COUNTERING TERRORISM AND INSURGENCY IN THE 21ST CENTURY

INTERNATIONAL PERSPECTIVES

VOLUME 2: COMBATING THE SOURCES AND FACILITATORS

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CONTENTS

vi   Contents

EDITOR'S NOTE

Governments have been countering the threat of terrorism and insurgency since the establishment of the Westphalia system of nation-states. However, the rapid evolution of science and technology over the past 100 years—from the invention of dynamite to commercial air travel and the Internet—has enabled new forms of terrorist and insurgent activity. It is thus likely that further technological advances over the next 100 years will yield similar results, as today's terrorist and insurgent groups have proven to be adaptable, learning organizations. This three-volume set, *Countering Terrorism and Insurgency in the 21st Century*, seeks to encourage the development of learning organizations among national security professionals by examining what we currently know about the strategic application of hard and soft power in countering the sources and facilitators of terrorism. As a collection, the thematic essays and focused case studies represent an ambitious effort to capture existing knowledge in the field of counterterrorism and counterinsurgency, and draw lessons (from successes as well as failures) that will inform new, adaptable strategies to counter the new threats that—judging from historical trends—will no doubt emerge over the next century.

At the outset, it is necessary to address why this publication covers both terrorism and insurgency, as there is confusion about these terms among many in the academic, media, and policymaking communities. In some countries that have faced the threat of violence for many years—including Colombia, Ireland, Spain, Sri Lanka, and Turkey—societies have grappled with additional terms like "paramilitaries" and "freedom fighters," but the general view reflected throughout the chapters of this publication is that all groups or individuals (including insurgents) who engage in the act of terrorism can be considered terrorists. In essence, the act of terrorism defines its perpetrator as a terrorist, regardless of the ideological motivation behind such acts.

According to the Department of Defense, terrorism is defined as "the calculated use of violence or threat of violence to inculcate fear; intended to coerce or to intimidate governments or societies in the pursuit of goals that are generally political, religious or ideological," while insurgency is

defined as "an organized resistance movement that uses subversion, sabotage, and armed conflict to achieve its aims. . . . [and which] seek to overthrow the existing social order and reallocate power within the country." In teaching my classes on these topics to future U.S. Army officers at West Point, the distinction I make is that insurgents can and do use terrorism (among other forms of violence), but insurgents are but one type of violent nonstate actors who may choose to use terrorism. In other words, not all insurgents use terrorism, and not all terrorists are part of an insurgency. Further, while the use of violence by insurgents to target governments is driven by a particular ideology, terrorists use violence against a range of targets (including governments) to advance their ideology.

While such distinctions may seem academic to most readers, they are actually quite important when formulating strategic, tactical, and policy responses to the threat posed by terrorism and insurgencies. As described in Volume 1 of this publication, strategies and tactics for countering insurgency are an important aspect of our knowledge base on countering terrorism, and vice versa. In both cases, experts have emphasized that the use of force to counter an organization whose objectives resonate with a larger disaffected population yields limited (if any) success. Instead, it is argued, the ideology, political, and socioeconomic aspects of an organization— through which it derives its financial support, recruits, and sympathizers from amongst the local population—must be addressed. In other words, the use of hard power in countering terrorism (including insurgencies that employ terrorist tactics) must be complemented by elements of soft power.

The link between counterinsurgency and counterterrorism is also informed by recent analyses which suggest that the al Qaeda movement can be described as a global insurgency, seeking to replace the existing Westphalia-based system of nation-states with a global caliphate in which Islamic law reigns supreme. Recent terror attacks in Bali, Madrid, London, and Cairo, as well as disrupted terror plots in Denmark, the Netherlands, and the United Kingdom, are all seen as examples of how individuals and groups around the world have been inspired by al Qaeda's ideology to commit violence as part of a strategy to change the policy and behavior of these nation-states. In other words, it is argued, al Qaeda uses terrorism tactically and operationally to advance its global insurgent strategy. When described in these terms, the U.S.-led global effort against al Qaeda can be considered to be fighting both terrorism and insurgency. Thus, *Countering Terrorism and Insurgency in the 21st Century* addresses the many challenges that stem both types of threats to our security.

Another source of confusion in the study of terrorism and insurgency involves disagreement over the proper spelling of certain groups (or, rather, the spelling of the transliteration from the original language into English). For example, a brief survey of the literature reveals that a certain Lebanese militant group can be spelled Hizballah, Hezbollah, Hizbullah,

Hezballah, and Hizbollah. For these volumes, we have standardized the spelling of certain common names across all the chapters, such as al Qaeda (because this is how several agencies of the U.S. government are now spelling it), Hizbollah (because this is how the group spells it on their English language Web site), and Osama bin Laden (rather than Usama). Finally, it is important to note that while many chapters discuss aspects of the "global war on terrorism (GWOT)," we recognize that this term has fallen out of favor among many in the academic and policy communities. However, there currently is a worldwide effort to reduce the capabilities of globally networked terror movements like al Qaeda, and in the absence of an equally useful short-hand reference for this effort, GWOT serves an important role.

At this point in the development of the global counterterrorism effort, it is particularly important to pause for reflection on a number of critical questions. What do we know about effectively countering terrorism and insurgencies? What are the characteristics of successful or unsuccessful counterterrorism and counterinsurgency campaigns? What do we need to learn in order to do these things more effectively? *Countering Terrorism and Insurgency in the 21st Century* addresses these and related questions, and in doing so contributes to national security policy as well as to our understanding of the common threat and how it can be defeated. Chapters of this publication address many different aspects of the unconventional warfare puzzle, examining the most important diplomatic, information, military/law enforcement, and economic/financial dimensions to regional and global cooperation in countering terrorism and insurgency, and providing specific examples of these dimensions in practice.

Authors in the first volume address issues of important strategic and tactical concern, organized around the primary instruments of power through which nations pursue their counterterrorism and counterinsurgency efforts. These instruments can generally be described as either hard power (the use of force by military and law enforcement) or soft power (including diplomacy, information, and intelligence). The second volume provides a variety of insights on how to assess and combat the sources and facilitators of political violence, including state-sponsors of terror, authoritarian regimes, criminal network activity, border insecurity, and the global struggle for influence among societies. As highlighted by several authors in this volume, the community of responsibly governed democracies faces uniquely complex challenges in combating terrorism and insurgencies while maintaining civil freedoms. And contributors to the third volume offer in-depth analyses of historical events and lessons learned in counterterrorism and counterinsurgency. Each volume contains a preface and introductory chapter, describing the contributed essays and providing an intellectual background for the discussions that follow.

xii   Editor's Note

This project is the final installment of an ambitious trilogy published by Praeger Security International. The first of these—the three-volume *The Making of a Terrorist: Recruitment, Training and Root Causes* (published in 2005)—intends to help readers understand the nature of the threat by exploring what transforms an ordinary individual into a terrorist. This was followed by the three-volume *Homeland Security: Protecting America's Targets* (published in 2006), which explored the ongoing efforts in the United States to secure our borders and ports of entry, and to protect our public spaces and critical infrastructure from future terror attacks. The volumes of *Countering Terrorism and Insurgency in the 21st Century* complement these earlier publications by focusing our attention on the broad, worldwide effort to actively confront those who threaten or use political violence against our communities. Together, these nine volumes are meant to provide a central, authoritative resource for students, teachers, policymakers, journalists, and the general public, as well as stimulate new ideas for research and analysis.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

PREFACE

The chapters of this second volume of *Countering Terrorism and Insurgency in the 21st Century* examine the sources and facilitators of political violence. A wide variety of topics can be explored within this general category, and there is also a considerable diversity of opinion about what the terms "source of terrorism" and "facilitator of terrorism" mean. The themes chosen for this volume are meant to represent this diversity, rather than encompass the entire spectrum of possible topics. The chapters are organized into four general areas. In the first, chapters explore topics within the realm of governance and the international system. The second section examines a variety of criminal and economic dimensions. The third section addresses a few dimensions of society and technology in facilitating terrorist recruitment and operations, and defines the arena of strategic influence. And in the final section of the volume, chapters examine various aspects of the U.S. response to the global security environment. As a collection, the chapters advance our understanding of national security strategy challenges, as well as raise important questions and issues for further research.

PART I: GOVERNMENTS AND THE INTERNATIONAL SYSTEM

The first section of the volume begins with a chapter by Dan Byman, Director of the Center for Peace and Security Studies at Georgetown University, in which he notes that state sponsorship of terrorism is a complex problem that cannot easily be solved. Despite diplomatic protests, economic sanctions, and even military pressure, Iran, Pakistan, and Syria have supported numerous terrorist groups for decades. Their persistence in the face of pressure suggests that cutting the deadly connection between states and terrorist groups is difficult at best and impossible at worst. However, careful policymakers can design better solutions and avoid many common mistakes that can make the problem of state sponsorship worse. To begin with, he observes, it is easier to stop state support for terrorism before it starts than to halt backing after it begins. Thus, one of the greatest challenges to the international community is preventing

the rise of new Talibans or other regimes that see supporting terrorism as ideologically vital. Creating a strong norm against the sponsorship of terrorism both makes states less likely to engage in it in the first place and enables the victim state to respond more easily. Diplomatically, this requires engaging both allies and other states on these issues before the support for terrorism becomes well established. In addition, it demands that the United States and other countries offer would-be sponsors alternatives to terrorism, such as giving them options at the negotiating table. Also, he concludes, creating standards is vital with regard to the problem of passive state sponsorship of terrorist organization.

The nation-state is also the focus of the next chapter by Paul Pillar, a visiting professor in the Security Studies Program of Georgetown University and long-term veteran of the U.S. Intelligence Community. He begins by describing various arguments in favor of democracy as a superior system of government in general. The most fundamental point in favor of democracy is that when rulers are answerable to the ruled and must compete for the people's favor to gain or retain office, they are more likely than in autocracies to govern in the people's interests and not exclusively in their own. One of the most attractive features of democratization as a counterterrorism and counterinsurgency tool is that expansion of democracy and associated political rights is a value in its own right. Far from compromising or treading upon other ends, democratization represents the advancement of an important end, in addition to whatever benefit it has in curtailing terrorism. However, this does not imply that democratization should always—or even in any one case—take precedence over other counterterrorist instruments. Like the other tools, it has major limitations—most notably, the long time required for beneficial effects to become apparent, and the very long time required to develop political cultures needed for democracy to work well. Overall, he concludes, there are significant pitfalls associated with the transition of bringing new democracies into being. Much depends not on democracy itself, but on the widespread establishment of liberal attitudes and norms required to support it.

The next chapter furthers this analysis of democratization's impact on countering terrorism, with a particular focus on reducing the appeal of extremist groups in North Africa and the Middle East. Authored by Francesco Cavatorta of Dublin City University, Ireland, this chapter begins by noting that "any analysis of this region today concludes that the salient trait is the complete absence of democratic governance in all the Arab countries. While this authoritarianism in the different countries varies in terms of intensity, few doubts exist about its persistence and pervasiveness." He then examines in some detail the relationship between democratization and political violence in the region and analyzes several different but interrelated aspects of such a complex relationship. First, he argues that processes of democratization in the region have largely failed due to

the controversial nature of the principal opposition to the authoritarian elites in virtually all of the countries. Second, he challenges the assumption that democratization will inevitably reduce the appeal of extremist groups, if we equate extremism with the use of violence. The relegitimization of state authority in the Middle East and North Africa through the adoption of democratic procedures is certainly a necessary first step to stem the wave of radicalism that is engulfing the region. However, he argues, it would probably only be effective in moderating those groups that have "extremist" ideas, but are already committed to pursuing their goals through nonviolent means. Finally, his chapter offers some recommendations on how the international community could help bring about not only a more democratic region, but also a more "just" international system.

The next chapter, by Lydia Khalil of Georgetown University, furthers these discussions by examining the multifaceted connections between authoritarian governance and terrorism. She argues that no matter how benign their intentions, authoritarian governments usually succumb to the accumulation of power for power's sake. They also routinely stifle civil liberties in order to maintain their hold on power and keep society in check. Further, more often than not, authoritarian governments are also corrupt governments. Resources, privileges, and advantages are reserved for a select group of the people or ruling elite. Corruption encumbers the fair distribution of social services and adds another layer to the resentment caused by the lack of political participation. The rest of society, because they have no voice, is ignored or placated. This corruption further erodes the government's legitimacy in the eyes of its citizens. She argues that we can no longer reluctantly tolerate authoritarian governments because they say they will cooperate in the international terrorist effort. Authoritarian states are "bad citizens" that do not and cannot help the international effort against international terrorism. On the contrary, authoritarian and repressive government are themselves a cause of terrorism. Authoritarian states may have the tactical capability and even the will to cooperate, but their assistance is tainted and their long-term usefulness is doubtful. Instead, she concludes, the United States and the international community must put these authoritarian, corrupt, and illegitimate governments that foment terrorism in a negative spotlight. Mobilizing the international community against authoritarian regimes in the name of effective long-term counterterrorism efforts is needed to put a check on authoritarian governments that breed this threat.

Matthew Wahlert of Miami University follows with a chapter on the relationship between state failure and terrorism. Many political scientists and security analysts have turned to an examination of the failed state phenomenon in their research on counterterrorism. Furthermore, the Bush administration—in recognition of the serious nature of the problem—dealt with the issue in the *National Security Strategy of 2002* and

xvi   Preface

the *National Security Strategy of 2006,* both of which specifically pointed to the importance of addressing both failed and failing states as a component of our overall counterterrorism effort. A variety of factors contribute to the usefulness of failed states as bases for terror groups. First, failed states lack any semblance of law enforcement. In addition, a failed state also offers a population of ready-made recruits by offering them basic amenities (food, security, etc.) that the state is unable to provide. Finally, the levels of poverty and corruption typically associated with failed states makes the viability of bribes more compelling—again, allowing terrorist or criminal organizations the freedom to behave in any manner they wish. Overall, Wahlert provides a useful introduction to many of the issues concerning state failure as they relate to the broader effort to fight terrorism.

A state's inability to control its borders is the focus of the final chapter of this section, by Florida-based security consultant Michelle Spencer. She examines the factors related to borders that frame the current threats and our ability to address them, the primary threats that must be addressed by the international community, and the role border security can or cannot play in addressing those challenges. Her analysis suggests that border security is not a panacea and will not win the war on terror, and that there is no single model that can be instituted worldwide to secure every border under any circumstance. Indeed, methods and means of border security are governed by national security interests and, thus, are different for each country. Further, there are many things border security cannot do—for example, it cannot stop knowledge, funding, or violent ideology from spreading. Border security can, however, be a part of a comprehensive response to terrorism. Security can only be effective in layers. Terrorists must be forced to clear hurdle after hurdle, country after country. It is this type of international cooperation that will gradually, but forcefully increase the opportunity costs for terrorist groups. Thus, the United States and the international community should assist partner countries in improving their border security capabilities.

PART II: CRIMINAL AND ECONOMIC DIMENSIONS

The second section of this volume explores the role of criminal networks and other violent nonstate entities which facilitate global terrorism. The first chapter of this section, by Chris Carr of the U.S. Air War College, addresses the international proliferation of small arms and light weapons (SALW). He begins by observing that in sufficient numbers and in the context of weak states, SALW can create an architecture of insecurity which fosters the very circumstances which protect and sustain the culture of terrorism. In Yemen, in the Northwest Frontier Province of Pakistan, in the slums of urban Jamaica, and in the Caucasus mountains, the proliferation of small arms has allowed armed groups to challenge the primacy

of the state and to create conditions of instability which provide aid and comfort to criminal and terrorist communities. In such places, the traffickers in drugs, humans, and weapons cohabit with the warlords, militia leaders, and political opportunists in an environment which precludes good governance and judicial oversight. After addressing the origins of this problem, Carr offers some suggestions for countering the proliferation of SALW, including multilateral agreements, regional and bilateral arrangements, and partnerships with nongovernmental organizations for gathering data on the locations and movements of these weapons.

Next, professor Paul Smith of the U.S. Naval War College examines the financial aspects of terrorism and counterterrorism. During the past decade, and particularly since 1999, a flurry of regulations and laws have been implemented throughout the world that focus primarily on terrorism financing. In fact, some observers might suggest that the "financial oxygen" that sustains terrorist activity is nearly depleted. Unfortunately, however, terrorists are extremely versatile and creative. They are reverting to more fundamental methods of transferring money, such as enlisting informal value transfer systems, engaging in bulk cash smuggling, or simply transferring "value" anonymously via e-cash (or e-gold) on the Internet. Further, as money laundering regimes become more advanced in rich, developed countries (and even moderately wealthy developing countries), terrorist organizations always have the option of turning to "less governed spaces"—in other words, operating in those areas of the world outside the purview of governments and financial regulators. Smith concludes that since terrorism is a complex, political phenomenon that cannot be simply eliminated by starving terrorists of their money, countering terrorism in the long term will require that governments honestly and forthrightly take on those sensitive questions or issues that provide the "political oxygen" of international terrorism. Unless that reality is confronted honestly, terrorists will always find a way to fund their operations.

His analysis is followed by a chapter from British counterterrorism expert J.P. Larsson, who examines the conceptual intersections of terrorism and organized criminal networks. Despite the common means and methods shared by terrorists and criminal organizations, the traditional view of law enforcement has been to treat the two as completely distinct and separate, and this has in turn led to two disparate responses by government bodies, law enforcement agencies, and academic scholarship. However, the way to combat both terrorism and organized crime may be to treat them as very similar concepts. Larsson begins by offering a brief overview of organized crime, taken quite separate from terrorism, and then explores some of the similarities between them, how the two interact, and what the law enforcement response is and can be. Finally, he provides some thoughts about how both terrorism and organized crime can be countered in the twenty-first century.

xviii   Preface

Organized crime is also a prominent theme of the next chapter, by Florida-based criminal justice consultant (and former DEA Supervisory Special Agent and U.S. Army soldier) Gregory D. Lee. He examines the global drug trade and its nexus to international terrorist organizations, as well as the traits these organizations share, noting that numerous terrorist organizations have been funded for years by the profits of drug traffickers, and this is likely to continue in the foreseeable future, especially when state-sponsored support is eroded by political or military action. Terrorists use drug production and trafficking profits to meet their overhead, and to destabilize governments around the world, including the United States. The methods they use to achieve their goals are strikingly similar to those used by drug trafficking organizations. He concludes by observing that the DEA is about to join the "intelligence community" and it is long overdue. DEA has a large reservoir of human intelligence that surely can be beneficial to those charged with conducting terrorism investigations. This is especially true when one considers the frequent interaction between drug and terrorist organizations. Conversely, the intelligence community needs to understand the nexus between drugs and terror, and should readily provide information to DEA to enable them to dismantle these organizations.

Further analysis of the intersection between terrorism and the global drug trade is provided in the next chapter, by U.S. Army officers James Walker and Jon Byrom. Their case study of Afghanistan offers unique insights into the history of terrorism financing, state sponsorship, and charitable organizations as well as licit and illicit activities, and suggests that the global attack against terrorist financing has shifted financial reliance to illicit activities, primarily drugs. Further, they argue, this shift will cause terror groups to find opportunities to enter the global supply chain of drugs. Unfortunately, no place offers a greater opportunity than Afghanistan, where the environment is too tempting for terrorists not to carve out a piece of the action—after all, because of its comparative advantage in the production of opium, this country provides 87 percent of the world's heroin supply. In fact, they argue, Afghanistan's macroeconomic dependence on opium will ensure its continued production for years to come. Overall, Afghanistan is on the brink of becoming a major narco-terrorist state, and the United States and its allies must be appropriately concerned about its vast terrorism financing potential. To prevent this from occurring, the world community and the new Afghan government should focus on increasing all costs of the drug business. From an economic perspective, a direct effort to increase opportunity costs of growing poppies, while decreasing opportunity costs of alternatives, is what is needed.

The economic dimensions of global terrorism are also addressed in the next chapter, by Shahdad Naghshpour and Joseph J. St. Marie of the

University of Southern Mississippi, and Samuel S. Stanton, Jr. of Grove City College. They examine the role of the "shadow economy" (economic activities that are underground, covert, or illegal) in the global spread of terrorism; specifically, the theory behind the shadow economy and the effects it can have on terrorist organizations with regard to financing. Their analysis indicates that the shadow economy can provide an infrastructure for terrorist organizations to operate in, whereby financing becomes easier and detecting it becomes more difficult. The irony for most nations' decision makers is that public policy decisions intended to create a better quality of life—such as a social security system which collects contributions through taxes and then provides a basic human security "safety net" for all its citizens—may actually create an infrastructure where terror organizations can operate, finance themselves, and carry out attacks against the very sociopolitical system that unwittingly supports them. A comprehensive approach to combating terrorism thus requires significant monitoring of the shadow economy.

Next, Sumesh Arora and David Butler of the University of Southern Mississippi provide an analysis of the relationship between global terrorism and a nation's dependence on energy resources outside its borders. After defining the term energy security and addressing its geopolitical nuances, the chapter examines the vulnerabilities of the global system of trade and transportation of fossil fuel energy resources (primary oil and natural gas). They note that the possibility of terrorist attacks on energy installations today is a legitimate concern, validated by several incidents that have been reported by the news media in the recent months and years. Arora and Butler then review several attacks that have been made against this system, particularly in places like Iraq, Saudi Arabia, Colombia, and Iraq, as well as threatening statements made by al Qaeda warning of attacks against oil facilities in the Middle East. Overall, they conclude, international energy dependence can be viewed as both a facilitator and vulnerability of terrorism, and thus demands our utmost attention in formulating a comprehensive, global counterterrorism response.

Another example of the intersection between global trade and terrorism involves maritime piracy, according to U.S. Army officer Kent Baumann. His chapter begins with an illustration of how contemporary piracy is proving more and more dangerous as technology and globalization continue to advance and spread. The motivations influencing various terrorist groups to engage in piracy vary from their geographic proximity to strategic waterways to their particular ideological and political goals. There are also economic reasons: successful acts of piracy can help fund and supply future terrorist operations, and hostage-taking for ransom, as well as the theft of ocean going vessels, can prove very lucrative for raising funds. Overall, he suggests, terror-piracy may pose a potentially catastrophic threat on the contemporary geostrategic stage. In particular,

transnational, ideologically focused groups pose the greatest threat when associated with international maritime pirates. Finally, his chapter concludes by proposing several short- and long-term countermeasures for combating global piracy (whether or not it is related to terrorism), and highlights the importance of consequence management in the case that global terrorism begins to take greater advantage of the maritime vulnerabilities he describes.

The final chapter of this section addresses the need to understand and counter the motives and methods of a particular type of violent nonstate actor: warlords. Here, Brian Hanley of KonnectWorld, Inc., provides a categorization of different types of warlords (including resource warlords, proxy warlords, and development bandits), and then provides recommendations for countering each type. He suggests that the primary method of dealing with a resource warlord is to take physical control of his resource assets and manage them on a fair and equitable way for the nation. This type of military-development action could be legitimized on the international scene. He recommends imprisoning or killing proxy warlords (who are supported by external entities), while negotiating with their supporting power(s). And regarding development bandits, he recommends taking steps to allow prosecution for major crimes committed in developing nations in the home country of the funding organization (where legal systems are presumed stronger). Finally, he notes, a key to opposing warlords is not so much how draconian the threat is against them, but their perception, and that of a potential successor, that they will reliably be caught or killed. Because of the prevalence of warlords in failed or failing states—the same "ungoverned spaces" where we find terrorist groups and training camps—Hanley's analysis of warlords contributes an important dimension to our understanding of countering terrorism and insurgency in the twenty-first century.

PART III: SOCIETY, TECHNOLOGY, AND STRATEGIC INFLUENCE

The third section of this volume explores various dimensions of society that facilitate radicalization, mobilization, and other operations of insurgencies and terrorist organizations. The first chapter of this section, by National Defense University professor Bard O'Neil and former U.S. Air Force Academy professor Donald J. Alberts, offers a thoughtful analysis of the psychological, social, economic, and political roots of terrorism, and particularly the use of terror tactics by insurgent organizations, and considers remedies for mitigating them. They describe how effective insurgent organizations proffer a blend of ideological and material incentives that meet an individual's need for belonging, identity, and rectifying perceived injustice. Once individuals have joined or otherwise

actively supported terrorist groups for ideological reasons, it is difficult to win them back, because of the psychological and emotional investments they have made. This is especially true when religious ideas are involved. Moreover, their analysis highlights the need for governments to recognize the social, economic, and political problems that need to be resolved, at least partially, if the potential for terrorism is to be diminished. Particularly, they must take a close look at the political culture and system as part of their strategic assessment and draw relevant conclusions from it. Understanding the salience and interconnections of these psychological, social, economic, and political causes requires a careful and systematic analysis in every situation. This should precede the articulation and implementation of a comprehensive counterterrorist strategy.

In the next chapter, Chris Brown of the Center for Security Policy examines the means and message of Islamic extremists. He argues that because suicide bombings have become an increasingly pervasive tactic, in addition to their popularity among multiple Islamist organizations around the world, there must be an ideological foundation for them. Therefore, the key to a strategic counterstrategy can only come from understanding and exploiting the foundational vulnerability of the ideology of the suicide operation. The war in which the world is currently engaged is an ideological war. Thus, he concludes, without a comprehensive strategy to engage in and win the war of ideas in ways that have cultural resonance, military operations alone will provide only a limited respite. Al Qaeda and those that share its ideology must not just be destroyed, but discredited within their own communities. This in turn will undermine their theo-ideology, which is the key to both their global reach as an organization and their ability to recruit for suicide bombings on a level that threatens America and the Western world's vital interests. Without their foundation of theo-ideology, they will fall.

The nature of Islamic extremist ideology is also addressed in the next chapter, by Magnus Norell of the Swedish Defense Research Agency. In his analysis of education for martyrdom, he notes that one does not have to work particularly hard in order to find Islamic texts that support the idea of martyrdom. At the same time, groups of frustrated young Muslim men (and a few women) with a feeling of purposelessness, and disenfranchised by a Muslim world in transition, are seeking lofty goals to pin their existence on. The combination of the situation of the aspiring martyrs and individuals with the aim of channeling the frustration of these young men to their benefit can produce devastating results, particularly in the form of suicide terrorism. Further, according to Norell, the claim that those who aspire to become martyrs suffer from mental illnesses as a result of a traumatic childhood or poverty is disputed by practically all available facts. As well, bad education and substandard social conditions do not explain why a person decides to become a suicide murderer. Rather, he points to

xxii   Preface

the combination of personal frustrations, sociopolitical context, and local influences in small groups of like-minded people, where a feeling of belonging is regained. In these small groups, a mental state develops were emphasis is put on loyalty and commitment to a common cause, which ties the individuals together into a new family. When infused with an ideology that ties limited personal opportunities with an extremist interpretation of the Koran, these groups can become powerful sources of suicide bombers.

Next, Maura Conway of Dublin City University describes the role of new media—particularly the Internet—in spreading the ideological messages, strategies, and tactics of terrorism. Her chapter addresses a variety of ways in which terrorists use the Internet, including psychological warfare, publicity and propaganda, recruitment and mobilization, networking and information gathering, and planning and coordination. She notes that terrorists seek political and social change, and their objective is to influence populations in ways that support that change. To accomplish this, they engage in physical attacks and information operations, as well as the integration of these. The case of Abu Musab al-Zarqawi provides a useful example of this. Obviously, the Internet is not the only tool that a terrorist group needs in order to "succeed." However, the Net can add new dimensions to existing assets that groups can utilize to achieve their goals as well as providing new and innovative avenues for expression, fundraising, recruitment, etc. At the same time, there are also trade-offs to be made. High levels of visibility increase levels of vulnerability, both to scrutiny and security breaches. Nonetheless, the proliferation of official terrorist sites appears to indicate that the payoffs, in terms of publicity and propaganda value, are understood by many groups to be worth the risks.

Next, Randy Bowdish—a retired Navy Captain and faculty member of the U.S. Marine Corps Command and Staff College—provides a detailed look at the relationship between terrorism and the media in a liberal democracy. He argues that the media must take a more active, formal role in guarding the people against the cognitive harm and unwitting complicity toward terrorists' ends associated with news of terrorism. Long a watchdog against governmental abuse of power, the media must also stand sentinel against the tyranny of extremists who would manipulate the media and society to their own malevolent ends. Terrorism strikes at the soft underbelly of democracy by bypassing a nation's means of resistance and attacking its will to resist through the media. While censorship is one option to defend media vulnerability, it is a bad one compared to self-regulation through media codes. He acknowledges that the "cry of terror" is newsworthy and reason to "let slip the media dogs." It does not mean, however, that the news must be reported in a manner conducive to terrorists.

This discussion of terrorism and media is furthered by a case study of Al-Manar (Hizbollah's TV station), by Maura Conway of Dublin City University. She first examines the range of media products offered by Hizbollah, and then offers a brief overview of the Lebanese television scene and the establishment of Al-Manar. The third and fourth sections of the chapter describe the station's mission and financing, respectively. Section five, which describes and analyzes the station's programming, is divided into three parts: the first explores the type of programming prevalent in the station's early years; the second describes the station's contemporary format; and the third is devoted to a description of the type of viewing offered by the station to women and children. Conway also describes the station's viewership and explores the recent banning of the station in Europe and the United States. The chapter concludes with an analysis of the role of the station in the 2006 crisis in the Middle East.

And in the final chapter of this section, Christopher Jasparro of the U.S. Marine Corps Command and Staff College illustrates how analyses of sociodemographic and geographic trends can yield important insights for countering terrorism. He writes that "the application of geographic perspectives provide a means for visualizing, organizing, and assessing real world data (that can otherwise inundate essential information with a deluge of detail) thereby elucidating important spatial patterns and structures." In other words, he suggests that by knowing what areas produce the most terrorists and their supporters, combined with an understanding of where sociodemographic factors play particularly significant roles in facilitating terrorism (and how terrorist organizations exploit these factors from place to place), "we can more precisely and efficiently focus our resources and approaches instead of being constrained by 'one-size fits all' responses geared to addressing broad issues (poverty for instance) whose effectiveness is difficult, if not impossible, to measure." He also suggests that countering an ideology requires determining where a message originates from, along what paths it has diffused, and how the conditions by which it resonates vary from place to place. More specifically, precision in reducing the effect of sociocultural and demographic "root causes" that give extreme ideologies their resonance demands that we distinguish between universal and place-specific forces of radicalization.

PART IV: U.S. RESPONSES TO THE GLOBAL SECURITY ENVIRONMENT

The final section of this volume provides five chapters exploring various ways in which the United States is responding to the challenges of terrorism and insurgency in the twenty-first century. First, Tom Johnson and Chris Mason of the Naval Postgraduate School describe the U.S. strategy and actions in Afghanistan. They observe that today—almost 5 years

xxiv   Preface

into America's military engagement in Afghanistan—the United States is mired in an insurgency of escalating violence and lethality which has already claimed thousands of lives. The twin insurgent movements of a resurgent Taliban (backed by al Qaeda) and the *Hizb-i-Islami* party of Gulbuddin Hekmatyar (HiG) are growing steadily in strength and influence (particularly in the east and south of the country), while the Afghan government's control over a broad swath of the country is rapidly diminishing. According to their analysis, three fundamental problems in Afghanistan have allowed for the emergence of the insurgencies: (1) the inability of the national government since 2001 to establish a politically significant presence throughout the country; (2) the failure of the international community to create a secure rural environment in the south conducive to development and reconstruction; and (3) the virtually complete lack of meaningful improvement in the lives of the great majority of the people in the southern half of the country. They also suggest that a complete change in counterinsurgency strategy is required, involving greater cultural education for all U.S. soldiers and serious changes in the Afghan National Police and conclude that abandoning Afghanistan would allow the country to once again become a refuge for terrorist groups to recruit, train, and wage war against the West.

A similar conclusion is drawn in the next chapter, by Robert Pauly and Jeff Stephens of the University of Southern Mississippi, in which they examine the current U.S. strategy in Iraq. Their discussion begins by providing an overview of the role of American military forces in nation/state-building operations in Iraq since 2003, followed by an examination of the socioeconomic, judicial, political, and security components of those operations. The chapter then offers several insights that U.S. civilian and military leaders should draw from America's efforts in Iraq to date, and concludes with an assessment of the prospects for the future. Above all, they argue, the economic and political reconstruction of Iraq is absolutely indispensable to the broader transformation of the Islamic world. The conflict in Iraq continues to present economic, military, and political roadblocks that will take years, if not decades, to overcome. However, it is essential to see the Iraqi nation/state-building project through to completion. Thus, subsequent administrations, whether Republican or Democratic, must maintain America's commitment to economic and political reform across the Greater Middle East over the long term. Failing to do so will only further embolden Islamic extremist groups, including (but by no means limited to) al Qaeda.

The next chapter of this section, by Joseph Trafton of the University of Rhode Island, highlights the need to understand the organizational, ideological, and financial aspects of al Qaeda in order to defeat this global network of terror. To date, he notes, the Bush administration has relied heavily on the military to deal with the al Qaeda threat, which is reflective

of the anachronistic way in which the administration views its contemporary adversary. And yet, despite organizational and leadership setbacks in the wake of September 11, al Qaeda continues to be a credible threat to the security of the United States. There is much to be done, particularly in the realms of "soft power" described in the previous two volumes of this publication. For example, he argues, little has been done by the United States or the international community to deal with the ways in which individual al Qaeda cells obtain large sums of money, for example, including the underground banking networks mentioned earlier. As well, a "strategic communications" campaign is necessary to confront the al Qaeda ideology and its influence throughout the Muslim world. Overall, he concludes, understanding the evolution of al Qaeda's organizational structure, the role ideology plays in uniting the al Qaeda network, and al Qaeda's new financial structure is critical for our success in defeating the threat posed by Osama bin Laden and those he inspires.

The next chapter describes one of the most recent and forward-looking U.S. initiatives in countering terrorism in the twenty-first century: the Trans-Sahara Counterterrorism Initiative. Authored by Lianne Kennedy of the Combating Terrorism Center at West Point, this chapter examines how the United States is addressing the many security challenges that pervade this strategically important region of Africa, where borders are porous, economies are fragile, and while some states have stable though undemocratic governments, a few are fledgling democracies, and others have been plagued by ongoing violence and instability. In response to this regional environment, the Department of Defense has recently collaborated with the Department of State to develop the TSCTI, which supports African states' efforts to improve border security and enact counterterrorism measures, while also facilitating regional cooperation, promoting democratic governance, and improving relations with the United States. After examining the connection between security and development in Africa, and describing the details and current status of TSCTI, Kennedy concludes her chapter with a discussion of the potential benefits and risks of the initiative.

And in the final chapter of this section, terrorism consultant John Alexander argues that the current global conflict is much more complex than the uncompromising and invidious duality reflected in the Global War on Terror (GWOT), and is fraught with paradoxes. Precipitated by emotional issues juxtaposed with competing and incompatible values, the execution of counterterrorism programs become severely hampered by obvious contradictions. Further, these efforts are exacerbated by strenuous efforts by senior leaders to remain politically correct. Four theoretical approaches are most prevalent in the literature on countering terrorism. These are: enhance security (keep us safe); eliminate the terrorists (remove the cancer); attack the support infrastructure (cut their funding); and

xxvi   Preface

alter the conditions that breed discontent and terrorists (drain the swamp).
However, he argues, efforts to counter the conditions supporting terror
must address ideological differences that drive terrorists to commit acts of
extreme violence.

CONCLUSION

Together, these chapters address an impressive breadth of issues related
to the global security environment. However, there are obviously other
sources and facilitators of terrorism to explore beyond what is covered in
this volume. Thus, this collection will hopefully also stimulate the reader
to pursue further research on their own, in order to expand our collective
understanding of how to counter terrorism and insurgency in the twenty-
first century.

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This project is the final installment of an ambitious trilogy, which began with *The Making of a Terrorist: Recruitment, Training and Root Causes* (published by Praeger in 2005) and continued with *Homeland Security: Protecting America's Targets* (in 2006). Together, these volumes are meant to provide a central resource for understanding the global threat of terrorism, how America is working to defend against it, and how the international community is actively seeking to disrupt, deter, and defeat those who seek to conduct terror attacks. I would like to thank Hilary Claggett at Praeger Security International for her vision and encouragement throughout this effort. Each of these multivolume projects have required significant coordination, and Hilary and her staff have been enormously professional and helpful collaborators during the past three years. Also, the Advisory Board members for this project—Bruce Hoffman, Rohan Gunaratna, and James Robbins—have been extremely helpful in identifying authors and topics to be addressed, in addition to serving as outstanding guest lecturers to the cadets in my terrorism studies courses at West Point.

New contributions to the study of counterterrorism and counterinsurgency have never been more urgently needed. Each of the chapters in these three volumes is the product of thoughtful research and analysis, and I offer my sincere thanks to the authors for their hard work and commitment to excellence. The insights and suggestions they have provided in these pages will undoubtedly inform discussions and debate in a variety of policymaking and academic settings for the foreseeable future.

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xxviii   ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

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James J.F. Forest
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