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To: "Dr. Baruch Fischhoff - Chair, National Academy Committee on Improving Intelligence" <baruch@cmu.edu>, "Dr. Richard Atkinson - Chair - NRC/DBASSE" <rcatkinson@ucsd.edu>, "Dr. Kenneth Prewitt - Chair, Committee on Social Science Evidence for Use" <kp2058@columbia.edu>

From: Lloyd Etheredge <lloyd.etheredge@policyscience.net>

**Subject: 157. Pillar's Theory: Is the Militarized GWOT Running Out of Time? Updating Katzenstein/Keohane with a multi-method, multi-study architecture**

Dear Dr. Fischhoff and Colleagues:

Dr. Paul Pillar (28 years with the intelligence community and now head of Strategic Studies at Georgetown's School of Foreign Service) has a crisp, co-authored, cost-benefit analysis of the militarized Global War on Terror (GWOT) in Terrorizing Ourselves (2010) edited by Benjamin Friedman et al., chapter 4.

His thesis is that the highly public use of military forces in large numbers, and the highly public use of military technologies (e.g., drone attacks that kill civilian populations) is building anti-American resentment, supporting the "narrative" of anti-American recruitment on a global scale, and reducing cooperation with intelligence services. On balance, the highly visible militarized component of GWOT has become dysfunctional.

For example: "[W]hile the strikes using drones over Pakistan have killed some militants who were targeted, the same strikes have killed far more civilians - leaving that many more friends and family members of the deceased who might be willing to support anti-U. S. causes." (p. 72) . . . and: "Here, the United States bears the burden of being the world's sole superpower. . . [T]he potential effects on terrorism, counterterrorism, and the likelihood of future terrorist attacks on U. S. interests are substantial. The use of U. S. military force within the Muslim world has probably done more than anything else to sustain bin Laden's bogus narrative of a United States that is out to kill and subjugate Muslims and to plunder their resources.. (p. 73). <1>

Psychologically, Dr. Pillar's remarks echo the extraordinary anger that Secretary Clinton encountered at a (rare) public forum in Pakistan, where her female listeners compared the US civilian casualties from the airplanes in 9/11 to the - perhaps, by now - far more numerous civilian casualties in their country inflicted by America/President Obama via pilotless drone aircraft.

The Urgent Need for Numbers + Rapid, Credible Analysis of Pillar's Theory (in 6 Months?)

Dr. Pillar does not cite numbers. However, they (with independent analysis via the academic behavioral science world) are urgently needed for our democratic institutions to think about, or

rethink, long-term strategies. And for the policy-influencing publics of other democratic nations to be part of this discussion of GWOT behavioral theories and strategic choices.

I hope that this kind of package will be near the top of the National Academy of Sciences recommendations. These are some of the most important questions that the behavioral sciences can answer. There is no technical reason why we could not have a credible, initial scientific report on the Pillar thesis within six months.

A suggestion: Peter Katzenstein and Robert Keohane edited an early (2006?) *tour d'horizon* volume on anti-Americanisms and may be able to help with the outline of a major national research initiative to assure that the Obama Administration (and all Americans) monitor and grasp the dynamics of foreign realities. Also, re recruitment pathways (to partly symbolic/emotionally expressive violence), David Sears and the late John McConahay's (The Politics of Violence, 1973) was a methodological tour de force that might be adapted to a multi-method, multi-study architecture of America's cumulative, rapid-learning system.

### Recognizing Competitions

US political elites may have a theory that "memories will fade" after America has won. This theory, too, should be evaluated: There is a conflicting theory that "memories layer" in individual and collective lives. And the problem may be compounded if the phenomena involve Jungian ("enemy") archetypes and/or competing political leadership for youth.

- It is notable that, to judge from recent observations by Tony Blair, one of the major beneficiaries of people distancing themselves from America could be a faster global shift of power to China. Notably, the Shanghai World's Fair is attracting hundreds of millions of visitors but is almost unadvertised, by China, in the US.

- A rare benefit and window of opportunity - of having Barack Obama as President, with mostly-workable Democratic majorities in Congress - may fade.

### The Threat to Already-Marginalized Capabilities

I hope that you will move quickly to help implement any National Academy recommendations: If there is one more high-visibility terrorist attack within the US, even the currently marginalized capacity of the academic behavioral science world to do independent research may not make a come-back.

best regards,  
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<1> Dr. Pillar does not cite, but he could have cited, the global and regional television links that create foreign sensibilities. These have crude analogies to Fox News in America (that former President Carter estimates is now believed by about 20% of Americans) and can create psychodramas/constructions of reality that are very different than the world of Americans and the American democratic process.

Notably, Fox News has competing theories (competing with US academic behavioral science) and they may be gaining.

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