

International Cooperation in Combating Terrorism: Review of 2013 and Outlook for 2014

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**International Cooperation in Combating
Terrorism:
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Ambassador Mohamed M. Tawfik
Embassy of Egypt

Thank you very much. It is a great honor for me to be here with you today. I know that I am sitting next to a panel of very distinguished experts in this field. And I know that many people in the audience know more about it than I do. I will focus on the Egyptian experience and the kinds of challenges we are facing, but before doing that there are a number of points that I know that all you know that I still need to repeat because we need to remind ourselves of them.

Number one, terrorism is something that happens in all cultures. It is not limited to any particular religion or particular culture. The fact that I'm going to talk about the kind of terrorism I'll be talking about today is one related to some beliefs regarding Islam which I believe are completely wrong does not preclude the fact that this is not an Islamic phenomenon. This has nothing to do with the religion. As a matter of fact, I think that the vast majority of Muslims are completely opposed to this kind of ideology.

The other thing that we also need to remind ourselves of is that when we are dealing with a terrorist incident, it is the culmination of very large networks that leads to these actual incidents. It is not just someone who blows something up, but you have a whole network of people recruiting, people propagating, propaganda, people financing, people training and providing different types of logistics. And you need to deal with all these aspects at the same time.

The other thing that is important that we remind ourselves is that this very wide network is not necessarily limited to a specific country. So it is physically impossible for one country, on its own, to deal with them. You really do have to work together in order to be able to effectively deal with this very serious threat.

Today, as many of you have heard, Egypt has been a victim of multiple bombings and a number of people have been killed. We're still trying to grapple with the exact number of casualties and the exact amount of damages. We know that a number of people have been killed; many people have been injured. We know that at least two very important historical sites have been damaged, and all this comes within the framework of a political process that is ongoing in Egypt.

Less than a week ago the results of a referendum on the new constitution were announced, and it is very clear that there are elements in Egypt who are doing their very best to stop this political process from going on. The referendum we had was, despite all the threats to people not to participate, and despite the fact that the day the referendum started with one bomb exploding and another bomb being diffused in different parts of the country, and in yet a third part of the country you had people on a rooftop shooting randomly at people who were going to vote, despite all that, we had the largest number of Egyptians to ever participate in history in a referendum. And the fact that they went, despite these kinds of threats, really demonstrates that at the end of the day the public will choose to have a peaceful future and will challenge such attempts at intimidation.

Unfortunately, in the past few months, there has been a rise in the number of terrorist attacks in Egypt. This has happened starting from June 2013, and that month basically was characterized by millions of people taking to the streets in opposition to the Muslim Brotherhood government

who was in charge at the time. And the first response was to try to scare these people so that they would go back home, so that's when the first explosions happened. And then, when it became impossible to scare the people away, and when you had millions and millions demanding the removal of that government and when that government was removed, then you had an intensification of attacks.

We had some very serious attacks in the Sinai, and talking about the Sinai, during the year in which the Muslim Brotherhood ruled Egypt. There were presidential pardons issued for over four hundred people who had been convicted of terrorist offenses. Some of the people who received pardons were actually at large. They were not even incarcerated, but it showed a political direction. And, many of the people who had been released, they moved to the Sinai where they joined forces with other extremists, again there was an attempt to make it easier for foreigners, foreign extremists, to come into Egypt. After one year of Muslim Brotherhood rule, we ended up in a situation in which we had at least six Al Qaeda related groups functioning in the Sinai region. This is something that has been unprecedented for Egypt, but it is something we have to contend with right now.

During the one year which the Muslim Brotherhood ruled Egypt, the army had requested more than once to be able to act against those groups in the Sinai, and those requests had been denied by the President at the time. In one incident, in which a number of Egyptian soldiers had been captured by extremists, the Egyptian presidency issued one of the strangest statements ever to come from any president in the world, which said "we are keen to preserve the lives of both the kidnapped soldiers and the kidnappers." Again, another clear political indication of what that regime was all about.

Anyway, from that point on, there has been a very serious effort in Egypt to do two things. On the one hand, to start a political process, to rebuild the country, to try and gather the people again around a political objective. And in parallel with that, to deal in a very robust way with the actual infrastructure that supports these militants, particularly in the Sinai. This has been a costly operation. We know that many Egyptians have lost their lives. At least 350 Egyptian soldiers and policemen have lost their lives. In the process, 1200 extremists were either captured, killed, or wounded, which shows you the magnitude of the effort that has been ongoing. Over 80 percent of smuggling tunnels crossing the borders between Sinai and Gaza have been destroyed. We have evidence that those were used not only to smuggle weapons and people from Egypt into the Gaza, but also to allow militants in Egypt to go to Gaza and train and then come back into the Sinai. The issue of dealing with the tunnels has been extremely important.

In December also the Egyptian Army killed Abu Suhaib, who is one of the very dangerous leaders of the Ansar Bayt al-Maqdis, which is an extremist organization that by the way claimed responsibility for some of the bombings today. In addition to that, over 190 people have been arrested in connection with attacks on churches.

So, you do have this very serious effort to deal with the threat; however, dealing with a terrorist threat is not limited to just combating the terrorists. You need to deal with a whole range of issues, starting from developmental issues, starting from marginalization of groups. For example, you find that a very large-scale program has been started in Egypt for job creation. Among the

areas identified for very quick development in Egypt has been the area around the Suez Canal and also the area called the Golden Triangle in the south of Egypt, which is one of the most poverty stricken parts of the country. So, I'll give you an example about some of the things we consider to be very important we think it's very important to encourage the role of women in society. We feel that this is a role in the overall fight against terrorism. We feel that when women are more involved in society they do have an influence in reducing levels of violence, and one of the main components of the constitution that has been just passed by Egyptians was stressing the role of women, stressing the rights of women that in the previous constitution by the Muslim Brotherhood had been very seriously threatened and curtailed.

It's important within this context for women to be more involved in law enforcement and for women to be more involved in the judiciary, and again, these kinds of issues dealing with the social issues we feel are very important. We do have a robust plan for the development of the Sinai. Again, it's important to deal with the social and economic factors that are effective in this sort of thing.

Another important element is the ideological element. Basically these extremists are motivated by ideological concerns, by their ideological beliefs, and it's important to clarify to the overall population how far away from the teachings of Islam these people are. And we have Al-Azhar, which is the leading university and Sunni institution that's playing a very active role. That role is not only limited to Egypt. If we look at the Sahel area, south of the Sahara, you find that we have been very interested in sending hundreds of Al-Azhar scholars to, again, help these countries to counter the mistaken beliefs from the ideological and religious perspective, which we feel is very important.

Regarding Egypt's efforts in international cooperation to combat terrorism, we have been very active in intelligence, intelligence cooperation with the different countries in the world. We have been very active in the global counterterrorism forum, which is also one of the important points where countries meet together and deal not only with the direct threat in a military way but also with all the surrounding areas that need to be dealt with, and in this regard Egypt and the United States co-chair the working group on criminal justice and the rule of law.

It's important in this context also to establish the rule of law. You will notice that the resurgence of terrorism in many parts of the world has been linked in a way to security vacuums, and getting not only the effective presence of law enforcement, but also the effective acceptance by the population that justice is really being meted out and that people are treated fairly, this is a very important element of the whole thing.

Finally, I won't take up more of your time, I'll just reiterate the importance of dealing with the issue of terrorism in a comprehensive way, and the importance of dealing with it together. As far as Egypt is concerned, I have no doubt that the Egyptian people will prevail. The Egyptian people will not allow themselves to be intimidated by extremists for whatever reason, and the Egyptian people will proceed to build the future that they have always wanted, a future that is more democratic and that is more fair and more just for everyone in the country.

Thank you very much.

Ambassador Rachad Bouhlal
Embassy of the Kingdom of Morocco

Thank you, Professor Alexander, first for inviting me and giving me the opportunity to share with you some remarks. But before, I would like to express my sympathy to the ambassador of Egypt and the people of Egypt after the attacks that they had this morning and the four bombings. We really share your compassion and hope you will overcome these difficulties.

Second, let me say that I am far away from being an expert on terrorist issues. We are diplomats, we try to deal with everything and speak of everything, but I am not sure that among all these experts we will be able to enlighten your ideas about what is happening.

Let me start by saying that having suffered from terrorism ourselves, Morocco is well aware of the scope of the phenomenon and its complex nature and its cross border dimension. Terrorism is not the product of isolated action, but it is the unfortunate manifestation of a violent vision of extremist groups, which for misleading ideological purposes, exploit religion for political purposes. That is why Morocco is privileged to have a structured and methodological vision, opting for an inclusive approach, combining human resources development, economic development, and security. This proactive approach integrates as well regional and international cooperation based on an effective solidarity and active commitment with all partners.

This approach includes measures to address the conditions conducive to the spread of terrorism; to prevent terrorist recruitment, through comprehensive counter radicalization policy, especially through the creation of socioeconomic conditions to prevent young people from falling into extremism; reform of the religious field in order to combat the extremism narratives and to promote an open and tolerant Islam; build state capacity to prevent and combat terrorists; and finally, ensure respect for human rights and rule of law as a fundamental basis of the fight against terrorists.

Although the implemented strategies at the national level are essential to reduce the risk of terrorist actions, these strategies cannot produce their full effect in the lack of a sustained regional and international cooperation. This is why Morocco remains committed to strengthening the role of the United Nation system, promote international cooperation and adherence to all international conventions and all United Nation Security Council resolutions related directly or indirectly to terrorism, and promoting awareness of the newly emerged threats, such as cybercrime, child abuse and exploitation, money laundering, identity theft, fraud and kidnapping. Moreover, Morocco's mandate as a non-permanent member of the United Nations Security Council in 2012-2013 enabled it to elevate the cooperation in terms of security as one of the main issues, especially with its close neighborhood, the Sahel and Sahara region in particular.

Aware of the link between terrorism and all kinds of human trafficking, Morocco has been actively involved in drafting a common vision aiming at fighting illegal immigration. In this regard, Morocco has adopted a new national migration policy. This new policy takes into account the major mutations occurring in the migration phenomenon at regional and international levels and the new national realities related to the issue of migrants and refugees. This policy is as well in line with Morocco's long standing relations with Africa and its steadfast commitment

for human development, consolidation of peace and security, and promotion of humanitarian actions in Africa.

This will bring me to the situation in our neighborhood. The Sahel region faces many challenges related to the socioeconomic and security situation prevailing in the continent. The precarious situation in the region constitutes a real threat to peace, security and stability. It is in this spirit that the Kingdom of Morocco has always been committed to the success of the initiatives aiming at stabilizing the region in the respect of state sovereignty, territorial integrity and the specificities of the region. Apart from Morocco's efforts as a non-permanent member of the United Nations Security Council, especially during Morocco's presidency of the Council in December 2012, Morocco called for an interregional cooperation and coordination, especially among regional organization such as ECOWAS (Economic Community of West African States), CEN-SAD (Community of Sahel-Saharan States), and the Maghreb.

Aware of the security challenges that could emerge from the situation in Mali, Morocco has been committed since the beginning of the crisis to contribute actively to the international community effort devoted to this matter. Along with these efforts, Morocco played a very significant and constructive role in supporting the political process in Mali in order to generate a national consensus for the management of the transition, preparation of elections, and regain control of the north of the country.

His majesty's visit to Mali and Morocco's offer to train 500 Malian imams, will contribute not only to the stability of a close country in the region, but shows as well Morocco's approach, that as his majesty stressed during his visit, any coordinated international action which does not attach the necessary importance to culture and religious aspects would be doomed to failure; adding that the partnership that the kingdom is offering in the physical and spiritual reconstruction of Mali is firmly rooted in that philosophy. This partnership aims at promoting the values of peace and tolerance against the horrors of terrorism and extremism. We have now received 100 Malian imams who are now being trained in Morocco. I think this is an important move that we have been doing in trying to help fighting all kinds of dogmatism and terrorism.

This is what I wanted to share with you as remark and will be open to all kinds of questions and contributes to enlighten your vision.

Thank you.

Ambassador (ret) Al Maamoun Keita
Former Ambassador of the Republic of Mali to the United States

Excellencies,
Distinguished Guests,
Ladies and Gentlemen,

Thank you, Michael Swetnam, CEO and Chairman, Potomac Institute for Policy Studies, for your kind introduction, and to you, Prof. Yonah Alexander, for the work you and your team at the ICTS put into organizing this annual Event.

A big thank you for all that you and your Center have done over the past year to promote International Cooperation in Combating Terrorism.

Each year, you gather diplomats, top counterterrorism policymakers, experts, and advisers to share their analysis and research on trends, challenges, and opportunities, as well as their assessments on the best courses of action.

Pulling together this annual Event requires an ongoing commitment to Combating Terrorism, and the impact of such discussions goes beyond the academic – shaping domestic and foreign counterterrorism policies as well as security measures implemented domestically and internationally to keep people in the U.S, and around the world, safe.

An unknown sage once said “one should follow effective action with quiet reflection. From the quiet reflection will come even more effective action.”

Today's Event is an excellent opportunity to have an insightful analysis of 2013 in terms of combating terrorism, and to create a projection for 2014.

And, I'd like to acknowledge and applaud H.E. Ambassador Mohamed M. Tawfik for his excellent keynote address, and H.E. Ambassador Rachad Bouhlal for his wonderful presentation.

General (ret.) Alfred Gray, Thank you for your superior presentation full of facts and data.

The remainder of my Remarks has three parts. First, I briefly discuss the **Regional and International Context**. Second, I discuss Africa's State of Security. Third, I present the International and African New approaches in combating terrorism-2014.

Ladies and Gentlemen,

I. Regional and International Context

- African terrorism situation

Over the past year, the threat of international and regional terrorism has become more dangerous and more lethal, and disseminates geographically.

Al Qaeda affiliates groups has grown in strength, size and influence at an alarming rate across the Middle East and Africa, and it is projected to grow in 2014.

In Algeria, Egypt and MALI, a clear shift could be observed from the 'traditional' political or ethnic armed crisis, like insurgency of Islamist groups or rebels, towards activities aimed at terrorizing the civilian population, such as bombings and kidnappings.

The establishment of safe havens for those terrorist groups linked to transnational terror networks in Northern Mali and earlier Somalia demonstrates the nature and potential scale of the phenomenon as well as the often very fragile nature of national governments, regional and international arrangements to deal with these crises.

African terrorism situation in 2013 presented following features:

- First, the mode of terrorist attack changes from sporadic ones to serial ones will have larger targets and impacts.
- Second, scattered terrorism forces tend to alliance, leading to attacks with organization and unified leadership.
- Third, the terrorism situation features in durability.
- Fourth, terrorist activities show features of complexity and multiple dimensions.
- Fifth, religious extremist forces rise to be the main power of African terrorist attacks in 2013.

With fragile governments in North Africa and unrest elsewhere on the continent, Al Qaeda-linked groups have increasingly exploited porous borders, political vacuums, local grievances, socio-economic stresses, and diminished focus on counterterrorism to pursue their deadly objectives.

They're becoming more diffuse and entrepreneurial, and have demonstrated an ability to undergo various reincarnations when necessary. They also exhibited a capability to re-emerge despite apparently efficient counter-terrorist campaigns by national, regional and international actors.

Beyond the threats posed by Al-Shabaab, AQIM, Ansar Dine, Movement for Unity and Jihad in West Africa, Boko Haram, Ansaru, and other sleeper cells in West Africa, the gradual infiltration and expansion of Al-Qaeda in the Arabian Peninsula (AQAP) and Hezbollah into Eastern and West Africa are emerging concerns.

- Self-Radicalization phenomenon

On the wider scene, another Global Al-Qaeda strategy is in work that could have a devastating impact on the populations of the West and could pose a more imminent threat.

There is good reason to be extremely concerned in Europe and U.S. about Self-radicalization which is going away and is likely to increase. Tens of thousands Europeans who have left to train and fight in Syria, Sudan, Somalia, and Egypt, and Mali, an exodus spurred by local imam's and influenced by extremist propaganda and recruiters. And, the number is growing.

Recruits from Britain, Europe and the US are being brainwashed, indoctrinated in extremist anti-western ideology, trained as “jihadists”, and sent home by Al-Qaeda to start new terror cells, and lunch attacks there instead.

The European Union is proposing new measures to fight radical Islam. They come amid concerns about the exodus of young people joining terror groups overseas.

Britain’s intelligence services estimate that around 500 British fighters are currently in Syria, and fear they will return radicalized. The MI5 has had to allocate more and more resources to tackling the danger in the past six months.

Top U.S. law enforcement officials are also increasingly concerned about efforts to recruit and radicalize American citizens by drawing them to the restive region and sending them back to this country to carry out terrorist attacks.

II . Africa's State of Security

The last year has underscored once again the real threat that al-Qa'ida, and its affiliated groups pose throughout this vulnerable region.

Further complicating the security landscape is the increase in the outbreak of transnational organized crime (TOC) that feed into the so-called terrorist loop in West Africa.

From Mauritania to Egypt, and from the Horn of Africa in the East and across the Sahel to the West, the terrorism threat is more diffuse, decentralized, and geographically dispersed than ever before.

Military gains against Islamist fighters in places like Mali and Somalia were followed by major terrorist attacks in neighboring countries. Such events demonstrated how complex and strong the threat remains.

Kenya, Somalia, Algeria, Mali and Nigeria were the scenes of major terrorist attacks in 2013.

The Sahel and West African region has become a hideout for terrorists and drug traffickers whose destabilizing influences are a real threat to regional security, even as the international stabilization force and presidential elections in Mali have helped restore some order.

Terrorist acts and transnational organized crime in the region, particularly following the resurgence of Boko Haram, Ansaru, as well as the occupation of northern Mali by Al-Qaeda affiliated terrorist groups in 2012, Ansar-Eddine and MUJAO, have alarmed not only West African countries but also the broader international community.

In Nigeria, Boko Haram has proven to be an increasing threat to the Nigeria’s national security and the Sahel stability. Ansaru maintains operational and logistical bases outside Nigeria, possibly in neighboring countries such as Niger and Cameroon, and its threat could extend to Nigeria’s eastern states of Adamawa and Taraba from where the group may launch attacks from its purported strongholds in Cameroon.

In Mali, eleven months after they were scattered across the Sahara by waves of French air strikes, Islamists in Mali are making a comeback - naming new leaders, attacking U.N. peacekeepers and killing two French journalists.

Seemingly defeated, fighters from both AQIM, Ansar al-Dine, and MUJAO made their way into southwest Libya. They are building up links with like-minded jihadists in northern Libya, especially in eastern coastal cities such as Derna and Benghazi, and preparing for new attacks.

In the Eastern Africa region, conditions appeared to be improving in Somalia at the beginning of last year. Kenyan and African Union troops had forced the militant group al-Shabaab from several cities. But in September, a small number of al-Shabaab fighters attacked a shopping center in the Kenyan capital Nairobi. They killed more than 60 people. The attack uncovered weaknesses in Kenyan security and intelligence agencies.

This phenomenon developed a transnational component often under the cloak of Global Al-Qaeda and the Global Muslim Brotherhood, and their ideology of Jihadism including ridding Africa and the Middle-East of Western influence seems to be shift away from directly attacking western targets towards support for local insurgencies where Islamist groups fight the government.

In such a climate, the emerging wave of ideologically-motivated terrorism and violence in Africa pushed the necessity to address an innovative combating terrorism comprehensive approaches to new heights in 2014.

III. The Road Ahead: International and African New approaches in combating terrorism in 2014

To date, more attention has been paid to the ‘traditional’ counter-terrorism approach, which relies on the use of intelligence agencies, the police, and the judiciary. This is traditional approach is consistent with efforts to enhance security by protecting citizens while also preserving national values, norms, rules and institutions, and relatively less attention has been paid to understanding, preventing, and mitigating the key drivers that lead to violent extremist acts on the continent.

A). African Approach-2014

What Africa can do in combating terrorism?

On the African Union summit in 2013, participating countries admitted that African terrorism situation shows signs of deterioration.

The imperative of addressing security challenges has inspired the adoption of several regional mechanisms and instruments for enhancing security and combating terrorism.

The challenge therefore has not been the regional lack of frameworks and instruments to respond to these threats, but rather the failure to address the underlying factors contributing to the outbreak of these crimes as well as the complex linkages between them.

In fact, combating the multifaceted threat of terrorism in Africa, resolution or even management is a work in progress and requires a multidimensional response.

While new approach do not necessarily mean ignoring the lessons we had learned, it require developing an integrated anti-terrorism approach by African governments, regional organizations and the international community, and most importantly the African communities engagement.

This is not just in the context of terrorism but its possible links to transnational organized crime such as money laundering, trafficking in human beings and arms as well as the production of and trafficking in illicit drugs which forms part of a complex set of new security challenges.

In order to deal effectively with the threats of terrorism and TOC, there must be a broad approach that integrates the following factors:

First, African governments must strengthen trust between communities and ethnic groups. Trust is the foundation for any societies, especially multi-religious, multi-racial ones like in Africa. It underpins social interactions, and helps build resilience.

Second, African governments must also build strong operational capabilities. The most critical factor in enhancing the security of the region is strong intelligence and operational cooperation between our security and intelligence agencies and their regional and international counterparts.

Third, African governments need close international security cooperation. Terrorism is a global threat, and terrorist groups do not respect international borders. Therefore counter-terrorism forces must also collaborate internationally.

International cooperation also includes sharing experiences at Events like these.

This integrated approach for Africa would be based on security, good governance, political and economic empowerment, social justice, development, creative institutional designs to alleviate ethnic and other social tensions, and capacity building.

What is required is greater actions in a number of specific areas:

- Strengthening bilateral and regional cooperation to maintain the region's peace, security and socio-economic development,
- Pursuing programs for sustainable development to improve people's living conditions, and especially to ensure the social and economic integration of young people,
- Combating terrorism and criminality by winning the support of local populations,
- Bolstering judicial cooperation and the monitoring of illicit financial flows, and,
- Improving coordination among the military high commands of the continent countries.

This enables Africa to deal with those issues on which terrorist groups attempt to build their support. Alienation, marginalisation, widespread poverty, underdevelopment, injustice and conflict provide the context for terrorists to establish support systems and recruit their followers.

What is also required is to evolve a more powerful counter-narrative to combat incitement and Self-radicalization. We need to inculcate values among African young minds that promote tolerance and respect for diversity and different cultures.

B). International Military Approach in Africa-2014

- *France*

France is reorganizing its deployment in Africa to be more reactive about potential political crises in Africa, and to better fight the terror threat from extremist groups in the Sahel region.

France is moving toward a new regional counterterrorism approach in Africa's turbulent Sahel region which will involve creating specialized posts such as for logistics, intelligence-gathering and fighter planes.

Under the plan, France is going to reinforce Abidjan, Ivory Coast, as an entry point, a logistical support post. Chad's capital, N'Djamena, will be a hub of French air power in the region and a base for Rafale and Mirage fighters. A site in Niamey, Niger's capital, will be equipped with unmanned aircraft such as France's Harfang and U.S Reaper surveillance drone.

- *U.S.*

1. Though AFRICOM handles training and humanitarian duties in various parts of the continent, more urgency has been placed on response times to threats and crises affecting American interests along the Mediterranean-North African region.

Recent events in Mali and Libya have partly motivated U.S move to expand Rapid-Reaction Force for Africa. In that context, U.S. has asked Spain if it can expand an already 500-strong Marine rapid-reaction force for Africa by a minimum of 50 percent, along with extending its presence at the Marines stationed at the Morón de la Frontera air base by another year.

2. U.S is also moving forward in the Sahel region where Military service members from African, European and North American countries will gather in Niger in February the next 'Exercise Flintlock'. The two-week Exercise Flintlock is designed to foster regional cooperation to enable African partners to stabilize regions of North and West Africa, reducing sanctuary and support for violent extremist organizations.

The international operation also tends to the humanitarian needs of local communities, in the form of medical assistance for residents of areas where the exercise takes place.

Ladies and Gentlemen,

Conclusion

The international community and Governments are fighting terrorism using a multiple set of strategies and tactics, and none of them operates to the exclusion of another. Similarly none of them has been singularly effective. In other words, on strategies and tactics used in responding to terrorist threats, no one approach should be selected or even preferred over the others.

Terrorism must be strategically tackled through long-term measures that would deny terrorists the ideological space to operate, long term development perspectives, education, inter-cultural dialogue, and criminal justice are equally essential elements in countering terrorism.

As we are aware, the threats posed by terrorism are very real and indeed far-reaching; every effort must be made to sustain our proactivity in the fight against that which threatens our existence and peaceful way of life.

Our cooperation is essential to effectively combat terrorism, and no action against terrorism would be sufficient unless all major determinants of international, regional and national policy-making are attuned to the threat posed and committed to dealing with all aspects that affect the fight against terrorism.

Let us remain vigilant and strengthen our defenses against terrorism, and work together to keep our world safe.

Ladies and Gentlemen, I thank you.

Professor Don Wallace Jr.
Chairman, International Law Institute

Once again we have to thank Yonah for providing a really challenging program. I think we almost learn too much from some of these panels. It's interesting to sit next to Ed Luttwak who wrote about the grand strategy of Rome, and speaks of large contract targets. Clearly here we have a subject of many low contract targets and as he said one has to have great situational awareness of the different targets. That raises a question. Our topic is international cooperation. General Gray said we must win. I agree completely of course. But the question is how will we do this, given this extraordinary variety of targets, a true sea of troubles.

Take Islam, Yonah would always separate Islam from the issue of terrorism, which he sees as a phenomenon, one that can be done by Christians, Buddhists, Jews; it doesn't have to be done only by Muslims, of which there are the varieties as Ed suggested. I have just come back from Turkey; I am not sure if I agree with him about the Alevi's or Alawites, and the Cumhuriyet Halk Partisi; but clearly you do have Fethullah Gulen, something of a Rumi-like mystic on the one hand and the AK Partisi and Erdogan on the other, who I would not say is animated as much by religion as he is by ego.

But the real issue is how do you cooperate internationally given this enormous variety? We have not even mentioned the Sahel where terrorism seems to be a growth industry. I think it is very tough and I think we learn from these programs that this is a terrible aspect of the modern world, not just limited to Muslim countries at all. Most Muslims are more peaceful in nature than Luttwak and I are by the way.

The real question is how do you internationally cooperate at a high grand strategy level, which Ed touched on, which General Gray touched on. I think that this is a real problem for the United States which is still globally engaged maybe more than anyone else. Can we educate ourselves to cope with these problems? I think it's very difficult for the public to do so, but I pray to God that our experts, quote unquote, do so and this takes us back to, for example, to the business of intelligence and the NSA and what does the country want to do. So I think we should be really thankful for our colleagues for educating us as to the problem and I think we have a tremendous challenge when it comes to the solution. Thank you Yonah.

Academic Centers

Inter-University Center for Terrorism Studies (IUCTS)

Established in 1994, the activities of IUCTS are guided by an International Research Council that offers recommendations for study on different aspects of terrorism, both conventional and unconventional. IUCTS is cooperating academically with universities and think tanks in over 40 countries, as well as with governmental, intergovernmental, and nongovernmental bodies.

International Center for Terrorism Studies (ICTS)

Established in 1998 by the Potomac Institute for Policy Studies, in Arlington, VA, ICTS administers IUCTS activities and sponsors an internship program in terrorism studies.

Inter-University Center for Legal Studies (IUCLS)

Established in 1999 and located at the International Law Institute in Washington, D.C., IUCLS conducts seminars and research on legal aspects of terrorism and administers training for law students.

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