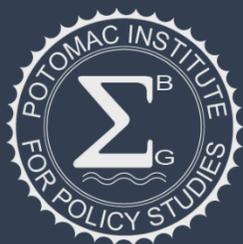




# **COMBATING TERRORISM:**

## **LESSONS FROM THE MIDDLE EAST, NORTH AFRICA, THE SAHEL, AND BEYOND**



INTER-UNIVERSITY CENTER  
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**TERRORISM**  
STUDIES



THE INTER-UNIVERSITY CENTER FOR TERRORISM STUDIES

**Combating Terrorism:**  
**Lessons from the Middle East, North**  
**Africa, the Sahel, and Beyond**

**Keynote Speaker:** **General William E. (Kip) Ward, U.S. Army (Ret.)**  
Former Commander of the United States Africa Command (AFRICOM) and Deputy Commander, United States European Command. Currently, President and COO of SENTEL Corp.

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**General William E. (Kip) Ward, U.S. Army (Ret.)**

*Former Commander of the United States Africa Command (AFRICOM) and Deputy Commander, United States European Command. Currently, President and COO of SENTEL Corp.*

Let me start off by saying good morning and extending a huge load of gratitude and thanks to Professor Alexander and Michael Swetnam for extending an invitation for me to be here this morning to address this group. And always, the Commandant there, thank you Sir for the kind introduction, and no endorsement by Kip Ward because General Al Gray is clearly one of our nation's iconic heroes. And General, sir, let me thank you for your service over years, and all that you continue to do, not just for Marines but all of us that have worn the cloth of our nation. Thank you very much.

When Professor Alexander contacted me about coming here this morning I said, "Well you know, Professor, I am not an academician. I have not published volumes or tomes and in fact, knowing that, how could I contribute to this austere occasion and offer something to this group?" He said, "General, that is exactly why we want you here." General Gray talked about my career and I will briefly highlight a couple of things that might be instructive as I go through the remainder of my comments.

Over forty years as an infantryman, my first twenty years as a Soldier was spent ready to protect our Nation should the Cold War threaten our national security. If so we were going to defeat it. And I did that assigned to units in Europe, in Korea, mechanized units, armored units, such as Third Infantry division and Second Infantry division and contingency force units, 82<sup>nd</sup> Airborne Division, and 6<sup>th</sup> infantry division in the United States. The last twenty years presented a different paradigm and I will talk about that. Since 9/11, the security challenges that we face have grave and global implications and they have emerged globally--in the Middle East, Africa, Europe, Asia, all regions. Terrorist networks have emerged, particularly al-Qa'ida and its affiliates Daesh but including al-Shabaab, Boko Haram, the most treacherous of these organizations, killing hundreds of people a week that goes unreported there in the Sahel. These groups are expanding daily operations across this arc of instability that exists without borders.

Topic for the day: Combating Terrorism: Lessons Learned in the Middle East, North Africa, the Sahel, and Beyond. This enemy that possesses state-like features—not a state, yet espousing to be one. How do we recognize it? A few weeks ago, the current Director of the DIA presented an extremely accurate, from my perspective, lay down of what this enemy is, so I will not dare to expand upon what he said about Daesh and this force, but that is an enemy that has permeated our global commons. We indeed live in a complex security environment. We knew our enemy when I was a Lieutenant. We knew who it was, we knew where it was, we knew its intent, we knew how it operated. We devised a plan to defeat it should it dare challenge us.

In 1992, I was a Brigade Commander, 10<sup>th</sup> Mountain Division. We went to Somalia to help guarantee humanitarian relief in an impoverished and

devastated land. And in 1992, I discovered what I trained to do for twenty years as an infantryman just was not all that was required in this environment. My young sergeants who were out doing what they do in villages and hamlets, working with tribal elders and leaders, would come back to me and say, "Hey Colonel, it is not about fire maneuverer here. This is about other things to help guarantee stability." And we talked about that and we got through that a bit but we knew then that the enemy presented a different face, operated with different tactics, gained its authority through different means, mostly intimidation and terror. Lesson learned--did we pay attention to it? Maybe, maybe not, yes and no to varying degrees

Some years later, I was fortunate enough to be asked to go Egypt to be the U.S. Security Coordinator with the Egyptian Armed Forces. An assignment that I absolutely treasured then and still think it was one of the best assignments I ever held because it exposed me to understanding the importance of knowing those with whom you work, folks that may not be just like you; An Important tour, as the General indicated, helped to form this mosaic of things I came to understand as I moved along.

I had the great opportunity to command the 25<sup>th</sup> Infantry Division, in the U.S. Pacific Command area of responsibility. Traveling all over the South Asia region, again, being exposed to folks who were not like me, not like my Soldiers, but learning the importance of building relationships.

I told the General he probably gave my talk in his summation because it is so true. It is about how you understand people and how you build relationships and that theme will come forth again.

So from that asymmetrical threat that we faced in 1992, the learning continued. And on September 11, 2001, as I sat in the Pentagon as the Vice Director of Operations on the Joint Staff, that threat became real in no uncertain terms. I spent four days in the Pentagon without leaving, doing things to help determine what our response would be to that devastating attack that changed all of us. To be sure, we were in a new era. Lessons learned—we all got a crash course that day and we continue to receive it. That traditional enemy that we trained to defeat as a military was not the threat and maintaining security and protecting our national interest needed to occur more than at the end of a rifle, by delivering a main gun round out of a Abrams tank, by dropping a bomb from a B-1, or by firing a missile from a frigate. To be sure, those elements remained essential but more was required, more is required.

I go to the Balkans as the NATO Commander of the Stabilization Force in Bosnia Herzegovina in 2002, with a mission to restore stability and help establish what I called a horizon of hope for people. To do that meant more than just being a combat veteran; that I had been exposed to other things factors in this type of environment would be the difference.

In 2005, I was appointed as the United States Security Coordinator to Israel and the Palestinian Authority. These lessons continue to reinforce themselves. What is it that we are doing to help bring stability to an environment? The

elements to this notion of security that I had been taught as a Lieutenant, Captain, Colonel, as an infantryman, limited with respect to the total dimension of how we approach addressing this arc of instability.

I was very fortunate to have been the selected as the inaugural Commander of United States Africa Command. I had served in four of our nation's geographic commands at that point. So how was this one to be different if it was to address challenges that we currently face? And to be sure in 2006 and 2007, as we were discussing its design, terrorism was well known to us all. We have talked about those incidents that had led to us having it right smack in our faces. Because of what that young sergeant said to me in Somalia in the early part of 1993, I knew stability was more than what we brought to this dynamic scenario. What we brought, an expert combat capability, was absolutely critical and essential, to be sure, but we needed more. And what was the more? What was the lesson? We talk about it today like it has been around forever. In 2007, we were not talking about the importance of development. We were not talking about the importance of understanding the society in which we were operating, knowing what was important to the people who live there, where they were, and doing things in a sustained way to address those requirements such that the impacted population had a stake in their own stability because they had a horizon of hope. We were not talking about it. And you say well why are you as a soldier talking about it? I am talking about it because when it does not happen my soldiers, marines, sailors get called into harms way to help bring security and stability. To be sure, we are prepared to do it. That is what our nation asks us to do, that is what we took on oath to do. In my mind's eye that ought to be our last resort to achieve the stability that we all desire on these global commons.

As these dangers remain present it is imperative that those things associated with stability are present, defense to be sure, but as pointed out by Professor Alexander, it is more than that. It is also advancing developmental and good governance. It is a political and economic horizon, a horizon that will lead to an environment more likely to repel terrorist tendencies. We were not paying attention to these activities as AQIM (Al-Para) was growing. Therefore the conditions that spawned the creation of terrorist activities still exist.

So how are we to address it? What are the lessons learned?

We have built great systems to deal with the security aspect. Intelligence fusion centers and cells, sustained security engagement, combined and joint operations to address threats, the use of our special operations forces, the use of our conventional forces. I offer that same level of engagement is important across this arc of instability in other areas as well.

What is our sustained developmental engagement? What is our sustained diplomatic engagement? You will hear other members of the panel talk about the efforts in impacted countries and North Africa in addressing stability issues and what they are doing. I offer some of it will be realized through, better fused and integrated intelligence, better sharing of intelligence. Some of it will come in better trained security forces, be they national armed forces, be they police

forces. Much of it will come because of the developmental and political issues associated with the living condition of folks in an area takes a turn that will cause those who live there to see for themselves a horizon of hope where they live. Whose responsibility is that? I offer that it is our collective responsibility. Just as we took collective action to address it in a military perspective, that same collective action ought to be taken to address terrorism from a developmental perspective.

In this, that third D that we talk about today; some call it diplomacy, some call it democracy but it is about good governance. To that end, what is our sustained level of engagement? Just as we have to have sustained security engagement, we must have sustained developmental and diplomatic engagement. We must devote some portion of our national treasure to that effort. We do not bare that burden alone in the United States of America. The global community shares it as a global responsibility because the threat is a global threat.

So what have we built to address the terrorist actions of al-Shabaab, of Boko Haram, of Daesh who has now with Boko Haram caused that affiliation to be seen in ways never before realized? As we move forward, as we look at programs, as we look as processes, this notion of sustained engagement across all elements of power comes home. Our men and women who wear the uniform of our nation are the best. I am who I am and where I am because of them. And I know that they, as we are engaged globally, will do their job side by side fighting with our friends and allies, but we also should be side by side engaging with them across the spectrum of national power, causing a dynamic to occur whereby there is mutual learning going on. Us understanding better, they seeing a different way, and taking advantage of that to bring stability to where they are. We cannot be everywhere but we must be somewhere.

In this modern age of social media and the internet, this notion of virtual reality is that out there we can do things virtually. You do not build relationships virtually. You build relationships because you are there. One of the best tools we have at our disposal is how we build relationships with our friends to cause our common objectives to be realized. As the inaugural commander of U.S. Africa Command, one of our main focus priorities was to cause a level of sustained security engagement with our partners and friends across North Africa, the Sahel, and Sub-Saharan Africa so that they knew that they could depend on us to be there. I offer that is true in Europe, in Asia, in the Middle East, other places where our being part of the dynamic to create stability across a range of activities will make a difference. It does not take a lot, but it takes something and where we dedicate resources and our greatest resource, in my mind's eye our American sons and daughters who willingly don the uniform of our nation to go forward and serve, we ought to take advantage of that. What are the lessons learned? There are many, they are varied, but they are at hand. As we work with partners around the globe, our ability to make a difference to address the arc of instability in ways beyond force of arms ought to be a priority. We can never back away from a world class fighting force but it ought not be our first resort of action. And as we conduct activities in ways that will make a difference, we will be able to establish a horizon of hope such that

neighborhoods, communities, nations, regions, are doing more for themselves because of the support, the cooperation, the collaboration that is being established by the community of nations.

Let me close by saying this, we must be present and cause our friends and allies and all those whose interests are threatened by terrorism to be present across the range of activities--defense, development, diplomacy. A scenario in which those impacted are able to see a horizon of hope so that they have a stake and take action to address this threat. This is not done virtually, but in reality because virtual presence is actual absence. We cannot afford to create vacuums/ And while that is going on, we will continue to take those off the scene who are just bad actors; but that is not all that is required. These other elements are also important and as we saw in the creation of AFRICOM that in large measure has been adopted by other geographic commands, our engagement, our relationship building, our understanding of what is important for people in those regions, and then addressing it in real ways. Ways that are important to them where they are. That is going to make the difference and I have seen that around the world, from Europe, to the Middle East, Asia, and Africa. Those are lessons of a Soldier over a 40 year career, the importance of getting to know people, understanding what was important to them, addressing it, and in some way, however modest, so that they then took steps to help create stability in their regions because this in our national interest.

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Established in 1994, the activities of IUCTS are guided by an International Research Council that offers recommendations for study on different aspects of terrorism, both conventional and unconventional. IUCTS is cooperating academically with universities and think tanks in over 40 countries, as well as with governmental, intergovernmental, and nongovernmental bodies.

## International Center for Terrorism Studies (ICTS)

Established in 1998 by the Potomac Institute for Policy Studies, in Arlington, VA, ICTS administers IUCTS activities and sponsors an internship program in terrorism studies.

## Inter-University Center for Legal Studies (IUCLS)

Established in 1999 and located at the International Law Institute in Washington, D.C., IUCLS conducts seminars and research on legal aspects of terrorism and administers training for law students.

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