



The Global War on Terrorism

The Long War

25 April 2006
CAPT Steve Miller

This briefing is classified
Unclassified



Agenda

- **The current environment**
- **Understanding the enemy and the threat he poses**
- **Our Strategy for success**
- **Committing to a Long War**

- *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*



Struggle of Ideas

The Muslim Population

Moderate Influence

Moderates – Mainstream Islam:

- Plurality, Inclusion, Tolerance
- Dialogue of Civilization

Overarching Issues:

- Islam and Modernity
- Re-establish dignity and honor from years of perceived indifference and injustices.

Extremist Influence

Violent Extremists

- Radical, intolerant interpretation of Islam
- Expulsion of Infidels and provide terrorist safe haven
- Deny political and religious freedoms
- Violate women's rights
- Re-establish an Islamic State under strict Sharia Law

“... the West is being drawn into the clash of two competing ideologies within the Islamic world. Proponents of the first believe that Islam is compatible with secular democracy and basic civil liberties. Proponents of the second are committed to replacing the current world order with a new caliphate -- that is, a global Islamic state. They are the ones who seek to trigger a true clash of civilizations, partly in order to force the more moderate Muslims to choose their interpretation of Islam.”

Zeyno Baran, “Fighting the War of Ideas”, *Foreign Affairs*, Dec 05



Global War on Terrorism—Who is the enemy?

- **The enemy is a transnational movement of extremist organizations, networks and individuals that use violence to achieve their goals;**
 - No state, no uniform, lives among the population
 - Believes that the West threatens Islam and will die in its defense
 - Supported by state and non-state actors – corrupt government officials, criminals and others who forge opportunistic “alliances of convenience”
 - Seeks the overthrow and control of many “apostate” Muslim nations to establish extremist governance in the name of Islamic Nationalism
 - Even support by 1% of the Muslim population would equate to over 12 million dedicated to the extremist cause

While we view his beliefs as dangerously misguided, the enemy is...

...Absolutely committed to his cause

...Fueled by a grieved population

...Able to attract recruits with their extremist ideology

The Population – Loss of Dignity and Honor



Extremists blame the U.S. and the West for these real or perceived grievances. Whether true or not, these examples amplify the message of the terrorists throughout the Muslim world.

- Globalization – perceived phenomenon of global cultural domination
- U.S. policy with U.N. viewed as inequitable.

- Perceived Western indifference to Palestine, Kashmir and Chechnya
- Perceived disregard of collateral damage
- US regional policies in the Middle East
- Ethnic strife and alienation

- Lack of Economic Opportunity
- Stagnant Political Environment
- Lack of Educational Opportunity

Loss of Dignity and Honor

Local → National → Regional → Global

“What you are seeing in many societies throughout the world is the reaction to perceptions of dishonor. Indignation results. If you talk to a Muslim, for example, he will discuss the loss of dignity and honor in Muslim communities.”

Professor Akbar Ahmed



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

Casualty Producing Capabilities



One → Dozens → Thousands → Millions

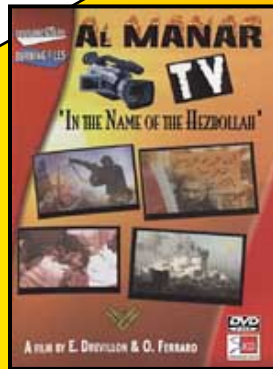
**“Acquiring chemical and nuclear weapons for the defense of Muslims is a religious duty.”
- Usama bin Laden**

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

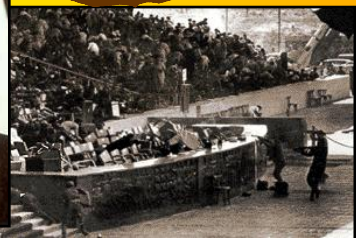
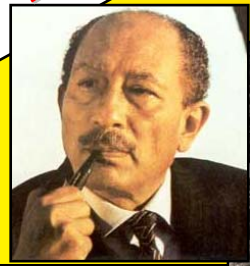


The terrorists leverage a frustrated population, effective communications and improved weaponry to target the overthrow of existing governments – establishing an extreme, repressive and violent social order

Desire & Capability to Influence World Events



Afghanistan



Local → **National** → **Regional** → **Global**

“...unite in assembling all of the potential and forces of the faithful, natural resources and human resources, by implementing the Righteous Caliphate. Because the Caliphate is the only state which will be capable of eliminating the American and British hegemony from the constellation of international politics...”
- Hizb ut-Tahrir Indonesia

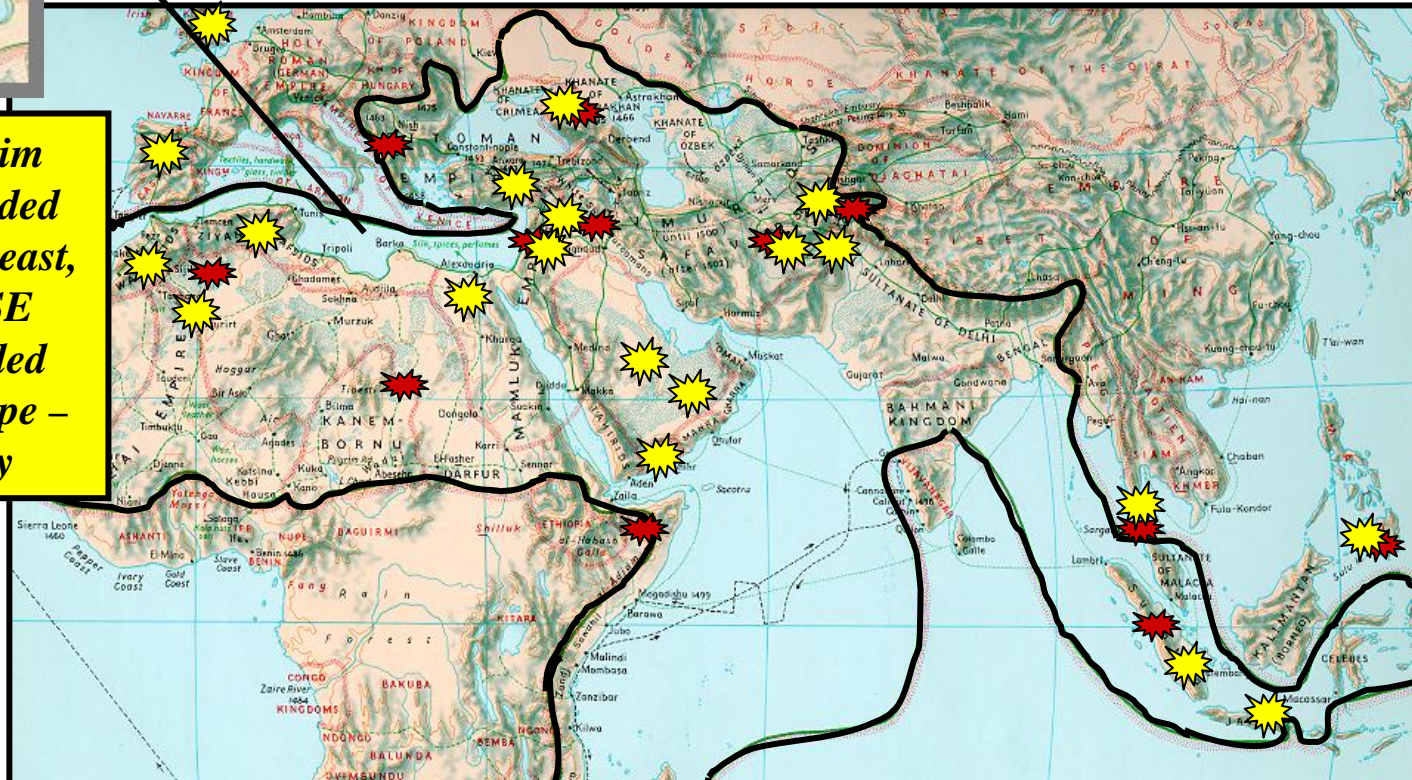


How does history impact our Enemy's Perspective?

"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



The expanse of the Muslim domination by 1500 included most of Africa, the middle east, much of SW Asia, and SE Europe. In 900, it included portions of southern Europe – Spain, France and Italy

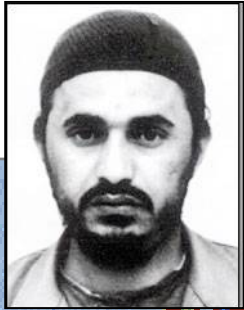


 Current conflicts

 Recent Terrorist Attacks

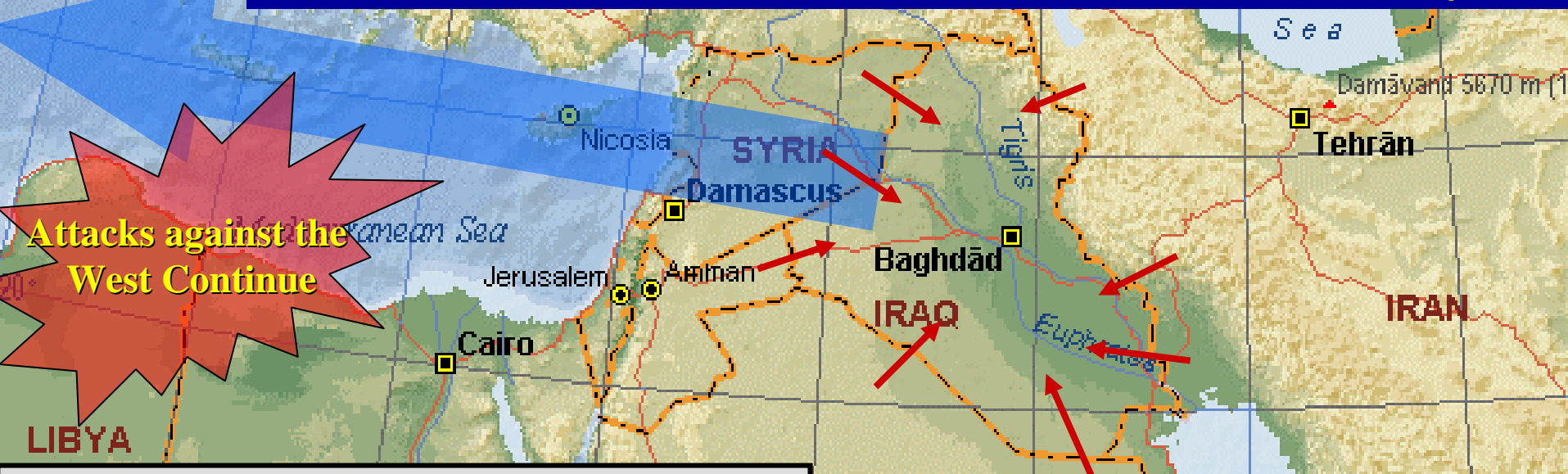
While terrorist attacks and current conflicts seem random and disconnected, they are connected in that the perpetrators draw inspiration from an ideology which espouses extremist domination

Objective 1: Expel America and Establish an Islamic Authority in Iraq



"Al-Zarqawi came to this arena (Iraq) only to expel the Americans from the Muslims' country and to establish an Islamic Government. This is part of the goal, because if this is not done, how will we be able to bring about coups d'etat in neighboring countries? How can we rescue Jerusalem when we have no base from which to set out?"

- Associate of Abu Musab al Zarqawi

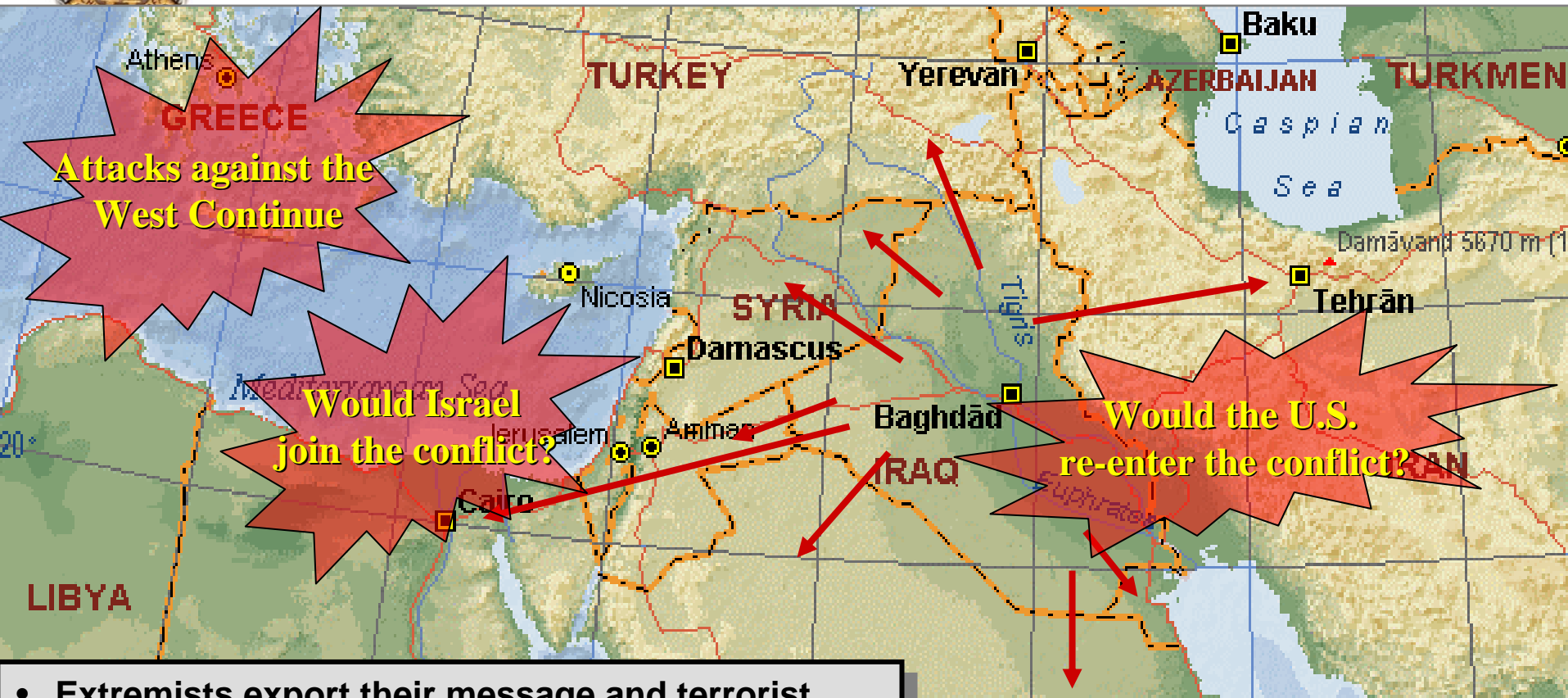


Attacks against the West Continue

- America departs early from Iraq.
- Insurgents step up attacks against the government and make religious claims for regime change.
- Extremists overthrow the democratic government of Iraq and replace it with a Taliban-like regime.

Extremists now have an Emirate in Iraq that serves as a base of operations from which they can expand the conflict.

Objective 2: *Extend the Jihad Wave to Neighboring Countries*

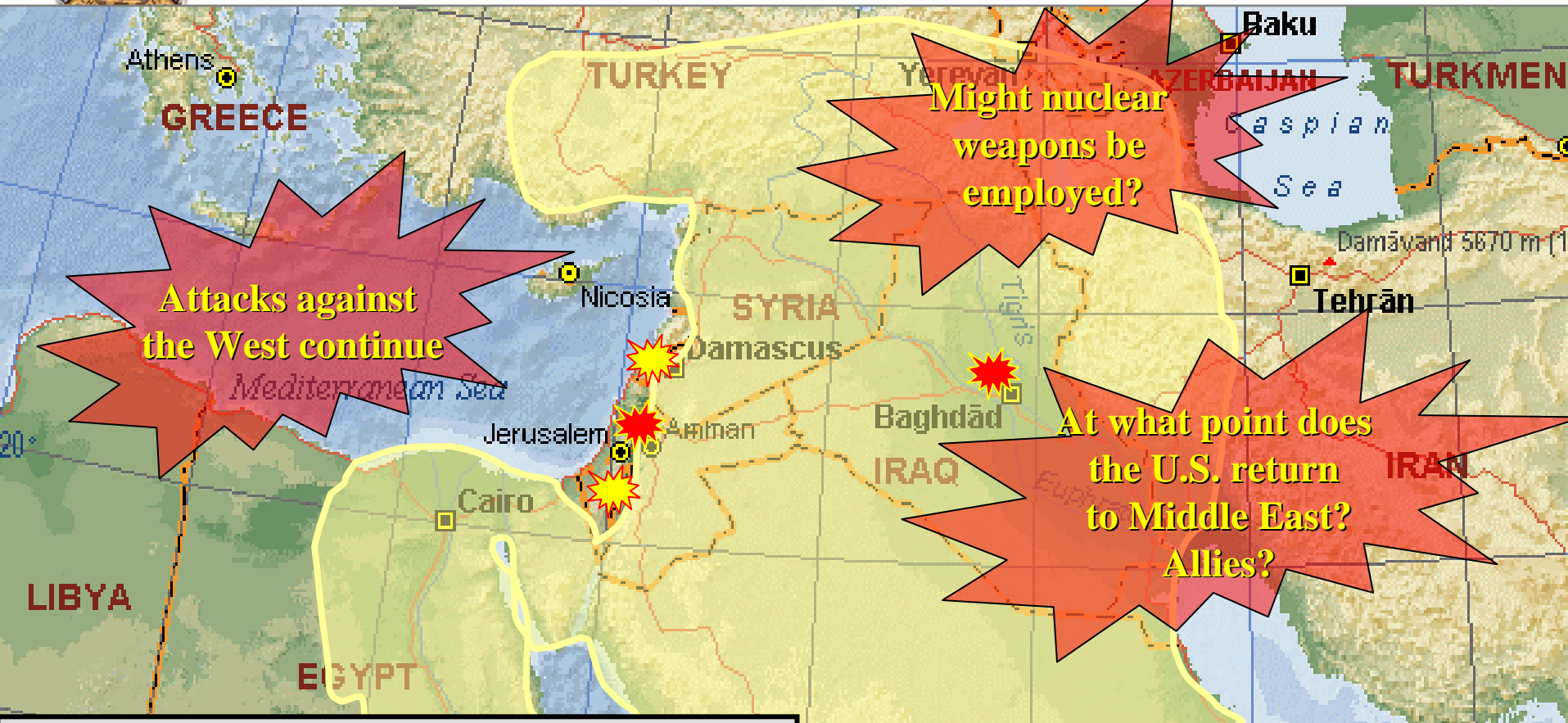


- Extremists export their message and terrorist acts throughout the middle east.
- Violence and extremist ideology undermine governments of Jordan, Syria, Saudi Arabia, Kuwait and Egypt.
- Moderate governments collapse; Taliban-like regimes take their place.

The extremists now turn their attention to the expansion of extremism



Objective 3: Destroy Israel



- Extremists threaten Israel.
- United Nations issues resolution to stand down.
- The extremists gains support within the Muslim world.
- Israel falls.

Extremists are now poised further their domination



Objective 4: Restore the historical Caliphate

THE MAP OF UNITED STATES OF ISLAM

THE DREAM OF 20th CENTURY MUSLIMS WILL BE REAL IN 21st CENTURY

Source: Islamic-Youth.Net BY H.G.

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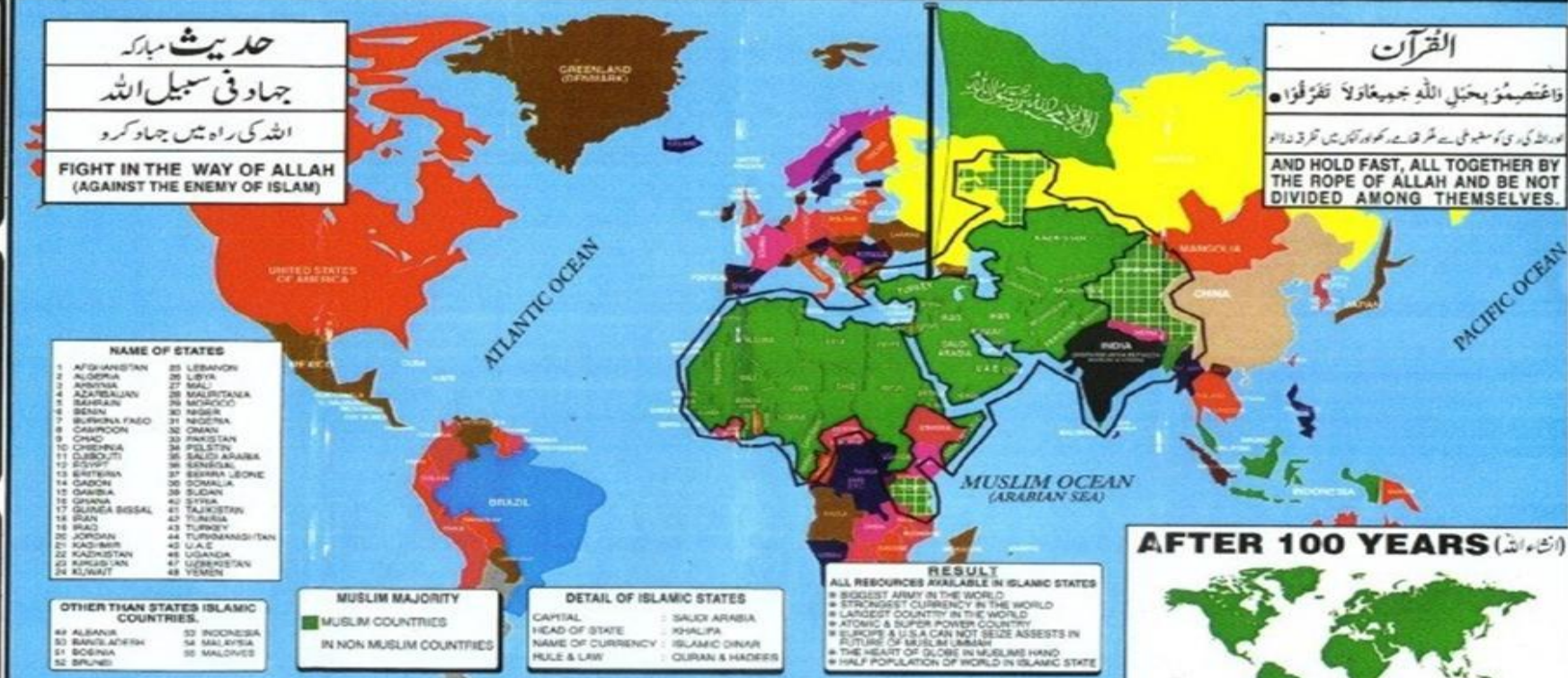
وحمل الثواب الدارين بعد الطيبة نوبدا

مزید چھپو اگر توہیں دروین حاصل



حدیث مبارکہ
جہاد فی سبیل اللہ
اللہ کی راہ میں جہاد کرو
**FIGHT IN THE WAY OF ALLAH
(AGAINST THE ENEMY OF ISLAM)**

القرآن
وَاعْتَصِمُوا بِحَبْلِ اللَّهِ جَمِيعًا وَلَا تَفَرَّقُوا
اور اللہ کی راہ میں جہاد کرو اور تمہارے آپس میں فرق نہ کرو
**AND HOLD FAST, ALL TOGETHER BY
THE ROPE OF ALLAH AND BE NOT
DIVIDED AMONG THEMSELVES.**



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WORLD ISLAMIC MISSION RESEARCH DIVISION

What are the implications of al-Qa'ida achieving their objectives?

What are the implications of extremists success?



- **An Islamic authoritative state under strict Sharia law?**
- **All-out sectarian civil war between Sunni & Shia sects?**
- **Revolutionary fervor spreads to neighboring nations toppling existing governments?**
- **Base of operations for terrorist networks?**
- **Extremists gain control of weapons of mass destruction?**

"If a radical government emerges in Baghdad – because the United States is defeated or tires of solitary exertions, even more if Iraq falls into terrorist chaos – the entire Islamic world will find itself in turmoil. Moderate governments will topple or struggle for their existence; countries with substantial Islamic minorities, such as India, Russia and the Philippines, will witness a mounting challenge. Terrorism will spread across Europe. The challenges to America will multiply."

Henry Kissinger, "America's Assignment", NEWSWEEK, Nov 8 2004



What are the Enemy's Vulnerabilities?

- **The enemy's violent acts, vision of the future, and ideology do not reflect the beliefs of the Muslim majority:**

- Murder of ordinary people widely unsupported within the Muslim population.
- Repressive Taliban-like regimes do not appeal to the average Muslim.

- **The enemy has inherent weaknesses as well:**

- Their “Monolithic” view of Islam underestimates cultural and religious differences
- They have no positive vision of the future to offer
- Underestimates the will of America and our allies



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

National Strategy for the GWOT



*“The aftermath of the collapse of American power in Vietnam – and how they ran and left their agents – is noteworthy.”
- al-Zawahiri to al-Zarqawi*

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

Ends

Protect and defend the Homeland

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

Support mainstream Muslim efforts to reject violent extremism

Ways

Expand foreign partnerships and partnership capacity

Strengthening our capacity to prevent terrorist acquisition and use of WMD

Institutionalizing domestically and internationally the strategy against violent extremists

Means

Instruments of National Power



National Military Strategic Plan-WOT

- The NMSP is the military strategic plan for the War on Terrorism.
 - Pertains to the GWOT as a whole.
 - Provides strategic guidance for the development of other GWOT plans.
 - Updated every two years, or as required.
- Applicable to DoD as a whole, approved by the Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff and endorsed by the Secretary of Defense.

The NMSP-WOT promulgates our strategic thinking about GWOT to the combatant commanders. It serves as the “gearbox” that connects the Department’s thinking to the operators who must execute it.



Highlights

- Authoritatively communicates the *nature of the threat*, *strategic assumptions*, and *strategic elements* of the Long-Term GWOT strategy.
- Provides a *strategic framework* to achieve the CPG GWOT termination objectives.
- Identifies *GWOT priorities and responsibilities* within the Armed Forces.
- Establishes a mechanism to measure progress (metrics) in GWOT.



SecDef Endorsement and CJCS's Foreword

- From the Secretary:

“This document, the National Military Strategic Plan for the War on Terrorism (NMSP-WOT), presents the approach the DoD will take in fulfilling its role within the larger national strategy for combating terrorism.”

“This strategic plan lays out the strategy for the department.”

- From the CJCS:

“The NMSP-WOT is the culmination of significant reflection and debate within our military and our government. Initiated by our Secretary, this debate has produced a clearer understanding of the enemies we face and the conditions under which we fight, and led to a coherent and comprehensive strategic approach to guide the Armed Forces’ contributions to success in the war.”

“The NMSP-WOT articulates the comprehensive plan for our Armed Forces in the Global War on Terrorism. It is meant to serve as a guide for further planning and to articulate how the military will contribute to achieving our Nation’s objectives in the war.”



Mission Statement

- **Mission for the GWOT**
 - **The Department of Defense, as authorized under its chain of command and in coordination with other government agencies and coalition partners, will develop plans and, when directed:**
 - **Thwart or defeat terrorist attacks against the United States, its allies, and interests**
 - **Attack and disrupt terrorist networks abroad so as to cause the enemies to be incapable or unwilling to attack the U.S. homeland, allies, or interests**
 - **Deny terrorist networks the possession or use of WMD/E**
 - **Establish conditions that allow partner nations to govern their territory effectively and defeat terrorists**
 - **Contribute to the establishment and maintenance of a global anti-terrorist environment**

Military Strategic Framework for the GWOT



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.

Ends

Leadership

Safe Havens

Enemy

Finance

Communication

Movement

Intelligence

Weapons

Personnel

Ideology

Protect the
Homeland

Disrupt and Attack
Terrorist Networks

Counter Ideological
Support for Terrorism

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 mgmt.

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.

Military Strategic Objectives

Ways

Means

Combatant Commands, Services, and Combat Support Agencies

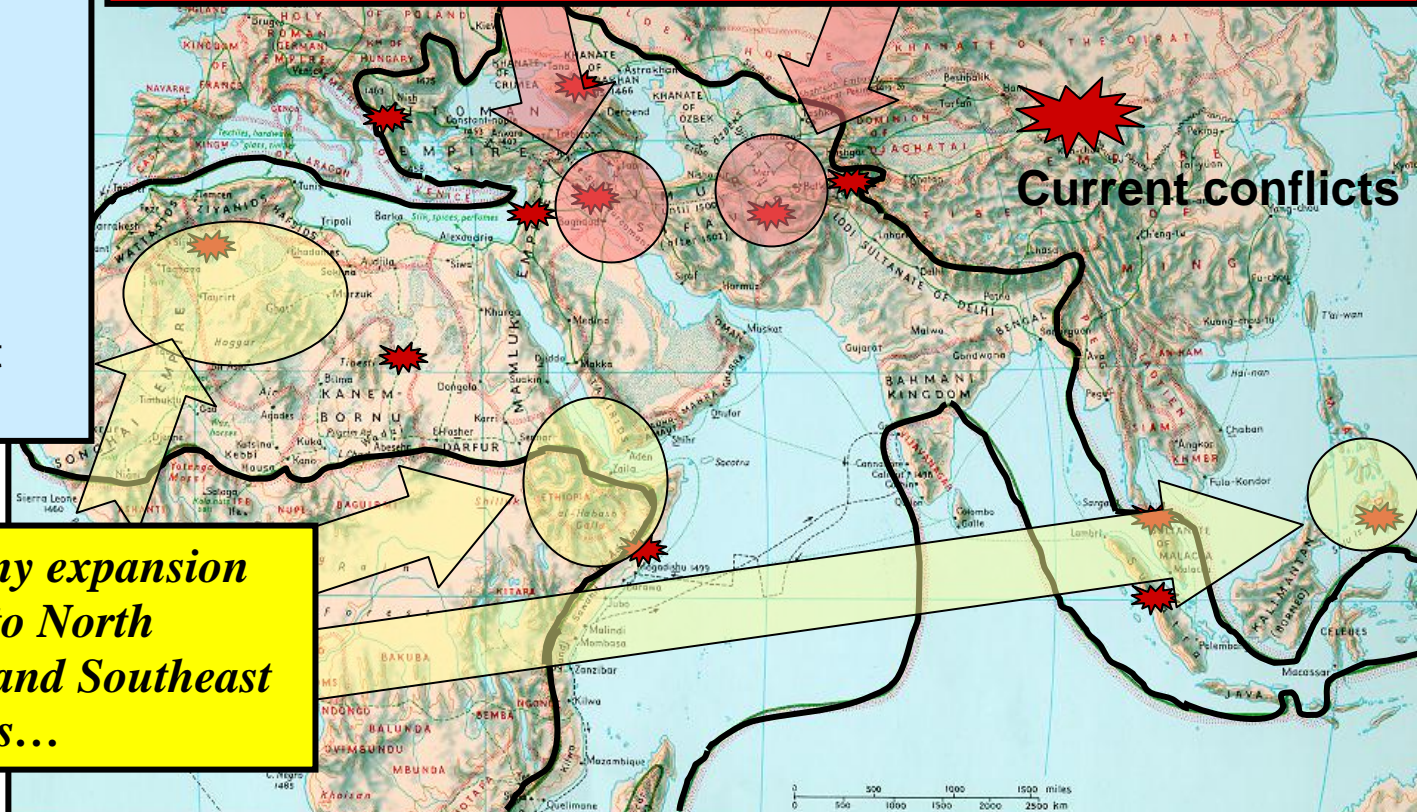


Global Application of the War on Terrorism

Global efforts:

- Eliminate Safe Havens
- Build Capacity
- Amplify Moderates
- Improve Governance
- Secure WMD
- Attack Terrorists
- Develop Partnerships
- Economic Development
- Educate & Train

As a priority, Defeat al Qa'ida and their movement in Iraq and Afghanistan. Isolate and Defeat al Qa'ida Senior Leadership in Pakistan...Improve governance...Build capacity



But also, reduce and deny expansion of violent extremism into North Africa, Horn of Africa, and Southeast Asia. Build partnerships...

“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 agencies in our government and the integration of all instruments of national power, as well as the combined efforts of the international community.”
Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff



Defeating an Extremist Ideology: Takes Time

“The Islamic Radical threat of this century greatly resembles the bankrupt ideology of the last. The murderous ideology of the Islamic radicals is the great challenge of our century. Yet, 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

- The Marshall Plan, The Truman Doctrine, Radio Free Europe, The World Bank, NATO, The United Nations, The 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. There 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

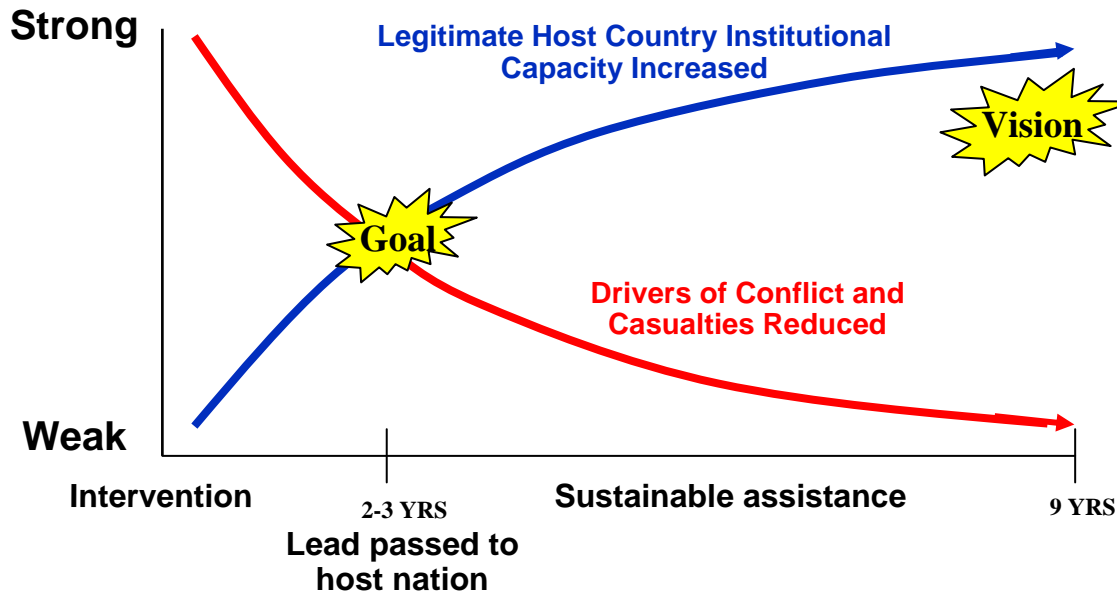
“For ... the global community, the withering away of the state is not a prelude to utopia but to disaster ... These weak states have posed threats to international order because they are the source of conflict and ... because they have become the potential breeding grounds for a new kind of terrorism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

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



Sustained Commitment is Results Dependent

Conflict Transformation*



* From DOS/CRS Conflict Transformation Briefing. Developed during a “Reconstruction and Stabilization” conference at the U.S. Institute of Peace on 22&23 March 2005.

“The average counterinsurgency operation in the 20th century lasted about nine years. So this is likely to be a protracted conflict. ...we determined that the longer the coalition carried the brunt of the counterinsurgency fight, the longer they would carry the brunt of the fight.”

GEN George Casey Jr,
Testimony to the House Armed
Services Committee, 29
September 2005

To sustain our national resolve, our efforts must show declining conflict and increased legitimate host country capacity.



Why the Global War on Terrorism is a “Long War”

- The enemy is committed to his cause. He is prepared to fight to the death for what he believes is a defense of his religion.
- The enemy has local, regional and global aspirations. He estimates it will take him decades to accomplish his strategic objectives.
- Winning requires moderates to overcome extremism within Islamic world. Historically, this may take centuries to occur.
- Winning requires increased partner nation capacity – armed forces, police, economic development, good governance and the development of a civil society – to combat the violent extremist threat.

The enemy has committed to a long war and publicly articulated his goals for decades

Americans will commit to a “Long War” when:



“If their economy is destroyed, they will be busy with their own affairs rather than enslaving the weak peoples. It is very important to concentrate on hitting the US economy through all possible means.” - Usama bin Laden

- They understand our enemy and the threat he poses to the future of America.
- They understand and accept our strategy and how long it may take to complete it.
- They see political, security, economic, judicial and other institutions are increasing and becoming effective
- They see that casualties and damage are decreasing
- They know we have the capability necessary to succeed.
- Our intentions and actions are communicated clearly.



It is a “Long War”-- but it is a war we can and must win



Conclusion

- **We face a determined enemy with a long-term strategy**
- **The U.S. with our partners and allies must be committed, patient and resolute**
- **This “Long War” will have hot and cold periods throughout the effort**
- **The decisions we make today will determine how long and how intense this war will be**

We must fight the enemy's strategy, not necessarily his forces



Classified NMSP-WOT:
<http://j5.smil.mil/NMSPWOT/pdf>

Unclassified NMSP-WOT:
<http://www.defenselink.mil/qdr/docs/2006-02-08-Strategic-Plan.pdf>



Backup





Implications of Failure

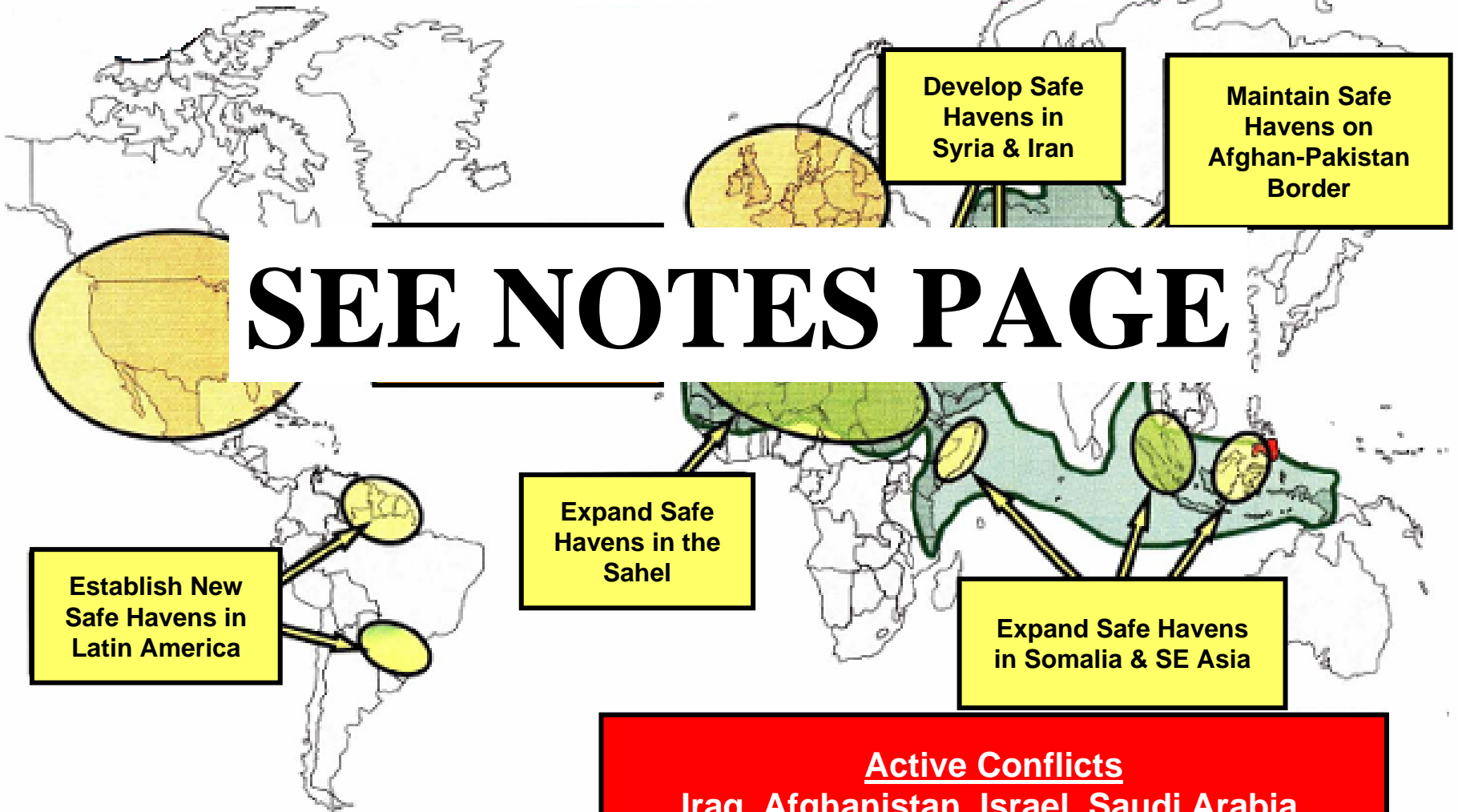
- The further spread of terrorism – “Spillover”
- Massive restrictions of civil liberties in the West to try to stem the expanding threat
- Moderate governments at risk
- Civil unrest in countries with sizable Muslim minorities

“If a radical government emerges in Baghdad – because the United States is defeated or tires of solitary exertions, even more if Iraq falls into terrorist chaos – the entire Islamic world will find itself in turmoil. Moderate governments will topple or struggle for their existence; countries with substantial Islamic minorities, such as India, Russia and the Philippines, will witness a mounting challenge. Terrorism will spread across Europe. The challenges to America will multiply.”

Henry Kissinger, “America’s Assignment, *NEWSWEEK*, Nov 8 2004



The Enemy's Close Fight



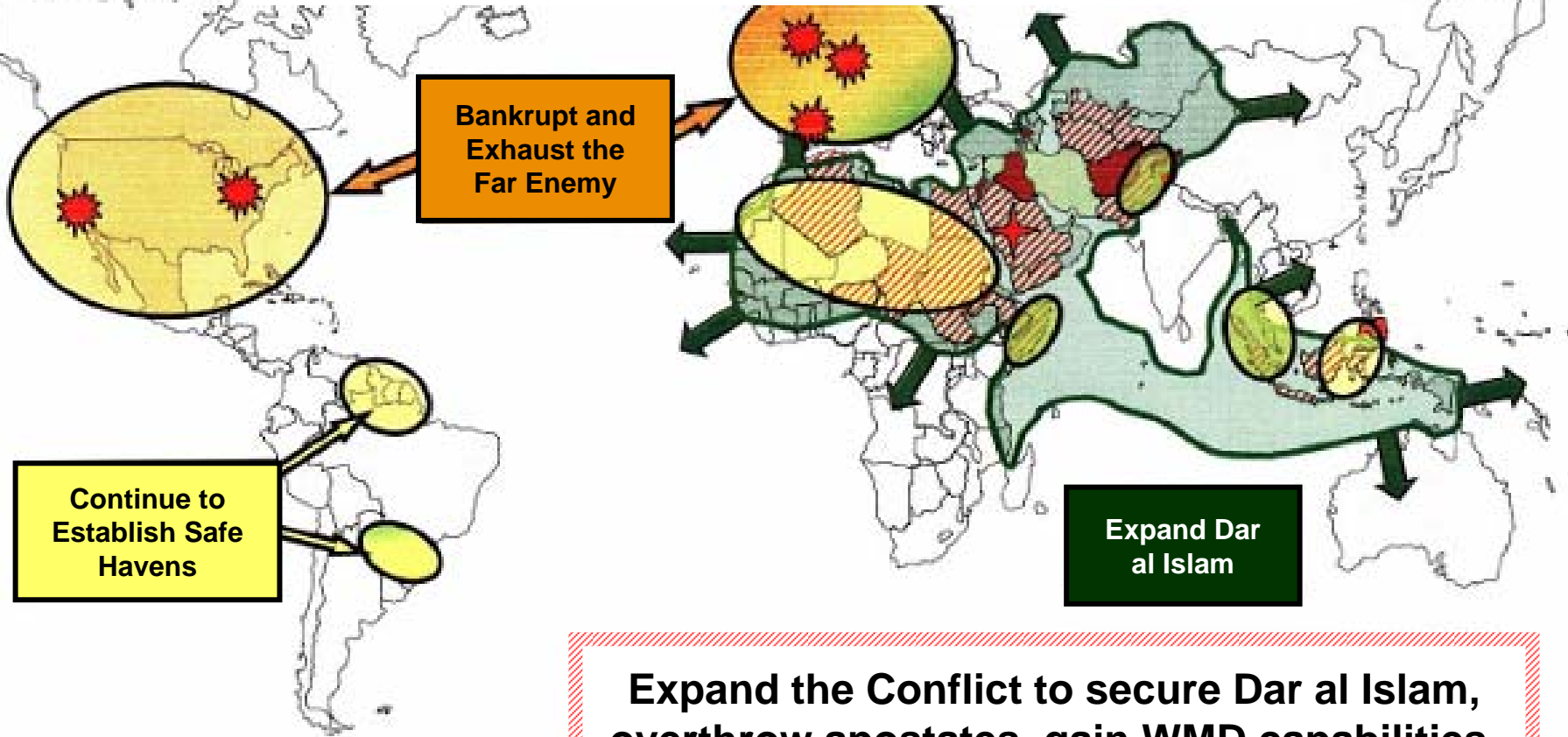
SEE NOTES PAGE

Active Conflicts
Iraq, Afghanistan, Israel, Saudi Arabia,
Pakistan, Somalia, Algeria, Chechnya,
Kashmir, Philippines



The Enemy's Far Fight

SEE NOTES PAGE



Expand the Conflict to secure Dar al Islam, overthrow apostates, gain WMD capabilities, and control the oil resources of the region

Consider How the U.S. can be Defeated...



“If their economy is destroyed, they will be busy with their own affairs rather than enslaving the weak peoples. It is very important to concentrate on hitting the US economy through all possible means.” - Usama bin Laden

The United States cannot be defeated militarily. The enemy knows this. But consider:

- The world’s most dangerous people possess the world’s most dangerous weapons – nuclear, chemical, or biological weapons...
- Terror attacks weaken the world economy
- Continued casualties weaken national resolve
- Traditional allies prefer accommodation

Would it expand the conflict into a “clash of civilizations?” Or...

- Force our economy into a recession? Depression?
- Create political pressure for isolationism?
- Deter us from necessary action?
- Force us to reach accommodation – “Peace in our Time?”

To win, the US must exploit the vulnerabilities of the enemy. What are they?



“The aftermath of the collapse of American power in Vietnam – and how they ran and left their agents – is noteworthy.”

- al-Zawahiri to al-Zarqawi



The three key elements in win this war are:

- Protecting and defending the Homeland
- Attacking terrorists and their capacity to operate effectively at home and abroad
- Supporting mainstream Muslim efforts to reject violent extremism

In addition to the strategic elements, there are three critical enablers:

- Expanding foreign partnerships and partnership capacity
- Strengthening our capacity to prevent terrorist acquisition and use of WMD
- Institutionalizing domestically and internationally the strategy against violent extremists

This war goes far beyond the borders of Iraq

Al Qa'ida's Plan: A Present Day Manifestation



"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

- Objective 1:** Expel American influence from Iraq and the Arabian Peninsula
- Objective 2:** Remove secular governments within the region
- Objective 3:** Eliminate Israel and purge Jewish and Christian influence
- Objective 4:** Expand the Muslim empire to historical boundaries



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THE MAP OF UNITED STATES OF ISLAM

THE DREAM OF 20th CENTURY MUSLIMS WILL BE REAL IN 21st CENTURY
Source: Islamic-Youth.Net BY H.G.

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حَدِيث مَبْرُور
جَمَاعَتِي سَبِيلُ اللَّهِ
اللَّهُ كَى رَاهِ مِثْنِ جَمَاعَتِكُمْ

FIGHT IN THE WAY OF ALLAH (AGAINST THE ENEMY OF ISLAM)

القرآن

وَأَعْتَصِمُوا بِحَبْلِ اللَّهِ جَمِيعًا وَلَا تَفَرَّقُوا
وَأَنذَرْتُكُمْ يَوْمَ تَمُوتُ بِلَا صَوْلَىٰ لَكُمْ وَلَا إِلَٰهَ إِلَّا اللَّهُ
وَأَعْتَصِمُوا بِحَبْلِ اللَّهِ جَمِيعًا وَلَا تَفَرَّقُوا

AND HOLD FAST, ALL TOGETHER BY THE ROPE OF ALLAH AND BE NOT DIVIDED AMONG THEMSELVES.

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

OTHER THAN STATES ISLAMIC COUNTRIES:

42 ALBANIA	43 INDONESIA
50 BANGLADESH	54 MALAYSIA
61 BOSNIA	55 MALDIVES
62 BULGARIA	
63 KOSOVO	
64 ROMANIA	
65 SERBIA	
66 SLOVAKIA	
67 SLOVENIA	
68 UKRAINE	
69 YEMEN	

MUSLIM MAJORITY IN NON MUSLIM COUNTRIES

MUSLIM COUNTRIES

IN NON MUSLIM COUNTRIES

DETAIL OF ISLAMIC STATES

CAPITAL	SAUDI ARABIA
HEAD OF STATE	SHALIFA
NAME OF CURRENCY	ISLAMIC DINAR
RULE & LAW	QURAN & HADITH

RESULT

ALL RESOURCES AVAILABLE IN ISLAMIC STATES

BRIDGEST ARMY IN THE WORLD

LARGEST COUNTRY IN THE WORLD

ATOMIC & SUPER POWER COUNTRY

THE HEART OF ISLAMIC CIVILIZATION

THE HEART OF ISLAMIC CIVILIZATION

HALF POPULATION OF WORLD IN ISLAMIC STATE

AFTER 100 YEARS (نتیجہ)

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