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Editor's Note

Making a periodical's new issue ready to go to press is surely one of the most relieving as well as exciting moments for an editor, especially when its readership is enthusiastic to see it published. Since its inception, *DATR* has adopted a number of in-house rules, norms and principles that apply to its publication policy, one of which has been to pursue a collection of high-quality articles by high-calibre experts and renowned scholars who have assumed responsibilities in the fight against terrorism throughout their careers, be it in a decision-making role or in the field as practitioners. This issue brings to the attention of its readership five important articles written by a collection such divese contributors from around the world.

Dr. Sebastian L. V. Gorka from the National Defense University in Washington D.C., in his article on titled *America and al-Qaeda: Who Will Win?*, argues that the Westphalian nation-state system cannot deal with the current non-state global terrorism-and that the old trinity developed from Bismark must be adjusted today to address ideology so that we can truly counter the threat of terrorism. According to Dr. Gorka, in the last decade, America has proven her capacity to kinetically engage the enemy at the operational and tactical level with unsurpassed effectiveness, yet the United States has not even begun to take the war to al-Qaeda at the strategic level of counter ideology. Hence, Dr. Gorka claims, America's ability to fight al-Qaeda and similar transnational terrorist actors will depend upon the nation's capacity to communicate to its own citizens and to the world what it is the United States is fighting for, and what the ideology of al-Qaeda threatens in terms of the universal values the Americans hold so dear.

General Talat Masood, retired from the Pakistani Army, in his article on *Pakistan's Fight Against Terrorism* analyzes the global and regional fight against terrorism from a Pakistani point of view. He examines the unique Pakistani aspects of the problem and presents the Pakistani view with regards to the actions of other actors, principally the United States. According to General Masood, the Afghan insurgency is, and will remain, a major engine of instability in the region, and that the presence in Pakistan of certain top leaders of Afghan militant groups further complicates the country's problems. Yet, General Masood emphasizes that it is encouraging that the ownership of the fight against militancy is greater now under a civilian democratic government than it was during President Musharraf's period. General Masood assortz that much will depend up on how the situation unfolds in Afghanistan and the extent of international support to Pakistan.

Dr. Dean Alexander from the Western Illinois University in Macomb analyzes facets of the phenomenon of al-Qaeda (AQ) and al-Qaeda in the Arabian Peninsula (AQAP)-inspired terrorism on United States soil with his article titled "*al-Qaeda and al-Qaeda in the Arabian Peninsula-Inspired, Home-Grown Terrorism in the United States*". Dr. Alexander argues that this segment of Islamist-inspired terrorism on United States soil includes United States-based terrorists of all nationalities and immigration status, who are inspired by Islamist precepts as articulated by AQ, AQAP, or their leaders, but are unaffiliated with those groups. Dr. Alexander uses twenty cases studies due to their illustrative nature of the threat that exists and foreshadows future risks. Dr. Alexander shares interesting observations, for example, nearly all the plotters in the AQ and AQAP case studies were men; the included many converts to Islam as well as foreign-born individuals; others had criminal records, varying educational levels extending from limited education to doctorate-level, as well as intellect, and a full range of marital and parental status.

Dr. Hâkan Gunneriusson from the Swedish National Defence College in Stockholm underscores that we need to learn to live with non-state actors being capable of delivering kinetic violence in volume. Dr. Gunneriusson states in his article titled "*Nothing is Taken Serious Until it Gets Serious: Countering Hybrid Threats*" that with the advent of hybrid threats we will redefine what war is and we will most likely go into an era when we must get used to war and all its implications on society. He also advances that there will possibly be no difference between mission area and at home anymore, nor will the boundary between war and peace be well defined. According to Dr. Gunneriusson, there are great challenges -practical, juridical but also deeply conceptual ones- on how to perceive threats and who should deal with them. Hence, responsibilities for acting against hybrid threats must be discussed in earnest. Dr. Gunneriusson concludes that the old theoretical assumption that geography can be a defining factor for division of responsibilities between authorities might prove itself more and more fragile, obsolete and in the end counter productive.

Dr. Can Kasapoğlu, a post-doctoral fellow at the Bar İlan University in Tel Aviv, analyzes the functions of cross-border operations for confronting transnational violent, non-state actors in light of the Turkish case. In his article titled "*Assessing the Role of Cross-Border Military Operations in Confronting Transnational Violent Non-State Groups: 1992 - 1998 Turkish Armed Forces Case*" Dr. Kasapoğlu argues that a geostrategic explanation of low intensity conflicts can be examined with special references to David Galula's multi-layered perspective applying to the 1992-1998 operations for military theoretical assessment. Dr. Kasapoğlu claims that in the Turkish example, PKK safe havens, which were located in troublesome mountainous landscape north of Iraq, had been placed under systematic military pressure until they lost their offensive capabilities and that the Turkish efforts were the result of both shifts in military modernization strategies and changes in strategic mindset or the "military strategic culture". In light of these considerations, Dr. Kasapoğlu concludes that conventional forces in low intensity conflicts require a complicated transformation, and that the Turkish case was not an exception.

Getting this issue ready for publishing has turned out to be more time consuming than we have originally anticipated, thus running the risk of some of our highly interesting articles being taken over by the unfolding significant events. Hopefully, authors contributing to this issue have been more than willing as well as vigilant to make the necessary revisions even at the last moment. Hence the Academic Board decided to combine the Spring and Fall issues of DATR for the year 2012. We hope you will enjoy reading this issue and find it useful for your research and teaching purposes.

Mustafa Kibaroğlu,
Editor-in-Chief

America and al-Qaeda: Who Will Win?

Dr. Sebastian L. V. Gorka
National Defence University in Washington D.C.

Abstract: *The past ten years have seen America engaged in its longest ever war against terrorism. While there have been tactical and operational successes-no grand attack has been successful, many others have been thwarted, and there is a lack of strategy to deal with the current threat. In the Cold War, the enemy and the way to fight them could be easily explained to the people, but the fight against terrorism has not reached that level of strategic thinking. The Westphalian nation-state system cannot deal with the current non-state global terrorism. The old trinity developed from Bismark must be adjusted today to address ideology so that we can truly counter the threat of terrorism.*

Keywords: *Counterterrorism, Counterterrorist Ideology, Trinity of War, Counterterrorist Strategy*

Introduction

Last year saw the 10th anniversary of the horrendous terrorist attacks of September 11, 2001. Al-Qaeda's mass murder of almost 3,000 people on that sunny Tuesday morning led directly to military operations in Afghanistan and then Iraq, which together mark the longest-ever military engagement by America since 1776. America is still fighting in a war that has already outlasted our combat in Korea, WWII and even Vietnam. Whilst the mastermind behind the September 11 attacks is dead-thanks to the courage and audacity of the United States military and intelligence community-the war is not over, the enemy not yet vanquished.

At the decade-marker for this war, there remain two disturbing truths that the American policy elite has yet to recognize or understand:

- Stunning tactical successes-no matter how numerous-in no way necessarily lead to strategic victory.

- The second related point is that today, a decade after September 11, America still does not fully understand the nature of the enemy that most threatens its citizens and thus its strategic response is undermined.

Know the Enemy

One of the more important reasons for the lack of an effective response to al-Qaeda is the lack of a clear and overarching strategy for the post-9/11 era. While we have been given first the Global War On Terror (GWOT), then the Long War, and now Overseas Contingency Operation, or OCO, we are still looking for the new George Kennan who will write the new version of the 'Long Telegram' which can be used to formulate a doctrine on the strategic level of the Cold War's containment policy.[1] Without a strategic level doctrine, it is very difficult to execute an effective response to any significant threat.

After World War II, our ability to effectively communicate what the stakes of the confrontation were, why America had to act, and what we wished to achieve were much easier. This was due to several reasons. Communication is best when it clearly demonstrates values. After four years of engagement in a global war against a totalitarian enemy, America's values were clear. Likewise after thirty years of the Soviet Union, the values of the enemy were not obtuse or difficult to grasp. With the Berlin Blockade, the launch of Sputnik and the first soviet atomic test, it was clear that the game was one of survival, of 'Them or Us'. The Enemy was clearly an enemy; we knew what they were capable of, what they wanted and most important of all, the previous four years had shown us who we were. September 11 was different.

In the hazy days of post-Cold War peace dividends, since our enemy had been vanquished, or rather had become our 'friend,' it was hard to remember what America and the West stood for. The attack itself came as a huge surprise. Despite the 1993 World Trade Center bombing, the USS Cole attack and the embassy bombings, we did not appreciate the scale of the threat, the intention of the enemy or his true capabilities.

After Abbottabad - America and the Strategic Principles of Counterterrorism

The Special Forces raid against Osama bin Laden in Abbottabad will clearly become the textbook example of how to perfectly execute high-risk military operations in the post-9/11 world. In locating and killing Osama bin Laden on foreign soil, America has again demonstrated its peerless capacity at the tactical and operational level. Nevertheless, as the supreme military thinker Sun Tsu taught, "tactics without strategy is simply the noise before defeat," and it is my firm conviction that the

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1   The Council for Emerging National Security Affairs has compiled a survey of national security practitioners and academics judging the various potential doctrines that have already been penned but have not yet won universal adoption by the Administration. See Council for Emerging National Security Affairs, *The Search for Mr. X-A CENSA Member's Survey on National Security Doctrine after Containment*, CENSA, 2007, available at http://www.censa.net/Mr%20X%20Final%20Report%20for%20Print.pdf (accessed Jun. 13, 2012).

last ten years of this conflict have lacked the strategic guidance that a threat of the magnitude of transnational terrorism demands.

This can be illustrated with one simple observation. Since the escalation of the Iraqi insurgency in 2004, the subsequent rewriting and rapid application of the United States Army/USMC Field Manual 3-24, Counterinsurgency, and the release of General Stanley McChrystal's report on operations in Afghanistan, Washington has persisted in calling our approach to the threat in theater a "Counterinsurgency Strategy." (In fact, a basic internet search on the term "Counterinsurgency Strategy" yields over 300,000 results). This is despite the fact that counterinsurgency always has been, and always will be, a doctrinal approach to irregular warfare, never a strategic solution to any kind of threat.

Strategy explains how one matches resources and methods to ultimate objectives. Strategy explains the 'why' of war, never the operational 'how' of war. The fact that even official bodies can repeatedly make this mistake so many years into this fight indicates that we are breaking cardinal rules of how to achieve America's national security interests. Additionally, we must, after eight years, finally take the counsel of the 9/11 congressional commission seriously in recognizing that the threat environment itself has radically changed beyond the capacity of our legacy national security structures to deal with it.

In the case of how two of the 9/11 hijackers (Nawaf al-Hamzi and Khalid al-Midhar) were flagged as threats and then still permitted to enter the United States legally, we see proof of how our national security structures do not live up to the threat our new enemies represent. This problem is not unique to the United States, but a product of what the academic world calls the Westphalian system of nation-states and how we are structured to protect ourselves.

For the 350 years since the Treaty of Westphalia ended the religious wars of Europe, Western nations have developed and perfected national security architectures that were predicated on an institutional division of labor and discrete categorization of threats. Internally we had to maintain constitutionality plus law and order. Externally we had to deal with the threat of aggression by another state. As a result all our countries divided the national security task set into separate conceptual and functional baskets: internal versus external, military versus non-military. And this system worked very well for three and half centuries during which time states fought other nation-states, the age of so-called 'conventional warfare'. However, as Philip Bobbitt has so masterfully described in his book *The Shield of Achilles*, that age is behind us. Al-Qaeda and associated movements cannot be forcibly categorized into analytic boxes which are military or non-military, internal or external threat.[2] We must recognize the hard truth that the threat environment is no longer primarily defined by the state actor.

Take, for example, the case of the most successful al-Qaeda attack on United States soil since 9/11, the Fort Hood massacre. A serving officer in the United States Army was recruited, encouraged and finally sanctioned in his actions by Anwar al-Awlaki, a United States citizen hiding out in Yemen. When Major Hasan was about to be deployed into theater in the service of the nation, he instead chose

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2   Philip Bobbitt, *The Shield of Achilles-War, Peace and the Course of History*, Random House, 2002. I have
     taken the discussion further and discuss just how different this post-Westphalian threat environment is and
     how we need to reappraise key Clausewitzian aspects of the analysis of war. Sebastian L. v. Gorka, "The Age
     of Irregular Warfare-So What?," in *Joint Forces Quarterly*, Issue 58, 3rd Quarter, 2010, pp. 32-38.

the path of the transcendentally-informed terrorist to slay 13 and wound 31 of his fellow servicemen, their family members and colleagues on the largest United States Army base in the United States.

How Westphalian was this deadly attack by al-Qaeda? What does it have to do with conventional warfare? Was this threat external or internal in nature? Was it a military attack or a non-military one? As you see, the conceptual frameworks and capabilities that served us so well through the last century fail us today in the 21st. As a result we must develop new methodologies to analyze the threats to our nation and new ways to bridge the conventional gaps between government and agency departments and their respective mindsets, gaps which are so deftly exploited by groups such al-Qaeda.[3] We must recognize that the master of military strategy, Carl von Clausewitz, wrote his *meisterwerk* in the context of nation-state war. His trinity of government, people and military, coupled with the related characteristics or reason, passion and skill do not attain results in the realm of irregular warfare as they do in conventional war (see illustration). Today the enemy is more flexible and not driven by rational conceptualizations of *raison d'etat*.
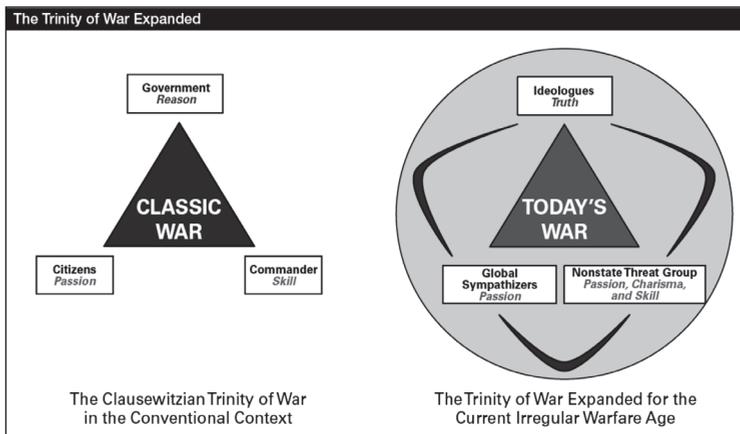
Figure One: Clausewitz versus Irregular Warfare

The paradox of al-Qaeda is that while we have in the last 10 years been incredibly successful in militarily degrading its operational capacity to directly do us harm, al-Qaeda has become even more powerful in the domain of ideological warfare and other indirect forms of attack. While bin Laden may be dead, the narrative of global revolution that he embodied is very much alive and growing in popularity.[4] While we have crippled al-Qaeda's capacity to execute mass casualty attacks with

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3   For a discussion of how to institutionally and conceptually bridge these gaps so as to be able to defeat the new types of threat we face, see Sebastian L. V. Gorka, "International Cooperation as a Tool in Counterterrorism: Super-Purple as a Weapon to Defeat the Nonrational Terrorist", in *Toward a Grand Strategy Against Terrorism*, Christopher C. Harmon, Andrew N. Pratt and Sebastian L. V. Gorka, eds., McGraw Hill, 2011, pp. 71-83.

4   For the rise of al-Qaeda's ideology and what should be done in response, see Sebastian L. V. Gorka, "The Surge that Could Defeat al-Qaeda", *ForeignPolicy.Com* , Aug 10, 2009, at http://www.foreignpolicy.com/ articles/2009/ 08/10/the_one_surge_that_could_defeat_al_qaeda (accessed Mar. 15, 2012).

its own assets on the mainland of the United States, we see that its message has and holds traction with individuals prepared to take the fight to us individually, be it Major Hasan, Faisal Shahzad (the Times Square attacker), or Umar Farouk Abdulmutallab (the Christmas Day bomber).

Counterterrorism: Beyond the Kinetic

Although in the last decade America has proven her capacity to kinetically engage the enemy at the operational and tactical level with unsurpassed effectiveness, we have not even begun to take the war to al-Qaeda at the strategic level of counterideology. To paraphrase Dr. James Kiras of the Air University, whose views I highly respect, we have denied al-Qaeda the capability to conduct complex devastating attacks on the scale of 9/11, but we now need to transition away from concentrating on dismantling and disrupting al-Qaeda's network, to instead move towards undermining its core strategy of ideological attack. We need to employ much more the indirect approach made famous by our community of Special Forces operators of working 'by, with and through' local allies and move beyond attacking the enemy directly at the operational and tactical level to attacking it indirectly at the strategic level.

We need to bankrupt al-Qaeda's brand of terrorism at its most powerful point: its narrative of global religious war. For the majority of the last ten years, the narrative of the conflict has been controlled by our enemy. Just as in the Cold War, the United States must take active measures to arrive at a position where it shapes the agenda and the story of the conflict, where we force our enemy onto its back foot to such an extent that the enemy narrative eventually loses all credibility and implodes as an ideology. For this to happen we must rethink from the ground up the way in which strategic communications and information operations are run across the United States government.

America's ability to fight al-Qaeda and similar transnational terrorist actors will depend upon the nation's capacity to communicate to its own citizens and to the world what it is we are fighting for and what the ideology of al-Qaeda threatens in terms of the universal values we hold so dear. To quote Sun Tsu again, "in war it is not enough to know the enemy in order to win. One must first know oneself". During the Cold War this happened naturally. Given the nature of the Soviet Union and the nuclear threat it clearly posed to the West, from the first successful Soviet atom bomb test to the collapse of the USSR in 1991, every day for four decades Americans knew what was at stake and why Communism could not be allowed to spread its totalitarian grip beyond the Iron Curtain.

However, with the end of the Cold War and the decade of peace dividends that was the 1990s, America and the West understandably lost clarity with regard to what it was about its way of life that was precious and worth fighting for since the specter of WW III had been vanquished and the (Cold) war had been won.

Conclusion

The last ten years since September 11, 2001 can be summarized as a vast collection of tactical and operational successes but a vacuum in terms of strategic understanding and strategic response. To paraphrase a former United States Marine who knows the enemy very well and whom I greatly

respect, we have failed to understand the enemy at any more than an operational level and have instead, by default, addressed the enemy solely on the operational plane of engagement. Operationally we have become most proficient at responding to the localized threats caused by al-Qaeda, but those localized threats are simply tactical manifestations of what is happening at the strategic level and driven by the ideology of transcendentally-informed global revolution. As a result, by not responding to what al-Qaeda has become at the strategic level, we continue to attempt to engage it on the wrong battlefield.

The tenth anniversary of the attacks in Washington, in New York and in Pennsylvania afforded those in the United States government who have sworn to uphold and defend the national interests of this greatest of nations a clear opportunity to recognize what has been accomplished and what needs to be reassessed. All involved must begin anew to recommit themselves to attacking this deadliest of enemies at the level which is deserves to be-and must be-which is, of course, the strategic level. Only if we have an overarching strategic response will America and her allies be able to defeat al-Qaeda and its associates before the next significant anniversary of 9/11.

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Pakistan's Fight Against Terrorism

Maj. Gen. (Ret) Talat Masood
Pakistan Army

Abstract: *This article analyzes that global and regional fight against terrorism from a Pakistani point of view. Not only does it examine the unique Pakistani aspects of the problem, but also the Pakistani view with regards to the actions of others, principally the United States and what is happening in Afghanistan. Although Pakistan remains engaged in global counterterrorism, it has its own terrorist problem at home. The fight against terror requires a concerted government approach, which is found lacking in the Pakistani government actions. Analyzing the counterterrorist actions of the most recent governments, the efforts and results of the military governments are contrasted with those of the more civilian governments, but finds that all have been hampered by a lack of a comprehensive national counterterrorism policy bringing all resources to bear in a coordinated fashion.*

Keywords: *Counterterrorism, Pakistan, Afghanistan, Pervez Musharraf, Zia-ul Haq*

Introduction

Terrorism is not a new phenomenon for Pakistan. It has been a reality for many years, but has acquired a menacing dimension since the catastrophic events of 9/11. Many political and military leaders (notably former Prime Minister Benazir Bhutto), security personnel, ordinary citizens, women and children have been victims of terrorism. The phenomenon is complex: a host of internal and external factors have given rise to multiple centers of terrorism in the country.

During the decade prior to the withdrawal of Soviet troops from Afghanistan in 1989, Pakistan was deeply involved in supporting the *mujaheedin* that were resisting Soviet aggression. General Zia-ul Haq, the military ruler of Pakistan during the period, inflicted great damage to the polity and social structure of Pakistan by pursuing policies that not only served the *mujaheedin* in

Afghanistan but also promoted the intense radicalization of Pakistani society. From Zia's point of view, support of the *jihadi* forces would win him international acceptance, strengthen political Islam and domestically consolidate his regime. He aligned Pakistan with the United States in the Afghani *jihad* without taking into consideration the adverse fallout of associating and promoting radicalism as state policy.

During this period Washington was unabashedly promoting radical Islam as a bastion against godless communism, equally unmindful of the consequences to the region's peace and stability. From the mid-1960s on, Pakistan used various militant groups as instruments of state policy, but in tandem with United States policy, they acquired greater significance in Zia's time. He supported militant groups within Pakistan to fight in Kashmir, hoping that it would build pressure on India to come to the negotiating table. To legitimize his rule, he also allied himself with conservative and radical religious parties that were sympathetic toward these extremist groups. In addition, due to the infighting within their country, millions of Afghan refugees were streaming across the border into Pakistan, creating a demographic and security challenge that in some respects exacerbated the trend toward radicalization in the country. All of this also played into Pakistanis' deeper anxieties.

Since Pakistan's inception, India has remained the primary threat as a military and hegemonic power of the region; the legacy of disputes that the British left unresolved-especially Kashmir-has cast a deep and a dangerous shadow on Pakistan. To countervail India's growing economic and military power, Islamabad has used militant proxies to lock up Indian forces. But some of the asymmetric forces, like the Lashkar-e Jhangvi and Sipah-Sahaba that were meant to advance Islamabad's strategic interest, have grown fairly strong and autonomous so that they are even challenging the authority of the state. They have now turned inwards and are responsible for many acts of violence within Pakistan.[1] Thus the narrow security orientation pursued during military rule in Pakistan (that may have had some relevance in the past) has now become a major security challenge. It is ironic that the army, which created these multiple non-state actors as a part of its India-centric policy, is the only institution that has the capacity to handle these radical forces. In contrast, the civilian government is weak and the law enforcement agencies-police and paramilitary forces-are not truly capable of countering the menace of militancy. For instance, the Tehrik-e Taliban Pakistan (TTP, a network of militant groups mostly from to the tribal belt) has been involved in dozens of terrorist attacks throughout Pakistan. A few Punjab and Kashmiri-based militant organizations also have developed a nexus with the TTP and the remnants of al-Qaeda.[2] They are engaged in serious acts of violence within the country and, at times, abroad. Due to intense and sustained pressure applied by Pakistan and the United States, al-Qaeda has been weakened here. More recently, as violence has become a fundamental threat to the safety of everyone, there is a growing realization that domestic extremism represents an even greater threat to the country than India does.

In 1989, after the withdrawal of the Soviet Union from Afghanistan, the United States made a premature exit from the region. Afghanistan plunged into civil war and fighting ensued among the

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1   Bruce Riedel, "Armageddon in Islamabad", *The National Interest,* July/August 2009 ("Pakistan is both a patron and victim of terror. The Frankenstein created by the army and ISI is now increasingly out of control and threatening the freedoms of all Pakistanis").

2   C. Christine Fair, "Militant Recruitment in Pakistan", *Studies in Conflict Terrorism,* Vol. 27, No. 6, Nov-Dec 2004, p. 495 ("al-Qaeda uses informal networks with Pakistani organizations to obtain logistic support as well as operational support").

various *mujahedeen* groups that had been trained and supported by the CIA. The infighting and turbulence in neighboring Afghanistan proved very destabilizing, especially for Pakistan's tribal region, as well as the northern and southwestern provinces of Khyber Pakhtunkhwa and Baluchistan. It was during this chaotic period in Afghanistan that the Taliban came into power and Pakistan was one of only three countries that made the controversial decision to recognize the regime. Pakistan's involvement with the Afghan Taliban and the rise of its own brand of Taliban eventually led to the spread of extremism-another major source of terrorism. Pakistan's military rulers during the Afghan jihad had conceptualized the possibility of developing 'strategic depth' in Afghanistan to counter Indian hegemonic designs. Instead, Pakistan's tribal region and parts of the Northwest have fallen victim to the ideological spread of the decadent Taliban ideology.

The real trigger for the spread of militancy and terrorism was, however, the iconic event of 9/11 and the subsequent United States-led invasion of Afghanistan in 2001. After 9/11, terrorism acquired a new and serious dimension when it became a front line state against Bush's "war on terror."[3] The relationship between the United States and Pakistan as well as between Afghanistan and Pakistan underwent a major change. The United States-led invasion of Afghanistan pushed Taliban forces into Pakistan's tribal region where they created new bases and sanctuaries. The tribal belt is a mirror image of the devastation next door. The Durand Line that separates the two countries runs through traditional boundaries among the Pashtun. The Afghans have never recognized it; every attempt to enforce the boundary has been fiercely resisted by people on both sides.[4] Spillover of the war in Afghanistan has created instability and given rise to Pakistan's own version of Taliban that at one stage extended their reach across to nearly all agencies of the tribal region and were expanding their frontiers up to Swat and Peshawar that are settled areas of Pakistan. This led to heightening concerns that the insurgency was broadening. A major military operation was undertaken in 2009 against the Tehrik Taliban Pakistan and other militant organizations to re-establish the authority of the state. The operation in Swat and South Waziristan was fairly successful but many of the militants and senior Pakistani Taliban leaders-Maulvi Faqir, Qari Zia-ur Rehman, Abdul Wali and Maulana Fazalullah-escaped to take shelter in Afghanistan and in other parts of the tribal region.

The TTP launched a series of violent terrorist attacks on security installations, main city centers, and schools in retaliation for the clearing of militant sanctuaries in the tribal region. The current situation is that the Afghan Taliban and its other affiliates, especially the powerful Haqqani group, are still located in North Waziristan and launch occasional attacks across the porous border into Afghanistan.

Their continued presence has been a major source of friction in United States-Pakistan relations.[5] Pakistan's military leadership has been reluctant to open another front as it is already overstretched dealing with militant groups in other parts of the western border. This arid mountainous and

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3   Jack Straw, "*Reordering the World". The Long Term Implications of September 11*, London: Foreign Policy Research Center, 2002.

4   Bijan Omrani, "The Durand Line: History and Problems of the Afghan-Pakistan Border", *Asian Affairs,* Vol. 40, No. 2, 2009, pp. 177-195.

5   K. Alan Kronstadt, "Pakistan-United States Relations: A Summary", CRS Report, May 2012, pp. 29-31.

neglected region in northwestern Pakistan has provided sanctuary to the Pakistani Taliban, the Afghan Taliban, foreign and domestic jihadists and members of al-Qaeda. The army and paramilitary forces periodically engage in military operations in different agencies of the tribal region to keep clearing the militant hideouts. The focus of these military operations is mostly directed against the TTP and its affiliates. In essence it has become a battle of attrition between the TTP and the army.

When the Pakistan army intensifies its operations or the frequency of United States drone attacks increases as a part of its counterterrorism policy, the militants respond by launching a wave of terrorist attacks on security installations and populated areas.[6] The most effective response to the militants should lie in clearing the sanctuaries and establishing the authority of the state in the tribal region, but that has not proven easy with a porous border, a region that has remained neglected for decades and government control historically being nominal.

The wider context is troublesome. The Afghan insurgency is, and will remain, a major engine of instability in the region. The most disturbed areas of Afghanistan lie in the southern and eastern parts of the Pakhtoon belt that are contiguous with Pakistan's western border. The presence in Pakistan of certain top leaders of Afghan militant groups (including the "Quetta Shura" led by Mullah Omar the Taliban spiritual leader), further complicates the country's problems.

There is also the continued presence of al-Qaeda that operates as a loosely-structured, amorphous body, although it is greatly diminished as a result of the Pakistan Army's ceaseless pressure. Its ideology attracts certain groups that are alienated from society or fight against injustices, imaginary or real.[7] Our experience has been that al-Qaeda exploits weaknesses in governance (and chaotic conditions) and makes common cause with local militant groups. Justice and good governance can to a great extent minimize the influence of this force. Al-Qaeda-affiliated groups have perpetrated some deadly terrorists attacks in the past, presumably on the Danish Embassy and Marriot Hotel in Islamabad. Nonetheless, not all is bleak: their operational effectiveness in the last few years has been on the decline. The loss of top commanders, especially the killing of Osama bin Laden in May 2011, and continued pressure from Pakistan and United States military and intelligence agencies has curtailed al-Qaeda's destructive potential both in Afghanistan and Pakistan.

Limited successes notwithstanding, Pakistan continues to face the major challenge of terrorism and insurgency, the epicenter of which lies in the tribal belt. In North Waziristan, the authority of the state is limited and the army has so far not conducted any clearing operation. South Waziristan, Orakzai, Mohmand, Khyber and Kurram are other areas of the FATA where the military has been able to establish the authority of the state but still there exists several pockets of militant holdouts.

Pakistan's neglect of the tribal areas for decades, its deep involvement in the Afghan *jihad,* emergence of its own version of Taliban in the tribal areas and the fallout of 9/11 have nearly totally destroyed the social, tribal and administrative structure of the area. Taking advantage of these chaotic conditions, the Taliban has set up a parallel administration, are providing justice in accordance with their harsh interpretation of Islam and maintaining security by imposing ruthless measures.

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6   Randall Collins, *Violence A Micro-Sociological Theory,* Princeton University Press, 2009, pp. 440-447 ("The activities of terrorists are not unlike those of professional hit men").

7   Edward Newman, "Exploring the Root Causes of Terrorism", *Studies in Conflict & Terrorism* 29, 2006, pp. 749-772.

It is in these sanctuaries of the tribal belt, where the writ of the state is minimal or non-existent, that the TTP, the Afghan Taliban and other militant groups have been doing their training. They use it as a base for launching attacks into several parts of Pakistan and across the border into Afghanistan. Since 2009, the Pakistani army and paramilitary forces have launched several operations to clear these sanctuaries. In retaliation, the insurgents and their affiliates have launched terrorist attacks into different parts of the country. The primary motive behind the terrorist acts is to deter government from using military force, demoralize the public, demoralize the security institutions and capture power. However, sustained military operations conducted against TTP strongholds and the strong presence of regular army units in the area has weakened the ability of the militants to conduct terrorist attacks.

It is encouraging that the ownership of the fight against militancy is greater now under a civilian democratic government than it was during President Musharraf's period. The Chief of Army Staff, General Kayani, with the support of the civilian government, has shown the determination and political will to seriously engage in counterinsurgency and counterterrorism operations. Despite these consistent efforts, there are some areas where it has not been possible to establish the authority of the state. This is largely due to border being porous, allowing the militants to cross over into Afghanistan and merge with the Afghan Taliban.

The Pakistan government, at this stage is not prepared to negotiate with the Tehrik-e- Taliban Pakistan (TTP) leadership. Its previous experience of negotiating with these groups has led to the militants consolidating and expanding their influence. The army is currently keeping pressure on these groups and, when required, launching military operations and targeting group leaders. However, it is important to understand that TTP is a loose network of motley and disparate groups that have coalesced to leverage their impact but have little in common. The TTP and some major Afghan militant groups reside in Orakzai as well as South and North Waziristan, which are considered the base of all resistance.

The Taliban of Pakistan is a loosely-knitted group. Some are ideologically motivated and they are mostly in North and South Waziristan. Whereas, in Khyber, agency criminals, drug mafia and smugglers have worn the mantle of Taliban to challenge the authority of the state. In Khuram, agency ethnic groups are fighting for turf; in Orakzai and Bajaur a mix of ideology and criminality are acting as an incentive for insurgency. These groups will continue to give trouble for quite a while. However, if the government and the military remain steadfast to pursue militant leaders and their groups vigorously according to a well-conceived plan involving both military and other elements of national power, there are good prospects of pacifying the area within two to three years. Much, of course, will depend how the situation unfolds in Afghanistan and the extent of international support to Pakistan.

Sanctuaries in the Tribal Region

Pakistan's army so far has been circumspect in launching operations in North Waziristan that is host to the powerful Haqqani group-a battle-hardened group from the Afghan *jihad*. Its strength could vary from 3,000 to 4,000 and they could draw more from adjoining provinces of Afghanistan in the event that Pakistan launches an operation. Militants fleeing from South Waziristan and other parts of the tribal agencies have also sought refuge in this area.

Pakistan does not want to antagonize the Afghan Taliban and other militant groups residing in North Waziristan, knowing that it will have to deal with them once the American and NATO combat forces leave. The new United States and NATO strategy on Afghanistan already envisages complete withdrawal of combat forces by 2014; France, Germany and other NATO countries are leaving (or have left) earlier. Meanwhile, serious efforts are being made to bring the Afghan Taliban to the negotiating table. In such an unpredictable scenario, Pakistan would like to keep its options open and closely watch how the military situation and United States policy evolves.

Another inhibiting factor for extending military operations in North Waziristan is the danger that it could trigger a fresh wave of suicide attacks in settled parts of Pakistan- as was the case during operations in Swat and more recently in South Waziristan. High human and financial costs are another important consideration. Pakistan has lost nearly 3000 security forces and thousands of civilians in its fight against the militants. The financial cost of fighting the insurgency is already taking its toll-the defense expenditure has exceeded the budget by over 35% and demands for more money, weapons and equipment are rising. According to some estimates, Pakistan has suffered a loss of nearly 70 billion dollars for being a front-line state in the fight against militants. Pakistan's financial difficulties further create an environment for extremism and enhanced militancy.

Terrorism and the Struggle for Freedom

After the terrorist attacks of 9/11, the distinction between terrorism and legitimate struggles for freedom, as in Kashmir or Palestine, also became blurred. As a result, the United States and other powers were able to suppress indigenous freedom movements with impunity if that served their purposes. It is also true that there was genuine concern that a nexus could develop between groups engaged in the struggle for freedom and those involved in terrorism.

Subsequent events have shown that these fears were to some extent justified. However, that does not absolve countries like India from addressing legitimate grievances that have given rise to insurgencies in Indian-administered Kashmir where the state itself has committed acts of brutality against its people, pushed them to the brink, and compelled them to react violently. In the absence of a clear definition of terrorism, India has suppressed genuine freedom movements through brute force.

Diverse militant groups from Pakistan that were originally engaged in Kashmir (and were part of the resistance movement with the tacit support of the Pakistani government) have now turned inwards and are involved in sectarian violence in this country. They have joined with other sectarian or ethnic organizations engaged in sectarian conflicts and committing acts of terrorism. These include Hizb-ul-Mujaheedin, Jash-e-Mohammad and Lashkar-e Tyaba, anti-Shia Lashkar-e-Jhangvi and Sipah Sahaba. Crackdowns by the government on militant groups like Lashkar-e Tiaba, Jaish-e-Mohammed, Lashkar Jhangvi, Sapah Sahaba and others have not been sustained. It is apparent that the state has been too soft and, at least as of now, unable to take on these banned groups.[8]

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8   Jacob N. Shapiro and C. Christine Fair, "Understanding Support for Islamist Militancy in Pakistan," *International Security*, Vol. 34, No. 3, Winter 2009/10, pp. 79-118.

The mushrooming expansion of the number of such organizations has resulted in the development of new political fault lines based on ethnic and sectarian nationalism. These have been exacerbated by foreign interference: the fight against the Soviets in Afghanistan in the 1980s and the emergence of the Shia theocratic regime in Iran in 1979 led to Saudi support for Sunni Wahabi groups and Iranian support for Shia militant organizations. Pakistan became a battleground for sectarian warfare and political Islam. These internecine wars continue to date, at times attaining greater intensity. By and large the Shia, being in the minority, are the victims although the Shia have also engaged in retaliatory attacks.[9]

The total number of proscribed jihadi groups in Pakistan by 2012 has grown to 38. The government has failed to prevent banned terrorist organizations from operating under different names or going underground. After being previously banned, several major jihadi organizations, such as the Lashkar-e-Jhangvi and Sipahe Sahaba Pakistan, have operated under different names with their organizational and financial base largely intact.

There is a growing nexus among several groups despite their differing agendas. They tend to unite to reinforce their ability to achieve the common objective of weakening the state to facilitate the capture of power through unconstitutional means. Thus we have seen the involvement of Lashkar-e-Tayaba in the horrific terrorist attack in Mumbai, India in 2008 and the more recent massacre of Shia Hazaras in Baluchistan. Different radical groups also have acted independently or in unison with each other as was the case in the attack on the Sri Lankan cricket team in Lahore in 2009 or the several attacks on major military installations, intelligence headquarters and places of worship.

The common denominators that facilitate the increase in power and influence of these groups include poor governance, weak state structures and the pursuit of flawed national policies. Illiteracy, unemployment, pervasive corruption and the elitist character of Pakistani society have also contributed toward extremism and radicalism. With multiple militant groups operating in Pakistan, the task of the government in combating them becomes a huge challenge. Many *jihadi* organizations also have taken cover as charities and in so doing have further expanded their influence.

It is important to recognize that terrorism cannot be effectively addressed in a linear or compartmentalized manner. Specific measures toward social and economic development have to be taken to fight the various terrorist groups and to counter extremism. However, the root causes of terrorism are highly complex and multifaceted.[10] Most importantly, the government should have a clear vision and a holistic plan to combat terrorism and develop a multidimensional strategy that strengthens development and security on a long-term basis. The absence of a clear and comprehensive policy by the government has made the task of countering terrorism difficult. It also has left the task of both the formulation and execution of counterinsurgency and counterterrorism essentially in the hands of the army leadership.

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9   International Crisis Group, "The State of Sectarianism in Pakistan", *Asia Report*, No 95, 18 April 2005 ("Cooption & patronage of religious parties by successive military governments have brought Pakistan to a point where religious extremism threatens to erode the foundations of the state and society").

10   Sidney Weintraub, "Treating the Causes", *Center for Strategic & International Studies Monthly Commentary, No. 22* October 2001 ("The discussion of poverty reduction can be brought specifically to the situation in the Middle East and South Asia. Most people in those regions, which seem to be the cradle of the terrorism movement, live in poverty.")

Regrettably, Pakistan has no coherent strategy to deal with sectarian and radical Islamist organizations that practice and preach violent *jihad*. Military governments in the past have pursued shortsighted policies by supporting some of these groups to advance their agenda. In fact, when a government panders to *jihadi* groups, it loses its credibility and its capacity to implement an effective counterterrorism or counterextremism policy.

Paradigm Shift

In January 2002, President Musharraf (in a speech meant both for the domestic and international community) made a categorical commitment to end Pakistan's support of those militant organizations that engage in acts of terrorism.[11] He declared that he would try to take effective measures against the curse of extremism and radicalism within the country. This was a paradigm shift from the policies that the army had pursued in the past.

Thousands of militants were arrested. Regrettably, most of them were later released. In Pakistan, bringing terrorists to justice has been extremely difficult and cumbersome due to weak laws and insufficient evidence. Courts have freed most of the confirmed terrorists due to lack of evidence and the fears of reprisals, residing in judges as well as the witnesses and the police. It is the duty of the state to provide protection but, fearing for their lives, witnesses did not come forward to provide evidence. In the absence of concrete evidence and with the state unable to provide judges with proper security, the terrorists were mostly just released. It is clearly the failure of the state if it is unable to provide adequate security to the courts and witnesses or to enact laws to deal with terrorists.

Democracy's Role in Fighting Terrorism

Washington in the past always preferred military rule in Pakistan, as it is easier to manipulate a few top military leaders than deal with a more complex power structure in a democracy. However, military rule has proven less effective in fighting terrorism, as experience has demonstrated. Apart from the military instrument, the fight against terrorism requires the harnessing of the full spectrum of the elements of national power-political, economic, cultural and social; it needs comprehensive solutions.

The return of democracy in Pakistan in 2008 was a positive development but with state institutions being weak, it has not been that effective in combating militants. Nonetheless, as democracy gets more deeply rooted, it can be helpful to gain and mobilize public support against militants. Democratic countries allow their citizens to vent their feelings and create moderate societies, whereas autocratic regimes suppress people and give rise to extremist movements that eventually lend themselves to terrorist activities. Pakistan's experience has been that the policies pursued during military rule have given rise to extremism and the growth of militant organizations that are involved in terrorist activity. Pakistan is still suffering from General Zia-ul Haq's policies in the 1980s, when he flirted with the Afghan *jihadists* and promoted a culture of religious intolerance. Musharraf's flirting with

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11 In a landmark speech, President Musharraf vowed to end Pakistan's use as a base for terrorism. BBC, "Musharraf Speech Highlights", *BBC News*, 12 Jan 2002.

religious parties to gain legitimacy and later siding with United States after 9/11, without taking into consideration its blowback, also gave rise to unchecked radicalism in Pakistan. Because of the unrepresentative character of the military regime of General Musharraf, he failed to counter the influence of the *jihadists* and the militants, despite enjoying nearly nine years of unbridled power.

The lack of political stability and weakening of state institutions due to prolonged military rule contributed to the strengthening of militants and the expansion of their influence.

In 2008, when a democratic government led by more moderate political parties replaced the military regime of General Musharraf, people expected that it augured well for the fight against terror. However, the clear verdict of the people against military-dominated rule and the rejection of religious parties regrettably were not usefully channeled against extremist forces. By acting as a counterforce, they could have cleaned the swamp of militants, but for that they needed a comprehensive policy and its faithful implementation. This required improved governance and economic development that could bring a marked difference in the lives of the people. This could also have a salutary impact on Afghanistan and Pakistan's turbulent political and social milieu.

Simply put, successful democracy in Pakistan is essential to counter terrorism but it has to be accompanied by good performance.[12] Democratic government without content or the one that cannot deliver loses the confidence of the people and strengthens the militants. Fighting terrorism in a democratic milieu should be relatively easier provided that the government enjoys credibility and performs at least to people's minimum expectations. Militant organizations tend to exploit the alienation of people that flow from the failings of the government and its policies. Thus terrorism is best beaten when moderate forces actively mobilize themselves to isolate and defeat its perpetrators. Conversely, by remaining a silent majority, they shirk their responsibility and allow a free hand to militants. Unless civil society is willing to take a strong position against the terrorists, which unfortunately has not been the case in Pakistan, only then will it be possible to construct positive and enduring strategies to take the country out of this vicious cycle of violence. In Pakistan, the present PPP-led coalition government initially made some efforts to mobilize public opinion to own the war against terror; sadly, it failed to sustain that effort. Any premature break up of the democratic institutions, despite their failings, would clearly strengthen the militants.

What the Support of the Afghan Taliban is Costing Pakistan

Until September 2001, Pakistan along with Saudi Arabia and Abu Dhabi were the only countries that recognized the Taliban regime in Afghanistan. Even now Pakistan is accused by the United States and Western governments of sheltering the Taliban leadership and providing them with logistical support and security cover. This has given rise to misunderstandings and mistrust between Washington and Islamabad. These differences are essentially a result of different threat perceptions held by the United States and Pakistan. From a Pakistani perspective, it is the Pakistani Taliban (TTP) that are the real danger to the state. To counter the Afghan Taliban, from Islamabad's perspective, is the responsibility of the United States and ISAF forces. With Pakistan's military already overstretched,

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12 Jennifer L. Windsor, "Promoting Democratization Can Combat Terrorism", *The Washington Quarterly*, Vol. 26, No. 3, Summer 2003.

taking on the Afghan Taliban or other Afghan militant groups like the Haqqani group is not considered strategically prudent. There is also a belief that these groups will remain well entrenched close to our borders in the eastern and southern part of Pakistan, even after the United States and ISAF have withdrawn and to invite their enmity would be against Pakistan's long term security interests.

Root Causes

In combating militant groups, apart from banning organizations and keeping close watch on their activities, it is essential to get at the root cause of the emergence of such groups. What are their motivation levels, their sources of funding and who is providing them with cover? Some serious researchers on terrorism have pointed out that there is also a need to "conceptualize terrorism as a moral issue with dimensions beyond imperialism, nationalism and sovereignty. As a result people appear in rallies and public places without remorse and raise the banner of nationalism and anti-imperialism".

The government has to treat terrorism as a criminal offence and deal with it accordingly through legal action rather than relying on military force alone to neutralize militant groups. There is also a need for the government to develop an alternative narrative that is more positive to what is being promoted by the militant organizations. Taliban, LeT, and other militant groups have become media savvy in putting across their narrative effectively.

Religious Seminaries

The impact of religious seminaries on the growth of militancy in Pakistan has been a subject of widespread and serious debate. Regrettably, there has been no progress in improving the quality of the education they provide. Seminaries have been in existence on the subcontinent for centuries and had played a significant role in promoting religious education. But the Afghan *jihad* and the exploitation of religion to serve political ends under General Zia-ul Haq in the 1980s, gave a boost to the rapid growth and political transformation of many madrasas in Pakistan.[13]

The impact of this was most felt clearly in Karachi, Baluchistan and Kyhber Pakhtunkhwa in that it altered their benign character. The madrasas have since played a key role in creating and supporting many *jihadi* organizations. Madrasas are also a means of financially supporting the jihadi organizations. The quality of education in the majority of the madrasas too, apart from a few exceptions, is basic and essentially confined to memorizing the Holy Quran. Most of the students fail to acquire the skills that are relevant for gainful employment. Most of them end up in mosques as Khateebs or Moazzins. Because of their limited horizon, their sermons take a narrow and dogmatic view of Islam; what is most worrisome is this cultivates intolerance and a rigid mindset.

There is considerable resistance to government efforts to modernize the curricula and to make madrasas financially and administratively accountable. Although the highest representative body, the Ulema, had agreed to revise the syllabus and introduce modern subjects, they have so far failed

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13 International Crisis Group, "Pakistan: Karachi's Madrassas & Violent Extremism", *Asia Report*, No. 139, Mar. 29, 2007.

to comply. The government has taken no action, even against those religious seminaries that have been preaching hatred and violence.

Curriculum and Educational Reforms

One of the major factors contributing to the rise of radicalism and fanaticism is the hate material in school curriculums. Recent attempts at revising the syllabus and curriculum in Pakistan have been half-hearted and need a major corrective effort. In addition to reforming the madrasas, there is an urgent need to strengthen the current educational system. Indeed, education is one of the most critical instruments in fighting terrorism. The current spending on education in Pakistan is less than 2 percent of the GDP and that too is not fully utilized due to corruption and poor management. An increase in education spending will have to be accompanied by educational reforms and better management of primary and secondary schools.

Education in tribal area will have to be given the highest priority, as it has remained neglected for decades.

Suicide Terrorism

The use of suicide terrorism has become a major weapon in the hands of Pakistani militant groups. Individuals, normally between the impressionable ages of 15 to 25, are indoctrinated and prepared to sacrifice their lives in order to attack and destroy predetermined targets to advance the political agendas of militant groups. Most of the banned organizations in Pakistan like the TTP, Lashkar-e Jhangvi and several other jihadi and sectarian parties use suicide bombers.

Militant organizations use this inhuman practice for many reasons: it costs little, causes huge damage to the target, it is difficult for law enforcement agencies to trace the initiator of the crime, and it creates despondency among masses. The high casualty rate of suicide bombings attracts media attention; that has a huge psychological impact. By creating a shock affect through suicide bombings, terrorists believe that they can gain sympathy and legitimacy.[14]

On the other hand, frequent terrorist attacks by suicide bombers have created resentment among the people. Most of the suicide bombers are trained and indoctrinated in the sanctuaries that exist in North Waziristan and other parts of the tribal areas and launched in major cities on specified targets to create maximum impact.[15] The two main types of suicide-related, improvised explosive devices (IED) used in Pakistan have been the human and the vehicle borne. Sound intelligence, monitoring financial transactions, clearing sanctuaries in the tribal region and penetrating the agent-handling network could be effective countermeasures against the continued spread of suicide terrorism.

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14 Yoram Schweitzer, "Suicide Terrorism Development and Main Characteristics", in *Countering Suicide Terrorism*, Herzliya: International Policy Institute for Counter Terrorism, 2007, pp. 79-81.

15 *See* Paul J. Smith, *The Terrorism Ahead: Confronting Transnational Violence in the Twenty-first Century,* M.E. Sharpe, 2007.

The Nature of Terrorism

Unlike a conventional military campaign, a war on terrorism has no important physical features that have to be seized or captured. Moreover, the enemy can be elusive; experts are of the view that even those terrorist groups that are internally divided and demoralized can be very aggressive and destructive.

Terrorism is essentially a political weapon and can be very devastating even if it is a failure by normal operational standards. Defeating terrorism requires a comprehensive strategy and a long-term approach that aims at factors beyond the use of military force. The use of repressive and coercive means alone can be counterproductive. At times a humanistic approach may prove to be more successful in dealing with terrorist organizations. For instance, in Egypt militant organizations like Islamic Jihad and Gama'a al-Islamiya renounced violence and pursued their goals through non-violent political means. In Saudi Arabia several militant groups have been successfully deradicalized through a well-thought out strategy and comprehensive plan of action.

In dealing with terrorism, the psychological aspect has to be given due weight. Recent studies have indicated that those who embrace terrorism find the experience thrilling and spiritually rewarding.[16] In essence what it implies is that to win against terrorists it is crucial to address several aspects of militant behavior. Also, no policy against terrorism can succeed without winning the hearts and minds of people. For this it is crucial to work toward reducing and eventually eliminating the support of the population for the militants. The separation has to be both ideological and physical. Differentiation has to be made between the diehard core of militants and their followers with every effort made to rehabilitate the latter back into the mainstream.

To some extent, Pakistan has been pursuing this policy, although it needs to be pursued more vigorously. The practice of using the people of the area to raise militias to fight the insurgents has been successful in a few cases. The danger is that after they have developed into an effective force, the same militias could then start challenging the state itself.

The normal tactics of terrorists are that they first engage in surveillance of potential targets.[17] These could be security installations, high profile politicians, etc. Making the public aware of their methodology through media and other sources to gain their support can help in preempting the activities of the terrorists.

Terrorist organizations also play to the emotions and to religious sentiments. In Pakistan, some of them have taken up the cause of pan-Islamism to seek sympathy and support of banned international Islamic movements, including al-Qaeda, in order to advance their narrow agenda. It is crucial that the government should mount a counter campaign by exposing the harm that terrorists are doing to society and the nation by committing acts of violence.

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16 Simon Cottee and Keith Hayward, "Terrorist (E)Motives: The Existential Attractions of Terrorism", *Studies in Conflict & Terrorism*, Vol. 34, No. 12, 2011, pp. 963-986 ("The key argument advanced in what follows is that terrorism, for those who practice and embrace it, can be profoundly thrilling, empowering and spiritually intoxicating").

17 Jane's Group, "Suicide Terrorism: A Global Threat", *Jane's Intelligence Review*, April 1, 2000 ("A comprehensive knowledge of target is essential for the success of a suicide operation").

The other important aspect is to highlight the true spirit and message of Islam that it stands for peace and acts of violence are a negation of it. For this it will be necessary to improve the quality of education in the madrassas so that they have a better understanding of religion and the Quran. Extremist literature in the forms of pamphlets, books and videos that poison the mind should be banned.

The Impact of Strained/Skewed United States-Pakistani Relations

Pakistan-United States relations went through a series of crises in 2011. As a result of the unilateral raid to kill Osama bin Laden in May 2011 and the unfortunate attack on a border post by the United States Army in November 2011 when 24 Pakistani servicemen were killed, the Pakistan government reacted strongly and suspended the NATO logistic supply. After a detailed review, the Pakistani parliament has formulated recommendations to reset the relationship hoping that it would remove the irritants and bring about a more stable and enduring partnership. Security of allied forces, stability in Afghanistan and to an extent global security is dependent on the level of cooperation that is extended by Islamabad. The United States's primary interest is still that Pakistan should deny sanctuaries to militants in the tribal belt by establishing the authority of the state and provide intelligence, operations and logistic support to the allied forces operating in Afghanistan. It should also play a positive role in bringing the Taliban to the negotiating table. However, some in Pakistan would argue that America's interest in the region goes beyond fighting Islamic radicalism and is aimed at consolidating its strategic hold on the region.

United States and international concerns apart, Pakistan (looking after its own security and stability) has a vital interest in addressing the scourge of terrorism and fighting insurgency. It is concerned that after the withdrawal of NATO and United States forces from Afghanistan, the country could plunge once again into civil war. The post-withdrawal situation that would emerge in Afghanistan will have a direct bearing on Pakistan's stability, especially the tribal belt and the province of Khyber Pakhtunkhwa. For this reason, a successfully negotiated settlement with the Afghan Taliban should contribute toward stabilizing the region.

President Bush's concept was that the war on terror is permanent.[18] This was an illogical and, in a way, dangerous concept. How can any war be of an endless duration and how can it be expected that Afghanistan (and Pakistan) would wage a permanent war on their people? The other basic difference between the United States and the Pakistani position is that Pakistan is fighting against its own people in its own territory, whereas the United States and NATO forces are fighting the Afghan Taliban and al-Qaeda militants on foreign soil. The United States and the Western world at times fail to see this differentiation.

The absence of military operations in North Waziristan in the near future would mean that the frequency of United States drone attacks will continue or may even intensify. This gives rise to considerable resentment and sharpens anti-American sentiment. It is also a moral and political dilemma for the government, notwithstanding its tactical advantage.

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18 Fareed Zakaria, *The Future of Freedom,* New York: W. W. Norton, 2003 (quoting President Bush "As we wage war we must also work to make the world a better place for all its citizens").

Furthermore, there has been a large internal displacement of people during military operations. From South Waziristan alone, nearly 300,000 persons were displaced and either staying in camps or as guests in adjoining settled areas. These people have to be brought back, for which hospitable conditions have to be created so that they do not fall prey to the machinations of the Taliban and other militant groups. There is considerable resentment already among them that they were caught in the crossfire of the military and Taliban.

The government will have to take very concrete measures to develop the tribal region. With nearly 70 % of the population unemployed and a burgeoning young population (between 15 to 30 years old), more violence and increased militancy could be expected. For many, fighting for the *jihad* is a cause, a means of employment, and source of empowerment. The TTP has been paying its cadres well from its earnings from criminal activity, drug trade, and charities received from abroad and collecting local taxes.

Even close friends of Pakistan, like China and Saudi Arabia, are wary of the growing militancy and terrorism in Pakistan; they will have to be sensitive to it. The presence of Uighur dissidents and radicals in Pakistan is a cause of great concern to the Chinese. Equally worried (about Pakistan's growing militancy) are the Saudis. They have been trying to help Pakistan in the rehabilitation of militants.

The intricacies and complexities of terrorism and militancy, as well as the nature of the militant groups that are operating in the tribal areas and other settled parts of Pakistan has to be understood before any comprehensive strategy of counterterrorism can be formulated.[19]

There are different militant groups with varying agendas. First are the groups that are ideologically motivated-they are affiliated with al-Qaeda and have a pan-Islamic vision; they do not accept the concept of a modern nation-state so they is practically irreconcilable. The only way of dealing with them is through the use of military force. Then the second category constitutes those who, due to lack of employment opportunities and insecurity, have joined the militants as a relatively better alternative to what the weak and corrupt state is offering them. These groups could be won over provided the government has the political will and the capacity to provide better governance, open avenues of employment, and ensure access to justice and security. The lack of these basic services has driven the population toward the militants.

Last are those who consider becoming a Taliban or a *jihadist* as a means of employment and also of empowerment. With a rifle in their possession and reasonable income they feel empowered. This category could also include those who want to take revenge being victims of collateral damage by either United States drone attacks or Pakistan military operations in the tribal region. These divisions are not that sharp and there is a lot of overlap.

In the longer term, Pakistan needs to focus on nation building-to get its house in order- and to develop a sense of a common identity. If, in earlier days, identity was defined against an outer enemy-India-it must be redefined to help build a strong nation with viable and legitimate institutions, accountable to its people. The identity of Pakistan has been badly damaged by the policies of

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19 Majid Tehranian, "Global Terrorism: Searching for Appropriate Responses", *Pacific Review*, Vol. 14, No. 1, February 2002. ("This essay has argued that political terrorism must be fought on several fronts, against its criminal perpetrators as well as the social, economic, and political circumstances that breed and sustain them").

1980s and 1990s-both related to the Zia period-notably the promotion of militancy and the focus on *jihad* in Kashmir and Afghanistan. There must be a change in mindset-a belief in change and trust in the policies of the government. Education is the key and awareness campaigns about the true virtues of Pakistan and Islam is a way forward. But this requires long-term strategies and honest attempts at bringing changes that will wipe off the ill effects of past policies. The government will have to rise to the challenge to make Pakistan secure and free of militancy. Otherwise it will continue to drift toward anarchy and greater violence.

Pakistan is today a soft state; the non-state actors are more powerful than the state and there is scant control over the borders. It is important to tighten the border traffic, especially on the western Afghanistan side. The counterterrorism organization set up under the federal government has failed to make an impact due to the government's indifference and turf struggle between different government institutions. Pakistan should have an organization on the pattern of United States homeland security at the federal level, albeit on a smaller scale and suited to local conditions, that can formulate and execute counterterrorism policies and coordinate between various security forces and intelligence agencies. Its other function should be to regulate and monitor border traffic.

Policy Prescription

Pakistan will have to bring about major changes in its internal and external policies. There is no doubt that the army's top leadership has come to realize the dangers inherent in promoting *jihadi* culture in the context of the Kashmir resistance movement or in promoting the Taliban in Afghanistan.[20] It is taking corrective measures to reverse its previous policies and change course. But still there are areas of ambiguity and weakness that are exploited by the *jihadi* elements.

Another major weakness is that there is no national narrative to fight terrorism at the ideological level. Nearly ten years of experience indicates that the use of force and intelligence gathering alone cannot defeat the militants. Such efforts have to be combined with ideological, political and economic instruments. The government lacks the political will and a vision to address this existential challenge. Economic deprivation and poor governance are also major contributing factors in the fight against terrorism.[21] Regrettably, the government has paid scant attention to improving governance and addressing the economic challenges that the country is facing.

Also the mindset created over the last two to three decades in some of the conservative elements within the army and intelligence agencies has to be removed so that it does not fall prey to its own policies.

Religious parties in their policies of withholding knowledge from the public have tried to exploit the Punjab- and Kashmir-based militant *jihadi* organizations, as well as the Taliban, as useful tools

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20 Amy Zalman and Jonathan Clarke, "The Global War on Terror: A Narrative in Need of a Rewrite", *Ethics in International Affairs,* Vol. 23, No. 2, Summer 2009, pp. 101-113 ("A more persuasive analysis indicates that this attack was wholly unrelated to the United States, launched by the Pakistan based Lashkar-eTiaba militant movement for reasons to do with Kashmir").

21 James Wolfensohn, "Fight Terrorism by Ending Poverty", *New Perspectives Quarterly*, Vol. 19 No. 2, Fall 2002, pp.. 42-45.

for advancing their political and sectarian agenda. This has led to instances when radical elements have penetrated the security establishment. The question arises as to what motivates security and government functionaries to develop a radical mindset and how it can be prevented.

Religious and *jihadi* organizations have come out with a vast array of literature to influence the minds of young receptive minds. Radio, television and the Internet are all powerful tools. In Pakistan, the print media in national and regional languages particularly play a major role and have a great impact on young impressionable minds. The government has failed to develop a counternarrative to neutralize the propaganda that is constantly spewed forth by these *jihadi* organizations.

Groups like the Defense Council of Pakistan that are representative of extremist groups and are highly reactionary are free to preach hatred.[22] What the government or the society at large fails to realize is that when anti-United States, anti-India or anti-West sentiment is allowed to go unchallenged, it will generate a dynamic of its own that could lead to isolation of the country and be detrimental to its interests in the long term. In any case mere negativism by itself is not a solution to Pakistan's myriad problems.

Holistic Policy

There is no counterterrorism policy at the national level. It is *ad hoc* and left mostly to the army to formulate and execute with hardly any oversight. To fight this menace, all the major state institutions-civilian government, army and the parliament-will have to develop a well-coordinated and comprehensive policy.

As there are clearly linkages between insurgency, terrorism and extremism, it becomes even more crucial that a holistic approach be taken to combat this menace.

In fact, similar thinking exists in the United States strategic community wherein a comprehensive and coordinated approach to "irregular warfare" is being recommended in the context of countries like Afghanistan. The latest United States Defense Department plan for a coordinated approach to warfare is defined as "operations that span Diplomacy, Information, Military, Economic, Societal-Cultural (DIMES) developmental activities stabilizing a country, requiring an integrated effort of all actors". It is however unfortunate that Washington itself failed to apply most of these principles when dealing with Afghanistan.

Conclusion

Pakistan should have a comprehensive policy against terrorism. It is unfortunate that despite the fact that terrorism is the greatest challenge the nation faces, it has not formulated a national counterterrorism policy. Currently the problem of terrorism is dealt with in an *ad hoc* manner and in a linear fashion. This reflects a failure of civil leadership because, while the military has a role in counterterrorism, the major responsibility rests with civilian leaders. They have proven themselves

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22 Muhammad Amir Rana, "The Case of JUD", *Dawn,* March 25, 2012 ("Though the rejection of democracy was one of the prime objectives behind the establishment of the JUD, the group now seems willing to participate in electoral politics").

to be weak, too preoccupied with issues of survival and have abdicated their responsibilities in favor of the army. As a consequence, most of the development work in the insurgency-infested tribal region is left to the army to conduct. The army, with the minimum involvement of the government, is also undertaking the deradicalization and rehabilitation programs.

To some extent, terrorism has been contained but in the tribal belt and parts of Khyber Pakhtunkhwa province its stranglehold continues that affects every facet of people's lives. There is no simple approach to the complex problem of insurgency and terrorism, but how it will be contained is vital, for on it depends the integrity and future of Pakistan. Clearly, the military and the people have made great sacrifices in the fight against militants. The military, along with paramilitary forces, has to continue pressing against the irreconcilable militant groups. A concerted effort by the security forces that has the backing of the people should be the way forward. Additionally, the government should focus on human development, keep improving governance, promote economic development and take measures to counter the political and ideological dimensions of the threat. Prudent application of various elements of national power against militants over a sustained period of time can defeat terrorism in the long run.

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Al-Qaeda and al-Qaeda in the Arabian Peninsula-Inspired, Homegrown Terrorism in the United States

Dean C. Alexander
Associate Professor, Homeland Security, Western Illinois University Director,
Homeland Security Research Programme

Abstract: *This article examines Islamist-inspired terrorism on United States soil including, United States -based terrorists of all nationalities and immigration status, who are inspired by Islamist precepts as articulated by AQ, AQAP, or their leaders, but are unaffiliated with those groups. Twenty cases are examined due to their illustrative nature of the threat that exists and foreshadows future risks. All the plotters in the AQ and AQAP case studies were men; but other than that trait, they differed greatly in criminal experience, experience with Islam, birth place, educational level, intellect, and a full range of marital and parental status. Therefore, frequent, sustained, and impactful counter-narratives to these extremist precepts are an important component in weakening the effects of these ideologies.*

Keywords: *al-Qaeda, AQAP, Home-Grown Terrorists*

Introduction

This article analyzes a facet of the phenomenon of al-Qaeda (AQ) and al-Qaeda in the Arabian Peninsula (AQAP)-inspired terrorism on United States soil. For our purposes, this segment of religious extremist terrorism on United States soil includes United States-based terrorists of all nationalities and immigration status, who are inspired by misinterpreted religious precepts as articulated by AQ, AQAP, or their leaders, but are unaffiliated with those groups. More specifically, this article discusses twenty case studies of individuals who were not members of AQ or AQAP but inspired by them, their ideologies, or leaders.

While numerous other case studies could have been included in this analysis, these twenty were used due to their illustrative nature of the threat that exists and foreshadows future risks. Some case studies are discussed in more detail than others due to the particularly insightful aspects of the cases. Also, greater exposition on some cases stems from the fact that certain plots are less known, more dangerous, and multifaceted than others.

An objective reading of indictments, convictions, and related al-Qaeda-inspired investigations on United States soil demonstrates that this is a significant problem.[1]

From September 11 (9/11) through September 2009, the United States government initiated 87 terrorist prosecutions involving al-Qaeda activities; 428 prosecutions involving unaffiliated terrorists (828 in all).[2] According to other reports, since 9/11 there have been over 180 individuals indicted or convicted for al-Qaeda-related ideology.[3] Since 2009, there has been a significant increased frequency in religious extremism terrorism on United States soil than in previous years.[4] The twenty cases

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1   Michael Leiter, "Nine Years after 9/11: Confronting the Terrorist Threat to the Homeland", Senate Homeland Security and Government Affairs Committee, Sep. 15, 2010, available at http://www. nctc.gov/ press_room/ speeches/2010-09-22D-NCTC-Leiter-Testimony-SHSGAC-Hearing.pdf (last visited Jun 21. 2012); "Terrorist Trial Report Card: September 11, 2001-September 11, 2009", (2010, Jan.) Center on Law and Security, New York University School of Law, Jan 2010, available at http://www.lawandsecurity.org/ publications/ TTRCFinalJan14.pdf (last visited Jun. 21, 2012); United States Department of Justice, "Statistics on Unsealed International Terrorism and Terrorism-Related Convictions", at http://www.fas.org/irp/agency/ doj/doj032610-stats. pdf (last visited Jun.21, 2012); United States Department of Justice, "The Criminal Justice System as a Counterterrorism Tool", at http://www.justice.gov/cjs/   (last visited jun. 21, 2012); United States Department of Justice, "The Criminal Justice System as a Counterterrorism Tool: A Fact Sheet", Jan. 26, 2010, available at http://blogs.usdoj.gov/blog/archives/541(last visited Jun. 21, 2012).

2   "Terrorist Trial Report Card: September 11, 2001-September 11, 2009; United States Department of Justice, "Statistics on Unsealed International Terrorism and Terrorism-Related Convictions"; United States Department of Justice, "The Criminal Justice System as a Counterterrorism Tool".

3   Anti-Defamation League of B'nai Brith, "Criminal Proceedings: A Timeline of United States Terror Cases", at http://www.adl.org/main_Terrorism/american_muslim_extremists_criminal_proceedings. htm?Multi_page_sections=sHeading_1 (last visited Jun.21, 2012).

4   Peter Bergen, "The Evolving Nature of Terrorism Nine Years after the 9/11 Attacks", Testimony before the United States House of Representatives Homeland Security Committee, Sep. 15, 2010, available at http://counterterrorism.newamerica.net/publications/resources/2010/the_evolving_nature_of_terrorism_nine_years_after_the_911_attacks_0 (last visited Jun. 2012); Jerome P. Bjelopera, "American Jihadist Terrorism: Combating a Complex Threat" (Congressional Research Service Report R41416, Nov. 15, 2011), available at *www.fas.org/sgp/crs/terror/ R41416.pdf (last visited Jun. 20, 2012);* Gordon Lubold, "Homegrown Terrorism a Growing Concern for United States Intelligence", *Christian Science Monitor*, Feb 4, 2010, available at http://www. csmonitor.com/United StatesA/2010/0204/Homegrown-terrorism-a-growing-concern-for-United States-intelligence (last visited Jun. 21, 2012); Brian Michael Jenkins, "Would-Be Warriors: Incidents of Jihadist Terrorist Radicalization in the United States since September 11, 2001" (Rand, 2010), available at www.rand.org/pubs/occasional_papers/2010/RAND_OP292.pdf (last visited Jun. 20, 2012); *The Resurgence of al-Qaeda, The Economist, Jan. 28, 2010, available at* http://www.economist. com/world/international/displaystory.cfm?story_id= 15393634 (last visited Jun. 21, 2012); Joby Warrick and Peter Finn, "al-Qaeda is a Wounded but Dangerous Enemy", *Washington Post*, Feb. 8, 2010, available at http://www. washingtonpost.com/wp-dyn/content/article/2010/02/07/ AR2010020702984.html (last visited Jun. 21, 2012).

discussed in this article are further evidence that unaffiliated terrorism inspired by AQ and AQAP is a major threat to the United States.[5]

Twenty Case Studies: Unaffiliated Terrorists Inspired By aq or Aqap Leadership/Ideology

The twenty case studies of unaffiliated individuals who were inspired by AQ, AQAP its leadership, or ideology include:

- Hesham Mohamed Hadayet, LAX attack (2002)

- Derrick Shareef, Illinois mall plot (2007)

- Assembly of Authentic Islam, Southern California plot (2007-2008)

- Mohamed Taheri Azar, University of North Carolina attack (2008)

- Ft. Dix Plot, New Jersey/Delaware plots (2008)

- Miami Seven, Miami/Chicago plots (2009)

- Ahmed cousins, overseas plots (2009)

- Naveed Haq, Seattle Jewish Federation, Washington, attack (2009)

- Boyd Group, North Carolina, domestic and overseas plots (2009)

- Michael Finton, Springfield, Illinois, federal building plot (2009)

- Tarek Mehanna and Ahmed Abousmara, United States plots (2009)

- Chicken Farm Plot, JFK airport plot (2010)

- Carlos Bledsoe, Army recruiting station/Little Rock, Arkansas, plots (2010)

- Hosam Smadi, Dallas plot (2010)

- Colleen LaRose, European plots, (2010)

- Jamie Paulin-Ramirez, European plots (2010)

- Paul and Nadia Rockwood, assassination plots in the United States (2010)

- Farooq Ahmed, Wash, DC metro plot (2010)

- Newburgh Four, New York plots (2010)

- Adnan Mirza, Houston, Texas, plots (2010).

  The dates listed denote when the individuals were indicted, pled guilty, or sentenced to prison.

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5   Jerome P. Bjelopera, "American Jihadist Terrorism: Combating a Complex Threa"*; Frank J. Cilluffo, Jeffrey B. Cozzens, and Magnus Ranstorp, "Foreign Fighters: Trends, Trajectories & Conflict Zones", Homeland Security Policy Institute, George Washington University, Oct. 1 , 2010, available at www.gwumc.edu/hspi/policy/report_foreignfighters501.pdf (last visited Jun. 20, 2012).

Hadayet: In July 2002, Hesham Mohamed Hadayet, an Egyptian citizen but permanent United States resident for 10 years, shot and killed two and wounded four others at the El Al Israeli airline counter at Los Angeles International Airport. He was killed by an airline security officer. The FBI ultimately designates the incident as terrorism.[6]

Shareef: In December 2006, Derrick Shareef planned to set off several grenades in garbage cans at a shopping mall in Rockford, Illinois. He was arrested on December 6, 2006, by agents of the FBI-led Chicago Joint Terrorism Task Force when he met with an undercover agent at a store parking lot in Rockford to trade a set of stereo speakers for four hand grenades and a handgun. In December 2007, Shareef pleaded guilty to one count of attempting to use a weapon of mass destruction. He was sentenced to 35 years in prison.[7]

Assembly of Authentic Islam: In 2004, Kevin James, a black convert to Islam, started a jihadist group in Folsom prison, California, called the Assembly of Authentic Islam (or JIS). While serving there, he recruited Levar Washington in prison; then released (who recruits Greg Patterson and Hammad Samana) to rob about a dozen gas stations to finance operations to attack United States military installations, Israeli and Jewish targets in Southern California. In 2007, James pled guilty to levying war on the United States, and was later sentenced to 16 years in prison. In 2008, Washington was sentenced to 22 years in prison. Patterson was sentenced to 151 months in prison. Samana was deemed unfit to stand trial.[8]

Azar: In March 2006, Mohamed Taheri Azar, an Iranian-born United States citizen, attempted to run over University of North Carolina-Chapel Hill students with a rented SUV at a lunchtime crowd at an outside hangout. In August 2008, he pled guilty to 9 counts of attempted murder. He was sentenced to 26 to 33 years. He claimed the attack was to avenge the killing of Muslims by the United States government.[9]

Miami Seven: In June 2006, seven Miami-based men-Narseal Batiste, Patrick Abraham, Stanley Grant Phanor, Naudimar Herrera, Burson Augustin, and Rothschild Augustine-were indicted in relation to terrorism plots. The indictment charged four counts: (1) conspiracy to provide material support to a foreign terrorist organization, namely al-Qaeda; (2) conspiracy to provide material support and resources to terrorists; (3) conspiracy to maliciously damage and destroy by means of

6   Dennis Praeger, "Why Hesham Hadayet May be Scarier than al-Qaida", *World Net Daily*, July 9, 2002, available at http://www.wnd.com/news/article.asp?ARTICLE_ID=28210 (last visited Jun. 19, 2012).

7   Nicole Vransky, "24 Year Old Derrick Shareef Sentenced to 35 Years in Prison", *WIFR.com,* Nov. 30, 2008, at http://www.wifr.com/news/headlines/29981564.html (last visited Jun. 19, 2012).

8   United States Attorney Central District of California, "Two Plead Guilty to Domestic Terrorism Charges of Conspiring to Attack Military Targets Jewish Targets" (Dec. 14, 2007), available at http:// www.justice.gov/ opa/pr/2007/December/07_nsd_1006.html (last visited Jun. 19, 2012).

9   Kelcey Carlson, "UNC 'Pit' Attacker Gets Up to 33 years; Victims Share Their Stories", *WRAL. com*, Aug. 26, 2008, at http://www.wral.com/news/local/story/3432689/ (last visited Jun. 19, 2012).

an explosive; and (4) conspiring to levy war against the government of the United States In 2009, they were found guilty on various counts; the ringleader, on all four. They were sentenced from between 6 to 13.5 years.[10]

Chicken Farm: In a 2007 plot, code named "Chicken Farm", the conspirators had planned to bomb a series of jet fuel supply tanks and pipelines feeding to JFK Airport in Queens, New York City. Besides ringleader Russell Defreitas (a naturalized United States citizen from Guyana), the conspirators included Abdul Kadir and Abdel Nur of Guyana and Kareem Ibrahim of Trinidad and Tobago. Following mistrials in 2008, Defreitas and Kadr were found guilty in July 2010 of conspiracy to commit terrorist acts. Nur pled guilty the previous month of providing material support to terrorism. Ibrahim faces retrial.[11]

Ft. Dix: In May 2007, six radical males, including three brothers (all in the United States illegally), were charged with plotting to kill as many United States soldiers as possible in an armed assault at the Ft. Dix army base in New Jersey. They hoped to use assault rifles and RPGs in the attacks. One conspirator also carried out surveillance on a number of other military targets, including the United States Army base at Fort Monmouth, New Jersey and Dover Air Force base in Dover, Delaware. In December 2008, Eljvir Duka, 25, was convicted along with two of his brothers, 28-year-old Shain and 30-year-old Dritan; and two other men, Mohamad Shnewer, 23; and Serdar Tatar, 25, on charges of conspiracy to kill military personnel. All except Tatar were also convicted on weapons charges. All five men were acquitted of attempted murder. All were sentenced to life in prison except for Tatar, who received 33 years. The countries of origin of the group include: Jordan, Turkey, Kosovo/Yugoslavia, and Albania.[12]

Ahmed Cousins: In January 2009, Zubair Ahmed, 29, and Khaleel Ahmed, 28, both United States citizens and residents of Chicago, Illinois, pleaded guilty to conspiracy to provide material support to terrorists in connection with their efforts to travel abroad in order to murder or maim United States military forces in Iraq or Afghanistan. In May 2004, they traveled to Egypt with the intent of engaging in acts that would result in the murder or maiming of United States military forces in Iraq or Afghanistan. After their return from Egypt, in July 2004, they discussed, sought and received instruction on firearms from another individual in Cleveland (Marwan el Hindi, a former Chicago resident). The defendants also sought and discussed training in counter-surveillance techniques and sniper rifles with this individual.[13]

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10 Marcus Gilmer, "Five of 'Liberty City Seven' Found Guilty in Sears Tower Plot", (2009, May 12). *Chicagolist.com,* May 12, 2009, at http://chicagoist.com/2009/05/12/five_of_the_liberty_city_ six_found. php (last visited Jun. 19, 2012).

11 CBS News, 2 JFK Airport Bomb Plot Suspects Convicted. (2010, Aug. 2). *CBSNews.com*, Aug. 2, 2010, at http://www.cbsnews.com/stories/2010/08/02/national/main6737106.shtml (last visited Jun. 19, 2012).

12 "Guilty Verdicts in Fort Dix Attack Plot Trial", *MSNBC.com*, Dec. 22, 2008, at http://www. msnbc.msn. com/id/28351944/ns/world_news-terrorism (last visited Jun. 19, 2012).

13 "Chicago Cousins Sentenced in Terrorism Case", *ADL*, Jul. 13, 2010, available at http://www.adl.org/ main_Terrorism/ahmed_cousins_guilty.htm (last visited Jun. 19, 2012).

Haq: In December 2009, Naveed Haq was found guilty of one count of murder, five counts of attempted murder, one count of unlawful imprisonment, and one count of malicious harassment (hate crime) in relation to a July 2006 shooting spree at the Seattle Jewish Federation Building. Haq's attack against that target was due, in part, to his animus towards Israel and Jews and United States foreign policy.[14]

Bledsoe: In June 2009, Abdul Hakim Mujahid Muhammed opens fire at a military recruitment center in Little Rock, Arkansas, killing one and injuring another. Formerly Carlos Bledsoe, the Muslim convert, said his "jihadi attack" was justified because of United States military actions abroad. Bledsoe spent 16 months in Yemen from the fall of 2007 until he was deported from Yemen to the United States for immigration violations. Bledsoe claims to have met Anwar al Awlaki and was inspired by him. In January 2010, he pled guilty to one count of capital murder and attempted murder as well as 10 counts of unlawful discharge of a firearm.[15]

Boyd Group: In July 2009, law enforcement arrested seven individuals from a jihadist group led by Daniel Boyd of Willow Spring, North Carolina. The group (including two of Boyd's sons) planned terrorist attacks against overseas targets such as Kosovo, Jordan, and the Gaza Strip. They planned to kill United States Marines at the military base in Quantico, Virginia. The charges included: providing material support to terrorist organizations and conspiracy to commit murder, kidnap, and maim and injure people abroad. Between 1989 and 1992 Boyd received terrorist training in Afghanistan and Pakistan. From November 2006 until their arrest, the group had discussed attacks in the United States and abroad. Two additional persons were indicted in relation to the plots. All nine are United States citizens, including two naturalized citizens from Kosovo.[16]

Finton: In September 2009, Michael Finton, a convert to Islam, was charged with attempted murder of federal employees and attempted use of a weapon of mass destruction (explosive) in a plot to blow up the Findley federal building and courthouse in Springfield, Illinois. A trial was expected in 2010. Finton collaborated with an individual he thought was an al Qaeda operative. In fact, the man was an undercover FBI agent.[17] In December 2010, the United States district court for the Southern District of Illinois deemed him competent to stand trial.[18]

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14 Gene Johnson, "Jury: Naveed Haq Guilty in Jewish Center Trail", *Seattle Times*, Dec. 15, 2009, available at http://seattletimes.nwsource.com/html/localnews/2010513108_ apwajewishcentershooting 3rdld.html (last visited Jun. 19, 2012).

15 "Recruiting Center Shooting Suspect Pleads Not Guilty, Held Without Bail", *Foxnews.com,* Jun. 2, 2009, at http://www.foxnews.com/story/0,2933,524405,00.html (last visited Jun. 19, 2012).

16 M.J. Stephey, "Daniel Boyd: A Homegrown Terrorist?" *Time.com*, Jul 30, 2009, at http://www. time.com/time/nation/article/0,8599,1913602,00.html (last visited Jun. 19, 2012).

17 United States Attorney Central District of Illinois, "Grand Jury Indicts Illinois Man Previously Charged with Attempt to Bomb Courthouse and Murder Federal Employees, Press Release, Oct. 7, 2009, available at http://www.justice. gov/usao/ilc/press/2009/10October/07FintonRelease.html (last visited Jun. 19, 2012).

18 United States District Court for the Southern District of Illinois, "Stipulation of Competency", Dec. 21, 2010, available at http://il.findacase.com/research/wfrmDocViewer.aspx/xq/fac.20101221_0002307.SIL. htm/qx (last visited Jun. 19, 2012).

Mehanna and Abousmara: In October 2009, Dr. Tarek Mehanna, a dual United States and Egyptian citizen, from the Boston, Massachusetts area, was charged with plotting with others to kill two prominent United States politicians and shoot people at American shopping malls. Mehanna and two other men, including a boyhood friend, Ahmed Abousmara, who fled to Syria, also discussed overseas plots. Mehanna traveled to Yemen to try to get terror training, but was unsuccessful. Abousamara travels twice to Pakistan, trying to get terror training (could not find the place once; rejected by LeT because of his lack of experience the second time). Mehanna and Abousmara met Daniel Maldonado, a convert to Islam who traveled to Somalia to get terror training with al Shabab. In April 2007, Maldonado pled guilty to receiving training from al Shabab in Somalia.[19]

Smadi: In September 2009, Hosam Smadi, a 19-year-old Jordanian citizen in the United States illegally having overstayed his visa, attempted to detonate a SUV packed with what he thought were explosives outside an office building in Dallas, Texas. Smadi, who interacted with the FBI on an online jihadi website, believed he was collaborating with an al-Qaeda sleeper cell in the United States In May 2010, Smadi pled guilty to attempted use of a weapon of mass destruction and given a 24-year prison sentence.[20]

LaRose: In March 2010, Colleen LaRose (Fatima LaRose, dubbed "Jihad Jane" by the press), a United States citizen, was indicted on: conspiracy to provide material support to terrorists, conspiracy to kill in a foreign country, false statement to government official, and attempted identity theft. LaRose recruited men and women to "wage violent jihad in South Asia and Europe," including plans to kill Swedish cartoonist Lars Viks who drew an insulting cartoon of the Prophet Mohammed.[21]

Paulin-Ramirez: In April 2010, Jamie Paulin-Ramirez, a United States citizen, (dubbed "Jihad Jamie" by the press) pled not guilty to provide material support to terrorists in relation to kill Swedish cartoonist Lars Viks who drew an insulting cartoon of the Prophet Mohammed. Colleen LaRose ("Jihad Jane") recruited Paulin-Ramirez online, and then invited her to attend at "training camp" in Europe.[22]

Rockwoods: In April 2010, Alaska-based Paul Rockwood, Jr., a United States citizen, and his wife, Nadia, a naturalized United States citizen from the United Kingdom, pled guilty to lying to federal agents in relation to a terrorism investigation. Rockwood converted to Islam in late 2001 or early 2002 while living in Virginia and followed the teachings of Anwar al Awlaki. Rockwood moved to Alaska in 2006. While there, he visited websites to research explosive components; construction of remote triggering

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19 Claire Suddath, "Alleged United States Terrorist Tarek Mehanna", *Time.com*, Oct. 22, 2009, at http://www.time.com/time/nation/article/0,8599,1931521,00.html (last visited Jun. 19, 2012).

20 Jason Trahan, "Dallas Bombing Plotter Hosam Smadi Sentenced to 24 Years in Prison", *The Dallas Morning News*, Oct. 20, 2010, available at http://www.dallasnews.com/news/local- news/20101020-Dallas-bombing-plotter-Hosam-Smadi-sentenced-4943.ece (last visited Jun 19, 2012).

21 CBS News, "'Jihad Jane' Pleads Not Guilty", *CBSNews.com*, Mar. 18, 2010, at http://www.cbsnews.com/stories/2010/03/18/national/main6311005.shtml (last visited Jun 19, 2012).

22 Maryclaire Dale, "Jamie Paulin Ramirez to Plead Not Guilty", *Huffington Post*, Apr. 5, 2010, available at http://www.huffingtonpost.com/2010/04/05/jamie-paulin-ramirez-will_n_525853. html (last visited Jun. 19, 2012).

devices, such as cell phones; and construction of bombs to be delivered by common mail carriers. In late 2009, he began discussing using mail bombs and possibly killing targets by gunshot to the head.[23]

Ahmed: In October 2010, Farooque Ahmed, a naturalized United States citizen born in Pakistan, was charged with attempting to provide material support to a designated terrorist organization, collecting information to assist in planning a terrorist attack on a transit facility, and attempting to provide material support to help carry out multiple bombings to cause mass casualties at Washington, D.C.-area Metrorail stations. Ahmed was accused of conducting surveillance, videotaping, photographing, and drawing diagrams of the Arlington Cemetery, Courthouse, Crystal City and Pentagon City Metrorail stations. He also offered suggestions about where to place explosives to kill people in simultaneous attacks. These incidents were planned to take place at some time in 2011. He was convicted and sentenced to 23 years in prison.[24]

Newburgh Four: In October 2010, the Newburgh Four-James Cromitie, Onta Williams, Laguerre Payen, David Willliams IV-converts to Islam, were found guilty on charges of planting what they believed were bombs outside synagogues in the Bronx and plotting to fire missiles at military planes. The four interceded with an informer whom they believed was with a Pakistani terror group. The four alleged that they were entrapped.[25]

Mirza: In October 2010, Adnan Mirza, a Pakistani national on a student visa in United States, was convicted of unlawfully possessing firearms and conspiring to provide material support and funds to the Taliban. Houston, Texas-based Mirza was sentenced to 15 years in prison. Mirza and others intended to send funds to the Taliban and had engaged in weekend camping/training and practice sessions with firearms to prepare for jihad on six different occasions in May 2006 in Houston.[26]

Findings from analysis of the twenty case studies of unaffiliated individuals who were inspired by AQ, AQI, AQIM, or AQAP, its leadership, or ideology include: seventeen plots intended attacks to take place in the United States; sixteen plots involved some United States citizens; ten plots included converts to Islam; nine plots had a foreign affinity based on nationality; eight plots involved government targets, including military; seven plots involved individuals who traveled abroad for indoctrination, training,

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23 Associated Press, "Alaska Couple Pleads Guilty to Lying to FBI About Hit List Targeting Enemies of Islam", (2010, July 21). *FoxNews.com*, Jul. 21, 2010, at http://www.fox news.com/ us/2010/07/21/Alaska-couple-expected-plead-guilty-domestic-terrorism-charges/ (last visited Jun,20, 2012).

24 TBD, "Farooque Ahmed Sentenced in Metro Bomb Plot", tbd.com, 11 April 2011, at http://www. tbd. com/articles/ 2011/04/plea-hearing-for-man-accused-of-metro-bomb-plot--58269.html (last visited Jun. 20, 2012).

25 Kareem Fahim, (2010, Oct. 18). 4 Convicted of Attempting to Blow Up 2 Synagogues, *NY Times*, Oct. 8, 2010, available at http://www.nytimes.com/2010/10/19/nyregion/19plot.html (last visited Jun. 20, 2012).

26 Dale Lezon, "Student Gets 15 Years for Plot to Help Taliban", *Houston Chronicle,* Oct. 22, 2010, available at http://www.chron.com/disp/story.mpl/special/immigration/7259585.html (last visited Jun. 20, 2012).

or participation in plots; five plots had participants with a criminal record; four plots resulted in an attack; three plots resulted in deaths or arrest of a plotter abroad; and two plots involved women participants or aviation targets.

Conclusion

Nearly all the plotters in the AQ and AQAP case studies were men. There were many converts to Islam as well as foreign-born individuals. Others had criminal records, varying educational levels (e.g., limited education to doctorate-level) and intellect, and a full range of marital and parental status. Some plotters had military training and diverse socio-economic backgrounds and personality traits. These terrorist operatives had disparate capabilities, sophistication levels, plans, and dedication to jihad.[27]

The majority of participants were stymied before launching an attack in the United States. Occasionally, an original terrorist target was modified, including to a different country. Some perpetrators attempted to obtain terror training abroad, but were rebuffed.

Those who succeeded in killing people on United States soil-Hadayat, Haq, and Bledsoe-all worked alone and used a handgun to attack their respective targets: an airport, a non-profit, and a military recruiting center. Dr. Nidal Hassan, who was in direct contact with Anwar al Awlaki, killed the most individuals-13-during his attack at Fort Hood in 2009, is excluded from these case studies as it is arguable that he was not an unaffiliated terrorist.[28]

These case studies indicate that there are many routes to radicalization, recruitment, and operational activities. Some were principally radicalized and trained online or in an, otherwise, amateurish manner. These case studies included largely self-taught activities or with instruction by other novices.[29]

Self-selected individuals often have inadequate training, funds, skill sets, and support networks necessary to undertake a successful large-scale attack. This, partly, explains the limited scale of lone wolf attacks. At the same time, the requisite skill required to run over individuals or shoot them is fairly minimal. In other words, it is not that complicated to "be a terrorist," especially if you are not intending to kill scores or are unconcerned about being caught after the incident.

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27 Bjelopera, "American Jihadist Terrorism: Combating a Complex Threat"; Jenkins, "Would-Be Warriors: Incidents of Jihadist Terrorist Radicalization in the United States since September 11, 2001".

28 Associated Press, "Army Colonel Recommends Trial in Fort Hood Rampage", CBS DFW, Nov. 17, 2010, available at http://dfw.cbslocal.com/2010/11/17/army-colonel-recommends-trial-in-fort-hood-rampage/ (last visited Jun. 20, 2012).

29 Dean Alexander, "Offline and Online Radicalization and Recruitment of Extremists and Terrorists", *Journal of Homeland Security,* Sep. 2010.

Terror groups abdicate gate-keeping capabilities when individuals self-select into becoming a terrorist operative. Groups lose control over planning while concurrently benefiting from expansion of terror "entrepreneurial" activities and no need to allocate operational resources to these freelancers.[30] Concurrently, these free agents greatly broaden the number of prospective terrorists that can target the United States and its interests.

The plots show appreciable indications of individuals thinking globally-being part of transnational jihad movement-while acting locally and/or internationally.[31] Foreign-affinity terrorism, arising, in part, due to one's nationality or family descent, is a growing factor in religious extremist terrorism.[32] In the past few years, such terrorism has occurred with great frequency. Foreign affinity terrorism further globalizes local, regional, and international conflicts.[33]

United States government informants and undercover law enforcement were instrumental in undermining several plots. Also, the United States court system has been effective in prosecuting individuals involved in terrorism.[34]

These self-selected, unaffiliated terrorists engender greater diversification for AQ and AQAP relative to perpetrators, modus operandi, targets, means of radicalization and recruitment than on 9/11. More decentralization, small cells, and lone wolves are exemplified in the current phase of al-Qaeda-inspired terrorism than on 9/11. Unaffiliated, religious extremist operations based in the United States are increasingly frequent, particularly since 2009.[35]

Terror threats are evolving towards less sophisticated plots undertaken by unaffiliated extremists acting alone or by small groups. Such plots are more probable to be successful than multifaceted plans. The more complex the plot and the greater number of members in the cabal-Ft. Dix (six), Miami Seven, and Chicken Farm (four)-the less likely that the plot would succeed. In many respects, it is very difficult for law enforcement and the intelligence community to stymie plots of unaffiliated perpetrators as they often unknown and work independently.

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30 Bjelopera, "American Jihadist Terrorism: Combating a Complex Threat"; Jenkins, "Would-Be Warriors: Incidents of Jihadist Terrorist Radicalization in the United States since September 11, 2001"; Cilluffo, Cozzens, and Ranstorp, "Foreign Fighters: Trends, Trajectories & Conflict Zones"; Jenkins, "Would-Be Warriors: Incidents of Jihadist Terrorist Radicalization in the United States since September 11, 2001".

31 Fred Burton and Scott Stewart, "The Jihadist Threat and Grassroots Defense", *Stratfor*, Aug. 13, 2008, at http://www.stratfor.com/weekly/jihadist_threat_and_grassroots_defense (last visited Jun. 20, 2012).

32 Yonah Alexander, *Terrorism in our Midst: Defeating Foreign-Affinity Terrorism* (Praeger Security International, 2010).

33 Dean Alexander, "Offline and Online Radicalization and Recruitment of Extremists and Terrorists".

34 "Terrorist Trial Report Card: September 11, 2001-September 11, 2009."

35 Bergen, "The Evolving Nature of Terrorism Nine Years after the 9/11 Attacks"; Bjelopera, "American Jihadist Terrorism: Combating a Complex Threat"; Jenkins, "Would-Be Warriors: Incidents of Jihadist Terrorist Radicalization in the United States since September 11, 2001"; Leiter, "Nine Years after 9/11: Confronting the Terrorist Threat to the Homeland".

These unaffiliated AQ and AQAP-inspired terrorists who operated in the United States can be contrasted with United States and non-United States -based individuals those who were AQ or AQAP members and planned attacks in the United States or abroad, including:

- Richard Reid, attempted to bomb a plane from Europe, 2002 (AQ);[36]
- Lackawanna Six, attended training camp in Afghanistan, 2003 (AQ);[37]
- Zacarias Moussaoui, planned plane attack, 2005 (AQ);[38]
- Adam Yahiye Gadahn, spokesman, 2006 (AQ);[39]
- Jose Padilla, trained in Afghanistan, initially dirty bomb plot in Chicago, 2007 (AQ);[40]
- Ali al Marri, plots against critical infrastructure, 2009 (AQ);[41]
- Bryant Neal Vinas, Long Island Railroad plot, 2009 (AQ);[42]
- Dr. Nidal Hasan, Ft. Hood attack, 2009 (linked to AQAP propagandist Awlaki);[43]
- Umar Farouk Abdulmuttallab, attempted bombing of plane from Europe, 2010 (AQAP);[44]

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36 Andrea, Elliott, "The Jihadist Next Door", *New York Times Magazine*, Jan. 27, 2010, available at http://www.nytimes.com/2010/01/31/magazine/31Jihadist-t.html (last visited Jun. 21, 2012); "Exchange Between Reid, Judge Follows Life Sentence", CNN, Jan. 30, 2003, http://articles. cnn.com/2003-01-30/justice/shoebomber.sentencing_1_prison-on-three-counts-american-airlines-flight-courtroom?_s=PM:LAW (last visited Jun.21, 2012).

37 United States Department of Justice, "Sahim Alwan Sentenced for Providing Material Support to Al Qaeda", Dec. 17, 2003, available at http://www.fbi.gov/news/pressrel/press-releases/sahim- alwan-sentenced-for-providing-material-support (last visited Jun. 21, 2012).

38 BBC, "Profile: Zacarias Moussaoui", *BBC News*, Apr. 25, 2006, available at http://news.bbc. co.uk/2/hi/americas/4471245.stm (last visited Jun. 21, 2012).

39 FBI, "Most Wanted Terrorists", at http://www.fbi.gov/wanted/wanted_terrorists/wanted-group- view ?b_start:int=10&-C= (last visited Jun. 21, 2012).

40 Associated Press, "Jose Padilla Sentenced on Terrorism Charges", *MSNBC.com*, Jan. 22, 2008, at http://www.msnbc.msn.com/id/22784470/ns/us_news-security (last visited Jun. 21, 2012).

41 John Schwartz, "Admitted Qaeda Agent Receives Prison Sentence", *NY Times*, Oct. 29, 2009, available at http://www.nytimes.com/2009/10/30/us/30marri.html (last visited Jun. 21, 2012).

42 Claire Suddath, "Bryant Neal Vinas: An American in Al Qaeda", *Time.com*, Jul. 24, 2009, at http://www.time.com/time/nation/article/0,8599,1912512,00.html (last visited Jun. 21, 2012); Suddath, "Alleged United States Terrorist Tarek Mehanna."

43 Associated Press, "Army Colonel Recommends Trial in Fort Hood Rampage".

44 "Profile: Umar Farouk Abdulmutallab", *BBC News*, Jan. 7, 2010, available at http://news.bbc. co.uk/2/hi/8431530.stm (last visited Jun. 21, 2012); United States Department of Justice, "Umar Farouk Abdulmutallab Indicted for Attempted Bombing of Flight 253 on Christmas Day: *Defendant Faces Life in Prison if Convicted, Jan. 6, 2010, available at http://detroit.fbi.gov/dojpressrel/ pressrel10/de010610.htm (last visited Jun. 21, 2012).*

- Najibullah Zazi, Zarein Ahmedzay, Adis Medunjanin, suicide bombing in NYC subway, 2010 (AQ);[45]
- Adnan Shukrijumah, senior AQ operative who was based in the United States, 2010 (AQ); and [46]
- Anwar al Awlaki, senior operative for AQAP; dual United States -Yemini citizen, 2010 (AQ). [47]

The AQ/AQAP-linked individuals had much greater levels of training, resources, and ideological instruction than the twenty case studies mentioned earlier. Additionally, the plots these AQ or AQAP members planned were much more sophisticated with a higher prospective body count than the unaffiliated operatives.

Similarly, the twenty case studies of unaffiliated, AQ and AQAP-inspired terrorists who operated in the United States can be distinguished by United States -linked individuals who joined non-AQ or non- AQAP terrorist groups [e.g., Jaish-e-Muhammed (JeM), al Shabab, Lashkar-e-Tayyiba (LeT), and Pakistani Taliban] and planned terror attacks in the United States and/or abroad:

- Hamid and Umer Hayat, prospective United States plot (2006) (JeM);[48]
- Omar Hammami, overseas plots (2009) (al Shabab);[49]
- Syed Haris Ahmed and Ehsanul Islam Sadequee, United States plots (2009) (LeT and JeM);[50]

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45 Carrie Johnson and Spencer S. Hsu, "Najibullah Zazi Pleads Guilty in New York Subway Bomb Plot", *Washington Post*, Feb. 22, 2010, available at http://www.washingtonpost.com/ wp-dyn/content/ article/2010/ 02/22/AR2010022201916.html (last visited Jun. 21, 2012); United States Department of Justice, "Zarein Ahmedzay Pleads Guilty to Terror Violations in Connection with al-Qaeda New York Subway Plot", Apr. 23, 2010, available at http://www.justice.gov/opa/ pr/2010/April/10-ag-473.html (last visited Jun. 21, 2012).

46 Sean Alfano and Corky Siemaszko, "Adnan Shukrijumah, Believed to be the New Head of Global Operations for Al Qaeda", FBI Says. *NY Daily News*, Aug. 6, 2010, available at http:// www.nydailynews. com/news/national/2010/08/06/2010-08-06_adnan_shukrijumah_believed_to_be_the_new_head_of_ global_operations_for_al_qaeda_.html (lat visited Jun. 21, 2012); Bjelopera, "American Jihadist Terrorism: Combating a Complex Threat;"

47 Scott Shane and Robert F. Worth, "Challenge Heard on Move to Kill Qaeda-Linked Cleric", *NY Times*, Nov. 8, 2010, available at http://www.nytimes.com/2010/11/09/world/middleeast/09awlaki.html?ref= anwar_al_ awlaki (last visited Jun. 21, 2012); Robert F.Worth, "Yemen Judge Orders Arrest of Qaeda-Linked Cleric," *NY Times,* Nov.6, 2010, available at   http://www.nytimes.com/2010/11/07/world/ middleeast/07yemen. html?ref=anwar_al_awlaki (last visited Jun. 21, 2012).

48 United States Department of Justice. (2007, Sept. 10). "Hamid Hayat Sentenced to 24 Years Connection with Terrorism Charges", Sep. 10, 2007, available at http://www.justice.gov/opa/pr/2007/ September/07_ nsd_ 700.html (last visited Jun. 21, 2012).

49 Elliott, "The Jihadist Next Door"; United States Department of Justice, "Statistics on Unsealed International Terrorism and Terrorism-Related Convictions".

50 United States Department of Justice, "Atlanta Defendant Found Guilty of Supporting Terrorists", Aug. 19, 2009, available at http://www.justice.gov/opa/pr/2009/August/09-nsd-790.html (last visited Jun. 21, 2012).

- David Coleman Headley and Tahawwur Rana, overseas plots (2010);[51]
- Faisal Shahzad, Times Square attack (2010) (Pakistani Taliban);[52]
- Northern Virginia Five, overseas plots (2010) (LeT and JeM).[53]

The majority of these non-AQ and non-AQAP terrorists were involved with large-scale plots that were either planned or implemented (e.g., Headley doing surveillance in November 2008 Mumbai attacks and Shazad's Times Square attack). Also, in the cases of Hamid Hayat, Headley, Hammami, and Shahzad, they received formal training from various non-AQ and non-AQAP terrorist groups.

In sum, the materials shared herein provide additional perspectives regarding the existence and nature of unaffiliated, AQ and AQAP-inspired terrorism on United States soil and its ramifications. Going forward, terrorist capacities at framing ideological arguments and radicalization modes will also effect if we have a conveyor belt of unaffiliated, AQ and AQAP-inspired-among other terrorist groups-terrorism on United States soil and elsewhere. Therefore, frequent, sustained, and impactful counter- narratives to these extremist precepts are an important component in weakening the effects of these ideologies.

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Nothing is Taken Serious Until it Gets Serious: Countering Hybrid Threats

Dr. Hâkan Gunneriusson
Head, Research Ground Operative and Tactical Areas
Department of Military Studies, War Studies Division, Land Operations Section,
Swedish National Defence College

Abstract: *This article discusses the concept of hybrid threat. Beginning with asymmetric warfare and low-intensity conflict, the idea of hybrid threat is explained, with further expansion on applicability in a military and counterterrorism context. Although hybrid threats is still an emerging concept, the possibilities in cyberwarfare Nanotechnology and biohacking are discussed. It is possible that the concept of hybrid threats will cause a reexamination of the whole concept of war.*

Keywords: *Hybrid Warfare, Cyberwarfare, Nanotechnology*

The point is that we are all capable of believing things which we know to be untrue, and then, when we are finally proved wrong, impudently twisting the facts so as to show that we were right. Intellectually, it is possible to carry on this process for an indefinite time: the only check on it is that sooner or later a false belief bumps up against solid reality, usually on a battlefield.[1] //George Orwell

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1   George Orwell, "In Front of your Nose", *Tribune*, London, March 22, 1946.

Introduction

This was what happened to the French Artillery proponents in 1940 when they faced the maneuvering German forces or the Superior Firepower proponents during the Vietnam War. Those who do not take emerging hybrid threats for real and as a serious factor for revising operational planning, as well as doctrine, will face similar surprises on the battlefield.

Much has been written about hybrid threats lately. Criticism can be raised of the concept, certainly about the utility of it, either as an operational planning term or as a term to fit into military theory. I find this criticism well-founded, but perhaps as a bit of a blanket criticism too. I would like to argue that the term is wanted and needed-but primarily not as a theoretical or planning term-and that the acceptance of the concept eventually will have consequences in theory, planning and doctrine. From one perspective, it is true that war and conflicts will look about the same way as they always have, but they will still come in new and often surprising shapes, just as they always have: "every age has its own kind of war, its own limiting conditions, and its own peculiar preconceptions".[2] The concept of asymmetry is always the foundation of warfare; like wrestlers, the combatants try to find the weak spot in order to put the opponent off balance. This has been very much true in the different wars labeled asymmetric wars, which is kind of a tautological expression. The meaning in itself is that Western society has reached so far in its technical prowess that it is of little use to try to get to terms with those armies by slugging it out: the asymmetric technical strength is so great in favor of Western society. This has led opponents to wage war in all different kinds of shapes and shades, other than those ways which fits Western forces well.

Lebanon 2006: Hybrid Threat Emerges as a Concept

I will not dwell very much on this war here as it has been described well in other publications.[3] This war has served as a role model for many descriptions of what a hybrid threat might be. A definition of hybrid threat very much deriving from the 2006 war in Lebanon has been presented by Frank G. Hoffman:

> I define a hybrid threat as: Any adversary that simultaneously and adaptively employs a fused mix of conventional weapons, irregular tactics, terrorism and criminal behavior in the battle space to obtain their political objectives.[4]

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2   Carl von Clausewitz, *On War*, Oxford University Press, 1976, p. 240.

3   I find this one as the most interesting, even if I think that the mixing of EOB and Simon Naveh's effort regarding SOD as outright wrong. See Matt M. Matthews, "We Were Caught Unprepared: The 2006 Hezbollah-Israeli War", in *The Long War Series Occasional Paper 26*, U.S. Army Combined Arms Center. Combat Studies Institute Press, 2008.

4   Frank G. Hoffman, "Hybrid vs. Compound War, The Janus choice: Defining Today's Multifaceted Conflict", in *Armed Forces Journal International*, Springfield, 2009, available at http://www.armedforcesjournal.com/ 009/ 10/4198658 (accessed Jun 13, 2012).

This is a definition which dwells on an unexpected asymmetry: that a non-state actor can wield advanced capabilities. However, one should not make the mistake to see Hizbollah's success against Israel in Lebanon in 2006 as a result of plain asymmetric warfare.[5] Of course every war (which does not end in a stalemate) presents some asymmetric features which tip the scales in favor of one of the actors. In this case, the naivety and unpreparedness of Israel produced the major asymmetry. The ironic fact is that the rather conventional and symmetric behavior of Hizbollah versus Israel was what caught Israel unprepared and in itself resulted in an asymmetric effect. Air-to-surface bombardment from Israel was countered by surface-to-surface artillery from Hizbollah, or in other words: "Initially, the IDF tried to decide the issue with standoff air and artillery attacks, but this did not stop the rocket attacks on Israel".[6] Such a symmetric exchange does not benefit a state actor such as Israel; the two combatants appeared very much as equals, which was a loss for Israel. "The IDF sought to tackle low-intensity conflict with a combination of airpower and special forces".[7] This leads the student of the recent history of war into thinking of the Stingray teams during the Vietnam as the model of this tactic. This can be compared to what NCW proponents are asking for when they mention dispersed but well-connected combat forces.[8] All of these examples caution against stereotyping the enemy as being an insurgent or incapable of certain capacities. The developments in hybrid threats tells us that this will certainly be repeated again in new forms but probably rather soon. Hybrid threats can be very dangerous if we are too preoccupied preparing to fight the last war all over again. That is a dangerous syndrome in any case, of course, but hybrid threats expand the spectrum of threats in a way which makes lack of creativity in their own planning very dangerous. War also teaches the lesson that we must be cautious so as not to assume a lot about a coming conflict by labeling a non-state actor as having certain traits. This war showed that the boundary between state and non-state actors can be rather artificial, or in other words: "What is especially important to note about these steps is the relative ease of transitioning from a non-state irregular capability to a state-sponsored hybrid capability".[9]

Others have chimed in that the IDF was mostly prepared for low-intensity conflict on the eve of the Lebanon war: "a military that was largely incapable of joint combined arms fire and maneuver".[10] This would be a result of the prolonged police actions which Israeli had done in Palestine, in the Gaza strip and on the West Bank. This is natural, of course; we are shaped by the logic of our practice and Hezbollah presented an entirely different logic than Hamas did. Others have stated that Israeli planners were unprepared for a conventional military campaign.[11] This was very much

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5   Kreps sees Hizbollah as asymmetric with its use of artillery, but not all non-state actors are asymmetric and not all the time; that is part of the hybrid threat concept. Sarah E. Kreps. "The 2006 Lebanon War Lessons Learned", *Parameters,* Vol. 37, No. 1, 2007, p. 72.

6   David E. Johnson, "Military Capabilities for Hybrid War. Insights from the Israel Defense Forces in Lebanon and Gaza", *Occasional paper,* Arroyo Center, 2010, p. 3.

7   Inbar Efraim, "How Israel Bungled the Second Lebanon War", *Middle East Quartely*, Vol. 14, No. 3, Summer 2007, p. 60.

8   Erik J. Dahl, "Network Centric Warfare and the Death of Operational Art", *Defence Studies,* Vol. 2, No. 1, 2002, p. 10.

9   Johnson "Military Capabilities for Hybrid War", p. 5.

10 Ibid., p. 2.

11 Efraim, "How Israel Bungled the Second Lebanon War", p. 58.

what happened, with the two parts engaging in a rather symmetric ballistic duel.[12] So the hybrid element in this conflict was very much about underestimating the enemy; one cannot just follow a recipe for COIN if you fight an enemy which you for good or bad classify as an insurgent. If this war has taught us anything, it is that hybrid warfare has nothing to do with the artificial boundaries between low intensity combat war and high intensity war; hybrid war transcends these rather colonial categories. Israel has shown some signs of lessons learned with a heavier mix of forces in the Gaza after 2006.[13]

We need to learn to live with non-state actors being capable of delivering kinetic violence in volume. Gone are the days when a mission can be classed as low–intensity and one could thereby send a rather stripped-down PSO-force. The problem can be boiled down to evaluating the classic triad of morale, material and conceptual factors. If the conceptual idea is wrong then we get what we saw in Lebanon in 2006, which in turn drags down morale. The conceptual problems can also lead to a lack of capabilities, which is a function of the wrong material being bought. The capabilities are there; the problem is about evaluating the situation correctly and after that sending a force with those capabilities. In coming conflicts, the COIN-concept might be more or less spent, as in the example above. A PSO-force of battalion size might, for example, be constructed with units of artillery and antiaircraft (antimissile-systems more precisely) attached to the battalion, being prepared for full spectrum warfare. Morale is not the prime problem in this case; it is more a function of conceptuality, at the start at least. So it is very much about attitude, not the lack of options to bring in capabilities, at least when discussing NATO and NATO partners.

Further Development of Hybrid Threats Post Lebanon

Hybrid conflict has been defined as "full spectrum wars with both physical and conceptual dimensions: the former a struggle against an armed enemy and the latter, a wider struggle for control and support of the combat zone's indigenous population, the support of the home fronts of the intervening nations, and the support of the international community".[14]

This definition is wide and tries to fit a wide range of scenarios. But even then it might be dated: what is a "home front" and what is the "combat zone" in a hybrid war? For sure these areas are just partially physical, some of the landscape consists of the digital landscape consisting of electronic nodes and the lanes of communication between them, regardless of if they are situated in what we usually divide into the 'home front' and the 'combat zone'. This also puts the focus on the need for legislation which can be used to decide what an 'attack' is, or what we consider as a 'combat zone'. The hybrid concept has been said to hold a certain value by Frank G. Hoffman, who addressed this in bullet form:

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12 The Hizbollah has been described as hybrid in its appearance as they acted as a "hybrid of guerrillas and regular troops". Ralph Peters, "Lessons from Lebanon: The New Model Terrorist Army", *Armed Forces Journal International,* 2006, p. 39.

13 Johnson, "Military capabilities for Hybrid War", p. 7.

14 John J. McCuen, "Hybrid Wars", *Military Review,* March-April 2008, p. 108.

- Describes the evolving character of conflict better than counterinsurgency.
- Challenges current 'conventional' thinking and the binary intellectual bins that frame debate.
- Highlights the true granularity or breadth of spectrum of human conflict.
- Raises awareness of potential risks and opportunity costs presented by the various options in the ongoing threat/force posture debate.[15]

The definition clearly evolves from the experience from the Lebanon war, as it departs from the COIN perspective and sees the hybrid concept as a way out of the problems with the COIN-focus. He also sees the term as some kind of catalysis, breaking the constructed difference between regular and irregular conflicts. The concept of irregular warfare has met with some criticism; even if it is justified one might as well acknowledge that the concept has also led to some kind of new logic of practice for armed forces-for good or bad. Some has called the irregular warfare concept a "Western, Eurocentric presumption of the appropriate appearance, organization and functioning of belligerents".[16] The hybrid threat concept does provide the military arena with a good antidote against the problems which the term irregular warfare presents. In short, the irregular warfare concept is very much a cultural idiom, a way to describe war against opponents weaker in technical and scientific areas. The hybrid threat accepts that we will be attacked in rather technical and scientific ways by opponents who might not be state actors or even command a Western 'standard' armed force. Hoffman is critical nevertheless of the term 'hybrid' anyway and seems to separate the hybrid term from real understanding of modern warfare:

> At the end of the day we drop the 'hybrid' term and simply gain a better understanding of the large gray space between our idealized bins and pristine Western categorizations, we will have made progress.[17]

I can agree with much of what has been cited here and I can understand the skepticism of the term 'hybrid threats' seen in the light of the EBO (Effects Based Operations) experience described above. We must understand that this is just a theoretical concept and a simplification of reality created in order to give us a better understanding of the world from a certain perspective. The military is not very good at ontological understanding and that makes it likely that any theoretical term regarding the risks of warfare is being mishandled. Hybrid warfare will not save us by itself; it is our use of it which can create a higher understanding of the coming problems in warfare. As will be discussed below, one can give the hybrid concept credit as a useful CIMIC tool, so it is not completely void of value, even if its theoretical military application would fail.

NATO is more cautious when it comes to defining hybrid threats and recognizes the novelty and width of the concept by limiting itself to talk about a description rather than a definition of the term: "Hybrid threats are those posed by adversaries, with the ability to simultaneously employ conventional

15 Frank G. Hoffman, "Hybrid Threats: Reconceptualizing the Evolving Character of Modern Conflict", *Strategic Forum* , 2009, p. 6.

16 Barak Salmoni, "The Fallacy of 'Irregular' Warfare", *The Rusi Journal* 152, 2007, p. 23.

17 Hoffman, "Hybrid vs. Compound War".

and non-conventional means adaptively in pursuit of their objectives".[18] So NATO has widened the concept from the original so that non-state actors can use advanced conventional weapons and still make the concept deal with a combination of conventional approaches in combination with undefined unconventional approaches. NATO is still exploring the possibilities of the theoretical concept, which is wise as unexpected changes in warfare will appear sooner or later.

For the United States, it will most certainly be the DoD which has to face future hybrid threats. Not because of being very suitable for the task but also because there are no alternatives-the DoD does about everything else in the way of stability operations: COIN, coercive campaigns, pandemics/disasters, combat operations, and backstopping civil authorities in domestic catastrophes.[19] This demands that, say the Swedish armed forces, must also think about its own responsibilities when it comes to hybrid threats. These threats do need to be considered and no one other than the armed forces is in the loop of even considering them. The Swedish armed forces lack the capabilities to challenge many hybrid threats, but that is no excuse to not deal with them. On the contrary, that is what the comprehensive approach initiative from NATO's part is all about: building capabilities against hybrid threats together with other actors:

> NATO's new Strategic Concept, adopted at the Lisbon Summit in November 2010, underlines that lessons learned from NATO operations show that effective crisis management calls for a comprehensive approach involving political, civilian and military instruments. Military means, although essential, are not enough on their own to meet the many complex challenges to Euro-Atlantic and international security.[20]

The comprehensive approach is important as there is no way that military organizations have the resources, nor the know-how, to keep up with the fast-paced, evolving society we live in which presents new ways to affect warfare. There is a real need for the military to get help in order to protect itself and therefore the society it is protecting. Warnings have been raised that the military must take these threats seriously, Nathan Freier is among them:

> If DoD continues to peg its corporate relevance exclusively on an adjusted but still traditionally concept of warfighting, it risks institutionalizing unpreparedness for a growing number of hybrid missions.[21]

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18 Supreme Allied Comamnder, Europe/Supreme Allied Commander Joint Letter to International Military Staff, "Bi-SC Input to a New NATO Capstone Concept for the Military Contribution to Countering Hybried Threats", 25 August 2010, available at https://transnet.act.nato.int/WISE/CHTIPT/CHTKeydocu/BiSCinputf/file _WFS/20100826_Bi-SC%20CHT%20Concept_Final.pdf (last visitd Jun 14, 2012).

19 Nathan Freier, "The Defense Identity Crisis: It's a Hybrid World", *Parameters,* Vol. 39, No. 3, 2009, p. 82.

20 NATO, "A 'Comprehensive Approach' to Crisis Management", at http://www.nato.int/cps/en/ natolive/topics_ 51633.htm (last visited Jun. 14, 2010).

21 Freier. "The Defense Identity Crisis". p. 90.

This statement is possibly as true and serious as those who warned against not recognizing new capabilities after World War One, as air war and fast-paced motorized warfare developed. Material defeat is what mattered in the past regular warfare.[22] This has been toned down in COIN-theory where a prolonged war has been seen as the insurgents option to wear down the opposing people's morale. In hybrid conflicts, material defeat on the battlefield might be a reinvented option to wear down the morale of the people. Hybrid threats are not about etymology or just another buzzword (well it can be if we let it); it is about facing major changes in society which will happen no matter if decisionmakers are going to bump up against solid reality on a battlefield or if they manage to deal with the threats before that happens. Freier is often singled out as one of the originators of the hybrid warfare concept; he developed the chart with four threats-traditional, irregular, catastrophic terrorism and disruptive.[23]


Chart taken from http://www.ncbi.nlm.nih.gov/books/NBK11409/
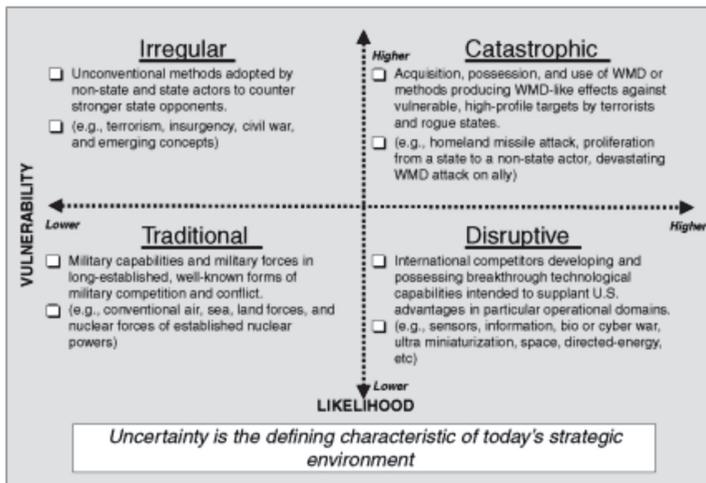
As can be seen in the chart, the hybrid threat can encompass all types of threats, depending on the definitions of, for example, terrorism and conventional. It is important to expand on the hybrid threat concept as it is part of a postindustrial reality which encompasses all of society, not just warfare. NATO has recognized the potential with the threats and keeps the scope open as the area of hybrid threat is both fluid and yet undisclosed, for the future to reveal. War is not about proving industrial prowess, at least not anymore in the postindustrial era. As postindustriality transcends industrialism, one must expect new high-tech threats to produce negative asymmetry of a deterministic nature, even if the enemy might not be the strongest when it comes to counting hardware on the battlefield.

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22 Salmoni, "The Fallacy of 'Irregular' Warfare".

23 Hoffman "Hybrid vs. Compound War".

CHT as CIMIC by Necessity and Method

Hybrid warfare-if we chose to talk about war, threats or conflicts here is not the only thing important-is another step in the same direction, but with a whole different twist. It is still about trying to wage an asymmetrical war which is beneficial against high technological societies. The difference lies in the use of technical and or scientific solutions in an innovative way. One can go into detail about exactly how this hybrid threat can be made operative and it is interesting to say the least. But it is here where the criticism of the concept might go astray, as in the end it will be same, same but different, with certain empirical conditions and peculiar preconceptions of its own, as von Clausewitz has already stated. Of course the new threats need to be addressed no matter if they come in the form of cyberthreats, biohacking, nanotechnology, guerrillas with high-end weapons or just innovative use of social media. The important thing here is to put these entities in context. We live in a postindustrial society, in a post-Cold War society. In this society, spending on the military is questioned since the overarching master narrative of the Cold War is no longer applied. Military compounds with the sign 'Top Secret' are to some extent still a Hollywood gimmick, but they certainly exist-even more than they did during the Cold War. Even if the military did not come up with every new invention during the Cold War, one must acknowledge that very much of all the technology which emerged had some kind of military background at the start. The threat of an existential war did justify this order of things. Today the military buys most of what it needs 'off the shelf;' it is just the final touch to modify the gadget as needed so the flow of innovation is partially reversed. This is in itself nothing to be gloomy about; the opposite is true in that it is nice to live in a world where there is no need for the military to be the first with everything new. Nevertheless, this new order of things has its consequences: anyone can be first to apply anything destructive or at least wanted by our society. This is true because it still is true that Western armed forces are still totally, asymmetrically strong on what we commonly perceive to be conventional warfare. This funnels the initiative of the opposition into areas where you find the hybrid threats, as they can have their say in that arena. To be fair, military organizations are rather conservative and rather do stuff they are good at, e.g. conventional warfare. On the other hand, you have people, often young and innovative, eager to get leverage against these organizations. The odds are that our military forces will be surprised by what the future has in store when it comes to these hybrid threats:

> The United States is going through a parallel and equally difficult identity crisis as regards our unilateral role in international security.In addition to considering the appropriate and effective mix of operational capabilities, an unclear grand strategy and accompanying narrative is considered one of the most important challenges facing us in today's complex security environment where dominance can neither be presumed or legitimately imposed.[24]

So with shrinking funding and an unclear scope of possible coming threats, one can see that even a strong military actor such as the United States must chose its operational capabilities and, further, has no clear lead when it comes to what the future might bring in terms of new and most likely-if not for other causes but for the sheer novelty-asymmetrical threats.

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24 Scott Moreland, quoted in "Countering Hybrid Threats" closed group at LinkedIn, www.linkedin.com.

But here is the twist-we do not solely need the concept of hybrid threats to get an accurate description of the future threats; they will happen no matter if we got the etymology right or not. But we certainly need the concept of hybrid threats in order to get support and mobilization from civil society. It is the society which obtained both the know-how and the experience of these threats. Banks, heavy industry, medical industry, power companies, and the computer industry, to name a few, all either face these threats on a more or less daily basis or obtained insight in how these threats might develop. This occurred because the military is expert in delivering kinetic violence without effort all over the globe but is rather dumbfounded when it comes to these new areas of threats.

So there is a need to invent the concept of hybrid threats in order to mobilize the parts of civil society which can help against these new threats; we need to be aware of the true purpose of the concept of hybrid threat on one hand and be able on the other hand to describe the hybrid threats themselves-which the civilian sector already can describe and has experience in. We do not primarily need the concept in order to describe the future that will follow as a result of the much more important task of getting some kind of CIMIC-venture going. In itself, CIMIC is a rather spent term which further makes the invention of the term 'hybrid threat' important. Companies see little use in doing CIMIC, but they see a lot more potential in cooperating against threats which they have already experienced as troublesome but which the military has just caught eyes on. This still does not solve the problems of operating together with other agencies and NGOs, a unity of effort or even a common vision is still unlikely in many cases. The problem of unity of command or unity of effort is discussed at length in "Chief of Mission Authority as a Model for National Security Integration".[25] It is safe to say that even if a common intent can be agreed upon between the military and the civilian agent, there is a long way to go to get a common understanding of the operational methods needed to get there. The issue of different legal accountability under national and international legal frameworks is also a problem for CIMIC-not to mention the legitimacy, primarily of the military. This should not be discouraging, because all problems cannot be solved at once and certainly not beforehand. The hybrid effort has potential in the CIMIC arena and should be utilized as such.

The Counter Hybrid Threat experiment, conducted in May 2011 in Tallinn, actually managed to get a wide range of important civil society actors to the table for a whole week to discuss hybrid threats. Martin Borrett, Director of the IBM Institute for Advanced Security stated that:

> One of the key outcomes of the event will be clear recommendations to NATO's political and military leadership of what the organization must do to support the international community in tackling the array of potential hybrid threats and challenges.[26]

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25 Christopher J. Lamb and Edward Marks, "Chief of Mission Authority as a Model for National Security Integration", *Strategic Perspectives*, Vol. 2, December 2010.

26 Martin Borrett, "Adventures in Estonia", IBM Institute for Advanced Security, 17 May 2011at http://www. instituteforadvancedsecurity.com/expertblog/2011/05/17/adventures-in-estonia/ (last visited Jun. 14, 2012).

In line with the interpretation made above, addressing hybrid threats is a task for all of society for the common good of all. When hybrid threats are discussed, a comprehensive approach is underscored as being very important. There is no wonder that a comprehensive approach is discussed as a capstone for all of NATO.[27] The hybrid threats are in even more need to be addressed by the comprehensive approach as described above.[28] Leen Nijssen, Lead Experimenter at NATO HQ SACT Norfolk, concluded after the Tallinn meeting that:

> It was agreed that NATO needs to look at partnering, not only at the political level but also at the executive level. These partnerships need to expend to businesses, industry, financial institutes, IOs, NGOs and the like. This expansion cannot take place without also focusing on the other elements of power, i.e. economic, social/welfare, infrastructure, information, etc. This requires a significant change of mind set at the political level but the good of it is that it supports the needs for savings on the defence budgets in the NATO nations.[29]

It is clear that, if not the main mission currently, to address the right people and try to shape the future of a comprehensive approach towards hybrid threats, such an effort should be comprehensive in the meaning that not the military alone can nor should take on the responsibility to face these tasks. So even if there is after all a need for the concept of hybrid threat on one level, should one push it into other areas, such as operational planning? I would caution against this, basically in agreement with one of the in attendance for the experiment Rex Brynen:

> I'm not convinced that 'hybrid threats' works very well as a military concept-it focuses too much on the idea of a clear and identifiable foe who is trying to hurt you, and not enough on contextual conditions, or harm done as a byproduct (rather than an intended effect) of local conflicts, which I think is often the case.[30]

Forcing the term to be accepted as a military concept in itself might just be doing the EBO process all over again. It might prove useful to touch on some of what has been written about the now dead acronym EBO. The terms used in EBO were so hollow, yet so widely discussed, that it is better to leave that debate open and concentrate on developing theoretical thinking on military

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27 NATO, "A 'Comprehensive Approach' to Crisis Management".

28 See also NATO, "Countering the Hybrid Threat", at http://www.act.nato.int/multimedia/archive/41-top-headlines/747-nato-countering-the-hybrid-threat (last visited Jun 14, 2012).

29 Leen Nijssen, quoted in "Countering Hybrid Threats" closed group at LinkedIn, www.linkedin.com.

30 Rex Brynen, "Countering Hybrid Threats AAR", *PAXSims*, 15 May 2011, available at http://paxsims.wordpress.com/ 2011/05/15 /countering-hybrid-threats-aar/ (last visited Jun. 14, 2012).

operations instead. However, the EBO debate can serve as an example that there was, and actually still is, a need for theory regarding military operations. A number of the articles written attempted to capture the essence of the new term, which at the time was afforded a certain currency, with the aim of loading the term with old, rehashed material so that more resources could be obtained for earlier-initiated projects. To wrap it up a bit, there is a need for the concept of a hybrid threat, as we need to get some kind of contact between society in general and the military if we are to face these threats-we must do that. This will in its turn have an indirect impact on military planning, theory and eventually doctrine. You cannot accept the challenge from hybrid threats without expecting it to present consequences in the military arena as well. The question is how you transform the concept of hybrid threat into something militarily useful if you do not apply the concept directly. Ironically EBO was criticized in the Lebanon war in 2006 as one of the sources for Israel's problems during that war.[31]

It is too much to ask for a united command hierarchy when it comes to CIMIC, certainly in tangled PSO situations, but also otherwise-perhaps ironically less in an existential war. Military intelligence and CIMIC are not the best partners, but without giving up too much of its autonomy, military intelligence has a lot to benefit from using hybrid threats/possibilities in conjunction with CIMIC as an interface to get more leverage in an operational field. A good enough working relationship might be the best one might achieve, but to do so one needs to address problems the civilian sector experiences today; these will spread into the military sector within a short time because the military is just one small part of society as a whole. To get this working relationship going, the cooperation must naturally begin long before the actual conflict emerges. A problem is, of course, cooperation with whom and why, or put in the NATO context:

> Collectively, we have a long way to go before we can visualize and implement a Comprehensive Approach, but NATO will be a critical player, I am certain. This is why I believe NATO must be very selective in where, how, and with whom we choose to engage […] to maintain the 'legitimate and capable' formula that sets us apart.[32]

This is of course of utter importance for any armed branch engaging in a comprehensive approach. There are many in need of cooperation with armed forces when it comes to hybrid threats and the military should not sell itself too cheap as long-term damage could be sustained if the wrong cards are being called. Nevertheless, any NATO partner should pick up on cooperating with well-chosen partners, industry, NGOs or others in order to gear towards a comprehensive approach but finally towards facing hybrid threats together.

A theoretical perspective-field theory-is able to fill the empty space created by the lack of available theoretical alternatives applicable to military planning or it will at least provide an understanding of how an area of operations can be analyzed using theory. With that said, there are many avenues to

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31 Matthews, "We Were Caught Unprepared", pp. 2, 23-28, 61-64.

32 Scott Moreland, quoted in "Countering Hybrid Threats" closed group at LinkedIn, www.linkedin.com.

use for a successful approach; field theory is just one among others. Anyway, this answers some of the problems with creating an agenda common for different actors as it scrutinizes the operational area as a social field and can isolate factors which can act as the lowest common denominator for actors-military as well as others. It is worth stressing that this does not necessarily mean presenting a theory that will lead to new practices in the field. Rather it happens that much of that advocated by the theory actually already occurs in the field. The problem is that the practices being examined here has hitherto lacked any form of explanatory foundation, other than what proven experience has shown will work well. If the practices are given a theoretical explanation, this may illuminate how current practice can be further developed. Therein lays the benefit of a theory that can be applied to the practices under discussion here.

Current Hybrid Threats

"The future is already here-it's just not very evenly distributed".

William Gibson[33]

Conventional weaponry in unexpected settings is part if the hybrid threat spectrum, as has been explained above in the section about the 2006 Lebanon war. This needs no further explanation from an etymological perspective. What one needs to understand is that the more money there is at stake, the higher is the likelihood that actors will acquire weaponry beyond the usual run of the mill firearms. This certainly goes for state actors, but also for non-state actors; the money does not necessarily need to come from a state actor. For example, the money involved in drug trafficking is enough to challenge the military budget of many countries. I will in this next section dwell a bit further on the two types of hybrid threats which already are of great importance in any conflict: cyber threats and social media.

Cyber Threats

Cyberpower means "the ability to use cyberspace to create advantages and influence events in the other operational environments and across the instruments of power".[34] Cyberthreats are in no way a coming hybrid threat; it is quite the opposite. The most dominating hybrid threat today, more prevalent than non-state actors getting high technology weapons, was in the case of the Lebanon war in 2006. A good example of when cyberthreats became important in a conflict involving at least one state actor was when Estonia decided to move a statue commemorating the Soviet war effort in Estonia during World War II. This action was the start of a three-week

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33 Brooke Gladstone, "The Science in Science Fiction", *Talk of the Nation*, National Public Radio, 30 November 1999, available at http://www.npr.org/templates/story/story.php?storyId=1067220 (last visited Jun. 14, 2012).

34 Daniel T. Kuehl, "From Cyberspace to Cyberpower: Defining the Problem", in *Cyberpower and National Security*, Franklin D. Kramer, Stuart H. Starr, and Larry K. Wentz, eds., Potomac Books, 2009, p . 48.

cyberassault on Estonia which at times virtually isolated Estonia from the rest of the world.[35] Another good example is the now famous STUXNET virus which created a great deal of trouble for the Iranian nuclear program.[36] Both of these examples were clearly serious attacks on national interests for the countries concerned. Suspicions have also been raised against Germany that the state used a spyware on its own citizens-but this has not been confirmed. As Mikko Hypponen at F-Secure states "the only party that could confirm that would be the German government itself".[37] The accreditation of cyberattacks is very hard to do and is one of the prime strengths of this kind of attack.

Further cyberattacks have been targeting the banking sector for a long time, even the IMF has been targeted and likely by a state actor.[38] The Joint Strike Fighter project, the most expensive and technically advanced project the United States ever has attempted, was hacked to copy large parts of the design and electronics systems for the fighter. During 2008, the United States Federal Government documented 18,050 cyberattacks.[39] Pentagon officials have blamed China for these activities, something China denies any involvement in. The United States has taken this issue so seriously that it has stated that a cyberattack might be considered an act of war and that could respond with conventional weapons: "If you shut down our power grid, maybe we put a missile down one of your smoke stacks".[40] This is quite a natural response as, for example, Lockheed Martin has been attacked in a "significant and tenacious" attempt to breach the security of Pentagon.[41] Further incidents with the armed drone program have occurred, not that the drones themselves have been affected, but the infrastructure

35 See Ian Traynor, "Russia Accused of Unleashing Cyberwar to Disable Estonia, *The Guardian*, 17 May 2007, available at http://www.guardian.co.uk/world/2007/may/17/topstories3.russia (last visited Jun. 14, 2012); "Newly Nasty," *The Economist*, 24 May 2007, available at http://www.economist.com/node/9228757?story _id= E1_JNNRSVS (last visited Jun. 14, 2012).

36 See, e.g., Richard Spencer, "Stuxnet Virus Attack on Iranian Nuclear Programme: The First Strike by Computer?", *The Telegraph*, 4 October 2010, available at http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/worldnews/ middleeast/iran/ 8040656/Stuxnet-virus-attack-on-Iranian-nuclear-programme-the-first-strike-bycomputer. html (last visited Jun. 14, 2012).

37 The Conversation, "Ein Spy: Is the German Government Using a Trojan to Watch its Citizens?", 11 October 2011, at http://theconversation.edu.au/ein-spy-is-the-german-government-using-a-trojan-to-watch-itscitizens-3765 (last visited Jun. 14, 2012).

38 BBC, "Government 'May Have Hacked IMF'," *BBC News*, 13 June 2011, at http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/ technology-13748488 (last visited Jun. 14, 2012).

39 Siobhan Gorman, August Cole, and Yaochi Dreazen, "Computer Spies Breach Fighter-Jet Project", *Wall Street Journal*, 21 April 2009, available at http://online.wsj.com/article/NA_ WSJ_PUB:SB124027491029837401. html (last visited Jun. 14, 2012).

40 Siobhan Gorman and Julien E. Barnes, "Cyber Combat: Act of War. Pentagon Sets Stage for U.S. to Respond to Computer Sabotage With Military Force", *Wall Street Journal*, 30 May 2011, available at http://online. wsj. com /article/ SB10001424052702304563104576355623135782718.html (last visited Jun. 14, 2012).

41 Reuters, "Pentagon IT Supplier Lockheed Martin Suffers Cyberattack", *The Guardian*, 29 May 2011, available at http://www.guardian.co.uk/technology/2011/may/29/lockheed-martin-cyber-attack (last visited Jun. 14, 2012).

supporting them in cyberspace has been infiltrated.[42] As one can see, this is not some kind of special problem that has nothing to do with warfare in general. These problems will continue to grow into all kinds of warfare; as General Michael Moseley, Chief of Staff of United States Air Force, put it: "Since the air, space and cyber domains are increasingly interdependent, loss of dominance in any one could lead to loss of control in all".[43] The military has few tools to provide security in this arena, so it is clear that the military provides the merchandise for defense but not security. But with no security in the cyberspace, the military will not be able to even provide defense in the long run and that makes cyberthreats both likely and powerful.

The problems with cyberattacks are two-fold: attribution and jurisdiction; in other words how do we know who is performing the attacks and what are the limits of our response? The legal issues on cyberthreats are very unclear; what can we do and who should respond? It is not very easy to track down an attack; in reality you need to actually take control of the attacking computer to validate that the attack came from it and that is not an easy task as the tracking of the attack is hard. There are documents and agreements to lean on even if they do not fill the juridical void. The Budapest Convention against Cybercrime is one good example, even if it is not more than a framework for intent to combat cybercrime.[44] The Law of the Sea Treaty could also be used to get ideas from regarding jurisdiction on the virtual geography and so could the Outer Space Treaty.[45] The concept of global commons is these days not just the physical areas of Antarctica, the high seas, the more ethereal areas of air and space but also the virtual cyberdomain. But as one understands from the examples, there is a lot to be done in this area.

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42 Tuan C. Nguyen, "Virus Attacks Military Drones, Exposes Vulnerabilities", *Smart Planet*, 11 October 2011, available at http://www.smartplanet.com/blog/thinking-tech/virus-attacks-military-drones-exposesvulnerabilities/8858 (last visited Jun. 14, 2012).

43 T. Michael Moseley, "The Nations Guardians, Americas 21st Century Air Force", CSAF White Paper, 29 December 2007, available at http://www.af.mil/shared/media/document/AFD-080207-048.pdf (last visited Jun. 14, 2012).

44 Council of Europe, "Convention on Cybercrime" [Budapest Convention], 23 November 2001, available at http://conventions.coe.int/Treaty/EN/Treaties/Html/185.htm (last visited Jun. 14, 2012).

45 United Nations, "Convention on the Law of the Sea", 10 December 1982, available at http://www.un.org/ Depts/ los/convention_agreements/texts/unclos/closindx.htm (last visited Jun. 14, 2012); United Nations, "Treaty on Principles Governing the Activities of States in the Exploration and Use of Outer Space, including the Moon and Other Celestial Bodies, 27 January 1967, available at http://www.oosa.unvienna. org/oosa/SpaceLaw/ outerspt.html (last visited Jun. 14, 2012).

Social Media

The plethora of instant and mass available social media

The power of social media was proved during the Arab Spring if not before. The Arab Spring should make us think about emerging hybrid opportunities too, not just the threats. The importance of social media should not be underestimated. In itself, it is not very new that people can communicate with each other, share pictures and interact-in general that is what humans do. There are at least two things about social media that stick out: the speed at which the information travels and that the tools for this sharing of information are available to virtually anyone. Some years ago, you had to have rather expensive equipment to even send information from the streets and then you did not reach the masses directly but needed some kind of media, such as television or a newspaper, to spread the information further. Now the dissemination is instant, everywhere (both at the production and consumer side) and out of control. All of this will have consequences for any coming conflict as even actors with scare resources will be able to act forcefully in the information arena.

A good example of the power of social media was the Mumbai attacks in India 2008. Islamist terrorists from Pakistan attacked the city, with the focus on the Taj Mahal hotel. Without dwelling on the details in general: the attack was made efficient and even possible through the use of social media. The terrorists on the actual site were led and directed by handlers in nothing short of a classic war room in Pakistan. There they had telephone contact with the terrorists in Mumbai, as well as Internet access and the major television channels each running on a different TV. As the attacks started, the news channels started to report on site, with pictures coming in on Flickr, reports on Facebook, etc. All in all, the handlers could report in what they mined from media to the terrorists by smart phones which were always connected to the war room. Here are some excerpts from their communication, serving as an example on the importance of this form of communication.

0137 hours

> **Pakistan caller:** The ATS (Anti-Terrorist Squad) chief has been killed. Your work is very important. Allah is helping you. The Vazir (Minister) should not escape. Try to set the place on fire.
>
> **Mumbai terrorist:** We have set fire in four rooms.
>
> **Pakistan caller:** People shall run helter skelter when they see the flames. Keep throwing a grenade every 15 minutes or so. It will terrorise.

0310 hours

> **Mumbai terrorist:** Greetings!
>
> **Pakistan caller:** Greetings! There are three ministers and one secretary of the cabinet in your hotel. We don't know in which room.
>
> **Mumbai terrorist:** Oh! That is good news! It is the icing on the cake.
>
> **Pakistan caller:** Find those three, four persons and then get whatever you want from India.
>
> **Mumbai terrorist:** Pray that we find them.
>
> **Pakistan caller:** Do one thing. Throw one or two grenades on the Navy and police teams, which are outside.[46]

The handlers in Pakistan could also give tactical advice as well as warning the terrorists in the hotel that an anti-terrorist squad had landed on the roof-information given through media-and gave them instructions in detail how to handle the situation.[47] As stated above, this is not something new, the military has always been good in at least trying to direct its forces with all means possible. The difference here is again that these capabilities are there for anyone to use. Anyone can buy some TV sets, a computer, get an Internet connection and buy a dozen of cell phones with sim cards. That is all one needs to perform command and control today; the difference now is the widespread and easy availability of these capacities.

To summarize these present hybrid threats, one must point out that there is this combination of new technology and mass availability which makes it so potent. Command and control capabilities can be produced and wielded by anyone with short notice; this in combination with that the psychological operations weapon through use of media that is equally easy to use. The cyberthreat on the other hand strikes at the core of modern war fighting, as it also strikes at the core of our post-industrial society. Any capability in society, as well as in warfighting, can be disabled by the cyberthreat, which should make it the focus of effort for insurgents as well as for us and our allies.

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46 Hana Levi Julian, "Terrorist Phone Transcripts Evoke Horror of Mumbai Attacks", *Israel National News*, 7 January 2009, available at http://www.israelnationalnews.com/News/News.aspx/132160 (last visited Jun. 14, 2012).

47 Rediff News, "15 Men Have Climbed Down on Your Building", 18 March 2009, at http://www.rediff.com/ news/ 2009/mar/18sld4-book-extract-of-mumbai-attacked.htm (last visited Jun. 14, 2012).

Emerging Threats?

Some threats have not been operationalized even if the capacities already exist. If they will emerge sooner or later or at all is for the future to decide; the only sure thing about the future is that something unexpected will occur. In CBRN, it is advisable to pinpoint the biological part as the area that is making great leaps today, certainly compared to the radiological and nuclear. Here are a couple of examples-discussed at the CHT NATO experiment in Tallinn-just to give an idea of the scope of what the new threats might possible be.

Nanotechnology

Nanotechnology can in short be divided into two categories: nanoparticles and nanomachines. The nanoparticles are mostly thought of as a kind of pollution-an example is the silver nanoparticles that used in the clothing industry to keep the merchandise fresh. They are also used for cosmetics, computer chips, sunscreens, and self-cleaning windows.[48] The technique has also various uses in medicine.[49] As one can see, this technique is invading virtually every sector of everyday life, so why not also war. These particles can pass through the skin and directly into human tissue. This is not a problem in general, but it could be a type of emerging chemical weapon. There are lots of particles you do not want to be able to seamlessly get into your body; it does not need to be substances we usually think of when we think about chemical warfare-it can become a lot more harmless than that. Nanoparticles are also within reach to produce for actors with scarce resources; it is again the availability which makes the phenomenon potent.

Furthermore, we have nanomachines which are not for everyone to produce, at least not today.[50] The machines consist of molecular components which compose machines of a size between 1-100 nanometers (-9).[51] These machines make great sensors; you can actually fit a wide range of sensors into one of these machines. It is also possible to produce an enormous amount of these machines if you have the laboratory to produce them.[52] A more direct and lethal-and perhaps even more fantastic vision-can be exemplified by the following:

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48 Patricia Reaney, "Scientists Build Nanomachine", *IOL Sci Tech*, 1 February 2007, at http://www.iol.co.za/ scitech/technology/ scientists-build-nanomachine-1.313461(last visited Jun. 14, 2012).

49 Oleg V. Salata, Applications of Nanoparticles in Biology and Medicine, *Journal of Nanobiotechnology*, Vol. 2, No. 3 (2004), available at http://www.jnanobiotechnology.com/content/2/1/3 (last visited Jun. 14, 2012).

50 Nanorobbotics is a wide academic field and I will not try to explain it in depth here as it is beyond the scope of this text. *See generally* M. B. Ignatyev, "Necessary and Sufficient Conditions of Nanorobot Synthesis", *Doklady Mathematics*, Vol. 82, No. 1 (2010) p. 671.

51 What Is?, "Namomachine", at http://whatis.techtarget.com/definition/nanomachine-nanite (last visited Jun. 12, 2012).

52 For an example of a molecular car with single molecules as wheels, see Yasuhiro Shirai, *et al*, Directional Control in Thermally Driven Single-Molecule Nanocars, Nano Letters, Vol. 5, No. 11 (2005), available at http://pubs.acs.org/doi/abs/10.1021/nl051915k (last visited Jun. 14, 2012).

> Molecular manufacturing raises the possibility of horrifically effective weapons. As an example, the smallest insect is about 200 microns; this creates a plausible size estimate for a nanotech-built antipersonnel weapon capable of seeking and injecting toxin into unprotected humans. The human lethal dose of botulism toxin is about 100 nanograms, or about 1/100 the volume of the weapon. As many as 50 billion toxin-carrying devices — theoretically enough to kill every human on earth — could be packed into a single suitcase. Guns of all sizes would be far more powerful, and their bullets could be self-guided. Aerospace hardware would be far lighter and higher performance; built with minimal or no metal, it would be much harder to spot on radar. Embedded computers would allow remote activation of any weapon, and more compact power handling would allow greatly improved robotics.[53]

Just because something can be done does not mean that it will be done, even if history proves to us that humanity really likes to do everything it can do. What is new in this case is the mere miniaturization. Technological advances are very often about miniaturization; for example radar is nice but it is even nicer when you can fit it into a bomber, a fighter, or even an unmanned aerial vehicle as we can today. Nanotechnology goes a further step as the miniaturization includes making things so small so that we cannot see them at all-that is a new quality. The quote above shows us at least that nanorobotics has the potential that it is ready to be tapped today; it is not science fiction.

Biohacking

Biohacking is biochemistry and is a totally civil academic field of research. Students are, for example, trying to build their own gene code, gene for gene from scratch.[54] As with all kinds of inventions, it can be used for malicious intentions. The dynamic of biohacking is once again the availability. You just need some basic knowledge in biochemistry to start hacking. You do not need any particular resources either. Genes can be ordered online and the lab can fit in your closet.[55] Biohacking can be used for ethnic cleansing by building epidemic viruses which only affects people with certain genes, preferably a gene which one does not find in your own group of choice. Once again we see that it is the mass availability which is the most striking feature of this threat that makes it dynamic. Combining mass availability with non-state actors makes the situation unpredictable and for that reason it is important to have a full understanding of this threat.

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53 Center for Responsible Nanotechnology, "Results of Our Ongoing Research", at http://www.crnano.org/dangers.htm#arms (last visited Jun. 12, 2012).

54 Delthia Ricks, "Dawn of the BioHackers", *Discover*, October 2011, available at http://discovermagazine.com/ 2011/oct/21-dawn-of-the-biohackers/article_view?b_start:int=2&-C= (last visited Jun. 14, 2012).

55 Jeanne Whalen, "In Attics and Closets, 'Biohackers' Discover Their Inner Frankenstein", *Wall Street Journal*, May 9, 2012, available at http://online.wsj.com/article/SB124207326903607931.html (last visited Jun. 14, 2012).
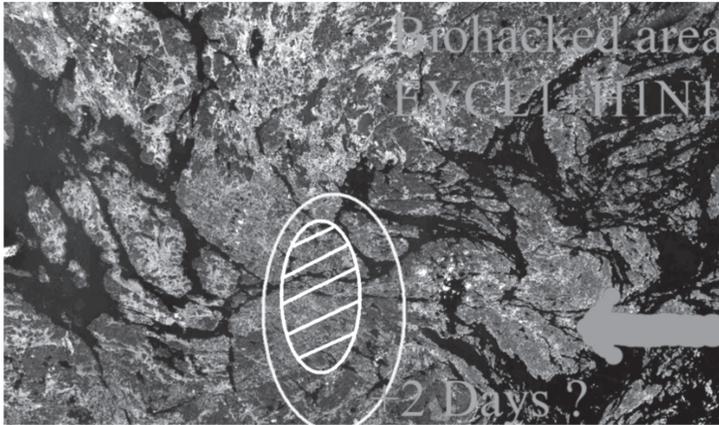
The picture shows the Stockholm area infected by Influenza A virus
(Bird flu/Pig Flu etc) which only affects people with genes for blue eyes;
this while an conventional attack is underway.

These examples might look like science fiction but it is similar to the current hybrid threats presented above in that they rely on high technology and also can be produced without industrial supremacy of any kind. Whether or not we will see these or other threats with similar components in the near future remains to be revealed. Important is to have an eye on the development and, in an effort towards a comprehensive approach, try to have at least a dialogue with partners who have absolutely up-to-date knowledge of the scientific development in affected areas.

Example of a Possible Coming HT-Hotspot: Africa

As an example of emerging areas where a hybrid threat might arise, one could pick Africa. Africa is currently both developing at a fast pace; this, in combination with less wanted trends, makes the area a possible arena for future threats, among them hybrid threats. Among the problems are commodity smuggling, weapons proliferation, religious terrorism, piracy, oil bunkering, drug trafficking, human trafficking, kidnapping, illegal fishing, poaching and toxic waste dumping.[56] These threats might sound minor in a European context, but the situation is dynamic and will certainly be shaped by a lot of factors. Africa is close to Europe and since its countries are gaining more and more power, it becomes increasingly interesting that they are not developing in unwanted directions, which all of the activities above suggest that they might do. Combine this with the extensive Chinese influence in most of Africa and the political, strategic implications become even more profound. Even now,

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56 Andre LeSage, "Africa's Irregular Security Threats: Challenges for U.S. Engagements", *Strategic Forum*, No. 255, 2010, p. 1.

we see strange alliances of Mexican narcolords in cooperation with state actors as Iran.[57] China is skilled in cyberwarfare and other hybrid threats (even creating the hybrid of guerrillas and regular troops, in Ralph Peters words quoted above) the Chinese influence in Africa might possibly lead to hybrid threats emerging in Africa as well.

Two signs at Gabarone airport, Botswana, stating that the Chinese state company Sinohydro builds the second terminal there and that it is the Yuhaian Youth Pioneers of the Communist party who are on the site. Photographs by the author.

In Africa we get a mix of state actors and non-state actors emerging as a threat to the society in Europe. This is first driven by the cocaine imported from South America with Africa as a transfer point where the syndicates can cooperate with local actors, state or non-state.

> In November 2009, on a dry lakebed in the desert of northern Mali, United Nations (UN) investigators found traces of cocaine amid a Boeing 727's charred and stripped fuselage. Its owners had apparently torched the plane after it had been damaged, probably to destroy evidence of their identity and cargo. With a payload capacity of 10 tons of cocaine fetching a wholesale value of $580 million, West Africa's emerging cocaine traffickers could afford the loss.[58]

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57 Greg Miller and Julie Tate, "Suspect in Alleged Iranian Terrorism Plot Had Key Connections", *The Washington Post*, 12 Oct. 2011, available at http://www.washingtonpost.com/world/national-security/ suspect-in- alleged- iranian-terrorism-plot-had-key-connections/2011/10/11/gIQAV6rfdL_story.html (last visited Jun 12, 2012).

58 Davin O'Regan, "Cocaine and Instability in Africa: Lessons from Latin America and the Caribbean", *Africa Security Brief,* No. 5, 2010, p. 1.

To put this into the proper perspective, one can compare that Mali's military spending in 2010 was 176 million dollars, 30% of the assumed value of the cocaine in the plane. Now, the plane might have had another final destination, but all of the countries in the region are poor and the money which just a single flight as this one can bring would have significant impact on the national economy. One can also compare that with the activities of Somali pirates. A single tanker brought a 2 million dollar in ransom, a task against an opponent and far riskier business than being host to benign smugglers of narcotics.[59] When you deal with this amount of money, you are also surpassing what civilian agencies like the police can deal with. The invasion of Panama and the capture of the dictator Manuel Noriega seem to be an easier task in comparison with the possible challenges in Africa. The smuggling of cocaine to Africa is fairly new but it already rivals the main smuggling, the smuggling of oil across Africa. The difference is that cocaine can be transported with far more ease than the 55 million barrels of oil.[60] As traffickers do not want attention, it would be most likely that threats other than the use of heavy weapons (which they could acquire with ease) would be their choice of weapon. Cooptation, bribery and corruption have been mentioned as trafficker methods to deal with African actors.[61] This could expand to Europe as well, but also combined with different other kind of threats which we might label hybrid as well as conventional.

The African example is of importance as there is a lot of volatility on the continent from a hybrid threat perspective. There are both state and non-state actors in the region with considerable resources, certainly in comparison with many of the local actor's resources and even legitimacy. This situation is true while the technical development is taking leaps and that is enough to produce hybrid capabilities even if the level of scientific development is still rather bland. If forces are to be sent to Africa, one should not be surprised of hybrid threats and hybrid possibilities arising which any actor might use as a weapon which might expose asymmetrical weaknesses of our own.

Conclusion

With the advent of hybrid threats, we will have to redefine what war is: we will most likely go into an era when we must get used to war and all its implications on society; there will possible be no difference between operational area and home anymore, nor will the boundary between war and peace be well defined. 'Normality' will thus be redefined accordingly in a radical way. The Orwell quote at the beginning of this text is a prudent warning against ignoring the ongoing development; only by knowledge and sincere interest can the hybrid threats be handled as coming asymmetries in warfare will be radical. There are great challenges-practical, juridical but also deeply conceptual ones-on how to perceive threats and who should deal with them.

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59 Naval Today, Somali Pirates Free Chemical Tanker for United States D 2 Million Ransom, *Naval Today*, 17 Mar. 2011 at http://navaltoday. com/ 2011/03/17/somali-pirates-free-chemical-tanker-for-usd-2-million-ransom/ (last visited Jun. 14, 2012).

60 O'Regan, "Cocaine and Instability in Africa", p. 2.

61 Ibid., p. 3.

As the threat develops, responsibilities for acting against hybrid threats must be discussed in earnest. The old theoretical assumption that geography can be a defining factor for division of responsibilities between authorities might prove itself more and more fragile, obsolete and in the end contra productive. This is an important and looming question.

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Assessing The Role Of Cross-Border Military Operations In Confronting Transnational Violent Non-State Groups: 1992-1998 Turkish Armed Forces Case

Dr. Can Kasapoğlu
Dr. Kasapoğlu, holds a Ph.D. from the Strategic Researches Institute at the Turkish War Colleges. Post-doctoral researcher at the Begin-Sadat Center for Strategic Studies, Bar-Ilan University, Israel.

Abstract: *This article aims to analyze functions of cross-border operations for confronting transnational violent, non-state actors in light of the Turkish case. Within this framework, a geostrategic explanation of low- intensity conflicts will be examined. In particular, David Galula's multi-layered perspective will be applied to the 1992-1998 operations for military theoretical assessment. Although Galula's work focuses on the anticolonial resistance movement and French pacification in Algeria, which was categorically different from PKK terrorism, the geostrategic perspective of the French theoretician will be used to assess the effects of geography in a LIC security environment. Thus, the importance of taking the geostrategic initiative would be presented.*

Keywords: *Turkish Armed Forces, PKK, Terrorism, Low Intensity Conflict, Cross-Border Operation.*

Introduction

The Kurdistan Workers' Party (PKK) is an ethnic separatist terrorist organization which has been waging a destructive terrorist campaign and subversive activities against Turkey's national and territorial unity. Founded in 1978, the terrorist organization has cost thousands of lives mostly in Turkey, as well as in the Middle East, Caucasia and Europe. Disregarding the recent pragmatic shifts

in its rhetoric towards religious issues, the PKK has generally been Marxist-Leninist in its subversive ideology, Maoist in paramilitary strategy, and a good example of totalitarian Stalinism considering the iron-fist rule of Abdullah Ocalan and murderous executions against his actual and possible opposition.[1] Having begun its activities like an ordinary radical leftist fraction in the chaotic political atmosphere of the 1970s Turkey, the PKK was transformed into an ethnic nationalist, separatist threat by the 1980s.[2] The consequences of the Iran-Iraq War (1980-1988), the first Gulf War (1991), and, in greater context, the collapse of the Soviet Union have turned Iraq into a safe haven and illegal arms market for the PKK. In addition, some of Turkey's neighboring states, primarily the Baathist regime of Syria, have waged proxy wars against Ankara through the PKK. Under those circumstances, the Turkish Armed Forces (TAF), which played a key role in NATO during the Cold War, were unprepared for the threat of low intensity conflict. Therefore, a decisive counterterrorism strategy could be executed only after a comprehensive process to transform the Turkish military.

TAF's cross-border military operations towards PKK targets, which were located north of Iraq, were indispensable parts of the Turkish counterterrorism efforts in the 1990s. Eventually, by 1999, PKK terrorist activities within Turkish territory were denied to a large extent and the terrorist Abdullah Ocalan was captured. Although the PKK has re-emerged after several years, the 1999 military success holds a significant place in terrorism studies and military literature.

This article first analyzes the characteristics of transnational, non-state armed groups, along with their unique interpretations on geography. Second, the geostrategic aspect of confronting transnational non-state threats is examined and the role of cross-border military operations is evaluated. Subsequently, TAF's cross-border operations between the years of 1992 and 1998 are discussed within the given theoretical framework. Finally, this article concludes with key findings about the functionality and requirements of cross-border military operations against transnational non-state armed threats.

The 1992-1998 Turkish case is taken as a sample framework to test the explanatory capability of a military geostrategic approach and efficiency of cross-border operations when confronting transnational non-state armed threats. Furthermore, the current Turkish security environment displays a combination of violent turmoil and political uncertainty in Syria and tensions in a post-United States withdrawal Iraq to some extent. In addition, the Baathist regime has shifted back to treating Ankara as an enemy again and reserves the separatist terrorism option as a deterrence concept. Notably, PKK activity has been gradually increasing and the 'Syrian connection' among the terrorist organization's high ranks draws attention. Therefore, the experience of Turkish cross-border operations in the 1990s remains important in military strategic terms, as well as providing lessons learned for the 21st Century.

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1   Mitchel P. Roth and Murat Sever, "Kurdish Workers Party (PKK) as Criminal Syndicate: Funding Terrorism Through Organized Crime-A Case Study", *Studies in Conflict & Terrorism,* Vol. 30, No. 10, 2007, pp. 904-905.

2   Elena Pokalova, "Framing Separatism as Terrorism: Lessons from Kosovo", *Studies in Conflict & Terrorism*, Vol. 33, No. 5, 2010, pp. 434-435.

Transnational, Violent Non-State Actors: Geographical Pivots of Low Intensity Conflict

In his famous book, *The Grand Chessboard,* Brzezinski defines geopolitical pivots as "the states whose importance is derived not from their power and motivation but rather from their sensitive location and from the consequences of their potentially vulnerable condition for the behavior of geostrategic players".[3] From a different perspective, this article argues that as non-state actors have started to undertake some functions of a state, some violent non-state groups have also turned into 'geopolitical pivots' which derive their importance primarily from their locations. As a matter of fact, transnational, violent non-state actors take advantage of operating in various territories in order to sustain their struggles. The locations of those actors have become their most important assets in their violent campaigns against states and other non-state actors.

Atzili characterizes 'transnational violent non-state actors' as organizations other than states which use violence in order to achieve political goals and have operations beyond international borders. Those groups can either use manpower or select targets beyond state borders.[4] Furthermore, transnational threats challenge the conventional wisdom of irregular warfare. Clearly, conventional models generally assume that asserting influence over the local population would defeat an irregular threat, because paramilitary armed elements are drawn from local populations. However, the capability of transnational, violent actors to reach far into "human resources" capacities shake population-centric counterterrorism measures by fund-raising from diasporas, recruiting from alien populations, and waging cross-border aggression.[5] Thus those armed groups, including some terrorist organizations like the PKK, can avoid military pressure by complicating state efforts and establishing 'behind the front-lines' areas in order to launch raids, train militants and create safe havens. Thereby, confronting transnational terrorist threats necessitates a paradigm shift in classic approaches, especially when dealing with geostrategic aspects.

Another course of asymmetric transnational threats is the danger of proxy war. As observable in Syria-PKK relations of the 1980s and 1990s, some actors, which are not able to undertake the risk of direct confrontation, may prefer using 'proxy' elements in order to challenge superior states. The mantra of proxy wars is to reduce risks and costs for the aggressor while achieving results which are not possible with a direct confrontation due to lack of national capacity.[6] Consequently, border areas can be 'a permanent source of weakness', especially if the manner of conduct preferred by neighbor states is critical in assessing transnational asymmetric threats.[7] In light of the aforementioned, it can be argued that transnational, violent non-state groups pose a significant threat due to their geostrategic initiative advantage. This advantage offers both offensive and defensive opportunities, along with the threat of proxy wars.

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3   Zbigniew Brzezinski, *The Grand Chessboard,* Basic Books, New York, 1997, p. 41.

4   Boaz Atzili, "State Weakness and 'Vacuum of Power' in Lebanon", *Studies in Conflict & Terrorism,* Vol. 33, No. 8, 2010, p. 758.

5   Paul Staniland, "Defeating Transnational Insurgencies: The Best Offense is a Good Fence", *The Washington Quarterly,* Vol. 29, No. 1, 2005, pp. 21-22.

6   Boaz Atzili, "State Weakness and 'Vacuum of Power' in Lebanon", pp. 769-770.

7   David Galula, *Counterinsurgency Warfare: Theory and Practice,* Praeger Security International, London, 2006, p. 23.

Cross-Border Military Operations and Taking the Geostrategic Initiative

At this juncture, the functions of cross-border military operations come into the picture. By embracing a 'search and destroy' paradigm which is not constrained by national borders, cross-border military strategies unbalance transnational asymmetric threats in both physical and psychological terms. The main functionality of cross-border military strategies lies behind the geostrategic perceptions of asymmetric violent actors. According to Galula, insurgent strategy classifies the conflict geography in four dimensions:

- Safe havens which are under the full control of asymmetric actors unless conventional forces (of a state actor) launch a major campaign.

- Areas which are subject to penetrations by conventional forces but not permanent military presence.

- Territories where active conflict between asymmetric threats and conventional forces generally takes place.

- From the asymmetric actors' point of view, territories which are under full political and military control of 'hostile' governments.[8]

Along with Galula, Mao also used a similar categorization indicating that asymmetric actors can get a grip on some critical areas by only an active presence.[9] In brief, the geostrategic essence of asymmetric approach is to first turn the areas which are under full control of government into active conflict zones*,* then turn active conflict zones into penetrable areas with conventional forces*,* and finally, turning those penetrable areas into safe havens for the asymmetric actor.[10] Considering this reason, it can be argued that cross-border operations by conventional forces are able to reverse the geostrategic momentum and create an opportunity for governments to get the political-military upper hand against transnational threats. Thus, this article advocates that in order to defeat transnational asymmetric threats, including transnational terrorism in frontier areas, conventional forces of state-level actors have to maintain a geostrategic balance and geostrategic superiority. In this context, cross-border military operations are considered to be the main tools for turning safe havens into confrontational territories, thereby denying 'oxygen tents' for the adversaries.

The functionalities of cross-border military operations can be broadened for retaliation against proxy wars. Along with confronting asymmetric transnational adversaries, these types of operations are able to target 'sources' of the conflict, specifically, aggressor states which use non-state armed groups. Through such a course of action, the strategic mantra of proxy wars can be defeated as costs and risks of using proxy elements increase. Accordingly, aggressor states would be compelled to stop supporting transnational adversaries. Moreover, without leading to a limited or regional war, deterrence created by an active military presence would be able to support the political goals of government and bring about shifts in the strategies of aggressor states.

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8   Ibid. pp. 37-38.

9   Mao Tse-Tung, *On Guerilla Warfare,* United States Marine Corps Fleet Marine Reference Publication FMFRP 12-18, Virginia, 1989, pp. 109-110.

10 David Galula, *Counterinsurgency Warfare: Theory and Practice,* p. 36.

In sum, cross-border military operations are considered as multifunctional concepts which play important roles when facing transnational non-state armed groups and their state sponsors. Those operations possess a different geostrategic dimension in which the genuine character of LIC comes up.

This article will now examine the TAF's major cross-border operations during the period of 1992-1998 against PKK terrorist organization within the framework of geostrategic assessment previously outlined.

Turkey's Major Cross-Border Operations Against PKK: 1992-1998

The first comprehensive cross-border military operation of the TAF against the PKK was waged in 1992 against the terrorist safe havens located in the mountainous region north of Iraq. Along with the military strategic details of the 1992 operation, assessing the threat landscape in that period is of significant importance. At the beginning of the 1990s, the terrorist uptrend in Turkey had escalated to a troublesome level for Ankara. Furthermore, since 1990, the PKK had been planning and trying to foment popular uprisings which aimed to control some districts and even small cities in the eastern and southeastern regions of Turkey. In 1992, terrorist Abdullah Ocalan, leader of the PKK who is currently imprisoned under a life sentence, released an illegal document called the *Thesis on Uprising Tactics and Our Duties*.

Actually, it was a fact that the PKK had no capacity to maintain permanent control after these possible uprisings in cities and even small districts. However, the strategic thought behind that concept was to create a traumatizing shock to Ankara and force the Turkish government into political negotiations. Besides, via election alliances and systematic pressure upon the local population in Turkey's eastern and southeastern cities, the PKK's partisans had managed to gain 22 seats for their 'more than sympathizer' deputies in the Turkish Parliament in the 1991 elections, so much so that the electoral campaign was directly held by the terrorist organization's political front, ERNK, in some places.[11] Therefore starting from 1992, the PKK was not only terrorizing Turkey's rural and urban areas but also its political agenda. In parallel, casualties of Turkish security forces and civilian citizens had been rising up after the power vacuum created by the first Gulf War in 1991. After that year, the Iraqi border gradually became a complete safe haven for separatist terrorism against Turkey. Furthermore, starting from the beginning of the 1990s, PKK's raids concentrated on the frontier outposts of the Turkish Land Forces and Turkish Gendarmerie in order to form so-called 'liberated areas' which would have integrated the Iraqi border and some part of southeastern Turkey. Based on the high level of threat to Turkey's national security, Ankara decided to launch a series of cross-border operations which would enable the 1999 military success against the terrorist organization.

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11 Ümit Özdağ, *Türk Ordusu PKK'yı Nasıl Yendi Türkiye PKK'ya Nasıl Teslim Oluyor,* Kripto Yayıncılık, Ankara, 2010, pp. 100-103.

The 1992 Operation

The 1992 operation was launched under the mentioned troublesome threat landscape. The operation was undertaken by some 15,000 troops and was the second largest military experience after the Turkish intervention in Cyprus in 1974. It was a joint effort which was exerted by the Turkish Air Forces, mechanized units (the 6th Mechanized Brigade), Land Forces commandos and Turkish Gendarmeries operational units. Consequential casualties of the PKK were set at 4,253.[12] PKK sources have called the operation 'Southern Battle' and assessed a crushing defeat for them. In particular, the terrorist ringleaders' decisions to resist by a conventional strategy instead of irregular concepts brought about the disastrous result for the terrorist organization.[13]

The 1992 operation can be assessed as the breaking point of the TAF against the PKK. First of all, due to efforts of the Land Forces Aviation and Air Force units, along with commando and gendarmerie units, the operation was kind of a joint forces endeavor. Secondly, contrary to the punishment and hot pursuit operations of the 1980s, the 1992 operation possessed a complicated profile by having targeted major terrorist camps, and by having showed the first signs of comprehensive military modernization which was launched to meet the demands of LIC. In sum, the operation was a major effort to gain upper hand and reverse the terrorist momentum. As a matter of fact, lessons learned from the 1992 experience paved the ground for a more comprehensive military effort in 1995, Operation Çelik-1, which was more sophisticated and decisive.

The 1995 Operation Çelik-1

This cross-border operation was much broader than the 1992 experience through the participation of some 35,000 troops, which is tantamount to the standard size of a corps in the Turkish Land Forces order of battle. It can be noted that the Çelik-1 (Steel-1) Operation reclaimed the title of "the biggest Turkish military experience after the military intervention to Cyprus in 1974." Beginning from March 1995, the operation had a far-reaching profile. According to former Chief of Staff General İlker Başbuğ, who was the deputy commander of the Gendarmerie Public Order Corps (hereafter GPOC) as a major general at that time, the operation penetrated 60 kms into Iraqi territory.[14] Compared to the 1992 operation, Çelik-1 was an improved joint forces effort that used Special Forces elements to obtain military intelligence before the initiation, then combined the 2nd Tactical Air Command, located in the southeastern city Diyarbakir, with Land Forces mechanized and commando units as well as Turkish Gendarmerie Command's special operations elements.[15] As a result of the operation, a large portion of Iraqi border territory was held under the direct control of TAF elements for about one month.[16]

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12 Saygı Öztürk, *Sınır Ötesi Savaşın Kurmay Günlüğü,* Doğan Kitap, Istanbul, 2011, pp. 126-148.

13 Ümit Özdağ, *Türk Ordusu PKK'yı Nasıl Yendi Türkiye PKK'ya Nasıl Teslim Oluyor,* pp. 110-111.

14 İlker Başbuğ, *Terör Örgütlerinin Sonu,* Remzi Kitabevi, Istanbul, 2011. p. 86.

15 Hasan Kundakçı, *Güneydoğu'da Unutulmayanlar,* Alfa Basın Yayın Dağıtım, Istanbul, 2007, pp. 336 -337.

16 Tatiana Waisberg, "The Colombia-Ecuador Armed Crisis of March 2008: The Practice of Targeted Killing and Incursions Against Non-State Actors Harbored at Terrorist Safe Havens in a Third Party State", *Studies in Conflict & Terrorism,* Vol. 32, No. 6, 2009, p. 482.

Notably, after the swift and decisive military adaptation to the demands of LIC in the mid-1990s, the TAF has managed to launch continuous operations under daunting geographical conditions in the mountainous region and has been able to operate deep in foreign territory for about one month. Besides, elements of the Gendarmerie Command, Land Forces, Special Forces and Air Force were combined successfully, primarily under the command of the famous GPOC, so much so that the 1993-1995 commander of GPOC, Lieutenant General Kundakçı, has noted in his book that even an amphibious infantry battalion of the Turkish Navy has operated within GPOC since 1993.[17] The Turkish experience against the PKK in the 1990s can be singled out as a good example of joint force operations in an LIC threat landscape. In fact, cross-border military operations against asymmetric adversaries necessitate a complicated military strategy which covers broad concepts including air operations via rotary and fixed winged assets, special operations, field superiority with mechanized elements, etc. Therefore, GPOC was not only a counterterrorist unit during TAF operations in the 1990s, but has also acted as a joint forces headquarters by having commanded units from all braches simultaneously, even in foreign territory.

Subsequent Cross-Border Operations in 1997

Compared to the 1992 and 1995 efforts, cross-border operations in 1997 resulted in a more permanent military presence in Iraqi border areas. As a matter of fact, that year TAF waged a series of respective cross-border military operations which caused systematic pressure upon the PKK in Iraq and the Turkish frontier areas. By May 1997, near 35,000 troops had crossed over the Iraqi border, operating there until June. Later on, in September 1997, some 10,000 Turkish soldiers, supported by heavy armor, resumed the cross-border operations for another month. After the operation, the units were deployed back to critical points in the frontier areas for further missions. Finally, in December 1997, a force of around 20,000 soldiers launched the third wave of the cross-border military campaign that lasted until the end of that year.[18] Having been effective in the midst of winter conditions in the mountainous region and having asserted a continuous military presence, the series of operations in 1997 can be perceived as the culmination of the TAF's military transformation momentum in the 1990s LIC-based security environment as well as the peak of cross-border efforts between 1992 and 1998.

The Essence of Turkish Cross-Border Operations: Targeting PKK's Strategic Depth and Military Transformation Due to Demands of LIC

Referring to Galula's geostrategic approach, the operations in 1992 and 1995 can be considered to have turned the PKK's safe havens into penetrable areas and the 1997 cross-border operations managed to turn the penetrable areas into conflict zones. The conflict zones were even taken under total control in some territories. In clear terms, while the first operation in 1992 and Operation Çelik-1 in 1995 penetrated into PKK safe havens and provided temporary control, the operations of

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17 Hasan Kundakçı, *Güneydoğu'da Unutulmayanlar,* pp. 246-247.

18 İlker Başbuğ, *Terör Örgütlerinin Sonu, p. 86;* Ümit Özdağ, *Türk Ordusu PKK'yı Nasıl Yendi Türkiye PKK'ya Nasıl Teslim Oluyor,* pp. 156-157.

1997 created a zone of constant armed conflict in the PKK's 'behind the frontlines' areas. Therefore, the TAF managed to gain a geostrategic upper hand against a transnational terrorist threat which embraced the Maoist 'people's war' paradigm.

The mantra of transnational violent groups' 'behind the front lines' or 'bases' is their offensive functionality. Those bases are not only used for indoctrination, training, and recruitment purposes, but also serve for spearheading swift attacks by mobile elements. Therefore, numerous PKK bases located within the easy reach of the Turkish-Iraqi border have been used to launch terrorist attacks against Turkey, then to have the terrorists pull back to ambush Turkish units in hot pursuit. As a result of the large-scale operations between 1992 and 1998, the persistent Turkish military presence has turned those PKK bases into "gilded prisons" which could only be used for training and sheltering purposes.[19] Beginning from the Iran-Iraq war (1980-1988) until shortly after the First Gulf War, Baghdad gradually lost control over northern part of Iraq. This *status quo* provided an advantageous strategic depth to the PKK.[20] In fact, what the TAF's cross-border military operations have targeted was precisely that strategic depth. As mentioned, the operations curbed both the PKK's offensive functionality and its transnational character.

Paradigm Shifts in TAF's Operational Culture: *Battlespace Alteration* in the 1990s

The structure of conventional forces is principally suited to major interstate wars. In other words, they are not perfectly designed for irregular warfare struggles against asymmetric threats.[21] Ironically, the high capacity of conventional forces to fight is considered to be the main reason for the emergence of asymmetric threats. According to the asymmetric warfare model, perceptions of 'weaker sides,' which emphasize the mismatch of military capabilities, cause application of unconventional methods.[22] This concept can be defined as a 'battlespace alteration' which changes the very basic parameters of warfare.[23]

However, 'battlespace alteration' for regular armies is not as easy as for asymmetric actors to perform. Because of strategic cultural barriers in militaries, conventional forces generally refrain from comprehensive transformation of military structure, especially in irregular warfare. Nay, sometimes those barriers can arise beyond the lessons learned findings. For instance, despite the painful memories of the Afghanistan invasion (1979-1989), Moscow's security elites insisted on nearly the same conventional strategies which cost some 6,000 Russian casualties in the first

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19 Lawrence Cline, "From Ocalan to Al Qaida: The Continuing Terrorist Threat in Turkey", *The Journal of Strategic Studies,* Vol. 27 No. 4, 2004, p. 328.

20 Graham Fuller and Henri Barkey, *Türkiye'nin Kürt Meselesi,* Profil Yayıncılık, Istanbul, 2011, p. 47.

21 John A. Nagl and Brian M. Burton, "Dirty Windows and Burning Houses: Setting the Record Straight on Irregular Warfare", *The Washington Quarterly,* Vol. 32 No. 2, 2009, p. 93.

22 David Kilcullen, *The Accidental Guerilla,* Hurst & Company, London, 2009, p. 22.

23 Donald A. La Carte, "Asymmetric Warfare and the Use of Special Operations Forces in North American 'Law Enforcement'," *Canadian Military Journal,* Vol. 2 No. 4, 2001, p. 25.

Russian-Chechen War of 1994-1996.[24] Similarly, Western military thought and personnel have had difficulties in adapting to the post-9/11 threat landscape due to habituations of the mid/high intensity paradigm of Cold War security.[25] On the other hand, difficulty in military adaptation can occur vice versa. Clearly, armies with long LIC experiences can find it hard to adapt to hybrid conflicts which combine conventional and irregular elements. As a matter of fact, Israel's 2006 performance against Lebanon Hezbollah supports this analysis.[26]

In light of these considerations, this article argues that conventional forces in LIC require a complicated transformation, so the Turkish case was not an exception. With the collapse of USSR in 1991, TAF, which had been one of the most critical actors of the NATO alliance during the Cold War, reshaped itself with a shift from the conventional and even high-intensity Soviet threat to the demands of the low-intensity PKK threat.

For instance, in 1984, when the PKK has launched its first terrorist attacks on Turkish military targets, the TAF had no attack helicopters in its inventory but only 85 UH-1 single- engine general purpose helicopters. Eventually, there were 27 AH-1 Cobra and 10 AH-1W Super Cobra attack helicopters, along with 60 Sikorsy UH-60 Black Hawk and 20 AS-532 Cougar helicopters fully in service in 1998.[27] In military affairs literature, an attack helicopter is considered to be a weapon system which combines swift maneuver abilities and superior fire power.[28] Thus, this weapon system is able to operate in a wide spectrum of missions which cover reconnaissance, security, attack, and movement to contact.[29] Notably, during the struggle against the PKK, Turkish attack helicopters provided a great deal of firepower and mobility superiority; the Black Hawk and Cougar inventory has enabled commando units to carry mortars and light artillery with them into mountainous areas. The night vision modernization in the 1990s enhanced those assets to have 24-hour operational capabilities.[30] In sum, it can be argued that the TAF has managed to establish an air cavalry capacity which meets the requirements of the LIC environment and has thereby enabled a mobile force for its cross-border operations. It should also be noted that the concept of swift movement of several commando battalions simultaneously, in winter/night conditions, and with the support of attack helicopters has been the very essence of Turkish cross-border operations.

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24 Robert M. Cassidy, *Russia in Afghanistan and Chechnya: Military Strategic Culture and the Paradoxes of Asymmetric Conflict,* United States Army War College Strategic Studies Institute, Carlisle Barracks, 2003, pp.1-2.

25 Michael, J. Mazarr, "The Folly of Asymmetric War", *The Washington Quarterly,* Center for Strategic and International Studies, Washington D.C., 2008, pp. 45-46.

26 John A. Nagl and Brian M. Burton, "Dirty Windows and Burning Houses: Setting the Record Straight on Irregular Warfare", p. 97.

27 Ümit Özdağ, *Türk Ordusu PKK'yı Nasıl Yendi Türkiye PKK'ya Nasıl Teslim Oluyor,* p. 128.

28 Keith W. Robinson, *Joint Vision 2010 and the Attack Helicopter: An Effective Dominant Maneuver Force for the Operational Commander,* Naval War College, Newport, 1998, pp. 7-8.

29 United States Department of Army, *Field Manual 3- 04.126 Attack Reconnaissance Helicopter Operations,* Washington D.C., 2007, pp. 1-4.

30 Hasan Kundakçı, *Güneydoğu'da Unutulmayanlar,* pp. 238-239.

Six main factors played key roles in the success of 1992-1998 cross-border operations and reflect the military transformation:

- Shifting Turkey's national defence focus from the 1st Army, which covers the Thrace-Istanbul line and was designed to confront conventional threats under Cold War conditions, to the 2nd Army, which covers the Iranian, Iraqi, and Syrian borders with its headquarters at Malatya, an eastern Turkish city.

- Enhancing land force aviation capacity, especially through rotary-winged assets.

- Attaching importance to the Gendarmerie Public Order Corps (GPOC) and reinforcing this unit through joint force efforts.

- Improving special operations capacity and improving commando units in both the Gendarmerie and Land Forces Commands.

- Adopting a joint forces effort which has unified air-land warfare concept in an LIC environment.

- Adapting military strategic culture in the low, mid, and high ranks of the TAF based on a LIC threat landscape.

More importantly, through the cross-border operations conducted between 1992 and 1998, the TAF has started to pursue a 'positive objective' instead of a defensive or 'negative' one in Clausewitzian terms. As is well known, military theoretician Carl von Clausewitz described two objectives of war: The negative objective has a passive purpose of preservation while the positive objective aims to conquest.[31] It can be argued that through these cross-border operations and by putting systematic military pressure upon the PKK safe havens, Turkey has put aside defending her garrisons and attempted to 'conquer' the adversary's main capabilities. This strategy has brought the years of 'muddling through' to an end and thereby provided a proactive aspect to Turkish counterterrorism efforts.

Assessing the Outcome: 1999 Military Success and Role of TAF's Cross-Border Operations

Van Creveld stressed that although states commission their elite units in LIC (i.e. Spetznatz, SAS, and Sayeret), they fail to win in many cases.[32] In conformance with Van Creveld's analysis, a 2010 RAND Corporation monograph investigated 30 cases in which only eight of them ended with wins by conventional forces. According to the monograph, one of those cases is the 1999 Turkish example, a victory against the PKK.[33]

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31 Carl von Clausewitz, *On War,* Oxford University Press, New York, 2008, p. 160.

32 Martin Van Creveld, *The Transformation of War,* The Free Press, New York, 1991, p. 23.

33 Christopher Paul, Colin P. Clarke and Beth Grill, *Victory Has a Thousand Fathers,* RAND Corporation, Santa Monica, 2010. pp. 9-10.

This work detailed the Turkish case as:

Turkish Forces had taken drastic measures to separate the insurgents from the population in the mountain villages in the area of conflict, aggressively pursued the insurgents into the mountains, sought to cut off cross-border support to them, and, most tellingly, made a political deal with extranational hosts to capture the authoritarian leader of the PKK, Abdullah Ocalan.[34]

Actually, among the four main points (separation of population, aggressive military pursuance, cutting off cross-border support and the capture of the terrorist leader Ocalan) rated by the RAND work, the last three of them are direct results of successful cross-border operations that took place between 1992 and 1998. Furthermore, aggressive military pursuit and border security maintenance are naturally interconnected; solid military strategy put pressure on PKK terrorist elements and forced them out of the border areas. Besides, prolonging the military pressure on the terrorist 'safe harbors' located in Iraqi border areas caused systematic destruction of PKK operational capability, thereby enabling TAF units to keep their offensive roles instead of embracing a defensive stance.

In addition, it can also be argued that the success of the cross-border operations paved the way for the 'gunboat diplomacy' or the military-political escalation strategy that was exerted on Syria to force the terrorist Ocalan's expulsion in 1998. In the midst of the 1992-1998 period, Turkish operations reached beyond Syrian borders to Iraq as well. Meantime, a specific clash made Turkish political and military elites revise their ideas about the option to put military pressure on Damascus. On 24 November 1995, Turkish military intelligence detected a PKK penetration from the Turkish-Syrian border. Turkish units were well-prepared and repelled the terrorists back into Syrian territory. Subsequently, Turkish artillery fired upon the fleeing PKK militants while the TAF's armored elements crossed the border in hot pursuit. Notably, the Syrian Army's border units pulled back 10-15 kms deep without response.

Consequently, Ankara has realized that in addition to Syria's weak border defense (only 3 battalions for 877 kms), the Baathist regime would be unable to provide enough deterrence in case of an escalation.[35] Without a doubt, hot pursuit into Syrian territory by Turkish armored and artillery was a part of the momentum of that cross-border operation. It took place in the midst of a significant military agenda, between the 1992 Operation, the *Çelik-1* Operation in 1995, and the continuous efforts in 1997. Thus, the 1995 clash in Syria's territory cannot be isolated from the 1992-1998 period. Furthermore, Turkish cross-border operations caused a functional and strategic transformation in the TAF's order of battle. Units located in Eastern and Southeastern Anatolia left their defensive garrison structures and took an offensive stance.[36]

In sum, the cross-border operations between 1992 and 1998 played an important role in the 1999 outcome which was defined as a victory by the RAND Corporation study.[37] In other words, adaptation of the positive objective brought about the offensive stance in the order of battle and the offensive stance then brought about the military successes.

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34 Ibid. p. 16.

35 Murat Yetkin, *Kürt Kapanı: Şam'dan İmralı'ya Öcalan,* Remzi Kitabevi, Istanbul, 2004, pp. 39-43.

36 Hasan Kundakçı, *Güneydoğu'da Unutulmayanlar,* p. 392.

37 Christopher Paul, et al. *Victory Has a Thousand Fathers,* pp. 9-10.

Conclusion

It can be concluded that transnational violent groups, including transnational terrorist organizations like the PKK, exploit frontier areas by creating a strategic depth for their struggles. In particular, mountainous land borders provide significant advantages within this context. Thus, for conventional forces to confront those groups necessitates arduous efforts and a remarkable military transformation.

Turkish cross-border operations between 1992 and 1998 are an important example of gaining the upper hand against transnational asymmetric threats. Military modernization through enhancing land aviation capacity, improving operational abilities in night/winter conditions, and embracing an effective geostrategic vision have enabled a conventional force to accomplish 1999 military success over PKK by capturing and convicting the terrorist Abdullah Ocalan and denying PKK activity within Turkish territory.

Without a doubt, the TAF's GPOC unit was an important factor in the 1999 military success. Some of the land, air and even naval elements have joined the struggle under the command of GPOC; this concept has focused an important part of Turkish military capacity into the conflict zone with a "unity of effort". It should be noted that the headquarters of GPOC was located in the city of Diyarbakir, where PKK was established in 1978, and has been claimed to be the so-called 'capital' of its illegal objectives (By the end of the 1990s, the GPOC had moved its headquarters to another eastern Turkish city, Van). Therefore, this unit played the role of operational center of gravity in Turkish counterterrorism efforts and was a pivotal actor of the cross-border operations between 1992 and 1998.

In sum, one of the key findings of this article is the importance of establishing a special unit above the division level with high operational capabilities when facing transnational asymmetric threats like the PKK. Such a military unit brings about a specialization in LIC tasks, develops a genuine strategic culture, and develops a good grasp of nature of the conflict. Secondly, it can be argued that the swift deployment on the operational plane is a key concept of cross-border military operations in an LIC environment. Namely, developing an effective air cavalry capacity is essential. Within this context, the 1992-1998 Turkish case is a strong indicator of the efficiency of attack helicopters and other rotary-winged assets against non-state violent groups. Finally, it should be repeated that gaining the geostrategic initiative is some kind of a silver bullet in the struggle against transnational non-state violent groups. Therefore, cross-border military operations are an inevitable concept when facing those adversaries.

At present, Ankara faces another uptrend in PKK's terrorist activity, in addition to the political-military turmoil in Syria, the reappearing hostility of the Baathist regime against Turkey, and political uncertainty in the post-United States withdrawal Iraq. Under such a menacing and ambiguous threat landscape, the cross-border operations experience between 1992 and 1998 will continue to be a valuable source of lessons learned for the Turkish political and military elite.

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