11 terror attack

*% who say they trust the government in Washington to do what is right most/all of the time*



Note: From 1976-2020 the trend line represents a three-survey moving average.

Source: Survey of U.S. adults conducted April 5-11, 2021.

Trend sources: Pew Research Center's American Trends Panel (2020-2021). Pew Research Center phone surveys (2019 and earlier). National Election Studies, Gallup, ABC/Washington Post, CBS/New York Times and CNN polls.

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# US in Afghanistan





# What US Left Behind in Afghanistan



# The Costs of War

## Breaking down the war on terror's \$8 trillion total cost





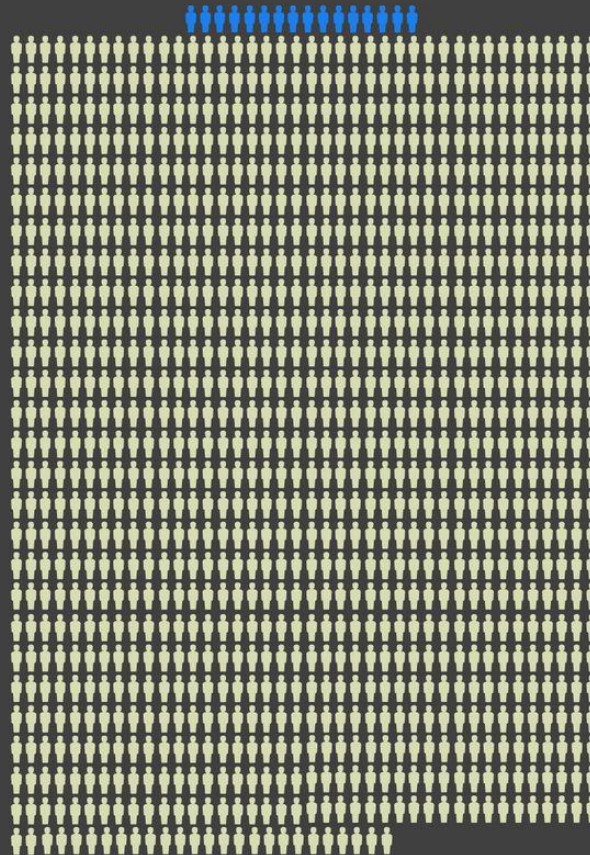
# The Human Costs of War

## The vast majority of people killed in the war on terror were not American

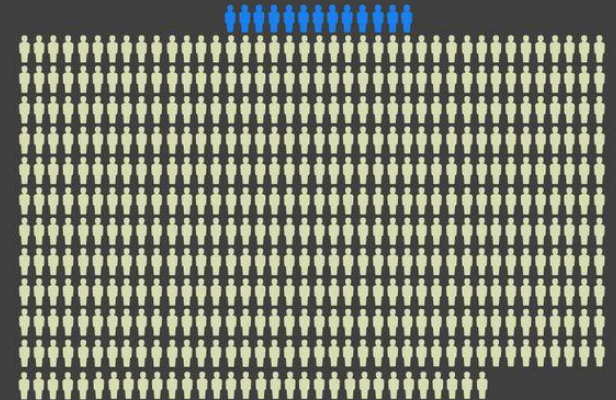
 represents 500 deaths

 US military, contractors, or civilian defense workers

**Iraq and Syria/ISIS**  
541,412



**Afghanistan and Pakistan**  
242,856



**Yemen**  
112,092

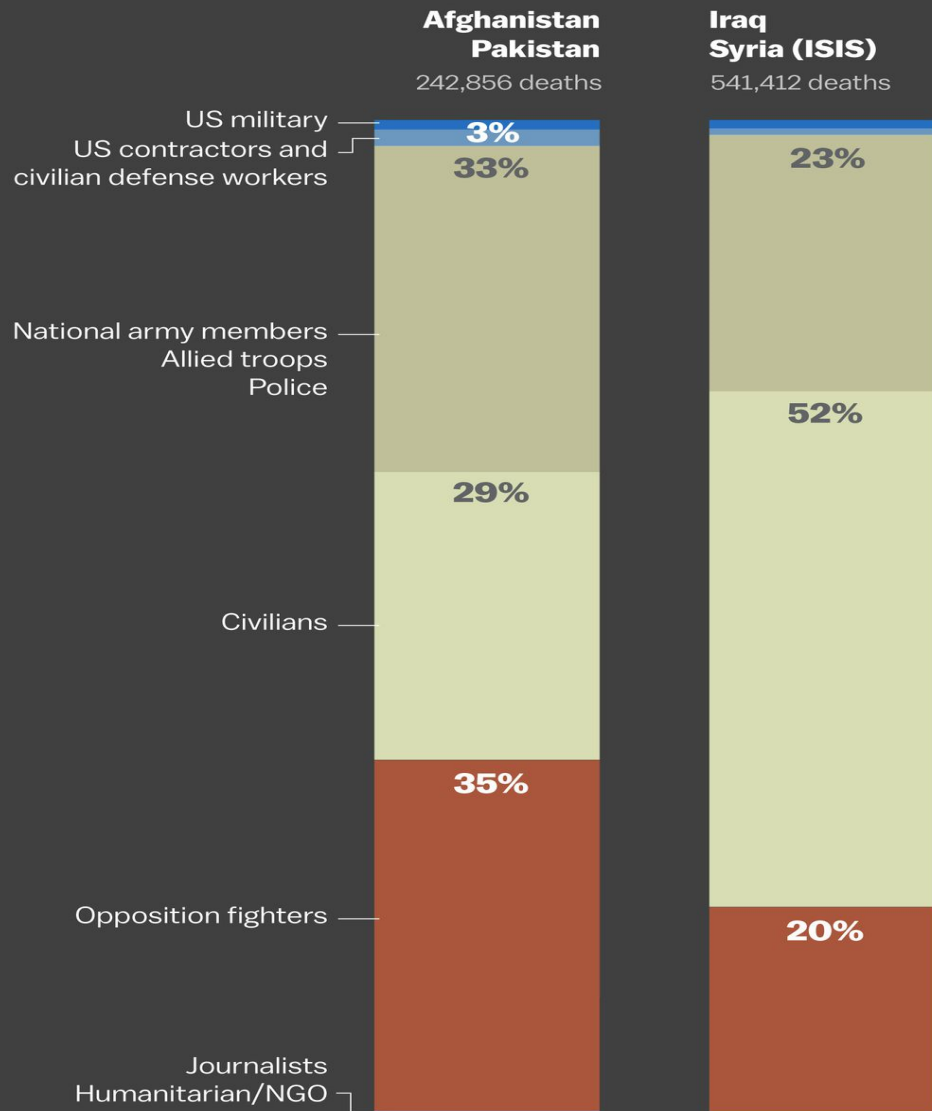


Source: The Costs of War Project, Brown University

**Vox**

# Not Just Military Casualties...

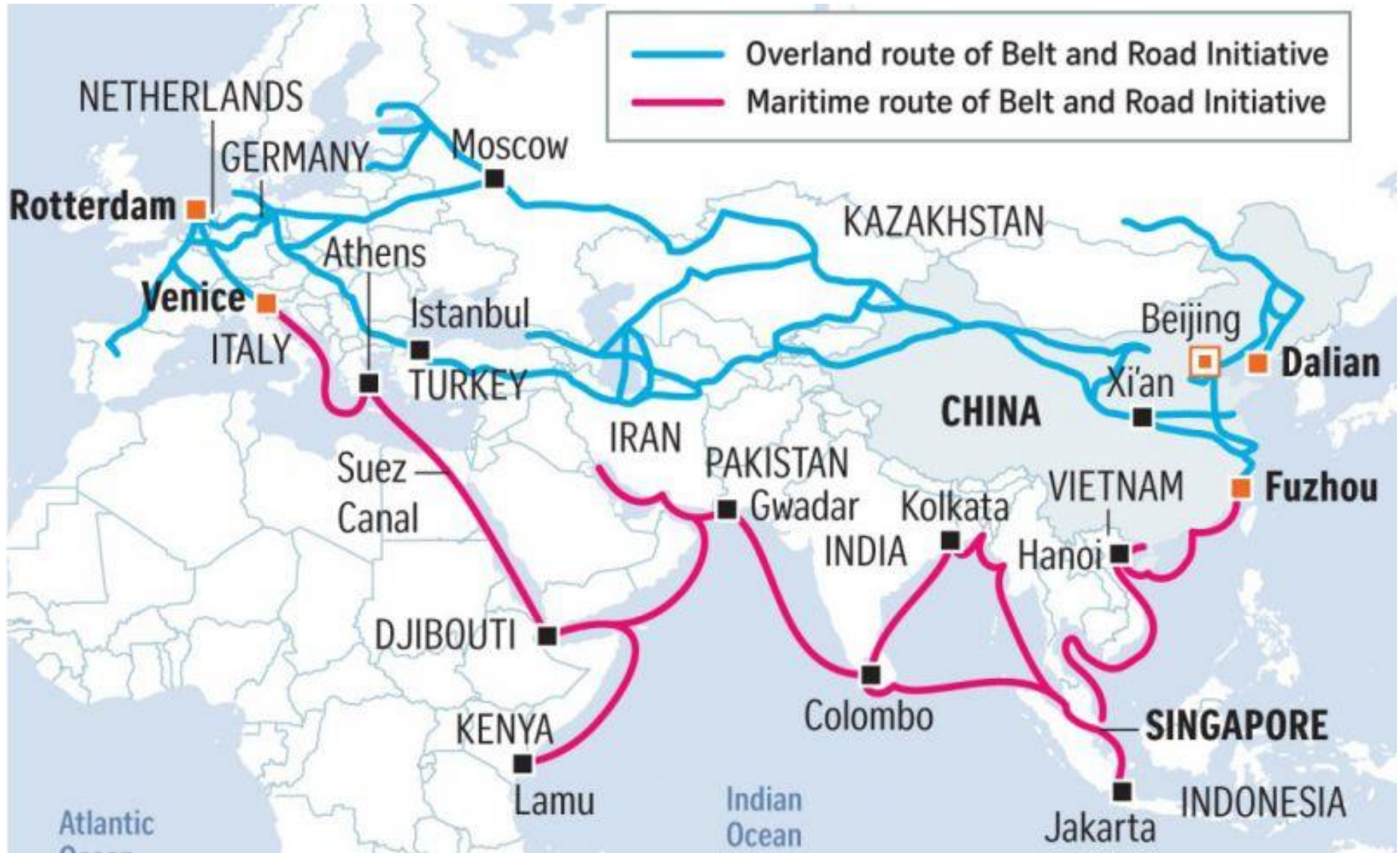
## Civilians, national armies, and opposition fighters account for most deaths in war on terror conflicts



Note: Opposition fighters include militants and armies opposing the US  
Source: The Costs of War Project, Brown University; figures are rounded



# The New Silk Road: The New Reality



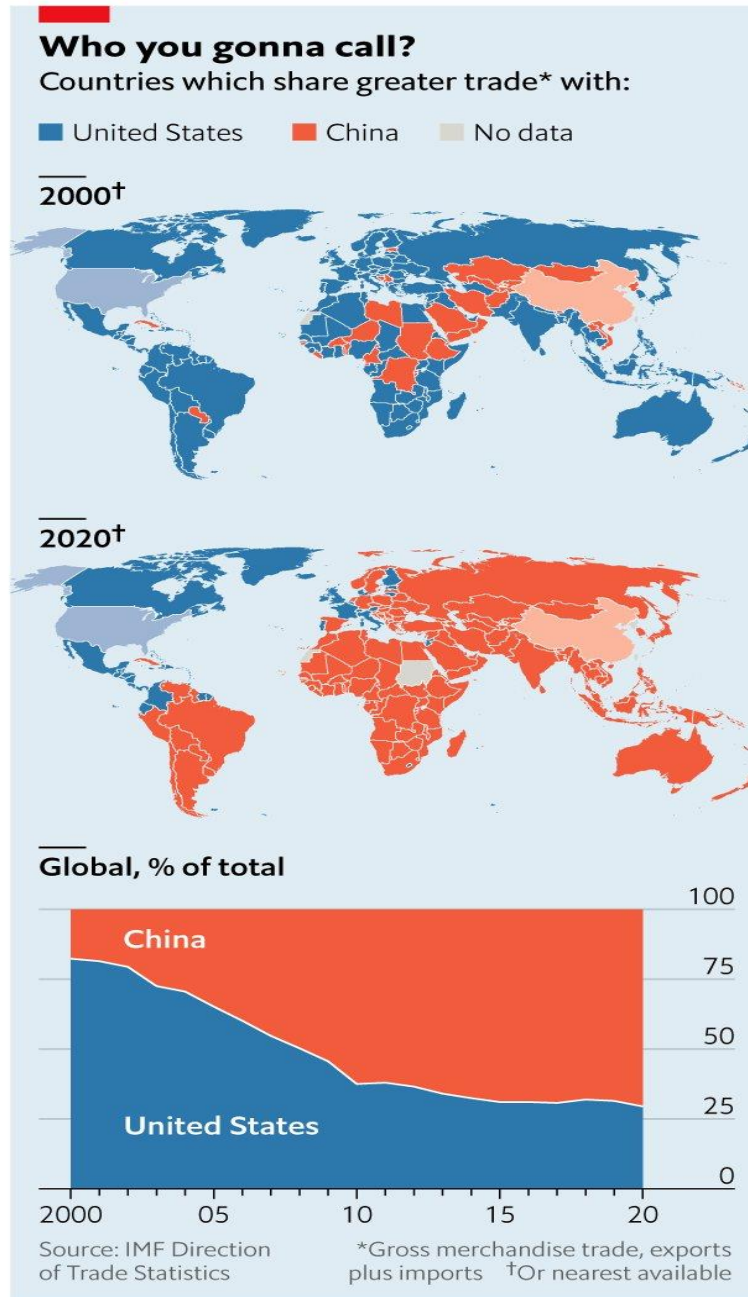
# High Level Diplomacy



Taliban Delegation Meets Chinese FM Wang Yi in Tianjin, July 29, 2021



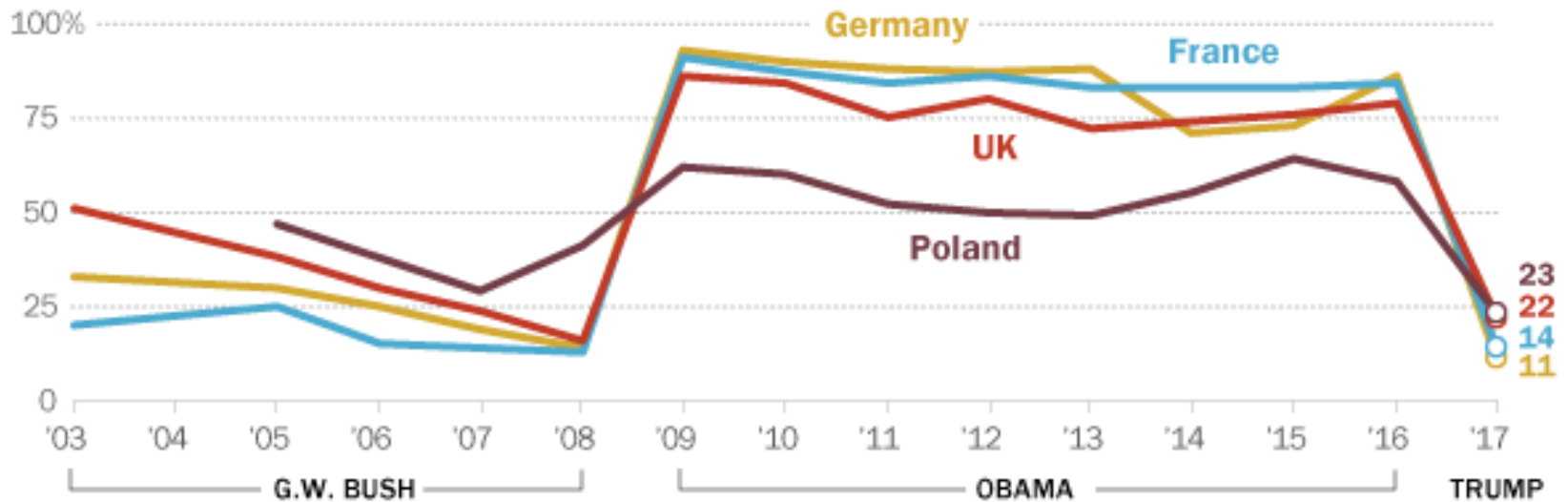
# Market Share



# With Friends Like These...

## Confidence in the U.S. president plunges in several Western European countries

*Confidence in the U.S. president to do the right thing regarding world affairs*



Source: Spring 2017 Global Attitudes Survey. Q30a.

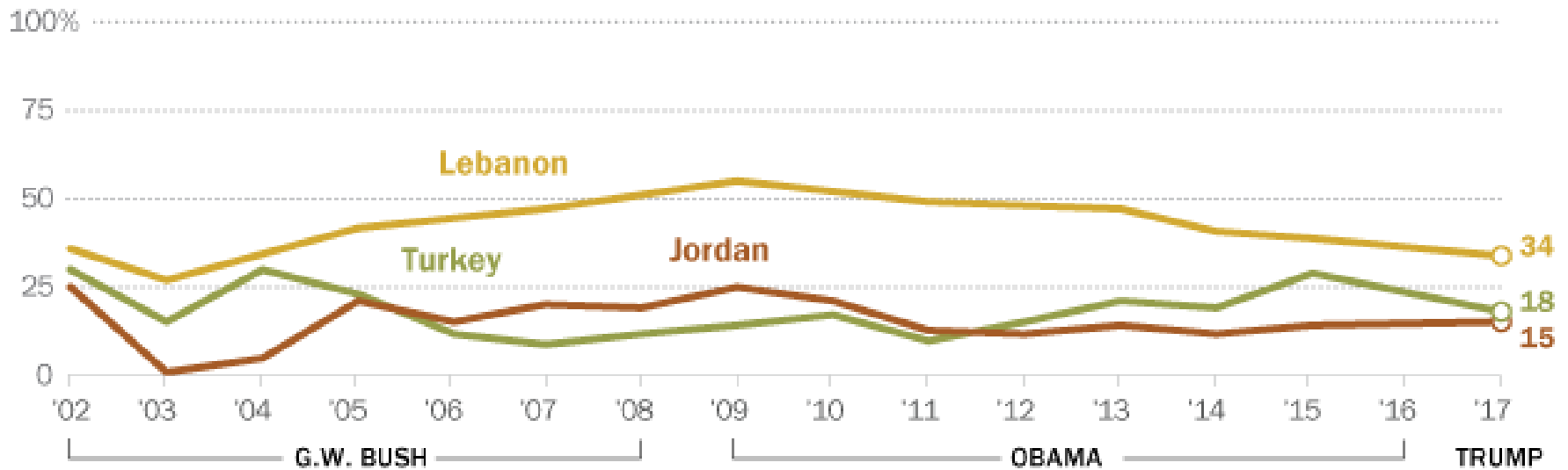
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# Attitudes from the Crucible...

## Middle Eastern countries express low U.S. favorability

*Favorable view of the U.S.*



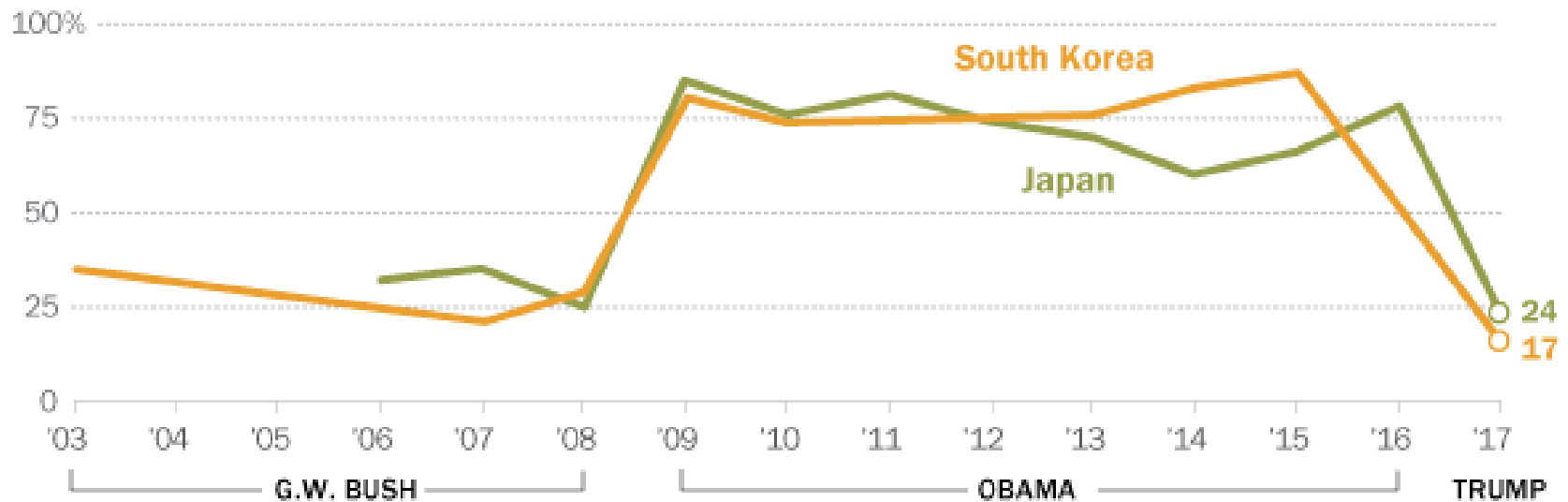
Source: Spring 2017 Global Attitudes Survey. Q30a.

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# Trouble in the Pacific...

## In Japan and South Korea, U.S. presidential ratings decline sharply

*Confidence in the U.S. president to do the right thing regarding world affairs*



Source: Spring 2017 Global Attitudes Survey. Q30a.

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# The Graveyard of Empires



# Never a Good Time, Never a Good Way to Leave





# Ground Zero, New York City

