

*The Post-Cold War Security Threat:  
Rogue Leaders, Outlaw Nations, and  
Transnational Terrorism*

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# Post Cold War Security Environment

- **Unpredictable international climate-conflicts precipitated by Rogue Leaders and Terrorist Organizations**
- **Relative stability of superpower rivalry replaced by regional conflicts often instigated by previously unknown or poorly understood leaders**
- **Proliferation of destructive power in the hands of leadership with hostile anti-U.S. agendas**
  - **Iran, Iraq and North Korea**
  - **Al Qaeda, Osama bin Laden, and radical Islamic terrorism**
  - **Several of these leaders are seeking or already have WMD**
  - **Regional tensions, e.g. India-Pakistan, threaten as well**

# Deterrence in the Post-Cold War Era

- **Principles of deterrence derived in Cold War era cannot be applied in the post-Cold War era.**
  - **What deters one adversary may stimulate another!!**
  - **This is particularly true in the case of terrorism.**

# Avoiding Deadly Conflict

- To carry out coercive diplomacy requires actor-specific behavioral modeling
  - Alexander George, member Carnegie Commission on Avoiding Deadly Conflict
- Countering Proliferation requires tailored Information operations

# The Importance of Actor-Specific Behavioral Modeling

- One cannot contend effectively with an adversary one does not understand
- A requirement to
  - Deter
  - Influence
  - Conduct Coercive diplomacy
  - Defeat

# Information Warfare and the Revolution in Military Affairs

- Who controls information controls the battlefield
- Both Defensive and offensive information operations important
- DOD expert in tactical psy ops-strategic psy ops in its infancy, rarely used
- Cannot be late addendum-must be integral to war fighting plans from inception
- To develop a strategic information operations program requires precise model of leader personality and key relationships
- Goals to break relationships between leader and leadership circle, and to immunize populations adversary leader attempting to influence

# Saddam Hussein and Iraq

- Initial (1990) underestimation of threat posed by Saddam
  - In first Gulf conflict, Saddam's strategic psy ops brilliant-promoted his heroism in the radical Arab world, heroic stature for Palestinian people
- Only belated effort by alliance. Tactical psy ops very effective however

# Saddam and WMD in Wake of 1991

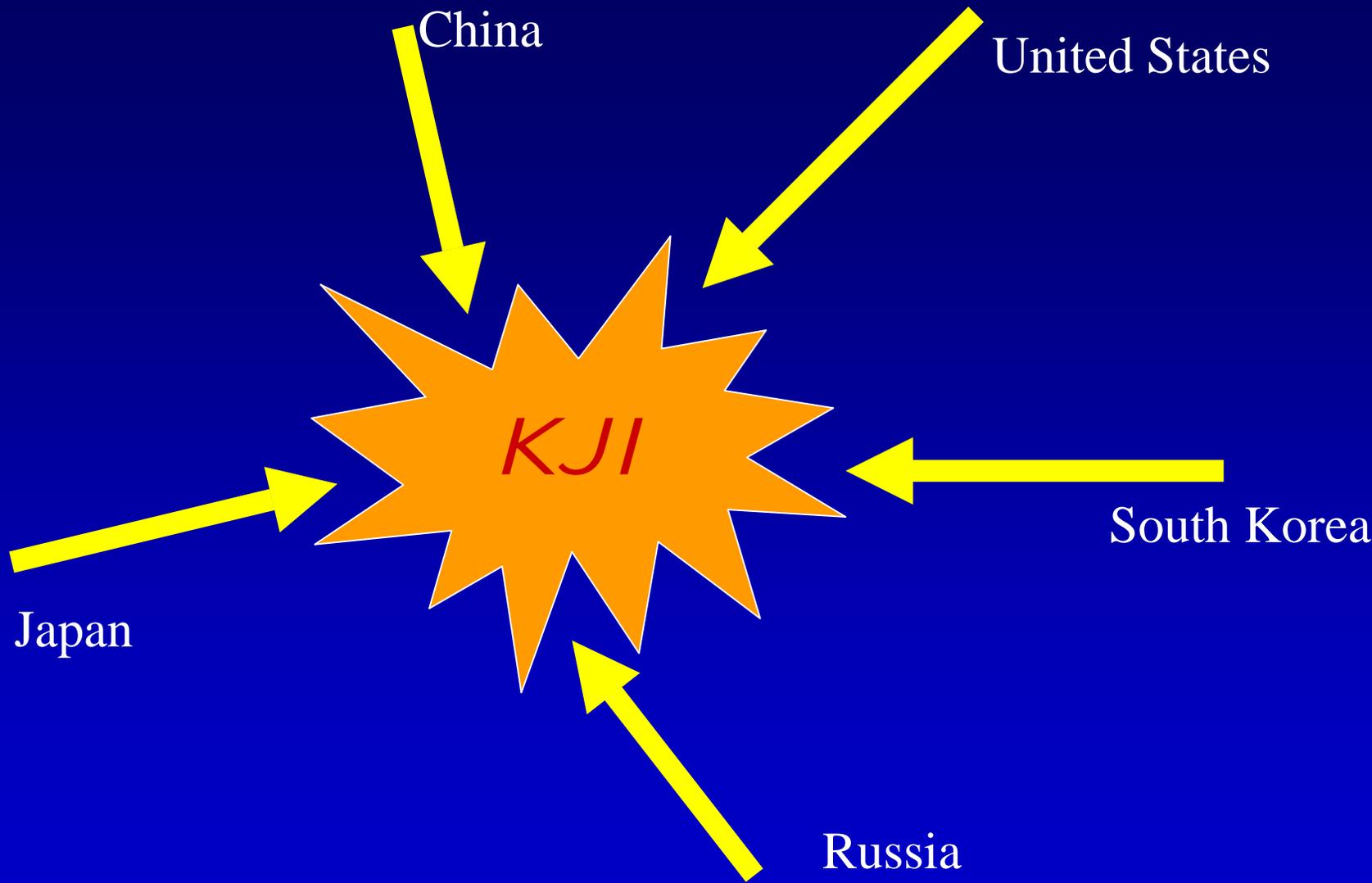
- Psychologically strengthened-At last a world class leader.
- “Big boys have big toys”
- Gravely weakened conventional forces made unconventional weapons all the more important
- Required to resist inspections or reveal self as not in control of Iraq-estimated \$93 billion lost during sanctions

# Countering Saddam's Use of WMD With Effective Information Operations

- In fall of 2002, SecDef Rumsfeld and Pres. Bush comments designed to split Saddam from military commanders
- In lead up to and at onset of conflict, leafleting of battlefield to augment prior public statements

# Kim Jong-il and North Korea

- Leader dominant society
- The Kim family *is* North Korea-  
North Korea *is* the Kim family
- Hub of wheel decision structure prone to error



# Kim Jong-il: Myth and reality

- Kim identified in public mind with God-like father, Kim Il Sung, Eternal President
- Inherited ideology and charisma from father
- But Kim *not* revolutionary fighter, *not* nation builder, *not* ideology creator-

# In The Shadow of His Father

- Disparity from father's contributes to profound insecurity in son; "majesty sits uncomfortably on his shoulders"
- Succeeding a powerful father is a challenge. Succeeding a father of god-like stature is psychologically impossible.
- Trapped by father's ideology-  
twin pillars *Juche* and reunification

# KJI and North Korea (continued)

- Millions died in famine, hundreds of thousands in gulag
- KJI calls for sacrifice from his people and military, while he lives hedonistic life style in 7 story pleasure palace in Pyong Yang
  - Average income North Korean \$900-\$1000 per year
  - KJI spent between \$650,000 and \$800,000 annually on Hennessey cognac between 1989-1999!
  - Recruits comely young maidens with clear complexions in junior high school to join “joy brigades” to help his hard working senior officials relax

# Information Operations

- Identify Pyongyang as prime military target using extensive and overt surveillance
- Counter “one-a-match-for-one-hundred” military myth by demonstrating US military capabilities
- “Educate” lower level military and general population on gap between their deprivation and hedonism of national elites-who their Dear Leader who calls for sacrifice really is-
- This will be a major challenge in a closed information environment, requiring coordination with ROK

# HOLY TERROR

“Killing in the name of  
God”



THE WASHINGTON POST

HOLY MAN



# Religious Fundamentalist Terrorism: Fundamental Differences

- **Other terrorisms interested in influencing contemporary society**
- **Fundamentalist religious terrorism wishes no dialogue with contemporary society--wishes to eliminate modernizing influences**
  - **Radical Islamist terrorism seeks to eliminate Western presence and influences**
- **Hierarchical and authoritarian: absence of conflict for the “true believer” over his acts of violence because sanctified by religious authority**

# Killing in the Name of God: Osama bin Laden and radical Islam

- Most terrorist groups *not* motivated to use CBRN terrorism
  - Would be counter-productive to their goals of influencing the West
- Radical Islamic terrorism the one exception
- Their goal is not to influence the West but to expel the West and corrupt, modernizing secular values and to seek revenge against the West

Group Type	Large-scale Conventional	CBW Hoax	Small-scale CBW Use	Large-scale CBW Use	Catastrophic CBW Use (Superterrorism)
Social-Revolutionary	✓*	✓	✓*	X	X
Nationalist-Separatist	✓*	✓	✓*	X	X
Right-Wing	✓	✓	✓	✓	X
Right-Wing Community of Belief	✓	✓	✓	X	X
Religious-Fundamentalist	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Non-traditional Religious Extremists (closed cults)	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
*	Discriminate acts: acts which do not alienate supporters or endanger constituents, usually taking place outside regional base/home territory				
X	Significantly constrained against such acts, extremely unlikely				
✓	Less constrained, and while still unlikely, could rationalize such acts. The check does not indicate likelihood of committing such an act, but refers to motivation only. Thus many right-wing extremists might be highly motivated to commit such an act, but would lack the necessary resource and capability to carry it out.				

# No Moral Red Lines

- **The more an attack hurts the enemy, the more important it is. That is the measure. The mass killings, especially the suicide bombings, were the biggest threat to the Israeli public and so most effort was devoted to these. The extent of the damage and the number of casualties are of primary importance.**
- **In a jihad, there are no red lines.**

# Justifying Suicidal Terrorism

- **A suicide bombing is the highest level of jihad, and highlights the depth of our faith. The bombers are holy fighters who carry out one of the more important articles of faith. \*\***

\*\* Hassan Salame, responsible for the wave of suicide bombings in Israel in 1996, in which 46 were killed. He is now serving 46 consecutive life sentences.

- **It is suicide attacks which earn the most respect and elevate the bombers to the highest possible level of martyrdom.**

# Israeli Suicide Bombers

- Age 17 – 22
- Uneducated
- Unemployed
- Unmarried

## **UNFORMED YOUTH**

- Kept under tight control until carries out suicidal attack

# September 11 Terrorists

- Late 20s to early 30s
- Some higher education
- Comfortable Middle Class background in Egypt and Saudi Arabia

## FULLY FORMED ADULTS

- On their own in the West for upwards of seven years!

“True Believers” who have subordinated their  
individuality to the group

Accept uncritically the world view and  
directions of their destructive charismatic  
leader, Osama bin Laden.

# Al-Qaeda Training Manual Dedication

In the name of Allah, the merciful and compassionate

To those champions who avowed the truth day and night . . .

. . . And wrote with their blood and sufferings these phrases . . .

-\*- The confrontation that we are calling for with the apostate regimes does not know Socratic debates . . . , Platonic ideals . . . , nor Aristotelian diplomacy. But it knows the dialogue of bullets, the ideals of assassination, bombing, and destruction, and the diplomacy of the cannon and machine-gun.

\*\*\* . . .

Islamic governments have never and will never be established through peaceful solutions and cooperative councils. They are established as they [always] have been

by pen and gun

by word and bullet

by tongue and teeth

# Implications for Countering Political Terrorism

Political terrorism can be considered:

**A vicious species of Psychological warfare waged through the media, with violence as communication.**

Smart bombs and missiles are *not* the way to counter psychological warfare.

The way to counter psychological warfare is with psychological warfare.

# An Effective Counter Terrorism Program

1. Inhibits Potential Recruits From Joining the Group
2. Promotes Dissension in the Group
3. Encourages Terrorists to Leave the Group
4. Reduces External Support for the Group and the Leader
5. Protects the Vulnerable Target Population against Terror