
INTRODUCTION

Jeffrey H. Norwitz, editor

What exactly is an armed group? The two words—*armed* and *group*—are clear enough and, when used together, conjure up any manner of mental images. Unshaven men in Western attire holding dirty rifles with straps of bullets hanging from their shoulders. Prohibition-era bank robbers standing on the running boards of a Ford Phaeton with Thompson machine guns tucked under their arms. Wild-eyed horsemen wearing furs charging across a Mongolian plateau. Somali teenagers hanging from the back of a speeding truck, hoisting AK-47 assault rifles. Heavily armed men in sunglasses escorting a political figure from an airplane.

For our purposes, this edited collection will consider armed groups to include classic insurgents, terrorists, guerrillas, militias, police agencies, criminal organizations,

Jeffrey H. Norwitz completed an undergraduate degree in criminal justice at Eastern Kentucky University in 1974. After graduation, he was commissioned a second lieutenant in the United States Army Military Police Corps and completed Airborne School before assignment to the 50th Ordnance Company, where his duties involved security of nuclear weapons. He concluded three years' active duty as the executive officer of the Fourth Military Police Company, Fort Carson, Colorado. Mr. Norwitz joined the El Paso County Sheriff's Office in Colorado Springs, Colorado, in 1978. As a patrol officer, he received awards for heroism, life saving, and superior performance. His specialty assignments included SWAT team sniper and firearms instructor, as well as commander of the bomb squad, responding to more than 500 incidents involving explosives. He was engaged in many prominent cases involving paramilitary groups and domestic terrorism. He joined the civilian ranks of the Naval Criminal Investigative Service (NCIS) in 1985 and served tours of duty stateside and overseas specializing in counterintelligence, counterespionage, and counterterrorism. This included an assignment at Camp Delta, Guantánamo, as part of the Criminal Investigative Task Force interviewing al-Qaeda and Taliban fighters (2003–04). His last assignment was as NCIS supervisory special agent responsible for counterintelligence throughout New England. In 2001, Mr. Norwitz earned an MA in national security and strategic studies from the Naval War College and joined the teaching faculty as the NCIS adviser. Mr. Norwitz holds the John Nicholas Brown Academic Chair of Counterterrorism at the U.S. Naval War College. His articles have been published in the *Naval War College Review*, *Military Review*, *Journal of Homeland Security*, and *Officer Review*. His scholarly work also appears in *Terrorism and Counterterrorism: Understanding the New Security Environment* (McGraw-Hill, 2003); *American Defense Policy*, 8th ed. (Johns Hopkins University Press, 2005); *Practical Bomb Scene Investigation* (CRC Press, 2006); and *Defending the Homeland: Historical Perspectives on Radicalism, Terrorism, and State Responses* (West Virginia University Press, 2007). His articles have been translated into Spanish and Portuguese for publication in South America. Mr. Norwitz lectures extensively across the country and for allied militaries on matters relating to terrorism, intelligence, and homeland security. In 1994, the Honorable John H. Dalton, secretary of the Navy, personally presented Special Agent Norwitz the Department of the Navy's Meritorious Civilian Service Medal for highly classified national security intelligence work. He received a second Meritorious Civilian Service Medal for his intelligence and counterterrorism accomplishments during the 1998 hostilities of Operation Desert Fox. In 2006, he was voted Eastern Kentucky University's College of Business and Technology's Distinguished Alumnus.

war-lords, privatized military organizations, mercenaries, pirates, drug cartels, apocalyptic religious extremists, orchestrated rioters and mobs, and tribal factions.

With this broad a definition we will need an equally broad set of disciplines with which to study armed groups. History, political science, anthropology, sociology, theology, and economics are traditional areas of research. But we will also delve into matters of ethics, technology, intelligence, education, the law, diplomacy, military science, and even mythology. The book is divided into five sections:

- History and armed groups,
- Present context and environment,
- Religion as inspiration,
- Thinking differently about armed groups, and
- The shape of things to come.

With one exception, each of these chapters was written exclusively for this volume. The contributors, all renowned in their fields and noted for their authorship and influential opinions, were individually invited to write for this edited collection. Some of the contributors are best-selling authors. Others are revered academics. Others are frequently on television and radio news programs. Still others spent decades doing highly classified work and consider notoriety an anathema. As a result, readers will find this anthology rich with academic rigor, practitioner experiences, endnotes, and citations for further research and study. The following is a brief narrative abstract of each chapter.

HISTORY AND ARMED GROUPS

Cicero, the Roman philosopher and political thinker, said, “Not to know what has been transacted in former times is to continue always a child.” Therefore, this volume begins with a section on the history of armed groups. Case studies from the past offer a great deal when it comes to understanding the nature of armed groups. What are they? Who are the members? Why do they develop? And why do they disband?

In his chapter, entitled “Pirates, Vikings, and Teutonic Knights,” Marine colonel and Naval War College professor **Peter T. Underwood** examines armed groups from a standpoint of evolutionary behavior. Underwood defines three basic categories falling along a spectrum from poorly organized, disjointed bands, to groups structured and motivated by greed, to highly organized groups led by ideologues. He cleverly demonstrates the characteristics of each category by looking at historic group attitudes exhibited first by pirates, who typify profit-driven criminal gangs. Next, Underwood examines Vikings, who blend a culture of conquest with marauding plunder, and, finally, Teutonic Knights, who added religious zeal to their otherwise armed might. He concludes that nation-states bear a measure of responsibility for armed groups, if only through mere tolerance, and that to remain unchecked, the group must remain beneath the level of serious annoyance.

Accomplished author and Naval War College professor Dr. **Paul J. Smith** offers a meticulous study of one of history’s memorable armed groups in “The Italian Red Brigades (1969–1984): Political Revolution and Threats to the State.” Smith takes a comprehensive look at the Red Brigades during their formative and most violent years. A classic example of structure, support, and tactics, the Red Brigades used murder, extortion, and kidnapping until such time that they caused the public to recoil at the level of violence. Smith

then draws some insightful parallels between Italy's successful, albeit more-than-15-year, struggle against the Red Brigades and the global conflict with al-Qaeda.

Southeast Asia has its own unique history pertaining to armed groups. Eastern Kentucky University's Dr. **Carole Garrison**, chair of the Department of Criminal Justice and Police Studies, having been a supervisor with the United Nations Transitional Authority in Cambodia (UNTAC), writes about her experiences with the political process in the shadow of the Khmer Rouge's murderous violence. "Armed Conflict in Cambodia and the UN Response" looks at how one introduces UN standards for peacekeeping and fair elections when there is no history of it. What are some of the competing agendas when internationalists cannot agree on their own aspirations and values?

In close geographic proximity to Cambodia, Indonesia is the setting for the State Department's Ambassador **Gene Christy's** chapter, "Armed Groups and Diplomacy: East Timor's FRETILIN Guerrillas." As a midlevel State Department foreign service officer, Christy was a pioneer in using the tools of diplomacy to deal with a violent armed group. Two decades later, Christy writes about how a guerrilla movement transitioned to be a legitimate voice of opposition, and then became the elected government. His firsthand account, which includes plunging helicopter rides and frighteningly close calls with ambushes, offers a window into the courageous work of foreign-service professionals who leverage diplomacy in the front lines with armed groups.

Another hallmark armed group is the subject of Naval War College professor Dr. **Timothy D. Hoyt's** chapter, "Adapting to a Changing Environment—The Irish Republican Army as an Armed Group." Hoyt provides an illuminating look at the IRA from a standpoint of evidencing how changing factors on the ground hastened transformation within the organization. In particular, Hoyt argues that at different times, depending on shifting objectives, the IRA behaved as an armed-group chameleon becoming a guerrilla outfit, a classic insurgency, a terrorist organization, a militia, a police agency, a criminal organization, a mercenary organization, and finally orchestrated rioters and mobs. Hoyt warns that focusing exclusively on group methodology may confuse rather than clarify the situation—better to concentrate on the group objective instead of the form or function.

Retired Marine colonel and Naval War College professor **Theodore L. Gatchel** escorts us into the world of fighting insurgents in his chapter, "Pseudo Operations—A Double-Edged Sword of Counterinsurgency." A pseudo operation, Gatchel tells us, is where specially trained and equipped military forces use disguise and subterfuge to infiltrate into an armed group to capture or kill insurgent leaders and conduct psychological operations against them. Like ruses as tactics of war, pseudo operations have been very successful against armed groups. Gatchel offers three electrifying examples where these sorts of strategies tipped the scales in favor of the authorities who wrested control from armed groups in the Philippines, Kenya, and Rhodesia. Yet the use of such tactics may have negative consequences and this chapter explores all sides of the issue.

PRESENT CONTEXT AND ENVIRONMENT

The news is full of stories about armed violence. No nation is free from some level of armed brutality and bloodshed. This section is intended to clarify some of the driving factors that animate the challenges of armed groups today.

Perhaps one of the most respected researchers and authors on al-Qaeda and global terrorism is Dr. **Rohan Gunaratna**, head of the International Centre for Political Violence and Terrorism Research in Singapore. So widely accepted are his expert credentials that the U.S. Department of Justice sought his testimony in the successful 2007 prosecution of Jose Padilla and codefendants Adham Hassoun and Kifah Jayyousi, all convicted on charges of terrorist conspiracy. In his chapter entitled “The Threat to the Maritime Domain: How Real Is the Terrorist Threat?” Gunaratna explores the operational aspects of armed groups that operate on land and at sea. He concludes that maritime terrorist capabilities are actually an extension of land capabilities and, as such, maritime police and navies are limited in their responses to piracy. Instead, according to Gunaratna, preventing future maritime attacks can be done much more effectively by law enforcement and intelligence services operating on land. His three-part strategy calls for (1) creating land-based maritime conterterrorist commands, presumably with strong naval investigative and intelligence resources; (2) focusing on securing waters where terrorists and criminal groups are most active; and (3) protecting ships transporting strategic cargo such as oil and natural gas.

Attorney, legal scholar, and University of Washington professor, **Craig H. Allen** writes the quintessential legal chapter, appropriately entitled “Armed Groups and the Law.” In it, Allen helps the reader wade through the myriad of conventions, treaties, customs, statutes, and principles that make up the essence of decisions we call international law. Allen reflectively says that strategies and policies to deal with armed groups have raced ahead of legal regime but we’ve reached a tipping point where the law will have to be given as much attention for solutions to emerge. Allen poses three legal issues that he thinks the reader should evaluate. First, to what extent should members of armed groups be killed by armed forces of a state without prior due process? Next, what are the standards applicable to their capture, interrogation, treatment and release? Finally, what is their criminal liability under the law of war or criminal laws typically applied in peacetime? His chapter provides a comprehensive foundation to find the answers.

Globalization touches every aspect of the twenty-first-century landscape and armed groups are no exception. National Defense University’s Dr. **Querine H. Hanlon** investigates how globalization enables the transformation of armed groups and how this conversion will define future security. Her chapter, “Globalization and the Transformation of Armed Groups,” first introduces four variants of globalization: economic, technological, cultural, and political. She then discerns how nonstate armed groups have been able to exploit each of these variants as enablers for transformation and, in so doing, emerge as global actors with the ability to threaten state sovereignty. Hanlon posits that globalization makes strong states stronger, while weakening lesser states. This enables armed groups to take advantage of governance made more vulnerable.

The cold war between the Soviet Union and the United States gave rise to theories such as mutually assured destruction, aptly abbreviated as MAD. Each side knew a nuclear exchange would lead to its own destruction and therefore was deterred from ever striking first. But retired Israeli brigadier general **Yosef Kuperwasser** asks us to consider the question posed by his chapter’s title: “Is It Possible to Deter Armed Groups?” Given the changing political and operational landscapes, can armed groups be expected

to behave the way the superpowers did? Kuperwasser challenges the concept of strategic deterrence in today's world of stateless actors, international terror organizations, and armed groups. In particular, he highlights the values held sacrosanct by liberal democracies as weaknesses when viewed by their enemies—such factors as the sanctity of life (citizens and soldiers); the importance of government truth, accountability, sovereignty, and transparency; the role of the media. These factors paralyze democracies when faced with unfettered terror organizations with no such moral or political limitations on how they behave. This, Kuperwasser argues, frames the dilemma of how to deter an adversary who operates with different factors than do liberal democracies. However, factors favorable to armed groups can be held at risk by democracies. Armed groups need credibility in the eyes of their constituencies, they need use of sanctuary, they need a way to avoid accountability, they need protection for leaders, they need patron support, and armed groups need sources of weapons and supplies. Successful deterrence will ultimately require democracies to aggressively attack armed groups where they are most vulnerable.

T. E. Lawrence (Lawrence of Arabia) described rebels as requiring “an unassailable base, something guarded not merely from attack but from the fear of it.” Sanctuary is a term that refers to such a safe haven. Retired Marine colonel, esteemed author, and Naval War College professor Dr. **Mackubin Thomas Owens** provides a wonderful analysis and elaboration in his chapter, “Sanctuary: The Geopolitics of Terrorism and Insurgency.” Starting with an exceptional explanation of classical geopolitics, Owens then treats the reader to a historic examination, citing strategic thinkers such as Halford Mackinder, Francis Fukuyama, Samuel Huntington, and Thomas Barnett. Owens's chapter is unique in that he deals with the concept of sanctuary on different scales of analysis. Using size as a determinant, Owens argues there are fundamental forces at work between the size of territorial sanctuary and the corresponding number of armed-group members. If true, this would allow for accurate predictions of group growth. The chapter concludes with two edifying case studies: one from the 1880's western United States and the other from 2004 Iraq.

What might it be like to be the senior American military officer in a multinational headquarters deployed to Afghanistan where your job is solving regional conflicts that date back hundreds of years? Army colonel and Marine Corps War College professor **Peter Curry** writes about his experiences dealing with Afghan tribal matters in his chapter, “Small Wars Are Local: Debunking Current Assumptions about Countering Small Armed Groups.” Candid, informative, and matter-of-fact, Curry shares his experiences and analysis in a refreshing reevaluation of old assumptions about dealing with local warriors, and offers new ways of thinking. Curry concludes by observing that armed groups are living organisms that force one to change strategies and concepts over time. New assumptions create new mental models that will eventually lead to new strategies and operational approaches to counter armed groups.

Pirates have to be some of the most popularly studied armed groups in literature, film, and history. In a superb chapter entitled “Piracy and the Exploitation of Sanctuary,” British researcher and prolific author **Martin N. Murphy** provides an intriguing comparison of pirates and maritime armed groups for which he offers seven factors of discrimination. One of his key points is that piracy is a land-based crime that is

implemented at sea. Moreover, intelligence is the best tool against piracy. As a result, solutions must begin with coordinated enforcement against the terrestrial elements of planning, recruitment, logistics, and sanctuary.

Radical Islamic extremism and international armed groups seem to have overshadowed other forms of organized violence. Yet, at least in the United States, domestic terrorism and homegrown armed groups must also remain a focus of scrutiny for criminal and intelligence organizations trying to protect us. Dr. **Edward J. Valla** and **Gregory Comcowich**, both with the Federal Bureau of Investigation, coauthored a brilliant chapter entitled “Domestic Terrorism: Forgotten, But Not Gone.” Long before Osama bin Laden was born, racist, antigovernment, Christian Identity, revolutionary armed groups were using improvised explosive devices to kill American judges and federal agents and bomb military recruiting stations. Throughout the 1960s and ’70s, domestic terrorism was inflamed by antiwar activists. Today, antigovernment attacks, such as the Oklahoma City bombing in 1995, abortion clinic bombings, and environmentally driven acts of violence, remind us that domestic armed groups are still a potent enemy. The reader will be introduced to the latest threats inside America as well as some misperceptions about relative risk.

Those who study inner-city dynamics are keenly aware of gang violence. Graffiti on walls, buildings, vehicles, and billboards tells a story of turf battles and gang identity for those who know how to read the symbols. As explained by New York Institute of Technology professor Dr. **Edward J. Maggio** in his chapter, “The Threat of Armed Street Gangs in America,” the current threats to our national security from armed street gangs are a real and frightening reality. Maggio offers us an inspired scholarly treatment of the origins of street gangs, with a heavy emphasis on social and psychological behavior patterns. He explores the concept of delinquency and group dynamics. What’s more, Maggio explicates a seven-stage hate model from which he shows how street-gang activity escalates into organized armed groups. His chapter ends with discussion of the Mara Salvatrucha (MS-13) group, perhaps the most dangerous gang in America.

Steven Emerson is an internationally recognized expert on terrorism and national security and a best-selling author. Since 9/11, Emerson has testified before and briefed Congress dozens of times on terrorist financing and operational networks of al-Qaeda, Hamas, Hezbollah, Islamic Jihad, and the rest of the worldwide Islamic militant spectrum. In this chapter, Emerson takes us inside the courtroom of a notable trial involving an American-born imam of Iraqi descent and an American convert to Islam who had ties to terrorist groups overseas. “Prosecuting Homegrown Extremists: Case Study of the Virginia ‘Paintball Jihad’ Cell” is a comprehensive look at the influence that foreign terrorist organizations wield in the United States. Emerson pulls the curtains back on organizations such as the Council on American-Islamic Relations (CAIR) and other self-described Islamic civil rights and advocacy groups to reveal their direct associations with admitted American jihadists and those who wish to “wage war against the United States.”

RELIGION AS INSPIRATION

It’s difficult for Americans to contemplate that religion and armed-group violence have a causal relationship. It contradicts everything we believe about sanctity, theology, and

spirituality. Nevertheless, history is replete with religious violence. This section will take a look at religious factors that define ancient as well as future forms of conflict.

Marine Corps Command and Staff College's Dr. **Pauletta Otis**, one of the most highly respected academics in the field of religiously fomented violence, provides a benchmark chapter by which readers can grasp the complexity of armed groups that are driven by spiritual ideology. "Armed with the Power of Religion: Not Just a War of Ideas" begins with the assumption that religion contributes to the lethality of armed groups for which sacred identity provides justification for their fights. Otis proposes that there are four sources of religious power. Resources such as buildings and congregation members are one source of power. Interpersonal power, which holds that religious leaders are often more believable than political leaders, is another. Communication is a source of power in that religious leaders communicate with the authority of God and the authority of man. Expertise is the fourth source of power, based on religious figures' having intimate knowledge of locale, history, medicine, education, and community dynamics. Within each of these sources of religious power are elements that leaders and communities can leverage to manipulate their environments with stunning effectiveness. The chapter then examines examples of this in Iraq, Afghanistan, Sudan, Uganda, Peru, and Rwanda. Otis concludes that understanding the source of religious power makes it possible to analyze the human-religious dimension of insurgency, counter the negative impact of religious factors, and support the positive aspects of religious power to compel peace.

How do religious beliefs in America turn into violent actions? U.S. Navy chaplain Commander **Timothy J. Demy** answers this question in an authoritative and analytical assessment of Christian extremists in the United States who have been responsible for murder, assault, destruction of property, and explosive- and firearms-related crimes. "Arming for Armageddon: Myths and Motivations of Violence in American Christian Apocalypticism" examines eschatology, the study of the end-of-times prophecies. Leveraging his remarkable academic and theological credentials, Demy gives the reader an astonishing glimpse into the minds of Christian zealots. Moreover, following four American case studies, Demy concludes with his "Ten Commandments for the cautiously concerned," which puts forward practicable solutions.

When one fights, for whatever purpose, the object of the struggle is to defeat the opponent. So when Dr. **Mehrdad Mozayyan**, Islamic intellectual and Naval War College professor, offers a counterintuitive title such as "Glory in Defeat and Other Islamist Ideologies," we are immediately captivated by his thesis. Mozayyan offers a well-documented and scholarly discussion of the elements of militant Islamic philosophy, which embrace the willingness to be martyred; to wage war on a larger enemy knowing full well what the earthly outcomes will be; and to be massacred while defending Muslim beliefs and, in doing so, ensure ultimate glory and salvation for oneself. The chapter discerns the schism between Sunni and Shi'ite foundations, with six main divisions, and also offers a geopolitical assessment of how the Islamic world perceives the West. Finally, the author argues that there is a cosmic war with infidel forces taking place and temporary setbacks for Islamic fanatics are not considered by them as harbingers of defeat.

THINKING DIFFERENTLY ABOUT ARMED GROUPS

So far, this edited collection has looked at armed groups in traditional ways. The chapters in this section purposely examine armed groups from different perspectives based on scholarly consideration of evidence as well as predictive analysis.

What might conflict look like without traditional norms of behavior, without respect for internationally accepted legal regimens, without regard for societal consequences? Dr. **Andrea J. Dew**, Naval War College professor and best-selling author, examines two key questions in her chapter, “The Erosion of Constraints in Armed-Group Warfare: Bloody Tactics and Vulnerable Targets.” The first question deals with public support for future conflicts with armed groups when violence and exhaustion become too much to bear. How will we know when the public says, “Enough is enough?” The second question uses these indicators of public sentiment and looks for ways that policy makers and military strategists can plan for such conflicts. Dew then provides a five-part intellectual framework to analyze constraints and limitations that affect decision making. These are state cohesiveness, external and transnational actors, the role of ideology, the role of information technology, and duration of conflict. Dew concludes that the ability of states to wage warfare can be severely curtailed by lack of support at home for expenditure of blood and treasure. Moreover, one of the deliberate strategies of armed groups is to escalate the cost of the conflict by purposely prolonging its duration.

Dr. **James J. F. Forest**, prolific writer, author, and director of West Point’s Combating Terrorism Center, looks at how armed groups pass on know-how and expertise to other like organizations. “Knowledge Transfer and Shared Learning among Armed Groups” is an in-depth study of the myriad ways collaboration between and among groups happens. Using historic examples and future predictions, Forest explains how armed groups utilize primitive training camps tucked into remote ravines, as well as Internet chat rooms, to share tradecraft. Forest then introduces a novel construction he calls a “trusted handshake” whereby associates verify bona fides of others. He concludes with eight well-considered implications for thinking differently about armed groups.

Anthropologist, attorney, Pentagon adviser, prolific author, and professor, **Montgomery McFate** presents an exceptional study into the roots of tribal behavior in her chapter, “The ‘Memory of War’: Tribes and the Legitimate Use of Force in Iraq.” McFate begins with a discussion into what tribes are and how tribal systems demand different ways of thinking about them, not just as groups, but as political actors. McFate delves, based on her own time in the Iraqi theater, into how the history of the region shapes tribal behavior and attitudes. One of the most insightful portions is her discussion of what she calls the “algebra of honor,” which ignores the numbers of casualties and, instead, is calculated on the basis of tribal honor and centuries of tradition. McFate concludes with an optimistic view that present doctrine, which stresses limited use of force, minimization of collateral damage, and cultural understanding, is very well suited to the social complexities of Iraq.

Dr. **Derek S. Reveron** of the Naval War College and Professor **Jeffrey Stevenson Murer** of the University of St. Andrews collaborate on their chapter, “Terrorist or Freedom Fighter? Tyrant or Guardian?” As the title suggests, the way we think about armed groups and sovereign states will define how we deal with them. This chapter is a solid

discussion of political drivers. For example, the authors declare that terrorism is a tactic employed in a political context and that nation-states create policy connotations to their benefit by labeling political opponents as terrorists. Furthermore, while terrorism may threaten democracies, the response from the state may be the greater evil. The authors offer some historic examples of nation-states that purposely used the specter of national emergency to pursue political adversaries, thereby giving the government extraordinary power. They conclude with a warning about the dangers of using war as the context to look at armed groups.

Psychologist Dr. **Elena Mastors**, Naval War College professor and an accomplished author on matters of psychology and group behavior, teams with counterintelligence professional **Jeffrey H. Norwitz**, Naval War College professor and Naval Criminal Investigative Service (NCIS) special agent, in a fascinating chapter that blends theory and practical application. “Disrupting and Influencing Leaders of Armed Groups” proposes a four-step framework for examining the psychological underpinnings of leaders in which the authors focus on personal characteristics, operating environment, advisory system, and information environment—the combination of which informs strategies for influencing behavior and decision-making processes of armed-group leaders. Utilizing the unmatched ability of human intelligence practitioners to gain access to leaders and their advisers, often through clandestine and covert action, the authors lay out step-by-step strategies for manipulating leaders into self-destructive behaviors, thereby eliminating the group as a nemesis. The chapter is complete with a historic example of superb human intelligence work as well as a new case study on the personality of Ayman al-Zawahri.

The final chapter in this section considers anthropology as a discipline to study armed groups. Renowned anthropologist, author, and Naval War College professor Dr. **David W. Kriebel** views an armed group as a social unit existing within a larger society subject to the norms of one or more wider cultures. “Armed Groups through the Lens of Anthropology” is a captivating study of how culture, not biology, is the basis for human aggression. He presents three “lenses” of anthropology through which to analyze armed groups. The lens of “kinship” relates to familial dynamics. The lens of “cognitive” anthropology explores how ordinary people can act in extraordinarily violent inhuman ways. And the lens of “critical” anthropology eschews a neutral approach to its subject matter. Taken together, Kriebel states that the use of anthropological insight in studying armed groups and conflict is beneficial.

THE SHAPE OF THINGS TO COME

“I never think of the future—it comes soon enough.” Albert Einstein’s quintessential quote about the future is profound and perhaps suggests a measure of wait-and-see. Yet for the national security practitioner, the risk of inaction is too great. In the concluding section, we take a look at some of the harbingers of things to come relative to armed groups. If we fail to shape the future, we will be the beneficiaries of a future designed by others.

In a ground-breaking and frightening chapter based on his award-winning work and many published books and essays, Dr. **P. W. Singer**, senior fellow and director of the 21st Century Defense Initiative at the Brookings Institution, uncovers the ugly reality

referenced in his chapter's title: "Children on the Battlefield: The Breakdown of Moral Norms." Dr. Singer is considered one of the world's leading experts on changes in twenty-first-century warfare. Written exclusively for this volume, this chapter captures a horrible dilemma for armed forces and police having to deal with armed groups that utilize child soldiers. Dr. Singer's most recent book, *Children at War* (Pantheon, 2005), was the first book to comprehensively explore the compelling and tragic rise of child-soldier groups and was recognized by the 2006 Robert F. Kennedy Memorial Book of the Year Award. His commentary on the issue was featured in a variety of venues ranging from NPR and Fox News to *Defense News* and *People* magazine. Dr. Singer has served as a consultant on the issue to the U.S. Marine Corps and Congress, and the recommendations in his book resulted in recent changes in the UN peacekeeping training program.

One of the worrisome specters of future conflict is where terrorism and organized crime intersect. "The 'New Silk Road' of Terrorism and Organized Crime: The Key to Countering the Terror-Crime Nexus" is a chapter authored by Brigadier General (retired) **Russell D. Howard**, director of the Jebesen Center for Counter-Terrorism Studies, and **Colleen M. Traugher**, a Jebesen graduate research assistant. Together, they offer the reader a geostrategic overview of the region from Afghanistan to western Europe that they call the new Silk Road. This chapter exposes activity across the expanse wherein terrorism, corruption, and organized crime have found a strategic partnership. Regional trafficking in drugs, weapons, and human cargo provides a fertile environment for terrorists to find sanctuary. The authors conclude with a four-step plan: counter the terror-crime nexus, establish interagency cooperation at the lowest levels, fight a network with a network, and indentify the level of collusion between terrorists and traffickers and respond accordingly.

Perhaps one of the most complex and vexing aspects of understanding armed groups is in the arena of financing. How do groups sustain themselves? What is the evidence to suggest state sponsorship? How do members move money for the benefit of individuals and the organization? What is the role of religion when it comes to money matters? Written by best-selling author and director of the American Center for Democracy, Dr. **Rachel Ehrenfeld**, and her assistant **Alyssa A. Lappen**, these questions and more are answered in the chapter entitled "Shari'a Financing and the Coming Ummah." The authors courageously uncover state and nonstate organizations, as well as business conspiracies, that keep armed groups and terror organizations funded and therefore operationally deadly. Dr. Ehrenfeld has an international reputation for exposing governments and nongovernmental organizations with clandestine economic ties to terror organizations. Her articles appear in print worldwide and she's given expert testimony on television, on radio news programs, and before U.S. courts and Congress. Ehrenfeld and Lappen craft an irrefutable argument, superbly researched and meticulously documented, that the West's reluctance to identify and understand the sharia financial complex is, by itself, a measure of the enemy's success.

The international scope of terrorism and armed groups is brilliantly captured in a paper presented by Stanford University's Dr. **Martha Crenshaw** to the Pontifical Catholic University of Rio de Janeiro's Conference on Terrorism and International Relations. In "Terrorism as an International Security Problem," Dr. Crenshaw answers five questions:

What is terrorism today? What are its causes? Why is terrorism a threat to international security? How has the international community responded? What does the future look like? Instructive, discerning, and visionary, Crenshaw's chapter is a splendid blend of astute answers to enduring questions.

Armed groups have clear objectives. They have identifiable goals. They exist for a specific purpose. Or do they? Perhaps they don't aspire to anything but mere anarchy and disorder? Dr. **P. H. Liotta**, executive director of the Pell Center for International Relations and Public Policy, takes his theory of chaos as strategy and expands it with his chapter, "Takin' It to the Streets: Hydra Networks, Chaos Strategies, and the 'New' Asymmetry." Referring to U.S. national security decision making as a rational process, Liotta suggests that there is an inherent vulnerability in this thinking that does not account for irrational (chaotic) choice by the adversary. He explains the implications for national security and force planning as well as ways to adapt to chaos where our adversary's essential aim is to achieve victory through avoiding defeat. Referring to the mythical, multiheaded Hydra, and using an adage from India, Liotta reminds us that one way to kill a tiger is to distract it from so many different sides that it tries to run in every direction at once. We must adapt to the new asymmetry or else face the fate of the tiger.

Tufts University's Dr. **Richard Shultz**, best-selling author and scholar on national security matters, writes a chapter entitled "Virtual Sanctuary Enables Global Insurgency." In it, he explores how the loss of physical sanctuary was a setback to al-Qaeda and the Taliban when, in 2001, the United States launched Operation Enduring Freedom in Afghanistan. Since then, according to Shultz, two strategic adaptations have occurred. One is the use of the Internet to establish a virtual sanctuary in cyberspace. The other, leveraging the first strategic adaptation, is to promote the global Salafi jihad movement. The chapter looks at seven categories of activities from which a global insurgency has replaced pre-2001 tactics, techniques, and procedures. They are propagating the Salafi ideology of jihad, inspiring and mobilizing the *ummah* to join the jihad, engaging in psychological warfare to demoralize the enemy, networking the global Salafi jihad insurgency, sharing manuals and handbooks, sharing training videos and courses, and collecting information for targeting.

The final chapter in the section is entitled "Armed Groups: Changing the Rules." Written by **T. X. Hammes**, best-selling author and retired Marine colonel, the chapter gives the reader an overview of a concept about which Hammes is a pioneer thinker: that of fourth-generation warfare. Hammes contends that armed groups fall into one of three categories of motivation: reactionary, opportunistic, or ideological. These categories are useful to understand how groups organize, grow, and operate. He includes a brief treatment of private military companies—for example, contractors who mirror small armies and are hired for protection and bodyguard duties. Hammes concludes by warning that political, economic, social, and technical trends are increasing the number, variety, and power of armed groups.

APPENDIX

The book is made more complete with the inclusion of *Guidelines on Humanitarian Negotiations with Armed Groups* as an appendix. Produced by the United Nations Office for the

Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs, these comprehensive guidelines summarize strategies and approaches for undertaking humanitarian negotiations with armed groups. As stated in the guidelines, the primary objectives of humanitarian negotiations are to ensure assistance and protection to vulnerable populations, preserve humanitarian space, and promote better respect for international law. According to the guidelines, a working definition of nonstate armed groups is

Groups that: have the potential to employ arms in the use of force to achieve political, ideological or economic objectives; are not within the formal military structures of States, State-alliances or intergovernmental organizations; and are not under the control of the State(s) in which they operate.

The UN document explicates critical concepts that frame successful negotiation and reconciliation approaches. These include motivations for entering into negotiations, tips for knowing when to adopt a more cautious approach to negotiations, humanitarian partners in negotiations, international law relevant to humanitarian negotiations, possible negative implications of humanitarian negotiations, and suggestions for dealing with non-compliance. The guidelines conclude with a worksheet for mapping characteristics of armed groups. These guidelines have an 88-page partner UN publication, *Humanitarian Negotiations with Armed Groups: A Manual for Practitioners*, which is available online at www.reliefweb.int/rw/lib.nsf/db900sid/ruri-6lksa9.

Final thoughts

The future is full of uncertainty and the implications are grave for national security. As the editor of this comprehensive work, I encourage the reader to delve into these chapters and discover elements of wisdom for dealing with worldwide unrest. Globalization and interconnectedness will fuel discontent in some regions while dissuading disputes in others. Armed groups are merely one vestige of mankind's struggles in an increasingly smaller world.

The highest calling of selfless service is protecting those who will be victimized by conflict and violence. Prevention of hostilities or rapid resolution thereof demands new solutions. Consequently, we must start thinking about tomorrow's challenges today.

George Will, the Pulitzer Prize-winning author and political scientist, said, "The future has a way of arriving unannounced." The purpose of this volume is to prepare ourselves for when we discover, unexpectedly, that the future is here.

Jeffrey H. Norwitz

United States Naval War College