NATO IN PEACE SUPPORT OPERATIONS: EFFICIENCY OF INTELLIGENCE AND PROPAGANDA IN BOSNIA HERZEGOVINA AND AFGHANISTAN

A THESIS SUBMITTED TO
THE GRADUATE SCHOOL OF SOCIAL SCIENCES
OF
MIDDLE EAST TECHNICAL UNIVERSITY

BY

MURAT ASLAN

IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS
FOR
THE DEGREE OF DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY
IN
THE DEPARTMENT OF INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

JUNE 2017

Approval of the Graduate School of Social Sciences

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ABSTRACT

NATO IN PEACE SUPPORT OPERATIONS:
EFFICIENCY OF INTELLIGENCE AND PROPAGANDA
IN BOSNIA HERZEGOVINA AND AFGHANISTAN

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June 2017, 349 pages

This thesis examines the efficiency of propaganda and affiliated intelligence functions of NATO in peace support operations. For this purpose, the research scrutinizes the context of peace support operations, NATO's conceptualizations of propaganda and intelligence, their practice in the field, and the shifts that have occurred in these conceptualizations. In order to analyse such issues, the NATO operations in Bosnia-Herzegovina and Afghanistan are examined in detail as case studies. Both cases are used to pinpoint the discourse of propaganda and affiliated intelligence activities of NATO in peace support operations as well as challenges, which are encountered by NATO in such operations. It is argued that as NATO failed to shift its conventional thinking, stemmed from the Cold War environment, it is late to respond newly emerging threat types, actors, and the requirements of peace support operations. NATO's experiences in Bosnia-Herzegovina and Afghanistan demonstrate to what extent NATO was unable to address the population centric concerns which peace support operations should have taken more interest in and to what extent intelligence and propaganda efforts of NATO in such operations proved to be successful in responding to the actual needs and necessities for (un)successfully completing peace support operations.

Key Words: NATO, Intelligence, Propaganda, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Afghanistan.

ÖZ

NATO VE BARIŞI DESTEK HAREKÂTLARI:
BOSNA-HERSEK VE AFGANİSTAN MÜDAHALELERİNDE İSTİHBARAT VE PROPAGANDA ETKİNLİĞİ

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Tez Yöneticisi: Doç.Dr. Ebru BOYAR

Haziran 2017, 349 sayfa

Bu tez; NATO'nun, barışı destek harekâtlarında icra edilen propaganda ve ilintili istihbarat fonksiyonlarının etkinliğini incelemektedir. Bu maksatla çalışma; barışı destek harekâtlarının kapsamını, NATO'nun propaganda ve istihbarat kavramlarını, sahadaki pratik ile bu kavramlardaki değişimi araştırmaktadır. Bu hususların analiz edilmesine yönelik olarak NATO'nun Bosna Hersek ve Afganistan'da icra ettiği harekâtlar birer vaka çalışması olarak detaylı bir şekilde incelenmiştir. Her iki vaka, NATO'nun barışı destek harekâtlarındaki propaganda ve istihbarat süreçleri ile NATO'nun bu harekât tiplerinde karşılaştığı dirençler bağlamında irdelenmiştir. Yapılan çalışma sonucunda, NATO'nun Soğuk Savaş'tan kaynaklanan gelenekselliğinden kopamaması ile birlikte; ortaya çıkan yeni tehditlere, aktörlere ve barışı destek harekâtının gerekliliklerine cevap vermekte geç kaldığı görülmüştür. NATO'nun Bosna Hersek ve Afganistan tecrübeleri; barışı destek harekâtlarının ön plana çıkarttığı halk tabanlı kaygılara cevap vermekte ne kadar yetersiz kaldığını ve barışı destek harekâtlarının başarıyla sonlandırılmasında istihbarat ve propaganda faaliyetlerinin ihtiyaç ve gerekliliklerini karşılamakta ne derece başarılı olduğunu (veya olamadığını) ortaya koymaktadır.

Anahtar Kelimeler: NATO, İstihbarat, Propaganda, Bosna Hersek, Afganistan.

To Teachers.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

The author wishes to express her gratitude to his supervisor Assoc. Prof. Dr. Ebru Boyar for her guidance and encouragements throughout the research. This thesis would not be concluded without Dr. Boyar's precise contributions.

I wish to thank the members of the dissertation committee for their constructive criticism and direction during the course of the dissertation.

I appreciate the efforts of Herb Freidman, Ed Rouse, Ines Kuburovic and Sorin Christea since they provided original PSYOP products for this dissertation. Besides I thank all the interviewed individuals since they contributed the research by their incredible experiences.

Finally, the author is deeply grateful to his family for their patience and tolerance.

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

ACE	Allied Command Europe
ACO	Allied Command Operations
ACT	Allied Command Transformation
AD	ACO Directive
ANA	Afghan National Army
ANP	Afghan National Police
ARRC	Allied Rapid Reaction Force
CEAUSSIC	Commission on the Engagement of Anthropology with US Security and Intelligence Communities
CIMIC	Civil-Military Cooperation
CJIICTF	Combined Joint IFOR Information Campaign Task Force
CNO	Computer Network Operations
CSCE	Commission of Security and Cooperation in Europe
DDR	The Disarmament, Demobilization, and Reintegration programs
DFS	Department of Field Support of the UN
DPA	The Dayton Peace Accord/Agreement
DPKO	Department of Peacekeeping Operations of the UN
EAF	Entity Armed Forces
EC	European Community
EU	European Union
EUFOR	European Union Force
EW	Electronic Warfare
GFAP	The General Framework Agreement for Peace (for Bosnia-Herzegovina)

GIRoA	The Government of Islamic Republic of Afghanistan
HIG	Hezb-e Islami Gulbettin
HTS	Human Terrain System
HTT	Human Terrain Team
HUMINT	Human Intelligence
IFOR	Implementation Force
IIC	Information Campaign
IPB	Intelligence Preparation of Battlefield
ISAF	International Security Assistance Force
IMS	International Military Staff
IOs	International Organizations
InfoOps	Information Operations
JNA	The Yugoslav Federal Army
LCY	The League of Communists of Yugoslavia
MCOU	Military Community Outreach Unit
MNCs	Multinational Corporations
MISO	Military Information Support Operation
MOE	Measurement of Effectiveness
NAC	The North Atlantic Council of NATO
NATO	North Atlantic Treaty Organization
NGO	Non-governmental Organization
NIC	National Intelligence Cell
OEF	Operation Enduring Freedom (Afghanistan)
OPSEC	Operations Security
OSCE	Organization for Security and Co-operation in Europe
PA	Public Affairs
PAO	Public Affairs Office
PD	Public Diplomacy

PDD	Public Diplomacy Department of NATO
PIO	Public Information Offices
PR	Public Relations
PKK/PYD	Terrorist Organizations (Kurdistan Worker Party and its Armed Wing)
PSYOP	Psychological Operations
RS	Republika Srpska
RSM	Resolute Support Mission of NATO to Afghanistan
SACLANT	Supreme Allied Commander Atlantic
SACEUR	Supreme Allied Commander Europe
SC	Strategic Communications
SFOR	Stabilization Force (Bosnia-Herzegovina)
SHAPE	Allied Powers Europe
SHIRBRIG	Standby High Readiness Brigade
SRT	Serbian Radio and Television
UN	The United Nations
UNAMA	The UN Assistance Mission in Afghanistan
UNAMIR	The United Nations Assistance Mission for Rwanda
UNCRO	The UN Confidence Restoration Organization in Croatia
UNMIK	The UN Mission in Kosovo
UNOC	The United Nations Operation in Congo
UNOSOM	The United Nations Operation in Somalia
UNPREDEP	The UN Preventive Deployment Force in Macedonia
UNPROFOR	The United Nations Protection Force in Bosnia-Herzegovina
UNPA	United Nations Protected Areas
UNSC	The United Nations Security Council
UNTAES	The UN Transitional Administration for Eastern Slavonia

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

NATO, which was established in 1949 as a collective defence organization against the "communist" threat, had lost its viability with the collapse of the Soviet Union and the end of the Cold War. This new era brought new challenges to NATO's reasoning of its existence. Hence NATO had to invent its *raison d'etre* to prove its relevance and importance. In this sense, NATO started to take part in conflicts under the rubric of peace support operations in various parts of the world while re-defining its role in the post-Cold War environment parallel to emerging crisis types. Intelligence and propaganda appeared to be two functions of NATO that were essential to conclude the witnessed crises. This thesis thus examines the role of NATO in peace support operations, with a focus on its propaganda and affiliated intelligence efforts in terms of their efficiencies and fallacies.

The motivation of such an effort emanates from the desire to search effective methods in peace support operations, mainly by propaganda and affiliated intelligence functions amongst the others, as complimentary means to 'hard' power applications [1]. Hence intelligence and propaganda capabilities of NATO have been the core of the debate since NATO has assumed new roles in the newly established order that these two functions could promote NATO's contribution to long-term global security and stability. Despite the NATO's changing role and increasing prominence of peace support operations, however propaganda and affiliated intelligence activities of NATO still have remained short of contributing to the peaceful termination of conflicts that a re-designed architecture of propaganda and integrated intelligence perception could ease the enterprises of NATO and the other security mechanisms in the long run.

While trying to analyse NATO's achievements and/or failures in peace support operations in relation to intelligence gathering and propaganda engagements, the multinational structure of the Alliance will be taken into consideration and be questioned to

[1] Colin S. Gray, *Hard Power and Soft Power: The Utility of Military Force as an Instrument of Policy in the 21st Century* (Carlisle: Strategic Studies Institute, 2012), p. vii.

what extent such multinationalism has become a hindrance for the success of intelligence and propaganda since these two fields are perceived under national authority of member/partner state actors. Another aspect, which will be examined within the framework of this dissertation, is the concepts that were invested, re-invented, used, or to certain extent abused in the process of defining NATO's role in the post-Cold War era. Finally, after investigating the major problems and challenges in relation to NATO's propaganda and intelligence activities in peace support operations, it will be set to develop alternative approaches and methods such as unconventional intelligence and propaganda methods and approaches, contrary to accustomed conventional repetitions of military practices.

The foci of the thesis – overcoming hindrances, appropriate and realistic conceptualizations, and the need of integration and simplification of practices – seem to be prerequisites of today's international crises. With the end of the Cold War, NATO found itself in a new security environment [2] where previously ignored, or downplayed, regional/local conflicts have appeared to be main security threats in international arena. Confrontations between standing armies of large nation states are becoming rare while conflicts with/against guerrilla/terrorist groups or civil wars, of whom are barely distinguishable from the local population, are increasingly common as can be seen in Afghan, Iraqi, Libyan or Syrian cases. In other words, hard power applications, such as overwhelming firepower, no longer guarantees victory.[3] As a result, 'change' has occurred in many aspects of the witnessed crises after 1990s that conventional[4] military engagements do not address the full spectrum of conflicts. New methodology of military engagements has to be discussed and their validity needs to be tested if a low cost and acceptable crisis

[2] The US Department of Defence defines "environment" as "a composite of the conditions, circumstances, and influences that affect the employment of military forces and bear on the decisions of the unit commander." In this frame environment is circumstances of physical, social, psychological conditions in which a military process is being executed. The actors, which involve in this environment, are also part of the environment. Federation of American Scientists, "Military Terminology", available at http://fas.org/news/reference/lexicon/deo.htm, accessed on December 12, 2015.

[3] Vaughan Bell, "How to Win Wars by Influencing People's Behavior", *The Guardian*, March 16, 2014, available at https://www.theguardian.com/science/2014/mar/16/how-to-win-wars-by-influencing-peoples-behaviour, accessed on March 23, 2014.

[4] Conventional forces, on the other hand, provide the bulk of a nation's military power. They consist of combat and support elements from all four Services, excluding units dedicated to special operations and nuclear deterrence. The major categories of conventional forces are land, naval, aviation, and mobility forces. Conventionality indicates the application of traditional force structures, regularity of exercises that they were rehearsed to address regular military formations within the frame of fundamental principles of war. Extreme capabilities such as nuclear, chemical, biological weapons are beyond conventionality. Indirect tools in the environment of hybrid and asymmetric warfare are not conventional. Federation of American Scientists, available at http://fas.org/man/docs/adr_00/chap5.htm, accessed on February 20, 2016.

management[5] and termination approach is desired for long-term commitments. Intelligence and propaganda, in this sense, are parts of emerging methodologies mainly in peace tagged interventions of NATO. If diversified actors of witnessed conflicts are concerned, conventional responses to conclude the conflicts are not promising even in the peace tagged operations of 1990s and 2010s since security environment in these operations is challenged due to new motivations, flexible tactics, and extraordinary capabilities of emerging threats. Spillman points the nature of change as follows:

> In dealing with the increase of intra-state and ethnically motivated conflicts after the collapse of the bipolar system, the international actors soon had to learn that traditional concepts of peacekeeping were no longer applicable as the nature of conflict had changed. In the course of the many difficult operations that took place in the 1990s to ensure peace in troubled regions, previous peacekeeping doctrines were challenged. The new conflict environments were much more complex and necessitated different approaches to cover a wider range of tasks.[6]

As can be seen from the quotation, crises of varying sorts are more complex in the current age that makes conflicts blurring and indefinite. The pace of change is speeding up and moving in unpredictable directions for military decisionmakers and security policy builders that structuring military for a specific mission has become harder than ever. Ethnic, religious, sectarian, or tribal based conflicts are intertwined with volatile dynamics, which can hardly be foreseen to define the codes of conduct for military bodies. For instance ethno-motivated conflicts of the Balkans have not been outmoded from the agenda of international community, while religion-motivated conflicts have shown themselves prevalent as could be seen by Al Qaeda and ISIS threats in the wider Middle East. An additional ideological motivation of terror groups may extend the cyclically nested crisis environment to "complexities of complexities" that every actor and individual feature of crisis environment is complexity while the network of linkages creates a complexity of all these complexities, as can be seen in the actors and conflict environment of Syria. Furthermore, conflicts may include differing dynamics that may brush a different colour to the picture of conflict, but nobody could reach even to 'black' but a mess of colours. The responses of the questions of what the interests of the actors are, of whom is allied with which actor, of which allies

[5] While Anceaux and Morel refer many scholars to explain crisis management in their study, Pogalski's definition is worth to quote. He argues that "there is a crisis when a system is confronted with an event, generally unexpected, of which the consequences are going to develop in time with a dynamic which can be very fast, producing significant risks which exceed the pre- existing resources in terms of procedures of actions and actors". F. Anceaux and G. Morel, "Crisis Management: Theories and Methods", Paper presented in *Arpege Symposium*, Paris, 2011, available at http://arpege-recherche.org/symposium2012/Arpege_Anceaux_Morel.pdf, accessed on February 20, 2016.

[6] Kurt R. Spillman et al., *Peace Support Operations: Lessons Learned and Future Perspectives* (Zurich: Centre of International Studies, 2001), p. 21.

support the enemy of the ally is complicating that there seems to be no common ground even for the members of NATO.

The conflicts and emerging threat types have disregarded the legally established borders of state actors by means of unconventionally organised irregular groupings, as local militias in the Balkans, opposing forces in Afghanistan, DEASH or PKK/PYD present. Covertness of threat and religiously/ideologically inspired dogmas are two prominent characteristics of current threat types, although they can also orient themselves to cooperate with contrasting inspirations, as PKK/PYD is committed with its main supporter – the USA while taking the USA at the edge of supporting terrorism. The targets of these actors have become 'people' rather than sole security forces within two differing perspectives: to deliver fear among the masses or to obtain public support. Hence the attitude of people has become the main effort to have mobility and permanency in society for the new threat types, which make intelligence and propaganda a primary tool of 'public understanding, management, and its shapening'. In this sense, social influence and dissuasion has become one of the main apparatus to suppress people-centric undertakings of emerging threats, as "kinetic" force will lack adequate skills in these commitments. Military has become short of responding to address the prerequisites of such 'complexities of complexities" with traditional assets. Intelligence and propaganda, on the other hand, appeared to be essential functions of military formations to be benefitted in every possible conflict types if any individual human being or a group of people is included as an actor to the conflict.

Another concern is the cost of military engagements in terms of finance, human loss, political outcomes, or credibility. Democratic states of the current age no longer retain conflicts if the cost could not be tolerable for the voters. Moreover, financial burden of the conflict surpasses the economic capacities of state actors that a single state actor cannot tolerate the long-term burden of the conflict by itself. For instance, Afghan and Iraqi interventions of the US-led Coalition indicated that the cost of current conflicts exceeded the capacities of state actors that was also ended up by government shifts in the western countries. The quests of state actors, thus, stream towards cost-effective solutions to prevent or suppress conflicts by peace keeping/support operations under the authority of international organizations or constructed coalitions rather than their direct involvements. Collective response, by means of international organizations, has become a justification method of military engagements as an imposed narrative upon publics. Hence western state actors, as agents, preferred to attribute new tasks to NATO as the collective security structure, against emerging threat types and instabilities of complex nature to realize their interests. In other words, structure of international system has become a "mean" for the

desired "ends" of member/partner state actors. As a result, NATO "structure" has become the main apparatus of state agents to realize own agendas in troubled regions by peace tagged undertakings.

Under the clout of these concerns, NATO has started its transformation process after the Cold War pending to perceived security environment and reviewed its strategic thinking. In this frame, NATO summits describe(d) the probable threats for a "desired" international structure and foresee probable missions of NATO.[7] For instance Strategic Concept, attached to the Declaration of Brussels Summit in 1994, listed terrorism, organized crime, disruption in flow of resources, uncontrolled movement of large amount of people as threats/risks along with conventional/regular threat types. This step was a complete diversion from the original founding principles of NATO that required a collective response to the conventional Soviet threat.[8] It underlined conflict prevention and crisis management by actively engaging the emerging threat types in the form of crisis response operations. In this frame, the Brussels Summit of 1994 added terrorism and instability in the frame of the security of Mediterranean region and inter-ethnic conflict in Bosnia-Herzegovina as new concerns of overall security additional to conventional ones.[9] The Washington Summit of 1999 indicated the change in the structure of potential threats[10] and adapted itself to a new security environment, fully consistent with the Alliance's perceived security challenges.[11] Finally Istanbul Summit of 2004 clearly announced the new strategic thinking in the "wider world" rather than limited within North Atlantic area,[12] expanding the scope of its operations. The Summit's

[7] The Declaration of the Heads of State and Government, "The Brussels Summit Declaration", Brussels, January 11, 1994, available at http://www.nato.int/cps/en/natohq/official_texts_24470.htm?mode=pressrelease, accessed on August 14, 2014.

[8] Ronald D.Asmus, *Opening NATO's Door: How the Alliance Remade Itself for a New Era* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2002), p. 1.

[9] The Declaration of the Heads of State and Government, "The Brussels Summit Declaration", Brussels, January 11, 1994.

[10] The Declaration by the Heads of State and Government, "The Washington Summit Communiqué: An Alliance for the 21st Century", Washington D.C., April 24, 1999, available at http://www.nato.int/docu/pr/1999/p99-064e.htm, accessed on August 14, 2014.

[11] The updated Strategic Concept reaffirms commitment to collective defence and the transatlantic link; takes account of the challenges the Alliance faces; presents an Alliance readiness and with a full range of capabilities to enhance the security and stability of the Euro-Atlantic area; commitment to building the ESDI within the Alliance; highlights the enhanced role of partnership and dialogue; underlines the need to develop defence capabilities to their full potential to meet the spectrum of Alliance missions, including forces which are more deployable, sustainable, survivable and able to engage effectively; and provides guidance to the NATO Military Authorities to this end. Available at http://www.nato.int/docu/pr/1999/p99-064e.htm, accessed on August 14, 2014.

[12] The Istanbul Declaration, "Our Security in a New Era", Istanbul, June 28, 2004, available at http://www.nato.int/docu/pr/2004/p04-097e.htm, accessed on August 14, 2014.

concluding declaration underlined that the threats have changed substantially. These threats emanated from a far wider area than the past while including terrorism and the proliferation of weapons of mass destruction. Hence NATO, since the end of the Cold War, had defined a new perception of threat pending to the events of the decade that was already experienced rather than expected. But the common issue was that, peace support operations have become the preferred engagement method of interventions, disregarding the nature of threat and spatiality as would be seen in Bosnia-Herzegovina, Kosovo, and Afghanistan interventions of NATO.

Peace support operations, which have varying strata of force engagements, require NATO, and the state actors as well, to develop new doctrinal approaches. Military coercion is still a valid course to eliminate armed resistance of insurgents. But interventions after 1990s have indicated that military interventions were concluded by limited success because it is usually hard to terminate crises, once they erupt. Long-term termination of conflicts and establishing secure environment in compliance with the interests of dominant state actors required persistent application of perennial methods that would get through the root causes of the conflict. In this frame, intelligence and propaganda have appeared to be two main functions to deter, persuade, and, if needed, coerce the conflicting parties of peace support operations.

Efficient and long-term solutions to crises require both intelligence and propaganda activities to identify the context of the crises, to respond challenges and to shape the events before being shaped by them. Efficiency of both functions can reduce the costs of peace support operations, improve the security and survival of NATO forces, mend the faults, and evade the claims of adversaries. Hence these two fields may be benefitted even during peace to deny conflicts. But bad connotations of both fields and their contextual shortfalls hindered their efficient execution. There is a hesitation to use these conceptualizations especially in the peace tagged operations of NATO, and the UN as well, due to prejudices of theory builders, practitioners, and interested communities.[13] Intelligence and propaganda are portrayed as antagonistic undertakings that would breach the *bona fides* of intervening actor. In this sense, propaganda activities are denied as if it is a malevolent engagement.

Putting aside the whole discussion about the ethics of propaganda and intelligence in the circles of NATO and academic communities, these functions are practiced under new titles and being improved by established processes in accordance with evolving information technologies. Consequently, the argument of this thesis is that propaganda is being employed

[13] Interview with Lothar Buny, NATO SACT Information Operations Department, email message to author, February 14, 2014.

and not dead, but evolved under new conceptualizations. Propaganda makers ignore the exploitation of intelligence that both are affiliated functions for NATO in peace support operations. In this frame, NATO could not transform its propaganda and affiliated intelligence paradigm pending to the requirements of peace support operations that NATO has remained short of communicating with the targeted audiences. In this context ascribed context of integrated intelligence and propaganda function in peace support operations will be examined, especially in the realm of unconventional warfare. The ontology and methodology of such functions needs to be scrutinized to employ an efficient intervention by international organizations, which usually do not have a unified effort and command unity.

1.1. The Plan of the Thesis

The thesis will be comprised of seven chapters, including introduction and conclusion. The second chapter will examine the characteristics of NATO's peace support operations after a broader scrutiny of the UN doctrine. A contextual analysis of peace support operations of both the UN and NATO is done to define the limits of intelligence and propaganda. The main question to be discussed in this chapter is to identify what the context of peace support operations is in terms of actors, operational environment, faced concerns and challenges. By that way, the requirements of peace support operations will be discussed, mainly for NATO.

The third chapter will review the doctrinal approaches and search for new sights of intelligence and propaganda. NATO's successes and failures in applying these fields within an integrated mentality are investigated. Hence the goal of the chapter is to question what the current intelligence and propaganda paradigm is, especially within the circles of NATO operations to see efficiencies/deficiencies. For this purpose, the theoretical fundamentals of both fields are discussed with their shortfalls. The subject matter of the chapter is to understand whether there is a shift in the ontology of intelligence and propaganda due to newly emerging actors and their capabilities, operational environment and experienced concerns.

The fourth chapter focuses on the observations and experiences of interviewed NATO personnel to investigate the flaws in the practice of intelligence and propaganda activities. NATO has shortfalls due to doctrinal, organizational and structural deficiency because of its multi-national nature. NATO personnel, also on the ground, experience hardships due to the

issue fields of practice. The chapter argues that practice, additional to theoretical complexities, make NATO's propaganda and affiliated activities more complicated to achieve defined goals.

The fifth and sixth chapters will cover Bosnia Herzegovina and Afghanistan interventions as case studies. Both fallacies and superiorities of propaganda and affiliated intelligence functions in both cases will be compared. In this context, NATO's and preceding organizations' intelligence and propaganda activities during and after the conflicts will be examined. The claimed achievements and failures of NATO in both cases will be reviewed. The prominence of social-cultural search of host publics and its reflection in intelligence and propaganda activities will be analysed.

The Bosnian case in fifth chapter will initially investigate the discourse of the conflict and identify the intelligence and propaganda activities of all parties to conflict in order to portray what NATO had faced. The intelligence and propaganda functions of NATO's IFOR and SFOR will be questioned by scrutinizing capacities and capabilities of them. The Afghan case in sixth chapter, which is more comprehensive in comparison to the Bosnian case, will be focused after a concise review of the history of the conflict. Intelligence and propaganda functions of opposing militias and the preceding Coalition will be investigated to see countering and inherited intelligence and propaganda processes. ISAF's undertakings of both functions will be reviewed and analysed taking the products and processes to the centre of the research pending to the phase of the operation.

It is worth to explain why the Bosnian and Afghanistan interventions are selected for this research. The cases of NATO's Bosnia-Herzegovina and Afghanistan interventions clearly present a complexity if the features of both events are compared. The Bosnian intervention is significant in terms of its ethno-religious nature. No matter how the crisis had developed, brutality was the main characteristic. Additional issue fields such as economic and social inadequacy of Bosnia, ruined cities along with permanent enmities of ethnicities, organized crime gangs, policies of neighbouring and European states make the Bosnian theatre complicated. In terms of tactics and procedures against these problem fields, NATO's intervention and peace support operation in Bosnia-Herzegovina was in the same line with

the Afghan intervention. The Afghan case includes an ethnic assortment of various backgrounds, drug trafficking, presence of outer actors, extremism, insurgency, poverty, thirty-year-of-civil-war, organized crime, immigration, epidemic diseases, social disasters, Pakistan's competitive behaviour, and many more features.[14] Both interventions have continuity in intelligence and propaganda activities while evolvement in methodologies follows one another since NATO engaged both sequentially. Bosnia is the crawling phase of NATO in properly employing intelligence and propaganda activities in peace support operations. The Afghan intervention was built upon the lessons learned from the Bosnian experience in terms of knowledge accumulation and enhancing tactics and procedures. Hence the continuity of tactics in both interventions indicates an evolvement in the process itself by obtained lessons. Nevertheless, the differences between the Afghan and the Bosnian cases, in terms of their social and cultural aspects, are distinct which would also harden the evaluation of two functions. The arguments of these chapters indicate the inefficiency of NATO in terms of propaganda and affiliated intelligence activities with its structural flaws and inadequacy in practice.

The closing chapter will conclude the thesis. Current doctrinal perspective of NATO will be analysed through the Bosnian and Afghan experience to conclude what the paradigm shift of propaganda and affiliated intelligence activities are.

1.2. Methodology

The quantification of data in such a research is hard to achieve. Obtaining numeric values to measure the effectiveness of communication, intelligence gathering and assessment may be deceptive to abstract the overall picture especially for social and cultural dimension of conflicts. As a result, a qualitative evaluation is preferred in performing this research. Non-probability sampling is preferred due to the acceptance of subjectivity in evaluating efficiency surveys.

[14] Joseph J. Collins, *Understanding War in Afghanistan* (Washington D.C.: National Defence University Press, 2011), pp. 63-81.

Primary sources of the survey are interviews with complete participants to NATO's peace operations, such as former soldiers, and observations of the author. Hence the preferred approach in the research is initially based upon participant observation. Interviewees are selected from academics and professionals who took part in NATO circles and could present their experiences and observations. The reason of non-random selection is that NATO officials who participated to these operations are hardly accessible globally since there is no organizing body after they finished of their tasks. The author realized after interviews that every interviewed NATO personnel has his/her own symbolic and subjective experience in one portion of NATO operation and more focused on one aspect NATO's intelligence and communication activities. There was a need to test the reliability and validity of the interviews. The perspectives of the interviewed persons are compared with the other participants, although variations of perspectives were ignorably small.

Interviews are performed in the form of semi-structured nature and snowball sampling is preferred in interviews. In this frame, broad questions are drafted to direct the conversations, but the questions are flexibly aligned with the experiences and background of interviewees. The questions are classified and categorized pending to planning process of propaganda efforts, intelligence support to propaganda, comparisons of the Afghan and Bosnian cases, lessons learned from the practices, doctrinal adequacy and futuristic perspectives. Some interviewees preferred to skip some questions due to their concerns of classification and sometimes leaped to their experiences not exactly matching the question. The author directed questions pending to the discourse of interview by open-ended discussions. Hence each interview has a different course of mutual idea sharing. The author assessed interviews by categorising the sentiments under four titles that are multinationality of NATO and its consequences, flaws of NATO's practices, efficiency of intelligence and propaganda, and finally benefitted means. The abstracted outcomes are compared with conceptualizations to see further developments of these conceptualizations. Finally, the author passed his observations by adding his comments and assessments based on his tours in Bosnia and Afghanistan assignments as primary data.

Other than interviews, the author examined the intelligence activities and propaganda products of NATO's contingents in their areas of responsibilities. The delivered messages and flaws of the products are discussed to show the structural shortfalls by content analysis of the products. The products are obtained from open sources and directly from the NATO commands through prepared CDs. In this frame, intelligence assets/undertakings and propaganda materials of NATO (such as posters, advertisements, billboard messages,

leaflets) in Bosnia-Herzegovina and Afghanistan are analysed to see what their messages were and how they could be perceived.

Other than products, theoretical structure of peace support operations, intelligence and propaganda functions are reviewed by utilizing published NATO materials. The doctrine gives general principles to practitioners tough; NATO's situation is more complex in terms of doctrinal preferences of multi national posture in peace support operations. NATO provides a general frame of doctrine via standardization agreements and Allied Joint Publications. Member states are obliged to have compatible procedures in accordance with allied doctrine though; they may prefer their own codes. Hence official documentation of the pioneering member states, the UN and NATO are benefitted to abstract a generalized review of theoretical background.

The secondary data are derived from the publications of selected authors, policy papers, and documentaries. In this sense, the author scanned open sources affiliated with NATO's interventions. Media coverage is monitored to see what was communicated and what types of changes are obtained. Other than local actors of peace support operations, delivered messages of NATO are reviewed to see what the initial communication of NATO was and how it was perceived. Memoirs and other accounts of experiences are included to cement the findings. Documentaries, which were presenting the views of politicians and former soldiers, are utilized to see first hand thoughts. Academic publications are the final source of theoretical debates. The perceptions of academics encourage exploration of new tactics and procedures in military engagements that could reduce the workload with efficient grips. Especially academic researches of military personnel, along with surveys and policy papers of think tanks are influential upon decision-makers and strategy designers. The thesis reviewed these sources to out-surface the experiences and observations of both theoreticians and practitioners. Other than these sources, reports of specially established working groups, composed of distinguished politicians and soldiers, are precise documents of lessons learned.

CHAPTER 2

THE CONTEXT OF PEACE SUPPORT OPERATIONS AND NATO

Before examining intelligence and propaganda in NATO's peace support operations, there is a need to define what a peace support operation is, how NATO started to take part in such operations and how this organization legitimized its involvement within such operations in the international arena. This investigation is to locate intelligence and propaganda to the proper contextual standing. Besides, as NATO assumes responsibilities under the resolutions of the United Nations Security Council (UNSC), it should comply with the UN Charter.[15] The peace operation doctrine of the UN is a framework for NATO's peace undertakings that the UN's adherence to peace operations is worth to examine what international community perceives from peace support operations and how intelligence and propaganda activities are performed within the frame of prevailing perceptions.

Peace support operations differ from the conventional military thinking since military doctrines are short of responding emerging concerns and tasks in peace support operations. New inputs to military engagements occurred. For instance, the public of the hosting country has become the main concern in understanding and explaining the conflicts because it is the essential actor for 'influence' efforts to have them cope with the established order. Or societies of NATO member states impose constraints, thanks to democratic systems, that leads NATO members be reluctant to use force or to pay excessive costs when addressing humanitarian crises or conflicts.[16] In the tight check mechanism of own public and being

[15] Allied Joint Doctrine for the Military Contribution to Peace Support, Edition A, Version 1, December 2014, pp. 25-26, available at https://www.google.com.tr/?gfe_rd=cr&ei=yIrlV9bLIKHY8AfUwIzQAQ&gws_rd=ssl#q=++Allied+Joint+Publication+3.4.1%2C+Peace+Support+Operations%2C+2001, accessed on December 13, 2015.

[16] Mark Peceny and Shannon Sanchez-Terry, "Liberal Interventionism in Bosnia," *Journal of Conflict Studies*, Vol. 18, No. 1 (Spring 1998), p. 2.

alien to local publics, NATO has to benefit from its intelligence and propaganda assets to monitor and shape security environment.

The UN is the prominent actor of committing peace-oriented undertakings in most conflict regions. But operational design of the UN has refrained from the intelligence and propaganda activities and limited itself with passive observation tasks of established status-quo. The reasons are to rid off a bad image not to breach neutrality and its incapacity. In this frame, NATO has become an apparatus of the UN's peace operations for the tasks that the UN cannot execute. NATO has the means to develop complying methods in dealing with the actors, concerns and challenges of peace support operations, including its propaganda and affiliated intelligence capabilities, in comparison to the UN. But NATO's regular propaganda and intelligence tools are also short of responding crises and conflicts because either peace support operation is not a repetition of similar events of one another due to their varying internal and external dynamics. The argument of the chapter is that the actors of conflicts and concerns of NATO decision makers have diversified from the Cold War thinking that ontologies of intelligence and propaganda have transformed from a threat oriented perception towards 'understand and influence target audience' perception in peace support operations.

2.1. The Legal and Legitimacy Framework in Peace Support Operations

The UN Charter offers the main legality means to NATO in peace support operations. The Charter (Article 24/1) gives the UN Security Council primary responsibility for the maintenance of international peace and security. In fulfilling this responsibility, the Council may adopt a range of measures, including the establishment of a UN peacekeeping operation. In this sense, Chapter VI deals with the "pacific settlement of disputes" that peacekeeping operations of the UN have traditionally been associated with Articles 33-38. However, Chapter VII (Articles 39-51) contains provisions related to "Action with Respect to the Peace, Breaches of the Peace and Acts of Aggression". In recent years, the Council has adopted the practice of invoking Chapter VII when authorizing the deployment of UN peacekeeping operations into volatile post-conflict settings where any state actor is unable to maintain security and public order.[17] The Security Council's invocation of Chapter VII in these situations, in addition to denoting the legal basis for its action, can also be seen as a statement of firm political resolve, reminding parties to face a response and obligation for the wider UN members to implement the Security Council decisions. Chapter VIII of the

[17] The UN Peacekeeping Best Practices Section, *United Nations Peacekeeping Operations: Principles and Guidelines (CAPSTONE Doctrine)* (New York: the UN, 2008), p. 14, available at http://www.un.org/en/peacekeeping/documents/capstone_eng.pdf, accessed on December 13, 2015.

Charter provides for the involvement of regional arrangements and agencies in the maintenance of international peace and security and pinpoints such undertakings as consistent with the purposes and principles of the Chapter I.[18] NATO can be counted as a legal actor of conflicts if the UN mechanism authorizes it in accordance with the clauses of the UN Charter.

It is important to note that all the Charter's justifications for peace related acts were based on the concept of sovereign states. Hence there was limited room for interventions in civil wars[19] despite most crises after the Cold War were in this form, as was the case in the partition of Yugoslavia, despite it was inadequate to address these conflicts. Hence the UN, with a desire to respond civil wars and transfer the burden to regional organizations, led the UN seek a course. The UN drafted three documents in this way. "An Agenda for Peace" of 1992, which was written under the auspices of former Secretary-General Boutros Boutros-Ghali, emphasized the legitimizing role played by the UN in authorizing the use of force while boldly expressing the role of regional organizations in handling security issues.[20] It made the UN interventions flexible and changed the conception to allow intervention in civil wars. Respectively, "High-Level Panel on Threats, Challenges, and Change"[21] of 2004 and the subsequent report "In Larger Freedom: Towards Development, Security and Human Rights for All"[22] in 2005 support regional organizations acting in conjunction with the UN, including the ones under the UN umbrella. The UN was in search of building crises management strategy by exposing the deficiencies of UN interventions and recommending way out to intervene in conflicts of the modern age by having regional organizations involved in.

Alternative to regional establishments, the UN also tried to set a permanent military organization to respond imminent crises. The Standby High Readiness Brigade of the UN

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[18] The UN's Peacekeeping Operations Department,
available at http://www.un.org/en/peacekeeping/operations/pkmandates.shtml, accessed on December 12, 2015.

[19] Michael W. Doyle and Nicholas Sambanis, *Making War and Building Peace: United Nations Peace Operations* (New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 2006), p. 11.

[20] The UN Report, "An Agenda for Peace Preventive Diplomacy, Peacemaking and Peacekeeping", June 17, 1992, available at http://www.un-documents.net/a47-277.htm, accessed on June 11, 2015.

[21] The UN Report, "A More Secured World: Our Shared Responsibility", United Nations Department of Public Information, 2004, available at
http://www.un.org/en/peacebuilding/pdf/historical/hlp_more_secure_world.pdf, accessed on December 12, 2015.

[22] The UN Report, "In Larger Freedom: Towards Development, Security and Human Rights for All", 2005, available at https://www.un.org/ruleoflaw/blog/document/in-larger-freedom-towards-development-security-and-human-rights-for-all-report-of-the-secretary-general/, accessed on December 12, 2015.

(SHIRBRIG) for peace operations, was built between 1996 and 2002, but it had a limited success. The termination of SHIRBRIG, again, indicated regional organizations as an irrevocable option to deploy forces.[23] Inadequacy of the UN and its need to have an enforcement tool made NATO, and other regional organizations as well, vital for the UN with its military readiness to respond threats against peace.[24] This interaction became evident first during the crisis in Bosnia-Herzegovina in the early 1990s, and later was tested in Kosovo in 1999. More recently, NATO has taken on a wide range of missions in conjunction with the UN backing, including operations in Afghanistan, humanitarian relief support following the 2005 Pakistan earthquake, training assistance in Iraq, anti-piracy policing efforts off the coast in Somalia, and efforts to support the African Union peacekeepers in Sudan. With these missions the political and security linkages between the UN and NATO have become progressively more evident.[25]

Despite collaborations, there are also paradoxes between the UN and NATO. Derek Boothby, Director of Europe Division in the Department of Political Affairs in 1995, argued that both organizations had very different philosophies[26]: NATO was an organization designed to fight war, if necessary, to defend peace; whereas the U.N. was an organization designed to avoid war in order to maintain peace. In other words, the effectiveness of NATO was directly proportional to the amount of military force available for use; whereas the effectiveness of the UN peacekeeping was inversely proportional to the amount of military force used. This dichotomy, he claimed, had been abundantly evident in Bosnia-Herzegovina. It was what led some commentators draw incorrect comparisons between the two organizations, either accusing the U.N. of being 'wimpish' and limp-wristed or accusing

[23] SHIRBRIG was a limited success in the UN peacekeeping mechanism, which was erected upon many protocols. The military body was assigned for tasks in Africa after Rwanda genocide was witnessed. The whole brigade did not assume any task, but small portions within the caveats of their nations. Interestingly SHIRBRIG was not very well known in their respective Ministries of Defence, or in the UN Headquarter. In fact, after the decision was taken to close SHIRBRIG, many people said it was a pity that even the people who took that decision knew so little about SHIRBRIG. SHIRBRIG, "SHIRBRIG Lessons Learned Report", 2009, available at http://www.operationspaix.net/DATA/DOCUMENT/566~v~Shirbrig_lessons_learned_report.pdf, accessed on December 21, 2015.

[24] Frantzen comprehensively examines the theory and practice of peace support operations of NATO. Henning-A. Frantzen, *NATO and Peace Support Operations, 1991-1999: Policies and Doctrines* (New York: Frank Cass, 2005).

[25] Kent J. Kille and Ryan C. Hendrickson, "Explaining International Organizations: NATO and the United Nations: Debates and Trends in Institutional Coordination", *Journal of International Organizations Studies*, Vol. 2, No. 1 (2011), pp. 28-29.

[26] Derek Boothby, "NATO and the United Nations", XIIth NATO Workshop On Political-Military Decision Making, Dresden, June 18-22, 1995, available at https://www.csdr.org/95Book/Boothby.htm, accessed on December 21, 2015.

NATO of being too ready to flex its muscles. The truth was that, Boothby argued, both groups were keeping to their original purposes and should not be criticized for doing so. In this context, NATO focused on its responsibilities and assumed new tasks especially if enforcement was at hand, while the UN was more involved in pacific and diplomatic settlements.

Parallel to the pledged authority to start peace operations by the UN, NATO adopted new approaches to respond the transformation of emerging tasks and align its structure. The Riga Summit of NATO in 2006 adopted the "comprehensive approach" which focused on "developing better operational coordination and consultation with the range of civil and military actors involved in the security arena".[27] The comprehensive approach had the potential to "become the centrepiece for future cooperation between NATO, the UN, the EU, and the rest of the international community".[28] The UN, on the other hand, claimed "integrated approach" to emphasize a specific type of operational process and design, where the planning and coordination processes of the different elements of the UN family were integrated into a single country-level UN system when it undertook complex peace building missions.[29] As a result of these emerging approaches, binding rules and principles of the UN took NATO to align its codification by the UN's constraints in its peace operations while coordination mechanisms in and among the international community was built for effective peace operations. But NATO and the UN still have differences in contextualization of peace tagged operations.

2.1.1. The UN's Conceptualization of Peacekeeping Operations

The UN Charter and established security mechanisms have a legitimacy and justification criteria for international commitments to terminate 'undesired' crises and threats towards favoured 'order'. The legitimization process of the UN can be assessed as having three functions. The first one is that the UN authorizes peace operations to prevent malevolent interventions of state actors and regional security organizations. The second one is that the UN regulates peace support operations by means of the UNSC resolutions to clarify the limits of interventions. Finally, the UN passes authority to regional organizations

[27] The comprehensive approach is defined as a process aimed at facilitating system-wide coherence across the security, governance, development, and political dimensions of international peace and stability operations.
Cedric De Coning and Karsten Friis, "Coherence and Coordination: The Limits of the Comprehensive Approach", *Journal of International Peacekeeping*, Vol. 15, No.1-2 (2011), p. 245.

[28] Kille and Hendrickson, "Explaining International Organizations", pp. 35-36.

[29] Cedric De Coning, *The United Nations and the Comprehensive Approach* (Copenhagen: Danish Institute for International Studies, 2008), p. 14.

to allay its inabilities in case a resolute intervention is a requirement to preserve or build peace.

NATO's post-Cold War perception has also been built upon the principles of the UN's codification and legitimization process. Hence the contextualization of the UN's peacekeeping operations needs to be examined to better understand NATO's perceptions and reflections on intelligence and propaganda functions. This section explores peacekeeping operations under the auspices of the UN and its limitations, and NATO's involvement to such operations under the framework of the UN Charter.

The overall objective of the UN is "to create a commitment to international peace and security, the development of friendly relations among nations, the promotion of social progress, better living standards, and universal human rights".[30] In this frame, peacekeeping is a range of activities undertaken by the UN and other 'authorized' international actors to pursue and build this desired 'order' of the UN Charter. For this purpose, global political developments pushed the UN to start peace-oriented undertakings to observe agreements, which could terminate the conflicts. In this sense, the practice of peacekeeping began in 1948 when the first UN military observers were deployed to Palestine[31], as the leading enterprise for further peace operations under the mandate of the UN. With the end of the Cold War, the context changed pending to the emerging threats and characteristics of instabilities.[32]

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[30] The UN Charter, June 26, 1945, http://www.un.org/en/sections/un-charter/chapter-i/index.html, accessed on December 19, 2015.
The UN Peacekeeping Best Practices Section, *United Nations Peacekeeping Operations: Principles and Guidelines (CAPSTONE Doctrine)*, p. 17.

[31] On 29 May 1948, the Security Council, in Resolution 50 (1948), called for a cessation of hostilities in Palestine and decided that the UN Mediator should supervise the truce, with the assistance of a group of military observers. The first group of military observers, which has become known as the United Nations Truce Supervision Organization (UNTSO), arrived in the region in June 1948. In August 1949, the Security Council, by its Resolution 73 (1949) assigned new functions to UNTSO in line with four Armistice Agreements between Israel and the four neighbouring Arab countries – Egypt, Jordan, Lebanon, and the Syrian Arab Republic. UNTSO's activities thus were spread over the territory within five states in the region.
United Nations Truce Supervision Organization, available at http://www.un.org/en/peacekeeping/missions/untso/background.shtml, accessed on December 13, 2015.

[32] The Secretary-General gives responsibility for the executive direction and administration of all UN Peacekeeping Operations (PKOs) to the Under-Secretary-General for Peacekeeping Operations "USG DPKO". Through the Department of Peacekeeping Operations in New York, the USG DPKO directs and controls UN PKOs; develops policies and operational guidelines; prepares reports; advises the Secretary-General; acts as a focal point between the Secretariat and Member States; and is responsible and accountable to the Secretary-General for ensuring that the DPKO-led field missions meet the requirements of the United Nations security management system. On behalf of the Secretary-General, the Under-Secretary-General for Field Support (USG DFS) and the Department of Field Support are

Despite the increased efforts of the UN, security environment after the Cold War challenged state's capacity to provide security for its citizens and establish public order while violent acts were frequently witnessed after 1990s.[33] Once peace was established, post-conflict environment usually faced collapsed state mechanisms along with societal, economic, and humanitarian disasters. In this frame, basic infrastructure of the conflict-torn countries were ruined and a large section of the population were displaced while being treated as refugees or internally displaced persons, as seen in Bosnian, Iraqi, Afghan, or Syrian crises. Societies were divided along ethnic, religious and regional lines while grave human right abuses were committed that state actors and international organizations did not remain silent. Moreover, interconnectedness of information age facilitated expansion of conflicts to the other societies. Hence internal conflicts were to be compromised by the inclusion of foreign forces due to inadequacy of individual state actors and inadequacies of international organizations.

The UN preferred and prefers diplomatic solutions due to its original founding principles. But it had fallen short of responding crises and could not prevent conflicts. In some occasions, diplomatic or military undertakings were concluded by reconciliation between belligerents, although the goals of United Nations peacekeeping were necessarily limited only to maintain cease-fires and stabilizing tensions for a while. The UN was to ensure peace by assuring any party not to gain any military advantage upon the other party of the conflict.[34] Parallel to limited peace keeping goals, catastrophic failures were apparent in

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responsible for delivering dedicated support to UN field operations, including PKOs and special political missions.

The Department of Political Affairs plays central role in PKO efforts through monitoring and assessing global political developments; advising the UN Secretary-General on actions that could advance the cause of peace; providing support and guidance to the UN peace envoys and political missions in the field; and serving Member States directly through electoral assistance and through the support of its staff to the work of the Security Council and other UN bodies. For instance, Department of Political Affairs collaborates with UN PKOs in supporting or conducting elections in post-conflict countries. The UN, available at www.un.org/en/mainbodies/secretariat/index.shtml, accessed on September 14th, 2014.

[33] Gwyn Prins, "Lord Castlereagh's Return: The Significance of Kofi Annan's High Level Panel on Threats, Challenges and Change", *International Affairs*, Vol. 81, No. 2 (March 2005), pp. 381-382.

[34] The tasks assigned to traditional United Nations peacekeeping operations by the Security Council are essentially military in character and may involve observation, monitoring and reporting – using static posts, patrols, over-flights or other technical means, with the agreement of the parties; supervision of cease-fire and support to verification mechanisms; interposition as a buffer and confidence-building measure.
The UN Peacekeeping Best Practices Section, *United Nations Peacekeeping Operations: Principles and Guidelines*, pp. 21-23.

1990s.[35] The result of the UN's role in the field of peace and security was far from desired success in March 2000, when the UN Secretary General Kofi Annan appointed a Panel on "the UN Peace Operations" due to Rwanda and Srebrenica catastrophes.[36] The Panel was asked to "undertake a thorough review of peace and security activities", giving birth to "Brahimi Report".[37] According to this report, the tasks to be assumed in peace keeping operations have expanded by building the capacities of hosting country regarding infrastructure, employment, economic governance, civil administration, elections, political process, security operations, 'disarmament, demobilization and reintegration', rule of law, human rights, capacity building, or humanitarian assistance. The core functions of a "multidimensional" United Nations peacekeeping operation were designed to obtain several outcomes in Brahimi's report. Initially the root causes of the conflict and sustainability of established peaceful environment was the goal to be committed and achieved. A secure and stable international (or regional) environment had to be maintained while strengthening state's ability to provide security, with full respect for the rule of law and human rights. Secondly a political process had to be facilitated among conflicting parties by promoting dialogue and reconciliation among them. Meanwhile the establishment of legitimate and effective institutions for "good governance" had to be supported. Finally a framework had to be ensured for the coherence of the policies of international actors.[38]

The Brahimi Report, in the direction of afore purposes, was a desire to commit the efforts of the UN in building and sustaining peace with a comprehensive formula. Especially social and economic dimensions of the conflicts were underscored to extend peace into future. Moreover, the authorization was given to the Secretary-General to commit funds

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[35] William Shawcross hopscotches across the world's civil wars and disorders, describing well intentioned but often ineffective international attempts to intervene. He claims the UN of being ineffective in Bosnia, Kosovo, Haiti, Somalia, or Cambodia. William Shawcross, *Deliver Us from Evil: Peacekeepers, Warlords and a World of Endless Conflict* (London: Simon and Schuster, 2001). Available at http://fee.org/freeman/deliver-us-from-evil-peacekeepers-warlords-and-a-world-of-endless-conflict-by-william-shawcross/, accessed on December 1, 2015.

[36] The participants of the panel are Lakhdar Brahimi (Algeria) Chairman of the Panel, J. Brian Atwood (United States), Colin Granderson (Trinidad and Tobago), Dame Ann Hercus (New Zealand), Richard Monk (United Kingdom), Klaus Naumann (Germany), Hisako Shimura (Japan), Vladimir Shustov (Russian Federation), Philip Sibanda (Zimbabwe) and Cornelio Sommaruga (Switzerland). The Panel is concluded by the Report of the Panel on United Nations Peace Operations (2000) and approved by the UN Security Councill on November 13, 2000, available at http://www.un.org/en/events/pastevents/brahimi_report.shtml, accessed on September 15, 2014.

[37] Kofi Annan, "Identical Letters Dated 21 August 2000 from the Secretary-General to the President of the General Assembly and the President of the Security Council", August 21, 2000, available at http://www.un.org/documents/ga/docs/55/a55305.pdf, accessed on September 15, 2014.

[38] Brahimi Report, "Report of the Panel on United Nations Peace Operations", available at http://www.unrol.org/files/brahimi%20report%20peacekeeping.pdf, accessed on September 15, 2014.

prior to the creation of a mission (Pre-Mandate Commitment Authority) and the Strategic Deployment Stocks, aimed at facilitating the rapid deployment of materials. The establishment of groups of pre-identified personnel who were supposed to support an operation in its first 90 days (Rapid Deployment Teams) was valuable implementations of the Brahimi Report, despite the difficulties in deploying a complex unit within 90 days.[39] Rapid reaction apparatus of Brahimi report could be perceived as search for overcoming difficulties in commencing peace operations, but the Brahimi Report's "people-centric approach" directly challenged the perspective of state sovereignty [and non-intervention], as David Chandler argues. Instead of the nation-state at the centre of policy priorities, it would be held for the people, particularly those most in need.

This framework follows the approach of human rights advocates, who argue for an explicitly people-centric approach, making the universal citizen as the subject of international policy, not the political citizen defined by the nation-state.[40] But UN was still slow and ill-coordinated to react human right abuses or conflict situations. Hence preferred course increasingly shifted to form coalitions or benefit from the regional formations, like NATO, to respond the emerging crises and manage post-conflict phases. NATO, in this frame, was a response to the search of a ready-to-deploy military force to enforce or persuade peaceful conflict resolutions within the UN's legitimacy for western hemisphere, if the deployment would be attributed to the UN Charter.

One advantage of transferring authority to regional security organizations, or group of states is, as one might argue, that the UN mechanism could focus on issue fields that need expertise other than security. The UN missions aim to engage in the core political reasons of conflict by diplomatic tools and design infrastructural projects in coordination with the other international organizations in order to satisfy the needs of the local public. These projects may be exemplified by the establishment of the disarmament, demobilization, and reintegration programs (DDR), coordinated public information campaigns to increase awareness of the local publics, the role of women and rights of children, reconciliation and peace building, or holding fair elections. Apart from reconstructing the conflict-torn region, constitution-making process may also be in the agenda of the UN to have the ruined state institutionalize reforms as was seen in drafted Iraq's and Afghanistan's constitutions by the

[39] Thierry Tardy, "The Brahimi Report: Four Years On", Proceedings of A Workshop Held at the Geneva Centre For Security Policy, June 20-1, 2004, available at https://www.civcap.info/fileadmin/user_upload/Research_Reports/Tardy_Report.pdf, accessed on February 27, 2016.

[40] David Chandler, "The People-Centred Approach to Peace Operations: The New UN Agenda", *International Peacekeeping*, Vol. 8, No. 1 (June 2001), p. 3.

UN's technical experts.[41] As another example, the United Nations Interim Administration Mission in Kosovo assumed the responsibility of basic civilian administrative functions, the reconstruction of key infrastructure and other economic reconstruction as the Resolution 1244 delineates.[42] The security, those would be affiliated with military, were directed to NATO by deterrence, enforcement, demining, public safety, and border security tasks.[43] On the other hand, the failures in the UN commitments had direct effects to the NATO's tasks since the failures of the UN were challenging security situation.

The significant reason of transferring authority to regional security organizations was the failures of the UN. For instance, the Brahimi Report admitted, "No failure did more to damage the standing and credibility of United Nations peacekeeping in the 1990s than its reluctance to distinguish victim from aggressor."[44] The UN Commission of Inquiry, established to investigate armed attacks on The United Nations Operation in Somalia (UNOSOM), affirms the shortfalls of the UN for enforcement missions and concludes "the UN should refrain from undertaking further peace enforcement actions within the internal conflicts of states".[45] Rwanda case, after Somalia failure, was a corner stone for the UN's inefficiency not only for the military aspect on the ground, but also political commitments.[46] Belgian government and the UN Security Council, after a week, assumed the responsibility of the UN failure to stop the genocide due to lack of political determination despite Canadian General Romeo Dallaire, Force Commander for the United Nations Assistance Mission for Rwanda (UNAMIR), had warned about a probable genocide. Unfortunately, the United Nations Security Council failed to prevent the 1994 genocide in Rwanda in which an

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[41] Murat Aslan and Nesip Ogun, "Theory and Practice of State Building in The Middle East: A Constitutional Perspective on Iraq and Afghanistan", *International Journal of Security Studies*, Vol.8, No. 3 (2013), pp. 374-403.

[42] The UN Security Council Resolutions, available at http://www.un.org/Docs/scres/1999/sc99.htm, accessed on December 1, 2015.

[43] United Nations Interim Administration Mission in Kosovo, available at http://www.un.org/en/peacekeeping/missions/unmik/mandate.shtml, accessed on December 14, 2015.

[44] "The Report of the Panel on United Nations Peace Operations", August 21, 2000, p. ix, available at http://www.un.org/en/ga/search/view_doc.asp?symbol=A/55/305, accessed on December 11, 2015.

[45] UNOSOM II was established after the massacre of 800,000 people in Somalia. The U.N. peacekeeping mission failed miserably, resulting first in the tragic deaths of 25 Pakistani soldiers (plus 54 injured); followed by 18 U.S. soldiers, some of whom were dismembered and dragged through the streets in Mogadishu (plus 75 injured). The UN, UNOSOM II, available at http://www.un.org/en/peacekeeping/missions/past/unosom2backgr2.html, accessed on December 12, 2015.

[46] Thomas W. Jacopson, "U.N. Peacekeeping: Few Successes, Many Failures, Inherent Flaws", International Diplomacy and Public Policy Center, March-April 2012, available at http://www.idppcenter.com/un_peacekeeping_failures.pdf, accessed on December 12, 2015.

estimated 800,000 people were killed.[47] After failings in the enforcement missions of where the UN forces could not prevent mass killings or be kidnapped by the opposing forces, the UN's policy focused on a presence in where peaceful environment is established and the consent of the belligerent parties are obtained. The UN peacekeeping missions, hence, appeared to be a "monitor and report" type engagements.

Additionally, force protection concerns may take the peacekeepers of the UN entrapped in the designated camps to show flag, but inefficient to promote safe and secure environment for overall betterment of responsibled region unless it does not have deterrent force structure. The United Nations Protection Force (UNPROFOR) in Bosnia-Herzegovina, for instance, were desperate in Srebrenica to prevent the attacks of Bosnian Serbs. The UN remained short of providing security, even to its own forces when 400 UNPROFOR personnel were kidnapped by Bosnian Serbs to retaliate the NATO airstrikes.[48] There were many causes of the UN's shortfalls such as quantity and quality of peacekeepers, differing capabilities of contributing states, budget cuts, authority and 'unity of effort' problems. Consequently, the UN peacekeepers appear to be a passive "show of force" provider rather than a deterrent force that symbolically raises the flag of the UN to remind its presence.

Another issue field of the UN peacekeeping is the question of doctrinal approach in peacekeeping. It is a reality that the UN does not have a comprehensive standardized military literature, but only the capstone doctrine that outlines general principles. The unit structure in various peacekeeping missions indicate that rules of engagements are pending to the national doctrines of the contributing nations.[49] The methodology of the peacekeeping operation is built upon the general guidelines of the UN though; the contributing nations of the UN peacekeeping missions identify the code of conducts on the ground. The practices of different units of varying nationalities take the same mission to the different spheres of applications that can endanger the image of the UN forces.

Intelligence and propaganda, also, have their share from the limitations of the UN. Long-term solutions to the conflict are in the agenda of the UN, but military presence is limited to patrolling tasks to observe status quo and reporting the violators. The UN peacekeepers are expected to be impartial and play a mediating role among the former belligerents. Intelligence and propaganda activities are perceived as aggressive undertakings

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[47] BBC News, "UN Admits Rwanda Genocide Failure", April 15, 2000, available at http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/africa/714025.stm, accessed on December 12, 2015.

[48] Carie Booth Walling, *All Necessary Measures: The United Nations and Humanitarian Interventions* (Pennsylvania: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2013), p. 106.

[49] The UN Peacekeeping Best Practices Section, *United Nations Peacekeeping Operations: Principles and Guidelines*, p. 10.

by host nations breaching the impartiality of the UN forces. In this sense, the UN Peacekeeping Department's publication on the context of peacekeeping operations, "A New Partnership Agenda: Charting a New Horizon for UN Peacekeeping", published in 2009, contains no wording on 'intelligence, propaganda, persuasion or influence' that makes these functions out of the bonds of peacekeeping mission.[50] Rather, the report claims lack of consensus on the role of the UN peacekeeping, on how peacekeepers should implement their tasks and difficulties of member states and the Secretariat in satisfying needs and concerns over costs.[51] Other than limited standardized general principles of engagement in the conflicts, the UN peacekeeping codification does not cover military functions, especially intelligence and propaganda, since these functions would make the UN a party to the conflict rather than the fair arbiter role. Hence the UN is reluctant even to use the word 'intelligence', but 'information' in order to avoid the usual connotations of subterfuge and secrecy. Hugh Smith, for instance, describes intelligence as a "dirty word" which is usually refrained by the UN circles.[52] Hence the UN's perspective is that intelligence and propaganda are incompatible with the UN system.

Bassey Ekpe, on the other hand, claims the contrary of biased perception on intelligence.[53] Ekpe argues that the capabilities of the UN and contributing nations, except significant NATO member states, is limited, even though the need to have an intelligence capability is a concern for many years. But it is a fundamental function for peacekeeping operations to properly monitor the violations towards established peaceful environment and to take security measures of the peacekeepers. Security concerns of the UN peacekeeping forces and persuasion of belligerents need a comprehensive intelligence, security and propaganda, say persuasion, capability that the UN does not have any doctrinal approach, asset and standardized procedures (except the ones that troops nationally have). If the transforming nature of post conflicting environment, as will be discussed in this chapter, is taken into consideration, intelligence and propaganda capabilities are the essentials to have a long-term, sustainable peace in a cost-effective and tolerable course.

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[50] Department of Peacekeeping Operations and Department of Field Support, *A New Partnership Agenda: Charting A New Horizon for UN Peacekeeping* (New York: the UN, July 2009), pp. 1-56.

[51] Ibid, p. 6.

[52] Hugh Smith, "Intelligence and UN Peacekeeping", in *Intelligence: Emerging Concepts for the Future,* (eds.) Ben De Jong, Wies Platje, Robert David Steele (New York: OSS International Press, 2003), p. 229.

[53] Bassey Ekpe, *The United Nations and the Rationale for Collective Intelligence* (New York: Cambria Press, 2009), p. 1.

2.1.2. NATO's Peace Support Operations and Its Scope

As the UN leaned on regional security organizations to employ peace operations, NATO re-evaluated security environment and updated its assessment on security in North Atlantic area and wider globe pending to dynamic threat volatility and challenges. NATO's Strategic Concept, adopted in November 2010, claims "instability or conflict beyond NATO borders" as threats to the Alliance by fostering extremism, terrorism, and trans-national illegal activities such as trafficking in arms, narcotics, and people.[54] If the fact that peace support theatre is the primary scene of these newly emerging threat types, the point of strategic concept is a clear indication of NATO's intention to contain the threats in the suffering region as can be seen in Bosnia, Afghanistan, Kosovo or Syrian refugee crises.[55] In other words, NATO cannot isolate itself from the conflicts of the globe although they were outside of the North Atlantic area of interest since political, social, economic and security-affiliated consequences would somehow affect NATO member states. As a result, peace support operations have become the core political and military tools for NATO to manage crises and post-conflict environment.

Parallel to enlargement of NATO's diffusion, discussions focus on the pledged authority to NATO and the limits of the designed tasks. Prior designated authority by the UN is the touchstone of the overall peace support operations.[56] The objectives of "peace" tagged interventions, referred to such requests (or tasking), could be the restoration of peace and security or support for the principles of the UN and International Humanitarian Law. NATO doctrine accepts that NATO can be invited to act in support of an internationally recognized organization such as the United Nations (UN) or Organization for Security and Co-operation in Europe (OSCE). Lightburn, by conditioning NATO's commitments, claims that it is difficult to conceive NATO of committing itself in advance to an international mission

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[54] "The Strategic Concept for the Defence and Security of The Members of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization", 2010, available at http://www.nato.int/lisbon2010/strategic-concept-2010-eng.pdf, accessed on March 2, 2016.

[55] Following a request from Germany, Greece and Turkey, NATO Defence Ministers decided on February 11, 2016 to assist with the growing refugee and migrant crisis in Europe. NATO has deployed a maritime force of six vessels in the Aegean Sea to conduct reconnaissance, monitoring and surveillance of illegal crossings, in support of Turkish and Greek authorities and the EU's Frontex agency. NATO, "Assistance for the Refugee and Migrant Crisis in the Aegean Sea", June 27, 2016, available at http://www.nato.int/cps/en/natohq/topics_128746.htm, accessed on October 16, 2016.

[56] Peace Support Doctrine of NATO clarifies that the UN Charter as the main frame for NATO's commitments. "Allied Joint Doctrine for the Military Contribution to Peace Support", Edition A, Version 1, December 2014, pp. 2-4, 2-5, available at https://www.google.com.tr/?gfe_rd=cr&ei=yIrlV9bLIKHY8AfUwIzQAQ&gws_rd=ssl#q=++Allied+Joint+Publication+3.4.1%2C+Peace+Support+Operations%2C+2001, accessed on December 13, 2015.

debated and agreed by the UN Security Council, in the absence of prior UN consultations with NATO in developing the mission mandate.[57] The North Atlantic Council (NAC) may also decide to take unilateral action in accordance with a mandate, for example a UN Security Council resolution, which provides direction and authority.[58] The clause of authority makes NATO the leading organization in crisis area by assuming flexibility to apply its own methodology, including intelligence and propaganda functions.

NATO's involvement to peace operations is also a process of lengthy discussions in NATO circles, which also defines the limits of intelligence and propaganda activities. The need of responding any crisis beyond the concept of "collective defence" under Article 5 of the North Atlantic Treaty was first identified in the Strategic Concept of 1991 and reiterated thereafter at the 1999 Washington Summit. The Washington Summit recognized that future NATO involvement in Non-Article 5 Crisis Response Operations is needed to ensure both the flexibility and ability to execute evolving missions not described under Article 5, including those contributing to effective conflict prevention. Non-Article 5 Crisis Response Operations include multifunctional operations, falling outside the scope of Article 5, which contribute to conflict prevention and resolution or serve humanitarian purposes, and crisis management in the pursuit of declared Alliance objectives. In this frame, the most demanding and critical NATO task in Non-Article 5 Crisis Operations will be to provide strategic indications and warning of emerging security risks and to support coordinated political, diplomatic actions while committing military operations to restore stability and frame enduring political solutions.[59]

Contextualization of peace support operations in the UN and NATO circles is a point of dilemma. The naming of the operation, for instance, is a problematic to pinpoint what a peace support operation covers. The UN labelled the emerging crisis response solutions as 'peace operations' in the Brahimi Report and designated peacekeeping operations as the

[57] Peter Viggo Jakobsen and David Lightburn, "Should NATO Support UN Operations?", 2005 Online Issue, available at http://www.nato.int/docu/review/2005/Peace-Building/NATO-support-UN-operations/EN/index.htm, accessed on December 23, 2015.

[58] If NATO agrees to support a mission under the auspices of another organization, the NAC retains the direction and authority for the deployment of NATO forces. Ibid.

[59] Political aspect of peace tagged interventions has been a theme of criticism. NATO or individual member states may be accused of exploiting peace tagged operations to intervene wherever its interests require and, hence, commit efforts to out of area operations to justify its existence. As an example, the justification and legitimization of NATO's involvement by attributing the engagements as requirements of observing established order makes NATO complacent with the Russian allegations of dominating the international system. Attributing NATO's military interventions and presence in conflict-laden theatre or area of concern is a consequence of the UNSC resolutions that Russia or China is part of it. Hence NATO would prevent such accusations that an agenda of dominating the globe is pursued if the approval of the UN is obtained. V. P. Malik and Jorg Schultz, *Emerging NATO: Challenges for Asia and Europe* (New Delhi: Lancer Publishers Distributors, 2006), p. 24.

prominent branch of such initiative.[60] NATO's preference of labelling the same variety of operation is "peace support operations" in its doctrine. The peace support[61] is a NATO jargon for the combination of civilian and military activities that the UN and the OSCE can authorize[62], wider in context than "peace keeping" of the UN because peace keeping is one type of peace support operations in the terminology of NATO.

NATO glossary defines peace support as "an operation that impartially makes use of diplomatic, civil and military means, normally in pursuit of the UN Charter's purposes and principles, to restore or maintain peace."[63] NATO's perception is more than military context in the frame of the UN Charter to reach peace. But, peacekeeping, narrower in context, is to facilitate "the transition from a state of conflict to a state of peace where it rests on the pillars of obtaining consent of the host state(s) and immediate parties to the dispute; acting impartially; and behaving in a non-violent and non-threatening manner". [64] Peacekeepers of the UN were deployed to stabilize hotspots, defuse tensions, and help resolving disputes, but they risked being drawn into the conflicts if these three principles were not observed. For NATO, peace support is not solely committed after a peaceful environment is established and the consent of conflicting parties are obtained. Many peace support operation types may be employed before, during, or after any conflict as far as justification and legitimacy is obtained. It can be an "indefinite commitment of military peacekeepers, civilian peace builders, or diplomatic peacemakers".[65]

If the definitions of peace keeping in both the UN and NATO circles are compared, peace support operation, for NATO, is an umbrella term not only including 'peacekeeping' practice of the UN, but also covers the wider context as "conflict prevention, peacemaking,

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[60] Brahimi Report, "Report of the Panel on United Nations Peace Operations".

[61] The US adopted the term peace operations (PO), while NATO adopted the term peace-support operations (PSO). FM 3-07.31 *Peace Ops: Multi-Service Tactics, Techniques, and Procedures for Conducting Peace Operations*, 2003 (including 2009 incorporating changes), available at http://www.globalsecurity.org/military/library/policy/army/fm/3-07-31/fm3-07-31_c1_2009.pdf, accessed on August 17, 2014.

[62] Patricia Chilton et al., *NATO, Peace Keeping and the United Nations* (London: The British American Security Council, 1994), p. 2.

[63] North Atlantic Treaty Organization NATO Standardization Agency (NSA), *AAP-6 NATO Glossary of Terms and Definitions (English and French)*, 2008, p. 2-P-3.

[64] Alan James, *Peacekeeping in International Politics* (New York: St. Martin's, 1990), pp. 1-7.

[65] Grant Dawson, "Peacekeeping, Peacebuilding, and Peacemaking: Concepts, Complications, and Canada's Role", Parliamentary Research Branch, May 17, 2004, p. 1, available at http://www.betterpeace.org/files/Dawson_Peacekeeping__peacebuilding_and_peacemaking17May2004.pdf, accessed on December 12, 2015.

peacekeeping, peace-building, peace-enforcement and humanitarian operations".[66] In this frame NATO's perception of "peace keeping" leans on the definition as "a peace support operation following an agreement or ceasefire that has established a permissive environment where the level of consent and compliance is high, and the threat of disruption is low", which is quite similar to the UN's perception but more military.[67] Definitions indicate that the UN favours the operations of no 'trouble' that the agreement among the belligerents to host the UN troops is essential while refraining from armed conflicts.

Peace support perception covers the preliminary stages of NATO's diplomatic engagement. Early indicators of a probable crisis that will disturb the established order may mobilize NATO's apparatus of conflict prevention. In this sense, NATO may "employ complementary diplomatic, civil, and - when necessary - military means, to monitor and identify the causes of conflict, and take timely action to prevent the occurrence, escalation, or resumption of hostilities".[68] Kosovo crisis is a significant case for conflict prevention and NATO's involvement to deter Serbs to start a campaign on the ground. It is more or less a diplomatic activity before the conflict sparks that could consist diplomatic efforts, civil affairs, limited military activities like blockades. Intelligence becomes the main effort to detect early indicators and picture the events to predict the course of approaching conflict. Concurrently NATO can support conflict prevention efforts of any international actor by its deterrent capability and strategic communication commitments based on the retrieved information by intelligence. It may either be delivering consistent message for resolute engagement or show of force other than limited use of military capability.

Peace making, for NATO, is also a peace support operation "conducted after the initiation of a conflict to secure a ceasefire or peaceful settlement, that involves primarily diplomatic action supported, when necessary, by direct or indirect use of military assets".[69] Peace making is to obtain ceasefire among the parties to the conflict. On the other hand, if conflict could not be resolved and parties do not have a willingness to terminate the on-going conflict, peace enforcement would be preferred by the resolution of the UNSC parallel to diplomatic undertakings. In this sense, peace making is the diplomatic effort intended to move a violent conflict into nonviolent dialogue, where differences are settled through political institutions. The objective of peacemaking is thus to end the violence between the contending parties. Peacemaking can be done through negotiation, mediation, conciliation,

[66] "Allied Joint Doctrine for the Military Contribution to Peace Support", pp. 1-2.

[67] Ibid, pp. 1-5, 1-6.

[68] "AAP-6 NATO Glossary of Terms and Definitions", p. 2-C-13.

[69] "AAP-6 NATO Glossary of Terms and Definitions" p. 2-C-13.

and arbitration.[70] A good example of the methods and context of military intervention in a peacemaking context is NATO's air campaign against Bosnian Serbs to support and encourage the peace negotiations in Dayton. International organizations or state/group of state actors may start diplomatic aspect of peace making while NATO supports it by its military capability. The dilemma in peace making is that parties to the conflict may adopt harsher courses to have advantage upon the opposing ones. Intelligence and propaganda can be focused to both military aspect of the conflict and diplomatic persuasion in a coordinated manner. Intelligence is to display the realities of the military engagement and inform diplomats, while propaganda is to persuade low and medium level combatants along with strategic decision makers.

Peace enforcement, as the other type of peace support operations, is the operation type that coercive measures are exercised to force the belligerents to comply with the imposed settlements. It aims to "to maintain a ceasefire or peace agreement where the level of consent and compliance is uncertain and the threat of disruption is high. Peace support force must be capable of applying credible coercive force and must apply the provisions of the ceasefire or peace agreement impartially".[71] Insurgency may prevail upon the operational environment that requires the enforcement mission employ counter insurgency, as was the case in Afghanistan or Somalia.[72] The authorization of the use of force by the UNSC is known as peace enforcement if it falls between full-scale use of force and peace keeping in accordance with the Article 40 of the UN Charter. The authorization of "provisional measures" by the Council indicates enforcement missions that NATO falls under. The United Nations Operation in Congo (UNOC), UNOSOM II and United Nations Protection Force UNPROFOR for the former Yugoslavia are cases of such commitments under the UN authority, but with failures. All three had mandates consisting of authorization of use of

[70] Julian Ouellet, "Peacemaking", available at http://www.beyondintractability.org/essay/peacemaking, accessed on December 15, 2015.

[71] *AAP-6 NATO Glossary of Terms and Definitions,* 2008, pp. 2-P-2-3.

[72] Insurgency is defined as "an organized, often ideologically motivated group or movement that seeks to effect or prevent political change of a governing authority within a region, focused on persuading or coercing the population through the use of violence and subversion." An insurgency is characterized by a protracted struggle of political, economic, social, or religious aspects. Counterinsurgency is "the set of political, economic, social, military, law enforcement, civil, and psychological activities that aim to defeat the insurgency and address any core grievances." Conducting successful counter insurgency operations require an adaptive and flexible mind-set and an understanding that the population is the critical dimension; and a key part of understanding the population is having cultural competence and an intimate knowledge of what causes and perpetuates insurgency. Peter A. Kiss, *Winning Wars amongst the People: Case Studies in Asymmetric Conflict* (Nebraska: Potomac Books, 2014), p. 10.

force to compel compliance with certain goals established by the Security Council.[73] NATO can engage to such enforcement tasks if the UN facilitates and the Alliance consents in consensus by its combat power. Intelligence and propaganda efforts, hence, are in between combat missions beside the tasks inherited from the nature of peace enforcement mission.

Peace building, along with all aforementioned measures for peace, can be put in practice "to employ complementary diplomatic, civil and - when necessary - military means to address the underlying causes of conflict and the longer-term needs of the people. It requires a commitment to a long-term process and may run concurrently with other types of peace support operations".[74] Peace building consists of encouraged activities of the host nation that were considered as exclusive purview of being a state. It can include democratic institution building, the design and monitoring of elections, training of security institutions (the police and military), and reconciliation and human rights initiatives.[75] Iraq and Afghanistan interventions and concurrent technical aid of building a sustainable government structure, economic self-sufficiency and infrastructural betterments are clear examples of peace building efforts though; their success are in dispute due to current turmoil in these countries.[76] NATO actively took part in Afghanistan's building (or reconstruction process) by providing security along with promoting good governance, the rule of law and long-term development in accordance with Tokyo Declaration of 2012.[77] But it is a fact that peace building is in the expertise of international organizations and civil society groups such as the UN, OSCE, or the EU. NATO's presence, on the other hand, is both to complement international organizations and provide security and comfort to build functioning local state mechanism that NATO's intelligence and propaganda is expected to scan the deficiencies of

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[73] Jane Boulden, *Peace Enforcement: The United Nations Experience in Congo, Somalia, and Bosnia* (Westport: Praeger, 2001), pp. 2-5.

[74] "AAP-6 NATO Glossary of Terms and Definitions", p. 2-P-2.

[75] Dawson, "Peacekeeping, Peacebuilding, and Peacemaking: Concepts, Complications, and Canada's Role", p. 2.

[76] Following publications comprehensively examine what aspects both Afghanistan and Iraq interventions can be interpreted in the frame of peace or nation building processes.
Scott N. Carlson, *Promoting the Rule of Law in Peace Building: Lessons from Afghanistan and Iraq* (Hague: Hague Institute for Global Justice, 2013); Francis Fukuyama, *Nation Building: Beyond Afghanistan and Iraq* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2004).

[77] Tokyo Declaration is the outcome of Tokyo Conference, held on July 2012. The broader international community and the Afghan government laid the groundwork for the sustainable development of Afghanistan, taking into account the situation after 2014. At the conference, the Afghan government made clear commitments to progress in a number of areas, including: to hold inclusive, transparent and credible elections; to fight corruption and improve good governance; to uphold the constitution, especially human rights; and to enforce the rule of law. NATO, "NATO and Afghanistan", October 13, 2016, available at http://www.nato.int/cps/en/natohq/topics_8189.htm, accessed on October 13, 2016.

local institutions and their needs while introducing the achievements to persuade the parties of the conflict.

NATO doctrine facilitates intervention to the humanitarian crisis "to alleviate human suffering where responsible civil actors are unable or unwilling to adequately support a population, [which] could precede, be parallel, or complement the activity of specialized civil humanitarian organizations".[78] For NATO's intervention in such circumstances, there must be serious and irreparable harm occurring to human beings.[79] Hence the primary purpose of the intervention is expected to halt or avert human suffering. But the intervening bodies should observe reasonable chance of success not to worsen the catastrophe and legitimate authorization by the UNSC.[80] Rwanda and Srebrenica cases of 1994 clearly indicate what human cost would be sacrificed if a collaborative effort of international society lacks mobilization to prevent humanitarian crisis. Intelligence and propaganda of NATO need to be directed to detect and monitor these humanitarian abuses and deliver messages to prevent it.

As can be seen from the review of various peace support operations, peace support operations extend from an early phase of conflict resolution towards the employing coercive measures to enforce peace. Afghanistan case, on the other hand, indicates that peace oriented operations can be enforced for interest-oriented purpose by a state actor (or coalition) and concurrently the authority be transferred to NATO to build peace while opposing parties to the conflict has no willingness to compromise. Peace support operations, then, do not fit the exact definitions, but may be beyond the prevalent perceptions. But naming the type of peace operation is crucial to define the pledged authority to NATO by the UNSC.

The type of the peace support operation may experience a transition from one variety to another along a continuum. It may experience more than two different peace support varieties at the mean time while different international actors may engage in distinct aspects of the crises. In this context, NATO can employ peace enforcement while peace making by its military apparatus is in the agenda of political wing of NATO. Another issue is that the witnessed peace support operations of the last three decades indicate no unique typology of peace operations but every engagement is different from others due to security, political, military, cultural environment. Every case has its own characteristics in terms of the social

[78] *AAP-6 NATO Glossary of Terms and Definitions*, p. 2-H-5.

[79] Gareth Evans, "The Responsibility to Protect", NATO Review (Online Journal), Vol. 4 (2002), available at http://www.nato.int/docu/review/2002/issue4/english/analysis.html, accessed on December 12, 2015.

[80] Ibid.

and cultural nature of the engaged-communities, its operational environment, and threat features. It is a fact that intervening military formations are usually unaccustomed to these environmental ambiguities.

The operational environment requires NATO soldiers interacting with the civilian communities by various tasks such as civil military cooperation, civil affairs, media affairs, irregular opposing forces, and organized crime gangs. These fields were, and still are, unaccustomed issues for NATO's military power although NATO has faced these incursions in peace support operations of the last three decades. Hence NATO needs a multi facet intelligence capability to foresee the regions of instabilities. Intelligence is essential to abstract early warning indicators on unaccustomed features of peace support tasks while influence activities will shape the operational environment with the focus not only on security oriented but also on many other aspects such as social, cultural, or humanitarian ones. In this sense following section will review in what conditions peace support operations are being performed to see the shifting ontology of intelligence and propaganda.

2.2. Challenges to NATO's Peace Support Operations: The Operational Environment

The decisive issue in a peace support operation is the environment that the whole process of establishing and preserving peace is dependent on. The environment which peace support operations are held cannot be confined to clear state boundaries with its complex nature and complicated operational structure anymore. The environment is the mixture of dependent and independent factors of which peace support operation is shaped by their individual or overall effects. Wrong reading of operational environment will negate the efforts of NATO troops in addressing the requirements of peace support operations. For instance, inadequate treatment of local and international actors will expose the effect of ignored individuals, tribal linkages, institutions, or state actor that will surprise NATO's decision makers by the marginal feedback of these entities. Hence understanding what factors form environment and what effects they have upon peace support operations are keys to the success of NATO.

The environment of peace support operations continuously conveys challenging features. The limit of geography, for instance, is not the same as the ones that these operations were once performed. Interconnectedness of globe does not only [effect] state actors or international organizations but offers advantages to actors [of peace support operations while making state actor inefficient and dormant].[81] Transnational linkage of

[81] Winrich Kühne, "Peace Support Operations: How to Make them Succeed", *Internationale Politik und Gesellschaft*, Vol. 99, No. 4, (April 99), pp. 358-367, available at http://www.fes.de/ipg/ipg4_99/ARTKUEHNE.PDF, accessed on December 12, 2015.

individuals and societal groups make conflicts convoluted that neither state actor can deal with it alone. In this frame, threat types and causes of the conflicts may diffuse to a wider region other than a certain territory. In this sense religion and ideology, which surpass the official sovereignty of state actor, charms (or expels) unintended societies other than the local public of the host nation outside the area of crises. Highly violent groups escalate the crisis by attributing their motivation to religion, ethnicity, race, or ideology within not clearly defined geographical front lines by means of exploiting communication technologies in use. An enforcement mission of NATO, then, will face a motivated and committed group of people in an undefined geographical area that will challenge the scope of intelligence and propaganda. ISIS, for instance, cannot be confined to Iraq and Syria but attracts sympathy from wider globe due to high number of radicalized and sympathizing individuals or groups. ISIS does have the same opportunities and tools, as the state actors have, to gather data and diffuse to the minds of potential supporters. Leaders need to consider the wider globe rather than locality of certain events to assess the reasoning and outcomes of peace support operations, although "multidimensional, multifaceted, and multifunctional peace operations" hinder such assessments.[82]

The environment of a peace support operation, other than geographic expansion, can be characterized by complex and ambiguous fields of interests like asymmetrical threats, absence of rule of law, gross violations of human rights, collapse of civil infrastructure, presence of displaced persons and refugees, human and drug trafficking, corruption, poverty, lack of resources and many other unforeseen facts.[83] These fields require functionalization of varying NATO cadres to align with the prerequisites of the operational environment. Moreover, functions of different specializations need to know the characteristics of encountered issue fields in advance to react in time. Civil military cooperation formations need to know the demography of the public and their needs. Strategic leadership needs to know the key leaders of local public and their background. Operations department, on the other hand, cannot mobilize conventional fire support, but needs to know significant days and events to provide security. Intelligence is the main asset to search these issue fields and inform the tools of NATO. One problem is that NATO's solutions to encountered fields may be repelling in the eyes of local public. The issue of women rights in Afghanistan, for instance, is a thorny problem field that neither men nor women are happy with. Influence is

[82] Kristine St-Pierre, *Then and Now: Understanding the Spectrum of Complex Peace Operations* (Ontario: Pearson Peacekeeping Center, 2008), p. 1.

[83] Henning Frantzen underlines the challenging features of peace support operations in his concise book and differs the conventional warfare from peace support operations in terms of its exclusive features. Frantzen, *NATO and Peace Support Operations, 1991-1999*, pp. 19-53.

the key capacity, along with the other international organizations, to persuade both genders for optimum solutions. It may be the UN to address such issue fields, but NATO is always in the minds of local public to actively engage in. It may be because NATO is more visible than the other international agencies and actively communicates by its influence tools, like PSYOP, to deliver social messages on the knife-edge of local's discontent.

Threats are factors, groups, occurrences, or any other impediment that would endanger the mission of NATO troops. It is clear that insurgency is the primary threat in the current decade. Armed groups require NATO to be prepared for armed conflict in case opposing forces do not comply with constitutive agreement between NATO and the host nation. The difficulty is distinguishing friends from foes along with impartial actors since threat is hard to predict and detect in terms of its presence and capabilities. In this frame insurgency is one of the major concerns for peace support forces in the assigned territories. The capabilities of insurgent groups have expanded in the last three decades thanks to the opportunities due to globalization. Another dimension is that the post-Cold War era offered warring factions not to rely on foreign actors but also their own political, social, or economic resources, either legal or illegal. The dynamics of contemporary insurgency are more like a violent and competitive market than war in the traditional sense where clear and discrete combatants seek strategic victory.[84] The militias of such kind are threats to the desired security environment that NATO has the primary responsibility to counter by its own forces or assisting local security authorities.[85] Intelligence and affiliated propaganda mechanisms of NATO, then, is expected to seek suppressing and downgrading insurgency in the realm of uncurbed peace support operation.

Insurgency is one dimension tough; former armed individuals who dedicated their lives for certain warring factions are the ones who ought to be treated properly after the conflict has ended. Fighting is somehow a job for them. The projected numbers of security forces and qualification terms to conscript the members to security forces of the host nation usually take the former warring individuals out the playground. On the other hand, ceasefire and peace agreement do not imminently bring a sense of trust to the rivalling factions that

[84] Steven Metz, "Rethinking Insurgency", *Strategic Studies Institute* (June 2005), p. v, available at http://www.strategicstudiesinstitute.army.mil/pubs/display.cfm?pubID=790, accessed on December 14, 2015.

[85] Following documents review a comprehensive analysis of insurgency/militia. The US Marine Corps, "Guide to the Analysis of Insurgency", 2012, available at http://www.mccdc.marines.mil/Portals/172/Docs/SWCIWID/COIN/Doctrine/Guide%20to%20the%20Analysis%20of%20Counterinsurgency.pdf, accessed on December 16, 2015; The US Army, "Irregular Opposing Forces", January 2014, available at http://www.benning.army.mil/mssp/security%20topics/Potential%20Adversaries/content/pdf/tc7_100x3.pdf, accessed on December 16, 2015.

these individuals will not leave their guns aside. But a safe and secure environment and enduring peaceful environment require dis-armament of local public and 'former' warring factions, which have become the main effort of NATO in Macedonia, Afghanistan, and Bosnia-Herzegovina as an example.[86] Demobilization process of armed groups and having the militias to adapt themselves to civilian life are difficult tasks unless they are persuaded that they now are regular citizens.

Parallel to insurgency and former warring factions, conflicts build a functioning economy that some portion of local societies is dependent and part of it. Abolition of such an economy will give birth to evolving threat types. The economic autonomy of warring parties, or local leaders, is an issue that would complicate peace support operations during disarmament process of former warring factions since these parties or leaders would have built militia and prepared them for future conflicts. In this frame, Metz suggested "commercial insurgencies" as an economic variant to the traditional ideological wars of national liberation.[87] Commercial insurgencies exist primarily to give warlord-like segments political power and income that sustain them for decades. Hence criminal insurgent formations, blended with illegal [economic] activities can be witnessed as the extension of militias.[88] Opposing militias and former mujahidin in Afghanistan are clear cases for interdependent economy of crime gangs and insurgency.[89] The need for vast resources in feeding militia groups, if their loyalty is desired, makes, for instance, drug or illegal weapon trafficking a sustaining system of creating income. Organized criminal networks of former mujahidin were subjected to disarmament process after western intervention that most of them were jobless while adhering their faith to the blessing of rich warlords.[90] Insurgency, on the other hand, had to lean on several incomes including drug taxation, ransom, or foreign

[86] Operation Essential Harvest, available at http://www.nato.int/fyrom/tfh/home.htm, accessed on December 23, 2015.

[87] Metz, "Rethinking Insurgency", pp. 15-16.

[88] John P. Sullivan and Adam Elkus, "Strategy and Insurgency: An Evolution in Thinking?", August 16, 2010 (unpublished essay), available at https://www.academia.edu/19791503/Strategy_and_insurgency_an_evolution_in_thinking, accessed on December 15, 2015.

[89] Schaefer, Robert W., "The Economics of Insurgencies: A Framework for Analysing Contemporary Insurgency Movements with a Focus on Exposing Economic Vulnerabilities", available at http://isites.harvard.edu/fs/docs/icb.topic706700.files/Economics_of_Insurgency.pdf, accessed on December 24, 2015.

[90] Haris Wahidi, "The Process of Disarmament, Demobilization and Re-integration in Afghanistan", University of Birmingham, 2013 (unpublished essay), available at https://www.academia.edu/5115224/The_Process_of_DDR_in_Afghanistan, accessed on December 25, 2015.

support. As a result, a war industry occurred in Afghanistan to keep (dis)order. The question is what concessions would persuade the individual locals not to be loyal to economically autonomous warlords or insurgent groups. International political bargaining will be meaningless if economically independent local factions continue to exist since state actors or international organizations will not be able to control the warring parties in terms of 'carrots'.

Apart from economic capacity of warring parties, external state/non-state actors may provide support or tolerate any warring party in accordance with their interests. NATO, then, need to add another factor to its engagements: persuading bilateral state actors, IOs, MNCs and unorganized social groups not to benefit from the conflict, or at least deter them. Sanctions, imposed by the UNSC, are optimum solutions though; reconciliation of differences among state actors in the UN system will hardly be achieved. Strategic level political engagement is one dimension of this engagement while mid-level NATO commands face the difficulties of having these actors to comply with NATO's preferences. NATO bodies need to scan all the actors, be aware of their ultimate goals and persuade them to mobilize their efforts in line with NATO's objectives, which conventional paradigm of intelligence needs to be directed to new quests along with strategic persuasion capacity.

Administrative problem fields are risks for the successful termination of peace operations. For instance, issues under the domestic jurisdiction of the states such as good governance, human rights, democratization, civil society, economic development, anti-corruption measures, crime prevention continue to be challenging subject matters for NATO tasks since they add new issue fields to intelligence and propaganda. Educating and training local security forces and mentoring local government appear to be valid courses to improve capacities of local government. But ruined order of a whole country can hinder development efforts. If inadequate resources and poorly qualified local officials are taken into consideration, long term transformation and institutionalization of local administration appear to be tough missions for NATO's military presence.

Refugees and displaced persons are unusual features of peace operations for a military unit, which surpasses the capabilities of NATO. Bosnia case is significant to portray how difficult to have ethnic communities live in the same urban space and hardly tolerate each other. Returns of refugees and internally displaced persons are indicator of normalization since it means public is sliding towards the culture of tolerating each other.[91] Unfortunately

[91] Thomas Kravos, "Sustainable Return: A Guarantee for Stability and Integration in Bosnia-Herzegovina", *Balkan Diskurs*, February 03, 2016, available at http://www.balkandiskurs.com/en/2016/02/03/sustainable-return-a-guarantee-for-stability-and-integration-in-bosnia-herzegovina/, accessed on October 16, 2016.

dominating ethnic community does not welcome refugees but resist their presence, if not persuaded or coerced. Refugee camps and property pledges to returning refugee groups can easily ignite tension among ethnic communities, as was the issue in Afghanistan.[92] NATO needs to monitor the returns and reaction of the other ethnic communities while persuading locals to tolerate the presence of the other in accordance with the overall aim of the peace support operation.

Security and welfare of host nation cannot be separated from each other that NATO has to observe not only to provide security, but also enhance the capacity of host nation in the fields of good governance and infrastructural betterments in coordination with the other international institutions.[93] Lack of infrastructure can downgrade the efforts of NATO since local public expect foreign forces to provide common needs like sanitation. The aim is usually the establishment of civil authority though; a transition phase and prerequisites of building good governance capacity pass through the security environment that NATO is expected to promote by its military readiness and cost effective solutions. Hence national capacity and core government functions of the hosting nation are themes for sustainable security environment.[94]

Impediments may also occur due to social structure of host nation, mainly interwoven to actors in the operational environment. Regional loyalties of local public to war-lords or emerging bourgeois, who have commercial links to black market, cannot easily be eroded unless same living conditions and firm authority are to be offered by the established governing elites in the existing socio-cultural environment. Libya is a good example along with the other African and Middle Eastern cases for regional loyalties that also reflect the diffusion areas of tribal leaders.[95] Arturo Varvelli displays the 'trilemma' that Islam, [lack

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[92] Jelena Bjelica, "Afghanistan's Returning Refugees: Why Are So Many Still Landless?", *Afghanistan Analysts Network*, March 29, 2016, available at https://www.afghanistan-analysts.org/afghanistans-returning-refugees-why-are-so-many-still-landless/, accessed on October 16, 2016.

[93] Alex J. Bellamy, "The Next Stage in Peace Operations Theory?", in *Peace Operations and Global Order*, (eds.) Alex J. Bellamy and Paul Williams (New York: Routledge, 2005), pp. 17–38.

[94] The report of Senior Advisory Group on strengthening the civilian capacity of conflict-laden countries designates primacy of national capacity rather than international expertise, reducing brain drain, women as priority, economic impact, and capacity development in nurturing national capacities. These are essential issue fields tough; national capacity has many additional themes such as corruption, infrastructure, efficient and good governance, education, etc.
The UN Report, "Civilian Capacity in the Aftermath of Conflict: Independent Report of the Senior Advisory Group",
available at http://www.civcapreview.org/LinkClick.aspx?fileticket=CteGrhj1XFs%3D, accessed on December 16, 2015.

[95] The 'heterarchy' (the plurality of competing power foci) of tribal, state, Islamic, civil/ urban and adolescent forms of political organization are characteristic in Libya. Current order in the country is

of] democracy, and rentierism have been built upon tribalism in Libya.[96] Ethnic and tribal affinities and unnamed social command structure are the main motivation for individuals and families to describe themselves, even to commit genocides as was witnessed in Rwanda. The environment, then, is fragile that peace operation is in danger of being inefficient unless supported by economic and good governance apparatus of civilian wing of intervening states. NATO, if involved in peace-oriented intervention, can naturally be part of such enterprises to realize the defined objectives of operations.

As can be seen from the above-mentioned factors, the concerns can mainly be typified as social, cultural, administrative, security, judiciary, or economic issue fields. Moreover, concerns may have composite structure of many intervening variables. For instance, Kosovo intervention of NATO was conducted under the harsh conditions of a mixture of such concerns. The UN Security Council Resolution 1244 provided a constitutional framework to establish institutions in Kosovo by the help of both military and civilian mechanisms of NATO, EU afterwards, and the UN Mission in Kosovo (UNMIK).[97] A running state mechanism and free market economy were the ultimate goals though; organized crime and corruption were the significant impediments that could destroy the overall peace process. Trim Kabashi examines some of the successes and failures of UNMIK, referring the influential book *Peace at Any Price: How the World Failed Kosovo* (2006) of Iain King and Whit Mason. Kabashi claims a failure in Kosovo contrary to committed size of resources. The success was road building and housing, the adoption of a new legal code, and the establishment of the tax authority. NATO, in this picture, was responsible for observing the security observation aspect of the mission.[98] But NATO did not exclude itself from the restructuring process apart from the missions designated in the Resolution 1244. The reason of such an attempt could be that infrastructural betterment and security concerns are

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produced by local and regional political leaders and by the tribal political culture. Thomas Hüsken, "Tribal Political Culture and the Revolution in the Cyrenaica of Libya", in *Local Politics and Contemporary Transformations in the Arab World: Governance Beyond the Center*, (eds), Malika Bouzane, Cilja Harders and Anja Hoffman (Hampshire: Palgrave Macmillan, 2013), pp. 214-231.

[96] Libya is divided into 140 main tribes, but only 36 of them are influential, playing important socio-economic and political roles. In particular, this happens in the greater Tripoli area and to some extent also in Benghazi, where the bulk of the Libyan population living. The influence of the tribes is rather limited. Nevertheless, they are still an important factor outside the large cities mentioned above, and above all in the rather remote areas of the east, southern Cyrenaica, southern Tripolitania and the Fezzan. Arturo Varvelli, "The Role of Tribal Dynamics in Libyan Future", *ISPI*, Analysis No: 172 (May 2013): pp. 4-7.

[97] The UN Security Council Resolution 1244 (1999),
available at http://www.nato.int/kosovo/docu/u990610a.htm, accessed on December 14, 2015.

[98] Trim Kabashi, *The Role of International Community in Kosovo's Road from an Ex-Yugoslav Province to Independence* (Chicago: De Paul University Press, 2013), pp. 22-28.

diversified efforts tough; an integrated approach is needed since lack of coherence among these fields will downgrade the overall success.

For success, these issue fields need to be determined correctly not to be surprised by unexpected factors. The author investigated what issue fields, like the ones mentioned above, were encountered in peace support operations of NATO and made interviews with 36 former NATO personnel of differing branches who completed their tours.[99] The author directed a question as "What concerns were most significant during your tour in peace support operation?". The compilation of responses is as follows.

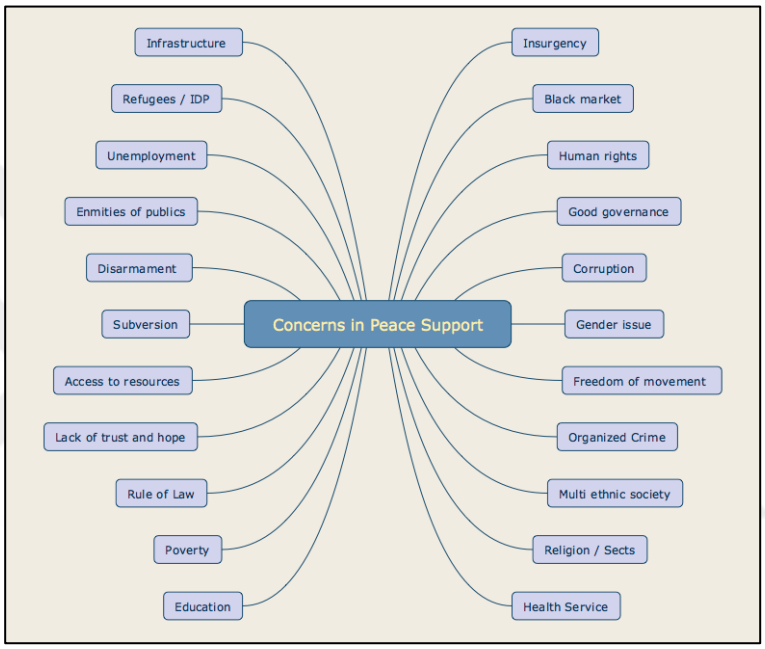


Chart 2-1 Encountered Concerns of NATO Personnel in Peace Support Operations

The concerns are not only security related ones, but the issue fields of daily problems that civilians had faced. One NATO personnel confessed that they were aware of the problems as far as they feel the outcomes of these concerns during their tasks. For instance, gender equality and women rights were not clearly perceived problem fields until they witnessed protests of women all around Kabul, causing traffic jams. A civil military cooperation member of the Turkish contingent remembered his desperation when he was in a refugee camp, observing people with no shoes on top of one-meter snow. He confessed that

[99] The selected soldiers are the ones who were assigned to Bosnia, Kosovo, or Afghanistan with a wide range of specialization like infantry, civil military cooperations, public affairs, and gendarmarie. They are requested to list the concerns they had observed. The context of the list varied pending to their positions. The chart indicates the whole range of responses.

the refugee camp was a known issue field, but they did not know the extent of misery there.[100] Hence NATO personnel experienced the concerns as far as they witnessed the events during their rotations. Unfortunately, the ones who were continuously stationed in the military bases were not aware of what was going on inside Afghanistan.

The ontological shift of intelligence and propaganda requires addressing these concerns along with security oriented ones. For instance, organized armed groups may be in irregular form that NATO could do least to identify their presence and their capabilities in theatre.[101] Their low-profile posture and invisibility among public may defy security since they can conduct attacks of lowest cost with devastating casualties in the name of insurgents. The militias can always get support due to ethnic/tribal competition that make them obtain adequate level of information about peace troops or established security forces. NATO needs to direct its intelligence and propaganda efforts targeting organized crime gangs despite it is police task. In this sense, the requirement to have a wider and more effective understanding of the contemporary operating environment is dependent upon efficient intelligence, and ensuring that the commander gets the right information, to make decisions, at the right time.[102]

2.3. Challenges to NATO's Peace Support Operations: The Actors

The number of involved actors in peace support missions has increased pending to global interconnectedness. A general classification may be built up in accordance with supportive – opposing, military – civilian, internal – external, armed – disarmed, or friendly – hostile – bilateral characteristics of actors. The author, again, asked the same 36 NATO personnel "what actors was a concern for you in peace support operations when you were planning and executing mission other than opposing militias?" The responses indicated some repeating actors as they were listing what they had observed as following chart compile the overall.

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[100] Interview with Deniz Yengil, ISAF Intelligence Analyst (2009), March 03, 2015.

[101] These groups are diverse in terms of subtypes-- terrorists, insurgents, criminals, militias-each varying in vision, mission, and capabilities employed. Local, regional, and global armed groups, in the forms of insurgents, terrorists, militias and criminal organizations, can now challenge even major states in ways, and to degrees, not possible in the past. Richard H. Jr. Shultz, "The 21st Century Conflict Environment: Challenges Posed by a Multiplicity of Non-State Armed Groups", *Future Trends and New Approaches in Defeating the Terrorism Threat*, (ed.) Uğur Gürbüz (Amsterdam: IOS Press, 2011), pp. 10-15.

[102] Tristan Lovering, "Odin's Ravens", *The Three Swords Magazine*, Stavanger, Online Edition, No. 27 (2014): p. 51,
available at http://www.jwc.nato.int/images/stories/threeswords/NOV_SITAW.pdf, accessed on December 11, 2015.



Chart 2-2 Actors in Peace Support Operations

The correct identification of actors in peace support operations is a need to channel to appropriate intelligence and propaganda effort. Common perception goes around the conventional determination that recognized parties to the conflict are actors who can define the faith of overall peace operation. But this approach is short of assessing a holistic view of actors. ISIS in Iraq, for instance, was non-existent until 2012. The alienation of Sunni Arabs and Baath Party members by the Coalition created an enemy in Iraq and Syria. A punitive approach towards a sect, ethnicity, or community prepared a challenge for the established order. NATO, on the other hand, can hardly control but should engage with all actors under the shade of concerns as depicted in the Chart 2-2.[103]

Among the other actors, societies of NATO member states are primary actors to be dealt with and persuaded to start and sustain peace support operations under the authority of NATO. Voter preferences are concerns of policy makers to tolerate the costs of a foreign incursion. Democratic controls of governments thrust politicians align their policies with absorbable strategies. As an example, quick withdrawal of NATO member states from Afghanistan in 2014 was the voters' preference especially in the USA and European states due to high ratio of casualties after 12 years of intense fight that led decision makers to surge

[103] The author asked 36 NATO officers of various nationalities what actors they had faced during their tours either in Afghanistan, Kosovo, or Bosnia. The question was "what actors in the peace support operations environment was a concern for you in your planning and executing mission other than opposing militias?". The responses indicated some repeating actors as they were listing what they had observed.

down the troops. The British report before Parliament confesses, "the NATO's ISAF 'conditions-based approach' to withdrawal is a suitable one. Withdrawal must have due regard to the circumstances at the time [whilst] many challenges facing the ANSF and Afghan Government before proper transition can take place." The main theme of the discussion in the report is that "[UK] public support the UK Army, but do not support the mission".[104] The withdrawal process was completed in 2014 without any further attention to the volatile Afghan security situation due to the limited public support.[105] Hence public's opinion in NATO countries has to be a concern at the strategic level.

The policies of the other state actors, neighbouring, or en route the troubled region, directly affect the course of peace support operation. Their support or opposition is crucial for logistics planning and internal dynamics. Any opposing militia may find support from a state actor while efforts of international organizations may be hindered. International public may be free from state actors' preferences since media and unofficial organization of various interest groups could form a trend towards a certain policy option that state actors would have to refer their strategies. The Afghan case is a very good example demonstrating to what extent the other state actors are decisive to keep the crisis alive in advantage or disadvantage of NATO's presence in Afghanistan as will be discussed at the fifth chapter. Apart from state actors, international organizations, civil society groups, and multinational organizations are interest groups along with local interest groups, organized for a specific purpose. They are free of NATO's authority but may be victimized. Their activities need to be aligned with the goals of NATO only if they are persuaded to cope with NATO's activities.

Minorities are an area of interest that NATO is expected to treat and protect them. Peace support operations are born upon conflicts that minorities are most affected; either as victims or aggressors. Building and maintaining balance among minorities is troublesome since good for one ethnicity is usually perceived bad for the other. For instance, Serbs of Bosnia-Herzegovina demanded of holding a referendum in 2016 to have a national holiday in Bosnia Serb Republic that is still challenging the authority of central government.[106] This case shows that ethnically motivated struggles appear to be persistent in the long term.

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[104] House of Commons Defence Committee, "Operations in Afghanistan: The Fourth Report of Session 2010-2012", p. 10 and p. E-6, available at http://www.publications.parliament.uk/pa/cm201012/cmselect/cmdfence/554/554.pdf, accessed on March 11, 2016.

[105] Rachael Gribble et al., "British Public Opinion after a Decade of War: Attitudes to Iraq and Afghanistan", *Politics*, Volume 35, No. 2 (2015), pp. 1-2.

[106] "Bosnian Serb President Vows to Proceed with Referendum despite Court Ban", *Radio Free Europe*, September 19, 2016, available at http://www.rferl.org/content/bosnia-serb-dodik-vows-proceed-with-referendum/28000869.html?ltflags=mailer, accessed on September 23, 2016.

Hence peaceful coexistence of minorities is one of the main concerns for NATO's tasks. Finally, media and social media offer opportunities to introduce NATO's presence and activities. Media is a useful source to reach public and measure the effectiveness of NATO's undertakings while they could exaggerate NATO's daily operations. NATO troops themselves are also actors of peace support operations as well. The problem fields among troops of contributing nations may challenge the course of peace support operations of NATO.

Consequently, the actors and faced concerns clarify the context and linkage of intelligence and propaganda. Intelligence is expected to monitor the preferences of actors, determine the concerned issue fields and their comprehensive analysis. It responds the question "whom will be influenced, shaped, converted or deterred in competition with what actors" while propaganda focuses on "how these actors will be influenced, shaped, converted or deterred".

2.4. Probable Tasks in Peace Operations

Since the wars of the 1990s, there have been two lines of arguments: one side emphasizes the use of force in peace support operations. Others strongly advocate the civil instruments of crisis prevention or (armed) conflict prevention as a key issue of international politics.[107] Strategic level tasks are the ones to deter, prevent, assist, or contribute the intervened crisis. These tasks are also tools to be exploited for the afore-purposes. Probable strategic tasks in peace operations can be modelled as follows:

[107] The UN Security Council Resolutions for Bosnia Herzegovina and Kosovo adhere NATO to deal with military tasks. The main issues are to observe the security situation, prevent the former warring factions engaging each other, and transform security sector to comply with the desired state of order. But the same resolutions assign and delineate civilian apparatus to promote civilian aspects such as economy, judicial reforms, infrastructure projects, and health service. Civil-Military Cooperation (CIMIC) conception was designed to address the deficiencies of nation/country building by integrating military and civilian capabilities. On the other hand, strategic civilian tasks were subject matter of World Bank, OSCE, EU or any specific country. Following book presents precise information on the collaboration and cooperation of civilian and military bodies in peace operations. Spillman et al., *Peace Support Operations*, p. 21.

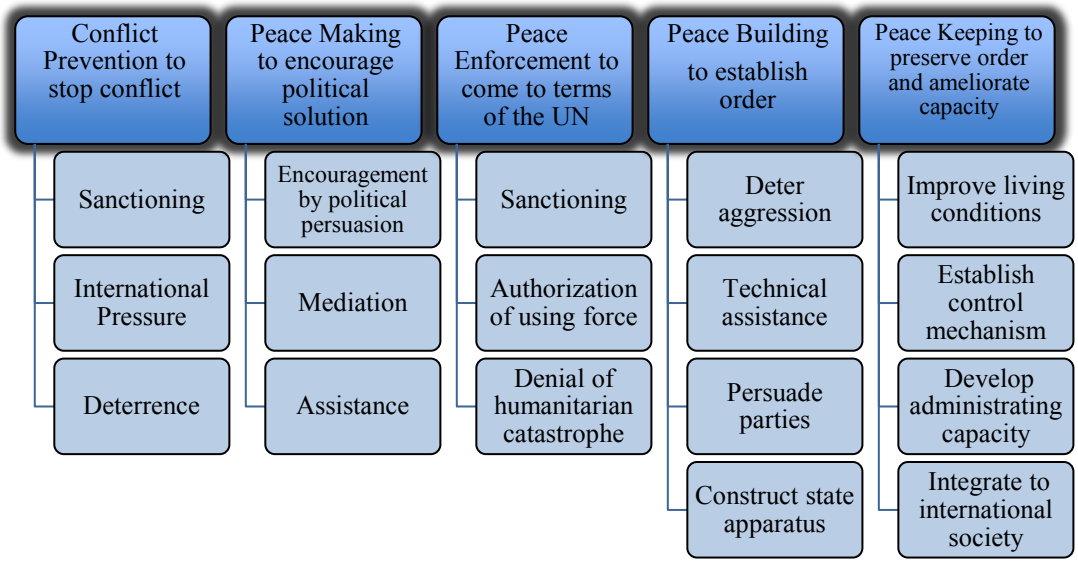


Chart 2-3 Strategic Tasks in Peace Support Operations

Intelligence and propaganda functions are expected to support these strategic tasks. The methodology of both fields needs to ease the purpose of tasks and the hard power assets of NATO for a cost-effective crisis management. The problem is if intelligence and propaganda, when efficiently coordinated and integrated, can offer solutions that are acceptable by warring factions, local public, and international community. In other words, intelligence and propaganda must support promising, long-lasting, and realistic courses to terminate hostilities and build a secure and stable environment to realize the strategic tasks, as foreseen above.

2.5. Challenges for NATO

Superiorities and shortfalls of NATO in peace support operations are decisive to evaluate the efficiency of intelligence and propaganda capabilities of the Alliance.[108] Hence a general review of factors affecting the capabilities of NATO deserves to be scrutinized. The first set of challenges emanates from the structure of the Alliance. The command structure of NATO is the particular strength to deploy forces. Member states' commitment to reserve military units along with the organic capabilities of NATO itself enhances the

[108] Davide D'Allagata, experienced PSYOP practitioner of Italian Army and NATO argues, "indirect measure [of PSYOP] is easier. For example, there was a campaign about the reduction of cultivation of opium and the statistic after 6 months shows that people killed by drugs are less in Afghanistan. Then, this statistics means campaign has worked properly". Interview with Davide D'Allagata, PSYOP professional in Italian Ministry of Defence, e-mail message to the author on January 20, 2014.

capability of urgent response.[109] The exercises and combined training activities are multiplier for the readiness of NATO that interoperability is a significant feature of it. Intelligence and propaganda capabilities of NATO, then, are doctrinally standardized capability to respond the needs of NATO in peace support operations. But structural flaws do exist. The observed structural problems are compiled after 36 personnel are requested to respond the question "what structural problem or problems they had observed in the multinational unit they were assigned". NATO's structural problem fields in peace support operations are outlined in the Chart 2-4.



Chart 2-4 NATO's Structural Problem Fields in Peace Support Operations

At initial glance, competition has always sealed the behavioural mood of member states in NATO. Peace support environment, frequently, becomes an area for show of force, weapon test, intelligence practice and propaganda arena for allied states and coalition partners even against each other.[110] Competition among 'friends' can easily be felt in sharing the responsible areas, allotting the burdens, or identifying command authorities. The need of consensus in decision-making breaches the unity of the Alliance to start an engagement. For instance, NATO was divided to engage in Operation Iraqi Freedom to intervene, as was the case in the United Nations.[111] The invasion of Iraq to destroy chemical weapons was not a

[109] In order to accomplish the full spectrum of Alliance missions, the NATO Force Structure supports the NATO Command Structure. The force structure provides three broad categories of forces, In-Place Forces, Deployable Forces and Long-Term Build up Forces. Available at http://www.aco.nato.int/page134134653, accessed on December 16, 2015.

[110] Wallace J. Thies, *Friendly Rivals: Bargaining and Burden Shifting in NATO* (New York: M.E. Sharpe, 2003), pp. 1-4.

[111] NATO, "NATO and the 2003 Campaign against Iraq", available at http://www.nato.int/cps/en/natohq/topics_51977.htm, accessed on December 15, 2015.

justified cause for some NATO member states, and NATO was not included in the operation. Even if NATO starts the operation, harsh debates and fierce bargaining defines how the peace mission be manned and executed. As an example, burden-sharing problems became more evident during the Kosovo crisis.[112] European and the US governments fall apart as was witnessed before the Bosnian intervention in clarifying the limits of the operations. But to the final extent, long bargaining process may be due to multinational character though; clear strategic decision and mission statements give birth a coordinated and agreed multinational operation. In this frame, NATO cannot be isolated from the interests of the individual member states, especially to start and execute peace missions. Interests and foreign policies of NATO members or partner states and organizations, have direct effect on the outcomes of peace support operations.

After strategic bargaining is concluded by compromise, structural flaws can also be witnessed at operational and tactical levels. Multinational character of NATO is always a difficulty at these levels to achieve multinational tasks. Every member nation has its own military culture that variations of values create obstacles for a standardized perception of environment, threat, mission, or work rhythm because every army has a different modus operandi in engaging their tasks. In this frame, multinational command structure is a challenge for NATO even though NATO has many standardization agreements to have command structure functioning. Member states are intrusive to define the limits of their forces dedicated to international headquarters. Schanubelt argues "the tendency of force contributing capitals to bypass NATO's chain of command and issue guidance directly to their national military units".[113] Caveats[114] of nations limit the authority of NATO commands to direct a mission to the contingent of derogating member state.[115] A significant example is the classification constraints of national authorities since it hinders information sharing and halts report mechanism. Besides the military units, allotted to NATO, may also pursue "My Capital first" perception in terms of assuming responsibility since it is their national authorities who decide the promotion of commanding generals.

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[112] John C. Hulsman, "A Grand Bargain with Europe: Preserving NATO for the 21st Century", *The Heritage Foundation Backgrounder*, No. 1360, April 17, 2000, available at http://www.bu.edu/globalbeat/nato/Hulsman041700.html, accessed on December 12, 2015.

[113] Christopher M. Schnaubelt, *Complex Operations: NATO at War and on the Margins of War* (Rome: NATO Defence College Research Division, 2010), p. 15.

[114] National caveats are defined as restrictions placed on the use of national military contingents operating as part of a multinational operation.

[115] NATO Parliamentary Assembly issued the Resolution 336 to reduce the caveats to a tolerable level, available at http://www.nato-pa.int/default.asp?SHORTCUT=828, accessed on December 16, 2015.

US dominance is reality in NATO's operations due to the capabilities of the US army in terms of technology and doctrine.[116] NATO is usually criticised due to the heavy hand of the USA in shaping the policies and code of conducts even though decision process is based on consensus in North Atlantic Council. The image of "American control" upon the Alliance and "bandwagon" structure of the majority of the other states make the credibility of NATO breached.[117] If the states' involvement in guiding the contributing forces is taken, the USA's choice mostly becomes a demand for the small partners.[118] Peace support operations, hence, can be questioned if they were to realize and legitimize 'American' interests or to support conflict-torn societies.

Tactical and operational dominance is 'divine' since the asset hegemony of the US troops makes the other states dependent on the offered capabilities of the US army. For instance Hulsman argues that European military hardware is significantly inferior to that of the United States in [the fields of] strategic transport and logistics, intelligence, and high-tech weaponry.[119] Kosovo operation exposed the deficiencies that NATO had to make major internal adaptations if it is to remain capable of, and credible at, carrying out its mission in the future.[120] The dominance is more effective especially in intelligence and to some extent propaganda-based functions since these two fields require efficient organizations and assets mounted on ground, naval and aerial platforms. On the other hand, US dominance ca be seen an advantage for efficient standardization of the Alliance's doctrines and procedures and

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[116] Peter Duignan, *NATO: Its Past, Present and Future* (California: Hoover Institution Press, 2000), p. 122.

[117] Robert Czulda, "The Widening Gap – Europe is Still a Military Pygmy", in *NATO: Towards the Challenges of Contemporary World*, (eds.) Robert Czulda and Robert Los (Warsaw: International Relations Research Institute, 2013), p. 29.

[118] Stanley R. Sloan, "The US Role in the World: Indispensable Leader of Hegemon?" in *Foreign Policy of the United States,* Vol. 1, (ed.) Simone Ernest (New York: Nova Science Publishers, 2000), p. 42.

[119] Hulsman, "A Grand Bargain with Europe: Preserving NATO for the 21st Century".

[120] To downgrade the deficiency of capability gaps, we see an increased effort of transforming NATO to a more effective structure, especially after the build-up of Allied Transformation Command. NATO Command Structure was based on two commands after 1949 Washington Treaty: Allied Command Europe (ACE) and Allied Command Atlantic. During the 2002 Prague Summit, a decision was made to reorganise the NCS and make it leaner and more efficient. Additionally, Alliance thinking fundamentally shifted: The NATO Command Structure was to be based on functionality rather than geography. The former ACE became Allied Command Operations (ACO), responsible for all Alliance operations, including those maritime operations previously undertaken by Supreme Allied Commander Atlantic (SACLANT). As such, one Strategic Command is focused on NATO's operations - ACO with its Supreme Headquarters Allied Powers Europe (SHAPE) - and the other on transforming NATO - ACT with its Headquarters SACT. Spillman et al., *Peace Support Operations*, p. 192.

having a common understanding among the Allies where peace support operations heavily require.

The second set of challenges originates from the context of peace support operations. Despite the level of high readiness, nature of peace operations is always an impediment for military formations, which are designed for conventional warfare. Military is not built to dig dwells or build hospitals for civilians. Improving good governance capacity of the host nation cannot be found in the educational curricula of any military school. Social and cultural aspects of conflicts and rebuilding of conflict-torn countries are beyond the capabilities and perceptions of any military force. A civil-military cooperation program is in the agenda of the Alliance after Bosnia intervention though; perceptions of local public and shortage of responding the needs of civilian population by military capabilities are clear challenges.[121] For instance, Turkish health service for Afghan civilians in Kabul City of Afghanistan is underlined by the local public as the most useful job of NATO.[122] These tasks naturally shift the ontology of intelligence and propaganda to unaccustomed tasks since the peace support operation environment is rather affiliated with hearts and minds of local and international public.

The major purpose of peace support operation, in an ideal way, is expected to be the establishment of a secure, stable, and self-sustaining environment for the own forces and local population. But most situations, like Afghanistan case, prove that opposing forces, as prominent challenge for NATO, are the obstacles for such an environment. They pose armed threat to hosting public and NATO that overall mission may be in danger.

Finally, strategic, operational, and tactical level engagements of NATO are blurring in terms of level of analysis. Tactical actions, for Schanaubelt, create strategic effects - yet significant state actors seem unable to respond. He refers Dave Deluge to denote the term strategic compression to emphasize that terrorists and insurgents regularly fight through using asymmetric engagements: using tactics, equipment, and resources that generate disproportionate effects.[123] In this sense complexity, intertwined with strategic compression needs a coordinated effort of supportive and complimentary military functions. Intelligence

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[121] William R. Phillips (Colonel), "Civil-Military Cooperation: Vital to Peace Implementation in Bosnia", *NATO Review* (Online Journal), Vol. 46, No. 1 (Spring 1998): pp. 22-25.

[122] General Asadullah Siddiq argued that Turkish health service was the main reason of why Afghan local population was in favour of Turkish presence in Kabul as the leading country. Afghans, without any gender discrimination had access to Turkish Doğan Camp, he said, and there they were able to receive medical treatment. He asked why Taliban or any other opposing force would need to strike Camp Doğan as long as Turks really served Afghan civilians. Interview with General Asadullah Siddiq on Turkish-Afghan Relations, March 11, 2012.

[123] Schnaubelt, *Complex Operations*, p. 16.

and propaganda are among these functions that NATO can downgrade the effects of peace operations' complicated environment and unaccustomed threats. Local publics' hearts and minds are decisive in these operations while NATO can have the capacity to deter, shape and influence peace support environment with efficient courses of public engagement and communication.

2.6. Conclusion

The UN Charter demarcates the limits of peace operations. The UN elegantly identifies a terminology to define its practices on the ground under the shadow of three core principles: consent of conflicting parties, neutrality, and use of force in case self-defence requires. In this frame, the UN narrows its peace operations to peacekeeping that would not endanger the security of the UN troops. Furthermore, the UN's peace operations are entrapped to failures in the 1990s, as Brahimi Report indicates, that the UN attributes its responsibilities to regional organizations, mainly NATO, as an outlet especially for efficient engagement to the crisis including enforcement based solution. In this frame, the UN limited itself with civilian tasks while security and military related tasks to regional security organizations. As part of neutrality and focus on humanitarian and political tasks, the UN avoids intelligence and propaganda functions not to undermine its 'credibility' in the eyes of locals and impartial. Hence the UN is ignorant in both intelligence and propaganda practices to refrain from the prejudices of local governments and publics thanks to bad image of them.

NATO, in exchange for the UN's need to regional organizations, is in search for legitimization to start a peace operation if interests of the Alliance require, as was the case in Kosovo. But, to the final extent, NATO is within the limits of the UN Charter and aligns its undertakings coping with the UN codes. The main difference of both organizations is that NATO's peace support operation spectrum is broader than the UN. It includes varieties of peace-oriented engagements that NATO has actively been involved in. Peacekeeping and peace enforcement are the primary varieties in which NATO can benefit from its military capabilities. NATO supported in conflict management, peace making, and peace building to augment political undertakings by its hard power assets. It does not matter if NATO is the main apparatus or limited by supportive role, intelligence and propaganda efforts are key to manage crises and conflicts. These two capabilities need to be performed in peace support operations to 'understand' and 'shape' the parties of the conflict. The vitality of intelligence and propaganda is unassailable, but the ontology and methodology of intelligence and propaganda have changed if the expansion of actors, environment, concerns, and challenges of peace support operations are taken into consideration.

The numbers and characteristics of actors have increased in comparison to conventional warfare. The actors of current conflicts are not only adversary or friendly ones, but also include uncontrollable ones like local government, local public, and impartial actors. In this context civil society groups, media, international organizations, and non-governmental organizations enriched the engaged-communities of interest. Additionally, social media linkage of these groups and easy communication technologies ease these actors to organize themselves and mobilize towards a certain goal. Apart from emerging actors and facilitative means, the environment, in which peace support operations are taking place, pushes NATO to assume new duties that NATO is not used to. The distinctive issue is that peace support operations have distinguishing features pending to differing operational environment that permanent rules of engagement do not apply at all. Pending to actors and operational environment, there is a concern about the 'mission' expansion of NATO in peace support operations. Military formations are introduced by new tasks that NATO has limited capacity to respond. Dynamic nature of operational environment, emerging actors and unaccustomed concerns require efficient intelligence and propaganda capabilities to determine what the picture of environment is, what the probable concerns are and how to shape environment and persuade actors to align themselves with the goals of NATO and international community. Besides threat exists in the peace support operations of current age that NATO could not address them solely by its hard power assets but with the other pre-emptive means, like intelligence and propaganda means.

The context of intelligence and propaganda, for these reasons, needs to be investigated to display how new environment, actors and concerns challenged intelligence and propaganda in the circles of NATO. The following Chapter will focus on the contextual analysis of intelligence and propaganda in NATO and how they, both, can be understood pending to the prerequisites of 'change' in conflicts and peace support operations.

CHAPTER 3

NATO'S APPROACH AND CONCEPTUALIZATION OF INTELLIGENCE AND PROPAGANDA IN PEACE SUPPORT OPERATIONS

3.1. Introduction

Peace support operations, as could be seen in the previous chapter, have become the prime driver for the continuous adaptation of NATO's military capabilities, command and force structures, consultation, planning, and decision-making processes.[124] Military forces are pushed to align with the unaccustomed applications of military capabilities and transforming environment of peace support operations due to the experienced unconventionality. In this sense, NATO troops faced military deployments to unfamiliar regions, challenging tasks for military formations and political commitments, all of which require a comprehensive analysis of operational environment by enhanced situational awareness to respond the emerging threats.

NATO is expected to manage the faced crises and satisfy (or respond) all involved actors by proactive, rather than sole reactive acts.[125] Risk and crisis management concerns require detailed communication strategies in 'understanding and shaping' the physical, social, and military operational environment and actors. In this frame intelligence has become the core complimentary field of peace operations to 'understand' the social, political, and military or any other feature of operational environment or faced actors. Hence

[124] Diego A. Ruiz Palmer, "The Enduring Influence of Operations in NATO's Transformation", *NATO Review: The Road to Riga 2006*, available at http://www.nato.int/docu/Review/2006/Road_Riga/operations_influence_transformation/EN/index.htm, accessed on December 24, 2015.

[125] Strategic Concept of 2010 NATO argues that the Alliance will engage, where possible and when necessary, to prevent crises, manage crises, stabilize post-conflict situations and support reconstruction to face today's threats. The report of May 17, 2010 for a new Strategic Concept delineates the transformation of wide spectrum of threats that require a response of both forceful and non-coercive elements against state and non-state actors.
NATO, "Strategic Concepts", November 11, 2014, *Newsletter*, available at http://www.nato.int/cps/en/natohq/topics_56626.htm, accessed on December 25, 2015.

peace support operations can be described as 'intelligence-driven engagements', as can also be claimed for conventional military ones.[126] Like intelligence, propaganda appears to be auxiliary, but significantly essential, course of shaping (or influencing) the actors of all segments despite its bad connotation in practice. These two processes, on the other hand, are intertwined activities that both need to support each other for efficient and long-term outcomes.

This chapter is to investigate the conceptual confusion in propaganda and affiliated intelligence activities for peace support operations despite their vitality. Bad connotations of both functions pushed NATO and member states to invent new conceptualizations, which in fact does not differ from propaganda conceptualization. For this purpose, the context of both intelligence and propaganda capabilities of NATO will be reviewed to demonstrate how they are being designed in peace support operations. Doctrinal discussions will be laid to highlight NATO's capacity and shortfalls in the face of the witnessed challenges. Hence the goal of the chapter is to analyse the current intelligence and propaganda paradigm, especially within the circles of NATO operations. The argument is that current propaganda and intelligence paradigm of NATO lacks addressing the requirements of peace support operations due to structural and doctrinal flaws of NATO.

3.2. Contextualization of NATO's Intelligence

3.2.1. Division on the Context of Definition and Theory

The definition of intelligence is a dilemma in general to define the context of it. It needs to be clarified what is meant by intelligence to have NATO and member/partner states agree on a common understanding. Theoretically, Warner, discussing the definition of intelligence, indicates intelligence as a covert decision support mechanism of state actor, as follows.

> …Intelligence is a service or interaction with leaders to help them manage, by privileged means, the hazards they face in dealing with rival powers [...] In practical terms, intelligence informs and executes decision; it helps to make leaders more confident that they know the risks around them and their regimes [...] Intelligence is secret, state activity to understand and influence foreign entities.[127]

[126] Renaud Theunens, "Intelligence and Peace Support Operations: Some Practical Concepts" in *Emerging Concepts for the Future Peacekeeping Intelligence* (eds.) De Jong, Platje and Steele, p. 61.

[127] Michael Warner, "Wanted: A Definition of Intelligence", available at https://www2.warwick.ac.uk/fac/soc/pais/people/aldrich/vigilant/warner.wanted.pdf, accessed on July 28, 2015.

Military organizations, on the other hand, perceives its context to identify the independent variables of military operations by scrutinizing operational environment, weather, and threat to conclude the courses of actions of threats. NATO defines intelligence as "the product resulting from the processing of information concerning foreign nations, hostile or potentially hostile forces or elements, or areas of actual or potential operations. The term is also applied to the activity, which results in the product and to the organizations engaged in such activity."[128] Hence NATO takes intelligence as the tag of 'product' and 'activity' itself. Intelligence, contrary to its actual coverage in military, is attributed to have the covert activity of gathering information despite military intelligence has both overt and covert activities which differ it from state level intelligence.

Peter Gill clarifies "the starting point" of intelligence, not with its definition, but theory. For him, intelligence does not exist in a vacuum; the world it surveys is not a "closed" system. Intelligence is a planned, dynamic, living and adaptable process that can be aligned with social studies. Thus, it is necessary to start with general social and political theory before focusing on intelligence as the prime interest.[129] Gill asserts that a theory explaining what intelligence is and theories that support intelligence in achieving its goals need to be distinguished.[130] Within the controversies of what intelligence is and if a theory exists, he resembles intelligence to the theories of International Relations attributing the main stream to realist tradition. Intelligence capability, then, is downgraded to state capacity rather than a function of international organization.[131] This argument may take NATO member states to perceive intelligence as their sovereign activities not to be performed under the authority of the Alliance. Intelligence becomes a national tool in this thinking that neither state tends to sacrifice their intelligence assets for the sake of common alliance goals.

The significant reality is that intelligence is not a shared function among state actors in the Alliance unless mutual interests of state actors require. Then 'structure' is not effective in intelligence, but state actors, as agents, coat the intelligence theorization. This perception may clarify NATO members' intelligence sharing and information exploitation perceptions. For instance, the response to the question "if NATO member states did share intelligence in

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[128] *AAP-6 NATO Glossary of Terms and Definitions*, p. 2-I-6.

[129] Peter Gill, Stephen Marrin and Mark Phythian, *Intelligence Theory: Key Questions and Debates* (New York: Routledge, 2009), p. 4.

[130] Sebastian Bay, "Theories of Intelligence: A Literary Overview", *Lund University Research Policy Institute*, Intelligence Analysis Essay, 2007, p. 5, available at http://www.sebastian.bay.se/contents/intelligence_theories-a_literary_overview.pdf, accessed on August 01, 2015.

[131] Robert D. Steel, *The New Craft of Intelligence: Achieving Asymmetric Advantage in The Face of Non-traditional Threats* (Philadelphia: Strategic Studies Institute, 2002), p. 6.

the crises of Bosnia, Kosovo, Libya, or Afghanistan" indicates to what extent intelligence is dedicated to the goals of overall NATO mission or for the sake of individual state actors. NATO's intelligence perception, hence, is a point of controversy since common intelligence codification and intelligence practices are disconnected since peace support operations require NATO to direct intelligence efforts to a common goal while state-centric practices of member state actors puts forward national agendas, as will be discussed in the case studies.

Theory of intelligence, if it exists and could be agreed upon, offer a common approach in identifying ontology, methodology, and axiology for intelligence practitioners to indicate the linkage of intelligence and other functions like propaganda. Theory "explain[s] intelligence as it is practiced everywhere" and is perceived "relevant by scholars wherever they are based".[132] Intelligence conceptualization in general, and specifically in peace support operations, is expected to be inspired from a compromised theoretical standpoint. The issue is that theory of intelligence is not well defined and scrutinized as would be seen in the discussions on its definition. For instance, Gill refers Kahn for his argument that intelligence is an auxiliary, not a primary, factor in war.[133] The current intelligence paradigms, on the other hand, claim the preponderance of intelligence in mobilizing state tools or commence military engagements. Similarly, intelligence appears to be one of the main efforts of NATO to design its commitments in crisis contrary to Kahn's argument.[134] Peace support operations is clearly an exception for Kahn's argument that intelligence is the main apparatus to track the events, foresee the developments and identify the wider threats other than security affiliated concerns.

Parallel to the theoretical debates, the actors and enablers of intelligence have become more complex. Events of current age, with their varying features, indicate that intelligence practice has surpassed the paradigm of intelligence.[135] The prominent issue is the spectrum of actors in peace operations and challenging knowledge-based environment that every actor has the opportunity to exploit informative environment by their inputs and extractions. As mentioned in the previous chapter individuals, international organizations, civil society, and even private companies have emerged while challenging intelligence ontology.[136]

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[132] Gill and Phythian, *Intelligence Theory*, pp. 1-2.

[133] Ibid, p. 3.

[134] Ibid.

[135] Andrew N. Liaropoulos, "A (R)Evolution in Intelligence Affairs? In Search of A New Paradigm", *Research Institute for European and American Studies*, Research Paper, Athens, (2006), p. 7.

[136] Barry Smith et al., "Ontology for Intelligence Analyst", *CrossTalk*, November/December 2012, p. 18, available at http://ncor.buffalo.edu/mil/Ontology_for_the_Intelligence_Analyst.pdf, accessed on December 26, 2015.

Information flow appeared to be in the mode of mutual exchange that intelligence has lost its secrecy contrary to Kahn's argument. For instance Libyan crowd on the street may both be a source of information for intelligence gatherers while the crowd may be able to grab the outgoing information of both NATO and journalists at the mean time.[137] In the light of actor enrichment and modern accessible technology, intelligence architecture of nation-state-armies, and NATO as well, is in search of methodological expansion and perform intelligence to respond the prerequisites of executed operations, leaving behind the debates on definition and theory of intelligence in practice, but enhance its ontology and methodology.

As the prominent challenge, technology shifts intelligence on what it can do or be limited. Intelligence linkage and dependency on technology is both a curse and blessing.[138] For instance intelligence methodology is simplified and fastened to abstract conclusions thanks to information technologies. Processing every bit of information is much easier if compared to 1990s. Technology facilitated the collection of sensitive information in wider geography by centralized organizational formations as the interconnectedness of intelligence consumers is expanding. Accurate and timely information is attainable with less verification or falsification effort. As the masses are addicted to high-tech products, intelligence exploits every opportunity to provide input to situational awareness of decision makers and see the outcomes of committed actions. The second effect is that transferring and converting information to knowledge by means of efficiently classified database and analysis software are supportive to conclude the meaning of observed themes. Hence detection and reaction intervals are as short as seconds by means of intelligence process. Intelligence software and hardware of NATO is facilitator to store, access, and analyse information, but not designed to gather data from the theatre. Nation states' capabilities are forefront to scan the environment of peace support operations and collect data. To the final extent, nation states are essential in intelligence activities for NATO since they dominate data gathering systems, as common perception on intelligence theory claims.

Technological progress reflected its visibility especially in communications. Fast technological progress in mass media technology increased exchange of information and made the content of obtained data [closer to real life in terms of timing and actual

[137] Available at http://bostinno.streetwise.co/2011/08/22/the-libyan-revolution-through-social-media/, accessed on February 02, 2016.

[138] Stephen H. Campbell, "Intelligence in the Post-Cold War Period: The Impact of Technology*", The Journal of U.S. Intelligence Studies*, Vol. 20, No. 1 (Spring/Summer 2013), p. 52.

viewing].[139] A surge of communications of every kind seemed to be dragging individuality away from the state, distinct communities and ethnic groups towards a global culture.[140] Enhancing communications means are facilitating to transfer huge amount of data in less than a second that would promote the situational awareness for decision makers and also target audience at the mean time. Besides, the means are offering a wide range of communication types as sound, instant messaging, image, or signature of any object to be evaluated spontaneously. Media is as such to inform public by these means before the decision makers are aware of the on-going events. Knowledge can, then, be transferred, either true or false, to all actors in peace support operations at the mean time that hardens the effectiveness of intelligence function while challenging propaganda efforts. Under the realm of technologic challenge, the issue field is that NATO and substituent commands can hardly orchestrate flow of information in the theatre of peace operations. This fact naturally pushes NATO headquarters and member states to prefer fast functioning intelligence activities along with the other functions of NATO, mainly propaganda to address the hearts and minds of targeted audience since the audience is always the decisive one.

3.2.2. Methodology of Intelligence

Methodology of intelligence is usually limited and defined by intelligence cycle, mainly in military intelligence community. The cycle approach[141], which represents a continuity of directing-collecting-processing-disseminating information, is pragmatic and easy to understand in military intelligence workshops. There are attempts to present intelligence cycles in different formats, but the spirit of the cycle remains unchallenged since new attempts are no more than renaming and dividing these steps into constituent phases.[142] What is meant by methodology, I argue, is not cycling the intelligence production process in four or five steps. The methodology is to define how and by what means ontology of intelligence, peace support operations in this case, will be gathered, extracted, and concluded. The new operational environment that NATO enjoys in peace support operations challenges ontology and, parallel to ontology, methods of reaching an intelligence outcome. Emerging actor types and operational environment restrict the conventional intelligence modus. 'Used to have' intelligence assets and headquarters' work rhythm are short of

[139] Brian B. Whaley and Wendy Samter, *Explaining Communication: Contemporary Theories and Exemplars* (New Jersey: Lawrence ErlBaum Associates Inc., 2009), p. 127.

[140] Spillman et al., *Peace Support Operations*, p. 64.

[141] Mark Phytian, *Understanding the Intelligence Cycle* (New York: Routledge, 2013), pp. 1-2.

[142] Phytian delineates intelligence cycles in five phases by dividing process phase into collation and analysis phase. In reality, processing information is the combination of collation and analysis. Ibid, pp. 1-2.

supplying the needs of unconventional warfare since nature of threat, operational needs, long-term commitments, and concrete details of desired and obtained outcomes are vague in peace support operations.

A common feature of intelligence methodology in both conventional warfare and peace support operations is its linkage with epistemology that intelligence practitioners are mostly unaware. The debate of Wittgenstein and Popper can be applied to abstract a common intelligence methodology of which intelligence community can benefit.[143] Verification (confirmation) process of Wittgenstein[144] is a very well known but unconsciously preferred paradigm in NATO's intelligence community. The end state of the intelligence community is mostly a hypothesis to display the capability of threat under the conditionality of operational environment and threat's capabilities. The hypothesis will be proved by scanning data to verify the hypothesis, which is called in military terminology as "the most likely course of action". The collection of data will let to an inductive methodology to obtain knowledge and prove the hypothesis of the intelligence community. Popper's falsification is also a considerable method to have data transformed into intelligence along with 'verification'. The hypothesis is assumed as correct and falsifying data will be gathered. The methodology, in this sense, is deduction. The Popper's methodology[145], for intelligence community, can be perceived as risk since intelligence community fixes the attention to only one hypothesis. On the other hand, if time and intelligence assets are numerous, both methodologies can be practiced at the mean time, especially in significant ambiguities such as the threat types in peace support operations. Intelligence community benefits from any of these methodological approaches as far as they are aware of what data to collect. But it is a fact that intelligence community prefers to verify, rather than falsify.

Intelligence methodology need to be concerted with multi-directional flow of information in peace support operations. Complex network of information flow will create a cobweb that every actor sends and receives information. But the complex flow of information makes the perceptions of the increasing numbers of actors complicated due to 'mess' of knowledge. A set of elective parameters to distinguish useful and useless

[143] It is the author's observation in Bosnia and Afghanistan headquarters of NATO that intelligence analysts are mostly not aware of epistemology and Wittgenstein - Popper debate. Hence data-information-knowledge-wisdom linkage is not well known that leads intelligence errors to perceive, for instance, data as intelligence.

[144] Victor Rodych, "Popper Versus Wittgenstein on Truth, Necessity, and Scientific Hypotheses", *Journal for General Philosophy of Science*, Vol. 34 (2003), pp. 323–336.

[145] Ibid.

knowledge can be established to address the needs of either imminent or long-term policies. Prioritized knowledge development strategy will serve such purpose to eliminate useless knowledge. In this context, NATO is releasing strategy papers, policies and guidance to define the general principles of commitments with prioritizations. Consequently, a response to the question "what is the point" will find its way in the minds of various layers of intelligence community and decision makers as a general concerting tool. Upon defining the priorities, an information requirement strategy will be developed to determine what is needed. In other words, "what information is needed" and "what data ought to be collected" to conclude information has to comply with the needs of NATO. Any requirement that directly challenge the defined goal will be searched and focused. The question to be asked may be "what do I need to know to achieve the defined goal?". But the question will be rather comprehensive "what do I need to know and mobilize to achieve the defined goal?" in a more interactive mood. Here comes propaganda as the subject matter of intelligence if not only "knowing" but also "mobilizing" is taken.

If the goal oriented intelligence is desired, information requirements in peace support operations can be determined in accordance with pre-defined goals of NATO. A detailed intelligence plan will promote the conscious access to desired knowledge rather than vast amount of it since NATO cannot control information flow at all in the realm of media, international organizations or academic circles apart from directly linked actors or institutions such as member states or partner organizations. NATO does not have the luxury of being enslaved by informative environment but shape it. Multi directional and uncurbed information flow may harm NATO's interests, force protection, and mission if not controlled efficiently. In this context, the crucial issue in a peace support operation is to decide how to build a control mechanism upon information circulation by deciding on what information will be revealed, what information will be kept as secret or be released to whom. Say another way, knowledge development and management becomes the course of knowledge production and management.

Knowledge development and management processes are to monitor and assess impending subject matters in peace support operations by timely, actionable, and predictive military intelligence support. The significant characteristic is that there is usually a lack of basic intelligence data on targeted audience and opposing forces due to lack of collection assets. The produced knowledge is systematically processed to produce intelligence forecasts though; the continuity of the process is dependent on the numbers and quality of intelligence assets and intelligence analysts. The contributing nations have few allotted intelligence assets to gather relevant data except the dominant state actors like the USA in NATO's

engagements. The cost of deploying such assets appears to be a hindrance in peace support operations since state actors usually tend to keep their assets for conventional threats at home. Other than intelligence gathering assets, analysis is also a problem field. The continuous cycle of intelligence analysts and their reluctance to leave the camps to understand the environment makes analysis process suffering from passing experience to the replacing ones. Hence analysis process lacks adequate numbers of analysts permanently stationed in headquarters.

3.2.3. Intelligence and Peace Support Operations

What is perceived by intelligence in peace operations has utmost importance since the functions of intelligence and other branches of expertise are mostly confused. Hence ontology, methodology, and organization of intelligence should be clarified regarding peace operations. The ontology of intelligence is not solely defining what the threat is. Intelligence identifies all environmental and threat factors affiliated with the modus of the operations. The mission, which is designed at the higher echelons, is the shaft of the continuous intelligence activities and forms the central motivation. Intelligence is rather a prediction activity based on concrete proofs to display what will or would happen in future. The past and current events are only history of which intelligence staff can exploit to predict future.

The subject matter of intelligence can be diverted to the gaps in informative environment. The subject matter covers, for instance, demography of the host nation. Rupert Smith, a retired British General, argues that the "new paradigm of war [is] war amongst the people...in which the people...all the people...are the targets, objectives to be won, as much as an opposing force".[146] The conflicts are in an age of "persistent conflict" where our most likely wars, like those in Iraq and Afghanistan, will be fought "among the people" surpassing certain nationalities but among the people of differing beliefs, or cultures. Knowledge about [social and] cultural features is critical for success in these operations, where the indigenous population is a centre of gravity.[147] Intelligence function in peace support operations, then, is to observe people, for gaining and influencing them because people centric approach is decisive to realize the ultimate mission of the military body of NATO.

A comprehensive intelligence preparation, for this purpose, can foresee the required details of operational picture, including socio-cultural aspect of people centric approach. Intelligence preparation process eases to determine what affects peace operation and

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[146] Sir Rupert Smith, *The Utility of Force (*New York: Random House, 2007), p. 6.

[147] James Laughrey, *Know Before You Go: Improving Army Officer Sociocultural Knowledge* (Carlisle: U.S. Army War College, 2008), p. i.

facilitate how to extract the measures to be taken, including propaganda efforts.[148] Intelligence preparation can be summed up by its four-step process as defining the environment, defining the effects of the environment to peace supporters and the other actors, determining the capabilities of the actors and, finally, integrating the obtained facts to abstract threat 'likely-most likely' actions of threats. The difference of conventional and unconventional thinking is that the contexts of operational environment and threat have changed. The operational environment covers both military and civilian factors while threat is not limited by military capabilities of a state actor, but more of it. For instance, the term 'threat' in peace support operations may not be an armed resisting group, but soft threats such as organized crime gangs, corruption, illegal trafficking of goods, common diseases, natural disasters, and improper living conditions of the assisted community, as scrutinized in the previous chapter. In this sense, intelligence analyst does not have the luxury of ignoring the flood season in peace support operations since the consequences of flood in the hosting country will require NATO to mobilize its units to support locals. At the end of intelligence preparation process, intelligence community can understand the overall picture of peace support operations and concluding hypothesis. A conventional thinking may prison identifying-threat perception into the analysing process of traditional military formations disregarding its social and cultural features. Peace support operations, different from traditional thinking, add social characteristics of engaged-actors in peace support operations.

Intelligence preparation of NATO's intelligence departments starts intelligence production process to support the other functions of the headquarters. Propaganda is as such an activity that intelligence is required to provide a detailed analysis of target audience. The real shortfall lies here that intelligence is mostly perceived as a threat oriented activity like identifying what the opposing forces are planning to do. Consequently "known unknowns" becomes "unknown unknowns" in a peace support operation due to inefficient intelligence function because intelligence analyst is not aware of the occurrences.

Collection phase of data is an art for intelligence community. Intelligence disciplines and functions compliment each other's deficiencies by a comprehensive collection strategy pending to their capabilities, disciplines, locations, and availabilities. Peace support operations, for sure, mostly be conducted in urban and most of the intelligence assets are futile to pinpoint and observe the required data. Human shield, along with complicated city structure, makes intelligence assets not functioning as desired other than providing security

[148] Friedrich W. Korkisch, "NATO Gets Better Intelligence: New Challenges Require New Answers to Satisfy Intelligence Needs for Headquarters and Deployed/Employed Forces", *IAS Reader Strategy Paper*, Vol. 1 (2010), p. 13.

for own forces. Intelligence collection activities do also breach the image of impartial force since it may be perceived as hostile and sided by the opposing communities.

Another issue field is the variety of the intelligence disciplines that are available. Contributing nations do have varying capabilities. Human intelligence, for instance, is one discipline that can be conducted by all member states and contributing ones though; the characteristic of the hosting nation may favour only several nations to have human intelligence interviews in capturing the ideas of public. Imagery intelligence is usually not functional since it is hard to distinguish civilians from opponents. Open sources offer great data but accuracy and deception are the concerns. Signal intelligence is good to have if wide range of internet and mobile phones are in use but caveats of nations hinder information sharing in this field. As can be seen, collecting information is not easy enough as any army can do it by itself in conventional combat.

The methodology of collection can also be built upon the strategy of "who will collect what information, until what time and from where?". The response to 'who' is to identify collection asset. It may be intelligence agencies, media reports, diplomatic mechanisms, or governmental agencies. The issue is that conventional military intelligence capability of state actors is short of collecting information about the prerequisites of peace support operations by means of 'uncontrolled actors' of peace support operations such as international organization. NATO, on the other hand, does not have organic collection assets but dependent on the capabilities of member or partner states. Peace support operations usually lack intelligence capacity to visualize operational picture that will take this function away from the information requirements of communication and propaganda activities, as will be discussed in the case studies. NATO members and contributing partners, for instance, scan the ground by aerial surveillance assets, but actors of peace support operations of current age are nested with local population that neither of them can monitor. Human based intelligence collection assets may be one settlement to visualize population, detect problem fields, and extract concluding remarks about the attitude of local public. But human based assets do have shortfalls, too. The barriers like language and trust of local population towards foreign troops hinder NATO's human intelligence function whirl around itself by no specific outcomes. Eventually NATO's information collection capability is limited to abstract information useful to design propaganda.

Processing phase is eased by software in intelligence function. Analyses methods, which could be resembled to research and analysis methods of social sciences, can be benefited to conclude what data means and to reach a conclusion. The problem is that lack of efficient collection assets will obscure the analyses process since raw material of intelligence

does not adequately exist. Collection asset will report data that is observable. Analyst of NATO headquarters will transform data, first, into information by formatting and finally to knowledge by inhering it to a need. On the other hand, a piece of data by itself is inadequate to information accumulation. A piece of information needs plural data findings that may extract knowledge. The production process of knowledge will be followed by its storage in the system. If the ultimate goal and 'required, gathered and stored' information is compared and contrasted to current or foreseen events, knowledge can be produced. Information must be formatted in accordance with the needs while extracting conclusion from confirmed or falsified information. Analysis methods can be benefited to compare and contrast information. Drafting a comment and an assessment will help decision makers to focus on the essence of the information. Assessment is a phase of significant importance that requires trained and skilful analysis to support propaganda and decision-makers.

Apart from the afore-mentioned collection and processing efforts, an important shortfall of intelligence is the sharing of sensitive information among the Allies and adjacent organizations in peace support operations like propaganda bodies. Member state actors and partners collect data and analyse information to conclude intelligence. The troops of these states, that usually take the responsibility of certain regions in a given peace support operation, hesitate to share the outcomes they have reached. One reason for this negative tendency is not to reveal the national intelligence collection capabilities, as was the main motivation if technical capacity is used like signal intelligence field. Even though NATO is an alliance with a common doctrine, firstly, member states are still free of allotting capabilities to peace support operations. They can claim national caveats not to commit their assets to NATO. Another reason is to protect the own information resources especially in human intelligence field. NATO formations will also share information with local security forces and the delivered report to locals will endanger the source. Finally, the reason emanating from the decision makers and intelligence personnel is the desire to prove their 'distinguished' skills. The psychological motivation of military commanders to prove their talents makes them jealous of sharing the obtained information, but presenting the outcomes to higher echelons before the others. Hence intelligence sharing is not an easy-going process among intelligence units while coordinating with the other functions of peace support operations is problematic.

Software makes dissemination and sharing process an easy-going phase while the mentality of dissemination has been challenged by the invention of software. The main dissemination method was to push the intelligence to relevant units in the frame of "need-to-know" basis. The software turned this perception to "pull the finished products" in the frame

of authorization to access database. Consequently, intelligence formations, and other branches of headquarters as well, can easily see the end products and exploit them, including propaganda makers. But there are still hindrances in sharing process. One hindrance is the high circulation rate of the same reports due to organizational deficiency. The second issue is the classification of the reports. The high classification makes the reports remain only in certain hands with no fruitful exploitation. Especially international organizations, local security forces, and nongovernmental institutions are incapable of reaching these reports that hinders the overall unity of effort.

Intelligence efforts in peace support operations have deficiencies in terms of intelligence personnel as well. Intelligence staff is usually assigned to relevant posts for six months to a year. A peace operation needs expertise of the operational environment and threat though; the circulation of personnel hinders optimum personnel policy. NATO has solved this gap with internationally hired civilians, but long-term assignment of civilian employees is still problematic. Additionally, it does not matter how many years' intelligence personnel are assigned to intelligence posts since they rarely go out the area of operations and interact with the public. They are 'imprisoned' around their desks and are requested to plan collection and make analyses that they have no idea of where or whom they are focusing on. Besides multinational character of the intelligence workshop, which brings many nationalities to work together, is also an obstacle to comply with the work rhythm since most nations have different working cultures. The author observed that work habits and culture of each member and partner state are different that they can rarely come to a compromise in dealing with problems.

Another factor that intelligence in need is language of local public. Language is problematic issue since coordination efforts of NATO troops and host nations will dependent on the capacity and initiative of interpreters. The bad accent and inadequate repertoire of words will hinder the communication efforts of intelligence organizations. But peace support operations are usually performed in underdeveloped regions of which languages are rare to be spoken. This inability can be felt both in intelligence and in propaganda efforts. Wrong words and awry order of phrases can be commentated in a way that could hamper the overall mission. Additional to language, social and cultural characteristics of the host nation will shape the context of both intelligence and propaganda efforts.

3.2.4. Socio-cultural Intelligence

Intelligence methodology usually leans on threat and security based priority of decision-makers in peace support operations especially if insurgency exists. Hard power of the military formation has always been the primary asset to be supported by the intelligence

workshops rather than complimentary proceedings like propaganda. Propaganda makers need the products of intelligence analysts to direct their efforts. Efficient communication can only be realized by a brief analysis of the social and cultural scrutiny of the public in all peace support operation types. In this sense, late term of the Afghanistan and Iraq interventions witnessed the increasing efforts of scanning social and cultural characteristics and understanding the mood of the society to employ a productive bridge with the society.[149] But it is questionable to what extent NATO troops were successful to understand social and cultural realities of local publics.

The inefficiency of NATO's intelligence community to gather information about the features of the local publics let NATO search for new means in Afghanistan and Iraq. In the sense of organizational solutions, teams of social scientists conducted polls in the public sphere. US Army, for this purpose, built Human Terrain System that is worth to mention in this study. By 2005, members of the defence communities began speaking out on how the military can gain cultural knowledge of a host nation. In 2006, the U.S. Army created the Human Terrain System (HTS) as a response to the need for socio-cultural knowledge in the U.S. military. Human Terrain Teams (HTTs) are the primary tools of the HTS to gain this knowledge. HTTs are teams of soldiers, social scientists, research managers, and cultural analysts directed to study on socio-cultural knowledge and feed a database for use by current and future commanders in military operations.[150] Even though anthropologists criticised[151] the ethics of this project, the teams were dispersed to schools, hospitals, military bases and public holdings to measure perceptions on certain themes by conducting carefully designed polls. Record levels of insurgent activities showed a need for a re-focus on the real centre of gravity, civil society, because the winner in an insurgent war must win the side of the civilian population.[152]

Despite its initial enthusiasm, concluding outcomes of human based surveys in host country is questionable. Following interview of Page indicates a critique of human terrain system in theatre:

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[149] Kerry Patton, *Sociocultural Intelligence: A New Discipline in Intelligence Studies* (New York: The Continuum International Publishing Group, 2010), p. 32.

[150] Julia Page, "Human Terrain Teams", MA Thesis Submitted to the Faculty of the Virginia Polytechnic Institute and State University, Virginia (2012), p. 1.

[151] American Anthropological Association (AAA), "Final Report on the Army's Human Terrain System Proof of Concept Program", Commission on the Engagement of Anthropology with US Security and Intelligence Communities (CEAUSSIC), October 14, 2009, p. 3, available at http://fliphtml5.com/vdry/nubc/basic, accessed on June 11, 2015,

[152] Page, "Human Terrain Teams", p. 47.

> We were supposed to be going off the base and into the tribal areas to interview the Afghan civilians. The Team Leader and Social Scientist made it clear they weren't going to go outside the wire and wanted to remain autonomous from the General and his staff. This is exactly the opposite of what we were supposed to do. The other Research Manager and I instead ended up being "lackeys" and "gophers" for the two females on the team. I told this to the Team Leader after being there only 5 days. The projects they had, had absolutely no relevance to the mission of counterinsurgency and none of it came from a directive to the NATO General or his staff. The only thing that was produced on that team while I was there was a map detailing over [several structures] in [a particular city]. We didn't go down into the city to get the information. The other Research Manager and I would get information from other sources such as PSYOP or S-2 Intelligence. We took it upon ourselves to do this but were not allowed to get any information ourselves outside the wire.[153]

Greanias, a former member of such teams, argues that programmatic flaws quickly surfaced, as former Human Terrain Team members and a handful of investigative journalists exposed a program plagued by poor management and staffed by an unqualified and ill-prepared cadre of civilian social scientists.[154] The flaws she observed were uneven qualifications, variable quality of output, intelligence by another name (which breaches its image), the program's inability to adequately articulate a vision beyond Iraq and Afghanistan. The author argues with the critiques since he observed similar shortfalls in Human Terrain System. As can be seen from the statements of the Human Terrain Team members, intelligence measures to meet the requirements of peace support operation fall short of addressing the needs of operations if the crucial factor comes to the scene: human. The thought of building teams with sociologists is a course to gather social and cultural data along with scanning the attitudes of the public. There is a conscious attempt to full a gap by social-cultural analysis of the local public, but there are inabilities of the established system. Afghan people, with prejudices towards US soldiers, and other foreign troops as well, will not provide accurate feedback to the directed surveys. Besides the individuals were selected from local employees of military bases, high schools, or government officials that were benefitting from the established Afghan state structure. The teams would not reach the clear majority of Afghan public to obtain accurate data.

But the activities of sociologists are indisputably necessary for peace support operations with correct personnel and acceptable methodologies. The lack of social and cultural knowledge is one of the main reasons to design the mood of peace support operations. For instance, Kerry Patton, after a 30-year experience in CIA, claims the

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[153] Susan Page did not provide the identity of interviewed individual. Ibid.

[154] Jennifer Carol Greanias, "Assessing the Effectiveness of the US Military's Human Terrain System", MA Thesis submitted to the Faculty of the Graduate School of Arts and Sciences of Georgetown University, Washington D.C. (November 19, 2010), p. iii.

prerequisite of sociocultural intelligence as a new intelligence discipline while most of the US intelligence agencies, including the US Army, are ignorant of it.[155] The NATO, the author argues, has the same shortfall. Alexei JD Gavriel, anthropologist in ISAF, argues that "the current type of warfare is too costly and inefficient thus an influence approach predicated on understanding local societies is absolutely necessary if a sphere of influence is to remain relevant".[156] Hard power practices in peace support operations may address short term security needs, but long term stability and sympathy of the real decision-maker of the peace support operation, which is clearly the public of host nation, need to be handled. Sociocultural review and appropriate communication methods will contribute to the image and success of the peace support operation forces in longer term. Consequently, intelligence and communicative efforts, which the author call propaganda derivative practices, need to be integrated and a synergy needs to be obtained by appropriate institutionalization.

3.2.5. Shift in Contextualization of Intelligence

Intelligence perception of the Cold War is still dominant though; intelligence has expanded its scope thanks to change in its ontology and means of it. In this frame, emerging units of analysis (say actors) are not the same as the ones during the Cold War. The subject matter of intelligence has gone beyond state actors and threat oriented concerns. In this frame, peace support operations include new actors and environmental factors that intelligence is out the bounds of conventional thinking. Parallel to actors and threat diversification, enormous technological progress and affiliated intelligence methodology complicated intelligence that every actor is currently has the capacity to gather data and produce intelligence by simple means.

These emerging facts can indicate four issues in peace support operations; compatibility of actors in a dynamic environment, the speed in transferring information, fastened decision making process and dynamic policy making requirements. Intelligence, if flexibility is concerned, is bound to support decision makers, and staffs as well, to facilitate timely reactive or proactive engagements in peace operations. Hence expectations from intelligence are devastating though; its current paradigm and required capacities need to be re-evaluated, especially in terms of peace support operations.

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[155] Patton, *Sociocultural Intelligence*, p. 32.

[156] Interview with Gavriel Alexei JD, Ph.D., Civilian Advisor Running the Counter-Propaganda Program of ISAF, e-mail message to author, March 02, 2014.

[If there] is a need for a paradigm change in intelligence[157], especially in evaluating the human domain and addressing actors of the operational environment, multinational nature of peace operations imposes imperative paradigm surge for a satisfactory course of addressing mission prerequisites. But the impediments of efficient intelligence practice make the intelligence function a suffering issue field in peace support operations. For instance, the lacking of centrality and unity of command in peace operations make intelligence support a major weakness of most multinational military operations.[158] Such structural dilemmas in intelligence activities, additional to challenging peace support operation environment and new threat varieties, hinder intelligence efficiency. Intelligence, then, needs to be redesigned in conformity with peace support operations.

Intelligence is expected to sustain the overall mission of military information by means of cementing the security of own forces, facilitating security and stability of host nation, tracking and assisting the intelligence capacity of hosting government, providing intelligence support to local security forces, or provide follow-up information on prioritized issue fields (refugees, displaced individuals, or organized crime gangs). The success criteria of the overall peace support operation, which should be defined at the initial stage of the operation, will clarify the focused themes of the intelligence function among these points of interest. But criteria are both guidance and a limitation for intelligence community. For instance, the criterion, like easing a compromise of two belligerent parties, encourages intelligence community to concentrate on factors that could diminish or promote the compromise. Or criteria would be the woman's involvement in politics by equal representation in political bodies; intelligence would search the organizations and social groups preaching against or parallel to this theme. Hence new tasks appear for intelligence in peace support operations. Modern derivatives of propaganda efforts are as such.

Intelligence is directly responsible for feeding propaganda activities by its vast collection and analysis capabilities even though common perception of intelligence workshops perceive propaganda (or other conception of similar contexts) as "an activity performed in a remote village of unknown country" that is not relevant to them. Peace support operation is "within the populace that an insurgency blends, thrives, survives, and operates. To know the populace, one should know and understand how people think, perceive, and view the world, as well as what they hold dear, how they review of foreigners,

[157] Christy L. Whitfield, "Intelligence Fusion Paradigm: Understanding Complex Operational Environments Implementing the Institutional Analysis and Development Framework", MA Thesis submitted to Fort Leavenworth, Kansas (2012), p. 80.

[158] Kees, "Multinational Peace Support Operation", in *Beyond the UN Charter*, (ed.) Ribbelink, p. 10.

and how they understand their desires, goals and objectives. [NATO] must understand the culture well enough to use it, not merely to cope and be aware".[159] Peace support operations require NATO not only to be aware of the culture but also align the strategies and shape public and belligerents to control counter actions. Influencing the minds appears to be the main effort of NATO in peace support operations, by means of intelligence based activities.

What can be concluded from the intelligence scrutiny is, first, the absence of NATO's intelligence capacity, but member states. NATO is dependent on what member and partner state actors offer in terms of intelligence products. Hence NATO's role is no more than standardization efforts other than limited intelligence capabilities. The dominance of member states upon intelligence assets and workshops breaches the well-known principles of intelligence, mainly centrality and unity of effort. Even though member and partner states allot intelligence assets to NATO's peace support missions, political control upon intelligence efforts limits NATO since states are reluctant and unwilling to share information or intelligence. The deficiencies of effectual intelligence cooperation do have reflections on the other NATO functions, mainly propaganda. Intelligence is the field that overall picture of peace support environment is provided and features of environment and threat are identified. Propaganda is in need of qualified intelligence products on these characteristics. Both fields are to be primary engagement methods in peace support operations. Intelligence and integrated propaganda for cost effective peace support operations can be concluded if contextual analysis propaganda is searched after brief review of NATO's intelligence function.

3.3. Propaganda in Peace Support Operations

Communication is a vital function in peace support operations that NATO need to express public why NATO is in their country, what its agenda is, how NATO-centric events take place. Propaganda appears to be the main effort to interact with the hosting nation and deliver appropriate message. But bad connotation of propaganda refrained NATO from the word 'propaganda' and prefers new names and conceptualizations of communications not to irritate publics, contrary to the scholarly meaning of propaganda practices.[160] In this context there are variety of similar activities as propaganda focusing on different segments of target

[159] Wayne Michael Hall and Gary Citrenbaum, *Intelligence Analysis: How to Think in Complex Environments* (Santa Barbara: Praeger Security International, 2010), p. 1.

[160] Davide D'Allagata underlines that the UN preferred Military Community Outreach Unit (MCOU) in UNIFIL (Lebanon) instead of propaganda or PSYOP. NATO and the UN peacekeeping forces use different naming for the concepts and military functions not to irritate local publics and host country. Interview with Davide D'Allagata, PSYOP professional in Italian Ministry of Defence, email message to the author on January 20, 2014.

audience such as strategic communications, public diplomacy, public affairs, information operations, or PSYOP. Hence confusion in communication efforts appeared to be unavoidable. This section of the chapter argues that what is done, actually, was to compartmentalize propaganda activities pending to targeted audiences, and preferred methodologies. Hence propaganda is not dead but NATO induced new practices in propaganda, which are varieties of it. On the other hand, domination of member states in practice does exist as was witnessed in intelligence. The purpose of this section is to present this confusion by introducing the conceptualizations.

3.3.1. NATO's Communication Conceptualizations and Propaganda

Communication is traditionally viewed "as subordinate or peripheral effort, or a reactive tool for decision makers"[161] as a complimentary effort of coercive (or hard) assets. But propaganda is both main and supplementary endeavours in peace support missions if emerging operational environment, actors, and technology exploitation of involved actors are concerned. Publics' centrality led NATO to develop courses of linkage with the local audience, although the term propaganda was denied in the words of NATO personnel and doctrination. The discrepancy of NATO and its member states caused confusion in the communicative practices and the conceptualizations. In this context, many interviewed officials of NATO resisted to use the term 'propaganda' and some criticized the author since he has directed questions by underlining this "old" and ugly word while recommending the word "influence". For instance, Lothar Buny, a member of NATO's Information Operations Department, delineates the propaganda perception of NATO practitioners as follows:

> From NATO and nations perspective words matter and propaganda is a very touchy field. Thus, if you want to ask veterans about their experience it might be very difficult to get the right answers. Most soldiers have no background or idea about these activities and those who were part of this, might interpret your question in a negative light because they do not perceive themselves as doing propaganda. NATO tries to communicate with audiences and stakeholders. In the past, culturally attuned messaging was a challenge and often enough based on a wrong understanding of the audiences and insufficient capabilities. NATO StratCom [Strategic Communication] tries to overcome some of these challenges.[162]

[161] Paul Cornish, Julian Lindley-French and Claire Yorke, *Strategic Communications and National Strategy* (London: Royal Institute of International Affairs, 2011), p. 1.

[162] Interview with Lothar Buny, NATO SACT Information Operations Department, email message to author on February 14, 2014.

Parallel to perplexity, "politely" packed derivatives of propaganda are credited in the circles of both epistemic community and practitioners. A quest to discover how to surpass the bias caused to struggle for new tags. For instance NATO circles question what literature ought to be used rather than propaganda, and prefers "influence operations", as the collective term, after leaving aside the term "psychological operations" (PSYOP).[163] The USA, as the dominant doctrine producer and prevalent actor of NATO, invented "military information support operation (MISO)" and "inform and influence" to name the same process. Michael Hickman, a practitioner of PSYOP in NATO operations, argues the confusion of terminology as follows:

> There was a push in 2011 to end the words "Psychological Operations". Some leaders think the words "Psychological Operations" are not politically correct. Their replacement words are "Military Information Support Operations" (MISO). This is a very controversial change. Because "Military Information Support Operation" is too vague and confusing. So, now "PSYOP" is used when referring to the U.S. soldiers and officers who conduct "MISO". If this is confusing, then you know how we feel.[164]

Lawrence Katzenstein[165] discusses the same issue and leads to the same conclusion. He argues that information operation is the euphemism the U.S. uses for what others would call propaganda and delineates "other countries use propaganda but we use information operations]".

Some military manuals take "persuasion", as the preferred term, while some others use "shaping", especially in offensive military doctrine. To be sure, there is no shortage of definitions (of such terms), but they are often divergent and contradictory or merely copies of earlier definitions (with differing names), argues Magnus Johnsson.[166] He denotes that "as is often the case with strategic buzz words, a number of supposedly unquestionable truths are in place and, instead of discussing the ontological - and, indeed, *logical* - foundations of the concept, numerous definitions are simply left to float around together with convenient formulations pertaining to related organizational and technological requirements".[167]

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[163] Eric Larson et al., *Understanding Commander's Information Needs* (Pittsburg: RAND Aroyo Center, 2009), p. 16.

[164] Interview with Michael J.Hickman, Information Operations Staff in the US Army, email message to author on February 22, 2014.

[165] Interview with Lawrence Katzenstein, Ph.D., Human Terrain Analysis Conractor, email message to author, March 21, 2014.

[166] Magnus Johnson, *NATO and The Challenge of Strategic Communication* (Rome: NATO Defence College, 2011), p. 16.

[167] Johnson, *NATO and The Challenge of Strategic Communication*, p. 6.

A course to deal with this complicated issue could be to investigate if the terms indicate the same activity or not. Jowett and O'Donnell define propaganda as "the deliberate, systematic attempt to shape perceptions, manipulate cognitions, and direct behaviour to achieve a response that furthers the desired intent of the propagandist".[168] NATO glossary also gives a detailed definition of propaganda[169], as "any information, ideas, doctrines, or special appeals disseminated to influence the opinion, emotions, attitudes, or behaviour of any specified group in order to benefit the sponsor either directly or indirectly".[170] The definitions take us to challenge the basics of "normativism" since perceptions are many in any community that single word series of any "shaping" desire meets not a single receptor but as many as the populace of the community. Hence new conceptualizations can be justified by the complexity of new operation environment and emerging actors. But there still exists a desire to 'shape' the other which makes this activity persists by its new forms, as will be discussed in this chapter.

The new communicative environment can lean on technology of communications, social media, advancing advertisement and marketing strategies, rumour expansion among masses integrated with humour skills of individuals, "idea wars" rather than ideology battles in newly emerging conflict types, "heart and mind" paradoxes, and religion as well. This widening architecture of popular information – press and wireless – plays increasingly important part in the spread of opinions, the creation of emotional attitudes, and concurrently stimulated the opportunity for and the development of propaganda, Tatham argues.[171] He claims, "propaganda is not a term that is either fulsome enough or historically palatable to carry wide utility today".[172] Tatham's perception is prevalent in the minds of propaganda makers of today. Denouncing propaganda, due to its bad connotation, may be attributed to refrain from the reluctance of practitioners due to biased perceptions of public though; an academic discussion cannot ignore propaganda as a distinct field of study. I do not agree with Tatham about the utility of propaganda since propaganda is a phenomenon practiced in every bid of our societal communication. We live by propaganda in our daily lives. We make propaganda to urge somebody, consciously or unconsciously. Denial of it is just a defence mechanism not to scare targeted audience. Contrary to common belief, propaganda has

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[168] Garth Jowett and Victoria O'Donnell, *Propaganda and Persuasion* (New York: SAGE, 2016), p. 7.

[169] NATO Strategic Communications Centre of Excellence; "NATO Strategic Communications Policy", September 14, 2009, available at http://www.stratcomcoe.org/lv/Links/Texts.aspx, accessed on May 11, 2014.

[170] NATO, *AAP-6 NATO Glossary of Terms and Definitions* p. 2-P-10.

[171] Tatham, "Strategic Communications: A Primer", p. 5.

[172] Ibid.

transformed itself and adapted to the requirements of current age. Expansion of targeted audiences, in terms of their quantities and features, led to invent new terms to express what is to be done by propaganda.

Propaganda is a form of communication and "how it uses both informative and persuasive communication concepts" [173] designs the means of controlling the flow of information, managing public opinion, and affecting behavioural patterns. It is a mean of informing, deterring, shaping or persuading. Propaganda's aim emanates from the propagandist who seeks realization of his/her interest intentionally and consciously. Hence it is a planned and directed activity that requires propagandist be inspired from the prevalent factors and actors of propaganda environment.

The context of propaganda slides from one-way information passage towards sharing meanings by interactive communication methods through informal tubes. Magnus Johnson reviews the models of communication for NATO to display the logic referring to the leading academics. He credits the transmission model of Claude E. Shannon and Warren Weaver which looks at communication as a linear process between a source and a destination.[174] A source has some information that it wants to convey for the purpose of influencing, and it does so by formulating a message, to be encoded by a transmitter into a signal, which is sent through a channel. At the other end of the channel is a receiver, which decodes the signal into a message, which is then delivered to the destination. Successful communication is achieved when the destination receives the same meaning as the source intended. This model, which was coined in *the Mathematical Theory of Communication* was a simple process, enriched with a fedd back mechanism.[175] The message influence model, on the other hand, assumes that communication is the transfer of meanings from one person to the other one and that the sent message is the one that counts. The problem is that meaning is created at the other end by a complicated process that subjective factors like education, experience and prejudices are at hand. Hence there is a complex social interaction where factors like culture, norms, and history come into play.[176] The psychology of targeted individual and the mood of community need to be examined to extract such features of targeted audience.

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[173] Jowett and O'Donnell, *Propaganda and Persuasion*, p. 54.

[174] Johnson, *NATO and The Challenge of Strategic Communication*, p. 27.

[175] P.D. Chaturvedi and Mukesh Chaturvedi, *Business Communication: Concepts, Cases, and Applications* (New Delhi: Pearson, 2011), p. 11.

[176] Johnson, *NATO and The Challenge of Strategic Communication*, p. 28.

Person of this century has images of things, people, and events. They are rarely the product of direct and transparent observation, but related more to sources such as media stories about the subject concerned and direct and spontaneous interaction with the objects of communications. In his study of public opinion Water Lippmann calls it as the "pseudo-environment".[177] It works as a virtual model of reality and is shaped by outer influences, such as media reporting, popular culture and stories told by friends, all interpreted based on previous experiences and knowledge. The difference of past and current is that person, and for sure people, are prone to search, learn, add value, and have own idea by his ideational eyeglasses. Circulation of single information is no more than "only one view" since person of current age knows the interrelation of power and knowledge. Propaganda cannot be prisoned to single messages on pamphlets or leaflets. The conduit of propaganda, hence, cannot be a single road of passing information to masses.

Communication, then, is a consequence of interaction between multiple message senders, conduits, and target audiences under the shadow of values, experience and perceptions of all included actors to the process. Single message is derived from multiple narratives. Narratives from short to long-term engagements, in this sense, are the organizing framework for policy and the definitive reference for how events are to be argued and described. Pseudo environment imposes narratives to rest on a meta-narrative system that could direct many narratives but able to be tolerated and accepted by target audiences. But metanarratives are challengeable by internal and external target audiences, counter narratives of opposing actors, cultural features of all actors and bilateral effects of narratives in regional certainties of societies. The essence is to catch on audience in terms of its culture, interests, social structure, and needs. As has been highlighted by the Pragmatic Complexity Model[178], understanding the prospective of audience is a *sine qua non* of the strategic communication process. This preparatory phase, which is generically referred to as 'Target Audience Analysis', is a highly complex process for which the traditional military structure of western

[177] Walter Lippmann, *Public Opinion*, available at http://wps.pearsoncustom.com/wps/media/objects/2429/2487430/pdfs/lippmann.pdf, accessed on October 08, 2014.

[178] "Pragmatic complexity model, which posits that communication is not a simple transmission of messages between two groups but rather is a much complex system arrangement between the sender and the receiver. The model presumes that in any communication the success of A's message depends not only on the message alone but upon what B thinks and does. And what B thinks and does is influenced by A's behaviour and B's expectations, interpretations and attributions with respect to A. The model assumes that messages are always interpreted within a larger and on-going communications system and that A and B are therefore locked into a relationship of simultaneous and mutual interdependence." Tatham, "Strategic Communications: A Primer", pp. 7-8.

armed forces may be ill equipped.[179] NATO, and member states as well, are not exception for this vulnerability.

Target conduit analysis is as essential as the narrative itself and conduit needs to be credible. The problem starts here. The target audience usually do not credit the official and direct conduits but indirect, independent, the one that has the same statue as audience and sometimes opposing ones pending to the perception/preference of message taker. Moreover, conduit itself is also a message to influence target audience. Hence the methodology needs to be rearranged to have persuasive messaging not only by narratives but also along the correct conduits. For instance, state controlled or 'commanded' TV and radio stations, like TOLO TV in Afghanistan, is expected to deliver pre-ordered messages, breaching the credibility of message. The frequented messages on TV also indicate the concern of Afghan and the US Governments that Afghan public can be aware of it.[180] Hence conduit needs to be a reliable media that could persuade audience on the truthfulness of the released communication.

Perceived reliability of delivered messages and intention of propaganda maker forefront the ethics of propaganda if its selfish character is taken. The morality plays with the reliability of the propaganda since fewer ethic lines lead the least cogency within the eyes of targeted audience. Hence the base line of propaganda is given birth by the truths of the propaganda environment. In this sense, "modern" propaganda is scientific that tangibility is forefront until intangibility of targeted audience is discovered by intelligence receptors. NATO's opportunity is that professional handling of propaganda, in comparison to the other international organizations, facilitates the scientific approach since both propaganda and intelligence assets of member states complements each other although deficiencies exist due to NATO's multinational character. Current technological advances necessitate such truth-based propaganda, augmented by intelligence, not to be ridiculed in circulating information environment since "inter-subjectively certifiable facts" are rather accessible for the actors of conflicts.[181]

Another issue is the capabilities of targeted audience. Today's global society has all means to access information and verify (or falsify) the delivered message in seconds. Propaganda-centred thinking of the last decades has been transformed since target audience

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[179] Ibid, p. 11.

[180] The TOLO TV aired US-backed TV serials after its birth in 2007 by the public diplomacy funds of the US Embassy in Kabul. Available at http://www.wsj.com/articles/SB10001424052748703628204575618573846693534, accessed on April 04, 2016.

[181] Nuri Yurdusev, *International Relations and the Philosophy of History: A Civilizational Approach* (New York: Palgrave MacMillan, 2003), p. 7.

does have means to search, have feedback, interact, and deliver his/her own message to masses. Propaganda is not that much easier as was performed in previous military operations due to diversification of target audience, along with emerging technologies and communication means, especially by cell-phones and integrated social media. Propaganda maker is bound to consider the diversification of reality and draft messages that are consistent with various target audiences and communication channels. The strands of propaganda activities, even though different tolerable tags may name it, will not be linear or simply complex as was used to be. Propaganda is beyond complexity in the commitments of NATO. Propaganda strategies of NATO base propaganda on the network of actors, activities, engagements, and expectations. Each feature has its own complexity that makes propaganda address "complexity of complexities".[182]

The reality of diversification, in terms of target audiences and subject matters will bring a compartmentalization in planning and executing propaganda activities. Actually, derivatives of propaganda, which will be scrutinized below, are the consequence of the diversification in expertise of target audiences and the witnessed change will continue as the structure of the societies and communicative means continue to change. Then, contrary to common perceptions, propaganda is transformed into more sophisticated forms of communication techniques within the frame of compartmentalization pending to expanding variety of constituent actors. The issue, in this discussion, is that propaganda is not overtly sounded but soft tones of substituent forms with tolerable expressions are on the scene. The concern is to build a collaborative, cooperative, affirmative image to realize interests by means of acceptable solutions. NATO, under the auspices of the UN, is not exceptional for this trend in peace support operations. NATO has created its own literature of propaganda, or say influence, that compromised operational needs, organizational requirements and on-going evolvement of doctrinal discussions. The contextual analysis of NATO's propaganda varieties can be found in the literature of NATO's approved doctrines and will be discussed in the next section.

[182] Torn Jörg, *New Thinking in Complexity for the Social Sciences and Humanities: A Generative, Transdisciplinary Approach* (Utrecht: Springer, 2011), pp. 197-204.

3.3.2. Strategic Communication (SC)

Modern armies of today claim and build strategic communication departments to interact with adversary and publics, in the frame of strategic propaganda. In 2001, Vince Vitto, Chairman of the Defence Science Board Task Force of the USA on Managed Information Dissemination, had coined the phrase "strategic communication" for the first time.[183] It is the coordinated and appropriate use of NATO communication activities and capabilities - public diplomacy, public affairs, information operations and psychological operations, as the main tools[184] - in support of Alliance policies, operations, and activities, and in order to advance NATO's aims. It contributes achieving the successful implementation of NATO operations, missions, and activities. It aims to build, in close and lasting coordination with NATO member states, public awareness, understanding, and support for specific NATO policies, operations, and other activities in all relevant audiences as part of a broader and on-going public diplomacy effort.[185]

NATO puts the definition and purpose in its Strategic Communication Directive, stating that Strategic Communication is not 'the conventional' press and public relations, which is carried out in the framework of "establishing communication only by the press and conveying one sided information to the target audience" but "an administrative mentality" beyond the known communication activities, which needs new institutional structuring and inter-institutional coherence.[186] The directive adds that strategic communication has a 'central role' at all stages of the management and operations of public perception and that great importance is placed on strategic communication in the fight against the challenges of the new information age. Institutions of NATO are expected to be flexible enough to comply with emerging developments, which are to be adapted in accordance with the requirements and imperatives of strategic communication. In the aftermath of 9/11 and the operations in Afghanistan and Iraq, the concept thrives at the core of strategic thinking and is widely

[183] Steve Tatham and Rita L. Page, "NATO Strategic Communication: More to Be Done?", *Policy Paper*, No.1 (March 2014), p. 3.

[184] Marshall V. Ecklund, "Strategic Communications: How to Make it Work?", *IOSPHERE*, Fall 2005, p. 8, available at http://www.au.af.mil/info-ops/iosphere/iosphere_fall05_ecklund.pdf, accessed on October 06, 2014.

[185] NATO Strategic Communication Policy (2009) clearly defines the context of strategic communications in NATO circles. All the other documents refer to the Policy.
NATO Strategic Communication Centre of Excellence (Riga, Latvia), NATO Strategic Communication Policy, 2009, available at http://www.stratcomcoe.org/lv/Links/Texts.aspx, accessed on September 19, 2014.

[186] Rıza Güler, "The Role and Place of Strategic Communication in Countering Terrorism", *Savunma Bilimleri Dergisi (The Journal of Defence Sciences)*, Vol. 11, No. 2 (November 2012), pp. 8-9.

regarded as a crucial component in successful counterinsurgency warfare, as well as a key to winning the proclaimed 'War of Ideas'.[187]

NATO, playing a significant role in the execution and development of strategic communication, has been exerting efforts since 2008 towards institutionalizing the process. Allied Command Operations is assigned to be responsible for NATO's strategic communication activities and execution. AD 95-2, the Strategic Communication Directive (2009) prepared by the Allied Command Operations (ACO), lays down the basics of planning, execution and coordination of the process. According to the "Information Environment" section of the Directive, ACO conducts operations to succeed in an age in which information and media have a crucial global importance.[188] While the global information environment paves the way for changes that offer unique opportunities in favour of the opponents, conventional institutions are expected to overcome these challenges. As Cornish, Lindley-French and Yorke argue, "It must be the business not only of the highest levels of government but of all its constituent pillars including the armed forces, diplomacy, trade and aid. Effective communication is both a function and a proof of good governance".[189] Such is the importance of information for mission achievement that, on occasion, policies and actions [of all kinds] will even need to be adapted at all layers of NATO in response to the imperatives of strategic communications.[190]Hence multi-faceted approach needs to be concerned in the conducts of communications.

The purposes of strategic communications are identified in NATO circles by clear statements. The initial one is the orchestration of words and deeds. Consistency of the Alliance in the eyes of the targeted audiences need be achieved. But this claim has deficiency. Current communications technology makes every single team member on the

[187] Peace support operation is generally downgraded to the operations conducted in underdeveloped and developing societies, mainly populated with Muslim populations. Echevarria points "War of Ideas", which is popularly understood as a conflict between the West and the Muslim world. However, some scholars define it as a conflict between secular and religious ideas about how to organize political life, a conflict notably present within the Muslim world. The context of propaganda, in modern sense, has been transformed to address the requirements of, first communications technology and emerging concerns after the interventions of Afghanistan and Iraq. On the other hand, the propaganda capabilities of individuals, organizations, and unconventional threats have enhanced their skilful methods and efficiency. Terrorist and other extremist groups based around the globe have discovered and begun to capitalize on the online environment to help accomplish their objectives. Richard Holbrooke directs two questions to delineate the issue: "How could a mass murderer who publicly praised the terrorists of Sept. 11 be winning the hearts and minds of anyone? How can a man in a cave out communicate the world's leading communications society?" Magnus, "NATO and The Challenge of Strategic Communication", p. 6.

[188] NATO Allied Command Operations Directive 95-2 (ACO), p. 8.

[189] Cornish et al., "Strategic Communications and National Strategy", p. ix.

[190] Güler, "The Role and Place of Strategic Communication in Countering Terrorism", pp. 8-9.

ground a messenger of NATO disregarding actual nationality. This course makes levels, from strategic to tactical engagements, blurring since an individual soldier's behavioural fault, like burning a holy script, may cause strategic consequences.[191] High-level communicative effort to persuade masses about good intention of NATO could globally be in danger due to unconscious deed of a single soldier. The second feature is to explain action by proper words to convey the "true" meaning of actions by public affairs. An explanatory engagement must lead to the intended outcome with minimum collateral effects. Otherwise building a block of view in the minds will destroy an unexpected and undesired perspective. The third issue is to convey an image to have foreign audiences with a true and undistorted image of NATO. Image building takes years of effort that it can take minutes to have the image grounded by a single word or action. Finally, strategic communication is a strategic tool to direct influence campaigns towards foreign audiences, typically foreign populations, but also foreign governments via traditional activities of public relations (PR), public affairs (PA) and public diplomacy (PD), even though these fields are considered in the frame of traditional diplomacy.

The perception of the US Army, which has a heavy hand in inspiring the concept of NATO, perceives strategic communication in a similar way. However, strategic communication has varying descriptions that have created confusion. The Chairman of the US Joint Chiefs of Staff, Admiral Mike Mullen, claimed the widespread "misunderstanding and misapplication of the term, strategic communication, in a June 2011 memo".[192] Strategic communication is delineated not as the coordination of information operations and public affairs but rather the process of integrating issues of audience and stakeholder perception into policymaking, planning, and operations at every level.[193] In this sense leaders, planners, and operators are to coordinate actions, words, and images to diminish the gap between words and actions by taking the attitude of the public into consideration.

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[191] A US soldier had burned Koran on February 22, 2012 in Bagram Air Base of Afghanistan. The consequence was that the Afghan and global public was informed the next day and protests arose nation-wide in Afghanistan with 41 killed and 270 wounded. Taliban had the opportunity to agitate the protests and start counter propaganda.
Available at http://www.dw.de/dw/article/0,,15767031,00.html, accessed on April 01, 2016.

[192] The United States Government Accountability Office, *DOD Strategic Communication: Integrating Foreign Audience Perceptions into Policy Making, Plans, and Operations*, May 24, 2014, Washington D.C., available at http://gao.gov/assets/600/591123.pdf, accessed on July 12, 2014.

[193] Ibid.

Tatham claims that strategic communication is a term often abused:

> Since the late 1990s the term 'spin' has gained increasing popularity, often used with reference to the distortion, perhaps even manipulation (perceived or otherwise) of information, most infamously in the case of the 'dodgy dossier' upon which the British government's case for the 2003 Iraq war was based. Yet its appearance highlights a real conundrum – what is the correct term for the tools of the new information battle? In the UK military environment, we are confident with terms such as Information and Media Operations, whilst in military staff colleges 'influence' and 'persuasion' are debated. Civilian academics may speak of 'soft power' and 'public diplomacy' and cynics might prefer the use of 'propaganda'. There is a real danger that strategic communication is associated negatively with emotive and often inaccurate terms. Such obscuration is unhelpful and mires understanding of a complex and important issue.[194]

There seems to be a tendency to define strategic communication simply by co-opting already existing sub disciplines such as electronic warfare (EW), public affairs (PA), psychological operation (PSYOPS), and computer network operations (CNO). However, Tatham argues that Strategic Communication differs from propaganda in these characteristics and does not try to achieve a direct reaction by misleading the public as propaganda or distortion does. Tatham presents propaganda as a deceptive course of informing society while limiting the propaganda by its biased image. But constituent activities of strategic communications do not differ from the propaganda of the World Wars since all of them are just adopted channels and processes of the current age. In this frame, Strategic Communications encompasses on the nature of public affairs, defence support for public diplomacy and military psychological operations (PSYOP).[195]

Strategic Communications is not an adjunct activity, but directly inherent in the planning and conduct of all military operations and activities.[196] The aim of NATO Strategic Communications is to ensure that NATO's audiences, either friendly or adversarial, receives truthful, accurate, and timely information that will allow them to understand and assess the Alliance's actions and intentions. Influence is the desired end result of strategic communication.[197] In this sense strategic communications is a paradigm that recognises delivered information and obtained perception to affect behaviour of the target audience and that activity must be calibrated against first, second and third order effects. It is the

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[194] Tatham, "Strategic Communications: A Primer", p. 5.

[195] Carnes Lord, "On the Nature of Strategic Communications", *Joint Force Quarterly*, Vol. 46, No. 3, (2007), p. 87.

[196] NATO, "NATO Military Concept for Strategic Communications", July 27, 2010, p. 1, available at https://publicintelligence.net/nato-stratcom-concept/, accessed on July 12, 2014.

[197] Lee Rowland and Steve Tatham, "Strategic Communication & Influence Operations: Do We Really Get It?", *Defence Academy of the United Kingdom*, Special Series (2010/08), p. 6.

sequencing of information for carefully targeted audiences. Besides it is an obligation for NATO and state actors to communicate and explain to establish their *competence and credibility,* to ensure that what is declared is not contradicted by what is done. C*oherence and consistency* of 'words and deeds' will "offer the prize of enhanced *comprehensiveness and cooperation* in the achievement of strategic-level goals…".[198]

Strategic Communications in this scope can be defined as "understanding and analysing the target audience for attaining long term strategic objectives; sharing specified messages (words and deeds package) with the relevant public in a sustained and transparent course at the most appropriate time, location and conditions via the most appropriate conduit so as to create the strongest influence on the specified target audiences by ensuring the orchestration of the process through the integration of all resources, fields and capabilities."[199] This definition complies with the definition of propaganda in NATO's doctrine. In *Strategic Communication*, Christopher Paul tries to define it as support for [strategic] strategy rather than as an essential element of it – "coordinated actions, messages, images, and other forms of signalling or engagement intended to inform, influence, or persuade selected audiences to support national objectives".[200] In this sense strategic influence is the ultimate aim of Strategic Communications to shape the targeted audience. It is a socializing process of ideas and actions in the minds of communities.

Strategic Communications is not to exaggerate a message or intentionally lead a target audience to believe something that is not accurate. It is to tell the story and to correct misinformation. It provides truthful and timely information in order to overcome a target audience's information deficit, or in some cases, to counteract propaganda of opposing forces. By this way transparency will be the essential concern in communicating with adversary, allied and bilateral actors. On the other hand, the method of delivering truth can be a dilemma because truth has normativity. It can be a granule truth that portrays a small part of overall picture but does not reflect the higher truth if granules make a whole. Values and perceptions of actors and audiences may blend truth with differencing meanings. Strategic Communications is bound by normativism and requires empathy of practitioner to abstract what targeted audience will capture, either intended or unintended.

The decision-making process is expected to be eased by having a foreseeable path in managing crisis by means of strategic communication. The image building concern of the

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[198] Cornish et al., "Strategic Communications and National Strategy", p. 11.

[199] Güler, "The Role and Place of Strategic Communication in Countering Terrorism", pp. 5-6.

[200] Paul Christopher, *Strategic Communication: Origins, Concepts and Current Debates* (Santa Barbara: Praeger, 2011), p. 3.

actors, either NATO or member states, falls behind the policy options, and undesired stereotypes among the outer publics. Robert Gates, former Secretary of Defence of the USA, underlines the inability of the United States, for instance, to "communicate to the rest of the world what (they) are about as a society and a culture" in building a fair and admired image.[201] Contrary to Gates' desire of building the US image, the night raids and civilian casualties in Afghanistan tell more than the words of communication strategists to the global public.[202] It is not that much important to what extent an organization or state actor tells her culture and build an excellent image since practice on the ground builds image rather than words of spokespersons.

Strategic Communications describes a variety of instruments used to "understand global attitudes and cultures, engage in a dialogue of ideas between people and institutions, advise policy makers, diplomats, and military leaders on the public opinion implications of policy choices, and influence attitudes and behaviour through communications strategies."[203] It involves an interactive and direct exchange of ideas taking "war of ideas" to the core of struggle against opposing (or competing) parties. Target audiences of strategic communication include adversarial and hostile audiences as well as the audiences of allied and neutral countries. The strategy concentrates equally on changing the long-term attitudes and behaviours of target audiences and explaining policies to foreign audiences. The effects sought through strategic communications might include informing, persuading, influencing, or disseminating, legitimizing, or building ideas. Trust and credibility are the basis for effective strategic communication. The lack of them is regarded as a key explanation of the new emerging threats and enmity among the targeted audience in future, like insurgency or terrorism.[204]

High-level political leadership and guidance is an obligation to coordinate the communication efforts in accordance with political aims. Common perception in various levels of NATO is must to achieve consistent and effective communication with outer actors.

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[201] Robert M. Gates, "Landon Lecture", Kansas State University, Manhattan, 26 November 2007, available at http://www.defenselink.mil/speeches/speech.aspx?speechid=1199, accessed on July 11, 2014.

[202] Porter Gareth, "U.S. Night Raids Killed Over 1,500 Afghan Civilians in Ten Months", available at http://www.worldcantwait.net/index.php/features/afghanistan-pakistan/7425-us-night-raids-killed-over-1500-afghan-civilians-in-ten-months, accessed on April 05, 2016.

[203] Michael J. Waller, *Fighting the War of Ideas Like a Real War* (Washington D.C.: The Institute of World Politics Press, 2007), p. 15.

[204] 9/11 Commission Report clearly confesses the inability of communicating with the masses. The US National Commission on Terrorist Attacks, "9/11 Commission Report", available at https://9-11commission.gov/report/911Report.pdf, accessed on November 11, 2014.

In this frame, organizational arrangements will facilitate a shared mind-set. Hence organizational structure of Strategic Communications in NATO is worth to mention to see the common ground among departments. NATO circles coordinate Strategic Communications by means of meetings in accordance with ACO Directive (AD) 95-2.[205] In this frame strategic communication meeting (on monthly basis), chaired by the SHAPE Strategic Communications Advisor, are held by the presence of SHAPE Strategic Communications Department, Public Affairs Office (PAO), Information Operations and PSYOPS departments. JF/Components conduct a similar meeting via VTC by the participation of SC Advisors, Public Affairs Office, Joint Effects and Influence Branches (JEIB). NATO HQ arranges a similar coordinating mechanism by the presence of Public Diplomacy Department (PDD), International Military Staff (IMS) Public Affairs Office and Strategic Communication Departments, and IMS Information Operations.[206] The directive does not require intelligence departments to participate any coordination mechanism, specifically at the strategic level. The shortfall of such a structure is that coordination is hard to achieve due to bureaucratic barriers and minor intelligence role defined.

Strategic communication, as briefly be claimed from the organization structure, is a function of various departments that needs to be coordinated in advance while being inspired from the intent of NATO decision makers. Actions of low and medium level NATO commands need to be orchestrated in accordance with strategic level communication efforts that low and medium level NATO troops probably have ever heard about the delivered messages. The question is what will drive the messaging. Will Strategic Communications justify (or clarify) the deeds of substituent units, will Strategic Communications frame the countenance of deeds or will the communications and deeds be synchronized? Three questions go and come between theory and practice. The synchronization of words and deeds is the desired course though; it is the held-initiative of NATO that defines the course. If NATO has the initiative to shape and direct the events, synchronization is probable. Otherwise Strategic Communications will chase the events to respond requested justification of target audience.

Strategic communication body of NATO is affiliated with the information operations departments to coordinate the circulation of information inside the NATO headquarters. The context of information operation need to be investigated to highlight their linkage and determine if there is confusion and overlap between two conceptualizations.

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[205] NATO, Allied Command Operations Directive 95-2 (ACO), Annex-B, April 18, 2012, p. (B)1, available at http://citeseerx.ist.psu.edu/viewdoc/download?doi=10.1.1.297.2932&rep=rep1&type=pdf, accessed on November 11, 2014.

[206] Ibid.

3.3.3. Information Operations (InfoOps)

Information operations is the "military function to provide advice and coordination of information activities in order to create desired effects on the will, understanding and capability of adversaries, potential adversaries and other approved parties by the North Atlantic Council (NAC) in support of the Alliance objectives". [207] The organization of information operation department is not an executive branch with solidified capabilities by concrete assets. Commanders ensure through the information operation that all outgoing information is properly coordinated, integrated into the operational planning process as well. Information operation is, hence, a coordinating mechanism that makes it capacity rather than a capability. But the function of coordinating may cause confusion in authority among the coordinated branches, for instance in the issue of "who is in charge of clarifying the priorities".

Strategic Communications, similarly to information operations, also deals with informative environment. The line between both is blurring though; Strategic Communications focuses on the consistency of the Alliance while information operations orchestrates the integrated employment of the core capabilities of Electronic Warfare (EW), Computer Network Operations (CNO), Psychological Operations (PSYOP), Military Deception and Operations Security (OPSEC), "presence, posture and profile" of own forces. The motivation is to influence perceptions, physical destruction by creating information effects, key leader engagement, civil military cooperation and information security of own information system as well. These functions and purposes, under the coordinating authority of information operation, will be concerted with specified supporting and related activities [including Public Affairs, Civil Military Operations, or PSYOP] to influence, disrupt, corrupt, or usurp adversarial human and automated decision making while protecting own.[208]

For the purpose of mentioned motivation, information operation includes behavioural change programmes, cyber warfare, essentially hostile computer hacking, and strategic communications - a form of impression management that involves attempts to steer the global news agenda to favour the military's objectives. This could range from providing new organisations with vetted video footage to having a cadre of clandestine internet users who push key talking points in the comment sections of the internet.[209] It focuses on shaping and,

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[207] NATO, *AJP-3.10 Allied Joint Doctrine for Information Operations*, pp. 1-2, available at https://publicintelligence.net/nato-io/, accessed on September 18, 2014.

[208] Ibid, pp. 1-8, 1-12.

[209] Vaughan Bell, "How to Win Wars by Influencing People's Behavior", *The Guardian*, available at https://www.theguardian.com/science/2014/mar/16/how-to-win-wars-by-influencing-peoples-behaviour, accessed on March 23, 2014.

if needed, countering adversary informative environment to manage a crisis and lead to a cost-effective achievement.

The coordination responsibility of information operation departments and lack of required assets other than 'not' subordinated departments (like electronic warfare or PSYOP units) make the tasking organization and authority complicated in the operations with multinational character. Information operation is not the superior body for the delineated functions that leads deficiency, as will be discussed in the case studies. The significant flaws are the limited authority and the incursion of information operation departments to the fields that they are not authorized. The public affairs or PSYOP can be exemplified for the organizational confusion since information operation department imposes its authority as if it is the practitioner of these fields while NATO's Military Concept for Strategic Communications designates these functions as separate but related ones.[210]

3.3.4. Psychological Operations (PSYOP)

NATO's Military Policy on Psychological Operations **(**MC 402) identifies PSYOP as "planned psychological activities using methods of communications and other means directed to approved audiences in order to influence perceptions, attitudes and behaviour, affecting the achievement of political and military objectives".[211] Labeling the activity, as was discussed at the beginning of this chapter, has always been a dilemma for practitioners. The naming differs in NATO and member states, but context is the same as outlined in the definition of MC 402.

PSYOPS can play an important role in facilitating cooperation and compromise between belligerent parties in peace support operations. PSYOP elements can communicate the operational objectives and deny the adversaries through the use of available conduits such as internet, radio and television broadcasts, or leaflet distribution. It is relevant to tactical and operational concerns at the very local level in comparison to public affairs and public diplomacy of operational to strategic overall public engagements. PSYOP addresses the operational needs of commanders to fasten the military objective, especially in conventional conflicts by directly challenges their will of fight. Simon Anglim summarizes his PSYOP experience in Iraq to tell the context of PSYOP activities as follows:

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[210] NATO Strategic Communication Centre of Excellence, "NATO Military Concept for Strategic Communications", Riga, July 27, 2010, p. 2, available at http://www.stratcomcoe.org/lv/Links/Texts.aspx, accessed on September 19, 2014.

[211] NATO, *MC 402 NATO Military Policy on Psychological Operations*, June 22, 2012, available at https://publicintelligence.net/nato-psyops-policy/, accessed on September 18, 2014.

> The PSYOP effort was multinational, but led by the US Army. The British officers were attached because they were fluent Arabic linguists and had been employed previously as instructors in Arabic to other British personnel - they were all from the Royal Army Education Corps (RAEC), now part of the Adjutant General's Corps. They were involved in authoring leaflets for airdrop on Iraqi forces in Kuwait and writing scripts for a radio station broadcasting to Iraqi troops in Kuwait and also to Kuwaiti citizens. Those doing the actual speaking on air were anti-Saddam Iraqis or Kuwaiti refugees. The Americans provided the heavy printing and broadcasting equipment and logistical and administrative support. Everything seems to have proceeded very smoothly and they all seem to have got on well on a personal level.
>
> Quite degree of cultural knowledge was applied, the broadcasters speaking as Brother Arabs to Brother Arabs, pointing out the absurdity of Arabs fighting other Arabs, and inviting them to leave their lines and come over and enjoy the hospitality of the Saudis as surely this was better than dying for Saddam. They were also aware that Saddam's propaganda machine was lying to them, so were careful to tell the truth, albeit in very small, controlled doses - for instance, Iraqi soldiers were sometimes given accurate times and targets for upcoming US airstrikes, along with assurances that if they abandoned their equipment and positions, they would be left alone. Success seems to have been measured very empirically, in numbers of Iraqi soldiers surrendering to the Allies or being observed leaving their positions and going home.[212]

PSYOP activities in peace support operations differ from the ones that enforcement is used. Deterring an enemy may be the core theme of coercive operations, but PSYOP is expected to advertise progress and trust targeting mainly local public pending to the type of peace support operations. The questions of "What local expects" and "what is the main target of the performed mission" appear to be the main motivation to draft narratives and themes in accordance with the achievements of host government and NATO. PSYOP, then, need to shift its focus to realize the objectives of peace support operations.

Peace support operations necessitate the comprehensive examination of social and cultural characteristics of all involved actors in comparison to conventional ones. Balance between the opposing actors of varying interests dictates careful design of messages and products. Mispresentation of a message escalates potential tension and makes NATO a scapegoat to break the established order. For this reason, pre-test of the products becomes a critical phase to identify what would be the reaction of actors despite all actors cannot be included to such a test. Besides counter propaganda efforts of the opposing elements will breach NATO's PSYOPS undertakings while exploiting the errors in the messages. PSYOPS do not have the luxury to make small mistakes in peace support operations.

[212] Interview with Anglim Simon, Faculty Member in King's College, Author of War Studies and PSYOP practitioner, on January 23, 2014.

PSYOP's crucial phase of measuring the effectiveness of delivered messages is a troubled effort since change in behaviour is mostly hard to observe and assess. Some scholars argue methods of measuring the efficiency like Tatham:

> The first consideration in measurement of effectiveness (MOE) is to establish what it is that you would expect to change if the message has an effect. The guiding principle of MOE for influence therefore has to be establishing links between the action (the message) and the effect (behaviour). A solution to the perils of traditional MOE is audience-based measures of effectiveness (AB-MOE). If target audience analysis is the process of conducting research to determine what group behaviour should be influenced and how. AB-MOE provides the converse: what would change if behaviour were successfully influenced? These measurements can be of several types: collective perceptions; social norms; psychosocial group attributes that define behavioural propensities; reports of observed behaviour; individual behavioural intentions.[213]

Peace support operation is problematic to foresee the delineation of Tatham since interaction of soldiers and local public is usually away from the desired levels. Asking individuals to what extent they have changed their point of view cannot easily portray effectiveness. Lack of trust against peacekeepers will prevent such sentiments because priorities of local public and their prejudices can make the PSYOPS messages meaningless. A ruined country with no infrastructure and poverty will make society focus on feeding themselves rather than changing their attitudes in accordance with PSYOP messages. The effectiveness of PSYOP can be observed, after the desired effect and delivered messages are compared. This long-term assessment about efficiency of committed propaganda needs to be measured by concrete parameters. D'Allagata exemplifies [214] the effort of measuring efficiency by long term, indirect statistical data. For instance, measuring to what extent reduction in cultivation of opium was achieved by PSYOP program was measured by observing the number of people killed by drug overdose. This process is time consuming and does not have imminent extract of lessons learned. Intelligence is vital for such comparison along with political analysis processes that the ontology of intelligence will slide to support PSYOP.

[213] Rowland and Tatham, "Strategic Communication & Influence Operations: Do We Really Get It?", pp. 7-8.

[214] Interview with Davide D'Allagata, PSYOP professional in Italian Ministry of Defence, email message to the author on January 20, 2014.

3.3.5. Public Diplomacy (PD) and Public Affairs (PA)

The public diplomacy and public affairs activities of NATO stir the confusion of conceptualizations under different tags additional to the ones mentioned in this chapter. Public diplomacy is counter-propaganda, counter-disinformation, and the care and feeding of the foreign press.[215] In this sense public diplomacy is NATO's outreach efforts responsible for promoting awareness of and support for NATO's policies, operations, and activities, in accordance with the national efforts of Allies. NATO conducts public diplomacy through the Committee on Public Diplomacy. The Committee discusses, develops, and makes recommendations regarding NATO's public diplomacy strategy and activities, where appropriate, in conjunction with national information experts. It analyses the current and long-term challenges in encouraging public understanding of, and support for, the aims of the Alliance.[216]

Public diplomacy is literally defined in diverse ways, but broadly it is a term used to describe a government's efforts to conduct foreign policy and promote national interests through direct outreach and communication with the population of a foreign country for state actors. Public diplomacy activities include providing information to foreign publics through broadcasts, internet media or other outreach activities in foreign countries; conducting cultural diplomacy, such as art exhibits and music performances; and administering international educational and professional exchange programs.[217] Public diplomacy is usually understood, therefore, as a subset of Strategic Communications. One key difference is that public diplomacy has traditionally been the practice of civilians, whereas the military remain prominent in the field of Strategic Communications.[218] Through the exchange of people and ideas, public diplomacy seeks to influence attitudes and mobilize outer publics in ways that support policies and interests by building lasting relationships and acceptance for a nation's culture, values, and policies.[219]

Other than public diplomacy, public affairs is NATO's civilian engagement with own public through media to inform policies, operations, and activities of NATO in a timely,

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[215] Christopher J. Lamb, *Review of Psychological Operations Lessons Learned from Recent Operational Experience* (Washington DC: National Defence University Press, 2005), pp. 4-8.

[216] NATO, Committee on Public Diplomacy (CPD), available at http://www.nato.int/cps/en/natohq/topics_69272.htm, accessed on April 05, 2016.

[217] Kennan H. Nakamura and Matthew C. Weed, *U.S. Public Diplomacy: Background and Current Issues* (Washington D.C.: Congressional Research Service, December 18, 2009), p. 2.

[218] Cornish et al., "Strategic Communications and National Strategy", p. 6.

[219] Ecklund, "Strategic Communications: How to Make it Work", p. 8.

accurate, responsive, and proactive manner.[220] The mission of Public Affairs Office of NATO is identified as communicating accurate information in a timely manner to improve public awareness and understanding of the military aspects of the Alliance's role, aims, operations, missions, activities and issues, thereby enhancing organizational credibility. Targeted audience can be allied, international, regional, local or internal, depending on the issue or activity.[221]

Peace support operations are carried out under the full glare of public scrutiny. Public affairs' personnel support commander by working to establish conditions that lead to confidence of the force and its conduct of peace support operations. As reports of peace support operations are widely visible to national and international publics, public affairs is critical in peace support operations. Media reports, along with contextual feature of reported events, contribute or downgrade the legitimacy of an operation and the achievement of political, diplomatic goals. For instance, in the survey among 1200 officers, assigned in UNPROFOR, politicians and international media were given a high rate of co-responsibility for escalating the conflict: 58% of the officers observed that "politicians from outside, visiting the mission area, [did] encourage one side and provoke the other side of the conflict." The same percentage of officers says, "media of the conflicting parties are the most responsible for escalation of violence." Even greater responsibility was attributed to the international media for worsening the situation: The media were blamed by 70% of the officers for "encouraging one side and provoking the other side of the conflict." In order to verify the impact of international media in the area, officers are asked to rate the statement "International media have only little impact in the mission area". 74% rejected this statement, and only 25% agreed.[222] Hence public diplomacy and public affairs are crucial components of mass communication not to escalate tension and prevent probable losses in the operational realm.

Public affairs may be perceived as part of information operations. But it differs from information operations in terms of the engaged target audience. It is to protect the credibility of NATO by planning and conducting media relations, internal communications, and community relations. On the other hand, the core target of information operation is

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[220] Lamb, *Review of Psychological Operations Lessons Learned from Recent Operational Experience*, pp. 4-8.

[221] NATO, *Public Affairs Handbook*, October 2014, p. 1, available at https://www.shape.nato.int/public-affairs-handbook, accessed on April 5, 2016.

[222] Wolfgang Biermann, "UN, OSCE and NATO: International Division of Labor in Peace Support Operations", in *UN Peace Keeping in Trouble: Lessons Learned from the Former Yugoslavia* (eds.) Wolfgang Biermann and Martin Vadset (Aldershot: Ashgate, 1998), pp. 90-105.

adversary's decision makers and the hostile audiences.[223] Intended and unintended consequences have to be equally concerned to see the probable end-effects. Information operations require the planners to see the network of actors, messages, key events that can be summed up as network-centric warfare. Besides information operations is performed in various branches of NATO headquarters in peace support theatre. But public affairs, along with public diplomacy, are strategic level policy coordination mechanism among member states. Unfortunately, intelligence still lacks to enrich the context of these two fields while they are to inform publics and persuade them to align with NATO's implemented policies.

3.4. Influence, Persuasion and Propaganda

Another tag of conceptualization is influence in the terminology of NATO personnel. The context of influence, and persuasion, needs to be examined to see if it could replace the word propaganda and the other propaganda derivatives. Christine MacNulty appropriately claims the long-term coverage of influence. For MacNulty, "people do change their mindsets... but it usually happens in a fairly slow, evolutionary fashion".[224] Influence, which is heavily linked to persuasion, is not an instantaneous and perennial process with decisive engagement. Christopher Paul and John Robert Kelley highlight what they call the *Influence versus Inform versus Communication* debate, which can be broken down into three essential categories.[225] Information management takes place over the short term; influence takes place over the medium to longer term; and engagement builds relationships for the longest term.[226] Peace support operations, as Afghanistan case clearly indicated, require all strands of influence efforts; short term influence for imminent threats, medium term influence efforts for building peaceful environment and infrastructural necessities, and long term influence efforts for sustainable peace establishment after desired outcomes are acquired.

Persuasion is a subset of communication that is usually perceived as a communicative process to influence others. Perloff's argument[227] that denotes persuasion as a "*study of attitudes and [concern] how to change it*" takes persuasion a theme of propaganda. The change process is the effort of converting one from existing stance to another as propaganda aims. "Influence" is the step taken forward to persuade any party to change its attitude.

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[223] Ecklund, "Strategic Communications: How to Make it Work?", p. 9.

[224] Christine A.R. MacNulty, *Transformation from the Outside in or the Inside out?*, (Carlisle: US Army War College, Centre for Strategic Leadership, 2008), p. 22.

[225] Christopher, *Strategic Communication*, p. 43.

[226] Cornish et al., "Strategic Communications and National Strategy", p. 17.

[227] Chard M. Perloff, *The Dynamics of Persuasion: Communication and Attitudes in the 21st Century*, 4th Edition (New York: Routledge, 2010), p. 3.

Hence influence is a process, while persuasion is the outcome of it. Persuasion, for Perloff, is mediated setting, interpersonal or inter organizational in which a "free flow of information" is prevalent.[228]

A persuasive message has a point of view or desired behaviour for the recipient to adopt in a voluntary fashion. For Perloff, propaganda, on the other hand, is covert, a mass influence-activity via mass media with poor or non-existent reasoning in which total control of transmission is at hand.[229] Bob De Graaf, on the other hand, argues "it all depends on what [is understood] by persuasion. If you define persuasion as a 'process aimed at changing a person's (or a group's) attitude or behaviour toward some event, idea, object, or other person(s), by using written or spoken words to convey information, feelings, or reasoning, or a combination of them', then persuasion (because it is only words) may not be enough. If your definition of persuasion includes some kind of (physical or virtual) force, then persuasion may do the tricky."[230] Hence persuasion, as was witnessed in the debate of soft power conception of Joseph Nye, is both consent-based process along with propellant pressure to have the audience behave in certain way.[231] I argue that such typologies are reasons of why propaganda has bad connotation in the minds. NATO's preference of using the "influence" rather than "propaganda" originates from the perceived meanings of these words.

Jowett and O'Donnell defines persuasion as "a complex, continuing, interactive process in which a sender and a receiver are linked by symbols, verbal and nonverbal, through which the persuader attempts to influence audience to adopt a change in a given attitude or behaviour because audience has had perceptions enlarged or changed".[232] The process of persuasion is an interactive one in which the recipient foresees the fulfilment of a personal or societal need or desire if the persuasive purpose is adopted. The persuader also has a need fulfilled if audience accepts the persuasive purpose. Because both persuader and audience stand to have their needs fulfilled, persuasion is regarded as more mutually satisfying than propaganda. The purpose of propaganda is to send out 'idea' to an audience within an objective. The literature of propaganda often refers to "mass persuasion"

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[228] Ibid.

[229] Ibid.

[230] Interview with Bob De Graaf, Professor of Intelligence and Security Studies in Utrecht University, e-mail message to author on April 26, 2014.

[231] Joseph S. Nye Jr., *Soft Power: The Means to Success in World Politics* (New York: Public Affairs, 2004), p. 8.

[232] Jowett and O'Donnell, *Propaganda and Persuasion*, pp. 32.

suggesting that propaganda is persuasion on a one-to-many basis. Propaganda tends to be linked with a general societal process, whereas persuasion is regarded as an individual psychological process.[233] Then persuasion had to have bad connotation like propaganda since the quantification of targeted audience would not change the context of both concepts.

Contextual analysis can be made by comparing the desired outcomes of both propaganda and persuasion. Persuasion is more positively sustained undertaking that voluntarily consent of audience is obtained. Propaganda has wider context in comparison to persuasion since it may include informing, having consent of target audience, deterring, appalling, or frightening any size of target audience. Persuasion reminds, in this context, soft power conceptualization that requires transmitter to have consistency of words and deeds by its own undertakings. Persuasion is more or less tolerable word for the audience though; the ultimate purpose of both is intertwined. They both have the same outcome: to have any audience change their mind in accordance with a defined course. As a result, persuasion is also a propaganda derivative function. The opponent may call persuasion effort as propaganda as far as activity is against the interest of it.

Methodology is also a parameter to see the variation of both functions. Jowett and O'Donnell delineate belief, attitude, behaviour, group norms, resonance, and value to denote how a message climbs from bottom to up during persuasion process.[234] This typology works for syntheses of persuasion and facilitates to see the evolvement of persuasion in phases. Contextual analysis of belief, attitude, behaviour, norms, and values can lead to assess persuasion process. A *belief* is a perceived link between any two aspects in person's world. It expresses a relationship between two things. To change old beliefs or to create new ones, a persuader has to build on beliefs that already exist in the minds of the audience. A persuader has to use anchors of belief to create new belief. The stronger the belief of a receiver, the more likely it is to influence the formation of a new belief. An *attitude* is a readiness to respond an idea, an object, or a course of action. It is an internal state of feeling toward, or an evaluative response to an idea, person, or object. An attitude is a relatively enduring predisposition to respond; therefore, it already resides in the minds of audience and can be used as an anchor. *Behaviour* can also be used as an anchor not only because it is an overt expression of a way of being but also because behavioural patterns are fair predictors of future behaviours in accordance with attitudinal choices. *Group norms* are beliefs, values, attitudes, and behaviours derived from the membership in groups. Societal selection of varying modes of behaviours are usually inspired by the imposed norms of society that

[233] Ibid.

[234] Ibid, pp. 29-38.

individual is living in. Finally *value* is a special kind of belief that endures and is not likely to change. Values are concepts of right and wrong, good and bad, or desirable and undesirable.[235]

Persuasion makes use of these features to have the targeted audience align with the desired end-state of persuader. For this outcome, persuader need to know and analyse audience in terms of its beliefs, attitudes, behaviours, group norms and values to identify what to change by persuasion. The issue is that the context of persuasion process that are linked by belief, attitude, behaviour, group norms and value challenged the ontology of intelligence, if be focused on peace support operation operations, rather than/additional to activities of threat/belligerents, especially for propaganda, which is pluralisation of persuasion. Propaganda makers need to understand and analyse this contextualization for group of people to commit their effort while intelligence is expected to gather information and conclude remarks if a people-centric approach is preferred. Peace support operation, especially, occur in the environment of culturally different belief, attitude, behaviour, group norm and value systems are valid. NATO's capabilities need to address socially and culturally heterogonous social environment that competing belief, attitude, behaviour, group norm and value systems are in conflict. Intelligence is expected to search social-cultural system to ease persuasion in the direction of the Alliance objectives. For sure, intelligence exceeds conventional line beyond current intelligence paradigm to achieve such course. Consequently, influence capacity becomes the main consumer for intelligence workshops to persuade target audience.

After all, persuasion is complicated and not that easy since barriers of peace support operations, along with additional insurgency considerations may impede the practices as will be scrutinized in Afghanistan case, as De Graaf argues:

> The opposing parties of the conflict attempts to challenge the information environment targeting specific audience including peace support forces. We are [also] being mistaken to address the requirements of the conflictual environment. Moreover, language barrier and social-cultural deficit deepen the gap of communicative skills [with the actors of peace support operations]. If the combat fear of the troops is added to gaps, we face a huge wall waiting ahead to be tossed. Especially six-month term of service during peace support operations endanger the continuity of stable engagement and inability of knowledge-based approaches targeting host community and key leaders. [236]

[235] The definitions of belief, attitude, behaviour, norm and value are exceprted from the Jowett and O'Donnel. Ibid, pp. 34-38.

[236] Interview with Bob De Graaf, Proffessor of Intelligence and Security Studies in Utrecht University, e-mail message to author on April 26, 2014.

Persuasion, then, appears in the blue due to continuously changing troops who desire to leave theatre after a while with the personal benefits. The nature of peace support operations require intelligence based persuasion process, but peace support operations itself is impediment for the desired continuum of intelligence and persuasion. NATO needs to construct knowledge-based engagements and internal arrangements to reach persuasion, or efficient propaganda.

3.5. Conclusion

NATO needs to understand and shape the operational environment and emerging actors in peace support operations more intense than the other operation types. Intelligence serves to understand and propaganda facilitates to shape both factors. But peace support operations challenged the context of intelligence and propaganda that these functions are short of responding these challenges with their contextualization. NATO has claimed new concepts to refrain from the bad connotation of these functions, but this transformation tends not to adapt these functions, but created confusion in standardized literature and organizational arrangements of NATO. Moreover NATO, as an international organization, does not have the final word upon the intelligence and propaganda doctrines and practices of member states that each member (or partner) state may claim its own perception.

Intelligence has continued to have a threat-oriented perception that its methodology appeared to lean on traditional perceptions. The intelligence preparation and production process has been challenged that requires intelligence workshops develop new techniques although they were not responsive in practice. In this sense, social and cultural intelligence has become the main theme for intelligence workshops since populations of hosting countries appeared to be the determinants of long term, sustainable goals of peace support operations. This need fore-fronted a co-opted intelligence and propaganda doctrine and practice.

Propaganda has become a biased term in NATO circles. For that reason, new conceptualizations with tolerable tags are claimed to have the activities be accepted by the actors of peace support operations. But these conceptualizations caused confusion in the circles of NATO since the lines of authority are blurring that make NATO's organizations fall into mission creeks. The activities of strategic communications, information operations, public diplomacy, public affairs, and PSYOP are all propaganda sorts that are compartmentalized pending to targeted audiences. NATO prefers influence to generalize these conceptualizations that requires voluntary acceptance of NATO's aims by overt methods rather than propaganda's alleged "covert, secret and one-way nature". But to the final extent, both persuasion and propaganda serve to change the behavioural code of

targeted audience. Hence propaganda is still alive in the practice of NATO, and is displayed under different names and organizational arrangements.

Finally, prevailing conceptual and organizational confusion caused disconnected intelligence and propaganda functions in the engagements of peace support operations, as will be discussed in the case studies. Propaganda derivatives have never become a priority for intelligence, while propaganda function excluded intelligence workshops in their routines. This rupture has been heavily felt in the practice of NATO troops that are also disconnected due to national caveats of member states, as will be seen in the next chapter.

CHAPTER 4

PROPAGANDA AND INTELLIGENCE PRACTICE IN PEACE SUPPORT OPERATIONS

4.1. Introduction

Other than doctrinal approaches that bound NATO troops and, to some extent, member states, the practice of intelligence and propaganda in peace support operations need to be examined. This chapter will cover the survey on what NATO personnel has observed and experienced during their tours in the operations under NATO's authority. The purpose is to display the actual practice of NATO troops other than doctrinated scripts. For this purpose and to support the main argument, suggestions of NATO personnel will be compiled and analysed to portray the intelligence and propaganda course of peace support operations. Finally, an analysis of the survey and findings will be presented. The argument is that NATO troops experienced misdirection, confusion, and surprise due to faced actors and factors that could downgrade efficiency of NATO. Hence the practice of intelligence and propaganda in peace support operations has led scattered application of these functions, not appropriately focused on the vitals of peace support operations, disregarding emerging actors, operational environment and faced concerns.

The chapter is designed in accordance with the level of analysis in NATO (or military) circles. The issue fields are organized pending to strategic, operative, and tactical level military planning processes and engagements.[237] In this context strategic level is taken to highlight the point of interests at NATO Headquarter level, which clarifies the overall intent, priorities and direction of the Allied operations. Operative level deals with military planning in a certain region to realize the objectives of the Alliance. Tactical level planning moves the

[237] NATO, AJP 01 (D) Allied Joint Doctrine, 2010, available at https://www.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment_data/file/33694/AJP01D.pdf, accessed on April 24, 2016.

military units, experiences the operational environment, and directly engages with the actors of the operation.

The same perspective is also applied to intelligence and propaganda to denote the level of responsible command, targeted audience and desired effect. In this frame strategic propaganda, as can be witnessed in the frame of strategic communication, appeals to higher level decision makers and targeted publics. Operational level propaganda targets are key military and civilian leaderships who are in charge of campaigns while bridging strategic leadership with the practitioners on the ground. Tactical layer is composed of practitioners who are involved in direct propaganda and intelligence engagements. The chapter examines the faced concerns and probable tasks of intelligence and propaganda at these levels of analysis by benefitting from the observations of NATO personnel, and the author himself as well.

4.2. Intelligence Practice in the Perceptions of NATO Personnel

Intelligence support to propaganda is the initial theme to be investigated. The shift in intelligence paradigm has been selected as the focal point, taking peace support operations to the core. In this context, the author asked 16 military intelligence personnel "what prerequisites and intelligence efforts they would identify if newly emerging actors are taken into consideration". The responses all personnel had focused on what military intelligence personnel call as 'intelligence preparation of battlefield (IPB)', which is intensely in the curricula of military intelligence schools. When they were asked to portray "what they had witnessed and summarize their findings", general tendency was to describe environment, identify the effects of the environment, describe the threat, and finally identify the threat's course of actions as if they are in a regular warfare. The inspiring fact in the background was their Iraqi, Bosnian, Kosovan, or Afghan experiences that were usually about insurgency and conflict. They were more focused on the probability of armed conflict rather than else tasks of peace support missions. Hence the responses were rather threat or adversary oriented, but not in the mood of the peace support operations.

The author changed his method of interviews with officers and performed semi structured discussions to see their remarks by, first, reminding the probable actors in peace support operations, as was discussed in the second chapter. Two questions are directed as the second and third step as "What would be the points of intelligence interest?" and "What intelligence themes would they face if their experiences are taken?" if given actors are concerned. The questions are prepared to cover strategic, operational, and tactical level intelligence activities. Hence following charts are concluded by the contributions of military intelligence personnel and the author for these intelligence levels.

Table 4-1 Strategic Intelligence

Strategic Intelligence		
Actors	**Points of Intelligence Interest**	**Intelligence Theme**
Opposing high level leadership	Personal characteristics Decision mechanisms Influencers Level of public control Ideological preferences	What are the characteristics of individual leaders? How do they perform decision-making process? Who influences the leaders and decision-making process? And how? To what extent public exerts check mechanism upon leaders? What are the limits of democratic control mechanism? What are the prevalent ideational and ideological shades upon leaders and decision-making process?
Host Nation	History Cultural characteristics Values Ethnic composition Welfare and economy Social structure Infrastructure Diaspora Enmities Current security situation Media assets Opinion makers Ideational benchmarks	What significant events have shaped the ideational structure of host nation? Is there any historical enmity or prejudice? What are the main value characteristics? What is economic situation and welfare level of social groups? What are the social layers and their structures? Is infrastructure adequate to meet the needs of the host nation? What additional investments are vital? What are the extensions of local populace outside the country that will escalate the conflict beyond the borders of host nation? What (informal) individuals have the power of leading local public? What are the ideational and ideological streams of local public?
Bilateral Publics	Values International norms Key opinion makers of international scene Common good Reasoning-justifications	What are the perceptions of bilateral publics? To what extent these publics affect the course of peace support operation? Who are the key (informal and formal) individuals to be urged? What common goods can be claimed to justify the peace support operation? What reasoning and justifications are tolerable for international actors?

Table 4-1 Continued

Strategic Intelligence		
Actors	**Points of Intelligence Interest**	**Intelligence Theme**
Own Publics	Interests Values Reasoning-justifications	What is the perception of own public? What values of own public makes peace support operation a tolerable and acceptable course in the eyes of own public? What reasoning and justification themes can be claimed to urge own public?
Other State actors and their extensions	Common interests Policy compliance Reasoning-justification Urging not to support belligerents Contribution to peace support operation	What common interests can be claimed to have the state actors consent with peace support operation? Who can support belligerents of conflict and how can they be persuaded to deny probable support? Which state actors can be urged to support peace support operation?
Own troops	Security	To what extent own personnel dedicate themselves to the objectives of peace support operation? What negative or positive factors can downgrade or promote the commitment of own troops? What are the insider threats?

Given actors, which strategic headquarters are expected to engage with, are decisive but generalized ones. The respondents commented on what intelligence points they were interested in and what themes they had asked to intelligence collection tools. Regarding opposing high-level leadership, for instance, five of the 16 officers were more conscious on what to search for. But they confessed that NATO intelligence system was short of gathering information on the themes since collection assets were not capable. Besides the focus was not the personality of the leadership, what imminent offensive acts opposing groups would commit. Hence the priority was closer threat to the force protection concerns.

The respondents compromised on the lack of adequate detailed information on social and cultural characteristics of the host nation. The possessed information was based on published books, which focused on pre-conflict era. Respondents of the survey were aware of the nation-level facts and figures in general, but they could not tell (or did not have) exact disposition of tribes, value system, traditions, or ideational streams in the society. Hence a comprehensive survey on the host public could not be realized pending to social fault lines. The outer actors of the conflict, such as bilateral publics, own publics, other state actors or own troops are clarified as disinterested points except open source scans. In this context, respondents confessed that they were heavily involved in examining opposing elements and local media reviews, but political developments were left to political advisors while the rest of the themes were untouched. Strategic intelligence, as a result, was not adequate to ask relevant questions and investigate answers. Security oriented concerns pushed NATO headquarters be involved in analyses of terror networks rather than root facts of the peace support operation.

Operative intelligence is discussed with the respondents of which all of them were once assigned to these headquarters. All respondents agreed on the increasing tangibility in comparison to strategic level intelligence since general assessments turn out to be more specific to display the picture of the operational environment. But their common complaint was that operative intelligence is occasionally reduced to track tactical developments.

The author discussed if communication assets were well coordinated with intelligence workshops since operative level propaganda needs to be designed in accordance with the obtained intelligence products. But intelligence officers clearly underlined that communication or influence is not a prioritized task for intelligence workshops. Following chart displays the compilation of responses.

Table 4-2 Operative Intelligence

Operative Intelligence		
Actors	**Point of interest**	**Intelligence Theme**
Belligerent military and regional leaderships	Intent and purpose Decision making process Personal features Attitudes Background events Vulnerabilities	What is the intent of belligerent military and regional leaders? How do they perform decision-making process? From whom they receive orders? What are the personals superiorities and vulnerabilities of mid-level leaders? What prejudices they have? What background events shaped their attitudes?
Militias of belligerents	Structure Capabilities Individually gathered information Vulnerabilities	What is the military structure of belligerents? What capabilities do they have? What specific individuals have significance to sustain regional military activities? What makes these leaders and individuals pacified?
Local audience	Current perceptions Ethnic composition and social layers Loyalties	What are perceptions of local audience in different regional frames? What is the ethnic composition? What are the social layers? What loyalties are in effect in various regions?
Civil Society Groups	Ideology Member structure Ability to reach masses Its image	What are the civil society groups? What are their ideologies? What are their structure and member profiles? What are their capabilities in mobilizing public? What are their images in the eyes of opposing social groups?
International/local Media	Ideological stance Rating Influence ability Correspondents and their personal features	What media assets exist? To what extent they are popular? Do they have the ability to mobilize local public? Who are the correspondents and what personal characteristics do they have? How do they reach local populace? What reporting policy do they have?

Table 4-2 Continued

Operative Intelligence		
Actors	**Point of interest**	**Intelligence Theme**
Foreign actors in designated area of interest (ex. neighbouring states) and extensions of the state actors in area of operations	Probable missions Covert and overt activities Structure	What extensions of the other state actors exist in area of responsibility? What are their structures and linkages? What are their missions and intent? What are their overt and covert activities? What are the ultimate efforts of foreign actors? What are their success criteria? What are their probable fields of engagements?
Interest groups (other than civil society groups)	Organizational purpose Structure Member profiles Ideology Political preferences Area of activities	Which interest groups exist? What are their purpose, structure and linkages? Are they consciously organized or randomly scattered? Is there any ideological or ideational motivation? What are the political preferences? In which areas are these groups active?
NGOs	Efforts of mutual interests Supporting activities Capabilities Network	Which NGOs show up in the area of responsibility? What are their specialized field of activity? What are their capabilities? Do they build a network? In what areas they can contribute our mission?
International organizations (IOs)	Efforts of mutual interests Capabilities	Which IOs exist in area of operations? What is the attitude of local populace towards these IOs.
Terrorist organizations	Objectives Structure Capabilities Order of battle Influence ability Popularity Loyalty Vulnerability	Which terrorist organizations exist in the area of operations? What are their objectives, intent, capabilities and structure? What are their tactics? What are their superiorities and vulnerabilities? Do they have the capacity to influence and attract local populace? What loyalty do they have and who are loyal to them? Do they have sustainable support among local populace? What are their means of communicating with local populace?

Table 4-2 Continued

Operative Intelligence		
Actors	**Point of interest**	**Intelligence Theme**
Organized criminal gangs	Structure, Capabilities, Loyalty, Level and types of criminal activities	Which organized criminal gangs exist in the area of operations? Who are they loyal to? What criminal activities are they involved in? How can they be pacified? Are they threat to peace support operation and troops? Is there any persuasion means to stop their activities?
Own military and civilian formations/personnel (of multinational nature)	Attitudes Cultural proximities Capabilities of various national assets National caveats	What nations contribute to the mission? What are their cultural features? What are their capabilities? Do they have caveats? Do they have proximity with local populace in terms of their culture, ethnicity, or religious faith?

As can be seen from the chart, the number of actors, interested points, and themes increased at operative level intelligence planning. But respondents agree on the interest in only threat-oriented actors while handing over the other actors to civil-military cooperation teams and civil affairs branches. Political advisor is still in charge with political developments at his level. Besides general tendency was to highlight the deficiencies of this level due to linkage to national elements of troop contributing nations and incapacity of NATO in terms of intelligence collection assets. NATO was dependent on dominant state actors, like the USA, although each nation has its own priority and work rhythm. They had limited collection capability to portray actors, interested points and intelligence themes, which were mainly human intelligence teams and open source reviews.

Tactical intelligence, in comparison to operative level intelligence, is extremely tangible and specific. Four of the 16 respondents argue that tactical level commanders are usually concerned about the force protection of their troops that makes intelligence be focused on imminent threats during daily routines. As a result, intelligence assets are rather conventional intelligence equipment that threat variety of peace support operation is out of the bounds of tactical level units. Social and cultural information gaps are primary intelligence requirements at the very local level, but intelligence assets are hardly able to gather such prerequisites. Intelligence coordination and crosscheck of obtained information can rarely be achieved at tactical level if multinationality is at hand. Following chart presents tactical level intelligence focus for effective tactical propaganda.

Table 4-3 Tactical Intelligence

Tactical Intelligence		
Actors	**Prerequisites**	**Intelligence Efforts**
Individuals	Loyalty Support to NATO troops	What specific persons have loyalty to whom? Who supports NATO troops, who do not?
Local audience	Perceptions Ethnic composition and social layers Loyalties	What are the perceptions of local community towards the presence of NATO troops? What is the ethnic composition of local community? What social layers exist and who is loyal to whom?
Warring factions	Structure Capabilities Vulnerabilities	What are the extensions of warring factions in the designated area of operations? What are the capabilities, superiorities, and vulnerabilities of warring factions in designated area?
Regional extensions of international organizations	Efforts of mutual interests Capabilities	What activities do they pursue? Do they need security? What is the attitude of local community towards the IOs? How can they coordinate their efforts with own troops?
Civil society	Ideology Member structure Ability to reach masses Image	Is there ant regional extension of any civil society group? If so, what is their area of interest? What specific individuals accompany them? Do they have the capability to influence local community? How does the local community perceive the image of civil society groupings?
Local Media	Ideological stance Rating Influence ability Correspondents and their personal features	What local media organizations/formations exist? Do the local community follow their broadcasts? Do they have the ability to influence the minds of local community? Who are the correspondents and opinion makers in local media? Who is the owner?

Table 4-3 Continued

Tactical Intelligence		
Actors	**Prerequisites**	**Intelligence Efforts**
NGOs	Efforts of mutual interests Activities Capabilities Network	What NGOs exist? What are their areas of activities? What are their capabilities? Do they interact with the local populace? What network do they have?
Criminal gangs	Structure Capabilities Loyalty Level and types of criminal activities	Is there any criminal organization or individual in designated area? What are their points of interest? What is the perception of local community toward them? What criminal activities do they favour and at what intervals?
Trade organizations	Trade opportunities Freedom of movement and trade	At what level the local trade is achieved? What are the sources of local trade? Is there freedom of movement for merchants and consumers?
Own military and civilian formations/personnel	Attitudes Cultural proximities Capabilities of various national assets National caveats	What is the composition own military formation in terms of their nationality? Do they have any historical enmity or kinship with the local community? What assets do they have? Do they have national caveats? Do they have the capability to influence the local community? Do they preserve their objectivity and distance to all layers of local community?
PSYOP Activities	Belief Attitude Behaviour Norms Values	What are they? What are the changes after PSYOP activity?

Consequently, intelligence in peace support operations is perceived as a field of comprehensiveness in the eyes of NATO personnel. Contrary to intelligence doctrine of NATO, small in size and context, a peace support operation requires a vast literature to cover the probable areas of interests and intelligence themes. Military intelligence personnel repeat the doctrinated details and learned exercised processes though; they highlight details of what they had to do through their observations. If the temporary assignments of NATO personnel, ranging from six months to one year, is concerned, it is obvious that their experience are documented for the next peace support missions.

Finally, the extracted issue for this thesis is that propaganda, communications, or influence were not focused themes for military intelligence personnel. Additional to generalized security-oriented intelligence area of interests, intelligence workshops did not actively engage in communicative efforts with actors of the conflict.

4.3. Propaganda Practice in the Perception of NATO Personnel

Other than military intelligence personnel, the author has reached 36 NATO personnel of various military branches. The initial request was to have them typify the communication efforts in order to see what NATO personnel is perceiving by propaganda, strategic communication, public diplomacy, public affairs, information operation, and PSYOP. The purpose was to see if there was a confusion of these conceptualizations in the minds. The parameters are provided by the author as target audience, benefitted asset, level of executive branch and aim of the activity. The following table is the summary of perceived varieties of propaganda with the number of responses that could fit the correct answer. The rest of the answers were “I do not know” or “No comment”. The ones who were involved in propaganda derivates during tours provided satisfactory answers, but still they complained about the mission creek of these communication efforts.

Table 4-4 A Contextual Analysis of Propaganda for NATO Personnel

Activity	Which Target Audience	What Asset	What Level of Executive Branch	Aim
Propaganda (8)	Any specified group (4)	All available media of specifically established institutions (3)	Strategic (4) Mix (4)	Influence opinions, emotions, attitudes, or behaviour. (4) Influence publics. (6)
Strategic Communication (6)	Friendly or adversary audience (6)	Public diplomacy Public Affairs Info Ops PSYOPS (6)	NATO HQ and Strategic Commands (6)	Advance NATO's aims (6)
Public Diplomacy (3)	Outer publics and media (3)	Specifically built institutions. (3)	Strategic (3)	Conduct foreign policy and promote interests (3)
Public Affairs (3)	Own publics and media (3)	Specifically built institutions (3)	Strategic and operative (3)	Inform public (3)
Information Operations (6)	Coordination of NATO HQ's information activities (a point of confusion in the system)	Electronic warfare, computer network, PSYOPS, deception, security.	Strategic and Operative HQs	Create effect on the will, understanding capability of adversary.
PSYOP (19)	Approved audiences by NAC (4)	All available media of PSYOPS units (19)	Operative and Tactical HQs (14)	Influence perceptions, attitudes, and behaviours (19)

Eight of the 36 officers were aware of what is meant by propaganda due to their experiences in the field. Four of them identified the targeted audience as any specified group, but the rest was hesitant to clarify bilateral and own publics. Three of the eight indicated media as an asset of overall propaganda activities. Four of the respondents clarified propaganda as strategic activity, while the others did not differ strategic, operative, or tactical, but a mixture of them. The aim of propaganda is summarized by the word 'influence' by all respondents. Other than propaganda, only six respondents were aware of what strategic communication was. The rest of the respondents were not fully aware of the subject matter, asset, and aim of strategic communication.

Three respondents were conscious about public diplomacy and public affairs due to their academic background. The rest confused the boundaries of these two functions. On the

other hand, six respondents correctly identified information operations. Contrary to the other propaganda derivatives, 19 respondents were aware of the aim, asset, and targeted audience of PSYOP. On the other hand, only four of them were acknowledged about the authority of NAC in determining target audience, but the rest was not conscious about which organization (or branch) was authorized. In overall, the respondents did not satisfactorily reply the questions to tell what the subject matter, assets, and aim of propaganda derivatives were, but one fourth. Unconsciousness on the propaganda capabilities of NATO was apparent among the interviewed officers.

Propaganda efforts can also be scrutinized through categorizing the level of analyses as strategic, operative, and tactical levels to better portray audience, objective, conduit, methodology, and themes of propaganda derivatives. But new operational environment in peace support operations require all levels of analysis intertwine each other since any minor incident of tactical level could lead to strategic challenges. But this study takes the military formation that performs propaganda derivative as the determinant of propaganda level. For instance propaganda activities of the higher echelons of peace support operations are of strategic level since engaged actors are either states or international bodies (or actors that have effects at international realm), despite strategic propaganda is described as a national level activity beyond NATO's authority in NATO's PSYOP documentation, as a dilemma. In this sense, this study will focus on levels of propaganda, which is typified by the originator of the propaganda effort.

4.3.1. Strategic Propaganda

The author interviewed six officers who were stationed in Kosovo, Bosnia-Herzegovina, Afghanistan, and Iraq after they finalized their tours. The questions were based on an open ended discussion on the ought-to-be targeted audience, recommended objective, advised conduits, ought-to-be methodology, what themes to be focused in strategic level communication activities. The survey is summarized in the following table. The audience and parameters are provided by the author to standardize the responses of interviewed personnel.

Table 4-5 A Contextual Analysis of Strategic Level Propaganda Efforts for NATO

Strategic Propaganda				
Audience	**Objective**	**Conduit**	**Methodology**	**Themes**
Opposing leaderships	Decision mechanism	Diplomacy Resolutions Face to face meetings Media Social Media Direct Action Press Release	Persuading Deterring Sanctioning Enforcement	Personal characteristics Decision mechanism Influencers Level of public control Ideological preferences
Host Nation	Shape and persuade hearts and minds	Media Social Media Show of force Press Release PSYOP activities	Persuading Deterring Informing	History Cultural characteristics Values Ethnic composition Welfare and economy Social structure Infrastructure Diaspora Enmities Current security situation Media assets Opinion makers Ideational benchmarks
Bilateral Publics	Ease interna-tional pressure and obtain support	Media Social Media Press Release	Persuading Informing	Values International norms Key opinion makers of international importance Common good Reasoning-justifications
Own Publics	Tolerate the cost and support the action	Media Social Media Press Release	Persuading Informing	Interests Values Responsibilities Reasoning-justifications
Other State actors and their extensions	Political support and compliance with NATO's objectives	Diplomacy Conferences Media Social Media Press Release	Persuading Informing Deterring Shaping	Common interests Policy compliance Reasoning-justification Urging not to support belligerents Contribution to PSO
Own troops	Moral and motiva-tion	Magazines, visits etc.	Encourage-ment	To justify why the mission is important

Strategic propaganda, by the observations of interviewed NATO personnel and the author, can lead to generalizable engagements in peace support missions. The doctrine of NATO indicates a limited range of actors and aligned methodology. An expansion of methodology and relevant themes seem apparent to have audience cope with the objectives of NATO through appropriate conduits of communication for strategic outcomes. But the essential propaganda maker for NATO is the member states. NATO's actual argument for strategic level propaganda, although strategic propaganda is denied, is to tell what the Alliance is doing and obtain consent of publics and impartial while deterring belligerent. As a result, the heavy duty of communicating is on the shoulder of operative propaganda makers.

4.3.2. Operational Propaganda

Operational propaganda is for medium level decision making bodies, belligerent parties, part of host nation in the area of operations and, for sure, own troops. The main effort is to link strategic and tactical communication efforts that lead the actual practice with agreed policies of the higher authority. Operational layer of NATO materializes ideational aspect of peace operation by its coordination mechanism to have the initiative upon information circulation. NATO's role is, first to deliver a general strategic policy and directive by means of North Atlantic Council. In another way, meta-narrative of NATO is converted to narratives and main themes at this analysis level. But operational command of NATO is generally divided along different regions of the hosting country where a member state is in the leading position. Hence NATO's rule of engagement is blended with national procedures of responsible member or partner states. Strategic propaganda, which is designed for the general discourse, leaves planning, coordination, and execution of some communication activities to operational propaganda mechanism. Operational propaganda, on the other hand, is like a bridge between NATO and national propaganda efforts.

Under the clout of doctrine, the author asked the same questions as the strategic level propaganda scrutiny to the same six officers. The following table represents operational level targeted audience, objectives, conduits, methodology and probable themes in the propaganda cycle of peace support operations. The expansion of listed parameters in terms of emerging actors, challenged methodologies, new conduits, and probable themes are still viable in operative propaganda.

Table 4-6 Contextual Analysis of Operative Propaganda for NATO

Targeted Audience	Objective	Conduit	Methodology	Themes
Belligerent leaderships	End hostilities	Action Media Announcements Binding authority Preventive mobilizations Public pressure	Persuasion Deterrence Coercion	Challenge intent and purpose Disrupt decision making process Influence key leaders Change attitudes Exploit vulnerabilities
Militias of Belligerents	Give up fighting Comply with peaceful settlement	PSYOP products Media Actions Indirect links Campaigns	Persuasion Deterrence Coercion	Paralyse structure Hinder capabilities Exploit vulnerabilities
Local audience	Supress enmities Obtaining support to legal authority and NATO Having populace to tolerate differences Promote civil society Coherent co-living	Media Social media PSYOP products Civil Affairs Civil military cooperation	Persuasion Deterrence	Influence perceptions Address ethnic composition and social layers Benefit from loyalties
Civil Society Groups	Promote democratic society Support NATO Toleration of differences	Campaigns Seminars Social activities Conferences Direct meetings	Persuasion	Address their ideas Influence members Exploit the ability to reach masses Promote NATO’s image

Table 4-6 Continued

Targeted Audience	Objective	Conduit	Methodology	Themes
International/local Media	Inform properly Prevent disinformation Promote democratic society	Press conferences Visits Announcements Mutual activities	Informing	Influence their approaches Measure and benefit their rating Develop the influence ability of pro-NATO ones. Charm correspondents
Foreign actors in designated area of interest (ex. neighbouring states)	Comply with the UN and NATO resolutions not to escalate the secured environment Contribute NATO mission	Coordination meetings if authorized PSYOP activities Press meetings Announcements	Cooperation Compliance	Address their interests Introduce NATO's ultimate objectives Influence policies
Interest groups	Comply with NATO mission	Mutual activities Announcements Visits CIMIC Civil Affairs	Cooperation Compliance	Align their organizational objectives Address their structure and member profiles Cope with their ideology, political preferences Support their activities
NGOs	Coordinate efforts	Mutual activities CIMIC CA PSYOP	Cooperation Compliance	Support the efforts of mutual interests Have them support NATO activities Benefit from their capabilities and network
International organizations	Support mission	Mutual activities CIMIC CA PSYOP	Coordination Cooperation Compliance	Support the efforts of mutual interests Benefit from their capabilities

Table 4-6 Continued

Targeted Audience	Objective	Conduit	Methodology	Themes
Terrorist organizations	Deter and prevent violating secured environment	Coercive actions PSYOP activities	Coercion Persuasion	Deny their objectives, Disrupt structure, capabilities, order of battle Prevent influence ability upon local public Downgrade popularity Prevent loyalty of locals Exploit vulnerabilities
Organized criminal gangs	Prevent illegal formations Support local authority	Coercive actions PSYOP activities	Coercion Persuasion	Disrupt structure Clear their capabilities Prevent loyalty of local individuals Discredit criminal activities
Local government	Public good Capability building Good governance	Magazines Social activities Awareness announcements and meetings PSYOP activities International conferences	Technical support Aid	Introduce developed infrastructure Advertise achievements

All respondents agree that operative level propaganda is to direct the tactical level propaganda engagements and coordinate overall efforts. Hence countrywide themes can be selected pending to actors and desired objectives through available conduits by preferred methodology. If the operative methodology is highlighted as coercion for terror networks, then threat-based context can be identified for the themes. But the problem at this level is the inclusion of member/partner states to select themes in their respective area of operations. Hence operative level is in the trap of NATO policies and national preferences.

4.3.3. Tactical Propaganda

Tactical propaganda, which military formations are relatively involved in, aims concrete and tangible achievements. The objectives may include directed mission by higher echelons, security of own forces, persuade the local public to act in accordance with NATO's objectives, align the efforts of local opinion makers, observe the attitude of local public, and prevent our troops falling in mission creeks. Any fault, or shortfall, in tactical propaganda is hardly to be fixed properly at operational and strategic level propaganda activities. On the other hand, any fault line of the tactical military assets, say hard power assets, can be fixed by tactical propaganda efforts. The fundamental rule that the author observed in his tours in Bosnia and Afghanistan is that every single soldier is tactical propagandist by his/her deeds on the ground. For instance, over speeding on the seventh street of Kabul and a traffic accident ending with a civilian casualty does discredit the image of overall NATO mission in the eyes of Afghan public while opposing factions have the capability to commit effective propaganda against NATO.[238] The respondents discussed the context of tactical level propaganda efforts and concluded propaganda cycle at the tactical level units, which is usually limited to PSYOP activities, in the following table.

[238] A US vehicle had hit some Afghan cars in the morning rush hours because of over speeding in May 2006. The riots immediately began in Kabul. Western embassies were evacuated and diplomats were rescued by the efforts of ISAF. Available at http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/south_asia/5026350.stm, accessed on April 23, 2016.

Table 4-7 Contextual Analysis of Tactical Propaganda for NATO

Tactical Propaganda				
Actors	**Objective**	**Conduit**	**Methodology**	**Themes**
Individuals	Persuade Compliance Contribute	Civil military cooperation Civil affairs PSYOP activities Visits Health care	Persuasion Deterrence	Obtain loyalty to NATO's cause Have support to NATO troops on the ground Deny the penetration of opposing factions
Local audience	Persuade Compliance Contribute Supress enmities	Media Social media PSYOP products Civil military cooperation Civil affairs Health care	Persuasion Deterrence	Obtain loyalty to NATO's cause Have support to NATO troops on the ground Deny the penetration of opposing factions Influence perceptions, challenge prejudices Address ethnic composition and social layers
Warring factions	Give up fighting Comply with peaceful settlement	Action Media Announcements Preventive mobilizations Public pressure PSYOP activities	Persuasion Deterrence Coercion	Paralyse structure Hinder capabilities Exploit vulnerabilities
Regional extensions of international organizations	Support tactical mission	Mutual activities Civil military cooperation Civil affairs PSYOP	Coordination Cooperation Compliance	Support the efforts of mutual interests Benefit from their capabilities
Civil society	Promote regional democratic	Campaigns Social activities	Persuasion	Address their ideas at the very local level

Table 4-7 Continued

Tactical Propaganda				
Actors	**Objective**	**Conduit**	**Methodology**	**Themes**
	institutions Support NATO troops	Education Direct meetings with locals		Influence members individually Exploit the ability to reach local public Promote NATO's image in the eyes of very local level
Local Media	Inform properly Prevent disinformation and rumours Promote democratic community	Press conferences Visits Announcements Mutual activities	Informing	Influence their approaches Measure and benefit their local rating Develop the credibility of pro-NATO ones.
NGOs	Coordinate efforts	Mutual activities Civil military cooperation Civil affairs PSYOP	Cooperation Compliance	Support the efforts of mutual interests Have them support NATO activities Benefit from their capabilities and network
Criminal gangs	Prevent illegal formations, Support local authority	Coercive actions PSYOP activities Local security forces	Coercion Persuasion	Disrupt structure Clear their capabilities Prevent loyalty of local individuals Discredit criminal activities Encourage local public to resist criminals
Trade organizations	Encourage free trade and unions for welfare	Local administrations	Consultancy Information delivery	Encourage trade opportunities Advertise technical support to local trade
Own military and civilian formations/personnel	Dedicate efforts to mission Treat locals fairly	Magazines Social activities Awareness speeches PSYOP activities	Informing Encouragement	Influence attitudes Encourage for the unity of efforts Advertise equal treatment to locals

4.4. An Analysis for the Survey

Interviewed NATO personnel's observations indicate a shift in the context of traditional military perception. The factors that NATO personnel faced are more than military, and NATO as well, documented doctrines. Hence communication efforts and affiliated intelligence activities appear to be the fields that could be re-designed to address what NATO personnel have witnessed in peace support operations that includes all emerging actors, challenging operational environment and concerns. In this sense, propaganda, at all levels, requires a comprehensive analysis of actors, suitability of conduits, coherence of methodology and finally carefully designed narratives for efficient message delivery. Intelligence, in this sense, will be expected to support propaganda efforts by portraying actual picture and background information on political, economic, socio-cultural, military, criminal, and security situation of operational environment. Intelligence and propaganda functions need to integrate and become the main effort since force projection and application will be non-sense in most types of peace support operations. The operation type may require military formations, first, to cooperate civilian institutions, second, to face irregular belligerents, third, to deal with civilian population with their vast needs, fourth, to supply out-of-military duties such as economic welfare, infrastructure and capacity building, and finally manage the ongoing peace process. Then the subject matter of propaganda and intelligence slides from regular-conventional themes of warfare towards applying both coercive and persuasive methods of urging multiple actors within the flexible and volatile environment of peace support operations.

The findings of the survey highlighted the preponderance of behavioural science and marketing in the methodology of intelligence and propaganda, especially in the realm of peace support operations. The main idea in these operations is to 'create' change in the behaviours of target audience. A peace support operation's success criteria are based upon minds and hearts of the targeted actors that extend from individual to overall society of differing ethnicities or sects. The behaviour of each, first, needs to be scanned and analysed while spectrum of behavioural process in the minds of actors being thoroughly scrutinized. Behaviour cannot be limited by spontaneous acts of individuals alone but existing endogenous and exogenous parameters need to be reviewed to conclude generalizations.[239]

[239] The author benefits from Andrew Darnton's study of behaviour change models to pinpoint the probable subject matters of intelligence in to determining what to focus on and how to change them for long term gaining.

Andrew Darnton, "Reference Report: An Overview of Behaviour Change Models and Their Uses", *GSR Behaviour Change Knowledge Review*, Centre for Sustainable Development, University of Westminster, July 2008, available at

Enormous literature of behaviour offers complicated and contradicting comments on how behaviour is shaped though; the basics and agreed conclusions may inspire intelligence community and propaganda makers. Behavioural models and proposed theories generalize individuals and communities for the range of reactions against actions. But it is the fact that behaviours of all actors are complex and hard to predict. Every unit of analysis has differing and myriad models applicable to various fields of life. To the final extent, behaviour's manageability is questionable that makes propaganda dependent on intelligence support, at least, to communicate in a proper manner.

Behaviour originates from the perceived choices and decision-making capacity of any actor. A selection process is on the road to start an engagement process. The motivations can differ pending to subject, environment, structure, and variety of activity. A calculation of costs and benefits is continuously in the minds of subject that fore fronts Rational Choice Theory. Reasoning of an actor will define how to act within the mood of utility maximization. The core motivations are benefit, satisfaction, and happiness of actor.[240] The question is if aforementioned actors of peace support operations are applicable for such a generalization. In other words, do the actors attempt to maximize their benefits in a conflict? Atomistic behaviours may do so though; holistic evaluation of behaviour does not comply with rationality if nationalism or religion has the shadow upon the conflict. External societal dynamics will deviate the expected behaviours of actors. Hence, Rational Choice Theory is just a simplified view of world, as Darnton argues, although rational actors are always at work even in irrationality.[241] Intelligence, then, will obtain data to predict the probable behaviours of actors to some extent if rationality is at work. Propaganda derivatives, on the other hand, will have the capacity to draft communicative undertakings correctly addressing relevant behavioural patterns of targeted actors.

Actors need to be scrutinized to pinpoint what context of messaging will be realized. The question of how actors behave in what mood is crucial to predict behaviour in the locality of peace support operation. Actors have attitudes, built endogenously, to lead the intuitive or reason-based behaviours. In fact beliefs, under the grip pressure of social norms and values of society, directs attitude. The tendency and intention of actor that has belief and bound by norms and values identifies the probable course to behave. Beliefs, hence, are antecedent to behaviour. For sure, actor is bound by psychological and environmental

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https://www.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment_data/file/498065/Behaviour_change_reference_report_tcm6-9697.pdf, accessed on December 20, 2014.

[240] Ibid, p. 5.

[241] Ibid. p. 6.

constraints (or multipliers) additional to reasoning. But possessed knowledge of actor (or subject) determines how decision-making process of actor is formed, especially under vague conditions. Either intuitive or reasoned choices originate from the possessed knowledge. Intelligence, then, need to focus on what knowledge local individual and public have while propaganda delivers educative information based on the facts that intelligence offers.

Formation of behaviour appears to be subject matter of intelligence and propaganda in peace support operations that NATO falls short of observing, consciously scanning, evaluating, and exploiting. A course to initiate such an activity would be, first, to identify the social structure and determine the positions of actors in it. Every actor would enjoy a distinctive structural pressure, emanating from both formal and informal norm or value systems. Norms and values may be intrinsic other than external ones. Beliefs, inspired by values and norms would give birth to a worldview and be apparent in case of specific event. The specifically preferred beliefs and intention of actor will lead to specific attitude and finally specific behaviour against any impact. For sure, actor, while identifying attitude, will evaluate outcomes of behaviour. The factors – such as emotive incentives, prejudice of actor and facilitating conditions of environment – will shape all the behaviour process and ease the behaviour formation.

Friedkin argues about the relativity of attitude among subjects be discovered to form own behaviour. His view opens a road to intelligence and propaganda linkage since "[in] the absence of information about the attitude of another person, a focal individual may impute… positive or negative attitude to a significant other who adopted or not adopted behaviour and be influenced by the choice of that other person based on that imputation".[242] Then actors in peace support operation may form their attitudes pending to the attitudes of other actors. A quest of actors' behavioural linkage to tale a position needs the effort of searching the positions of other subjects. NATO, in this sense, need to gather adequate information on the behavioural cascade of actors to clarify its behavioural series while attempting to influence, shape, deter, shortly manage the behavioural cascade of the other focal. As Friedkin argues, Ajzen and Fishbein's "Reason-Planned Action Theory" and Friedkin's "Social Influence Network Theory", those are applicable to a certain extent of communities, presents basis of behavioural change and be benefitted in the practices of intelligence and propaganda organizations. Both approaches facilitate predictability of behavioural cascades of the peace support operation actors if information is gathered and propaganda courses are adopted.[243]

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[242] Noah E. Friedkin, "The Attitude Behavioural Linkage in Behavioural Cascades," *Social Psychology Quarterly*, Vol.73, No.2 (2010), p. 196.

[243] Ibid.

If all the process of behaviour formation is scrutinized, there are crucial lessons for intelligence and propaganda capability of NATO, especially in peace support operations. Actors are various and numerous, as can be seen in afore mentioned tables, that NATO will face many behaviour formation processes. Intelligence assets will not only deal with threat oriented information researches and analysis but also behavioural mood of all actors. The essence of peace support operation is not pure military but both military and civilian. Hence intelligence is expected to focus on how actors form behaviour and put it in action. Propaganda's mission is to change behaviour, or persuade the actors, in accordance with interests of the Alliance that all the behaviour formation process need to be managed, or shaped.

Jowett and O'Donnell's behavioural linkage of "belief, attitude, behaviours, norms and values",[244] hereafter I will call as 'behavioural cascade' can be used to identify what is to be changed in the process of persuasion. It is a fact that actors of peace support operation may have varying degrees of this cascade. Individuals, for instance, posit themselves to certain behavioural cascade while they may posses different (or contradicting) behavioural series if they adhere themselves to higher social groupings. Individuals may internalize behavioural cascade of society, tolerate by preferring silence, or be faced by societal pressure. Interest groups will also have contradicting behavioural cascade. Propaganda will attempt to influence behavioural cascades of all social formations and will shape and transform them to obtain the enduring outcome of peace support operation.

Intelligence will have a challenged ontology to identifying, monitoring, and analysing behavioural cascade of the overall actors to have propaganda focus on correct forms of behavioural cascade. In this sense, behavioural cascade is the linkage of intelligence and propaganda efforts to be integrated while efficiently promoting the goals of peace support operation. Behavioural cascade will be the subject matter of intelligence in analysing the actors that will represent "what" question. Propaganda will be designed in accordance with determined and analysed behavioural cascade of all actors and will address the "how" questions such as 'how to challenge belief, attitude, behaviour' under 'what group norms and value system' while attempting to shape group norms and values in longer terms. Describing behavioural cascade and identifying their effects to NATO's goal are intelligence tasks, as propaganda will exploit the cascade by delivering appropriate messages. Once appropriate code of behavioural cascade is achieved, NATO, or any military organism, will promote its goals while reducing hard power applications. The author reminds that the desired outcome of peace support operation is to have long-term behavioural change of all relevant actors of

[244] Jowett and O'Donnell, *Propaganda and Persuasion*, pp. 34-38.

peace support operation that requires a comprehensive and thorough analysis of behavioural formation. A simple deterrence based intelligence effort and propaganda undertaking, by its all varieties, can not offer stable and long term solution to core reasons of conflicts.

If propaganda need to change its nature and adopt itself to today's individual and societal behavioural cascade system, then how can intelligence redesign itself? Smart power perception of Joseph Nye can be a course to have belligerents comply with the established peaceful environment. A method of united persuasive, deterrent, coercive course of engagement, as the respondents of the survey highlight, may promote NATO's ultimate purpose. I argue that conventional force structure and methodology is not valid anymore. Intelligence and propaganda has been the main efforts of peace support operation formations to obtain success in the aforementioned environment at all levels (strategic, operative, tactical) with challenging features. The question is if intelligence assets of NATO can portray behavioural cascade or not? The response of this question will indicate if the ontology of intelligence is correctly identified and propaganda is directed to relevant issue fields to have NATO succeed peace support operation within the limits of efficiency. The author argues that NATO's intelligence formations did not focus on behavioural cascade. Intelligence review indicates that intelligence function needs to focus on social and cultural aspect of both host publics and belligerents by renewed methodologies, while taking new actors of conflicts into account.

The purpose for building such an intelligence-propaganda co-option is for understanding the society as a first step and shape the behavioural cascade, as the second step, to have NATO welcomed in peace support operations. In other words, a strategy of "perception building" comes out if an integration of intelligence and propaganda derivative functions are successfully co-opted. This approach will ease to obtain the ultimate aim that will be arisen in the announced "success criteria" by quarters. Hence, shaping the public opinion requires propaganda-affiliated formations along by the support of intelligence departments. D'Allagata agrees with this claim. He argues that 100% integrated [intelligence] and propaganda is a dream, and both functions must sit together in the same office if synergic product is desired.[245]

As a course to behavioural cascade-centred analysis of actors and relevant propaganda efforts in peace support operations, following depiction provides an approach. Intelligence will focus on every actor in peace support operation environment to identify what belief they have disregarding the identities of actors if they are local, belligerent, third party, or own

[245] Interview with Davide D'Allagata, PSYOP professional in Italian Ministry of Defence, email message to the author on January 20, 2014.

forces. Attitudinal analysis of actors and survey of probable behaviour models will present what expected models or reactions are valid for the actors. Observed group norms and values are superstructures upon beliefs, attitudes, and behaviours. A social cultural analysis and long term analysis of behavioural cascade character will ease the intelligence process.

Intelligence and propaganda methodology can focus on root causes of the conflict to ease the settlement by scrutinizing the process of behaviour formation process. The strategy may be to have the virtual reasoning of the conflict meaningless not to initiate conflict again or attain reasons to terminate the conflict pending to the phase of conflict. Initial step for intelligence community may be to identify norms and values, which could be motivating factors for actors. Centuries' old values and norms would form prejudice among actors that could escalate tension. Values and norms may be common to all, but details of how they were formed and what turning points shaped the course of them have to be reviewed. It may seem an easy study to identify them tough; actors, even of similar identities, do not have specific structure in peace support operation. Different tribal affairs, religious or sectarian faiths or informal social structures would differentiate norms and values in the same regions. Hence uniqueness cannot be observed among actors. I argue that individuals may also have their own value systems and a social and cultural search is necessity to present what common individual value systems apart from societal norm and value dynamics exist. The continuum of intelligence strategy can be erected upon identifying belief systems, common attitudes, and behavioural models of all peace support operation actors. Prediction competence of intelligence analysts rest on being savvy of these models.

The strategy is not solely composed of identifying process but, additionally, scrutinizing the effects of behavioural causes and models upon NATO's presence and mission. The question in what cases, what behavioural models positively or negatively affect the outcomes of the engagements of NATO, and the other international actors, has to be reviewed. This intelligence review will provide a pre-emptive behavioural response to the words and deeds of NATO. Propaganda varieties of NATO, on the other hand, have to design consistent and transparent communicative efforts in accordance with the findings of intelligence. The base of actors will accept the messages that are tolerable by the norms and values. Long-term commitment to form a coherent behavioural model is propaganda's subject matter to make conflict out of the bounds of societal prerequisites. Consequently, propaganda varieties, will build its communicative undertaking upon the determined behavioural cascade features to deter, shape, supress or persuade the actors while manipulative undertakings would a course.

4.5. Conclusion

Intelligence, as mentioned, is expected to support the processes of propaganda derivative functions at all levels of military and governmental functions. Intelligence, in fact, is inherent to the committed efforts of listed functions. Neither of them can be achieved unless a comprehensive analysis of target audience is concluded. Intelligence departments are required to provide detailed background information, analysis on the social and cultural nature of audience and probable assessments of outcomes for the communicative efforts additional to the current paradigm of intelligence. Intelligence needs to be redesigned to address the requirements of today's military intervention modes, especially within the norms of international organizations. NATO, in this context, needs to redesign intelligence structure and projected intelligence ontology. Propaganda is complimentary to intelligence efforts and displays a continuum like a teeterboard, equilibrated by knowledge.

Intelligence is to scan socio-cultural data, obtain information, produce knowledge, and offer wisdom to NATO's bodies including propaganda derivative functions on the behavioural cascade of the local public. Propaganda, which is still a function but compartmentalized pending to the evolvement of political, social or military prerequisites, attempts to influence behavioural cascades of all included actors in peace support operation pending to approved policies of the Alliance. Propaganda need to possess relevant social and cultural background information about actors and environment to appropriately express itself, persuade actors, and obtain cost effective outcomes.

Intelligence and propaganda, then, need to be designed as a challenging course to prevalent paradigm, especially if newly emerging actors and challenging environment is concerned. What propaganda needs is the theme of intelligence. In other words, propaganda is a dependent variable of intelligence as independent variable, which means the context of propaganda is subsidiary to the outcomes of intelligence. Hence initial questions to be searched will be what propaganda needs and what type of propaganda efforts has to be designed to identify the ontology of intelligence. The acceptance of such a dependency can integrate intelligence and propaganda.

This chapter has highlighted the vitality of such synergy though; the methodology of current NATO doctrine does not imply a design of efficient intelligence and propaganda conceptualization. In other words, what makes conjunction area of both is vague. The persuasion desire of NATO in peace support operation is the cornerstone of identifying a start point. If peace support operation is expected code of conduct in future by means of international organizations or coalitions, practice of intelligence and propaganda has to be designed in accordance with the mood of varieties of peace support operation, especially

within NATO context. Integration of intelligence and propaganda is a matter of methodological preference.

Success criteria are not military victory in peace support operation anymore, but transform the societal behaviours consistent with the desired peaceful environment in crisis-laden regions for long-term stabilities in international system. NATO has failed in its military interventions to efficiently identify societal and cultural features to influence individual and societal behavioural cascades but elaborated on identifying threat for the sake of NATO's operational security. Prisoned NATO soldiers behind the desks of NATO compounds stayed away from the societies and drafted analysis far from realities of peace support operation actors. Few of them shook the hand of any indigenous citizen while ignoring to understand what their beliefs and attitudes are. Behaviours of locals were no more than reported incidents of the media. The methodology has to be designed by taking intelligence and propaganda varieties prioritise communicative skills with the actors.

Consequently, NATO is expected to employ an integrated intelligence and compartmentalized propaganda functions. This process is not a social engineering that could arise an ethical critique since the overall purpose of NATO is not to transform society, defusing its value system, but crisis management or make/enforce/build/keep long-term and enduring peace.

Following section will review two cases, the Bosnian and Afghanistan interventions of NATO to present the efficiency of NATO in peace support operations regarding its intelligence and propaganda activities. Both interventions have completely different operation environments with varying degrees of societal cultures and conflict causes. NATO has lessons learned in the Bosnian intervention and applied evolved methods in terms of its intelligence and propaganda capabilities. Bosnia was NATO's unprepared case, attempting to apply conventional mentality, but the Afghan case was executed by the lessons learned of the Bosnian case. An examination of the both cases of what had been done and what would be done will present the intelligence and propaganda prerequisites of NATO.

CHAPTER 5

CASE STUDY: NATO IN BOSNIA AND HERZEGOVINA

5.1. Introduction

NATO started the peace support operation in Bosnia-Herzegovina, after the complex settlement of Dayton Peace Accord on December 14, 1995.[246] The Alliance assumed the responsibility of establishing order, observing the terms of the Accord and intervening in case the established order was in danger. The ultimate aim of the overall international commitment was to reach a comprehensive settlement to bring an end to the tragic conflict in the region and to promote an enduring peace and stability.[247] NATO was to succeed the UN Protection Force (UNPROFOR) by assuming military tasks pending to the Annex-1A of the Accord, which were to help create secure conditions for the conduct of other Dayton Agreement tasks, such as holding elections; assist the international organizations in their humanitarian missions; observe and prevent interference with the movement of civilian populations, refugees, and displaced persons, respond appropriately to deliberate violence to life and person; and monitor the clearing of minefields and obstacles.[248] These tasks, except few, were not conventional military ones, but had civilian aspects that military organizations were not prepared for.

Apart from entrusted tasks by the Dayton Peace Accord, NATO had faced challenging operational environment and varieties of actors with unaccustomed tasks. The institutionalized implementation mechanism of the Accord had to lean on military force to

[246] NATO, "15 Years Ago, Dayton Peace Accords: A Milestone for NATO and the Balkans", December 14, 2010, available at http://www.nato.int/cps/en/natolive/news_69290.htm, accessed on December 25, 2014.

[247] "The General Framework Agreement for Peace in Bosnia and Herzegovina", available at http://www.osce.org/Bosnia_and_Herzegovina/126173?download=true, accessed on December 25, 2014.

[248] Ibid, Annex 1A.

deter belligerents from incompliance and execute military aspect of the Accord. Civilian tasks, such as holding elections under the responsibility of Organization for Security and Co-operation in Europe (OSCE), were dependent on the provided security by NATO forces. For instance, war criminals were to be apprehended by the capabilities of NATO forces rather than limited police force. The reconstruction of Bosnia-Herzegovina was under the responsibility of international organizations and voluntarily contributing states, but NATO launched its own Civil-Military Co-operation (CIMIC) projects in areas such as infrastructure and transportation.[249] As another example, Stabilization Force (SFOR) had begun taking a more active role in efforts to return people to their pre-war homes in areas controlled by another ethnic group.[250] All these tasks were dependent on the consent of ethnic communities and former belligerent factions, which were still officially active. Implementation Force (IFOR) and concurrent SFOR missions of NATO had to track incompliance and observe practices of ethnic communities and substituent groups by means of its intelligence assets while persuading them to comply and transform their perceptions for a bright future.

Under the shade of assumed tasks, intelligence and propaganda appeared to be main efforts of NATO in Bosnia-Herzegovina, but beyond their accustomed ontology and methodology due to changing operational environment, actors and new task types. Shifting context of intelligence and propaganda efforts were to align its capabilities to the prerequisites of emerging operational environment, new tasks, unaccustomed actors, and exceptionally defined goals in the Dayton Peace Agreement.

This chapter will investigate what kind of ontology and methodology were benefitted by NATO regarding intelligence and propaganda activities, how far these fields were efficient in obtaining defined goals, what was ignored and what was achieved. Shortly perception, practice, and obtained outcomes will be discussed. The argument of the chapter is that NATO was not prepared for the entrusted tasks in Bosnia-Herzegovina regarding intelligence and propaganda activities and could not manage the peace support process efficiently since NATO's intelligence and propaganda capabilities were not systematically directed to challenging tasks.

It is vital to examine background information on how the war was ignited, executed, and terminated. The environment, actors, and benchmarks need to be reviewed to see in what

[249] NATO, "Peace Support Operations in Bosnia and Herzegovina", September 07, 2014, available at http://www.nato.int/cps/en/natolive/topics_52122.htm, accessed on December 25, 2014.

[250] US Senate, National Security and International Affairs Division, *Bosnia Peace Operation: Mission, Structure and Transition Strategy of NATO's Stabilization Force* (Washington, D.C.: United States General Accounting Office, October 08, 1998), p. 2.

conditions intelligence and propaganda were performed. The intelligence and propaganda capabilities of belligerents along with their counter propaganda capacities need to be scrutinized to evaluate the faced capacities of counterparts. For this purpose, the chapter will attempt to support the aforementioned argument, first, by reviewing the conflict to display what NATO was engaging with. The inclusion of NATO to the Bosnian intervention will be presented in parallel to positions of the Bosnian actors. The second section will focus on the pre-Dayton intelligence and propaganda efforts of UNPROFOR and NATO, before the Dayton peace negotiation process. Finally, the post-Dayton era introduced new threat types and required non-conventional military engagements that NATO had to transform its intelligence and propaganda structure despite NATO was conventionally prepared. Superiorities and failures will be reviewed in these two phases of operations. Intelligence capability will be evaluated in terms of its social and cultural aspects and be reviewed if behavioural cascade of the actors were adequately monitored and analysed. Propaganda efforts will be scanned if NATO consciously attempted to shape the attitudes of actors and influence them for a long-term sustainable peaceful environment in accordance with the social and cultural realities of Bosnia-Herzegovina.

5.2. The Yugoslav Crises and Road to the Bosnian War

The Balkans has always been the geography of bloody history.[251] It is where nationalities and differing religions meet, reminding Huntington's "Clash of Civilizations" due to continuous and violent struggles.[252] Extensions of Germanic, Turkish and Slav races poured in the same pot for centuries as fault lines of varying nationalities and religions.[253] Religions of Islamic fate along with Catholic and Orthodox sects of Christianity have lived side by side along Drina River. The long history of Bosnia witnessed domination of various empires that let current social turbulences. The communities of such descent assortment mixed the cities into social variety of ethnic societies. In the wake of the Allied victory in World War I, the "Kingdom of Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes" was established on December 1, 1918, despite multiple ethnic and religion structures made it difficult to form a "nation". King Alexander I named the country as "Yugoslavia" in 1929 that means "the Land of South

[251] Paul Mojzes, *Balkan Genocides: Holocaust and Ethnic Cleansing in the Twentieth Century* (Plymouth: Rowman and Littlefield Publishers, 2011), p. 163.

[252] P. Samuel Huntington, *The Clash of Civilizations and the Remaking of World Order* (London: Penguin Books, 1996), p. 291.

[253] Ivo John Lederer, "Introduction: The Context," in *Western Approaches to Eastern Europe* (eds.) J.F Brown et al. (New York: Council on Foreign Relations Press, 1992), p. 4.

Slavs" probably to unite multiple ethnic communities that were clearly portrayed in the name of the Kingdom.[254]

World War II witnessed the division of Yugoslav ethnicities. Ustashes of Croats were supported by German forces while Serb-Chetniks and Communist partisans, under Josip Broz Tito, fought against the Nazis along with competing Croatian separatists.[255] The Chetniks eventually ended their resistance against Germans due to high civilian casualties that led the West to support Communists, who were able to drive the Axis forces out of Yugoslavia in early 1945 under the leadership of Tito. Since Soviets did not enter the territories of Yugoslavia, Tito established a type of non-aligned socialism and renamed the state as the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia. What Tito had done can be summed up by the suppression of internal ethnic nationalism until 1974 concessions to substituent states.[256] However, Tito's death in 1980 resurfaced ethnic tensions in Yugoslavia because of the issue fields such as weakened central government due to the 1974 Constitution, nationalist sentiments of political leaders, and economic crises.[257] The International Monetary Fund (IMF), which was called in to remediate the huge national debt, imposed a drastic program to restructure the 'expiring' socialist economic system. But numerous businesses were declared bankrupt and hundreds of thousands of workers lost their jobs after 'reforms'. This period of economic and social calamity coincided with the fall of communism in Eastern Europe.[258]

Elections were held in the republics of Yugoslavia in early 1990 with Slovenian and Croatian voters demanding self-rule and those in Serbia and Montenegro claiming national unity in favour of Serbian dominance. Various ethnic groups, particularly Serbs in Croatia who did not want to be a minority in a sovereign Croatia, began a campaign of sporadic civil disobedience that included blocking roads and mass demonstrations. The Yugoslav People's Army, dominated by senior officers of Serbian ethnicity, tried to appear neutral but tacitly supported Serbs and became increasingly involved in politics. Anticipating potential

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[254] The brief history of the conflict is comprehensively reviewed in the following publications: Dejan Djokic, *Yugoslavism: The History of a Failed Idea 1918-1992* (London: Hurst & Company, 2003); The US Department of State, Office of the Historian, "The War in Bosnia, 1992–1995", available at https://history.state.gov/milestones/1993-2000/bosnia, accessed on December 24, 2014; Laura Silber and Allan Little, *The Death of Yugoslavia* (London: Penguin Books, 1996).

[255] Jozo Tomasevich, *War and Revolution in Yugoslavia (1941-1945): Occupation and Collaboration* (Redwood: Stanford University Press, 2001), pp. 368-372.

[256] Viktor Meier, *Yugoslavia: A History of its Demise* (London: Routledge, 1995), p. 7.

[257] Ibid, p. 21.

[258] Ibid, pp. 97-100.

violence, Slovenia, later then Croatia, began covertly importing weapons. Two constitutionally recognized states of federal system started to struggle for more autonomy.[259]

The 1990 amendment of the 1974 Constitution had facilitated 1990 multi-party elections of which nationalist political parties of six constituent republics dominated the political scene.[260] Multi-party elections, in this frame, can be claimed as the end of the Yugoslav political system since republics were motivated to have advantage on the others and searched for more freedom of political manoeuvre and finally independence. The priority of the ethnic unrest was pending to the ultimate goals of ethnic leaderships. In this context, the Serbian desire was to build greater Serbia proper[261] that would extend to the Serbian minorities of neighbouring communities. Bosnian Croats were making calculations of uniting with independent Croatia. Bosniaks'[262] effort was to keep Bosnia-Herzegovina as a united land where Serbs, Croats and Bosniaks would have lived peacefully within a fair mosaic, and, for sure, to survive among the other ethnicities. Hence the Bosniaks were motivated to keep their sovereign status, terminating probable Serbian control.[263]

Yugoslav society, which had vowed "brotherhood and unity" for decades, had forgotten the meaning of common descent, common language and common future by 'imposed' sentiments of hate. If classical realism of international politics was to find its body, dissolution of Yugoslavia and, specifically the Bosnian conflict, witnessed what a pure realist politics was to be in practice.[264] Machiavelli would observe the full testing of his "Prince" in wider Yugoslavia of 1990s, at least according to Dick Morris.[265] Harshness and dual morality to realize the interests of own ethnicity were the mainstream of the political leaderships to have an upper hand in the conflict. Describing the faced environment in Bosnia-Herzegovina has utmost importance to see in which conditions NATO intervened to

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[259] Silber and Little, *The Death of Yugoslavia*, p. 201.

[260] Snezana Trifunovska, *Yugoslavia Through Documents from its Creation to its Dissolution* (Dordrecht: Martinus Dijhoff Publishers, 1994), p. 237.

[261] Serbia Proper is the core Serbian territory, which believed to be built against the Ottoman Empire. Serbia Proper is claimed to be divided among Yugoslav Republics by Tito while offering the status of republic to Bosnia. A map and process of building Serbia Proper can found in the following document. George W. White, *Nationalism and Territory: Constructing Group Identity in South-eastern Europe* (Maryland: Rowmand Littlefield Publishers Inc., 2000), p. 205.

[262] Western sources use Bosnian Muslims though; the author will use the term "Bosniak" since religion does not represent nationality.

[263] Silber and Little, *The Death of Yugoslavia*, pp. 304, 342.

[264] Paul Roe, *Ethnic Violence and Societal Security Dilemma* (New York: Routledge, 2005), pp. 33-34.

[265] Dick Morris, *The New Prince: Machiavelli Updated for the Twenty First Century* (New York: St.Martin's Griffin, 1999), p. 85.

Bosnia-Herzegovina and in what circumstances NATO committed its intelligence efforts and propaganda varieties. For this purpose, the causes of the conflict need to be reviewed to see the overall picture.

According to Richard Holbrooke, there were five key reasons for the break-up of Yugoslavia: "First, wrong reading of the Balkan history; second, the end of the Cold War; third, the behaviour of the very Yugoslav leaders; four, an inadequate American response to the crisis; and, in the end, a false belief of the Europeans that they by themselves can cope with their first challenge following the end of the Cold War."[266]

The root causes of Bosnian conflict, to the wider extent the dissolution of Yugoslavia, may be attributed myriad reasoning, as Holbrooke downgrades to five. Long hatred history of ethnic communities and prejudices amongst them, cemented by the intervention of outer powers can be claimed, as generalized inputs. Put another way, Tito's allegedly "unfair" treatment of ethnicities[267] to have a unified Yugoslavia, based on "brotherhood and unity", can be claimed as a cause for the Serbian nationalists since he divided Greater Serbia among the Republics, or recognition of the Macedonians and the Muslims of Bosnia-Herzegovina as distinct nationalities. Suppressed Slovene and Croat nationalisms can also be a motivation to ignite an ethnicity-based conflict. Dissolution of communism and eagerness of ethnic societies to grab the lion's-share in partition of Yugoslavia can be indicated as the political ground of this period. Some others may claim the economic sinking of Yugoslavia as the root cause of overall secessionism in the direction of searching a way out.[268] Van Minkle argues that revisions of the Yugoslav constitution between 1948 and 1974 systematically transferred political and economic power away from the central government to the constituent Republics. Essentially, Tito's death marked the end of the last vestiges of a strong central government in Yugoslavia.[269]

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[266] Richard Holbrooke, *To End A War* (New York: Modern Library, 1999), pp. 21-22.

[267] Unfair treatment by Tito was rather claimed by Serbian political leadership since Serbs were divided among the Republics by the 1974 Constitution. Alex N. Draglic, *Serbia and Yugoslavia: Historical Studies and Contemporary Commentaries* (New York: Columbia UP, 1998), p. 65.

[268] Zdravko Petak, "The Political Economy Background of Yugoslav Dissolution", presented at the Conflict Resolution and Self-Governance in Africa (And Other Regions) Mini-Conference, May 3-5, 2003, Workshop in Political Theory and Policy Analysis, Indiana University, Bloomington, Indiana, p. 10, available at http://citeseerx.ist.psu.edu/viewdoc/download?doi=10.1.1.563.1504&rep=rep1&type=pdf, accessed on June 11, 2015.

[269] Daniel Ryan Van Winkle, "The Rise of Ethnic Nationalism in the Former Socialist Federation of Yugoslavia: An Examination of the Use of History", M.A. Paper submitted to Western Oregon University, Oregon, (June 2005), p. 4.

Apart from the behavioural cascades of political leaders, the mood of ethnic communities is worth to portray how Yugoslavia in general and Bosnia in particular dragged in turmoil. The main socio-cultural feature of Bosnia is the division of ethnicities along religious and sectarian fault lines that neither of the communities found a common ground to justify "unity and brotherhood" other than common communist past of Yugoslavia. The collapse of communist party and degradation of federal system awakened nationalism among ethnic communities.[270] The effort of identity search cemented Serbian, Croat, and Muslim Bosnian consciousness that was delayed nine decades. The question how the decades of communist past of Yugoslav societies has been transformed to enmity is clear in the memories of Smajlović, a Serbian journalist and former editor of the oldest daily newspaper in the Balkans, *Politika*. She remembers the pre-war era by her neighbours' attitudes:

> Those of my neighbours who went to the first demonstration stood under bright green moon-and-crescent Muslim party flags and demanded two things from the Yugoslav People's Army: first, that it lay down its guns and let Croatia secede, and second, that it allow Bosnian conscripts to go home. The second demonstration was a riposte to the first. Those of my neighbours who took part in it carried a blue, white, and red Yugoslav flag with a red star in the middle. They cheered the army's efforts to prevent secession and to protect their Serb brethren in Croatia. As a journalist, I went to both demonstrations and died a little each time.[271]

Ethnic polarization had found response from ethnic audience, as could be seen in Smajlović case. Long era of ignored nationalism arose by the encouragement of ethnic leaders.[272]

One reality is that Yugoslavia collapsed, like the other socialist federal states of 1990s[273], while Bosnia-Herzegovina appeared to be the summary of all witnessed conflicts in Yugoslavia at the end due to its multi-ethnic structure, as Smajlović argues in her article: "Out of six former republics, Bosnia was the one created most truly in Yugoslavia's image, a fragile amalgam of faiths, nationalities, dialects, and histories. It was Yugoslavia writ small, trying doggedly to imitate and outshine its model. The lines that separated what was

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[270] Bogdan Denitch, *Ethnic Nationalism: The Tragic Death of Yugoslavia* (Mineapolis: The University of Minnesota Press, 1997), pp. 157-158, 161.

[271] Lijljana Smajlovic, "From the Heart of the Heart of the Yugoslavia", *Wilson Quarterly*, Vol.19, No. 05 (1995), p. 106.

[272] Van Minkle analyses the speeches of Yugoslav leaders, mainly of Milosević, in mobilizing ethnic societies toward nationalist causes. His determination is that the idea of belonging to a nation is a recent and constructed concept. Integral to this concept is the notion of the "other," those that lie outside the bounds of the nation. In this frame, official nationalism has been used extensively in Yugoslavia in the latter half of the twentieth-century to legitimize the desired state mechanism.
Van Winkle, "The Rise of Ethnic Nationalism in the Former Socialist Federation of Yugoslavia", pp. 5-6.

[273] Czechoslovakia and USSR are the other examples.

'internal' and purely Bosnian from what was "external" but still Yugoslav were hopelessly blurred."[274]

The Serbian aggression to prevent the independence of Slovenia and Croatia by means of federal institutions of Yugoslavia had a limit to the degree of acceptance of these republics. Their roads from the Yugoslav common future were diverted to independence, leaving the Serbian minority in Bosnia and Croatia as the main concern of the Serbian dominated Yugoslav leadership. Bosnia-Herzegovina, on the other hand, was different from the other two republics. Milosević of Serbia and Tudjman of Croatia perceived Bosnia-Herzegovina as the extension of their homelands. Croats of Herzegovina and Serbs of Bosnia led both leaders agree on sharing Bosnia-Herzegovina among themselves by 'Karađorđevo' Agreement on 25 March 1991.[275]

Ethnic leaders, with the rhetoric of identity building, escalated conflict and mapped the road toward expansionism and independence in Bosnia-Herzegovina by the encouragement of their Croat and Serb masters in Croatia and 'Yugoslav' Serbia. Leaders efficiently exploited propaganda means in Yugoslavia of 1990s to realize their agendas. Media of each ethnic community published and broadcasted national discourses, attacks and other insults directed against the other ethnic groups.[276] The socialist character of the Yugoslav community that provided high education standard is one reason why propaganda of broadcasts and published products would be facilitative. The literacy rate of former Yugoslav Republic was estimated as %91 in 1990[277] that information was available for the most members of the communities to fasten such escalation. Communist experience and high literacy rate made the media and 'language of politicians' effective channels, although constituent republics were able to circulate their vision by means of local media. Bosnia, with its mixture of ethnic communities, was a summary of overall Yugoslav media since three ethnicities had their own informative environment.[278] Bosnian Serbs (B-Serbs), Bosnian Croats (B-Croats) and Bosniaks had their own information manufacture, circulation,

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[274] Smajlovic, "From the Heart of the Heart of the Yugoslavia", p. 103.

[275] Robert J, Donia, *Radovan Karadžić: The Architect of Bosnian Genocide* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2014), p. 141.

[276] Leigh Armistead, *Information Warfare: Separating Hype from Reality* (Washington D.C.: Potomac Books, 2007), p. 35.

[277] World Bank, *World Development Report 1991*, Statistical Annex, Tables 1 and 2, Washington DC, 1991, available at https://openknowledge.worldbank.org/handle/10986/5974, accessed on June 11, 2014.

[278] Mark Thomson, *Forging War: The Media in Serbia, Croatia, Bosnia and Herzegovina* (Luton: University of Luton Press, 1999), p. 257.

and exploitation means that was checked by their ethnic leaderships.[279] It was a fact that communist cadres were masters of propaganda, first, to persuade own ethnicities, deter the opposing leaders and ethnicities, and influence international community.

Informative aspect in the course of conflict is worth to review to see the preparation and execution deeds. The strategy of the nationalists was to put their visions on paper[280], circulate it, and wait the realization until the conditions to be matured. The Memorandum of the Serbian Academy of Sciences and Arts was as such. On 24 and 25 September 1986, the Belgrade newspaper *Večernje Novosti* published extracts of the draft document, which was being prepared by the Committee of the prestigious Serbian Academy of Sciences and Arts. Very soon photocopied versions of the document began to circulate across Yugoslavia. Its main theme was that decentralization was leading to the disintegration of Yugoslavia and that the Serbs were discriminated by Yugoslavia's constitutional structure.[281] The Academy had packed a nationalist view of Serbian ethnicity, reminding the Serb's Kosovo vulnerability, which was the issue of 1980s. The Following text, excerpted from the Memorandum briefly told the mood of the Committee regarding Serbian nationalism.

> The expulsion of the Serbian people from Kosovo bears dramatic testimony to their historical defeat. In the spring of 1981, open and total war was declared on the Serbian people… This open war has been going on for almost five years… We are still not looking this war in the face, nor are we calling it by its proper name.
>
> It is not just that the last remnants of the Serbian nation are leaving their homes at an unabated rate, but according to all evidence, faced with a physical, moral and psychological reign of terror, they seem to be preparing for their final exodus. Unless things change radically, in less than ten years' time, there will no longer be any Serbs in Kosovo, and an "ethnically pure" Kosovo, that unambiguously stated goal of the Greater Albanian racists… will be achieved… Kosovo's fate remains a vital question for the entire Serbian nation. If it is not resolved… if genuine security and unambiguous equality for all peoples living in Kosovo and Metohija are not established; if objective and permanent conditions for the return of the expelled nation are not created, then this part of the Republic of Serbia and Yugoslavia will become a European issue, with the gravest possible foreseeable consequences.

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[279] Tudjman and Milosević had total grip upon Croat and Serbian TVs and radio broadcasts to air their views and attract ethnic communities. Media was releasing information about the "enemies" of Serbian or Croat people. Silber and Little, *The Death of Yugoslavia,* p. 120, 142.

[280] Ibid, p. 31.

[281] European Stability Initiative, "Picture Stories", available at http://www.esiweb.org/index.php?lang=en&id=281&story_ID=13&slide_ID=18 , accessed on June 16, 2014.

> The Serbian people cannot stand idly by and wait for the future in such a state of uncertainty… Naturally, Serbia must not be passive and wait and see what the others will say, as it has so often done in the past.[282]

For sure, most nationalist Serbs would have been pleased to hear the declaration. The ethos of such document was to raise the enthusiasm by words in the first instance though; it justified the reasoning of future Serbian aggression. The document, which was a pioneering and challenging paper in 'communist' Yugoslavia, paved the way of ethnic identity building under harsh conditions of economic and political turbulence.

Slobodan Milosević's Gazimestan speech in June 1989, on the other hand, generally forefronts Serbian unity, dignity, and heroism. The hallmark of Serbian identity was a challenge to Yugoslav communist system that was struggling to survive. Furthermore, Milosević warned the possibility of aggression and threatened the "Serbian enemies" in his speech: "Serbs in their history have never conquered or exploited others. Through two World Wars, they have liberated themselves and, when they could, they also helped others to liberate themselves…The Kosovo heroism does not allow us to forget that, at one time, we were brave and dignified and one of the few who went into battle undefeated…Six centuries later, again we are in battles and quarrels. They are not armed battles, though such things should not be excluded yet."[283] Filorina Vevera, a scholar and journalist in *Ora Noura Magazine* of Romania, argues that this speech reveals the power of collective memory and selected trauma. Milosević, for Vevera, reminded "the memory of the Serb population" in order to fight for the fate of the Serbian nation. After six centuries, Serbs were about to face a battle again and they could regain their dignity only by unity. [284]

Parallel to the sentiments of Milosević, Radovan Karadžić [285], the Bosnian Serb leader, did not hesitate overtly to threaten Bosniaks by his hate speech before the Assembly of Bosnia-Herzegovina in 1991, successfully mobilizing Serbian extremists: "You want to take Bosnia-Herzegovina down the same highway to hell and suffering that Slovenia and Croatia are travelling. Do not think that you will not lead Bosnia-Herzegovina into hell, and do not think that you will not perhaps lead the Muslim people into annihilation, because the

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[282] "The Memorandum of the Serbian Academy of Sciences and Arts", pp. 49-50, available at http://www.trepca.net/english/2006/serbian_memorandum_1986/serbia_memorandum_1986.html, accessed on June 16, 2014.

[283] The full text of the speech is available at http://emperors-clothes.com/milo/milosaid2.htm, accessed on June 16, 2014.

[284] Interview with Fiorina Vevera Ph.D., email message to author on April 03, 2014.

[285] Steven L. Burg and Paul S. Shoup, *The War in Bosnia, Ethnic Conflict and International Intervention* (London: M.E. Sharpe, 2000), p. 78.

Muslims cannot defend themselves. If there is war – how will you prevent everyone from being killed in Bosnia-Herzegovina?"[286]

The response of Bosniak leader and President of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Izetbegović is a clear challenge to Karadžić's speech by his carefully selected words, even though his prediction of a probable war was a misreading of general picture: "His [Karadžić's] manner and his messages perhaps explain why others also refuse to stay in such a Yugoslavia. Nobody else wants the kind of Yugoslavia that Mr. Karadžić wants any more, no one except perhaps the Serbian people. Such a Yugoslavia and such a manner of Karadžić are simply hated by the people of Yugoslavia ...and I then say to the people of Bosnia Herzegovina that there will not be war, that is my prediction based on the facts, on some confirmed facts. Therefore sleep peacefully; there is no need to fear, because it takes two to tangle."[287]

It is worth to mention that Izetbegović was more constructive in his determinations in comparison to the Serbian leadership. Izetbegović indicates his persuasive attitude: "The only solution of this crisis is democracy. Alternative is hundreds and hundreds of dead people... Bosnia knows what war is and what peace is. But the war in today's Bosnia would be total war resulting with three bleeding nations… I would sacrifice peace for a sovereign Bosnia-Herzegovina ... but for that peace in Bosnia-Herzegovina I would not sacrifice sovereignty."[288]

The quotations of Franco Tudjman, President of Croatia, are prone to independence of Croatia, and claiming Islamic threat in Europe to justify Croatia's practices and position against Bosnia-Herzegovina even after the Dayton Accord is concluded: "If Yugoslavia is to exist, it can exist only as an alliance, a confederation of independent states… The Muslims wanted to reign over the whole of Mostar, then gain ground to the sea and finally create an Islamic state. That is what our Croatians defend themselves against… The West wanted to avoid an Islamic state in Europe… Let's make a deal with the Serbs. Neither history nor emotion in the Balkans will permit multi-nationalism. We have to give up on the illusion of

[286] Diana Johnstone, *Fools' Crusade: Yugoslavia, NATO, and Western Delusions* (New York: Monthly Review Press, 2002), p. 108.

[287] Zehrudin Isaković, "Alija Izetbegović: Biography (1925-2003)", *Muzej Alija Izetbegović*, *Sarajevo* (2005), p. 55, available at http://www.muzejalijaizetbegovic.ba/upload/file/biography.pdf, accessed on March 12, 2014.

[288] Gabrijela Kisicek, "The Rhetoric of War - Former Yugoslavia Example," *Journal of Arts and Humanities*, Vol. 2, No. 8 (September 2013), pp. 76-82.

the last eight years... Dayton isn't working. Nobody - except diplomats and petty officials - believes in a sovereign Bosnia and the Dayton Accords."[289]

Ethnic leaders, except Alija Izetbegović, were escalating the crisis, by emotional statements. Yugoslav media, heavily directed by political leaders, also complemented the speeches of Yugoslav politicians. The circulation of speeches was easily facilitated by, first, press and, later then, TV and radio broadcasts. In this context Dubravka Zarkov classifies the Yugoslav conflict, specifically the Bosnian War, as a 'media and ethnic' war. Media, she argues, had the power to produce ethnic identity in Yugoslav community. The Cold War media environment in Yugoslavia "was closed, divided, and exclusively discursive space in which, inflow and exchange of information between republics were reduced, and within them was censored".[290] Nationalistic forces took control of the existing media, as well as created new ones, to broadcast their messages. They instituted censorship and limited or eradicated the few existing independent voices. Through this process, all camps became loyal instruments of the nationalistic parties' policies of war and ethnic purification. People's horizons shrank as the media portrayed reality in simplistic terms, demonized other ethnic groups.[291] Such propaganda enabled the parties to mobilize their publics in favour of war and justified whatever means they used to establish their goals.[292] The main target audience of media, directed by any republic's leadership, was its own ethnic space to produce an ethnic identity. The method was to sound issues such as historical injustices, ethnic and religious values.

The Muslims might once have preferred to stay in a united Yugoslavia where their ethnic and religious rights were protected, but they were locked in a struggle for their very survival. As Tony Barber, a reporter of *Independent Magazine*, informed global public on August 9, 1992; "the real losers [were] the Muslims, who have been left with almost no land".[293] The identity, thanks to the efforts of media, directed by the political leaderships,

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[289] Sarah Sanderson King and Donald P. Cushman, *Political Communication: Engineering Visions of Order in the Socialist World* (New York: State University of New York Press, 1992), p. 16.

[290] Zarkov links ethnic oriented war with feminist studies, focusing on how gender was exploited as propaganda means. In this context, she argues, rape was a propaganda method in the war. She attributes her claims to statistical fact and figures that approximately 12,000 women were systematically raped of which 1% of them were resulted by pregnancy. Dubravka Zarkov, *The Body of War: Media, Ethnicity, and Gender in the Break-up of Yugoslavia* (London: Duke University Press, 2007), pp. 3-11.

[291] Armistead, *Information Warfare*, p. 35.

[292] Ibid.

[293] Barber, Tony, "The Bosnia Crisis: Serbs, Croats and Muslims: Who Hates Who and Why", *The Independent*, August 09, 1992, available at http://www.independent.co.uk/news/world/the-bosnia-crisis-serbs-croats-and-muslims-who-hates-who-and-why-tony-barber-in-zagreb-traces-the-ancient-

was created along religious descriptions where Bosniaks were defined as "ethnically" Muslim in 1971 census although 1961 census was calling the overall community as "Yugoslav".[294] Propaganda of ethnic leaderships defined the identity of their communities by certain religions or sects. In this context, Serbs were naturally practicing Orthodox faith while Croats were Catholics. Bosniaks were Muslims, hence a religious community rather than an ethnic one. Tudjman, for instance, perceived and presented Bosniaks as Croat Muslims at the initial stage of Croat-Serb conflict of Knin and Kranina in 1991. He acknowledged the (il)legitimacy of Bosnian-Muslim nationhood; for him, the Bosnian Muslims were not truly a nation and Bosnia-Herzegovina was an artificial and illegitimate state.[295] For Tudjman, Bosnians were originally Muslim Serbs and Croats, who could not stand up against Turks. Hence Tudjman was eager to tell Paddy Ashdown, leader of British Liberal Democratic Party and the UN High Representative after the Dayton Accord, in May 1995 that "there would be no Muslim part, but 'Muslims' are the unimportant part of Croatia".[296] His intention was to swallow Bosnia as if Muslim identity is a minor feature of Greater Croatia. Milosević of Serbs, on the other hand, portrayed Bosniak identity as "Turk" and accused Bosniaks of being "sharia-defenders" prone to Iranian jihadism. In this frame Izetbegović's books *The Islamic Declaration* and *Islam between East and West* were used as proofs of his jihadist tendency even though the books had nothing with jihad but modern interpretation of Islam.[297] Both Serbs and Croats have claimed that Islam was not a genuine nationality but Bosnian Muslims were 'really' Serbs or Croats beneath their religion. Both have also claimed Bosnia-Herzegovina was part of their own historic territory.[298] The allegations of Croat and Serb leaderships, along with propaganda broadcasts, benefitted from religious sentiments with a nationalist flavour for the justification of atrocity deeds. For instance myths about Orthodoxy Christianity being the "spiritual refuge of the Serbs" began to re-emerge, as did the old slogans about the "sacred Serbs", about how "God protects the

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roots-of-a-culture-clash-that-has-shattered-what-was-yugoslavia-into-warring-pieces-1539305.html , accessed on July 01, 2015.

[294] E. A. Hammel, Carl Mason and Mirjana Stevanović, "A Fish Stinks from the Head: Ethnic Diversity, Segregation, and the Collapse of Yugoslavia", *Demographic Research,* Vol. 22, No. 35 (June 2010), pp. 1102-1103.

[295] Marco Prelec, (speech presented at EES Noon Discussion on November 10, 1998), available at https://www.wilsoncenter.org/publication/169-the-fear-islam-croatian-politics, accessed on December 23, 2014.

[296] Norman M. Naimark, *Fires of Hatred: Ethnic Cleansing in Twentieth Century Europe* (Camridge: Harvard University Press, 2002), p. 171.

[297] Burg and Shoup, *The War in Bosnia Herzegovina*, p. 67.

[298] Brendan O'Shea, *The Modern Yugoslav Conflict 1991-1995: Perception, Deception and Dishonesty* (New York: Frank Cass, 2005), pp. 8, 25-27.

Serbs", that the "Serbs are the bearers of the truth and divine justice", and that "there can be no Serbianism without Orthodox Christianity".[299] In this sense, Mirko Jović, the famous Serbian nationalist and commander of Serbian paramilitary formation, White Eagles, demanded a "Christian, Orthodox Serbia" with no mosques and unbelievers. The war songs of Serbs portray the clashes as battles for the Orthodox cause:

> We have lions' heart,
> We defend Orthodoxy.
>
> The Serbian Army, that is ourselves,
> All believers in God.[300]

Propaganda war in the Yugoslav crises included not only the sentiments, but also arranged demonstrations and counter reactions of different segments of society. Initially Serbian Renewal Party organized a rally to protest Milosević, his Socialist Party of Serbia and misuse of Serbian Radio and Television on March 12, 1991.[301] But radicalized media fulfilled its mission by mobilizing Serbian radical nationalists ethnic for counter-demonstration. Immediately after the anti-communist demonstrations, Milosević's secret service organized Serbian protesters, mainly from Kosovo Serbs and arranged mass transportation to Belgrade and Slovenia. Rallies and demonstrations of "people" were effective communicative strategy, especially for Serbian leadership. Yugoslav transportation system, dedicated to federal government under Serbian control, was used to influence the politicians in Belgrade, Slovenia or Kosovo.[302] Huge masses were transported by railways as "innocent" and "sacred" Kosovar Serbs, for instance, to remind the power of "people".[303] Hence initial propaganda efforts in Yugoslavia were to seize power in favour of ethnic leaders and, deter the secessionist republics for Serbs.

Propaganda of the ethnic leaders was mostly based on circulating rumours, TV broadcasts and deeds on the battlefield by means of circulated narratives. Prejudices of ethnic communities was the prevalent feature to be exploited. Bosniaks, for instance, were remnant of 'occupying Turks' in the eyes of Serbs. Muslims were allegedly a threat to the

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[299] Mitja Velikonja, *Religious Separation and Political Intolerance in Bosnia and Herzegovina* (College Station: University of Texas Eastern European Studies, 2003), p. 265.

[300] Ibid, p. 267.

[301] Stephen Engelberg, "Protests by the Serbs Widen in Belgrade", *New York Times*, March 12, 1991, available at http://www.nytimes.com/1991/03/12/world/protests-by-the-serbs-widen-in-belgrade.html, accessed on July 02, 2105.

[302] Sabrina P. Ramet, *The Three Yugoslavias: State Building and Legitimation 1918-2005* (Washington D.C.: Woodrow Wilson Center Press, 2006), pp. 350-353.

[303] Eric Gordy, *The Past at Stake in Post- Milosević Serbia* (Pennsylvania: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2013), pp. 162-163.

ancestry of Europe, alleged by Tudjman. Croats were the remnant of the fascist Ustaches for Serbs. Serbs were the ones who desired to dominate overall Yugoslavia in order to build Greater Serbia for Bosniaks.[304] Perspectives of former communists were based on 'Tito'ism that claims "brotherhood and unity" to denounce nationalism.

By the way of narratives based on biases, propaganda efforts of ethnic leaderships designed a perception of own and the others. In this sense, the aim of building an ethnic identity and concerns to direct the own ethnic society had different stereotypes pending to ethnic origins. Croats had focused on the recognition of "state" upon community. The state was clearly demarcated by its borders though; Bosnian Croats were to be included along with Bosniaks that were perceived as Croat Muslims. Serbs in Knin and Kranina would be minority. On the other hand, Serbs perceived themselves as the "people" that were divided by Tito among Croatia, Bosnia, Montenegro, Kosovo and Vojvodina. Hence "greater" Serbia was far bigger than Serbia "proper". The common propaganda narrative was "All Serbs in single state".[305] The Bosniak leadership, contrary to the other two ethnicities, was more prone to have a multi-ethnic communal structure in Bosnia-Herzegovina. A peaceful co-existence of all ethnicities was the main motivation under a central government, but not a part of Serb dominated Yugoslavia. Under these conditions, "media war", for Dubravka, started, first in press and then spread to TV and radio. Politics had heavy hand on the media assets by placing "commanded" editors as supervisors.[306]

As can be seen from the Yugoslav scene, ethnic leaderships effectively committed intelligence and propaganda methods, first to read what the others' proposals were and to impose what they thought. The difference among them was that Milosević, or Serbs, was fortunate to exploit the overall Yugoslav capabilities, but the other ethnicities were dominant only in their area of influence while being suppressed by the Yugoslav Federal Army.[307] Slovene case of *Mladina*, a youth magazine, is a significant issue. *Mladina* was comic book in Slovenia with the motivation of having a liberated Slovenia from Yugoslavia. Milosević's Federal Army was on the scene by arresting editor and defence correspondent by accusing them of being CIA agents after alleged tapes and interrogations. The Yugoslav Army was to be a neutral force of federal state though; the Martial Law and Serbian dominance was to

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[304] Tone Bringa, "The Peaceful Death of Tito and the Violent End of Yugoslavia," in *Death of the Father: An Anthropology of the End in Political Authority*, (ed.) John Borneman (New York: Berghahn, 2004), p. 186.

[305] Antony Oberschall, *Conflict and Peace Building in Divided Societies: Responses to Ethnic Violence* (New York: Routledge, 2007), p. 105.

[306] Ibid.

[307] Burg and Shoup, *The War in Bosnia, Ethnic Conflict and International Intervention*, p. 101.

have the Army in the Service of Milosević, especially after having the authority to use the army against secessionists.[308] On the other hand a Slovene magazine was banned to prevent its liberal view and the motivation of secessionism among Slovenes.

Among the others, Serbian leadership was master of propaganda and manipulation even by arranging plots. The testimony of Miroslav Solević, Kosovo Serbian nationalist leader, confirms to what extent Serbian leadership created and exploited events. The unrest in Kosovo was a point of concern and a matter of propaganda for Serbian leadership. Albanians were accused of dominating Kosovo by suppressing and deporting Serbs from Kosovo. Kosovo was, for Milosević, was the heart of the Serbian nation. Solević confessed how they were directed by Milosević to plot a set up when Milosević had visited Kosovo. Milosević was sent by the Yugoslav President Stambolić to Kosovo to review the escalating tension in the spring of 1987.[309] But carefully directed crowds escalated the tension in the vicinity of TV cameras and created a hero of Serbian nation: Milosević. Solević comprehensively confessed how they prepared a lorry-full of stones to throw police of Albanian origin, arrange chants and sounded complaints of 'innocent' Serbs before TV cameras, finally put about Albanian police treatment to Serbs at the moment of meeting by whispering how police was "beating Serbian women and children". [310] The ultimate result was that Milosević vowed the famous sentence for Serbs; "No one will beat you again…. No one should dare to beat you again!" This speech and specifically this sentence were broadcasted repeatedly on Serbian TVs.[311] Solević claimed that Milosević ordered the plot and it was an overall set-up. As Little and Silber claim, Milosević was born with a lie after the incident was broadcasted by Belgrade TV.[312] Solević had continued to organize similar demonstrations in Serbia, Kosovo, Montenegro, and Vojvodina, as the leader of "the anti-bureaucracy revolution", to suppress reformist Yugoslavs against the authority of Milosević.[313]

Additional to demonstrations, TV series and movies, broadcasted by TV channels, had a function of awakening ethnic identity. The state sponsored filmmakers of Serbs were

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[308] Silber and Little, *The Death of Yugoslavia*, pp. 50-55.

[309] Belgravia Dispatch, "Milosević", March 13, 2006, available at http://www.belgraviadispatch.com/2006/03/milosevic.html, accessed on March 30, 2017.

[310] Silber and Little, *The Death of Yugoslavia*, pp. 35-40.

[311] Adam Le Bor, *Milosević: A Biography* (London: Bloomsbury, 2002), pp. 75-88.

[312] Silber and Little, *The Death of Yugoslavia*, pp. 35-40.

[313] Valerié P. Gagnon Jr., *The Myth of Ethnic War: Serbia and Croatia in the 1990s* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2004), p. 75.

invigorating Serbian heroism against Ottomans in 'ordered' TV series. *Boj na Kosovu of Zdravko Sotra* was about Serbian Prince Lazar's heroism and sacrifice.[314] Lazar had preferred reigning over divine kingdom rather than earthly reign after his defeat by Ottomans. The TV series were to remind the Serbian heroism coinciding with the Kosovo crises of late 1980s. Another case is the Belgrade television's documentary of June 1989, on Dobrica Cosić, who had been removed from membership of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia (LCY) in 1968 because he criticized the party's handling of the problems in Kosovo.[315] The Serbian LCY had been considering honouring Cosić since he appeared to be the symbol of Tito's, a Croat, maltreatment of Serbians.[316] The ethnic identity had found body in the broadcasts of Belgrade TV and sponsored documentaries and films.

The political leaderships of the constituent republics were, consequently, experienced intelligence and propaganda makers of communist origin (except Izetbegović since he was not a member of the Communist Party). The technological advance of 1990s in Yugoslav republics facilitated intelligence and propaganda to be more effective. TV and media increased the visibility of turning points in the faith of Yugoslav community by live airing of events. TV cameras, for instance, were allowed to shoot the official meetings to show what the strategic actors were talking about.[317] One significant case is the kidnapping of Izetbegović by the Yugoslav Federal Army (JNA) officers in the Sarajevo Airport on May 1992. The Bosnian government had requested a transformation for the JNA troops to be the armed force of Bosnia. The JNA rejected such a demand leading the seizure of the JNA barracks by Bosnian forces. JNA officers in the Sarajevo airport kidnapped Izetbegović, who was returning from the Lisbon talks with the European Community, at the expense of freeing the JNA forces out Sarajevo.[318] Once Izetbegović had secretly accessed to a telephone, he called a TV station, connected to the alive TV broadcast and appointed his deputy as his replacement during his absence. At the mean time, the commander of Yugoslav troops called

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[314] Milja Radovic, *Transnational Cinema and Ideology: Representing Religion, Identity and Cultural Myths* (New York: Routledge, 2014), p. 69.

[315] Nicholas J. Cull, David Culbert and David Welch, *Propaganda and Mass Persuasion, A Historical Encyclopaedia: 1500 to the Present* (California: ABC Clio, 2003), p. 35.

[316] Milan Andrejevic, "Milan Djilas and Aleksandar Rankovic to Be Rehabilitated?", *Radio Free Europe Research*, Vol. 14, No. 27 (July 1, 1989), available at http://home.olemiss.edu/~mldyer/balk/article1.html, accessed on December 28, 2015.

[317] Tanja Zimmerman, *Balkan Memories: Media Constructions of National and Transnational History* (Bielefeld: Transcript, 2012), p. 23.

[318] Burg and Shoup, *The War in Bosnia, Ethnic Conflict and International Intervention*, pp. 130-131.

the TV, and demanded the exchange of their safe passage while the Bosnian public was watching the TV broadcast.[319] Everything had happened before the eyes of public.

Like Izetbegović, TV cameras were shooting and broadcasting 'hardworking' attitude of Chief of General Staff of Bosnia-Serb Army, Ratko Mladić, while he was directing the flow of traffic along a road and rescuing overturned armoured vehicle of the UNPROFOR.[320] The meeting of Mladić with UNPROFOR and local representatives of Srebrenica in Fontana Hotel on 12 July 1995 on how to evacuate Srebrenica was in TV programs as if Mladić was the only person pledging the offer of safe civilian passage.[321] Television broadcasts appeared to be a tool of communicating with public for the purpose of show of force or alert the own ethnicity to diffuse in the minds of local public.

Other than TV broadcasts, the end of the Bosnian conflict witnessed the involvement of private movie industry of various ethnicities of former Yugoslavia to display a perspective on the conflict. Whilst Emir Kusturica's *Podzemljeóbila jednom jedna zemlje* (Underground-Once Upon a Time There Was a Country, 1995) may well be the most famous Yugoslav film of the 1990s to have divided critics and sparked bitter controversy with its portrayal of modern Serbian history. Srdan Dragojević's *Lepa sela, lepo gore* (Pretty Village, Pretty Flame, 1996), a narrative of the Bosnian war shot from a clearly Serbian perspective, has had praise and vitriol heaped on it in equal measures. The film was shown in the former Yugoslavia only a few months after the Dayton Peace Accord was signed and was widely regarded in Croatia and Bosnia as being "pro-Serbian, provocation and an incorrect representation" of the war.[322] Srdan Dragojevic's *Rane* (Wounds, 1998) was a low-budget production (USD 800,000), by the financial support coming from various sources, including the Serbian government. Surprisingly the film appeared to be a radical attack on the Milosević regime. At the time of release, the Serbian government tried to limit the film's exposure, forbidding publicity and imposing a complete media and public relations blackout. Nevertheless (or maybe as a result), the film became a considerable success not only in Serbia and its neighbouring countries, but also on the international film festival circuit.

Consequently, identity building and carving the other ethnicities was the main effort of ethnic informative environment in the Bosnian War, former Yugoslavia as well, before

[319] Available at https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=9ECtJHAmE9k, accessed on December 28, 2015.

[320] Available at https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=ubmD6B3Vk5M, accessed on December 28, 2015.

[321] Available at https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=urpbonh7kj8 accessed on December 28, 2015.

[322] Igor Kristic, "Showtime Brothers!" and "Serbian Wound Culture," in *The Celluloid Tinderbox: Yugoslav Screen Reflections of a Turbulent Decade*, (ed.) Andrew Horton (Shropshire: James Central Europe Review, 2000), pp. 43-113.

and even after the Dayton Accord. The informative methodology of ethnicities can show how the war of atrocities evolved and by what NATO had to face before and after the Dayton agreement. The belligerent parties in Bosnia were experienced politicians and soldiers who were very keen to commit strategic communications and psychological operations, including covered ones, to mobilize masses while delivering appropriate messages via appropriate conduits. Ethnic leaderships, first, targeted their communities to build ethnic identity in a communist structure. The second issue was the righteousness of their cause. The circulated messages of institutions and leaders gradually increased tension and took the crisis on an irrevocable path. TV cameras, the most favoured communication means of then, were airing appropriate messages to desired audiences. The war itself is a success of propaganda in Yugoslav hands.[323]

5.3. The UN's Involvement in the Bosnian War

Sonia Lucarelli divides Yugoslav crises in three phases.[324] Slovenia – Yugoslav (Serb) and Croat – Yugoslav (Serb) conflicts in January 1991 – January 1992 form the initial phase. Yugoslav problem is perceived as a European problem at this era, concluding the engagement of the European Community and CSCE. But Slovenia and Croatia declared independence from Yugoslavia on June 25th, 1991 thanks to the support of German-led European Community.[325] Parallel to increasing tension, Serbs living in Croatia unilaterally established the "Republic of Serbian Krajina" within the borders of Croatia that was resulted by the Croat-Serb conflict in Krajina. The intensive combat in Croatia's Serbian enclaves led the UN call to stop the fighting and resolve the conflict.

The second phase is intra-Croatia and intra-Bosnia conflicts of where the UN was fully involved in the crises as of February 1992.[326] The UN Security Council Resolution 713 in September 1991 called for a complete and general arms embargo on the former Yugoslavia, causing the Croatian and Yugoslav [Serbian] Presidents' signature to agree on a ceasefire in January 1992, at which time three United Nations Protected Areas (UNPA) were established in the Croatian territory.[327] UN Security Council Resolution 743, adopted on 21

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[323] Silber and Little, *The Death of Yugoslavia*, pp. 66, 120.

[324] Sofia Lucarelli, *Europe and the Breakup of Yugoslavia: A Political Failure in Search of a Scholarly Explanation* (The Hague: Kluwer Law International, 2000), pp. 12-13.

[325] Stephen Kinzer, "Slovenia and Croatia Get Bonn's Nod", *The New York Times*, December 24, 1991, available at http://www.nytimes.com/1991/12/24/world/slovenia-and-croatia-get-bonn-s-nod.html, accessed on September 13, 2015.

[326] Ibid.

[327] Larry Wentz, "Introduction", in *Lessons from Bosnia: The IFOR Experience*, (ed.) Larry Wenzt, (Washington D.C.: DoD Command and Control Research Program, 1998), pp. 14-15.

February 1992, established the UN Protection Force to provide "safe havens" in the UNPA enclaves.[328] The UN Security Council Resolution 749 followed it in April 1992, which authorized the deployment of the UN Protection Force (UNPROFOR).[329] This was the beginning of a four-year involvement of the UN in the former Yugoslavia to bring about a cessation of the fighting and to assist the delivery of humanitarian relief to the beleaguered population. The resolution 752[330] of the UN Security Council demanded to stop the fighting on May 12, 1992, but the outcome was a political failure. Following resolutions included to build UNPROFOR, Operation Provide Promise (airlift of humanitarian aid), the UN Preventive Deployment (UNPREDEP) force in Macedonia, the UN Transitional Administration for Eastern Slavonia (UNTAES), and the UN Confidence Restoration Organization (UNCRO) in Croatia.[331] UNPROFOR troops were pawns between the warring factions and were ineffective as seen in the debacle at Srebrenica where the Dutch Battalion of UNPROFOR failed to deter the Serbian attack on July 7, 1995, concluded by the horrific massacre of almost 8,000 Bosniaks.[332]

The third phase of the conflict is intra-Bosnia-Herzegovina war among the ethnic communities in Bosnia-Herzegovina[333], supported by either Serbia or Croatia. This phase can be characterized by the inclusion of the USA and NATO along with the UN and the EC. The UNPROFOR mandate was expanded to include peacekeeping operations in Bosnia-Herzegovina at the beginning. Six areas, including Sarajevo and Srebrenica, were designated as "security zones" while UNPROFOR forces being authorized to use force for self-defence purposes. The US political pressure upon the ethnic leaderships concluded by the negotiations between the Croats and Bosniaks in Washington DC. The outcome was the ceasefire among warring parties and the formation of the Federation of Bosnia-Herzegovina on 18 March 1994, even though it did not solve main disputes among them.[334] The "Contact

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[328] Available at http://www.un.org/en/sc/documents/resolutions/1992.shtml, accessed on September 13, 2015.

[329] Available at http://www.un.org/en/sc/documents/resolutions/1992.shtml, accessed on September 13, 2015.

[330] Available at http://www.un.org/en/sc/documents/resolutions/1992.shtml, accessed on September 13, 2015.

[331] Larry Wentz, "Introduction", in *Lessons from Bosnia: The IFOR Experience*, (ed.) Wenzt, pp. 14-15.

[332] "Massacre In Bosnia; Srebrenica: The Days of Slaughter", *The New York Times*, October 29, 1995, available at http://www.nytimes.com/1995/10/29/world/massacre-in-bosnia-srebrenica-the-days-of-slaughter.html?pagewanted=all, accessed on September 14, 2015.

[333] Lucarelli, *Europe and the Breakup of Yugoslavia*, pp. 12-13.

[334] Burg and Shoup, *The War in Bosnia, Ethnic Conflict and International Intervention*, p. 295.

Group", consisting of the United States, United Kingdom, Germany, France, and Russia, was established at about the same time to facilitate peacekeeping and peace-building efforts in the Balkans. A ceasefire lasted until fighting broke out again in the spring of 1995. The culmination of many of these events was triggered by the Bosnian Serb Army's bombing of the marketplace in Sarajevo on 28 August 1995. It was the initiation of Operation Deliberate Force of NATO.[335]

As the UN was involved in the crises by building UNPROFOR, assets of the contributing states were deployed to Bosnia. In this context, intelligence capability of the UNPROFOR was not more than a short-range observation, monitoring and reporting mechanism that had limited reflections on strategic political engagement. Hugh Smith underpins how the UNPROFOR was unable to collect, analyse and disseminate information during the Bosnian crisis. Raw information had to substitute for intelligence, at least in the early phases when collection plans were lacking and no capacity existed for processing the data gathered.[336] UNPROFOR also lacked adequate NATO intelligence support. One UNPROFOR commander, Lieutenant-General Satish Nambiar, for example, could not receive intelligence from NATO sources as an Indian non-NATO commander.[337] Cees Wiebes confirms this claim by his quotation from Canadian Major General Barry Ashton and argues that the UN could not benefit from NATO's intelligence: "Operations were frequently impaired by a lack of credible and dedicated intelligence means. This was the case, in particular, for information concerning Serb offensives against Srebrenica and Zepa and for Croat, Bosnian-Croat, and Bosnian government offensive actions against the Bosnian Serbs in western Bosnia in September. While NATO information was often made available, the caveats placed on it made it awkward to use in a transparent international organization."[338]

The UN did not have intelligence capability and was dependent on the capabilities of contributing states though; the UN Secretariat interestingly rejected the American offer of (military and other) intelligence at the start of the UNPROFOR mission in 1992. Peacekeeping mentality of the UN was in favour of being away from intelligence and propaganda efforts to display impartiality. NATO would be the main agency of intelligence

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[335] Robert C. Owen, *Deliberate Force: A Case Study for Effective Air Campaigning* (Alabama: Air University Press, 2000), p. 483.

[336] Smith, "Intelligence and UN Peacekeeping", pp. 229-232.

[337] Ibid.

[338] Cees Wiebes, *Intelligence and the War in Bosnia 1992-1995: The Role of the Intelligence and Security Services* (Berlin: Lit Verlag, 2003), p. 11.

and propaganda for the benefit of the UN, but the UN system rejected such functions due to the fear of being perceived as 'enemy' by belligerents.[339] NATO, on the other hand, had also limited organic intelligence and propaganda assets but dependent on member states' contribution, mainly the USA.[340] Consequently ears and eyes of the Alliance, and for sure the UN institutions, were closed due to inadequate incoming information while initiative to shape the ideational environment was non-existent.

Consequently, a coordinated communication and 'positive' propaganda campaign would reduce the impetus of the Bosnian conflict. Nevertheless, there was no conscious and well-coordinated political propaganda engagement of the western world. It was only news channels and that was feeding the appetite of the decision-makers. The silence of the West and eagerness of ethnic Yugoslav leaders indicated that the collapse of Yugoslavia was a sound test for the 'war of words' not to ease the crisis but escalate it in the absence of the UN's and NATO's required intelligence and propaganda functions.

5.4. Western Perspective on the Former Yugoslavia and the Bosnian Conflict

The reaction of global public to the emerging crisis was inadequate although a conflict was expected in Yugoslavia in 1980s. Thomas Ambrosio delineates the European Community's approach as bolstering New Europe in engaging the crises, but the Community overestimated the consensus of European powers towards Yugoslav conflicts. The UK, France, and Germany had differing policies forefronting the interests of individual states rather than the common interest of the European Community.[341] The point that all members of the European Community had agreed on was to have the USA stay out of European affairs.[342] In the period from April 1992 to late 1994, the US, the UN, and EC treated conflicts in the former Yugoslavia as an internal European problem as a consequence of the post-Cold War perception towards world politics. In this sense, the foreign minister of Luxembourg, Jacques Poos, triumphantly proclaimed in 1991 that "the hour of Europe has dawned".[343] He was relying the Europe's self-confidence. But Europe was still far from

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[339] Jan Imge Svensson, "Peacekeeping and Intelligence Experience from United Nations Protection Force 1995," in *Emerging Concepts for the Future Peacekeeping Intelligence*, (eds.) De Jong, Platje and Steele, p. 41.

[340] Tony Van Diepenbrugge, "Peacekeeping and Intelligence: An Experience in Bosnia Herzegovina", in *Emerging Concepts for the Future Peacekeeping Intelligence*, (eds.) De Jong, Platje and Steele, pp. 31-35.

[341] Thomas Ambrosio, *Irredentism: Ethnic Conflict and International Politics* (London: Praeger, 2001), p. 43.

[342] Ibid.

[343] Timothy Garton Ash, *History of the Present: Essays, Sketches and Dispatches from Europe in 1990s* (New York: Vintage Books, 2001), p. 182.

compromising on how to solve the crisis. The USA, on the other hand, was not very much interested in a conflict in Europe. The US Secretary of State James Baker transmitted the official opinion of the United States when he said "we [the US] don't have a dog in this fight."[344]

Despite the differences, common approach of Europe and the USA was to stay out of conflict at the initial phase. As Bill Clinton correctly delineates in his memoirs, world politics was confused at the beginning of 1990s.[345] The Bush Administration was enjoying the mood of the Gulf Crisis that was prioritizing not to engage in any new crisis before the Presidential elections.[346] Russia was in economic and political quagmire, hence ineffective due to quarrels of post-Cold War politics.[347] But Russia backed Serbian cause in the UN Security Council thanks to historic kinship and Orthodox ties.[348] Individual European states were divided on how to treat belligerents of the Bosnian conflict. France was concerned about a "Muslim" presence in Europe. Germany, the engine of European economy, was aspiring an independent Croatia.[349] Under these circumstances, the Yugoslav crisis was pushed under the carpet until global press had aired humanitarian catastrophes. As a result, passive stance of the western globe boosted the conflict and loss of lives.

Lucarelli sums the western approach to Yugoslav crises by three parameters as diplomacy and coercive measures, the timing of the actions (preventive, reactive, proactive), and the degree of collectivity vs. individuality of the actions.[350] Diplomacy was based on mediation of western actors while coercion was rather economic to have the warring parties align with the policies of the European Community. Second feature of the western policy was that preventive action was non-existent because of the lack of intelligence and propaganda undertakings. The third issue was the Vance/Owen Peace Plan, which was drafted by Lord David Owen and Cyrus Vance in the way to resolve the conflicts. Although the Vance/Owen's Peace Plan of 1992 was representing the overall western approach,

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[344] George F. Will, "A Dog in That Fight?", June 12, 1995, available at http://europe.newsweek.com/dog-fight-183518?rm=eu, accessed on April 11, 2016.

[345] Bill Clinton, *Bosnia, Intelligence and the Clinton Presidency: The Role of Intelligence and Political Leadership in Ending the Bosnian War* (Arkansas: Little Rock, 2013), pp. 3-9.

[346] Ibid.

[347] Ambrosio, *Irredentism*, p. 84.

[348] Clinton, *Bosnia, Intelligence and the Clinton Presidency*, p. 3.

[349] Brown, "The East European Agenda", p. 35.

[350] Lucarelli, *Europe and the Breakup of Yugoslavia*, pp. 71-74.

European powers had individual policy options in accordance with their national agendas.[351] German quest of recognizing Croatia and Slovenia's independence[352] was met by French desire to maintain its international rank by imposing its will.[353] The choice of engaging NATO or Western European Union to crises was the final policy stalemate in western world. Self-confidence of Europe, under the shadow of individuality, was encountered by, first, disinterest of the USA and, second, incapacity of Western European Union, which also included intelligence and propaganda capability. NATO had taken its place after the inadequacy of the UN and Western European Union was clearly understood.

5.5. NATO in Bosnia-Herzegovina

NATO, which intervened the crisis under the auspices of the UN, faced ethnically diversified community in Bosnia-Herzegovina, far from Smajlović's memories limited by simple demonstrations, but ruined and sharply divided. Building extremist identity and alienation of existing ethnicities was to be reversed after NATO's arrival to the scene. The course of such alienation that proved the efficiency of propaganda in Yugoslav community hardened the NATO's commitment to build peace and sustain the status quo. Lord David Owen sums the informative environment in Bosnia-Herzegovina by his emotional quotation: "Never before in over thirty years of public life have I had to operate in such a climate of dishonour, propaganda, and dissembling. Many of the people with whom I have had to deal in the former Yugoslavia were literally strangers to the truth."[354]

The US foreign policy was determinant in the Bosnian crisis and in the engagement of NATO. Bill Clinton's election campaign was built upon "lift and strike" strategy to support Croat and Bosniak cause, which took NATO as an apparatus of the US and European policy options.[355] But the efforts of the USA had failed after consultation with NATO member states to reach a compromise that took additional two years to have NATO respond the Bosnian crises. Alliance members participating in UNPROFOR were concerned that their troops, lightly armed and widely dispersed, were likely to be taken as hostages, as would be

[351] David Owen, *Bosnia-Herzegovina: The Vance/Owen Peace Plan* (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2013), p. 1.

[352] Lucarelli, *Europe and the Breakup of Yugoslavia*, p. 145.

[353] Ibid, p. 171.

[354] David Owen, *Balkan Odyssey* (London: Victor Gollancz, 1995), p. 1.

[355] The US Secretary of State, Office of the Historian, "The War in Bosnia, 1992–1995", available at https://history.state.gov/milestones/1993-2000/bosnia, accessed on December 24, 2014.

witnessed in 1995.[356] Hence they did not share Washington's enthusiasm for any NATO campaign.

On the other side of the Transatlantic, in the USA, there was little domestic support for a probable intervention in the Balkans after the Gulf Crisis, although the violence, documented by cable television's news channels, kept the issue in the public eye.[357] The broadcasts of the US media was determinant to have the US public and decision makers to change their minds in engaging in the Bosnian War after war atrocities were displayed on TV channels[358] by emotional media coverage and impassioned rhetoric.[359] War of words was a battle of influence of one perspective over another [in the US public by means media].[360] Humanitarian concerns and transforming agenda of international community urged policy makers to intensify diplomatic efforts especially when ethnic leaderships of former Yugoslav communities activated public diplomacy companies. For instance, Croats, Bosniaks and Albanians of Kosovo respectively hired the Ruder Finn Global Public Affairs Company to influence public opinion of the US.[361] The influence of releasing an image by means of media was not challengeable once US media would have covered in the chronicles. Hence it was the media that mobilized western political efforts and perception of 'need to do something' to prevent further catastrophes in Bosnia.

Within this mood of the 1990s, NATO, as a cost-effective option for Clinton, involved in the Bosnian crisis.[362] In June 1993, Serbian attacks on Srebrenica, a declared safe area by the UN, led the UN Security Council to authorize the use of air power "to support UNPROFOR in the performance of its mandate".[363] The resolution established a "dual key"

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[356] Mladić led Serbian forces had taken 450 Dutch soldiers as hostages. The western response was to threat the Serbs by NATO air bombardment. But NATO did several flights over Serbian positions and bombed few Serbian positions with no remarkable outcome. Garry Jonotthan Bass, *Stay the Hand of Vengeance: The Politics of War Crimes Tribunals* (New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 2000), p. 226.

[357] The Department of State and the Department of Defence was divided in intervening the Bosnian War. Pentagon was against a military engagement while the Department of State was favouring active involvement. Albright, Madeleine, "My Road to Dayton" in *Bosnia, Intelligence and the Clinton Presidency: The Role of Intelligence and Political Leadership in Ending the Bosnian War*, (ed.) Clinton, pp. 11-19.

[358] James J. Sadkovich, *US Media and Yugoslavia: 1991-1995* (Westport: Praeger, 1998), p. xv.

[359] Danielle S. Sremac, *War of Words: Washington Tackles the Yugoslav Conflict* (Westport: Praeger, 1999), p. 3.

[360] Ibid, p. 5.

[361] Ibid.

[362] Ibid, p. 166.

[363] The UN Resolution 836 (1993), June 04, 1993, available at http://www.nato.int/ifor/un/u930604a.htm, accessed at May 30, 2015.

arrangement between the UN and NATO in control of tactical air power responding to Serbian attacks. NATO would perform air assaults by the permission of the UN Special Representative[364] that NATO was involved in the Bosnian conflict with its established air power and blockading sea power.[365] Diplomacy, cemented by air campaigns or blockades, would go further to 'persuade' the radicalized Serbian leadership to be consistent with 'imposed' western course to terminate conflict even though the western world did not reach a solution among themselves. The aim of the UN and NATO was to treat all parties equally ignoring the vast capability gap between poorly equipped Bosniaks and the JNA backed Serbs. Despite Clinton's lift and strike strategy, indirect engagement of the Alliance was still based on hard power assets rather than deterring intelligence and persuasion capabilities. In other words, the behavioural pattern of enmity among the ethnicities was not the core of the western engagement but to freeze the conflict and to reach a solution[366] by using poorly coordinated air strikes, which was ended up in humanitarian catastrophes.

The crucial issue was if the crisis would have been got through before humanitarian catastrophes and losses. Early warning at all levels, for instance, could be the function that the Bosnian War was in need to prevent the humanitarian catastrophes. But basic intelligence efforts of the USA, and significantly of other NATO countries as well, were undertaken far too late.[367] The Srebrenica massacre or the Markala Bazaar bombings were clear failures of preferred course to manage the crises. If the fact "the United Nations has always had a 'wait-and-see' or even a dismissive attitude to active intelligence gathering in peacekeeping operations"[368] is concerned, these failures were inevitable. Hence NATO's capabilities to achieve basic intelligence tasks had utmost importance. Following section will first examine intelligence and finally propaganda efforts of NATO during the Bosnian War to see if they were properly performed or not.

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[364] The US Secretary of State Office of the Historian, available at https://history.state.gov/milestones/1993-2000/bosnia, accessed on May 30, 2015.

[365] Ryan C. Hendrickson, *Diplomacy and War at NATO: The Secretary General and Military Action After the Cold War* (Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 2006), p. 78.

[366] Mary Kaldor, *Global Insecurity* (New York: Pinter, 2000), pp. 84-85.

[367] Larry Wentz, "Introduction", in *Lessons from Bosnia: The IFOR Experience*, (ed.) Wenzt, pp. 6, 53.

[368] Wiebes, *Intelligence and the War in Bosnia 1992-1995*, p. 46.

5.5.1. Intelligence Efforts during the Bosnian War

Intelligence efforts of NATO need to be scrutinized pending to intelligence disciplines, which could be exploited in the Bosnian theatre. If the fact that intelligence disciplines were employed by various intelligence battlefield operating systems (equipment), these assets were national rather than NATO's organic ones. Intelligence was designed to gather information by all means of available intelligence assets of various intelligence disciplines, dispersed around Europe and in Bosnia. Military intelligence was also short of required social and cultural knowledge of Bosnia. The demography was a mystery other than the repeated and general information of several booklets about overall country. Due to high mobility of refugees and displaced persons, demography was erratic. Intelligence assets were directed to have the picture of actual combats. For instance, signal intelligence of the Alliance and individual states were directed to intercept communications of ethnic leaderships to foresee the next move of the warring factions. Human intelligence capabilities, which were established by the arrival of the first US ground forces, were directed to migrants, displaced persons, or aid workers to understand what had happened in the battlefields. Imagery intelligence was to locate the military formations by means of the 'offered' capabilities to NATO member states.[369] Intelligence assets, as a result, were directed to combat motivated tactical level intelligence.

Open source intelligence was terrorized since media was in between conventionality of the Cold War while experiencing the information revolution of early 1990s by means of TV coverage, internet or communication technologies. Open sources were broadcasting spontaneous, but rough information, mostly biased by the perception of journalists and policy of news companies.[370] Decision makers had the opportunity of being informed by open sources without being sure what news was representing the actual situation, even though open sources were not well exploited by the troops at the initial stage of NATO's involvement.[371] The CNN effect of the Gulf War was still prevalent to inform not only the public but military decision making bodies.

Other than collection of information, dissemination of the intelligence products was problematic. The established Bosnia Herzegovina Command (in Sarajevo) of the UN did not gather any piece of information on the ground but received from particular countries, mainly

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[369] Wiebes, *Intelligence and the War in Bosnia 1992-1995*, p. 33.

[370] American Journalism Review Archives, "The CNN Effect", May 1996, available at http://ajrarchive.org/Article.asp?id=3572, accessed on March 13, 2015.

[371] Larry Wentz, "Intelligence" and "NDU and CCRP: Bosnia Study", in *Lessons from Bosnia: The IFOR Experience*, (ed.) Wenzt, pp. 92, 132, 394.

the US, UK or France only if the staff officer of the HQ had the same nationality. Nationalities other than NATO member states were not authorized receive any intelligence product due to security clearance concerns.[372] The states were reluctant to support the UN troops except their own ones.[373] Military Information Office was set up in Zagreb to support UNPROFOR, but it was far from its desired function. American support was provided by means of NATO intelligence sharing system along with the other member states though; obtained information was not satisfactory to assist the UN bodies on the ground.[374] In this sense Operation Storm of Croatia to capture Serbian enclaves was not identified in advance although the US military attaché was aware of it. NATO, hence, had internal information sharing pitfalls while the UN was still in the turmoil of what the context of intelligence would be. If the confusion of intelligence paradigm were concerned, the priority of the UN and ground forces would be no more than providing security of own rather than truly preventing the conflict.

One of the main causes of inefficient coordination and cooperation can be found in the inherited feature of intelligence communities. Intelligence organizations generally compete among themselves both inter and intra-nationally.[375] These organizations either collect and spy out on each other while some cases force them to collaborate. The concerns such as source protection or denying the other organizations to know the own capabilities prevent them to effectively cooperate. Bosnia was such a case. Intelligence services were operating in the theatre on their own by means of non-governmental organizations, civil society, correspondents, special forces, or various organic intelligence assets of differing disciplines. For sure, the main motivation of these intelligence organizations was to promote the interests of their own states rather than making peace, since intelligence was always perceived as a national business.

The USA, exceptionally but not surprisingly, had built a special intelligence cell to track events in former Yugoslavia before the conflict broke out.[376] The main concerns were the Yugoslav linkage to China and its capacity to affect the balance in the Balkans. A

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[372] Security Clearance provides authority to access classified information in NATO systems.

[373] Pascale Combelles Siegel, *Target Bosnia: Integrating Information Activities in Peace Operations: NATO-Led Operations in Bosnia Herzegovina December 1995-1997* (Washington D.C.: Command and Control Research Program (CCRP), 1998), p. 24.

[374] Wiebes, *Intelligence and the War in Bosnia 1992-1995*, pp. 355-422.

[375] Siegel, "Target Bosnia: Integrating Information Activities in Peace Operations", p. 164.

[376] David Binder, "Evolution in Europe; Yugoslavia Seen Breaking Up Soon", *the New York Times*, November 28, 1990, available at http://www.nytimes.com/1990/11/28/world/evolution-in-europe-yugoslavia-seen-breaking-up-soon.html, accessed on April 23, 2016.

collapse was expected in Yugoslavia. Hence the USA had built the Balkan Task Force to monitor the events by limited numbers of linguists and analysts. In this frame, special units were formed after the ignition of conflict to debrief the refugees; displaced persons and deserters to obtain information by means of specially built interrogation centres.[377] The theme of such interrogations was to extract the general situation regarding order of battles, positions of military units and target acquisition.

The other western intelligence organizations were not well prepared for the conflict as the earlier Slovenia and Croatia crises were clear indicators. The intelligence effort was limited to understand the situation and inform the decision makers on who was committing what atrocities on others. Altun, Former HUMINT Team Chief of IFOR and SFOR, compares the periods of the UNPROFOR and NATO that they were hardly tracing the events in both missions. He claims how NATO intelligence efforts were uncoordinated and isolated from the efforts of the other member states.

> Intelligence was no more than observation reports of UNPROFOR units. During IFOR mission, we had some reports though; there were general assessments. The main barrier was that you had to have access to NATO's dissemination database, which means you have to get a security clearance and relevant hardware. Once you have access, information was only for the eyes of NATO officers with required classification clearance. Think about it. If your boss is Swedish, then forget about briefing what you have already received.[378]

General rule of sharing intelligence was conditioned to bargaining of 'give and take' that shaded the soul of NATO in Bosnia. Wiebes argues that member states were prepared to share only the intelligence that they wished to share, and which did not endanger national security in the widest sense. Furthermore, certain member states had disputes among themselves and supported different warring factions. This strongly reduced the willingness of other NATO member states to share intelligence on Yugoslavia within the Alliance, because, Wiebes claims that, for instance Greece and Turkey could 'misuse' it in some way due to their proximity to either Serbian or Bosniak cause.[379]

Consequently, intelligence was not directed to appropriate information gaps, poorly coordinated, not efficiently produced, and shared. The real issue was that intelligence efforts were not to map the behavioural cascade of decision makers to conclude what ought to be done. The subject matter of NATO's intelligence efforts was directed to 'force protection'

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[377] Daniel W. Wagner and James O. Carson, "Year One of the DCI Interagency Balkan Task Force", in *Intelligence and the Clinton Presidency: The Role of Intelligence and Political Leadership in Ending the Bosnian War*, (ed.) Clinton, p. 15.

[378] Interview with Çağlar Altun, Former HUMINT Team Chief of IFOR and SFOR, on October 16, 2015.

[379] Wiebes, *Intelligence* and *the War in Bosnia 1992-1995*, p. 56.

endeavour for the ground troops and situational awareness for decision makers and personnel. The main idea was not to search the main causes of the conflict and persuade parties to compromise over solution. The frequent intelligence activity was to display the dispositions of warring parties and atrocities against civilian targets, mainly in and around safe areas. If NATO's incapacity and dominance of state actors are taken into consideration, intelligence was just to satisfy the needs of national authorities and was to disseminate consciously chosen information to influence NATO's policy options. Operative and tactical intelligence functions (of the UNPROFOR and NATO as well) were similarly designed to address the needs of low and medium level decision makers to respond probable engagements.[380]

The broken link between intelligence and propaganda was one of the main reasons to shape operational environment other than diplomatic attempts of the US government before and during the Dayton peace negotiations. Despite the national undertakings of the US government, intelligence mechanism of the Alliance was not at the desired coordinated and functional level. Following section will examine the propaganda engagement of the Alliance to see its proficiency while lacking intelligence support.

5.5.2. Propaganda Efforts during the Bosnian War

NATO, first, had to address the information needs of Bosnian communities to present why NATO had to engage and what the ultimate purpose of its presence was. The image of the international presence was destroyed by the inefficiency of the UNPROFOR after witnessed humanitarian catastrophes. NATO troops did not only take over the responsibility of establishing a peace, but also inherited the bad image of the UNPROFOR. Interview with a Bosniak officer tells what Bosniak public thought about the foreign presence that NATO had to respond by its communication means.

> Everybody knew that what was being done in Bosnia was a genocide. The UN, and NATO as well, approached all parties unilaterally and named the conflict as 'civil war'. European states sent their generals under the hat of the UN to serve, allegedly, the goals of the UN. They wanted to be impartial, but that led them not to intervene the conflict. Equal treatment of all sides also equated the hunter and prey. It was obvious that they were not there to solve the problem. They had no means to do it. UNPROFOR was about to engage the conflict at the end of 1993, but they were not prepared, unequipped and with no authorization.
>
> The UNPROFOR was just monitoring what was going on in safe areas. Sarajevo was surrounded for 44 months with a loss of 11,541 citizens including 1,463 children. Bosnia-Herzegovina was under continuous attack. Srebrenica, under the clear protection of the Dutch forces of the UNPROFOR, was bleeding in 1995.

[380] Timothy R. Walton, *The Role of Intelligence in Ending the War in Bosnia in 1995* (Maryland: Lexington Books, 2014), pp. 149-166.

> The UN, NATO, and all other forces were there to observe their own benefits, not to stop war and protect civilians. It was a fact that they failed in building peace despite their exaggerated resolution in New York, Brussels, or any other capital city.
>
> Peace forces and their words were not functional. International forces did not have adequate organization. There was no coordination among them. There was no plan. The peace forces had to have a strategy and goal. They must have prevented killings, rapes, extortion, and genocides.[381]

Another Bosniak officer affirms the same allegations in portraying the image of international presence in Bosnia-Herzegovina. He draws a clear line of what the image of the UN forces in the eyes of Bosniaks due to circulating rumours among the Bosniak public, which blamed the UNPROFOR of welcoming the eradication of Muslims. This allegation cannot be credited, but the circulation itself signifies of the perception in the minds of Bosniaks. "What Bosniaks believe was that the UNPROFOR officers, with white hoods, were watching the genocides just like celebrating to erase the Muslim identity of Europe".[382]

The arguments of both Bosniak officers portray the UN short of building a constructive image even if they were in Bosnia to facilitate a peace process as can be deduced from the meaning of 'peace' and 'keeping'. The promises and actual practice of UNPROFOR caused such circulating beliefs and rumours among the local public. For instance, the French commander of UNPROFOR, Phillippe Morrion addressed "freezing, starving and terrified residents" of Srebrenica in March 1993 and declared "You are now under the protection of the UN. I will not abandon you".[383] Unfortunately Morrion secretly left Srebrenica a couple of days later. Contrary to inability of the UNPROFOR, Mladić played his role in Serbian TV propaganda machine by shaking the hand of Dutch Battalion Commander, offering chocolate to Bosniak children and addressing civilians to leave the city peacefully by provided transportation.[384] The result was thousands of civilian victims. Then the questions are to what extent the UNPROFOR was reliable before NATO was involved in the crisis and what would be the image of NATO.

The Pre-Dayton process, hence, was rather portraying a dispersed policy implementation and, in this context, 'effort' wasting. Other than methodological deficiencies, ontology of NATO's propaganda functions was not well designed. Intelligence

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[381] Interview with S.C. (Identity concealed due to his request), Bosniak officer, on May 26, 2014.

[382] Interview A.Z. (Identity concealed due to his request), Bosniak officer, on May 26, 2014.

[383] Paul R. Bartrop and Steven Leonard Jacops, *Modern Genocide* (California: ABC Clio, 2015), p.186.

[384] Ratko Mladić, "Evacuation of the Srebrenica Refugees", July 12, 1995, available at https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=jCEM-OirLBE, accessed on April 18, 2016.

was not in a business of promoting propaganda activities since propaganda was, first, a national commitment, second security oriented to deny unintended casualties by mine explosions, air lift dangers for the purpose of force protection. Propaganda was not committed before the conflict and during crisis management.

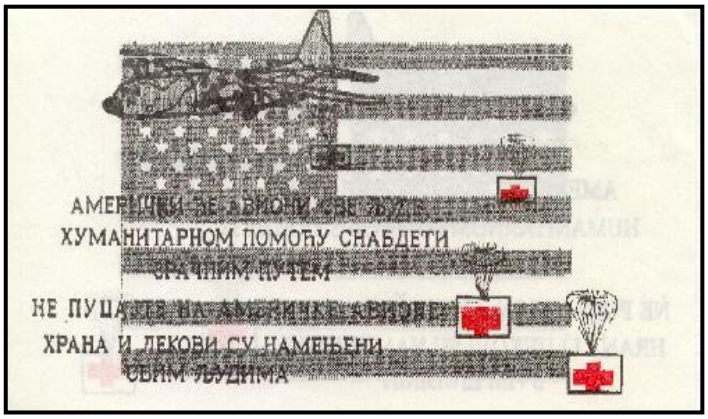
Although strategic communication was not connoted; NATO was delivering messages to announce its intent by means of resolutions, summit declarations, or communiqués. Resolutions of NATO Summits were significant to see the hard power application of NATO and paralleled strategic communication efforts underlined in the texts of resolutions and communiqués.[385] The resolutions of NATO signified the determination of NATO, initially, to support the international organizations to terminate the conflict and to call for peaceful settlement of the crisis. The resolution of 05 June 1992, which enclosed the "tragedy in Bosnia-Herzegovina" for the first time, attributed the main responsibility to the authorities in the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (Serbia and Montenegro) including the Yugoslav National Army. [386] The North Atlantic Council expressed its support to the efforts of the UN, the OSCE and the European Community. The resolution was far from delivering a comprehensive message to end the crisis, but threw the ball away to the field of other international organizations, while refraining from a direct handling of it. The concurrent communiqués portrayed how NATO cooperated (or assisted) international organizations. The statement on Former Yugoslavia, dated 17 December 1992, assumed the aggressiveness of Serbs and committed war crimes.[387] The resolutions were far from searching what the main causes of the conflict were, how the crisis could be resolved, or whether a persuasive course to terminate the conflict was probable. The rest of the communiqués and NAC resolutions covered imminent threats to be addressed while declaring its commitment to peaceful solution of the crisis. The main themes were the UN sanctions, civilian casualties, safe areas, "sovereignty, territorial integrity, and political independence of the Republic of Bosnia-Hercegovina" and witnessed or expected atrocities.

[385] All NATO resolutions, statements, and communiqués are available at http://www.nato.int/docu/comm.htm.

[386] Statement issued at the Meeting of the North Atlantic Cooperation Council, June 05, 1992, available at http://www.nato.int/cps/en/natohq/official_texts_23984.htm?selectedLocale=en, accessed on May 13, 2014.

[387] Statement on Former Yugoslavia, available at http://www.nato.int/cps/eu/natohq/official_texts.htm?query=&keywordquery=*&date_from=&date_to=&sort=date:D:S:d1&start=560, accessed on May 13, 2014.

NATO's strategic communication effort got behind the events losing the initiative. It was far from deterring and persuading the aggressor but repeating similar words as if words were designed to lose time. Propaganda, like intelligence, was confined to psychological operations (PSYOP), but only the US army had capability. On the other hand, US PSYOP was the tight control of the US army that international organizations and the other states were excluded from the decision-making mechanism. As can be seen on the above-mentioned leaflet[388], the US PSYOP Teams had used the US flag rather than the UN, although priority was to support the UN and ease the aid activities at the initial stage of the NATO's involvement in the Bosnian crisis.



The Operation Provide Promise Leaflet, c1992.

5.6. The Dayton Negotiations and NATO's Inclusion

The Dayton Peace Accord is a success story to persuade the warring parties and address complexities contrary to the failures of the UN and NATO before and during conflict. Richard Holbrooke's strategy was to influence ethnic leaders and achieve a long-term diplomatic settlement. The effective use of intelligence and propaganda was one strategy to complement the overall course of negotiating efforts in the US diplomacy. The main reason of such success, I argue, emanates from the willingness of the US Delegation and successful leadership. Holbrooke's governing principle in supervising the negotiations was "what does not get done at Dayton, will not get done later".[389] The location of the negotiations, Dayton, was selected to have a psychological effect upon the delegations. The leaders were locked in a military base as if they could not leave negotiations until they compromised. The isolation of negotiations from the outer world took out the influence of media to manipulate the negotiations. The delegations, which spoke the same language and shared the same culture, could interact. But Holbrooke did not let the delegates to

[388] The author thanks to Ed Rouse and Herbert A. Freidman for their permission to use their leaflet database in www.psywar.org website.

[389] Following Research Paper presents a comprehensive analysis of Dayton negotiations in terms of addressing the delegations and preferred strategy of Holbrooke. Adriana Camisar, et al., "An Analysis of the Dayton Negotiations and Peace Accords", The Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy, 2005, p. 19, available at http://ocw.tufts.edu/data/12/244825.pdf, accessed on December 28, 2015.

communicate individually but could interact only under the tight supervision of Holbrooke's team. Besides Holbrooke's team was aware of the personalities and sensitive egos of all leaders. He treated all delegations equally not to offend the others.[390]

The most important rule of the negotiations was to prevent any contact with the press. The US State Department Spokesman Nick Burns was the only authorized spokesman on Dayton. This was an important decision because it allowed media to have briefings on the way to prevent rumours while information was to be filtered through one mechanism. Previous negotiations like the Madrid Conference in 1991 (regarding Israel-Palestinian conflict) demonstrated the danger of allowing the media to interview the parties and to interpret these interviews as they wished. This message was essential during these high-level negotiations; and of course, the risk of a leak was always high. So, with such a tight control, it was aimed that external factors would not able to influence the parties and so to disrupt the negotiations in any way.[391] Hence strategic communication was, de facto, practiced during the Dayton negotiations.

Psychological influence was built upon certain rules to compell delegations obey as if there is superior body upon them. For instance, the US President Clinton was only called to urge the leaders to compromise as if he had prestigious authority rather than being a permanent and direct part of negotiations. Coercion was always a course, especially by offensive campaigns of NATO air component to show the resolute commitment. Personality of Holbrooke was coercive due to his persistent character. His methodology was based on simplifying the topics by clear statements to have negotiations gradually but continuously progress. Intelligence support of the US army was also exploited to ease the negotiations. For instance, aerial films of Bosnia were spontaneously showed to delegations to visualize a disputed terrain feature among the delegations. A room with TV screens was designed to present maps or reconnaissance photos. Finally, the parties had compromised after long bargaining process. The agreement was signed twice. The first one was in Dayton. But the second was in Paris to create a psychological effect on Europeans.[392] By that way European states would be persuaded to take an active part in the implementation of the agreement.

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[390] Holbrooke, *To End a War*, p. 233.

[391] Camisar, et al., "An Analysis of the Dayton Negotiations and Peace Accords", p. 20.

[392] Association for Diplomatic Studies and Training, "Negotiating the Dayton Peace Accords", *Moments in US Diplomatic History*, November 2014, available at http://adst.org/2014/11/the-dayton-peace-accords/, accessed on September 11, 2015.

The Dayton Peace Accords, signed on 14 December 1995, formally ended the ethnic and religious conflict in Bosnia-Herzegovina and established a framework for full implementation of the provisions of the peace settlement. After the signature of Dayton Peace Accord, the UNSC adopted UNSC Resolution 1031 which authorized NATO to establish IFOR under unified command and control. The North Atlantic Council approved the overall military plan for Operation Joint Endeavour (OJE) on 16 December 1995 and implemented it immediately.[393] The ill-fated UNPROFOR relinquished command and transferred authority for operations in Bosnia-Herzegovina on 20 December 1995. NATO entered to the ruined Bosnian theatre, with full consent of all conflicting parties. But the issue was that nationalist sentiments of local entities and hidden agendas of former leaderships were still at hand. Local publics, having full access to TV and radio broadcasts, were exposed tense nationalistic sentiments. NATO was to be prepared to counter propaganda while justifying its presence. NATO built IFOR and SFOR to implement the military aspects of the Dayton Peace Accord, but the reality was that NATO was to address full spectrum of post conflict problem fields, that required an effective intelligence and message delivery system to respond extremist sentiments and follow on compliance to the Dayton.[394]

5.7. Intelligence and Propaganda Efforts after the Dayton Peace Accord

The mission defined by NATO was to directly shape the methodology and ontology of both functions in Bosnia. The mission definition was also a constraint for a military commander to clarify the context of the commitments. The mission of the established IFOR was to help the parties to implement peace accord in accordance with the terms of Dayton Peace Agreement. IFOR was not in Bosnia to fight a war or to impose a settlement on any of the parties but track military aspects of the Dayton Peace Accord in coordination with civilian organizations.

Annex1A (military) of the Dayton Peace Accord generally focuses on the cessation of hostilities and regulations on the military arrangements between former warring parties. IFOR was assigned[395], first to monitor and help ensure compliance to Annex1A of DPA, which was about military prerequisites. For this purpose, NATO had to supervise the selective marking of the boundaries and zone of separations between established state

[393] NATO Informer, available at http://www.nato.int/sfor/docu/ accessed on September 13, 2015.

[394] NATO, "Peace support operations in Bosnia and Herzegovina" September 07, 2015, available at http://www.nato.int/cps/en/natolive/topics_52122.htm, accessed on April 24, 2016.

[395] NATO IFOR, "Operation Joint Endeavour", available at http://www.nato.int/ifor/gfa/gfa-an1a.htm, accessed on June 19, 2015.

mechanisms and military formations. The takeover of the responsibility from the UN peace forces was initial task to be achieved.[396]

Coordination and cooperation with international organizations was clearly underlined as a task that NATO would have the responsibility to provide security and coordinate their efforts. For instance, facilitating the free movement of humanitarian organizations and civilian populations in whole Bosnia-Herzegovina was remarkable tasks that ethnic communities and former military formations had to be persuaded, or coerced if needed. The clearing of mine fields and obstacles were military tasks in nature, but IFOR had to increase awareness of own troops and civilian public on the locations of mines and traps. In addition to its principal tasks, IFOR was "to create a secure environment for civil and economic reconstruction".[397] Hence IFOR was to provide support to the civilian aspect of the Dayton Peace Accord, of which most authority was directed to the UN High Representative.[398]

IFOR's mission was initially limited to 12 months though; the North Atlantic Council issued a statement on 10 December 1996 to extend its mission on 12 December 1996. The UN Security Council adopted Resolution 1088 authorizing continued participation of NATO by building Stabilization Force (SFOR) replacing 'Implementation' Force (IFOR) for another 18 months as of 20 December 1996[399]. The mission was described to "deter hostilities and stabilize the peace, to contribute to a secure environment by providing a continued military presence in the area of responsibility, to target and coordinate SFOR support to key areas including primary civil implementation organizations, and to progress towards a lasting consolidation of peace, without further need for NATO-led forces in Bosnia-Herzegovina.[400] The main effort was clarified as "to focus on the Armed Forces in

[396] This task is illusionary since most UNPROFOR units had just changed the hats and badges of international organizations along with authority and responsibilities.

[397] Javier Solana, "Presentation by the NATO Secretary General", Peace Implementation Conference, London, December 4, 1996, available at http://www.nato.int/docu/speech/1996/s961204a.htm, accessed on September 11, 2015.

[398] The UN High Representative had extensive authority upon the constituent parties like overruling legislation, appointing or dismissing local officials, or imposing executive decisions.

[399] The Ministerial Meeting of the North Atlantic Council, "Statement on Bosnia and Herzegovina", NATO HQ Brussels, December 10, 1996, available at http://www.nato.int/cps/en/natolive/official_texts_25055.htm?selectedLocale=en, accessed on September 11, 2015.

[400] Ibid.

Bosnia-Herzegovina, return of Displaced Persons and Refugees, support of Law Enforcement and the Rule of Law".[401]

Both missions were operated under Chapter VII of the UN Charter that signifies peace enforcement variety of peace support operations.[402] The problem in here was that the missions were limited by months that would not efficiently motivate personnel. Yılmaz Serttaş, who served as an intelligence analysis officer both for IFOR and SFOR in 1996 and 2001, argued that these short mission periods for IFOR and SFOR meant shorter rotations for personnel such that IFOR's 12 months means two rotations of NATO personnel while SFOR would witness three rotations. Hence missions were clear though; the mood of the personnel was to manage the situation for a while and leave the theatre. So, personnel did not really have time to commit themselves to their jobs but instead they got by and left.[403]

The missions and main efforts of both IFOR and SFOR were to stay within the framework of the Dayton Agreement, which drove intelligence and propaganda derivatives to the goal of achieving the ultimate aim of the Dayton Agreement. Intelligence and propaganda capabilities of both IFOR and SFOR were at operational level, and NATO at strategic level had to support these tasks. Hence the Dayton Peace Agreement formed ontologies of both intelligence and propaganda despite actors, operational environment, and operation types were presenting challenges.

5.7.1. Intelligence Activities

The ultimate intent of intelligence activities was to have the 'information dominance' in implementing afore tasks. IFOR used military intelligence capability, provided by contributing states-mainly the USA, to monitor former warring factions "any time of the day or night and under all weather conditions".[404] Intelligence was perceived as a show of force to display vast capabilities of IFOR. Intelligence, with its conventional capacities, was a success story at the initial stages of the operation for IFOR/SFOR thanks to 'limited' monitoring tasks and rather conventional nature of the post-conflict environment. NATO troops were performing observation tasks to detect, for instance armoured vehicles, if any warring party was violating the Annex 1A of the Dayton Accord.

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[401] https://www.jfcnaples.nato.int/hqsarajevo/about-sarajevo-/nhqsa-mission/previous-mission, accessed on September 11, 2015.

[402] Rizhard L. Layton, "Command and Control Structure", in *Lessons from Bosnia: The IFOR Experience*, (ed.) Wenzt, p. 47.

[403] Interview with Yılmaz Serttaş, Intelligence Analysis Officer of both IFOR and SFOR, on May 02, 2015.

[404] Larry Wentz, "Intelligence Operations", in *Lessons from Bosnia: The IFOR Experience*, (ed.) Wenzt, p. 53.

Wentz argues that the theatre intelligence missionwas defined in five categories. The first one was about the daily rhythm of military intelligence for the security of military command as "collecting, producing, and issuing military intelligence, and for conducting counterintelligence activities".[405] The threats to IFOR personnel and activities were identified as the second intelligence task regarding subversion, espionage, sabotage, and terrorism; mainly Serbian paramilitary groups were perceived as the main security threat. Thirdly, hostilities of former warring factions and military-political events, affecting the IFOR area of responsibility, were clearly defined as intelligence tasks within the limits of the Dayton Peace Agreement. Last two tasks were to monitor political development and liaison with the relevant intelligence organizations. The first three tasks were signifying force protection concerns of own troops, as priority. But the problems were abstracting what act was hostility under what conditions, what was threat against whom or assessing military political events in terms of their effects.

Intelligence assets were the contributions of the NATO member states, mainly the USA. Güler, who served as an intelligence analysis officer both for IFOR and SFOR in 1995 and 2000, argued that aerial systems, for instance, covered a wide range of intelligence disciplines (information collection methods) such as imagery and signal intelligence benefitting from various technologies such as infrared, electronic interception, video and photo recording, and communication tracking.[406] Land based systems were mainly based on human intelligence and counter intelligence efforts, allotted by member states to Multinational Intelligence Battalion of IFOR/SFOR. These teams regularly visited local officials and regular citizens who wanted to cooperate with IFOR/SFOR. The requests such as social mapping and cultural awareness were to be their focus, but the priority was always to identify threats to the mission and irregularities of former warring factions. On the other hand, new concerns and threat types – such as refugees, displaced persons, war criminals, former paramilitary bands and newly organized criminal gangs challenged the official NATO human intelligence doctrine in Bosnia-Herzegovina.

Altun, who served as an intelligence analysis officer for IFOR, SFOR and EUFOR in 1995, 2002 and 2009 argued that intelligence community was inexperienced at the initial stage of the NATO mission[407] because intelligence community was not well prepared for the

[405] Ibid, p. 78.

[406] Interview with Mustafa Güler, Military Intelligence Officer in IFOR and SFOR, on October 17, 2015.

[407] Interview with Çağlar Altun, Former HUMINT Team Chief of IFOR and SFOR, on October 16, 2015.

post-conflict environment. Human Intelligence, for instance, was a brand-new function in the field. NATO doctrine was drafted based on observation and the US experience. But the environment was very different in Bosnia. One significant feature, Altun claims, was that HUMINT Teams were composite, which means each team had more than one nationality. Bosniaks had sympathy to the US and Turkish soldiers. Croats were generous to offer information to Germans and Austrians; Serbs were very open to British and French officers. Hence interviews were designed pending to the identity of the source because proximity of culture to either of the Team member was crucial to obtain information. Altun also lists the priorities of intelligence department as hostilities of former belligerents and their compliance to the Dayton Accord. Organized crime gangs and war criminals appeared to be the themes of intelligence efforts, other than conventional military intelligence subject matters.

Another intelligence officer, Özsoy, who served as the Intelligence Chief of HUMINT Teams of SFOR in 2003 outlines activities by delineating more than a hundred individuals of various ethnicities, continuously consulting every week. They were generally offering what local public was talking about. The problem field, he argues, was that every team member was learning the facts and figures of our regions from the very beginning and leaving Bosnia as far as she/he becomes a master. Hence human intelligence was good to have, but inadequate to rely on due to the flaws of the Alliance.[408]

The other intelligence disciplines, apart from human intelligence, were also benefitted to extract information as well. But the assets of other intelligence disciplines had nothing to do with social and cultural aspects of operational environment. They were to observe former warring factions by means of routine imagery scans of belligerents or limited signal interception. Besides most of the assets were under national authority of the member states and had dissemination constraints other than NATO's organic intelligence battlefield operating systems. In fact, most of the NATO assets were the US intelligence equipment dedicated to either USEUCOM or TF EAGLE of the USA in Bosnia.[409] Intelligence assets such as JSTARS, RIVET JOINT, and the E-3s can be counted as platforms of such.[410]

Another intelligence mechanism of both IFOR and SFOR was the intelligence cells of member and partner states, located in Sarajevo. National Intelligence Cells (NIC) of NATO and partner countries was built in Sarajevo to provide mutual intelligence exchange among

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[408] Interview with Zafer Ali Özsoy, Former HUMINT Team Chief, on March 12, 2015.

[409] David Carment and Martin Rudner, *Peacekeeping Intelligence: New Players, Extended Boundaries* (New York: Routledge, 2006), pp. 43-48.

[410] Mark A. Viney, *United States Cavalry Peacekeeprers in Bosnia: An Inside Account of Operation Joint Endeavour, 1996* (North Carolina: McFarland and Company Inc., 2012), pp. 125-128.

member and partner nations.[411] Their initial purpose was to fill information/intelligence gaps by providing cooperation means since intelligence function was at the hands of member and partner states. States had refrained from passing the authority to NATO units. States would share information by means of these Cells to surpass the barriers. But it did not go as desired. Only several of them had adequate number of assets or analysts. NICs appeared to be protocol handlers and representing offices showing their flags rather than intelligence production and sharing mechanisms. They preferred exploiting the reports of IFOR/SFOR and sending them to their capitals. But ceremonies appeared to be the main effort to present gifts to the personnel of the other NICs who were leaving Bosnia.

Apart from the flaws of intelligence structure, intelligence had no linkage to PSYOP. For instance, Jacobson argues that the US 346th Psychological Operations Company had made good use of open source material in order to provide PSYOP-relevant background information to the deploying troops, but they had received very little up-to-date intelligence or information on the type of operations taking place in the area of operations.[412] Intelligence was still in the phase of understanding the picture and not interested in providing support to information campaign.[413] PSYOP staff had to emulate the basic information on the Bosnian culture and social structure, but they were dependent on, probably, biased views of correspondents to understand the publics.

5.7.2. Propaganda Activities

The "battlefield" in Bosnia-Herzegovina is one of a struggle of ideas competing for legitimacy and supremacy.[414] On this battlefield, information was the 'weapon' that was wielded by many actors and through many forms. To respond and manage informative environment, a Combined Joint IFOR Information Campaign Task Force (CJIICTF) was established to coordinate the activities of Public Affairs, Civil Affairs, PSYOP, International Organizations (e.g., UN-IPTF, UNHCR, OSCE, OHR, and others), and IFOR command elements.[415] Various IFOR functions were to transmit a message to local community that had to be coordinated before releasing to targeted audience. Unfortunately, the CJIICTF had

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[411] Carment and Rudner, *Peacekeeping Intelligence*, pp. 48-49.

[412], Mark R. Jacobson, "Tactical PSYOP Support to Task Force Eagle" in *Lessons from Bosnia: The IFOR Experience*, (ed.) Wenzt, p. 196.

[413] Tony Van Diepenbrugge, "Peacekeeping and Intelligence: An Experience in Bosnia-Herzegovina", in *Peacekeeping Intelligence: Emerging Concepts for the Future*, (eds.) De Jong Ben et al., pp. 32-39.

[414] Sremac, *War of Words*, p. 3.

[415] Larry Wentz, "Intelligence Operations", in *Lessons from Bosnia: The IFOR Experience*, (ed.) Wenzt, p. 65.

shortfalls of coordinating information campaign as was expected due to multinational character and complexity of command relations among Allied Rapid Reaction Force (ARRC) and IFOR.

The CJIICTF was not placed under NATO command and control, as U.S. Department of Defence chose to retain control over U.S. PSYOP forces.[416] Upon deployment, IFOR established a large public information (PI) organization (of about 90 persons) designed to provide extensive PI presence wherever significant military activity was taking place. To that effect, IFOR established PI offices and press centres throughout Bosnia-Herzegovina. The issue was that SHAPE HQ had also created ARRC to intervene in case emergency troops were needed. Hence there were two different military tasking for the same operation: IFOR and ARRC. IFOR and ARRC HQs PI offices and Coalition Press and Information Centre (CPIC) were the principal elements of the PI structure by contradicting and overlapping functions. IFOR HQ PI directed the public information effort under guidance from NATO and SHAPE. ARRC PI was mainly responsible for PI issues relating to land operations in Bosnia-Herzegovina. Both PI operations were situated in Sarajevo, where the centres of gravity of media and military activities were located. However, the recurring tensions between IFOR and ARRC HQs affected the PI operation. The tensions stemmed from a lack of clear delineation between the ARRC and IFOR HQs responsibilities. The PI structure changed in November 1996, when Allied Force Command Heidelberg (known as LANDCENT) assumed responsibility from ARRC and after the transition from IFOR to SFOR in December 1996.[417]

Despite information operations' organizational division of labour, the presentation of IFOR activities to international public constituted a complex challenge for reasons that sometimes had little to do with the execution of IFOR operations in Bosnia-Herzegovina.[418] The support of global public to the cause of NATO was hard to obtain since ethno-religious biases of different nations could not provide a unique approach to the Bosnian crisis. In this frame metanarratives on Bosnia-Herzegovina in published articles and books were strictly differing in terms of interpretation and representation of what was happening on the ground, argues Campbell. He demonstrates that many of the major assessments of the conflict had

[416] IFOR and ARRC were commanding the same multinational divisions that created a diversity of command and hindrance of mission. Siegel, "Target Bosnia: Integrating Information Activities in Peace Operations", pp. 30-36.

[417] Siegel, "Target Bosnia: Integrating Information Activities in Peace Operations", p. 89.

[418] Baumann underlines how complicated the perspectives of NATO members, individual commanders and the effect of NATO's structure on the ground. Robert F. Baumann, "IFOR Redefines the Bosnian Situation" in *Armed Peacekeepers in Bosnia*, (eds.) Robert F. Baumann, et al. (Fort Leavenworth: Combat Studies Institute Press, Kansas, 2004), pp. 101-104.

reduced the complexity to the banalities of ethnic essentialism in order to attribute responsibility to particular individuals or groups.[419] In this context even naming the crises would affect legal basis and required military responses. For instance, the question whether the conflict was a civil war or international conflict was completely affecting the perception on the crisis.

Additional to prejudices of local and international public, lack of trust towards what was announced by IFOR/SFOR spokesmen after shaking news were circulated in media. Şerif Turgut, Turkish journalist in both the Bosnian and Kosovo Crises, recalls in her memoir her observations and experiences, as follows.

> As a journalist, we had no luxury to reject information that NATO had offered, although we were aware of information manipulation. We had no other choice, but to accept what NATO spokesperson would have announced. After a while, it was disturbing to see NATO's inefficiency to apprehend war criminals, practicing states' policies rather than NATO's common approach, overt protectionist attitude of some NATO members towards the Bosnian Serb Republic, or their excessive affection of Serbs. Thereafter we did not swallow what NATO practiced in terms of propaganda.
>
> A significant case, I cannot forget, was a French officer. He was appointed to public relations and media affairs. He was even with the journalists for breakfast. It appeared that he was informing Karadzić about confidential plans and information. It was a scandal. Journalists were informed that the French Government withdrew him and would jail. I went to France one year later with Turkish Defence Minister, İsmet Sezgin. We were waiting in an army lodging and I saw the same French officer. I called him as if I do not know what he had done. I have learnt that he had changed his name and was promoted.[420]

Turgut was aware of the actual policies of individual member states towards the Bosnian conflict. She, other journalists and Bosniaks were hoping NATO to treat ethnicities fairly, but disappointed after they had observed that NATO member states were pursuing their own agendas, designed in accordance with their interests and prejudices.

NATO had also faced structural problems in the Bosnian crisis. Initial troubles stemmed from NATO deployment itself. The first of these related to the organization, manning, and equipping of the public information mission. Under manning and the existence of parallel headquarters, Allied Forces Southern Europe (AFSOUTH) and the ARRC, were clear impediments to carry out information activities when IFOR was established. AFSOUTH was representing the US but ARRC was a British dominated command and they had different outlooks to the information related functions.[421] Under the shade of different

[419] Campbell, David, "MetaBosnia: Narratives of the Bosnian War", *Review of International Studies*, Vol. 24 (1998), pp. 261–281.

[420] Interview with Şerif Turgut, Turkish correspondent in the Bosnian War, on April 05, 2014.

[421] Baumann, "IFOR Redefines the Bosnian Situation", pp. 101-107.

organizations doing similar work flow, IFOR, subordinate to AFSOUTH, had to plan, direct and execute Information Campaign (IIC) to suppress the Serbian ideational offensive and persuade all ethnic communities on "the implementation of the DPA military provisions involving the Entity Armed Forces (EAF) and maintenance of the peace necessary for the diplomatic and economic instruments of power to operate".[422]

While organizational conflict was in the agenda of NATO HQs, Serbian informative aggression started as far as IFOR troops arrived in theatre. NATO was the hostile foreign body to be advertised as the enemy of the Serbian nation. While dominating information environment, Serbian leadership of Bosnia closed down independent media assets and tied the Serbian community to the broadcasts of Srpska Radio and Television of Bosnia 'Republika Srpska'. The broadcasts aired the early NATO bombardments while accusing NATO air strikes of causing birth defects and deforestation. Serbian language was rhetoric of war, indicating Bosniaks with Muslim identity to inflame anti-Western and anti-Bosnian feelings.[423]



ARTBA • SUNDAY, JULY 27, 1997 • MILWAUKEE JOURNAL SENTINEL

Bosnian Serb rulers use TV as chief purveyor of propaganda

Los Angeles Times, Associated Press

Pale, Bosnia-Herzegovina — Night after night, Bosnian Serb television warns its viewers of the dangers.

NATO aircraft enforcing peace in Bosnia are dropping poisons on Bosnian Serb communities, causing birth defects and deforestation, a recent broadcast advised. It showed footage from 1995 NATO airstrikes in Bosnia.

And in another broadcast: "Local scum from Muslim Sarajevo" are working with "Arabs, blacks, Mongolians and other experts of the international community" to take over Bosnian Serb institutions.

The commentaries on Srpska Radio and Television, or SRT, diplomats say, revive the harshest wartime rhetoric and are designed to inflame anti-West sentiment among Bosnian Serbs.

SRT represents the most vivid example of how the continued influence of indicted war crimes suspect Radovan Karadzic, who controls the station, undermines peaceful rebuilding of the shattered country, diplomats say.

As the chief propaganda machine for Bosnian Serb rulers, the television's tenor increasingly has grown shrill since a power struggle involving Karadzic erupted late last month and after NATO troops on July 10 killed a war crimes suspect and arrested another — a "brutal murder and perfidious arrest," as SRT describes it every evening.

And the counter-criticism coming from international officials is increasingly as harsh. They obliquely warn of reprisals as "robust" as the jamming of SRT's signal.

Although talk is tough, options for punishment are limited.

Pulling the television's plug, jamming its signal or deploying troops of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization to keep it off the air "are heavy-handed Soviet-style tactics that would be counterproductive," warned one international official with long experience in the Balkans.

"The Soviets used to jam Voice of America and BBC radio in Poland, and it made (people there) want to listen to Voice of America and BBC even more. You can roll tanks and take over the station, and then what do you do?"

Propaganda was the most insidiously effective tool during nearly four years of war in Bosnia, and introducing an objective media has been a principal goal of foreign peacemakers.

Knowledgeable of this power, Serbian authorities in Yugoslavia reportedly are increasingly harassing independent media prior to autumn elections, shutting down at least a dozen independent radio and TV stations.

In the past week, small stations were ordered closed in the towns of Pancevo, Kraljevo, Krusevac and Trstenik.

The stations' owners say Yugoslavia's president, Slobodan Milosevic, is beginning a nationwide crackdown on independent stations to prevent opposition parties from gaining power.

"This is just a prelude to total darkness in Serbia," said Mile Koricanac, Democratic Party leader from Kraljevo. "They are out to create complete censorship before and during the elections."

Serbia's parliamentary elections are expected in September.

Against Serbian informative aggression, the IFOR PI's intention was to deliver messages that IFOR troops were well-led, well-trained, well-equipped, and ready to respond any challenge through the use of force if necessary. With the transition to SFOR, the PI policy became less proactive. SFOR PI, anticipating a NATO withdrawal from Bosnia-Herzegovina in June 1998, downplayed SFOR activities and encouraged the civilian organizations to take the relay. Free and direct access policy was applied to journalists as

[422] Arthur Tulak and James E. Hutton, "Information System Components of Information Operations", available at http://www.au.af.mil/au/awc/awcgate/milreview/tulak.htm, accessed on July 02, 2015.

[423] "Bosnian Serb Rulers Use TV as Chief Purveyor of Propaganda", *Milwaukee Journal*, July 27, 1997, available at https://bosniangenocide.files.wordpress.com/2011/02/serbian-propaganda-hate-speech-bosnian-genocide.png, accessed on July 02, 2015.

long as they were registered to public information office of IFOR/SFOR. Despite differences and competition among them, ARRC and IFOR Public Information Offices (PIOs) enjoyed an open-door policy with their commanders and had one-on-one informal meetings as the situation dictated.[424] Such an open and close relationship, however, did not seem to continue under SFOR. The SFOR PIO had more limited access to commander than its IFOR predecessor. SFOR unfortunately marginalized PIO while force protection measures for soldiers were the other obstacle due to transportation constraints. The major tools for the PIO to address journalists and TV reporters were daily press briefings, special briefings, media queries, media opportunities, illustrative material, and notification of the press on incidents.[425]

Other than PI engagement, PSYOP also involved in product preparation and dissemination. The CJIICTF had produced and disseminated approximately 12 million products within the Bosnia Federation and the Republika Srpska. These included handbills, pamphlets, posters, the *Herald of Peace* (a weekly IFOR newspaper focusing on news and features of national interest, but was renamed during SFOR term to *Herald of Progress*), the *Mirko*, teen-oriented magazine, as well as various products of radio broadcasts, television, and miscellaneous items such as soccer balls, colouring books, and IFOR/SFOR logo pens.[426] These products were used to support the missions of not only IFOR/SFOR, but also the other international organizations as well. The CJIICTF sought to influence the attitudes and behaviours of targeted groups within Bosnia-Herzegovina in order to encourage cooperation with NATO, deter resistance to peacekeeping activities, and encourage the return to normalcy within both the Bosnia Federation and the Republica Srpska.[427]

In terms of identified threats, IFOR and SFOR did not face an adversary in Operation Joint Endeavour of IFOR and Operation Joint Guard of SFOR. But former warring factions were occasionally uncooperative and at times bellicose towards IFOR/SFOR.[428] Serbs, among the others, were the unhappiest party of the Dayton Peace Agreement because of their firm beliefs on the 'allegations' on the western treatment of Serbs. The Serbs were, they

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[424] Pascale Combelles Siegel, "Information Activities", in *Lessons from Bosnia: The IFOR Experience*, (ed.) Wentz, pp. 167-189.

[425] Ibid.

[426] Arthur Tulak, "PSYOP C^{2}W Information Operations in Bosnia", available at http://www.iwar.org.uk/psyops/resources/bosnia/psyopc2w.htm , accessed on May 29, 2015.

[427] Siegel, "Information Activities", in *Lessons from Bosnia: The IFOR Experience*, (ed.) Wentz, pp. 167-189.

[428] Tulak, "PSYOP C^{2}W Information Operations in Bosnia".

believed, "accused of committing genocide and war crimes"[429] while the UN and NATO were exaggerating the events and tolerating what was done to Serbian minorities in Croatia and Bosnia enclaves. Hence Serbs engaged in disinformation and counter propaganda undertakings against NATO.

Both IFOR and SFOR had also witnessed intra and inter-ethnic propaganda of radicalized leaderships. Pascale Combelles Siegel's study of information campaign of local ethnic leaderships and NATO displays significant findings with concrete examples and indicates how complicated the propaganda war of 'former' belligerents were. As examples to information warfare, in March 1996, the Pale media launched a campaign encouraging the Bosnian Serbs living in the suburbs of Sarajevo to flee in case the control of suburbs were to be transferred to the Bosniak authorities. Pale TV argued that Bosnian Serbs' safety could no longer be guaranteed after the transfer of authority. Neither NATO nor French authorities responded these allegations because they became aware of this disinformation campaign well after, so there was no chance for a timely response.[430] After SFOR Special Operations Forces arrested Bosnian Serb indicted war criminals on 10 July 1997, Bosnian Serb TV (controlled by a faction loyal to Radovan Karadžić) launched a virulent anti-NATO campaign comparing SFOR troops to the Nazis.[431] Subsequently, when SFOR CIMIC announced that an Italian brigade would repair railways between Tuzla and Brčko, the Bosnian Serb television argued that it was designed to transport war criminals to the Hague.[432]

Such disinformation effort of 'former' belligerents and desired response for the delivered messages required intelligence support to the information campaign. But intelligence was more focused on identifying threats rather than providing support to information operations. Jack Guy underlined this shortfall which he observed while he was serving in Bosnia: "In the field of PSYOP, the need for a relationship with intelligence is well established. In combat operations, PSYOP is a primary consumer of intelligence, as it needs intelligence inputs to design its campaigns. In peace support operations, PSYOP is as much a provider of intelligence as a consumer. But under SFOR, the CJICTF/intelligence

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[429] Paul B. Bartrop, *Bosnian Genocide: The Essential Reference Guide* (California: ABC Clio, 2016), pp. 60-64.

[430] Siegel, "Information Activities", in *Lessons from Bosnia: The IFOR Experience,* (ed.) Wentz, pp. 167-189.

[431] Jeffrey Fleishman, "Propaganda Fuels Serbs' Hatred: Struggle Puts NATO Forces in the Middle", *The Philadelphia Inquirer*, September 23, 1997, available at http://articles.philly.com/1997-09-23/news/25550321_1_srpska-radio-and-television-serbs-biljana-plavsic, accessed on May 29, 2015.

[432] Siegel, "Target Bosnia: Integrating Information Activities in Peace Operations", pp. 155-156.

interface was weak, as neither the CJICTF nor the CJ2 seemed to place a high priority on the PSYOP/intelligence link."[433]

Güler agreed Guy and he made similar remarks: "Propaganda was a forbidden word. I have never used it not to disturb PSYOP community. But what they were doing was a type of propaganda. I remember no single request from PSYOP community from intelligence cell. Actually, we were not aware of what they were doing. There was no linkage between two communities, at least between them and us. Could we provide information for them? We could, I guess. We were aware of every inch of area of operations."[434]

Lack of determined stance in strategic planning and dominance of nations upon PSYOP capabilities were an impediment to NATO's success while conceptualization of information operations was developed to coordinate information related military functions and practices. In this sense, the IFOR/SFOR started massive information campaign by disseminating large quantity of materials with narrated themes although information operation was confused with PSYOP. The initial emphasis was on General Framework Agreement for Peace (GFAP) compliance issues.[435] As the compliance was achieved in terms of military prerequisites, the priority shifted to the issues related to return to normality, freedom of movement, and redeployment. Military tasks of the Dayton Peace Accord were the main effort, but interconnectedness of problem fields, extending from economy to social cultural strands of issue fields, pushed NATO to assume additional tasks along coordination with international organizations, although the Dayton Peace Accord had assigned NATO to observe the ceasefire lines and military compliance to the Dayton Agreement. Hence civilian aspects, which were under the responsibility of international organizations, appeared to be the core concerns to achieve a stable and secure environment.

Bauman exemplifies the abilities and inabilities of SFOR by the search of Bosnian Serb compound on Mount Zeb for illegal storage of weapons by SFOR troops. The special protection regiment of Ratkov Mladić, Chief of General Staff of Bosnian Serbs during the war and responsible for major war atrocities, thwarted the inspections of the compound. It was, later, understood that Mladić's presence in the barracks was the main reason for the presence of weapons and Serbian aggression against inspection teams. After long discussions

[433] Interview with Jack Guy, Former PSYOP Chief of IFOR, SFOR, ISAF, on January 20, 2014. Guy was company, battalion, group, and task force level Commander of PSYOP units in Kosovo and Afghanistan (five times) and Iraq operations.

[434] Interview with Mustafa Güler, Military Intelligence Officer in IFOR and SFOR, on October 17, 2015.

[435] Larry Wentz, "Intelligence Operations", in *Lessons from Bosnia: The IFOR Experience*, (ed.) Wenzt, p. 77.

on seizing weapons and inspecting compound, NATO troops attempted to enter the compound several times. The response of Serbs was to broadcast news on TVs and radios that the Serbian officers were arrested by NATO. When NATO troops decisively entered compound, Serbian local civilians started demonstrations in the vicinity of the compound to rescue Mladić. Serbs had successfully started propaganda war by provoking Serbian nationalists. After three attempts to inspect the site by personal attendance of Bosnian Serbian President Plavsić, NATO troops had to withdraw after a limited inspection at the gate of the compound. Serbian women and children were the main groups of protestors to attract media and counter NATO troops. The crisis was concluded by Major General John Sylvester's speech before media denoting their decisiveness to start enforcement.[436] The credibility of NATO was tested before media observation. NATO would have re-acted to give a message, but did not.

Tatham's correct attribution of strategic communication to action other than transmitted or listened information was not in the agenda of IFOR/SFOR as was witnessed in the years 2000s. "Materials and communications designed to inform and educate target audiences will lead to a reduction in undesired behaviour. This is the genesis of the ages old cliché – Hearts and Minds. It is the belief that engendering positive attitudes in will lead to compliant downstream behaviours."[437]

PSYOP was both to inform and convince on the way to urge parties for compromise for a better and common future. It would seem easy to prepare products and deliver to the Bosnian theatre. But five years of fierce atrocity and brutally sacrificed lives made that purpose hard to achieve, especially in a limited time frame of NATO. The themes were limited by early warnings and cautions at the initial stages of the conflict. The course of the events led the efforts to be involved in civilian tasks of the UN mission allotted to international organizations. In this frame, the PSYOP task force presented messages in a specific sequence to obtain a cumulative effect leading to a change in attitudes of local communities of three ethnicities.[438]

The word 'psychological' was not preferred to describe the activity to refrain from the reactions of local communities and allies. Besides some NATO members did not want to be associated with a "psychological operations campaign". France, for instance, had strong resistance to use this word since they had overwhelmingly used this word in the War of

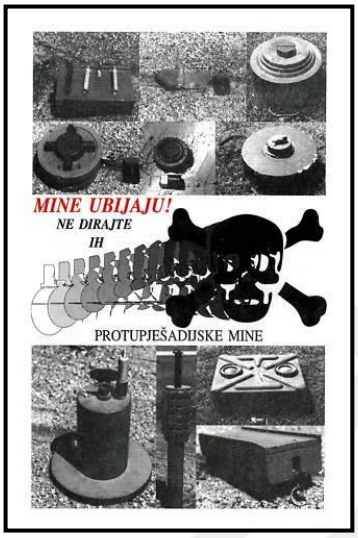
[436] Baumann, "IFOR Redefines the Bosnian Situation", pp. 101-104.

[437] Ibid.

[438] Mark R. Jacopson, "Tactical PSYOP Support to Task Force Eagle", in *Lessons from Bosnia: The IFOR Experience*, (ed.) Wentz, p. 194.

Algeria in 1960s that was blamed to be a dirty face of the war.[439] Hence "IFOR Information Campaign" seemed to ease these fears by using 'information' rather than 'psychological'.[440]

Initial PSYOP engagement of IFOR had problems of communicating with target audiences. Social structure and cultural database were at odds with the planning phase of information campaign. UNPROFOR was rather a weak organization by isolated troops not linked to each other that dedicated troops to the UNPROFOR was under tight control of contributing states. Hence IFOR could not benefit from the experiences the UNPROFOR. For instance, IFOR lacked information on the demography of local community since social consequences of war were devastating in the country by displaced ethnic groups and refugees along with massacred locals. IFOR had to start its overall engagement from ground point. A war-torn Bosnia, full of hatred against the other ethnicities complicated the symptoms of peace support operations and degraded information operations. Daily occurrences on the field and civilian security concerns like mine awareness, formed the main theme of communal messaging. Mine leaflets had utmost importance at the initial phase of the IFOR mission since civilian casualties were at the highest level. IFOR, and SFOR afterwards, prepared mine awareness leaflets to inform public.



IFOR, Mine Awareness Leaflet, c1995.

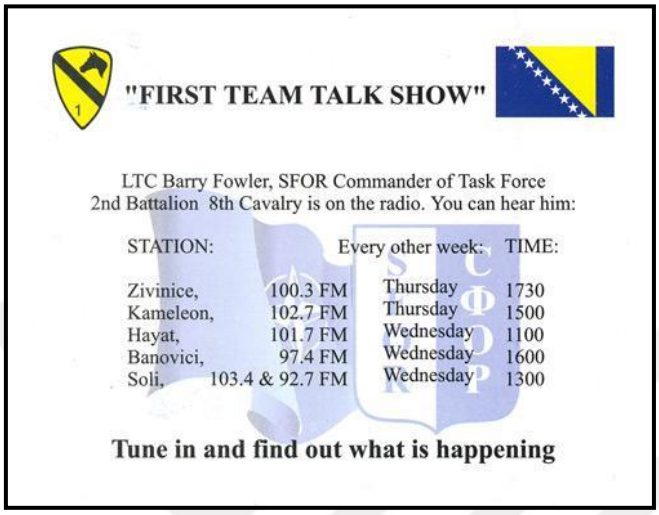
Some prepared products of information campaign, on the other hand, generated confusions in the minds of local public. The presence of at least three ethnicities was adding more complexity to perceive the picture of theatre. Making one ethnicity happy would be nightmare for the others. Hence commonalities and differences had to be portrayed as the main effort of intelligence. Propaganda designers, then, would have options in delivering satisfactory messages to communities. But intelligence deficiency was big enough to fill the propaganda gaps. The prejudices of ethnicities were multiplying the effects of these shortfalls. For example, IFOR developed a poster with a chess game to encourage voting. Bosnians however interpreted it as the international community playing with Bosnia's future, resembling chess a sign of international politics.[441]

[439] Ibid, p. 52.

[440] Siegel, "Target Bosnia: Integrating Information Activities in Peace Operations", p. 67.

[441] Available at http://www.psywarrior.com/BosniaHerb.html, accessed on July 08, 2013.

The conduits of communications were the other problem field of communicating with the former belligerents and local communities. It was a fact that local population's media consumption habits were weakly analysed before IFOR had deployed and forces were structured. While IFOR relied primarily on printed material (*The Herald of Peace*, posters, and handbills) and AM radio broadcasts at the initial stage of the operation, the Bosnians' preferred medium was television.[442] Accordingly IFOR and SFOR adjusted media forms such as FM radio, television broadcasts, magazines and leaflets to achieve integrated product development. The US PSYOP aerial asset, Commando Solo (an EC-130 aircraft configured for radio and television broadcasting), was not deployed during the IFOR portion of the operation, but deployed in September 1997 to support SFOR activities for the Bosnian elections.[443] IFOR radios initially broadcasted over AM frequencies using the organic radio transmitting equipment available to the US PSYOP forces, in accordance with the asset arsenal of the Cold War. IFOR set up five radio stations as of 1996, located in the five most populated cities across the country: Sarajevo, Tuzla, Banja-Luka, Mrkonjić Grad, and Mostar. As much of the media and telecommunications infrastructure were disabled or destroyed during the long the Bosnian War, initial IFOR PSYOP radio operations were an important source of information for Bosnian people, until collapsed TV network would be built again.



SFOR, Informational Radio Leaflet, c1998.



IFOR, Radio Tuzla Leaflet, c1996.

[442] Siegel, "Target Bosnia", p. 77.

[443] Thomas K. Adams, "Psychological Operations in Bosnia", *Military Review*, December 1998 – February 1999, available at http://www.au.af.mil/au/awc/awcgate/milreview/adams.pdf, accessed on December 15, 2014.

A number of leaflets were prepared and distributed during IFOR mandate to introduce the IFOR radios. The Allies produced a standard radio leaflet that showed a radio antenna at the left and identified the station as: *Radio IFOR - Tuzla - Rock of the Balkans - 1017 kHz*.[444]

SFOR PSYOP radio operations benefitted from civilian commercial radio stations to air pre-recorded music programs that contained 'infomercials', which reinforced PSYOP themes interspersed among the songs. Task Force Eagle of the US Army delivered news from the country to be read by the on-air announcer, and pre-recorded music shows with PSYOP messages integrated in the music segments. Live interviews and live talk shows were two efficient means of using radio to support the information operation campaign. Interactive radio broadcast by taking audience into the programs was attracting more and more people. During Operation Joint Guard, in addition to the use of commercial radio stations, PSYOP controlled its own radio station, called *Radio MIR* (MIR stands for Military Information Radio, and means 'peace' in local language). *Radio MIR* was established in the zone of separation near Brčko to provide a radio platform under SFOR control that addressed all ethnicities a credible and unbiased source of information.[445]



SFOR, Radio MIR, Informational Leaflet, 1997.

The contributing nations had their own radio assets too, but broadcasted for limited time frames. For instance, the Belgian "Greenfield" camp, near Tomislavgrad in Multinational Division South-West, had its own radio called *Radio Blue Sky*. It transmitted six hours a week, on Friday and Saturday evenings as well as Sunday afternoon. The rest of the time it relayed *Radio Contact*, a Belgian commercial radio received by satellite. *Radio Blue Sky* was a composed of a little mixing desk and two CD players set up in Greenfields Public Information Office.[446]

Jack Guy, on the other hand, criticizes the context of IFOR/ISAF radio broadcasts since the messages and method were not consistent with the culture of local public.

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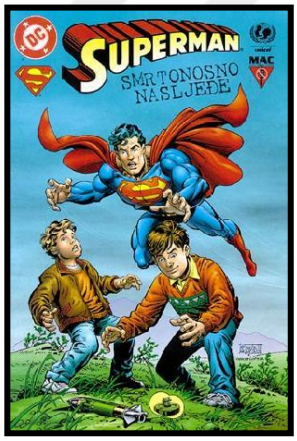
[444] Available at http://www.psywarrior.com/BosniaHerb.html, accessed on July 08, 2013.

[445] Larry Wentz, "Intelligence Operations", in *Lessons from Bosnia: The IFOR Experience*, (ed.) Wenzt, p. 77.

[446] SFOR Informer #72, "Radio Blue Sky", October, 13 1999, available at http://www.nato.int/sfor/misc/radio-blue/t991017k.htm, accessed on December 15, 2014.

> PSYOP Teams in Tuzla/Bosnia broadcasted western (country) music. The message was purely non-sense. There was no target audience analysis and no cultural awareness. There was no cultural survey of societies before, during, and after Bosnian conflict to deliver appropriate message. It was one of our shortfalls. Teams arrived in these theatres but were not really aware of the social and cultural characteristics. Every team has started their activity from the starting point [every time they deployed to Bosnia], without being aware of the accumulation of the previous programs.
>
> Leaflets were not useful. They had to rely on local radio stations and TV channels. We did not understand the local audience. The first thing Bosnians did after conflict was to put dishes on top of roofs to get back to their news and local programming [from Serbia, Croatia or Bosniak news channels]. They were very educated. I have to admit that Bosnia and Kosovo cases were learning process of PSYOPs.[447]

TV was more effective due to its visual power. The CJIITF ran TV-SFOR, in Sarajevo. TV-SFOR primarily broadcasted messages that targeted a wide local audience with broad themes. These "infomercials" supported civilian organizations responsible for implementing the civil aspects of the Dayton Accord, such as Office of the High Representative (OHR), the OSCE, and the UN International Police Task Force (IPTF). In support of promoting peace, TV-SFOR produced de-mining and mine-awareness videos, election registration and democratization videos, and programs supporting the establishment of professional police forces in local languages. Additionally, TV-SFOR supported the military sustainment mission by producing and disseminating programs that directly involved the multi-national military force in the country. As of March 1997, IFOR/SFOR had produced 51 television spots to be given to local stations throughout theatre. The themes were beyond the military tasks of IFOR/SFOR, but covering civilian aspects.[448]



ISAF, Superman Comic Book, c.2002.

Magazines were especially addressing youth as targeted audience, blended with pop culture and American idols. The most famous one was 12-page Superman comic book entitled "*Smrtonosno Nasljede - Deadly Legacy*". The cover shows the man of steel swooping down to save two young boys who are about to pick up an explosive device on the ground. The back of the book shows Superman flying the children to safety and reads as: "Superman has come to help the children of Bosnia-Herzegovina! But even when he can't be here, you can keep yourself safe from land mines! Mines kill kids! For more information on how you can

[447] Interview with Jack Guy, Former PSYOP Chief of IFOR, SFOR, ISAF, on January 20, 2014.
[448] Siegel, "Target Bosnia: Integrating Information Activities in Peace Operations", p. 103.

prevent these accidents, call the mine action centre".[449] The Superman character was successful for the children, but collateral effects were to be concerned. The Superman and land mines were correlated that makes children expect Superman to reach themselves if they would be close enough to a land mine, Philip Taylor claims.[450] Imagination of children is absolute with a limited value system that judgements are usually in the pendulum of true or false.

Viney underlines that PSYOP teams were also directed to smooth ethnic hatred by means of published magazines like *Herald of Peace* (concurrently *Herald of Progress*), radio broadcasts, and face-to-face communication with shopkeepers to diffuse knowledge to ethnicities. In this context 200.000 products were prepared and disseminated only in September 1996. He tells about a poster of three kids from three ethnicities by a slogan "For their sake, peace". The test of the poster was interesting to see the mood of three ethnicities: all ethnicities were perceiving three kids as "the other ethnicity" by expressing their hate. PSYOP, in this mission, was aware of the level how three ethnicities were in great enmity.[451]



ISAF, Poster with Three Bosnian Kids, c1996.

The summer and fall of 1997 brought an increasingly acrimonious power struggle between opposing political leaders in the Republika Srpska (RS), say pro-Karadžić and Plavsić supporters. British troops of NATO had occupied police headquarters, a training academy, and three stations in the Bosnian Serbs' largest city, Banja Luka. Police, who supported Radovan Karadžić, was discharged from their offices by the troops because investigators had uncovered a 12-ton cache of weapons.[452] When a faction led by anti-NATO hard-liners began inflammatory broadcasts attacking the NATO-led Stabilization Force (SFOR) and the General Framework Agreement for Peace (GFAP), it became necessary to counter these broadcasts with satisfactory information. The leaflets to influence the attitude of the voters of 1997 elections were clearly anti-Karadžić by selective quotations:

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[449] Available at http://www.psywarrior.com/BosniaHerb.html, accessed on July 08, 2013.

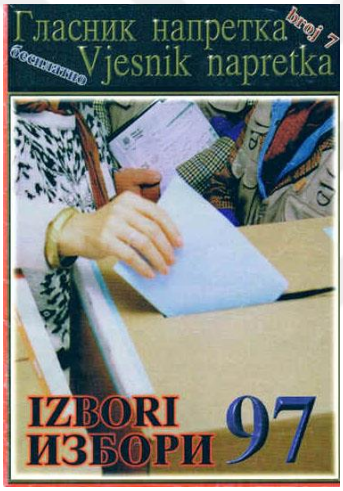
[450] Philip Taylor, "Psychological Operations in the 1990s: A New Magic (Electronic) Bullet?", *Journal of Conflict Studies*, Vol. 19, No. 2 (Fall 1999), available at https://journals.lib.unb.ca/index.php/jcs/article/view/4361/5021 , accessed on June 03, 2015.

[451] Mark A. Viney, *United States Cavalry Peacekeepers in Bosnia*, pp. 125-128.

[452] Tracy Wilkinson, "NATO Seizes Bosnia City's Police Posts", *The Los Angeles Times*, August 21, 1997, available at http://articles.latimes.com/1997/aug/21/news/mn-24475, accessed on June 02, 2015.

> Support the leaders who, by their cooperation with the international community, make your equal participation in the programs of reconstruction possible. Do not support those who insist that problems can be solved by violence. You know stability in your country means prosperity for you and your family. Only two per cent of reconstruction aid has been released by donors because of several selfish individuals who, by not supporting Dayton agreement, are preventing just division of the international aid.[453]

The leaflet was overtly referring to Karadžić and his allies while providing clear support to Plavsić in dissolving parliament and holding new elections. In a press brief spokesperson of NATO, Major John Blakely, defended this leaflet by arguing that "Information we feel they have right to know".[454] The quotation was leaning on economic pledges as the method to urge community since the war-torn Bosnia was in deep need to have foreign aid. Hence it became the main theme of communication with public to have them press politicians. On the other hand, NATO became a party to the elections and its attempt to create an image of impartiality fell a part.



ISAF, Herald of Peace, 1997.

The CJIICTF weekly paper, *The Herald of Peace*, and the IFOR Radio campaign raised doubts about the way in which CJIICTF conducted these campaigns outside of Sarajevo. The early *Herald of Peace* was a valuable tool in educating the masses about the details of the Dayton Peace Accords. After the first five months, however, the *Herald of Peace* began to fall victim to the relative success of the peacekeeping mission. As some degree of normality returned to the region, the large Bosnian, Croatian, and Serbian daily papers, as well as a host of regional and European papers, soon became available to the public. Despite its objectivity, the relatively (but unavoidably) bland *Herald of Peace* eventually lost its appeal to that of the other papers.[455]

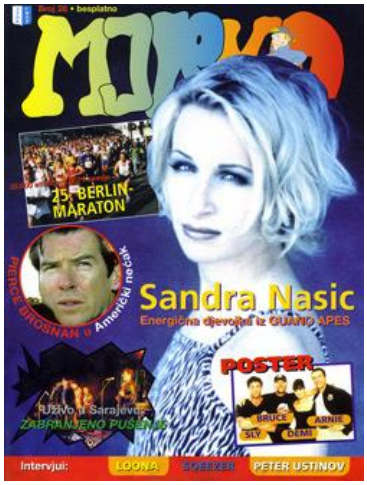
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[453] "US Leaflets Urge Bosnians to Reject War Crminals", *Lawrence Journal-World*, October 17, 1997, available at https://news.google.com/newspapers?nid=2199&dat=19971017&id=xZkyAAAAIBAJ&sjid=b-gFAAAAIBAJ&pg=6398,415130&hl=tr , accessed on June 2, 2015.

[454] NATO SFOR, "Joint Press Conference", October 16, 1997, available at http://www.nato.int/sfor/trans/1997/t971016a.htm, accessed on on June 02, 2015.

[455] Jacobson, "Tactical PSYOP Support to Task Force Eagle", in *Lessons from Bosnia* (ed.) Wenzt, p. 205.

One problem of PSYOP activities was that cultural themes of the radio broadcasts and magazines were too 'Americanized' by the outlined characters, ignoring the Bosnian cultural diversity and identity. Music was for teenagers, but messages were for the elder. Hence the IFOR radio campaigns were far from acquiring and persuading a target audience, Jacobson claims.[456] The teenage magazine *MIRKO*, which was prepared by German troops however, developed a good connection with teenagers, thirsty for pop culture in a war-torn country. The themes were selected from Yugoslav and western stages in entertaining mood on high quality and coloured papers.[457]



ISAF, MIRKO, 1998.

Despite many influence attempts by means of TV and radio broadcasts or leaflet and magazine disseminations, PSYOP units found themselves competing with the local media for visibility after the consequences of war was disappearing due to high rate of literacy and demand for local media in local communities. More than 300 media organizations suddenly appeared in Bosnia by the autumn of 1996. IFOR and SFOR respectively relied on benefitting from the emerging media assets to deliver messages by means of finished and ready-to-broadcast/publish products. IFOR/SFOR was aware of the importance of transmitted information to local publics. In this sense SFOR held transmitters under tight control to ensure that appropriate information be transmitted to Bosnian Serbs.[458] Collective memory was the main concern for SFOR since TV broadcasts would print an exaggerated image of events would have been transferred to next generation. As a result, a licensing system and new standards were established while enforcement strategies were developed by means of fines and closures. The main reason for that sanction would be the influence of the nationalist Serb Radio and Television (SRT). Actually, the other ethnicities were under the broadcast coverage of Croatian Radio and Television or Bosnia-Herzegovina Radio and Television, which had become increasingly nationalistic over time, although committed to the cause of integration and the success of the Dayton experiment.[459]

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[456] Ibid, pp. 189-224.

[457] Available at http://www.psywarrior.com/BosniaHerb.html, accessed on July 8, 2013.

[458] Monroe Price, "Memory, the Media and NATO: Information Intervention in Bosnia-Hercegovina", in *Memory & Power in Post-War Europe: Studies in the Presence of the Past*, (ed.) John W. Muller (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), p. 6.

[459] Monroe Price, "Information Intervention: Bosnia, the Dayton Accords, and the Seizure of Broadcasting Transmitters", *Cornell International Law Journal*, Vol. 33, No.1 (2000): p. 144.

TV war was not only inside Bosnia-Herzegovina, but also covering Croatia and Serbia. These states repaired damaged television transmitters on mountains after the Dayton Peace Accord. The Serb government set up a television transmitter near the border with the newly created entity of Republika Srpska, to broadcast Serbian television throughout Serb-controlled territory, and aided the Bosnian Serbs in repairing transmitters damaged by NATO bombings. Croatia located additional transmitters near Bosnia-Herzegovina borders to ease the TV broadcasts of their TV channels. The Bosnian government received outside assistance from the Norwegian government to renovate and repair 21 television transmitters to enhance the multi-ethnic voice that would have the capacity to facilitate reconciliation.[460] But each entity used broadcasting power to continue sending its own messages, reinforcing its own preferred threads of collective memory, and influencing viewers' sense of ethnic and national identity.[461] It was a fear that radical TV broadcasts would bring back the old warring leaders and keep the memories of war continuously alive by biased messaging. It was a danger for the Dayton Peace Accord.

The international community, under the leadership of the Office of High Representative, launched the Open Broadcast Network (OBN) in 1997 as a cross-entity broadcaster and source of objective news and public affairs programming. However, only a minority of viewers watched the OBN as their primary source of news.[462] The CJICTF could not be efficient by its TV capability in a country where an overwhelming majority of people received their news from the local television or radio of their own ethnicity.

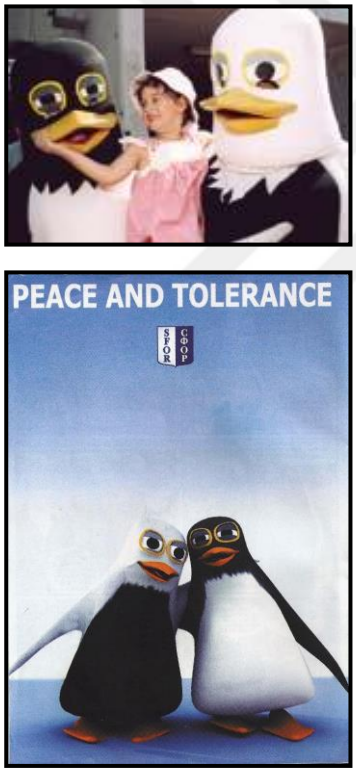
Over the summer of 1997, conflict over the content and control of broadcast media intensified. The Steering Board of the Peace Implementation Council of the Contact Group, distressed by the continuing divisiveness of party-controlled media, issued the Sintra Declaration, a document considered by OHR to be an extension of the Dayton Accords. Within Republika Srpska struggles for media control intensified between US-backed Biljana Plavsić and her rival Radovan Karadžić. The Pale based B-Serbian TV channel compared SFOR to the occupying Nazi forces. On 22 August, US troops acted by referring to "the Sintra Declaration". They seized the SRT broadcast tower in the northeastern town of Udrigovo to prevent possible clashes between Plavsić and Karadžić supporters. The resulting negotiations between the SFOR and the Pale authorities produced a document that became

[460] Monroe E. Price, Beata Rozumilowicz, Stefaan G. Verhulst, *Media Reform: Democratizing the Media, Democratizing the State* (London: Routledge, 2002), pp. 92-97.

[461] Ibid, p. 76.

[462] Available at http://www.pressreference.com/Be-Co/Bosnia-Herzegovina.html, accessed on July 24, 2015.

known as the Udrigovo Agreement. SFOR handed back the tower to the SRT authorities in Pale, and in return the Pale authorities agreed to certain conditions for resumed broadcasting. Pursuant to the Agreement, the media of the Serb Republic would stop producing inflammatory reports against SFOR and the other international organizations implementing the Dayton Accords; SRT would regularly provide an hour of prime-time programming to air political views other than those of the ruling party; and SRT would provide the Office of High Representative with half an hour of prime-time programming daily. Price correctly argues that "NATO, the OSCE and the OHR acted as law-makers and enforcers: they required that their statements be broadcast; they established standards for existing stations; they closed stations down; they put into operation a mechanism wholly to revise the licensing and administration of radio and television. In Bosnia-Hercegovina NATO and SFOR, managing what I have called a market for loyalties, used media law to establish the parameters of what memories could and could not be articulated."[463]



SFOR, Tolerance, 2002.

PSYOP Branch of SFOR also created mascots to have all ethnicities tolerate each other. For instance, 'penguins' were designed to illustrate the different ethnicities. The colours were complimentary by playing with black and white. But to the final extent, both species were penguins of the same kind. T-shirts stamped with illustrations of penguins of the same species but in contrasting colours were disseminated to teenagers in the film festivals and schools. The message was clear; the colours could be different, but they were friendly penguins that could live together. Subliminal effect was desired to influence children of all ethnicities.

Final years of SFOR witnessed two developments. The first one was to include Internet to the arsenal of communication conduits. A web-page, named *SFOR Informer*, was designed to inform local and international public about the activities of SFOR. It was a direct link with the audience to circulate SFOR's messages.[464] The second development was, interestingly, PSYOP Division of SFOR converted its name to "Psychological Support Branch". The term

[463] Price, "Memory, the Media and NATO", pp. 146-152.

[464] The *SFOR* Informer, "The Best Moments of Their Lives", available at http://www.nato.int/sfor/indexinf/165/p08a/t02p08a.htm, accessed on April 13, 2013.

"operation" was replaced with support not to have the activities tolerable in accordance with the mood of SFOR's presence in Bosnia-Herzegovina.

Another theme of psychological operations was war criminals. There was a heavy confusion on the authority of who would commit efforts to detain war criminals. Police Task Force under Office of High Representative was the most appropriate unit, but capacity of this force was lacking. War criminals would require high force levels and special operations capability. Hence ISAF had to be involved in advertising criminals and arrests. Posters of criminals, especially Karadžić and Mladić were dispersed by promised rewards for them.





SFOR, War Criminal Poster and Press Brief, 1998.

As can be seen from the examined products, U.S. and NATO PSYOP units employed a wide range of delivery tools, including magazines, newspapers, handbills, and radio and TV stations in Bosnia-Herzegovina. A concern is the efficiency of these products and overall PSOYP community of IFOR/SFOR. Although it is very complicated to assess the outcomes of the directed efforts, practitioners can offer an insight for the effectiveness. Davide D'Allagata, for instance, argues that the Bosnian case was a clear failure before, during, and after IFOR and SFOR missions if propaganda efficiency is concerned.[465] Reasons of such failure claims may change though; the capabilities were mainly depended on national capacity of member states, poorly coordinated and lacking unity of efforts and command. In this sense, structural problems of NATO regarding information campaigns were persistent especially in IFOR/SFOR operations. It was a fact that intelligence and propaganda derivative functions of these NATO units lacked adequate experience in Bosnia.

The question 'to what extent information campaign softened the enmity among ethnicities and promoted a sustainable peace?' can be found in the speeches of politicians and voter preferences. Bosnian Serb member of Presidential Council, Dragan Cavić, warns the High Representative by his threat like sentences: "The Republika Sırpska is a result of a

[465] Interview with Davide D'Allagata, PSYOP professional in Italian Ministry of Defence, email message to the author on January 20, 2014.

four-year fight of the Serb people ... not a gift of the international community."[466] He also threatened that it might organise a referendum on its status within Bosnia. Overwhelming victory of 2016 referendum on September 26, 2016 to celebrate "statehood holiday on January 9" indicates to what extent the efforts of international community has failed in Bosnia and finds body in the speech of Milorad Dodik (Republika Srpska's President): "We must show that we can no longer be told what to do, what and how to celebrate. I voted in this, I will vote in the big referendum if needed.[467] Then, lack of previous efficient information campaign, which could be proactive and interactive, could not stop radical nationalism of Bosnian ethnic communities. Extremism, as can be seen in the language of local politicians, is merely contained, but never fully exterminated in Bosnia.

5.8. Conclusion

Bosnia was different from the previously witnessed conflicts of the Cold War. There was a long war of atrocities with devastating civilian loss built upon centuries of hatred perception of the other ethnicity. Genocides and 'unreasoned' killings of civilians by combatant parties were justified by prejudiced stereotypes of ethnic identity. One main reason was that ethnic leaders were successful to mobilize 'forgotten' ethnic identities and escalate crisis. It was a pure realist struggle to gain dominance and grab more territory cleaned of the other ethnicity. Hence the UN and NATO faced with skilful belligerents to persuade their own publics on the way of radicalizing their communities by efficient propaganda capacity.

Contrary to local belligerents, intelligence and propaganda activities of the UN, European states and the USA were scattered, not coordinated, and self-interested during the conflict. But the Dayton negotiations in the USA can be outlined as a success to persuade ethnic leaders by carefully influencing their perception. Thanks to this strategy, ethnic leaders had learned to sacrifice from their cause, but come to common terms. The Post-Dayton era was rather limited success in terms of military intelligence and propaganda under the command authority of NATO. It had to face a post-conflict environment that it was not prepared with conventional propaganda and affiliated intelligence capabilities, if new operation environment was concerned. Intelligence was conventionally structured and was still a national prerogative. Besides propaganda activities were not priority or concern of military intelligence. The existing limited propaganda, on the other hand, was security

[466] Martina Fisher, *Peace Building and Civil Society in Bosnia Herzegovina: Ten Years After Dayton*, (Berlin: Lit Verlag, 2007), p. 61.

[467] Eleanor Rose, "Bosnian Serbs Defy State with Referendum Landslide", *Balkan Insight*, September 25, 2016, available at http://www.balkaninsight.com/en/article/republika-srpska-referendum-early-results-09-25-2016, accessed on November 11, 2016.

oriented rather than influencing the behavioural cascade of the local publics. There were attempts to circulate toleration of the other culture, but it was not as strong as the radicalization efforts of local ethnic leaders. NATO did not hesitate to perform coercive actions to prevent counter propaganda efforts of, mainly, the Serbs. But it could not fill the vacuum by effective communication strategy.

There were structural flaws of NATO in exercising propaganda. The initial one was the lack of background information on the socio-culture aspect of local publics. A comprehensive analysis of ethnicities had to be performed in terms of their common features to promote unity and common faith. Secondly the coordination among constituent commands in drafting communication products was limited. Each national multinational division was manufacturing its own product under the check mechanism of their national superiors. Another problem field was organizational deficiency since communication was not properly involved in following the developments in the headquarters, especially during SFOR's term. IFOR term, on the other hand, was double headed by two organizations with the same missions that caused mission creeks. Finally, NATO HQ in Brussels at the strategic level and IFOR/SFOR at operative level in Sarajevo could not assess the shift in the emerging concerns, dealt actors and new operational environment. This deficiency caused a passive communication method that downgraded the efficiency of NATO's limited propaganda.

CHAPTER 6

AFGHANISTAN CASE: NATO AT THE EDGE

6.1. Introduction

Afghan case furthers propaganda and affiliated intelligence activities of NATO by ISAF/RSM[468] operations. If NATO's long lasting engagement and folded costs[469], along with changing nature of peace support operations, are concerned, Afghanistan has become a test case to see if performed methodology for the perceived ontology of intelligence and propaganda could address the challenges of peace support operations. For the purpose of displaying the effectiveness of both functions, the internal and external conditions peculiar to

[468] ISAF stands for International Security Assistance Force while RSM is the abbreviation of Resolute Support Mission of NATO in Afghanistan.

[469] The most significant issue of western intervention in Afghan case is the cost of peace support operations that NATO's member and partner states could not tolerate. The cost of the military intervention in Afghanistan, which was perceived in western community as 'peace support' operations, has enormously increased to disturb voters. Cost was (and is) not only financial burden upon NATO countries, but it might be human loss, resource waste, time devotion, refugees, or voter's support for politicians. While the cost to NATO forces has been great, no one has suffered more from this war than the hosting civilians in those fields it has been fought. Total casualty of the foreign troops in Afghanistan is 3,519 as of August 21, 2016. On the other hand, human loss of Afghan society is so often forgotten in the statistics. Watson Institute of Brown University argues that about 104,000 people have been killed in Afghanistan since 2001. More than 31,000 of those killed were civilians. An additional 41,000 civilians were injured. Available at http://icasualties.org/oef/, accessed on August 21, 2016; http://watson.brown.edu/costsofwar/costs/human/civilians/afghan, accessed on August 21, 2016; Mark Trace and Stephen Grey, "Afghanistan: The Fog of War", *New Statesman* (online Journal), August 17, 2009, p. 18, available at http://www.newstatesman.com/politics/uk/2016/07/should-tony-blair-be-forgiven, accessed on July 10, 2016.

Financial burden only for the USA shows the devastating consequences of the US-led intervention on global economy. The US Congressional Research Service concluded that the wars in Afghanistan and Iraq have cost U.S. taxpayers $4.79 trillion as of 2015. But "long-term medical care and disability compensation for service members, veterans and families, military replenishment and social and economic costs", Harvard economist Linda Bilmes argues, takes the cost to $ 6 trillion. These figures count only the US expenses appropriated by the US congress, but cumulative cost for the all Coalition/ISAF contributing states are not available for the researchers. Leo Shane III "Report: Wars in Iraq, Afghanistan cost almost $5 trillion so far", *Military Times* (online journal), September 12, 2016, available at http://www.militarytimes.com/articles/war-costs-report-brown-university, accessed on September 14, 2016.

Afghanistan are needed to be scrutinized to see emerging actors and transforming operational environment that directly affect the nature of committed intelligence and propaganda activities of NATO. Hence both dynamics will be investigated to see to what extent propaganda products were influential pending to the announced phases of NATO operations under the clout of interfering dynamics.

The argument of this chapter is that NATO employed new intelligence and propaganda tactics in Afghanistan by using complex technologies and evolved methodologies, but observed processes and obtained outcomes indicate a limited success, or inefficiency. NATO inherited a bad image after the hand over of the security responsibility from the Coalition of Operation Enduring Freedom and was unable to foresee the operational environment and properly discern actors of peace support operations and continual conflict. Flaws of NATO impeded efficient practice of propaganda while intelligence was far from addressing the requirements of peace support operations, especially if negative legacy of the preceding Coalition and propaganda engagement of the opposing militia is concerned. As a result, ISAF could not influence behavioural cascade of Afghan people that is decisive in achieving the goals of NATO in Afghanistan.

The section will cover propaganda activities of ISAF regarding its purpose, means, contextual analysis, and efficiency pending to observed dynamics such as reflections of Afghan history upon the conflict, NATO's involvement to the crises, faced actors, and operational environment. Performed intelligence and propaganda activities will be scrutinized afterwards. In this context, intelligence activities will be analysed to see what ontological shift has been witnessed and communicative undertakings were realized by examining products and delivered messages of NATO troops. Intelligence and propaganda activities of opposing militia will also be compared with NATO's undertakings. A discussion on the efficiency of NATO in these functions will finalize the chapter.

6.2. Afghanistan: International Actors and the Domestic Disunity

The Afghan history need to be analysed to show the discourse of current conflicts in the country. Afghanistan has always been a point of interest for the global players of world politics and neighbours. The United Kingdom, Russia, Soviets and Germans competed among each other to have a further advantage in a country, which have borders with Iran, the Central Asian states (Turkmenistan, Uzbekistan, Tadjikistan), China, India and concurrently Pakistan. Hence Afghanistan was in the middle of the areas of influences of varying civilizations. Afghan leaders attempted to improve relations with interested state actors to

balance the challenges of foreign incursions.[470] Pakistan's cessation from India in 1947 was a real challenge for the Afghan statesmen since once divided Pashtun community around Durand (border) line was inherited as a problem between Afghanistan and Pakistan. Afghans had to search support against its southern flank, by approaching Pakistan's traditional 'enemy' India and super power at the up north, Soviets.[471] Afghan quest to have a 'strong friend' found a strong response from Soviets at the expense of the invasion of Afghanistan in 1979.[472] Soviet intervention initiated a long-term war in Afghanistan, which created unity of rebellion among traditionally competing Afghan tribes. But the end of Soviet invasion did not bring peace to Afghanistan due to internal power struggle of mujahidin leaders. Tens of thousands of Afghan civilians and mujahidin were killed during brutal fights among various factions of mujahidin groups.[473] Eventually Afghanistan was divided due to ethnic and sectarian struggles after the Soviet withdrawal.

The failure of mujahidin groups to unite and build a democratic government plunged the country into a bloody civil war.[474] Apart from internal ethnic dynamics, external state actors – Pakistan, Saudi Arabia, and Iran – also escalated internal conflict among Afghan ethnicities.[475] Former Prime Minister Hekmatyar (Pashtun) received operational, financial, and military support from Pakistan[476] while Iran's support was funnelled to Shia Hazara Abdul Ali Mazari's Hezb-i Wahdat forces. Saudis supported 'Wahabi' Sayyaf of Pashtuns and his Ittihad-i Islami faction. Rashid Dostum, legendary leader of Uzbek and Turkmens enjoyed the support of Central Asian Turkic states and Turkey.[477] Afghanistan had become a

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[470] Lousie Dupree, *Afghanistan* (New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1980), pp. 478-479.

[471] Nabi Misdaq, *Afghanistan: Political Frailty and External Interference* (New York: Routledge, 2006), p. 298.

[472] Esadullah Oguz, *Hedef Ülke Afganistan* (İstanbul: Doğan Kitapçılık, 2001), pp. 90-121; Antony Arnold, *Afghanistan: The Soviet Invasion in Perspective* (New Delhi: Arnold-Heinaman, 1985), p. 162.

[473] Rauf Beg, *Adı Afganistan'dı: Taliban'ın Eline Nasıl Düştü?,* (İstanbul: Turan Kültür Vakfı, 2001), pp. 282-393.

[474] Lieutenant General Rauf Beg reviews the brutality of Afghan civil war after the Soviet troops had withdrawn from Afghanistan, reminding how warlords of Afghan tribes pursued a classical realist tradition to hold power. The warlords in Afghanistan like Dostum of Uzbek-Turkmens, Masood of Tadjiks, Hekmatyar of Pashtuns, or Abdul Ali Mazari of Hazara communities tried to balance each other by building temporary alliances among themselves while Afghan spirit sometimes made them united against common enemies. Competition of ethnicities was a war of intelligence to check the rivals and build superiority by means propaganda. Beg, *Adı Afganistan'dı: Taliban'ın Eline Nasıl Düştü?*, p. 286.

[475] Ibid, p. 316.

[476] Saikal, *Modern Afghanistan*, p. 352

[477] Human Rights Watch, "Blood-Stained Hands, Past Atrocities in Kabul and Afghanistan's Legacy of Impunity", available at http://www.hrw.org/en/reports/2005/07/06/blood-stained-hands, accessed

ground for international competition. On the other hand, the US Government had ignored the developments in Afghanistan after the collapse of the Soviets that these state actors could freely escalate the tension in accordance with their national agendas.[478] Pakistan was the main pillar of the US policy that prepared the emergence of once 'prepared' madrasa student-fighter against the Soviets to build a state mechanism for Pakistan'n interests. These madrasa students, known as Taliban, entered Afghan territory and swept Mujahidin groups of various ethnicities thanks to the support of Pakistan and the USA.[479] Taliban cleaned up to 80 per cent of Afghanistan from mujahidin, except a portion of northern sector, and built the Islamic Republic of Afghanistan under stict *Sharia* rules.[480] The Pashtun dominated Taliban "shura" systems introduced concrete rules upon social life of Afghan individuals. Besides Taliban offered free entry to foreign terror networks to train their recruits, plan attacks to western targets, and enjoy safe heavens in Afghan territory.[481] Al Qaeda, the most prominent among these terrorist organizations, acted globally to spread extremism and diffused to radical communities of Islamic societies. Afghanistan had become a playground of intelligence services, ethnic rivalries, warlord enmities, and foreign terror networks that instability would diffuse not only in Afghanistan and surrounding states but the globe. On the other hand, Rashid Dostum of Afghan Turks and Ahmad Shah Masood of Afghan Tajiks built the United Islamic Front for Salvation of Afghanistan (UIFSA), commonly known as the "Northern Alliance" to resist against Taliban.[482] Afghanistan was divided between Taliban and the Northern Alliance until the shaking attacks of Al Qaeda in 9/11 and consequent intervention of the USA.

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on July 1, 2016; Jeanne K. Giraldo and Harold A.Trinkunas, *Terrorism Financing and State Responses: A Comparative Perspective* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2007), p. 110.

[478] Ali A. Jalali, "The Future of Afghanistan", *Strategic Studies Institute, Parameters (Journal)*, (Spring 2006), p. 4, available at http://strategicstudiesinstitute.army.mil/pubs/parameters/articles/06spring/jalali.pdf, accessed on July 11, 2016.

[479] William Maley, *Fundamentalism Reborn? Afghanistan and the Taliban* (London: Hurst & Company, 1998), p. 132.

[480] Georger K. Walker, "The Lawfulness of Operation Enduring Freedom's Self-Defense Responses", *Valparaiso University Law Review*, Vol. 37, No. 2 (2003), pp. 505-506.

[481] Neamtoullah Nojumi, *The Rise of the Taliban in Afghanistan: Mass Mobilization, Civil War, and the Future of the Region*. New York: Palgrave, 2002, pp. 117-132.

[482] BBC, "Afghanistan's Northern Alliance", avaliable at http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/south_asia/1552994.stm, accessed on January 12, 2017.

6.3. 9/11 and the US Intervention in Afghanistan

In September 2001, two remarkable events took place. The first one was that Al Qaeda terrorists, who pretended to be TV reporters, assassinated Ahmad Shah Masood at his home by a bomb hidden in their camera. Masood had claimed having the intelligence of a devastating terror attack in the West prior to his assasination.[483] Al Qaeda probably perceived him as a threat towards its agenda and eliminated a strong figure in Afghanistan. Besides his death could breach the unity of the Northern Alliance against the Taliban rule.[484] The second event, 9/11, had global outcomes by the attacks to the World Trade Centre and Pentagon.[485] As a response, the Coalition, led by the United States, started Operation Enduring Freedom[486] to destroy Al Qaeda's infrastructure and overthrow Taliban regime.[487] The Taliban regime had been overthrown and the Al-Qaeda leadership was dispersed 102 days after the 9/11.[488]

Quick battlefield success left the Coalition and the United Nations[489] to manage a fast but compromised political transition. A hasty peace agreement in Bonn was concluded on

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[483] Rob Schultheis, *Hunting Bin Laden: How Al-Qaeda is Winning the War on Terror* (New York: Skyhorse Publishing, 2008), p. 128.

[484] Ahmad Rashid, "Afghanistan Resistance Leader Feared Dead in Blast", September 11, 2001, avaliable at http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/worldnews/asia/afghanistan/1340244/Afghanistan-resistance-leader-feared-dead-in-blast.html, accessed on January 12, 2017.

[485] Allard Wagemaker, "Rescuing Afghanistan? Small Western Liberal Democracies and Multinational Intervention", p. 45, available at http://www.bundesheer.at/pdf_pool/publikationen/civ_mil_coop_bsp_afgha_004_rescuin_afghanistan_a_wagemaker_42.pdf, accessed on June 12, 2016.

[486] Operation Enduring Freedom had six objectives announced as making clear that Taliban leaders were not acceptable, acquiring intelligence for further operations, developing relations with the groups in Afghanistan, making it difficult for terrorist operations to use Afghanistan a base of operations, balancing over Taliban in favour of the other Afghan groups, and providing humanitarian relief to suffering Afghans. Johnson, David E., *Learning Large Lessons: The Evolving Roles of Ground Power and Air Power in the Post-Cold War Era* (Santa Monica: RAND, 2007), pp. 91-92.

[487] Tucker, Spencer C., *US Conflicts in the 21st Century: Afghanistan War, Iraq War, and the War on Terror* (Colorado: ABC-Clio, 2016), p. 752.

[488] The US Air Force Historical Support Division, "Operation Enduring Freedom", available at http://www.afhso.af.mil/topics/factsheets/factsheet.asp?id=18634, accessed on June 20, 2016.

[489] Military intervention to Taliban regime was claimed as a self-defence act of the coalition members in accordance with the article 51 of the UN Charter, not a war of aggression. The US government had sent a letter, dated October 07, 2001, to the President of the UN Security Council claiming the acts of the USA as individual or collective self-defence. The US Government had issued, although not named as, an ultimatum to the Taliban regime to hand over those whom responsible for 9/11 attack. Actually, this ultimatum was a repetition of the UN Security Council Resolution 1267, dated October 15, 1999, which required Taiban regime to turn over Usame Bin Laden to the country, which he was indicted.

Stefan C. Neff, *War and The Law of Nations: A General History* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005), pp. 388-389

December 5, 2001[490] by the participation of Afghan factions who claimed victory.[491] The peace agreement built an interim government with full authority, ensuring the participation of all social, ethnic, and religious communities except Taliban and Hezb-e Islami Gulbettin of former Prime Minister Gulbettin Hekmatyar. Although it was not clear whether the warlords of civil war would have given up the power they had possessed,[492] the accord provided a roadmap to form the state. The parties to the Bonn Agreement were punctuated by milestones such as the selection of an Afghan transitional administration, the ratification of a new constitution, and free and fair elections by June 2004.[493]

Parallel to the negotiations in Bonn, the UN Resolution 1378 (November 14, 2001) supported efforts of the Afghan people to establish a new transitional broad-based multi-ethnic government, and affirmed that the UN should play a central role in the establishment of a transitional government.[494] Sequent Resolution 1383 of December 6, 2001 endorsed the Bonn Agreement on provisional arrangements until a permanent government could be re-established.[495] The UN Assistance Mission in Afghanistan (UNAMA) was created to help Afghans to reconstitute and consolidate a legitimate governing authority for the provision of

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Apart from the US ultimatum a letter dated 7 October 2001 from the Permanent Representative of the United States of America to the United Nations, addressed to the President of the Security Council, U.N. Doc. S/2001/946 (2001), reprinted in 40 I.L.M. 1281 (2001). The Council had recognized the right of individual and collective self-defence in its resolutions shortly after 9/11. Walker, George K., "The Lawfulness of Operation Enduring Freedom's Self-Defence Responses", p. 510.

Besides the UN Security Council issued the Resolution 1368 on September 12, 2001 to condemn the 9/11 attacks on the United States, and called on "states" to bring justice to the perpetrators, organizers, and sponsors of those terrorist acts. The UN Resolution 1368 (2001), available at http://www.securitycouncilreport.org/atf/cf/%7B65BFCF9B-6D27-4E9C-8CD3-CF6E4FF96FF9%7D/Afgh%20SRES1368.pdf, accessed on July 07, 2016.

[490] Agreement on Provisional Arrangements in Afghanistan Pending the Re-Establishment of Permanent Government Institutions, available at http://www.un.org/News/dh/latest/afghan/afghan-agree.htm, accessed on July 2, 2016.

[491] Johnson Chris and Jolyon Leslie, *Afghanistan: The Mirage of Peace* (New York: Zed Books, 2004), p. 157.

[492] Sedra Mark, "Consolidating an Elusive Peace: Security Sector Reform in Afghanistan", in *Reform and Reconstruction of the Security Sector*, (eds.) Alan Bryden and Heiner Hanggi (New Jersey: Transaction Publishers, 2004), p. 22.

[493] Wagemaker, "Rescuing Afghanistan? Small Western Liberal Democracies and Multinational Intervention", p. 47.

[494] The UN Resolution 1378 (2001), available at https://documents-dds-ny.un.org/doc/UNDOC/GEN/N01/638/57/PDF/N0163857.pdf?OpenElement, accessed on July 07, 2016.

[495] The UN resolution, 1383 (2001), available at https://documents-dds-ny.un.org/doc/UNDOC/GEN/N01/681/09/PDF/N0168109.pdf?OpenElement, accessed on July 07, 2016.

focused recovery and reconstruction assistance.[496] Other than the Bonn Agreement, the Afghanistan Compact of February 2006[497], agreed in London, provided framework for the international community to help Afghans to build a state and develop their country.[498] The Afghanistan Compact transformed the nature of international commitment from security orientation to nation building in the mood of peace support operations, although insurgency had potential due to Taliban and Hezb-e Islami Gulbettin (HIG). The UN Security Council established the International Security Assistance Force (ISAF) on December 20, 2001, to secure Kabul by its Resolution 1386.[499] It was under the authority of the UN and its mandate was limited by Kabul province.

The initial objective of the US-led invasion in Afghanistan was to capture Bin Laden and destroy Al Qaeda network. Subsequently, however, other objectives were added such as establishing a stable democratic state with the ability to sustain and defend itself, and to prevent Taliban and Bin Laden having power in Afghanistan.[500] The strategic goal of the Coalition, according to a report submitted to the US Congress in 2008, was to build Afghanistan as a reliable, stable ally in 'the War on Terror'; a moderate and democratic, with a thriving private sector economy; capable of governing its territory and borders; and respectful of the rights of all its citizens.[501] Apart from the Coalition, ISAF's primary objective was to enable the Afghan government to provide effective security across the country and develop new Afghan security forces to ensure Afghanistan would never again

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[496] The UN Resolution 1401 (2002), available at http://www.securitycouncilreport.org/atf/cf/%7B65BFCF9B-6D27-4E9C-8CD3-CF6E4FF96FF9%7D/Afgh%20SRES1401.pdf, accessed on July 07, 2016.

[497] Rhoda Margesson, "United Nations Assistance Mission in Afghanistan: Background and Policy Issues", *The US Congressional Research Service Report*, December 27, 2010, available at https://www.fas.org/sgp/crs/row/R40747.pdf, accessed on July 16, 2016.

[498] International Monetary Fund and Islamic Republic of Afghanistan, "Afghanistan National Development Strategy: An Interim Strategy For Security, Governance, Economic Growth & Poverty Reduction", March 18, 2006, p. 18, available at https://www.imf.org/external/pubs/ft/scr/2006/cr06194.pdf, accessed on July 10, 2016.

[499] The UN Resolution 1386 (2001), available at http://www.securitycouncilreport.org/atf/cf/%7B65BFCF9B-6D27-4E9C-8CD3-CF6E4FF96FF9%7D/Afgh%20SRES1386.pdf, accessed on July 07, 2016.

[500] Nake M. Kamrany, "Ending the 30-Year War in Afghanistan 1979-2009: In the Grip of Conflict", *Viewpoints Special Edition, The Middle East Institute*, December 2009, p. 80. Available at http://www.mei.edu/content/ending-30-year-war-afghanistan, accessed on July 11, 2016.

[501] Report to the US Congress in accordance with the 2008 National Defense Authorization Act, "Report on Progress toward Security and Stability in Afghanistan", June 2008, p. 5. Available at http://www.dod.mil/pubs/foi/Reading_Room/Joint_Staff/10-F-0018_Report_on_Progress_Toward_Security_and_Stability_in_Aghanistan.pdf, accessed on July 11, 2016.

become a safe haven for terrorists[502]. ISAF assumed its responsibility while the Coalition was performing combat tasks that Afghan public could not distinguish ISAF from the Coalition for a long time. Hence ISAF faced the legacy of Coalition that ISAF had to fix and re-make its image to achieve its objectives.

6.4. The Legacy of the Coalition Forces (2001-2003)

What the Coalition engaged was to topple the Taliban regime and spur off Al Qaeda. Hence, they started combat oriented intelligence and propaganda. But ISAF was under the clout of these practices since the continuum of intelligence and propaganda discourse directly shaped the efficiency of ISAF. This section will cover a contextual analysis of intelligence and propaganda efforts of the Coalition to better understand in what conditions ISAF employed its intelligence and propaganda activities.

6.4.1. Conventional Thinking in Intelligence

The Coalition had started military intelligence activities to suppress the insurgency by conventional intelligence assets. In accordance with the declared objectives of Operation Enduring Freedom (OEF), the Coalition, mainly the USA, committed intense intelligence, surveillance and reconnaissance (commonly known as ISR) activities to detect and react opposing militias since they were fluid and unwilling to fight at the initial stages of the intervention.[503] The Coalition had to enhance intelligence capabilities to track the remnants of opposing forces within the mood of counter insurgency. As a course to reach Taliban and Al Qaeda fighters, senior military officials in the Coalition frequently depended on national level intelligence and law enforcement agencies[504] since they were experienced in countering terrorism especially in urban areas. In this context, the planning process of the Operation Enduring Freedom had started from the contributions of CIA that represents an excellent case study for supporting a military formation by a national intelligence agency.[505]

Intelligence capabilities of the Coalition forces were directed to detect, follow, deny, and destroy opposing militias. The collection assets were designed to locate regular enemy order of battles, without locating or distinguishing irregular militia formation. Unmanned aerial vehicle systems, as an example, were flying platforms that multiple intelligence assets

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[502] NATO, "ISAF's Mission in Afghanistan (2001-2014)", September 1, 2015, available at http://www.nato.int/cps/en/natohq/topics_69366.htm, accessed on July 7, 2016.

[503] Antony H. Cordesman, *The Lessons of Afghanistan: War Fighting, Intelligence, and Force Transformation* (Washington D.C.: CSIS, 2002), p. 27.

[504] Ibid, p. 29.

[505] Walter L. Perry and David Kassing, *Toppling the Taliban: Air Ground Operations in Afghanistan* (Santa Monica: RAND, 2015), p. 28; Goldman, *The Central Intelligence Agency*, pp. 3, 361.

of various disciplines could be mounted.[506] Imagery intelligence assets on these aircrafts could monitor wide ranges and portray all moving individuals or vehicles. But these assets were to support fight against opposing forces, since their limits were short of describing 'who' was who.[507] In this frame intelligence failures occurred, sometimes with tragic results, as in the cases of the attack against a wedding party and the attack against a compound believed to contain a Taliban leader where the compound was actually the house of a friendly warlord.[508] Furthermore, the intelligence system was never able to create a comprehensive picture of all factors in Afghanistan, an important condition for increasing awareness. Flaws of intelligence turned out to be disasters due to witnessed outcomes.

Another point was that intelligence community was not very much interested in specific social realities, economy, or politics of Afghan people, as was the case in Bosnia-Herzegovina. Overcoming the opposing militias was a short-term objective that could the Coalition and the US would dictate. But the long-term stability of Afghanistan, which would be the subject matter of NATO, would be erected upon socio-cultural, economic, and good governance success of either the Afghan government or intervening parties. The decisive factor was the attitude of local public of various ethnicities, tribes and families scattered around. If the unity of Northern Alliance was taken for the cause of the coalition, Pashtun tribes of the eastern and southern Afghanistan had to be charmed for durable advantage against opposing forces. The Coalition had to scan these socio-entities, map and persuade them not to support opposing militias. Hence a war of intelligence and propaganda had started between the Coalition and opposing militias upon the support of local public. The advantage of this competition in Pashtun dominated regions was on opposing militias since terror networks (Taliban, Haqqani or HIG) were given birth from the local Pashtun entities.

If the intelligence capabilities of the Coalition and Taliban, and the other opposing militias as well, are compared, both superiorities and flaws can be observed on both sides. The Coalition, in fact the US army, had superiority of intelligence technology.[509] But technology was useless if unconventionality appeared to be the prevailing modus operandi. Afghan local forces were the base for human intelligence, but Pashtun dominated regions of

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[506] Interview with Huseyin Y. Arabalı, Former ISAF Intelligence Analyst, on May 12, 2016.

[507] Walter and Kassing, *Toppling the Taliban*, p. 28.

[508] Phillip Smucker, "A Day-by-Day Account of How Osama bin Laden Eluded the World's Most Powerful Military Machine", *Christian Science Monitor* (online), July 30, 2002, available at http://www.csmonitor.com/2002/0304/p01s03-wosc.html, accessed on July 30, 2016.

[509] STRATFOR, "Afghanistan: The Intelligence War", November 23, 2010, available at https://www.stratfor.com/sample/thank-you/analysis/afghanistan-intelligence-war, accessed on August 26, 2016.

Afghanistan was still a closed box for Tajiks and Turkic Alliance of Turkmens and Uzbeks. The lack of reliable linguists was an issue field that intelligence collection became painful. Internal deficiencies of the Coalition were still impediment to build an effective intelligence system, like intelligence sharing, software, and hardware compliance. Consequently, intelligence was short of addressing the requirements of peace operations in Afghanistan by its very regularity. It was far from population centric intelligence efforts, but focused on insurgency. Internal deficiencies of the Coalition like its multinational structure, hindered intelligence to provide effective support to decision makers. Propaganda, in this sense, could not make use of intelligence assets.

6.4.2. The Coalition Propaganda for Combat

Afghanistan was not at the agenda of the West until 9/11. It was overshadowed by the other events such as the US Presidential elections of 2001, the Bosnia war and diplomacy, and break-up of the Soviet bloc. Hence 9/11 and Taliban backing to Al Qaeda, along with the decisiveness of Bush administration to 'punish somebody' as a revenge of 9/11, had brought Afghanistan to the stage of international arena. The US media softened and excused the intervention by selected narratives in the aired news. For instance, as Kolhatkan and Ingalls argue, the messages were based on themes such as liberation of Afghanistan and victimization of Afghan women.[510] A leaflet dropped down to Mazar-e Sharif depicted an actual photograph of Taliban police officer beating women with a script on the right side of the paper as "Is this the future you want for your women and children?".[511] The approach was representing the western mentality towards Afghanistan despite most Afghan men would have been against. For the western media, liberal Afghanistan would enjoy freed women, flying once forbidden kites and music that was banned for years. Lifting veils/burka was also a symbolic icon towards freedom for the new era. The message was that it was the Coalition (in fact the USA) that succeeded liberation and victory of the western values.[512] The actual target audience was, in fact,



The Coalition, Beaten Women, 2001.

[510] Sonali Kolhatkan and James Ingalls, *Bleeding Afghanistan* (New York; Seven Stories Press, 2006), pp. 95-99.

[511] Available at http://www.psywarrior.com/afghanleaf04.html, accessed on November 11, 2014.

[512] Kolhatkan and Ingalls, *Bleeding Afghanistan*, pp. 95-99.

western public to justify intervention by the western values, not by 'revenge' motivation of the US Government.

Initial purpose of the propaganda activities was to gain popular acceptance of Afghan public for the overthrow of the Taliban regime, the presence of foreign troops, and the creation of a democratic, national government.[513] The primary PSYOP objectives were to shift the debate from Islam to terrorism and to counter adversarial propaganda; to discourage interference to humanitarian activities; to support objectives against state and non-state supporters and sponsors of terrorism and to disrupt support for and relationships of terrorist organizations.[514] But the psychology of 9/11 was prevalent in the minds of the US decision makers to achieve these objectives. Hence, they were quick to mobilize propaganda assets. Herbert Friedman summarizes how the US army mobilized its propaganda machine right after 9/11 attacks to start Afghan intervention.

> On 12 September, the day following the attack, Tactical PSYOP Detachment (TPD) 940 began target audience analysis of Afghanistan, including the Afghan populace, the Taliban, and al Qaida. On 4 October 2001, a 95-men Joint Psychological Operations Task Force (JPOTF) was activated at Fort Bragg, North Carolina, and placed under the operational control of the Central Command (CENTCOM). The 3rd Psychological Operations battalion deployed to Kuwait that same month to support Operation Enduring Freedom. Just two days before the start of combat operations on 5 October 2001, EC–130 Commando Solo aircraft began to transmit radio broadcasts to Afghanistan. The first B-52 leaflets from Diego Garcia were dropped on 14 October 2001; almost a week after combat operations began.[515]

The quotation indicates the mobilization of hasty propaganda machine with low-level preparation just one month prior to the intervention. For sure, the faults would be, and was, inevitable in delivering messages. As an example, the naming of the overall operation was important to give a concise purpose of the intervention. The operation in Afghanistan was originally named as "Infinite Justice". But it was altered when it was discovered that Islam reserved infinite judgment for Allah. The US planners immediately changed the name as "Operation Enduring Freedom" to delineate freedom for both the Americans and Afghans.[516] The concern of communication with Afghan public was not to present foreign forces as

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[513] Arturo Munoz, *U.S. Military Information Operations in Afghanistan: Effectiveness of Psychological Operations 2001-2010* (Santa Monica: RAND, 2012), p. 1.

[514] Herbert A. Freidman, "Psychological Operations in Afghanistan, Operation Enduring Freedom, 2001", *The Journal of the Psychological Operations Association*, Vol. 14, No. 4 (2002), p. 1.

[515] Freidman, "Psychological Operations in Afghanistan, Operation Enduring Freedom, 2001", p. 1.

[516] Available at http://www.globalsecurity.org/military/ops/infinite-justice.htm, accessed on September 11, 2014.

occupiers like Soviets had done between 1979-1988, because Taliban would claim this narrative and did.

The leaflets were common message delivery media as soon as the operation began. Justification of the operation was the priority at the initial stages of operation. The narratives were US-centric rather than the Coalition. Early themes were the war-on-terrorism justification for intervening in Afghanistan. They were telling Afghan people "Terrorists had attacked the USA and killed innocent Americans. The Taliban regime, which oppressed Afghans for years, had facilitated safe haven for these terrorists. The USA would find and punish them"[517] reflecting the 'American' way of 'wild west' thinking. The messages were to intimidate opposing elements and to tell why the Coalition was in Afghanistan. Three leaflets were delivering the following messages[518]:

> Members of Taliban and al-Qaida! We know where you are hiding.
> The coalition forces have come to Afghanistan to arrest those who were responsible for the terrorist attacks in the United States.
> People from other countries will be arrested who support those terrorists.

After the initial stages, the propaganda of the Coalition was Afghan-centric, focusing on what the terrorists were doing to Afghans, as opposed to what was done to the Americans. The subjects of the messages were converted from stick-based sentiments to carrot oriented ones by rewards or narratives of persuasion. The preferred themes were as follows[519]:

> The war on terror justifies U.S. intervention.
> Coalition forces bring peace and progress.
> Al-Qaeda and the Taliban are enemies of the Afghan people.
> Monetary rewards for the capture of al-Qaeda and Taliban leaders.
> Monetary rewards are offered for turning in weapons.
> Support from local Afghans is needed to eliminate IEDs.
> U.S. forces have technological superiority over the Taliban.
> The Afghan government and Security Forces will bring peace and progress.
> Democracy benefits Afghanistan, participate in elections.

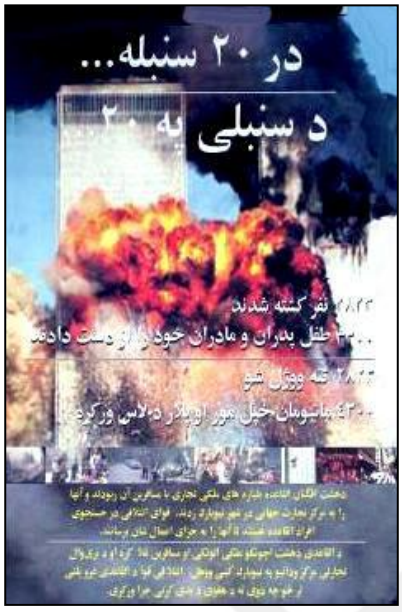
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[517] Freidman, available at https://www.psywar.org/content/afghanistan02, accessed on August 11, 2015.

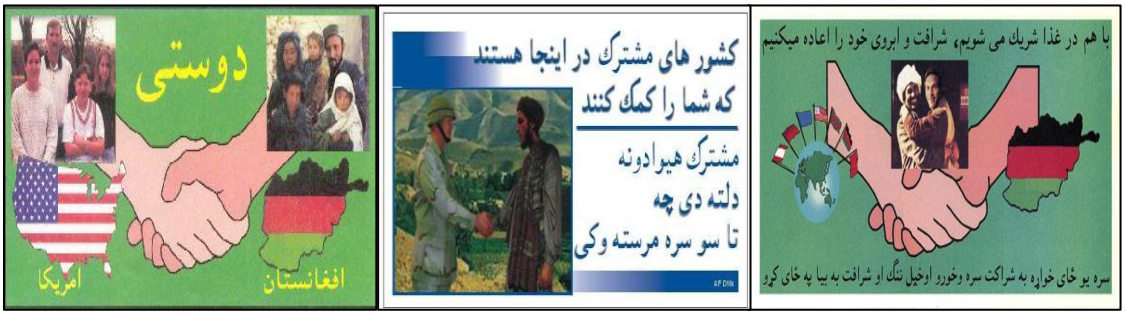
[518] Kathy Gannon, "Leaflet War Rages in Afghan Countryside", February 13, 2003, available at http://www.ourmidland.com/news/article/Leaflet-War-Rages-in-Afghan-Countryside-7071293.php, accessed on September 18, 2016.

[519] Munoz, *U.S. Military Information Operations in Afghanistan*, p. 32.

A fallacy of the Coalition was that an appropriate target-audience analysis had not been performed before the Operation Enduring Freedom[520], may be due to short reaction time. For instance, a leaflet depicted the hijacked airliners hitting the twin towers of New York's World Trade Centre to tell why the USA was in Afghanistan. The text on the leaflet was "Over 2,800 people were killed and 3,000 children lost their parents". Munoz argues that a proper target-audience analysis would have revealed that most rural Pashtun audiences had never seen a skyscraper and could not associate the drawings or photographs of the World Trade Centre with buildings full of people. On the other hand, different communities of various ethnicity and interest groups in Afghanistan responded differently to the same themes and messages disseminated in the same manner since Afghanistan was a country of many ethnicities, not homogeneous, that could comment differently to the same [message].[521] The question if Afghans, with a history of 30 years of conflict, would care somebody hit a building and became the perpetrator of mass killing if compared to the brutality in Afghanistan. Finally, the dilemma for Afghans would have been what would be the connection of these attacks to Afghans.



The Coalition, World Trade Center Poster, 2001.



The Coalition, Friendship Leaflets, Afghan Flags with vertical lines, 2001.

[520] Ibid, p. 36.

[521] Ibid, pp. 36-37.

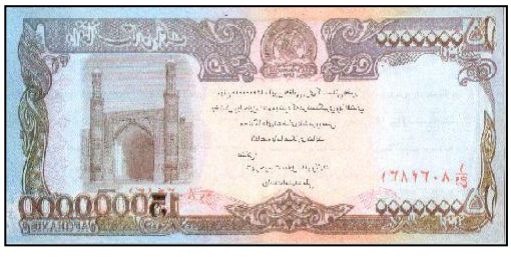
A series of leaflets were distributed as the Operation Enduring Freedom continued. Herbert Friedman identifies the leaflets and their contexts.[522] Following leaflets were prepared to show friendship of the Coalition and Afghans. But the problem was the Afghan flag incorrectly had the stripes in horizontal rather than vertical format. The hands were different in colour as if there was an inequality between them. Hence these leaflets were not circulated. Another leaflet was prepared, but the leaflet still carried the mistake with a racial difference of hands. The colours of the hands and Afghan flag with vertical lines were kept. PSYOP teams prepared new leaflets to show the solidarity of Afghan people and the Coalition, although the soldier was a US personnel. The message was "*Friendship of Afghans and the Coalition.*"

The US army's PSYOP felt to forefront the worship of Islam in the US mosques. Radio messages and leaflets highlighted the Muslim life in the USA with free worship in the US mosques. The US PSYOP Teams' purpose was to show the Islamic identity in the United States to have a common identity ground with Afghan Muslims. The statement



The Coalition, Mosque in the US and US aid leaflets, 2001.

'Muslims in the United States worship freely' was on top of the leaflet. Similarly, the theme "The USA with Islam" was represented in another leaflet. A mosque in the USA and green crescent, which was the symbol and colour of Islam, was depicted by the following statement: 'There are more than 7 million Muslims and 1200 mosques in the US'. There were leaflets about the pledges of the Coalition (or the USA) to display their sympathy to Afghans. The script on the flour bags distributed by the Coalition Forces was labelled as "USA" showing the originator of the aid. The text was 'America has provided over $170 million in aid to Afghanistan.'



The Coalition, Banknotes, 2001.

The Coalition also drafted products to target opposing forces and their supporters. Leaflets denoted rewards, and some of them

[522] The PSYOP products in this study are selected from the collection of Herbert Friedman with his permission. Available at https://www.psywar.org/content/afghanistan02, accessed on August 20, 2016.

were prepared in the form of Afghan or Pakistan banknote. *The Sunday Times* of October 21, 2001 stated that Afghan banknotes had been overprinted and airdropped with the message 'Our goals will be achieved, if not willingly, then by overwhelming force.'[523] It was rather a covert action since distributing banknote of Afghanistan and Pakistan was jeopardizing the credibility of the currencies of these countries. Additional leaflets promised high amount of rewards to the ones who reported the locations of the leaders of opposing forces.

> Dear countrymen:
> The al-Qaida terrorists are our enemy. They are the enemy of your independence and freedom. Come on. Let us find their most secret hiding places. Search them out, inform the intelligence service of the province, and get the big prize.[524]



The Coalition, The Wrong Mullah Omar and reward leaflets, 2001

Although the individual portrayed on the leaflet was not named, he was thought to be Mullah Omar, the leader of the former Taliban government. A photograph of the wrong man, Mr. Hafizullah, appeared on thousands of U.S. reward leaflets. Following quotation from the article of *the Telegraph* indicated the fallacy of the leaflet.[525] Interesting issue was that Hafizullah and the Taliban leader shared bushy black beards though; one fundamental difference seems to have been neglected on the "wanted" poster: Hafizullah had two eyes while Omar had only one, having been half-blinded in a Soviet rocket attack in 1986.[526]

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[523] PSYWAR (website), available at https://www.psywar.org/content/afghanistan02, accessed on August 11, 2015.

[524] Ibid.

[525] "CIA's 'Omar' Forced into Hiding", *The Telegraph*, October 14, 2002, available at http://www.smh.com.au/articles/2002/10/13/1034222682611.html, accessed on August 11, 2016.

[526] Friedman, "Psychological Operations in Afghanistan, Operation Enduring Freedom, 2001", available at http://www.psywarrior.com/Herbafghan.html, accessed on August 12, 2016.

Yousufzai criticizes the mistake by his article by delineating how the life of Hafizullah appeared to be and the reaction of one Afghan elder:

> Mauvlavi Hafizullah is hiding in the remote Afghan countryside in fear of his life... Mullah Omar was rarely photographed during his time in power, and in a case of mistaken identity, Hafizullah says it's his picture - not Omar's - on the hundreds of thousands of leaflets that have been dropped all over Afghanistan offering $25 million for the capture of Omar and Osama bin Laden. Hafizullah fears that thousands of Afghan soldiers and villagers - not to mention U.S. troops - are looking for him. "I'm afraid to leave my house," he told Newsweek. ...His troubles began early this year when he fled to his village in Maidan province after the Taliban's collapse. An elderly neighbour approached him, showed him the leaflet, and asked if he was in fact Mullah Omar. "I looked at the photo and it was me." says Hafizullah. "Now we are even more proud to know you".[527]

The opposing militias were also demonized in the leaflets by depicting them as monsters. It was designed to persuade Afghan public about the 'real face' of the terrorists. But the question was if the Afghan public, mainly Pashtuns, perceived them as terrorists and if the leaflet was convincing.



The Coalition, The Real Face of Terrorists Leaflet, 2001.

Warning leaflets and brochures were also prepared to warn local public about the unexploded ordnance and avoid civilian casualty. The civilians used to collect ammunition on terrain and profiting by recycling.



Danger! Unexploded ordnance can kill! Do not touch! Help us, keep you safe.

The Coalition, Awareness Leaflet, 2001.

[527] Sami Yousafzai, "Mistaken for the Mullah", *Newsweek* (Atlantic Edition), Vol. 140, No. 16 (October 14, 2002), p. 4, available at http://connection.ebscohost.com/c/articles/7514139/mistaken-mullah, accessed on August 13, 2016.

There were also misunderstandings due to symbols used on leaflets. The following leaflet was about the new Afghan government and the future of Afghanistan. But many Afghans believed the symbol to be some type of chicken or pigeons to feed at the roofs. They assumed that the leaflet could be used as a coupon that entitled them to a free bird or meal provided by the Coalition.[528]





The Coalition, Peace Leaflet and Newpaper, 2002

Other than leaflets, the Coalition also prepared monthly "Peace Newspaper" magazine and distributed. News was about Afghanistan and various PSYOP themes in Dari, Pashto, and English. PSYOP teams gave it out to schools as a teaching aid since many schools had no reading material. If they had no books, at least they would have the American 'newspaper' to read and discuss.

Billboards were prepared to conduct campaigns as the Operation Enduring Freedom succeeded initial objectives. A billboard poster was prepared to gather the distributed Stinger (air defence missile), supposed to be used against Soviet forces. But they were dangerous for the Coalition flights since hundreds of these missiles were in the hands of former mujahidin. The Coalition decided to buy the weapons in exchange of money. But poster was interestingly prepared as if 'dwarf' Afghans were happy with the money offered by an unseen 'holy' hand.



Hand in weapons in exchange of money.

The Coalition, Cash Reward for Weapons Billboard, 2003.

[528] Friedman, "Psychological Operations in Afghanistan, Operation Enduring Freedom, 2001", available at http://www.psywarrior.com/Herbafghan.html, accessed on August 12, 2016.

A prominent conduit of communication for the US propaganda was radio broadcast that was not banned during the Taliban regime. The EC-130 'Commando Solo' PSYOP aircraft began flying over Afghanistan in the fall of 2001 broadcasting radio programs on AM and FM radio and sent television images over any frequency even before Taliban was toppled down.[529] On October 18, 2001, the U.S. 4th Psychological Operations Group began propaganda transmitting in Persian language, due to its similarity to Dari and Pashto, by means of EC-130 Commando Solo. The texts of the messages were as follows.

> Attention Taliban! You are condemned. Did you know that? The instant the terrorists you support took over our planes, you sentenced yourselves to death… Our helicopters will rain death down upon your camps before you detect them on your radar. Our bombs are so accurate we can drop them through your windows... You have only one choice: surrender now and we will give you a second chance. We will let you live.[530]

In order to entice Afghans to listen to these messages on radio, about three-quarters of all broadcasts consisted of music that was once condemned by the Taliban. The Information Service also delivered two leaflet drops over the northeastern Afghanistan exhorting the people to abandon, or to fight the Taliban and al-Qaida forces.

> Do you enjoy being ruled by the Taliban? Are you proud to live a life of fear? Are you happy to see the place your family has owned for generations a terrorist training site? [531]

On October 19, the U.S. Government broadcasted warnings of an impending ground attack:

> Attention! People of Afghanistan! United States forces will be moving through your area. We are here for Osama bin Laden, al-Qaida, and those who protect them. Please, for your own safety, stay off bridges and roadways and do not interfere with our troops or military operations. If you do this you will not be harmed.

The messages were for the objectives of intervention that directly warns or demands Afghans and opposing factions, purely for operational achievements. It was as if the Coalition was not in Afghanistan for Afghans' liberation as was claimed in media, but for revenge.

The US army broadcasted another radio message to tell the justification of the intervention. The reasoning was based on the 9/11 attacks with grave human loss and

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[529] Ibid, p. 38.

[530] Dilip Hiro, *War Without End: The Rise of Islamist Terrorism and Global Response* (New York: Routledge, 2002), p. 339.

[531] Sean M. Maloney, *Enduring the Freedom: A Rogue Historian in Afghanistan* (Washington D.C.: Potomac Books, 2005), pp. 22-23.

delineated the operation's aim with emphasis not to target Islam. The reason for this claim was, first to counter the Taliban propaganda that they were defending Islam against infidels and occupiers. The second issue was that the US President George W. Bush had made a gaffe after the 9/11 and declared "This crusade, this war on terrorism, is going to take a while".[532] Immediate uproar from Muslims around the world who still thought of "crusade" as a Christian attack on their faith perceived the Afghan intervention as a messianic attempt. The Taliban used this improvised statement of Bush as a pretext for its global jihad against the Coalition. Hence the radio message was designed to seperate the war on terror from Islam by the following text:

> Dear Afghanistan,
> A grave crime has been committed against the United States. Four of our planes have been hijacked, several buildings in our economic centres destroyed and more than 6,000 innocent people, hundreds of which were Muslim were murdered by the hand of Osama bin Laden, Al Qaida, his supporters, and the Taliban. We see these actions as acts of war. We will not sit idly by and do nothing in these times. However, we do not wish to spill the blood of innocent people, as did the cowardly terrorists. We do not blame the Muslims or Afghans for these attacks. We do not hold those who follow true Islam responsible. We will hunt down and punish these terrorists. They will pay with their blood. America is not against the beliefs of Islam, nor is it against Muslims. More than 6 million Muslims live and worship Allah in peace in the United States, a number equal to almost half the population of Afghanistan. In the United States people of all religions live side by side in peace. Muslims living in America have the same rights to worship as any other citizen of any other religion.[533]

Early in March 2002, the US military withdrew Commando Solo from the theatre to refit for its next mission [in Iraq].[534] On January 30, 2002, Radio Free Europe/Radio Liberty began broadcasting to Afghanistan in the Dari and Pashto languages. Radio Free Afghanistan (Radio Azadi) broadcasted 12 hours a day on FM radio from Kabul, Herat, Jalalabad, Mazar-e-Sharif, and Kandahar. The broadcasts could be heard on short and medium wave, satellite radio and via the internet.[535] Context of radio broadcasts was to deliver messages about the justification of the foreign intervention, to denounce opposing forces, or to announce warnings while broadcasting Afghan music. For instance, the 8th Psychological Operations Battalion regularly broadcasted Afghan music from the battalion's

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[532]The White House Archives, available at https://georgewbush-whitehouse.archives.gov/news/releases/2001/09/20010916-2.html, accessed on August 23, 2016.

[533] Friedman, "Psychological Operations in Afghanistan, Operation Enduring Freedom, 2001", available at http://www.psywarrior.com/Herbafghan.html, accessed on August 12, 2016.

[534] Ibid.

[535] British DX Club, "Guide to Broadcasting in Afghanistan", November 2006, p. 25, available at http://bdxc.org.uk/afghan.pdf, accessed on September 13, 2016.

radio station from Naghma and Mangal, Khaliq Aziz and Ahmed Zahir, most favoured pop artists and musicians in Afghanistan, once banned by the Taliban.[536]

A problem was that Afghans did not have radio sets to receive these broadcasts at the initial phase of the operation. Hence the Coalition procured Kaito radios from a Japanese corporation, and distributed them by airdrops. Afghans were happy with these radios because they could get all the local stations in their own language and charge its battery by its dynamo and solar receptor. After a survey of efficiency of radios, it was identified that local public could also receive the broadcasts of opposing forces. Hence rechargeable 'Freeplay' radios were procured that had special software to access only to the Coalition broadcasts. Dissemination strategy was either to deliver them by airdrops to remote regions or give them as a gift at schools or public meetings. For instance, the radios were given to all returning pilgrims. This was an effective way to get the radios out since each district was allotted a certain number of people to go on the Hajj. When they returned to their remote areas with these radios, it gave the radios a status of quality, since going on the Hajj was/is such an important thing.[537]



The Coalition, Informative Radio Leaflet and disseminated Radios, 2001.

Loudspeakers of the US troops were tactical equipment to warn local people for the imminent cautions. PSYOP teams announced by loudspeakers that U.S. forces were present and that they needed to exit the buildings, stay away from the airfield, drop any weapons, and get down on the ground if they wanted to survive. They played these messages for five minutes before their action as warning. For sure, the purposes of such announcements were disputable. If the purpose was to have the opposing elements surrender, contend of the announcement would not persuade opposing militias. But if the aim was to have them be

[536] Friedman, "Psychological Operations in Afghanistan", available at http://www.psywarrior.com/Herbafghan.html, accessed on August 12, 2016.

[537] Ibid.

angry and make fault, then the message was appropriate, even tough its ethics was still disputable.

> Attention Taliban, you are all cowardly dogs. You allowed your fighters to be laid down facing west and burned. You are too scared to come down and retrieve their bodies. This just proves you are the lady boys we always believed you to be. You attack and run away like women. You call yourself Taliban but you are a disgrace to the Muslim religion, and you bring shame upon your family. Come and fight like men instead of the cowardly dogs you are.[538]

Parallel to above mentioned provocative statements, the US troops played loud and aggressive American pop music at tactical level when they were in action, either to motivate themselves or to frighten or intimidate opposing forces while leaving some notes or scripts behind to irritate opposing forces.[539] But it was not known if delivered messages were effective on opposing militias or not. The author argues that the purpose was not to persuade the opponents but deter for tactical purposes. It was for instant message delivery to deny opposing forces or warn local public at village or district level.

Face-to-face communications were also used to solve the disputes among Afghans and give messages in favour of the Coalition.[540] Civil military cooperation units had contacts with the local public while delivering aid. They had the opportunity to disseminate handbills, leaflets and chat by means of interpreters. Other than these teams, the Coalition could participate to meetings of village shuras and elder meetings as guests. The fallacy of this type of interaction was indirect communication, since interpreter would be inadequate to translate what he had heard or not skilled enough. Furthermore, the listener would discard the secondary interpreted message.

Finally faults of the Coalition soldiers and contractors with messianic thought had breached the image of the Coalition as far as newspapers identified and published stories. For instance, the quotations from bible to the first or last slides of presentations in headquarters were circulated in the internet, claimed to be prepared by the US soldiers.

> Their arrows are sharp, all their bows are strung; their horses' hoofs seem like flint, their chariot wheels are like a whirlwind. Therefore put on the full armour of God, so that when the day of evil comes, you may be able to stand your ground, and after you have done everything, to stand. Commit to the Lord whatever you do, and your plans will succeed.[541]

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[538] Charles H. Briscoe, et al., *Weapon of Choice: ARSOF in Afghanistan* (Arkansas: Combat Studies Institute Press, 2005), p. 115.

[539] Friedman, "Psychological Operations in Afghanistan", available at http://www.psywarrior.com/Herbafghan.html, accessed on August 12, 2016.

[540] Munoz, *U.S. Military Information Operations in Afghanistan*, p. 95.

[541] Freidman, "Psychological Operations in Afghanistan",

There also some cases that US soldiers were personally dispensing Bibles to Afghans. For instance, an American military Chaplain in the Bagram Airfield encouraged the US soldiers to go beyond dispensing the Bibles, additionally start sermonizing Afghans directly. Colonel Gary Hensley recommended (or ordered) the soldiers to disperse, go forth, and "hunt people for Jesus".[542]

US soldiers were also targeted audience of Christian extremists. Subliminal messages of Christian missionary motivations were circulated in the Afghan theatre. For instance, the code number "JN8:12" was referred to night vision binoculars of weapons, inspiring John 8:12 versus of Bible.[543] It was to motivate the US soldiers in the war of "Crusade". The versus says:



Whoever follows me will never walk in darkness, but will have the light of life.

The 'gifts' from the 'American' people were not ignored to remind their 'friendship' by encouraging the banned sports activities by the Taliban regime. PSYOP personnel dropped colourful soccer balls from low-flying Blackhawk helicopters depicting the flags of coalition nations. The idea was promising, but PSYOP failed to analyse the contextual analysis of the balls. There were flags of the contributing nations of the Coalition. The Saudi flag had the *shuhada* (the Declaration of Islamic faith) written on it. Some Afghans and Arabs felt that kicking the holy statement was blasphemy, and the military reportedly apologized to Saudis and Afghans for this gaffe.[544]

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available at http://www.psywarrior.com/Herbafghan02.html, accessed on September 11, 2016.

[542] Wesley Kendall, Joseph M.Siracusa and Kevin Noguchi, *Language of Terror: How Neuroscience Influences Political Speech in the United States* (New York: Rowman and Littlefield, 2015), p. 128-129.

[543] Freidman, "Psychological Operations in Afghanistan",
available at http://www.psywarrior.com/Herbafghan02.html, accessed on September 11, 2016.

[544] Munoz, *U.S. Military Information Operations in Afghanistan*, p. 22.

Another dilemma was the contradicting purposes and practices regarding PSYOP products. President Bush announced in his 'Address to the Nation' that food, medicine, and supplies would be dropped to "the starving and suffering men, women, and children of Afghanistan" in October 7, 2001.[545] Parallel to this announcement, U.S. C-17 cargo planes dropped medical and food aid to Afghan refugees near Pakistan border along with leaflets promising to "protect and reward" those prepared to share information on Bin Laden's and his lieutenants' whereabouts.[546] It was a stick and carrot strategy to persuade Afghan refugees, starving for years, by some amount of aid with a piece of paper that asked for the support of the local Afghans in terms of intelligence. However, the food was in packed-ratios in yellow bags. Refugees poured out the airdrop sites to collect food aid. But the problem was that some unexploded ordnance was also in yellow colour. If the high-level illiteracy were concerned, most Afghans would not read the script on both food ratio and unexploded ordnance, either in Dari, Pashto, or English. After PSYOP realized its fault the colour of the aid packs was changed to blue.



Consequently, the PSYOP products, as can be seen from above examples, were mainly threat oriented to achieve the mission of military formations as if a regular warfare was being executed. A coercive methodology was preferred against opposing forces while the themes for the local public were based on warnings and justification of the foreign presence not to be perceived as invader. Propaganda derivatives, such as strategic communications, public diplomacy and public affairs were not efficiently benefitted to persuade local public, deter the opponents and shape the impartial, maybe due to post 9/11 psychology of the US decision makers.

6.4.3. The Coalition Legacy: Bad Reputation

What faced NATO in 2003 was an increase in the number and variety of insurgent attacks while the year 2005 appeared to be a watershed in the development of the insurgency. The insurgents fought back more strongly than before and with new

[545] George W. Bush, "The Presidential Address to the Nation", October 7, 2001, available at https://georgewbush-whitehouse.archives.gov/news/releases/2001/10/20011007-8.html, accessed on July 7, 2016.

[546] George K. Walker, "The Lawfulness of Operation Enduring Freedom's Self-Defense Responses", *Valparaiso University Law Review*, Vol. 37, No. 2 (2003), p. 509.

techniques.[547] Besides opposing forces had institutionalized and intensified their intelligence and propaganda capacities to gather information and diffuse to the minds of Afghans, especially in rural regions either by persuasion or threatening. Apart from profession of opposing forces in propaganda making, the negative image of US soldiers was worsening the ISAF's daily code of conduct due to their negative connotations. Bissouri, The UN's independent expert, prepared a report for the UN in 2005, explaining the impression of the US troops in the eyes of Afghans:

> US forces created a measure of fear and antagonism that resonated beyond the inner circle of militants and fuelled recruitment to their cause. US soldiers were considered infidels in a countryside that was mostly tribal in social structure, culturally conservative, and closed to the uninvited. The Americans behaved on all accounts like an occupation force… On the national level, the US forces likewise did not consult and were not accountable to Afghan authorities; there was not even a Status of Forces Agreement (SOFA) with Afghanistan as is customary between sovereign states. US forces detained suspected terrorists of Afghan and other nationalities at various bases on Afghan soil, particularly Bagram.[548]

ISAF had to lean on the bad reputation inherited from the Coalition since Afghans perceived ISAF as the continuation of the Coalition. Being aware of the prejudice in the minds of Afghans and who the ultimate decision maker was, General McChrystal's challenged the course of ISAF's propaganda. He, as the ISAF commander and Chief of all US troops in Afganistan after 2009, focused on attitude of local public and perception building to fix the image of ISAF.[549] McChrystal explained his reasoning: "We need to understand the people and see things through their eyes. It is their fears, frustrations, and expectations that we must address. We will not win simply by killing insurgents. We will help the Afghan people by securing them, by protecting them from intimidation, violence, and abuse, and by operating in a way that respects their culture and religion. This means that we must change the way we think, act, and operate."[550]

In this context, McChrystal issued *ISAF Commander's Counterinsurgency Guidance* and emphasized a population-centric strategy that prioritized popular support for the Afghan

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[547] Shurke, "A Contradictory Mission? NATO from Stabilization to Combat in Afghanistan", p. 219.

[548] M. Cherif Bassiouni, "Report of the Independent Expert on the Situation of Human Rights in Afghanistan", The UN Document No. UN E/CN.4/2005/122, March 11, 2005, available at http://www.internationaldisabilityalliance.org/resources/report-cherif-bassiouni-independent-expert-situation-human-rights-afghanistan, accessed on August 12, 2016.

[549] Emma Louise Brian, *Propaganda and Counter Terrorism Strategies for Global Change* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2015), p. 173.

[550] "Is General McChrystal a Hippie?", August 27, 2009, *The Economist*, available at http://www.economist.com/blogs/democracyinamerica/2009/08/is_general_mcchrystal_a_hippie, accessed on August 13, 2016.

government and ISAF's efforts, as a precondition for victory[551] while social-cultural studies had become a main effort of ISAF's communication strategy. McChrystal's approach can be justified by the words of Admiral Mullen, Chief of General Staff of the US Army on August 26, 2009: "The Taliban and al Qaeda live largely among the people. They intimidate and control and communicate from within… Our biggest problem [is] credibility. Our messages lack credibility because we haven't invested enough in building trust and relationships, and we haven't always delivered on our promises."[552] Admiral Mullen confessed the disability of the US troops (under ISAF command) to address population centric approaches because of the lack of trust towards troops and failure of delivering adequate and communicative strategy.

6.5. NATO in Afghanistan

The Afghan theatre was presented as "global counter terrorism struggle" of the US-led Coalition by justifying the intervention as self-defence against terror threat after 9/11. In the mood of solidarity with the USA against emerging threats, the Alliance assumed more responsibilities in engaging with the threats outside the geospatial boundaries of NATO.[553] In this context, NATO undertook the command and coordination of ISAF on August 11, 2003.[554] The US-led Coalition, after three years of active operations against the Taliban and foreign terror organizations in Afghanistan, gradually handed over the responsibility to NATO of providing security, enhancing the capabilities the local security forces and assisting them in the way to establish stable and secure environment as of August 11, 2003 until December 31, 2014[555] under the auspices of the UN Security Council Resolution 1510.[556] NATO was in Afghanistan to respond a global terror network by providing support to Afghans build functioning security mechanism. Triple battle against "terrorism,

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[551] Stanley A. McChrystal, *ISAF Commander's Counterinsurgency Guidance*, International Security Assistance Force, Kabul, August 2009, available at http://www.nato.int/isaf/docu/official_texts/counterinsurgency_guidance.pdf, accessed on August 13, 2016.

[552] ADM Michael G. Mullen (Chairman of U.S. Joint Chiefs of Staff), "Strategic Communication: Getting Back to Basics," *Joint Forces Quarterly*, Vol. 55, No. 4 (August 28, 2009), pp. 2-4.

[553] Laura Kash, "The Transformative North Atlantic Treaty Organization: An Alliance's Out-of-Area Policy and Journey to Afghanistan", Thesis of Masters of Arts submitted to the University of New Hampshire (2009), p. 73.

[554] NATO, "ISAF's Mission in Afghanistan (2001-2014)".

[555] NATO, "NATO and Afghanistan", October 13, 2016, available at http://www.nato.int/cps/en/natohq/topics_8189.htm, accessed on November 21, 2016.

[556] The UN Security Council Resolution 1510 (2003), available at http://www.securitycouncilreport.org/atf/cf/%7B65BFCF9B-6D27-4E9C-8CD3-CF6E4FF96FF9%7D/Afgh%20SRES1510.pdf, accessed on July 7, 2016.

extremism, and drug trafficking" was in the agenda of NATO. NATO had expanded its operational range to the origin of perceived threats.[557]

Afghanistan intervention of the US-led Coalition and, further involvement of NATO's ISAF, was a mixture of counter-insurgency and peace support operations that combat and civilian tasks were intertwined. The Coalition had clearly defined tasks of toppling down the Taliban regime and denying Al Qaeda permanently from the territory of Afghanistan. Operation Enduring Freedom was to combat insurgents, but security and stability could not be obtained unless basic needs of public were not met.[558] Hence the Coalition declared an end to combat operations in May 2003 and focused on stabilizing country, taking not only insurgents, but also internal dynamics a point of concern. On the other hand, the Coalition continued its operation capabilities in case of counter terrorism undertakings. Contrary to the Coalition of Operation Enduring Freedom, the mandate of ISAF was to secure the Afghan government's seat of power to assist training of Afghanistan's armed forces and to support reconstruction of Afghanistan either under the UN authority or NATO command after August 2003.[559] NATO, in this sense, was more involved in assistance, reconstruction, training, and capacity building tasks as a part of nation building agenda. If the long history of Afghan conflicts were concerned, these tasks would be challenging for NATO and its partner states, even though Bosnia experience was at hand. Afghanistan had deeper roots of violence and disasters that any intervening actor(s) could not fix after their involvement. Conventional and unconventional thinking of military engagements along with civilian participation had to be achieved.

ISAF, under NATO command, identified four phases of assuming the whole responsibility of providing security and assistance to Afghanistan.[560] Respectively north, west, south and east sectors were identified as geographic delineations to take the responsibility from the US-led coalition until the end of 2006. The mood of the Coalition was to conduct combat missions, but to provide assistance to local forces and carry out

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[557] James W.Peterson, *NATO and Terrorism: Organizational Expansion and Mission Transformation* (New York: Continuum, 2011), pp. 82-83.

[558] Vincent Morelli and Paul Belkin. "NATO in Afghanistan: A Test of Transatlantic Alliance" Congressional Research Service Report for the Congress, April 17, 2009, available at https://www.fas.org/sgp/crs/row/RL33627.pdf , accessed on July 17, 2016.

[559] Dickie Davis, "The NATO Campaign in Afghanistan: Comparisons with the Experience in Columbia", *Prism*, Vol. 5, No. 3 (August 2015), p. 136.

[560] NATO, "NATO's Role in Afghanistan", January 20, 2010, available at http://www.europarl.europa.eu/meetdocs/2009_2014/documents/sede/dv/sede250110natoroleafghanistan_/sede250110natoroleafghanistan_en.pdf, accessed on August 13, 2015.

reconstruction projects.[561] Military presence of ISAF had been transformed, as the insurgency appeared to be the main concern, and NATO troops increasingly engaged in offensive operations. The assistance mission had turn out to be a combat mission after 2008.[562]

After long years of decisive commitments, NATO terminated its mission and commenced non-combat Resolute Support Mission on January 01, 2015 to provide further training, advice, and assistance to the Afghan security forces and institutions. The claim was that Afghan security forces had reached adequate level of combat capability against opposing forces. Hence it was the belief that Government of Islamic Republic of Afghanistan (GIRoA) could continue by itself, even though limited support would have been provided. The foreign ministers of NATO and Afghan political leadership approved the detailed operation plan for the Resolute Support Mission at the beginning of December 2014.[563] The legal framework for the Resolute Support Mission was based on Status of Forces Agreement (SOFA), which was signed in Kabul on 30 September 2014 by Afghan National Security Advisor Mohammed Haneef Atmar and NATO's Senior Civilian Representative Maurits R. Jochems to Afghanistan, and later ratified by the Afghan Parliament on 27 November 2014.[564] The Resolute Support Mission was a clear signal of announcing Afghan security forces to be capable of providing security to Afghan people and of fighting against opposing militias although the US President Obama confessed the inability of Afghan forces on July 06, 2016.[565]

ISAF was more oriented to capacity building and sustainable security structure at the initial stages of the mission.[566] But the mission was challenged by concerns that caused

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[561] Dave Tarr, *Congress and the Nation 2009-2012: Politics and Policy in the 111th and 112th Congresses* (Los Angeles: Sage and Copress, 2014), pp. 229-231.

[562] Astri Shukre, "A Contradictory Mission? NATO from Stabilization to Combat in Afghanistan", *International Peacekeeping*, Vol. 15, No. 2 (April 2008), pp. 214-236.

[563] Joint statement by the Islamic Republic of Afghanistan, NATO and Resolute Support Operational Partners, available at http://www.nato.int/cps/en/natohq/official_texts_115587.htm?selectedLocale=en, accessed on July 7, 2016.

[564] Resolute Support Mission in Afghanistan, available at http://www.nato.int/cps/en/natohq/topics_113694.htm, accessed on July 7, 2016.

[565] Obama claimed that the security situation in Afghanistan remained precarious. Even as Afghan security forces improve, he argued, they were are still not as strong as they needed to be. "Hussein Obama's Speech on Afghanistan", July 6, 2016, available at http://www.stripes.com/news/full-text-of-president-obama-s-speech-on-afghanistan-july-6-2016-1.417760, accessed on July 9, 2016.

[566] Transition of authority from the Coalition to ISAF, did not make any sense in practice. It was the US Army that commands the Coalition before responsibility was handed over. ISAF's command structure and critical manning positions were filled by the US and British army officers that would make ISAF doubted if it is NATO or the US force. Besides most of funding to train and donate

unaccustomed tasks for NATO troops and shifted the priorities of propaganda and affiliated intelligence efforts.

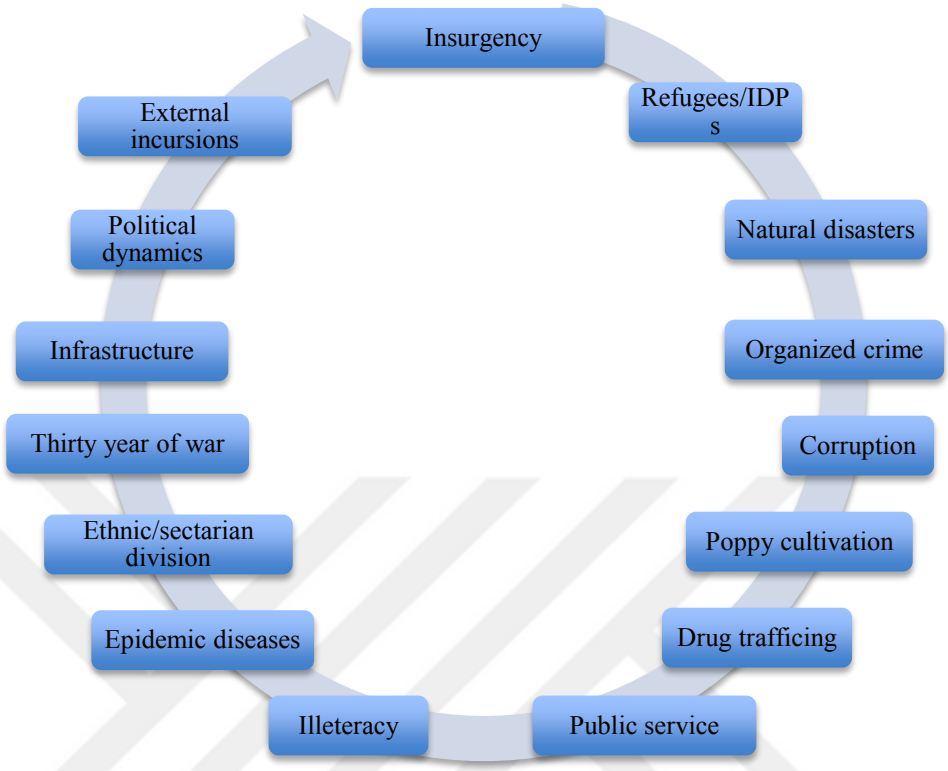


Chart 6-1 Faced Concerns in Afghanistan

The initial concern was the main reason of the US invasion in Afghanistan that was eliminating foreign terror networks and overthrowing the Taliban regime. The US led Coalition, and ISAF afterwards, has met resistance of these factions at the initial stages though; the Taliban's main effort was to survive and find safe heavens. As the second step, a mixed group of insurgents comprised of the Taliban, Hezb-e Islami Gulbettin, the former mujahidin group known as Haqqani network, foreign fighters, local tribes, and criminal organizations began a sustained effort to [resist the Coalition] and overthrow the Afghan government.[567] The Taliban and the other rebels were at strategic defence until 2005 by building its network, recruiting, and conducting intelligence and propaganda activities against the Coalition, ISAF, and the Afghan security forces.[568] The level of violence and the

Afghan security forces came from the US budget that the US military formations under national authority would spend money for Afghans.

[567] Seth Jones, *Conterinsurgency in Afghanistan* (Santa Monica: RAND, 2008), p. xi.

[568] Anthony H. Cordesman, Adam Mausner and David Kasten, *Winning in Afghanistan: Creating Effective Afghan Security Forces* (Washington D.C.: CSIS, May 2009), p. 2.

number of attacks gradually increased by innovative attack types that would be taken as modal by the other insurgent groups in Iraq after 2005 and strategic balance was reached in 2006 especially in the vicinity of Pakistani border.[569]

The following year was the start of strategic offense that the attack numbers and casualties increased as follows.[570]

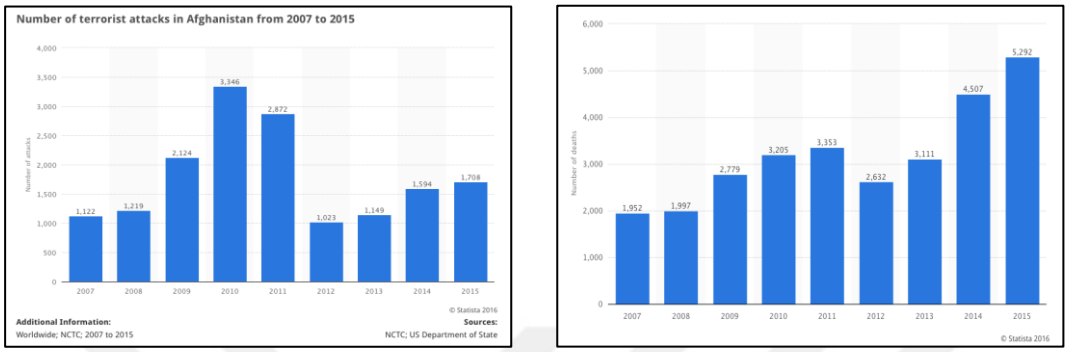


Chart 6-2 Number of Attacks and Deaths Pending to Years

The number of attacks annually increased except 2011 due to increase in the number of ISAF (in fact the US) troops after 2009 until 2011. The number of deaths increased steadily except a small decline in 2012. The significant issue is that deaths peaked after NATO's withdrawal from Afghanistan after 2014 that shows the effectiveness of insurgent attacks by rather slight attack numbers in comparison to 2010 and 2011. If a qualitative comparison of insurgent activities is assessed, opposing militias achieved to keep control of south and east portions of Afghanistan, forcing Afghan security forces to be locked in their bases. They had efficient intelligence capability thanks to their supporters and propaganda means due to "righteous" justifications, attributed to Afghan 'Magna Carta' – unwritten rules of *wali* codes, history, and Islam teaching. Afghan society and NATO witnessed enormous increase in the capacity of opposing forces to discredit ISAF and Government of Afghanistan while enjoying support in terms of intelligence, logistics, and resistance.

The priority of NATO, under the clout of attacks and high casualty levels, was the security of ISAF, Afghan Security Forces, and other foreign entities. Opposing militias of various motivations were executing a wide range of tactics to attack ISAF. Combative tactics that would include armed assault, rocket attacks, mortar fires, improvised explosive and

[569] Ibid. pp. 2-5.

[570] University of Florida, available at http://www.statista.com/statistics/250566/number-of-terrorist-attacks-in-afghanistan/, accessed on August 23, 2016; University of Florida, available at http://www.statista.com/statistics/251408/number-of-deaths-in-afghanistan-due-to-terrorism/, accessed on August 23, 2016.

mine planting, kidnapping foreign nationalities were frequently observed attack methods.[571] Opposing militias, mainly the Taliban, invented challenging methods after especially 2010. For instance, they located soldiers and police officers to training facilities and have them be graduated until these slept members had a position in either Afghan National Army or police forces. These sleeping cells were ordered to plant attacks to ISAF soldiers at any time or location.[572] Another example was to poison food of the foreign forces and Afghan security forces by blackmailing the local contractors.[573] ISAF had to discover these tactics and take preventive measures to refrain from casualties by means of its intelligence and propaganda assets. But the issue was that ISAF focused too much to threat oriented propaganda and combat intelligence efforts while ignoring population centric engagements.

The mood of Afghan public is another factor that ISAF had to count as a concern. Exhausted Afghans, after experiencing 30 years of brutal conflict, largely welcomed the military intervention of 2001, contrary to the historical antipathy to invaders in Afghanistan.[574] Afghan public perceived the US-led coalition as a new start on the way to build a safe and secure homeland. Afghans' expectation from the Coalition, and concurrently ISAF, was to terminate conflicts among rivalling camps and let peace prevail upon Afghanistan. Foreign presence was a hope for a bright future.[575] Both the Coalition and ISAF found Afghan population hungry for security, stability, development, and better living conditions while the quests were increasing as the refugees and displaced persons returned to Afghanistan. ISAF had to monitor the Afghan population what they were expecting and to what direction their beliefs, attitudes, behaviour, norms and values were drifting.

Divided community along ethnic and sectarian hate was prevailing motivation of Afghan community during the long years of the civil war, as another concern. ISAF had to understand complicated connections of Afghan social structure. Informal societal structures

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[571] Jerry MeyerIe and Carter Malkasian, *Insurgent Tactics in Southern Afghanistan: 2005-2008 [Sample Cases]*, CNA Analysis and Solutions, August 2009, available at http://nsarchive.gwu.edu/NSAEBB/NSAEBB370/docs/Document%205.pdf, accessed on August 24, 2016.

[572] Musa Khan Jalalzai, *Whose Army? Afghanistan's Future and the Blueprint for Civil War* (New York: Algora Publishing, 2014), p. 29.

[573] Robin Quinn, "The Taliban Admits To Poisoning The Food At A NATO Base", *The Busniness Insider Defence and Security*, February 27, 2012, http://www.businessinsider.com/taliban-claims-responsibility-for-poisoning-the-food-supply-at-a-nato-base-2012-2, accessed on August 24, 2016.

[574] Kate Clark, "How the Guests Became an Enemy: Afghan Attitudes towards Westerners Since 2001", Middle East Institute, April 18, 2012, available at http://www.mei.edu/content/how-guests-became-enemy-afghan-attitudes-towards-westerners-2001, accessed on August 24, 2016.

[575] Vanda Felbab-Brown, "Afghanistan After ISAF", *Harvard International Review*, Vol. 35, No. 2 (Fall 2013), available at http://hir.harvard.edu/article/?a=3156, accessed on August 24, 2016.

of society were divided initially to ethnic identities, further subdivided into rival tribes, and had limited sense of national unity, Lockard argues.[576] Tribalism[577] and ethnicity are often lumped together and blamed as the main factors leading to turmoil, war, and the breakdown of state order, or to the failure to re-create a [new] order.[578] But the issue was that it was hard to map Afghan social structure especially in ethnically mixed cities like Kabul. Besides tribes would change their loyalty pending to their interests.

A concern that ISAF had faced was the preponderance of warlords (or latterly called as power brokers), who were/are figures of tribal or sub-tribal structure. Leadership of any ethnicity or tribe was not destined to a certain leader, but network of many was recognizing the local authority of the other. Informal social-network linkage of ethnicities and tribes had their own rules in authority building despite tribal divisions were possible. Soviet withdrawal and following civil war gave rise to a selection process of choosing an alliance option temporarily or permanently for regional ethnic and tribe affinities.[579]

Rauf Beg tells how the quest of power motivated Afghan warlords to align with rivals in case the warlords of the same ethnicity threatened his interests.[580] For instance Hikmetyar's alliance with Uzbek leader Dostum in 1993 was a significant case while his enmity to Pashtun Sayyaf was clear before Hekmetyar's compromise with the Taliban.[581] Sayyaf, on the other hand, was the only Pashtun leader allied with the Northern Alliance.[582] As a result internal dynamics and behavioural code of Afghans were volatile and had to be observed. Pashtun tribes were divided between Taliban, Hekmetyar, Haqqani and pro-government lines at the upper level. Localized leaders of ethnic communities had obtained

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[576] Craig A. Lockard, *Societies, Networks, and Transitions: A Global History* (New York: Houghton Mifflin Company, 2008), p. 948.

[577] In Afghanistan tribes are based on the notion that their members share a common ancestor through agnatic descent. An individual may be a member of many tribes, each of which is a sub-unit of a larger one. Tribes have 'brother' or 'cousin' tribes, which are situated on the same structural level and define lines of conflict or of solidarity, depending on whether they feel threatened by a common enemy or whether they compete for material or symbolic resources. Tribes are not cultural units; the markers of tribal boundaries are genealogical and sometimes also geographical. Glatzer, "Is Afghanistan on the Brink of Ethnic and Tribal Disintegration?", in *Fundamentalism Reborn? Afghanistan and the Taliban*, (ed.) William Maley (London: Hurst & Co., 1998), pp. 167-181. ü

[578] Glatzer, "Is Afghanistan on the Brink of Ethnic and Tribal Disintegration?", p. 178.

[579] Rauf Beg tells how the quest of power motivated Afghan warlords to align with rivals in case the warlords of the same ethnicity threaten his interests. For instance, Hikmetyar's alliance with Uzbek leader Dostum is a significant case with his enmity to Pashtun Sayyaf. Beg, Rauf, *Adı Afganistan'dı*, pp. 282-393.

[580] Ibid.

[581] Ibid, p. 153.

[582] Global Security, Ustad Abdul Rasul Sayyaf, available at http://www.globalsecurity.org/military/world/afghanistan/sayyaf.htm, accessed on August 25, 2016.

loyalty of family groups, designed to participate to conflicts in the name of warlord as far as their demands were satisfied. Termination of conflicts in civil war, along with the Taliban's superiority, united these bands either around the Northern Alliance or warlords to sustain their regional dominance. Illegal profits such as precious stone mining, poppy cultivation, or drug trafficking would be the financing methods to hold such armed groups by warlords. The Taliban's collapse and ISAF's process of de-armament, demobilization and reintegration made former mujahidin or armed extensions of warlords baffled and unemployed. Hence mujahidin bands appeared to be organized crime gangs dealing with illegal business, mainly drug trafficking, contracted killers of opposing forces or regular criminals of back alleys if not hired in the Afghan security forces.[583]

Political dynamics and power distribution were the main concerns of ethnic leaders, tribes and dominant families to represent their identity and snatch lions' share. All ethnicities had to have an ensured participation in lcal shuras and parliaments (Wolesi Jirga as the House of the People and Mesharano Jirga as House of Elders) or any administrative formation within the boundaries of the Bonn Agreement. For instance, ministries of the Afghan government were set by the participations of balanced representations. Other than ethnicity based power share, allotting certain positions to their followers satisfied local leaders. Any incursion to ethnic balance would diminish the status quo based stability. Hence ISAF had to take the multi-ethnic structure into consideration and had to treat every ethnicity equally. On the other hand, ISAF had to know the background information of all officials and local public not to slip up and to influence them to have the desire of cooperation.

Apart from social structure of Afghan community, public service and infrastructure were inputs to the operational environment for ISAF. Much of Afghanistan's infrastructure was destroyed by the Soviet occupation and during the years of the Taliban rule.[584] Living conditions after the Taliban reign were deteriorating that deprived Afghans of basic services such as health, education, and economic activity apart from security. Afghanistan was (and still is) one of the poorest nations in the world in terms of both per capita incomes and social indicators, with large gender gaps when NATO assumed its duty.[585] Economic situation was

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[583] Michael Dziedzic, *Criminalized Power Structures: The Overlooked Enemies of Peace* (London: Rowman and Littlefield, 2016), pp. 277-278, 294-295.

[584] James L. Jones and Kristin Krohn Devold, "Saving Afghanistan: An Appeal and Plan for Urgent Action", Atlantic Council of the United States, Strategic Advisors Group, Issue Brief, March 2008, p. 1, available at http://www.atlanticcouncil.org/publications/issue-briefs/saving-afghanistan-an-appeal-and-plan-for-urgent-action, accessed on July 10, 2016.

[585] Barry Leonard, "Report on Progress Toward Security and Stability in Afghanistan", Report to the [US] Congress, Washington D.C., June 2008, pp. 52-59, available at

deteriorating after the hyperinflation of 1990s.[586] Net enrolment to schools was estimated at 43% for boys and a dismal 3% for girls after the fall of the Taliban. There were only about 21,000 teachers (largely under-educated) for a school-age population estimated at more than 5 million — or about 240 students for every trained teacher.[587] In 2001, no girls attended formal schools and there were only one million boys enrolled.[588] Hence illiteracy was at a remarkable level at the beginning and during Afghanistan intervention. Propaganda had to be designed in accordance with this picture of education(less) structure.

Other than education, infrastructure had perished due to lack of investment and adequate maintenance. Hard and soft infrastructure had been levelled down because the Taliban was strict to apply norms of its 'alleged' Islam perception.[589] Refugees and displaced persons, and their returns, were social disasters and a theme of public disputes. Estimated number of refugees and displaced persons were around six million that ISAF had to assist with CIMIC Teams.[590] On the other hand, infrastructural flaws continued after the US intervention and ISAF's presence. According to the UNICEF report of November 2009, eight years after the U.S.-led invasion, Afghanistan was the most dangerous place in the world for a child to be born.[591]

ISAF was not directly responsible for fixing economic growth, building good governance, capacity building, or eroding poverty. But the collateral effects of these impediments and expectations of Afghan community encouraged ISAF to play leading role in the way of security progress in Afghanistan. On the other hand, starting infrastructural

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http://www.defense.gov/Portals/1/Documents/pubs/Oct2014_Report_Final.pdf, accessed on July 14, 2016.

[586] Hogg et al., "Afghanistan in Transition: Looking beyond 2014", pp. 29-32, available at http://www.worldbank.org/en/news/feature/2012/05/09/afghanistan-in-transition-looking-beyond-2014, accessed on July 14, 2016.

[587] World Bank, Afghanistan Country Overview,
available at http://www.worldbank.org/en/country/afghanistan/overview, accessed on July 14, 2016.

[588] "Afghanistan: Before and after the Taliban", *BBC News*, April 02, 2014, available at http://www.bbc.com/news/world-asia-26747712, accessed on July 14, 2016.

[589] Hard infrastructure is reliable supplies of water and power, and the entire value chains that link production to domestic and foreign markets. The corresponding 'soft infrastructure' includes the necessary human and institutional capacity necessary for an economy to function. International Monetary Fund, *National Development Strategy: A Strategy for Security, Governance, Economic Growth and Poverty Reduction* (New York: IMF, 2007), p. 2.

[590] Ibid, p. v, 15.

[591] According to 2008 figures, Afghanistan had the highest infant mortality rate in the world—257 deaths per 1,000 live births due to inadequate access to health service while 70% of the population lacked to reach to clean water. Nebehay, Stephanie, "Afghanistan is world's worst place to be born-UN", November 19, 2009, available at http://www.reuters.com/article/idUSN19176443, accessed on July 17, 2016.

projects could not be perceived as intelligence and propaganda function. But the selection process of the infrastructural projects, or the employment process, was a matter of intelligence estimate or propaganda. Intelligence workshops had to predict what outcomes could be faced in case a project was to be commenced. But the reality if intelligence was at work in this process is a dilemma.

Poppy cultivation and drug trafficking, as the main concern of the West, appeared to be the crux of all issue fields due to the created income in Afghanistan. One reality is that poppy cultivation and drug trafficking have become the core features of political, administrative, ethnic, and tribal balance in Afghanistan. The revenue, derived from illegal production, was/is the main income for peasants, warlords, or corrupted Afghan officials. The drug trade imbeds in all parts of Afghan politics, and maintains the corruption at very high levels. For instance, a Transparency International report of 2012 ranked Afghanistan 174 out of 176 countries in its Corruption Perceptions Index.[592] The revenues from the drug trade permeate all factions involved in the conflict. As government officials, warlords and the Taliban are involved in the drug trade, its profits in turn fuel the conflict.[593] Mathilde Simon refers to Jonathan Caulkins, Jonathan Kulick and Mark Kleiman to denote the generated income of drug trafficking by precise quantification: "The Taliban take 2 to 12% of a $4 billion industry; farmers, traffickers, smugglers, and corrupt officials collectively earn much more. Karzai's tolerance to poppy producers and its illegal trafficking was attributed to the 95% of votes from the poppy cultivating provinces while central, provincial, and district level government officials are allegedly engaged in and benefitted from the drug trade."[594]

ISAF had faced the problem of poppy cultivation and drug trafficking in Afghanistan. But member states had their own policy tools in their area of operations by public information programs, community engagement efforts, and media campaigns. For instance, the UK contingents perceived their country as the ultimate destination of drug trade and attempted to prevent cultivation. The overall strategy of ISAF was to provide meaningful alternative incomes to poppy farmers.[595] Mark Trace argues that Bush administration

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[592] Transparency International, "Corruption Perception Index", 2012, available at http://www.transparency.org/cpi2012/results, accessed on August 23, 2016.

[593] Mathilde Simon, "The Drug Trade in Afghanistan: Understanding Motives behind Farmers' Decision to Cultivate Opium Poppies", November 27, 2015, available at http://www.foreignpolicyjournal.com/2015/11/27/the-drug-trade-in-afghanistan-understanding-motives-behind-farmers-decision-to-cultivate-opium-poppies/, accessed on August 26, 2016.

[594] Ibid.

[595] John A. Glaze, *Opium and Afghanistan: Reassessing U.S. Counternarcotics Strategy* (Carlisle: Strategic Studies Institute, October 2007), p. 2.

favoured a forced eradication strategy by enforcing to clear the poppy fields.[596] European governments, on the other hand, focused on "hearts and minds" – providing security, social and economic development for farmers and the urban poor. [597] But local public resisted every endeavour of drug eradication and an increase in insurgency was observed in the areas where poppy eradication was enforced or encouraged. [598] ISAF had to learn how to conduct operations while deploying its forces around poppy fields. Intelligence was expected to portray what drug traffickers were in charge and propaganda assets were to persuade farmers to plant alternative plants. But the concern on poppy cultivation is a matter of failure story for ISAF.

Another concern, and reality of Afghanistan, corruption and bad governance was epidemic in Afghanistan due to the lack of 'rule of law' and low income of state officials.[599] Afghanistan's ruined infrastructure, drug affiliated economy and poor governance had made corruption a regular normality in Afghan life. The Taliban's harsh criminal acts against corrupted Afghan officials was a success story during its regin while the Afghan government could not prevent corruption. This reality breached the image of Afghan government and praised the term of Taliban in the eyes of Afghans. Individual Afghan citizen had to pay some amount of money from his daily budget for bribing clerks while Afghan administration was discredited by corruption claims. In terms of bribery, for instance, 'baksheesh' culture in Afghan community was a normalized mode of behaviour to have local officials to do their tasks.[600] The UN estimated the amount of bribes as 2,5 billion USD in 2009 that was equivalent to 23% of Afghanistan's GDP. [601] The amount of corruption increased to 3,9 billion USD in 2012 that makes it 40% higher.[602] The total amount of revenue from illegal

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[596] Joseph Kirschke, "State Department Pushing Aerial Poppy Eradication in Afghanistan", WorldPress, February 29, 2008, available at https://www.tni.org/en/archives/act/18003, accessed on September 15, 2016.

[597] Trace and Grey, "Afghanistan: The Fog of War".

[598] The UN Office on Drugs and Crime, "Afghanistan Opium Survey 2014: Cultivation and Production", 2015, p. 25, available at http://www.unodc.org/documents/crop-monitoring/Afghanistan/Afghan-opium-survey-2014.pdf, accessed on August 26, 2016.

[599] Whit Mason, *The Rule of Law in Afghanistan: Missing in Inaction* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011), pp. 13-15.

[600] Mick Simonelli, *Riding a Donkey Backwards Through Afghanistan* (Mineapolis: Min City Press, 2011), p. 248.

[601] United Nations Office of Drugs and Crime, "Corruption in Afghanistan: Bribery as Reported by the Victims", January 2010, available at https://www.unodc.org/documents/data-and-analysis/Afghanistan/Afghanistan-corruption-survey2010-Eng.pdf, accessed on July 15, 2016.

[602] Anthony H. Cordesman, Bryan Gold and Ashley Hess, *The Afghan War in 2013: Meeting the Challenges of Transition* (New York: CSIS, May 2013), p. 18.

opium trade was similar to bribery estimated as 2,8 billion USD which makes bribery and opium trade equivalent level of concern.[603] Corruption endangered (and still endangering) security and stability of Afghanistan that ISAF had to encourage Afghan leadership to find the corrupted local officials and take adequate measures that made ISAF mission far beyond its drawn lines.[604] Because the Afghan government was/is losing confidence since the fall of the Taliban, while the international engagement had failed to show significantly improved conditions in the country.[605] ISAF, then, had to focus its intelligence to identify corruption events while advertising a fair and just administrative system for the Afghan public.

Discussed concerns indicate the need of how to handle the course of ISAF mission. As former SACEUR James Jones and former Norwegian Minister of Defence Kristin Devold recommended what NATO needed to focus on, NATO's ISAF mission in Afghanistan had to be aligned not only with security affiliated tasks, but also with the tasks such as capacity building, promoting confidence and trust towards the Afghanistan government and betterment of infrastructure. There was (and still is) a need to develop a plan that would improve security and safety; weed out corruption; establish a fair and just legal system; put in place an effective and legitimate police force; create jobs and, crucially, reverse the opium production through a sound and innovative set of policies.[606] ISAF's 'security building' efforts should have to supplemented by these efforts, if long-term security and stability of Afghanistan were desired.

ISAF, because of emerging security thinking affiliated with corruption and state capacity, was directed to civilian tasks that ISAF had limited potency to respond. Basic infrastructural projects such as dwelling ground for clean water, building bridges or supporting hospitals and orphanages were the tasks that ISAF could deal by its CIMIC formations. But comprehensive governance projects, which required technical expertise, were to be employed by international organizations. State building project for Afghanistan had the scope of collective endeavour of NATO-led ISAF, the UN-led UNAMA for civilian development and peace building, the EU-led civilian rule of law mission European Police

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[603] United Nations Office of Drugs and Crime, "Corruption in Afghanistan: Bribery as Reported by the Victims", January 2010.

[604] International Monetary Fund, Islamic Republic of Afghanistan, "Afghanistan National Development Strategy: An Interim Strategy For Security, Governance, Economic Growth & Poverty Reduction", March 18, 2006, p. 15,
available at https://www.imf.org/external/pubs/ft/scr/2006/cr06194.pdf, accessed on July 10, 2016.

[605] Jones and Devold, "Saving Afghanistan", p. 7.

[606] Ibid, p. 4.

(EUPOL). Finally, non-governmental organizations (NGOs) were either independent or covertly state-directed for assisting Afghan people within the frame of their own agendas.

ISAF, which had continuously expanding mission in Afghanistan, could not be cooperative and be coherent with these organizations[607], because either ISAF or the other organizations had their own concerns not to cooperate. UNAMA and NGOs were standing far to align their activities with ISAF not to irritate local public and not to be seen as an extension of NATO. From NATO side, these organizations, made up of non-ISAF countries' personnel, were not eligible to share information and coordinate nationally pledged assistance to Afghans. But ISAF had to know what these organizations were dealing with. The lack of a superior coordination mechanism, as was established in Bosnia, hardened a synchronized commitment of all contributing actors that took ISAF deal with governance and development capacity of Afghanistan along with security assistance. The lack of cooperation and coordination of NATO with international and non-governmental organizations is apparent in Hikmet Çetin's observations. He delineates the roles of individual commanders and decision makers in Afghan theatre to invent ways of building cooperation among them, but points out the resistance of NATO circles.

> Apart from systematic issues, some concerns or achievements were pending to persons' skills in Afghanistan. For instance, we achieved two issues together with the UN, when Turkey held the command responsibility of ISAF. We held meetings by the participation of me, COM ISAF, COM Coalition, Senior Representatives of UNAMA and EU, and NATO Ambassadors. This meeting was both to inform and coordinate the Afghan-related affairs. This undertaking was not favoured in NATO, and the perception was "this is not our business".
>
> We had breakfast every Monday with COMISAF, High Representative of the UNAMA, and Chiefs of coordinating departments. They knew that I have excellent connection with Karzai, hence they requested me to talk to Karzai on some topics. I talked to Karzai in the name of these institutions. For instance, we had consulted about the corrupted governors and I informed Karzai to remove them from their position. But this coordination mechanism was pending the efforts of strategic level individuals who were coincidentally appointed to positions in Afghanistan.[608]

Consequently social, cultural, political, military, and administrative aspects of conflict have appeared to be the main effort of NATO. If the complicated nature of Afghan population and state mechanism are concerned the mood of peace support operation has become delivering the sense of trust to Afghan community. Internal and external dynamics, along with international community's fault lines in Afghanistan challenge conducting peace

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[607] Joachim Krause and Charles King Mallory IV, *Afghanistan, Pakistan and Strategic Change: Adjusting Western Regional Policy* (New York: Routledge, 2014), pp. 33-36.

[608] Interview with Hikmet Çetin, Former Senior Civilian Representative in Afghanistan of NATO in Afghanistan (2003-2006), on January 13, 2014.

support operations where both insurgency and peace support operations are being employed at the mean time. Intelligence and propaganda, in the realm of these dynamics, have become the primary efforts to overcome the hindrances. In this sense intelligence assets of all disciplines and propaganda varieties of all types need to be directed to obtain the goal of a peace support operation. Hence NATO had to persuade Afghan society that the faced concerns are not impediments to build a strong state mechanism in Afghanistan. The target audience of peace support operation, Afghan people, had to be persuaded that there is a hope for bright future. Intelligence had to be benefitted to scan the belief, attitude, behaviour, group norms, and values of Afghan society to determine how to persuade Afghan public that they were the ultimate decision maker for the Afghan faith. But the issue was if intelligence and propaganda was efficiently designed to overcome the hindrances of peace support operations in Afghanistan.

6.6. Intelligence for Propaganda: The Missing Part of the Propaganda Activities of ISAF in Afghanistan

ISAF started its intelligence activities as far as NATO assumed the responsibility of providing security in Kabul and respectively other regions of Afghanistan.[609] The command term of the US Army General McChrystal will be taken as the turning point since new methods of intelligence, and propaganda as well, were put into action. Hence ISAF's intelligence engagements will be investigated by dividing period in two tiers. The first one was between 2003-2009 and finally until the end of 2014.

6.6.1. The Era of 2003-2009

ISAF enjoyed the intelligence support of the Coalition at the beginning of its mission despite classification constraint of the incoming reports impeded the intelligence reporting system. The main priority was force protection concerns that intelligence assets were directed to the proximity of military bases to observe if any opposing element was in action. The concern was to understand the characteristics of the area of responsibility. The general course was to have constituent contingencies of various nations conduct their own intelligence activity and report to higher echelons. It was their initiative to determine what to report or to refrain. ISAF Headquarters was to unite all reports from the constituent commands and to make analysis. But Hikmet Çetin argues about the flaw of intelligence during the initial years of ISAF: "In terms of intelligence, intelligence must be at the top of NATO's agenda. Good intelligence should portray the perceptions, concerns, behaviours, and emotions of the public. But we cannot succeed this effort with rotating personnel in

[609] NATO, "ISAF's Mission in Afghanistan (2001-2014)".

every six-month. There must be continuity. For instance, we could hire local citizens, including women, rather than just interpreters. Another fallacy was that the member and partner states did not coordinate their intelligence activities and capabilities. We had information sharing with CIA, but not very connected to the other intelligence agencies."[610]

Under the shade of inefficiency, intelligence efforts and assets were directed to force protection priorities around ISAF camps. Kabul, as the ISAF's initial area of operations, was divided into battalion/company size zones of different military formations from different member/partner states.[611] Each battalion/company had their organic military intelligence assets pending to deployed intelligence capabilities to Afghanistan. These assets were tactical level intelligence formations that were to be used to execute patrol missions and force protection. For instance, Kabul Multinational Brigade of 2005 had a German Battalion, which had a conventional reconnaissance company with FENNEK armoured reconnaissance vehicles, mounted by surveillance radar and thermal cameras on top of it. Short range ALADIN unmanned aerial vehicles were patrolling around military camps. Canadian battalions had COYOTE armoured vehicles that could dually be used for combat and reconnaissance. British Company and Norwegian battalion had reconnaissance platoons of which two-three unarmoured vehicles were filled with soldiers to patrol the responsible areas. These battalions and British Company were completely tactical level conventional combat units that was why they had very limited intelligence formations, not specifically designed for the prerequisites of peace support operations. Besides military units were rotating in every six to 12 months replacing completely the previous ones which led to discontinuity of experience except the ones recorded in the information systems.[612] The issue was that these assets were to detect enemy with regular order of battle rather than scanning unconventional formations.

ISAF, at the corps level, had its human intelligence units and attached counter intelligence cell of NATO (ACCI), which was dedicated to support all ISAF troops. Human intelligence teams were nationally controlled, but they were supposed to report ISAF Intelligence Department, which was mostly commanded by the US and British officers. The challenge of human intelligence teams was that they had to build a network of informants to smell the atmosphere of Kabul. Motivations of the informants would be money, promotion or be credited in the eyes of ISAF personnel. The problem was that the teams were managing

[610] Interview with Hikmet Çetin, Former Senior Civilian Representative of NATO in Afghanistan (2003-2006), on January 13, 2014.

[611] The author was responsible for Kabul's security in Intelligence Department.

[612] Interview with Erdener Sevinç, Chief of Intelligence Plan Section (2005), on March 12, 2015.

their own informants and did not share the identities with the other ISAF teams. Hence source conflict was always a probable danger since the same source may be exploited at the expense of pledges by two different human intelligence teams that meant over estimation of the false information. Besides, the sources had provided information that was mostly circulating rumours in the city. The teams were requesting information from their resources that were usually about identifying threat and force protection concerns.[613] Human intelligence was a branch of intelligence that could be exploited in peace support operations, but it was out of the bonds of foreign troops since the sources were regular citizens or officials of Afghan government who reported general information to have credence.

The other intelligence disciplines to be exploited were imagery and signal intelligence. The contributing states to ISAF had their own imagery systems to take the image of targeted locations. Unmanned aerial vehicles and attack helicopters were dominant assets to be used under the national caveats of member and partner states. Hence ISAF had only the authority to request information in case a strategic and operative planning was at hand. The capacity of taking snapshots by means of unmanned or manned systems was not the issue, but evaluating the obtained image was the problem. Threat was under the coverage of local people, due to the nature of resistance, that these assets were to monitor the extraordinary situations like monitoring the scheduled events or mapping the city and the terrain. Imagery intelligence was commonly benefitted to make surveillance around military bases. Signal intelligence, on the other hand, was completely a national asset, not attached to ISAF. The US army, which had the most advanced systems, did not deliver any signal intelligence report since even NATO members would identify its signal intelligence capabilities. Hence security oriented interception was isolated efforts of capable contingents to provide force protection or plan an operation if national caveats would have allowed. Both disciplines were short of mapping the public perception, but they were heavily benefitted to display insurgent activities.

It was not an intelligence function though; ISAF had two capabilities that would promote intelligence efforts. The first one was the liaising with the Afghan government and local security forces by specific teams. For instance, the Swedish contingent was to coordinate incoming and outgoing information flow to increase awareness and realize collaboration with local forces in 2004-2005. The themes of the shared information was the activities of opposing forces and organized crime networks since these two entities were perceived as threats for the stability of Kabul. The second function was CIMIC units to

[613] Interview with Mehmet Çakan, Former Human Intelligence Team Leader (2005, 2012), on March 12, 2015.

realize the humanitarian aid, infrastructure projects or identify the problem fields of civilians. CIMIC teams had mapped the society in terms of their cultural features and societal backgrounds. The issue was that these teams did refuse to be intelligence apparatus. For instance, CIMIC teams of Finland armed forces in 2005-2006 had gathered comprehensive information about the Afghan society in Kabul. But the contingent did not provide details to Kabul Multinational Brigade. As a result, both liaison and CIMIC teams were successfully employing their function without a perfect connection to higher NATO headquarters since multinational character prioritized national authority rather than NATO.

Intelligence departments were at stalemate to produce outputs since intelligence assets could not address the requirements of the peace support operation in Afghanistan. As a problem field, frequently repeating and continuously circulating intelligence reports were an issue field since intelligence reports of high quality were rarely being produced. For instance, a US colonel tried to test how far the intelligence reports were repeating itself in 2005. He drafted an imaginary report as "a white Toyota Corolla with a Turkish flag will be used to commit vehicle borne suicide attack in Kabul" without specific date and location, only to see in what frequency this report would be reported to ISAF.[614] The report was in the intelligence summaries more than a month in all Afghanistan including the Coalition units reporting back to ISAF headquarters. High circulation rate was due to the concerns of intelligence workshops on drafting a daily report. Contexts of the overall reports were about probable attacks or individual criminals with general description rather than specific timing and location.[615] The author observed that tactical level reports were indicating a probable attack, mostly derived from a human intelligence report, but was not a realized incident after a certain period had passed.

The intelligence reports were not about the facts and figures of responsible areas, but this issue was left to civil military cooperation teams, which were totally under national control of contingents and funding. The number of families, for instance living in Police District 13 of Kabul, was a mystery for intelligence branch while information on demography was mostly excused by impossibility of census in Afghanistan.[616] Intelligence was away from producing analysis on the demography and behavioural cascade of Afghan

[614] Interview with Selahattin Gülebağlan, Intelligence Analyst in ISAF (2009), on March 13, 2015.

[615] Interview with Hasan Oğuz Arabalı, Former Chief Intelligence of Kabul Regional Command (2013), on September 12, 2016.

[616] The author had participated numerous meetings with Afghan local officials, civil military cooperation teams, and international organizations in 2002. The facts and figures on demography were expressed in general terms by these agencies. One reason for the fallacy was the inflow of refugees and displaced persons from Iran, Pakistan, and the other provinces.

public if the types of intelligence assets and priorities of intelligence workshops were observed. Contrary to intelligence capabilities and priorities, the actual need of ISAF contingents had to be constructed upon population centric efforts.

The military campaign against opposing forces in and around Kabul, either by means of local forces or the ISAF/Coalition troops would conclude short-term temporary security while threat was to expand its capacity for the future engagement. The methodology of how public support of Kabul residents, and the Afghan people after 2006 as the expansion of ISAF's area of operation continues, had to be designed. Unfortunately, ISAF could not understand the public perception and did not have any strategy to have public believe in the cause of ISAF and Government of Afghanistan. ISAF, in a contest with a growing insurgency, lacked the requisite means to influence the population until the command of McChrystal.[617] McChrystal's approach that challenged ISAF after 2009 was that ISAF would not win the counter insurgency and fulfil the requirements of peace support operations without understanding population and taking it to its side. But his approach was limited by his term and pending to national caveats of contributing contingents.

6.6.2. The Era of 2009-2014

While ISAF expanded the responsibility of providing security for all Afghanistan after 2006, the mission statement overwhelmingly stressed security over reconstruction[618] since security situation was worsening after 2005.[619] Opposing forces, after recovering from the offense of the Coalition, started offensive operations especially at the east and south of Afghanistan. Four years after the intervention of the US-led Coalition, opposing forces could not be erased from the territory of Afghanistan, but stroke root out to rural areas. It was a fact that Afghans, mainly Pashtuns living close to Pakistani border, could not be persuaded to back the Afghan government and the foreign military presence. Insurgency, with its all means, had spread with a covered nature. Hence NATO had to face the fact that troops were to conduct country-wide insurgency operations while employing a nation building strategy in the frame of peace support operations in 2009.

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[617] J.T. Adair, *Leading from the Center: General Stanley McChrystal's Quest to Establish a Multinational Counterinsurgent Force In ISAF- A Case Study In Operational Command* (Virginia: Command and Staff College, 2011), p. 4.

[618] Ambassador Robert L. Barry, "Foreword", in *Assessing ISAF: A Baseline Study of NATO's Role in Afghanistan*, (ed.) Cameron Scott (London: British American Security Information Council, March 2007), p. iii.

[619] The UN 5215th Meeting, Meeting Coverage and Press Release, "Worsening Security Situation in Afghanistan Negatively Affecting Election Preparations, Special Representative Tells Security Council", June 24, 2005, available at http://www.un.org/press/en/2005/sc8428.doc.htm, accessed on August 06, 2016.

Ferris argues that the US intelligence community in Afghanistan [which played the dominant role in intelligence workshops] was only marginally relevant to the overall strategy.[620] Having focused on the overwhelming majority of its collection efforts to analytical brainpower on insurgent groups, vast intelligence apparatus was unable to answer fundamental questions about the environment in which [ISAF] forces operated and the people they sought to persuade.[621] Intelligence was ignorant of local economy and landowners, hazy about who the powerbrokers were and how they might be influenced, incurious about the correlations between various development projects and the levels of cooperation among villagers, and disengaged from people.[622] Rather, intelligence was directed to force protection concerns and provided support to tactical engagements. Intelligence officers were fixed to commanders' briefs and chat rooms in 'ISAF Secret' communication system.[623] Analysts, as was the case in Bosnia, was reading intelligence reports of conventional nature to conclude a prediction for unconventionality. The fault was that they had not been to the streets and be engaged with a shopkeeper or a wanderer. The author observed that majority of the analysts were behind their desks to read open source information and did not contact with locals except the ones employed in the bases.

Intelligence efforts to counter insurgency were dominated by the US military intelligence. Hence it can be claimed that it is likely that the Alliance would not have been as successful in achieving its military objectives without the US capabilities.[624] The reason for such a proposal could be the technological superiority of the US army in intelligence domain. Intelligence operations against opposing forces, similar to the era of 2001-2009, were erected upon intelligence assets of combat operations, but with enhanced and innovative capabilities due to lessons learned in Afghanistan and Iraq. The US army benefitted from the hired private companies to run the intelligence assets and shared some portion of the obtained information with the allies. The US army, for instance delivered human reports of military HUMINT teams, but refrained from sharing the reports of CIA.[625] Signal intelligence, as was used to be before 2009, was not disseminated to the troops of

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[620] John R. Ferris, *Intelligence and Strategy: Selected Essays* (New York: Routledge, 2005), p. 288.

[621] Michael T. Flynn, Matt Pottinger and Paul D. Batchelor, *Fixing Intel: A Blueprint for Making Intelligence Relevant in Afghanistan* (Washington D.C.: Center for a New American Security, 2010), p. 7.

[622] Ibid.

[623] Ferris, *Intelligence and Strategy*, p. 288.

[624] Ellen Hallams, *The United States and NATO since 9/11*, p. 32.

[625] The author observed that the US reports were sanitized versions of which information had become non-sense.

other nationalities. But all imagery intelligence of routine tasks was in the eyes of ISAF contributing states if the report would be 'ISAF releasable'. The contexts of the most reports were covering counter terrorism themes like identified future movements of opposing forces, their alleged supporters, or expected attacks. Unfortunately, the reports were usually rough that accuracy was at large.

Under the darkness of intelligence efficiency, significant measures were taken. Intelligence sharing was institutionalized by software, such as like NATO Intelligence Tool Box (NITB). It was to have the capable states and NATO provide intelligence support to the other nations. Furthermore, the US army allotted intelligence assets to regional commands, like Persistent Threat Detection Systems (PTDS) or unmanned aerial vehicles since these commands had very limited intelligence capabilities ISAF and International Joint Command coordinated intelligence tasking without the authority of imposing obligations since the national control mechanism upon these assets was valid. But the issue of inefficient intelligence structure was not intelligence sharing or assets for intelligence workshops, but "attitudinal, cultural, and human" flaws.[626] The intelligence community's standard mode of operation was surprisingly passive about aggregating information if it was not enemy-related. It was a culture that was strangely oblivious of how little its analytical products, in fact, influenced commanders. It was also a culture that was emphatic about secrecy but regrettably less concerned about mission effectiveness.[627]

The mode of the overall operation had also changed after 2009. It was to suppress and destroy insurgency with increased numbers of NATO troops while improving good governance, reconstruction, and development projects.[628] The reason was that the lack of concrete progress in the lives of Afghans, which alienated them from their government and NATO. Besides the self sufficiency of the Afghan government and security forces had to be displayed to Afghan public since opposing forces increasingly pretended to be stronger and mere determined than Afghan security forces. Eventually a 'comprehensive approach' was claimed to foster governance capacity, development achievements, and security forces reform while gradually transferring the precedence of NATO to Afghans. In this context governance and development were to be assisted by financial pledges to infrastructural projects and technical assistance to government offices. The contributing nations to ISAF built provincial construction teams for the infrastructural projects and built joint

[626] Flynn, Pottinger and Batchelor, *Fixing Intel*, p. 9.

[627] Ibid.

[628] NATO Briefing, "Helping Secure Afghanistan's Future", January 12, 2012, available at http://nato.int/cps/iw/natohq/topics_82676.htm, accessed on August 30, 2016.

commissions with Afghan government to oversee the quality and eligibility of Afghan administrative offices and security forces. If the administration and security forces were qualified, Afghans would be at the first enrolment in administrative issues and providing security. ISAF, then, would be in support of these formations. After Afghans proved to independently execute the good governance and promoting safe and secure environment, ISAF would only provide technical assistance, like training and financing and would withdraw its combat oriented units. This process was put in action by phases by clearly identified checklists of qualification after inspections of Afghan institutions by the mixed Afghan and ISAF Commissions. By that way, ISAF would say that Afghan government was good enough to provide security, to offer good governance and facilitate development projects. It was meant to justify the surge down of ISAF troops and finally the withdrawal from Afghanistan.

The foci of intelligence workshops had to transform in accordance with these tasks and transformation phases since good governance, reconstruction and development projects appeared to be priorities for intelligence branches. Intelligence was expected to observe and report corrupted officials, or capacity of Afghan security forces. Human intelligence reports covered these issues especially at the final stage of hand over period. But the author observed human intelligence sources were claiming stories to topple down the governmental clerks that they are in dispute disregarding their eligibility or dignity. Human intelligence was not satisfactory to scrutinize the eligibility of Afghan officials; especially while insurgency and terror attacks were escalating and challenging Afghan government and ISAF. Civil military cooperation teams were in close contact with Afghan offices that they were reporting development and good governance themes. Operational mentoring and Liaison Teams were monitoring the adequacy of Afghan security forces.[629] The issue was that they were not executing intelligence work, but assistance tasks. Besides intelligence was still security oriented and was involved in development projects and mentoring teams as far as hidden cells of opposing forces in Afghan security forces and administrative offices would be activated to attack ISAF personnel in Afghan compounds as if they were mentored Afghans. Once again, intelligence was to focus on force protection rather than identifying the deficiencies (or efficiencies) of Afghan offices.

Another intelligence task was to understand Afghan people in terms of their social structure, cultural features, likes or dislikes, regional or district level customs. In other words, behavioural cascade of Afghan community was generalized by NATO personnel

[629] NATO, "NATO's Operational Mentor and Liaison Teams", October 2009, available at http://www.nato.int/isaf/topics/factsheets/omlt-factsheet.pdf, accessed on June 5, 2017.

mainly reading stereotypes of few available sources on Afghanistan, like Esedullah Oguz[630] or Ahmad Rashid[631]. Regional and district level quest of behavioural cascade was unknown for tactical level military formations. Common fallacy was that troops and headquarters were claiming cultural assumptions, which posed a significant threat to shaping operations. Coalition forces have learned the hard way that cultural assumptions were repeatedly proven wrong.[632] But intelligence analysis was dependent on these features to conclude practical and profitable outcomes. For this reason, the US army built human terrain analysis teams, composed of retired/reservist military personnel, sociologists, and statisticians.[633] These teams were to examine the priorities of NATO's military decision makers regarding social and cultural characteristics like how they solve disputes, celebrated feast, mourned, negotiated or compromised. The methodology of analysts was to prepare a research design and survey pending to the prerequisites of a given research question and complimentary topics. Polling was the main method to acquire information in hospitals, schools, or military instalments. Idea of social research was new in military and was a necessity. But the deficiency, as was mentioned in the second chapter, was emanating from practice despite the idea was brilliant. The outcomes of surveys were not satisfactory due to personnel flaws, inappropriate research environment, or Afghan traditions. It was well known that social and cultural knowledge had to be collected and analysed to succeed in peace support operations, but it was still a shortfall since it was not realistic to have the US sociologists gather information from Afghans by conducting polls. To the final extent, human terrain teams were still deploying Afghanistan for certain periods and were dealing with many sub-cultures rather than unitary one.[634]

Other than social surveys, circulating rumours and perceptions of Afghan people were also point of wonder for the ISAF decision makers. The US Army started a project, called

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[630] Esedullah Oguz is a Turkmen writer and journalist who has publications on Afghanistan and Turkmenistan. He has an objective stance towards the developments in Afghanistan.

[631] Ahmad Rashid is a Pakistani writer and scholar who has publications on Afghanistan. He is well-known in the western epistemic community for his academic studies on Afghanistan, Pakistan and India.

[632] Todd C. Helmus, Christopher Paul, and Russell W.Glenn, *Enlisting Madison Avenue: The Marketing Approach to Earning Popular Support in Theaters of Operation* (Santa Monica: RAND Corporation, 2007), p. 31.

[633] Paul Joseph, *Soft Counterinsurgency: Human Terrain Teams and US Military Strategy in Iraq* (New York: Palgrave McMillan, 2014); Montgomery McFate and Janice H.Laurence, *Social Science Goes to War: The Human Terrain System in Iraq and Afghanistan* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2015).

[634] Joseph Soeters, Patricia M. Shileds and Sebastian Rietsens, *Routledge Handbook of Research Methods in Military Studies* (New York: Routledge, 2014), pp. 60-61.

'Atmospherics', in 2007 to capture the trends in Afghan society by covered teams.[635] They were going out the military bases and trying to learn what people were talking, thinking about, or believing in.[636] The purpose was to get the agenda of the society. The method was to start an argument among the people by a 'bluff' claim and to observe the reactions of individuals. The analysis cell of these teams was quantifying the reports by their contexts and extracting statistics to identify the tendencies. The idea was perfect to grab the mood of the Afghan society though; the issue was that team members had to be Afghan locals to surpass language barrier. The contexts of each report about a speech of an Afghan individual could be classified as pro-American, pro-Taliban or unknown tendency as generalizations. After a long scrutiny of these reports in 2012, most reports appeared to be praising the US presence in Afghanistan as if the hired Afghans were drafting what the US 'bosses' wanted to hear. As a result, Atmospheric teams were not efficient tools, as human terrain teams were, due to personnel originated flaws. The projects were theoretically appropriate, but practically had defects.

The structural problems of intelligence had continued after 2009 since the focal controversy of intelligence, personnel-based flaws and mentality of intelligence prioritization despite there were efforts to enhance intelligence scope. The assets were still threat oriented, actually force protection oriented, and conventional. NATO enhanced software and hardware infrastructure of intelligence, but flaws were due to the nature of peace support operations and insurgency along with multinational structure of ISAF. It was clear that the combination of insurgency and peace support operations were dependent on intelligence, but intelligence was at stalemate in the combination of insurgency and peace support operations. The focus of intelligence was not to portray social mapping of Afghan society, but to identify the courses of threats as was the case in Bosnia. The final years of ISAF mission had delved the social and cultural aspects of Afghans, but the social structure of Afghan community pending to districts and villages were still at large al least at operational and strategic levels.

Another issue, which this thesis is investigating, the focus of intelligence was not the surveys of hearts and minds of Afghan people. Even tough key leader engagement and social scrutinize had been subject matters of temporarily built working groups; the main concern

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[635], Robert Pool, *Sociocultural Data to Accomplish Department of Defence Missions: Toward a Unified Social Framework*, Report for Planning Committee on Unifying Social Frameworks, Board on Human-Systems Integration, Division of Behavioural and Social Sciences and Education, National Research Council (Washington D.C.: National Academies Press, 2011), pp. 11-12.

[636] National Research Council, Division of Behavioral and Social Sciences and Education, Board on Human-Systems Integration and Planning Committee on Unifying Social Frameworks, *Sociocultural Data to Accomplish Department of Defense Missions: Toward a Unified Social Framework*, (Washington D.C.; National Academies Press, 2011), p. 11.

was counter insurgency, not to persuade local public to be loyal to their government. But increasing quantity and quality of opposing elements and their complex attacks required ISAF's intelligence workshops to focus on what attacks would occur at what day. Reconstruction and governance had become the main themes of exit strategy after the surge down of the ISAF troops, but they were rather perceived as a function of CIMIC branches to monitor the qualification of Afghan administration. Threat analysis was the main product of intelligence departments for the significant strategic events like parades, holly days, conferences, or summits. The issue was to support local forces to provide security during these events. Hence intelligence focus was to have the short-term events.

Oğuz Arabalı observes the betterment of intelligence architecture when the decision makers realized intelligence fallacies in Afghanistan. His claim is that betterment was necessary and implemented, but still missed the focal point and could not surpass the thinking of the period 2003-2009.[637] The author agrees with the observation of Arabalı if the years 2005 and 2012 are compared. The contextual analysis of reports, as the author did in 2012, indicates the quest of intelligence personnel to focus on probable attacks rather than behavioural cascade of local publics. The author identified the number of incoming reports as an average of 65 on daily basis in February of 2012. The reports were about the probable attacks and upcoming strategic events while neither of the reports were about social mapping of any district in Kabul.

Intelligence also lacked a unique activity, directed to support the ISAF's peace support tasks other than regular military operations. Intelligence, which was perceived as a national apparatus at all times, was at the hands of commanding national contingent commanders. Hence propaganda was not a priority but force protection concerns. More important than the other fallacies, the US army's intelligence policy was significant for inefficiency. The author observed US military intelligence having two hats. The ISAF headquarters had two parts that one was allotted to the ISAF and the other to the US army. The US part was only accessible to US soldiers. If the reality that bulk of intelligence assets were owned by the US Army is concerned, intelligence support was for the combat missions of the Coalition even during the term of ISAF.

Propaganda, in this sense, is pushed to the secondary effort that intelligence rarely focused. Besides "the US agenda first" perception hindered effective intelligence support to propaganda. For instance, Jan Vijls[638], as PSYOP professional in Afghanistan, complained

[637] Interview with Oğuz Arabalı, Chief Intelligence Department of Kabul Regional Command (2013), on September 12, 2016.

[638] Interview with Jan Vijls, PSYOP Practitioner in Belgium Army and ISAF, on January 27, 2014.

about ‘Americans’ since they were doing the NATO part in accordance with their own agenda and not providing information about the background and statues of enagaged society. Intelligence coordination appears to be essential to surpass such an impediment. But it is the author’s observation that propaganda had never been a priority for intelligence shops. Commanders continuously tasked intelligence assets to monitor the insurgency and to produce assessments with specific findings on probable attacks.[639] Jan Vijls[640] recommended taking measures for effective intelligence support reminding his experiences. He underlines the need of intelligence personnel in the Target Audience Analysis Sections for human factor analysis capability. HUMINT capability and cultural advisors seem to be appropriate units to be benefitted. He proposes ‘Collection Coordination and Information Requirement Manager to be more active in the linkage of PSYOP and intelligence.

Like Vijls, Jack Guy argues that there was not really intelligence support to propaganda in his tours. It must be developed, he claimed, at the beginning of each operation and be a continuing process since PSYOP dealt with perceptions and behaviours, which demanded an entirely new way of thinking about intelligence. His experience made him confident that “the reintegration of PSYOP back into the intelligence sphere of operations is a must for all future activities” and reviews his experience:

> When I, first, positioned in PSYOP units in 1978, PSYOP was under intelligence and I believe that they should have remained together. Mike Flynn argues that intelligence arena is not set up to find questions to be answered. The nature of conflicts has changed and intelligence is short of responding the needs anymore due to the nature of gaps. There needs to change how we do things. Intelligence should not only be target/threat oriented. PSYOP should be used in shaping all missions even before the arrival of peacekeepers. PSYOP and IO is the chief “war fighters” in these kinds of operations. These should be shaping operations conducted on a variety of media, openly connecting words and deeds. We need more training together and we must have a centralized PSYOP command centre with decentralized practitioners.[641]

Pal Munck pointed out the flaw of intelligence of NATO and was critical, as PSYOP practitioner, of that most of the intelligence came from the US national assets, outlining the difficulty of coordinating and integrating intelligence and propaganda. His confession indicated how PSYOP practitioners were far from the realities of Afghan public: “I did not

[639] Long-term transformation of Afghan community and opposing forces was left to the Reconciliation Department of ISAF, which followed the practices of the Afghan government’s Peace and Reconciliation Council. Hence intelligence was locked to support propaganda.

[640] Interview with Jan Vijls, PSYOP Practitioner in Belgium Army and ISAF, on January 27, 2014.

[641] Interview with Jack Guy, Former PSYOP Chief of IFOR, SFOR, ISAF, on January 20, 2014.

understand the social and cultural characteristic of Afghans in my first tour. We need to understand the people."[642]

Davide D'Allagata,[643] claimed that ISAF had no cultural survey before NATO's involvement as part of a preparation process, but did conduct surveys during the ISAF missions. Intelligence leg of PSYOP, for D'Allagata, can hardly be integrated to PSYOP since it was still a dream. Intelligence was some percentage "combined" to PSYOPS, but other branches (as CIMIC) often followed the opposite way, just due to a lack of information exchange, for him. D'Allagata confesses that internal information flow deficits and institutional flaws impeded intelligence-propaganda coordination while there was no sense of integrating intelligence and propaganda derivatives. On the other hand, Anthony Killa[644] delineates that the Australian army achieved integration of intelligence and propaganda and successfully integrated both fields. Hence PSYOP branch of propaganda, which was based upon the target audience analysis products of PSYOP units, lacked intelligence support but its own incapable assets. It appears to be a precondition to see the contextualization of propaganda derivatives to see how intelligence could provide support and if these two fields could be integrated or not.

6.7. ISAF's Propaganda in Afghanistan: Objectives

6.7.1. Persuading whom?

Actors to be persuaded who had impact on the ISAF operations are worth to examine since they were the target audiences of intelligence and propaganda activities with differing interests. It is clear that the target audience of the highest priority was/is Afghan public. But Hikmet Çetin underlined how ISAF leadership was far from understanding the public. Once a bridge would be built, the consequences would be fascinating, he argues.

> Regarding communication, NATO must improve itself. I visited 22 of 34 provinces by travelling on the highways. There were warnings from ISAF to cancel my visits, when I decided to go Kandahar. But I went by car. It was a fascinating trip. There was no reason to afraid of the people and cut the linkage.
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> Another example is the Chicken Street. It was the scariest place in Kabul for foreigners. I sometimes got over my guards and mixed with Kabul residents.

[642] Interview with Pal Munck, PSYOP expert in Norwegian Army and NATO, on January 20, 2014.

[643] Interview with Davide D'Allagata, PSYOP professional in Italian Ministry of Defence, email message to the author on January 20, 2014.

[644] Interview with Anthony Killa, The US Army Senior Global Strategic Communication Manager and former Strategic Communications contractor of ISAF, on December 17, 2015.

> They had known that I was Hikmet Çetin. We discussed country problems and had green tea while chatting along the street.[645]

ISAF was not in the public to see what they were, in fact, dealing with. But the main concern was the insurgents to achieve the initial goal of Afghan intervention that was to deny terror networks and local associates, who were active in Afghanistan. But Afghanistan was harbouring many actors that ISAF had to address. The intelligence and propaganda efforts of the US-led Coalition and ISAF under NATO had dealt with these actors to persuade, deter, or deny. The challenges to NATO's ISAF, pending to actors and concerns, can be reviewed under several categorizations that target audiences of intelligence and propaganda activities can be examined in the context of opposing military forces, Afghan public, Afghan political figures, foreign actors which have direct engagements inside Afghanistan and external actors as main categorizations. But substituent codes can be depicted as follows:



Chart 6-3 Actors in Afghanistan

Opposing military forces were the ones, and they objected strongly the presence of foreign troops and established order by the Bonn Agreement of 2001. These formations were rather series of different networks with different motivations, but not a unified and single body of a unique organization. The lack of any rigid structure or hierarchy allowed them to function as something close to an adaptive and self-healing distributed network and made

[645] Interview with Hikmet Çetin, Former Senior Civilian Representative in Afghanistan of NATO in Afghanistan (2003-2006), on January 13, 2014.

them difficult to defeat.[646] Every network had its own agenda and capability in the realm of conflict like dominating a portion or the whole of Afghanistan. The predominant opposing networks were Taliban, Hezb-e Islami Gulbettin, Haqqani Network, remnants of Al-Qaeda, DAESH, or Pakistani groups such as Jaish-e Mohammed, Lashkar-e-Tayyiba, Tahrek Nefaz-i-Shariat Muhammad.[647] The Coalition and concurrent ISAF, had to counter intelligence and propaganda activities of opposing forces not to lose ground in the eyes of Afghan and international public and avoid casualty.

The Afghan public, say another way ethnic communities and substituent tribal structure[648] of Afghanistan are/were the second variety of actors. Tribes, as the sub-units of ethnic groups, are/were based on the notion that their members share/shared a common ancestor through agnatic descent.[649] Shura at the lowest level and Jirga at the upper level of informal societal hierarchy were designated platforms to conclude decision-making process through informal discussions and compromise. Warlords (or power brokers), who held the initiative of taking decision-making privileges inside these strata of Afghan community, were to be persuaded to comply with ISAF objectives. Perceptions of Afghan public had to be measured continuously and scrutinize to what extent Afghan community would support the ISAF mission. For that purpose, the ISAF was conducting polls and surveys to measure local support and ISAF/the US image in Afghanistan.[650] The ISAF attempted to influence both opinion makers of societal units and overall public.

Established administrative and governmental structure in Afghanistan was a factor along with Afghan societal structure.[651] The interim government and transitional period was

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[646] Cordesman, Mausner and Kasten, *Winning in Afghanistan*, p. 6.

[647] Seth Jones, *Conterinsurgency in Afghanistan*, pp. 37-67.

[648] Glatzer maps the tribal structure of Afghanistan. Afghan societal structure is composed of intricate patterns of ethnic, tribal, family patterns that autonomy of every unit can be observable. Glatzer, "Is Afghanistan on the Brink of Ethnic and Tribal Disintegration?", p. 168.

[649] Miakhel Shahmahmood (Former Minister of Foreign Affairs), "The Importance of Tribal Structures and Pashtunwali in Afghanistan; Their role in Security and Governance", available at http://pashtoonkhwa.com/files/articles/Miakhel%20-%20Importance%20of%20Tribal%20Structures%20in%20Afghanistan.pdf, accessed on July 16, 2016.

[650] The US Secretary of Defence, "Report on Progress Toward Security and Stability in Afghanistan", December 2012, available at http://www.defense.gov/Portals/1/Documents/pubs/1230_Report_final.pdf, accessed on August 23, 2014.

[651] Karen Guttieri and Jessica Piombo, *Interim Governments: Institutional Bridges to Peace and Democracy?* (Washington D.C.: United States Institute of Peace Press, 2007), p. 291.

broad based, gender-sensitive[652], multi-ethnic and fully representative.[653] The head of the 'drafted' state was carefully selected by the US Government among their favoured individuals, Hamid Karzai, rather than the former King Zaher Shah.[654] He organized governmental positions to satisfy the power share of various ethnicities or armed groups after being appointed as the head of interim government. He had added several more posts for Pashtuns though; Tajiks of Panjirs, Hazaras and Uzbeks were offered seats in this government.[655] A sensitive power balance was built, but significant issue was that the Afghan government had the final say on the problematic fields of the Afghan state mechanism. In other words, internal and external affairs of Afghanistan were officially left to the hands of Afghans, contrary to the Dayton order in Bosnia.[656] Hence the Coalition or ISAF had to influence the Afghan government by certain pledges, encouragement, or persuasion.

Foreign organizations[657], which were the third actor group inside Afghanistan, were to assist humanitarian and institutional development of Afghans. The international recovery and reconstruction effort in Afghanistan was immense, complicated and, be sustained in coordination with the Afghan government, the U.N. agencies, bilateral donors, international organizations, or non-governmental organizations (NGOs).[658] But they were disorganized, uncoordinated, and insufficient, as argued by Jones and Krohn.[659] It was not ISAF's

[652] Afghan constitution guarantees the participation of women to Afghan politics by alloting seats in the two wings of parliament. One in every six seats must be elected from the female candidates. Murat Aslan and Nesip Ogun, "Theory and Practice of State Building in the Middle East: A Constitutional Perspective on Iraq and Afghanistan", *International Journal of Security Studies*, Vol. 8, No. 3 (2013), pp. 374-403.

[653] Chris Johnson and Jolyon Leslie, *Afghanistan: The Mirage of Peace* (New York: Zed Books, 2004), p. 157.

[654] Kolhatkar argues that Zaher Shah was the 'bad' amongst the worst, but gave hope to Afghan public to erase the radicals. The US Government pushed for Karzai. Sonali Kolhatkar and James Ingalls, *Bleeding Afghanistan: Washington, Warlords, and the Propaganda of Silence* (New York: Seven Stories Press, 2011), pp. 134-136.

[655] Ibid, pp. 295-297.

[656] Agreement on Provisional Arrangements in Afghanistan Pending the Re-Establishment of Permanent Government Institutions, available at http://www.un.org/News/dh/latest/afghan/afghan-agree.htm, accessed on July 16, 2016; Alex J. Bellamy, Paul D. Williams and Stuart Griffin, *Understanding Peacekeeping* (Cambridge: Polity, 2010), p. 295.

[657] What is meant by foreign organization is civil society groups, NGOs or extensions of international organizations (like UNAMA). Their executive bodies other than Afghan origin control these organizations.

[658] Rhoda Margesson, "United Nations Assistance Mission in Afghanistan: Background and Policy Issues", The US Congressional Research Service Report, December 27, 2010, available at https://www.fas.org/sgp/crs/row/R40747.pdf, accessed on July 16, 2016.

[659] Jones and Devold, "Saving Afghanistan", p. 4.

authority to promote the effectiveness of these institutions, but any deficiency of these organizations had an impact on the success of the ISAF. An example is the dispute between two UNAMA officials, Kai Eide and Peter Galbraith, in observing the presidential elections of 2009. Due to allegations of election fraud, Galbraith argued that the United Nations had the responsibility to intervene to the elections. This issue played out very publicly and there were allegations for the support of Eide to Karzai and Galbraith to Abdullah. The UN Secretary General Ban Ki-Moon removed Galbraith from his post because the dispute was discrediting the UNAMA's overall mission.[660] The ISAF and the UNAMA had coordinated their efforts and shared responsibility to have fair elections. But the allegations of fraud in favour of Karzai made the ISAF, along with the UNAMA, responsible for the foreign incursion due to their visibility around ballots.[661] The Afghan public, who perceived the international community as a whole entity, put the ISAF and other foreign organizations arranging fraud to give Presidency to Karzai as a reward for loyalty to western interests. The ISAF was supposed to commit intelligence efforts to identify what people were circulating on presidential elections and to influence the Afghan public perception about its impartiality, although it was not clear to what extent the ISAF succeded to persuade public about its 'impartial' stance.

Finally, external actors[662] outside Afghanistan, such as state actors, mainly neighbour states, and their covert extensions inside Afghanistan like intelligence services, were active in Afghanistan. ISAF had to foresee the foreign policies of state actors and the engagements of their intelligence services. Foreign intelligence services had penetrated to the governmental circles of Afghanistan, pursuing the interests of their states.[663] Pakistan Secret Service (ISI), for instance, had close ties with the Taliban and the other opposing forces.[664] At the mean time ISI had a consultation mechanism with CIA and FBI of the USA.[665] Another neighbour of Afghanistan, Iran's SAVAK had similar aspirations for Shia Hazaras to provide shield against Sunni ethnicities. SAVAK was functional not only in the West of

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[660] Margesson, "United Nations Assistance Mission in Afghanistan", p. 15.

[661] Michael F. Harsch, *The Power of Dependence: NATO-UN Cooperation in Crisis Management* (Oxford : Oxford University Press, 2015), pp. 143-144.

[662] External actor is the one, which its main body is outside the territory of Afghanistan, but attempts to influence the actors in Afghanistan.

[663] Saikal, *Modern Afghanistan*, p. 244.

[664] Matt Waltman, "The Sun in the Sky: The Relationship Between Pakistan's ISI and Afghan Insurgents", *Crisis States Research Centre of London School of Economics and Political Science*, Crisis States Working Papers Series, No. 18, London, June 2010, p. 1 available at http://eprints.lse.ac.uk/28435/, accessed on July 17, 2016.

[665] Abdul Salam Zaef, *My Life with Taliban* (New York: C. Hurst Co., 2013), pp. 35-38.

Afghanistan, but overall Afghanistan to check and balance Pakistan and anti-Iran actors.[666] Besides the US presence in Afghanistan led Iran to monitor and, if required, shape the events.[667] CIA of the USA, on the other hand, was active in Afghanistan for many years. CIA provided support to Afghan mujahidin in cooperation with ISI of Pakistan and had built network of local agents especially after the 9/11.[668] CIA, after then, hired Afghan Americans, widened its network, and deepened its focus in Afghanistan inside one of the complex building in Kabul City center. Apart from CIA, the US technical assistance personnel with the ISAF badges had filled all ministries of the Afghan government to advice what they 'should' do. If the overall efforts of states actors are observed, they were interested in Afghanistan mostly by means of their intelligence agencies as a requirement of their interest-based assessments. In this sense, the ISAF had to direct its intelligence and strategic (or diplomatic) communication assets to state actors and their extensions in Afghanistan to abstract their agendas and persuade them to align their policies with NATO.

6.7.2. Persuading to do what?

Categorized actor types urged the Coalition, at the initial stages, and ISAF, after it assumes the responsibility in Afghanistan, to take actors and concerns into account and interactively build a communication strategy. It requires a thorough examination of actors, including their features, vulnerabilities, superiorities, or network-based interaction among themselves. For instance, Afghan community, with its constituent sub-identities, do interact with the other actors either by delivering a perspective or being diffused by the delivered messages. Multidimensional linkage and interaction of actors did and will shape the course of international engagement, primarily of NATO.

Expansion of actors necessitated preconfigured survey and analyses of actors and tracking the belief, attitude, behaviour, group, norm, and value system deviation in advance. Otherwise the reactions of NATO's military and affiliated civilian formations will be late to respond the challenges emanating from actors. Actors, on the other hand, are heavily influenced by the operational environment, which imposes conditionality upon them. NATO is bound to identify the characteristics and expectations of actors under the conditionality of operational environment by correctly mapping and reading the picture of Afghanistan. Besides Afghan public – actual decision-maker is the targeted audience to be influenced.

[666] Kenneth M. Pollack, *The Persian Puzzle: Deciphering the Twenty-five-Year Conflict Between Iran and America* (New York: Random House, 2004), pp. 349-350.

[667] Mathew J. Morgan, *A Democracy is Born: An Insider's Account of the Battle Against Terrorism in Afghanistan* (London: Praeger Security International, 2007), p. 23.

[668] Emily Spencer, *The Difficult War: Perspectives on Insurgency and Special Operations Forces* (Toronto: Dundurn Group and Canadian Defence Academy, 2009), p. 165.

NATO need to shape the belief, attitude, behaviour continuum for short term, influence norm and value system in favour of the objectives of the Alliance in the long run by propaganda derivatives. On the other hand, there are/were impediments to reach the goal. In this sense, the factors such as the inherited bad image of the Coalition, structural shortfalls or opposing forces hindered the efficiency of NATO in persuading Afghans to cope with the objectives of the Alliance as will discussed in the following section.

6.8. ISAF/RSM Propaganda in Practice

It can be witnessed a gradual change in the purpose of NATO's mission pending to major turning points. ISAF was to provide security in and around Kabul until 2006, which was to expand all Afghanistan afterwards. Hence propaganda was to serve both combat and peace support missions at the mean time. In other words, security, development and capacity building in administrative activities were carried out either by the Coalition or ISAF. Propaganda had to support all affiliated tasks. The discourse of the ISAF's propaganda will indicate progresses and shortfalls of conducted propaganda.

The ISAF propaganda can be divided into three phases regarding the contextual shifts in the missions. The first phase is purely driven by security considerations at the beginning of the mission. Unfortunately, subject matter was not to provide security for the Afghan people, but to deny terror organizations and its local affiliates to find a safe haven in Afghanistan while taking force protection measures. Herb Friedman summarizes the propaganda adventure of the Coalition and ISAF in the first phase by his own observation. Freidman's perception indicates a mentality fallacy of NATO.

> Afghanistan is a stranger case. The propaganda was mostly to show the Taliban and al Qaeda as foreigners (which to a great extent they were) and that might have worked somewhat. In the long run, we are destined for failure in both cases because Muslim fundamentalism is probably more powerful than any urge for democracy and a strong central government.
>
> Another issue is that conventional warfare seems inadequate to win the wars and shape the crisis. The minds of communities have appeared to be decisive in winning wars and maintaining stability. You can apply hard power upon the positions. But can we claim that we have won the game? The same issue is valid for Afghanistan. Karzai, even though he was a contractor of CIA, [was] resisting to sign an agreement with the US [in 2012]. What went wrong, then? Could we persuade the community that NATO is doing its business for their prosperity? I have examined all the posters and leaflets, disseminated at the beginning of intervention. The focus was Usame Bin Ladin, not Afghan community. Then can we claim that we pursued correct strategy?[669]

[669] Herb A. Freidman, PSYOP practitioner in Bosnia, Afghanistan and Iraq, interviewed (by mail) on March 30, 2014.

The second phase was built upon the partnership of the ISAF and Afghan security forces in providing a safe environment. Afghan security forces were expected to participate combat missions along with ISAF troops. ISAF was to train, equip, and orientate the new security mechanism, composed of Afghan National Police, Afghan National Army, and National Directorate of Security (Intelligence Service). There was an increase in the number and efficiency of opposing attacks that was Obama started troop reinforcement under the command of General McChrystal in 2009. Hence surge of additional US troops to conduct combat mission under the US-led ISAF formed the mood of propaganda activities. The propaganda themes remained like the previous phase of ISAF's commitments, but public-based products were in the theatre due to McChrystal's priorities. The additional challenge was that civil military cooperation units was to provide essential needs of Afghan public by dwelling wells, building bridges, cooperating with international organizations to support refugees and displaced persons. There were some advertising products for these activities though; security was still at the forefront.

The third phase was challenging for the ISAF and adaptation to the strategic process can be observed. Afghan-led security operations were being conducted under the slogan of "Building Capacity and Afghan Lead".[670] Western publics were propellant to a quick withdrawal from Afghan theatre. The USA and France had announced surge down of troops in 2012 and a complete withdrawal from Afghanistan no later than the end of 2014, as both countries realized later.[671] The issue was that it was announced earlier than expected. For sure, this was a strategic fault that ISAF could not mend. The strategy for the withdrawal was to advertise the self-sufficiency of Afghan security forces and their reliability in the eyes of Afghan public while opposing forces had claimed victory due to 'promised' withdrawal of NATO forces. As a second concern, development and reconstruction had to be proved before the withdrawal. The established Afghan state mechanism had to persuade Afghan public that the government of Islamic Republic of Afghanistan was functional to meet the needs of Afghan people. The priority of Afghan people, which was to live in prosperity and secured environment under a just government, could be met by development and reconstruction strategy and its advertisement to persuade public that their government had NATO's support along with security assistance. Propaganda assets were directed to air the eligibility of Afghan government, Afghan Security Forces, and NATO's enduring, but low profile

[670] Afghanistan Civil Service Management Department, "Capacity Building for Results Project", available at http://www.afghanexperts.gov.af/?page=An-Afghan-led-Reform-and-Capacity-Building-Program&lang=pa , accessed on September 13, 2016.

[671] Martin Petty, "French combat troops withdraw from Afghan war", November 20, 2012, available at http://www.reuters.com/article/us-afghanistan-france-idUSBRE8AJ11O20121120, accessed on September 12, 2016.

support. The contextual shift was transformed pending to hand over process of security responsibility and capacity building efforts to Afghans.

The dilemma of strategic commitment and propaganda transformation is if the pre-conditional subject matters of ISAF's commitments were really achieved or not. For instance, Afghan security forces were represented as if they had gained the capacity to provide security on their own. Governance was assumed as developing that corruption was at the normal level. Infrastructural projects were advertised as if the needs of Afghan people were being met by the handled projects. Uncorrupted image and transparency was denounced by smiling faces of Afghan police on billboards. But the question was if all the delivered messages were based upon true assumptions. A regular Afghan had to meet a just state system in his/her daily life to be persuaded by the propaganda outlets. Otherwise it was a story telling to justify the withdrawal of NATO forces from Afghanistan.

The inability of ISAF, and the US troops, was apparent in the 2009 plan of Obama administration to counter the Taliban propaganda, which was more effective and successful. The priority was to protect the population and the official communications network from insurgents as a new strategy claimed by Rear Adm. Gregory J. Smith, NATO's director of communication in Kabul.[672] The strategy was to circulate the view that the debate was not between the ISAF and insurgents, but Afghan people and insurgents. ISAF was refraining itself to engage with opposing factions but leaving the ground to Afghan security forces. The narratives were to denigrate the opposing forces portraying militant attacks on markets, schools, and public buildings as a religious violation. The flow of information had to be directed in accordance with the newly identified objectives of the ISAF. Unfortunately, the new strategy was still at stalemate after the bulk of the US and the other forces were withdrawn from Afghan theatre since words – deeds conflict, which promising "enduring freedom" was of no-avail.

Parallel to the obtained experiences pending to the phases of ISAF operation, the the ISAF was aware of the propaganda inadequacies and started restructuring its propaganda organization to effectively pump its messages. Thanks to lessons learned in Bosnia, Kosovo, and Iraq interventions, the ISAF validated a comprehensive communication plan and specifically desgined organization under the command of General Daivd McKiernan in 2008.[673] For this purpose, new conceptualizations like strategic communication, information

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[672] Tom Shanker, "U.S. Plans a Mission Against Taliban's Propaganda", *the New York Times*, August 15, 2009, available at http://www.nytimes.com/2009/08/16/world/asia/16policy.html?_r=0, accessed on August 1, 2016.

[673] Anaïs Reding, Kristin Weed and Jeremy J. Ghez, *ISAF Strategic Communications and Its Relevance to France* (Santa Monica: RAND, 2010), p. 19.

operation, public diplomacy, and public affairs were added to the propaganda mechanism of NATO in the Afghan theatre. Propaganda was denied as an ISAF undertaking at all, but these functions were practiced interacting with Afghan public, NATO's societies, media or any other targeted audience.

6.8.1 Strategic Communication Context in ISAF's Practice

The aim of institutionalized strategic communication was to influence the way that actors of Afghanistan think in accordance with the objectives of ISAF. A rapid and coherent communication model was designed shaping both targeted and unintended audiences; even though contributing nations of ISAF had their own policy and doctrine of communication in their respective area of responsibilities. NATO, initially, started to frame the definitive and organizational framework of strategic communication, as depicted in Chart 6-4.[674]

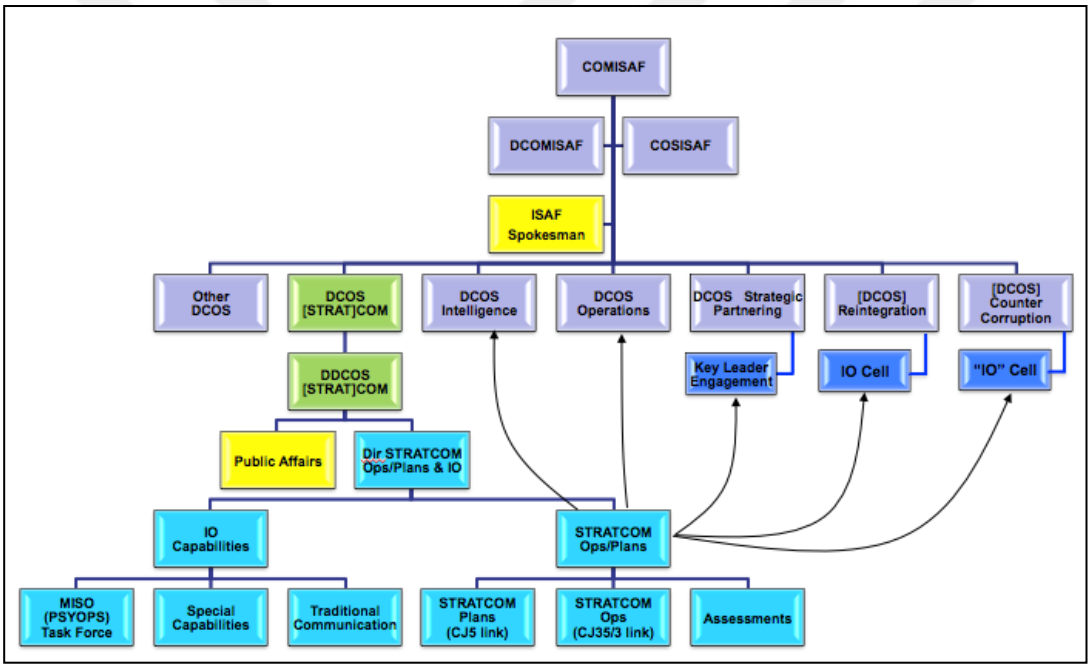


Chart 6-4 Strategic Communications Structure of ISAF

NATO formed a working group in Brussels to draft the pillars of strategic communications of ISAF, as the pilot practice. The departments of NATO, which sent personnel to this working group were Commands, Public Diplomacy Division, Media Operations Division, Public Affairs Division of International Military Staff, and Information Operations Departments. The significant issue was that intelligence formations of NATO

[674] Iain Harrison, "Strategic Communications", *The University of Edinburg*, Masters' Class Hand Out, available at http://documents.mx/download/link/strategic-communication-master-class-brigadier-iain-harrison-director-stratcom-opsplans-and-information-operations-headquarters-international-security, accessed on September 04, 2016.

was not existent in this working group.[675] Parallel to the efforts in NATO HQs, the ISAF built 'Joint Effects Department' in 2007 to coordinate public affairs, information operations, and psychological operations during the term of UK Army General Sir David Richards in 2006.[676] The organization chart provided coordination mechanism to have intelligence estimates from intelligence, start operations by means of operations branch, contribute to key leader engagement, encourage re-integration of opposing elements within the frame of reconciliation process and counter corruption of GIRoA officials. But the issue was that Directorate of Strategic Communication had no authority upon these departments and their functions. But they would have the capability to direct information operations and public affairs to sound consistent themes.

The strategic communication definition of ISAF was in concert with other political and military actors and with higher headquarters through the coordinated use of Public Affairs (PA), Information Operations (INFO OPS), Psychological Operations (PSYOPS), and Key Leader Engagement (KLE).[677] After long years of active engagement in Afghanistan, the objective of strategic communication was directed to have "public confidence, public support, commitment of Afghan Government, support of domestic audiences of contributing nations, and the compliance of Afghan neighbourhood"[678] while undermining support for insurgents. It was to make "NATO's communications more influential, by influencing the way audiences think so that their behaviour is more favourable to the Alliance's objectives".[679] The actors to be addressed by the ISAF were identified as Afghan public, own and neighbouring publics along with the Afghan government, but did not cover own troops and insurgents although these actors were also addressed. Newly emerging actors like international organizations, non-governmental organizations, civil society groups, private companies and media were not included as targeted audience. Hence the witnessed actors in Afghanistan were not fully counted as the parties of the Afghan conflict.

The objective of strategic communication also indicates that ISAF did not consider influencing the full continuum of belief, attitude, behaviour, group norm and value of overall

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[675] Reding, Weed and Ghez, *ISAF Strategic Communications and Its Relevance to France*, pp. 16-22.

[676] Ibid, p. 17.

[677] ISAF Theatre Strategic Communications Strategy, available at http://download.cabledrum.net/wikileaks_archive/file/isaf-stratcom-strategy-2008.pdf, accessed on August 04, 2016.

[678] Ibid.

[679] Reding, Weed and Ghez, *ISAF Strategic Communications and Its Relevance to France*, p. 9.

targeted audiences but focused on "the way of Afghan thinking" to change their behaviour. Behaviour is taken as the means to have the audience think and behave in accordance with the objectives of the ISAF. The dilemma was if behavioural compliance was adequate for long-term success in the mission of the ISAF. Because it cannot be persistent unless belief and attitude change can not be obtained. For instance, threat and fear, which were the themes of PSYOP products during the Coalition fight against the opposing forces, could cause behavioural change, but behaviour come to the previous pattern as the source of fear disappears. Hence the objective of ISAF's strategic communication is troubled since it was limited by short-term commitments.

NATO clarified the meta-narrative of ISAF mission to direct overall efforts of communication strategy: "This mission is essential for our shared security. Our strategy is sound, our long-term commitment is solid and with our Afghan partners we will succeed."[680]

ISAF drafted narratives based on this meta-narrative that forefronts security, governance and development of Afghans as of 2008. Narratives were erected upon the effects mentioned in the Chart 6-5[681]:

Insurgency is defeated.
ANSF provides a secure environment.
ISAF maintains public acceptance.
Narcotics-insurgency nexus is broken.
Security, governance, and development is coordinated and aligned.
Afghan people perceive a sense of progress.
GIRoA establishes and upholds the rule of law.
GIRoA combats government corruption.
GIRoA continues to extend effective authority across Afghanistan.
Afghan people benefit from improvements in health, education, water, and electricity.
Afghan economy benefits from development.

Chart 6-5 ISAF Strategic Communications Narratives

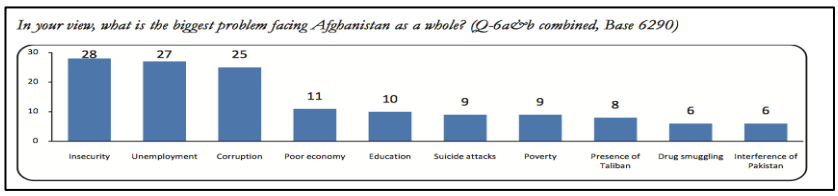
Narratives were about the progress Afghan public would have enjoyed and denied any elaboration towards insurgency. Narratives argued that it was the GIRoA that would offer a bright and prosperous future for Afghans. On the other hand, the ISAF was decreasing its footprint in the messages threatening insurgents and requesting support of Afghans, but cementing the self-reliance and trust to self-sufficiency.

[680] Available at https://info.publicintelligence.net/NATO-STRATCOM-Afghanistan.pdf, accessed on September 03, 2016.

[681] ISAF Theatre Strategic Communications Strategy (2008), available at http://download.cabledrum.net/wikileaks_archive/file/isaf-stratcom-strategy-2008.pdf, accessed on August 04, 2016.

The question is if the messages were really delivering realities in the daily lives of Afghans in comparison to the narratives of strategic communication. For instance, if the first argument of the listed effects as "insurgency is defeated" is taken, it is disputable if the delivered message claiming the effect was accurate and truthful in the eyes of the targeted audience since the number of Afghan deaths and attacks increased pending to years between 2007 and 2015 except 2011 due to incresed NATO presence, as statistics in the Chart 6-2 indicates.[682]

Another argument, "GIRoA Continues to Extend Effective Authority Across Afghanistan" is still disputable if the sources of pessimism in Afghan society is concerned. Asia Foundation's 2012 survey presents the sense of insecurity, unemployment, and corruption as the top three sources of pessimism in Afghanistan four years after strategic communication strategy was clarified in 2008.[683] The sources of pessimism were also classified pending to region that would show if the resentment could be correlated to extraordinary region-wide facts. But the variance of the findings were balanced except for 10-15% increases in south and south west due to increased activities of opposing elements and corrupted warlords. But the overall tendency shows similar findings in the survey. The persuasion capacity of the narratives of ISAF was acceptable for the short-term expectations in rather secure regions of Afghanistan, but long term clout of events indicated the reverse of narratives and was not persuasive.



	All (%)	Central/ Kabul (%)	East (%)	South East (%)	South West (%)	West (%)	North East (%)	North West (%)
Insecurity	39	38	37	40	52	39	22	47
Unemployment	18	23	15	9	10	13	20	22
Corruption	14	15	12	14	8	23	12	14
Bad government	11	12	6	8	10	13	16	10
Suicide attacks	11	15	15	9	4	7	14	9
Bad economy	10	13	9	7	5	11	15	6
Administrative corruption	10	10	8	8	10	13	11	10
Presence of Taliban	6	4	8	8	8	7	4	9
No reconstruction has happened	6	3	5	8	9	6	8	11

Chart 6-6 Perceived Problem Fields in the Minds of Afghans as of 2012

[682] Statista, "Number of Deaths in Afghanistan due to Terrorism Between 2007 and 2015", available at http://www.statista.com/statistics/251408/number-of-deaths-in-afghanistan-due-to-terrorism/, accessed on September 4, 2016.

[683] Asia Foundation, "Afghanistan in 2012: A Survey of Afghan People", available at http://asiafoundation.org/resources/pdfs/Surveybook2012web1.pdf, accessed on September 4, 2016.

Contrary to ISAF's narratives, former strategic communication expert of ISAF Steve Tatham argues that insurgents had/have a very simple narrative, "foreigners out" which connected to the history of repeated invasion in Afghanistan and was therefore compelling to the people.[684] Such a concise and intelligible narrative, according to Tatham, would shorten conflict and naturally resonate with and be easily understood by the local population. Tatham, as the Strategic Communications Chief of ISAF, claimed three themes to be narrated as follows:

Revenge	We are there because the Taliban government hosted and supported al-Qaeda, which conducted a horrific attack on the United States.
Honor	After neutralizing the bad elements in the country, we will honor the Afghans' right to govern themselves in the way they see fit, and help support the establishment of conditions that requires.
Exit	We have no interest in occupying or colonizing Afghanistan, and once the previous two goals are achieved we will leave.

Corman complements Tatham since a lot of other themes – democracy, women's rights, or poppy eradication would be added to these narratives. Tatham's point of view can be criticized if regular Afghan would be satisfied with the "revenge-honour Afghans-exit" strategy since these themes seem meaningful for the foreign presence, not to Afghans. If the previously mentioned top three concerns of Afghans were taken, expectations of Afghan hearing would be more than these themes such as overall security and stability, unemployment or countering corruption.

Iain Harrison, former Director of STRATCOM Ops/Plans and Information Operations between 2011-2012, draws a separate path in strategic communications.[685] He clarifies the communications context of ISAF as follows:

> Plan, execute, and assess all communication efforts in order to:
> - Increase public understanding of the role of ISAF and GIRoA,
> - Encourage the Afghan people to become more active in their own security, governance and development,
> - Counter insurgent propaganda.

[684] Steven R. Corman, "NATO Strategic Communication and Narrative in Afghanistan", June 21, 2012, available at http://csc.asu.edu/2012/06/21/nato-strategic-comm-and-narrative-in-afghanistan/, accessed on September 4, 2016.

[685] Iain Harrison, "Strategic Communications", *The University of Edinburg*, Masters' Class Hand Out.

Narrative selection was based on actual military – political flora and was identified pending to employed phase of ISAF mission. The years 2011-12 witnessed the transition period of handing over security responsibility in overall Afghanistan to the Afghan government. The message was based on the narrative, "Things are changing after thirty years of conflict". The opportunity was that Afghanistan is moving forward since GIRoA and Afghan security forces were more capable of providing security under "*enteqal* – transition". GIRoA and Afghan Security Forces were presented as the means of prosperity in Afghanistan, which was the common desire of all Afghans. Actions were clarified as the continuation of support to GIRoA and Afghan Security Forces with endured commitment of the ISAF. Opposing forces were offered reconciliation, if not to face the "unrelenting pressure" of ISAF. The benefits were hopeful prosperous future by a capable Afghan government. But the end state, interestingly, was that Afghanistan would never become a safe-haven for terrorists that would portray the interests of western society rather than Afghans. As a result, the themes of ISAF had become "pressuring the enemy, sustaining transition, and support to Afghan National Security Forces (regarding development and unity of effort)" that was complemented by NATO's enduring partnership and resolve.[686] By that way, Afghans and international public would cope with the termination of ISAF and transition to Operation Resolute Support. For that purpose, communication strategy was identified as the following chart argues,[687] although Cordesman, Gold and Hess point out the ISAF's failure to persuade public about the credibility of the Afghan government and NATO's enduring support to Afghans.

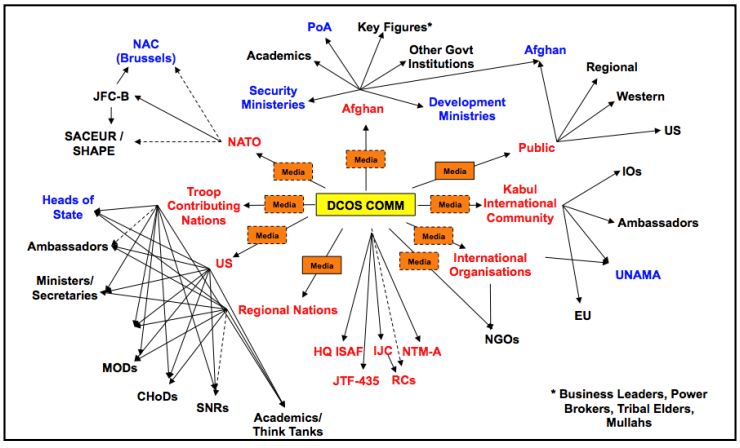


Chart 6-7 Strategic Communications Strategy of ISAF

[686] Ibid.

[687] Cordesman, Gold and Hess, *The Afghan War in 2013*, p. 2.

The chart 6-9 delineates that the actors of which ISAF identified as the players of the Afghan conflict to be addressed have increased after 2011.[688] The communication process, hence, diversified and compartmentalized pending to characteristics of the actors. Media had become the main apparatus of delivering messages other than communication assets of the ISAF. But the danger was to perceive strategic communication as a "spokesperson" business, confusing public affairs with strategic communications. They were interrelated and intertwined as will be discussed in the next section.

6.8.2. Public Affairs (PA) - The Media War

Hikmet Çetin, former Senior Civilian Representative of NATO in Afghanistan, summarizes efficiency and status of public affairs derivatives during his term, as follows:

> Public relations are very important. We had difficulties in Afghanistan to tell what NATO is. Illiteracy of the Afghan public was high due to long years of war. Hence, we prioritized radio broadcasts especially in local languages. The method was to have Afghans speak during these broadcasts. The most important theme was to express NATO not an invading force, as a response to counter-propaganda of opposing forces. We tried to tell what invasion is and how NATO works within the mentality of consensus mechanism to denounce the allegations of opposing forces.[689]

Çetin points out public affairs as the course to connect the ISAF and the Afghan public in an interactive mood. Public affairs was expected to draft a comprehensive engagement plan to express what NATO was doing in Afghanistan and what were the differences between NATO and the Coalition.

ISAF PA initially drafted what terminology would be used and what themes would be preferred in the engagement with media. PA, carefully aligned with strategic communication narratives and themes, managed ISAF's relations with Afghan local and international media. Pending to the events and announcement of any actor in Afghanistan, PA drafted what announcement would be released, what questions would be asked and what responses and terminology would be submitted. The following document[690] illustrates a sample event, probable questions and answers, and also terminology of a public affair engagement.

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[688] Iain Harrison, "Strategic Communications", *The University of Edinburg*, Masters' Class Hand Out.
[689] Interview with Hikmet Çetin, Former Senior Civilian Representative in Afghanistan of NATO in Afghanistan (2003-2006), on January 13, 2014.

[690] Available at https://webcache.googleusercontent.com/search?q=cache:fKXLjuZVhK0J:https://ronna.apan.org/FRIC/APRP%2520Policy%2520Documents%2520Structures%2520and%2520SOPs/18000%2520LTTs%2520(MAR%252011%3B%2520Donnelly).docx+&cd=5&hl=tr&ct=clnk&gl=tr, accessed on September 5, 2016.

ISAF Public Affairs
Reaction to report of 18,000 Taliban preparing to join APRP
Public Affairs Guidance

Posture: RTQ

Background:

From Azadi Radio: An individual by the name of Abdul Khaliq Malikzai, who claims to be the representative for **18,000** Taliban members, said today that he and his militants' group will be joining the government.

From National Afghanistan TV: Saheb Wali and Abdol Khaleq Malekzai said at a news conference in Kabul that they were operating alongside **12,000** Taleban against the central government and NATO forces. They said that they were negotiating with **6,000** armed Taleban to change their way and join the peace process.

Key themes and messages:

- It is encouraging that so many Taliban are willing to at least consider returning to a peaceful life and helping to rebuild Afghanistan and their families and communities.

Recommendation: It's encouraging to hear reports that so many of Afghanistan's upset brothers (not using Taliban IAW ISAF FRAGO 049-2011) are willing to consider a return to a peaceful life so that they may take an active role in rebuilding Afghanistan alongside both their families and their communities.

- The Afghanistan Peace and Reintegration Program is open to Afghans who renounce violence, accept the Afghan constitution and agree to return to a peaceful life.

Recommendation: The Afghanistan Peace and Reintegration Program is open to those Afghans who agree to renounce violence, cut ties with terrorist groups and live peacefully within the laws of Afghanistan. (reinforces APRP trifold)

- The APRP is an Afghan program that has the (full) support of ISAF and the international community.

Q&As

Q1 - Are the rumors of such a large group of Taliban willing to reintegrate true?

A1- ISAF has not been able to independently confirm whether such a possible reintegration opportunity exists. However, ISAF stands ready to offer its assistance to the Afghan government to welcome these former insurgents home.

Q2 – What might cause a group like this to consider joining the peace process?

A2 – Living peaceful lives is the aspiration of millions of Afghans, insurgents and non-fighters alike.

Q3 – Is the Afghan government prepared to handle a mass reintegration event?

A3 – The Afghan government is building capacity within the APRP daily and programs coming online. It has successfully held reintegration events for several dozen reintegration candidates at a time so far. ISAF stands ready to assist the Afghan government as requested.

Q4 – What programs are available to reintegration candidates?

A4 – Programs are primarily driven by local needs and the ability to deliver the programs in a specific area. Programs may include literacy and vocational programs, beekeeping, agriculture skills, rug weaving and repair, construction skills and more.

Chart 6-8 A Sample Public Affairs Plan

ISAF's subordinate IJC, on the other hand, established PA "to disseminate information, responding to queries, arrange interviews, and advise senior leaders and IJC members on media issues".[691] The PA managed media accreditation and interaction programs while coordinating the PA activities of Regional Commands and NATO Training Mission-Afghanistan. The priorities were identified as casualties, attacks of opposing forces, large findings of drugs or weapons, and local demonstrations, although the priority would change depending on the agenda of ISAF and Afghanistan. The required information on

[691] ISAF Standard Operating Procedures, ISAF Joint Command Media Operations", available at https://publicintelligence.net/isaf-joint-command-media-operations-standard-operating-procedures/ accessed on September 5, 2016.

these subjects would be gathered by liaison offices, joint operating centres, daily update assessments, reports, or meetings.[692]

The other side of PA is the media's behavioural cascade towards Afghanistan. Afghanistan intervention was intensely frequented in media at the initial stages of intervention. But further years witnessed a decrease in the circulated news about Afghanistan. Western newspapers downsized the number of journalists in Afghanistan. Only few organizations such as *Reuters*, *Newsweek*, and *the Washington Post* kept their journalists tracking events and ISAF's activities after 2005.[693] Hence there was a reduced media coverage and diminished awareness. Then the occasion of media coverage had to be managed by condensed, concise, and precise statements if the lowered interest of media was concerned. For this reason, PA had to benefit from all available PA opportunities to tell public what the ISAF was doing by specific programs.

Public affairs offices, in this sense, employed a program, as was the case in Iraq and Bosnia, by embedding journalists to ISAF troops. They monitored how the missions were executed to create a pen-sword alliance.[694] For instance Canadian forces hosted 230 journalists in January 2006 and April 2007 while Dutch forces facilitated 370 external visitors in the first ten weeks of 2007. Dutch contingent hosted 40 journalists per six-month rotations to monitor the Dutch military life in the same year. Interestingly Australian forces did not accept civilian journalists but informed public by uniformed public affairs officers.[695] The same was valid for the Turkish contingent. They accepted only state sponsored and pre-arranged media tours.

Afghanistan had lost its attraction for western media soon after NATO assumed command. As an indicator to the disinterest of Turkish media, Turkish newspapers hired not Turkish, but local Afghans with fluent Turkish language skills to report the events in Afghanistan. Western journalists were sent to Afghan theatre for adventurous story-telling amongst their soldiers to dramatize heroism. This reality was concluded by unawareness of what was happening and led to reduced donor contribution and assistance to Afghanistan. But the year 2009 witnessed an increasing media coverage while casualties and complex

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[692] NATO, Public Affairs Handbook, Allied Command Transformation and Allied Command Operations, July 2010, available at https://www.shape.nato.int/public-affairs-handbook, accessed on April 5, 2016.

[693] Kolhatkar and Ingalls, *Bleeding Afghanistan*, p. 220.

[694] Beth Bailey and Richard H. Immerman, *Understanding the U.S. Wars in Iraq and Afghanistan* (New York: New York University Press, 2015), p. 227.

[695] Kevin Foster, *Don't Mention the War: The Australian Defence Force, the Media and the Afghan Conflict* (Clayton: Monash University Publishing, 2013), pp. 115-116.

attacks of opposing forces were circulated rapidly in the media that caused fear and regret to send own soldiers. Public affairs' failure and improper management of media had caused turbulence in western publics that the support of NATO's public had declined. For instance, the assessment of ISAF Commander McChrystal, which predicted likely defeat in the Afghan mission, was leaked to *the Washington Post* in September 2008, complimented by troop casualties and civil unrest.[696] Following this event, the media circles had initiated a harsh criticism of why the US public was sending its military to Afghanistan despite the whole operation was the consequence of the US intervention to punish Al Qaeda. Additional to public resentment in the West, public affairs had to release announcements of ISAF, ISAF/GIRoA and visiting western diplomats to ease tension and calm down Afghan and global Muslim public for extraordinary events.

Public affairs had nothing to do with emergence of the events but swiftly reacted by issuing press announcements. Hence PA was a defensive mechanism to respond what was in circulation. Public affairs offices were to scan the events, be prepared for media 'assault' by developing probable answers to probable questions, and to manage media by proper wording in press conferences, or other media engagements. The Koran burning incident in 2012, for instance, was a case of PA's tough times. PA immediately circulated the Directive on Handling of Religious Material of ISAF Commander John Allen, but could not ease the resentment of the Afghan public.[697]

ISAF Commander Issues Directive on Handling of Religious Materials

KABUL, Afghanistan (Feb. 21, 2012)—Gen. John R. Allen, commander of the International Security Assistance Force, today issued a new directive that all coalition forces in Afghanistan will complete training in the proper handling of religious materials no later than March 3. The new guidance comes in the wake of an incident that occurred last night at the Detention Facility in Parwan in which religious materials, to include Qurans identified for disposal, were inadvertently taken to an incineration facility at Bagram airfield. The incident is currently under investigation.

"On behalf of the entire International Security Assistance Force, I extend my sincerest apologies to the people of Afghanistan," said Gen. Allen. "To assist us in ensuring we have uncovered all the facts, I've also asked our partners from the Afghan Ministry of Interior to assist us with this investigation."

The training will include the identification of religious materials, their significance, correct handling and storage.

"Along with our apology to the Afghans is our certainty and assurance to them, that these kinds of incidents, when they do occur, will be corrected in the fastest and most appropriate manner possible," continued Allen. "We've been shoulder to shoulder with the Afghans for a long time. We've been dying alongside the Afghans for a long time because we believe in them; we believe in their country, and we want to have every opportunity to give them a bright future."

Chart 6-9 A Public Affairs Case: Disseminated Directive on Handling Religious Materials

[696] King G. Erika, *Obama, the Media, and Framing the U.S. Exit from Iraq and Afghanistan* (New York: Routledge, 2014), p. 79.

[697] Patricia Swann, *Cases in Public Relations Management: The Rise of Social Media and Activism* (New York: Routledge, 2014), p. 476.

Public affairs could not save the image of ISAF after events occurred, since big mistakes could not be fixed only by sole words of a spokesperson or drafted speeches of ISAF decision makers. But it is for managing information flow in appropriate manner to outer publics by means of media, at least to display the truth, penitence, or elaboration. Absence of public affairs would be filled by adversary and opponent to gain advantage and breach the image. As a result public affairs had become a defence mechanism in Afghanistan, at least, to fix the image and have public tolerate what was desired rather than actively shaping information environment.

Public affairs can have opportunities to increase popularity and generate trust of the local public not only by media, but also other means.[698] The projects of civil military cooperation units, for instance, are the themes for the advertisement of the contribution of ISAF to local public, especially at regional level. They can produce good stories for the news by presenting pledges to local community. The Turkish hospital in Camp Doğan of Kabul is a good example for the generated sense of trust in the minds of local public. Local leader of Ud Kheyl neighbourhood around Camp Doğan claims that the Turkish hospital is the rare service in Kabul that Afghan citizens can benefit from. His claim is that Taliban would not attack Camp Doğan since they could not face the reaction of neighbourhood.[699] The significance of Camp Doğan was that all Afghans had access to the Camp where hospital was at the heart of the base. Individuals could walk all along a road after the security check at the gate, have health service, and go back their homes. But the Camp Phoenix of the US Army, which was so close to the Camp Doğan, had frequently been targeted by opposing forces despite security measures were at the highest level while the Turkish Camp did not witness any attack until the end of the mission. Turkish public affairs had advertised hospital's service and had called the local leaders in every two week to have lunch in the Distinguished Visitor's Room close to the hospital to interact with them. Public affairs, hence, was beyond media relations to reach local public, but may require direct interaction.

The shortfall for the public affairs was that intelligence was usually a forgotten field to be exploited. Demographic and perception analysis of the local community and narratives of opposing forces needs to be determined to select appropriate words and images. Public affairs offices, as Gjørv Hoogensen argues in his memoirs, made assumptions about the local population while drafting outgoing messages.[700] The author agrees with Hoogensen since

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[698] Gunhild Hoogensen Gjørv, *Understanding Civil-Military Interaction: Lessons Learned from the Norwegian Model* (New York: Routledge, 2014), p. 123.

[699] Interview with Afghan local leader (identity not revealed by the author) at the north east of Kabul City, on March 1, 2012.

[700] Gjørv, *Understanding Civil-Military Interaction*, p. 123.

public affairs offices did not adequately collaborate with intelligence workshops and did not properly obtain specific knowledge about the perceptions of local population other than regular threat assessments in the designated area of planned activities. Public affairs would be more interactive with the other functions of ISAF, media and proactive rather than reactive.

6.8.3. Information Operations: A Source of Confusion

The overall information operations mission of the Coalition was defined as "convincing most residents of contested areas to side decisively with the Afghan Government and its foreign allies against the Taliban insurgency that [had not long] been achieved".[701] Information operations had to deal with the opposing audience to deter, deny, or persuade in relevance with the objectives of ISAF. Its subfields, mainly PSYOP, appeared to be the main subject area of information operations since 'information operation' was not a capability but a coordination capacity among its constituent elements as was mentioned in the second chapter. In this frame Information Operations departments of ISAF contingents were built in ISAF headquarters under the managing authority of strategic communication branch.

Pending to the doctrinal vagueness of information operations and inadequate knowledge of ISAF staff on the context of information operations, ISAF faced serious problem fields as Arturo Munos argues and shown in the Chart 6-12.[702]

[701] Munoz, *U.S. Military Information Operations in Afghanistan*, p. xvi.

[702] Munoz, *U.S. Military Information Operations in Afghanistan*, pp. 119-132.

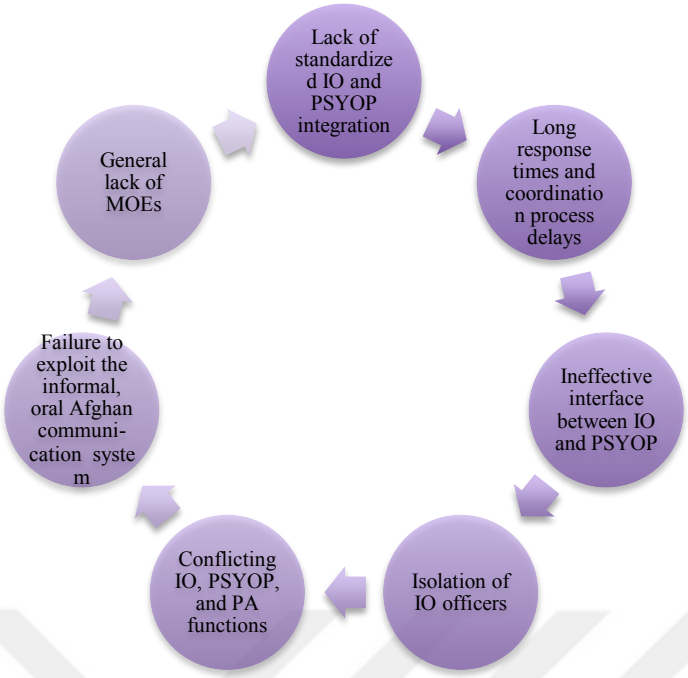


Chart 6-10 Faced Issue Fields of Information Operations for ISAF

Among these issue fields, lack of integration and coordination with the other information related military functions displayed bureaucratic impediments and delays in information process. As a result information lost its timeliness, context, and clarity as it travels up the chain of command. Opposing forces, on the other hand, had more initiative to deliver spontaneous messages pending to tactical developments.

Conceptualization of information operations, PSYOP and public affairs could not be captured by the most ISAF personnel. Public statements of commanding officers, as well as military press releases, were intended to influence Afghan audiences, as well as to inform audiences at home.[703] This highlights the conflict between information operation, PSYOP, and public affairs functions and the need to integrate those more closely. These functions created discrete units with separate missions that over-compartmentalization of informative and communicative functions led to mission creeks. The advance of communication technologies had connected local and international public that they could not isolate the targeted audience one from another. Hence competition of these functions was concluded by the isolation of information operations officers, thereby departments, as the new comer of new military expertise.

Additional fallacy was how to the measure effectiveness of information operations in the realm of informal, oral Afghan communication system because it was almost impossible

[703] Ibid, p. 125.

to go out the bases, disappear among local people and search the outcomes. Besides the Afghan community was communicating in Shuras' face-to-face and 'friendship' based circulation of information rather than announcements of ISAF commanders. The means of communication that the ISAF would have benefited were not as effective as the circulation of informal news among local public. Besides desired behavioural effects would be observed long after the message delivery since Afghan traditional communal linkage hardened to observe the outcomes of information operations.

PSYOP, as the sub branch of information operations, appeared to be the main apparatus to deliver a message to an opponent. But information operation was confused by PSYOP and was perceived, as an identical practice, despite information operation was to coordinate information flow as a coordination capacity rather than actual practice on the ground. PSYOP, on the other hand, was the apparatus to deliver a message to a targeted audience by certain products under coordination of information operation bodies. Hence PSYOP is the concretized activity in information operations to deter or deny opponent, and persuade the impartial. ISAF's PSYOP activity, which had accumulated the experience of Bosnia and Iraq will be examined below to see its efficiency in ISAF's missions.

6.8.4. PSYOP Activities: Practice on the Ground

NATO's PSYOP units had gained experience from the applications of the Coalition and previous Bosnia intervention. PSYOP community who leaped among Bosnia, Iraq and Afghanistan triangle carried 'good practices" from one theatre to another. For sure there was a discontinuity since personnel was cycling in every six to 12 months in Afghanistan leaving their duties to the newcomers. Moreover commanders of ISAF and regional command were randomly handing over their authority to newly appointed officers that would mean changing priorities for PSYOP personnel. Multinational structure of ISAF troops was differentiating the PSYOP exercises pending to regions. ISAF played a coordinating role to standardize the PSYOP exercises under a common standard operating procedure. Hence the general structure of PSYOP was centrally planned, but performed regionally pending to nationally led regional commands.

Communication means of Afghans is a point of interest to identify by what assets PSYOP products would be disseminated or, say another way, 'how can ISAF reach the hearts and minds of Afghans?'. The 2009 survey of the Asia Foundation indicated that Afghans had possessed radio, TV sets, and mobile phones as the communication and information acquisition assets other than traditional Afghan 'friend-relative' based face-to-

face communication system. The percentage of possessed assets is listed in the table, although it does not mean that they were actively and continuously using these assets.[704]

	All (%)	Rural (%)	Urban (%)
Radio	81	81	77
TV set	41	30	80
Mobile phone	52	44	81
Computer	6	3	18

Chart 6-11 Preferred Communication Means of Afghan Public as of 2009

The 2013 survey of Asia Foundation indicates the variation of communication preferences in Afghan daily life pending to their urban or rural backgrounds. Afghans used TV sets in cities and radios in rural regions as the most preferred communications assets to be informed about the developments in Afghanistan, especially in rural regions. As the cell phones diffused to the daily lives of Afghans and private companies were built, Afghans used smart phones to communicate, access to the internet and interact in social media. The 2013 survey of Asia Foundation indicates physical sources of information as depicted in chart.[705]

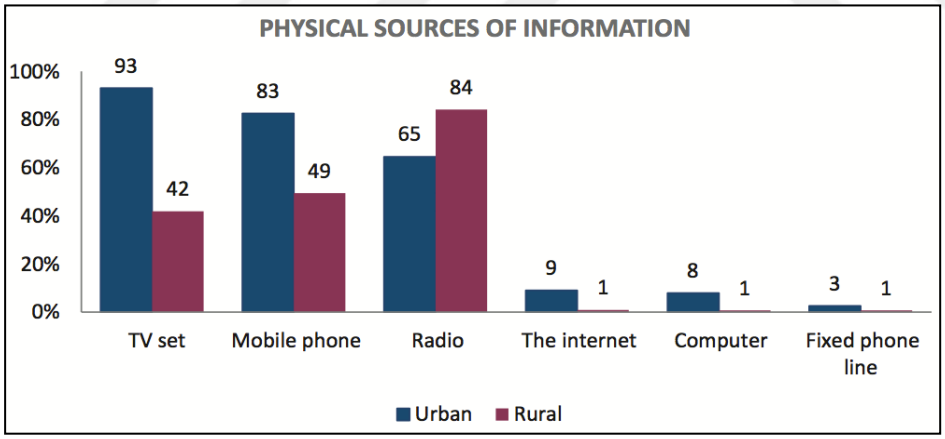


Chart 6-12 Preferred Communication Means of Afghan public as of 2013

[704] Ruth Rennie et al., *Afghanistan in 2009: A Survey of the Afghan People* (Kabul: The Asia Foundation, 2009), p. 137.

[704] Freidman, available at https://www.psywar.org/content/afghanistan02.

[705] Nancy Hopkins and Keith Shawe, *Afghanistan in 2013: A Survey of the Afghan People* (Kabul: The Asia Foundation, 2013), pp. 99-100.

The 2015 survey of the Asia Foundation indicates slight changes in communication assets of Afghan people, adding Shuras and mosques as the environment of information exchanges pending to the years 2013, 2014 and 2015. TV and internet are on the rise but the assets to obtain information more or less be used at the same levels in three years duration. The statistical data is as follows.[706]

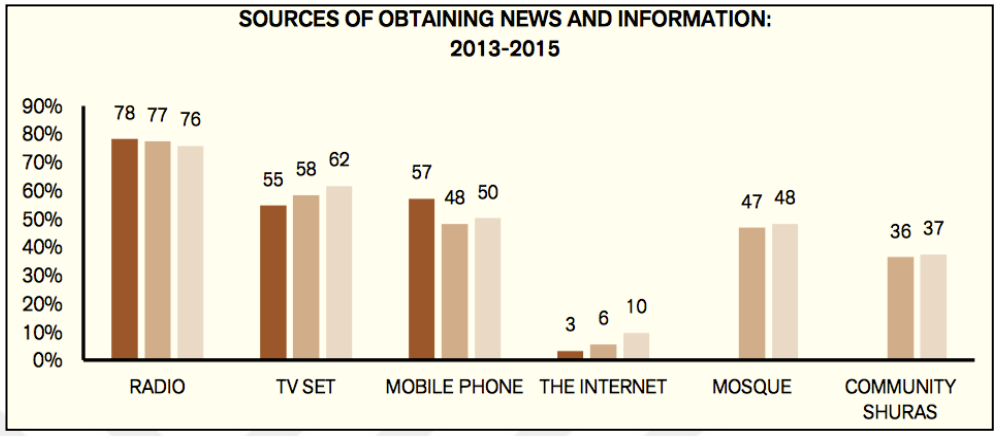


Chart 6-13 Comparison of Communication Means of Afghan Public (2013, 2014, 2015)

Afghan preference of communication and used means of acquiring information on the countrywide events were radio and TV stations. As the technology entered to daily lives of Afghan people, mobile phones facilitated interaction of individuals, access to social media, and the internet. The internet, on the other hand, was at the lowest levels since computer and internet connection was expensive and due to required skill and technical infrastructure to use them. Mosques and community shuras[707] were discussion platforms of Afghan males, which are more effective than radio, TV, and mobile phones because many individuals who had access to these conduits were repeating the themes that they had acquired. Hence they were persuading each other by frequenting repetitions of news, either true or false. Contrary to the preferred means of Afghans, the ISAF benefited mostly from air dropped leaflets, radio and TV broadcasts at the initial stages of PSYOP campaigns, mostly prioritizing counter insurgency operations and discrediting opposing elements. But recent years, as will be discussed below, witnessed the exploitation of all possible means.

[706] Zachary Warren and Nancy Hopkins, *Afghanistan in 2015: A Survey of the Afghan People* (Kabul: the Asia Foundation, 2015), pp. 99-100.

[707] Community shuras were added to the questionere of the survey in 2015. Hence this mechanism was not in the statistics of previous years.

The PSYOP strategy of the Coalition was an inspiration for ISAF since there was a continuation of tradition due to proximity of the US and NATO doctrines. The effort of sustaining the consistency of ISAF's oral/written/imagery and behavioural messages were coordinated by strategic communication and information operations branches under the guidance of ISAF commander. Hence PSYOP had intensified its efforts to support the phase of operations pending the first-second-enrolment status of the ISAF and GIRoA forces. If the security responsibility was under the ISAF's authority as the first enrolment, PSYOP products were more combat-oriented to deter and deny enemy while persuade local public. When the ISAF and GIRoA forces executed operations together, PSYOP products were about the partnership of security forces. The products turned out to give messages of reconstruction, development, capacity of Afghan security forces as far as GIRoA forces are at the first enrolment. The resolute support to the Afghan cause was also the theme to remind that international public would not leave Afghan people's fate to the hands of opposing elements. Hence there was a consistency of strategic goals and PSYOP products, although it was disputable if the goals were realistic and game was being played as was scheduled on the ground. Actual state of counter-insurgency would make PSYOP products a colorful desire of ISAF leadership rather than witnessed reality.



ISAF, Leaflet on difference between ISAF soldiers and insurgents, 2011.

Parallel to the traditional preferences of propaganda means, ISAF PSYOP units benefited from the leaflets to build counter insurgency behaviour in the public. They highlighted the "un-Islamic ideology and behaviour of the terrorists".[708] ISAF prepared caricatures of ISAF soldiers and insurgents depicting their 'actual' behaviours to be distributed by soldiers by hand in Kapisa Province.[709] This leaflet was a contradiction in terms of its timing. ISAF soldier was depicted as the one protecting, shaking the hand of an Afghan friend, and assisting the Afghan forces while insurgents were stealing, killing and beating

[708] Freidman, available at https://www.psywar.org/content/afghanistan02.

[709] Heather Maher, "U.S. General Cites 'Significant' Progress In Afghanistan, But Calls Gains Fragile", leaflet referred to AFP, March 15, 2011, available at http://www.rferl.org/content/petraeus_fragile_success_afghanistan/2339325.html, accessed on July 11, 2016.

women, and elders. The leaflet was distributed on January 2011, but nine children, collecting firewood in eastern Afghanistan, were killed on March 2011 by ISAF soldiers. The message delivered by leaflet was demolished by the actions since the perception was that NATO was killing innocents. As a result, a clear contradiction of words and deeds was in the hand of a French soldier. In response, Afghan President Hamid Karzai announced his feelings with anger: "Poor and innocent civilians...have continued on [a] daily basis to suffer in the unjustifiable operations and bombings carried out by NATO."[710]

ISAF PSYOPs benefitted from PSYOP products for force protection and rescue purposes for the kidnapped soldiers. They were prepared to inform, request help, deter enemy or build confidence. The motivation was pending to experienced events and phase of operations based on the general guidelines of NATO and ISAF headquarters. For instance, the ISAF distributed leaflets on July 16, 2009 for a kidnapped soldier and delivered a phone number to have local public in case they had any information about his whereabouts.[711] The top of the leaflet read, "One of our American guests is missing" while the bottom of the leaflet reads, "Return the guest to his home". ISAF, in fact the US army, was in search of help from the Afghan public to find the abducted soldier. Interestingly another version of the same pamphlet was prepared with threatening words; "If you do not release the U.S. soldier then ... you will be hunted".[712]

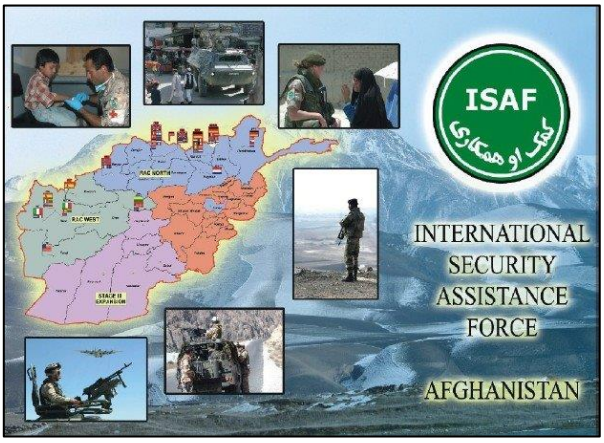


ISAF, Kidnapped Soldier, 2009.

[710] Ernesto Londoazo, "Petraeus Apologizes for NATO Strike That Reportedly Killed Nine Afghan Children", *the Washington Post*, March 2, 2011, available at http://www.washingtonpost.com/wp-dyn/content/article/2011/03/02/AR2011030201939.html, accessed on August 20, 2016.

[711] AFPAK Photo War, Archive, available at http://cryptome.org/info/afpak-archive/afpak-archive-01.htm, accessed on September 7, 2016.

[712] Barbara Starr, "Pamphlets Aid Search for US Soldier Missing in Afghanistan", *CNN*, July 16, 2009, available at http://edition.cnn.com/2009/WORLD/asiapcf/07/16/afghan.missing.soldier/index.html?_s=PM:WORLD, accessed on November 26, 2016.

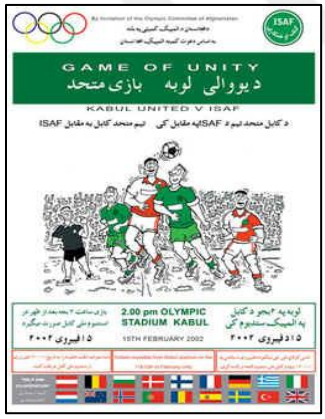


ISAF, The Introduction of ISAF, c2006.

The ISAF also benefited from leaflets and posters to inform local public about the planned status of foreign presence like the Coalition's termination and ISAF's expansion in Afghanistan. The message was clear that the ISAF (or NATO) was different from the Coalition. The leaflets depicted the ISAF's presence attributing to the sense of security, support, and pledges.

Member and partner states produced their own products under the guidance of the ISAF in their respective areas of operation. But contributing nations were free of preparing any product in accordance with their agenda and needs. For instance, the British PSYOP unit[713] produced leaflets in the form of mine awareness warnings, and posters encouraging the neighbourhood campaign, health assistance, and the "Game of Unity" which was the first major athletic event after the fall of the Taliban. "ISAF News" was prepared to inform Afghan public about the events at national level by British PSYOP. [714]





ISAF, ISAF Newspaper, c2006.

British contingent was one of the pioneering masters in designing leaflets to influence public and opposing elements. In January 2007, the British commented on their PSYOP activities in Afghanistan in an article entitled "NATO Reveals Dark Art of PSYOP" in the *London Sunday Times.*[715] The article

[713] Freidman, available at https://www.psywar.org/content/afghanistan02.

[714] Ibid.

[715] Ibid.

stated that British Commanders believed that there were two types of Taliban insurgents in the war-ravaged south of Afghanistan. The first, called "Tier 1", was the leaders, some of whom were foreign-born. The message was to persuade low level opposing formations. ISAF was differing leaders and foreigner fighters from the Afghan local and low level ones.[716]





Enemies of the Islamic Republic of Afghanistan - LEAVE.
Capture or death awaits you.

ISAF, Counter Insurgency Leaflet, c.2007.

The second, called "Tier 2", was a plea for locals to turn their backs on the Taliban and support NATO.





Do not choose to follow the enemies of the Islamic Republic of Afghanistan. Choose peace and return home to your elders.

Choose peace. Return to your homes and meet with your elders.

ISAF, Leaflet for Local Public, c2007.

The purpose was to deter additional participation and support to opposing forces. The behaviour would be awarded by peace and prosperity at the very local level.

[716] Ibid.

Project Mullah[717] is a significant example of British PSYOP project. Yousufzai tells the details of the project and what was experienced. British Provincial Reconstruction Team in Helmand province started to gear up a campaign to win the villagers' loyalties. The team began conducting a survey of local mosques in the province and found there were about 10,000 mullahs and muezzins attached to them. The team began concentrating its efforts on 570 influential imams who were living and preaching near the Taliban-controlled areas in an operation dubbed Project Mullah. As a reward the team began giving the imams and their mosques quantities of food, clothing, and shoes. The pursued objective was to have conduit with mullahs to have them give pro-ISAF speeches to the public, especially at the mosques. Mullahs, as the most respected figures among Afghans, had to be persuaded.

The method was to be identified pending to the course of interactive communication with mullahs. They would demand furniture or cash for the expenses of their mosque. The British PSYOP was prepared to deliver what mullahs would want. The priority of mullahs, on the other hand, was to benefit from the offers of British soldiers. Warm conversation of both sides let British PSYOP to give Viagra pills to mullahs. They furthered the project by taking the appropriate mullahs to a trip in the UK. They would show how the Muslim population in the UK was practicing their faith in comparison to the Arab countries that they had visited during their voyage, as follows.

> As the mullahs began asking for more supplies, the campaign seemed to be a success. Soon the project was feeding and clothing imams and their families living inside Taliban-controlled areas, and the mullahs began asking for medicine and items such as soap and household goods. It was not long before some imams even began to take team members into their confidence and to disclose their most personal complaints, such as their sexual debilities. The answer to the imams' pleas: Viagra. "We hesitantly gave Viagra to a few mullahs" says the adviser. "And after a few months they were all demanding the drug, so we began ordering and distributing large quantities." "We distributed Viagra until the end of 2010 and were getting what we thought were good results."
>
> [Other than Viagra] the team was able to get the high command's permission to take one dozen of the most cooperative preachers on a tour of the UK. "The idea was to show them that Islam is widely and freely practiced in the UK". On the way to Britain, the group stopped over in Dubai, where the mullahs saw Muslim women in the desert heat baring more skin than would be allowed back home. While in London they were surprised to see how many British women, who were dressed for the cold weather, were more covered than those in Dubai. The mullahs were impressed with the small mosques that are located inside the Ministry of Defence and the Home Office. They also visited a number of London mosques, where they talked freely with other clergy and worshipers.

[717] Sami Yousafzai, "Viagrastan: An Unorthodox Play for Afghan Hearts and Minds", *Newsweek*, February 12, 2013, available at http://europe.newsweek.com/viagrastan-unorthodox-play-afghan-hearts-and-minds-63261?rm=eu, accessed on August 29, 2016.

> The Helmandi mullahs still referred to Jews and Christians as "the enemies of Islam," and to the Americans and the British in Afghanistan as "invaders" who must be driven out. As a result, after realizing that it was difficult to gauge the overall success of the program, Project Mullah was suspended at the end of 2010.[718]

Project Mullah, after distributing 'unethical' goods and taking some mullahs to the UK to show the religious tolerance, appeared to be a failure since it did not create a behavioural change, as was desired by the British PSYOP. It was because of the motivation of both parties. Benefit based, rather than committed, interaction hindered the outcomes of the project since either side only desired to exploit each other. But the sword of the Taliban upon the mullahs won the profit game at the end.

ISAF PSYOP products were reflecting the objectives of ISAF operation as the mission turned out to be security forces assistance that took Afghans to the first enrolment and ISAF to the second enrolment.[719] Hence themes of PSYOP products had been aligned with the strategic objectives of the ISAF. Billboards and posters were also benefitted in cities and governmental offices where many citizens were frequenting on daily basis. The concern was to make Afghan government and security forces credible in the eyes of Afghans. Partnership of equals was the main narrative. Newly acquired capabilities of the Afghan Army or civil service sector were depicted to persuade public that they could trust their own state. The aids were decorated by Afghan flags and equipment was operated by Afghan forces by the guidance of NATO soldiers. Interestingly these soldiers were usually the US officers or assets that were addressing the subliminal of Afghan public, probably due to the generous pledges of the US government.



ISAF, Pledges to AfghanNational Army, 2014.

Afghan children, reminding the future of Afghanistan, were in the leaflets and posters, enriched by the Afghan flag. The word "success" was frequented on the posters because it

[718] Ibid.

[719] The leaflets, posters, and video records of the latest term of ISAF are provided by Sorin Christea, the former Chief of ISAF PSYOP Department in 2014.

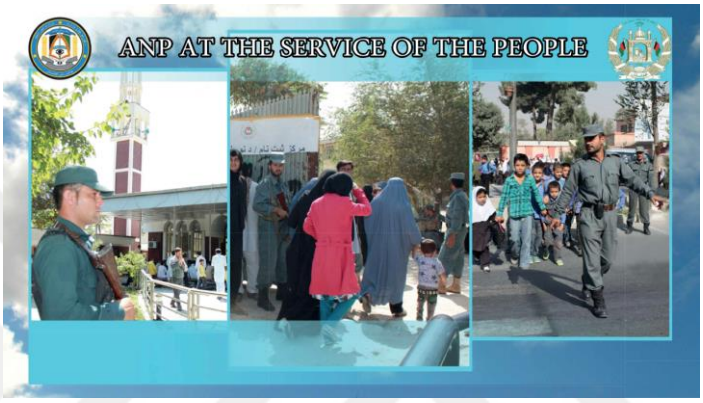
was what Afghan people were hungry for. Children were perceived as the innocent and sinless in Islam that sympathy of public was desired. Girls were presented by both veiled and unveiled to have society to be accustomed to and to tolerate females.



ISAF, Peace and Partnership Posters, 2013.

The ISAF started PSYOP campaign to build confidence of Afghan public towards Afghan security forces. The allegations on corruption and incapacity of the Afghan government were the concerns as the termination of the mission was in the agenda of NATO. ISAF desired to tell Afghans that they had capable, committed, and determined security forces, ready to defend country by establishing a secure environment even if NATO would leave Afghanistan. It was also a counter narrative to opposing forces since they were dictating the theme that NATO was defeated and its puppets would fail, too. Hence security forces, under the heavy criticism of corruption, were articulated as reliable, trustworthy, and capable Afghan national formations.





ISAF, ANA in the Lead Poster, 2014 and ANP at the Service Posters, 2012.

Security of NATO soldiers and achievements of Afghan forces were priority in PSYOP products. In this frame improvised explosive devices (IED) had become the main concern for both security and Afghan achievement since they were easy to prepare and to detonate for mass killings of Afghan/NATO soldiers. NATO realized the prominence of public support to identify the whereabouts of IEDs since intelligence was short of accurate



ISAF, IED Awareness, c2012.

information on location and timing of attacks. Hence support of the local public was crucial to identify these explosives to prevent high number of casualties.

Another theme of ISAF PSYOP was reconciliation and peace process with the members of opposing factions. Apart from high-level talks, mainly with the Taliban, the ISAF and GIRoA started a project to persuade low-level opposing recruits. Reconciliation and peace process was, and still is, advertised to have opposing forces and their supporters to turn in their weapons and participate to Afghan life. The leaflets and posters depicted the modern living conditions of Afghans in the frame of education (especially of girls), traditional authority of elders, commonly possessed white doves, and kites under the slogan of "Goodness comes from peace". In general, Afghan internal unity and brotherhood were depicted. The participation to peace and reconciliation process, which was to have opposing fighters to turn in their weapons and to be a subject of the Afghan Government, was explained to whom was interested in three languages: Dari, Pashto and English. The purpose was to tell how to participate process and what rights would be pledged.



ISAF, Peace and Reconciliation Posters, c2013.



ISAF, Peace and Reconciliation Handout, c2012.

At the other theme, Afghan identity was advertised to have a conscious unity, disregarding ethnic and sectarian diversity in one country and under one flag. The citizen's contribution to Afghanistan by means of volunteer participation to community service was on the billboards. Once banned activities by the Taliban regime such as girls' education, either in Burka or modern dresses, children playing football were put forward along with communal meetings.



ISAF, Communal Unity and Cooperation Posters, c2014.

As the withdrawal comes closer after 2012, opposing forces had started to claim victory against 'infidels'. ISAF prepared posters and billboards promising "enduring commitment" by supporting Afghan security forces. The Afghan public had to be reminded about NATO's support to "capable" Afghan security forces by depicting soldiers of both. The US soldier was equated with Afghan one by similar guns, helmets, height and combat readiness. They were shaking their hands as if an Afghan soldier was fare welling while a

US soldier was saying "good bye". But title was enduring commitment to stress the continuous support of the ISAF, in fact the US army.

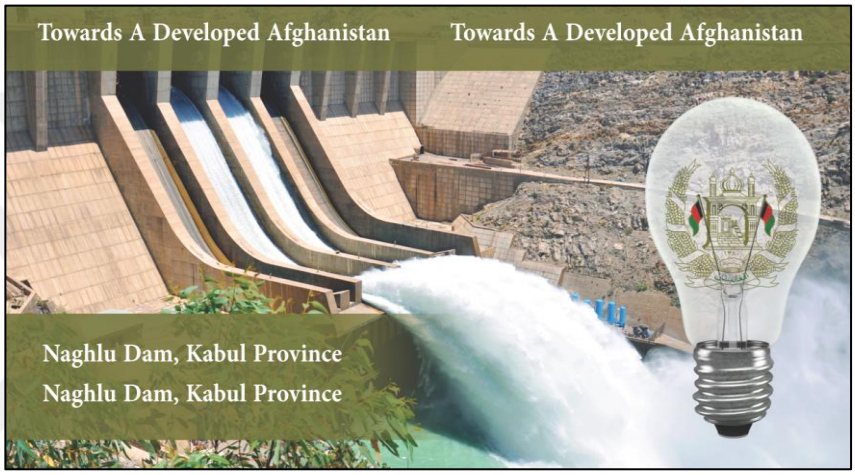


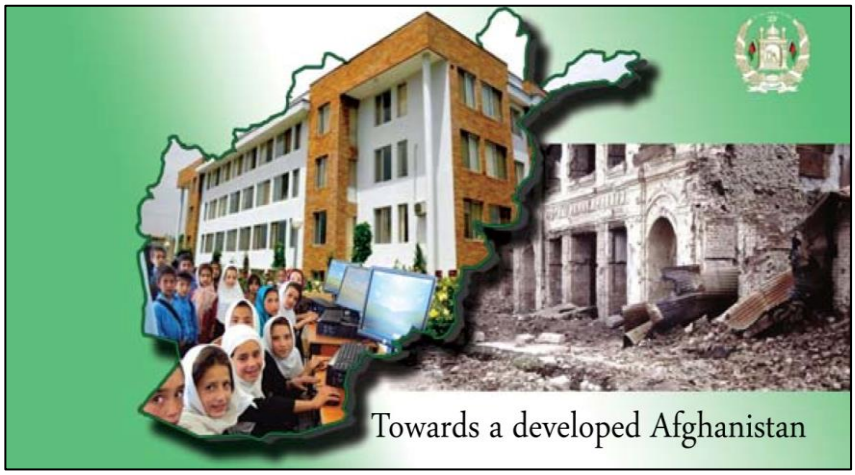
ISAF, Enduring Commitment, c2014.

Parallel to reconstruction, development, and administrative projects, achieved pledges are advertised by all available means. These projects were part of the US policy in Afghanistan to invest in the infrastructure in exchange of the withdrawal. The US field manual *Commander's Guide to Money as a Weapons System Handbook: Tactics, Techniques and Procedures*, for instance, explains how to defeat counter insurgency targets by creating and providing jobs along with other forms of financial assistance to the indigenous population, and by restoring or creating vital infrastructure. [720] Reconstruction and development of Afghanistan were depicted and advertised by concrete investments of the 'US-led' ISAF. Naghlu Dam of Kabul was one of the significant investments that would meet the electricity need of the capital. It became a symbol of development since four-five million Afghan citizens living in 'dark' Kabul would be brightened up. Modern schools were built up for better education conditions replacing ruined schools. Hospitals were equipped with modern technology that Afghans need not go to Pakistan or India to receive modern health care.

[720] The US Marine Field Manual, "Commander's Guide to Money as a Weapons System Handbook: Tactics, Techniques and Procedures", pp. I, 13, available at http://www.usma.edu/cnrcd/siteassets/sitepages/government%20publications/call%20maaws%20handbook%2009-27%20(april%2009).pdf, accessed on July 14, 2016.







ISAF, Development and Reconstruction Posters, 2014.

Other than leaflets, posters, and billboards; ISAF PSYOP prepared TV advertisements to show progress of Afghanistan, achieved development projects, and capable Afghan security forces. The US soldiers were, again, at the front row rather than the other NATO soldiers. They were either participating to the meetings on developments projects, training pilots or observing the achievements of Afghan officials. Private TV channels were funded to air the videos in the form of public announcement or prime time news.



ISAF, Video Footages for TVs, 2014.

Radio, as the top possessed information acquisition asset of rural Afghanistan, was used to spread the same themes, although there were some flaws. Freidman claims that NATO distributed more than 700,000 radios in the first half of 2006.[721] Regional commands started their own radio broadcasts by the guidance of ISAF (Strategic) Communication Department.[722] The US military broadcasts were on short wave while the U.S. Embassy used 23 stations, apart from the British Broadcasting Corporation and the Voice of America.[723] Turkish radio broadcasts were very effective in Kabul since they had hired local professionals and aired Afghan and Turkish music, which were very popular among Afghan people. The German PSYOP radio station *Sada-e Azadi* (Voice of Freedom) broadcasted in the two main languages spoken in the country, Dari and Pashto in addition to the soldiers' radio *Radio Andernach*. The Italian contingent's radio station *Sada a Azadi West,* which translates to "The Voice of Freedom- West" was inaugurated in April 2010. The radio station, as a part of the NATO radios network, was developed with Italian funds by the staff of the Regional PSYOP Support Element. All of the programs were broadcasted in exclusively in Pashto and Dari languages. The station offered information of public interest for the Afghan people in an attempt to increase knowledge on the purpose of ISAF coalition forces presence in Afghanistan. The program included musical entertainment, local news and in-depth programs on important social issues and local culture.

NATO had realized the shortfalls of radio broadcasts and started Psychological Operations Radio Network for ISAF by means of eligible private companies in 2006. The [claimed] radio network would receive a central program from Kabul and re-broadcast it locally to Provincial Reconstruction Team (PRT) regions. PSYOPS transmitters located at the PRT's would extend the PSYOPS radio network to the southern and eastern region of Afghanistan.[724] Some members within the PSYOP community were disturbed to see the system called "PSYOP Radio Network" that seemed to defeat the purpose of using the radio for truthful and unbiased news. The announced goal of the PSYOPS network was to create a supporting atmosphere among the Afghan leadership and population in support of the objectives of the ISAF mission. But the problem was that local public would not credit the radio of foreign presence since they knew that it was a broadcast for the causes of NATO or the USA. Hence radio was the most appropriate means of delivering oral PSYOP products,

[721] Freidman, available at https://www.psywar.org/content/afghanistan02.

[722] The author scanned and listened the broadcasts in Kabul during the years 2005-2006 and 2011-2012.

[723] Freidman, available at https://www.psywar.org/content/afghanistan02.

[724] Ibid.

as could be seen in the surveys of the Asia Foundation, but it was least benefited asset until the final years of the mission.

6.8.5. Internet and Social Media

Jan Vijls observed that new media like internet and cell phones were underestimated in Afghanistan and was only recently exploited to deliver messages.[725] For this purpose, the ISAF designed a website and activated pages in Facebook and Twitter. The purpose was "to more quickly deliver current, relevant and accurate news and information about military operations in Afghanistan", ISAF announced.[726] The web site integrated the ISAF's online social networking pages, including Facebook and Twitter, and its pages on content sharing sites YouTube and Flickr, adding levels of interactivity and depths of content not found on many military web pages. Facebook page was updated by news, photos and videos, as well as content from traditional media outlets; and remains a key tool for the command to communicate with its online audience. Interfaces like blogs of former ISAF commanders, ISAF podcasts and RSS feeds were designed to effectively communicate with the followers, which was growing as many as 100 on daily basis. Resolute Support Mission (RSM) replaced the web page of ISAF and the other digital platforms after January 2015. ISAF and RSM created a platform to directly address the curiosity of interested individuals. The contribution of social media to the ISAF's cause was the speed of circulated information while reaching a very wide audience at the mean time.





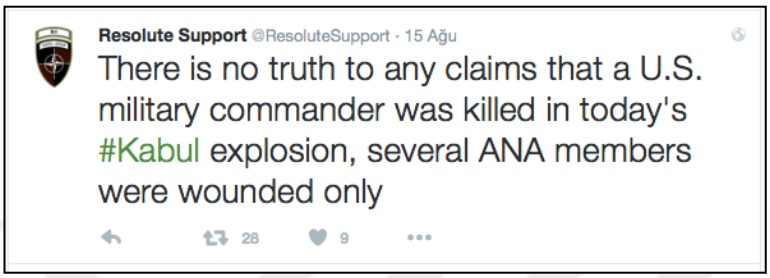
RSM, Social Media Engagement, 2016.

The social media undertakings of the opposing forces had the opportunity to spread false information about the activities of NATO and GIRoA that ISAF found a ground to

[725] Interview with Jan Vijls, PSYOP Practitioner in Belgium Army and ISAF, on January 27, 2014.

[726] Resolute Support Mission Archive, available at http://www.rs.nato.int/article/isaf-releases/international-security-assistance-force-launches-new-website.html, accessed on September 8, 2016.

respond allegations and deny the false information.[727] Opposing media claimed that "the ISAF must be hiding things" and "the Taliban is telling the real truth" until ISAF was not responding the tweets of the Taliban. ISAF countered the narratives of the Taliban after social media network was built. The paradox in the minds of social media public appeared to be why ISAF was releasing a response to every allegation of opposing forces, whose reputation was so disparaged[728], as can be seen in the tweet of RSM. Hence RSM responded delivered messages of opposing forces in required circumstances.



RSM, Social Media Engagement, c2015.

One dimension of exploiting social media, for the ISAF, was that the messages were directed not only to opposing forces or local public, but also the publics of member and partner states of the ISAF. Hence the Afghan conflict had brought closer to people at rapid pace.[729] Collateral effect was that interactive communication brought a war of words in social media among third parties that ISAF could not control. The products of ISAF in the form of photos, videos, or texts would be commented by contradicting comments that could lower the credibility of the ISAF in the eyes of local public.

Progress of Afghanistan in terms infrastructure, governance, and development was the common theme of ISAF/Resolute Support Mission's social media engagement. The GIF images were used in a comparative manner to show the level of development Afghanistan had achieved. Following tweets indicate the governance capacity of Afghanistan and compare it with the term of the Taliban. The message seems perfect for the people living in relatively developed urban, like Kabul. But it is apparent that rural Afghanistan is not well addressed by this GIF. However social media initiative of ISAF/Resolute Support Mission

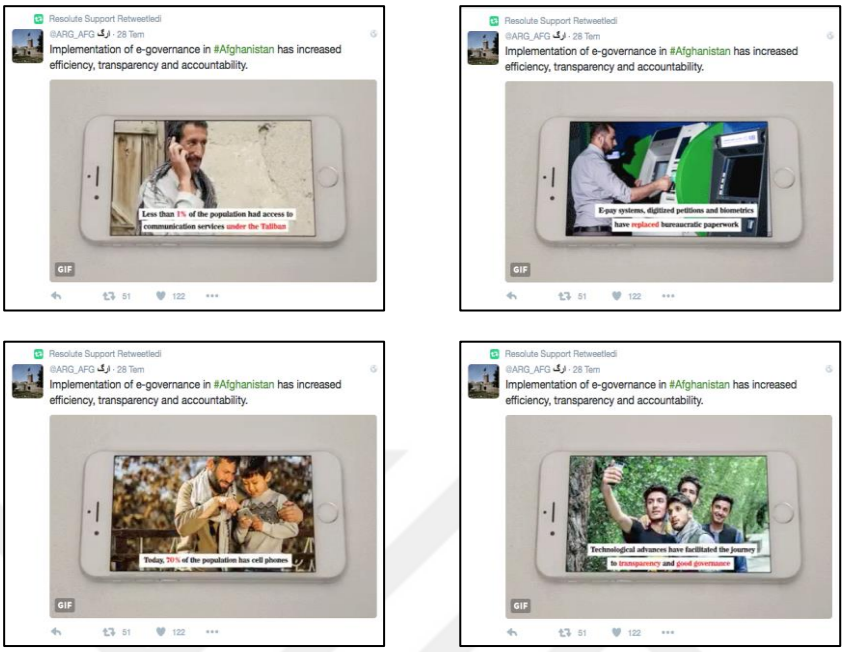
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[727] Zach Baddorf, *Communicating in Conflict*, online edition, 2015, available at https://books.google.com.tr/books?id=ZQ2fCgAAQBAJ&pg=PT58&dq=ISAF+social+media&hl=tr&sa=X&ved=0ahUKEwjsqIOA4P_OAhUJShQKHb57CecQ6AEIJjAA#v=onepage&q=ISAF&f=false, accessed on September 8, 2016.

[728] Ibid, p. 127.

[729] Per M.Norheim-Martinsen and Tore Nyhamar, *International Military Operations in the 21st Century: Global Trends and the :Future of Intervention* (New York: Routledge, 2015), p. 182.

was success story since it had reached more than 133,000 followers[730], at least to inform them about the actual status of NATO's commitments and respond counter propaganda.



RSM, Social Media Engagement, 2016.

The subject matter of PSYOP was based on denying and deterring opposing forces at the initial stages and unity and progress messages at the later term pending to the phase of peace operations. The purpose was based on behavioural change in the way to align with the objectives of the ISAF. PSYOP units addressed short-term concerns. Consequently the ISAF, and concurrently the RSM, applied communication strategies with the actors of the Afghan case. The lessons learned from the Coalition and experienced events led the ISAF and the RSM to discover propaganda derivatives and build expertized organizations to apply contemporary methods of engaging with the actors. But full scale of belief, attitude, behaviour, group norms, and value evaluation was non-existent.

Intelligence in the picture of propaganda plays a crucial role that the ISAF/RSM was misled because propaganda perception was not correctly diverted to proper the exploitation of intelligence. As this thesis argues, one of the main reasons of propaganda inefficiency is the irrelevance of intelligence while opposing militia was practicing intelligence and propaganda more efficiently. Following section will examine NATO's and opposing

[730] The number is as of September 9, 2016, available at https://twitter.com/ResoluteSupport/followers, accessed on September 9, 2016.

militias' intelligence exercise in Afghanistan to see to what extent propaganda was performed consistent with the facts of Afghans.

6.9. Propaganda and Intelligence Challenge: Opposing Military Forces

ISAF had to counter intelligence and propaganda efforts of opposing militia while delivering messages and building a bridge to the local public. One aspect was the requirements of insurgency that both intelligence and propaganda had to be designed for irregular warfare. But the other aspect, peace support operation was in need of new propaganda and intelligence techniques. Opposing forces exploited all necessary means in both cases by its intelligence and propaganda assets. Hence the ISAF had to discover what intelligence and propaganda capabilities of opposing militia had since there was a competition of both entities in these fields. Efficiency of opposing forces could (and did) lead to inefficiency of the ISAF that would clarify the winner of conflict.

6.9.1. Intelligence Capacity of the Opposing Forces

Opposing military forces, mainly Taliban, were not new to intelligence business in Afghanistan before the US-led intervention. They had built an intelligence organization, similar to State Intelligence Agency – KHAD[731] of communists, which was re-named as WAD during the Taliban rule. Kalamuddin, the head of Ministry of State Security – WAD[732], claimed that WAD had employed 15,000 to 30,000 professional spies, as well as having 100,000 paid informants in the Afghan army, ministries, hospitals, and western aid agencies [before the intervention of the Coalition].[733] The majority of this network could not be dissipated after the intervention. The informant network was still active when the Taliban was toppled down, but needed to recover from the suppression of the Coalition. The Taliban's withdrawal to Pashtun dominated regions of Pakistan had witnessed intense intelligence efforts to picture the activities of the Coalition and local forces. The Taliban's mobilization to balance the 'enemy' pushed intelligence activities to gather information for attacks and identify the local informants working for their 'enemy'.[734]

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[731] Khadamat-e Aetela'at-e Dawlati – can more precisely be translated as "State Information Services".

[732] Wizarat-i Amaniyyat-i Dawlati.

[733] Rashid, Ahmad, *Taliban: The Power of Militant Islam in Afghanistan and Beyond* (New York: Tauris, 2010), p. 223.

[734] The author observed the reports in 2005 if opposing militias were capable of gathering adequate level of information. Counter intelligence reports were indicating tense insurgency effort of surveillance and reconnaissance especially in and around governmental buildings, embassies, and military bases.

The priority of opposing factions has turned out to be intelligence preparation for attacks under the mask of civilian Afghans of differing ages and ethnicities.[735] Lack of intelligence would mean failure in rocket attacks, ambushes, armed attacks, improvised explosive device (IED) attacks, or kidnapping attempts that would discredit the Taliban, the HIG or the other opposing militias.[736] The advantage of opposing forces was that they were part of Afghan social structure, families, connections, interests of individuals/groups. They could hide among the local public living at the outskirts of cities or in small neighbourhoods. Hence intelligence was a matter of covered collection effort with no difficulty and spontaneously analyse the obtained information. The disadvantage was the lack of unity among all the opposing forces. But the Taliban, the Haqqani, or the HIG were operating in overlapping regions though; they had partially compromised for coordinated activities, including intelligence.

Intelligence methodology of opposing forces was based on human intelligence by means of surveillance teams and informal communication of Afghan people. The opposing factions derived actionable intelligence from informants within military bases, prisons, and in the Afghan security forces, including those hired by military contractors.[737] Similarly Afghan police and soldiers, prone to opposing elements or corrupted ones, were source of information if bribed or motivated to voluntarily provide information.

Other than informants, surveillance teams provided daily intelligence reports for regional commanders of opposing militias for early warning or attack timing and location.





Every movement and routines of foreign forces and security forces were observed to extract information.[738] Innovative tactics

[735] Marc Silinsky, *The Taliban: Afghanistan's Most Lethal Insurgents* (Santa Barbara: Praeger, 2014), p. 81.

[736] Tom Lansford, *9/11 and the Wars in Afghanistan and Iraq: A Chronology and Reference Guide* (Washington D.C.: ABC Clio, 2011), p. 142.

[737] Ben Brandt, "The Taliban's Conduct of Intelligence and Counterintelligence", June 1, 2011, available at https://www.ctc.usma.edu/posts/the-taliban's-conduct-of-intelligence-and-counterintelligence, accessed on September 12, 2016.

[738] The author observed the feedback reports of captured Taliban members when he was the Chief of Intelligence Department in Afghanistan.

were also discovered to observe ISAF troops or to attack them like flying birds mounted by cameras or remotely controlled explosives to explode at the top of foreign troops.[739]

Local employees of foreign forces were either threatened or persuaded to report what they had witnessed, heard or observed. Interpreters were good information sources since they were the bridge between ISAF soldiers and Afghans. The ISAF had brought rules to hire local individuals like a reference system. Local employees would guarantee the reliability of a newly hired individual. This exercise caused high corruption rate since already hired locals were demanding money to be a referee. Opposing forces, on the other hand, threatened the local employees to report their observations on weekly basis disregarding any reference system.



Opposing forces benefitted from signals intelligence capability stunted by an inability to listen the heavily encrypted radio transmissions of [ISAF] troops.[740] They used radio receivers that they could communicate and, at the mean time, scan the frequencies to listen the communications of security forces and foreign soldiers, if encrypted. Signal intelligence was rather at the regional level to determine imminent threats or picture how tense the communication traffic before a probable ISAF or Afghan operation.

Open source intelligence is another intelligence discipline that opposing militia benefitted both to gather information and interact with its targeted audience for intelligence purposes. The global news, affiliated with Afghanistan had been scanned in the internet



[739] Chris Peres, "The Taliban's new DIY drone: A Bird Fitted with a Bomb Vest", December 1, 2014, available at http://nypost.com/2014/12/01/talibans-latest-weapon-a-bird-fitted-with-a-bomb-vest/, accessed on August 26, 2016.

[740] Ben Brandt, "The Taliban's Conduct of Intelligence and Counterintelligence".

to see what the Afghan government and the ISAF were in charge to see their agenda or actions. Liberal news broadcast of the US troops, for instance, were at the 'google' of opposing forces. Besides a statement of any ISAF commander or Afghan public officials was announced, Taliban was responding by counter arguments in the communiqués of Taliban. NATO soldiers were providing information on their whereabouts, activities, and moods that opposing forces can easily track their 'enemy'. The Taliban's Twitter account was following the Twitter feeds of U.S. military personnel who were delivering texts and photos.[741] In addition to social media, the opposing factions monitored the foreign news media and NGO publications, citing as examples the Taliban's prompt responses to a UN report on civilian casualties, and articles in *Time* and *the Sunday Telegraph*.[742] Open source and social media engagement, hence, were benefitted not only to propagate their views but also to extract information from the ISAF and Afghan soldiers, especially if a liberal perception of sharing information was prevalent.

If an overall intelligence capability analysis is assessed, the opposing forces had the intelligence gathering capacity by all available means. The purpose was to start an attack, to determine what messages the ISAF had released, and to employ counter propaganda. Besides opposing militia had the capability to scan the delivered messages of ISAF and to respond quickly by means of all available means. Hence propaganda and intelligence were affiliated with each other to address the ISAF's both intelligence and propaganda undertakings.

6.9.2. Propaganda Efforts of the Opposing Militias:

Propaganda background of the Taliban existed from the early stages of the movement. The Taliban named propaganda not a social engineering process but 'societal education' of public while denouncing propaganda as useless in 1990s.[743] The Taliban has learned about propaganda by the Saudi support and funding before the foreign intervention. The Saudi *Istakhbarat*, headed by Turkî Bin Faysal, provided funds by means of Pakistan's ISI to diffuse Wahabi tradition to Afghan society. The Taliban broadcasted about the Islamic way of life and proper behaviour of a Muslim on Radio Shariat, formerly Radio Kabul. Western outlets and TV were strictly forbidden for the public since it was '*haram*' because TVs were

[741] SITE Intelligence Group, "Social Jihad Network: Taliban Twitter", January 15, 2014, available at https://news.siteintelgroup.com/Featured-Article/taliban-twitter.html, accessed on September 12, 2016.

[742] Richard Barret, "The Taliban's Reading List", available at http://wwword.com/819/think/miscellany/what-the-taliban-reads/, accessed on September 12, 2016.

[743] Rashid, *Taliban: The Power of Militant Islam in Afghanistan and Beyond*, p. 95.

broadcasting infidel life.[744] Al Qaeda, on the other hand, taught the Taliban how to set up sophisticated media outlets, which produced tens of thousands of DVDs and inspirational tapes.[745] An Afghan scholar Abdul Ghani argues that the Afghan society was used to acquire tapes, which have recorded speeches of politicians. Former Afghan President Nacibullah, for instance, had reproduced his speeches to diffuse communist ideology by justifying its tenets in accordance with Islamic teaching. The Taliban followed a similar path. They reproduced tapes and CDs of respected mullahs to circulate the Islamic way of proper behaviours.[746] The foreign intervention increased Taliban's efforts to continue communicating its ideology along with an additional objective, which was to discredit the Coalition and concurrently the NATO forces by evolving means of propaganda.

The Taliban could not match the [hard] capabilities of the Coalition forces, so they tried to erode the will of their 'enemy' through unconventional tactics[747], mainly by 'hit and run' tactics and intense propaganda efforts. For this purpose, opposing militias started disinformation and propaganda against the Coalition forces and the ISAF afterwards.[748] Their main argument was based upon defending Islam and Afghanistan. In this sense Taliban claimed that they were the ones protecting Islam and their 'Afghan' culture.[749] The main philosophy was not to bind them with any morality since 'Islam' had to be defended. They referred immoral acts to the verses of Koran in order to justify and clean themselves from counter propaganda of their 'enemies'. Islamic identity of the Taliban, hence, was a point of credibility in the eyes of Afghans, mainly Pashtuns at the south and east of Afghanistan. The Taliban exploited all available religious themes, personalities and materials to urge Afghans that they were defending Islam against infidels. Pro-Taliban mullahs delivered 'jihadist' speeches on Friday sermons, while *ulema* (pro-Taliban scholars of Islamic teaching) issued decrees to fight against 'occupying' forces and their puppets. Islamic symbols and sayings were used to persuade the Afghan public that Taliban had the authority and legitimacy to commit jihad in Afghanistan. For example, Mullah Omar used to wear a cloak in 1996 that believed to be the belonging of the Prophet during his night journey to heaven to consolidate

[744] Another reason of Saudi interest to Afghanistan was pressure of Saudi energy companies, like Delta and Ningarco, to have a pie from gas pipeline projects across Afghanistan. Rashid, Ahmad, *Taliban: The Power of Militant Islam in Afghanistan and Beyond*, p. 123.

[745] Ibid.

[746] Interview with Abdul Gani (Ph.D.), Afghan scholar and interpreter, on March 13, 2014.

[747] Silinsky, *The Taliban: Afghanistan's Most Lethal Insurgents*, pp. 90, 105.

[748] Ibid, p. 90.

[749] Boon, Huq and Lovelace, *Al Qaeda, Taliban, and Conflict in Afghanistan*, p. 52.

his Islam-based power by claiming descent from Mohammad.[750] Islam's attraction for Afghan public was polishing the image of Taliban especially in the eyes of radical Afghans. As Pakistani scholar Maulana Fazıl Muhammad argues, the fact that the Taliban are the students of *Madrasa* is sufficient for the Muslims to place trust in them.[751] As a result, the Taliban had advantage in its propaganda war one step ahead of the Coalition. They started using radio broadcasts, colourful magazines full of photographs, videos, internet or social media to reach out to the public in order to denounce the foreign presence as 'occupiers/infidels' and the Afghan government as a 'puppet' as early as the Afghan intervention of the Coalition.[752]

The spokesman system and their public affairs efforts were preliminary aspects of opposing propaganda machine. The Taliban carried its institutionalization of propaganda by appointing full time and enterprising spokesmen, like Mufti Latifullah Hakimi, after the transition period from defence to balance the foreign presence.[753] Hakimi intensified his propaganda efforts in Pakistan using cell phones and benefitting the opportunities of evolving communications technology. Hakimi first appeared on the scene on January 28, 2004 after a suicide attack killed a British soldier in Kabul. After Hakimi's arrest by Pakistan security forces, Taliban appointed two new spokesmen, Qari Mohammad Yousuf Ahmadi and Dr. Mohammad Hanif, along with the Head of the Taliban's Information and Culture Department, Ustad Mohammad Yasir.[754] The Taliban divided Afghanistan in two tiers and appointed a spokesperson for each tier to better inform Afghan public and to do more efficient propaganda. Other than the Taliban, the other groups also have their own spokesmen and propaganda mechanisms. For example, the Salafi (Wahhabi) Taliban in the eastern Kunar and Nuristan provinces, the Tora Bora Front in Nangrahar, the Haqqani Network in the provinces bordering Waziristan (Khost, Paktia, Paktika), and Hezb-e Islami Gulbettin had (still have) their own spokesmen who contacted the media. The spokesmen and their offices made phone calls to journalists, sent mobile messages, e-mails and sometimes used faxes to communicate with media.[755] In some cases, opposing 'commanders'

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[750] Neil K. Aggarval, *Taliban's Virtual Emirate: The Culture and Psychology of an Online militant Community* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2016), pp. 10-13.

[751] Ibid, pp. 10-13.

[752] Abdulhadi Hairan, "A Profile of the Taliban's Propaganda Tactics", May 25, 2011, http://www.huffingtonpost.com/abdulhadi-hairan/a-profile-of-the-talibans_b_442857.html, accessed on August 01, 2016.

[753] Antonio Giustozzi, *Decoding the New Taliban: Insights from the Afghan Field* (London: Hurst and Company, 2009), p. 26.

[754] Hairan, "A Profile of the Taliban's Propaganda Tactics".

[755] Ibid.

directly kept contact the media for immediate effects of their attacks. Taliban-signed leaflets were distributed to the foreign presses informing their boycott of the presidential elections. Other leaflets announced a jihad against US troops and warned Afghans not to work with foreigners or the government.[756] Hence opposing spokespersons and propaganda bodies were benefitting all means to reach media and public within the frame of public affairs.

As the propaganda front through formal spokesmen was vital to undermine the government and reach out to the world, the propaganda campaign at district/village level was crucial for recruiting youths and acquiring local support.[757] Mosques were, and still are, favourite places for the Taliban propagandists who always sought to convince villagers that the international forces were fighting against Islam and it was their holy obligation to stand up for jihad. Mullahs of villages, prone to the Taliban teaching, were respected opinion makers that Taliban had frequently benefitted from their power. In areas where opposing forces were weak, they used *shabnamah* for propaganda purposes as well as for threatening local people as depicted.[758] *Shabnamah*, which are known as 'night letters', is a well-tested, cost-effective method of instruction and intimidation especially in rural areas. The opposing forces had posted such letters or leaflets during the nights, warning of the 'wrath' that villages would face, if they cooperate with the 'infidels' or 'puppets'. Often these 'letters' were located on the walls of mosques and government buildings and they promised death to anyone who defied their threats or instructions.[759] Threat was the main motivation to deny support to the government of Afghanistan and the foreign presence.



Taliban, Night Letter, c2006.

[756] Shurke, "A Contradictory Mission? NATO from Stabilization to Combat in Afghanistan", p. 218.

[757] Hairan, "A Profile of the Taliban's Propaganda Tactics".

[758] The night letter tells Afghans not to work for the GIRoA, the puppet regime of infidels. Available at http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/south_asia/8176259.stm , accessed on September 17, 2016.

[759] Thomas Johnson, "The Taliban Insurgency and an Analysis of Shabnamah (Night Letters)", *Small Wars and Insurgencies*, Vol. 18, No. 3 (September 2007), pp. 320-321.

The Afghan public's most favoured entertainment mean, radio, was consciously selected as the conduit of propaganda. Maulana Fazlullah of Taliban had set up an FM radio station and begun inflammatory speeches and Islamic texts in Swat valley of Pakistan after the US intervention. He regularly broadcasted sermons calling for Sharia law to be implemented and for those who did not follow it to be punished.[760] Musharraf's Government of Pakistan did not stop this broadcast for a long time. Apart from these radio broadcasts, Taliban built mobile radio stations on mules and donkeys to reach remote tribes. Mobile radio transmitting was also facilitating not to be intercepted by the Coalition/ISAF and broadcasted pre-recorded messages of the Taliban leaders.[761] On the other hand single radio broadcasts could not reach long ranges except the ones broadcasting to Pakistan and Kandahar since the geography of Afghanistan was a constraint for an effective outreach.[762] Hence there were many broadcasting radio stations scattered around Afghanistan.

Apart from radio and night letters, opposing forces developed their propaganda strategies as the war in Afghanistan has deepened after 2003. The Taliban had become an active propaganda maker to promote its insurgency and attract Afghans since population had become the centre of gravity – the primary focus – to shape common perceptions after the intervention of coalition.[763] The Taliban, and the other opposing forces, started to develop websites, email traffics, SMS messages[764], video footages of attacks transmitted in YouTube, broadcast of interviews with the Taliban spokesmen, or smartphone applications on Google Play Store[765]. Magazines and websites, like *Shahamat* (The Bravery) were designed to exploit a particular incident or issue by elevating it with seemingly related background information to provoke the local people to stand up for violence.[766] The websites were

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[760] Sarah Ann Harris, "Who is Maulana Fazlullah? A Look at the 'Radio Mullah' behind Pakistan School Attack", *the Sunday Express*, December 18, 2014, available at http://www.express.co.uk/news/world/547652/Maulana-Fazlullah-Radio-Mullah-Pakistani-Taliban-leader, accessed on August 1, 2016.

[761] Tom Shanker, "U.S. Plans a Mission Against Taliban's Propaganda", *the New York Times*, August 15, 2009, available at http://www.nytimes.com/2009/08/16/world/asia/16policy.html?_r=0, accessed on August 1, 2016.

[762] Giustozzi, *Decoding the New Taliban*, p. 31.

[763] Boon, Huq and Lovelace, *Al Qaeda, Taliban, and Conflict in Afghanistan*, p. 99.

[764] "Report: Taliban Text Message Threats", *the USA Today*, July 24, 2008, September 7, 2008, available at http://usatoday30.usatoday.com/news/world/2008-07-24-Taliban-media_N.htm accessed on August 1, 2016.

[765] Julian Chokkattu, "Taliban's App Goes Down After a Day on Google Play Store", *Digital Trends*, April 4, 2016, available at http://www.digitaltrends.com/mobile/google-taliban-play-store/, accessed on August 1, 2016.

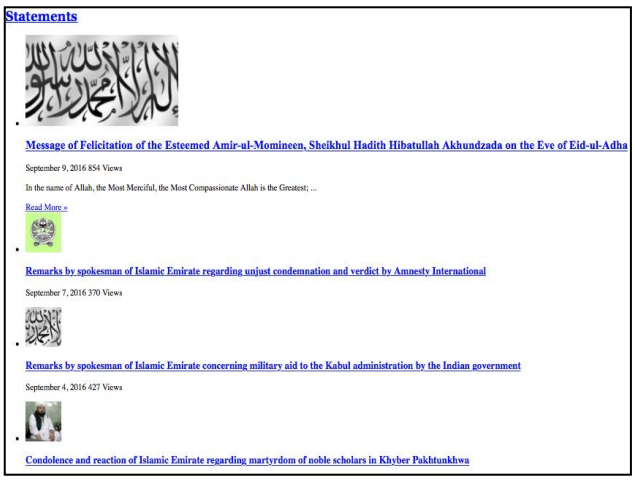
[766] Hairan, "A Profile of the Taliban's Propaganda Tactics".

professionally designed by the help of the Pakistani engineers. The colours and insignia were attractive for the Afghan youth that they could embrace the movement by charming emblems. The losses of the Taliban were introduced as *shaheed*-martyr with decorated pictures of them to have the Afghan youth to imitate them. *Shaheeds* of the Jihad were glorified within epic, heroism and how they had fought against infidels.



Taliban, Website, c2010.

One significant issue was that the language used in the websites is perfect Dari, Pashto, or English with rare grammatical mistakes. Especially English version of the Taliban's website was as if drafted by someone whose mother tongue is English.[767] Pakistani supporters of the Taliban and collaborators of western origins were active to prepare communicative products of opposing propaganda mechanism. If the access to the internet and affiliated technologies is concerned, they enjoyed opportunities, succeeded to attract local support, to have recruitment and volunteer donation of extremists.



Taliban, Social Media Engagement, 2016.

[767] The official website of Taliban is *Al Emarah* and can be accessed on https://alemarah-english.com.

The Internet propaganda has been much more common especially since GSM companies are put in service in Afghanistan due to instant internet access of individuals.[768] Beside SMS, email messaging has become another way of effective communication for the insurgents. Through emails, they communicate with reporters, news agencies, newspapers, magazines, and radio and TV channels for taking responsibility of attacks and providing official statements and other information. Email interviews were/are also provided. Sometimes clarifications and statements about some issues are sent to Pashto websites through email. Online internet forums and social networks are also used as a part of this propaganda network. Curious and talented youth in smart phones have found the opportunity to access websites and interact among themselves by means of social media. For instance an application developed by the Taliban had been removed from the Google Play Store, two days after its launch was reported. The application was designed to access the group's Pashto website and was of a digital campaign by the Taliban to grow its audience.[769] The attractive media outlets on the screens of smart phones like magazines, online forums, blogs, video streaming or social exchange applications made opposing forces improve propaganda strategies, more active and attractive.

The Taliban, and the other opposing forces as well, released periodicals and journals in internet, either in PDF or web page format as well. They used different languages (Pashto, Dari, Arabic, Urdu, and English) to address not only the Afghan public, but also international community. They also used internet forums for interaction and communication with the curious individuals. The themes of the web pages and magazines were not only about Taliban narratives, but also about Afghan cultural themes like poetry, *tarana* (Afghan music), or Afghan arts. The recorded messages of radio broadcasts and downloaded video streams on the web pages were also distributed by DVDs that included scenes of Taliban groups, battles, suicide attacks, and heroic stories of Taliban members.[770] The purpose was to reach the individuals who did not have access to internet. Following chart shows some of the

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[768] According to the Ministry of Communications and Information Technology (MCIT), the telecommunications networks covered around 90% of the population as of 2016. The number of internet subscribers has reached to 3 million. Budde Comm, Afghanistan - Telecoms, Mobile and Broadband - Statistics and Analyses, available at http://www.budde.com.au/Research/Afghanistan-Telecoms-Mobile-and-Broadband-Statistics-and-Analyses.html accessed on August 2, 2016.

[769] "Taliban App Removed from Google Play Store", *The Guardian*, April 4, 2016, available at https://www.theguardian.com/technology/2016/apr/04/taliban-app-removed-from-google-play-store , accessed on August 2, 2016.

[770] Giustozzi, *Decoding the New Taliban*, p. 31.

well-known web pages and magazines that were published or released after 2004 until they were disbanded either by the Pakistani government or interfered by intelligence agencies.[771]

Table 6-1 A Review of Web Pages and Magazines of Opposing Militia in Afghanistan

Product	Originator	Perspective	Media Outlet
Al Emarah	Taliban	Pro-Taliban	Pro-Taliban Web site, Monthly magazine
Tora Bora	Tora Bora Military Front	Pro-Taliban	Monthly magazine
Srak	Afghanistan Islamic Literary Association	Pro-Taliban	Monthly magazine
Elham	Afghanistan Islamic Cultural Society	Pro-Taliban	Weekly magazine
Shahamat	Afghanistan Islamic Cultural Society	Pro-Taliban	Bi-monthly magazine
Al Somood (Arabic)	Media Centre of the Taliban Islamic Movement	Pro-Taliban	Monthly Magazine (PDF)
Murchal	Islamic Emirate of Afghanistan	Pro-Taliban	Quarterly military magazine
Zamir	Association for the Protection of Islamic Culture in Afghanistan	Pro-Taliban	Weekly
Shahadat	Hezb-e Islami Gulbettin (HIG)	Pro-HIG	Online newspaper, updated two- or three times a day
Manba Al Jihad	Haqqani	Por-Haqqani	Monthly magazine
Vanguards of Khorasan	Al Qaeda	Pro-Taliban Pro-Al Qaeda	Magazine
As Sahab	Al Qaeda	Pro-Taliban Pro-Al Qaeda	DVD production
Da Radio Shariar Ghag	Taliban	Pro-Taliban	Radio broadcast DVD production

[771] The author scanned the websites of opposing militia to derive the names and context of web pages and magazines by the help of Afghan interpreter, Abdul Ghani.

Published magazines were surprisingly a success story for opposing forces despite their limited printing capabilities. The Taliban started its outputs as early as September 2002 by the *Al Somood* (literally meaning steadfastness, firmness) magazine in Arabic, published by former Information Minister Qudratullah Jamal until Ustad Mohammad Yasir replaced him in May 2004. *Al Somood* outlined a new administrative structure in 2008 based on a heading Cultural Commission with specific duties.[772] The first one was to establish relations with media channels and agencies to notify them with important military events. This duty is similar to strategic communications practice of NATO. The second duty was to publish Jihadi books, magazines and newspapers. Taliban had banned using photos and videos showing human beings and animals during its rule in Afghanistan, but made use of pictures and video footages during insurgency to increase the effectiveness of the delivered messages. The third duty was to design websites to reach every Afghan pending to their outreach to internet as discussed above. Final duty was to prepare jihadi films and release them on web. These duties were performed by branding the organization by a white flag, imprinting the "Cultural Commission of Islamic Emirates of Afghanistan" on top of published products, or displaying a group of people working in an institutionalized order on TVs. The Commission announced the strategies of their so-called 'operations' as if they were a disciplined entity and organized to obtain a centrally clarified outcome. The outputs were made visible in the Taliban's official Al Emarah (Emirates) website. The preferred methodology was a success if strategic communication conceptualization is concerned. They had institutionalized and compartmentalized strategic communication office preparing and disseminating products.



Taliban, Video Footage in Internet, 2016.

Narratives in the published/released media outlets frequented by repetitive epithet to describe NATO soldiers and the Afghan government and to create stereotypes in the minds of Afghans. For instance, *munafiq* (without sincerity) was used for the Afghans who were supporters of the Afghan Government. *Ghulam* (servant) is the one who were in the service of NATO and the Afghan Government like village guards or interpreters. *Ajir* (waged) is

[772] Giustozzi, *Decoding the New Taliban*, p. 26.

used for the suspect of spying for NATO and Afghan Government. *Gaudagi* (puppet) was the member of the Afghan Government who was serving in the name of invaders. On the other hand *mujahidin*, who was frequently used for the Afghans resisting against the Soviet invasion was used for the Taliban fighters to promote their status in the eyes of Afghan public. *Kufar* (non-believer) was the proper naming for the foreign troops in Afghanistan. Opposing forces institutionalized their propaganda mechanism and successfully used proper naming for their 'enemy' and 'its collaborators'. Terminology was built to impose subliminal wording in favour of opposing militia in the mouths of Afghan public.

The main themes that provided base for effective propaganda were the history of wars between Christians and Muslims, religious and cultural differences between the West and the East, the idea of the clash of civilizations, the Western oppression of Islam, the War on Terror as a war against Islam, condemning the international forces as "occupiers and invaders", the reconstruction works as "efforts of Christianizing Afghanistan," exploitation of civilian casualties of air strikes and media reports of prisoners' abuses and mistreatment.[773] They effectively displayed meta-narratives of the positive Taliban offerings and negative outcomes after the foreign intervention by concrete exemplifying from the news as follows[774].

Table 6-2 Meta narratives of opposing propaganda

Was	Is
Independent	Under the control of foreigners
Safe and secure	Not secure of property, honour, life, stealing, organized crime, harms civilians by raids or bombings
Protecting the rights of individuals and overall community by sharia rules	Rights are in the hands of the ones who possess money and power
Not corrupted	Heavily corrupted Afghan Government. Afghans can not pursue their business without bribing
Bound by Afghan and Islam values	Value of 'infidels' are imposed
Good governance	Bad governance

[773] Hairan, "A Profile of the Taliban's Propaganda Tactics".

[774] Ibid.

Opposing forces successfully exploited the mistakes of the foreign troops and inappropriate actions of individual soldiers to reinforce their arguments, as well.[775] For instance the massacre of 22 Afghan villagers in 2012, of which 17 women and children were amongst, was very important as that was committed by an US soldier in Kandahar.[776] The desecration and burning of Koran[777] in 2005 and 2012 caused Afghanistan-wide protests that damaged the image of NATO troops.[778] The Taliban successfully exploited the incident and agitated the protests that 41 Afghans were killed and 270 were wounded by the intervention of Afghan security forces. Afghan news agencies and social media published bloody images of massacred children and the face of the US soldier that image of the US troops was breached. Finally, the US marines urinated on the remnant of a killed Taliban[779], which assaulted the Islamic faith of respecting corpse of humans, and this totally tarnished the image of US soldiers and the ISAF. The Taliban intensified its propaganda that NATO was in Afghanistan to kill women and children and did not respect the corpse of a fallen mujahidin.

Final striking example was the night raids of Special Forces against the Taliban. The combat operations, under the auspices of the Coalition, were carried to capture militias pending to 'intelligence'. Most of these raids were concluded by the execution of the militia though; civilian casualties were at the highest rate, more then 1500 in less than 10 months of 2010 and early 2011, due to excessive force application or false intelligence.[780] The ISAF decreed the code of night raids[781], but the Afghan public, including President Karzai was

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[775] Boon, Huq and Lovelace, *Al Qaeda, Taliban, and Conflict in Afghanistan*, p. 52.

[776] *The Daily Mail*, available at http://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-3114647/US-soldier-Sgt-Robert-Bales-claims-consumed-war-lost-compassion-combat-deployments.html, accessed on August 3, 2016.

[777] Available at http://www.bbc.com/news/world-asia-17330205, accessed on August 3, 2016.

[778] Kevin Sieff, "Afghans Protest Burning of Korans at US Base", February 21, 2012, *The Washington Post*, available at https://www.washingtonpost.com/world/asia_pacific/afghans-protest-improper-disposal-of-koran-at-us-base/2012/02/21/gIQAjhBqQR_story.html, accessed on August 3, 2016.

[779] Nina Golgowski, "Marine Filmed Urinating on Bodies of Dead Taliban has No Regrets and Would Do It Again", New York Daily News, July 16, 2013, available at http://www.nydailynews.com/news/national/marine-no-regrets-urinating-taliban-article-1.1399764, accessed on August 3, 2016.

[780]Gareth Porter, "ISAF Data Show Night Raids Killed over 1,500 Afghan Civilians", November 2, 2011, http://www.ipsnews.net/2011/11/isaf-data-show-night-raids-killed-over-1500-afghan-civilians/, accessed on August 3, 2016.

[781] Afghanistan Resolute Support Mission, "ISAF Issues Guidance on Night Raids in Afghanistan", http://www.rs.nato.int/article/isaf-releases/isaf-issues-guidance-on-night-raids-in-afghanistan.html, accessed on August 3, 2016.

negative for these operations.[782] Yousafzai[783] argues that most Afghans cheered the fall of the Taliban in 2001, and they appreciated the ways the US assistance had improved their lives since then: reopening schools, building roads and bridges, bringing electricity to remote villages. Yet they increasingly resented the unending war, especially its rising toll in civilian lives – and Afghans did not hesitate to blame America and its multinational allies for it. The Afghan President Hamid Karzai even emphasized in 2012 that his government could no longer tolerate the deaths of so many innocent Afghans: "We are very sorry when the [U.S.-led] international Coalition Force and NATO soldiers lose their lives or are injured. It pains us. But Afghan [civilians] are human beings, too."[784]

The behavioural cascade of Afghan public turned out to be an anti-foreign presence in Afghanistan that was consistent with the "Foreigners out" slogan of the Taliban. Apart from these significant cases, daily behavioural fallacy of the NATO, mainly the US, soldiers downgraded the credibility of foreign presence and facilitated the Taliban to support its arguments. In this sense over speeding on roads and running the scene after being involved in an accident or shooting any vehicle if it would have approached to a convoy was regularity on Afghan roads. The ISAF, unfortunately, presented opportunities to the opposing forces of counter propaganda by exemplifying their behavioural routines.

The attacks of opposing forces were also means of propaganda and communication. Significant events and dates were chosen for attacks to deliver messages. The attack on mourning day of Shias in Kabul, Mazar-e Sharif and Kandahar in December 2013 was a clear case.[785] Three significant strategic events were offering an opportunity to Pakistan's Lashkar-e Jangce, a radical sunni terror network. The first event was that the US aircrafts had targeted a Pakistani border post, killing 22 Pakistani soldiers. The second event was the Bonn Conference of 2012 on financial pledges to Afghanistan. The third event was the Shia mourning on the 10th of Moharrem (local) month. The suicide attack against Shia Hazara, mourning for Moharrem 10th, delivered three messages. The first message was for Pakistani

[782] Matthias Gebauer, "Afghanistan Controversy: Karzai Warns US over Night Raids", December 5, 2011, available at http://www.spiegel.de/international/world/afghanistan-controversy-karzai-warns-us-over-night-raids-a-801880.html, accessed on August 3, 2016.

[783] Sami Yousafzai, "Afghanistan: Anti-U.S. Sentiment on the Rise", May 14, 2007, available at http://europe.newsweek.com/afghanistan-anti-us-sentiment-rise-101623?rm=eu, accessed on August 29, 2016.

[784] *RAWA News*, "Civilian Deaths in Afghanistan Continue Unchecked", May 29, 2012, http://www.rawa.org/temp/runews/2012/05/29/civilian-deaths-in-afghanistan-continue-unchecked.html, accessed on September 9, 2016.

[785] "Afghanistan's President Says Death Toll From Shrine Blast Has Risen to at Least 80", *Associated Press*, December 11, 2011, available at http://www.foxnews.com/world/2011/12/11/afghanistans-president-says-death-toll-from-shrine-blast-has-risen-to-at-least.html, accessed on August 26, 2016.

people that the revenge of deceased Pakistani soldiers was taken in Afghanistan. The expectation was the support of radical Pakistanis. The second message was for the Bonn Conference that the initiative in the conflict was at the hands of opposing forces. They could attack whenever and wherever they would desire. Third message was for Afghan people that they had the capability to attack even though Afghan security forces had taken top-level measures. The attack itself was a strategic communication theme for Pakistani public, Afghans, international community, and ISAF (in fact the US Army).

Consequently, opposing forces were committed to address their cause to the Afghan people by institutionalized and challenging propaganda techniques. First of all, they were reachable by journalists. Hairan, an Afghan journalist, argued that accessing a Taliban spokesman for information about incidents and issues was far much easier and useful for getting information than contacting a government or NATO/Coalition spokesman.[786] Insurgent propaganda used all sorts of media outlets and products, as Afghan people were accustomed to new technologies in their life. Narratives were selected from the themes that Afghan people could easily understand and accept its validity by religious and cultural justifications. The themes were delivered not only by direct wording, but blended with chanting slogans, poems, lyrics, and victorious stories. Comparisons were selected from the discourse analysis of foreign intervention that the cause of opposing forces was perceived righteous in the eyes of Afghan public. Media and its presentation were/are charming especially for the youngsters that recruitment could be eased. The media of opposing militia was creative in accordance with preferred communications technology. Justification by Afghan values and Islam was persuasive. The faults of foreign troops and Afghan security forces were multiplier for the efficiency of opposing propaganda. The deficiencies of propaganda of opposing forces were that their figures were exaggerated in favour of their capabilities and acts. The losses of the Afghan government and the Coalition/ISAF were shown higher than they really were. Finally opposing forces had effective human and open source intelligence that they used all available derived information, either to commit their attacks or their propaganda activities.

Propaganda of opposing forces, on the other side of the "hearts and minds" competition, had started by centrally coordinated, but regionally executed strategy. The messages were simple, perceptible and effective, inspired from the history and culture of Afghan people, and Islam. The practices of Afghan government and NATO's faults on the ground were successfully exploited to diffuse to the minds as would be seen in Koran desecration of the US troops and night raids of the ISAF Special Forces concluded by

[786] Hairan, "A Profile of the Taliban's Propaganda Tactics".

civilian casualties. Besides the sentiments of Afghan politicians after denouncing the faults were verifying the arguments of opposing militias. Colonel A. Z. claims that even he hesitated who was telling truth when he heard the sentiments of Taliban's mullahs when compared to the reality of Afghan life.[787] Propaganda of opposing factions had effective narratives that could be united with the observed deficiencies of Afghan government and ISAF. Herb Freidman [788] argues that the Taliban proved more capable than the Coalition/ISAF and the Afghan government in reaching out to the people. The insurgents did not only successfully keep their voice raised and messages heard, but they were also able to take advanced measures to widen their propaganda for more effective results on local and international arena as well. Pal Munck confesses how inefficient ISAF propaganda was: "PSYOP did not affect insurgents. They employed attacks to convoys while western media was disseminating all available images. Opposing forces had the opportunity to identify what to release. On the other hand, we had bureaucracy. Hence Afghans were susceptible to our messages."[789] The increased number of opposing militias and their survival against the ISAF and Afghan Security Forces' countrywide assaults could be explained by the growth in insurgent strength and public's participation to their cause downgrading the efficiency of ISAF's propaganda.

6.10. Failing to Reach Hearts and Minds in Afghanistan

Flaws in propaganda set back the efficiency of ISAF. The initial flaw type originated from the deeds of NATO forces and its reflections on Afghans. For instance the visibility of ISAF troops was one of the message type for the Afghan society since local public would directly observe how troops behaved and treated them. Significantly the manner in which military convoys drove on the roads had an impact on how those soldiers were viewed, as do hiring practices for locals and myriad other activities.[790] 'Hit and drive' preference of the US soldiers while driving along the Afghan roads was circulated among Afghans[791] that any accident of the US convoys was met by spontaneous demonstration of local residents.[792] The US or French convoys, who were directing machines guns to the closest civilian vehicles and

[787] Colonel A. Z. was an Afghan in active duty. His identity is concealed due to his official position and security. The author interviewed with him on March 02, 2012.

[788] Herb Freidman, PSYOP practitioner in Bosnia, Afghanistan and Iraq, interviewed (by e-mail) on March 30, 2014.

[789] Interview with Pal Munck, PSYOP expert in Norwegian Army and NATO, on January 20, 2014.

[790] Munoz, *U.S. Military Information Operations in Afghanistan*, p. 15.

[791] Bailey and Immerman, *Understanding the U.S. Wars in Iraq and Afghanistan*, pp. 114-115.

[792] Arianna Huffington, *Right is Wrong: How the Lunatic Fringe Hijacked America, Shredded the Constitution, and Made Us All Less Safe* (Toronto: Alfred A.Knof, 2008), p. 213.

finally shooting at them as they came closer, presented foreign forces as if they were occupying forces in accordance with the opposing forces had claimed in their propaganda. Especially Koran burning incidents or urinating on the remnants of opposing individuals by the US soldiers mobilized masses against NATO, not only the US army.[793] As the independent media flourished in Afghanistan such individual incidents easily diffused into the minds of Afghans all around Afghanistan. Seen in this context, everyday activities of troops among the population had more impact than propaganda disseminated by leaflets or other media.

Hikmet Çetin confesses the contradiction of deeds and to what extent NATO were in trouble due to the mistakes of individual soldiers, but interestingly the local population perceived Turkish soldiers different from the US ones: "We experienced problems in Afghanistan. The significant one was due to overreaction of the US soldiers. The problem was not the commanding level but low-level tactical engagements. Interestingly they like Turkish soldiers in Afghanistan due to appropriate code of behaviours. For instance, I was informed that Taliban told some officials in a meeting, held in Pakistan, that they, themselves, protected me, 'Hikmet Agha'."[794]

The resistance of opposing militias and NATO's indiscriminate response to insurgent attacks transcended conflict to a wearing nature. The outcome of civilian casualties caused by either the Coalition or ISAF operations was the erosion of NATO's image. Besides all branches of Afghan security forces were a question mark in the minds if they were capable of overcoming the challenges of opposing militias. Many Afghans turned out to be uncertain about the direction of their country and were losing confidence in the ability of their army and NATO forces to protect them. They were also increasingly frustrated with the failure of government to extend its authority and services throughout the country and the lack of improvement in their daily lives after the international reconstruction process was launched. The Taliban had also been able to exploit the government's shortcomings to their advantage.[795]

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[793] "US Troops Punished for Koran Burning and Urination Video", *BBC News*, August 28, 2012, available at http://www.bbc.com/news/world-us-canada-19394154, accessed on September 6, 2016.

[794] Agha is the title for very respected individuals due to behavioural maturity. Interview with Hikmet Çetin, Former Senior Civilian Representative in Afghanistan of NATO in Afghanistan (2003-2006), on January 13, 2014.

[795] James L. Jones and Thomas R. Pickering, "Revitalizing Our Efforts Rethinking Our Strategies", *Center for The Study of the [US] Presidency*, Afghanistan Study Group Report, January 30, 2008, p. 28, available at http://www.dtic.mil/dtic/tr/fulltext/u2/a476842.pdf, accessed on July 24, 2016.

The diffusing pessimism in the public has expanded to intelligentsia as the years passed. Mistreatment by ISAF-backed Afghan security forces, along with 'collateral damage' of ISAF and the Coalition operations, annoyed Afghan public that opposing forces had found an opportunity to exploit. Two incidents seem to be a milestone for the image of ISAF. The 'May 4' airstrike in Farah Province and the September 4 airstrike in Kunduz Province, both of which occurred in 2009 in areas that had experienced relatively low levels of violence after the 2001 invasion, were reported to kill as many as 100 civilians each.[796] These two attacks were clear failures of intelligence, concluded by propaganda disasters in the eyes of Afghan public. These two incidents indicate the correlation of both functions that NATO, or any other national, formation rarely coordinates and integrates. The UN Special Representative to Afghanistan Kai Eide expressed serious concerns on air strikes and civilian casualties while President Karzai demanded the cessation of airstrikes.[797]

Both ISAF and the Coalition were commanded by the US generals that the local public had perceived both as identical organizations. In fact, this perception was true since ISAF commander had the full authority on both organizations including with the US troops under national command.[798] The flaws of the Coalition, like practicing 'immoral' acts, led the local public tar both ISAF and the Coalition to the same brush. Additionally, the US dominance in the Coalition and ISAF hardened the image of ISAF as if they both are the same entities. ISAF had to achieve its mission along by dealing with the inherited negative image of the Coalition. ISAF's intelligence and propaganda machines were crucial to dispose fault lines of the Coalitions and commit to NATO's tasks.

NATO was presented as foreign invaders by the opposing militia that Afghans were traditionally loathing and Afghan government would be its puppet regime. NATO soldiers were displayed as foreign forces like Soviet invaders. For Taliban, the war in Afghanistan was between Islam and Christianity, but they would not have been against the West but invasion.[799] Taliban's propaganda and its intensifying attacks, along with the practices ISAF and the Coalition, made Afghan public tired of continuous conflict that degrades their daily life. In November 2009, Malalai Joya, a former member of the Afghan Parliament and the author of *Raising My Voice* expressed opposition to an expansion of the U.S. military

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[796] Saraswati Rathod, *A Tale of Two Airstrikes: The Effect of Mass-Casualty Airstrikes on Security in Farah and Kunduz Provinces*, (Massachusetts: Wellesley College, 2015), pp. 33-79.

[797] Ibid.

[798] NATO and Afghanistan: NATO Placemats Archives, available at http://www.nato.int/cps/en/natohq/topics_8189.htm, accessed on August 11, 2016.

[799] Available at http://www.islamweb.net/en/article/154450/afghan-taliban-our-enemy-is-occupation-not-the-west, accessed on July 24, 2016.

presence in Afghanistan and concern about the future of her country: "Eight years ago, the U.S. and NATO — under the banner of women's rights, human rights, and democracy — occupied my country and pushed us from the frying pan into the fire. Eight years is enough to know better about the corrupt, mafia system of President Hamid Karzai. My people are crushed between two powerful enemies. From the sky, occupation forces bomb and kill civilians ... and on the ground, the Taliban and warlords continue their crimes. It is better that they leave my country; my people are that fed up. Occupation will never bring liberation, and it is impossible to bring democracy by war."[800]

Iraq intervention of the USA is also a catalyst to judge ISAF as invading force in Afghanistan. Especially behavioural deficits of ISAF soldiers and global events somehow confirmed each other in the eyes of local public and concluded by mistrust. Hikmet Çetin exemplifies how Afghan public perceived NATO while confusing the USA and NATO: "NATO has an image problem. People perceive that NATO is executing military interventions. I was delivering a speech in a University, and somebody asked me "NATO has invaded Iraq. What do you think?" I said "NATO did not invade Iraq as of yesterday night. Did it happen today?" We could have told Afghan public that NATO had not participated to Iraq intervention. We need to tell people what NATO had done and what its decision-making process is. One reason may be that Afghan people think NATO as "the USA". But it is not. For sure, the USA had bold print upon NATO, but NATO does not equal to the USA."[801]

Oğuz Arabalı, who was the Chief Intelligence Department of Kabul Regional Command in 2013, shares the same impression with Çetin about the image and furthers the perception of public lacking trust: "Behavioural flora of foreign troops does not comply with the norms of Afghan community. If the fear and security measures of highest alert level are added, there happens rupture between Afghan community and NATO troops. For instance, insider threat, which was labelled as green-on-blue, was the concern of 2013 for the training and mentoring missions. We made interviews in Afghan Army's bases to search the perception of Afghan soldiers against NATO's mentors. The interviewed soldiers in Afghan National Army delineated NATO as an invasion force, as the opposing forces had claimed in their propaganda. Interestingly their perception towards the Turkish soldiers was different. They were favouring Turkish presence, due to proximity of behavioural modes and religion.

[800] Available at http://www.malalaijoya.com/dcmj/joya-in-media/303-suspended-afghan-mp-malalai-joya-wants-natos-mission-to-end.html, accessed on July 7, 2016.

[801] Interview with Hikmet Çetin, Former Senior Civilian Representative in Afghanistan of NATO in Afghanistan (2003-2006), on January 13, 2014.

I had concluded that the threat emanating from the opposing forces was less than the threat originated from the Afghan security forces since they were easily turning their weapons to the US or French officer standing behind and shooting at them."[802]

Consequently, deeds surpassed the words of ISAF propaganda. Increasing level of opposing rebellion and faults of the Alliance displayed the sense of insecurity and lack of trust. Events such as mistreatment of civilians by individual soldiers and caused civilian casualties by NATO aircrafts or Special Operations Forces converted the perceptions of Afghan public,[803] because actions are louder than words. The image of NATO was downgraded to the lowest level when Obama, along with his European allies, announced the withdrawal of the US soldiers after Bin Laden was killed. The perception of Afghan citizen was that the agenda of Americans was to eliminate Al Qaeda and take the revenge of 9/11. If this aim was obtained, they could (and did) negotiate with Taliban when they would have achieved their goal, as was witnessed in Katar.[804] The US government had started talks with the Taliban promising south and east portions of Afghanistan under federal system. The probable choice for Afghan public was shaped by both announcement of the US/NATO withdrawal and negotiations with Taliban. Initially Taliban was not defeated by eleven year of intense counter-insurgency, but NATO was leaving Afghanistan. Secondly, Taliban was strong enough to have the US negotiate peace. Hence strategic fault was compelling public to believe in the power of opposing militia.[805]

Parallel to the eroding trust towards ISAF and Afghan security forces, publics of NATO member states also gradually decreased their support to the presence of their respective countries in Afghanistan. Strategic narratives of 'keen' politicians to mobilize their troops under NATO's authority were met by confusion in the western world. Publics in Sweden, Denmark, or the United States blessed their support to contribution to the cause of Afghanistan intervention while publics in Germany, France, Italy, and Poland were

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[802] Interview with Oğuz Arabalı, Chief Intelligence Department of Kabul Regional Command (2013), on September 12, 2016.

[803] Christopher J. Lamb and Martin Cinnamond, "Unity of Effort: Key to Success in Afghanistan", *Strategic Forum*, No. 248 (October 2009), pp. 3-4.

[804] Karen de Young, "U.S. to Launch Peace Talks with Taliban", *The Washington Post*, June 18, 2013, available at https://www.washingtonpost.com/world/national-security/us-to-relaunch-peace-talks-with-taliban/2013/06/18/bd8c7f38-d81e-11e2-a016-92547bf094cc_story.html?utm_term=.9022725afd6b, accessed on August 11, 2016.

[805] "Qatar Hosted Taliban 'at request of US Government", Al Jazeera, June 12, 2017, available at http://www.aljazeera.com/news/2017/06/qatar-hosted-taliban-request-government-170611114833584.html, accessed on June 12, 2017.

unpopular to any engagement.[806] Common perception of NATO publics were that the mission was failing after Taliban had dominated the south and east portion of Afghanistan while expanding its area of influence towards Kabul. Strong public opposition to the Afghan war had grown in Canada, the Netherlands, and Germany, among others, threatening to fray the coalition.[807] Politicians would not tell the reasoning of their losses not to lose public support at home. A failure of the NATO mission in Afghanistan was to damage the prospects of the organization.

Another flaw type originates from the structural features of NATO's propaganda mechanism and affiliated intelligence efforts. For instance, a comprehensive PSYOP campaign plan could not be drafted that made propaganda a distributed and uncoordinated effort. Jack Guy[808] claims that there was no campaign plan during the first six years of the war in Afghanistan. The question of what effect was desired was not satisfactorily answered nor were PSYOP programs allowed to evolve. Each time a team arrived, they had started from the beginning to plan PSYOP campaign. Especially the plan would facilitate coordination of propaganda efforts in multinational operations. But lack of planning caused the lack of coordination among regional commands and troop contributing nations in theatre. Jack Guy argues how poorly propaganda efforts were coordinated: "When I arrived at the IJC in 2010 I counted no fewer than 13 organizations that were conducting influence operations and none of them really coordinated with each other. This began to change, but RC Commanders ran their own information operation boards. As a result, coordinating down to the tactical team level was more difficult. Besides NATO must also get better at coordinating between information operation, PSYOP, and public affairs."[809]

Pal Munck[810] observes the inadequate level of coordination at operational level. He argues that Information Coordination Board of ISAF was built to synchronize the efforts of propaganda, but it did not work due to the lack of experience, less of willingness to cooperate, and personal issues. The most important product to coordinate propaganda was, initially to draft a baseline, but it was established at the fifth year and the same baseline was used as of 2014 when he repeated his tour in Afghanistan.

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[806] Beatrice De Graaf, George Dimitriu, and Jens Ringmose, *Strategic Narratives, Public Opinion, and War: Winning Domestic Support for the Afghan War* (New York: Roultedge, 2015), p. 2.

[807] Jones and Pickering, "Revitalizing Our Efforts Rethinking Our Strategies", p. 28.

[808] Interview with Jack Guy, Former PSYOP Chief of IFOR, SFOR, ISAF, on January 20, 2014.

[809] Ibid.

[810] Interview with Pal Munck, PSYOP expert in Norwegian Army and NATO, on January 20, 2014.

Multi-nationality is a significant flaw that NATO could not overcome in most peace operations. It is much more felt in propaganda practice due to mentality differences, capability gaps, and cooperation tendencies. Jack Guy[811] argues that there is tendency of troops to report to their national bodies first. Apparently, each contributing nation defines its own policies in a coalition of any kind. This affects strategic designs for each nation, which plays out their PSYOP work. PSYOP is, hence, closest thing to national policy and it is tied to national policies (or interests). Pal Munck affirms the detriments of multi-nationality in Afghanistan: "Multinational structure hinders the efficiency of PSYOP. Language and cultural barriers exist among PSYOP practitioners. Hence native speakers always take the lead. Americans are taking the lead in Afghanistan for instance. As a result, it hinders effective planning if a multinational presence is at hand. Personnel tasking intervals are six months that creates a problem. Each hand over-take over is a new starting point for PSYOP personnel."[812]

Multi-nationality caused another problem that NATO should experience least due to standardization agreements. Terminology and doctrines were so "national" that compromise of communication-based organizations was hard to achieve. As Jack Guy[813] argues, each NATO country tended to have a different terminology for common operations.

Another flaw is that it was hard to measure the effectiveness of propaganda. An impact indicator list was developed to see if delivered messages would have created desired outcomes. But the ability to conduct comprehensive measurement of effectiveness was weak because it was difficult to have feedback after products were delivered. One reason is that behaviour change was the most difficult to measure. Vijls tells about the measures to determine the level of efficiency. Private companies were hired to survey the efficiency of propaganda products, but those companies showed what commanders wanted to see. One reason for the inefficiency to obtain behavioural change was the lack collection asset for the feedback, Vijls argues. He is frank about the assessments of efficiency: "Big amounts of money were paid for facts and figures after products were disseminated. I have doubt for the truthfulness of these data. I am not sure about the objectivity. If aimed and compared outcomes of propaganda activities are compared, many figures and facts were manipulated. Not every product was efficient. We were focusing on the whole Afghanistan. You can't

[811] Interview with Jack Guy, Former PSYOP Chief of IFOR, SFOR, ISAF, on January 20, 2014.

[812] Interview with Pal Munck, PSYOP expert in Norwegian Army and NATO, on January 20, 2014.

[813] Interview with Jack Guy, Former PSYOP Chief of IFOR, SFOR, ISAF, on January 20, 2014.

reach all people. It is a fact that higher the level of HQ, less feeling of the audience. Nations did sometimes what they wanted under ISAF flag. It was wrong."[814]

If efficiency of ISAF PSYOP is concerned, the author argues that no concrete conclusion would be obtained. Long term change in behavioural cascade of Afghan public, opposing elements and bilateral could not be observed in positive direction. But views subjectively vary pending to the experiences of PSYOP practitioners. Davide D'Allagata, Italian PSYOP practitioner in ISAF for many years, evaluates Afghanistan PSYOP as 70% success in comparison to 100% failure of Bosnia.[815] He claims that ISAF had no cultural survey before the intervention, but did require surveys during and after the missions.

Finally, it could be the increase in the number of attacks and local subscription to the opposing forces as another parameter. More than a decade after the intervention, NATO stopped the combat missions, but opposing forces were enlarging their area of influence. If the domination of opposing forces at the south and east regions of Afghanistan and its expansion towards the west and north were concerned, there is a clear propaganda failure in Afghanistan, because it is only the public support that could strengthen opposing militias.[816] Tolerance to the presence and offensive of opposing forces is a clear indicator of ISAF's failure.

6.11. Conclusion

Hikmet Çetin confessed the failure of NATO in going down to operation field and building a bridge between public and itself: "NATO needs to go public. Soft assets can do this process. Unfortunately, NATO could not do it in a proper manner. We had to tell for what purpose the [NATO's] military force had a foot on Afghanistan. But it was apparent that propaganda efforts of NATO were inadequate. It had to be improved. For instance, we could tell Afghan people what NATO had achieved in the previous Bosnia and Kosovo conflict. By that way, we could have told what we are trying to achieve in Afghanistan."[817]

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[814] Interview with Jan Vijls, PSYOP Practitioner in Belgium Army and ISAF, on January 27, 2014.

[815] Interview with Davide D'Allagata, PSYOP professional in Italian Ministry of Defence, email message to the author on January 20, 2014.

[816] "Taliban Make New Advance in Northern Afghanistan, Officials Say", *The Fox News*, August 20, 2016, http://www.foxnews.com/world/2016/08/20/taliban-make-new-advance-in-northern-afghanistan-officials-say.html, accessed on September 6, 2016.

[817] Interview with Hikmet Çetin, Former Senior Civilian Representative in Afghanistan of NATO in Afghanistan (2003-2006), on January 13, 2014.

Sten Rynning argues that NATO has failed to provide a purpose in Afghanistan.[818] The mission was in between insurgency and peace support operation that separation of both was blurring the context of committed tasks in Afghanistan. In accordance with this fallacy, intelligence and propaganda was also going back and forth to support counter insurgency or peace support operations while force protection concerns surpassed a long-term peace support contribution to the Afghan cause. In this frame intelligence was in track of combat tasks. But understanding and explaining Afghan community was far from the prerequisites of the peace support operation. NATO could not read Afghan traditions, social and cultural structure, social contract, or actual state of economic, political and military conditions, which were also directly shaping the course of counter insurgency. Regarding peace support tasks, which located the Afghan people at the the centre of the efforts, the type of ISAF operation required NATO prioritize, again, understanding and explaining Afghan community to properly treat them and have them support to ISAF mission. The ontologies and methodologies of intelligence and propaganda had shifted.

The member and contributing states, mainly the USA, invested incredible resources to intelligence and propaganda on the way to obtain small bits of information and deliver consistent communication to targeted audiences. The efficiency of these two fields, in comparison to pledges, is a questionable if the advance of opposing forces in Afghanistan is concerned after 2014. Hence it can be argued that the efforts went wrong in terms of exploiting intelligence and propaganda. These two fields can be taken as separate functions of the ISAF and the flaws of each can be questioned, as it has been done in this chapter. But the correlation of both functions requires a thorough search of synergic examination of these two fields if a marginal input is desired in the conduct of peace support operations.

It was obvious that intelligence was successful to identify the opposing elements regarding their whereabouts and probable course of actions. But it was an unconsummated exercise field if the fact in Afghanistan that sole combat oriented intelligence effort could not support the secured and stable Afghanistan. In this sense, NATO could not embrace all the actors of the Afghan theatre. Moreover, the operational environment in Afghanistan could not be portrayed including all the inputs since it is more than opposing forces. The encompassing features of intertwined problem fields emanating from involved actors and ambient conditions can not only be limited by insurgency since their sustaining existence is not the reason of operational environment, but the outcome of political, social, cultural, administrative fallacies. Afghanistan case indicated that ontologies of intelligence and

[818] Sten Rynning, *NATO in Afghanistan: The Liberal Disconnect* (Stanford: Stanford Security Studies, 2012), p. 3.

propaganda need to be revitalized to address and cover all actors and operational environment. Conventional combat intelligence and propaganda making to deter enemy will not be a course to satisfy the actual strategic, operational, and tactical realities that NATO troops will face.

NATO advanced intelligence and propaganda techniques in Afghanistan and expanded their scope with new practices. But Alexei JD Gavriel, the latest ISAF Chief of PSYOPs before the dissolution of the ISAF's, argues that "the type of warfare [in Afghanistan] was/is too costly and [ISAF is] inefficient in these fields. Thus, an influence approach predicated on understanding local societies [by means of influential propaganda and intelligence capabilities] is absolutely necessary if NATO's sphere of influence is to remain relevant with peace support operations."[819] In this sense, intelligence methodology has evolved regarding innovative techniques like human terrain and atmospheric teams. But subject matter of intelligence lacked a population centric approach in accordance with the nature of the Afghan society. Intelligence was not interested in understanding social composition, cultural features, and population's dynamics. The problem was that the intelligence was disinterested to the behavioural cascade of Afghan public at the very local level. Human terrain teams and atmospherics were built to fill this gap, but structural flaws of these teams did not provide satisfactory outcomes. As a result, intelligence was a short-term success for countering insurgency, but continuous failure for peace support operations.

NATO's structural flaws were clear impediments to realize efficient intelligence system as was the case in Bosnia-Herzegovina. Intelligence was perceived as a national business with imposed caveats of contributing state actors. NATO had built a very effective central software, and integrated hardware network to have intelligence analyst produce intelligence, share products, and have feed back. But 'nations first' bias of military decision makers clearly hampered efficient coordination and cooperation. The US-dominated intelligence system of ISAF did not serve to the purpose of NATO, but the national goals of the USA. If the double hats of the 'American' ISAF and IJC commanders, along with Department Chiefs of Intelligence and Operations, are concerned, it was obvious that they were fore-fronting counter insurgency tasks, directed from Pentagon. Hence additional to multinational fallacies of ISAF, the US domination and its national agenda were clearly breaching NATO's overall intelligence architecture.

Intelligence and propaganda coordination was a desire for communication startegists. Unfortunately, communication with the local public, in scholarly term propaganda, was not

[819] Interview with Alexei J.D. Gavriel, ISAF PSYOP Department Specialist, on March 02, 2014.

in the agenda of intelligence. Intelligence was not interested in what Afghan people were thinking or what messages would best fit to Afghan culture. Anthropologic studies were benefitted by the US army, but it was not fruitful to send "Americans" to survey what Afghan people were thinking in the realm of insurgency threat. Organizational disconnectedness in headquarters multiplied the fallacies that synergic mood of cooperation could not be obtained between intelligence and propaganda functions.

Propaganda, on the other hand, was late to respond the propaganda machine of the opposing militias who were more organized and institutionalized. Propaganda mechanism of ISAF was also based upon regional command's authority, but under the coordination of ISAF. It was the regional commander who would decide propaganda themes, in accordance with the identified narratives of North Atlantic Council. But the geographic barrier and capability gaps of regional commands made them to draft narratives specific for their area of responsibilities. Propaganda efforts prioritized the narratives against opposing militias like the Coalition's propaganda commitments. The threat-based narratives of ISAF could gradually be transformed to public-centric ones not earlier than 2009. The messages were about how bad Al Qaeda and Taliban were and how they had attacked the USA or harmed Afghan public. The concern was the justification of the foreign presence in Afghanistan to deny the bad memories of the Soviet occupation. But the public-centric communication was aired after 2009 to show how the ISAF (in fact the USA) was contributing to the daily lives of Afghans. It was a positive development after eight years of misdoings. Unfortunately, the priority turned out to be justifying the withdrawal of NATO forces by presenting how capable the Afghan government and security forces were.

Propaganda, parallel to the improvements in public engagement perception of NATO, was compartmentalized in the ISAF. The Strategic Communications Department was built, although its scope was frequently changing, as reflected upon organizational charts. It covered public affairs, information operation, and PSYOP to centrally coordinate communication with local public and international audience. On the other hand, the mission creek of information operation and PSYOP was confusing since their frames were mostly confused except by the ones who had profession on them. Compartmentalization of propaganda, along with organizational arrangements, improved consistency of delivered messages to outer audience. But the problem was that propaganda makers were not among the audience they were dealing with behind the walls of ISAF camps. Target audience analysis could partially be made, while pre-test of the delivered messages could only be done by means of Afghan local employees who pretends to be ISAF supporter not to lose their jobs. Hence the wires of military bases prisoned ISAF propaganda since propaganda

designers lacked understanding the public. The threat-oriented focus of intelligence could not fill this gap.

Opposing forces were not only exploiting preachers and mullahs, but also internet, social media, cell phone opportunities, and software, for the motivation of persuading public, recruiting new members or donations. ISAF was late to have accounts in social media and interact with local public until 2011. Although it was finally started, contexts of the messages were defensive against the arguments of opposing forces. Social and cultural kinship of opposing forces facilitated more concise messages that could persuade local public such as "Foreigners Out", "NATO invaded Afghanistan", or by cleverly selected terminology such as "infidel, puppet". ISAF's sentiments, on the other hand were more "American" that could not influence the minds of Afghans. Besides deeds of the ISAF troops worsened the image of the ISAF. NATO was a hope at the beginning of the mission, but acts like night raids, civilian casualties, mistreatment of civilians, prisons and detention centres of the US government in Afghan territory, individual fault of soldiers, desecration of Islam created a negative image. Opposing forces, as a result, surpassed ISAF propaganda machine, because 'what NATO did was more important than what NATO said'.

The strategic fault of politicians, by announcing the withdrawal of ISAF no later than the end of 2014, strengthened the opposing propaganda and weakened the narratives of ISAF. The reliability of the Afghan state mechanism was eroding in the eyes of local public. The messages of unity and long-term commitments of NATO were the themes of communication along with the strategic partnership agreements of Afghanistan with individual western states, but not with NATO. But the efficiency of the communication would be limited within the publics of big Afghan cities, but not the Afghan rural areas.

Consequently, ISAF propaganda, disconnected with intelligence to respond the counter themes in accordance with social and cultural characteristics of Afghan public, was far from persuading public. There were evolvements of intelligence and propaganda derivatives though; behavioural cascade of Afghan community was not counted as the baseline of ISAF's intelligence and propaganda commitments because Afghan public was not the centre of gravity for NATO. Hikmet Çetin argues the criticality of public in peace support operations and inability of NATO: "There will no way out without consent of Afghan people. The public support to opposing factions can only be cut by treating them humanely and with economic measures. Soldiers can do nothing if the living conditions are not changing. But EU and the USA spent their money for nothing. You should do whatever you want, but along with the public and by obtaining their approval. It does not matter if you

build a school in a village unless you have the consent of the villagers. They will not protect that school. Persuasion is precondition for NATO."[820]

[820] Interview with Hikmet Çetin, Former Senior Civilian Representative in Afghanistan of NATO in Afghanistan (2003-2006), on January 13, 2014.

CHAPTER 7

CONCLUSION

The witnessed conflicts after the Cold War required the UN and state actors, first, to manage the crises by cost effective courses, second, to terminate them forcefully if needed, and finally, to locate civilian/military presence in conflict-laden regions until enduring stability is obtained. Especially, peace support operations have become prevalent course under the leadership of international organizations to prevent humanitarian disasters and to establish the desired order. But the UN was far from performing its responsibilities in the frame of the UN Charter. In this context, international organizations like NATO have become the major actors in executing these operations.

Despite its vitality, peace support operations, by its unconventional nature, have appeared to be an operation type that conventional military formations could not cope with, in the frame of three parameters, which this thesis identified. These parameters are the concerns decision-makers faced during and after the conflict, engaged actors, and volatile operational environment. Besides coercive force projection modals of military do not address the requirements of these parameters. In a sense public has become the hub of these parameters. In the frame of resolving the crises and managing their course, public needs to be understood, its behavioural cascade to be captured and have public be persuaded to have them favour the approaches on the way to peaceful co-existence. In this sense, intelligence and propaganda have become the main efforts in peace support operations to understand and persuade local public. As argued in the second chapter, the ontology and methodology of intelligence and propaganda have changed if determined parameters and public's prominence is taken into consideration. It has transformed from a threat oriented perception towards "understand and influence public" perception in peace support operations.

If NATO is taken as the subject matter in the discussion of propaganda and affiliated intelligence activities in peace support operations, NATO's prevalent doctrine of intelligence and propaganda lacks addressing the requirements of peace support operations due to

structural and doctrinal flaws of NATO as examined in the third chapter. Both functions have traditional practice fields that do not fit the witnessed transformation. If NATO's doctrinal context of intelligence and propaganda is investigated, it appears that both functions need to be performed consonant with each other. The organizational structure of NATO limits the synergic exploitation of both fields while mutual themes of intelligence and propaganda, which could bridge both fields, are not clarified in practice. Hence there cannot be built a correlation in understanding, explaining and persuading audiences. Additionally, pejorative perceptions on both functions restrict the utilization of intelligence and propaganda in peace support operations.

As an example, to prejudices to these functions, the bad reputation of the propaganda has distracted NATO from the word 'propaganda' and has led to the making of new concepts. In this frame, the Alliance has transformed its organizational structure to practice strategic communications, public diplomacy, public affairs, information operations, psychological operations (also known as military information support operations for the USA, influence operations for NATO). But these functions do not differ from propaganda since they aim to have audience absorb the will of NATO by persuasion. These functions are named pending to targeted audience and practicing command level. For this reason, propaganda still exists in practice, even though it is denied in NATO circles. Different namings of communication types indicate the compartmentalization of propaganda pending on the engaged-targeted audience, which all practiced communication types can be tagged as "propaganda derivatives". Similarly, intelligence has continued to be threat-oriented function that its methodology appeared to lean on traditional combat perceptions, although its literature is not disputed as propaganda. Hence intelligence is far from providing support to communication activities. As a result, new conceptualizations caused confusion in the circles of NATO since the lines of authority are blurring and this makes NATO's communication and information based organizations fall into mission creeks. Moreover, member and partner states of NATO do not give up their authority upon these two functions, so that NATO continued to be dependent on the capabilities of state actors, with the risk and failure of incoordination of intelligence and propaganda.

Other than doctrinated contextual analysis of propaganda and intelligence, the observations and experiences of practitioners portray the inefficiency of these two functions. As surveyed in the fourth chapter, interviews were conducted with NATO's personnel who served in peace support operations. The questioned issues were the concerns they encountered during their duties, dealt actors other than expected, and observed features of the operational environment. Based on these interviews, it is concluded that the context of

concerns, types of actors and characteristics of operational environment have changed along with their quantification in varieties, which confused and surprised the minds of NATO's personnel. Hence the subject matters of intelligence and propaganda have transformed to unconventional nature, say another way, the ontology of these fields have changed.

Ontological change indicates the need of transformation in the methodology as well. In this frame, intelligence and propaganda cannot be bound by sole threat and security based implementations. The behavioural cascade of the targeted audience – which are believes, attitudes, behaviours, norms, and values of the public need to be understood, explained and influenced, as this thesis manifested. For this reason, the synergic integration of propaganda with affiliated intelligence capabilities will facilitate the implementation of the required methodology to influence behavioural cascade.

In the frame of findings in the first four chapters, Bosnia-Herzegovina and Afghanistan cases are investigated to test the validity of concluded arguments. In this sense, both operations of NATO are examined in the frame of historical background, dynamics that caused the conflicts, intelligence, and propaganda practices of the actors including the opposing factions, products and outcomes. The purpose of these case studies was to understand to what extent intelligence and propaganda activities were successfully practiced of which the concerns, the actors and the operational environment require, and whether the desired results were achieved.

IFOR/SFOR operations in Bosnia indicate that NATO suffered in the fields of intelligence and propaganda while experiencing early stage of their practice contrary to skilful intelligence and propaganda implementation of belligerents, mainly through the 'then' favoured conduit, TV. Moreover, the disadvantage of NATO troops was the inherited pejorative image of the UNPROFOR in the minds of the local people, which damaged the image of NATO. If structural flaws and deficiencies in organizational arrangements are taken into consideration, intelligence was prisoned to support the spectrums of force protection and disposition of the belligerents in accordance with their compliance to the Dayton Accord. The themes such as demography and behavioural cascade of the local publics were not adequately analysed and conventional approach to such matters was not abandoned. Propaganda, on the other hand, was partially limited to either public affairs or PSYOP within a reactive mood against the developments in the field. But narratives such as canalizing societies to live in peaceful coexistence could not successfully be circulated except the limited ones in the late term of SFOR, forefronting ethnic tolerance. Especially when radical narratives of political leaders and the support they have enjoyed are taken into consideration, the achievements of communication activities of IFOR/SFOR was fairly

limited. Hence NATO's practices were scattered, misdirected, and inefficient to focus on persuading local public for a common future.

The Afghan case, in the Chapter 6, appears to be an important one to investigate the efficiency of intelligence and propaganda, if the last 40 years of conflict in the country in considered. Opposing forces in Afghanistan carried out more intense and effective intelligence and propaganda activities against the Coalition and ISAF. On the other hand, ISAF, under the clout of bad image inherited from the Coalition, prioritized conventional intelligence and propaganda activities in the realm of insurgency, but ignored the behavioural cascade of Afghan public as was witnessed in Bosnia. Unfortunately, the reality of whom will decide the winner of the conflict, which is for sure public, is ignored, despite a limited awareness was witnessed in 2009.

Intelligence function attempted to measure the public opinion after McChrystal took over the command in 2009, but it was impeded by the structural flaws of NATO and failure in adapting military thinking to the prerequisites of peace support operations. The intent, which was to identify threat rather than understanding public, caused failure in understanding and explaining the Afghan public. Additionally, ISAF was late to transform its propaganda activities in parallel to Afghan public's outreach to communication technology. NATO could not prevent to have Afghan public perceive its presence as an invading force under the shades of operational and individual faults, such as civilian casualties, mistreatment of civilians by the soldiers or desecration of holy scripts while communication efforts of NATO was inconclusive. The words and deeds of NATO troops did not match in the frame of strategic communications, but opposing forces practiced propaganda by appropriate narratives that were based on the good reading of public expectations. NATO's conventional intelligence and propaganda can be claimed as partially successful, but these two functions are not effective if prerequisites of peace support operations are concerned. Eventually NATO employed new intelligence and propaganda tactics in Afghanistan by using complex technologies and evolved methodologies, but still intelligence and communication processes, along with their outcomes, indicate failure.

Consequently, if intelligence and propaganda paradigm of NATO, its practice, experience of NATO personnel, and the analyses of Bosnian and Afghan cases are condsidered, subject matters of propaganda and affiliated intelligence functions have changed while new approaches have become necessary in the context of methodology. NATO's propaganda and affiliated intelligence activities could not be performed efficiently if the expansion of concerns, actors, and operational environment are taken into consideration. Ontological and methodological shift in propaganda and affiliated intelligence

conceptualizations require a transformation towards public-based doctrination that all actors of the conflict are included in the realm of challenging operational environment with new concern types.

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APPENDICES

A. TÜRKÇE ÖZET / TURKISH SUMMARY

Bu çalışmanın amacı NATO özelinde barışı destek harekâtlarında icra edilen istihbarat ve propaganda faaliyetlerinin ne ölçüde başarılı olduğunun araştırılmasıdır. Bu çerçevede çalışmanın argümanı propagandanın, iddia edilenin aksine farklı kavramlar çerçevesinde halen icra edildiği, ancak propagandayı planlayan ve yürütülenlerin istihbarat fonksiyonundan yeter düzeyde faydalanamadığı ve her iki fonsiyonun barışı destek harekâtlarında ilintili faaliyetler olduğunun anlaşılamamış olmasıdır. Bu çerçevede NATO barışı destek harekâtının gereklerine yönelik olarak propaganda ve ilintili istihbarat fonksiyonlarını dönüştürememiş, hedef kitlelerle iletişim faaliyetlerini etkin yürütememiştir. Tezin argümanı çerçevesinde, cevaplanan soru; NATO'nun propaganda ve ilintili istihbarat faaliyetlerini icra ederken ne kadar başarılı olduğu; söz konusu sorunsalların, aktörlerin ve harekât ortamının gerektirdiği propaganda ve ilintili istihbarat faaliyetlerinin ne derece icra edilebildiği ve sonuçta arzu edilen sonuçlara ne derece ulaşılabildiğidir.

Tezin argümanı, giriş ve sonuç dahil omak üzere yedi bölüm halinde incelenmiştir. Bu çerçevede birinci bölümde tezin ana bölümleri ve metodolojisi ile ilgili bilgi verilmiştir. Metodoloji nitel içerik analizi üzerine kurulmuş, bu kapsamda tez boyunca çalışmanın birincil kaynağını oluşturan farklı ülkelerden NATO personeli yapılmış mülakatlar, istihbarat faaliyetleri ve propaganda ürünleri ve NATO doktrinel yayımlarının içerik analizi yapılmıştır. İkincil kaynak olarak faydalanılan akademik yayımlar, diğer dokümanlar ve belgesellerin tespitleri birincil kaynaklardan elde edilen verilerle karşılaştırılmıştır.

İkinci bölümde barışı destek harekâtının kapsamı araştırılmış ve istihbarat ile propaganda faaliyetlerinin icrasına yönelik çerçeve çizilmiştir. Bölümün argümanı; Soğuk Savaş döneminden farklı olarak NATO'nun karşılaştığı aktörler ve yüzleştiği kaygılar çeşitlenmiştir. Bu nedenle barışı destek harekâtlarında istihbarat ve propagandanın ontolojileri, güvenlik odaklı algıdan, "hedef toplumun anlaşılması ve ikna yoluyla etki altına alınması" istikametine evrilmiştir.

Bölüm başlangıcında; NATO'nun barışı destek harekâtlarını BM Antlaşması çerçevesinde yürütmesi nedeniyle, öncelikle BM'nin barışı destek harekâtına yönelik yaklaşımı, doktrinasyonu ve zafiyetleri incelenmiştir. Bu çerçevede barışı destek harekâtının hukukî boyutu BM Antlaşması çerçevesinde gözden geçirilmiş, BM'nin bu alanda yürütmüş olduğu faaliyetler irdelenmiş ve başarısızlıkları ortaya konmuştur. Soğuk Savaş sonrası meydana gelen çatışmalar, Birleşmiş Milletler (BM) ve devlet aktörleri; çatışmaların maliyet etkin yönetilmesine, gerektiğinde zor kullanılarak sonlandırılmasına ve istikrar kalıcı hale gelinceye kadar o bölgede sivil-asker varlık bulundurmaya itmiştir. Bu nedenle insani dramların önlenmesi ve arzu edilen düzenin tesisi doğrultusunda; uluslararası örgütlerin öncülüğünde yapılan barışı destek harekâtları yaygınlaşmıştır. Ancak Birleşmiş Milletler, BM Antlaşması çerçevesinde sorumluluklarını bizzat yerine getirme kabiliyetinden uzaktır. Bu çerçevede NATO gibi uluslararası örgütler barışı destek harekâtı olarak karşımıza çıkan operasyonlarda başat aktör haline gelmiştir.

Öte yandan BM'nin tercih ettiği literatürün NATO'dan farklı olduğu tespit edilmiştir. NATO, barışı destek harekâtını; kriz önleme, barışı yapma, barışı tesis, barışı koruma, barışa zorlama, insani krizlere müdahale gibi farklı mahiyette icra edebilmektedir. Dolayısıyla barışı destek, BM'in barışı koruma tercihine kıyasla, daha geniş bir spektrumu kapsayabilmekte, her bir harekât çeşidinin de farklı gereklilikleri olabilmektedir. Ayrıca her barışı destek harekâtının kendine has özellikleri ve karakteri olabilmektedir. Ancak her halükârda zihinlerdeki kaygılar, harekât ortamına etki eden faktörler ve harekâta müdahil olan aktörler değişim ve dönüşüm içinde olup konvansiyonel bir askerî gücün bu değişime cevap vermesi mümkün görünmemektedir. Bu çerçevede, özellikle NATO öznelinde, barışı destek harekâtlarında istihbarat ve propaganda yerel halkın anlaşılmasında ve iknasında asli gayretler haline gelmiştir.

Üçüncü bölüm barışı destek harekâtında propaganda ve ilintili istihbarat faaliyetlerinini kapsamını incelemektedir. Bölümün argümanı NATO'nun istihbarat ve propaganda paradigmasının, yapısal ve doktrinel eksiklikler nedeniyle barışı destek harekâtının gereklerine hitap edememesidir. NATO öznelinde istihbaratın tanımı, teorisi ve metodolojisi incelendiğinde; istihbarat faaliyetlerinin tehdit ve güvenlik odaklı olarak yürütüldüğü, ancak hedef toplumun anlaşılması ve açıklanmasına esas teşkil edecek sosyal-kültürel istihbarat gibi barışı destek harekâtının gerektirdiği geleneksel istihbarat faaliyetlerinin dışındaki konularda etkin olunamadığı görülmektedir. Ancak istihbaratın kavramsal çerçevesinde değişim yaşanmakta, önceki bölümde belirtilen ortam, aktör ve kaygı çeşitlenmesi ışığında istihbaratın propaganda faaliyetlerini de kapsayacak şekilde paradigmasal dönüşüm içinde olduğu görülmektedir.

Kötü şöhreti nedeniyle genellikle önyargılar ışığında değerlendirilen propaganda ise barışı destek harekâtları başta olmak üzere NATO'nun faaliyetlerinde varlığı inkâr edilen bir faaliyet sahasıdır. Ancak NATO, 'propaganda' kelimesini kullanmasa da stratejik iletişim, kamu diplomasisi, halkla ilişkiler, bilgi harekâtı, psikolojik harekât (veya etki harekâtı, bilgilendirme ve etki harekâtı vb.) gibi alanlarda teşkilatlanma yapmış ve faaliyet yürütmektedir. Bu alanların ortak özelliği, propaganda gibi, seçilmiş bir hedef kitlenin ikna edilmesi yoluyla kendi isteklerimizi kabullenmesini sağlamaktır. Bu fonksiyonlar, seçilmiş hedef kitle ve icracı seviyeye bağlı olarak isimlendirilmiştir. Bu nedenle NATO uygulamalarında propagandanın halen var olduğu, ancak kapsam ve hedef kitleye bağlı olarak "propaganda türevleri" olarak adlandırılabilecek bu faaliyet sahaları yoluyla kompartmantizasyon (uzmanlık) sürecine girdiği ifade edilebilir.

NATO'nun istihbarat ve propagandaya yönelik doktrinel yaklaşımı incelendiğinde, her iki faaliyet sahasının kopuk olduğu görülmektedir. Özellikle NATO'nun organizasyonel yapısı her iki faaliyet sahasının sinerjik kullanımını kısıtlamaktadır. Ayrıca her iki fonksiyon arasında köprü olabilecek ortak konular net olarak belirlenmemiştir. Dolayısıyla hedef kitleyi anlama ve açıklama ile ikna etme gayretleri arasında bağlantı kurulamamaktadır. İlaveten her iki fonksiyona yüklenen olumsuz anlam, söz konusu kabiliyetlerin barışı destek harekâtlarında kullanılmasını tahdit etmektedir.

Dördüncü bölümde NATO'nun yapısal, doktrinel ve organizasyonel problem sahaları yanında, farklı ülkelere mensup NATO personelinin uygulamada karşılaştıkları sorun sahaları sonrası gözlemleri ve tespitleri incelenmiştir. Argüman NATO birliklerinin etkinliğini azaltacak şekilde; yeni aktörler ve harekât ortamı faktörleri nedeniyle yanlış yönlendirildiği, uygulamada zafiyetler yaşadıkları ve sonuçta sürprizlerle karşılaştığıdır. Bu çerçevede mülakatlara esas parametreler tespit edilerek, NATO personeliyle sohbet şeklinde kimi zaman birebir, kimi zaman gruplar halinde mülakatlar yapılmış ve görevleri esnasında karşılaşmış oldukları sorun alanları, aktörler, harekât ortamı faktörleri sorgulanmıştır.

Yapılan analiz sonrası, karşılaşılan sorunsalların, aktörlerin ve harekât alanı faktörlerinin niteliklerinin değiştiği ve niceliklerinin arttığı görülmektedir. İstihbarat ve propagandanın konusunu teşkil eden hususlar; geleneksel olmayan istikamette değişmiş ve bir nevi ontolojik dönüşüme uğramıştır. Bu çerçevede NATO birlikerinin hareket tarzlarına yönelik inceleme yapılmış, her üç seviyede modelleme yapılmıştır. Yapılan modellemeler sonrası; ontolojik değişimin metodolojinin de değişmesini gerektirdiğini ortaya koymuştur. Bu kapsamda istihbarat ve propagandanın tehdit ve güvenlik odaklı icrası yanında hedef toplumun, davranış basamakları (behavioural cascade) olarak adlandırılabilecek; inanç, yaklaşım, davranış, değerler ve normlar temelinde anlaşılması ve açıklanması odaklı olması

gerektiği tespit edilmiştir. Bu nedenle propagandanın, istihbarat ile organizasyonel ve fonksiyonel anlamda sinerjik entegresi gerekmektedir.

Yapılan araştırma sonrası ulaşılan sonuçların test edilmesi maksadıyla beşinci bölümde Bosna Hersek, altıncı bölümde Afganistan örnekleri ele alınmıştır. Her iki barışı destek harekâtı; tarihi derinliği, çatışmaya yol açan dinamikler, muhalifler dahil aktörlerin istihbarat ve propaganda uygulamaları, ortaya konan ürünler ve elde edilen sonuçlar kapsamında incelenmiştir.

Bosna Hersek'te 1995-2004 yılları arasında icra edilen IFOR/SFOR harekâtları temelinde NATO'nun; çatışmaya taraf aktörlerin birikim ve uygulamaları karşısında, özellikle BM Barış Gücünün (UNPROFOR) miras bıraktığı olumsuzluklar da dikkate alındığında, istihbarat ve propaganda alanında varlık gösteremediği, bu bölgede hem istihbarat hem de propaganda alanlarında emekleme dönemini yaşadığı görülmektedir. NATO'nun yapısal sorunları ve teşkilata yönelik yaptığı hatalar dikkate alındığında, istihbarat; kuvvet koruma ve çatışanların Dayton Antlaşmasına uygun tertiplenmesinin takibi dahilinde bir spektrumu konu edinmiştir. Halkın demografisi ve davranış basamakları gibi konuların analizi yeterince yapılmamış ve geleneksellikten uzaklaşılamamıştır. Propaganda ise reaktif bir tarzda kısmen halkla ilişkiler, kısmen psikolojik harekât icrasıyla yapılmıştır. Ancak SFOR'un son dönemlerinde verdiği ve etnik toleransı öne çıkaran mesajlar haricinde toplumu bir arada yaşama istikametine kanalize edecek temalar başarıyla işlenememiştir. Harekâta katkı sağlayan devlet aktörlerin istihbarat ve propaganda alanında yetki tekelini NATO'ya devretmemesi ise yaşanmış sorunları derinleştirmiştir. Sonuçta günümüz siyasi liderlerinin Bosna'da dillendirdiği radikal söylemler ve gördükleri destek dikkate alındığında IFOR/SFOR'un yapmış olduğu iletişim faaliyetlerinin başarısının kısıtlı kaldığı söylenebilir.

Karmaşık iç ve dış dinamiklerin etkisiyle savaş ve mücadelelerle geçen son kırk yıl dikkate alındığında, NATO'nun Afganistan'da 2001-2014 yılları arasında icra ettiği ISAF ve 2014 sonrası yürütülen Kararlı Destek Harekâtı (RSM) misyonları, istihbarat ve propagandanın etkinliğinin incelenmesinde daha belirgin bir vaka olarak karşımıza çıkmaktadır. Afganistan'da muhalif unsurların istihbarat ve propaganda alanında, gerek Koalisyon, gerekse ISAF unsurlarına karşı daha yoğun ve etkin faaliyetler yürüttüğü görülmektedir. ISAF'ın, ABD önderliğindeki Koalisyonun miras bıraktığı olumsuz imaj da dikkate alındığında, gayri nizami harekât ile barışı destek harekâtını aynı anda icra etmesi nedeniyle konvansiyonel istihbarat ve propaganda uygulamalarını ön plana çıkarmış, ancak halkın davranış basamakları ihmal edilmiştir. İstihbarat anlamında halkın nabzını ölçmeye yönelik tedbirler alınmış olsa da NATO'nun yapısal sorunları, bu çabaların başarıyla

icrasındaki engeller ve güdülen amacın tehdidin tespiti şeklinde tayin edilmesi gibi nedenlerle halkın anlaşılmasında başarısızlık yaşanmıştır.

Bosna Hersek örneğinde olduğu gibi, ISAF harekâtına katkı sağlayan devlet aktörlerin istihbarat ve propaganda alanında yetkiyi kendi lehlerine merkezileştirmeleri uygulamalarda kopukluğu artırmıştır. Ayrıca Afgan halkının iletişim teknolojilerine ulaşmasının kolaylaşması sonrası ISAF ve katkı sağlayan devlet aktörler, propaganda tekniklerinin dönüşümünde de geç kalınmıştır. Afgan halkının; NATO (özellikle ABD) askerlerince kutsal yazılara uygunsuz muamele, sivil zayiat gibi yaşanan sorunlar ve personelin kişisel hataları gibi nedenlerle NATO'yu işgalci güç olarak algılamasının önüne geçilememiş, bu alanda icra edilen iletişim faaliyetleri sonuçsuz kalmıştır. Stratejik iletişim kapsamında dile getirilen söylemlerle NATO unsurlarının eylemleri örtüşmemiş, ancak muhalif unsurlar uygun söylem ve davranışlar ile etkin iletişim yöntemleri yoluyla halk üzerinde etkin olabilmiştir. Halen Afganistan genelinde muhaliflerin sahip olduğu nüfuz dikkate alındığında, NATO'nun konvansiyonel istihbarat ve propaganda alanında kısmen başarılı olduğu, ancak barışı destek harekâtının gerektirdiği istihbarat ve propaganda kapsamında etkili olmadığı görülmektedir.

Sonuç olarak NATO'nun mevcut istihbarat ve propaganda paradigması, pratiği, NATO personelinin gözlemleri ile Bosna Hersek ve Afganistan vakaları incelendiğinde; propaganda ve ilintili istihbarat faaliyetlerinin konusunun değiştiği, metodoloji bağlamında yeni açılımların yapılması gerektiği görülmektedir. NATO'nun sorunsal, aktör ve ortam genişlemesi ışığında; propaganda ve ilintili istihbarat faaliyetleri, üye devlet aktörlerin kendi unsurları üzerindeki etkileri de dikkate alındığında, barışı destek harekâtında etkinlikle icra edilememiştir.

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Öğün, Mehmet Nesip, Aslan, Murat (2014), "Change in Conceptualization of Power", *Istanbul Gelişim University Journal of Social Sciences*, Cilt 1, Issue 2, ISSN.2148-4287, e-ISSN:2148- 7189, pp. 87-113.

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HOBBIES

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C. TEZ FOTOKOPİSİ İZİN FORMU

ENSTİTÜ

Fen Bilimleri Enstitüsü ☐

Sosyal Bilimler Enstitüsü ■

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TEZİN TÜRÜ : Yüksek Lisans ☐ Doktora ■

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