

The Global War on Terrorism The Long War

Brigadier General Mark O. Schissler, USAF Deputy Director for the War on Terrorism The Joint Staff

This Briefing is **UNCLASSIFIED**



- The current environment
- Understanding the enemy
- Understanding our strategy

- To the average American, the threat to the U.S. is difficult to comprehend
- Sustained war is alien to the peaceful nature and desires of our nation

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When Was America Attacked?

- 1979 Iranian Hostage Crisis
- 1983 Embassy & Marine Barracks Bombing, Lebanon
- 1984 Embassy Official kidnapped and murdered, Lebanon
- 1985 TWA Hijacking, U.S. sailor murdered
 - Achille Lauro Hijacking, American murdered
- 1988 U.S. Marine kidnapped and murdered, Lebanon
 - USO Attacked, Italy
- 1993 World Trade Center bombing
- 1995 Saudi Military Installation Attack
- 1995-1997 Palestinian terrorist attacks murdered Americans
- 1996 Khobar Towers Bombing, Saudi Arabia
- 1997 Empire State Building Sniper Attack
- 1998 Embassy Bombings, Kenya & Tanzania
- 2000 U.S.S. Cole Bombing, Yemen
- **2001 Philippines Hostage Incident**
 - World Trade Center, Pentagon, Shanksville, PA



Nature of the Conflict

Muslim Society

Extremist Influence

Leverage Grievances:

- "Islam is Under Attack"
- All Muslims must rise to the defense of Islam
- Re-establish Islamic states under strict Sharia Law
- Restore the preeminence of the Muslim world







Values

- Religious
- Hospitable, gracious
- Family, tribal loyalty
- Education

GRIEVANCES—both perceived and real:

- Local: Corrupt and ineffective political, economic, and social systems
- Regional: Bias in US policies, (Palestine, Kashmir, Iraq, etc);

heavy handed US operations, occupation of Islamic lands

• <u>Global</u>: Infusion of Western culture corrupting society

RESULT: anger, humiliation, and disenfranchisement

Does political activism or violent militancy result?



- "a transnational movement of extremist organizations, networks, and individuals – and their state and non-state sponsors – which have in common that they exploit Islam and use terrorism for ideological ends."
- Al-Qa'ida Associated Movement is most dangerous
- Other violent extremist groups also pose a serious and continuing threat

Nature of the Enemy

- Represent no nation

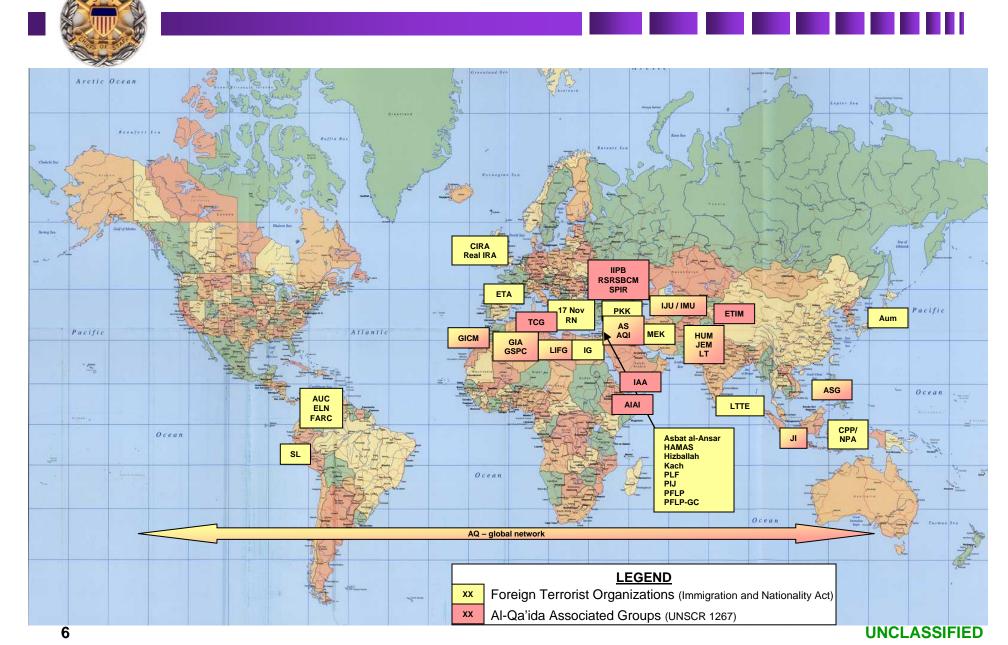
- Do not mass armies or warships

- Defend no territory

- Wear no uniform

- Operate in shadows, conspire in secret, attack without warning

Global Terrorists



Increased Capabilities



"Acquiring chemical and nuclear weapons for the defense of Muslims is a religious duty." - Usama bin Laden

Increased Communications

Communications technology extends their reach from a local audience to the world stage - Communications enables them to incite a global movement in real time

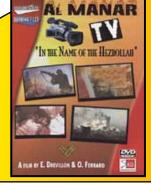
Information Sharing Capabilities















Individual

National

Regional

Global

"In the absence of popular support, the Islamic mujahed movement would be crushed in the shadows, far from the masses who are distracted or fearful." - Aymen al-Zawahiri



Increased Ambitions

The terrorists leverage a frustrated population, effective communications and improved weaponry to target the overthrow of existing governments establishing an extreme, repressive and violent social order

Desire & Capability to Influence World Events





National Local

Regional

Global



Jihad is a state of mind. Peace under this mental framework can only occur when there is only one global power and all "infidels and apostates" have been converted or subverted to the will of Allah. Some believe there have been five major time periods of violent Jihad:

The "First Global Jihad" 622-early 1500s

The "Second Global Jihad" 1620-1798

The "Third Global Jihad" 1798-early 1920s

The Fourth Jihad 1921-1979

The Fifth Jihad 1979-Present

Each period of Jihad ended when Muslim introspection led to fear that Allah was punishing the community for not sufficiently following the true faith.

Al-Qa'ida's Plan



"We are seeking to incite the Islamic Nation to rise up to liberate its land and to conduct Jihad for the sake of God." - Usama bin Laden

"If our intended goal in this age is the establishment of a caliphate ... [then] the jihad in Iraq requires several incremental goals:"

- "Expel the Americans from Iraq."
- "Establish an Islamic authority or emirate, then develop it and support it until it achieves the level of a caliphate – over as much territory as you can to spread its power in Iraq...."
- "Extend the jihad wave to the secular countries neighboring Iraq."
- "Clash with Israel, because Israel was established only to challenge any new Islamic entity."

Source: Letter from al-Zawahiri to al-Zarqawi, 9 July 2005



Violent Extremist's Long View

Iraq has become the focus of the enemy's effort.

If they win in Iraq, they have a base from which to expand their terror.







Seven Stages

- 1. "The Awakening," began in 2001
- 2. "Eye-Opening," 2003
- 3. "Arising and Standing Up," 2007
- 4. Demise of Arab governments, 2010
- 5. Islamic Caliphate, 2013
- 6. "Total Confrontation," 2016
- 7. "Definitive Victory," ends in 2020



What are the Enemy's Weaknesses?

- Violence and intimidation are their primary tactics
- Oppressive, backward vision for the future
- Multiple cultural, religious and language dimensions
- Growing effective and legitimate governance erodes support and provides an alternative

So what do we need to do? What is our strategy?



National Strategic Framework for the GWOT

"We must take the battle to the enemy, disrupt his plans and confront the worst threats before they emerge. In the world we have entered, the only path to safety is the path of action."

President George W. Bush

Strategic Aims:

Ends

- Defeat violent extremism as a threat to our way of life as a free and open society, and
- Create a global environment inhospitable to violent extremists and all who support them

Protect and defend Attack terrorists and Support mainstream the Homeland and Muslim efforts to reject their capacity to U.S. interests operate effectively at violent extremism home and abroad abroad **Expand foreign partnerships and partnership capacity** Ways Strengthen our capacity to prevent terrorist acquisition and use of WMD Institutionalize domestically and internationally the War on Terror Instruments of National Power Means

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National Military Strategic Plan for the WOT

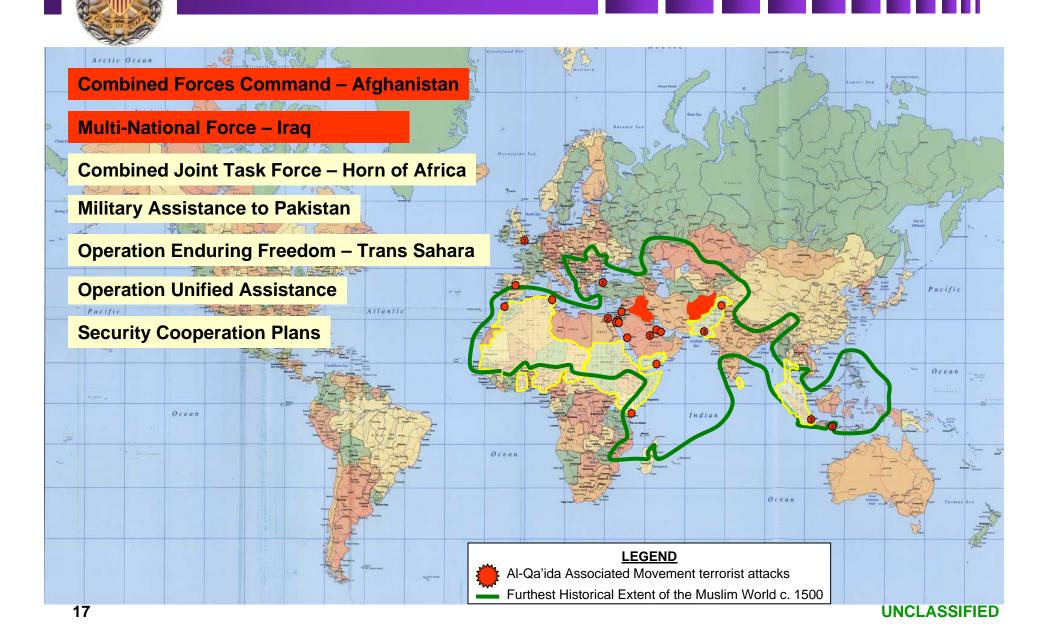
Ends

<u>Strategic Goal</u>: Preserve and promote the way of life of free and open societies based on the rule of law, defeat terrorist extremism as a threat to our way of life, and create a global environment inhospitable to terrorist extremists.

	and create a global environment innospitable to terrorist extremists.					
		Leadership Movement	Safe Havens Intelligence	Enemy Weapons	Finance Personnel	Communication Ideology
Ways		Protect the Homeland		orist Networks		unter Ideological port for Terrorism
	Military Strategic Objectives	Deny terrorists the resources they need to operate and survive.				
		Enable partner nations to counter terrorism.				
		Deny WMD/E proliferation, recover and eliminate uncontrolled materials, and maintain capacity for consequence management.				
		Defeat terrorists and their organizations.				
		Counter state and non-state support for terrorism in coordination with other U.S. Government agencies and partner nations.				
		Contribute to the establishment of conditions that counter ideological support for terrorism.				
Means		Combatant (Commands, S	ervices, and C	ombat Sup	port Agencies

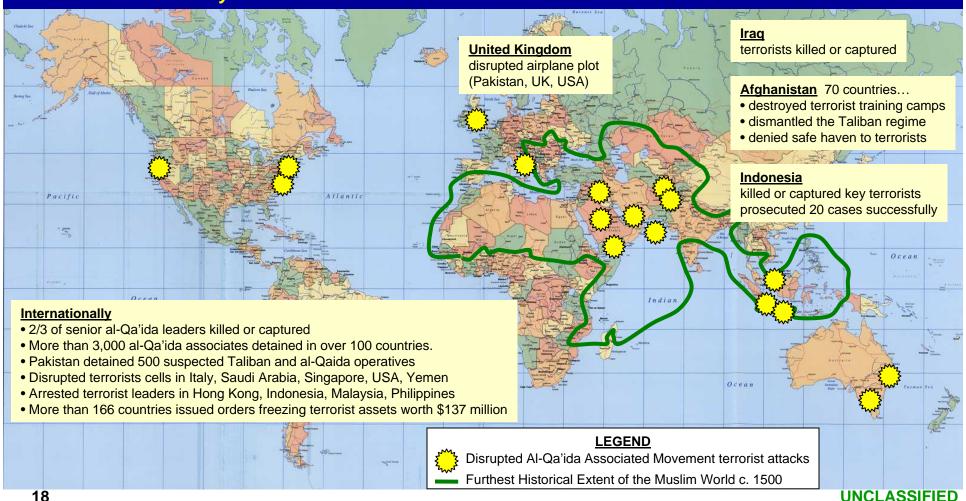
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U.S. Military Efforts in the Global War on Terrorism



Disrupted Terrorist Attacks Since September 11, 2001

"The Global War on Terrorism will continue to be a long and difficult war affecting the entire global community. Success in this war depends on close cooperation among ... the combined efforts of the international community." -Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff



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Defeating an Extremist Ideology: Takes Time

"The Islamic Radical threat of this century greatly resembles the bankrupt ideology of the last.... In many ways, this fight resembles the struggle against communism in the last century."

-President Bush, 6 October 2005

Communism

- The repressive and militaristic manifestation was countered by the United States throughout the Cold War with the concerted effort of all instruments of national power
- Ideology was replaced by a democratic ideology with independent states

Similarities with the Global War on Terrorism

- Long, sustained struggle, punctuated by periods of military conflict
- Use of all elements of national power to win
- Transition of past arrangements to arrangements better suited for a new era
- Required perseverance by the American people and their leaders

Cold War Institution/Program Development

 Marshall Plan, Truman Doctrine, Radio Free Europe, World Bank, NATO, United Nations, International Monetary Fund

"Some of you may ask: when and how will the Cold War end? I think I can answer that simply; the Communist world has great resources and it looks strong, but there is a fatal flaw in their society. Theirs is ... a system of slavery. There is no freedom in it, no consent ... I have a deep and abiding faith in the destiny of free men. With patience and courage, we shall some day move on into a new era."

President Harry S. Truman, 1953



Building Capacity: Takes Time – South Korea

In 1953 – at the end of the Korean War,

- Was devastated by Japanese occupation and the war with the north
 - Natural, human, and manmade resources were destroyed
 - Had a 95% illiteracy rate and no record of national governance
 - Gross Domestic Product was equivalent to the poorest Asian and African Countries

Nighttime Lights, Korean Peninsula 21 September 2003, 12012

In 2006 – 53 years later,

- Is known as one of the "Asian Tigers" one of the top four Asian economies
- GDP has grown to match those within the European Union
- A stable and legitimate democratic government with a free market economy
- No longer requires large amounts of American support for survival

Other Long Term Examples of Success,

• Germany, Japan

"For ... the global community, the withering away of the state is not a prelude to utopia but to disaster ... These weak states have posed threats to international order because they are the source of conflict and ... because they have become the potential breeding grounds for a new kind of terrorism that can reach into the developed world."

Francis Fukuyama, State Building, Cornell University Press, 2004.



- The Muslim population is key; perceived grievances provide inroads for violent extremists
- Our enemy is <u>not</u> 10 feet tall; we know his strategy and his weaknesses
- The United States strategy addresses the essential elements for success
- Success requires perseverance; not necessarily combat
 - Reverse grievances in the Muslim World
 - Discredit violent extremist ideology
 - Build partner nation capacity



"...There is a view...that 'democracy' means the system of government evolved by the English-speaking peoples. Any departure from that is either a crime to be punished or a disease to be cured. I beg to differ...Different societies develop different ways of conducting their affairs, and they do not need to resemble ours...after all, American democracy after the War of Independence was compatible with slavery for three-quarters of a century and with the disenfranchisement of women for longer than that. Democracy is not born like the Phoenix. It comes in stages, and the stages ...differ from...society to society..."

- Bernard Lewis, 2006

National Military Strategic Plan for the War on Terrorism: http://www.jcs.mil/



BACKUP SLIDES



Reminiscent of the Cold War...

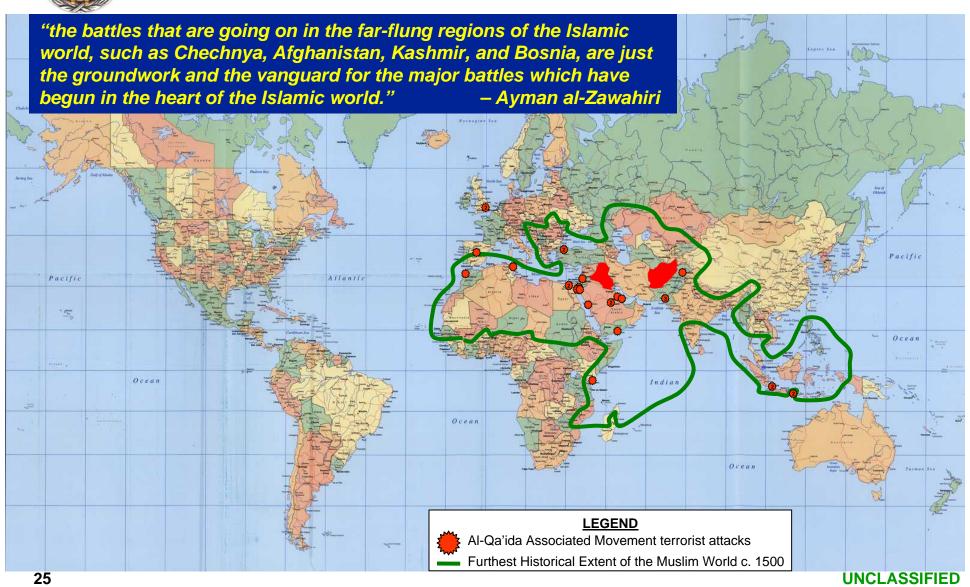
"The ultimate determinant in the struggle now going on for the world will not be bombs and rockets but a test of wills and ideas - a trial of spiritual resolve: the values we hold, the beliefs we cherish and the ideals to which we are dedicated."

- President Ronald Reagan, 1982

National Military Strategic Plan for the War on Terrorism: http://www.jcs.mil/

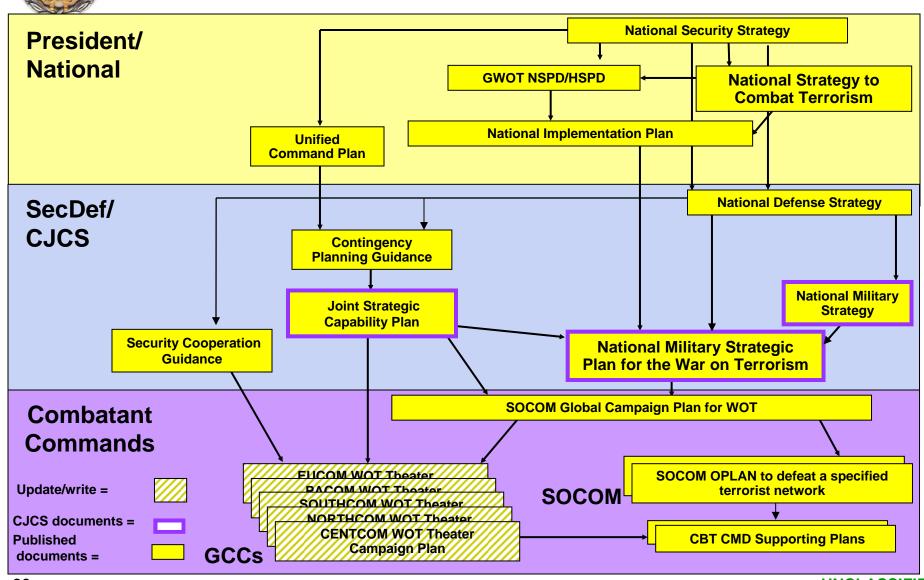


Al-Qa'ida Attacks since September 11, 2001





Strategic Guidance



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Institutionalizing the War on Terrorism

Roles & Responsibility NSPD₁

National Security Council (NSC) Homeland Security Council (HSC)

Actions NSPD-46/HSPD-15 National CT Strategy

IA forum for development, coordination, and implementation of CT-related policy & strategy

Security Group (CSG)

Counter-Terrorism

Monitor planning development and provide recommendations to the NSC and HSC.

Coordinate & synchronize agencies and monitor & evaluate implementation of plans

National Counter-Terrorism Center

Develop a National Implementation Plan (NIP) – National plan that implements and synchronizes all elements of national power and influence

Provide representation to committees, support planning at the NCTC and implement plans

USG Agencies & **Departments**

Develop a Department-Specific Supporting Plans - Plans that articulate the approach of each agency and department to support the NIP



State



Justice



DHS





USTR









CIA



Joint Staff

Inter-Department Coordination and Agreements



National Strategy to Combat Terrorism

Strategic Aims:

- Defeat violent extremism as a threat to our way of life as a free and open society, and
- Create a global environment inhospitable to violent extremists and all who support them

Advance Democracy

1. Prevent Attacks by Terrorist Networks
2. Deny WMD to Rogue States and Terrorist Allies Who Seek to Use Them
3. Deny Terrorists the Support and Sanctuary of Rogue States
4. Deny Terrorists Control of Any Area They Would Use as a Base and Launching Pad for Terror

Institutionalizing Strategy for Long Term Success

- Establish/maintain international accountability
- Strengthen coalitions/partnerships
- Government architecture and Interagency collaboration
- Foster intellectual & human capital

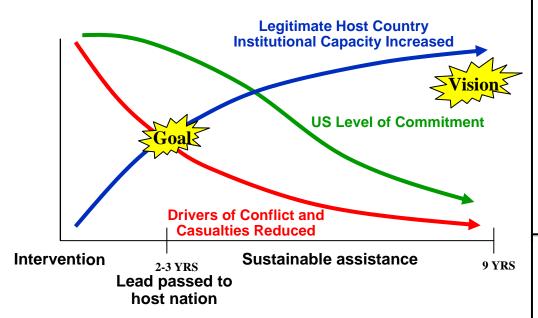
Examples:

- UN Security Council Resolutions, G-8
- Int'l Maritime Organization, NATO, EU, African Union
- DHS, DNI, NCTC, CIA, SOF, transformational diplomacy
- National Security Language Initiative, Culture of Preparedness



How are we Doing?

Conflict Transformation*



We are making measurable progress in the War on Terrorism—but it will take sustained assistance and perseverance to build legitimate and effective governance to counter extremism

Iraq in Transition

March 2005

- Transitional Government
- Drafting Constitution
- ISF MoD: ~ 67,000
- ISF Mol: ~84,000
- US Forces:
 - 17 Combat BDEs
 - ~146.000
- Coalition Forces: ~23,000
- Bases under ISF Control: 7

May 2006

- Democratic Government
- Ratified Constitution
- ISF MoD: ~117.900
- ISF Mol: ~145,500
- · US Forces:
 - 15 Combat BDEs
 - ~131.000
- Coalition Forces: ~20,000
- · Bases under ISF Control: 34
- Bases under US Control: 121 Bases under US Control: 76

Support for Bin Laden, Violence Down Among Muslims, Poll Says

By Robin Wright

Washington Post Staff Writer

Image Of U.S. Falls Again

International Herald Tribune June 14, 2006

By Brian Knowlton

Captured papers show weakening insurgency

By PATRICK QUINN, Associated Press Writer

Thu Jun 15, 10:40 PM ET



U.S. Efforts to Combat Terrorism

Protect and defend the Homeland and U.S. interests abroad

Terrorist Surveillance Program (post 9/11)

FBI mandate to Prevent Terrorist Attacks (2001)

PATRIOT Act (2001)

Department of Homeland Security (2002)

National Strategy for Homeland Security (2002)

National Strategy for Physical Protection of Critical Infrastructure and Key Assets (2003)

Transportation Security Agency (2003)

Terrorist Screening Center (2003)

Attack terrorists and their capacity to operate effectively at home and abroad

Nearly 2/3 of senior al-Qaeda leaders killed or captured

Terrorist cells disrupted in Italy, Saudi Arabia, Singapore, USA, Yemen

3,000+ al-Qaida associates detained in 100+ countries

Pakistan detained 500 suspected Taliban and al-Qaida operatives

Terrorist leaders arrested in Hong Kong, Indonesia, Malaysia, Philippines

AQ "golden chain" broken (2002)

- 166+ countries freeze terrorist assets worth ~\$140 million in over 1,400 accounts

Operation Enduring Freedom (2001)

- destroyed terrorist training camps
- dismantled Taliban regime
- denied terrorist safe haven

Operation Iraqi Freedom

- Zarqawi killed (2006)

Proliferation Security Initiative (2003)

Disrupted AQ Khan WMD network (2006)

Support mainstream Muslim efforts to reject violent extremism

Public Diplomacy efforts

Elections in Afghanistan(2004)

Tsunami assistance in SE Asia (2004-2005)

Earthquake relief in Pakistan (2005)

Elections in Iraq (2005)

Policy Initiatives

National Strategy to Combat WMD (2002)

National Strategy to Secure Cyberspace (2003)

National Counterterrorism Center (2004)

Director of National Intelligence (2005)

NSPD-15/HSPD-46 (2006)

National Implementation Plan (2006)

National Strategy to Combat Terrorist Travel (2006)

National Strategy to Combat Terrorism (2003/2006)