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05/25/2004



*The Nature of the Conflict
and a
Long-Term USG Strategy for Addressing It*

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MDR: 12-M-0016

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The Nature of the Conflict?

- Global War on Terrorism?
- Global War on Terrorist Networks?
- Civil War in World of Islam between extremists and moderates?
- Extremist Grand (Global) Insurgency?
- War for Civilization?

A test of wills.

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The National Security Opportunity

"President Bush's national security strategy could represent the most sweeping shift in U.S. grand strategy since the beginning of the Cold War."

John Lewis Gaddis, Lovett Professor of History, Yale University
December 1, 2002, *Foreign Policy*

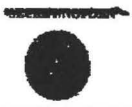
- World affairs now are being fundamentally reshaped.
 - As in the early days of Cold War.

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Overview:

Defining Success in the Conflict

Goal: Preserve the way of life of free and open societies, while denying extremists – including terrorist networks – what they need to operate and survive.
– To not be terrorized.

- No alternative to strategy of defeat, anticipate, prevent, offense and initiative.
- Terrorism attacks the trust and openness on which civilized societies freedom and prosperity are based.
- The conflict affects commerce, travel, study throughout the civilized world.
 - No country can opt out through appeasement or otherwise.

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Overview:
Defining the Enemy

- The enemy is a network of networks:

(1) Designated terrorist organizations.



OSD 1.4(d)

- One of the extremists' key instruments is terrorism – assassinations and murder of ordinary people.

(2) Their state and non-state supporters.

Activities of the terrorist groups in the enemy networks can function as mutually reinforcing insurgencies.

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Overview:

Defining the Enemy (cont'd)

- Extremists vs. moderates – Islam's civil war.
 - "Moderate" does not mean unobservant, secular or Westernizing.
 - The U.S. is allying itself with the large number of moderate Muslims who reject rule by the extremists.

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Overview:
U.S. Strategy

U.S. strategy is to help create and lead a broad international effort to deny terrorist networks what they require to operate and survive.

U.S. strategy for the Conflict has three elements:

1. Protect the American homeland.
2. Disrupt and attack terrorist networks.
3. Counter ideological support for terrorism.

**Key to success: Support moderate Muslims [REDACTED]
[REDACTED] in their civil war against the extremists.**

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Elements of the Strategy

I. Protecting the Homeland

II. Disrupt and Attack Terrorist Networks

III. Countering Ideological Support

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1st Element of Strategy: Protect the Homeland
Key Considerations

- U.S., along with close U.S. friends, will remain a principal terrorist target.
- Effective homeland defense requires active relationships abroad.

[REDACTED]

OSD 1.4(a),(d)

- Responsibility for protecting U.S. is divided within a complex of federal, state, and local governments and the private sector.

[REDACTED]

OSD 1.4(a)

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1st Element of Strategy: Protect the Homeland
Key Questions

- How should the USG close the seams between the Homeland Security Council and National Security Council?



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- Who should have authority for *preventing* attacks on the United States?
 - Who will the American people hold accountable?

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Elements of the Strategy
I. Protecting the Homeland
II. Disrupt and Attack
III. Countering Ideological Support

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2nd Element of Strategy: Disrupt and Attack
Key Assumptions

- Defeating terrorism will require *decades* of effort.
- Success requires all elements of U.S. national power.
- Success requires cooperation from other countries.
- The enemies do not respect national boundaries.
- USG will need to use its country teams abroad in new ways to execute a global strategy.

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*2nd Element of Strategy: Disrupt and Attack
Roles of States (1 of 2)*

- Foreign states – allies, opponents and in between – support and oppose terrorism to varying degrees:
 - Range of sponsorship.
 - Range of opposition.
 - Range of capabilities.
- Some states both support and oppose terrorism.

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*2nd Element of Strategy: Disrupt and Attack
Roles of States (2 of 2)*

- To disrupt and attack terrorists, USG needs to encourage countries variously to:
 - Enforce their laws more vigorously.
 - Take military actions with their own forces.
 - Take combined actions with the U.S.



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*2nd Element of Strategy: Disrupt and Attack
The Predicament*

- Country teams must be the USG instruments for encouraging foreign countries.



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- How can the USG fight terrorism globally, using all instruments of national power, in countries with whom the U.S. is at peace?

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2nd Element of Strategy: Disrupt and Attack
Key Questions

- Are the current authorities and linkages among State, DOD (including the Combatant Commanders), DOJ and CIA right?
- Do the USG departments have the necessary spending flexibility?

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Elements of the Strategy
I. Protecting the Homeland
II. Disrupt and Attack
<i>III. Countering Biological Support</i>

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3rd Element of Strategy: Countering Ideological Support

Key Assumptions

- **An Essential Metric:** Are extremist movements making new terrorists faster than the U.S.-led coalition can capture or kill them?
- Ideological support is:
 - Foundation for terrorist success.
 - Key to recruitment and indoctrination.
- Coalition victory requires stemming flow of recruits into enemy ranks.
- Entire civilized world has crucial stake in success of Muslim moderates over extremists.

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3rd Element of Strategy: Countering Ideological Support
Winning the Ideological Struggle

- Often said that "one can't defeat an idea."
- Historical examples belie this:
 - 19th Century – British de-legitimated slave trade.
 - WW2 – Allied victory over Nazism and fascism.
 - Cold War – Soviet Union's collapse undercut Communist appeal.

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3rd Element of Strategy: Countering Ideological Support
Main Tasks

- **Negative:** De-legitimate terrorism.
 - Make like slave trade, piracy and genocide.
 - Focus on clerics, educators and media.

- **Positive:** Support models of moderation and sound economics in world of Islam.
 - Compete with extremists' visions and their "charitable" works.
 - Progress in Afghanistan and Iraq.
 - Bolster states like Turkey and Indonesia.
 - Fund non-extremist schools – e.g., in Pakistan.
 - Greater Middle East Initiative.

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3rd Element of Strategy: Countering Ideological Support
New Strategy

- Focus on key voices in Muslim world, not just messages U.S. sends to Muslim world (i.e., not just U.S. public diplomacy – a separate strategy).
- Amplify moderate voices:
 - This is crucial and tough to do.
- Impede and impose costs on extremists.
 - Counter extremist media, clerics and schools.
 - Eliminate state and private support for extremism.

Will be a decades-long struggle.

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3rd Element of Strategy: Countering Ideological Support
New Strategy – Ending Free Ride

- Key voices for extremist jihad and murder.
 - In general, they pay no price now; on contrary, reap benefits.
 - How to impose costs on advocacy of murder?



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- Develop plan?
 - Task Force to implement?
 - Metrics?

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3rd Element of Strategy: Countering Ideological Support
New Strategy -- Gov't and Private Sector

- Most important voices for moderation – not Western, but Muslim.
- Governments can help amplify voices [REDACTED] for moderation, but private sector – NGOs, media, universities – can be more effective.
 - Support for moderate Muslim schools.
 - Support for humanitarian aid to compete with terrorist "good works."
- How can USG and Coalition encourage and enable private sector to play this role?
- Does USG need new institutions? New authorities?
 - Encourage study by Americans (e.g., languages) relevant to long-term conflict.
- Develop plan?
 - Task force to implement?
 - Metrics?

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CONCLUSION

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Conclusion:
USG Interagency

- How can USG organize to execute the strategy and monitor progress?
 - Track all elements of strategy?
 - Updated PCC structure?
 - Task forces?

**The USG and international community have made institutional and other changes.
A great deal more is required.**

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Conclusion:
Averting Regrets

If another 9/11-scale attack against the U.S. occurs
between today and the election, the inauguration or
September 11, 2005, what would we wish we had done?

- Institutions.
- Authorities.
- Activities.

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Global Conflict: Long Term USG Strategy
The Stakes

**Goal: Preserve the way of life of free and open societies,
while denying terrorist networks
what they need to operate and survive.**

- No alternative to a strategy of offense and initiative.

**At stake is the free and open nature of civilized societies
– in other words, our civil liberties and prosperity.**

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