NATIONAL UNIVERSITY OF PUBLIC SERVICE DOCTORAL SCHOOL OF MILITARY SCIENCE

Márk Károly Kovács:

The methods, tools and procedures of terrorist organizations related to asymmetric warfare

Theses of the doctoral (PhD) dissertation

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INTRODUCTION

"In other words, some rebel groups are both terrorists and freedom fighters, sometimes only one, and sometimes neither category applies."

/Ariel Merari¹/

Terrorism has been present in the everyday life of society since the beginning of history. As a result of the eras and historical changes, the phenomenon became an increasing challenge for nation-states. The First World War and then the Second World War can be defined as the starting points from which the blurring of the definitions and content elements of terrorism and freedom fighters fighting for independence, revolutionaries, and irregular troops using asymmetric warfare began. The new world order created and supervised by nation-states and country borders were not designed to be acceptable to all social strata. Anarchist, then separatist and nationalist terrorist organizations declared war against the created state borders and their leadership. The separatist organizations have been replaced by radical Islamist terrorist organization uses religious segregation in parallel with the political orientation, creating their own religious interpretations and trying to mold the created nation-state borders to their own ideas, referring to the social borders known from the period of antiquity.

Asymmetric conflicts, terrorism and local wars are one of the outstanding events of the 21st century, which also have an impact on the everyday life of society. The terrorist acts that occurred in the United States of America on September 11, 2001, and then in Madrid and London, shocked the world, and their memories and effects are indelible. The Islamic State and its newer acts of terror committed by reinterpreting old tools and everyday objects appeared after that. Regarding Hungary, the 2012 and 2020 National Security Strategy named terrorism as a challenge threatening the security of the country and the Euro-Atlantic alliance system.

¹ Ariel Merari: A terrorizmus mint a lázadás stratégiája. In: Tálas Péter: A terrorizmus anatómiája. Zrínyi Kiadó, Budapest, 2006. 91.

However, the acts of terrorism experienced in Europe appear only as one problem at a time, which can mainly be considered an echo of the conflicts in the Middle East.

The purpose of my dissertation is to define the asymmetric characteristics of terrorism and its relationship with asymmetric warfare. The first chapter, as a theoretical part, can be researched from primary and secondary sources with terrorist organizations that were or are still active in the past – Irish Republican Army, Basque Country and Freedom, al-Qaeda and the Islamic State – as supporting cases, I will prove or disprove what was stated in the theoretical chapter with case studies.

IDENTIFYING THE RESEARCH QUESTION

In connection with my choice of topic, the question arises as to how it differs from studies, theses, and books written on the topic of classical terrorism. The investigated organizations, the Irish Republican Army and the Basque Country and Freedom, were established as classic terrorist organizations in the 20th century, but they had an impact and were active even at the beginning of the 21st century. Their innovative methods and organizational structure implemented in Europe provided a basis for radical Islamist terrorist organizations. Al-Qaeda's initial military hierarchy, then cell structure, and the later global network-based alliance system, as well as the central organizational structure of the Islamic State - excluding the governmental subunits designed for territorial control - show similarities in their basic features. The 21st century, until the thesis was written, was already notable for international terrorist organizations, especially those operating with radical Islamist motives. With the phenomenon of the Islamic State, the problem continued to develop, and the world experienced an old-new breed of terrorist organizations. Until then, only in revelations and in the media, the holistically formulated aspirations for territorial expropriation resulted in the creation of a terrorist organization that owns and controls real territory, which actively used the tools of asymmetric warfare in the Middle East in coordination with terrorism - and also had regular warfare aspirations. In general, the two radical Islamist terrorist organizations tried to collect and use the modus operandi that had already been successfully applied and received a lot of publicity for example, the trampling attack and bombing from Israel. The four organizations examined in the thesis therefore represent the defining trends of their time as pioneers and collective organizations. At the same time, the scientific board is also provided with an investigation and follow-up task.

AIMS OF THE RESEARCH

During the preparation of the thesis, I had the following goals in mind:

- To examine the changes in terrorism through the Irish Republican Army, the Basque Homeland and Freedom, al-Qaeda and the Islamic State – whether it can be interpreted as independent warfare or as an element of asymmetric warfare, apart from being interpreted as a crime.
- 2. To collect, examine and summarize the structure, methods and weapons used by terrorist organizations of the past and present, as well as the political, military and law enforcement tools used against them.
- To examine the short-, mid-, and long-term attempts and solutions against terrorism and terrorist organizations by the western democracies – through the example of the United Kingdom, France, United States of America, and Spain.

HYPOTHESES

In my doctoral dissertation, in accordance with the aims of the research, I undertake to verify the following hypotheses:

- 1. In the field of military science, the interpretation of terrorism as a tool or method only limits a narrow field, because there are independent terrorist organizations that are capable of carrying out irregular warfare. Thus, terrorism as a form of warfare appears as a possible method for organizations. The concept of asymmetric warfare encompasses a wider area, it cannot be equated only with the definition of terrorism, guerrilla warfare and insurgency. Asymmetric warfare, especially the weaker belligerent, uses all the means at its disposal, including terrorism.
- 2. The methods of terrorist organizations operating in the 20th and 21st centuries based on the Irish Republican Army, Basque Country and Freedom, al-Qaeda and the Islamic State only changed in the tools used and technological development. Organizations have only changed structurally and in methods as a result of law enforcement, military equipment, and technical development. As a result of successful activities of the security forces, organizations are forced directly or indirectly (when another organization was affected by such activities and another organizations learn from it) to experiment with new organizational changes or methods in an autodidactic ways.
- 3. Western democratic states have not yet found a solution to asymmetric warfare and terrorism in the short and medium term. The operations used in asymmetric conflicts

and against terrorism (both military, law enforcement and political) are superficial treatments that only result in the solution of the current and acute problem. In the long run, a complex strategy, the support of the population and the use of armed force can only solve the problem.

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

In order to prepare the dissertation, in the research phase, even before the COVID-19 pandemic, I had the opportunity to visit and conduct exploratory research in the National Archives of the United Kingdom, where primary sources were used to uncover the Irish Republican Army and the Basque Homeland and Freedom organization. With regard to Spain and the organization of the Basque Homeland and Freedom, it was possible to continue the research in the National Archives in Madrid, the Ministry of the Interior of Spain and the Archives of the Police of Spain – Guardia Civil. Due to the application process and regulations in Spain (predefined search as a directed and censored research), permission request and waiting time, only secondary sources were finally used with document analysis, mainly in English and Spanish.

With regard to al-Qaeda and the Islamic State, it would have been impossible to visit anything even without COVID-19 due to their proximity in time and national security restrictions. The study and examination of the two organizations was therefore mainly based on international and domestic literature, processing knowledge and experience, and document analysis, from secondary sources, mainly in English and Hungarian.

During the preparation of the thesis, I used an analytical analysis method to process the primary and secondary sources. After checking, analysing and evaluating the information collected during the document analysis, I organized it and drew conclusions.

In order to verify the correctness of my research, its scientific direction and the results obtained, I participated in domestic scientific conferences, as well as lectures and trainings.

I have indicated all the literature used in the dissertation in the bibliography. Primary sources are open sources and available at the National Archives of the United Kingdom, London.

I closed my research on May 1, 2022, so it does not include the period after that or new scientific results, information, and data that have been published since then.

THE STRUCTURE OF THE RESEARCH

In the introduction part of the dissertation, I explain why I chose this research topic, formulate the research problem, and review the domestic and international literature. In the theoretical framework, I present the framework of my research, explain the research goals, hypotheses, and the methods used.

In the first chapter, asymmetric warfare and terrorism are examined in a theoretical approach with the help of the literature. In the chapter, due to the basic definition problems, a working definition is defined, and then, after the historical reviews, the characteristics of asymmetric warfare and the general structural structure and characteristics of terrorist organizations are defined. I close the chapter with a summary and partial conclusion.

After that, in the second chapter, I examine the four terrorist organizations already mentioned as case studies to verify or refute the theoretical background and hypotheses in the first chapter based on reality. The classification, operating principle and goals of the two organizations were created on a completely opposite basis, however, they can be researched from primary and secondary sources, which is why they were selected. In order to make them comparable, I examined and compared them based on uniformed criteria. I took into account the characteristics described in the first chapter, as well as the research goals and hypotheses, when developing the system of criteria – goals, structure, modus operandi, weapons used and presumably possesed by the organizations. Due to the transnational, network-like, or so called franchise structure of al-Qaeda and the Islamic State, I examine the core organizations on one hand, and I also discuss a member organization chosen at random from the network system, but operating in a country other than the core organization. The operation and structure of the member organizations and their deviation from or the resemblance to the central organizations also represent the internal network operation, as well as the strength and quality of the relations between the central and member organizations.

In the same chapter, I also deal with governmental and international measures against terrorist organizations in terms of politics, law enforcement and military. The countries directly involved in the operations of the Basque Country and Freedom and the Irish Republican Army – Spain, France, the United Kingdom and the United States of America – and in the case of al-Qaeda and the Islamic State, the main international organizations – the United Nations, North the Atlantic Treaty Organization and the European Union – also its decisions and measures.

RESEARCH RESULTS

The thesis comprehensively presents the theoretical history and characteristics of asymmetric warfare and terrorism, as well as the problems developed among experts. The question of the definition of terrorism and asymmetric warfare, as well as the generally accepted content elements of the activities, are not clear – even for the experts. Based on the research, it can be established that, based on the definition of the term, guerrilla warfare and insurgency can be matched and applied only as partial definitions. Terrorism is also part of asymmetric warfare when it is used only as a method and combined with additional activities - for example, the means of guerrilla warfare. It is a concept that can also be interpreted as an independent procedure, but in this way it has been given a meaning that has been individually determined according to the interests of the countries. In the case of its interpretation as an independent action, in addition to the problem of a uniformly accepted definition, another difference of interest is its criminal law formulation. The terrorist organizations tried to take advantage of the differences between the legal systems of each country, as well as the different use of words (referring to terrorist/freedom fighter names). The characteristics of the two concepts and the general modus operandi of terrorism no longer cause such a difference of opinion. After processing the literature, it proved that the theoretical findings are equally valid for the separatist – Provisional Irish Republican Army, Basque Country and Freedom – and radical Islamist terrorist organizations. Terrorist organizations already followed a different trend in terms of targets and collateral losses. In general, society appeared as a supporter for nationalist organizations, in contrast to radical Islamist organizations, where society and the number of casualties represent a means of asserting their will.

During the writing of the case studies, it was proved that the nation-states, in the case of mainly nationalist organizations, were within the democratic framework, but yielded to the achievement of organizational goals. The fulfillment of the organizational goals depended on the dissatisfaction and insatiability of the terrorist organizations. The goal of the radical Islamist terrorist organizations is not even conceivable at the level of a promise. The presence of Western states, mainly in the Middle East, is an important factor in their security policy interests, economic and geostrategic interests parallel to national security. Due to their own political stability and sovereignty, the nation-states cannot allow al-Qaeda or the Islamic State to make territorial claims or their active operation in the country or its neighbourhood.

Summarizing the results of the research, it can be concluded that terrorist organizations as nonstate actors are able to move towards asymmetric warfare and regular warfare by increasing their support – which shows an emerging, progressive development. However, terrorism and downgrading to a terrorist organization means a reduction in resources and support and a weakening of the organization. There are also terrorist organizations that do not want to reduce violence and open up to regular warfare. It can also mean the tool used by a side engaged in asymmetric warfare due to its simplicity, cost-effectiveness and resource management. In asymmetric conflicts, the asymmetric belligerents also use terrorism, but only as a tool. The long-term use of terrorism by an asymmetric warring party would increase the reduction and erosion of its support. (Taking into account that support can also be forced by armed force against terrorism, it is not effective in the long term either. Support takes away a violent sustaining resource from the non-state party, which it cannot maintain in the long term against the stronger party – the nation-state.) Only the use of the instrument of terrorism therefore, it is not suitable for winning an asymmetric conflict. Asymmetric warfare can therefore also be interpreted as a catch-all concept, as it is defined by merging the concepts of insurgency and terrorism.

SUMMARIZED CONCLUSIONS

I summarize my conclusions below:

- Terrorism can form an independent category and can also be called a type of warfare. It includes organizations that are not strong enough to go to the next level of violence, but still use the labels such as insurgent or freedom fighters.
- By increasing their support, terrorist organizations as non-state actors are able to move towards asymmetric warfare and then regular warfare which shows an emerging, progressive development. However, terrorism and downgrading to a terrorist organization means a reduction in resources and support and a beginning of a process of weakening the organization. There are also terrorist organizations that do not want to reduce violence and open up to regular warfare. It can also refer to the tool used by a side engaged in asymmetric warfare due to its simplicity, cost-effectiveness and resource management. In asymmetric conflicts, the asymmetric belligerents also use terrorism, but only as a tool. The long-term use of terrorism by an asymmetric warring party would result in the reduction and erosion of its support. (Taking into account that support can also be forced by armed force, terrorism is not effective in the long term either. The violent maintenance of support takes away resources from the non-state actor, which it cannot maintain in the long term against the stronger party the nation-state.) Only using the tool of terrorism therefore, is not suitable for winning an analysis.

asymmetric conflict. Asymmetric warfare can therefore be interpreted as a collective term, as a definition that merges the concepts of insurgency and terrorism.

In accordance with the first objective of the research, after the review of the literature and the placement of the thesis in the system of military science research and the determination of its investigation aspects, the literature processing in the first chapter proved that there is no consensus in any of the fields of asymmetric warfare and terrorism, regardless of the unified and accepted definition, its historical elements or characteristics today. For an account of the historical development and characteristics of modern terrorism, I used David C. Rapoport's line of thought discussing the cyclicality of terrorism, which is still controversial to this day. If we accept the fact that his argument is mostly correct, then his wave theory holds up. The recognition of the emergence of the fifth wave as the next cycle and the definition of its characteristics are still pending, as is the case with the conclusion of the fourth wave. The currently assumed characteristic of the fifth cycle is the spread of sects and simple armed attacks and street riots as modus operandi.

There is no consensus among experts and they do not agree on exactly what terrorism and asymmetric warfare are. In connection with the topics examined in the dissertation, I therefore considered it appropriate to list some definitions and to select a working definition. The examined sources also highlighted that the fifth cycle had already appeared in the United States of America and fits into the general definitions of terrorism – albeit with limitations and compromises.

In accordance with the first and second objectives, the second chapter of the thesis investigates the asymmetric nature of terrorist organizations and their interpretation as independent warfare in a practical way. The investigation pointed out and confirms the first hypothesis of the dissertation, according to which "In the field of military science, the interpretation of terrorism as a tool or method only limits a narrow area, because there are independent terrorist organizations that are capable of carrying out irregular warfare as well. Thus, terrorism as a form of warfare appears as a possible method for organizations. The concept of asymmetric warfare encompasses a wider area, it cannot be equated only with the definition of terrorism, guerrilla warfare and insurgency. Asymmetric warfare, especially the weaker belligerent, uses all the means at its disposal, including terrorism."

The chapter also examines how big and what kind of differences there are in operation, structure, modus operandi and the weapons used for them among terrorist organizations. The

case studies also confirm the second hypothesis "Terrorist organizations operating in the 20th and 21st centuries – based on the Irish Republican Army, Basque Country and Freedom, al-Qaeda and the Islamic State – changed in their methods only because of the tools used and technological development. Organizations have only changed structurally and in methods as a result of law enforcement, military equipment, and technical development. As a result of the successful activities of the security forces, organizations are forced to experiment with new organizational changes or methods in an autodidactic way, even because of the lessons learned from each other."

The chapter also examines how the relevant nation states try to act against terrorist organizations in the political, law enforcement or military sectors – independently or jointly in international organizations. Due to the limitations of the thesis, only the main countries affected by the terrorist organizations that are included in the case studies were examined. The investigation highlights and confirms the third hypothesis, according to which "Western, democratic states have not yet found a solution to asymmetric warfare and terrorism in the short and medium term. The operations used in asymmetric conflicts and against terrorism (both military, law enforcement and political) are superficial treatments that only result in the solution of the current and acute problem. In the long term, a complex strategy, the support of the population and the use of armed force can only solve the problem."

NEW SCIENTIFIC RESULTS

I consider the following to be new scientific results:

- Based on my research, I discovered and proved that terrorist organizations also operate independently, and it is not mandatory for them to move towards asymmetric warfare or regular organizational order. I proved and supported with case studies that terrorism can also be interpreted as warfare. The attacks committed by terrorist organizations are individually and independently crimes. However, when carried out in a coordinated manner, terrorist acts are classified as complex attacks, INFOOPS and PSYOPS operations. When terrorist organizations communicate and refer to themselves, they use the adjectives revolutionary and freedom fighter, and in their organizational structure, they are organized according to the characteristics of military formations – at least at the beginning.
- 2. Relying on primary sources, I was the first in Hungary to analyse and identify the goals, structure, operating methods, modus operandi, and activities of the Irish Republican

Army and its successor organizations, as well as the Basque Homeland and Freedom organizations, using the National Archive in the United Kingdom. As a result of the analysis and identification based on primary sources, the local subunits and cells of the radical Islamist organizations can be more effectively recognized and rendered inoperable. The methods and procedures – with the exception of the suicidal modus operandi – can be compared to the operations of the IRA and ETA, in which Europe already has a sufficient amount of experience, so it can act more effectively against new challenges.

3. I analysed and evaluated the organization of the Islamic State and al-Qaeda, in the context of case studies, I proved that the actor using asymmetric warfare continues to use terrorism as a method due to its simple feasibility and practicality to achieve the goals of the organization. Furthermore, based on practical examples, I proved that the use of brutality and unrestricted violence seems expedient for the terrorist organizations that use it only for one social stratum, in a specific geographical, religious and cultural environment.

RECOMMENDATIONS FOR THE PRACTICAL USE OF THE RESEARCH RESULTS AND RECOMMENDATIONS FOR FURTHER RESEARCH

The thesis prepared in accordance with the research objective and its results can be used in the following areas:

- For students participating in the area of national security, police and also military
 officers, as well as security and defence policy training courses of the National
 University of Public Service, in the teaching of the topics of security policy, terrorism
 and military theory.
- Exercises based on the application of non-kinetic abilities of the staff of the MH Cyberand Information Operations Center's civil-military relations and PSYOPS operations sub-unit, as well as SOFT CAPS international exercises.
- In parallel with the Hungarian Defence Forces, the Counter-Terrorism Center and the operational staff of the military and civilian national security services can use the results of the dissertation during the process of experiences for the planning and implementation of future operations.
- Terrorism and asymmetric warfare are constantly renewed, but at the same time, as a result of the declassification of national security, open sources and information are

expanding, therefore, when creating future strategies and procedures, when examining the possibilities of future political developments.

Terrorism and asymmetric conflict and warfare are complex, global problems in themselves, and many existing topics can be examined in detail or expanded with additional elements in the future. The terrorist organizations described in the case studies in the dissertation are only suitable for independent investigation and the writing of a further dissertation. Due to the interdisciplinary nature of the issue and the limitations of the scope, I only had the opportunity to briefly outline one segment of the topic.

A geographically based approach to the topic of terrorism and asymmetric warfare can be the subject of further research and investigations. After exploring the problems currently occurring mainly in the Middle East, in accordance with migration trends, Asia or Africa could be a potential area of investigation. In parallel with new problems, conflicts that have already taken place also require continuous investigation and follow-up, in order to avoid their reappearance and recurrence.

Military science and security policy issues related to the subject of the thesis can be examined from both a professional and civilian perspective, the result of which is expected to be effective cooperation, coordinated action and the development of an effective anti-terrorism doctrine and a protocol against asymmetric warfare. Students of national security and security policy can examine the problem again and again in order to develop a possibly smoother method and to fine-tune the current procedures.

RELEVANT PUBLICATIONS OF THE AUTHOR

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PROFESSIONAL-SCIENTIFIC CURRICULUM VITAE OF THE AUTHOR

Márk Károly Kovács was born on February 5, 1993 in Budapest.

He completed secondary school at the Egressy Gábor Bilingual Technical Secondary School, and obtained the English complex C1 language exam at the same time as his high school diploma. He began his university studies in 2012 at the Budapest College of Communication and Business, majoring in international studies. In 2014, he spent half a year in Barcelona as part of the ERASMUS program, where the subjects dealing with regional history and the changes that occurred in Spain's ethnic groups due to globalization processes played a decisive role. (After Barcelona, he successfully passed the B2 complex language exam in Spanish.) Between 2015 and 2017, he completed a master's degree in security and defense policy, and in 2016 he worked in Madrid at the Embassy of Hungary in Madrid. In 2017, he began his doctoral studies at the Doctoral School of Military Sciences at the National Public Service University, as well as the International Public Service Relations Msc and the Arabic specialization of Oriental Languages and Cultures at the Pázmány Péter Catholic University Faculty of Arts and Social Sciences.

Due to his personal interest, his field of research is terrorism – mainly in Spain, the United Kingdom and the Middle East – and asymmetric warfare, which is why he wrote his dissertation on the definition of the asymmetric nature of terrorism. During the second master's course, combined with the PhD studies, he had the opportunity to conduct short research in the National Archives of the United Kingdom. In 2019 he wrote his thesis on the conflict in Northern Ireland to verify the archival research. In 2022, he got the opportunity and completed the international military observation course organized by the Peace Support Training Center of the Hungarian Armed Forces on the basis of the UN and NATO.

He currently works in the Higher Education and Training Department of the Ministry of Defense in the field of scientific organization and research, development and innovation. His publications in English and Hungarian mainly examine the operation, internal structure and methods of individual terrorist organizations.