Stopping Global Terroris and Protecting Rights

Steve Tsang

maximum human suffering and casualties in the most eye-catching democratic governments have hard choices to make. On the one hand must uphold the basic values of democratic societies based on due p and human rights. On the other, they need to preempt the kind of detion inflicted upon New York, Madrid, London, and Bali—to nam the best-known recent terrorist attacks. These two requirements appronflict with each other, as due process requires presumption of innowith a high standard of proofs being produced before anyone is conformed acrime, whereas preemption implies acting to foil an attack before a pens or acting against an individual or a group of people before a horizonte is committed. Striking a balance between these conflicting imperis not easy but not impossible, and it is indeed essential if the democratic societies is to be sustained.

Facing the threats posed by dedicated suicide bombers who intend to

SECURITY AND HUMAN RIGHTS

There is an important distinction between common crimes, ho heinous they may be, and acts of terrorism, particularly those modeled the al Qaeda approach (see Chapter 7 by Stearns). Common criminal driven by a motive to benefit from their exploits and, as a result, or

can still achieve a large part of their objectives by triggering ex before getting to their targets and are therefore substantially less su to persuasion. From the perspective of the police or security servic minimum force to arrest a common criminal in the act of comm offense is a sensible and responsible way to proceed, but it is not a

option when faced with suicide bombers in the course of carrying

The gruesome reality facing government agencies responsible

empting or stopping horrendous attacks by suicide bombers according the adoption of some methods that affront defenders of human rethere is no other way to prevent a wounded suicide bomber from dethe bomb but to disable him instantly and completely by killing shoot-to-kill policy has been developed and sometimes adopted. When the word in the killing of the wrong person, necessarily an innocent one in su

text, cannot but provoke a huge public outcry, as happened in the of the Brazilian Jean Charles de Menezes in London after the Judombings. What is at issue is more than the protection of human rigidamentally important as it is as a matter of principle.

There is a practical dimension that must be given due conside well. An accidental shooting of an innocent person in a preemptive

terms of credibility and support from the general public. Its long-t may outweigh its short-term benefits. Public interest requires a being maintained between the imperative of protecting the securigeneral public from suicide bombers and the accidental use of let on suspects who turn out to be innocent.

In devising effective countermeasures against terrorism one must

tion that went wrong costs the intelligence and security services

sight of what terrorism is about. It is indiscriminate murder on a maintended above all to provoke panic and other reactions that can nessed to serve the purposes of the perpetuators and/or the mas behind the attack. Whether it is panic or other forms of reaction, i means to an end. In the case of al Qaeda its objectives include star

sustaining a "jihad" against the West led by the United States, for inflaming public opinions in the Islamic world against the West is Thus, a Western democracy that overreacts to the threats of global to the extent of breaching the rights of the individuals, willfully of tingly, furthers the cause of al Qaeda (see Chapter 8 by Danchev). In putting this book together my colleagues and I set out to example a critically the problems complicating changes that democracy that the problems complicating changes the problems completely the probl

ernments and their intelligence agencies must tackle in order to effectively the challenges posed by global terrorism ushered in by th democratic countries in how they respond (see Chapters 4, 5, and Morrison, Johnson, and Heyer, respectively).

The starting premise of this book is that for intelligence organize

The starting premise of this book is that for intelligence organize to meet the challenges of global terrorism, they must utilize all of the sources effectively and creatively as well as "think outside the box Chapters 10, 11, 12, and 13 by Maior and Huluban, Ben-Israel, Gleen Aldrich, respectively). These two requirements may appear to conflict

Aldrich, respectively). These two requirements may appear to conflice each other in the eyes of professional intelligence officers, as improving ciency in intelligence agencies first and foremost requires perfective tradecraft. Whatever long-term benefits reforms may bring, making chail almost certainly mean the opposite in the immediate term, as "pering the tradecraft" requires fine-tuning techniques developed over a professional support of the second suppo

of time and strict discipline in applying them.

It may be politically expedient for democratically elected politici appear to be doing something immediately after a terrorist attack. The always a temptation for some of them to advocate reforming the intell and security services after a catastrophic terrorist attack as such an appears to imply "intelligence failure" (see Chapters 2 and 3 by Urba Caravelli, respectively). However, to do so without first examining

and security services after a catastrophic terrorist attack as such an appears to imply "intelligence failure" (see Chapters 2 and 3 by Urba Caravelli, respectively). However, to do so without first examinis implications of any proposed change will reduce the capacity of the set to respond effectively at a time when they need the greatest latiturespond flexibly and make the most of their tradecraft. It should be nized that however good the intelligence community may be, it is import to preempt all terrorist attacks, as the security services need to be uronly on one occasion and the terrorists can score. A successful terattack should therefore not be seen to represent intelligence failure

matically, though it should of course be studied dispassionately to

what is really needed is for intelligence and security services to matthe highest standards of the tradecraft but also devote sufficient reset to cultivate and sustain a capacity to think outside the box on a contradiction basis. In other words, the capacity for intelligence and security services and understand new threats should be provided on a routine rather than as additional resources to be allocated after a catastroph

rorist attack or, worse still, as a new demand being imposed on the a overstretched agencies.

Now that the main thrust of the post–Cold War security threats ha tallized clearly intelligence and security agencies must genuinely thin

side the box so that they can not only trace and confront, to borrow Donald Rumsfeld's terms, "the known unknown," but develop a ca to anticipate "the unknown unknown" of terrorist threats (see Cha by Wilson). One of the problems that intelligence agencies faced problems that intel

security services analysts are, after all, drawn from the societies they serve. We are all limited in our capacity to analyze by our own tion. Prior to 9/11 how many people in the West took seriously a su that 19 foreign individuals had collectively gone to the United State mit suicide by working in four teams to hijack four airliners so could crash them into major landmarks at roughly the same tim should find such a scenario fanciful one would probably not ha traces of intelligence pointing to such a plot sufficiently seriously to

the attacks effectively. What intelligence agencies should do is to the human capacity to think the "unthinkable." This may require mental rethink of the current practices and an alternative approach ligence analysis (see Chapter 11 by Ben-Israel). It may also mean into the wider communities of scholars, journalists, and others w been trained to understand the mind-set of the terrorists and their tions through long periods of study or contact with their cultures

gions in order to assess the likely threats more accurately (see Cha and 13 by Glees and Aldrich, respectively). This implies that the intelligence and security agencies must be to go beyond their own community as they think outside the box. B ing from insights gained by others, they can acquire a greater ca

anticipate not only the known unknown but the unknown unknown They can also test their ideas against and accept fresh input fro makers in other government departments, politicians, journali above all, academics who have the leisure to take a longer-term pe and immerse themselves in the study of a highly specialized subje ping and catching terrorists before they strike wins a battle; but to war, it is essential to remove the threat of global terrorism as a wh

a victory requires more than continuously winning battles on the even if that were possible. It can be achieved only when the intellig vices work in cooperation with others. Meeting the challenges posed by global terrorism unleashed by

requires different responses to conventional conflicts. It ought to nized that al Qaeda poses two different threats. One is organized a dinated by itself and is directed against both the Western world United States as its main focus as well as the Middle East with Sauce

as the big prize (see Chapter 7 by Stearns). Countering this is pri task for the intelligence and security agencies, but in light of the forces al Qaeda and its supporters like the Taliban are capable of de

they will need to call on the military to help. But the other threat is less serious. It is based on the reality that al Qaeda also function "franchise holder" willing to offer free help, advice, and assistance resorting to terrorist means to undermine the dominance of the

To overcome the wider political and terrorist challenges pos al Qaeda's "free franchising" it is not enough to trace down and arro key leaders of al Qaeda and prosecute them in a court of law, however able breaking down the organization itself is in limiting its own capa-

attack. As Richard G. Stearns explains (Chapter 7), much of this "fra ing" by al Qaeda is conducted for free on the Internet, and variants will survive even after the demise of al Qaeda itself. What is really needed is to secure the peace in this "war on terror" s

there will not be ready takers for the "free franchises" offered by al C Winning the hearts and minds of the terrorist organizations' pool of tial recruits will be essential to cut off the supply of suicide bomber Chapter 8 by Danchey). This means the United States and the demo world must actively engage the Islamic people of the world including fundamentalist elements, in the Middle East and Central and South A

particular, listen to their grievances, and persuade them that the Is and Christian civilizations are not set on a collision course. Copycat a based on al Qaeda ideas, instigation, or methods cannot be stopped

and until the potential recruits of suicide bombers can be convince there really is no point in their sacrifice or that there are alternative characteristics for them to seek redress of their grievances—and more effectively. In the world of global terrorism inspired by al Qaeda the issues of er

ing security through better intelligence and protecting human rights where are not mutually exclusive. On the contrary, they must be made complement each other. The strengthening of the capacity of the intell and security agencies to deal with immediate threats is indeed essen the short-term. However, winning the arguments against extremists, moment primarily among people of the Islamic faith, can be achieved if the potential recruits for suicide bombing missions realize that the go ments of their target countries respect their rights and dignity as indiv as much as that of their own citizens. Such an approach will be exploi

the determined terrorists in the short-term, but winning the war on requires above all stopping a new generation from feeling it has a cau which its members would be willing to give up their lives. In opera terms it means that responses against terrorist attacks or planned a

must be carefully thought through beforehand, and the security se and police tasked to respond must be trained and indoctrinated to r human rights as they carry out their duties and make hard decisions

most stressful conditions. Otherwise, winning battles against ter attacks will not produce a long-lasting victory in the war again al Qaeda brand of global terrorism. The support and cooperation of the people in countries that fall vic

terrorist attacks must also be sustained by ensuring they have confide

of Africa. A particularly difficult challenge presented by the Londo ings of July 2005 is their potential to provoke sectarian responses majority population against their fellow citizens of the Islamic fair number of whom had become suicide bombers. Whether this was nal intention of the bombers or of their al Qaeda inspirer, such a

from the general public could easily start a vicious circle of est mutual hatred and violence. In 2005 the British public as a whole in their best liberal tradition and generally avoided sectarian reactions did happen, and the prosent more general sectarian backlash cannot be ruled out and must be prosent to do so, the government and its intelligence services must not be focused on preempting terrorist attacks that they infringe upon to of some of their citizens and encroach on the democratic norms, must also reassure the general public that the presence of a handfall that the presence of a handfall

focused on preempting terrorist attacks that they infringe upon to of some of their citizens and encroach on the democratic norms, must also reassure the general public that the presence of a handf cide bombers does not mean Britons of the Islamic faith cannot be. This book therefore addresses not only the question of how into organizations can improve their efficacy in preempting terrorist of but also the wider issue of removing the forces that sustain global as a scourge of the twenty-first century. In the latter effort, into organizations must work with their governments to address two

but also the wider issue of removing the forces that sustain global as a scourge of the twenty-first century. In the latter effort, into organizations must work with their governments to address two political priorities. The first is to remove the wider social, religionomic, and ethnic conditions that enable groups like al Qaeda, its of and imitators to entrench or regenerate themselves by recruiting neations of leaders, agents, and suicide bombers. As the July 2005 bor London confirm, the problem extends beyond the various Middle countries and failed states traditionally seen as recruiting grounds for the second seco

London confirm, the problem extends beyond the various Middle countries and failed states traditionally seen as recruiting grounds f terrorists. Young people born or brought up in the democratic and West are also susceptible. This problem is closely linked to the seco ity: namely, the need for democratic governments and their int communities to ensure that, in tackling the threats from global to they do not lose credibility and confidence among their own citizen

In the end, in order to prevail over global terrorism, police an gence services must enhance their capabilities to deal with the in security challenges. The general public in the target countries and r grounds must also be persuaded that—despite their rhetoric—the are not engaged in a holy war. Ultimately, the brand of global terror

are not engaged in a holy war. Ultimately, the brand of global terror moted by Osama bin Laden and his associates is meant to satisfy t vanity and aspirations toward semidivine status. The organization t formed for this purpose is above all a global syndicate that commit crimes of a particularly heinous nature, which seeks to cause m

damage by giving free advice, encouragement, and guidance as if franchising operation. Intelligence services of various countries nee world to work together if the evidence unearthed by national intelliservices and others is to be accepted by the general public. Unless the tional and quasireligious appeal of the global terrorists can be remarked the simple arrest of bin Laden and his close associates—or even the detion of al Qaeda as an organization—will not be sufficient to prevent rising to replace them.

To eradicate the al Qaeda brand of global terrorism, Western go

ments must seize and hold the moral high ground. To preempt indiv from becoming recruits or potential recruits for suicide bombing mis Western governments have to demonstrate convincingly to commufrom where such bombers are drawn that they uphold and respehuman rights of the latter to the same standards as that of mains

Americans and Europeans.

For this purpose the U.S. government must recognize that wh categorization of people captured in Afghanistan and kept at Guantá Bay as unlawful combatants may be technically correct under interna law (see Chapter 7 by Stearns), its maintenance of the Guantánamo f weakens its moral case in the fight against terrorism as it widely of opinions around the world. Even though the detention and debrief the unlawful combatants immediately after their capture could be ju

on the grounds that as unlawful combatants they were not entitled to the privileges accorded to prisoners of war, and information thus accorded be essential to preempt further terrorist attacks, the latter fact longer applies. In any event their human rights must still be respected. who had committed criminal offenses should be brought in front criminal justice system. Those who cannot be released because, for example declare their commitment to kill Americans randomly if freed should be detained with the real reasons disclosed and on the basis of proper legs

visions—if the proper legal power for meeting the exceptional situation not exist, it should be duly enacted with built-in limitations to avoid it abused. Those who were detained by mistake as they happened to be

wrong place and at the wrong time should be released.

The continued detention of unlawful combatants without an explain that the rest of the world can understand and accept is counterproduct. Those detainees who have committed crimes as unlawful combatants are revealed as such and treated as such, but even then their rights as in unals should be respected, in the same way that the human rights of concriminals are upheld. Terrorists and masterminds of terrorism are but

uals should be respected, in the same way that the human rights of corciminals are upheld. Terrorists and masterminds of terrorism are buticularly callous and pernicious criminals. Treating them in any other such as incarceration in conditions open to question, merely progrounds for people who feel a strong sense of grievance against or m

of the United States to choose to see and portray them as POWs wi

they can eliminate the basis for al Qaeda to replenish its ranks or timitators.

POLITICAL CONTEXT FOR THE CHANGING FOR INTELLIGENCE

The intelligence communities in the democratic world entered a uncertainty and change when the Cold War ended, as the long rationale for their existence and paradigm for their operation removed. Different countries responded to the end of the Cold Wently, but none felt they could dispense with the service of their integral and security services.

As Mark Urban examines in Chapter 2, the British intelligence

nity went through different stages of change to seek a proper place for itself in the post–Cold War context before it found itself at the tackling the new challenges posed by the al Qaeda brand of terrorist the transition of the Cold War confrontation in the late 1980s to strophic attacks on the United States mainland in 2001, the Britist gence and security services had greatly improved on transparency, had not been sufficiently reoriented to preempt the new threats. what appears like a confrontation between certain extremist seg the Islamic world and the democratic and materialistic West defrom Christendom, the central issue for the intelligence communicome to reflect the wider political debate of the time. It is one of

threats posed by transnational terrorism. Urban rightly contract that recent controversies over alleged failures that involve the introduced community have made it even more important for the community to move forward toward greater openness than that act the 1990s.

The most dramatic organizational changes in the U.S. intelligen

versus realpolitik or human rights versus realism in how to con-

munity since the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) was founded at of the Cold War happened in response to the implied failings of the gence community to preempt the 9/11 attacks. While many of these are still under way and are highlighted by Jack Caravelli (Chawhether they are changing the face of American intelligence in the way remains to be tested. Using the Iranian nuclear program as the Caravelli has shown that the failure to stop the Iranian program 1990s was more a political than an intelligence one. In facing the

threats posed by certain Islamic fundamentalists, one should nentirely on the al Qaeda brand of terrorism and lose sight of the cl

the old Cold War concept of Mutually Assured Destruction as a par for peace no longer applies, at least in so far as an extremist Islamic f mentalist group or government that can lay its hands on nuclear we is concerned. The challenges facing the American intelligence comm is to provide timely, reliable, and accurate intelligence on all the maj tential sources of threats to policy makers and military commanders s they have the necessary information to ensure security and people's sa The ever greater need for the intelligence agencies in the democratic

to improve their capabilities and efficacy means that it is even more i tant that the appropriate form of political supervision or oversight is place. Indeed, one should heed John N.L. Morrison's admonition in ter 4 that a robust system of oversight is required not just for the intell community but for the political machinery that uses intelligence as w the Iraqi Weapons of Mass Destruction (WMD) dossier case reveals, e the most mature of democracies, where the top political leaders believe sionately in a course of action, it is not beyond them to ensure intell and facts are "fixed around the policy" and can be used to provide just tion for their preferred policy option, in this case, war to effect a r

develop and fine-tune its own system.

change in Iraq. As Morrison reminds everyone, there is as yet no perfe tem of political supervision of intelligence services and every country Morrison's thoughtful insights based primarily on the British expe are echoed in Loch K. Johnson's majestic survey in Chapter 5 o

Congressional oversight evolved in the United States. The old laisse approach might have been abandoned as far back as 1975 as CIA a came to light, but the essentially reactive nature in the subsequent stre ening of the oversight apparatus still left scope for improvement. By th of the twenty-first century the United States might already have one best systems for legislative oversight of intelligence, but it still fell sh

issues of great importance. It did, for example, on the intelligence con ity's assessment of the Iraqi WMD issue, one that affected the decision to war. The limits in Congressional oversight indeed show remarkable

allel to the British experience. Ultimately the effectiveness of legis oversight depends hugely on how strongly motivated members of Co are in pursuing this cause. Even if this is assured, in the case of the U

States truly comprehensive oversight of the intelligence communit not be achieved until the relevant Congressional committees can cover

tively also the intelligence operations of the Department of Defense,

Control Panel on Intelligence has the power and the responsible enshrined in the Federal Constitution, for both the civilian and the m

This makes a contrast to the approach in Germany where the Bunde

in fact spends the lion's share of the American intelligence budget.

rights on the one hand, and it requires the overseers to work close the intelligence services on the other. The German approach to s balance between security and the protection of rights was to give the mentary Control Panel and its offshoot, known as the G10 Com constitutionally guaranteed access to confidential information. requirement to maintain confidentiality. There is no doubt that bo are meant first and foremost to protect rights and to ensure the int services do not abuse their power and permission to operate in secr

States. It is one that puts greater emphasis on the protection of in

ever, their commitment to maintaining secrecy in order not to con the efficacy of the intelligence agencies is also real. An insider, Hey fident that the German system has so far worked well though there for improvement. Whether the German system works as well as H gests, and whether the inherently conflicting demands being put on sight bodies can genuinely be reconciled satisfactorily in practice in term, it is something that the British and the Americans can an

study as they reflect on how best to improve their own systems. The context in which intelligence services in democratic country operate in is not just political but judicial as well. It also cannot be from the nature of the threats against which they are required to

To understand what would constitute an appropriate legal frame dealing with terrorists of the al Qaeda brand one must first inquire nature of the threats they pose. Thus, in his judicious assessment (Ch Richard G. Stearns starts off by examining what modern global t

means and why the threats al Qaeda poses are different from those ous secessionist terrorist groups like the Irish Republican Army or groups like Bader-Meinhof, not to say delusional cults like Bran dians. To put matters in perspective we need to recognize al Qaeda approach to terrorism as directed by bin Laden is not only

edly rational and calculating one, but is also practically global in

tion and intended to cause destruction of such a magnitude comparison can be found in history. Indeed, while al Qaeda h

merely demonstrated the capacity to use conventional technology tively in producing their WMD, it is the only nonstate actor that is seeking to acquire in the black market nuclear materials that car in a "dirty bomb." The gravity of the threats posed by al Qaeda is

always be possible and has its problems, as revealed in the trial of Moussaoui; accepting a long-term retreat of the rule of law must be as an option. What the United States may need to do is to con

countering it would require an element of preemption but this shou least not as a rule, be at the expense of the rule of law. Admittedly strictly to the rule of law when confronting the al Qaeda threats

here or there, but most detainees had little more than out-of-date inf tion. There is no convincing evidence that the information thus obactually preempted any major terrorist attacks. In any event the sorry of Guantánamo and the grotesque abuses at Abu Ghraib caused so damage to the reputation of the United States that its claim to moral eousness in the war on terror was gravely compromised if not u destroyed. It matters as the United States and its allies are supposed an alliance of values, and one that is vastly superior to what al Qaed its offshoots represent. By succumbing to the "9/11 syndrome," or res to harsh methods or outright torture in interrogation in order to get mation to deal with the challenges posed by a despicable and fanatic the Bush administration has gravely undermined the capacity of the U States, and by association much of the rest of the Western world c allied to it, in the campaign to win over opinion in the Islamic world negative worldwide reactions to Abu Ghraib and Guantánamo ha unintended effect of helping al Qaeda expand its influence in Islamic munities worldwide and undermining the U.S. position in the globa on terror. MEETING THE NEW DEMANDS The advent of the era of global terrorism might not have been accurately predicted and preempted, but it does not mean the intelligence commu at least in the mature Western democracies, had not been continu changing to meet what they saw as new threats after the end of the

Putting matters in its widest context, there is no alternative to uphe human rights when confronting the threats from modern global terr Alex Danchev (Chapter 8) finds echoes of Kafka in Guantánamo an Ghraib in the dehumanizing treatment of detainees. In his poignant e nation of some of the better-known cases of abuses in order to s "actionable intelligence," he highlights such degrading practices co our own values and are completely counterproductive. Some inform obtained under torture might in principle have helped to prevent an

War. Indeed, as Peter Wilson makes clear in Chapter 9, the contrary i Western intelligence agencies started to develop techniques and structu deal with transnational terrorist and criminal threats that distinguish

selves from the highly centralized challenges posed by the Soviet bloc the Cold War even before the 9/11 attacks. But the tempo of change ened dramatically after September 2001. In adapting themselves to co the new threats, the intelligence services must develop whatever nec to defeat the al Qaeda brand of terrorism, but they must also keep improving accountability, and promoting innovations within the but also liaising with the outside world. While the work of the int services must be kept secret, its analytical elements can benefit greater independent research conducted by academics or other experts o the intelligence community on a wide range of issues that may rev where the next surprise may come. The last is particularly important intelligence services are to deal effectively with the unknown unk addition to the known unknown. The changes that the intelligence community must pursue in the

new threats inevitably raise the issue of the allocation of resor addressing this issue, George Major and Sebastian Huluban (Cha remind us that much of this is of course about the use of money. above all about planning. Major and Huluban in fact take a slight ent view from Wilson on how much the intelligence communiti West had changed between the end of the Cold War and the 9/11 However, this reflects more a difference in how they evaluate the tempo of changes both before and after 9/11 than what happene ground. They see the post-9/11 changes as much greater than Wils which means that it is, for them, even more important that the int

community should allocate their resources efficiently and sensibly. in mind they stress in particular the importance of developing resources to the full and the benefits the intelligence community by borrowing methodologies and ideas developed in other discipli ticularly but not exclusively in the social sciences. They also high value of widening the context when the intelligence community the issue of resource allocation in the fight against global terrorism

Given the gravity of the threats posed by global terrorism and ev some specific and significant failings in intelligence in recent years, ligence community is well advised to subject its standard tradreview. A veteran intelligence officer who has moved to acaden

Ben-Israel provides a thought-provoking alternative to the approach to intelligence analysis in Chapter 11. Instead of induc

seeking collaborative evidence to support one's hypothesis in analy Israel advocates the search of counterevidence to test and eliminate eses. This should help to minimize, if not remove, the inherent hu dency to find evidences to prove one's pet theory or preconception not be foolproof, but it provides a much more reliable basis for an draw conclusions and assess the real threat. He also urges a reth the classic separation between the roles of analysts and field oper modern terrorists operate in a highly dynamic and rapidly chang

ronment, and there is usually only a very short span of opports the intelligence or security services to move against a terrorist gence at hand adroitly and swiftly. What Ben-Israel has proposed against the long-established practices in the intelligence world, but de careful consideration.

Enhancing the general capabilities and capacity of the intelligence

munity to deal with the new transnational threats involves, needless to more than improving or even overhauling the way analysts should we require the intelligence community to explore and, where appropressablish effective working relations with their counterparts overse Chapter 12 Anthony Glees focuses on what the British intelligence set particularly the Security Service or MI5, have done and examined by vextending cooperation with other European Union agencies since the attacks. It has not been a straightforward matter as Britain also coop closely with the United States, which is skeptical of sharing intelligence some of the agencies in other European Union countries. Glees suggested

way out of this tension, which is to strengthen cooperation and insharing of intelligence assessments though not raw intelligence or so He also echoes an important point already raised by Peter Wilson potential value that the intelligence community can get by reaching the academic community.

The value for getting academe actively involved is examined in g details in the thoughtful analysis of Richard J. Aldrich (Chapter 13 reminds everyone that serious as the threats of modern global terrare they will cause less damage, destruction, and casualty than some

threats that come with globalization itself, such as various forms of

risk." No one will benefit if the world should get too focused on mode rorism and fail to spot and meet effectively the other more lethal chall A new pandemic, for example, respects no national borders and can be more people than any terrorist attack, and it is a classical global protection that cannot be tackled by any one government alone. Such problem threats, as well as challenges posed by the al Qaeda brand of terrorist created by globalization and need to be monitored and understood be what intelligence services on their own can hope to do. What Aldrich is needed is the founding of something like a Global Threat Analysis C which can be co-located or even be part of a world-class research universities and other institution.

over the world on the one hand and liaise closely with the intelligence munity on the other. Such a center will rely on open sources for inform and benefit from dynamic exchanges with the world's best specialis whatever subjects that can enhance the understanding of an emerging whatever its nature. It will maintain its independence in analysis an not be susceptible to the problem of "groupthink" in the intelligence munity as it will not be a part of the intelligence community. Nevertle the intelligence community. Together they can acquire a capacity unavailable to anyone and tremendously improve the world's understand and anticipate the unknown unknown challenges that g tion will bring.