



Judo of Fourth Generation Warfare

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What are the trends ?
What is the threat ?



Courtney Kealy / Getty Images



Starting Point

- **We live in a world of "fourth generation warfare (4GW)" where the tactics of the weak confound the tactics of the strong.**
- **Nation-states confront criminal enterprises, fanatical opportunists, terrorists whose gang-like networks transcend national boundaries.**
- **These bad actors often slip through the cracks of our own security, military, and legal bureaucracies.**

What Is Fourth Generation Warfare ?

- **What is it?**
 - **Stateless, or can be state, supported warfare w/ possible interstate spillover**
 - **Hides behind religion/ideologies**
- **Examples? WTC, anthrax attack, FRY, US vs. Iraq**
- **Why dangerous?**
 - **Current U.S. forces designed to fight against a nation state**
 - **Our over-reliance on technology**
 - **War and transnational crime intertwined - hard to see enemy (gangs, mercenaries, narco-traffickers, religious extremists, rogue states, and mafias)**
 - **Can hit anytime, anywhere, anything and anyone**

GySgt Robert Howard, *Introduction To Asymmetric Warfare (AW), 4th Generation Warfare (4GW) And Maneuver Warfare (MW)*, <http://www.wna-linknet.com/~howard/index.htm>

What Is Fourth Generation Warfare ?

- **Formless and most deadly kind of war**
- **4GW ops are intelligence driven (i.e. WTC attack; China's hacker attacks on US.) Countering the threat requires an intensive intelligence effort to drive counter-4GW ops.**
- **Requires constant preparation and resourcefulness**
- **Distinguishing a combatant from a non-combatant can be extremely difficult (i.e. use of mosques or churches to plan terrorist attacks - Levant/Asia; refugees/displaced persons infiltrated w/ agent provocateurs - Balkans; exploitation of fragmented cultures w/in a country for purposes of breaking down a society - al-Qa'ida vs US; exploitation of rules of engagement as in Somalia)**

Where We Are Today

- ***“...In a place like Iraq, you're dealing with the jihads that are coming in to raise hell, crime on the streets that's rampant, ex-Ba'athists that are still running around, and the potential now for this country to fragment: Shi'ia on Shi'ia, Shi'ia on Sunni, Kurd on Turkomen. It's a powder keg. “***
- **Gen Tony Zinni, Forum 2003. 4 Sept 03 Gateway Marriott Arlington, VA**

Where We Are Today

- ***“This is a different kind of conflict. War fighting is just one element of it. Some people on this battlefield are different; They don't come in those formations and with that kind of equipment. And they come in many different forms. All their agendas are different. “***
- **Gen Tony Zinni, Forum 2003. 4 Sept 03 Gateway Marriott Arlington, VA**

Where We Are Today

- **We are seeing sub-national "bad actors" use guerrilla tactics, insurrection, sabotage and terrorism to subvert nation-states and challenge the established international system.**
- **Governments, politicians, and state military-security apparatus of the west are trying to engage our 4GW foes in the tried and true conventional ways of the past.**

Where We Are Today

- **“On one hand, you have to shoot and kill somebody; On the other hand, you have to feed somebody. On the other hand, you have to build an economy, restructure the infrastructure, build the political system. And there's some poor lieutenant colonel, colonel, brigadier general down there, stuck in some province with all that saddled onto him, with NGOs [nongovernmental organizations] and political wannabes running around, with factions and a culture he doesn't understand. These are now culture wars that we're involved in. We don't understand that culture.”**

• Gen Tony Zinni, Forum 2003. 4 Sept 03 Gateway Marriott Arlington, VA

Three Block War

"In one moment in time, our service members will be feeding and clothing displaced refugees - providing humanitarian assistance. In the next moment, they will be holding two warring tribes apart - conducting peacekeeping operations. Finally, they will be fighting a highly lethal mid-intensity battle. All on the same day, all within three city blocks. It will be what we call the three block war."

- General Charles Krulak, USMC

THREE BLOCK WAR



Current Trends

- **America, prefers conventional combat where only the technologically strongest wins. Our fourth-generation foes prefer 4GW judo, leveraging our addiction to technology and "throwing us" using our own bureaucratic weight and western thinking.**
- **Our enemy's " technology advantage" in the 9-11 attacks consisted of box cutters and ceramic knives, combined with a steely determination to die for a cause. It worked, and our vast military-security-enforcement bureaucracy was virtually helpless to stop it.**

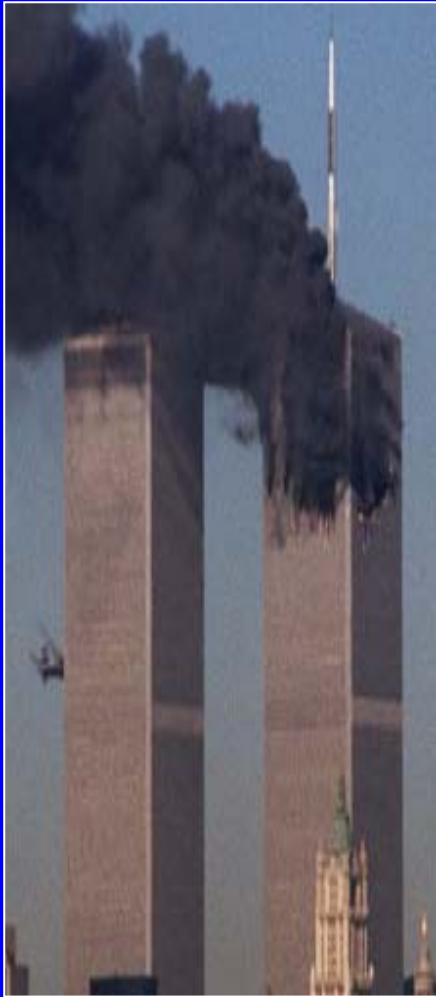
Current Trends

- Today we continue to see the nature of conflict shift to a setting where the division between combatant, criminal opportunist and civilian is blurred; The urban guerilla (not to forget their rural counterparts) may be a religious zealot or a child for hire with an RPG.

Current Trends

- **As technophiles, westerners are enraptured by the technology of our modern weapons their precision, but we have lost sight that people and ideas are the essence of why wars are fought.**
- **In the traditional view, the low-tech approaches of fourth generation warfare are the "tactics of the weak." However, they have repeatedly been successful in circumventing our military's far stronger conventional strategy, tactics, and thinking.**

Consequences of Getting It Wrong



WTC



Pentagon

RPG Fourth Generation Warfare

Islamic Extremists

Economic Espionage

IRAN

Improvised Explosives

Ethnic Conflict

International
Crime

Rogue Regimes

Chemical Weapons

Biological Warfare

Criminal Enterprises

Terrorism

Shoulder Launched
Missiles

Drug War

Dirty Bombs

Computer Hackers

NORTH KOREA

Al-Qaida

Shining Path

18th Street Gang

PETA

Kurdistan Worker's Party (PKK) of Turkey

Abu Sayyaf Group

PALESTINIAN ISLAMIC JIHAD (PIJ)

Animal Liberation Front

Armed Islamic Piracy Group (GIA) of Algeria

Piracy

Earth Liberation Front

Palestinian Islamic Jihad

LIBERATION TIGERS OF TAMIL ELAM

Islam Resistance Movement (Hammas)

Hizbullah of Lebanon

Hells Angeles

Commentary

- **War today is no longer a monopoly of the state.**
- **War is changing so that much of our cold war national security apparatus is being rendered obsolete or irrelevant.**
- **We must adapt and do so quickly.**
- **For example, our conundrum in Iraq is sustaining operations in the aftermath when the enemy "military" (along with enterprising criminals and trouble makers) transition into sub-national paramilitary gangs submerged within a society of politically wavering civilian groups.**

Commentary

- In the past, terrorism, guerrilla warfare, conventional warfare were used as tools to foster change within a society or nation state.
- Today 4GW uses insurgency terrorism, guerrilla warfare, and unconventional as tools to foster change across societies and nation states by transnational non-state entities.

Commentary

- **Gap between the “haves and “have nots” is growing.**
- **Economic, environmental, population growth/migration, and distribution of power mismatches exacerbate the situation.**
- **Places like Iraq, Afghanistan, Pakistan, Indonesia, Philippines, etc. are becoming training bases for a new breed of terrorists well schooled in 4GW**

Commentary

- **Most men—especially men from non-western cultures and less-developed areas—take great pleasure in waging war (van Creveld, Peters)**
- **Anti-war sentiment only prevalent in western/westernized cultures (Bozeman)**
- **Women appear to be just as capable as men of waging 4GW, for example, female suicide bombers**

Martin van Creveld, The Transformation of War. (New York: The Free Press, 1991).

Ralph Peters, Fighting For the Future: Will America Triumph? (Mechanicsburg, PA: Stackpole Books, 1999).

Adda B. Bozeman, ed. Strategic Intelligence and Statecraft: Selected Essays. D (Washington D.C.: Pergamon-Brassey's Defence International Press, 1992).

Commentary

- ***"Americans tend to think that deep down we all have the same values, Americans believe that all these terrorists, if you scratch beneath the surface, are looking for religious equality and justice. That's complete and utter nonsense. Americans can't face the reality that different people have different values."***

Ibn Warraq, "Why I am Not a Muslim" (Prometheus Books August 1995)

Commentary

- **Distinction between crime and war is blurring in underdeveloped areas.**
- **One man's terrorist is another culture's legitimate freedom fighter.**
- **Our foes often leverage our freedom and legal system to conceal their actions and intentions.**

Commentary

- **Our foes recognized that our Soldiers, Sailors, and Marines make poor global policemen and too often we use the military in a desperate attempt to redeem bad decisions or failure of diplomacy.**

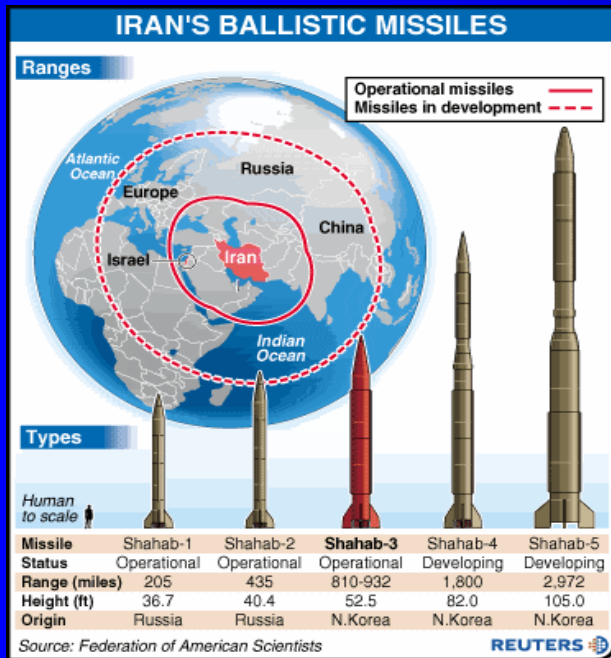
Warrior Classes

- **Traditional conventional threats: “the high-technology brutes”**
- **Traditional/emerging unconventional threats: “the low-technology brutes”**
- **Emerging unconventional threats: “the high-technology seers”**
- **Emerging unconventional threats: “the low-technology seers”**

Robert D. Steele, On Intelligence(Fairfax, VA: AFCEA Press, 2000), p. 86.

Eric M. Walters , The Next War? Four Generations of Future Warriors, Professor of Land Warfare, Military History, and Intelligence American Military University

High Technology Brutes



High Technology Brutes: Strengths and Weaknesses

- **Strengths:**
 - Financial resources
 - Strategic initiative
- **Weaknesses:**
 - Hardware/Technology

Low Technology Brutes: Fourth Generation Warfare



Gangs & Drugs



Rebel Groups



Child Soldiers

**Low intensity conflict, guerrillas , money
motivates, ruthless criminals**

Low Tech Seers



Jemaah Islamiyah

Indonesian police arrest 13 suspects in JW Marriott bombing, Tuesday



Head
Riduan Isamuddin alias Hambali
(Indonesian, in US custody)



Aim
Pan-Islamic state in Malaysia, Singapore, Indonesia, Brunei, and southern Philippines



Organisation
Power base in Indonesia. Possibly several thousand members, many trained in Afghanistan, split into small military-style units



Finances
Self-financed, with alleged help from al-Qaeda, robbery from non-Muslims



Trials
Over 200 presumed members arrested in Asia since 2001, including **Abu Bakar Bashir**



Attacks
Bali (12 October 2002), 202 dead, JW Marriott hotel, Jakarta, other bombings in Indonesia



Spiritual leader
Abu Bakar Bashir

Source: AFP/ICG 160903 AFP

Religious fundamentalists and extremists, violent religious/ political groups, terrorists ...“war for the cause” or cultural war.

Low Technology Seers Results

Baghdad UN Bombing



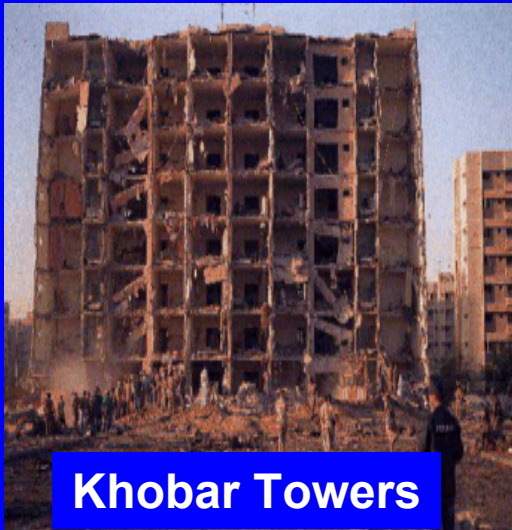
USS Cole



WTC



Khobar Towers



Kenya U.S. Embassy



Low Technology Seers: Strengths and Weaknesses

- **Strengths:**
 - Ideology
 - Stealth & mass targeting
 - Disregard for life...expected to die for the cause
 - Invisible...transcend borders and detection (I&W)
- **Weaknesses:**
 - Limited resources...perhaps
 - Weaknesses are their strengths

Some Lethal Combinations...

- **Technology-driven fourth generation**
- **Idea-driven fourth generation**
- **Terrorism, technology, and beyond**

William S. Lind, et. al. "The Changing Face of War: Into the Fourth Generation" in Military Review, October 1989, pp. 2-11.

Anticipated 4GW Tactics

- **Ambushes involving automatic weapons and rocket propelled grenades (RPG) or mortars.**
- **Planted mines, command or remote detonated mines and improvised explosive devices.**
- **Snipers and covert shooting attacks.**
- **Delay detonated car/truck bombs.**
- **Homicide/suicide bombers, attacking high density (and soft) targets – to include transportation systems and markets, shopping areas.**

Source: Clark Staten, Emergency Response Research Institute (ERRI)
www.emergency.com

Challenges for the Nation...

- **Against unconventional 4GW warrior classes, it may not be possible to mount attacks against critical vulnerabilities by conventional high tech dependant military forces**
- **We must implicitly recognize the value of placing people and ideas ahead of "technology" to truly win wars. Otherwise, fourth generation tactics of the weak will continue to confound the second-generation tactics of the strong.**

Parting Shots



Attacking Hell With a Squirt Gun

- **Over Reliance on and Addiction to Technology**
- **Predilection for Technological Solutions**
- **Held Hostage (Imprisoned) By Our Own Thinking**
- **Misguided Axiom: Contribute to the Money Flow**
- **Perception the Military is a Business...it is a Profession**
- **People and Ideas Come First than Hardware**

"Machines don't fight wars, people do."

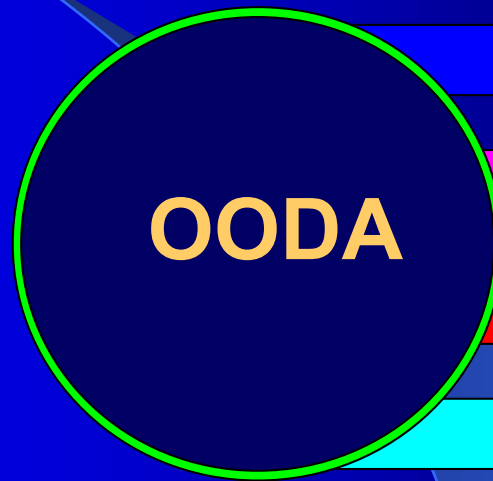
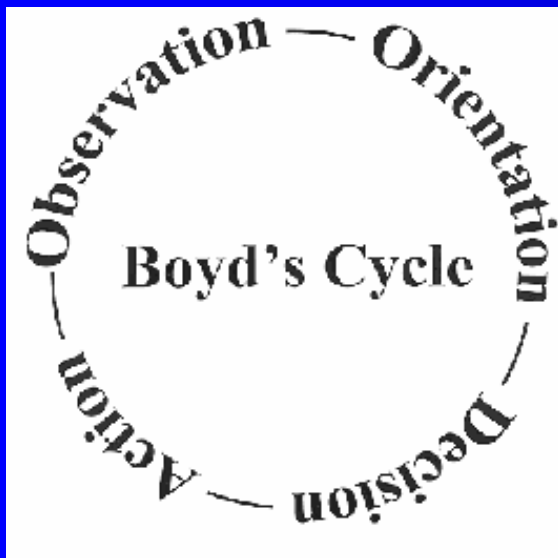
Boyd: The Fighter Pilot Who Changed the Art of War
By Robert Coram

QUESTIONS?

4GW Resources

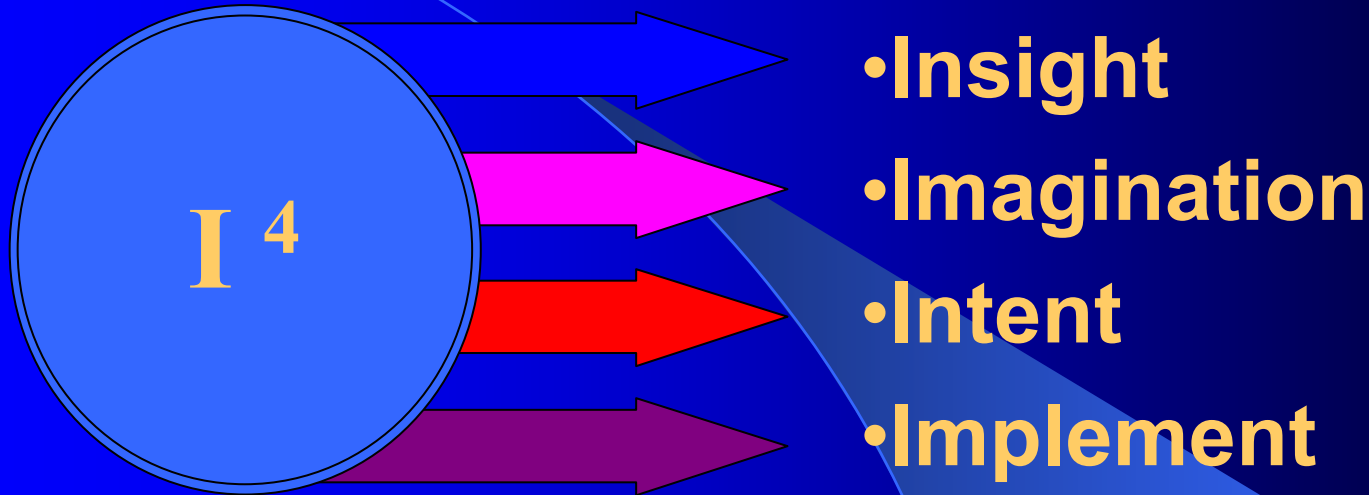
- 1. Defense and the National Interest at <http://www.d-n-i.net> is a storehouse of 4GW info like Belisarius.com (These sites are run by Dr Chet Richards)**
- 2. “Fourth Generation Warfare Is Here” by Harold A. Gould And Franklin C. Spinney**
- 3. “The OODA Loop” www.Belisarius.com**
- 4. GySgt Howard’s Website: <http://www.wna-linknet.com/~howard/index.htm>**

Boyd's OODA Loop

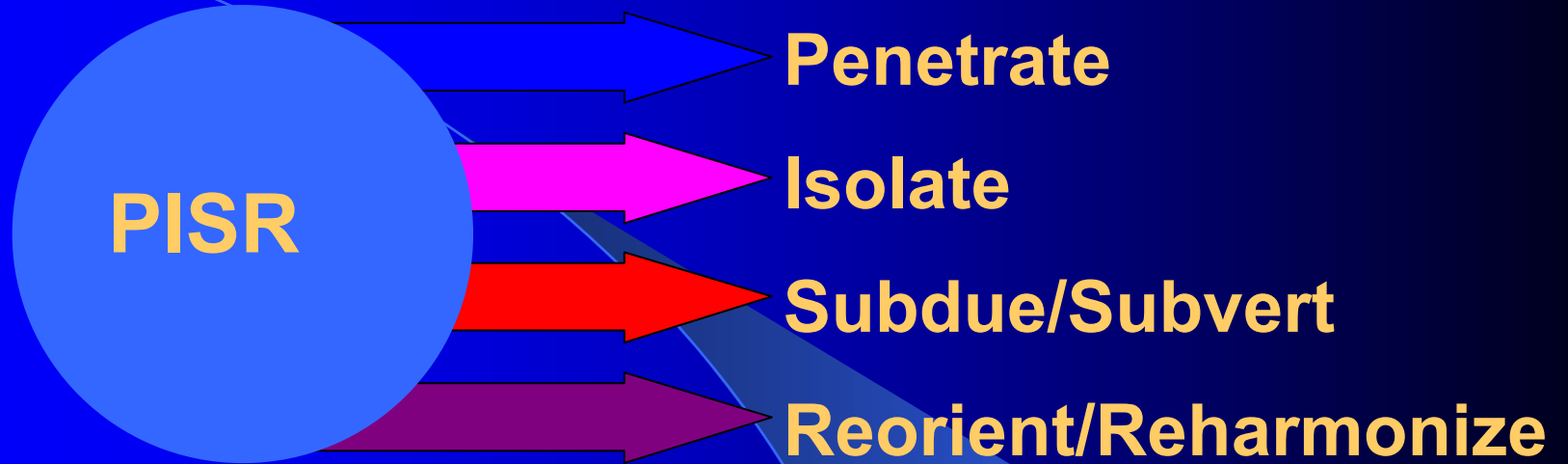


- Observe
- Orient
- Decide
- Act

Boyd's "I" To The Fourth



Boyd's PISR



The Battle of Algiers



The Battle of Algiers, Gillo Pontecorvo's 1965 classic film of urban terrorist insurgency

The Battle of Algiers

- **The movie looks in part at how to win a battle against terrorism and lose the war of ideas. Children shoot soldiers at point blank range. Women plant bombs in cafes. Soon the entire Arab population builds to a mad fervor. Sound familiar? The French have a plan. It succeeds tactically, but fails strategically.**

4GW & Intelligence

- “Fourth generation war will require much more intelligence gathering, analysis, and a greater dissemination capability to serve a highly flexible, interagency command system. At the same time, the fact that fourth generation war will include elements of earlier generations of war means our forces must be prepared to deal with these aspects as well ... therefore, it will be essential for leaders to make an accurate analysis of the war they are about to enter.

- The complex mix of generations of war with their overlapping political, economic, social, military, and mass media arenas makes determining the type of war we are entering more critical than ever”.

Col T.X. Hammes, USMC, "The Evolution of War: The Fourth Generation,"
<http://www.d-n-i.net/fcs/hammes.htm>