

ISIS and The Branches & Affiliates Wolff's Thoughts (2 April 2021)

Agenda

Opening Big Ideas

COVID-19 Impacts

GPC-RPC / Gray Zone Framing

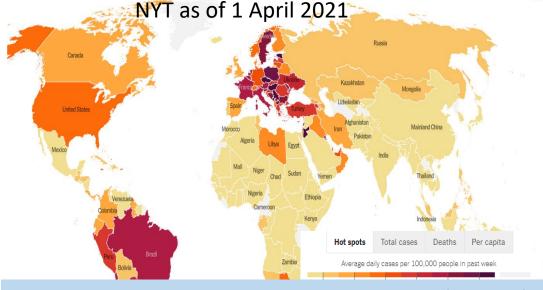
The US & National Security

VEOs – ISIS/Da'esh & AQ

Case Studies

Big Ideas - Understanding the Context

- COVID-19 has created a "New Normal and a New Operating Environment" – We Must Learn to Adapt IOT live with the virus.
- Societies often change when confronted with: 1) Wars; 2) Recessions;
 3) Pandemics
- Similarities associated with Pandemics and Terrorism "How the Enemy (ISIS and other VEO Groups) Seize Opportunity". Must Try to Determine what will happen next?
- Nations Respond to Threats Based on Their National Security Interests.
- State & Non-State Actors often use opportunity space when available.
- Many of the themes I'll discuss you've heard the past four (4) days, so
 I hope to sharpen your perspective and challenge some of your
 assumptions.



1918 Flu Pandemic Worldwide Deaths = 17-100M (675K US) Asian Flu 1957 Worldwide Deaths = 1-2M (116K US)

1968 Flu Pand. H3N2 Worldwide Deaths = 1-4M (100K US)

2009 H1N1 Worldwide Deaths = 150-575K (12K US)

128.9 million+

2.8 million+

Cases

Deaths



676,789

12,241

+30% ---

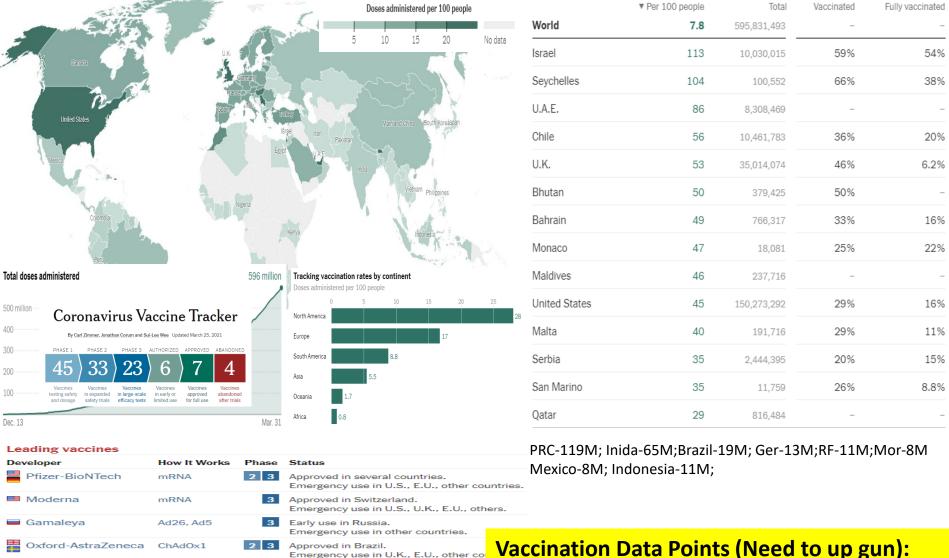
+18% --

COVID-19 Thoughts

- Pandemic is far from over
- This may be a 36 month event
- 3x Variants & Case Load Impacts
- Reporting is uneven # of: cases, infected, tested & deaths
- No cure for the coronavirus yet
- Remarkable vaccine dev process must get the world vaccinated

COVID-19 Impacts

- -Worldwide recess.(-4.4 to 5.2% GDP)
- -Job loss has been large
- -Those in extreme poverty rising
- -Travel & tourism impacted
- -Energy demand & price down
- -Food Insecurity growing
- -Globalization challenged?
- -Protest movements unmet expect.
- -Disinformation efforts ongoing
- -Bad actors exploiting opportunity
- -Pandemics have lasting impact & often drive change!
- -Possible Wildcards?



CanSino

Sinopharm

Sinovac

Johnson & Johnson

Vector Institute

Sinopharm-Wuhan

Bharat Biotech

Ad5

Ad26

Protein

Inactivated

Inactivated

Inactivated

Inactivated

Approved in China.

Early use in Russia.

Approved in China.

Approved in China.

Limited use in U.A.E.

Emergency use in Mexico, Pakistan.

Approved in China, U.A.E., Bahrain. Emergency use in other coutries.

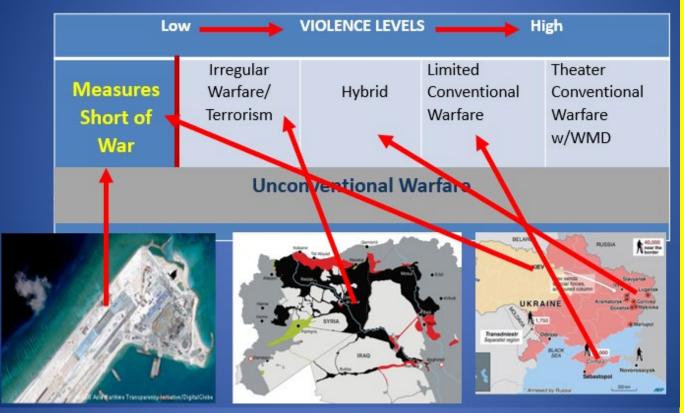
Emergency use in other countries.

Emergency use in India, Iran, Zimbaby

Emergency use in U.S., E.U., Bahrain.

- 596M+ Doses Admin / 7.8 per 100
- 10 vaccines being used worldwide-> AZ-99
 Countries(C); Pfizer-82 C; Moderna-35 C;
 Sinopharm 23 C; Sputnik-20 C; Sinovac-15C
- WHO COVAX Goal 2B vaccinations in 2021

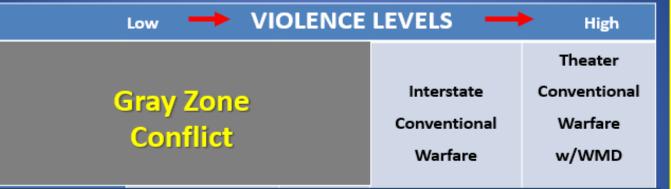
Understanding The Gray Zone – The Continuum of Warfare



GEN Joe Votel CENTCOM Cdr

- *Actors taking a "gray zone" approach seek to secure their objectives while minimizing the scope and scale of actual fighting.
- *In this "gray zone" we are confronted w/ ambiguity on the nature of conflict the parties involved and the validity of the legal and political claims at stake.

*These conflicts defy our traditional views of war and require us to invest time and effort in ensuring we prepare ourselves with the proper capabilities, capacities, and authorities to safeguard US interests.

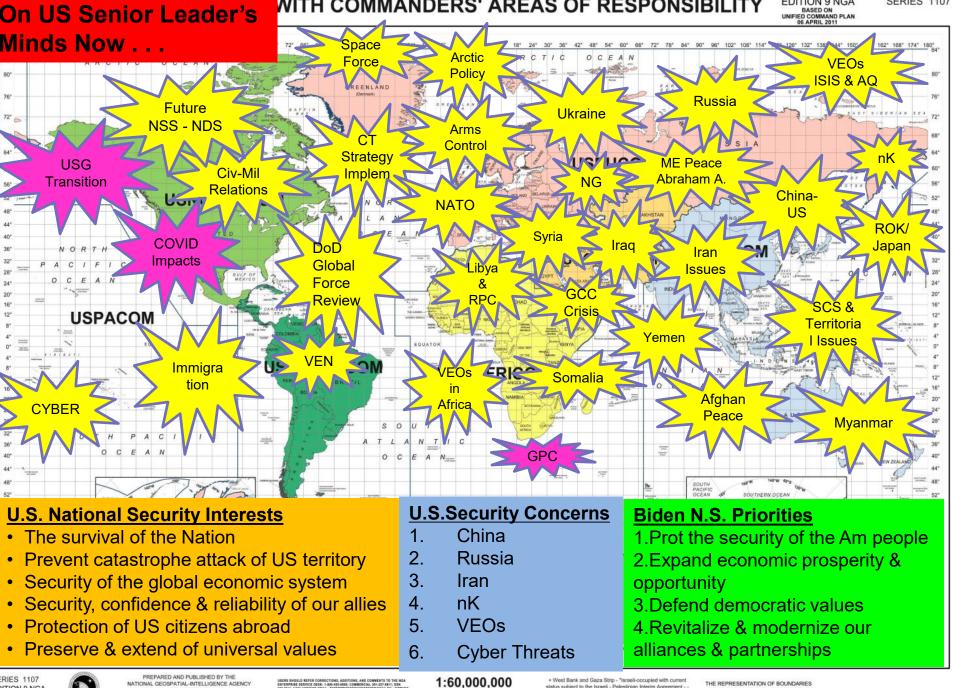


Source: Frank Hoffman, NDU & INSS Articles

National Security Advisor O'Brien -- Trump Administration Successes "Putting the American People First; Peace Thru Strength & Dealing with the World as It Is"

- ISIS Defeated
- 50 US hostages released
- USMCA trade agreement replaced NAFTA
- Illegal immigration reduced 85%
- NATO contributions up \$400B over 10 yrs
- End of Sequestration US Budget Control Act
- Space Force brought into being
- Expanded relations with 2 democracies -- India & Brazil
- Focused on the Asia Pacific
- Maximum Pressure Campaign on Iran
- Abraham Accords a warm peace
- Balkans (Serbia-Kosovo) Agreement
- Protected U.S. Sovereignty
- China "we see them for who they are"





Thoughts About the USA – And Our Republic

- USG & the Separation of Power (Balance of Power) between the President (Executive) and Congress (Legislative) results in dynamic tension & friction
- Civilian Control of the Military
- Executive Branch's InterAgency Process is designed to offer choices to the President – Definition of Goals / Objectives (ENDS)
- Tools of Statecraft D/I/M/E/P/I/Fin/t (WAYS)
- Congress controls the <u>MEANS</u> via appropriations (\$\$), authorization
 & oversight
- Lots of Players involved in the crafting of US Policy which impacts clear communications & understanding – so <u>read directly</u> what leaders (POTUS/SecState/SecDef/Congress Big 8) say
- "Say-Do" Syndrome Policy Pronouncement to Action to Program
- Impact of Social Media & Technology and Time on Decision Makers
- Transition Periods

President Biden's Foreign Policy

Three (3) Tenets of the Biden Foreign Policy

technological disruption and infectious diseases"

- Repair US credibility and influence in the worldDeal with global challenges "from climate change and mass migration to
- ☐ Re-impower trust in democratic institutions & international system.

"The next U.S. president will have to address the world as it is in Jan 21, and picking up the pieces will be an enormous task. He or she will have to salvage our reputation, rebuild confidence in our leadership, and mobilize our country and our allies to rapidly meet new challenges. There will be no time to lose."

Four (4) Principles of the Biden Foreign Policy

- (1) Renew Democracy at Home
- (2) A Foreign Policy for the Middle Class to succeed in the global economy.
- (3) Back At the Head of the Table in terms of working with allies and partners to mobilize collective action on global threats via a balanced & coherent approach with diplomacy in the lead.
- (4) Prepared to Lead

Secretary Blinken's Rollout Speech -- Interim NSS Guidance Document

Enduring Principles

- American leadership and engagement matters the world does not organize itself;
- We need countries to cooperate, now more than ever as there is no wall high enough or strong enough to hold back the changes transforming our world;
- Diplomacy in the Lead (for the U.S.)- engage and build that cooperation for today's challenges we'll look not only to make progress on short-term problems, but also to address their root causes and lay the groundwork for our long-term strength. The goal is not to just build back, but build back better.

The US Plan - 8 Tenets

- 1. Stop COVID-19 and strengthen global health security.
- 2. Turn around the economic crisis and build a more stable, inclusive global economy.
- 3. Renew democracy, because it's under threat.
- 4. Work to create a humane and effective immigration system.
- 5. Revitalize our ties with our allies and partners.
- 6. Tackle the climate crisis and drive a green energy revolution.
- 7. Secure our leadership in technology.
- 8. Manage the biggest geopolitical test of the 21st century: our relationship with China.





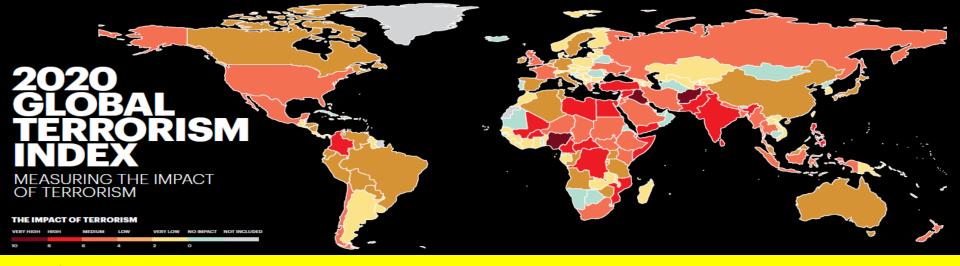
ISIS &



The VEO Challenge

"The idea that the United States should focus less on counterterrorism and more on other issues is a bankrupt premise." . . . "Less than three years after the U.S. military withdrew from Iraq, it launched operations there again against the Islamic State in 2014." . . . "I hear this riff all the time: We've got to rebalance, as though this is somehow a zero-sum game. I understand how attractive that idea is — it's just completely unrealistic. It never works. It never lasts."

LTG (Ret) Michael Nagata, Middle East Institute – Distinguished Research Fellow From Washington Post, 13 Dec and Dan.lamothe@washpost.com

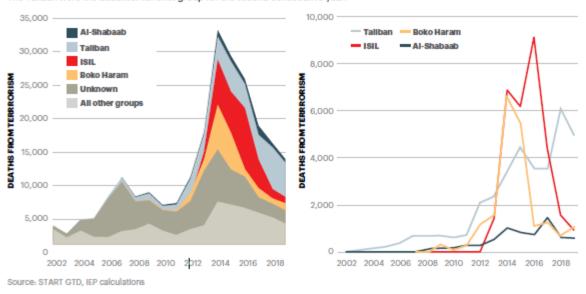


Results

- Deaths from terrorism fell for the 5th consecutive year in 2019 to 13,826 deaths, representing a 15% decrease from the prior year.
- MENA, Russia & Eurasia, South America and South Asia regions all recorded falls in deaths from terrorism of at least 20%.
- Terrorism has fallen in most regions, has become more widespread in others. 7 of 10 countries with the largest increase in terrorism were in sub-Saharan Africa.
- Burkina Faso had the largest increase in terrorism deaths by percentage followed by Sri Lanka.
- Afghanistan remains the country with the highest impact from terrorism.
 Terrorism deaths in the country declined in 2019 for the first time in 3 years. Other
 Top 10 incl: Iraq, Nigeria, Syria, Somalia, Yemen, Pakistan, India, DROC & Philippines.
- Taliban remained the world's deadliest terrorist group in 2019. Terrorist deaths attributed to the group declined by 18 per cent to 4,990. Peace talks impact?

Four deadliest terrorist groups in 2019

The Taliban were the deadliest terrorist group for the second consecutive year.



Of Note:

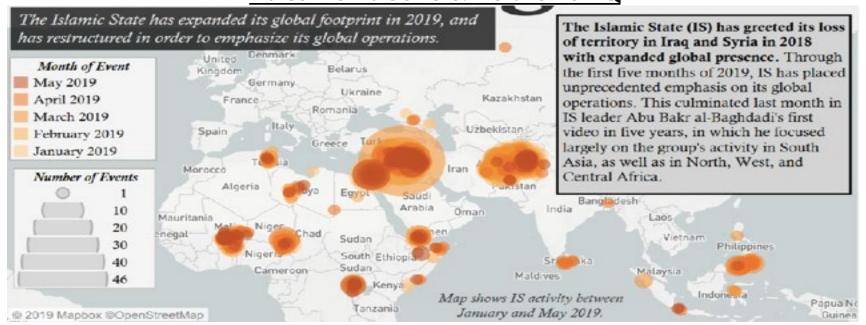
- As activity falls in the ME & South Asia, new threats are emerging. Most prominent is:

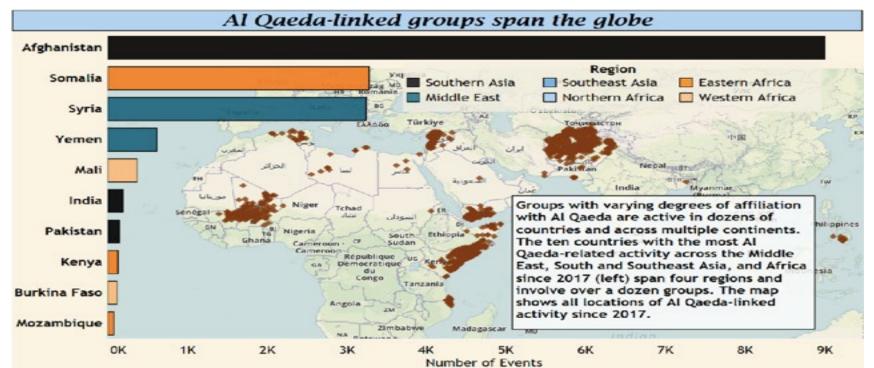
 1)spread of ISIS affiliate groups in sub-Saharan Africa, 2) emergence of far-right terrorism in Western Europe and North America
- <u>ISIS's Global Reach has expanded</u> w/ISIS related attacks recorded across 7 Regions: Asia-Pacific, Europe, MENA, NAmerica, Russia & Eurasia, South Asia and Sub-Saharan Africa.
- O/S of Iraq/Syria, since 2013, ISIS groups & individuals conducted 3K attacks in 48 nations.
- # of countries recording an ISIS-related attack increased from 2 in 2013, to 27 in 2019.
- In the West, ISIS directed or inspired at least 78 terror attacks between 2014 and 2019, resulting in 471 fatalities. France/US/Belgium recorded the most ISIS-related deaths.
- 41% ISIS-related attacks in 2019 occurred in sub-Saharan Africa, highlighting the shift in ISIS-related attacks away from the Middle East.



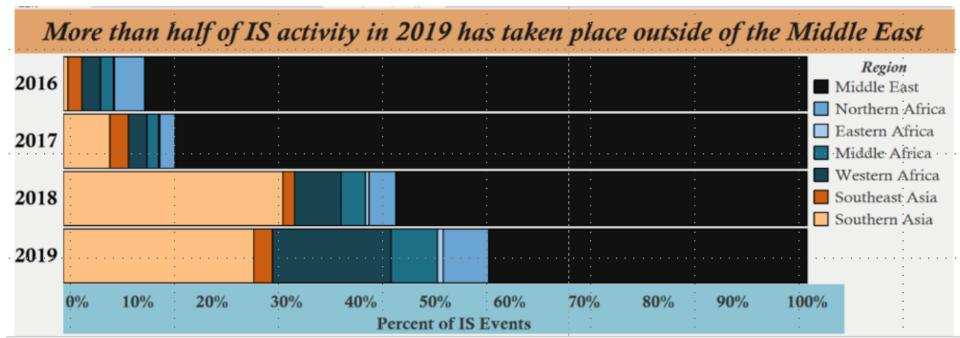
VEOs (ISIS & AQ) A Few Lessons Learned in the Fight Against Da'esh

Da'esh Isn't Gone & Neither is AQ





<u>Da'esh Isn't Gone -- Indicators of Why It Isn't Over</u>

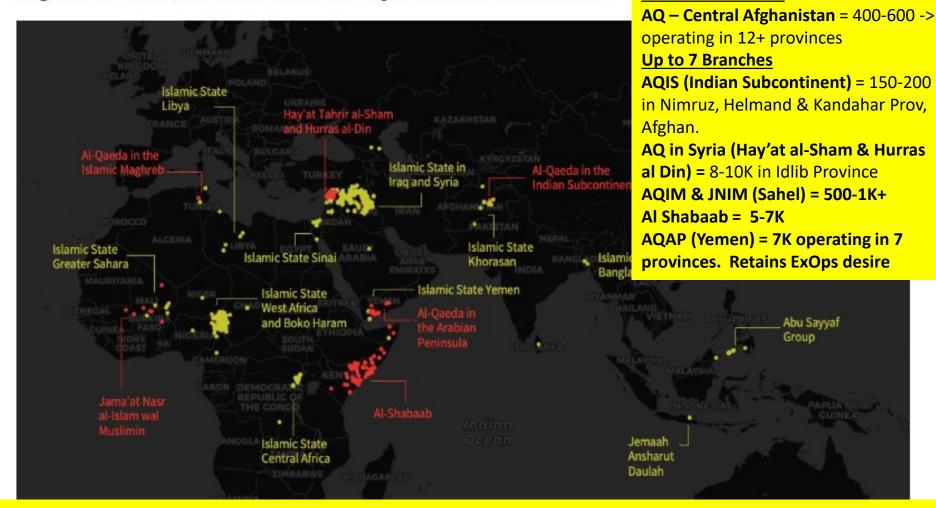




Sept 19 – Baghdadi's direction – prison breaks

Oct 19 - With Abu Ibrahim's appointment, Da'esh media bureau choreographed pledges of support from 16 B&A

AQ Worldwide Enterprise – Figure 3: Islamic State and Al-Qaeda Attacks, 2019¹⁹

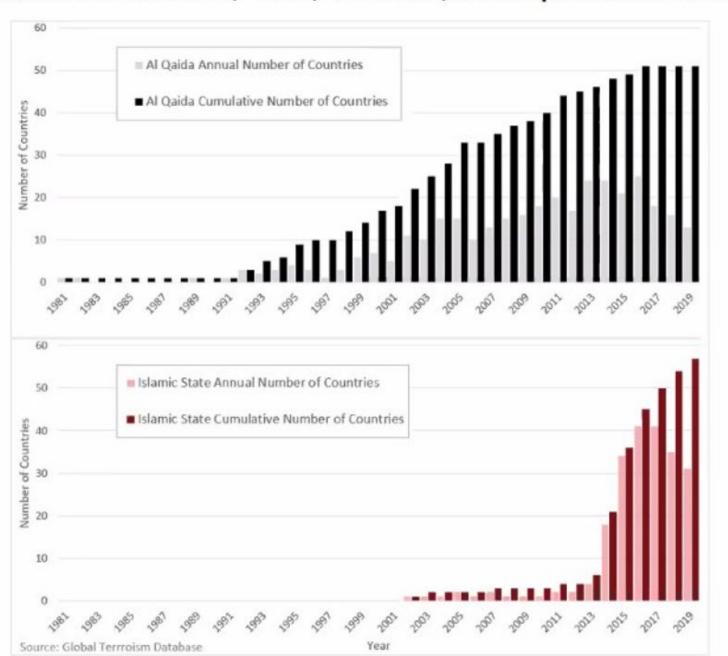


Wolff's Best Guess

- Seth Jones-3 Sets of Factors that Increase the Probability of an Insurgency (study of 200 insurgencies) including: 1) Grievances, 2) Weak Governance with incompetent police & military forces, 3) Greed – see WBG "Pathways for Peace" and USIP "Task Force on Extremism in Fragile States"
- Review the Arab Youth Survey 2020 at https://www.arabyouthsurvey.com/about_the_survey.html
- Role of nation states in supporting proxy forces

Source: "Jane's Terrorism and Insurgency Centre," IHS Markit, 2019.

Geographic Reach of Al Qaida- and Islamic State-Related Attacks, 1981 – 2019 (Includes Predecessors, "Core," Affiliates, and Inspired Individuals)



Key Thoughts

- The Fight Against ISIS has been different every year & will be in 2021
- Fight Against ISIS is Far From Over-Da'esh has strategic depth
- We're in a Critical "Counter-Insurgency" Phase in Iraq & in Syria
- Coalition of 83 Remains Strong Enabled by the Guiding Principles Document & Coalition Meetings and Commitments
- Campaign Has Been Dominated via a "By With Through" Effort -This Must Continue (Military & Non-Military components)
- Focus on Right Approaches for Major ISIS Networks & Branches through Multiple Mechanisms – (Coalition, Multilateral, Bilateral)
- Baghdadi's Death Isn't the End of Da'esh -> Amir Mohammed Sa'id Abdul-Rahman al-Mawli (they always have a succession plan)



ISIS Organizational Structure is Resilient

Islamic State organizational structure

Indicators of Islamic State strength and weakness

Caliph (Abu Bakr al-Baghdadi)

Senior Shura

Sharia Shura

Diwans (Ministerial Offices)

Agriculture and Environment

Da'wah and Mosques

- Media and Public Relations
 - · Military and Defense
 - · Public Morality (Hisbah)
- Education
- Fatwas and Textbooks for Training
- Finances and Currency
- Health
- Islamic Court and Justice

- · Public Security
- Public Services (e.g., electricity, water)
- · Precious Resources (e.g., fossil fuels)
- Tribal Outreach

Military Shura

Committees and Offices

- Committee for the Affairs of Prisoners and Martyrs
- · Directorate of Remote Provinces
- Emigration Committee
- Office for Public and Tribal Relations
- Office for Research and Studies

The Role & Legitimacy of the Islamic State Leader

Territorial and population control

It is all about the physical caliphate

Popular support

Global spread of wilayas and supporters

Via the use of Islamic State Media Warfare

Levels of violence

Clandestine ops, Guerilla Warfare, Conv Ops

Core Wilayas (Provinces)

Iraq

Syria

Global Wilayas (Provinces)

Afghanistan/Pakistan

Egypt

Nigeria

Saudi Arabia

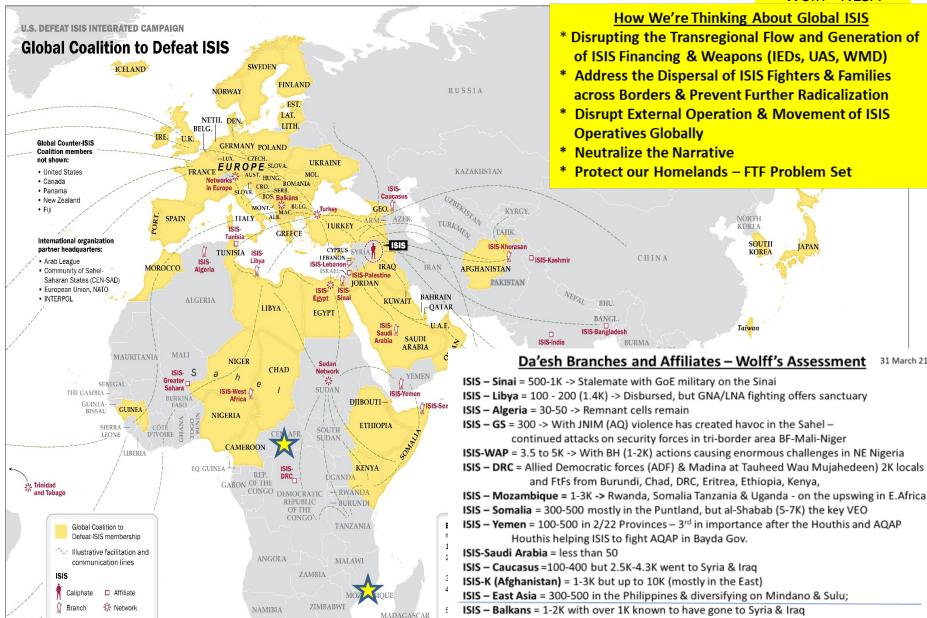
Libya

Caucasus

Algeria

Yemen

Thoughts from the The ISIS Reader: Milestone Texts of the Islamic State Movement



ISIS - India = 500? Announced May 2019

ISIS - Turkey = unknown number in the 3.5M refugees

ISIS - Sri Lanka & Maldives = 100?

ISIS - Indonesia = 20 (JAD linkage 1K?) with 1.5K known to have gone to Syria & Iraq / 600 rtn'd

ISIS - Europe Affiliates = 6K FtFs travelled to Syria & Iraq - Ione wolf attackers - prison releases

ISIS - Bangladesh = 100?

Bottom Line -- De'esh Comes From Existing VE Groups

- 50+ Group have pledged allegiance
- Few new "start ups"

More on the Future of ISIS

- The Fight Against ISIS continues to evolve a learning organization
- Da'esh has strategic depth both in Syria & Iran and in the Branch/Affiliates (Global)





Global Coalition Areas of Concern – Identified in July 2017

- Emerging ISIS Hotspots & Trends
- ISIS and Women & Children
- ISIS Use of Encrypted Comms Platforms
- · Radical Information Sharing
- ISIS Threats to Domestic Security
- FtF Detention, Extradition and/or Prosecution
- · Rehabilitation and Reintegration
- · Financial Profiles of FtF and ISIS Supporters
- ISIS Non-oil Sources of Revenues
- · Terrorist Financing Vulnerabilities in Digital Payment

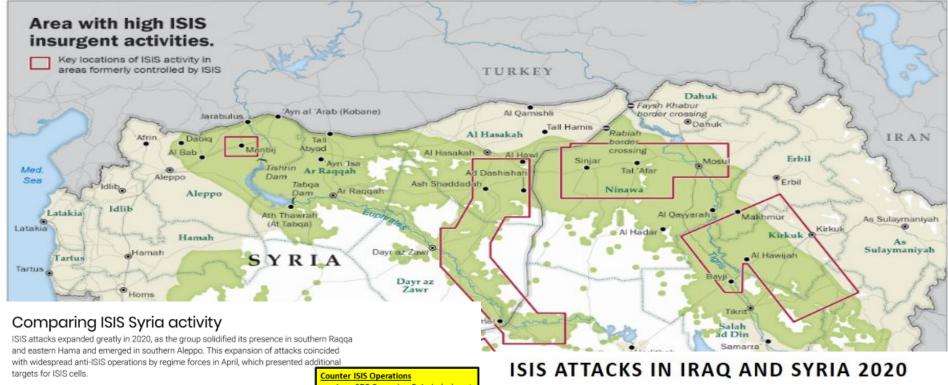
11.5K ISIS W&C

- Border Control / Intercepting ISIS at Your Borders
- Degrading the ISIS Brand
- Destroying ISIS Legacy
- Cyber Policy and ISIS
- Strategic Messaging on Stabilization
- How to Manage a Messaging Center

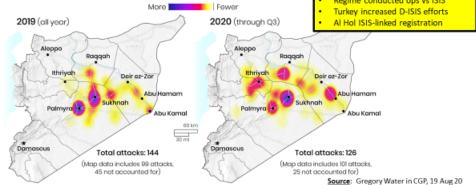


POPULATION

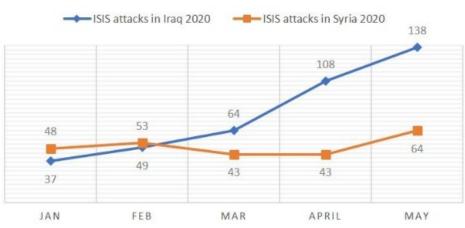
Areas With High Historical ISIS Insurgent Activity



with widespread anti-ISIS operations by regime forces in April, which presented additional targets for ISIS cells. Density of ISIS Attacks More Fewer 2019 (all year) Pewer 2020 (through Q3) Counter ISIS Operations June SDF Campaign E. Jazirah desert Regime conducted ops vs ISIS Turkey increased D-ISIS efforts Al Hol ISIS-linked registration



- ISIS Attacks are increasing against Regime Forces and the SDF
- Between Jan 19 to 31 Jul 20 -- 268 ISIS attacks have killed approx. 406 Syrian Regime & Allied Fighters in central Syria. Most attacks in Homs (113 total attacks, 30 high-quality attacks) & DeZ (115, 30) w/increases in both overall & high quality attacks in the "exterior" provinces of Raqqah (20, 8), Hamah (15, 5), and Aleppo (5, 3) since Dec 19



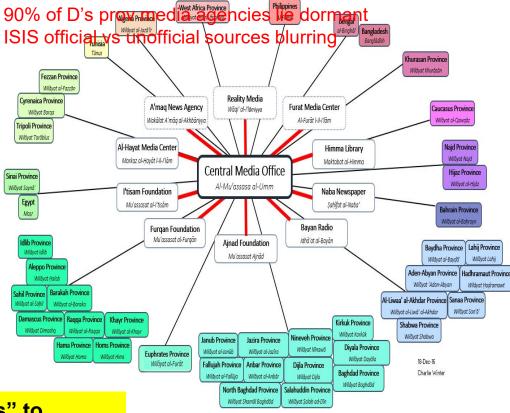
Data Source: U.S. Central Command

ISIS Media in Support of Their Ideology



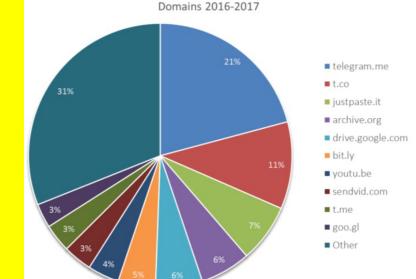
ISIS Core Narratives - The Legacy



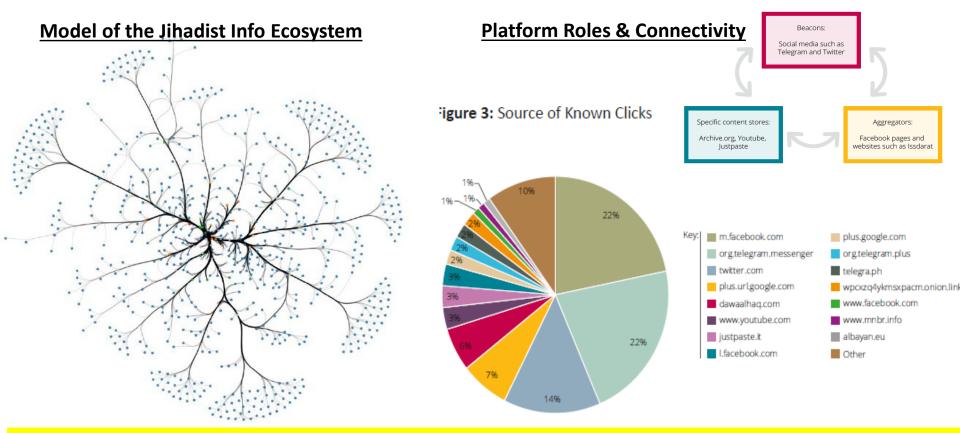


Evolving Narrative-a Message of "Success" to Maintain Morale

- Continue the fight inside & outside of Iraq & Syria
- Conduct "Lone Wolf" attacks at home
- Take more of the fight into the virtual world-> recruit, sow fear, and spread the word
- Promote the "brand" an image of strength, endurance, and resilience
- Return to the "good old days" and the physical caliphate – merely experiencing a temporary setback
- The Ongoing Debate inside ISIS Divine Test or Divine Punishment – explaining "D's" Losses



<u>Mapping the Jihadist Information Ecosystem – Towards Disruption</u>



Key Thoughts About this Ecosystem:

- It is a large & complex network connecting a large array of platforms across the surface and dark web
- Content-widely accessible via mainstream social media and the web ->"swarmcast"
- Disruption requires a multi-platform approach
- Must understand <u>major SM platform links</u> to material and where specific content is stored on line
- Major platforms are being used as beacons directing users to material (50% on FB/Telegram/Twitter)
- <u>Text (in Arabic)</u> to disseminate messages separate from audio-visual content storied on other sites
- All about ->Branding / Recruitment / Fund Raising

Da'esh's Air Force

IMAGE 1. DRONES AND DOCUMENTS CAPTURED IN A DAESH DRONE FACILITY IN MOSUL, IRAQ









IMAGE 2. DRONES CAPTURED BY THE ISF



Da'esh's Air Force

- Drone Program began as early as 2013
- May have spent as much as \$1M or more
- Multiple sources of Drones including purchases from China, Europe (Denmark), Turkey
- Lots of experimentation
- Use of Fixed Wing and Rotary Wing Drones
- Drone used for:
 - Surveillance & Targeting of ISF & Coalition Forces
 - Aerial communications incl. retransmission
 - Weapons Delivery Platforms
 - Suicide Drones
 - Delivery of Chemical Tainted Munitions
 - Filming of Attacks for Propaganda purposes

IMAGE 6. MUNITION-LOADED FOUR-PROPELLER DRONE







Technology and VEOs

Low Tech versus High Tech – Simple vs Complex

- Knives, cars & vans, guns "Lone Wolf"
 Attacks -- keep it simple?
- AI who needs it when you have operatives willing to carry out suicide attacks?
- Drones -> limited swam capability versus "killer swarms" with remote targeting?
- Social Media versus use of "anonymous for a" such as 8chan vice the big platforms
- 3D Printing
- IED Networks and use of mining equipment
- Basil Hassan and the Da'esh Drone Network
 2013-2018) -- leading to the Islamic States'
 2017 Sydney airline plot (ExOps)















Virtual Small Group FMs Met - 30 March 2021

- * Continue the fight against Da'esh in Iraq/Syria & create the conditions for its enduring defeat worldwide via a comprehensive & collective effort through stabilization, political, military, communications, counter finance, and law enforcement lines of effort
- * Allocate military & civilian resources to sustain Coalition and legitimate partner forces' efforts against Daesh/ISIS in Iraq and Syria, incl stabilization support to liberated areas, to safeguard Iraq & Syria's stability and our collective security interests.
- *Unwavering commitment to continue close cooperation/spt of GOI *Welcomed the incremental expansion of NATO's non-combat advisory
- * Discussed Syria (UNSCR2254); Sahel Challenges; Al Hof Camp Issue



& training mission in Iraq (NM-I).

Lessons Learned from the ISIS Fight & Enduring Challenges

- Dealing with the "clandestine" ISIS threat a law enforcement (LE) and intelligence problem – how to respond to threats to internal domestic security?
- ISIS is an Innovator & Learning Organization recognizing how they innovate & adapt across the domains ground, sub-surface, air, and cyber adapt or else!
- Determining how to conduct Radical Information Sharing across key communities incl. LE & Domestic Security, Intelligence (foreign & domestic), Military & National Leadership – how are you organized for success?
- Combating Da'esh 's Use of Ideology and How to Prevent Violent Extremism types of programs are key.
- ISIS & Social Media Counter Messaging vs. Messaging vs. Cyber efforts --you must degrade Da'esh's Brand & Destroy their Legacy!

Lessons Learned from the ISIS Fight & Enduring Challenges

- PVE and / or CVE Best programs?
- FtFs Repatriate or not? How to Prosecute (lashup between LE & MoJ)? Punish and/or Re-educate? Rehabilitation & Reintegration?
- **Prison Challenge --**How to prevent Radicalization in Prisons?
- ISIS Women & Children What to Do and When?
- Border Security & the Flow of FtFs -- Understanding how citizens move
- ISIS Financing Stopping the Flow of Money via Informal Networks -- they're a mafia that's diversified; supervise the CIFG financial sector & AML/CFT strategy & action plans to counter looting & antiquity smuggling; Understand the lashup between crime & terror – (FIU/LE/MoJ)
- Da'esh Playbook they use a "clandestine / conventional set" of plays married with a propaganda / messaging / ideology component augmented with a social service provision effort.