

ten messages to each other to maximize secrecy, used the final courier network. Normally, their most trusted couriers memorized messages and conveyed them verbatim.¹⁸ The use of a sophisticated courier network places a premium on recruiting informants already in these organizations or placing informants in them.

For the United States, this approach requires providing foreign assistance to police and intelligence services abroad to improve their counterterrorism capacity. This means relying on the efforts of law enforcement and internal security forces of states where al Qaeda is operating. The United States can help bolster the capabilities of foreign police and intelligence services abroad, as well as share intelligence information. Key locations where al Qaeda has a foothold include Europe (such as Britain and the Netherlands), Algeria, Turkey, Saudi Arabia, Bangladesh, Indonesia, Pakistan, Afghanistan, and Iraq. The effort against al Qaeda will hinge on the competence of local police and intelligence services in these countries to collect information, penetrate al Qaeda cells, arrest or kill its members, and counter its propaganda machine. Working with locals is sometimes easier said than done, since not all states may cooperate. As Harvard law professor Philip Heymann pointed out, "Some states will lack the competence to really help, and states that do not believe in the cause will make efforts too half-hearted to be effective but real enough to be indistinguishable from sanctionable incompetence."¹⁹ This is where other strategies, such as diplomacy and economic sanctions, can be useful in coercing states to support U.S. interests. In some cases, limited direct action may be inevitable.

Capture of Key Leaders

Next is the capture of key leaders and their support network. In democratic countries, this involves capturing key members and presenting the evidence in court. Terrorism involves the commission of violent crimes, such as murder and assault. The investigation, trial, and pun-

¹⁸ Musharraf (2006, p. 221).

¹⁹ Philip B. Heymann, "Dealing with Terrorism: An Overview," *International Security*, Vol. 26, No. 3, Winter 2001, pp. 24–38, p. 34.