



Chapter 1

Part 1 of 2

The Constant Gardener

Before getting into the issues listed in the Introduction, I believe it necessary to provide some basic conditions that will give glimpse to the home environment of the “horse” and the necessary items that will accompany him on his journey. Necessary gardening will include the relationship with you the reader, some background in the “long war,” the true target audience, some key underlying issues and specific terminology/definitions/usage, possibly unique to White Horse.

Reader

First is the nature of the writing and its relationship with you the reader. Project White Horse 084640 is not a completed work being parsed out on some pre-determined schedule. The writing is part of the continuing research effort, intended to assist in clarifying thoughts evolving from previous effort and to facilitate gathering of insight from a diverse and extremely experienced reader base. The comments received have been focused, extremely insightful and very helpful. I am categorizing them for use in the appropriate chapters. (I am also attempting to answer each).

Of particular note from Dr. Dag von Lubitz, Ph.D., M.D. (Sc.), College of Health Professions, Central Michigan University

As some of the natural disasters both in the US and abroad show, the issue of “Trafalgar leadership” revolves not only around terrorism but around all manners of operations in which people loose their brains because of innate stupidity, rigidity caused by doctrinarian training, fear of compromising themselves, fear of responsibility, adherence to the “holy writ” and the religious respect for the rule of law. Hence, White Horse ought to stress clearly that it addresses some of the most fundamental fallacies in our way of dealing with the “unthinkable” - which is thinkable (1)

Further, provided by Dr. von Lubitz on the closing quote of the introduction - *sapere audi*, - a Latin phrase meaning “dare to know” or “dare to be wise” and sometimes translated as “think boldly.” While it is most noteworthy from the Immanuel Kant’s essay “What is Enlightenment?” the original use seems to be Epistle II of Horace’s Epistularum liber primus line 40: *Dimidium facti qui coepit habet: sapere audi* (He who has begun is half done: dare to know!”)

The Long War

White Horse indeed intends to address learning about response to the “worst case” unthinkable and the beginning should obviously provide the elements that define and limit the effort. The GWOT obviously defines the larger playing field of this effort (This is not to limit discussion to just terrorism. Worst case thinking must include Katrina like catastrophes) The Joint Chiefs of Staff brief *Fighting the Long War – Military Strategy for the War on Terrorism* (provided by Capt. Mark Swaney, USN Ret) states “that Americans will commit to a “long war” if:

- They understand our enemy and the threat he poses to the future of America.
- They understand our strategy and how long it will take to complete it.
- They are confident our leaders know what they are doing.
- They know we have what it takes to defeat the enemy.
- Our leaders communicate our actions plainly and honestly. (2)
(key slides included as reference)

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Executive Lecture Forum

*Radvanyi Chair in International Security Studies
Mississippi State University
“Fighting the Long War--
Military Strategy for the War on Terrorism”*



Rear Admiral Bill Sullivan
Vice Director for Strategic Plans & Policy
The Joint Staff

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Why America Wants: a “Short War”

- A short war means lower costs in lives and national treasure.
- A short war reflects the enormous talent and power of our nation.
- To the average American, the threat to the U.S. is difficult to comprehend.
- War is alien to the peaceful nature and desires of our nation.

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Why the Global War on Terrorism is a “Long War”

- The enemy is committed to his cause. He is prepared to fight to the death for what he believes is a defense of his religion.
- The enemy has a strategy with global aspirations. He estimates it will take him decades to accomplish his strategic objectives.
- It requires change within the Islamic world. Historically, such changes have taken centuries to occur.
- It requires increased partner nation capacity – armed forces, police, economic development, and good governance – to combat the violent extremist threat. Such growth takes decades to achieve.

The enemy has committed to a long war and publicly articulated his goals for decades

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How has the enemy become so dangerous?

Increasing ambitions coupled with an ever increasing capabilities gives extremists an unprecedented ability to affect world events with global ramifications

Weapons Proliferation

- IEDs
- Suicide Bombers
- Missiles
- Nuclear
- Chemical/Biological

Mass effects capture media attention

Information Technology

- Internet
- News Media
- Satellite T.V.
- Cell Phones

Ability to transmit message

Perceived Grievances

- The war in Iraq/Afghanistan
- Perception that we are fighting a war against Islam
- Palestine, Israel
- Visa, Immigration policy
- Detainee Abuse

Populace that listens and supports their message

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PWH note: The briefing was presented by the Pentagon's Joint Chiefs of Staff, Plans and Policy branch, and was presented to a gathering at Mississippi State University. The Admiral that presented the briefing has agreed to release of this briefing to the public. Will forward the complete PowerPoint Presentation upon request.

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Consider How the U.S. can be Defeated...

The United States cannot be defeated militarily. The enemy knows this. But consider:

- The world's most dangerous people possess the world's most dangerous weapons—nuclear, chemical, or biological weapons...
- Terror attacks weaken the world economy
- Continued casualties weaken national resolve
- Traditional allies prefer accommodation

Would it expand the conflict into a “clash of civilizations?” Or...

- Force our economy into a recession? Depression?
- Create political pressure for isolationism?
- Deter us from necessary action?
- Force us to reach accommodation – “Peace in our Time?”

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Americans will commit to a “Long War” if:

- They understand our enemy and the threat he poses to the future of America.
- They understand our strategy and how long it will take to complete it.
- They are confident our leaders know what they are doing.
- They know we have what it takes to defeat the enemy.
- Our leaders communicate our actions plainly and honestly.



It is a “Long War”—but it is a war we can and must win

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US Strategy

The three key elements in win this war are:

- Protect and defend the Homeland
- Attack terrorists and their capacity to operate effectively at home and abroad
- Support mainstream Muslim efforts to reject violent extremism

In addition to the strategic elements, there are three critical cross-cutting enablers:

- Expanding foreign partnerships and partnership capacity
- Strengthening our capacity to prevent terrorist acquisition and use of WMD
- Institutionalizing domestically and internationally the strategy against violent extremists

This war goes far beyond the borders of Iraq, Afghanistan and the Greater Middle East

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PWH Note: This presentation clearly indicates recognition of the role of U.S. citizens and the need to protect them as part of the “long war.” While its content remains clearly in DOD (vice DHS) running lanes, it highlights the unique nature of America’s defense duality. Defense of our home is different from National Defense. We may be the only country in the world that makes this distinction.

Implicit within “staying the course” is the continued safety and well being of the United States Homeland and its citizens. Dr. Boaz Ganor, Institute for Counter Terrorism, Herzliya, Israel, states in The Counter-Terrorism Puzzle; A guide to Decision Makers,

Terrorism is a type of psychological and morale-related battle, and its success and effectiveness are measured in these terms. The difficult and ongoing battle against terrorist organizations may be filled with tactical successes and achievements – averting concrete terrorist attacks; locating, arresting, and killing terrorists; revealing and neutralizing explosives and weapons, and the like. However, despite repeated victories in the battles against terrorism, the state could lose the war if terrorists succeed in instilling fear among the public and disrupting routine life in the country. This means that the war against terrorism is decided in the public’s consciousness, not necessarily on the battlefield. The question is then asked: Can the public’s ability to contend with terrorism be strengthened in a proactive manner? (3)

Thus, terrorism attacks the bonds between the government, the people and the military, a concept noted as the Clausewitzian “trinity.” Noted author Martin van Creveld in The Transformation of War, goes beyond bond targeting to state that war is no longer the sole purview of the state. (4)

Organizations are beginning to wage war not involving governments, people or the military. Distinctions between war and crime will break down as will the difference between armed forces and civilians. This he calls *Non-Trinitarian* warfare.

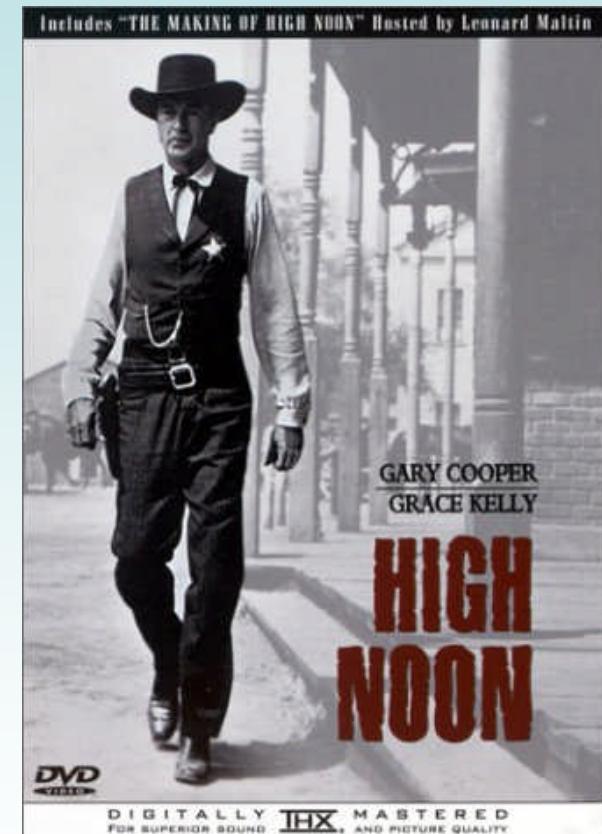
Taking the Vietnam War as a perfect example, when the links or bonds between any of



the elements is weakened or indeed, severed, it becomes most difficult for a country to successfully engage in, sustain, and ultimately win a war. RAND terrorism expert Brian Michael Jenkins noted in 2004:

"The word "war" makes Americans set a goal of discernible victory - somebody surrenders, signs a document, an evil empire collapses, a wall comes down, a villain bites the dust, and life returns to normal. But in the view of the jihadists, war is not an aberration; it is a perpetual condition. As Osama bin Laden put it: 'This clashing began centuries ago and will continue until Judgment Day.'

We need to stop looking for "High Noons" in a Hundred Years' War. The total number of suspected terrorists detained worldwide means little over the long haul. The percentage of identified terrorist leaders who are killed or captured is a misleading statistic. Even the death or capture of Osama bin Laden will not end this war. We simply can't accurately measure progress on a day-to-day basis." (5)



In this sense we should expect organizations and leadership to imagine worst case possibilities that could occur in an asynchronous and asymmetric manner and to do whatever is in their power to make people safe. What we seem to be finding is imagination breakdown (9/11, Katrina). When gaps between what organizations *say they can* do and what *they can actually do* become public, or are openly questioned, institutional legitimacy is threatened; patience and willingness to stay the course falters. This is self inflicted bond targeting.

Successful strategy must look to protect and strengthen those bonds.

The Target Audience

Project White Horse is based on the premise that while the nature of conflict has changed drastically since that of the Cold War, how we prepare to face that change remains relatively unchanged. There are three types of players impacted by Global War on Terrorism and its manifestations, all in need of a change in their learning process: the military, the civilian first responders, and a unique group, essentially undefined as a group, which emerges mostly only in response to worst case disasters – the “civil – military” first responder team.

The oft quoted IDA study for the Under Secretary of Defense, Personnel and Readiness is oriented squarely at the military with unequivocal recommendations and is moving forward in providing a recommended policy and investment roadmap.

The focus for “the horse” is on the other two with intent to leverage the other wherever possible. I believe this effort to be of necessity for two basic reasons: first, in a conflict characterized as transnational, global, total, long, it would seem to be unreasonable not to imagine the battlespace as truly a *battlespace*, not only over there BUT ALSO over here; and second, how the military educates and trains is significantly different than how civilian first responders train, both in time accorded and available budget.

The following presents the chain of logic upon which Project White Horse is founded:

- The possibility of a terrorist event within the continental United States remains probable and highly possible. The mode of attack can be characterized by the terms “asymmetric” and “asynchronous.”
- During the early timeframe of a catastrophic event, senior first response personnel and key local government leadership very likely will be faced with life-death decisions with only uncertain information.
- Further, when considering possible types of events and responses related to acts of terrorism, it would be wrong and dangerous for first responder leadership to assume all attacks will be 9/11 in nature, thereby underestimating the potential of 4GW or insurgency-type tactics being carried over to operations within the United States. These operations suggest the possibility that in the crucial moments, a human enemy must be considered alive, active, and thinking. He may have no intent to survive but while alive, he defines a worst case battlespace.

- Terrorism as crime requires LE response, but the act of terrorism is more functionally characterized as armed conflict by unconventional forces in the military sense. The *military warfighting* mission is “pursue and destroy,” while the mission of *law enforcement* and (and therefore training focus) can be characterized as “identify and contain” and resolve issues with "less than lethal" techniques. This mind set and its influence in time critical situations could possibly give a tactical advantage to a terrorist cell that could very well permit them to accomplish their intended goal.
- Studies clearly indicate that highly trained (i.e., prepared) personnel exposed to a sudden crisis whose nature falls outside the scope of prior preparation commit grave errors of judgment and procedure
- Current training and drills are focused on availability of resources, both human and physical, necessary for the management of, or the consequences of, a specific disaster type.
- These mostly pre-scripted drills fail to address crisis development, eliminate the Observation and Orientation stages of the Observe Orient Decide Act (OODA) Loop by pre-determining their characteristics, eliminate uncertainty, and therefore, bypass the essential element of critical command thinking (6)

- Result: Level of readiness defined as instantaneous ability to respond to a suddenly arising major crisis based on locally available, un-prepositioned and un-mobilized countermeasure resources is either unchanged or decreased due to current flaws built into current philosophy of drills
- While warfare and civilian operations are distinctly different, first response has many elements in common with military response to an ambush:
 - Need for flexibility, fluidity based on immediate assessment of threat
 - Allocation of resources to contain most immediate threat
 - Appropriate response to threat evolution and resource deployment
 - Cognitive training required (7)
- In this high-end crisis, where orientation to the problem is so essential, where potential is very high for decisions that could save or cause to be lost the most number of lives - decision makers have NOT been exposed to and are not aware of ingrained decision making biases, nor trained, or exercised in complex decision making in chaotic, uncertain environments.
- The transnational and “total warfare” aspect of 21st Century conflict dictates a need for changes in how we educate and train, including exercise design and evaluation processes. The chaotic intent of terrorism and the complexity of the required multilevel, multi-agency response dictate that learning opportunities in complex environments must be provided.

- Learned response must go beyond individual agency (law, fire, medical) functional to become “joint.” Exercise programs must incorporate wider and wider ranges of possible situations, involving the entire response teams across all departments and agencies.
- Instead of “train for the expected, educate for uncertainty;”, a new form of learning is required - Training as field learning, education as institutional learning (8)

Chapter 1 Part 2 will discuss some key issues that underlie this effort and provide explanations of some terms that will be used throughout. *JEB*

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