

SELECTED BIBLIOGRAPHY

Chapter 21: Wars in Afghanistan and Iraq, 2001-2011

There are enough books on the Western conflict with the modern Muslim world to top the Dome of the Rock. Start reading with Bernard Lewis, *The Middle East* (Simon & Schuster, 1995) and *From Babel to Dragomans: Interpreting the Middle East* (Oxford University Press, 2004). To narrow the focus, see Peter L. Hahn, *Crisis and Crossfire: The United States and the Middle East Since 1945* (Potomac Books, 2005). For a range of analysis, see Fawaz A. Gerges, *The Far Enemy: Why Jihad Went Global* (Cambridge University Press, 2005); John K. Cooley, *Unholy Wars: Afghanistan and Bin Laden from the Soviet Invasion to September 10, 2001* (Penguin, 2004); and Peter Bergen, *The Longest War: The Enduring Conflict Between America and al-Qaeda* (The Free Press, 2011).

The Washington view of the war as rooted out by investigative reporters is reconstructed in a trilogy by Bob Woodward of Watergate fame: *Bush at War* (Simon & Schuster, 2002); *Plan of Attack* (Simon & Schuster, 2004); and *State of Denial* (Simon & Schuster, 2006), which begins with the 9/11 attack and ends with the Iraqi insurgency in full flower. A rival two-volume account by Thomas Ricks covers more years (to 2008) and is more expert on military affairs: *Fiasco: The American Military Adventure in Iraq* (Penguin Press, 2006) and *The Gamble: General David Petraeus and the American Military Adventure in Iraq, 2006-2009* (Penguin Press, 2009). James Mann wrote a collective biography of Bush's principal advisors, *Rise of the Vulcans: The History of Bush's War Cabinet* (Viking Penguin, 2004). A brief account of the early days of Operation IRAQI FREEDOM is Todd S. Purdom, et. al., *A Time of Our Choosing: America's War in Iraq* (Times Books, 2008). Critical accounts of the Bush administration include Terry H. Anderson, *Bush's War* (Oxford University Press, 2011) and Dale R. Herspring,

Rumsfeld's Wars: The Arrogance of Power (University Press of Kansas, 2008). For different participant accounts on the origins of the war on terrorism, see Richard Clarke, *Against All Enemies: Inside America's War on Terror* (The Free Press, 2004); Gen. Richard Myers, USAF, *Eyes on the Horizon: Serving on the Frontlines of National Security* (Simon & Schuster, 2009); and Gen. Pervez Musharraf, *In the Line of Fire: A Memoir* (The Free Press, 2006). For contrasting views of the CENTCOM-Washington negotiations, see Gen. Tommy R. Franks, Jr., *An American Soldier* (Regan Books, 2004) and Lt. Gen. Michael DeLong, USMC, *Inside CENTCOM* (Regnery, 2004), who was Frank's dissenting deputy. Although all of the accounts dwell on the use and abuse of intelligence, James Bamford, *A Pretext for War: 9/11, Iraq, and the Abuse of America's Intelligence Agencies* (Doubleday, 2004) is persuasive.

The administration's official explanations deserve close reading, especially The White House, *National Strategy to Combat Weapons of Mass Destruction* (December, 2002). For contrasting views of the foreign policy elite, see Task Force, Council on Foreign Relations, Report, *Differentiated Containment: U.S. Policy Toward Iran and Iraq* (Council on Foreign Relations, 1997) and The Iraq Study Group, *Report: The Way Forward—A New Approach* (Random House, 2006).

For the decisions of 2009-2010, see Bob Woodward, *Obama's Wars* (Simon & Schuster, 2010). For analyses rich in detail, see the annual *Strategic Survey* published by the International Institute for Strategic Studies, a London-based international organization, which also publishes special reports and the annual *Military Balance*. For the Iraqi side of Operation IRAQI FREEDOM, see the publications of the Iraqi Perspectives Project, directed by Kevin M. Woods with Michael R. Pease, Mark E. Stout, Williamson Murray, and James G. Lacey, especially *The Iraqi Perspectives Report* (Naval Institute Press, 2006). The *IPR* has consolidated and analyzed

captured Iraqi documents and postwar interviews with Iraqi senior officials and senior officers, including members of the Revolutionary Command Council. The sources include twenty-six “blacklisted” Saddam Hussein associates.

The Air Force has not yet issued an official history, but the report of Lt. Gen. T. Michael Moseley, USAF, COM CFACC, “Operation Iraq Freedom,” April 30, 2003, provides the essential information. The unofficial official history is Benjamin S. Lambeth, *Air Power Against Terror* (National Defense Research Institute, 2005).

Veteran defense reporters and retired military professionals covered the first phase of the Iraq War (2003) with persuasive detail and analysis. Among the best are Michael R. Gordon and Lt. Gen. Bernard E. Trainor, *COBRA II: The Inside Story of the Invasion and Occupation of Iraq* (Pantheon Books, 2006); Col. Nicholas E. Reynolds, *Basrah, Baghdad, and Beyond: The U.S. Marine Corps in the Second Iraq War* (Naval Institute Press, 2005); Rick Atkinson, *In the Company of Soldiers [101st Air Assault Division]* (Henry Holt, 2004); Ray L. Smith and Bing West, *The March Up: Taking Baghdad with the United States Marines* (Bantam, 2004); and David Zucchino, *Thunder Run: The Armored Strike to Capture Baghdad* (Atlantic Monthly Press, 2004).

The Army official history of the Iraq War will come from the Office of the Chief of Military History, but it is not yet completed. The substitutes-of-record are very important sources of information and guarded analysis: Col. Gregory Fontenot, Lt. Col. E. J. Degan, and Lt. Col. David Tohn, *On Point: The United States Army in Operation Iraqi Freedom* (Naval Institute Press, 2005) and Donald W. Wright, Col. Timothy R. Reese, et. al., *On Point II: Transition to the New Campaign: The United States Army in Operation Iraqi Freedom, May 2003-January 2005* (Combat Studies Institute, 2008). The Afghanistan campaign is described in

Charles H. Briscoe, et. al., *Weapons of Choice: U.S. Special Operations Forces in Afghanistan* (Combat Studies Institute, 2003). The Air and Army Guard service in Afghanistan and Iraq is memorialized in two books by the Guard's premier historian: Michael Doubler, *The National Guard and the War on Terror: Operation Enduring Freedom and Defense Transformation* (National Guard Bureau, 2008) and *The National Guard and the War on Terror: Operation Iraqi Freedom* (National Guard Bureau, 2008). The war in the streets can be found in many powerful personal accounts and unit histories. Among the best are Mark R. DePue, *Patrolling Baghdad: A Military Police Company in the War in Iraq* (University Press of Kansas, 2007); Maj. Seth W. B. Folsom, USMC, *The Highway War: A Marine Company Commander in Iraq* (Potomac Books, 2006); Nathaniel Fick, *One Bullet Away* (Mariner Books, 2006); and Col. Peter R. Mansoor, *Baghdad at Sunrise: A Brigade Commander's War in Iraq* (Yale University Press, 2008).

The trials of Phase IV are described in Gordon W. Rudd, *Reconstructing Iraq: Regime Change, Jay Garner, and the ORHA Story* (University Press of Kansas, 2011); L. Paul Bremer III, *My Year in Iraq: The Struggle to Build a Future of Hope* (Simon & Schuster, 2006); Douglas J. Feith, *War and Decision: Inside the Pentagon at the Dawn of the War on Terrorism* (Harper, 2009); and James Dobbins, *Occupying Iraq: A History of the Coalition Provisional Authority* (RAND Corporation, 2009). The dilemmas created by OEF/OIF detainee policies are described in Karen Greenberg, *The Least Worst Place: Guantanamo's First 100 Days* (Oxford University Press, 2009).

The Iraqi insurgency produced some of the war's most striking journalistic reporting, and three correspondents wrote books about a continuing war: Rajiv Chaudrasekaran, *Imperial Life in the Emerald City: Inside Baghdad's Green Zone* (Bloomsbury, 2006); George Packer, *The Assassin's Gate: America's War in Iraq* (Farrar, Straus, and Giroux, 2006); and Dexter Filkins,

The Forever War (Alfred A. Knopf, 2008). Bing West, both a Marine veteran and former assistant secretary of defense as well as a gifted writer, describes all the frustrations and dangers of the two Fallujah operations (2004) in *No True Glory* (Bantam Books, 2005). The origins of the crucial “al-Anbar Awakening” may be studied in two volumes of interviews with senior Marine, Army, and State officers, CWO-4 Timothy S. McWilliams and Lt. Col. Kurtis P. Wheeler, eds., *Al-Anbar Awakening, Vol. I, American Perspectives*, and Col. Gary W. Montgomery and CWO-4 Timothy S. McWilliams, eds., *Al-Anbar Awakening, Vol. II, Iraqi Perspectives*, in a continuing series *U.S. Marines and Counterinsurgency in Iraq, 2004-2009* (Marine Corps University Press, 2009). See also Lt. Col. Kenneth W. Estes, USMC (Ret.), *U.S. Marines in Iraq, 2004-2005: Into the Fray* (History Division, HQMC, 2011). “The Surge” and the “Sunni Awakening” are the subject of Linda Robinson, *Tell Me How This Ends: General Petraeus and the Search for a Way Out of Iraq* (Public Affairs, 2008) and Bing West, *The Strongest Tribe: War, Politics, and the End Game in Iraq* (Random House, 2008).

Understanding the continuing war in Afghanistan requires the historical context provided by Steve Coll, *Ghost Wars: The Secret History of the CIA, Afghanistan, and Bin Laden* (Penguin, 2004), while three books focus on the 2001-2002 campaign: Gary C. Schroen, *First In: An Insider’s Account of How the CIA Spearheaded the War on Terrorism in Afghanistan* (Ballantine Books, 2005); Doug Stanton, *Horse Soldiers: The Extraordinary Story of a Band of U.S. Soldiers Who Rode to Victory in Afghanistan* (Scribner’s, 2009); and Lester W. Grau and Dodge Billingsley, *Operation Anaconda: America’s First Major Battle in Afghanistan* (University Press of Kansas, 2011). Bing West, *The Wrong War: Grit, Strategy, and the Way Out of Afghanistan* (Random House, 2011), describes the renewed Taliban resistance. Matthew M. Aid, *Intel Wars: The Secret History of the Fight Against Terror* (Bloomsbury Press, 2012) focuses on the war in

Afghanistan and Pakistan using “Wiki-leaks” documents. See also Richard Stewart, *Operation Enduring Freedom, October 2001-March 2002* (Center of Military History, 2006). Literature on the war in Afghanistan is scattered among the military journal literature, but the First Quarter 2010 issue of *Joint Forces Quarterly* carried several important articles on the Special Forces approach to counterinsurgency and nation-building.