

INSTITUTE FOR COUNTER TERRORISM

SIXTH INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE: TERRORISM'S GLOBAL IMPACT



"Who will win? Based on history, we will." Benjamin Netanyahu (left) at plenary dias with Boaz Ganor

Photo: AP



Keynote speaker Avi Dichter, Minister for Internal Security



Amnon Rubinstein (left) with Shabtai Shavit, former head of the Mossad and Chairman of ICT's Israel Board of Directors and Dr. Boaz Ganor, ICT founder and Deputy Dean of Lauder School of Government, Diplomacy and Strategy at 9/11 memorial ceremony

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Conference photos: Harel Rinzler

"IT IS DEEPLY MOVING TO HEAR THE NATIONAL ANTHEMS OF THE UNITED STATES AND ISRAEL PLAYED SIDE BY SIDE," REMARKED MICHAEL A. MASON, EXECUTIVE ASSISTANT DIRECTOR OF THE FBI IN HIS OPENING ADDRESS. "OUR COUNTRIES DO INDEED STAND SIDE BY SIDE IN FIGHTING THE SCOURGE OF TERRORISM."

THIS STATEMENT STOOD AT THE HEART OF THE INSTITUTE FOR COUNTER TERRORISM'S (ICT) SIXTH INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE. THE THREE DAY PROCEEDINGS EXAMINED THE THEME OF TERRORISM'S GLOBAL IMPACT FROM THE WIDEST POSSIBLE SCOPE OF DISCIPLINES AND PERSPECTIVES, BRINGING TOGETHER AN UNPRECEDENTED NUMBER OF EXPERTS TO GRAPPLE WITH THE MAGNITUDE OF THE CHALLENGE ALONG WITH THE ENORMITY OF JUST WHAT IS AT STAKE IF THESE CHALLENGES ARE NOT MET.

9/11 MEMORIAL CEREMONY

As has become ICT tradition, the conference proceedings began on September 11 with a ceremony commemorating victims of the 9/11 terror attacks in the United States and victims of terrorism in Israel and throughout the world. **Capt. John Flynn** of the New York Fire Department acknowledged that it was difficult to be far from New York City on this emotional day of commemoration, but felt very proud to attend the conference, commenting, "Firefighters have a lot in common with the Israel Defense Forces. We have gone through some very similar experiences."

The FBI's **Michael A. Mason** continued, noting that 9/11 forced a new way of thinking in the United States. The FBI became a threat-based intelligence agency making collaborations such as the ICT conference critically important. "Those of us gathered here stand as representatives of the true reaction to terror. We are no less determined than the terrorists in thwarting their aims and ambitions."

Shabtai Shavit, former head of the Mossad and Chairman of ICT's Israel Board of Directors, noted that this conference first began six years ago in far more modest proportions. Since then, it has become known as a premier think tank of policy shaping regarding terrorism and counter terrorism.

President of IDC Herzliya **Prof. Amnon Rubinstein** welcomed participants, noting that the fighting of this summer's war in Lebanon had subsided just weeks before. "We have come through a very tough patch and a traumatic period this summer," he said. "Receiving such distinguished guests from overseas is a morale booster."

Keynote speaker of the opening commemoration ceremony **Avi Dichter**, Israel's Minister of Internal Security, posited that the Western world has gone through a significant shift since the 9/11 attacks, with improvements both in defense and pre-emptive measures. An encouraging indication of this is that terror organizations spend more time invested in their own

survival than in executing attacks. "Could 9/11 have been prevented?" Dichter posed the oft-asked question. "Absolutely. All it would have taken was an armed security guard in each of the aircraft. 32 years ago, I was one of those security guards. Ultimately, the considerations are economic ones, and many more are recognizing the necessity of such investments."

Dr. Boaz Ganor, ICT's founder and Deputy Dean of the Lauder School of Government, shared ideas behind the concept of this conference and recalled, "When we established ICT in 1996, we hoped to bridge the gap between the academic and the practical world. From the list of participants," he noted with satisfaction, "we have succeeded: academicians, scholars, orientalists, political scientists, security personnel, counter terrorism coordinators, NATO personnel, first responders, representatives from government ministries, diplomats and the UN are here, as well as representation from the private sector, technology, hi-tech, publishers, lawyers, psychologists, ambassadors, and dozens of journalists covering this event for media outlets around the world."

Vice President for External Relations **Jonathan Davis** announced that over 1,000 participants registered for this conference from over 40 countries – leading figured and stars in the field of Counter Terrorism – to find ways of grappling with terrorism and overcoming it.

The conference offers uniqueness in content as well, according to Ganor, a platform for discussion of trends, challenges, threats and dilemmas under consideration. "With more than 100 active panelists over these three days, we are sure to have interesting conclusions and recommendations, providing a unique opportunity for all participants to mingle with these experts."



Left: Min. Avi Dichter with Provost Prof. Moshe Bar-Niv, as Ilan Kowalsky, IDC Herzliya Director of Athletics looks on; Plenary sessions speakers on "Best Practices" (l to r) Prof. Rafi Melnick, Steven Emerson, Prof. Martha Crenshaw, Dr. Thomas H. Henriksen

PLENARY SESSION DISCUSSIONS OF "BEST PRACTICES"

PLENARIES

The plenary discussions on Best Practices in Counter Terrorism Policies offered new assessments of the current organizational capacities of terror organizations and cutting edge perspectives, while over a dozen workshops examined specific dimensions of the issues of terror and its prevention in greater depth.

Dr. Boaz Ganor presented observations on "Terrorism of Local Jihad and the Challenge to the Civilized World," noting that the many terror recruits are first and second generation Moslem immigrants to western society, and pointed to a synergetic process that poses new threats to the Moslem and non-Moslem world alike. These global jihadists attempt to achieve their goals and spread their version of Islam to the entire world, through the use of mass media, cyberspace and direct contact. They seek specific individuals as potential activists, and spot potential members among the alienated, with a recruitment strategy that hinges on black and white answers and conspiracy theories. Radical Islam offers what appears to be a solution, an alternative value system, new identity, law and order, belonging and goal: restoring the Caliphate in Europe and Palestine. Recruits are indoctrinated to the global jihad organization, trained as sleepers and then returned to their societies for fundraising, collecting intelligence and for launching terror attacks.

Prof. Martha Crenshaw of Wesleyan University, CT, whom **Boaz Ganor** introduced as "one of the pillars of Counter Terrorism and an inspiration," spoke of "Unintended Consequences of Counter Terrorism Policies." While she by no means minimized the difficulty of trying to predict or anticipate in an area of so much uncertainty, noting, "it always involves value trade-offs; the nature of the adversary becomes less clear over time; and there are time constraints, often under intense public pressure," Crenshaw pointed to results that are paradoxical yet clear — governments frequently fail to anticipate consequences of policies designed with other reasons in mind: The 1996 expulsion of Bin Laden from Sudan prompted him to flee to Afghanistan on the eve of the Taliban takeover; the destruction of al Qaeda's infrastructure early on in the war on terror made al Qaeda even more difficult to combat and predict; Policies of tolerating Moslem religious growth in Britain and Germany have led to the emergence of homegrown jihadi conspiracies. "We know all policies are contingent," Crenshaw concluded, "but could we do better in looking to the future? This lies more in the mindsets of the decision makers than anything else and we should do out utmost to try to think more broadly."

Michael A. Mason followed up that priorities at the FBI have changed dramatically over the past five years to focus on counter-terrorism, counter-intelligence and cyber-security, and the integration of intelligence into every

"Working together is not just the best option, it is the only option."
Michael A. Mason, FBI



investigation and program. "We have changed to working laterally across all disciplines, improving our infrastructure and technology, and together with whoever else needs this information in a pro-active mode," and pointed to the scores of legal attaches who act as FBI conduits to collaboration with other countries.

Prof. Rafi Melnick, Dean of IDC Herzliya's Lauder School of Government, Diplomacy and Strategy, offered a preliminary quantitative analysis on Terrorism and the Media, demonstrating plausibility that terrorism's economic impact could be diminished by reducing its media coverage. He raised the question of whether the media, as a profit-based industry, could accept a voluntary convention to regulate the coverage of terrorism as a counter-terror measure: "Is there a democratic way of coordinating media coverage in a free competitive atmosphere?"

Dr. Thomas H. Henriksen, Senior Fellow, Joint Special Operations University and Hoover Institution at Stanford University, stated that he has become "an Israel watcher" over the years. "Many of us in the US recognize the relevance of events in Israel: what happens there usually happens to us in short order." Henriksen compared the military establishments of the two countries, and also noted contrasts in the two armies' approaches to urban warfare. "Had we looked more closely at what you in Israel were going through during the first Lebanon war, past our Vietnam traumas, we would have been better prepared for Afghanistan and Iraq," while in looking ahead, "Israel is a laboratory of America in many respects, a historical record. We need to steel ourselves in dealing with terror, and you have provided a model."

Steven Emerson, Executive Director, the Investigative Project on Terrorism, spoke about "The Grand Deception: Militant Islam, the Media and the West," and exposed the Council on American-Islamic Relations (CAIR) as a front for the Muslim Brotherhood, Hamas and other terror groups. While CAIR portrays itself as the institutional representative of Moslems, it in fact represents radical Islam under the cover of legitimate NGO status. Its tactics include the purposeful exaggeration and fabrication of hate crimes, creating an "utterly disproportional" picture of racist incidents committed against Moslems as opposed to against other minorities in the US, with the media serving as a microphone. In alleging that the war against terror is a war against Islam, CAIR enforces an indigenous alienation among its constituency and exclusive loyalty to the *umma*. "The cover of human rights groups and NGOs for radical Islamic groups is the soft underbelly of Western society," Emerson warned. "The West's legitimation of these groups operating in the name of Moslems aids radical Islam to pursue its ideology and terror."

Col. (res.) Lior Lotan, ICT's Executive Director, provided an overview of al-Qaeda's activities and ideological tactics since the mujahadeen victory

over the USSR in the 1980's, which was perceived as both a tactical and an ideological moral victory over the infidels. This landmark event deepened the conviction that jihad is the obligation of every Moslem — combating infidels through military means and terror. With the grand strategy of expanding this ideology throughout the world, liberating all Moslem land from foreign presence, and establishing Islamic *sharia* rule, al Qaeda's circles of priority begin with the Middle East, and move to the rest of the Moslem world, South Asia and the inclusion of the West. Lotan noted that Israel has been viewed as a favored target in recent years, with attacks launched from Lebanon, Jordan and the Sinai. "Five years after 9/11, we ask whether we, can we, win this war. There have been some very important achievements, but when we look at the capability of radical Islamic terror groups together with their motivation, the threat remains very real."

MK Benjamin Netanyahu, former Prime Minister of Israel and Leader of the Likud Party came to address the plenary directly from a flight into Ben Gurion airport. He pointed to the importance of the ICT conference as a means of enlightening all who share a common interest in understanding terrorism and fighting it. Netanyahu traced the emergence of the current strain of militant Islamic terrorism from the Soviet-sponsored state terrorism, which was faced down in the 1980's, thanks to the coordinated policies of the western world which penalized terror supporting states, citing the US air-strikes in of Libya following the Berlin disco bombing as an example.



The conference featured a premiere screening of the documentary *Suicide Killers* by **Pierre Rehov** (left, with VP for External Relations **Jonathan Davis**) which examines the phenomenon of suicide bombers through a series of interviews with prisoners whose bombing attempts were thwarted as well as with family members of suicide bombers.

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The problems we face today, according to Netanyahu, did not begin with 9/11, but over 25 years ago, with the convergence of the 1979 victory of the mujahadeen in Afghanistan and the fall of the Shah of Iran. These two events were taken by the Islamists to be a divine intervention, and spawned al-Qaeda and the new terrorism, which bases its approach on its perceived need to "correct" history and restore the Islamic empire which would enforce a hegemonic control over its former caliphates and the entire world.

"Who will win?" Netanyahu posed the question. "Based on history, we will. The West defeated Nazism and Communism once it realized what was at stake. President Bush noted pointedly that 'the free nations' will not allow Iran to have nuclear arms. Seeing the danger is the prerequisite for any living organism."

FOCUS ON: INTERNATIONAL LAW

Numerous speakers noted the severe limitations of international law when it comes to confronting terrorism. "International law is not adapted to our conditions, and is singularly unsuited to dealing with our present problems," **Amnon Rubinstein** said. "No international legal framework addresses terror-specific issues, such as pre-emption or human shields, which Israel faces on both its fronts." He added, "Who decides what international law is? The UN Human Rights Commission is a farce and should not be formulating laws for democratic regimes. I do not delude myself that these are easy missions. But we must at least make this demand, decry this state of affairs in international law and adapt it so that democratic societies can face their enemies."

Discussing the dilemma of democracies regarding terrorism and human rights, **Prof. Irwin Cotler**, Member of the Canadian Parliament and former Minister of Justice and Attorney General, proposed "a principled approach" to the relation between security and rights and that this need

Jettison moral equivalencies: Prof. Irwin Cotler (left)

The Geneva Conventions recognized only two forms of armed conflict, a conception shattered by 9/11: Prof. William Banks (center)

No international legal framework addresses terror-specific issues such as pre-emption or human shields: Prof. Amnon Rubinstein (right)



"No war is more foreseeable than the next Iran-backed confrontation, if we do not act."
Alan Gerson

Dr. Efraim Kam speaks about the Sunni-Shiite Divide; Prof. Raymond Tanter, founder and co-chair Iran Policy Committee; Conference co-sponsor Evelyne Doueck, here with Amnon Rubinstein, opened her home to participants; co-sponsor Steven E. Stern (rt) speaks with Prof. Irwin Cotler and with Marilyn Stern



not be a zero-sum analysis, "We need to look at the context of the threat and jettison moral equivalencies in order to promote the notion of Human Security, helping safeguard humanity from terrorism." Cotler also chastised the United Nations for its dismal record of not once preventing genocide. In view of its disregard for Ahmenidejad and the Tehran regime's blatant calls for genocide, which "cannot be acquiesced or countenanced," Cotler spoke of the intentions of a group of leading lawyers and jurists to serve Ahmenidejad with an injunction at his appearance at the UN General Assembly. We must "move to bring him to justice and not just after the fact."

Cotler addressed the current limits of international law in dealing with terror tactics, saying it is imperative to speak out when the principle of civilian immunity is utilized by Hezbollah or Hamas to advance their dual aim of destroying and demonizing Israel. "How does proportionality deal with a trans-national terror group, with Anti-Semitism as its ideology and genocide as its objective? Embedding themselves among civilians thus in and of itself is a war crime and perfidy," Cotler claimed, adding, "International law should not turn Israel into a sitting duck...When we combat terrorism, we would hope that democracies would have the resources to take this seriously in both legal and moral terms."

Alan Gerson, Chairman of AG International Law, PLLC, admitted that there is no easy fix, but offered options that could act as deterrents, beginning with removing the main Iranian opposition groups from the US list of terror groups. "This de-listing serves as a means of showing that the appeasement tactic was wrong." Having represented families of Israeli victims of Hamas terror attacks against the Arab Bank, which provides incentives and incitement to terror, Gerson also advocated enforcing judgments of anti-Iran rulings and enacting well-publicized lawsuits.

Prof. William Banks, director of Syracuse University's Institute for National Security and Counterterrorism, addressed the issue of the use of force in fighting terror. "Nations evolved toward laws, treaties and agreements, which codified the modern laws of war. The Geneva Convention was devised after WWII and recognizes only two forms of armed conflict: state vs. state, and internal (i.e. civil war). These two categories were regarded as exclusive until 9/11 shattered them and replaced them with the realizations that they had long ceased to provide a proper framework. Terror is the epitome of asymmetric warfare."

FOCUS ON: IRAN

Prof. Raymond Tanter, Founder and Co-Chair, Iran Policy Committee (IPC), Prof., Georgetown University, spoke on "What Makes Tehran Tick: Coercing a Terror-Exporting Iran," observing, "Iran is an Islamic fascist state in search of an empire." Led by its Islamic expansionist ideology rather than by traditional national security interests, Tanter explained, "the notion of the 'realist' school of thought that Tehran is a normal state subject to coercive diplomacy is, in a word, wrong." Arab states are terrified of Iran and their quest to lead the *umma* in competition with the Sunnis, he added. "Ahmenidejad is the new Hitler. No combination of positive incentives can placate Tehran...We of the IPC promote the option of regime change led by the Iranian people."

Col. (res.) Shlomo Mofaz, international consultant and ICT research fellow, recalled State Department official Richard Armitage's 2002 assessment that Iran's proxy Hezbollah "is the A-Team in terror, and al-Qaeda is the B-Team." In the international arena, Hezbollah has acted against Jewish and Israeli targets, such as the Buenos Aires bombings, as well as American targets, such as the 1996 attacks on US bases in Saudi Arabia. All this is carried out through a large Shiite support structure, consisting of sleeper cells around the world, with Iranian support to Hezbollah in Lebanon alone amounting to \$100 million annually. The security of a nuclear umbrella to embolden Iran would leave the international community with even less room to maneuver. This nuclear umbrella could help install Iranian hegemony in the Persian Gulf, and enable cooperation between Hezbollah and al-Qaeda cooperation on a larger scale.

"Iran has always had aspirations to dominate the Islamic world," according to **Dr. Shaul Shay**, head of the IDF's Military History Department and Senior Research Fellow at ICT. "It is a rich country with poor people, with unlimited resources for developing nuclear weapons. We are at a watershed and the West must decide how to act, with the certainty that without stopping Iran, there will be a rise in its nuclear capability and a corresponding rise in its sponsoring of terror." ★

The workshop on International Cooperation in Counter-Terrorism was dedicated to the memory of **Prof. Ehud Sprinzak**, founding dean of the Lauder School. In its summation, **Boaz Ganor** called for a synergetic effort between Western and Arab-Moslem countries against global jihad. "We must deal both with operational capabilities and motivation, and fight the axis of evil with an axis of truth."