

FIGHTING THE LONG WAR

This war will not be like the war against Iraq a decade ago, with a decisive liberation of territory and a swift conclusion. It will not look like the air war above Kosovo... Our response involves far more than instant retaliation and isolated strikes. Americans should not expect one battle, but a lengthy campaign, unlike any other we have ever seen. It may include dramatic strikes, visible on TV, and covert operations, secret even in success. We will starve terrorists of funding, turn them one against another, drive them from place to place, until there is no refuge and no rest.

President Bush, September 20, 2001

Since 2001 the U.S. military has been continuously at war, but fighting a conflict that is markedly different from wars of the past. The enemies we face are not nation-states but rather dispersed non-state networks. In many cases, actions must occur on many continents in countries with which the United States is not at war. Unlike the image many have of war, this struggle cannot be won by military force alone, or even principally. And it is a struggle that may last for some years to come.

On any given day, nearly 350,000 men and women of the U.S. Armed Forces are deployed or stationed in approximately 130 countries. They are battle-hardened from operations over the past four years, fighting the enemies of freedom as part of this long war. They maintain the Nation's treaty obligations and international commitments. They protect and advance U.S. interests and values. They are often asked to be

protectors of the peace and providers of relief. They are a force for good.

Afghanistan

Within weeks after the 9/11 attacks, U.S. and allied forces clandestinely entered Afghanistan and linked up with indigenous Afghan forces. Forces on the ground leveraged joint air power and swiftly toppled the Taliban's repressive theocratic dictatorship. Defeat of the Taliban and their foreign patrons – al Qaida terrorists and their associates – was swift. The war in Afghanistan demonstrated the ability of the U.S. military to project power rapidly at global distances; to conduct operations far inland; to integrate air, ground, special operations, and maritime forces into a joint force; to provide humanitarian relief; and to sustain operations with minimal local basing support. The actions in 2001 in Afghanistan reinforced the principles of adaptability, speed of action, integrated joint operations, economy of force, and the value of working with and through indigenous forces to achieve common goals.



Special Operations Forces ride alongside Afghan Northern Alliance forces during a patrol in support of Operation Enduring Freedom. Special Operations Forces employed local transportation and worked closely with air and space assets to bring precision fires against the Taliban.

DoD Photo.



Since 2001, U.S. forces have helped to establish the Afghan National Army, to support their first free election in a generation, and to set security conditions for enduring freedom in Afghanistan. Vital international contributions have helped to achieve this result: An International Security Assistance Force (ISAF) of 9,000 military personnel, led by NATO since 2003, operates in Kabul and an increasing portion of Afghanistan's territory, with plans to expand into still more Afghan provinces later this year. As part of the ISAF mission, civil-military Provincial Reconstruction Teams operate in the countryside and undertake reconstruction projects, in coordination with local Afghan officials, to help extend the authority of the central government beyond Kabul and build its capacity for the long term.

Iraq

Much has been accomplished in Iraq since the U.S.-led coalition removed the tyrannical regime of Saddam Hussein and liberated the Iraqi people in 2003: holding free elections, ratifying a constitution, improving infrastructure after decades of neglect, training and equipping Iraqi security forces, and increasing the capability of those forces to take on the enemies of freedom and secure their nation. Although many challenges remain, Iraq is steadily recovering from decades of a vicious tyranny, in which government authority stemmed solely from fear, terror, and brutality. The international coalition is succeeding in setting security conditions for the emergence of a democratic Iraq that will be able to defend itself, that will not be a safe haven for terrorists, that

will not be a threat to its neighbors, and that can serve as a model of freedom for the Middle East.

Like Afghanistan, Iraq is a crucial battleground in the long war against terrorism. Al Qaida and its associated movements recognize Iraq as the place of the greatest battle of Islam in this era. As freedom and democracy take root in Iraq, it will provide an attractive alternative to the message of extremists for the people of the region. Success in building a secure, free Iraq will deal the enemy a crippling blow.

*“Victory by the armies cannot be achieved unless the infantry occupies the territory. Likewise, victory for the Islamic movements against the world alliance cannot be attained unless movements possess an Islamic base in the heart of the Arab region”
-Ayman al-Zawahiri, 2001*

Over the past four years, joint forces have adapted to the demands of long-duration, irregular operations. The weight of effort in Iraq has shifted over time, from defeating the Iraqi military and liberating the Iraqi people, to building up Iraqi security forces and local institutions, and to transitioning responsibility for security to the Iraqis.



Iraqi women display their ink stained fingers as proof that they voted.

Photo by Sergeant April L. Johnson, U.S. Army.



Iraqi security forces, military and police, continue to grow in numbers and capability. The Multinational Security Transition Command-Iraq (MNSTC-I) has helped create more than 125 Iraqi combat battalions that are now operating with U.S. and other coalition units to find and clear out enemy forces. As more Iraqi units gain confidence and operational experience, they will increasingly take the lead in security operations. This example is a model for the future: helping others to help themselves is critical to winning the long war.



The U.S. Army is harnessing the diversity of American society by recruiting heritage speakers of priority languages to serve as translators and interpreters. A soldier (at the desk with his back turned) is interpreting for his commander at a local police recruiting station in Iraq. To date, the Army has recruited 479 individuals into the heritage speaker program, 133 of whom are currently deployed.

One of the greatest challenges facing U.S. forces is finding the enemy and then rapidly acting on that information. To address this challenge in Iraq, the Department has established in the theater the Joint Intelligence Operations Center – Iraq. This Center integrates intelligence from all sources – imagery, signals intelligence, and human intelligence – and then fuses that information with planning and execution functions to support operations that are often conducted within hours or even minutes of receiving an intelligence tip.

The Fight Beyond Afghanistan and Iraq

The long war against terrorist networks extends far beyond the borders of Iraq and Afghanistan and includes many operations characterized by irregular warfare – operations in which the enemy is not a regular military force of a nation-state. In recent years, U.S. forces have been engaged in many countries, fighting terrorists and helping partners to police and govern their nations. To succeed in such operations, the United States must often take an indirect approach, building up and working with others. This indirect approach seeks to unbalance adversaries physically and psychologically, rather than attacking them where they are strongest or in the manner they expect to be attacked. Taking the “line of least resistance” unbalances the enemy physically, exploiting subtle vulnerabilities and perceived weaknesses. Exploiting the “line of least expectation” unbalances the enemy psychologically, setting the conditions for the enemy’s subsequent defeat. One historical example that illustrates both concepts comes from the Arab Revolt in 1917 in a distant theater of the First World War, when British Colonel T.E. Lawrence and a group of lightly armed Bedouin tribesmen seized the Ottoman port city of Aqaba by attacking from the undefended desert-side, rather than confronting the garrison’s coastal artillery by attacking from the sea. Today, efforts large and small on five continents demonstrate the importance of being able to work with and through partners, to operate clandestinely and to sustain a persistent but low-visibility presence. Such efforts represent an application of the indirect approach to the long war.



Photo by Senior Airman Latonia L. Brown, U.S. Air Force.



In the Republic of Georgia, a two-year U.S. military train and equip mission with small teams of military trainers resulted in the creation of that country's counterterrorism force. Georgian forces are maintaining security internally and are taking part in Operation Iraqi Freedom.

In East Africa, the Combined Joint Task Force Horn of Africa (CJTF-HOA) is currently helping to build host-nation capacity in Kenya, Ethiopia and Djibouti. Operating across large areas but using only small detachments, CJTF-HOA is a prime example of distributed operations and economy of force. Military, civilian, and allied personnel work together to provide security training and to perform public works and medical assistance projects, demonstrating the benefits of unity of effort. Steps toward more effective host nation governance have improved local conditions and set the stage to minimize tribal, ethnic, and religious conflict, decreasing the possibility of failed states or ungoverned spaces in which terrorist extremists can more easily operate or take shelter.

In the Trans-Sahara region, the U.S. European Command's Counter-Terrorism Initiative is helping regional states develop the internal security forces and procedures necessary for policing their national territories. This initiative uses military and civilian engagements with

partners in northern and western Africa to counter emerging terrorist extremist threats. In Niger, for example, a small team of combat aviation advisors has helped Niger's Air Force hone its skills to prevent the under-developed eastern part of the country from becoming a safe haven for transnational terrorists.

Humanitarian and Early Preventive Measures

U.S. forces continue to conduct humanitarian assistance and disaster relief operations around the globe. Preventing crises from worsening and alleviating suffering are goals consistent with American values. They are also in the United States' interest. By alleviating suffering and dealing with crises in their early stages, U.S. forces help prevent disorder from spiraling into wider conflict or crisis. They also demonstrate the goodwill and compassion of the United States.

In the eastern Indian Ocean, the U.S. military was at the vanguard of an international effort to provide relief to stranded victims of the disastrous December 2004 tsunami. The U.S. Pacific Command and U.S. Transportation Command responded rapidly, deploying a Joint Task Force to Thailand, Indonesia and Sri Lanka within five days of the catastrophe. Strategic airlift, supplemented by the arrival of an aircraft carrier, amphibious ships, and a hospital ship provided urgent relief. These forces maintained 24-hour operations and helped coordinate the various international relief efforts. Over a six-week period, U.S. forces airlifted over 8,500 tons



of critical emergency supplies to isolated and previously unreachable areas, conducted search and rescue operations and treated more than 10,000 patients.

Photo by Photographer's Mate 1st Class Barr A. Batten, U.S. Navy.



A Landing Craft Air Cushioned (LCAC) crew assigned to the USS Bonhomme Richard unloads humanitarian relief supplies in the city of Meuloboh, on the island of Sumatra, Indonesia. U.S. military elements quickly responded to provide aid to victims of the December 2004 Indian Ocean tsunami.

Similarly, in October 2005, when a devastating earthquake struck northern Pakistan, U.S. forces proved their adaptability by responding within eighteen hours. U.S. military aircraft, among the first on the scene, transported and distributed humanitarian supplies throughout the affected areas. A combined Pakistani-U.S. Civil-Military Disaster Assistance Center seamlessly integrated contributions from various nations and international aid organizations. U.S. strategic airlift augmented the capacity of partner countries by transporting relief personnel and supplies from across the globe to Pakistan. Deployable U.S. military field hospitals were quickly established to supplement damaged Pakistani medical facilities, and U.S. military engineers helped to re-open hundreds of miles of roads, permitting the flow of aid to remote communities.



Photo by Technical Sergeant Mike Buytas, U.S. Air Force.

Pakistani earthquake victims crowd around a U.S. Army CH-47 Chinook helicopter delivering disaster relief supplies to the devastated area surrounding the town of Oghi, Pakistan. The U.S. military participated in the multinational effort to provide humanitarian assistance after the October 2005 earthquake.

Over the past four years, U.S. forces have also played critical roles preventing crises from becoming more serious conflicts. In Liberia in 2003, civil war and the dissolution of the government prompted a multinational intervention to restore order and prevent a full-blown humanitarian crisis. A U.S. European Command joint task force accompanied a force from the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS) throughout the mission. The U.S. team, working with regional partners, secured and re-opened the country's major seaport to permit the flow of humanitarian assistance. The United States and ECOWAS succeeded in stabilizing the country, permitting a rapid turnover of humanitarian assistance responsibility to the United Nations in support of the new interim Liberian government.

Similarly, in response to increasing political violence in Haiti in early 2004, U.S. joint forces rapidly deployed as part of a multinational stabilization force. This early action prevented the collapse of political and social structures



Photo by Lieutenant Colonel Thomas Collins, U.S. Army



The commander of U.S. forces under Joint Task Force Liberia speaks with soldiers from Ghana, one of the West African countries that led the effort to stabilize Liberia. With the arrival of West African forces, the security environment and humanitarian conditions in Liberia improved significantly.

in the country, averted a humanitarian crisis, and established a more secure and stable environment, which enabled the speedy transfer of responsibility for supporting the Haitian transitional government to the United Nations.

U.S. Southern Command's support for Plan Colombia is yet another example of preventive action. The United States has worked with the Government of Colombia to combat the production and trafficking of illegal drugs. In 2002, at the request of the Administration, Congress granted expanded authorities to help the Colombian Government wage a unified campaign against terrorism as well as drugs, and thereby assert effective control over its territory. This broader mission has helped the Colombian Government seize the initiative against illegal armed groups, demobilize thousands of illegal paramilitaries, decrease violence and return to government authority areas that had been under the control of narcoterrorists for decades.

Integrated joint operations have also played critical roles in deterring conflict and preserving

stability in the Pacific. Forward-deployed forces and flexible deterrent options have successfully dissuaded potential enemies and assured allies and partners. During operations in Iraq in the spring of 2003, regional deterrence capabilities and global repositioning of joint forces and precision munitions demonstrated U.S. resolve and commitment to maintaining the armistice on the Korean Peninsula.

Highly distributed global operations over the past several years – in the Pacific and Indian Oceans, Central Asia, the Middle East, the Caucasus, the Balkans, Africa, and Latin America – make manifest the importance of small teams conducting missions uniquely tailored to local conditions. These operations also demonstrate the agility of U.S. forces forward-deployed in and near these regions to transition quickly from deterrence to humanitarian or other operations as required. In some places, U.S. forces have concentrated on attacking and disrupting enemy forces. In others, U.S. forces have worked to improve the lives of people in impoverished regions, or to build up the capacity of local security forces to police their own countries. In almost all cases, updated authorities, processes and practices were required to ensure unity of effort in these distributed operations. Still, additional cooperation authorities will be required if the U.S. Government is to be able to achieve its goals in the most cost-effective manner.

Recent operations have reinforced the need for U.S. forces to have greater language skills and cultural awareness. It is advantageous for U.S. forces to speak the languages of the regions



Photo by Technical Specialist John M. Foster, U.S. Air Force.



During the exercise New Horizons 2005 in El Salvador, U.S. Army personnel describe preventive health measures to local citizens. New Horizons included a civic action project which provided medical assistance visits, two new schools and three clinics in areas hit by earthquakes in 2004.

where the enemy will operate. In 2004, the Department of Defense launched the Defense Language Transformation Initiative to improve the ability of the Armed Forces to work more effectively with international partners. The Military Departments have also begun more intensive cultural and language training, which over time will create a more culturally aware, linguistically capable force, better able to forge victory in the long war. The Department must overcome a legacy of relatively limited emphasis on languages and continue to expand efforts to place linguistically capable individuals at all levels of the military – from the tactical squad to the operational commander.

The Department's Role at Home

The long war has also seen U.S. forces taking on greater roles at home. Immediately following the 9/11 attacks, U.S. forces were called upon to assist in securing the homeland. Working with other Federal agencies, the Department

answered the call. At the President's direction, active and reserve forces conducted combat air patrols over major cities to prevent follow-on attacks, reinforced the Nation's land borders, guarded shipping lanes, protected harbors, secured critical infrastructure, and guarded airports and other transportation hubs until the establishment of the Transportation Security Administration. Specialized anti-terrorism and chemical and biological incident response forces deployed to Washington, D.C. in the wake of the 2001 anthrax attacks.

The Department has undertaken a number of major changes to strengthen its ability to defend the homeland and support civil authorities. In 2002, the Department created a new Combatant Command, U.S. Northern Command (U.S. NORTHCOM), with the responsibility to consolidate homeland defense missions under a single headquarters. To coordinate its efforts and to increase the emphasis on homeland defense issues, the Department established the new civilian post of Assistant Secretary of Defense for Homeland Defense.

The Department has played an active role in Federal efforts to shore up defenses against the threat of biological terrorism. It is helping to develop vaccines for Project BioShield, a national effort to accelerate the development of medical counter-measures to defend against potential biological attacks. In Project BioWatch, the Department collaborates with other Federal agencies on improving technologies and procedures to detect and identify biological attacks. In 2004, the Department led the



establishment of the National BioDefense Campus at Fort Detrick, Maryland, which provides a means for coordination among agencies working on research and development of medical biological defenses.

At the state level, the National Guard is fielding 55 WMD Civil Support Teams (CSTs) – in each state, territory and the District of Columbia. These 22-member teams can provide critical communications links, quick assessment of damage from any WMD attack and consequence management support to local, state and Federal agencies. The National Guard is also creating twelve Enhanced Response Force Packages for chemical, biological, radiological, nuclear and high-yield explosive attacks. These units provide capabilities to locate and extract victims from a WMD-contaminated environment, to conduct casualty and patient decontamination and to provide medical treatment. To improve command and control functions for emergencies and major public events, the National Guard is creating a Joint Force Headquarters in each state.

Just as they have proved adaptable in providing rapid response to disasters abroad, U.S. forces have been called upon to respond to natural disasters at home. In the wake of Hurricane Katrina, pre-positioned forces arrived in neighborhoods of Gulf Coast communities within four hours after the storm hit, to assist rescue efforts. More than 50,000 National Guard personnel deployed to the disaster zone. Active forces added an additional 22,000 personnel, including units previously deployed to Afghanistan and Iraq. Together, working with the Coast Guard, they conducted



Photo by Technical Sergeant David Neve, U.S. Air Force.

An Air Force fire truck is loaded onto a C-130 Hercules bound for Mississippi during Hurricane Katrina relief efforts. The U.S. Air Force personnel are from the 162nd Fighter Wing, Arizona Air National Guard.

search and rescue missions, evacuations, and medical airlift from the air, land, and sea. The Department's response to Hurricane Katrina and other civil support operations provided valuable lessons for improving force integration and command and control in large, complex interagency operations.

Operational Lessons Learned

Operational experiences – in Afghanistan and Iraq, in wider operations as part of the war on terror, in humanitarian relief efforts and preventive actions and in the Department of Defense's role at home – have provided important lessons and principles that the Department has already begun to apply. These overarching lessons have broad applicability to many of the challenges the Department faces. They have informed the new approaches developed during the QDR aimed at continuing the reorientation of military capabilities and implementing enterprise-wide reforms to ensure that structures and processes support the warfighter. They include:



- Having the Authorities and Resources to Build Partnership Capacity. Recent operations demonstrate the critical importance of being organized to work with and through others, and of shifting emphasis from performing tasks ourselves to enabling others. They also underscore the importance of adopting a more indirect approach to achieve common objectives. The Department must help partners improve their ability to perform their intended roles and missions. This includes foreign governments trying to police themselves and govern their populations more justly and effectively; at home, it includes other Federal agencies and state and local governments. The U.S. military's interaction with foreign militaries provides valuable opportunities to expand partner capacity as well as to establish trust and build relationships. Recent efforts to build partnership capacity also highlight the importance of flexible access to funding through programs such as the Commander's Emergency Response Program (CERP) and Train and Equip authorities for operations in Iraq and Afghanistan. Expanding authorities to build on the lessons learned in Iraq and Afghanistan will help enable the United States to defeat terrorist networks wherever they are located. Congress is urged to work alongside the Department to provide the full set of authorities needed to build security partnerships to fight the war on terror. In addition to the recently enacted authority to Build the Capacity of Foreign Military Forces and Emergency Transfer Authority for the State Department's Coordinator for Reconstruction and Stabilization amendments, needed

authorities include: institutionalizing CERP for named contingency operations *world-wide*; expanding the President's authority to task and resource best-situated Federal agencies in an emergency; and broader reimbursement authority for coalition support forces and expanded logistics support to other nations partnering with the United States in the war on terror.



Photo by Specialist Jerry T. Combes, U.S. Army.

Members of Task Force Phoenix, Indiana National Guard (center), conduct an after-action review with Afghan National Army soldiers. With the aid of U.S. forces, Afghan soldiers are becoming increasingly self-sufficient.

- Taking Early Preventive Measures. Drawing on lessons from recent operations, the QDR emphasized the importance of early measures to prevent problems from becoming crises and crises from becoming conflicts. Operations in Haiti and Liberia demonstrate the advantage of taking prompt action to quell disorder before it leads to the collapse of political and social structures. Those operations help set conditions for the restoration of security and civil society. Taking early measures requires greater speed of action and a clear understanding of the situation, including the way potential adversaries make decisions. In many recent counterterrorist operations, the



time available to apprehend a terrorist, once located, has been measured in mere minutes. Similarly, as the terrorist attacks on September 11, 2001 showed, defending the homeland against air or missile attacks with little or no warning also requires the ability to act on very short notice. U.S. forces have demonstrated time and again their agility in responding rapidly to crises. However, operational agility has not yet been matched by the availability of sufficiently broad authorities or the processes and procedures needed to support the warfighter. In a number of recent operations, the lack of needed authorities hindered the ability of U.S. forces to act swiftly, and the process to get appropriate authorities has often taken months to achieve.

- Increasing Freedom of Action. Recent operations also reinforce the need to increase the freedom of action and the range of options available to the United States, as well as its allies and partners, to address the security challenges of the 21st century. The ability of U.S. and allied forces to conduct operations in land-locked Afghanistan only weeks after the 9/11 attacks demonstrated the value of operational readiness and global reach. Building partnership capacity and strengthening alliances to defeat terrorist networks is an example of how the United States can strengthen freedom of action at the strategic level. The QDR proposes measures to increase both strategic and operational freedom of action by combining a more indirect approach, stealth, persistence, flexible basing and strategic reach.

- Shifting Cost Balances. For a few hundred thousand dollars and the lives of nineteen terrorists, on September 11, 2001, al Qaida murdered some 3,000 people and inflicted enormous economic costs on the United States. In confronting the range of security challenges it will face in the 21st century, the United States must constantly strive to minimize its own costs in terms of lives and treasure, while imposing unsustainable costs on its adversaries. The United States, NATO, other allies and partners can impose costs by taking actions and making investments that complicate an adversary's decision-making or promote self-defeating actions. Effective cost-imposing strategies also heighten an adversary's sense of uncertainty, potentially creating internal fissures in its leadership. Sustaining America's scientific and technological advantages over any potential competitor contributes to the nation's ability to dissuade future forms of military competition.

The Department applied these lessons over the course of the QDR as it identified changes to the mix of joint capabilities and the enterprise-wide reforms needed to fight the long war.

