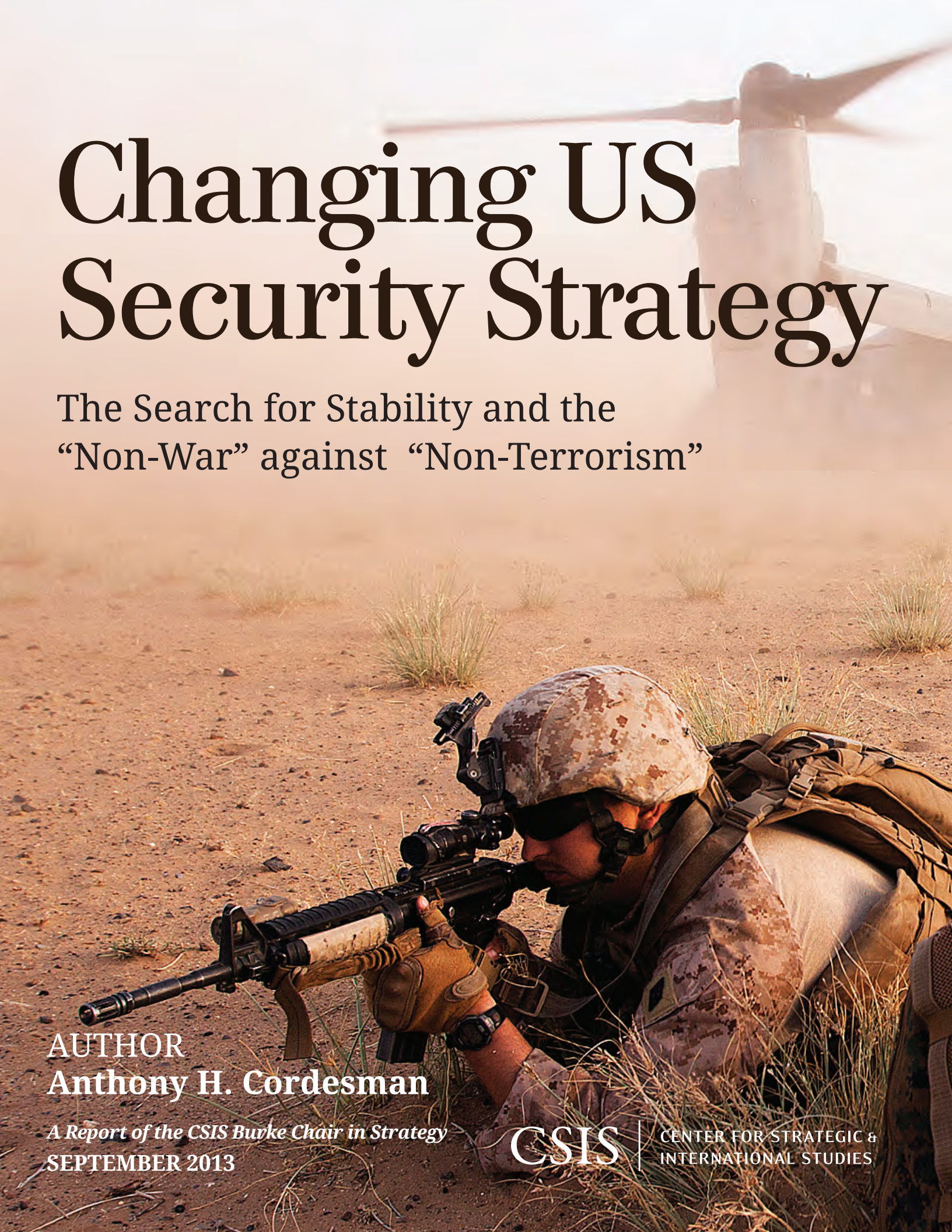

Changing US Security Strategy

The Search for Stability and the "Non-War" against "Non-Terrorism"

AUTHOR
Anthony H. Cordesman

A Report of the CSIS Burke Chair in Strategy
SEPTEMBER 2013

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Executive Summary

More than a decade into the "war on terrorism," much of the political debate in the US is still fixated on the legacy of 9/11. US politics has a partisan fixation on Benghazi, the Boston Marathon bombing, intelligence intercepts, and Guantanamo. Far too much US attention still focuses on "terrorism" at a time the US faces a much broader range of threats from the instability in the Middle East North Africa (MENA) and Islamic world.

Moreover, much of the US debate ignores the fact that the US has not actually fought a "war on terrorism" over the last decade, and the US failures in using military force and civil aid in Afghanistan and Iraq. The US has not fought wars as such, but rather became involved in exercises in armed nation building where stability operations escalated into national building as a result of US occupation and where the failures in stability operations and nation building led to insurgencies that forced the US into major counterinsurgency campaigns that had little to do with counterterrorism.

An analysis of the trends in the Iraq and Afghan conflicts shows that the US has not been fighting a war on terrorism since Bin Laden and Al Qaida Central were driven into Pakistan in December 2001. The US invaded Afghanistan and Iraq and then made stability operations and armed nation building its key goals. It was US mishandling of these exercises in armed nation building that led to major counterinsurgency campaigns although – at least in the case of Afghanistan -- the US continued to label its military operations as a struggle against "terrorism."

By 2013, the US had committed well over $1.4 trillion to these exercises in Afghanistan and Iraq. At the same time, the US made massive increases in its domestic spending on homeland defense that it rationalized as part of the fight against terrorism but often had little or nothing to do with any aspect of counterterrorism. At the same time, the US failed to develop consistent or useful unclassified statistics on the patterns in terrorism and its counterterrorism activities. The US government has never provided a meaningful break out of federal activities and spending at home or abroad which actually focus on terrorism, or any unclassified measures of effectiveness.

The OMB has lumped a wide range of activities that have no relation to terrorism it its reporting on the President's budget request – activities whose total cost now approach $60 billion a year. The Department of Defense has never provided a meaningful estimate of the total cost of the wars in Afghanistan and Iraq, or a break out of the small portion of total overseas contingency operations (OCO) spending actually spent on counterterrorism versus counter insurgency. The State Department and US intelligence community provide no meaningful unclassified data on the cost of their counterterrorism effort and it is unclear that they have developed any metrics at any level that show the cost-benefits of their activities.

The annual US State Department country reports on terrorism come as close to an unclassified report on the status of terrorism as the US government provides. While many portions are useful, the designation of terrorist movements is often political and shows the US designation of terrorist movements conflates terrorism and insurgency.

The closest the US has come to developing any metrics on terrorism has been to develop an unclassified database in the National Counter-Terrorism Center (NCTC) that never distinguished terrorism from insurgency.

This database formed the core of the statistical annex to State Department reporting, but has since been withdrawn without explanation. As this analysis shows in detail, it now has been replaced by a contractor effort that makes all of the previous mistakes made by the NCTC. The end result is a set of official reporting and statistics in the annex to the State Department report where "terrorism" remains remained poorly defined, badly structured, ignored in parts of the world, and conflates terrorism with counterinsurgency, instability, and civil war.

A review of the Afghan, Iraq conflicts, and other recent conflicts in the MENA region shows just how serious these problems are in distorting the true nature of the wars the US is fighting and the threats it faces. The same is true of the unclassified reporting the US government provides on terrorism. A detailed review of the most recent State Department report on terrorism provides important insights into key terrorist movements, but the narratives generally ignore their ties to insurgent movements, their statistical data include some major insurgent movements and exclude others, and many of the data seem to include violence that is not truly terroristic in character.

Instability, Insurgency, and Civil Violence Are Now the Key Threats

Terrorism does remain a very real threat. There is enough official reporting on attempted acts of terrorism in the US to make this clear, as does the tragedy of the Boston Marathon. At the same time, the Administration has implied a level of success in dealing with Al Qa'ida that does not exist.

The narratives in the State Department's latest annual report on terrorism have many limits – including the failure to analyze the causes of extremist activity and distinguish terrorism from insurgency. They are all too correct, however, in showing that that the US has not defeated Al Qa'ida. They show that US has not defeated the various extremist groups that blur the line between terrorism and insurgent in Iraq. They also show that the US will not defeat "terrorism" in Afghanistan and Pakistan as it exits the counterinsurgency struggle in Afghanistan, and the US faces a growing number of other violent extremist movements.

Most of the violence that the State department labels as terrorism is actually some form of insurgency, rather than purely terrorism. It is not the product of marginal or extremist ideology, or some form of international terrorist activity, but is driven by deep internal causes of instability in the countries involved.

The violent non-state actors seeking power in given countries are far more characteristic of insurgents than terrorists. In many case, the state is guilty of its own forms of terrorism, major human rights abuses, or been a case source of civil discontent and violence. Most of the violent movements involved – including most of the "terrorist" movements listed in the State Department report -- are largely domestic and only use international attacks peripherally in an effort to win national battle. Many violent insurgent groups – as has been the case in Libya and is now the case in Syria – do not threaten US interests and may advance them.

The Arab Spring has become the Arab Decade, if Not the Arab Quarter Century

The key challenge the US now faces in the Middle East and North Africa (MENA) and the Islamic world is not to fight "wars" to defeat terrorism. It is rather to help create stability in a broad range of MENA countries where violence is only one major challenge. As studies like the Arab Development report show, many countries would have faced massive – decade-long – demographic, economic, ethnic/sectarian/tribal, governance challenges even if the uprising that began in Tunisia in December 2010 had never occurred.

Since that uprising, instability has become a problem in virtually every MENA state. It has also become a "clash within a civilization" rather than a "clash between civilizations." It has triggered struggles between secular and fundamentalist Muslims and a growing struggle between Sunnis and Shi'ites/Alawites that extends from Pakistan through the Islamic world. Syria is the scene of a civil war that has linked the tensions and risk of conflict in the Gulf to tensions and conflict in the Levant. Bahrain, Iraq, Libya, and Yemen present the constant risk that the number of civil wars will broaden.

Only a few states have reacted to the other threats to their stability and development, and many states that do not have civil conflicts – such as Egypt and Jordan --have come under pressures that have made their demographic, economic, ethnic/sectarian/tribal, and governance challenges far worse.

Implementing the New Strategy the US Announced in January 2012

It is a further irony of the US focus on "terrorism," that the new strategic guidance the White House issue on January 3, 2012 recognized these realities. So did the operational portions of President Obama's speech to the National Defense University on May 23, 2013 – although they were buried in discussion of political issues growing out of past counterterrorism activities.

US strategy does recognize the challenges posed by an Arab Spring where instability has become the Arab decade – if not the Arab quarter century. What is far less clear, however, is that this US strategy has gone from the conceptual level to a realistic effort to implement it. American politics reject "nation building" because of the mistakes, costs, and failures in Afghanistan and Iraq. Massive military invasions and occupations have led to reluctance to use force in far more limited and effective ways. Opposition to foreign aid seems to be one of the few bipartisan aspects of US political consensus.

At the same time, it is unclear that either the Administration or the minority of those who advocate intervention in cases like Syria in Congress understand the scale of regional instability or the extent to which it creates deep structural internal problems in many MENA nations the US cannot "fix" from outside. The causes are matters of religion and culture and involve basic problems in the legitimacy and competence of governments. They are the product of deep structural problems in the economy and gross inequalities in income distribution. They involve demographic problems and employment issues, and most involve deep ethnic and tribal divisions that mean the current climate of instability will generally last at least a decade.

The end result is the both counterterrorism and counterinsurgency have become subsets of broader problems in national and regional stability that the US can sometimes

influence and sometimes help contain, but that given nations must deal with internally and largely on their own. The US can provide some forms of expertise and security assistance, it can provide limited aid in governance and economic reform, but, there will be no quick solutions, no end to the extent to which violence within the region spills outside it or threatens key regional roles like energy exports.

The US faces other limits. It has other strategic priorities, and is likely to face serious problems in restructuring its domestic budget for years to come. As Afghanistan and Iraq have made all too clear, the US cannot occupy and stabilize troubled states by force. Weak and incompetent US aid efforts have proved to have few benefits and often to do little more than waste money. In both Afghanistan and Iraq the US has ended in funding dubious attempts at buying short term stability or funding long-term project aid that waste money on efforts the host country does not need and/or cannot effectively absorb and sustain on its own.

Creating an Effective US Response

Put simply, it is time the US recognized that the "war on terrorism" never really happened, and that many of its approaches to armed nation building have been counterproductive and cannot be rescued by even successful counterinsurgency. The US needs to work with its regional and traditional allies to create new methods and partnerships to deal with complex and enduring challenges to regional stability. These are challenges that will require years of patience and will have limited effect unless the host country moves towards stability on its own.

Though the US still needs carefully focused counterterrorism efforts and to support friendly states in counterinsurgency, it also needs to actually implement its new strategy and put its primary focus on the real nature of instability and civil violence in the MENA region. The US needs to focus on broad-based civil-military efforts tailored to given countries and on strategic patience in doing so. It needs to fund enough civil and military aid to have real influence. It needs stronger public diplomacy and information campaigns. It needs to transform its calls for local partnerships into stronger realities.

The US will have far more chance of success if it works closely with outside partners and helps host countries do it their way rather than try to impose its own values and systems. Its main tools, however, must be US strong country teams that combine civil-military-internal security efforts to work with host countries on a nation-by-nation basis. It will be country teams that consistently help given countries achieve stability over a period of years.

Moreover, the US needs to build a Congressional and popular consensus around actually implementing its need strategy for the MENA region and for dealing with the broader causes of instability in the Islamic world. It needs effective, interagency civil-military plans, budget, and measures of effectiveness. It needs to provide suitable transparency to show it has corrected the mistake it made in Afghanistan and Iraq, explain and justify its actions, and show the level of progress it is making.

In the process, the US needs to adopt different criteria and methods for armed intervention, be far more careful about committing US forces, ties all uses of force to civil efforts from the start, and substitute strategic triage and strategic patience for

committing large elements of US forces to contingencies where they have little or no probability of achieving successful end states or benefits worth their costs in dollars or blood.

Terrorism and Reality in an Uncertain and Partisan US Political Climate

More than a decade into the "war on terrorism," the US is still fixated on the legacy of 9/11 and "terrorism" versus other threats at a time it faces a much broader range of threats from the instability in the MENA region and the broader Islamic world. Moreover, the US has not actually fought a war on terrorism over the last decade. Its conflicts have instead been exercises in armed nation building where stability operations were the core and the actual fighting was almost all counterinsurgency rather than counterterrorism.

President Bush first used the term "war on terrorism" in a speech on September 20, 2001, a term that later broadened to become a "global war on terrorism" Yet even a summary analysis of the trends in the Iraq and Afghan conflicts shows that the central focus of US efforts ceased to be a war on terrorism in late December 2001. The US has pursued limited and often highly effective counterterrorism efforts focused on key threats to the US and its allies, but the central focus of its national security almost immediately became attempts at nation building that came to involve major counter insurgency campaigns. At the same time, its broader focus on "terrorism" remained poorly defined, badly structured, and one that ignored large parts of the world while blurring terrorism with counterinsurgency, instability, and civil war.

This does not mean terrorism does not remain a real threat. The data issued in the State Department's latest annual report on terrorism show that the US has not defeated Al Qa'ida, and the US has not "won" in Iraq or defeated the various extremist groups that blur the line between terrorism and insurgent. It will not defeat "terrorism" in Afghanistan and Pakistan as it exits the counterinsurgency struggle in Afghanistan.

The now divided elements of Al Qa'ida remain a serious threat along with a growing number of other violent extremist movements – but almost all of most of these violent extremist movements are not really terrorist movements. They are violent non-state actors seeking power in given countries. They are far more insurgents that terrorists, and most such movements are largely domestic and use international attacks peripherally in an effort to win national battle.

Most importantly, the key challenges the US now faces is not one of fighting global "wars" to defeat terrorism. They are rather to help create stability in a broad range of MENA countries where violence is only one major challenge. As studies like the Arab Development report show, many countries would have faced massive – decade-long – demographic, economic, ethnic/sectarian/tribal, governance challenges even if the uprising that began in Tunisia in December 2010 had never occurred.

More Than a Decade of "Non-Wars" Against "Non-Terrorism"

In order to understand the challenges the US really faces, it is necessary to be realistic about the real focus of US military action over the roughly twelve years since December 2012. The US has fixated on the words "terrorism" and "Al Qa'ida" for so long that they

have become the political focus of US security policy in the MENA region. In fact, "9/11" has become something close to the "bloody shirt" that US politicians once used to defend the need for Reformation after the Civil War.

The "Non-War" Against "Non-Terrorism" in Afghanistan

The US did not focus on terrorism once it drove the Taliban out of Afghanistan. The US instead focused on occupations of Afghanistan and Iraq that were focused primarily on armed nation building and a kind of stability operations that came to include counterinsurgency largely because of basic US mistakes in policy and nation building activities.

The US effectively stopped fighting a "war" on terrorism at some point close to the end of the Tora Bora campaign in Afghanistan in late December 2001 – all of three months after 9/11. By this time, Bin Laden and the remnants of Al Qa'ida escaped into Pakistan along with key elements of the Taliban. From that point onwards, the US counterterrorism campaign became a mix of largely civil domestic and international efforts to deal with the ongoing threat of counterterrorism, mixed with small cadres of CIA covert action and Special Operations Forces operations overseas -- many of which scored major successes in relatively low-level counterterrorism campaigns with limited forces at limited cost.

The broader US effort in Afghanistan shifted to creating an international coalition for nation building under the mistaken assumption that the Taliban had been defeated and the US could lead an effort create a developed and democratic Afghanistan with little armed resistance, and that Pakistan would somehow defeat the exiles of al Qa'ida, the Taliban, and other Afghan movements that shifted the strategic center of gravity away from Afghanistan and into Pakistan. These were not "wars" and they were not directed at "terrorism." They were nation-building efforts whose failures forced them to include major counterinsurgency campaigns.

- Al Qa'ida Central effectively left Afghanistan in December 2002, and moved to Pakistan. It played a token role at most in the Afghan insurgency, which was dominated from the start by the Taliban, Hekmatyar faction, and the Haqqani Network.
- The US initially assumed that it had totally defeated the Taliban and other challenges to the new government it largely formed in Afghanistan. The US and its allies focused on nation building and an "Afghan compact" that assumed Afghanistan would share Western values and could be transformed and developed as if it were at peace.
- The US led an effort to create a new constitution which tried to centralize the government, made no real allowance for local authorities to be elected, and gave the president control over most state funds.
- The US attempted to reform most of the structure of governance and rule of law to suit its own values, effectively to do it the "US way" regardless of Afghan values and whether it then had to fix what wasn't broken. The US and other donors also hired away much of the remnants of the Afghan civil service, leaving little behind.
- The US did not address the need for adequate Afghan national security forces and disarmed the factions that had helped drive out the Taliban, leaving nothing behind. **See Figure One**

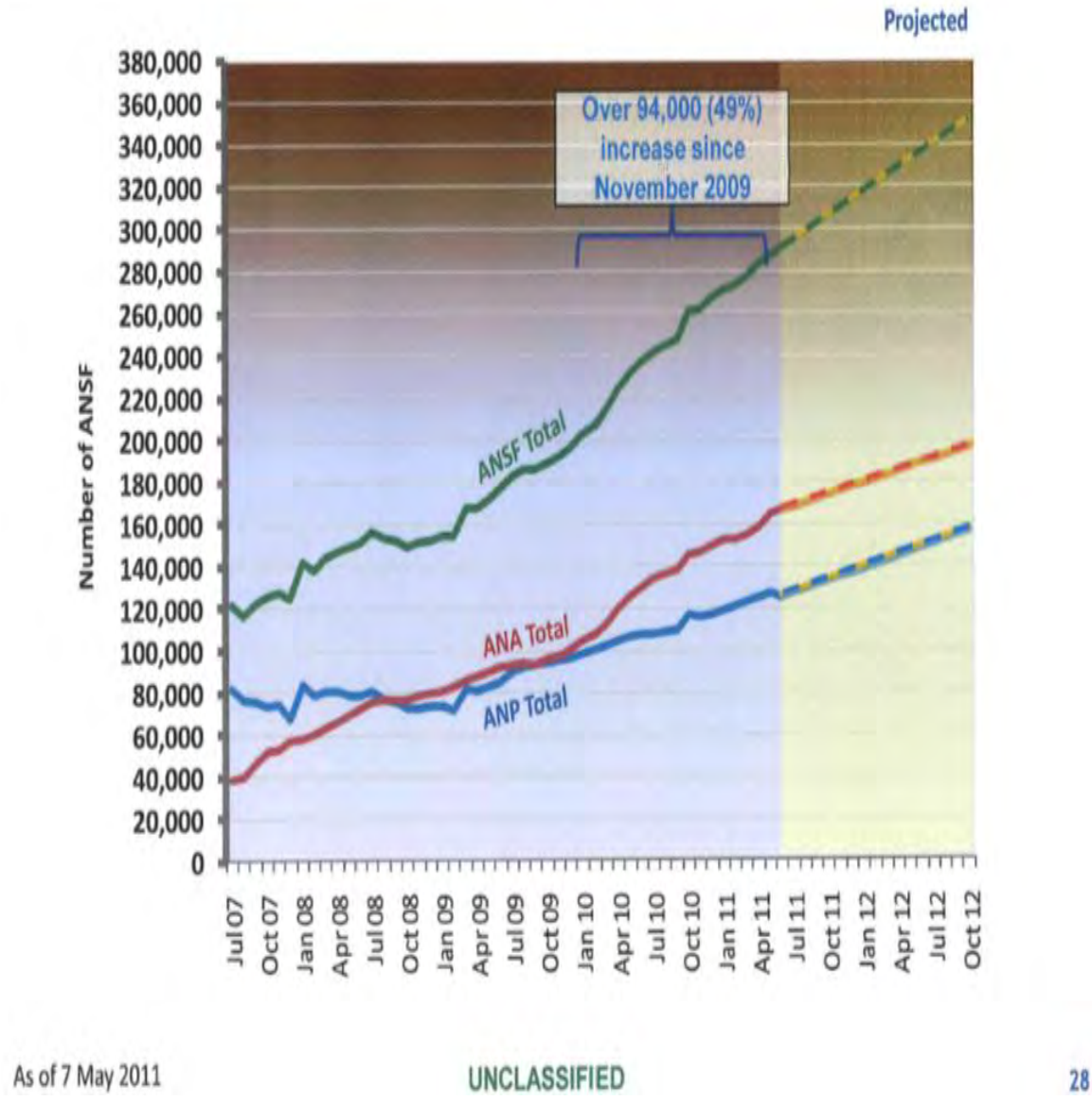
- The US initially tried its best to shift as much of the burdens in transforming Afghanistan as possible to its allies, helping to lead to an incoherent mess of different country tasks, roles, and areas of responsibility.
- The US and other donors flooded in aid regardless of Afghan capability to absorb it, without any overall planning or coordination, without effective fiscal controls to limit corruption, and without structures of assess the quality of aid or its effectiveness.
- The US gradually assumed most of the financial burden of creating Afghan National Security Forces (ANSF) but -- as **Figure One** shows, it took years in which to appropriate adequate funds, its funding remain erratic – swinging up and down from year to year – and it took between 12 and 18 months for an appropriation to have an effect on the ground.
- The US and ISAF continued to deny the seriousness return of the Taliban and other insurgents until it became a major insurgency. **Figure Two** shows the US took years to begin to deploy adequate troops in spite of advice from ambassadors and senior commanders, empowering the insurgents and sharply raising casualties and costs. It only funded serious training for the ANSF in FY2008, and only set up an effective program in late 2008 which did not see funds flow into the field until 2009 and did not properly staff the advisory team at NTM-A until 2010.
- The eight-year delay in adequately funding development of the ANSF was matched by sharply underfunding the impractical goals the US and other donors set, while still throwing money at projects in ways that had a massive corrupting impact on the Afghans. The US and ISAF only attempted to establish proper controls over contracting, auditing of funding, and other basic efforts to limit corruption with the McMasters exercise in 2010-2011. **See Figure Three**
- No real improvement had taken place in the problems in planning and managing the civilian aid program as of mid-2013. Most aid remained project aid with a national development plan, validated requirements and measures of effectiveness. Much was oriented towards development rather than stability and the fact Afghanistan remained at war, while direct military related aid called CERP remained improvised and rarely had lasting effect.
- The surge in Afghanistan stopped insurgent gains, but fell radically short of anything approaching the level of success in Iraq and only was implemented in the south instead of in both the south and east as was called for in the original plan. (**See Figure Four**) The Taliban and other insurgent movements remain a major threat to Afghan stability, and use extreme violence as one of many tools to support their insurgency. They also are only one threat. The corruption and power brokering of the Afghan political leadership, poor and grossly overcentralized governance, security forces that are divided, have many corrupt elements, and are still developing critical areas of competence, a poor economy with badly distributed income and massive under employment, a lack of clear US and allied transition plans, and Pakistan's continued support of Afghan Taliban elements are as much a threat to stability as the insurgents. **(See Figure Four.)**
- As of mid-2013, the US has been unable to decide on its future civil and military posture in Afghanistan after the end of 2014, develop civil or military plans and budget for the future, determine the kind of security agreements it wants with Afghanistan, and set clear plans for US policy towards the coming presidential election, and dealing with Afghan non-compliance in movi9ng towards the reforms called for in the Tokyo agreement of 2012. ISAF has stopped reporting any metric on the war, and virtually stopped reporting on the metric of the ANSF – although it is clear that critical problems exist in retaining Afghan forces in the ANA and ANCOPs.
- The US has made zero meaningful progress in developing integrated civil military plans, developing more effective planning and budget tools, and creating consistent, meaningful metric after 10 years of year. USAID remains project and development oriented, the USAID and the State Department lack the ability create meaningful assessment of Afghan economic stability and development needs, and have transferred de facto responsibility to the world Bank The US military is attempting to rush development of the ANSFD force roughly two years more quickly than it planned in 2010. No progress has been made in creating effective interagency planning,

budgeting, measurements of effectiveness, and time sensitive decision taking at the Interagency level.

In short, the Bush Administration gave the Taliban – which had hosted Bin Laden but never been part of Al Qa'ida – time to regroup while the weaknesses, divisions, and corruption of the Afghan government gave the Taliban and other insurgents opportunities to regain support and territory. A shift to a US focus on Iraq and denial of the growing seriousness of the insurgent threat gave the Taliban and other extremists half a decade in which to exploit the corruption and division that emerged in the new Afghan government. They gradually became a major new insurgency that took full advantage of the funding and volunteers it could get from the outside – resources that more often tied to a major political and ideological struggle within Sunni Islam than to Al Qa'ida and terrorism.

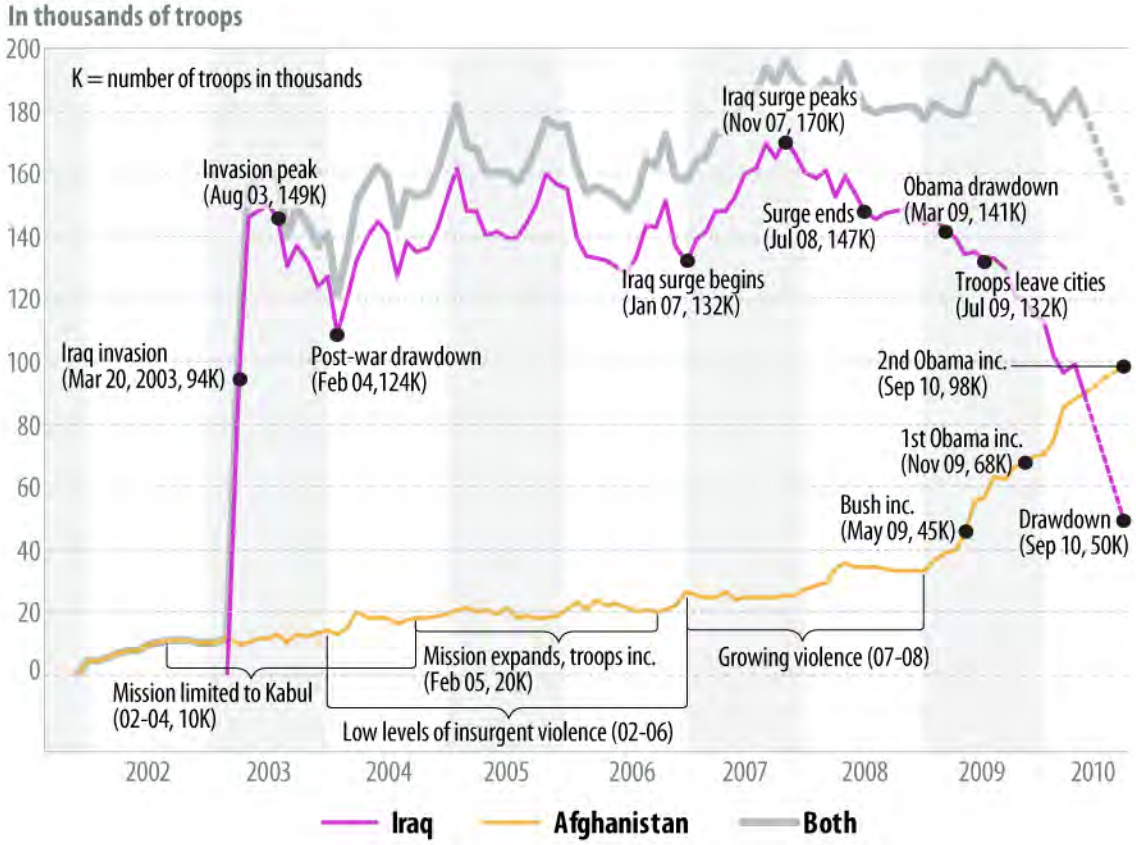
As **Figures One** and **Four** have shown, it was this failure to realistically assess Afghan stability problems – and the growing strength of the Taliban and other insurgent – that gradually engaged the bulk of US and allied forces in a losing struggle against a rising Taliban insurgency in the south and east through 2008. It was only the eventual surge in US forces in 2009-2010 and putting massive US resources into building up the Afghan security forces that managed to halt Taliban gains in 2012 and to offer some home of a successful transition at the end of 2014. Moreover, even the limited progress reflected in **Figure Four** only came because of a US-led civil-military operation in armed nation building that cost the US well over $600 billion, more than 2,200 dead, and more than 18,000 more wounded in action.

Figure One: The Slow Build-up of Afghan Forces and a Shift to Real Counterinsurgency Forces (the ANA) that Did Not Have Any Impact Before 2007



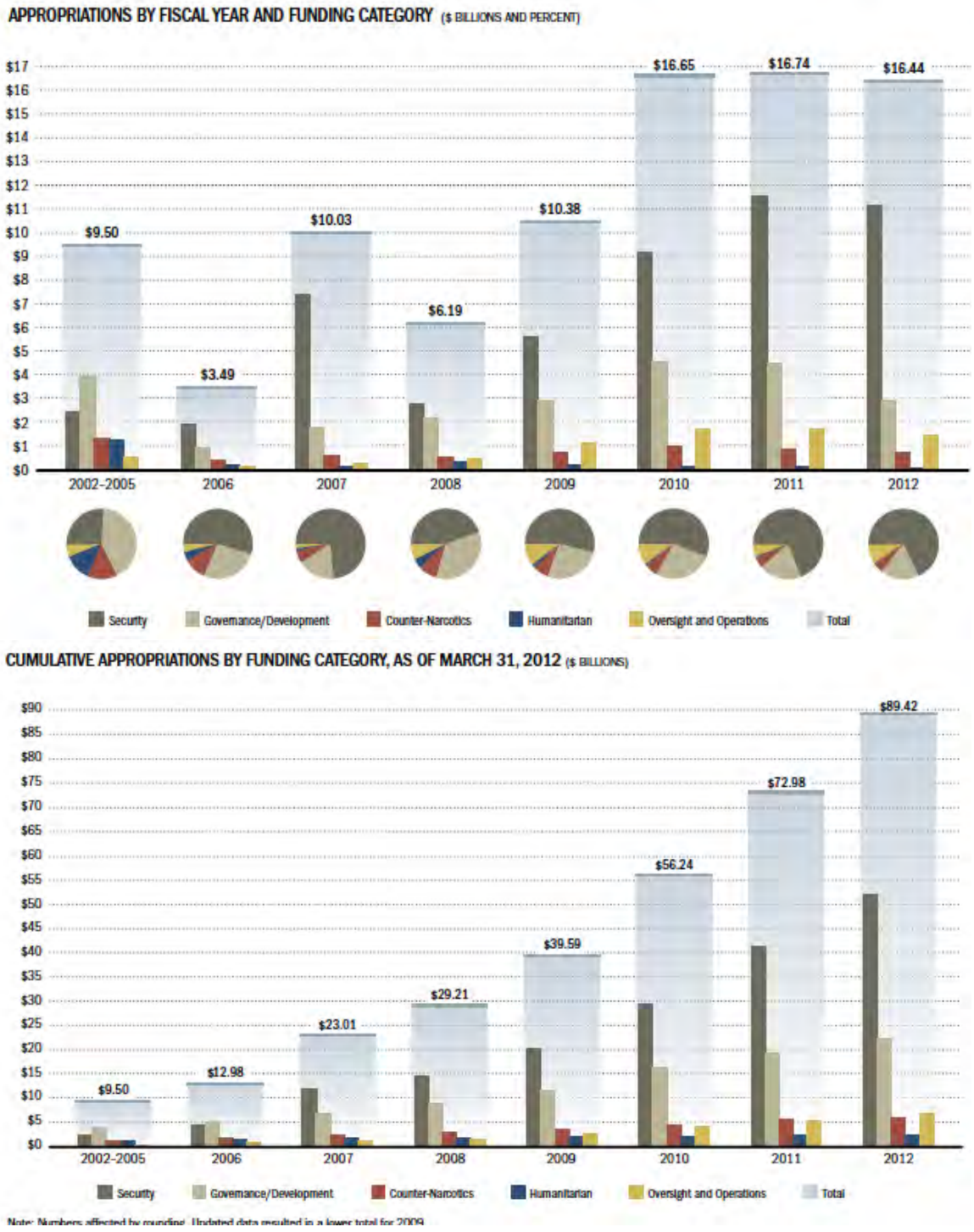
Source: ISAF and US Department of Defense, June 2011.

Figure Two: The Slow – Taliban Enabling – US Build-up in Afghanistan versus the Initial Withdrawal and Late "Surge" in Iraq: US Boots on the Ground, 2001-2010



Source: Amy Belasco**,** *The Cost of Iraq, Afghanistan, and Other Global War on Terror Operations Since 9/11*, Congressional Research Service, RL3311, March 29, 2011, www.crs.gov, p. 11.

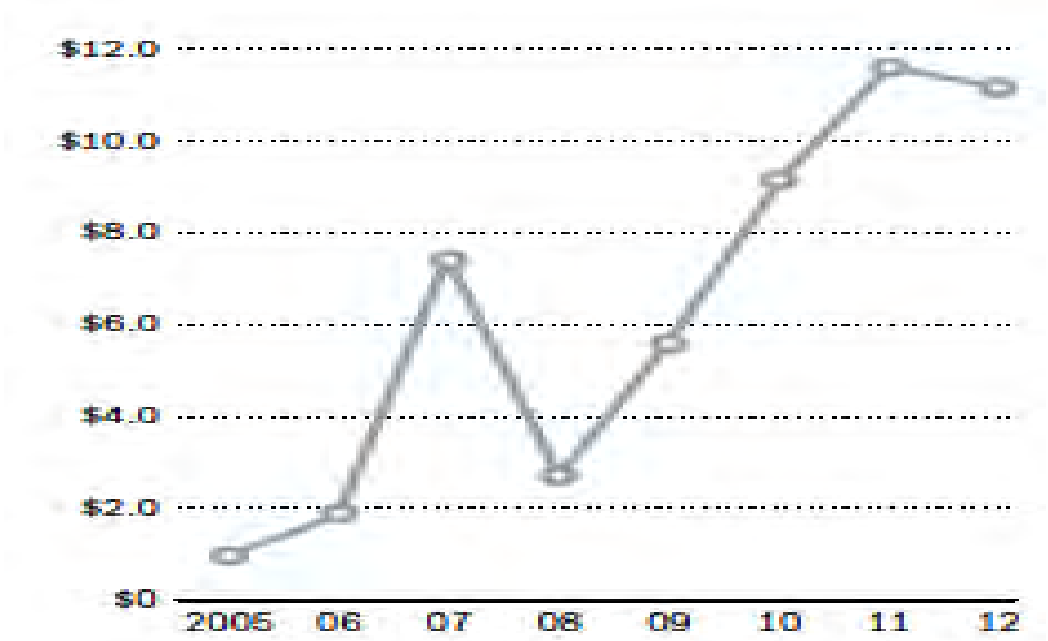
Figure Three: The Delayed, Faltering and Erratic US Civil and Civil and Military Aid Programs in Afghanistan – Part One



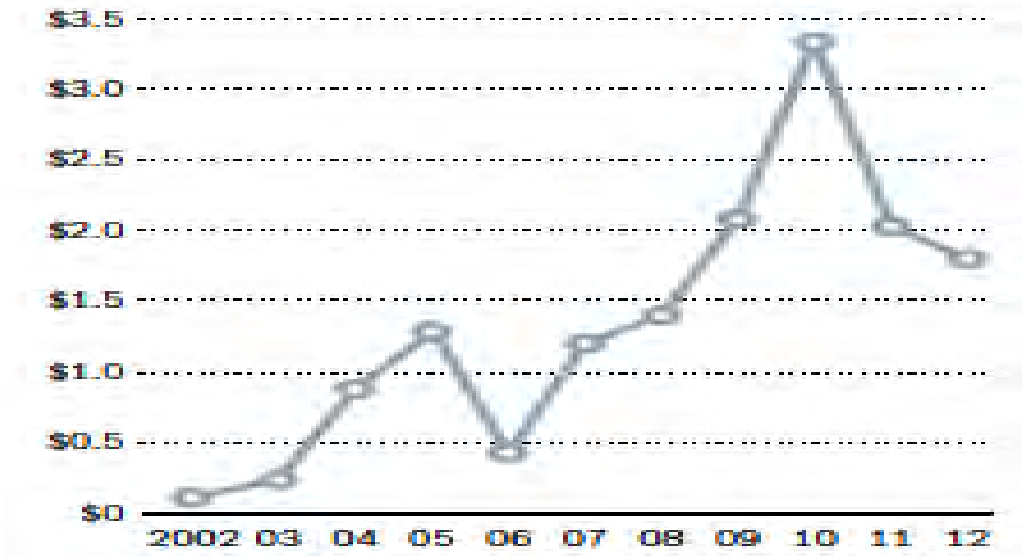
Source: SIGAR, Quarterly Report, April 30, 2013, pp. 48, 49, http://www.sigar.mil/pdf/quarterlyreports/2012-04-30qr.pdf.

Figure Three: The Delayed, Faltering and Erratic US Civil and Civil and Military Aid Programs in Afghanistan – Part Two

Erratic US Funding of Key Category of Military Aid to Afghans (In $US Billions)



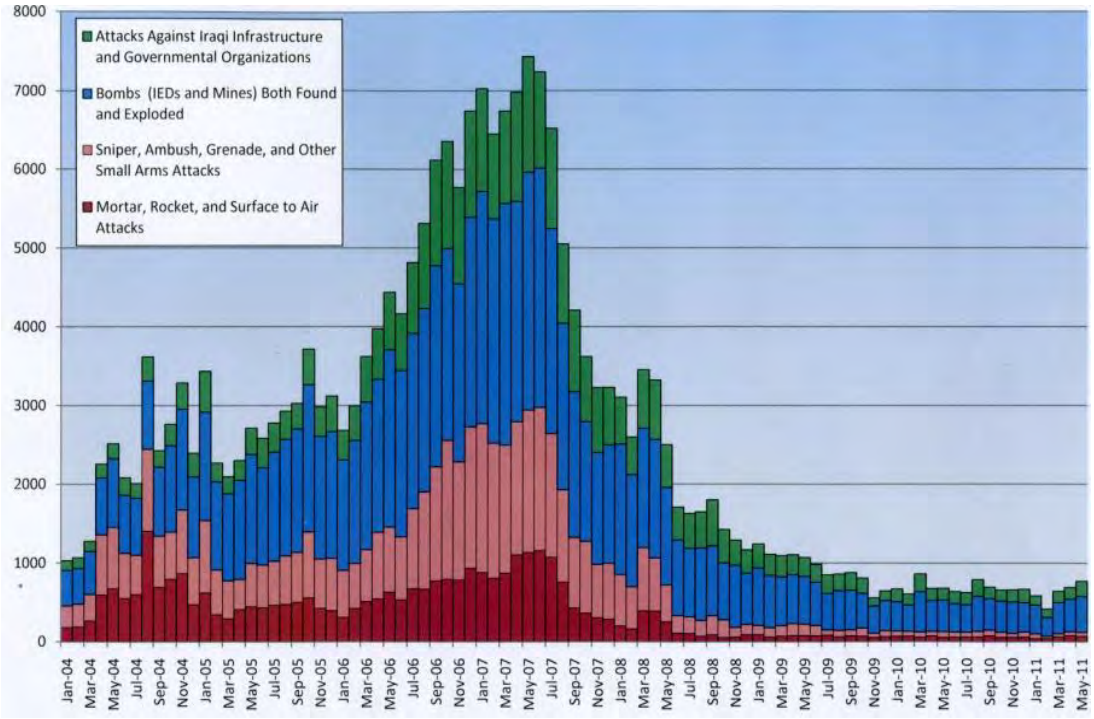
Erratic US Funding of Key Category of Economic Aid to Afghans (In $US Billions)



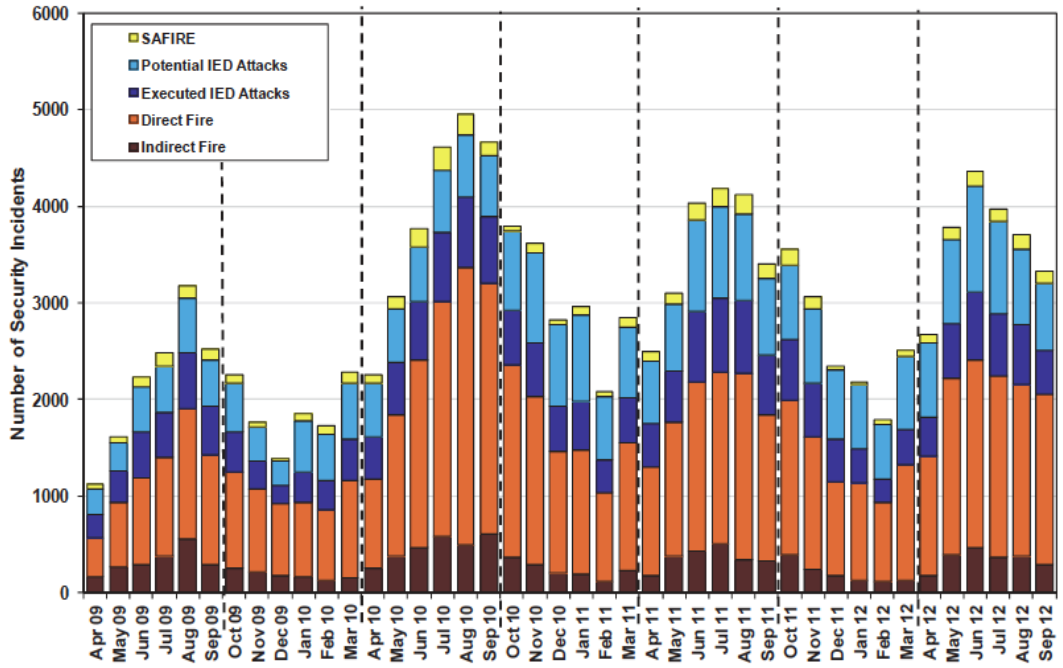
Source: SIGAR, Quarterly Report, April 30, 2013, pp. 48, 49, http://www.sigar.mil/pdf/quarterlyreports/2012-04-30qr.pdf.

Figure Four: Two US Surges with Radically Different Results: "Victory" in Iraq versus Non "Victory" in Afghanistan

"Victory" in Iraq



Non "Victory" in Afghanistan



Source: Department of Defense, October 2012 and Department of Defense, *Report on Progress Toward Security and Stability in Afghanistan*, December 2012, p. 151.

The "Non-War" Against "Non-Terrorism" in Iraq

In somewhat different ways, the US repeated many of the mistakes it made in Afghanistan in invading and occupying Iraq. By mid-2002, the US became focused on planning and resourcing a different war in Iraq rather than Afghanistan. It did so in spite of the fact that the Iraq conflict that had nothing to do with terrorism – in spite of now totally discredited claims that Saddam Hussein's regime had meaningful ties to Al Qa'ida.

The US went to war in 2003 over the risk Saddam Hussein's regime posed in terms of missiles and weapons of mass destruction, and the fear Iraq would reemerge as a threat to Gulf oil exports. In practice, the US found no real missile and WMD threat.

As for Al Qa'ida in Iraq, it only came into existence in 2004. The movement that became was founded after the US invasion by Abu Musab al-Zarqawi was a Jordanian militant Islamist who ran a paramilitary training camp in Afghanistan, where he had been more of a low level rival to Bin Laden than a supporter. He originally used the name Jama'at al-Tawhid wal-Jihad (Group of Monotheism and Jihad); and even today his movement is officially Tanzim Qaidat al-Jihad fi Bilad al-Rafidayn (Organization of Jihad's Base in Mesopotamia.)

Zarqawi did reach an agreement with Al Qa'ida Central in 2004 – at a time when such "franchising" gave advantages to both Zarqawi and Al Qa'ida Central in Pakistan, but Al Qa'ida in Mesopotamia only had tenuous ties to al Qa'ida Central. Moreover it was only one element of a Sunni threat driven by other factors and leaders and had no ties to the Shi'ite extremist threat or to Iran.

Most importantly, the US quickly found that it had unleashed ethnic and sectarian divisions in Iraq, as well as weakened its structure of governance and its security forces to the point of incapacity. The US had originally planned to begin major troop withdrawals within 90 days of the fall of Saddam Hussein. Instead, it become a major occupying power and created the conditions for another insurgency – a situation it made far worse by acting as if it did not face a rising threat from both Sunni extremist groups and from Shi'ite extremist backed by Iran.

- The US went to war with no staff, plans, or up to date doctrine for stability operations or dealing with Saddam's fall, and with no coordination on these issues with its allies. It ignored repeated warning by State Department area experts and expert consultants that it needed such plans and risked triggering sectarian and ethnic conflict. It also lacked training, doctrine, and preparation for the possibility of insurgency and ignored repeated warnings by State Department, intelligence community, and think tank experts.
- The rapid capture of Baghdad disrupted existing ministries and effectively dispersed the Iraqi armed forces and security forces.
- The US had to rush in a civil staff and take on the status of an occupying power, as well as improves a massive aid plan without country expertise, a staff in place, and clear goals for action. It again brought in allies without creating a coordinated structure.
- The US again failed to create elections and democracy at the local and provincial level, largely imposed its own constitutional values, created a system of national lists to limit ethnic and sectarian parties that meant legislators did not represent given constituencies, and brought in a large group of outside exiles into key leadership positions.

- The US officially disbanded the Iraqi Army and attempted to impose its own legal values on Iraq, leaving it without its own security structure and alienating m any former officers and soldiers, including many Sunnis. As **Figure Five** and **Figure Six** show, the US spent a massive amount of money to reconstitute Iraqi forces in FY2004 and FY2005 to rebuild a small force with no real counterinsurgency capability, backed away in from funding even that force in FY2006, and then rushed funds into create effective counterinsurgency forces in FY2007. More broadly, it threw a vast amount of money at the problem in FY2007 to deal with the insurgency without effective plans and control, and then cut back immediately –ensuring many programs were weakly planned, rushed into being, and could not be sustained,
- The US led an effort to create a new constitution which tried to centralize the government, made no real allowance for local authorities to be elected, and gave the president control over most state funds.
- The US again remained in denial as a major insurgency arose which was composed of a wide mix of violent extremist Sunni and Shi'ite groups.
- The US again attempted to reform most of the structure of governance and rule of law to suit its own values, effectively do it the "US way" regardless of Iraqi values and whether it then had to fix what wasn't broken. The Iraqi government then ousted many Iraqi civil servants, leaving limited capability behind.
- The US did not address the need for adequate Iraqi national security forces and made only weak attempts to ensure that former officers and soldiers had employment and some alternative way of earning a living. .
- The US and other donors flooded in aid regardless of Iraqi capability to absorb it, without any overall planning or coordination, without effective fiscal controls to limit corruption, and without structures of assess the quality of aid or its effectiveness. (**Figure Seven**)
- The US and its allies continued to deny the seriousness of the rise of Sunni and Shi'ite insurgents, and Arab-Kurd tensions until they collectively reached the level of civil war. As **Figures Five and Six** show, the US did not announce its own surge until early 2007, and only completed the surge in May 2007. It succeed in damping down the Sunni insurgency as much because Al Qa'ida in Iraq alienated key Sunni tribes creating the Son of Iraq as because of the US surge, and because the US has to come to the rescue of Prime Minister Maliki's badly planned Charge of the Knights attack on Sadrist forces in Basra.
- The US only funded serious force development and military training for the Iraqis well over a year after the insurgency became a major problem and, and only set up an effective program in late 2006 which did not see funds flow into the field until 2007 and was not fully staffed until mid-2009. (**Figure Six**).
- Most US civil aid oriented towards development rather than stability and ignored the ongoing levels of civil violence and sectarian and ethnic tension. Direct military-related civil aid called Commander's Emergency Response Program (CERP) remained improvised, and rarely had lasting effect until it was largely discontinued in 2010.
- The US failed to realize how seriously the division in Iraqi politics and Iraqi resentment of the US role in Iraq would affect its plans for strategic cooperation. It also failed to see how deep the sectarian and ethnic divisions were in Iraqi politics and cope with an election that had no clear outcome and pushed Prime Minister Maliki back towards a pro-Shi'ite stance and ties to Iran. It left Iraq at the end of 2011 without being able to keep a limited troop presence to support stability, without being able to keep up its military and police advisory programs, and with no clear aid program to support transition.
- No real improvement had taken place in the problems in US efforts to plan and manage rapidly terminating civilian aid programs as of mid-2013. The US did not request additional civil aid for FY2014, and most previously funded aid remained project aid with a national development plan, validated requirements and measures of effectiveness. The US military advisory office continued

to shrink and the US continued to be unable to develop coherent arms supply and advisory policies and deliver arms on a timely basis. While the US country in Iraq did its best, it was unclear that the US had anything approaching a clear policy for dealing with Iraq or with the related pressured emerging out of Iran and Syria. The same lack of interagency planning, budgeting, analysis and coordination within the NSC that affected US policy in Afghanistan was even more pronounced in the case of an Iraq that the US seems to increasingly distance itself from.

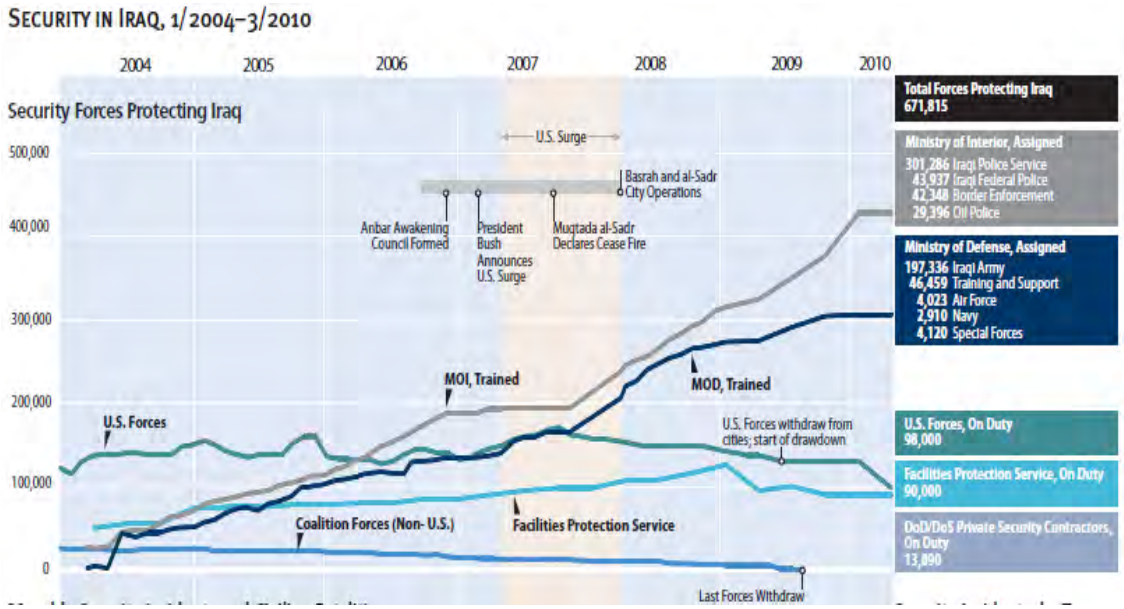
- Al Qa'ida in Iraq and other and Sunni and Shiite extremist insurgent movements remained a major threat to Iraqi stability in 2013, and used extreme violence as one of many tools to support their insurgency. They were also only one threat among many. Ongoing threats and causes of instability included broader Sunni and Shiite tensions, Arab and Kurd tensions, and deep, related divisions in the Iraq government; growing authoritarian elements in the Prime Minister's office, they also included rampant corruption; weak and divided governance; security forces that divide along sectarian and ethnic lines with many corrupt elements; a poor economy with badly distributed income and massive under employment in spite of the nation's oil wealth; the impact of the Syrian civil war; a lack of support from other Arab states; Turkish support of the Iraqi Kurds; and US and Iranian competition for influence all remain major threats stability.

Throughout the Iraq War – as was the case in the Afghan War – the primary US tasks were broad civil-military stability operations and counterinsurgency rather than counterterrorism – which was never more than a minor part of Iraqi violence and rather than counterinsurgency per se – where US and ISAF military operations have been part of a much broader effort in nation building. The fighting in Iraq was driven primarily by power struggles between Arab and Kurd and Sunni and Shi'ite, as well as by tribal and regional divisions. Calling it a "war on terrorism" is absurd.

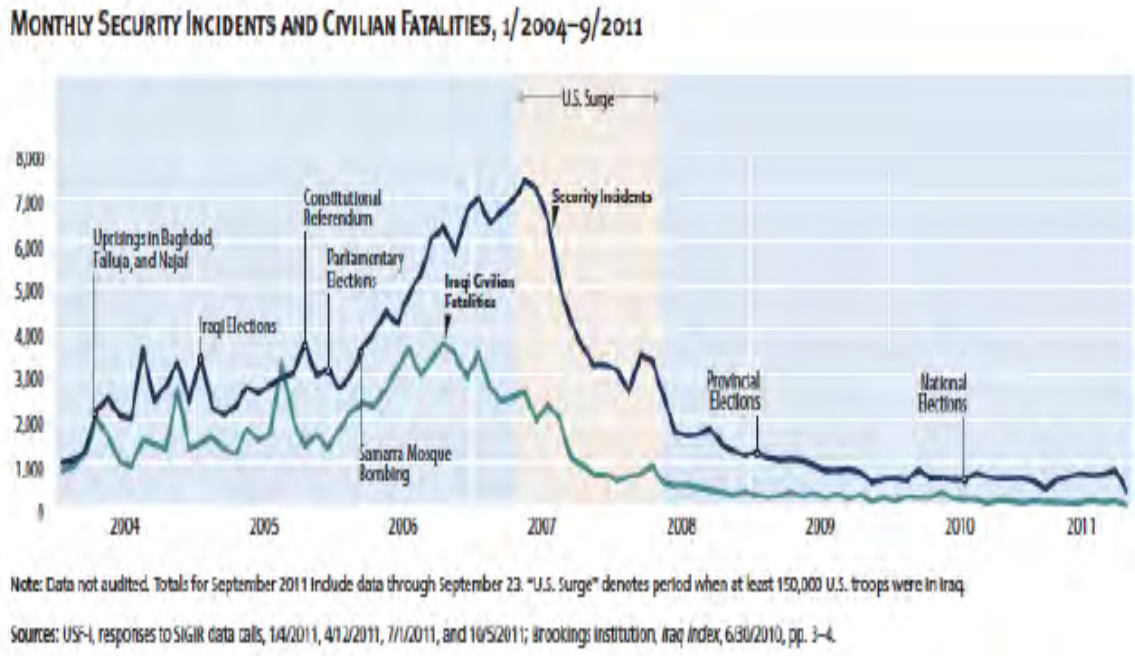
Today, Iraq may well be returning to civil war, but it will again be a civil war dominated by Arab-Kurdish ethnic tensions, sectarian tensions between Sunni and Shiite, and economic causes like control of petroleum resources. If there is any new factor, it is the spillover of the Syrian conflict and not terrorism. As for the Afghan conflict, it is still fought largely against largely national, tribal, or ethnic movements most of which have only loose ties to Al Qa'ida or any other form of international terrorism. In practice, it is fought largely against movements that are insurgent rather than terrorist, and focus on national power struggles or localized ethnic, tribal, and sectarian conflicts.

Figure Five: The Slow Build Up of Iraqi Forces Relative to the Rise of the Insurgency

The Slow Iraqi Build Up



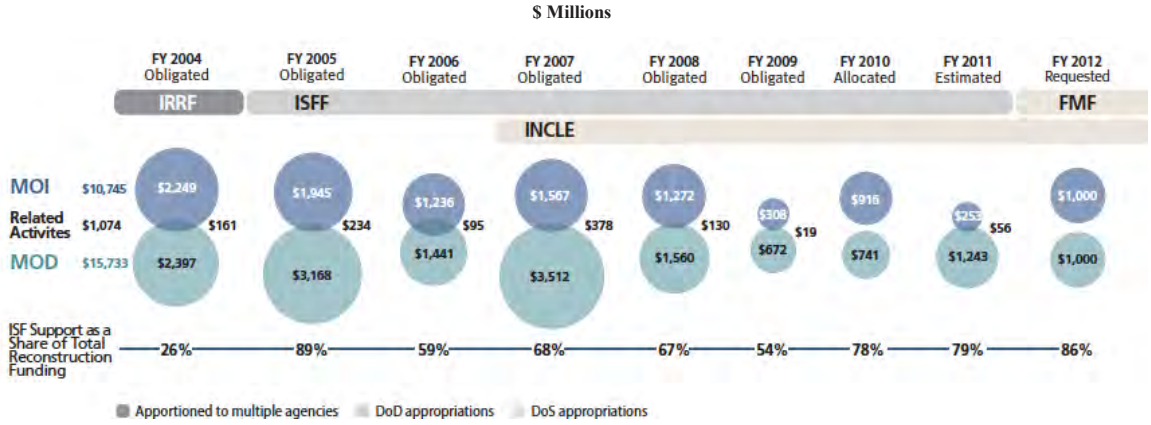
The Rise of the Insurgency



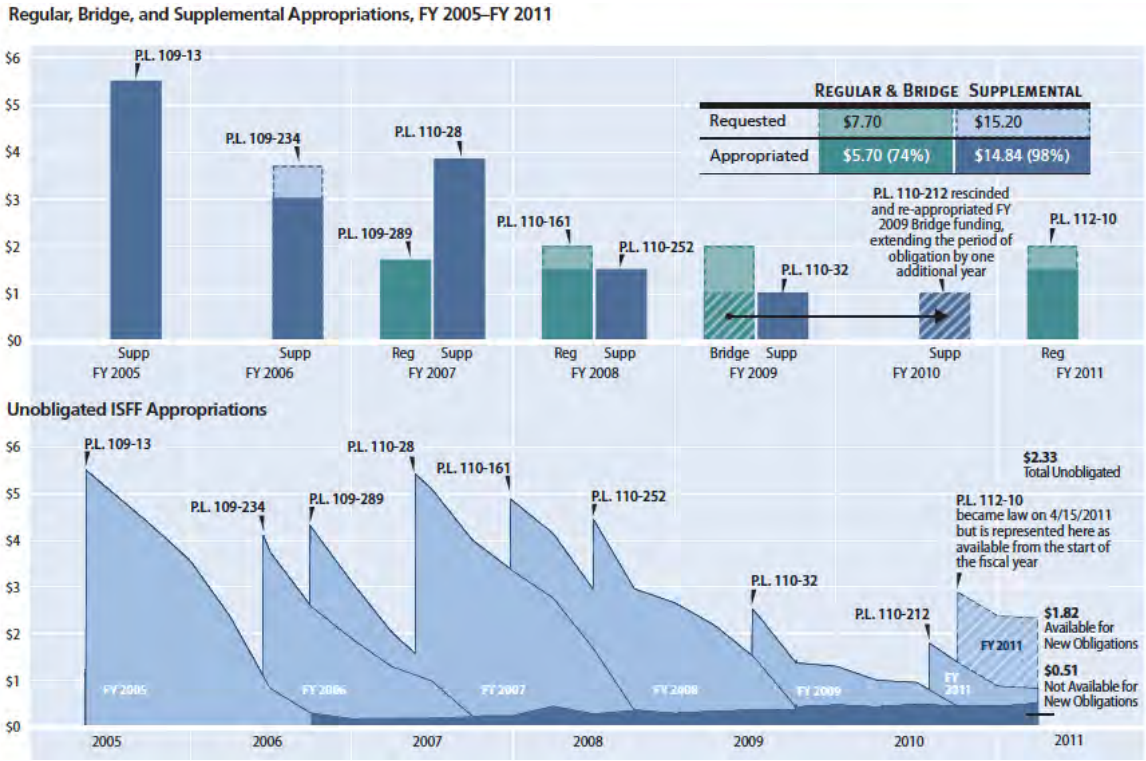
Sources: SIGIR, Quarterly Report, October 30, 2011, p 58, and SIGIR, Quarterly Report, April 30, 2010, p. 49.

Figure Six: Slow, Erratic, Funding of Iraqi Forces

U.S. Support for the Iraqi Security Forces from the Five Major Funds, FY 2004–FY 2012



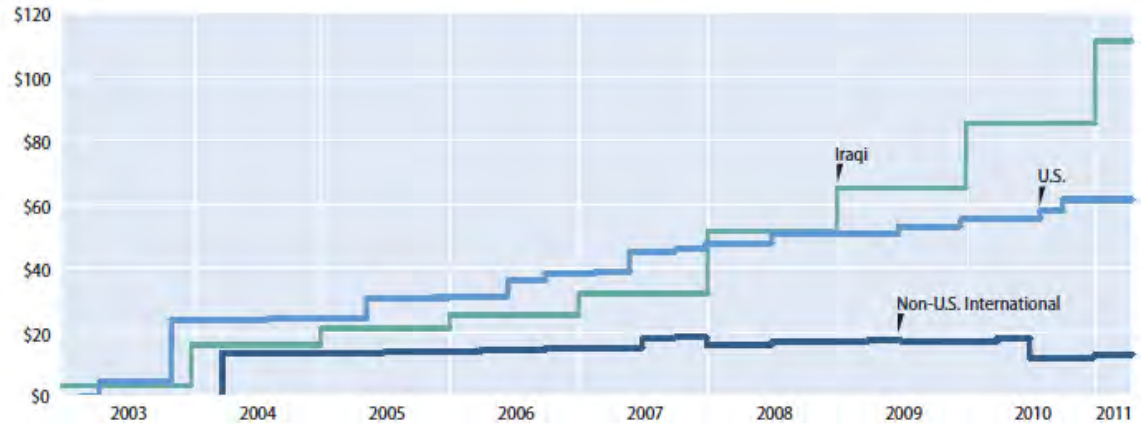
Slow Real World Spend Out of Money on Iraqi forces

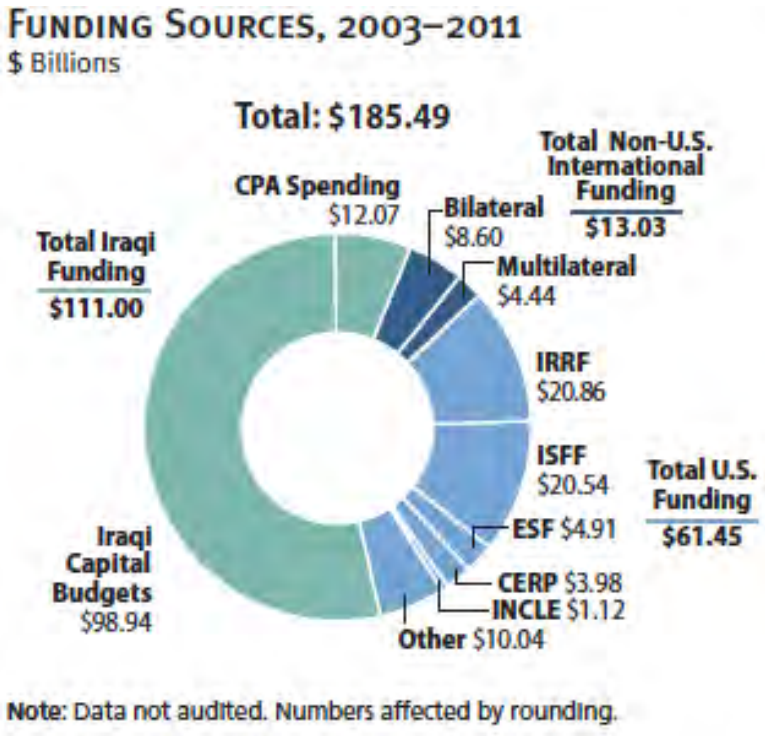


Source: SIGIR, Quarterly Report, April 2011, pp. 25, 28, http://www.sigir.mil/files/quarterlyreports/April2011/Report_-_April_2011.pdf#view=fit.

Figure Seven: Slow, Erratic, Project-Oriented Aid Outlays in Iraq Without Effective Planning, Management, and Controls on Spending: Part One

Slow Rise in Total Aid Obligations in $US Billions: U.S., Iraqi, and Non-U.S. International Support for Reconstruction, 2003–2011

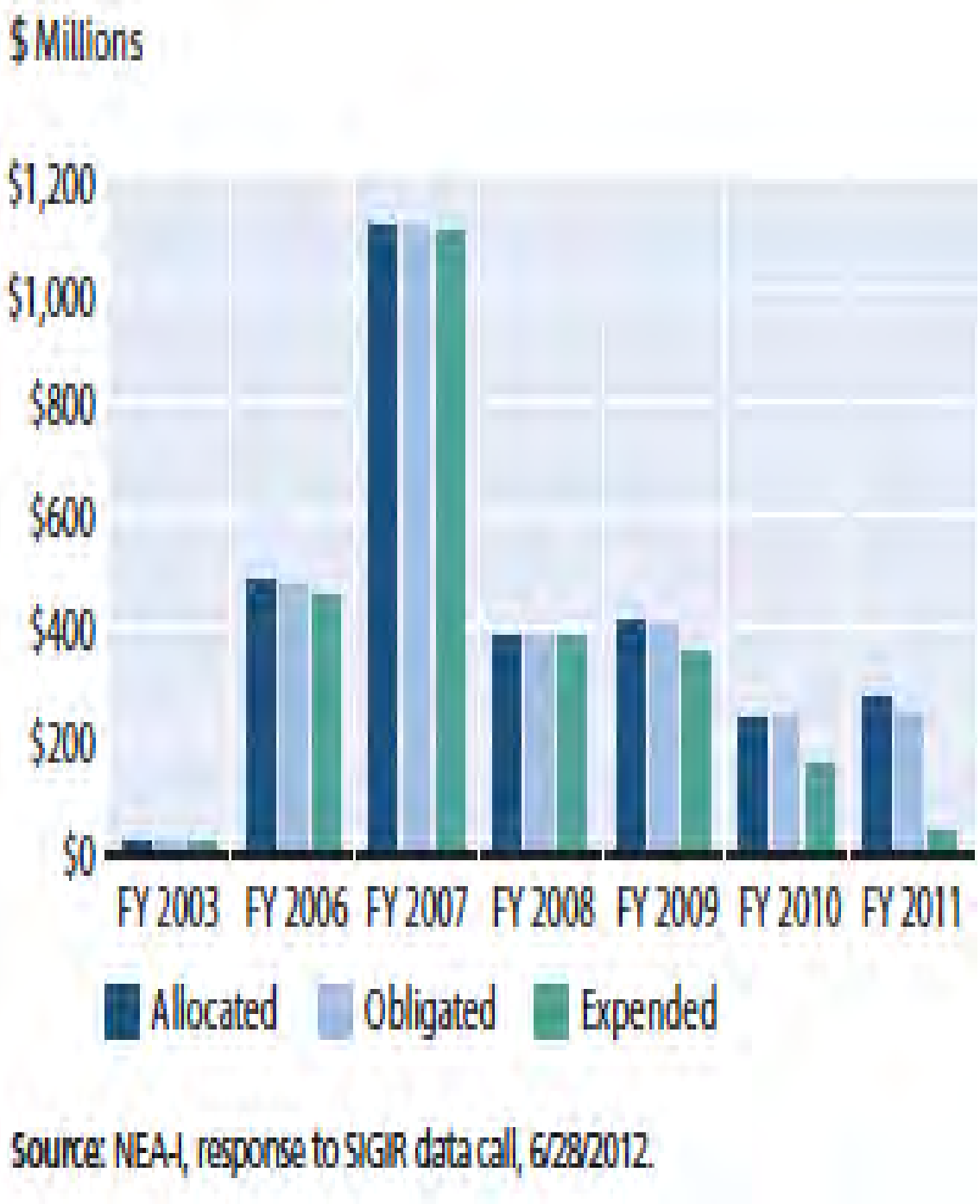




Source: SIGIR, Quarterly Report, April 2011, p. 18, http://www.sigir.mil/files/quarterlyreports/April2011/Report_-_April_2011.pdf#view=fit.

Figure Seven: Slow, Erratic, Project-Oriented Aid Outlays in Iraq Without Effective Planning, Management, and Controls on Spending: Part Two

USAID ESF Allocations, Obligations, and Expenditures, FY2003-FY2011)



Source: SIGIR, Quarterly Report, July 2013, p. 43, http://www.sigir.mil/files/quarterlyreports/July2012/Report_-_July_2012.pdf#view=fit

Stability Operations and Armed Nation Building Rather than a "War on Terrorism"

Using the term "terrorism" may still be a good way to get federal dollars in aftermath of 9/11, and do in spite of budget cuts and sequestration. Waving the modern equivalent of the bloody shirt and "demonizing" one's enemies can also serve a useful propaganda purpose, although it has limited credibility in the Islamic world and sometimes does more to alienate than persuade.

But the fact remains that the fighting in both Afghan and Iraq was driven by deep-seated causes of instability and not by terrorism. Insurgent movements grew strong because they could capitalize on deep-seated internal problems ethnic and sectarian tensions, political power struggles at every level, and demographic and economic pressures. The conflicts were shaped by a perfect storm of different causes of instability.

Moreover, it makes little sense to equate violence against civilians with terrorism in such cases. Violent asymmetric tactics that seek to divided and influence civilians and attack both combatants and non-combatants are the best options insurgent movements have until they can directly challenge conventional forces. They use such violence as part of far broader to dominate local populations, build support from attack other factions, exploit foreign troop presence, recruit volunteers and obtain funding, and defeat the local government and security forces by any means possible.

As our own revolution and civil war have made clear, civil conflicts always involve extreme violence and attacks on "non-combatants" and the very term "non-combatant" often becomes meaningless when civil factions and irregulars fight each other, religious and ethnic hatreds become paramount, human shields are routinely used, and military forces use extremism violence or attack civil targets on behalf of the state. As the new US COIN doctrine that emerged during the fighting makes clear, insurgents are not "terrorists" because they sometimes use extreme or politically targeted violence to attack civilians and government official, and they avoid conventional warfare.

As for the actual campaign against terrorism from 20021 to date, it has been a diverse mix of CIA, Special Operations Forces, and US regular military operating at a fraction of the total cost of the Iraq and Afghan Wars and largely outside both countries. Through the period from 2002 to the present, only small cadres of the CIA, US Special Operations Forces, and advisors actually focused on al Qa'ida and terrorism – whose center of gravity had shifted from Afghanistan to Pakistan by early 2002. The same is true of the mix of covert, low-level, and advisory struggles in areas like Yemen, Somalia, Pakistan (although fought from Afghanistan) as well as in North Africa, and Sub-Saharan Africa.

The Costs in Dollars and Blood Were for Armed Nation Building and Counterinsurgency

Quite aside from strategy, these issues take on critical importance at a time the US has to pay far more attention to the cost of every aspect of its future security expenditures and has to apply triage to every aspect of its security commitments.

There is no way to actually know the total cost of US counterterrorism activity either in the US or overseas. The State Department, USAID, and US civil departments and agencies do not provide a credible cost break out. The Department of Defense OCO account buries the small cadres of US military counterterrorism activity in Afghanistan in the overall account for that conflict and no break out was ever provided for Iraq. And, there are no reliable unclassified data on the cost of this aspect of intelligence activity.

Enough data are also available, however, to show that these costs escalated to the point where they became an unsustainable drain on the US economy and federal budget for limited strategic benefits. The problem for US strategy is not simply the focus of US efforts since 9/11, it is the cost.

The Human Costs

As for the total cost of counterterrorism overseas, there is no reliable unclassified estimate of such costs. The human costs in blood of the fighting in Afghanistan and Iraq are shown in **Figure Eight**, although these do not include the years of additional suffering and incapacity the fighting inflicted on many who served.

The totals also do not include many intelligence or contractor personnel.

More broadly, there is no way to know how many were directly involved in counterterrorism, although it is clear that this is a tiny fraction of the total.

The Dollar Costs of Overseas Operations Costs

The dollar cost is equally uncertain, since the Oversea Contingency Operations (OCO) account in the Department of Defense does not distinguish between counterterrorism, counterinsurgency, and armed nation building, only counts budget authority for the current year and not future obligations in terms of medical treatment, disability and pension payments, and "reset" to pay for equipment loss depreciation, and replacement of stocks and readiness.

The State Department seems to include large-scale administrative embassy and aid costs as counterterrorism and DoD, State, and Congress all seem to have included none war-related spending in the totals for wartime accounts.

The closest thing to an official break out of total cost of both the wars and additional counterterrorism activity – less intelligence spending outside the DoD budget is the (Congressional Research Service) CRS analysis shown in **Figure Nine**. It estimates total budget authority for the Afghan War at $557.1 billion through FY2012, and at $823.2 billion for the Iraq War, plus total spending for Enhanced security of $27.8 billion.[1]

The FY2014 DoD budget submission shown in **Figure Ten** indicates that $81 billion more needs to be added for FY2013 and $88 billion was requested for FY2014 – bringing the total *current* cost of both wars (give or take the final outcome of sequestration) to at least $1.55 trillion – with estimated future costs of $37 billion a year through at least FY2018.[2]

What is clear is that only a small fraction of these overseas costs had anything to do with counterterrorism, much less a "war on terrorism." Looking back over the last ten years, Department of Defense and State Department experts guesstimate that well over 90% of the more than $1.6 trillion in outlays, and over $2.5 trillion in outlays and future obligations the US will have spent on Afghanistan and Iraq in the total relevant OCO/aid accounts through FY2014 will go gone to armed nation building and counterinsurgency.

The Dollar Costs of Homeland Defense

The domestic costs for homeland defense are a case in point. They do not cost counterterrorism, and include a wide range of activities that have little or nothing to do with terrorism per se. As **Figures Eleven** and **Twelve** show, the OMB break out for homeland defense includes many elements that are law enforcement and domestic federal activity that took place long before 9/11 and have nothing to do with counter terrorism. OMB's break out of spending includes 31 different departments agencies and puts the total cost at $57.8 billion in FY2013 and $57.2 billion in FY2014. [3]

The Department of Defense portion of that spending has averaged $17-$18 billion in recent years, but there is no way to link it to domestic versus foreign spending versus funding Guard and Reserve and other DoD activities with only limited relations to counterterrorism.[4]

Much of the homeland defense spending deals with infrastructure protection and recovery and not counterterrorism. The OMB breakout of the spending to "prevent and disrupt terrorist attacks" is $34.2 billion in the FY2014 request. None of these funds are spent by the Department of Defense, there is no break out of related intelligence spending, and only $2.9 billion or 8% goes to State or overseas activity. [5]

Incoherence versus Transparency, Money versus Effectiveness

Three obvious problems emerge from this analysis:

- The first is that there is no way to determine what is actually being spent on counterterrorism versus counterinsurgency and other aspects of national security.
- The second is that homeland defense has become an incoherent slush fund mixing many different domestic programs with radically different functions.
- The third is that there are no transparent measures of effectiveness in either narrative or metric form associated with either counterterrorism or any of the other uses of OCO and homeland defense budgeting and expenditures.

Moreover, while the OMB categorization of homeland defense lumps everything together, the OCO analysis separates Department of Defense, State, and other agency spending without any effort to determine overall costs and effectiveness. From a fiscal viewpoint,

and at a time of massive pressures on the US budget, the "war on terrorism" has become "spending on God knows what."

Figure Eight: Armed National Building and Counterinsurgency in Afghanistan and Iraq: The Cost to the US in Blood

OPERATION IRAQI FREEDOM (OIF) U.S. CASUALTY STATUS * FATALITIES AS OF: June 21, 2013, 10 a.m. EDT					
	Total Deaths	KIA	Non-Hostile	Pending	WIA
OIF U. S. Military Casualties	4,409	3,480	929	0	31,927
OIF U.S. DoD Civilian Casualties	13	9	4		
Totals	**4,422**	**3,489**	**933**	**0**	31,927

OPERATION NEW DAWN (OND) U.S. CASUALTY STATUS ** FATALITIES AS OF: June 21, 2013, 10 a.m. EDT					
	Total Deaths	KIA	Non-Hostile	Pending	WIA
OND U. S. Military Casualties	66	38	28	0	295
OND U.S. DoD Civilian Casualties	0	0	0		
Totals	**66**	**38**	**28**	**0**	295

OPERATION ENDURING FREEDOM (OEF) U.S. CASUALTY STATUS FATALITIES AS OF: June 21, 2013, 10 a.m. EDT					
OEF U.S. Military Casualties	Total Deaths	KIA	Non-Hostile	Pending	WIA
Afghanistan Only***	2,110	1,748	360	2	18,795
Other Locations****	124	11	113	0	
OEF U.S. DoD Civilian Casualties	3	1	2		
Worldwide Total	**2,237**	**1,760**	**475**	**2**	18,795

* OPERATION IRAQI FREEDOM includes casualties that occurred between March 19, 2003, and August 31, 2010, in the Arabian Sea, Bahrain, Gulf of Aden, Gulf of Oman, Iraq, Kuwait, Oman, Persian Gulf, Qatar, Red Sea, Saudi Arabia, and United Arab Emirates. Prior to March 19, 2003, casualties in these countries were considered OEF. Personnel injured in OIF who die after 1 September 2010 will be included in OIF statistics.

** OPERATION NEW DAWN includes casualties that occurred between September 1, 2010, and December 31, 2011, in the Arabian Sea, Bahrain, Gulf of Aden, Gulf of Oman, Iraq, Kuwait, Oman, Persian Gulf, Qatar, Red Sea, Saudi Arabia, and United Arab Emirates. Personnel injured in OND who die after 31 December 2011 will be included in OND statistics.

*** OPERATION ENDURING FREEDOM (Afghanistan only), includes casualties that occurred in Afghanistan only.

**** OPERATION ENDURING FREEDOM (Other Locations), includes casualties that occurred in Occurred in Guantanamo Bay (Cuba), Djibouti, Eritrea, Ethiopia, Jordan, Kenya, Kyrgyzstan, Pakistan, Phil Uzbekistan, and Yemen.

Source: Department of Defense, Defenselink, http://www.defense.gov/news/casualty.pdf, June 21, 2013.

Figure Nine: Estimated War Funding By Operation, Agency and Fiscal Year: FY2001-FY2012 Request

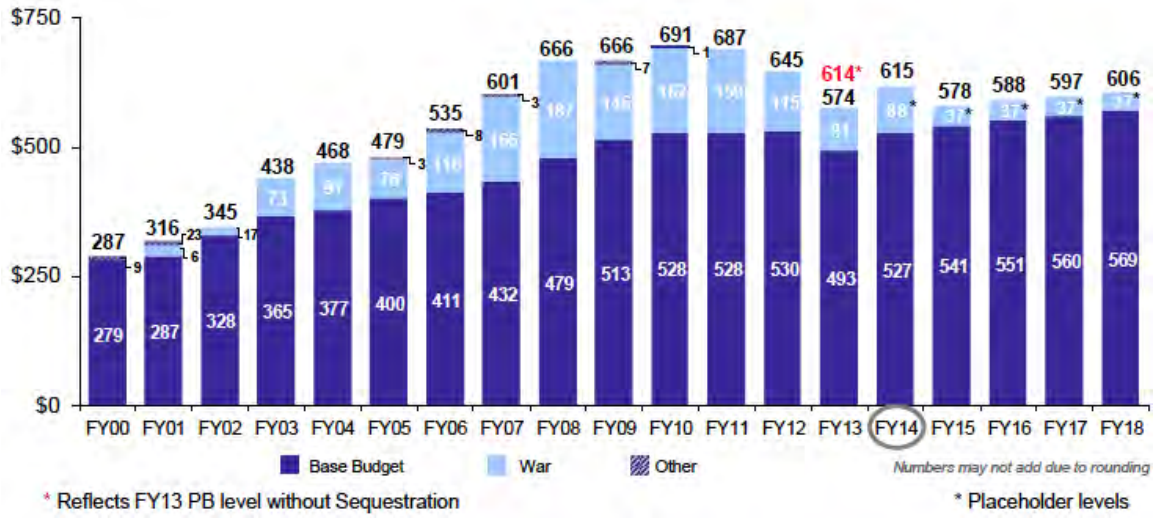
(CRS estimates in billions of dollars of budget authority)

Operation and Funding Source	FY01 & FY02	FY03	FY04	FY05	FY06	FY07	FY08	FY09	FY10	FY2011 CRA P.L. 112-6	FY2012 Request	Cum. Enacted FY2001-FY2011	Cum. Total w/ FY2011 CRA & FY2012 Request
IRAQ													
DOD	0	50.0	56.4	83.4	98.1	127.2	138.5	92.0	66.5	45.7	10.6	757.8	768.8
State/USAID	0	3.0	19.5	2.0	3.2	3.2	2.7	2.2	3.3	2.3	6.2	41.4	47.6
VA Medical	0	0	0	0.2	0.4	0.9	0.9	1.2	1.5	1.3	0.9	6.3	7.2
Total: Iraq	**0**	**53.0**	**75.9**	**85.6**	**101.7**	**131.3**	**142.1**	**95.5**	**71.3**	**49.3**	**17.7**	**805.5**	**823.2**
AFGHANISTAN													
DOD	20.0	14.0	12.4	17.2	17.9	37.2	40.6	56.1	87.7	113.3	107.3	416.2	523.5
State/USAID	0.8	0.7	2.2	2.8	1.1	1.9	2.7	3.1	5.7	4.1	4.3	25.1	29.4
VA Medical	0	0	0	0	0	0.1	0.1	0.2	0.5	1.1	2.1	2.1	4.2
Total: Afghanistan	**20.8**	**14.7**	**14.6**	**20.0**	**19.0**	**39.2**	**43.4**	**59.5**	**93.8**	**118.6**	**113.7**	**443.5**	**557.1**
ENHANCED SECURITY													
DOD	13.0	8.0	3.7	2.1	.8	0.5	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1	28.6	28.7
Total: Enhanced Security	**13.0**	**8.0**	**3.7**	**2.1**	**.8**	**0.5**	**0.1**	**0.1**	**0.1**	**0.1**	**0.1**	**28.6**	**28.7**
UNALLOCATED													
Unallocated DOD	**0**	**5.5**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**5.5**	**5.5**
ALL MISSIONS													
DOD	33.0	77.4	72.4	102.6	116.8	164.9	179.2	148.3	154.3	159.1	118.0	1,208.1	1,326.3
State/USAID	0.8	3.7	21.7	4.8	4.3	5.0	5.4	5.4	9.1	6.5	10.6	66.7	77.4
VA Medical	0	0	0	0.2	0.4	1.0	1.0	1.5	1.9	2.4	3.0	8.4	11.4
Total: All Missions	**33.8**	**81.1**	**94.1**	**107.6**	**121.5**	**170.9**	**185.6**	**155.1**	**165.3**	**168.1**	**131.6**	**1,283.3**	**1,414.8**

Source: Amy Belasco, *The Cost of Iraq, Afghanistan, and Other Global War on Terror Operations Since 9/11*, Congressional Research Service, RL3311, March 29, 2011, www.crs.gov, p. 17.

Figure Ten: Budget Totals in President's FY 2014 Budget Request DoD Topline, FY 2000 – FY 2018

(Current Dollars in Billions)



Source: OSD Comptroller, *Fiscal Year 2014 Budget Request and FY2013 Update*, Department of Defense, April 2013, p. 9.

Figure Eleven: Home Land Security Funding By Agency

(Budget authority in millions of dollars)

	Agency	2012 Actual	2012 Supplemental/ Emergency	2013 CR	2013 Supplemental	2014 Request
1	Department of Agriculture	435.4	.....	445.3	.....	607.3
2	Department of Commerce*	338.4	.....	542.5	.....	2,567.6
3	Department of Defense	17,780.0	.....	17,481.4	88.4	17,360.1
4	Department of Education	30.9	.....	31.4	.....	33.0
5	Department of Energy	1,938.1	.....	1,926.1	.....	1,920.4
6	Department of Health and Human Services	4,118.1	.....	4,080.3	.....	4,723.1
7	Department of Homeland Security	35,088.1	.....	35,717.5	2.0	35,837.3
8	Department of Housing and Urban Development	2.0	.....	2.0	.....	1.0
9	Department of the Interior	57.6	.....	56.6	.....	56.9
10	Department of Justice	4,038.9	.....	4,053.7	.....	4,172.9
11	Department of Labor	45.5	.....	36.5	.....	36.8
12	Department of State	2,673.7	.....	2,795.7	.....	2,995.9
13	Department of Transportation	245.4	.....	235.0	.....	211.2
14	Department of the Treasury	121.8	.....	123.7	.....	124.0
15	Department of Veterans Affairs	380.9	.....	367.5	.....	375.5
16	Corps of Engineers	14.8	.....	15.0	.....	13.6
17	Environmental Protection Agency	102.1	.....	102.0	.....	102.3
18	Executive Office of the President	10.4	.....	9.0	.....	9.1
19	General Services Administration	38.0	.....	18.0	.....	371.0
20	National Aeronautics and Space Administration	225.2	.....	212.3	.....	225.9
21	National Science Foundation	443.9	.....	443.9	.....	423.0
22	Office of Personnel Management	1.3	.....	1.3	.....	.....
23	Social Security Administration	211.6	.....	242.2	.....	261.9
24	District of Columbia	15.0	.....	25.0	.....	15.0
25	Federal Communications Commission	2.6	.....	1.6	.....	1.6
26	Intelligence Community Management Account**	9.0	.....	9.0	.....	.....
27	National Archives and Records Administration	22.6	.....	22.6	.....	24.7
28	Nuclear Regulatory Commission	78.5	.....	78.5	.....	73.2
29	Securities and Exchange Commission	8.0	.....	8.0	.....	8.0
30	Smithsonian Institution	97.0	.....	101.1	.....	101.2
31	United States Holocaust Memorial Museum	11.0	.....	11.0	.....	11.0
	Total, Homeland Security Budget Authority	**68,585.7**	.....	**69,195.8**	**90.4**	**72,664.4**
	Less Department of Defense	–17,780.0	.....	–17,481.4	–88.4	–17,360.1
	Non-Defense Homeland Security BA	**50,805.8**	.....	**51,714.4**	**2.0**	**55,304.3**
	Less Fee-Funded Homeland Security Programs	6,051.8	.....	6,412.2	.....	7,258.2
	Less Mandatory Homeland Security Programs	–3,092.7	.....	–3,349.4	.....	–5,394.1
	Net Non-Defense Discretionary Homeland Security BA	**53,764.9**	.....	**54,777.2**	**2.0**	**57,168.4**

* One-time funding increase in 2014 authorized by the Middle Class Tax Relief and Job Creation Act of 2012 to build a nationwide broadband network for first responders.

** Funding for the Intelligence Community Management Account was moved under DoD beginning in 2013.

Source: "Homeland Security Funding Analysis" in the Special Topics section of the US Budget Request for FY2014, OMB, p. 415, http://www.whitehouse.gov/sites/default/files/omb/budget/fy2014/assets/topics.pdf/.

Figure Twelve: Cost to US National Budget to Prevent and Disrupt Terrorist Attacks

(Budget authority in millions of dollars)

Agency	2012 Actual	2012 Supplemental/ Emergency	2013 CR	2013 Supplemental	2014 Request
Department of Agriculture	234.1	.....	243.3	.....	244.3
Department of Commerce	4.2	.....	4.4	.....	4.2
Department of Energy	.....	.....	.....	.....	0.5
Department of Homeland Security	27,657.7	.....	27,799.8	2.0	27,042.7
Department of the Interior	0.4	.....	0.4	.....	0.4
Department of Justice	3,416.1	.....	3,430.0	.....	3,626.1
Department of State	2,587.5	.....	2,688.1	.....	2,896.5
Department of Transportation	42.8	.....	33.7	.....	33.9
Department of the Treasury	71.4	.....	71.8	.....	71.3
General Services Administration	.....	.....	.....	.....	288.0
Total, Prevent and Disrupt Terrorist Attacks	**34,014.1**	.....	**34,271.5**	**2.0**	**34,207.9**

Source: "Homeland Security Funding Analysis" in the Special Topics section of the US Budget Request for FY2014, OMB, p. 417, http://www.whitehouse.gov/sites/default/files/omb/budget/fy2014/assets/topics.pdf.

Stability, Insurgency, and Weakened but Surviving Al Qaida

The US needs a far better focused effort to set meaningful goals for stability, military intervention and partnerships, and managing national security spending. At the same time, the now decade long history of mismanaging invasion, occupation, armed nation building, and counterinsurgency in Afghanistan/Pakistan and Iraq needs to be kept in perspective.

Two things are clear. One is that international terrorism in the true sense of the word remains a threat. Second, the core US counterterrorism campaign in DoD and the US intelligence community that actually did focus on terrorism produced notable successes for far less effort and money. It killed Bin Laden and some 22 out of 30 key Al Qa'ida central leaders by mid-2013 It had an important impact in critically weakening Al Qa'ida in Iraq, and a major impact on Al Qa'ida in the Arabian Peninsula—although much of the AQAP activity in Yemen is as much a matter of counterinsurgency as terrorism.

The true focus and cost of the Afghan and Iraq campaigns and homeland defense is not an argument against future focused spending on counterterrorism. At the same time, there is a clear need to reshape that focus, keep the threat of terrorism in the proper perspective, and not confuse the need to deal with terrorist threats with the broader and more critical task of dealing with regional instability and insurgency.

Al Qa'ida as a Case Study in "Terrorism"

As noted earlier, the US government does not provide any integrated unclassified reporting on its counterterrorism efforts or the overall patterns in terrorism. The main unclassified report the US government of issues on terrorism is the annual *Country Reports on Terrorism* issued by the Office of the Coordinator for Counterterrorism in the Bureau of Counterterrorism of the US State Department.

As will become all too clear later in this study, this reporting is erratic and often deeply flawed. It does, however, provide the best available unclassified picture of both how the US intelligence community assesses given terrorist movements and the trends in terrorist activity. As such, its reporting on the various elements of Al Qa'ida – the icon of the "war on terrorism" – makes a good case study that helps illustrate the problems in the US approach to terrorism

Figure Thirteen excerpts the State Department Country reporting on Al Qa'ida in *Country Reports on Terrorism, 2012,* which was issued in May 2013. It shows Al Qaida now consists of four major movements, plus a closely associated movement in Somalia. These descriptions make it clear that Al Qa'ida has scarcely been defeated, but they also show Al Qa'ida has fractured as well as franchised – with three of the movements listed taking on the Al Qa'ida brand name but having different and largely local goals and are only loosely tied to Al Qa'ida central in Pakistan.[6]

At the same time, the State Department reporting provides a warning that that both Al Qa'ida and "terrorism" need to be kept in proportion relative to the other sources of change and violence affecting the MENA area and Islamic world. Its summary notes that,

> **A marked resurgence of Iran's state sponsorship of terrorism, through its Islamic Revolutionary Guard Corps-Qods Force (IRGC-QF), its Ministry of Intelligence and Security, and Tehran's ally Hezbollah was noted.** Iran's state sponsorship of terrorism and Hezbollah's terrorist activity have reached a tempo unseen since the 1990s, with attacks plotted in Southeast Asia, Europe, and Africa. Both Iran and Hezbollah also continued to provide a broad range of support to the Assad regime, as it continues its brutal crackdown against the Syrian people.
>
> **The al-Qa'ida (AQ) core in Pakistan continued to weaken.** As a result of leadership losses, the AQ core's ability to direct activities and attacks has diminished, as its leaders focus increasingly on survival.
>
> ***Tumultuous events in the Middle East and North Africa have complicated the counterterrorism picture.*** *The AQ core is on a path to defeat, and its two most dangerous affiliates have suffered significant setbacks: Yemen, with the help of armed residents, regained government control over territory in the south that AQAP has seized and occupied since 2011; also, Somali National Forces and the African Union Mission in Somalia expelled al-Shabaab from major cities in southern Somalia. Despite these gains, however, recent events in the region have complicated the counterterrorism picture. The dispersal of weapons stocks in the wake of the revolution in Libya, the Tuareg rebellion, and the coup d'état in Mali presented terrorists with new opportunities. The actions of France and African countries, however, in conjunction with both short-term U.S. support to the African-led International Support Mission in Mali and the long-term efforts of the United States via the Trans-Sahara Counterterrorism Partnership, have done much to roll back and contain the threat.*
>
> ***Leadership losses have driven AQ affiliates to become more independent.*** *AQ affiliates are increasingly setting their own goals and specifying their own targets. As receiving and sending funds have become more difficult, several affiliates have increased their financial independence by engaging in kidnapping for ransom operations and other criminal activities*.
>
> **We are facing a more decentralized and geographically dispersed terrorist threat.** Defeating a terrorist network requires us to work with our international partners to disrupt criminal and terrorist financial networks, strengthen rule of law institutions while respecting human rights, address recruitment, and eliminate the safe havens that protect and facilitate this activity. In the long term, we must build the capabilities of our partners and counter the ideology that continues to incite terrorist violence around the world.
>
> **Although terrorist attacks occurred in 85 different countries in 2012, they were heavily concentrated geographically.** As in recent years, over half of all attacks (55%), fatalities (62%), and injuries (65%) occurred in just three countries: Pakistan, Iraq, and Afghanistan.

These comments make it clear that the Obama Administration needs to be more careful about implying that Al Qa'ida has been defeated or is on the road to defeat. At the same time, these comments, the excerpts in **Figure Thirteen**, and the rest of the report raise serious issues as to the extent the various elements of Al Qa'ida and the other "terrorist" group listed in the State Department pose their major threat to US and allied interest in term of terrorism, or that terrorist groups poses anything like the overall strategic threat to US interests posed by the combination of instability and the threat or reality of insurgency and civil war.

The risks posed by insurgencies, civil wars, and/or that violent extremist movements may come to take over or shape the behavior of entire countries, is a more critical risk to US strategic interests than what they can accomplish as terrorist movements. **Figure Thirteen** shows that all four Al Qa'ida movements are involved in some form of insurgency and to exploit the broader patterns of instability in given state and parts of the MENA region. – although this is less true of Al Qa'ida Central in Pakistan – whose ties

to Sunni Islamist movements in Pakistan and Afghan insurgents like the Taliban. The other elements of Al Qa'ida have clear ties to Sunni insurgency in Iraq, insurgency in Yemen and Saudi Arabia, and insurgency in Algeria and Mali.

Moreover, as became clear in June 2013, the divisions between the elements of Al Qa'ida were serious enough so that Abu Bakr al-Baghdadi, the leader of Al Qa'ida in Iraq (who also leads the Islamic State of Iraq) refused to recognize orders from Ayman al-Zawahiri, the leader of Al Qa'ida Central in Pakistan, to stop claiming Al Qa'ida in Iraq had merged with newly emerging Al Qa'ida franchise in Syria (al-Nusra Front, or Jabhat al-Nusra) and to allow the Syrian movement to stand on its own.[7]

The same independence characterizes the Al Qa'ida franchises and affiliates in Somalia, North Africa, and sub-Saharan areas like Mali. These are movements focused largely on insurgency and internal power struggles, for which international terrorism is a limited activity and directed largely against the US and other outside states because of their ties to local governments or allies that have made the US a target for reasons that go far beyond ideology.

Figure Thirteen: US State Department Reporting on the Various Elements of Al Qa'ida at End 2012

Al-Qa'ida

aka al Qaeda; Qa'idat al-Jihad (The Base for Jihad); formerly Qa'idat Ansar Allah (The Base of the Supporters of God); the Islamic Army; Islamic Salvation Foundation; The Base; The Group for the Preservation of the Holy Sites; The Islamic Army for the Liberation of the Holy Places; the World Islamic Front for Jihad Against Jews and Crusaders; the Usama Bin Laden Network; the Usama Bin Laden Organization; al-Jihad; the Jihad Group; Egyptian al-Jihad; Egyptian Islamic Jihad; New Jihad

Description: Designated as a Foreign Terrorist Organization on October 8, 1999, al-Qa'ida (AQ) was established by Usama bin Laden in 1988. The group helped finance, recruit, transport, and train Sunni Islamist extremists for the Afghan resistance. AQ's strategic objectives are to remove Western influence and presence from the Muslim world, topple "apostate" governments of Muslim countries, and establish a pan-Islamic caliphate governed by its own interpretation of Sharia law that ultimately would be at the center of a new international order. These goals remain essentially unchanged since the group's 1996 public declaration of war against the United States. AQ leaders issued a statement in February 1998 under the banner of "The World Islamic Front for Jihad against the Jews and Crusaders," saying it was the duty of all Muslims to kill U.S. citizens, civilian and military, and their allies everywhere. AQ merged with al-Jihad (Egyptian Islamic Jihad) in June 2001. Many AQ leaders have been killed in recent years, including bin Laden and then second-in-command Atiyah Abd al-Rahman, in May and August 2011, respectively. Al-Rahman's replacement, Abu Yahya al-Libi, was killed in June 2012. Leader Ayman al-Zawahiri remained at large.

Activities: AQ and its supporters conducted three bombings that targeted U.S. troops in Aden in December 1992, and claim to have shot down U.S. helicopters and killed U.S. servicemen in Somalia in 1993. AQ also carried out the August 1998 bombings of the U.S. Embassies in Nairobi and Dar es Salaam, killing up to 300 individuals and injuring more than 5,000. In October 2000, AQ conducted a suicide attack on the USS Cole in the port of Aden, Yemen, with an explosive-laden boat, killing 17 U.S. Navy sailors and injuring 39.

On September 11, 2001, 19 AQ members hijacked and crashed four U.S. commercial jets – two into the World Trade Center in New York City, one into the Pentagon near Washington, DC; and the last into a field in Shanksville, Pennsylvania – leaving over 3,000 individuals dead or missing.

In November 2002, AQ carried out a suicide bombing of a hotel in Mombasa, Kenya that killed 15. In 2003 and 2004, Saudi-based AQ operatives and associated violent extremists launched more than a dozen attacks, killing at least 90 people, including 14 Americans in Saudi Arabia. Al-Zawahiri claimed responsibility on behalf of AQ for the July 7, 2005 attacks against the London public transportation system. AQ likely played a role in the unsuccessful 2006 plot to destroy several commercial aircraft flying from the UK to the United States using liquid explosives. AQ claimed responsibility for a 2008 suicide car bomb attack on the Danish embassy in Pakistan that killed six, as retaliation for a Danish newspaper re-publishing cartoons depicting the Prophet Muhammad and for Denmark's involvement in Afghanistan.

In January 2009, Bryant Neal Vinas – a U.S. citizen who traveled to Pakistan and allegedly trained in explosives at AQ camps, was captured in Pakistan and extradited to the United States – was charged with providing material support to a terrorist organization and conspiracy to commit murder. Vinas later admitted his role in helping AQ plan an attack against the Long Island Rail Road in New York and confessed to having fired missiles at a U.S. base in Afghanistan. In September 2009, Najibullah Zazi, an Afghan immigrant and U.S. lawful permanent resident, was charged with conspiracy to use weapons of mass destruction, to commit murder in a foreign country, and with providing material support to a terrorist organization as part of an AQ plot to attack the New York subway system. Zazi later admitted to contacts with AQ senior leadership, suggesting they had knowledge of his plans. In February 2010, Zazi pled guilty to charges in the U.S. District Court for the Eastern District of New York.

In a December 2011 video, new AQ leader al-Zawahiri claimed AQ was behind the August kidnapping of American aid worker Warren Weinstein in Pakistan. As conditions for his release, al-Zawahiri demanded

the end of U.S. air strikes and the release of all terrorist suspects in U.S. custody. Weinstein remained in AQ custody throughout 2012.

Strength: In South Asia, AQ's core has been seriously degraded. The death or arrest of dozens of mid- and senior-level AQ operatives – including bin Laden in May 2011 – have disrupted communication, financial, facilitation nodes, and a number of terrorist plots. AQ serves as a focal point of "inspiration" for a worldwide network of affiliated groups – al-Qa'ida in the Arabian Peninsula (AQAP), al-Qa'ida in Iraq (AQI), al-Qa'ida in the Islamic Maghreb (AQIM), al-Shabaab– and other Sunni Islamist extremist groups, including the Islamic Movement of Uzbekistan, the Islamic Jihad Union, Lashkar i Jhangvi, Harakat ul-Mujahadin, and Jemaah Islamiya. Tehrik-e Taliban Pakistan and the Haqqani Network also have ties to AQ. Additionally, supporters and associates worldwide who are "inspired" by the group's ideology may be operating without direction from AQ central leadership, and it is impossible to estimate their numbers.

Location/Area of Operation: AQ was based in Afghanistan until Coalition Forces removed the Taliban from power in late 2001. Since then, they have resided in Pakistan's Federally Administered Tribal Areas. AQ's regional affiliates – AQI, AQAP, AQIM, and al-Shabaab – work in Iraq and Syria, Yemen, the Trans-Sahara, and Somalia, respectively.

Funding and External Aid: AQ primarily depends on donations from like-minded supporters as well as from individuals who believe that their money is supporting a humanitarian cause. Some funds are diverted from Islamic charitable organizations.

Al-Qa'ida in the Arabian Peninsula

aka al-Qa'ida in the South Arabian Peninsula; al-Qa'ida in Yemen; al-Qa'ida of Jihad Organization in the Arabian Peninsula; al-Qa'ida Organization in the Arabian Peninsula; Tanzim Qa'idat al-Jihad fi Jazirat al-Arab; AQAP; AQY; Ansar al-Shari'a

Description: Al-Qa'ida in the Arabian Peninsula (AQAP) was designated as a Foreign Terrorist Organization (FTO) on January 19, 2010. In January 2009, the leader of al-Qa'ida in Yemen (AQY), Nasir al-Wahishi, publicly announced that Yemeni and Saudi al-Qa'ida (AQ) operatives were working together under the banner of AQAP. This announcement signaled the rebirth of an AQ franchise that previously carried out attacks in Saudi Arabia. AQAP's self-stated goals include establishing a caliphate in the Arabian Peninsula and the wider Middle East, as well as implementing Sharia law.

On September 30, 2011, AQAP cleric and head of external operations Anwar al-Aulaqi, as well as Samir Khan, the publisher of AQAP's online magazine, *Inspire,* were killed in Yemen.

Activities: AQAP has claimed responsibility for numerous terrorist acts against both internal and foreign targets since its inception in January 2009. Attempted attacks against foreign targets include a March 2009 suicide bombing against South Korean tourists in Yemen, the August 2009 attempt to assassinate Saudi Prince Muhammad bin Nayif, and the December 25, 2009 attempted attack on Northwest Airlines Flight 253 from Amsterdam to Detroit, Michigan. AQAP was responsible for an unsuccessful attempt to assassinate the British Ambassador in April 2010, and a failed attempt to target a British embassy vehicle with a rocket in October of that year. Also in October 2010, AQAP claimed responsibility for a foiled plot to send explosive-laden packages to the United States via cargo plane. The parcels were intercepted in the UK and in the United Arab Emirates.

In 2012, the Yemeni government carried out a two-month offensive to uproot AQAP from portions of Abyan Governorate, and Yemeni forces eventually regained control over the towns of Zinjibar and Jaar. However, approximately 3,000 land mines, planted by AQAP militants before they fled, killed 72 residents in the aftermath of AQAP's departure. Other AQAP attacks in 2012 targeted the Yemeni military, including a February 2012 suicide car bombing that killed 26 Yemeni soldiers in Hadramawt Governorate.

The FTO designation for AQAP was amended on October 4, 2012, to include the alias Ansar al-Shari'a (AAS). AAS represents a rebranding effort designed to attract potential followers in areas under AQAP's control. AQAP, operating under the alias AAS, carried out a May 2012 suicide bombing in Sanaa that killed 96 people. AQAP/AAS claimed responsibility for the attack, which targeted Yemeni soldiers rehearsing for a parade to celebrate Yemen's National Day, and said the bombing was intended to target the Yemeni military brass. Also in May, press reported that AQAP allegedly plotted to detonate a bomb aboard

a U.S.-bound airliner using an improvised explosive device. Though there was no imminent threat to U.S. jetliners, the device, which was acquired from another government, was similar to devices that AQAP had previously used in attempted terrorist attacks.

Strength: Although it is difficult to assess the number of AQAP's members, the group is estimated to have close to one thousand members.

Location/Area of Operation: Yemen

Funding and External Aid: AQAP's funding primarily comes from robberies and kidnap for ransom operations and to a lesser degree from donations from like-minded supporters.

Al-Qa'ida in Iraq

aka al-Qa'ida Group of Jihad in Iraq; al-Qa'ida Group of Jihad in the Land of the Two Rivers; al-Qa'ida in Mesopotamia; al-Qa'ida in the Land of the Two Rivers; al-Qa'ida of Jihad in Iraq; al-Qa'ida of Jihad Organization in the Land of The Two Rivers; al-Qa'ida of the Jihad in the Land of the Two Rivers; al-Tawhid; Jam'at al-Tawhid Wa'al-Jihad; Tanzeem Qa'idat al Jihad/Bilad al Raafidaini; Tanzim Qa'idat al-Jihad fi Bilad al-Rafidayn; The Monotheism and Jihad Group; The Organization Base of Jihad/Country of the Two Rivers; The Organization Base of Jihad/Mesopotamia; The Organization of al-Jihad's Base in Iraq; The Organization of al-Jihad's Base in the Land of the Two Rivers; The Organization of al-Jihad's Base of Operations in Iraq; The Organization of al-Jihad's Base of Operations in the Land of the Two Rivers; The Organization of Jihad's Base in the Country of the Two Rivers; al-Zarqawi Network; Islamic State of Iraq; al-Nusrah Front; Jabhat al-Nusrah; Jabhet al-Nusrah; The Victory Front; al-Nusrah Front for the People of the Levant

Description: Al-Qa'ida in Iraq (AQI) was designated as a Foreign Terrorist Organization on December 17, 2004**.** In the 1990s, Abu Mus'ab al-Zarqawi, a Jordanian-born militant, organized a terrorist group called al-Tawhid wal-Jihad to oppose the presence of U.S. and Western military forces in the Islamic world and the West's support for and the existence of Israel. In late 2004, he joined al-Qa'ida (AQ) and pledged allegiance to Usama bin Laden. After this, al-Tawhid wal-Jihad became known as AQI. Zarqawi traveled to Iraq during Operation Iraqi Freedom and led his group against U.S. and Coalition Forces until his death in June 2006. In October 2006, AQI publicly re-named itself the Islamic State of Iraq and has since used that name in its public statements. In 2012, AQI was led by Ibrahim Awwad Ibrahim Ali al-Badri, aka Abu Du'a, who was designated by the Department of State under Executive Order 13224 on October 4.

Since late 2011, AQI has also participated in the Syrian conflict through its alias, al-Nusrah Front, which has sought to portray itself as part of the legitimate Syrian opposition. A number of al-Nusrah Front's leaders have been members of AQI and its facilitation network that operated in Syria and Iraq from 2004-2011. [In mid-April 2013, al-Nusrah leader Muhammad al-Jawlani publicly pledged al-Nusrah's fealty to AQ and its leader, Ayman al-Zawahiri.] Al-Nusrah works with other U.S. designated terrorist organizations, such as Lebanon based Fatah al-Islam. Al-Nusrah Front's base of operations is probably Damascus, but the group mirrors the organizational structure of AQI in Iraq, with regional military, administrative, and local media efforts. On December 11, the Department of State amended AQI's designation to include al-Nusrah Front as an alias.

Activities: Since its founding, AQI has conducted high profile attacks, including improvised explosive device (IED) attacks against U.S. military personnel and Iraqi infrastructure; videotaped beheadings of Americans Nicholas Berg (May 11, 2004), Jack Armstrong (September 22, 2004), and Jack Hensley (September 21, 2004); suicide bomber attacks against both military and civilian targets; and rocket attacks. AQI perpetrates the majority of suicide and mass casualty bombings in Iraq using foreign and Iraqi operatives.

Since November 2011, al-Nusrah Front has claimed nearly 600 attacks, ranging from more than 40 suicide attacks to small arms and IED operations in major city centers including Damascus, Aleppo, Hamah, Dara, Homs, Idlib, and Dayr al-Zawr. For example, on September 28, 2012, al-Nusrah Front claimed responsibility for two suicide car bombs at a military complex in Damascus that killed four and wounded 14, including civilians. On October 3, 2012, the group claimed responsibility for four bombings in Aleppo, including two suicide attacks that killed more than 50 people. Al-Nusrah Front followed up those attacks

with an October 9 suicide bomb attack on a Syrian Air Force Intelligence compound in a Damascus suburb that killed and wounded at least 100, including civilians.

AQI was also active in Iraq in 2012. In a series of coordinated attacks in March, AQI struck Shia pilgrims in the city of Karbala, set cars on fire near a police headquarters in Kirkuk, and targeted security forces and government officials in Baghdad. In all, AQI struck eight cities in just under six hours, killing 46 people and wounding 200. July was the bloodiest month of AQI attacks in two years, with 325 people killed over the span of multiple bombings and attacks. In August, the Islamic State of Iraq, AQI's political front, released a video detailing a sophisticated attack in March on five locations in Haditha and neighboring Barwana that included dozens of fighters dressed as police commandos. During the raid, AQI fighters killed 27 Iraqi policemen, including two police commanders. In November, at least 166 Iraqi civilians, police, and soldiers were killed in violence across the country, according to the Government of Iraq.

Strength: In Iraq, membership is estimated between 1,000 and 2,000, making it the largest Sunni extremist group in Iraq. Membership in Syria is unknown, though it is likely a small force within the larger Syrian armed opposition.

Location/Area of Operation: AQI's operations are predominately Iraq-based, but it has perpetrated attacks in Jordan. In Syria, al-Nusrah Front has claimed attacks in several major city centers. The group maintains a logistical network throughout the Middle East, North Africa, Iran, South Asia, and Europe.

Funding and External Aid: AQI receives most of its funding from a variety of businesses and criminal activities within Iraq.

Al-Qa'ida in the Islamic Maghreb

aka AQIM; Group for Call and Combat; GSPC; Le Groupe Salafiste Pour La Predication Et Le Combat; Salafist Group for Preaching and Combat

Description: The Salafist Group for Call and Combat (GSPC) was designated as a Foreign Terrorist Organization on March 27, 2002. After the GSPC officially joined with al-Qa'ida (AQ) in September 2006 and became known as al-Qa'ida in the Islamic Maghreb (AQIM), the Department of State amended the GSPC designation on February 20, 2008, to reflect the change. AQIM remains largely a regionally-focused terrorist group. It has adopted a more anti-Western rhetoric and ideology and has aspirations of overthrowing "apostate" African regimes and creating an Islamic Caliphate. Abdelmalek Droukdel, aka Abu Mus'ab Abd al-Wadoud, is the group's leader.

Activities: Since 2007, when AQIM bombed the UN headquarters building in Algiers and an Algerian government building outside of Algiers killing 60 people, AQIM had been relatively quiet and focused on its kidnapping for ransom efforts. In 2011 and 2012, however, AQIM took advantage of the deteriorating security situation in northern Africa to plan and conduct operations. In 2011, AQIM targeted Mauritanian President Muhammad Abdel Aziz and detonated a vehicle-borne improvised explosive device (VBIED) in Nouakchott, injuring nine soldiers, and also claimed responsibility for multiple suicide bomb attacks against Algerian military and police targets, which killed at least 20 people and wounded almost 50 others. In January 2012, Algerian authorities disrupted an AQIM plot targeting U.S. or European ships in the Mediterranean Sea. Some militants with ties to AQIM were involved in the September 11 attack on U.S. facilities in Benghazi that killed J. Christopher Stevens, the U.S. Ambassador to Libya, and three staff members.

In addition to conducting attacks, AQIM also conducted kidnap for ransom operations. The targets are usually Western citizens from governments or third parties that have established a pattern of making concessions in the form of ransom payments for the release of individuals in custody. In September 2010, AQIM claimed responsibility for the kidnapping of seven people working at a uranium mine in Niger. AQIM released three of the hostages in February 2011, but at the end of 2012, four French citizens remained in captivity.

AQIM continued its kidnapping operations in 2012. In May, AQIM killed a German hostage in Nigeria during a military raid. AQIM was also believed to be behind the December kidnapping of a French engineer in northern Nigeria, an operation that resulted in the death of two Nigerians.

Strength: AQIM has under a thousand fighters operating in Algeria with a smaller number in the Sahel. It is attempting to take advantage of the volatile political situation in the Sahel, especially in Mali, to expand its membership, resources, and operations.

Location/Area of Operation: Northeastern Algeria (including but not limited to the Kabylie region) and northern Mali, Niger, and Mauritania.

Funding and External Aid: AQIM members engaged in kidnapping for ransom and criminal activities to finance their operations. Algerian expatriates and AQIM supporters abroad – many residing in Western Europe – may also provide limited financial and logistical support.

Al-Shabaab

aka The Harakat Shabaab al-Mujahidin; al-Shabab; Shabaab; the Youth; Mujahidin al-Shabaab Movement; Mujahideen Youth Movement; Mujahidin Youth Movement

Description: Designated as a Foreign Terrorist Organization on March 18, 2008, al-Shabaab was the militant wing of the former Somali Islamic Courts Council that took over parts of southern Somalia in the second half of 2006. Since the end of 2006, al-Shabaab and disparate militias led a violent insurgency using guerrilla warfare and terrorist tactics against the Transitional Federal Government (TFG) of Somalia; the group continues to fight the Government of Somalia. In February 2012, al-Qa'ida (AQ) announced that al-Shabaab leader Ahmed Abdi aw-Mohamed had pledged obedience to Ayman al-Zawahiri and AQ. Al-Shabaab has also developed ties to al-Qa'ida in the Arabian Peninsula (AQAP) and al-Qa'ida in the Islamic Maghreb (AQIM).

In some camps, AQ-affiliated foreign fighters often led the training and indoctrination of the recruits, while rank and file militia fighters from multiple clan and sub-clan factions that are aligned with al-Shabaab are predominantly interested in indigenous issues. The group's foreign fighters were generally intent on conducting attacks outside Somalia but since 2011 have seen their operational capacity reduced due to the military campaign against al-Shabaab. In 2012, al-Shabaab's capability to wage conventional attacks was greatly diminished. Somalia's TFG and its successor, the Federal Government of Somalia (elected indirectly in September) – with the assistance of the AU Mission in Somalia (AMISOM), as well as Ethiopian and allied Somali militia forces – secured areas neighboring Mogadishu and drove al-Shabaab from control of many of its urban strongholds in south-central Somalia. Most notably, the forces drove al-Shabaab from control of the port city of Kismayo on September 28. This led to al-Shabaab's greater reliance on indirect assaults and asymmetrical tactics against AMISOM, Somali, and Kenyan forces. These attacks included the increased use of more sophisticated improvised explosive devices (IEDs).

Activities: Al-Shabaab has used intimidation and violence to undermine the TFG and now the Government of Somalia, forcibly recruit new fighters, and kill activists working to bring about peace through political dialogue and reconciliation. The group has claimed responsibility for several high profile bombings and shootings throughout Somalia targeting AMISOM troops and Somali officials. It has been responsible for the assassination of numerous civil society figures, government officials, and journalists. Al-Shabaab fighters and those who have also claimed allegiance to the group have conducted violent attacks and have assassinated international aid workers and members of NGOs.

In its first attack outside of Somalia, al-Shabaab was responsible for the July 11, 2010 suicide bombings in Kampala, Uganda during the World Cup, which killed nearly 76 people, including one American citizen. Al-Shabaab's attacks continued apace in 2012, and resulted in the deaths of hundreds of people. Among al-Shabaab's most notable 2012 attacks in Somalia were a series of mortar attacks in March against the Somali presidential palace; an April suicide attack targeting Prime Minister Abdiweli Mohamed Ali at Mogadishu's National Theater, which killed five; a May suicide attack at a Café in Dusa Mareb, which killed seven people, including two Somali Members of Parliament; and a violent attack on the town near the Kenyan border in November, which left at least 12 dead. Outside of Somalia, al-Shabaab was also believed responsible for a number of deadly grenade attacks in Kenya.

There were frequent reports of al-Shabaab carrying out amputation of limbs for minor thievery offenses, stoning for suspected adultery, killing converts to religions other than Islam, and forced conscription of child soldiers. Al-Shabaab leaders frequently ordered beheaded corpses to be left in streets as a lesson to local communities. Shabaab forces also engaged in widespread rape and violence against women.

Location/Area of Operation: Al-Shabaab lost full control of significant areas of territory in 2011 and 2012. In September 2012, al-Shabaab lost control of Kismayo, a vital port it used to obtain supplies and funding through taxes. Despite these losses, al-Shabaab continued to control large sections of rural areas in the middle and lower Jubba regions, as well as Bay and Bakol regions, and augmented its presence in northern Somalia along the Golis Mountains and within Puntland's larger urban areas.

Strength: Al-Shabaab is estimated to have several thousand members, including foreign fighters, a force that is augmented by allied clan militias in some areas.

Funding and External Aid: Al-Shabaab saw its income diminish due to the loss of the strategic port cities of Kismayo and Merka; furthermore, it lost a general ability to freely levy taxes in certain urban areas in southern and central Somalia. Al-Shabaab continued to have sufficient financing available, however, including funds from illegal charcoal production and exports from smaller ports along the coast, taxation of local populations and areas under al-Shabaab control, and foreign donations.

Because al-Shabaab is a multi-clan entity, it receives significant donations from the global Somali diaspora; however, the donations are not all intended to support terrorism; but also to support family members.

"Terrorist" Threats versus Insurgency and Instability

Al Qa'ida is only one example of the fact the US now needs to come to grips with the fact its main future challenge is dealing with the broader patterns of violence emerging from regional instability and not terrorism. It must now deal with the full range of causes of violence in the region, with the risk of civil conflict and violent political upheavals and be ready to deal more in helping regional states deal with counterinsurgency and resolve civil conflict than counterterrorism. In fact, many of the latest US government statistics on what the State Department calls terrorism illustrate this point.

Defining Insurgency, Civil Conflicts, and Instability as Terrorism

To put such data in context, it is important to note the anomalies in how the US assesses "terrorism." Virtually every element of the US government seems to have a slightly different working definition of "terrorism."

The State Department annual *Country Reports on Terrorism* come as close as any US government report does to providing an official unclassified estimate.[8] Yet, even this one report has contradictory working definitions of terrorism. Unlike the main text of the report – which only covers movements officially designated as terrorist – the statistical annex bases its data on terrorism on a definition in US law: "The definition found in Title 22 of the US Code provides that terrorism is "premeditated, politically motivated violence perpetrated against noncombatant targets by subnational groups or clandestine agents."

At the same time, the State Department report quantifies terrorism in terms of, "violent acts carried out by non-state actors that meet all of the GTD inclusion criteria:

> 1. The violent act was aimed at attaining a political, economic, religious, or social goal;
>
> 2. The violent act included evidence of an intention to coerce, intimidate, or convey some other message to a larger audience (or audiences) other than the immediate victims; and
>
> 3. The violent act was outside the precepts of International Humanitarian Law insofar as it targeted non-combatants.[9]

The State Department report, "excludes attacks against combatant targets, it includes attacks in which perpetrators indiscriminately targeted both combatants and non-combatants," and includes "Violent Political Parties"…organizations that engage in electoral politics and are also attributed responsibility for terrorist attacks in the Global Terrorism Database."[10]

Taken at face value, this definition makes no practical distinction between terrorism and insurgency. Moreover, it technically ignores any form of violence against uniformed military that does not produce civilian casualties, and ignores all attacks and repression of non-combatants by states – acts that are all too common in MENA governments and are addressed in depth in separate State Department reporting on human rights.

The Department of Defense has many working definitions of terrorism. The formal definition in US Joint Staff dictionary, however, comes as close as any one definition can to defining the DoD approach to fighting "terrorism":[11]

> "The unlawful use of violence or threat of violence to instill fear and coerce governments or societies. Terrorism is often motivated by religious, political, or other ideological beliefs and committed in the pursuit of goals that are usually political."

This is a different and potentially broader definition than the State Department definition, but it presents the same broad problem in distinguishing between internal tensions, insurgency, and civil war. The JCS dictionary has no definition of "freedom fighter" and it too has no way of defining "state terrorism" if acts of extreme violence are legal within that nation's legal system.

The JCS definition of "counterterrorism" also does not seem to apply to in-state struggles and civil wars. It defines counterterrorism as, "Actions taken directly against terrorist networks and indirectly to influence and render global and regional environments inhospitable to terrorist networks." Oddly enough, there is no JCS agreed definition of "counterinsurgency."

Moreover, the JCS definition of "insurgency" cannot be separated in any meaningful way from its definition of terrorism and present all of the same problems as the State Department report: "The organized use of subversion and violence by a group or movement that seeks to overthrow or force change of a governing authority. Insurgency can also refer to the group itself." [12]

Once again, the end result is that almost any hostile act by a non-state actor is "terrorism" regardless of the reasons for internal conflict, but any "war" involving "counterterrorism" only involves international or regional threats and networks.

Terrorist Threats versus Threats of Civil Conflict, Insurgency, and Regional Instability

These semantics highlight the deep problems in US conceptual thinking about violence and instability in the MENA and Islamic world. They also highlight the US government's tendency to exploit the political value of waving the "bloody shirt" of terrorism in ways that fail to distinguish terrorism from insurgency or the fact that non-state actors often have legitimate reasons for violence and cannot fight conventional wars.

Put simply, two US Administrations, numerous members of Congress, the media, think tanks and other analysts have come to use "terrorism" as a way of labeling hostile movements with a term Americans have reason to both fear and see as a symbol of a hostile, enemy movement whose actions are primarily directed at them. It has been equally common to use Al Qa'ida as a generic label for hostile Sunni Islamist extremist movements no matter how loose the ties may be, if any, and how much the actual movement may be oriented around insurgency and local power struggles.

Figure Fourteen shows the *Country Reports on Terrorism* make it clear that the four movements that use Al Qa'ida as one of their names are only part of at least violent extremist movements the MENA region and its immediate environs. Moreover, **Figure Fourteen** shows that almost all of the 51-odd movements or non-state actors that that the

US has officially designated as “terrorist,” are movements that are attempting to seize political power and involved in trying to create, exploit, or lead insurgencies in given MENA countries. They may attack non-combatants, but they do so in ways that are typical of almost all civil conflict. They exploit sectarian divisions, the struggle to create rigidly religious rather than more secular governments and other domestic or local fracture lines, and they only pose a critical threat when they can threaten stability or are part of an insurgency.

Figure Fourteen: State Department List of Non-state Terrorist Organizations-2012

	Name In or Near Ties to/Goals MENA Region for/ Regime Change or Insurgency		
1.	Abdallah Azzam Brigades (AAB) (Palestinian)	X	X
2.	Abu Nidal Organization (ANO) (Palestinian)	X	X
3.	Abu Sayyaf Group (ASG) (Philippines)		
4.	Al-Aqsa Martyrs Brigade (AAMB) (Palestine)	X	X
5.	Ansar al-Islam (AAI) (Iraq)	X	X
6.	Army of Islam (AOI) (Palestine)	X	X
7.	Asbat al-Ansar (AAA) (Lebanon)	X	
8.	Aum Shinrikyo (AUM) (Japan)		
9.	Basque Fatherland and Liberty (ETA) (Spain)		X
10.	Communist Party of Philippines/New People's Army (CPP/NPA)		X
11.	Continuity Irish Republican Army (CIRA) (Ireland)		
12.	Gama'a al-Islamiyya (IG) (Egypt)	X	X
13.	Hamas (Gaza) (Palestinian)	X	X
14.	Haqqani Network (HQN) (Afghanistan)		X
15.	Harakat ul-Jihad-i-Islami (HUJI) (Afghanistan)		X
16.	Harakat ul-Jihad-i-Islami/Bangladesh (HUJI-B)		
17.	Harakat ul-Mujahideen (HUM) (Pakistan/India)		X
18.	Hezbollah (Lebanon)	X	X
19.	Indian Mujahedeen (IM) (India)		
20.	Islamic Jihad Union (IJU) (Pakistan/Uzbekistan)		X
21.	Islamic Movement of Uzbekistan (IMU) (Afghanistan/Pakistan)		X
22.	Jaish-e-Mohammed (JEM) (Afghanistan/Pakistan)		X
23.	Jemaah Ansharut Tauhid (JAT) (Indonesia)		X
24.	Jemaah Islamiya (JI) (Malaysia, Thailand, Singapore, Brunei, Philippines)		
25.	Jundallah (Iran)	X	X
26.	Kahane Chai (Israel)	X	X
27.	Kata'ib Hezbollah (KH) (Iraq)	X	
28.	Kurdistan Workers' Party (PKK) (Turkey)	X	X
29.	Lashkar e-Tayyiba (LT) (Pakistan)		X
30.	Lashkar i Jhangvi (LJ)) (Pakistan)		X
31.	Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam (LTTE) (Sri Lanka)		X
32.	Libyan Islamic Fighting Group (LIFG) (Libya)	X	X
33.	Moroccan Islamic Combatant Group (GICM) (Morocco)	X	
34.	National Liberation Army (ELN) (Colombia)		X
35.	Palestine Islamic Jihad – Shaqaqi Faction (PIJ) (Palestinian)	X	X
36.	Palestine Liberation Front – Abu Abbas Faction (PLF) (Palestinian)	X	X
37.	Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine (PFLP) (Palestinian)	X	X
38.	Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine-General Command (PFLP-GC)	X	X
39.	Al-Qa'ida (AQ) (Pakistan)		X
40.	Al-Qa'ida in the Arabian Peninsula (AQAP) (Yemen/Saudi Arabia)	X	X
41.	Al-Qa'ida in Iraq (AQI) (Iraq)	X	X
42.	Al-Qa'ida in the Islamic Maghreb (AQIM) (Algeria)	X	X
43.	Real IRA (RIRA) (Ireland)		
44.	Revolutionary Armed Forces of Colombia (FARC) (Columbia)		X
45.	Revolutionary Organization 17 November (17N) (Greece)		
46.	Revolutionary People's Liberation Party/Front (DHKP/C) Turkey)	X	
47.	Revolutionary Struggle (RS) (Greece)		
48.	Al-Shabaab (AS) (Somalia)		X
49.	Shining Path (SL) (Peru)		X
50.	Tehrik-e Taliban Pakistan (TTP)		X
51.	United Self-Defense Forces of Colombia (AUC)		X
TOTAL		**23**	**38**

Source: US State Department, "Chapter 6: Foreign Terrorist Organizations," *Country Reports on Terrorism, 2012***,** May 30, 2013, http://www.state.gov/j/ct/rls/crt/2012/209989.htm.

The Top Ten Terrorism Movements are Largely Movements Involved in Insurgency and Broader Civil Conflict

The new US State Department country reports on terrorism issued in May 2013 provide the data on the top ten terrorist movements shown in **Figure Fifteen.** These data present the same major uncertainties as all other data on terrorism. They exclude acts by states, the choice of terrorism movements often confuses terrorism and insurgency, coverage of Sub-Saharan terrorism is particularly suspect, and they only include attacks on non-combatants – which presents critical definitional problems in civil wars.

Nevertheless, they do reflect official US government reporting. To the extent there are any unclassified statistics that measure the current levels of terrorism after more than a decade of US counterterrorism efforts since 2001, these are the only summary numbers actually reported by an official source.[13]

The first half of **Figure Fifteen** shows the ten countries with the highest level of terrorism. With the possible exception of India, all of these countries are countries where there is an ongoing insurgency or at least a low-level civil war and there are deep, multiple fracture lines of instability that empower growing extremism. They are all countries where national armed forces conduct offensive operations against civilians – raising basic questions about the term non-combatant.

Five of the ten countries – Pakistan, Iraq, Yemen, and Syria – have serious internal sectarian violence between Sunni and Shi'ite. As for the others, India, the Philippines, and Thailand have serious internal violence between Islamic and non-Islamic parts of the population. In every case, the sides are also determined to some extent by ethnic, tribal, or regional factors. In most states, the armed forces or internal security forces have also used excessive violence against non-combatants.

The analysis also provides country profiles for two countries – Iraq and Afghanistan – where the US has fought or its fighting a major insurgency, and one – Pakistan – where US is using drone strikes against both terrorist and now primarily in support of counterinsurgency against Afghan insurgent factions.

Misstating the Level of Terrorism in Iraq

The summary for Iraq is shown below[14]

IRAQ

• Similar to patterns of terrorist attacks in Pakistan, 81 percent of attacks in Iraq were attributed to unidentified perpetrators. However, Iraq differs insofar as 97 percent of the remaining attacks were attributed to al-Qa'ida in Iraq (AQI), either directly or under the name Islamic State of Iraq (ISI).

• Terrorism in Iraq was uniquely characterized by highly lethal attacks. Three of the 10 most lethal terrorist attacks in 2012 took place in Iraq.

• Likewise, perpetrators of terrorism in Iraq frequently carried out series of coordinated events in which as many as several dozen attacks occurred at multiple locations throughout the country on a single day. In 2012, 11 of the 20 most lethal days within individual countries were cases of

> multiple attacks in Iraq. On four of these days there were more than 30 attacks across the country.
>
> • The tactics and targets of terrorist attacks in Iraq were highly concentrated. More than 65 percent of all terrorist attacks in Iraq in 2012 targeted either private citizens and property or police. An additional 10.2 percent of attacks targeted general (non-diplomatic) government entities. The vast majority of attacks in Iraq (80.7%) were bombings. An additional 15 percent were armed assaults and three percent were assassinations of key figures.

If one looks at closely the profile for Iraq, it virtually evades issues like the growing divisions between Sunni and Shi'ite, Arab and Kurd, concern over Prime Minister Maliki's centralization and use of authority to attack Sunni leaders, and the rising risk of a return to civil war. Almost all of the 2,463 killed and the 6,641 wounded it counts are not linked to Al Qa'ida and are linked to sectarian and ethnic divisions and instability. Moreover, there is no way to relate these totals to other credible (*and well-defined*) estimates like those of Iraqi Body Count that put the total number of civilian dead at 4,573 –roughly two times higher.[15]

Moreover, no reference is made to the sharply growth in such violence in 2012 – violence that reached the point where the UN could document 1,045 Iraqis were killed and 2,397 wounded in May 2013 alone – although 262 of the total killed were police and security forces – again raising key issue about the relevance of limiting term "combatant" to military forces when applied to civil conflict.[16]

As is typical of most reporting on terrorism, no overall assessments were made of the broader causes and human impact of instability either in terms of total killed, and wounded from all causes versus an unspecified and undefined estimate for terrorism." For example, UNAMI also highlighted the immense cost of instability in terms internally displaced persons and refugees:[17]

> …around 1.1 million persons continue to be internally displaced in Iraq, mostly in Baghdad, Diyala and Ninewa. Internally displaced persons (IDPs) live either with families, in rented accommodation or in informal settlements, often under harsh conditions, and many are highly vulnerable. UNHCR and other UN agencies undertake humanitarian interventions to improve their living conditions, including shelter renovations and the provision of non-food items, and actively seek durable solutions for IDPs with the Government of Iraq.
>
> At the same time, there are over 143,000 refugees and asylum seekers from various countries in camps, settlements and urban settings across the country, with hundreds of people who are fleeing the ongoing conflict in Syria arriving in Iraq every day.
>
> As of March 2013, there were 102,000 Syrian refugees in Iraq, with around 800 additional persons arriving every day. More than 75,000 Iraqis who fled to Syria in previous years have also returned to Iraq since mid-2012.

As for the actual country section on Iraq in the State Department main report, it seemed to exist in parallel universe, rather than the Iraq that actually existed and exists,[18]

> **…** Iraqi security forces made progress combating al-Qa'ida in Iraq (AQI) and other Sunni insurgent organizations in 2012. While there has been clear and measurable success against AQI over the years, the group still remains a dangerous threat to the Iraqi people. In 2012, there were no significant attacks on U.S. interests or U.S. fatalities. The Iraqi government succeeded in securing multiple large public religious gatherings and government events – most notably the Arab League Summit in late March and P5+1 talks in May in Baghdad – but terrorist bombings and other attacks continued to occur.

> The Government of Iraq concentrated its counterterrorism efforts against AQI and other Sunni-affiliated terrorist organizations. AQI remained capable of large-scale coordinated attacks and conducted numerous high-profile suicide and car bombings on government and civilian targets, aiming to increase tensions among Iraqi sectarian groups and ethnic minorities, and undercut public perceptions of the government's capacity to provide security. Jaysh Rijal al-Tariqah al-Naqshabandiyah (JRTN), a Sunni nationalist insurgent group with links to the former Baath Party, also continued attacks during the year. JRTN largely targeted Iraqi and U.S. interests in northern Iraq. Shia militant groups Kata'ib Hezbollah, Asa'ib Ahl Haqq, and the Sadrist Promised Day Brigades adhered to the cease-fire they declared in the latter half of 2011 and early 2012. Some former Shia militant leaders began engaging in the political process and competing for political influence.
>
> Terrorist tactics and weapons remained largely unchanged from 2011, as AQI and other terrorists relied predominantly on suicide bombings and car and roadside bombs and to a lesser extent on gunmen using assault rifles or silenced weapons to assassinate government and security officials.

Really? Iraqi violence is all about Al Qa'ida and Al Qa'ida in Iraq is all about terrorism?

This combination of statistical and narrative reporting on terrorism in Iraq makes sharp contract to the far more realistic reporting on the causes of violence in Iraq the Secretary General of the UN makes to the Security Council.[19] The UN reports are necessarily the tactful product of an international organization, but they at least deal with the real world structure of instability in Iraq, deal with the serious internal divisions and problems within the Iraqi government and politic structure, mention issues like the interaction between civil fighting Iraq and Syria, and come close to making the US State Department country and statistical terrorism summaries look like vacuous statistical nonsense.

Terrorism or Counterinsurgency in Afghanistan and Pakistan

The statistical summaries for Afghanistan and Pakistan present the same general problem. They focus on a variety of non-state actors – many of which are actually insurgents. Some of these non-state actors are listed in the State Department report but many have not been formally designated as terrorist groups, and are never mentioned by name.

The main Islamist extremist insurgent group in Afghanistan – the Taliban – is counted in the statistics but is not designated as a terrorist group or included in the State Department analysis, but the Haqqani Network is.

No defined effort is made to distinguish insurgents from terrorists. None of the deeper causes for civil violence are address, nor are cases of state terrorism. The linkage between Pakistani government and Afghan violence is never clearly addressed.

The overview to the country sections and the summary analysis of the statistics for both countries are as follows:

> **AFGHANISTAN**
>
> **Overview**
>
> Though the primary responsibility for security in Afghanistan is transitioning from U.S. and international forces to Afghan National Security Forces (ANSF), the United States is committed to continued political, diplomatic, and economic engagement in Afghanistan as a strategic partner. The United States fully supports Afghan efforts to professionalize and modernize the security forces to take ownership of the security and counterterrorism efforts. The United States continued

its role as a facilitator in improving Afghanistan's relations with its regional partners, fostering democracy, reintegration, and economic development.

In 2012, the United States and others in the international community provided training and resource assistance to Afghanistan, including democratic institution building, humanitarian relief and assistance, capacity building, security needs, counter-narcotic programs, and infrastructure projects.

The Government of Afghanistan's response to the spate of insider attacks has led directly to an increased focus on the vetting and training of security force personnel. This has led to a more professional force.

….In 2012, insurgents conducted some of the largest vehicle-borne improvised explosive device (VBIED) attacks since 2001, targeting Provincial Reconstruction Teams, large Coalition Forces (CF) bases, and Afghan government buildings, mostly in eastern Afghanistan. The number of insider attacks increased significantly compared to 2011, though actions taken by ISAF and ANSF in response resulted in a significant decrease in these attacks in the latter half of the year. Insurgents across Afghanistan used a variety of tactics to target Afghan security personnel and CF in major cities and rural areas, seeking to expand their territorial influence and control. In major cities, these attacks were well-coordinated, complex attacks to garner media attention while they targeted the ANSF in rural areas. Insurgents carried out several targeted assassinations of Afghan leadership. As in previous years, a greater number of attacks occurred during the summer months. This year, however there were three high-profile attacks in December compared with one in 2011. Helmand, Kandahar, Ghazni, and Kunar represented the most dangerous provinces for Afghan security personnel and CF.

Statistical report country commentary

• Unlike in Pakistan and Iraq, perpetrator groups were identified in over 53 percent of attacks in Afghanistan. As with Iraq, however, relatively few perpetrator groups were active in Afghanistan. Over half (52.6%) of all terrorist attacks in Afghanistan in 2012 were attributed to the Taliban and the Haqqani Network.

• Attacks against military**[3]** targets in 2012 were 24.3 percent more common in Afghanistan than the global average. Many of these attacks targeted NATO/ISAF personnel or supply convoys.

• In 2012, 11.1 percent of all attacks in Afghanistan were attacks in which the perpetrator did not intend to survive. This represents one-third (33.2%) of all suicide attacks worldwide, while the remaining suicide attacks occurred primarily in Iraq (19.1%), Pakistan (13.2%), Nigeria (10.3%), Yemen (7.7%), Syria (6.8%), and Somalia (4.7%).

• Terrorist attacks were geographically ubiquitous in Afghanistan in 2012, occurring in 33 of the country's 34 provinces (with the exception of Daykundi Province). Nearly one-quarter of all attacks in 2012 took place in Helmand and Kandahar Provinces in the South. In Helmand Province, 471 people were killed in 143 attacks and in Kandahar, 277 people were killed in 96 attacks. Twenty-one other provinces across the country suffered more than 15 attacks in 2012.

PAKISTAN

Overview

…In 2012, Pakistan remained an important partner in counterterrorism efforts against al-Qa'ida (AQ). Pakistan also undertook operations against terrorist groups that carried out attacks within Pakistan, such as the Tehrik-e Taliban Pakistan (TTP or Pakistani Taliban). Pakistan did not take significant action against some other violent extremist groups, including Lashkar-e-Tayyiba (LeT), which continued to operate and raise funds openly in Pakistan through its political and charitable wing, Jamaat ud Dawa (JuD). The Afghan Taliban and Haqqani Network (HQN) continued to conduct operations against U.S. and Coalition Forces in Afghanistan from Pakistan. Pakistan took steps to support an Afghan peace process and publicly called on the Taliban to enter into talks with the Afghan government. Hundreds of terrorist attacks occurred nationwide against all sectors of society, including Pakistani military and security personnel.

> **…** Over 2,000 Pakistani civilians and 680 security forces personnel were killed in terrorist-related incidents in 2012. Terrorist incidents occurred in every province. Terrorists attacked Pakistani military units, police stations, and border checkpoints, and conducted coordinated attacks against two major military installations. Terrorists displayed videos on the internet of the murders and beheadings of security forces. Terrorist groups also targeted police and security officials with suicide bombings and improvised explosive devices (IEDs). Terrorist groups targeted and assassinated tribal elders, members of peace committees, and anti-Taliban government officials. The TTP often claimed responsibility for attacks targeting civilians and security personnel in Pakistan.
>
> **Statistical report country commentary**
>
> • Terrorist attacks in Pakistan were attributed to 18 different perpetrator organizations in 2012; however, Pakistan also had a particularly high percentage of attacks with unidentified perpetrators (82.5%) compared to the global average of unattributed attacks (61.7%).
>
> • Among the organizations identified, Tehrik-e Taliban Pakistan (TTP) was by far the most active. TTP was attributed responsibility for 100 attacks, nearly 500 deaths, and more than 900 injuries in Pakistan in 2012. The group claimed responsibility for 70 percent of these attacks, typically via telephone following the attack.
>
> • More than one-third of all terrorist attacks in Pakistan took place in the Khyber Pakhtunkhwa Province, and an additional 23 percent took place in Balochistan, where a number of Baloch separatist groups were particularly active. Attacks in the Federally Administered Tribal Areas represented 19.6 percent of the total. Eighteen percent of all attacks took place in Sindh Province.
>
> • Consistent with global patterns, the most common type of target in Pakistan was private citizens and property, which represented 23 percent of attacks. Attacks targeting police were 33 percent less prevalent in Pakistan compared to the rest of the world. In contrast, attacks against educational institutions were 108 percent more prevalent in Pakistan, owing to 120 bombings of girls' and boys' primary, middle, and high schools in 2012. These attacks typically occurred when the schools were unoccupied, causing relatively few casualties (0.39 deaths and 0.79 injuries per attack, on average). Attacks against educational institutions were also relatively common in Nigeria (56), Afghanistan (23), Turkey (21), and Thailand (20); however, the total number of terrorist attacks against education targets in Pakistan (136) was greater than in these four countries combined.

One odd aspect of these analyses is that they do not address the successes of the US drone program, US and Afghan special forces, and CIA attacks on core terrorists like the leaders of Al Qa'ida and the Haqqani Network. These are efforts that have involved only a tiny fraction of the total forces and costs in Afghanistan, and have produced very real gains in actual counterterrorism.

Instead, the terrorism statistics again that conflate counterterrorism with counterinsurgency and armed nation building/stability operations. Furthermore the UN again produces data that raise critical questions about the validity of the figures that are provided in **Figure Fifteen** and discussed in the above statistical summaries.

The data in the State Department report show that 2,632 Afghan civilians were killed in acts of terrorism and 3,715 were wounded. The UN data shown in **Figure Sixteen** indicate that that a total of 2,754 died but that 316 were killed by pro- government forces and 259 by elements other than the insurgents/"terrorists," leaving a total of 2,179 for all insurgents.[20]

As a result, the State Department statistics show more than 20% more deaths caused by terrorism than were killed by all insurgents in the course of the civil war. At a minimum, this illustrates the dangers in a State Department count that ignore the uncertainty in the

data and seems to be an overcount—even if all insurgents are include. Moreover, the situation is reverse in the case of wounded. The UN estimates a total of 4,805 wounded versus 3,715 in the State Department report.[21]

Absurd Undercounts for Syria

Finally, the second half of **Figure Fifteen** provides additional questions about treating the insurgency in Afghanistan as "terrorism." As noted earlier, the US does not formally designate the Taliban as a terrorist movement, in part because it is an insurgent movement the US is seeking to bring into peace talks, but it clearly counts an insurgent movement as a terrorist movement in these statistics.

And, for all of the ongoing tendency to demonize Al Qa'ida central in US political discourse, the data in **Figure Fifteen** indicate it is not a major threat or cause of casualties in either in Pakistan or Afghanistan. It is the two franchised elements of Al Qa'ida in Iraq and Saudi Arabia/Yemen that emerge as major local threats – again confirming that Al Qa'ida Central in Pakistan is no longer the major central of gravity in terrorism.

Here, Syria provides a different kind of case study in the problems in conflating terrorism with insurgency and instability. They also illustrates the extent to the current and past counts of the kind shown in **Figure Fifteen** focus on countries and movements of interest to the US, but ignore nations with endemic civil violence like the Congo do not receive reporting.

In the case of Syria, the State Department count for killed is 657 killed and 1,787 is the wounded for the entire year. The only conceivable explanation for figures is that the US is using radically different standards and methods to assess case where it supports the insurgents.

There are no precise data on the number of total Syrian casualties during 2012, but a number of estimates put civilian deaths at well over 2,000 a month during, while the State Department annex reference in Figure Nine reports only 657 killed. The Office of the UN High Commissioner for Human Rights (OHCHR) also did estimate on January 2, 2013 that 59,648 individuals could be confirmed as killed in Syria between 15 March 2011 and 30 November 2012 using a combined list of 147,349 reported killings, fully identified by the first and last name of the victims, as well as the date and location of the deaths.[22]

On June 13, 2013, the UN issued a different estimate, stating that,[23]

> An updated analysis carried out by data specialists on behalf of the UN Human Rights Office has led to the compilation of a list of 92,901 documented cases of individuals killed in Syria between March 2011 and the end of April 2013... he constant flow of killings continues at shockingly high levels – with more than 5,000 killings documented every month since last July, including a total of just under 27,000 new killings since 1 December…The latest study – which updates an earlier one that compiled some 60,000 documented deaths up to 30 November 2012 – was conducted using a combined list of 263,055 reported killings, fully identified by the name of the victim, as well as the date and location of the death. Any reported killing that did not include at least these three elements was excluded from the list, which was compiled using datasets from eight different sources…

> Each reported killing was compared to all the other reported killings in order to identify duplicates. The analysis used manual classifications and a data mining technique called an 'alternating decision tree' to identify the duplicate records. After duplicates were merged, the combined dataset was reduced to 92,901 unique records of conflict-related deaths as of 30 April 2013…The analysis shows a dramatic increase in the average monthly number of documented killings since the beginning of the conflict, from around 1,000 per month in the summer of 2011 to an average of more than 5,000 per month since July 2012 (during the peak period from July to October 2012, the number exceeded 6,000 per month).
>
> "This extremely high rate of killings, month after month, reflects the drastically deteriorating pattern of the conflict over the past year," Pillay said. "As clearly indicated in the latest report by the Commission of Inquiry on Syria, civilians are bearing the brunt of widespread, violent and often indiscriminate attacks which are devastating whole swathes of major towns and cities, as well as outlying villages. Government forces are shelling and launching aerial attacks on urban areas day in and day out, and are also using strategic missiles and cluster and thermobaric bombs.

Moreover, a count that confuses terrorism with insurgency – and focuses on killed and wounded – ignores that the most serious human impact of the kind of violence and instability that has emerged in Syrian civil war is not its casualties, but the fact that it has disrupted the entire educational, medical, and economic structure of a weak and horribly misgoverned state, has created millions of refugees, and has steadily polarized the nation along Sunni and Alewite lines while threatening every other minority.

There are no precise counts, but there are at least 120,000 Syrian refugees in just one camp in Jordan near the border. There are roughly 500,000 total refugees in Jordan, a country in an economic crisis that already had massive numbers of refugees from Iraq. There are at least 200,000 more registered refugees in Turkey, and the number may well be much higher. Turkish officials report that some 290,000 more may exist outside the refugee camps and that their relief infrastructure can only support around 100,000 refugees, even though Turkey has built 14 tent cities.

If one includes Lebanon and other external refugees, Reuters estimates put the total number of Syrians who are refugees outside their country at around 1.4 million, with 200,000 more unregistered or waiting to register. There are often families, families with no jobs or token jobs, lost homes and businesses, and children with no or minimal education.

It is almost certain that well over a million other refugees or internally displaced persons (IDP) have had to leave their homes, jobs or business, and schools inside Syria, and millions more now live in fear of their Sunni or Alewite neighbors, the Assad regime and militias, and the extremist factions among the rebels. This brings the total to at least 2.4 million out of a population of 22.5 million, and the total whose lives have been shattered may well be over 5 million. The dead are dead, the wounded heal, but the legacy of massive refugees and sectarian division and hatred has effects that go on for decades. And the more the conflict drags out, the more Syria's people become divided and become refugees, and the worse the humanitarian disaster will get.

The problems in the data on Iraq, Afghanistan, and Pakistan are bad enough, but if anything illustrates the dangers and absurdity of the way the US now can focus on terrorism when it should focus on the broader impact of insurgency and the causes of internal instability.

Figure Fifteen: Measuring the Top Ten Centers of Terrorist Activity in 2012

Ten countries with the most terrorist attacks, 2012

Country	Total Attacks	Total Killed	Total Wounded	Average Number Killed per Attack	Average Number Wounded per Attack
Pakistan	1404	1848	3643	1.32	2.59
Iraq	1271	2436	6641	1.92	5.23
Afghanistan	1023	2632	3715	2.57	3.63
India	557	231	559	0.41	1.00
Nigeria	546	1386	1019	2.54	1.87
Thailand	222	174	897	0.78	4.04
Yemen	203	365	427	1.80	2.10
Somalia	185	323	397	1.75	2.15
Philippines	141	109	270	0.77	1.91
Syria[2]	133	657	1787	4.94	13.44

• Although terrorist attacks occurred in 85 different countries in 2012, they were heavily concentrated geographically. Over half of all attacks (55%), fatalities (62%), and injuries (65%) occurred in just three countries: Pakistan, Iraq, and Afghanistan.
• The highest number of fatalities occurred in Afghanistan (2,632); however the country with the most injuries due to terrorist attacks was Iraq (6,641).
• The average lethality of terrorist attacks in Nigeria (2.54 deaths per attack) is more than 50 percent higher than the global average of 1.64. The average lethality of terrorist attacks in Syria (4.94 deaths per attack) is more than 200 percent higher than the global average.
• The average number of people wounded per terrorist attack was especially high in Syria, where 1,787 people were reportedly wounded in 133 attacks, including four attacks that caused 670 injuries.
• In contrast, the rates of lethality for India (0.42 deaths per attack), the Philippines (0.77 deaths per attack), and Thailand (0.78 deaths per attack) were relatively low among the countries with the most attacks.

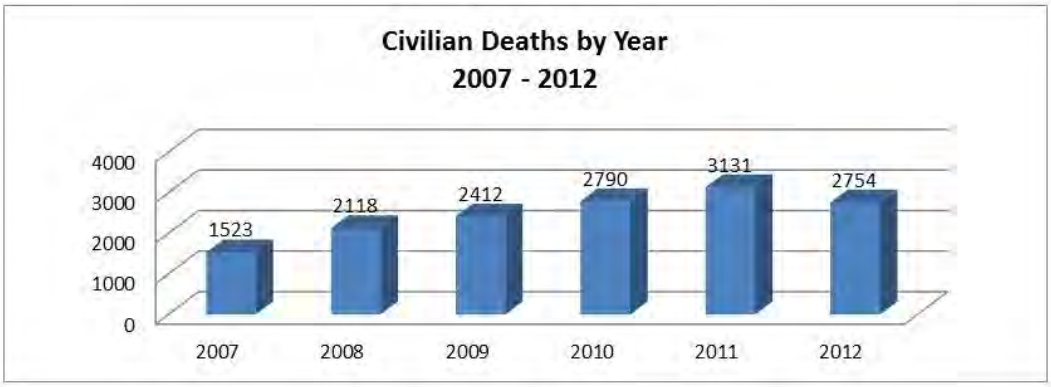
Ten perpetrator groups with the most attacks worldwide, 2012

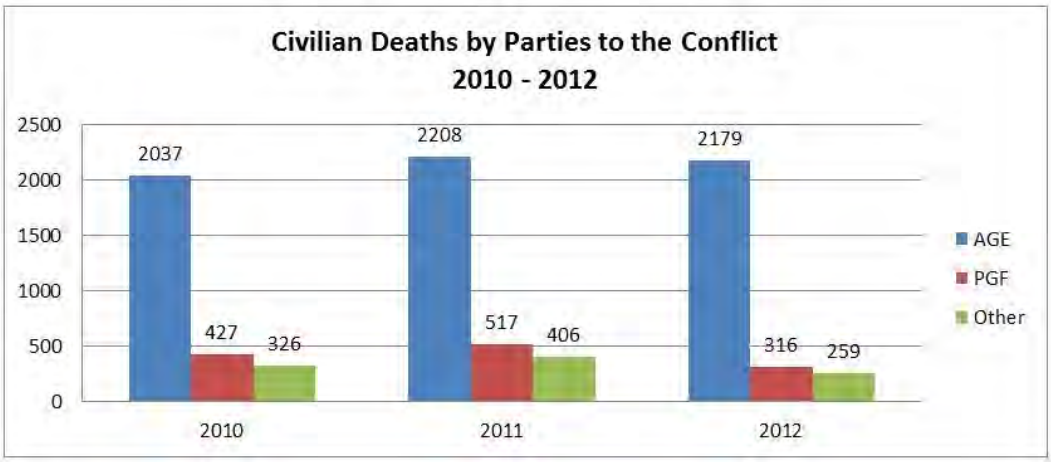
Perpetrator Group Name	Total Attacks	Total Killed	Average Number Killed per Attack
Taliban	525	1842	3.51
Boko Haram	364	1132	3.11
Al-Qa'ida in Iraq (AQI)/Islamic State of Iraq (ISI)	249	892	3.58
Maoists (India)/ Communist Party of India-Maoist	204	131	0.64
Al-Shabaab	121	278	2.30
Al-Qa'ida in the Arabian Peninsula (AQAP)	108	282	2.61
Tehrik-e Taliban Pakistan (TTP)	103	510	4.95
Kurdistan Workers' Party (PKK)	80	83	1.04
Revolutionary Armed Forces of Colombia (FARC)	71	122	1.72
Corsican National Liberation Front (FLNC)	58	0	0.00

• Information about perpetrators was reported in source materials for 38 percent of terrorist attacks in 2012. More than 160 organizations were named as perpetrators of terrorist attacks. Of the attacks for which perpetrator information was reported, 20 percent were attributed to the Taliban, operating primarily in Afghanistan.

Source: US State Department, National Consortium for the Study of Terrorism and Responses to Terrorism: Annex of Statistical Information, Country Reports on Terrorism 2012, ile:///Users/anthony/Desktop/Country%20Reports%20on%20Terrorism%202012National%20Consortium%20for%20the%20Study%20of%20Terrorism%20and%20Responses%20to%20Terrorism_%20Annex%20of%20Statistical%20Information.html.

Figure Sixteen: UN Estimate of Civilian Casualties in Afghanistan in 2012





Note: The UN registered a 12 per cent decrease in the overall civilian casualties in 2012 as compared to the previous year.

However, the 71-page report also recorded a staggering 700 per cent increase in casualties of Government employees and 108 per cent increase in the number of targeted killings by insurgents.

In 2012, UNAMA recorded 7,559 civilian casualties - 2,754 civilian deaths and 4,805 civilian injuries. In total, 81 per cent of civilian casualties were attributed to anti-Government elements, 8 per cent to pro-Government forces and 11 per cent could not be attributed to any party to the conflict.

The total number of casualties documented in 2011 was 7,837 (3,131 deaths and 4,706 injuries).

The report attributed the reduction in civilian casualties to four factors: fewer deaths and injuries of civilians from ground engagement among parties to the conflict; decline in suicide attacks; less number of aerial operations; and other measures taken by pro-Government forces to minimize harm to civilians.

Source: UNAMA, "Afghanistan civilian casualty figures drop for the first time in 6 years," http://www.unama.unmissions.org/Default.aspx?tabid=12254&ctl=Details&mid=15756&ItemID=36445&language=en-US; UNAMA/UNHCHR, "AFGHANISTAN ANNUAL REPORT 2012 PROTECTION OF CIVILIANS IN ARMED CONFLICT," UNAMA/UNHCHR, February, 2013, http://unama.unmissions.org/LinkClick.aspx?fileticket=K0B5RL2XYcU%3d&tabid=12254&language=en-US.

Reporting on Overall Patterns

Given the previous look at individual case studies in the current unclassified reporting on terrorism, it is difficult to take any of the data on total trends remotely seriously, but some of these data on total trends do provide a further warning as to the need to focus on overall stability and threats that are broadly destabilizing and can turn into major civil conflicts or insurgencies.

Figure Seventeen provides a break out of the targets all the terrorist attacks included in the *Country Reports on Terrorism* database for 2012. The moment one looks beyond the word "terrorism," it is clear that these statistics cover an almost classic target base for an insurgency, and one where police and other "non-combatants" – rather than private citizens and property – make up 72% of the total.

The supporting analysis in the statistical annex to the State Department report notes that,[24]

- Half of all targets (50.5%) were classified as either private citizens and property or police. While attacks against these two types of targets occurred globally, they were particularly prevalent in Iraq, where 27.1 percent of attacks against private citizens and 24.3 percent of attacks against police took place.
- Other types of targets were more heavily concentrated geographically. For example, half of the 57 telecommunication targets and nearly one-third of the religious institutions targeted in 2012 were located in Nigeria, where Boko Haram frequently attacked cellular towers and churches. More than three-quarters of the 83 violent political party targets were located in Pakistan. Nearly 60 percent of the 325 educational targets were attacked in Nigeria and Pakistan as well. Terrorist attacks against journalists and media targets were most frequent in Somalia (26.2%), Pakistan (17.9%), and Syria (13.1%).
- • The most lethal terrorist attacks in 2012 were those in which the primary target was a religious institution. On average, these attacks resulted in 2.56 deaths per attack.
- Diplomatic targets were attacked 95 times in 2012. More than one-third of all diplomatic targets were UN personnel or facilities. The remaining diplomatic targets included the African Union, the European Union, the World Bank, and the World Health Organization, as well as consulates, embassies, and diplomatic personnel representing Bulgaria, Canada, China, Egypt, Germany, Great Britain, India, Indonesia, Iran, Israel, Italy, Japan, Saudi Arabia, Syria, Tunisia, Turkey, and the United States.

At the same time, **Figure Eighteen** shows the statistics in the *Country Reports on Terrorism* database take extremely uncertain data, take "terrorism" out of context, and then draw meaningless conclusions. **Figure Eighteen** shows the total number of terrorist attacks worldwide in 2012. The analysis does indicate such counts are extremely difficult and uncertain, but the supporting analysis goes on to state that, [25]

- In 2012, a total of 6,771 terrorist attacks occurred worldwide, resulting in more than 11,000 deaths and more than 21,600 injuries. In addition, more than 1,280 people were kidnapped or taken hostage. In this report we describe patterns of worldwide terrorist activity with respect to changes during the year, geographic concentration, casualties, perpetrator organizations, tactics, weapons, and targets.
- On average, there were 564.25 attacks, 924.83 deaths, and 1,804.33 injuries per month in 2012. There were 1.64 fatalities and 3.20 injuries per attack, including perpetrator casualties.
- The high number of fatalities in January (1,378) was due in large part to terrorist violence in Iraq (425 deaths) and Nigeria (348 deaths).

- The increase in terrorist violence from February through June includes the onset of spring "fighting season" in Afghanistan, where there was a 153 percent increase in attacks and a 158 percent increase in fatalities.
- Worldwide, 340 suicide attacks took place in 2012, resulting in 2,223 deaths and 4,410 injuries. Suicide attacks in 2012 were 4.7 times as lethal as non-suicide attacks.
- Terrorist attacks were geographically ubiquitous in Afghanistan in 2012, occurring in 33 of the country's 34 provinces (with the exception of Daykundi Province). Nearly one-quarter of all attacks in 2012 took place in Helmand and Kandahar Provinces in the South. In Helmand Province, 471 people were killed in 143 attacks and in Kandahar, 277 people were killed in 96 attacks. Twenty-one other provinces across the country suffered more than 15 attacks in 2012.
- Nearly half of all terrorist attacks in 2012 (49.4%) caused no fatalities and 53 percent caused no injuries. The majority of the non-lethal attacks were bombings (74.2%) and approximately 20 percent of them were unsuccessful attacks (e.g., the explosive was planted but was defused or failed to detonate).
- Attacks that killed only one person were most likely to be armed assaults (38.6%), assassinations (10.6%), or kidnappings (2.8%). Among the bombings that killed only one person, 13.4 percent were those in which only the bomber was killed.
- In 2012, 186 single attacks killed more than 10 people, less than three percent of all attacks. The majority of these highly lethal attacks (159) took place in Afghanistan, Pakistan, Iraq, Nigeria, and Syria, and killed a total of 2,880 people.
- Around the world, 1,283 people were kidnapped or taken hostage in 2012. Reports indicated that 651 of these hostages were released, rescued, or escaped. The remaining hostages were either killed or the outcome was not reported.

The only good news about such reporting is there is no clear way anyone could act upon it. It certainly does nothing to provide any credible insights into the overall pattern of real terrorism.

Figure Seventeen: Targets of Terrorist Attacks Worldwide, 2012

Target Type	Number of Targets
Private Citizens/Property	2073
Police	1699
Government (General)	971
Business	480
Military	379
Educational Institution	325
Unknown	285
Religious Figures/Institutions	223
Transportation	221
Utilities	177
Terrorists or Non-state Militia	144
Government (Diplomatic)	95
Journalists and Media	84
Violent Political Party[4]	83
Other	78
Telecommunication	57
NGO	44
Airports & Airlines	20
Food or Water Supply	19
Tourists	10
Total	7467

Source: US State Department, National Consortium for the Study of Terrorism and Responses to Terrorism: Annex of Statistical Information, Country Reports on Terrorism 2012, ile:///Users/anthony/Desktop/Country%20Reports%20on%20Terrorism%202012National%20Consortium%20for%20the%20Study%20of%20Terrorism%20and%20Responses%20to%20Terrorism_%20Annex%20of%20Statistical%20Information.html

Figure Eighteen: Terrorist Attacks and Casualties Worldwide by Month, 2012

Month	Total Attacks	Total Killed	Total Wounded	Total Kidnapped/ Taken Hostage
January	595	1378	1838	133
February	461	801	1620	135
March	515	789	1931	78
April	579	843	1416	188
May	684	873	2523	104
June	591	1189	2580	254
July	571	1010	1817	68
August	615	953	1498	92
September	520	877	1853	31
October	614	986	1656	102
November	570	794	1878	46
December	456	605	1042	52
Total	6771	11098	21652	1283

Source: US State Department, National Consortium for the Study of Terrorism and Responses to Terrorism: Annex of Statistical Information, Country Reports on Terrorism 2012, ile:///Users/anthony/Desktop/Country%20Reports%20on%20Terrorism%202012National%20Consortium%20for%20the%20Study%20of%20Terrorism%20and%20Responses%20to%20Terrorism_%20Annex%20of%20Statistical%20Information.html

The Broader Challenges that Drive Stability, Violence, and US Strategic Interests

Once again, it is clear that US should not weaken the efforts it makes to deal with real terrorists and protect its citizens and homeland, and its friends and allies from such threats. Waving the modern equivalent of the bloody shirt may have grossly exaggerated some aspects of the terrorist threat, and create a political industry around the word "terrorism."

The fact remains, however, that most the causes of instability in the Islamic world will continue to create violent extremist movements for a decade or more to come. Regardless of how Al Qa'ida survives or mutates, some of these movements will target the US, the West, and moderate regional governments for ideological reasons or as part of their efforts to seize power.

Nevertheless, as the last two years have made all too clear, true terrorist attacks will normally only be symptoms of a far broader set of problems and challenges to US strategic interests centered with the Islamic world and more specifically in the MENA area.

A series of clashes is taking place between and within Islamic states instead of a "clash between civilizations" that almost ensures violent instability will go in various MENA and Islamic countries on far at least a decade. It also virtually ensures that the US will face a series of new movements and threats that have at least some form of international networks regardless of its success against Al Qa'ida and any of today's other violent extremist movements.

The Broader Causes of Instability and Violence

Nevertheless, the core problem for US strategy will not be terrorism. It will be a much wider range of broader threats and challenges have emerged in the MENA region and Islamic world that pose enduring threats to critical US interests in the years that have followed 9/11. In every case, they also are threats and challenges that go far beyond the limited threat once posed by Bin Laden and Al Qa'ida central, and that cannot be meaningfully addressed by treating given movements as "terrorists."

The sheer complexity of these causes of instability and the fact they play out differently on a national level presents major problems for US strategy. Just as terrorism is far more a symptom than a cause, the religious, ethnic, tribal political, civil, and economic causes of instability interact in ways where they both drive and are driven by each other. They are compound by failed governance and political secularism in many states, and by corruption and gross inequities in opportunity and the distribution of income.

They interact with the more traditional sources of tensions and violence between states – patterns all too clear in the confrontations between Iran and its neighbors, the Arab-Israeli conflict, the growing spillover of the Syria civil war, tensions between Morocco and Algeria, the risk of a conflict between India and Pakistan, and fighting between Muslims and other religious groups in Myanmar, Thailand, and the Philippines.

The Need to Understand and Deal with Complexity

Some of the key trends and statistics involved are illustrated in the Annex to this paper, and in another CSIS study that examines the full range of factors and trends that helped to create the Arab spring: The Underlying Causes of Stability and Unrest in the Middle East and North Africa: An Analytic Survey (http://csis.org/publication/underlying-causes-stability-and-unrest-middle-east-and-north-africa-analytic-survey).

They are clear in the studies of many other think tanks and in the work of Arab experts – who foresaw many of the trends reasons that created the current level of instability in a series of Arab Development Reports by the UNDP of which the most prescient was the *Arab Human Development Report 2009:Challenges to Human Security in the Arab Countries.*[26]

In most case, the level of turmoil in the MENA region and Islamic world has reached the point where current data are only available on the most stable countries. As is the case with most forms of international statistics, sharp disagreements exist among sources and many of the data are suspect in terms of collection and definition. In many other cases, traditional reporting on given countries and regions has never been developed, is too contradictory on a national level to be useful, or has never had real credibility.

No reliable source exists for key data like underemployment versus unemployment, the scale of sectarian and ethnic differences, anger at governments, corruption, misuse of the rule of law and human rights abuses, income distribution, poverty levels measured in terms of local perceptions, adequacy of education and medical services, size of internal security forces, and other factors that have emerged as key factors since the uprisings in Tunisia began in 2011.

Nevertheless, a wide range of sources make it clear that the following problems exist in many countries – although their relative intensity varies sharply by country as does their impact on local perceptions of security and their relative impact on stability and the level of civil violence:

Ideology and Religion

- Fundamentalism vs. moderate vs. emphasis on secular
- Differences over role and nature of Sharia, religious vs. secular law.
- Sunni vs. Shi'ite vs. Alawite vs. other Islamic sect versus other religions.
- Islamic versus non-Islamic.
- Pan –Arab versus nation vs. sect and ethnic group.
- Islamic republic, supreme leader in Iran.
- Growing politicization of clergy, religious education and social structures.
- Religiously imposed social customs, behavior, and dress
- Failed secular governance, secular politics, secular education, and economic opportunities push the disenfranchised and others toward religious politics.
- Growing religious justification of social and political violence.

- No clear structure to support political, social, and economic reform if political upheavals occur. So far, upheavals in Egypt, Tunisia, Libya, Yemen, and Syria have tended to increase religious polarization as well as increase problems at the ethnic, tribal, economic and social levels.

Politics and Governance

- Blood sport in some countries.
- Lack of real political parties with actual experience in governance and political compromise; emphasis on conspiracy and winner takes all.
- Authoritarian structures, "strong leader" suppressing dissent either openly or under cloak of pseudo democracy.
- Lack of clear constitutional structures, real elections, clearly defined successions.
- Use of internal security forces to suppress dissent.
- Ethnic, sectarian, regional, tribal, and family favoritism.
- Appointments based in political favoritism, not merit.
- Dysfunctional interference in economy, corruption, cronyism.
- Rigid, layered, overcentralized, and unresponsive bureaucracies.
- Gross over employment in existing government jobs, no growth to offer state jobs to young.
- Political interference/corruption in policing, law enforcement, courts, law suits and detention.

Military and Internal Security Forces

- Promotion for political reasons or out of favoritism/loyalty to leaders and for sectarian, ethnic, and tribal background.
- Glitter factor purchases of more advanced weapons and systems than can actually support. Use of offset arrangements to cloak corruption.
- Corruption at highest levels and in procurement, military industries.
- Drop in prestige of military.
- Layered military structures and duplicate services to discourage coup attempts at cost of efficiency and effectiveness.
- Lack of real NCO corps, initiative for officers, politicization of higher ranks.
- Reliance on drafts, ineffective facilities for conscripts, declining conditions for military service.
- Unclear separation of military, paramilitary, internal security and police.
- Use of military and military intelligence to maintain political control.
- Sharp growth of internal security forces and services, and often repression and abuses.

Police and Courts

- Political influence, power brokering, and corruption.
- Passive, ineffective police.
- (Sometimes forced) confession-based justice rather than reliance on evidence and adequate basis for legal judgments and sentencing.

- Star Chamber security courts and detention facilities; interference and actions by internal security services.].
- Steady expansion of internal security services, often with inadequate checks and balances, train, and equipment. Excessive violence and violations of human rights.
- Lack of adequate legal personnel, access to courts.
- Lack of prompt justice, enforcement of court decisions.
- Long, sometimes arbitrary detention in poor facilities.
- Legal and police system often fail to protect minorities, weaker sectarian and ethnic groups.

Economics

- Only the wealthier oil states compete with other regions in per capita income.
- Poor and worsening income distribution. Decline in traditional middle class and career elites.
- Major employment and income problems.
- Existing stands of poverty levels have become irrelevant. Social and income demands require far higher income levels than poverty standard.
- Many government barriers to effective economic growth and development.
- Corruption and crony capitalism major problems.
- Trades and industries not competitive with Asian and other imports, poorly structured state industries, lack of relevant education and social encouragement of work ethic.
- Underemployment and inability of young to find jobs with real careers and ability to create and house a family.
- Non-merit based employment based on political connections, family, sect, ethnicity, or tribe.
- Overcentralization of economic activity in capital or a few cities.
- Failure to create added electric power, water, and transport systems further inhibit growth.
- Limited arable land, water, and population pressure combined with lack of capital and modernization serious limit agricultural output and reduce agricultural employment.
- Growing problems in preserving arable land, and with desertification.
- Economic pressures and social change encourage high risk emigration, human trafficking.
- Populated oil states grossly over dependent on petroleum export income without economic reform and growth in other areas, and generally corrupt distribution of oil wealth.
- Less populated and wealthier oil states have become rentier economies and societies over dependent on foreign labor.

Demographics, Education, and Social Change

- Populations already often 3 times the 1950 level or more; many will increase by another 50% – or double – by 2050.

- Very young populations saturate housing, education, jobs, infrastructure, affordable housing and local medical care.
- Higher education often saturated and declining in quality, relevance to job opportunities.
- "Youth bulge" creates major unemployment, underemployment and lack of government jobs and real career opportunities.
- Government education weak and overburdened. Islamic education may be only alternative but offers limited job skills, employment opportunities, and encourages religious politics and extremism.
- Acute population and growing related water shortages put pressures on agriculture, population to land ratios, and traditional village life.
- Growing problems in jobs and access to education interact with discrimination against women versus pressures for liberalization and reform.
- Rapid, if not hyper urbanization with slums, weak employment level. High level of social mobility into dysfunctional social environments. Exacerbation of ethnic, religious, and tribal tensions and discrimination against minorities. Large, unemployed youth population in capitals and urban areas.
- Population pressure increases dependence on governments that cannot provide services and jobs, breeds cronyism and corruption, perception government is effective or unfair.
- Lack of jobs, real careers leaves many young men with years of unemployment, lack of money to marry, house family.
- Fundamental shifts in access to media, cell/smart phones, and Internet produce instant communication and "news" in spite of censorship.
- Growing tensions over foreign workers versus jobs for natives, perceptions of ethnic, sectarian, and tribal favoritism.

A Poll of Tensions within Islam as a Case Study

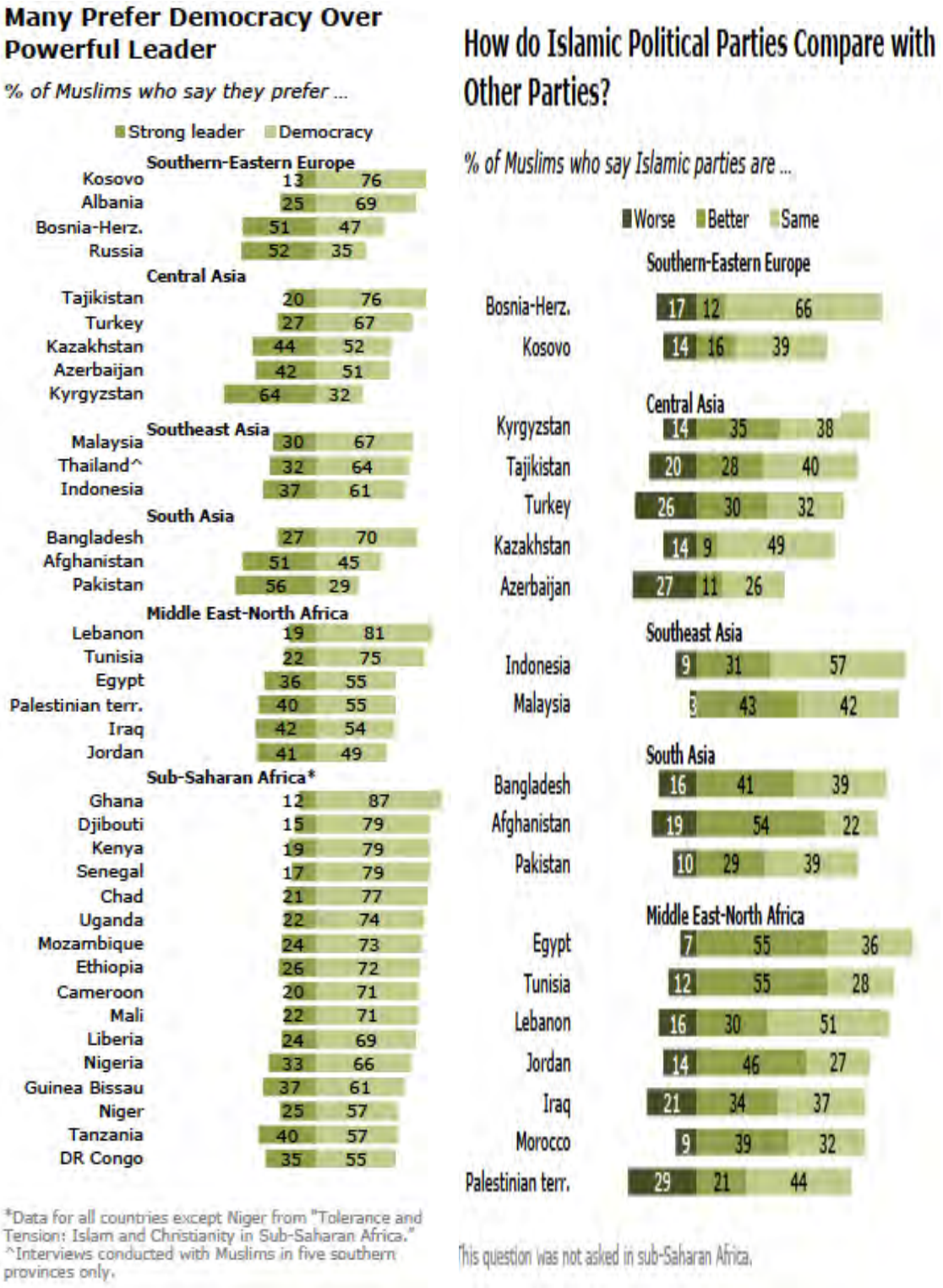
There is no way to put all of these pressures – and the degree to which they vary by country and sub region into perspective. **Figure Nineteen** does, however, illustrate the impact of one set of these of these issues that are related directly to terrorism and the broader causes of civil violence. It shows the key results of a recent of the Islamic world by country as measured by the Pew Research Center–one of the most reliable polling efforts in measuring world opinion.[27]

Figure Nineteen does cover only one narrow part of the tensions and differences over politics and the role of Islam. It should also be stressed that the summary data in this figure are excerpted from a much more detailed and fully qualified study, that polling throughout the regional presents major problems, and that other polls not only have produced different results but show a very high degree of volatility from years to year.

Nevertheless, the data clear illustrate the kind of pressures that affect regional stability. The results show that most Muslims oppose and fear violent extremism, but they also show that there signs of support for extremism and that are critical differences in terms of Islamic perceptions from the value systems in the West and by region and country. These differences by region and country also affect the metrics for every other cause of instability listed above – as is shown the CSIS study and Arab development reports referenced earlier.

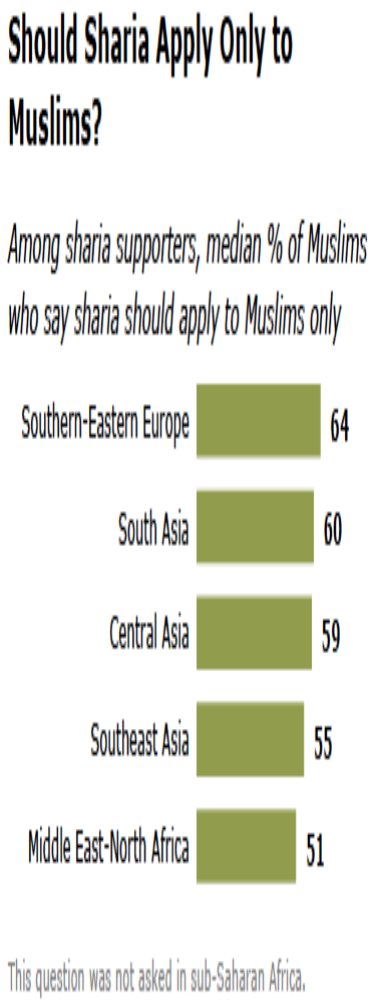
They also show that assigning one or a narrow range of causes to violence and instability in the entire MENA and Islamic worlds may suit a given set of prejudices but is contradicted by virtually even source that actually gathers data by country – as well as poling and analyses within most countries where such analysis is possible. Any meaningful effort to address the causes of instability, civil violence, and terrorism must address these national difference as well as the full range of causes – a factor the US must take into full account in shaping any effort to meet these challenges.

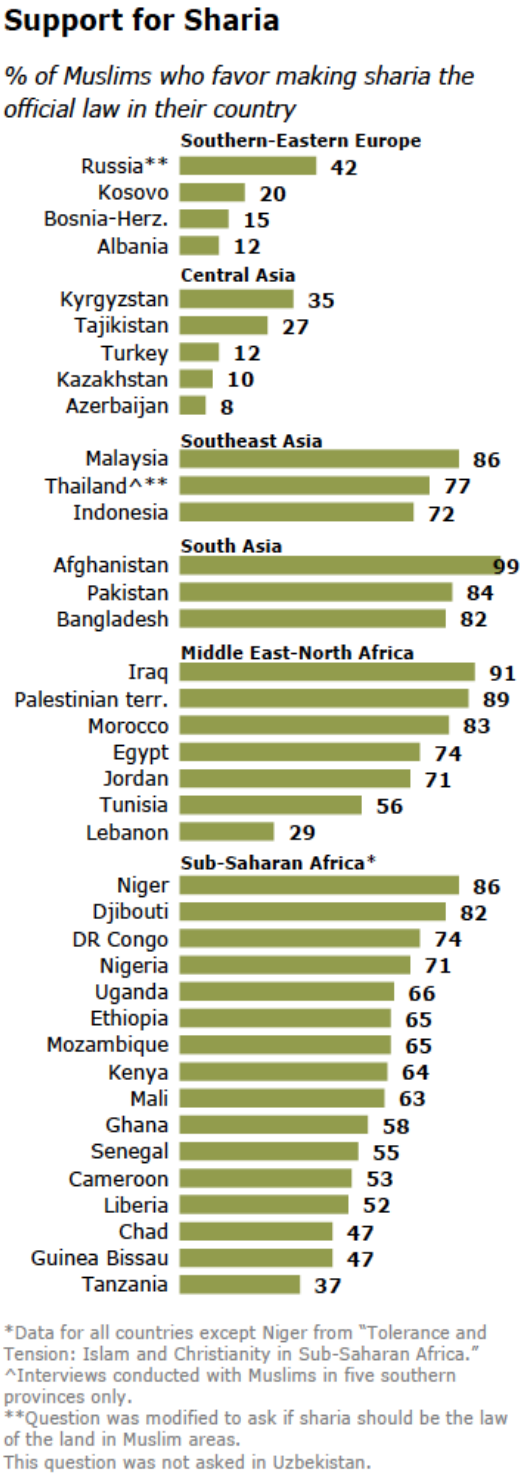
Figure Nineteen – Part One: Support for Democracy



Source: Pew Research Center, "The World's Muslims: Religion, Politics and Society," 2013, p. 60, 66. http://www.pewforum.org/2013/04/30/the-worlds-muslims-religion-politics-society-overview/.

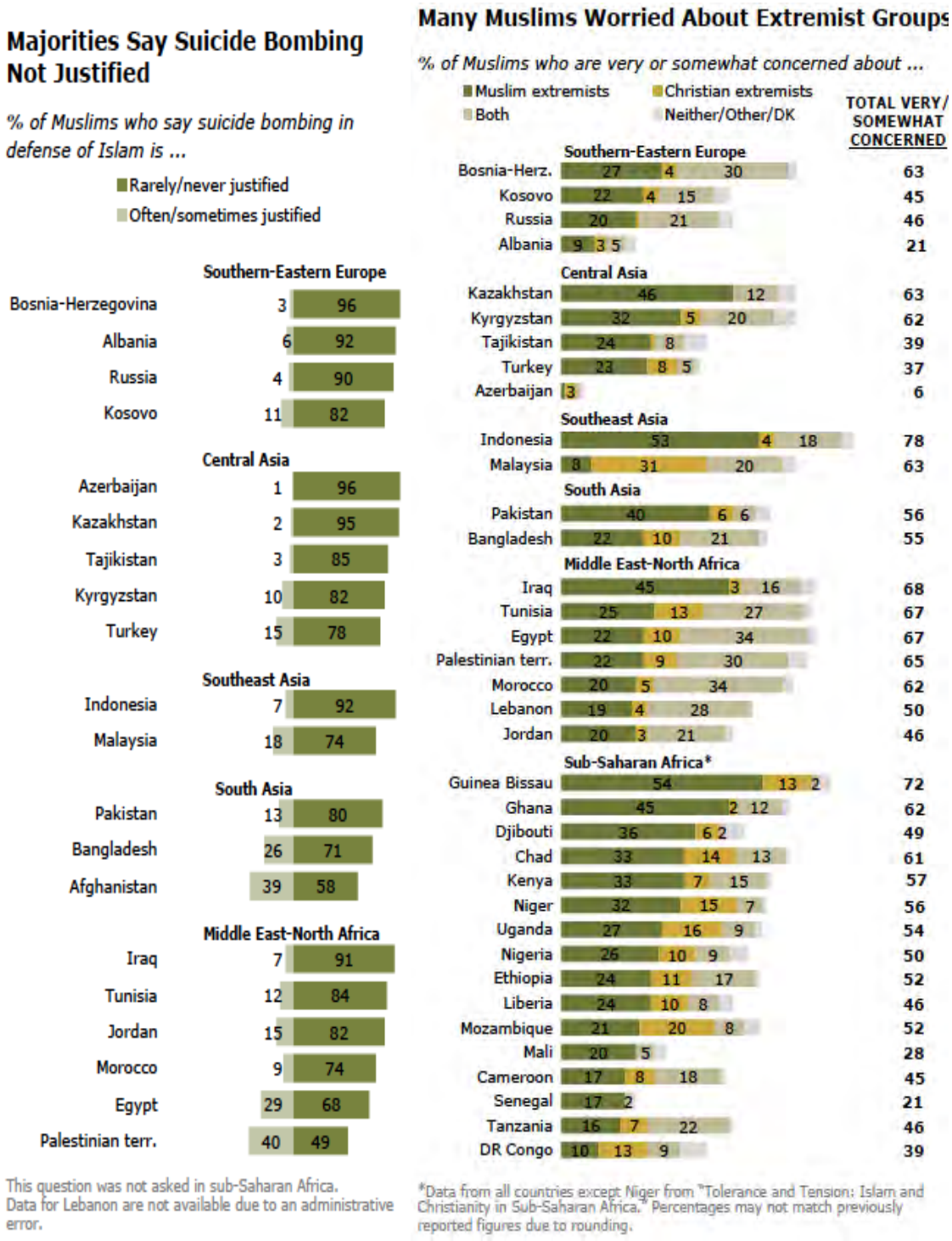
Figure Nineteen – Part 0ne: Support for Sharia





Source: Pew Research Center, "The World's Muslims: Religion, Politics and Society," 2013, p. 22, 15. http://www.pewforum.org/2013/04/30/the-worlds-muslims-religion-politics-society-overview/.

Figure Nineteen – Part Two: Uncertain Background for Extremism: Extreme Violence



Source: Pew Research Center, "The World's Muslims: Religion, Politics and Society," 2013, p. 29, 68. http://www.pewforum.org/2013/04/30/the-worlds-muslims-religion-politics-society-overview/.

Figure Nineteen – Part Three: Uncertain Background for Extremism: Honor Killings, Apostasy

Are Honor Killings Permissible?

*% of Muslims who say **never** justified when ...*

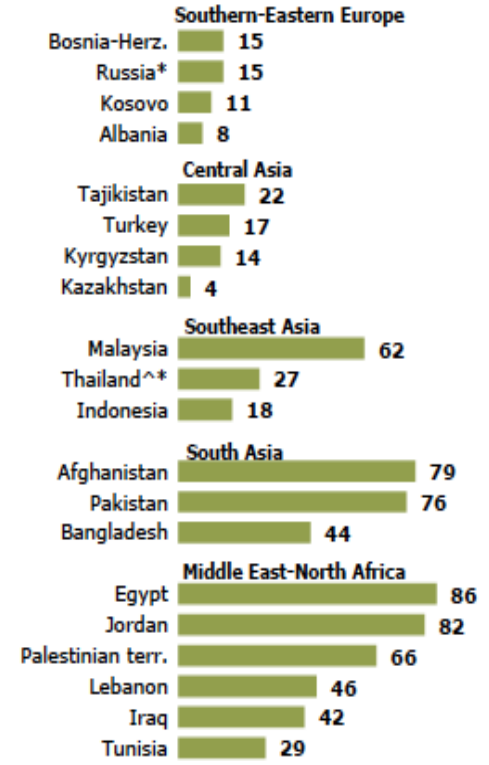
	Male committed the offense	Female committed the offense	Diff.
Southern-Eastern Europe			
Russia	67	60	+7
Albania	68	67	+1
Bosnia-Herz.	79	79	0
Kosovo	60	61	-1
Central Asia			
Azerbaijan	86	82	+4
Kazakhstan	84	84	0
Tajikistan	49	49	0
Turkey	68	68	0
Kyrgyzstan	55	58	-3
Uzbekistan	46	60	-14
Southeast Asia			
Indonesia	82	82	0
Malaysia	59	59	0
Thailand^	50	52	-2
South Asia			
Bangladesh	38	34	+4
Pakistan	48	45	+3
Afghanistan	24	24	0
Middle East North-Africa			
Jordan	81	34	+47
Iraq	33	22	+11
Egypt	41	31	+10
Lebanon	55	45	+10
Tunisia	62	57	+5
Palestinian terr.	46	44	+2
Morocco	64	65	-1

Statistically significant differences are shown in bold.
^Interviews conducted with Muslims in five southern provinces only.

PEW RESEARCH CENTER Q53 and Q54.

Death Penalty for Leaving Islam

Among Muslims who say sharia should be the law of the land, % who favor the death penalty for converts

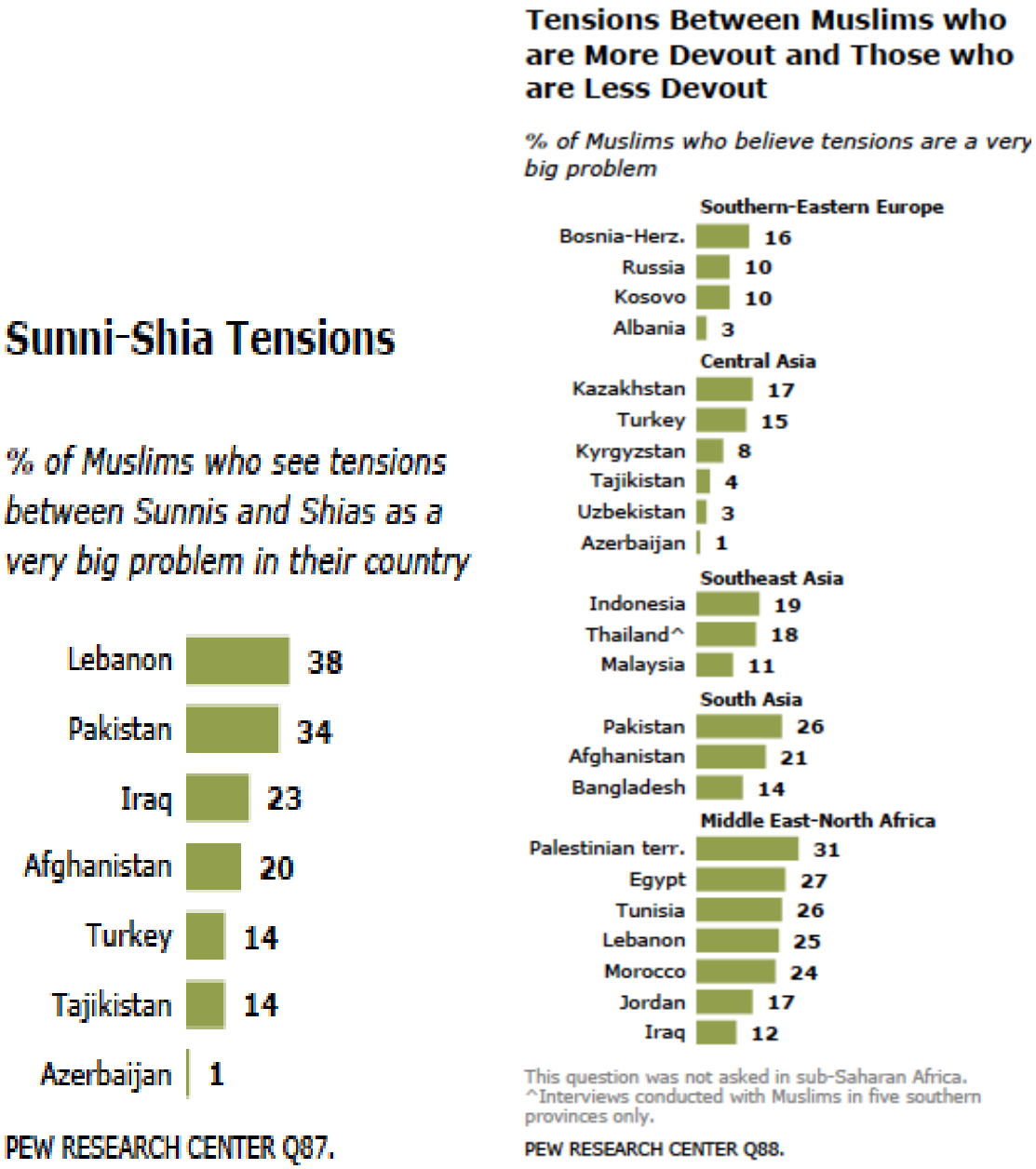


Based on Muslims who favor making sharia the law of the land.
*Based on Muslims who favor making sharia the law in Muslim areas.
^Interviews conducted with Muslims in five southern provinces only.
Results for Azerbaijan not shown due to small sample size.

Note: The Quran and Hadith do not condone honor killings: taking the life of a family member who has allegedly brought shame on his or her family. See Aisha Gill, "Reconfiguring 'Honour'-Based Violence as a Form of Gendered Violence," in *Honour, Violence, Women and Islam*, ed. Mohammad Mazher Idriss and Tahir Abbas (Routledge, 2010), pp. 222–223.

Source: Pew Research Center, "The World's Muslims: Religion, Politics and Society," 2013, p. 55, 89. http://www.pewforum.org/2013/04/30/the-worlds-muslims-religion-politics-society-overview/.

Figure Nineteen – Part Four: Tensions Between Muslims



Source: Pew Research Center, "The World's Muslims: Religion, Politics and Society," 2013, p. 31, 105, http://www.pewforum.org/2013/04/30/the-worlds-muslims-religion-politics-society-overview/.

The MENA Challenge to US Strategic Interests

The MENA region has some 318 million Muslims, which is only about 20 percent of the 1,600 million Muslims in the Islamic world. It has, however, been both the center of much of the turmoil violence, and real terrorism in what has become a clash within Islamic states rather than a "clash between civilizations." It is also an area where US partnerships with moderate Arab regimes and Turkey has been critical to regional stability and to the global economy, and no other power than the US can play a leading role from the outside.

At a time the US must increasing perform strategic triage to reduce or limit the burden of its national security efforts, the MENA region and Asia are already the key focus of US military strategy and deployments. The MENA region is also the region where the US will need to focus not only most of its counterterrorism activity overseas, but its efforts to deal with civil conflict and instability

Critical US Strategic Dependence on the MENA Area

The stability of the MENA region also remains critical to the US and global economies. While the US is cutting its direct energy imports, such trends must be kept in careful perspective. There are credible scenarios where the US might largely reduce its energy imports, but these are not the scenarios the US government uses for planning purposes or that come out of the studies by the US Department of the Energy.

Figure Twenty shows that the US Energy Information Agency reports that the US still imported some 45% of its petroleum liquids in 2011, and still gets some 28% of its imports from the Gulf.[28]

> The United States consumed 18.6 million barrels per day (MMbd) of petroleum products during 2012, making us the world's largest petroleum consumer. The United States was third in crude oil production at 6.5 MMbd. Crude oil alone, however, does not constitute all U.S. petroleum supplies. Significant gains occur because crude oil expands in the refining process, liquid fuel is captured in the processing of natural gas, and we have other sources of liquid fuel, including biofuels. These additional supplies totaled 4.8 MMbd in 2012.
>
> The United States imported 11.0 MMbd of crude oil and refined petroleum products in 2012. We also exported 3.2 MMbd of crude oil and petroleum products, so our net imports (imports minus exports) equaled 7.4 MMbd. In 2012, the United States imported 2.1 MMbd of petroleum products such as gasoline, diesel fuel, heating oil, jet fuel, and other products while exporting 3.1 MMbd of products, making the United States a net exporter of petroleum products.

Figure Twenty also shows that the US Energy Information Agency projects that,[29]

> In the *AEO2013* Reference and High Oil Price cases, U.S. imports of petroleum and other liquids decline through 2020, while still providing approximately one-third of total U.S. supply. As a result of increased production of domestic petroleum, primarily from tight oil formations, and a moderation of demand growth with tightening fuel efficiency standards, the import share of total supply declines. Domestic production of crude oil from tight oil formations, primarily from the Williston, Western Gulf, and Permian basins, increases by about 1.5 million barrels per day from 2011 to 2016 in both the Reference and High Oil Price cases.
>
> The net import share of U.S. petroleum and other liquids consumption, which fell from 60 percent in 2005 to 45 percent in 2011, continues to decline in the Reference case, with the net import share falling to 34 percent in 2019 before increasing to 37 percent in 2040 (Figure 99). In the High Oil Price case, the net import share falls to an even lower 27 percent in 2040. In the Low Oil Price

> case, the net import share remains relatively flat in the near term but rises to 51 percent in 2040, as domestic demand increases, and imports become less expensive than domestically produced crude oil.
>
> As a result of increased domestic production and slow growth in consumption, the United States becomes a net exporter of petroleum products, with net exports in the Reference case increasing from 0.3 million barrels per day in 2011 to 0.7 million barrels per day in 2040. In the High Oil Price case, net exports of petroleum products increase to 1.2 million barrels per day in 2040.

The EIA also notes why the Strait of Hormuz and the Gulf are critical to the stability of the US and global economy, and US energy prices: "The Strait of Hormuz is the world's most important oil chokepoint due to its daily oil flow of about 17 million bbl/d in 2011, up from between 15.7-15.9 million bbl/d in 2009-2010. Flows through the Strait in 2011 were roughly 35 percent of all seaborne traded oil, or almost 20 percent of oil traded worldwide. [30]

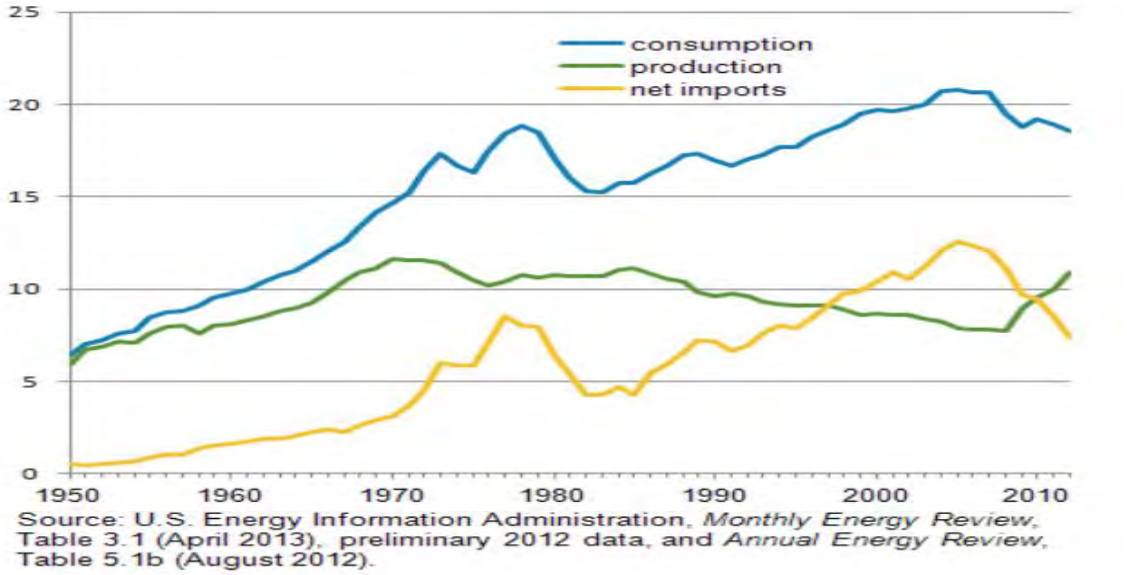
More than 85 percent of these crude oil exports went to Asian markets, with Japan, India, South Korea, and China representing the largest destinations. In addition, Qatar exports about 2 trillion cubic feet per year of liquefied natural gas (LNG) through the Strait of Hormuz, accounting for almost 20 percent of global LNG trade. Furthermore, Kuwait imports LNG volumes that travel northward through the Strait of Hormuz. These flows totaled about 100 billion cubic feet per year in 2010.[31]

Moreover, these aspects of strategic dependence on the MENA region grossly understate the case. The US is critically and steadily more dependent on Asia, European and other imports of manufactured goods that are critically dependent on the flow of petroleum exports from the MENA area and particularly from the Gulf. This indirect import dependence is critical to the US economy.

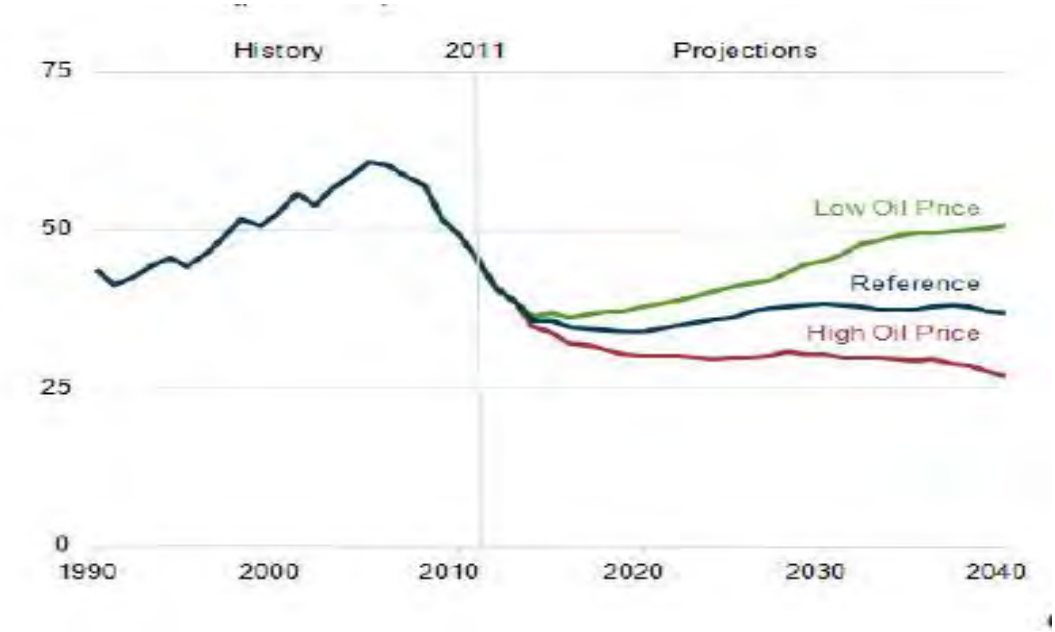
More broadly, the US economy is become steadily more dependent on the global economy that is projected to become steadily more dependent on MENA petroleum exports. Finally, the US will continue to compete for petroleum resource on a global basis. If oil price rise because of regional instability or an oil interruption in the MENA area, the US will pay the same prices as all the other countries in the world, and the US domestic economy will suffer accordingly.

Figure Twenty: US Petroleum Import Dependence: Past and Projected

US Petroleum and other liquids consumption, production, and net imports (1950-2012) in Millions of Barrels per Day



Net import percentage share of US petroleum and other liquids consumption in three price cases: 1990-2040



Note: In the *AEO2013, the* net import share of U.S. petroleum and other liquids consumption, which fell from 60 percent in 2005 to 45 percent in 2011, continues to decline in the Reference case, with the net import share falling to 34 percent in 2019 before increasing to 37 percent in 2040 In the High Oil Price case, the net import share falls to an even lower 27 percent in 2040. In the Low Oil Price case, the net import share remains relatively flat in the near term but rises to 51 percent in 2040, as domestic demand increases, and imports become less expensive than domestically produced crude oil.

Source: Energy Information Agency, "How dependent are we on foreign oil?" *Energy Brief*, May 10, 2013, http://www.eia.gov/energy_in_brief/article/foreign_oil_dependence.cfm; and EIA, "Market Trend, Oil Liquids," *Annual Energy Outlook 2013*, May 2, 2013, http://www.eia.gov/forecasts/aeo/MT_liquidfuels.cfm#net-imports.

Patterns of MENA Instability by Country

The US cannot separate instability in the MENA region from instability in Central Asia, South Asia, or Southeast Asia. However, if one looks only at the MENA region, the US not only faces the military challenges posed by Iran and the risk of further wars in the region, the broad causes of instability that affect most largely Islamic states affect every country in the MENA region.

This means the US faces the following mix of challenges in dealing with such instability, and a clear need for strategic triage on the national, regional and global levels to determine what role and resources it can provide in each case:

- **North Africa: Morocco, Algeria, Tunisia, Libya:** The US and its European allies face major uncertainties regarding the stability of each North African state, plus questions about the stability of the sub-Saharan states to the south. Morocco needs US support in economic stability, and in dealing with Algeria and the Polisario. It faces the same mix of threats from Al Qa'ida in the Maghreb and illegal trafficking as its neighbors. A repressive Algerian regime has severely weakened the Islamist threat, but nit defeated it. Libya and Tunisia remain deeply unstable in the wake of a civil war and a major political upheaval.

  As is the case throughout the MENA area, Central Asia, and South Asia, Regional, ethnic, and sectarian divisions affect security as do acute demographic pressures and job creation issues as a result of the "youth bulge" throughout the region. Weak political structures present a major problem, as do special court and internal security forces that use repression and excessive force. Governance and the rule of law need strengthening, and deep tensions exist of the role of Sharia and Islam in law and social custom. Corruption, governance based on influence and cronyism and income distribution that favor the privileged and rich combined to undermine popular loyalty and empower those who favor religious extremism. Depending on the country, underinvestment in education, medical care, and infrastructure also present serious problems.

- **Egypt**: Political upheavals in Egypt have compounded all of the economic, governance, and demographic problems affecting the country as well as given it a divided government that has an elected Moslem Brotherhood in charge of the civil structure, a still powerful Egyptian Army in control of the security sector, the former Mubarak elite excluded from power, and the civil reformers who began the political upheavals largely excluded from power. As is the case in Tunisia and Libya, the long period of political upheavals has not produced stable or predictable governance and politics, and had a serve impact on poor and younger Egyptians – as well as international investment and trade. It has created major tensions between more secular and more fundamentalist Muslims. It has also created new tensions with the Copts and other non-Muslim minorities.

- **Israel and the Palestinians**: The Israeli-Palestinian conflict continues to destabilize the region and add to tensions with hard line Islamists and Palestinian extremists. It has now become an additional problem for Egypt and Israel on the border with Gaza, impacts on Arab and Muslim views of the US, risks providing a new conflict with the Hezbollah in Lebanon, presents problems in terms of the spillover of the Syrian civil war, and is sharply influenced by the Israeli-Iranian confrontation over Ira's possible acquisition of nuclear weapons and nuclear armed long range missiles.

- **Lebanon**: A combination of internal power struggles, the growing strength of Hezbollah and weak leadership in the civil government has combined with the impact of the Syrian civil war to polarize Lebanese Sunni and Shi'ite, raise the risk of new confessional struggles, and give an opening to Sunni Islamist extremists. The flow of Iranian and Syrian arms to the Hezbollah has raised the risk of a new and more serious round of round of fighting between the Hezbollah and Israel. Political instability and growing security problems have also had a

growing impact on the economy, and the flow of Sunni and Shi'ite extremists across Lebanon's borders has created new openings for international terrorism.

- **Syrian civil war:** The Syrian civil war provides a case study in the fact that instability and civil conflict are far more than a humanitarian problem. It is a key test of US ability to move from counterterrorism and counterinsurgency to a strategy focused on bringing added stability – not only in Syria, but all the countries around it. . The civil war has escalated in ways that pose a steadily growing strategic threat to the United States and its allies. It has already caused serious instability in Lebanon, Jordan, and Turkey. It has pushed Israel into moving troops and reinforcing its security barriers on the Golan Heights, as well as increasing preparations for a possible war with Hezbollah.

  Most significantly, it has strengthened Iran's role in Syria, where Iran has become a critical source of arms and money. A credible Alewite source has reported that Iran now has three training camps for Assad's Alewite militias, evidently run by the Iranian al Quds force with Hezbollah support. If Assad either defeats the rebels or controls most of a divided Syria, he will be far more dependent on Iran than ever before. Lebanon has already split along sectarian lines, but this time more between Sunni and Shi'ite than Muslim and Christian. Today, Hezbollah is dominant, but staying dominant will make it more dependent on Iran and Syria if Assad or his regime survive.

  Iraq is caught in the middle at a time it is moving back toward a sectarian civil war between Sunni and Shi'ite and Arab and Kurd. A weakly manned and funded—but highly competent—U.S. country team tends to be locked in the Green Zone in Baghdad, while Iran has freedom of movement and regularly moves arms across Iraqi air space. Prime Minister Nouri al-Maliki and Iraqi Shi'ites may have no great love for Iran, but they see the United States as increasingly weak, most of their Arab neighbors (except Kuwait) as hostile, and Iran and Assad as an important counterbalance to threats from their own Sunni minority.

  Some US allies in the Arab world—and some in Israel and outside the Middle East—see the United States as having been defeated in Iraq and having to "retrograde" from Afghanistan. They see a weak U.S. economy and a national fiscal crisis, war fatigue and defense cuts, and focusing far too much on what they perceive as a U.S. "pivot" to Asia. Key Gulf allies like Saudi Arabia, the United Arab Emirates (UAE), and Qatar question the U.S. role and determination in the region. More broadly, for all the talk of U.S. energy independence that may emerge in a decade, they see Iran as "gaining" and the United States as "losing" at a time when Gulf oil exports are critical to the world economy, Asian exports, U.S. gas prices, and U.S. trade and jobs.

  The grim reality is that the Syrian civil war is part of a far broader power struggle that now ties the Levant and Gulf together, can greatly aid Iran, can further divide Islam between Sunnis and minorities like Shi'ites and Alewites, and affects every U.S. friend and ally in the region. This does not, in any way, eliminate the risks in supporting and arming the Syrian rebels or guarantee that Assad's fall will end every aspect of the broader humanitarian crisis in Syria. But this set of worst cases is now far more acceptable than an Assad (and Iranian) victory.

- **Jordan**: Jordan faces an ongoing economic crisis because of the global recession that began in 2007 and has suffered both in terms of its own economy and payments from Jordanian workers in other countries. Jordan has been heavily affected by the Syrian civil war, continued civil conflict in Iraq, and refugee problems. It faces the same major challenges in governance, politics, employment, income distribution and other causes of internal tension as its neighbors. Ethnic divisions between Transjordanian and Palestinian remain a problem, as does the lack of progress in reaching an Israeli-Palestinian peace.

- **Iraq**: In spite of high oil revenues, Iraq still has critical economic problems with both its industry and agricultural sector, made youth unemployment and underemployment, and a per capita income averaging only 162nd in the world. It is caught in the middle between Iran and the US states, and

Iraq's security forces lack the ability to defended the country and have deteriorated sharply in capability since US forces left at the end of 2011. Deep sectarian differences between Sunni and Shi'ite – exacerbated by the spillover of the Syrian civil war – threaten a new round of civil conflict as Prime Minister Maliki's creation of an increasingly Shi'ite power structure that excluded or limits Sunnis. Tensions between Arab and Kurd create the risk of ethnic conflict.

- **Iran**: Iran is involved in an active confrontation with the US and many other state over its nuclear and missile programs. It is seen as a key threat by all of the Gulf states, and has come to play a major role in Iraq, the Syrian civil war, and through its ties to the Hezbollah in Lebanon. It is perceived as seeking to create a Shi'ite axis that gives it influence in all three states, while it expands its military capabilities in the Gulf, Gulf of Oman, and Arabian Sea, and it supports Shi'ite rebels in Yemen.

  Iran is also affected by the growing tension between Sunni and Shi'ite, has its own Arab and Baluch minority problems, and faces internal tensions over the political and social role of its religious regime. Sanctions and mismanagement of the economy have had a growing impact, as have population growth and a youth bulge, limits on imports and outside investment, and inflation. Corruption and misgovernment – particularly in the Bunyods and court system remain important issues.

- **Saudi Arabia**: Saudi Arabia remains a critical oil power and one whose stability is critical to US interests. It is one of the few MENA states to put an economic program to deal with the underlying causes of economic unrest, employment, the need to give its youth jobs and income into actual practice. Saudi Arabia has also had considerable success in defeating Al Qa'ida in the Peninsula, and in reeducating its members.

  The Kingdom does, however, face serious midi-term challenges because of its rapidly growing population, dependence on foreign labor, limited per capita income, and need for economic diversification and better income distribution. It has deep divisions between its Sunnis and Shi'ites and faces serious security threats from Iran, on its borders with Yemen and Iraq, and from AQAP.

  Bahrain: Bahrain has become caught up in a major power struggle between its Sunni ruling elite and Shi'ite majority. This confrontation is a matter of sectarian differences, the economic and political advantages of the Sunni minority, employment and salary problems caused by Bahrain's high use of foreign labor, and tensions exacerbated by Iranian interference and tensions within the royal family. Like all of the Arab Gulf states, Bahrain sees Iran as a significant threat.

- **Qatar**: Qatar is sufficiently wealthy to be able to buy its way out of most problems. It does face a potential threat from Iran and shares its North gas field – its key source of income – with Iran. Qatar is a major sponsor of the Syrian rebels and this has caused rising tension with Iran. There are minor tribal tensions, and Qatar does carefully monitor foreign workers.

- **UAE**: Like Qatar, the UAE is sufficiently wealthy to be able to buy its way out of most problems. It does face a potential threat from Iran and has expelled some Iranians and other Shi'ites. There are limited tensions with foreign workers and problems in creating jobs for UAE citizens, as well as providing aid to the less wealthy Emirates. Some minor internal security problems have emerged with Sunni Islamist extremists.

- **Oman**: Oman faces serious economic challenges from population pressure and has limited petroleum resources and growing pressure on the land and water supplies. It has a high percentage of foreign labor and has had limited success in increasing domestic labor through Omanization. While it has not had major demonstrations, it has tightened its internal security policies. Oman has tried to preserve good relations with Iran, but the Omani regime does see it as a growing threat. So far, the fact Oman is divided into a largely Sunni and Ibadi population has not led to significant sectarian tension.

- **Yemen**: Yemen has been in a state of acute political tension for several years with ongoing struggles for power between its major factions, tribes and regions and AQAP and other Sunni Islamist groups. Iran is reported to be backing Houthi Shi'ite rebels that have also clashed with Saudi forces.

  Yemen faces critical problems from demographic pressure, underemployment, growing water shortages, diminishing petroleum reserves, and exports, and low education and medical standards. Youth under and underemployment present critical problems.

Even a quick glance at the **Figures in the Annex** confirms the fact that most of the stability problems in the MENA area and the rest of the Islamic world, are driven by a perfect storm of religious, ethnic and tribal tensions, failures in economic development and income distribution, demographics and employment problems, failed politics and governance, internal security and rule of law issues, human rights abuses, and pressures and threats from neighboring states.

The particular mix of challenges differs significantly by country. At the same time, virtually all cases combine political economic, religious, ethnic/tribal and security challenges in the same country. Virtually all cases are likely to be enduring ones. The cases where major instability already exists are also ones that show few signs of be fully resolved during the next decade and many can lead to new civil violence.

A Strategy for Stability

The US cannot address these challenges by focusing on terrorism alone or by direct intervention in every civil war or insurgency that broadens to the point of an active US occupation and counterinsurgency campaign. In fact, it is one of the many ironies of the US political fixation with "terrorism" that these are realities the US has broadly recognized in reshaping its strategy for the post-Iraq, post-Afghan, and post war on terrorism era.

Reshaping the Conceptual Structure of US Strategy

In early 2012, the US adopted a new defense strategy that recognized that the US must be far more conservative in using military force and resources, refocus its priorities and spending, and put far more effort in to partnership with key allies like Britain and France and with friends and allies in the region.

These changes in US strategy are set forth in the relevant portions of the new strategic guidance the Department of Defense issued on January 5, 2012,[32]

> …Over the last decade, we have undertaken extended operations in Iraq and Afghanistan to bring stability to those countries and secure our interests. As we responsibly draw down from these two operations, take steps to protect our nation's economic vitality, and protect our interests in a world of accelerating change, we face an inflection point… The global security environment presents an increasingly complex set of challenges and opportunities to which all elements of U.S. national power must be applied.
>
> The demise of Osama bin Laden and the capturing or killing of many other senior al-Qa'ida leaders have rendered the group far less capable. However, al-Qa'ida and its affiliates remain active in Pakistan, Afghanistan, Yemen, Somalia, and elsewhere. More broadly, violent extremists will continue to threaten U.S. interests, allies, partners, and the homeland.
>
> The primary loci of these threats are South Asia and the Middle East. With the diffusion of destructive technology, these extremists have the potential to pose catastrophic threats that could directly affect our security and prosperity. For the foreseeable future, *the United States will continue to take an active approach to countering these threats* by monitoring the activities of non-state threats worldwide, working with allies and partners to establish control over ungoverned territories, and directly striking the most dangerous groups and individuals when necessary.
>
> … In the Middle East, the Arab Awakening presents both strategic opportunities and challenges. Regime changes, as well as tensions within and among states under pressure to reform, introduce uncertainty for the future. But they also may result in governments that, over the long term, are more responsive to the legitimate aspirations of their people, and are more stable and reliable partners of the United States.
>
> Our defense efforts in the Middle East will be aimed at countering violent extremists and destabilizing threats, as well as upholding our commitment to allies and partner states. Of particular concern are the proliferation of ballistic missiles and weapons of mass destruction (WMD). U.S. policy will emphasize Gulf security, in collaboration with Gulf Cooperation Council countries when appropriate, to prevent Iran's development of a nuclear weapon capability and counter its destabilizing policies. The United States will do this while standing up for Israel's security and a comprehensive Middle East peace.
>
> *… To support these objectives, the United States will continue to place a premium on U.S. and allied military presence in– and support of– partner nations in and around this region…* Building partnership capacity elsewhere in the world also remains important for sharing the costs and

responsibilities of global leadership. Across the globe we will seek to be the security partner of choice, pursuing new partnerships with a growing number of nations.

…To protect U.S. national interests and achieve the objectives of the 2010 *National Security Strategy* in this environment, *the Joint Force will need to recalibrate its capabilities and make selective additional investments* to succeed in the following missions:

Counter Terrorism and Irregular Warfare. Acting in concert with other means of national power, U.S. military forces must continue to hold al-Qa'ida and its affiliates and adherents under constant pressure, wherever they may be. *Achieving our core goal of disrupting, dismantling, and defeating al-Qa'ida and preventing Afghanistan from ever being a safe haven again will be central to this effort.* As U.S. forces draw down in Afghanistan, our global counter terrorism efforts will become more widely distributed and will be characterized by a mix of direct action and security force assistance. Reflecting lessons learned of the past decade, we will continue to build and sustain tailored capabilities appropriate for counter terrorism and irregular warfare. We will also remain vigilant to threats posed by other designated terrorist organizations, such as Hezbollah.

Deter and Defeat Aggression. U.S. forces will be capable of deterring and defeating aggression by any potential adversary. Credible deterrence results from both the *capabilities to deny an aggressor the prospect of achieving his objectives and from the* complementary capability to impose unacceptable costs on the aggressor. As a nation with important interests in multiple regions, our forces must be capable of deterring and defeating aggression by an opportunistic adversary in one region even when our forces are committed to a large-scale operation elsewhere.

Our planning envisages forces that are able to fully deny a capable state's aggressive objectives in one region by conducting a combined arms campaign across all domains– land, air, maritime, space, and cyberspace. This includes being able to secure territory and populations and facilitate a *transition to stable governance on a small scale for a limited period using standing* forces and, if necessary, for an extended period with mobilized forces. Even when U.S. forces are committed to a large-scale operation in one region, *they will be capable of denying the objectives of– or imposing unacceptable costs on – an opportunistic aggressor in a second region.* U.S. forces will plan to operate whenever possible with allied and coalition forces. Our ground forces will be responsive and capitalize on balanced lift, presence, and prepositioning to maintain the agility needed to remain prepared for the several areas in which such conflicts could occur.

Provide a Stabilizing Presence. U.S. forces will conduct a sustainable pace of presence operations abroad, including rotational deployments and bilateral and multilateral training exercises. These activities reinforce deterrence, help to build the capacity and competence of U.S., allied, and partner forces for internal and external defense, strengthen alliance cohesion, and increase U.S. influence. A reduction in resources will require innovative and creative solutions to maintain our support for allied and partner interoperability and building partner capacity. *However, with reduced resources, thoughtful choices will need to be made regarding the location and frequency of these operations.*

Conduct Stability and Counterinsurgency Operations. In the aftermath of the wars in Iraq and Afghanistan, the United States will emphasize non-military means and military-to-military cooperation to address instability and reduce the demand for significant U.S. force commitments to stability operations. U.S. forces will nevertheless be ready to conduct limited counterinsurgency and other stability operations if required, operating alongside coalition forces wherever possible. Accordingly, U.S. forces will retain and continue to refine the lessons learned, expertise, and specialized capabilities that have been developed over the past ten years of counterinsurgency and stability operations in Iraq and Afghanistan. However, U.S. forces will no longer be sized to *conduct large-scale, prolonged stability operations.*

There are many reasons to debate the Administration's current policies in dealing with the Afghan war, terrorism, events in Libya, and the US role in the Syrian civil war. Political partisanship and the past political focus on using terrorism as the modern

"bloody shift" also force President Obama to focus on the domestic political priorities in dealing with terrorism in his in May 23, 2013 speech to the NDU, [33]

Even in today's partisan climate, however, President Obama still used part of his speech to build upon the new strategy the US adopted in early 2012, and broadened the defense guidance in that document to include the civil side of international relations:

> I believe…that the use of force must be seen as part of a larger discussion we need to have about a comprehensive counterterrorism strategy — because for all the focus on the use of force, force alone cannot make us safe. We cannot use force everywhere that a radical ideology takes root; and in the absence of a strategy that reduces the wellspring of extremism, a perpetual war — through drones or Special Forces or troop deployments — will prove self-defeating, and alter our country in troubling ways.
>
> So the next element of our strategy involves addressing the underlying grievances and conflicts that feed extremism — from North Africa to South Asia. As we've learned this past decade, this is a vast and complex undertaking. We must be humble in our expectation that we can quickly resolve deep-rooted problems like poverty and sectarian hatred. Moreover, no two countries are alike, and some will undergo chaotic change before things get better. But our security and our values demand that we make the effort.
>
> This means patiently supporting transitions to democracy in places like Egypt and Tunisia and Libya — because the peaceful realization of individual aspirations will serve as a rebuke to violent extremists. We must strengthen the opposition in Syria, while isolating extremist elements — because the end of a tyrant must not give way to the tyranny of terrorism. We are actively working to promote peace between Israelis and Palestinians — because it is right and because such a peace could help reshape attitudes in the region. And we must help countries modernize economies, upgrade education, and encourage entrepreneurship — because American leadership has always been elevated by our ability to connect with people's hopes, and not simply their fears.
>
> And success on all these fronts requires sustained engagement, but it will also require resources. I know that foreign aid is one of the least popular expenditures that there is. That's true for Democrats and Republicans — I've seen the polling — even though it amounts to less than one percent of the federal budget. In fact, a lot of folks think it's 25 percent, if you ask people on the streets. Less than one percent — still wildly unpopular. But foreign assistance cannot be viewed as charity. It is fundamental to our national security. And it's fundamental to any sensible long-term strategy to battle extremism.
>
> Moreover, foreign assistance is a tiny fraction of what we spend fighting wars that our assistance might ultimately prevent. For what we spent in a month in Iraq at the height of the war, we could be training security forces in Libya, maintaining peace agreements between Israel and its neighbors, feeding the hungry in Yemen, building schools in Pakistan, and creating reservoirs of goodwill that marginalize extremists. That has to be part of our strategy.
>
> Moreover, America cannot carry out this work if we don't have diplomats serving in some very dangerous places. Over the past decade, we have strengthened security at our embassies, and I am implementing every recommendation of the Accountability Review Board, which found unacceptable failures in Benghazi. I've called on Congress to fully fund these efforts to bolster security and harden facilities, improve intelligence, and facilitate a quicker response time from our military if a crisis emerges. But even after we take these steps, some irreducible risks to our diplomats will remain.
>
> This is the price of being the world's most powerful nation, particularly as a wave of change washes over the Arab World. And in balancing the tradeoffs between security and active diplomacy, I firmly believe that any retreat from challenging regions will only increase the dangers that we face in the long run. And that's why we should be grateful to those diplomats who are willing to serve.
>
> Targeted action against terrorists, effective partnerships, diplomatic engagement and assistance —

> through such a comprehensive strategy we can significantly reduce the chances of large-scale attacks on the homeland and mitigate threats to Americans overseas
>
> …The Afghan war is coming to an end. Core all Qaeda is a shell of its former self. Groups like AQAP must be dealt with, but in the years to come, not every collection of thugs that labels themselves al Qaeda will pose a credible threat to the United States. Unless we discipline our thinking, our definitions, our actions, we may be drawn into more wars we don't need to fight, or continue to grant Presidents unbound powers more suited for traditional armed conflicts between nation states…this war, like all wars, must end. That's what history advises. That's what our democracy demands.

Making a Stability Strategy Work

The practical question, after a decade of US failures and mistakes in Afghanistan and Iraq, is how to actually implement such a strategy. No mix of US efforts can rush success, exclude a high element of risk, and avoid occasion and serious failure. The uncertainties are simply too great. The lessons of the past decade and two recent wars do, however, provide some important lessons.

The "End State Fallacy," No "Good" or "Bad Side" and "Doing It Their Way"

If the US is to maximize its success, it also has to accept the fact that it needs to make three critical changes in its approach to civil violence and instability – changes that not only are lessons of the Afghan and Iraq conflict, but of virtually all past US interventions in nations with different cultures and values.

No End State: The real world timing of the "Arab Decade" or "Arab Quarter Century" is yet a further warning about the US tendency to seek unrealistic "end states." There will be cases where progress is relatively linear, but no cases where history somehow comes to an end. The causes of instability in the MENA area are so deep that in many cases, there will be a series of crises, progress in some areas but not in others, pauses between upheavals and regression in many of the major causes of instability: democracy, governance, development, international security, and all the other challenges discussed earlier.

The best US and outside efforts will sometimes fail, or achieve only partial success. No real world level of US or other outside intervention can avoid this. Nations will be driven by their internal tensions and dynamics. The solution will often have to be persistent US efforts, support for the elements in a given country most likely to move towards stability and progress, and waiting out periods of crisis. Even in the best cases, progress may be limited and partial, key causes of instability may remain, and no predictable end state will occur for years – even if that is defined as broad political and economic stability.

No "Good" or "Bad Side:" As Hans Morgenthau warned decades ago, the US must also avoid turning instability into some form of morality play, and designating one side or faction as good while demonizing others. It may be difficult, as Syria is showing, to even clearly separate a "better" side from a "worse" side. The problems and mistakes of the side in power may not be ones opposition factions can be trusted to correct, or capable of holding power long enough to implement.

A side that is making real progress in some areas may be unwilling or unable to make progress in others. The political and social structure of given countries may be broadly unwilling to make critical changes and reforms. The US must be prepared to work with the factions that actually exist, deal with their faults, and be extremely careful to keep talking to every side that offers real hope of progress, avoid becoming over committed to governments simply because they are in power, and be equally careful about what opposition and exile movements are capable of or really believe – even when they adopt the kind of rhetoric that suits American values.

Do It Their Way: For all of these reasons, the US also needs to stop assuming it has universal values that somehow represent the needs and desires of all societies and that it should seek to impose US values and methods in dealing with other states. At one level, it is particularly important that the US let countries that face a crisis in modernizing Islam – and in creating structures of politics, governance, and economics that can win popular support and legitimacy – evolve in ways that the peoples and elites involved actually want.

It is one thing to encourage and another to impose. In many cases, the US must also wait for internal evolution to both make progress and determine its actual form. The US needs to clearly recognize that US efforts to force US-centric approaches to the rule of law, human rights, democracy, etc. in Afghanistan and Iraq often failed because they were imposed without regard to local values, were rushed, or attempted to suddenly change entire societies based on the view of limited parts of their most-western elites.

Similarly, the US experience in Afghanistan and Iraq should reinforce the lesson Lawrence raised in a very different time of instability in the Arab world. It is far better to let people make progress by doing it their way. The US tendency to try to fix what wasn't actually broken – civil service systems, local policing, military support systems, etc. etc. – wasted US resources and local good will. In some cases, it helped fuel insurgency and in others it limited the ability of local governments and social forces to fight it.

Strategic Triage

The US is capable of having some influence in virtually every case. In most, however, it will not have either the opportunity or the resources to act decisively either in terms of aid or military intervention. A focus on partnership can ease the strains and increase the probability of success, but rarely produce quick or lasting solutions until a given country or crisis reaches the point where the primary actors are ready to move forward on their own.

The US has critical strategic interests that go far beyond the stability of the MENA area and violent extremism. Even in the MENA area, it must deal with the strategic and military challenges posed by Iran and the remaining elements of the Arab-Israeli conflict. It has competing strategic interest in Asia and much of the rest of the world.

The US needs to temper its rhetoric about universal values and support for democracy with an honest admission that it must encourage evolution and cannot intervene to force rapid change. It must be honest about the fact it has dual values and limited resources and must put its own strategic interests first.

It must use a careful process of strategic triage based on these strategic interests, the seriousness of any given case, and the real-world cost-benefits of given course to action to both the US and the country or peoples involved. There will be tragedies where the US can do very little, and many cases where it cannot do enough. This does not mean that "realism" will always be a substitute for "idealism," but "idealism" without "realism" is a recipe for failure and a waste of resources.

Strategic Patience

Anyone who has read Western history from the time of Cromwell to the present should be aware that periods of intense political turmoil play out over decades, if not centuries. Anyone who has studied the history of violent revolutions in cases like France, the European upheavals in 1848, or Russia and other states as a result of World War I should be aware how often the reformer who start such revolutions are consumed by extremists and authoritarians.

The failure of Western efforts to dictate the course of transitions out of colonialism should be a warning as to the limits on the ability to impose different values and political systems from the outside that reinforces the lessons of Afghanistan and Iraq. The fact most historical "end states" actually became transitions to new periods of instability and change is one of the few constants of history and human behavior. So is the fact the dialogue, negotiations, and conflict resolution can sometimes have great value but often fail.

The US needs to accept just how serious the internal problems are in most countries in the Arab world, how great the problems created by past failures in governance and development are, how angry many populations have become, how much change is needed in economies and social infrastructure, and that few nations can possibly more towards lasting stability and security unless their governments lead towards workable parties to change and reform over a decade or more. The sheer scale of the challenge in virtually every Arab state warns that outside efforts and aid will have limited or no impact unless a nation's leaders put that nation on a path where it can largely help itself.

- *Accept the reality of a decade of broad regional instability and its sheer uncertainty and complexity.* There will be cases where nations adapt without political upheavals and where upheavals produce relatively stable governments the first try. In most cases, however, the US will have to do its best to exert limited influence over a long period of time in which governments come and go, or inexperienced new leaders demonstrate their lack of political realism and willing ness to compromise and their ability to government. There are no practical ways the US can avoid this. There is no way to "solve" a given country quickly or in the first round of change. There is no way the US can deal with problems sequentially.

- *Accept complexity, patience, and that the only realistic approach will be to help countries help themselves.* It is almost inevitable that every crisis – like the current fighting in Syria – will lead to demands for dramatic action, calls for efforts to remake Arab states into little Americas, or proposals for simple, instant solutions. In every case, this focus on the short game is a recipe for failure. The US needs to see what is happening in the Middle East for what it is – a region-wide set of challenges that will play out over years of instability. The US needs to look beyond the headlines and priorities of the moment. It needs to accept the need to deal with complexity and deep underlying problems over a period of years. It needs to accept the need for patience, for working with other states, and for focusing on progress than depends on reinforcing those Arab governments that are actively able to help themselves.

- *Accept the fact that US influence will often be limited, have to be exerted with great care, be carefully prioritized, carefully ration resources and avoid over-commitment, and be opportunistic in reacting to what happens in given countries and areas.* The US is not going to lead most states towards some quick path to its concepts of democracy, human rights, governance, and economics. There will be no sudden transformations, but rather long periods on instability where the US needs to be patient, needs to focus on what opportunities really exist in a given country, and use limited influence with great care over time.

- *Success will come by dealing with the real world complexity of each case, and helping countries help them* It is almost inevitable that every crisis – like the current fighting in Syria – will lead to demands for dramatic action, calls for efforts to remake Arab states into little Americas, or proposals for simple, instant solutions. In every case, this focus on the short game is a recipe for failure. The US needs to see what is happening in the Middle East for what it is – a region-wide set of challenges that will play out over years of instability. The US needs to look beyond the headlines and priorities of the moment. It needs to accept the need to deal with complexity and deep underlying problems over a period of years. It needs to accept the need for patience, for working with other states, and for focusing on progress than depends on reinforcing those Arab governments that are actively able to help themselves.

- *Patiently accept the need for compromises and slow levels of progress, and find a difficult balance between patience and self-interest.* The US cannot seek or demand reform in every area at the same time, or pursue abstract goals like "democracy," "human rights," etc. without regard to its own interests. At the same time, a narrow focus on expediency and selfish interests can discredit the US and cost the US influence and popularity over time. In real world, US policy must be a set of messy compromises balancing one US objective off against another while focus on success over time. In virtually every case, a given country is not going to adopt US values or somehow want to serve US goals and interests, and the progress that is possible will be slow and hard to achieve.

- *Legitimacy will be determined by the quality of governance and not elections, and the rule of law will be determined by how well the national system functions and not by drafting constitutions and transferring US legal and policing systems.* The whole history of post-colonial period is a warning that the legitimacy of elections is of far less importance than how well governments actually meet the needs of their people. This does not mean abandoning the search for good elections, but it does mean focusing on good governance as 95% of the test of real political legitimacy. Patiently building up governance at the local, regional, and national levels will be far more important than hoping a good election will somehow transform states whose leaders lack the will to compromise, political skill, and the ability to govern.

- *The US must act on the basis where much of the MENA region consists of countries where perceived justice and integrity in governance has now become critical.* No government is likely to survive that is seen as so corrupt that it does not meet the needs of its people, minimize corruption and limit cronyism and nepotism, and ensure that economic progress include improving the distribution of wealth and popular perceptions of improving social justice. Here again, the US needs to understand that this needs to be the focus of its policies, not democracy per se.

- *Stability and security require states to solve their economic and demographic problems, and underlying ethnic and sectarian tensions, over time with most of the solution coming from within. As noted earlier, t*he sheer scale of these challenges has been laid out in detail in the United Nations *Arab Development Reports. And the metrics involved are laid out* a Burke Chair report entitled *The Underlying Causes of Stability and Unrest in the Middle East and North Africa: An Analytic Survey*, which is available on the CSIS web site. No US effort that ignores them, the past and current failures of given governments, the sheer scale of the problem youths and the poor citizens face in most countries, and that cost and time economic reform will take can hope to succeed.

The US may not face a "long war" in dealing with what many in the West once called the Arab Spring, but it faces long, indefinite period of instability and regional violence that –

if anything – may spread from the MENA region to most post-Soviet regimes in Central Asia, has already affected Pakistan, and presents a problem in Southeast Asia as well. There will be civil wars, extreme violence, ideological extremism, and gross violations of human rights in the process. Good regimes or political efforts will sometimes be replaced by extreme or authoritarian efforts. There often will be no "good" side to back, just a better side than the others.

Any effective US strategy should count on the need to deal with such instability for at least the need decade. It should also accept the fact that direct US intervention will be both too costly and too ineffective to prevent continuing political upheavals and violence in some cases, that the US can only really help countries capable of governing and helping themselves, and that it make take years of patient low-level effort and willingness to work with other states and international organization to reach some form of lasting stability.

Patience and the ability to let progress evolve are not American virtues, and American culture, politics, and idealism favor solutions that are simple, quick, and wrong. Success, however, will depend on strategic patience, on using time and consistent efforts to encourage evolutionary change. It will also sometimes require equally patient efforts at containment and deterrence. There will be no real "Arab spring" in many cases; the real question is whether there will be a decade or a quarter century.

Use a Net Assessment Approach

If the US is to perform effective strategic triage, it needs to stop focusing on terrorism and other threats, and assess both its challenges and opportunities net assessment terms. It needs to look at the full range of causes of instability listed earlier and assess their relative impact, rather than treat the most obvious and violent symptoms. It needs to honestly assess the causes behind violence and extremism, the faults of friendly government and the extent to which they have provoked violence and instability. It needs to objectively assess the mix of state and non-state actors in each country or case, and the real world potential for US influence over time.

The current threat-oriented and agency-by-agency approach to analyzing terrorism, insurgency, civil conflict, and instability is a proven recipe for failure. This is particularly true when DIA, USCENTCOM, and military intelligence efforts focus on the tactical capabilities of the threat or extremist movements rather than their ideology and ability to influence or control given areas or segments of the population. These are classic, unforgivable errors in counterterrorism and counterinsurgency intelligence that ignore the how and whys of extremist or insurgent success at the political and ideological levels.

They have been made worse in many cases – from the follies in Vietnam to the present – by a failure to honestly assess the weak nesses in host country forces, governance, and ability to win popular support; efforts to sell the mission and success of military training efforts, and judge the government/factions and forces that have US support by different standards than the threat. Extremists, terrorist, and insurgents gain strength at least as much through the political and ideological weaknesses of their opponents as through their use of violence. A failure to reflect these realities in net assessment terms, and corrupt analysis by efforts to back the friendly side and sell success, has been a key factor in truly making military intelligence an oxymoron.

Another key failure has been the overclassification and compartmentalization of intelligence, Department of Defense, State Department, and other agency reports. The failure of the Department of Defense to look beyond the threat is matched, however, by the failure of USAID to look beyond project-oriented development and at the full range of cause of instability, the State Department's compartmentalization in reporting and analyzing terrorism and human rights are all examples of a failed approach that ignores key variables and real world priorities.

Senior policy makers and commanders have contributed to these problems by emphasizing reporting that sells the mission and exaggerates success. This, however, is only party of the leadership problem. Far too often, there is an emphasis on simplification and broad national or regional assessment. In some cases, this leads to an overemphasis on national metrics and polls that virtually bury the factors that drive extremism and insurgency in given areas or given segments of the population. It other cases it has meant suppressing metrics that do not produce good news or a reliance on "positive" narratives. Far too often, the effort to oversimplify, focus on a key few factors, and generalize on national level has been a key factor in the self-defeating behavior of senior policymakers and generals in Vietnam, Afghanistan, and Iraq.

If the US is to exert effective strategic triage, use limited resources effectively, and rely on time to solve problems that it cannot solve on its own; it needs analyses that tie together all of the elements of instability, weigh their importance, and are based on country-by-county differences and as well as the differences within them. Adequate and accurate analysis is the essential prelude to both cost-effective individual US efforts and meaningful partnerships.

Create Integrated Civil-Military Plans, Budgets, and Evaluation Efforts

Over the last two decades, the US government has come to hopeless confuse strategy with concepts for action, rather than detailed plans tied to clearly defined course of action, budgets, and measures of effectiveness. The Department of Defense has shown it can plan military intervention, but not provide full-range assessment of opportunities and risks or objective assessment of its successes and failures. The US military came closest to developing adequate plans for Afghanistan and Iraq, but poor political guidance, decoupling of military and diplomatic efforts, overambitious efforts at civil transformation coupled to threat-oriented military planning that did not realistically take account of host country problems, and over-rapid rotation of ambassadors and commanders undercut and sometimes crippled such military efforts.

The Department of State and USAID have not been forced to create meaningful assessments or plans, and have never provided meaningful reporting on their role in either the Afghan or Iraq conflicts. Their broader failures on a civil level are exemplified in the collapse of the State Department's efforts to create a more effective system in its 2010 Quadrennial Diplomacy and Development Review (QDDR). [34] They are reflected in the hollow buzzwords and vague, sweeping goals the Department set forth in its *2011-2016 Strategic Plan Addendum for the U.S. Department of State and the U.S. Agency for International Development*.[35] Both offer little hope that a September 30, 2013 review will produce better results.

As years of reporting on these and other problems by the General Accountability Office (GAO), the Special Inspector General for Iraq (SIGIR), and the Special Inspector General for Afghanistan (SIGAR) have made clear there is a need for integrated civil-0military interagency plans, budgets, and evaluation efforts to deal with both terrorism and the broader challenges of instability. These need to be transparent to force effective planning and budgeting and honest reporting of effectiveness, central management or review is need in the Executive Branch to ensure actual interagency coordination, and Congressional review at the civil-military level of functional plans and budget requests is needed to at least try to create effective bipartisan review and support.

Keep up the Focused Counterterrorism Effort but Reevaluate It, Rationalize it, and Make it Transparent

Focused counterterrorism, rather than a mythical "war on terrorism," will only be a subset of such efforts and needs to be kept in far better perspective, but remains a critical party of US national security. The Obama Administration's tendency to claim victory again is misleading and unrealistic. The fact the US is not fighting a war on terrorism does not mean that the US and its allies do not face a continuing struggle against real acts of extreme violence and terrorism target against US territory, US citizens, and US allies. In spite of some uncertain rhetoric from the Administration, Al Qa'ida is not defeated, and many other movements present a threat.

There are no near-term prospects that the US can eliminate the causes of instability and civil conflict that will sustain and generate new movements and threats, or that the US effort avoid becoming a political target for movements and states that use the US role in the world, and Western values, as a rationale for insurgency and efforts to seize political power in their own country and regions.

The core counter-terrorism efforts the US has evolved since 9/11 remain valid and must continue. The fact that they are often unpopular in the countries they affect, depend on the use of force and extensive global intelligence efforts, and produce civilian casualties and collateral damage is an unavoidable reality. The focused efforts of the CIA, Special Forces, counterterrorism advisory groups, and other counterterrorism efforts overseas can always be improved, but they remain necessary. So are the focused US efforts to develop cooperation in strengthening international cooperation on counterterrorism like the efforts of the US treasury, FBI, and elements of the US intelligence community.

Equally important, the US must not confuse providing help in counterterrorism with steps that reinforce internal repression, that reinforce internal divisions, that limit the pace of reform, and ultimately create local popular hostility to the US. The US should be prepared to work with local internal security forces to help them adopt better practices, and it should be prepared to help host countries limit the role of special security courts, interment, and other procedures whose extremism ultimately do more harm than good.

US cooperation in counterterrorism and intelligence should be part of a country team effort that focuses on removing the causes of internal security, extremism and violence and not simply treat the symptoms rather than the disease. Many current US efforts are over-compartmented and driven almost solely by efforts at counterterrorism.

This does not mean such US counterterrorism efforts are not productive in meeting that narrow goal, but they need to be part of a coordinated effort to help friendly and allied countries deal with internal instability, and ensure that US counterterrorism experts push for best practices, minimal use of violence, reeducation and reintegration, modern internment facilities and procedures, training in the US, and tools like polling and focus groups so host governments and internal security personnel have a realistic picture of their impact on public opinion and particular dissident groups and ethnic and sectarian factions.

There also is a clear need to stop using terrorism as a rationale for homeland defense efforts that often have little to do with counterterrorism. There is a need to clear identify the domestic and foreign efforts that really do deal with terrorism, identify their cost, and provide measures of effectiveness to show their impact and justification.

Security will be an issue in some cases, but failing to provide broad data on relevant intelligence efforts has no real justification in security. Failing to break out civil costs and separate OCO costs for counterterrorism is a recipe for duplication and waste. Transparency in even the most sensitive activities of government is not a luxury – or an exercise in political theory and idealism – it is an essential tool in controlling government spending and ensuring its effectiveness.

A Country-by-Country Focus Through the US Country Team

More broadly, the actual practice of US efforts to deal with instability, violence, and extremism must take place at the country team level. What some in the State Department call "normal" embassies have little or no place in the MENA region or much of the rest of the world. Strategy, planning and resourcing can be improved and allocate at the Washington level. Regional bureaus, USCENTCOM, and USAFRICOM will play an important role in better planning.

But it is the US Embassy team in country that will determine US success or failure, and the quality of the mix of civil, military, and aid efforts in country that will have most effect. It is their inputs to integrated planning, budgets, and effectiveness measures that are the core of realism in dealing with given cases, and the extent to which they develop and implement a coordinated approach to reducing civil-military violence and instability over time that will be critical.

The worst mistake the US could make is to try to make cuts in embassies that need to grow, and fail to provide larger and more expert civil and military aid teams, put security over effectiveness, and fail to work more closely with local media, universities, NGOs and businesses. US country teams need to be large and proactive enough to use activity on the ground to determine what can be done, show American concern and presence, and take tangible, visible action. This takes properly funded *in-country* State Department, Department of Defense, and Interagency resources. It also requires enough aid funds to create pilot aid, exchange, information and education programs that become catalysts for change.

Past US efforts to globalize, regionalize, and "Washingtonize" such efforts have been pennywise and pound-foolish. One has only to consider the cost of Afghanistan, Iraq, Syria, the confrontation with Iran over the last decade relative to US efforts in Yemen,

Somalia, and Columbia to see that the dollar costs of strong and proactive country teams is minimal compared to more active forms of intervention or letting avoidable country crises fester to the point where they threaten US strategic interests and impact on regional stability.

There are, however, additional steps the US needs to take to make country teams more effective:

- Country teams need to adapt, improvise, and have contingency funds and flexibility. They still, however, need to develop integration civil-military plans, budgets, and measures of effectiveness.
- The US needs to focus on stability aid before it focuses on economic development. It needs to address nation –wide needs and not focus on projects. USAID has shown little competence in these areas to date, and the State Department has tended to grossly overpraise its ability to spend without demonstrating the ability to plan or measure the effectiveness of its efforts. A major effort is need to improve the capability of the State Department and US aid to assess the full range of causes of instability, develop effective country plans for civil action that will actually encourage stability and break out of a focus on project aid and classic – limited – econometric measures that largely ignore key causes of instability.
- Similarly, country reporting on terrorism and human rights needs to be broadened to develop balanced focus on the causes of instability, extremism, and human rights abuses.
- The US Department of Defense and civil agencies need to staff in-country aid and advisory teams that also focus on internal stability rather than generating military forces and large internal security and counterterrorism staffs.
- Real area and country expertise are needed. This means better trained and more specialized staff, as well as more continuity in staff and tours of duty long enough to create stable relationship with host country officials, officers, media and civil society.
- Restrictions on training and aid that limit contact because of past conduct and abuses ignore the real-world constraints of effective in-country efforts. There often will be no good side, only a better one or people that can be influenced.
- The current delays and anomalies in foreign military sales have created pointless delays and confusion in arms transfers for decades. It is time to stop studying and actually act.
- The current division between a Defense focus on conventional military forces and a State focus on US-oriented concepts of the rule of law and civil policing create serious problems in training internal security forces, making them effective, and limiting abuses. It can also lead to the overuse of profit-oriented contracts when US officers and civilian career personnel are needed. The need for more flexible, expert, and integrated approaches urgently needs study and actual reform.
- Underfunding, pointless efforts to create regional or global approaches, and the creation of self-isolated fortress embassies has severely limited State Department information operations, funding of cultural and other exchanges, and ties to local NGO and civil society. Broader economic issues have affected educational exchanges and sequestration and budget cuts are affecting the ability to use IMET, NDU and US military staff colleges to train foreign personnel. The marginal cost of effective in country information efforts and educational programs and exchanges is well worth the cost.

Finally, effective country teams will often require risk taking and casualties. Endless post-mortems, rigid security rules, and internal blame games are not a substituted for recruiting and promoting risk takers, providing suitable compensation, and funding enhanced security for those who work outside the embassy or US facilities. Partisan political exploitation of cases where necessary risk takers become casualties does not serve the national interest.

US Military Intervention

The previous elements of US strategy focused on implementing a key principle of the new strategy the US adopted in January of 2012. It called for steps that avoid the direct US use of force in MENA states, and emphasized the portions of the strategic guidance that state, [36]

> The demise of Osama bin Laden and the capturing or killing of many other senior al-Qa'ida leaders have rendered the group far less capable. However, al-Qa'ida and its affiliates remain active in Pakistan, Afghanistan, Yemen, Somalia, and elsewhere. More broadly, violent extremists will continue to threaten U.S. interests, allies, partners, and the homeland.
>
> The primary loci of these threats are South Asia and the Middle East. With the diffusion of destructive technology, these extremists have the potential to pose catastrophic threats that could directly affect our security and prosperity. For the foreseeable future, *the United States will continue to take an active approach to countering these threats* by monitoring the activities of non-state threats worldwide, working with allies and partners to establish control over ungoverned territories, and directly striking the most dangerous groups and individuals when necessary.

The chief US goal in implementing this strategy should be to use country team efforts to avoid civil violence reaching the point where any form of US military intervention is required. There will also be cases where the US will need to stand aside and let internal violence burn itself out. The US cannot afford to try to intervene in every such case, and there will be other cases where it is unclear that US military action will have a positive short term affect or do lasting good.

There will, however, be cases like Libya and Syria where the US will not be able to stand aside. In these cases, the US should seek to avoid direct or overt military intervention wherever possible, and should try to rely on regional partners to support given faction or factions with money, arms, and training.

Syria is also a further warning, however, that that the US will need to intervene in some cases, and needs to make changes in the way it approaches stability in the region. There is a long series of lessons the UDS needs to learn from Vietnam, Afghanistan, and Iraq that apply to any future US uses of force to deal with regional extremism, terrorism, and insurgency – many of which center around the tendency to fall in love with the mission once US forces are actually committed:

Key Shifts in US Strategy, Planning, Operations, and Assessment

- *The US should not wait for a crisis to develop*. Preventive US diplomatic and civil military efforts, and focused aid, will almost always be far cheaper alternatives than reacting to a major crisis once it develops.
- *Act on the basis of strategic priority*. The US should not wait for the situation to become the kind of crisis that requires major levels of force and creates steadily broadening regional and international problems. It needs to act decisively as early as needed if such action is clearly serves US interests, rather than wait and temporize until the costs and risks have risen to critical levels.
- *Act on the reality that a net assessment approach is even more important in considering and using US forces or support of host country and allied forces that in shaping policy where instability has not yet reached the level of crisis*. US strategic planning should meet all of the criteria set forth earlier in describing the need for integrated net assessment analysis and planning
- *Always ask four critical questions and explicitly answer them in shaping a US strategy: Is containment and waiting for burn out a better strategy? At what level of commitment should the*

US stop and/or trigger an exit strategy? What is a credible exit plan if the host or partner countries fail? What is the probable aftermath of US involvement – knowing that history has no end states and the US cannot control the post-intervention future? The US – and its allies – do not need enemies or extremist threats as long as the US fails to honestly ask these questions and act objectively on the answers.

- *Avoid occupation and stability operations*. The US should not attempt to deal with more than the immediate causes of violence. It should rely on allies or international forces for any stability operations, and let events plays out according to the internal pressures in given countries. It lacks the religion and local affinity, the resources, and skills to conduct occupations and exercises in armed nation building. It also needs to comprehensively assess the lessons and mistakes of the Afghan and Iraq conflicts, and create a real-world civil-military approach to stability operations of the kid that will be needed in today's MENA area as distinguished from the vague, generic generalities in Field Manual FM 3-07, *Stability Operations*.

- *Rethink the "Air-Sea Battle" and "Classic Coin" to focus on affordable military and civil support for host country counterinsurgency operations.* The US cannot possible repeat the kind of military and financial efforts it made in Afghanistan and Iraq, but it must not react by shifting to a focus on other types of military efforts that ignore the need to learn from what actually worked in Afghanistan, Iraq, Columbia, and other cases. The US needs to put the same weight into creating an effective civil-military approach to help host countries in counterinsurgency that it is putting into dealing with war planning for Asia and the Gulf. It needs to develop a new doctrine, plans, training, and force elements for counterinsurgency and stability operations that focus on using enabler like airpower, Special forces, elite trainer and partners, drones, and other cost-effective measures that replace reliance on US combat forces with military and civil "enablers" of local forces.

- *Develop contingency plans for No Fly/No Move zones*. Unless vital US national security interests are involved in a manner difficult to foresee, the US should limit its ground presence to elements of covert or Special Forces and advisors; and rely as much as possible on air, missile, and sea power. It must be prepared to use such force without international or UN approval, but seek such support. It should also make it clear to its European and regional allies that it will not act without their open support and take steps now to create contingency plans for such operations.

- *The US should not focus on the crisis country alone*. It should learn from each case that does arise, act to strengthen its efforts in other countries, and take a broad approach to containment that helps limit the impact of added extremism and violence by aiding neighboring countries. This aid should not only act to limit any spillover of violence but also help reduce the internal tensions in neighboring countries that encourage such spillover.

Key Shifts in US Partnering and Cooperation with Allies

- *Assess regional and outside allies and local power objectively and integrate them into US plans and actions*. Far too often, the US has ignored the fact that many of its allies and partners do not have identical interest and may well have competing ones. It has focused on the country that is the center of operations and not on the broader impact of neighboring states and non-state actors. It has pushed traditional and regional allies into roles of uncertain value to them without making them real partners in planning and conducting civil and military operations and has compartments efforts by allies without creating effective patterns of coordination between allies or with the host country.

- *Use international civil institutions where possible.* The US needs to be cautious in seeking international support as substitute for US-led action. In the case of civil operations, UNAMA and UNAMI have had some political value but have failed to provide anything like effective coordination of economic aid and aid in governance. Outside organizations like development banks have often grossly oversold development plans and opportunities. The World Bank has been more successful, but often has not been given the role and support to fully test its capabilities. It is hard to determine, however, how much the failures of civil international organization have been

their failures and how much the failures have been through a lack of US willingness to build them into effective structures and support them once in place. It makes no sense to appeal to an "international community" with no known address, but it makes no sense not to take advantage of actual international institutions and to make them effective where this is possible.

- *Seek international and local peacemaking/peace keeping forces where possible*. NATO/ISAF has shown the potential value of integrated US and allied commands, just as the failure to create equally effective joint commands in Iraq illustrates the dangers of emphasizing leadership over partnership. The US does, however, need to be far more careful about relying on peacekeeping forces of any kind, and about the fact that few countries will take the casualties or use force effectively in actual peacemaking. It is far easier to call for effective international action before, during, and after a serious case of civil violence than to get an effective response. In practice, the US can count on a high failure rate – particularly if it involves serious risk, peacemaking versus peacekeeping, and local or outside powers have competing goals and objectives. The US should, however, try.

Key Shifts in US Partnering and Cooperation with Host Countries

- *React to the rise of insurgency by immediate efforts to train and equipment local forces*. The US should not wait to help create effective host country forces where US aid is possible and can be effective. The US needs to act as soon as possible to build up competent local forces not only to suppress extremist and insurgent movements, but also create local forces that do not use excessive force and other measures that reinforce the causes of instability.

- *Do not fix what is not broken*: US advisory and training efforts need to focus on dealing with the threat and not on transforming local forces on the basis of US models for overall training and force development. The US should not attempt to reform the entire training system, replace function host country systems with US systems, push US and Western practices like transforming the role of NCOs.

- *Do not set impossible goals for reforming the police and justice systems*. The US did more to break the police systems and rule of law in Afghanistan and Iraq than fix them. The US should focus narrowly on these changes and reforms that will make the police effective in dealing with internal instability and extremist movements and reduce practices that cause internal instability and violence. It should not attempt broad reform of local justice systems that require resources the US cannot produce and fundamental changes in functioning host country ability to provide prompt justice. The end result is not to improve local justice, but make it ineffective and help extremist and insurgent movements.

- *Limit counterinsurgency operations to advisory and covert action unless truly vital US interests are at stake*. In those cases where the US does need to help a friendly government, the US needs to make it explicitly clear from the start that it will not commit forces to save a friendly government from its own failures and its own people. The US needs to fundamentally rethink its approach to counterinsurgency to shift away from "classic COIN", and the focus in the revised version of Field Manual 3-24 on "Counterinsurgency," and focus instead on developing advisory and covert support of host governments rather than deploying US forces.

- *Deal with corruption primarily through US financial controls.* Calling US anti-corruption measures in Afghanistan and Iraq a dismal failure is an act of gross understatement. The US failed to establish effective fiscal control systems and measures of effectiveness, flooded money into US and host country efforts without adequate planning and controls over spending, spent far beyond local absorption capacity, vastly inflate labor and other costs, and constantly changed programs without adequate management and con trolls. It created massive new levels of local corruption, destroyed traditional checks and balances, and then attempt to force US concepts of anti-corruption on systems that lacked the personnel, real world motives, and political context to make them effective. The US should go into future operations recognizing that it was responsible for at least 90% of the patterns of gross waste and corruption that emerge in Afghanistan and Iraq, and that its anticorruption efforts largely ignored the real-world nature of public spending in the

countries involved, were not functional in terms of real world local justice system, and were politically absurd.

Key Improvements in the Way the US Conducts Operations

- *"Red Team" from Beginning to End:* create a team of experts to act as red team critiques of US policy, plans, and operations from the start. Keep them in place, ensure regular reporting and reviews, and avoid creating a mission-defense oriented operation and closed structure. Provide red team assessments at the classified and unclassified level of reporting. Bring in outside critics and experts, and respond explicitly to NGO and UN critiques.
- *Develop faster and safer ways of transferring key arms*. No shifts in technology can make the most effective light weapons like man portable surface-to-air missiles and anti-tank guided weapons, or large shipments of more conventional weapons safe from transfer to extremists during or after active civil conflict. There are, however, ways of engineering weapons to provide time limits to activation, GPS and other location data, some form of IFF capability, and remote disablement. The US needs to examine these options in detail, and be ready to use such technologies to deal with future contingencies.
- *Create and maintain dedicated area expertise and intelligence capabilities*: The US will need to keep and strengthen its civil intelligence military area experts with Arabic and other local language skills for all the reasons outlined earlier, but they will also be critical in assessing whether and how the US should support given armed factions in given countries in civil conflicts. US withdrawal from Iraq and Afghanistan in no sense reduces the need for military and intelligence specialists.
- *Learn from Afghanistan, Libya, and Syria in creating suitable advisory and arms transfer experts*. The US will need Special Forces, other elite troop, and military and civil intelligence experts trained and experienced in providing covert and overt arms transfers, in-country advisory and support efforts, and out of country advisory and support in those case where it needs to support non-state actors. Once again, it needs to work with local partners wherever possible.
- *Rethink "jointness" in civil-military term and make it a clear career path*: Expand the current emphasis on joint training as a requirement for career development and promotion so that US military Foreign Service Officers, USAid personnel, intelligence officers and relevant staff from other agencies rotate into civil-military assignments that give them broad expertise in civil-military efforts and ensure that military and civil working in the area have worked directly in assignments where military have civil experience and vice versa. Go beyond the polmil, FAO, and attaché level of training to create real expertise for country team operations and promote accordingly.
- *Provide regular classified and unclassified reporting and transparency with rolling semi-annual plans for the future*. Force integrated civil-military plans and reporting in forms that are subject to congressional and media review, and force the creation of realistic progress reporting action plans, and budget plans. A decade of failure to do this in Afghanistan and Iraq, coupled to the fact more reporting became defense of each annual effort and did not provide plans for the future, was a major factor in sustaining critical US failures and mistakes. Reporting real plans, and transparency are not costly luxuries, they are essential steps in avoid waste and failure.

Carefully Targeted Partnerships Need to be Real, Not Rhetoric

The US is and will remain the world's preeminent military power. It will be able to meet any currently foreseeable direct military threat from within MENA region, including any threat Iran can pose. Short of war or open military confrontation, however, the US will not have the military or aid resources to solve the problems of any one country, much less the MENA region.

The US will need to work with traditional allies like Britain and France in the Gulf and its full range of NATO allies in the Mediterranean, Levant, North and Sub-Saharan Africa. This too was clearly recognized in the new strategy the US announced in January 2012, and in all of the strategy and budget requests that have followed:[37]

> In the Middle East, the Arab Awakening presents both strategic opportunities and challenges. Regime changes, as well as tensions within and among states under pressure to reform, introduce uncertainty for the future. But they also may result in governments that, over the long term, are more responsive to the legitimate aspirations of their people, and are more stable and reliable partners of the United States.
>
> Our defense efforts in the Middle East will be aimed at countering violent extremists and destabilizing threats, as well as upholding our commitment to allies and partner states. Of particular concern are the proliferation of ballistic missiles and weapons of mass destruction(WMD). U.S. policy will emphasize Gulf security, in collaboration with Gulf Cooperation Council countries when appropriate, to prevent Iran's development of a nuclear weapon capability and counter its destabilizing policies. The United States will do this while standing up for Israel's security and a comprehensive Middle East peace.
>
> *To support these objectives, the United States will continue to place a premium on U.S. and allied military presence in – and in support of – partner nations in and around this region*.

To succeed in implementing this strategy, the US needs to accept the limits imposed by the fact it is a secular, largely Christian country allied to Israel. It needs to work closely with Islamic countries like Turkey and the wealthier Arab states to develop partnerships in dealing with key cases of instability and civil conflict.

At the same time, the US needs to offset its own weakness and multilateralize its aid efforts by relying more on intentional organization when they can be actually functional. Trying to shift burdens to an "international community" with no resources, staff, or known address is not effective. As organization like UNAMA have shown, relying on the UN to do what it lacks the authority, expertise, and staff to perform is an equal problem. At the same time, the State Department and USAID have shown they lack lacks core competence in economic planning and reform, that the US and needs to rely far more on the World Bank and IMF. Realism does not mean that are not real opportunities.

More broadly, the US must seek international mediation, aid, and peacekeeping efforts that react to change as quickly as possible. Afghanistan, Iraq, Libya, and Syria have all shown the limits to the outside use of force, but the need to deal with the aftermath of internal violence, tensions, and hatreds as soon as possible. It seems likely that at least one Arab state will have the need for aid in dealing with internal conflict and its aftermath every year for the next decade. It is also clear that the sooner efforts are made to limit violence and help a new regime or settlement, the better. Like the need for multilateral approach to long-term economic growth, this is a critical area for institution building.

Moreover, none of these steps mean the US needs to abandon US interests. They mean compromising on multilateral approaches the provide the most effective way to on help countries help themselves using the most cost-effective way to pursue them.

Annex: Looking Beyond Terrorism, Insurgency, and Military Threats: Illustrative Data on the Other Sources of Regional Instability

This annex provides only a brief introduction of some of the different regional and national factors shaping regional instability and violence.

A recent analysis of data from censuses and other large scale polls by the Pew Research Center – which has no ties to either pro-Arab/Muslim or pro-Israeli groups – shows both that MENA is only a limited part of Islam and differ sharply by country over how Islam should be interpreted and applied. At the same time, the survey shows that Muslims are broadly against the use of extreme violence and support democracy as well as Islamic parties and the adoption of Sharia.

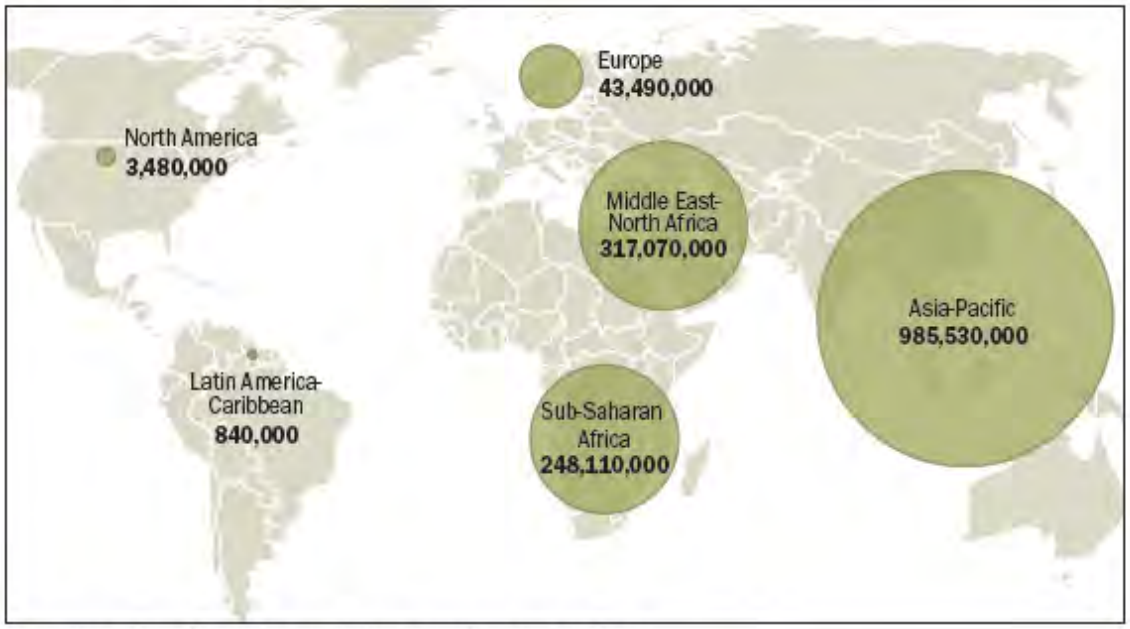
There are only limited data available on many of the other civil sources of instability in the MENA area – in part because rising instability since the beginning of the so-called "Arab spring" has made data collection and analysis so difficult.

The data that follow are often highly uncertain, and generally tend to understate current problems.

For more background, see:

- The Underlying Causes of Stability and Unrest in the Middle East and North Africa: An Analytic Survey (http://csis.org/publication/underlying-causes-stability-and-unrest-middle-east-and-north-africa-analytic-survey).
- The series of Arab Development Reports by the UNDP of which the most prescient was the *Arab Human Development Report 2009: Challenges to Human Security in the Arab Countries.*[38]

Figure A1: MENA is Only One Part of the Divisions and Tensions within the Islamic World – Part One



Population estimates are rounded to the ten thousands. Percentages are calculated from unrounded numbers. Percentages may not add to 100 due to rounding.
Pew Research Center's Forum on Religion & Public Life • Global Religious Landscape, December 2012

World Muslim Population by Region

	ESTIMATED 2010 MUSLIM POPULATION	ESTIMATED 2010 TOTAL POPULATION	PERCENTAGE OF POPULATION THAT IS MUSLIM
Asia-Pacific	985,530,000	4,054,990,000	24.3 %
Middle East-North Africa	317,070,000	341,020,000	93.0
Sub-Saharan Africa	248,110,000	822,720,000	30.2
Europe	43,490,000	742,550,000	5.9
North America	3,480,000	344,530,000	1.0
Latin America-Caribbean	840,000	590,080,000	0.1
World Total	**1,598,510,000**	**6,895,890,000**	**23.2**

Population estimates are rounded to the ten thousands. Percentages are calculated from unrounded numbers. Figures may not add exactly due to rounding.
Pew Research Center's Forum on Religion & Public Life • Global Religious Landscape, December 2012

Figure A1: MENA is Only One Part of the Divisions and Tensions within the Islamic World – Part Two

10 Countries with the Largest Number of Muslims

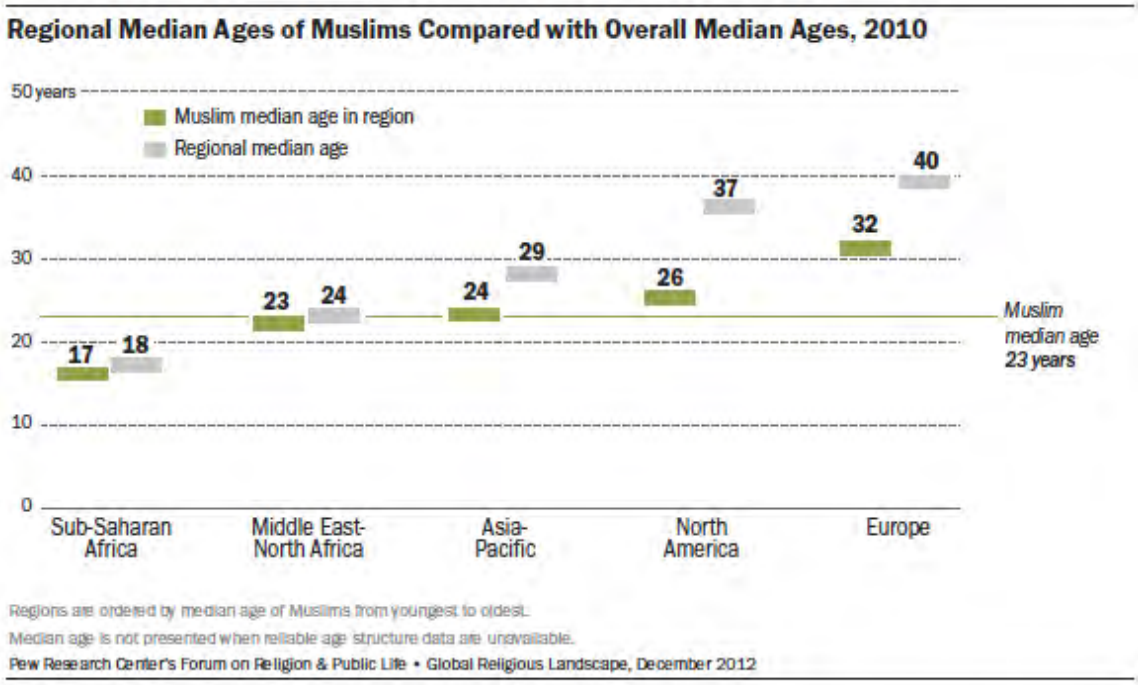
	ESTIMATED 2010 MUSLIM POPULATION	PERCENTAGE OF POPULATION THAT IS MUSLIM	PERCENTAGE OF WORLD MUSLIM POPULATION
Indonesia	209,120,000	87.2 %	13.1 %
India	176,190,000	14.4	11.0
Pakistan	167,410,000	96.4	10.5
Bangladesh	133,540,000	89.8	8.4
Nigeria	77,300,000	48.8	4.8
Egypt	76,990,000	94.9	4.8
Iran	73,570,000	99.5	4.6
Turkey	71,330,000	98.0	4.5
Algeria	34,730,000	97.9	2.2
Morocco	31,940,000	99.9	2.0
Subtotal for the 10 Countries	1,052,120,000	47.0	65.8
Subtotal for Rest of World	546,400,000	11.7	34.2
World Total	**1,598,510,000**	**23.2**	**100.0**

Population estimates are rounded to the ten thousands. Percentages are calculated from unrounded numbers. Figures may not add exactly due to rounding.

Muslims number 1.6 billion, representing 23% of all people worldwide. There are two major branches of Islam – Sunni and Shia. The overwhelming majority (87-90%) of Muslims are Sunnis; about 10-13% are Shia Muslims.
Muslims are concentrated in the Asia-Pacific region, where six-in-ten (62%) of all Muslims reside. Many Muslims also live in the Middle East and North Africa (20%) and sub-Saharan Africa (16%). The remainder of the world's Muslim population is in Europe (3%), North America (less than 1%) and Latin America and the Caribbean (also less than 1%).

Source: Pew Research Center, "The Global Religious Landscape," 2012, p. 22. http://www.pewforum.org/2012/12/18/global-religious-landscape-exec/.

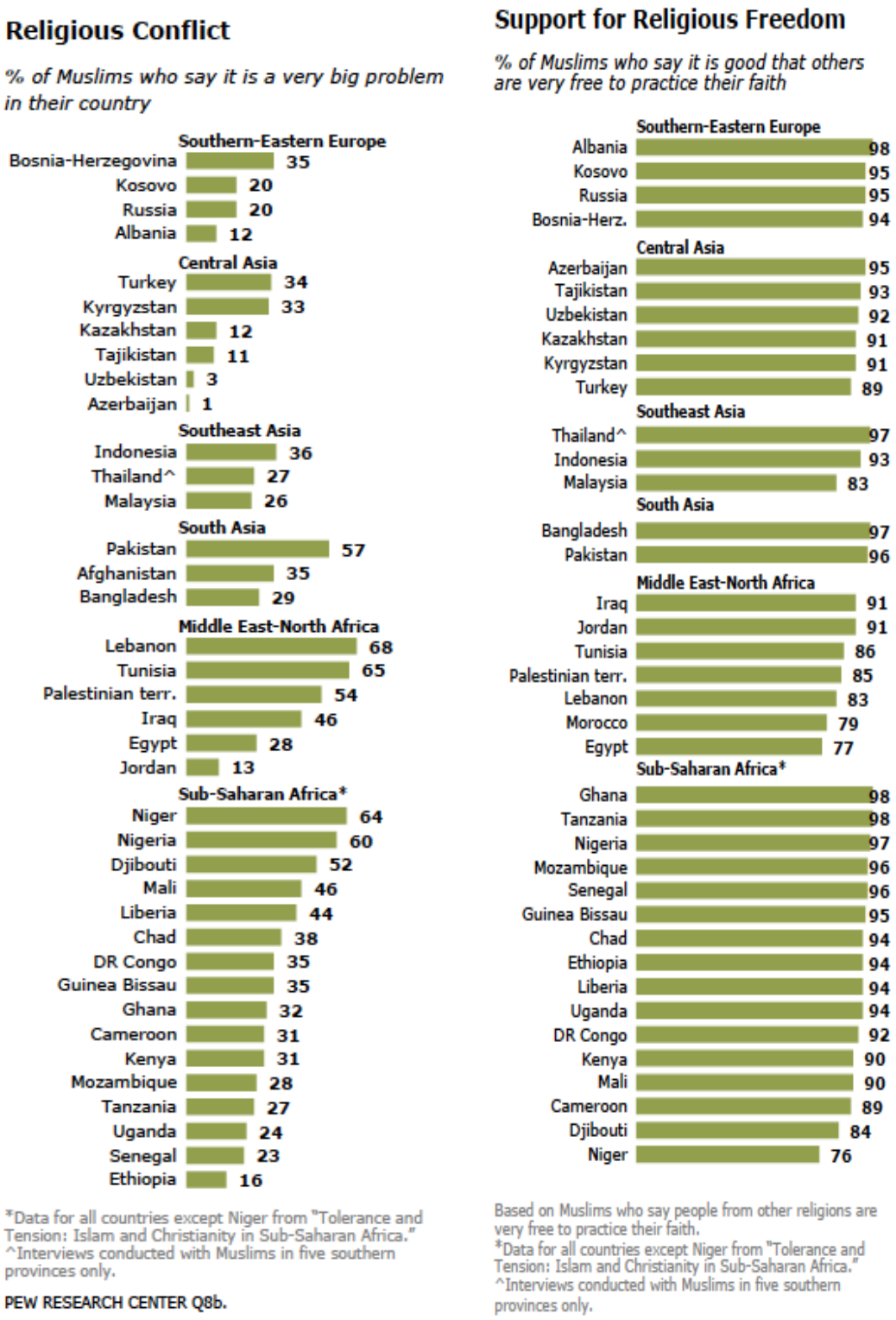
Figure A.2: Very Young Populations



9 India and Pakistan have Muslim populations of roughly similar size, and it is not entirely clear which is larger. The Pew Forum previously estimated that Pakistan had the world's second-largest Muslim population and India had the third-largest; see the Pew Forum's January 2011 report "The Future of the Global Muslim Population" and October 2009 report "Mapping the Global Muslim Population." The difference between the rankings in this report and the previous reports is primarily due to a downward revision by the United Nations Population Division of its estimate of the size of Pakistan's total population and an upward revision of the U.N. estimate of India's total population. For more details, see the discussion in the Methodology.

Source: Pew Research Center, "The Global Religious Landscape," 2012, p. 23. http://www.pewforum.org/2012/12/18/global-religious-landscape-exec/.

Figure A.3: Tensions Between Muslim and Other Faiths versus Muslim Tolerance



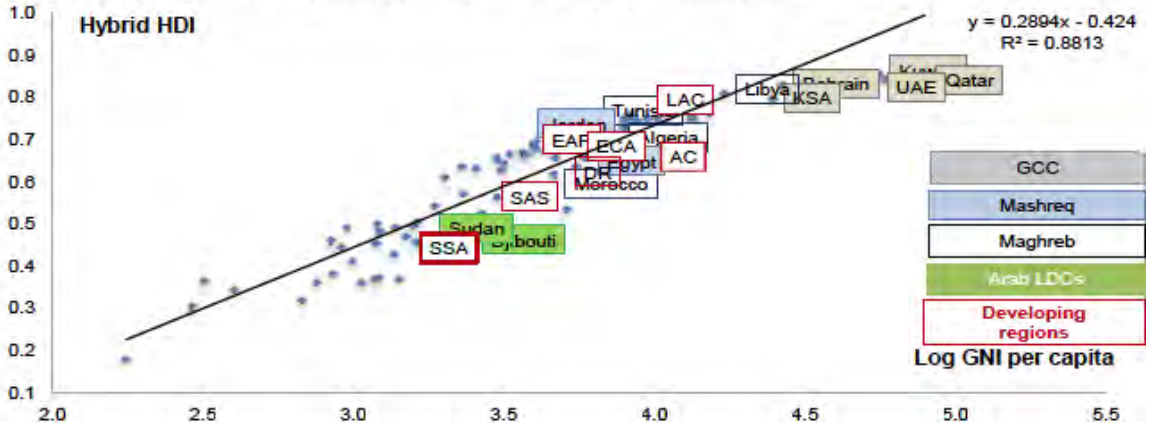
Source: Pew Research Center, "The World's Muslims: Religion, Politics and Society," 2013, p. 63, 114. http://www.pewforum.org/2013/04/30/the-worlds-muslims-religion-politics-society-overview/.

Figure A.4: Arab Development Report Estimate of Widely different and Often Limited HDI and GDI Per Capita Growth Before the "Arab Spring"

Table 1: Ranking of Arab countries in terms of change in HDI, 1970–2010 and 1990-2010

HDI improvement Rank	Country Name	Non- Income HDI rank	GDP Growth rank	HDI improvement Rank	Non- Income HDI rank	GDP Growth rank
		1970-2010			1970-2010	
1	Oman	1	19	15	7	40
5	KSA	3	111	18	2	108
7	Tunisia	6	20	14	12	21
9	Algeria	5	100	30	19	98
10	Morocco	14	42	12	10	43
13	Libya	4	132	41	18	114
17	Egypt	25	39	21	28	32
19	UAE	24	38	103	88	118
34	Bahrain	21	104	94	93	67
43	Jordan	26	87	51	53	44
58	Qatar	73	121	104	104	58
67	Sudan	121	72	22	118	9
68	Kuwait	48	131	61	59	50
94	Lebanon	89	92	29	54	8
122	Djibouti	117	133	100	109	130

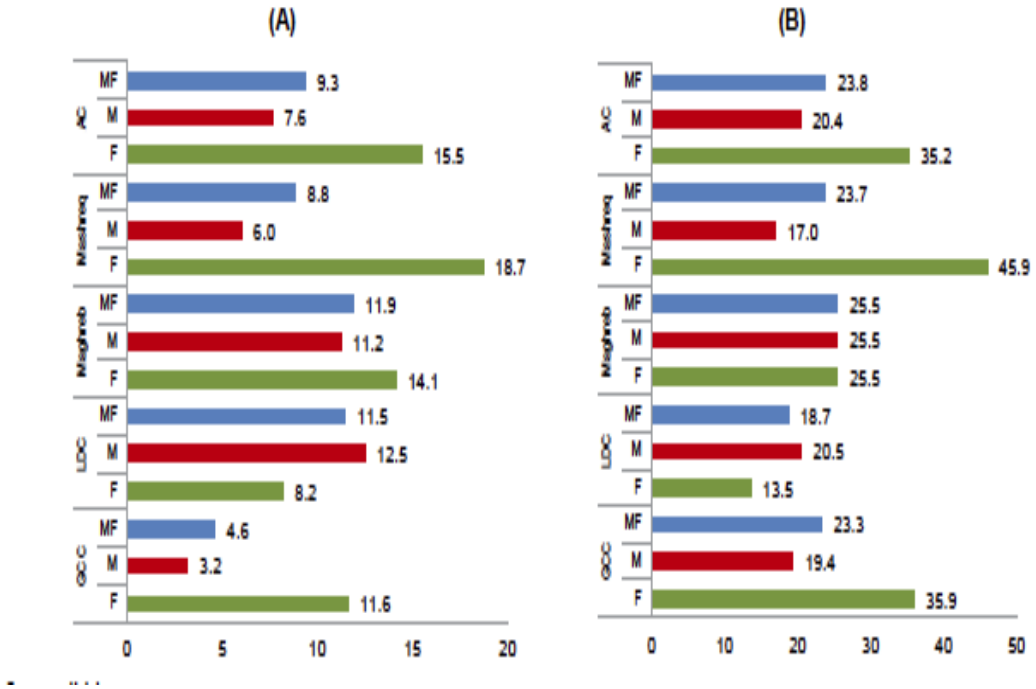
Figure 1: GNI per capita versus hybrid HDI for Arab and developing countries, 2010



Source: UNDP, *Arab Development Challenges Report 2011*, United Nations Development Programme, Regional Centre for Arab States, Cairo, 2011, p. 16, 17, http://www.undp.org/content/undp/en/home/librarypage/hdr/arab-development-challenges-report-2011.html.

Figure A.5: Arab Development Report Estimate of Unemployment Before the Arab Spring

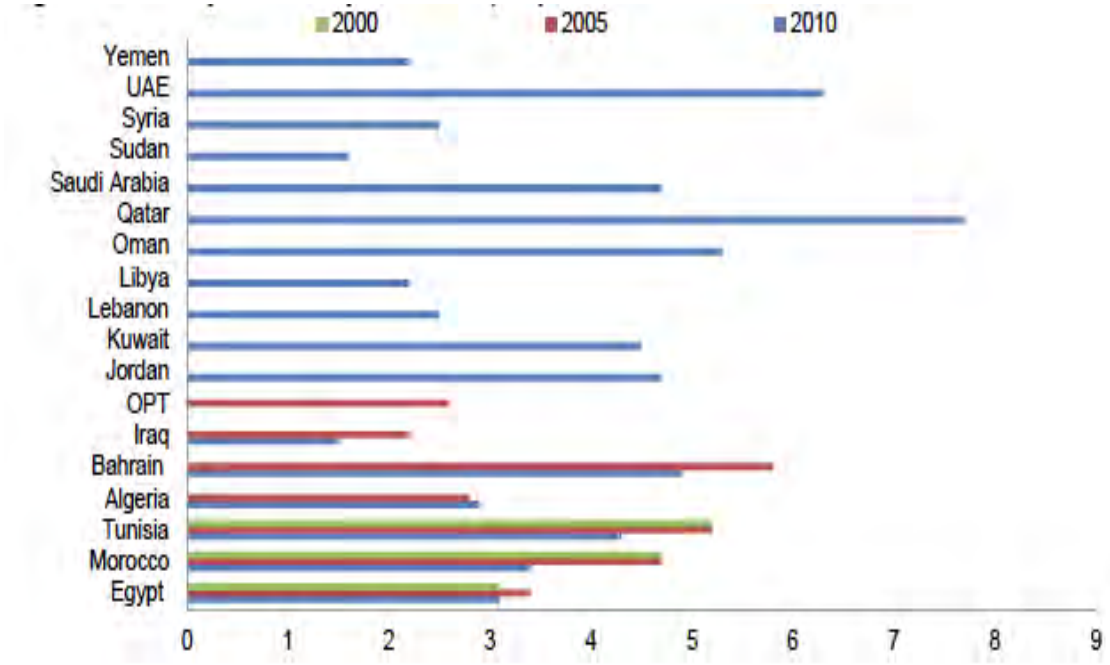
Total (A) and youth unemployment rates (B) for Arab sub-regions by gender, 2001-2011



Source: UNDP, *Arab Development Challenges Report 2011*, United Nations Development Programme, Regional Centre for Arab States, Cairo, 2011, p. 40, .http://www.undp.org/content/undp/en/home/librarypage/hdr/arab-development-challenges-report-2011.html.

Figure A.6: Arab Development Report Estimate of Corruption Before the Arab Spring

Corruption Perception Index (CPI) for Arab countries



Source: Transparency International
Note: score 10 = good; blanks=missing data

Source: UNDP, *Arab Development Challenges Report 2011*, United Nations Development Programme, Regional Centre for Arab States, Cairo, 2011, p. 69, .http://www.undp.org/content/undp/en/home/librarypage/hdr/arab-development-challenges-report-2011.html.

Figure A.7: Arab Development Report Estimate of Quality of Justice system Before the Arab Spring

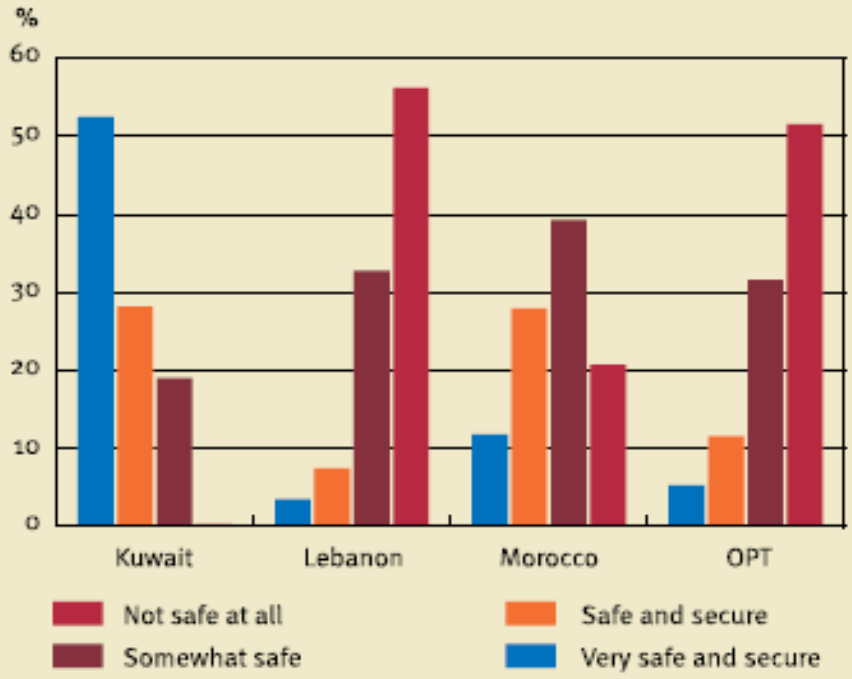
Ranking of the judicial independence and government favoritism components of the Global Competitiveness Index, 2010

Institutions	Country rank/139							
	Algeria	Bahrain	Egypt	Jordan	Kuwait	Lebanon	Libya	Morocco
Judicial Independence	112	34	63	48	36	113	95	79
Favouritism in decisions of government officials	82	42	95	44	47	136	122	52

Source: Transparency International
Note: score 10 = good; blanks=missing data

Source: UNDP, *Arab Development Challenges Report 2011*, United Nations Development Programme, Regional Centre for Arab States, Cairo, 2011, p. 70, .http://www.undp.org/content/undp/en/home/librarypage/hdr/arab-development-challenges-report-2011.html.

Figure A.8: Differing National Perceptions of Security Before the Arab Spring: How Safe Do Citizens Feel?

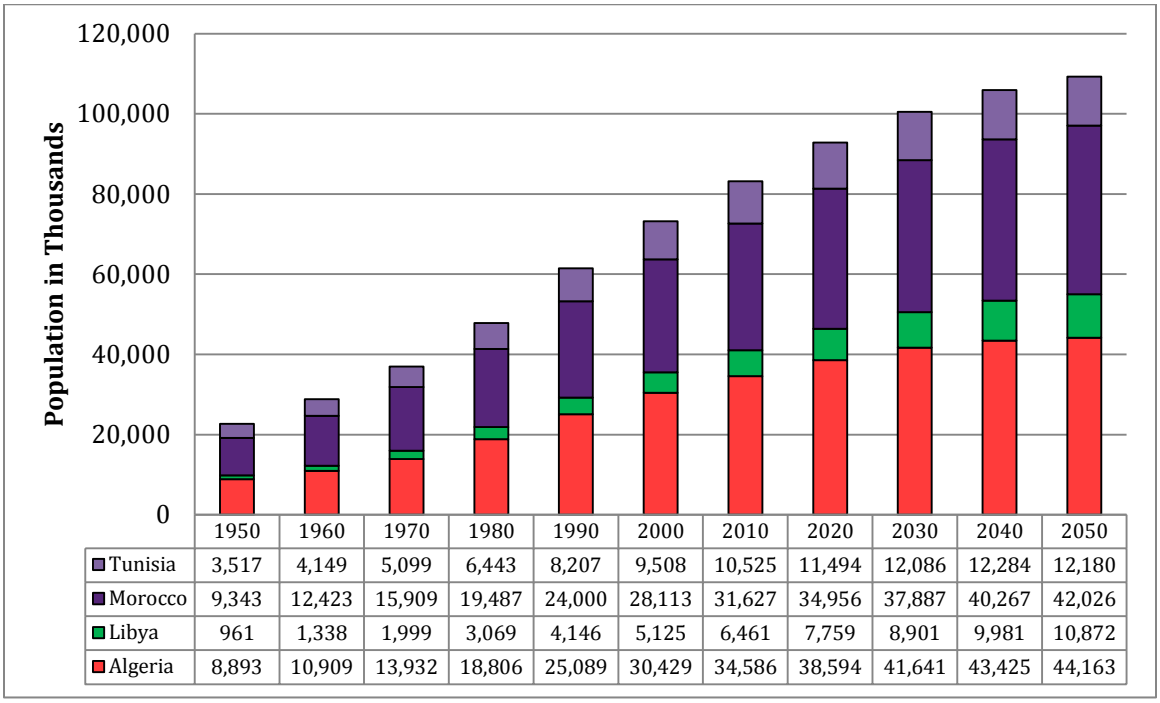


Do present conditions give citizens a sense of security? The figure above presents responses to this question in the four countries. Survey results place Kuwait at one end of the spectrum and Lebanon and the Occupied Palestinian Territory (OPT) at the other, with respondents from Morocco somewhere in between. More than half those sampled in Kuwait felt very safe, while more than one-fourth of them felt moderately safe. In Lebanon and OPT, by contrast, nearly half felt unsafe, whereas in Morocco, the majority of those sampled felt safe or somewhat safe, while one-fifth of those sampled did not feel safe. It may be noted that those who felt very safe made up a minority of little more than one-tenth of those in Morocco, and barely 5 per cent in OPT and Lebanon.

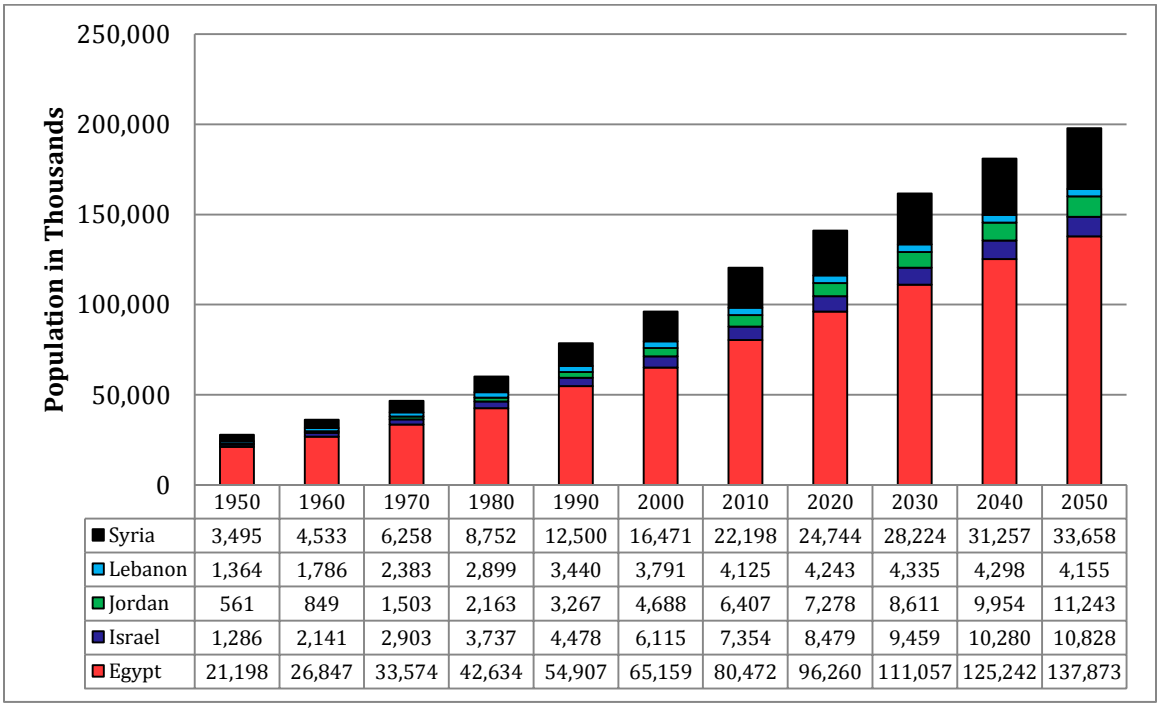
Source: UNDP, *Arab Development Challenges Report 2011*, United Nations Development Programme, Regional Centre for Arab States, Cairo, 2011, p. 27, .http://www.undp.org/content/undp/en/home/librarypage/hdr/arab-development-challenges-report-2011.html.

Figure A.9: US Census Bureau Estimate of Population Growth: 1950-2050 – Part One

(in Millions)

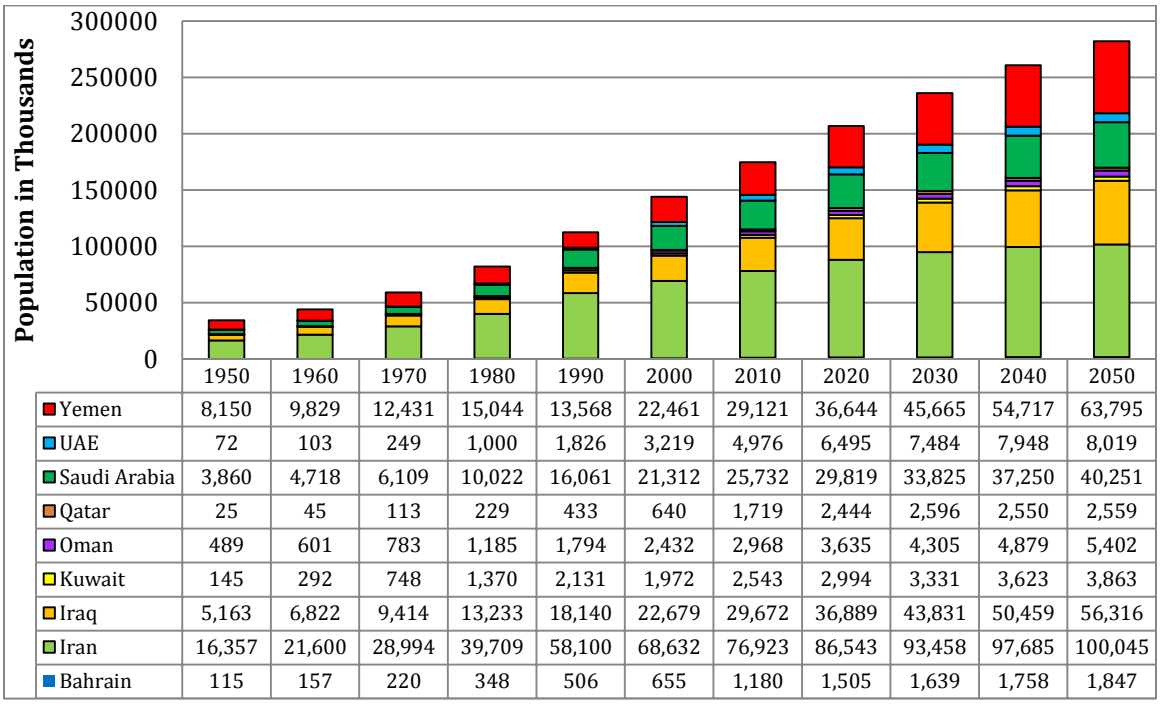


	1950	1960	1970	1980	1990	2000	2010	2020	2030	2040	2050
Tunisia	3,517	4,149	5,099	6,443	8,207	9,508	10,525	11,494	12,086	12,284	12,180
Morocco	9,343	12,423	15,909	19,487	24,000	28,113	31,627	34,956	37,887	40,267	42,026
Libya	961	1,338	1,999	3,069	4,146	5,125	6,461	7,759	8,901	9,981	10,872
Algeria	8,893	10,909	13,932	18,806	25,089	30,429	34,586	38,594	41,641	43,425	44,163



	1950	1960	1970	1980	1990	2000	2010	2020	2030	2040	2050
Syria	3,495	4,533	6,258	8,752	12,500	16,471	22,198	24,744	28,224	31,257	33,658
Lebanon	1,364	1,786	2,383	2,899	3,440	3,791	4,125	4,243	4,335	4,298	4,155
Jordan	561	849	1,503	2,163	3,267	4,688	6,407	7,278	8,611	9,954	11,243
Israel	1,286	2,141	2,903	3,737	4,478	6,115	7,354	8,479	9,459	10,280	10,828
Egypt	21,198	26,847	33,574	42,634	54,907	65,159	80,472	96,260	111,057	125,242	137,873

Figure A.9: US Census Bureau Estimate of Population Growth: 1950-2050 – Part Two

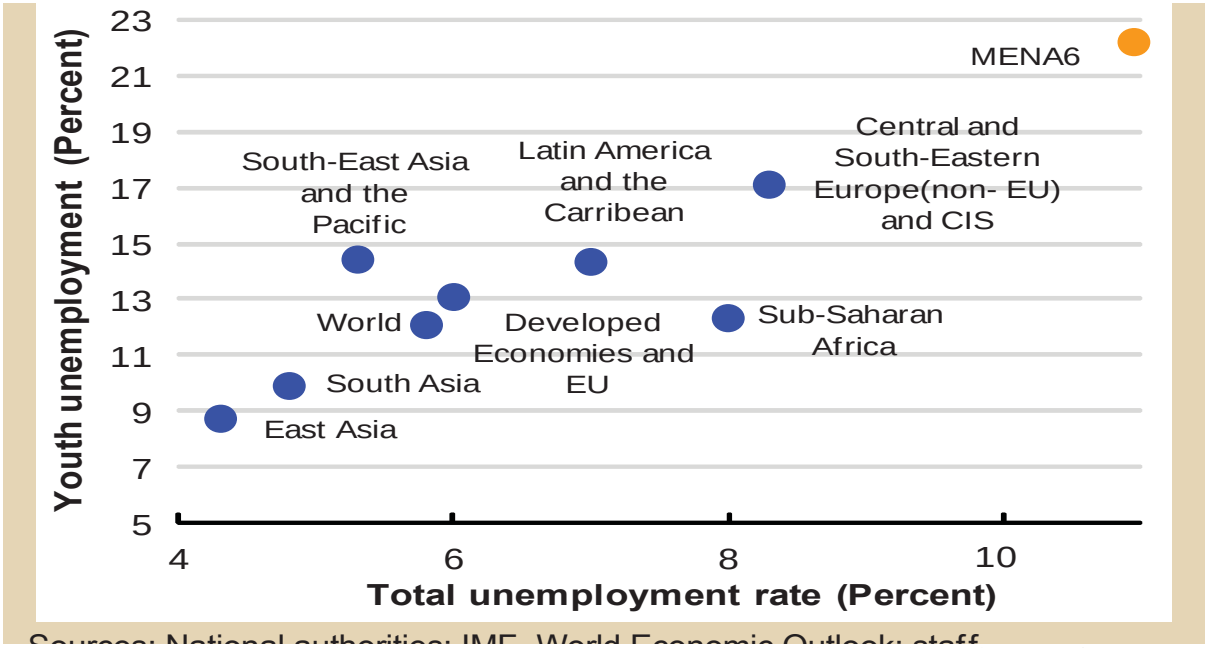


	1950	1960	1970	1980	1990	2000	2010	2020	2030	2040	2050
Yemen	8,150	9,829	12,431	15,044	13,568	22,461	29,121	36,644	45,665	54,717	63,795
UAE	72	103	249	1,000	1,826	3,219	4,976	6,495	7,484	7,948	8,019
Saudi Arabia	3,860	4,718	6,109	10,022	16,061	21,312	25,732	29,819	33,825	37,250	40,251
Qatar	25	45	113	229	433	640	1,719	2,444	2,596	2,550	2,559
Oman	489	601	783	1,185	1,794	2,432	2,968	3,635	4,305	4,879	5,402
Kuwait	145	292	748	1,370	2,131	1,972	2,543	2,994	3,331	3,623	3,863
Iraq	5,163	6,822	9,414	13,233	18,140	22,679	29,672	36,889	43,831	50,459	56,316
Iran	16,357	21,600	28,994	39,709	58,100	68,632	76,923	86,543	93,458	97,685	100,045
Bahrain	115	157	220	348	506	655	1,180	1,505	1,639	1,758	1,847

Source: United States Census Bureau, International Data Base, http://www.census.gov/population/international/data/idb/informationGateway.php.

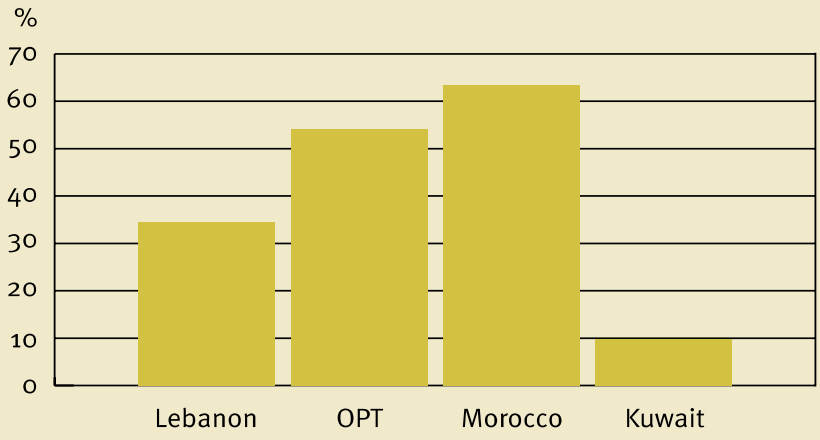
Figure A.10: Unemployment and National Perceptions of Unemployment Before the Arab Spring

Total and Youth Unemployment Rates by Region (2008)



Source: IMF, *World Economic and Financial Surveys, Regional Economic Outlook, Middle East and Central Asia*, October 2010, p. 38.

1) Is someone in your family unemployed and looking for work?

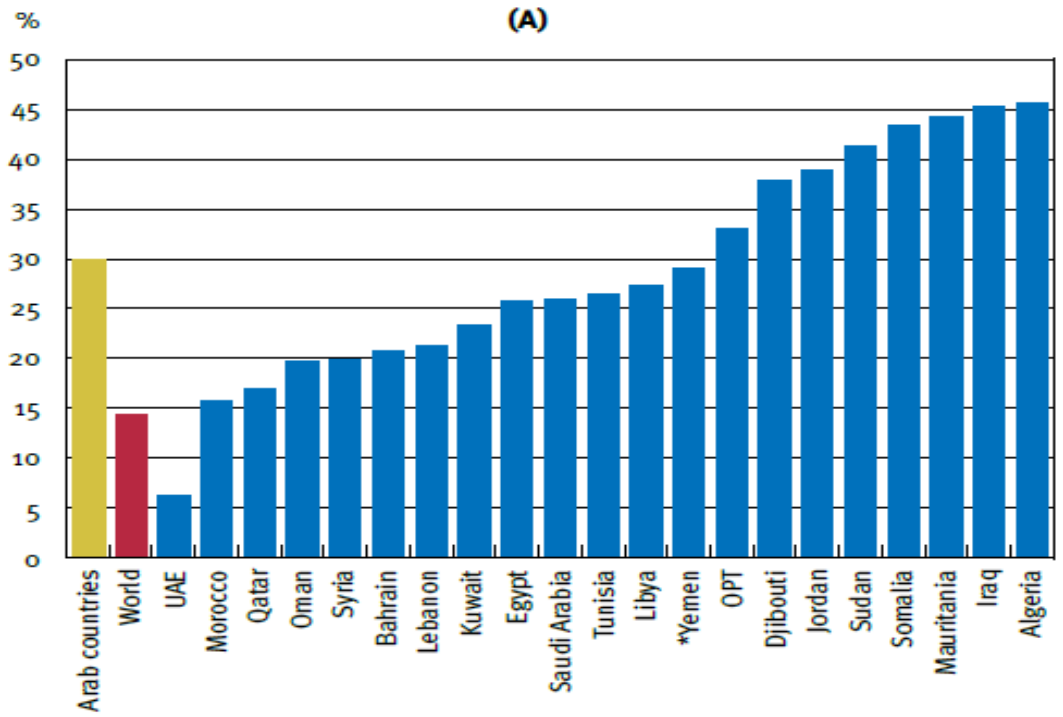


Taking into account the average size of households, answers in the affirmative to the first question suggest unemployment rates ranging between 30-35 per cent in Morocco and the Occupied Palestinian Territory, and 15-20 per cent in Lebanon.

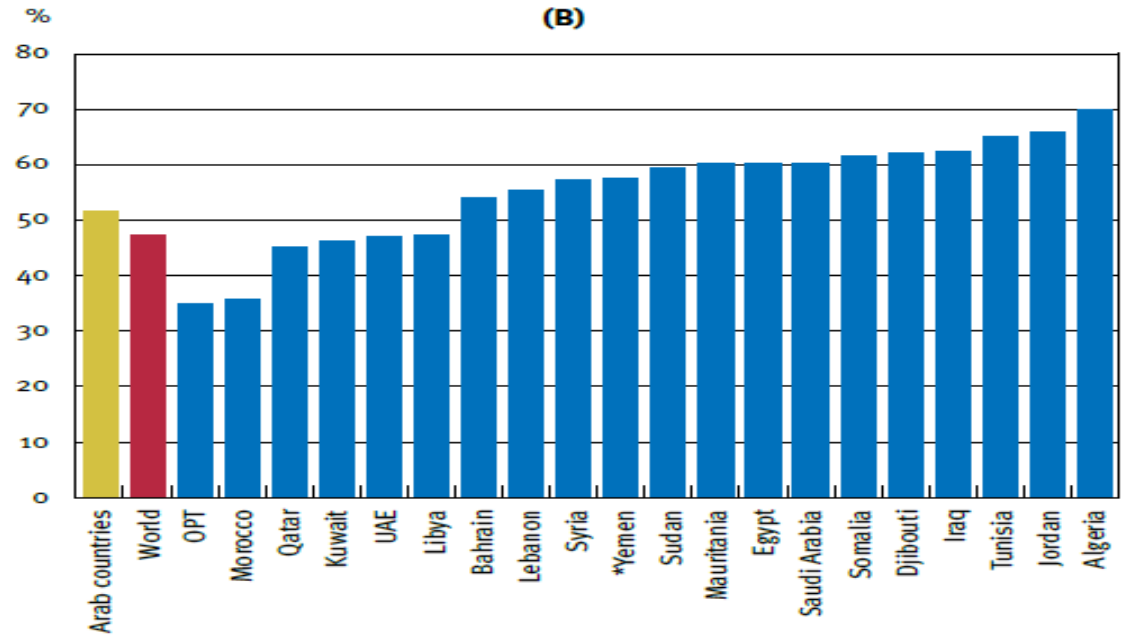
Source: UNDP, *Arab Development Challenges Report 2011*, United Nations Development Programme, Regional Centre for Arab States, Cairo, 2011, p. 110, .http://www.undp.org/content/undp/en/home/librarypage/hdr/arab-development-challenges-report-2011.html.

Figure A.11: Youth Unemployment Before the Arab Spring

Unemployment Rate Among Arab Youth



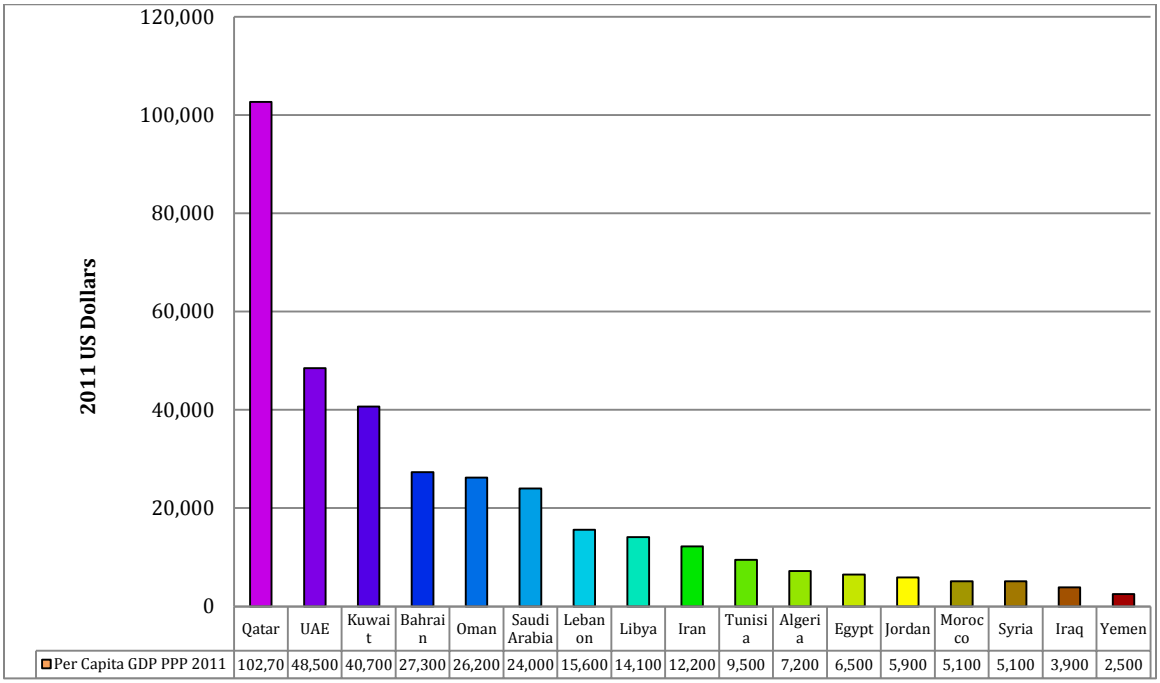
Youth Unemployment as Percent of Total Unemployment



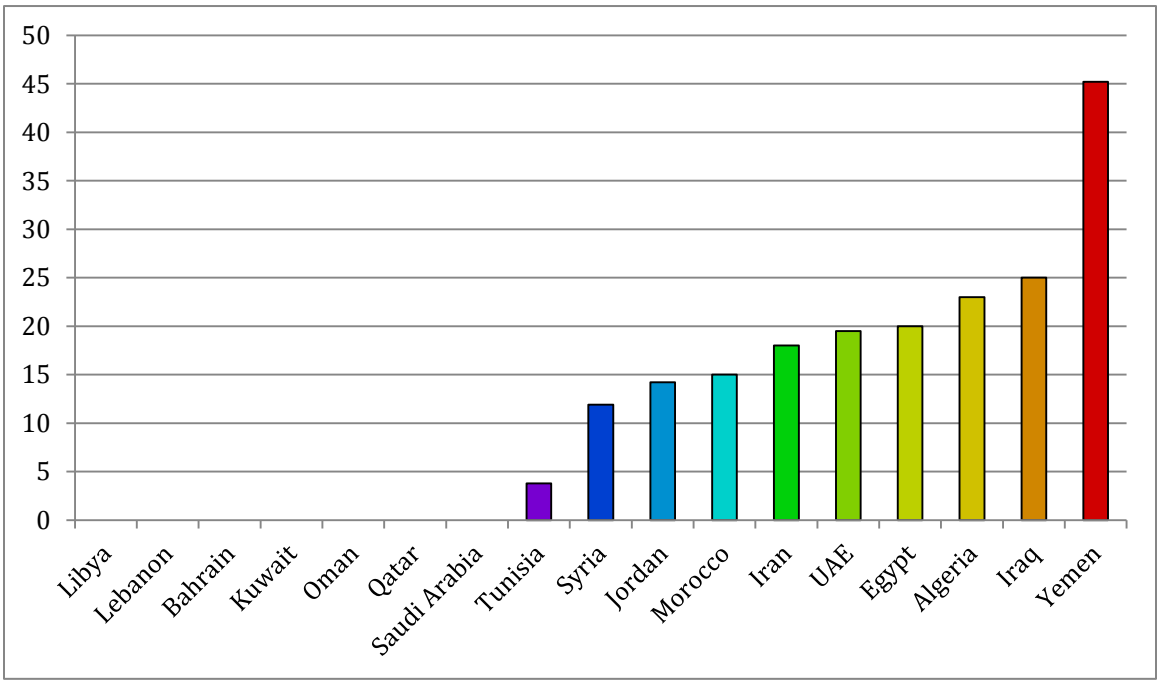
Source: UNDP, *Arab Human Development Report, 2009*, p. 109.

Figure A.12: National differences in GDP Per Capita and Poverty in the MENA Region

Gross Differences in Per Capita Income



Population below the Poverty Line



Source: CIA Factbook, Accessed 2/1/2012, https://www.cia.gov/library/publications/the-world-factbook/geos/ym.html.

END NOTES

[1] Source: Amy Belasco**,** *The Cost of Iraq, Afghanistan, and Other Global War on Terror Operations Since 9/11*, Congressional Research Service, RL3311, March 29, 2011, www.crs.gov, p. 17.

[2] Source: OSD Comptroller, *Fiscal Year 2014 Budget Request and FY2013 Update*, Department of Defense, April 2013, p.9.

[3] See the "Homeland Security Funding Analysis" in the *Special Topics* section of the US Budget Request for FY2014, OMB, pp. 415-422, http://www.whitehouse.gov/sites/default/files/omb/budget/fy2014/assets/topics.pdf.

[4] "Homeland Security Funding Analysis" in the *Special Topics* section of the US Budget Request for FY2014, OMB, pp. 415-422, http://www.whitehouse.gov/sites/default/files/omb/budget/fy2014/assets/topics.pdf.

[5] Homeland Security Funding Analysis" in the *Special Topics* section of the US Budget Request for FY201of the US Budget Request for FY2014, OMB, pp. 415-422, http://www.whitehouse.gov/sites/default/files/omb/budget/fy2014/assets/topics.pdf.

[6] Excerpted from US State Department*, "Chapter 2, Country reports," Country Reports on Terrorism 2012*, May 30, 2013, http://www.state.gov/j/ct/rls/crt/2012/

[7] Associated Press, "Al-Qaeda's leader in Iraq defies boss over Syria fight," *Washington Post***,** June 15, 2013, http://www.washingtonpost.com/world/al-qaedas-leader-in-iraq-defies-boss-over-syria-fight/2013/06/15/05a92b92-d5e8-11e2-8cbe-1bcbee06f8f8_story.html.

[8] Until the report issued in May 2013, the annex to the State Department report was based on official NCTC data, and until some point in 2012, the NCTC maintained an unclassified database on global patterns in terrorism. For reasons that remain unexplained, the NCTC withdrew this data base, and a private entity was created at the University of Maryland called the National Consortium for the Study of Terrorism and Responses to Terrorism: Annex of Statistical Information. It should be noted that the many problems in the current annex were at last as bad when the annex was based on NCTC data. A quick review of the NCTC website at http://www.nctc.gov/ also shows it provides no useful content on pattern in terrorism or any aspect of its effectiveness.

[9] Office of the Coordinator for Counterterrorism, "National Consortium for the Study of Terrorism and Responses to Terrorism: Annex of Statistical Information," Country Reports on Terrorism 2012, May 30, 2013, http://www.state.gov/j/ct/rls/crt/2012/210017.htm#1

[10] Office of the Coordinator for Counterterrorism, "National Consortium for the Study of Terrorism and Responses to Terrorism: Annex of Statistical Information," Country Reports on Terrorism 2012, May 30, 2013, http://www.state.gov/j/ct/rls/crt/2012/210017.htm#1.

[11] Joint Publication 1-02Department of Defense, Dictionary of Military and Associated Terms, 8 November 2010(As Amended Through 31 January 2011) http://ra.defense.gov/documents/rtm/jp1_02.pdf

[12] Joint Publication 1-02Department of Defense, Dictionary of Military and Associated Terms, 8 November 2010(As Amended Through 31 January 2011) http://ra.defense.gov/documents/rtm/jp1_02.pdf

[13] The State Department report notes that,

"Title 22, Section 2656f of the United States Code requires the Department of State to include in its annual report on terrorism "to the extent practicable, complete statistical information on the number of individuals, including United States citizens and dual nationals, killed, injured, or kidnapped by each terrorist group during the preceding calendar year." The definition found in Title 22 of the US Code provides that terrorism is "premeditated, politically motivated violence perpetrated against noncombatant targets by subnational groups or clandestine agents." From 2004 to 2011, the data for the Annex of Statistical Information were collected by the National Counterterrorism Center, part of the Office of the Director of National Intelligence, through the Worldwide Incidents Tracking System (WITS).

"In June 2012, the National Consortium for the Study of Terrorism and Responses to Terrorism (START) contracted with the US Department of State to collect a Statistical Annex data set and provide a report to include in the State Department's annual *Country Reports on Terrorism 2012.* Since 2001, START has maintained the Global Terrorism Database (GTD), an unclassified event database compiled from information in open-source reports of terrorist attacks. The first version of the GTD was released in 2006 and included information on worldwide terrorism from 1970 to 1997. START consistently updates and improves the accuracy of the data. The full GTD (1970-2011) and accompanying documentation are available to the public at www.start.umd.edu/gtd. The GTD staff compiled the Statistical Annex data set to include violent acts carried out by non-state actors that meet all of the GTD inclusion criteria:[1]

1. The violent act was aimed at attaining a political, economic, religious, or social goal;

2. The violent act included evidence of an intention to coerce, intimidate, or convey some other message to a larger audience (or audiences) other than the immediate victims; and

3. The violent act was outside the precepts of International Humanitarian Law insofar as it targeted non-combatants.

These data represent our best efforts to report the most comprehensive and valid information on terrorism, based on the availability of open-source data and resources. We continually strive to evaluate and enhance our methodology to promote comprehensive, accurate, and systematic data collection. In particular, in 2012 we developed data collection tools that expand the number of sources available for analysis and automate the selection of potentially relevant articles from which GTD staff identify unique attacks and record their specific details."

[14] US State Department, National Consortium for the Study of Terrorism and Responses to Terrorism: Annex of Statistical Information, Country Reports on Terrorism 2012, ile:///Users/anthony/Desktop/Country%20Reports%20on%20Terrorism%202012National%20Consortium%20for%20the%20Study%20of%20Terrorism%20and%20Responses%20to%20Terrorism_%20Annex%20of%20Statistical%20Information.html.

[15] Iraq Body Count states, "During 2012 Iraq Body Count (IBC) recorded 4,573 civilian deaths from violence. Note 1 Evidence of these deaths was extracted from some 7,000 distinct reports collected from more than 80 sources covering 2,061 incidents, each of which is described and listed on the IBC website to form a verifiable documentary record. The 2012 figures bring the number of civilian deaths recorded by IBC since March 2003 to between 111,739 and 122,103… While Iraqi police have always been targeted by armed opposition groups (and represent the single largest professional demographic recorded in the IBC database), a particularly notable feature of recent years has been the increasing proportion that they represent of all deaths, especially in relation to 2008 and earlier. 2012 saw both an increase in the absolute number of police killed in comparison to 2011 (724 vs. 939 in 2012), and an increase in their proportion of all deaths (17.5% of deaths in 2011 vs. 20.5% in 2012). See "Iraqi deaths from violence in 2012, Iraq Body Count, http://www.iraqbodycount.org/analysis/numbers/2012/.

[16] UNAMI reported that, "According to casualty figures released today by UNAMI, a total of 1,045 Iraqis were killed and another 2,397 were wounded in acts of terrorism and acts of violence in May…The number of civilians killed was 963 (including 181 civilian police) and the number of civilians injured was 2,191 (including 359 civilian police). A further 82 members of the Iraqi Security Forces were killed and 206 were injured, (Reuters counted only 600 deaths and AP 578, but they rely on government reporting which has come to sharply downplay the level of real violence. (See Eyder Peralta, "UN: Iraq Records 1,045 Deaths In May; Highest In Years," NPR, June 1, 2013, http://www.npr.org/blogs/thetwo-way/2013/06/01/187825084/un-iraq-records-1-045-deaths-in-may-highest-in-years.

[17] "Forced migration: An issue of great concern to the UN in Iraq," UNAMI, June 16, 2013, http://unami.unmissions.org/Default.aspx?tabid=2790&ctl=Details&mid=5079&ItemID=1562324&language=en-US.

[18] Iraq, Overview," *State Department Country Reports on Terrorism 2012***,** May 30, 2013.

[19] For example, see "First report of the Secretary-General pursuant to resolution 2061 (2012)," S/2012/848, UNSC, November 16, 2012, http://unami.unmissions.org/LinkClick.aspx?fileticket=aR0OTgVZpEM%3d&tabid=2837&language=en-US; and For example, see "Second report of the Secretary-General pursuant to resolution 2061 (2012)," S/2012/848, UNSC, March 123, 2013, http://unami.unmissions.org/LinkClick.aspx?fileticket=W28uahSVLLk%3d&tabid=2837&language=en-US.

[20] UNAMA, "Afghanistan civilian casualty figures drop for the first time in 6 years," http://www.unama.unmissions.org/Default.aspx?tabid=12254&ctl=Details&mid=15756&ItemID=36445&language=en-US; UNAMA/UNHCHR, "AFGHANISTAN ANNUAL REPORT 2012 PROTECTION OF CIVILIANS IN ARMED CONFLICT," UNAMA/UNHCHR, February, 2013, http://unama.unmissions.org/LinkClick.aspx?fileticket=K0B5RL2XYcU%3d&tabid=12254&language=en-US.

[21] As the *Long War Journal* notes, "ISAF does not release the precise figures used to create its charts. The data remain classified. But ISAF's chart on civilian casualties illustrates that the Taliban-led insurgency has killed more civilians in recent months than in comparable months from 2010 and 2011. And the increase in insurgency-caused civilian casualties has come at a time when the Coalition has greatly reduced the number of civilians killed by its actions. See http://www.longwarjournal.org/archives/2012/09/isaf_data_shows_insu.php, and http://www.longwarjournal.org/archives/2012/09/isaf_data_shows_insu.php#ixzz2WPxMeyvO.

[22] UN New Center, January 2, 2013, http://www.un.org/apps/news/story.asp?NewsID=43866#.Ub4zMOuhAp4.

[23] Office of the High Commissioner for Human Rights, "Updated UN study indicates at least 93,000 people killed in Syria conflict," United Nations, June 13, 2015, http://www.ohchr.org/EN/NewsEvents/Pages/DisplayNews.aspx?NewsID=13447&LangID=E. For full report see Updated Statistical Analysis of Documentation of Killings in the Syrian Arab Republic: http://www.ohchr.org/Documents/Countries/SY/HRDAG-Updated-SY-report.pdf.

[24] US State Department, National Consortium for the Study of Terrorism and Responses to Terrorism: Annex of Statistical Information, Country Reports on Terrorism 2012, ile:///Users/anthony/Desktop/Country%20Reports%20on%20Terrorism%202012National%20Consortium%20for%20the%20Study%20of%20Terrorism%20and%20Responses%20to%20Terrorism_%20Annex%20of%20Statistical%20Information.html.

[25] US State Department, National Consortium for the Study of Terrorism and Responses to Terrorism: Annex of Statistical Information, Country Reports on Terrorism 2012, ile:///Users/anthony/Desktop/Country%20Reports%20on%20Terrorism%202012National%20Consortium%20for%20the%20Study%20of%20Terrorism%20and%20Responses%20to%20Terrorism_%20Annex%20of%20Statistical%20Information.htm .

[26]Arab Human Development Reports (AHDR) - United Nations Development Programme, http://www.arab-hdr.org/contents/index.aspx?rid=5. Also see Arab Human Development Report, the Report in Numbers, http://www.arab-hdr.org/publications/contents/2009/ahdrnumbers-e.pdf.

[27] The study involved is The World's Muslims: Religion, Politics and Society, Pew Research Center, April 30, 2012, http://www.pewforum.org/Muslim/the-worlds-muslims-religion-politics-society.aspx. Also see Pew , *The Global Religious Landscape: A Report on the Size and Distribution of the World's Major Religious Groups as of 2010,* Pew Research Center, December 2012, http://www.pewforum.org/global-religious-landscape.aspx.

[28] EIA, "How Dependent Are We on Foreign Oil?" Energy in Brief, May 10, 2013, http://www.eia.gov/energy_in_brief/article/foreign_oil_dependence.cfm.

[29] Energy Information Agency, "How dependent are we on foreign oil?," *Energy Brief*, May 10, 2013, http://www.eia.gov/energy_in_brief/article/foreign_oil_dependence.cfm; and EIA, "Market Trend, Oil

Liquids," *Annual Energy Outlook 2013*, May 2, 2013, http://www.eia.gov/forecasts/aeo/MT_liquidfuels.cfm#net-imports.

[30] Energy Information Agency, *World Oil Transit Chokepoints*, Department of Energy, August 22, 2013, http://www.eia.gov/countries/regions-topics.cfm?fips=wotc&trk=p3; US Energy Information Administration, *Annual Energy Outlook 2013 Early Release Overview*, Figures A9 & A11, EIA/DOE, December 2012, http://www.eia.gov/forecasts/aeo/er/pdf/tbla11.pdf., and Figure 10, http://www.eia.gov/forecasts/aeo/er/early_production.cfm

[31] Energy Information Agency, *World Oil Transit Chokepoints*, Department of Energy, August 22, 2013, http://www.eia.gov/countries/regions-topics.cfm?fips=wotc&trk=p3; US Energy Information Administration, *Annual Energy Outlook 2013 Early Release Overview*, Figures A9 & A11, EIA/DOE, December 2012, http://www.eia.gov/forecasts/aeo/er/pdf/tbla11.pdf., and Figure 10, http://www.eia.gov/forecasts/aeo/er/early_production.cfm

[32] Secretary of Defense, *Sustaining US Global Leadership: Priorities for 21st Century Defense*, Department of Defense, January 3, 2012, http://www.defense.gov/news/Defense_Strategic_Guidance.pdf.

[33] White House, "Text of Remarks by the President at the National Defense University, National Defense University, Fort McNair, Washington, D.C.," May 23, 2013, http://www.whitehouse.gov/briefing-room/speeches-and-remarks?page=4&%24Version=0&%24Path=%2F&%24Domain=.whitehouse.gov.

[34] See US State Department, Quadrennial Diplomacy and Development Review (QDDR), 2010, http://www.usaid.gov/qddr, and Anthony H. Cordesman, "Quadrennial Diplomacy and Development Review (QDDR): Concepts are Not Enough," CSIS, December 21, 2010, http://csis.org/files/publication/101221_QDDR_Review.pdf.

[35] See "2011-2016 Strategic Plan Addendum for the U.S. Department of State and the U.S. Agency for International Development," US State Department, March 12, 2012, http://www.state.gov/s/dmr/qddr/185613.htm.

[36] Secretary of Defense, *Sustaining US Global Leadership: Priorities for 21st Century Defense*, Department of Defense, January 3, 2012, http://www.defense.gov/news/Defense_Strategic_Guidance.pdf, p. 1.

[37] Secretary of Defense, *Sustaining US Global Leadership: Priorities for 21st Century Defense*, Department of Defense, January 3, 2012, http://www.defense.gov/news/Defense_Strategic_Guidance.pdf, p. 3.

[38]Arab Human Development Reports (AHDR) - United Nations Development Programme, http://www.arab-hdr.org/contents/index.aspx?rid=5. Also see Arab Human Development Report, the Report in Numbers, http://www.arab-hdr.org/publications/contents/2009/ahdrnumbers-e.pdf.

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