

PRO PATRIA AD MORTEM

Asymmetric Warfare Conflict of the Past, the Present, and the Future

Proceedings of the Conference
in Budapest, Hungary,
9–10 November 2016



Edited by:
ÁLMOS PÉTER KISS

Dialóg Campus

ASYMMETRIC WARFARE:
CONFLICT OF THE PAST, THE PRESENT, AND THE FUTURE

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CONFLICT OF THE PAST, THE PRESENT,
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with their authors.

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Foreword

Sober prognoses predict that the changes that have occurred in the character of armed conflict since the end of World War II are not likely to be reversed any time soon. Conflict between states and non-state actors shall remain the dominant form of warfare, but the existential threat of high-intensity international “conventional” war shall also be present. Therefore the state’s security forces must be ready to answer two disparate violent challenges – often at the same time.

The scientific research center of the Hungarian Defence Forces General Staff, in collaboration with the National University of Public Service, organized a conference to discuss some of the controversial issues that arise from this state of affairs. The “Public Service Development Establishing Good Governance” project (PADOP-2.1.2-CCHOP-15-2016-00001) provided partial funding. The conference attracted military and law-enforcement professionals, public administration specialists and academic researchers in various disciplines. The participation of young officers and academic researchers at the beginning of their career contributed to the “out of the box” thinking.

In order to provide a framework for the conference, the organizers posed a series of questions at the outset:

- What are the social, economic, political, security and other factors that assist the non-state belligerent to succeed, and hinder the state to address the asymmetric challenge?
- How can the instruments of state power be deployed to reverse this trend, and what are the metrics of success or failure?
- How can the law of armed conflict, international criminal law and national laws be applied in an asymmetric conflict?
- What is the appropriate balance of political, economic, communication, administrative, law enforcement and military responses?
- How can society’s resilience and resistance to asymmetric challenges be enhanced? What are the effects of mass migration on the receiving nations’ vulnerability to asymmetric challenges?
- Asymmetric warfare in the service of the state.
- What is the role of strategic communication in an asymmetric conflict?
- What role do the international community, allies, NGOs and human rights organizations play in an asymmetric conflict?
- Since a disparity of force is part of every conflict, is the term “asymmetric warfare” appropriate at all? Does creating such categories and sub-categories of conflict as terrorism, insurgency, guerrilla war, asymmetric warfare, irregular warfare, unconventional warfare, asymmetric war, hybrid war, conventional war, and nation building contribute to, or detract from understanding the problem and finding answers?

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Conference Conclusions and Recommendations

The presentations, as well as the subsequent discussions addressed some of the questions posed by the organizers, and also raised new ones. A general sense of the conference was that the ideology of political correctness severely hampers meaningful discourse. For example, the doctrine of the desirability of open immigration and multiculturalism should not be an unchallenged dogma: it needs to be tested against evidence, not against imposed standards of acceptable public discourse. Similarly, discussion of the role of religion in violent extremism must not be taboo.

The following paragraphs summarize the conclusions of the conference, and include some recommendations for policy makers (the paragraphs' sequence does not necessarily imply an order of importance).

General Policy Recommendations

There is no one-size-fits-all solution to the violent challenge posed by non-state actors. Every country and every situation is different, and threats are location-specific. Therefore, solutions must also be location-specific.

Resource-constraints are a fact of life for every government today. They hamper the government's ability to deliver security to the people, and they help the adversary, whose operations are generally low-cost. To get optimal benefit from the available resources, the responses to the asymmetric challenges must be appropriately prioritized.

Work pro-actively in conflict regions, and prevent/reduce conflicts before they get out of control. In a broader sense, a pro-active approach both to international and to internal disputes is more important today than ever before. This implies/requires building partnerships with civilizationally allied powers, even if differences on peripheral issues may exist.

On the ideological front, adopt the Roman doctrine of divide and conquer.

Emphasize the fact that terrorism is both a security issue and a law-enforcement issue. This understanding should be integrated into policy through strengthening institutional links between law-enforcement and internal security organizations, facilitate the sharing of databases and the creation of ad hoc C3I centers.

The incorporation of industry and business experience/practices as appropriate, as well as red-teaming, may provide invaluable tools in policy formulation. Reservists, with their less career-oriented perspective, may also make valuable contributions to policy.

Conventional war's definitions of success and failure, victory and defeat, and goals and objectives are not applicable to asymmetric conflict. They must be defined (or re-defined) according to the specific conditions and situation.

Think not just outside the box, but beyond the box, and get rid of the box altogether when circumstances warrant it.

Clearly identify who is who in the conflict, and be clear who the enemy is and what his true intentions are. Adversaries are not necessarily enemies. A wary neutrality may be possible with the first, while the second must be actively opposed. In a similar vein, allies and potential allies are not necessarily friends.

Consider restructuring the military to deal with the current threat. The imperative for this comes from outside. Restructuring implies equipment as well: the security forces need weapons and tools to fit the fight (e.g. robots, EMT), rather than fight in a manner that fits the available weapons. On the other hand, it is easy to be dazzled by technology, but it is not a magic solution: the focus should be on “right-tech”, instead of “high-tech.”

Strategic and Operational Issues

Conventional warfare has a role to play in combatting asymmetric challenges. However, the tactical victories the armed forces achieve do not matter much without appropriate strategy, which must be based on a whole-of-government – whole-society approach to security, and incorporate appropriate communication to the population.

Protecting everything and everyone from the threat inherent in the asymmetric challenge is an impossible undertaking. Instead, accept a certain degree of risk to life and property, as the price of freedom, and adopt a doctrine of “acceptable losses”. Protect vital infrastructure and harden significant targets where such measures are cost-effective. Train the population in vigilance, and adequately fund local law enforcement agencies.

Take the fight to the enemy, because success in a conflict can rarely be achieved by defensive action alone. Identify potential incubators of terrorism/other asymmetric threats and surgically mitigate or disrupt them.

Innovation is not just an important factor in asymmetric conflicts. Rather, it is one of the drivers for both the state and the non-state belligerent. In order to succeed, innovation – technological, doctrinal, legal, and cultural – must become an integral part of the planning process.

Relearning time after time the lessons of fighting asymmetric adversaries is costly in terms of both blood and treasure. Recognize the importance of history and lessons learned in creating policy. Conduct more research on best practices of other nations, discover what works, what does not – even if the source of lessons is a politically incorrect conflict (colonial war) or system of governance (totalitarian dictatorship).

The enemy is NOT obliged to fight in a specific way, so rely on good intelligence and avoid mirror imaging, when making assumptions about his likely course of action.

Control of territory is as important in asymmetric conflicts as in conventional wars, but the characteristics of control are different.

Initial Response

Operationalizing the initial response to the asymmetric challenge is usually quite difficult. The following quadrant diagram may serve as a conceptual framework, a directional marker for further research, and even as a rough initial planning tool, for the initial period

of an asymmetric confrontation, from the time it is identified as a potential challenge to the state’s authority, until it develops into a violent confrontation.

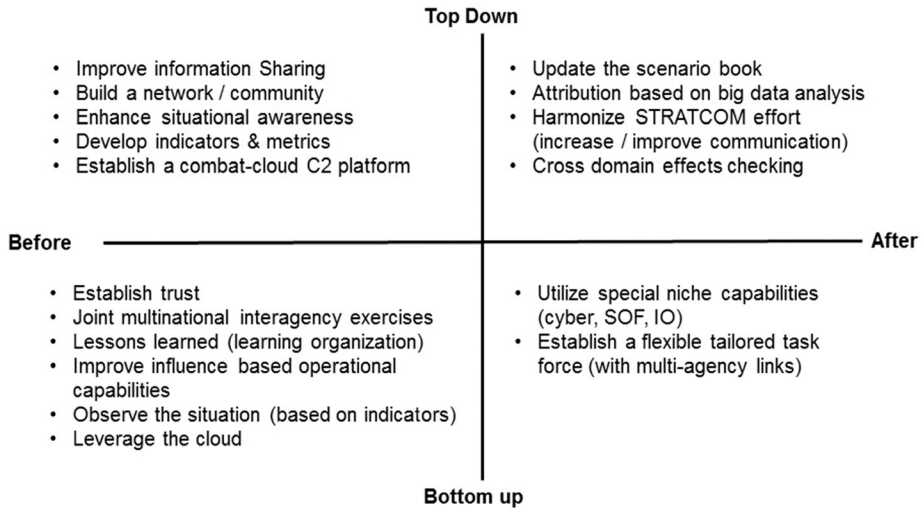


Figure 1
 Quadrant diagram of state response to an asymmetric confrontation
 Source: drawn by Imre Porkoláb during the conference

Legal Issues

The Westphalian international order is fading: it is difficult, if not impossible, to reconcile recent developments in international law (e.g. the doctrine of the responsibility to protect) with unquestioned state sovereignty. On the other hand, international humanitarian law has not kept pace with developments in armed conflict: its precepts are often ignored or intentionally transgressed by the belligerents.

Policy makers must understand the expanded role international law can play as instrument of war today. They must realize that territory may be lost or gained not only by war, but also by law. Additionally, they must develop strategies that neutralize disruptive litigation – a favorite instrument of some non-state actors.

Recent developments in warfare, as well as recently developed legal doctrines may necessitate changes in international law and international humanitarian law. However, the process of developing those changes must not be a hasty one, lest the results turn out worse than the original problem and be unacceptable to public opinion.

Communication

At present the state is far behind the non-state actors when it comes to using internet communication resources, especially social media. The rare instances where the state is successful in this area are usually due to the initiative of individual officials, rather than a result of a coherent strategic communication policy.

The state cannot afford to surrender cyberspace to the non-state actor. Its communication must become pro-active, rather than reactive, and it must counter the adversary's propaganda.

As a first step, the state should establish an initial – but permanent – presence in social media and other internet communication channels, and expand its cyberspace communications gradually, as its specialists gain experience.

Make strategic communication a part of the planning process, and not just an ad hoc response.

Think of the message first, and adapt the tools to the message. Use media and ICT as a force multiplier, and empower specialists to respond in real time and circumvent hierarchies.

Violent Jihad, Migration and Terrorism

Most religions have some undercurrents of violence-prone extremism. Today none can match the adherents of the Islamist jihad movement for ideological commitment and readiness for violence. Violent jihad, sustained by uncontrolled mass migration, is the primary security threat to the western world today.

As recent experience in various European states has shown, uncontrolled mass migration is not only a security challenge, but also rends the fabric of the host society. In many cases current immigration policies obstruct, rather than help law-enforcement identify individuals in the migration flow who pose a security threat. One of the most effective law-enforcement tools in identifying potential security threats is profiling. However, its use is discouraged in some states, and forbidden outright in others on ideological grounds.

Treat extremist activism (e.g. Islamists' drive to replace the law of the land with the sharia) as subversive political activity, rather than legitimate religious advocacy and make the legal grounds for exclusion or deportation.

Review immigration policies and terminate or reverse those that increase domestic threats, undermine cultural and political coherence, and strain economic resources.

Articulate and pursue policies contributing to cultural coherence of society. Accept/welcome those who are prepared to adapt to the host society's norms, and exclude those who refuse to do so.

Discard the ban on profiling.

Actively and preventively engage neighboring nations and local population on migration issues.

In providing security, creating a physical barrier (wall, security fence, buffer zone) is an option of proven efficiency.

A Question of Terminology

In the past three to five decades a large number of expressions have been invented to describe a type of conflict in which a state's regular forces clash with either the forces of non-state belligerent, or with the less-regular forces of another state. Low intensity conflict, military operations other than war, modern war, asymmetric conflict, hybrid warfare, unrestricted warfare are just a few. Since they mean different things to different people, they serve more to confuse the issue than to clarify it.

A working definition of asymmetric warfare was suggested to the conference:

- *Disparity in numbers, material resources or warfighting ability does not make a conflict asymmetric.*
- *The conflict is between disparate warfighting cultures.*
- *The belligerents have disparate legal status: one is an internationally recognized state, the other is a non-state actor.*
- *Generally there is a disparity in the belligerents' value systems and theories of victory.*
- *The non-state actor's strategic goals are not attainable either through peaceful political process or by means of conventional warfare.*

A recommendation was made to abandon the term altogether, along with all similar, imprecise terms, and rather than trying to subdivide warfare and pigeon-hole the parts according to the adversary's uniform (or lack thereof), treat it as a continuum. Making a distinction between conventional interstate war and the conflict at hand is still necessary. The definitions thus developed can be refined, replaced or discarded, as the conflict develops.

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OPENING ADDRESSES

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Opening Address by Tamás Vargha, Deputy Minister of Defence, Hungary

Ladies and Gentlemen!

I respectfully welcome the participants of this conference. Let me start with a quote from one of the most colorful American Generals, George S. Patton. He said at one time, that “if everyone is thinking alike, then somebody isn’t thinking”¹. General Patton may have been a controversial figure, but he was certainly right on this issue. And if he could look at the program of the conference, he would be highly satisfied: the speakers and the participants of the conference are not only military and police professionals, but also scholars of other social sciences, as well as the executives of public administration and shapers of public opinion.

Asymmetric conflict occurs when nations or groups with disparate and incommensurable military capabilities and strategies clash. The attack on the United States on September 11, 2001, and the subsequent war against terrorism in Afghanistan are 21st century examples of this. However, the term is far from new. It has always been part of military history, and great military thinkers, Clausewitz, Lawrence of Arabia, Marighella – to mention a few – have studied and commented on it. Clausewitz’s observation that war is the continuation of politics by other means also fits the concept, since the political significance and consequence of asymmetric clashes are exceptionally high. Today asymmetric conflicts are more likely to occur than conventional ones, therefore we must study this form of warfare, in order to devise appropriate responses and prevail in it.

As the new challenges have appeared, conventional war has become a rare occurrence, and the domains of war have also been rearranged: land, sea, air and cyberspace. And it is essential to keep in mind all aspects of asymmetric warfare when we tackle the current challenge – the migration crisis. When we map out the correlations of this modern movement of peoples, we must keep in mind one characteristic of asymmetric warfare: the concept of information superiority.

In this age of terrorism it is particularly important to follow the new types of challenges and give adequate responses to them. In Hungary this has required a harmonization of laws, an amendment to the Hungarian Fundamental Law, as well as the amendment of other laws and some reorganization, in order to facilitate the Hungarian Defence Force’s active participation in missions along the border.

Dealing with the challenges of migration at the European Union level is an essential task, since we should be prepared for an even more extensive wave of migrants in the future. We cannot depend on the resolution of this problem any time soon, since the solution must be

¹ Porter B. WILLIAMSON, *General Patton’s Principles for Life and Leadership* (Tucson: Management & Systems Consultants, 1988), 151.

found in those countries, in those regions, where the migrants set out from. The Hungarian government was the first in Europe and in the world that recognized in time the dangers of uncontrolled migration, and took the necessary action.

The stability of our region is very important for us. The existence and the future of our families, of our children are at stake. We are certain that today's presentations shall contribute to our knowledge, and shall give us ideas for the solution of this problem, too. However, we see the real importance of the conference partly in the discussions that follow the presentations, and partly in tomorrow's closing session, when the conference conclusions and recommendations shall be drawn up. Therefore, I encourage the speakers, as well as everyone else, to contribute to enhancing our knowledge and participate in the discussions. This is your opportunity and our opportunity as well, to influence the way we handle such asymmetric challenges in the future.

I wish you all a good day and a fruitful conference, and thank you for your attention.

Opening Address by LtGen Zoltán Orosz, Deputy Chief of Staff, Hungarian Defence Forces

Ladies and Gentlemen!

It is a pleasure to address you after his Excellency, the Deputy Minister of Defence, at this two-day conference organized by the Scientific Research Centre of the Hungarian Defence Force General Staff. You will be addressing one of the most significant segments of our current security environment. Considering the dynamic changes in the challenging international relations of the 21st century, in my opinion it is essential that the Scientific Research Centre of the General Staff should create such a forum for the subject matter experts, where discussions and debate may germinate ideas that the Hungarian Defence Force, as well as the broader international community may adopt as applicable solutions to asymmetric challenges.

As a prelude to the detailed analysis of asymmetric warfare's past, present, and the possible future that will take place during the conference, allow me to return to the thoughts of his Excellency, and General Patton: "If everyone is thinking alike, then somebody isn't thinking."¹ In my view this quote, in addition to legitimizing scientific research, also identifies the drivers of the security challenges of the 21st century. To this day the objective of the asymmetric threats that arise in more and more regions, and that of the new attacks on security systems – just as in the past – is to exploit the shortcomings of the dominant defense structure, and transfer power into the hands of an ideologically more legitimate economic and political elite. They operate in sequences that are difficult to predict, and their decision processes do not conform to traditional defense planning – and therein lies the significance of the challenges they generate. The ideology of the asymmetric challenges overwrites not only individual national interests, but also questions value systems that we have considered universal. Frequently complex strategic background and widespread economic, political and social embeddedness characterize their activities. The asymmetric threat embodies not only a direct confrontation with traditional defense structures, but also has a destabilizing effect on the other sectors of security. Returning to the quotation above, and considering their intensive propaganda and fluid ideology, we cannot afford to relegate to the background our strategic planning and our scientific research.

The complexity of the challenges to the defense systems today demands continuous shaping of our operational and strategic goals in accordance with the security challenges of the moment. In order to adapt to the changing security environment with adequate speed and with the appropriate decisions, we must have information in adequate quantity and of adequate quality, modern defense capabilities, and we must carry out continuous

¹ Porter B. WILLIAMSON, *General Patton's Principles for Life and Leadership* (Tucson: Management & Systems Consultants, 1988), 151.

strategic analysis and research, as well as develop new points of view. We have reshaped our security strategy many times in the past, and the time has come to review it yet again.

Ladies and gentlemen! Just as his Excellency, the Deputy Minister of Defence, I also urge you to participate in an active debate. Let us try not to think alike! While we must observe the framework of national and international rules, our objective is to leave behind templated, oversimplified, outdated defense patterns. We cannot allow our graduated strategic responses to current challenges to open windows of opportunity that endanger our country and the broader international community.

The publications and analyses of the Scientific Research Centre of the General Staff, as well as the conferences it organizes, make a significant contribution to refreshing national and international thinking, and to shaping scientifically sound theoretical foundations.

Ladies and Gentlemen! I take this opportunity to thank all the organizers, speakers, and participants for the contribution they shall make to the success of facing the asymmetric challenge. The wide-ranging series of presentations, as well as tomorrow's panel discussions can add new impetus to creating the appropriate defense system competencies, and can also contribute to successful strategic planning. I expect that both during the conference and in the subsequent conference volume, you shall contribute to the long term security of our country and to that of the international community by analyzing the complex foundations and likely trends of the latest challenges, and by making reasonable, precise, and scientifically grounded proposals for successfully answering the asymmetric challenge in the future.

Thank you for your attention, and I wish all participants a successful conference!

KEYNOTE ADDRESSES

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*Imre Porkoláb**

The Context of Asymmetry: An Integrated Strategy for Shaping the Future and Leading on the Edge of Chaos¹

It is nearly impossible to sum up thousands of years of warfare and draw up conclusions in order to shape future outcomes. It is even harder in an age when everything seems to be speeding up, where networks are challenging ages-old well established institutions, and where uncertainty and change seem to be the norm rather than the exception.

In this paper I will lay out a short summary of two distinct warfighting cultures, mainly focusing on the changes that have happened in the recent past in order to describe the true nature of asymmetry. Based upon this understanding I will use a framework to distinguish between different contexts. I will also make suggestions for a strategic approach that can help governments and international institutions better understand the nature of the threat, their own role and responsibilities in today's and tomorrow's conflicts.

I started to write this paper with three assumptions in mind:

- There have been two very distinct warfighting cultures (traditional and irregular) throughout history, and although we have seen some instances of clashes and overlaps, recently we are experiencing an unprecedented integration of these *two cultures*.
- Two forces (the increasing number of stakeholders and the interconnectedness between them) fueled by technological advances in the information age have resulted in an unprecedented tempo that *changed the context*.
- Since *networks seem to transform every aspect of our lives*, they have an effect on warfare itself and we need an integrated strategic approach to survive and thrive on the future battlefield. *Traditional approaches alone do not work any longer* and are not sufficient to have a thorough understanding of the situation and to build the capacity to counter the increasing number of challenges.²

* The author is a Brigadier General of the Hungarian Defence Force. Currently he is assigned to NATO, and serves as Supreme Allied Commander Transformation's representative to the Pentagon.

¹ A mű a KÖFOP-2.1.2-VEKOP-15-2016-00001 azonosítószámú, „A jó kormányzást megalapozó közszolgálat-fejlesztés” elnevezésű kiemelt projekt keretében működtetett Ludovika Kutatócsoport keretében, a Nemzeti Közszolgálati Egyetem felkérésére készült.

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² JOBBÁGY Zoltán, “Network-Centric Warfare as Complex Optimization: An Evolutionary Approach,” *AARMS* 15, no. 2 (2016): 93–105.

You might, or might not agree with these assumptions, but the discussion that follows will be centered around these salient issues and will provide solutions to today's most urgent question: what alternative strategic approaches can we try to implement in warfare?

The Nature of Asymmetry

No matter what we think of the methods the masters of irregular warfare use, it is evident that they have a tendency to grasp the concept of evolutionary progress and, by leveraging irregular advantages (mainly stealth, speed, surprise, and agile decision making) turn the tables on opponents with seemingly far better resources.

Irregular warfare dates back centuries as stories about an underdog, fighting a giant called Goliath is one of the most iconic and well known to most people. The basics of the story are well known. The Philistines were fighting the Israelites and after a long standoff a giant, named Goliath emerged and called the Israelites to send their champion out for a duel. Goliath was huge in appearance, wearing heavy armor, protected by a shield and wielding a large spear.

The challenge seemed to paralyze King Saul, leader of the Israelites, as he could not find a match for this obviously battle hardened giant. Finally a young shepherd, David, came forth and offered his services. As he was presented to the king, the differences were obvious. The young shepherd boy seemed to be no match for the battle hardened giant, who has been training for combat all his life. Although logic dictated otherwise, David managed to convince the king to let him fight. When he finally saw his opponent, Goliath was in rage and promised to feed his "flesh unto the fowls of the air and to the beasts of the field".³ David in response ran towards his enemy and slung a stone into Goliath's head. As Goliath fell, David took his sword, cut off his head and when the Philistines saw their champion was dead, they fled.

This story about an underdog's unlikely victory has repeated itself throughout history as cunning methods are often associated with masters of irregular warfare, who are likely to use wit and unconventional solutions instead of brute force to succeed. David's victory resulted from employing an unexpected combat method, which is not uncommon. There have always been heroes, who were seeking the incorporation of the psychological aspect into their strategy. Whenever an inferior force faced a superior foe one, a lot of trickery was needed to defeat the opponent. This attitude was named by the Greeks *mētis* and it seemed to be most valuable, when matters were fluid, unfamiliar, uncertain and changing rapidly. The Greek word meant a quality that combined wisdom and cunning. This quality was considered to be highly admirable and was regarded as one of the notable characteristics of the Athenian character and a sought after component in battle.

One of the military geniuses, who have successfully incorporated this component in the Roman era was Quintus Fabius Maximus, who fought Hannibal's Carthaginian army. Instead of traditional Roman strategy, he used what came to be known as "Fabian strategy" which was a combination of delaying tactics and ruses that tried to create dysfunction. Although it was considered a cowardly way to fight war, his wisdom was acknowledged and recognized. Fabian strategy fully understood the opposing force and was designed to overcome Hannibal through attrition, rather than brute force.

³ 1 Samuel 17.

But it was not only Hannibal, who met unusual resistance encountering the delaying military tactics on the battlefield and strategists were documenting these events, so we can learn from them today. Despite the fact that *mētis* was in high regard in ancient Greece, the phalanx and the bravery that fighting in the phalanx required put a huge emphasis on *biē* (strength, force). And this form of warfare (especially when big armies were fielded) was the prevalent form of warfare throughout history. Irregular masters (relying mainly on *mētis*) successfully navigated the changing context throughout the centuries as well, often against impossible challenges; and the duality of these two very distinct warfighting cultures created asymmetry.

Thus in this paper I describe *asymmetry as a fundamental difference in mindset* and the way warfare is approached. It is the distinction between warfighting cultures⁴ that creates asymmetry on the battlefield.

There are two main warfighting cultures. The first one I call *traditional* is based on the *biē* mindset and it has two main forms (annihilation and maneuver warfare). The second one, which in this paper will be called *irregular* is based on the *mētis* mindset and it also has two distinct forms (guerrilla warfare and terrorism). We can talk about *asymmetric warfare, when two different warfighting cultures collide* (Figure 1).

ASYMMETRY

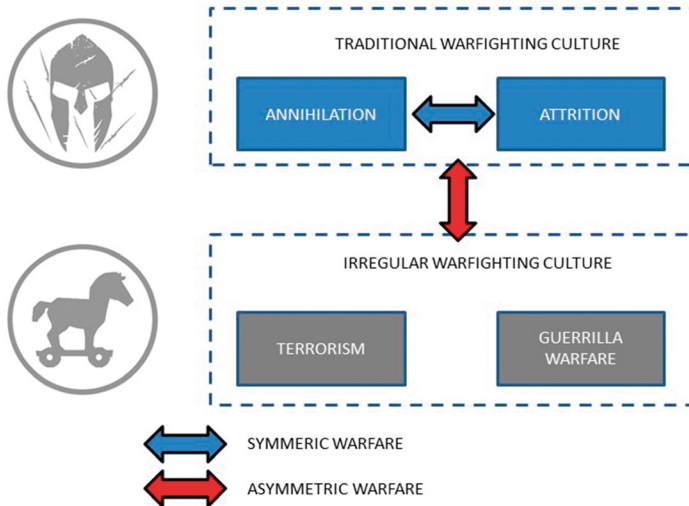


Figure 1
Asymmetry (through warfighting cultures)

Source: drawn by the author

⁴ Warfighting cultures research goes back a long way. In this paper I would like to acknowledge the work done by LtGen Jenő Kovács, and note the importance of the work he had done on this field. I am building on his findings and slightly modify his structure in this paper.

The first form of *traditional* warfighting culture,⁵ *annihilation*, demanded a decisive battle to eliminate the enemy's army using mainly firepower.⁶ This form is based on defense and on deterrence⁷ and is focused on destroying an advancing enemy,⁸ thus it is based not on improvisation, but on a detailed plan⁹ that it tends to follow. The second form of traditional warfighting culture, *maneuver warfare*, was most likely used, when the available military means could not deliver a decisive battle. It is based on an offensive mindset,¹⁰ where the enemy's weaknesses are constantly tested and opportunities are exploited¹¹ in order to create favorable conditions for success. This form is still based on a hierarchy, but tries to decentralize¹² and places an emphasis not so much on the plan, but on the initiative of the subordinate commanders.¹³ It is aimed at being proactive and agile to keep the enemy off-balance.¹⁴

The first form of *irregular* warfighting culture,¹⁵ *guerrilla warfare* is most often used by rebels, freedom fighters and overall by non-traditional warfighters¹⁶ who were fighting against traditional armies or legitimate governments in order to gain legitimacy and (in the end) power. Guerrilla warfare is protracted, highly unpredictable and is based on the support of the local population. Their main strategy is to influence a massive number of people, to gain legitimacy and support. The second form of irregular warfare, *terrorism*, is a very much debated phenomenon. There is no commonly agreed definition of terrorism, but based on a study that has analyzed 109 different definitions,¹⁷ it was concluded that it is based on violence in order to gain political recognition through mainly attacking soft-targets (non-combatants).¹⁸ Terrorism is dangerous because it does not directly target the opposing government or forces, but instead has the potential to create a disequilibrium in the society and through intimidation and fear¹⁹ is able to provoke the government to react in an ineffective way.

⁵ Military Historian Hans Delbrück has also argued that all military strategy can be divided into two basic forms. The majority view of his age was *Niederwerfungsstrategie*, the strategy of annihilation. But Delbrück has also recognized the possibility of another strategy, *Ermattungsstrategie*, the strategy of exhaustion (sometimes translated as attrition). Many historians and strategists have built upon Delbrück's categories. Gordon A. CRAIG, "Delbrück: The Military Historian," in *Makers of Modern Strategy: From Machiavelli to the Nuclear Age*, ed. R. R. PALMER (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1986), 326–353.

⁶ KOVÁCS Jenő, *Magyarország katonai stratégiája* [The Military Strategy of Hungary], (Budapest: Országos Kiemelésű Társadalomtudományi Kutatások, 1995), 27.

⁷ *Ibid.*, 27.

⁸ *Ibid.*, 29.

⁹ *Ibid.*, 29–30.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, 22.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, 22–23.

¹² *Ibid.*, 22–23.

¹³ *Ibid.*, 23.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, 24.

¹⁵ John ARQUILLA, *Insurgents, Raiders and Bandits: How Masters of Irregular Warfare have Shaped Our World* (Chicago: Ivan R. Dee, 2013), 7.

¹⁶ Organized crime groups and other organizations also conduct asymmetric warfare but they do not pursue political goals like guerrillas and terror organizations.

¹⁷ Alex P. SCHMID – Albert J. JONGMAN, *Political Terrorism* (Amsterdam: North Holland Publishing Company, 1988).

SCHMID–JONGMAN, *Political Terrorism*, 5–6.

¹⁸ Brian JENKINS, "International Terrorism: A Balance Sheet," *Survival* 17, no. 4 (1975): 160.; Bard E. O'NEILL, "Towards a Typology of Political Terrorism: The Palestinian Movement," *Journal of International Affairs* 32, no. 1 (Spring/Summer 1978): 35–37.; Brian CROZIER, *A Theory of Conflict* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1974), 127–128.

Strategy and the mindset of military leaders have always played a great role in the outcome of battles. So before formulating a strategy for the contemporary conflict, it is worth the time to better understand how traditional and irregular warfare have evolved throughout the centuries.

Generations of Traditional Warfare

This process starts with the ancient masters and follows a concept of the generations of warfare originally developed by Lind²⁰ and a team of analysts in 1989 to describe warfare's evolution towards a more decentralized integrated form.

The original model suggests that bureaucratic institutions are in decline. While warfare is undergoing a transformation, the fourth generation signifies the nation states' loss of their near-monopoly on combat forces, and suggests that the future forms of irregular groups will be impossible for nation states to defeat. This model states that the largest traditional hierarchies are not immune to disruption and are likely to be prone to defeat and by closely watching the trend, and making the necessary deductions, an irregular strategy can be de-constructed.

In the generations of warfare model the *first generation* begins after the Peace of Westphalia.²¹ During this time the battles were formal and the battlefield was very structured. The battlefield of order created much of today's military culture of drill, uniforms, and strict hierarchy, but in the mid-19th century, the battlefield of order began to break down. Mass armies equipped with technological advancements like rifles and machine guns made the old line and column tactics impossible to carry out.

Thus the *second generation* came about, which was based on tactics of linear fire and movement. Developed by the French Army during and after World War I, the *goal was attrition*, and the focus was inward on rules, processes and procedures.

The *third generation* improved upon this, focused on speed, surprise, and mental as well as physical domains. It was developed by the German Army, and is commonly known as Blitzkrieg or *maneuver warfare*. Third generation is increasingly non-linear, and focuses outward, on the situation, the enemy, not inward on processes and method. In this context initiative is rewarded and it all depends on dispersed sub-units acting in unison based on a central intent.

The implications of the mindset of the second and third generations are still engrained in hierarchic bureaucratic organizations. Military tactics have largely influenced corporations and their leadership as well. This is where most organizations stand today, and this is where the story gets confusing, because it is the *fourth generation* where characteristics such as *decentralization* and initiative mark the most radical change since the Peace of Westphalia in 1648. As Lind describes it, in fourth generation war, the state loses its monopoly on war. All over the world, state militaries find themselves fighting irregular opponents, and in many cases the state is losing these fights or they just seem to drag along indefinitely.

²⁰ The term 4th generation warfare (4GW) was first used in 1989 by a team of United States analysts, including William S. Lind, to describe warfare's return to a decentralized form.

²¹ William S. LIND, "Understanding Fourth Generation Warfare," *Antiwar.com*, 15 January 2004. Available at: www.antiwar.com/lind/index.php?articleid=1702 (accessed: 21 November 2016).

Generations of Irregular Warfare

It was not only traditional warfighting cultures, but irregulars also evolved throughout the ages. Thucydides, who failed to prevent a Spartan occupation of Amphipolis,²² realized that his exile provided him the opportunity to get to know Spartan warfare and strategy. His famous observation was related to the Peloponnesian War:²³ “What made the war inevitable was the growth of Athenian power and the fear which this caused in Sparta.”²⁴ This observation suggests that decision-making was greatly influenced by the developing fluidity in allegiances and emphasized the decision-centric nature of every strategy (even an irregular strategy).

The same phenomenon can be observed in Sun Tzu’s classic work, *The Art of War*: supreme excellence in war was not found in winning “one hundred victories in one hundred battles” but rather it was to “subdue the enemy without fighting”.²⁵ Sun Tzu’s writings also teach us that the key to deception is simply a matter of doing the unexpected, just like David when he was fighting Goliath. This requires a thorough understanding of the opponent. Irregular warfare strategists have always preferred information, which is obtained from people who know the terrain (preferably live there), and have analyzed the enemy situation in depth searching for weaknesses. One thing is common: proponents of irregular warfare have always tried to outsmart the enemy instead of overwhelming him with brute force.

Similarly to Thucydides and Sun Tzu, Niccolo Machiavelli was curious to search for the very root of the conducts of all affairs of the state. His approach – ‘Machiavellian’ – is often misunderstood but it essentially describes the skill of manipulation and deception as a virtuous and proper thing to gain power. Machiavelli understood that one can never try to escape a problem without encountering another one. However, through embracing change and complexity one can analyze the situation and select the optimal option,²⁶ and through persuading the masses one can gain tremendous amount of influence.²⁷

During the *first generation*, underdogs always seemed to choose the strategy of *exhaustion*. This strategy (in contrast with the strategy of annihilation or total war suggested by the traditional approach) is reflected upon in Clausewitz’s work in 1827, where the Prussian strategist realized that when available military means are not sufficient for a decisive battle, the strategy of exhaustion is a viable option and should be considered by traditional warfighters as well.

²² Thucydides, an Athenian historian, while looking for answers to such hard questions as power and purpose, observed the cause and causality effects in war. At that time the Athenian war council consisted of ten *stratēgoi*, who were the equivalent of ancient generals and their qualities were representing effective leadership. The word *stratēgos* was a compound of *stratos* (an army spread out over ground) and *agein* (to lead).

²³ THUCYDIDES, *The History of the Peloponnesian War* (London: Penguin Classics, 1972).

²⁴ *Ibid.*, 1.23.

²⁵ SUN TZU, *The Art of War* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1963), 77. *The Art of War* is thought to be a compiled work in the Warring States period of China and it is debated if Sun Tzu was a living person, or just a collection of writings. One thing is sure: the context at this time was a competition for influence among a set of individually weak kingdoms at a time, when the central authority has collapsed.

²⁶ VICTORIA KAHN, *Machiavellian Rhetoric: From the Counter-terrorism to Milton* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1994), 40.

²⁷ Careful study of the context of his time and his work reveals that he was not advocating harsh punishments, rather real accomplishments and respect and the ability for a leader to be both respected and loved by the followers as well as feared in case of misconduct. This approach is not at all far from the irregular warfare proponents throughout later centuries.

Irregular warfare on the North-American continent is mostly associated with Indians fighting colonist troops occupying their territories, but it was not only aboriginals, who have chosen an irregular strategy. It was toward the end of the U.S. War of Independence, when a band of South Carolina irregulars under Francis Marion relied heavily on irregular tactics to drive the British general, Lord Cornwallis from the Carolinas to defeat at Yorktown, Virginia. At this time guerrilla warfare was defensive, fought on the home territory as an alternative to traditional combat and irregulars had advantages like popular support and local knowledge. Almost all of these campaigns were aiming at a strategy of exhaustion and were viewed as a lesser strategy, and not a source of victory at all.

For quite some time irregular warfare seemed to be an ad hoc activity and creating a strategy for this type of warfare was never easy, and during the *second generation* of warfare irregulars had no clear cut doctrine. But Thomas Edward Lawrence, an archaeologist, who fought in the Arab revolt against an Ottoman opposition, has laid the groundwork of such doctrine by collecting the principles of guerrilla warfare. While he was fighting alongside the Arabs, he wrote a memoir of the campaign, which has remained a classic work and an inspiration up until today. In *The Seven Pillars of Wisdom* Lawrence emphasized that the small, agile, and well-equipped force was able to create major disruption.²⁸ He emphasized that victory depended on speed, concealment and accuracy of fire. Lawrence's operations seemed to be a supporting effort alongside a conventional campaign and its success laid the groundwork for irregular warfare to be fought alongside a conventional war.

The next attempt to create a strategy was documented by Mao Zedong who has proved that a well-structured guerrilla warfare strategy can be a path to victory in itself. His population-centric approach, where he described how mobilized masses of people can be a vast sea in which the enemy will be swallowed up, but the guerrilla army would thrive like fish²⁹ were emphasizing the unity between the guerrilla army and the local population. Mao has also created a structure, in which the first phase of the guerrilla war was a strategic defense, followed by a stalemate and finally an offensive third stage.

Many have tried to use this approach ever since and general Vo Nguyen Giap in Vietnam has taken this concept a step further, when he was able to move between the different stages according to circumstances (in contrast with Mao, who saw the stages as sequential steps). Both Mao and Giap looked at guerrilla warfare as an option, which is only chosen when they were weaker than the opponents.

On the opposite end of the globe, Fidel Castro's overthrow of the Batista regime in Cuba in 1959 (based on a concept called *foco*³⁰ by Che Guevara) provoked other rural insurgencies throughout Latin America.³¹ But the rural insurgencies tended not to succeed

²⁸ JOBBÁGY Zoltán – BAKOS Csaba, "Explaining the Evolutionary Dynamics of an Insurgency: T. E. Lawrence and the Art of Tribal Warfare," *AARMS* 14, no 1. (2015): 91–99.

²⁹ MAO Zedong, *On Protracted War* (New York: University Press of the Pacific, 2001).

³⁰ Ernesto 'Che' Guevara recorded the two years spent overthrowing Batista's government in *Pasajes de la guerra revolucionaria (Reminiscences of the Cuban Revolutionary War, 1968)*. During the early 1960s, he defined Cuba's policies and his own views in many speeches and writings, notably *El socialismo y el hombre en Cuba (Man and Socialism in Cuba, 1967)* – an examination of Cuba's new brand of communism – and a highly influential manual, *La guerra de guerrillas (Guerrilla Warfare, 1961)*.

³¹ Old and new insurgencies flourished in Peru, Colombia, El Salvador, Nicaragua, the Philippines, Thailand, Sri Lanka, India, Kashmir, Lebanon, Syria, Morocco, Angola, Mozambique, Northern Ireland, and Spain.

elsewhere in South America, and the foco concept seemed to be flawed in design. Several other people were trying to replicate the Cuban success with no result, and Che himself was killed in Bolivia³² while trying to build up an insurgency against the local government.

In the early 1970s, during the *third generation* of traditional warfare, the frustration arising from the general failure of rural insurgencies in Central and South America seemed to shift their attention from rural to urban guerrilla warfare with an emphasis on the use of collective terrorism. Equipped by the teachings of philosophers, Herbert Marcuse and Régis Debray, and with a hands-on manual³³ written by Carlos Marighella, the urban guerrilla movement spread like a virus and achieved increasingly greater successes. Urban irregular warfare played an important role in such places as Northern Ireland, Sri Lanka, and Israel-Palestine and became the primary form of conflict for the time ever since.

After the end of the cold war, the growth of the Muslim religious cause started to crystallize in localized insurgencies³⁴ and in renegade terrorist organizations, such as Osama bin Laden's al-Qaeda. On September 11, 2001 the United States suffered an unexpected attack,³⁵ which took the irregular approach to a whole new level. The plan that was carried out by a small group of Islamic extremists immediately raised the awareness of asymmetric warfare all around the world. The US government responded by declaring a global war on terror and a new era has begun.

Overall we can conclude that as irregular warfare has evolved throughout the centuries, the *number of players in any operational setting has increased significantly*. Traditional militaries now have to take into account not just enemy forces, but a plethora of irregular organizations (guerrillas, terrorists, organized crime groups as well). Moreover, there is an increasing number of private military contractors on the ground, as well as NGOs and IOs who are also having a key role in the outcome of contemporary conflicts.

These players (due to technological advances) are *more interconnected* than ever, the *connections between them have increased exponentially* and this *creates a very complex operating environment* with constantly shifting interests and alliances, that is difficult to map and understand. In the next part of this paper I will use the Cynefin model to describe this context.

Context

Constant change, which is accelerating at an unprecedented rate, has become one of the most important features of our lives. Many organizations struggle with a complex and dynamic mixture of cultures, a broad range of actors and the fact that unprecedented proliferation

³² In the autumn of 1966, Che Guevara went to Bolivia, incognito, to create and lead a guerrilla group in the region of Santa Cruz. On 8 October 1967, the group was almost annihilated by a special detachment of the Bolivian army, helped by CIA and Special Forces element. Guevara, who was wounded in the attack, was captured and shot.

³³ Carlos MARIGHELLA, "The Minimanual of The Urban Guerrilla," *Marxists.org*. Available at: www.marxists.org/archive/marighella-carlos/1969/06/minimanual-urban-guerrilla/index.htm (accessed: 21 November 2016).

³⁴ For example in North-Africa. More about the topic: BESENYŐ János, "A nemzetközi terrorizmus veszélye Észak-Afrikában," *Új Honvédségi Szemle* 61, no. 12 (2007): 41–50.

³⁵ Two planes crashed into the World Trade Center, one into the Pentagon and a failed attempt was made against the White House.

of technology creates an ultra-competitive environment, where only those are able to compete who are able to lead at the edge of chaos, and able to constantly transform their organization beyond traditional means.

Being a leader, while an organization pursues important changes, used to be fun because there was less change and it was easier to adapt. Those days are gone! Today the strategic *uncertainty* at any given time exceeds our wildest predictions; the *tempo of change* has forever altered the way leaders must lead. The stakes are enormously high! Traditional strategies are insufficient and we need to find alternative strategic approaches.

Today's context is best described by VUCA that stands for volatile, uncertain, complex and ambiguous³⁶ and summarizes the contemporary context of warfare explaining a period of constant and fundamental change.

The Cynefin Model

The number of players in any given operating environment has increased significantly, and due to recent technological changes the connections between them have grown exponentially. The result is a *very complex context*. Complexity breeds uncertainty and ambiguity that in turn create an unsteady equilibrium where people believe that they cannot regain control and are disrupted to respond to unexpected events.

Ever since the Peace of Westphalia, we have experienced a period, where the number of players on the battlefield was relatively constant. Thus, warfare was complicated, with moving parts, but the security environment was somewhat predictable. Nation states have fielded armies, which more or less, played by the same rules. When some disruptions emerged, they went into crisis mode, but following these periods in time of peace they got back to 'normal' (traditional) operating mode.

Most recently, however, we seem to be living in increasing turmoil, where there are no predictable outcomes, the traditional rules do not apply, the number of stakeholders in an operational theatre has increased significantly, and the interactions between these stakeholders (both ally and foe) have increased astronomically, leading to overall uncertainty and ambiguity.

The environment has shifted from complicated to a VUCA place³⁷ and threats are shape-shifting much faster than it was traditionally the norm. To explain this paradigm shift, I use the Cynefin³⁸ model, which differentiates between four distinct contexts. In a nutshell

³⁶ The VUCA acronym was coined by the U.S. Army War College in the late 1990s. See also JOBBÁGY Zoltán, *From Effects-Based Operations to Effects-Based Force: On Causality, Complex Adaptive System, and the Biology of War* (PhD Thesis, Leiden University, 2009).

³⁷ Things that are complex (living organisms, ecosystems, national economies) have a diverse array of connected elements that interact frequently. Being complex is different from being complicated. Things that are complicated may have many parts, but those parts are joined, one to the next, in relatively simple ways, the workings of a complicated device might be confusing, but they ultimately can be broken down and reassembled to be the same. Complexity on the other hand occurs when the number of *interactions* between components increases dramatically. This is where things quickly become unpredictable. General Stanley McCHRISTAL – TANTUM COLLINS – DAVID SILVERMAN – CHRIS FUSSELL, *Team of teams: New Rules of Engagement for a Complex World* (New York: Penguin Random House, 2015), 57.

³⁸ I am using the Cynefin model by David Snowden to illustrate this. The model is explained here in detail: "Cynefin Framework," <http://cognitive-edge.com> (accessed: 21 November 2016).

it states that simple and complicated contexts are relatively predictable, while complex and chaotic contexts are unpredictable, thus require a different leadership approach.

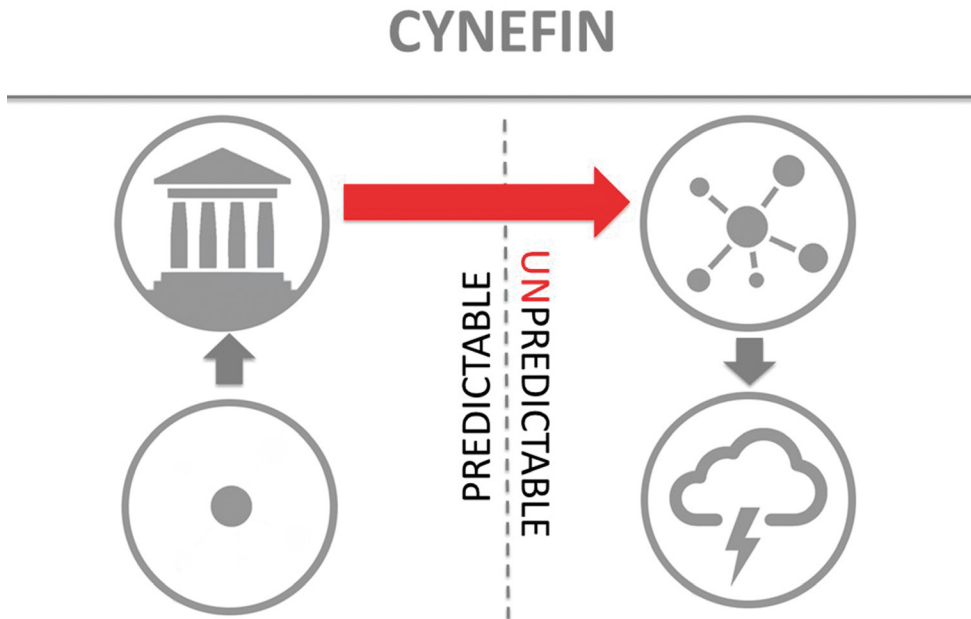


Figure 2
The Cynefin model

Source: drawn by the author

Description of the Cynefin model's contexts:

Simple: it is a context which is part of the history of the military at an age, where the connection between input and output was right in front of you. This is the classical era, where someone could gather forces (resources), and was able to predictably calculate the effect or the outcome of the battle.

Complicated: after the Napoleonic Era, when massive armies with increasingly sophisticated equipment were fielded, the complicated context emerged and this model has been perfected for generations. With the transition into the industrial age, this was the backbone of scaling large military forces and creating stable nations. This is how the military has been educated for generations: understand enough information about potential threats, analyze them, predictably budget our spending, and get a relatively good assumption to what the outcome might be. This was the mindset/mentality that we brought with us into the information age.

Complex (VUCA): this is the place we found ourselves in majority in the last decade. It seems that in this context our planning based decision-making systems and approach does not work as promised. But many of the (irregular) threats adapted and developed complex systems. They do not play by the traditional rules, yet have the ability (with technology)

to scale and fight. This environment looks like an agile network. Traditional systems lack the speed and agility that enables the organization to move/adapt like the adversaries.

Chaos: in chaos the rule book is thrown out of the window. Disruptions are constant, and they are hitting us with increasing frequency and intensity. Our traditional approach and instinct says that we should face these situations head on, and come up with solutions, but the frequency of challenges in this state will not allow us to do this. If we try to stick to traditional methods, they result in burnout.

If we agree with my second assumption, we have to realize that maybe what we have been trained to do well in the past (which was optimized for a complicated context) is no longer applicable to today's battlefield. Complexity seems to be the norm now³⁹ and for many organizations with a lot of history, legacy and past success, it is a very difficult moment. The realization, that there is a structural difference between our mindset and the mindset of potential adversaries, can be difficult to accept, but as the new reality sets in, we have to learn and transform in order to thrive in the new security environment.

What Has Changed Recently?

It seems to be fair to assume that harshness and disadvantage forced people to innovate and come up with irregular forms of warfare and as a result they chose to fight as irregulars. As they lived a lifestyle that always required them to move out of their comfort zone and through great hardships and adversity sharpen their irregular skills, they were more adaptable. Since in a context of contemporary conflict adaptability is of outmost importance, irregular forms have gained ground and more recognition recently. It seems to be not an option chosen out of necessity, but rather one chosen as a viable means of strategy, even when the capability to fight with traditional means is available.

Several lessons can be learned from studying the masters of irregular warfare. The most important one is that the two distinct warfighting cultures (traditional and irregular) are not just coexisting any more, but are *completely integrated* by some actors. This integration is a conscious strategic choice, which enables the actor to communicate his ideology to a huge number of people, and transforms the fight into a network-centric one.

This integration is best understood through the *transformation paradox*. In history the most successful guerrilla fighters were prone to switch to traditional methods of warfighting once they have gained the ability to do so⁴⁰ (it seemed to be a natural progression). Why would they transform? One explanation is that the irregular style of fighting is especially difficult and demanding. To do the 'Parthian Shot' the Huns were so famous of, and

³⁹ Pondy and Mitroff reminded organizational scientists 25 years ago that organizations have characteristics typical of level 8 on Boulding's 9-level scale of system complexity. Boulding concluded that organizations are among the most complex systems imaginable. Kenneth E. BOULDING, „General Systems Theory: The skeleton of science,” *Management Science* 2, no. 3 (April 1956): 197–207.; Louis R. PONDY – Ian I. MIRTOFF, “Beyond open systems models of organizations,” in *Research in organizational behavior*, eds. Larry L. CUMMINGS – Barry M. STAW (Greenwich, CT: JAI Press, 1979), 3–39.

⁴⁰ The Mongols turned into a semi regular army under Genghis Khan, the Arabs underwent a similar transformation after fighting in the traditional Bedouin style, and even Mao and Giap resorted to use conventional warfare when they had enough forces.

maintain proficiency, required constant practice from early childhood and included a lot of hardship. Once irregular fighters were conquering and living amongst sedentary people, they have settled with the traditional mindset, but as a result they lost their superior individual skills and unit cohesion.⁴¹ This seems to be a trade-off many irregulars are happy to make because a more settled lifestyle is safer and easier than their previous existence, so integration makes sense from their perspective.

The *second* observation is based on winning in asymmetric conflicts, which requires a capability to influence masses of people. An understanding of the human psyche and social trends is a requirement to efficiently utilize the moral and cognitive domain, it is therefore necessary for the irregular warfighter. At the small team level people can best be influenced through trust and by understanding the various needs of individuals as well as with providing an ideology, which will be easy to connect to. Ideology is the glue, the linchpin, which connects the team together, moves people into action and motivates them in the long term. Recent technological advances made the dissemination of ideas really easy, cheap and instant, so the tendency toward a network-centric nature of irregular warfare⁴² is inevitable, and the end result is a complex organization.⁴³

True masters of irregular warfare have always understood that if they spread their small units widely across the physical domain, they can reduce the conventional opponent's capability to mass forces. If the conventional forces are scattered, and chasing the elusive irregular forces throughout the battlefield, they will be more vulnerable to surprise attacks.⁴⁴ This is the *force divisor effect*⁴⁵ and it is very effective against traditional forces in a prolonged battle. So the *third* significant change we can observe is the way dispersed small teams are employed: the operational term is *swarming*⁴⁶ and it enables irregular warfare proponents to strike unexpectedly, at vulnerable points of the opposing

⁴¹ Mesut UYAR – Edward J. ERICKSON, *A Military History of the Ottomans: From Osman to Atatürk* (Santa Barbara: ABC Clío, 2009), 5.

⁴² This danger was identified by John Arquilla and David Ronfeldt in 1993 when they published their article *Cyberwar is Coming!* Later on Arquilla have authored several books on netwar and emphasized the networked aspect of the enemy, popularizing the swarming concept. John ARQUILLA – David RONFELDT, “Cyberwar is Coming!” *Comparative Strategy* 12, no. 2 (1993): 141–165.

⁴³ A tribe of tribes is most resilient against an overwhelming opposition when these groups are stealthy, agile and relatively independent (networked). They must constantly seek and maintain the initiative and this can be only achieved through transformation, while maintaining cohesion at the same time and remaining focused on the final goal and the ideology they are representing.

⁴⁴ BESENYŐ János – MILETICS Péter, *Országismertető: Marokkó, Nyugat-Szahara* (Budapest: Honvéd Vezérkar Tudományos Kutatóhely – Katonai Nemzetbiztonsági Szolgálat – MH GEOSZ, 2017), 337–362.

⁴⁵ ARQUILLA, *Insurgents, Raiders and Bandits*, 11.

⁴⁶ Swarm behaviour, or swarming, is a collective behaviour exhibited by animals of similar size which aggregate together, perhaps milling about the same spot or perhaps migrating in some direction. As a term, *swarming* is applied particularly to insects, but can also be applied to any other animal that exhibits swarm behaviour. The term *flocking* is usually used to refer specifically to swarm behaviour in birds, *herding* to refer to swarm behaviour in quadrupeds, or *schooling* to refer to swarm behaviour in fish. By extension, the term swarming can be applied also to warfare where opposing forces are not of the same size, or capacity. In such situations, swarming involves the use of a decentralized force against an opponent, in a manner that emphasizes mobility, communication, unit autonomy and coordination or synchronization. John ARQUILLA – David RONFELDT, “Swarming and the Future of Conflict,” *Rand.org*. Available at: www.rand.org/pubs/documented_briefings/DB311.html (accessed: 21 November 2016).

force. Developing this ability is a question of whether a force is willing to change its ways to adapt constantly to the demands of the context.⁴⁷

The modern application of swarming is best described by John Arquilla and David Ronfeldt⁴⁸ who suggest abandoning the term command and control in favor of agility, focus, and convergence. *Agility* is the critical capability that organizations need to meet the challenges of complexity and uncertainty, and is a characteristic of an organization or unit capable of swarming. *Focus*, which provides the context and defines the purposes of the endeavor, can be designation of a goal by a higher-level person in the organization, or by a peer unit detecting a target. *Convergence*, the goal-seeking process that guides actions and effects, is the key feature, which, while it can be distributed, causes swarming units to coordinate their actions, apply force, and know when to stop applying force. Recent advances in information technology equipment have increased the ability to synchronize a large number of small, dispersed forces. As a result, these strikes in a contemporary conflict appear not only in one, but *in multiple domains at the same time and simultaneously*.

The *final* observation is a result of the irregular warfare evolution. These organizational constructs can evolve to be super-resilient, resembling something that Nassim Nicholas Taleb calls *antifragile*. As Taleb introduces in his book: “Some things benefit from shocks; they thrive and grow when exposed to volatility, randomness, disorder, and stressors and love adventure, risk, and uncertainty. Yet, in spite of the ubiquity of the phenomenon, there is no word for the exact opposite of fragile. Let us call it antifragile. Antifragility is beyond resilience or robustness.”⁴⁹ Taleb suggests that antifragile gets better when shocked, and can thrive in complex situations and even in chaos.

Overall it can be concluded that an integrated warfighting culture has emerged (by fully integrating traditional and irregular warfighting cultures). What constitutes this transformation? The most significant changes, like the new way irregular groups organize (open source organization) and the changes in their strategic focus (swarming attacks), enable irregular warfighters to manipulate and use technology and greatly influence the public opinion.⁵⁰ Insurgents have truly evolved and in today’s VUCA context, those who influence the human domain effectively, can gain a decisive cognitive edge over potential adversaries.

Strategy

The word *strategy* only begun to be used in the late 18th century and it is about choice or decisions one can make to ensure an organization’s survival. It is also about deep values and the choices leaders make that reflect their mindset, or the warfighting culture they were educated in and brought up with.

⁴⁷ ARQUILLA, *Insurgents, Raiders and Bandits*, 273.

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, 273.

⁴⁹ Nassim Nicholas TALEB, *Antifragile: Things That Gain from Disorder* (New York: Random House, 2012).

⁵⁰ The term “public opinion” first appeared in print in 1776, and it played a major role in persuading the British to negotiate an end to their conflict with the American colonies. Today, the technological revolution combined with the spread of democracy, education, communications technology, mass media and interconnectedness heightened the ability of insurgents to survive even after suffering setbacks.

In the contemporary environment the salient question is the following: if the traditional way of leading through change is no longer valid, what will take its place? What strategies are best suited to deal with future challenges? What alternatives do we have?

The problem is that we do not know exactly. Each conflict has its specific characteristics and they are all different. If we look at the historical examples, most military documents do not outline irregular warfare strategies.⁵¹ Most publications on irregular warfare are focused on how traditional military forces are expected to conduct joint operations within a military campaign in the future – not on strategies. I looked through a couple of counterinsurgency strategies for irregular warfare⁵² and a significant number of recent academic papers addressing this topic, and several historical sources explaining how irregular warfare has developed throughout the years and how the masters of irregular warfare achieved (as common belief suggests) remarkable victories against all odds. I have also looked at other disciplines (psychology, sociology, and business change management) to formulate my theory on an alternative strategy.

As a result, in this paper I lay out an alternative (*integrated*) strategic approach, which I believe is better suited to deal with constant change and the constant disruptions of today and tomorrow than a traditional (*switching*) approach.

Traditional Strategic Approach

For a traditional organization (which is based on operating in a complicated way) when chaos hits, it is necessary to make a leap from the complicated context straight into chaos. It is very difficult, and in most cases the switch requires to shut down the entire traditional bureaucracy while they deal with the situation. If everything goes well, and a group of talented individuals engineer a solution to the problem, nothing really happens in the organization: they go back to dealing with ‘complicated’ things. It works like an on/off switch, missing the complex context completely. Most importantly it will not result in organizational change.

Leaders choosing the traditional approach of switching strategy believe that the world is basically predictable and they can foresee the future predictably. They tend to focus not so much on changing the environment, but rather on analyzing adversaries and constructing a plan to build a sustained advantage to counter their approaches. This plan is (in most cases) executed rigorously and efficiently. The traditional approach is the one that most military personnel are familiar with; in fact, this approach is being taught in educational institutions and, in a NATO context, it is based upon the GOP (Guidelines for Operational Planning).⁵³

⁵¹ If, by strategy, we mean a plan for using armed forces and other instruments to achieve military and political goals. The *Irregular Warfare* document, published by the U.S. Department of Defense, is one of the few exceptions.

⁵² These are applicable mainly to the United States. The first is the population-centric strategy outlined in *Field Manual 3-24* and other sources. The *Field Manual 3-24* drew many of its best practices from such cases as the British in Malaya and the French in Algeria. In some cases a better approach may be an indirect strategy that focuses on advising, equipping, and supporting local regular and irregular forces and actors. This type of assistance – which includes foreign internal defense and unconventional warfare – has historically been performed by U.S. Special Operations Forces and intelligence agencies.

⁵³ NATO, “Comprehensive Operations Planning Directive,” *PublicIntelligence.net*. Available at: <https://publicintelligence.net/nato-copd> (accessed: 21 November 2016).

The traditional way of switching strategic approach typically requires short-term targets, centralization, standardization, and discipline in execution.

The goal of the traditional approach is to build robustness. Robustness is achieved by *strengthening* parts of the system (the bureaucratic pyramid). It is a result of a management system that has been perfected throughout the last couple of hundred years, and makes a bureaucratic system highly efficient. The problem is that management systems can be efficient but not adaptable.

Switching requires resources and information to deal with the changed circumstances. This can be problematic because some organizations respond slowly, resource conflicts erupt between departments, and the staff resists change, fearful of the consequences.

SWITCHING APPROACH

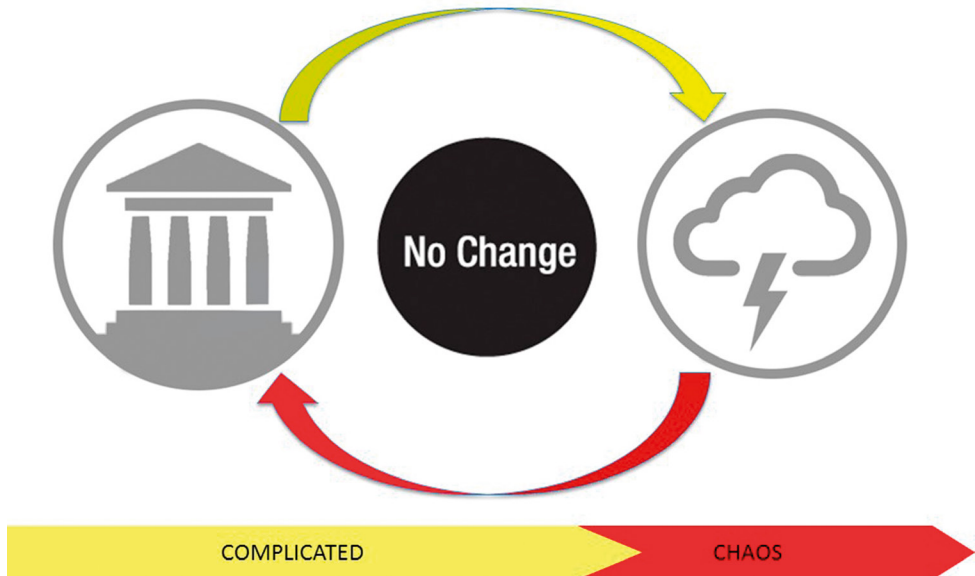


Figure 3
Traditional strategic approach

Source: drawn by the author

The other problem is that in today's environment change cycles (due to technological improvements and connectivity around the world) are coming with increasing frequency. Many organizations are starting to feel the state of constant disruption that pushes organizations to the edge of chaos and realize more often that traditional approaches do not bring about the desired result.

Integrated Strategic Approach

The solution to contemporary problems is a different approach to strategy, which fuses the traditional approach with other strategic approaches and the end result is an *integrated strategy*. The *main challenge* in this endeavor is that we have to find a way to create adaptability and agility, while preserving many of the traditional strengths of a well-established bureaucracy. There is no manual for this transformation and we have to carry this out while facing multiple disruptions at once.

I believe that most organizations ultimately need to transform themselves to an *integrated warfare system* which maintains the stability and dependability of the traditional bureaucratic system, but also layers in the right communication and decision-making methodology that allows the organization to be as agile as the disruptive networks we are facing.

INTEGRATED APPROACH

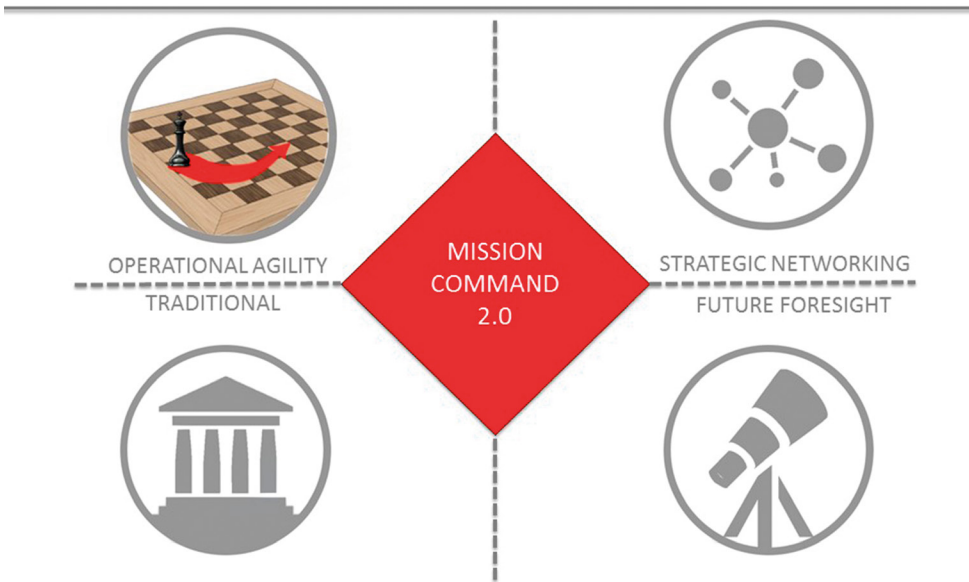


Figure 4
Integrated strategic approach

Source: drawn by the author

In this integrated strategic approach the *traditional* approach still ensures a robust posture, but additionally an *adaptive* approach is necessary to increase speed of decision making and rapid reaction. A *visionary* approach enables the organization to sense future challenges, and to build new capabilities or disrupt current ones. Finally, a *shaping* approach

completes the palette in a context where aligning and influencing the activities of other stakeholders (outside of the organization) is absolutely necessary.

The integrated strategy is mixing these four approaches, which can be imagined as ingredients of a cocktail (with a chalice to hold them together). In this approach resilience is the result of *linking* elements that allow them to adapt in response to change and allows the system to bounce back from strategic shocks much faster with the intent for the organization to become both robust and resilient at the same time. The three additional strategic approaches are:

Operational Agility (adaptive approach): when the context makes prediction hard (complex and unpredictable) leaders are more focused on adapting to change through constant experimentation, identifying new options in a quicker way than adversaries, and putting into practice new operational methods fast. During this process a range of strategic options are generated and the most successful ones are applied (scale up) to form the basis of the new operations. Advantage arises from the organization constantly searching for opportunities and trying new things, and not through analyzing and planning the traditional way.

Foresight Analysis (visionary approach): is not just about envisaging the future, but it is also applying that knowledge to focus on building the necessary capability to be the first and requires persistence in executing the future vision of the leader. Those, who introduce a new idea first (like the Germans did with Blitzkrieg) enjoy a significant strategic advantage. This approach is capable to disrupt existing paradigms, and in warfare technological advances always played an important part in changing the way we fight.

Strategic Networking (shaping approach): is probably most important when the context is unpredictable and when there is an opportunity to collaborate with others in shaping the security situation early on, before others do the same. This strategic approach requires a networking mindset and an understanding that we cannot achieve our goal alone. Implementation is based on influence and a common understanding of a shared risk. During this approach an organization builds trust, while engaging others who buy into the same values the organization represents. It is also important to build a platform through which they can orchestrate collaboration evolve its associated stakeholder ecosystem.

The chalice that holds the different strategic approach ingredients together is *Mission Command 2.0*. Mission Command as we know it is the conduct of Military Operations through decentralized execution based on a central intent. Our need to pursue, instill and foster mission command is critical to success in today's dynamically changing context.⁵⁴ The basic principles of mission command (commander's intent and decentralized execution) are not new concepts, but I argue that due to the recent changes in technology and its effects on warfare we need to revisit and (if necessary) upgrade the mission command concept to 2.0., based on *shared consciousness* and *empowered execution*.⁵⁵

First, with the internet of things more and more devices are communicating with each other, and with the increased number of key stakeholders in an operational theatre, it is increasingly difficult to make sense of what is happening. In this environment instinctual decision making has to be coupled with machine assisted decision making models (Big Data, Deep Learning, AI). Leaders in the information age need to have an ability

⁵⁴ Martin E. DEMPSEY, *Mission Command White Paper* (Pentagon, 3 April 2012).

⁵⁵ Shared consciousness/empowered execution is explained in detail in: McCRYSTAL-COLLINS-SILVERMAN-FUSSELL, *Team of teams*, 198.

to understand how an object or a situation can be changed through connections.⁵⁶ This skill marks a new understanding of power, based on influence and fusion.⁵⁷ Arriving to a decision is especially hard in a collective environment. Moreover, decisions must be communicated through a broad ‘cloud based’ platform of command and control, which enables many partners to be constantly aware of the situation and to create a *shared consciousness* within the forming coalitions in any given operational theatre.

Secondly, most defense forces are still structured to fight wars on Napoleon’s industrial terms, while some adversaries are adapting to the new environment more rapidly and really understand the power of networks. One must fully comprehend how network power⁵⁸ really empowers global terror organizations and other irregular actors and understand that through explosive percolation⁵⁹ a new entity is formed. By focusing on superfast networks of media and transportation they are able to make their impact larger. In the information age every organization needs to work on making execution more decentralized and network through a wide range of stakeholders, enabling the various elements for *empowered execution*.

Summary

The VUCA context demands a new strategic approach. Leaders who have built up the strength, the character and resilience to make tough calls, who are adaptive and courageous to act in the face of complexity and uncertainty, transform their organization and succeed in the future.

Irregular groups have been relatively successful against much stronger enemies throughout the ages and maintained the ability to wage wars on states exactly because of this adaptive (*biē*) mindset.⁶⁰ The last twenty years brought emerging integrated (hybrid) forms, where warfighters are predominantly relying on outsmarting the opposition, approaching indirectly, and seeking to win with deception and misdirection carried out in multiple domains at the same time. This means that we are experiencing an unprecedented

⁵⁶ Joshua Cooper RAMO, *The Seventh Sense: Power, Fortune, and Survival in the Age of Networks* (New York: Little Brown and Co., 2016), 15.

⁵⁷ Engineers know the idea that network design shapes the real world as Conway’s Law. Melvin Conway realized in the 1960s that the physical world could be shaped and influenced by something other than physical force; it could be reshaped by connection.

⁵⁸ RAMO, *The Seventh Sense*, 33.

⁵⁹ The scientific term is related to networks and describes an instant shift in the nature of systems as they pass through a threshold of connectivity. E.g. water molecules can be linked together and are morphed into ice under certain circumstances. Dimitris ACHLIOPTAS – Raissa M. D’SOUZA – Joel SPENCER, “Explosive Percolation in Random Networks,” *Science* 323, no. 5920 (13 Mar 2009): 1453–1455. Available at: <http://science.sciencemag.org/content/323/5920/1453> (accessed: 21 November 2016).

⁶⁰ According to a database that Max Boot have compiled, out of 443 insurgencies since 1775, insurgents succeeded in 25.2 percent of the concluded wars while incumbents prevailed in 63.8 percent. The rest were draws. This lack of historical success flies in the face of the widespread belief of widely successful guerrillas. Since 1945, the win rate for insurgents has gone up to 39.6 percent. The U.S. Department of Defense’s 2010 *Quadrennial Defense Review* and 2012 *Strategic Review* also mentions irregular warfare. *Quadrennial Defense Review Report* (Washington D.C.: U.S. Department of Defense, 2010); *Sustaining U.S. Global Leadership: Priorities for 21st Century Defense* (Washington D.C.: U.S. Department of Defense, 2012).

integration of *biē* and *mētis* mindsets and it manifests itself in an unprecedented number of asymmetric conflicts.

The main argument of this paper is that in today's context *integration* should be the answer. Integrating the two mindsets, combining irregular and traditional leadership approaches and building a hybrid organization is a very effective way to thrive in an uncertain, complex context. This integration can be achieved through a transformation process, which requires a lot of trial and error, acceptance of risk and an open and transparent leader who helps people within an organization to drive through the changes ahead.⁶¹

Resiliency⁶² is the result of building such an organization and it enables them to consistently succeed in unpredictable, contested environments by implementing important changes more efficiently and effectively than its competitors. Being resilient is not a static position, one needs to constantly calibrate the agility needed to maintain the edge over competitors and the context, and follow an integrated strategy to manage the unexpected. Resiliency does not just mean that an organization regains equilibrium quickly after the disruption of change;⁶³ it also means that the organization must develop and maintain innovative systems in times of relative peace, and maintain operations despite high levels of stress.

This duality – maintaining the traditional processes, while building new required capabilities – can be accomplished through an integrated strategic approach. Multiple approaches require a fusion of different organizational and leadership approaches, when they are carried out parallel to each other. It is not an easy but a necessary process, a journey that has to be undertaken in order to survive what is yet to come.

⁶¹ In order to implement a transformational process at the organizational level, leadership must be role models and embrace the concept wholeheartedly; monitor the context constantly, build a continuous strategic awareness, and finally pay attention to developing an organizational culture with identified beliefs, behaviors and assumptions.

⁶² The ability to absorb large amounts of disruptive change without a significant drop in quality and productivity standards.

⁶³ The five resilience characteristics of organizations are as follows: 1. *positive*: security and self-assurance based on view of a complex security environment which is full of opportunities; 2. *focused*: clear vision of what must be done to thrive; 3. *flexible*: creative ability when responding to uncertainty; 4. *organized*: structured approaches to managing ambiguity; 5. *proactive*: engaging change rather than defending against it.

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*Raphael F. Perl**

Asymmetric Warfare: A Doctrine to Fit the Times

A common failure in much of today's mainstream thinking is the belief that asymmetric warfare can be stopped by conventional warfare. This is not to say that strong conventional warfare forces and capabilities are not necessary anymore. Addressing the use of asymmetric methods in conventional warfare is important. But equally important is a strategy to counter transnational asymmetric terrorism (TAT). Because threats can come from so many unexpected sources, when attempting to provide security today, governments need to cast wider and wider nets for information gathering with potential for abuse in the securing of information. Inherent in the price of freedom is acceptance of a certain degree of risk to life and property. Regrettably, one cannot protect everything everywhere, all the time. To effectively manage costs of security in terms of civil liberties and unlimited expenditure of funds, nations should adopt a doctrine of 'acceptable losses'. Presented here are nine options for consideration by policymakers when designing strategies to mitigate transnational asymmetric terrorism within a framework of acceptable losses and sustainable costs.

Asymmetric warfare is not new. History is replete with use of new weapons technologies, new tactics, and creative use of existing technologies. What is new is the increasingly global impact and accessibility through media of local conflicts in a world that is increasingly linked by the relatively free movement of people, goods, money, and information. What is new is the proliferation of ever-newer technologies and their widespread availability to the man in the street – with a trend in decentralization of power from nation states to networks and individuals.

And historically speaking, what is also relatively new is the concept of Western democracies with their concepts of individual freedoms and human rights and the legal protections afforded those in democratic nations who may support asymmetric conflicts in varying degrees protected by law.

I would like to be able to say use of migration and perpetuation of refugees as a tool of warfare is new as well. But unfortunately this is a long established practice of many nations. Take for example some nations in the Middle East where actively perpetuating the Palestinian refugee crisis suits ideological and geopolitical agendas. Clearly from the humanitarian point of view, this is a tragic and reprehensible practice. Refugee populations tend to be innocent victims fleeing for their lives, and taking advantage of such human misery complicates attempts by the international community to help them. That said, we are seeing new and disturbing developments in the Middle East in the form of the active generation of massive refugee flows to Europe and beyond.

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Another example one could cite is that of Cuba's Mariel Boatlift in 1980 when the USA expressed a willingness to accept Cuban refugees and Fidel Castro agreed – reportedly also opening the prison doors for refugee status to hardened criminals and the doors of insane asylums as well.

A common failure in much of today's mainstream thinking is the belief that asymmetric warfare can be stopped by conventional warfare. This is not to say that we do not need strong conventional warfare forces and capabilities – the threat from nation states remains ever present. Moreover, in many ways, conventional warfare – including economic warfare through sanctions and other means – can mitigate asymmetric strategies and tactics by adversaries. A downside here is the long term financial cost of such mitigation, making it difficult to maintain indefinitely.

One used to know when wars were over. The Thirty Years' War, the Hundred Years' War, World War One and World War Two. But things have changed. More and more today the war is over when the people – and not the government – say the war is over. Without decisive victories, asymmetric conflicts tend to drag on and become processes that are self-perpetuating.

Part of what is at play here is that peace and nonviolence are not always shared values and goals. It is important that Western policymakers take this into account. In negotiations, we may seek peace as an outcome, but our counterparts or adversaries may regard our desire for peace as a confirmation of weakness. Their long-term plan, whether motivated by greed, grievance, political ideology, religion, or territorial expansion, may be conquest through violence – or simply to inflict damage justified by longstanding precepts such as honor and revenge. Violence is part of the human genome. Peace is more the exception than the norm.

I would now like to narrow the perspective of my remarks on conflict and asymmetric warfare to a current major source of concern to all of us: transnational asymmetric terrorism (TAT). In doing so, I recognize that addressing the use of asymmetric methods in conventional warfare is important, especially since several regional wars are going on as we speak, but this is a separate topic for discussion at another time.

Since transnational asymmetric terrorism occurs only intermittently, many people think it is possible to defend against it completely or even relatively completely. In my opinion such thinking is flawed. It is an illusion to think we can protect everything, everywhere, all the time.

Even if one collects all the information on everyone in a country from phone calls, emails, financial records, vehicle license plate movements, cell phone tower triangulations, transportation manifests, surveillance cameras, public records, credit card transactions, social media, and more – and then dedicates endless funds and analysis to detect sinister patterns, one will continue to have unstoppable "lone wolf" attacks with terror-like impact. And furthermore, how much safer are we really in the end with the government collecting data on every aspect of our lives? Frankly, I'm not sure, and I suspect others have their doubts as well.

The dilemma is that in a world where power and access to weaponry are increasingly decentralized, the demands of citizenry for governments to provide security is growing. Because threats can come from so many unexpected sources, when attempting to provide security today, governments need to cast wider and wider nets for information gathering.

On the other hand, the abuse of such information is practically guaranteed: hackers breaching government data bases, the release of confidential data by often well-meaning whistle blowers. Moreover, occasional criminality, corruption, discrimination and exploitation of information for personal and political gain at the top levels of government is impossible

to prevent, and has been widely reported over the course of history. Giving the human nature of those in power, the control of substantial information on everyone in a country poses major challenges to the western concepts of individual liberty and democracy as we know them today.

So what do we do – how do we maintain security in an environment regularly threatened by transnational asymmetric terrorism without living our lives in nations that adopt many of the attributes of ‘police states’?

One option when responding to TAT would be to adopt a doctrine of ‘acceptable losses.’ Inherent in the price of freedom is acceptance of a certain degree of risk to life and property. Let me be clear. This is not capitulation to terrorism. On the contrary, all reasonable means available should be used to mitigate transnational asymmetric threats.

Major policy issues involved in adopting such an approach center on maintaining cost-effectiveness and preserving of civil liberties. For example, murders and non-negligent manslaughter in the US for 2015 were close to 15,700, and 35,000 people have died in the United States in traffic accidents.

Given such dramatic casualty levels, is it reasonable for a nation such as the U.S. to spend \$40 billion on homeland security instead of using much of that money in other ways? Policy critics note that the total number of terrorism-related casualties in the entire history of the country is minimal by comparison with the casualty figures from crime and accidents for a single year.

Just as a disease can become endemic if not suppressed rapidly, terrorism has not been suppressed in the past half century and has become an ongoing process and a micro-economy of its own. There are many similarities between diseases and terrorism. A disease may have vectors or symbiotes as cooperating organisms. Terrorists need banks, money launderers, and weapons suppliers. A disease needs a host. Terrorists need societies or subcultures that support their goals. Like with disease, once the process of terrorism takes hold in a widespread fashion, concerted efforts against it are often too late, are very expensive and generally have limited effectiveness without global consensus on elimination of the problem. That level of consensus is very difficult to obtain.

Consequently, a doctrine of ‘acceptable losses’ is applicable to our times. Protect vital infrastructure, both physical and cyber. Harden other significant targets where such measures are cost-effective. Train the population in vigilance and provide convenient ways for people to report suspicious activity. Adequately fund local law enforcement agencies and federal backup teams. Identify potential incubators of terrorism and surgically mitigate or disrupt them. Provide commercial or federally backed terrorism insurance, similar to flood insurance or other programs, to cover damages and casualties from terrorist acts or other asymmetric attacks.

Current commercial insurance policies often do not cover terrorism. This needs to change. So what should we do to mitigate transnational asymmetric terrorism? Here are some suggestions with room for an active role for the military if desired.

1. Implement a doctrine of “acceptable losses” and stop spending unnecessarily on countermeasures beyond the limit of cost-effectiveness.

2. Promote contingency planning at all levels of government. This will be helpful not only for anti-terrorism but also for natural disasters and other disruptions. For example, during a recent hurricane in the U.S. there was a gasoline shortage that impeded evacuation

of a coastal area. How could this be avoided in the future? Promote individual contingency planning against disruptions and threats. Use mass media on a regular basis to promote such planning by communities and families. This was done during the Cold War, and we are now in a new war against transnational asymmetric terrorism.

3. Encourage the establishment and regular testing of emergency communications methods, such as dial-up Internet access by the public to emergency servers, planned support by amateur radio volunteers and National Guard signals technicians, a cooperative infrastructure among cell phone providers to enable recognition of nonsubscriber phones and processing at no charge during emergencies of low-bandwidth text messages.

4. Identify sources that actively promote and export violent extremism, and ensure that they are contained and neutralized to the extent possible.

5. Educate populations in vigilance and encourage reporting of suspicious activities. Ensure adequate staffing resources to process reports and “connect the dots” to discover potential threats. And yes, those dots will not include all information on everyone from birth till death. Some threats will be missed, but that is price of freedom.

6. Reformulate economic planning to increase resiliency. This will be at odds with our current approach of optimizing everything to the maximum from a cost standpoint with “just-in-time” inventories, hospital beds at full capacity, the electrical grid near its limits, and centralization of resources and control. But it is necessary. For example, there are very few hospitals relative to the populations of urban centers, and the beds are often filled to capacity. An unexpected incident involving mass casualties may be met with a chaotic response of questionable efficacy, depending on decisions made at the time. If a terrorist attack includes the hospitals, which are difficult targets to harden, what is the contingency plan? We need more redundancy, and must be willing to trade off the additional profits resulting from centralized economies of scale against the safety factor provided by multiplicity of resources. This requires long-term planning, and will involve major policy changes and decades of effort to implement.

7. Form specialized coalitions with partners – even unlikely ones – with shared interests in combating transnational asymmetric terrorism. Exchange best practices, where security concerns do not restrict such sharing. The U.S. and Russia likely have much in common in this area.

8. Actively keep the military engaged, not only in intelligence gathering, communications, contingency planning, logistical and personnel support to law enforcement and disaster control and relief. Engage the military in refugee management and health emergency operations as well.

9. Finally, no war, no campaign can be successfully waged defensively. In combatting TAT, the military should – to the maximum degree permitted by law – adapt and mirror the organizational and operational structures of those who physically threaten our national security and democratic way of life. This means a greater reliance on special operations forces and the skills they can bring to bear on today’s TAT conflict environment.

It is time to stop talking about solutions and start implementing them. More than a decade after the attacks of September 11, 2001, we still do not have a consensus on what constitutes transnational asymmetric terrorism and how to measure the effectiveness of our defensive and offensive actions against the enemy. Let us compare the war on terrorism with the war on illegal drugs. After half a century and hundreds of billions of dollars spent,

we continue to have a major problem globally with illegal drugs. Do we really think that we have any realistic hope of eradicating transnational asymmetric terrorism, a phenomenon with much greater appeal to many than illegal drugs? It is situation that demands proactive policies, not frenzied second-guessing about attacks in hindsight with later implementation of policies that may have worked to defend against the previous attack but will not work to stop the next one.

My hope for this conference is that we can use it to formulate realistic action plans that can be carried back to our home countries to serve as input for policy discussions. This is a time to take decisions, not to sit on the fence and take reactive measures after an incident. Eventually, transnational asymmetric terrorism may rear its head in any of our home countries, and we must be ready for it without destroying our freedom through government attempts to be omniscient.

If I am wrong, please prove me wrong. I would like very much to be shown that my conclusions are erroneous, that we can indeed – under current largely defensive policies – successfully deter or protect against asymmetric warfare. If any of you has a solution, please share it with your colleagues. Let us work together rapidly and cooperatively during our time together and bring home realistic action plans that our governments will take seriously. We know that certain safeguards have helped such as intelligence gathering, document security, monitoring of travel to regions where terror is incubated, monitoring of paths of funding, and political and military cooperation with partners. Notwithstanding, these are partial measures at best. What we arguably need are fundamental realignments of governmental and societal priorities. I hope we can achieve them while there is still time. Thank you for your attention.

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PRESENTATIONS

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Péter Balogh*

Cooperation: Multiplying the Destructive Potential of Asymmetric Threats

Abstract

In contemporary asymmetric conflicts powerful non-state belligerents rely on decentralization and self-organizing network structures to neutralize the power of the state. Social relations and embeddedness play a crucial role in their success. Their effectiveness is enhanced by cooperation with other belligerent entities. The paper investigates terrorist attacks implemented by several actors in partnership, introduces the evolution and distribution of joint terrorist attacks, maps the global network of the groups embedded through collaborative terrorism, identifies the dominant actors, and demonstrates how collaboration serves as a force multiplier for those terrorist organizations that participate in collaborative operations. It also provides a micro-sociological interpretation of the increasing number of 'individual' terrorist attacks, which are best explained as the outcome of the interplay of individual and structural factors characterised by a certain level of social embeddedness.

Introduction

The concepts of asymmetric warfare, fourth generation war and new terrorism can be regarded – at least partially – as responses to similar processes in the field of military science. Asymmetric warfare refers to the changes and innovation in war by distinguishing particular dimensions of asymmetry in the field of the power and the cost of the threats and the time factor, but most of all asymmetry in the methods and objectives¹ needs to be highlighted in our analysis. The adversary in an asymmetric conflict seeks to apply *new methods* to attack and/or resist. It is also noteworthy that the participants in this new form of war are primarily not states² as the nation-state has lost its

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¹ RESPERGER István, “A XXI. század fegyveres konfliktusainak hatása a hadtudományra” [The effect of 21st century conflicts on military science], in RESPERGER István – KISS Álmos Péter – SOMKUTI Bálint: *Aszimmetrikus hadviselés: Kis háborúk nagy hatással* [Asymmetric Warfare in the Modern Age: Small Wars with Big Impact] (Budapest: Zrínyi, 2014), 13–47.

² SOMKUTI Bálint, “A negyedik generációs hadviselés” [Fourth Generation Warfare], in RESPERGER István – KISS Álmos Péter – SOMKUTI Bálint: *Aszimmetrikus hadviselés: Kis háborúk nagy hatással* [Asymmetric Warfare in the Modern Age: Small Wars with Big Impact] (Budapest: Zrínyi, 2014), 48–65.

monopoly of violence.³ The professionals and scholars could rather find on the modern battlefields small groups applying *unusual methods* without bureaucratic structure, avoiding face-to-face engagements.⁴

In the concept of fourth generation war *decentralisation* as one of the distinctive features is emphasized, and the role of *initiative* – inherited from third generation war – becomes even more significant. The emergence of non-state opponents and the lost monopoly on war are key points in this case as well. Furthermore, a return of the role of culture in the sphere of conflicts must also be mentioned.⁵ A remarkable innovation⁶ can be observed in the organisational dimension of confrontation: beside decentralisation, a *self-organizing network structure* appears and the processes indicate that networks tend to be less and less concentrated and dense.⁷ However there seems to be a theoretical debate about the interpretation of these newer processes arguing that *network-based warfare* might be the proper logical consequence of the first three generations of war.⁸ Nevertheless, it proves to be a commonly accepted assumption that international terrorism is one of the most visible forms of fourth generation war⁹ and the connectedness of asymmetric warfare and terrorism is also acknowledged.¹⁰

Scholars of terrorism also argue that certain noteworthy changes could be observed in the field. One of the concepts interpreting these developments introduces the notion of *new terrorism*, distinguishing it from the former (old) type.¹¹ This new pattern of terrorism is regarded as a more diffuse, de-territorialized one, and involves transnational networks. Its further characteristics are that the motivation is based on religion, attacks tend to be more violent, and mass-casualty aggression becomes more frequent. Although some also argue that it might be more proper to distinguish between the *network approach* and the organizational aspect while studying the further progressions in the field of terrorism, suggesting that pre-existing social networks need to be considered when thinking about recruitment and mobilisation, while hierarchy and centrality should be emphasized in the aspects of security and strategy.¹²

³ KISS Álmos Péter, “Generációk a hadviselésben: a negyedik generáció” [Generations in Warfare: the Fourth Generation], in RESPERGER István – KISS Álmos Péter – SOMKUTI Bálint: *Aszimmetrikus hadviselés: Kis háborúk nagy hatással* [Asymmetric Warfare in the Modern Age: Small Wars with Big Impact] (Budapest: Zrínyi, 2014), 66–80.

⁴ RESPERGER, *A XXI. század fegyveres konfliktusainak hatása a hadtudományra*, 25.

⁵ William S. LIND, “Understanding Fourth Generation Warfare,” *Antiwar.com*, 15 January 2004. Available at: www.antiwar.com/lind/index.php?articleid=1702 (accessed: 09 January 2017).

⁶ Joseph A. SCHUMPETER, *A gazdasági fejlődés elmélete* [Theory of Economic Development] (Hungarian translation, Budapest: Közgazdasági és Jogi Könyvkiadó, 1980).

⁷ KISS, *Generációk a hadviselésben*, 71.

⁸ SOMKUTI, *A negyedik generációs hadviselés*, 56.

⁹ SOMKUTI, *A negyedik generációs hadviselés*, 60.

¹⁰ RESPERGER, *A XXI. század fegyveres konfliktusainak hatása a hadtudományra*, 14.

¹¹ Peter R. NEUMANN, “Old and New Terrorism,” *Socialeurope.eu*, 3 August 2009. Available at: www.social-europe.eu/2009/08/old-and-new-terrorism/# (accessed: 09 January 2017).

¹² David TUCKER, “Terrorism, Networks, and Strategy: Why the Conventional Wisdom is Wrong,” *Homeland Security Affairs*, no. 4 (June 2008): Article 5. Available at: www.hsaj.org/articles/122 (accessed: 09 January 2017).

Research Issues

Considering the brief overview sketched above it might be acknowledged that remarkable changes can be observed in the field of conflicts, warfare and terrorism. Accordingly my primary objective in this paper is to briefly introduce some of the findings from my empirical research of international terrorism. In my recent studies I have been investigating how newer kinds of attacks against societies emerge and what innovative forms of organizing and implementing aggression evolve. The key assumption of my study is that asymmetric warfare/fourth generation war/new terrorism can be interpreted as a network-based activity. I generally argue that *social relations* and *embeddedness* might play a crucial role in perceiving and interpreting the success of non-state aggressors in the recent years. I focus on the role and influence of cooperation among terrorist organisations, investigating the structure and features of joint attacks.

Therefore this research paper includes, on the one hand, the empirical findings about the significance of cooperation in terrorism. In this context I investigate operative terrorist attacks implemented by several actors in partnership and 1. introduce the evolution and the temporal and regional diffusion of joint terrorist attacks, 2. map the global network of the groups embedded through this special kind of collaborative terrorism, 3. identify the dominant actors of this global operative terrorism network – paying particular attention to the actor recently considered to be the most fearful one, the Islamic State; furthermore 4. demonstrate, based on various ‘success’ indicators, how collaboration multiplies the destructive force of cooperative terrorist organizations.

On the other hand, I also explicate a basically micro-sociological interpretation of the increased number of ‘individual’ terrorist attacks. My assumption is that these attacks against societies, carried out by ‘individual terrorists’ might be better understood if interpreted as a specific mixture; an outcome of both individual and structural factors characterised by a certain level of social embeddedness. I propose to describe these attacks as tertiary group membership based terrorism.

Methodological Remarks

In my study I apply quantitative research methods. Secondary statistical data analysis is based on the dataset of the Global Terrorism Database that includes the quantified description of terrorist events between 1970 and 2014. On the one hand, I analyse the database in its original form using some of the variables regarding either administrative or substantive information of the terrorist attacks. Additionally, I also computed and added some further derived variables as well as extracted a separate network database about the joint attacks of the register. Accordingly, in the course of data analysis I employ basic descriptive methods and utilize graphical procedures of social network analysis. The network graphs were created with the Pajek large network analysis program.

Data Analyses

Emergence and Diffusion of Cooperative Terrorist Attacks

The share of the attacks carried out collaboratively by at least two terrorist groups is 0,7 percent of the total in the period investigated: 930 cases can be identified as cooperative attacks. The temporal dynamics and regional differences of the diffusion process deserve a brief description. As for the dynamics of the evolution process, only approximately one-tenth (11,1 percent) of the 930 cooperative terrorist actions occurred before 1990. Furthermore, by the end of the century they still comprise only less than one-fourth (23,4 percent) of the total. So it seems that – considering the temporal process – *cooperation as part of the tactics of the terrorist organizations becomes truly notable in the new millennium*. Cooperative terrorist attack proves to be an innovation from the North American region as the first terrorist case of this kind in the database for the period can be found in this area (Figure 1). However, the regional distribution of these cooperative actions shows that it is not the North American region where this particular kind of terrorism proves to be dominant. It might be stated that the rate of the cooperative terrorist attacks proves to be the highest in the South Asia and the Middle East–North Africa regions.¹³ The two regions – with nearly equal num-

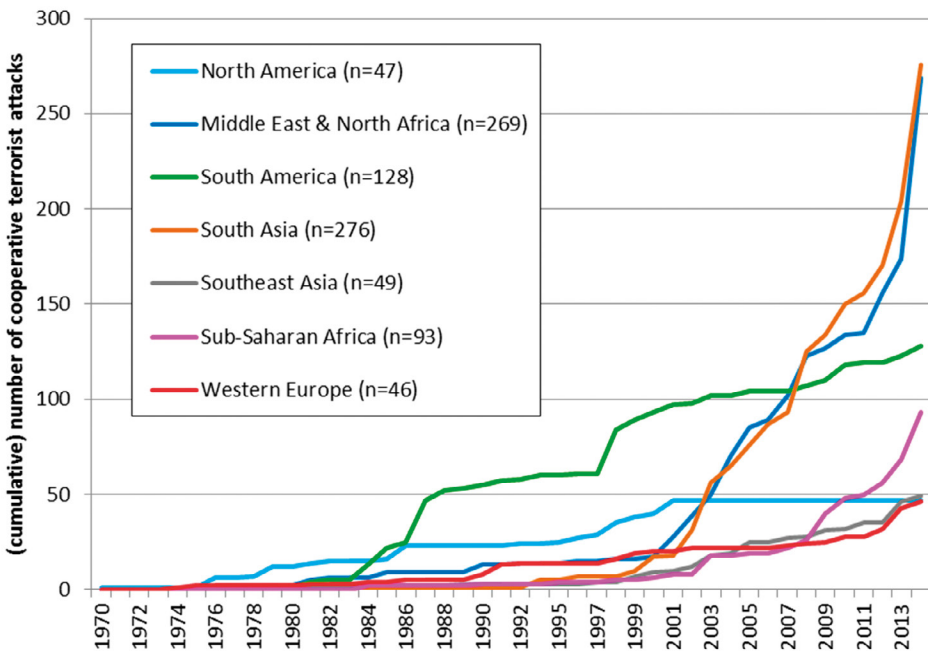


Figure 1
Regional diffusion of cooperative terrorist attacks

Source: calculations by the author, based on the GTD

¹³ For the purposes of this paper I intend to treat the Middle East and North Africa as a single region.

bers of cooperative terrorist attacks – account for nearly three-fifths (58,6 percent) of all such attacks. In the regions of South America and the Sub-Saharan Africa the proportion of the cooperative form of terrorism is also relatively higher (13,8 percent and 10,0 percent, respectively) compared to the areas of Southeast Asia, North America and Western Europe, where the share of cooperative threats is at around 5 percent, while in the rest of the world the presence of the collaborative manner among the terrorist groups seems to be insignificant.

Considering the separate diffusion processes in the various areas, there seems to be an approximately steady growth in the South America region where the number of cooperative attacks exceeds 120 percent by the end of the period, although it might be more remarkable that *the most rapid pace of growth can be observed in the South Asia, Middle East and North Africa region*. It is also notable that these extremely intense growth processes in these regions seem to emerge in a specific accordance with the diffusion process in the North America region. Namely, since the late 1990s or the early years of 21st century there has been no further increase in the number of cooperative terrorist attacks in North America, and approximately the same time the cooperative form of terrorism has emerged and begun to quickly spread in the South Asia and the Middle East–North Africa regions. So, the latter regions seem to show a *delayed, but intensively growing adaptation*, resulting in a terrorist practice characterised by a remarkable portion of this organizational innovation of violence originated in the North American area. Furthermore considering the diffusion processes in the South Asia and the Middle East–North Africa regions it is also important that by the end of the period investigated in this analysis the curves representing the cumulative number of terrorist attacks carried out in a collaborative manner do not seem to lose their steepness; the diffusion processes do not prove to reach a saturation level. That is, it cannot be expected – considering the processes explored from the time series data – that this intensive progress would slow down, i.e. *a further increase and importance of cooperative terrorist attacks might follow* in the South Asia and the Middle East–North Africa regions.¹⁴

The next step of this analysis is to explore and map the network structure that emerges through the cooperative terrorist actions of the organizations involved.

Network of Cooperative Terrorist Actions

The significance of the terrorist actors from the South Asia and the Middle East–North Africa regions also appears in the global terrorist network as both in number (Table 1) and in relative importance (several of) the terrorist groups of the area seem to have an outstanding role (Figure 2). Terrorist organizations from the regions of Australasia – Oceania and Central Asia – prove to be the least involved in cooperative terrorist actions as only

¹⁴ In this sense it might be argued that this specific form of terrorist action, i.e. joint attacks by several organizations or actors against a single target can be a noteworthy “*Conflict (type – added by the author) of the Past, the Present and the Future*” – just to quote the motto of the Asymmetric Warfare conference.

a tiny number and very low rate can be measured in these areas.¹⁵ In the case of Eastern Europe, Southeast Asia and the regions of the American continent (Central America and the Caribbean, North America, South America) the share of the terrorist groups involved in actions carried out in a collaborative manner is also low, not reaching ten percent. The terrorist organisations in Western Europe and the Sub-Saharan Africa areas incorporate above ten percent (11 percent and 12,6 percent, respectively) of the cooperative terrorist groups, and more than the half of the organizations (54,7 percent) carrying out terrorist attacks in cooperation belong to either the Middle East and North Africa region (25,7 percent) or the South Asia area (29,0 percent).

Table 1
Regional distribution of cooperative terrorist organizations

Region	Frequency	(%)
North America	18	4,1
Central America and Caribbean	14	3,2
South America	29	6,7
Southeast Asia	17	3,9
South Asia	126	29,0
Central Asia	4	0,9
Western Europe	48	11,0
Eastern Europe	10	2,3
Middle East and North Africa	112	25,7
Sub-Saharan Africa	55	12,6
Australasia and Oceania	2	0,5
Total	435	100,0

Source: calculations by the author, based on GTD

¹⁵ The network includes a total number of 435 terrorist groups and organizations that could be clearly identified and recognized as relevant. That is, the name of the organization is known, recognizable and relevant (the cases in the database nominated as 'other' or 'individual' were excluded from the analysis) furthermore the regional affiliation of the group can also be ascertained (both the lack of information and the indefinite affiliation information in the database was treated as missing case).

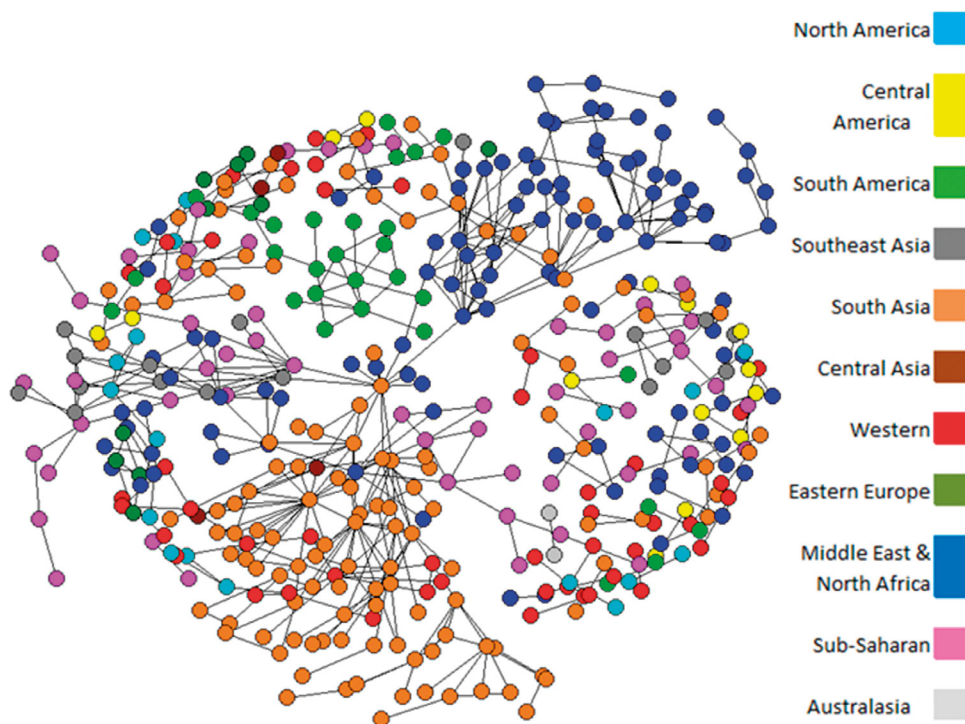


Figure 2

Network of cooperative terrorist organisations

Source: created by the author, based on GTD network data

One of the structural characteristics – beside the composition regarding regional affiliation of the groups – of the network built among certain terrorist organisations through cooperative attacks is a kind of fragmentation: the interacting groups of Australasia and Oceania are completely isolated from the other actors of the network, and an analogous situation can be observed in the case of the groups and relations of the Eastern Europe region (Figure 3). The central area of the American continent (Central America and Caribbean region) and the North America region prove to be similar to the former Eastern Europe area in the sense that these consist of also basically few and less significant organisations, however, it should be noted that in these regions bridging ties¹⁶ connecting organisations from other regions can already be observed.

¹⁶ Mark GRANOVETTER, “A gyenge kötések ereje: A hálózatelmélet felülvizsgálata” [The Strength of Weak Links: A Review of Network Theory], in *Társadalmak rejtett hálózata* [The Hidden Network of Societies], eds. ANGELUSZ Róbert – TARDOS Róbert – VÖLGYI Zsuzsa (Budapest: Magyar Közvéleménykutató Intézet, 1991), 371–400.

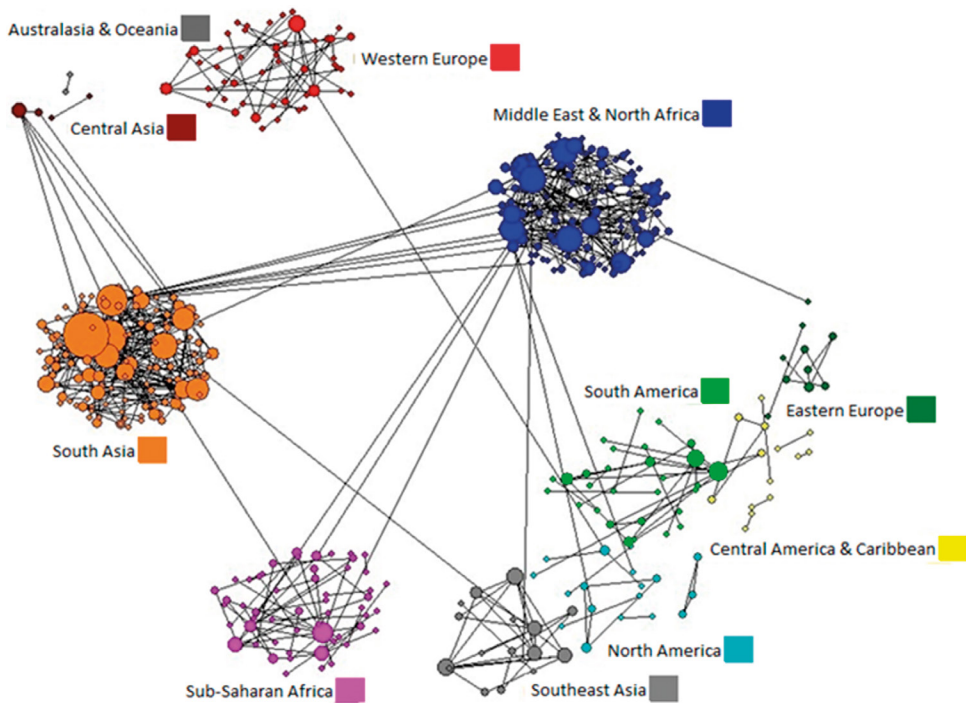


Figure 3
Network of cooperative terrorist organisations (regional clusters)
 Source: created by the author, based on GTD network data

As an example, the South America region that can be characterised by an extensive and rather differentiated cooperation network, as several groups can be found which are linked to more than one other organisation. In this sense the Western Europe area is similar as some actors also emerge as more important ones in the regional network, however this area can also be considered isolated in the overall network as only one tie can be seen that links toward an organisation from another region. This is unlike the Central Asia region, with its relatively few actors that show a relatively high level of interregional connectedness. Nevertheless, the most remarkable regions in the global network of cooperative terrorist actors are those of the South Asia and the Middle East-North Africa as these two areas supplemented (as densely linked) with the groups of the Sub-Saharan Africa and Central- and Southeast Asia regions. Aside from the regional differences of the composition, frequency and relative importance of the particular elements of the terrorist network arisen from the cooperative actions, another structural characteristic is a global integration. As there can be observed, several ties which connect organisations from different areas of the world resulting one single interregional, globally embedded terrorist network.

To briefly sum up, by the middle of the 2010s through the diffusion of cooperation among terrorist groups, a globally linked and integrated network of terrorist groups has evolved. The next – and essentially one of the most important – question of this analysis is whether it

is worthwhile to cooperate at all, i.e. do the terrorist actors involved in attacks carried out in a collaborative manner and integrated in a wider network obtain an extra advantage?

Benefits of Cooperative Terrorist Attacks

The results of data analysis suggest that cooperation provides a noticeable advantage for the organisations involved. The success rate of the terrorist attacks is higher in the case of the actions carried out with a partner (multiple, cooperative attack) compared to those implemented by a single organisation alone (single attack). Considering the latter type of attacks, 90,9 percent of the terrorist actions appear to be successful (Table 2), while in the case of the multiple (cooperative) ones the share of success is 93,9 percent – a relatively small but statistically significant ($\text{Chi}^2=9,828$; $p=0,002$) difference.

However, cooperation not only raises the success rate itself, but also proves to increase both the physical/infrastructural and the social/human destructive potential of the successful attacks. In the case of the multiple (cooperative) terrorist events a higher rate of remarkable material damage can be measured in contrast to the single attacks (8,2 percent vs. 2,6 percent respectively).¹⁷ Considering the human dimension, cooperative terrorist actions are characterised by more casualties. In the attacks carried out by a single organisation on average 2,29 persons get killed,¹⁸ while in the case of the cooperative terrorist actions the average number of persons killed is 6,39; significantly higher ($d=-7,245$; $p=0,000$). The same pattern, but an even greater difference, can be measured in the number of wounded persons: in a single terrorist attack approximately 3 persons become wounded on average, and cooperation increases the number of wounded innocent victims to 10,25 persons on average ($d=-7,434$; $p=0,000$).

Table 2
Benefits of cooperative terrorist actions

	Rate of significant material damage (%)	Success rate (%)	Number of killed (average p.)	Number of wounded (average p.)
Single attack	2,6	90,9	2,29	3,02
Multiple (cooperative) attack	8,2	93,9	6,39	10,25

Source: calculations by the author, based on GTD

¹⁷ The difference is statistically significant: $\text{Chi}^2=33,434$; $p=0,000$.

¹⁸ The number of terrorists killed in the attack – if relevant – is excluded from the analysis.

As a general tendency it can be said that cooperation – to mention only the most important outcomes – nearly triple the average number of persons killed in the terrorist actions and increases more than three times the average number of wounded persons and the share of significant infrastructural damage.

At this point of the analysis it can be argued that the overall network of the cooperative terrorist attacks encompasses the whole globe linking the different regions and this embeddedness proves to be beneficial also for the organisations as the collaborative forms of terrorist threats are characterised by higher success rate and superior destructive capacity.

Further Developments

The roles and positions, however, obviously differ among the groups involved in cooperative attacks. Some organisations are noticeably more important in the network than others. Considering a simple measure, the number of partners (relations or ties) of each terrorist organisation (*degree*), the difference can be explored. The lowest value of ties is 1, indicating that a terrorist group took part in only one cooperative action with only one other organisation. In total 186 organisations – 42,8 percent of all the groups involved in terrorist actions carried out in a collaborative manner – can be characterised by this pattern of partnership with only one single group. The average value of the ties is 5,2 with a relatively high value of standard deviation (10,2) which indicates that there can be great differences measured among the nodes of the network – especially in the higher value range. The highest value is 75, which makes the two groups that achieve this value the main central nodes in the network. These two terrorist organisations definitely belong to the top group of the terrorist actors, however further ones can be identified as relatively more remarkable organisations as well (Table 3), if we define relative importance by the average and standard deviation values. Acknowledging that the organisations characterised by higher values of ties compared to the average with at least twice of the standard deviation (25,5 relations) the terrorist groups in a relatively central position of the network emerge. This top group of central nodes consist of fourteen organisations. These central terrorist actors possess one-third (32,3 percent) of all the ties in the entire network. However, in absolute numbers they only prove to be a small fraction (approximately 3 percent) of the organisations involved in cooperative terrorist actions. As for the regional composition of the most central nodes of the global terrorist network, a rather homogenous pattern can be observed as half of these noticeable organisations is affiliated to the Middle East and North Africa region, and further four groups come from the area of South Asia. Additionally, two South American and one Southeast Asian organisations are also members of this top group.

The terrorist groups that play central roles in the structure of the network might also attract particular attention because if these nodes were removed from the system, the network might become more fragmented, as complex networks fall into isolated clusters¹⁹ after the central elements are – intentionally – eliminated.²⁰ However, what

¹⁹ BARABÁSI Albert László, *A hálózatok tudománya* [The Science of Networks] (Budapest: Libri, 2016), 31.

²⁰ On a theoretical level in this aspect it is only needed to destroy the main central nodes explored in this analysis in order to disintegrate or even terminate the global terrorist network. However, on a practical level this objective is obviously far more difficult to reach.

I rather wish to concentrate on in this research is the opposite process, a further development of embeddedness in the cooperation network.

Table 3
The terrorist organizations with the highest number of ties

Terrorist organisation	Number of ties	Region	
Lashkar-e-Taiba (LeT)	75	South Asia	Orange
Revolutionary Armed Forces of Colombia (FARC)	75	South America	Green
Al-Aqsa Martyrs Brigade	66	Middle East and North Africa	Blue
National Liberation Army of Colombia (ELN)	65	South America	Green
Tehrik-i-Taliban Pakistan (TTP)	60	South Asia	Orange
Taliban	59	South Asia	Orange
Palestinian Islamic Jihad (PIJ)	58	Middle East and North Africa	Blue
Hamas (Islamic Resistance Movement)	56	Middle East and North Africa	Blue
Islamic State of Iraq and the Levant (ISIL)	51	Middle East and North Africa	Blue
Al-Qaeda	44	South Asia	Orange
Al-Nusrah Front	39	Middle East and North Africa	Blue
Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine (PFLP)	34	Middle East and North Africa	Blue
Abu Sayyaf Group (ASG)	29	Southeast Asia	Grey
Popular Resistance Committees	26	Middle East and North Africa	Blue

Source: calculations by the author, based on GTD network data

I empirically explore and demonstrate that the terrorist groups have a further possibility to enhance even more their capacities to carry out violent attacks. I use the Islamic State as one of the central elements in the terrorist cooperation network to illustrate how a terrorist group may improve its destructive capabilities by building further links and finding additional partners. In order to interpret this specific pattern or practice I shall introduce

the notion of tertiary groups,²¹ and based on that outline the concept of *tertiary group membership based terrorism*. Tertiary organisations or tertiary groups seemed to be a new form or new aspect of social capital in a period when social resources and trust was rather vanishing in the American society, as Putnam argues. However, this seemingly new pattern has not proved to be a real counter tendency of the main process of declining of social capital. Interpersonal ties are absent in this form, since in the case of tertiary groups a *lack of real interactions* can be observed among the members of the community, according to the concept. What appears to evolve is that the connection among the elements of the tertiary groups consists of a set of rather common symbols: the acceptance of a leader, the importance of certain events, sharing similar values and ideology. Based on this particular form of ‘group membership’ it becomes rather easy for terrorist groups to attract and mobilize further actors in order to carry out attacks on behalf of the organisation. Therefore I propose the concept of *tertiary group membership based terrorism*,²² as a concept that might clearly highlight the proper social mechanism behind the new pattern of terrorism.²³

The next objective is to empirically investigate, whether tertiary group membership supports a terrorist organisation to spread terrorism more effectively. As stated above, the Islamic State is taken as an example in the further empirical analysis. In order to quantitatively measure and test the assumption, first, this terrorist group is separated – obviously with its partner organizations – from the overall network. Then the data available on this network fragment are supplemented with terrorist actions based on (supposed) tertiary group membership. This model of IS’s cooperation network – which is narrowed in one sense, but at the same time also broadened in another (Figure 4) – illustrates a dual or hybrid structure, a mix of terrorist partners of various mechanisms.²⁴ Considering the structure of the network, it can be argued that – beside the former pattern of cooperative terrorist attacks – IS seems to show high expertise in tertiary group membership based terrorism, which might explain its extremely effective terror export activities. As an additional consequence of the effective combination in a dual pattern, it enables the organisation to avoid being eliminated from the overall network – at least regarding its symbolic presence and significance in worldwide terrorism. Furthermore, its central position in the global structure might even be strengthened by obtaining extra ties or partners.

²¹ Robert D. PUTNAM, *Bowling Alone: The Collapse and Revival of American Community* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 2000), 156.

²² It might be obviously argued that tertiary group membership based terrorism could be considered – or simply is – only a synonym of franchise terrorism. However, it needs to be stressed that the former concept may highlight more efficiently the specific social background of terrorism and so might manage to scientifically comprehend and/or raise accurate research hypotheses.

²³ In more detail it is an outcome of both individual and structural factors of aggression; an interesting conjunction of dominantly personal motivations and dominantly a kind of virtual group membership – without direct personal links – or rather identification. Namely the simultaneous presence of personal negative emotions *and* the structural factor of hate speech promoting aggression support the realization of aggression.

²⁴ In order to make it easier to interpret as for the case of tertiary group membership based terrorism, I added a separate node signed with a different symbol for the terrorist event itself and linked the perpetrators of the attack to this node, which is eventually related to IS. Among the tertiary group membership based terrorist events I included only those where the perpetrators’ – or at least one of the perpetrators’ – names were recognizable. For tertiary group membership based terrorism data is collected and shown in the graph for the events linked to IS between May 2014 and October 2016.

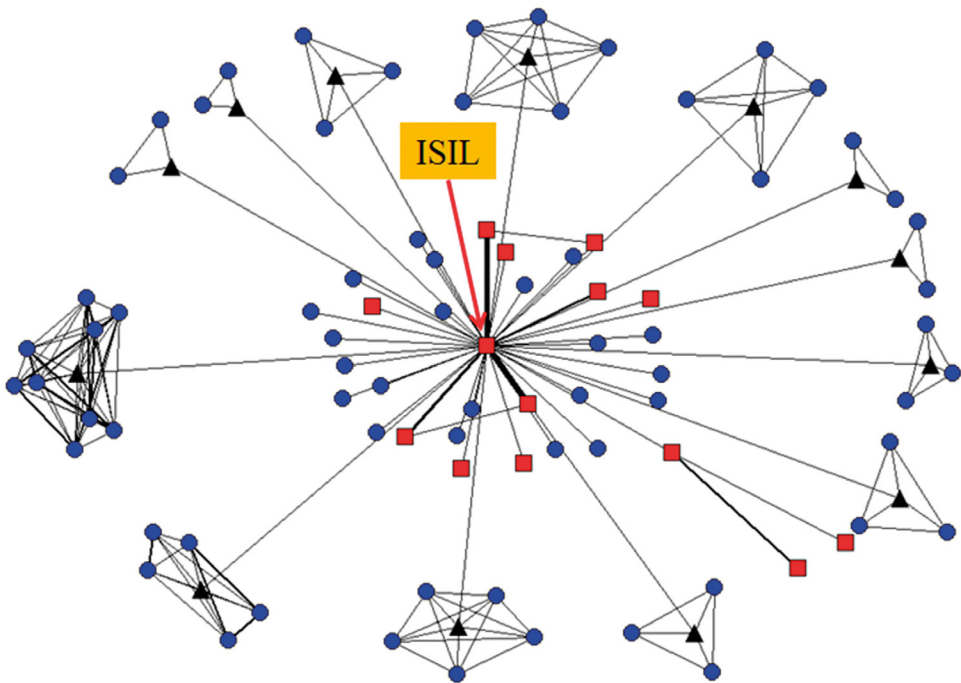


Figure 4

A dual cooperation network of ISIL

(Legends: red square=organization; blue circle=individual perpetrator; black triangle=attack)

Source: created by the author, based on GTD and additional network data

Finally, this analysis wants to shed some light empirically on the extra benefits a terrorist organisation may acquire from tertiary group membership based terrorism. Compared to the casualty figures of single attacks and multiple (cooperative) actions, a very significantly higher level of destructive potential can be measured in the case of terrorist attacks carried out by perpetrators being only indirectly linked to the terrorist group on a basis of tertiary group membership (Table 4). It has already been shown that cooperative terrorist incidents can be characterised by a significantly higher average number of persons being killed and wounded compared to the attacks implemented individually by a terrorist organisation. However, the terrorist attacks with a background of tertiary group membership tend to be even more devastating: the numbers of killed and wounded are over four times and over six-and-a-half times greater, respectively. Nearly forty (39,7) persons died and almost ninety (87,8) persons were wounded on average in the tertiary group membership based terrorist attacks linked to IS.

Table 4
Benefits of different kind of cooperative terrorist attacks of ISIL

	Number of killed (average)	Number of wounded (average)
Simple attack	7,72	9,53
Multiple (cooperative) attack	9,18	13,17
Tertiary group membership based terrorist attack	39,65	87,83

Source: calculations by the author, based on GTD and additional data

Concluding Remarks

This paper introduced some of the main findings from my research on the role and importance of cooperation in international terrorism. Based on the theoretical concepts of asymmetric warfare, fourth generation war and new terrorism and a dataset of terrorist events between 1970 and 2014, supplemented with additional data, the results imply that:

1. Cooperation of terrorist organisations leads to a globally embedded structure of terrorist network through weak ties among certain groups.
2. Cooperation provides remarkably increased success rate and destructive capacity for the terrorist attacks.
3. The concept of tertiary group membership-based terrorism is a possible interpretation for the social dimension in further development of terrorist tactics.
4. Tertiary group membership-based terrorism as a part of terrorist tactics (4) enriches and broadens the level of embeddedness of a terrorist organisation.
5. Of tertiary group membership-based terrorism raises even more noticeably the number of casualties, and so enhances the destructive potential of the terrorist organisation.

These rather preliminary results of my empirical study so far might be assumed not fully convincing but can be regarded at least encouraging and worth to be investigated in details. The findings may even indicate some possible directions of further research processes.

Erik Bernáth*

Countering Hybrid Warfare with Civilian-based Nonviolent Defense and Resistance

Abstract

In January 2015, the Lithuanian Ministry of Defense published a manual advising its citizens on how to survive a Russian invasion, and instructing them to resist foreign occupation with demonstrations and strikes. In June 2016, the Polish government announced their plan to recruit around 35,000 volunteers for a militia, and a growing number of Poles are joining volunteer paramilitary groups to get basic military training and prepare to defend their homeland from a possible Russian invasion. In response to Russia's hybrid warfare challenge, the Ukrainian government launched a costly counterinsurgency operation (over 6000 dead, and more than 1 million internally displaced people).

These examples show two different approaches toward defense measures taken in case of a foreign invasion. The approach advocated in the Lithuanian manual forms the theme of this paper: understanding the limitations inherent in an armed response, and the realization of the potential of nonviolent defense and resistance in countering hybrid warfare.

Civilian-based defense policies and powerful nonviolent struggle can frustrate oppression. Massive non-cooperation and defiance can prevent the establishment of effective control by the invader over the defending society, and deny his objectives, while minimizing the costs for the defenders. A civilian-based nonviolent defense and resistance movement can also contribute to civic empowerment, self-organization, decentralization, and civic solidarity.

Introduction

Let's imagine a situation in which a small country is suddenly invaded by a much larger and more powerful neighbouring country. According to Bartkowski "the choice the [defender] has in facing foreign aggression seems rather simple: fight with arms or surrender,"¹ especially, if the defender does not really stand a chance militarily against the attacker. The aggressor expects armed resistance, and had made plans to crush it, get rid of current leadership, install a puppet government, and withdraw within a few days.

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¹ Maciej BARTKOWSKI, "Countering Hybrid War: Civil Resistance as a National Defence Strategy," *OpenDemocracy.net*, 12 May 2015. Available at: www.opendemocracy.net/civilresistance/maciej-bartkowski/countering-hybrid-war-civil-resistance-as-national-defence-strateg (accessed: 15 May 2016).

But what happens if, instead of a military resistance the aggressor is confronted with a nation-wide nonviolent resistance movement, denying them every form of assistance from the provisions of food and water, through refusing to communicate with them, or working for them, and impeding their troops' movements?

The question that comes to mind is how long can they be delayed from reaching their political objectives with nonviolent resistance in order to make them realize that the costs of their actions outweigh any benefits they had hoped to gain, and would be better off with a negotiation? For as long as eight months – at least that is what happened in Czechoslovakia in 1968–69 when the Warsaw Pact forces invaded the country.

Of course, we know from history that ultimately the Czechs were defeated, but not quickly, and not without some compromises on the side of the Soviets. Out of a population of fourteen million, about 70 were killed and 1,000 wounded in the resistance, and the nation achieved some goals that clearly would not have come from armed resistance.² This nonviolent resistance campaign constitutes the single most significant attempt to improvise a civilian struggle for national defense purposes so far.

Nowadays, invasions or occupations may not happen with such a brute force, but all the same they can, and do happen in a more subtle way. It is just enough to mention the recent annexation of the Crimea at the Black Sea, and a relatively new phrase in NATO's vocabulary, which goes by the name of Hybrid Warfare.

The purpose of this paper is to provide some insights into the potential of nonviolent defense and resistance in countering Hybrid Warfare.

I am going to point out the importance of understanding the limitations inherent in any armed response, and the realization of the potential of nonviolent defense and resistance in countering hybrid warfare.

Russia itself has used civilian-based nonviolent actions in Ukraine,³ “where [...] Russian backed rebels [waging] a hybrid war of territorial conquest [used] elements of nonviolent collective actions,”⁴ and “even made them integral part of [their] military doctrine.”⁵ “The new Russian military doctrine [...] identifies social movements and civilian-led demonstrations as a [...] weapon in territorial conflicts. This strategy is [...] the result of Russia's lessons from the [...] colour revolutions, the Arab Spring and the Ukrainian Euromaidan.”⁶ As a counter-measure NATO and its member states also should give a serious consideration to the idea of employing these strategies.

² Zein NAKHODA, “Czechoslovak Resistance to Soviet Occupation, 1968,” *Global Nonviolent Action Database*, 14 May 2011. Available at: <http://nvdatabase.swarthmore.edu/content/czechoslovak-resistance-soviet-occupation-1968> (accessed: 15 May 2016).

³ Bret PERRY, “Non-Linear Warfare in Ukraine: The Critical Role of Information Operations and Special Operations,” *Small Wars Journal*, 14 August, 2015. Available at: <http://smallwarsjournal.com/Jrnl/Art/Non-Linear-Warfare-In-Ukraine-The-Critical-Role-Of-Information-Operations-And-Special-Opera> (accessed: 15 May 2016).

⁴ Maciej BARTKOWSKI, “Nonviolent Civilian Defense to Counter Russian Hybrid Warfare,” *Johns Hopkins University*, March 2015. Available at: <http://advanced.jhu.edu/academics/graduate-degree-programs/global-security-studies/program-resources/publications/white-paper-maciej-bartkowski> (accessed: 15 May 2016)

⁵ “Russian Military Doctrine,” *GlobalSecurity.org*, 2016. Available at: www.globalsecurity.org/military/world/russia/doctrine.htm (accessed: 15 May 2016).

⁶ BARTKOWSKI, *Countering Hybrid War*.

I am going to argue that nonviolent actions offer some serious advantages over traditional military strategies by exploiting the political vulnerabilities of the enemy.

Civilian-based defense policies can be developed; oppression can be prevented and disrupted by waging a powerful nonviolent struggle. Massive non-cooperation and defiance would aim to prevent attackers from establishing effective control over the defending society, and to deny the attackers their objectives, while minimizing costs for the country under attack.

Furthermore, a civilian-based nonviolent defense and resistance movement can instill a significant degree of civic empowerment, self-organization, decentralization, and civic solidarity elements into the members of any society.

In the course of preparing this paper, I collected, studied and summarized the findings of relevant research both from national and international sources. I also analyzed related information published in the professional press and media. In addition, professional education, training, my own experience, and meetings with experts in the field helped me to acquire relevant knowledge and use it as a basis for my paper.

Measures Taken

Recently NATO asserted that it faces a new challenge in the form of Hybrid Warfare based on its analysis of what had happened in the Crimea and Ukraine, and has initiated some measures to counter this type of threat.

First of all, in March, 2015, in a speech NATO Deputy Secretary General Ambassador Alexander Vershbow stated that “hybrid warfare mixes hard and soft power. [...] so our response should also be multi-faceted [...]. At NATO, [...] we prepare for, deter, and [...] defend against hybrid threats. Preparing means that we must strengthen our open and inclusive societies.”⁷ Then, in May, 2015 at NATO Foreign Ministers’ meeting in Antalya, Turkey, NATO Secretary General Jens Stoltenberg told reporters that “NATO foreign ministers have agreed on steps to combat hybrid warfare [...]”⁸ After that, in July, 2016 at NATO Summit in Warsaw, Poland, the President of the European Council, the President of the European Commission, and the Secretary General of the NATO issued a Joint Declaration stating that “there is an urgent need to boost our ability to counter hybrid threats, by bolstering resilience. Resilience is an essential basis for credible deterrence and defence.”⁹

In order to put these remarks into proper perspective, first of all, we have to understand what resilience is. According to the definition, resilience is “the ability to cope with crisis and

⁷ Alexander VERSHBOW, “ESDP and NATO: Better Cooperation in View of the New Security Challenges,” Speech at the Interparliamentary Conference on CFSP/CSDP, Riga, Latvia, 2015, NATO, 5 March 2015. Available at: www.nato.int/cps/en/natohq/opinions_117919.htm (accessed: 15 May 2016).

⁸ Jim GARAMONE, “NATO Focuses on Combating Hybrid Warfare,” *U.S. Department of Defense*, 14 May 2015. Available at: www.defense.gov/News-Article-View/Article/604638/nato-focuses-on-combatting-hybrid-warfare (accessed: 15 May 2016).

⁹ “Joint Declaration by the President of the European Council, the President of the European Commission, and the Secretary General of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization,” *NATO*, 8 July 2016. Available at: www.nato.int/cps/en/natohq/official_texts_133163.htm (accessed: 15 May 2016).

deflect attacks by applying the entity's inherent strength".¹⁰ The question that comes to mind immediately is what constitutes the inherent strength of a state and its society. The answer, however, is simple enough: the people who live in that society. "A resilient state or society depends on active and engaged citizens whose inherent strength should be harnessed to build a community that may bend – but not break – if a crisis does occur."¹¹ Being resilient in itself, however, is not enough, if we do not know what to do with that inherent strength.

That is why alongside NATO, EUCOM (*United States European Command*) initiated a program to explore what Russian hybrid warfare entails, and how it can be met by employing either or both armed and unarmed (nonviolent, civil) resistance options.¹² To do so, the Cold War concept of „Civilian-Based Defense” was also revisited along with an identification of the requirements for planning and organizing such efforts.

First of all, however, we should understand what Russian hybrid warfare is, and what it can mean for the concerned countries.

Hybrid Warfare

The concept of hybrid warfare (HW) entered NATO's lexicon over the last couple of years. Increasingly, NATO officials are using the term. NATO Secretary General Jens Stoltenberg said that „hybrid warfare combines different types of threats, including conventional, subversion or cyber”¹³ and NATO has to adapt to the task at hand. Heidi Reisinger and Aleksandr Golts in a NATO Research Paper describe Russian hybrid warfare methods as a „mix of military and non-military, conventional and irregular components that can include [...] cyber and information operations. None is new; it is the combination of different actions that achieves a surprise effect and creates ambiguity.”¹⁴

Russian hybrid warfare is really nothing new in the sense that it is the revival and modernization of the Cold War era's Soviet Active Measures intelligence and paramilitary operations that were considered a major weapon system for conducting covert warfare. Active Measures were utilized to influence and manipulate events and behaviour in foreign societies through influencing the policies of other governments, undermining or building up leaders and groups in these states, and undermining opponents through support of opposition political and armed groups.¹⁵

The tools in the active measures toolbox included forging documents to discredit opponents; employing agents of influence (foreign journalists, labor leaders, government officials,

¹⁰ “Resilience,” *Wikipedia*, 18 April 2016. Source: <https://en.wikipedia.org/w/index.php?title=Resilience&oldid=715937480> (accessed: 15 May 2016).

¹¹ Rudolph W. GIULIANI, “The Resilient Society,” *WSJ*, 9 January 2008. Available at: www.wsj.com/articles/SB119991597712378789 (accessed: 15 May 2016).

¹² “European-American Security Workshop,” *The Potomac Foundation*, 22 July 2015. Available at: www.thepotomacfoundation.org/european-american-security-workshop (accessed: 15 May 2016).

¹³ GARAMONE, *NATO Focuses on Combating Hybrid Warfare*.

¹⁴ Heidi REISINGER – Aleksandr GOLTS, “Russia's Hybrid Warfare Waging War below the Radar of Traditional Collective Defence,” Research Paper, Rome: NATO Defense College, November 2014. Available at: http://ftalphaville.ft.com/files/2014/11/rp_105.pdf (accessed: 15 May 2016).

¹⁵ Richard H. SHULTZ – Roy GODSON, *Dezinformatsia: Active Measures in Soviet Strategy* (Washington: Pergamon-Brassey's, 1984).

academics) whom Lenin called “useful idiots [...] who would believe Soviet myths and repeat them endlessly to promote”¹⁶ political goals; the creation of front groups to influence political developments; information operations (psychological warfare); support to opposition political movements in foreign countries; and support to insurgent and terrorist groups.

Responses

Now I would like to show some examples of different responses carried out so far by some countries concerned attempting to deal with hybrid threats that they have been, or might be facing.

On April 15, 2014 in response to Russia’s hybrid challenge, the Ukrainian government launched an armed counterinsurgency operation (Anti-Terrorist Operation – ATO). However, the results were costly: an increased presence of Russian troops; over 6000 people dead, and more than 1 million people internally displaced.¹⁷

In June 2016, the Polish government announced their plan “to recruit around 35,000 volunteers for a militia”.¹⁸ At the same time, a “growing number of Poles are joining volunteer paramilitary groups to get basic military training and prepare to defend their homeland from [a possible] Russian invasion”.¹⁹

In January 2015, the Lithuanian Ministry of Defense published a series of manuals under the title *Ką turime žinoti apie (What We Need to Know about...)* advising its citizens on how to survive a Russian invasion telling them to resist foreign occupation with demonstrations and strikes (see Figure 1).²⁰ “Citizens can resist aggression against their country not only through armed [struggle]. Civilian-based defense or nonviolent civil resistance is another way for citizens’ resistance against aggression [...]. This method is especially important for threats of hybrid war.”²¹ Lithuania, “recognizing both the historical contribution of this type of warfare to its [...] struggle in the 1980s and [...] 1990s, as well as the costs and risks of armed defence against a militarily stronger adversary [...], integrated strategies of nonviolent resistance into its territorial defense [plans]”.²²

¹⁶ George FRIEDMAN, “The Soviet Union and Russia: Tragedy and Farce,” *Geopolitical Futures*, 29 December 2016. Available at: <http://us11.campaign-archive2.com/?u=781d962e0d3dfabcf455f7eff&id=a3f02d-520f&e=4e9206eccc> (accessed: 15 May 2016).

¹⁷ Maciej BARTKOWSKI, “Manifesto of Civilian-Led Nonviolent Defense and Resistance for Ukraine,” *VoxUkraine*, 8 March 2015. Available at: <http://voxukraine.org/2015/03/08/manifesto-of-civilian-led-non-violent-defense-and-resistance-for-ukraine> (accessed: 15 May 2016).

¹⁸ “Poland to Recruit 35,000 for Voluntary Militia,” *About Croatia*, DPA, 3 June 2016. Available at: <https://aboutcroatia.net/news/europe/poland-recruit-35000-voluntary-militia-23702> (accessed: 15 May 2016).

¹⁹ Wiktor SZARY – Kacper PEMPEL, “Eyeing Russia Nervously, Poles Enrol in Volunteer Militias,” *Cyprus Mail*, 23 March 2015. Available at: <http://cyprus-mail.com/2015/03/23/eyeing-russia-nervously-poles-enrol-in-volunteer-militias> (accessed: 15 May 2016).

²⁰ “Ką turime žinoti apie pasirengimą ekstremalioms situacijoms ir karo metui,” *Ministry of National Defence, Republic of Lithuania*. Available at: <http://kam.lt/lt/katurimezinoti.html> (accessed: 15 May 2016)

²¹ BARTKOWSKI, *Nonviolent Civilian Defense to Counter Russian Hybrid Warfare*.

²² BARTKOWSKI, *Countering Hybrid War*.



Figure 1.
What We Need to Know About... (series of Lithuanian manuals)
 Source: drawn by the author, based on Lithuanian Ministry of Defense publications

Lastly, there are a few countries, like Switzerland or Sweden which have based their whole national defense strategy on a mixed approach called Total Defense Strategy, including military defense, guerrilla warfare, and nonviolent civil resistance.

In order to be able to understand why some countries have chosen nonviolent resistance and what it can mean in terms of viability and potential, I would like to clarify some concepts in relation with nonviolent action itself.

What is Nonviolent Action or Civil Resistance?²³

Nonviolent action is a technique of waging conflict using active nonviolent means that can be distinguished from conventional or institutionalized political action, and from violence.

Related terminology or synonyms are as follows: nonviolent conflict, nonviolent struggle, nonviolent direct action, strategic nonviolent action, nonviolent resistance, people power, political defiance, civil resistance, civic mobilization. To put it simply, it is

²³ Gene SHARP, *Power and Struggle: The Politics of Nonviolent Action* (Part 1, Boston, MA: Porter Sargent, 2000).

a way for people to wield power without using violence. It consists of acts of commission (doing things that people are not supposed to do, e.g. blocking roads and railways), as well as acts of omission (NOT doing things that people are supposed to do, e.g. not working, or not paying taxes).

We can, of course, rightly ask what we can expect if we choose to participate, what our chances are for achieving anything against a stronger adversary non-violently. To answer this question, it would be useful to know how effective nonviolent civil resistance can be. Two researchers, Stephan and Chenoweth, analyzed 323 violent and nonviolent resistance campaigns from 1900 to 2006 and their findings turned out to be really surprising, because they proved that “nonviolent campaigns have achieved success 53 percent of the time, compared with 26 percent for violent resistance campaigns”.²⁴ So, the success rate of nonviolent resistance is twice that of armed resistance (Figure 2).

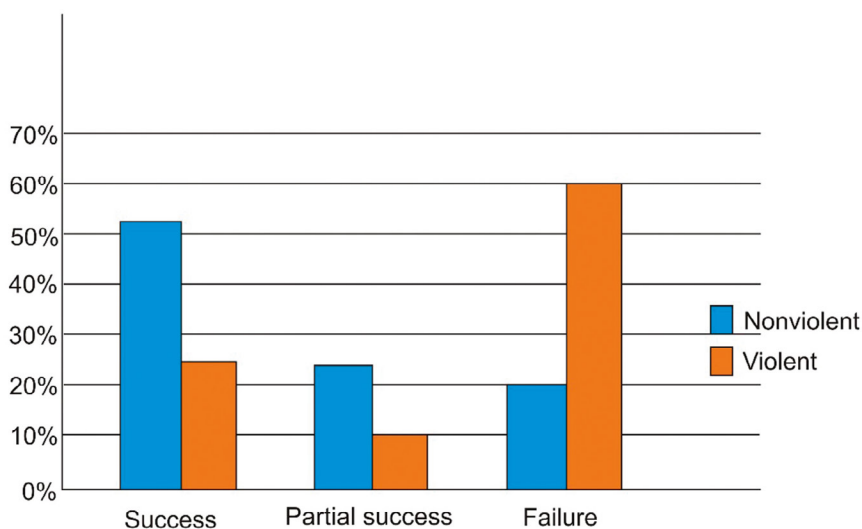


Figure 2

Success Rates of Nonviolent and Violent Campaigns, 1900–2006

Source: drawn by the author, based on CHENOWETH–STEPHAN, *Why Civil Resistance Works*, 8.

As Bartkowski sums it up, “[h]istorically, nonviolent resistance has worked far better than its armed alternative. Civil resistance has been determined to be twice as effective against a violent adversary than armed struggle, [...] likely to reduce civilian deaths and tenfold more likely to bring about a democratic outcome compared to a victory through arms”.²⁵

²⁴ Erica CHENOWETH – Maria J. STEPHAN, *Why Civil Resistance Works: The Strategic Logic of Nonviolent Conflict*, Columbia Studies in Terrorism and Irregular Warfare (New York: Columbia University Press, 2011).

²⁵ BARTKOWSKI, *Countering Hybrid War*.

Furthermore, “[...] the unarmed struggle is able to limit costs and risks for civilians, expand civic networks, solidarity and mutual-aid institutions. [...] it imposes more significant political, economic and social burden on the stronger adversary than the arms resistance would ever be able to do. This was the case with the Danish and Norwegian resistance against the Nazis, the Czechoslovakian and Polish nonviolent struggles against the Soviets [...]”²⁶

Nonviolent civil resistance has been all around us, and most of the time it even works. A few recent examples of nonviolent resistance movements can clearly show that most of them achieved their goals in a very short period of time.

- Bulldozer Revolution, Serbia (February–October, 2000)
- Rose Revolution, Georgia (November 4–25, 2003)
- 1st Orange Revolution, Ukraine (November 22 – December 8, 2004)
- Cedar Revolution, Lebanon (February 14 – April 7, 2005)
- Saffron Revolution, Burma (August 19 – September 29, 2007)
- Jasmine Revolution, Tunisia (December 17, 2010 – January 27, 2011)
- Arab Awakening, Egypt (January 25 – February 11, 2011)
- 2nd Orange Revolution, Ukraine (November 2013 – February, 2014)

Civilian-Based Defense and Resistance

The question that remains is how all of this is connected to the topic of civilian-based defense and resistance (CBDR). To do so, we should know what we mean by that phrase.

Civilian-based defense and resistance is a concept that was developed during the Cold War-era, for small, vulnerable countries in case of a Soviet or Warsaw Pact invasion. It refers to “a policy [whereby] the whole population and the society’s institutions become the fighting force”.²⁷ CBDR proposes an alternative or supplementary approach to conventional military option²⁸ by trying to deter an attack, or by defending a country against foreign aggression with the use of tactics of nonviolent resistance. But why would it work? Why should we base our national defense partly or fully on an unconventional method? The answer lies in a notion called people power.

Different Theories of Power

According to the classic definition of Aristotle, power is “the capacity to accomplish purpose”.²⁹ This definition refers to a top–bottom approach, or the so-called power elite model

²⁶ BARTKOWSKI, *Manifesto of Civilian-Led Nonviolent Defense and Resistance for Ukraine*.

²⁷ “Create a Nonviolent, Civilian-Based Defense Force” *World Beyond War*. Available at: <http://worldbeyonddwar.org/create-nonviolent-civilian-based-defense-force> (accessed: 15 May 2016).

²⁸ Maciej BARTKOWSKI – Richard SCHULTZ, *Nonviolent Defense against External Aggression*, International Center on Nonviolent Conflict, 23 June 2016.

²⁹ James LAWSON, “Labor, Racism, and Justice in the 21st Century,” The 2015 Jerry Wurf Memorial Lecture, *The Labor and Worklife Program Harvard Law School*, 19 February 2015. Available at: www.law.harvard.edu/programs/lwp/wurf_lectures/Wurf2015%20Rev%20James%20Lawson%20final.pdf (accessed: 15 May 2016).

of power. What this means is that powerholders and elites have all the power and control over everybody below, the power structure does not change, it is fixed, and power comes from control of resources and information, as well as violence (Figure 3).³⁰

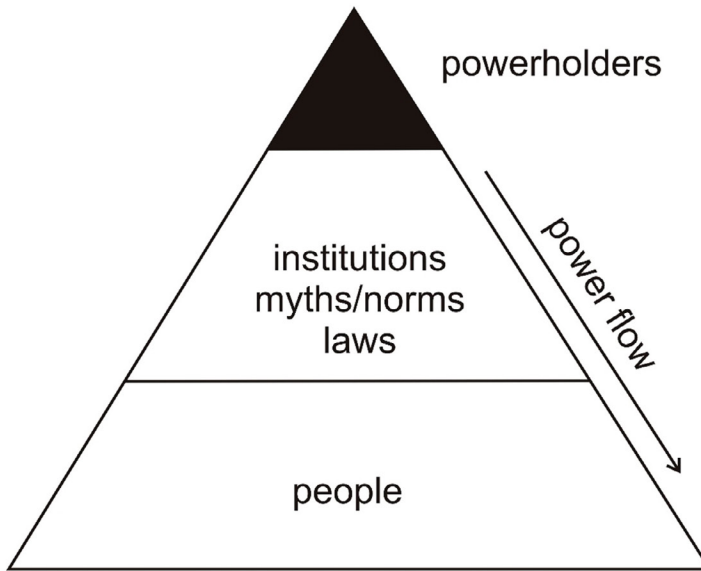


Figure 3

The top-bottom model of power

Source: drawn by the author, based on MOYER et al., *Doing Democracy*, 13.

Civilian-based defense and resistance (CBDR), however, is based on a different theory of power in which political power is derived from sources within society as advocated by sociologist Dr. Gene Sharp. This can be considered a bottom-top approach, or the so-called people power model in which power of elites and institutions is based on the *consent* and *cooperation* of people, power is fragile, and power structure can change.

³⁰ Bill MOYER – Jo Ann McALISTER – Mary Lou FINLEY – Steven SOIFER, *Doing Democracy: The MAP Model for Organizing Social Movements*, (Gabriola Island: New Society Publishers, 2001).

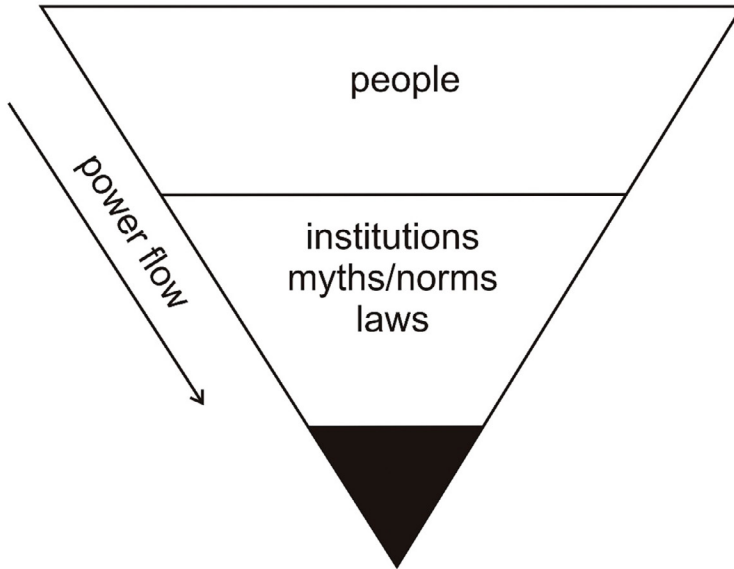


Figure 4

The bottom-top model of power

Source: drawn by the author, based on MOYER et al., *Doing Democracy*, 14.

In this model power is not fixed, but fluid and it is dispersed throughout society. There are organizations and institutions, so-called pillars of support that ultimately back up the power holder. That power flows from the bottom to the top and ordinary people if they stop obeying and they engage in massive organized non-cooperation, can make it very, very difficult – and at times impossible – for the power holder to remain in control. People can decide to stop obeying, their loyalties can shift, and then large numbers of people stop obeying and engage in nonviolent actions, civil disobedience, and the like. This translates into significant pressure being applied against the power holder. And if that pressure is sustained and if it is dispersed throughout the society, the power holder cannot stay in power.

Fundamentals of Civilian-Based Defense and Resistance Campaigns³¹

What basically happens here is that in civilian-based defense and resistance (CBDR) campaigns *consent* and *cooperation* are denied to powerholders. However, to do this successfully, a detailed strategy is required. According to Erica Chenoweth “it’s crucial to have a strategy – with [...]

³¹ BARTKOWSKI-SCHULTZ, *Nonviolent Defense Against External Aggression*.

defined end goal[s] – from which tactics flow”.³² To be effective, a CBDR strategy has to be based on advanced preparations, planning, and training by the state. In order to understand how this strategy can work, we should take a closer look at the rationale behind the theory.

What we can state from the perspective of a defender is that confronted by more powerful adversaries, a small state’s capacity for self-defense by conventional military means will be inadequate. If NATO’s Article V. is not invoked, it will be left alone because “[hybrid warfare] is [...] an activity that is coercive and aggressive in nature, but that is [...] designed to remain below the threshold of conventional military conflict and open interstate war”.³³ So, the state will be vulnerable to invasion/occupation and it needs an alternative or supplementary approach to the military option.

The problem the aggressor is facing is that in order to achieve its goals, it depends on the control of the captured state, and requires cooperation from state institutions and society. If challenged by CBDR campaign, the occupier can be deterred from attack. He can even be defeated, or at least he can seriously be impeded in reaching its goals.

However, effective deterrence requires the capacity of a state to assemble the means to impose unacceptable costs on the attacker, and to communicate and warn the attacker in advance in a credible way that a dynamic struggle will be waged that will be difficult to counteract.

If deterrence fails, CBDR defends the state by waging a civil resistance struggle of massive non-cooperation to make control, or consolidation of rule unachievable.

Methods of CBDR campaigns

This brings us to the question of how to wage a defense campaign. The methods, techniques and tactics used in civilian-based defense and resistance campaigns are all coming from the long tradition of nonviolent civil resistance against repressive governments. Specific methods have been identified so far.³⁴

1. Non-cooperation (mobilization of the society in order to create disruptions):
 - a) Social non-cooperation (16 methods)
 - b) Economic non-cooperation (49 methods)
 - c) Political non-cooperation (38 methods)
2. Protests and persuasion (employed to recruit, mobilize, and build movement capacity – (54 methods)
3. Intervention (disruption of operation by psychological, physical, social, economic, or political means – 41 methods)

³² Erica CHENOWETH, “People Are in the Streets Protesting Donald Trump: But When Does Protest Actually Work?,” *Washington Post*, 21 November 2016. Available at: www.washingtonpost.com/news/mon-key-cage/wp/2016/11/21/people-are-in-the-streets-protesting-donald-trump-but-when-does-protest-actually-work (accessed: 15 May 2016).

³³ Hal BRANDS, “Paradoxes of the Gray Zone,” *ETH Zürich Department of Humanities, Social and Political Sciences*, 27 December 2016. Available at: www.css.ethz.ch/en/services/digital-library/articles/article.html/01236d5a-cd51-4c3f-a032-4e395339c696 (accessed: 15 May 2016).

³⁴ Gene SHARP, *National Security through Civilian-Based Defense* (Omaha, NE: Association for Transarmament Studies, 1985).

Conditions for Effective CBDR³⁵

With that in mind, I am going to provide my take on the most important requirements for creating an effective civilian-based defense and resistance capability in order to be able to implement it into a national defense strategy.

1. Willingness of people to take part in the defense of country.
2. A trained population committed to defend the country.
3. Establishing a state-run organization to assess, plan, manage and coordinate a non-violent resistance strategy, i. e. *State Civilian Resistance Training Centre at the Lithuanian Ministry of National Defense*.
4. Setting up a civilian-based defense and resistance network or groups in all administrative units:
 - a) to execute actions and campaigns;
 - b) to ensure effective sharing of reliable information among locals;
 - c) to develop (underground) networks of volunteers that are disciplined and trained in providing social, economic and psychological assistance to locals to counter repressive measures, or to provide logistical assistance³⁶ to armed resistance units.
5. Development and dissemination of educational, or infotainment programs and materials for the general population.
6. Specialized CBDR education at academies and colleges made available to societal groups wishing to participate.
7. Specialists in CBDR trained for initiating nonviolent resistance actions at the start of an occupation based on pre-planned strategy guidelines that identify and exploit specific targets against which non-cooperation can have a maximum impact.
8. CBDR wargames and manoeuvres to assess the viability of different options for various scenarios based on reliable intelligence. Alternative methods should also be employed to challenge assumptions and broaden the range of possible outcomes through structured techniques, like Red Teaming or „what-if” analysis.
9. Technical means for communication and maintaining societal cohesion during foreign occupation and repression.
10. Information and communication strategies aimed to disrupt the ranks of the aggressor and to facilitate disobedience among the occupants.

Historical Examples

Civil disobedience or nonviolent action have been with us since ancient times. One of the earliest example of civil disobedience is in Sophocles’ play *Antigone* in which Antigone refused to obey King Creon, who would not hand over her brother’s body for a proper burial. Antigone insisted that she was following a higher law, her conscience and she later paid for that with

³⁵ BARTKOWSKI-SCHULTZ, *Nonviolent Defense against External Aggression*.

³⁶ BODORÓCZKI János, “Gondolatok az asszimetrikus hadviselés logisztikai támogatásáról,” *Bolyai Szemle* 22, no. 1 (2013): 119–136. Available at: <http://uni-nke.hu/downloads/bsz/bszemle2013/1/08.pdf> (accessed: 15 May 2016)

her life. Her motivation and justification is quite similar to that of Henry David Thoreau's refusal to pay taxes to the U.S. government in the 19th century.

Collective nonviolent action and civil resistance have been used all over the world to challenge unjust authority, real and perceived, and to advance group interest. From Gandhi's movement leading a struggle for Indian independence, or the U.S. civil rights movement; to the "Singing Revolutions" that brought independence to the Baltic States; then to the so-called "Color Revolutions" in Serbia, Georgia, Ukraine; and, more recently, to the 2011 mass uprising against dictatorships in the Arab world. Since the beginning of the 20th century, the number of nonviolent movements has risen significantly.

However, the first ever case of CBDR as an official policy occurred relatively late during the so-called "Ruhrkampf" (January 11 – September 26, 1923) when French and Belgian troops occupied this industrial area of Germany. The occupier forces' aims were to enforce the payments of reparations, obtain coal for French industry, and achieve the separation of the Rhineland from Germany.

The resistance started without any prior preparations, but with government financing for participants. Methods they used were centered on non-cooperation: refusal to obey orders, refusal to run railroads, refusal to work in coal mines, etc. As Barkowski summarized it, "[d]uring the occupation of the Ruhr after World War I, German citizens were so effective in nonviolent outreach to the occupying French troops that Paris was gravely concerned about their loyalties and readiness to continue implementing occupation orders. This and other civil resistance actions forced the French government to call up reservists, which increased the cost of occupation, deepened the budget deficit and raised resentment among the French public."³⁷

In the end, Germany could not claim victory, but the invaders withdrew, and the Rhineland was not detached. The invaders had achieved neither their economic, nor their political objectives.

Then, we can mention the Nazi occupation of Denmark. The Germans wanted to exploit Denmark's labour and resources, so they needed normalcy. The Danish government's goal was to survive through a policy of cooperation. However, not every Dane agreed, and civil resistance began. The nature and spirit of this resistance campaign are summed up best by this list of instructions called the "Ten Commandments of Danes"³⁸ detailing what to do, or not to do in order to fight the occupiers.

1. You must not go to work in Germany and Norway.
2. You shall do a bad job for the Germans.
3. You shall work slowly for the Germans.
4. You shall destroy important machines and tools.
5. You shall destroy everything that may be of benefit to the Germans.
6. You shall delay all transport.
7. You shall boycott German and Italian films and papers.
8. You must not shop at Nazis' stores.
9. You shall treat traitors for what they are worth.
10. You shall protect anyone chased by the Germans.

³⁷ BARTKOWSKI, *Countering Hybrid War*.

³⁸ Steve YORK, *A Force More Powerful* (DVD, York Zimmerman Inc., 2000) Available at: www.aforcemore-powerful.org (accessed: 15 May 2016).

This drawn-out, but quite well-organized resistance against the Nazis not only greatly improved the national cohesion and patriotism of Danes, but also made it possible for Denmark to emerge from the war in a relative good condition.³⁹ Resistance denied normalcy from the Germans, but refrained from magnifying any disruption to the point of prompting overwhelming reprisals.

Lastly, consider the most recent example of a civilian-based defense and resistance campaign during the failed Turkish coup d'état attempt in the summer of 2016. As yet not much information is available in this regard, but a few things can be stated with some certainty. Namely, the network of mosques with their loudspeakers and extensive social media usage were paramount in mobilizing the Turkish public. Which in turn made it possible for them to step up against the rebel troops in an organized way without any prior preparations. Some experts rightly called this phenomenon “the victory of the digital age over an analog coup”.⁴⁰

Why Does Nonviolent Action Work?

Having said all of this, we must consider why nonviolent action tends to work either in a civil resistance setting or in a civilian-based defense and resistance situation. The main question here is to find out why ordinary people are attracted to these campaigns in large numbers at all.

According to studies carried out by Stephan and Chenoweth,⁴¹ nonviolent actions tend to attract a much larger and more diverse participation base compared to armed struggle. The level of participation is more than 11 times higher than in an armed struggle.

The reason is the much lower barriers to participation:

- lower physical barrier: no need to be a young man trained in arms and explosives to participate;
- lower commitment barrier: no need to be an armed insurgent to participate;
- lower informational barrier: no need to rely on clandestine underground planning and action;
- lower cognitive barrier: no need to take part in violence.

The reasons why these barriers matter lie in the results of a recent poll conducted in Poland. People were asked what they would do if their state was invaded by an armed adversary. “37 percent of respondents – the equivalent of almost 12 million Polish adults if applied to the nation’s population – said they would resist foreign aggression ‘not by fighting with arms, but by engaging in other, non-military activities’. Only 27 percent of them declared it would take up arms. The remaining would emigrate, were undecided or would surrender.”⁴²

³⁹ Jack DuVALL – Peter ACKERMAN, *A Force More Powerful: A Century of Nonviolent Conflict* (New York: St. Martin’s Press, 2000).

⁴⁰ Soner CAGAPTAY – Jeffrey JAMES, “Inside Turkey’s Failed Coup: What Happened? Why? What Next?,” *Washington Institute*, 22 July 2016. Available at: www.washingtoninstitute.org/policy-analysis/view/inside-turkeys-failed-coup-what-happened-why-what-next (accessed: 15 May 2016).

⁴¹ CHENOWETH–STEPHAN, *Why Civil Resistance Works*.

⁴² BARTKOWSKI, *Countering Hybrid War*.

So, it can be stated that many more people would be ready to take part in nonviolent resistance than in combat to defend their country: “responses [...] indicate that when given more choices, nonviolent resistance has more support than is often recognized.”⁴³

Conclusions

The history of nonviolent political struggles shows some impressive results even without advance preparations. Nonviolent action can be used to defend as well as to change a government, and has been widely applied against foreign occupations and even against totalitarian systems.

However, there are no cases in which prepared civilian-based defense and resistance (CBDR) campaigns has caused an occupier to withdraw, because it has not been used as a part of any country’s official defense policy, yet.

Evidence suggests that CBDR policies can be developed; oppression can be prevented or disintegrated by waging a powerful nonviolent struggle. With proper analysis, the weaknesses of an invading force could be identified, and resistance can be focused on their weak points. Massive non-cooperation and defiance would aim to prevent attackers from establishing effective control over the defending society, and to deny the attackers their objectives, while minimizing costs for the country under attack. A civilian-based nonviolent defense and resistance movement can instil national solidarity and cohesion into the members of any society.

⁴³ BARTKOWSKI, *Countering Hybrid War*.

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*Robert C. Castel**

Give Victory a Chance: Applying Innovation Theories to Asymmetric Warfare

Abstract

This paper argues for the unchanged and fundamental need of seeking victory over our asymmetric adversaries. The existing Clausewitzian concept of victory is clearly outdated, and this paper – taking Israel’s current security challenges as its case study – seeks to re-define victory at two levels: a) the desired end-state and b) the strategies used to achieve it.

The answers suggest that the existing doctrines of deterrence, early warning and military decision were relevant to past wars, but are much less relevant today. They are a surefire way of winning all the battles and losing the war. The distinction between “real” security (i.e. war against conventional armies) and “current security” (i.e. fighting against non-state adversaries) is hopelessly obsolete. The disappearance of conventional threats on the one hand and the emergence of non-conventional and hybrid ones on the other require new distinctions.

Introduction

As the late William Colby quipped, there are “good secrets”, “bad secrets” and “non-secrets”¹. Perhaps the most obvious non-secret of our times – and the proverbial elephant in the room that nobody wants to notice – is that the better we get at fighting wars, we are more and more clueless about how to win them. Perhaps one day, the sculpture of Nike in the Louvre will be replaced by the Goddess of Exit Strategy, but till then we still owe victory a chance.

In these few pages, I shall outline my thoughts on these issues. My perspective is that of a sceptical practitioner. I have no partisan axe to grind, I’m not and will never be tenured, I do not sit on any committee.

During the last couple of years I was involved in a fascinating research project dealing with asymmetric warfare, led by the former head of our General Security Service, Admiral Ami Ayalon. During the same period, I’ve run workshops in the various nooks and crannies of our security establishment on Applied Military Creativity and Innovation. The ideas presented here are an amalgamation of these twin experiences.

* The author is a research associate of the Israel Democracy Institute.

¹ George LARDNER – Walter PINCUS, “In Wake of Watergate, Colby’s Candor Forever Changed CIA,” *The Washington Post*, May 7 1996.

What I have brought to you today is two problems and one solution – a would-be solution, a may-be solution – for these problems.

The first problem I would like to deal with is the topic of this conference, asymmetric warfare. The second is the already mentioned elephant in the room – the quest for victory. My solution for both of these problems comes from the same source – the realm of innovation theories.

To be honest, when I first heard the term asymmetric warfare, I felt that it is one of those half-baked, bumper-sticker neologisms. I'm sure that you know what I mean.

Those big, sexy ideas that are great for landing you a tenured position in Ivory Tower Country, but can put your life in danger if you try to pitch them at a two star general in the midst of a shooting war.

I've considered it rather superfluous, too. After all, war and combat is about generating asymmetries.² This is how I was trained and what I teach my troops and my students. It took me some time to realize that the problem is a real one, especially on its fringes, where the asymmetry is as polar as it can get. Soon my attention was fully devoted to this part of the spectrum, the asymmetric conflict between the liberal-democratic state and its violent, non-state actor adversaries (VNSA). Throughout this paper I shall discuss this particular type of asymmetric confrontation and this particular type only. Extrapolating to asymmetric warfare in general is beyond the scope of my study.

As about the second term, victory, I was and still am deeply shocked by the widening gap between the scholars on one hand and the practitioners on the other. Scholars are entitled to hold this heady term in suspicion, but practitioners must believe in its attainability. Why? Because we may be ready to risk our lives for the sake of victory, with its connotation of a better end state, but nobody will put his or her life in danger for much less. Just imagine, for instance, Winston Churchill exhorting the British people at their finest moment “we shall fight on the beaches, we shall fight on the landing grounds, we shall fight in the fields and in the streets, we shall fight in the hills” etc. “until in God's good time, the New World, with all its power and might, steps forth...”³

With what, the perfect exit strategy? Not very inspiring, is it?

Having said all this, we may ask: *what is the core problem of both asymmetric warfare and victory?* The answer is that we are highly efficient at winning symmetric conflicts, mainly conflicts between the regular armies of industrial nations. However, on the other hand, we – the liberal-democratic states – have no clue how to defeat our violent, non-state adversaries. We do not know how to attain victory.⁴

² See for instance SUN TZU, *The Art of War* (Kindle edition, SL: Pax Librorum, 2009), Chapter 8.

³ WINSTON L. S. CHURCHILL, *Into Battle: Winston Churchill War Speeches Collection – Book 1* (Kindle Edition, New York: Rosetta Books, 2013).

⁴ See for instance GIL MAROM, *How Democracies Lose Small Wars: State, Society, and the Failures of France in Algeria, Israel in Lebanon, and the United States in Vietnam* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003).

Why Should Anybody Care?

After all only in a negligible percentage of the cases (some say 5 to 6 percent) do VNSAs actually prevail over their state adversaries.⁵

One answer to this question is that in the long run violent non-state actors are becoming better and better at their trade. The process of decolonization following World War II is a whole cornucopia of such successful struggles.⁶ The other answer is that our nation-state adversaries have jumped on the trend and in the near future we will see more and more wars by VNSA proxies. To name but a few, Iran and Russia are among the most effective practitioners of this form of hybrid warfare.

So, after defining the problem, you may ask what solutions, if any, I have up my sleeve for tackling it.

As I have already mentioned, for some years now I have been running Applied Military Creativity and Innovation workshops for military, law enforcement etc. customers. During these workshops the most frequent request of my customers is designing new tools and concepts for dealing with our VNSA adversaries. It did not take a very long time to realize that our adversaries are doing much the same, innovating in order to render our innovation obsolete. Thus, observing the dialectic nature of this contest, we have started to question whether innovation is not only one of the moving parts of asymmetric warfare, but possibly the essence of it.

One may argue that this is a classic case of “if the only tool you have is a hammer, than everything starts to look like a nail”. Still, we should at least attempt to take a fresh look at our problem, this time through the lens of innovation theories.

So let’s go back to the basics and try to re-examine the whole asymmetric warfare by VNSA issue through this new lens. Please excuse me if I’m merely re-stating the obvious. I think that sometimes you just have to do it, especially in our postmodern times, when common sense has become a form of subversion.

The first question we should ask is: what is the purpose of war?

Nobody starts a war in order to lose it. Perhaps at the tactical or operational level one may think about other goals, but at the level of grand strategy the goal is and should be victory.

My second question is the hard one: how is victory achieved?

One approach to victory is that of General Patton; by making the other bloke die for his country. Another, perhaps a sadder and wiser one, posits that the side willing to suffer more will prevail. What I would like to propose is a synthesis of both of these approaches.

Imagine a dashboard with two old style steam gauges, each one showing the position of each warring party between defeat and victory. Each steam gauge has green, yellow and

⁵ Audrey Kurth CRONIN, *How Terrorism Ends: Understanding the Decline and Demise of Terrorist Campaigns* (Kindle edition, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 2011).

⁶ MAX BOOT, *Invisible Armies: An Epic History of Guerrilla Warfare from Ancient Times to the Present* (Kindle edition, New York: Liveright, 2013).

red domains representing the level of punishment received. What both parties are doing is trying to push the other side's needle into the red domain while at the same time trying to stop the other side doing the same to them. It is very important to realize that these two steam gauges represent different, totally different scales both in qualitative and quantitative terms. For instance, the red domain for one side may be defined in the terms of human life, while for the other it may be the ongoing dominance of its ruling elite. These differences are significant enough in conventional conflicts involving nation-states, and huge in asymmetric conflicts pitting states against non-state actors.

Third question: what does the delicate art of steam engine maintenance have to do with asymmetric conflict?

The answer is that the merit of this model is that it demonstrates how the greatest military power on earth can be defeated by a violent non-state actor of negligible size. Such an outcome is entirely possible if the T-Rex is unwilling to bear the pain that the mosquito is inflicting on it, while at the same time being unable to inflict similar pain on the mosquito. Physical size and all the other paraphernalia of power are only intervening variables. At the bottom line what we have is the contest between two raw nerves and two raw nerves only.

My fourth question is: what is the modus operandi of our VNSA adversaries?

Do they wish to achieve their goals by the means of kinetic operations? With all due respect to the efficiency IEDs and ATGMs, it could have taken several centuries to destroy the last US Humvee in Iraq or the last Israeli tank in Lebanon.

A better and more plausible explanation is that by generating a steady stream of body-bags, our adversaries influence our moral return-on-investment calculations. This perspective however misses the point that liberal democracies are capable of absorbing huge amounts of punishment and still go on fighting.

A third possible explanation is that VNSA attack the very moral basis of our societies by generating or highlighting moral contradictions, causing what may be termed a moral autoimmune reaction. Like in the case of every other autoimmune reaction, the body, in this case the liberal-democratic state, turns against itself. The moral energies that are harnessed by the state in order to generate power, are backfiring and attack the very sources of power. This modus operandi was codified by Saul Alinsky in his *Rules for Radicals* and its essence is generating or highlighting moral contradictions and making the adversary live up to its own book of rules.⁷

Having established the VNSAs modus operandi we should ask: what are the most lucrative targets for these information operations?

My answer to this question is that these enemy information operations (IO) focus on the very distinctions and categories that define us as liberal and democratic. When one

⁷ Saul D. ALINSKY, *Rules for Radicals: A Practical Primer for Realistic Radicals* (Kindle edition, New York: Vintage, 1989).

wishes to demolish a brick wall, one does not attempt to break individual bricks but aims for the mortar joints between them. Much in the same manner, VNSAs aim their information operations against the seams between our core moral distinctions. Who is a combatant and who is not? Who is a legitimate target and who is not? What is preventive strike and what is an extra-judicial killing? Is collateral damage to civilians an acceptable price to pay or is it not? Is it acceptable to apply physical pressure when interrogating ticking bomb suspects or is it not?

These and other unresolved moral dilemmas form the soft underbelly of the liberal-democratic state, the red domain on its steam gauge. In some respect they are like small scuttling charges on a naval vessel. The vessel, while carrying instruments of immense power of destruction, also carries in its belly the seeds of its own destruction.

Having defined the problem, or more correctly having reframed an old one, it is high time to ask ourselves *what insights may be gained by looking at it through the lens of innovation theories.*

Due to the time constraints of this lecture I will limit myself to two, possibly three insights I have gained during the process.

Innovation as a Process of Solving Contradictions

According to the known Russian innovation guru, Genrich Altshuller, innovation is about solving an existing contradiction. The methodology proposed by him starts by conceptualizing the problem as a contradiction to be solved⁸. For instance, the whole aviation industry is about solving the contradiction of having a heavier-than-air object float in mid-air. For the violent non-state actor the contradiction is the need of defeating huge amounts of hard power by a miniscule amount of hard power of its own. In order to solve this contradiction the VNSA is forced to live in a process of perpetual innovation.

So, what is the core contradiction in the fight of a liberal-democratic state against its non-state adversary?

I will argue that the main contradiction is that defending core moral categories by kinetic means can only take you this far. Paraphrasing the old cliché, it is very difficult to defend ideas with bayonets. In order to solve this contradiction we need more innovation in the realm of moral philosophy and the law, and much less in the field of military gadgetry. The goal of such a moral innovation will be to put a new brick where a vulnerable mortar joint was before. These new bricks are new moral and legal categories redefining international humanitarian law, the boundaries between military and law enforcement etc.

However, there are at least two important caveats.

The first, please do not let me be misunderstood. I'm not advocating any reduction in our kinetic capabilities. We are good at this game, we love the game and we should keep

⁸ Genrich ALTSHULLER, *The Innovation Algorithm: TRIZ, Systematic Innovation and Technical Creativity* (New York: Technical Innovation Ctr., 1999).

exercising these capabilities as the last line of defense. Failing to do this will erode the very *raison d'être* of the state.

Second, one should bear in mind that the process is dialectic and perpetual. By adding a new brick, we create new mortar joints that in due time will be attacked too.

The S Curve of Innovation

One of the few full-fledged theories in our toolbox is the S curve theory of the diffusion of innovations by Everett Rogers. According to this theory the diffusion and adaptation of most innovations follow a highly predictable pattern⁹. The S curve defines 4 distinct phases along the lifespan of the innovation.

Let's try to analyze, by the means of the S curve theory, one of the main innovations of our VNSA adversaries: the suicide bomber.

1. *Infancy*: the suicide bomber both as the guidance system and the platform.

2. *Adolescence*: the suicide bomber as the guidance system to be "bolted on" different platforms. At first these platforms were mostly land platforms: bicycles, donkeys, cars and their uncrowned king – the suicide truck. Later naval platforms came into vogue – like the small craft attacking USS Cole. Let's connect the dots, what is the next logical step? How can we claim that we did not see 9/11 coming?

3. *Adulthood*: will be characterized by a search for greater destructive power at one hand e.g. Liquefied Natural Gas tankers and miniaturization at the other, e.g. the mobile phone bomb that killed Yahya Ayyash in 1996.

4. *Old age*: robotics and artificial intelligence will make human guidance systems obsolete.

In conclusion, I must admit defeat. That door there proved to be way too narrow and we could not jostle our proverbial elephant out of the room. He is still very much here with no intention of going away. What we have accomplished is, at most, pushing him a few inches toward the coffee machine and the breakfast rolls. Clearly, both the show and the shoving must go on.

What I would like you to take home from this talk is a few mental pictures: the enigmatic elephant of victory, the goddess of exit strategy, the twin steam gauges, the brick and the mortar joints around it and the suicide LNG tanker wallowing on the waves of the S curve.

And one more thing: *Innovate... before you have to!*

⁹ Everett M. ROGERS, *Diffusion of Innovations* (5th edition, New York: Free Press, 2003).

Gábor Csehi*

Asymmetric Warfare and Health with a Special Focus on Bioterrorism

Abstract

Western societies are quite sensitive to losses. This fact has been recognised by non-state belligerents challenging the state, and motivated them to execute mass-casualty attacks. This paper seeks answers to two fundamental questions. First, how can losses be minimized? Second, how can the health care system, whether military (in an expeditionary operation) or civilian (in response to asymmetric attacks in the homeland) be prepared for an asymmetric conflict? The ROLE system provides some answers for the military medical service, while catastrophe medicine (the integration of disaster management and emergency medicine) does the same for civilian health care system. Rather than discussing the mitigation of the effects of the traditional weapons of terrorists (high explosives, firearms), the author focuses on such weapons of mass destruction (especially biological and chemical) as they may deploy in the future. Through a case study (an exercise modelling a bioterrorist attack) he shows some of the special problems the health care system faces in such situations.

To win an asymmetric conflict, one of the many requirements is an adequate healthcare system. This need is independent of the location of the conflict: it is equally important in an expeditionary operation in hostile territory and in military assistance to the civil power in the homeland, within the national borders. In an expeditionary operation it is the military healthcare system that has to serve, whereas in the homeland (for example in case of a terrorist attack) the civilian healthcare system has to respond and treat the injured.

The Western societies are quite sensitive to losses. Each casualty generates strong reactions in the society, and thus among the political leadership. This phenomenon has also been realised by the terrorists fighting for political goals. Studying the losses of the Iraqi and Afghanistan wars, the connection between the casualties and the rejection of the conflict is very revealing, especially if we consider the number of fatalities.

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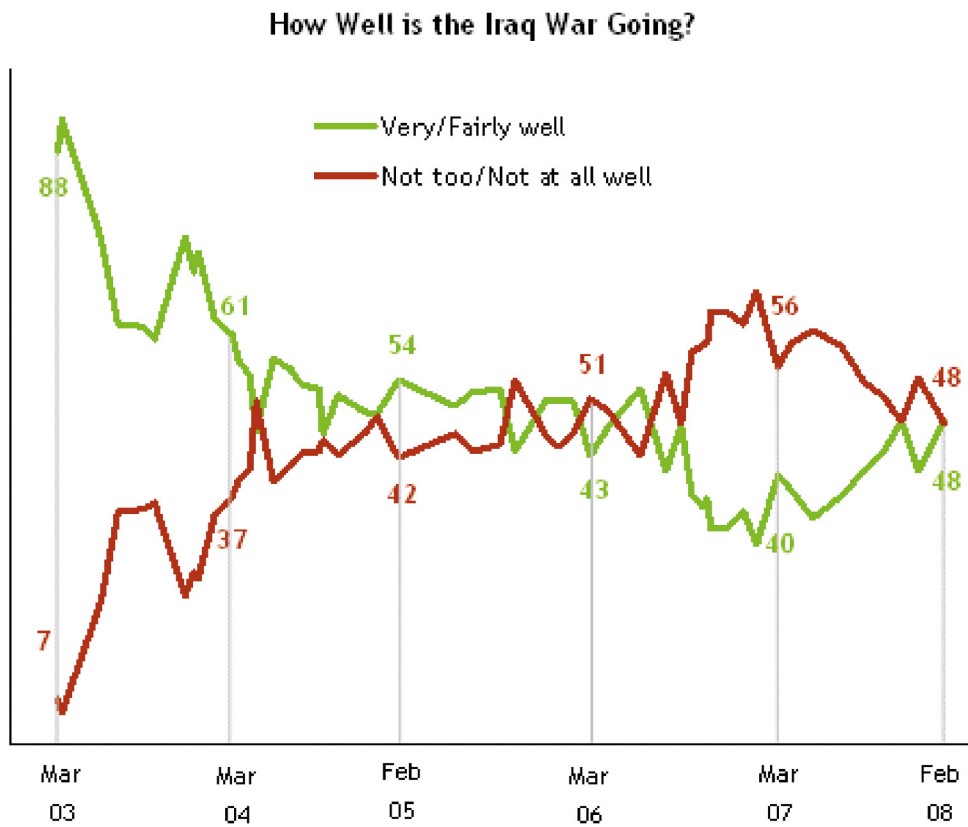


Figure 1

How Well Is the Iraq War Going? (2003–2008)

Source: “Public Attitudes toward the War in Iraq: 2003–2008,” *Pew Research Center*, 19 March 2008, www.pewresearch.org/2008/03/19/public-attitudes-toward-the-war-in-iraq-20032008/ (accessed: 10 October 2016)

Human life is an important priority for the Western societies, a fact that is as easy to recognise as it is to turn against us, as the terrorist events of 9/11, Madrid, London, France or in Iraq and Afghanistan demonstrate. In an asymmetric conflict, in spite of the lack of technical, financial or human resources, it is quite possible to cause sensitive and painful losses to the enemy and to show it in the social media for the greater effect. So, there are two questions to answer. First, how is it possible to reduce or minimize the losses? Second, how can the civilian and military healthcare system get prepared for asymmetric conflicts? There are several ways to reduce losses. For example:

- training;
- effective, modern equipment in sufficient quantity;
- well-organised communication system;
- effective and throughout intelligence;
- effective planning system;
- a functional transportation system;
- research and development;
- instant feedback about experiences.

An effective healthcare system is able to reduce losses – an ineffective one, however, can generate them. Another advantage of an effective healthcare system is the shortened recovery and return time of the soldiers who have been trained for a long time and for a high cost. There is also a moral advantage here: effectively saving lives, the military personnel get more motivated. Another example for indirect advantage is the treatment of the Syrian civil war victims in Israeli military hospitals.¹

These have been the reasons leading to the effective and overall healthcare system built by the Coalition Forces in the Iraqi and Afghanistan conflict. Any wounded Coalition soldier can get the highest possible level of medical care in a very short time, reducing the number of fatalities and the lasting complications. Without these systems these numbers would have been much higher.

What are the necessary components for an effective medical care system, also known as medical safety?

- medical intelligence and prevention;
- effective common healthcare system;
- food safety (safe drinking water and food supply);
- medical evacuation and transportation capacity;
- effective treatment (modern methods, equipment, drugs, therapy);
- rehabilitation (e.g. prosthesis);
- mental care system.

How can the military healthcare system face these challenges? One of the answers is the so-called ROLE system described in the document *Allied Joint Doctrine for Medical Support*.²

¹ Yoav ZITUN, "Israel Continues to Save Syrian Lives," *Ynet News*, 12 October 2016. Available at: www.ynetnews.com/articles/0,7340,L-4838412,00.html (accessed: 10 October 2016).

² NATO Standardization Agency, *Allied Joint Doctrine for Medical Support*, AJP-4.10., 2015.

There are 4 role levels:

Role 1 is the point of injury care. This is the first responder care.

Role 2 includes basic primary care. The Allied Joint Doctrine for Medical Support says there are two main types of Role 2: Role 2 Basic and Role 2 Enhanced. A Role 2 Basic must provide the surgical capability, including damage control surgery and surgical procedures for emergency surgical cases to deliver life, limb and function saving medical treatment. A Role 2 Enhanced must provide all the capabilities of the Role 2 Basic, but has additional capabilities as a result of additional facilities and greater resources, including the capability of stabilizing and preparing casualties for strategic aeromedical evacuation.

Role 3 is “hospital response capability. A hospital response capability provides secondary health care at theatre level. A Role 3 medical treatment facility must provide all the capabilities of the Role 2 enhanced and be able to conduct specialized surgery, care and additional services as dictated by mission and theatre requirements.”³

Role 4 is “definitive hospital response capability. A definitive hospital response capability offers the full spectrum of definitive medical care. Role 4 medical treatment facilities normally provide definitive care specialist surgical and medical procedures, reconstructive surgery and rehabilitation. This care is usually highly specialised, time consuming and normally provided in the casualty’s country of origin or the home country of another alliance member. In many member nations military hospitals provide definitive care. Utilization of the national (civilian) health care system is another model.”⁴

Let’s see what the parameters of the (military) health care system are:

- well equipped;
- well organized;
- relative low number of patients;
- high level treatment;
- reduce type of casualties.

In asymmetric warfare the number of medical casualties is not as high as it would have been in the big theatres of war in the Cold War era. Just consider the number of reported road traffic fatalities globally – they amount to over 1.2 million annually.⁵ The regulations and protocols of the medical treatments are in accordance with the peacetime treatment, demanding continuous improvement and responding to everyday challenges. A change in volume of treatment cases is one of the important experiences of the asymmetric wars and conflicts. The main focus is not on the mass treatment but the high-level treatment which saves the lives and provides the highest possible quality of living later.

The homeland healthcare system is also changing according to this. Hungary for example does not plan to be able to deploy a multi-hundred scale field hospital to support military operations. Nor is the civilian healthcare system able to provide this kind of help. It is scaled (and financed) to cover normal needs and demands.⁶ This also means a kind of vulnerability

³ Ibid., 1–42.

⁴ Ibid., 1–43.

⁵ *Global Status Report on Road Safety* (World Health Organization, 2015): 248.

⁶ See the various national health programmes or SÓTÉR Andrea – SVÉD László – VEKERDI Zoltán, “Quo Vadis Honvédorvostan?” [Which Way, Military Medical Science?], *Hadtudományi Szemle* 8, no. 1 (2015): 359–380.

since the casualties of a bigger terrorist attack could upset the capacities of the system. This kind of event can be any which generates at least 100 seriously injured people simultaneously, or a similar number of special treatment needs (contagious disease cases, victims of chemical or radioactive situations).

Dealing with asymmetric conflicts healthcare should be operated in a special way, especially if this conflict takes place in the homeland.

Hungarian national regulations call this operational model and plans the *Healthcare Crisis-situation Operation*. A healthcare crisis takes place if – due to any reason – the local healthcare demands and needs seriously exceed local capacities. In such case the local system is unable to give proper, previous-level medical care to all patients. Another criterion for a healthcare crisis is that the handling of the situation needs the coordinated cooperation of all parties and providers. The lack of capacity and/or the damage in the healthcare system requires the use of the so-called “compromised medicine” that can give some compensation but also means a decreased level of treatment and the corresponding decrease in level of life-quality.

Some main criteria of a healthcare crisis are the following:

- unexpected, rapid events that can be preceded by a slower, formation period, for example in case of epidemics; there are masses, special groups of injured (infected) people;
- serious discrepancy in quality and quantity of the necessary and available forces and equipment;
- fundamental changes in the possibilities and conditions in the healthcare services; operational disorders and damages in the system;
- probable mass panic;
- uncertainty in the epidemic situation;
- operational disorders of the civilian infrastructure.

Solutions are only possible by general, institutional approach, close cooperation and complex, integrated operations.⁷

Because of this unexpectedness and rapid events, only a prepared control system and personnel, stored medical supplies, and constantly updated plans can successfully answer the challenges of the medical crisis.

The science of crisis control (catastrophe-medicine) is quite a new field in medicine. It is an integration of disaster management and emergency treatments. These two fields must be integrated to successfully deal with crisis situations. The medical attendance in mass-casualty events – in a simplified view – is dominated by logistical and organisational issues more than medical questions. The main aim of disaster-medicine is to save the maximum number of injured victims with the help of the equipment and resources at hand. This defines the way of organising the medical attendance. So the triage of the injured is crucial in case of a crisis or in a terrorist attack.⁸

⁷ See the “Az egészségügyi válsághelyzetek kezelésének Országos Terve” [National Plan for Handling Medical Crisis Situations].

⁸ SÓTER–SVÉD–VEKERDI, *Quo Vadis Honvédorvostan?*

To reduce the number of fatalities of a terrorist attack, the first respondents and the health-care providers have to be prepared to be able to triage the subjects of the medical attendance. This is a demanding task both on professional and moral level. Moreover, this kind of task is unusual during the everyday routine of – for example – the paramedical workers.

In the everyday situations, due to the usually small number of injured victims, capacity problems do not occur, or if they do, it only lasts for a limited time (at least on the spot). This means that there is no reason to triage the injured due to the suitable number of medical staff.

However, in case of a crisis event with a huge number of injured, the situation is different. If the damage control is not appropriate and the injured are not triaged according to the seriousness of their wound, but – for example – they are queued according to the order how they are found, the condition of the light injured will be worsened, the medium will turn critical and the serious will be fatal, thus increasing the number of the casualties.

Realising the risk detailed above, the paramedical service of Hungary has decided to form, equip and train a special group with a national operating area, which would be able to exercise control according to the professional protocols in any situation with huge numbers of injured people.⁹

What kind of events should we be prepared for?

So far the Western nations have been attacked only by traditional weaponry (explosives, firearms), probably because of their relative cheapness and availability. However, other types of future attacks (biological, chemical, radionuclear) cannot be excluded. Installing and keeping prevention and reaction capacities against these possible threats can be key parts of the response to future asymmetric challenges.

As long as in an asymmetric conflict the enemy has high human resource capacities with relatively low “costs”, as long as these men/soldiers/terrorists are easily mobilized, motivated and fanaticized, the use of traditional weaponry will be preferred. While the use of CBRN agents needs much more investment, organizational background and planning the same goals can be achieved by traditional attacks. Weapons can be easily purchased from illegal markets – some cases it is not even necessary. The preparational risks, the requirements for an organizational background and the logistical costs are much lower than for any CBRN agent. This conclusion can be drawn from the attacks carried out by lorries in Europe.

Although recent terrorist attacks used ‘traditional’ weapons, I am sure that the future is for the CBRN agents. The most dangerous agents are for biological warfare. Biological warfare is intentional use of viruses, bacteria, fungi or toxins derived from living organisms to produce death or disease in humans, animals or plants.

If the “homeland” resources of the long terms goals of the enemy changes, this also alters the methods and tools. The sarin gas attack carried out by the Aum Shinri Kyou (Highest Truth) Sect in the Tokyo underground in 1995 shows that we can expect CBRN agent attacks in the future. The other activities of this group also support this idea.¹⁰

According to Secretary General Ronald K. Noble from the Interpol in his 2005 statement in Lyon: “Biological weapons and sophisticated terrorist networks are a dangerous combination. There are indications that these networks see biological and chemical agents

⁹ SÓTER–SVÉD–VEKERDI, *Quo Vadis Honvédorvostan*.

¹⁰ TAMÁSI Béla – FÖLDI László, “A tokiói metróban végrehajtott szarin támadás katasztrófavédelmi aspektusai” [Emergency Service Aspects of the Sarin Attack in the Tokyo Subway], *Hadmérnök* 6, no. 3 (2011): 68–78.

as viable weapons for achieving their goals. With the prospect of terrorist groups' gaining the ability to launch biological and chemical attacks, the issue at hand is that we need to have a profound understanding of this potential threat."¹¹

Threats of biological and chemical terrorism suggest that major panic, temporary paralysis of government functions, private businesses and even civil disorder are all likely outcomes of such an attack. We also need to explore the consequences of a real threat or a perception of a threat that would have similar consequences.

Countering the proliferation of biological weapons is an extremely difficult task for national police organizations, especially when considering the inherent dual use nature of biological agents. This means that materials, equipment, skills and facilities designed for peaceful endeavours can also be exploited for hostile purposes. Credible and easy to read scientific and technical manuals circulate on the Internet, and the required equipment is easily available. A terrorist group that can combine the capability and motivation to use biological weapons must quickly become the target of security and police forces around the world."¹²

So, let's consider the advantages of biological warfare:

- agents can be disseminated at great distance;
- the agent cloud is invisible;
- air-conditioned locations (airports, underground networks) are very vulnerable to attack;
- the detection is quite difficult;
- only the first symptom is illness;
- it overwhelms medical capabilities;
- a simple threat creates panic;
- the perpetrators can escape before the agent takes effect.

Can biological agents be the ideal terrorist weapons? It seems yes, but in that case why is it not used more often by the terrorist? The explanation lies in the methods of dispersal and the nature of the agent itself.

First, it is not easy to find an efficient method of dispersal that would guarantee that the terrorist achieves his objective. The potential routes of exposure are:

- aerosol;
- food;
- water;
- medicine;
- devices;
- blood.

The parameters of the ideal biological warfare agent are:

- available;
- easy to produce;
- lethal or incapacitating;

¹¹ Speech by Ronald K. Noble, Secretary General, INTERPOL at the 1st INTERPOL Global Conference, Bio-Terrorism Conference.

¹² Ibid.

- stable in storage;
- contagious and toxic;
- stable and deliverable in aerosol.

Why are no more attacks committed by biological agents? One of the reasons has already been mentioned above: the organizational, logistical and cost side made the traditional attacks easier to plan, organize and carry out. The other reasons are seen in the two lists above. Fortunately, it is simply too difficult to find and create the ideal bioweapon that is stable enough to store, easy to produce and transport but effective enough if used: being contagious enough and the potential infection is hard to cure and can be lethal.

As one of the chief organizers of a 2015 National Exercise, I had the opportunity to test the consequences of a creatively designed bioterrorist attack that was according to the biological rules and the present technological knowledge.¹³ The scenario for the exercise was the following. 65 citizens were evacuated from an imaginary conflict zone. On arrival the National Air Traffic Control noticed some sick passengers among them. Four individuals died and the rest of the passengers had to be quarantined. After microbiological examination, it turned out that the infection was caused by monkey herpes virus B.

Monkey herpes virus B causes natural infection of monkeys. The agent can spread to humans. Human illness is rare, acquired through the bite of monkeys or exposure of naked skin or mucous membrane to infected saliva. In humans after a 3–21 days incubation period an acute severe disease will develop with neurological patterns. Case fatality ratio is around 70 percent, recoveries have been associated with considerable residual disability. Unfortunately there is no vaccine available for monkey herpes. Fortunately the agent is susceptible to antiviral drugs (as acyclovir, valacyclovir and famcyclovir). This virus was modified to make it more infectious.

The outbreak process of the virus was predictable. The bioterrorist attackers made a safe bet. Had the citizens not been evacuated, the disease would have run its course in the crisis zone. However, since Hungary evacuated its citizens, the damage potential of the attack was far more extensive, as the epidemic could spread in the homeland. According to the scenario, the outbreak of the epidemic was as follows.

The aircraft crew reported that several passengers fell ill en route. Receiving the report, the authorities at the destination airport made preparations according to protocol: they alerted the National Ambulance Service and prepared to accommodate the rest of the passengers. However, the aircraft crew did not (and could not) assess exactly what disease they were facing, or what measures would be necessary to prevent the spreading of the infection.

The infection spread two ways: first, through the paramedics of the Ambulance Service, who were transported to hospital, as well as the personnel and patients of the hospital itself; and second, through the rest of the passengers, who were quarantined, as well as the personnel preparing the quarantine and receiving the aircraft.

The quarantine – epidemiological lockdown – started operating within six hours. In the course of the exercise a full mobile epidemiological lockdown was deployed. Similarly, the hospital that received the sick passengers after the aircraft landed also implemented an epidemiological lockdown, but in far less time, since hospitals are generally

¹³ Documentation of the CMX 15 exercise, 1608/2015/EGP.

prepared for such eventualities. Looking at the virus's pattern of dispersal, we can see that had the reaction been less efficient, the disease would have caused far more casualties.

Our results showed that although the passengers and all other sick persons were quarantined, this virus could cause a very dangerous situation, even an epidemic, that could cause panic and chaos, *because this pathogen was selected with a view to causing mass casualties*. The modification to achieve this is not very complicated, fairly easy to create.

Both in the case of biological warfare and bioterrorism the threat is highest if the agent is:

- dispersed in aerosol;
- highly lethal;
- lack of treatment or vaccine;
- communicable, and
- hard to detect.

Biological warfare is extremely dangerous because it is cheap compared to other forms of CBRN attacks. Of course, this cheapness is relative: it is incomparable to an attack committed by a lorry. On the other hand, it is far cheaper than a radionuclear bomb. The cost can be radically reduced by the simplified equipment of home laboratories. Often it is not even necessary to travel far for the “raw materials”. For example, there are so called “black-fields”¹⁴ in Hungary, where – with some “luck” – suitable anthrax samples can be obtained by digging. Another problem is that biological warfare is very mutable. Using the same sample we can create different results, different pathogens. Defense against biological warfare is highly expensive, for two reasons:

- a biological warfare agent is hard to detect;
- the agent is very mutable, and if we do not know what we are searching for, it is hard to find it.

A successful attack with biological weapon by bioterrorists could have a devastating and demoralising effect. It is very necessary to identify the means and steps to prevent or at least reduce these negative effects.

To reduce this vulnerability, both the civilian and military healthcare systems have to be prepared for the tasks and challenges of asymmetric warfare. These two systems should not be (and cannot be) used for the same tasks. However, their close cooperation is necessary to minimize the losses, and to provide the highest level of possible professional treatment. To prepare for asymmetric conflict is all important in favour of our security. I hope we will be better prepared tomorrow than we are today.

Both the civilian and the military health services participated in answering the medical challenges of the terrorist attacks in Paris. This was necessary because of the high number of injured and the unclear security situation. Effectiveness was reduced by the unharmonised protocols. The military version of wound bandage was unknown for civilian medical personnel and they had problems when they had to remove these bandages.

¹⁴ “Humán bőranthrax megbetegedések Jász-Nagykun-Szolnok megyében” [Human Skin Anthrax Cases in Jász-Nagykun-Szolnok County], *Epinfo* 21, no. 51–52 (2014): 304–306.

There are other differences in the area of biodefense. Just see for example the protective clothes. Because of the different needs, the military protective clothes and the civilian ones are different, and the differences may have an adverse effect on cooperation.

The military and civilian side – the health system – have to cooperate. It is necessary to share the knowledge, technologies, procedures and of course the tasks. If we do this, it can also have a positive effect on the costs, since the treatment needs of an injured limb is very similar in the case of a bomb explosion or a traffic accident. The installed capacity of one system can be used in the other.

What do we need to successfully fight and win the future asymmetric conflicts? What is the healthcare system like that is needed for this? In my opinion the military healthcare system should maintain and develop the existing structures, as well as:

- Improve the medical intelligence abilities: early detecting, forecasting and quick diagnostics are crucial.
- Improve the (air)evacuation ability: the injured must be transported much quicker to the professional medical attendance sites.
- The rehabilitation programmes should be monitored even better. Without this, the system will remain lame as rehabilitation has a very important effect on the homeland and the active personnel. The rehabilitated, also very experienced soldiers can be very useful in other positions.
- The use of experience, the adaptation into the daily routines (feedback) must be prepared, and must be encouraged. Knowledge sharing between the civilian and military sides must be given an institutional framework. The flow of information must be encouraged.
- An asymmetric conflict also requires the development of the civilian healthcare system. The civilian system must be able to handle the crisis situations, to quickly change its operating to crisis mode from the normal one. This requires the following preparation and capacity expansion.
- A uniformed control and coordinating system must be built. Following an asymmetric attack it should be able to align the actions of the civilian and law enforcement forces to clarify the command chain. The various protocols should be harmonized as much as possible, and the differences must be considered when designating the operational areas.
- A suitable buffer capacity should be created. Provisions must be made for the enlargement of the existing system, and there should be a lawful process for requisitioning other resources. Crisis relief and assistance supplies must be stockpiled.
- Information and experience sharing must be regular and systematic between the civilian and military sides.
- The training and post-training system must be improved to cover not only the normal but the crisis situation operations. Solving ethical questions is also a priority.
- The regulatory and governmental conditions should also be created to help these goals.

In conclusion, it is clear that the healthcare system plays an important role in fighting asymmetric conflicts. A good healthcare system in itself is insufficient for success, whereas a badly organized system can exacerbate the losses and our vulnerability, lengthening the time of the conflict, or even enabling the enemy to achieve his strategic goals. The possible challenges demand much more attention to be paid to healthcare and medical security.

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*Péter Dely**

Combating Terrorism in the Western World: Is it Warfare or Law Enforcement?

Abstract

The essay deals with the definition of terrorism. It counts the criteria of terrorism one after the other, and examines who can be named a terrorist. It compares terrorism with the principles of guerrilla warfare. The essay also sets up examples next to the different theories, and calculates with the potential governmental reactions. It delineates the possible ways of terminations and mop-ups of terrorist groups by statistic facts. According to historical examples, the paper offers recommendations to change the current system, especially in the field of use of force and counter-terrorist operations.

The fact that the battle against terrorism is in the fundamental interest of every democratic state requires no explanation, in my opinion. However, if we want to discuss how a state can react to terrorism, first we need to define *terrorism* itself. Although there have been many attempts to establish a definition, as yet there is no proper description of what we mean by the word terrorism and more importantly, who we refer to as terrorist. In a paper published in 2009, György Vass discusses a number of definitions and opinions on the subject.¹ In his 2011 book, Alex P. Schmid collected 250 different descriptions.² In NATO's terminology terrorism is "the unlawful use or threatened use of force or violence, instilling fear and terror against individuals or property in an attempt to coerce or intimidate governments or societies, or to gain control over a population, to achieve political, religious or ideological objectives".³ And according to Benjamin Netanyahu terrorism is "the deliberate and systematic murder, maiming, and menacing of the innocent to inspire fear for political ends".⁴ Almost every description has the following characteristics: terrorism is predominantly not conducted against combatants; it is a violent crime against society; it is politically motivated (a concept that includes religious and ideological objectives as well). In a state governed by

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¹ VASS György, "Egységes meghatározás a terrorizmusra" [Unified Definition of Terrorism], *Hadtudományi szemle* 2, no. 4 (2009): 10–16. Available at: http://epa.oszk.hu/02400/02463/00007/pdf/EPA02463_hadtudomanyi_szemle_2009_4_010-016.pdf (accessed: 5 September 2016).

² Alex P. SCHMID, *Routledge Handbook of Terrorism Research* (New York–London: Routledge, 2011).

³ NATO MC, *Concept for Counter-terrorism (MC 472)*. Available at: www.nato.int/ims/docu/terrorism-annex.htm (accessed: 5 September 2016).

⁴ Benjamin NETANJAHU, *Terrorism: How the West Can Win* (New York: Avon Books, 1987).

the rule of law, if law enforcement organizations are tasked with battling against terrorism, there is a need for a legal category as well. In Hungary Section 314 of the Criminal Code defines the term of terrorism.⁵ Although clear political and legal definitions of terrorism are important, we must also keep in mind that from an intelligence or counter-terrorist service point of view in many cases connecting a person to terrorism is not the same thing as the criminal law category applied to a person suspected of committing a terrorist act.

In this century, the two answers given to terrorism took very different directions. In the framework of the Global War on Terror, some states and international organizations employ armed forces to wage expeditionary war against terrorist groups, or groups classified as terrorist, and against their supporters. They have established doctrines to that end, and rely on experience and theoretical research to introduce practical methods. At the same time, it is the law enforcement's duty to eliminate terrorism occurring in their homelands (within Europe and in the USA).

It is democracy's achievement that the military is not involved in maintaining domestic law and order. However, it is a timely question to ask whether police forces are fit to handle the situation, considering the legal restrictions under which they have to operate. My review of the scientific literature suggests, and personal experience confirms, that we are prudishly trying to ignore the fact that domestic terrorism belongs more in the sphere of asymmetric war than law enforcement. Successful engagement demands the realization of the problem which should necessarily be accompanied by a paradigm change in the restrictions imposed on the counter-terrorist (or anti-terrorist) units.

Terrorism is an asymmetric warfare challenge, and follows the logic of war. The declared strategy of groups we identify today as terrorist organizations (especially Muslim religious groups) is identical to the objectives of military operations whose primary goal is destabilization. The matter of who or what is considered a terrorist or a terrorist group is not the result of criteria based on scientific research, but the result of a decision made by an individual states' political leadership.

Naturally, I am talking about political categories. Concerning criminal code categories, an individual may only be deemed a terrorist as a result of a legally binding verdict of a court of law.

And that is the problem. Different states call different individuals terrorists. Benjamin Freedman in the second edition of the fourth year of the *Perspectives on Terrorism* online editorial⁶ examines from the perspective of Australia, Canada, India, Russia, the UK, the USA, the UN, and the EU which of the 120 best known⁷ terrorist/extremist groups are regarded as terrorists. The al-Qaeda, according to the official EU definition,⁸ is not

⁵ "2012. évi C. törvény a Büntető Törvénykönyvről" [Act C of 2012 on the Penal Code], *Magyar Közlöny*, no. 92 (13 July 2012): 13.

⁶ Benjamin FREEDMAN, "Officially Blacklisted Extremist/Terrorist (Support) Organizations: a Comparison of Lists from six Countries and two International Organizations," *Perspectives on Terrorism* 4, no 2. (2010): 46–52. Available at: www.terrorismanalysts.com/pt/index.php/pot/issue/view/24 (accessed: 22 March 2016).

⁷ According to the data from 2010.

⁸ According to EU Council Decision A 10826/07, the EU only designates those organizations/persons as terrorist against whom official investigation is initiated, charges are brought or have a court ruling against them. CP 931 WP Article 1(4).

a terrorist organization. The Iraqi wing of the al-Qaeda (AQI) is not a terrorist organization not only according to EU, but also according to the UK, Canada, India and Russia. Hamas, according to the UN, India and Russia is not a terrorist organization, and the EU does not regard Hezbollah as one, either. The Irish Republican Army (IRA) is regarded as a terrorist organization only by the UK; only Russia describes the Islamic Brotherhood and the Taliban movement as terrorists. The Columbian Revolutionary Armed Force (FARC) is regarded as a terrorist organization only by Canada, the EU and the USA.

As you can tell by the few examples, judging a group is very subjective, it very much depends on the political/geopolitical aims of the countries. As mentioned, the USA did not designate the Taliban as a terrorist organization, but Operation Enduring Freedom (started on 7 November 2001) was described as a counter-terrorist operation. In the Arabic world, Hamas and Hezbollah are regarded more as freedom fighter organizations. On the other hand, the air strikes and house demolitions carried out by the IDF are often characterized as acts of state terrorism.

We can state with great certainty that perpetrators of terrorist acts are fighting and waging war against the attacked opponent. If we look at the clearest definition of war (“an act of violence intended to compel our opponent to fulfil our will”),⁹ then there is no question that terrorism is war – a military challenge that must be dealt with.

The picture becomes even more colourful if we examine what the classic theoreticians of guerrilla warfare say and what reality is. In his doctoral thesis Balázs Forgács talks about the theories of Mao Tse-Tung and Vo Nguyen Giap in detail. Both authors assert that guerrilla warfare can only be the first phase, the strategic defence phase, to be followed by the phase of strategic balance, then by the phase of strategic offensive, which is basically conventional warfare.¹⁰ In daily news and the electronic media we have seen in the course of events in Syria that the Islamic State gets involved in conventional battles with its enemies on more and more occasions, meaning that the conflict has reached the third – strategic offensive – phase.

There is no problem when terrorism appears in the areas of crisis management missions led by NATO and EU member states, where it is classified as war activity and counterinsurgency activity is carried out to suppress it. The picture is different when it comes to terrorist acts perpetrated in European countries. For example, the recent terrorist attacks carried out in Paris, London and Boston were categorised as criminal acts, therefore the affected state could react to it only within the framework of its own criminal code and by the legal regulations of its criminal procedures. Let's take a closer look at the activities.

Based on § 314 of the Hungarian Criminal Code, we can call a large number of criminal acts actual acts of terrorism, in many cases it is just the background motivation that differentiates it from a similar perpetrators behaviour that is sanctioned to a less strict degree. In cases like this, the response does not need to be different. The problem occurs when we have to deal with often suicidal violent attacks, whose only purpose is to produce casualties. The police responses against these actions are insufficient and ineffective. The Head

⁹ Carl Von Clausewitz, *A háborúról* [On War], (Budapest: Zrínyi, 2013), 39.

¹⁰ FORGÁCS Balázs, *A hadviselés elmélete és fejlődési tendenciái a modern korban* [Contemporary Military Cultures: The Theory of Warfare, and the Tendency of Its Development in the Modern Age], PhD Study (Budapest: ZMNE HDI, 2009), 95–115.

of the German Office of Constitutional Protection (BfV)¹¹ Hans-Georg Maassen stated that these actions are actually in the category of acts of war.¹² After this statement, Ernst Walter, a leader of the German Police Union said that from a standpoint of training and equipment the police officers serving on patrol duty are not prepared to defend against terrorist attacks.¹³ But these problems were also named by Dimitris Avramopoulos on 24 March 2016.¹⁴

If we consider all these actions to be the acts of existing terrorist groups, then logically following this line, terrorist acts perpetrated in the western countries will fit into the category of destabilizing military operations, only the battlefields are different. Looking at the system of István Szendy such an action – from the point of view of the organization financing, supporting or initiating it – may be regarded as a special military operation, since the objectives are financial, political, or psychological; it is carried out by paramilitary forces trained especially to do so and involves high risk factors.¹⁵

Nowadays the tendency is that the perpetrators of terrorist actions are not in personal contact with a terrorist organization and in some cases they do not even receive financial support, only plain directions. It is appropriate to use the term “proxy war” to refer to the actions committed by these individuals, as it is to the actions of rebel groups supported by states with greater power. The best example for this is the massacre committed by Omar Mateen in Orlando on 12 June 2016 when he – shortly before his act – swore fealty to the IS, with which he had no contacts before – according to the investigations.¹⁶

Based on the principle of the state’s right to defend itself, in case of a criminal act that endangers or damages its internal or external security (*principium reale*) the provisions of the Criminal Code may be applied regardless of the location or the citizenship of the perpetrator. The problem is that if we accept these acts of terrorism as military operations, we have to declare that we will respond with military action within our own borders to a law enforcement problem. In Great Britain the Terrorism Act of 2000 broke away from European norms: individuals suspected of terrorism may be taken into custody without producing compelling evidence, and they can be held longer than ordinary criminals.

The operational and professional dilemma we have to face is that while police unit actions specified by the legal framework will not reach the desired result, the effective solution provided by special military units will go against legal regulations. At the same time, international tendencies – and especially recent events – show that Europe and all states affected by terrorism will ultimately go in the direction of military response to terrorism challenges. In our country, and also in EU states, police use of deadly force is

¹¹ Bundesamt für Verfassungsschutz.

¹² “Német titkosszolgálat: Rosszul mértük fel az Iszlám Államot”, *ATV.hu*, 10 April 2016. Available at: www.atv.hu/kulfold/20160410-nemet-titkosszolgalat-rosszul-mertuk-fel-az-izslam-allamot (accessed: 10 October 2016).

¹³ Source: <http://meteon.org/2016/04/13/nemet-rendori-vezeto-eselye-sincs-a-nemet-rendoroknek-a-terroristak-ellen/> (accessed: 13 October 2016).

¹⁴ “A terroristák mögött kullog az európai igazságszolgáltatás,” *Index.hu*, 24 March 2016. Available at: http://index.hu/kulfold/eurologus/2016/03/24/a_terroristak_mogott_kullog_az_europai_igazsagszolgalatas (accessed: 25 March 2016).

¹⁵ SZENDY István: *Hadelmélet és katonai műveletek* [Military Theory and Military Operations] (Budapest: Nemzeti Közsolgálati és Tankönyvkiadó, 2013), 47.

¹⁶ Barney HENDERSON, “Omar Mateen: Everything We Know so Far About Orlando Gunman,” *The Telegraph*, 15 June 2016. Available at: www.telegraph.co.uk/news/2016/06/12/omar-mateen-everything-we-know-so-far-about-orlando-gunman (accessed: 21 October 2016).

strictly regulated, although there are some differences. Generally it can be said that only aimed, single shots are allowed, aimed at persons against whom the use of deadly force is justified. In spite of this, in France for example, there was an operation recently, during which the police wanted to arrest a man called Merah,¹⁷ who was suspected of committing terrorist acts. The 5000 rounds expended in the operation do not conform to police regulations. According to laws, some tactics, techniques and procedures (TTPs) employed by military forces, such as suppressive fire, anti-material rifles, explosives, chemical weapons, and robots are not permitted in the police arsenal, but effective counter-terrorist tactics would demand their application.

Another aspect of the fight against terrorism is the employment of the national security agencies. There are legal provisions which grant the necessary licences to the services and the CT units to monitor phones and internet-based communications. But the perpetrators are already aware of this. In Paris, they used Internet wargaming sites to communicate.¹⁸ On these sites – because of the amount of data transmitted and especially the content of these data – even dedicated search engines cannot locate the preparations for an armed attack. Just imagine, on an internationally available combat simulation game site words like combat, attack, firing, explosions are uttered many times every moment in multiple languages. In case of attacks like this, the only possible defensive stance is blocking internet based communications by temporary switching off of the internet providers, while making sure the law enforcement organizations remain capable of communicating. Disrupting enemy communications is also much closer to a military than to a law enforcement solution.

Every European country has a modern counter-terrorist unit which is equipped and trained according to contemporary requirements, and is typically operating as part of the police. In some countries, like France, Italy, Spain, Portugal, The Netherlands, Russia, or China the Armed Forces also field CT units, and the Armed forces themselves have a law enforcement role within the boundaries of their country. Typically, their Rules of Engagement are also simpler and less restrictive than those of law enforcement units.¹⁹

But if we are not talking about intelligence-based, planned operations (such as the above mentioned action in Paris), then specially trained and equipped police units are not the first who get into combating contact with terrorists. (You can take a closer look at the attack at the Istanbul airport or the Charlie Hebdo attack.) A further problem is that present police and counter-terrorist procedures are based on Christian-European views that people typically do not want to die, and in a hopeless situation, they will choose to surrender. A good example is Anders Behring Breivik, who surrendered to the police forces on 22 July 2011 after killing 77 people. However, several police procedures, which were primarily worked out in order to protect human lives, are ineffective against a fundamentalist

¹⁷ “A kommandósok vezetője: Egy gerincdarab esett az autónkra,” *Index.hu*, 18 November, 2015. Available at: http://index.hu/kulfold/2015/11/18/egy_dront_es_ket_robotot_is_bevetett_a_kommando_szerda_reggel (accessed: 23 February 2016).

¹⁸ Pierluigi PAGANINI, “Did terrorists use PlayStation 4 for communications in Paris attacks?” *Security Affairs*, 15 November 2015. Available at: <http://securityaffairs.co/wordpress/41992/intelligence/paris-attacks-playstation-4.html> (accessed: 23 March 2016).

¹⁹ The Law Library of Congress, *Police Weapons in Selected Jurisdictions*, Global Legal Research Center, 2014, 5.

terrorist prepared to die as a martyr in a suicide. The only effective solution is the immediate and precise use of lethal force.

Naturally, all this can trigger dissatisfaction within the population. Even in the USA, which is traditionally police-friendly, a nation-wide debate broke out following the events on 9 August 2014, about the tactics the police used during the civil unrest which followed. On the day indicated, white policemen shot Michael Brown, an unarmed young black male in Ferguson, Michigan. After the shooting, civil unrest broke out. It was finally put down by the sheriff's office and the National Guard.²⁰ Unrest erupted twice more, the last time on the first anniversary of the shooting.

The nationwide debate focused on the militarization of the police. Witnesses and press claim that they could not distinguish the officers of the sheriff's office from members of the National Guard and from the employees of private security firms: all wore dark uniforms, had obviously military equipment, carried heavy weapons, used armored vehicles, and exhibited aggressive behavior. Some of these characteristics (for example, body armour) may be necessary, but others, like face masks depicting skulls, or slogans like 'kill them all' are clearly not. Especially when comparing them with the original police slogan, 'to protect and to serve'.²¹

These elements, taken from the military, are suitable to inspire fear (the sign of force) in the enemy (e.g. terrorists), but may not be necessary in everyday life. At the same time, they may have a role to play in the counter-terrorist task that covers many fronts, including public relations. Videos, published by terrorists on the web, depicting ruthless executions, carry a simple message: nobody is safe, everybody should fear them. This could be countered by showing that the state is not defenceless; it has units with better equipment and mental preparedness to respond to them.

In 2008 RAND Corporation published a study about the goals of terrorist groups.²² It analysed 648 terrorist groups between 1968 and 2006. Their conclusion was that 20 of these groups had been disrupted by the use of military forces and 107 by police means. These statistics definitely show that police methods are more effective. But if we look at the numbers in detail we find that among the 107 groups disrupted by the police 47 were extremist left-wing organizations with only a small (ten to 100) membership. Thirty-eight of these have typically operated in the 70's – 80's, 14 groups were far-right groups and only three of these were active in our century, 33 groups followed a nationalist ideology, and only seven of them were active in the beginning of 2000, where others started their activity earlier. Only 14 groups were religiously motivated, 3 of these were active after the turn of the century.²³

²⁰ Source: www.nytimes.com/2014/11/27/us/michael-brown-darren-wilson-ferguson-protests.html (accessed: 16 June 2016).

²¹ The most detailed analysis of the subject was published by American Civil Liberties Union in June 2014 before the actual civil unrest took place. American Civil Liberties Union, *War Comes Home: The Excessive Militarization of American Policing* (ACLU Foundation, 2014). Available at: www.aclu.org/sites/default/files/field_document/jus14-warcomeshome-text-rell.pdf (accessed: 16 June 2016).

²² Seth G. JONES – Martin C. LIBICKI, *How Terrorist Groups End: Lessons for Countering al-Qa'ida* (Santa Monica: RAND, 2008).

²³ As the study was done in 2008, several of the Islamic State's and al-Qaeda's successor organizations are not mentioned in the analysis.

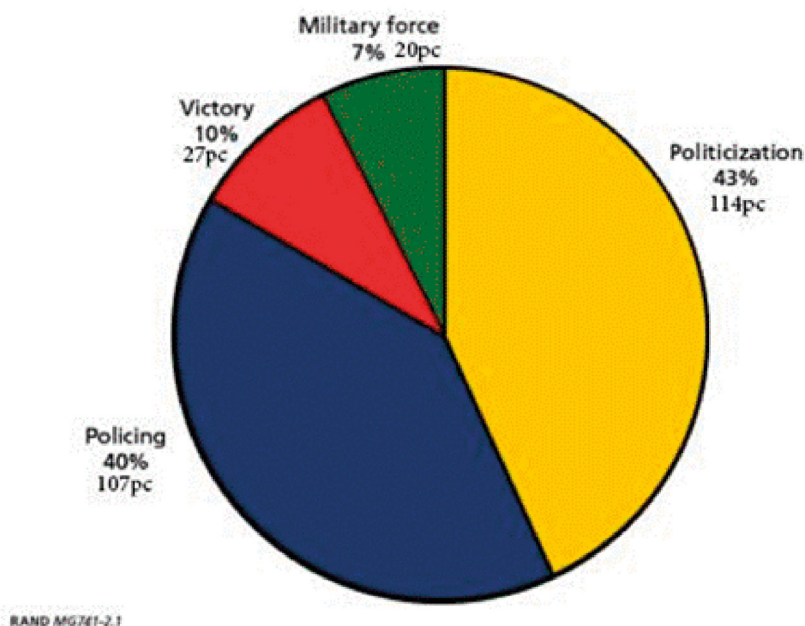


Figure 1

*How terrorist groups end*Source: based on JONES-LIBICKI, *How Terrorist Groups End*, 19. (edited by the author)

The results are even more interesting when we analyse groups with 1000 to 10,000 members. The study records the following data: there were 49 terrorist groups with more than 1000 members, and 13 with more than 10,000 members. Six groups with 1000 members and one with 10,000 members were dismantled by military forces, while only a single group in each category was disrupted by police means. So, the case of groups with a significant mass membership clearly shows the ineffectiveness of police solutions, and that military and political solutions are coming to the fore.

The two organizations dismantled by police were the left wing Black Panthers in the USA between 1966 and 1977,²⁴ and a much larger one, Aum Shinrikyo (The Highest Truth).²⁵ When we link past and present events (namely the battle against the Islamic State), the results are even more surprising. In the examined period there was only one terrorist

²⁴ The Black Panthers fought for the rights of Afro-Americans, but did not agree with Martin Luther King's nonviolent movement. "The Black Panthers," *History Learning Site*, 27 March 2015. Available at: www.historylearningsite.co.uk/the-civil-rights-movement-in-america-1945-to-1968/the-black-panthers (accessed: 15 June 2016).

²⁵ Aum Shinrikyo was a religious sect of Japanese origin, which was proclaiming the coming of the end of the world. The group called attention to itself mainly with the sarin gas attack in the Tokyo subway on 20 March 1995. KECSKEMÉTI József, "Mi köze a Legfelsőbb Igazságnak Teslához?" *Honvédelem.hu*, 23 March 2010. Available at: www.honvedelem.hu/cikk/19041/mi-koze-a-legfelsobb-igazsagnak-teslahoz (accessed: 15 June 2016).

organisation with a religious ideology and more than 1000 members that was suppressed.²⁶ From these examples it is clear that the community policing model, which is successful in normal law enforcement work, is inadequate against 21st century terrorism.

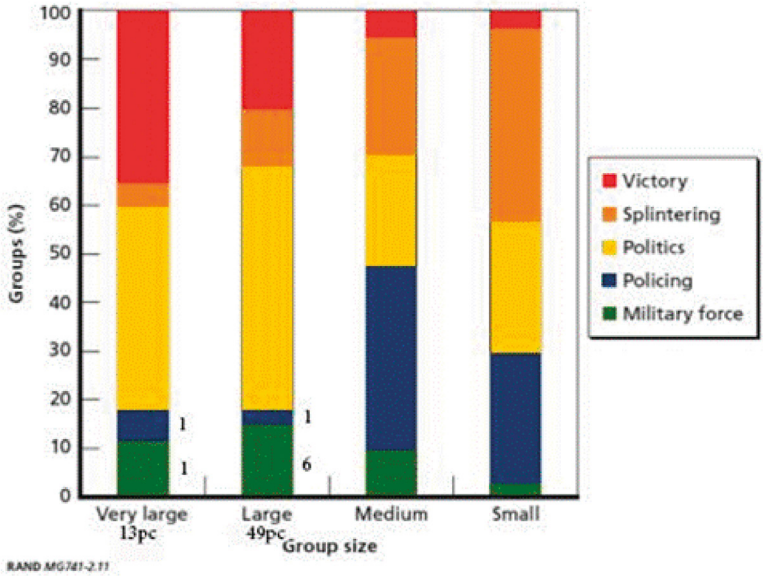


Figure 2
Group size and end
 Source: JONES-LIBICKI, *How Terrorist Groups End*, 142-185.

However, the methods of those countries where the fight against terrorism is the exclusive duty of police forces are worth a look. One such example is Punjab, where a Sikh uprising took place between 1980 and 1994. It was primarily conducted by terrorist organisations relying on a religious ideology. The insurgency was successfully suppressed by the police under the command of Director General of Police Kanwar Pal Sing Gill.²⁷ At the beginning of his service he declared that since terrorism was not a police problem but rather a form of warfare, usual police means were insufficient. He stated that the rules applying to the use of force had to be reviewed: force cannot be only the last resort, and minimum force should not be a goal. In his view the use of force should be equal to the threat, and it should be used when it is most effective and brings results. At the same time, he also stated that such application of force is only possible with definite political support. If politics will

²⁶ The Armed Islamic Group was active in Algeria between 1995 and 2000. Its declared aim was to destroy the status quo and to establish a new social model based on religious standards. The group was eventually suppressed by Algerian military forces. JONES-LIBICKI, *How Terrorist Groups End*, 142-185.
²⁷ Director General of Police is roughly equivalent to a major General in the military services.

make concessions or start negotiations with the terrorists, then it will lead to defeat.²⁸ This is well highlighted by the case, when on 16 December 2014 145 persons (132 children and their teachers) were massacred in Peshawar (Pakistan) by the Tehrik-e-Pakistan terrorist group. This attack showed, how mistaken the Pakistani notions of ‘good’ Taliban (with whom talks are possible) and ‘bad’ Taliban (who simply need to be eliminated) were.²⁹

In Hungary two laws govern the fight against terrorism.³⁰ Each law names several organizations in connection with intelligence work and counter-measures. The roles and the tasks are clearly separated. Only the police have investigative authority, and only the Counter-Terrorism Centre (a police organization) is authorized to act as a police force and also as a national security service.

The problem arises when there is a need to apply visible violence during a police action. In these cases, the use of force is regulated by the Police Law, which primarily focuses on community policing. In my view, we need to rephrase the rules governing the ‘use of force’. Force cannot be the last resort in police operations against terrorists preparing to carry out violent attacks that endanger innocent lives. Seeking to apply the minimum force should not be an absolute rule. The use of force should be equal to the threat, and it should be used when it is effective and brings results. There is also a need to use a network based operational control, and anti-terrorism should be separated from a community policing model.

This brings up two problems. First, we cannot expect a well prepared anti-terrorist unit to operate according to two standards at the same time, working according to civilian police regulations part of the time and according to anti-terrorist regulations at other times. In other words, if we train someone to fight terrorists, it is not wise to employ them in community policing law enforcement.

The problem is exacerbated by the broad brush strokes of criminal law’s definition of terrorism. An individual can be labelled a terrorist, even if he is not involved in a lethal attack. In the fight against terrorism targeting financial and logistics facilitators, carrying out reconnaissance and surveillance, and disrupting the terrorist propaganda machinery are also important, but the most violent methods are seldom necessary to achieve results.

Overall, we can state that the counter-terrorist activity in Europe is obsolete and ready for a paradigm change. New TTPs, new training methods, as well as new legal regulations enabling all of these are required. Both on an organizational and a regulatory level, separating community policing and anti-terrorism will be essential. The basis for the changes should be provided by research which meets scientific demands, analyses facts and events, and also uses the knowledge of military science. According to a work on strategies against terrorism and uprisings (created by David Galula but later better known with general Petraeus’s name), a counter-terrorist strategy should be worked out for law enforcement which is based on military principles – before some areas of the EU become crisis zones themselves.

²⁸ KISS Álmos Péter, “Pandzsáb, 1980–1994: Felkeléselőjto modell Európa számára” [Punjab 1980–1994: A Counterinsurgency Model for Europe], in RESPERGER István – KISS Álmos Péter – SOMKUTI Bálint: *Aszimmetrikus háborúk nagy hatással* [Asymmetric Warfare in the Modern Age: Small Wars with Big Impact](Budapest: Zrínyi, 2014), 111–137.

²⁹ Beena SARWAR, “Pakistan Must Discard its ‘Good Taliban, Bad Taliban’ Narrative,” *Huffington Post*. Available at: www.huffingtonpost.com/beena-sarwar/pakistan-taliban-narrative_b_6337604.html (accessed: 15 June 2016).

³⁰ Act CXXV of 1995 on the national security services and Act XXXIV of 1994 on the police.

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*Sándor Fábán**

Asymmetric Warfare: To Reform or Not to Reform, That Must Not Be the Question!

“Change interferes with autonomy and can make people feel that they’ve lost control over their territory. It’s not just political, as in who has the power. Our sense of self-determination is often the first thing to go when faced with a potential change coming from someone else”¹

Abstract

The peer-on-peer conventional military threat of the Cold War period has receded, and its place was taken by complex forms of violence and upheaval that threaten both national and global peace and security. This transformation increased the need to define the problem the NATO alliance and individual nation states are facing. Many new ideas and concepts were suggested in response to this requirement and generated serious debate among practitioners and scholars. The author examines the concept of Asymmetric Warfare and highlights why it is a flawed understanding of current and future conflicts. He recommends focusing on and trying to understand the fundamental elements of conflict, instead of creating new definitions. He also suggests recommendations for nation states and the Atlantic Alliance to meet the challenges of the future.

The way nations and NATO understand what constitutes a threat to security has gone through a significant transformation since the end of the Cold War. It went from a single peer-on-peer conventional military threat to complex forms of violence and upheaval that simultaneously threaten both national and global peace and security. The natural consequence of this transformation is NATO’s and the individual nations’ increased need to define the problem they have been, and will be facing in order to find proper ways to address these challenges. In this process many ideas and concepts have appeared including the terms asymmetric warfare, fourth generation warfare, compound warfare, unrestricted warfare, irregular warfare and most recently hybrid warfare. While most of them remained only ‘bumper sticker’ terms without real utility, some actually created serious debate among practitioners and scholars. This paper takes a close look at one of those terms – asymmetric

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¹ Rosabeth Moss KANTER, “Ten Reasons People Resist Change,” *HBR.org*, 25 September 2014. Available at: <https://hbr.org/2012/09/ten-reasons-people-resist-chang> (accessed: 24 November 2016).

warfare – and highlights why it is not our silver bullet for understanding current and future conflicts. Then it introduces the idea of focusing on and trying to understand the fundamental elements of conflict, instead of trying to find an overarching, one size fits all definition. After the introduction of this approach, the paper provides three key policy recommendations in order to enable individual nations and NATO to effectively answer the challenges of the future.

The literature on asymmetric warfare is so robust that a comprehensive review would take the length of a book, so let us only look at a number of definitions. The term *asymmetry* first appeared in U.S. Joint Doctrine in 1995. The concept was initially used in a very simplistic and limited sense. “The doctrine defined asymmetric engagements as those between dissimilar forces, specifically air versus land, air versus sea, and so forth.”² At the end of the 20th century, the concept of asymmetric warfare began to receive greater attention. In 1997 the U.S. National Defense Panel (NDP), a senior level group Commissioned by Congress, reported: “We can assume that our enemies and future adversaries have learned from the Gulf War. They are unlikely to confront us conventionally with mass armour formations, air superiority forces, and deep-water naval fleets of their own, all areas of overwhelming U.S. strength today. Instead, they may find new ways to attack our interests, our forces, and our citizens. They will look for ways to match their strengths against our weaknesses.”³ Following this realization and the materialization of “asymmetric” conflicts in Iraq and Afghanistan, the U.S. Department of Defense (DOD) finally came up with its own definition for Asymmetric Warfare as “attempts to circumvent or undermine an opponent’s strengths while exploiting his weaknesses using methods that differ significantly from the opponent’s usual mode of operation.”⁴ In addition to the DOD’s definition, the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA), which has been heavily involved in recent conflicts, also defined the problem as “the use of innovative strategies, tactics, and technologies by a ‘weaker’ state or sub-state adversary that are intended to avoid the strengths and exploit the potential vulnerabilities of larger and technologically superior opponents. This includes:

1. The selective use of weapons or military resources by a state or sub-state group to counter, deter, or possibly defeat a numerically or technologically superior force.
2. The use of diplomatic and other non-military resources or tactics by a state or sub-state group to discourage or constrain military operations by a superior force.”⁵

Most recently the famous American Think Tank, the RAND Corporation also added its definition of asymmetric warfare to the already existing literature by defining asymmetric

² Steven METZ – Douglas V. JOHNSON, “Asymmetry and U.S. Military Strategy: Definition, Background and Strategic Concepts,” *Strategic Studies Institute*, January 2001, 2. Available at: <http://strategicstudiesinstitute.army.mil/pdffiles/PUB223.pdf> (accessed: 18 October 2016).

³ METZ–JOHNSON, *Asymmetry and U.S. Military Strategy*, 6.

⁴ Donald J. WURZEL – Kenneth R. McGRUTHER – William R. MURRAY, *A Survey of Unclassified Literature on the Subject of Asymmetric Warfare* (Sherman Oaks, CA: Arete Associates, 1998), 13. Available at: www.hsdl.org/?view&did=439201 (accessed: 16 October 2016).

⁵ Central Intelligence Agency, *Statement of Work for Asymmetric Warfare Threats to US Interests: Expert Panel Support* (Washington D.C.: CIA, May 1998), 2. Available at: www.hsdl.org/?view&did=439201 (accessed: 15 October 2016).

warfare as “conflicts between nations or groups that have disparate military capabilities and strategies.”⁶

As this very short review of asymmetric warfare definitions suggests, the term means so many different things to so many people, that it easily loses its usefulness. Many organizations and scholars have attempted to define the term and its meaning without real success.

The pool of literature questioning the utility of the term asymmetric warfare is as large as those in support. For example, Dr. Phillip Wilkinson states that any argument about the term is useless, because “since the beginning of mankind all warfare has been asymmetric.”⁷ Along those lines the “U.S. Army Strategic Studies Institute commissioned a three-year-long effort to grapple with the term and its implications. Yet, due to a lack of concrete understanding, the term became meaningless.”⁸ In his study *Asymmetric Warfare: Slogan or Reality* John T. Plant, Jr. noted, that “the establishment of a doctrinal definition for asymmetric warfare would likely prove ambiguous at best and confusing at worst.”⁹ Ruppert Smith argues that “Asymmetric Warfare, a phrase I dislike [...] the practice of war, indeed its art, is to achieve asymmetry over the opponent. Labelling wars as asymmetric is something of a euphemism to avoid acknowledging that my opponent is not playing to my strengths and I am not winning.”¹⁰ In addition, Dr. Bettina Renz stated that “the idea of creating a doctrine for asymmetric warfare is problematic. Asymmetric warfare is a broad and generic concept with a wide spectrum of interpretations. Asymmetry cannot be understood as a specific mode of warfare. At the end of the day, the whole point is that asymmetric warfare is based on unpredictability and surprise, which is not easy to reconcile with doctrine.”¹¹

Based on the above analysis one should see that the term asymmetric warfare is definitely not a silver bullet for defining and understanding the present and future challenges both nations and NATO are facing. We do not need a new doctrinal term, we need a new strategic focus to develop strategies to counter our current and future enemies. Alongside this idea, instead of trying to force our thinking into the restraining and constraining framework of a single definition, it might be a better approach to look at the fundamental elements of contemporary conflicts in order to understand how to develop a new strategic focus to prepare for future conflict.

The first key element that one must understand is the fact that the way of conflict has fundamentally changed. Clausewitz’s paraphrased statement – that war is a chameleon and

⁶ “Asymmetric Warfare,” *RAND.org*. Available at: www.rand.org/topics/asymmetric-warfare.html (accessed: 15 October 2016).

⁷ Phillip WILKINSON, “Asymmetric warfare,” *The Guardian*, 3 October 2001. Available at: www.theguardian.com/world/2001/oct/03/afghanistan.socialsciences (accessed: 14 October 2016).

⁸ David L. BUFFALO, “Defining Asymmetric Warfare,” *Association of the United States Army*, 1 October 2006, www.ausa.org/publications/defining-asymmetric-warfare (accessed: 18 October 2016).

⁹ John T. PLANT, Jr., “Asymmetric Warfare: Slogan or Reality?,” *Obrana: A Strategy* 2008, no. 1. Available at: www.obranastrategie.cz/en/current-issue-1-2008/articles/asymmetric-warfare-slogan-or-reality.html#WD1ZZzbr2os (accessed: 17 October 2016).

¹⁰ Rupert SMITH, *The Utility of Force: The Art of War in the Modern World* (New York: Vintage Books, 2005), 5.

¹¹ Bettina RENZ, “Russia’s ‘New Way of War’? Asymmetric Warfare and the Ukraine Crisis,” *School of Politics and International Relation – the University of Nottingham*, 15 January 2015. Available at: <http://nottspolitics.org/2015/01/15/10771> (accessed: 15 October 2016).

it will change its aspects at each occurrence – is more relevant today than it has been ever before. Our current and future adversaries do not approach conflict from our point of view anymore. They rather implemented new ideas like the Chinese “unrestricted warfare” concept or the Russian new approach to the conflict, which put the world on a “total” war setting where everything is acceptable and nothing is off limits. The Chief of the Russian General Staff, General Valery Gerasimov described this new approach as “blurring the lines between states of war and states of peace. Wars are no longer declared, and having begun, proceed according to an unfamiliar template [...] the very rules of war have changed significantly. The use of non-military methods to achieve political and strategic objective has in some cases proved far more effective than the use of military force.”¹² As part of the changing characteristics, there is no longer any distinction between what is or is not a battlefield. Physical spaces, including the ground, the sea, the air, and outer space, are all potential battlefields, but social spaces such as politics, economics, culture, cyberspace and the psyche are also capable of becoming territories for engagement. The legal environment has also changed and become increasingly restricting for the preparation and deployment of our own forces, while the adversaries are respecting the law less and less. While the proper training of soldiers has become increasingly problematic with soldiers becoming increasingly employee-like, our enemies have no legality problems at all. Finally, the availability of both financial and manpower resources have changed significantly. Today we live in a resource constrained environment, which has a serious effect on every security establishment. Scarce resources are hampering the defense systems’ ability to maintain necessary structure, hardware, and readiness, and simply to deliver security to the people. As a result of this analysis, one should ask the question: what should be done to address these changes? In fact, the answer can be found in the question itself: we must change.

Kenneth Waltz argues that in the current competitive international environment, states “socialize” to similar strategies. He states that “The fate of each state depends on its responses to what her competitors do. The possibility that conflict will be conducted by force leads to competition in the arts and the instruments of force. Competition produces a tendency toward the sameness of the competitors.”¹³ Emily Goldman suggests that nations have two fundamental choices when designing their defense frameworks. One choice is matching with adversaries, basically what one saw during the Cold War between the United States and the Soviet Union. The second option is to invest in offsetting capabilities, such as the French did towards the end of the 19th century by using mines, cruisers, and swarming torpedo boats – rather than trying to match England’s powerful battleships.¹⁴ Along these lines nations have two fundamental choices when designing their future defense frameworks: either matching it with those possible future adversaries or offsetting capabilities. If we link Waltz’s and Goldman’s arguments together, it provides

¹² Janis BERZINS, *Russia’s New Generation Warfare in Ukraine: Implications for Latvian Defense Policy* (Policy Paper No. 2, Riga: National Defence Academy of Latvian Center for Security and Strategic Research, April 2014).

¹³ Kenneth N. WALTZ, *Theory of International Politics* (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1979), 127.

¹⁴ Emily O. GOLDMAN, “Cultural Foundations of Military Diffusion,” *Review of International Studies* 32, no. 1 (January 2006): 69–91. Available at: www.jstor.org/stable/pdf/40072127.pdf?seq=1#page_scan_tab_contents (accessed: 18 October 2016).

nations a strong starting point for justifying the need for abandoning their conventional strategy and match the opponents' approaches.

Similarly to their current adversaries, nations will have to consider the introduction of an "unrestricted" or "total" war like national defense strategy and accept the fact that there is no separating line between peace and war anymore. If there has ever been a time in history when military strategist Frank Hoffman's statement – that "the incentives for states to exploit non-traditional modes of war are on the rise"¹⁵ – was true, than today is that time. Nations need to listen to Marshall McLuhan's words: "do not try to do today's job with yesterday's tools and yesterday's concepts."¹⁶ They will have to go beyond such meaningless and heavily theoretical ideas as smart defense, pooling or sharing¹⁷ or the comprehensive approach,¹⁸ and will have to come up with a sustainable and future-based approach. This new approach probably will provide an answer for Samuel P. Huntington's famous question about how to modernize a defensive system without westernizing it.¹⁹ What the world must witness is a fundamental shift from the current conventionally focused defensive approaches to much more unconventional national strategies. This should not only mean the polishing of the surface of our Second World War-based doctrine and war machine with the introduction of some specialized forces and high-tech equipment, but a total restructuring of everything one would associate with the understanding of defense. This need is best described by David Barno: "[O]ur military today is in a sense operating without a concept of war and is searching desperately for the new 'unified field theory' of conflict that will serve to organize and drive military doctrine and tactics, acquisition and research, training and organization, leader development and education, materiel and weaponry, and personnel and promotion policies in ways that could replace the legacy impact that Cold War structures still exert on all facets of the military."²⁰

¹⁵ Frank G. HOFFMAN, "Hybrid Warfare and Challenges," *Small Wars Journal* 52 (1st Quarter 2009): 38.

¹⁶ This is a common paraphrase of McLuhan's original sentence, which reads: "Our 'Age of Anxiety' is, in part, the result of trying to do today's job with tools – with yesterday's concepts." Marshall McLuhan – Quentin FIORE, *The Medium is the Message: An Inventory of Effects* (New York: Bantam Books, 1967).

¹⁷ The concept of smart defense with the idea of pooling and sharing was first introduced at the Munich Conference for Security in 2011 by the Secretary General, Anders Fogh Rasmussen. The idea of this concept referred to the commitment of the member states of NATO to deploy, pool and develop different defense capabilities in the areas where they have been most successful. In this regard, the principles of smart defense require mutual understanding of all NATO states. This means that they need to concentrate their financial and intellectual assets in one of the defined spheres of cooperation. By doing this, every state of the alliance ensure the other states to keep their commitments. Frosina DONINOVSKA, "The Concept of Smart Defence and Sharing Defence Capabilities Among States," *International Association for Political Science Students (IAPSS)*, 24 September 2014. Available at: www.iapss.org/2014/09/24/the-concept-of-smart-defence-and-sharing-defence-capabilities-among-states/#sthash.qAkDEZBe.dpuf (accessed: 18 October 2016).

¹⁸ FÁBIÁN SÁNDOR, "The Comprehensive Approach: A Silver Bullet or the Loch Ness Monster?" *CTX* 5, no. 4 (November 2015). Available at: <https://globlecco.org/nl/the-comprehensive-approach-a-silver-bullet-or-the-loch-ness-monster-ltc-sandor-fabian-hungarian-army> (accessed: 18 October 2016).

¹⁹ Samuel P. HUNTINGTON, *The Soldier and the State: The Theory and Politics of Civil–military Relations* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1957).

²⁰ David W. BARNO, "Military Adaptation in Complex Operations," *Prism* 1, no. 1 (December 2009): 30. Available at: www.dtic.mil/dtic/tr/fulltext/u2/a521838.pdf (accessed: 18 October 2016).

As Rupert Smith reminds us we need “a paradigm shift that necessitates both new assumptions and the reconstruction of prior assumptions”.²¹ However, we have already seen signs of some developments somewhat addressing General Barno’s and General Smith’s inquiries in several countries, but all of these efforts up to now have been characterized by cautious steps not willing to break down historical military traditions. This must change and the revolution in strategic thinking should start immediately. To effectively counter the Russian approach or an IS-like organization, nations have to start harvesting from the edges of strategic thinking instead of trying to blindly follow the “mainstream” conventionally rooted ideas.

General Smith warns us that countries should break down the decades – in some cases hundreds of years old military culture and traditions. Just like the phalanx, the heavy cavalry or the hussars, and the doctrines and weapon systems associated with these formations vanished hundreds of years ago, the currently existing services, branches, formations, the training structure and the military rank system should disappear in most of the nations as well. As Martin van Creveld suggested, “regular armed forces themselves to change forms, shrink in size and wither away [...] regular forces to degenerate into police-like forces or, in case the struggle lasts for very long, mere armed gangs. Over time uniforms will probably be replaced by mere insignia in the shape of sashes, armbands and the like.”²² The new defense establishments “will not amount to armies as we understand the term today”.²³ The new formations should be established based on the threat they are going to face, but also with considerations of the available resources. Formations should be based on military, police, secret services, intelligence services, while organizational character should also incorporate the useful elements of a terrorist groups, partisan and insurgent organizations. These future defensive formations should contain specialist members with engineer, medical, cyber, communication, media, etc. capabilities. These new elements also should employ completely unexpected techniques, tactics and procedures like swarming²⁴ to be effective against both a conventional and an unconventional adversary.

With their new strategy and new formations, nations should also move away from pursuing “high-tech” to the “right-tech” approach. Today’s most sophisticated and most powerful weapons, including fighter planes, tanks, and artillery pieces are not only irrelevant in the current operational environment, but are coming with an unaffordable price tag. Nations need to depart from the idea of fighting the fight that fits their weapons and start building the weapons to fit the fight. It is imperative to reverse the process by which a revolution in weapons technology precedes a corresponding revolution in military affairs. The countries have to admit that they cannot buy and sustain the most advanced weapons, and they have to realize that they do not have to. They can finally free themselves from the slavery of technology. The world is at the point in technological development, when one can choose his way of fighting first and then develop the proper hardware in support of it. Instead of trying to compete with a tank against a tank or an airplane against an airplane, nations’ new

²¹ SMITH, *The Utility of Force*, 4.

²² Martin VAN CREVELD, *Transformation of War* (New York: The Free Press, 1991), 207.

²³ VAN CREVELD, *Transformation of War*, 209.

²⁴ John ARQUILLA – David RONFELDT, *Swarming and the Future of Conflict* (Santa Monica: RAND Corporation, 2000).

approach should only focus on technologies that takes away the modern system's advantages or make those irrelevant, while providing effective answer for the hardware employed both by conventional and unconventional adversaries. These "right-tech" technologies could include mini robots, remote controlled ground and aerial vehicles, electro-magnetic pulse technologies, communication disruption tools and satellite "killer" lasers.

If nations chose to go down the proposed road then it will bring some serious changes for NATO as well. The alliance has to be ready to loosen up its standardization principles at every level including areas like military formations, platform capabilities and interoperability. Unfortunately, there is no one size fits all solution for 21st century conflicts. Instead of traditional standardized requirements, NATO has to embrace a variety of capabilities and has to develop proper procedures to effectively incorporate them into an effective system. This means a radical move out of the comfort zone for both military professionals and civil servants. However, it is necessary to implement the required changes. One must remember General Barno's words and realize that based on the national strategic revolutions, NATO will also need a new concept of war and a new "unified field theory" of conflict. This will lead to new organizations, doctrine, acquisition system, training, and leader development, which will replace the legacy impact of the Cold War. General Sir Rupert Smith also reflects on this in his book, *Utility of Force*. He states that "NATO and nations are currently focused on 'transformation' but unfortunately it neither does encompass a change of paradigm, rather than tools, nor does it encompass the idea of change as a constant factor rather than a single step. It is one thing to recognize change and quite another to act on it, and such action is not yet apparent. Until this need for deep change to our institutional thought patterns and structures is understood and acted upon there can be no real transformation."²⁵ If NATO and the individual nations are not willing to act upon change accordingly, then very soon they will simply lose their chance to win future wars and the possibility to be a meaningful participant in the conflict.

²⁵ SMITH, *The Utility of Force*, 374.

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Yagil Henkin*

Not That New but Not That Old: Lessons from the Israeli Experience in Fighting Non-State Enemies

Abstract

Israel has fought against non-state enemies almost constantly since its creation in 1948. It experienced the Fedayeen infiltrators of the 1950s, Hezbollah and Hamas in the 2000s and 2010s, and the so-called “uncoordinated attacks” of 2015–2016. Doing so, Israel has gained much experience and learned valuable lessons – but also made its fair share of mistakes, and many times lessons were either ignored or forgotten.¹ This article will outline several lessons from the Israeli experience, lessons this author deems most important, both strategically and tactically.

Kissinger Was Wrong – Sort Of

Henry Kissinger famously asserted that “one of the cardinal maxims of guerrilla war” is: “the guerrilla wins if he does not lose. The conventional army loses if it does not win.”² This may be true for overseas missions, though it could be debated, too.

However, the Israeli case has shown that much of the question is not just who the sides to the conflict are, and what *type* of players they are, but also what their *goals* are. If your society feels you are fighting for a worthy reason (and it is your society that counts more than outside views) then the equation may be turned on its head. Moreover, Kissinger’s idiom was about a situation where the US was, strategically speaking, on the offensive in Vietnam;³ but if a country is on the defensive, strategically speaking, it also may win by not losing.

Guerrillas usually seek to exhaust their enemies, as they usually lack the power to overcome him in a “conventional” clash. However, the state may also seek to exhaust its enemies – or even just to prevent them from disrupting its decisions and everyday life. That is, at least in some cases, victory is a *continued situation*.

Israel has seen it all too well during the “Second Intifada”. Before it began, many – if not most – Israelis believed they were on the verge of an agreement; as the fighting

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¹ I elaborated on the problem of lesson-learning vs. lesson-identifying in: Yagil HENKIN, “Learning the Lessons of the 3rd Lebanon War” [in Hebrew], *Maarachot* 453 (2014): 33–39, 85–86.

² Henry KISSINGER, “The Vietnam Negotiations,” *Foreign Affairs* 47 (January 1969), 214.

³ Though on a global scale it may have been on the defensive, and of course in some tactical cases and in the 1968 Tet Offensive the Viet Cong was on the offensive. Strategy may be a bit complicated.

escalated, Israelis came to view the conflict in existential terms.⁴ Even if the Palestinians lacked the ability to overcome Israel, most Israelis believed they aimed to kill as many civilians as possible out of hatred, and to force Israel to dangerous concessions, leading to its eventual collapse and destruction. Israeli goals of the struggle were seen as *preventing* a threat and *minimizing* damage. Therefore, even when the army did not win, it did not lose – for Israel cannot call it quits.

In 2002, in Operation “Defensive Shield” Israel moved on the offensive. Only then, technically, it started winning; but it did not lose for the two years before it, despite taking heavy damage and suffering unprecedented civilian casualties.

One could also compare the public reaction in the 2006 Second Lebanon War to the 2014 “Protective edge”: in the later, longer conflict the public has shown much more tolerance towards Israeli military casualties, and Hamas found to its dismay that the Israeli public was not pressuring its government to make concessions in return for soldiers missing in action (presumably dead), contrary to its actions several years earlier, in the Gilad Shalit Case or when the bodies of two soldiers kidnapped in July 2006 were returned in return for a few terrorists and many bodies.

Even Hamas propaganda attempts backfired. One Hamas propaganda song in Hebrew⁵ became immensely popular in Israel, but not for the reasons Hamas hoped; it actually was a morale booster.⁶ The reason for the difference is probably that in 2014 citizens had much better understanding of the goals of the operation than in 2006.⁷

To sum up, in slightly less articulate phrasing than the great statesman Kissinger: it is not that the regular army loses if it does not win, but that the regular army loses if its goals are not viable to its society or the price is too high for the goal; and for the guerrilla the army is fighting wins not when he does not lose (unless his only goal is to remain active), but if the society which he fights for believes it can retreat from its position without a long-term existential threat.

In “War Amongst the People” Territory Matters

It is a popular belief that nowadays territory has lost its significance. The war, taking place “amongst the people”, as General Rupert Smith has put it in *The Utility of Force*, is being

⁴ See Yagil HENKIN, “How Can Great Nations Win Small Wars,” *Azure* 24 (2006). Available at: www.academia.edu/3817992/How_Can_Great_Nations_Win_Small_Wars (accessed: 12 December 2016).

⁵ Known as “Attack, do terrorist acts” after its opening line. See www.youtube.com/watch?v=1-Ou-qp-YI-A (accessed: 12 December 2016). Since the time of this writing the video has been removed by Youtube.

⁶ It became a wedding dance number; it was posted on Youtube with numerous remixes, alternative lyrics and with animation out of the “Lion king” or the “Telletubies”; and an acapella version.

⁷ Yagil Levi believes the differences between the operations are less significant than usually thought; he also attributes much of the difference to standard social power and identity politics theories. Yagil LEVI, “Did the ‘Spider Web’ Theory Collapse? On the Sensitiveness to Casualties in ‘Protective Edge,’” *The Open University* (n.d.) [Hebrew]. Available at: www.openu.ac.il/adcan/yediop3/download/3.pdf (accessed: 12 December 2016). However, based both on personal knowledge of those two conflicts, as a reserve history officer, and on the PhD work in progress of Ronen Itsik (Haifa University), I believe there was a marked difference both in the public reaction and in the spirit of the army.

conducted for reasons which may have nothing to do with occupying terrain or controlling an area. “New wars” are often about controlling population, or ethnically cleansing it.⁸ Moreover, in current-days conflict, the enemy often bypasses the military forces altogether – using rockets or suicide bombers – to target the civilian population.

However, the Israeli experience shows that the above description is at least somewhat misleading.

Terrain remains important, but the character of that importance changed; much as, I believe, the nature of war did not change but its character did. It is not that you capture terrain just to kill the enemy in that territory (which is not all that much different from many battles of the past)⁹ but also that controlling the terrain is an important key to controlling the population.

Moreover, when you perceive the territory as “not yours”, you are in a *strategic* disadvantage.

When Israel believed that an area *is not* part of Israel *politically*, there was always an assumption that Israel withdraw; but when the area was contested, there was no such assumption – and the military mode of operations is influenced by the presumed end state. The “Security Zone” in Lebanon turned into a series of partly-mutual-supporting outposts, whereas most towns and most areas became out of bounds. This happened because Israel did not really want to be there in the first place, even if it occupied the area for some fifteen years. Similarly, in Gaza, Israelis as early as 1993, hoped not to ever control it again.¹⁰ After the Gush Katif settlements were evacuated in 2005, almost no politician in Israel would suggest that Israel should return to Gaza or control it. However, things were different in Judea and Samarea. True, at least two governments after 1993 hoped to evacuate much of the occupied/contested territories. Between 1995 and 2002 the control of towns and cities was, in Israel’s opinion, the business of the Palestinian Authority. This belief was so entrenched in the army, that in 1999, a Field Manual on urban warfare¹¹ was rejected by the higher echelons of the army mainly because it was deemed irrelevant. Israel would never ever enter Palestinian cities, so why prepare such a manual?

But Judea and Samaria (The West Bank) did not turn into another Lebanon. The reason was simple: Jewish settlements were all over the area, so the IDF could not let itself lose the roads and remain in bases and green zones, as it has been done in Lebanon and

⁸ E.g. Mary KALDOR, *New and Old Wars: Organized Violence in a Global Era* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1999). See Also Martin VAN CREVELD, *The Transformation of War* (New York: The Free Press, 1991).

⁹ As the IDF believed in the early 2000s, up to the point where many in the army believed that capturing territory has become a burden, and that disengaging from an area *is the* desirable end-state. E.g. Yedida GROLL-YAARI – Haim ASSA, *Diffused Warfare: The Concept of Virtual Mass* (Haifa: University of Haifa, 2007). Originally in Hebrew (2005). Available at: http://geo.haifa.ac.il/~ch-strategy/publications/books/diffused%20warfare/book_diffused.pdf (accessed: 12 December 2016); David DUCHAN, “Postmodern Wars in the 21st Century” [in Hebrew], *Maarachot* nos. 468–469 (2016): 40–47.

¹⁰ In 1993, Yishai Levi’s “Goodbye to you Gaza” pop song became a hit, and was performed in the presence of then-foreign minister Shimon Peres. One of its phrases said: “Goodbye to you Gaza / I’m hurrying a bit / Goodbye to you Gaza / Climb on another tree,” and another suggested: “Keep for your lovers / the knife in the back”.

¹¹ The Author was part of the team responsible for the book. Fighting Order 1–99, *Urban Warfare*, Classified IDF Document [in Hebrew].

other places – and it had a daily supplement of Israeli civilians on the road, some armed for self-protection, acting in practice as some kind of force projection. And since it never lost the roads, Israel later had easier time dividing the area and going into the cities; and ever since it went into the cities and remained there for long periods, intelligence started flowing and violence declined.¹² Moreover, comparing the amount of violence and collateral damage in Gaza and in the West Bank in the last 15 years, it is clear that if one controls the area and has an insurgency or unrest, the military still employs less violence and kill fewer people – terrorists included – than when it has to go into a territory fully uncontrolled. Less occupation equals more bombing. More bombing, on the other hand, means more international reaction and suffering condemnations such as the Goldstone Report¹³ of 2009, the most damaging (and biased) UN report to date; nothing like it ever happened in the West there.

Don't Copy, Adapt

Each country has its own unique context. Israel never sent expeditionary forces anywhere (unless one counts a few military advisors here and there); the country knows where it will fight – near its borders, or inside them. It can specialize on a specific, relatively small theater; and it generally knows who the enemy is.¹⁴

Therefore, any lesson from Israel should be adapted to the specific condition and specific adversary; not copied. What happens when one copies without proper adaptation can be learned from the Israeli experience of the 1990s and the early 2000s. By then,¹⁵ the IDF copied many US doctrines and concepts – regarding counterinsurgency or otherwise – without properly adjusting them to the local conditions. “Shock and Awe”, “Effects-Based Operations” and over-reliance on fires and airpower were the gospel of the day.

By 2003 the IDF boasted that it is reshaping everything it can reshape to learn “from the force-building, the use of weapons and the doctrine of the Americans in Iraq. Some of it is already fitted.”¹⁶ The US itself soon found its doctrine wanting; but Haim Assa, formerly advisor to Prime Minister Rabin, was already convinced that the Iraq campaign has shown

¹² For a similar argument see Gershon HACOEN, “Who Do the Settlements Serve” [in Hebrew], *Yitzur Yeda*, 25 January 2017. Available at: <https://goo.gl/N2ViiG> (accessed: 12 December 2016).

¹³ Richard GOLDSTONE et. al., *Report of the United Nations Fact Finding Mission on the Gaza Conflict*, A/HRC/12/48 (September 2009). Available at: <http://image.guardian.co.uk/sys-files/Guardian/documents/2009/09/15/UNFFMGCRreport.pdf> (accessed: 12 December 2016).

¹⁴ For comparison: the IDF's area of operations in the 2006 Lebanon war was some 500 square miles, and around 10,000 soldiers were operating within that area, plus many more on the Israeli side of the border. The Sangin District in Afghanistan, which British Forces held with a 1,200 strong force, is around 200 square miles. See Jeffrey DRESSLER, *Counterinsurgency in Helmand: Afghanistan Report 8* (2011), 20. Available at: www.understandingwar.org/sites/default/files/Afghanistan_Report_8_emailopt.pdf (accessed: 12 December 2016). The whole Helmand Province is 22,619 square miles.

¹⁵ For an early study see: Eliot A. COHEN – Michael J. EISENSTADT – Andrew J. BACEVICH, “*Knives, Tanks, and Missiles*”: *Israel's Security Revolution* (Washington DC: The Washington Institute for Near East Policy, 1998). Available at: www.washingtoninstitute.org/uploads/Documents/pubs/KnivesTanksandMissiles.pdf (accessed: 12 December 2016).

¹⁶ Amnon BARZILAY, “The War in Iraq Convinced the IDF: It's Time for the Technological Revolution” [in Hebrew], *Haaretz*, 6 May 2003. Available at: www.haaretz.co.il/misc/1.880247 (accessed: 12 December 2016).

the path towards the future: He said: “it is possible to conquer an intractable and mad country and overcome it in a short time, at a very low price and with a very high chance of success.”¹⁷ As a part of an IDF think tank – which included future Chief of Staff, Dan Halutz – Assa soon co-authored an influential book, *Diffused Warfare*, which preached a radical re-modeling of the IDF into small, autonomous “Dynamic Molecules” – but, as this author acknowledged at the time, unselectively copied many ideas of the RMA (Revolution in Military Affairs) theorists, and all but ignored the human element of war.¹⁸

Critics inside the army have noted that any comparison between the Kosovo campaign and possible campaign in Lebanon is false.¹⁹ Yet this did not prevent Israel from developing a theory of victory by airpower and assuming that, as chief of staff Lt. Gen Dan Halutz warned when two Israeli soldiers were kidnapped in July 2006, the IDF will “turn Lebanon back twenty years”.²⁰

Lousy lesson-learning also contributed to the acceptance of buzzwords without actually understanding them.²¹ To prove the point, consider the following ‘operational idea’ (roughly comparable to “Commander’s intent”) of the 91st division in the Lebanon war: “Operational demonstration on the town of Bint-Jbel while neutralizing, capturing and confining the [battle] space, and its systematic dismantling by simultaneous multidimensional swarming attack.”²² This was not even the most convoluted order of that war.

Don’t Reinvent the Wheel (But Improve the Tires)

The tendency to forget past experience is a global one, and Israel did not escape it.²³ Israel has been fighting terrorists and infiltrators since 1950;²⁴ it had an experience

¹⁷ Ibid.

¹⁸ See Yagil HENKIN, “Confused Warfare,” *Azure* 25 (Summer 2006): 130–134. Available at: www.academia.edu/3818077/Confused_Warfare (accessed: 12 December 2016).

¹⁹ E.g. Yaakov BANJOO, “Thoughts on the Limits of Power, or the Wrong Lessons We Learned from Kosovo” [in Hebrew], *Maarachot* 371 (2000): 60–62.

²⁰ *Channel 10 TV*, 12 July 2006 [in Hebrew].

²¹ Some units in the second Lebanon war were ordered “to do swarming” without ever hearing the term before (and ignoring the fact that swarming is a technique and not a goal). A brigade commander was later forced to resign because he told a journalist that his division commander “doesn’t know what’s happening, he’s still swarming” (*Channel 10 TV*, 13 September 2006 – in Hebrew). This author was called during the war by a confused reserve infantry officer, who asked if he had any idea what that swarming is all about. Nobody in the reserve unit had ever heard of the concept, and of course no one practiced it. The idea of swarming is a useful tactic – if one knows how to use it. See Yagil HENKIN, “On Swarming: Success and Failure in Multidirectional Warfare, from Normandy to the Second Lebanon War,” *Defence Studies* 14, no. 3 (2014): 310–332.

²² IDF/Northern Command/91st Division, Operation Order for Operation “Steel Web”, 22 July 2006. Quoted in the Inquiry Commission of the Events of the Campaign in Lebanon 2006, Winograd Commission, Final Report, Vol. A. (2008): 372 [in Hebrew].

²³ See Yagil HENKIN, “Learning the Lessons”. This paragraph draws heavily from that article, which in turn uses classified IDF material.

²⁴ On the 1950s infiltration and Israeli retaliation see: Shaul BARTAL, *The Fedayeen Emerge: The Palestine–Israel Conflict, 1949–1956* (Bloomington: Authorhouse, 2011); Zeev DRORY, *Israel’s Reprisal Policy, 1953–1956* (London: Frank Cass, 2004).

with less-than-a-state organizations with conventional military capabilities and rocket artillery in the late 1960s and the 1970s;²⁵ it already fought hybrid battles against an enemy that was partly military, partly guerrilla, back in 1968;²⁶ it faced suicide attacks since 1982; it had civil disturbances... etc. Yet virtually every time, many in the army and the political sphere insisted that we're seeing a new phenomenon that never existed before.

Over the course of 68 years, the IDF had about twelve different names for what is basically the same thing. Each name apparently made some people believe that they need to invent everything: some were copied from English, like LIC and OOTW and "limited conflict" and asymmetrical warfare, some were Israeli terms like "Ongoing Security" (*Bitachon Shotef*), known by the initials: BATASH. This could involve a senior officer convinced that Israel is in the unique position of fighting a non-state actor, or – almost two decades earlier – the Israeli Chief of Staff declaring that everybody knows that it is "impossible to defeat a guerrilla".²⁷ The problem only intensifies because armies in general like to train for "conventional" war, but do not like policing and counterinsurgencies; the moment it is over, the military tends to return to "normal" procedures, and forgets whatever it has learned.

On the other hand, the danger exists – as happened several times: in the Intifadah of 1987, in Lebanon around 1991–1992, in the West Bank in 2000, and maybe in Gaza in 2014 – that a conflict is seen as more of the same, failing to acknowledge its unique *character*. In a very technical example, ambush practices (which the IDF used successfully for years against Palestinian infiltrators in the "security zone" in Lebanon) suddenly became ineffective against Hezbollah infiltrators – for they trained, planned and acted differently.²⁸ The balance is hard to come by. Past experience has value; do not ignore what you knew in the past. But do not let the past control the present, by failing to check what's different.

For this reason, one can argue against the very popular term of "asymmetric warfare" but the same argument has merits for using "hybrid warfare" – but only on the tactical level. Both terms have value; however when an officer argues that the way to counter the asymmetric threat is by creating an asymmetry of our own (that is, technological advantage), or when people define any conflict in which the sides are not exactly similar as "asymmetrical warfare", it seems that the term has long since lost any useful meaning and became a military buzzword. While the original meaning was about *goals* and *character* of the war, in the current situation the terms help (at least, helped, in the Israeli case) to obfuscate the situation rather than make it clearer. In contrast, "hybrid warfare" is still warfare. There's nothing new in hybrid warfare, apart than, maybe, cyber warfare. Otherwise it is as old as the first time someone used irregular bands in support or in addition to a regular army

²⁵ See Zeev DRORY, *Fire in the (border)Lines: The Attrition War on the Eastern Front 1967–1970* (Tel-Aviv: Maarachot, 2012) [in Hebrew]; Hani ZIV – Yoav GELBER, *The Bow Bearers: One Hundred Years of Struggle, Fifty Years of the IDF* (Tel-Aviv: Ministry of Defence, 1998), 286–287, 356–362 [in Hebrew].

²⁶ On the Karameh Operation of 1968 see: DRORY, *op. cit.*; Benny M. MICHELSON, "Operation Inferno: Battle on the Eastern Bank of the Jordan," *Maarachot* 292–293 (March 1968): 19–32 [in Hebrew].

²⁷ Amnon LIPKIN-SHAHAK, A Lecture to the IDF Company Commander Course, 1997. First published the quote at: HENKIN, *How Can Great Nations Win Small Wars*.

²⁸ Various classified IDF Documents from the 1990s.

(World War II, in that sense, was a classic “hybrid conflict”: you had nation states, empires, guerrillas, partisans, etc. fighting in coalitions for different goals). Yet the term helps, in my experience, to make people understand fast that the enemy is NOT obliged to fight in a specific way and will use whatever tactic or method which helps him.

Don't Set Aims for Your Enemy

There is a strong temptation to decide for the enemy what he wants to do, and then act according to your own assumption, that in turn are based on the assumption that your enemy is similar to an oversimplified version of yourself. Israel did it in three main ways over the years:

- Believing that if the opponent is “a guerrilla” he would act according to guerrilla dictums (or any other definition of the time). This is why the IDF was surprised, during the Karameh Operation of 1968, when PLO fighters held their ground against superior Israeli forces. The trend did not stop there.
- During the existence of the Security Zone in South Lebanon, from 1985–2000, an Israeli intelligence officer published a document called *Hezbollah's Principles of War*, which soon became widespread and hung in every Israeli outpost. There was one problem, however: of those ten, only six were somehow mentioned or hinted in Hezbollah's documents/speeches etc. The rest were copied from the writings of Mao, in the belief that if Hezbollah is a guerrilla, then he must adhere to Mao's principles. Needless to say, the organization has shown quite a few times it was not a blind follower of the Chinese leader, and it is probable that most of its leadership did not read Mao²⁹ – or at least were not obliged to his teaching. Yet the document attributed as a fact Mao's principles to Hezbollah's doctrine.³⁰
- On the strategic side, ever since the Oslo Agreements of 1993, Israel believed that the aim of any clash is to produce a better agreement for the side that initiated it. Therefore, when the so-called “second intifada” started in September 2000, Israeli high command was fixed on the view that the conflict is, to quote deputy Chief of Staff Yaalon in 2001, “A clash between interest that should be decided [...] in an agreement”.³¹ The IDF saw its role as dragging the Palestinians back to negotiations. Whether Israel was wrong or right is, of course, depending on one's own political views. But the fact that Israel had an *ide'e fixe* about the Palestinian goals, and therefore pursued a futile strategy, indented to bring Yasser Arafat back to the negotiation table at a time when he could not or would not do it. In reality the process was of gradual escalation,

²⁹ Some apparently did. E.g. Naim QASSEM, *Hizbullah (Hezbollah): The Story from Within* (London: Saqi, 2005).

³⁰ During the Lebanon War of 2006, this Author heard two Israeli colonels trying to analyze Hezbollah's actions based on the assumption that “He's a guerrilla” and therefore is entitled to fight as such. However it is clear that Hezbollah did not know he is supposed to fight a ‘classic’ guerrilla war; what he was doing at the time resembled more a standard delaying action than hit-and-run guerrilla tactics.

³¹ Amnon LORD, “In the Puddle of Exhaustness” [in Hebrew], *Makor Rishon* (15 October 2004). See also Moshe YAALON, *Long-Short Path* (Tel Aviv: Miskal, 2008) [in Hebrew], 110.

until the idea fell out of favor after some 130 Israelis were killed by terrorists in the “Black March” of 2002 and the IDF went on an offensive and in no time re-took most of the cities in Judea and Samaria/West Bank.³²

Do Not Betray Your Friends – and Have an Exit Plan

On February 24, 1988, during the First *Intifadah*, the house of Mohammed Ayad in the town of Qabatiya, near Nablus, was attacked by an angry mob, with stones and firebombs. Ayad, a well-known collaborator, called the IDF for assistance while trying to fend off the attack with an Uzi submachine gun he legally held. He killed a boy or a girl (sources disagree) and wounded a dozen others, but did not manage to repel the attackers. The Israeli commander believed the situation was too dangerous, and did not want to risk either his soldiers or having to kill some of the rioters. In the end, Ayad’s house was burnt down, he was killed and his body was hanged from an electricity pylon. Hours later, an IDF patrol took down his body.³³ Results soon followed: collaboration with Israel declined, including some collaborators who attacked Israelis to clear themselves.

Palestinians killed far more alleged collaborators than they did Israelis, and perhaps killed more Palestinians than the Israelis themselves. According to Palestinian researcher Bassem Eid, some 1200 Palestinians were killed by other Palestinians on collaboration charges in the first Intifadah, and only a third of them were actual collaborators.³⁴

The first killing set the tone: Israel was perceived as not only failing to protect those who helped it, but also abandoning them on purpose in the face of trouble. Of course, many now did not want to collaborate with Israel, and its stand in Gaza and the West Bank suffered a considerable hit. Later, collaborators evacuated to Israel were sometimes handled in a most ineffectual way, and some became involved in organized crime.

A decade later, when Israel withdrew from South Lebanon, it was surprised by the collapse of the South Lebanese Army (SLA) pro-Israel militia. Thousands of South Lebanese Army soldiers and their family looked for shelter in Israel. Israel lacked a plan to evacuate them, so they left their homes and belongings behind, and crowded at the border fence near the town of Metula, before being allowed to pass into Israel. Not only was the image of Israel tarnished in the eyes of potential collaborators, but inside Israel there

³² For a chronicle of that period see: AMOS HAREL – AVI YISSACHAROF, *The Seventh War: How We Won and Why We Lost the War with the Palestinians* (Tel-Aviv: Yediot Acharonot, 2004) [in Hebrew]. This author disagrees with much of their analysis, but it is still one of the only chronicles of the period. For a comprehensive account in English see DANIEL BYMAN, *A High Price: The Triumph and Failure of Israeli Counterterrorism* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011), 124–169.

³³ On the Ayad affair see: IAN BLACK – BENNY MORRIS, *Israel’s Secret Wars: A History of Israel’s Intelligence Services* (New York: Grove, 1991), 475.; ALLAN COWELL, “Boy Killed and Man Lynched in a Clash of Arabs,” *The New York Times*, 25 February 1988.

³⁴ SHAI FOGELMAN, “Tens of Palestinians That Were Tortured [by the Palestinian Authority]. Sue the Palestinian Authority and Who Represent Them? A Settler” [in Hebrew], *Haaretz*, 5 March 2010. Other sources gave the number as around 900, with some 35–40 percent real collaborators. HANAN AMIOR, “Let Us Murder Quietly” [in Hebrew], *Presspectiva*, 13 August 2013. Available at: <https://goo.gl/g0TZm6> (accessed: 12 December 2016).

was a debate, with many calling Israeli actions a betrayal of the SLA,³⁵ with the results damaging the trust between many Israelis and their government.

One can think of many similar instances in history, like the problem of the *Harki* in Algeria, local auxiliaries who were loyal to France. When Algeria became independent, some had to escape to France, others were left behind, and were massacred in large numbers. It is said that when a Muslim deputy, ten of whose family had already been killed by the F.L.N., protested that on “self-determination” “we shall suffer”. French president Charles de Gaulle had replied coldly: “Eh bien! vous souffrirez.”³⁶ (‘Well then, you will suffer.’) The results for France included a failed revolt in the army, influenced in part, no doubt, by the failure to keep the promise not to abandon the Harkis;³⁷ and a long term social problem, following the lack of planning what to do with those Harkis who managed to escape to France (by 2012, they and their offspring numbered 800,000).³⁸

Of course, there is an inherent problem with cooperation. Loyalty comes at a cost – to both sides. Did Israel have to stay in South Lebanon only to prevent the SLA from disintegrating and to protect those who helped it? Of course not. Cooperation is usually based on interests; when those interests end, cooperation is likely to end, too. But an exit plan for those who helped you must be put in place: not only to help them, but to help yourself. Your ability to recruit future help will be severely damaged if you abandon those who help you – and even inside your country, the political costs will be high.

Retaliation Doesn’t Always Retaliate (Or: Your Enemy Is Dumb. You Are Dumb Too)

Back in 1969, IDF chief of staff Lt. Gen. Haim Bar-Lev summed up in a nutshell Israel’s security doctrine in situations other than an all-out war: “Escalation to bring De-Escalation.”³⁹ This was the traditional doctrine of the IDF; twenty five years earlier, Moshe Dayan said the IDF cannot *prevent* all hostile actions, but it can set “a high price for our blood”.⁴⁰ This essentially means sending a message to the other side. The problem is, the other side often does not get the message. In the fifties Israel failed to press the message home to Egypt, which saw our retaliatory raids as aimed against the regime but were not endangered by them.⁴¹ Retaliatory policy did work from December 1953 to 1956 against Jordan since its

³⁵ E.g. Mordechai NISAN. “Did Israel Betray its Lebanese Allies?” *Middle East Quarterly* (December 2000): 31–39. Available at: www.meforum.org/49/did-israel-betray-its-lebanese-allies (accessed: 12 December 2016).

³⁶ Alistair HORNE, *A Savage War of Peace: Algeria 1954–1962* (New York: New York Review of Books, 1997), 537.

³⁷ HORNE, *A Savage War of Peace*, 442–443.

³⁸ François-Guillaume LORRAIN, “Les harkis montrent les dents,” *Le Point*, 24 January 2012. Available at: www.lepoint.fr/politique/election-presidentielle-2012/les-harkis-montrent-les-dents-24-01-2012-1423117_324.php (accessed: 12 December 2016).

³⁹ Yaakov BAR SIMAN-TOV, “The effectiveness of the operating the [Israeli] Air Force in the war of attrition, July–December 1969” [in Hebrew], *Maarachot* no. 283. (1982): 45.

⁴⁰ Moshe DAYAN, “Retaliatory Raids as an instrument to keep the peace” [in Hebrew], *Skira Hodshit* (1955).

⁴¹ See DRORY, *Israel’s Retaliatory Policy*; Yagil HENKIN, *The 1956 Suez War and the New World Order in the Middle East: Exodus in Reverse* (New York: Lexington, 2015), Chapter 2.

regime, unlike many of its citizens,⁴² understood that the raids were meant to apply pressure against infiltration – and that the raids *did* endanger the regime.

Later on, the whole idea got much more complicated. For example, if Hezbollah fires from Lebanon, should Israel target Lebanese targets? Hezbollah-only targets? Syrian targets?

In the current world, where weakness is sometimes an asset, a government may argue that it is sovereign, but it does not have full control of its territory. Who is responsible, and who do you send a signal to in that case?

The whole idea of ‘signaling the enemy’ and changing his will without denying his capabilities is hard to achieve. It becomes even harder if that enemy is not clear-cut organization. Israel’s attempts at signaling failed as many times as they succeeded. For example, Israel’s repeated attempts at sending messages to the Palestinians after the so-called Second Intifada started in September 2000 came to naught, and some even say they helped escalate the situation.⁴³ In the preceding years the IDF has developed a whole strategy of leverage; it did not stop the escalation. The tide was turned only after Israel again took control of the Palestinian cities in operations “Defensive Shield” and “Resolute War” of 2002, and started “mowing the grass”,⁴⁴ chasing militants night after night, everywhere, instead of relying on signaling and conscience-shaping. To put it bluntly, apparently we failed to convince the enemy what was good for him, or he’s too dumb to get the message.

We are, in the same spirit, no less dumb. In Early March 2002, Palestinian *Fatah* Leader Marwan Barghouty argued that “The resistance forces” which have reached “the point of no return”, will “continue to hit the Zionist enemy”, and “prove to [Israeli PM Ariel] Sharon that the security theory they hold onto is stumbling”.⁴⁵ Earlier he had claimed that Palestinian terrorism will force Israel to understand that controlling the territories is not worth it and evacuate the West Bank. Indeed, March 2002 became known as “Black March,” with 131 Israelis killed in terror attacks in that month alone. Yet Israel went on the offensive, took control of the Palestinian cities, captured Barghouty (fifteen years later he’s still in prison), and countered his attempts completely.

To sum up: it is very hard to “convince” the enemy – unless you manage to defeat him. Otherwise, he may keep quiet for years, and may – despite heavy losses – ignore your signals and continue fighting.

Protect Hostile Population

Israel deals much of the time with a population that, to put it mildly, does not always want Israel to be present there (or to exist at all). It is from that population that terrorists emerge or are recruited, and that population may provide the backbone of support to an insurgency.

⁴² See BARTAL, *The Fedayeen Emerge*.

⁴³ E.g. HAREL–YISSACHAROF, *The Seventh War*, various pages; LORD, *In the Puddle of Exhaustness*.

⁴⁴ Efraim INBAR – Eitan SHAMIR, “‘Mowing the Grass’: Israel’s Strategy for Protracted Intractable Conflict,” *Journal of Strategic Studies* 37, no. 1 (2014): 65–90. Available at: <https://besacenter.org/wp-content/uploads/2014/02/Mowing-the-Grass-English.pdf> (accessed: 12 December 2016).

⁴⁵ “Barghouti Promises That a Lot of Jewish Blood Will Be Shed in the Next Few Weeks” [in Hebrew], *Arutz* 7, 3 March 2002. Available at: www.inn.co.il/News/News.aspx/20915 (accessed: 12 December 2016).

Yet, it is very wrong to assume that a hostile or non-friendly population is committed to *actually fight* you. It depends on many factors, and one of them is the amount of violence that the insurgents can use *against the population that supports them*, to make sure “sitting on the fence” is not an option.⁴⁶ Virtually all non-state actors – be they called freedom fighters, terrorists, guerrillas or any other name – find that to counter the power of the state and influence people to take an active part in the struggle they have to employ a lot of coercion against their potential support group.⁴⁷

In one example, Ahmed Awad Ali Kameil, who was a member of the “Black Panther” gang in the first Intifadah, killed five Israelis before he was captured – and *sixteen* Palestinians suspected of cooperating with Israel.⁴⁸ Another Palestinian gang in the Second Intifadah shot and wounded, according to an IDF count, about ninety suspected collaborators – way more than their actions against Israelis (most of those shots were not collaborators at all). The Israeli focus on counter-terrorism frequently ignored the local population.⁴⁹ But after operations “Defensive Shield” and “Resolute Way” of 2002, when Israel began “mowing the grass”⁵⁰ Palestinian militants/terrorists suddenly could not target suspected collaborators, and had a hard time scaring the population into submission. As violence decreased, so did their active support, and information and intelligence started to flow. Israel learned (to a degree) that keeping the hostile population safe from the often violent influence of guerrillas and terrorists meant better safety to Israel itself.

For similar reasons, it is imperative not to let your citizens or friendly groups harass other groups.⁵¹ The idea is not that the army is a neutral force,⁵² but that law and order must be kept, and security is the foundation of Law and Order.

Sometimes Less Is More

This is in line with the maxims of the famed (and controversial) US Army counterinsurgency manual of 2006, which explicitly states among its *Paradoxes of Counterinsurgency*

⁴⁶ See also Yagil HENKIN, “Stoning the Dogs: Guerrilla Mobilization and Violence in Rhodesia,” *Studies in Conflict & Terrorism* 36, no. 6 (2013): 503–532.

⁴⁷ The question of heavy-handed security forces action is important, but outside the scope of this discussion.

⁴⁸ Avi YISSACHAROF, “The Black Panther that Threatened the Shabak [ISS, Israel Security Service] Returns Home” [in Hebrew], *Walla News*, 9 January 2014. Available at: <http://news.walla.co.il/item/2710719#!/wallahistory> (accessed: 12 December 2016).

⁴⁹ For a description of this phenomenon see: BYMAN, *A High Price*.

⁵⁰ INBAR–SHAMIR, *Mowing the Grass*.

⁵¹ For a negative example, at least on a verbal scale, see this video, in which an Israeli soldier loses his mind when facing left-wing demonstrators and tells them that he is “defending the Jews, that’s our role, not to defend you, you assface,” *YouTube.com*. Source: www.youtube.com/watch?v=QFHCE1DFSmw (accessed: 12 December 2016).

⁵² Recently such an argument was brought ad absurdum by the *Breaking the Silence* group, which released a report about the relations between soldiers and settlers in the West Bank/Judea and Samaria, including testimonies which show that “settlers are becoming friends with the soldiers, give them presents, visit them at their guard posts with food and drinks, and even host them in their homes.” As the settlers are Israeli civilians and the IDF is the Israeli army, it would be very strange had the civilians been indifferent to their own army protecting them – not to mention that settlers are soldiers like anyone else in Israel.

that “Sometimes, the more force is used, the less effective it is” and that “The more successful the counterinsurgency is, the less force can be used and the more risk must be accepted”.⁵³

Indeed, Israel learned that its best shot in areas that it controlled was to downscale its presence when it was safe to do so, and try to use a “minimum force” approach. Getting there, however, required a lot of fighting. Only after Israel went in with full force in operation “Defensive Shield”⁵⁴ – and returned again in operation “Resolute Way” – could it allow itself to scale down its presence. Minimum force came after maximum force, and cannot always substitute it.

BUT the moment you can – downscale. A tank is effective only when you actually use it. It is worthless if you do not. Having tanks and other show-of-force means may actually project lack-of-force, since the enemy knows that you want to frighten him with might instead of doing something (then it could launch publicity stunts of kids throwing stones on tanks, or worse). And tanks and drones do not bring any cultural intelligence.⁵⁵

So, whenever possible try to inflict less damage; kill less; harass less; have fewer road-blocks. When you absolutely have to fight, do not hesitate; sometimes social and political action (or policing action) is no substitute for fighting. But when you have the option, fight less.

Cultural Intelligence Is Essential

You do not need (or want) every soldier to be an anthropologist.

But in order to understand the situation, from a tactical encounter to operational planning, it is essential to understand the culture. A classic example is the *Shi'ite* fast of *Ashura*.⁵⁶ It is marked in many places by Shi'ite marching with swords, yelling, cutting themselves and shedding blood. Without cultural knowledge, any western soldier who finds himself facing such a march, is inclined to open fire in self-defence. But that would cause a disaster: the violence is self-inflicted, and for strangers, usually stepping aside and letting the demonstration pass is the best response.

Moreover, cultural and historic intelligence may be very important when fighting non-state actors. When you plan a raid in the dead of night, lack of cultural intelligence may cause you, as it happened to one Israeli paratroop unit, to ignore the Muslim calendar – missing the critical fact that it was the Ramadan holiday and everyone would be awake, celebrating. If you see three men in a distant field at dawn: are they the tillers or do

⁵³ US Army/US Marine Corps, *Field Manual 3-24: Insurgencies and Countering Insurgencies* (Washington D.C.: Department of the Army, 2014), Section 7-1 to 7-2. The quote remains unchanged from the 2006 edition.

⁵⁴ On the main battles in “Defensive Shield” see: Yagil HENKIN, “Urban Warfare and the Lessons of Jenin,” *Azure* 15 (2003): 33–69.; Eyal WEIZMAN, *Hollow Land: Israel's Architecture of Occupation* (London: Verso, 2007), 185–218. While I strongly disagree with Weizman's theories and political views, his interviews and descriptions of the Battle in Nablus are important.

⁵⁵ The Current Israeli Chief of Staff, Lt. General Gadi Eisenkot, noted quite a few times within the IDF that when he finished his cadence as the commander of the Judea and Samara Division, there were only four tanks in the west bank, compared to tenfold that number when he had entered the job; he removed as many tanks as he could. For more than a decade, no tank was deployed in the west bank.

⁵⁶ See “Ashura”, *Encyclopedia.com*. Source: www.encyclopedia.com/politics/dictionaries-thesauruses-pictures-and-press-releases/ashura (accessed: 12 December 2016). Definition from the *Gale Dictionary of the Israeli-Palestinian Conflict*, 2005.

they plan something fishy? If you do not know how the population lives, you won't have a clue. If you do not have a clue, you'll either miss the threats or kill uninvolved people.

Israel had both good and bad experiences. Bad, for example, when Israel practically ignored the *Shia* of Lebanon as a force, with disastrous results, when planning the First Lebanon war.⁵⁷ Good, when our intelligence services and the Shabak (General Security Service) became so accustomed with the local culture, that they employed pseudo-guerrillas very successfully, and knew where to look and who to approach.⁵⁸

The lessons for commanders are that they should have people who know the area and the culture well. The resident Intelligence officer (if exists) is usually of extreme value to any commander. New, inexperienced units can cause mayhem before they understand the situation, and can negate any advance reached earlier.

Given enough time, the locals will also know how to react to each unit (and at times, how to manipulate it). Your soldiers should have an idea how to act – and your intelligence officers, should really know the area and its inhabitants.

Good Commanders Can Save Bad Strategy

General George Patton has famously said that good *tactics* can save bad strategy, but this should be expanded to include good *commanders*. In 2001–2002 the developments in Israeli strategy were led from the bottom, by battalion and brigade commanders who insisted that they can do what high echelons believed cannot be done.⁵⁹ They started the first

⁵⁷ In one of the pre-wars volumes of *Skira Hodshit*, Israel's magazine for army officers, there was a map of power distribution in Lebanon. It has the Syrians, the PLO, the Christians, etc., but not the Shi'ite, which soon became Israel's main enemy in Lebanon.

⁵⁸ There are very few sources on the *Mistaarvim* [lit. "Becoming Arab"] pseudo units, especially in English. Mathieu Deflem's entry is one of these. Mathieu DEFLEM, "Yehida Mishtartit Mistaravim (YAMAS) (Israel)," in *Counterterrorism: From the Cold War to the War on Terror*, ed. Frank G. SHANTY (Volume 2, Santa Barbara, CA: Praeger/ABC-CLIO), 71–72. Available at: <http://deflem.blogspot.com/2012/10/yamas2012.html> (accessed: 12 December 2016). It deals only with the Border Guard's Pseudo Unit – the army and the GSS have their own units – and is a bit outdated (for example, he argues that most operatives are not Jewish, this is not always the case). For some Hebrew-language articles see Bat Hen EPSTEIN ELIAS, "The Shadow Men" [in Hebrew], *Israel Hayom*, 16 October 2015. Available at: www.israelhayom.co.il/article/321023 (accessed: 12 December 2016); Michal MICHAELI, The Mistaarvim War: Duvdevan ["Cherry" unit] vs. Yamas [Police Special Unit], *Pazam Magazine*, 8 November 2011. Available at: www.mako.co.il/pzm-soldiers/best-unit/Article-16def490a631431006.htm (accessed: 12 December 2016). For a Palestinian view see: Adnan ABU AMER, "How the IDF Goes Undercover Among Palestinians," *Al Monitor*, 15 October 2015. Available at: www.al-monitor.com/pulse/originals/2015/10/palestine-gaza-israel-soldiers-mistara-vim-civilians-disguise.html (accessed: 12 December 2016). An example of a *Mistaarvim* raid can be seen in the following video which documents the October 2015 arrest of one of the murderers of my brother and sister in law, who were shot dead in front of their four kids on October 1, 2015: www.youtube.com/watch?v=b-1WNOFefBjY (accessed: 12 December 2016). The raiders, disguised as Muslim women and Hamas members bringing a wounded comrade to the hospital. They went into the hospital, picked up the murdered from his hospital bed, and were out in a very short time.

⁵⁹ See for example, Uri MILSTEIN, "Investigative Report: How the IDF Managed to Prevent Iranian Involvement in the Territories During the Second Intifada" [in Hebrew], *Maariv*, 26 March 2016. Available at: www.maariv.co.il/news/israel/Article-533081 (accessed: 12 December 2016).

incursions into Palestinian-held territories,⁶⁰ they brought forward plans to re-capture west bank cities; they planned and executed operations semi-independently, up to one point where the paratroop brigade planned a brigade-size operation without bothering to inform the IDF's Chief of Staff (who was not amused and cancelled it at the last minute). Insubordination is not the right way to do things, though we Israelis have a penchant for it, but the insistence of lower echelons that each and every operation can be done, was of great importance. The high command gradually came to accept that its former strategy of containment and long-range duels, attempts to force Palestinians to return to the negotiation table so they would stop the violence themselves, to make them "understand" that the fight is not worth it, failed miserably. And by then, it already had enough confidence that the lower echelons could successfully execute a different strategy.⁶¹

As the polls and data show,⁶² while Israeli casualties plummeted after 2002, support for suicide attacks and continuing the Intifada remained high among the Palestinians for some time, even if they had experienced some reverses. The effort of commanders and soldiers, and the non-stop chase after terrorists (the above mentioned "Mowing the Grass" strategy) helped bring down the levels of violence, yet it took some years until the *will* of the Palestinians to continue fighting declined.

Had it not been for the initiative of the lower levels, Israel would have dragged along for much longer with more casualties.⁶³

Economic Warfare Works, Sanctions – Not so Much

A decade ago, an Israeli army battalion robbed a Palestinian bank. Well, technically. They came in heavily armed, blew a safe and took all the money back to the base. Over there, the battalion commander and his officers counted the money, and he slept in the room, with some of his officers guarding it, to prevent any soldier from taking any cash before Israeli authorities came to take it away. This high-profile action was planned to capture money that was smuggled into the country to fund terror attacks.

⁶⁰ On the first incursion see Avihai BECKER, "48 Hours in Beit Jala'a" [in Hebrew], *Haaretz*, 5 September 2001. Available at: www.haaretz.co.il/misc/1.731494 (accessed: 12 December 2016). This author is especially proud that the commander responsible, Lt. Col. Yehuda Yohanonof, mentioned specifically the lessons he had learned from a booklet where he read about the failed attack on Grozny, a booklet written by the author and published inside the IDF in 2000.

⁶¹ For articles discussing and debating the IDF actions during that period see Hagai GOLAN – Shaul SHAI eds., *The Limited Conflict* (Tel Aviv: Maarachot, 2005) [in Hebrew].

⁶² Israel Ministry of Foreign Affairs, "Victims of Palestinian Violence and Terrorism since September 2000," n. d. (2014, data up to the end of 2013). Source: www.mfa.gov.il/mfa/foreignpolicy/terrorism/palestinian/pages/victims%20of%20palestinian%20violence%20and%20terrorism%20sinc.aspx (accessed: 12 December 2016). Jerusalem Media and Communication Centre, *Poll*, no. 51. "On Palestinian Attitudes Towards The Palestinian Political Issues and the Intifada" (June 2004). Source: www.jmcc.org/documentsandmaps.aspx?id=449 (accessed: 12 December 2016).

⁶³ Unfortunately, that was not the case in the second Lebanon war. It is sufficient to say here that the mis-handling of the war by the government and the uncritical acceptance of US doctrine without actually understanding it by the top levels of the army, created such a credibility crisis within the military, that no positive result could be expected.

Most economic warfare operations do not have that Jesse James character. But closing down terror accounts, cutting the supply lines (it became easier after 9/11) and preventing the money from flowing, hurt the capability of Hamas and other terror organizations. Money is needed no less than ideology. Operations like the one above, and supervision on banks, can be done only in places where you control the territory – therefore, such operations are not possible in places like Gaza.

This is one of the reasons why economic sanctions alone hardly can bring a regime change, as economist David Rowe has shown using the case of Rhodesia.⁶⁴ Economic sanctions basically centralize all supply in the hands of the government; therefore, apart from black market, we may control what enters the Gaza Strip, but once we allow something in, Hamas will control who gets what, and that way will be able to play divide-and-rule and make people dependent on its government. In May 2014, no special month, Israel had allowed 5,392 truckloads of food and supplies into the Gaza strip, as well as 13.7 million liters of diesel oil, 3.8 million liters of petrol, and 4,930 tons of gas.⁶⁵ This gives Hamas a lot of leverage over the local population.

An example can highlight the difference. On October 1, 2015, my brother and his wife were murdered by Palestinian terrorists in front of their children.⁶⁶ The murder weapons were a hand gun and an M-16 rifle. The latter sells on the black market for some fifty thousand shekels – about 12,000 dollars.⁶⁷ A decade ago M-16 cost less than 10 percent of this price; but since then we cut the supply chain, and outside money was not freely flowing. So even the “Carlo” improvised gun costs today more than what an M-16 with a few magazines cost a decade ago. On the contrary, in Gaza, despite Egyptian anti-smuggling attempts, an assault rifle can be bought for less than 1,500 dollars.⁶⁸ One of the reasons that – contrary to the early 2000s – such murderous attacks are the exception and not the rule, is the fact that many would-be terrorists have a hard time getting their hands on an effective weapon and to pay for it. Sanctions can, at best, limit the flow of money and weapons, but they cannot halt them. But if an army is controlling the territory, it can wage much more effective economic warfare.

⁶⁴ David M. ROWE, *Manipulating the Market: Understanding Economic Sanctions, Institutional Change, and the Political Unity of White Rhodesia* (Ann Arbor, MI: University of Michigan Press, 2001). This author has built on Rowe’s thesis to predict that Israeli sanctions on Gaza would not bring Hamas Down. Yagil HENKIN, “How to Effectively Sanction Hamas,” *Jerusalem Post*, 8 August 2009. Available at: www.jpost.com/Opinion/Op-Ed-Contributors/How-to-effectively-sanction-Hamas (accessed: 12 December 2016); Yagil HENKIN, “Why Economic Sanctions Alone Won’t Work,” *On Second Thought* newsletter, 22 November 2009. Available at: www.academia.edu/3983095/Why_Economic_Sanctions_Alone_Wont_work (accessed: 12 December 2016).

⁶⁵ The Coordinator of Government Actions in the Territories, “The main points of action for May 2014” [in Hebrew]. Available at: www.cogat.idf.il/Sip_Storage/FILES/1/4471.pdf (accessed: 12 December 2016). Concise English version at www.cogat.idf.il/Sip_Storage/FILES/9/4459.pdf (accessed: 12 December 2016).

⁶⁶ The children were saved when one of the terrorist shot and killed my seriously wounded brother who was trying, empty handed, to fend off the other terrorist, but accidentally shot his friend, too. Both terrorists then ran away in panic. Transcripts of police interrogation, 4–5 November 2015, in Author’s possession.

⁶⁷ Nadav SHRAGAI, “They Improvise and Kill” [in Hebrew], *Israel Hayom*, 12 August 2016. Available at: www.israelhayom.co.il/article/404805 (accessed: 12 December 2016).

⁶⁸ Khaled ABU TOAMEH, “Gaza: Egypt Responsible For Weapons Shortage,” *The Gatestone Institute*, 13 April 2015, www.gatestoneinstitute.org/5545/gaza-egypt-weapons (accessed: 12 December 2016).

Fighting the “Lone Terrorist” Support Network

Recently, Israel had a so-called “lone terrorists” wave of stabbing attacks, running people over with cars, throwing Molotov cocktails, some shooting and the like. Among the attackers there was a 72 years old woman,⁶⁹ as well as youth from rich families.⁷⁰ In mid-October 2015, two eight years old were captured with knives near a settlement, and explained that they have been given knives, driven to the fence and sent to stab some Jew.⁷¹

It was terribly hard to find a pattern; the attackers were rarely members of terrorist organizations, and many without much ideological conviction.⁷² However, when looking at it closely, it can be seen that those terrorists are not exactly lone wolves; and while you cannot predict every case, a pattern exists.

This pattern involves Twitter and Facebook, not because of any vile character of those social networks, but because virtually everyone (at least back home in Israel and the territories) has it, and you can spread the word fast, and provide a web of support and encouragement.⁷³ It involves TV and youth programs; it involves politicians and leaders hinting very clearly what should be done. In other words, in order to have a wave of so-called “lone” terrorists, you need a whole club praising them in advance.⁷⁴ No one has to order someone to go out and kill; once the ideas are set in motion, that’s enough.⁷⁵

So why is it in the “good” part?

Because, fortunately, some things could be done and were done. Reading Facebook posts and following Twitter accounts may be an overwhelming job; but data mining – all legal – and pattern analysis can help to find out where to look and what to read. Sometimes the terrorists actually boast of their own plans, though it is doubtful if many will continue to be as dumb as Bilel Chiahoui, who posted a threat to attack the leaning tower of Pisa and was promptly arrested in Italy (but not before he was, for years, registered as a student without having set foot at the university).⁷⁶ But even if they are not so stupid, sometimes they can be tracked. When a youngster tells his father that he is going to stab someone,

⁶⁹ Shabtai BENDI, “The Terrorist from the Hebron Tramping Attempt: 72 Years Old, Widow of a Terrorist” [in Hebrew], *Walla News*, 6 November 2015. Available at: <http://news.walla.co.il/item/2904377> (accessed: 12 December 2016).

⁷⁰ Bassam TAWIL, “What Do Palestinian Terrorists Want,” *Gatestone Institute*, 15 October 2015. Available at: www.gatestoneinstitute.org/6669/palestinian-terrorists (accessed: 12 December 2016).

⁷¹ Shabtai BENDI – Amir BUHUT, “Two Eight Year Olds Were Captured with Knives near a Settlement: ‘We Were Sent to Do a Terror Attack’” [in Hebrew], *Walla News*, 26 October 2016. Available at: <http://news.walla.co.il/item/3008042> (accessed: 12 December 2016).

⁷² Amos HAREL – Yaniv KOBOVITS, “No more ‘lone terrorist attacks’” [in Hebrew], *Haaretz*, 9 June 2016. Available at: www.haaretz.co.il/premium-1.2971894 (accessed: 12 December 2016).

⁷³ For a comprehensive view on the subject see Gabriel WEIMAN, *Terrorism in Cyberspace: The Next Generation* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2015), especially Chapter 3, 9.

⁷⁴ See Daniel POLISAR, “What Do Palestinians Want,” *Mosaic*, 2 November 2015. Available at: <https://mosaicmagazine.com/essay/2015/11/what-do-palestinians-want> (accessed: 12 December 2016).

⁷⁵ For a debate on the direct involvement of terrorist organizations in the phenomenon see: Ariela Ringel HOFFMAN, “The Dramatic Conclusion of the Terror Expert: It’s a Hamas Intifadah” [in Hebrew], *Ynet*, 11 March 2016. Available at: www.yediot.co.il/articles/0,7340,L-4776939,00.html (accessed: 12 December 2016).

⁷⁶ Ottavia GIUSTETTI – Jacopo RICA, “The Holy War of Billel, [a] Turin University [student] and a martyr wannabe” [in Italian], *R.it*, 13 August 2016. Available at: http://torino.repubblica.it/cronaca/2016/08/13/news/la_guerra_santa_di_bibel_universitario_a_torino_e_aspirante_martire-145906740 (accessed: 12 December 2016).

sometimes the father will talk (especially when the threat of house-demolishing, controversial but effective if done quickly,⁷⁷ is being brought into account). When a 17 year-old youth gets a house visit at 2 am, just to let him know he'd better not do anything he'll regret, the shock is genuine. When some Palestinian parents have called Israeli Security services to warn that their sons or daughters are planning attacks and to ask for their arrest – to prevent the death of the potential attackers during the attack, or the demolition of the house afterwards – it was a sign that something has indeed worked.

In the long term, and this is probably relevant to Europe, too, as long as the would-be terrorists have a sympathetic social environment, it is hard to prevent attacks. But if radicalization and radical preaching are not ignored but fought *before* they actually create terrorists, you have a better chance. And, while I'm no prophet and things could always turn out for the worse, it seems that this wave died out in a few months. It was a combination of intelligence, data analysis, and the fact that even the most dedicated terrorist does not like to die in vain. More protection; more intelligence; lethal force, sometimes (excesses and bad cases like the now-famous Hebron shooting of a wounded terrorist⁷⁸ not included), and the general failure ratio of Palestinian attacks got high.

Israeli intelligence has created a so-called "Heat Map", with the home of every terrorist marked on it, in order to try and find patterns; where terrorists are likely to hit; where they come from; where their extended family live. Terror attacks were separated into three groups – organization-directed attacks; popular riots and stone/Molotov cocktail throwing; and copycat/network incitement-influenced attacks. Over time Israel learned what worked: pseudo-insurgents picking up the leaders of a riot, arresting them and disappearing; threat of house demolitions; stick and carrot policy regarding the villages/families of terrorists, families which produces significant amount of terrorists lost their work permits; while a quiet village would be rewarded⁷⁹. They also learnt what did not work: the death of Palestinians in demonstrations/riots incited more attacks; pictures of dead attackers inspired other attackers; restraint became the call of the day, apart from obvious self-defense.⁸⁰ Add to this using pictures from those very social networks to identify troublemakers, and photos taken by army units with telephoto lenses (a battalion commander told me he had brought his own camera; the moment he raised the camera to his eyes, many demonstrators started dispersing). So, all of those methods together – some old, some new, but all adaptable to the changing situation – helped bringing down the violence level.

⁷⁷ Efraim BENMELECH – Claude BERREBI – Esteban F. KLOR, "Counter-Suicide-Terrorism: Evidence from House Demolitions," *Journal of Politics* 77, no. 1 (2015): 27–43. Available at: <https://scholars.huji.ac.il/eklor/publications/counter-suicide-terrorism-evidence-house-demolitions> (accessed: 12 December 2016).

⁷⁸ The Elor Azaria Case. See „Hebron shooting incident,” *Wikipedia.org*. Available at: https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Hebron_shooting_incident (accessed: 12 December 2016).

⁷⁹ Palestinians, of course, try to counter those means. Only recently a Palestinian doctor lost his job for treating the victims of a terror attack. See *Israel Hayom*, 9 August 2016 [in Hebrew]. Available at: www.israel-hayom.co.il/article/404089 (accessed: 12 December 2016).

⁸⁰ Amir BUHBUT, "How the IDF's and the GSS's 'Heat Map' suppressed the terror" [in Hebrew], *Walla News*, 14 April 2016. Available at: <http://news.walla.co.il/item/2952958> (accessed: 12 December 2016).

Conclusion

This article has all but ignored one fundamental question: the future of the Israeli–Palestinian conflict and the possibility of a solution.

It was ignored on purpose. Not only because it is outside the scope of this article, but since usually those who are fighting against non-state actors may have to make do without a clear political goal. And still they will have to make sure they know what they are doing. Winning and losing in a war is also a question of strategy, not only of tactical situations. This has not changed with asymmetric warfare. The character is different – strikingly different – but ancient Greeks and Hebrews would recognize much of the problems we are facing. After all, there is no place in the Bible saying “and then came eternal peace”. Instead, you have “and the land had rest” for twenty, or forty, or in one case, eighty years. This was the case in both “regular” wars and “asymmetric” ones until 1945. The situation where citizens of a European country, bar Switzerland, could reach seventy years of age without seeing their country invade or being invaded is a historical rarity; hopefully it would become the norm. But in the meantime, the near future seems full of conflicts against non-state actors. And in those conflicts, as the Israeli experience shows us, you do not always lose if you do not win, and if you know what you are doing, you have a good chance of sidelining the enemy, though it is never easy, though there are failures on the way. The question of what should and what could be achieved, who the enemy is and how to fight him, will probably continue to accompany the West for a long time.

Zoltán Jobbágy*

Asymmetric Warfare – Evolutionary Roots

Abstract

Unlike in the traditional international environment where states primarily interact with other states, the last two and a half decades witnessed states increasingly interacting with various non-state actors. The complexity of the international theatre provides these actors with an abundance of opportunities to become successful even over long periods of time.¹ These state/non-state interactions very often result in asymmetric confrontations, including asymmetric warfare. In order to better understand certain features of asymmetric warfare, the author proposes a biological approach that takes advantage of recent discoveries in primate research.

Introduction

An unwanted and long lasting consequence of the demise of the bipolar world order is the increasing number of non-state actors who constantly challenge the existing status quo. An examination of the outcome of asymmetric conflicts in the last two hundred years reveals a dangerous tendency: weak actors increasingly win asymmetric conflicts. The outcome favourable to the strong actor in asymmetric conflicts dropped from 88,2 percent – 11,8 percent (1800–1849); to 79,5 percent – 20,5 percent (1850–1899), then to 55,1 percent – 44,9 percent (1900–1949) and to 45 percent – 55 percent (1950–1998).² The two major wars of the 21st century waged in Iraq and Afghanistan were long campaigns that did not end with the defeat of the weaker party, despite the technological and material advantage of the stronger side.

Comparing the tendencies in biological evolution and human warfare might shed some light to the topic of asymmetric warfare.

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¹ PORKOLÁB Imre, “Az irreguláris hadviselés adaptációja és működési mechanizmusa” [Adaptation and Operating Mechanism of Irregular Warfare], *Honvédségi Szemle* 143, no. 3 (2015): 33–11; PORKOLÁB Imre, “When the Goldfish Meets the Anaconda: a Modern Fable on Unconventional Leadership,” *Counter-Terrorism Exchange* 3, no. 3 (August 2013). Available at: <https://globalecco.org/when-the-goldfish-meets-the-anaconda-a-modern-fable-on-unconventional-leadership> (accessed: 22 December 2016).

² Ivan ARREGUIN-TOFT, “How the Weak Win Wars: A Theory of Asymmetric Conflict,” *International Security* 26, no. 1 (Summer 2001): 97, 99.

Biological Evolution

Similarities between war and biological evolution are obvious. Representatives of both disciplines have either used the vocabularies of the two fields interchangeably or explored certain aspects of the war/evolution overlap in detail. Darwin is a good example. In his book – *On the Origins of Species* – he stated that genetic usurpation and endemic warfare share similarities. In chapter three he drew an analogy between war, battle and natural selection and saw evolution as a battle within battle that must ever be recurring with varying success. This analogy made him conclude that from the war of nature the evolution of the higher animals directly follows. Biological evolution was for him a great and complex battle of life, which – together with the law of battle for survival – formed a recurrent pattern also in his second epic work, *The Descent of Man*.³ Another biologist, Hugh Cott, in the preface to his book – *Adaptive Coloration in Animals* – detailed the striking similarity he observed between the primeval struggle of the jungle and the refinements of civilized warfare. He concluded that both have very much the same story to tell. In evolution and warfare there are results of an armament race and an invention race leading to a state of complex and interesting preparedness for offence and defence. The methods employed in both are, according to him, mainly similar as shown by the evolution of speed, on land, in the air, and under water, by pursuer and pursued. Both can be characterized by the employment of stealth and surprise, of deception and ambush. There is a display of warning signals and of alluring baits, the elaboration of smokescreens, traps, nets, parachutes, of electrocution and booby-traps. In both there is evidence for the adoption of fossorial and nocturnal habits, the development of poison, and of deadly apparatus in the form of fangs or stings or arrows for its injection into the bodies of enemies or prey. Protection in both is afforded by armour-plating, spines and barbed wire. In both evolution and warfare he found the use of chemicals as practiced by certain insects and by creatures such as the skunk.⁴

Boyd, a prominent military theorist, suggested that (similarly to biological evolution) war oscillates on a continuum that cannot be broken into discrete points or steps in time. Therefore both soldiers and ecologists try to find a mechanism that matches the crude reality of life. He pointed out that the theory of evolution by natural selection and the conduct of war are intimately related since both treat conflict, survival, and conquest in a very fundamental way. He regarded war as a conflict between two self-organising, living and fluid-like organisms consisting of many mutually interacting and coevolving parts which form a rich interlacing tapestry of emergent possibilities.⁵ T. E. Lawrence, the leader of the Arab Revolt in 1916–18 also found a biological element in warfare inexpressible by hard or quantitative sciences. This element was for him not subject to the laws of mathematics. It dealt with unknown variables, unfixed conditions, and organic things. Its focus was the individual without artificial aids, an intangible that drifts about like gas. This element, he stated, does not live on any material and does not offer any material to the killing. The biological element

³ Charles Robert DARWIN, *On the Origin of Species, By Means of Natural Selection, Or the Preservation of Favoured Races in the Struggle for Life* (London: John Murray, 1859), 73., 80., 490.; Charles Robert DARWIN, *The Descent of Man, And Selection in Relation to Sex* (London: John Murray, 1871).

⁴ Hugh B. COTT, *Adaptive Coloration in Animals* (London: Methuen & Co. Ltd., 1957), xi–xii (quotation on xi).

⁵ John BOYD, *Patterns of Conflict*, printed version of the briefing of 11 December 1986. Available at: www.d-n-i.net/boyd/pdf/poc.pdf (accessed: 19 May 2014).

appeared for him messy and slow, like eating soup with a knife. Lawrence regarded this element the breaking-point, which decided on life and death. For him the biological element was humanity in battle, the personal experience. It was the very essence of war with a line of variability running through all its aspects. Its components were sensitive and illogical always with the possibility of accidents and flaws. The biological element was not expressible in troops or figures, but existed as intuitions. He reasoned that even if nine-tenths of warfare was certain and could be taught in books the irrational rest could be ensured only by instinct. Due to this biological element, he stated that amateur control, experimental councils, ad hoc divisions, and all sorts of whimsicality are inherent features of war.⁶

Scientific Illusion

In biological terms war is an expression of intraspecific aggression for which there are countless examples in the animal kingdom. However, due to the long lasting influence of the famous Austrian etymologist, Konrad Lorenz, until the early 1970s it was assumed that not much is going on in evolution in terms of intraspecific aggression. This long lasting scientific illusion, the desire to pacify biological processes is similar to other fields of science when it comes to war. Anthropology is a good example for this tendency.⁷ In his seminal book, *On Aggression*, Lorenz concluded that aggressive behaviour has the function to maintain the existence of individuals and species in two ways. First, aggression regulates the density of a species in a given habitat thus preventing the exhaustion of food resources. Second, aggression is linked to sexuality and has the function to pass on of own genes. Aggression did not have the function for him to kill other individuals belonging to the same species. Ending in certain rituals, it can make the bonds between individuals even stronger.⁸ This illusion was smashed by later research. Intraspecific aggression and death as a result of it is pretty much everyday reality for many members of a wide array of species in the animal kingdom. It became also clear that the level of intraspecific aggression in the animal kingdom very much surpasses the level of aggression found even in the most violent human societies. The only thing that limits the level of intraspecific aggression is the desire of the involved to avoid serious injuries and wounds. An injured or wounded animal may face decreasing chance to get access to food and as a result of it suffers the most serious consequences. There is no social security, no medical or health institutions in the animal kingdom. One consequence of it is that the bulk of intraspecific killing is aimed against the weaker and the defenceless. Observations prove that most such killings occur against cubs of others within the same species. Thus intraspecific aggression found in the animal kingdom is essentially asymmetric and has the function to avoid injuries and wounds.⁹

⁶ Thomas Edward LAWRENCE, *Seven Pillars of Wisdom* (Hertfordshire: Wordsworth Classic of World Literature, 1997), 101; JOBBÁGY Zoltán – BAKOS Csaba Attila, “Explaining the Evolutionary Dynamics of an Insurgency: T. E. Lawrence and the Art of Tribal Warfare,” *AARMS* 14, no. 1 (2015): 91–99.

⁷ Lawrence H. KEELEY, *War Before Civilization, the Myth of the Peaceful Savage* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1996), 3–8; Irenaus EIBL-EIBESFELDT, *The Biology of Peace and War: Men, Animals and Aggression* (Viking, 1979).

⁸ Konrad LORENZ, *On Aggression* (New York: Routledge Classics, 2002), 21–45, 54–81.

⁹ Azar GAT, *War in Human Civilization* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006), 3–10, 36–113, 114–132.

Intergroup Encounters

Biologically modern humans (*Homo sapiens*) belong to the family of Hominidae. Relatives are the chimpanzees (*Pan troglodytes*), the bonobos (*Pan paniscus*), the gorilla (*Gorilla gorilla*) and the orangutan (*Pongo pygmaeus*). The closest relative is the chimpanzee.¹⁰ There are three scientific discoveries that support this very close relationship. The discoveries point to five million years ago, when there existed a common origin of the two species. One discovery is those 4.5 million years old fossils found in Ethiopia that prove the existence of a bipedal human ancestor with a chimpanzee-like head. The second discovery is those laboratory tests that prove a strong genetic similarity between humans and chimpanzees. In fact, humans are genetically closer to chimpanzees than to gorillas. Even though recent research suggests the gap might be of 6 percent, rather than the originally identified 1–2 percent. The genetic difference might be small enough to place both species within the same genus. The third discovery is those field and laboratory observations that found striking behavioural, social and other similarities between chimpanzees and humans. Similarities in intergroup encounters of chimpanzees and human wars are among the most interesting.¹¹ Wars of humans in all ages featured disciplined soldiers, organized warriors and coldblooded killers. Aggressive intergroup encounters of chimpanzees provide all this. Chimpanzees do hunt and eat meat. On occasion they become cannibals. It appears that chimpanzees are nothing else, but just funny caricatures of humans.¹² The dynamics of the primitive wars of human societies and the intergroup encounters of chimpanzees display remarkable similarities. Both contain surprise attacks, the application of overwhelming force, the commitment to kill, intimidation of individuals belonging to the other group. Aggressive and violent behaviour can be observed both in chimpanzee intergroup encounters and human warfare.¹³ Groups of male chimpanzees conduct patrols every three to five days. They move towards the borders of their territory. Since chimpanzee territories overlap, this activity is very dangerous for them. Here they become silent and cautious, sniff the vegetation, climb high into the trees to observe the area of the other group. The encounter of different chimpanzee groups of similar size ends up with loud hooting, mock charges, throwing stones and sticks of various sizes. After a while the groups retreat towards the centre of their territory. However, should the encounter become asymmetric in number or situation, another scenario unfolds. In case a lone chimpanzee is located, they chase it and as soon as it becomes possible, they attack it ferociously. In these cases death and cannibalism can happen.¹⁴ Jane Goodall, one of the world's foremost experts on chim-

¹⁰ Richard WRANGHAM – Dale PETERSON, *Demonic Males, Apes and the Origins of Human Violence* (New York: Mariner Books, 1996), 35–40.

¹¹ WRANGHAM–PETERSON, *Demonic Males, Apes and the Origins of Human Violence*, 23; GYRUS, *War & the Noble Savage: Being a Critical Inquiry into Recent Accounts of Violence Amongst Uncivilized Peoples* (London: Dreamflesh Press, 2009), 35.

¹² Michael GHIGLIERI, "War Among the Chimps," *Discover* 11, no. 8 (November 1987): 68.

¹³ Steven A. LeBLANC – Katherine E. REGISTER, *Constant Battles, The Myth of the Peaceful, Noble Savage* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 2003), 78.; Dan JONES, "Human Behaviour: Killer Instincts," *Nature*, no. 451 (31 January 2008): 514.

¹⁴ Jane GOODALL, *In the Shadow of Man* (Boston–New York: Houghton Mifflin, 1988), 10–11.; John C. MITANI – David P. WATTS – Martin N. MULLER, "Recent Developments in the Study of Wild Chimpanzee Behavior," *Evolutionary Anthropology* 11, no. 1 (2002): 9–25.

panzees could personally observe aggression, violence and brutality that go together when encounters of chimpanzees belonging to different groups become asymmetric. In the 1970s she witnessed the unfolding intergroup dynamics of two chimpanzee groups, the Kasakela and the Kahama. In relation to what she saw, she explicitly used the term *warfare*.¹⁵ Others also observed similar intergroup dynamics of chimpanzees featuring war-like attributes. Toshida Nishida in Tanzania, Stella Brewer in Senegal, Christophe and Hedwig Boesch in Ivory Coast observed similar consequences of asymmetric chimpanzee encounters. On two occasions observations recorded the extermination of an entire chimpanzee group by another group of chimpanzees.¹⁶

Primitive Wars

Jane Goodall thinks that the behaviour of chimpanzees may be to a great extent similar to that of proto and early humans. Simple patterns of chimpanzee thinking and violence turned over millions of years into human love and hate, mercy and cruelty, harmony and war. In military terminology, chimpanzee intergroup encounters are of low intensity, irregular in appearance, and asymmetric in nature. Their attributes include the commitment to achieve numerical superiority or situational advantage with consequences of serious injuries and occasional deaths on the side of the receiving end.¹⁷ This very much accords with certain attributes of the primitive wars waged by humans. These wars do not involve many casualties; therefore participation is, at first glance, not very dangerous. Their level is below the military horizon of advanced societies; their dynamics are half-hearted and floppy. These wars do not require much logistic support, and there is no need for organised training and elaborate fortifications. They feature lack of discipline, command-and-control, specialisation, and principles. For a long time primitive wars were thought to be inefficient undertakings waged by volunteers and part-timers.¹⁸ Nothing is farther from reality. The low intensity, irregular and asymmetric conflicts of the unfolding 21st century in Iraq and Afghanistan featured attributes common with the wars of primitive humans and the intergroup encounters of chimpanzees. This form of war can have serious consequences on the lives both of individuals and groups. Since it is not waged by an institution, it penetrates into all aspects of the society involved. It destroys social structures, does not make distinctions between war and peace, soldier and civilian, enemy and criminal. It features a poisonous cocktail of subversive warfare, psychological activities, terror and counter-terror, and absolute enmity leading to genocide.¹⁹

¹⁵ MITANI-WATTS-MULLER, *Recent Developments in the Study of Wild Chimpanzee Behavior*, 12–13.

¹⁶ WRANGHAM-PETERSON, *Demonic Males, Apes and the Origins of Human Violence*, 19–21.

¹⁷ GOODALL, *In the Shadow of Man*, 8–10.

¹⁸ MARVIN HARRIS – ORNA JOHNSON, *Cultural Anthropology* (Boston, MA: Allyn & Bacon, 2003), 164–165.; ROBERT GARDNER – KARL G. HEIDER, *Gardens of War: Life and Death in the New Guinea Stone Age* (New Your: Random House, 1968), 135–144.

¹⁹ CARL SCHMITT, *The Theory of the Partisan: A Commentary/Remark on the Concept of the Political*, (Berlin: Duncker & Humblot, 1963); English translation by A. C. GOODSON (East Lansing, MI: Michigan State University, 2004), 6–7, 10–55. Available at: <http://obinfonet.ro/docs/tpnt/tpntrex/cschmitt-theory-of-the-partisan.pdf> (accessed: 20 November 2014).

This form of war can be very bloody, cause the death of many, and result in serious consequences. On occasion it can come closest to the apocalyptic or absolute war Goodall observed between the Kasakela and the Kahama groups. The encounters of the two groups went until the end of 1977, when the Kahama was no more. Goodall witnessed the clear evidence of chimpanzee genocide.²⁰ Observing chimpanzee intergroup encounters makes it possible to understand war not just as a political phenomenon spanning some hundreds of years, a cultural phenomenon spanning some thousands of years, or an anthropological phenomenon spanning some tens of thousands of years. The comparison with chimpanzee intergroup encounters makes it possible to see war as a natural phenomenon spanning millions of years.²¹ The significant genetic and morphological similarity between humans and chimpanzees, the evidence of aggression and violence in both species suggest that certain dynamics and attributes of war, especially when it comes to asymmetric ones, is the result of the evolutionary process. Wars waged by the Yanomamö of the Amazonas observed and recorded by Chagnon show clear similarity with the intergroup encounter of chimpanzee groups as detailed by Goodall and others. Their social setup is also similar as both form patrilinear groups ranging from some dozen to some hundreds. Raiding is the most dominant form of intergroup encounters. A small party of males deliberately intrudes into the area of the other group and as soon as asymmetric opportunity occurs, they stalk the victim, charge him brutally and kill him on the spot or wound him fatally. Some of their actions would be classified as war crimes in more advanced societies.²² Long-term observations of wild chimpanzees make their intergroup aggression even more similar to wars of humans. Over a period of ten years ranging from 1999 to 2008, Mitani and others observed a chimpanzee group called Ngogo in Kibale National Park, Uganda. During the ten years, the group killed or wounded fatally 21 chimpanzees belonging to other groups. The researchers concluded that due to the killings, the Ngogo chimpanzees expanded their territory considerably, from 28,76 km² to 35,16 km² by annexing an area previously occupied by their neighbours. Thus territorial expansion followed a series of lethal asymmetric attacks. The findings are consistent with the hypothesis that lethal intergroup aggression of chimpanzees can lead to territorial expansion. In this process, chimpanzees increase their access to resources that are then available to other group members, too.²³

²⁰ Martin VAN CREVELD, *The Transformation of War: The Most Radical Interpretation of Armed Conflict since Clausewitz* (New York: The Free Press, 1991), 21–22.; Roger TRINQUIER, *Modern Warfare: A French View of Counterinsurgency* (Praeger Security International, 2006); WRANGHAM–PETERSON, *Demonic Males, Apes and the Origins of Human Violence*, 18.

²¹ John KEEGAN, *A History of Warfare* (London: Pimlico, 1994); Brian R. FERGUSON – Neil L. WHITEHEAD eds., *War in the Tribal Zone: Expanding States and Indigenous Warfare* (Santa Fe, NM: School for Advanced Research Press, 2002); Brian R. FERGUSON, *Warfare, Culture, and Environment* (Orlando, FL: Academic Press, 1984); WRANGHAM–PETERSON, *Demonic Males, Apes and the Origins of Human Violence*, 43–47.

²² Napoleon A. CHAGNON, *Yanomamo: The Last Days of Eden* (San Diego, CA – New York, London: Harcourt Brace & Co., 1992), 182–241.; GARDNER–HEIDER, *Gardens of War*, 135–144.; WRANGHAM–PETERSON, *Demonic Males, Apes and the Origins of Human Violence*, 63–70.; Sohaib GABSIS – Scott SHOW, *Crisis in the Central African Republic: Muslim Minorities and the Descent into Sectarian Conflict*. Prepared for the All-Parliamentary Group for the Prevention of Genocide and other Crimes against Humanity. Available at: www4.carleton.ca/cifp/app/serve.php/1497.pdf (accessed: 05 September 2016).

²³ John C. MITANI – David P. WATTS – Sylvia J. AMSLER, “Lethal Intergroup Aggression Leads to Territorial Expansion in Wild Chimpanzees: Correspondences,” *Current Biology* 20, no. 12 (2010): 507–508.

Conclusion

The observation of Mitani et al. come very close to what Hobbes described as absolute war in which the meaning of right and wrong, justice and injustice becomes empty. There is no common power, no law and no injustice. Force and fraud go together with continual fear and danger of violent death. In absolute war life is solitary, poor, nasty, brutish and short.²⁴ Conducting raids and fighting from ambush promote an approach that is essentially defensive. Schmitt called the approach that combines strategic defence with tactical offence telluric. It should not come as a surprise that also Clausewitz, who addressed asymmetric warfare waged by the people only briefly, did this in his book on defence.²⁵ Aggression and violence are, according to Clausewitz, inherent features of war and can also be found in the intraspecific group aggression of chimpanzees living across Africa. Among chimpanzees most serious attempts at killing and the killing itself are done when the victim can be caught helpless and relatively defenceless, and is little capable of effectively harming the attacker. These occasions of deadly fighting are asymmetrical in which casualties overwhelmingly concentrate on the receiving end. This pattern is remarkably uniform also among humans in the primitive warfare of any society of hunter-gatherers and primitive agriculturalists. It was regularly observable in the asymmetric warfare waged in various areas of operations ranging from Iraq to Afghanistan, too. Raiding chimps and insurgents fighting for non-state actors appear to have similar motivations. Members of both species avoid serious, deadly, face-to-face confrontations to avoid the risk to oneself and to one's close kin. Wounds gained in symmetric confrontations may be most dangerous and can reduce the chance to get to resources to sustain one's life. The life of raiding chimpanzees and of insurgents is highly insecure and fraught with violent death. For chimpanzees there is no social security in nature and wounds might mean starvation, which is also true for humans living in the unfortunate parts of the world.

²⁴ Thomas HOBBS, *Leviathan, Or, The Matter, Forme & Power of a Common-wealth Ecclesiasticall and Civill* (London, 1651), 78. Available at: <http://socserv2.socsci.mcmaster.ca/econ/ugcm/3113/hobbes/Leviathan.pdf> (accessed: 08 September 2016).

²⁵ SCHMITT, *The Theory of the Partisan*, 6–7.

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*Péter Á. Kiss**

Government Militia: An Indispensable Building Block of National Resilience

Abstract

In asymmetric conflicts the state can prevail only if its security forces can carry the fight to the non-state belligerent and at the same time maintain permanent dominance over the affected regions. This requires manpower in very large numbers. One cost-effective way to obtain the necessary numbers is to raise local self-defense volunteer forces and keep them under firm government control. Through brief case studies the author analyzes the organization and employment of militias and shows the advantages and risks involved.

Numbers and Security

The political and socio-economic developments of the last seven decades or so have led to a fundamental change in the paradigm of armed conflict. Most contemporary conflicts (although by no means all) are insurgencies and take place within the borders of the nation-state. In these intrastate wars one of the most important tasks of the government is to provide permanent security and protection to the population. To this end, the security forces must establish undisputed territorial control and maintain a constant presence of the state's power and authority. There can be no gaps: patrols must be present constantly and remind everyone of the state's power; children must go to school every weekday; government officials must move around and perform their official duties without fear or hindrance; every element of governance must function, from the court system through street lighting and health clinics to trash collection.¹ Security for the population and a high tempo of kinetic operations against the non-state belligerent's forces prevent the development of a societal Stockholm

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¹ Walter C. LADWIG, *Insights from the Northeast: Counterinsurgency in Nagaland and Mizoram* (Oxford: Merton College, 2008), 13–15.

syndrome,² and allow the state to deploy political, economic, judicial and administrative measures to address the root causes of the conflict.³

These concurrent tasks are manpower intensive, and – unlike conventional war – the security forces must be sized not according to the enemy’s numbers, but to the population of the affected area. Troop levels as high as 20 to 25 security forces personnel per 1000 population may be necessary – although an adequate ratio all by itself does not guarantee success (see Table 1).⁴ With their limited peacetime numbers the state’s regular forces are seldom able to establish such comprehensive territorial dominance. They simply do not have the manpower to control every village, every town, every forest and every field day and night.⁵ The non-state belligerent exploits this: he appears and acts only when security forces are not present. His concealed and intermittent presence is generally sufficient to maintain contact with, and gain control over the people and extort their support or (often just as important) their silence through a combination of propaganda, intimidation, coercion and incentives.⁶

² Since the non-state belligerent is generally much weaker than the security forces, he directs his attacks against the state’s social foundations: symbols of state power, civilian morale, and infrastructure. His final goal is to break society’s resistance, have the civilians blame the state for the casualties, destruction and disorder, and force a significant number of citizens to support (or at least not oppose) him. Kanwar Pal Singh Gill Indian police officer called this phenomenon the “societal Stockholm syndrome”. Kanwar Pal Singh GILL, “Dubious Things Called ‘Popular Support,’” *The Pioneer*, December 1 2001.; Prem MAHADEVAN, “The Gill Doctrine: A Model for 21st Century Counter-terrorism?” *Faultlines*, 19 April 2008.

³ MAHADEVAN, *The Gill Doctrine*.

⁴ James T. QUINLIVAN, “Force Requirements in Stability Operations,” *Parameters*, no. 1 (Winter 1995): 59–69.; Steven M. GOODE, “A Historical Basis for Force Requirements in Counterinsurgency,” *Parameters*, no. 10 (Winter 2009): 45–57.; FM 3-24/MCWP 3-33.5; 1–13.

⁵ Charles W. GWYNN, *Imperial Policing* (London: MacMillan and Company, 1939). In practically every case study that Gwynn provides the resolution of the conflict begins with reinforcements being rushed to the scene from nearby corners of the Empire.

⁶ Bernard B. FALL, *The Theory and Practice of Insurgency and Counterinsurgency* (Newport RI: Naval War College Review, 1965). In some cases the insurgents’ penetration of society can be so subtle as to allow the political and military decision-makers of the government to think that certain areas are secure, when in fact they are under insurgent control. In 1953 in Vietnam the operational maps of the French forces showed that the Red River Delta (Hanoi, Haiphong, and over 8 000 villages) were under firm government control. In fact, the colonial government was not collecting taxes in most of the 8 000 villages and most teacher positions were vacant: the taxes were collected by the insurgents (the Viet Minh), and the teachers were Viet Minh cadres.

Table 1
Security forces to population ratios in some counterinsurgency campaigns, with results shown

Conflict	Ratio	Result
Algeria, Battle of Algiers Jan–Oct 1957	30:1000	success
Rhodesia, “bush war” 1972–78	3:1000–5:1000	failure
Rhodesia, 1979 elections spring 1979	11:1000	failure
N. Ireland – 1980s	16:1000	success
Punjab – 1984–1991	4:1000–5:1000	stalemate
Punjab – 1994	15:1000	success
Kosovo, Yugoslav COIN 1998–1999	21:1000	success
Kosovo, NATO occupation July 1999	20:1000	failure
Iraq, Basra 2003	3:1000	failure
Iraq, Bagdad Security Plan Feb–Nov 2007	20:1000	success

Source: compiled from various sources by the author⁷

In this new type of war, militias often assume an important role. Unfortunately, the taxonomy of the term – and the attendant value judgment – is not a simple one.

- In areas where the central government’s authority is weak, local tribes, ethnic groups, religious congregations, or just ordinary citizens raise their own armed

⁷ The results of success or failure do not always coincide with the final outcome of the particular conflict. E.g. the French won the Battle of Algiers, and in military terms they won the Algerian war as well, yet in the end they granted independence to Algeria, and withdrew. The Yugoslav security forces crushed the KLA in 1999, so their operations are assessed as a success, even though Yugoslavia lost the conflict due NATO’s intervention. The subsequent occupation of Kosovo by NATO failed to prevent large-scale expulsion of, and reprisals against the Serbs, therefore it is assessed here as a failure.

forces for protection against the impositions of other non-state actors, and sometimes also resist such forces as the state may possess.⁸

- Militias may also supplement the state's regular forces.⁹ Some are raised by private initiative, but receive considerable – and more or less open – material support from the authorities. Such forces are often used to apply repressive measures in contested space and carry out strikes into ungoverned space without the legal curbs and restrictions that apply to regular security forces. Subsequently the government can repudiate their actions as those of rouge or illegal organizations.
- The state's security forces may also raise militias to supplement their numbers. These forces are usually subject to military regulations and are tightly controlled. When the conflict is over, they may either be disbanded, or become part of the regular forces. These pro-government militias are the subject of this study.¹⁰

Case Studies

Raising local militias to solve the manpower problem is not without risks. Even in the best of cases they may become alternative power centers and dilute the state's monopoly over lawful violence and police power. For this reason, some governments are extremely wary about employing them. The following three cases show some of the advantages and pitfalls of employing militias in an asymmetric conflict.

Hungary, 1956–1989

In the fall of 1956 Hungary was in the world's headlines: dissatisfaction, hope and fear led to revolution (October 23, 1956), which swept away both communist rule and the security structure that had maintained it.¹¹ The State Security Authority (Államvédelmi Hatóság – ÁVH) ceased to exist: fearing the people's wrath, its personnel went into hiding. Ordinary policemen had less to fear, but most decided to take no chances and stayed at home. The armed forces remained neutral, except for a few units that sided with the rebels.

⁸ For an analysis of this development see for example Richard H. SHULTZ – Andrea J. DEW, *Insurgents, Terrorists and Militias: the Warriors of Contemporary Combat* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2006).

⁹ See for example the data-set and papers by Sabine C. CAREY (University of Mannheim, Chair of Political Science IV) and Neil J. MITCHELL (University of Aberdeen) at www.sowi.uni-mannheim.de/lspol4/?page_id=41 and www.sabinecarey.com/militias (accessed: 12 December 2016).

¹⁰ There is a third type of government-raised militia as well – the nation in arms. Switzerland has only about 3 000 professional soldiers and no standing conscript units, yet it can put a well-trained army of 200 000 armed citizen-soldiers into the field within a few days.

¹¹ Persistently low living standards and excessive repression by the Communist government led to mounting public dissatisfaction. The withdrawal of Soviet forces from Austria, Khrushchev's new, less doctrinaire policies, as well as reforms in Poland raised the hope that change was possible. At the same time the manoeuvres of the party's hardliners generated considerable unease that unbridled dictatorship may return and squash all reform.

After some behind the scenes maneuvers, the Soviet Union ordered its armed forces to suppress the revolution by force.¹² The lightly armed insurgents could not resist the firepower of the Soviet divisions, and in less than a week (4 to 10 November) the fighting was all but over. The revolution did not last long enough to put down deep roots or to develop the underground infrastructure necessary for a protracted struggle, but Soviet military victory did not automatically restore the Communists to power. The insurgents disappeared from the streets, but there were still a very large number of weapons in their hands. Defiant graffiti, sabotage, sniping incidents, strikes, and demonstrations suggested that many people were prepared to continue resistance by other means and other tactics.

The presence of the Soviet forces prevented renewed fighting, but suppressing the armed resistance was just a necessary first step. The Communist party needed its own reliable armed force to consolidate its power. The force available in November 1956 was tiny: three constabulary regiments (altogether about 6 000 men) were raised in Budapest, and some battalions and independent companies (a further 5 000 men) were raised in the larger provincial cities. They consisted of military, state security and police officers returning to duty, as well as of civilian volunteers (workers, party officials, veterans of the Spanish civil war, Greek and Yugoslav émigrés, former partisans).¹³ These units broke the back of the revolution.

During December 1956 and January 1957 the revolutionary committees were suppressed; the activities of the workshop councils were squeezed into ever narrower limits; one after the other the participants in the revolution were arrested; the first death sentences were passed in accelerated criminal procedures in December. On several occasions the constabulary units fired into demonstrators protesting these developments. Their patrols (whose members in many cases knew the toughest local men either personally or by reputation) often provoked the citizens, and responded to their angry reaction with unbridled violence.

Meanwhile, the party leadership was already making plans to replace the constabulary units with a reliable militia. Following intensive preparations the new force (Munkásőrség – Workers’ Guard) was officially raised on February 19, 1957 – although recruitment and organization had already started in the factories some weeks earlier. Dávid Kiss is probably correct, when he offers an explanation for the three months’ delay in raising the militia: “From the very first there was an effort to make the Workers’ Guard popular among the people. [...] If the corps had been raised right after the revolution, the Guardsmen would have inevitably been deployed on some unpopular duties. Once the government consolidated its power, the hated constabulary units were disbanded, and the Workers’ Guard was raised simultaneously. As the regime was being consolidated, there was a constant effort to have the ‘dirty work’ done by forces other than the Workers’ Guard.”¹⁴

¹² The Soviet Union had several divisions deployed in Hungary since the end of WW II. SOMKUTI Bálint, “Budapest, 1956: Egy modern városi felkelés és leverésének katonai-politikai tanulságai” [Budapest, 1956: Military and Political Lessons of an Urban Insurrection and Its Suppression], in RESPERGER István – KISS Álmos Péter – SOMKUTI Bálint: *Aszimmetrikus hadviselés* [Asymmetric warfare] (Budapest: Zrínyi, 2014).

¹³ KISS Dénes, “A Munkásőrség megalakítása” [Creation of the Workers’ Guard], *Múltunk* no. 3 (2009): 238–277.

¹⁴ KISS, *A Munkásőrség megalakítása*.

Recruitment, organization and training progressed remarkably quickly: the 30,000 man goal, planned for the end of 1957, was reached in May. Command and control relationships were defined: professional supervision was to be shared between the Ministry of Interior and the Ministry of Defense, while personnel issues and employment of the forces were to be decided by the party's Central Committee.¹⁵ Regulations were issued and the tables of organization and equipment were defined, from the National Command down to the squads. Equipment issue and training were continuous as the units were raised. Every Guardsman was issued with a service weapon (usually a PPSH-41 submachine gun), as well as a pistol. In the early days the Guardsmen went everywhere armed. Their legal status was defined as "official person authorized to carry a firearm and employ deadly force".¹⁶

The process was not without problems: training often had to be conducted with borrowed weapons; the vehicles were in poor condition; weapons were not stored securely everywhere; there were deficiencies in training and discipline. Some Guardsmen abused their new powers, brandishing their weapons in public and firing indiscriminately. These problems (inherent in any hasty organization) were gradually resolved. As the Guardsmen completed their training, they took over security for party installations and key infrastructure, and started to join police patrols.

The Guard's first operational test was a show of force on March 21, 1957.¹⁷ No one had any reliable information about the true strength or the plans of the diehard revolutionaries, and the party decided to take no chances. Over 10,000 armed Guardsmen flooded downtown Budapest. Their disciplined, but obviously determined presence may have prevented a new outbreak of fighting.¹⁸ Similar demonstrations of strength took place in other cities. A week later (March 29) Guardsmen provided security for major party rallies in several locations.¹⁹ Shortly thereafter the constabulary regiments were disbanded (April 30, 1957) and their personnel were either discharged or absorbed into the other uniformed services.

The Guard became exactly the kind of organization the party leadership had envisaged: a territorial militia dedicated to keep the party in power. This required personnel with a firm commitment to the party, so recruits were subject to vetting, and only party members were promoted into command positions. The Guardsmen served only short periods (usually in their free time) and received no pay, but they were compensated by an equal number of days of paid leave, or received their normal pay if they were on duty during working hours. There were non-monetary benefits as well: career advancement, preferential treatment in public housing, education opportunities for the men and their dependents, family vacations in some of the country's popular resorts.

¹⁵ This arrangement was a hybrid of the Czech and East German models, albeit with a larger dose of the Czech than the East German, and with an additional ministry (Defence) involved.

¹⁶ KISS Álmos Péter, "Mílicia – kétélű kard a felkelés elleni harcban" [Militia: Double-edged Sword in Counterinsurgency], *Sereg Szemle* 1 (2011), 68–88.

¹⁷ 21 March was the anniversary of the short-lived Hungarian Soviet Republic, established in 1919.

¹⁸ SIMON F. Nándor, "A Munkásőrség létrehozása," *Rendvédelem-történeti Füzetek (Acta Historiae Praesidii Ordinis)* 18, no. 21 (2010): 117–122.

¹⁹ This established the tradition of the Workers' Guard providing security at party rallies. SIMON, *A Munkásőrség létrehozása*.

The senior commanders and a very few specialists were professionals,²⁰ but 99 percent of the personnel remained in their civilian occupations, trades and professions. Unit cohesion was high: the Guardsmen shared an ideology, and they often worked for the same employer. Every county, every riding, and every district in the larger cities had a Workers' Guard battalion. Villages had smaller units; the agricultural cooperatives and larger enterprises also had their own squads, platoons or companies. As a result of regular training the Guardsmen were more competent in the limited skill-set their mission required than the reservists of the Hungarian Defense Force (or those of many other European armed forces, for that matter).

Guard units could be mobilized only with the approval of the appropriate level of the party hierarchy – and in case of full mobilization the party could count on about 60 000 reliable armed men, as well as a steadily growing number of discharged veterans. Eventually, as the party's power was consolidated, the submachine guns were returned to unit arms rooms, but the men kept their pistols – more as a symbol of the trust the party placed in them, than as a necessary tool for self-defense. In the course of time the uniform was changed to a more military cut, and the submachine guns were replaced with a local copy of the AK-47, but otherwise armament remained fairly light.²¹

In addition to being the party's fist, the Guard also served as its eyes and ears. Being a Guardsman was a political commitment and entailed certain rewards, but otherwise the Guardsmen were ordinary members of society – far more so than the state security operatives or the party *nomenklatura*. They were present in every profession, industry and trade, and in every enterprise, agricultural cooperative, store and bureau. They sensed and reported the moods and opinions of Hungarian society, and through them the party kept itself informed.

During the Guard's 32-years existence its units were mobilized several times – but very seldom on tasks originally envisaged for them. They participated in snow emergencies, built dykes and guarded evacuated villages during flood emergencies, and manned roadblocks to prevent the spread of livestock epidemics. These public service tasks did not make the Guardsmen particularly popular, but did contribute to their general acceptance and gained them a measure of grudging respect. Guards units provided security for major political rallies, and in 1968 they secured the Hungarian Army's route during the invasion of Czechoslovakia. Although the Guardsmen did not have full police powers, they regularly augmented police patrols in order to provide extra muscle in the tougher neighborhoods. The Guard became the specialist institution in riot control and related constabulary functions.²² This expertise was tested in the spring of 1972 and 1973, when the March 15 commemorations threatened to get out of hand.

In the turbulent 1980s, as the Communist party's power crumbled, the Guard was again in the center of attention. The politicians trying to force the Communists out were afraid that the Guard (with or without the approval of the party leadership) would organize a *coup d'état* to reverse the liberalization process.²³ The reform-minded party elite forced its own reluctant

²⁰ The senior commanders were paid on the same scale as officers of the People's Army and were carried on the rolls of the army reserve.

²¹ The PPSH-41 remained as an element of the Guard's regimental badge.

²² FORRÓ János, A Kádár-rendszer rendvédelmi szervezetei a BM Karhatalom és a Készenléti Rendőri Ezred," *Rendvédelem-történeti Füzetek (Acta Historiae Praesidii Ordinis)* 20, no. 23 (2011): 36.

²³ "Az elbocsátott légió: A lefegyverzett munkásőrök hallgatnak a múltjukról", *RTL Klub*, 3 April 2007. Available at: <http://rtl.hu/rtlklub/hirek/hatter/cikkek/106945> (accessed: 12 December 2016).

rank-and-file into line with much the same vision: unless the reforms were implemented quickly, the tough, grizzled *anciens combattants* could take matters into their own hands and sweep away reformists, conservatives, careerists and opportunists without distinction. Meanwhile the Guardsmen were angry, lost and directionless. They felt that the party leadership had betrayed the principles of the class struggle and was giving in to the “reactionaries”, instead of knocking their heads together.²⁴ A referendum on November 26, 1989 settled the issue: 95 percent of the participants voted for disbandment, and a law was duly promulgated to that effect. But all that was only papering down a *fait* that had already been *accompli*: several days before the referendum army units had already occupied the Guard’s installations in a coordinated operation, and collected up its arms.²⁵

Punjab, 1980–1994

The Punjab was an unlikely location for an insurgency in the 1980s: it was one of India’s most prosperous states, with modern cities and a highly developed infrastructure. Although it was not entirely free of inter-ethnic and religious violence, the two dominant groups (Sikhs and Hindus) generally got along reasonably well. Nevertheless, an insurgency did break out in the early 1980s, with the goal of establishing Khalistan, a Sikh theocratic state.²⁶ The insurgents, realizing that they could not match the resources of the Republic of India, sought to achieve their goal by creating the greatest possible chaos in the state and to a lesser extent in the rest of India, until either Indian society accepted Khalistan’s independence, or the international community forced India to do so.²⁷ The terrain (intensively cultivated, roll-

²⁴ This author interviewed a few former Guardsmen. They all stated that their units had been ready to draw their weapons and march on Parliament in order to restore the party to its rightful position of supremacy, but the call for action never came. See also ÓLMOŠI Zoltán, “A Munkásörtség hangulata 1989-ben,” *Archív Net: XX századi történeti források*. Available at: www.archivnet.hu/politika/munkasorseg_hangulata_1989ben.html (accessed: 12 December 2016).

²⁵ Some years later the Guard’s rifles showed up in the hands of Croatian militiamen: during Croatia’s war of independence the Hungarian government quietly sold a very large supply of them (anywhere between 10 000 and 50 000 weapons, as well as several million rounds of ammunition) to the fledgling Croatian state.

²⁶ Several factors contributed to the development of the insurgency: the negative economic and social effects of the “Green Revolution”; a revival of Sikh religious fundamentalism; politicization of the Sikh religion; the conflict between the state’s dominant political party (Shiromani Akali Dal) and the Congress party that dominated national politics; the machinations of the prime minister (Indira Gandhi); the central government’s centralizing efforts; the incitement emanating from the Sikh diaspora in Canada and Europe, as well as the territorial ambitions of Pakistan. Deepali Singhal KOHLI – Nirvikar SINGH, *The Green Revolution in Punjab, India: The Economics of Technological Change*. The paper was presented at a conference on Agriculture of the Punjab at The Southern Asian Institute, Columbia University, April 1, 1995.; Kanwar Pal Singh GILL, “Endgame in Punjab: 1988–93,” in *Terror and Containment Perspectives of India’s Internal Security (Crime, Sociology, Human Rights)*, eds. Kanwar Pal Singh GILL – Ajay SAHNI (New Delhi: Gyan Publishing, 2003), 23–85; Kanwar Pal Singh GILL, *The Knights of Falsehood* (New Delhi: Har-Anand Publications, 1997); Charanjit Singh KANG: *Counterterrorism: Punjab, a Case Study* (Burnaby Mountain, BC, Canada: Simon Fraser University, 2005); MAHADEVAN, *The Gill Doctrine*.

²⁷ MAHADEVAN, *The Gill Doctrine*.

ing hills) provided little concealment, thus the insurgency took the form of urban terrorism supported by a masterful propaganda campaign, rather than a classic rural guerrilla war.²⁸

The Punjab police, which took the lead in suppressing the insurgency, lacked adequate training and equipment for the task. This shortcoming was relatively easy to remedy, but another, far more serious problem prolonged the conflict: political direction was uncertain. As governments succeeded each other in New Delhi, so changed their counter-insurgency strategy – often drastically.²⁹ At the state level it was not at all clear, whether the state’s political elite really wanted to suppress the insurgency, or wanted to exploit Khalistan’s wild-eyed adherents for their own purposes. Clear political direction materialized only after Narashima Rao became Prime Minister (June 1991), when a lot of damage had already been done. Firm and competent professional leadership came sooner: Julio Ribeiro and his subordinate (and in due course his successor), Kanwar Pal Singh Gill³⁰ had the experience, professional qualities and personal characteristics that suited them for commanding a counterinsurgency campaign.³¹

K. P. S. Gill in particular had firm views on how a counterinsurgency campaign should be conducted. The cornerstone of his doctrine was that without adequate security for the people nothing else – no economic development, no political engagement, no winning hearts and minds – would work.³² With the forces at his disposal he could not hope to guarantee the security of every village and every city – he had to get the people involved in their own protection. To this end he set his staff to work, and in due course a Village Defense Scheme (VDS) was drawn up.³³

Such bootstraps community policing is an ancient institution in India: “thikri pehra” (compulsory patrol duty by armed local residents) is common in areas with limited police presence. There were no legal obstacles to the scheme: the Police Act of 1861 contemplated the appointment of Special Police Officers from the general population “when it shall appear that any unlawful assembly or riot or disturbance of the peace has taken place, or may be reasonably apprehended”, and the Indian security forces have had plenty

²⁸ Anant MATHUR, *Secrets of Coin Success: Lessons from the Punjab Campaign* (Maxwell AFB: Air Command and Staff College, 2008). Peter A. KISS, *Counterinsurgency in the Punjab: A Lesson for Europe* (Bramshill: CEPOL e-Library, 2009).

²⁹ For example the governments of Visvanath Pratap Singh (December 1989 to November 1990) and of Chandra Shekar (November 1990 to June 1991) embarked on a policy of conciliation and reduced the federal forces available for counterinsurgency operations at the time when the activities of the insurgents reached their peak. GILL, *Endgame In Punjab*.

³⁰ K. P. S. Gill took over from Ribeiro as Director General of Police (DGP) in May 1988. India has no official table of equivalence between law enforcement and military ranks, but a Director General of Police (DGP) is approximately equivalent to a Lieutenant General/Air Marshal/Vice Admiral in the armed forces.

³¹ This is not to say that they were universally acclaimed as champions of virtue and probity. On the contrary, at the time they were both criticized for heavy-handed methods, and Gill (who was far more ruthless in dealing with the insurgents) has remained a controversial figure to this day. See for example the many references in HRW/Ensaaf, *Protecting the Killers* and the Ensaaf web page, www.ensaaf.org (accessed: 12 December 2016).

³² MAHADEVAN, *The Gill Doctrine*.

³³ GILL, *Endgame In Punjab*.

of experience in organizing them into village defense forces.³⁴ Weapons were not a problem, either: there were colonial-era bolt action Lee-Enfields available in substantial quantities.³⁵ A potential cadre of leaders was also available: many retired police and armed forces veterans lived in the villages.

The difficult task was raising the militias themselves. Gill visited some villages in early 1989 in one of the heavily affected areas and brought up the idea of arming and training some men to protect the village. His suggestion was met with a flat refusal at first. The village elders were afraid that at this sign of resistance the insurgents would target the armed men, or even take their revenge on the entire village. Only after several visits, lengthy debates and heated arguments was Gill's persistence rewarded: the villagers realized that the authorities' intention was to create an effective self-defense organization, rather than just engage in some spectacular, but useless morale-building exercise.

A few Village Defence Committees (VDCs) were formed, and the volunteers were enrolled in them as Special Police Officers (SPOs). They were trained in marksmanship, weapon-handling, patrolling, communications and basic infantry tactics, and were invested with limited police powers. Wherever possible, army or police veterans were put in charge of each village operation. Bunkers and defensive perimeters were constructed, and detailed tactical plans were drawn up for the defense of each village. Initially small police detachments provided temporary support and guidance, until the new SPOs gained confidence in their own skills and abilities. The VDC was not on its own even after it became fully operational and the police detachment was withdrawn: it could call on quick reaction forces that would be on location 15–20 minutes after an alarm.³⁶

By April 1989 there were some 450 villages participating in the scheme, and nearly 24 000 rifles had been issued to the SPOs. A year later there were over 1 100 villages, and nearly 40 000 volunteers.³⁷ Through the VDCs the government's power and authority was always present in the villages, and they also provided a vital element of counterinsurgency: detailed and intimate knowledge of their operational area and its people. Furthermore, they were highly motivated to succeed and to see the government succeed. In case of failure they could not hope for leniency from the insurgents, and (unlike most policemen and soldiers) they had nowhere to go.

The Village Defence Scheme showed that popular support for the Khalistan movement was in fact far less than it had seemed in the early years of the conflict. The insurgents had relied on unbridled violence to intimidate the civilians into doing their bidding. The result was a "societal Stockholm Syndrome" – submission, resignation and acceptance, loss of faith in the state and its agencies and in their ability to protect life, liberty

³⁴ Vivek THAKUR – R. K. SHARMA – Bhagwan DASS BUDHIRAJA, "Community Policing: An Indian Experiment with Thikri Pehra," *Academica*, 2 no. 7 (July 2012): 226–236; Ebba MARTESSON, *The Indian Police System: A Reform Proposal* (Hyderabad: Lok Satta Foundation for Democratic Reform, 2006).

³⁵ The Lee-Enfield rifle is not the ideal weapon to confront an opponent armed with an AK-47, but in trained hands it can still do yeoman service. Being a bolt-action weapon, it also has the great virtue of limiting the effect of indiscriminate fire if the shooter clamps down on the trigger in a panic. According to news reports and photography, the Indian authorities still issue Lee-Enfield rifles (some in the original .303 caliber, some rechambered for the 7.62 mm NATO round) to Village Defence Committees.

³⁶ KISS, *Counterinsurgency in the Punjab*.

³⁷ GILL, *Endgame In Punjab*.

and property. Thousands, at times even tens of thousands had joined demonstrations, rallies and strikes, or had assembled in commemoration ceremonies for insurgents killed by the security forces. Shelter and food had been provided on demand to the insurgents, and many families had had to suffer in silence the indignities committed against their women. These patterns of behavior gradually led to a denial of fear, and an increasing justification of, and identification with, the insurgents' cause.³⁸

The VDCs showed that there was an alternative to acceding to the insurgents' demands and identifying with their cause. The insurgents' credibility did not suffer noticeably when their fighters were captured or killed by the security forces: the disparity in resources, training and firepower was obvious to all. However, it was an entirely different matter when the villagers saw men like themselves take on the insurgents and drive them away, often killing a number of them. The successes of the VDCs gradually reduced the effect of the societal Stockholm syndrome – the villagers lost their fear of the insurgents, became more ready and willing to defy them and to cooperate with the authorities.

This was crucially important for the security forces, because it gave them access to grass-roots intelligence far in excess of the SPOs' local knowledge. Having lived with the insurgents in their midst for several years, the villagers had a great deal of detailed knowledge about individuals, organizations, goals, plans, contacts, methods and procedures. Once they saw that the VDC was providing full-time real protection – and that the security forces supported the VDC when it bit off more than it could chew – they started to share their knowledge with the authorities. Based on their information terrorists could be neutralized without causing collateral damage. The successful operations yielded further information – often real-time, actionable intelligence – through documents and material evidence found at the scene, as well as through the interrogation of captured insurgents. This led to further successful operations, as well as more information from the villagers. As the people's confidence in the final success of the security forces increased, so did the flow of information.³⁹

Active VDCs or not, the insurgents retained the capability to infiltrate the villages, and carry out carefully planned and rehearsed raids, ambushes and sniper attacks. But they could not enter the villages at will, demand food and shelter, and have everything their way. They became isolated from, and gradually lost their influence over the people, because it became very difficult to hold meetings and carry out indoctrination and propaganda among the villagers. Even secret midnight visits to their own families became dangerous.

The insurgents recognized the multiple dangers inherent in the Defence Committees and mounted an intensive campaign against them. Human rights activists and the Khalistan movement's mass support organizations frequently accused the SPOs of abusing their power and made repeated demands for cancellation of the program. First the SPOs and eventually even their families were targeted by Khalistani guerrillas. But the militias did not back down: fewer than 600 requested discharge, and the Village Defence Scheme played an active role to the very end of the insurgency.⁴⁰

³⁸ GILL, *Dubious Things Called "Popular Support"*

³⁹ MATHUR, *Secrets of Coin Success*, 14.

⁴⁰ GILL, *Endgame In Punjab*. The Indian security forces have organized Village Defence Committees in Jammu and Kashmir as well, and the pattern of insurgent attacks on the SPOs and their families has also repeated itself.

As the Village Defence Scheme expanded, thousands of security forces personnel that had been tied to static defense became available for other duties. When manpower from other sources (primarily men from the army) was also added, it meant that the security forces finally reached a critical mass: they had sufficient resources to maintain territorial dominance in the affected regions, close the Pakistani border, maintain an extensive intelligence collection effort, conduct continuous high-intensity operations against the insurgents, surge their forces as necessary, and periodically rest their personnel. The Khalistan movement was unable to sustain the attrition inflicted by the security forces, and it ended in failure in about 1993. The Punjab gradually returned to normalcy, although diehard operatives survived at large until 1994.

One measure of the Village Defense Scheme's success was the way it was gradually stood down. Unlike similar militias in some other conflicts, the SPOs did not turn their weapons on their fellow citizens.⁴¹ The rifles issued to the Village Defence Committees were recalled, and the Committees themselves were gradually disbanded.

Advantages and Risks

As the case studies show, employing militias in an asymmetric conflict can have many advantages. However, they are not the automatic go-to solution to every internal security problem: they do not guarantee the security forces' success, and their absence does not automatically exclude their success, either. As most politico-military instruments, it all depends on what the government does with them. Nevertheless, based on the case studies, we may draw some conclusions.

Social Barometer

In the course of counterinsurgency operations it is advisable to involve the people in activities through which their opinion of the government and security forces can be discerned and the real extent of their support can be measured. A local self-defense program serves this purpose admirably: the number of volunteers and their behavior in training and in everyday operations show the extent of society's trust in the government's eventual success.⁴²

The Hungarian constabulary regiments were raised by the initiative of a few diehard party members; volunteers were found in sufficient numbers to man them in a few days. When the Workers' Guard was created, 30 000 men were easily recruited, trained and deployed in a few weeks. These facts suggest that it was not the principles of Marxism that were truly unpopular, but the hardliner methods the Communist party had applied in the early 1950s. Volunteers with the required political reliability and physical qualities

⁴¹ Latin-American militias are particularly notorious for turning into murderous private armies or into criminal organizations. *Nepal: Dangerous Plans for Village Militias, Asia Briefing* (International Crisis Group – ICG, 17 February 2004).

⁴² MATHUR, *Secrets of Coin Success*, 14.

were also easily recruited into the organization for over three decades, which also suggest that the party was able to attract the support of a significant segment of the population.⁴³

The Punjab police's Village Defence Scheme is an even clearer example. In the 1980s civilians rarely resisted the Khalistan movement, and when they did, it was mostly passive resistance (silence, omission), rather than active fighting. The acceptance of the Village Defence Scheme, its growing popularity, the growing number of volunteers and their participation in operations showed the security forces that they had gained the people's trust, and indicated what they must do in order to maintain the process.⁴⁴

Cost-effectiveness

Raising a militia is far less costly than either increasing the strength of regular forces or mobilizing reservists. This is true even if militia pay and allowance rates are the same as those for professional soldiers: only the time actually spent on duty has to be compensated, consequently a larger force can be raised with the available resources. Both the Hungarian Workers' Guard and the Village Defence Committees involved large numbers of people, but man for man they were nowhere near as costly as similar-sized regular forces.

In the Hungarian case the Ministries of Defense and Interior covered the weapons, training, uniforms, some installations and the pay of commanders. But the majority (99 percent) of the men were compensated by paid leave (if serving in their free time), or received their normal salary (if serving during their normal workday). Transportation and messing was provided by commercial enterprises in the battalions' districts, and there were hardly any billeting expenses. Thus, most of the cost of maintaining the militia was spread over the entire national economy, instead of being concentrated in the defense or police budget. The Village Defence Committees, with no uniforms, hardly any fixed installations, no vehicles, and hardly any professional staff, were cheaper still. However, their costs likely were more visible, since they were covered from the Punjab police budget.

Effectiveness

In standards of training, discipline and physical fitness militiamen may be inferior to regulars – sometimes even to insurgents. Nevertheless, they cannot be dismissed with a shrug as useless and superfluous, because they possess qualities that compensate for such weaknesses as they may have:

- They serve in the vicinity of their own homes, know the environment, the local people and customs; they immediately recognize new faces, unusual behavior or outsider accents; they are immediately aware of anything out of the ordinary.
- They volunteer for service to protect their own life, their families, their homes – nobody is as interested in maintaining local security as they are.

⁴³ These conclusions are anathema in today's Hungarian discourse.

⁴⁴ MATHUR, *Secrets of Coin Success*, 14–15.

- They are members of the threatened community; they stay in place after performing their duties and can be mobilized at very short notice.
- Militia can take over from the regular forces those simple tasks that require only moderate combat potential. Guarding public buildings and important traffic nodes, or patrolling the streets of a familiar neighbourhood require disciplined and alert presence, rather than finely honed military skills. Employing the militia for such tasks releases the regular forces for more demanding duties in tougher areas.
- Militia patrols and sentries are primarily symbols of the state's permanent presence, rather than particularly combat-capable military forces. Nevertheless, they create a hostile environment for insurgents, because the latter face increasing difficulties in making contact with the population; agitation and propaganda becomes impossible, and even brief contact with the family becomes dangerous. Instead of being invisible, untouchable ghosts, the insurgents become real people with faces, names and family ties; their habits become known; their movements can be observed, and as soon as one of them is recognized in public, action by the authorities follows.

Synergy in Intelligence

The lifeblood of counterinsurgency is a continuously functioning, reliable intelligence system. Aside from the insurgents themselves, it is the local civilians that have the most detailed, most up-to-date information on the insurgent organization. Tapping into this source provides real-time, actionable intelligence and allows the security forces to take the fight to the insurgents and mount successful operations without collateral damage. The successful operations yield further information and lead to further successful operations, which encourage the people to cooperate further with the security forces, primarily by offering further information. The essential conditions for such a synergistic intelligence cycle are providing protection from the exaction and retributions of the insurgents, and convincing the people, that security is not just a temporary condition, but is guaranteed for the long term. The constant presence of armed militia is one such guarantee of permanent security.

Such a synergistic intelligence cycle was created in the Punjab, where the security forces could take the fight to the insurgents, carry out high intensity operations in heavily populated areas, yet cause no collateral damage. Due to their steady successes, a trickle of information from the citizens became a stream, and by the end of the conflict turned into a flood. The Hungarian case is somewhat different: since the Workers' guard was not employed in a counterinsurgency role, there is no way to tell how effective it would have been as an intelligence collector in an internal conflict. However, as a constant source of information on the population's moods and opinions, as a vehicle to identify potential trouble (and troublemakers) it was undoubtedly effective.

Reliability and Impartiality

A cornerstone of the modern nation state's legitimacy is government monopoly over lawful force, and militias tend to dilute this monopoly. In order to minimize this dilution, militias

must function as disciplined, impartial local representatives of the state's power and must be under tight government control. These requirements may not be easy to satisfy – especially when the government is perceived as weak and unable to protect the citizens in the contested space, whereas the militias are seen as strong protectors of the people. Under a strong-willed, charismatic commander a militia force may become independent of state direction and supervision – especially if it was created with local resources by private initiative.

Sooner or later (and rather sooner than later) a militia that rejects government supervision will also reject legal restrictions. It will become a lawless private army with enforcers and death squads, and its activities will cause as much harm (and far more political and media damage) to the state as the original threat against which it was organized.⁴⁵ The Punjab police avoided this pitfall completely with the Village Defence Scheme. For over 30 years the Communist party's tight control precluded the possibility of the Workers' Guard becoming a threat to the state's stability in Hungary. However, even there the militia became, if not a threat, then at least a factor of serious concern, when the party's grip on power began to slip.

Locally raised forces often bring with them local traditions of enmity. Furthermore, a part of their local knowledge is that they know (or think they know), whose husband, son or brother is among the insurgents; who supports them with food, money and information; who warns them when a patrol is approaching. Militiamen – either for private purposes, or as part of the counterinsurgency fight – are in a position to bring heavy pressure on such people, and the authorities often fail to protect the victims. This happened both in Hungary right after the suppression of the revolution, and happened quite frequently in the Punjab. Insurgents can also apply pressure through relatives and immediate family, as they did in the Punjab, where the families of the militiamen were under constant threat.

Corruption

Due to the decentralized nature of militias it is often difficult to audit their spending. Several weeks after an operation, it is impossible to verify that fuel was indeed used as documented, or in fact it disappeared in the tanks of the militiamen's private vehicles and farm equipment. Padding personnel rolls and diverting the pay of non-existent militiamen is another routine form of abuse. The possibility of corruption is an even bigger problem if the militia is funded from private sources. Although raising a militia costs less than an equivalent regular force, it is still expensive business. Weapons, ammunition, fuel, vehicles, communications gear, pay, training – they add up to very significant sums every month, and commanders may feel compelled to rely on illegal means to supplement the resources provided by the state.

⁴⁵ Two examples illustrate this point. In Colombia's long civil war the *autodefensa* militias became out-of-control private armies, defied government efforts to disarm them and eventually became destabilizing factors in the Colombian polity. In the course of Yugoslavia's dissolution such militia forces like Arkan's Tigers, the Red Berets, and others were intended to supplement the federal state's armed forces, but their behavior brought more discredit upon Yugoslavia, than benefits on the battlefield.

Militias in Europe: The Future Begins Now

So far the new paradigm of warfare has affected mainly the periphery of Europe (Transnistria, the Balkans, the Caucasus). However, trimming the sovereignty of Europe's nation-states, the European Union's rigid and unresponsive political structure, and the dominance of such corrosive ideologies as multiculturalism, cultural relativism, and political correctness have created a fertile soil for potential non-state belligerents. As a result, there are unassimilated, restive ethnic minorities and active separatist movements in several European Union member states; the increasing assertiveness of Europe's growing Muslim populations cannot be dismissed either.⁴⁶ It is possible that the threat of asymmetric conflict will gradually fade away all over Europe. But it would be a grave irresponsibility to count on it passing and not making preparations to meet it.

Resolving any violent internal conflict obviously requires a political solution that integrates the elements of national power. Military force has a limited, albeit crucially important role to play in this: men with rifles and combat boots cannot resolve the problem – they can only create the conditions in which a long-lasting resolution is possible. Local conditions and the nature and seriousness of the challenge will obviously determine the required military capability. But whatever the details, the military contribution will have to stand on four interconnected legs: *forces* that are *trained* in accordance with a *doctrine* appropriate to the conditions; and a *constitutional framework* that legitimizes the restoration of government authority by force.

Few European countries have police and military *forces* with the number of personnel that would be adequate in an insurgency.⁴⁷ As this paper has argued from the very beginning, local militias (due to their members' motivation, permanent presence and familiarity with the operational area) would be the most effective answer to the question of numbers. Calling the right type of individuals to the colors should not be much of a problem: challenging training, the opportunity to feel important, needed and valued, and standard military pay-scales (pro-rated for time spent on duty) are likely to attract the necessary number of volunteers.

The doctrines for conventional war center on causing maximum damage in the shortest possible time to an enemy force. They are not appropriate in the domestic context, when the "enemy" is a fellow citizen, friend or even brother. Therefore the forces must have the guidance of a counterinsurgency *doctrine* that focuses on resolving the conflict, rather than suppressing all opposition by brute force. This does not require reinventing the wheel – but cannot be done on the cheap, either, by translating a well-thumbed

⁴⁶ Peter A. Kiss, *Winning Wars amongst the People: Case Studies in Asymmetric Conflict* (Lincoln, Nebraska: Potomac, 2014), 6.

⁴⁷ Kiss, *Winning Wars amongst the People*, 217–219. As a concrete example, at the time this study was completed (Winter 2017) the personnel strength of the Hungarian police (excluding civilian employees) was about 35 000, which gives a ratio of one policeman for every 300 citizens. Drafting personnel from other law-enforcement organizations and military units, as well as mobilizing the reserves of the armed forces would improve this ratio to about 1:220 – still far short of the 1:50 ratio recommended to resolve an insurgency. A volunteer organization, the Polgárőrség (Citizen Guards, 77 000 men in about 2 000 local chapters) supports the police. Since they have no police powers and are prohibited by law to be armed, they can be counted on as the eyes and ears of the police, but cannot be included in the force ratio calculation.

French, British or Portuguese field manual. History and the experiences of other nations are invaluable guides, but they only show what worked and what failed in other theaters, in other times, under different conditions. Every asymmetric conflict is a unique and special event, and the doctrine must be developed after a thorough and realistic analysis of current local conditions.

The security forces will require considerable *training* in the appropriate tactics, techniques and procedures of counterinsurgency before they can be deployed. Training is also a valuable validation and a testing tool – without it doctrine will remain just a collection of unverified theories. The best test-beds are the exercises of national crisis response centers and the command post exercises of combat units – especially if local police commanders also participate. The major obstacle to such training is that it can become a political minefield. A hostile press and a parliamentary opposition are bound to make considerable political capital out of the fact that the armed forces are making preparations to use force against fellow citizens – voters, taxpayers, and above all, ethnic minorities.

Doctrine must be in harmony with *law*; if they contradict each other, one of the other must be changed. Obviously, it is easier to rewrite doctrine, but some legal obstacles to the efficient functioning of the security forces can be so high, that an attempt must be made to reduce them by amending the law. Most democracies provide formidable legal protections to criminals and political activists: the restrictions on search, detention and arrest, the rules of evidence and the presumption of innocence are all designed to protect the rights of the individual. The non-state belligerent consciously applies methods that put the security forces on the horns of a dilemma: if they adhere strictly to these peacetime rules, they will fail; in order to succeed, they must ignore certain legal restrictions and violate some fundamental constitutional rights.

In normal, peaceful conditions it is very difficult to pass legislation that relaxes these restrictions. However, amendments can be prepared that address insurgency specifically, provide enhanced powers to the security forces and align the rules of engagement with the realities of an armed conflict. Ideally, such amendments would encompass not only a legal framework to raise militias under government control, but would also confer something very close to full police powers on the militiamen, lay down sensible rules on the use of force, and provide some form of legal guarantee that security forces personnel will not be prosecuted for their actions, unless clear evidence of a premeditated crime exists.⁴⁸ These amendments can be held ready for submission to the legislature when a violent challenge does occur and a state of emergency is declared.

⁴⁸ Due to the nature of fourth generation conflicts, the security forces personnel are easily accused of violating civil rights or basic human rights. Not only do they risk their lives in the course of their duties, but also their honor, career, sometimes their very freedom, and the reputation of their service. The non-state belligerent's supporting organizations will use the court system in order to score propaganda points, unless they are provided with adequate legal protection.

A Parting Shot

Militia is a double-edged sword. It does not guarantee success, and its absence does not mean automatic failure. When well led and properly controlled, it becomes a valuable tool of state power in a counterinsurgency, because it is a constant armed presence in the affected areas, its members are motivated to maintain security, and they intimately know their areas of responsibility. When it is left to its own devices, it usually turns into a murderous private army.

However, a militia is not only an economy of force measure in a counterinsurgency – it may be useful even if the asymmetric threat does not materialize. Beyond narrow military considerations it may have significant social benefits as well. During the decades of the Cold War most European nations relied on conscription to man the huge armies that faced each other across the inner German border. Since the end of the Cold War most of them have suspended conscription and switched to recruiting long-service volunteers for the much smaller forces they need in the new security environment. This has led to the development of a distinct military class that is quite separate from the rest of society. Except for those countries that are the most vulnerable to Russian aggression (Latvia, Lithuania, Estonia, Poland), few citizens feel obliged today to contribute to national defense beyond paying their taxes (grudgingly) that support the reduced military establishments. They want to be left alone when it comes to security matters, since they are paying for professionals to take their place when the country has to be defended.

This attitude is detrimental at the best of times, but it is especially so today, because the hybrid and gray zone challenges are directed at the targeted society's inner cohesion and resilience. We have seen it happen time after time, from Lithuania in 1991 to Ukraine in 2014: through a skillful media campaign, as well as outright subversion, outside actors mobilize large numbers of a troubled country's citizens against their own government. Only those nations can effectively deal with such challenges whose defense and stability are truly whole-of-society issues.

There are still many citizens, who would serve their community or their nation, but do not feel the call to become long-service, full-time professionals. Establishing territorial defense units (in effect, government-controlled militias) would offer these people an opportunity to do more for their country than just pay their taxes and obey the law. At the same time it makes the principle of serving the nation a respectable activity again. In effect it can serve as something like a social vaccination against hybrid or gray zone attacks. Many citizens would like to serve their community or their nation, but do not feel the call to become long-service, full-time professionals. Militia service offers them an opportunity to do more for their country than just pay their taxes and obey the law. Militia service makes the principle of serving the nation a respectable activity – an attitude that tends to fade away soon after the abolition of conscription.

*Frank Ledwidge**

Lawfare: Synthesising Law and Insurgency

Abstract

Law has become a part of modern warfare. Like cyberspace, 'legal space' has become a key battlefield, and combatants are still feeling their way around it. It is not new in nature: at the tactical level – the level at which soldiers operate – the law has long been an environment within which soldiers have had to work.

*At the grand strategic level, where debate on the legal aspects of war played a major role in the creation of narrative, no country could afford to be credibly accused (at least after the Second World War) of acting outside the law. However egregiously a country behaved, or indeed behaves, the language of law is used to justify that action. It hardly needs to be said, but it is a worthwhile observation that no country will ever admit to acting outside international law. Law and war, particularly through the twentieth century, were intimately intertwined. Questions of law have always infused questions of *ius in bello* and *ius ad bellum*. However, law is now developing a role again both at the strategic and at the more granular operational levels.*

War in the Shadow of Law

There is nothing new or especially threatening about the use of law as a rhetorical instrument of policy, as long as it is fully realised that this is what is happening and appropriate, countermeasures are adopted. Recent conflicts have shown that the first step to dealing with this problem is to be aware of it, so that an appropriate strategy might be devised.

Law has become a part of modern warfare. Like cyberspace, 'legal space' has become a key battlefield, and combatants are still feeling their way around it. It is not new in nature: at the tactical level – the level at which soldiers operate – the law has long been an environment within which soldiers have had to work. Recent conflicts have shown that the first step to dealing with this problem is to be aware of it, so that an appropriate strategy might be devised.

There is no question that awareness of the potential of the use of law as a weapon is growing. For example, China is said to maintain an entire department of the People's Liberation Army specialising in the strategic use of law as a weapon, within the framework of the idea of the 'three warfares' (legal, media and psychological operations). Further,

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insurgents and some terrorist groups have historically used the instruments of law and dispute resolution to achieve legitimacy and control. There are several successful examples of this, most notably the Irish War of Independence (1919–1921) and the Taliban of today.

Yet there is nothing new or especially threatening about the use of law as a rhetorical instrument of policy, so long as it is fully realised that this is what is happening and appropriate countermeasures are adopted.

As David Kennedy puts it: ‘Law and force flow into one another. We make war in the shadow of law and law in the shadow of force. Law has infiltrated the decisions to make war and crept into the conduct of warfare.’¹

Further, insurgents and some terrorist groups have historically used the instruments of law and dispute resolution to achieve legitimacy and control. There are several successful examples of this, most notably the Irish War of Independence (1919–1921) which in fact took some of its inspiration from Hungarian examples of the 19th century. More recently, the ISAF Coalition had no answer to the Taleban’s courts. We see a similar approach being played out today by the Islamic State. It is this aspect which will be looked at most closely.

In his study of warfare in the eighteenth century, *The Verdict of Battle*, James Q. Whitman describes the institution of pitched battle in his period as ‘a form of trial [...] a contained and economical way of resolving a dispute between two warring parties or countries’.² He saw battle and war in that period as a form of legal process. The idea of warfare, or more widely armed combat, as a form of legal proceeding was also a feature of combat in the Middle Ages.³

This paper will try to show that matters have progressed from battle, perhaps, being seen as a ‘trial or legal proceeding’⁴ to legal processes themselves being a form of warfare. That insight itself is not particularly new. As will be described below, the concept has been refined into the word ‘lawfare’. However, one of the ideas that I seek to encapsulate is the degree to which the use of law and legal procedures has long been a tool of *insurgent* and *counter-insurgent* warfare – a weapon, no less.

Legal Politics

David Kennedy in his *War and Law* states: ‘In large measure, our modern politics is legal politics; the terms of engagement are legal, and the players are legal institutions, their powers expanded and limited by law. To say that war is a legal institution is not only to say that war has also become an affair of rules or the military a legal bureaucracy. It is also to say something about the nature of the politics continued by military means.’⁵

¹ David KENNEDY, *Of War and Law* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2006), 165.

² James Q. WHITMAN, *The Verdict of Battle: The Law of Victory and the Making of Modern War* (Princeton University Press, 2014), 3.

³ David WHETHAM, *Just Wars and Moral Victories: Surprise, Deception and the Normative Framework of European War in the Later Middle Ages* (Leiden: Brill Academic Publishers, 2009). See particularly chapter III: “The Role of Law as a Legal Instrument in the Middle Ages,” 71.

⁴ WHITMAN, *The Verdict of Battle*, 3.

⁵ David KENNEDY, *Of War and Law* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2006), 13.

This is certainly true of warfare today. The law has long been an environment within which soldiers have had to work. In 1837, General Napier put the officer's dilemma with black humour. Confronted by a mob, his thoughts dwell on the (to him) most interesting question; 'shall I be shot for my forbearance by a court-martial, or hanged for over-zeal by a jury'.⁶

The idea of the confluence of law and war itself is not new. Jeremy Bentham, the 18th century philosopher and exponent of utilitarianism wrote that 'Legislation is a state of warfare; political mischief is the enemy; the legislator is the commander; the moral and religious sanctions his allies, punishment and rewards [...] the forces he has under his command, punishment his regular standing force.'⁷

The term 'lawfare' itself seems first to have appeared in 2001, in an article by an American Air Force Judge Advocate, Charles Dunlap, in a working paper for a conference at Harvard University.⁸ In a later essay, written when the topic of 'lawfare' had well and truly entered common discourse,⁹ Dunlap took the view that law had become a 'decisive element of 21st century conflict'. He went on to cite the way in which opponents of the US conduct of the war in Afghanistan and criticised the use of drones, for example. Has law, asks Dunlap, become 'a tool for the enemy'?¹⁰ In the UK, the issues often referred to in the US as 'lawfare' have become part of the national discourse,¹¹ as a result of several cases decided in UK courts arising out of events in Iraq and Afghanistan.¹² This has been described as the 'juridification' of (in this instance) the British armed forces.¹³

Law as a Weapon

The idea of law being used as a weapon is arguably as old as international law itself. Certainly in the twentieth century it was a common feature of the discourse of conflict; territorial claims were discussed in terms of legal right. Ideas of law and legitimacy were used during the Second World War to achieve political effect. For example, after the Warsaw

⁶ Cited in Charles TOWNSHEND, *Britain's Civil Wars* (London: Faber, 1986), 20.

⁷ Jeremy BENTHAM, *Of the Limits of the Penal Branch of Jurisprudence* (Oxford, Oxford University Press, 2010), 233.

⁸ Charles DUNLAP JR., *Law and Military Interventions: Preserving Humanitarian Values in 21st Century Conflicts* (Harvard University Kennedy School of Government, Carr Center for Human Rights Working Paper, 29 November 2001). Available at: <http://people.duke.edu/~pfeaver/dunlap.pdf> (accessed: 12 December 2016).

⁹ Charles DUNLAP JR., "Lawfare: A Decisive Element of 21st Century Conflict," *Joint Forces Quarterly*, no. 54 (2009): 34. Available at: www.americanbar.org/content/dam/aba/migrated/2011_build/law_national_security/LawfareDunlapJun09.authcheckdam.pdf (accessed: 12 December 2016).

¹⁰ DUNLAP, *Lawfare*, 34.

¹¹ For example, Frank LEWIDGE, "Soldiers Shouldn't Need to Go to Law for Justice," *The Times*, 20 June 2013. Available at: www.thetimes.co.uk/tto/opinion/columnists/article3795482.ece (accessed: 12 December 2016). See also: Tom TUGENDHAT – Laura CROFT, "The Fog of Law: An Introduction to the Legal Erosion of British Fighting Power," *Policy Exchange*, 18 October 2013. Available at: <https://policyexchange.org.uk/publication/the-fog-of-law-an-introduction-to-the-legal-erosion-of-british-fighting-power> (accessed: 12 December 2016).

¹² Particularly the case of *Smith and Others v Ministry of Defence*. Find the judgment here: www.supremecourt.gov.uk/decided-cases/docs/UKSC_2012_0249_Judgment.pdf (accessed: 12 December 2016).

¹³ For example C. P. HERON, *The Juridification of the British Armed Forces*, Shrivenham Defence Research Paper, 2013, unpublished.

Uprising of 1944, Churchill levered the international law on the treatment of prisoners of war to ensure the safety of the captured Polish Home Army fighters.

At the grand strategic level, where debate on the legal aspects of war played a major role in the creation of narrative, no country could afford to be credibly accused (at least after the Second World War) of acting outside the law. However egregiously a country behaved, or indeed behaves, the language of law is used to justify that action. It hardly needs to be said, but it is a worthwhile observation that no country will ever admit to acting outside international law.

As well as being used as a justification, law is also used instrumentally. Combined with a significant level of *realpolitik*, over the last decades it has been used to produce strategic effect. For example, the removal of Taiwan from its seat representing China at the United Nations has been seen as a component of a long-term political effort to deny Taiwan's legitimacy.¹⁴ Law and war, particularly *through* the twentieth century, were intimately intertwined. Questions of law have always infused questions of *ius in bello* and *ius ad bellum*. Lawfare's current *strategic* role has been extremely well-covered by Orde Kittrie in his *Lawfare: Law as a Weapon of War*¹⁵ which examined how governments and some other actors, notably Hamas and Hezbollah, have used legal instruments, courts, treaties, and very importantly, *legal narrative and language* to affirm or justify their own cases and attack their enemies. As David Kennedy puts it and Kittrie confirms: 'Law and force flow into one another. We make war in the shadow of law and law in the shadow of force. Law has infiltrated the decisions to make war and crept into the conduct of warfare.'¹⁶

The setting up of the various ad hoc war crimes tribunals in the 1990s added another rather more obvious lawfare component to the conduct of warfare. The strategic effect of the indictment of Slobodan Milosevic by the International Criminal Tribunal for the Former Yugoslavia (ICTY) certainly contributed to the overall NATO political strategy of the marginalisation of Serbia.¹⁷ Serbian nationalists have always regarded the ICTY as a political tool in a continuing campaign against their country.¹⁸ In the current decade, 'Law's ascendance as a means of warfare is tied to the ascendance of counterinsurgency as a form of warfare'.¹⁹

'Today, lawfare is used often as a label to criticize those who use international law and legal proceedings to make claims against the state, especially in areas related to national

¹⁴ See for example Dean CHENG, "Winning Without Fighting: Chinese Legal Warfare," *Heritage.org*, 21 May 2012. Available at: www.heritage.org/research/reports/2012/05/winning-without-fighting-chinese-legal-warfare (accessed: 12 December 2016). See also "China's three warfares," *Delex Systems*, 12 January 2012. Available at: www.delex.com/data/files/Three%20Warfares.pdf (accessed: 12 December 2016).

¹⁵ Orde KITTRIE, *Lawfare: Law as a Weapon of War* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015).

¹⁶ KENNEDY, *Of War and Law*, 165.

¹⁷ Summarised at www.icty.org/x/cases/slobodan_milosevic/cis/en/cis_milosevic_slobodan.pdf (accessed: 12 December 2016).

¹⁸ For one of many examples: "The Serbs have always seen the ICTY as a political and not a legal body." Vojin JOKSIMOVICH, "NATO Court Delivers Yet Another Miscarriage Of Justice: Serbs Suffer Another Biased Judgement," *Serbianna.com*, 27 November 2012. Available at: <http://serbianna.com/analysis/archives/1708> (accessed: 12 December 2016).

¹⁹ Thomas B. NACHBAR, "Counterinsurgency, Legitimacy and the Rule of Law," *Parameters* (Spring 2012): 27.

security.²⁰ This ‘label’ is often used by those who respond in the affirmative to Dunlap’s question: ‘Has law become a tool for the enemy?’.

International Lawfare

There is no question that awareness of the potential of the use of law as a weapon is growing. For example, China is said to maintain an entire department of the People’s Liberation Army specialising in the strategic use of law as a weapon,²¹ within the framework of the idea of the ‘three warfares’ (legal, media and psychological operations).²²

Among advocates of ‘lawfare’ as something new, there is an awareness of the fact that war is a political tool and that law is a component of political discourse. Certainly, those who advocate lawfare as something new, and perhaps even threatening, would acknowledge that there is political or even military effect of the kind of ‘lawfare’ they describe. The declaration in 2013 of an Air Defence Identification Zone by China over key parts of the East China Sea (and China’s subsequent narrative positioning) has been cited as a recent example of strategic-level lawfare;²³ indeed the use of lawfare as part of the political component of warfare is the central point.

Strategic Lawfare and Narrative

The great conservative philosopher, Joseph de Maistre, writing shortly after Waterloo, famously said that battles are won or lost in the imagination, not on the battlefield. This was, as James Whitman has said, ‘a *bon mot*, not a scholarly argument’;²⁴ nonetheless the importance of ‘narrative’ to warfare is as central now as it ever was. As may be clear from the foregoing, much of that ‘narrative’ is conducted on the terrain of the law.

The controversies surrounding most (perhaps all) international conflicts are often communicated through the language of law. Borders are set by legal means, even though those borders may bear little relationship to areas occupied by people or tribes. On occasion, the controversies surrounding these controversial borders turn on the construction of a very few words or phrases. As David Kennedy says: ‘War takes place on a terrain that

²⁰ Michael P. SCHARF – Elizabeth ANDERSEN, “Is Lawfare Worth Defining? Report of the Cleveland Experts Meeting, 11 September 2010,” *Case Western Reserve Journal of International Law* 43, no. 1 (2011): 11–27. Available at: <http://scholarlycommons.law.case.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=1141&context=jil> (accessed: 12 December 2016).

²¹ CHENG, *Winning Without Fighting*.

²² See also for example “Lawfare Analysis on Defense Department Report on China,” *The Lawfare Project*, 21 August 2011. Available at: <https://thelawfareproject.org/lawfare-analysis-in-defense-department-report-on-china> (accessed: 12 December 2016).

²³ Zachary KECK, “With Air Defense Zone, China is Waging Lawfare,” *The Diplomat*, 30 November 2013. Available at: <http://thediplomat.com/2013/11/with-air-defense-zone-china-is-waging-lawfare> (accessed: 12 December 2016).

²⁴ WHITMAN, *Verdict of Battle*, 40.

is intensely governed – not by unified global institutions but by a dense network of rules and shared assumptions among the world’s elites.²⁵

The implications of such rules and assumptions can be vast, especially for the physical terrains – literal ‘territories’. By way of illustration, the Durand Line, drawn in the late 1890s by a team of British surveyors, largely governs the border between what is now known as Pakistan and Afghanistan. It also applies to the virtual territory of discourse and narrative.

The effect of a consistent ‘narrative of justice’ and indeed notions of ‘fairness’ and ‘legitimacy’ are amply displayed in many insurgencies powered by perceived notions of legitimacy and justice.

As David Betz says, ‘No narrative can survive, even in part, if it is based on a lie’.²⁶ We will see below that the Taliban narrative is not based upon a ‘lie’, whereas the Afghan government’s ‘offer’ very largely is in that its offer of a working, fair justice system is largely illusory. The idea that a ‘narrative’ backed by factual or perceptual truth is vital to the conduct of war is reinforced in Emile Simpson’s *War from the Ground up*. In writing about the Taliban’s approach to rhetoric, Simpson says that ‘to base one’s entire strategy upon perception rather than on the reality that lies beneath it is highly unstable. In the aftermath of the global financial crisis, it is clear that narratives which depend massively on perception without a base in physical reality are very dangerous.’²⁷

Nonetheless, there is no doubt at all that what government officials often call ‘optics’ is important. In other words, what appears to be happening, as opposed to what might actually *be* happening. This is the province of ‘media operations’ or ‘psychological operations’ – categories now subsumed under the rubric ‘information operations’.

Military doctrine is not blind to the necessity of maintaining a link between what is asserted by the counterinsurgent and what goes on in fact. It makes the link between honesty in narrative and legitimacy. ‘Counterinsurgents seeking to preserve legitimacy must stick to the truth and ensure that words are backed up by deeds.’²⁸ From the perspective of justice and courts, any rhetoric of justice founded on a reality of corruption will fail to ground a legitimate state, as observed above.

In his book on contemporary strategy, Hew Strachan refers to General Rupert Smith in seeing ‘contemporary warfare [as] a form of theatre played out by a small, separate group (i.e. a professional and not a conscript army) orchestrated by a team of unseen directors, stage managers and lighting engineers, but watched by many more. The people are the audience for war.’²⁹

Insurgent Lawfare

As well as a boon to the narrative for an insurgent, it is very clear that the establishment of a working system of governance – and *especially* a working system of justice

²⁵ KENNEDY, *Of War and Law*, 25.

²⁶ DAVID BETZ, “The Virtual Dimension of Contemporary Insurgency and Counterinsurgency,” *Small Wars and Insurgencies* 19, no. 4 (2008): 519.

²⁷ EMILE SIMPSON, *War from the Ground Up* (London: Hurst Publishers, 2013), 218.

²⁸ FM 3-24 Counterinsurgency, Washington DC: DA, 2006, para 1–13.

²⁹ HEW STRACHAN, *The Direction of War* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013), 279.

provision – can compensate for military disadvantage and even outright military defeat. From a historical perspective the Irish insurgent leader, Michael Collins was clear that the Irish Republican Army was close to defeat in 1921 when the Irish War of Independence ended with a truce. Indeed Collins said that the IRA were ‘astonished’ that they were offered a truce.³⁰ It was not the military effort that won the war; it is argued here that it was the purchase gained by such assets as the revolutionary ‘Republican Courts’. By the end of the war even British landowners were refusing to use the British ‘Crown’ Courts, and took their disputes to the Republican Courts.

A similar situation prevails in contemporary Afghanistan and to a lesser extent in Syria. In Pashtun areas of Afghanistan the state courts are a by-word for crime and theft. Indeed it can be argued that they are merely a manifestation of the vertically-integrated organised crime structure that is the Afghan government and therefore will never gain legitimacy. Against this the Taliban operate a system of justice which is quick, robust and generally regarded, whether or not it meets the delicate sensibilities of western advisors, as offering justice in every sense of the term. To refer to what Emile Simpson said above, there is a reality behind their narrative.

Despite the defeat of the Taliban in the field by NATO troops in every engagement, there is no question that in such places as Helmand, they hold control. This control is expressed by the fact that they can adjudicate and settle disputes and most importantly *enforce* them. Similarly in Syria, the first thing insurgent groups do in such cities as Aleppo is to set up working courts systems; this includes IS.³¹

Justice and the importance of provision of a *legal* service is where the power of the government, insurgent or incumbent encounters one of its most rigorous tests. If it passes the test, resolves disputes in a manner that is perceived to be ‘legitimate’, the government and its judicial arm can be seen to have proceeded a considerable way down the road towards being seen as an effective government – and indeed being seen as ‘legitimate.’ However, the delivery of a decision itself, even if delivered in a manner that is perceived to be procedurally fair, is of little or no use if it cannot be *enforced*. This in turn requires the presence of the implicit or explicit threat of the use of force in order to effect enforcement. This is as true in the United States, Hungary and United Kingdom of today as it is in Afghanistan or Syria for that matter. For example, if a judgement is handed down to you against me that I am at fault in an accident and must pay you a sum of money, ultimately you must rely on the acceptance of the judgements legitimacy by me. In other words, that I accept the authority of the court to deliver that judgement. However that is not enough. The judgement that I owe you money is of little use to you if I do not pay. You must then take steps to ensure that someone enforces the judgement. In most countries, where commonly understood ideas of ‘rule of law’ apply, you will apply to the court to enforce the judgement which may be done in a number of ways. Ultimately this may include simply taking the property from me by force. The test of whether the government possesses the ‘legitimate monopoly of force’ is if you resort to self-help, or rely on the state or the government to do it on your behalf.

³⁰ Leo S. AMERY, *My Political Life. Volume Two: War and Peace 1914–1929* (London: Hutchinson, 1953), 230.

³¹ Andrew F. MARCH – Mara REVKIN, “Caliphate of Law,” *Foreign Affairs*, 15 April 2015. Available at: <https://mararevkin.wordpress.com/2015/04/15/caliphate-of-law> (accessed: 12 December 2016).

Any group of people can issue judgements – the Taliban, IS for example. They are worth little, then, if they cannot be enforced. Further, the enforcement of a judgement in itself may be of little value if it is likely not to last. This is particularly important with vital assets such as land or land use. For example again, let us say that you and I have a dispute over your ownership of a given patch of land (accepting that ‘ownership’ in the context of land is a very fickle concept). We agree to bring the dispute to an insurgent court, and you receive judgement in your favour. You will then make an investment in that land in order to cultivate or indeed build on it. It is vital to you not only that I accept this judgement and that it is enforced, but that the judgement will last and will not be overturned by another authority. This will be one factor in the decision to go to the tribunal in the first place. There will be other factors; will the court give a fair judgement? How much will we need to pay the judge? Are we likely to get a fair hearing? Are we likely to get judgement in our favour? However, just as important will be the element of final resolution. We will want the matter settled. Accordingly we are not going to choose a tribunal that may be defunct tomorrow or whose judgement will neither be respected, nor complied with.

The significance of this is that for those using this particular service, the criteria go beyond its immediate utility and reach into the future. The choice of an insurgent court is an indicator of confidence in the ability of the court both to produce a fair and legitimate outcome in a given dispute. It also implies an ability to enforce a decision and a certain level of sustainability.

What Is to Be Done?

Overall, however, counter-insurgents, whether conducting their campaigns as endogenous or exogenous interveners, need to be aware of the requirement for a legal strategy. They also need to look at what may be needed to deal with the advantage that insurgents may have in the area of dispute resolution. The ideas presented in current doctrinal documents are clearly inadequate, and have been shown to be so in Afghanistan.

Doctrinaire approaches based on Western notions of ‘rule of law’ are ineffective. They are based on premises that simply do not apply in ‘ungoverned space’ or indeed in many counterinsurgent environments. More thinking is required as to how the lessons of recent campaigns (and indeed older campaigns) can be developed. The first step is to be aware of the problem.

*Shruti Pandalai**

Strategic Communication in the Age of ‘Instant Warfare’: The Social Media Challenge to India’s National Security

‘The internet is the largest experiment involving anarchy in history. [...] It is a source for tremendous good and potentially dreadful evil, and we are only just beginning to witness its impact on the world stage.’¹

Abstract

In the internet of Smith and Cohen disruption is the norm. Social media is one such disruption, which has revolutionised the way information is exchanged in real time. Despite its many advantages for participative governance, technology is a double edged sword. Its misuse throws up challenges in the realm of law and order and national security. The challenges to internal security have been amplified with the blatant use of social media for radicalization of youth by terror groups like the Islamic State and their sympathizers in India. Social media’s capacity to spread information at extremely high volumes and velocities needs to be tapped into by national security agencies to wrest control back from perpetrators of crimes. The answer lies not in blocking the medium, but within the medium itself which provides avenues for engagement, connectedness, and collaboration and can double up as a reservoir of open source intelligence if used to its optimal potential. The paper will focus on India’s experience in handling these emerging challenges to national security and hopes to open up a debate on global experiences.

Introduction: Understanding Social Media and its Impact

In the internet of everything, ideas take a gigantic leap every day and disruption (both good and bad) is the norm. One such disruption which has revolutionised the way information is exchanged in real time has been the advent of social media. It has triggered an information revolution in the world that has forced people, governments and organisations both public and private to re-think strategies on how they manage their information and engage in an increasingly interconnected world. It has challenged information hierarchies, opened up

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¹ Eric SCHMIDT – Jared COHEN, *The New Digital Age: Reshaping the Future of People, Nations and Business* (New York: Vintage Books, 2014), 3.

access and produced an entirely new ecosystem of information exchange. Technological innovations are rapid and constantly evolving, making barriers, borders and control irrelevant.

Such unprecedented developments in Information Communication Technologies (ICTs) provide immense potential for successful participative governance initiatives in India. The Prime Minister's Office is leading by example to harness the opportunities provided by the medium to empower the Indian economy. But technology is a double edged sword – it also throws up new challenges in the realm of law and order and security for governments that need to be dealt with innovatively.

Social Media and *Social Networks* in actual terms *differ*, as social media is a communication channel that transmits information to a wide audience and is usually a one-way street, while social networks facilitate the act of engagement between likeminded people, groups or communities.

However, as pointed out in the Department of Electronics and Information Technology (DeitY) Draft of the *Framework and Guidelines for Use of Social Media for Government Organisations*, more often than not social media in recent times has become synonymous with social networking sites like *Facebook*, *YouTube*, and micro-blogging sites like *Twitter*. It can hence be broadly defined as any 'web or mobile based platform that enables an individual or agency to communicate interactively and enables exchange of user content'.²

Growth of Social Media in India

The latest figures peg social media users in India at 143 million, and a 100 percent jump in the number of users in rural India from 2014 to 2015.³ The report by the Internet and Mobile Association of India says 'the fact that almost two thirds of the users are already accessing social media through their mobile is a promising sign. With the expected increase in mobile traffic the number of users accessing social media on the mobile is only bound to increase.'⁴ Despite internet penetration not crossing 16 percent of the population, the availability of low cost mobile devices have become game changers.⁵

India, with an estimated 371 million mobile internet users, is the largest market for social networking site *Facebook* after the US.⁶ Of its 142 million strong user base in India, 133 million access the social media platform through their mobile phones.⁷

² Department of Electronics and Information Technology, *Framework & Guidelines for Use of Social Media for Government Organisations* (Ministry of Communications & Information Technology Government of India, September 2011), 7. Available at: <http://unpan1.un.org/intradoc/groups/public/documents/cgg/unpan047510.pdf> (accessed: 15 May 2016).

³ "Use of Social Media Doubles in Rural India," *The Hindu*, 20 June 2015. Available at: www.thehindu.com/sci-tech/technology/internet/social-media-use-doubles-in-rural-india/article7334735.ece (accessed: 15 May 2016).

⁴ Ibid.

⁵ "Mobile Internet Users in India to Reach 371 mn by June 2016," *The Indian Express*, 4 February 2016. Available at: <http://indianexpress.com/article/technology/tech-news-technology/mobile-internet-users-in-india-to-reach-371-mn-by-june-2016> (accessed: 15 May 2016).

⁶ Ibid.

⁷ "Facebook User Base Crosses 142 Million in India," *The Livemint*, 9 March 2016. Available at: www.livemint.com/Consumer/tv2ZJPoa16jldOZhZKkw4J/Facebook-userbase-crosses-142-million-in-India.html (accessed: 15 May 2016).

YouTube, Google's video sharing website gets 60 million hits a month in India.⁸ Micro-blogging site, *Twitter* has 22.2 million users in India, making it its third largest user base in the world.⁹ These numbers are mind boggling and have far reaching implications in terms of security, law and order.

Government agencies may not be able to match pace with the radical innovations in technology, but they will have to be proactive in their engagement and outreach efforts in e-governance, ensure collaboration of citizens and building of secure communities and have standard operating procedures in place which could be operationalised in times of emergency.

Impact of Social Media and New Challenges

For the Indian government, the internet remains the chosen platform for socio-economic empowerment schemes, which also makes India uniquely dependent on internet platforms for its development while at the same time heightens the risks of India's vulnerabilities.¹⁰

In the last few years alone, India has witnessed the potential of the social media in co-ordinating large scale protests across the country with the India Against Corruption Movement led by Anna Hazare in 2011. While these protests were largely peaceful, they did test the local security infrastructure in terms of sheer numbers. We saw a repeat of events in the aftermath of the tragic *Delhi gang rape incident in 2013* where large number of protestors mobilised themselves with the help of social media.

In a more ugly turn of events, mobile and social network interface was used to send offensive clips and hate messages, that triggered panic and mass exodus of Northeast Indians to large parts of India in the aftermath of the *ethnic clashes in Assam* in 2012. In September 2013, a morphed video on *YouTube* was used to fan *communal riots in Muzaffarnagar* in Uttar Pradesh and led to mass panic. These incidents snowballed into a cyber-security challenge and exposed a facet of the medium that could be exploited by anti-national elements and required immediate attention.

In 2014, the arrest of a Bangalore based executive Mehdi Masoor Biswas, accused of being the man behind terror group Islamic State's (ISIS) most influential Twitter handle in India, @ShamiWitness, brought to surface the extent of the threat posed by the misuse of social media at home.¹¹ Two years on, a propaganda video released by ISIS shows alleged

⁸ Yuthika BHARGAVA, "YouTube sets eyes on Indian mobile Internet users," *Hindu Business Line*, 16 June 2014. Available at: www.thehindu.com/business/Industry/youtube-sets-eyes-on-indian-mobile-internet-users/article6120220.ece (accessed: 15 May 2016).

⁹ "India Has 22.2 Million Twitter Users: Report," *The Huffington Post*, 28 January 2015. Available at: www.huffingtonpost.in/2015/01/28/twitter-india-userbase-report_n_6562950.html (accessed: 15 May 2016).

¹⁰ *Report on CYFY 2013: India Conference on Cyber Security and Cyber Governance*, 14–15 October 2013, New Delhi, organised by ORF-FICCI. Available at: www.bic-trust.eu/files/2014/04/CYFY-2013-Report-WEB-version-15Apr14.pdf (accessed: 15 May 2016).

¹¹ "Police arrest Bengaluru exec behind ISIS Twitter handle @ShamiWitness," *firstpost.com*, 14 December 2014. Available at: www.firstpost.com/india/police-arrest-bengaluru-exec-behind-isis-twitter-handle-shamiwitness-1848493.html (accessed: 15 May 2016).

Indian Jihadists fighting in Syria and calling for more Indian recruits to join the cause.¹² The threat has really come to bear upon India and has proved that social media has become a potent tool for radicalisation by terror groups.

This paper will discuss these cases more elaborately in sections ahead.

In addition to this, we are also witnessing the growth of the ‘new media phenomena’ in India where traditional media (mainly television) is increasingly relying on social media to feed its 24 hour news cycles and picking content and coverage led by social media trends.¹³ This symbiotic relationship has doubled the impact on consumers and has given social media platforms more visibility. The convergence of various forms of media: television, social, and online networks as instruments of information and generators of user content, have multi-dimensional implications for law and order as well as security.

Social media’s capacity to spread information at extremely high volumes and velocities needs to be tapped into by security and law enforcement agencies to wrest control back from perpetrators of crimes. The answer lies not in blocking the medium, but within the medium itself which provides avenues for engagement, connectedness, and collaboration and can double up as a reservoir of *open source intelligence* if used to its optimal potential.

DeitY’s *Framework of Guidelines* has correctly observed that ‘while at a personal level, the uptake and usage of such media is gaining rapid popularity, use and utility of such media for official purpose remain ambiguous. Many apprehensions remain including, but not limited to issues related to authorisation to speak on behalf of a department/agency, technologies and platform to be used for communication, scope of engagement and worries of backlash, creating synergies between different channels of communication, compliance with existing legislations, etc.’¹⁴ This paper aims to tackle all these issues and investigate the acceptance, scope of engagement and institutionalisation of a social media policy in supplementing efforts of security and law enforcement agencies in India.

Scope, Limitations, Research and Methodology

This paper was presented at the *Asymmetric Warfare Conference*, organised by the Hungarian Defence Force’s Research Wing in Budapest in November 2016 and primarily draws the author’s work on the subject for the last three years for the Ministry of Home Affairs and The National Security Council who had commissioned projects to study *The Impact of the Rise of Social Media on National Security*. This study was first published by the Institute for Defence Studies and Analyses, a think tank based out of New Delhi, where the author works as a Fellow.

The author had set out to evaluate the perceptions, current capacities and challenges faced by security and law enforcement agencies in India, grappling with the phenomenon

¹² “Islamic State Releases Video Allegedly Showing Indian Jihadists Fighting in Syria,” *The Indian Express*, 25 May 2016. Available at: <http://indianexpress.com/article/india/india-news-india/isis-releases-video-showing-indian-jihadists-fighting-in-syria-2810827/#sthash.kiSGYOOK.dpuf> (accessed: 30 May 2016).

¹³ For more see Shruti PANDALAI, “Lessons from 2011: The New Media Revolution is a Strategic Asset,” *IDS Policy Brief*, 13 January 2012. Available at: www.files.ethz.ch/isn/136438/IB_Lessonsfrom2011TheNewMediaRevolutionisaStrategicAsset.pdf (accessed: 15 May 2016).

¹⁴ For more see Department of Electronics and Information Technology, *Framework & Guidelines for Use of Social Media for Government Organisations*, 6.

of social media. The aim was to identify future obstacles including legal challenges and recommends frameworks and best practices which would make social media a force multiplier for security and law enforcement agencies.

Understanding the phenomenon of social media and its implications for security is a vast subject. Hence this paper limits its scope to focus on how security and law enforcement agencies can use social media platforms *internally* 1. to inform and engage with citizens to build secure communities which share information; 2. to ensure presence to combat misuse of social platforms to spread malicious rumours which may trigger problems for internal security and law and order and prepare standard operating procedures for times of emergency; 3. to use data available freely on social media platforms to gauge moods of citizens on issues, predict patterns and possible flash points of disturbances, prevent and react to cyber-crimes; 4. to build actionable intelligence which may support human intelligence efforts which could be shared across agencies, with built in safeguards to ensure that there is no encroaching upon privacy of citizens.

The approach is two pronged: encouraging engagement by building capacity and mining the open source information provided by the platform for actionable intelligence. It is important to highlight that this paper *does not* get into the issue of 'mass surveillance' of closed and encrypted messages on social media which has raised concerns of internet censorship and violation of privacy and freedom of speech and expression. The emphasis is on using the medium of social media to combat threats and develop robust counter narratives.

The *research questions* that seek to be addressed are in the realm of engagement, technology, capacity, process and legal challenges.

Engagement: Has the Indian government and its agencies done enough to use social media as a force multiplier for internal cohesion? How is social media being used by countries abroad to enhance security, law and order? What are the best practices?

Technology: What is social media analytics and how does it work? Does Indian government have the capacity in terms of human talent and internet infrastructure to undertake such an exercise?

Capacity and Process: Do we need to think about specialised cadres and agencies to deal with the medium to harness its potential? What have been the lessons learnt so far? Are there pilot projects which can be emulated nationally? What will be the scope of public-private partnerships for the same? What is the framework required for co-ordination between agencies that need to be refined? How do we institutionalise a social media policy for government agencies going beyond a framework of guidelines?

Legal Tangles: Experts have said the IT ACT 2008 is ill-equipped to deal with the challenges presented by social media and hence there is a rise in breach of privacy cases. What are the pre-requisite amendments/checks and balances that need to be put in place to avoid misuse? What are the terms that need to be re-negotiated with the intermediaries, who provide platforms for social media networks? Can there be a balance between security requirements and privacy concerns?

The challenges seem many, but addressing them will provide both clarity and a set of clear recommendations that can be adopted by the agencies concerned.

Methodology: This paper draws from the author's interviews carried out as part of her ongoing research on the subject. These include over forty primary interviews conducted through 2014 with high ranking officers from the police and security agencies, experts and

senior officials from nodal agencies in-charge of cyber security in the country, scientists and academic experts in cyber security, practitioners of cyber law, representatives of social media platforms like Facebook, Twitter and Google, and journalists covering the beat. This author has benefited greatly from the insights provided by senior officials of the Maharashtra Police's 'Social Media Labs Project' and their partners from the Bombay Technology Centre as also research in Online Social Media Analytics done by the Cyber Security Education and Research Centre (CERC) at IIIT-Delhi. The literature drawing upon best practices in intelligence and policing using social media is based primarily on experiences of the developed countries.

Adapting Social Media for Effective Engagement and Policing: West vs India

The Western Policing Experience

The leaps in advancement in technology and internet infrastructure in developed countries has meant that social media is used extensively by many countries to offer better services to citizens and collect and supplement intelligence efforts. Departments adopt different strategies: *push* (disseminate information), *pull* (silently observe/obtain information) or *engage* (interact and encourage two-way communication on social media) to interact with citizens.¹⁵ They use social media: to *establish a voice* and presence on the platform and invite citizen engagement, *embed information* in new media channels that citizens frequent daily, *leverage crowds* to pull information on security/law and order issues, for co-ordinating *community policing* efforts and to put a *human face* on policing.¹⁶

For example they use social media to provide beat meetings or neighbourhood police interaction sessions, updates on missing person cases, etc. In UK, Greater Manchester Police started a program where citizens could join police on the *beat and blog/tweet* about their experiences.¹⁷ Following them, the Vancouver police and the Zurich city police also initiated a programme called '*tweet-a-thons*' that lasted 24 hours. During that time, the forces published all activities on incoming alarm calls and police operations in Twitter messages in order to show the public the broadness of police operations and tasks and in order to build special attention from the media that further increased the number of their followers.¹⁸ Similarly, Seattle police launched *@GetYourBikeBack* program to help owners get their lost bikes.

Yet the West also has experience of social media being used to recruit terrorists for the al-Qaeda, co-ordinate looting and defy police during the 2011 London Riots and

¹⁵ Niharika SACHDEVA – Ponnurangam KUMARAGURU, "Online Social Media and Police in India: Behaviour, Perceptions, Challenges," Cybersecurity Education and Research Centre (CERC) (IIIT-Delhi), May 2014. Report sent by authors to IDSA Scholar.

¹⁶ Sebastian DENEFF – Nico KAPTEIN – Petra S. BAYERL – Leonardo RAMIREZ, *Best Practices in Social Media Adaptation* (The Composite Project: Comparing Police Studies in the EU, 2012). Available at: www.fit.fraunhofer.de/content/dam/fit/de/documents/COMPOSITE-social-media-best-practice.pdf (accessed: 15 May 2016).

¹⁷ SACHDEV–KUMARAGURU, *Online Social Media and Police in India*.

¹⁸ DENEFF–KAPTEIN–BAYERL–RAMIREZ, *Best Practices in Social Media Adaptation*.

organising flash mobs.¹⁹ Despite the debate on the misuse of Twitter during the Boston Terror Attacks in 2013, the @bostonpolice department received a lot of praise for using social media for battling rumours and ensuring citizen safety.²⁰ In case of *London Riots* and *Boston Terror attacks*, social media was used effectively to deliver real time data, aid investigation and damage control – lessons from which the Indian experience could benefit and hence will be discussed briefly.

- a) The *2011 London Riots*, triggered by protests over a custodial death of a coloured citizen, snowballed into riots, characterised by mass looting and violence lasting for several days. Rioters used location specific media technologies to communicate, posted pictures of themselves next to stolen goods, used a smartphone app called *Sukey* to identify physical location of police forces in real time and used Blackberry messenger to co-ordinate attacks.²¹ Thus the UK government found itself legally and technologically challenged in the midst of an attack. However, the police and public hit back by using the very same social media technologies to capture rioters and secure their communities.

The Metropolitan Police (MET) and the Greater Manchester Police (GMP) used Twitter extensively to support investigations and to seek information on offenders. Both forces also used the photo-sharing site *Flickr* to publish photos of perpetrators captured on CCTV. GMP further promoted their crowd sourcing efforts and launched a campaign entitled '*shop a looter*'.²² Large posters in the city showed the faces of suspects and asked people to help with their identification. *Twitter* was used to announce the campaign. Both forces provided phone numbers or links to their websites where the public could submit information.²³

- b) The *Boston Bombing 2013*: The Boston Police Department used the potential of social media for information dissemination and community policing in April 2013 during the very dramatic and constantly developing investigation into the explosion of two bombs at the finish line of the Boston Marathon. BPD successfully leveraged *Twitter* to keep the public informed about the status of the probe, to calm nerves and request public assistance, to correct misreporting, and to ask for public restraint in the tweeting of information from police scanners.²⁴

All of the BPD tweets were sent from one official Twitter account, which was directly overseen by BPD's public information bureau chief, lawyer and a former television journalist, Cheryl Fiandaca.²⁵ Assisted by two officers and three civilians, she operated @bostonpolice as a 24-hour 'digital hub' for information about

¹⁹ Ravi GUPTA – Hugh BROOKS, *Using Social Media for Global Security* (Indianapolis: Wiley & Sons, 2013), 14.

²⁰ Edward F. DAVIS – Alejandro ALVES – David Alan SKLANSKY, *Social Media and Police Leadership: Lessons from Boston* (Harvard's Executive Session on Policing and Public Safety, March 2014). Available at: <http://news.harvard.edu/gazette/wp-content/uploads/2014/04/Social-Media-and-Police-Leadership.pdf> (accessed: 15 May 2016).

²¹ GUPTA–BROOKS, *Using Social Media for Global Security*, 8–14.

²² DENEFF–KAPTEIN–BAYERL–RAMIREZ, *Best Practices in Social Media Adaptation*.

²³ Ibid.

²⁴ The information in this section is entirely based on the analysis available in: DAVIS–ALVES–SKLANSKY, *Social Media and Police Leadership: Lessons from Boston*.

²⁵ Ibid.

the investigation. She and her staff were briefed by commanders three to five times per day during this period. BPD tweets rapidly became the most trusted source of information about the status of investigations.

The department also leveraged its popular *Facebook* page. Through the week, the official page published images of the suspects, license plate information to support a BOLO ('Be on the Lookout'), a map of the cordoned-off area in the immediate aftermath, maps directing the media to conferences and approved parking areas, and updates about public transit service interruptions related to the investigation.²⁶ In the days that followed, BPD also used its Facebook page to memorialize the deceased victims and to send messages of condolence and support to survivors. Except for the misidentification of a student named Sunil Tripathi as a suspect by social media enthusiasts indulging in a public investigation which led to a momentary chaos; the @bostonpolice was able to project itself as the authority for information and co-ordination during the crisis and restrict damage.

The Indian Policing Experience

The acceptance and adaptation of social media into policing and citizen engagement in India has been relatively slower. This has been due to perception barriers stemming from organisational cultures developed over time. There is also apprehension related to lack of clarity on how to use the technology.²⁷ In addition, the absence of adequate internet infrastructure, lack of immediate availability of talent, shortage of personnel and soft skills required to deal with a medium like social media at local levels has been a challenge.²⁸ Multiplicity of languages in India require further customisation of technology, which in turn requires investment – both human and capital, as well as re-drawing of budget plans – neither of which have happened on the ground.²⁹

Despite *DeitY's Framework of Guidelines*, encouraging agencies to develop and customise social media policy frameworks for themselves, very few have actually put together frameworks and institutionalised them. Experts who have trained some personnel as a part of pilot projects say the road ahead is tough, since a majority of police personnel in India who are expected to pick up and engage with this medium do not even have the basic skills required to deal with computers.

Research conducted to gauge perceptions of police personnel in India on using social media for policing reveal some valuable insights.³⁰ The survey sample conducted with 445 policemen and 205 citizens exposed a perception gap between law enforcement agencies and people in terms of using social media for policing. Status updates of Delhi, Bangalore, Chennai and Uttar Pradesh police forces on social media were also studied to analyse police interaction.

²⁶ Ibid.

²⁷ Based on interviews conducted with Senior IPS officers Mr. Sivanandan, ex DGP, Maharashtra, Mr. Nandakumar Sarvade, former Maharashtra IPS and Cyber Security Expert and Mr. Vijay Mukhi, Cyber Security Expert and Member of Bombay Technology Centre; between 14–20 February 2014 in Mumbai.

²⁸ Ibid.

²⁹ Ibid.

³⁰ SACHDEVA–KUMARAGURU, *Online Social Media and Police in India*.

It was found³¹ that officers preferred using social as a one-way communication channel to either *push* information or *pull* information rather than as a medium for interaction. It was thought to be an effective tool to: monitor and track problems, rumour detection, traffic management, issue advisories and to understand public opinions on various issues. The utility of these pages for investigation and monitoring was not very clear. However, they recognised top three uses of social media to be crime investigation, intelligence, and public relation/reputation management. In contrast, for citizens, social media engagement for policing meant notifying the public of crime problems, public of emergency situation or disaster related issues, and crime prevention activities.

Police officers expressed concerns over multiplicity of fake profiles, threats of sabotage of official pages or that citizens might ask controversial questions, which might create problems for police departments. Questions were also raised on the utility of social media with the state of internet penetration in the country. This despite the evidence emerging from Muzzafarnagar riots where violence spread in rural areas using social media from mobile technologies. Many believed social media would be helpful only when it was available in local/regional languages. The survey responses also emphasised the need from within the police force for a clear policy on the use of social media, with the pre-requisite dos and don'ts, to be conceptualised and institutionalised for the personnel.³²

It has been noticed that initiatives using social media for effective policing in India has seen efforts which are largely individual or particular state-police force driven. For e.g. the Maharashtra Police department has launched an SMS-based tracking system called *Turant Chauvis*, which promised to redress citizen complaints within 24 hours in terms of a first response.³³ The Delhi Traffic Police too has taken to *Facebook* and *Twitter* to ease handling of traffic related issues, while the Indore police use the medium to track criminal activity.³⁴ Karnataka police, apart from using the medium for traffic management and information dissemination, had also started leveraging social media in 2010 to solve criminal cases establishing a *HelpKarnatakaCID* page.³⁵ The Kerala police recently established presence on Facebook and Twitter and are experimenting with more features to enhance service delivery to citizens apart from the online tracking of petitions, reporting of crimes, payment of traffic violation fines and filing of missing children reports that already exist.³⁶

However building an effective two-way engagement with citizens using social media and building communities which help in collaborative policing are goals which currently seem to be far away in the future. Naturally, a force used to strict hierarchy and bureaucracy cannot be expected to change overnight. It is imperative though, that a top-down

³¹ Ibid.

³² Ibid. Similar conclusions were reached during conversations conducted by the author with Senior IPS officers and cyber security experts.

³³ For more see Department of Electronics and Information Technology, *Framework & Guidelines for Use of Social Media for Government Organisations*, 6.

³⁴ Ibid.

³⁵ "Karnataka Police Sleuths on Facebook and Twitter," *Daily News and Analysis (DNA)*, 7 May 2010. Available at: www.dnaindia.com/bangalore/report-karnataka-s-police-sleuths-now-on-facebook-and-twitter-1393091 (accessed: 15 May 2016).

³⁶ "Kerala Police Logs onto Social Media Bandwagon," *KeralaITNews*, 3 February 2014. Available at: <http://keralaitnews.com/1629/kerala-police-logs-on-to-social-media-bandwagon> (accessed: 15 May 2016).

approach that encourages out of the box solutions and adoption of flexibility be initiated, to take advantage of platforms like social media for effective governance.

Adapting Social Media for Developing ‘Actionable Intelligence’

Mining Social Media for Intelligence

Law enforcement agencies across the globe are using a superior form of ‘Open Source Intelligence’ to engage, collate, analyse and predict and share intelligence using data gleaned from social media networks, i.e. also known as social media intelligence (SOCMINT).³⁷ This analysis uses *social media data* – i.e. all the user generated data on social media platforms – with their *metadata* (which includes information of the user, location, time and date, details of post, number of people who viewed and shared the post, etc.) to identify people, networks, patterns and events which contribute to actionable intelligence.³⁸ This requires *Big Data analysis* skills which include computational techniques to deal with huge amounts of data, and a means to sift through them, and collate the results for further analysis.³⁹ The box below displays the relevant problems for analysis and the techniques used for drawing patterns and predicting events from social media data.

Table 1
Techniques employed for mining open data

Techniques	Description
Social Network Analysis	Analysis includes studying social networks online and offline and understanding relationships and individuals that make up networks.
Language and Sentiment Analysis	Used to identify patterns in linguistic content on social media platforms that reveal insights on events and behaviour.
Volumetric Analysis	Focuses on discovering associative and predictive relationships between events or behaviour and changes in volume or traffic or activity in social media platform.
Co-relation and Regression Analysis	Used to establish association between direct and indirect causal relationships between various factors and things.

Source: based on information taken from GUPTA–BROOKS, *Using Social Media for Global Security*, 69–71.

³⁷ GUPTA–BROOKS, *Using Social Media for Global Security*, 45–70.
³⁸ GUPTA–BROOKS, *Using Social Media for Global Security*, 71–72.
³⁹ GUPTA–BROOKS, *Using Social Media for Global Security*, 72.

Table 2
Relevant problems for analysis

Problem Set	Description	Examples
Understand the structure of social networks	Track developments of relationships between people online and offline and understand how they use social media.	Identifying extent and use of social media by criminals.
Identify key people and relationships	Determine who in social networks wields influence over people in networks and has ability to affect their behaviour and relationships.	Finding out means and methods by which anti-national elements carry out recruitment and what is their target population?
Determine the proliferation of ideas in networks	Understand in real time which topics and ideas individuals and groups are discussing and sharing.	Identifying violent/ extremist literature rhetoric or offensive material which may spread panic among people if unchecked.
Understand and forecast behaviour	Co-relate behaviour, environmental constraints, and discussions on social media platforms in real time data to determine how individuals or groups might behave in the future.	How are criminals using social media to inflame tensions and is their use of the medium changing to avoid policing?
Understand and forecast events	Using real time data on social media platforms and co-relating with events and environment constrains to predict likelihood of specific events occurring in the future.	Determine likelihood of flash mobs, protests and spread of violence in emergency situations.

Source: based on information taken from GUPTA, BROOKS, *Using Social Media for Global Security*, 45–71.

The success in getting actionable intelligence from social media platforms depends on 1. determining collection needs; 2. collection of data; 3. filtering of data (noise vs signal); 4. storing and managing data and 5. analysing data using appropriate algorithms and tools.⁴⁰

Notwithstanding the *Wikileaks* and Snowden revelations of mass surveillance and snooping under the NSA Prism programme, the US law enforcement agencies seem to have developed frameworks and security safeguards to institutionalise the use of open source social media for actionable intelligence.⁴¹ Whether Indian enforcement agencies should take a cue from their western counterparts in terms of using social media for undercover investigations can be debated as it opens up issues of privacy violation. However, other practices, like requirements of strict compliance review, timely review and destruction of recorded data, case by case oversight by a chief information security officer and allowing of news media to report on agency's social media policy for better compliance and transparency are practices which can be incorporated depending on Indian agencies needs and requirements.⁴²

A cautionary note is required here to reiterate that social media intelligence and techniques are not infallible, however refined and institutionalised they are. For instance, the US Dept of Homeland Security (DHS) once ruined an Irish tourist's vacation because of a tweet. In 2012, before leaving for a holiday to the US, Leigh V. Bryan excitedly tweeted 'he was going to destroy America'; only to find himself detained in a cell with Mexican drug dealers 12 hours later, pending an investigation with DHS upon his arrival.⁴³ Hence, intelligence gathered from social media can only supplement and provide context to hard intelligence gathered by law enforcement agencies, and it always needs verification.

The Indian Experience: Social Media Labs – Success and Limitations

In contrast the Indian experience in using content from open social media platforms for intelligence gathering has been limited to a few pilot projects. Indian police personnel interviewed do believe in the usefulness of social media in providing actionable intelligence in two prominent aspects: rumours which manifest in violent public upsurge and simmering public opinion about various issues.⁴⁴ Despite apprehensions remaining over constraints like volume of content generated and need for extensive cyber networks, there was an agreement on the usefulness of the medium's speed of delivering real time data for predicting protests and its reach in emergencies like riots, terror strikes or countering of hateful propaganda which is inciting violence.⁴⁵

⁴⁰ Ibid.

⁴¹ Ibid.

⁴² Ibid.

⁴³ GUPTA–BROOKS, *Using Social Media for Global Security*, xxv.

⁴⁴ SACHDEVA–KUMARAGURU, *Online Social Media and Police in India*.

⁴⁵ Ibid. Extensive interviews were conducted by the scholar with senior IPS officials during research for the project.

The *Social Media Labs Project*.⁴⁶ The Maharashtra Police in May 2013 took the first initiative in this direction by setting up a pilot project to track activity on social media to gauge public moods on issues and 'step-up its preparedness' in anticipating and handling sudden flare ups. The first of its kind in the country, the Lab was established with the Mumbai police roping in industry body NASCOMM (The National Association of Software and Services Companies) for providing technical infrastructure support and training and used social media monitoring tools provided by Indian technology-development entrepreneurs, *SocialAppsHQ*. Rajat Garg, CEO of *SocialAppsHQ.com* says 'the app tracks and provides sentiment analysis, identifies behavioural patterns, influencers and advocates, tracks increase in chatter and generate alerts in real-time on social media platforms'.⁴⁷ He reiterated that the lab processes only the data that is available on public platforms using algorithms and brings out patterns, which are then further analysed to identify various activities. Thus the idea is that through automated social media intelligence tools, like *SocialAppsHQ.com*, police can now find out anti-social groups actively participating in creating disturbance and take timely and preventive measures, Garg elaborated.

But the software was just one part of the exercise. Senior IPS officers who conceptualised this project told me that 25 police personnel – five officer level and twenty constables were specifically handpicked for running the 24x7 lab after a rigorous exercise of interviews which gave weight to aspirants with a technology background or interest. Training capsules were designed in collaboration with experts from IIIT-Delhi and cyber experts and technologists in Mumbai and provided basic hands on training to personnel to engage with the medium. In keeping with the requirements of the Mumbai police force, a list of keywords were prepared which would help the personnel spot trends and identify issues that required immediate attention. The personnel were divided into three shifts and mandated to come up with two reports a day which were sent to all police heads.

Early success: One member of the special team said that – despite basic levels of technology, training and relative inexperience of the squad – the pilot project had many deliverables in its short life span. Examples given included: 1. gauging of mood in social media helped anticipate a law and order situation when the chief of a political outfit asked party workers to stop paying tolls and 'smash those who ask for it'.⁴⁸ Having anticipated the backlash, the Mumbai police was able to reign in the violence unleashed by party workers relatively quickly. 2. A cyber expert closely involved with the project also highlighted how the lab has been successful in keeping in check the spread of a lot of communal content available on such platforms. A particular incident involving an offensive picture morphed to show desecration of a religious text was spotted before it went viral and fermented trouble in Mumbai.

Scope and Challenges: Naval Bajaj, Senior IPS officer of the Maharashtra Police, said that there was recognition among the top brass of the state police force that they 'could

⁴⁶ The information in this section is based on the scholar's interaction with all stakeholders responsible for putting together the Social Media Labs Project. This includes senior officers from the Maharashtra Police, cyber experts involved in the project, officials from NASSCOMM and social media monitoring tool provider SocialappHQs.

⁴⁷ Interview with Rajat Garg, CEO SocialAppsHQ.com.

⁴⁸ "Raj Thackeray booked for violence," *The Hindu*, 14 February 2014. Available at: www.thehindu.com/news/cities/mumbai/raj-thackeray-booked-for-violence/article5627711.ece (accessed: 15 May 2016).

not afford to miss the bus',⁴⁹ and such initiatives in the immediate term must be replicated through the state and then develop the application at a national scale in the long term. It was also pointed out that 'policemen cannot be turned into technologists',⁵⁰ and there was a need to think of bringing in professionals for such specialised teams. The cyber security experts agreed with the assessment saying that as the scale of projects grow to meet with the growing challenges in the cyber space, constabulary level of talent will not suffice.⁵¹ Technologists pointed out that the operation is currently hamstrung by budgets, and to keep pace with events in such active mediums more sophisticated technology and application platforms would be required.⁵² All stakeholders recommended conceptualising architecture for the use of the medium within legal frameworks, allocation of budgets for Public–Private Partnership Models and streamlining standardisation for tools and platforms for proposed exercises.⁵³

In my interaction with experts, three cases were discussed where actionable intelligence generated by *Social Media Labs* could have helped situations:

- a) *Protests over Delhi gang rape case December 2012*: public anger over the brutal and horrific rape of a young medical student in a moving bus in the capital and outrage over rising incidents of violence against women in Delhi found an outlet in social media platforms. People used social media to mobilise and co-ordinate collective action in the form of protests on the street.⁵⁴ The Delhi government and police were completely unprepared and had not anticipated the large numbers of protestors who took to the streets in the capital. The police clampdown that followed was criticised heavily as the protests turned violent. *Social Media Labs in such situations would be helpful in gauging public sentiment, identifying movement of protestors and key influencers, predicting the scale of protests and help authorities plan contingencies.*
- b) *Assam riot and mass exodus of Northeast Indians from urban centres (July–August 2012)*: it began with ethnic clashes in the India's north-eastern state of Assam in late July of 2012. Hindu members of the indigenous Bodo tribe clashed with Bengali-speaking Muslim settlers and migrants. More than 300,000 refugees were relocated to a heavily guarded camp; their houses were burned, and 78 people were reported dead.⁵⁵ In cities like Bangalore, Pune, Chennai, and Mysore, riots and smaller clashes broke after protests over attacks on Muslims in Assam turned

⁴⁹ Interview with Mr. Naval Bajaj, Sr. IPS officer of the Maharashtra Police. Conducted in Mumbai on February 20, 2014.

⁵⁰ Ibid.

⁵¹ Interview with Mr. Vijay Mukhi, Cyber Security Expert and member Bombay Technology Centre. Conducted on February 19, 2014 in Mumbai.

⁵² Interview with Mr. Rajan Luthra, RIL Foundation, part of NASCOMM collaboration on Social Media Labs Project. Interviewed on February 18, 2014 in Mumbai.

⁵³ The information in this section is based on the scholar's interaction with all stakeholders responsible for putting together the Social Media Labs Project. This includes senior officers from the Maharashtra Police, cyber experts involved in the project, officials from NASSCOMM and social media monitoring tool provider SocialappHQs.

⁵⁴ Ruchira SINGH, "Delhi Gang Rape: People Unite Through Social Media to Bring the Outrage on Streets," *IBNLive.com*, 22 December 2012. Available at: <http://ibnlive.in.com/news/delhi-gangrape-people-unite-through-social-media-to-bring-the-outrage-on-streets/311769-3-244.html> (accessed: 15 May 2016).

⁵⁵ Jonah Force HILL, "India's Internet Freedom Nightmare," *The Diplomat*, 25 August 2012. Available at: <http://thediplomat.com/2012/08/indias-internet-freedom-nightmare/?allpages=yes> (accessed: 15 May 2016).

violent.⁵⁶ Then, in a sudden development, texts and photographs warning of renewed attacks began circulating throughout urban cities threatening retaliation against non-Muslims from the Northeast to avenge the attacks in Assam.⁵⁷ Train stations were swamped, and refugee camps swelled.⁵⁸

Urban residents received on their telephones texts and doctored photographs of an alleged riot in progress.⁵⁹ These morphed images of mutilated bodies were actually doctored from photographs of mass deaths in other contexts (e.g. an earthquake in Tibet in 2008, a 2008 cyclone in Myanmar).⁶⁰ The messages went viral on all social media platforms triggering mass panic and exodus on North East Indian citizens from various cities.⁶¹ One person was arrested in Bangalore for sending out 20,000 messages.⁶²

The misinformation campaign fuelled by social media misuse went unchecked by both media and authorities in the initial phase of rumour mongering. By the time authorities discovered the cause of panic, damage had been done.⁶³ A diplomatic row proceeded with allegations levelled against Pakistan, which were denied by their government.⁶⁴ The Indian government was out of options and decided to ban bulk SMS services and block over 300 websites.⁶⁵ This move was criticised and the government was accused of shooting the messenger and not dealing with the actual problem with proactive measures.⁶⁶ The legal challenges that the government faced in dealing with social media providers and fears regarding internet censorship were many.

These will be dealt with later in greater detail in the section dealing with the legal regime required dealing with cases for social media.

Cyber experts point out that with *Social Media Labs*, law enforcement agencies could have understood what was agitating public sentiments and identify and target groups radicalising people. A counter offensive squelching

⁵⁶ Ibid.

⁵⁷ Ibid.

⁵⁸ "Threats trigger NE Exodus," *Hindustan Times* (photo feature), 17 August 2012. Available at: www.hindustantimes.com/photos-news/photos-india/threatstriggerneexodus/Article4.aspx (accessed: 15 May 2016).

⁵⁹ Sudipto MONDAL, "Mischievous Potential of Social Media in Full Play," *The Hindu*, 17 August 2012. Available at: www.thehindu.com/news/cities/bangalore/mischief-potential-of-social-media-in-full-play/article3781473.ece (accessed: 15 May 2016).

⁶⁰ Ibid.

⁶¹ Ibid.

⁶² T. A. JOHNSON, "Man Held in Bangalore Sent Messages to 20,000: Probe," *Indian Express*, 22 August 2012. Available at: <http://archive.indianexpress.com/news/man-held-in-bangalore-sent-messages-to-20-000-probe/991361> (accessed: 15 May 2016).

⁶³ Anil KUMAR, "We Had No Idea This Would Happen Karnataka, Minister Says," *Times of India*, 18 August 2012. Available at: <http://timesofindia.indiatimes.com/city/bangalore/Exodus-of-northeast-people-We-had-no-idea-this-would-happen-Karnataka-minister-says/articleshow/15547895.cms> (accessed: 15 May 2016).

⁶⁴ "India Shares Evidence on Inflammatory Content Triggering Ne Exodus with Pak," *Indian Express*, 29 August 2012. Available at: <http://indianexpress.com/article/india/latest-news/india-shares-evidence-on-inflammatory-content-triggering-ne-exodus-with-pak> (accessed: 15 May 2016).

⁶⁵ "Centre Bans Bulk SMSes to End Northeast Panic," *Indian Express*, 18 August 2012. Available at: <http://indianexpress.com/article/cities/ahmedabad/centre-bans-bulk-smses-to-end-northeast-panic-3> (accessed: 15 May 2016).

⁶⁶ HILL, *India's Internet Freedom Nightmare*.

the misinformation campaign could have been launched immediately. Having spotted the offensive images, techniques like *reverse image search* could be utilised to find true origins of the photos and this information could have been shared through verified accounts of police forces. Intelligence garnered from social media platforms could have also helped first response teams like CERT-In to effectively ban websites spreading malicious content and reduce time lags, rather than imposing an en-mass block. In short, more preventive measures could have been employed to assist forces on the ground.

The Assam case has alerted authorities to the growing potential for cyber-attack using social media, where hoax messages are incorporated into a stream of otherwise legitimate messages. It also demonstrated how quickly mobile apps and text services could be misused to disseminate false information.⁶⁷ This technology has been identified as *Robot Twitter accounts* i.e. ‘Accounts that are created by computer code to send the same or highly similar messages onto the Twitter platform, polluting the information stream with messages that appear to come from many different people (rather than just one person).’⁶⁸ Keeping up with technological leaps will hence become more imperative.

- c) *Muzzafarnagar riots in Uttar Pradesh (September 2013)*: Exactly a year later, in September 2013, a fake video shot in Pakistan showed two boys being killed in the Pakistani city of Sialkot. It reportedly circulated in Muzzafarnagar, in the Indian state of Uttar Pradesh, triggering communal riots that killed 40 people.⁶⁹ The video was allegedly repackaged to represent a Muslim mob lynching of two boys in communal violence in UP.⁷⁰ The incident highlighted the use of social media platforms in rural India via mobile phone technology and the potential to misuse it for communal polarisation.

While the UP Chief Minister and his government blamed social media for fuelling riots,⁷¹ media reports emerged blaming the government for not reacting to information it was sitting on from Meerut, where a right wing party worker has been arrested for posting the video online.⁷² There was a clear absence of a sustained information campaign to defuse rumours and social media was not engaged even in the aftermath.

As in the case of the Assam riots, Social Media Labs could have identified the offensive video and established its manipulation thereby helping officials correct the spread of rumours and plant an effective counter-offensive in terms

⁶⁷ Rebecca GOOLSBY – Lea SHANLEY – Aaron LOVELL, “On Cybersecurity, Crowdsourcing, and Social Cyber-Attack,” 26 February 2013, Commons Lab Policy Memo Series, Vol. 1, Wilson Centre. Available at: www.wilsoncenter.org/publication/cybersecurity-crowdsourcing-and-social-cyber-attack (accessed: 15 May 2016).

⁶⁸ Ibid.

⁶⁹ Zia HAQ, “A Dangerous Trend: Social Media Adds Fire to Muzaffarnagar Clashes,” *Hindustan Times*, 9 September 2013. Available at: www.hindustantimes.com/india-news/a-dangerous-trend-social-media-adds-fire-to-muzaffarnagar-clashes/article1-1119655.aspx (accessed: 15 May 2016).

⁷⁰ Ibid.

⁷¹ Omar RASHID, “Social Media Rife with Inflammatory Material in Muzaffarnagar,” *The Hindu*, 9 September 2013. Available at: www.thehindu.com/news/national/other-states/social-media-rife-with-inflammatory-material-in-muzaffarnagar/article5110034.ece (accessed: 15 May 2016).

⁷² Ibid.

of an information campaign. It could have also helped target individuals/groups/platforms being used to spread malicious content and provide actionable intelligence to prevent the situation from escalating.

In all of these cases above it is clear that social media misuse can be stalled by the authorities by using the means provided by the medium itself. The Social Media Labs experiment, manned by specialists with clear SOPs (Standard Operating Procedures) on dealing with dissemination of information to counter the medium's manipulation, can effectively nip all law and order challenges before they escalate. However, this is easier said than done. This requires an attitudinal change in organisational culture and investment in both capacity and infrastructure that needs to be replicated and not duplicated across agencies and the country.

An additional challenge that has come to the surface over the last year is the use of social media for extremist propaganda, especially the threat of the terror group ISIS.

Social Media and the Extremist Challenge

The ISIS 'Virtual' Threat to India

The arrest of the Bengaluru executive in November 2014, accused of allegedly running a pro-ISIS Twitter handle, threw open the Pandora's Box on the use of social media by extremist groups for radicalisation of the youth and recruitment in India. The 24-year-old Bengaluru-based engineer, Mehdi Masroor Biswas, 'confessed' that he was handling the pro-jihad tweeter handle, @ShamiWitness, and became 'a source of incitement and information' for new ISIS recruits.⁷³

It was then that the repercussions of the news of four Mumbai youths – who had gone to Iraq and Syria in May 2014 to join ISIS – were beginning to be felt. While one of them returned a few months later, it was his confession to the National Investigative Agency (NIA) that revealed the extent of his radicalisation. The youth claimed he had come back home succumbing to parental pressure and if given a chance, he would rejoin the ISIS and fight for the cause.⁷⁴ 'This despite the fact that ISIS leadership made him clean toilets, indulge in construction work and provide water to those on the battlefield, instead of being pushed into the war zone', authorities said as quoted in media reports.⁷⁵

Then in January 2015, a US educated Indian techie was apprehended in Hyderabad by security agencies after it was found that he was joining his partner in the UK and then travelling to Syria, ostensibly to join ISIS.⁷⁶ Local police said that in one of the three Facebook accounts opened by the techie, all peddling the ISIS cause, over 180 messages were posted

⁷³ "Police arrest Bengaluru exec behind ISIS Twitter handle @ShamiWitness," *firstpost.com*.

⁷⁴ "Will Rejoin ISIS if I Get a Chance: Kalyan Boy Areeb Majeed," *ZEE NEWS*, 1 December 2014. Available at: http://zeenews.india.com/news/india/will-rejoin-isis-if-i-get-a-chance-kalyan-boy-areeb-majeed_1507651.html (accessed: 15 May 2016).

⁷⁵ *Ibid.*

⁷⁶ "Arrested ISIS Recruit Introduced to Terror Group by Girlfriend," *Times of India*, 18 January 2015. Available at: <http://timesofindia.indiatimes.com/india/Arrested-ISIS-recruit-introduced-to-terror-group-by-girlfriend/articleshow/45927316.cms> (accessed: 15 May 2016).

by ‘followers’ from India, as the engineering post-graduate had taken on the task of recruiting local youth from Hyderabad.⁷⁷

Next in September 2015, an Indian woman allegedly involved in recruiting people for the Islamic State was deported by the UAE, and subsequently arrested in Hyderabad. The 37-year-old Afsha Jabeen, alias ‘Nicky Joseph’, had been portraying herself as a British national while luring youth for ISIS through social media.⁷⁸ This was followed by news of the arrest of Muhammed Abdul Ahad, a US-educated computer professional from Bengaluru, who was intercepted by Turkish authorities on the Syrian border and deported to India.⁷⁹ Most interestingly, he had barred his wife from contacting authorities about his disappearance or from locating him. There have also been reports of agencies monitoring over 150 youths from South India.⁸⁰ Those apprehended included a brother and sister who received over Rs. 50,000 from a mysterious benefactor to prepare their travel documents, an MBA holder and his wife, a Google employee, brother of a SIMI activist killed by the police, and several engineering students.⁸¹ Social media here too was used as a recruitment tool.

In April 2016, media reported the killing of Mohammad Shafi Armar, the head recruiter of the Islamic State (IS) in India, in a U.S. drone strike in Syria.⁸² According to media reports, Shafi, the Islamic State’s chief recruiter in India before being killed in a drone strike, was close to ISIS chief, Abu Bakr al-Baghdadi. Intelligence agencies believe that Shafi was putting together an ISIS unit in every Indian state.⁸³ He had reportedly recruited 30 youngsters and was in touch with 600-700 potential recruits via Facebook, Whatsapp, and other social media platforms.⁸⁴ In fact, Muddabir Sheikh, the ISIS recruiter arrested by the NIA during its countrywide raids, was radicalized by Shafi, who promised a promotion and additional money for Indian operations if Sheikh successfully carried out his first assignment.⁸⁵ Sheikh reportedly had been unemployed since October 2015 and spent most of his time on the internet, combing through ISIS propaganda.

⁷⁷ Ibid.

⁷⁸ “Indian Woman Involved in Recruiting for ISIS Deported from UAE, Arrested in Hyderabad,” *DNA*, 11 September 2015. Available at: www.dnaindia.com/india/report-indian-woman-involved-in-recruiting-for-isis-deported-from-uae-arrested-in-hyderabad-2124378 (accessed: 15 May 2016).

⁷⁹ Joseph Josy, “Techie Left Note for Wife before Heading to Join IS,” *The Hindu*, 20 November 2015. Available at: www.thehindu.com/news/national/techie-left-note-for-wife-before-heading-to-join-is/article7897123.ece (accessed: 15 May 2016).

⁸⁰ Joseph Josy, “150 IS ‘Supporters’ in South India,” *The Hindu*, 22 November 2015. Available at: www.thehindu.com/news/national/150-is-supporters-in-south-india/article7904410.ece (accessed: 15 May 2016).

⁸¹ Ibid.

⁸² For more see Shruti PANDALAI, “ISIS in India: The Writing on the (Facebook) Wall,” *The Diplomat*, 6 May 2015. Available at: <http://thediplomat.com/2016/05/isis-in-india-the-writing-on-the-facebook-wall> (accessed: 15 May 2016).

⁸³ Ibid.

⁸⁴ Ibid.

⁸⁵ Ibid.

ISIS Releases First Propaganda Video Targeting Indian Muslims

The spate of arrests of Indian sympathizers has proved that 'Brand ISIS' has found its foothold in India. The threat is manifold because the Islamic State is winning supporters via social media. The Indian government too, after the 2015 Paris attacks, has moved beyond the rhetoric of ISIS as a distant problem. With the latest propaganda video of the terror group released in May 2016, directly targeting potential Indian recruits, the writing clearly is on our wall.⁸⁶ The video showed off a large group of Kalashnikov-wielding jihadists allegedly from India fighting against the Syrian forces in the Homs province, urging 'Indian Muslims' to avenge the Babri Masjid Demolition and atrocities on Muslims in Kashmir by joining the holy fight.⁸⁷ The NIA officials analysing the video, and the media report has conclusively identified engineering student Fahad Tanvir Sheikh, a resident of Thane, who travelled to Syria in 2014.⁸⁸

NIA Investigations Reveal Worrying Trends

India has trouble on its hands. Media reports on data of NIA investigations of ISIS India sympathisers reveal that '70 percent of 152 Indians arrested, detained or counselled for links to ISIS were from middle and upper middle classes, with half of them holding graduate degrees and 23 percent completing their masters. Only a quarter of them had religious degrees. In contrast, an overwhelming majority of 645 terrorism suspects interrogated between 2000 and 2014, before the rise of ISIS, was from poor families. More than 90 percent of them did not complete school, and their trigger for radicalisation was mostly perceived victimhood at home, not a desire for global jihad.'⁸⁹

According to the agencies, this marks a possible class shift among those attracted to violent groups in India, where religious radicalisation is thought to be more prevalent among the poor and illiterate.⁹⁰ Educated, middle-class youngsters in India appear to be more drawn to ISIS, moved as much by the terrorist group's brand of global jihad as by perceived injustices against Muslims at home.⁹¹ Once again social media propaganda has been identified as the medium driving this online radicalisation and puts emphasis on controlling the narrative on the perception wars of communities on sensitive issues. The data suggests a direct correlation between key events with religious undertones in India and spikes in internet traffic from the country to jihadist websites over the past two years.

⁸⁶ "Islamic State Releases Video Allegedly Showing Indian Jihadists Fighting in Syria," *The Indian Express*.

⁸⁷ Ibid.

⁸⁸ "NIA Analysing Is Video Featuring Purported Indian Fighters," *India Today*, 23 May 2016. Available at: <http://indiatoday.intoday.in/story/nia-analysing-is-video-featuring-purported-indian-fighters/1/675627.html> (accessed: 30 May 2016).

⁸⁹ Appu Esthose SURESH, "Educated, Middle-Class Indian Youngsters Drawn to Islamic State," *Hindustan Times*, 13 June 2016. Available at: www.hindustantimes.com/india-news/educated-middle-class-indian-youngsters-drawn-to-islamic-state/story-hJxNUrsBOvTEFb5e9d8E4O.html (accessed: 15 June 2016).

⁹⁰ Ibid.

⁹¹ Ibid.

Reports quote that ‘The National Technical Research Organisation and Intelligence Bureau detected that such traffic peaked between July 23 and 29 (2015) coinciding with the hanging of 1993 Mumbai bombings convict Yakub Memon. Many believed him to be innocent, triggering a media debate. Again, more people logged into jihadist websites from India between April 17 and 23 (2016) – around the time as a controversy over the National Investigation Agency softening its terrorism charges against people linked to Hindu radical groups.’⁹² It is no wonder then that the propaganda video released by the ISIS targeting Indian Muslims plays on these perceived insecurities. While India is trying to buff up its capacities to build effective counter-narratives, it is imperative to understand and respond to the scale and might of ISIS propaganda online.

Understanding ISIS Social Media Modus Operandi

ISIS has mastered the art of selling terror and ideology instantly. Today the group’s ‘lone wolfs’, armed with smart phones, run ‘DIY Terror forums’, virtually scouting for recruits across the globe. Many in India may not know much about ISIS ideology or the rank and file, but most would have heard of ‘Jihadi John’, the now deceased British Arab, who became infamous for beheading ISIS captives in the group’s propaganda videos, which were viewed millions of times across the globe. Interestingly, in the current propaganda videos, an Islamic State (IS) terrorist of Indian-origin from Britain, Siddhartha Dhar, has been dubbed as the ‘New Jihadi John’, and allegedly is a senior commander of the dreaded outfit.⁹³

ISIS has made brutality fashionable by exploiting the medium. YouTube videos edited in fancy Hollywood-esque sequences show jihadis as regular Joes, interested in sports and movies – while unflinchingly posing with the decapitated heads of victims who went against ISIS decrees. These videos use gaming language, graphics, and effects coupled with trending hashtags to target their global audience, the disenchanting youth who are spoiling for a fight. ISIS speaks to them in a language they understand. This explains the shift in the target audience ISIS seems to be attracting in India: the educated middle-class youngsters in India, wanting the ISIS global identity while assuaging perceived grievances of their communities back at home. A toxic mix of ideology and technology that makes for a potent challenge.

This ideological pull beyond the Middle East is further explained by some of the numbers that the Brookings Institution’s⁹⁴ ISIS Twitter Census came up with. 1. Almost one in five ISIS supporters selected English as their primary language when using Twitter, while three-quarters selected Arabic. 2. ISIS-supporting accounts are among the most active and on an average had about 1,000 followers each, considerably higher than an ordinary Twitter user. Much of ISIS’s social media success can be attributed to a relatively small group of hyperactive users, numbering between 500 and 2,000 accounts, which tweet in concentrated bursts of high volume.

⁹² Ibid.

⁹³ “Siddhartha Dhar, the ‘New Jihadi John’ of IS: Report,” *The Hindu*, 3 March 2016. Available at: www.thehindu.com/news/international/siddhartha-dhar-a-top-commander-of-is-report/article8548219.ece (accessed: 15 May 2016).

⁹⁴ J. M. BERGER – Jonathon MORGAN, “The ISIS Twitter Census Defining and Describing the Population of ISIS Supporters on Twitter,” *The Brookings Project on U.S. Relations with the Islamic World*, Analysis Paper No. 20 (March 2015). Available at: www.brookings.edu/~media/research/files/papers/2015/03/isis-twitter-census-berger-morgan/isis_twitter_census_berger_morgan.pdf (accessed: 15 May 2016).

3. And finally, perhaps the most important finding, suspension of accounts by Twitter did not result in a drop in the frequency of messages, in fact new users cropped up in no time. This highlights the need for not just monitoring and surveillance of social media platforms by security agencies, but also the creation of comprehensive content to build effective counter narratives – both by civil societies and governments across the globe.

If one looks at the new tools in the ISIS arsenal, Twitter remains its most powerful weapon. However, the Islamic State's online diaspora spans several major sites according to an investigation by *The Washington Post* (see Table 3).⁹⁵

Table 3
The ISIS social media arsenal

Twitter	The microblogging site has likely been the most successful platform for the group.
Facebook	The social network allows the selective sharing of graphic content if the user posting the content is condemning it, but not if the content is being celebrated or glorified. This makes it difficult for militants to post there.
YouTube	The video-sharing website allows the group to upload professionally produced propaganda videos of executions, captured territory, and promotional pieces about life in the Islamic State.
Kik and other messaging apps	The recruiters prefer such apps to speak with would-be members. They often ask newcomers they find on other services to move their conversations to Kik.
Ask.fm	A Q-and-A site, where militants and other Islamic State members answer questions about their motivations and religion.

Source: Scott HIGHAM – Ellen NAKASHIMA, “Why the Islamic State Leaves Tech Companies Torn between Free Speech and Security,” *The Washington Post*, 16 July 2015

⁹⁵ Scott HIGHAM – Ellen NAKASHIMA, “Why the Islamic State Leaves Tech Companies Torn between Free Speech and Security,” *The Washington Post*, 16 July 2015.

Table 4
How ISIS recruits in India: online radicalisation trends

Step 1. Posting messages on Facebook, requesting ‘likes’ and ‘shares’.
Step 2. Develop contacts with person who has ‘liked’ or ‘shared’ the post.
Step 3. Getting them to share more radical content.
Step 4. If seriousness is shown, explaining the route and logistics to reach Islamic State.
Step 5. Exchange of phone numbers, Skype IDs and other means of communication.
Step 6. Meeting in person with the intermediaries.
Step 7. Further action based on the willingness and abilities of the subject to join the ISIS.

In India too, agencies see a similar pattern with IS recruiters scouring social media to identify possible candidates who ‘share’ or ‘like’ pro-IS literature. They then encourage them to share more content before trying to inveigle them into travelling to IS-controlled areas in Iraq and Syria.⁹⁶

Dangerous Fallout on National Security

In addition to this, Indian security agencies are also worried that the brazen use of social media by the ISIS to establish itself as the global face of ‘jihad’ has had other troublesome spin offs.⁹⁷

- a) *About ISIS propaganda fuelling competition between terror groups on social media:* firstly, ISIS propaganda on social media has made other transnational terror groups like al-Qaeda, more competitive and resorting to more sensationalist and ruthless styles of propaganda. Over the last two years, we have seen many propaganda messages on social media directed towards ‘the Indian Muslim’ by both these groups. This naturally is a big cause of concern for investigating agencies.
- b) *About bandwagoning by terror groups in India:* perhaps the biggest threat that the success of ISIS poses to India is the bandwagon effect. It seems to have inspired

⁹⁶ Vijaita SINGH, “Fighting the Islamic State: Centre Plans Anti-Terror Cyber-Push,” *The Hindu*, 11 April 2016. Available at: www.thehindu.com/news/national/centre-plans-antiterror-cyberpush/article8459082.ece (accessed: 15 May 2016).

⁹⁷ This section is based on the author’s paper: Shruti PANDALAI, “Armed with a Tweet: The Islamic State’s Virtual Propaganda Wars, Its Appeal and Looming Threat to India,” in *Asian Strategic Review, 2016 – Terrorism: Emerging Trends*, eds. S. D. MUNI – Vivek CHADHA (Institute for Defence Studies & Analyses, New Delhi: Pentagon Press, 2016), 53–66.

in local terror outfits. Irrespective of whether they agree with the ISIS ideology, groups like the Indian Mujahideen and other extremist outfits have been seen as eager to latch on to brand ISIS, in a bid to garner attention. Media reports quoted intelligence agencies saying that 'Instead of forming its sleeper cells, the Internet and social media has become another platform for the terror outfit to scout for vulnerable youth belonging to the minority community. All agencies are keeping a close tab on the suspect areas where the IM was most active'.⁹⁸ The outfit had also uploaded a video of the ISIS Chief, Abu Bakr al-Baghdadi, with Hindi, Urdu and Tamil subtitles.

- c) *About inspiring 'overt war of ideas' and recruitment by Indian insurgent groups:* one of the spin-offs of the blatant use of social media propaganda by the ISIS is that insurgent groups in India are catching on to the potential of social media to attract recruits. Intelligence officials shared with media a set of photographs and a video that went viral in Kashmir, showing 'eleven Hizbul Mujahideen (HM) militants posing in army-style combat fatigues'.⁹⁹ This photograph emerged just a few days after similar photographs were uploaded by militants in the North East, of armed cadres posing in the forests with assault rifles. This group NSCN-K was responsible for an ambush on the Indian Army that had killed 18 soldiers in Manipur. The message was clearly signalling that the 'war of ideas against the establishment' is no longer covert, but aims to 'inspire' recruits overtly.

India's Pushback against ISIS's Virtual War

Indian authorities are clearly concerned with ISIS recruitment via social media. A Ministry of Home Affairs (MHA) advisory reiterated after the Paris attacks: the Islamic States' 'success of online radicalization of youth [...] and the possibility of piggybacking on terror groups operating in India, opened up the possibility of IS-sponsored terrorist action on Indian territory'.¹⁰⁰ While Indian agencies are aware of the looming challenge, we need to buff up capacities to match the scale of the challenge. Dedicated Social Media Labs, focusing just on ISIS and al-Qaeda recruitment attempts online, could perhaps be the first step in that direction. These concerns were reflected when the MHA announced in December 2015 that it is examining the feasibility of a multi-agency 24/7 Social Media Analysis Center to monitor online recruitment.¹⁰¹ A recommendation which was first made by the author as part of policy papers submitted to the MHA on the subject.

Indian government agencies have been working on plans to counter social-media radicalisation in India. Apart from online surveillance to isolate influencers and prevent mishaps, emphasis has been made to institute a de-radicalisation programme. The programme, according to a government official quoted by the media, has tried to address the issue at three

⁹⁸ Ibid.

⁹⁹ Ibid.

¹⁰⁰ For more see PANDALAI, *ISIS in India: The Writing on the (Facebook) Wall*.

¹⁰¹ Ibid. Also see "India Wants 24x7 Online War Room to Tackle Cyber Threat from ISIS," *India Today*, 24 December 2015. Available at: <http://indiatoday.intoday.in/story/government-plans-social-media-scanning-centre-to-take-on-isis/1/554878.html> (accessed: 15 May 2016).

levels: at the first, macro level, through preventive arrests; at the second level, counter-narratives to discourage youths and give incentives to renounce violence; and at the third, to work at the micro level with individuals.¹⁰² However, this is no easy task. A government secretary was quoted saying, ‘It is hard to gauge the success of these programmes. But with this programme, disengagement from extremist groups has been managed but re-radicalisation is proving to be difficult. Many jihadis go back to the vortex of terror.’¹⁰³

Attempts have already been made to reach out to the Imams of various Muslim communities in India, to use their Friday sermons to address the youth on why rejecting the ISIS-ideology should be their call of duty. In fact, over 1,050 Indian Islamic scholars and clerics have issued fatwa against the ISIS, describing its acts and actions as against the basic tenets of Islam.¹⁰⁴ In cities like Bengaluru, the Imam of the Jamia Masjid, has started an initiative to counter propaganda of the kind unleashed by Islamic State by organising outreach programmes in colleges and using social media platforms, such as WhatsApp. A WhatsApp group of around 150 *maulanas* have been created to devise a communication strategy to prevent radicalisation of youths.¹⁰⁵ All these are great building blocks to a comprehensive effort to counter the ISIS ideology in India. The impetus has to remain in sustaining these efforts over time and to look beyond instant solutions.

As discussed in all of the cases above, from internal law and order challenges to threats from extremists, social media can be engaged with both to provide intelligence as well as to create robust counter-narratives, which make it a potent force, multiplier in the hands of security and law enforcement agencies. However, this has been a challenge for the government in the past with activists criticising government’s first response in emergency situations as curtailing freedom of speech and expression and attempting to censor the internet. It is imperative hence that we discuss the legal challenges in dealing with cases arising of social media misuse next.

Social Media and the Legal Challenge

In India, the effective use of social media by law enforcement and security agencies to protect internal cohesion have been hurt due to unfortunate incidents of misuse of current legal provisions, causing legitimate concerns over curtailing constitutional guarantees of freedom of speech and expression and created threat perceptions of a ‘big brother’ regime.

Pawan Duggal, a cyber law expert and advocate with the Supreme Court of India, writes, ‘Social media as a phenomenon has grown by leaps and bounds in 2013. However, with the passage of time it is clear that the Information Technology Act 2000 is not capable

¹⁰² This section is based on the author’s paper: Shruti PANDALAI, *Armed with a Tweet: The Islamic State’s Virtual Propaganda Wars, Its Appeal and Looming Threat to India*, 53–66.

¹⁰³ Ibid.

¹⁰⁴ Ibid.

¹⁰⁵ Ibid.

of effectively addressing the legal, policy and regulatory concerns generated by the use of social media in India.¹⁰⁶

The following challenges need to be addressed immediately.

Fears of Censorship of Freedom of Speech and Expression

The Information Technology Act 2000 and the amended IT Act 2008 are the existent laws which provide legal framework pertaining to issues of social media.¹⁰⁷ The questionable use of Article 66A of this act, which now stands revoked after a groundbreaking decision by the Supreme Court of India in March 2015, created a lot of controversy.¹⁰⁸ In short, Article 66A prescribed punishment for 'any person who sends, by means of a computer resource or a communication device, any information that is grossly offensive or has menacing character'.¹⁰⁹ In a number of cases this provision was used to arrest individuals for their opinions on social media which were seen as critical of the government or political figures. The revocation of this provision was seen as upholding values of liberty and freedom, the two pillars of democracy by the SC. However, people's perceptions of the government attitudes to the same remain scarred.

Internet Traffic Monitoring and Privacy Concerns

The way in which the internet allows data to be produced, collected, combined, shared, stored, and analysed is constantly changing and re-defining personal data and what type of protections personal data deserves and can be given.¹¹⁰ Police projects like *Social Media Labs* depend entirely on information available on public platforms and hence authorities must anticipate contestations to what constitutes public data in times ahead.

¹⁰⁶ Pawan DUGGAL, "The Face of Indian Cyber Law in 2013," *Business Standard*, 30 December 2013. Available at: www.business-standard.com/article/technology/the-face-of-indian-cyber-law-in-2013-113123000441_1.html (accessed: 15 May 2016).

¹⁰⁷ IT (Amendment) Act, DeitY, 2008. Available at: http://deity.gov.in/sites/upload_files/dit/files/downloads/itact2000/it_amendment_act2008.pdf (accessed: 15 May 2016). Also refer to Centre for Internet and Society, *Short note on IT Amendment Act, 2008*. Available at: <http://cis-india.org/internet-governance/publications/it-act/short-note-on-amendment-act-2008> (accessed: 15 May 2016).

¹⁰⁸ "SC Strikes Down 'Draconian' Section 66A," *The Hindu*, 24 March 2015. Available at: www.thehindu.com/news/national/supreme-court-strikes-down-section-66-a-of-the-it-act-finds-it-unconstitutional/article7027375.ece (accessed: 15 May 2016).

¹⁰⁹ IT (Amendment) Act, DeitY, 2008. Available at: http://deity.gov.in/sites/upload_files/dit/files/downloads/itact2000/it_amendment_act2008.pdf (accessed: 15 May 2016). Also refer to Centre for Internet and Society, *Short note on IT Amendment Act, 2008*, <http://cis-india.org/internet-governance/publications/it-act/short-note-on-amendment-act-2008> (accessed: 15 May 2016).

¹¹⁰ Elonnai HICKOK, "Internet Privacy in India," *Centre for Internet and Society*, 8 January 2014. Available at: <http://cis-india.org/telecom/knowledge-repository-on-internet-access/internet-privacy-in-india> (accessed: 15 May 2016).

Currently provisions in IT (reasonable security practices and procedures & sensitive personal data and information) Rules 2011¹¹¹ and the proposed Privacy Bill 2014¹¹² say that ‘Provided that any information that is freely available or accessible in public domain or to be furnished under the Right to Information Act 2005 or any other law for time being in force shall not be regarded as sensitive personal data for the purposes of this Act’.¹¹³ However, exceptions have been outlined under the privacy bill for security and law enforcement agencies in cases dealing with threats to the security and sovereignty of India.¹¹⁴ Notwithstanding, agencies must be aware that – for example, in the United States – individuals have contested the use of their tweets without permission while courts in the U.S. have ruled that tweets, private and public, can be obtained by law enforcement with only a subpoena, as technically the information has been shared with another entity, and is therefore no longer private.¹¹⁵ Indian Courts have yet to deal directly with the question of social media content being public or private information. As use of social media evolves for security and law enforcement agencies, questions regarding ‘relevancy’ of such data, and its ‘admissibility’, etc. will also be raised.

Inconsistencies in Compliance Review/Due Diligence in Implementing Filtering Mechanisms for Malicious Content on the Web

Under the existing legal frameworks, Sections 69 and 69(a) empowers the government of India to:¹¹⁶

1. Issue directions for blocking of information for public access and to issue directions for interception or monitoring or decryption of information through any computer resource when circumstances threaten public order, defence, security, sovereignty and integrity of India or friendly relations with other states or to prevent incitement to the commission of any cognizable offence relating to the above circumstances.
2. 69 (b) of the IT Act 2000 empower agencies of the government of India, in this case the Dept. of Electronics and Information Technology ‘power to authorise to monitor and collect traffic data or information through any computer resource for cyber security’ for cyber incidents and breaches.

¹¹¹ For more see Department of Electronics and Information Technology, *Framework & Guidelines for Use of Social Media for Government Organisations*, 19.

¹¹² Elonnai Hickok, “Leaked Privacy Bill: 2014 vs. 2011,” *Centre for Internet and Society*, 31 March 2014. Available at: <http://cis-india.org/internet-governance/blog/leaked-privacy-bill-2014-v-2011> (accessed: 15 May 2016).

¹¹³ Ibid.

¹¹⁴ Ibid.

¹¹⁵ Hickok, *Internet Privacy in India*.

¹¹⁶ IT (Amendment) Act, DeitY, 2008. Available at: http://deity.gov.in/sites/upload_files/dit/files/downloads/itact2000/it_amendment_act2008.pdf (accessed: 15 May 2016). Also refer to the Centre for Internet and Society, *Short note on IT Amendment Act*, 2008. Available at: <http://cis-india.org/internet-governance/publications/it-act/short-note-on-amendment-act-2008> (accessed: 15 May 2016).

Safeguards: Rules under 69 (a) of IT Act 2000 (rule 7), authorises Secretary, DeitY as a competent authority to issue directions for blocking information to public access after examining recommendations of a committee comprising of designated officer of DeitY, Joint Secretaries of MHA, Ministry of Law and Justice, Information and Broadcasting and ICERT. In situations of emergency, competent authority may bypass committee examination, but rules require that emergency requests are examined within 48 hours by the committee. There are provisions for a Review Committee chaired by the cabinet secretary to review decisions taken by the competent authority for blocking of information for public access. In case inconsistencies are found, an order for unblocking of information will be issued.

Cyber law experts have said that while in the case of the Assam riots, the blocking of URLs by the government was a symbolic reaction, they say blocking en-masse of over 300 URLs exposed ineffectiveness of safeguards as implementation of rules did not take place, says Pranesh Prakash, of the Centre for Internet and Society.¹¹⁷ Recommendations have been made to make the process of blocking of content less arbitrary and more transparent by 'informing censored groups/individuals reasons for the block and allowing them to contest it and seek redressal with relevant authority, as also informing the public about the reasons of the block after the emergency has been dealt with, to encourage openness.'¹¹⁸ Security and Law enforcement professionals on the other hand have said that a medium as fast and impactful as the social media, blocking, 48 hour time frames and committee decisions are futile. They have asked for real time redressal mechanisms which are legally sound and will make action effective.

Issues Regarding Liability of Intermediaries

Section 79 of the IT Act requires intermediaries to advise users of its services not to post information which is harmful/offensive and violates the law of India. The rules further provide that intermediaries may remove on their own such type of information that is considered harmful or offensive.¹¹⁹ Cyber law experts argue that ordering internet service providers (ISPs) to block content and making them liable is largely ineffectual.¹²⁰ Instead, people and companies hosting the material on individual platforms should be targeted, since all sites have clear content removal policies and encouraging communal tensions and hate speech generally would not be tolerated. They add that such provisions are misinterpreted by overzealous ISPs, who then act beyond the government's requirements.

¹¹⁷ Pranesh PRAKASH, "Analysing List of Blocked Sites," *Centre for Internet and Society*, 22 August 2012. Available at: <http://cis-india.org/internet-governance/blog/analysing-blocked-sites-riots-communalism> (accessed: 15 May 2016).

¹¹⁸ Ibid.

¹¹⁹ Ibid.

¹²⁰ Ibid.

Complications in Jurisdiction with Subsidiaries of Foreign Internet Companies

Often during times of crisis, the governments find themselves in a problematic spot, because social media service providers like Facebook, Google (YouTube, Blogspot), Twitter, etc. provide web and social media services from their servers installed in the US and hence they say they will comply only with US laws. So far co-operation on matters happens only in good faith or with a letter from the government being sent to the US Department of Justice. Cyber security experts in India have been pressing the government to formulate laws that clarify the legal position on whether the law of the land or the law of the countries where the Internet companies are headquartered will take precedence in cyberspace. This is important because Indian authorities want the social networks to conform to local laws and sensitivities when it comes to blocking web content.

The discussion above has barely scratched the surface in terms of the challenges that face decision makers vis-a-vis setting up a legal regime focusing on various aspects of social media. At a high level meeting chaired by the NSA in September 2012 it was decided that ‘standard operating procedures will be put in place to set in motion response of the government and service providers in case of emergency and [...] to introduce predictability with regard to what kind of content is liable to be regulated and for how long.’¹²¹ The government is also said to be thinking on the lines of Mutual Legal Assistance Treaties between India and other countries like USA.¹²²

Experts interviewed for this project believe that the first step to deal with the multitude of challenges that have emerged with the rise of social media requires that it be legally viewed as a medium. Second is a the complete rethink of the legal regime since the IT ACT 2000 conceived 16 years ago was meant to promote e-commerce and is incapable of resolving the challenges put forth by the rapid explosion of new technologies like social media. The National Cyber Security Policy does not have any provisions to deal with social media so the change has to come first at the Macro level. Even though the government after many recommendations – including those from the IDSA task force report – has decided to push for a national social media policy, the blue prints are still being chalked out.¹²³

At the more micro level, especially in situations where conflict is triggered with the misuse of social media, it has been suggested that the government should work with social media service companies to create mechanisms where in case of emergencies, provisions for 24×7 responses for complaints be available. This would not require new legislation but good communication skills and cultivating of relationships.

It has also been recommended that to make the process more transparent and prevent misuse of any information ‘an independent, autonomous and proactive privacy commissioner’ be established who will keep both private and state actors on a short lease.¹²⁴

¹²¹ Thomas K. THOMAS, “Intelligence Agencies to Keep an Eye on Social Media Content,” *The Hindu BusinessLine*, 14 September 2012. Available at: www.thehindubusinessline.com/industry-and-economy/info-tech/intelligence-agencies-to-keep-an-eye-on-social-media-content/article3897687.ece (accessed: 15 May 2016).

¹²² Interview conducted with Mr. Gulshan Rai, Director CERT-IN, on August 8, 2013 in New Delhi.

¹²³ SINGH, *Fighting the Islamic State: Centre Plans Anti-Terror Cyber-Push*.

¹²⁴ Indrani BAGCHI, “India for inclusive internet governance,” *Times of India*, 25 April 2014. Available at: <http://timesofindia.indiatimes.com/india/India-for-inclusive-internet-governance/articleshow/34170534.cms> (accessed: 15 May 2016).

Recommendations for Future Frameworks and Scope of Challenges

This paper has provided a conceptual overview of the impact, opportunities and challenges thrown up by social media for security and law enforcement agencies. The focus has been to make a case for leveraging social media for engagement with citizens and securing communities and mining information available publicly for actionable intelligence to anticipate and prevent possible law and order situations in case there is a misuse of the medium. It has also laid emphasis on the use of social media to build effective counter-narratives and combat the extremist challenge. The issues of engagement, process, technology and legal challenges posed for government agencies dealing with the medium will have to be tackled with a long-term vision. However, a few concrete steps that could possibly be taken on immediately include:

1. *Institutionalise the blueprint for a National Social Media Policy:* The Indian establishment needs to recognize the medium and grant it a legal status if it needs to deal with the multitude of challenges that rise out of it effectively. The National Cyber Security Policy needs to be revised to include social media challenges which are distinct from the cyber security threats. While the government is working on a blue print for a National Social Media policy to combat terror, it needs to institutionalise the blue print for the same.
2. *Implement and institutionalise the Framework of Guidelines on social media engagement:* DeitY's Framework of Guidelines has laid down elaborate guiding principles for engagement of social media by government agencies. It discusses objectives, engagement protocol, types of platforms, communication strategy, responsiveness criteria and legal limitations for agencies to formulate their respective strategies for engaging with the medium and stakeholders. The need is to ensure enforcement and institutionalisation of this policy across the country with immediate effect. This has to be flexible and can be customised depending on the needs of each institution.
3. *Create awareness of the challenges posed by social media:* Social media is really about interactive design. It is difficult to identify whether the other side engaging you is a person or a malicious actor. The same technology can be used for malware propagation, phishing, cyber-crime and misinformation campaigns. There exists a huge lack of awareness amongst citizens, law enforcement agencies etc. on the potential of misuse of social media.
4. *Create organisational ecosystems, circumvent hierarchies, encourage outreach:* Social media ecosystems are dynamic and hence pose a challenge for security and law enforcement agencies which work around established hierarchies. Considering the immense potential of social media as a force-multiplier, efforts have to be made up the ladder to change the approach to the use of social media by empowering personnel to engage proactively, and sustain channels of communication rather than looking at it from purely an observer/monitoring perspective. Establishing a presence not only will help in disseminating of information and preventing misuse of the medium, but it will also build trust with the engaged communities, ensuring their support during times of crises. As an expert put it, 'it

- will need the attitude of creating a small start-up within law enforcement agencies, which is a difficult thing to achieve.¹²⁵
5. *Empower agencies, build talent, and use specialists*: If the medium is to be adopted into daily practice by all personnel, then agencies must be empowered technically, legally and financially to use the medium to their specific purposes. Decisions on dedicated teams with talent specific to technical, legal and soft skill capacities required for social media engagement, across centre and state levels need to be thrashed out. Inclusion of lateral entry specialists to handle specific requirements like 24/7 tech-support or soft skills, etc. need to be debated. Practical solutions need to be pushed in line with the larger debate on police reforms. As an expert said ‘one cannot expect a baton wielding police official to suddenly master technology, when he/she does not even have basic computer skills. Building human resource capacity will be the big challenge. Curriculums in the National Police Academy and other training schools need to be revised to include the opportunities and challenges posed by social media.’¹²⁶
 6. *Replicate ‘Social Media Labs’ across the country*: Use the success and work on the limitations of the social media labs experiment for the future and incorporate the best practices at state and federal levels across the country. Target specifically issues relating to radicalisation and recruitment of youth by extremists.
 7. *Demarcate budgets, standardise tools and platforms*: Currently projects wanting to leverage social media are happening in isolation driven by individual or particular agency led initiatives. There is a need to nationalise this effort and that will require demarcation of specific budgets, standardisation of tools and technology platforms for specific agencies and purposes.
 8. *Expand and define scope of public–private partnerships*: The government has already recognised that the private sector is a much larger user of the internet than the government, there is significant private sector participation in critical infrastructure, and most importantly, there exists a huge talent pool in the private sector which is something that the government can usefully leverage.¹²⁷ There is a Joint Working Group already in place working out frameworks of engagement for cyber security initiatives.¹²⁸ *Templates specific to PPP models for social media require directions on how agencies will decide on vendors offering technology, what will be the performance criteria, will there be a need for an oversight group, etc.*
 9. *Frameworks must build capacity at local level and share information at federal level*: The framework to deal with social media challenges requires building capacity at local levels, since issues begin at this stage. However, the scope of building data bases and sharing of information should use existing mechanisms between state and federal agencies. For example, intelligence gathered on specific crimes

¹²⁵ Mr. Nandakumar Sarvade, former senior IPS officer of Maharashtra Police and Cyber Security Expert, interviewed on February 18, 2014 in Mumbai.

¹²⁶ Interview conducted with former senior officer of the IPS, who requested anonymity.

¹²⁷ For more see Dy NSA Nehchal Sandhu’s address in: *Report on CYFY 2013: India Conference on Cyber Security and Cyber Governance*, 14–15 October 2013, New Delhi, organised by ORF-FICCI. Available at: www.bic-trust.eu/files/2014/04/CYFY-2013-Report-WEB-version-15Apr14.pdf (accessed: 15 May 2016).

¹²⁸ *Ibid.*

using social media platforms can supplement information on national databases like Crime and Criminal Tracking Network System (CCTNS) which are being developed to share and analyse data between police agencies. Such practices can be further deliberated upon during DGP level conferences. Care must be taken to avoid duplication of infrastructure and turf wars within agencies.

10. *Outline standard operating procedures:*

1. *for use of social media network analysis for intelligence gathering:* This includes a specific list of do's and don'ts regarding the use of social media data for generating actionable intelligence. So identifying the purpose, time frame, the type of tool, targets, duration of retention of information, compliance reviews and verification procedures, etc. must be defined to ensure no misuse of data mined from social media platforms.

2. *to be set in motion in case of a cyber-attack through social media:* These operating procedures must define rules of engagement for all stakeholders involved in the situation. Provisions of 24/7 complaint review mechanisms with service providers during times of emergency, notification to concerned group/individual to take down offensive content and instituting a redressal mechanism in case of contested blocking of content – are safeguards that need to be implemented upon. Quick decisions by an authority empowered to direct law enforcement agencies in a case of social media triggered cyber-attack that needs to be thought through.

3. *for exchange of information with intermediaries/service providers of social media:* Since most social media content providers have headquarters outside India, the rule of the land at this point of time do not apply. So to avoid complications during emergencies, standard protocols for exchange of information with social media service providers must be developed to ensure no loss of time due to communication gaps.

11. *Overhaul legal regime, focus on loop holes and censorship and privacy issues:*

It is imperative that the medium be given a legal status and thought be put into a new legal regime which can manage the gamut of challenges posed by social media. Obsolete laws, including many provisions of the IT Act 2000, need to be done away with. To have a more effective reaction to cases of conflict triggered by social media, political will is required to make intermediaries liable to India's legal requirements. There's a need to come up with specific norms for internet service providers which will have consequences in case of non-compliance.

Neither the courts, nor the current legal regime have any precedence with respect to social media use or abuse in India. Hence the government should expect many challenges to lie ahead including questions over the legality of what constitutes public data. Legality, legitimate aim, necessity, adequacy, proportionality, competent judicial authority, due process, user notification, transparency, public oversight are all issues which need to be debated in this realm. The suggestion for setting up an independent privacy commissioner to prevent misuse requires further examination. The balance between the requirements of national security and citizens' right to privacy will need to be navigated delicately.

12. *Continue awareness campaigns, build centres of excellence, create and exchange best practices:*

Social media is an evolving field and governments and agencies all over the world are still in the process of adapting to the phenomena.

The National Cyber Security Policy 2014 while not directly referring to social media, envisions the creation of centres of excellence for various capacity building exercises including assistance to law enforcement agencies. Some provisions could be expanded to include training personnel and developing techniques dedicated to social media technologies. At a more practical level, we have to recognize that data scientists who extract intelligence from the medium will not come up overnight. Thought needs to put into revise curriculum in universities to produce experts who will fulfil these demands.

There is also a need to build a knowledge base of best practices and share them internally as 'lessons learnt' for institutional memory. Collaborations with likeminded international agencies to learn from their experiences must also be encouraged.

The adoption and use of social media for law enforcement and security is not purely a technological or engagement issue, but one which needs conceptualisation of policy and system designs at every level, while walking the tightrope on privacy concerns and balancing security imperatives. It will be a steep learning curve, but it is time to recognize our short comings and deal head on with the challenges and engage with the opportunities that technology has brought to our doorstep.

*István Resperger**

Features of Hybrid Operations

Abstract

The emergence of asymmetric and hybrid warfare has forced theoretical and practical practitioners of military sciences alike into looking for new answers in the fight against these challenges. This paper describes the most important features of asymmetric operations. The author also examines the concept of hybrid warfare in general and the application of the Gerasimov Doctrine in the Ukraine in particular, by describing the elements of this doctrine and the lessons we learnt during this conflict.

The Relevance of the Topic

Contemporary armed conflicts and warfare have gone through a transformation. Previously, wars were mainly fought between states while the most important features of modern conflict is the participation of non-state actors: terrorist or separatist groups, insurgents and organised crime gangs have become important players in warfare. Because of the complexity of the most important conflicts or crises of the 21st century identifying their causes also requires a complex examination. One of the biggest challenges of our age is finding answers to the threats posed by asymmetric or hybrid warfare learning how to improve our defenses or our anti-hybrid warfare operations.

Theoretical Foundations

To understand the theoretical foundations of hybrid warfare, a few important works of military science must be mentioned, because these works may be understood as partial foundations for the concept of hybrid warfare. Based on these works I propose to define hybrid warfare as “a flexible type of warfare where transition between regular and irregular warfare may happen at practically any time and in some cases it may involve the use of terrorist methods.” Before a deeper analysis of the concept some questions must be asked. Does “nomen est omen” apply in this case? Will the name of this new method of warfare lead to its downfall? Does it really involve the combination of multiple new methods and their

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flexible use, or is it simply the employment of diplomatic, national security, military, economic, cyber, information technology and psychologic methods in a new way? Is it really possible that a state may recklessly use all of the tools that are available to it? Can we really define hybrid warfare as proposed above?

If we examine the Russian military, diplomatic and media operations during the Crimea crisis, our answer must be a firm “yes.” If we examine the apocalyptic asymmetric and terrorist methods of the Islamic State and its really effective media, information and psychological operations and their multi-faceted (or hybrid) approach to financing their whole existence, once again we have to answer with a strong “yes.”

If we approach the problem from another angle, we will find that Clausewitz¹ has already recognised the importance of terrain. He argued that when someone wages a “people’s war” – or using the modern term, guerrilla warfare – it is important to have a ground which is difficult to traverse or areas which are split up into smaller sections by roads, vegetation or other features, because it makes it possible for the irregular fighters of the weaker side to hide from the regular forces of the stronger side. The importance of rugged terrain is mentioned in the works of Lawrence of Arabia² and also in the works on partisan warfare by Josip Broz Tito.³ The theory of urban warfare has been refined by the publication of *Minimanual of the Urban Guerrilla in 1969* by the Brazilian Carlos Marighella.⁴ Marighella has proven that because the most important government functions are exercised from cities, therefore by attacking government buildings, police stations, etc. an antagonist may in effect paralyse the whole state.⁵

From a conceptual approach we may say that hybrid warfare is the flexible application of the soft, medium and hard methods of regular (linear, conventional) and irregular (non-linear, non-conventional) warfare in order to make the state or the armed forces of our enemies inoperational and defenceless. This will enable us to force our will upon our enemy while not ignoring the strategic goal that the level of aggression must remain below the threshold of conventional war in the eyes of the international community.

¹ Carl von CLAUSEWITZ, *On War*, trans. Col. J.J. GRAHAM, new and revised edition with introduction and notes by Col. F.N. MAUDE, in three volumes (London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trubner & Co. Ltd., 1918). Available at: <http://oll.libertyfund.org/titles/clausewitz-on-war> (accessed: 16 February 2017).

² T. E. LAWRENCE (Lawrence of Arabia), *Seven Pillars of Wisdom: The Complete 1922 ‘Oxford’ Text* (Oxford: J. and N. Wilson, 1922).

³ Josip Broz TITO, *Selected Military Works* (Belgrade: Vojnoizdavački zavod, 1966).

⁴ Carlos MARIGHELLA, *Minimanual of the Urban Guerrilla*. Available at: www.marxists.org/archive/marighella-carlos/1969/06/minimanual-urban-guerrilla/index.htm (accessed: 16 February 2017).

⁵ RÁCZ András, *Russia’s Hybrid War in Ukraine: Breaking the Enemy’s Ability to Resist* (Helsinki: The Finnish Institute of International Affairs, 2015). Available at: www.fiia.fi/en/publication/514/russia_s_hybrid_war_in_ukraine (accessed: 16 February 2017).



Figure 1

Components of hybrid warfare

Source: Brian D. Colwell's webpage, <http://briandcolwell.com/2016/08/4ir-geopolitics-investing-in-russias-asymmetrical-warfare/.html> (accessed: 16 February 2017)

Among the soft methods we may apply are diplomatic, cyber, information, financial or economic pressure, the enforcement of embargoes and psychological operations. The use of special forces, support for rebels, support for disaffected minorities (e.g. religious or ethnic minorities) among the local population may be considered medium methods. Terror attacks, organised criminal activities and finally, uncontrolled or controlled aggression fall in the category of hard methods.⁶ Non-conventional or subversive operations may be launched for the purpose of either toppling an existing government, supporting the activities of a rebel group, or achieving control over a government by special forces or by supporting guerrillas or rebels.⁷

In reality, this activity became the focus of attention amongst experts due to the increased participation of non-state actors in conflict, therefore the definition of state to state conflict, whether in peace or during a crises or a war, has expanded. The state's monopoly over violence has been broken, and irregular or terrorist organisations, rebels, guerrillas,

⁶ Frank HOFFMAN, *Conflict in the 21st Century: the Rise of Hybrid Wars* (Arlington, VA: Potomac Institute for Policy Studies, 2007).

⁷ *Special Operations, Joint Publication 3-05* (Washington, D.C.: Joint Chiefs of Staff, July 2014), xi. Available: www.dtic.mil/doctrine/new_pubs/jp3_05.pdf (accessed: 16 February 2017).

organised criminals, traffickers in narcotics, humans and arms challenge the state's authority. In failed and failing states (defined as polities which lack central power and cannot control their own population, do not possess the monopoly of violence, therefore they are unable to protect their own population) this phenomenon is especially pronounced – in many cases the state is replaced by warring non-state actors.⁸ I agree with the idea proposed by András Rácz that it is not war that has become hybrid but instead it is the battlefield which became much more complex with its hybrid threats.⁹ Military commanders on the one hand have to deal with international organisations, non-governmental organisations, regular units, irregular units, terrorist groups, organised criminal circles, refugees, refugee camps, humanitarian actions, cyber and computer networks. On the other hand they also have to deal with political, religious, economic, infrastructure networks existing at their theatre of operations.

We can mention some factors which usually influence the threat level of a hybrid battlefield:

- level of globalisation,
- demographic data,
- religious or ethnic ratios,
- level of technological development of the battlefield,
- level of infocommunicational development of the battlefield,
- the main religious and ideological concepts of the region,
- presence of weapons of mass destruction,
- level of societal development.

Hybrid Operations

Conventional military operations are organised along guidelines which involve cooperation between various service branches and combat arms. So on a battlefield two wills are facing each other, each side aiming for victory by destroying the main forces of the enemy and capturing its territory and finally breaking the will of the population.

In contrast to conventional operations, in hybrid operations the various tools (diplomatic, national security, military, economic, cyber, information, psychological) are selected and the conventional and asymmetric approach is applied alternately in order to make an enemy unable to defend itself. The aim is not to defeat the main forces of the enemy, but instead to paralyse the enemy state or its strategic level leadership, and make it retreat

⁸ BESENYŐ János, "The Islamic State and Its Human Trafficking Practice," *Strategic Impact* 60, no. 3 (2016): 15–21.

⁹ The Hungarian and international public alike call the Russian approach to war against the Ukraine as a hybrid war. However, using this term here is problematic because the original meaning of this phrase is different. The expression "hybrid war" was first used by William J. Nemeth in a paper published in 2002. This paper studied the wars in Chechnya and he used the term to describe the Chechen fighters' novel approach to warfare, when the Chechens were able to switch quickly from regular to irregular warfare, which sometimes contained some elements of terrorism. Later Hoffman improved Nemeth's theory by defining the 4 key requirements of hybrid wars. According to Hoffman, those sides participate in a hybrid war that can flexibly deploy conventional weapons and irregular forces at the same time at the same battlefield. Rácz, *Russia's Hybrid War in Ukraine*, 27–34.

by selecting the appropriate indirect and direct methods. This can be achieved by the use of hard, medium and soft tools.

Table 1
The level of intensity and appropriate tools and methods

Hard tools and methods	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> – military action by regular forces – extensive irregular military action – special forces operations – terror attacks – national security operations
Medium tools and methods	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> – sub-unit level action by irregular forces – cyber operations – media activities – psychological operations – information operations – acts committed by organised crime
Soft tools and methods	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> – embargoes – economic pressure – economic sanctions – economic inducements – financial operations – diplomatic action and activity – supporting the population (minorities), assisting refugees – humanitarian relief operations

Based on the preceding paragraphs, we can come up with a definition for the *hybrid threat*: a carefully orchestrated mix of conventional weapons, tactics and operations, irregular non-conventional operations, terrorism and crime, employed simultaneously by an adversary (either a state or a non-state actor) in order to achieve his political goals.¹⁰

¹⁰ Frank HOFFMAN, “On Not-So-New Warfare: Political Warfare vs Hybrid Threats,” *War on the Rocks*, 28 July 2014. Available at: <http://warontherocks.com/2014/07/on-not-so-new-warfare-political-warfare-vs-hybrid-threats> (accessed: 16 February 2017).

A Case Study

An article published by General Valery Gerasimov, the Chief of the General Staff of the Armed Forces of Russia, played an extremely important role in our understanding of the concept of hybrid warfare. In his paper Gerasimov described a new approach to warfare which he named *new generation warfare*. The novelty of his approach is that instead of using military force directly, which he calls traditional warfare, he recommends the combined, simultaneous use of political, diplomatic, economic and other non-military methods along with military operations. He argues that “*the role of non-military methods in achieving political and strategic goals have increased and often these methods are more efficient than using weapons.*”¹¹ Gerasimov prefers using force in a hidden, covert way, therefore he recommends the deployment of paramilitary units and civilian irregular forces and the use of asymmetric, indirect solutions of problems. He finds it essential to expand warfare from the physical plane to the information environment as well, where it is possible to coordinate the deployed forces and chosen methods in real time. Furthermore, he allocates a high priority to coordinated strikes throughout enemy territory and the destruction of its critical infrastructure. While conventional military forces are only deployed during the final phases of a conflict, often disguised as peacekeepers or being sent there to manage the crisis.¹²

The most important goal of the new Russian approach to war is not the destruction of the enemy but its manipulation or internal subversion. Therefore, in addition to kinetic operations, he recommends the use of cultural and communication (INFOOPs, PSYOPs) tools and he prefers the use of special forces instead of the deployment of conventional forces. War is not limited to the front lines; instead the whole territory of the enemy can be targeted during the conflict when the use of military force is coordinated with political, diplomatic, economic, information, technological and environmental operations.¹³

The article attracted little attention until the Crimean Crisis when suddenly there was a sudden surge of interest. An interesting feature of the paper is that when Gerasimov writes about the new generation war, he always focuses on how to defend against such attacks. Mark Galeotti, one of the most respected Western experts on the Russian armed forces, described Gerasimov’s approach (a bit maliciously) as Aesopean, suggesting, that the paper in reality focuses on recommending new methods of offensive warfare.

According to András Rácz, who thoroughly analysed Russia’s Crimean operations, a hybrid conflict can be divided into preparation, attack and stabilization phases. Table 2 describes the actions, objectives and primary tools for each phase.

¹¹ Valeri GERASIMOV, “Ценность науки в предвидении” [The Value of Science in Prediction], *Voennopromishlenniy kurier*, 27 February 2013. Available at: www.vpk-news.ru/articles/14632 (accessed: 11 October 2016).

¹² RÁ CZ, *Russia’s Hybrid War in Ukraine*.

¹³ RÁ CZ, *Russia’s Hybrid War in Ukraine*.

Table 2
Phases of a hybrid operation

Phase	Actions	Objective	Tools
Preparation	Strategic preparation: – using loyal NGOs and media organisations – finding vulnerable points – building up diplomatic and media positions	– preparing for the creation and/or expansion of a conflict by diplomatic methods – the intelligence organisations find the vulnerable points of the enemy	– diplomacy – intelligence
	Political preparation: – increasing the level of unrest towards the central authority of the country – corrupting or turning the professionals, leaders of public administration, members of the military or police – building contacts with criminal networks	– creating conditions within the hostile country which may weaken the country’s political (strategic) leadership	– political – diplomatic – intelligence
	Operational preparation: – extensive political pressure on the country which will be attacked – mobilisation of bureaucrats, police and military leaders, local criminals – contacting local oligarchs	– increasing economic and political pressure on the target country	– diplomatic – intelligence – economic

Phase	Actions	Objective	Tools
Assault	Launching the crisis: – widespread anti-government demonstrations – special forces infiltrate their designated targets – provocations and acts of sabotage – media causes confusion	– entering an area and seizing it by attacking the hostile government and by using our own special forces	– diplomatic – intelligence – military – media – INFOOP – PSYOP
	Forcing out the central power: – capturing administrative buildings and points of strategic importance – media activities – creating an information-communication superiority – paralysing local armed forces	– forcing the forces of the hostile government out of its own country – influencing the international community	– diplomatic – intelligence – military – media – INFOOP – PSYOP
	Setting up an alternative centre of political power: – proclaiming a new political centre – setting up of new political bodies – media campaigns – blocking military counter-attacks	– strengthening the existing status quo – influencing the international community	– diplomatic – intelligence – military – media – INFOOP – PSYOP

Phase	Actions	Objective	Tools
Strategic exploitation of success	Political stabilisation of the success: – organising a referendum – media campaign	– creating the legal justification for the captured territories – influencing the international community	– diplomatic – intelligence – military – media – INFOOP – PSYOP
	Taking an area from the hostile country: – the attacking country annexes the areas which it has occupied – invading an area on the pretext of either peacekeeping activities or crisis management	– military occupation of the selected areas – setting up a military administration, keeping the captured territory	– political – diplomatic – intelligence – military – media – INFOOP – PSYOP
	Limiting the political and strategic flexibility of the attacked country: – the loss of the economic, infrastructural, and demographic resources causes serious economic difficulties and long-lasting internal imbalance – the loss of its territorial integrity means that the attacked country cannot join any political or military organisation, where there is a requirement for membership	– preventing the enemy country from joining international political or military organisations	– political – diplomatic – intelligence – media – INFOOP – PSYOP

Source: compiled by the author, based on Rącz, *Russia's Hybrid War in Ukraine*, 59–67.

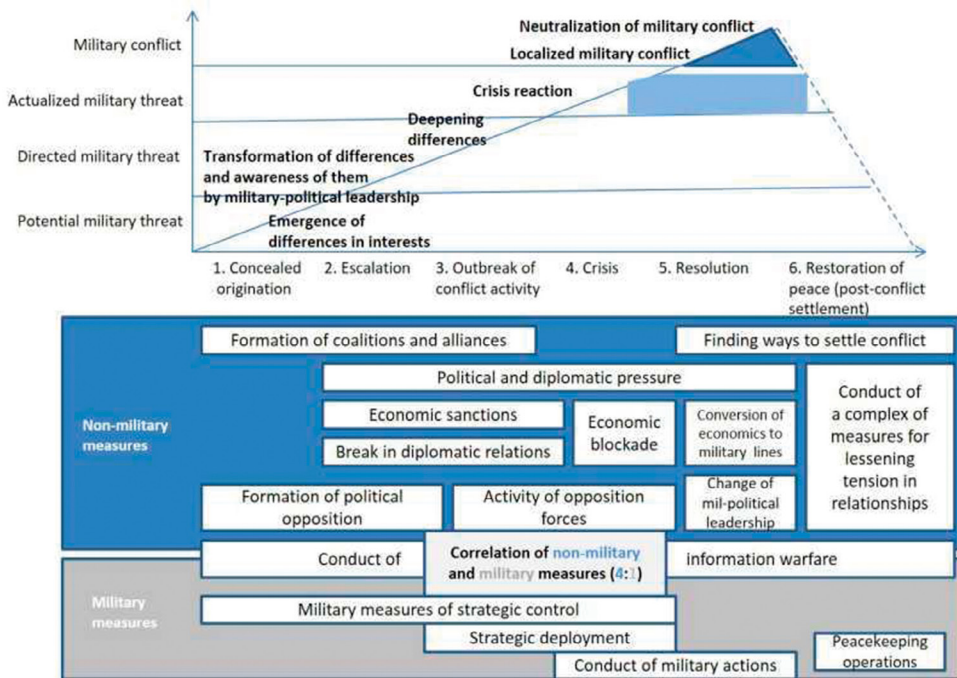


Figure 2

The role of non-military methods in the resolution of interstate conflicts

Source: Valery GERASIMOV, "The Value of Science in Anticipation," *VPK News*, 27 February 2014, www.vpk-news.ru/articles/14632 (accessed: 16 02 2017). Translated and created by Dr G. Scott GORMAN, School of Advanced Military Studies

As Figure 1 shows, the Gerasimov Doctrine, similarly to a crisis diagram, has solutions for every phase and every type of activity, from how to set up a conflict, through what to do during the peak of the conflict, to the peacekeeping or crisis management operations. It flexibly uses the available military, economic and diplomatic resources which happens covertly during the first phase and overly during the rest of the conflict. According to the doctrine media, information and psychological operations are extremely important because these have the power to influence the views held by the population of our own country, the people living in the targeted country and the international community as a whole.

Table 3
A comparison of the various types of warfare

	Conventional warfare	Asymmetric warfare	Hybrid warfare
Character of war	conflict is between regular forces	conflict is either between regular and irregular forces or between two regular forces	regular and irregular against regular and/or irregular forces
Belligerents	state(s) on state(s) (USA coalition – Iraq)	state(s) on non-state actor; state(s) on state(s) (USA–UK – Al-Qaeda)	state(s), non-state actor(s) on state(s) (Russia and separatists – Ukraine)
Which side chooses this type of warfare	similarly sized forces	the size, quantity and methods of the sides differ, usually chosen by the weaker side	usually chosen by the power which enjoys superiority over the other
Correlation of military and non-military measures	6:1	3:2	1:4
Strategic objective	– make the enemy undefended – force our will upon it	– make the enemy tired of fighting the war – force our will upon it	– make the hostile state and its armed forces inoperative and undefended – force our will upon the enemy
Military objective (victory)	– the destruction of the hostile armed forces – capturing territory – breaking the will of the population in the hostile country	– make the enemy tired of fighting the war – breaking the willpower of the enemy – bleeding it out	– breaking the will of the government/ population – make the hostile state/ armed forces inoperative – capturing/annexing territory
Methods	– direct actions – indirect actions – INFOOPs – PSYOPs – military methods	– indirect actions – “thousand cuts” – observation – ambushes – using explosive devices – terrorist acts – guerrilla/insurgent/ terrorist methods	– direct actions – indirect actions – INFOOPs – PSYOPs – diplomatic actions – economic actions – media operations – regular/irregular/ military/guerrilla/terrorist/ diplomatic/economic methods
Main method of warfare	destruction	exhaustion	– exhaustion – making state structures inoperative
Most important feature of the method	operations follow each other	continuously rising intensity and violence	– flexibility – alternating levels of intensity and violence
Casualty ratio dead/wounded	1:3	1:6–14	1:2,5–6

	Conventional warfare	Asymmetric warfare	Hybrid warfare
Main strategic dimension	regular military force	time	information
The leader of the Clausewitzian triad during the conflict	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> – state – armed forces – people 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> – armed forces – people 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> – state – people – armed forces

Source: compiled by the author from multiple sources

Conventional Warfare

The belligerents in a conventional war are states in a position of relative equality of power and means. Their strategic objective is to make the enemy unable to defend himself and force him to submit. The objective can be achieved by the destruction of hostile military forces, capturing territory and by breaking the will of the opposition. The main method is military, and the most important strategic dimension is the military force and its deployment. This type of conflict is characterised by a dead to wounded casualty ratio of 1:3. The most important actor in this type of warfare from the beginning of hostilities to their end is the state. Examples for this type of war: Iraq–Iran conflict, USA led coalition – Iraq.

Asymmetric Warfare

The actors of asymmetric warfare are states and non-state actors. The state's operations are targeted either against other states or against non-state actors. The most important characteristic of asymmetric warfare is the great and decisive disparity in force and equipment. The strategic goal is to exhaust the enemy and force him to submit. This can be achieved by tiring out the enemy, breaking his morale or by bleeding him out. The most important methods are guerrilla/insurgent/terrorist methods. The most important feature is exhaustion. The most important strategic dimension is time. This type of conflict is characterised by a dead to wounded casualty ratio of 1:6–14. The most important actor in this type of warfare from the beginning of hostilities to the end are the armed forces and armed groups. A typical asymmetric war is the conflict between USA led coalition and the Al-Qaeda terrorist organization, or the conflict between Mali and the tuaregs.¹⁴

¹⁴ BESENYŐ, János, “War at the Background of Europe: the Crisis of Mali,” *Academic and Applied Research in Military Science* 12, no. 2 (2013): 247–271.

Hybrid Warfare

The actors of hybrid operations are states or states and their irregular organisations against a state or a number of states. Hybrid operations are waged by the side which possesses an overwhelming superiority both in power and equipment. The strategic objective is to paralyse the enemy state and its armed forces, and to force the will of the attacker upon it. This can break the will of the attacked state/people, make the state and its armed forces ineffective and may also lead to the capture and annexation of territory. The main method is the flexible use of regular and irregular military forces, guerrilla and terrorist organisations, diplomatic and economic methods. The most important features are exhaustion and making state structures dysfunctional. The two most influential strategic dimensions are the military forces and information. This type of conflict is characterized by a dead wounded casualty ratio of 1:2,5–6. The most important actor in this type of warfare from the beginning of hostilities to their end is the state. The best example is Russia's war against Ukraine.

If we compare the three types of warfare, we find that the traditional rules of conventional warfare have been turned upside down by hybrid warfare. The old rule of “destroy – capture – break” which was the recipe for success in conventional wars, was replaced by the “exhaust – break – bleed out” mantra during asymmetric conflicts. Finally the emergence of hybrid warfare led to the creation of another slogan: “break it – make it inoperative – capture it” which summarises the most important features of this type of warfare.

Counter Hybrid Operations – CHO

If we want to fight effectively against hybrid operations we must ensure that every indicator and signal (data) related to any segment of an extensive battlespace (political, diplomatic, economic, national security, military) is recorded in our military, intelligence and reconnaissance information systems. After that, this data must be turned into information. One possible method to achieve this is to order the data either according to the potential level of threat (low, medium, high, most dangerous) or according to the likelihood of a certain event taking place (low, medium, high, most likely). Once the data are ordered it can be analysed and evaluated. We can find our own national response to the hybrid challenge only after this analysis is done. The response must contain political, diplomatic, economic, national security and military elements, but we can only clearly identify the tactical and strategic threats if we have put together a National Reaction Catalogue.

Before selecting a national response, we have to evaluate its positive and negative effects. Within the political, diplomatic, economic, national security fields it is important to evaluate its international, national and military effects before any decision is made. We can launch an effective counter hybrid operation in support of the nation's interests only when this process is completed and we have a realistic picture of the circumstances. The most important lesson is that we must counter every element of a hybrid operation (political, diplomatic, economic, national security, military) with an adequate reply.

Summary¹⁵

Hybrid warfare as a type of warfare is founded upon the combined use of direct and indirect methods inside and outside of the country which has been attacked. The emphasis has shifted from direct armed conflict to influence operations from the physical destruction of a country's civil administration and its armed forces to making them dysfunctional by subversion. Instead of deploying the regular armed forces in mass, the hybrid belligerent prefers the use of special forces and militias, which do not have any formal links to the attacking country and the role of the regular army is to act as an element of political pressure. Modern information technology plays two outstanding roles. On the one hand it is employed to coordinate the flexible operations of the attacker, and on the other hand it is employed to enable a key element of hybrid warfare, the intensive propaganda activity.

Table 4
Casualties of the Russian–Ukrainian war

	Dead	Period
Russian military	9470	2014. 04. 06. – 2016. 06. 30.
Civilian	2000	2014. 04. 06. – 2016. 06. 30.
Ukrainian military	3050	2014. 04. 06. – 2016. 06. 06.
The forces of DPR (Donetsk People's Republic) and LPR (Luhansk People's Republic)	2179	2014. 04. 06. – 2015. 03. 10.
Total	16699	2014. 04. 06. – 2016. 06. 30.
Wounded	21880	2014. 04. 06. – 2016. 06. 30.
Refugees	1100000	2014. 04. 06. – 2016. 06.30.

Source: OHCA (Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs), http://reliefweb.int/sites/reliefweb.int/files/resources/ukraine_-_issue_11_eng.pdf (accessed: 16 February 2017)

The most important question this paper addressed is the difference between hybrid warfare and asymmetric warfare. One result of my research is that now it is possible to identify a number of strategic and tactical differences. The most important difference is that the hybrid attacker does not want to crush the armed forces of the enemy in order to force his will upon the defeated country. Instead, he wants to paralyse the capabilities of the whole state, which naturally includes the armed forces, too.

To achieve this goal, he uses a wide array of political, diplomatic, secret service, economic and information tools which is coordinated in almost real time. The greatest novelty of hybrid warfare is that it can achieve direct results like annexing territories despite its use of asymmetric methods of warfare.

¹⁵ Based on Rącz, *Russia's Hybrid War in Ukraine*.

The second difference is that in the case of Ukraine it was the militarily stronger power, Russia, which decided to use asymmetric methods against a weaker enemy, even though normally the opposite is true. The third difference is related to the fluidity of a hybrid war. It is extremely difficult to prove the involvement of the aggressor, and regular military units are only used during the latest phases of the conflict. This fact also calls into question the applicability of conventional defence guarantees. The fourth strategic difference is in the role played by the conventional armed forces of the attacker. His regular armed forces do not attack the enemy openly, as proposed by Mao's two arms theory.¹⁶ Their role is to threaten the country with an attack, adding an extra element of political pressure, and preventing the concentration of the defender's forces.

Hybrid warfare has introduced a number of tactical novelties as well. Some of the attackers wear unmarked, unidentifiable military uniforms. Others melt into the local population. This seriously hinders the ability of the attacked state to protect its own citizens, because it cannot execute unrestricted kinetic operations against the attackers. The consequence is that hybrid wars are terrain-independent: some hybrid warriors mask themselves as locals and use a number of locals to achieve their goals.

Events in Eastern Ukraine have proven that in a hybrid war, unlike classical Maoist or Titoist partisan wars, the attacker requires only limited support from the local population. Another lesson is that the ever growing use of modern media has become a vital resource and requirement during a hybrid war.

Similarly to earlier forms of asymmetric warfare, hybrid warfare also has a number of key characteristics. Firstly, the attacker must be militarily stronger than the attacked otherwise the threat of a conventional attack is not a credible source of political pressure. Secondly, there must be some serious political, operational or moral problems within the central government, civil administration or the armed forces which makes the whole country unstable from the outset. This is exacerbated by the attacking country during the preparation phase of a hybrid campaign. Using hybrid methods against a well-functioning, strong and coherent state which has a loyal and corruption-free police and armed forces will not be as successful.

Another prerequisite of a successful hybrid attack is that there must be a long-standing, regionally concentrated political conflict with the central government which the attacking side can utilise for its own benefit. A further condition is that infiltrating special forces can only melt into the local population if the attacked country has a large number of people whose ethnicity is the same as the attackers'. There is an important logistical condition as well. Either the attacker must have a legitimate military presence within the attacked country or the two countries must have a common and weakly protected border which will make the logistical support of the attacking units possible. Finally, to enable successful information operations, the attacking country must build up strong media positions by delivering interesting content in the attacked country. This may be achieved either by local presence or via cross border broadcasts.

¹⁶ MAO Tse-tung. *On Guerrilla Warfare*, trans. Samuel B. Griffith (New York: BN Publishing, 2007), 132.

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Luna Shamieh*

Asymmetric Warfare and Its Effect on the Neighboring Countries: Syria Crisis as a Case Study

Abstract

Asymmetric warfare affects not only the country where the conflict is taking place, but also highly affects the neighboring countries. The spillover of massive migration and influx of arms leads to a crossover effect on the economic, political, social, educational, and health conditions in the host communities. This crossover may be filtered by historical and current political, economic and cultural environment of the neighboring countries.

This paper analyzes the direct spillover effect of the conflict and the crossover effect on the neighboring countries. It identifies the positive and negative consequences of the conflict on the neighboring countries by focusing on the possible negative and positive impacts of refugee influx.

The paper utilizes existing data regarding the Syrian conflict and the refugee influx on the neighboring countries, as well as field visits to the neighboring countries to illustrate the Spillover–Crossover model. It also provides a description of the influx of migration including statistics and policies of the host communities to help identify the different possible consequences along with a detailed description of the crossover effect.

Introduction

Historically, the term “asymmetric” has been used to define the balance of powers. Hence, asymmetry goes back to the dawn of time, as early as David’s combat with Goliath in the Old Testament, though it became more prominent after the end of the Cold War.¹ In the 19th century Bismarck in Germany provided a description of asymmetric warfare by saying that “we live in a wondrous time in which the strong is weak because of his moral scruples and the weak grows strong because of his audacity.”² However, these battles do not lend themselves to today’s concept of asymmetric warfare, they are battles with imbalance of powers. The term asymmetric warfare refers to the conflict between state and

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¹ Anna WITTMANN, *Talking Conflict: The Loaded Language of Genocide, Political Violence, Terrorism, and Warfare* (Santa Barbara: ABC-CLIO, 2016).

² David BUFFALO, *Defining Asymmetric Warfare* (Arlington, VA: The Institute of Land Warfare, Association of the US Army, 2006).

non-state actors. 9/11 attacks, the war in Afghanistan, and the so called “Islamic State” are among the best-known examples of asymmetric warfare.

Asymmetric warfare has adverse consequences on the people living in a given region. The war erupts as a result of lack of human security of a certain group or groups within the country. However, it expands to deteriorate the human security of all. The international community should be alert to this impact; but most importantly, it should be alert to the spillover–crossover consequences and impact on the neighboring countries, the region, and the possible global impact as it became evident in the Syrian crisis that had an immense regional and global effect.

Asymmetric conflict spills over into neighboring countries since the groups fighting against the state are in most cases in conflict with each other as well, as is the case of the groups in former Yugoslavia in World War II and the combats in Syria with and against the regime.³ The spark of the spillover is the influx of refugees who carry with them potential benefits as well as possible harm and burden to the neighboring countries.

This paper presents the Spillover–Crossover model, illustrating the possible consequences of asymmetric warfare on the neighboring countries. The first part of the paper presents a brief literature review of the negative and positive spillover. The second part is a description of the Spillover–Crossover model, and the third part is the application of the spillover–crossover using the Syrian crisis as a case study.

Spillover Effect

Asymmetric warfare affects human security of the people within the countries involved into the conflict. Costs of asymmetric warfare include security, economic, and social costs. Furthermore, the costs of asymmetric warfare extend to reach the neighboring countries and the international community. “Peaceful countries that are adjacent to countries engaged in civil war suffer from direct and long-term effects caused by the civil wars of their neighbors.”⁴ Neighboring countries receive the most evident spillover of the conflict through the arrival of the refugees. The largest number of Syrian refugees is currently in Lebanon and Jordan, and the largest number of Afghani refugees moved to Pakistan.

Negative Effects

Considering the different cases of asymmetric warfare, it is evident that the conflict’s spillover onto the neighboring countries stimulates political instability, economic instability, and influx of refugees.

Political instability of neighboring countries results from the spillover of conflicts, combatants, and arms. The spillover of refugees might entail crossover of the conflict on the different sectors. This could be possible through the use of refugee camps as a base

³ WITTMANN, *Talking Conflict*.

⁴ Elliott P. COLLIER et al., *Breaking the Conflict Trap: Civil War and Development Policy* (Washington: The International Bank for Reconstruction and Development, The World Bank, 2003).

for armed groups.⁵ During the refugee crisis in the Congo, the militias established training bases in the refugee camps; where they stored weapons, trained refugee fighters and launched cross-border attacks.⁶ A conflict between the neighboring countries erupted as a result. Hence, the spillover of a conflict onto another country can escalate into regional or international war. Lischer identified different types of political violence involving refugees. These include: conflict between sending state and the refugees, between the receiving state and the refugees, and among refugees themselves resulting in intrastate and interstate conflict.⁷ In the case of Somali refugees, they served as domestic opposition groups in the host country, where they often worked closely with ethnic Somali separatists in the Ogaden region of Ethiopia.⁸

Researches show that instability in the region affects negatively the economic performance of neighboring countries.⁹ The effect is evident in the living cost and the trade cost affected by the conflict: “Mozambique doubled Malawi’s international transport costs and triggered an economic decline.”¹⁰ In another case “Congo closed the river route to the sea for the landlocked Central African Republic.”¹¹

Some recent research indicates that the economic benefits of refugee influx resulting from conflict conditions outweighs the costs of the influx to the neighboring countries. However, so far only the costs of the refugees’ influx have been discussed thoroughly in many researches indicating the economic strains and burden on the host communities.¹² The adverse effect on the neighboring countries may lead to a “contraction in growth, higher inflation, large fiscal and current account deficits, loss of reserves, and weakened financial system.”¹³ It has also been indicated that the economic impact depends on the initial economic status of the host countries along with the number and income of refugees they host.¹⁴ Others found that directly bordering countries receive negative spillover while non-bordering neighboring countries receive a positive spillover as those wealthier and more skilled are able to travel further distances.¹⁵

⁵ Idean SALEHYAN, “The Externalities of Civil Strife: Refugees as a Source of International Conflict,” *American Journal of Political Science* 52, no. 4 (2008), 787–801.

⁶ Sarah Kenyon LISCHER, “Collateral Damage: Humanitarian Assistance as a Cause of Conflict,” *International Security* 28, no. 1 (2006): 79–109.

⁷ Ibid.

⁸ Margarita Puerto GOMEZ – Asger CHRISTENSEN et al., *World Development Report 2011: The Impact of Refugees on Neighboring Countries: a Development Challenge*. Available at: https://openknowledge.worldbank.org/bitstream/handle/10986/9221/WDR2011_0028.pdf (accessed: 4 May 2016).

⁹ Alberto ADES – Hak CHUA, “Thy Neighbor’s Curse: Regional Instability and Economic Growth,” *Journal of Economic Growth* 2, no. 3 (1997): 279–304.

¹⁰ COLLIER, *Breaking the Conflict Trap*, 34.

¹¹ COLLIER, *Breaking the Conflict Trap*, 35.

¹² *The Economic Consequences of the Kosovo Crisis: a Preliminary Assessment of External Financing Needs and the Role of the Fund and the World Bank in the International Response* (Washington D.C.: International Monetary Fund & World Bank, 1999), *IMF.org*. Available at: www.imf.org/external/pubs/ft/kosovo/041699.htm (accessed: 4 May 2016).

¹³ Randa SAB, *Economic Impact of Selected Conflicts in the Middle East: What Can We Learn from the Past?* (IMF Working Paper, International Monetary Fund, 2014), *IMF.org*. Available at: www.imf.org/external/pubs/ft/wp/2014/wp14100.pdf (accessed: 4 May 2016).

¹⁴ Ibid.

¹⁵ Olaf de GROOT, “The Spillover Effects of Conflict on Economic Growth in Neighboring Countries in Africa,” *Defence and Peace Economics* 21, no. 2 (2010): 149–164.

Research has also revealed possibilities of transferring endemic diseases as a result of the conflict. For example, there is a high correlation between the increase in the malaria incidents and the number of war refugees.¹⁶

Positive Effects

The results of several research projects reveal that the benefits of refugees' influx to host communities exceed the costs.¹⁷ It has been shown that refugees often make positive contributions to the state economy. For example, in Uganda "these contributions are exemplified by the significant volume of exchange between refugees and Ugandan nationals, as well as by refugees' creation of employment opportunities for Ugandan nationals".¹⁸

In Uganda, which received a huge influx of refugees from Rwanda, Sudan, Kenya and Congo; the educational sector has witnessed benefits to host communities. The assistance strategy was based on development rather than emergency projects. The policy used was "integrating refugee primary and secondary schools into the district education system".¹⁹ Assistance that was provided for the refugees targeted the host communities including those who did not originally have access to educational services. The temporary infrastructure ends to provide support beyond the crisis in such a way that it supports the host communities directly.²⁰

Another significant benefit is filling the gap in the labor force. Refugees usually accept lower-skilled jobs that are not filled or demanded by the host community labor force. Additionally, refugees coming from different backgrounds and educational levels usually pursue diverse job opportunities. The refugee labor force does not necessarily compete with, but complements the host community labor force.²¹

In the most adverse conditions, refugees find ways for income generating activities. Some are able to relocate their businesses from their country of origin to the host countries, while other start innovative ideas and activities. In Kenya, refugees were able to engage in creative income generating activities despite the challenging security conditions.²² In Uganda, several cases of successful innovative entrepreneurship were established, which were able to contribute to the local economy.²³

¹⁶ COLLIER, *Breaking the Conflict Trap*, 35.

¹⁷ Karen JACOBSEN, *The Forgotten Solution: Local Integration for Refugees in Developing Countries* (New Issues in Refugee Research, Working Paper No. 45, 2001). Tania KAISER, *A Beneficiary-Based Evaluation of the UNHCR Programme in Guinea* (Geneva: UNHCR, Evaluation and Policy Analysis Unit, 2001).

¹⁸ Alexander BETTS – Louise BLOOM – Josiah KAPLAN – Naohiko OMATA, *Refugees Economies: Rethinking Popular Assumptions* (Oxford: University of Oxford Refugees Studies Centre, Humanitarian Innovation Project, 2014).

¹⁹ Sarah DRYDEN-PETERSON – Lucy HOVIL, *Local Integration as a Durable Solution: Refugees, Host Populations and Education in Uganda* (New Issues in Refugee Research, Working Paper No. 93, 2003).

²⁰ Ibid.

²¹ BETTS et al., *Refugees Economies*.

²² Alexander BETTS – Louise BLOOM – Nina WEAVER, *Refugee Innovation: Humanitarian Innovation That Starts with Communities* (Humanitarian Innovation Project, University of Oxford Refugees Studies Centre, 2015).

²³ BETTS et al., *Refugee Innovation*.

Generally speaking, the spillover of refugees has both negative and positive consequences, which depends on the host communities. In Tanzania, after the spillover of refugees from Rwanda, Burundi and Congo, “hosts who already had access to resources, education, or power were better poised to benefit from the refugee presence, while those who were already disadvantaged in the local context became even further marginalized”.²⁴

The spillover of refugees leads to interaction between the host communities and the refugees. This interaction has been heavily discussed in the acculturation theory. The theory was first suggested by Redfield and his colleagues.²⁵ In the Interactive Acculturation Model (IAM) Bourhis and his colleagues proposed that the intergroup relations between the host and the refugees are defined by the “relative fit” between the two groups. The three levels of fit are consensual, problematic, and conflictual.²⁶

The Spillover–Crossover Model²⁷

This section provides an illustration of the spillover-crossover model to help understand the positive and negative consequences of asymmetric warfare on neighboring countries. The spillover of the refugees and arms starts as the asymmetric warfare erupts. The extent of spillover depends upon the level of conflict and its impact on the human security of the people. The number of refugees depends on the severity of the conflict. However, the distance to which refugees’ flow depends on the financial status of refugees, many would rather stay close to the borders in the hope of returning; however, this also depends on their financial capacity. Syrian refugees travelled to the neighboring countries while many made it to Europe and reached further to Canada and the US. Those who were better off ended up in more distant countries and those who were worst off ended up in the neighboring countries.

Given the literature and arguments reviewed above, the Spillover–Crossover model is proposed (see Figure 1). It suggests that during an asymmetric conflict there is lack of human security amongst certain groups. As the conflict intensifies, a larger sector of the community lacks human security. This starts to spill over into the neighboring countries. The spillover is usually filtered by the border policies of the neighboring countries. Hence, those countries with strict border policies are able to prevent spillover more than those with flexible border policies. Border policies may filter armaments to enter the neighboring countries and may also be able to decrease the influx of refugees. For example, during the Syrian conflict border policies in Jordan and Lebanon were stricter towards the Palestinian refugees from Syria; therefore, the number of refugees was minimized to a certain extent.

²⁴ Elise WHITAKER, “Refugees in Western Tanzania: The Distribution of Burdens and Benefits Among Local Hosts,” *Journal of Refugee Studies* 15, no. 4 (2002): 339–358.

²⁵ Robert REDFIELD – Ralph LINTON – Melville J. HERSKOVITS, “Memorandum on the Study of Acculturation,” *American Anthropologist* 38, no. 1 (1936): 149–152.

²⁶ Richard Y. BOURHIS – Léna Céline MOISE – Stéphane PERREAULT – Sacha SENÉCAL, “Towards an Interactive Acculturation Model: A Social Psychological Approach,” *International Journal of Psychology* 32, no. 6 (1997): 369–389.

²⁷ The Spillover–Crossover model term is used in psychological research to examine the impact of the work domain on the home domain.

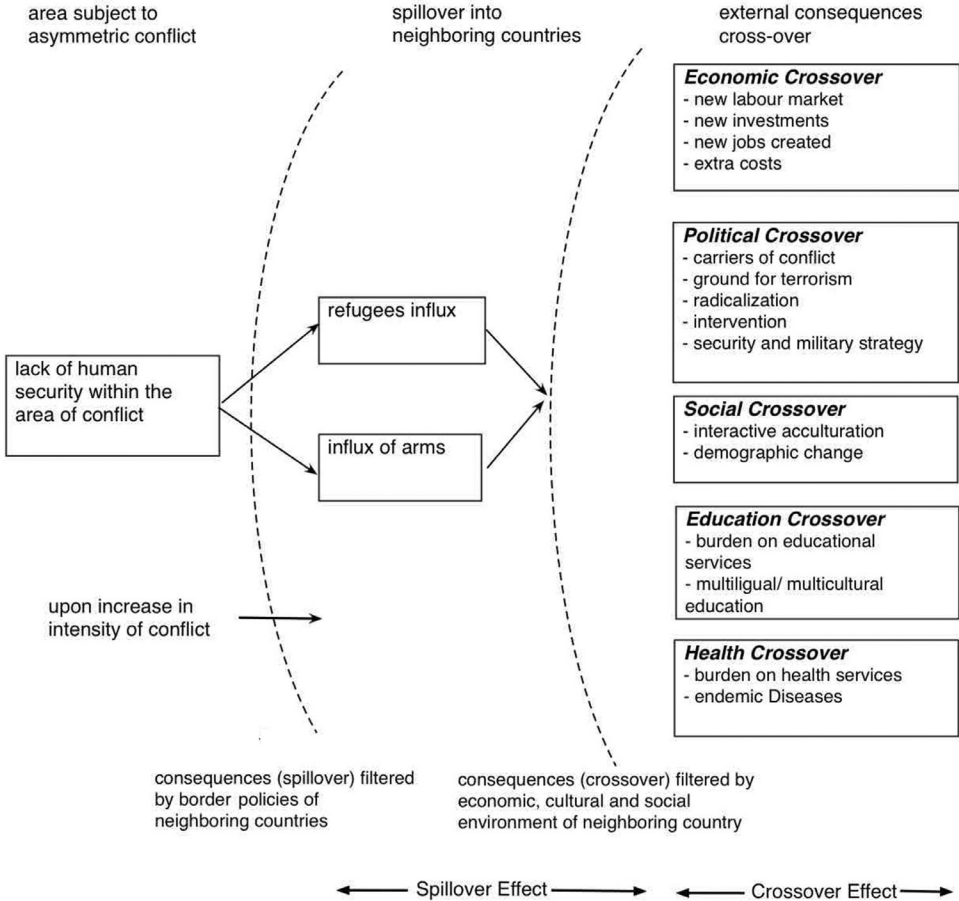


Figure 1
The Spillover-Crossover model

Source: drawn by the author

The spillover may affect significantly the various sectors within the host countries, which are called crossover effects. These effects could be either positive or negative depending on the original economic, social and political environment of the neighboring countries. They also depend on the historical engagement in civil war, and the relationship between the two governments and/or the people of the two neighboring countries. They also depend on the characteristics of the refugees. Those refugees who are better off from an economic and educational point of view have positive economic crossover and less of political or social burden.

The model suggests that there are five main possible consequences of crossover factors. These are: economic, political, social, educational and health consequential factors in the neighboring countries. These crossover factors are usually filtered by several economic indicators in the neighboring countries, which include poverty, labor market, local economic

policies. They are also filtered by the political environment, which includes internal conflict and the political system. Additionally, they are filtered by the cultural environment that include the acceptance of refugees, conflict and power differences, and the feel of relevance to the country of conflict and its nature of conflict. Also, the crossover factors are filtered by political factors including history of conflict in the area, history of refugee influx, internal conflicts, and different policies especially those targeting refugees.

Economic crossover is especially filtered by the economic environment. Countries with stronger economic conditions are benefiting from the influx more than those with weak economy. This is also dependent on the local economic and investment policies. Some researchers suggest that due to the conflict, investors might be discouraged to start their businesses in the region. However, those who started or planned to start in the area under conflict would rather move their investments from the area of conflict to the neighboring countries. Therefore, the neighboring countries will be a potential area of investment for internationals and for nationals of the area under conflict. Small and micro businesses would be a big market attracting refugees. Upon their settling down, refugees would want to start new businesses to be able to cope with their new status. This could help create niche markets that did not exist or new crafts that originate from the sending country. It also helps create new jobs for the refugees along with the host communities.

Labor might be considered a threat to the local economy, as it forms a competition to the existing labor force. However, new labor force is a source of new skills and knowledge that could enrich the existing market. Moreover, in many cases the new labor force could help fill the gap in the labor market, either because of the lack of certain skills or the lack of interest of the locals to work in certain sectors. Additionally, it helps in providing diversified skilled labor and diffused competition.²⁸ The refugees' competition on low-skilled jobs "doesn't hang native workers out to dry, but rather forces them to develop a set of complementary – and usually higher skilled – contributions to the labor force".²⁹

During the conflict, several humanitarian organizations start working in the neighboring countries, either to support the refugees in the host countries, or to support those in the area under conflict. However, due to security reasons they mostly operate remotely from the neighboring countries. These new projects usually create new job opportunities for the locals there. Accordingly, humanitarian organizations open huge opportunities in the neighboring countries depending on the severity of the conflict and the influx including new job markets and attraction of internationals.

Despite the possible advantages discussed earlier, refugee influx can also cause a huge economic burden on the neighboring countries. The costs of services provided to the refugees and the humanitarian attention are inevitable and include the educational, health and welfare support that brings strains and burdens on the budget of the host country.

²⁸ BETTS et al., *Refugee Economies*.

²⁹ Kevin SHELLITO, *The Economic Effect of Refugee Crises on Host Countries and Implications for the Lebanese Case* (Philadelphia, PA: University of Pennsylvania, Joseph Wharton Research Scholars, 2016). Available at: http://repository.upenn.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=1022&context=joseph_wharton_scholars (accessed: 4 May 2016).

The political crossover factor in the neighboring countries is another consequence that could cause disruption in a neighboring nation. However, this is filtered by the local policies of those receiving countries and the political environment in general.

The arrival of refugees is already filtered by the refugee policies in the neighboring countries. However, as the conflict increases, even those countries that are strict in accepting refugees receive the spillover of refugee influx. Strict policies cannot eliminate the influx, but it can only reduce and manage the numbers. The crossover effect of the refugees' arrival impacts the neighboring countries in various ways, depending on the local policies and of the characteristics of the arriving refugees; including their educational level and their economic status.

In some cases, the flow of refugees disrupts and alters the structure of the state, by imposing different religious, ethnic or cultural structures. For example, the majority of Syrian refugees in Lebanon are Sunni Muslims, while the religious structure in Lebanon is formed of Sunni and Shia Muslims, Catholic and Maronite Christians, and Druze, among others. The influx has led to a feeling of existential threat amongst some due to the disruption of the existing structure.

Within the huge influx of refugees, there is a high potential of an influx of carriers of conflict. The influx itself facilitates the flow of arms and combatants, which may lead to the onset of a conflict in the neighboring countries. This could be in the form of conflict among the refugees themselves, between the refugees and the host community and/or the host government, or with the sending countries. The host country could become a sanctuary for terrorism, where it becomes possible to recruit and arm combatants. However, this crossover is usually filtered through the political positions, security policies and the state strength of the host countries. Countries filter the flow of conflict by having strict security measures. In many cases the refugee influx is securely managed by accepting the refugees in temporary camps on the borders for security check until they are transferred to the refugee camps to mitigate the conflict, while some have very strict policies on the movement of refugees outside the refugee camps.

Radicalization is another crossover factor that may influence the neighboring countries. This is possible when the host community identifies a certain group or case of conflict as relevant either ethnically, religiously or even humanely. The host community might act vigorously to show their solidarity and sympathy to a certain group, or they might even demand their government for intervention as a result. This causes internal conflict within the host communities. Such crossover is filtered by the social environment within the neighboring countries.

Another possible crossover is the intervention of the neighboring country in the conflict. This happens when the government decides to support one group, or when conflict is foreseen to affect their own people. At this point, the conflict is altered from a local to a regional or from an intrastate to an interstate conflict. It is altered from radicalization to war status.

Social crossover is possible through interactive acculturation. It is the interaction and the possible merge of the two different cultures. Although more changes tend to be experienced by the refugees, both the host and the refugees are affected by acculturation. It is

possible that the refugees will face one of the four strategies suggested by Berry.³⁰ These are: integration, assimilation, separation or segregation and marginalization.

Educational crossover is a factor that affects neighboring countries depending on their policies towards refugees. In general, the influx of refugees is a burden on all public services, including education. However, crossover may also have a positive effect on the educational sector, especially in the case of integrating refugees within the system. This integration helps to create social diversity, mutual awareness of the societies and cultures, along with possible multilingual and multicultural communication and education. This integration through inclusive educational system and intercultural dialogue facilitates the integration in society as a whole and the linkage of the diverse communities achieves mutual benefits for the two communities.³¹

Health is another main crossover factor resulting from the spillover. The refugee influx may bring cause strains that burden the health services provided by the host communities by increasing the number of beneficiaries. It may also facilitate the transfer of epidemic diseases causing a widespread health crossover effect. For example, researchers have observed an increase in the incidence of malaria during civil war in the regions under conflict and in the neighboring countries.³²

Spillover–Crossover of the Asymmetric Conflict in Syria

This section provides an application of the model using the Syrian crisis as a case study. First, it illustrates the spillover of refugees and possible armaments, and then it describes the consequential crossover effects.

Spillover Effect

The warfare conditions in Syria started in March 2011 when protests erupted in the city of Deraa. This has then escalated into an asymmetric conflict in various cities and towns. The spillover of conflict is evident through the huge influx of Syrian refugees. More than 4.8 million people have fled Syria since the eruption of the conflict. The neighboring countries – including Lebanon, Jordan and Turkey – have received the largest refugee influx; about 4.8 million refugees continued to seek safety across the Middle East. About 10 percent of the Syrian refugees made it to Europe; around 884,461 Syrian refugees applied for asylum in Europe between April 2011 and October 2016.³³

³⁰ John W. BERRY, “Immigration, Acculturation and Adaptation,” *Applied Psychology* 46, no. 1 (1997): 5–68.

³¹ Life Long Learning Platform (European Civil Society for Education), “Integrating Refugees and Migrants through Education: Building Bridges in Divided Societies,” *Lllplatform Position Paper*, September 2016. Available at: <http://lllplatform.eu/lll/wp-content/uploads/2015/10/LLL-Platform-Policy-Paper-Refugees-and-migrants-and-inclusive-education-Sept-2016.pdf>, (accessed: 4 May 2016).

³² Jose MONTALVO – Marta RENYAL-QUEROL, “Fighting against Malaria: Prevent Wars While Waiting for the ‘Miraculous’ Vaccine,” *The Review of Economics and Statistics* 89, no. 1 (2007): 165–177.

³³ UNHCR, “Syria Regional Refugee Response,” *UNHCR.org*. Available at: <http://data.unhcr.org/syrianrefugees/regional.php> (accessed: 4 May 2016).

According to UNHCR statistics, Jordan hosts approximately 655,496 Syrian refugees as of December 2016, which is equivalent to about 10 percent of the country's population. The total camp population amounts to 141,091. The influx of refugees has been immense since the conflict started.

Jordan did not ratify the 1951 Convention of refugees and its 1967 protocol. However, Jordan is part of other conventions that respects non-refoulement, including the UN convention against torture, and the 1965 international convention on the elimination of all forms of racial discrimination among others. Jordan is also bound to the right to seek asylum as per the universal declaration of human rights. Jordan has signed a Memorandum of Understanding (MoU) with the UNHCR, which defines refugees as per the Refugee Convention, respects the non-refoulement and non-discriminatory obligations that ensure the right of work to refugees and temporary residence. However, the MoU requires UNHCR to find a durable solution within 6 months. The Jordanian constitution, on the other hand, implies that the right to work is reserved only for Jordanians, otherwise the non-Jordanians would require working permits.³⁴

Jordan has imposed several entry restrictions. In early 2012, it has barred the entry of certain groups, including Palestinian refugees coming from Syria.³⁵ In 2013, it restricted the numbers of entry to 300 refugees per day. In June 2016, Jordan effectively closed its borders with Syria.³⁶ However, despite the strict filters imposed by the Jordanian government, the spillover – resulting from the severity of the Syrian conflict – was enormous.

According to UNHCR statistics, Lebanon hosts approximately 1,017,433 Syrian refugees as of September 2016, which is equivalent to nearly a quarter of Lebanon's estimated 4.3 million original residents. The huge refugee influx to Lebanon has affected the religious and sectarian composition of the Lebanese society, as well as its economic status.³⁷

Lebanon is not part of the 1951 Convention relating to the status of refugees or its 1967 protocol. However, Lebanon is party to conventions which support protecting the human rights of the residents in Lebanon, including refugees. These include the 1965 international convention on the elimination of all forms of racial discrimination and the 1966 International Covenant on Economic Social and Cultural Rights. Additionally, Lebanon is bound to the right to seek asylum as per the universal declaration of human rights. Additionally, Lebanon signed an MoU with UNHCR, granting a temporary "circulation permit" to registered refugees. This is a permit to stay for one year after which the UNHCR is expected to resettle the person to a third country. Despite the refugees' prevalence, Lebanon imposed the "no camps" policy.³⁸

Lebanon started officially with an open border policy regarding Syrian refugees, though refugees faced significant difficulties on the border. October 2014 was the turning point, when the policy towards the Syrian refugees was announced based on three aspects.

³⁴ Sarah BIDINGER et al., *Protecting Syrian Refugees: Laws, Policies, and Global Responsibility Sharing* (Boston: Boston University School of Law, International Human Rights Clinic, 2014).

³⁵ Palestinian refugees who had originally found sanctuary in Syria.

³⁶ BADIL Staff, "Palestinian Refugees from Syria: Ongoing Nakba, Ongoing Discrimination," *Al-Majdal*, no. 56 (Autumn 2014): 2–5.

³⁷ International Labour Organization (Regional Office for the Arab States), *Assessment of the Impact of Syrian Refugees in Lebanon and Their Employment Profile* (Beirut: International Labor Organization, 2013).

³⁸ BIDINGER et al., *Protecting Syrian Refugees*.

“First, that Lebanon had done more than what was reasonably to be expected with regards to the refugee situation. Second, that Lebanon would enforce legislation to limit – and in fact end – the flow of refugees in the country. Third, that measures would be adopted to reduce the numbers of UNHCR registered Syrians in Lebanon.”³⁹ Restrictions were imposed on Palestinian refugees from Syria since the early phases of the conflict. However, despite the strict filters imposed by the Lebanese government, the spillover – resulting from the severity of the Syrian conflict – was enormous here as well.

The number of Syrian refugees in Turkey (as of 2 June 2016) is 2,743,497, with 50.8 percent male and 49.2 percent female; 20 percent are of age under 4 years. The Government of Turkey hosts close to 270,000 refugees in 25 refugee camps. About 90 percent of the Syrian refugees live off-camp, under very poor conditions with minimal services provided and no cash assistance. The refugees’ camps are under the control of AFAD.⁴⁰

Turkey ratified the 1951 UN Convention of Refugees, but not the 1967 protocol. This means, it has maintained the geographic limitations; this restricts the refugee status to those whose circumstances had come about before 1951 in reference to the events occurring in Europe. This implies that Syrian refugees are not included in this agreement. However, according to the 1994 law on Foreigners and International Protection, Turkey permits non-European refugees to remain in Turkey on a temporary basis until they are resettled.⁴¹ On 22 October 2014, the Council of Ministers issued a regulation on temporary protection. Article 91 of this regulation addresses foreigners and international protection. The regulation applies to Syrians as well as stateless persons from Syria. The Government of Turkey also facilitated the family reunification for Syrian refugees. This policy helps bring relatives of registered Syrians in Turkey from Lebanon and Jordan to join family members.⁴²

The border policies and local policies regarding migration in general are different in the three neighboring countries. However, the severity of the Syrian conflict led to huge spillover of refugee influx towards the three countries.

Crossover Effects

In the section above it became evident that the spillover of Syrian refugees is immense towards the neighboring countries. The crossover resulting from the spillover will be further discussed hereby as per the four crossover factors: economic, political, social and health.

³⁹ Filippo DIONIGI, “The Syrian Refugee Crisis in Lebanon: State Fragility and Social Resilience,” *LSE Middle East Centre Paper Series 15*, February 2016. Available at: http://eprints.lse.ac.uk/65565/1/Dionigi_Syrian_Refugees%20in%20Lebanon_Author_2016.pdf. (accessed: 4 May 2016).

⁴⁰ AFAD, “Disaster Report,” *AFAD.gov.tr*, 5 September 2016. Available at: www.afad.gov.tr/ar/9842/Current-Status-in-AFAD-Temporary-Protection-Centres (accessed: 4 May 2016). (AFAD is the Disaster and Emergency Management Presidency in Turkey directly accountable to the Prime Minister’s office.)

⁴¹ Metin CORABATIR, *The Evolving Approach to Refugee Protection in Turkey: Assessing the Practical and Political Needs* (Washington D.C.: Migration Policy Institute, 2016).

⁴² Ibid.

Economic Crossover

In this section, the economic crossover resulting from the spillover is discussed through the results of the related studies of economic consequences of the Syrian crisis on the neighboring countries. From the results, it is evident that there is a payoff between the possible economic growth and the strains on the public services and public finances due to the illegal status of the refugees and the lack of working permits in the three neighboring countries.

In Turkey, the influx of refugees helped to fill the gap in the labor market. Researchers indicated that this influx is not a threat to the local labor market as it helps to diversify the employment opportunities by bringing in new skills.⁴³ The influx helped to fill the needed positions for unskilled labor.⁴⁴ Other researches indicated clearly that there are no negative impacts on poverty for the host community despite the high poverty rates experienced among the recent migrants.⁴⁵

“In Gaziantep, it is believed that Syrians contribute to the economic growth of the region because of their involvement in production as well as consumption.”⁴⁶ There is a visible increase in investments from high-income Syrian business people in Mersin and Gaziantep, which are formally registered in the Gaziantep’s chambers of commerce. Altogether 209 businesses are registered in Gaziantep with a high level of exports, while 100 are listed with the Syrian Economic Forum willing to relocate to Turkey.⁴⁷

Syrians are bringing with them a knowledge and wealth of relations from their country of origin. For example, the Syrian Economic Forum has been formed by Syrian businessmen supporting Syrian big businesses and entrepreneurs in Turkey.⁴⁸ Other Syrian craft businesses and food industry have been revived in Turkey.⁴⁹

Another important advantage is the benefit received by the local NGOs in Turkey. Most of the humanitarian aid distribution are supplied through local firms especially textile and agriculture.⁵⁰ This created new opportunities for Turkish institutions.

On the other hand, several burdens and strains on the Turkish economy have been observed; including, but not limited to: increase in rental prices, child labor, and illegal, cheap labor. Burden on municipal services has been observed, especially since municipalities receive their budget according to their population, but this budget does not take into consideration the influx of refugees. For example, in areas like Kilis, the population has doubled. In general, Turkey has spent around 4.5 billion dollars on the Syrian refugees so far.⁵¹

⁴³ BETTS et al., *Refugee Economies*.

⁴⁴ Oytun ORHAN – Sabiha S. GUNDOGAR, *Effects of the Syrian Refugees on Turkey* (Ankara: ORSAM–TESEV, 2015). Available at: www.orsam.org.tr/files/Raporlar/rapor195/195eng.pdf (accessed: 4 May 2016).

⁴⁵ Joao Pedro AZEVEDO – Judy S. YANG – Osman Kaan INAN, *What Are the Impacts of Syrian Refugees on Host Community Welfare in Turkey? A Subnational Poverty Analysis* (World Bank Group, Policy Research Working Paper, 2016). Available at: <http://documents.worldbank.org/curated/en/878901468184471663/pdf/WPS7542.pdf> (accessed: 4 May 2016).

⁴⁶ ORHAN–GUNDOGAR, *Effects of the Syrian Refugees on Turkey*.

⁴⁷ Rami SHARRACK – Tamam ALBAROUDI, Interview with the Syrian Economic Forum in Gaziantep, Turkey, 31 March 2016.

⁴⁸ Ibid.

⁴⁹ Ibid.

⁵⁰ ORHAN–GUNDOGAR, *Effects of the Syrian Refugees on Turkey*.

⁵¹ Ibid.

In Lebanon, the impact was evident in increased unemployment, especially in the agricultural sector and low-skilled labor.⁵² This is especially true as a limited number of working permits has been issued to the Syrian labor. This caused an adverse working environment as Syrians are mostly working illegally without permits; as a result, the wage rate decreased and health insurance was not provided. Additionally, Syrian refugees in Lebanon were allowed to work as laborers in three sectors: construction, agriculture and garbage collection.⁵³ Refugee child labor is another socio-economic aspect, affecting the Syrians and the Syrian-Lebanese relations.⁵⁴

With the huge number of refugees, the impact on Lebanon's governance and services was immense. Strains on governmental services – including education, healthcare, waste management and infrastructure – have been observed. “Refugees are being hosted in areas that are already facing immense public services strains to accommodate the Lebanese.”⁵⁵

On the other hand, research indicates that the influx of Syrian refugees has also contributed to the Lebanese economy. Refugees are a source of demand of the Lebanese local products, supported through international aid and remittances of relatives abroad. One percent increase in refugees led to a 1.5 percent increase in exports.⁵⁶ This has also created opportunities for Lebanese exporters replacing the “loss of Syrian production in the Syrian and other markets.”⁵⁷

In Jordan, it has been observed that there is no relationship between the influx of refugees and the Jordanian labor market,⁵⁸ although the perception of the people does not share this observation.⁵⁹ The labor force participation rate for Jordanians and the distribution of workers between the different sectors at present is similar to what it was before the Syrian crisis,⁶⁰ as Syrians were part of the labor force even before the crisis started. However, it should be noted that in many cases Syrian refugees work in the informal economy due to their illegal status in Jordan. Additionally, Syrian laborers participate in the low-skilled labor market that the Jordanians are not interested in; as most Jordanians are interested in the public sector and services.⁶¹

⁵² SHELLITO, *The Economic Effect of Refugee Crises*.

⁵³ Sawsan SABRA, Interview with the Lebanese Ministry of Labor, 3 May 2016.

⁵⁴ Rana Bou HAMDAN, Interview with the Lebanese Ministry of Social Affairs, 3 May 2016.

⁵⁵ Sawsan MASRI – Illina SROUR, *Assessment of the Impact of Syrian Refugees in Lebanon and their Employment Profile* (Beirut: International Labour Organization, 2013).

⁵⁶ Massiliano CALI – Samia SEKKARIE, “Much Ado about Nothing? The Economic Impact of Refugee ‘Invasions’,” The Brookings Institution, 16 September 2015. Available at: www.brookings.edu/blog/future-development/2015/09/16/much-ado-about-nothing-the-economic-impact-of-refugee-invasions (accessed: 4 May 2016).

⁵⁷ Massimiliano CALI – Wissam HARAKE – Fadi HASSAN – Clemens STRUCK, “The Impact of the Syrian Conflict on Lebanese Trade,” *World Bank Report*, April 2015. Available at: <http://documents.worldbank.org/curated/en/908431468174247241/pdf/96087-WP-P148051-PUBLIC-Box391435B-Syria-Trade-Report.pdf> (accessed: 4 May 2016).

⁵⁸ Ali FAKIH – Ibrahim MAY, “The Impact of Syrian Refugees on the Labor Market in Neighboring Countries: Empirical Evidence from Jordan,” *Defence and Peace Economics* 27, no. 1 (2015): 64–86.

⁵⁹ Focus groups with Jordanians living in areas crowded with refugees, 12 May 2016.

⁶⁰ Svein Erik STAVE – Solveig HILLESUND, *Impact of Syrian Refugees on the Jordanian Labour Market: Findings from the Governorates of Amman, Irbid, and Mafraq* (Beirut: International Labour Organization, 2015).

⁶¹ FAKIH–MAY, *The Impact of Syrian Refugees on the Labor Market in Neighboring Countries*.

Strains on the already limited resources in Jordan – especially water and the public services – have been immense. “Despite the neutral or even positive impact on labor markets and growth, Jordan’s case indicates that a trade-off between these impacts and the added strain on public finances will arise in the short run.”⁶²

Political Crossover

In this section, an illustration of the political crossover – resulting from the different political factors described in the model – is discussed. These political factors include: carriers of conflict, sanctuary for terrorism, radicalization, intervention in conflict, security and military strategy. The political crossover is slightly different among the neighboring countries due to the filters in each. Turkey is a stronger state than Lebanon and Jordan; therefore the crossover effect is different. Additionally, the cultural filter is different as Lebanon and Syria are inextricably linked historically, which led to the fact that most Syrians sought Lebanon as a first refuge.

In Turkey, several conflicts took place between the refugees and the host communities. In Hatay, ethnic tensions arose in 2012 between Syrian refugees and the host community, and resulted in anti-Syrian demonstrations. Also, following the explosion of two cars in Hatay in 2013, the host community attacked Syrian cars. “We don’t want Syrian refugees” was the slogan of demonstrations that followed the killing of a Turkish landlord by a Syrian refugee.⁶³ On the other hand, “Syrians have been discussing the possibility of organizing in order to protect themselves. Such a development may result in small judicial issues turning into larger scale conflicts.”⁶⁴

“Syrian refugees is a topic that feeds an already existing, polarized political discussions in Turkey.”⁶⁵ Intervention in the conflict has started since the early phases, either explicitly or implicitly by the Turkish government. “Both the Syrian National Council and the Free Syrian Army have used Turkey as a base for organizing their resistance against Assad’s forces. Turkey has also supported the war against Assad by quietly allowing the passage through its territory of volunteers from Muslim countries to fight in Syria.”⁶⁶ Turkey has experienced clear carriers of conflict, sanctuary for terrorism, and radicalization, which in turn affected the Turkish security and military strategy as apparent in the government’s intervention in the conflict.

⁶² Ali FAKIH – Walid MARROUCH, “The Economic Impacts of Syrian Refugees: Challenges and Opportunities in Host Countries,” *Georgetown Journal of International Affairs*, 9 November 2015. Available at: www.georgetownjournalofinternationalaffairs.org/online-edition/the-economic-impacts-of-syrian-refugees-challenges-and-opportunities-in-host-countries?rq=marrouch (accessed: 4 May 2016).

⁶³ Burcu Togrul KOCA, “Syrian Refugees in Turkey: From ‘Guests’ to ‘Enemies’?” *New Perspectives on Turkey* 54 (May 2016): 55–75. Available at: www.cambridge.org/core/journals/new-perspectives-on-turkey/article/div-classtitlesyrian-refugees-in-turkey-from-guests-to-enemiesdiv/29536558EBF6E27022769A7B-858F29E7/core-reader (accessed: 4 May 2016).

⁶⁴ ORHAN–GUNDOGAR, *Effects of the Syrian Refugees on Turkey*.

⁶⁵ Ibid.

⁶⁶ Richard WEITZ, *Turkey’s New Regional Security Role: Implications for the United States* (Carlisle Barracks, PA: US Army War College Press, 2014). Available at: www.strategicstudiesinstitute.army.mil/pdf/PUB1218.pdf (accessed: 4 May 2016).

Lebanon's fragility and its inextricably linked history with Syria have led to an immense crossover effect of the conflict on the political environment. The Islamic State is more active near Aarsal. "Refugees and locals also supported clashes in Aarsal in August 2014 between the Lebanese Armed Forces, Nusra Front and ISIS."⁶⁷ Therefore, Lebanon is caught up immensely in the Syrian political affairs. This is apparent through the direct intervention and the deepening involvement of Hezbollah in the Syrian civil war. Hezbollah operated openly across the borders with Syria.⁶⁸

The refugees' influx has fed into the already polarized and radicalized political environment in Lebanon. The refugees' influx has been perceived as an existential threat to the Lebanese community and to the Lebanese social fabric. Moreover, the Lebanese government claimed that militant cells are embedded in the refugee population and imposed a curfew on Syrian refugees.⁶⁹ Tensions between refugees and the host communities have been strained, and several suicide bombing attacks took place in Lebanon. The policy of "no policy" towards Syrian refugees has affected the political and social environment. Additionally, many Syrians lack the proper documents to stay and to work. Syrians cannot renew their documents, hence they refrain from leaving their settlements in fear of being arrested; this makes them more belligerent and prone to use "negative coping strategies."⁷⁰

The protracted nature of the Syrian conflict altered the Jordanians perspective of the Syrian refugees from welcoming them to a hostile position. Therefore, tensions between the refugees and the host communities tapped the surface. As a result, the refugees' influx has fed into the already radicalized political environment in Jordan. However, little evidence is available that combatants have control over refugee camps,⁷¹ especially since the refugee camps are administered and controlled by the UNHCR in coordination with the Jordanian government.

Social Crossover

Acculturation is a major source of change for refugees as individuals and as families. In general, refugees in Lebanon, Jordan and Turkey are settling down as families, and not as individuals. Acculturation for neighboring countries are experienced by the families, while in further distanced countries individuals face acculturation, as not every family member is able to travel the long and risky journeys.⁷²

⁶⁷ Carol TAN, "The Syrian Refugee Crisis: Conflicts in the Making," *IEMed Mediterranean Yearbook*, 2015. Available at: www.iemed.org/observatori/arees-danalisi/arxius-adjunts/anuari/med.2015/IEMed%20Yearbook%202015_Panorama_SyrianRefugeeCrisis_CarolTan.pdf (accessed: 4 May 2016).

⁶⁸ Marisa SULLIVAN, *Hezbollah in Syria* (Washington, D.C.: Institute for the Study of War, 2014). Available at: www.understandingwar.org/sites/default/files/Hezbollah_Sullivan_FINAL.pdf (accessed: 4 May 2016).

⁶⁹ Dionigi, *The Syrian Refugee Crisis in Lebanon*.

⁷⁰ Ibid.

⁷¹ Lauren BARNHART et al., *The Refugee Crisis in the Levant: Demographics and Risk Factors for Conflict in Jordan and Lebanon* (Washington D.C.: School of International Service, American University, 2015). Available at: www.american.edu/sis/practica/upload/AU-Practicum-Fall-2015-Intelligence-Analysis-1.pdf (accessed: 4 May 2016).

⁷² Focus group with refugees in Lebanon, May 2016.

Refugees in the neighboring countries encounter many challenges. Syrian refugees in the neighboring countries are mainly facing discrimination, where the perception of people is that Syrian neighborhoods jeopardize security.⁷³ Also, discrimination against Syrian school children creates a hostile environment. There is also refusal to discuss possibilities of social cohesion in Jordan and Lebanon.⁷⁴ In Turkey, refugees are facing the language challenge, they are living in camps and ghettos, which leaves them marginalized, with less possibility of integration into the Turkish society.

With the huge number of refugees there is a high possibility to change the social structure of the host country. This is especially evident in Lebanon that has faced structural change from a religious and socio-economic point of view. For example, the percentage of Sunni Muslims in Lebanon changed from 27 percent to 44 percent, which changes the social fabric.⁷⁵

Educational Crossover

Jordan, Lebanon, and Turkey reported intense burden on the educational services resulting from the huge influx of refugees. However, there is a policy of segregation of education within the educational system. “Lebanon is providing evening shifts for Syrian school children in public schools, despite the fact that there is a possibility to integrate them within the morning shifts.”⁷⁶ Hence, current policies of education are preventing possible positive crossover of multicultural or multilingual education. In Turkey language is the main barrier to integration. There is also the problem of the lack of recognition of Syrian educational certificates and Syrian curriculum.⁷⁷ Moreover, the adverse economic situation of the Syrian refugees causes high potential of school dropout and child labor.

Health Crossover

With the lack of security in Syria, health services, including vaccination for epidemic diseases, were severely affected. This facilitated the transfer of diseases through the refugees in the neighboring countries. Gaziantep reported the highest rates of measles in Turkey in 2013.⁷⁸ “In Jordan, 24 cases of measles were reported in 2012, while over 200 cases were reported in 2013. In Lebanon, there were nine reported cases of measles in 2012, and this increased to 1,760 cases in 2013, only 13.2 percent of which were among Syrian refugees.”⁷⁹

⁷³ TAN, *The Syrian Refugee Crisis*.

⁷⁴ Meeting with officials in Lebanon and Jordan.

⁷⁵ *The World Factbook: Middle East Lebanon* (Washington DC: CIA, 2015). Available at: www.cia.gov/library/publications/resources/the-world-factbook/geos/le.html (accessed: 4 May 2016).

⁷⁶ Thera Badran’s (Project Coordinator at the Centre for Lebanese Studies in Lebanon) presentation at the NOW Conference (International Mayor’s Conference NOW, 30 January 2017).

⁷⁷ Shelly CULBERTSON – Louay CONSTANT, *Education of Syrian Refugee Children: Managing the Crisis in Turkey, Lebanon and Jordan* (Santa Monica: RAND Corporation, 2015).

⁷⁸ ORHAN–GUNDOGAR, *Effects of the Syrian Refugees on Turkey*.

⁷⁹ Sima L. SHARARA – Souha S. KANJ, “War and Infectious Diseases: Challenges of the Syrian Civil War,” *Plos Pathog* 10, no. 11 (2014). Available at: www.ncbi.nlm.nih.gov/pmc/articles/PMC4231133 (accessed: 4 May 2016).

Conclusion

Asymmetric warfare is a local conflict with regional and global impacts. This is demonstrated by the Spillover–Crossover model. The spillover is the direct effect of the conflict that includes spillover of refugees and armaments. However, this spillover is filtered by the border policies of the neighboring countries. The spillover increases as the level of conflict intensifies. The border policies may not be able to prevent the spillover, but they can minimize it. The crossover effect is the crosscutting impact on the neighboring countries' environmental factors. These include the political, cultural, economic, education and health crossover effects. These effects are filtered by the fragility of the neighboring countries, along with their economic, political and cultural environment. The political crossover effect is mainly negative. However, the economic, educational and cultural crossover effect may vary across the spectrum from a positive effect to a severe negative effect, depending on the imposed filters. Additionally, health crossover should be dealt with diligently so as to prevent the negative crossover.

Syria's spillover–crossover effect on the neighboring countries varied, according to the specific conditions in the specific country. Economically, it is evident that there are costs and benefits from refugees' settlement. These costs are affected by the policy towards refugees. However, the economic benefit outweighs the costs. Turkey, who was relatively flexible towards refugees, was able to attract hundreds of Syrian investments and investors. However, Syrian investments were mostly illegal in Lebanon, where the policies are stricter. Such investments helped households to be financially independent. Hence, facilitating their settling down helps to decrease the costs. Political crossover is mainly negative in the three countries. However, it is filtered by the political environment within the host country. The fragility of the state is a main factor that facilitates the crossover of the conflict. Additionally, the transnational and cultural ties between the sending country and the host country increase the probability of political crossover. Social crossover is mainly negative. Syrians are living in ghettos – it is a factor that does not support their integration within the host communities. The negative effect is also evident in the demographic change that especially took place in Lebanon. Currently, the possibility of positive educational crossover is not possible in the neighboring countries due to the policies towards Syrian refugees. Moreover, there is a high possibility of negative health crossover through the transmission of epidemic diseases.

In order to minimize the harm of the spillover and alter the conditions into opportunities rather than threats, it is better for host communities to manage the filters to accomplish positive crossover effects. One of the main filters that should be tackled with is the policy in regard to refugees. Integration of refugees could be achieved in a manner that minimizes the cost. Keeping the refugees out of the system means less integration, more poverty, and more burden to the existing systems. Host countries could analyze their needs, identify gaps and integration possibilities, and accept refugees in a manner that accomplishes mutual benefit. Certain countries have gaps in the labor market, which refugees could fill. Other countries might not have a balanced population distribution between rural and urban areas. Refugees could restore the balance, not only by working in agriculture, but also by establishing businesses that might fit the locations and the population. Host countries might lack certain specialties, and this could be filled by the refugees themselves.

Therefore, means of integration is subject to the host countries' political and economic conditions. Uneducated refugees will not be able to integrate or cope with the new conditions. They could be the spark of a new insurgency or terrorism in the host communities. However, the host communities can avert this by facilitating the integration of refugees in the existing educational system, and provide them an opportunity to catch up with their local peers through accelerated means of education. Cultural filters could also be managed by raising the awareness of the host communities about the importance and the possibilities of integration. This could lead to mutual benefits between and among the two communities. Other filters might not be possible to manage; however, filters and factors are interrelated. Therefore, a change in one factor can help in altering the other.

According to the model, it is vital to reconsider the policies towards refugees so as to facilitate integration, which will enable positive economic and educational crossover and prevent the negative political crossover. The long-term economic sustainability of the refugees' presence should be facilitated by the host country, the humanitarian organizations and the international community. Additionally, it is essential to consider neighboring countries in conflict management and post-conflict reconstruction as these are the means to minimize the accelerating trend of asymmetric warfare.

*Kale'ab Tadesse Sigatu**

Asymmetric War against the Islamic Militant Group al-Shabaab in Somalia: The Ethiopian Experience

Abstract

Ethiopia has been fighting the Somali Islamist militant groups longer than any other country in the Horn of Africa. In 2006, it repulsed the border attacks of al-Ittihad al-Islami, it ousted the Islamic Courts Union (ICU), and in 2014 it joined again the African Union Mission in Somalia (AMISOM) to fight al-Shabaab and to provide security. This paper describes Ethiopia's methods and the instruments of state power it has deployed to tackle terrorist Islamist groups inside its own territory and in Somalia. It also assesses certain factors which assist the al-Shabaab to succeed, and hinder other states in addressing this asymmetric challenge. The paper concludes by suggesting that – unlike conventional war – winning militarily is not a solution, unless one wins the heart and the minds of the people. Thus, the Somali and the Ethiopian governments should work for economic development and democracy in order to achieve sustainable peace in the region.

The paper is a desk study, mainly based on secondary data analysis of the available secondary information and documentary examinations. During the research news materials, academic literature, books, and research findings were used.

Asymmetric Warfare

The global international order developed from the Peace of Westphalia in the 17th century, and has been replaced by nation states while undergoing some changes. Today the main challengers of states are the non-state actors with a powerful irregular military capability.¹ Therefore, in contemporary times conflicts are mostly between the state and one or several armed non-state actors.²

Martin van Creveld in his book, *The Transformation of War*, argued that – unlike Clausewitz's explanation of war – modern warfare is waged by non-state actors.

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¹ John T. PLANT JR., "Asymmetric Warfare: Slogan or Reality?" *Defense and Strategy* 8, no. 1 (2008), 10.

² Annyssa BELLAL – Stuart CASEY-MASLEN, "Enhancing Compliance with International Law by Armed Non-State Actors," *Goerringen Journal of International Law* 3, no. 1 (2011), 176.

The combatants in modern wars fight for different reasons and in a different manner than it was before.³

The definition of asymmetric warfare (also called low-intensity conflict, military operations other than war, asymmetric warfare, fourth generation warfare, irregular warfare,⁴ modern warfare,⁵ and several other adjectives) is derived from this military conflict between the state and non-state actors. Asymmetric warfare can be defined as the ability of an inferior adversary applies all its strength available against a superior adversary in order to accomplish the desired strategic ends by delivering any physical, political, economic and mass psychological damage or disruption possible to the latter.⁶ Asymmetric warfare can be taken as a military strategy to fight great or government power that cannot be defeated with conventional war. The weaker non-state belligerent employs such irregular methods as guerrilla warfare, insurgency and terrorism.⁷ The government's forces often find it difficult to defeat such adversaries.

Asymmetric warfare in Africa goes back to the 1960s, to the fight for independence from the colonial powers.⁸ After the end of Cold War, Africa was mostly characterized by civil wars, most of them between government troops and rebel groups. One of the main reasons for irregular warfare's prevalence is that weak or failed states create a favorable condition and space for groups to organize.⁹

Ethiopia

Throughout history Ethiopians have been involved in asymmetric warfare. In the 1930s, Ethiopian *aribegnoch* patriots fought the fascist Italy's army, employing irregular warfare methods by small groups for the whole five years of occupation (1935–1941). The military dictatorship from 1974 to 1991 was also a period of civil war, during which different insurgent groups, organized along ethnic lines, fought the government. Also, after the formation of Ethiopian National Defense Force (ENDF), the Ethiopian army has been fighting several insurgent groups in and outside Ethiopia.

Ethiopia is among the top three military powers in Africa. According to Global Fire Power (GFP), Ethiopia is the third in military strength (following Egypt and Algeria) and

³ Martin van CREVELD, *The Transformation of War* (New York: The Free Press, 1991), ix.

⁴ David L. BUFFALO, "Defining Asymmetric Warfare," *Association of the United States Army*, 1 October 2006. Available at: www.ousa.org/publications/defining-asymmetric-warfare (accessed: 25 November 2016).

⁵ Roger TRINQUIER, *Modern Warfare: A French View of Counterinsurgency* (Westport, CT: Praeger International, 2006), 5.

⁶ Jahangir ARASLI, "States vs. Non-State Actors: Asymmetric Conflict of the 21st Century and Challenges to Military Transformation," *Eurasia Review*, 13 March 2011. Available at: www.eurasiareview.com/13032011-states-vs-non-state-actors-asymmetric-conflict-and-challenges-to-military-transformation (accessed: 21 November 2016).

⁷ Rialize FERREIRA, "Irregular Warfare in African Conflicts," *Scientia Militaria: South African Journal of Military Studies* 38, no. 1 (2010), 49.

⁸ PLANT, *Asymmetric Warfare*.

⁹ FERREIRA, *Irregular Warfare in African Conflicts*.

42nd in the world.¹⁰ In May 14, 2014, Alexander Rondos, the EU's special representative for the Horn of Africa, said admiringly about the Ethiopian army when commenting about Ethiopian troops fighting al-Shabaab in Somalia: "The Ethiopian [troops] scare the hell out of everybody [...] because they deliver".¹¹

Somalia

Somalia has had no central government since the country's 1991 civil war. Ever since, it has experienced ongoing clan violence, the rise of armed groups, Islamic radicalization, widespread banditry, piracy, and famine. The crises in Somalia posed a danger not only to the Horn of Africa, but also to the security and economies of the region and the world.

Almost all the Somali population is Sunni Muslim. However, in the 1980s more radical interpretations of Islam had begun to spread in Somalia as Somali Muslim scholars returned from Egypt and Saudi Arabia. The ouster of Siad Barre in 1991 gave a boost to Islamic organizations in Somalia.¹² After the complete breakdown of the central government, Islamic Sharia courts with their militias became dominant in the public arena of Somalia.¹³

Al-Ittihad al-Islami

Al-Ittihad al-Islami (AIAI) was one of Somalia's largest militant Islamic organizations. It rose to power in the early 1990s. Its goal is to establish an Islamic regime in Somalia and force the secession of the Ethiopian Somali State of Southeast Ethiopia or Ogaden.¹⁴ AIAI also carried out several terrorist attacks against Ethiopia until Ethiopian troops wiped out al-Ittihad from its bases inside Somalia in August 1996.¹⁵

Islamic Courts Union

The emergence of radical Islamist movements in Somalia started to play a leading role in the conflict of Somalia with the creation of the Islamic Courts Union.¹⁶ In early 2000,

¹⁰ "Ethiopia Military Strength," *Global Fire Power*, 2016. Available at: www.globalfirepower.com/country-military-strength-detail.asp?country_id=Ethiopia (accessed: 25 November 2016).

¹¹ Abel Abate DEMISSIE, "Ethiopian National Defense Force: Efficiency for Less," *AllAfrica.com*, 9 February 2015. Available at: <http://allafrica.com/stories/201502100117.html> (accessed: 21 November 2016).

¹² Shaul SHAY, *Somalia in Transition since 2006* (London: Transaction Publishers, 2014), 23.

¹³ SHAY, *Somalia in Transition since 2006*, 35.

¹⁴ Getachew METAFERIA, *Ethiopia and the United States: History, Diplomacy, and Analysis* (New York: Algora Publishing, 2009), 93.

¹⁵ Woldemicael WOLDESELAZE, *Terrorism in Ethiopia and the Horn of Africa: Threat, Impact and Response* (Addis Ababa: Rehobot Printers, 2010), 132–135.

¹⁶ Tadesse MEDHANE, "Sharia Courts and Military Politics in Stateless Somalia," in *Hot Spot Horn of Africa Revisited: Approaches to Make Sense of Conflict*, eds. Eva-Maria BRUCHHAUS – Monika M. SOMMER (London: Transaction Publishers, 2008), 42.

a group of court leaders from Mogadishu formed the Sharia Implementation Council (SIC) to unify and coordinate the various courts. It started to issue *fatwa* (religious judgments) against traditions like the celebration of New Year as an offense which is punishable by death and started shutting down cinemas.

By 2006, the Islamic Court Union (ICU) controlled Mogadishu and most parts of Somalia by winning clan based warlords to their case. It became the major challenge for the Transitional Federal Government (TFG), whose power and authority was limited to the town of Baidoa. Although the ICU provided relative security to the local population, it was not accepted internationally due to close links with al-Qaeda.¹⁷

The Islamic Courts Union then started war against TFG. Its suicide bombers attacked the weak Transitional Federal Government, it ran terrorist training camps, recruited foreign fighters, and released videos through al-Qaeda's propaganda arm.¹⁸ Sheikh Ahmed Sharif, the leader of ICU, called for the creation of a "greater Somalia" in the Horn of Africa. In 2006 he said: "We will leave no stone unturned to integrate our Somali brothers in Kenya and Ethiopia and restore their freedom to live with their ancestors in Somalia."¹⁹

Ethiopia's Intervention in Somalia

In 2004, the East African regional organization, the Inter-Governmental Authority on Development (IGAD) – comprising Uganda, Kenya, Ethiopia, Sudan, Djibouti and Somalia – set up the Somalia's Transitional Federal Government (TFG) to restore peace and order.²⁰ The TFG was formed in November 2004 in Nairobi, Kenya with the adoption of Transitional Federal Parliament, Transitional Federal Charter and the election of Abdullahi Yusuf Ahmed as president of Somalia and head of the Transitional Federal Government. The new parliament first met on 26 February 2006 inside of Somalia, in the city of Baidoa, 260 kilometres northwest from Mogadishu. Furthermore, the unanimously passed UN Security Council Resolution 1725 characterized the TFG as "the only route to achieve peace and stability in Somalia."²¹

The President of TFG, Abdullahi Yusuf, on his first visit to Ethiopia wanted 20,000 Ethiopian forces to strengthen his government.²² Since the ICU had already declared itself

¹⁷ Matthias SEIFERT, "The Ethiopian Intervention in Somalia: Theoretical Perspectives," in *Hot Spot Horn of Africa Revisited: Approaches to Make Sense of Conflict*, eds. Eva-Maria BRUCHHAUS – Monika M. SOMMER (London: Transaction Publishers, 2008), 29.

¹⁸ Bill ROGGIO, "Former Islamic Courts Leader Elected President of Somalia," *LongWarJournal.org*, 31 January 2009. Available at: www.longwarjournal.org/archives/2009/01/former_islamic_court.php, (accessed: 21 November 2016).

¹⁹ ROGGIO, *Former Islamic Courts Leader Elected President of Somalia*.

²⁰ Kizito SABALA, "Regional and Extra-Regional Inputs in Promoting (In) Security in Somalia," in *Regional Security in the Post-Cold War Horn of Africa*, eds. Roba SHARAMO – Berouk MESFIN (Addis Ababa: Central Printing Press, 2011), 100.

²¹ "Security Council Approves African Protection, Training Mission in Somalia, Unanimously Adopting Resolution 1175 (2006)," *UN Security Council*, 6 December 2006. Available at: www.un.org/press/en/2006/sc8887.doc.htm (accessed: 21 November 2016).

²² "Somalia: Who Supports Who?" *BBC*, 28 December 2006. Available at: <http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/africa/5092586.stm> (accessed: 21 November 2016).

an enemy of Ethiopia by its irredentist policy, the Ethiopian government accepted the invitation and launched a large-scale offensive attack with the forces of TFG, taking back territory captured by the Islamists over the previous six months. The African Union (AU) supported the Ethiopian intervention; the deputy chairman of the AU Commission, Patrick Mazimhaka said that Ethiopia “has given us ample warning that it feels threatened by the Union of Islamic Courts” and the international community also has the responsibility of supporting the TFG.²³

On 28 December 2006, Ethiopian and TFG forces captured the capital of Somalia, Mogadishu. The Ethiopian Prime Minister, Meles Zenawi said: “Our patience was considered as weakness and we were forced to go to war and the alternative left to us is to speedily bring the war to a successful and victorious end in the shortest time possible.”²⁴

On 20 February 2007, the UN Security Council passed Resolution 1744, reiterating its support for the Transitional Federal Government and welcomed the decision of Ethiopia to withdraw its troops from Somalia and the intention of the African Union to establish the African Union Mission in Somalia (AMISOM), because the deployment of AMISOM would help to avoid a security vacuum and might create the conditions for full withdrawal and the lifting of emergency security measures currently in place.²⁵

On 26 January 2009, Ethiopia troops started to pull out from Somalia. Colonel Gabre *Yohannes Abate*, the Ethiopian troop commander in Somalia said “though the journey is challenging, we are happy to start the journey back to our homeland after successfully discharging the mission bestowed by the government and the people of Ethiopia.”²⁶

Al-Shabaab

The Harakat al-Shabaab al-Mujahidin (Movement of Warrior Youth), commonly known as al-Shabaab, is a radical militant group, and an offshoot of the Islamic Courts Union (ICU). It took over most of southern Somalia after the Ethiopian troops’ withdrawal in 2009. The defeat of the ICU in 2006 served as the immediate context for al-Shabaab’s evolution into an insurgent group.²⁷ In February 2008, the US State Department – through its Public Notice No. 6137 – officially put al-Shabaab on the list of terrorist organizations.²⁸ In September 2009, al-Shabaab pledged allegiance to al-Qaeda for the first time in a video distributed on jihadi blogs.²⁹ Al-Shabaab was also able to control more territory than any other entity in Somalia. It “talibanized” the devout, yet secular and tolerant Muslim

²³ “AU: Ethiopia Has Right to Intervene Militarily in Somali,” *Xinhua*, 27 December 2006. Available at: http://news.xinhuanet.com/english/2006-12/27/content_5536553.htm (accessed: 28 November 2016).

²⁴ Martin PLAUT, “Ethiopian army faces Somali test,” *BBC*, 25 December 2006. Available at: <http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/africa/6208759.stm> (accessed: 21 November 2016).

²⁵ “The Situation in Somalia: Resolution 1744 (2007),” *UN Security Council*, 21 February 2007. Available at: www.refworld.org/docid/4600f97e2.html (accessed: 21 November 2016).

²⁶ Rajesh Babu KITNAN, “Ethiopian Troops Receive Warm Farewell as They Leave Mogadishu,” *SSIG.gov.my*, 16 January 2009. Available at: www.ssig.gov.my/blog/2009/01/16/ethiopian-troops-receive-warm-farewell-as-they-leave-mogadishu (accessed: 21 November 2016).

²⁷ SHAY, *Somalia in Transition since 2006*, 97.

²⁸ “Designation of al-Shabaab as a Specially Designated Global Terrorist,” *US Department of State*, 26 February 2008. Available at: www.state.gov/jct/rls/other/des/102448.htm (accessed: 21 November 2016).

²⁹ SHAY, *Somalia in Transition since 2006*, 103.

society, gradually imposing draconian and oppressive laws on the people, banning music, the playing of video games, and watching sports or movies.³⁰

Peace Support Operation in Somalia

The African Union Mission in Somalia (AMISOM) started its peacekeeping operation in Somalia in March 2007 with an initial contingent of about 1,600 Ugandan soldiers who were largely confined to a few strategic locations in Mogadishu. By January 2014, it had become the AU's largest ever multinational force, consisting of over 22,000 uniformed personnel.³¹ The Ethiopian National Defense Forces (ENDF) provided 4,395 uniformed personnel. An advance team of 100 uniformed personnel deployed on 1 January 2014, shortly followed by a three battalion-sized contingent.³²

AMISOM is a multidimensional Peace Support Operation. It is mandated to reduce the threat and conduct offensive operations against al-Shabaab and other armed opposition groups. It provides security in order to enable the political process at all levels, as well as stabilization efforts, reconciliation and peace building in Somalia, and enables the gradual handing over of security responsibilities to the Somali security forces (contingent on the abilities of the latter). It provides and assists the protection of the Somali authorities to help them carry out their functions as a government, and provides security for key infrastructure.³³

Terrorist attacks by al-Shabaab³⁴

Al-Shabaab launched a series of terrorist attacks in Somalia and across the East Africa region on countries who contribute troops for AMISOM.

On March 2007, a man named Adam Salam Adam used a car bomb to conduct a suicide attack against Ethiopian soldiers in Mogadishu. Al-Shabaab claimed responsibility for the bombing, which was allegedly the city's first suicide attack. Around 73 people were killed, the number of wounded is unknown.

On October 2008, al-Shabaab conducted five simultaneous suicide car bombings in the cities of Hargeisa and Bosasso, targeting UN and government buildings. More than 29 people were killed and there were more than 36 wounded persons.

³⁰ SHAY, *Somalia in Transition since 2006*, 129.

³¹ Paul D. WILLIAMS, "Special Report: How Many Fatalities Has the African Union Mission in Somalia Suffered?" *IPI Global Observatory*, 10 September 2015. Available at: <https://theglobalobservatory.org/2015/09/amisom-african-union-somalia-peacekeeping> (accessed: 21 November 2016).

³² "Ethiopia-ENDF," *AMISOM*. Available at: <http://amisom-au.org/ethiopia-endf> (accessed: 21 November 2016).

³³ "AMISOM Mandate," *AMISOM*. Available at: <http://amisom-au.org/amisom-mandate> (accessed: 21 November 2016).

³⁴ All, except those specially mentioned are from <http://web.stanford.edu/group/mappingmilitants/cgi-bin/maps/view/somalia> (accessed: 21 November 2016).

In December 2009, al-Shabaab targeted a graduation ceremony for medical doctors in Mogadishu. The suicide bombing resulted in the death of 20 people.³⁵

In July 2010, the near-simultaneous suicide attacks targeting World Cup fans in Kampala killed at least 74 people.³⁶

In April 2013, al-Shabaab bombed court buildings in Mogadishu and then conducted an armed assault inside the buildings. On the same day it bombed a convoy of Turkish aid workers. More than 30 people were killed, the number of wounded is unknown.

In June 2013, an al-Shabaab suicide bomber detonated a car bomb at the entrance of the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) compound in Mogadishu. Then al-Shabaab fighters entered the compound, engaged in a firefight with security forces for over ninety minutes. 22 people were killed and more than 20 people got wounded.

In September 2013, al-Shabaab gunmen attacked the Westgate mall in Nairobi, Kenya, triggering a four-day siege by government forces. Around 68 people were killed and 175 people got wounded.

In February 2014, al-Shabaab attacked Villa Somalia (the presidential palace compound) with a car bomb. Before entering the compound, it engaged in a firefight with guards; more than 14 people were killed, the number of wounded is unknown.

In May 2014, two al-Shabaab suicide bombers attacked a restaurant in Djibouti. This attack was Djibouti's first suicide bombing. 3 people were killed and 11 people got wounded.

In June 2014, al-Shabaab gunmen attacked several targets in the Kenyan town, Mpeketoni, including a police station, a bank, and hotels, as well as a hall in which people were watching the World Cup. The next day, a gunman also conducted an attack on the nearby village, Poromoko. More than 49 people were killed, the number of wounded is unknown.

In November 2014 in Kenya al-Shabaab militants attacked a bus with sixty passengers traveling from Mandera to Nairobi. The militants executed passengers who could not recite Koran verses, as well as those who resisted the attack. 28 people got killed, the number of wounded is unknown.

In December 2014, al-Shabaab militants conducted an attack in Koromei (in northern Kenya), killing at least 36 Christian quarry workers.

In April 2015, al-Shabaab gunmen attacked Garissa University College, killing non-Muslim students. The militants killed 147 people and wounded dozens of others before Kenyan forces were able to end the attack. Around 151 people were killed, the number of wounded is unknown.

In October 2015, al-Shabaab militants ambushed a car carrying two passengers, killing both. One of the victims was the nephew of Somalian president, Hassan Sheikh Mohamoud.

Suicide attacks and roadside bombs showed an increasing sophistication and influence from the many hundreds of battle-experienced foreign jihadists from Afghanistan, Yemen, Pakistan, United States, Canada, United Kingdom, Kenya and Saudi Arabia.³⁷

³⁵ "Somalia's Divided Islamists," *Crisis Group Africa Briefing*, no. 74 (18 May 2010), 2.

³⁶ "Al-Shabaab Claims Uganda Bombings," *Aljazeera*, 13 July 2010. Available at: www.aljazeera.com/news/africa/2010/07/2010711212520826984.html (accessed: 21 November 2016).

³⁷ Ted DAGNE, *Somalia: Current Conditions for a Lasting Peace* (Congressional Research Service, 7-5700, Report for Congress, 4 February 2010), 2.

Lessons Learned

Although Ethiopia has a longer border with Somalia than the other states in the Horn, and has been involved in fighting Somali extremists longer, it has had better success than them in the prevention of al-Shabaab's attacks inside its borders.³⁸ The following five points are methods which the Ethiopian government used to fight the terrorist group in Somalia and inside its borders.

Working with the Local Population

Roger Trinquier in his book – *Modern Warfare: A French View of Counterinsurgency* – emphasized the importance of the support of the population when a state is fighting an insurgent group. Trinquier said “We know that the *sine qua non* of victory in *modern warfare* is the unconditional support of a population. According to Mao Tse-tung, it is as essential to the combatant, as water to the fish”³⁹ (emphasis in the original).

According to Mehari, this is what Ethiopia has done in Somalia. An element of the “Ethiopian Doctrine” of fighting insurgency is establishing, training and arming administrative units in areas liberated by the Ethiopian troops to ensure their own peace and security, rather than the traditional way of counterinsurgency strategies which focus on controlling territories and populations.⁴⁰

Ethiopia had done that when it liberated Mogadishu. ENDF personnel trained militias to fight against the Islamists. Ahlu Sunna wal Jama'a (ASWJ), a moderate Sufi group, also received military assistance from Ethiopia.⁴¹ ASWJ preaches a message of social harmony and nonviolence, and fiercely opposes Salafists. It has criticized such Islamist movements as Wahhabism, arguing that they represent a “non-Somali,” foreign imposition of Islamic practices.⁴²

In ASWJ controlled regions Qur'anic schools – which were teaching a radical (pro-al-Shabaab) interpretation of Islam – were shut down, as well as those mosques which were preaching an extreme version of Islam.⁴³ This shows that it is important to make the local

³⁸ Marthe VAN DER WOLF, “Ethiopia is Successful in Preventing Al-Shabab's Attacks,” *VOA News*, 18 September 2015. Available at: www.voanews.com/a/ethiopia-avoids-al-shabab-attacks/2969120.html (accessed: 21 November 2016). “Country Reports: Africa Overview,” *U.S. Department of State*, 2015. Available at: www.state.gov/j/ct/rls/crt/2015/257514.htm (accessed: 21 November 2016).

³⁹ TRINQUIER, *Modern Warfare: A French View of Counterinsurgency*, 6.

⁴⁰ Taddle MEHARI, “The Secret to Ethiopia's Counterterrorism Success,” *Al-Jazeera*, 31 July 2015. Available at: www.aljazeera.com/indepth/opinion/2015/07/secret-ethiopia-counterterrorism-success-150728112317438.html (accessed: 21 November 2016).

⁴¹ Peter WOODWARD, *Crisis in the Horn of Africa: Politics, Piracy and the Threat of Terror* (London: I.B. Tauris, 2013), 91.

⁴² Kenneth J. MENKHAUS, “Somalia and Somaliland: Terrorism, Political Islam, and State Collapse,” in *Battling Terrorism in the Horn of Africa*, ed. Robert I. ROTBERG (Washington D.C.: Brookings Institution Press, 2005), 33.

⁴³ Stanford Mapping Militant Organizations: “Ahlu Sunna Wal Jama,” *Stanford.edu*, 18 June 2016. Available at: www.stanford.edu/group/mappingmilitants/cgi-bin/groups/view/109?highlight=Ahlu+Sunna+Wa+Jamaan (accessed: 21 November 2016).

population feel that they are responsible for their own peace and security, rather than just counting on foreign troops acting as a liberator. It will also help to put off the rhetoric of al-Shabaab that Muslim Somalia is being occupied by Christian (crusader) forces.⁴⁴

Intelligence

The Ethiopian Intelligence with its extensive grass-root security network is another important factor in Ethiopia's success in preventing terror attacks from al-Shabaab. David Shinn, a former U.S. ambassador in Ethiopia, acknowledged: "Ethiopia has a tough, effective security apparatus that dates from the TPLF's long conflict with the Derg regime. Many personnel in the Ethiopian Security, Immigration, and Refugees Affairs Authority (SIRA) are veterans of the military campaign. Their tactics are firm, some would say harsh, and they have developed an impressive intelligence capacity. Corruption appears to be minimal in SIRA. As a result, Ethiopia does not offer so soft a target as such nearby countries as Kenya, Tanzania, and Uganda."⁴⁵

In addition to this, institutional links between the military and the law-enforcement and internal security organizations is essential when fighting terrorist organizations. The Ethiopian National Defence Force, the Ethiopian Federal Police (EFP) and the National Intelligence and Security Service (NISS) are the three organizations which comprise the Ethiopian Task Force for Counter-terrorism, a federal-level committee to coordinate counter-terrorism endeavor.

Ethio–US Counter-terrorism Cooperation

Barack Obama is the first sitting president of US to visit Ethiopia (July 2015). The United States sees Ethiopia as one of its most important African partners in the battle against terrorism.⁴⁶ The late PM of Ethiopia, Meles Zenawi also stated in 2006 that Ethiopia had long standing arrangements to share intelligence with the U.S. on terrorist activities in its neighbourhood.⁴⁷

The Combined Joint Task Force – Horn of Africa (CJTF-HOA) – part of the *joint task force* of United States *Africa* Command (AFRICOM), based in Djibouti – has provided infantry skills training and small unit tactics against terrorism to the ENDF.⁴⁸ It also established smaller bases in Jijiga and Kebre Dahre, in the Ethiopian Somali State.⁴⁹

⁴⁴ Hussein SOLOMON, "Somalia's Al Shabaab: Clan vs Islamist Nationalism," *South African Journal of International Affairs* 21, no. 3 (2014): 351–366. Available at: <http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/10220461.2014.967286> (accessed: 21 November 2016).

⁴⁵ David SHINN, "Ethiopia: Governance and Terrorism," in *Battling Terrorism in the Horn of Africa*, ed. Robert ROTBERG (Washington D.C.: Brookings Institution Press, 2005), 110.

⁴⁶ SHINN, *Ethiopia: Governance and Terrorism*, 111.

⁴⁷ "Ethiopian PM Denies U.S. Involvement in Ethiopia's Counterattacks in Somalia." *People.cn*, 29 December 2006. Available at: http://en.people.cn/200612/29/eng20061229_336723.html (accessed: 21 November 2016).

⁴⁸ SHINN, *Ethiopia: Governance and Terrorism*, 111.

⁴⁹ SHAY, *Somalia in Transition since 2006*, 187.

Between 2011 and 2016 the U.S. also had a drone base in southwestern Ethiopia, focused on attacking al-Shabaab. It was closed down in January 2016 as new threats emerged with the rise of the Islamic State in Libya and extremist militants stepping up in Nigeria, Mali, Chad and Cameroon.⁵⁰

Furthermore, the U.S. Terrorist Interdiction Program (TIP) operates at airports in Ethiopia. The TIP hardware/software package is designed to hinder the movement of terrorists between countries with a computerized name-check network that enables immigration and border control officials to identify suspicious persons.⁵¹

Community Policing

Community policing is a law enforcement program that allocates police officers from the community to specific areas to solve a particular problem of the community. In 2008 the Ethiopian Somali state, which is adjacent to Somalia, established a Special Police Force commonly known as “Liyu police,” that patrol the border region areas between Ethiopia and Somalia.⁵² The special police was established after the Ogaden National Liberation Front (ONLF) – a secessionist militant group based in Somalia – killed 65 Ethiopians and nine Chinese oil field workers in the state.

The Liyu police was recruited at the grassroots level from *kebeles* and *woredas* (lowest local government structures in Ethiopia) of the border state, trained for the appropriate standard, in accordance with Ethiopia’s military training package, and provided with the modern military equipment.⁵³ The Special Police Force has been effective not only in fighting ONLF but also as an “iron wall” in keeping al-Shabaab out of Ethiopia.⁵⁴ This approach also helps to provide community-based peace and security which makes it very difficult for both foreign and domestic extremist groups to establish and operate covertly within communities.⁵⁵

⁵⁰ John HUNDSON – Siobhan O’GRADY, “As New Threats Emerge, U.S. Closes Drone Base in Ethiopia,” *Foreign Policy*, 4 January 2016. Available at: <http://foreignpolicy.com/2016/01/04/as-new-threats-emerge-u-s-closes-drone-base-in-ethiopia> (accessed: 25 November 2016); David H. SHINN, “Walking the Line: U.S. Security Policy in East Africa and the Horn,” *World Politics Review*, 20 February 2013. Available at: www.worldpoliticsreview.com/articles/12722/walking-the-line-u-s-security-policy-in-east-africa-and-the-horn (accessed: 21 November 2016).

⁵¹ SHINN, *Ethiopia: Governance and Terrorism*, 111.

⁵² Ahmed Deeq HUSSEIN, “Ethiopian Somali Region ‘Liyu’ Police: The Savior of Its People and Beyond,” *Awramba Times*, 15 August 2016. Available at: www.awrambatimes.com/?p=15266 (accessed: 21 November 2016).

⁵³ HUSSEIN, *Ethiopian Somali Region ‘Liyu’ Police*.

⁵⁴ “Yekilil Liyu Hayil (Police) Awezagabi Maninet,” *Wazema Radio*, 31 August 2016. Available at: <http://wazemaradio.com/2745> (accessed: 21 November 2016).

⁵⁵ MEHARI, *The Secret to Ethiopia’s Counterterrorism Success*.

The Role of the Media

One of the important factors in the fight between state and non-state actors is the role of the media. Media are frequently and effectively used by asymmetric adversaries as a force multiplier.⁵⁶ Terrorism, the major weapon against the state, is in the news everywhere. Media coverage gives these groups a way to spread their message, recruit more members and sympathizers, and create fear within the society, which is the purpose of the attack. Michael Jetter analyzed more than 60,000 terrorist attacks between 1970 and 2012 as reported in the *New York Times*. One of his conclusions was that if the main purpose of terrorism is to draw public attention, to generate mass hysteria and fear, then media is exactly what terrorists are seeking to promote their agenda.⁵⁷

The Ethiopian parliament ratified the Anti-terrorism Proclamation No. 652 in 2009. The law has been criticized by human right organizations as an instrument to be used against journalists, and by opposition groups for being a tool for political purposes.⁵⁸ However, Ethiopian government officials dispute that the proclamation prohibits political space in Ethiopia in any shape or form.⁵⁹ Article 6 under the title *Encouragement of Terrorism* reads as follows: “Whosoever publishes or causes the publication of a statement that is likely to be understood by some or all of the members of the public to whom it is published as a direct or indirect encouragement or other inducement to them to the commission or preparation or instigation of an act of terrorism stipulated under Article 3 of this Proclamation is punishable with rigorous imprisonment from 10 to 20 years.”⁶⁰

The proclamation makes any news agency think twice before disseminating any news about a terrorist organization or a terror act. Terrorists are likely to act if their actions are captured in the news. In Ethiopia terrorist attacks are unlikely to make it to the front pages or into prime time news.⁶¹

The Ethiopian government closely monitors the media, goes further, and accuses the Kenyan-based NTV and Qatar-based Al-Jazeera of direct and indirect assistance to terrorist organizations by providing coverage.⁶² Thus, as the former UK Prime Minister,

⁵⁶ ARASLI, *States vs. Non-State Actors*.

⁵⁷ Michael JETTER, *Terrorism and the Media* (IZA Discussion Paper No. 8497, September 2014), 42.

⁵⁸ Patrick GRIFFITH, “Ethiopian’s Anti-Terrorism Proclamation and the Right to Freedom of Expression,” *Freedom Now*, 30 August 2013. Available at: www.freedom-now.org/news/ethiopia-anti-terrorism-proclamation-and-the-right-to-freedom-of-expression (accessed: 21 November 2016).

⁵⁹ “Ethiopia’s Anti-Terrorism Law does not prohibit the country’s political space,” *FanABC.com*, 6 February 2015. Available at: <http://new.fanabc.com/english/index.php/component/k2/item/2163-ethiopia%E2%80%99s-anti-terrorism-proclamation-does-not-prohibit-the-country%E2%80%99s-political-space> (accessed: 21 November 2016).

⁶⁰ Anti-terrorism Proclamation No. 652, Article 6: *Encouragement of Terrorism*.

⁶¹ “Why Terrorists Have Had Success in Kenya?” *Daily Nation*, 27 October 2015. Available at: www.nation.co.ke/oped/Opinion/Why-terrorists-have-had-success-in-Kenya/-/440808/2930916/-/12uq57e/-/index.html (accessed: 21 November 2016).

⁶² Mohamed KEITA – Tom RHODES, “In Ethiopia, Anti-Terrorism Law Chills Reporting on Security,” *Committee to Protect Journalists*, 24 June 2011. Available at: <https://cpj.org/blog/2011/06/in-ethiopia-anti-terrorism-law-chills-reporting-on.php> (accessed: 21 November 2016).

Margaret Thatcher puts it, we must starve the terrorist of “the oxygen of publicity on which they depend.”⁶³

In addition to the points mentioned above, Ethiopia’s air power is another decisive factor in fighting the radicals. Fighter jets and Mi-24 Hind helicopter gunships are used to target ground forces.⁶⁴ Moreover, creating a buffer zone along its border with Somalia is helpful to check terrorists crossing to Ethiopia.

Conclusion

“The conventional army loses if it does not win. The guerrilla wins if he does not lose,” said Henry Kissinger.

Though the ICU was militarily defeated and removed from the political scene of Somalia, al-Shabaab has been present and active now for more than ten years. As military theorists suggest, force cannot be the sole solution against the terrorist group inside Somalia or in the Horn of Africa as a whole.

The former minister of foreign affairs of Federal Democratic Republic of Ethiopia (FDRE), Dr. Tedros Adhanom affirmed this in his speech on 23 October 2015 at the Africa Programme at Chatham House. “We believe terrorists cannot be defeated by military force alone. It is equally important to address the root causes on which terrorism thrives, the most important of which are increasing levels of poverty, widening income disparities, lack of employment and educational opportunities, absence of democracy and good governance. Special attention must also be given to counter radicalization, deradicalization and the drying up of their sources of financing.”⁶⁵

Roger Trinquier, after studying the French army fighting in Algeria in the 1960s, argued: “In seeking solution, it is essential to realize that in *modern warfare* we are not up against just a few armed bands spread across a given territory, but rather against an *armed clandestine organization* whose essential role is to impose its will upon the population. Victory will be obtained only through the complete destruction of that organization. This is the master concept that must guide us in our study of *modern warfare*.”⁶⁶ (Emphasis in the original.)

Thus, the Federal Government of Somalia, AMISOM and the ENDF have to work to dismantle al-Shabaab’s organizational network of propaganda and recruitment.

⁶³ Margaret THATCHER, “Speech to American Bar Association,” *MargaretThatcher.org*, 15 July 1985. Available at: www.margaretthatcher.org/document/106096 (accessed: 21 November 2016).

⁶⁴ Daveed GARTENSTEIN-ROSS, “Why Ethiopia is Winning in Somalia,” *PoliticalMavens.com*, 28 December 2006. Available at: <http://politicalmavens.com/index.php/2006/12/28/pajamas-media-why-ethiopia-is-winning-in-somalia> (accessed: 21 November 2016).

⁶⁵ Tedros ADHANOM, *Ethiopia’s Foreign Policy: Regional Integration and International Priorities*, (African Programme Meeting Transcript, Chatham House, The Royal Institute of International Affairs, 23 October 2015). Available at: www.files.ethz.ch/isn/194543/15.10.26.%20Ethiopia%20FM%20Transcript_0.pdf (accessed: 21 November 2016).

⁶⁶ TRINQUIER, *Modern Warfare*, 7.

This fight for the people is the dominant element of modern asymmetric war. If the dominant military power cannot win the people, it will not win the war.⁶⁷ The governments of the Horn of Africa should win the heart and mind of their peoples through economic development and democratic governance which is the ultimate solution. In Somalia there are still plenty of grievances which al-Shabaab can exploit, and the Somali Federal Government should work on this.⁶⁸ This can be done by delivery of essential services in order to build hope within communities and security to sustain their own livelihoods. AMISOM and other regional powers should backup efforts by internal forces and local communities in the fight against terrorism.⁶⁹

Finally, I want to conclude with the words of David H. Shinn, a former U.S. ambassador in Ethiopia, which can be applied for all countries in the horn: “Over the short and medium terms, improvements in security, intelligence, border control, and the technical ability to monitor the movement of people and money will pay significant dividends. But it is addressing the long-term problems of how to improve governance, reduce poverty and social inequality, and treat traditionally disadvantaged ethnic and religious groups equally that will do the most to create an environment that will discourage both indigenous and international terrorists.”⁷⁰

⁶⁷ Daniel Isaac HELMER, *Flipside of the COIN: Israel's Lebanese Incursion Between 1982–2000* (The Long War Series, Occasional Paper 21, Kansas: Combat Studies Institute, 2007), 11.

⁶⁸ “Somalia: Al-Shabaab: It Will be a Long War,” *Crisis Group Africa Briefing*, no. 99 (26 June 2014), 20.

⁶⁹ MEHARI, *The Secret to Ethiopia's Counterterrorism Success*.

⁷⁰ SHINN, *Ethiopia: Governance and Terrorism*, 94.

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*Bálint Somkuti**

Irregular Warfare – Time, Space, Information and Terminology

Abstract

In the age of unpredictable changes it has become compulsory for practical and theoretical experts of irregular warfare to think out of the box. As the terminology implies, this kind of warfare is not the common way of waging war for most westerners, for most of us. This paper discusses the issue of small wars from a dual perspective. On one hand, it provides a short summary of the complex environment of four lesser known, often overlooked irregular conflicts (the Maccabean Revolt in Judea in the 2nd century BC, the Bagaudae Movement in the 3–5th century AD, the Cathar Movement in the 13th century AD, and the urban guerrillas of Budapest in 1956) and draws the necessary conclusions, as well as compares these case studies with the criteria of a successful state run military and political campaign to quell them. On the other hand, it reflects on the events and trends of today. Since in the age of globalized interconnectivity conventional warfare is getting more and more costly both financially and politically, other solutions of interest advancement become more and more prominent.

Introduction

“War is a war is a war” – as the late Colonel Harry Summers put it. In the case of irregular warfare this sentence means: when people feel the need or they are forced to advance their interests, they will find a way most suitable for their social, technological and cultural characteristics. Their way of war may not conform to the generally accepted rules regulating warfare as we are accustomed to it, yet irregular wars are much more common in history than those we call regular armed conflicts.

Following the utter destruction of World War II, then the advent of the ultimate weapon of mass destruction (nuclear weapons) and the UN, as well as the Charter of Human Rights, major powers waging war in the old way became almost completely unlikely. Yet differences, clashing interests, centuries long resentment and enmity remain, and where there is a will, there is a way, as the saying goes. As a consequence of these factors – and this cannot be repeated often enough – the “normal” regular or western way of interest advancement, i.e. regulated war, has lost its primacy.

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To borrow a marketing term, the new model of interest advancement uses below-the-line tools. Subduing one's opponent in a way which is not as obvious as previous methods. Using media campaigns with fake or distorted facts (based on real or perceived grievances) through privately or state sponsored NGOs and other psychological means are not only exclusive to the Chinese "Three Warfares."¹

Case studies

The following case studies were selected on two criteria: 1. to be lesser known examples of irregular struggles, and 2. to show the huge variety of ideological and other factors contributing to irregular conflicts. The cases are examined from three aspects: background of the events; factors contributing to armed resistance; and importance and lessons learned.

The Maccabean Revolt in Judea in the 2nd century BC

Background: Following Alexander the Great's and his successors' occupation of the region, Hellenism asserted significant influence on all parts of Jewish life, provoking an angry reaction from the conservative parts of Judean society. In the Battle of Magnesia (190 BC) the Seleucid state suffered a crushing defeat at the hands of the Roman Republic and its allies. The gigantic war reparations caused high taxes, leading to more resistance.

These factors lead to an open revolt in 166 BC.² A series of victories followed where the insurgents used guerrilla tactics to defeat heavy infantry in a number of small ambushes and battles. Judas Maccabeus, the leader of the movement, soon felt himself strong enough to fight in an open battle, but suffered a serious defeat in an all-out battle. He died a year later in another lost battle. His brothers carried on with the revolution, reverting to previously successful guerrilla tactics.³

What do these events show to military theorists? After Phase I of Mao's Strategic Defence, the Maccabees skipped Phase II (Stalemate), and opted immediately for Phase III (Strategic Offensive), a decision that led to defeat.

What was the main driver of the events? The Seleucid Empire suffered a strategic defeat from the Romans, and had to seriously raise the taxes in order to pay the huge war indemnity. This, along with the creeping Hellenistic culture and the declining centralization, led to the revolt of the subjects in various parts of the empire, including Judea.

What is the importance of the Maccabean Revolt? From a military theory perspective it is the first detailed documented guerrilla campaign of the Judeo-Christian civilization.

¹ Michael RASKA, "China and the 'Three Warfares,'" *The Diplomat*, 18 December 2015. Available at: <http://thediplomat.com/2015/12/hybrid-warfare-with-chinese-characteristics-2> (accessed: 11 October 2016).

² Joseph SIEVERS, *The Hasmoneans and Their Supporters: From Mattathias to the Death of John Hyrcanus I.* (South Florida Studies in the History of Judaism 6. Atlanta: Scholars, 1990); KERTÉSZ István, "Hellenizmus" ["Hellenism"], in *Görög történelem: A kezdetektől Kr. e. 30-ig* [Greek History from the Beginning until 30 B.C.], eds. HEGYI Dolores – KERTÉSZ István – NÉMETH György – SARKADY János (Budapest: Osiris, 2003), 348.

³ 2 Maccabees, *Holy Bible*.

It also shows textbook examples of mistakes committed both by the Seleucid Empire and by the rebels – the most important of which was that without sufficient military force, no COIN campaign can be carried out.

Bagaudae Movement in the 3–5th Century AD, Provinces Gallia–Hispania

Background: The so called crisis of the 3rd century caused disruption on the Western part of the Roman Empire, leading to lack of central power, greedy local governors, and the gradual transition to feudalism fostering social tensions, when the previously free members of the lower classes slowly became serfs.⁴

So little is known about the Bagaudae that even the word's meaning is obscure, most likely it means 'fighters', but most sources describe them as "rampaging brigands." There are only a few sources dealing with this revolt, but the fact that the movement lasted for some two hundred years shows that the causes leading to it lasted for a significant time. It repeatedly resurfaced within some 5–10 years even after serious defeats, sometimes in different parts of different provinces (such as Hispania and Gallia). Since solid evidence is lacking, it cannot be stated with certainty, but indirect evidence suggests that it was a sort of unorganized resistance of the last remaining free citizens against the creeping feudalization. Some researchers speculate that it may have had a religious side as well (Christian peasants resisting pagan landowners), but this remains to be verified.

What were the main drivers of the events? Abuses by local leaders in the absence of a strong central power, insecurity caused by barbarian incursions, and also probably a religious aspect, not to mention the gradual loss of personal freedom.

What is the importance of the Bagaudae Movement? Even though from time to time local or central armies managed to pacify the rebellious areas, lacking a positive narrative and unable to provide lasting security, the Bagaudae kept reappearing until the emerging German feudal kingdoms solidified their rule on these areas. Another lesson, which cannot be repeated enough, is that without sufficient power no one can solidify territorial control. This is the first recorded lasting guerrilla movement in Europe with significant popular support.

The Cathar Movement in the 13th century AD

Background: A largely divergent southern French Christian sect, the enabler of medieval troubadour literature, lived under the relative freedom of independent minded princes in the so called Lange d'Oc. After diplomatic and church council attempts to stop the spread of this only superficially Christian sect, the Cathars ('perfect ones'), Pope Innocent III,

⁴ Joachim HERRMANN et al. eds. *History of Humanity: from the Seventh Century B.C. to the Seventh Century A.D.* (London–New York: UNESCO, 1996), 242–244; FERENCZY Endre – MARÓTI Egon – HAHN István, *Az ókori Róma története* [The History of Ancient Rome] (Budapest: Nemzeti Tankönykiadó, 1998), 383.

one of the most powerful and significant popes of all times, took direct steps. The strong handed pope started a crusade in 1208 against the Cathars (also called Albigensians).⁵

The crusade had dual objectives: first, to strengthen the pope's erstwhile ally, the French king, by establishing a firm, central control over the fiercely independent southern region barons, and second, to strengthen church unity. The order of Dominicans was created to persecute heretics, and to pursue popular support, St. Francis of Assisi's order, the Franciscans, was supported. The crusade consisted mostly of sieges, interrupted by some smaller field battles. One of the most quoted expressions was born during one of the sieges (siege of Béziers). Even if these exact words may not have been uttered, they were repeated all over again since they captured the spirit of the campaign.⁶ Arnaud Amalric, papal legate – serving as a field commander – has supposedly said when asked how to differentiate Christians from heretics: “Caedite eos. Novit enim Dominus qui sunt eius” (“Kill them all, the Lord will recognise His own” or “Kill them all. Let God sort out His”).⁷ After a set of reversals the crusade prevailed and in 1229 a treaty was signed. The last Cathar stronghold, Château de Montségur, fell in 1244, after events bearing strong resemblance to the siege of Masada, and the Cathar movement disappeared some decades later.

What was the main driver of the events? Pope Innocent III wanted to reform the Church and to strengthen his supporters in order to promote his greater goals, even if these were accomplished by his successor, Pope Honorius III. Northern French barons saw an opportunity to increase their fiefs.

What is the importance of the Cathar movement? Creation of the Inquisition and the knowledge-centered Dominican order. Even strongly fortified places fall, meaning, if the odds are reversed, no terrain can defend the weaker. And last but not least: Dan Brown would be still teaching English literature and Spanish language without the legends of the mysterious cathar treasure and the world would be without the greatest conspiracy theory of all times.

*Ragazzi di Buda, Ragazzi di Pest*⁸

Background: 60 years ago fierce fighting was raging in the densely built up inner city areas of Budapest. Following numerous riots against soviet rule in various occupied countries and the withdrawal of soviet troops from neighbouring Austria – whose support had been the sole reason given (at least officially) for the long-term deployment

⁵ Georges DUBY, *The Age of the Cathedrals: Art and Society, 980–1420* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1981), 222.

⁶ “The Cathars and Cathar Beliefs in the Languedoc: Cathar Wars or ‘Albigensian Crusade,’” *Cathar.info*. Available at: www.cathar.info/cathar_wars.htm (accessed: 11 October 2016).

⁷ “Kill Them All...” *Cathar.info*. Available at: www.cathar.info/cathar_catholic.htm#killthemall (accessed: 11 October 2016).

⁸ The Italian song “Avanti ragazzi di Buda, avanti ragazzi di Pest” (Forward, lads of Buda, forward lads of Pest) commemorates the Hungarian revolution. Its origin is somewhat obscure, but it was probably composed by two Italian songwriters, Pier Francesco Pingitore and Dimitri Gribanovski for the 10th anniversary of the revolution. It became a popular tune among the Italian far right, and it is one of the songs of the SS Lazio soccer team's fans.

of Soviet forces in Hungary – there were high hopes in 1956 about getting back at least some liberty after the bleak years of the Stalinist era. Social tensions were high due to ever worsening living standards. Rumours about the possible return of the widely hated First Secretary Rákosi increased tensions even further. The security forces were not in good shape either. The police was held in very low esteem, both by the regime and the citizens. The army was undergoing a complete (and forced) reorganization along Soviet lines, which so far had shown few results.

In such a stressed situation a spark is usually enough to start fires. A student demonstration quickly turned into mass movement. After the secret police, ÁVH (the Hungarian KGB) opened fire on peaceful demonstrators, the situation escalated quickly into armed resistance and a revolution. Suffice to say that enthusiastic, motivated and creative youths gave a bloody nose to the mighty Soviet Union.

After regrouping and reinforcing its forces, the Soviet high command ordered a WWII style assault on the urban guerrillas of Hungary. Their troops, some of them thinking they were in Egypt, mistaking the Danube for the Suez-canal, assaulted fortified positions, such as the famous Corvin-köz or Széna square in a joint operation. In the last heavy artillery bombardment and air attack on a European city buildings on the Üllői street and the so called Great Boulevard sustained serious damage. Most centres of resistance were reduced after only 2-3 days of heavy fighting. The freedom fighters either died or fled. Sporadic firefights broke out for a couple of days, but within a week from D-day almost everything was quiet. Yet, re-establishing communist rule took much longer. Even after the organization of party militias, order could only be restored after six months.

What was the main driver of the events? Hope for at least a partial freedom from the ‘workers’ paradise,’ the communist camp, and the desire for a better life. There was no general idea or narrative behind the events, just deep grievances, nor was there American or other foreign support, regardless of claims to the contrary. What kind of Western or even foreign contacts could working class youths have had at that time? Another aspect was the – legally completely unjustified – presence of Soviet troops on Hungarian soil. In countries like ours, where the rule of law has been around for a thousand years, illegal systems cannot be upheld for long periods. The one notable exception is the presence of overwhelming force represented by foreign occupying armies.

What is the importance of the Hungarian Revolution of 1956? The complete society from faithful communists, such as holocaust survivor István Angyal, to former aristocrats such as Pálincás-Pallavicini Antal supported the uprising. The fact that such a widespread resistance could spring up so fast, was tolling the bell for the Soviet Union’s “peaceful” system. The flow of people wishing to leave the “worker’s paradise” and their stories about the true face of that system was the first nail in the coffin of communism.⁹

To sum it up, let us see which factors contributed to the successes of the irregular fighters in the previous case studies? Lack of sufficient military strength and lack of a positive narrative by the state and wide popular support. But how can someone guarantee

⁹ More on the issue: SOMKUTI Bálint, “Budapest, 1956: Egy modern városi felkelés és leverésének katonai-politikai tanulságai” [Budapest, 1956: Military and Political Lessons of an Urban Insurrection and Its Suppression], in RESPERGER István – KISS Álmos Péter – SOMKUTI Bálint: *Aszimmetrikus hadviselés* [Asymmetric warfare] (Budapest: Zrínyi, 2014).

the parallel presence of such non-connected, independent and varying factors? To achieve victory in such a complex environment requires more than factual knowledge. It requires a certain indescribable capability, which is best called artistic sense. We are seeing the technicization – or to put it more precisely – the scientification of everything that surrounds us. This applies for even such complex undertakings as war, may it be regular or irregular. Even though the old adage: “God prefers the bigger battalions” is still true, yet we have seen smaller armies defeating bigger ones. We are still not able to precisely measure such complex environments as human societies.

Questions of Modern Irregular Conflicts

To wage war successfully, to succeed in the chaos of battles, it takes more than learning a fixed set of rules and demands more than just brawling skills or book-learning. War, any form of armed conflict, is the most complex of human undertakings, and as such it staunchly resists attempts to put it, to force it, to compress it into neatly defined compartments. War is an art, and definitely not a science.

If anyone doubts my words, just look up on the internet the precise definition of war. You will find more than 25, all trying to frame, to define, to force into a neat compartment humanity’s most diverse action. No, there is no generic description to it. And if we accept Clausewitz’s widely quoted definition about war being a chameleon, armed conflict can and is able to take a million faces.

Today, when classical wars of industrial might are made almost impossible by the cost of warfare in a globalized interconnected world, other factors come into play. But this does not mean we can or should disband conventional armed forces. First, history has showed us again and again that irregulars are only effective when one or more factors prohibit the state to apply enough power. Second, conventional armies joined the strategic triad of nuclear weapons. They deter, as simple as that. Why did the little green men come to life? Because not even Russia can afford to be internationally treated as an aggressor.

So Where Will These Irregular Battles of the Future Be Fought?

As the last case study of the Hungarian Revolution of 1956 shows, there is a high possibility that irregular fighters will try to balance out their disadvantages by using urban terrain to the maximum extent. All sources and analyses show that global urbanization is growing, and where people go, naturally their conflicts go with them. According to some experts there will be more than 50 megacities in 2030. Just to show you what we can expect from the future: slums, skyscrapers, shanty villages intermixed.¹⁰

¹⁰ *Global Trends 2035* (Washington D.C.: National Intelligence Council, 2016), 8, *DNI.gov*, www.dni.gov/files/images/globalTrends/documents/GT-Full-Report.pdf (accessed: 11 October 2016).

Is Popular Support More Important Now Than Military Strength?

The answer is yes and no. No matter if grievances are real or perceived, they do exist. Especially in dog eat dog circumstances. As social, financial, ideological crises (more on that later) come together, a perfect storm is forming. Even in Western countries.

On the Hungarian Armed Forces Staff Course we sometimes used a little trickery on the participants. Based on the Iraqi insurgency we presented counterinsurgency case studies (good and bad examples alike), and then asked them to put together a course of action in response to an insurgency scenario. There were no limits to the available forces, no limitations on rules of engagement and alike. The location was the slums of Rio de Janeiro. Most responses followed the logic of a Fallujah style, firepower heavy, enemy-centric approach. Then they were told that there was a little change in plans and the city was not in Brazil, but in northeast Hungary, Miskolc. Of course superior firepower still prevails, but do we always have the luxury to apply it? To answer the question, yes, military strength still matters most but you also have to have a plan B, which will definitely be more tedious, challenging and complex. This latter is usually called a population-centric approach. In some cases popular support is better than a couple of M1 Abrams tanks or additional hundreds of “boots on the ground.” With the advent of on-line coverage, be it Facebook, 24/7 news channels or other forms of communication, I dare to say that wrongly applied military power is worse than having less of it. Perception has become a high-value target, and perception management has become the new heavy artillery.

What Is the Role of Secondary Identities?

The slow, gradual and barely visible breakdown of the nation state is becoming more and more obvious. Disagreeing with Martin van Creveld,¹¹ it is not done yet, but not very far from the end. There are a number of reasons behind its collapse – political, economic, and ideological alike – which cannot be discussed here due to space constraints. With the absence of a common cause, secondary identities come forward to play a role,¹² be they religious, tribal, family, political or gang affiliations, or even as absurd ones as football club membership. Since these individuals do not feel attached to the given state, they will promote the interests of the given group – even against the law or other forms of prohibition. These people will be very tough to convince to cooperate, if the primary identity is gone or did not exist at all.

How Can the State or the Insurgents Shape the Narrative?

Real or perceived grievances – everybody has them. The question is: do they fit into a narrative? Insurgents have almost all the necessary tools in their hands, and the narrative is defined by them. A narrative which can be spread by various means. Everybody

¹¹ Martin van CREVELD, *The Rise and Decline of the State* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999).

¹² Martin van CREVELD, *The Transformation of War* (New York: The Free Press, 1991).

can do something, even as little as spread rumours – think of bank panics. Now we have e-mail, Twitter, Facebook and other (barely controllable) communication methods, such as Skype, Messenger, in-game chat and voice communication. I dare to say that currently no Western government can completely control the flow of information without seriously hampering the economy, the people’s everyday life and jeopardising essential services. So that is a no-go. As shown in the presented case studies, a positive narrative is really a must. The state has to appear as trustworthy and fair, since most grievances are obviously directed against it, especially in the insurgents’ narrative. Of course, prohibitive measures have to be communicated also, but the appearance must be the rule of law. As a Hungarian politician put it: “It is not enough to be righteous, you must also look like it.”¹³

Have We Entered the Age of Hybrid or Non-Linear War?

As far as we know, the term *hybrid warfare* was coined by William (Bill) Nemeth in his thesis, *Future War and Chechnya: A Case for Hybrid Warfare*, way back in 2002.¹⁴ The author wrote about a hybrid society in which modern and ancient characteristics merged, and which fights in a hybrid way, using a mix of contemporary and old methods. His primary example were the Chechens, who fought fiercely against Russian armed forces in 1994–1995 and 1999–2000. Later Frank G. Hoffmann extended it, presenting Hizb’allah as the prime example of hybrid threats. The term was relatively rarely used until General Breedlove used it again, referring to the lightning fast occupation of Crimea by “little green men.” András RácZ has indentified¹⁵ some important factors, such as superiority of force by the attacker, a weak state as target, strong dislike toward the central government by the local population, significant ethnic minority, logistic support from outside, and media presence. On the other hand, the Russian version of the new generation of war, as General Gerasimov described it in his article,¹⁶ is characterized as having a blurred boundary between war and peace, therefore the eruption or escalation of conflicts are not followed by declarations of war. Non-military means to achieve political and strategic objectives are increasingly important, due to the fact that their efficiency is higher than those of military means. In his opinion this new warfare will be more prevalent in the future, even in classic state-on-state conflicts. In this new and indirect approach a wide range of political, information-related, humanitarian and other non-military tools will be used in order to subdue the opponent – especially through propaganda means. In his conclusion he underlines that

¹³ LENDVAI Ildikó, “Nem elég tisztességesnek lenni, annak is kell látszani.” *Sztárklikk.hu*, 4 September 2016. Available at: http://sztarklikk.hu/lendvai_ildiko_blogja/nem-eleg-tisztességesnek-lenni-annak-is-kell-latszani/289723 (accessed: 28 September 2017).

¹⁴ William NEMETH, *Future War and Chechnya: A Case for Hybrid Warfare* (Thesis, Monterey, CA: Naval Postgraduate School, June 2002). Available at: http://calhoun.nps.edu/bitstream/handle/10945/5865/02Jun_Nemeth.pdf?sequence=1 (accessed: 11 October 2016).

¹⁵ RÁCZ András, “Russia’s Hybrid War in Ukraine: Breaking the Enemy’s Ability to Resist” (Helsinki: The Finnish Institute of International Affairs, 2015), 73–82. Available at: www.fiaa.fi/en/publication/514/russia_s_hybrid_war_in_ukraine (accessed: 16 February 2017).

¹⁶ Valerí GERASIMOV, “Ценность науки в предвидении” [The Value of Science in Prediction], *Voennopromishlenniy kurier*, 27 February 2013. Available at: www.vpk-news.ru/articles/14632 (accessed: 11 October 2016).

regardless of the opposing forces' size or equipment, the modern environment enables victory, since in the 21st century all possible adversaries have weaknesses, which can be exploited to achieve their defeat. Other Russian experts went further along the lines than it was defined by General Gerasimov; they coined the term *non-linear wars*, which describes future wars where everybody and everything is part of the struggle. The struggle encompasses all aspects of life and blurs the lines of conflict. It is worth to compare the above with the Foreign Broadcast Information Service's foreword in *Unrestricted Warfare*, quoting one of the authors, Senior Colonel Qiao: "The first rule of unrestricted warfare is that there are no rules, with nothing forbidden."¹⁷ So to answer the question, the answer is yes. In my opinion the age of unusual, irregular, hybrid or non-linear warfare has come.

Summary

Should we be afraid of these new phenomena? Definitely not, since this new face of war is nothing else but the result of technological, ideological, economic, and social changes of the last decades. To sum it up, we still have far more questions than answers. Western style warfighting was dominant in the last 600 hundred years because it used all resources of its political, social, scientific, and theoretical background. I do not see any reason why it should not remain so in the future. But only on one condition: if – and I have to repeat IF – we can adapt to the significantly changed environment. However, if we insist on retaining our ideological blinkers, if we rigidly cling to the notion that Western civilization has superseded the natural law, if we base our calculation on ideologically selected facts, then the small advantage that others have gained by faster adaptation may very quickly grow to inexorable.

¹⁷ Liang QUIAO – Xiangsui WANG, *Unrestricted warfare* (Beijing: PLA Literature and Arts Publishing House, 1999). Available at: <http://xa.yimg.com/kq/groups/18798685/37698448/name/Unrestricted+Warfare+.pdf> (accessed: 11 October 2016).

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*Ilona Szuhai**

Terrorism, Migration and Women

Abstract

This paper focuses on the changing role of women within the Islamic State and the threat they may pose in the future. A unique aspect of the flow of foreign fighters joining the Islamic State in Syria and Iraq is the large proportion of women. Many of them are taking an active part in combat, not only as support or logistic personnel, but also as fighters, kidnappers, hijackers or martyrs. The author analyses the movement of women migrating from Western countries to the Islamic State in Syria and Iraq, as well as to Libya, where this migration has created new migratory patterns and affects the state-building efforts of the Islamic State. The author seeks answers to the following questions: Are there differences among motivations of the genders? Do IS affiliated women pose a growing challenge to Europe? She suggests that these women should not only be perceived as the victims of violent extremism, but also as its perpetrators.

Introduction

The phenomenon of foreign fighters joining terrorist organisations in Syria and Iraq is well-known. This flow of foreigners to Syria and Iraq is unique, not only for the increasing volume, but also for the large proportion of women among them. We can say that the year of 2015 was not only the year of migrants and refugees but also the year of the “Western women” who joined terrorist organisations, particularly the Islamic State. Active participation of women in militant and terrorist organisations – as support or logistic personnel, attackers, kidnappers, hijackers or martyrs – has increased.¹ Therefore, the relation between women and terrorism cannot be ignored.

This study outlines the movements of women who have migrated from the Western countries to the territories controlled by the Islamic State in Syria, Iraq or Libya. The migration of the Western women specifically to Libya has created new migratory

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¹ Laura SJOBERG – Grace D. COOKE – Stacy Reiter NEAL, “Introduction: Women, Gender and Terrorism,” in *Women, Gender, and Terrorism*, eds. Laura SJOBERG – Caron E. GENTRY (Athens, GA: The University of Georgia Press, 2011), 2.

patterns in connection with the state-building efforts of the IS.² From the future perspective, this is more interesting when we consider that the IS has been under pressure. The study searches the answers to the following questions: are there differences among motivations of the genders? Do IS affiliated women pose a growing challenge to Europe? In the conclusion I will focus on women's role in transition within the IS and the possible threat in the future, as those women should not only be perceived as the victims of violent extremism but its perpetrators as well.

Definition and Data

The International Centre for Counter-Terrorism has drawn attention to the fact that the UN General Assembly has not achieved a universally accepted legal definition for terrorism. Therefore, it is problematic to decide who falls within the category of foreign terrorist fighters. The United Nations Security Council's Resolution 2178 (2014) – entitled *Threats to international peace and security caused by terrorist acts* – defines the Foreign Terrorist Fighters as follows: “nationals who travel or attempt to travel to a State other than their States of residence or nationality, and other individuals who travel or attempt to travel from their territories to a State other than their States of residence or nationality, for the purpose of the perpetration, planning, or preparation of, or participation in, terrorist acts, or the providing or receiving of terrorist training, including in connection with armed conflict.”³

Generally, “foreign fighter” refers to men who travel to Syria or Iraq to participate in the conflict. This definition does not fit precisely to women travelling to the region. According to current information, the IS prohibits women from entering combat. Therefore, the Institute for Strategic Dialogue calls those women as female migrants rather than foreign terrorist fighters.⁴ The Institute explains that there is a tendency within Western societies (as well as security agencies) to view women, particularly Muslim women, singularly as victims of fundamentalist ideology. However, the IS women are proving to be as much agents of the fundamentalist ideology as men. “[A]s propagandists, encouraging other women and shaming men into travelling to Syria; as inciters of violence, goading those who cannot get to the battleground to do as much damage as possible at home; as brutal, sometimes violent, enforcers of strict pre-modern Islamic penal codes (as in the case of the Al-Khansaa all female moral police in Raqqa); and as the mothers of the next generation of Jihadists.”⁵

² Sasha HAVLICEK, “The Islamic State’s War on Women and Girls,” *Institute for Strategic Dialogue*, 28 July 2015. Available at: www.strategicdialogue.org/publications (accessed: 6 January 2017).

³ Alex P. SCHMID, “Foreign (Terrorist) Fighter Estimates: Conceptual and Data Issues,” *The International Centre for Counter-Terrorism – The Hague* 6, no. 4 (2015). Available at: <https://icct.nl/publication/foreign-terrorist-fighter-estimates-conceptual-and-data-issues> (accessed: 6 January 2017).

⁴ HAVLICEK, *The Islamic State’s War on Women and Girls*, 4.

⁵ HAVLICEK, *The Islamic State’s War on Women and Girls*, 3.

Lack of Reliable Data on the Number of Foreign Fighters

Besides the definition, the International Centre for Counter-Terrorism (ICCT) has raised another problem regarding the estimation of the number of foreign fighters, as most estimates refer to different periods of time since 2011; some data are cumulative, some are not; some estimates deduct casualties (killed and injured) while others do not; some appear to include Iraqis in Syria, too, while others exclude those.⁶

Even the estimates of the number of foreign fighters (FTFs) confirm that the magnitude of the FTFs is unprecedented in the conflict in Syria and Iraq compared to conflicts in the recent past. The ICCT points out that the almost genocide-like scale of destruction and displacement makes the Syrian insurgency and its repression unique.⁷ The Syria crisis has displaced 4.81 million Syrian refugees into the region, and there are an estimated 6.1 million internally displaced people within Syria.⁸

The dynamic of the numbers of FTFs has changed. The Soufan Group calculated approximately 12,000 foreign fighters from 81 countries in June 2014. Nearly eighteen months later the number of foreign fighters has more than doubled, as well as the number of FTFs from Western Europe which was more than 5,000.⁹ In another approach, the ICCT summarised the astonishing growth of the number of Islamist jihadists from less than 1,200 in 2011 to more than 3,500 in 2012, more than 8,500 in 2013, more than 18,000 in 2014 to more than 25,000 by September 2015. About one thousand FTFs per month have joined the IS since the declaration of the Caliphate in late June 2014. By late December 2015, up to 30,000 militants from more than 100 countries had gone to Syria as foreign fighters, but battlefield casualties and returnees must have reduced that number considerably.¹⁰ The ICCT has noted in December 2016 that approximately 15,000 FTFs are deemed to be in Syria and Iraq and the number of returning FTFs – including Europe – is expected to rise.¹¹ In Hungarian context, Szilveszter Póczik has concluded that some 10 to 15 Hungarian citizens might be fighting in Syria, mainly former mercenaries of the French Foreign Legion or the Yugoslav civil war, although reliable data is not available.¹²

⁶ SCHMID, *Foreign (Terrorist) Fighter Estimates: Conceptual and Data Issues*, 14.

⁷ *Ibid.*, 6.

⁸ UNHCR, “Regional Strategic Overview Regional Refugee & Resilience Plan 2017–2018.” UNHCR, 2016. Available at: <http://data.unhcr.org/syrianrefugees/regional.php> (accessed: 6 January 2017).

⁹ *Foreign Fighters: An Updated Assessment of the Flow of Foreign Fighters into Syria and Iraq*, (New York: The Soufan Group, 2015), 4. Available at: http://soufangroup.com/wp-content/uploads/2015/12/TSG_ForeignFightersUpdate3.pdf (accessed: 6 January 2017).

¹⁰ Alex P. SCHMID – Judith TINNES, “Foreign (Terrorist) Fighters with IS: A European Perspective,” *ICCT Research Paper*, December 2015, 3. Available at: <https://icct.nl/publication/foreign-terrorist-fighters-with-is-a-european-perspective> (accessed: 6 January 2017).

¹¹ Tanya MEHRA, “Foreign Terrorist Fighters: Trends, Dynamics and Policy Responses,” *ICCT Report*, December 2016, 6. Available at: <https://icct.nl/publication/foreign-terrorist-fighters-trends-dynamics-and-policy-responses> (accessed: 6 January 2017).

¹² Szilveszter PÓCZIK, “Foreign Fighters from the Balkans and Hungary in the Middle East,” *Defence Review* 144, no. 1 (2016): 68.

The proportion of women among FTFs averages about 17 percent of the total European FTF contingent.¹³ Accepting the number of Western Europeans as 5,000, the number of Western women could be more than 850.

Communication

The involvement of women in terrorist organizations and terrorism is not a phenomenon exclusive to the 21st century, and it is not limited to Islamist terrorist groups. Women played certain roles in terrorist activities from the beginning.¹⁴

Terrorist organisations exploit the social stereotypes and the weak points of law enforcement strategies so they adopt their methods accordingly in order to gain advantages. The IS has increased the recruitment of women internationally in an unprecedented way. Despite the brutal and violent pictures linked to the terrorist organisation, there are many women and young girls – in the literature they are called “fangirls” or “Caliphettes” – who made their own decision to join the organisation, to support the Caliphate and voluntarily accept the ideology and the rules of the group. Many women are ready to commit terrorist acts by all the means that men do. The girls have been running away from home on their own or in small groups to emigrate to IS territory.¹⁵

The internet has played a key role in increasing female participation in Jihadist groups. While they would have been excluded from the offline networks that once characterised Jihadist recruitment, the online world has provided women with an arena in which they can have real agency. IS has been particularly successful at leveraging that potential, supporting the prolific use of social media by IS women, especially Western women. IS has understood all too well the PR and the recruitment value the women represent.¹⁶

The qualitative change brought by the IS and its predecessor organisations has fundamentally changed the communication and the image of terrorist organisations. The essence of communication – marketing, brand-building and propaganda – is the influence of human environment, the persuasion, retention and deterrence.¹⁷ In asymmetric conflict, the influence on the target audience is more than simply important – it is the key to success. In David Kilcullen’s words, the conflict is fundamentally an information war.¹⁸

¹³ MEHRA, *Foreign Terrorist Fighters: Trends, Dynamics and Policy Responses*, 11.

¹⁴ CARON E. GENTRY – LAURA SJOBERG, “The Gendering of Women’s Terrorism,” in *Women, Gender, and Terrorism*, eds. Laura SJOBERG – CARON E. GENTRY (Athens, GA: The University of Georgia Press, 2011), 58.

¹⁵ HAVLICEK, *The Islamic State’s War on Women and Girls*, 3.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, 8.

¹⁷ PRANTNER Zoltán – SPEIDL Blanka – VOGEL Dávid – BESENYŐ János, *Az Iszlám Állam: Terrorizmus 2.0.* [The Islamic State: Terrorism 2.0.] (Budapest: Kossuth, 2016), 196.

¹⁸ KISS Álmos Péter, “Információs műveletek” [Information Operations], in RESPERGER István – KISS Álmos Péter – SOMKUTI Bálint: *Aszimmetrikus hadviselés: Kis háborúk nagy hatással* [Asymmetric Warfare in the Modern Age: Small Wars with Big Impact] (Budapest: Zrínyi, 2014), 374.

The Institute for Strategic Dialogue has identified an interesting paradox in connection with social media networks. A “jihadi girl power” subculture has emerged on social media networks – clearly rooted in Western culture – while simultaneously rejecting it.¹⁹

Are There Differences in Motivation According to Gender?

There is a difference of opinion among academics about the motivations of men and women. In general term, Victoroff has argued that terrorist behaviour is probably determined by a combination of innate, biological, early developmental and cognitive factors, temperament, environmental influences and group dynamics. The degree to which each of these factors contributes to a given event probably varies between individual terrorists, individual groups and types of groups.²⁰

In reviewing the points of view in the literature about motivations of the women participating in terrorist groups, I follow Erzsébet Tamási’s summary.²¹ In the literature there are differences in the evaluations of motivations. Mia Bloom stressed the complicated mix of personal, political and religious factors and summarized women’s involvement in terrorism across a number of conflicts to be motivated by the “four R-phenomena: Revenge, Redemption, Respect and Relationship.”²² Karla Cunningham has argued that women are motivated by more complex reasons.²³ This is confirmed by Martha Crenshaw, as terrorism arises from a combination of social and individual factors.²⁴ Barbara Victor created the „fatal cocktail” which includes more than twenty motivations for Palestinian women.²⁵ According to some authors, the reason why there are no differences among the motivations of men and women is that both get into dangerous situations, due to the common enemy. Therefore, the differences which are typical of traditional roles fade and eventually disappear. What remains is the desire for revenge in response to the dangerous situation. The hierarchy which is typical of the militant organisations takes over the place of the gender hierarchy.²⁶ Popular opinion typically considers women as victims of violence, including terrorism, rather than perpetrators, a perspective that is even stronger

¹⁹ HAVLICEK, *The Islamic State’s War on Women and Girls*, 10.

²⁰ Jeff VICTOROFF, “The Mind of the Terrorist: A Review and Critique of Psychological Approaches,” *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 49, no. 1 (2005): 34.

²¹ TAMÁSI Erzsébet, *Terrorista nők* (Budapest: Rejtjel, 2013), 44.

²² Mia BLOOM, “Bombshells: Women and Terror,” *Gender Issues* 28, no. 1–2 (2011): 1–21.

²³ Karla J. CUNNINGHAM, “Cross-Regional Trends in Female Terrorism,” *Studies in Conflict and Terrorism* 26, no. 3 (2003): 171–195.

²⁴ Martha CRENSHAW, “The Psychology of Terrorism: An Agenda for the 21st Century,” *Political Psychology* 21, no. 2 (2000): 405–420.

²⁵ Barbara VICTOR, *Army of Roses: Inside the World of Palestinian Women Suicide Bombers* (New York: Rodale Press, 2003).

²⁶ Daniel BENJAMIN – Steven SIMON, *Age of Sacred Terror: Radical Islam’s War Against America* (New York: Random House, 2002), cited by TAMÁSI, *Terrorista nők*, 47.

when considering women from states and societies that are believed to be extremely “oppressive” in the Middle East and North Africa.²⁷

Karla J. Cunningham has explained that women are not considered credible or likely perpetrators of terrorist violence so they can more easily carry out attacks and assist their organisations.

“Women are able to use their gender to avoid detection on several fronts: their ‘non-threatening’ nature may prevent in-depth scrutiny at the most basic level as they are simply not considered important enough to warrant investigation; sensitivities regarding more thorough searches, particularly of a woman’s body, may hamper stricter scrutiny; a woman’s ability to get pregnant and the changes to her body facilitate concealment of weapons and bombs using maternity clothing.”²⁸

In order to reduce the completion of female-committed suicide attacks against Hungarian soldiers who serve as peacekeepers or logistic personnel in Muslim territories, János Besenyő has already studied in 2009 the actual literature about the stereotypes attached to women which helps them to be successful suicide bombers.²⁹ Women are typically better terrorists than men because societies relate them to a weaker and nonviolent character. This allows them to remain undetected by security forces. Therefore, women are more dangerous than men because they have more access to sensitive areas and because their attacks carry more significant shock value.³⁰

Looking at the broader picture, women joining IS are portrayed as naive young things who have somehow been tricked into joining IS. It is assumed that women are largely romanticised by jihadists and their false promises of love, this way they fall into a trap constructed by online recruiters. However, a number of cases affirm – in accordance with criminologist conviction – that most women are not coerced or fooled into joining IS. Instead, a significant number of women are seen to make a conscious decision to carry out hijra (migration) for the same political ends as men.³¹

Besides motivations, new pull factors have appeared in migration of women. The most important pull factor in the recruitment of women has been “Brand Caliphate.” While a number of women travelled to Syria with their husbands in the early months of the Syrian conflict, it is only since the announcement of the Caliphate that more unmarried women have started to make the journey to Syria. That is because “Brand Caliphate” represents more than just fighting. It represents the building of an “Islamic Utopia” and as such it offers people a diversity of roles as part of its state building project.³² The Caliphate offers adventure, belonging, sisterhood, romance, spiritual

²⁷ CUNNINGHAM, *Cross-Regional Trends in Female Terrorism*, 154.

²⁸ *Ibid.*

²⁹ BESENYŐ János, “Női terroristák a radikális iszlámban, új biztonsági kihívások a 21. században” [Female Terrorists in Radical Islam, New Security Challenges in the 21st Century], *Researchgate.net*, January 2009. Available at: www.researchgate.net/publication/276280171_Noi_terroristak_a_radikalis_iszlamban_uj_biztonsagi_kihivasok_a_21_szazadban (accessed: 6 January 2017).

³⁰ KERRY LAY, ‘Women as Terrorists’ *An Insoluble Paradox: The Absurdity or The Threat* (BSc dissertation, Canterbury Christ Church University, 2015), 38.

³¹ SARA MAHMOOD, “Why Do Women Join Islamic State?” *ABC.net*, 28 May 2016. Available at: www.abc.net.au/news/2016-05-29/islamic-state-why-women-join/7322266 (accessed: 6 January 2017).

³² HAVLICEK, *The Islamic State’s War on Women and Girls*, 9.

fulfilment and a tangible role in idealistic utopia-building. Very few youth subcultures or movements can claim to offer so much.³³

Profile of the Women Joined IS

Victoroff has modelled the possible characteristics of the typical terrorists who lead or follow in subgroups:

- a) high affective valence regarding an ideological issue;
- b) a personal stake – such as strongly perceived oppression, humiliation, or persecution; an extraordinary need for identity, glory, or vengeance; or a drive for expression of intrinsic aggression – these distinguish him or her from the vast majority of those who fulfil a characteristic “a” type;
- c) low cognitive flexibility, low tolerance for ambiguity, and elevated tendency toward attribution error;
- d) a capacity to suppress both instinctive and learned moral constraints against harming innocents, whether due to intrinsic or acquired factors, individual or group forces (probably influenced by “a,” “b” and “c”).³⁴

The Institute for Strategic Dialogue in its report of 2015 has been compiling the largest known database that tracks and monitors Western females who have willingly migrated to IS territory. Using open source data, the researchers have been tracking and archiving the social media accounts and blogs of these women across different social media platforms and then mapping their on- and offline networks and relationships. The 119 women tracked in the database includes 13 separate nationalities across the West, with the majority originating from Britain, the Netherlands, Sweden, France and Germany and smaller numbers from Finland, Australia, Belgium, Canada, Austria, Norway, Bosnia and the United States.³⁵ 56 percent of the women were married, most of them to foreign terrorist fighters with similar national or at least linguistic backgrounds. 30 percent of the women were already widowed. At least 13 percent of these women have shared on their social media accounts that they have children.

The most striking feature of the dataset was the diversity of the profiles of those women. Female migrants ranged from 14 to 46 years of age, though the majority are between 15 and 25 years of age. There was a large proportion of 16 year olds and, overall, the age of female recruits diminishing, with the youngest known recruit being a 13 year old girl from Germany.

While many women from the Middle East have travelled with husbands or families, the majority of the women from the West have gone as single females. Ethnicities and family backgrounds vary, and while many come from a range of Muslim family backgrounds, there is also a high rate of converts to Islam joining the movement. Educational levels range from secondary school through high school and even

³³ Ibid., 10.

³⁴ VICTOROFF, *The Mind of the Terrorist: a Review and Critique of Psychological Approaches*, 35.

³⁵ HAVLICEK, *The Islamic State's War on Women and Girls*, 4.

post-graduate levels. While some of these women might be considered “underprivileged,” many others have high-level qualifications, including female doctors. These factors are testament to the universal appeal of IS and the success of its highly sophisticated recruitment strategies.³⁶

In case of female migrants, the diversity of the background of the „Western women” highlights why it is difficult to draw an actionable profile of individuals who may be more vulnerable to IS recruitment.³⁷ At the same time, J. E. Arasli has described an almost universal model which alludes to future challenges. “By 2014 it became apparent that European intelligence services are simply overwhelmed by the number of potential terrorist targets – furious young men and women eager to wage jihad in SYRAQ, since it is not possible at home. In terms of profile, these individuals fit most perfectly to an almost universal model: angry, young losers, drug users and petty criminals, coming from broken families, known in their community for their troublemaking, having no bright life perspectives, caught by grievances or a sense of retribution. Many have psychopathic and/or sociopathic inclinations and have demonstrated a propensity to violence even before they travelled to Syria.”³⁸

New Migratory Patterns

The Islamic State’s motto is “remaining and expanding.” By June 2015 it controlled an area some 82,940 square kilometres, inhabited originally by up to ten million people of which many have fled.³⁹ According to IS, “There is no life without jihad and there is no jihad without hijrah,” i.e. there is no jihad without the obligatory declared migration (hijrah) to the self-proclaimed Caliphate.⁴⁰

The era of conquest started in 2014 to capture as large territories as possible when the time of resistance has terminated.⁴¹ The IS steps up as a state, it expands locally, at the same time it has the ambitions covering a significant part of the world, currently Europe. This represent a threat, since IS terror cells are present in Europe and they are successfully recruiting new followers on the continent.⁴²

In connection with reverse migration, in 2016 a number of countries in the EU have reported a marked increase in the rate of returning FTFs from the territories of Syria and Iraq. Notably, 30 percent of FTFs who have left from the EU are now thought to have returned. Several hundred Libyan FTFs have also returned from the Iraqi and Syrian battlefield to join IS in Libya in what seems like a strategic

³⁶ Ibid., 5.

³⁷ Ibid., 5.

³⁸ Jahangir E. ARASLI, *Archipelago SYRAQ: Jihadist Foreign Fighters from A to Z. 200 Essential Facts You Need to Know about Jihadist Expeditionary Warfare in the Middle East* (Baku: Teknur, 2015), 224.

³⁹ SCHMID–TINNES, *Foreign (Terrorist) Fighters with IS: A European Perspective*, 3.

⁴⁰ Charles VALLEE, “Digital Jihad: Al-Qaeda and the Islamic State Dabiq vs. Inspire,” *International Institute for Counter-Terrorism*, Summer 2015, 12. Available at: www.ict.org.il/UserFiles/Vallee-Digital-Jihad-Dabiq-Inspire.pdf (accessed: 6 January 2017).

⁴¹ PRANTNER–SPEIDL–VOGEL–BESENYŐ, *Az Iszlám Állam: Terrorizmus 2.0*, 30.

⁴² Ibid., 5.

step to expand the organisation's global footprint.⁴³ There is a relationship between reverse migration and the followers, since besides the foreign volunteers, several Muslim Jihadist groups – partly or wholly – swore allegiance to IS and committed assassinations with casualties in the name of the IS. The countries of those groups concentrate in the Middle East, Central Asia and North Africa to where increasing number of foreign volunteers returned from the frontlines in Syria.⁴⁴

Jihadist strategy has always relied on asymmetrical warfare, changing tactics and movements to create a constantly shifting frontline. The new migration patterns with Western female migrants have been identified as newly recruited women travel directly to IS affiliate controlled areas in Libya rather than Syria and Iraq. This indicates IS's state-building efforts and their attempts to expand the Caliphate to regions where strong affiliate strongholds are already present. The recruitment of women to these areas is a firm part of that strategy.⁴⁵

Do IS Women Pose Growing Challenge to Europe?

The women's role is in transition. Terrorist organisations "innovate" on an additional level to include new actors or perpetrators and they adapt to a new environment.⁴⁶ For the past two years, the IS has suffered severe losses on the battlefield, therefore the Caliphate is shrinking. Consequently, it is increasingly likely that the women of the organization will shift from their traditional supportive roles to become suicide bombers or fighters on the front lines.⁴⁷ New radical female recruits, joined by those returning from Iraq and Syria, will now play new roles as IS adapts to its new circumstances, and continues to try to spread terror in Europe.⁴⁸ A recent academic study revealed that women are better connected within the network, essentially becoming the glue holding the system together, fuelling its vitality and survival.⁴⁹ Women have the most effective communications and link segments of the groups to increase cohesion.⁵⁰

The greatest weakness of society is failure to associate women with terror. As long as women are viewed through stereotype gender lenses as the weaker gender, terrorist

⁴³ MEHRA, *Foreign Terrorist Fighters: Trends, Dynamics and Policy Responses*.

⁴⁴ PRANTNER–SPEIDL–VOGEL–BESENYŐ, *Az Iszlám Állam: Terrorizmus 2.0*, 6, 21.

⁴⁵ HAVLICEK, *The Islamic State's War on Women and Girls*, 13.

⁴⁶ CUNNINGHAM, *Cross-Regional Trends in Female Terrorism*, 155.

⁴⁷ Brenda STOTER, "As IS Loses Power, Will Group Tap Women Jihadis to Fight?" *Al-Monitor*, 16 November 2016. Available at: www.al-monitor.com/pulse/originals/2016/11/islamic-state-women-role-fighting-syria-iraq.html (accessed: 6 January 2017).

⁴⁸ Frida GHITIS, "ISIS Women Pose Growing Challenge to Europe," *CNN.com*, 13 September 2016. Available at: <http://edition.cnn.com/2016/09/13/opinions/isis-women-planning-europe-attacks-ghitis> (accessed: 6 January 2017).

⁴⁹ Coral GABLES, "Women's Connections in Extreme Networks," *EurekaAlert.org*, 5 July 2016. Available at: www.eurekaalert.org/pub_releases/2016-07/uom-wci070116.php (accessed: 6 January 2017).

⁵⁰ Shiobhan FENTON, "Female Terrorists Play a Far Bigger Role in ISIS than Previously Thought, Research Reveals," *Independent.co.uk*, 5 July 2016. Available at: www.independent.co.uk/news/uk/crime/isis-latest-female-women-fighters-bigger-role-than-thought-research-a7121106.html (accessed: 6 January 2017).

organisations will continue to exploit this deficiency in society's perspective.⁵¹ There are possibly some pieces of evidence indicating that women may commit terrorist acts in the future. First, the women attracted by IS have openly expressed via social media networks their wish to be involved in violent acts. They shared the most horrible content. The female migrants receive light military training in IS territories.⁵² Second, there was a suicide bombing committed by a woman in Turkey on 6 January 2015. She was a Russian citizen, the wife of a Norwegian extremist of Chechen origin. She could be a sleeping cell or returnee as a wife of a FTF.⁵³ The involvement of returning FTFs in some of the terrorist attacks is a stark reminder of the potential threat returning FTFs pose.⁵⁴ Third, in February 2016, *The Times* reported the Jihadi group's first recorded use of female militants, when IS had employed female fighters and suicide bombers in Libya.⁵⁵ Fourth, during the summer of 2016, several foiled attacks were carried out by women in France and a terrorist cell of ten women who were planning a series of terrorist attacks was dismantled in Morocco. The recent increase of women in plotting and planning terrorist attacks could mark the beginning of a new trend.⁵⁶ Additionally, the distinction between home-grown terrorists and (returning) FTFs is fading, the difference between IS inspired or directed terrorist attacks is becoming more fluid.⁵⁷

Conclusion

Terrorism which equally threatens each member of the society proved to be one of the most effective tools of asymmetric warfare.⁵⁸ Violent Islamist extremism will likely continue for some time to pose the greatest threat of disruption of nation states. It is a problem in a region of the Arab world from Morocco to Iraq and the Arabian Peninsula, in the non-Arab nations of Iran, Afghanistan, Pakistan and India.⁵⁹ Even if IS were successfully suppressed, the environmental, social, and demographic conditions that allowed it to thrive and grow will remain.⁶⁰ Additionally, the Syrian civil war will not end soon. Although the IS has been under increasing pressure, it is likely to survive in some form. As the IS changes its focus from consolidating control of territory to attacking its foreign enemies in

⁵¹ Tunde AGARA, "Gendering Terrorism: Women, Gender, Terrorism and Suicide Bombers," *International Journal of Humanities and Social Science* 5, no. 6 (2015): 122.

⁵² HAVLICEK, *The Islamic State's War on Women and Girls*, 10.

⁵³ Haldun YALÇINKAYA "Foreign Terrorist Fighters and Turkey: An Assessment at the First Year of the United Nations Security Council Resolution 2178," *ORSAM Review of Regional Affairs*, no 31 (October 2015): 11.

⁵⁴ MEHRA, *Foreign Terrorist Fighters: Trends, Dynamics and Policy Responses*.

⁵⁵ Bel TREW, "ISIS Sends Women into Battle in Libya," *The Times*, 29 February 2016. Available at: www.thetimes.co.uk/article/isis-sends-women-into-battle-in-libya-rjmhqc7k7 (accessed: 6 January 2017).

⁵⁶ MEHRA, *Foreign Terrorist Fighters: Trends, Dynamics and Policy Responses*, 17.

⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, 20.

⁵⁸ KISS Álmos Péter, "Felderítés és a negyedik generációs hadviselés" [Intelligence and Fourth Generation Warfare], in RESPERGER István – KISS Álmos Péter – SOMKUTI Bálint: *Aszimmetrikus hadviselés: Kis háborúk nagy hatással* [Asymmetric Warfare in the Modern Age: Small Wars with Big Impact] (Budapest: Zrínyi, 2014), 305.

⁵⁹ Richard A. CLARKE – Emilian PAPADOPOULOS, "Terrorism in Perspective: A Review for the Next American President," *The ANNALS of the American Academy of Political and Social Science* 668, no. 1 (2016): 10.

⁶⁰ CLARKE–PAPADOPOULOS, *Terrorism in Perspective*, 14.

their own homelands or their interests elsewhere, the profile of its foreign recruits will also change.⁶¹ The female extremists who are drawing the attention of the French law enforcement now are different in several aspects from earlier generations of women who joined or were attracted to Islamist groups. They are more willing to take action themselves in contrast to the women who have been leaving Western Europe for Syria to become wives of IS fighters and bear their children.⁶²

Women will continue to be involved in terrorism because of the tactical, operational and strategic advantages they can provide to terrorist organisations. Their participation in terrorist organisations exponentially raises the threat with increased fighting strength, increased media attention and distinctive psychological impacts on target states.⁶³ The conflict of the future could be that not only the female migrants of IS and the returning IS women pose threat to Western cities but also those who remained in Europe, who were prevented to go to Syria. Those women could be individual perpetrators rather than “just” Jihadi-brides.

⁶¹ *Foreign Fighters: An Updated Assessment of the Flow of Foreign Fighters into Syria and Iraq*, 20.

⁶² Alissa J. RUBIN – Aurelien BREENEN, “Women’s Emergence as Terrorists in France Points to Shift in ISIS Gender Roles,” *The New York Times*, 1 October 2016. Available at: www.nytimes.com/2016/10/02/world/europe/womens-emergence-as-terrorists-in-france-points-to-shift-in-isis-gender-roles.html?_r=0 (accessed: 6 January 2017).

⁶³ LAY, ‘Women as Terrorists’ *An Insoluble Paradox: The Absurdity or The Threat?*, 38.

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Gergely Tóth*

The Responsibility to Protect (R2P) and Asymmetric Warfare

Abstract

The Responsibility to Protect (commonly abbreviated as R2P) is one of the most controversial concepts in Public International Law. It goes to the very core of the current international legal order, questioning such fundamental concepts as sovereignty and non-intervention in a state's internal affairs, as well as affirming such fundamental human rights as the right to life and the prohibition of genocide. The paper traces R2P from its genesis in the early 19th century through its formal enunciation following the genocide in Rwanda in 1994, to its application in Bosnia and Kosovo, and its formal endorsement by the United Nations Security Council in 2006. While the author emphasizes the positive aspects of R2P, he does not neglect its inherent problems. In the first place, R2P's legal status in international law is not clear. It also offers substantial opportunities for abuse. The non-state belligerent in an internal conflict can exaggerate its victimization, manipulate international public opinion so it can gain a powerful outside protector. Or outside powers may side with the non-state belligerent against an unpopular government on the pretext that it is failing to fulfill its R2P obligations.

Origins

The Responsibility to Protect is one of the most controversial concepts in Public International Law. It goes to the very core of the current international legal order, questioning – or, we might say, clarifying – fundamental concepts such as sovereignty of states, non-intervention in the internal affairs of another state, fundamental human rights such as the right to life, or the prohibition of genocide.

It is actually not even clear whether this concept really exists as part of the body of international law, or whether it is just an emerging norm, or even less, just a concept of policy without real legal character.

Although – as we shall see – the phenomenon that is described by Responsibility to Protect (R2P) is not at all new in the historical sense. As a phenomenon in modern international law, its origin can be traced back to the beginning of the 1990s, when – with

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the end of the Cold War and its restraining on opposing camps – many frozen conflicts revived in a most brutal manner.

The origin of the modern concept can be traced back to one single event, the genocide in Rwanda¹ in 1994. It was shocking for the international community both in its scale, as well as in the speed of execution. Moreover, it was very openly and widely reported on by the media, almost real-time, therefore it instantly brought to the forefront the need to do something to prevent such atrocities happening in the future.

Early History

In the international legal system that arose from the *Treaty of Westphalia*, the sovereignty of monarchs and then states was something that had an almost absolute character therefore there was very little, if any, space for a state to challenge another state's actions towards its own citizens.² Although, as it was seen during the wars that followed the French Revolution of 1789, while other states may not have viewed the inner mechanisms of another state with complete indifference, the way the authorities treated their subjects was generally considered a matter that was the exclusive concern of the state and its citizens.³

During the 19th century, some armed interventions of great powers were justified by the need to protect citizens from their own state, thus they could be considered humanitarian interventions. The first such case was during the Greek War of Independence of 1821 from the Ottoman Empire.⁴ Popular opinion in Europe (that, in fact, just started to play a role in foreign policy at this time) was generally philhellenic. Volunteers, including the most famous of them, the poet Lord Byron, flowed to the Greek side. Official policy followed these popular overtures, and it resulted in the naval victory over the Ottomans at Navarino in 1827. Among the reasons why governments went to support the Greek were the atrocities committed by the Ottoman authorities against the Greek civilian population. This caused uproar in the West, leading to declarations, such as the one by British Foreign Secretary George Canning: “when a whole nation revolts against its conqueror, the nation cannot be considered as piratical but as a nation in a state of war”;⁵ thus recognizing the Greek as a belligerent party.

The problem with the resulting armed intervention was that it was far from a purely humanitarian endeavor. On the contrary, it had strong political elements: trying to get as many concessions from the Ottomans (the “sick man of Europe,” as it was to be called), and strengthening the positions of the intervening powers (Great Britain, France and

¹ Mahmood MAMDANI, *When Victims Become Killers: Colonialism, Nativism, and the Genocide in Rwanda* (Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 2002).

² Leo GROSS, “The Peace of Westphalia, 1648–1948,” *American Journal of International Law* 42, no. 1 (1948): 20–41, 25.

³ The Editors of Encyclopaedia Britannica, “French Revolutionary and Napoleonic Wars,” *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, 15 August 2009. Available at: www.britannica.com/EBchecked/topic/219456/French-revolutionary-and-Napoleonic-wars (accessed: 27 September 2016).

⁴ Richard CLOGG, *A Concise History of Greece* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), 36.

⁵ Gary J. BASS, *Freedom's Battle: The Origins of Humanitarian Intervention* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 2008). Available at: https://bc.sas.upenn.edu/system/files/Bass_02.19.09.pdf (accessed: 27 September 2016).

Russia) in the Eastern Mediterranean. In short, this duality is still the greatest challenge for the Responsibility to Protect that prevents its general acceptance. When we look at historical instances, when this rationale was invoked in support of the legality of an armed intervention, there was almost always another hidden or just thinly veiled political reason to resort to armed force.

Uprisings in the Ottoman Empire served as the excuse for further armed interventions by Western powers in 1860 in Lebanon, and in 1876–1878 in Bulgaria.⁶ However, these cases were also part of geopolitical maneuvering and great-power rivalry, so the humanitarian motives were hard to discern. After the 1880s, although interventions were still carried out, especially in the Balkans, the reasons presented were less and less humanitarian and increasingly political. As rivalry between the possible interventionists have deepened, there was less and less chance of carrying out an intervention in the fashion of the Greek case. Until 1990 the politics based on solid, opposing blocks of states – then it gave way to a more fluid international system, humanitarian intervention was largely shelved as an argument, let alone as something that actually took place.

The only exception from this general decline of the use of humanitarian intervention might be the 1930s when Germany was using the argument of protecting German nationals in neighboring states as a pretext for aggression. Although there were marked differences here from the earlier use (protection of own nationals instead of purely humanitarian reasons, applying the measure to a neighboring state instead of an overseas location, the absence of mass atrocities against the supposedly protected subjects), this is still something that we have to keep in mind when investigating the modern use of the concept, as many countries harbor memories and suspicions arising from this perverted use.

Before we move to the contemporary history of the Responsibility to Protect, we should dwell a bit more in the 19th century to look at the philosophical foundations of the idea. John Stuart Mill in his essay *A Few Words on Non-Intervention*⁷ in 1859 argues that civilized nations have the right to go to war against “barbarians” like the ones in Algeria and India: “There seems to be no little need that the whole doctrine of non-interference with foreign nations should be reconsidered, if it can be said to have as yet been considered as a really moral question at all [...]. To go to war for an idea, if the war is aggressive, not defensive, is as criminal as to go to war for territory or revenue; for it is as little justifiable to force our ideas on other people, as to compel them to submit to our will in any other respect. But there assuredly are cases in which it is allowable to go to war, without having been ourselves attacked or threatened with attack; and it is very important that nations should make up their minds in time, as to what these cases are [...]. To suppose that the same international customs and the same rules of international morality can obtain between one civilized nation and another and between civilized nations and barbarians, is a grave error”.⁸ He then adds that “Barbarians have no rights as a nation, except a right to such treatment as may, at the earliest possible period, fit them for becoming one.

⁶ George HORTON, “Gladstone and the Bulgarian Atrocities,” *AttackingTheDevil.co.uk*, (n. d.). Available at: www.attackingthedevel.co.uk/related/glad.php#sthash.1DqN5a4l.dpbs (accessed: 27 September 2016).

⁷ John Stuart MILL, “A Few Words on Non-intervention,” *Foreign Policy Perspectives*, no. 8 (n. d.). Available at: www.libertarian.co.uk/lapubs/forep/forep008.pdf (accessed: 27 September 2016).

⁸ *Ibid.*

The only moral laws for the relation between a civilized and a barbarous government are the universal rules of morality between man and man.”⁹

While the first quote can be dismissed today as purely of Victorian imperialism which is based on claims of Western superiority, the second quotation actually resonates (except its language) with contemporary views of failed states, where effective governance ceased. Mill then examines possibilities of intervention on the side of governments in internal conflicts and in civil wars, but these are not really related to humanitarian intervention.

Thus, we can conclude that although until the end of the Cold War the Responsibility to Protect as a concept obviously did not exist, there was humanitarian intervention to be reckoned with, however, after a few decades of use in the mid-19th century this concept was also considered more or less a relic from the past. Therefore, in the 1990s, things had to start from the basics again.

Modern History

Besides the events in Rwanda, there was another conflict in the first half of the decade that drew a lot of media attention, and was definitive in the creation of the concept of the Responsibility to Protect. It was the armed conflict in the Former Yugoslavia, especially in Bosnia. While in 1994 the international community reacted to both events by setting up international tribunals to prosecute and punish the worst offenders of humanitarian law and human rights law, nevertheless, the greatest question was: what can we do to prevent such gross atrocities happening next time?

Then Secretary General of the United Nations, Kofi Annan, did a lot to keep the question alive, however, there had to be another crisis until concrete work started to be done. In 1999 NATO led a bombing campaign against Yugoslavia in order to make it evacuate Kosovo, where a conflict of increasing intensity was taking place, with a growing number of intentionally targeted civilian casualties. The legitimacy of NATO’s intervention is still debated, as there was no expressed authorization by the UN Security Council to militarily intervene.¹⁰

The Creation and Main Features of the Concept

In the light of this debate, the Canadian Government took the initiative and convened the International Commission on Intervention and State Sovereignty (ICISS), where 12 experts, representing the UN General Assembly, were tasked to investigate where international law stands regarding humanitarian intervention vs. state sovereignty, and to develop a method to cope with this dilemma. The commission was led by the Australian Gareth Evans and the Algerian Mahomed Sahnoun. The first meeting took place in September 2000, and by 2001 they found the name *the Responsibility to Protect* for the new doctrine they were to develop. This name was suggested by Michael Ignatieff at the 3rd meeting

⁹ Ibid.

¹⁰ Legal Commentary on the Kosovo Conflict, available at www.jurist.org/wayback/academic.htm (accessed: 27 September 2016).

of the commission in February 2001, in order to avoid mentioning “intervention,” a word that was uncomfortable for many states. The final report of the commission was published in December 2001, finishing the job that started the previous year.¹¹

This report still did not clarify many of the issues that had to be answered, but nevertheless served as a good basis to build on. Its major achievement was to shift attention away from the single question of sovereignty vs. humanitarian intervention, and place the issue in a broader context. It outlined three responsibilities:

1. *The responsibility to prevent:* this is the most important obligation. States should not let any situation worsen to the point when mass atrocities are to be expected to happen. This requires an interdisciplinary approach with diplomacy, international aid and other forms of cooperation.

2. *The responsibility to react:* this set of tools is triggered only if the state fails to discharge its responsibility to prevent. However, this still does not equal automatic military intervention, since other measures – such as sanctions, international prosecutions and other elements – may suffice.

3. *The responsibility to rebuild:* it is important not to abandon a conflict zone once the immediate danger is over, as it can lead to renewed conflict. Therefore states have the responsibility to reconcile, rebuild and further assist those who experienced such a situation.

As we can see, the approach is very comprehensive, and certainly attained its goal to focus on the need of people affected by unfavorable circumstances of this kind. Nevertheless, the report left open many questions that are central for the full application of the concept, especially regarding “the hot potato” in the set of tools, namely point 2 above, that includes the possibility of humanitarian intervention. Although Section 4.21 addresses the scale of atrocities required to trigger a military response, it finally talks about it in very vague terms: “In both the broad conditions we identified – loss of life and ethnic cleansing – we have described the action in question as needing to be ‘large scale’ in order to justify military intervention. We make no attempt to quantify ‘large scale:’ opinions may differ in some marginal cases (for example, where a number of small scale incidents may build cumulatively into large scale atrocity), but most will not in practice generate major disagreement. What we do make clear, however, is that military action can be legitimate as an anticipatory measure in response to clear evidence of likely large scale killing. Without this possibility of anticipatory action, the international community would be placed in the morally untenable position of being required to wait until genocide begins, before being able to take action to stop it.”¹²

This section not only declines to identify a definite threshold – although it can be argued that it would be impractical, given the myriad of situations that can emerge in the future – but also brings in “anticipatory action,” another hotly debated issue in international law, relating to the norm of self-defense. Even though in the doctrine of self-defense it is generally recognized that preemptive defense can be considered legal under

¹¹ “The Responsibility to Protect,” *Report of the International Commission on Intervention and State Sovereignty*, December 2001. Available at: <http://responsibilitytoprotect.org/ICISS%20Report.pdf>; (accessed: 27 September 2016).

¹² *Ibid.*, Section 4.21.

ius ad bellum, there is no authority according to which it can be invoked as a justification for humanitarian intervention.

When we look at the theoretical basis of the formulation above, there are three elements that stand out.

First, it argues that states have the responsibility towards their population to protect them. This is the – often neglected – positive aspect of sovereignty. Although 19th century jurisprudence tended to put the emphasis on the negative aspects (what others cannot do to a sovereign), earlier political philosophers did understand that these two sides of the same coin cannot be separated. Adam Smith in *Book V. of the Wealth of Nations* lists the duties of the sovereign, and the second reads as such: “The second duty of the sovereign, that of protecting, as far as possible, every member of the society from the injustice or oppression of every other member of it.”¹³

But even earlier, in the time of absolute monarchies, the French political philosopher Jean Domat – one of the favourites of Louis XIV – wrote it his book *On Social Order and Absolute Monarchy*: “We may add as a last duty of the sovereign, which follows from the first and includes all the others, that although his power seems to place him above the law, no one having the right to call him to account, nevertheless he should observe the laws as they may apply to him. And he is obliged to do this not only in order to set a good example to his subjects and make them love their duty, but because his sovereign power does not exempt him from his own duty, and his station requires him to prefer the general good of the state to his personal interests, and it is a glory for him to look upon the general good as his own.”¹⁴

So even in the time when sovereign meant a certain person, it was believed that he had “to prefer the general good of the state to his personal interests,” including, naturally, the protection these subjects.¹⁵

Turning back to our present time, the report of the ICISS continues its reasoning that not only does a sovereign state have a duty towards its people, but also the international community as such has a general obligation to help each and every sovereign state carry out this duty. This help can take many forms, but usually it means peaceful assistance. However, if a state manifestly fails, either because it is unable or because it is unwilling to fulfill this duty, then the international community has the obligation to correct this situation, either by more assistance or – especially if the state is unwilling to do its duty – by coercive measures. The report also sets a threshold for intervention. According to this, there has to be:

- Just cause, which means that irreparable harm should be occurring without intervention.
- Right intention, that is, humanitarian reasons must be dominant over other interests.
- It should be the last resort after all other feasible means are exhausted.
- Legitimate authority, preferably an authorization by the UN Security Council.

¹³ Adam SMITH, *An Inquiry Into the Nature and Causes of The Wealth of Nations* (London: The Electric Book Company Ltd, 1998), 946.

¹⁴ Jean DOMAT, “On Social Order and Absolute Monarchy,” *Fordham.edu: Modern History Sourcebook*. Available at: www.fordham.edu/halsall/mod/1687domat.asp (accessed: 27 September 2016).

¹⁵ *Ibid.*

- Proportionate, minimum necessary means should be applied.
- Reasonable prospect of success, which means that the intervention should be capable of stopping atrocities without creating more harm than what was originally present.

Reception of the Concept

Nevertheless, the reception of the report was generally favorable, and even African states (about whom many said that they would oppose such concepts) enshrined something similar in Article 4(h) in the *Constitutive Act of the African Union*, according to which the member states reserve “the right of the Union to intervene in a Member State pursuant to a decision of the Assembly in respect of grave circumstances, namely war crimes, genocide and crimes against humanity.”¹⁶ The major difference in the concept in fact lies not in the concept of intervention itself, but about who can intervene. The ICISS concept is fundamentally a global system, whereas the African system only authorizes “member states” (other African states) to act in such a manner. Four years later, in the *Ezulwini Consensus*, AU states adopted the idea of R2P as a tool to prevent mass atrocities.

2005 was another important year globally for the concept of Responsibility to Protect. The UN World Summit in its *Outcome Document*¹⁷ included paragraphs 138 and 139. Here the concept was accepted. It states that: “138. Each individual State has the responsibility to protect its populations from genocide, war crimes, ethnic cleansing and crimes against humanity. This responsibility entails the prevention of such crimes, including their incitement, through appropriate and necessary means. We accept that responsibility and will act in accordance with it. The international community should, as appropriate, encourage and help States to exercise this responsibility and support the United Nations in establishing an early warning capability.

139. The international community, through the United Nations, also has the responsibility to use appropriate diplomatic, humanitarian and other peaceful means, in accordance with Chapters VI and VIII of the Charter, to help protect populations from genocide, war crimes, ethnic cleansing and crimes against humanity. In this context, we are prepared to take collective action, in a timely and decisive manner, through the Security Council, in accordance with the Charter, including Chapter VII, on a case-by-case basis and in cooperation with relevant regional organizations as appropriate, should peaceful means be inadequate and national authorities manifestly fail to protect their populations from genocide, war crimes, ethnic cleansing and crimes against humanity. We stress the need for the General Assembly to continue consideration of the responsibility to protect populations from genocide, war crimes, ethnic cleansing and crimes against humanity and its implications, bearing in mind the principles of the Charter and international law. We also intend to commit ourselves, as necessary and appropriate, to helping States build capacity

¹⁶ “Constitutive Act of the African Union,” *African Commission on Human and Peoples’ Rights*. Available at: www.achpr.org/files/instruments/au-constitutive-act/au_act_2000_eng.pdf (accessed: 27 September 2016).

¹⁷ United Nations General Assembly, 60th session, items 48 and 121 of the provisional agenda. A/60/L.1.

to protect their populations from genocide, war crimes, ethnic cleansing and crimes against humanity and to assisting those before crises and conflicts break out.¹⁸

The importance of this document is that it was the first time that states declared not only the concept itself, but also some defining limits. First it sets the types of crimes that can trigger the use of the concept:

- genocide;
- war crimes;
- crimes against humanity;
- ethnic cleansing (not really an international crime in the sense of the international criminal law, practically it is always a result of points 1–3.).

Article 139 of the *Outcome Document* then lists the prerequisites of taking collective action, namely:

- it has to be done through the UN Security Council;
- has to be done according to the UN Charter, particularly Chapter VII;
- it can only be done on a case-by-case basis;
- it should involve regional organizations whenever possible;
- it can be used only when peaceful means are inadequate;
- it can be used only if national authorities manifestly fail in their duty to protect their population.

As we can see, the list loosely corresponds to the list set by the ICISS report for intervention. Nevertheless, it places greater emphasis on the involvement of the UN Security Council, and its general concern is less the protection of the people than strictly regulate who can take action, and when. This naturally reflects the states' concern about their sovereignty.

Actual Use of the Concept

After the World Summit the UN Security Council in the unanimous *Resolution 1674*¹⁹ endorsed the concept formally, and advocated the comprehensive approach prescribed by the ICISS report and the *Outcome Document*. It also emphasized – probably to win African support – the importance of regional organizations to carry out the tasks.

The first use of the concept came just 2 years later, when in 2008 Cyclone Nargis swept over Myanmar, leaving huge devastation. The closed regime of the country did not want foreign aid, even though they were themselves unable to deal with the aftermath of the natural disaster. What relief actually reached the country was seized by authorities and was not distributed. France then threatened the country with bringing the case to the UN Security Council, forcing them to open up. Finally, the Myanmar government

¹⁸ United Nations A/RES/60/1, 60th session, Agenda items 46 and 120, *Resolution adopted by the General Assembly*, 24 October 2005, Article 138–139. See at: www.un.org/womenwatch/ods/A-RES-60-1-E.pdf (accessed: 27 September 2016).

¹⁹ S/RES/1674 (2006): *Protection of Civilians in Armed Conflict*.

agreed to let aid flow into the disaster-struck area, thus there was no need for a resolution. So, in this case the mere threat was enough.²⁰

The other case this year, however, showed the potential problems with the Responsibility to Protect doctrine. In August an armed conflict started between Georgia and Russia, over South Ossetia. Russia was accusing Georgia of committing genocide against Russians living in the area, and of preparing ethnic cleansing of the breakaway region. To protect these ethnic Russians (in many cases also nationals of Russia, due to the fact that many of them were given Russian citizenship) Russia used military force, ending up in a full-scale war against Georgia.²¹ The issue was never decided by the Security Council, and most of the legal literature treats it as a misguided application of the concept of Responsibility to Protect.²²

In later years, the Security Council has applied the concept in numerous resolutions, including *Resolution 1973* on Libya,²³ *Resolution 1975* on Ivory Coast,²⁴ *Resolution 1996* on South Sudan,²⁵ and *Resolution 2014* on Yemen.²⁶ Some of these – Ivory Coast and South Sudan – gave robust mandates to UN peacekeepers (UNOCI²⁷ and UNMISS,²⁸ respectively) in order to protect civilians from the effects of civil war. In the case of Libya, the establishment of a no-fly-zone was the key element in protecting civilians. The resolution stipulated, to no ground troops can be used, but nevertheless, there were Special Forces present on the ground, possibly violating the resolution. Libya was an interesting example in the sense that it became almost impossible to decide who was a civilian that has to be protected, and who was taking an active part in hostilities. Many accused NATO airplanes of playing the role of the “rebel air force” instead of just protecting civilians. This shows another problem of the concept, namely, whether humanitarian intervention can result in regime change, moreover, whether the aim of the intervention can be regime change.

It is also worth noting that since 2009 onwards, the UN Secretary General every year publishes a report on the Responsibility to Protect, looking at implementation of the concept in the given year.

²⁰ “Myanmar: Cyclone Nargis Facts and Figures,” *International Federation of Red Cross and Red Crescent Societies*, 3 May 2011. Available at: www.ifrc.org/en/news-and-media/news-stories/asia-pacific/myanmar/myanmar-cyclone-nargis-2008-facts-and-figures (accessed: 27 September 2016).

²¹ BESENYŐ János, “Újfajta háború? Internetes hadviselés Grúziában,” *Sereg Szemle* 6, no. 3 (December 2008): 61–63.

²² Charles KING, “The Five-Day War,” *Foreign Affairs*, November/December 2008. Available at: www.foreignaffairs.com/articles/64602/charles-king/the-five-day-war; (accessed: 27 September 2016).

²³ S/RES/1973 (2011): *The situation in Libya*.

²⁴ S/RES/1975 (2011): *The situation in Côte d’Ivoire*.

²⁵ S/RES/1996 (2011): *Reports of the Secretary-General on the Sudan*.

²⁶ S/RES/2014 (2011): *The situation in the Middle East*.

²⁷ “United Nations Operation in Côte d’Ivoire,” *UN.org*. Available at: www.un.org/en/peacekeeping/misions/unoci (accessed: 27 September 2016).

²⁸ “United Nations Mission In South Sudan,” *UNMISS.org*. Available at: <http://unmiss.unmissions.org> (accessed: 27 September 2016).

Asymmetric Warfare: Pretext for Outside Involvement?

It is worth noting that often it is not the sole decision of the would-be intervening country to apply R2P. Weak non-government parties to a conflict often deliberately try to create situations when the invocation of R2P seems unavoidable, or when it can serve as a handy *casus belli* for outside forces. In democratic countries, media and public opinion can influence decision-makers in this direction, even if they are unwilling or reluctant to consider such an options at the beginning. Becoming a visible victim of a conflict can generate much support for the militarily weaker force, eventually making it possible to level the field by involving a powerful outside supporter. Thus R2P is not only a legal concept, but it can be a very useful tool in the toolbox of rebel movements, capable of producing quick changes in the equation of any armed conflict.

In this light, there is a danger that R2P causes an outcome entirely different from its stated purpose: the weaker party may conclude in its analysis of the situation that creating conditions even worse for the victims of armed conflict is the route to victory. Therefore they may provoke disproportionate and heavy-handed reactions from the stronger party in the hope that they will receive attention from the international community. Even worse, they may commit the breaches of legitimate conduct and then try to attribute it to the other party – although it is a very risky activity that may have grave consequences if discovered.

Sarajevo and the Kosovo conflict are good examples here. Despite the ongoing carnage, the international community has largely restrained its efforts to the diplomatic field, yielding very little results. Both conflicts were eventually moving into a direction, where the weaker parties (Bosnians and the Kosovo Liberation Army) would eventually lose the military confrontation. However, by the appearance of mass atrocities (Sarajevo marketplace hit by mortar shell, massacre of civilians at Racak) in international media, these weaker parties gained considerable outside support, leading to the change of military situation on the ground. It is still not clear to what extent the “victims’ parties” played a role to bring forward – or even engineer – these cases, but it was amply demonstrated that such propaganda victory in an asymmetric conflict could be a game changer.

These also illustrate how outside powers can fall to victim to such maneuvers by the weaker party. Democratic societies, especially where free media is strong, can be manipulated by this very media into acting in such situations, even when doing so is contrary to the interest of these powers in a strict sense. Therefore weaker parties in an armed conflict can always look at these vulnerabilities in the hope of eventually changing the situation on the ground.

Conclusion

As we have seen, the concept of humanitarian intervention – after a few decades of use in the mid-19th century – went into almost total oblivion by the second half of the 20th century. However, the end of the Cold War and the dismantling of solid, opposing blocks of states meant that there was a place again for its application, and – sadly – there was an increasing number of opportunities to apply it. Rwanda and Sarajevo were the crucial impetus for the international community to start thinking about it, but another conflict – Kosovo – was needed

for the international community to recognize the need to formulate it as a comprehensive concept. The work of the ICISS built the foundation, and it played an important role in widening the scope of it, creating the term the Responsibility to Protect, and integrating non-violent techniques of defusing situations that can lead to mass atrocities against civilians.

While the UN reacted favorably to the results, and endorsed it in 2005, there was also a shift away from protecting civilians to safeguarding state sovereignty, incorporating mechanisms such as the case-by-case approach, and the necessity of a Security Council Resolution to prevent misuse of the concept. As it can be seen from the few example we have on the use of the Responsibility to Protect, these safeguard are needed: both Georgia (we can argue that it was not a case of R2P at all) and Libya shows how things can go wrong, resulting in consequences never intended by the framers of the concept.

It is also not clear whether R2P has a legal status in international law. Although we can point to unanimous decisions by the General Assembly and the Security Council, but in the absence of any international treaty dealing with the question, in my opinion, there is no sufficient state practice at this point to prove that it has become customary international law. Moreover, the practical examples we have are rather divergent: it seems that there are as many views of the precise meaning of the Responsibility to Protect as there are countries, and as there are cases. Also, *opinio juris* is not necessarily present in all decisions. Security Council resolutions are mostly political by nature, so even a certain decision does not necessarily reflect legal opinion.

As for the future, there surely will be situations when the concept, or parts of the concept, will be used as a justification for taking or not taking action. While it is still looked upon by many as an attack on sovereignty and on the principle of non-intervention, it can also be understood as a measure to restore the balance between the negative and positive sides of sovereignty that was well understood before the 19th century.

Nevertheless, the story of the concept is a very interesting one. It goes to the heart of the Westphalian international legal system, and it will be interesting to see where it will go in the next decades. It is also vividly present as an actuality or at least a possibility in every asymmetric conflict, adding a legal (lawfare) layer of considerations to an already complex situation.

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*Srdja Trifkovic**

Demographic Jihad as a Weapon of Asymmetric Warfare

Abstract

The Western world is threatened today by a demographically vibrant, ideologically highly developed, but decentralized and structurally amorphous Islamic movement with global proportions and scripturally ordained, literally unlimited ambitions. It relies on demography to achieve long-term geopolitical results that it is unable to attain by other means. The process is not spontaneous: the flow of migrants into Europe and the radicalization of the Muslim diaspora in the West have been encouraged and facilitated by Saudi Arabia, Qatar, the Emirates, and other state actors. The paper makes a contribution to the diagnosis of the threat and proposes a pragmatic, workable strategy for countering it. Rejection of the straitjacket doctrines of political correctness and multiculturalism, acknowledgement of the true political nature of Islamic activism, and a reaffirmation of the moral, spiritual and cultural roots of Western civilization are the fundamental conditions for the successful implementation of a set of simple, but effective measures which would halt and gradually reverse the process of Europe's accelerating Islamization.

The Western world in general, and Europe in particular, are threatened not only by a small, overtly jihadist elite engaging in terrorism, but – more importantly – by a demographically vibrant, ideologically highly developed, yet decentralized, structurally amorphous Islamic movement. It has global proportions and scripturally ordained, literally unlimited ambitions. The contemporary upsurge of *Islam as an ideology and a blueprint for political action* is a phenomenon that cannot be compared in dynamism, energy, and potential consequences with any other contemporary creed or dogma.¹ It relies on demography as a paradigmatic tool of asymmetric warfare in order to achieve long-term geopolitical results unattainable by other means. The threat is real, and it demands cool-headed diagnosis and a sustained response.

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¹ Cf. two books by the author: Srdja TRIFKOVIC, *Defeating Jihad: How the War on Terrorism Can Be Won, in Spite of Ourselves* (Boston, MA: Regina, 2006); Srdja TRIFKOVIC, *The Sword of the Prophet: Islam, History, Theology, Impact on the World* (Boston, MA: Regina, 2002). Also Srdja TRIFKOVIC, "The Green Corridor: Implications of Islamic Geopolitical Designs in the Balkans," in *Saudi Arabia and the Global Islamic Terrorist Network: America and the West's Fatal Embrace*, ed. Sarah N. STERN (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2011), 187–210.

The problem is that political correctness has long paralyzed meaningful discourse. Both in America and in Europe there is an elite consensus that immigration, multiculturalism, and the existence of an ever-growing Muslim diaspora *within* the Western world are to be treated as a fixed given, and must not be treated as problematic. This elite consensus is ideological in nature, flawed in logic, and totalitarian in application.² It needs to be tested against evidence, not against the alleged norms of acceptable public discourse imposed by those who have created the problem in the first place. A related task is to re-think Western security policies, and to correct the absence of a coherent grand strategy.

“One day millions of men will leave the southern hemisphere of this planet to burst upon the northern one,”³ Algerian President Boumedienne famously stated in his address to the UN General Assembly in 1974. “They will burst in to conquer, and they will conquer by populating it with their children. Victory will come to us from the wombs of our women.” The ensuing half-century has produced a host of phenomena of world-historical significance which seem like his prophecy is being fulfilled. Giulio Meotti stated that “Europe, as it is aging, no longer renews its generations, and instead welcomes massive numbers of migrants from the Middle East, Africa and Asia, who are going to replace the native Europeans, and who are bringing cultures with radically different values about sex, science, political power, culture, economy and the relation between God and man.”⁴

The process is not spontaneous. Population-changing flows of migrants into Europe and radicalization of the Muslim diaspora in the West may have the appearance of naturalness; but both have been systematically encouraged and facilitated by Saudi Arabia, Qatar, the Emirates, and other less significant state actors. It is striking that the ultra-rich Gulf monarchies have accepted no refugees from the war zones in Syria and elsewhere in the region, while encouraging their westward movement.⁵ In the early decades

² Over a decade ago, the onset of a new climate of intellectual intolerance became apparent when the late Oriana Fallaci – for decades Italy’s best-known journalist – was indicted in the Italian city of Bergamo for “hate crimes” and “defaming Islam,” following the publication of her 2002 book *The Rage and the Pride*. More recently, on December 9, 2016, Dutch opposition leader Geert Wilders was found guilty of “incitement to anti-minority discrimination” for advocating reduced numbers of Moroccan immigrants in the Netherlands. In late 2015, Christoph Biro, editor-in-chief of Austria’s top-circulation daily, the *Kronen Zeitung*, was charged with “hate speech” for writing that “young men, testosterone-fueled Syrians, carry out extremely aggressive sexual attacks.” In France in 2013, Ivan Rioufol, *Le Figaro*’s columnist for 30 years, faced criminal charges for “insulting Islam.” Renaud Camus, one of France’s most prominent writers, was charged with “incitement to racial hatred” in 2014, found guilty, and ordered to pay a 4,000-euro fine for warning of the danger of the “Great Replacement,” the colonization of France by Muslim immigrants from the Middle East and North Africa.

³ Jean-Louis GUIGOU – Miguel Angel MORATINOS, “Contribution to a vision of Europe in the world,” *Euobserver*, 17 March 2017. Available at: <https://euobserver.com/opinion/137264> (accessed: 28 September 2017); Joseph A. KECHICHIAN, “Houari Boumedienne: Guardian of freedom,” *Gulf News*, 11 April 2008. Available at: <http://gulfnews.com/houari-boumedienne-guardian-of-freedom-1.40394> (accessed 30 September 2017).

⁴ Giulio MEOTTI, “Europe: The Substitution of a Population,” *GatestoneInstitute.org*, 27 August 2016. Available at: www.gatestoneinstitute.org/8761/europe-population-substitution (accessed: 11 December 2016).

⁵ Raheem KASSAM, “Gulf Arab States Close Doors to Syrian Refugees,” *The Middle East Forum*, 31 March 2016. Available at: www.meforum.org/5938/arab-gulf-closes-doors-to-syrian-refugees (accessed: 11 December 2016).

of the twentieth century, interaction between Islam and the West started as a serious challenge to Islam, and by the turn of the millennium it has turned into a threat to the West.

The purpose of this paper is to make a contribution to the diagnosis of that threat and to propose a pragmatic, workable strategy for countering it. It is time to reject any *a priori* judgment on the threat's nature by those who presume to know the *correct* answer regardless of the evidence. That straitjacket needs to be discarded because the long-term survival of Western culture and civilization is at stake. The sacred texts of Islam, its record of interaction with other societies, and the personality of its founder provide the clue to the motives, ambitions and methods of its contemporary strategists and foot soldiers.

As for the countermeasures, the focus has long been on the institutional failures of the intelligence community and security agencies, and not on the problematic culture of the political decision-makers that makes failure likely.⁶ *Operational effectiveness* must no longer be confused with strategy itself. The impact of the ongoing Muslim migratory influx into the Western world and the consequences of the ever-growing Islamic diaspora are inseparable from any coherent long-term defense. Controlling the borders on land and at sea is only the first step. The application of clearly defined criteria in deciding who will be admitted is essential. To that end, "Islamic activism" needs to be treated as an inherently subversive, *eminently political*, rather than "religious" activity. Civilizational renewal is the essential prerequisite for all of the above. It can be won only by the West – and above all Europe – that has regained its awareness of its moral, spiritual, and civilizational roots. While such belated recovery remains in doubt, it is not impossible.

Terror, understood as unpredictable violence against non-combatants used in pursuit of ideological, religious and political objectives, is as old as humanity. Its variety, which is inspired by the Islamic teaching, tradition, and historical practice, has become a global phenomenon, and it is the only variety that threatens "infidel" countries and their inhabitants as such. It belongs to *fourth-generation warfare* in which it is particularly hard to target the enemy and to evaluate results. Hundreds of terrorists may be behind bars or dead, and moving money around has been made more difficult; but the potential and actual human assets of the enemy, his reach and operational capability, and especially his ability to count on the support of the multimillion Muslim diaspora in the Western world, are steadily growing.⁷

The squeamishness of many Western political leaders in naming the enemy and their use of euphemisms (e.g. Obama's "violent extremism") is but one sign of a shared malaise that

⁶ A notable example was the FBI's *Muslim Sensitivity Training* program. Denounced by scores of active and former agents as ideologically motivated and fundamentally flawed, it was mandated by former FBI Director Robert S. Mueller after the 9/11 attacks. See Paul SPERRY, "Homeland Insecurity: FBI Invites Islamic Scholars to Preach," *WorldNetDaily*, 30 July 2003. Available at: www.wnd.com/2003/07/20029 (accessed: 11 December 2016).

⁷ The United States faces its highest threat from Islamist terrorists since 9/11, mostly from those radicalized at home, according to the House Homeland Security Committee's *Terror Threat Snapshot* released in December 2016. "House Report: US Facing Biggest Islamic Terror Threat Since 9/11," *FoxNews.com*, 6 December 2016. Available at: www.foxnews.com/us/2016/12/06/house-report-us-facing-biggest-islamic-terror-threat-since-911.html (accessed: 11 December 2016).

hampers a coherent effort.⁸ George W. Bush's "war on terror" was hardly on target, confusing the enemy with his tools: had the Senate issued a rallying call for a "war on Elephants," Hannibal would have marched into Rome. Had World War II been waged as a "war against the *Blitzkrieg*," the Reich would still have over nine hundred years to go. But the Romans of the 3rd century BC, and even the Western democracies' feebler predecessors of eight decades ago, were surer of their identity and values than the dominant Western elites are today.

A phenomenon – initially based on local groups that have acquired global reach – is morphing into a global network of autonomous cells protected by an enabling community (notably in the suburbs of Brussels and Paris), but with a global cumulative potential. They are fielding a second generation of operatives, many of them naturalized Muslim immigrants and their Western-born offspring. Their decentralized pattern and legal status makes countermeasures difficult. There is no command and control system to disrupt among autonomous, self-motivated groups of young people, often embedded inside the target-nations. A new strategy is needed. The victory will come not by conquering Mecca for the West, but by *disengaging the West from Mecca* and by *excluding Mecca from the West*. Eliminating the risk altogether is impossible. Managing it wisely, resolutely, and permanently is attainable.

The final task is to develop a more effective *modus operandi*. The focus so far has been on the institutional failures of the intelligence community and government agencies, rather than on the culture of the political decision-making community that makes failure likely. Above all, *operational effectiveness* must no longer be confused with strategy itself. A plan for action must entail denying actual and potential hostile subversives a foothold inside the West. Rigorously vetting all prospective newcomers, and systematically monitoring the behavior of all resident aliens and the bona-fides of potential or actual naturalized citizens, is an essential ingredient of a viable strategy.

While there is no single discrete "cause" of the ongoing unconventional warfare against the West, it is necessary to scrutinize the doctrinal and ideological roots of the problem in order to diagnose its key causes and develop effective defenses. This has not happened yet in the decision-making community on either side of the Atlantic; although the Trump Administration appears intent to rethink the issue with welcome clarity, as we shall note later.

The proceedings in 2004 before the "9/11 Commission" in the United States, to take a notable example, demonstrated early structural weaknesses in the prevalent assumptions, inevitably leading to faulty conclusions. The real struggle to come, the report asserted, was within the Islamic civilization between reformers and traditionalists, regarding such issues as the position of women and the place of non-Muslim minorities.⁹ The reformers would need to devise new, *Islamic* interpretations of these questions.

To postulate the existence of a reformist wing within Islam, and then to charge it with the Herculean task of redefining some of that faith's key scriptural, legal, and social

⁸ The Trump administration has indicated its intention to rename former President Obama's "Countering Violent Extremism" program (CVE), which will be changed to "Countering Islamic Extremism." This change would reflect Trump's criticism of his predecessor for refusing to use the phrase "radical Islam" in designating the threat. "Exclusive: Trump to Focus Counter-Extremism Program Solely on Islam: Sources," *Reuters*, 2 February 2017. Available at: www.reuters.com/article/us-usa-trump-extremists-program-exclusiv-idUSKBN15G5VO- (accessed: 11 December 2016).

⁹ National Commission on Terrorist Attacks Upon the United States, "9-11 Commission Report," *9-11commission.gov*. Available at: <https://9-11commission.gov/report> (accessed: 11 December 2016).

concepts, shows that the Commission had not come to grips with the message and implications of orthodox Islam *as such*: its sacred texts, its continuous historical record, and its contemporary political ambitions.¹⁰ Postulating the dichotomy between a reformable “Islam” and an aberrant “Islamism” without theoretical elaboration of their similarities, differences, and respective theological, legal, and historic merits, was a major error often repeated over the years. A casuistic fallacy has gelled into orthodoxy.

That orthodoxy needs to be challenged, starting with a critical reassessment of the remarkable career of Muhammad – both the prophet of the new religion and the creator of a supremacist political ideology and a radical legal and social program. He remains, to all true Muslims, the inviolable paragon of goodness, and *imitatio Muhammadi* is reflected in the prevalence of his name throughout the Muslim world (and more recently in Western Europe). Mass migration marked the birth of the Islamic empire (the Hijra, 622 AD). From that moment on, to quote Ayatollah Khomeini, “Islam grew with blood.”¹¹ The conquest of infidel lands, mass enslavement of infidels, and the taking of booty and ransom were divinely sanctioned.

Attempts to reformulate the doctrine of jihad are not new, but they have failed because they opposed centuries of orthodoxy. A few well-meaning and usually Western-educated intellectuals have been clamoring for the birth of a reformed Islam for over a century; but, as Clement Huart pointed out in 1907, “Until the newer conceptions, as to what the Koran teaches as to the duty of the believer towards non-believers, have spread further and have more generally leavened the mass of Moslem belief and opinion, it is the older and orthodox standpoint on this question which must be regarded by non-Moslems as representing Mohammedan teaching and as guiding Mohammedan action.”¹²

Orthodox Islam sees the world as an open-ended, existential conflict between the World of Submission (*Dar al-Islam*) and the World of War (*Dar al-Harb*), which must be conquered by *jihad*. This is the most important bequest of Muhammad to his heirs, and the source of a permanent threat to all neighboring non-Muslim polities. Of all major religions Islam is accordingly the least amenable to coexistence with other faiths. Its legal code, the *Sharia*, cannot be penetrated by reason, and any such attempt is considered heresy. Where an explicit command of Allah or a precedent established by his Prophet (as recorded in the *Hadith*) already exists, no man and no human institution, such

¹⁰ There is ample evidence that “the prospects for Reformist Islam are not very bright, including: the opposition of established governments, which see it as a serious political challenge; opposition from the traditional clergy and conservative populace that see it as disguised secularism; mistrust of secular Muslims who see it as far too Islamic; and the complicated nature of reformist discourse which tries to reconcile faith and reason.” Shireen T. HUNTER, “Islamic Reformism: Definition and Prospects,” *Georgetown Journal of International Affairs*, 24 December 2013. Available at: <http://journal.georgetown.edu/islamic-reformism-definition-and-prospects-shireen-t-hunter> (accessed: 11 December 2016).

¹¹ Raymond D. GASTIL, *Freedom in the World: Political Rights and Civil Liberties 1980* (New Brunswick: Transaction Books, 1980), 141.

¹² Clement Huart was quoted in Andrew G. BOSTOM, ed., *The Legacy of Jihad: Islamic Holy War and the Fate of Non-Muslims* (Amherst, New York: Prometheus Books, 2010), 298. The willingness of a few to become objectively “bad Muslims,” because they are willing to reject discriminatory and offensive tenets of historical Islam, may be laudable in human terms – but it will do nothing to modify Islam as a doctrine. As Huart’s near-contemporary Sir William Muir has noted, a reformed faith that should question the divine authority on which the institutions of Islam rest, or attempt by rationalistic selection or abatement to effect a change, would be Islam no longer. For the majority of Muslims, any such attempt smacks of heresy.

as a legislature or a non-Islamic court, can form a valid judgment. The notion of popular sovereignty is heretical, as power belongs to Allah alone. Politics is not “part of Islam,” it is the inherent core of the Islamic imperative of Allah’s absolute sovereignty.

The first onslaught against Europe came in the early eighth century across the Straits of Gibraltar; the second in the fourteenth across the Dardanelles. It was not until 1683 that the Islamic conventional warfare against Europe was finally crushed at the gates of Vienna; but for long before that the Islamic world had little interesting to say or do, at least measured against the enormous cultural and scientific developments in the East and West. The latent tension developed between the view of world history as the fulfillment of Islam and its “triumph” everywhere on the one hand, and the reality of the squalor, decadence and weakness on the other. The absence of any spirit of critical inquiry essential to the growth of knowledge has always been the key to understanding Islam’s closed heart and closed mind, which today threatens to undermine our civilization.

The third onslaught is now in full swing. It started in the 1960s, when Muslim “guest workers” (*Gastarbeiter*) initially started arriving in significant numbers to Western Europe.¹³ Many of them expected, and were expected, to spend only a brief period of their lives in the non-Muslim industrial West. The old reluctance to submit to life under the infidels was overcome by the lure of economic opportunity. With the expanding numbers and the creation of distinctly Muslim neighborhoods in Western European cities in the late 1970s, however, the initial detachment of culture from territory has been reversed, and the bold notion of conquest by demographic rather than military means entered the activists’ minds. The blueprint was developed 35 years ago, in 1981, when the Third Islamic Summit Conference of Kaaba adopted the “Mecca Declaration,” which decried the “persecution of Muslim minorities and communities in many parts of the world,” appealed on “all states in which there are Islamic minorities to allow them full liberty,” and pledged “to cooperate to provide the human and material means [...] to propagate the principles of Islam and ... its culture [...] throughout the world.”¹⁴

Ironically, at about the same time, policy planners and strategists in Washington tried to use militant Islam as a *political-military tool*. In Afghanistan in 1980 they underestimated the danger of blowback, but over the years they have bound good men to bad policy, and they have reinforced failure with gold.¹⁵ Policy makers in Washington had not treated fundamentalism in adversarial terms until it started attacking America. By January 1996, two

¹³ By contrast, of the 1.2 million migrants who arrived in Germany in 2014 and 2015, only 34,000 found work by the end of 2016.

¹⁴ “The Mecca Declaration of the Third Islamic Summit Conference, Article 6. 25–28 January 1981,” *Organisation of Islamic Cooperation*. Available at: <http://ww1.oic-oci.org/english/conf/is/3/3rd-is-sum.htm> (accessed: 28 September 2017).

¹⁵ In his now famous interview with *Le Nouvel Observateur* in January 1998, Zbigniew Brzezinski gloated over how the Carter Administration had instigated Islamic resistance to the pro-Soviet government in Afghanistan and thus maneuvered Moscow into military intervention; he called it “an excellent idea.” *Q: And neither do you regret having supported the Islamic fundamentalism, giving arms and advice to future terrorists?* B: What matters more to world history, the Taliban or the collapse of the Soviet empire? Some stirred-up Moslems or the liberation of Central Europe and the end of the Cold War? *Q: Some stirred-up Moslems? But isn’t Islamic fundamentalism a world menace today?* B: Nonsense! There is no global Islam.” “The Brzezinski Interview with *Le Nouvel Observateur* (1998),” *Arizona.edu*. Available at: http://dgibbs.faculty.arizona.edu/brzezinski_interview (accessed: 11 December 2016).

influential Washington insiders approvingly wrote of the U.S. role as the leader of Muslim nations from the Persian Gulf to the Balkans, with the Ottoman lands becoming “the heart of a third American empire.”¹⁶ This was a hubristic, intellectually unsatisfactory, astonishingly naïve and ill-informed assessment, but it was consistently reflected in the successive administrations’ policies in the Balkans, the Caucasus, and the Greater Middle East.

During these decades, in line with the Mecca Declaration, a new mosque or Islamic center was opened somewhere in the Western world on average five times every week. Their number exceeded 10,000 in 2016. As far as the Mecca signatories were concerned, this did not mean that the Muslims in those countries were no longer “oppressed,” however: they are so, as long as they are not governed by Sharia, and as long as they are “offended” by the non-Muslim practices of the majority. Demands for freedom from “oppression” and pledges to propagate Islam were advanced irrespective of the fact that the signers of the Declaration – notably the Saudi hosts and the chief bankrollers – openly oppressed non-Muslim communities in their own lands, or prevented them from being established at all.

The result is that from the Polar Circle to the Straits of Gibraltar the face of Europe is changing. Its southern maritime frontier is as porous as the southern land border of the United States. It is not Europe’s *darkest* hour yet – not quite on par with the peak of the Black Death or the impasse of the Western Front in the Great War, but on current form it is approaching. What is likely to happen in the next few decades is a massive demographic, overwhelmingly Muslim, population replacement all over “Old Europe.”¹⁷ Europe’s self-destroying birth rate, coupled with migrants who multiply faster and who keep arriving in their millions, are rapidly transforming the continent. The declining fertility rate of native Europeans coincides with the institutionalization of Islam in Europe and the re-Islamization of its Muslim diaspora. The Spenglerian prediction of a slow, gradual *Untergang* is out; on current form, the decline will be rapid and terminal.

The leaders in Berlin, Paris, Brussels and elsewhere seem to be determined, for whatever reason, to facilitate that process by normalizing the notion of population replacement, by censoring reports of attacks and the identity of their perpetrators,¹⁸ by minimizing the danger and impact of terrorist attacks, by seeking to de-jihadize the perpetrators,¹⁹ and by denying the overall nature of the process.²⁰ Members of the elites are physically removed from the consequences of their decisions: they do not live in the monoethnic no-go banlieus, they

¹⁶ Jacob HEILBRUNN – Michael LIND, “The Third American Empire,” *The New York Times*, 2 January 1996.

¹⁷ David COLEMAN, “Immigration and Ethnic Change in Low-Fertility Countries: A Third Demographic Transition,” *Population and Development Review* 32, no. 3 (September 2006): 401–446.

¹⁸ Notoriously the German media kept quiet for three days about the 2016 New Year’s Eve attacks by Muslim migrants on German girls and women at Cologne railway station and elsewhere.

¹⁹ During the French riots of 2005, mainstream media all over the Western world routinely referred to the rioters as “youths,” or “angry immigrants,” ignoring or concealing the fact that they were overwhelmingly Muslim, e.g. Craig S. SMITH, “Angry Immigrants Embroil France in Wider Riots,” *The New York Times*, 5 November 2005. Likewise, the 2016 Bastille Day truck murderer in Nice supposedly was a “depressed loner.”

²⁰ Talking to the BBC in the immediate aftermath of a series of deadly attacks by Muslims in Germany during the summer of 2016, Germany’s ambassador in London Peter Ammon said: “We see signs of gratitude, we see signs that these people are making their best effort to integrate and of course it is costly. It takes a lot of time and effort but it is working.” In reality, far from being *grateful*, “these people” heartily *despise* the Germans for being supine. The inability of unaccompanied young German women to visit many public spaces and facilities after dark without fear of being gang-raped, is one of the results of Chancellor Merkel’s irrational refugee policy.

do not send their offspring to the gang-infested schools, and they do not worry about being mugged or raped when returning home at night. They belong to a postmodern *secular theocracy*, largely informed by the tenets of cultural Marxism, which is focused on the task of reforming and reshaping the individual conscience of the Western man.²¹

German Chancellor Angela Merkel (a nominal Christian Democrat) provides paradigmatic example of a secular theocrat. Her open-doors policy of 2015 and her continuing refusal to accept a cap on the number of migrants – even though Turkey’s President Recep Tayyip Erdogan may reactivate the exodus at any minute – is no longer amenable to rational argument. After the Christmas Market attack on December 19, 2016, she made the mind-numbing statement that “if the perpetrator is a refugee, it will be very difficult to bear” and it will be “particularly repugnant for all Germans who help refugees on a daily basis.”²² (He was.) Angela Merkel effectively wants to present the rest of Europe with two *faits accomplis*: that Germany will accept unlimited numbers of migrants, and that Germany will use her overwhelming influence in Brussels to force the rest of Europe to share the resulting cost and burden of improving “Germany’s reputation,” and maintaining “European unity.” Her calls for a “joint European solution” are but demands for the rest of Europe to obediently facilitate the creation of Sharia-based no-go areas in Krakow, Bratislava and Budapest.

Former Soviet bloc countries, to their credit, resist such inanities in general, and mandatory EU migrant quotas favored by Frau Merkel in particular. They may yet save themselves from their western neighbors’ demographic and cultural suicide – this perhaps indicates that communism had been less morally and spiritually corrosive than hedonistic liberalism.²³ But Germans and others will live permanently with the consequences of their leaders’ fateful decisions.²⁴ Their homegrown jihadists will go on attacking their “fellow citizens” (François Hollande). Defeating them would demand readiness to use all means in defense of one’s nation and culture. It is perhaps too tall an order for the ultrasensitive,

²¹ Cf. Paul GOTTFRIED, *Multiculturalism and the Politics of Guilt: Towards a Secular Theocracy* (Columbia, MO: University of Missouri Press, 2002).

²² “Angela Merkel says it would be ‘particularly repugnant’ if Berlin attacker turns out to be refugee,” *Telegraph.co.uk*, 20 December 2016. Available at: www.telegraph.co.uk/news/2016/12/20/angela-merkel-shocked-saddened-berlin-christmas-market-attack (accessed: 11 December 2016).

²³ See Yaroslav Lavrentievich POBOVOLTSKIY, “How Russia Deals with Immigrants,” *American Renaissance*, 27 January 2017. Available at: www.amren.com/features/2017/01/russia-deals-immigrants (accessed: 11 December 2016). Also: Danusha V. GOSKA, “Western European vs. East European Responses to Mass Muslim Immigration,” *FrontPage Magazine*, 15 September 2015. Available at: www.frontpagemag.com/fpm/260120/western-european-vs-eastern-european-responses-danusha-v-goska (accessed: 11 December 2016).

²⁴ “We can and we must repeat once again” – EU High Representative for Foreign Affairs and Security Policy Federica Mogherini declared on 2 February 2017 – “that refugees must be welcome. This is a strong position that the European Union has and will continue to have.” “Opening Remarks by the HRVP Federica Mogherini at the Debate on Managing Migration Along the Central Mediterranean Route,” *European External Action Service*. Available at: https://eeas.europa.eu/csdp-missions-operations/eunavfor-med/19755/opening-remarks-hrvp-federica-mogherini-debate-managing-migration-along-central-mediterranean_en (accessed: 11 December 2016). In March 2016 she said that “Islam belongs in Europe [...]. I am not afraid to say that political Islam should be part of the picture.” “Federica Mogherini’s remarks at ‘Call to Europe V: Islam in Europe’, FEPS conference,” Bruxelles, 25 June 2015, *European External Action Service*. Available at: https://eeas.europa.eu/headquarters/headquarters-homepage/6332/federica-mogherinis-remarks-at-call-to-europe-v-islam-in-europe-feps-conference_en (accessed: 11 December 2016).

genderless European person of our time.²⁵ The alternative is the growing pattern of terrorist violence, social corrosion, and cultural decline.

Europe started the new century with fewer children than adults of reproductive age. This phenomenon, “negative momentum,” implies that even if women in the future should have an unexpected fertility increase to above two children, the population would be destined to shrink.²⁶ The process is unprecedented: “Negative momentum has not been experienced on a large scale in world history so far. It is now like sailing against a current running toward population shrinkage and aging.”²⁷ In the course of 2015, 5.1 million babies were born in the EU while 5.2 million persons died, meaning that Europe – for the first time in modern history – recorded a negative natural change in its population. People under thirty account for only 16 percent of Europe’s population, or 80 million people. By contrast, in the 22 Arab countries, Turkey and Iran, under-30’s account for 70 percent of the population, or 350 million people.

On current form, by the end of this century there will be no “Europeans” as members of ethnic groups that share the same language, culture, history, and ancestors, and inhabit lands associated with their names. At the same time, the shrinking populations are indoctrinated into believing or forced into accepting that the demographic shift is actually a blessing that enriches their culturally deprived and morally unsustainable societies. Muslim population of Western Europe, which stands at over 20 million, on current trends may easily double by 2030, and account for close to one-third of all live births.

On the political and cultural front, all over Europe, many Muslims consider themselves *de facto* autonomous, a community of believers opposed to the broader society of infidels. Jihadist networks now exist in every country west of the former Iron Curtain. They are centered on mosques and Islamic centers, often financed by Saudi money. The emergence of a huge diaspora of the faithful away from the heartland is seen by pious Muslims as an event archetypically linked to conquest, ever since Muhammad pronounced anathema on Meccan leaders and took his followers to Medina where he built an army that conquered Mecca nine years later: “Today, in the minds of mujahideen in Europe, it is the Middle East at large that figures as an idolatrous Mecca [...]. Europe could even be viewed as a kind of Medina, where troops are recruited for the reconquest of the holy land”.²⁸ They feel little or no kinship with the host societies or their democratic institutions. Their activists nevertheless invoke those institutions when they clamor for every kind of indulgence and special treatment. They demand full democratic privileges, while acknowledging that (given the power to do so) they would impose their own beliefs and customs and subjugate all others; any other religion or world outlook – including the atheistic secular humanism of the Western elite class – is to them *a priori* illegitimate.

²⁵ In December 2016, 19-year-old Maria Landenburger – an activist of a refugee relief organization who welcomed migrants – was raped and murdered by one of the people she was helping. In an act of advanced psychopathology, her family asked anyone who wanted to pay tribute to their daughter to give money to refugee associations, so that more refugees could come to Germany.

²⁶ See Mark STEYN, “It’s Demography, Stupid!” *The New Criterion*, January 2006. Available at: www.new-criterion.com/issues/2006/1/its-the-demography-stupid (accessed: 11 December 2016).

²⁷ Cf. *European Demographic Research Papers*, Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften (2003–present). Available at: www.oew.ac.at/vid/publications/serial-publications/european-demographic-research-papers (accessed: 11 December 2016).

²⁸ Robert S. LEIKEN, “Europe’s Angry Muslims,” *Foreign Affairs*, July/August 2005.

At the same time, the elite class imposes more “understanding of the underlying causes” of terrorist attacks (racism, discrimination, alienation, lack of employment, poverty, etc.), greater inclusiveness, and ever more stringent “anti-Islamophobic” legislation. Their objective is to eradicate the capacity of Europeans to define themselves vis-à-vis the ever-growing alien multitudes. The result is: Western Europe increasingly populated by aliens who “physically live in this area, but they mentally live in their former countries.”²⁹

The unconventional threat they present is real and present. Its magnitude demands radical responses that fall outside the cognitive parameters of the elite class.

1. *Protect borders*: no counterstrategy opposing unconventional warfare is possible without complete physical control of the boundaries, including land and maritime ones. *Fences do work*, as the example of Israel’s West Bank security barrier demonstrates. People picked up from sinking ships should be taken back to the country of departure – if necessary to the specially created safe zones *within* those countries (e.g. inside Libya), and *not* to Sicily or Lesbos.
2. *Supervise mosques and Islamic centers*: today’s threat is different in degree to that faced during the Cold War, but not in kind. 24/7 surveillance of profiled suspects is the necessary part of that response. Mosques, Islamic centers and their individual members should be obliged to register with the Attorney General in the U.S. and the equivalent bodies in Europe. All over the Western world, Islamic centers (especially those funded by Saudi Arabia) have provided platforms for exhortations to the faithful to support causes such as Sharia advocacy, and to engage in acts that are morally reprehensible, illegal, and detrimental to the host country’s national security.³⁰ Their message is inherently seditious, incompatible with the law of the land and common decency. Subjecting them to adequate scrutiny is necessary and justified.³¹
3. *Refuse/rescind citizenship to Islamic activists*: those who falsely take the oath of citizenship but continue to preach jihad and Sharia, inequality of “infidels” and women, etc., should be stripped of acquired citizenship and deported to the country of origin. Islamic activism should be defined as the *political act* of propagating, disseminating or otherwise supporting discrimination against Christians, Jews and other “infidels,” violence against women and sexual minorities, anti-Jewish bigotry, sanction of slavery, poll tax, etc.
4. *Reintroduce “profiling”*: In June 2003 the U.S. government ordered a ban on “racial and ethnic profiling” at all 70 federal law enforcement agencies. The guidelines said that authorities may subject certain groups to greater scrutiny if there is “specific information” that such people are preparing to mount a terrorist attack.

²⁹ Keith B. RICHBURG, “No Longer Just Nordic,” *The Washington Post*, 22 October 2004.

³⁰ “Four separate studies since 1999 have found that 80 percent of U.S. mosques were teaching jihad, Islamic supremacism, and hatred and contempt for Jews and Christians. There are no countervailing studies that challenge these results.” Cf. Robert SPENCER, “Saudi Government Funded Jihad Teaching in US Mosques,” *JihadWatch.org*, 20 July 2016. Available at: www.jihadwatch.org/2016/07/saudi-government-funded-jihad-teaching-in-us-mosques (accessed: 11 December 2016).

³¹ See Pamela GELLER, “The Mosques Behind Jihad Attacks in America,” *Breitbart.com*, 19 July 2015. Available at: www.breitbart.com/big-government/2015/07/19/the-mosques-behind-jihad-attacks-in-america (accessed: 11 December 2016).

These rules place front line defenders in a quandary, notably at passport and customs checkpoints.³² The aversion to “profiling” is a symptom, minor but telling, of Western pathology. Law-enforcers in other parts of the world pay no heed to the dictates of “sensitivity”: Arabs profile other Arabs, Indians profile Pakistanis and vice versa, Japanese profile Chinese and Koreans. Israelis profile everyone all the time, and makes no qualms about it. A young Muslim male is literally a million times more likely to carry out a terrorist attack than a Roman Catholic or Orthodox Christian, a Jew, a Hindu, a Buddhist, or a Lebanese or Syrian Christian. Membership of a group is a valid pointer in assuming and judging unobserved behavioral characteristics of an individual, especially in the absence of specific information about that individual’s background. Profiling is not “good” or “bad” policing, it is just policing.

5. *Deny security clearances to practising Muslims:* a person’s Islamic faith and outlook is incompatible with the requirements of personal commitment, loyalty and unquestionable reliability that are essential in the military, law enforcement, intelligence services, and other related branches of government. For as long as practicing Muslims are able to get security clearances, potential terrorists will continue trying to get into the hiring pools of Western agencies.³³ Presence of practicing Muslims in any such institution is an inherent risk to its integrity and morale, and to the security of its personnel. Examples abound, such as the Fort Hood massacre perpetrated by Major Nidal Hasan.

President Donald Trump signed an executive order on immigration and refugees on January 27, 2016. It caused a storm of establishment media attacks, airport protests and legal challenges.³⁴ In the long term, however, it appears that Trump has much bigger fish to fry than to impose a temporary ban on the citizens of seven failed, war-torn, or dysfunctional majority-Muslim states. *Prima facie* this was no “Muslim ban” at all: the most populous majority-Muslim countries by far (Indonesia, Pakistan, Bangladesh, Egypt, Turkey) were unaffected. The really important part of Trump’s Executive Order 13769 is contained in its *Section 1. Purpose*: “In order to protect Americans, the United States must ensure that those admitted to this country do not bear hostile attitudes toward it and its founding principles. The United States cannot, and should not, admit those who do not support the Constitution, or those who would place violent ideologies over American law. In addition, the United States should not admit those who engage in acts of bigotry or hatred (including “honor” killings, other forms of violence against women,

³² Ahmed Ressay was stopped in December 1999 by a Customs Service agent as he tried to enter the U.S. from Canada, even though the agent had no specific information giving him cause to suspect the traveler – *prima facie*, a classic case of profiling. It turned out that Ressay was a terrorist with over a hundred pounds of powerful explosives in his car trunk, explosives meant to blow up the Los Angeles International Airport.

³³ See Paul SPERRY, *Infiltration: How Muslim Spies and Subversives Have Penetrated Washington* (New York: Harper Collins, 2008).

³⁴ EO 13769, *Protecting the Nation from Foreign Terrorist Entry into the United States*. Iran, Iraq, Syria, Libya, Yemen, Sudan and Somalia were initially singled out for special scrutiny by the Obama Administration under the 2015 Terrorist Travel Prevention Act.

or the persecution of those who practice religions different from their own) or those who would oppress Americans of any race, gender, or sexual orientation.”³⁵

Demanding an aspiring newcomer’s commitment to America’s core values is an important novelty. Without naming it, Section 1 implicitly treats orthodox Islam as a violent ideology inimical to America’s “founding principles.” It can, and probably will, be used to severely restrict immigration of devout, practicing Muslims to the United States. Its drafters displayed awareness that a person’s strict Islamic faith and outlook is incompatible with the requirements of personal commitment and loyalty to a pluralistic and democratic society. Immigration officials know how often the attitudes of Muslims who want to live in the United States change once their status in America is secure. When applying for admission and while awaiting green cards, in interviews with U.S. officials they complain about the lack of freedom in their native countries and their poor human rights record. But as soon as they gain citizenship, they rediscover the virtues of an Islamic, Sharia-based order.

The January 27 Executive Order was carefully crafted: for a Muslim to declare that he accepts the Constitution of the United States as the source of his highest loyalty is an act of apostasy *par excellence*; and apostasy is punishable by death under the Islamic law. The *Sharia*, to a Muslim, is not an addition to the Constitution and laws of the United States, with which it coexists; it is the only *true* code, the only basis of obligation. To be legitimate, all political power must rest exclusively with those who enjoy Allah’s authority on the basis of his revealed will, and America is therefore illegitimate *ab initio*.

Section 1 effectively demands that a Muslim gives up this key tenet of his faith in order to be eligible for admission. Its drafters obviously knew that a foreigner who becomes naturalized has to declare, on oath: “That I absolutely and entirely renounce and abjure all allegiance and fidelity to any foreign prince, potentate, state, or sovereignty of whom or which I have heretofore been a subject or citizen; that I will support and defend the Constitution and laws of the United States of America against all enemies, foreign and domestic.”³⁶ It is sacrilegious for a Muslim to swear to this, since it means that he would be prepared to shoot a fellow Muslim, or denounce him to the authorities, in defense of his adopted homeland. A devout Muslim can become an American citizen only if in taking the oath he is practicing *taqiyya*, the art of dissimulation that was inaugurated by Muhammad to help destabilize and undermine non-Muslim communities.

EO 13769, Section 1 now provides the immigration officials and law enforcers with a powerful tool to prevent this possibility at an early stage: to ask pertinent questions, and to weed out dissimulators. The Executive Order calls for the establishment of “Uniform Screening Standards” with the goal of preventing individuals from entering the U.S. “on a fraudulent basis with the intent to cause harm, or who are at risk of causing harm

³⁵ The White House – Office of the Press Secretary, “Executive Order: Protecting the Nation from Foreign Terrorist Entry into the United States,” *WhiteHouse.gov*, 27 January 2017. Available at: www.whitehouse.gov/the-press-office/2017/01/27/executive-order-protecting-nation-foreign-terrorist-entry-united-states (accessed: 11 December 2016).

³⁶ U.S. Citizenship and Immigration Service, “Naturalization Oath of Allegiance to the United States of America,” *USCIS.gov*. Available at: www.uscis.gov/us-citizenship/naturalization-test/naturalization-oath-allegiance-united-states-america (accessed: 11 December 2016).

subsequent to their admission.”³⁷ This will include in-person videotaped interviews, forms that include questions aimed at identifying fraudulent answers and malicious intent, and a comprehensive mechanism to assess whether or not the applicant has the intent to commit criminal or terrorist acts after entering the United States. Questions will need to be focused and exact: “May Muslims convert out of Islam?”, “Does a Muslim have the right to renounce Islam?”, “May a woman show her face in public?”, “Should non-Muslims be subject to Islamic law?”, “Do you welcome non-Muslims to your house and go to their residences?”, “Do you have non-Muslim friends?”, etc. Such questions should be repeated in different form over an extended period of time.³⁸

The experience of Europe demonstrates that immigration from majority Islamic nations creates a permanent terrorist threat and adversely affects the host-society’s quality of life. In America the process is not as far advanced as it is in Germany or France; the threat can be checked, and even eliminated. President Trump’s EO 13769 is a major step to that end. It clearly treats a newcomer’s adherence to the tenets of Jihad, Sharia, etc. as excludable on political, rather than “religious” grounds. From now on, it will be legally possible for the U.S. authorities to treat Islamic activism as the grounds for exclusion or deportation.³⁹ This is a major achievement. *A new form of clarity on Islam’s political nature is finally present in the White House. Unlike his predecessors, Donald Trump recognizes that we are in a war and in the midst of a clash of civilizations, whether we want that or not.*

Conclusion: The present unconventional war is being fought, on the Islamic side with the deep conviction that the West is on its last legs, spiritually, morally, and demographically. That view is reinforced by the evidence from history that a civilization that loses the urge for biological self-perpetuation is indeed in mortal peril. Recovery is possible, however, as indicated by the new thinking in Washington and the Administration’s introduction of effective measures which may herald recovery.

The deadlock on the Somme or at Verdun could not be broken with the notions and *modus operandi* of Messrs. Haig, Pétain, or Hindenburg. It could have been unlocked, however, had Lidell-Hart, de Gaulle, or Guderian held their ranks and positions. Winning a war demands “knowing the enemy and knowing oneself,” of course, but it also demands thinking outside the box. Americans did not agonize over communism’s “true nature” during the Berlin airlift in 1949, or at Pusan in 1950, or during the Cuban missile crisis in 1962, but acted effectively to contain it by whatever means necessary.

We once had a legion of Moscow’s apologists, character witnesses, moles and fellow-travelers all over the West, assuring us that the Comrades wanted nothing but social justice at home and peaceful coexistence abroad. They explained away and justified the inconsistencies and implications of the source texts of Marx and Lenin. They explained

³⁷ The White House – Office of the Press Secretary, *Executive Order: Protecting the Nation from Foreign Terrorist Entry into the United States*.

³⁸ See Daniel PIPES, “Smoking Out Islamists via Extreme Vetting,” *Middle East Quarterly*, Spring 2017. Available at: www.danielpipes.org/17198/smoking-out-islamists-via-extreme-vetting (accessed: 11 December 2016).

³⁹ It will also be possible for the U.S. government to make exceptions to its refugee injunction “when the person is a religious minority in his country or nationality facing religious persecution,” i.e. a Middle Eastern Christian.

away and justified the bloodbath of the Bolshevik Revolution, the crime of the great famine, the show trials and purges, the killing machine of the Gulag. Today their heirs in the academe and the media explain away with identical scholastic sophistry and moral depravity the violent implications of the source texts, the Koran and the Hadith, the deeply unnerving career of Muhammad, the ensuing 14 centuries of wars of conquests and subjugation, of decline without fall,⁴⁰ of spiritual and material misery, slavery, abuse of women, and plain fanaticism.

Once upon a time the West and the Muslim world could clearly define themselves vis-à-vis each other in a cultural and political sense. What postmodernity and secularism have done is to cast aside any idea of “our land,” of a space that is *European* or *American* in the ethnic, geographic, and cultural sense, a space that has an external boundary and that should be protected from all those who covet it but to whom it does not belong by birthright. The choice involves the very fabric of our lives, from how our wives and daughters are treated to the rule of law that supersedes any one group’s beliefs. Almost ninety years ago Julien Benda published his tirade against the intellectual corruption of his times, *The Treason of the Intellectuals* (*La Trahison des Clercs*).⁴¹ The “Treason” of the title occurred when the intellectual elite gave up promoting lasting civilizational values and allowed short-term political preferences to distort their understanding of the intellectual vocation as such. Benda called it “a cataclysm of moral notions in those who educate the world.”⁴²

Today, this problem is visible in the schizophrenic approach of the elite to the demographic replacement, in its insistence that Islam is peaceful and tolerant, that the West has been nasty to it over the centuries (“What about the Crusades!”) and that terrorism can be understood, and cured, independently of Islam’s teaching and practice. At the root of the malaise is the notion that countries do not belong to the people who have inhabited them for generations and built their institutions, but to whoever happens to be within their boundaries at any given moment, *regardless of his culture, attitude, or intentions*. A further malevolent fallacy is the dictum that we should not feel a special bond for any particular country, nation, or culture, but transfer our preferences to the whole world, “all Humanity,” equally.

Such notions have been internalized by the elite class in America and Western Europe to the point where they actively help Islamic unconventional warfare. To the members of this class, all countries are but transient, virtual-reality entities. Owing emotional allegiance to any one of them is irrational, and risking one’s life for its sake is absurd. Atavistic sentiments may have to be invoked, strictly as communication tools for *hoi polloi* from the prairies and the mountains who provide the cannon fodder for Fallujah or Kandahar. But like Marx’s proletarians, the elite class knows no loyalty to a concrete

⁴⁰ The contrast of the declining Muslim world with Japan in the Meiji Restoration period is startling. The Japanese could modernize because they possessed a culture inured to discipline, approving of delayed gratification and self-restraint. Today, a century and a half later, total exports of the Arab world (other than fossil fuels) amount to less than those of Finland, with 5 million inhabitants. There are some 75 Arabs to each Finn.

⁴¹ Julien BENDA, *The Treason of the Intellectuals* (New Brunswick: Transaction Publishers, 2007, reprint of 1928 edition by William Morrow & Company).

⁴² BENDA, *The Treason of the Intellectuals*. 59.

country. Its members could serve any one or all of them if they can be turned into the tools of their Will to Power.

The refusal of the elite class to protect Western nations from Islamic demographic conquest reflects a global problem that is a synthesis of all others, and goes beyond "Culture Wars." In the transformation of an increasingly globalized society into a socio-technological system regulated by the market, all shades of human relations and nuances are being simplified into manageable routines and procedures, while the "redundant concepts of human existence that we have inherited from the humanist era [...] can no longer be sustained."⁴³ This is the "culture" of the artificial world, of post-historical, technological man. The reversibility of the signifier and the signified, terrorist and victim, oppressor and sufferer, native and immigrant, church and mosque, extremist and moderate, eventually eliminates the Creator and the subject in general, with nothing but the subject's "signature" being left.

The elitist upholders of such views belong to the culture that has lost its bond with nature, history, and the supporting community (the *flyover country*). In the meantime, the onslaught continues unabated, across the Mediterranean and the Aegean, through JFK and Heathrow. Far from enhancing diversity, it threatens to impose a numbing sameness and eradicate the identity of target-populations, to demolish their character and uniqueness, their art, music, literature, customs and social practices, as surely as the Taliban demolished the Buddhas, and the Islamic State destroyed Palmyra's temple and the Roman amphitheater. The betrayers promote an ideology of "universal values." In reality, their "diversity" is creating its exact opposite: a soul-numbing monism.

For all the outward differences, Western elites share with the mullahs and sheikhs and imams a desire for a monistic One World. They both long for the Great *Gleichschaltung* that will end in Strobe Talbot's Single Global Authority,⁴⁴ post-national and seamlessly standardized, an *ummah* under whatever name. The Christian vision of Triune God who allows choice, diversity, individuality and free will, is the enemy to both versions of this vision. Those Westerners who love their lands more than any others, and who put their families and their neighborhoods before all others, are normal people. Those who tell them that their attachments should be global, and that their lands and neighborhoods belong to the whole world, are not. They seek to destroy the uniqueness of home and hearth, the bonds that bind wife and husband, parent and child, community and neighbor, tradition and faith.

The global *bien-pensants* in the elite are jihad's indispensable allies. Rootless, arrogant, cynically manipulative, and contemptuous of the "deplorables," they have every intention of confronting "violent extremism" without naming the enemy, without revealing his beliefs, without unmasking his intentions, without offending his accomplices, without expelling his fifth columnists, and without ever daring to win. It is up to the "deplorables" to stop the madness. The elite class wants them to share its death wish, to self-annihilate as people with a historical memory and a cultural identity, and to make room for the post-human, monistic Utopia spearheaded by the jihadist fifth column. This crime can and must be

⁴³ Cf. Robert PEPPERELL, *The Post-Human Condition* (London: Intellect Ltd., 1997).

⁴⁴ Strobe TALBOTT, "The Birth of the Global Nation," *Time*, 20 July 1992.

stopped. The founders of the United States overthrew the colonial government for offenses far lighter than those of which the American traitor class is guilty.

In all creation disease and frailty invite predators, as witnessed in the scene of Madame Hortense's death in *Zorba the Greek*. Both the loss of the will to define and defend one's native culture, and the loss of the desire to procreate, send an alluring signal to the teeming sukhs and kasbahs: come, there's *money for nothin' and chicks for free!* Come, for no Western nation has the guts to shed blood, alien or its own, in the name of its own survival. Islamic supremacism, by contrast, has emerged as a formidable foe, firmly rooted in the ideology of cultural and political imperialism that knows no natural limits to itself.

As recent political upheavals in Europe and America indicate, the game is not up. *Dar al Islam* is *not* inevitably the end of the road. Tens of millions of Westerners are still endowed with feelings and reason, with the awareness of who they are. Their struggle to defend themselves against the World of Submission is just starting, even if the outcome is uncertain. In the face of historic uncertainty, true to their ancestors, it is to be expected that they will hold on to life, and beauty, and truth, whatever the cost may be.

Closing Address by BG Attila Takács, Hungarian Defence Forces

The last 25 years have transformed warfare, brought about a unique combination of old, traditional capabilities and the possibilities offered by rapid technological developments. Previous conferences have touched upon this. The Hungarian Defence Forces met with postmodern military challenges first in August 2015, during the migration crisis. This experience prompted the creation of the Military Administration and Training Command. One of the most important tasks of the Command is to execute the transformation tasks confronting the Hungarian Defence Forces. It is not by accident that the General Staff's Research Center became part of the new organization: transformation implies adaptation and organizational development process, and the Center is one of the driving forces of this process.

When the Research Center's organizers began to plan this conference in the late spring of this year, they made some key decisions. First, instead of inviting speakers by name, they sent out a call for papers to think tanks, research institutes, as well as to military and police organizations. This way they opened the door to many more authors. Second, in order to stimulate debate and reflect the "whole of society" nature of asymmetric conflict, they made a conscious effort to pull together military and police professionals, scholars of various social science disciplines, legal experts, public administration figures and young researchers at the beginning of their scientific career. Third, they set aside sufficient time for the panels to sum up their work in a handful of bullet points, as well as to come up with a set of policy recommendations for the decision makers. This was all somewhat unusual.

Seeing the conference conclusions and recommendations, it looks like the idea of putting practitioners and scholars together has paid off. The soldiers, policemen, lawyers, administrators, sociologists, psychologists and other scientists came up with results that would not have been possible if only one discipline had been represented. The final results speak for themselves.

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During the last seven decades the state's increasing vulnerability to the challenge of non-state belligerents has been the paradox of armed conflict. In this new operational environment, the firepower of the state's conventional forces and the traditional national security methods are generally ineffective against the opponent's agility, determination and strategic communication skills. The Scientific Research Centre of the General Staff of the Hungarian Defence Forces organized the *Asymmetric Warfare* conference in order to discuss these developments and seek answers to the questions that the asymmetric challenge poses.

Military and law-enforcement professionals, specialists in public administration, strategic communication and international law, as well as academic researchers of various disciplines presented the results of their research and discussed at length some of the most important aspects of asymmetric warfare. In addition to the papers presented at the conference, this volume also contains the conclusions and policy recommendations that the participants agreed on at the end of the conference.

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