

SHARING SECRETS
OPTIMIZING INTERNATIONAL INTELLIGENCE COOPERATION TO COUNTER
TERRORISM & RISING THREATS

by
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A thesis submitted to Johns Hopkins University in conformity with the requirements for
the degree of Master of Arts in Global Security Studies

Baltimore, Maryland
May 2014

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ABSTRACT

This thesis seeks to provide understanding of how the U.S. Intelligence Community (USIC) has and can continue to optimizing international intelligence cooperation to counter terrorism and raising threats. This cooperation has become important as non-state actors have spread out across borders, making it difficult for a single state to detect and thwart their operations. As a result, the USIC increased its cooperation with foreign intelligence agencies. The benefits and difficulties of these relationships have been highlighted in recent years with the loss of various intelligence partners after the Arab Spring and with the U.S.-Russian failure to share information on Tamerlan Tsarnaev prior to the Boston Marathon Bombing.

Though there is a great deal of academic literature on the increase of intelligence cooperation amongst USIC agencies, the topic of international intelligence cooperation is understudied. Chapter 1 evaluates how effective increased international intelligence cooperation has been in combating al-Qa'ida's operational capabilities, using international intelligence cooperation on terrorist financing and international intelligence cooperation against al-Qa'ida in the Arabian Peninsula as case studies.

Chapter 1 raises questions regarding the qualities and measurement of successful liaisons. In response, Chapter 2 focuses on the successful factors of intelligence relationships, finding that shared interests, mutual trust, and awareness of partner countries' political concerns are essential for success. The Saudi-U.S. relationship and the Pakistani-U.S. relationship were examined, finding that Saudi Arabia is currently a successful partner and Pakistan is not. However, it also reveals that the relationship with

Saudi Arabia can change quickly if the Saudi government becomes unstable or is overthrown, highlighting the importance of the political concerns factor.

Chapter 3 further examines the political concerns factor outlined by trying to identify how the USIC could monitor and analyze political movements and instability within partner countries. To ensure against the surprise of an intelligence partner being ousted, the USIC needs to understand the political sentiments in partner countries, something it has failed to do on previous occasions. The Iranian Revolution and the Egyptian Revolution were used as case studies. The first case study shows Mossad was more focused and capable on collecting and analyzing public sentiments and therefore predicted the Shah's fall. The Egyptian case study shows the failure of the USIC to collect and analyze public sentiment of Egyptians organizing via social media. These case studies show the USIC must enhance its collection requirements and analytical capabilities, including the creation of social media intelligence.

Readers: Dr. Mark Stout & Dr. Michael Warner

Advisors: Dr. Rameez Abbas, Dr. Dorathea Wolfson, Dr. Jennifer Bachner

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I would like to thank Dr. Mark Stout and Dr. Michael Warner for their helpful guidance and comments. Your critiques truly served to strengthen my thesis. I would also like to thank Dr. Rameez Abbas, Dr. Jennifer Bachner and Dr. Dorothea Wolfson for their assistance throughout my thesis process. Also I owe a sincere thank you to my professional supervisors for their flexibility and understanding during the last two years.

A special thanks to my husband, Jonathan. Words cannot express how grateful I am to him for all of the sacrifices he has made while I pursued my degree and worked on my thesis. I also thank him for being my primary editor. His support is what sustained me through some very stressful times. I would also like to thank my family who encouraged me to pursue this goal.

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Introduction

In the past twelve years, the U.S. Intelligence Community (USIC) has undergone significant changes. These reorganizations and shifts in policies, laws, and operating procedures have been aimed at combating the rising threat of terrorism and facilitating victory against insurgent groups. While insurgency and terrorism are not new experiences for the U.S., it was not until the aftermath of 9/11, and the insurgencies in Iraq and Afghanistan, that the U.S. began to truly build its approach to counterterrorism. The results of this focal shift are new strategies and a much altered IC. An outcome of this increased need to counter non-state actors, like terrorists, is that the U.S. Intelligence Community increased their cooperation with foreign intelligence agencies. This thesis topic examines the increase in international intelligence cooperation, focusing on the essential factors of successful intelligence relationships and how this increase has affected the fight against terrorism.

Though there is a great deal of academic literature dedicated to the increase of intelligence cooperation amongst the various USIC agencies after 9/11, which were issues raised by the 9/11 Commission Report, there is a much smaller amount of literature dedicated to the increase of international intelligence cooperation post-9/11. There is a lack of research that uses evidence to identify the advantages and drawbacks of international cooperation in the realm of intelligence. Many of these intelligence relationships developed with new and unlikely partners. The benefits and difficulties of these relationships have been highlighted in recent years with the loss of intelligence partners in various countries after the Arab Spring and with the U.S.-Russian failure to share information on Tamerlan Tsarnaev prior to the Boston Marathon bombing.

This thesis seeks to provide understanding of how the USIC has and can continue to optimize international intelligence cooperation to counter terrorism and rising threats. Overall, this thesis argues for the United States to broaden and deepen intelligence liaison with other states to combat a resurgent al-Qa'ida, explains the benefits of enhanced liaison, and offers suggestions for fostering it. This thesis portfolio has four chapters. The first chapter evaluates how effective increased international intelligence cooperation has been in combating al-Qa'ida's operational capabilities, using international intelligence cooperation on terrorist financing and international intelligence cooperation against al-Qa'ida in the Arabian Peninsula as case studies. The second chapter studies the factors that make for successful intelligence cooperation, using Saudi -U.S. cooperation and Pakistani-U.S. cooperation as case studies. The third chapter examines what accounts for the USIC's failure to discern political sentiments in foreign countries, specifically with intelligence partners. The Iranian Revolution of 1979 and the Egyptian Revolution in 2011 were analyzed as case studies. The concluding chapter discusses key findings, limitations, and next steps.

The first chapter asks, 'How has increased international intelligence cooperation been effective in combating al-Qa'ida's operational capabilities?' International intelligence cooperation has increased notably since September 11, 2001. The United States Intelligence Community (USIC) has increased cooperation with a large number of partners across the globe. As al-Qa'ida has been operationally hindered, the group has fought to shift strategies in an attempt to both keep the global jihad alive and to maintain its leadership role. The USIC has had to use increased intelligence cooperation to respond to these strategic shifts and keep the pressure on al-Qa'ida's capacity.

The chapter reviews the history of al-Qa'ida's operational capabilities and shifting strategy, theUSIC's shifting counterterrorism strategy, and the history of increased international intelligence cooperation on counterterrorism operations since September 2001. It examines two case studies: international intelligence cooperation on terrorist financing and the international intelligence cooperation's against al-Qa'ida affiliate, al-Qa'ida in the Arabian Peninsula (AQAP), in order to evaluate how the effects of increased international intelligence cooperation affected al-Qa'ida's operational capacity and if that resulted in a shift in strategy. The chapter then looks at current issues with international intelligence cooperation in the face of a shifting al-Qa'ida strategy amid uncertain political situations across the globe, particularly in Russia, in Syria, in Mali, and across countries affected by the Arab Spring. While not all countries are compliant with counterterrorism efforts, al-Qa'ida's operational capabilities could not have been limited without the help of international intelligence cooperation. Al-Qa'ida has shifted strategies to accommodate for the loss of their capabilities and now focus on lower impact attacks. As al-Qa'ida affiliates seek to take advantage of some of the power vacuums and ungoverned spaces post-Arab Spring, the U.S. needs to keep the pressure on them by crafting unique responses to each and by relying on intelligence partners to share the burden and provide information otherwise inaccessible to theUSIC.

This examination of international intelligence liaison raises questions about how one measures the success of intelligence cooperation. Though each intelligence issue might have unique missions, there are general factors by which the Intelligence Community can evaluate potential or current intelligence partners to determine the strength of that partnership. The second chapter of this thesis examines this by asking,

‘How can the United States build effective intelligence cooperation with foreign agencies to combat 21st century security threats?’ It defines the factors that make for successful intelligence cooperation, reviewing the three most frequently put forth in academic literature: shared interest, mutual trust and balanced relationship, and introducing a fourth: political concerns. These factors were used as lenses for two cases studies, one on Saudi-US intelligence sharing and the other on Pakistani-US intelligence relations, to evaluate if the factors of successful intelligence cooperation can be used to identify potential new partners and analyze the successfulness of current relationships. It challenges the traditional academic emphasis on balanced relationships and presents an increased need for the Intelligence Community to focus on political aspects of their partner country. The chapter provides the USIC with an effective way of studying countries to identify which new partnerships might be successful and where current relationships might be failing.

This study shows the essential importance of shared interest, trust, and political concerns to successful intelligence liaisons. Of the two cases examined, one, with Saudi Arabia, has become a successful relationship, and the other, with Pakistan, has become a failure. Saudi Arabia shares a clear interest with the U.S. counterterrorism mission and the two countries have built a relationship of trust overtime. The Kingdom has also averted the political conditions that spread across most of the Arab world during the Arab Spring. While the U.S. and Saudi Arabia have enjoyed close and successful intelligence cooperation, this relationship will only be successful if the government maintains stability and capabilities. On the other hand, it is at best questionable that Pakistan shares interests with the U.S. but it is certain that the relationship has been severally damaged by

mistrust. The political unrest in Pakistan makes a successful relationship with the U.S. very unlikely. As the political situation is so unstable, trust non-existent, and mutual interests unlikely, the U.S. should protect intelligence and seek to gain intelligence within Pakistan by fostering a relationship with a network of sources. The benefit of examining these two case studies is that they show how the three factors can be used to assess both successful and unsuccessful intelligence relationships.

The third chapter of this thesis elaborates on the factor of political concerns by asking, ‘What accounts for the U.S. Intelligence Community’s failure to discern political sentiments in foreign countries?’ It examines two case studies: the Iranian Revolution of 1979 and the Egyptian Revolution of 2011, in order to evaluate the factors resulting in strategic warning failure. It challenges attitudes of authors like Mark Jensen who claim that warning is impossible and therefore not a strong discipline for the Intelligence Community. By analyzing these factors, this chapter will put forth the argument that theUSIC fails to discern political situations abroad and provide appropriate strategic warning due to a lack of focus and capabilities on collecting and framing intelligence regarding popular sentiment within these countries. It argues for newUSIC programs to analyze crowd-sourcing and understand social tipping points, as well as, encourages new collection requirements on political sentiments in partner countries.

The case study of the Iranian revolution was particularly revealing as it clearly displays the need to collect public sentiment and to frame that intelligence by showing how Mossad was able to send estimates to Jerusalem predicting the fall of the Shah. First, it discusses the various opinions on why the intelligence community failed to anticipate the fall of the Shah and understand the anti-government movement. Though

there were a range of reasons given, almost every scholar mentioned the U.S.'s lack of intelligence collection from the population, as the Shah requested that all intelligence be collected through him and his SAVAK secret police. Though one scholar felt this ultimately would not have changed the outcome, a study that interviewed Israeli intelligence officers and reviewed various declassified Israeli documents showed they were anticipating the Shah's fall almost a full year before it occurred and they took action to secure increased oil and to take assets out of Iran before the Shah fell. The key to this comparison being that the Israelis collected more intelligence from sources on the ground and the Iranian people. They were in-touch with public sentiment.

The Egyptian case marks a turning point in collection capabilities because the movement was largely planned via social media. Research shows a sharp increase in the use of Twitter and Facebook and a notable negative sentiment towards Mubarak, up to 85% of the tweets about Mubarak had negative sentiment by the time he left office. This chapter demonstrates that the increasing use of social media to mobilize political and social movements provides the IC an opportunity to directly collect and map public sentiment and mobilization. The USIC could have analyzed social media data to capture and interpret public sentiment associated to key political events of the Arab Spring and to see if there was an increase in negative sentiment prior to the uprising that could have been captured, framed, and used towards a warning estimate for U.S. policymakers.

The purpose of this chapter is not to suggest that the development of social media intelligence (SOCMINT) would be a cure-all for intelligence failures or as a definitive prediction tool. It also does not mean to suggest that social media collection should replace other intelligence techniques, like human intelligence (HUMINT). It is clear

from the findings of this second chapter that an increase of HUMINT was needed in Iran. The findings of this chapter show that regardless of whether it is by human sources or via social media, the USIC needs to make collection requirements to continuously assess the public sentiments towards their government. The use of sentiment analysis of social media as a supplement to other intelligence techniques would strengthen the U.S. Intelligence Community's ability to provide more accurate strategic warning estimates to policymakers regarding potential political movements worldwide. The capacity to measure public sentiment via social media will increase with the growth of users worldwide and global technological advances. In some societies, this capability will still be somewhat limited as the Internet and telecommunications are censored. However, the Egyptian revolution serves as an example of how people are increasingly motivated and adept at bypassing these limitations.

The Intelligence Community has long wished to understand the attitudes of populations in other countries, specifically in states considered strategically important to the U.S. This real-time collection and subsequent analysis was not available during the Iranian revolution. In fact, the access to the Iranian population and understanding of general sentiments were limited for the U.S. As a result, the U.S. failed to perceive the growing movement there. Egypt proves that this approach provides a way forward for identifying and assessing such movements.

This new collection and analysis discipline would have to grow with the larger discipline of warning to effectively provide estimates on potential uprisings. As warning theorists suggest, both warning and social media analysis should be the responsibility of a specific agency. It will require appropriate allocation of resources to specified units

responsible for such analysis. Social media analysis can provide warning analysts with specific intelligence to fulfill the need for measureable indicators. It will also partially answer Secretary Panetta's call to increase the Intelligence Community's ability to collect information that better tracks the potential for uprisings. The estimates may still be uncertain but it provides more context than simply offering policymakers the assessment of 'simmering unrest' in the Middle East.

Chapter 1: How has Increased International Intelligence Cooperation Been Effective in Combating al-Qa'ida's Operational Capabilities?

Introduction

The Intelligence Community is currently in transition. For the past thirteen years, the community had been largely focused on and financed for the wars in Iraq and Afghanistan and the global 'war on terror'. The Obama Administration has avowed that with Usama bin Laden dead, and other key leaders like Ilyas Kashmiri, Abu Yahya al-Libi and Anwar al-Awlaki killed from predator strikes, al-Qa'ida-core is nearly defeated.¹ The United States Intelligence Community (USIC) is still debating the capability of al-Qa'ida.² Some agree that al-Qa'ida is weakening due to the group's inability to carry out large scale attacks, while others find the organization is still strong as it has begun focusing on smaller scale attacks around the world.³ In response to President Obama's assertion that the war on terror is coming to an end, the *Economist* noted that compared to 2001 al-Qa'ida has "many more fighters and holds much more territory."⁴ Some, like former CIA analyst and counterterrorism expert Bruce Riedel, even suggest that the current al-Qa'ida may be the deadliest jihadist generation yet, as it exploits unrest in the Middle East and North Africa to create new safe havens.⁵

Determining al-Qa'ida's operational capabilities is essential as the U.S. looks to align resources and build a post-war strategy. Bruce Hoffman, Director of the Security

¹ Lucas, Fred, "Obama Has Touted Al Qaeda's Demise 32 Times since Benghazi Attack," CBSNEWS, 11/1/2012.

² Gallo, Alex, "Understanding Al-Qa'ida's Business Model," CTC Sentinel, Vol. 4, Issue 1, January 2011, p15.

³ *Ibid.*

⁴ M.J.S., "Al-Qaeda: Still dangerous after all these years," *The Economist*, August 6, 2013.

⁵ Blanche, Ed. "Al Qaeda's most toxic generation?," *The Middle East*, Issue 443, May 2013, p13.

Studies Program at Georgetown University, wrote in 2011 that the U.S. is wrong to assume al-Qa'ida has been weakened due to the assassination of high-level targets, pointing to the strength of affiliates.⁶ He has found that the entire al-Qa'ida organization has expanded by 50% since 2008, particularly in failed states.⁷ What his findings point to is that evaluations of al-Qa'ida's operational capabilities need to be examined at each of the three levels in which the group is divided: al-Qa'ida core, al-Qa'ida's periphery and al-Qa'ida the movement.⁸

Al-Qa'ida core, located in Pakistan, provides strategic guidance. Scott Helfstein, Director of Strategic Initiatives for the Combating Terrorism Center at the United State Military Academy, West Point, argues that al-Qa'ida the movement, which are smaller cells or individuals, has a higher success rate in carrying out attacks but al-Qa'ida core's attacks, when successful, result in much greater casualties.⁹ He finds that al-Qa'ida core is actually the least likely to execute a successful attack.¹⁰ However, al-Qa'ida core and al-Qa'ida affiliates plan more sophisticated attacks because they usually have more know-how and resources than inspired individuals.¹¹ Attacks by al-Qa'ida's affiliates are successful 67% of the time, halfway between the core and the movement.¹² Ed Blanche, of *The Middle East* magazine, writes, "unless there is a concerted international offensive to crush Al Qaeda, which seems unlikely at present, the outlook for the region is bleak."¹³

⁶ Faulkner, Christopher M., and David H. Gray, "The Emergence of Al Qaeda in the Arabian Peninsula (AQAP) and the Effectiveness of US Counterterrorism Efforts," *Global Security Studies*, Winter 2014, Vol. 5, Issue 1, p2.

⁷ Faulkner, p2.

⁸ Helfstein, Scott and Dominick Wright, "Success, Lethality, and Cell Structure Across the Dimensions of Al Qaeda," *Studies in Conflict & Terrorism*, 34:2011, p 367.

⁹ Helfstein, p 367.

¹⁰ Helfstein, p 368.

¹¹ Helfstein, p377.

¹² Helfstein, p377.

¹³ Blanche, p 15.

In an article in *Global Security Studies*, Christopher M. Faulkner, Department of Public and International Affairs at University of North Carolina Wilmington, and David H. Gray, a former CIA officer currently working as a professor at Campbell University, asserted that, “the international community has failed to tackle the issue of terrorism together and this lack of congruence in the goal to eradicate terrorist organizations surely means the continued resilience of these groups.”¹⁴ How has increased international intelligence cooperation been effective in combating al-Qa’ida’s operational capabilities? International intelligence cooperation has increased notably since September 11, 2001.¹⁵ The USIC has increased cooperation with a large number of partners across the globe. Al-Qa’ida has also changed since it attacked the U.S. in 2001. The terrorist group has been operationally hindered and has fought to shift strategies in an attempt to both keep the global jihad alive and to maintain its leadership role. The USIC has had to use increased intelligence cooperation to respond to these strategic shifts and keep the pressure on al-Qa’ida’s operational capacity. Increased intelligence cooperation has been effective in reducing al-Qa’ida’s overall operational capabilities. Working together, foreign intelligence agencies have cracked down on terrorist financing and thwarted plots by al-Qa’ida affiliates. Al-Qa’ida core has been severely diminished but the terrorist organization has restructured and strategized new ways to maintain some level of operational capability.

There is a great amount of literature on the increase in sharing across the U.S. Intelligence Community as a result of the failures that led up to 9/11 and the

¹⁴ Faulkner, Christopher M., and David H. Gray, “The Emergence of Al Qaeda in the Arabian Peninsula (AQAP) and the Effectiveness of US Counterterrorism Efforts,” *Global Security Studies*, Winter 2014, Vol. 5, Issue 1, p2.

¹⁵ Aldrich, p19.

recommendations of the 9/11 Commission. There has been far less discussion on the increase in cooperation between the U.S. and other foreign intelligence agencies post-9/11. This topic is understudied by scholars as it is often the most secretive element of intelligence work. To combat al-Qa'ida, the U.S. Intelligence Community increased its cooperation with several old and new intelligence partners. Nigel Inkster, a former senior official with Britain's Secret Intelligence Service, highlighted the problems that al-Qa'ida currently presents to unilateral action and intelligence by saying, "When Al Qaeda was largely holed up in the badlands of Pakistan and the tribal areas, the US had the capability to deal with them in a much more focused way through drone attacks. But now we have a far more disaggregated threat that no one country has the capability to tackle."¹⁶ As the Obama Administration and the Intelligence Community assess the strength of al-Qa'ida today, this chapter offers an assessment of how al-Qa'ida has been operationally hindered as a result of intelligence work with foreign partners and how the group continues to elude intelligence in certain areas.

This chapter has three sections. The first section reviews the history of al-Qa'ida's shifting strategy and operational capabilities and theUSIC's shifting counterterrorism strategy to provide context to this study. The second section will examine two case studies: international intelligence cooperation on terrorist financing and the international intelligence cooperation's against al-Qa'ida affiliate, al-Qa'ida in the Arabian Peninsula (AQAP), in order to evaluate how increased international intelligence cooperation effected al-Qa'ida's operational capacity. The third section will look at current issues for international intelligence cooperation in the face of a shifting al-Qa'ida strategy and amid uncertain political situations across the globe, particularly in the

¹⁶ Blanche, p14.

Russia, Syria, Mali, and across countries affected by the Arab Spring. Overall, this chapter seeks to provide an understanding of the effects of intelligence cooperation on the fight against al-Qa'ida globally.

History of al-Qa'ida's Shifting Strategy & Operational Capabilities

Strategy

On September 11th, 2001, al-Qa'ida was structured as a core group with central control, made up mostly of former mujahedeen who fought Soviets in Afghanistan.¹⁷ Their strategy falls under the category of irregular warfare. In "Building the Base: Al Qaeda's Focoist Strategy", Kenneth Payne compares al-Qa'ida's strategy with Che Guevara's theories and practices of guerrilla warfare. He argues that al-Qa'ida has adopted Guevara's idea of foco, which relies on small and fast-moving paramilitary groups that use violence to attack the enemy and inspire the locals. Payne's main argument is that al-Qa'ida's strategy parallels Guevara's strategy in two main ways: that violence creates the conditions for revolution and that the relationship between revolution and space is crucial. He supports his argument by examining Islamist literature and operational practice. The movements are similar in that they are creating a worldwide insurgency, attempting to gain territory, and advancing a particular political program and ideology.

One of Guevara's key strategies adopted by al-Qa'ida is to commit violent acts against the enemy to provoke a backlash and, by inciting the enemy to take harsh action, expose them as repressive, inciting the people to revolution guided by the foco. According to Payne, both Guevara and al-Qa'ida expected armed conflict would

¹⁷ Rollins, John. "Al Qaeda and Affiliates: Historical Perspective, Global Presence, and Implications for U.S. Policy," *International Journal of Terrorism and Political Hot Spots* (Vol. 6, No. 3) p 305.

trigger a political campaign, forcing people to choose sides.¹⁸ Contrary to Chairman Mao's ideology, this al-Qa'ida theory holds violence could create the conditions for revolution without the need for prior political mobilization. The other key strategy adopted by al-Qa'ida is space. In terms of space, Guevara theorized that the strength of guerrilla units would and should grow in mountainous and rural areas, where the enemy is weakest. Al-Qa'ida has also shown its strategy of using under-governed spaces, like Pakistan and Afghanistan, to organize, train, launch attacks and spread their propaganda.

Al-Qa'ida has been more successful in translating this into a global strategy. Al-Qa'ida's position is somewhat unique from Guevara's, which might have made it easier for them to capitalize on the foco strategy. Both movements were trying to instill global revolution. However, as Payne noted, Guevara faced one of his biggest failures in the Congo, where he could not motivate the people to fight. In this scenario, violence was simply not enough. Al-Qa'ida is also appealing to a global audience, but it is a very specific audience, Muslims around the world. This shared religion and culture could mean that the foco strategy would be more successful for Al-Qa'ida than it was for Guevara. Beyond sharing commonalities as oppressed humans worldwide, this group shares some ideas and worldviews. That is not to say Muslims buy into the strategy, tactics, or goals of al-Qa'ida. However, they share the same faith and have been exposed to some of the ideas that al-Qa'ida's ideology exploits.

Al-Qa'ida has been successful in using violence to bring their foreign enemies into Iraq and Afghanistan. They have also been successful in using that time to advance fronts in other countries, including Yemen and Mali. The death of some high-level

¹⁸ Payne, Kenneth. "Building the Base: Al Qaeda's Focoist Strategy," *Studies in Conflict and Terrorism*, 34: 124-143, 2011.

leaders and propagandists may have slowed the operations but it has not ended the movement as it did for Guevara's. However, the Arab Spring brings an important turning point for al-Qa'ida. The members of their target audience demonstrated, protested, and fought for their freedoms in pursuit of democracy. Al-Qa'ida forces are still active in many of these countries but they face the challenge of needing the ability to attain political ends and provide a responsible government.

Operational Capabilities & Counterterrorism Efforts

Initially, the U.S.'s strategy towards terrorism was to criminalize it and respond with law enforcement, which is why the FBI was involved in investigating the attacks on Khobar Towers, the Cole, the embassies, and the World Trade Center in 1993. Meanwhile, most of the IC's work was focused on Counterintelligence operations.¹⁹ Post-9/11, the U.S. initially responded with joint operations in Afghanistan, which included the CIA partnering with members of the Northern Alliance, to attack al-Qa'ida's centralized-base of operations.²⁰ This strategy targeted the members of al-Qa'ida in Afghanistan, specifically in an attempt to decapitate their leadership. Unfortunately, the U.S. was not able to kill bin Laden during the attack. After the invasion of Afghanistan, al-Qa'ida-central's ability to carry out attacks was diminished, so the group switched strategies, decentralizing operations to other jihadist groups who became al-Qa'ida-affiliates.²¹

¹⁹ Lederman, Gordon Nathaniel, "Restructuring the Intelligence Community," Chapter 3 in *The Future of American Intelligence* (Hoover Press: Berkowitz/Intelligence) 2005.

²⁰ Crumpton, Henry "Intelligence and War: Afghanistan, 2001-2002," in Jennifer Sims and Burton Gerber, eds., *Transforming US Intelligence* (Georgetown University Press, 2005).

²¹ Celso, Anthony, "Al Qaeda's Post- 9/11 Organizational Structure and Strategy: The Role of Islamist Regional Affiliates," *Mediterranean Quarterly*, April 1, 2012.

Affiliates

In an attempt to counter crack downs by international security forces, al-Qa'ida shifted strategies to evolve into a global network and movement of franchise groups, decentralizing control.²² Al-Qa'ida diversified, allowing their name to be used as a brand across jihadist groups.²³ Central leadership in Pakistan still provides 'strategic guidance'.²⁴ The use of affiliates is a significant and important shift in strategy. It made it more difficult for intelligence services to detect operations. Many of these affiliates have a strong connection to Al-Qa'ida-core like AQAP (al-Qa'ida in the Arabian Peninsula) and al Shabaab, some have looser connections like Lashkar e-Taiba.²⁵ Each affiliate preys on the local grievances, providing propaganda that serves their political motives. The many affiliates manipulate the chaos of a state on the verge of collapse. For example, AQAP seized territory in the southern part of Yemen, creating a new territorial base from which to operate.²⁶

The USIC shifted tactics to respond to al-Qa'ida's strategic shift to affiliates. To address the shift towards empowered affiliates, the IC dispersed resources to counter the most threatening, like al-Qa'ida in the Arabian Peninsula in Yemen, al-Qa'ida in the Islamic Maghreb in North Africa, and al-Qa'ida in Southeast Asia. Several agencies also created regional fusion centers focusing on these threats. John Rollins noted that the USIC has faced a challenge to transition from an "exclusive focus on core Al Qaeda to also attempting to assess the capabilities of numerous smaller groups that are more opaque" and he notes that the Secretary of Homeland Security said, "The threat is

²² Rollins, p 305.

²³ *Ibid.*

²⁴ Rollins, p 305.

²⁵ *Ibid*, p31.

²⁶ DeYoung, Karen, "U.S. plans to step up aid to Yemen if conditions are met," *The Washington Post*, February 20, 2012.

evolving in several ways that make it more difficult for law enforcement or the intelligence community to detect and disrupt plots.”²⁷ This is one of the main reasons the US has had to increase intelligence partnerships with foreign countries.

Homegrown Terrorists

Al-Qa’ida has also turned to the Internet to call for violence and provide instructions to potential lone wolves.²⁸ Another focus of the infamous terrorist group was supporting self-radicalization and attacks on the West through these individuals, using online forums, propaganda videos and their online magazine *Inspire*. From 2009-2012, the U.S. saw an increasing trend of homegrown terrorist plots.²⁹ One such plot was the Fort Hood Shooting by Nidal Hassan which inspired like-minded terrorists like Jason Abdo. With Hassan’s successful attack, AQAP shifted the focus to smaller-scale attacks that injure the U.S. economically or physically from within the homeland. AQAP calls this tactic the ‘strategy of a thousand cuts’, which looks to “hemorrhage” the U.S. economy. The small-scale attacks are more difficult for law enforcement to detect and are very low-budget. AQAP believes these attacks will cause the U.S., already struggling to recover from an economic crisis, to undertake expensive new security measures. They feel this will lead the U.S. to ‘bleed’ financially like the Soviets during the mujahedeen war in Afghanistan.³⁰ On Christmas Day 2009, Umar Farouk Abdulmutallab attempted to bomb a US-bound commercial flight. The flight, which held 300 people, took off but the bomb failed to detonate. Abdulmutallab admitted he was working with AQAP, who

²⁷ Rollins, p307.

²⁸ Ross, Brian, “How Anwar Al-Awlaki Inspired Terror From Across the Globe,” September 30, 2011.

²⁹ Cruickshank, Paul and Tim Lister, “The ‘lone wolf’ – the unknowable face of terror,” CNN 2/18/2012.

³⁰ Riedel, Bruce. “AQAP’s ‘Great Expectations’ for the Future,” *CTC Sentinel* Issue 8, Volume 4 (August 2011).

trained him and provided the bomb. Although the bomb failed to detonate, it was a success for AQAP, as their capability to bypass security shocked the U.S. and resulted in increased security spending.

John Rollins noted in his 2011 article on al-Qa'ida that, "According to U.S. officials Al Qaeda cells and associates are located in over 70 countries. Sometimes these individuals never leave their home country but are radicalized with the assistance of others who have traveled abroad for training and indoctrination through the use of modern technologies."³¹ Clearly homegrown violent extremists pose a particularly difficult problem for law enforcement and the intelligence community. They are flexible, anonymous, and motivated.³² As this tactic has been mostly put forth by AQAP and particularly advanced by Anwar al-Awlaki, the U.S. has increased its attention towards the group and its propaganda arm. Since 9/11 the U.S. has been dedicated to a decapitation strategy, targeting special operations against individual cells and leaders by ramping up drone attacks. To address the larger and broader threat of AQAP, the U.S. has taken the approach that the best defense is a good offense. First, the U.S. has used targeted drone attacks and was successful in killing top AQAP leaders, like al-Awlaki and Samir Khan. This is also one of the primary ways in which the IC has also supported the military on the battlefield.

Another integral part of the U.S. strategy has been efforts to countering violent extremism (CVE). Domestically that has led to several federal, state and local partnerships that focus on the behavior, tactics, and indicators of potential terrorist

³¹ Rollins, p 306.

³² Helfstein, p 377.

activity.³³ Internationally, USIC agencies have partnered with foreign agencies to focus specifically on CVE. The Department of Homeland Security has CVE partnerships with the UK, the Netherlands, Germany, Canada, Belgium, Spain, Denmark, Australia and Europol.³⁴

Case Studies

To examine how successful increased international intelligence cooperation has been in limiting al-Qa'ida's operational capacity, this chapter reviews the role of cooperation in combating the financing of terrorism and in reducing the capability of al-Qa'ida in the Arabian Peninsula (AQAP). The international cooperation to combat and share information on terrorist financing was chosen as a case study because operational capabilities in any organization are inextricable linked to financing. Prior to 9/11, there really was no regulation or cooperation on a global level to combat terrorist financing or money laundering in general. The organization was able to transfer funds freely using legitimate and illegitimate means. AQAP was chosen as the second case study because they have become al-Qa'ida's most successful affiliate and the most operationally capable to strike U.S. interests. Though most of the information on international intelligence cooperation in these fields is classified, there is a sufficient amount of literature and news articles to provide evidence of the effects of international intelligence cooperation on al-Qa'ida's operational capacity.

³³ Department of Homeland Security, "Countering Violent Extremism," Official website of the Department of Homeland Security, at URL: <http://www.dhs.gov/topic/countering-violent-extremism>

³⁴ *Ibid.*

International Intelligence Cooperation on Terrorist Financing

The U.S. began building programs to counter terrorism financing after 9/11, immediately focusing on designating and freezing terrorist assets and on collecting financial intelligence.³⁵ The Patriot Act was one of the first preventative steps taken. While it was mostly focused on U.S. financial institutions, non-U.S. banks that did business with U.S. banks had to comply with the anti-money laundering and anti-terrorist financing regulations. Post-9/11, measures to counter terrorist financing were taken on the national, regional, and international levels.³⁶ Internationally, these initiatives were taken by the UN Security Council, the EU, the Financial Action Task Force (FATF), the World Bank, and the IMF to increase financial controls.³⁷ FATF is an inter-governmental group focused on combatting terrorist financing. The World Bank and International Monetary Fund created a *Reference Guide to Anti-Money Laundering (AML) and Combating the Financing of Terrorism (CFT)* for countries to comply with these standards.³⁸

Initially in 2002, the Council on Foreign Relations found there was little political will among U.S. allies to cooperate in curbing terrorist financing because “some fear [ed] the domestic political repercussions of taking action, and some disagree[d] with the view of the nature and severity of the problem.”³⁹ However, the European Union followed the

³⁵ Levitt, Matthew and Michael Jacobson, “Global Finance: The U.S. Campaign to Squeeze Terrorist Financing,” *Columbia Journal of International Affairs*, Vol. 62, No.1, Fall/Winter 2008, p 67.

³⁶ Passas, Nikos, “Understanding Terrorism Financing Report prepared for the Major Commission of Inquiry into the Investigation of the Bombing of Air India Flight 182,” Her Majesty the Queen in Right of Canada, represented by the Minister of Public Works and Government Services, 2010, p 19.

³⁷ Passas, p19.

³⁸ <http://web.worldbank.org/WBSITE/EXTERNAL/TOPICS/EXTFINANCIALSECTOR/EXTAML/0,,contntMDK:20746893~menuPK:2495265~pagePK:210058~piPK:210062~theSitePK:396512,00.html>

³⁹ Greenberg, Maurice R., William F Wechsler and Lee S. Wolosky, “Terrorist Financing: Report of an Independent Task Force Sponsored by the Council on Foreign Relations” Council on Foreign Relations, 2002, p2.

U.S. by establishing terrorist blacklists and Persian Gulf countries set up regulatory systems.⁴⁰ The UN and the Financial Action Task Force (FATF) increased the global efforts to combat terrorist financing.⁴¹

It is difficult to evaluate the success of international intelligence cooperation on combating terrorist financing because the information is secret and because what is known about the overall financing of terrorism is incomplete.⁴² There is also a lot of controversy and debate over the roles different sectors play in financing terrorism, the way funds are moved and stored and the amount of money involved.⁴³ The 9/11 Commission found that al-Qa'ida had a \$30 million annual budget prior to 9/11.⁴⁴ Further complicating the situation, there is not a universal definition for terrorist financing.⁴⁵ The 9/11 Commission also noted how al-Qa'ida's fundraising made collecting intelligence difficult as the amounts were small and they were sourced in a variety of ways.⁴⁶

Financing a terrorist attack is not necessarily an expensive undertaking, however, without funding terrorist organizations would not be able to survive.⁴⁷ Terrorist groups like al-Qa'ida have continued to evolve their financing to evade detection and support their new franchised organizational format.⁴⁸ Usama bin Laden structured al-Qa'ida's financial network after the channels used by the mujahedeen during the war with the

⁴⁰ Levitt, p67.

⁴¹ Levitt, p67.

⁴² Passas, p20.

⁴³ Passas, p20.

⁴⁴ Passas, p55.

⁴⁵ Passas, p28.

⁴⁶ Passas, p 29.

⁴⁷ Levitt, Matthew and Michael Jacobson, "Global Finance: The U.S. Campaign to Squeeze Terrorist Financing," *Columbia Journal of International Affairs*, Vol. 62, No.1, Fall/Winter 2008, p67.

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*

Soviets.⁴⁹ Since 2002, it has been clear that al-Qa'ida has raised and moved money in a variety of ways. They have turned to raising money through petty crime, charities, and donors, amongst other avenues.⁵⁰ Funds are moved through both traditional banking systems, as well as informal means like the hawala system.⁵¹ They have used trade in commodities like gold to exchange and stockpile value.⁵² The role of the commodities trade in financing al-Qa'ida is still debated. Dr. Nikos Passas, a Professor of Criminal Justice at Northeastern University who specializes in the study of illicit financial/trade flows, informal fund transfers, terrorism, and financial regulation, studied the issue of al-Qa'ida's involvement in the diamond trade, as it is one of the areas most contested by scholars and the intelligence community. Passas finds after extensive research that some insurgents, terrorist groups, or individual terrorists may have engaged in in the diamond trade, and though the amounts are not substantial, the sector is vulnerable for future use by militants.⁵³

CNN Asia Business Analyst, Ramy Inocencio wrote in 2011 that al-Qa'ida has diversified into four main sources of funding: wealthy individual patrons, infiltrated charities, criminal activities and legitimate businesses in a continued attempt to support themselves apart from al-Qa'ida core. Though this report does not seem to specifically indicate continued connection to the diamond, gold or gem trade, reports from Abbottabad after the raid on bin Laden's compound claimed that the bin Laden's

⁴⁹ Greenberg, Maurice R., William F Wechsler and Lee S. Wolosky, "Terrorist Financing: Report of an Independent Task Force Sponsored by the Council on Foreign Relations" Council on Foreign Relations, 2002, p1.

⁵⁰ Greenberg, p1.

⁵¹ Greenberg, p1-2.

⁵² Greenberg, p2.

⁵³ Passas, p42

household was buying and selling gold jewelry in local markets. Meanwhile, the branches and affiliates are largely financing themselves, in part from criminal activities like kidnappings and drug trafficking⁵⁴

In September 2011, Saudi Arabia held a three-day conference on combating terrorist financing, which brought together regional officials, officials from the U.S. Treasury Department, and other U.S. agencies.⁵⁵ The conference is significant as most of al-Qa'ida's donors are based in Saudi Arabia.⁵⁶ Bloomberg News reported that a senior U.S. intelligence official said, "Less money has been flowing from wealthy Persian Gulf sympathizers to the terrorist group's remaining leaders in Pakistan since the Saudis got serious about terrorism financing in recent years."⁵⁷ One year prior, in 2010, the Saudi Grand Mufti issued a fatwa against financing terrorism.⁵⁸ The article also cited a different U.S. intelligence official who said, "The anti-financing efforts have forced terrorist groups to reduce spending on training, recruiting and payments to terrorists' surviving family members. The U.S. has detected many more complaints from al-Qaeda members about money shortages."⁵⁹ David Cohen, the U.S. Treasury Department's undersecretary for terrorism and financial intelligence noted that "by 2009 and 2010, we were able to say that al-Qaeda was in its weakest financial condition since 2001."⁶⁰

The U.S.-EU are active partners in countering terrorist financing. Thanks to an EU-U.S. agreement, the U.S. has been given access to financial data from the Society of

⁵⁴ Gomez, Juan Miguel del Cid "A Financial Profile of the Terrorism of Al-Qaeda and its Affiliates," *Perspectives on Terrorism* 4, no 4, October 2010, p 7.

⁵⁵ Katz, Ian and John Walcott, "Al-Qaeda Members Gripe Over Cash Crunch as U.S. Targets Funding," Bloomberg News, January 9, 2012.

⁵⁶ Gomez, p7

⁵⁷ Katz.

⁵⁸ *Ibid.*

⁵⁹ *Ibid.*

⁶⁰ *Ibid.*

Worldwide Interbank Financial Telecommunications (SWIFT). According to a 2013 Congressional Research Service report for Congress, the U.S. has shared over 1,800 leads with European governments, many leading to prevention or investigations of terrorist attacks in Europe, as a result of the SWIFT data.⁶¹ The sharing has come under European scrutiny for privacy issues.⁶² As a result of the issues surrounding bulk data transfers to the U.S., the newest SWIFT accord pledges U.S. support if the EU decides to develop its own terrorist finance tracking program.⁶³ EU has also operated its own blacklist of individuals and organizations, most of which match the U.S. list but there are slight differences, like on Hezbollah.⁶⁴

FATF releases two FATF public documents three times a year which discuss the countries that are high-risk and non-cooperative regarding countering terrorist financing. Iran and the Democratic People's Republic of Korea have been constants on those lists. The countries named as jurisdictions with strategic AML/CFT deficiencies that have not made sufficient progress in addressing the deficiencies or have not committed to an action plan developed with the FATF to address the deficiencies in the public statement from February 2014 include Algeria, Ecuador, Ethiopia, Indonesia, Myanmar, Pakistan, Syria, Turkey, and Yemen.⁶⁵ While access to legitimate financial channels have been limited due to international cooperation, specifically with Saudi Arabia and the EU, monitoring and preventing the use of informal financial methods are more challenging.⁶⁶

⁶¹ Archick, Kristin. "U.S.-EU Cooperation Against Terrorism," *CRS Report for Congress*, September 4, 2013, p 6.

⁶² Archick, p 11.

⁶³ *Ibid.*

⁶⁴ Archick, p 7.

⁶⁵ FATF, "FATF Public Statement," February 14, 2014 at URL: <http://www.fatf-gafi.org/topics/high-riskandnon-cooperativejurisdictions/documents/public-statement-feb-2014.html>.

⁶⁶ Council on Foreign Relations, "The Global Regime for Terrorism," June 19, 2013.

As a result it is necessary to work with these countries to build capabilities. The international community must pressure deficient countries to change. If intelligence reports are correct and al-Qa'ida is struggling financially, an increase and intensifying of cooperation to counter terrorism financing could reduce al-Qa'ida operational capabilities and push the terrorist organization closer to defeat.

International Intelligence Cooperation Against al-Qa'ida in the Arabian Peninsula (AQAP)

The threat from AQAP remains a very real one. At the end of February 2014, Senior U.S. officials released terror warnings for international air travel as a result of chatter regarding Ibrahim al-Asiri, the AQAP bomb maker.⁶⁷ AQAP's greatest threat is its bomb-making potential. Their most important asset is al-Asiri, who is attributed with making the bombs used in a failed assassination attempt on Saudi Arabia's counterterrorism chief in 2009, in the attempted underwear bombing by Abdulmutallab on Christmas Day 2009, and in the 2010 parcel bombs.⁶⁸ AQAP has stated its team of bomb-makers can produce bombs capable of bypassing the most sophisticated surveillance equipment in the world.⁶⁹ In August 2011, AQAP made attempts to acquire the lethal poison ricin, which U.S. officials believe was intended to be packed around small explosives and detonated "in contained spaces, like a shopping mall, an airport or a subway station."⁷⁰ They used Inspire to call for individuals with experience in the "fields of microbiology or chemistry...to develop other poisons such as ricin or cyanide."⁷¹ Also, in Sada al-Malahim, they admitted to having high explosives "like PETN, melinite,

⁶⁷ Windrem, Robert, "U.S. Terror Warning Is About Yemen Bombmaker," NBCNews.

⁶⁸ Riedel.

⁶⁹ *Ibid.*

⁷⁰ Schmitt, Eric and Thom Shanker, "al-Qaeda Trying to Harness Toxin for Bombs, U.S. Officials Fear," *The New York Times*, August 12, 2011.

⁷¹ *Ibid.*

RDX, tetralite, etc.”⁷² With this capability, AQAP can carry out various small-scale attacks on targets ranging from U.S. airlines, metro systems, shopping malls, military bases, and other public spaces, while using a limited budget and few operatives.

AQAP emerged in Yemen in January 2009 after the Saudi and Yemeni branches of al-Qa’ida combined. The union made AQAP a regional franchise more capable of international attacks. AQAP has been al-Qa’ida’s foremost jihadist franchise.⁷³ They have been waging an insurgency in Yemen, while planning attacks on Saudi Arabia and the United States.⁷⁴ AQAP controls several smaller towns in Yemen where they use charities to hide financial support, like Dar al-Hikma al-Yemenia.⁷⁵ Scholars even argue that AQAP has used the Arab Spring to increase organizational capabilities.⁷⁶

Saudi Arabia has coordinated intelligence with the United States and the Yemeni government to counteract AQAP.⁷⁷ The only attack AQAP has been able to carry out in Saudi Arabia since 2009 was the failed assassination attempt on Saudi counterterrorism chief Prince Mohammed bin Nayef but they have since targeted Saudi officials inside Yemen, like their kidnapping of Saudi deputy consul in Aden in 2012.⁷⁸ AQAP has been challenged by the aggressive offensive taken by the U.S., Saudi, and Yemeni military and intelligence agencies.⁷⁹ They have failed to launch transnational attacks from Yemen due

⁷² IPT News.

⁷³ Stratfor Global Intelligence “Al Qaeda in the Arabian Peninsula: Yemen’s Ambitious Jihadists, Part 1,” Stratfor Analysis, June 2012.

⁷⁴ Stratfor Global Intelligence, Part 1.

⁷⁵ Stratfor Global Intelligence, Part 1.

⁷⁶ Faulkner, p2.

⁷⁷ Stratfor Global Intelligence “Al Qaeda in the Arabian Peninsula: Yemen’s Ambitious Jihadists, Part 2,” Stratfor Analysis, June 2012.

⁷⁸ Stratfor Global Intelligence, Part 2.

⁷⁹ Stratfor Global Intelligence “Al Qaeda in the Arabian Peninsula: Yemen’s Ambitious Jihadists, Part 3,” Stratfor Analysis, June 2012.

to failed devices, like the underwear bomb, and intelligence successes, like the thwarted printer bomb plot.⁸⁰

Saudi intelligence has been essential in the fight against AQAP. The 2010 cargo plane bomb plot was stopped as a result of intelligence received and shared by the Saudis. In October 2010, AQAP sent a bomb inside of an ink cartridge, built by al-Asiri, on a UPS aircraft with the plans to detonate the device over US airspace.⁸¹ Saudi intelligence received information regarding the cartridge, possibly from top AQAP leader, ex-Gitmo detainee Jaber al-Fayfi, who turned himself in to Saudi authorities, who in turn shared it with the U.S.⁸² The Homeland Security Department then published an alert in a bulletin on September 23, 2010, according to CBSNews.⁸³ Scotland Yard intercepted the cargo plane at East Midlands Airport from Cologne.⁸⁴ A second identical bomb was also discovered at a FedEx warehouse at Dubai airport.⁸⁵ In an *Inspire* magazine article, AQAP claimed that the entire operation cost \$4,200.⁸⁶ They asserted that they would continue to attempt such attacks to cause the U.S. to spend billions to step up security.⁸⁷

To address the immediate threat illustrated by recent attacks, the U.S. and other countries have taken preventive actions by stepping up their airport security measures. Since 9/11 the United States has worked towards increasing airport security by creating the Transportation Security Administration (TSA) in November 2001, bulletproofing

⁸⁰ Stratfor Global Intelligence, Part 3.

⁸¹ Rayner, Gordon and Duncan Gardham, "Cargo plane bomb plot: ink cartridge bomb 'timed to blow up over US'", *The Telegraph*, 10 November 2010.

⁸² Wassef, Khaled, "Timeline of Yemen Bomb Plot," CBSNEWS, October 30, 2010.

⁸³ *Ibid.*

⁸⁴ Rayner, Gordon and Duncan Gardham, "Cargo plane bomb plot: ink cartridge bomb 'timed to blow up over US'", *The Telegraph*, 10 November 2010.

⁸⁵ Wassef.

⁸⁶ Spencer, Richard, "Al-Qaeda parcel bomb attacks a 'good bargain'", *The Telegraph*, 21 November 2010.

⁸⁷ *Ibid.*

cockpit doors, increasing air marshals onboard flights, and increasing checkpoint screenings with pat-downs, metal detectors, and body scanners. To respond to AQAP's attacks, the U.S. and U.K. banned cargo shipments from Yemen and Somalia. A policy was put in place banning cartridges over 500g from hand baggage in the U.K.⁸⁸ While this is a necessary reaction, it plays into the strategy outlined by AQAP: to bleed the U.S. financially. Also, AQAP has illustrated it is innovative and ready to plot a new way to bypass security. As the U.S. spends money to increase security by scanning individuals, AQAP plotted to send bombs via cargo. Al-Asiri, who hid one pound of PETN plastic explosive in his brother's anal canal in an attempt to kill Prince Muhammad bin Nayef bin Abdul Aziz al-Saud by suicide bomb, has specifically proven he is skilled and diverse in his novel plot attempts. The USIC should also expect that AQAP will continue to return to previously attempted plots to achieve a successful attack on the U.S.

To counter al-Qa'ida's effectiveness in its strategy of a thousand cuts, the U.S. has to reduce security cost by increasing international cooperation. As a response to the threat to air cargo security, the U.S. and the EU have agreed to recognize the other's air cargo security.⁸⁹ According to U.S. and EU officials, this enhances security while providing savings for cargo operators.⁹⁰ The agreement also includes a pact to exchange information on their security regimes.⁹¹ EU officials claim that the agreement allows European operators to screen 100% of cargo on passenger planes bound for the U.S.⁹²

⁸⁸ BBC News, "New air cargo restriction imposed after bomb plot," November 4, 2010 accessed at <http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/uk-11696684>.

⁸⁹ Archick, p 18.

⁹⁰ *Ibid.*

⁹¹ *Ibid.*

⁹² *Ibid.*

To address the larger and broader threat of AQAP, the United States has taken preemptive actions. The Obama administration has attempted to decapitate AQAP's leadership by using targeted drone attacks, which were successful in killing top leaders, like al-Awlaki and Samir Khan, co-editor of *Inspire*. President Obama made a statement that "the death of Awlaki is a major blow to Al Qaeda's most active operational affiliate."⁹³ In order to continue these types of attacks, the U.S. needs to continue receiving accurate and actionable intelligence from Yemeni and Saudi intelligence. Also, the CIA has relied on Saudi Arabia and Yemen to operate airbases from unmanned drones. The drone used to kill Anwar al-Awlaki flew out of the CIA's secret airbase in Saudi Arabia.⁹⁴ More recently, a video that showed al-Qa'ida leaders in Yemen prompted the CIA to launch drone strikes over three days, which were accompanied by ground raids by Yemeni counterterrorism forces.⁹⁵

However, AQAP has recently become stronger in Yemen due to prolonged political unrest in the area. Manipulating the chaos of a state on the verge of collapse, AQAP has seized territory in the southern part of the country, creating a "new territorial base from which to operate."⁹⁶ With the southern separatist movement and movements in the north, Yemeni forces have been diverted away from efforts to combat AQAP.⁹⁷ Also, by May 2013, over 40 military camps in Ma'rib and in the South had reportedly rebelled

⁹³ Griffin, Jennifer and Justin Fishel, "Two U.S.-Born Terrorists Killed in CIA-Led Drone Strike," FOXNEWS September 30, 2011.

⁹⁴ BBC, "CIA operating drone base in Saudi Arabia, US media reveal," *BBC News*, February 6, 2013.

⁹⁵ Dilanian, Ken. "U.S. launches drone strikes against Al Qaeda targets in Yemen," *Los Angeles Times*, April 21, 2014.

⁹⁶ DeYoung, Karen, "U.S. plans to step up aid to Yemen if conditions are met," *The Washington Post*, February 20, 2012.

⁹⁷ IPT News, "Hearing: Yemen's instability is al-qaida's gain," March 2, 2011.

against their commanders, leaving areas unprotected.⁹⁸ The U.S. has to increasingly rely on Saudi intelligence for insights into AQAP's activities in the area.⁹⁹

Since the Arab Spring, AQAP has shifted strategy by creating Ansar al Sharia, an insurgent movement, which has become an alias for AQAP.¹⁰⁰ The group has proven capable of carrying out a strong campaign against the Yemeni military. The al-Qa'ida militants are moving freely through inter-provincial security checkpoints as a result of stolen government license plates.¹⁰¹ The group has now shifted strategy to carry out a string of assassinations in Yemen.¹⁰² Since January 2013, the group has carried out at least 100 assassinations of security and military personnel.¹⁰³ On May 6, 2013, the group was also able to attack the largest airbase in Yemen, al-Anad, where U.S. drone operations are run, causing a massive explosion.¹⁰⁴ Also in 2013, nine AQAP members were jailed after they planted an IED on a road President Hadi was scheduled to use in an attempt to assassinate him.¹⁰⁵ The device was discovered by security forces.¹⁰⁶

AQAP has continued to put out calls for homegrown attacks in their *Inspire* magazine. In March 2014, AQAP posted their Spring 2014 edition of *Inspire* calling for readers to detonate car bombs in major U.S. cities, including NYC and Washington,

⁹⁸ Carlino, Ludovico, "Al-Qaeda in the Arabian Peninsula Makes Inroads in Southern Yemen but Reveals Limits to Its Operational Capabilities," *Terrorism Monitor*, Vol. XI, Issue 13, June 27, 2013, p 5.

⁹⁹ Riedel.

¹⁰⁰ Sharp, Jeremy M., "Al Qaeda in the Arabian Peninsula and U.S. Counter-Terrorism Activities in Yemen," *Congressional Research Service*, November 2012, p9.

¹⁰¹ Carlino, p 5.

¹⁰² Coombs, Casey and Hannah Poppy, "Is AQAP to Blame for the String of Assassinations in Yemen," *CTC Sentinel*, Vol. 7, Issue 1, January 2014, p 18.

¹⁰³ Carlino, p 5.

¹⁰⁴ *Ibid.*

¹⁰⁵ Reed, Jason, "Yemen jails nine al Qaeda members for plot to kill president," Reuters, December 29, 2013.

¹⁰⁶ *Ibid.*

D.C.¹⁰⁷ The magazine provides car bomb instructions and includes guidance on potential disguises, like wearing a white beard near Christmas.¹⁰⁸ This focus recalls an attempted car bombing in Time Square by Faisal Shahzad. AQAP has already successfully created these car bombs, which they have attempted to use while targeting the natural gas facilities and pipelines.¹⁰⁹ They have returned to other previously attempted methods also, including shoe-bomb threats, prompting the U.S. issued warnings to airlines flying into the U.S. after intelligence reports that al-Asiri may have found a new bomb making technique to evade security measures.¹¹⁰ The cooperation, particularly with Saudi Arabia, Yemen, the U.K. and the EU has allowed the U.S. to combat AQAP. It has resulted in multiple attacks being thwarted. It has allowed the U.S. to indirectly and directly attack the group and fight the growing insurgency. The group is occupied with this fight in Yemen but remains committed to attacks on the U.S. The U.S. must rely on cooperation to find and thwart these plots and keep pressure on the group within Yemen.

Current Issues

There are several hotspots locations where al-Qa'ida or other Islamic extremists are highly active, specifically in Russia, Syria, Mali and countries affected by the Arab Spring. These locations should be at the foremost of theUSIC's attention towards combatting al-Qa'ida's operational capability. Each threat is unique and needs a unique counterterrorism response. In order to be able to address each of these individual threats

¹⁰⁷ Ferran, Lee "Al Qaeda's Latest Magazine: Notes From Dead American Terrorists," ABCNews, March 15, 2014.

¹⁰⁸ *Ibid.*

¹⁰⁹ Carlino, p 5.

¹¹⁰ Hosenball, Mark "Latest shoe bomb threat linked to al-Qaeda's Yemen affiliate," Reuters, February 20, 2014.

the USIC needs to be able to work with intelligence liaisons in and around these countries to get access and to share the cost of a many front response with our partners.

Russia

The Boston Marathon bombing highlighted existing strains between the U.S. and Russian intelligence sharing. Tamerlan Tsarnaev went to Russia in 2012 and traveled to Dagestan, a Northern Caucasus province, for six months.¹¹¹ In 2011, Russian intelligence reached out to the FBI about Tamerlan Tsarnaev to express their concern that he had embraced radical Islam and might travel to Russia to join insurgents.¹¹² Following this, the FBI interviewed him but did not find a nexus to terrorism. They requested additional information from Russian intelligence but did not get a response.¹¹³ The lack of information and effective communication allowed the threat to fall through the cracks of this strained relationship, which eventually led to the attack that killed three and wounded two hundred and sixty-four people.

Russia is dealing with its own Muslim fundamentalist threat in the Northern Caucasus, highlighted when Imarat Kavkaz expressed their intent to carry out attacks on the Sochi games.¹¹⁴ However, the relationship between the USIC and the Russian government has become more strained since the Russian authorities gave National Security Agency leaker Edward Snowden asylum. DNI James Clapper testified that it was probable that Russian intelligence has spoken with Snowden.¹¹⁵ The difficulties are

¹¹¹ Gutterman, Steve "U.S. lawmakers want better Russia cooperation after Boston bombs," Reuters, June 2, 2013.

¹¹² *Ibid.*

¹¹³ *Ibid.*

¹¹⁴ Mears, Bill "U.S. doesn't rule out possibility Snowden secretly talking to Russians," CNN, February 5, 2014.

¹¹⁵ *Ibid.*

enhanced because of Russia's support of President Assad in Syria and the issues in Kiev. Successful cooperation seems unlikely.

Syria

The Syrian war is chaotic, specifically in the north and east where rebel fighters face either Assad's forces or jihadists.¹¹⁶ Syria is the front line and defining battlefield for this generation of jihadists, as foreign fighters flow into the region. Estimates of the situation in Syria suggest al-Qa'ida has 25,000 fighters, 10,000 of which are foreign fighters.¹¹⁷ History has shown that these foreign fighters are security problems and may attempt to carry out attacks when they return home. The al-Qa'ida Al Nusra Front have been taking territory in Syria.¹¹⁸ In the beginning of 2014, the various jihadi groups began to splinter and al-Qa'ida's al-Nusra Front openly called for the Islamic State of Iraq and Syria (ISIS) to return to al-Qa'ida's central command.¹¹⁹ Both groups are fighting in Syria but differentiate on their main priority. Al-Nusra is focused on toppling President Bashar al-Assad's government but ISIS is prioritizing the creation of a radical Islamist state, which has led to infighting.¹²⁰ Ayman al-Zawahiri has made statements to assert ISIS is not an al-Qa'ida affiliate as he has become increasingly concerned with the groups rejection of al-Qa'ida core's leadership and with the brutal campaign ISIS has

¹¹⁶ Nakhoul, Samia "Al Qaeda hijacks spirit of Syria revolt three years on," Reuters, March 11, 2014.

¹¹⁷ Nakhoul.

¹¹⁸ Blanche, p14.

¹¹⁹ Abdelaziz, Salma "Al Qaeda branch in Syria issues ultimatum to splinter group," CNN, February 26, 2014.

¹²⁰ Abdelaziz.

led.¹²¹ Al-Qa'ida's presence and capability in Syria continues to remain a problem for U.S. interests.

Mali

The al-Qa'ida affiliate al-Qa'ida in the Islamic Maghreb (AQIM) had conquered northern Mali by 2013.¹²² In 2014, President Obama specifically mentioned Mali, along with Yemen, Somalia, and Iraq, during his State of the Union Address as the main al-Qa'ida threats.¹²³ He asserted that the U.S. will need to continue to work with partners to counter these threats.¹²⁴ In response to al-Qa'ida's success in Mali, a multilateral campaign was launched, which West Point's Combating Terrorism Center praised saying, "the multilateral response to Mali provides many lessons for how the United States may engage with al-Qa'ida threats in various regions across the globe."¹²⁵ The French-led Operation Serval sent French ground forces and fighter jets, and coordinated with all source U.S. intelligence, including use of an unarmed MQ-9 drone.¹²⁶ The al-Qa'ida infiltrated rebel group fled throughout northern Mali by the end of January 2013.¹²⁷ Since that time, the UN has taken on a peacekeeping operation, which the U.S. continues to provide intelligence support to and the French have focused on finding high value targets.¹²⁸

¹²¹ Abdelaziz.

¹²² Dreazen, Yochi, "The New Terrorist Training Ground," *The Atlantic*, October 2013, p61.

¹²³ Sheehan, Michael A. and Geoff D. Porter, "The Future Role of U.S. Counterterrorism Operations in Africa," *CTC Sentinel*, Special Issue, Vol. 7, Issue 2, February 2014, p 1.

¹²⁴ Sheehan, p 1.

¹²⁵ Sheehan, p 1.

¹²⁶ Sheehan, p 2.

¹²⁷ Sheehan, p 2.

¹²⁸ Sheehan, p 2.

Arab Spring

Following the Arab Spring, Michael Scheuer, former head of the CIA unit in charge of pursuing Usama bin Laden, stated that intelligence from key partners, including the Egyptian Intelligence service, the Libyans and the Lebanese, has “dried up”.¹²⁹ He claimed that as a result of members of the intelligence services fleeing or of bitter feelings after the U.S. did not back the established governments that “the amount of work that has devolved on US and British services is enormous, and the result is blindness in our ability to watch what’s going on among militants.”¹³⁰ The U.S. saw important intelligence partners like Egyptian intelligence chief General Omar Suleiman and Libyan spymaster Moussa Koussa fall from power.¹³¹ DNI Clapper also warned that transitioning governments would be skeptical of cooperating with the U.S., hampering counterterrorism efforts.¹³² He also advises that the unrest across the region have provided opportunities for terrorists to use ungoverned space to organize and launch attacks.¹³³ Bruce Riedel agrees with this finding saying of al-Qa’ida, “It’s an adaptive organization and it has exploited the chaos and turmoil of revolutionary change to create operational bases and new strongholds.”¹³⁴

¹²⁹ Higgins, Charlotte “Arab spring has created ‘intelligence disaster’, warns former CIA boss,” The Guardian, August 28, 2011.

¹³⁰ Higgins.

¹³¹ Dickey, Christopher “How the Arab Spring Has Weakened U.S. Intelligence,” Newsweek, June 12, 2011.

¹³² Clapper, James R. “Statement for the Record: Worldwide Threat Assessment of the US Intelligence Community,” Senate Select Committee on Intelligence, March 12, 2013, p14.

¹³³ Clapper, p 14.

¹³⁴ Blanche, p 14.

Conclusion

Al-Qa'ida's operational capabilities have changed significantly since 9/11. After international security forces reduced the operational capability of al-Qa'ida core, the al-Qa'ida affiliate groups developed and have become more potent. On January 31, 2012, DNI Clapper told the Senate, "As long as we sustain the pressure on it, we judge that core al Qaeda will be of largely symbolic importance to the global jihadist movement but regional affiliates...and, to a lesser, extent, small cells and individuals will drive the global jihad agenda."¹³⁵ A review of the al-Qa'ida affiliates operational capabilities shows that the jihadist movement still poses a strong threat to U.S.-interests. As al-Qa'ida affiliates take advantage of fragile states, particularly after the Arab Spring, the U.S. must refocus its efforts to increase intelligence cooperation to reduce al-Qa'ida affiliates' capabilities.

The study on international intelligence cooperation on terrorist financing shows how the international community has advanced to combat terrorist financing since 9/11. The cooperation, particularly with the European Union and with Saudi Arabia has reduced the amount of terrorist financing flowing through formal channels. There is no other alternative for the U.S. to track and cut-off these essential funding revenues, so it needs to find and strengthen willing and essential partners. It appears that an increase in Saudi intelligence focus on combating terrorist financing has stemmed some financing from the Persian Gulf. As a result it seems terrorist groups have been forced to reduce spending and members have increased grievances regarding their financial situations. While this might reduce al-Qa'ida operational capabilities, the group is not yet bankrupt, so strengthening cooperation and focus is necessary. While FATF attempts to work with

¹³⁵ McCormick, Ty, "Al Qaeda Core: A Short History," *Foreign Policy*, March 17, 2014.

the current blacklisted countries, the U.S. should work, when possible, with intelligence within these countries to strengthen their capacity. In correlation with the most dangerous affiliates, the U.S. should work with intelligence allies to understanding terrorist financing in Indonesia, Pakistan, Syria, Turkey, and Yemen.

AQAP is one of al-Qa'ida's deadliest affiliates. The group maintains significant operational capabilities, especially since they have gained ungoverned space in the south. If the U.S., Yemeni forces, and Saudi Arabia can keep the pressure on AQAP within Yemen, it might reduce their chances of launching an attack against the U.S. homeland, as they become distracted with the battle at home. The U.S. should expect AQAP to return to previously attempted plots, like the shoe bomb, car bomb, and cargo airplane bomb attempts. Saudi intelligence on AQAP is essential for the USIC. The U.S. has been able to uncover many of the AQAP attacks against the U.S. as a direct result of the intelligence partnership with Saudi Arabia. The relationship has led to the assassination of high-ranking AQAP members and has provided sufficient warning on several potential attacks. Sharing responsibilities in this way also allows for cost savings for the U.S.

In fact, each affiliate requires a unique counter strategy and several intelligence partners. The affiliate groups are now the most capable of carrying out an attack as al-Qa'ida core has been operationally limited and homegrown extremists often lack the know-how to successfully carry out attacks. While al-Qa'ida has not been eradicated, its operational capabilities could not have been limited without the help of international intelligence cooperation. Al-Qa'ida has shifted strategies to accommodate for the loss of operational capabilities at the al-Qa'ida core level and they now focus on lower impact attacks.

Individual homegrown terrorists increase the burden for law enforcement and the intelligence community as they are much more difficult to track and have a greater success rate for carrying out small scale attacks. However, the number of casualties is much smaller than attacks carried out by affiliates or by al-Qa'ida core. There are positives and negatives to this. One obvious positive of al-Qa'ida's operational movement in this direction means less lives lost. Also, it means that the attacks may have less direct guidance from al-Qa'ida core. In some cases, this could lead to unclear ideological messaging. The purpose of using terrorism as a tactic is to use these attacks to hurt a large enemy and bring attention to your cause. When the Tsarnaev brothers, for example, attacked the Boston Marathon bombing, their message was somewhat lost. If they meant to promote the cause of movements in the Caucasus their attacks were largely unsuccessful in doing so. As individuals who carry out these attacks have different motivations it may lead to the loss of the core al-Qa'ida message. Also, with these attacks it is more likely that those killed randomly could include Muslim victims, undercutting some of al-Qa'ida's core ideology. The current movements of al-Qa'ida in Yemen, Mali, Syria, and other countries affected by the Arab Spring and the counter movements made by the U.S. and its intelligence partners will determine if al-Qa'ida will increase operational capability or diminish.

CHAPTER 2: How Can the U.S. Build Effective Intelligence Cooperation with Foreign Agencies to Combat 21st Century Security Threats?

Introduction

The past two decades have brought a shift to the international security environment. Globalization has provided opportunities for non-state actors and transformed criminal operations into dangerous transnational organized crime. The United States faces threats from global terrorism, cyber-attacks, rising military powers, nuclear weapons, economic espionage, and drug trafficking. The rise of non-state actors has provided a unique concern for states. Non-state actors use underground means and spread out across borders, making it difficult for states to detect and thwart their operations. They have also been able to take advantage of globalization while global governance has remained weak.¹³⁶ The operations of these individuals depend on secrecy and elusiveness, which is why, in response, governments have turned to intelligence agencies.¹³⁷ The terrorist attacks on September 11th, combined with the effects of globalization, have resulted in an increase in international intelligence cooperation.¹³⁸

The study of intelligence systems can be difficult and complex, as evidenced by the fact that scholars often struggle to come to consensus on the definition of intelligence. Broadly speaking, state intelligence services work to provide leadership with useful,

¹³⁶ Aldrich, Richard J., 2011 "International intelligence cooperation in practice," Chapter 2 in *International Intelligence Cooperation and Accountability*, edited by Hans Born, Ian Leigh and Aidan Wills, New York: Routledge, p24.

¹³⁷ *Ibid*, p19.

¹³⁸ *Ibid*.

often secret, information to support state security.¹³⁹ Experts also argue that as intelligence organizations have been tasked to go beyond collection and into actions, including covert actions, the secret operations should be incorporated into an understanding of the definition of intelligence. Much of the literature on this subject concentrates on intelligence failures. There is also budding scholarship on intelligence oversight and accountability. However, due to the secret nature of intelligence, there is only a small amount of literature that focuses on international intelligence cooperation, and most of it concentrates on historical examples, specifically the UKUSA agreement, United Kingdom – United States of America Agreement, human rights concerns or counterterrorism collaboration.

How can the United States build effective intelligence cooperation with foreign agencies to combat 21st century security threats? Increased international intelligence cooperation has been noted over the past ten years.¹⁴⁰ The CIA has recognized the “long overdue” need to adapt the intelligence model from state-centric, which was institutionalized during the Cold War, to one that focuses on “anticipating and warning about major threats to our nation’s security.”¹⁴¹ International terrorist attacks have been planned and carried out across several countries, making it unlikely that one government could detect, deter or prevent attacks on its own.¹⁴² In an effort to counter transnational terrorist networks, the United States has had to increase cooperation with traditional

¹³⁹ O’Connell, Kevin M., 2004 “Thinking about Intelligence Comparatively,” *Brown Journal of World Affairs*, 11:1, p192.

¹⁴⁰ Aldrich, p19.

¹⁴¹ George, Roger Z., 2008 “Meeting 21st Century Transnational Challenges: Building a Global Intelligence Paradigm” accessed at < <https://www.cia.gov/library/center-for-the-study-of-intelligence/csi-publications/csi-studies/studies/vol51no3/building-a-global-intelligence-paradigm.html>>

¹⁴² *Ibid.*

international intelligence partners and cultivate intelligence relationships with new ones.¹⁴³ This is currently being played out with partners like Saudi Arabia and Pakistan.

This chapter has five sections. The first section defines concepts of intelligence cooperation. The second section will define the factors that make for successful intelligence cooperation, discussing the three most commonly put forward: shared interest, mutual trust and balanced relationship, and introducing a fourth: political concerns. The third section provides an explanation of the dilemma of new partners. The fourth section will examine two case studies: Saudi Arabia and Pakistan, in order to evaluate how the factors of successful intelligence cooperation can be used to identify potential new partners and analyze the successfulness of current relationships. Finally, the last section will discuss the implication of the argument for other national threats. Overall, this chapter seeks to provide an understanding of the factors that are needed for successful intelligence cooperation. It will challenge traditional emphasis on balanced relationships and present an increased need of the Intelligence Community to focus on political aspects of their partner country. By analyzing these factors, this chapter can begin to provide the United States Intelligence Community with an effective way of studying countries to identify which new partnerships might be successful and where current relationships might be failing.

Concepts

The analysis of international intelligence cooperation requires outlining the concept of cooperation. The United States shares intelligence with countries across three

¹⁴³ McGill, Anna-Katherine Staser and David H. Gray, "Challenges to International Counterterrorism Intelligence Sharing," *Global Security Studies*, Summer 2012, Vol. 3, Issue 3, p80.

categories: traditional allies, new allies (nontraditional), and traditional adversaries.¹⁴⁴ Traditional allies include those made by the UKUSA agreement in 1946: the U.S.'s NSA and the British GCHQ, as well as second parties, Canada, Australia and New Zealand, and third parties, Norway, Denmark, West Germany, and Turkey.¹⁴⁵ New allies, including Pakistan and Yemen, have been developed for counterterrorism purposes.¹⁴⁶ Traditional adversaries, including Libya and Syria, have increased intelligence interactions post-9/11.¹⁴⁷ Distributing intelligence occurs across five levels: complete visibility, partial exposure of raw product, summary data sharing, analysis sharing and sharing policy conclusions.¹⁴⁸ This span of sharing goes from the greatest material and most vulnerability to the least material and most secure. Also, some intelligence cooperation operates as client-server, meaning that one of the countries is receiving most of the intelligence and one is providing it.¹⁴⁹ Critics of this relationship suggest it brings overreliance, pointing to the Russian intelligence services having to redevelop networks after the fall of the Soviet Union.¹⁵⁰

In accordance with these levels, H. Bradford Westerfield, who was a Yale Professor and intelligence expert, created the first taxonomy of intelligence cooperation.¹⁵¹ This taxonomy divides intelligence cooperation into six forms: fully fledged liaison, intelligence information sharing, intelligence operations sharing,

¹⁴⁴ Reveron, Derek S., "Counterterrorism and Intelligence Cooperation", *Journal of Global Change and Governance*, Volume I: Summer 2008, p5.

¹⁴⁵ *Ibid.*

¹⁴⁶ *Ibid.*

¹⁴⁷ *Ibid.*

¹⁴⁸ Clough, Chris, 2010 "Quid Pro Quo: The Challenges of International Strategic Intelligence Cooperation," *International Journal of Intelligence and CounterIntelligence*. Vol. 17: Issue 4, p603.

¹⁴⁹ *Ibid*, p605.

¹⁵⁰ *Ibid.*

¹⁵¹ Aldrich, 25.

intelligence support, crypto-diplomacy, and the intrinsic risks of liaison.¹⁵² Any of these forms can operate formally or informally.¹⁵³ These forms should be remembered while doing a study of intelligence cooperation, as it is important to identify at which level two nations are sharing intelligence. The goal of analyzing what makes an effective intelligence relationship is to provide a measure for current partners, as well as a guideline for identifying potential partners, and a clear way of understanding liaison failures. Once these are identified, the intelligence agency can adjust the levels of cooperation to ensure efficiency and protection.

Successful Intelligence Cooperation

Successful foreign intelligence relationships give the U.S. opportunities to respond to ‘time-sensitive’ threats, provide access to information otherwise denied to the U.S., and provide unique cultural understanding, direct action, or a cover for U.S. actions.¹⁵⁴ There are also obvious disadvantages. Intelligence cooperation makes the U.S. vulnerable to third-parties, including adversaries who can steal secrets or tactics. It also makes the USIC vulnerable to bad information and possible connections with

¹⁵² *Ibid.*

¹⁵³ *Ibid.*

¹⁵⁴ Rosenbach, Eric and Aki J. Peritz, 2009 “Confrontation or Collaboration?: Congress and the Intelligence Community,” Harvard Kennedy School and Belfer Center, p50.

unethical or illegal activities.¹⁵⁵ Experts cite the factors that account for effective cooperation as shared interests, mutual trust, and distribution of power.¹⁵⁶

Shared Interests

The U.S. government has long acknowledged a security strategy heavily guided by shared interests. In 1998, the White House released “A National Security Strategy for a New Century”, which outlined national interests. They describe interests as falling into

¹⁵⁵ *ibid*, 50-51.

¹⁵⁶ **Experts identify some combination of these factors lead to effective intelligence cooperation. These experts include: the Director of Security Strategies, a Professor of National Security Affairs and the EMC ‘Informationist’ Chair at the U.S. Naval War College Derek Reveron, Intelligence Officer, 101st Airborne Division, U.S. Army Captain Jeanne Hull, researcher at the Swedish Institute of International Affairs Bjorn Fagersten, former Strategic Analyst at the Canadian Department of National Defence and a former Marcel Cadieux Policy Planning Fellow at the Canadian Department of Foreign Affairs and International Trade Stéphane Lefebvre, author Chris Clough, Quid Pro Quo: The Challenges of International Strategic Intelligence Cooperation, Professor of International Security at the University of Warwick Richard J. Aldrich, Professor at the University of Sydney Thomas Wilkins, who specializes in Security Studies and Strategic Studies, and Professor of Political Science at UNC James Igoe Walsh.**

three categories: vital interests, important national interests and humanitarian and other interests.¹⁵⁷ Vital interests are those that concern the survival and safety of the nation. These are immediate security concerns including territory and territory of our allies, citizens' safety, economic well-being, and critical infrastructure. Important national interests affect the global environment and what is considered 'national well-being'. An example of this could be intervening to restore democracies to countries considered strategically important. Finally, humanitarian and other interests are dictated by the country's values. For the U.S., this might mean a violation of human rights, or disaster response.

A shared interest is the initial building block towards identifying possible intelligence partners. Successful intelligence cooperation is built upon a commonly perceived threat. The U.S. has fostered the strongest and most frequent intelligence sharing with our traditional allies, who share political and cultural values, democratic institutions, and a common history.¹⁵⁸ These partners include the U.K., Canada, and Australia, who have all traditionally been aligned with the U.S., have some common ancestry, a common language, and comparable social norms, ethical values, and political systems. The continued success relies on the belief that each country's strategic interests will remain aligned with the other.¹⁵⁹ A country remains a potential partner as long as it perceives the threat in the same way and has similar policy objectives. As outlined previously, shared interests can be common threats or common values. For example, NATO members, who perceived the Soviet Union as a common threat during the Cold

¹⁵⁷ The White House, "A National Security Strategy for a New Century", October 1998.

¹⁵⁸ McGill, p77.

¹⁵⁹ Rosenbach, 51-52.

War, shared a large amount of intelligence regarding the Soviets.¹⁶⁰ Also, though Germany and the United States did not agree that Iraq was a common threat, and though the tip was eventually determined to be not credible, Germany provided the U.S. with intelligence on Iraq's alleged biological weapons programs, which showed the bond between the two countries and their shared values against the potential use of biological weapons.

Mutual Trust

After potential partners are identified, the U.S. must decide which actors it can trust or cultivate a relationship with. Mutual trust is the most vital building block of intelligence sharing. The primary reason is that intelligence involves sensitive information, which, if exposed, can be a vulnerability.¹⁶¹ Intelligence leaks can expose sources or operational tactics, jeopardize actions being taken against the enemy, or damage the credibility of the nation.¹⁶² The sharer must trust that the information will not be disseminated to an enemy or third party. Both parties must also trust the legitimacy of the intelligence being shared.¹⁶³

Trust is based on anticipations of others' likely actions in the future. These are developed by analyzing an intelligence agency's current reputation, competency and credibility. Trust is built when a certain level of control and confidence is reached. Trust is built when a certain level of control and confidence is reached, based on a reputation built over time. It is the foundation of intelligence cooperation. Also, successful

¹⁶⁰ Reveron, p5.

¹⁶¹ McGill, p83.

¹⁶² *Ibid.*

¹⁶³ *Ibid.*

operations and cooperation reinforce trust. With the increase of trust comes the increase of cooperation. Frequent successful interactions lead to greater levels of trust.

Additionally, international intelligence cooperation has the potential hazard of circular reporting, which means information could be passed full circle giving a false sense of validation.¹⁶⁴ This is one of the reasons why most scholars prefer bilateral agreements.¹⁶⁵ Bilateral agreements are sharing pacts between two countries. One way to increase security on the information being shared is to limit the number of partners. Information is more secure within these agreements because it maintains control over ‘end users’.¹⁶⁶ Bilateral agreements usually have a third-party rule forbidding intelligence dissemination to an outside party without the originator’s consent.¹⁶⁷ This one-on-one relationship is a test of trust, as it controls that ‘accepted’ access to two parties, ensuring that any leaks to outside entities (or similar failures) are traceable to the other party.

Balanced Relationship

Some scholars argue the relationship needs to be balanced if it is going to be successful and lasting. They wrote that the costs of the cooperation must be well understood and that both parties must strive to make the relationship equal to avoid unfair burden-sharing.¹⁶⁸ Distribution of power is said to put pressure on states. A balanced relationship also means that the parties remain conscious of sovereignty and jurisdiction.¹⁶⁹ It is determined by a cost-benefit analysis.

¹⁶⁴ Clough, p606.

¹⁶⁵ Aldrich, p17.

¹⁶⁶ Aldrich, p27.

¹⁶⁷ Forcese, Craig, “The collateral casualties of collaboration: the consequences for civil and human rights of transnational intelligence sharing,” Chapter 4 in *International Intelligence Cooperation and Accountability*, edited by Hans Born, Ian Leigh and Aidan Wills, New York: Routledge, p77.

¹⁶⁸ Clough, p603.

¹⁶⁹ Aldrich, p22.

However, successful cooperation does not necessarily mean that it will be exactly mutually beneficially to all sides. The UKUSA agreement provides certain benefits to all parties, but it is suggested that, due to greater resources, the United States and the United Kingdom provide more than Canada, Australia and New Zealand.¹⁷⁰ In turn, all of these countries have partnered with less advanced intelligence services, who can provide Human Intelligence (HUMINT) for Signals Intelligence (SIGINT).¹⁷¹ This reality of intelligence sharing shows that most scholars overemphasize the importance of this factor. All countries do not share information equally. The greatest counter example is the U.S. relationship with Canada. The U.S. is clearly the dominant partner in the intelligence relationship but the partnership is considered vital and successful for both sides. Finally, countries interact on several different levels including trade, military coordination, financial aid, and diplomacy. Any one of these can be leveraged when necessary to counteract an otherwise uneven intelligence relationship.

Political Concerns

There is another factor not traditionally considered with those previously discussed, political concerns. These political concerns range from cooperating with nations that have negative reputations, known low levels of oversight, and human rights abuses.¹⁷² The most crucial political concern for intelligence liaison is political instability. The CIA in particular has had a troubled history of actions against democratically elected governments or relationships with unpopular dictators. It is essential for the U.S. to understand the political issues and movements within the partner

¹⁷⁰ Aldrich, p24.

¹⁷¹ Lefebvre, Stephane, "The Difficulties and Dilemmas of International Intelligence Cooperation," *International Journal of Intelligence and CounterIntelligence*, Vol. 16, No. 4 (Winter 2003/2004), p529.

¹⁷² Forcese, p87.

country, so that U.S. agencies can protect intelligence and maneuver the collaboration with maximum situational awareness. Understanding the political movements or unrest within the country and the political stability of the partner government is important so the U.S. is not caught off-guard when the government of their intelligence partner is toppled, like it was during the revolution in Iran. Part of this is understanding the strength of the government, as well as the public sentiment in the partner country.

New Partner Dilemma

The prototype of successful intelligence sharing is the UKUSA agreement. The UKUSA intelligence treaty of 1946 is made of several complex agreements between the United States, United Kingdom, Canada, Australia and New Zealand.¹⁷³ The seven-page agreement has been called “one of the most important documents in the history of the Cold War.”¹⁷⁴ Thanks to the pact, the U.S. and U.K. have “shared more secrets than any two independent powers in the history of the world.”¹⁷⁵ Many individuals cite this relationship as an example of multilateral intelligence sharing. Others argue the “majority of these agreements are bilateral although their overlapping nature sometimes results in a situation that can feel multilateral.” The close U.S.-U.K. relationship has brought several intelligence successes since its inception. From the end of WWII through the Cold War, the two countries cooperated closely on intelligence. This relationship was continued post-Cold War and expanded to defend against terrorism.¹⁷⁶ In 2006, the two countries cooperation prevented a terrorist plot to explode ten airliners over the U.S.¹⁷⁷

However, the changing security environment has brought the necessity for new intelligence partners. The former Strategic Analyst at the Canadian Department of National Defence and former Marcel Cadieux Policy Planning Fellow at the Canadian Department of Foreign Affairs and International Trade, Stephane Lefebvre said, “Given its human intelligence weaknesses in regions such as the Middle East and Central Asia, the United States has no choice but to work with friendly indigenous intelligence

¹⁷³ Aldrich, p27.

¹⁷⁴ White, Adam, “How a Secret Spy Pact Helped Win the Cold War”, TIME, June 29, 2010.

¹⁷⁵ White.

¹⁷⁶ Reveron, p5.

¹⁷⁷ Rosenbach, 50-51.

agencies.”¹⁷⁸ This has been difficult for the U.S. due to anti-Americanism, suspicions of imperialism and previous volatile relationships in the region.¹⁷⁹ Established partners alone are not sufficient when combating these new threats as they cannot crackdown on financing and ongoing operations.¹⁸⁰ Saudi Arabia provides a good example of a so-far seemingly successful relationship that is strained by the feelings of the Saudi population but rests upon a common interest of anti-terrorism.¹⁸¹

In dealing with these new partners, the U.S. has to focus on the political ramifications of cooperation with certain countries. After 9/11, Moammar Gaddafi cooperated with the U.S. to shut down Pakistani scientist A.Q. Khan’s nuclear proliferation network.¹⁸² Syrian intelligence was also said to have become a source for the CIA on al-Qa’ida, thwarting at least two attacks on U.S. targets.¹⁸³ While the direct impact of these interactions led to counterterrorism successes, there is a larger question regarding sustainability and political fallout that needs to be addressed. The Arab Spring saw a popular uprising against the governments of both of these countries. The greater the partnership was, the greater the potential that these populations will have anti-American sentiments, an issue in a region where the strategy is to win hearts and minds. On the other hand, if the United States turns on someone who has been a security partner, it could make building trust with future partners more difficult. This chapter will seek to identify a framework of factors to use in identifying or evaluating new partners.

¹⁷⁸ Lefebvre, 529.

¹⁷⁹ McGill, p80.

¹⁸⁰ *Ibid.*

¹⁸¹ *Ibid*, p80-81.

¹⁸² Reveron, p8.

¹⁸³ *Ibid*, p8-9.

The United States needs to expand its intelligence partners to counter rising security threats. Intelligence agencies within the U.S. and around the world have geared their efforts on combating terrorism and preventing an attack that could destabilize their country. Some governments have been fighting these elements internally and even face a threat to their control. The U.S. has attempted to develop intelligence-sharing efforts with these governments. The search for new relationships will be a challenge as there will have to be some sacrifice on mutual interests, mutual trust, and mutual benefits. Traditionally, scholars point to strong shared interests, mutual trust and a balanced relationship as measures of success. This chapter suggests successful international intelligence relationships must be sought and built based on strong shared interests and trust, with a continuous analysis of the political situation in the partner country. Without a focus on the political and long-term ramifications of the chosen partners, the U.S. can miss the signs of a failing relationship, a failing government or the rise of new security issues from that same region. A balanced relationship is not necessary for success.

Intelligence

In the post-9/11 era, intelligence agencies and cooperation have led the way on combatting terrorism.¹⁸⁴ Some successful intelligence cooperation can be traced back to WWII or the Cold War, and others materialized after the fall of the Soviet Union.¹⁸⁵ These networks were expanded after 9/11 to include new partners.¹⁸⁶ The CIA has connections to more than 400 agencies around the world, providing information

¹⁸⁴ Sepper, Elizabeth, "Democracy, Human Rights, and Intelligence Sharing", *Texas International Law Journal*, Vol. 46:151, p153.

¹⁸⁵ *Ibid.*

¹⁸⁶ *Ibid*, p154.

otherwise unavailable.¹⁸⁷ The U.S. needs human intelligence, geographical and cultural knowledge and language skills.¹⁸⁸

With hundreds of potential case studies, this chapter, which is interested in providing a framework for evaluating potential partners and new relationships, looks at international intelligence cooperation that has grown significantly since 9/11. This chapter has discussed UKUSA to help build the measures of effectiveness but will evaluate cases outside of the group of traditional allies in order to prove how these factors can be used as a measurement of success or failure with new partners. Pakistan and Saudi Arabia were chosen because the U.S. has greatly increased its intelligence relations with these two countries to address counterterrorism issues. Both countries have had some intelligence successes and some intelligence failures. Both countries have had significant issues regarding terrorism within their own borders. One is clearly more successful and one more troubled. The benefit of examining these two cases is that they show how the three factors can be used to assess both successful and unsuccessful intelligence relationships. They will be evaluated by shared interests, mutual trust, balanced relationship and political concerns.

Pakistan-U.S. Relations

History

The U.S. and Pakistan have been in a security alliance since 2004, when President Bush designated Pakistan as a major non-NATO ally, and have been strategic partners since 2006, when President Bush and President Musharraf issued a joint statement on the

¹⁸⁷ *ibid*, p155.

¹⁸⁸ *ibid*.

matter.¹⁸⁹ The security alliance allowed Pakistan to purchase advanced U.S. military technology. The strategic partnership called for increased bilateral economic ties, including trade.¹⁹⁰ The U.S. has seen its relationship with Pakistan as vital toward combating regional and global terrorism, stabilizing Afghanistan, and controlling nuclear proliferation.¹⁹¹ The country has been identified as a haven for Islamist extremists and terrorist groups.¹⁹² Pakistan has received roughly \$24 billion in U.S. aid since 2001 until the time this chapter was written.¹⁹³ The Pakistani government claims that since the ‘war on terror’ started, they have had 37,000 civilians die, they have suffered \$78 billion in financial losses and have had an average of more than twenty-six terrorist attacks each week in Pakistan in 2011.¹⁹⁴

The U.S. ties with Pakistan’s Inter-Services Intelligence (ISI) can be traced back to the 1980s and the training of Afghan freedom fighters.¹⁹⁵ U.S.-Pakistani intelligence cooperation has yielded some successes in the years immediately following 9/11, when President Bush and President Musharraf had close ties. In 2002, Pakistani authorities arrested Abu Zubaidah, an al-Qa’ida member, and Ramzi Binalshibh, a 9/11 suspect.¹⁹⁶ In 2003, Khalid Sheikh Mohammad, the architect of the 9/11 attacks, was arrested in

¹⁸⁹ Kronstadt, Alan K., “Pakistan-U.S. Relations”, *CRS Report for Congress*, May 24, 2012, Summary.

¹⁹⁰ Kronstadt, Alan K., “Pakistan-U.S. Relations”, *CRS Report for Congress*, October 26, 2006, CRS-6.

¹⁹¹ *Ibid.*

¹⁹² Kronstadt, p1.

¹⁹³ Kronstadt, Summary.

¹⁹⁴ Kronstadt, p1.

¹⁹⁵ Kronstadt, p 23.

¹⁹⁶ Reveron, p7.

Pakistan.¹⁹⁷ However, in recent years the relationship has been in a downward spiral and seems to be currently unsuccessful.

Shared Interests

Pakistan's inconsistent behavior is a result of the Pakistani military's shifting perception of strategic interests and response to public outcry.¹⁹⁸ The U.S. and Pakistan share an interest in bringing stability and security to Afghanistan, which shares a border and economic ties with Pakistan.¹⁹⁹ President Obama has said that Pakistan's border region is the "most dangerous place in the world."²⁰⁰ Pakistan's government has worked with the U.S. to support the NATO mission in Afghanistan. However, the NATO war and use of drones over Pakistani airspace has caused domestic outcry. The militant elements within Pakistan have used public opinion on NATO's mission to attack the Pakistani government. While Pakistan still has interests in stabilizing Afghanistan, Pakistan is likely seeking an Afghanistan that will become a partner who acts in the best interest of Islamabad.²⁰¹ The U.S., on the other hand, hopes for an independent Afghanistan that does not run counter to U.S. interests.²⁰²

Also, elements of the Pakistani government have talked about shared interests in counterterrorism. As previously outlined, the Pakistani government claims they have lost tens of thousands of lives and billions of dollars in financial losses as a result of multiple terrorist attacks. They have been battling with elements of the Pakistani Taliban, Tehrik-e-Taliban since 2002. The TTP have played a role in destabilizing Pakistan's internal

¹⁹⁷ Reveron, p7.

¹⁹⁸ Kronstadt, p4.

¹⁹⁹ Kronstadt, p26.

²⁰⁰ Budihas, Christopher L., "What Drives Pakistan's Interest in Afghanistan", The Land Warfare Papers, No. 82: The Institute of Land Warfare Association of the United States Army, April 2011, p 1.

²⁰¹ *ibid.*

²⁰² *ibid.*

security. The United States has also uncovered that training for several attempted terror plots against the U.S. and its allies has taken place in the frontier areas of Pakistan.²⁰³ Also, top al-Qa'ida leaders fled into Pakistan from Afghanistan and created bases of operation to wage their global jihad.²⁰⁴ Both clearly seem to have strong shared interest in partnering on counterterrorism operations. However many question how serious the Pakistanis are with these intentions. At this point, it is unclear exactly which elements in Pakistan's government believe their interests sincerely align with those of the United States. What is clear is that the U.S. needs to gain access to intelligence and operatives within Pakistan.

Trust

The U.S.-Pakistan liaison has a mixed record on combating Islamist extremists.²⁰⁵ The most obvious strain on the U.S.-Pakistan relationship was the discovery, and subsequent raid, on the home of Usama bin Laden in Abbottabad, Pakistan. This led to U.S. government scrutiny over the relationship and questions to continued foreign assistance to a country that as the CRS report for Congress states may not "have the intention and/or capacity to be an effective U.S. partner."²⁰⁶ Suspicions regarding the Pakistani government's knowledge of bin Laden's location rose almost immediately as he was found half a mile from Pakistan's premier military academy and thirty-five miles from Islamabad.²⁰⁷ John Brennan, former Chief Counterterrorism Advisor to President Obama and current CIA Director, stated it was "inconceivable that Osama bin Laden did

²⁰³ Budihas, p1.

²⁰⁴ Budihas, p9.

²⁰⁵ Kronstadt, p1.

²⁰⁶ Kronstadt, Summary.

²⁰⁷ Kronstadt, p8.

not have a support system” in Pakistan.²⁰⁸ In turn, Pakistan’s military and intelligence were criticized domestically for being completely unaware of the U.S. military raid into the core of Pakistan’s territory, as well as their inability to detect bin Laden’s presence.²⁰⁹ The U.S. raid was condemned by Parliament, military and some demonstrators.²¹⁰

Further questions and mistrust have been the focus of the relationship after the Pakistani government arrested Shakil Afridi, a Pakistani doctor who allegedly participated in the CIA’s operation to identify bin Laden. Allegedly, Afridi was tasked with attaining some DNA samples from members of the bin Laden compound. Afridi received a 33-year prison sentence for treason.²¹¹ FOXNEWS interviewed Afridi from jail in Peshawar where he claimed that, after bin Laden’s capture and death, he was kidnapped and tortured by Pakistani intelligence.²¹² He also told FOXNEWS that the ISI (Pakistan’s Inter-Services Intelligence agency) regards the U.S. as its worst enemy.²¹³ The entire bin Laden raid brought the Pakistani-US trust to an all-time low. It made both sides question the intentions of their partner. Many in the U.S. were left making allegations that either members or the entire Pakistani government or elements of the government had been concealing the most wanted terrorist. Many in Pakistan were left embarrassed and untrusting, as there were no attempts of a joint operation.

Additionally, Admiral Mike Mullen stated publicly that Pakistan was providing support to Afghan insurgents attacking U.S. interests.²¹⁴ According to the Congressional

²⁰⁸ *Ibid.*

²⁰⁹ *Ibid*, p9.

²¹⁰ *Ibid*, p10.

²¹¹ *BBC NEWS* “Bin Laden raid doctor Shakil Afridi speaks out”, 11 September 2012
<http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/world-asia-19554551>.

²¹² *Ibid.*

²¹³ *Ibid.*

²¹⁴ Kronstadt, p1.

Research Service's 2012 paper on Pakistan-U.S. Relations, the interactions are fluid currently but are moving in a negative direction due to mutual distrust and resentment.²¹⁵ Pakistan has been angered over the CIA operative who shot and killed two Pakistanis in Lahore, twenty-four Pakistani soldiers who were accidentally killed by NATO aircraft, and the raid on the bin Laden compound.²¹⁶ Even mainstream Pakistanis have anti-American attitudes and xenophobic conspiracy theories.²¹⁷ Recent opinion surveys show that the U.S. has replaced India as the nation least favored by Pakistanis.²¹⁸

Further evidence of the strain between the two intelligence agencies comes from the Raymond Davis affair. Raymond David was a CIA contractor working in the U.S. Consulate in Lahore to track militant groups when he shot and killed two men while they approached his vehicle on January 27th 2011.²¹⁹ Davis, who claimed it was self-defense, was accused of murder and jailed by the Pakistani government.²²⁰ The U.S. government requested his release on the grounds of diplomatic immunity, however he was not released until two months later, after the CIA and ISI conducted direct negotiations and an alleged sum of \$2.3 million was paid to the victim's families.²²¹

Al-Qa'ida leader Ayman al-Zawahiri, Taliban leader Mullah Omar, and Haqqani Network leader Sirajuddin Haqqani are all believed to be residing in Pakistan and might be under the protection of some elements of the Pakistani government.²²² As a result of these suspicions, U.S. lawmakers have increased restrictions on U.S. aid to Pakistan.²²³

²¹⁵ *Ibid*, Summary.

²¹⁶ Kronstadt, Summary.

²¹⁷ *Ibid*.

²¹⁸ *Ibid*, p2.

²¹⁹ *Ibid*, p7.

²²⁰ *Ibid*, p7.

²²¹ *Ibid*, p8.

²²² *Ibid*, p3.

²²³ *Ibid*.

Pakistan, which was to receive \$2 billion in direct aid in 2012, responded by saying that onerous restrictions being placed on U.S. aid will be counterproductive to the goal of restoring cooperation and trust.²²⁴

The Pentagon's report to Congress in 2012 advised that, "the Taliban insurgency and its al Qaeda affiliates still operate with impunity from sanctuaries in Pakistan"...and that attacks on Kabul are "planned in and controlled from Pakistan."²²⁵ Also, it was revealed that two U.S. citizens of Pakistani origin had been working for the ISI to influence the U.S.'s policy on Kashmir.²²⁶ This highlights the tension and frustration of how essential intelligence from this area is but how unlikely it is to receive cooperation as the U.S. suspects elements of the Pakistani government are complicit.

The U.S. and Pakistan's ISI have mutual mistrust. The ISI is accused of using Islamist extremists and conducting abductions to influence domestic politics.²²⁷ The U.S. claims the ISI has been supporting Afghan insurgents, providing sanctuaries, explosives, and money.²²⁸ The ISI is also linked to Lashkar-e-Taiba, the terrorist group responsible for the Mumbai attacks.²²⁹ Also, a Pakistani newspaper with ties to the military and intelligence agency published the alleged name of the CIA's Islamabad station chief.²³⁰ The CIA has allegedly worked to establish a network within Pakistan of informants who are friendly to the U.S. as an alternative to their relationship with the ISI.²³¹

²²⁴ *Ibid.*

²²⁵ *Ibid*, p19.

²²⁶ *Ibid*

²²⁷ *Ibid*, p 23.

²²⁸ *Ibid*, p 23.

²²⁹ *Ibid*, p 24.

²³⁰ *Ibid*, p25.

²³¹ *Ibid*, p26.

The U.S. has accused Pakistan-based elements of recruiting American citizens as terrorists.²³² One of those terrorists was Faisal Shahzad, the Time Square Bomber, who was born in Pakistan, and, after becoming a U.S. citizen, was trained by the Taliban in western Pakistan.²³³ Continuation of Pakistan's protection or incompetency in collecting information, capturing terrorists, identifying and raiding training camps or sanctuaries for terrorists inside of Pakistan, has turned Pakistan into a highly mistrusted liaison.

The most recent evidence of mistrust comes from the classified documents leaked to the Washington Post by Edward Snowden. The Washington Post reports that the leaked U.S. Intelligence Community's 'black budget' shows the U.S. has increased surveillance within Pakistan, particularly in regard to its nuclear arms.²³⁴ Husain Haqqani, former Pakistani ambassador to the U.S., responded to these leaks by saying, "If the Americans are expanding their surveillance capabilities, it can only mean one thing. The mistrust now exceeds the trust."²³⁵ The USIC now worries that Islamist militants might attack Pakistani nuclear facilities or they may have already infiltrated the ranks of Pakistan's military and intelligence services, giving them access to the nuclear materials.²³⁶

In sum, the trust between the two countries, especially the intelligence agencies, has been deteriorating. These incidents have shown that, currently, the ISI is incompetent, incapable or acting maliciously. In order to secure sources, like Dr. Afridi, operational tactics and planned actions against the enemy, like the raid on bin Laden, the

²³² *Ibid*, p 39.

²³³ *Ibid*, p40.

²³⁴ Miller, Greg, Craig Whitlock and Barton Gellman, "Top-secret U.S. intelligence files show new levels of distrust of Pakistan," *The Washington Post*, September 2, 2013.

²³⁵ *Ibid*.

²³⁶ *Ibid*.

U.S. must limit the intelligence it shares with the ISI and attempt to secure intelligence from other networks within Pakistan. The current level of mistrust enhances the questions surrounding Pakistani interests and means a successful relationship cannot formally exist at this time.

Balanced Relationship

Secretary of Defense, Leon Panetta stated that the U.S. “has no choice but to maintain a relationship with Pakistan.”²³⁷ Due to the breakdown in the bilateral relationship, the Obama Administration suspended up to \$800 million in security assistance to Pakistan and planned to evaluate Pakistan’s cooperation before releasing the aid.²³⁸

It has been suggested by the Congressional Research Service that after the events of 2011, the ‘post-9/11 period’ of bilateral relations for the two countries is over.²³⁹ The government first froze formal relations with the U.S. after the killing of Pakistani soldiers at Salala.²⁴⁰ The attempt for broad strategic partnership now seems to be a liaison relationship based on special issues, which the Pakistan military spokesman characterized as a “business-like relationship” in place of the “free run of the past.”²⁴¹ A 14-point guideline policy for revised relationships with the U.S. was produced in April 2012, requesting no further drone attacks inside Pakistan, no further raids within Pakistani territory, no overt or covert operations within Pakistan, and no foreign intelligence operatives within the country.²⁴² However, the core concern is whether Pakistan will

²³⁷ *ibid*, p3.

²³⁸ *ibid*.

²³⁹ *ibid*, p5.

²⁴⁰ *ibid*, p 14.

²⁴¹ *ibid*, p5.

²⁴² *ibid*, p15.

continue to take U.S. economic and military assistance, while maintaining strong ties between the military, intelligence and terrorist or extremist groups.²⁴³ In the end, both sides exercised their power over the relationship. Pakistan has denied access and cooperation, and the U.S. has denied aid. This is more a product of the relationship being unsuccessful than a cause of it.

Political Concerns

In all relations with Pakistan, the U.S. has to consider various political elements and movements. Foremost, the fact that Pakistan is divided into a three-part power system divided into the president, prime minister, and chairman of the joint chiefs of staff committee.²⁴⁴ The military is the most respected and most powerful of this group.²⁴⁵ The U.S. must also look towards growing support for particular parties or new elements taking hold within the population. One of the new concerns might be the reemergence Pakistan's conservative Islamist political forces like Difa-e-Pakistan (DPC), which calls for an end of relations with the U.S.²⁴⁶ In 2011 there were two high-level assassinations of liberal Pakistani government officials. Salman Taseer, the governor of Punjab province, and Shabaz Bhatti, Minorities Minister and the only Christian member of the federal cabinet, were killed by radical Islamists.²⁴⁷ These assassinations were seen as evidence of an increase in Islamist radicalism in Pakistan.²⁴⁸ Over time, the Pakistani military might end up making concessions to some of the more extreme Islamist groups

²⁴³ Haqqani, Husain, "The Role of Islam in Pakistan's Future", *The Washington Quarterly*, Winter 2004-2005, p 85.

²⁴⁴ Kronstadt, p50.

²⁴⁵ *Ibid*, p 51.

²⁴⁶ *Ibid*, p 53.

²⁴⁷ *Ibid*, p7.

²⁴⁸ *Ibid*.

in order to maintain their claim to power.²⁴⁹ Also, anti-Americanism has become part of the political conversation and can be seen as patriotic.²⁵⁰ Husain Haqqani, former Pakistan Ambassador to the United States, suggests “Pakistan’s status as an Islamic ideological state is rooted deeply in history and is linked closely both with the praetorian ambitions of the Pakistani military and the Pakistani elite’s worldview.”²⁵¹ All of this instability makes Pakistan a poor intelligence partner. The government is constantly changing strategy, and thus interests, to maintain power. New elements have infiltrated the ISI and other areas of the government and cannot be trusted to protect sensitive information or not share it with the enemy.

Political concerns have are interwoven into issues of discussed in the mistrust and shared interests sections. For example, the USIC should monitor militants and other elements within Pakistan drumming up public outcry against the US. over the use of drones. They should monitor the political relationships with Tehrik-e-Taliban and other destabilizing movements. They should take note that public opinion surveys show the U.S. as the least favored country by the Pakistani people. The instability of the Pakistani government and the possibility that it has been infiltrated by Islamist militants must be at the forefront of the examination of the relationship. Former Ambassador Haqqani even said of the relationships, Pakistan’s elite wants the benefits of American largesse while whipping up populist hatred against the United States.”²⁵²

²⁴⁹ Haqqani, p86.

²⁵⁰ Kronstadt, p 53.

²⁵¹ Haqqani, p85.

²⁵² Carter, Sara, “Pakistan Is No Ally of the U.S. and the ‘Toxic’ Relationship Threatens National Security: Former Pakistani Ambassador,” *The Blaze*, December 2, 2013.

Saudi Arabia-U.S. Relations

History

The U.S. and Saudi Arabia have had official relations since the 1940s.²⁵³ Traditionally, the relationship has been one of “oil for security”.²⁵⁴ The FBI has had several personnel in Saudi Arabia since the bombing of the Khobar Towers in 1996, which killed nineteen Americans.²⁵⁵ During this time, according to the then-FBI Director Louis Freeh, the FBI, Saudi police and Saudi Interior Ministry created the grounds for an effective working relationship, which resulted in a Legal Attaché in Riyadh.²⁵⁶ This Legat developed a relationship with Saudi Intelligence Services.²⁵⁷ Since the 9/11 attacks, cooperation between the two governments and intelligence worlds have been consistent.²⁵⁸

Shared Interest

Saudi Arabia is the U.S.’s largest trading partner in the Middle East.²⁵⁹ The kingdom provides the U.S. with its second-largest source of crude oil imports.²⁶⁰ The relationship is particularly important to the U.S., as Saudi Arabia is capable of supplying the markets with oil during crises.²⁶¹ Both countries have shared concerns about al-Qa’ida inspired terrorism and Iran.²⁶² They participate in security training and

²⁵³ Blanchard, Christopher M., “Saudi Arabia: Background and U.S. Relations”, *CRS Report for Congress*, June 19, 2012, Summary.

²⁵⁴ Bronson, Rachel, *Thicker Than Oil: America’s Uneasy Partnership with Saudi Arabia*, Oxford University Press: 2006, p3.

²⁵⁵ Reveron, p6.

²⁵⁶ *Ibid.*

²⁵⁷ *Ibid.*

²⁵⁸ Blanchard, p1.

²⁵⁹ *Ibid*, p6.

²⁶⁰ Blanchard, p8.

²⁶¹ Bronson, p3

²⁶² Blanchard, Summary.

counterterrorism cooperation.²⁶³ Saudi Arabia provides a counterbalance to Iranian hegemonic power in the region.²⁶⁴ The two countries have had a long history of rivalry, which was exemplified by the discovery of the Iranian plot to assassinate the Saudi Ambassador to Washington.²⁶⁵

The Saudi government has also been a target of al-Qa'ida's. In May 2003, al-Qa'ida attacked compounds in Riyadh. In 2009, al-Qa'ida terrorist Abdullah Hasan Tali al-Asiri attempted to kill Saudi Prince and Counterintelligence Chief Prince Mohammed bin Nayef but only succeeded in killing himself.²⁶⁶ Since the bombings in Riyadh in May 2003, the Saudi government has cracked down on terrorist groups and terrorist financing.²⁶⁷ Both Saudi Arabia and the U.S. are interested in countering terrorist threats in Yemen.²⁶⁸ Saudi Arabia has been a great intelligence partner in regards to combating al-Qa'ida in the Arabian Peninsula (AQAP). Yemen lies to the south of Saudi Arabia. It has seen instability that AQAP was able to take advantage of. The U.S. has targeted senior members of AQAP, like Anwar al-Awlaki.

Saudi Arabia and the U.S. share vital interests and important national interests. Both share immediate security concerns regarding potential terrorist attacks and both share concerns regarding securing Saudi oil infrastructure. They also share concerns regarding the global environment with issues like the threat of growing Iranian power in the region. However the two countries do not align on values. This means that as special strategic partners, who share several common threats, the U.S.-Saudi intelligence

²⁶³ *ibid*, p1.

²⁶⁴ *ibid*, p11.

²⁶⁵ *ibid*.

²⁶⁶ James, Michael, "The August Attempt on Saudi Prince Mohammed- and the Link to Flight 253", ABCNews, January 3, 2010.

²⁶⁷ Bronson, p7.

²⁶⁸ Blanchard, p13.

relationship will be effective for as long as these threats, or others like them, are present. As the Saudi government shares interests with the U.S. regarding strategy in the region, it will likely be a partnership that lasts longer than a short-term threat based liaison, but might not last as long or be as close as the U.S.-U.K. relationship, which also shares a value base. It is different from Pakistan as the Saudi government's shared interests are clear and it has allowed for trust to build. This opportunity can mean cooperation between the two countries that can bind the two together for decades to come.

Trust

The U.S. has been concerned with terrorist funding by elements of the population within Saudi Arabia.²⁶⁹ Saudi Arabia's financial systems make it hard to trace terrorist financing and many launder their financing through charitable organizations.²⁷⁰ Critics have accused the Saudi government of being incompetent and possibly complacent.²⁷¹ It has even been rumored that members of the Saudi family may have provided support or funding to terrorist groups.²⁷² The 9/11 Commission report claimed that al-Qa'ida had raised money from individuals and charities within Saudi Arabia.²⁷³ Also, much of the charitable donations have gone to madrasas that teach anti-Americanism.²⁷⁴ The Council on Foreign Relations Studies found that Saudi Arabian nationals have a history of

²⁶⁹ Prados, Alfred B. and Christopher M. Blanchard, "Saudi Arabia: Terrorist Financing Issues", *CRS Report For Congress*, March 1, 2005 Summary.

²⁷⁰ *Ibid*, pCRS-1

²⁷¹ *Ibid*.

²⁷² *Ibid*, pCRS-2.

²⁷³ *Ibid*, pCRS-2.

²⁷⁴ Bronson, p8.

funding the mujahedeen.²⁷⁵ They have also constituted a large percentage of al-Qa'ida's members.²⁷⁶ Fifteen of the nineteen 9/11 hijackers were Saudi citizens.²⁷⁷

However, the Saudi government has taken steps to change their financial, legal, and regulatory systems to attain better counterterrorist intelligence.²⁷⁸ The FBI and the IRS have joined forces with Saudi officials in creating a Joint Task force to focus on detecting terrorist financing by tracking information taken from bank accounts, computer records and other financial data.²⁷⁹ It allows the FBI to gain real-time information on possible terrorist activities inside of the United States.²⁸⁰ Overall, the relationship has yielded successes like disrupting notable portions of al-Qa'ida's fundraising network and freezing hundreds of millions of dollars.²⁸¹ The efforts and successes made by the Saudi government to collaborate with U.S. intelligence have reaffirmed trust between the two partners. They have also built upon that trust by sharing an incredible amount of information and being instrumental in stopping various terrorist plots and networks, including AQAP's plot to bomb cargo planes flying over the United States.

Balanced Relationship

Like Pakistan, Saudi Arabia also has important on-the-ground intelligence to share. They can provide the U.S. with bank account information, criminal histories and HUMINT on terrorist subjects. They also have avenues to assert their power, like oil. The U.S. has been providing military education and training to Saudi Arabia.²⁸² However,

²⁷⁵ Prados, pCRS-3.

²⁷⁶ *Ibid.*

²⁷⁷ Bronson, p8.

²⁷⁸ Prados, pCRS-4.

²⁷⁹ *Ibid*, pCRS-20

²⁸⁰ Prados, pCRS-21.

²⁸¹ Reveron, p7.

²⁸² Blanchard, p 5.

the U.S. could also assert power over the security it provides to Saudi Arabia, meaning the U.S. could choose to minimize aspects of the security relationship, like military training. This complex relationship shows that the information shared does not need to be balanced because both sides have various avenues to counterbalance the relationship. In this instance, the intelligence relationship is not balanced per-se, as one could argue that Saudi Arabia is more the intelligence supplier and the U.S. acts as the intelligence consumer, but the relationship is still successful.

Political Concerns

During the Arab Spring, Tunisia, Egypt, Syria, Yemen, Libya, and Bahrain all experienced unrest. The uprising across the Middle East could have challenged the authority of the Saudi royal family.²⁸³ The Shia Eastern Province, near important oil infrastructure, has seen more frequent strife.²⁸⁴ Some have suggested that the unrest has been influenced by Iran.²⁸⁵ The U.S. also has concerns about human rights in the kingdom, specifically their attitudes towards women in Saudi society. The U.S. has offered to work with the Saudi family towards a greater stability. It reminds its partner how important it is to look at possible reforms to maintain legitimacy. The country is more stable than others in the region but the U.S. must continue to monitor this situation as the partnership continues. It is important that the U.S. maintains an understanding for the feelings of the Saudi people, so that, if there ever was an overthrow of the Saudi government, the U.S. does not find itself surprised as it was when the Shah fell in Iran. Also, if the Saudi royal family were ousted, the U.S. could face various scenarios,

²⁸³ *Ibid*, Summary.

²⁸⁴ *Ibid*, p9.

²⁸⁵ *Ibid*.

including a new government unwilling to work with U.S. intelligence or which no longer share the interests of the American government.

Conclusion

This study shows the critical importance of political concerns to successful intelligence liaisons. Of the two cases examined, one has become a successful relationship, and the other has become a failure. Most of the known successful intelligence relationships were developed during World War II and the Cold War. Success is influenced by factors that are well-known to international relations theorists. As realist theorists have always suggested when talking about the international environment, successful international intelligence cooperation depends on shared self-interests. However, that is not the only element of success. Trust is absolutely necessary for a successful relationship as intelligence is sensitive and needs to be protected. Finally, as liberal theorists suggest, the international politics of the partners are important. Unlike liberal theory, it is not necessary for the governments to be democratic to cooperate effectively, but it is important that they are stable and will not be compromised or overthrown by movements within the country.

The U.S. can analyze these factors in relation to each current or potential intelligence liaison to find new partners. The relationship with Pakistan is currently failing. This is due to what seems to be a low level of shared interest and extreme mistrust. Both of these issues are made worse by the political concerns. Pakistan is unstable and has corrupt elements that support terrorists. As the political situation is so unstable, trust non-existent, and mutual interests unlikely, the U.S. should protect

intelligence and seek to gain intelligence within Pakistan by fostering a relationship with a network of sources.

On the other hand, Saudi Arabia has become a strong intelligence ally since 9/11. The U.S. and Saudi Arabia share many interests in the region politically, strategically and intelligence-wise. The two specifically share interests in counterterrorism operations. Though many Saudis have been involved in financing or carrying out terrorist activities, Saudi Arabia has worked to gain trust by passing laws and working closely with the U.S. to crack down on terrorist financing. Finally, Saudi Arabia is comparatively stable to other countries in its region. However, this relationship will only be successful if the government maintains stability and capabilities. The U.S. has to balance the need to cooperate with a stable society with being aware of the movements within the country. The U.S. cannot sustain a relationship with a country that does not have true stability, and does so at the risk of ruining prospects of cooperation with future governments.

Moving forward, the U.S. could use these three factors, shared interests, mutual trust and political concerns, to build intelligence partnerships with countries to counter other security concerns, including Iran, cyber-attacks, and international drug trafficking. The most successful intelligence partnerships will have the strongest shared interests, mutual trust and political stability. The least successful intelligence partnership will have the least shared interests, mutual distrust and political instability. This new factor of political concerns requires more study to find out how the USIC can discern and measure political instability within partner countries, which will be examined in Chapter 2. Red flags for the USIC can arise in any one of these characters, like sudden shifts in a

partner's strategic direction, significant changes of those in power, increasing political unrest, or any number of incidents that cause a decrease in trust.

Chapter 3: What Accounts for the U.S. Intelligence Community's Failure to Discern Political Sentiments in Foreign Countries?

Introduction

The topic of intelligence failures makes up a major portion of academic scholarship in the field of intelligence studies. These failures have occurred across all sectors of the Intelligence Community (IC). One area of continued failure and concern is the ability to provide and successfully communicate strategic warning to intelligence consumers. For decades, the U.S. Intelligence Community has experienced failures to discern political situations abroad, specifically regarding revolutions. These failures have left the U.S. surprised by events, often facing important strategic situations, like the fall of a former allied government. What accounts for the U.S Intelligence Community's failure to discern political sentiments in foreign countries?

This chapter has three sections. The first section defines concepts of intelligence and intelligence failures. The second section will examine two case studies: the Iranian Revolution of 1979 and the Egyptian Revolution of 2011, in order to evaluate the factors resulting in strategic warning failure. Finally, the last section will discuss the implication of the argument for intelligence programs. Overall, this chapter seeks to provide an understanding of the failures surrounding strategic warning. It will challenge attitudes of authors like Mark Jensen who find that warning is impossible and therefore not a strong discipline for the Intelligence Community. By analyzing these factors, this chapter will put forth the argument that the USIC fails to discern political situations abroad and provide appropriate strategic warning due to a lack of focus, capabilities, and collection of intelligence regarding popular sentiment within these countries. It will also strengthen

the argument for new USIC programs to analyze crowd-sourcing and understand social tipping points.

Concepts

Intelligence is divided into three different levels: strategic intelligence, operational intelligence and tactical intelligence. Strategic intelligence focuses on political and economic assessments, as well as the intentions of governments and non-state actors. Its purpose is to prevent or limit surprises for policymakers and to provide a decision advantage to leaders. Operational intelligence supports commanders and tactical intelligence supports on-the-ground operations. Failures have been experienced across all three levels. Historical events which have been classified as intelligence failures include surprise military actions like the Tet Offensive in 1968, unanticipated attacks like Pearl Harbor and 9/11, misestimates in the capacities of other governments like the Soviet atomic bomb in 1949, and the misjudgment or surprise of movements in other countries like the Arab Spring.²⁸⁶ The IC's failure to assess the sentiments of individuals on the ground has also led to the surprise revolution and subsequent seizure of the U.S. embassy in Tehran in 1979, and the uprisings across the Middle East during the 'Arab Spring', including the ousting of Egyptian President Hosni Mubarak in 2011.²⁸⁷

Warning

Strategic warning could be passed through various forms of intelligence products. Estimates are analytical judgments about the future.²⁸⁸ The National Intelligence Council (NIC) provides the Director of National Intelligence expert assessments for long-term

²⁸⁶ Jensen, Mark, "Intelligence Failures: What Are They Really and What Do We Do about Them?," *Intelligence and National Security*, Vol. 27, No. 2, April 2012, p 263.

²⁸⁷ *Ibid.*

²⁸⁸ *Ibid*, p266.

strategic analysis. One of these products is the NIC Global Trends every four years. At the request of consumers, the IC also produces National Intelligence Estimates (NIEs), which are “forward-looking official judgments of the intelligence community of a specific issue, country, or region which address the consequences of various policy options.”²⁸⁹

Warning intelligence was developed after WWII as a response to the attack on Pearl Harbor and to limit surprise of actions taken by the Soviet Union.²⁹⁰ The nature of warning has changed with the collapse of the Soviet Union and the emergence of terrorism.²⁹¹ Cynthia Grabo, Defense Intelligence Agency (DIA) intelligence analyst, warning intelligence expert and author of the originally classified DIA *Handbook of Warning Intelligence*, discussed warning as an IC function meant to anticipate what entities are likely to do. She also identified that the diffusion of strategic level warning across several agencies and consumers makes success more difficult.²⁹² Grabo’s book focuses on the responsibility of warning intelligence to detect threats of direct action

²⁸⁹ Margolis, Gabriel, “The Lack of HUMINT: A Recurring Intelligence Problem,” *Global Security Studies*, Spring 2013, Vol. 4, Issue 2, p 44.

²⁹⁰ Grabo, Cynthia M., *Anticipating Surprise: Analysis for Strategic Warning* (Lanham, MD, 2004); read on-line at http://www.ni-u.edu/ni_press/pdf/Anticipating_Surprise_Analysis.pdf p1.

²⁹¹ *Ibid*, pix.

²⁹² “Although strategic warning is not a new concept, it has only recently become recognized as a *distinct function* of intelligence, in war and in peace, rather than a *definable type* of intelligence product. Warning intelligence—although sometimes expressed in current, estimative or even basic (database-related) intelligence production—is distinguished by its purpose or function. Its function is to anticipate, insofar as collection and analysis will permit, what potentially hostile entities are likely to do, and particularly whether they are preparing to initiate adverse action. Generally, the consumer of strategic warning is a national-level policymaker. The warning function at the operational level typically centers around two individuals—a commander and his senior intelligence officer; at the tactical level, a ‘warfighter’ is the consumer. Warning intelligence responsibilities are more diffused among intelligence producers and consumers at the strategic level, creating a challenging environment for the successful performance of this most important function.” *Ibid*, p1.

against the U.S. or allies, conflicts affecting U.S. interests, military action between non-allied nations, and terrorist threats.²⁹³

Warning is a theory or hypothesis that can be related to intelligence consumers in degrees of certitude.²⁹⁴ Analyzing political indicators for warning preparation is even more difficult than military preparations as they are more ambiguous.²⁹⁵ Impediments to warning intelligence include inadequate examination of evidence, inadequate understanding of evidence, preoccupation with current intelligence, predominance of preconceptions over facts, failure to come to clear judgments, misjudgments of timing, reluctance to believe, reluctance to alarm and fear of being wrong.²⁹⁶ Grabo argues that political factors should be a separate category of warning from physical preparations, noting how political warning is too often downplayed due to less measureable indicators.²⁹⁷

Some authors point to the disconnect between the expectation of intelligence consumers and the actual capability of the IC as the cause for warning failures.²⁹⁸ They argue that decision-makers cannot expect the IC to be clairvoyant. This point of tension is the most visible when policymakers blame the IC for missing something. In January 2011, “President Obama stated that he was ‘disappointed with the intelligence community’ and its failure to predict the unrest that led to the ousting of President Zine el-Abidine Ben Ali in Tunisia.”²⁹⁹ Secretary Panetta, then-CIA Director, said at a House

²⁹³ *Ibid*, p2.

²⁹⁴ Grabo, Cynthia M., *Anticipating Surprise: Analysis for Strategic Warning* (Lanham, MD, 2004); read on-line at http://www.ni-u.edu/ni_press/pdf/Anticipating_Surprise_Analysis.pdf p4.

²⁹⁵ *Ibid*, p77.

²⁹⁶ *Ibid*, p163-169.

²⁹⁷ *Ibid*, p78-79.

²⁹⁸ Jensen, p 262.

²⁹⁹ *Ibid*, p 267.

Permanent Select Committee on Intelligence (HPSCI), “the intelligence community has to do a better job collecting information that will predict uprisings like those going on in Egypt.”³⁰⁰ For some authors like Mark Jensen, these consumers have unrealistic expectations of what the IC can provide. For example, a study done by the MITRE Corporation concluded that the predictive models of rare events are difficult because they rely on human behavior.³⁰¹ Authors also point to the policymakers for not heeding the warning, pointing to a White House spokesman who said of the Arab Spring that the IC and State Department have been reporting on ‘simmering unrest’ in the Middle East for decades.³⁰² This type of intelligence issue is regarded by many as mysteries.

Gregory F. Treverton, Director, RAND Center for Global Risk and Security, is one of the foremost scholars on intelligence mysteries. In a 2007 Smithsonian article he argues that the differences between puzzles and mysteries are that puzzles have answers that can be solved and mysteries have no definite answers.³⁰³ He notes that puzzle-solving was what consumed the Intelligence Community for much of the Cold War with specific questions like “How many missiles did the Soviet Union have?”³⁰⁴ Mysteries, he claims, rely on the outcome of future interactions and therefore can only be framed.³⁰⁵ Treverton suggests the only way to address a mystery is to identify critical factors and apply historical context of how these factors have played out previously but it cannot be approached and analyzed through a specific process.³⁰⁶ He argues that terrorism requires

³⁰⁰ *Ibid*, p 268.

³⁰¹ Jensen, p 269.

³⁰² *Ibid*, p 274.

³⁰³ Treverton, Gregory F. “Risks and Riddles,” *Smithsonian*, Vol. 38, Issue 3, June 2007.

³⁰⁴ *Ibid*.

³⁰⁵ *Ibid*.

³⁰⁶ *Ibid*.

the USIC to take up the challenge of framing mysteries.³⁰⁷ His conclusion is that mysteries grow out of having too much information and because of that noise the plot of the hijackers before 9/11 was a mystery, while after the attack their trail became a puzzle.³⁰⁸ He accurately parallels this distinction to the FBI's change in mission from purely law-enforcement pre-9/11, which investigated crimes committed, to the framing of mysteries required by intelligence.³⁰⁹

There are really two levels to Treverton's argument: his belief that future events involve a variety of factors, including critical indicators, which may play out in a variety of ways and his focus on those indicators being buried within excessive information. Treverton's analysis is clear on the importance of the ability to frame the critical indicators being collected. Though he argues that too much collection is a bad thing, his cycle of framing mysteries requires continuous collection. He likens such intelligence cycles to healthcare in that doctors provide an initial assessment of a patient's health by framing the information collected from their medical history and an examination. They then reassess the probability for disease and order more tests, which refine the probability.³¹⁰ This is then followed by treatment and continued tests to assess the effect of the treatment on the probability for disease.³¹¹

With this in mind, it is interesting to look back at his example of the plan of the 9/11 hijackers being a mystery because the clues were buried within an abundance of intelligence. He notes that FBI agents in Minneapolis and Phoenix sent warnings regarding the hijackers. An FBI agent from the Phoenix field office alerted FBI

³⁰⁷ *Ibid.*

³⁰⁸ *Ibid.*

³⁰⁹ *Ibid.*

³¹⁰ *Ibid.*

³¹¹ *Ibid.*

Headquarters in July 2001 that several Middle Eastern men were training at a commercial aeronautical aviation school and recommended reaching out to other such schools across the country, as well as sharing that information across the USIC.³¹² In August 2001, FBI agents in Minneapolis field office arrested Zacarias Moussaoui, who was attending a flight school when he expressed an interest in learning to fly commercial jets.³¹³ The Minneapolis field office opened an investigation on Moussaoui for possibly seeking flight training to commit a terrorist act.³¹⁴ They alerted FBI Headquarters, who refused to attempt to get a warrant for Moussaoui's hard drive.³¹⁵ On September 4th, a teletype was issued on Moussaoui to FBI Minneapolis, FBI Oklahoma City, six FBI Legat offices, the CIA, FAA, Department of State, INS, USSS, and U.S. Customs Service.³¹⁶ These were among some of the critical indicators that could have lead the Intelligence Community to uncover the 9/11 plot. As suggested by Treverton, these two critical indicators needed to be framed in order to lead the FBI to uncover the plot, but in order to prevent all of the 9/11 hijackers, this framing would refine search criteria to collect more information to lead the FBI to the arrest of all the hijackers. It is a case of critical indicators, it is a case of the need to frame those indicators, it is a case of needing to collect more information from flight schools around the country, but it is a case which if these steps were taken the plot could have been uncovered. The further into the future or the more factors a mystery has, the more difficult it becomes for the Intelligence Community to make sense of it. Admittedly, it is easier to measure the probability of the 9/11 plots, which were

³¹² Collins, Dan. "FBI Was Warned About Flight Schools," *CBSNews*, May 15, 2002.

³¹³ *Ibid.*

³¹⁴ Office of the Inspector General, "Chapter Four: The FBI's Investigation of Zacarias Moussaoui," *A Review of the FBI's Handling of Intelligence Information Related to the September 11 Attacks*, Special Report, November 2004 at URL: <http://www.justice.gov/oig/special/s0606/chapter4.htm>

³¹⁵ *Ibid.*

³¹⁶ *Ibid.*

already in motion as the hijackers were in the United States training, than to measure the probability of a revolution, which involves an understanding of public sentiment, understanding of the culture, an assessment of the strength of the government, and an assessment of the strength of the opposition. Critical indicators could be found in each one of these subfields. An indicator does not immediately predict an oncoming revolution. For example, a government could be weak but if the people are behind it or do not perceive its weakness, then an attempt at a revolution is unlikely. This chapter argues that an initial assessment, as with the doctor to a patient, should come from an understanding of public sentiment that could lead to an observation of any critical indicators, which will then be framed and continuously monitored.

A 2003 Sherman Kent Center for Intelligence Analysis paper, written by Jack Davis, provided nine recommendations for strengthening strategic warning. The first was to clarify the warning mission, suggesting that the standard is not to avoid surprise altogether but to limit damage.³¹⁷ The second was to increase resources for strategic warning including staffing and proper training.³¹⁸ The third was to strengthen strategic warning as sound estimative analysis. Davis advises that policymakers should increase their understanding and trust in the capacity of strategic warning estimates rather than being dismissive.³¹⁹ He states that strategic warning will not always be exact but can become more accurate with the increase of trained analysts. The fourth was to strengthen strategic warning as alternative analysis, which allows analysts to raise concern of threats

³¹⁷ Davis, Jack, "Strategic Warning: If Surprise is Inevitable, What Role is Analysis?" The Sherman Kent Center for Intelligence Analysis, Occasional Papers: Vol. 2, No. 1, January 2003 at URL: <https://www.cia.gov/library/kent-center-occasional-papers/vol2no1.htm>.

³¹⁸ *Ibid.*

³¹⁹ Davis.

even with uncertain details.³²⁰ The fifth was assigning the strategic warning effort to a regular analytic unit.³²¹ The sixth was expanding tradecraft training and research.³²² The seventh was to encourage warning analysts to engage in action analysis by clearly stating the cost-benefit and ‘so-what’ value added by their assessments.³²³ The eighth was selecting strategic warning issues carefully to increase the likelihood that policymakers will pay attention to the warnings.³²⁴ He suggested the best way forward would be having the policymakers initially playing a major role in topic selection until they have gained confidence in strategic warning estimates. Finally, Davis advised expanding the policymaker’s role in warning analysis to build a collaborative relationship.³²⁵

Eight years later, a 2011 article written by Brigadier General Jamieson and Lieutenant Colonel Calabrese, “People, Affiliations, and Cultures Intelligence (PACINT): Harnessing the Voice of Populations to Improve Strategic Warning in the 21st Century”, has presented a possible way forward for strategic warning. Specifically addressing the area this chapter hopes to examine, Jamieson and Calabrese advocate for a people, affiliations, and cultures intelligence (PACINT) program.³²⁶ Brigadier General Jamieson and Lieutenant Colonel Calabrese write, “PACINT provides a way forward to take advantage of technological changes and increased global socio-cultural knowledge to ensure the IC remains adaptable and relevant by harnessing population-centric

³²⁰ *Ibid.*

³²¹ *Ibid.*

³²² *Ibid.*

³²³ *Ibid.*

³²⁴ *Ibid.*

³²⁵ *Ibid.*

³²⁶ Jamieson, Dash and Maurizio Calabrese, “People, Affiliations, and Cultures Intelligence (PACINT): Harnessing the Voice of Populations to Improve Strategic Warning in the 21st Century,” *American Intelligence Journal*, Vol. 29, Issue 1, 2011, p18.

intelligence as part of a new strategic warning methodology.³²⁷ The authors identified that no traditional intelligence was able to provide strategic warning of the Arab Spring.³²⁸ They call for a ‘paradigm shift’ for the IC to recognize this problem, writing:

The 5th generation fighter is not a small group empowered by technology, but it is a collective—a socially connected, mass network of individuals empowered not by weapons, but by ideas to either create or to change the status quo of a nation-state. Unlike Al-Qaida or other terrorist movements which attract the fringes of society, this new 5th generation fighter is society itself. The mass distribution of the Internet, cell phones, and wireless technology across the globe has finally given ‘the people’ a voice.³²⁹

The IC can now tap into the sentiment of the people via the Internet.³³⁰ Jamieson and Calabrese find that events in Tunisia, Egypt and Libya could have been anticipated as there were indicators on foreign and social media but that there is no specific intelligence discipline to leverage these sources or analyze crowd-sourcing or social tipping points.³³¹

This idea that social media can provide the Intelligence Community something it has never had before seems to just be developing. In September 2012, an *Intelligence and National Security* article by Sir David Omand, the first UK Security and Intelligence Coordinator, former member of the Joint Intelligence Committee, former Permanent Secretary of the Home Office and former Director of GCHQ, Jamie Bartlett and Carl Miller coined social media intelligence (SOCMINT) as a new member of the intelligence family.³³² They argue that the type of information social media provides is unique as it can give insights into groupthink and might also develop the IC’s understanding of

³²⁷ Jamieson and Calabrese, p18.

³²⁸ *Ibid*, p17.

³²⁹ *Ibid*.

³³⁰ *Ibid*.

³³¹ *Ibid*, p18.

³³² Omand, Sir David, Jamie Bartlett and Carl Miller. “Introducing Social Media Intelligence (SOCMINT),” *Intelligence and National Security*, 1-23, September 28, 2012, p 1.

thresholds and indicators of violence, as well as pathways to radicalization.³³³ They also argue that it can provide near real-time situational awareness.³³⁴ Social media includes a variety of information on an individual, specifically noting a combination of likes, attitudes and locations.³³⁵ It can assist the USIC in determining public sentiments towards foreign governments.³³⁶ The article notes that this type of analysis is clearly possible as it is already being conducted by marketing firms.³³⁷

Sentiment Analysis

What these authors are discussing is the use of data from social media to assess the attitudes of a population on a specific topic, otherwise known as sentiment analysis. This text mining discipline studies and classifies the sentiment of text, usually into categories of positive, negative, or neutral attitudes.³³⁸ Social media technologies like Twitter, Facebook and Instagram provide a public platform or ‘social public square’ where individuals can express their thoughts and network. Analysis performed on these datasets can highlight emerging themes and trends in collective attitudes, leading to potential intelligence for estimates.

³³³ *Ibid*, p 5-6.

³³⁴ *Ibid*, p5.

³³⁵ Ackerman, Robert. “A New –INT Looms for Social Media,” *SIGNAL*, Vol. 68, Issue 2, October 2013, p18.

³³⁶ *Ibid*.

³³⁷ *Ibid*.

³³⁸ Kennedy, Helen, “Perspectives on Sentiment Analysis,” *Journal of Broadcasting & Electronic Media* 56(4), 2012, p435.

Case Studies

Historically, there are several examples of the USIC misjudging the sentiment of foreign populations towards their governments. These examples include most notably the Iranian Revolution and the Arab Spring. In modern history, the first revolutionary wave was the ‘Atlantic Revolutions’ starting in 1776 with the American revolution, then spreading to the French revolution, the Haitian revolution, the Irish rebellion and revolutions in Latin America.³³⁹ A second wave crossed Europe in 1848, which was also the year the *Communist Manifesto* was published, popularizing the idea of revolutionary waves.³⁴⁰ Revolutions continued across China and Russia and after WWI spread to various colonized countries.³⁴¹ Anti-colonial revolutions sprung up again after WWII.³⁴² Some argue there is evidence of an increasing trend towards the frequency of revolutions.³⁴³ Most recently, the Arab Spring broke-out across the Middle East in a wave starting in Tunisia, and within weeks spreading to Egypt, Libya, Algeria, Morocco, Jordan, Bahrain, Oman, Syria and Yemen.³⁴⁴ One commonality with the spread of all of these revolutions is communication.³⁴⁵ As communication technology has advanced, so has the increase and speed of political mass mobilization.³⁴⁶ This highlights the importance of focusing on both revolutions and on the communications by which they are organized. Monitoring revolutions is still every bit as important today as it was in when the U.S. was concerned with the spread of communism. In order to provide U.S.

³³⁹ Motadel, David. “Waves of Revolution” *History Today* Volume 61: Issue 4, 2011 at URL: <http://www.historytoday.com/david-motadel/waves-revolution>.

³⁴⁰ *Ibid.*

³⁴¹ *Ibid.*

³⁴² *Ibid.*

³⁴³ *Ibid.*

³⁴⁴ *Ibid.*

³⁴⁵ *Ibid.*

³⁴⁶ *Ibid.*

policymakers strategic warning and decision advantage, the USIC must try to track growing movements and political dissent. This chapter argues that to achieve this, the USIC must be able to collect and analyze public sentiment.

Iranian Revolution

The Iranian revolution came as a surprise to many experts who were monitoring Iran's rapid industrialization and the regime's grip on the army and secret police.³⁴⁷ Iran was a strong U.S. ally during the Cold War until the 1979 revolution.³⁴⁸ Shah Mohammed Reza Pahlavi and nationalist Prime Minister Mohammed Mossadeq were locked in a power struggle in 1951 after parliament had voted to nationalize the oil industry, run mostly by British-owned oil companies.³⁴⁹ After the Shah dismissed Mossadeq in 1952, massive riots broke out which forced the Shah to reinstate Mossadeq.³⁵⁰ The U.S. and British intelligence forces suspected that Mossadeq was a communist supporter and was interested in aligning Iran with the Soviet Union.³⁵¹ The CIA and British intelligence assisted the Shah in plotting to overthrow Mossadeq, however, the Prime Minister was made aware of the plan and his supporters retook to the streets in protest.³⁵² The Shah fled Iran in 1953, only to return later that month after a CIA-led coup finally overthrew Mossadeq.³⁵³

³⁴⁷ Parsa, Misagh, *Social Origins the Iranian Revolution*. (New Jersey: Rutgers University Press, 1989), p1.

³⁴⁸ History Channel, "August 19, 1953: CIA-assisted coup overthrows government of Iran," *This Day in History*, at URL: <http://www.history.com/this-day-in-history/cia-assisted-coup-overthrows-government-of-iran>.

³⁴⁹ BBC News, "Iran profile," 17 October 2013 at URL: <http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/world-middle-east-14542438>.

³⁵⁰ History Channel.

³⁵¹ History Channel.

³⁵² History Channel.

³⁵³ BBC News, "Iran profile".

When the Shah returned, he signed over forty percent of Iran's oil fields to U.S. companies and continued his relationship as one of the U.S.'s closest Cold War allies.³⁵⁴ In 1963, the Shah introduced reforms that attempt to modernize Iran's society and economy.³⁵⁵ He began to rely heavily on his secret police, SAVAK, to control growing opposition movements.³⁵⁶ By 1978, these movements gained the support of many Iranians who ultimately began to riot and stage mass protests.³⁵⁷ In January 1979, the Shah fled Iran as an exile and by February Ayatollah Ruhollah Khomeini returned to Iran and established the Islamic Republic of Iran.³⁵⁸

The U.S. intelligence community failed to raise concerns of the developing movement. Six months before the Shah had to flee Iran, the CIA concluded that "Iran is not in a revolutionary or even a pre-revolutionary situation."³⁵⁹ The Director of CIA's National Foreign Assessment Center (NFAC) Bob Bowie testified before Congress that the unrest in Iran was diminishing weeks before severe rioting in opposition to the Shah broke out.³⁶⁰ In 1979, the USIC was surprised by the Iranian revolution because they failed to perceive the Iranian public's sentiments, specifically their discontent with the Shah.³⁶¹ In the years leading up to the revolution, human intelligence collection (HUMINT) was limited by policy makers who did not allow officers to have contact with

³⁵⁴ History Channel.

³⁵⁵ BBC News, "Iran profile".

³⁵⁶ BBC News, "Iran profile".

³⁵⁷ BBC News, "Iran profile".

³⁵⁸ BBC News, "Iran profile".

³⁵⁹ Friedman, Uri, "The Ten Biggest American Intelligence Failures," *Foreign Policy*, 3 January 2012 at URL: http://www.foreignpolicy.com/articles/2012/1/3/the_ten_biggest_american_intelligence_failures?page=0,4.

³⁶⁰ Jervis, Robert, *Why Intelligence Fails: Lessons from the Iranian Revolution and the Iraq War*, (Cornell University Press: Ithaca, 2010), p15.

³⁶¹ Margolis, Gabriel, p 53.

the Iranian people opposing the Shah, so as not to offend the Shah.³⁶² Therefore, the USIC had to receive its intelligence regarding Iran through the Shah's secret police, SAVAK, who denied the existence of strong opposition.³⁶³

A series of now declassified U.S. documents on Iran reveal the unique relationship between the U.S. and the Shah. They also prove that the U.S. did not have a good sense of public sentiment in Iran or the growing movement against the Shah. A top secret Memorandum for the President from the Department of State, dated August 1953, expressed the view that the Shah could capitalize on the wave of public opinion to bring about a renaissance in Iran.³⁶⁴ It also deemed the Shah a 'new man' after he was reinstated and reported that he was convinced that Iran would become an integral player in the "Free World's defense."³⁶⁵ What this early document reveals is that the USIC was focused on this belief in the Shah instead of the actual public opinion of the people, and later documents prove that this blindness led them to overestimate his stability.

In January 1979, millions of Iranians protested and eventually overthrew the Shah.³⁶⁶ The U.S. government became 'alarmed' only two months before, in November 1978.³⁶⁷ Robert Jervis, in his declassified report, originally commissioned by the CIA, dated the unrest against the Shah back to mid-1977.³⁶⁸ The four major USIC errors put forth by Jervis in his review provide alternative reasons for the intelligence failures but

³⁶² *Ibid.*

³⁶³ *Ibid.*

³⁶⁴ Memorandum for the President (discussing behavior of the Shah, Gen. Zahedi and Winston Churchill immediately after the coup), Memorandum from the Department of State, top secret, circa August 1953.

³⁶⁵ Memorandum for the President.

³⁶⁶ Amineh, M.P. and S.N. Eisenstadt, "The Iranian Revolution: The Multiple Contexts of the Iranian Revolution," *Perspectives on Global Development & Technology* 1 June 2007, p130.

³⁶⁷ Jervis, Robert, p16.

³⁶⁸ *Ibid.*

his suggestions still strengthens the argument for the need to understand political sentiments within the country. He finds that one of the reasons analysts did not believe Iran was heading for a revolution was because the Shah had not cracked down on opposition.³⁶⁹ As Jervis alludes, this indicator would only be measurable once the political situation was severe.³⁷⁰ He also mentions the U.S.'s focus on the Shah's strength, the lack of understanding regarding Khomeini and the religious movement, and misunderstanding of the sentiment of the people and the nationalist movement.³⁷¹ Jervis posits, "Mingling with the demonstrators and talking to the rank and file in the opposition might have shown the breadth and depth of the hatred of the Shah, the power of nationalism, and the role of religious leaders as focal points."³⁷² His analysis suggests that the U.S. was not adequately collecting such information to supplement the information received by SAVAK.

Jervis also admits that the USIC's capability to judge the sentiment of those supporting and opposing the Shah was low as there was no direct information available, noting that there were no reports coming from the embassy, station, or news on the size of protests.³⁷³ In retrospect, it is clear from the field reports sent back regarding the temperament of the people that the U.S. officers in country were clearly out of touch. For example, the field reports that "assume[d the] vast majority of middle class...generally please[d]" were founded in opinions and conclusions rather than actual intelligence and growing trends.³⁷⁴

³⁶⁹ *Ibid*, p24.

³⁷⁰ *Ibid*.

³⁷¹ *Ibid*, p25.

³⁷² *Ibid*, p26.

³⁷³ Jervis, p96.

³⁷⁴ *Ibid*.

Even with these findings, however, Jervis ultimately found that the U.S. intelligence community would not have been able to predict the movement in Iran. He supports this view by claiming that to his knowledge no other country was able to accurately predict the revolution. An interesting study by Uri Bar-Joseph and published in the *Journal of Strategic Studies* seems to disprove his final assertion. The article compares Israel's success in estimating the Iranian Revolution versus the U.S.'s failure. The revolution had a huge impact for both the United States and Israel. Israel's superior assessments allowed them to remove their assets in Iran without major incident, while the U.S. only extracted the last of its assets out of Iran in January 1981, after the hostage crisis.³⁷⁵ Israel's representatives in Iran, largely Iranian Jews who had immigrated to Israel but who could return to Iran disguised as locals, provided a huge intelligence advantage.³⁷⁶ The military attaché and the chief of Mossad station in Tehran were able to communicate in their own language.³⁷⁷ Israel also used local sources including Yusof Jadda, an Israeli embassy employee, who was able to provide information and a local's interpretation of events.³⁷⁸ Another source was 'Shapour', who met with the Shah and prime minister and provided Mossad with information about the atmosphere among top officials.³⁷⁹ They even had insight into the perception of the SAVAK generals and the Shah's close aides as one source, Gurji Lavipur, a Jewish money changer, provided

³⁷⁵ Bar-Joseph, Uri, "Forecasting a Hurricane: Israeli and American Estimations of the Khomeini Revolution," *The Journal of Strategic Studies*, Vol. 36, No. 5, 2013, p 720.

³⁷⁶ *Ibid*, p 721.

³⁷⁷ *Ibid*, p 724.

³⁷⁸ Bar-Joseph, p 724.

³⁷⁹ *Ibid*.

information that these men were smuggling money abroad, indicating a fear for the Shah's fate.³⁸⁰

In comparison, the U.S. embassy in Iran was ill-equipped with little understanding of Iran, the language, or the culture.³⁸¹ They had little contact with society outside a narrow segment of Armenian Christians who worked at the embassy.³⁸² The U.S. limited contact to only the Shah and those that surrounded him, while Israel developed a series of sources and relationships with senior Iranian officials and locals.³⁸³ U.S. Ambassador William Sullivan, credited for the estimates that informed Washington's policy, said before the revolution that he felt "insulated from and alien to [his] environment."³⁸⁴ These estimates, as Bar-Joseph notes, assessed that "the Shah is in a stronger position internally than at any previous time in his long rule" and that "there will be no radical change in Iranian political behavior in the near future."³⁸⁵

However, by February 18th, 1978, which marked a third wave of riots that ended in the deaths of hundreds of demonstrators, Israeli suspicions were raised as police announced only ten dead.³⁸⁶ Subsequent conversations with senior officials and average citizens led the Israeli military attaché to assess that the Shah was highly unpopular.³⁸⁷ In February 1978, he told an Israeli journalist, "the Shah was finished and his days were numbered."³⁸⁸ A month later Israelis met with the Shah to convince him to give millions of dollars to support the poor in Lebanon, where there was a growing Iranian

³⁸⁰ *Ibid.*

³⁸¹ *Ibid*, p 725.

³⁸² *Ibid*, p 726.

³⁸³ *Ibid.*

³⁸⁴ *Ibid.*

³⁸⁵ *Ibid*, p 727.

³⁸⁶ *Ibid*, p 728.

³⁸⁷ *Ibid.*

³⁸⁸ Bar-Joseph, p 728.

opposition.³⁸⁹ They began sending warnings back to the Israeli government, who still regarded Iran as an important partner. As a result Israel increased the credit for oil purchases so that they would have large amounts stockpiled for after their relationship ended.³⁹⁰ Meanwhile, the American estimates asserted there were “no significant changes”, that the power of religious leaders was eroding due to the Shah’s reforms, and that the general public was indifferent.³⁹¹

On June 13th, 1978, Israeli diplomat Uri Lubrani sent a written assessment to the offices of the prime minister, his deputy, the minister of defense, the chief of the Mossad, and the director of military intelligence saying, “many feel today that an accelerated process of challenging the Shah has started; this process is irreversible and will ultimately lead to his fall and to a drastic change in the structure of the regime in Iran.”³⁹² In August, the CIA did a study ‘Iran after the Shah’ but included an estimate in the preface saying “Iran is not in a revolutionary or even ‘pre-revolutionary’ situation.”³⁹³ On August 20th, the day after 430 people were killed in the Cinema Rex fire in Abadan, a top secret cable was sent to Jerusalem requesting consultation with Mossad station chief and embassy security officer to develop an emergency plan, including evacuating Israelis.³⁹⁴ The regime claimed that the fire was set by Islamic militants, while protestors denied the claims, saying that SAVAK was behind it. U.S. estimates raised concern but did not suggest a need for policy change, even suggesting that Khomeini’s support was

³⁸⁹ *ibid*, p 729.

³⁹⁰ *ibid*.

³⁹¹ *ibid*.

³⁹² *ibid*, p 730.

³⁹³ *ibid*.

³⁹⁴ *ibid*, p 731.

fracturing.³⁹⁵ When martial law was imposed in Tehran on September 7th and huge demonstrations broke out, the Israelis accelerated their evacuation plans, downsizing the number of Israelis inside of Iran, training those remaining on how to act during the crisis, and destroying secret documents.³⁹⁶ Meanwhile, they initiated new intelligence requirements to measure possible regime change and need for emergency evacuation.³⁹⁷

The U.S. only really considered the Shah's fall a possibility after Ambassador Sullivan sent a message on November 2nd to the White House and State Department describing that the Shah was considering abdicating, quickly followed by another November telegram 'Thinking the Unthinkable', which is often noted as finally making the administration aware of the likelihood of the Shah's fall.³⁹⁸ The Shah left Iran on January 16th. The contrast between the two countries' intelligence estimates show that Israel was able to better collect and frame the mystery of the pending revolution in Iran. They were able to do this by collecting public sentiment towards the Shah and the opposition and therefore more accurately forecast and prepare for the revolution.³⁹⁹ This was a result of embassy/Mossad's collection of local sentiment, which revealed critical indicators, which led them to change collection requirements, and use their greater capability to collect such information due to language and cultural knowledge. The Israelis were able to use both increased collection and Treverton's framing to effectively diagnosis the probability of a revolution in Iran.

Charles Kurzman's study of the Iranian Revolution found that the monarchy was not measurably vulnerable but the public's perception of 'opportunities' for successful

³⁹⁵ Bar-Joseph, p 732.

³⁹⁶ *Ibid*, p732-733.

³⁹⁷ *Ibid*, p732.

³⁹⁸ *Ibid*, p734.

³⁹⁹ *Ibid*, p738.

protest changed due to the strengthening of the opposition movement.⁴⁰⁰ The Iranian movement was unique from other revolutions of the time because it was urban-based. Annabelle Sreberny and Ali Mohammadi's research show that the revolution mobilized different socio-economic circles, like the 'traditional urban propertied class of the bazaar', 'salaried middle class', intellectuals, students, workers, urban migrants, and the clergy, against the Shah's regime and the U.S. 'neocolonialism'.⁴⁰¹ There are various opinions surrounding social-movement theory but the two most essential elements are the vulnerabilities of the state and the public's perception of 'opportunities' for successful protest.⁴⁰² It involves the objective strength of the government and the subjective sentiments of the people.⁴⁰³ The strength or weakness of the government does not forecast the likelihood of protest alone. For protest to occur it requires that the people perceive a possibility for success, which may be misperceived and occur when the government is actually quite strong. For example, they may be calculating the strength of the opposition.⁴⁰⁴ The more protestors participating the more likely it is that an individual will participate.⁴⁰⁵

In the Iranian Revolution, mobilization was coordinated by religious leaders via traditional networks of 'social communication', like meetings or the bazaar, and through what Sreberny and Mohammadi call 'small media', like leaflets and audiocassette tapes.⁴⁰⁶

⁴⁰⁰ Kurzman, Charles, "Structural Opportunity and Perceived Opportunity in Social-Movement Theory: The Iranian Revolution of 1979," *American Sociological Review*, Vol. 61, No. 1, February 1996, p153.

⁴⁰¹ Sreberny, Annabelle and Ali Mohammadi, "Small Media, Big Revolution: Communication, Culture, and The Iranian Revolution," (Minneapolis: Regents of the University of Minnesota, 1994), p xvii.

⁴⁰² Kurzman, , p153.

⁴⁰³ *Ibid*, p154.

⁴⁰⁴ *Ibid*, p155.

⁴⁰⁵ *Ibid*, p154.

⁴⁰⁶ Sreberny and Mohammadi, pxviii.

The cassette tapes played a significant role in spreading Khomeini's word as there were thousands distributed and listened to in mosques and homes.⁴⁰⁷ They found that this 'small media' created a political 'public sphere' through which individuals could participate by communicating their opposition to the Shah.⁴⁰⁸ They also suggest, "Looking at the dynamics of media use can help us understand breakdowns in regime policy and ideology but also the mobilization of alternate identities and resources to fight against the state, helping to explain how subjects of strong states become agents in their demise."⁴⁰⁹ If the USIC had tapped into these networks to collect information, they would have been in a better position to assess the public sentiment and possibly foresee the massive movement. This early example highlights the evolving media platforms available for collection, which will be discussed in depth in the following case study.

⁴⁰⁷ *Ibid*, pXIX.

⁴⁰⁸ *Ibid*, pXX.

⁴⁰⁹ Sreberny and Mohammadi, p3.

Egyptian Revolution of 2011

The movement that would eventually be coined the ‘Arab Spring’ began in December 2010 when one man, Mohamed Bouazizi, in Tunisia burned himself to death in protest after police took his fruit and vegetables he was selling from a street stall.⁴¹⁰ The act sparked protests across the country as many were unhappy with grave unemployment. The protests grew more political calling for President Zine el Abidine Ben Ali to not stand for re-election.⁴¹¹ By January 14, 2011, President Ben Ali fled Tunisia.⁴¹² Three days later a man set fire to himself in front of Egypt’s parliament building in Cairo in protest.⁴¹³ Mohamed ElBaradei warned that protests might erupt in Egypt as they did in Tunisia, while activists began calling for a ‘day of anger’.⁴¹⁴

On January 25th, 2011, giant protests erupted across Egypt calling for the ousting of President Hosni Mubarak.⁴¹⁵ The government blocked Twitter and Facebook on January 26th in an attempt to clamp down on the protests, which highlights the perceived role of Internet mobilization.⁴¹⁶ Immediately following, the government began to crack down on protestors and the hacking group Anonymous threatened to carry out cyber-attacks if the Egyptian government continued to block networks.⁴¹⁷ Activists used

⁴¹⁰ Blight, Garry, Sheila Pulham and Paul Torpey, “Arab spring: an interactive timeline of Middle East protests,” The Guardian, 5 January 2012, at URL: <http://www.theguardian.com/world/interactive/2011/mar/22/middle-east-protest-interactive-timeline>.

⁴¹¹ Borger, Julian, “Tunisian president vows to punish rioters after worst unrest in a decade,” The Guardian, 29 December 2010, at URL: <http://www.theguardian.com/world/2010/dec/29/tunisian-president-vows-punish-rioters>.

⁴¹² Blight, Pulham and Torpey.

⁴¹³ *Ibid.*

⁴¹⁴ *Ibid.*

⁴¹⁵ *Ibid.*

⁴¹⁶ *Ibid.*

⁴¹⁷ *Ibid.*

various means to circumvent the Internet controls including Hotspot Shield and Tor.⁴¹⁸ Egyptian Internet users also used the social media management dashboard HootSuite to bypass the government's censorship. Ryan Holmes, CEO at HootSuite, reported experiencing a 7,000% increase in new users from Egypt before the government attempted to fully shut down the Internet.⁴¹⁹ On February 11th 2011, President Hosni Mubarak announced he was stepping down.⁴²⁰

The Arab spring was said to cause intelligence issues for the U.S. and the U.K. Michael Scheuer, former CIA officer and current professor at Georgetown University, claimed that the intelligence the U.S. was receiving from the Egyptian, Libyan and Lebanese intelligence services 'dried up' after the Arab spring, as the U.S. did not support political leaders that had worked with U.S. intelligence or as those who worked in intelligence fled for fear of retribution.⁴²¹ He claimed it not only reduced the ability to gather intelligence on militants but it also left no replacement in terms of potential intelligence partners.⁴²² The Arab Spring also caused the U.S. to face diplomatic questions of how to react to the crisis and protect certain strategic interests.

As the Arab Spring was more recent, there is no availability of declassified information to provide an intelligence comparison like the case study above. However, some argue that the Arab Spring may not have been such a surprise to intelligence

⁴¹⁸ Khamis, Sahar and Katherine Vaughn, "Cyberactivism in the Tunisian and Egyptian Revolutions: Potentials, limitations, overlaps and divergences," *Journal of African Media Studies*, Vol. 5, Issue 1, March 2013, P 76.

⁴¹⁹ Holmes, Ryan. "Why Social Media is (Really) Revolutionary: Looking Back at Egypt," November 26, 2012 at URL: <http://www.linkedin.com/today/post/article/20121126213602-2967511-why-social-media-is-really-revolutionary-looking-back-at-egypt>.

⁴²⁰ Blight, Pulham and Torpey.

⁴²¹ Higgins, Charlotte, "Arab spring has created 'intelligence disaster', warns former CIA boss," *The Guardian*, 28 August 2011 at URL: <http://www.theguardian.com/world/2011/aug/28/arab-spring-intelligence-disaster-scheuer>.

⁴²² *Ibid.*

agencies had they focused on collecting data from social media.⁴²³ The Egyptian protests were organized through Twitter and Facebook.⁴²⁴ Egyptian activists had been using blogs and social media to organize before the Egyptian Revolution.⁴²⁵ The first noted use of social media for activism in Egypt was in April 2008 when a Facebook page was created to organize a strike of textile workers in Mahalla.⁴²⁶ One notable individual who received international media attention for his role in the revolution was Wael Ghonim, an Egyptian web activist, who in 2010 started the Facebook page “We Are All Khaled Said”.⁴²⁷ The page discussed a young Egyptian businessman who was tortured to death by Egyptian police.⁴²⁸ Ghonim used the Facebook page to organize protests for January 25th.⁴²⁹ The page had over 350,000 members before January 14th, 2011.⁴³⁰ When Ghonim sent an invitation to members of the Facebook group ‘We Are All Khaled Said’, 50,000 people responded within three days that they would attend.⁴³¹ In a study published in the *Communications of the ACM* magazine, 800,000 tweets on topics related to the revolution were analyzed to determine how sentiment developed leading up to the revolution and what type of tweets were most retweeted.⁴³² Their study measured non-

⁴²³ Ackerman, Robert, “A New –INT Looms for Social Media,” *SIGNAL*, Vol. 68, Issue 2, October 2013, p18.

⁴²⁴ Papacharissi, Zizi, and Maria de Fatima Oliveria, “Affective News and Networked Publics: The Rhythms of News Storytelling on #Egypt,” *Journal of Communication*, Vol. 62, 2012, p 266.

⁴²⁵ Khamis and Vaughn, p 74.

⁴²⁶ Eltantawy, Nahed and Julie b. Wiest, “Social Media in the Egyptian Revolution: Reconsidering Resource Mobilization Theory,” *International Journal of Communication* 5 (2011), p1212.

⁴²⁷ Black, Ian, “Wael Ghonim anointed voice of the revolution by Tahrir Square faithful,” *The Guardian* 8 February 2011, at URL: <http://www.theguardian.com/world/2011/feb/08/wael-ghonim-tahrir-square>.

⁴²⁸ *Ibid.*

⁴²⁹ *Ibid.*

⁴³⁰ Khamis and Vaughn, p74.

⁴³¹ *Ibid*, p 75.

⁴³² Choudhary, Alok, William Hendrix, Kathy Lee, Diana Palsetia, and Wei-Keng Liao, “Social Media Evolution of the Egyptian Revolution,” *Communications of the ACM*, Vol. 55, No. 5, May 2012, p 75.

geolocated live tweets for the period of January 25-February 11, 2011.⁴³³ On February 6th, they measured 85% of tweets on ‘hosni_mubarak’ were negative.⁴³⁴

A study done after the revolution analyzed sentiment from millions of news articles leading up to the revolution.⁴³⁵ These articles were fed into the SGI Altix supercomputer Nautilus, and the aggregated results show a “notable dip in sentiment ahead of time – both inside the country, and as reported from outside.”⁴³⁶ It found that in Egypt, the tone of coverage the month before Mubarak’s resignation fell to a low seen only twice before during the regime.⁴³⁷ The other two dips coincided with the 1991 U.S. aerial bombing of Iraqi troops in Kuwait and the 2003 U.S. invasion of Iraq.⁴³⁸ These drops mirrored similar ones that occurred ahead of the revolution in Libya and the Balkans conflicts in the 1990s and suggested a collective shift of attitudes against Mubarak.⁴³⁹ This collection and analysis was not being done in real-time but if they were the negative tones of coverage and amongst the public sentiment could have provided the critical indicators to the IC. Kalev Leetaru, who conducted the study, has begun to develop technology that could act as a real time sentiment forecast, though he acknowledges that he “likens it to weather forecasting. It’s never perfect, but we do better than random guessing.”⁴⁴⁰

The *Arab Social Media Report* developed by the Dubai School of Government measured the use of social media throughout the Arab Spring. Using a Twitter API

⁴³³ *Ibid.*

⁴³⁴ *Ibid.*, p 77.

⁴³⁵ BBC News, “Supercomputer predicts revolution,” 9 September 2011 at URL: <http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/technology-14841018>.

⁴³⁶ *Ibid.*

⁴³⁷ *Ibid.*

⁴³⁸ BBC News, “Supercomputer predicts revolution”.

⁴³⁹ *Ibid.*

⁴⁴⁰ *Ibid.*

(application programming interface) they measured the total number of active users, tweets, and trending topics from January 1st through March 30th, 2011.⁴⁴¹ They estimated the number of tweets by active users in this region during this time period was 22,750,000 tweets.⁴⁴² Across the region, three of the five most popular trending hashtags for this time period were #egypt, #jan25, and #protest.⁴⁴³ #Egypt was mentioned in 1.4 million tweets, while #jan25 and #protest received 1.2 million mentions and 620,000 mentions respectively.⁴⁴⁴ Unfortunately, this study does not date back further than January 1st, to track the trend in the months previously. The study also does not provide information on the sentiment of these tweets but the potential for such an assessment will be discussed below. What the study does show is a significant spike in the volume of daily tweets in Egypt on January 14th, corresponding to the protests in Tunisia.⁴⁴⁵

Implication for the Intelligence Community

From these case studies, it is evident that the lack of collection and framing of local public sentiment has led the USIC to fail in anticipating potential political changes in other countries. The U.S. Intelligence Community needs to focus on collecting local sentiment intelligence for critical indicators and then to frame the information collected to assess the probability of a revolution. Additional research needs to be done on enhancing collection requirements to attain local sentiment. Also, the USIC needs to improve its capability to collect and frame this intelligence by hiring language and cultural experts. Collecting these critical indicators becomes essential in the mystery

⁴⁴¹ Dubai School of Government, "Civil Movements: The Impact of Facebook and Twitter," Arab Social Media Report, Vol. 1, No. 2, May 2011, p 15.

⁴⁴² *Ibid*, p16.

⁴⁴³ *Ibid*.

⁴⁴⁴ *Ibid*.

⁴⁴⁵ *Ibid*, p 20.

process. When it comes to collecting critical indicators, the first case was a failure of HUMINT and in the second a failure of collection via social media and, to a lesser extent, HUMINT. Both studies also show the use of various mediums for mobilization by anti-government activists. The increasing use of social media to mobilize provides the Intelligence Community an opportunity to directly collect and map public sentiment and mobilization. The USIC could have analyzed social media data to capture and interpret public sentiment associated to key political events of the Arab Spring and to see if there was an increase in negative sentiment prior to the uprisings that could have been captured, framed, and used towards a warning estimate for U.S. policymakers. The focus of this analysis would be the quantification of social dialogues during the months leading up to the Egyptian Arab Spring.

Approach

The USIC is likely doing some sort of social media intelligence collection but, as this is not public knowledge and is likely not all encompassing; a best way forward is suggested. A possible framework for USIC sentiment analysis programs needs to be developed. It should focus on information retrieval methods that allow the collection of data from multiple social media platforms. Most of these platforms already provide live-streaming API, which would aggregate structured data according to key parameters set by the analyst. For example, in the case of the Egyptian revolution, the dataset extracted could have been filtered geographically by setting the location parameter to Egypt, thus returning only tweets created by individuals in Egypt. The data could also be filtered using keywords or hashtags like #Egypt, #revolution, #ثورة, #protest, #Mubarak, #Cairo, #TahrirSquare, #jan25, #ElBaradei. For the purposes of warning estimates, analysts

would need to have some knowledge of cultural, historical and political background, as well as language skills, to decide the search parameters and accurately interpret the results.

Once the data is extracted, it would be placed into a data mining environment for analysis. The records could be parsed to remove irrelevant information to increase the accuracy of the analysis. Using the Egyptian revolution as an example, the valuable information would be placed along a timeline to assess if there was an increase of dialogue, negative sentiment, and protest rhetoric leading to the 2011 revolution. Subsequent research hopes to track these sentiments from August 2010 to February 2011, but due to Twitter's data streaming parameters limiting an individual's ability to query past seven days, this dataset must be requested and attained from third-party data providers, who have full access to Twitter's full stream of historic tweets.

Conclusion

The US has a mixed record in sharing intelligence and must improve if the nation and its allies are to deter and prevent terror attacks. Discovering the probability of a revolution is an intelligence mystery. Critical indicators found within public sentiment can feed the framing process that the Intelligence Community uses to determine the probability of a revolution in partner countries. The U.S. Intelligence Community has failed to discern political sentiments in foreign countries because of the lack of collection of local sentiment, lack of collection requirements on public sentiment and lack of capacity to collect due to language issues. Once those indicators are collected, they can be framed according to cultural and historical patterns. The IC has long wished to understand the attitudes of populations in other countries, specifically in states considered

strategically important to the U.S. This real-time collection and analysis was not available during the Iranian revolution. In fact, the access to the Iranian population and understanding of general sentiments were limited for the U.S. The U.S. was not positioning itself to collect the necessary HUMINT. As a result, the U.S. failed to perceive the growing movement there. Egypt proves that this approach provides a way forward for identifying and assessing such movements.

The purpose of this chapter is not to suggest that the development of SOCMINT would be a cure-all for intelligence or as a definitive prediction tool. The information and critical indicators collected through SOCMINT or any other collection method is not sufficient without proper framing. It also does not mean to suggest that social media collection should replace other intelligence techniques, like HUMINT. Rather, the use of sentiment analysis of social media as a supplement to other intelligence techniques would strengthen the U.S. Intelligence Community's ability to provide more accurate strategic warning estimates to policymakers regarding potential political movements worldwide. The capacity to measure public sentiment via social media will increase with the growth of users worldwide and global technological advances. In some societies, this capability will still be somewhat limited as the Internet and telecommunications are censored. However, the Egyptian revolution serves as an example of how people are increasingly motivated and adept at bypassing these limitations. This new form of collection may add noise to the plethora of data out there but with new data there would be nothing to frame and reframe.

This new collection and framing discipline would have to grow with the larger discipline of warning to effectively provide estimates on potential uprisings. As warning

theorists suggest, both warning and social media analysis should be the responsibility of a specific agency, like the CIA or ODNI. It will require appropriate allocation of resources to specified units responsible for such analysis. Social media analysis can provide warning analysts with specific intelligence to fulfill the need for measurable indicators. It will also partially answer Secretary Panetta's call to increase the Intelligence Community's ability to collect information that better tracks the potential for uprisings. The estimates may still be uncertain but it provides more context than simply offering policymakers the assessment of 'simmering unrest' in the Middle East.

Conclusion

Key Findings

This thesis, which seeks to provide understanding on how the U.S. intelligence community has and can continue to optimize international intelligence cooperation to counter terrorism and rising threats, has several key findings. As al-Qa'ida's affiliates become the most operationally capable to carry out attacks, the USIC needs international intelligence partners more than ever. To counter their current capabilities, the USIC and partners need to have a unique response to each affiliate branch. An increase in international intelligence cooperation is the only way to limit al-Qa'ida's capabilities and financially protect the United States by sharing costs. Finally, the access to intelligence regarding location, structure, plans, and financing is sometimes (increasingly so since al-Qa'ida has increased safe havens) only available through foreign partners.

As al-Qa'ida affiliates take advantage of fragile states, particularly after the Arab Spring, the U.S. must refocus its efforts to increase intelligence cooperation to reduce al-Qa'ida affiliates' capabilities. The case study on international intelligence cooperation to combat terrorist financing shows that cooperation, specifically with the EU and with Saudi Arabia, restricted terrorist financiers and launderers from using formal financial channels. It also seems to have stemmed finances from the Persian Gulf, increasing financial grievances amongst al-Qa'ida members. To continue to reduce operational capacity by attacking financing the U.S. must work with intelligence allies to understand terrorist financing in Indonesia, Pakistan, Syria, Turkey and Yemen. Saudi intelligence has also been essential in the fight against al-Qa'ida in the Arabian Peninsula. The relationship has provided warning on several potential attacks and led to the assassination

of high-ranking AQAP members. However, the group maintains significant operational capabilities and is determined to carry out attacks against the U.S. homeland. The current movements of al-Qa'ida in Yemen, Mali, Syria, and other countries affected by the Arab Spring and the counter movements made by the U.S. and its intelligence partners will determine if al-Qa'ida will increase operational capability or diminish.

The examination of the factors of successful international intelligence cooperation revealed that the Intelligence Community needs to have a greater focus on the political elements of our intelligence partners. Specifically, it is essential for the U.S. to understand the political public sentiment and political movements within their partner countries. The most successful intelligence partnerships will have the strongest shared interests, mutual trust, and political stability.

When these factors were used to analyze the successfulness of Saudi-US intelligence sharing and Pakistani-US intelligence relations it revealed that the former was successful while the latter was unsuccessful. The Saudi-US intelligence relationship has been successful because of the two countries' shared interest in the realm of counterterrorism, their mutual trust, and the current stability of the Kingdom's government. Pakistani-US intelligence relations have become mostly unsuccessful as there is, at best, a questionable level of mutual interest towards counterterrorism, a lack of trust, and severe political instability within Pakistan.

Analyzing both of these cases through the lenses of shared interests, mutual trust, and political concerns shows that these factors can be used to identify both successful and failing partnerships. They also allow the USIC to identify which parts of the relationship are the strongest and which are the most vulnerable. For Saudi-U.S. relations political

concerns are likely the most vulnerable, as unrest in the region shows the potential threat of instability to the Saudi royal family, with whom the U.S. has so closely aligned.

In order to get an accurate picture of the political sentiment in these foreign countries and to decrease the chances of surprises like the Iranian Revolution and the Egyptian Revolution the U.S. needs to reform collection methods of public sentiment and frame the critical indicators found through that collection. To provide appropriate strategic warning the USIC needs to create new programs and focus additional research on analyzing crowd sourcing and understanding social tipping points. New collection requirements need to be made to ensure that collection of political sentiments in country remain a priority and to provide sentiment analysts with the necessary information. Findings from both case studies show that USIC needs to make collection requirements to continuously assess the public sentiment towards the government of their partners through direct collection. The case study focusing on the Iranian Revolution compared the U.S. collection with information being collected by the Israelis. It was clear that Israel's ability to collect HUMINT intelligence within Iran led them to first predict the fall of the Shah about a year prior. As a result, they were able to stockpile oil and remove assets before the Shah fell, while the U.S. continued to send reports of the Shah's strength. The unexpected fall meant not only the loss of an intelligence partner, but also the inability to protect assets, who were taken hostage.

The case study on the Egyptian Revolution provides a turning point for collection as it was largely planned via social media. Social media collection (SOCMINT), as a supplement to other intelligence techniques, would strengthen the USIC's ability to provide more accurate strategic warning estimates for policymakers regarding potential

political movements worldwide. The increase in use of social media to mobilize political and social movements provides the Intelligence Community an opportunity to directly collect and map public sentiment and mobilization. The USIC could have analyzed social media data to capture and interpret public sentiment associated to key political events of the Arab Spring and to see if there was an increase in negative sentiment prior to the uprising that could have been captured, analyzed, and used towards a warning estimate for U.S. policymakers. This new collection and analysis discipline would have to grow with the larger warning discipline to effectively provide estimates on potential uprisings. The expansion of warning analysis will provide measurable indicators for the collection requirements of sentiment analysis. Both warning and social media analysis should be the responsibility of one agency and would require appropriate allocation of resources to specified units.

Limitations

In general intelligence topics are difficult to study because the information is secret and protected. International intelligence cooperation is particularly difficult as it is often the most protected parts of intelligence. The 1946 UKUSA agreement is a great example of this as its existence was not even acknowledged publicly until 2005 and the text of the agreement was not released until 2010. It can take decades before an agreement is declassified, if ever, and having both countries agree to declassification can slow that process.

This thesis was also financially limited, specifically the research on analyzing sentiment analysis via Twitter leading up to the Egyptian Revolution. Twitter's API limits public users to search and collect a sample of data ranging seven days into the past.

Since the case study sought to review the historical example of the Egyptian Revolution in 2011, an alternative means to attain the data was pursued. Attempts were made to contact Twitter platform analysts to acquire the necessary data but since Twitter sells its information to various third party vendors, they were not able to share the information. As part of the approach to attain this data, several social media data mining vendors were then contacted. Estimates of a seven month historical Twitter feed data set ranged from \$3,200 to \$10,000.

Policy Recommendations

The USIC must invest in additional studies on strategic warning and of understanding social tipping points to improve strategic warning intelligence. A possible framework for USIC sentiment analysis programs needs to be developed. After clearly establishing collection requirements designed to assess public sentiment, the sentiment analysis program should then be assigned to a specific office in the ODNI or CIA. Social media intelligence, a field which is really just emerging for the Intelligence Community, should also be assigned to a corresponding unit. As outlined in chapter two, it should focus on information retrieval methods that allow the collection of data from multiple social media platforms. Analysts would need to have some knowledge of cultural, historical and political background, as well as language skills, to decide the search parameters and accurately interpret the results. Also outlined in chapter two, once the data is extracted, it would be placed into a data mining environment for analysis. The records could be parsed to remove irrelevant information to increase the accuracy of the analysis.

Research Recommendations

Additional research should be conducted on the Egyptian Revolution case study to track the sentiments from August 2010 to February 2011 to assess if there was an increase of dialogue, negative sentiment, and protest rhetoric leading to the 2011 revolution. Due to Twitter's data streaming parameters limiting an individual's ability to query past seven days, this dataset must be requested and attained from third-party data providers, who have full access to Twitter's full stream of historic tweets. This may provide a better understanding towards the creation of how sentiment analysis can be attained through social media.

In correlation with the gathering of intelligence via social media, more research needs to address the expectation of privacy on the Internet. This is a growing issue, especially after Edward Snowden's leaks on general intelligence surveillance have caused such public outrage. An assessment would have to separately examine what, if any, level of privacy non-US persons should expect on the Internet and outline what privacy rights US-persons have on the Internet.

Finally, additional research will eventually be needed to examine what is lost with the increase in international intelligence cooperation. An overall assessment at this point would be highly difficult as most of that information either has not been released or as these relationships have yet to unravel. Time will tell if there have been any significant fall outs, missteps, or failures. The eventual concern and interesting area of study will be deciding when the U.S. has shared too much or given up methods to an intelligence partner that eventually uses it against U.S.-interests.

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