



## Summaries and Highlights

TERRORISM'S GLOBAL REACH

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Counter-Terrorism Trends and Challenges 2010

TERRORISM'S GLOBAL REACH

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# **Counter-Terrorism Trends and Challenges 2010**

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The Interdisciplinary Center Herzliya

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World Summit on Counter-Terrorism "Terrorism's Global Impact"  
September 12-15, 2010  
The Interdisciplinary Center (IDC), Herzliya

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## Foreword by the Director

Each September, the classrooms of the Lauder School of Government, Diplomacy and Strategy at the Interdisciplinary Center (IDC), Herzliya transform into think tanks staffed by hundreds of leading counter-terrorism experts. The hallways become vibrant information-sharing networks and the campus turns into a bastion of international cooperation, a place where academics, practitioners, students and policy makers from around the world come together to discuss – and ultimately confront – the growing threats of terrorism.

The Institute for Counter-Terrorism (ICT) holds its annual international conference each September to create such a high-powered environment. Over the intensive three-day conference, hundreds of counter-terrorism experts, security professionals, and leading academic scholars from around the world are able to network, establish essential cooperation mechanisms and exchange views on best practices.

On September 2010, over 1,200 participants from over 60 countries made ICT's 10<sup>th</sup> Annual Conference the largest yet. The ideas exchanged and lessons learned at the annual conference are compiled in this comprehensive volume, a collection of workshop summaries and panelist speeches.

Conference workshops and panels focused on a wide variety of issues relating to counter-terrorism. The first two sections of this volume include summaries from the opening night and plenary session of the 10<sup>th</sup> Annual Conference, providing an expert overview of the main terrorism trends that emerged in 2010 as well as the new challenges facing decision makers and practitioners.

**Dr. Boaz Ganor**

Executive Director, International Institute for Counter-Terrorism;

Deputy Dean, Lauder School of Government, Diplomacy and Strategy

The Interdisciplinary Center, Herzliya

**Dr. Eitan Azani**

Deputy Executive Director, International Institute for Counter-Terrorism

The Interdisciplinary Center, Herzliya

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## About the Conference

More than 1,200 participants from over 60 countries attended ICT's 10<sup>th</sup> annual conference, World Summit on Counter Terrorism: "Terrorism's Global Impact", in Herzliya, Israel.

The International Institute for Counter Terrorism's (ICT) international conference is one of the most influential events in the field of counter-terrorism today. The conference is a vital opportunity for high-profile experts from a diverse background of disciplines to establish professional relationships and serves as a platform for the formation of international cooperation. Speakers and panelists include leading security experts and decision-makers from Israel and abroad who specialize in counter-terrorism, as well as colleagues from the International Counter-Terrorism Academic Community (ICTAC).

Participants in this conference have the chance to broaden their understanding from an interdisciplinary point of view and learn from fellow government agencies, research institutes and industries about real-world challenges posed by modern and post-modern terrorist organizations.

*ICT's annual international conference has become a flagship event in the field of counter-terrorism. The ICT conference provides a high-powered environment in which counter-terrorism experts, security professionals, and leading academic scholars from around the world are able to network, establish essential cooperation mechanisms and exchange views on best practices.*



Speakers and participants at our previous conferences have included current and former ministers, members of parliament, heads of security agencies and police departments, first responders, academics, professional experts in the field of counter-terrorism, jurists, businesspeople and students. Scheduled to coincide with, and commemorate, the terrorist attacks of September 11<sup>th</sup>, the conference has received worldwide acclaim, reflecting the appreciation of participants who have partaken in this international event.

The 10<sup>th</sup> Annual Conference commenced on Monday evening September 12<sup>th</sup>, 2010, with an opening event and addresses by keynote speakers.

The conference's Plenary Session (Tuesday, September 13<sup>th</sup>) featured keynote presentations from senior officials and provided a backdrop for the in-depth examinations and discussions of the following two days.

On September 14<sup>th</sup> and 15<sup>th</sup> the program was devoted to panel discussions and workshops dealing with specific phenomena of modern and post-modern terrorism, including definitions, the terrorism-media-public opinion connection and specific *modi operandi*, such as suicide terrorism and non-conventional terrorism. Panelists included leading researchers from the relevant fields who discussed the principal issues.

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## About ICT

The International Institute for Counter-Terrorism (ICT) is among the world's leading academic institutes for counter-terrorism. Founded in 1996, the ICT rapidly evolved into a highly esteemed global hub for counter-terrorism research, policy recommendations and education. The ICT is a non-profit organization that relies exclusively on private donations and income from events, projects and programs.

The goal of the ICT is to advise decision makers, initiate applied research and provide consultation and education to address terrorism and its effects.

Within the constellation of topical research institutions worldwide, the ICT stands out as a benchmark institute through its:

- Acclaimed faculty and management team
- Dedicated focus on counter-terrorism policy
- Worldwide team of affiliates and strategic academic partners
- Interdisciplinary research
- Innovative policy solutions
- Original, “out-of-the-box” approach to policy making through education
- “Real world” pragmatic policy proposals and solutions and
- The proactive solicitation of these ideas to international decision- makers and leaders.

September 13, 2010

# Plenary Session

**Mr. Dan Meridor**

Deputy Prime Minister and Minister of Intelligence and Atomic Energy, Israel

**Judge Jean-Louis Brugière**

Former Head of the Counter Terrorism Unit of the Paris District Court and Former leading French Magistrate for Counter-Terrorism, France

**Mr. Shiraz Maher**

Senior Fellow, International Center for the Study of Radicalization (ICSR), King's College London, United Kingdom

**Brig. Gen. (Res.) Nitzan Nuriel**

Director, Counter-Terrorism Bureau, Israel

**Col. Richard Kemp**

Former Commander of the British Forces in Afghanistan, United Kingdom

**Dr. Daniel Pipes**

Director, Middle East Forum, U.S.A

**Mr. Jonathan Paris**

Associate Fellow, International Center for the Study of Radicalization (ICSR), King's College London, United Kingdom

**Dr. Boaz Ganor**

Executive Director, ICT; Deputy Dean, Lauder School of Government, Diplomacy and Strategy, IDC Herzliya, Israel

**Prof. David Passig**

World-renowned Futurist and Head of the Graduate Program Education at Bar-Ilan University

**Mr. Michael Balboni**

Former Homeland Security Advisor for the State of New York, U.S.A

**Prof. William Banks**

Director, Institute for National Security and Counter Terrorism

**Maj, Gen. Giovanni Marizza**

Former Deputy Commander of the Multinational Corps in Iraq

**Dr. Rohan Gunaratna**

Head of the International Center for Political Violence and Terrorism Research, Nanyang Technological University, Singapore

**Dr. Sergey Kurginyan**

President, International Public Foundation Experimental Creative Center, Russian Federation

**Dr. Magnus Ranstorp**

Research Director, the Center for Asymmetric Threat Studies at the Swedish National Defense College, Sweden

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## Lecture Summaries

### **Mr. Dan Meridor**

Deputy Prime Minister and Minister of Intelligence and Atomic Energy, Israel

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Mr. Meridor opened his lecture by stating that “alliances are made less among nations and more among religions [...] once you introduce religion, you exclude compromise”. Mr. Meridor explained that, in the past, wars were fought by states against other states; however, today, the world is faced with the dilemma of states having to fight against non-state actors. This has led to the boundary between states and non-state actors becoming increasingly blurred. As a result of this change, the nature of war must be reexamined and new methods of ending conflicts must be found. The world has reached a stage where battles are no longer honorably fought in a battlefield but rather are fought amidst the civilian population, which is cowardly being used as a tactic in the combat.

In the contemporary combat environment, it is increasingly unclear who, what, and how to attack as military means are no longer enough to end wars. Wars cannot be resolved within a few years and have evolved into ongoing and protracted struggles. According to Mr. Meridor, there is a clear decline in the power of states and states are confronted with “over-empowered individuals”. In addition, according to Mr. Meridor, national identity is losing ground to religious identity as people are willing to sacrifice and fight in the name of God rather than in the name of their country. Mr. Meridor concluded his speech by stating that the dilemma in today’s conflicts and wars is “how many children are we allowed to kill in order to not get our own children killed”.

### **Judge Jean-Louis Bruguière**

Former Head of the Counter Terrorism Unit of the Paris District Court and Former leading French Magistrate for Counter-Terrorism, France

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Judge Bruguière spoke of the legal aspects of the war against terrorism, sharing with the audience his expertise and years of experience. He began his speech by stating that “terrorism is no longer a local security issue, but has become a global issue”. He explained that the visibility of terrorism has lessened. Al-Qaeda and their associates are able to take advantage of their adaptability in order to promote their strategies of terrorism. For example, Al-Qaeda and their affiliates have exploited Europe’s open borders and the U.S. Constitution’s 4th Amendment to carry out operations. Al-Qaeda’s strategy is polymorphic in respect to how they intensifies the threat and increases the possibility of more frequent attacks.

Judge Bruguière stressed that terrorism should be fought within the legal frameworks established by the Western World. He continued on to explain that “democratic principles are our best weapons; to renounce them would mean to lose the fight against terror”. To conclude, Judge Bruguière emphasized the globalization aspect of terrorism and the need for international cooperation in order to win the war on terrorism.

**Mr. Shiraz Maher**

Senior Fellow, International Center for the Study of Radicalization (ICSR), King's College London, United Kingdom

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Mr. Maher shared his knowledge of the radicalization and de-radicalization processes in the United Kingdom's perspective. Mr. Maher opened his lecture by discussing what should be the price of engaging terrorists in armed conflict. Mr. Maher questioned as to whose terms and at what price should a government engage a terrorist organization and questioned whether the price paid so far by the West has been too high. Mr. Maher reiterated his belief that too much emphasis has been put on differentiating between violent and non-violent groups and, as a consequence, large cells of homegrown terrorists have been allowed to thrive in the United Kingdom.

Over the last few years, the British government established recreational programs for Muslim communities, in hope that keeping young Muslims busy with arts and crafts would keep them away from trouble. However, the programs have failed as radicalization rates are increasing and terrorist organizations are gaining strength.

**Brig. Gen. (Res.) Nitzan Nuriel**

Director, Counter-Terrorism Bureau, Israel

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Brig. Gen. (Res.) Nuriel emphasized that the global Jihadist movement is doing well with regards to recruitment, resources and media use. According to Brig. Gen. (Res.) Nuriel, terrorist organizations have the capabilities, the motivation and the know-how. As such, the West must be on constant guard and must be weary of attacks involving non-conventional weapons and cyber-terrorism. In order to effectively engage in combat, the West must accomplish two things: a commonly agreed upon definition of terrorism and the creation of an international database accessible to all. Brig. Gen. (Res.) Nuriel believes that until we have these two essential components, the West will continue to be ill-equipped to fight terrorism.

With regards to human rights, Brig. Gen. (Res.) Nuriel said that “we should give more rights to our right to live [...] Terrorism today has national capabilities; it is no longer three guys setting up a booby trap”. Brig. Gen. (Res.) Nuriel argued that we do not need to award rights to terrorists if they in turn abuse them, as it restricts us in the war on terror. He concluded by saying that “terror will exist forever. There is no way to eradicate it completely but we must push it down to a level that we can live with, as we do with criminals”.

**Col. Richard Kemp**

Former Commander of British Forces in Afghanistan, United Kingdom

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Col. Kemp opened by stating that the terrorist attacks of the past decade – September 11<sup>th</sup>, the Madrid Bombings and the London Underground bombings – have made it increasingly difficult for terrorists to commit spectacular mass killings as security forces have become more vigilant in the aftermath of these mega-attacks. There have been increases in arrests, trials, and imprisonment of terrorists. Furthermore, operations in Afghanistan and Pakistan undermined Al-Qaeda's use of these areas as central bases which, in turn, limited the organization's ability to carry out attacks. Due to this limited capability, Al-Qaeda has been forced to act through a combination of influence and inspiration, encouraging various groups around the world to join what has become known as "the Al-Qaeda network". This network has become an Al-Qaeda 'franchise' of sorts which includes such organizations as Al-Qaeda in the Islamic Maghreb, the Yemenite Al-Qaeda in Arabian Peninsula in Yemen, Al-Qaeda in Iraq, Al-Shabab in Somalia, Lashkar-Et-Taiba in Kashmir, the Islamic Movement in Uzbekistan, and the Islamic Union in Germany. In recent years, many less prominent groups have also come into existence. The groups in the Al-Qaeda network do not take orders from directly Al-Qaeda Central and do not affiliate themselves with the same ideology, but are very dangerous nonetheless. Even Americans have radicalized spontaneously, through means of inspiration and information-sharing over the Internet. Col. Kemp believes that these low-level jihadists have the potential to cause serious damage and disarray, whether independently or aided by Al-Qaeda Central.

*Global jihadists are dedicated to committing attacks and states can only attempt to contain them by, for instance, pursuing counter-radicalization programs that work with at-risk groups and address perceived grievances. In addition, states must prevent situations that facilitate terrorist recruitment such as overzealous police actions.*

Col. Kemp then addressed the low frequency of attacks in recent times and emphasized that although there have been relatively few attacks, this does not mean that the threat has disappeared or even diminished. Col. Kemp pointed out that governments tend to have short term memory in times of relative tranquility with regards to terrorism and they tend to believe the threat has passed. This, however, is a very dangerous error. On the other hand, Col. Kemp acknowledged the increasing financial constraints caused by the recent global economic crisis with defense departments no longer enjoying the financial resources they once did.

Global jihadists are dedicated to committing attacks and states can only attempt to contain them by, for instance, pursuing counter-radicalization programs that work with at-risk groups and address perceived grievances. In addition, states must prevent situations that facilitate terrorist recruitment such as overzealous police actions. Governments must also learn to handle the media and ensure that the perspective presented is unbiased. Finally, states must demonstrate that they are neither violent nor discriminatory as terrorists claim they are by striving towards openness and transparency.

Col. Kemp concluded by explaining that combating violent jihad over the next decade will become more increasingly. This will be a decade in which nations will require a strong leadership that can recognize the threat and is resolved to do what is necessary.

**Dr. Daniel Pipes**

Director, Middle East Forum, U.S.A.

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Dr. Daniel Pipes opened his lecture by posing the question, "why do politicians, media officials or academics ignore the obvious—that terrorism has influence from Islam?" Dr. Pipes pointed to the example of the Ft. Hood incident to illustrate his point. The Ft. Hood attacker had clear Islamist motivations but was described in psychological, rather than religious, terms by the media and politicians alike. Islamism, Dr. Pipes explained, is a form of Islam that seeks to make Muslims strong and to impose Sharia law on the world and transform it into a caliphate, as existed in the Middle Ages. No other ideology has been at the root of as many terrorist attacks as Islamism. Unfortunately, public officials are in denial of this fact, whether consciously or unconsciously. Dr. Pipes emphasized that "willfully and consistently, they ignore Islamism as the cause of attacks". Politicians do not speak of Islamists and Mujahideen, but of evil-doers and extremists. There are some exceptions, such as Tony Blair, but these are few and far between.

Dr. Pipes then addressed the reasons behind this denial. He explained that the temptation is to believe that they are attempting to avoid a politically incorrect or controversial public image. However, even academics who understand Islamism fail to discuss terrorism's religious roots. One reason is that they wish not to irritate Muslims, particularly moderates. The second reason is that it defies the order upon which Western society is based. In the Western World, violent acts are generally caused by internal psychiatric factors that could affect anyone, not by an external ideology that only a select element is subjected to. While the real factors behind these acts would make it easy to single out potential perpetrators for scrutiny, profiling is regarded as racist and Islamophobic. As a result, every act of Muslim extremism must be classified as a random action, and not labeled as part of a greater pattern. Dr. Pipes noted that these trends will probably continue unless a spectacular attack causing hundreds of thousands of casualties should occur. Then, considerations over political correctness or aggravating a minority will be pushed aside in an attempt to save lives. Dr. Pipes concluded by expressing his hope that nations need not such a wake-up call as this to understand and candidly discuss the threat.

**Mr. Jonathan Paris**

Associate Fellow, International Center for the Study of Radicalization (ICSR), King's College London, United Kingdom

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Mr. Paris began his presentation by stating that the many terrorist attacks that occurred and dozens of foiled attacks have motivated the British government to focus on home-grown extremism. The British government's strategy recognizes the extremist element within the Muslim community rather than categorizing the entire Muslim community as suspect and works with moderates

against the Islamist agenda, proving that the Muslim community is a partner, not a target. The diversity of the Muslim community demonstrates that the terrorist groups can potentially be isolated.

The challenge, according to Mr. Paris, is to acknowledge that nations are fighting a battle of ideals. Europe is fighting a long-term ideological war, but is using a law enforcement and operational-based approach that treats symptoms rather than causes. According to Mr. Paris, pressure must be applied on influential religious and political figures with large followings; they are the motivators and must not be ignored. Furthermore, the rise of distinct Muslim neighborhoods and Muslim prison communities has segregated them from society, an issue that must be addressed.

Mr. Paris then compared France's counter-terrorism strategy to that of the United Kingdom and explained that while the French also confront homegrown radicalism, they do so in a very different manner than the British. Namely, by imposing secular values and assimilation on all public expressions of faith and group identity. In France, the problem is a socioeconomic one and, overall, France's Muslims are less radicalized than Britain's.

*Europe is fighting a long-term ideological war, but is using a law enforcement and operational-based approach that treats symptoms rather than causes*

Mr. Paris then looked at the connection between foreign policy and radicalization, stating that many view foreign policy as the catalyst behind domestic outrage. For example, during Operation Cast Lead, the level of anti-Israeli clamor rose in the neighborhoods known as 'Londonistan', while during the current peace negotiations it has slightly subsided. Mr. Paris believes, however, that these are not the root causes of the domestic outrage, but simply an excuse for its expression.

Mr. Paris concluded his lecture by discussing how greater sensitivity should be shown to the complexity of the British Muslim community. The current strategy of attempting to prevent long-term radicalism is well grounded, but the government must do a better job of selecting which organizations to support. The best path for the British government to take is to encourage moderates and to keep them involved in government in order to include, rather than isolate, them.

**Dr. Boaz Ganor**

Executive Director, ICT, Deputy Dean, Lauder School of Government, Diplomacy and Strategy, IDC Herzliya, Israel

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Dr. Ganor opened his lecture by discussing Islam's place in today's world. According to Dr. Ganor, there are two revolutions that will influence the future of the world: the Islamization of Turkey and the anti-regime revolution in Iran. Al-Qaeda's biggest enemies are moderate Muslim states, such as what Turkey used to be, as they show that a Muslim can be a modern and free person.

Dr. Ganor then addressed current trends that are affecting the Middle Eastern landscape. The first is the American withdrawal from Iraq; the second is the Iranian attempt to develop nuclear weapons; the third is Turkey's realignment and the fourth is the renewed Israeli-Palestinian peace negotiations.

Dr. Ganor warned that Western governments are naive in thinking that free elections can help the Middle East; in many cases they empower Islamist regimes and legitimize them. Western states allow this to happen while convincing themselves that Islamists and jihadists are not an enemy.

Dr. Ganor then presented the results of a survey performed on a hundred experts from over twenty nations. The results showed that 89% consider themselves to be better informed than the general public. 63% believe that terrorist attacks will increase if Iran develops a nuclear weapon, and 85% believe sanctions will not be effective. Also, 66% believe that it is likely or very likely that there will be a CBRN (Chemical, Biological, Radiological, and Nuclear) attack in the next five years. As for counter-terrorism, 66% believe that current efforts are ineffective, and 64% said that President Bush's policies were more effective than President Obama's. 88% believed that peace between Israel and the Palestinians is unlikely or very unlikely over the next five years.

*Western governments are naive in thinking that free elections can help the Middle East; in many cases they empower Islamist regimes and legitimize them.*

As for non-conventional terrorism, Dr. Ganor expressed his belief that chemical and radiological attacks will be of limited scope. He added that the non-conventional threat is used primarily in an attempt to sow fear and anxiety and to manipulate the world public into pressuring their governments and so they are aimed at achieving the goals of modern terrorism. Postmodern terrorism, however, may employ biological and nuclear attacks, which are unlimited in scope. Not every organization has the capability or desire to adopt biological or nuclear tactics and thus chemical and radiological attacks remain the most plausible threats. Dr. Ganor concluded by saying that the probability of these limited attacks is much higher than that of massive, unlimited attacks and therefore it is this type of attack that research and policies should focus on anticipating and thwarting.

**Prof. David Passig**

World-renowned Futurist; Head of the Graduate Program in Education, Bar-Ilan University, Israel

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Prof. Passig opened the afternoon session by raising the question of "what drives people and leaders to engage in wars?" While using futurist study throughout his presentation, Prof. Passig clarified that his methodology is not an "attempt to understand the future," but rather the pursuit of "understanding the present from a different perspective." Prof. Passig discussed population explosions and gender shifts in the past, present, and future.

Prof. Passig concluded by sharing his predictions for the Middle East and added that as Israel becomes more entrenched in violence with its neighbors, notably Syria and Lebanon (which will be backed by Russia), Turkey's increasing regional dominance will put it in a much better position to mediate between the two parties. With Turkey as a guarantor, Prof. Passig believes that peace can be achieved.

**Mr. Michael Balboni**

Former Homeland Security Adviser for the State of New York, U.S.A.

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Mr. Balboni focused on the “nuts and bolts, and frankly the dollars” of counter-terrorism. Mr. Balboni raised the question of why the United States is reactive, rather than proactive towards terrorism. The United States has been accused of preparing for the “last war, the last attack” and not for future attacks. Part of the problem, he explained, was that September 11<sup>th</sup> was a wake-up call for the US, which finally realized that the new threat was asymmetrical. The threat was not overseas; it was terrorism that had infiltrated American shores. The difficult task following September 11<sup>th</sup> was trying to make every first responder on the local level capable of responding to and preventing a terrorist attack. However, according to Mr. Balboni, the problem of placing the initiative in the hands local authorities are already tasked with a host of much more mundane priorities, such as common crime. These everyday occurrences are far more common than terrorist attacks that have a “limited probability”; the result is a lack of motivation in dealing with terrorism. Mr. Balboni concluded by stating that much needs to be done to transform counter-terrorism into a preventative rather than a forensic science.

**Prof. William Banks**

Director, Institute for National Security and Counter Terrorism

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Prof. Banks began by stating that nine years after the attacks of September 11<sup>th</sup>, the world continues to be threatened with the possibility of mass terrorism. For the U.S., September 11<sup>th</sup> was a “lightning bolt” that brought about a sense of urgency and shifted attention towards counter-terrorism. However, the difficulty in confronting an asymmetric enemy is that it is mismatched with the U.S.'s own capabilities and power. The challenge, Prof. Banks explained, is how to confront a non-traditional enemy through traditional means.

The conflict between a superpower and an asymmetric enemy has led to the development of new tactics, *e.g.*- coercive interrogations. These new tactics, however, tread the line of violating the U.S. Constitution. Prof. Banks also shared his opinion on President Obama's counter-terrorism policy, saying that “looks like Bush with new music.”

Prof. Banks concluded his speech by asserting that American laws need to be adapted in light of this new generation of warfare, balancing the need to target terrorists and prevent terrorism while ensuring checks, balances and accountability remain in place.

**Maj. Gen. Giovanni Marizza**

Former Deputy Commander of the Multinational Corps in Iraq

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Maj. Gen. Marizza began his lecture by detailing Italy's history with domestic terrorism and added that counter-terrorism efforts need to employ both the "stick and carrot", emphasizing the need for a big "stick" compared to a small "carrot". This, he believes, will help countries distinguish between the need to confront the Taliban using "carrots" and the need to confront Al-Qaeda using "sticks". According to Maj. Gen. Marizza, NATO is a force that can defeat terrorism, but it needs to develop both a soft and a hard approach in order to be successful.

Maj. Gen. Marizza concluded by stating that the current policies in Iraq and Afghanistan have failed and that, in hindsight, power should have been handed over to the locals immediately, instead of the U.S. "pretending to support democracy." Consequently, the U.S. and its allies are perceived as occupiers, which only fuels further insurgencies.

**Dr. Rohan Gunaratna**

Head of the International Center for Political Violence and Terrorism Research, Nanyang Technological University, Singapore

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Dr. Gunaratna focused on the subject of Al-Qaeda and stressed that the global Jihad movement is an emerging threat that should not be underestimated. Al-Qaeda is capable of replacing fallen or captured members with ease. It has also developed a large and well-established media arm, employing new media technologies. According to Dr. Gunaratna, Al-Qaeda's strategy has changed from one of planning and executing operations to one of inspiring and training new recruits. By employing the Internet and the media, Al-Qaeda has been able to inspire groups and individuals to carry out attacks. For example, the inspiration for the foiled plan to attack the Bank of America Building was raised by Al-Qaeda through the Internet and based on the film "Independence Day".

*Al-Qaeda's strategy has changed from one of planning and executing operations to one of inspiring and training new recruits.*

According to Dr. Gunaratna, the epicenter of terrorism is the Federally Administrated Tribal Area (FATA) along the Afghanistan-Pakistan border; however, Al-Qaeda's base in FATA is not the most serious threat today. The biggest contemporary threat comes from groups associated with Al-Qaeda and homegrown cells in Asia. The most pressing issue regarding terrorism today is that the United States is about to withdraw from Iraq and is likely going to withdraw from Afghanistan, developments which will embolden global jihadists. The second major issue is that, in addition to Iraq and Afghanistan, Yemen and Somalia are emerging as key jihad arenas. Dr. Gunaratna

predicted that the threat to the West will persist, but that the primary threat will be to Western interests within the Muslim world.

**Dr. Sergey Kurginyan**

President, International Public Foundation Experimental Creative Center, Russian Federation

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Dr. Kurginyan shared his belief that answers to key national security questions may be politically incorrect but that these answers are extremely important. According to Dr. Kurginyan, the enemy's instability is a crucial element in conflict and war. Dr. Kurginyan noted that "the idea of Radical Islam is not a new development; it has been around since the Middle Ages." Dr. Kurginyan explained that the key to approaching an unstable enemy is to understand its nature and to oppose it with comparable force and tactics.

**Dr. Magnus Ranstorp**

Research Director, Center for Asymmetric Threat Studies at the Swedish National Defense College, Sweden

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Dr. Ranstorp addressed Europe's changing counter-terrorism strategy. The European perspective on countering violent extremism in the European Union has experienced a paradigm shift with the advent of terrorism fusion centers. Traditional security agencies are inundated with so much information that it is nearly impossible to handle it all. However, strategic drivers like globalization enable a real-time spread of ideas and practical thinking while technological advances act as catalysts for rapid societal change.

Europe's demographics and the presence of refugees provide potential recruitment grounds for terrorist groups and so European countries have grown to understand the importance of counter terrorism. Denmark is an example of a country that has had everything from recruiters to converts and it specializes in de-radicalization and the support of individuals leaving terrorist organizations. Spain focuses on training religious leaders in Europe; the United Kingdom works on countering the Al-Qaeda's propaganda narrative; Germany is monitoring the internet; the Netherlands looks to local authorities; and Belgium focuses on community policing.

Dr. Ranstorp believes the primary challenge for Europe is to find a way to discuss these issues without creating stereotypes. The European Union has learned lessons with only past attacks to work with and study. Solutions in the European Union are handled uniquely at the national level. The overarching consideration for the EU is to "think about what if the Danish incident slipped through, how we minimize radicalization in society?"

# Workshops

September 14<sup>th</sup> and 15<sup>th</sup>, 2010

- Islamist Radicalization
- New Battlefield, Old Laws
- Narco- Terrorism, Terrorism and International Crime
- Radical Islamism and Nuclear Terrorism
- Cycles of Jihad: Local or Global?
- Terrorism and Technology
- De-Radicalization Process
- Counter-Terrorism Efforts in Weak and Failed States: Exit Strategy
- Aviation Terrorism and Security
- The Legal Battle in Combating Terrorism
- Turkey: Islamism or Neo-Ottomanism, Does it affect regional terrorism?
- New Media, Terrorism and Counter Terrorism Opportunities
- Terrorism, Religion and Political Violence
- Learning Competition in Asymmetric Conflicts
- Americans in Al-Qaeda
- The Struggle for Islamic Hegemony: Sunni v. Shiite
- The Democratic Solution in an Era of Hybrid Organizations
- Fourth Generation Warfare
- Syria and Iran as Terrorism Generators



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# Islamist Radicalization

CHAired BY:

**Dr. Magnus Ranstorp**

Research Director, Center for Asymmetric Threat Studies, Swedish National Defense College, Sweden

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**Dr. Maria Alvanou**

Criminologist & lecturer, Hellenic Military Academy, Greece

**Dr. John Brew**

Co-Director, International Center for the Study of Radicalization and Political Violence; Lecturer, War Studies, King's College, United Kingdom

**Dr. Peter Knoope**

Director, International Center for Counter-Terrorism, The Hague, The Netherlands

**Prof. Marco Lambardi**

Associate Professor, Università Cattolica; Project Manager, Italian Team for Security, Terrorist Issues & Managing Emergencies, Italy

**Dr. Darko Trifunovic**

Professor, Faculty of Security Studies, University of Belgrade, Serbia

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Dr. Alvanou opened the workshop by discussing the influences behind religious terrorism, which she believes to be a fairly new phenomenon. Dr. Alvanou discussed Greece as a case study for the apparent linkage between economic stability and radicalization. She linked the recent violence in Greece to the current economic instability in the country and concluded by discussing how the simplicity of the radical Islamic ideology helps connect the average person to something "real" in a world filled with instability.

Dr. Brew continued the workshop with a focus on the issues pertaining specifically to Islam in the United Kingdom. Dr. Brew stated that over sixty percent of terrorist threats come from 2<sup>nd</sup> or 3<sup>rd</sup> generation Pakistanis. The threat does not come directly from Pakistan but rather from persons of confused identity. Dr. Brew explained how the British government originally tried to reach the Pakistani community through Urdu-speaking individuals but then realized that the 2<sup>nd</sup> and 3<sup>rd</sup> generations who were becoming involved in terrorism no longer speak Urdu and are disconnected from the original Pakistani community. Dr. Brew concluded his lecture by discussing how the inability of 2<sup>nd</sup> and 3<sup>rd</sup> generation immigrants to integrate with the general British population is the gravest problem for the British people and the British government.

Dr. Knoope discussed the Muslim community in the Netherlands, focusing his discussion on the Turkish and Moroccan communities. Like Dr. Brew, Dr. Knoope discussed the disconnection between the immigrant Moroccan population and the general public. He also discussed the prospect of an identity crisis within the immigrant population as they feel neither Dutch nor

Moroccan. Dr. Knoope concluded his lecture by discussing the events surrounding the release of a film titled "Fitna", which criticized the treatment of women within the Muslim community. Unexpectedly, there was very little violence surrounding the controversial film, which he attributed to the Dutch government's decision to have a community discussion about Islam and terrorism before the film's release.

Prof. Lambardi discussed the threat of Al-Qaeda and how it exists today. According to Prof. Lambardi, the extreme ideology of Al-Qaeda in current times is mostly affecting the world community by randomly inspiring homegrown terrorism which has become a greater threat than that posed by the original organization. Prof. Lambardi expressed his belief that the best way to combat terrorism spawned by radical ideologies is to better understand these ideologies and stressed the need to understand the complexities of radicalization in order to prevent homegrown terrorism.

Dr. Trifunovic concluded the workshop, focusing on radicalization in Southeastern Europe, particularly in Bosnia. Dr. Trifunovic explained how independent terrorist cells emerged in Bosnia as a result of Saudi influence during the Balkan War. During the war, the Saudis gave considerable aid to Bosnia and their influence has created non-organic Wahabist-influenced groups which still exist today. This is a trend of introducing radicalized Arab culture into otherwise moderate Muslim communities seen all over the world.

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## New Battlefields, Old Laws

CHAired BY:

**Prof. William Banks**

Director, Institute for National Security and Counter-Terrorism, Syracuse University, U.S.A

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PARTICIPANTS:

**Prof. Geoffrey S. Corn**

Associate Professor of Law, South Texas College of Law, Houston, U.S.A

**Dr. Boaz Ganor**

Executive Director, ICT; Deputy dean of the Lauder School of Government, Diplomacy and Strategy, IDC Herzliya, Israel

**Prof. Eric Jensen**

Visiting Assistant Professor, School of Law, Fordham University, U.S.A.

**Dr. Gregory Rose**

Professor, Faculty of Law; Research Fellow with the Institute for Transnational and Maritime Security, University of Wollongong, Australia

**Prof. Corri Zoli**

Research fellow, Institute for National Security and Counter-terrorism, Syracuse University, U.S.A

**Ms. Daphne Richemond-Barak**

Lecturer, Radzyner School of Law, IDC Herzliya, Israel

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Prof. Banks opened the workshop by discussing how international humanitarian law, human rights law, international law and domestic laws have failed to provide adequate guidelines for combating insurgencies. The workshop set out to explore the overlapping legal paradigms which could be adopted for counter-insurgency (COIN) initiatives. Prof. Banks attempted to answer the question of whether legal combat requires states to risk relinquishing sovereignty over the “new battlefields” to non-state entities.

Prof. Corn argued that the law of Non-International Armed Conflict (NIAC) never recognized the existence of aggressive non-state armed groups. Rather, these conflicts are depicted as state armed forces fighting against civilians taking direct part in hostilities. Prof. Corn stated that “While it is axiomatic that these non-state belligerents cannot qualify for lawful belligerent status, this fact does not justify the conclusion that such groups are merely collections of civilians directly participating in hostilities.” Prof. Corn asserted that members of non-state organizations must not be viewed as civilians. Rather, he believes members of such groups should not be presumed civilians and

targeting them is based upon their membership in a non-state belligerent group. Prof. Corn added that states must act on the assumption that hostile groups act on their leaders' will. The NIAC laws' failure to acknowledge that 'enemy armed forces' exist aids in classifying non-state operatives as civilians and protects them from a nation's ability to use force against them.

Ms. Richemond- Barak examined situations in which one of the belligerent actors within a major conflict can be relieved of its obligations to international law. This occurs when a state is facing a non-state actor that does not accept or apply international law. However, Ms. Richemond-Barak argued that the core customs of humanitarian law still apply in such a conflict, for example the delicate balancing act in defining proportionality of violence. In order to account for this, Ms. Richemond- Barak argued, states must be able to take into consideration the potential injury to their own troops. Moreover, in calculating civilian casualties, a distinction should be made between civilians or involuntary human shields and volunteers. She believes that the presence of voluntary human shields should not weigh as much in the calculation of proportional violence.

Dr. Ganor continued the workshop by discussing proportionality. He explained that in an environment in which terrorists and other militant groups seek to use civilians as human shields, protection under international humanitarian law is exploited and military operations are able to be successfully thwarted by the enemy. Dr. Ganor explained that "Goliath is now handcuffed by international law and ethics. David does not care about international law and uses it against Goliath." Dr. Ganor proposed a new international legal framework he termed "Multidimensional Warfare" to account for the numerous dimensions involved in armed conflicts. In the new multidimensional warfare framework, civilians, combat supporting civilians, military reservists and active combatants are all actors. Dr. Ganor created a numeric equation for proportionality which takes into account the risk combat operations pose, their immediate goals as well as the different levels of civilian participation in terrorist activity.

Prof. Jensen illustrated how civilian casualties, as opposed to combatant casualties, have risen sharply since the advent of international law in the 20<sup>th</sup> century. Nineteen percent of all casualties in World War I were civilian deaths. In World War II, the number rose to forty eight percent due in part to the civilian casualties caused by the Holocaust. After 1990, the number of civilian casualties in armed conflict rose to more than eighty percent. Prof. Jensen attributes this trend to the legitimization of non-state violence which he believes has provided an advantage to non-state actors who have no incentive to abide by international law. In order to remedy this situation, Prof. Jensen believes international humanitarian law should cover all armed conflicts, including domestic disputes.

Prof. Rose presented an argument for a non-criminal system of military detention of insurgents if they are deemed members of non-state actors involved in armed conflict. Prof. Rose discussed how non-state actors have the ability to cause considerable damage to civilian targets and therefore cannot be detained as regular criminals. Prof. Rose examined possible legal criteria for indicting an individual involved in activities which would qualify them for the new special detentions. Prof. Rose looked for convergences between international and national standards for the detention of

insurgents as indicators of emerging international consensus that could constitute customary international law.

Professor Zoli concluded the workshop with a discussion on how COIN tends to presume the law of land warfare and added that the May 2010 Gaza flotilla incident offers an opportunity to identify gaps in the laws of armed conflict with respect to maritime law and the overall lack of regulation in laws of war at sea. “The Gaza flotilla incident” she said, “which resulted in death of 9 civilians illuminates a gap in international humanitarian law”. In addition, Professor Zoli discussed the situation in Gaza as representative of how selective application of laws and domestic rules of self-defense are used in maritime or international waters contexts.

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# Narco-Terrorism, Terrorism and International Crime

CHAired BY:

**Dr. Col. (Res.) Eitan Azani**

Deputy Director, ICT, IDC Herzliya, Israel

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PARTICIPANTS:

**Mr. Dennis Monette**

President, STARCOM (Stop Terrorism Aggressive Response Coordinated Operational Management); Former Assistant Commissioner of Police, Nassau, New York, U.S.A.

**Dr. Gary Shiffman**

Director, Homeland Security Studies, Center for Peace and Security Studies, Georgetown University, U.S.A

**Mr. Mathew Kirai Iteere**

Commissioner of Police, Kenya

**Maj. Gen. Shahar Ayalon**

Police Commander, Tel Aviv District, Israel

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Dr. Shiffman opened the workshop by discussing the concept of risk-based models in order to address criminal and immigration threats to borders. He argued that the individual's likelihood of capture as well as the consequences attached to their capture are the most important components in an individual's decision to commit a crime. By increasing the likelihood and severity of the consequences of his capture, criminals will choose not to commit the crimes due to the increased cost vis-à-vis the perceived benefit.

Mr. Monette discussed the role consequences play in the minds of terrorists and criminals in the drug industry. Mr. Monette pointed out that marijuana makes up fifty two percent of the drug trade and so drug dealers need to sell larger amounts of marijuana in order to equal the profits that a drug like cocaine can produce. Drug dealers continue to choose to work with marijuana due to the petty punishments that accompany a conviction for dealing it compared to other drugs. Mr. Monette emphasized the importance of information sharing and eliminating "red tape" in order to help defeat drug lords in the war on drugs. Mr. Monette credited conferences like the ICT conference for allowing individuals from similar professions to come together, stating that "You cannot exchange business cards at the scene of a disaster, that meeting needs to happen before."

The workshop continued with a briefing from Mr. Kirai Iteere on the role that Kenya's police force plays in the war on drugs in Africa. Mr. Kirai Iteere presented a list of nationals from fifty three countries who had been arrested in Kenya on terrorism charges. The lion's share of Mr. Kirai Iteere's

lecture focused on the role of the Somalia based Al-Shabab organization in the region. The presence of Al-Shabab had a colossal effect on Kenya and forced hundreds of Somalis to flee Somalia and subsequently pour in to Kenya. This created a tense situation as many of these refugees are recruited by terrorist organizations as a result of poor living conditions. The 200,000 strong Somali rebel force has become a security as well as an economic threat for the Kenyan government.

Maj. Gen. Ayalon gave a breakdown of the drug trade in Israel. He mentioned that drug dealers who are able to smuggle one kilogram of hashish in to Israel can expect a 200,000 NIS profit. Maj. Gen. Ayalon mentioned that the drug trade in Israel is typically carried out by Bedouins. Israeli Bedouins frequently transport cocaine from Egypt to Jordan and on the return trip transport Jordanian hashish back to Egypt. In the north, the hashish trade is heavily influenced by Hezbollah, although Israeli officials are unsure of how the money is being used.

Dr. Col. (res.) Azani concluded the workshop by presenting a clear and concise map showing the trend of Hezbollah' influence on the global drug market. Dr. Azani listed examples of terrorist affiliates who have been arrested for their role in the illegal drug trade. The most prominent group listed, Al-Barakat, is a group founded by Hezbollah and operated in the tri-border region of South America. Dr. Azani also presented other links between Hezbollah and the international drug trade, including its role in Colombia and West Africa. Dr. Azani concluded the lecture by stressing that Hezbollah is involved in the international drug trade on all levels, from production to distribution and sales.

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# Radical Islamic and Nuclear Terrorism

CHAired BY:

**Dr. Sergey Kurginyan**

President, International Public Foundation Experimental Creative Center, Russian Federation

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PARTICIPANTS:

**Dr. Ariel Levite**

Nonresident Senior Associate, Carnegie endowment for International Peace, U.S.A

**Mr. Yury Bardakhchiev**

Head of Military-Political Studies Division, International Public Foundation Experimental Creative Center, Russian Federation

**Dr. Irina Kurginyan**

Senior Analyst, International Public Foundation Experimental Creative Center, Russian Federation

**Dr. Vladimir Novikov**

Senior Analyst, International Public Foundation Experimental Creative Center, Russian Federation

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Dr. Levite opened the workshop by discussing the possibility of terrorist organizations carrying out nuclear attacks. Dr. Levite explained that although a nuclear terrorist attack is possible, it is unlikely due to the technical and logistical constraints of terrorist organizations. According to Dr. Levite, a nuclear attack is incompatible with the *modus operandi* of terrorist groups, however, it is possible that radical Islamists in places like Pakistan may seek nuclear weapons but no more so than any other radical group.

Mr. Bardakhchiev discussed Pakistan and stated that it is “the most probable point where the threat can emerge from”. Mr. Bardakhchiev stressed the major threat of Pakistani nuclear capabilities falling into the hands of Islamists, which could occur due to the state's politicization of Islam and the connections being made between the Islamic army and the radical Islamic circles. Mr. Bardakhchiev stated that there are records of Islamic extremist groups' attempts to take over Pakistan’s nuclear arsenal. Another major problem surrounding Pakistan's nuclear capabilities is the placement of their nuclear facilities. Pakistan placed its nuclear arsenals mostly in the northwestern frontier of the country, furthest from India. This region, however, is not fully controlled by the central government.

Dr. Irina Kurginyan discussed Iran and its nuclear program. Dr. Kurginyan discussed how the first prospect of nuclear capabilities in Iran was actually aided by the West in pursuit of its own interests prior to the 1979 revolution during the Cold War. Dr. Kurginyan also discussed the irony in the fact that the United States helped radical Islamist groups in Afghanistan oppose Soviet forces which greatly influenced Pakistan and the overthrowing of the Shah in Iran. Dr. Kurginyan expressed her

belief that the United States' position toward radical Islam has changed with the Obama administration. American policy is now anti-Israeli in an attempt to avoid conflict with China.

Dr. Novikov continued the workshop by further discussing the situation in Iran and pointed out that Iran's development of its nuclear program is not possible without external backing. The original program started during the time of the Shah and was supported by Germany, France and the United States. Since the 1979 revolution, the program is supported by China, Pakistan and North Korea. Dr. Novikov also pointed out to missiles taken from Ukrainian storage facilities. The ideological motivators of the Iranian nuclear program, according to Dr. Novikov, include anti-Western motivation and Islamic solidarity against the West. Dr. Novikov believes there are many threshold countries in the world that need an excuse to legalize their nuclear programs. If Iran gains nuclear capabilities, it can be a means to dismantle the non-proliferation principle created after the fall of the Soviet Union. Dr. Novikov believes this could change world order.

Dr. Sergey Kurginyan expressed his belief that the most important thing is to separate the Taliban from Al Qaeda. He also stressed that Saudi Arabia has special arrangements with Pakistan with regards to nuclear capabilities and that Saudi Arabia maintains nuclear capabilities although this fact is something that is not acknowledged very often. Dr. Kurginyan stated that he warned that Turkey would become a radical enemy sixteen years ago. He continued to discuss how the pro-Islamic lobby in the West is a powerful element. He also touched upon how the Russian president is concerned only with strengthening relations with the United States and will not cooperate with Iran in a way which can threaten this relationship. Dr. Kurginyan also stated that Russia is not the main military partner of Iran.

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## Cycles of Jihad: Local or Global?

CHAired BY:

**Dr. Shaul Shay**

Head of Security Policy Division, National Security Council; Senior Research Fellow, ICT, IDC Herzliya, Israel,

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PARTICIPANTS:

**Maj. Aviv Oreg**

Founder and General Manager, CeifiT, Israel

**Mr. Hagai Segal**

Lecturer, New York University in London, Analyst; consultant on Middle-Eastern affairs and terrorism, London First Security & Policing Advisory Board Member, United Kingdom

**Mr. Muhadi Sugiono**

Director, Center for Security and Peace Studies, Universitas Gadjah Mada, Indonesia,

**Col. (Res.) Yoni Fighel**

Senior Researcher, ICT, IDC Herzliya, Israel

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Dr. Shay opened the workshop by pointing out that al-Qaeda is a terrorist organization based on and formalized as a global concept. Since President Bush Jr. declared War on Terror following September 11<sup>th</sup>, Al-Qaeda has been forced to change its structure and *modus operandi*. Dr. Shay pointed out that, nine years after September 11<sup>th</sup>, the coalition against Al-Qaeda is still trying to understand the organization's structure as well as its affiliates. The main question about Al-Qaeda today is whether or not it has become a localized organization with several branches or whether something entirely different has emerged.

Maj. (Res.) Oreg discussed the different cycles of global jihad. The first cycle is Al-Qaeda. The second cycle is Al-Qaeda affiliated groups, which refers to organizations supported by Al-Qaeda during the 1990s to overthrow the regimes in their home countries. Since the United States invaded Afghanistan, these groups extended their targets to include Western countries as well. Maj. (Res.) Oreg discussed how in recent years the connection of local organizations with Al-Qaeda has formalized. The third cycle is Al-Qaeda's local initiative. This refers to groups that randomly inspire an individual to carry out attacks. The individual will attack in the name of global jihad but their operational activity is based on their own resources. In most of the third cycle cases, the individual is driven by his own personal frustration. Maj. (Res.) Oreg discussed how Al-Qaeda has developed a hierarchical structure composed of many committees the most important of which is the military committee which is further broken down into units: the training and battle zone unit, the special operations unit and a unit responsible for weapons of mass destruction.

Mr. Segal discussed Asian attacks of homegrown terrorism and lessons that must be learned from them. Mr. Segal suggested that the recent developments since the attempted bombing in Singapore after September 11<sup>th</sup> reveal much about the Asian organizations. The most important new trend is that the terrorist organizations' central command has little or no control over the organizations' periphery. Mr. Segal discussed how organizations have been utilizing the media as a tool as can be clearly seen in the 2008 Mumbai attacks. In the planning and execution of the attacks in Mumbai, the terrorists used technologies such as hand held mobile devices to access Google maps, foreign prepaid devices, and sites like Twitter and Flickr while carrying out the attacks. Mr. Segal explained that terrorist organizations in Asia believe they must bring capitalism to its knees to achieve victory and that this is why these terrorists targeted Singapore, an Asian financial tiger, and this is why Mumbai, rather than Delhi, was attacked – they are interested in economics, not politics.

Mr. Sugiono discussed terrorism and the historical roots of extremism in Indonesia. The Indonesian terrorist network, dominated by Jemaah Islamiyah, has links to Al-Qaeda. According to Mr. Sugiono, the roots of Jemaah Islamiyah precede Indonesian independence. During the foundation era of Indonesia, a conflict erupted between the supporters of a secular state and the supporters of an Islamic state. After gaining independence, Indonesia moved toward democracy which allowed radicals to come to the forefront and oppose their suppression under the previous Suharto regime. This move was born of the fear that there would be an Islamic uprising. In the spirit of democracy, Islamists were given more political freedom which later helped them during the emergence of global jihad. As in most Western countries, at the heart of terrorism in Indonesia is the clash between secularism and Islamism. The failure of the secular government to fulfill its promise to satisfy economic, social and political grievances led to further support for an Islamic state. The friction between secularism and Islamism in Indonesia must be taken into account when developing a counter-terrorism strategy.

Col. (Res.) Fighel spoke of the involvement of Israeli-Arabs in global jihad. Col. (Res.) Fighel discussed how, traditionally, many people believe radicalization is a phenomenon which occurs in the West; now, however, there has also been a radicalization trend within the Israeli-Arab population. Within Israel, there is a new phenomenon of renewed religious devotion and self-radicalization. One component of HAMAS' strategy during operation Cast Lead was to create a sense of solidarity and make Palestinians feel as though they were part of a global struggle. Col. (Res.) Fighel discussed how Al-Qaeda hopes to enter the Palestinian arena and introduce the concept of a global struggle. In recent years, these attempts to penetrate the Palestinian arena have been successfully thwarted by Israel's Internal Security Agency (ISA); however Israeli-Arabs, such as the Bedouin communities in the Negev, have become influenced by global Jihadist ideas. Through the internet, Israeli-Arabs are exposed to information about possible targets for suicide attacks inside Israel. Col. (Res.) Fighel gave one example from 2008, in which six Israeli-Arabs from East Jerusalem were inspired by an internet site. They met at the Al-Aqsa Mosque in Jerusalem and commenced to shoot at the American presidential helicopter during an official visit to Israel. Col. (Res.) Fighel also spoke about the "JalJulia Cell" which comprised of two Israeli-Arabs who had been completely radicalized via the internet and planned to perform several terrorist attacks including

stabbing soldiers at Kfar Qasim and stabbing a guard at the entrance to a rural community, taking his gun and shooting bystanders.

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## Terrorism and Technology

### CHAired BY:

**Dr. Abraham Wagner**

Professor of International and Public Affairs (SIPA), Columbia University; Senior Research Fellow, Saltzman Institute of War and Peace Studies, NY, U.S.A

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### PARTICIPANTS:

**Mr. Eric Herren**

Senior Consultant, ISSN and ICT, Switzerland

**Mr. Michael Balboni**

Principal and Senior Vice-President, Government Solutions Group, Cardinal Strategies; Fellow, George Washington Policy Institute and Former Homeland Security Advisor for the State of New York, U.S.A

**Mr. Michael Hopmeier**

President, Unconventional Concepts Inc., U.S.A

**Col. (Res.) Shlomo Mofaz**

Research Associate, ICT, IDC, Herzliya, Israel

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Dr. Wagner opened the workshop by discussing the probability of terrorist organizations being able to obtain and use weapons of mass destruction. Dr. Wagner argued that chemical weapons are of little concern as they suffer from many logistical problems and thus they are usually unsuccessful. Dr. Wagner expressed his opinion that terrorist organizations will not use nuclear weapons since the process of obtaining and producing a weapon of this type is too difficult and therefore terrorist organizations will resort to bio-terrorism. There are no ethical constraints in Islam against using such weapons and moreover, they have a potential for high lethality rates and are easy to manufacture and transportable.

Mr. Herren discussed the best strategies to predict and respond to various terrorist scenarios. Simulations can help prepare security agencies on the strategic, political, tactical, and operational levels. They help answer questions of inter-agency cooperation and interoperability. Mr. Herren pointed out that simulations enable the visualization of protective measures and provide operational simulation of possible scenarios and the creation of virtual “footprints” and databases. Simulations also enable hindsight review.

Mr. Balboni discussed how, for politicians, “so much information comes at you that it is hard to contextualize [...] you have got to understand who you are talking to in the government.” Mr. Balboni explained that, in government, the person behind the desk is unaware of the value of his advisers' experience and that many politicians lack military experience. Mr. Balboni went on to

explain that regardless of experience, the legislator's role is extremely important as legislators pass the laws that protect society. Mr. Balboni identified various systems and their vulnerabilities. According to Mr. Balboni, politicians also have the power to channel funds and have authority to order the raising of defenses. Politicians are presented with an overwhelming amount of information and, from this information, must decide which operational system or method to use. They are also faced with the need to predict the unpredictable.

Mr. Hopmeier discussed the issues arising from undereducated people having access to technology. Mr. Hopmeier explained how in the next few years the number of people having access to the internet is will rise by an estimated three billion. These three billion, however, are not necessarily educated enough, which may prove problematic if radical Muslims also gain. Mr. Hopmeier advocated educating people to understand that the internet and associated technologies are not magical solutions in order to prevent online radicalization through the internet.

Col. (Res.) Mofaz discussed how information technology aids in counter-terrorism efforts with regards to intelligence gathering. Information technology helps reveal gaps in data collection and helps decide where to put greater effort. Technology has helped structure the overload of information which intelligence agencies are receiving, it provides real time alerts and early warnings and it enables the tracking of terrorists. Information technology also provides early signs of unexpected activity as well as the geographical locations of terrorists' activities.

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## De-Radicalization Process

### CHAired BY:

**Mr. Michael Whine**

Director, Government & International Affairs at the Community Security Trust, U.K.

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### PARTICIPANTS:

**Prof. Arie Kruglanski**

Distinguished University Professor at the University of Maryland, College Park; co-director, National Institute for the Study of Terrorism and the Response to Terrorism (START), U.S.A.

**Prof. Ariel Merari**

Professor, Tel Aviv University, Israel

**Prof. Rohan Gunaratna**

Head of the International Centre for Political Violence and Terrorism Research, Nanyang Technological University, Singapore

**Mr. Jonathan Paris**

Associate Fellow, International Center for the Study of Radicalization (ICSR), King's College, United Kingdom

**Mr. Shiraz Maher**

Senior Fellow, International Center for the Study of Radicalization (ICSR), King's College, United Kingdom

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Mr. Whine opened the workshop by discussing the various projects around the world aimed at de-radicalizing Islamists. According to Mr. Whine, the de-radicalization process relies on moderate Muslims through group counseling or individual counseling. The most commonly used technique is counseling by moderate sheiks, a method adopted by both the Saudi and Turkish governments. The United Kingdom has approached the issue differently with a de-radicalization process focused on prevention as opposed to de-radicalizing those already indoctrinated.

Prof. Kruglanski discussed why de-radicalization is important to the war on terrorism, as it is impossible to end violence through violence. Nations must find a way to counteract the radicalization process alongside their military operations since an end of terrorism will only be brought about by ending the recruitment process. Prof. Kruglanski visualized the radicalization process by using the pyramid model with terrorists at its apex. Although it is necessary to address the apex of the pyramid, the base is what fuels the Islamist movement. By working with and improving upon the various de-radicalization methods that have been proven effective, successful programs can be created.

Prof. Merari discussed how the community and public opinion affect the radicalization process. It is counterproductive to carry out large-scale de-radicalization in cases where the majority of the

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population supports terrorist activity, such as the Palestinian population. Over ninety percent of the Palestinian population, both in the West Bank and in Gaza, support terrorist activities. In the years 2002-2004, seventy percent of the Palestinians supported suicide attacks against Israeli citizens. In the United Kingdom, on July 2005, barely sixteen percent of the British Muslim population supported the terrorist attacks or showed understanding or sympathy towards the perpetrators. The optimal scenario is one in which the terrorist leadership decides to relinquish violence which will in turn cause the followers to also curb their violent activities. History teaches that once the struggle ends, former combatants resume to their normal lives and take no part in further terrorism. Prof. Merari concluded from this information that the main issue is not de-radicalization, but rather changing the socio-political environment and those changes last only as long as they are supported by public opinion.

Prof. Gunaratna discussed de-radicalization in the prison system and stressed that those incarcerated must be de-radicalized. This is critical since terrorists often return to terrorist groups once released. Furthermore, released terrorists can 'infect' a community and radicalize others. Terrorist groups use imprisoned combatants and transform them into icons for further recruitment. Prof. Gunaratna discussed how, amongst detainees held in communal conditions, extremist ideology quickly spreads even among the non-radical inmates. It is therefore necessary to regulate prisons and monitor the inmate population. Although the de-radicalization process cannot solve the problem of terrorism completely, Prof. Gunaratna believes it is an important step to significantly decreasing the number of combatants.

Mr. Paris gave an overview of the situation in Pakistan as a case study for the de-radicalization process. According to Mr. Paris, there are two major radical groups in Pakistan, the Taliban and the Punjabi militant terrorist groups with latter based in Lahore and considerably more violent than the former. Lashkar Et-Taiba, responsible for the Mumbai attacks, is even more dangerous. Mr. Paris expressed his belief that the Mumbai's CHABAD house was targeted due to the globalization of anti-Israeli sentiments. At the Organization of the Islamic Conference meeting in Kuala Lumpur, one of the questions raised was why 12 million Jews should be stronger and more advanced than 1.2 billion Muslims. Many terrorist organizations receive their funding from the Persian Gulf and so may have decided to find a Jewish target in order to appease their Gulf based benefactors. Mr. Paris pointed out that the biggest problem in Pakistan today is not the Taliban but rather the home-grown terrorist groups in their midst. One Pakistani minister believes the solution would be to create a counter terrorism center modeled after Langley and dedicated to long-term de-radicalization which would report to the Prime Minister and not to the army. Mr. Paris also believes that the amount of radicalization correlates with conflict and with less conflict there will be less radicalization. Thus, reaching stability and peace in Israel and ending the wars in Afghanistan and Iraq can help stop radicalization.

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## Counter-Terrorism Efforts in Weak and Failed States: Exist Strategy

CHAired BY:

**Dr. Howard Stoffer**

Deputy Executive Director, Counter-Terrorism Committee Executive Directorate (CTED), United Nations

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PARTICIPANTS:

**Dr. Amichai Magen**

Managing Director of Academic Programs; Associate Fellow, The Shalem Center, Israel

**Mr. Shanaka Jayasekara**

Associate Lecturer (Research), Center for Policing Intelligence and Counter Terrorism (PICT), Macquarie University, Sydney, Australia

**Dr. Ronen Zeidel**

Director of Research, Center for Iraq Studies, University of Haifa, Israel

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Dr. Stoffer discussed his committee in the United Nations which addresses the challenges of weak and failed states that are unable or unwilling to contend with their terrorism problems. The committee attempts to build counter-terrorism capacities for such states and to assess those capacities in order to identify gaps and vulnerabilities which may be mended with the help of other state donors. The committee was created by U.N. Resolution 1373, only nine days after September 11<sup>th</sup>. It was passed under Chapter 7 of the Security Council, has no limit in scope and is the only organization in the U.N. that has the backing of the Security Council but does not report to the Secretary General. The committee releases an annual "Global Survey" public document, which names regions and sub-regions, discussing their various counter-terrorism capabilities.

Dr. Magen discussed failing states, noting that failed states threaten global security due to the ability of terrorist organizations to operate freely within them. Although not all failed states pose a terrorist threat, such states must be helped even if they are not currently a threat as they may yet become one in the future. Exit strategies, in Dr. Magen's opinion, are not an option and discussing them only serves to embolden the enemy and create disillusionment in the local population. Dr. Magen noted two types of engagements: counter-insurgency (COIN) which aims to build up the failed state and counter-terrorism, which aims to "prevent places like Iraq and Afghanistan from becoming havens for terrorists again." Dr. Magen advocated a greater shift from COIN to counter-terrorism. He also argued that global institutions must adapt and "accommodate the reality of failed states," based on

“responsible sovereignty”. Governments, he contended, must be held responsible both for providing security to their own citizens and for the spillover effects of their security threats.

Mr. Jayasekara discussed terrorists' use of ungoverned territories. And noted four types of ungoverned territories: terrestrial, maritime, aviation and virtual. Addressing terrestrial, he noted four further classifications: ungoverned, under-governed, *de facto* governed, and state collusion/profiteering. Mr. Jayasekara commended Sri Lanka as an example of a government successfully dealing with an ungoverned territory. The Sri Lankan forces were able to reclaim control of the Tamil Tigers' territory by employing a military surge, increasing manpower on the ground by forty percent. The Sri Lankan forces disrupted the LTTE's weapon supply channels by employing deep sea surgical strikes and redefined their combat strategies, *i.e.*- by employing deep penetrating teams such as the LRRP” The Sri Lankan government also restricted access to the coastal region, which reduced the mobility and operational space available to the Sea Tigers. The lesson learned from the Sri Lankan success is that socio-economic well being can be achieved through “political will and decisive action,” including military surges, the willingness to make a long-term commitment and to suffer great losses, disrupting supply channels, receiving support from regional partners, redefining combat tactics in accordance with the force needed and accelerating development.

Dr. Zeidel discussed the relationship between Iraqi Sunnis and Al-Qaeda in Iraq. Al-Qaeda, he claimed, is not a natural part of Iraq and is largely detested by the Sunni population. “Most Sunnis in Iraq favor a political process and are playing down their sectarian affiliation.” Sunni identity, Dr. Zeidel explained, is composed of three elements; Sunni sentiment, Iraqi and Arab nationalism and moderate Islam; while Al-Qaeda fits none of them. Dr. Zeidel explained Sunnis tolerate Al-Qaeda in Iraq for several reasons; including vengeance, fear of Al-Qaeda , hatred and fear of the Iraqi government, money, anti-Shiite and anti-Kurdish sentiments, Wahabism (to a very small extent), influence of specific Imams and “adventurism of the young generation.” On a community level, Dr. Zeidel argued, there is fear of the resumption of civil war, in which case, with Shiites in control of the government, the military and the two strongest militias, the Sunnis will lose. Dr. Zeidel does not foresee Al-Qaeda disappearing from Iraq in the near future since their morale is growing due to their past successes (such as the killing of al-Bardawi) and their increased intelligence capabilities. The security sector, he added, must be open to all sects and free from corruption.

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## Aviation Terrorism and Security

### CHAired BY:

#### **Mr. Erroll Southers**

Associate Director, National Center for Risk & Economic Analysis of Terrorism Events (CREATE); Adjunct Professor of Homeland Security and Public Policy, University of Southern California, U.S.A.

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### PARTICIPANTS:

#### **Mr. Philip Baum**

Editor-in-Chief, Aviation Security International Magazine; Managing Director, Green Light Ltd, United Kingdom

#### **Mr. Rafi Ron**

CEO, NASS; Former Director of Security, Ben Gurion Airport, Israel

#### **Prof. Ehud Keinan**

President, Israel Chemical Society; Professor of Chemistry and Former Dean, the Schulich Faculty of Chemistry, Technion, Israel

#### **Mr. Shmuel Sasson**

Former Director of Security, El Al Airlines; Research Associate, ICT, IDC Herzliya, Israel

#### **Mr. Omar Laviv**

Chief Executive Officer, Athena GS3, Israel

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Mr. Southers opened the workshop by discussing the vulnerabilities of air travel and the opportunities it presents for attacks that will result in a high casualty rate and a high economic toll. The September 11<sup>th</sup> attacks, for example, cost the terrorists a mere 500,000 USD to carry out while resulting in 26 billion USD in damages. Mr. Southers then gave the floor to Mr. Baum who discussed the history of aviation attacks. Mr. Baum attributed the lack of aviation attacks since September 11<sup>th</sup> to luck rather than to any difficulty to carry out such attacks. Airline security has historically been reactive rather than proactive. For example, the attack on Pan-Am flight 103 led to baggage screening and Richard Reid's plot led to shoe removal. Body scanning is the current "new big thing" in aviation security, but it suffers major drawbacks, mainly its prohibitive cost, as well as invasion of privacy and perceived health risks. Mr. Baum stressed that the most effective strategy is "smart security" – security based on passenger profiling, not racial profiling.

Mr. Ron continued on the subject, explaining that even though there have not been any substantial attacks since September 11<sup>th</sup>, there have been many close calls. Large-scale aviation attacks have a tremendous political, economic and psychological effect. The media gets more attached to aviation stories and creates drama around them. Mr. Ron divided aviation attacks into three major categories. The first category is hijackings, against which we are much safer since September 11<sup>th</sup>, primarily due to the locking of cockpit doors. The second form of aviation attacks is midair explosions, to which the industry is more vulnerable now due to the over-reliance on technology

and disregard for human factors. The third category is ground attacks, including attacks against planes on the ground and against the airports themselves.

Prof. Keinan discussed the types of explosives being used in aviation terrorism and explained that peroxide based explosives, especially TATP, pose the greatest danger as they are completely transparent and thus cannot be seen by scanners. Such substances can be synthesized even by untrained and amateur chemists and a mere eighteen dollars worth can take down a plane. They are readily available and require no special training to use. Although such substances naturally occur as crystals, they can be molded into a dough-like material and formed into various shapes and colors, making identification difficult.

Mr. Sasson discussed how, in aviation security, terrorists act, security services respond and passengers pay. Thus, even failed attacks have a certain measure of success in inflicting frustration and fear on the population. Mr. Sasson believes that security via the Operational Research and Development Model (ORDP) is the best option and that the amount of intelligence gathered by both governments and officials at the airports needs to be increased. Mr. Sasson discussed how there has been an increase in exercises at airports to test procedures and to see whether the staff is following such procedures correctly. Mr. Sasson noted that although these procedures are expensive, they cost less than body-scanners.

Mr. Laviv noted that, when successful attacks are evaluated in retrospect, in most cases governments realize they had the relevant information needed to prevent the attack. Mr. Laviv believes failure to prevent attacks occurs due to lack of information sharing, detection, fusion or delivery of important information. Mr. Laviv explained that it is important to be able to identify what types of information are helpful to security officers and how to distinguish between relevant and irrelevant information. Information must be collected at every stage, from the purchase of the ticket to boarding. Information from airport security, international and national databases, airport non-security personnel and passengers should be fused together in a single information hub accessible to all. Mr. Laviv expressed his belief that this has not been done because of the leadership's unwillingness to do so and not because of budgetary constraints.

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## The Legal Battle in Combating Terrorism

CHAired BY:

**Prof. Robert Friedmann**

Director, Georgia International Law Enforcement Exchange, U.S.A.

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PARTICIPANTS:

**Dr. David Scharia**

Legal Officer, Counter-Terrorism Executive Directorate (CTED) of the United Nations Security Council

**Judge Jean-Louis Bruguière**

Former Head of the Counter-Terrorism Unit of the Paris District Court; Former leading French Magistrate for Counter-Terrorism, France

**Adv. Brooke Goldstein**

Director, the LAWFARE Project; Director, The Children's Rights Institute, U.S.A.

**Adv. Dvora Chen**

Attorney at Law and Former Director, Department of Security Matters, State Attorney's Office, Ministry of Justice, Israel

**Adv. Irit Kohn**

Former Head of the International Department, Ministry of Justice, Israel

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Prof. Friedmann opened the workshop by emphasizing that the legal approach has limitations in that laws are retroactive. Prof. Friedmann gave the example of Rwanda, in which the slaughter had already taken place by the time legal action was taken. In such a case, the role of jurisprudence, important as it was, was nothing more than a symbolic act. Prof. Friedmann stated that "The justice system has limitations. We need to look at it as one element in warfare, just as the legal system should be one element of many in the counter-terrorism process. The wheels of justice grind slowly."

Dr. Scharia compared the American and European legal approaches by stating that "[his] argument is that if we look closely at the approaches of the United States and of Europe, there is an ocean between them." Dr. Scharia compared the U.S. Constitution's first amendment, guaranteeing freedom of expression, to the European convention on human rights. Europe decided on 2005 to prohibit incitement of terrorism, obliging all member states to criminalize such incitement. The U.S., however, is unwilling to adopt the European approach and does not criminalize incitement to terrorism as such. Dr. Scharia explained that, while in Europe one can take direct legal action against another for the crime of inciting terrorism, in the U.S. people who commit such actions can only be accused indirectly; while in Europe, a person can be incriminated by their words, in the U.S. one can only be convicted with proof of action based on those words.

Judge Bruguière continued the workshop with a discussion of the French judicial system's role in combating terrorism and said that "[i]n other countries, the judicial system does not play such a role in counter-terrorism as it does in France [...] Even before 9/11 we understood that in fact terrorism is a transnational threat and not a national one and that each piece represents just one piece of the larger jigsaw puzzle." Judge Bruguière explained that the French legal system's main strategy is one of prevention; due to France's legal code, which does not have the same constraints on evidence as the commonwealth or American legal systems, such a strategy is made possible. "We consider that in fact the traditional opposition between prevention and prosecution is a bygone concept. The strategy is that all the actors must work together."

Adv. Goldstein spoke on the subject of LAWFARE. She explained how the law is being exploited by certain actors against others, most notably against the United States and Israel, while paradoxically employing the very same laws for their own protection against reprisal. According to Adv. Goldstein, "[it] is an inherently negative undertaking. It is not something that persons engage in to do justice. [Its purpose is] to impede the ability to talk freely, to delegitimize the sovereignty of modern states, to frustrate the ability of modern states to defend themselves." Adv. Goldstein ended with an appeal to stop the wrong people from dictating international law and to "prevent the UN from adopting the OIC's definition of terrorism – do not let state sponsors of terrorism define terrorism for their own benefit."

Adv. Chen discussed the legal battles directed against the Israeli Defense Forces (IDF). She discussed in depth the specific examples of legal action that has been taken against the IDF, emphasizing that "[i]t is something which you cannot understand if you have not seen in reality how bizarre this situation is."

Adv. Kahn discussed how universal jurisdiction has been used against Israel and used the Goldstone report as an example of the U.N. human rights committee's biased decisions against Israel. The Goldstone report ignored the fact that HAMAS purposefully placed their strongholds amidst the civilian population areas and instead only focused on how Israel was forced to retaliate against them. Adv. Kahn discussed how universal jurisdiction is not a new phenomenon as it was used after World War II to prosecute former Nazis. It was designed to combat heinous crimes but has now been used as a political tool since the 1990s, mainly against Israel. Kissinger stated in a 2001 article that "for ten years an unprecedented movement that has transferred international politics to legal process". Today the freedom of the European court system is abused by civilians to bring charges against Israeli leaders under the pretext of universal jurisdiction, which is unlimited. Belgian citizens were able to bring a case against former prime minister Ariel Sharon regarding supposed war crimes committed during the First Lebanese War. First, they unsuccessfully attempted to bring charges against him in a Belgian civic court but eventually brought the case to the ICJ, using a case against a Congolese general as a precedent.

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# Turkey: Islamism or Neo-Ottomanism, Does It Affect Regional Terrorism?

CHAired BY:

**Dr. Ely Karmon**

Senior Research Scholar, ICT; Senior Research Fellow at the Institute for Policy and Strategy, IDC, Herzliya, Israel

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PARTICIPANTS:

**Dr. Anat Lapidot- Firilla**

Academic Director, Mediterranean Program at the Van Leer Jerusalem Institute, Israel

**Prof. Efraim Inbar**

Director, Begin-Sadat Center for Strategic Studies, Bar-Ilan University, Israel

**Dr. Kemal Kaya**

Senior Fellow, Institute for Security and Development Policy, Stockholm, Sweden

**Mr. Tommy Steiner**

Senior Research Fellow, Institute for Policy and Strategy, IDC, Herzliya, Israel

**Prof. Ofra Bengio**

Senior Research Fellow, Moshe Dayan Center for Middle Eastern and African Studies; Senior Lecturer, Department of Middle Eastern and African Studies; Professor, Department of Middle Eastern History, Tel Aviv University, Israel

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Dr. Lapidot-Firilla explored the question of the Islamization process in Turkey and attempted to both map the areas in which this process is evident and explain why foreign policy was such a major challenge for the AKP party. Dr. Lapidot-Firilla suggested that, contrary to those who see Turkey as undergoing a process of democratic Islam, Turkey is a good example of the paradox of democracies in non-Western societies. Dr. Lapidot-Firilla asked “What kind of Islamization processes are we witnessing?” and concluded that “there is one element which is revolutionary in this process: the claim that there is a need to better represent the Muslim world through Turkey [...] It is a populist agenda, an agenda which may be more dangerous than a religious one.”

Prof. Inbar noted a major reorientation of Turkey’s foreign policy which he claimed would be a growing concern for the West. According to Prof. Inbar, seeking good relations with Iran and Sudan, as well as with HAMAS and Hezbollah, puts Turkey squarely in the radical Islamist camp. “The West cannot change Turkey; The Turks need to change Turkey”. Prof. Inbar foresees a very unsteady future for Turkey’s relations with the West and Israel.

Dr. Kaya explored the prospects of Turkish foreign policy following the recent September 12<sup>th</sup> referendum. In describing the changes that have taken place with the various institutional amendments included in the referendum, Dr. Kaya gave his own interpretation of the changing

nature of Turkey. Dr. Kaya noted that "religion is used by the Turkish state, but Turkey is not religious."

Mr. Steiner described the transatlantic perspective on Turkey's new international strategy and raised the question of whether the West lost Turkey. According to Mr. Steiner, "[t]he implications of Turkey's apparent new international strategy are high on the transatlantic agenda and the internal debate reflects a strategic ambivalence". While answering the question of whether the West has lost Turkey, he concluded his thoughts by pointing to the ignorance of the transatlantic policy in understanding the impact of the declining global power of the United States and the West in bringing about the changes in Turkey's international strategy.

Dr. Bengio discussed Turkey's growing Kurdish issue in detail and analyzed the immediate and the deeper causes for the growing estrangement between ethnic Turks and ethnic Kurds, while assessing the impact this might have on the stability and security of Turkey itself as well as for the region as a whole.

Dr. Karmon concluded the workshop with an overview of terrorism's history in Turkey, mostly pertaining to Kurdish groups like the PKK. He also analyzed some of the major events that have recently taken place in the region such as the Flotilla Incident and the newly introduced referendum in Turkey.

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## New media, Terrorism and Counter-Terrorism Opportunities

CHAired BY:

**Prof. Gabriel Weimann**

Department of Communications, University of Haifa, Israel

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PARTICIPANTS:

**Dr. Alfredo D'Ascoli Graziano**

Head of Terrorism and Security Unit, Center for Advanced Studies on Terrorism and Political Violence, Italy

**Adv. Moty Cristal**

Founder and CEO, NEST; Research Fellow, ICT, IDC Herzliya, Israel

**Mr. David Saranga**

Former Consul for Media and Public Affairs at the Israeli Consulate General in New York; Adjunct Faculty, Sammy Ofer School of Communication, IDC, Herzliya, Israel

**Mr. Aaron Weisburd**

Director, Society for Internet Research, U.S.A

**Mr. Lee Smith**

Visiting Fellow, Hudson Institute, U.S.A.

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Dr. Graziano discussed how terrorist organizations use the Internet. According to Dr. Graziano, terrorist organizations have acquired the ability to influence politics ever since the Madrid bombings in 2004. In Spain, terrorism is carried out by 'global' terrorists – a combination of local groups generating panic in the name of global groups and global groups who borrow urban warfare and political tactics from their local counterparts. Global terrorist groups will appear at times and in places which are indicated by local groups and will adopt and radicalize local conflicts or causes through the internet. According to Dr. Graziano, the media spreads general fear among the local population. The Internet is employed as a propaganda and training tool because of the ease of creating and publishing Jihadist websites. Dr. Graziano explained that the level of technology used by a terrorist organization is proportional to the organization's level of complexity of the. For example, Al Qaeda is a highly complex organization with many distinct cells. As such, instead of taking on a particular long-term military action which could be self-defeating, it attempts to randomly radicalize and inspire acts of terrorism through the Internet.

Adv. Cristal discussed the concept of "new media" and how terrorists use whatever existing technology there is to execute their attacks. Adv. Cristal believes the world is currently moving away from being organized like corporations and organizations and towards a network structure. Terrorist groups have already restructured in such a fashion, whereas the West is still structured as

organizations. This creation of networks by terrorist groups can most recently be seen in terrorist organizations' use of Youtube to communicate and convey their messages. In order to combat this, the West must disrupt the terrorist networks by hacking their websites. In addition, according to Adv. Cristal, the West must also create its own network.

Professor Weimann continued the workshop on the subject of terrorists' use of the Internet and added that there are over 7,800 terrorist-affiliated websites. Terrorists use these websites for many purposes, but mainly for recruitment. The main targets for recruitment are young people and so terrorists specifically employ sites such as Twitter and Facebook. All terrorist groups use Youtube and HAMAS, for example, has its own Youtube channel called "Aqsa Tube". Terrorist groups do not use the internet only for recruitment but also for planning and executing attacks. Prof. Weinmann noted that "a man named Al-Awlaki is considered to be the bin Laden of the Internet." Prof. Weinmann elaborated on how terrorists use Google Earth, which gives them access to free satellite images. With this and other maps and pictures available online, terrorists can get directions, schematics and even look inside future targets, information that is key in planning and carrying out attacks. Terrorist groups can also use information available online to plan escape routes. Prof. Weinmann pointed out that HAMAS has used the Internet to find out how far the rockets they fired were from their targets in Sderot.

Mr. Saranga tackled the topic of social media and its present and potential role for both terrorism and counter-terrorism. Mr. Saranga discussed how, during the war in Gaza, Israel had to deal with the problem of disinformation fed out of Gaza via the internet. Terrorist organizations can benefit the most from social media since this form of media thrives on the drama their actions create. Mr. Saranga emphasized that people who come across terrorist messages on the internet are often looking something else entirely and simply stumble upon them by accident. For example, the internet is used by people in non-democratic countries to try to find information about what is going on outside their state and, therefore, it is crucial to ensure that the internet is not being harnessed for terrorist recruitment or misinformation. He gave two examples of people who can and do bring positive messages: Nazanin Afshin and Queen Ranya of Jordan. Afshin is a dissident against the Iranian regime and her message resonates with the Iranian people because she is patriotic and speaks Farsi. Queen Ranya is a great figure in Jordan, as well as outside the country. She speaks with the public in Arabic and represents a grassroots movement.

Mr. Weisburd discussed how Facebook is being used by terrorist organizations and noted that, prior to Facebook, forums were the primary social networking venue for terrorists. Forums provide public discussion, private messaging and networking. However, they are vulnerable to brute force attacks, take downs and attacks on trust relationships. In 2006, for example, a close-knit group organized a network of Jihadist forums but it was infiltrated early on and taken down. In general, Arabs seem to favor forums because they are a more communal environment which appeals to their cultural norms while Westernized Arabs tend to prefer blogs. Facebook differs from forums in that the impact is more personal and less political. The best example of the migration from forums to Facebook is seen with the Ansar al-Mujahideen. Their forum was created on November 2008 and

uncovered a month later; the group quickly moved to Facebook and has been active there ever since.

Mr. Smith concluded the workshop with a discussion of the reason for the surge in public criticism of Israel and the triumph of the internet as a medium. Mr. Smith discussed how the internet opened a new platform for anti-Semitic narratives, mainly through blogs. These blogs use certain themes and code words to summon a specific audience across the internet. These narratives, now prevalent online, delegitimize Israel and its actions. The anti-Israel market is one of the most attractive markets since it attracts a passionate audience and there are many forces behind this new form of Anti-Semitism. In shifting the boundaries of acceptable political discourse, the anti-Israel narrative has helped mainstream Anti-Semitism and has frustrated Israel's counter-terrorism efforts. In addition to generating waves of hatred, the comments left on the internet attempt to swamp the news with paranoia. Mr. Smith discussed how nothing provokes the same amount of reader feedback as comments on Israel; advertisers do not care for the truth, only for what generates profit. Site monitors do not necessarily do a good job of taking hateful comments off their websites and shirk responsibility for such tasks. As a result, comments lead to more hateful comments and more distorted views being projected across the internet.

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# Terrorism, Religion and Political Violence

## CHAired BY:

### **Dr. Jonathan Fine**

Research Fellow, ICT; Academic Advisor, Raphael Recanati International School, Program in Government, Diplomacy and Strategy, IDC Herzliya, Israel

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## PARTICIPANTS:

### **Ms. Yehudit Barsky**

Director, Division on Middle East and International Terrorism, American Jewish Committee

### **Dr. John Bew**

Co-Director, International Center for the Study of Radicalization and Political Violence; Lecturer in War Studies, King's College, United Kingdom

### **Prof. Martin Kramer**

Senior Fellow, Shalem Center in Jerusalem; President-designate, Shalem College, Israel

### **Prof. Ella Landau-Tasseron**

Lecturer, Islam and Middle Eastern Studies, The Hebrew University, Israel

### **Dr. Charles Selengut**

Professor of Sociology, Department of Sociology, Liberal Arts, County College of Morris, U.S.A.

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Dr. Selengut opened the workshop by discussing the emerging trend of religious political movements as opposed to secular ones. In recent times, governments have not acknowledged that religions are behind the motivations of religious terrorist groups. Western secular societies believe that religion can be valuable for its role in social moderation but refuse to accept that religion can also contain values that cannot coincide with secularism. Dr. Selengut believes that Western ethnocentrism makes the West unable to see that although in the West religion is practical and something that brings families together in life cycle events; in other parts of the world this is not true. For many in the Muslim world, religion is all encompassing and there can be no separation between religion as a guideline for life and religion as everything in life.

Prof. Landau-Tasseron discussed the origins of warfare and jihad in Islam and explained that while jihad is a commandment to Muslims, it is not one of the five pillars of Islam. Jihad does not actually mean holy war as it is known commonly today but rather means "to make an effort". The word jihad comes from the root J.H.D. which literally means effort. Prof. Landau-Tasseron explained that this can be connected to the notion of warfare but it does not mean to wage war. The word jihad appears in the Qur'an thirty six times but always as a struggle within oneself for Allah. Jihad was transformed into a military term due to the history of Islam's foundation, when Muslims had to wage war to spread Islam and fight for worshipping Allah correctly.

Prof. Kramer opened his lecture by discussing how only in the Western world is there a distinction between religion and politics and outside the West violence is intertwined with religion since religion is politics. Prof. Kramer discussed Hezbollah in Lebanon as a case study. Hezbollah which translated to English means "party of God" is spelled in with an "O" but it should be spelled with an "A" to preserve the reference to Allah. It is not written in this manner in Western media since the West tries to ignore Hezbollah's religious affinity in order to preserve it as a political identity due to its participation in the Lebanese government. Prof. Kramer warned that the West does this in blind loyalty against Zionism and modern liberal thought. Prof. Kramer used the religious activity at the Shrine of Zaynab in Syria to show how there is no separation between political movements and religion in the non-Western world. The shrine is a major pilgrimage site for Shiites where many Iranian notions are passed to Syrian and Lebanese Shiites who are also making pilgrimage there. Martyrdom is promoted in these places and America is denounced by Iranians from the current regime.

Ms. Barsky discussed the promotion of the idea that Islam is under attack by the United States in order to encourage young people to pursue violent jihad against it. Saudi Arabia has played a crucial role in the radicalization of Muslims in the United States through their embassy and nonprofit organizations. These outlets encourage young Muslims to ignore their parents' view of Islam and adopt theirs. It is believed that those who cannot fight must promote radical Islam in order to complete their duty of jihad. Although Americans believe that there will never be a problem with the radicalization of Muslims in America, Ms. Barsky does not share their optimism. There has been a rise in radicalization of Pakistanis as well as Somalis and least twenty Americans have been recruited in Minnesota and returned to Somalia to fight. One of the most prominent Al-Shabab recruiters is an American and already an American convert named Zachary Chesser was arrested on his way to Somalia to fight for Al-Shabab. Ms. Barsky believes the radicalization of any Muslim in Western society is caused by a lack of assimilation which is followed by the acceptance of radical parts of society which attempt to radicalize him.

Dr. Bew discussed religion in the Northern Ireland conflict. Dr. Brew discussed how all separatist organizations were Catholic and all anti-separatist loyalist movements were almost exclusively Protestant. Most of the 3,000 casualties in the separatist movement's campaign were civilians killed by the IRA. Although the conflict was not driven by religion and the IRA did not claim they would go to heaven for killing Protestants, religious bigotry drove the conflict. Dr. Bew pointed out that the IRA never wanted to take over London and the British government recognized their aims as legitimate. Sinn Féin, the political representative of the IRA recognized good Catholics and bad Catholics according to their participation in the conflict but never said participating in the conflict would make them go to heaven. The IRA did, however, present themselves as the protectors of Catholics in Ireland. In Northern Ireland, religion became a meter for identification with a side in the conflict as opposed to the motivation for violence.

Dr. Fine discussed radical religious movements within the Jewish community and evaluated the idea of Jewish holy wars. In Talmudic Judaism there is no notions of crusades since only God can bring the Jews back to Israel and national revival can only be brought about by God. Throughout almost

2,000 years of oppression in Europe, Jews never raised arms against their oppressors because of this. The only thing that changed Jewish thought was the escalation of violence against Jews and against mostly secularized Jews. This gave birth to the advent of Zionism. Zionism goes against Talmudic Judaism's teaching according to which Jews should not rise up against their oppressors to regain the Jewish homeland as only God can bring the Jews back to Eretz Yisrael. Today there is still conflict between ultra orthodox anti-Zionists and the Jewish state of Israel regarding the Jewish feelings toward violent nationalist movements. Other conflicts have developed within Israel regarding the territories gained in 1967 during the Six-Day War. Radical Jews have perpetrated multiple terrorist attacks against Palestinians including the death of thirty Palestinians at Rachel's Tomb in Hebron in 1994.

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## Learning Competition in Asymmetric Conflicts

CHAired BY:

**Dr. Gil Ariely**

Chief Knowledge Officer, ICT, Herzliya, Israel

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PARTICIPANTS:

**Brig. Gen Itay Brun**

Head of the Dado Center for Interdisciplinary Thinking, Israel

**Dr. Adam Dolnik**

Director of Research Programs and Senior Research Fellow, Center for Transnational Crime Prevention (CTCP), University of Wollongong, Australia

**Mr. Richard Warnes**

Analyst, Defense and Security Team, RAND Europe, U.K.

**Dr. Col. (Ret.) Thomas X. Hammes**

Senior Research Fellow, National Defense University, U.S.A.

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Brig. Gen Brun opened the workshop by discussing the fact that learning on the part of the other side is an evolution or innovation as opposed to a revolution as it is in Western armed forces, especially as we do not necessarily see them adapting to new technologies. The "Other Revolution in Military Affairs" (Other-RMA) reflects the actions and statements of nations and heads of organizations and the major wars that occurred in the Middle East from 1979 to the present. Based on all these factors, other-RMA propagators developed three elements. First, in order to cope with the technological superiority they need to absorb certain behaviors related to survivability *i.e.*- the use of camouflage and constructing tunnels and bunkers. The second element revolves around deterring the stronger side from attacking. The third element is attrition, which is seen by the stronger side as unfavorable. Brig. Gen. Brun ended his speech by stating that he believed the organizations practicing other-RMA believe the situation is not sustainable and they need to build their capabilities to implement a more effective battle strategy.

Dr. Dolnik began by discussing the threat assessment matrix, which looks at the motivation of a group to acquire a weapon and the capability and vulnerability of a given target. Only when all three elements are favorable will we see an organization seeking to use a particular weapon. Over the last sixty years, we have not seen terrorists use new weapons but rather we have seen them become better at using existing arsenals. So, Dr. Dolnik asked, what are the triggers of innovation? The triggers include the desire to circumvent counter-measures, the need to escalate, the desire to attract publicity and competition; among others factors. What also requires scrutiny are the factors and conditions underlining the variance among groups. These factors include ideology and strategy; targeting logic, technological awareness; openness to new ideas, decision making dynamics,

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resources, attitude toward the risk, the nature of the struggle, the security environment, *etc.* Understanding these factors can assist in the threat assessment of future forms and trajectories of terrorist violence.

Mr. Warnes dealt extensively with the learning competition as it relates to Improvised Explosive Devices (IEDs) in Iraq and Afghanistan. The IEDs used by organizations in Iraq and Afghanistan have shown development and evolution since their first usage in these arenas. The technological innovation involved in the use of IEDs is apparent and includes the development of command wires, radio controlled and cell phone activated IEDs. The counter-insurgency effort has adapted to these changes in the level of sophistication of IEDs through technical means, *i.e.*- signal disruptors (“jammers”) and through increased security, *i.e.*- checkpoints. Another way in which the counter-insurgency has tried to deal with IEDs is by attacking the support network behind them. This support network is made up of the actual bomber, his family and friends, the bomb maker, collaborators and sympathizers. This requires an enhancement in human-intelligence (HUMINT) capabilities. Mr. Warnes concluded that “Once the ability of the human-intelligence on the ground is enhanced, it will become possible to leave these areas in a condition where they will be able to deal with the situation themselves.”

Dr. Col. (Ret.) Hammes discussed the wars in Iraq and Afghanistan and how the Pentagon mistook technological changes for a change in the war's character. The lack of foresight that was seen in Iraq and Afghanistan stemmed from America's culture. This is seen predominantly with regards to the American emphasis on technology, linear planning processes and denial by senior officials of the existence of an insurgency because its implications of a complicated situation which would be impossible to resolve in a timely manner. The U.S. eventually overcame these difficulties, partly due to particular aspects of the insurgency that failed as the Iranians became overly forceful and insistent, which irritated the Iraqi Sunnis, who in turn asked the U.S. for help. The U.S. learned from multiple tours what worked and what did not and, most importantly, a “bottom up learning from the captains and majors who saw what happened on the ground and got the backing from the generals to implement these new strategies" occurred.

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## Americans in Al Qaeda

### CHAired BY:

#### **Mr. Erroll Southers**

Associate Director, National Center for Risk & Economic Analysis of Terrorism Events (CREATE); Adjunct Professor, Homeland Security and Public Policy, University of Southern California, U.S.A.

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### PARTICIPANTS:

#### **Mr. Michael Balboni**

Former Deputy Secretary for Public Safety for the State of New York

#### **Dr. Karen Feste**

Director, International Security Program; Graduate Director, Conflict Resolution Institute; Professor, Korbel School of International Studies, University of Denver, U.S.A.

#### **Mr. Daveed Gartenstein-Ross**

Director, Center for the Study of Terrorist Radicalization, Foundation for Defense of Democracies, U.S.A.

#### **Mr. Denis Monette**

Chairman, STARCOM (Stop Terrorism Aggressive Response Coordinated Operational Management); Former Assistant Commissioner of Police, Nassau, New York, U.S.A.

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Mr. Balboni opened the workshop with an overall summary of terrorism in America. Since 2007, six terrorist plots unfolded in New York City and four elsewhere in America. The six plots shared similarities; first, collected intelligence was actionable and second, the operatives were radicalized Americans and amateurs. All but one traveled outside of the United States to undergo training. The attacks were thwarted thanks to the amateur nature of the terrorists but foiling future attacks may require more. Mr. Balboni emphasized that the terrorists are constantly improving and, therefore, intelligence services must follow suit.

Dr. Feste discussed homegrown terrorism and stressed that the definition of homegrown terrorism is an issue because it is dependent on whether or not a lone-wolf attacker, as in the 1996 Olympic Park bombing or the 2001 Anthrax attacks, can be classified as a terrorist. The April 1995 bombing of a U.S. Federal building in Oklahoma City cost 168 lives. Domestic-based, right-wing extremists were blamed directly, but many analysts strongly believe international groups, specifically Islamic fundamentalists, were involved in planning and executing the assault. Dr. Feste explained that presidential comments about terrorism matter as they send a message to perpetrators and provide the media with opinion fodder, as media can either encourage or limit conspiracy and copycat attacks. While President Clinton was consistent in his response to attacks, he was still predominantly attempting to avoid conflicts. President Bush Jr. was a fighter when facing international terrorism but also avoided domestic issues. President Obama is a problem solver when it comes to international terrorism and a conflict analyst domestically.

Mr. Gartenstein-Ross pointed out that 2009 saw more homegrown terrorist activity in the U.S. than any other year since the September 11<sup>th</sup> attacks. This trend continued in 2010. Mr. Gartenstein-Ross added that homegrown Jihadist terrorism is not new; there were prominent cases even before the September 11<sup>th</sup> attacks. Americans have joined the Jihadist movement since the 1980's and some commentators argue that homegrown terrorism is increasing, but this could represent either a statistical aberration or a change in policing tactics. Analysis must focus on the role of terrorist networks since, although homegrown terrorism may be increasing, an increase in homegrown American operatives would not signal a decrease in the importance of transnational terrorist networks. The power of networks is amplified by the reemergence of terrorist safe havens in Pakistan, Somalia and elsewhere. It is important to understand Al-Qaeda and to use the proper rhetoric in approaching the issue of terrorism. Studies show that religion is not the sole factor involved in terrorism and terrorist recruitment; other factors, such as political grievances, are also important. Mr. Gartenstein-Ross concluded by saying that policing tactics must be adjusted. At some point, policing tactics will be forced to adapt and if necessary adjustments are not made, we will be forced to depend on the incompetence of amateur operatives.

Mr. Monette discussed the recruitment of Americans terrorists. American recruitment to Al-Qaeda occurs in American jails and prisons which serve as fertile grounds for such activities. The use of street gangs such as the Bloods, Crips and MS-13 is also an issue. Terrorists are infiltrating the U.S. military, American businesses and drug cartels while attempting to radicalize Islamic youth. Those on the borderline may be pushed to full recruitment and indoctrination by current issues such as the Park 15 and Florida Pastor Controversies. The greatest challenge is to interconnect the many different U.S. intelligence agencies, so that the various pieces of information can be combined and terrorist plots and recruitment means be uncovered in a timely manner. Fusion centers are being set up to address this issue. Mr. Monette concluded his speech by referring to the words of Dr. Ganor: "it takes a network to defeat a network."

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# The Struggle for Islamic Hegemony: Sunni vs. Shiite

CHAired BY:

**Dr. Reuven Paz**

Director, Project for the Research of Islamist Movements (PRISM), GLORIA Center, IDC Herzliya, Israel

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PARTICIPANTS:

**Dr. Meir Litvak**

Senior Researcher, Dayan Center for middle Eastern and African Studies, Tel Aviv University, Israel

**Dr. Micha'el Tanchum**

Postdoctoral Fellow, Institute for Zionist and Middle East Studies, The Shalem Center, Israel

**Dr. Joshua Tietelbaum**

Principal Research Associate, Global Research in International Affairs Center (GLORIA), IDC Herzliya, Israel

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Dr. Paz opened the workshop by discussing Iran's influence in the Middle East. Iran has become one of the most influential forces in the Palestinian arena, especially with regards to HAMAS and, to some extent, even on the ruling FATAH. Dr. Paz explained that “as a result of this influence, Iran is on its way to becoming more deeply rooted in the affairs of the Arab world, leading to the development of a front led by Egypt and Saudi Arabia, who fear not just the rising influence of Iran, but growing pockets of Shi'ization within their countries.”

Dr. Litvak continued the workshop with a discussion on the spread of Shi'a Islam in the Middle East. The U.S. invasion of Iraq resulted in a major disturbance in the unsteady relationship between Sunnis and Shiites in the Middle East. Dr. Litvak explained that, as the Arab world continues to grapple with the rising influence of Iran on regional affairs; two major doctrinal cultural issues remain at stake. First, can Shiites be considered Muslim or must they be declared apostates and, second, who poses a greater danger to the world of Islam – the Shiites or the external enemy, the Jews?

Dr. Tanchum discussed the centrality of the sectarian militants' mobilization in response to expansion of Sunni Jihadist movements. Dr. Tanchum argued that this is evident in the development of Sunni sectarian and Jihadist activity by the Deobandi movement in Pakistan, led by the Jamiatul Ulama in Islam (Assembly of Islamic Clergy). He added that “militant Sunni sectarian mobilization will redirect a local Sunni population towards Islamist governments and the adoption of a supra local-global Jihadist agenda.” Dr. Tanchum explained that “within the Islamic world there is a battle for authenticity. He who has authenticity has power.”

Dr. Tietelbaum discussed how Saudi-Arabia considers itself the leader of the Sunni Arab world. The fall of Saddam Hussein, the subsequent decline of Sunni rule in Iraq and the potential for a Shiite victory there, as well as the rising influence of Iran in the region, has emboldened Saudi Arabia's minority Shiite population. Dr. Tietelbaum's presentation was devoted to discussing how the Saudi royal family responded to this new situation.

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# The Democratic Solution in an Era of Hybrid Organizations

CHAired BY:

**Dr. Boaz Ganor**

Executive Director, ICT; Deputy Dean, Lauder School of Government, Diplomacy and Strategy, IDC Herzliya, Israel

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PARTICIPANTS:

**Prof. Avishai Braverman**

Minister of Minority Affairs, Israel

**Dr. Randall Rogan**

Associate Dean, Wake Forest University, U.S.A.

**Prof. Martin Kramer**

Senior Fellow, Shalem Center in Jerusalem; President-designate, Shalem College, Israel

**Prof. Asa Kasher**

Laura Schwarz-Kipp Chair in Professional Ethics and Philosophy of Practice, Tel-Aviv University, Israel

**Mr. Ehud Ilan**

Former Head of the Investigation Division, ISA (Shin Bet), Israel

**Dr. Barak Ben Zur**

Lecturer, IDC Herzliya; Former Senior Director, ISA, Israel

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Prof. Braverman opened the workshop by discussing Arab-Israeli terrorism. The Israeli Declaration of Independence clearly states that there are to be equal rights and privileges granted to every citizen, however, Israeli leaders, with the exception of the late Prime Minister Rabin, have not given minorities the respect, dignity and resources they required. Despite this fact, the vast majority of Arab-Israelis see themselves as loyal citizens. The best way to be rid of radical Islam among the Arab-Israeli minority is to welcome, not alienate, them. Prof. Braverman emphasized that the Arab-Israelis want to be citizens and instead of marginalizing them, we should ensure that they enjoy full civic rights.

Dr. Ganor discussed hybrid terrorist organizations as non-state actors waging a multidimensional war in the military, legal, and public opinion arenas. Although terrorist narratives portray the terrorist groups as a 'David' against the 'Goliath' states, the asymmetry is in fact quite the opposite. The 'Goliath' state is shackled by the innumerable constraints imposed by its own laws, international law and by public opinion. In multidimensional warfare, Dr. Ganor explained, the hybrid terrorist organization has a military arm for carrying out operations, a welfare arm for garnering popular support and a political arm for taking advantage of that popular support and for taking over the

political establishment. Dr. Ganor warned that calls for democracy must be treated with suspicion since once extremists rise to power through the democratic process; they are rarely removed through democracy. It is one man, one vote, one time.

Dr. Rogan discussed how a linguistic analysis of the Goldstone Report reveals the bias of its authors. The report avoids the term terrorism; Israel is mentioned four times more often than HAMAS and negative terms are far more often attributed to Israel than to HAMAS. Dr. Rogan stressed that facts should be presented objectively. The facts can speak for themselves and there should be no subtle words or terminology that insinuates or leads to certain inferences. Thus, Dr. Rogan concluded, there is a bias in the Goldstone Report independent of the facts and the investigation itself.

Prof. Kramer spoke of the prevalent belief that democracy should be promoted, even if there is a danger that Islamists will take over. This belief is endorsed for several reasons. The first justification is that democracy is a natural right and upholding it is a moral duty. Second, it is argued that the absence of democracy alienates radicals and drives them to violence. Third, it is believed that Islamists will be moderated if allowed to participate in the general political process. Prof. Kramer then presented the three counter-arguments to these arguments for exporting democracy. First, that democracy is a cultural product and cannot be exported. Second, that dictators are more inclined towards stability and so may be open to peace. Third, that when Islamist parties join the political process they see it as a means of attaining greater power.

Prof. Kasher discussed how international law is not directly binding on the citizens of a country, but rather, how the citizens of that country are bound to its own laws, which may include international laws that the state ratified. International law must adjust to the new type of conflict that involves non-state actors. The same, long-standing traditional values that have been integrated into the Geneva Conventions can be applied to new doctrines. For example, Israel has gone to extraordinary lengths to prevent civilian casualties. Other states fighting terrorism must also deal with these dilemmas of adhering to established laws and customs while fighting this new type of conflict as well. This may lead to new customary international laws, which would become semi-binding.

Mr. Ilan evaluated the Israeli system for dealing with Jewish terrorism, which he determined to be over cautious and ineffective. Israel has both right-wing radical national and religious groups as well as left-wing Anarchist and Arab-solidarity groups. In Israel, government agencies should stop being responsive and apologetic to Jewish terrorists. Laws must be equally-applied to all terrorists, regardless of creed or ethnicity.

Dr. Ben Zur closed the workshop by discussing how Palestinians have, in a few cases, exported terrorism and exchanged ideas with terrorist groups in other areas, but, generally, global Jihadist groups have not targeted Israel and Palestinians and Arab-Israelis have generally not participated in global Jihadist groups. It seems that Palestinian terrorist groups are more focused on the conflict at hand and care little for global Islamist's efforts.

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## Fourth Generation Warfare

### CHAired BY:

**Ms. Yael Shahar**

Senior Researcher, ICT, IDC Herzliya, Israel

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### PARTICIPANTS:

**Dr. Thomas Hammes**

Senior Research Fellow, National Defense University, U.S.A

**Mr. Bradley Burston**

Senior Editor and Journalist, Haaretz, Israel

**Mr. Don Radlauer**

Research Associate, ICT, IDC, Herzliya Israel

**Mr. Aaron Weisburd**

Director, Society for Internet Research, U.S.A

**Mr. Peter Probst**

Senior Partner, National Security Associates Worldwide; Member of the Advisory Board, ICT, U.S.A.

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Yael Shahar opened the workshop with a discussion of how the state monopolized warfare from 1648 to 1860. In conventional warfare, massive firepower allows artillery to conquer and infantry to occupy, as was evident during World War I. With asymmetric warfare, however, the states' monopoly on warfare ends. National armed forces are fighting non-state entities worldwide, with the state more often than not on the losing side.

Dr. Thomas Hammes discussed those aspects of warfare that have not changed. War will always include violence, chance, and reason due to the human factor. The character of war, on the other hand, constantly transforms as it reflects the changing nature of societies. Insurgency is a competition between human networks linked by narrative. In order to emerge victorious, the narrative must be rooted in truth and contain a coordinated message. The direction of Israel's narrative will depend on whether it falls back to pre-1967 borders or whether it continues to hold on to West Bank settlements. It will also be influenced by the Iranian, Palestinian, and Hezbollah approaches.

Bradley Burston discussed how fourth generation warfare changes a society that is desperately trying either to fight it or to ignore it. Israelis have learned to live their daily lives without wars influencing their activities as a result of their prolonged exposure to them. Israeli society has turned away from peace since the fighting has continued for so long and because the government sets unattainable goals. While Americans distance themselves and lack compassion for those who are fighting their wars; in Israel, due to universal conscription, great pressure is applied on the military's

command to reduce casualties. The more distance between the soldier and the target, the more enemy civilian casualties there will be.

Don Radlauer explained why asymmetric warfare rarely leads to conventional victories, as both sides retain their ability to continue the fight. These conflicts are easy to get into, but difficult to get out of. Although some do eventually get resolved, others seem to go on forever. Mr. Radlauer attributes this to the "Ripeness/ Readiness Theory" which states that conflict de-escalation and fruitful negotiations depend on a Mutually Hurting Stalemate which is attained only when both sides perceive victory as impossible and when there is optimism about satisfactory conflict resolution. What prevents this kind of ripeness from developing can be understood through memetics: the evolutionary view of mental constructs. Memes are ideas, beliefs, or habits of thought. Religion is an example of a "memeplex", a group of memes. Religions have, over time, developed an "immune system" to protect them from rapid change. They are successful memeplexes, maintaining their integrity for millennia. This helps explain the intractability of religious conflicts. Conflict-promoting memes are extremely difficult to eliminate. Understanding what they are and how they work may help temper their impact.

Aaron Weisburd presented two assumptions: a) Terrorist organizations emerge from social movements, and b) involvement in terrorism runs along social networks. Strong ties weaken the organization as they hamper the flow of information. As ties strengthen, each individual's social network begins to overlap with the networks of those closest to him and the pool of available ideas shrinks. Weak ties, on the other hand, increase the flow of information. Facebook and Youtube are examples of weak tie creations and these social networks generate a greater exchange of ideas. The counter-terrorism implications of this are that we should encourage terrorist social networks to become unified and stronger to lessen their ability to share information, and sever their links to the greater community. At the same time, Mr. Weisburd stressed the importance of severing weak ties to prevent the emergence of new operational units and to shrink their social networks.

Peter Probst discussed how the standard generational model of warfare suggests linear progression where each development emerges from its predecessor. This model also emphasizes that the party waging war is the one in control of the means of coercion. Mr. Probst stressed that this model is no longer relevant and added that it is necessary to move on to unrestricted warfare with no limits or rules. Warfare can take place in any arena including political, economic, environmental, financial, etc. He believes it can be implemented using any approach.

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## Syria and Iran as Terrorism Generators

CHAired BY:

**Prof. Eyal Zisser**

Dean, Faculty of Humanities; Director of the Moshe Dayan Center for Middle Eastern Studies, Tel Aviv University, Israel

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PARTICIPANTS:

**Brig Gen (Res.) Yossi Kupperwasser**

Former Head of Research and Assessment Division, IDF, Israel

**Dr. Magnus Ranstorp**

Research Director, Center for Asymmetric Threat Studies, Swedish National Defense College, Sweden

**Mr. Meir Javedanfar**

Director, The Middle East Economic and Political Analysis Company, Israel

**Dr. Moshe Maoz**

Professor of the History of the Middle East, Hebrew University Jerusalem, Israel

**Dr. Rateb Amro**

Director General and Founder, Horizon Center for Studies and Research, Jordan.

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Prof. Zisser introduced the topic of Syria and Iran as actors in the Middle Eastern arena. He explained that non-state actors are on the rise around the world, specifically in the Middle East. However, Prof. Zisser noted that while non-state actors like HAMAS and Hezbollah are key actors in the region, if Syria and Iran were removed from the equation, there would be no HAMAS or Hezbollah, at least not in the state we see them today.

Brig. Gen. (Res.) Kupperwasser presented a bleak view of the Middle East's future if Syria and Iran continue along their current paths. In his opinion "terrorism is just a tool that serves a certain goal and this is the goal. We have to accept that they mean what they say." He continued on to say that "for Israel, preventing the influx of the weapons and making it clear that this streak will not hold forever is very important. When we manage to do so we make an impact for a relatively long time."

Dr. Ranstorp gave the Swedish perspective on Syria and Iran. He stated that "[he] once had an interview with Sheikh Yassin and [he] asked him when this dream of Islamic world domination would be realized and [Yassin] said 2022, 2023 and [he] was shocked. [He] asked him to elaborate what he based this on. Aside from the Qur'an —[Yassin] said... time is on our side, in the end it will become inevitable."

Mr. Javedanfar discussed Iran's current internal situation and mentioned that "for the last 32 years of the Islamic Republic, no Iranian sportsman has ever agreed to compete with an Israeli. Two days

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ago a former senior adviser sent a letter to the supreme leader asking: are we supposed to boycott our competitions with the Israelis? [...] The lack of cohesion is reaching such new heights that people are questioning what seemed to be the unquestionable." He elaborated on his positive view of instability and rebellion within Iran by stating that "[he] can tell you the reason Iran support HAMAS and Hezbollah – he [Ahmadinejad] has got trouble getting support in his regime. The support is mainly because of a second strike capability and to use them as a deterrence. These people are very scared, which is why these people keep coming up with new developments. This is a sign of fear by the Islamic regime in Iran. They are very afraid."

Dr. Maoz focused his discussion on Syria and explained that it has a number of options that it can pursue but, according to Dr. Maoz, it is in Syria's interest, as well as the interest of the other pragmatic Arab nations, to be involved in a comprehensive peace with Israel. Dr. Maoz expressed his belief that Syria is willing to negotiate because it wants to reclaim its lost territories and is willing to accept peace as the price. Syria's alternative could mean their destruction in a war ignited by either Syria or Hezbollah.

Dr. Amro discussed Islam and violence and stated that "these days it seems as though world history is being determined by exceptions rather than rules. In the wake of the horrific bombings on the World Trade Center and the Pentagon on 11 September 2001, the world has had to re-examine our own values and the values of other cultures." Dr. Amro expressed his belief that mankind can move further away from one another, basing our sense of self and self-interests upon the idea of a threatening "other", or, alternatively, move closer together as unique individuals sharing common values which will allow us to unite as one human family.