Unconventional Warfare

- 2001 – American led coalition struck Afghanistan
  - Destruction of al Qaeda
- 2003 – American and British forces invaded Iraq
  - Topple Saddam Hussein
  - Prevent Iraq from passing weapons of mass destruction to al Qaeda and other Jihadists
- Result was unconventional warfare

Unconventional Warfare - Iraq

- After the major offensive, campaign against the U.S. and its allies was horrendous
- The most helpful way to think about the insurgency is to look at the different categories of groups opposing the occupation and the Iraqi gov’t. and to consider the differences in cultures

Unconventional Warfare - Iraq (cont.)

- Bush and other government officials referred to insurgents as terrorists
- Media used a variety of names
  - Terrorists
  - Suicide bombers
  - Outlawed militiamen
- No clear enemy
- Counterinsurgency is not simply a fight against terrorism
Unconventional Warfare - Iraq (cont.)

There are three main insurgent groups

1) Displaced Ba’athists
   - Were part of Hussein’s regime
   - Use terrorist tactics at times, but see themselves engaged in a guerrilla campaign

2) Iraqis who want the U.S. to leave their country
   - Sunni militants not related to Ba’athists, fight along tribal lines
   - Militant Shi’ites want Iraq to be an Islamic republic like Iran
   - Criminals who do not care about the countries leadership and engage in crime to make a profit

3) Jihadists
   - Come to Iraq to fight the U.S.

Unconventional Warfare - Iraq (cont.)

Two classes of Jihadists

1) Those from surrounding areas fighting as guerrillas
   - Terrorism is highly selective
   - Purpose is to kill Americans and their supporters

2) The other group is composed of terrorists under an al Qaeda-style umbrella

Unconventional Warfare - Iraq (cont.)

Terrorism is the primary tactic of the Jihadists

- U.S. confrontation with the second group of terrorists is a fight against terrorism
- The three insurgent groups do not share a common vision for the future of Iraq
  - Frequently at odds with each other
Unconventional Warfare - Iraq (cont.)
- Cultural factors behind the violence in Iraq is extremely important
  - Families and extended family groups are one of most important aspects of Arab culture
  - U.S. dominated coalition of non-Arab nations invade an Arab country, tribal loyalties will come to forefront
- When cultural aspects combine with various ideologies motivating the various insurgent groups, it is possible to see that a major portion of the insurrection does not involve terrorism
  - Tactics that work against terrorists do not work against guerrillas or conventional militias
- Failure to make distinctions may lead to defeat

Unconventional Warfare - Afghanistan
- Operation Enduring Freedom (OEF) began on Oct. 7, 2001
  - Afghanistan hosted terrorist group responsible for 9-11
  - U.S. demanded arrest of al Qaeda and its leadership
  - NATO took command of operations
  - bin Laden escaped death or capture

Unconventional Warfare - Afghanistan (cont.)
- Three issues arise in looking at Afghanistan in the context of terrorism in Central Asia
  1) al Qaeda and Jihadist sympathizers were able to reconstitute leadership in the eastern areas of Afghanistan and tribal regions of Pakistan
  2) Ability of al Qaeda and Jihadist sympathizers to inspire or directly control the network destabilizes the area giving the Jihadists a long reach
  3) Taliban and other Jihadist forces use terrorist tactics against military forces in unconventional role
Asia

- Asia witnessed the growth of terrorist networks during the early 21st century
- **Central Asia**
  - As the new Russian Federation formed after the 1991 breakup of the Soviet Union, the Russians wanted little to do with their old possessions in Central Asia
  - Turkmenistan, Uzbekistan, Tajikistan, Kyrgyzstan, and Kazakhstan moved out of Soviet control into self-government

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Central Asia

- 1991 breakup of the Soviet Union gave rise to three movements:
  1. **Hizb ul Tahrir (HT)**
     - A Palestinian organization
     - Moved to Central Asia to preach conversion to Islam
     - One of the most powerful groups in Central Asia
  2. **Islamic Movement of Uzbekistan (IMU)**
     - Proposed violent Jihad against the dictator of Uzbekistan, Islam Karimov
     - Islamic Renaissance Party
     - Aligned with Taliban and narcotic traffickers in Afghanistan
  3. **Uighars**
     - Jihadists from western China’s ethnic Turkmen
     - Organized to revive an 18th century Islamic state in China’s Xinjiang province
     - Using Kyrgyzstan and Kazakhstan as bases, the Uighars operate in China

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Central Asia - HT

- **Hizb ul Tahrir (HT)** is growing in Central Asia and spreading to Middle East, Turkey, and Europe
- Growing from a Palestinian missionary organization in 1953, HT took root in Central Asia
  - Began to spread after the fall of the Soviet Union
  - Its purpose was evangelism
  - Preached the peaceful formation of the caliphate
- In addition to young marginalized men, HT targets local Islamic leaders and law enforcement officers
- It may proclaim non-violence, but members of several violent terrorist groups were members of HT
  - In addition, some members of the IMU, a self-described violent group, have been found with HT literature
Central Asia - IMU

- Islamic Movement of Uzbekistan (IMU)
  - Origins can be traced to the Fergana Valley in 1990
  - Its two leaders, Tahir Yoldash and Juma Namangani, wished to restore the caliphate in Central Asia
  - As members of the new organization were arrested, Yoldash and Namangani fled to Tajikistan
  - When the Tajik civil war began, Yoldash fled to Afghanistan, and Namangani joined the Tajik Islamists
    - Yoldash became the ambassador of sorts for the Central Asia caliphate movement
    - Namangani attained a reputation as a fierce warrior

Central Asia – IMU (cont.)

- Islamic Movement of Uzbekistan (IMU)
  - Namangani, somewhat impressed with the Tajik settlement, went to Afghanistan to join the Taliban government.
  - He joined Yoldash to form the IMU in Kabul in 1998
  - Namangani began a two-fold campaign:
    - He continued terrorist activities to create the caliphate
    - He increasingly turned to crime for money
  - When the US-led coalition struck Afghanistan in Oct. 2001, the IMU fought for the Taliban
    - American forces killed Namangani in heavy fighting a month later and the IMU went underground

Central Asia – IMU (cont.)

- Svante Cornell believes the IMU changed its focus from political terrorism to criminal networking
  - The IMU became narcotics traffickers
- According to Cornell, an aggressive counterterrorist policy in Central Asia should include emphasis on criminal networks and drug trafficking
Central Asia – China’s Problem in Xinjiang

- After 9-11, China was eager to join the U.S. in the “war on terror”
- In 2003, China asked for international assistance in clamping down on what the gov’t. claims to be its own “Jihadists terrorists”, Uighur nationalists who believe Xinjiang is their international homeland
  - China wants the assistance of the U.S. in listing Uighur organizations as terrorist groups
- Xinjiang has China’s largest oil and gas reserves
  - Uighurs feel they are entitled to these reserves

Central Asia – China’s Problem in Xinjiang (cont.)

- The Uighurs are ethnic Turkmen, mostly Sufi Muslims
  - They have lived in and governed parts of Xinjiang province for 200 years
  - Many of them are fighting to become independent of China
- Although one of the militant groups fighting for independence trained in Afghanistan, the majority of militants are not Jihadists
  - However, some of the separatists are terrorists
- Most of the Uighur terrorism is not part of the Jihadist movement
  - Many of the separatists are not violent and do not endorse terrorism

Central Asia – The Maoist Rebellion in Nepal

- The situation in Nepal involves terrorism in the forms of revolution and repression
- The monarchy, ruled by authoritarian King Gyanendra, unleashed the military after taking the throne in 2001
- The Communist Party of Nepal responded by conducting its own abductions and executions
Central Asia – The Maoist Rebellion in Nepal

- Nepal’s problems do not follow the path of other forms of terrorism in Asia
  - The civil war started in 1996 when Maoists launched attacks in different parts of the country
  - King Gyandendra abandoned all pretext of democracy
    - Took direct control of the government in Feb. 2004 and cut Nepal off from the world
  - The result has been a bitter circle of revolution and repression

Terrorism on the Indian Subcontinent - Pakistan

- Two international issues dominate Pakistan’s relations with the US
  1) Pakistan is the only Islamic country with nuclear capabilities and it has shared those capabilities with other countries
  2) After 9/11, Pakistani President Pervez Musharraf became an ally of the US
- Pakistan has allowed Coalition forces fighting in Afghanistan to fly over Pakistani territory
- It has allowed American personnel to operate within its borders
- Its military has conducted counterterrorist operations, especially in the northwest where al Qaeda, Taliban, and other Jihadist forces are housed

Terrorism on the Indian Subcontinent - Pakistan

- Pakistan is not as much a modern country as it is a modern series of tribal confederations
- The Jihadist movement is strong in the North-West Frontier Province (NWFP) and strongest in the province’s tribal area of Waziristan
- Baluchs are staging a revolt in Baluchistan, and two major parties resent the Pakistani government’s relationship with the U.S.
- There is tension between Pakistan and India along their border
  - Both countries lay claim to Jammu and Kashmir
Terrorism on the Indian Subcontinent - Bangladesh

- Bangladesh became an independent nation in 1971
- Currently experiencing a two-fold problem:
  - Its ports have become centers for international crime, including drug-trafficking and illegal weapons trade
  - The growth of militant fundamentalism threatens Bangladeshi political stability and promotes terrorism
- An ideal place for militant religion to emerge
  - Has spawned the birth of:
    - Ul-Jihad ul-Islami (Islamic Jihad), Southeast Asian wing of al Qaeda
    - Harkat ul-Jihad (Jihad Organization), a clone of Ul-Jihad ul-Islami
- These groups threaten to bring a larger revolution to Bangladesh

Terrorism on the Indian Subcontinent – Sri Lanka

- Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam (LTTE or Tamil Tigers) have been fighting for an independent homeland for the nearly 3 million Tamils in northern and eastern Sri Lanka
- Struggle’s origins can be traced to the autonomy India gained at the end of WW II
- The Tamils believe that Sri Lanka is the home of two sovereign peoples: the Tamils and the Sinhalese
  - They argue that the island can be divided into two sovereign areas and that both groups can live together, albeit separately
- In 1975, Velupillai Pirapaharan, a young Tamil militant, formed the LTTE
  - Grew from 40 followers to between 10,000 to 16,000 followers
- LTTE eventually emerged as the leading revolutionary group
  - Launched Sri Lanka into a full-blown terrorist campaign
- Unable to foment the revolution from above, the group established contacts with the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine
  - Since that time, the Tamil Tigers have launched three on-again, off-again terrorist campaigns
- The LTTE has incorporated a variety of tactics since 1984
  - Guerrilla tactics
  - Criminal activities
  - Suicide bombers on land and sea
  - Used children as soldiers
Terrorism on the Indian Subcontinent – Sri Lanka

- From 1994 to 1995, the Tamil Tigers waged a bombing and assassination campaign.
- They did what no other terrorist group has been able to do.
  - Supported by guerrilla strongholds, Tamil Tigers appeared in uniform in 1994 and fought pitched battles with the Sri Lankan security forces.
- The Sri Lankan security forces have recently mounted a major offensive against the Tamil Tigers.
  - Gov’t forces currently have the Tigers trapped in the northern part of the island.
  - 65-75K civilians are estimated to be trapped in the conflict zone.
  - Tigers have attempted to prevent civilian flight by detonating three suicide bombs and sniping at civilians.

Terrorism on the Indian Subcontinent – India

- India has a variety of terrorist problems coming from political, religious, and ethnic strife.
- The Naxalites, composed of radical Maoists, emerged in a 1967 uprising in West Bengal.
  - The rebellion was short-lived after India security forces targeted the group.
  - The Naxalites broke into many smaller movements and reemerged in 2004 when two violent Maoist groups united to form the Communist Party of India.

Terrorism on the Indian Subcontinent – India (cont.)

  - Three main groups and a host of smaller splinter organizations carry out a campaign of religious violence.
- The ISI has played a leading role in Kashmiri violence.
- There are three ISI-inspired Jihadist groups in Jammu and Kashmir:
Terrorism on the Indian Subcontinent – India (cont.)

1) Lashkar-e-Taiba (LeT) or Army of the Pure
   - Receives funding from ISIS in exchange for two services:
     - Targets Hindus in Jammu and Kashmir region and:
     - Sends operatives into India to train native Jihadists

2) The Harakat ul-Mujhadeen (HuM), or Organization of Holy Warriors
   - Formed by a merger of two mujihadeen groups after the Soviet-Afghan war and calls for attacks on Americans

3) The Jaish-e-Mohammed (JeM), or Army of Mohammed
   - Headquartered in Pakistan
   - Has ambitions beyond Jammu and Kashmir
   - Operates a string of radical madrassas that preach Islamic revolution

Terrorism on the Indian Subcontinent – India (cont.)

- Although the ISI activity seems to have backed off, there are several ethnic and communal tensions involving terrorism as well as internal Jihadist threats

Terrorism on the Indian Subcontinent – India (cont.)

- The Sikhs
  - After India was partitioned in 1947, some Sikhs sought independence in Punjab, a state where they represented the majority of the population
  - This gave birth to a small, violent independence movement in 1977
  - The issue came to a head in 1984, when Indian military forces entered the Sikh’s most sacred site, the Golden Temple, and engaged in a bloody battle with armed militants
  - Small groups of Sikhs formed terror cells and they targeted Indian security forces, unsympathetic journalists, and the majority of Sikhs who called for the restoration of peace
Southeast Asia and the Pacific Rim - Thailand

- Thailand is experiencing a rebellion in its southern provinces
- While the country is dominated by Buddhism, Islam is the primary religion of the three most southern states
  - These states border Islamic Malaysia
- The Pattani United Liberation Organization (PULO) formed in India in 1968 for the purpose of creating a Muslim state through armed struggle
  - Leaders trained in Syria and Libya

Southeast Asia and the Pacific Rim - Thailand (cont.)

- The Barisan Revolusi Nasional-Coordinate (BRN-C) is leading the insurgency and carries a Jihadist agenda
- Complementing the BRN-C is the Gerakan Mujahideen Islami Pattani (GMIP)
  - Afghan veterans reassembled the group in 1995, but it has deteriorated into a criminal gang
- Southern insurgency is becoming an international affair
  - Radicals in the Philippines and Indonesia see the revolt as part of the international Jihad

Southeast Asia and the Pacific Rim - Indonesia

- Jihadist groups began forming in Indonesia in 1990s
- New leadership gained power in 1998, and Islamic groups blossomed, asserting their independence
- Militant Islamic groups grew in 1999 fighting between Christians and Muslims
- The political situation in Indonesia provided climate for the growth of Jihadist groups
Southeast Asia and the Pacific Rim - Indonesia

- Members of Jihadist movements had been trained in Afghanistan
- **Lashkar Jihad** formed to fight Christians in the east
- A more sinister group, **Jamaat Islamiyya**, formed with the purpose of placing Indonesia under strict Islamic law
- Both groups have had contacts with al Qaeda

Southeast Asia and the Pacific Rim - The Philippines

- The Philippines also experienced Jihadist violence
  - **The Moro National Liberation Front (MNLF)**
    - Is a continuation of the old religious struggle
    - Seeks an independent Islamic state
  - **The Moro Islamic Liberation Front (MILF)**
    - Has ties with Jihadist movements
    - Seeks to create an Islamic state under strict interpretations of Islamic law
Southeast Asia and the Pacific Rim – The Philippines (cont.)

■ Abu Sayyuf
  – Claims to be part of the Jihadist movement
  – However, more closely associated with criminal activity
  – Seems more interested in money than religion

■ New Peoples Army (NPA)
  – Operates throughout the Philippines
  – Originally established to fight both the government and its American allies
  – Hopes to turn the Philippines into a Communist state
  – Responsible for a number of murders to include U.S. military personnel

Radicals and Religion in Japan

■ Aum Shinrikyo (Supreme Truth)
  – An organized religious group trying to destroy the Japanese government
    ■ They are a cult-like terrorist group whose members included technicians and scientists
  – Responsible for poison gas attack in the Tokyo subway in 1996
    ■ First large-scale use of chemical agents by terrorists
  – Members hoped to destabilize the Japanese government and seize power in the confusion

Radicals and Religion in Japan (cont.)

■ Japanese Red Army
  – Unique terrorist group which intertwined leftist ideology with Japanese nationalism
  – Forged relationships with terrorist groups all over the world
  – Ironically, although it was a Japanese leftist group, its most active cell would operate in Lebanon, fighting for the Palestinian cause
  – Group splintered into many factions
    ■ One segment operated with the North Korean Intelligence Service
    ■ Another group joined the Palestinians in the Middle East
    ■ The main group remained in Japan to wage a criminal campaign
  – Its founder announced in 2001 that it had disbanded