

The Global War On Terrorism

Rectifying A Failure Of Imagination

U.S. Policy and Intelligence
Leadership After 9/11

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Navigating Through the Fog of War

- The Day After
- Taking the Fight to the Enemy
- Sharpening the Sword
- The Cavalry Arrives
- The Long Road Ahead
- The Legacy of 9/11

President Bush's hands-on leadership style and his perceptions of the terrorist threat – molded by events -- played a decisive role in setting the course of the global war on terrorism.

The Day After

"The gloves are off."

Cofer Black, Chief of CIA Counterterrorism Center

- Guilt and Atonement
- Psychology of Fear
- A World Transformed
 - ◆ 9/11 Attack – Controlling the Course of History
- Strategic Consequences of 9/11
 - ◆ WMD – Power of States in the Hands of Men
 - ◆ Managing Low Probability-High Impact Events
- Confronting A Failure Of Imagination
 - ◆ Challenges of Foresight and Warning
 - ◆ Finding Muhammed Atta

Al Qaeda had achieved strategic surprise. The US leadership lacked confidence in their ability to foresee Osama bin Ladin's next move. The US advantage was that intelligence had made book on al Qaeda for many years and knew where exactly to start looking for answers as to how 9/11 could have happened, and how it could be prevented from happening again.

Taking the Fight to the Enemy

In a time of imminent danger, necessity is the mother of invention

- Sense of Urgency Drives 24/7 Decision Making
 - ◆ No Business as Usual – New Capabilities
 - ◆ Precedents for Action – New Authorities
- Success Requires the Complete Destruction of Al Qaeda and Associates
 - ◆ Global attack on al Qaeda and associates
 - ◆ No Safe Havens – no training camps
 - ◆ No Financial Means
- The Best Defense is a Good Offense
 - ◆ Homeland – Unprepared and Vulnerable
 - ◆ Afghanistan – Fighting a New Kind of War

A new way of waging war against terrorists was invented, driven by rapid fire decision making - largely based on raw intelligence - in order to eliminate continuously emerging threats. The goal for taking action was to stay one step ahead of the enemy by anticipating terrorists' next move, and to get there before they got there.

Sharpening the Sword

- GWOT – Forcing International Action
- Enhancing Covert Action
- Capturing and Killing High Value Targets
 - ◆ Triumph of Technological Age
 - ◆ Renditions, Prisons, and Interrogations
- Closing Seams Between Foreign and Domestic Security
 - ◆ Domestic Surveillance and Eavesdropping
 - ◆ Domestic Intelligence – Counterterrorism-focused FBI, or US Version of British “MI-5”?

After 9/11, there was no debate on the probabilities of another large scale terrorist attack on the US, or elsewhere. It was quietly understood that the country was very vulnerable, and that another large scale attack – including the use of weapons of mass destruction – might be imminent.

The Cavalry Arrives

Has Organizational Change Made Us Safer?

- Implementation of 9/11 Legislation
 - ◆ Creation of National Intelligence Community
 - ◆ Clarifying Intelligence Roles and Responsibilities
 - ◆ The National Implementation (Counterterrorism) Plan
- Strengthening the Defenses
 - ◆ Homeland Security & A Domestic Intelligence Framework
 - ◆ Information Sharing
 - ◆ International Counterterrorism Cooperation
 - ◆ Vulnerabilities of the Global System

There was little confidence pre-9/11 that US institutions had the tools to respond effectively to the strategic threats posed by terrorism. The US leadership sought to buy time for changes to take root that could prevent future attacks, and to ultimately stem the tide of terrorist violence.

Milestones

10/01/01 Counterterrorism Center Weapons of Mass Destruction
10/01/01 US-Russia CT Working Group (Armitage-Trubnikov)
3/12/02 Color Code Threat Matrix
11/25/02 Department of Homeland Security (22 agencies into one)
5/01/03 Terrorist Threat Integration Center (TTIC)
(Renamed National Counterterrorism Center in 2004)
12/17/04 Intelligence Reform and Terrorism Prevention Act
2/01/05 Director of National Intelligence (ODNI)
4/15/05 Defense Nuclear Detection Office
3/31/05 Weapons of Mass Destruction Commission Report
9/ 30/05 DOE Intelligence and Counterintelligence
10/13/05 National Clandestine Service (NCS-CIA “D.O.”)
11/08/05 CIA Open Source Center (moved to ODNI)
12/21/05 National Counterproliferation Center
4/15/06 Improvised Nuclear Device Steering Group (IND-SG)
7/17/06 Global Initiative to Combat Terrorism
7/26/06 FBI WMD Directorate
8/26/06 NSC/HSC PD Nuclear Material Information Program
8/15/06 National Implementation Plan (NCTC)
(NIP-160 page Counterterrorism Playbook)
9//07 WMD Terrorism Senior Steering Group
7/30/08 Presidential Directive EO 123333 (Intelligence)
12/11/08 Graham WMD Commission Report

The Long Road Ahead

- Finding Answers to Key Questions
 - ◆ Can another 9/11 attack be prevented?
 - ◆ What are the trends of global extremism?
 - ◆ How do perceptions differ on the nature of terrorism – if it is not war, what is it?
 - ◆ How can victory be achieved in combating terrorism?
- Shifting Defense and Intelligence Roles and Responsibilities
 - ◆ Intelligence Role in War
 - ◆ Military Role in Intelligence
- Making Intelligence Work
 - ◆ Presidential Directive Executive Order 12333
 - ◆ Has a failure of imagination been rectified?

Legacy of 9/11

- Leadership and Counterterrorism
 - ◆ Wartime and Peacetime Leadership
 - ◆ Overcoming Fear
- Intelligence and the Rule of Law
 - ◆ Independent Oversight
 - ◆ Ethics, Interrogation and Torture
 - ◆ Surveillance and Civil Liberties
- Terrorism in the 21st Century
 - ◆ Secularity, Religion and Human Rights
 - ◆ What are we willing to sacrifice in order for our cause to prevail?