

COSTS OF WAR



United States Counterterrorism Operations Under the Biden Administration, 2021-2023

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Research Statement

The war launched by the United States government in response to the 9/11 terror attacks continues. This map is a snapshot of today's global military and civilian operations that evolved from President George W. Bush's "Global War on Terror," launched in 2001, and continued through and beyond the U.S. military's official withdrawal from Afghanistan in 2021. This war on terror continues under President Joe Biden.

Between 2021 and 2023, the first three years of the Biden administration, the U.S. government conducted counterterrorism operations in 78 countries, including ground combat in at least nine countries and air strikes in at least four. In 73 of the 78 countries, the U.S. trained and assisted foreign security forces in counterterrorism.

The map displays activities that the U.S. government framed and justified as counterterrorism, carried out by the U.S. Departments of Defense, State, Homeland Security, and other agencies abroad.² These include:

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² According to the Pentagon, counterterrorism encompasses "actions taken directly against terrorist networks and indirectly to influence and render global and regional environments inhospitable to terrorist networks." (Federation of American Scientists. (2010, November) Department of Defense Dictionary of Military and Associated Terms. https://fas.org/irp/doddir/dod/jp1_02.pdf.) Yet it is important to note that the label "War on Terror" and its correlates, "terrorism" and "counterterrorism," are cultural and historically specific constructs, not natural or given categories for a type of action. The government, media, and others use these words for particular political reasons. Every instance of violence and war preparation on this map involves a different, complex mix of government action and insurgency that is best understood in local context. This map and paper highlight the U.S. operations that the government justifies as counterterrorism.

- 1) Countries where U.S. forces conducted <u>air and drone strikes against militants</u> (4-5): Afghanistan, Iraq, Somalia, Syria, and likely Yemen.
- 2) Countries where <u>U.S. service members engaged in combat and detention</u>, using force on the ground against militants/terrorism suspects (9): Afghanistan, Cuba, Iraq, Kenya, Mali, Somalia, Syria, United Arab Emirates, and Yemen. (In a revision of earlier iterations of this map, the current map includes the ongoing U.S. military detention of 9/11 suspects in Guantanamo Bay, Cuba.³)

This category includes countries with programs codified at 10 U.S.C. § 127e, a legal authority under which special operations forces plan and control missions carried out by the foreign military counterparts they are ostensibly advising and assisting. Because there is very little government transparency about 127e operations, information about ground combat does not necessarily become public unless there is an event the media investigates, such as when a U.S. service member is injured. The map thus displays five additional countries where <u>U.S. service members could have used force</u> against militants via surrogates in 127e programs (marked with a gray rather than orange combat icon) (5): Egypt, Lebanon, Libya, Niger, and Tunisia. Many of the nine countries (listed above) where active combat was documented have also been sites of 127e programs.

- 3) Countries in which the U.S. conducted <u>formal</u>, <u>named military exercises</u> to project force locally and rehearse scenarios of combatting "terrorists" or "violent extremist organizations" (30);
- 4) Countries where the U.S. Departments of Defense, State, and other government agencies <u>trained and/or assisted</u> military, police, and/or border patrol forces to increase their capacity to combat militants (73).

Many U.S. military operations are not included here – notably, those aimed at what U.S. officials and media identify as the military threat posed by Russia and China, the focus of much current U.S. foreign policy. Nor does this map include the military bases that have housed counterterrorism operations.⁴ Further, it does not include counterterrorism-related arms sales to foreign governments, all deployments of U.S. special operations forces, or all Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) operations. Also excluded are "military information support operations (MISO)," or "psychological operations," which the U.S.

³ The executive branch cites the counterterrorism-related 2001 Authorization for the Use of Military Force (AUMF) in regards to U.S. detention operations in Cuba. See The White House. (2023, June 8). *Letter to the Speaker of the House and President pro tempore of the Senate on War Powers Report.* https://www.whitehouse.gov/briefing-room/statements-releases/2023/06/08/letter-to-the-speaker-of-the-house-and-president-pro-tempore-of-the-senate-on-war-powers-report/.

⁴ There are over 800 U.S. bases around the world, according to David Vine. Vine, D. (2020, October 13). *The United States of War: A Global History of America's Endless Conflicts, from Columbus to the Islamic State.* University of California Press.

military carries out in many countries on the map and beyond, such as in Iran.⁵ All of these are significant elements of the bigger picture of U.S. counterterrorism strategy but beyond the scope of the map's data set.

Furthermore, researchers made careful and conservative choices in compiling the data. While the scale of activities ranges from small operations, such as capacity building for foreign border patrol systems, to major operations such as air strikes, researchers excluded activities they considered too minor. For example, the map only includes instances in which foreign security forces took courses through the U.S. military's Combating Terrorism and Irregular Warfare Fellowship Program (CTIWFP) when those courses cost over \$50,000 annually.⁶ Additionally, the map includes just formal, named military exercises, rather than all unnamed military exercises.

Researchers assembled this map by drawing on a variety of government records, journalism, and expert input. The U.S. government does not compile or publish all of this information for the public – instead, it records some of this information, scattered across various sources, many of them obscure or hard to understand. As under prior administrations, President Biden cited the 2001 Authorization for the Use of Military Force (AUMF) as the authority for some of the map's operations, but not others. Since 2001, successive presidents have reported on counterterrorism operations by citing the 2001 AUMF, 2002 AUMF, and Article II of the U.S. Constitution. The executive branch fails to report some activities to Congress, such as many of those covered by the 10 U.S.C § 333 security cooperation authority. Some activities come to light, if at all, only through investigative journalism. All data points on the map are documented with at least one government source or two credible journalistic sources. The appendices, below, detail what is included in each category and why, as well as listing sources.

The current map updates previous iterations by the same author; together the maps cover years of U.S. counterterrorism operations since 2015. There are a few notable differences in comparing the current data with the previous version of the map, which

⁵ See e.g., U.S. Central Command. *Operations and Exercises*. https://www.centcom.mil/OPERATIONS-AND-EXERCISES/; See also SOF News. (2017, November 8). *MISO Name Change – Back to Psychological Operations (PSYOP*). https://sof.news/io/miso-name-change/

⁶ For example, in 2021 in Ukraine, U.S. military CTIWFP was funded at \$49,853 – just under the cutoff used for inclusion in this map. The U.S. military and state department fund and assist Ukraine in its war with Russia, but those activities do not fall within the scope of this map, which is focused on counterterrorism. For Ukraine see U.S. Department of State. Foreign Military Training and DoD Engagement Activities of Interest, 2020-2021. Volume III – Section I – Part III – Europe. https://www.state.gov/wp-content/uploads/2022/03/05-Volume-II-Section-I-Part-III-Europe.pdf

⁷ See e.g., The White House. (2023, June 8). *Letter to the Speaker of the House and President pro tempore of the Senate on War Powers Report*. https://www.whitehouse.gov/briefing-room/statements-releases/2023/06/08/letter-to-the-speaker-of-the-house-and-president-pro-tempore-of-the-senate-on-war-powers-report/

⁸ Savell, S. (2021, December 14). *The 2001 Authorization for Use of Military Force: A Comprehensive Look at Where and How it Has Been Used*. Costs of War, Watson Institute, Brown University. https://watson.brown.edu/costsofwar/papers/2021/2001AUMF.

⁹ Yon Ebright, K. (2022, Nov. 3). *Secret War*. Brennan Center for Justice. https://www.brennancenter.org/ourwork/research-reports/secret-war

covered activities between 2018 through 2020 under President Donald Trump's administration. First, there are two or three fewer countries where U.S. forces conducted air strikes (no strikes in Libya or Pakistan, and none confirmed in Yemen). At the same time, there was one *additional* country where U.S. service members engaged in ground combat against militants (the United Arab Emirates, where U.S. service members intercepted a missile attack targeting a base where 2,000 U.S. personnel are stationed). ¹⁰

These shifts may reflect the Biden administration's tightened rules on drone strikes and accompanying emphasis in counterterrorism strategy on commando raids to capture targeted persons alive. ¹¹ Generally, under both the Biden and Trump administrations, total numbers of U.S. airstrikes have been lower than at peak moments in the post-9/11 wars, including in 2001, the 2003 invasion of Iraq, and the height of the war against the Islamic State in 2015-2017. ¹² But there have been significantly fewer airstrikes in Somalia, in particular, under the Biden administration compared with the Trump administration, which had escalated strikes there. ¹³

The U.S. military conducted formal, named exercises with goals including counterterrorism in 30 countries instead of 41; this number includes new countries and excludes others that were on the previous map. This decrease underscores the Pentagon's shift to focus on other strategic priorities instead of counterterrorism.

Training and assistance of foreign security forces occurred in 73 rather than 78 countries, a negligible difference from the 2018-2020 period. There are far more 127e programs on this iteration of the map, largely because journalists have brought more of these shadowy programs to light.

Overall, though the total number of countries has decreased slightly, from 85 to 78 total countries, the United States counterterrorism footprint remains remarkably similar. Taken altogether, this map's data highlights that the expansive global counterterrorism apparatus grinds ever onwards. This contrasts starkly with claims or assumptions on the part of the U.S. public and policymakers that the so-called "war on terror" is over.

¹⁰ U.S. Central Command. (2022, January 24). *U.S. Central Command Statement on Use of Patriots to Defend U.S. Forces.* https://www.centcom.mil/MEDIA/PRESS-RELEASES/Press-Release-View/Article/2909334/us-central-command-statement-on-use-of-patriots-to-defend-us-forces/

¹¹ Savage, C. (2023, July 1). *Biden Rules Tighten Limits on Drone Strikes*. The New York Times. https://www.nytimes.com/2023/07/01/us/biden-drone-strikes.html

¹² Keating, J. (2022, February 1). *What happened to the drone war?* The Messenger. https://themessenger.com/grid/what-happened-to-the-drone-war

¹³ Sterman, D. (2022, December 14). *The State of America's Drone Wars in 2022*. New America. https://www.newamerica.org/future-security/blog/the-state-of-americas-drone-wars-in-2022/

Appendix I: Definitions and Methods

This appendix details the definitions, contents, and methods of data collection for each of the map's categories. Appendix II, below, lists data sources.

1. Air and Drone Strikes

The U.S. government directly targets militants that it accuses of terrorism with air and/or drone strikes in foreign countries. The map documents U.S. strikes occurring in 2021, 2022, and/or 2023 in at least four countries: Afghanistan, Iraq, Somalia, and Syria. In Yemen, there have been allegations of several U.S. airstrikes during these years; at least one strike is likely to have occurred. Evidence suggests it was a U.S. Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) strike, but investigative reporters have not been able to confirm it.¹⁴

For this category, researchers drew on the investigations of *Airwars, New America*, and media outlets.¹⁵ An airstrike emanates from an aircraft and involves "one or more kinetic events that occur in roughly the same geographic location to produce a single, sometimes cumulative effect for that location."¹⁶ A drone strike is a specific type of airstrike originating from an "unmanned aerial vehicle."

2. Combat, Detention, and 127e Programs

Members of the U.S. military have conducted ground operations such as raids and/or used weapons against militants in eight countries between 2021-2023, including in Afghanistan (during the U.S. military withdrawal), Iraq, Kenya, Mali, Somalia, Syria, the United Arab Emirates, and Yemen in 2018-2020. Additionally, the U.S. government continues to detain terrorism suspects in Guantanamo Bay, Cuba, an ongoing operation since 9/11 that successive U.S. presidents have referred to in their citations of the 2001 Authorization for the Use of Military Force (AUMF) in notifications to Congress.

In some countries, such as Somalia and Syria, U.S. special operations forces have actively conducted raids to kill targets such as leaders of militant groups. In other places, such as the United Arab Emirates, U.S. service members were stationed on a base that was the target of a militant attack, and engaged weapons against militants in defense. This latter demonstrates how U.S. ground posture at a global network of bases makes engaging in fighting more likely. It also shows how security cooperation authorities – codified at 10 U.S.C. § 333 and 10 U.S.C. § 127e, which allow US service members to train and assist

¹⁴ See Keller, J. (2023, January 31). *The US appears to have used its missile full of swords in an airstrike in Yemen.* Task and Purpose. https://taskandpurpose.com/tech-tactics/hellfire-r9x-missile-ninja-bomb-yemen/; Al-Haj, A.; Gambrell, J. (2023, February 10). *Mystery Yemen drone strike renews questions over US campaign.* Associated Press. https://apnews.com/article/al-qaida-ayman-zawahri-united-states-government-military-technology-yemen-860d86430603dc36ea786e72e09438c1">https://apnews.com/article/al-qaida-ayman-zawahri-united-states-government-military-technology-yemen-860d86430603dc36ea786e72e09438c1

¹⁵ Airwars. https://airwars.org/; New America. https://airwars.org/; New America. https://www.newamerica.org/.

¹⁶ *Airwars Methodology*. (n.d.) Airwars. Retrieved March 10, 2020, from https://airwars.org/about/methodology/.

foreign militaries – stretch the limits of Congressional oversight by operating as a "springboard for hostilities."¹⁷

Executive branch statements to Congress on the 2001 AUMF have documented some but not all cases of U.S. service members using force to combat militants. Thus this category also relies on investigative journalism; the research team has documented each combat incident on the map with at least two credible sources, listed in Appendix II. Often, news of combat comes to light when a U.S. service member is killed or wounded.

The map's combat category includes countries with documented 127e programs: Egypt, Kenya, Lebanon, Libya, Mali, Niger, Somalia, Syria, Tunisia, and Yemen. 127e is a U.S. legal authority that allows special operations forces to plan and control missions, in charge of rather than at the side of the counterparts they are ostensibly advising and assisting. In other words, rather than U.S. forces assisting these foreign military units with their own counterterror objectives, U.S. service members use them as surrogates: they lead these units, determine their goals, and participate in their raids against people they suspect of terrorist activity. Officially, the Pentagon does not call this combat, but unofficially, U.S. government and military officials have admitted that, "If you're deployed under this combating terrorism authority, 127e, that's probably combat." 20

Thus, an additional five countries where combat *could have* occurred via surrogates are noted visually on the map with a gray blast icon rather than an orange blast icon: Egypt, Lebanon, Libya, Niger, and Tunisia. The rest of the 127e programs are in countries with documented instances of combat, and thus are noted with an <u>orange</u> blast icon: Kenya, Mali, Somalia, Syria and Yemen. Given government secrecy about this program, the latest information about active 127e programs is dated to 2020 – one year earlier than the period covered by this map.²¹ Yet there is no information to suggest that these programs are no longer active, and experts say that these programs tend to run for a long time, so it is unlikely that they have been shut down.

¹⁷ Yon Ebright, K. (2022, November 3). *Secret War.* Brennan Center for Justice. https://www.brennancenter.org/our-work/research-reports/secret-war

¹⁸ See eg, The White House. (2023, June 8). Letter to the Speaker of the House and President pro tempore of the Senate on War Powers Report. https://www.whitehouse.gov/briefing-room/statements-releases/2023/06/08/letter-to-the-speaker-of-the-house-and-president-pro-tempore-of-the-senate-on-war-powers-report/

¹⁹ Morgan, W. (2018, July 2). *Behind the secret U.S. war in Africa*. Politico. https://www.politico.com/story/2018/07/02/secret-war-africa-pentagon-664005; Rempfer, K. (2019, February 8). *Special operations launches 'secret surrogate' missions in new counter-terrorism strategy.* Military Times. https://www.militarytimes.com/news/your-army/2019/02/08/fighting-terrorism-may-rely-on-secret-surrogate-forces-going-forward/; Turse, N., Naylor, S.D. (2019, April 17). *Revealed: The U.S. military's 36 code-named operations in Africa.* Yahoo News. https://news.yahoo.com/revealed-the-us-militarys-36-codenamed-operations-in-africa-090000841.html.

²⁰ U.S. Representative Richard Hudson is quoted as making this statement in Politico; Morgan, W. (2018, July 2). *Behind the secret U.S. war in Africa*. Politico. https://www.politico.com/story/2018/07/02/secret-war-africa-pentagon-664005

²¹ Turse, N.; Speri, A. (2022, July 1). *How the Pentagon Uses a Secretive Program to Wage Proxy Wars*. The Intercept. https://theintercept.com/2022/07/01/pentagon-127e-proxy-wars/

3. Military Exercises

Thirty countries hosted U.S.-led military exercises in 2021-2023 to prepare for or rehearse scenarios of combat against "violent extremist organizations." The map only includes named exercises, such as the annual Flintlock exercises in west Africa.

Military exercises show the particular global footprint of the Department of Defense, in contrast to training and assistance activities (more on this, below), which are carried out by the State Department and other agencies as well. The Pentagon defines a military exercise as "a military maneuver or simulated wartime operation involving planning, preparation, and execution that is carried out for the purpose of training and evaluation."²² However, experts have shown that military exercises accomplish several objectives including but not limited to training. Exercises also establish a U.S. military presence when it is not possible for the military to have a base in that country, reinforce military alliances with partner countries, and display U.S. military might in order to "signal resolve" or threaten militant groups.²³

This category excludes unnamed military-to-military trainings, military exercises sponsored by other countries, exercises held in the U.S., and exercises without a goal of counterterrorism. Researchers documented the occurrence of the exercises and their objectives with U.S. government websites, or failing that, with at least two credible media sources. In some cases, researchers pieced various sources together to understand the context of the country and/or the specific content of the training, and thereby determine whether or not the exercise was aimed at countering terrorism.

4. Training and Assistance

Seventy-three countries participated in U.S.-led, funded, and directed programs intended to train and/or assist these governments in combating terrorism. These programs were run by the Department of Defense, State Department, Department of Justice, the Department of Homeland Security, and/or other branches of the U.S. government.

For the sake of clarity in visual representation, the category of training and assistance captures many different types of activities. According to the Security Assistance Monitor at the Center for International Policy, the main types of U.S. counterterrorism aid include enhancing the abilities of foreign militaries, aircraft surveillance, logistics, command and control, and border and maritime security aid. The U.S. has spent hundreds of billions of dollars on such activities since 2001.²⁴

²² Federation of American Scientists. (2010). *Department of Defense Dictionary of Military and Associated Terms*. https://fas.org/irp/doddir/dod/jp1_02.pdf.

²³ Vine, D. (2020.) *The United States of War: A Global History of America's Endless Conflicts, from Columbus to the Islamic State.* University of California Press.

²⁴ Goodman, C.; Arabia, C. (2018.) *Corruption in the Defense Sector: Identifying Key Risks to U.S. Counterterrorism Aid.* Security Assistance Monitor, Center for International Policy. Goodman and Arabia highlight that much of this aid has not met its intended purposes because of corruption in receiving countries'

Researchers drew substantially from the State Department's 2021 "Country Reports on Terrorism," which describe many countries' contexts of terror attacks and those countries' efforts to combat terrorism, sometimes with U.S. assistance.²⁵ The map includes countries where the Country Reports state that U.S. training and assistance is intended to build that country's capacity to combat terrorism. Though the Country Reports on Terrorism are often ambiguously worded, in many cases the language indicates a U.S. perception that another country requires U.S. tutelage or mentorship, in which case that country is included on the map. In other cases, the map excludes certain countries, such as France, which U.S. language such as "sharing best practices" suggests are seen as equal partners and allies in the fight, and when there are no specific examples of that country's officials or security forces participating in U.S.-sponsored training courses or exercises.

The research team also relied on the "Foreign Military Training Report," a joint report to Congress by the Defense Department and State Department, covering fiscal year 2021. This report covers training activities by these two departments conducted for other countries' military and police personnel, including the purpose of these trainings, their locations, and the money spent on them. The map only includes significant trainings focused on counterterrorism, such as the "Combatting Terrorism and Irregular Warfare Fellowship Program (CTIWFP)," which are funded by a minimum of \$50,000.

This map is intended to be a meaningful documentation of U.S. government activity and thus does not include all relatively minor mentions in which researchers could find no further documentation of current activities. For instance, the map excludes countries that are merely listed in a Department of Defense "area of operations," without any further evidence that the U.S. actively trained and/or assisted that country's forces in counterterrorism in 2021-2023.

defense sectors, including through nepotism and favoritism in hiring, bribery and extortion, embezzlement of government funds, and ghost soldiers.

²⁵ U.S. Department of State, Bureau of Counterterrorism. *Country Reports on Terrorism 2021*. https://www.state.gov/wp-content/uploads/2023/02/Country Reports 2021 Complete MASTER.no maps-011323-Accessible.pdf

²⁶ U.S. Department of State. (2020-2021). *Foreign Military Training and DoD Engagement Activities of Interest, 2020-2021*. https://www.state.gov/reports/foreign-military-training-and-dod-engagement-activities-of-interest-2020-2021/.

APPENDIX II: Sources

Sources Documenting Combat and 127e Programs, By Country

Country	Category	Year(s)	Source(s)
Afghanistan	Combat	2021	Reuters. (2021, August 23). <i>One Afghan killed, several hurt in exchange of gunfire at Kabul airport - U.S. military.</i> https://www.reuters.com/world/asia-pacific/one-afghan-killed-several-hurt-exchange-gun-fire-kabul-airport-us-military-2021-08-23/ The Washington Post. (2021, August 27). <i>Biden vows retribution after 13 U.S. service members were killed in Afghanistan bombing.</i> https://www.washingtonpost.com/world/2021/08/26/afghanistan-kabul-taliban-live-updates/
Cuba	Detention	2021- 2023	The White House. (2023, June 8). Letter to the Speaker of the House and President pro tempore of the Senate on War Powers Report. https://www.whitehouse.gov/briefing-room/statements-releases/2023/06/08/letter-to-the-speaker-of-the-house-and-president-pro-tempore-of-the-senate-on-war-powers-report/
Egypt	127e	2020-	Turse, N.; Speri, A. (2022, July 1). <i>How the Pentagon Uses a Secretive Program to Wage Proxy Wars</i> . The Intercept. https://theintercept.com/2022/07/01/pentagon-127e-proxy-wars/
Iraq	Combat	2021- 2023	Keller, J. (2023, February 2). The US military is ramping up operations against ISIS in Iraq and Syria. Task and Purpose. https://taskandpurpose.com/news/usmilitary-operations-isis-iraq-syria-january-2023/ Schogol, J. (2022, December 29). US troops conducted 313 missions and killed 686 ISIS fighters in 2022. Task and Purpose. https://taskandpurpose.com/news/usmilitary-isis-iraq-syria/ Reuters. (2021, February 15). Iraq rocket attack kills contractor, wounds U.S.
Kenya	Combat & 127e	2020- 2023	service member, coalition says. CNBC. https://www.cnbc.com/2021/02/15/iraq-rocket-attack-kills-contractor-wounds-us-service-member-coalition-says.html The White House. (2023, June 8). Letter to the Speaker of the House and President pro tempore of the Senate on War Powers Report. https://www.whitehouse.gov/briefing-room/statements-releases/2023/06/08/letter-to-the-speaker-of-the-house-and-president-pro-tempore-of-the-senate-on-war-powers-report/ Turse, N.; Speri, A. (2022, July 1). How the Pentagon Uses a Secretive Program to Wage Proxy Wars. The Intercept. https://theintercept.com/2022/07/01/pentagon-127e-proxy-wars/ Turse, N.; Naylor, S. (2019, April 17). Revealed: The U.S. military's 36 code-named operations in Africa. Yahoo! News. https://www.yahoo.com/now/revealed-the-us-militarys-36-codenamed-operations-in-africa-090000841.html

Lebanon	127e	2020-	Turse, N.; Speri, A. (2022, July 1). <i>How the Pentagon Uses a Secretive Program to Wage Proxy Wars</i> . The Intercept. https://theintercept.com/2022/07/01/pentagon-127e-proxy-wars/
Libya	127e	2020-	Turse, N.; Speri, A. (2022, July 1). How the Pentagon Uses a Secretive Program to Wage Proxy Wars. The Intercept. https://theintercept.com/2022/07/01/pentagon-127e-proxy-wars/ Turse, N.; Naylor, S. (2019, April 17). Revealed: The U.S. military's 36 code-named operations in Africa. Yahoo! News. https://www.yahoo.com/now/revealed-the-us-militarys-36-codenamed-operations-in-africa-090000841.html
Mali	Combat & 127e	2020- 2022	Nostrant, R.; Altman, H.; Associated Press. (2022, January 27). <i>US service member injured, French soldier killed in Mali attack</i> . Military Times. https://www.militarytimes.com/news/your-military/2022/01/27/us-service-member-injured-french-soldier-killed-in-mali-attack/ Rempfer, K. (2022, April 13). <i>Soldier receives Purple Heart for wounds in Mali mortar attack</i> . Army Times. https://www.armytimes.com/news/your-army/2022/04/13/soldier-receives-purple-heart-for-wounds-in-mali-mortar-attack/ Turse, N.; Speri, A. (2022, July 1). <i>How the Pentagon Uses a Secretive Program to Wage Proxy Wars</i> . The Intercept. https://theintercept.com/2022/07/01/pentagon-127e-proxy-wars/ Turse, N.; Naylor, S. (2019, April 17). <i>Revealed: The U.S. military's 36 code-named operations in Africa</i> . Yahoo! News. https://www.yahoo.com/now/revealed-the-us-militarys-36-codenamed-operations-in-africa-090000841.html
Niger	127e	2020-	Turse, N.; Speri, A. (2022, July 1). How the Pentagon Uses a Secretive Program to Wage Proxy Wars. The Intercept. https://theintercept.com/2022/07/01/pentagon-127e-proxy-wars/ Turse, N.; Naylor, S. (2019, April 17). Revealed: The U.S. military's 36 code-named operations in Africa. Yahoo! News. https://www.yahoo.com/now/revealed-the-us-militarys-36-codenamed-operations-in-africa-090000841.html
Somalia	Combat & 127e	2020-2023	The White House. (2023, June 8). Letter to the Speaker of the House and President pro tempore of the Senate on War Powers Report. https://www.whitehouse.gov/briefing-room/statements-releases/2023/06/08/letter-to-the-speaker-of-the-house-and-president-pro-tempore-of-the-senate-on-war-powers-report/ U.S. Department of Defense. (2023, January 26). Statement by Secretary of Defense Lloyd J. Austin III on Somalia Operation. https://www.defense.gov/News/Releases/Release/Article/3279923/statement-by-secretary-of-defense-lloyd-j-austin-iii-on-somalia-operation/ Turse, N.; Speri, A. (2022, July 1). How the Pentagon Uses a Secretive Program to Wage Proxy Wars. The Intercept. https://theintercept.com/2022/07/01/pentagon-127e-proxy-wars/

			Turse, N.; Naylor, S. (2019, April 17). Revealed: The U.S. military's 36 code-named operations in Africa. Yahoo! News. https://www.yahoo.com/now/revealed-the-us-militarys-36-codenamed-operations-in-africa-090000841.html
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