Illini Journal of International Security

Spring 2017, Volume III

Letter from the Editor

Dear reader,

On behalf of the IJOIS Editorial Board, the Program in Arms Control & Domestic and International Security, the University Library, and the supportive academic community of the University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign, we would like to thank you for reading the third issue of Illini Journal of International Security (IJOIS)! IJOIS is a peer-reviewed academic journal that was founded in September 2015 by undergraduate students at the University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign. We publish exceptional papers on topics within international security or foreign affairs.

For our third issue, we are excited to publish outstanding undergraduate papers that explore some of the most pressing issues within international security and foreign affairs, covering a wide range of topic areas and geographical regions. In "Evolution of Russian Military Force Since 1979," Christopher Chappell explores the different ways that Russia has engaged in military conflicts over the last half century. Shifting focus to Europe, Sonam Kotadia and Justin Tomczyk, in their paper "Picking up the Pieces: The EU and Populism," look at the rise of populism in Europe and analyze how this may affect the future of the European Union, despite the loss of several populists in major elections in 2017.

Moving to the United States, Stuart Polen gives a detailed historical account of the START I treaty in his paper "START I: A Retrospective." Lastly, we go back to the Middle East where Caleb Weiss conducts a comparative case study of Chechen/North Caucasian and Central Asian Fighters to analyze the question of how local terrorist movements transform into transnational organizations.

These exceptional undergraduate papers present novel arguments on a wide array of issues within international security and foreign affairs. We hope that these papers will challenge and inform our readers, spark discussion, and encourage undergraduate students to explore these pressing issues or pursue international studies further.

We hope you enjoy reading!

Caleb Weiss and Chase Bloch

About the Illini Journal of International Security

The Illini Journal of International Security (IJOIS) is a peer-reviewed undergraduate academic journal that was founded in September 2015 by undergraduate students at the University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign. IJOIS is published biannually through the University of Illinois Library with the support of the Program of Arms Control & Domestic and International Security (ACDIS) and is comprised of exceptional undergraduate and graduate papers on topics related to international security or foreign affairs. IJOIS utilizes a cross-disciplinary approach and accepts papers from students studying the social sciences, STEM fields, business and the humanities that analyze international security issues from innovative perspectives. While IJOIS is run by students at UIUC, the Journal accepts submissions from students at all University of Illinois campuses (Urbana-Champaign, Chicago, and Springfield).

IJOIS Staff

Contents

Evolution of Russian Military Force Since 1979

Christopher Chappell

University of Illinois Urbana-Champaign

Abstract

This paper aims to show the evolution of the Russian military through the wars in Afghanistan, Chechnya, Georgia, and Ukraine. Each conflict provides a lesson in army organization, strategy, and tactics to the Russian military. The section on Afghanistan details the strategy of the Soviet invasion. Rough terrain as well as too much emphasis on holding critical routes drew attention away from creating positive interactions with the local population. Only protecting critical routes allowed the Mujahideen to operate freely and harass Soviet helicopters. The section on Chechnya argues that the Russian military learned that contracted, professional soldiers in conjunction with special forces were more effective than conscripts. The conflict in Georgia broadened warfare to include cyber, economic, and political attacks. The final section about Ukraine argues that through the Gerasimov doctrine, Russia is able to use ambiguity to achieve its foreign policy goals in countries of the former Soviet Union.

Introduction

Russia is no stranger to armed conflict—a large amount of their patriotism and cultural identity stems directly from the hard fought battles and eventual victory of World War II. Military theorist Carl Von Clausewitz famously said, "War is the continuation of politics by other means," referring to the point after diplomacy has broken down or perhaps even sidestepped altogether. In a period defined by multinational coalitions and cooperation, Russia has largely remained true to a doctrine of unilateral problem solving that put it at odds with much of the Western world. In its multiple instances of armed conflict, Russia has been accused by experts of breaching international laws and customs. Due to this, Russia is seen as an outsider in the predominantly Euro-centric and Americentric international systems. Russia is still a major player in the international community, as evidenced by its new emphasis on foreign intervention. This may be due to Russia's independence and simultaneous resistance of globalist trends, or residual tensions from the Cold War period. By isolating the reasons why the Russian Federation uses conflict, we may better understand its foreign policy and how it approaches problems such as international terrorism, regional issues, and other players in the international system. More importantly, it will provide a conceptual framework to extrapolate upon to see how it will interact in these areas in the future. As of April 2017, Russia is generally viewed as a diplomatic obstacle which presents a high degree of difficulty in UN Security Council proceedings and decisions. This paper aims to show situations in which Russia has used military force to achieve foreign policy objectives in the past and also to show situations where it would be likely to use force in the future. As a broad topic that encompasses a variety of information, each of the following case studies of Afghanistan, Chechnya, Georgia, and Ukraine will be divided into three subsections: international politics, regional politics, and evolution of military strategy components.

The most crucial evolutions in Russia's use of military force and strategy occurred during the invasion of Afghanistan in 1979. Specifically, this conflict saw changes from a strictly regimented army into one capable of fighting an asymmetric war. This conflict set the stage for future military development and huge political ramifications like the rise of Islamic terrorism. The invasion's prologue was rather complex;, as the Soviet's favored leader, Muhammad Daud, began to grow closer to international Islamic factions in 1975. The Shah of Iran, who was loyal to the United States for intelligence and economic reasons, offered support for Daud's efforts. Daud, along with numerous other Islamic forces, unified the People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan and became the ruling party of Afghanistan in 1977. While the chaotic events of the following year are ambiguous in terms of cause or blame, the result was the revolt organized by Soviet-trained Afghan army and air force officers against the Daud government. This ended not only in the removal of said government, but the members of the government were killed. Because the Soviet-trained agents were involved, it is fair to assume that Moscow played a role in orchestrating the revolution. Afghanistan held strategic importance in its capacity as a buffer zone between the pro-west Iran, Pakistan, and to a lesser extent, India. Khrushchev allocated millions of dollars in military, humanitarian, and infrastructural aid to the Afghan government.

Even this aid did not halt resistance against the new ruling party, however, as rebel groups organized "assassination squads conducting house-to-house searches" for Russian nationals, killing them, then desecrating their bodies. In response, Soviet advisors and Soviet-trained elements brutally attacked even loosely-affiliated villages, causing the situation to spiral further out of control and ultimately resulted in more "advisory" forces being sent into Afghanistan. To address the concerns of the international community, the Soviet government insisted that its military intervention was requested by the Afghan government, a claim that would later be proven false.

The invasion itself followed conventional lines: secure urban centers and vital routes of transportation, and then spread out to secure the countryside. Alex Alexiev, author of "The War in Afghanistan: Soviet Strategy and the State of the Resistance," detailed the Soviet war plan explaining that military, economic, and political planning focused more on influencing the local populations than controlling the terrain. Military operations involved using a relatively small force (which constituted roughly two percent of the entire Soviet military) to take control of the Afghan "logistics networks" and to terrorize or intimidate local villages into selling out the resistance fighters or, at the minimum, stop supporting them. The economic aspect focused on food supply and denying Mujahideen access to food as well as strangling any commerce outside that which was controlled by the Soviet military. Alexiev reports that the Soviet military units destroyed crops with "napalm and...planting anti-personnel mines in the fields." Soviet forces also disabled irrigation systems, caused artificial price inflation at local markets, and gave farmers incentives to submit to Soviet rule. The Afghan terrain made the latter half of the battle plan difficult to achieve, which explains why the war devolved into a quagmire. A possible reason why this strategy was pursued over holding territory is the importance of depriving the Mujahideen of material support from sympathetic parties. Since the true feelings of the Soviet Politburo have been lost due to self-censorship, one can only speculate on the larger strategy. In his article "The Use of Force in Soviet Foreign Policy: The Case of Afghanistan," Joseph Collins argues that the larger strategy was to counter the western influences in the Middle East and especially Iran. In this way, the two previous articles are in agreement: both imply that the invasion contained a certain degree of theater, or, in other words, a broadcast of intent. Each large offensive was widely reported and information was disseminated to intimidate both the fighters and people of Afghanistan.

Throughout the later, counterinsurgency stage of the war, several key issues became apparent: guerrilla warfare was not strictly territorial, US aid to the Mujahideen grounded all but the most vital of helicopter missions, and that the Soviet military alone was not enough to police the nation of Afghanistan. These realities, along with an increasing annual expenditure and domestic protests, forced the Soviet Union to withdraw from Afghanistan. That is not to say nothing could be salvaged from the experience, however, as many lessons were learned; arguably the most important being the inadequacy of Soviet Forces. Whether it be due to relatively low troop count or the ingenuity of the Mujahideen, the Soviets were never able to cut off supply lines to the resistance. Foreign aid to resistance fighters further compounded the

problem for Soviet planners, especially because support came from the United States, Pakistan, and numerous wealthy private benefactors. The Soviet Union came to know that winning the hearts and minds, or at the very least securing the obedience of local populations was necessary to success in an invasion and that heavy handed tactics that constitute nothing less than a terror campaign did more to motivate local populations against them.

Roughly the same situation would arise five years later during the First Chechen War. Immediately after the fall of the Soviet Union, the Chechens tried to declare independence, but the process would not be completed until 1993. This prompted Boris Yeltsin's government to send in troops "to restore constitutional order." This is important because like Afghanistan, the Russian government did not want to appear as the aggressor. The first Chechen conflict is succinctly described by former Russian military analyst, Pavel Felgenhauer, who describes the situation as a "strategic improvisation." Both Chechen wars would expose critical flaws in the organizational structure of the Russian military as well as issues with the conscripts filling out the ranks along with the tactics they used (or forgot to use). Russian action in Chechnya began years before formal military intervention in December of 1994. Federal Security Service (FSB) operations aimed to arm and supply mercenaries for opposition groups against the new Dudayev regime in Chechnya. Felgenhauer goes on to outline the fundamental problems with the Russian military during the initial stages of the invasion and the war. There was a massive amount of disorder among ground units as well as resistance to the order to move to combat areas brought on by the combination of troops from all different types of units. Due to the combination of factors, morale among Russian internal troops was dangerously low and had adverse effects on combat performance. Operational struggles were exacerbated by poor tactics and strategists forgetting lessons learned in Afghanistan. The intervention itself was modeled on the U.S. led coalition's invasion of Iraq during the First Gulf War, but the Russian interior troops did not have the coordination, organization, training, or numbers to achieve the same result. Russian forces did capture the Chechen capital of Grozny, but intense fighting and heavy losses forced Moscow to appeal for a ceasefire and eventual peace treaty. Ultimately, this conflict led to war crimes accrued by excessive artillery usage and engagements of undisciplined units. A key weakness in the Russian military was exposed during this conflict: the lack of professionalism and poor quality of a conscription based military.

The 1999 apartment bombings in Russia reopened these wounds. To build a case for war, Russian officials were quick to blame the bombings in Buikansk, Moscow, and Volgodonsk on a Chechen insurgent group. A fourth bomb was set to explode in Ryazan, but when police apprehended FSB officers with the same make and model of bomb used in the other bombings in the vicinity of an apartment complex, skeptics raised even more questions as to who was truly culpable. Regardless if this attack was a false flag event, Russia went to war over it. The battle plan was much like the initial strategy for Afghanistan in that the primary focus was on urban areas. The lessons from Afghanistan and the First Chechen War were applied during this time: more soldiers were brought in a more organized fashion with better equipment and tactics. The Russian army took its first step toward a professional military akin to Western models by

invading with up to forty percent of ground units enlisted under contracts (contractniki). The Russian strategy as a whole can simply be described in three stages: the invasion, counterinsurgency, and finally the period of self-policing. The first stage succeeded just as it had during the First Chechen War. The second marks another change in the Soviet strategy: use of special forces or Spetsnaz operators in conjunction with contracted soldiers to form the bulk of the offensive forces in counterinsurgency operations. Although a step in the right direction, these tactics were not as effective as modern counterinsurgency operations. The final stage was enlisting the aid of local Chechen confederates to self-police and maintain stability of the region after military occupation was no longer necessary. The Russian federal government placed its faith in Ramzan Kadyrov to use his paramilitary forces to perform this task. Kadyrov and his forces were particularly brutal however, with several alleged violations of human rights occurring under his command.

The most significant changes to the Russian military during the Chechen Wars was refinement of their tactics and taking the first steps toward a professional, modern army. Heavy use of Spetsnaz and contractniki led to a successful counterinsurgency campaign so that later use of local confederate paramilitary groups were able to assume control. Russian military formations were better prepared for the latter conflict as well, because they were trained and underwent regular drills. These moves increased effectiveness of ground forces as well as ushered the Russian military toward a professional military with a higher retention rate of servicemembers than the conscription system.

The 2008 conflict with Georgia marked the next change in Russian foreign policy. Russian activity included a theatrical element for the international community along with unorthodox tactics to weaken the Georgian position. The war with Georgia is significant for two reasons: it expanded the use of power to outside a strictly military capacity, much like Afghanistan and also it serves as a model and a warning about former Soviet States looking to grow closer to the West. The prelude to the war contained a series of diplomatic slights and military skirmishes. During this time Russia engaged in cyber, economic and psychological warfare. The cyber attacks were part of a broader scheme to paint Russia as something other than the aggressor. Ariel Cohen of the Strategic Studies Institute says that Russia's coordinated cyber attack was designed to hamper Georgian communications so that the Russian narrative would be the *only* narrative of events. However, when it was discovered that Georgian government officials were reliant on personal email servers instead of official ones, Russia's cyber exploits were revealed to the international community. The violence was short lived and ended with Russia claiming small portions of Georgia. Cohen argues that the implications from this conflict are the US/NATO affiliation was not a direct deterrent to attack, especially within such short range of the Russian border. The Russian goal was to install a pro-Moscow government, granting Russian citizenship to nationals within the country in order to provide a pretext for invasion and annexation. The 2008 conflict highlights the lack of power the UN and international actors could bring against Russian aggression.

In light of the continuing proxy war in Ukraine this transfers well to the current situation in Ukraine since many of the same factors existed in the prelude to the conflict as well. Within the Russian government there existed a desire to reclaim the former Soviet sphere of influence over former Soviet countries. When the "little green men," armed and uniformed like Russian troops, occupied Crimea it seemed that Russia was acting on that desire by standing watch over the Crimean referendum. In his address to the world concerning the Crimean crisis, Vladimir Putin constantly stressed that the wishes of the people should be honored but also implied that Russia was the true owner of Sevastopol and Crimea proper from the beginning which leads us to believe that the conquest of eastern Ukraine is one of reclamation. In the military respects, the conflict in Ukraine is the culmination of lessons learned in previous wars. The war in Afghanistan taught the Soviet military how to wage war in difficult terrain and without helicopters. The Chechen wars reinstituted urban and positional warfare tactics as well as use of special forces along with a trend toward professional soldiers. And the Georgian war expands the scope of the conflict to outside a strict military definition. What the conflict in Ukraine adds is a layer of ambiguity, or what Mary Connell and Ryan Evans of the CNA Corporation calls the 'Gerasimov Doctrine'. They offer this definition "the term applies in situations in which a state or non-state belligerent actor deploys troops and proxies in a deceptive and confusing manner—with the intent of achieving political and military effects while obscuring the belligerent's direct participation." With the well documented supply convoys originating within Russia and ending up at pro-Russian separatist camps, it is clear that Russia is participating in the conflict, yet denies any involvement even after many UN member states imposed sanctions on several members of the Russian government. As for the future evolution of the use of force, Connell and Evans make it clear that the Russian strategy components carefully planned and are specifically made to former Soviet states where ethnic Russians reside. It appears that the Gerasimov doctrine exists as a circumvention of the NATO treaty so that Russia may still pursue its immediate, regional foreign policy without directly drawing NATO into a war.

Conclusion

In conclusion, the evolution of use of Russian military force has gone through distinct periods of change. The War in Afghanistan forced the Soviet Union to learn how to fight unconventional and fourth generation wars, akin to the US experience in Vietnam. These lessons were then applied to the wars in Chechnya. Due to resistance within the ranks, a heavier emphasis was placed on professional soldiers and special operations forces, especially to run counterinsurgency missions. The War in Georgia expanded the scope of war beyond combat arms to include cyber and economic warfare. And finally, the conflict in Ukraine takes all of these lessons into account but places them under the Gerasimov Doctrine of Ambiguous Warfare. In terms of future conflicts, if previous conflicts may be used as a blueprint, the next targets of Russian military force will be former Soviet States suffering from political division.

References

Alexiev, Alex. "The War in Afghanistan: Soviet Strategy and the State of the Resistance." Rand.org. November 1984. Accessed April 24, 2016.

Coffey, Michael. "Military Learning Between the Chechen Wars." Sras.org. October 24, 2006. Accessed April 24, 2016.

Cohen, Ariel, and Robert E. Hamilton. "The Russian Military and the Georgia War: Lessons and Implications." Strategicstudiesinstitute.army.mil. June 2011. Accessed April 24, 2016.

Collins, Joseph J. "The Use of Force in Soviet Foreign Policy: The Case of Afghanistan." *Conflict Quarterly*, 1983rd ser., Spring (1983): 20-27. Accessed April 24, 2016.

Connell, Mary Ellen, and Ryan Evans. "Russia's "Ambiguous Warfare" and Implications for the U.S. Marine Corps." Cna.org. May 2015. Accessed April 24, 2016.

Felgenhauser, Pavel. "Russian Strategy in the Chechnya Wars." Bundesheer.at. Accessed April 24, 2016.

Herpen, Marcel Van. *Putin's Wars: The Rise of Russia's New Imperialism*. Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield, 2015. P.239-244.

Leff, Carol. "Chechen Wars." Soviet & Post-Soviet Foreign Policy Lecture. Class lecture, University of Illinois Urbana-Champaign, Champaign, IL. February 2016.

Putin, Vladimir. "Address by President of the Russian Federation." Speech, The Kremlin, Moscow, April 24, 2016.

Picking up the Pieces: Populism and the European Union

Sonam Kotadia and Justin Tomczyk

University of Illinois Urbana-Champaign

Abstract

In recent years, populist parties have gained popularity and electoral significance throughout the European Union (EU). However, a string of defeats in important elections has caused many politicians and commentators to declare that the populist threat is over. The first section of this paper challenges this claim, arguing that populist parties have succeeded in shaking the hegemony of mainstream political parties. While the greater question of populism's place in Europe has yet to be answered, we can expect major changes to occur in the European Union over the coming years. Part two of this paper will examine major policy directions that the European Union is expected to take following Europe's populist wave. The main areas of focus of this section are a review of Brexit negotiations, illiberal democracies in Eastern Europe, development of the Common Foreign and Security Policy and progress in supranational institution activity.

Part I: Populist Parties in the EU (Sonam Kotadia)

Introduction

In the past few decades, populist parties[1] across the EU have pushed themselves to the forefront of the political scene, not only on the national level but also on the European one. The influence of these parties is unmistakable, as evidenced perhaps most dramatically in June 2016, when the referendum in favor of Brexit, that is, the exit of the United Kingdom from the EU, passed by a slim margin. This victory, however, is slowly beginning to appear to be the pinnacle of success for the populists; indeed, populist parties suffered serious blows in a series of important elections in Austria, the Netherlands, and France following the Brexit vote. These decisive defeats have led some commentators to declare that the tide of populism has been curbed (Norris, 2017). The first section of the paper argues otherwise. Although populist parties are losing support, their impact on the political environment in their respective countries have long-term implications.

What is Populism?

The most commonly cited definition of populism in recent literature was presented by Cas Mudde in 2004. He defines it as "an ideology that considers society to be ultimately separated into two homogeneous and antagonistic groups, 'the pure people' versus 'the corrupt elite', and which argues that politics should be an expression of the *volonté générale* (general will) of the people" (Mudde, 2004, p. 543). Although this definition has been contested, it establishes a fundamental characteristic of populism: the focus on the "people." Populists juxtapose the "forgotten," innocent common people and the self-serving, dishonest elites, who are typically defined as the mainstream political parties and the EU. These parties characterize themselves as the sole true representatives of the people (Müller, 2015, p. 81). This demonization of the elite fosters a strong anti-establishment attitude. In general, populists openly criticize the political establishment, claiming that it has lost touch with whom it is meant to serve: the common people (Immerzeel et al., 2016, p. 824). They sometimes go as far as to question the integrity of existing political structures, institutions, and even democratic procedures (Müller, 2015, p. 86).

Jan-Werner Müller (2015) suggests an interesting revision to the anti-elitism of right-wing populist parties, arguing that they are not only anti-elitist but also necessarily anti-pluralist. By this, he means that this movement relies on separating a heterogeneous, inherently hypothetical group that exists outside any political institution – the people – and portraying them as homogenous and political. They then claim that this group is the only legitimate one, and that they are its only legitimate representatives: "The logic of populism is not 'we are the 99 per cent', it is: 'we are the 100 per cent'" (p. 85). By doing this, populists move politics into the moral dimension: any opposition is seen as a sign of immorality, and any unfavorable result as a sign of immorality and corruption.

[1] Since the majority of prominent populist parties in the EU – with the notable exceptions of Syriza in Greece and Podemos in Spain – are on the right of the political spectrum, I will focus on right-wing populism.

Nationalism is another important defining characteristic of modern populism. The rhetoric of the vast majority of populist parties, especially those on the right, is highly exclusionary, lauding those of 'pure' ancestry and demonizing minorities. Although nationalism suggests that ethnic minorities are the only groups targeted, this is far from true: religion, sexual orientation, language, immigration history, and gender are also common points of contention (Müller, 2016, p. 84). Right-wing populists often argue that members of the proper nation should receive preferential treatment, for example in access to welfare and other government-provided services (Halikiopoulou and Vlandas, 2015, pp. 281-282).

This exclusionary sentiment lends itself to a strong anti-immigration stance. There is a general consensus among scholars and commentators that immigration is the most important issue area for right-wing populist parties (Immerzeel et al., 2014, p. 824; Halikiopoulou and Vlandas, 2015, pp. 281-282). Right-wing populists tend to call for more restrictive immigration policies and quotas as well as stricter requirements for integration programs and harsher punishments for noncompliance. The recent so-called "refugee crisis" has added a new dimension to this position. Right-wing populist parties have become the primary voice against taking in refugees and refugee quotas (Mudde, 2016, p. 25).

In summary, modern populists on both sides of the political spectrum seek to divide their public into two groups: the common people and the corrupt elite. They aim to establish themselves as the only representatives of the former and thereby the only real opposition to the latter. Characteristics that typify right-wing populist parties include anti-establishment, anti-pluralist, nationalist, and anti-immigrant attitudes.

Is the Populist Threat Over?

The decisive defeats delivered in the aforementioned elections in Austria, the Netherlands, and France suggest that the momentum gained through the Brexit referendum and even the US presidential elections is waning. Although it is very possible that this trend will persist in the EU, populist parties should by no means be considered inefficacious actors. The fact that these parties were viable and notable contesters in these prominent elections indicates that populists have succeeded in changing the political discourse. This has had a profound impact on the structure of the political environment at the very least on the national level.

The Austrian election exemplifies this. Since Austria became an independent state in 1955, it has been governed by one of the mainstream centrist parties, if not by a coalition between them. Although other smaller parties have joined coalitions in the past, one of the mainstream parties has always been present. This pattern also extends to the presidency, which is a more ceremonial post – until the 2016 presidential election. *Neither* of the mainstream parties made the final round; instead, the final two candidates came from the Austrian Freedom Party, a right-wing populist party, and the Green Party, a left-leaning, liberal party. This historic development indicates that the long-standing stability of the Austrian political environment has ended (Müller, 2016).

The French election reflects a similar trend. Though the mainstream center-right and center-left parties in France have not enjoyed the same consistent success as their Austrian counterparts, there has been relatively steady support for traditional Gaullist parties. Gaullism stems from the principles espoused by General Charles de Gaulle, the first president of the French Fifth Republic. He advocated for a strong, non-partisan presidency that above all sought to maintain political stability. The 2017 presidential election may symbolize the death of the Gaullists. The final two candidates were true political outsiders: Marine Le Pen of the Front National, a right-wing populist party, and Emmanuel Macron of *En Marche!*, a new, independent party on the center-left. Although both of these candidates favorably compared themselves to de Gaulle towards the end of their campaigns, neither of their platforms are truly Gaullist. Macron's victory arguably represents a new era of French politics (McAuley, 2017)

As the Austrian and French examples illustrate, populism is far from dead. Their electoral losses do not diminish their long-term impact: They have posed arguably the most serious challenge to the hegemony of the mainstream parties in the post-war era (Norris, 2017). Whether or not they remain the primary opponents to these traditional centrist parties, they have effectively shaken the political establishment. If mainstream parties wish to remain contenders, they must reorganize themselves.

Part II: Looking Forward (Justin Tomczyk)

While Eurosceptics failed to achieve major gains in recent elections, the existential question posed to the European Union by the populist-right has left many in Brussels shaken. The lesson learned over the past year is that the existence of the European Union and continued European cooperation is not to be taken for granted but rather defended and preserved through a conscious effort by policymakers and national leaders alike. The consolidation of power by parties like PiS and Fidesz have shown that illiberal democracies have firmly embedded themselves in the east, a reminder that authoritarian rule has not entirely left Europe. Now, the question for the European Union is what sort of direction the union will take to ensure a stable and secure future for Europe after the political turbulence of 2016 and 2017.

Brexit and the European Union

After the Leave campaign's narrow victory, many predicted that Brexit would be the first domino in a continent-wide EU secession wave. Political tension brought by austerity and the financial crisis, persistent youth unemployment, and the sudden shock of the Syrian refugee crisis seem to prime the continent for a true "nationalist spring". Unfortunately for the United Kingdom, the failure of FN and VPP to achieve electoral success has left Theresa May's government alone in leaving the European Union.

Brexit provides the European Union with two major political opportunities. The first is that the ongoing Brexit negotiations will allow Brussels to demonstrate just how much economic and political weight are behind the union. While many organizers of the Leave campaign consider the European Union to be more dependent on the United Kingdom than vice-versa

(BBC, Jan 2016), the United Kingdom is finding itself losing much of its negotiating momentum. Post-Brexit economic predictions show that the U.K. will struggle to operate without proper access to the European Union's single market. This is due to the EU accounting for almost half of British foreign trade (Dhingra, 2016). More and more financial offices are considering relocating from London to mainland cities like Frankfurt (BBC, June 2016). The United Kingdom's labor market finds itself either forced to concede residency rights for EU nationals or search for almost 3 million extra workers (House of Commons Library, 2017), as a "hard Brexit" from the EU will remove residency and labor rights for EU nationals in the United Kingdom. Initial plans to sign trade agreements with countries like India and the United States have met limited success, as the United Kingdom remains represented by the European Union's single representative in the World Trade Organization (due to its participation in the EU single market) (United Kingdom Parliament, 2016).

As of now, it seems that Brussels has the higher ground. Much of the economic damage brought upon by Brexit has been mitigated as the Eurozone continues to grow (Eurostat 2017). Political maneuvering by Northern Ireland and Scotland in regarding independence form the UK and readmission into the EU to retain close economic and political ties to Europe (Riaghaltas na h-Alba, 2016) have given the European Union considerable leverage towards a "soft Brexit". Furthermore, the exit of the United Kingdom from the EU would mean the removal of one of the union's notoriously obstructionist members. Hypothetical projects like the European Union Defense Force and a unified Coast Guard/Navy have been heavily opposed by the United Kingdom who considered participation in these projects to be a violation of sovereignty (RAND 2017).

Eastern Europe and Illiberal Democracies

In dealing with Euroscepticism in Eastern Europe, we will likely see the end of "Two Speed Europe". The idea of Two Speed Europe is that the disparity between eastern and western levels of EU integration is permissible, because it is assumed that eastern EU members would continue their integration process until full harmonization with Western Europe. Unfortunately, a combination of political disagreement and economic slowdown has led to a slow-down of EU integration. An example of this integration stagnation is that while all EU members are expected to adopt the Euro, certain members in the east have shelved this process indefinitely while retaining full EU membership.

Unfortunately, the rise of illiberal democracies like Orban's Hungary and PiS-ruled Poland have shown us that any degree of separation between the East and West will provide space for the far right to maneuver and grow. The result of Two Speed Europe is something similar to Brexit, as the United Kingdom's many opt-outs of integration criteria during its accession negotiations played a part in its "distance" from mainland Europe. Realistically, it can be expected that a post-populist EU will take a stronger stance on illiberal democracies like Poland and Hungary. Macron has already voiced his desire to sanction these states if needed (Ouest-France 2017), as the idea that an EU member may receive as many benefits as possible

while contributing only what is convenient goes against the idea of EU solidarity. There is also serious consideration towards enacting Article 7 of the European Union and suspending Hungary's voting rights (European Parliament, May 2017), as Viktor Orban's government has continuously obstructed actions related to refugee redistribution. The goal of this process is to remove the idea of "cherry picking" EU obligations while accepting all EU benefits, reaffirming that solidarity is key to the European Union's function and will lead to continued prosperity for all members. While these policy positions will require a larger reconsideration of how the EU operates (enforcement mechanisms, the boundaries of collective action and state sovereignty, etc) the goal is that there will no longer be such a thing as a strictly "Southern European issue" nor an "Eastern European problem".

Common Foreign Policy

The European Union finds itself walking a thin line regarding foreign policy. Russia and Turkey have slipped back into an authoritarian status as democratic norms have largely receded from the political sphere. The United States has found itself grappling with a presidency that is unconventional and unpredictable, shattering decades of implicit trust between both sides of the Atlantic. The ongoing crisis of climate change and impending resource shortages have left the European Union as one of the few actors capable of pursuing proactive policies to protect the environment. Given the erosion in the EU's relationships with its traditional partners, the European Union has no choice but to act as a more assertive and proactive force. This will be carried out by two major entities: The European Council/Council of Ministers and the High Representative of the European Union for Foreign Affairs and Security Policy. The European Council is a body composed of all 27 heads of EU states. The goal of this group is to find broad agreements on policy and steer the general direction of the EU. The Council of Ministers is a collection of ministry heads from all EU members, convened to discuss a policy area (I.E, all 27 EU Ministers of Defense or Ministers of Economics). The most basic level of a common foreign policy is independently converging all 27 national foreign policies onto one broader policy agreement. An example of this would be all EU members agreeing to adhere by the Paris Agreement and prioritize research into renewables and green energy (European Council, 2016). This requires flexibility, as some EU members have national interests that cannot be ignored, but is one of the more feasible ways for a common foreign policy to occur.

The second entity critical to the EU's foreign policy is the High Representative of the European Union for Foreign Affairs and Security Policy - a position currently held by Frederica Mogherini. While the Council will form the base of the EU-wide foreign policy, the High Representative will act as the EU's unified voice on more contentious issues. The High Representative's main goal will be communicating what strict foreign policy positions the entirety of the European Union will take. For instance, while some members of the EU want to remove sanctions on the Russian Federation or continue trading with Moscow, the European Union will never recognize the legitimacy of the Russian invasion of Crimea (European External

Action Service, 2015). This position is best left to dealing with questions regarding Rule of Law and direct confrontation from third parties.

Proactive Supranational Policies

Finally, there is the greater question of what sort of supranational actions will be required to keep the European Union intact. Because the EU is built on the idea of shared sovereignty and the delegation of power, there is an immense amount of trust and institutional confidence that is required for its proper function. The failure of the European Union to properly address a crisis will lead to stop-gap policies by national governments and erode trust towards the union's function. Much like plumbing, the European Union is unnoticed when functional and unignorable when dysfunctional.

We can expect a greater pivot in the EU away from reactive crisis management and more towards proactive decision-making. We've already seen the European Commission take a more assertive stance towards tax-havens and technology firms hoping to bend EU regulations on data security and personal information. At the same time, the European Parliament has reoriented itself towards a confrontational stance with the United States after Washington's failure to extend the EU-US visa-free tourist policy to countries like Bulgaria and Poland (European Parliament, March 2017). These are all positions and policies enacted by the EU's supranational structures like the European Commission and European Parliament – institutions that exist above the level of national governments. The end goal of this repositioning is for the European Union to succeed on a global scale as a whole in areas where national governments may have struggled.

Conclusion

European Parliament President Martin Scuhlz once said, "What we all do in Brussels can only become a success if everybody takes proper ownership. Stop pretending that all success is national and all failure European". While the European Union has exited the recent wave of populism mostly intact and generally optimistic, the project's long-term success and existence is dependent on its member-states to secure. More importantly, the problems facing the European Union should be considered another opportunity for transnational cooperation and success rather than a cause for chaos and disorder. Through a combination of deliberate internal action and proactive foreign policy, the European Union may overcome the current wave of western populism and continue its progress towards an ever-closer union.

References

BBC (2016, January 26). EU needs us more than we need it, says Vote Leave.

BBC (2016, June 26). HSBC 'to move jobs to Paris if UK leaves single market'

Dhingra (2016) "The consequences of Brexit for UK trade and living standards". *The London School of Economics*.

European Parliament. (2017, March 2). Parliament asks EU Commission to press for full US-EU visa reciprocity.

European Parliament (2017, May 17) Fundamental rights in Hungary: MEPs call for triggering Article 7.

European Council (2016) Climate change: Council adopts decision for EU ratification of Paris Agreement [Press Release].

European External Action Service (2015) Declaration by the High Representative Federica Mogherini on behalf of the EU on Crimea [Press Release].

Eurostat (2017) "Flash Estimate for the fourth quarter of 2016"

Halikiopoulou, D., & Vlandas, T. (2015). The Rise of the Far Right in Debtor and Creditor European Countries: The Case of European Parliament Elections. *The Political Quarterly*, *86*(2), 279–288.

House of Commons Library (2017) "Migration Statistics".

Immerzeel, T., Lubbers, M., & Coffé, H. (2016). Competing with the radical right: Distances between the European radical right and other parties on typical radical right issues. *Party Politics*, *22*(6), 823–834.

McAuley, J. (2017, April 22). Charles de Gaulle would roll over in his grave over what has become of French politics. *Washington Post*.

Mudde, C. (2004). The Populist Zeitgeist. *Government and Opposition*, *39*(4), 542–563.

Mudde, C. (2016, January). Europe's Populist Surge: A Long Time in the Making. *Foreign Affairs*, *95*(6), 25–30.

Müller, J.-W. (2015). Parsing populism: Who is and who is not a populist these days? *Juncture*, *22*(2), 80–89.

Müller, J.-W. (2016, July 25). Austria: The Lesson of the Far Right. *The New York Review of Books*.

Norris, P. (2017, May 17). So is the wave of populist nationalism finished? Hardly. *Washington Post*.

Ouest-France (2017). Emmanuel Macron demande des sanctions contre la Pologne.

RAND Corporation (2017) "A snapshot of international perspectives on the implications of the UK's decision to leave the EU".

Riaghaltas na h-Alba / The Scottish Government (2016) "Scotland's Place in Europe".

United Kingdom Parliament (2016) "Chapter 6: Trade under WTO rules".

START I: A Retrospective

Stuart Polen

University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign

Abstract

For decades, the United States (U.S.) and Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (USSR) were competing to be the dominant global military power. However, after a series of crises, both states realized that if the status quo was maintained, it could mean the destruction of their states and the rest of the world. Thus, the U.S. and USSR agreed to limit their production of nuclear weapons. Eventually, the states decided that arms reduction would be the future and the resulting agreement would change the international power structure. The negotiations lasted for nine years, including a hiatus, and also led to another iteration of the treaty before the agreement was ratified. This study analyzes various aspects of the Strategic Arms Reduction Treaty (START) negotiations, including the different stakeholders, their goals and tactics, alternatives, and the other factors that led to the final agreement. This study also analyzes the long-term effects of the treaty, its success, and who came out on top from START.

Introduction

During most of the Cold War, the U.S. and USSR engaged in a series of arms races to gain influence and hard power globally. Tensions from the arms races culminated with the Cuban Missile Crisis. Afterwards, the states began the Strategic Arms Limitation Talks (SALT). These talks began so the states could reach an agreement on limiting the deployment of various nuclear weapons, including intercontinental ballistic missiles (ICBMs), submarine-launched ballistic missiles (SLBMs), and multiple independently targetable reentry vehicles (MIRVs) (U.S. Department of State). Although successful, later iterations of SALT were not as effective and the states eventually regressed to the status quo. This did not change until 1982, when Ronald Reagan suggested a reduction in arms instead of solely limitation (Reagan 1982). The Strategic Arms Reduction Treaty was proposed to be a comprehensive and binding plan for both states, and it set out to reduce the arsenals of both powers (Reagan 1982). Although past frameworks were insufficient, the states had a mutual understanding that the status quo was unacceptable. START has improved since its 1992 ratification and it is still used as a framework for arms reduction today.

Actors

Actor A-The United States

Due to the length of START talks, the negotiating team of the U.S. spanned across two presidents: Ronald Reagan and George H.W. Bush. During the Reagan Administration, the idea for START was first proposed during President Reagan's address at Eureka College (Reagan 1982). The agreement was coupled with a plan to modernize the United States' arsenal by reducing strategic arms. As of 1982, the U.S. found itself on the wrong side of the balance of strategic power. The U.S. wanted to remedy the situation by reducing strategic weapon stores (The White House 1985). Strategic arms reduction was only one facet of Reagan's foreign policy because he also wanted to improve America's standing abroad, especially in Latin American states (Rosenfeld 1986). In 1989, George H. W. Bush became president and continued the talks with the USSR. During his time as a negotiator, Bush worked to build confidence with summits and the U.S. Verification and Stability Initiative, which gave both parties experience in verifying and monitoring their arsenals (Federation of American Scientists). Much of Bush's work on START I was based in finalizing the agreement, and he eventually signed the treaty in 1991 (Federation of American Scientists). Throughout the negotiations, both administrations remained relatively cohesive within their negotiating teams.

Actor B-The Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (USSR)

Throughout the USSR's involvement in the START I talks, the USSR, due to its authoritarian regime, followed a Monolithic Model and each negotiating team was relatively cohesive. That being said, over the course of the START negotiations, the USSR had a high turnover on heads of state. One of the leaders during the negotiations was Mikhail Gorbachev who worked with both U.S. presidents on START (Federation of American Scientists). Of the

Soviet premiers, Gorbachev was seen as the most cooperative during talks (Nye 1989). Gorbachev oversaw most the agreements on ICBM ceilings and other concrete limits, which were a point of contention throughout the negotiations (Bennett 1997).

However, after the signing of the treaty, the USSR went through a major change. The dissolution of the Soviet Union gave birth to four nuclear post-Soviet states: the Russian Federation, Kazakhstan, Belarus, and Ukraine. This became a problem for the ratification process because the agreement was set up to be bilateral (Federation of American Scientists). To remedy the situation, the Lisbon Protocol was created so all of the post-Soviet states could sign on and begin the drawdown. Of all of the actors, the USSR was the most dynamic because of the series of leadership and regime changes.

Actor C-The United States Congress

The U.S. Congress was responsible for the ratification of the START agreement. During negotiations, Congress ensured that the agreement would include concrete reductions in the quantity of ICBMs and other strategic arms to appeal to the electorate (Nye 1989). It is also noteworthy that, much like the presidency, Congress experienced a change in leadership. Congressional leadership changed between the two major parties multiple times throughout the negotiation and ratification phases of START I (U.S. Senate).

Conditions at the Onset of Negotiations

The negotiations and final product from START talks signaled a shift in Soviet-American relations and the negotiation paradigm that surrounded the arms control debate. At the time that Ronald Reagan proposed START in 1982, he asserted that there was "malaise and resentment [of the West]" within the USSR and that was due to failed agreements and talks in the past (Reagan 1982). Before START was proposed, ripeness was the dominant paradigm due to the nature of the arms race that the United States and USSR were in. This is because arms races are very similar to the game of Chicken (Starkey 2010). Throughout the 1960s and up until 1982, agreements such as the resolution during the Cuban Missile Crisis and the SALT agreements came about because the status quo became absolutely unacceptable for both parties. In fact, the SALT agreements proved to be ineffective because of the rationality of the United States and USSR. SALT II was especially ineffective because of its "high ceilings and serious inequalities" (The White House 1982). Thus, it was not adopted and both parties reverted to the status quo. However, Reagan expressed his commitment to making a concrete agreement and building a more "constructive" relationship with the USSR (Reagan 1982). In his speech at Eureka College, Reagan marked the transition from relying on ripeness to focusing on readiness. This transition from solely resolving the Mutually Hurting Stalemate to focusing on an agreement that is mutually beneficial as well as long-term was a priority in Reagan's initial START proposal. Nevertheless, START I marked the transition from just focusing on benefits and costs via ripeness to cooperation via Readiness.

Role of Public Opinion

During the first couple years of the Reagan Administration, public opinion was lulled into accepting the status quo, as the Administration's official policy on arms control was that it was more of a problem than a solution (Nye 1989). However, this lull was short-lived, and Reagan eventually proposed START to appeal to the American public. Thus, throughout the drafting process for START, the public placed a high value on arms control. During the pre-Gorbachev era, arms control was a top priority for the American public because the USSR had a strategic advantage on many fronts (Nye 1989). This pressure compelled the Reagan Administration to maintain momentum during START talks, especially when the USSR abandoned talks in 1983. In order to get the USSR back to the negotiating table, Reagan signed the Intermediate-Range Nuclear Forces (INF) Treaty. This agreement removed the missiles from Western Europe (Federation of American Scientists). While the commitment to arms control was mostly consistent with the views/priorities of the American public, there were two challenges that public opinion posed. First and foremost, the United States had to properly communicate progress to the public. This led the United States to focus on communicating reductions of arms in terms of quantity as opposed to other proposed criteria. When it comes to arms control, the public places a high value on numbers because they are the easiest to understand as opposed to criteria such as missile range (Nye 1989). A reduction in the number of arms would translate to a safer world in the eyes of the average citizen, which was important since nuclear winter theory permeated the arms control dialogue (Robock 1989). The second challenge came about when Gorbachev ascended to power. Unlike his predecessors, Gorbachev was more committed to arms control and the public had more confidence in him (Nye 1989). This reduced the need for frequent public reassurance of progress and inadvertently led to slightly less pressure being put on the United States and USSR. However, these challenges did not impede negotiations and momentum was maintained.

Issues at Stake

The negotiations surrounding START illustrated a very important issue for both the United States and USSR: the global balance of power was changing. As START negotiations progressed, analysts found that the diffusion of power became more and more apparent. According to Joseph Nye, this was due to a reduction of hard power on both sides throughout the talks, which resulted in more states becoming more politically active (Nye 1989). This gave way to the phenomenon of Polycentrism, which is a global power structure in which the United States and USSR are still hard power centers, but other states can establish themselves as political centers (Starkey 2005). As START became more of a reality, this power shift became more apparent. Thus, it would be beneficial for both actors to ensure that their exchange in hard power translated into a comparable gain in soft power.

Structure of Negotiations

Summary of Structure (Bilateral, public/private, High Politics)

The structure of talks has a great effect on how negotiations are carried out. Factors such as the number of actors, whether or not the talks are public, and whether or not the actors perceive the issue as high-politics or low-politics can affect the proposal process. Typically, high-politics issues are typically addressed by the highest level of government. On the other hand, low-politics issues are much less urgent and can be addressed by more junior government members (Starkey 2005).

By virtue of its subject matter, the START I talks were bilateral in nature and were tended to by the highest government officials. Arms control was certainly considered a high-politics issue by both actors, especially because nuclear arms were involved. While arms reduction was a highly salient issue for the U.S., it was not as serious for the USSR because the USSR had a strategic advantage over the United States in strategic arms, especially in terms of throw weight (The White House 1982). Finally, many of the talks and summits between the U.S. and USSR were known to the public. Minimal back-channeling occurred during negotiations and external observers were aware of the agenda and progress made (Bennett 1997).

Opportunities and Problems of the Structure

The bilateral structure of the negotiations gave the actors a less complex forum in comparison to negotiations with three or more actors (Starkey 2010). Therefore, one can infer that the interests and intentions were much easier to communicate between the U.S. and USSR. One could assert that the public nature of the talks also fostered the development of Track II diplomacy, which typically leads to a more impartial analysis of alternatives (Starkey 2010). That being said, the secondary actors can lead to problems in team cohesion. While the negotiating teams could be cohesive at the highest level, they will also need to appeal to their domestic governments and allies, and those interests could cause internal conflicts. Such was the case when NATO deployed Pershing II missiles in Europe and angered the USSR to the point of walking away from negotiations in the process (The White House 1985).

Influences: The Two-Level Game and Track II

During the START talks, both the two-level game and Track II diplomacy came heavily into play. In the case of the United States, all treaties must be ratified by both chambers of Congress. Without ratification by Congress, any agreement made would only be an executive agreement, and one can infer that an executive agreement would not be viable for lasting arms control. In order to make an agreement that could be ratified by Congress, the agreement had to appeal to the American electorate as well. This is due to the fact that each congressman wanted to retain his office (Morrow 1991). In order to make the agreement appeal to the U.S. electorate, the proposal must include provisions that the public could easily translate into progress (Nye 1989). For example, the public is more likely to understand a reduction in the number of ICBMs, but perhaps not other limitation metrics, such as throw weight or the number of delivery

vehicles. This compelled the United States team to focus on arms reduction by quantity of the drawdown. Moreover, Congress could influence START by setting the defense budget. Congress had been known for making adjustments in the defense budget in order to bring the USSR to the table and show good faith, especially during the negotiations of SALT I and SALT II (Morrow 1991). Thus, Congress had a significant role to play during the START talks.

In the case of the USSR, the two-level game did not come into play until the USSR's dissolution. When the USSR dissolved, the Duma was established, and they were given the power to ratify treaties much like the United States Congress. One can infer that there was some concern that the newly-formed Russian Federation might not ratify START in its final form in 1991, but it was passed with ease (Federation of American Scientists). While the Duma did not play a major role in the end of the negotiations, it is something that cannot be ignored.

Finally, due to the publicity surrounding the START negotiations, Track II diplomacy came into play during the final stages of negotiations. During negotiations, many drawdown strategies and criterion for the drawdowns were proposed, and many academics commissioned research to assess the viability of the different proposals. When talks began in 1982, the Arms Control Association commissioned research on many of the different initial proposals (Krepon 1983). This report focused on reductions based on the SALT II framework, flat reductions, percentage cuts coupled with an arms freeze, reductions in operational forces (launchers and reentry vehicles), and reductions based on throw weight (Krepon 1983). The conclusion from this research is that many of the proposals at the time were not viable due to the extreme inequality between the arsenals of the United States and USSR. However, progress in Track II diplomacy mirrors the progress of talks between the actors, and in 1989, a new evaluation was conducted on the revised drawdown models. The analyses were conducted in conjunction with various analysis organizations within the U.S. Department of Defense and focused on various drawdown models involving warheads and delivery vehicles. Unlike the research from 1989, these analyses also explored the drawdowns from the perspective of the USSR more extensively. In fact, this analysis served as a framework for the final START agreement and led to the United States' suggestion to follow a 2-2-2-1 drawdown limit (Owens Et. Al. 1995). As the negotiations progressed, these Track II actors had considerable influence on helping both parties find the most viable solutions.

Additional Framing Concerns

START was initially proposed because the United States experienced a major change in policy between Jimmy Carter and Ronald Reagan. The United States was struggling against the USSR in their constant contest for global influence as demonstrated by the Soviet occupation of Afghanistan. Reagan wanted to regain the strategic advantage the U.S. had over the USSR, so he coupled his proposal for START with a modernized defense system and the establishment of the Reagan Doctrine. Between the USSR's advantage in ICBM capabilities and its increased global involvement in areas like Afghanistan, Reagan's chief policy goal was to level the playing field again. This resulted in an ambitious foreign policy that supported pro-capitalist in states such as

Nicaragua as well as leading the movement in arms reduction (Rosenfeld 1986). START was ultimately one component of an entire mission to restore U.S. supremacy over the USSR and the negotiations were complemented by missions abroad.

Negotiation Proceedings

During negotiations, it is important for each actor to not only know their goals but also their limits. Throughout the proceedings, the actors have to guess the goals and limits of the other parties in order to come to an agreement. In diplomacy, this is characterized by green lines and red lines. An actor's green line is defined as the main goal of the negotiations and represents the ideal outcome. In contrast, a red line is the very least an actor can accept from the negotiations. The concept of red lines and green lines is important to diplomacy because agreements come about due to an overlap between each actor's red lines and green lines. This is known as the zone of agreement, or the set of agreements that are acceptable by both actors (Starkey 2010). It is important for an agreement to come from the zone of agreement or else the actors are forced to accept the next best alternative. This is known as the Best Alternative to a Negotiated Agreement, or BATNA.

BATNA for the Actors

In order to understand the BATNAs for the United States and USSR, one must remember the nature of the diplomatic game the actors have been playing throughout the Cold War. As mentioned earlier, the status quo for the arms debate was an arms race. When analyzed in the realm of game theory, the arms race is like the game of Chicken (Starkey 2005). According to game theory, rational actors will continue the proliferation of arms until a breaking point without negotiation. As a result, if negotiations bear no fruit, then the game of Chicken will resume. Because of game theory, the BATNA for the United States and USSR is the status quo, which made drafting a reliable agreement that much more important.

United States-Green Lines and Red Lines

The United States' main goal with START was to enhance deterrence and increase stability of its nuclear arsenal. The chief green line of the U.S. was a "significant" reduction in ICBMs and other ballistic missiles, which the U.S. deemed to be the most destabilizing nuclear weapons. This was the most important green line for the U.S. since the USSR had a marked advantage in ballistic missile technology, plus Soviet missiles had better throw weights (The White House 1982). This green line also required an emphasis on the number of ICBMs, as the public would respond more favorably to a reduction in the quantity of arms as opposed to simply a reduction in throw weight (Nye 1989). Concerning ICBMs, other requirements in the green line included a ban on the testing, development, deployment of rapid reload capability for fixed missile launchers, and a limit on the number of stored ICBMs (The White House 1982).

In terms of the red lines for the United States, the focus was on maintaining a comparable ICBM arsenal to that of the USSR and maintaining a general framework for strategic arms

reduction (The White House 1982, The White House 1983). First, the requirement of maintaining a sufficient ICBM arsenal served as a red line because, when coupled with the other arms reductions, the U.S. believed that maintaining some capacity in ICBMs was a "prerequisite" for its security (The White House 1982). The United States' other red lines were outlined in the Basic Elements Paper, which was the broad framework used for its goals. Due to its broad nature and the fact that it served as the minimum for an agreement, the United States did not authorize the dissemination of the paper until at least the third phase of talks. This was to prevent the USSR from undermining the efforts of the U.S. by branding the goals as too broad, which could compromise the goal of establishing concrete limits on arms (The White House 1983).

USSR-Green Lines and Red Lines

For the USSR, START was quite problematic for its strategic advantage. As mentioned above, the USSR had superior ICBM capabilities compared to the United States (The White House 1982). Thus, the green line for the USSR was to reduce the inevitable losses of arms as much as possible. In order to do this, the USSR's green line would involve arms limitations based on throw weight as opposed to a ceiling on the aggregate missile launchers and bombers. The USSR's green line can be shown through a revised version of SALT II, as many of the provisions were more favorable to the USSR arsenal (Bennett 1997). This is because the proposed reductions by the U.S. would lead to the USSR having to dismantle ninety percent of its ICBMs in contrast to the fifty percent reduction on the end of the United States (Bennett 1997). Through a reduction in throw weight, the USSR would be able to hold more of its ICBMs, which constitute a great deal of its leverage over the United States.

The USSR's red line is unique in that it does not necessarily directly involve arms reduction at all. Rather, the USSR's red line was that the United States cannot deploy new missiles in Europe (Bennett 1997). This red line was violated by NATO when it deployed Pershing II missiles and cruise missiles in Europe (The White House 1985). This led to the USSR leaving the negotiating table for some time until the INF Treaty was enacted (Federation of American Scientists).

Tactics Used

In diplomacy, each negotiation tactic can be grouped into either competitive or cooperative negotiation tactics. In terms of competitive tactics, the strategies are rooted in the notion that the particular negotiations occurring are a zero-sum gain. One of these strategies is positional bargaining, which is used when an actor proposes one position and refuses to move from it. Another is coercive diplomacy, which involves one actor compelling another to meet a specific demand with either the use of or the threat of force. Coercive diplomacy is closely related to the negotiating tactics of intimidation or Chicken, which can both involve a certain degree of force. In contrast, collaborative diplomacy occurs when both actors find common interests and frame the negotiations in such a way so that problem solving is the main focus

(Starkey 2010). One collaborative method of negotiation is interest-based bargaining, which is a tactic that involves the actor learning about the other's needs and trying to find common ground. This tactic is closely related to both the listening strategy and confidence building. Another good collaborative tactic is cutting the cost of compliance, which builds confidence for the other party by reducing the risk of carrying out a given agreement (Starkey 2010). Actors can also focus on solving their problem by emphasizing a common vision, which can be useful for starting negotiations or building momentum.

Because of the United States' poor experience with SALT II, the U.S. wanted to ensure that a concrete agreement on arms reduction that the USSR would not defect from was made. To achieve this end, the United States focused on communicating its intentions clearly and focusing on collaborative negotiation tactics. First, the United States focused on communicating the difference between slow-flying "clearly second-strike systems" and more destabilizing weapons such as ICBMs (The White House 1982). This tactic has some aspects of sequencing, because the proposed figures for reducing strategic arms on both sides were contentious for both the United States and USSR. By differentiating these two types of weapons, this could have made the USSR more amenable to reducing its arsenal. The United States also took advantage of Track II diplomacy by having the Department of Defense commission analyses on the drawdown possibilities for each state's arsenal (Owens Et. Al. 1995). By not solely relying on the United States' negotiating team, the U.S was using confidence-building measures and cutting the cost of compliance to further garner support from the USSR for their proposal. By analyzing the different drawdown methods and intermediate limits, the U.S. could find a drawdown that would give the USSR more flexibility, which would reduce the USSR's risk and prevent defection (Owens Et. Al. 1995).

However, not every tactic the U.S. used was collaborative. The United States was aware that, in order for congressmen to get reelected, the agreement had to have some concrete reductions in the number of arms to appeal to the electorate (Morrow 1991). Thus, the United States was able to get these reductions by making the USSR aware of its limited authority due to the two-level game. The United States also strategically lied by omission to protect its interests. This was mainly done during the early rounds of negotiations by withholding the Basic Elements Paper until at least the third round of negotiations. This was due to the fear that the USSR would undermine the United States' efforts by saying that the proposal suggested by the U.S. was too broad (The White House 1983). To review, the United States put an emphasis on collaborative tactics to build the USSR's confidence but was also able to leverage its limited authority when needed.

While the United States focused on collaborative tactics, the USSR put an emphasis on competitive tactics in order to prevent excessive losses from arms reduction. A great deal of the USSR's tactics can be derived from positional bargaining and taking advantage of deadlines. For example, the USSR would use positional bargaining and misinformation by portraying their positions as final, which pressured the U.S. to make concessions. In this same strain, the USSR would demand concessions from the U.S. close to the end of their summits, which is known as

the "eleventh hour squeeze" (Bennett 1997). The USSR would also try to portray limited authority by stating that Soviet generals were not on board with the proposals made by the United States (Bennett 1997). However, the USSR also took advantage of external events to guilt the United States into concessions by intimidation. This was illustrated by the USSR walking away from negotiations after NATO's deployment of Pershing II missiles in Europe (The White House 1985). The USSR did not return to negotiations until the conflict was resolved in the form of the INF Treaty, which mixed both intimidation and linkage (U.S. Department of State 2001). Due to the risks of losing major leverage over the U.S., the USSR had to focus on competitive tactics to ensure that the losses from arms reduction were minimal.

Successful Tactics

As mentioned previously, a very large part of the United States' proposals was the fact that reductions had to be focused on reductions in the quantity of arms so the electorate would approve of the treaty (Nye 1989). The United States was successful in achieving this end through keeping the two-level nature of talks in the foreground via limited authority. Another successful tactic the U.S. used was simply taking initiative. Based on my research, it seems that the U.S. was the first to make proposals throughout the talks (Federation of American Scientists). This seems to have paid off in more soft power in the long term, which is further explained in the section titled *The Winners*.

In terms of the USSR's successful strategies, the state was the most successful in using linkage to their advantage. The USSR saw an opportunity with the NATO missiles in Europe to hold the START agreement hostage unless concessions were made, and it paid off by solving the issue of missile deployment in Europe for the Soviets (The White House 1985, U.S. Department of State).

Effects of Time, Location, and Venue

During the START negotiations, both parties tried to set up venues and times that were impartial to either side. Many different rounds of talks occurred in Geneva, which is typically used for impartiality. Geneva was used as a meeting place throughout the START talks, and it was used for each side to present their draft agreements as well. The United States and the USSR also alternated hosting negotiating teams, as a few summits were held in Moscow and Washington D.C. between 1989 and 1991 (Federation of American Scientists).

Moreover, timing was manipulated by the USSR to pressure the United States and NATO to reduce their aggression. At one point, NATO deployed Pershing II missiles in Europe to increase security, and this led to the USSR suspending talks. At the time, it seemed that violence would break out again between the United States and the USSR. However, instead of increasing pressure on the USSR, the action drove the USSR from the negotiating table and on the diplomatic offensive (The White House 1985). Fearing the loss of momentum, the United States worked with the USSR to create the INF Treaty, which brought the USSR back to the

negotiating table (Federation of American Scientists). In conclusion, the timing and venues were controlled to try and maintain neutrality so the START talks would not fall apart.

Analysis of Outcome

The Winners

When it comes to diplomacy and negotiations, the victors can be declared in many ways and, ultimately, winning depends on scale of reward and time. One way to judge an actor's success immediately after a negotiation is through game theory. According to game theory, the winner of the game is the actor who comes out with the biggest gain in utility, as shown in the Prisoner's Dilemma and Chicken models (Starkey 2010). In both models, the winner is determined by which actor can maximize their utility. That being said, this analysis can only judge a winner in the short term. Since diplomacy rarely happens in isolation and parties will often have to work with each other again, winners could be determined by who establishes the most goodwill to ensure that future iterations occurred (Olekalns & Smith 2007). In a similar strain, a winner can be determined by what kind of power benefits are gained from the agreement. More specifically, the prospect of soft power is a fair indicator of which actors are winners for an agreement. Many states use soft power as a metric of success because leading by example leads to more influence in both future iterations of negotiations with a given actor as well as the international community as a whole (Nye 1989).

As mentioned previously, START was an unprecedented agreement because it was the first of its kind to focus on arms reduction as opposed to simply limitation. Therefore, there were many benefits that were experienced by both the United States and USSR. START was an agreement that showed the commitment of both the U.S. and the USSR to addressing the issue of global arms proliferation. Thus, both states gained the favor of the international community to some degree because of the mutual nature. However, while both actors gained some favor from the international community, the United States would ultimately come out on top from START. This is because the short-term benefits that the USSR gained from START did not translate into substantial influence benefits in the future.

Before one can understand why the U.S. was the ultimate winner from the START agreement, one must understand the short-term victory that the USSR won from START. In the final version of START, the model used for drawdown limits was agreed to be a schedule with equal ceilings at the end of the third, fifth, and seventh years after the treaty's ratification. The ceilings in the final version were based off the USSR's straight-line drawdown as opposed to the one that the United States proposed. As a result, the USSR had more flexibility during the drawdown, especially in regard to multiple warhead ballistic missiles (Owens Et. Al. 1995). Because of the nature of this drawdown limit, the USSR was able to hang onto some warheads longer than the U.S. and thus maintain some hard power advantage during disarmament. Thus, in the short term, the USSR won through a more favorable deal.

Unfortunately for the USSR, the victory from the drawdown limits was short-lived and the U.S. came out on top. This is because the United States was able to gain more soft power

from START while being able to maintain other sources of hard power. First, while START reduced the amount of nuclear warheads and other missiles, the agreement did not address conventional weapons. This would prove to be important because after the dissolution of the Soviet Union, the United States stood uncontested as the global "military hegemon" (Starkey 2010). This power structure, which began after the dissolution, is called Unipolarity because the U.S. military stands uncontested as a military power (Starkey 2010). Due to the dissolution, the Russian Federation's hard power capacity is a shadow of what it once was. Moreover, the U.S. has been able to gain more soft power from START than the Russian Federation has. This is shown through the agreements that came about thanks to START, which include START II, START III, and New START. Regardless of whether or not any of the future agreements were ratified, one could assert that the United States gained influence because the U.S. was regarded as the initiator for all of these agreements. Moreover, due to the United States' leadership on agreements such as START, one can assert that the U.S. had a smoother transition into a more soft power-dominated world. This is best shown by how the Russian Federation handles international crises. For example, in 2014, Russia annexed Crimea under the guise of protecting ethnic Russians in the region (Englund 2014). This scenario demonstrates Russia's desire to dominate with hard power, and it shows that the state has not adjusted well to using soft power. This is not to say that the United States is a model for soft power necessarily because they are also known for exerting their hard power in scenarios, such as the war in Iraq. However, it could be argued that the United States is more accustomed to using collective action in other facets of diplomacy. All in all, the United States gained much more than what was shown on paper, and thus the USSR got the short end of the stick in the long-term.

Critical Errors by Parties

Concerning the United States, the most critical error the state made was not being mindful of other sensitive security issues during the negotiations. As mentioned above, NATO deployed Pershing II missiles in Europe during negotiations, which angered the USSR into putting the talks on hold (The White House 1985). The United States should have been more aware of NATO's deployments because by antagonizing the USSR, they almost put START in jeopardy. START could have met the same fate at SALT II due to this misstep. Had NATO not deployed the missiles, the United States might have been able to prevent the need to make concessions and come out with a stronger agreement in the end. However, the negotiations resumed after a brief hiatus.

The USSR also made the critical mistake of not thinking about the long-term implications of its actions. During arms control negotiations, the USSR was known to not take initiative. The USSR would make minimal counter-offers in response to the proposals that the U.S. made and simply react to the U.S. instead (Bennett 1997). This strategy was used to wear down the U.S. and goad them into making unilateral concessions. While this was effective during the negotiations, the lack of initiative led to the USSR not realizing the full benefits of soft power after ratification.

Major Accomplishments

When START I was first proposed by Ronald Reagan, it was a dramatic turn from the previous policy of solely arms limitation (Reagan 1982). In many ways, START I was a ground-breaking treaty not only because it was the first of its kind, but also because of the foundation it established for long-term arms reduction. For example, the START talks also resulted in the INF Treaty, which was the first treaty that banned an entire class of weapons (U.S. Department of State 2001). Not only did the INF Treaty ban intermediate-range ballistic missiles (IRBMs), but it also defined what an IRBM and what a ground-launched missile cruiser (GLCM) were (U.S. Department of State). This closed a semantic loophole which both parties would use and, in turn, made past arms agreements fail (Bennett 1997). Moreover, START I showed the genuine commitment of both the U.S. and the USSR to arms reduction. This commitment was shown during the dissolution of the USSR. In spite of the dissolution, the Russian Federation, Kazakhstan, Belarus, and Ukraine all signed on to START I via the Lisbon Protocol to reaffirm their commitment to the treaty (Federation of American Scientists). Between being the first treaty of its kind and the foundation for global arms reduction, START I was a major diplomatic feat.

Effect on Reputation

For better or for worse, reputation has a strong effect on how negotiations are carried out. When it comes to reputation, actors can either use a distributive or integrative approach in their negotiations. In distributive negotiations, there is less chance for joint success than in integrative negotiations (Tinsley Et. Al. 2002). As a result, actors with reputations of valuing distributive negotiations are less likely to be trusted making it harder for that negotiator to get a future agreement. Moreover, there are many tempting opportunities to deceive the second party during negotiations. According to Olekalns and Smith, deception becomes more likely if goals in a dyad are not aligned. However, if there are common goals or multiple iterations of the same game, then deception decreases (Olekalns & Smith 2007). Therefore, in order for arms control agreements to succeed, the parties involved must be regarded as reputable and not deceive each other.

Despite the shortcomings involved in SALT and the early START talks, the United States and USSR were both able to finalize a treaty which was projected to reduce strategic weapons by 35%. START also held the actors accountable for complying with the terms of the agreement (Nuclear Threat Initiative). START was one of the first arms control agreements that successfully curbed proliferation, and, as a result, the reputation of both the United States and USSR benefited considerably. The agreement proved that there was a concrete shift in Soviet-American relations and that more cooperation could be expected in the future. But one of the most important aspects of START I's reputation building power is that the agreement was upheld after the dissolution of the Soviet Union. Shortly after the United States Senate ratified the treaty, the USSR broke up and four strategic weapon-holding states were formed: the Russian Federation, Ukraine, Kazakhstan, and Belarus. To accommodate the change, the Lisbon Protocol

was added so these states could become parties to the treaty, and it was signed and ratified by all parties (Federation of American Scientists). A testament to the success of START I is the fact that four states established trustworthy reputations in the realm of arms control as a result of the treaty. In short, all parties involved improved their reputation as fair and responsible negotiators.

Likelihood of Recurrence

Due to its success, START I paved the way for three updated iterations of the agreement: START II, START III, and New START. Although START I would be in effect until 2009, the United States and the Russian Federation wanted to continue momentum and did so with varying degrees of success. Even while START I was being finalized in 1990, START II talks overlapped its predecessor. START II would eventually be ratified in 1996 by the U.S. and in 2000 by the Russian Duma (Federation of American Scientists). After START II talks concluded, START III talks began. However, START III was made obsolete by the Strategic Offensive Reductions Treaty (SORT) in 2002, which set a cap on deployed strategic warheads to between 1,700 and 2,200 (Arms Control Association 2003). The most recent iteration of the START treaties is New START, which went into effect in 2011. New START streamlined the previous verification procedures to remove redundancies. Moreover, it did not impose limits on weapons testing of current U.S. missile programs (U.S. Department of State). Thus, the spirit of START has remained strong for over 20 years, and it has taught the United States and USSR the power of trust.

References

Arms Control Association. (2003). *The START III framework at a glance*.

Bennett, P. R. (1997). *Russian negotiating strategy: Analytic case studies from SALT and START.* Commack, NY: Nova Science.

Berridge, G. R. (2002). *Diplomacy: Theory and practice.* New York: Palgrave.

Englund, W. (2014). Kremlin says crimea now officially part of russia after treaty signing, putin speech. *Washington Post*.

Federation of American Scientists. *Strategic arms reduction treaty (START I)*. Retrieved from Federation of American Scientists. *Strategic arms reduction treaty (START II)*.

Krepon, M. (1983). Assessing strategic arms reduction proposals. *World Politics,* 35(2).

Morrow, J. D. (1991). Electoral and congressional incentives and arms control. J*ournal of Conflict Resolution, 35(2).*

Nye, J. (1989). Arms control after the cold war. *Foreign Affairs.*

Olekalns, M., & Smith, P. L. (2007). Loose with the truth: Predicting deception in negotiation. *Journal of Business Ethics 76(2).*

Owens, D. W., Parnell, G. S., & Bivins, R. L. (1996). Strategic arms reduction treaty (START) drawdown analyses. *Operations Research, 44(3).*

Pruitt, D. G. (2005). Whither ripeness theory? *George Mason University Institute for Conflict Analysis and Resolution*.

Reagan, R. (1982). Address at commencement exercises at eureka college, eureka, illinois. *University of Texas*.

Robock, A. (1989). Policy implications of nuclear winter and ideas for solutions. *Ambio, 18(7).*

Rosenfeld, S. S. (1986). The reagan doctrine: The guns of july. *Foreign Affairs*.

Rubin, J. (1991). The timing of ripeness and the ripeness of timing. *Beyond Intractability*.

Starkey, B., Boyer, M. A., & Wilkenfeld, J. *International negotiation in a complex world*. Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield.

The White House. (1985). *Instructions for the shultz-gromyko meeting in geneva*. Washington, D.C.: National Security Archive.

The White House. (1982). *U.S. approach to START negotiations-I*. Washington, D.C.: National Security Archive.

The White House. (1982). *U.S. approach to START negotiations-II*. Washington, D.C.: National Security Archive.

The White House. (1982). *U.S. approach to START negotiations-III*. Washington, D.C.: National Security Archive.

The White House. (1982). *U.S. approach to START negotiations-IV*. Washington, D.C.: National Security Archive.

The White House. (1983). *U.S. approach to START negotiations-V*. Washington, D.C.: National Security Archive.

Tinsley, C. H., O'connor, K. M., & Sullivan, B. A. (2002). Tough guys finish last: The perils of a distributive reputation. *Organizational Behavior and Human Decision Processes, 88(2).*

U.S. Department of State. (2001). INF treaty. *U.S. Department of State.* Retrieved from http://www.state.gov

U.S. Department of State. *Strategic arms limitations talks/treaty (SALT) I and II*. Retrieved from http://www.state.gov

U.S. Senate. *Party division*. Retrieved from http://www.senate.gov

Wilbur, I. S. (2007). *International diplomacy and negotiation*. Semantics or substance? showdown between the united states and the palestine liberation organization. Washington D.C.: GUISD Pew Case Study Center.

Zartman, I. W. (2003). Ripeness. *Beyond Intractability*. Boulder, CO.

Transformative Networks: The Case of North Caucasian and Central Asian Jihadist Networks

Caleb Weiss

University of Illinois Urbana-Champaign

Abstract

Using two case studies of North Caucasian and Central Asian jihadist networks, this paper explores how each transformed from local movements to transnational organizations. This qualitative paper, which ranges from the late 1980's to present day, has wider connotations, as it argues that personal connections forms through prior conflicts are instrumental in this transformation.

Glossary

AfPak -- Afghanistan-Pakistan
AK -- Ajnad Kavkaz
AQ -- Al Qaeda
AQAP -- al Qaeda in the Arabian Peninsula
AQIM -- al Qaeda in the Islamic Maghreb
CE -- Caucasus Emirate
HTS -- Hay'at Tahrir al Sham
IIB -- Islamic International Brigade
IJU -- Islamic Jihad Union
IKS -- Imarat Kavkaz v Sham (Caucasus Emirate in Syria)
IMU -- Islamic Movement of Uzbekistan
IS/ISIS -- Islamic State/Islamic State of Iraq and Syria
JaS -- Junud al Sham
JMA -- Jaysh al Muhajireen wal Ansar
KBK -- Kabarda, Balkaria, Karachay
KIB -- Katibat Imam al Bukhari
KM -- Kata'ib Muhajireen
KTJ -- Katibat al Tawhid wal Jihad
LMA -- Liwa al Muhajireen wal Ansar
MAK -- Maktab al Khidamat
SCW -- Syrian Civil War
TIP -- Turkistan Islamic Party
UBL -- Usama bin Laden

Transformative Networks: The Case of North Caucasian and Central Asian Jihadist Networks

Caleb Weiss

Introduction

On August 30, 2016, an explosive-laden Mitsubishi Delica van rammed into the gates of the Chinese embassy in Bishkek, Kyrgyzstan, killing one security guard and injuring several others in the suicide attack. While no group has yet to claim the suicide bombing, Kyrgyz intelligence has pinpointed those behind it. In a statement, Kyrgyzstan's State Committee for National Security (GKNB) said that Chinese Uighur and Uzbek militants connected to al Qaeda plotted and coordinated the attack from Syria. Investigative reporting from Kyrgyzstan has also identified the mastermind of the attack as an Uzbek al Qaeda commander who was born in Kyrgyzstan and then traveled to Syria to fight alongside the jihadist group.

The bombing in Kyrgyzstan is just one such instance that highlights the increasing danger of transnational jihadist networks, which use internationalized civil wars as a training hub and launching pad to export attacks around the world. This phenomenon is nothing new, as internal conflicts have often turned international, like the Spanish Civil War, the Lebanese Civil War, or perhaps more famously the civil wars in Afghanistan (Richardson 1976, Midlarsky 2014). In all of these cases, the fighting began with local grievances before being internationalized and the focus transformed. What is newer is the rising number of cases of foreign fighter involvement in Muslim causes. Hegghammer (2010-11) surveys the period 1945 to 2009 and finds that eighteen of the seventy armed conflicts in the Muslim world involved foreign fighters, but only two of those eighteen before 1980.

The dangers posed by internationalized civil wars are fairly straightforward, in that foreign fighters gain knowledge, expertise, and connections and may end up exporting the violence to their home countries or elsewhere. In the case of Afghanistan, a safe-haven for dangerous actors may prove catastrophic for countries thousands of miles away. Al Qaeda used its safe-havens in Taliban-controlled Afghanistan to plot the 9/11 attacks. It was also able to use this haven to funnel money, resources, and fighters to conflicts around the world.

In the case of the Chinese embassy bombing mentioned above, the Kyrgyzstan bomber and several suspects identified as helping the bomber logistically, came from Syria. Syria, which is currently in its sixth year of civil war, has become the forefront for the global jihad. Many different nationalities and ethnic groups have appeared on the battlefield with various different groups – including al Qaeda and the Islamic State. Tens of thousands of foreign fighters have poured into Syria's borders to fight in the civil war on both sides of the conflict. It is worth looking into how and why these different groups wind up on the frontlines of Syria's battles.

Much work has already been done on European jihadists, Arab foreign fighters and Iranian-backed Shia militias from Iraq, Lebanon, Afghanistan and Pakistan, but little has been done to look at Chechen, North Caucasian, or Russian-speaking foreign fighters, or Central Asian militants in Syria. Recently, Western analysts and researchers have been predominantly concerned with European, American, or Arab foreign fighters recruited to fight in Syria. But it is equally as important to look at other foreign fighters, who are just as dangerous. What put the Chechen/North Caucasian and Central Asian jihadists pipelines on the same par as Arab jihadist networks is that the former have also been in place for decades.

Like the Afghan Arabs of the 1980's, North Caucasian and Central Asian militants have had longstanding networks. Chechens have appeared in Afghanistan, Pakistan, Syria, Yemen, and possibly elsewhere. The same is true for Central Asians (especially so for Afghanistan and Pakistan). Conversely, this is evident with Arab foreign fighters fighting with Chechen rebels and militants since the early 1990's. But it is important to look at how these networks began, key players, and why these networks survive. These answers will help explain why we have seen these fighters pop up in various jihadist conflicts around the world: how transnational networks have emerged in the last generation, when they were rare beforehand (Hegghammer, 2010).

In this thesis, I will be looking at how jihadist networks transform local movements into transnational organizations, in a comparative case study of Chechen/North Caucasian and Central Asian fighters.

Literature Review

Based on the available research, much work has been done to examine jihadist networks in general. For instance, in 2010 Thomas Hegghammer looked into why certain conflicts see an influx of foreign fighters. One hypothesis is that the local movements include some small degree of an Islamist ideology which can link to jihadist interpretations. Hegghammer finds that foreign jihadists (or groups), looking to fight in what they believe to be a global religious conflict in which all true Muslims should be obligated to participate, flood the local movements with fighters (Hegghammer, 2010).

This is similar to what Monica Toft found in 2007, in that civil conflicts with even a limited or merely cultural Islamic identity are more likely to escalate and transform into a full-scale religious civil war (Toft, 2007, 2015). The potential for international outreach in Islamic communities is particularly strong because Islam allows for a global perception of a single community, or *Ummah*, that is at risk. This perception is strongly held in jihadist circles, which helps explain why they tend to join an insurgency with even the most minimally observant Islamic identity. Toft also found that religious civil wars are often bloodier, longer in duration, and have been increasing in the percentage of overall civil wars around the world (2007, 98). In citing an empirical study in her own prior work, she writes, "A recent empirical survey of civil wars from 1940 to 2000 revealed two findings. First, the percentage of civil wars in which religion has become a central issue has increased over time. Second, these civil wars are much more destructive than wars fought over other issues, they result in more casualties and more noncombatant deaths, and they last longer."

The transnational Islamic identity helps us explain how global jihadist groups like al Qaeda have exploited these conflicts to create transnational networks rooted in the infiltrated local movements and groups. The idea of a global *Ummah* is exactly how and why al Qaeda (hereafter referred to as AQ) was founded in the first place. As Bruce Hoffman, an expert on AQ, states, "Al Qaeda serves as the base or foundation from which worldwide Islamic revolution can be waged." (Hoffman, 2007) In fact, looking at how AQ is structured, one can get a decent idea of how this actually works. Thomas Joscelyn, a senior fellow at the Foundation for Defense of

Democracies, testified before Congress in 2013 on this very subject. In this testimony, he looked at not only how AQ is structured and its relationships with various affiliated groups around the world, but also how AQ manifested (and continues to manifest) itself as a global jihadist network: "As part of this Islamic army, Osama bin Laden 'enlisted groups from Saudi Arabia, Egypt, Jordan, Lebanon, Iraq, Oman, Algeria, Libya, Tunisia, Morocco, Somalia, and Eritrea.' The burgeoning al Qaeda network 'also established cooperative but less formal relationships with other extremist groups from these same countries; from the African states of Chad, Mali, Niger, Nigeria, and Uganda; and from the Southeast Asian states of Burma, Thailand, Malaysia, and Indonesia.'Al Qaeda also supported efforts in the Balkans, Central Asia, Chechnya, and the Philippines. Bin Laden and al Qaeda pursued a 'pattern of expansion through building alliances' and had laid the groundwork for a true global terrorist network."

Joscelyn quoted findings from the 9/11 Commission Report, which contains a significant amount of information relevant to AQ's transnational networks. For instance, the report found that bin Laden's relationship with the Taliban in Afghanistan "provided al Qaeda a sanctuary in which to train and indoctrinate fighters and terrorists, import weapons, forge ties with other jihadi groups and leaders, and plot and staff terrorist schemes." These other jihadi groups and leaders came from all over the world to coordinate and join forces with bin Laden and AQ. Overall, the report estimated that anywhere from 10,000 to 20,000 militants were trained in AQ's camps in Afghanistan between 1996 and 2001. This is incredibly important in the formation of ties that will later become useful in the analysis of Chechen/North Caucasian and Central Asian networks in Afghanistan post-2001 and in today's Syrian conflict, which will be discussed later.

However, there are distinct limitations to the existing literature. In the context of AQ, or the conflicts in which it is engaged, most research has been done on European networks (Levitt, Decottignies, Rosland, 2016). Additionally, there seems to be an oversaturation of research into Arab networks, being that AQ is dominated by Arabs and has long operated in Arab countries. In some respects, analysis of recruitment efforts for jihadist networks is also outdated due to new technologies like encrypted messaging applications. This is particularly true for a post-Islamic State (IS) world, which really revolutionized the use of social media for recruitment (Farwell 2014). Much work, like Peter Neumann's book *Joining Al Qaeda: Jihadist Recruitment in Europe*, has been done on AQ's recruitment in the past, which was largely done in person (however, this is changing with advances in technology and in the face of competition with IS.)

In addition, Thomas Hegghammer recently wrote that "the study of foreign fighters has largely been confined to the subfield of terrorism studies." (Hegghammer 2010, 55.) For example, the Global Terrorism Database only captures individual acts rather than broader conflicts, although perpetrators may well be foreign fighters. The interesting networks that Magouirk, Atran and Sageman (2008) construct from this data to analysis of Southeast Asian terrorist incidents therefore do not speak to the impact on civil war. Toft (2015, 222, 223) also argues that the literature has been too narrowly focused on suicide terrorism, and too broadly on violence in general, and too little, in both theoretical and empirical terms, on the phenomenon of

Islamist engagement in conflict. She sees the need for considerably more empirical work on what distinguishes Islamist claims and how the international context and organization matters. In this context, especially organizational ties to international networks, the absence of significant work on the Chechen/North Caucasian and Central Asian networks, are equally as important as the Arab or European network categories.

Referring to the literature on suicide terrorism, a portion is dedicated to individual motivations for blowing themselves up, which at times can be useful. For instance, Hoffman found in 2004 that these motivations can be explained, in part, by the jihadist ideology. AQ, and similarly IS, have longed preached about the importance of so-called "martyrdom operations." In fact, Michael Horowitz (2015) found that "the existence of al Qaeda as a critical node in a network of violent nonstate actors around the world also facilitated the rise of suicide bombings." This is important because this ideology (rooted in Salafi-jihadism, which will be discussed later) is not just contained in one geographical location, which is evident with the number of foreign suicide bombers in various jihadist conflicts in which AQ or IS play a major role.

Horowitz also finds that international networks play a large role in this later phenomenon. "At the international level, between groups rather than individuals, social networks similarly seem to help drive the spread of suicide bombing." He later goes on to show "how the large number of connections that Hezbollah [an Iranian-backed Shia terrorist organization primarily based in Lebanon] and al Qaeda, respectively, had to other groups helped spread the diffusion of suicide bombing." It needs to be stated that unlike the notion of the *Ummah*, the ideology surrounding these "martyrdom operations" is not something that ordinary Muslims believe. Groups like AQ or IS have religious officials which are great at twisting words from the Qu'ran to fit their violent interpretation and to encourage this type of violence.

Global Jihad

It is also important to understand what the term "global jihad" means for this thesis. The origins of the idea of a global jihad can be traced back to Sayyid Qutb, an important Islamic theorist in the Egyptian Muslim Brotherhood in the early 1960's. His book, *Milestones*, detailed how the world is divided between a state of freedom, or Islamic governance, and *jahiliyyah* (ignorance), or dictatorships or even democracies. According to Qutb, the only way to remove jahiliyyah and institute this "freedom" was for a revolutionary vanguard to bring about this change through preaching and "physical power and jihad." (Qutb, 1964)

This idea greatly influenced three important Arab mujahideen in the Soviet-Afghan War of the 1980's: Usama bin Laden (UBL), Abdullah Azzam, and Abu Musab al Suri. During the war, the former two laid the foundations for al Qaeda through their Maktab al Khidamat (MAK). MAK was the precursor to al Qaeda, in which foreign fighters, especially from Arab countries, were trained and funded. Towards the end of the war, UBL and Abdullah Azzam, emboldened by the withdrawal of Soviet troops, began thinking about the future of the jihadist movement. The two postulated the idea of a "base" from which to train, fund, organize, and coordinate

Islamic insurgencies across the world. (BBC, 2014) With this, al Qaeda (literally "the base" in Arabic) and the foundations for the idea of a global jihad was born.

In addition, Abu Musab al Suri, a former member of the Syrian Muslim Brotherhood, who joined up with UBL's al Qaeda in the early 1990's, was instrumental in helping to shape the idea of the global jihad. (Suri, 2004) In his book, *The Global Islamic Resistance Call*, Suri wrote "because Allah decreed to protect His religion and His book and keep [the] truth, [there is a] perpetual group within the Islamic Nation, fighting for the religion, un-harmed by those who let them down or by those [who] oppose them." (Joscelyn, 2015) This sentiment is heavily influenced by Sayyid Qutb's idea of a global vanguard force, which al Qaeda sees itself as.

The end goal of this global vanguard force is the establishment of a global caliphate and the end of *jahiliyyah*. Those groups and networks who abide by a global jihadist ideology therefore see themselves as at one with various jihadist conflicts around the world. As a result of this ideology, al Qaeda has provided a "base" for dozens of jihadist groups from Morocco, to the Balkans, and to Southeast Asia. This means that those within this ideology are fighting for Islamic governance within a specific region, but also fighting for global Islamic governance due to interconnectivity and the idea that all jihadist conflicts are part of one larger conflict.

This global vanguard force also preaches *salafiyya*, which refers to the "forefathers" of Islam or the first Muslims. Salafists emerged as a modernist movement in the face of European encroachment in the Middle East in the 1800's. It attempts to return to the "golden age" of Islam, in which the traditions and of the forefathers are returned to modern society. Salafi-jihadists are attempting to establish Islamic states based on a strict interpretation of Islamic law based on the salafi doctrine.

Theory

Based on what has already been written about jihadist networks and how they operate, especially within the scope of al Qaeda and the Islamic State, I plan to expand on this by looking at how these constructs fit the cases of Chechen/North Caucasian and Central Asian militants. My analysis works from the following starting point : The political and religious landscapes in the North Caucasus and in some areas of Central Asia were transformed by al Qaeda, thereby facilitating the changes and requirements needed for a local movement to become a transnational organization. This is especially important for Chechen/North Caucasian and Central Asian militants as many groups in this region are transnational. In some cases, these groups are much larger than European networks and are more similar to Arab networks in scale. This radical transformation of local movements allowed for networks to be established, which is why many North Caucasians and Central Asians are seen in Syria and still seen in Afghanistan.

Before going further I need to provide definitions of key terms—of jihadism, foreign fighters, networks, and the components of a jihadist network. Jihadism, or a jihadist group or movement, can be defined for the purposes of this research as a group or individual who ascribes to the global jihad ideology. Jihad, which is not an inherently violent term, means "struggle" in Arabic and in the traditional Islamic sense it means to struggle with both oneself to be a better

Muslim but also to protect Muslims in the event of any existential threat (which is referred to as the lesser jihad in religious texts). In the basic sense of the word, a jihadist is someone who engages in this act. In the case of jihadist groups, these are groups who see themselves as having the religious duty and authority to wage war based on this idea. But groups and movements discussed in this paper ascribe to a global jihadist ideology, which means that they see the jihad as a global struggle. Al Qaeda and the Islamic State, both major examples of global jihadists, want to see the establishment of a global caliphate.

Networks are understood in the organization literature as more flexible and more decentralized than the standard organizational structure. Jihadist networks can be described as interconnected groups or individuals who share command structures, resources, or are in constant communication. Additionally, financing, both state-sponsored or private, can also be conceptualized as being a necessary component of such a network.

Hegghammer defines a foreign fighter as an actor who has "(1) joined, and operates within the confines of, an insurgency, (2) lacks citizenship of the conflict state or kinship links to its warring factions, (3) lacks affiliation to an official military organization, and (4) is unpaid." (Hegghammer, 57-58) There are some problems with this definition, however, as foreign fighters can certainly be paid. For instance, in Lawrence Wright's book *The Looming Tower*, he discusses at length how Osama bin Laden had his foreign fighters in Afghanistan on his personal bankroll. Additionally, as seen in Syria, foreign fighters can be affiliated to an official military organization. This is apparent with thousands of Shia foreign fighters joining the fray on the side of the Assad regime and being paid and supported by the Iranian government. That said, the Hegghammer definition gives us a good working definition for the confines of this paper.

I have two hypotheses for how local groups or movements are transformed into transnational organizations.

Hypothesis 1

Personal ties or connections to a leader or key individual in the already established jihadist network are instrumental in the transformation of local militants into components of a larger network .

To use an example to illustrate how this works, one can look at a group called Junud al Makhdi, comprised of largely ethnic Bashkirs and Tatars, that operates in both Afghanistan and Syria. Many members of this group, including its emir (leader), fought in the Chechen Wars alongside Ibn Khattab, al Qaeda's first official representative in the wars (Paraszczuk, 2016). This connection to an al Qaeda leader was instrumental in this local group moving fighters to Afghanistan from Chechnya, to assist al Qaeda in fighting the US invasion in that country. In line with this trend, the group also sent fighters to assist al Qaeda in Syria. The ties established with al Qaeda in the 1990's is what caused this group to become a transnational organization.

Hypothesis 2

Ideological affinity or overlap is more instrumental in this transformation than personal ties.

To be precise, ideological affinity is present in any case; even personal ties or connections may not lead groups to become transnational or join a larger network without some ideological overlap. However, this hypothesis looks at whether this ideological affinity is more important. An example of this is the many foreign communist or left-wing brigades formed during the Spanish Civil War to help fight alongside the Second Spanish Republic. This is evident with the communist brigades set up by the Communist International (Comintern) in which people would join from around the world due to an ideological overlap or affinity rather than any personal ties. (Richardson, 1976)

To be sure, it is quite possible that a combination of both ideological affinity and personal ties are at play in this phenomenon.

Data and Methods

In order to pursue a qualitative approach to this topic, I will be using the method of a structured focused comparison to look at my two cases. This method is defined as "'structured' in that the researcher writes general questions that reflect the research objective and that these questions are asked of each case under study to guide and standardize data collection, thereby making systematic comparison and cumulation of the findings of the cases possible. The method is 'focused' in that it deals only with certain aspects of the historical cases examined." (George & Bennet, 2005) This will be a qualitative comparative case study, but limited elements of quantitative data will be utilized.

This is the best method for pursuing this project, as systematic evidence is not available for a more quantitative approach. The number of overall jihadist groups, let alone the number of jihadist groups in the two main jihadist networks that will be discussed in this paper, is not suitable for a large N study. For context, however, I will be able to draw on David Malet's data base from the Foreign Fighters Project (Malet, 2007), in which he creates a typology of foreign fighters in civil conflicts using the Correlates of War (COW) Intrastate War and PRIO-CSCW Data on Armed Conflict data sets, 1815-2005.

In addition, some normal modes of case selection, such as deviant or typical cases, are not appropriate nor is the use of random sampling, which is rarely appropriate in case study research (Seabright and Gerring 2008). A structured focused comparison of jihadist networks belonging to al Qaeda and the Islamic State is therefore the best method based on the impossibility of a largely quantitative paper. In addition, central focus is on examining these networks as they exist within the confines of the Syrian Civil War.

Case Selection

The al Qaeda and Islamic state jihadist networks will be the focus of this paper as the two are arguably the largest and most important networks in the jihadist world. Almost every Sunni jihadist group in the world has some tie to either of these networks. It should be noted that in some instances, ties to al Qaeda are deliberately hidden or denied by some groups. This stands in stark contrast with the Islamic State, which has been quick to announce ties or pledges of allegiance to it. This concept of how the different networks and affiliations work will be discussed later. The main focus of this paper will be on the Chechen/North Caucasian and Central Asian networks within these larger frameworks. I am choosing these subgroups because of the relative lack of attention compared to European or Arab networks. The Chechen/North Caucasian and Central Asian role in Islamic militancy from Afghanistan to Syria is an often overlooked and understudied element that is equally as important and dangerous as the others. Moreover, it cannot be assumed ahead of time that the recruitment and affiliation of these groups is identical to the Arab and Western pipelines we already know more about.

Data will be gathered from news reporting, social media, other academic research, and propaganda released by the groups themselves. Some of this data will be in English, but I will be utilizing my knowledge and understanding of Arabic to use Arabic-language resources; these are incorporated and cited in the text in accessible form in the online reports I authored for the Foundation for Defense of Democracy's *Long War Journal*. My employment at The Long War Journal and my internship at the Foundation for Defense of Democracies has put me in a better position to accumulate relevant sources, such as jihadist websites or social media accounts, which I monitor on a daily basis. The data gathered takes the form of be statements, photos, or videos which indicate ties to important figures in a jihadist network, locations of fighting, or even biographical material. The latter resource is helpful in seeing how ties work, as often times groups will disclose this important information, for example, in the biographies of killed fighters or leaders. I have also interviewed experts and analysts in this topic for this thesis, some of whom use pseudonyms to protect their actual identity.

It should be noted that any piece of literature that delves into exactly how jihadist networks operate can only be accurate relative to the amount of publicly known information. The nature of these organizations is clandestine and accurate information may be hard to come by unless one is an actual member of a jihadist organization or information is gained from current or former members of said organization. Sometimes an organization will issue a brief overview of its history, which includes slivers of network ties vis a vis who its leader is, where he fought before, why the group is fighting in that certain location, etc. This information is usually limited, but valuable information can be gained from these types of publications which will be discussed later in this paper. One can make educated guesses based on available information and knowing how these networks operate, but we can only fully confirm what these groups are willing to openly share with the world.

Nomenclature

In this paper, most names of groups and individuals will be transliterated based on their Arabic or Russian names. In other cases, the names will be translated for the reader's understanding. For example, Imarat Kavkaz will be referred to as the Caucasus Emirate. In addition, some spellings of groups or individuals, like al Qaeda, has been standardized throughout the text for uniformity. The Arabic term "Jamaat," or group, will also be used throughout the text. The term is popular among North Caucasian jihadists for naming specific groups within a larger entity. This practice has continued into Syria, whereby small groups are often referred to by its leader (i.e Tarkhan's Jamaat, where Tarkhan is the leader.) Many names used in this thesis are kunyas, which is based off of traditional Arab naming systems in which the parents take the name of their first born child (i.e Abu Omar, or Father of Omar). This naming system is critical in jihadist networks as individuals seek to hide their true identity, akin to a war name.

Jihadist Networks

Before getting into the actual case studies, it is important to define what a "jihadist network" is. At its core, a network can be defined as "a group or system of interconnected people or things." On this basis, a jihadist network can be defined as interconnected groups, cells, or individuals within the same group structure. A jihadist network can be a small, interconnected cell or a large group with vast territorial areas of operations. To illustrate this, those individuals in the infamous Hamburg Cell, which would perpetrate the 9/11 attacks, were a network. At the same time, these individuals were connected to officials higher up in the al Qaeda hierarchy, which would then expand the network.

A variant of this is various groups who pledge allegiance to al Qaeda in the Islamic Maghreb (AQIM) in North Africa and the Sahel. Groups in Algeria, Morocco, Tunisia, Libya, Mali, Burkina Faso, and Niger pledge allegiance to AQIM's senior leadership in Algeria. These groups have smaller cells or groups which coordinate with other groups under AQIM's sphere. While each of these groups are separate entities, they all constitute AQIM's network. At the same time, they also constitute a component of al Qaeda's wider network.

Thomas Joscelyn best defined the al Qaeda network in a Congressional testimony in 2013. Joscelyn states that "the backbone of today's al Qaeda consists of its "general command" in Afghanistan and Pakistan (others refer to this as the "AQ Core") and its formal affiliates." (2013) These affiliates (or branches, as "affiliates" carries a connotation of a lesser degree of control and coordination) include the aforementioned AQIM, al Qaeda in the Arabian Peninsula, al Shabaab in Somalia, Hay'at Tahrir al Sham in Syria, and al Qaeda in the Indian Subcontinent. In addition to these groups, Joscelyn states that allied or associated groups are also part of the network. " In addition to the established affiliates, there are numerous associated jihadist organizations that the Al Qaeda Network either influences or outright directs without officially recognizing the group as an affiliate," he states. Examples of this would include Ansar al Sharia in Libya, Ansar Dine in Mali, Ansaru in Nigeria, or Fatah al Islam in Lebanon.

Marc Sageman in his book *Understanding Terror Networks*, he states that a network "can be viewed as a collection of nodes connected through links. Some nodes are more popular and are attached to more links, connecting them to other more isolated nodes. These more connected nodes, called hubs, are important components of a terrorist network." (Sageman, 2004) Essentially, AQIM would be a hub in the aforementioned example, and its affiliated groups would be nodes. These nodes would be connected to al Qaeda's general command hub via the connected hub of AQIM. Sageman also notes that these connected links and hubs can transcend geographical boundaries.

The North Caucasus Case

The phenomenon of local organizations being transformed into transnational entities can be exemplified in two case studies. The first is the case of North Caucasian fighters, especially from the Russian Republics of Chechnya and Dagestan. During the two wars in Chechnya, the local insurgents, who began as nationalists, were significantly transformed into transnational jihadists through contact with external networks. The second case is that of Central Asian Islamist movements, many of which began as movements focused on local issues in their respective countries. However, after being forced to relocate to Afghanistan in the 1990's, they began a transformation into transnational entities, sending fighters elsewhere. To begin, I think it is important to start with the case of North Caucasian fighters.

It is first important to define "North Caucasians." There are more than four dozen ethno-linguistic groups in the Caucasus mountain region of southern Russia. In using the term North Caucasian, I am referring to those fighters who are originally from the Russian republics of Chechnya, Dagestan, Ingushetia, North Ossetia, Kabardino-Balkaria, Karachay-Cherkessia, and Stavropol Kray. Fighters from other parts of the Russian Federation who merged into North Caucasus groups are included, such as Tatarstan and Bashkortostan. In addition, I am also including fighters from the south Caucasus (Georgia, Armenia, and Azerbaijan) who aligned with North Caucasus groups. At least one group profiled includes leadership from the Crimean Peninsula in Ukraine, which is also added due to ethnic ties to the North Caucasus.

The North Caucasus has had a long history of conflict, especially the Chechen people, with the many incarnations of Russian governance under tsarist and Soviet rule as well as after Russian independence. The historical conflict was largely nationalistic in nature, as the Chechens have long wanted an independent home outside of Russian control. However, starting in the First Chechen War in the 1990's, goals began to change. This appears to be largely due to the presence of al Qaeda within the insurgency. As the global jihadist group began sending fighters to the region and having its members staffed in important positions in various local groups, the insurgency began shifting from nationalist to jihadist goals. (Hughes, 2008)

After the insurgency took on an explicit jihadist nature, the transformation of the local entity into a transnational one appears to be the result of shared ideology with a larger, already established transnational entity, al Qaeda. This can be seen in the case of the Caucasus Emirate. In addition, many different splinters have formed as a result of this transformation.

Transformative Networks: The Case of North Caucasian and Central Asian Jihadist Networks

Caleb Weiss

Background

Originating from the Caucasian Front (also known as the Caucasus Mujahideen), a collection of North Caucasian and foreign fighters of the separatist Chechen Republic of Ichkeria in the Second Chechen War starting in 1999, the Caucasus Emirate was formed in 2007. The power grab by Dokka Umarov, the fifth president of the unrecognized Republic, officially abolished the Chechen Republic, and formed a jihadist entity, announcing an Islamic emirate within the claimed borders of the Republic. The move was condemned by various members of Umarov's own cabinet, but the now-emir (leader) of the Caucasus Emirate explained this move using the same rhetorical argument used by al Qaeda for the creation of Islamic states.

In a speech shortly after the declaration of the Emirate, Umarov said "The Caucasus is occupied by infidels and apostates and is dar al-harb, a land of war, and our immediate task is to turn it into dar as-salam [land of peace], to institute Sharia on its territory and to drive out the infidels." He goes on to say, "After driving out the infidels, we shall have to get back all of the historical territory of Muslims, and that territory is [also] located beyond the borders of the Caucasus." (Souleimanov, 2011) Additionally, Umarov explicitly linked the Caucasus Emirate to the global jihad led by al Qaeda. "Today our brothers are at war in Afghanistan, Iraq, Somalia and Palestine. Anyone who attacks Muslims, wherever they may be, is also our enemy," he said. Umarov added "Our enemy is not only Russia, but also America, England, Israel and anyone who is waging war against Islam and Muslims."

Compare this rhetoric with various al Qaeda ideologues and officials who spout similar mantras. For example, in Febuary 2016, Ibrahim al Qosi, a former Guantanamo inmate and senior leader of al Qaeda in the Arabian Peninsula (AQAP), discussed at length the necessity for Muslims to protect other Muslims, as well as combat those who "oppose the Ummah." (Joscelyn, 2016) In a letter to Abu Musab al Zarqawi, the leader of al Qaeda in Iraq, in 2006, then deputy emir of al Qaeda, Ayman al Zawahiri also wrote about this subject. According to Lawfare, Zawahiri discussed that the enemies of Islam "are both the external enemy—"idolatrous infidels"—and the enemies within Islam. The latter, he says, are "traitorous apostates" who belong to "the community of renegade deviation" and embrace polytheism and secularist beliefs." (Bar, Minzili, 2006) The latter is a reference to those majority Muslim countries who cooperate with American and Western governments against jihadist groups, like Saudi Arabia, and other Muslim sects.

The fact that Dokka Umarov would echo the same ideological arguments as al Qaeda should not be surprising. During the First Chechen War in the 1990's, Umarov fought under the ruthless Chechen rebel commander Ruslan Gelayev. Gelayev was an ally of and often fought alongside the Arab commander Ibn al Khattab, al Qaeda's first representative in Chechnya. However, the presence of al Qaeda within the Chechen insurgency significantly spread which helped in the radicalization and reforming of the insurgency into one with a distinctly jihadist face. Indeed, in 1996 Ayman Zawahiri traveled to Chechnya to inspect the insurgency, as well as scope out a potential location for a base for his Egyptian Islamic Jihad group. (Orton, 2015) By the time of the Second Chechen War, the insurgents were predominantly split between

nationalists and jihadists, with the latter proving to be the most formidable on the battlefield. This can be seen in various groups, all of which had al Qaeda commanders staffed within their ranks.

This includes the Islamic International Brigade (IIB), first led by the aforementioned Ibn Khattab and Chechen Shamil Basayev. This was the "official" al Qaeda group in Chechnya at the time, with most foreign fighters operating under this banner. However, al Qaeda members were also found within the Special Purpose Islamic Regiment, led by Gelayev. Lastly, al Qaeda helped form the Riyad-us Saliheen Brigade of Martyrs, a group commanded by Basayev dedicated to suicide bombing, a tactic not indigenous within the Chechen insurgency. (Darling, 2004) Basayev's own al Qaeda connections went back to the early 90's when he traveled to Afghanistan to train in their camps after fighting in Nagorno-Karabakh. (2004)

The original transnationalization of the Chechen networks, then, originated in the context of an internal war, as many Chechen fighters were sent to Afghanistan to train in al Qaeda's camps, subsequently to return to the frontlines in Chechnya. According to counterterrorism analyst Dan Darling, "Several hundred additional Chechens were trained in Afghanistan during the republic's period of de facto independence from Russia." He also states that "a number of elite Chechen fighters were also made members of bin Laden's personal guard." An unspecified number of Chechen militants fought alongside the Taliban and al Qaeda against the Northern Alliance in Afghanistan. This relationship went both ways as bin Laden reportedly sent "several hundred members of al Qaeda's elite Brigade 055" to Chechnya. (2004) Even after the September 11th attacks and the subsequent invasion of Afghanistan, Basayev and Khattab sent fighters to Afghanistan to assist in the fight against American troops. (2004)

Role of the Caucasus Mujahideen

By the turn of the millennium, the networks of North Caucasus fighters were clearly established. Before the attacks of September 11, 2001, North Caucasian fighters were found in Afghanistan, Bosnia, Tajikistan and elsewhere. However, their presence and role expanded greatly after the terrorist attacks and subsequent US invasion of Afghanistan. Chechens, specifically, were touted as especially good fighters. US Special Forces members speaking to ABC about their battles with Chechens on the Afghan battlefield said that they were "a different breed" and that they "stood out for their ferocity and refusal to surrender." (Meek, 2014) As the conflict expanded and militants moved in neighboring Pakistan, so did North Caucasian fighters.

After the US-led invasion of Iraq in 2003 and jihadist forces loyal to al Qaeda began to fight against US troops, North Caucasians were also spotted in combat there, although the identity of the official representative of the Caucasus Mujahideen in Iraq was never known (if this position even existed).

Elsewhere around the world, Chechen fighters have been found on the battlefield with other al Qaeda branches. For example, in 2014 a Chechen fighter was killed in a large-scale Yemeni military raid on militants in AQAP. The fighter was identified as Abu Islam al Shishani (the Chechen) and as a commander for the al Qaeda branch. (The National, 2014) According to

Yemeni and Saudi intelligence officials, Shishani was a veteran of the jihad in Chechnya with the Caucasus Emirate. His high rank within AQAP would also imply he had a similar role within the Emirate, before migrating to Yemen. His case also represents how close the Caucasus Emirate was to the al Qaeda network, as he represents sharing of fighters and resources.

In *The World's Most Dangerous Place: Inside the Outlaw State of Somalia* by British journalist James Fergusson, a Chechen fighter was even found on the battlefield in Mogadishu, Somalia. Fergusson writes, "the best al Shabaab marksman was said to be a Chechen, a veteran of the Iraq War, who had shot so many people with his trademark Dragunov rifle that the medics at the AMISOM [African Union Mission to Somalia] field hospital had learned to recognize his handiwork." (Fergusson, 2013) It should be noted that with this case, it is not known if this sniper had any prior experience in the North Caucasus. However, it is likely he did fight with al Qaeda in Iraq during his time there.

Since the time of Ibn Khattab and Shamil Basayev in the 1990s, sending fighters to Afghanistan to assist UBL and al Qaeda in the fight there, the transformation of the jihadist networks in the North Caucasus, specifically in Chechnya, appears to have been both a case of ideological and personal affinity. The local groups in the North Caucasus most certainly transformed due to the ideology being espoused by al Qaeda there, but at the time, personal connections with al Qaeda leaders, such as Zawahiri, Khattab, and UBL, appear to have also played a role. Even after the deaths of several of these leaders and commanders in both the global al Qaeda hierarchy and in the local North Caucasian groups, these personal connections have continued to be important to present day. I find that without the mixture of both ideological and personal affinities, this would likely not be the case.

The relationship between al Qaeda and the North Caucasus, especially with the Caucasus Emirate and its predecessors, cannot be understated. Gordon Hahn, an esteemed scholar on this relationship, has noted that a declassified Defense Intelligence Agency document shows "not just Khattab's deep involvement but also that of AQ and Osama bin Laden personally with the CE's predecessor organization...in the mid 1990's." (Hahn, 2011). He continues by saying that "several times in 1997 in Afghanistan bin Laden met with representatives of Chechen and Dagestani Wahhabites from Gudermes, Grozny, and Karamakhi." (2011) Hahn also notes the fundraising activities of AQ for North Caucasian jihadists. For instance, Saif al Islam al Masri, a top AQ member in the 1990s, was based in Chechnya and then later Ingushetia and Georgia. (2011) These ties certainly help explain the transformation of the local groups in the North Caucasus into transnational organizations.

North Caucasians in Syria

The best and most detailed example of North Caucasian fighters operating outside of the North Caucasus is in the Syrian Civil War (SCW). The SCW has seen a significant migration of fighters from the Caucasus since the war began in 2011. The exact numbers are unknown, but the numbers are estimated to be in the low thousands. Russian security sources have speculated this number to be anywhere from 3,000 to 5,000 by the end of 2015 (War Monitor, 2017). In many

respects, North Caucasian fighters, especially Chechens, have played a significant role in the fighting in Syria. Numerous fighters within these groups has experience with the jihad in the North Caucasus, however, only the leadership of these groups can be profiled. My research indicates that most North Caucasian leaders in Syria had prior experience alongside either the Caucasus Emirate or al Qaeda-linked individuals in the Caucasus.

North Caucasians, specifically Chechens, first began appearing in Syria in late 2011. However, in late to mid 2012, these individuals began playing a much larger role in the insurgency. The first major group to form was Kata'ib Muhajireen, or the Muhajireen Brigades (KM) sometime in mid-2012. KM was led by Abu Omar al Shishani, an ethnic Kist, a Chechen subethnos that primarily live in the Pankisi Gorge in Georgia. In October 2012, KM participated in a battle in which it, alongside the Al Nusrah Front (the name of al Qaeda's branch in Syria at the time), captured a Syrian air-defense base in Aleppo province. (Roggio, 2012) In December 2012, KM and Nusrah overran Syria's Base 111 also in Aleppo province (Roggio, 2012). Just two months later in February 2013, it helped overrun another military base in Aleppo province, the 80th Regiment base (Roggio, 2013).

A month later, KM then merged with several local Syrian groups to form Jaysh al Muhajireen wal Ansar (Army of the Emigrants and Helpers, JMA). (Roggio, 2013) Omar Shishani retained his leadership role, as did his deputy, Sayfullah Shishani. Both men had prior military experience before joining the jihad in Syria. However, the routes and reasons for both men were opposite of each other. Omar Shishani, whose real name was Tarkhan Batirashvili, was formerly a member of the Georgian Armed Forces. Batirashvili had participated in the 2008 Russo-Georgian War before being arrested in 2010 for smuggling weapons. (Cullison, 2013) It is in prison where he became radicalized, after probably being exposed to jihadist inmates within the Georgian prison system. Being unable to travel to Chechnya and reportedly having a brother already in Syria, he traveled to the country in 2012 to join the jihad there. It is unclear if he joined up with his brother once in Syria. As such, it appears ideological affinity had more of a role in his transformation than any personal connections.

However, for Sayfullah Shishani, it is the opposite story. Sayfullah, or Ruslan Machalikashvili, was an ethnic Chechen who had taken part in the Chechen Wars alongside the jihadist insurgents. (Paraszczuk, 2014) After that, he traveled to Afghanistan where he fought alongside al Qaeda and the Taliban against the US-led forces there (2014). Based on this information, it is likely that both ideological affinity, as well as personal ties established to al Qaeda figures in Chechnya and/or Afghanistan, played a role in his decision to go to Syria. In the formation video for JMA, a spokesman states that it numbered close to 1,000 fighters, which included an unspecified number from the Caucasus Emirate. (Roggio, 2013) Along with Machalikashvili, these fighters were likely drawn to Syria for the same two reasons. However, personal connections played an integral role within North Caucasians in Syria once infighting broke out between a pro-al Qaeda faction led by Sayfullah Shishani and a pro-Islamic State faction led by Abu Omar Shishani.

In Spring 2013, Omar Shishani pledged allegiance to the Islamic State (then known as the Islamic State in Iraq and Syria, ISIS) on behalf of the entirety of JMA. By May 2013, Omar had been appointed by ISIS as its leader for northern Syria, as well as the leader of its North Caucasian fighters. (US State Department, 2014) Several hundred fighters under Omar defected from al Qaeda's sphere in Syria to ISIS; however, not all of them were content with this decision. Sayfullah, who until this point was still Omar's deputy, rejected this pledge of allegiance and returned back to al Qaeda's fold with several hundred of his own fighters. Those who decided to stay with either Omar or Sayfullah did so due to personal connections between the individuals. Since then several North Caucasian Islamic State groups have formed around Omar Shishani. This includes the Dagestani-Uzbek Sabri's Jamaat (YouTube, 2014) which also existed prior to the feud, Abu Hanif's Jamaat, another Dagestani group that existed prior to the feud. (Paraszczuk, 2014) The latter was formerly had ties to al Qaeda's operations in Syria, and Abu Hanif had presumably militant activities in Russia before moving to Syria. (Paraszczuk, 2015) Groups comprised of ethnic Azeris also exist on both sides of the jihadist divide in Syria.

Many Azeris (also called Azerbaijanis) were members of JMA under Omar Shishani. As such, many left with him to join the Islamic State. (North Caucasus Caucus, 2014) Others stayed within al Qaeda's orbit in Syria; however, it appears more Azeri jihadists are with the Islamic State inside Syria. Indeed, the Islamic State has advertised its Azeri fighters in the past. (YouTube, 2014) While it is unclear just how many are fighting for either IS or AQ in Syria, Azerbaijani officials have said that at least 900 of its citizens are fighting in either Iraq or Syria. (APA, 2017)

The feud between pro-al Qaeda and pro-Islamic State North Caucasians continued and in some degree has continued to present day. This feud has oftentimes been bloody, as seen in the vicious rebel infighting in 2013-2014, but it has also manifested itself in ideological battles. Pro-AQ and pro-IS North Caucasians ultimately have the same ideology, as AQ and IS do not really differ in that respect, however, the disagreement, like the wider infighting between AQ and IS, boils down to different methodology.

In al Qaeda's criticisms of the Islamic State, a common trope is that the foundation of the caliphate is illegitimate because IS did not achieve a consensus among the Muslim community before declaring itself a caliphate. AQ has also criticized IS for its brutality. Pro-AQ Chechen commanders, such as Muslim Shishani in Syria, have echoed this sentiment. (Paraszczuk, 2014) On the pro-IS side, supporters say that AQ is not tough enough against the "enemies of Islam." Pro-IS Chechen fighters have also accused pro-AQ Chechen fighters of putting nationalism "over Allah." (Paraszczuk, 2014)

Sayfullah formed his own group with the fighters who left Omar Shishani with him and quickly pledged allegiance to the Al Nusrah Front. He was eventually killed fighting for control of Aleppo's central prison in February 2014. Additionally, JMA continued to operate under a new leader, Salahuddin Shishani and his deputy, Abdul Karim al Krymsky. Salahuddin claimed to be the official representative of the Caucasus Emirate in Syria, as such, this made JMA the official branch of the Caucasus Emirate in Syria and continued to be the largest North Caucasian

group in Syria outside of the Islamic State's North Caucasian contingent. Salahuddin, like Sayfullah Shishani, also had experience in fighting in the North Caucasus. According to From Chechnya to Syria, a website that tracks Russian-speaking militants in Syria, Salahuddin fought under Ruslan Gelayev in Abkhazia in the Republic of Georgia and in Chechnya. (Paraszczuk, 2015) Salahuddin continued to be the leader of JMA until June 2015 when he and Krymsky were removed from their leadership positions within the group. JMA replaced Salahuddin with a Tajik commander, reportedly a veteran of the Afghanistan jihad, while Salahuddin went on to form a new group with members of JMA who left with him. JMA has since joined al Qaeda in Syria, however, this will be discussed in greater detail later.

This new group formed in July 2015 and aptly began calling itself the Caucasus Emirate in Syria (IKS for its Chechen acronym). (Roggio, 2015) Salahuddin pledged allegiance to the then Caucasus Emirate leader, Abu Usman Gimrinski. In subsequent videos and pictures released by the group, members can be seen wearing Caucasus Emirate tee shirts and sporting the logo elsewhere. While this practice of sporting Caucasus Emirate branded clothing or stickers was not exclusive to those North Caucasians in IKS --indeed almost every group that contained North Caucasians had seen this phenomenon[2] -- those in IKS seemed to have a made a point of it. This was likely due to the need to establish the connection between it and the mother branch in Chechnya and Dagestan, as it claimed to be the official branch in Syria.

Salahuddin and his new deputy leader, Khayrullah Shishani, another Chechen with assumed fighting experience in the North Caucasus, would eventually be removed from this post, as well, and went on to form another outfit. However, this new group, Jaysh Usrah, while Chechen-led, was thought to be small and its current status is unknown. IKS is believed to still be active; however, after the fall of Aleppo in December 2016, it has been relatively quiet on the social media front. But in February 2017, a branch of the parent Caucasus Emirate, Vilayat Kabarda, Balkaria, and Karachay (KBK), released a video from Syria (Weiss, 2017).

The video featured a handful of fighters from Vilayat KBK fighting in Syria's northwestern province of Idlib. The flag of IKS was flown, which is likely the group that these Vilayat KBK members fight under inside Syria. The video was produced by IslamDin, which is a Caucasus-based media outlet affiliated to Vilayat KBK. This is significant as it shows that the Caucasus Emirate in the North Caucasus is sending, and openly advertising, its members to partake in the jihad in Syria. Additionally, it definitively shows that IKS is being treated as the official Syrian branch of the Caucasus Emirate. It should be noted here that with Russian counterterrorism operations in the North Caucasus virtually leaving the Caucasus Emirate decimated in the region, migration to another theater would be a logical step for the group to take in order to maintain group survival.

Yet another group is Ajnad Kavkaz, or the Soldiers of the Caucasus (AK), which is led by Abdul Hakim Shishani and his deputy Hamza Shishani. Both of these individuals had long careers in the jihad in the North Caucasus. Abdul Hakim fought under Rustam Basayev, a cousin

[2] http://imgur.com/gallery/MI85A

of Shamil Basayev and close friend to Dokka Umarov. (Paraszczuk, 2014) Abdul Hakim has also been linked to a close associate of Ibn Khattab (Paraszczuk, 2015). At some point in his career, Abdul Hakim was promoted to the leader of the Caucasus Emirate's Central Sector in Chechnya. (Paraszczuk, 2016) Another cousin of Shamil Basayev, Abu Bakr Basayev, who was a well known figure in jihadist circles, held the position prior to his death. (Jawa Report, 2007) As for Hamza, he joined the jihad in Dagestan in 2004, according to From Chechnya to Syria. He and his group eventually found their way to Chechnya, where he took part in the fighting as part of the Caucasus Emirate's Eastern Sector. (Paraszczuk, 2016)

Ajnad Kavkaz began as a group within the larger Ansar Sham rebel group based in Syria's Latakia province. Ansar Sham, which has since joined al Qaeda's venture in Syria (Zelin, 2017), was predominantly Syrian. However, its military leader and a small contingent were Chechen. Abu Musa Shishani, the military leader, is also assumed to have had fighting experience with the Caucasus Emirate before migrating to Syria (Paraszczuk, 2014). Abdul Hakim and Hamza broke away from Ansar Sham in mid to late 2014 and formed the Khalifat Jamaat. (Paraszczuk, 2014) In early to mid 2015, it began calling itself Ajnad Kavkaz. This is also after a small group comprised of ethnic Circassians in Syria pledged allegiance to Abdul Hakim. (Tamimi, 2014) The jihadist group has since played an integral role in the fighting in Idlib and Latakia provinces. As other North Caucasian groups have disbanded or merged into other groups, AK has became the largest independent North Caucasian group in Syria. As such, it releases propaganda in both Russian and Arabic.

Before this, however, one of the more influential Chechen commanders in Syria was Muslim Shishani. Muslim, whose real name is Murad Margoshvili, is an ethnic Kist from the Pankisi Gorge in Georgia who led the group Junud al Sham (Soldiers of the Levant, JaS). He was a member of the Soviet military and was deployed to Moldova until the collapse of the Soviet Union. Afterwards, he joined the jihad in Chechnya and fought alongside Ibn Khattab, according to a video biography released by his group. (Roggio, 2014) From Chechnya to Syria also reports that Muslim was involved in at least one terrorist attack in Russia before his arrest in 2003. (Paraszczuk, 2014) After his release from prison, he formed a new fighting unit, according to the video biography, and pledged allegiance to Dokka Umarov.

He joined the jihad in Syria in 2012, quickly forming a group and taking part in battles. In 2014, he was one of the main leaders in the Al Anfal offensive in northwestern Syria. This offensive, which was largely led by al Qaeda-linked forces, saw a large portion of northern Latakia province overran by rebel forces. (Wikipedia) Prior to that, JaS had taken part in several other battles with al Qaeda's forces in Syria. This led to the US State Department designating Muslim Shishani a global terrorist in September 2014. (Roggio, 2014) This did not stop Muslim, however, has he continued to fight alongside al Qaeda in Syria. This includes the Spring 2015 offensive in which AQ-linked forces captured the entirety of Idlib province. (Weiss, 2015)

Muslim's role within the al Qaeda network has also been celebrated by other AQ branches. In July 2015, al Qaeda in the Arabian Peninsula released an Arabic-language video

dedicated to Chechen fighters[3]. In this video, Muslim Shishani was clearly featured in several parts. It is unlikely that was a coincidence, as Muslim's popularity in Syria had already peaked. In addition to Muslim, his deputy, Abu Bakr Shishani, also had a long history of fighting in the North Caucasus.

From Chechnya to Syria reports that Abu Bakr has been fighting since at least 1999, when he took part in the al Qaeda-led invasion of Dagestan. (Paraszczuk, 2016) After that details are scarce, but it is reported that like Muslim, Abu Bakr also fought under Khattab. Another deputy of Muslim is Abu Turab al Shishani. While it is assumed that Abu Turab also has fighting experience in the North Caucasus, there is very little publicly available information to confirm this. (Steinberg, 2016) Like Ajnad Kavkaz, Junud al Sham also released propaganda in Russian and Arabic. It also released some propaganda in German, indicating recruitment of Chechen diaspora in Germany and Austria[4].

Several other smaller North Caucasian and Russian-speaking groups exist or have existed in Syria. One group is the Crimean Jamaat, which included North Caucasians, Tatars from both Crimea and Tatarstan in Russia, and Tajiks. The group was led by an individual who went by the moniker Ramadan, who was formerly a member of JMA. The Crimean Jamaat pledged allegiance to al Qaeda in Syria in October 2015. (Weiss, 2015) There is also Tarkhan's Jamaat, a small Chechen group that began in Chechnya but migrated to Syria. It is led by the eponymous Tarkhan, but he is based in Chechnya not Syria. All of the fighters in the group are thought to have fought in the North Caucasus before in Syria. It has also released videos showing it fighting alongside other Chechen groups and al Qaeda's forces in northwestern Syria. A small group, Ansar al Sharia, is another Chechen group which operates in Latakia province. However, it has pledged allegiance to the Islamic State as its leader, Abu Bara al Shishani, was close to Abu Omar Shishani. Before this, Abu Bara led another Chechen group, Jamaat Ahadun Ahad.

Lastly, there is also the Nogai Jamaat. This group, which is likely only a few dozen ethnic Nogais from Dagestan, only began advertising itself in Syria late last year. A Nogai Jamaat has also existed within the Caucasus Emirate in the North Caucasus. The group fought with Ibn Khattab, al Qaeda's first official representative in the Caucasus, and Shamil Basayev in the conflict in Chechnya in the early 2000's before merging with others to form the Caucasus Emirate, according to The Jamestown Foundation. (Vatchagaev, 2007) The Nogai Jamaat was also linked by Russian authorities to the 2011 suicide attack at the Domodedovo airport in Moscow. (B92, 2011) It is unclear if this is the same group, however, it remains a distinct possibility. (Weiss, 2017)

In addition to these "independent" groups (independent in the sense that they operate outside of the official al Qaeda hierarchy in Syria even though they are still connected to the network), there are various North Caucasian subgroups within al Qaeda's official branch in Syria. This includes Sayfullah Shishani's Jamaat, the group founded by and first led by Sayfullah, JMA, and the aforementioned Crimean Jamaat. After Sayfullah Shishani's death, an

[3] From an AQAP video released July 2015 saved to personal archive. Has since been taken down from YouTube
[4] Videos released in 2014 on YouTube and saved to personal archive. Videos since taken down.

ethnic Uzbek, Abu Ubaydah al Madani took over the helms. After JMA, the Crimean Jamaat, and an Uzbek group, Katibat al Tawhid wal Jihad, pledged allegiance to the Al Nusrah Front, the al Qaeda branch merged the Russian-speaking jihadists into one entity, Liwa al Muhajireen wal Ansar (Emigrants and Helpers Brigade, LMA), with Madani as its leader. Madani now serves as a religious leader for LMA and the larger al Qaeda entity, now known as Hay'at Tahrir al Sham (or the Assembly for the Liberation of Syria, HTS).

North Caucasians in Afghanistan

When the Caucasus Emirate was formed by Dokka Umarov, it had an official representative and branch in Afghanistan. However, this was not made public until 2014 -- after Umarov's death.

In early 2014, a video entitled "Mujahideen of the Islamic Emirate of the Caucasus on the Territory of Khorasan [Afghanistan]," was released on jihadist forums and social media. The video featured a figure identified as Commander Abdullah, who was described as the Emirate's representative and emir in the Afghanistan-Pakistan (AfPak) region. (North Caucasus Caucus, 2014) The commander reportedly invoked the ideology of the global jihad for why the Caucasus Emirate has a branch inside AfPak. While it is not known when those North Caucasians actually entered Afghanistan, the video confirmed what many analysts hypothesized: that the Caucasus Emirate did indeed have a branch inside AfPak.

It should be noted here that it is unknown if this branch is still in existence. In an interview with Mr. Orange, an independent analyst who has focused on North Caucasian fighters, he said that it "would be interesting if it still belongs to CE [Caucasus Emirate], seeing that the group is mostly extinct with a small group in Syria and a number of retirees and refugees keeping the idea alive online[5]." Even if this branch is now defunct, it definitely appears that both ideological affinities and personal ties played a role in the formation of this branch. It appears it was ideological in that it was established to assist in the global jihad; at the same time, without the personal connections with Dokka Umarov and former al Qaeda leaders in Afghanistan, it may not have been formed there.

Chechens have also been reported fighting alongside both the Afghan and Pakistani Taliban in Afghanistan and Pakistan. (Roggio, 2013) In addition to those two groups, Chechens have also been found with the Islamic Movement of Uzbekistan and its offshoot the Islamic Jihad Union. (Meek, 2014) While many have doubted the presence of Chechen fighters on the Afghan battlefield, jihadist propaganda has sometimes shed light on this. Alongside the actual Caucasus Emirate videos, the Afghan Taliban released a video in 2010 in which Chechens can possibly be spotted throughout the video (Roggio, 2010). In a conversation with Thomas Gibbons-Neff, a reporter for The Washington Post and combat veteran in Afghanistan, he also spoke of he and his comrades encountering Chechens on the battlefield. "When we went into Marjah [a town in Helmand Province] s2 [military slang for intelligence officers] said that

[5] Interview, February 2017. Mr. Orange is a pseudonym to protect his identity.

Chechens were advising the TB [Taliban] on AA [anti-air] equipment," Gibbons-Neff said in a conversation on Twitter[6].

Ethnic Bashkirs and Tatars from Russia have also been found on the battlefield in Afghanistan. The main group is Junud al Makhdi, which also operates in Syria. The group was formed between a merger between the Bulgar Jamaat, which long operated in Afghanistan, and another group inside Syria. Many members of this group, including its emir (leader), fought in the Chechen Wars alongside Ibn Khattab. It has only released a few pieces of propaganda, including its foundation video which was in Russian and Bashkir and then subsequently translated into Arabic. The Arabic-language transcript of the video is what this information is partly based from.

Azeris, like in Syria, have also been found in Afghanistan. It some cases, it appears that Azeris who had fought in Chechnya in the 1990's, moved to Afghanistan after 2001. This is the case for Ebu Omer, one of the leaders of Azeri fighters in the country. (North Caucasus Caucus, 2014) Little information exists about Azeri fighters in Afghanistan, but in 2014 it was reported that at least 40 Azerbaijani citizens from one village left to fight in Syria and Afghanistan. (Eurasianet, 2014) In 2012, Pakistani authorities said they killed an Azeri al Qaeda operative in the tribal regions of Pakistan. (Roggio, 2012) Jihadist media in Afghanistan has sporadically highlighted the presence of Azeris as well. In 2011, the Pakistani Taliban said it executed a Turkish member for killing Dagestani and Azeri members of their group. (Roggio, 2011) The three were involved with a group called Taifatul Mansura (the Victorious Sect), a foreign subgroup of the predominantly Uzbek Islamic Jihad Union. Taifatul Mansura was established in 2009 to accommodate foreigners from Europe, specifically German and Turkish fighters according to The Long War Journal. (2011) Many Azeris are thought to be within this group.

As this shows, it appears that personal ties surrounding leadership plays an important role in the transformation of these groups. In addition, groups seem to coalesce under the same ethnic or linguistic composition. This is because keeping the same ethnicities or linguistic speakers in the same fighting unit helps with overall cohesiveness and cuts down on any potential infighting resulting from ethnic or linguistic divides. Personal ties seem to frame the composition of groups within these networks. This is especially true for Central Asian jihadists.

Central Asians

Central Asian jihadists have played an important role in both Afghanistan and Syria. From both theaters, these Central Asian jihadists have threatened the entirety of Central Asia. Suicide bombings, kidnappings, assassinations, and clashes have all occurred throughout Central Asia since the late 1990's. These attacks can be traced to jihadists who met and organized themselves in Taliban-held Afghanistan.

In discussing the role of Central Asian movements and networks, it is important to denote what the term "Central Asian" means in this context. In this study, I will be looking at groups

[6] Conversation via direct messaging on Twitter, August 15, 2016

and individuals from the Central Asian countries of Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Turkmenistan, Tajikistan, and Uzbekistan. In addition, I will also look at Uighurs, a Turkic ethnic group (as are the majority of nationalities in most of Central Asia) from China's northwestern Xinjiang Province. Fighters from each of these demographics have been found in jihadist groups in both Afghanistan and Syria.

That said, only the major groups, and the leadership, will be profiled in the research. This is because the major Central Asian jihadist groups have formed around only a select few ethnic groups, namely Uzbeks and Uighurs. As such, groups and individuals from these two ethnicities will receive the most attention.

Central Asians in Afghanistan

Central Asian jihadists began fighting in Afghanistan following the Soviet Invasion of Afghanistan. Several groups have also been formed inside Afghanistan since the Taliban's rule dedicated to spreading to global jihad across Central Asia. This includes the Uzbek group Islamic Movement of Uzbekistan (IMU), its splinter groups, and the Chinese Uighur Turkistan Islamic Party (TIP). While Kyrgyz, Turkmen, and Kazakh fighters have been seen with these groups, no major jihadist group has formed around these ethnic lines. The IMU, its splinter group Islamic Jihad Union (IJU), and the TIP represent the biggest jihadist threats to Central Asia. In addition, a Tajik jihadist outfit, Jamaat Ansarullah, also exists. All four are or were within the al Qaeda network.

The IMU was formed in 1998 by Tahir Yuldashev and Juma Namangani, two Uzbeks. Yuldashev was a radical preacher who had converted Namangani, a former Soviet paratrooper into radical Islam. (Rashid, 2002) During the Tajik Civil War from 1992-1997, Namangani fought alongside the Islamists and became a military leader. In the same period, Yuldashev was traveling the Middle East, establishing connections, before moving to Peshawar, Pakistan, where he established ties with Osama bin Laden. (2002) After the Tajik Civil War and with seed money from bin Laden and Islamist charities in Pakistan, the IMU was formed. According to journalist and Central Asian expert Ahmed Rashid, the IMU in the late 1990's and early 2000's contained primarily Uzbeks from Uzbekistan, as well as Tajiks, Kyrgyz, Uighurs, and Kazakhs. (2002)

The group quickly became a strong ally of al Qaeda and the Taliban in Afghanistan, engaging in battles against the Northern Alliance alongside the two. In addition, it began spreading across Central Asia, with bases in border regions in Tajikistan and Kyrgyzstan. With material and financial support from bin Laden, the IMU launched a series of assaults in Kyrgyzstan and Uzbekistan in early 2000. (2002) It also kidnapped four US citizens, which subsequently led to the United States declaring the IMU as a foreign terrorist organization. (US State Department, 2002)

After the US invasion of Afghanistan and the beginnings of counterterror operations in Central Asia, the IMU was forced to retreat to the tribal regions of Pakistan. There the IMU became more ingrained with al Qaeda and also recruited more local fighters. Yuldashev was placed on al Qaeda's top governing council, a position he held until his death in in 2009 by a US

drone strike. (Roggio, 2009) Yuldashev had also replaced Namangani as the overall leader of the IMU, as the latter was killed in battles with the Afghan Northern Alliance. IMU fighters participated in suicide attacks in both Afghanistan and Pakistan on behalf of al Qaeda and affiliated organizations, while more experienced fighters became bodyguards for senior al Qaeda leaders. (Roggio, 2011) This relationship with al Qaeda continued as the civil war in Syria escalated.

According to US intelligence officials contacted by *The Long War Journal*, IMU began recruiting Uzbeks to send to Syria to fight alongside al Qaeda's forces there. (2014) It should be noted that the IMU did switch allegiance to the Islamic State in 2015. (Joscelyn, Roggio, 2015) A splinter faction has emerged re-pledging allegiance to the Taliban and al Qaeda. (Roggio, Weiss, 2016) Much like what was found with the North Caucasians, both ideological affinity and the forging of personal connections appears to have been the reason for IMU's creation and transformation into a transnational entity that extends across Central and South Asia.

In 2002, a splinter faction of IMU emerged in Uzbekistan. This group, the Islamic Jihad Union (IJU), essentially became an ethnic Uzbek brigade of al Qaeda according to Bill Roggio, a Senior Fellow at the Foundation for Defense of Democracies[7]. The IJU, much like its parent organization, also operates throughout Central Asia while now being based in the Afghanistan-Pakistan region. In addition, it has also recruited from the Western world, attracting many German and American converts. (Roggio, Weiss, 2015) In fact, so many Germans (both ethnic Germans and Turkish Muslims resident in Germany) have joined the group that some analysts have referred to the IJU as the "German Taliban[8]." This recruitment of Germans has also resulted in several terrorist plots inside Germany, including a major plot foiled in 2007. (DW, 2008)

Despite the inclusion of many Western fighters, specifically within the aforementioned Taifatul Mansura subgroup of the IJU, the group is still largely a Central Asian entity. In various propaganda videos released in 2016 and early 2017, the IJU detailed its foreign fighters (Weiss, 2017). This included many fighters from Tajikistan and Kyrgyzstan. While the IJU has not publicly stated its role in Syria, it has also sent fighters there much like the IMU. It has, however, hinted at this in a video released earlier this year in which IJU commanders addressed "the brothers in Syria[9]."

Unlike the IMU, however, the IJU has shared little information about its leaders. This makes it difficult to determine what factors played a role in the IJU's transformation. Based on the little information we have on the IJU's founder and first leader, Najmiddin Jalolov, both ideology and personal ties appear to have been instrumental. That said, personal connections might have played a slightly larger role. What we do know of Jalolov, who was an ethnic Uzbek, is that he was close to Osama bin Laden. (Falkenburg, 2013) We also know that Jalolov was the mastermind of a failed 2007 bomb plot in Germany, as well as the mastermind of simultaneous terrorist attacks on Israeli and US targets in Tashkent, Uzbekistan in 2004. (Glasser, 2004) It is

[7] Phone call with Bill Roggio, March 30, 2017
[8] Phone call with Bill Roggio, March 30, 2017
[9] IJU video released in Jan 2017; video removed

entirely plausible, therefore, that Jalolov's personal relationship with bin Laden, and therefore the IJU's role in the al Qaeda network, played a key role in this.

Another Uzbek group, Katibat Imam al Bukhari (also known as the Imam Bukhari Jamaat, KIB) also exists. KIB mainly operates in Afghanistan's north alongside the Islamic Jihad Union, al Qaeda, and the Taliban. However, not much is known about the group's activity or leadership in Afghanistan. According to Bill Roggio, intelligence officials he has spoken to have referred to KIB as yet another splinter of the IMU[10]. However, KIB plays a large role inside Syria and this will be discussed more in depth later.

In terms of Tajik fighters, one ethnic Tajik group in Afghanistan is known to exist. This group, Jamaat Ansarullah, is thought to be relatively small. Tajik authorities have placed its numbers around 100. (Bahrom, 2016) It was formed around 2010 in Afghanistan and participated in battles alongside the Taliban and al Qaeda. Afghan intelligence officials also report that it receives training from al Qaeda (2016). It has also conducted at least one suicide bombing in Tajikistan, as well as an ambush on Tajik troops near the Afghanistan border (2016). Tajik authorities, as well as Western security analysts, believe that Jamaat Ansarullah is a Tajik-splinter of the IMU (Interfax, 2014). However, it appears that has remained aligned with al Qaeda. This could be due to personal connections made by its leadership, but not much is known about its leadership's history. Jamaat Ansarullah has also attempted to send fighters to Syria, as will be discussed later.

The last major Central Asian group in Afghanistan is the Turkistan Islamic Party (TIP), an ethnic Uighur jihadist group from Xinjiang, China. The TIP was formed in 1997 in Taliban-controlled Afghanistan. It was formed by Hasan Mahsum as primarily a Uighur separatist movement with the goals of creating an Islamic state in Xinjiang. (Stratfor, 2008) However, its role in Afghanistan, and the connections formed in the conflict, transformed the group into a global jihadist movement. In jihadist propaganda, photos have been shared of Mahsum meeting with al Qaeda leaders Ayman al Zawahiri and bin Laden sometime before the September 11 attacks. (Weiss, 2017) TIP members took part in battles alongside al Qaeda and the Taliban against the Northern Alliance both before and after the US invasion of Afghanistan. After the invasion and the relocation to Pakistan, the TIP became even closer to al Qaeda. It continues to fight alongside al Qaeda's forces in both Afghanistan and Pakistan and has even conducted suicide bombings on behalf of AQ. According to *The Long War Journal*, at least two TIP leaders have also been dual-hatted al Qaeda leaders. The TIP's current leader, Abdul Haq al Turkistani, has sat on al Qaeda's main governing council since 2005. (Roggio, 2015) In addition, its former leader, Abdul Shakoor al Turkistani, was also the overall leader of al Qaeda in Pakistan until his death in 2012. (Roggio, 2012)

Since the relocation to Pakistan, the TIP has claimed several attacks in China. (Martina, Rajagopalan, 2014) Some researchers have doubted if the TIP actually exists in China and have stated that China has made up this threat to say it is fighting its own War on Terror. (Roberts,

[10] Phone call with Bill Roggio, March 30, 2017

2012) However, I disagree with this assessment. While China does exaggerate the capabilities of the TIP in China, it appears that the group does indeed exist in the country based on its own propaganda. While the propaganda also expands the group's capabilities, it does prove that they do indeed operate in Xinjiang. In several videos released since 2015, clips of members ramming their vehicles into crowded places have been released in official media. In addition, in some videos for claims of attacks in China, it has shown the alleged bombs being manufactured in Pakistan. While it could be possible that the bombs in the videos are not the same used in the actual attacks, in at least one instance the bomb matched the description of the bomb used in the attack. (Martina, Rajagopalan, 2014)

Regardless of if the TIP actually does exist inside China, we do know that it does operate in Central Asia, especially among the Uighur population in Kyrgyzstan. (Putz, 2016) This was, of course, the scene of the terrorist attack perpetrated by Uzbeks and the TIP mentioned in the beginning of this paper. While the TIP has been active in Afghanistan since its founding, it has since became a major player inside Syria. Much like the IJU, I find that both ideology and personal connections play a role; however, it appears that personal connections forged between Hasan Mahsum and al Qaeda in the early days of its history seem to have been the instrumental factor.

Central Asians in Syria

Like the North Caucasians, Central Asians have played an integral part in the civil war in Syria starting around 2012 and 2013. Most Central Asians at these early stages joined exsiting groups, such as JMA as these group were also Russian speaking, allowing easier communication. However, these individuals eventually coalesced into ethnic brigades of either al Qaeda or the Islamic State. Within the latter group, entire units based around one ethnic group have been advertised since late 2013. Tajik, Kazakh, Kyrgyz, and Uighur units have all been profiled in the past. In addition, the successor of Abu Omar al Shishani as the leader of IS' military leader for northern Syria is an ethnic Tajik.

Gulmurod Khalimov made headlines last year when he was reported to be the successor to Shishani. This was in part due to Khalimov's former life as a police officer, with extensive US training, in his native Tajikistan. (Kramer, 2016) Tajik fighters, likely under Khalimov's leadership, have become one of the top providers of suicide bombers for IS. According to one study from December 2015 to November 2016, Tajik fighters were involved in at least 27 suicide attacks. (Pravda, 2017) This is quite a significant number as only 412 Tajik nationals, many of them with IS, were thought to be fighting in Syria in 2015. (Abdulloyeva, 2015)

Kyrgyz and Uighur Islamic State members are also present in the low hundreds. For Kyrgyz, this number is around 600. (RFE/RL, 2016) However, it is not known how many of the 600 are with IS or AQ groups. Kyrgyz officials have also stated that around 80 percent of Kyrgyz nationals in Syria are ethnic Uzbeks, the main ethnic minority in Kyrgyzstan. (Paraszczuk, 2015) As for Uighurs, Chinese authorities have estimated around 100 to 200 are fighting for the Islamic State. (Allen-Ebrahimian, 2016) IS has attempted to make the Uighurs

appear to be a large ethnic group within its ranks; however, based on over two years of research and tracking I have done on Uighurs in Syria, the overwhelming majority are with the TIP in Syria. The numbers of Kazakh fighters with the Islamic State are unclear, but the jihadist group has profiled Kazakhs, especially Kazakh children, in several videos in the past. (Standish, 2015)

All of these groups have been found on the other side of the jihadist spectrum in Syria. The aforementioned JMA's second overall leader was a Tajik. Other Tajiks have been found in the Crimean Jamaat and LMA. Kyrgyz and Kazakhs have also been eulogized and profiled by JMA. Uzbeks and Uighurs appear to be present in much larger numbers in AQ groups in Syria. Several units have formed around these two ethnic groups. This includes two groups that originated in Afghanistan, Katibat Imam al Bukhari and the Turkistan Islamic Party. Two other Uzbek groups exist within al Qaeda's network in Syria -- both of which also have ties to Afghanistan.

Katibat al Tawhid wal Jihad (KTJ) is an ethnic Uzbek brigade in HTS. Before this, it was a brigade within prior incarnations of al Qaeda in Syria and an independent unit. It is led by Abu Saloh, an ethnic Uzbek Kyrgyz citizen. It has fought with various al Qaeda-linked jihadist groups in northwestern Syria. (Weiss, 2015) KTJ is thought to be one of the units that the IMU has recruited for in the past. Its numbers are unknown, but it is almost exclusively an Uzbek group based on my research. Katibat Imam al Bukhari, while also operating in Afghanistan, has a much larger presence on the battlefield in Syria.

KIB in Syria is led by a veteran of the jihad in Afghanistan, one Shaykh Salahadin al Uzbeki. Salahadin, who has loyalty to the Afghan Taliban, has claimed in the past that members of the Taliban, including Sirajuddin Haqqani, a dual-hatted Taliban and al Qaeda leader, sent him and his unit to Syria. (Paraszczuk, 2014) If true, this makes this transformation highly dependent on personal connections. Based on my research into the group, it is also likely that many other members of the unit previously fought in Afghanistan. Like KTJ, Katibat Imam al Bukhari is also thought to have been a beneficiary of IMU recruiting. The last Uzbek group to be profiled is Ansar Jihad, a relatively new jihadist group in Syria.

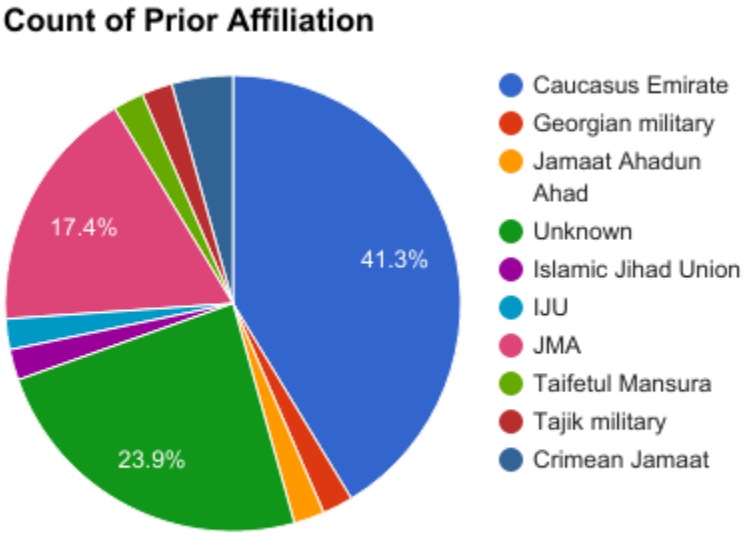
It is likely a subunit of al Qaeda's main branch in Syria, but it is largely an Uzbek group. It likely contains other Central Asian groups, but its propaganda is almost exclusively produced in the Uzbek language (and also some Turkish, indicating some Turkish presence in the unit). Its former military leader, Abu Omar al Turkistani, however was an ethnic Uighur. Abu Omar had formerly fought in Afghanistan in 2001 with bin Laden at Tora Bora before being captured in Pakistan. (Weiss, 2017) After he was released, he quickly rejoined with the IJU in Afghanistan. (2017) Abu Omar was killed in a US drone strike in northern Syria in early 2017. He was killed alongside a senior al Qaeda leader, indicating Abu Omar's status in Syria and within the network. (2017) While Abu Omar was a Uighur within Ansar Jihad, by far most Uighurs in Syria fight alongside the Turkistan Islamic Party.

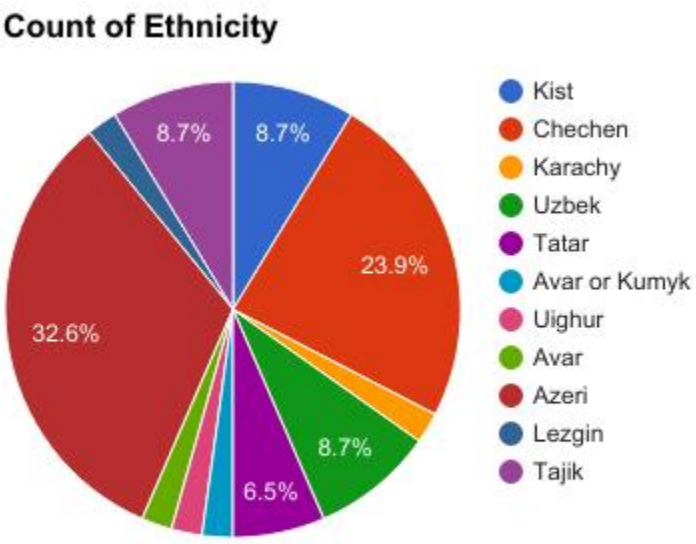
Based on videos and interviews online of the group's commanders, the TIP claims to have been inside Syria since 2012. If so, this would make them one of the earliest groups based in Afghanistan to start sending fighters to Syria, if not the first. Since 2014, however, it has taken

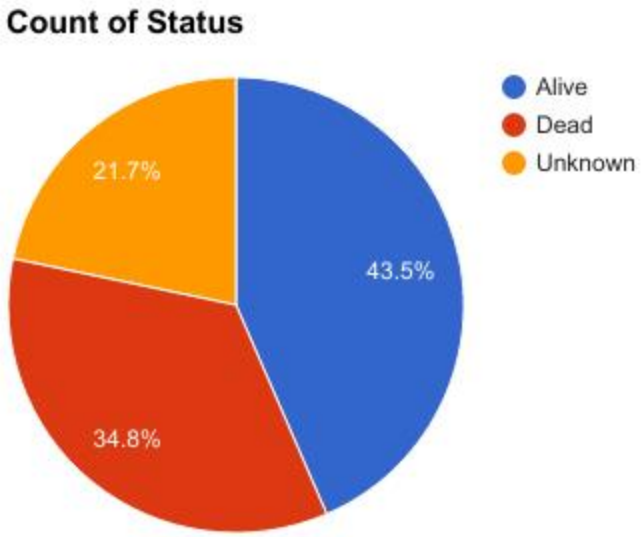
a much larger role in the insurgency. Based on my tracking of the group for over two years, it has conducted at least 12 suicide bombings in support of al Qaeda and other rebel groups. It has taken part in the capture of several strategic locations in the northwest and helped take over Idlib Province. (Weiss, 2015) I have also documented over 125 killed fighters it has eulogized in its media. Given its large area of operations in northwest Syria and the number of killed fighters, its numbers are likely in the low thousands. Local Syrians living in Jisr al Shughur, Idlib, believed to be the hub for the TIP in Syria, and Israeli officials have confirmed this estimate. (AhlulBayt, 2017) Based on its Afghanistan-based parent branch, the ties formed in the 1990's with al Qaeda leaders is definitely a major reason why the TIP plays such a large role inside Syria today.

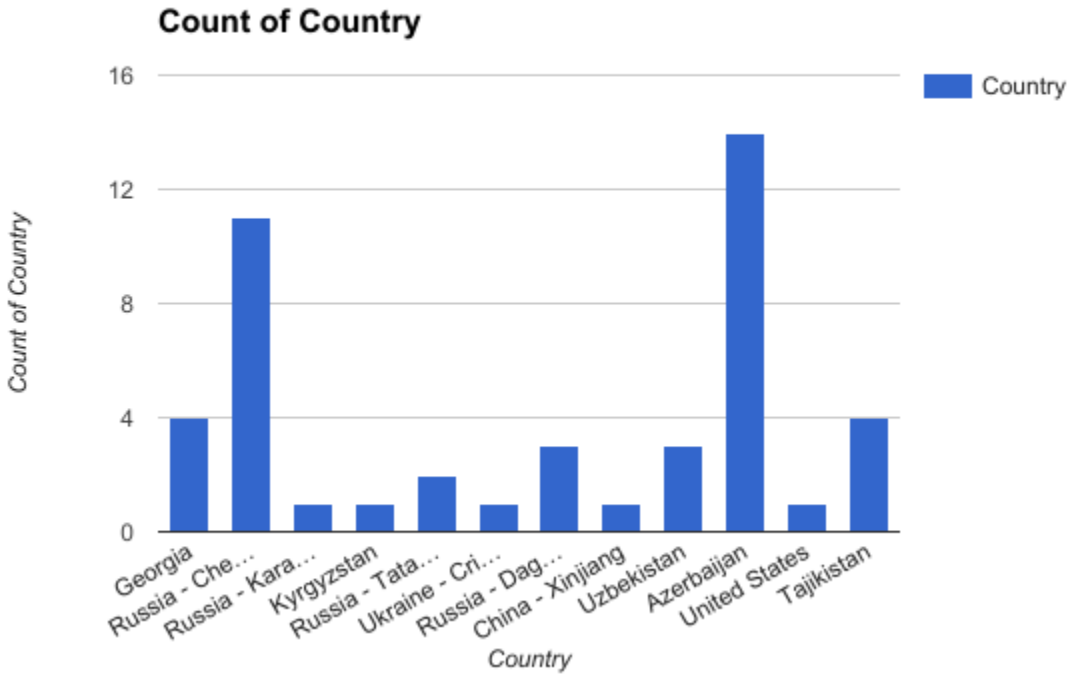
Prominent Jihadist Figures from Central and Asia and the North Caucasus: Summary Statistics

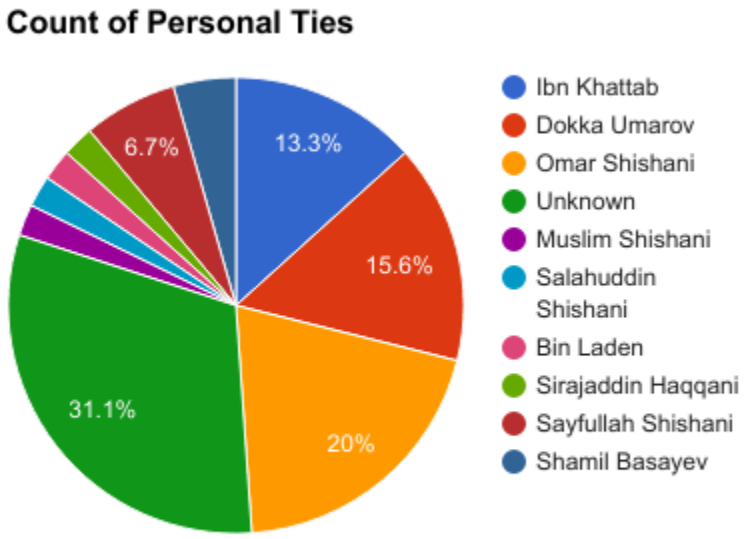
Based on the research done for this thesis, I created a database biographical material on 47 major North Caucasian and Central Asian leaders or prominent members of jihadist groups in Syria and Afghanistan. These leaders are prominent enough to allow for the compilation of biographical material. (Note: Due to the social media and media attention in and to Syria, leaders and commanders in Syria are perhaps overrepresented in the data). I have included kunyas, real names, country of origin, ethnicity, group affiliation, prior group affiliation, and current status. I have also denoted the personal relationships of these individuals to the best of my ability. Some information could not be found; this too is denoted within the charts. In the charts below, I use this database to capture some of the characteristics of the identifiable leaders.


Count of Prior Affiliation
41.3%
23.9%
17.4%
Caucasus Emirate
Georgian military
Jamaat Ahadun Ahad
Unknown
Islamic Jihad Union
IJU
JMA
Taifetul Mansura
Tajik military
Crimean Jamaat


Count of Ethnicity
8.7%
8.7%
23.9%
32.6%
8.7%
6.5%
Kist
Chechen
Karachy
Uzbek
Tatar
Avar or Kumyk
Uighur
Avar
Azeri
Lezgin
Tajik


Count of Status
Alive
Dead
Unknown
21.7%
43.5%
34.8%


Count of Country
Country
16
12
8
4
0
Count of Country
Georgia
Russia - Che…
Russia - Kara…
Kyrgyzstan
Russia - Tata…
Ukraine - Cri…
Russia - Dag…
China - Xinjiang
Uzbekistan
Azerbaijan
United States
Tajikistan
Country



This data reinforces some of the earlier findings. Most importantly, almost 70% of these fighters have identifiable personal ties to key jihadist leaders. This adds weight to the hypothesis that personal ties are the most instrumental factor in the transformation of local groups into transnational entities. Some leaders or figures have lost social media contact or have otherwise lessened their presence. The statuses of others were unable to be found.

Conclusion

What I have found is that most North Caucasian commanders in Syria and Afghanistan had prior experience in the North Caucasus. The overwhelming majority were formerly affiliated with either the Caucasus Emirate or al Qaeda-linked fighters in the North Caucasus and fed into their networks. As for the few Central Asians profiled, they were mainly located in Syria and most had prior experience with groups in Afghanistan. This gives credence to my hypothesis that personal ties has a prominent role in the transformation of local movements into transnational organizations. However, I find that ideology must play a role in this or these individuals would not have joined these groups in the first place. In addition, groups would not have become transnational organizations without first believing in the ideology of global jihadism. Conversely, personal ties may have precipitated the conversion to the Islamicist cause.

It is thus impossible to find out definitively if either plays a larger role than the other without actually talking to these individuals and groups. Short of doing that, looking at the backgrounds and history that these groups have allowed the outside to see is still a good way of determining this information. While the ideology is important, it appears from this research that personal ties play a much more critical role. Many of the commanders and fighters profiled, in

fact around 28%, had fought with Ibn Khattab or Dokka Umarov in the past. From the time that the Syrian conflict started, for example, this was over a decade later. If personal ties to individuals within al Qaeda were not important, they would not have continued to play an integral role that many years later. Looking at the IMU as an example, the ties that Tohir Yuldashev formed in the early 1990's with bin Laden continued to play a critical role in the organization way beyond Yuldashev's own death.

As Bill Roggio explained to me, "the importance of shared personal ties cannot be underestimated[11]." He elaborated that "the clandestine nature of these groups (for example, al Qaeda and Central Asian or Middle Eastern groups) dictates that close relationships must be maintained to ensure both trust and a chain of command. Senior leaders, commanders, and operatives have forged close ties on numerous jihadist battlefields over the past four decades (Afghanistan, Pakistan, Iraq, Syria, Somalia, Libya, Mali, Egypt, Algeria, etc.). These relationships have allowed the groups to fight side-by-side over extended periods of time, and has elevated the local groups to global status."

Personal ties also seem to make a difference in determining which side of the jihadist spectrum a group a group joins. For example, Abu Omar Shishani had no prior relationship to an individual within the al Qaeda network. On the flipside, Sayfullah Shishani did have extensive ties to individuals in the North Caucasus affiliated with al Qaeda. The former defected to the Islamic State, while the latter stayed loyal to the AQ network.

More research needs to be done into all facets of this study, especially on the ideology side. This is a much more complicated task if based only on open-source information and would require direct communication with these individuals or groups. Talking to terrorists, while sometimes beneficial, is not something I am keen on doing. That said, more information in this aspect would definitely help in understanding what definitively plays more of an instrumental role in the transformation of local jihadists movements into transnational organizations.

[11] Phone call with Bill Roggio on March 30, 2017

References

Abdulloyeva, Mavzouna: "412 Tajik nationals fighting in Syria and Iraq identified, says Tajik interior minister." *Asia-Plus Media Group/Tajikistan*. June 7, 2015

Ahlul Bayt News Agency: "Thousands of Chinese terrorists fighting in Syria." *Ahlul Bayt News Agency*. March 27, 2017

Allen-Ebrahimian, Bethany: "Report: More than 100 Chinese Muslims Have Joined the Islamic State." *FP (Foreign Policy)* June 20, 2016.

APA: "About 900 Azerbaijanis joined terrorist groups in Syria, Iraq." *APA*. March 3, 2017.

Bahrom, Nadin: "Tajik Jamaat Ansarullah terrorists step up activity in Afghanistan." *Caravanserai*, August 5, 2016

Bar, Shmuel & Minzili, Yair: "The Zawahiri Letter and the Strategy of al-Qaeda," *Hudson Institute*, February 16, 2006

BBC News: "A history of modern jihadism". *BBC*. December 11, 2014

B92: "Moscow airport terrorist "hesitated for 15 minutes." *B92*. January 27, 2011

Cullison, Alan: "Meet the Rebel Commander in Syria That Assad, Russia and the U.S. All Fear." *The Wall Street Journal*. November 19, 2013

Darling, Dan: "Special Analysis: Al Qaeda in Chechnya." *Network 54*. April 22, 2004

DW: "Germany Arrests Two Suspected of Failed Terror Plot." *DW*. September 19, 2008

Eurasianet: "Azerbaijan: Sumgayit Becomes Font of Syria-Bound Jihadists." *Eurasianet*. May 5, 2014

Falkenburg, Luke: "On the brink: The resurgence of militant Islam in Central Asia." *Small Wars and Insurgencies. Vol 27*. August 8, 2013

Farwell, James P. "The Media Strategy of ISIS," *Survival* 56:6. 2014. 49-55

Fergusson, James: The World's Most Dangerous Place: Inside the Outlaw State of Somalia, pg 103 (Kindle Edition). Da Capo Press. 2013

George, Alexander & Bennet, Andrew: "The Method of Structured, Focused Comparison." *Case Studies and Theory Development in the Social Sciences* (Belfer Center for Science and International Affairs, Kennedy School of Government, Harvard Unversity, 2005), pp. 67-73.

Glasser, Susan: "U.S., Israeli Embassies Hit In Uzbek Bomb Attacks." *The Washington Post*. July 24, 2004

Hahn, Gordon: "Getting the Caucasus Emirate Right." *A Report of the CSIS Russia and Eurasia Program.* Center for Strategic and International Studies. 2011.

Hegghammer, Thomas: "The Rise of Muslim Foreign Fighters: Islam and the Globalization of Jihad." *International Security 2010* 35:3, 53-94

Hoffman, Bruce: "From the War on Terror to Global Counterinsurgency." *Current History* 2007,
105: 423-429.

Horowitz, Michael: "The Rise and Spread of Suicide Bombing."*Annual Review of Political Science 2015* 18: 69-84

Hughes, James: "Chechnya: From Nationalism to Jihad." University of Pennsylvania Press. 2008

Interfax: "Leaders of Jamaat Ansarullah Tajik wing killed in Afghanistan." *Interfax*. August 15, 2014

Levitt, Matthew; Decottignies, Oliver; Rosland, Eric: "Terror in Europe: Combating Foreign Fighters and Homegrown Networks." *POLICYWATCH 2598* , The Washington Institute, 2016,

Malet, David, The Foreign Fighter Project, 2007

Malet, David, "Foreign Fighters: Transnational Identity in Civil Conflicts." Oxford University Press, 2013.

Malet, David, "Why Foreign Fighters? Historical Perspectives and Solutions" *Orbis Journal of Foreign Affairs*, 2009

Martina, Michael & Rajagopalan, Megha: "Islamist group claims China station bombing: SITE." *Reuters*. May 14, 2014

Meek, James Gordon: "The Secret Battles Between US Forces and Chechen Terrorists." *ABC News*. February 19, 2014

National, The: "Yemen army kills Chechen militant." *The National*. May 3, 2014

Neumann, Peter, "Joining Al Qaeda: Jihadist Recruitment in Europe." *International Institute for Strategic Studies*. December 30, 2008.

North Caucasus Caucus: "Azerbaijani Foreign Fighters in Syria." *Jihadology*. January 28, 2014

North Caucasus Caucus: "Possible Signs of Internationalization of the Caucasus Emirate." *North Caucasus Caucus*. March 20, 2014

Jawa Report: "Russians Kill Rustam Basayev." *Jawa Report*. August 25, 2007

Joscelyn, Thomas: "Global al Qaeda: Affiliates, objectives, and future challenges." *The Long War Journal*. July 18, 2013

Joscelyn, Thomas: "Al Nusrah Front celebrates 9/11 attacks in new video." *The Long War Journal*. June 29, 2015

Joscelyn, Thomas: "Ex-Guantanamo detainee prominently featured in al Qaeda propaganda." *The Long War Journal* Feb 15, 2016

Joscelyn, Thomas & Roggio, Bill: "Central Asian groups split over leadership of global jihad." *The Long War Journal*. August 24, 2015

Kramer, Andrew: "Tajik Police Commander, Trained in US, Appears to Rise in Islamic State ranks." *The New York Times*. November 10, 2016

Magouirk, Justin, Scott Atran, and Marc Sageman, "Connecting Terrorist Networks," *Studies in Conflict and Terrorism 31*, 2008

Midlarsky, Manus I., ed. The Internationalization of Communal Strife (New York: Routledge Revivals, 2014)

Orton, Kyle: "How Russia Manipulates Islamic Terrorism." *Kyle Orton*. September 8, 2015

Paraszczuk, Joanna: "More Detailed Information and Interview With Newly-Formed Tatar Group Junud al Makhdi Whose Amir Trained in North Caucasus with Khattab." *From Chechnya to Syria*. July 3, 2016

Paraszczuk, Joanna: "Sayfullah Shishani: 'Fought in Chechnya, Afghanistan." *From Chechnya to Syria*. June 20, 2014
Paraszczuk, Joanna: "Syria: Notes on a Dagestani-Led Group in Islamic State of Iraq." *EA Worldview*. February 25, 2014
Paraszczuk, Joanna: "Daghestan Resident Suspected Of Fighting With IS In Syria." *Radio Free Europe/Radio Liberty*. February 10, 2015
Paraszczuk, Joanna: "Muslim Abu Walid Shishani on the Fitna in Syria." *From Chechnya to Syria*. July 4, 2014
Paraszczuk, Joanna: "ISIS North Caucasians: Muslim Shishani Raises Chechen Flag Above That of Allah." *From Chechnya to Syria*. July 11, 2014
Paraszczuk, Joanna: "Salakhuddin Shishani Fought Under Gelayev & in Abkhazia." *From Chechnya to Syria*. May 27, 2015
Paraszczuk, Joanna: "A Little More About Abdul Hakim Shishani, Emir of Khalifat Jamaat." *From Chechnya to Syria*. November 23, 2014
Paraszczuk, Joanna: "Abdul Hakim Shishani, Emir of Ajnad Kavkaz, Linked to Khattab." *From Chechnya to Syria*. April 4, 2015
Paraszczuk, Joanna: "Ajnad al Kavkaz Amir Abdul Hakim Shishani was Amir of Central Sector in Chechnya." *From Chechnya to Syria*. January 4, 2016
Paraszczuk, Joanna: "A More Detailed Biography of Khamza Shishani of Ajnad al Kavkaz." *From Chechnya to Syria*. January 7, 2016
Paraszczuk, Joanna: "Syria: Abu Musa Shishani, Military Leader of Ansar a-Sham." *From Chechnya to Syria*. April 6, 2014
Paraszczuk, Joanna: "Chechen Faction Khalifat Jamaat Splits From Ansar a-Sham in Latakia." *From Chechnya to Syria*. October 6, 2014
Paraszczuk, Joanna: "Updated: Muslim Shishani Accused of Links to 2003 North Ossetia Terror Attacks." *From Chechnya to Syria*. August 3, 2014
Paraszczuk, Joanna: "Abu Bakr Shishani Now Fighting Alongside Ajnad al Kavkaz in Latakia." *From Chechnya to Syria*. February 9, 2016
Paraszczuk, Joanna: "Kyrgyz Official Blames Minority Uzbeks For Syria Presence." *Radio Free Europe/Radio Liberty*. March 27, 2015
Paraszczuk, Joanna: "Main Uzbek Militant Faction In Syria Swears Loyalty To Taliban." *Radio Free Europe/Radio Liberty*. November 12, 2014
Pravda: "Tajikistan: Source of suicide bombers for Islamic State." *Pravda*. March 29, 2017
Putz, Catherine: "Criminal Gangs Selling Fake Kyrgyz Passports to China's Uyghurs." *The Diplomat*, August 17, 2016
Qutb, Sayyid, Milestones. 1964. Pg 63-69
Rashid, Ahmed: "They're Only Sleeping."*New Yorker* January 14, 2002
RFE/RL: "Kyrgyz Official: 600 Nationals Fighting In Syria, Iraq." *Radio Free Europe/Radio Liberty*. August 3, 2016
Richardson, R Dan, "Foreign Fighters in Spanish Militias: The Spanish Civil War 1936-1939."

(Military Affairs, Feb 1, 1976)
Roberts, Sean: "Imaginary Terrorism? The Global War on Terror and the Narrative of the Uyghur
Terrorist Threat." *George Washington University*. March 22, 2012
Roggio, Bill: "Al Nusrah Front commanded Free Syrian Army unit, 'Chechen emigrants,' in assault on Syrian air defense base." *The Long War Journal*. October 19, 2012
Roggio, Bill: "Al Nusrah Front, foreign jihadists seize key Syrian base in Aleppo." *The Long War Journal*. December 10, 2012
Roggio, Bill: "Al Nusrah Front, foreign jihadists overrun another Syrian military base." *The Long War Journal.* February 13, 2013
Roggio, Bill: "Chechen commander forms 'Army of Emigrants,' integrates Syrian groups." *The Long War Journal*. March 28, 2013
Roggio, Bill: "Chechen commander in Syria pledges to Islamic Caucasus Emirate." *The Long War Journal*. July 10, 2015
Roggio, Bill: "State Department adds Chechen, Moroccan-led jihadist groups to terrorist list." *The Long War Journal.* September 24, 2014
Roggio, Bill: "'Arab, Pakistani, Chechen, and Uzbek fighters' spotted in Logar." *The Long War Journal*. May 30, 2013
Roggio, Bill: "Chechens spotted in Taliban's Nuristan tape." *The Long War Journal*. May 20, 2010
Roggio, Bill: "Al Qaeda operative killed during clashes in Kurram identified." *The Long War Journal*. February 4, 2012
Roggio, Bill: "Turkish jihadist commander executed by the Taliban in Waziristan: report." *The Long War Journal*. July 2, 2011
Roggio, Bill: "Tahir Yuldashev confirmed killed in US strike in South Waziristan." *The Long War Journal*. October 4, 2009
Roggio, Bill: "Islamic Movement of Uzbekistan claims Panjshir suicide attack." *The Long War Journal*. October 17, 2011
Roggio, Bill: "Uzbek commands group within the Al Nusrah Front." *The Long War Journal*. April 25, 2014
Roggio, Bill: "Turkistan Islamic Party emir thought killed in 2010 reemerged to lead group in 2014." *The Long War Journal*. June 11, 2015
Roggio, Bill: "Turkistan Islamic Party leader thought killed in US drone strike." *The Long War Journal*. August 25, 2012
Roggio, Bill & Weiss, Caleb: "Islamic Movement of Uzbekistan faction emerges after group's collapse." *The Long War Journal*. June 14, 2016
Roggio, Bill & Weiss, Caleb: "Islamic Jihad Union details its involvement in Taliban's Azm offensive." *The Long War Journal*. July 25, 2015
Seawright, Jason and John Gerring: "Case Selection Techniques in Case Study Research: A Menu of Qualitative and Quantitative Options." *Political Research Quarterly* June 2008

61: 294-308

Sageman, Marc: "Understanding Terror Networks." *University of Pennsylvania.* 2004

Souleimanov, Emil: "The Caucasus Emirate: Genealogy of an Islamist Insurgency." *Middle East Policy Council*. 2011

Standish, Reid: "Kazakh Child Soldier Executes 'Russian spies' in Islamic State video." *Foreign Policy.* January 13, 2015

Steinberg, Guido: "Junud al Sham and the German Foreign Fighter Threat." *CTC Sentinel*. Combating Terrorism Center at West Point. February 19, 2016

Stratfor: "China: The Evolution of ETIM." *Stratfor.* May 13, 2008

Suri, Abu Musab: "The Global Islamic Resistance Call." 2004

Tamimi, Aymenn Jawad: "Jamaat Jund al-Qawqaz: A Caucasus Emirate Group in Latakia." *Aymenn Tamimi.* November 23, 2014

Toft, Monica Duffy "Getting Religion? The Puzzling Case of Islam and Civil War," International Security, 31:4 (Spring 2007).

Toft, Monica Duffy and Yuri M Zhukov. "Islamists and Nationalists: Rebel Motivation and Counterinsurgency in Russia's North Caucasus." American Political Science Review 109:2 (May 2015) 222-238

Vatchagaev, Mairbek: "Warriors of the Nogai Steppe: A Profile of the Nogai Jammat." *The Jamestown Foundation*. August 2, 2007

Wikipedia: "2014 Latakia Offensive."

War Monitor: "Moscow Targets Chechen Fighters In Syria." *War Monitor*. April 3, 2017

Weiss, Caleb: "Caucasus Emirate branch highlights fighters in Syria." *The Long War Journal*. February 8, 2017

Weiss, Caleb: "Turkistan Islamic Party in Syria Fighting Alongside Junud al Sham in Idlib." *The Long War Journal*. April 23, 2015

Weiss, Caleb: "Crimean Jamaat reportedly pledges allegiance to Al Nusrah Front." *The Long War Journal*. October 3, 2015

Weiss, Caleb: "North Caucasian group highlights training in Syria." *The Long War Journal*. March 28, 2017

Weiss, Caleb: "An Update on Katibat al Tawhid wal Jihad." *The Line of Steel*. July 2, 2015

Weiss, Caleb: "Uighur jihadist fought in Afghanistan, killed in Syria." *The Long War Journal*. February 14, 2017

Weiss, Caleb: "Turkistan Islamic Party had significant role in recent Idlib offensive." *The Long War Journal*. April 30, 2015

Weiss, Caleb. Twitter. 15 Feb 2017

Weiss, Caleb. Twitter. 12 Jan 2017

Wright, Lawrence, The Looming Tower: Al Qaeda and the Road to 9/11, *Random House* 2006.

United States Government. National Commission on Terrorist Attacks upon the United States, The 9/11 Commission Report, 2004

United States State Department. “Treasury Designates Twelve Foreign Terrorist Fighter Facilitators.” September 24, 2014

United States State Department. “Redesignation of the Islamic Movement of Uzbekistan as a Foreign Terrorist Organization.” September 25, 2002

YouTube: “Uzbeks in Kobani? Likely members of Sabri’s Jamaat, who are pledged to Umar Shishani.” *YouTube*. October 30, 2014

YouTube: “Cundullah Azeri.” *YouTube*. December 21, 2014

Zelin, Aaron: “New statement from Hayy’at Taḥrīr al-Shām: “Katā’ib Anṣār al-Shām Joins Hayy’at Taḥrīr al-Shām” *Jihadology*. February 1, 2017