The Global War on Terrorism
The Long War

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This Briefing is UNCLASSIFIED
Agenda

- 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
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
- **Global:** Infusion of Western culture corrupting society

RESULT: anger, humiliation, and disenfranchisement

Does political activism or violent militancy result?
Who is the enemy?

- “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

LEGEND

Foreign Terrorist Organizations (Immigration and Nationality Act)
- AQ
- GIA
- ETA
- CIRA
- SL
- ETA
- PKK
- Aum
- CPP/NPA
- GPC
- GSPC
- AS
- XX

Al-Qa’ida Associated Groups (UNSCR 1267)
- AQI
- AQ–global network
- XX
- Al-Qa’ida
- Hizballah
- al-Ansar
- ETA
- CPP/NPA
- ETIM
- Aum
- AIA
- MEK
- IIA
- HUJ/IMU
- HUM

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Increased Capabilities

The ability of the terrorists to leverage technology and their increased access to weaponry expands their potential lethality.

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

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

“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
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.
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.

Result
- Strongest army in the world
- Strongest currency in the world
- Largest country in the world
- Atomic and super power country
- Half of world population in Islamic State

Source: Islamic-Youth.Net
Al-Qa’ida’s Twenty-Year Plan

Seven Stages

4. Demise of Arab governments, 2010
5. Islamic Caliphate, 2013
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:
- 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

Instruments of National Power

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

Ends

Ways

- Expand foreign partnerships and partnership capacity
- Strengthen our capacity to prevent terrorist acquisition and use of WMD
- Institutionalize domestically and internationally the War on Terror

Means

Instruments of National Power
National Military Strategic Plan for the WOT

Strategic Goal: 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.

Enemy

- Leadership
- Safe Havens
- Movement
- Intelligence
- Weapons
- Personnel
- Finance
- Communication
- Ideology

Ends

- Protect the Homeland
- Disrupt and Attack Terrorist Networks
- Counter Ideological Support for Terrorism

Ways

- 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, Services, and Combat Support Agencies
U.S. Military Efforts in the Global War on Terrorism

- Combined Forces Command – Afghanistan
- Multi-National Force – Iraq
- Combined Joint Task Force – Horn of Africa
- Military Assistance to Pakistan
- Operation Enduring Freedom – Trans Sahara
- Operation Unified Assistance
- Security Cooperation Plans

LEGEND
- Al-Qa’ida Associated Movement terrorist attacks
- Furthest Historical Extent of the Muslim World c. 1500
“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

Disrupted Terrorist Attacks Since September 11, 2001

United Kingdom disrupted airplane plot (Pakistan, UK, USA)

Iraq terrorists killed or captured

Afghanistan 70 countries…
  • destroyed terrorist training camps
  • dismantled the Taliban regime
  • denied safe haven to terrorists

Indonesia killed or captured key terrorists prosecuted 20 cases successfully

Internationally
  • 2/3 of senior al-Qa’ida leaders killed or captured
  • More than 3,000 al-Qa’ida associates detained in over 100 countries.
  • Pakistan detained 500 suspected Taliban and al-Qaida operatives
  • Disrupted terrorists cells in Italy, Saudi Arabia, Singapore, USA, Yemen
  • Arrested terrorist leaders in Hong Kong, Indonesia, Malaysia, Philippines
  • More than 166 countries issued orders freezing terrorist assets worth $137 million

LEGEND
  • Disrupted Al-Qa’ida Associated Movement terrorist attacks
  • Furthest Historical Extent of the Muslim World c. 1500
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. Their 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

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.”
Conclusion

• The Muslim population is key; perceived grievances provide inroads for violent extremists

• Our enemy is not 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/
“the battles that are going on in the far-flung regions of the Islamic world, such as Chechnya, Afghanistan, Kashmir, and Bosnia, are just the groundwork and the vanguard for the major battles which have begun in the heart of the Islamic world.”

– Ayman al-Zawahiri
Strategic Guidance

President/ National

SecDef/ CJCS

Combatant Commands

National Security Strategy

GWOT NSPD/HSPD

National Strategy to Combat Terrorism

National Implementation Plan

Contingency Planning Guidance

Joint Strategic Capability Plan

National Military Strategic Plan for the War on Terrorism

Security Cooperation Guidance

National Military Strategy

National Defense Strategy

CENTCOM WOT Theater Campaign Plan

NORTHCOM WOT Theater

SOUTHCOM WOT Theater

PACOM WOT Theater

EUCOM WOT Theater

SOCOM Global Campaign Plan for WOT

SOCOM OPLAN to defeat a specified terrorist network

CBT CMD Supporting Plans

Update/write =

CJCS documents =

Published documents =

GCCs

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Institutionalizing the War on Terrorism

Roles & Responsibility
NSPD 1
IA forum for development, coordination, and implementation of CT-related policy & strategy
Coordinate & synchronize agencies and monitor & evaluate implementation of plans
Provide representation to committees, support planning at the NCTC and implement plans

Actions
NSPD-46/HSPD-15
National CT Strategy
Monitor planning development and provide recommendations to the NSC and HSC.
Develop a National Implementation Plan (NIP) – National plan that implements and synchronizes all elements of national power and influence
Develop a Department-Specific Supporting Plans – Plans that articulate the approach of each agency and department to support the NIP

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

Counter-Terrorism Security Group (CSG)

National Counter-Terrorism Center

USG Agencies & Departments

State
Justice
DHS
Commerce
USTR
Agriculture
Treasury
Defense
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**

- Long Term Approach
- Short Term Approach

(4 Priorities of Action)

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*

Lead passed to host nation

Drivers of Conflict and Casualties Reduced

US Level of Commitment

Sustainable assistance

Goal

2-3 YRS

Legitimate Host Country Institutional Capacity Increased

Vision

9 YRS

Intervention

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

April 2006

• Transitional Government
• Drafting Constitution
• ISF – MoD: ~ 67,000
• ISF – MoI: ~84,000
• US Forces:
  – 17 Combat BDEs
  – ~146,000
• Coalition Forces: ~23,000
• Bases under ISF Control: 7
• Bases under US Control: 121

• Democratic Government
• Ratified Constitution
• ISF – MoD: ~117,900
• ISF – MoI: ~145,500
• US Forces:
  – 15 Combat BDEs
  – ~131,000
• Coalition Forces: ~20,000
• Bases under ISF Control: 34
• Bases under US Control: 76

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

Image Of U.S. Falls Again

International Herald Tribune
June 14, 2006

Captured papers show weakening insurgency

By Robin Wright
Washington Post Staff Writer

By Brian Knowlton

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)
- 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)

- Disrupted AQ Khan WMD network (2006)

**Support mainstream Muslim efforts to reject violent extremism**
- Public Diplomacy efforts
- Tsunami assistance in SE Asia (2004-2005)
- Earthquake relief in Pakistan (2005)
- Elections in Iraq (2005)

**Policy Initiatives**
- National Counterterrorism Center (2004)
- Director of National Intelligence (2005)
- National Strategy to Combat Terrorist Travel (2006)