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International Cooperation in Counterterrorism: Redefining the Threat and the Requirement

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It is far easier to talk about international cooperation in fighting terrorism than it is to achieve it. The world has made real progress in recent years – at both the formal and informal levels. At the same time, national differences still pose serious limits to what can be achieved and the threat is changing. Even if one only focuses on the “greater Middle East,” the threat now involves far more than terrorism per se and non-state actors. Cooperation in counter terrorism must deal with these changes and with the fact that there are no clear boundaries between terrorism and insurgency, and that terrorism is only a symptom of a far broader ideological struggle.

There are no perfect solutions to international cooperation, or to dealing with the changes in the threat. In the real world, there will never be a true national consensus as to who is a “terrorist,” the priorities in dealing with given threats, and over what actions to take. Nations must do what they can to advance formal international cooperation in counterterrorism at a global or regional level, within the differing limits of national interests and priorities, but they, must also strengthen formal and informal cooperation at the bilateral and multilateral level. Moreover, nations must adapt to the changing threat, and must look at counterterrorism as only one part of an integrated approach to dealing both terrorism and a far wider range of national and regional threats.

I. Formal International Cooperation in Fighting Terrorism

The fact that there are serious limits to the scope and depth of international cooperation does not mean that the world has not made major progress since 2001. This progress has been most visible within the UN and international organizations, in spite of the serious limits various nations place on how well such cooperation is actually implemented.

Cooperation Within the UN

The United Nations has long dealt with the problem of terrorism, but the attack on the World Trade Center and Pentagon in 2001 served as a powerful catalyst in strengthening its role. The UN has created 13 different conventions, and 16 universal legal instruments, to deal with terrorism.¹

The Secretary General established a Counter-Terrorism Implementation Task Force (CTITF) in July 2005 to ensure overall coordination and coherence in the counter-terrorism efforts of the United Nations system. This CTITF has working groups, covering virtually every major aspect of counterterrorism:²

- Integrated Assistance for Countering Terrorism (I-ACT)
- Preventing and Resolving Conflicts
- Supporting and Highlighting Victims of Terrorism
- Preventing and Responding to WMD Attacks
- Tackling the Financing of Terrorism
- Countering the Use of the Internet for Terrorist Purposes
- Strengthening the Protection of Vulnerable Targets
- Protecting Human Rights While Countering Terrorism

The UN now has a number of other major committees that focus on counterterrorism, notably the Counter-Terrorism Committee (CTC) to the Security Council.³ The CTC's reports cite a steady increase in the number of nations adhering to these conventions and legal instruments, and show that virtually every major element of the UN has some role in dealing with terrorism. Moreover UN reports show that 155 Member States (with 102 of those providing additional information) and one organization (the European Union) now report regularly to the UN on their efforts to meet the requirements of the Security Council resolution (UNSCR 1540) dealing with such cooperation.

The UN also has 14 elements actively involved in helping member countries build their capacity to fight terrorism ranging from the International Maritime Organization and World Health Organization to the International Atomic Energy Agency.

Progress advanced to the point where the General Assembly of the United Nations adopted a Global Counter-Terrorism Strategy on September 8, 2006. It then created the first comprehensive, collective and internationally approved global framework for addressing the problem of terrorism. In September 2008, All 192 Member States confirmed their commitment to the principles of this strategy in September 2008, and pledged to pursue its implementation. This strategy has an action plan that spells out specific measures member states should take individually and collectively to address the conditions that help inspire the spread of terrorism, to strengthen their individual and collective capacity to prevent and combat terrorism, and to protect human rights and uphold the rule of law while countering terrorism.

Other International and Regional Organizations

Similar advances have occurred in other key international and regional organizations INTERPOL has steadily expanded its role in fighting terrorism.⁴ So has virtually every major regional organization – including NATO, European Union (EU), G-8, Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE), the Gulf Cooperation Council, Partnership for Peace, the NATO/Russia Council, the NATO/Ukraine Commission, Mediterranean Dialogue, Asia-Pacific Economic Cooperation (APEC), Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN), Association of Southeast Asian Nations Regional Forum (ARF), Organization of American States/Inter-American Committee Against Terrorism (OAS/CICTE), and the Shanghai Cooperation Organization.⁵

International financial organizations like the World Bank and International Monetary Fund play an important role in disrupting terrorist financing.⁶ So do less well-known, but more specialized organizations, such as the Financial Action Task Force (FATF) on money laundering and the Egmont Group.⁷

FATF is a 34-country body based in Paris that seeks to set global standards to fight money laundering and terrorism financing and has issued nine “special recommendations”, to criminalize terrorism financing, freeze terrorist assets, and oversee charities, non-profit organizations and the informal financial sector. The Egmont Group has established an international network of Financial Intelligence Units to co-operate, share information, and improve efforts to criminalize terrorism financing, and create a

system to freeze terrorist assets. Many of these steps have the effect of creating sanctions on any institution or country that supports or tolerates terrorism.

Improved Cooperation at the National Level

Nation-to-nation cooperation has been greatly strengthened. The United States has been particularly proactive in such bilateral and multilateral cooperation because of “9/11.”⁸ However, many other countries have been involved, and this includes countries that had to deal with large-scale terrorism long before the US.

Virtually every country in NATO, including Turkey, has expanded its role in both broad international and nation-to-nation efforts. So have many countries in the Middle East, Asia, Latin America, and Africa.⁹ This includes a significant number of countries that do not publicize the scale of their cooperation with other states, but it is clear from the annual surveys of such activity that UN Counter-Terrorism Committee (CTC) provides of cooperation by region that far more countries play a positive role than chose to publicize the full nature of their actions.¹⁰

This cooperation has also helped to inspire a wide mix of improvements at the purely national level. These have affected intelligence; law enforcement; the security of trade, ports, air traffic, banking; and a host of other activities. Nations react to, and learn from international cooperation, just as the sharing of national lessons has broad international benefits.

II. Finding Solutions to the Myths and the Realities of International Cooperation

These positive efforts have had a real impact on terrorism, and particularly on extreme organizations like Al Qa'ida and the other most extreme and violent non-state actors. The fact remains, however, that the last decade has also shown that there are serious limits to such cooperation at every level. Nations have different interests, define terrorism and terrorists differently, and have different priorities. There are reasons why nations find it so hard to agree even on a definition of terrorism, and why the *myth* of cooperation so often exceeds the reality.

The Myth of International Cooperation

The *myth* of international cooperation assumes a level of common interest that simply does not and will not exist. Full cooperation would require nations to act on the following principles:

- Resources are adequate to deal effectively with all common threats.
- Internal “terrorism” and violent political dissent is unacceptable to outside countries.
- All countries will cooperate in dealing with state sponsors of terrorism as well as non-state actors.
- Cooperation can be based on trust and common values: One man’s terrorist is another man’s terrorist.
- A definition of terrorism exists that can be accepted by all cooperating states.
- Intelligence can be freely shared among a wide range of states and organizations.
- Other states can be counted on to keep information secure, and to only use it to mutual advantage.
- International institutions are secure and trustworthy.
- Internal instability and security issues do not require compartmentation and secrecy at national level.
- The “war on terrorism” creates common priorities and needs for action.
- The national priority for fighting terrorists is higher than the priority for cooperating with them/using them/tolerating them.
- Global and regional cooperation is the natural basis for international action.
- Legal systems are compatible enough for cooperation.
- Human rights and rule of law differences do not limit cooperation.
- Most needs are identical.
- Cooperation can be separated from financial needs and resources.

The Real World Limits to International Cooperation

Like many aspects of international affairs, there are times when it is to everyone’s advantage to pretend such myths are true. It is also clear from the events of the last decade that even “hostile” states can cooperate to some degree in dealing with terrorism.

In the real world, however, nations have different and often competing interests in dealing with terrorism, just as they do in every other aspect of international affairs. This

is true even when they appear to face common threats. The proverb that the “enemy of my enemy is my friend” is often wrong. The reality is that “enemy of my enemy is often a worse enemy.”

Even a brief list of some of the competing interests in one region like the “Greater Middle East” makes the reasons for the limits to international cooperation all too clear:

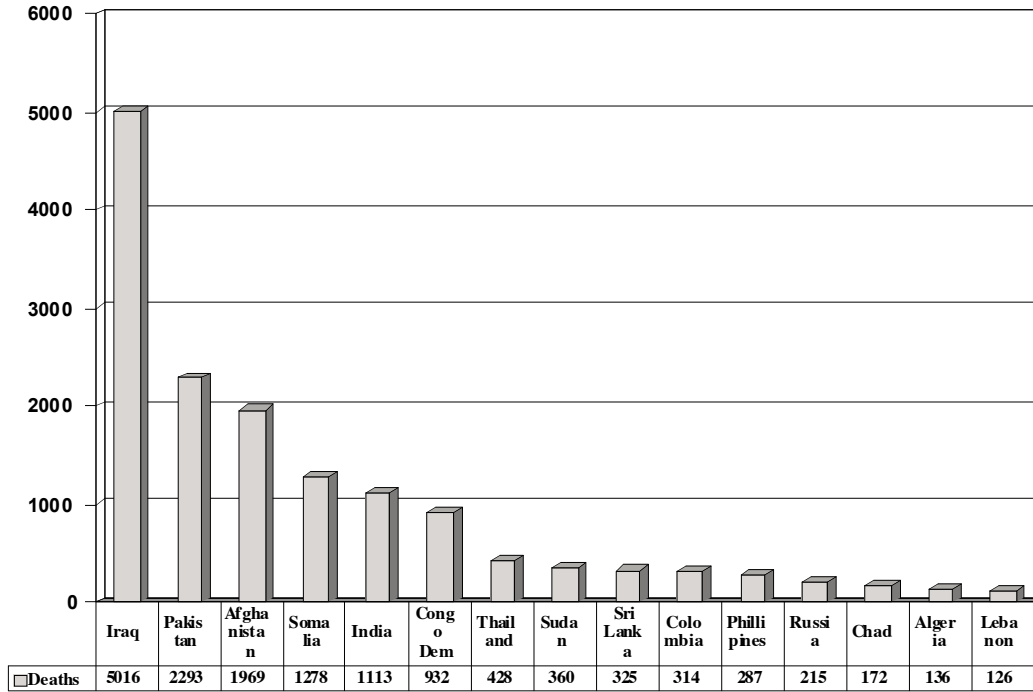
- The Arab-Israeli conflict: Hamas, PIJ, Hezbollah, Israeli extremists, role of Syria and Iran in using proxies.
- The impact of US intervention in the region: Role in Iraq and Afghanistan, ties to Israel.
- Post 9/11 tensions between the US and Saudi Arabia; US and West and Islamic world.
- National needs to deal with internal threats in Afghanistan, Algeria, Bahrain, Egypt, Iran, Iraq, Pakistan, Saudi Arabia, Somalia, Yemen, etc.
- Fear of “Shi’ite crescent” tied to violent and “extremist activity.
- Differences over role and characterization of Hamas and Hizbollah.
- Remnants of civil conflict in Iraq: Sunni, Shiite, Kurds, and other minorities. Tensions over Iranian and Syrian support of outside factions.
- Sensitivity of religion and of how to deal with Islamist and Jewish extremism;
- Divisions between Sunnis, Shi’ites, and other Muslim sects within given regional powers.
- Pakistani focus on threat from India, securing “strategic depth” in Afghanistan, versus focus on Al Qa’ida, Haqqani network, Taliban.
- Ethnic differences over Berber issue in North Africa
- Cultural tensions over Muslim immigration to Europe, “culture shock.”
- Different views of reform; how to address the “causes of terrorism.
- Views of threat or non-threat from Iran; importance of Iranian nuclear and missile capability, capabilities for asymmetric warfare, use of Al Quds force, importance of control of Tunbs and Abu Musa.
- National tensions and divisions between the Gulf Cooperation Council states and within states like Bahrain, Kuwait, and Saudi Arabia.
- Different views of human rights and rule of law. Of freedom of speech.
- Chechens and other ethnic and sectarian tensions in Central Asia; post-Soviet autocracy in Central Asia.
- Spillover of problems in South Asia, East Asia, South Asia.
- Divisions between individual Arab countries in North Africa, Levant, Gulf and Arabia.
- Differences over control of charities, financial institutions, fund transfers.
- Differences over control of population movements; immigration, tracking individuals.

The scale of such differences also emerges from any review of the way nations describe and quantify patterns in terrorism. For example, the United States focuses heavily on the threats it sees as most important, and this is reflected in its estimates of the global trends in terrorism – as is shown in Chart One. On the one hand, it is immediately clear why the US would view the struggle against terrorism in such terms. On the other hand, it is far from clear that most countries would define virtually every casualty in Iraq and Afghanistan as “terrorism.”

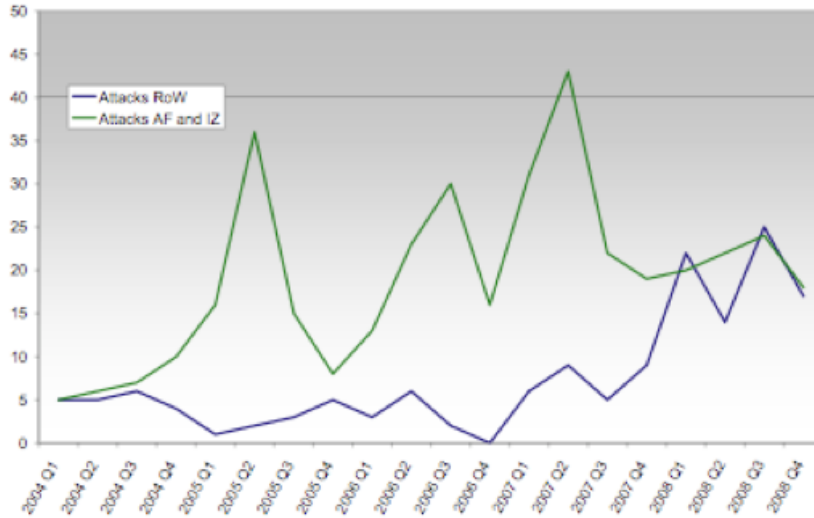
Similarly, the United Kingdom places far more emphasis on terrorist activities in Northern Ireland than the US during the Catholic-Protestant struggles in that country, and Turkey has seen the struggle against the PKK as highly international in character – forcing Turkey to put decisive military pressure on Syria – while many outside counts have dealt with the PKK as domestic, rather than international activity.

Chart One: US Comparative Estimates of Terrorist Activity

Terrorism Related Deaths: Pakistan, Afghanistan, Iraq & Rest of World: 2008



Comparison of High-Fatality Sunni Attacks in Iraq and Afghanistan versus Rest of World from 2004 to 2008



National Counterterrorism Center, *Country Reports on Terrorism, 2008*, 30 April 2009, <http://www.nctc.gov/>, pp. 24 and 17.

International cooperation in dealing with terrorism is inevitably limited by the following realities – even if terrorism is defined in relatively narrow terms --:

- Cooperation cannot always be based on trust and common values: One man's terrorist may be another man's freedom fighter, proxy, or source.
- Intelligence cannot (and will not) be freely shared -- particular raw and sensitive intelligence.
- Large numbers of other states cannot be counted on to keep information secure, and will be counted on to keep information secure, and some will attempt to use it to national advantage.
- International institutions leak and are politicized. Unless specially designed for other purposes, and even then present unusual risks.
- Internal instability and security issues are political "crown jewels" and the resulting sensitivity leads to extensive compartmentation and limits on cooperation.
- Bilateral, multilateral, and national clusters of cooperation –not international or regional organizations are often a more natural basis for cooperation.
- Legal systems often differ sharply and present major problems in cooperation.
- Differences in approaches to human rights and rule of law differences can sharply limit cooperation, and create a major political and media impact.
- Many needs are not identical, and national priorities are often sharply different.
- Cooperation cannot be separated from financial needs and resources, and many states have severe limits in terms of resources and/or specialized expertise.

Methods for Dealing with these Realities

These problems do not, however, mean that international cooperation is not possible. Nations have found a wide range of mechanisms for working around these problems. Some involve adapting the ways in which formal cooperation takes place, and some involve a focus on more informal methods of cooperation.

Examples that have been proven in practice at the international, regional, and country-to-country levels include efforts to:

- *Establish a resource centre at the disposal of law enforcement sub-regionally, regionally or worldwide*
- *Develop an Incident Response Guide for law enforcement and responder; include CBRN.*
- *Provide training and awareness programs, including sub-regional and regional workshops*
- *Share information Technology, collection, defense, response, critical infrastructure meetings and workshops.*
- *Create international stockpiles for rapid deployment of response equipment like vaccines and medicines designed to deal with both bioterrorism and natural outbreaks and medical needs. Compartmented national efforts can be wasteful and expensive; coordinated international efforts could achieve major economies of scale and developed synergies between dealing with terrorism and public health needs.*
- *Develop response plans to deal with public information and warning to counter panic, inform the media, and minimize economic impacts.*
- *Establish suitable national controls on imports, equipment and supply sales and access to key facilities*

- *Exchange data on methods of program management and measures of effectiveness:* The response to biological threats has moved far beyond the point where programs should continue that are not subject to stringent performance review, peer review, well-defined milestones, cost-containment and other measures of effectiveness. The exchange of such key management tools can aid all countries involved.
- *Common efforts to develop high cost defense and response systems such as detection and warning systems and networks:* Some capabilities are so costly that they deserve special attention as areas for international cooperation. This includes common research and development efforts for new treatments, and common test and evaluation efforts for detection and warning systems.

At the same time, nations have developed ways to operate that avoid paralyzing cooperation because of national sensitivities and interests:

- Slowly and selectively strengthening bilateral and “cluster” cooperation in more sensitive areas according to national priorities and needs.
- Finding approaches to international and regional cooperation that bypass national and regional sensitivities.
- Compartment counterterrorism from ordinary diplomacy, limit open/transparent operations.
- Avoiding efforts to create too broad and include a list of common lists of terrorists and organizations.
- Selective outside acceptance of national designations of organizations and individuals.
- Avoid making counterterrorism another forum for regional disputes and controversies.
- Avoiding rigid efforts to create a common definition of “terrorism.”
- Sharing of legislation, efforts at reform and dealing with causes of terrorism, standards for law and human rights.
- Avoid focusing on sensitive aspects of intelligence.
- Selective international action in many areas: Controlling funds transfers, tracking movements, etc.
- Sharing of non-sensitive training methods, defensive and response systems.

“Modular” Areas for Cooperation in Counterterrorism

Nations have also found that there are a wide range of forms of cooperation that can be conducted on a modular level that tailors cooperation in limited forms to actions that avoid areas of tension or national difference. Avoiding a “one size fits all” -- or standardized -- approach enables nations with different priorities and interests to cooperate within the framework of international organizations, and/or on a formal or informal bilateral and multilateral basis. Nations have found that these can include the sharing of systems, tactics, technology in ways that are tailored to reflect the limits imposed by security and conflicting interests, and can then be supported on an international or regional level with minimal risk. Proven examples include:

- Design of national and regional counterterrorism centers; improving such facilities.
- Immigration management, ergonomics, personnel tracking systems.
- Training systems for most force elements.
- Tactics for most missions.
- Case studies and models in integrating regular military, internal security, and police operations.

- Case studies and models in dealing with human rights and rule of law issues.
- Equipment and systems design for many defense systems: E.g. CBRN detections and characterization; IED and bomb detection/prevention, IT defense, critical infrastructure defense.
- Equipment and systems design for many aspects of response: E.g. CBRN response; emergency medical response, maintaining civil order, etc.
- Threat assessment techniques; vulnerability analysis, lethality and damage assessment models, methods of risk analysis.
- Information Technology (IT) systems and subsystems.
- Law enforcement, counter-drug interface tactics, systems, and training.
- Financial regulation, control, and tracking systems.
- Educational efforts, dialogue, media outreach.

Cooperation in Capacity Building

Other forms of cooperation lend themselves to training and capacity building on a bilateral, multilateral, regional or global scale – again tailored to both the kinds of aid required and the real world limits imposed by national differences and sensitivities:

- *Help countries with their immigration control:* introduce secure biometric systems to track immigrants and visitors.
- *Improve aviation security:* including the sharing of surveillance and bomb detection equipment.
- *Enhance port and maritime security:* improve countries' patrol and interdiction capacity. This includes sharing of radar technology and training methods of navy and coast guards.
- *Customs cooperation:* assist countries in controlling their borders and developing sound customs laws to control their borders.
- *Export control:* help countries counter arms, drug, and explosive smuggling and preventing them from falling into the hands of terrorists.
- *Law-enforcement cooperation:* developing countries need training counter-terrorism operations such as tracking and prevention suicide bombing, and best practices in responding to attacks.
- *Counter-terrorist financing operation including:* developed countries and international organizations should help developing countries meet FATF standards and other counter-money-laundering measures.
- *Counter-CBRN terrorism:* share methods and data on how to prevent and respond to CBRN terrorist attacks.
- *Developing counter-terrorism legislation:* Assisting countries develop legislation for domestic implementation of international conventions and protocols in countering terrorism.

Cooperation in Dealing with Terrorist Financing

Formal international cooperation has become more effective in placing limits on the more formal and overt methods of terrorist and extremist financing, and a wide range of less overt bilateral and multilateral efforts now take place on an informal basis. Such cooperation has limited funding in a number of cases, as well as provided powerful intelligence on terrorist networks and their support, However, it has not blocked or crippled any serious terrorist and extremist operations – because they constantly find new ways to avoid international and national barriers.

Examples of such cooperation include efforts to:

- Strengthen existing bilateral and multilateral Anti-Money Laundering/Countering the Financing of Terrorism (AML/CFT) standards such as the Financial Action Task Force (FATF) recommendations and encourage countries to comply with these requirements.
- Create Financial Intelligence Units (FIUs) in every country that meet the Egmont Group
- Definitions and Standards that encourage the sharing of information and expertise between national and regional FIUs.
- Identify individuals and entities that are suspected of money laundering, terrorist financing, or supporting drug or arms trafficking and share the information at the FIU with other countries on the international level.
- Find comprehensive and universal standards to ensure that charitable, humanitarian, and non-profit organizations are not abused by extremists that are based on the FATF recommendations and other international standards.
- Create national systems for collecting and analyzing international wire transfers including, *hawalah*, by FIUs to detect and prevent money from reaching extremists organizations.
- Create a system to use frozen terrorist assets and distribute the money to compensate victims of terrorism.
- Develop laws and the judicial capacity to prosecute money launderers and to protect national banks from being abused by terrorist organizations.

Cooperation in Intelligence

The last decade has also shown that there are “work arounds” to the problems in international cooperation even in what is a sensitive area for even the closest allies. Intelligence is the “crown jewel” of national secrecy. Every country wants the other countries information, and most will do their best not to compromise any of their own intelligence in ways that might be used against them. No amount of rhetoric and stated good intentions can overcome this reality. For example, NATO and the Warsaw Pact could never develop fully integrated intelligence efforts even at the worst moments of the Cold War.

Once again, however, there is a range of proven methods of cooperation that can take place at very different levels of transparency and depth in international organizations, and at the bilateral and multilateral levels. Many have been used to mutual advantage by countries that, to put it mildly, do not fully trust each other:

- Transfer of selected data, focused cooperation, in areas of common interest.
- Release of generic data at secure and open levels.
- Hierarchical secure, standardized systems for sharing finished data in agreed areas.
- Standardization of collection, reporting, content, and IT systems in select areas.
- Sub-regional “cluster” and specialized regional organizations; integrated and virtual staffs.
- Creation of Interpol-like “national” designation systems identifying organizations and individuals as “terrorist;” creation of common centers and/or data bases.
- Exchange of intelligence officers and common cells.
- Exchange training systems, less sensitive collection and analytic methods, IT system design.
- Agreements for common operations, especially in security areas.

- Exchange/sale/transfer of secure communications gear, collection gear (UAVs, etc.)
- Open source designation and reporting.
- Near Real-time exchange of critical data on IT system or “hotline” basis.

Dealing with CBRN Terrorism and Threats

Nations have also looked forwards towards the threat of far more catastrophic forms of terrorism. UN and a variety of international agencies are actively involved in trying to limit the threat posed by proliferation, and by the potential use of chemical, biological, radiological, and nuclear (CBRN) weapons. Individual countries and groups of states are also acting to deal with such threats – as well as the broader threats post by state actors.

The options involved include efforts to:

- Strengthen the CWC, BC, NNPT, and MTCR to include proliferation to terrorist organizations and stricter punishment for states with WMD capabilities that are considered sponsors of terrorism.
- Protect fissile materials and their production from being acquired by terrorists organizations.
- Strengthen the NNPT or introduce new measures to stop proliferation or enrichment of Uranium and Plutonium.
- Protect ports from the transfer of materials that can be used for CBRN weapons.
- Share best practices between states for screening materials and containers.
- Protect after attack to minimize the damage.
- Build scenarios and contingency plans.
- Train and build capacity of first responders and investigators to manage a CBRN attack.
- Develop plans to deal with public information and warning to counter panic, inform the media, and minimize economic impacts.
- Share data and training methods with other countries.
- Prepare disaster management agencies to deal with a WMD attack.

III. Looking Beyond the “Art of the Possible” in Cooperating to Deal with Conventional Terrorist Threats

The fact that national differences currently impose practical limits to international cooperation does not mean that nations should accept such limits, or try to push beyond today’s “art of the possible.” The threat imposed by terrorism has not diminished over the last decade. If anything, it has expanded to include insurgencies, sanctuaries, and less violent political efforts to take control of fragile states. At the same time, states have found new ways to sponsor terrorism and extremism, and develop forms of irregular warfare that cannot be clearly distinguished from terrorism.

Whatever may be possible today, nations and experts should consider far more demanding and controversial forms of international cooperation in the future. Such measures may include:

- *End the compartmentation of national analysis, planning, and programs that artificially distinguish between domestic and international terrorism, as well as attempts and successful incidents. Focus on high risk forms of terrorism and combine warning and analytic functions.* The US and some other countries have created national terrorism centers that can perform these functions. There are still indications, however, that such centers often artificially compartment their incident reporting and pattern analysis, and do not adequately characterize the nature of terrorist, covert, and proxy efforts to acquire biological weapons and other weapons of mass destruction.
- *Create hierarchies of intelligence to allow maximum sharing of data at the national and international level, and in a standardized and near real time form:* The US has already found that excessive compartmentation and secrecy are the natural allies of terrorism. Exposing sources and methods is dangerous, as is giving too much information at the unclassified level, or to insecure national and international entities. In almost every case, however, it is possible to create levels of intelligence that can be shared. Gross, excessive overclassification, and compartmentation within and between agencies and elements of government, is the international norm.
- *Establish an international center(s) for tracking, characterizing, and analyzing terrorist incidents, terrorists, and terrorist activities:* There is a broad need for a center that can provide reliable tracking and characterization of all types of terrorist incidents, including known attempts, and for supporting pattern and trend analysis on a sophisticated basis. Such a center would almost certainly have to be managed by governments or an international organization like Interpol, and would probably have to operate at both the classified and unclassified levels. It might be necessary to create a separate mix of an open-source international center and separate intelligence centers, with the latter including only those countries capable of secure cooperation.
- *Set international standards for incident reporting for both attempts and actual attacks* that include enough technical data to fully access the level of success in manufacturing, weaponizing, and preparing to disseminate biological weapons. Provide a reliable database on suppliers, facilities used, technical problems encountered and technical progress.
- *Create secure regional centers that can operate at high levels of classification and security for tracking, characterizing, and analyzing terrorist incidents, terrorists, and terrorist activities:* There is no true international community in dealing with bioterrorism. Too many states are proliferators and potential actors in supporting terrorists, covert and false flag operations, and potential use of non-state groups as proxies. Even organizations like NATO and the EU would require careful compartmentation because of some of their members. Smaller, fully secure groups, are, however, better than none – particularly if they include the leaders in biotechnology, intelligence, defense, and response.
- *Create a specialized element in such a center(s) for tracking and analyzing cover, and proxy*

WMD attacks, with specialized expertise to analyze the equipment and agents used, levels of technical sophistication, nature of dual-use exploitation, and technology transfer. Create pattern analysis of trends, sharing of methods between terrorist groups, and establish a detailed near-real time basis for risk assessment. Provide both secure and open analysis to meet the needs of the full range of defenders and responders.

- *Establish suitable international controls on equipment and supply sales, and on access to key facilities.* The present controls and safeguards on access to the equipment, supplies, and facilities needed for terrorist attacks are often inadequate to the point of being negligible – particularly if the actor manufacturing such agents is willing to take high personal risks and risk to those around them. Industry experts, medical and biological research experts, and research and manufacturing administrators need to be consulted to determine what kind of national and international controls are justified and needed.
- *Create suitable international legislation and law enforcement procedures to deal with low and high level threats.* As Interpol notes in a March 2005 review of bioterrorism, “In many countries, criminal justice systems are constrained by inadequate legal frameworks.” Without laws that criminalize activity, there is no basis for legal assistance or co-operation.
- *Create an international system for tracking individuals with special forms of expertise, as well as procedures for vetting and clearing workers and researchers.*
- *Create standardized and rigorous large-scale attack models for public policy and planning purposes:* National efforts need rigorous cooperative efforts to create reliable analytic models, with red team and peer review to challenge the results. Expert guidance is needed to provide more reliable models and data for planning and simulation by defenders and responders, and for developing intelligence and warning indicators. Such analysis is a key task for organizations like the World Health Organization, with the support of national laboratories, although security problems may again restrict a great deal of the effort to select groups of nations capable of cooperating at high levels of security.
- *Examine options for international cooperation at the “fusion level:”* Organizations like the WHO, FAO, and Interpol all have significant potential capabilities in these areas, and some progress is already being made in creating analytic and tracking capabilities in these organizations. More rapid and structured progress is needed, however, and some form of “fusion” or near-real time integration of their efforts may be required.
- *Create international and regional centers to coordinate key activities:* There are limits to international trust, but there are many areas like research, development of warning and detection systems, response methods and technology, and stockpiling of vaccines where international cooperation may be possible at the region level, and where international organizations could play a major role. There may also be a number of areas where it will be far more cost-effective to sponsor international efforts than purely national ones, or to specialize in ways where one nation’s efforts support those of others.
- *Create international and regional centers to exchange data on methods of defense and response:* It should be substantially easier to foster international exchange of the methods nations use in defense and response, and some aspects of intelligence and law/regulatory enforcement. This can include experience with training, legal solutions, etc. Such exchanges will be essential to real-world progress in poorer and developing countries, and will be critical to richer and more developed countries as well.
- *Create transparency in actual progress in creating international cooperation:* It is far easier to talk about international cooperation than it is to achieve it, and far easier to hold meetings and commission studies of how to cooperate than actually do anything. International organizations should be held to the same demanding performance standards as national efforts, and they have no conceivable excuse for anything other than total transparency as to programs, costs, and measures of effectiveness. The “actions not words” test is critical.

IV. Facing the Need to Cooperate in Dealing with New and Evolving Threats

At the same time, the threat is changing and evolving, and interacting with insurgencies, asymmetric warfare, and proliferations. International cooperation in fighting “terrorism” must deal with a widening range of threats – some of which go far beyond “terrorism” if defined in narrow terms.

Nations are now confronted with security problems that force them to look beyond “terrorism” in the narrow sense of the term, and to consider how to shape their cooperation in counterterrorism to deal with the following mix of interrelated threats at the same time:

- Struggles to deal with national threats, often of very different kinds and fought on different terms;
- International struggles to defeat terrorist movements that cut across national lines, and often cultures, political systems, and religions;
 - An ideological and political battle against Islamist extremism, and tensions between the West and nations in the region that act as a breeding ground for terrorism and the tolerance or support of terrorist movements;
 - A struggle to deal with new forms of national and global vulnerability such as proliferation, increasing dependence on information technology and netting; critical infrastructure, and the secure, just-in-time flow of global trade.
 - Insurgencies by “terrorist” or extremist groups, with the potential that non-state actors that may become states. Terrorism cannot be separated from asymmetric warfare and insurgency, state use of terrorists as proxies and “false flags,” or terrorist use of states as sanctuaries.
- Insurgencies dominated by terrorist and extremist movements, risk of extremist takeover and transfer from status of non-state to state actor.
- Covert or overt state hosting of terrorist movements and actors.
- Tolerance of “sanctuaries” and “enclaves” in various countries that become a base for terrorist operations, training, and propaganda.
- State support of extremists and the use of terrorism through covert groups, proxies, and direct or indirect support of extremist/terrorist groups.
- Direct state use of irregular and asymmetric warfare with terrorist elements.
- Proliferation of missile forces and weapons of mass destruction that can be used to empower the use of state terrorism and threats. Potential transfer to non-state actors.

These changes in the threat are particularly clear in the Greater Middle East, Central Asia, and South Asia – although developments in these regions affect North Africa, Europe, the United States, and the rest of Asia – as well as the entire global economy. A separate Power Point presentation – entitled *The Evolving Threat of Terrorism, Asymmetric Warfare, and Proliferation: The Gulf and Energy Exports as a Case Study* -- provides a case study showing the range of such interrelated threats.

The Challenge of Ideology, Religion, and International Networks

Even the most direct form of “terrorism.” – movements like Al Qa’ida – involve far more than terrorism. They are driven by a deep ideological struggle for the future of Islam at a time when far too many secular governments and many political parties in the region have failed to either govern or deal with the ideological challenge of extremism by every meaningful standard.

Moreover, “terrorism” is only one tool of such actors. They support insurgency and work with sympathetic regimes. They use other movements and proxies – even if they sharply disagree in religious terms. Most important, their terrorist actions are not the most important aspect of their threat. This makes it extremely dangerous to focus only terrorism in the narrow sense. It makes it equally dangerous demonize any one leader or movement – such as Bin Laden or on Al Qa’ida – in ways that both glorify them in the eyes of their supporters and imply that terrorism can be defeated if a single movement or leader can be defeated.

The history of terrorism provides clear warnings. Extremist spin offs of movements like the Moslem Brotherhood in Egypt, and the Deobandi movement in Pakistan, sowed the seeds of terrorist movements decades before Al Qa’ida existed. Many of these movements remain independent today.

Affiliation with Al Qa’ida does not mean dependence on Al Qa’ida or these a movement would not survive the destruction of Al Qa’ida “central.” The Islamist extremist threat in Iraq arose out of Sunni and Shi’ite sectarian differences, and only became affiliated with Al Qa’ida several years after it drove Iraq into a state of civil war. It has since changed its title, while other insurgent elements have survived and emerged that never affiliated themselves with Al Qa’ida.

Islamist extremist insurgents in Algeria only became affiliated with Al Qa’ida after operating independently for decades. Al Qa’ida in the Arabian Peninsula emerged in Saudi Arabia and Yemen in ways that give them significant independence in choosing leaders and carrying out attacks. The extremists in Somalia, Eritrea, Afghanistan, and Pakistan – and much of the rest of the world – are either independent or only loosely affiliated with Al Qa’ida “central.”

There are Shi’ite as well as Sunni movements. What started as a broad-based revolution in Iran in the late 1970s became a Shi’ite religious movement that had nothing to do with developments in Sunni extremism. The internal political struggles in Iran, tensions with Israel and the United States, the hostility of Sunni extremist movements, Iran’s intervention in Iraq, and growing tensions with the Iran’s neighbors, have push Iran towards a more hard-line posture with critical elements of state terrorism.

These tensions and extremism inevitably involve disaffected Muslim immigrants in Europe, the US, and throughout the world. Population migration has become a key factor. The high rates of population growth drive migrants out of the Greater Middle East, Africa and Asia Low population growth rates in Europe have already ensured that the resulting tensions between cultures and faith is a problem in most of Europe. At the same time, the US is a natural target as both the ally of Israel and of the secular and moderate local governments they are seeking to destroy.

In short, the threat of “terrorism” is only one part of a far broader mix of threats, it is driven by ideas and underlying causes that affect entire regions and cultures. It will be far more enduring than any one movement and any one leader. New or mutated organizations would quickly emerge if all the elements of Al Qa’ida central in the FATA area of Pakistan should somehow disappear tomorrow. In fact, killing a key figure like Bin Laden might do more to create a martyr and a new rallying cry than weaken terrorism and extremism.

Moreover, the Internet and modern communications, the ease of travel -- and the creation of international religious, charitable, and education organizations religion -- have all been exploited by informal networks of extremists that usually operate with a high degree of autonomy and often near independence. Fighters, cadres, trainers, and financiers increasingly cross national borders. Every existing movement, and each new emerging movement, will be able to find new ways to communicate and create new, highly resilient “distributed networks.”

The Enduring Causes of Terrorism

This lesson is reinforced by the fact that ideology and religion are only some of the factors involved. Violent religious extremists feed on the fact that secular alternatives have often lost their credibility -- leaving populations alienated by failed governance, or by various forms of ethnic and sectarian discrimination. This means that many such threats are likely to be “generational” in the sense they will exist for at least a decade or more.

One needs to be extremely careful about generalizing the causes of terrorism. Terrorists and violent extremists are only a tiny majority even in those nations whose problems do most to encourage terrorism. Moreover, while a decade of intense study of why people become terrorists and violent extremists has failed to produce any meaningful consensus, it has shown that personal psychological profiles and experiences, family problems, peer and group influence often play a more critical role in given cases than broad underlying political, economic, and social issues.

Broad Underlying Causes

Nevertheless, international cooperation in fighting “terrorism” cannot be separated from the causes of terrorism posed by the problems that failed and potentially failing states face in the struggle against terrorism. Far too many states are now plagued by problems that play at least some role in creating terrorist and extremist movements:

- Many states have become “permanent” food importers, and increasingly lack the water, or the agricultural productivity and competitiveness to sustain their agricultural sectors.
- Unemployment and failing education, with young males often having a far higher rate of unemployment or lack of the income necessary to marry or meet their expectations.
- Import of cheap labor at the expense of jobs for citizens and the creation of efficient, well-capitalized industry, agriculture, and service sectors.
- State subsidies that distort the economy and prevent competitiveness. State control of key sectors of the economy that have the same effect. Growth of government employment and state industries that are inefficient, create unneeded jobs, and exacerbate the failure to develop efficient systems of governance that meet national needs.

- Corruption and the favoring of elites and powerbrokers based on family, tribe, region, sect, and ethnicity. Lack of merit-based promotion and appointments at every level of power.
- Service politics and state political parties where with party or parties serve their interests at the expense of the nation.
- Failure to modernize the rule of law at the security, criminal, and civil level, coupled to the abuse of courts and the police, and human rights. Misuse of military and paramilitary forces.
- Hyperurbanization, and a half-century decline in agricultural and traditional trades, impose high levels of stress on traditional social safety nets and extended families
- Broad problems in integrating women effectively and productively into the work force.
- Limited or no real growth in per capita income, and growing inequity in the distribution of that income. Oil states are the exception, but income distribution is often extremely inequitable.
- Overall economic growth lags behind population growth and expectations.
- Few states are competitive with the economic activity in the leading states in other developing regions except in oil and petroleum exports.
- Radical economic changes are breaking up traditional societies at the family, village, and tribal level.
- “Oil wealth” has always been relative, and cannot sustain employment and balanced development in most countries in the region.
- Lack of balanced, globally competitive economies in spite of decades of reform plans and foreign aid, there are no.
- Sustained debt and budget crises.

Population Growth and a Demographic Nightmare

It is also a fact that the most serious threats of terrorism and extremism often coincide with a population explosion that has become a demographic nightmare. Terrorism cannot be separate from structural unemployment that can be over 30%. It cannot be separated from social disruption and the pressures of massive population growth and hyperurbanization, and the breakdown of education and opportunity for youth in countries where some 60% of the population is often under 30, and 40% is 14 years of age or younger. States face the following pressures:

- *Population growth is creating a “youth explosion.”* If one looks only at the Gulf area, population growth has already raised the size of the young working age population (ages 20 to 24) area from 5.5 million in 1970 to 13 million in 2000, million. Conservative estimates indicate it will grow to 18 million in 2010 and to 24 million in 2050. If one looks at the MENA region as a whole, age 20-24s have grown steadily from 10 million in 1950 to 36 million today, and will grow steadily to at least 56 million by 2050.
- *The World Bank estimates that some 36% of the total MENA population is less than 15 years of age versus 21% in the US and 16% in the EU.* The ratio of dependents to each working age man and woman is three times that in a developed region like the EU. The CIA has produced estimates that more than 45% of the population is under 15 years of age.
- *Youth unemployment provides a recruitment pool for extremists:* Most of the MENA countries have large unemployment rates. People in the region tend to blame this on governments in the region and outside supporters such as the US. The unemployed have proven to be a fertile ground for extremist recruitments.
- *Immigration is being driven by economic and social forces and creates new challenges of its own.* It is hardly surprising therefore that a past Arab Development Report should mention surveys

where 50% of the young Arab males surveyed stated their career plan was to immigrate

- *Youth confusion:* With the explosion of the methods of communications such as satellite channels, Internet, cell phones, etc the youth in the region are being bombarded by messages from all sides. Extremists have utilized these methods and the alienation of youth by what they consider to be “cultural invasions.”

Additional Forms of International Cooperation

Problems in governance, economics, and demographics that such ideological and “terrorist” movements can feed upon, but such pressures exist in many countries in the Greater Middle East – as well as in key parts of Asia. Moreover, it is easy to talk about making basic structural changes in nations and societies -- or “draining the swamp” -- that these failures in politics, governance, and economics create. In most cases, however, the problems are so serious that any such progress will take years and often decades. Even far more effective government and economic policies, and credible levels of outside aid, cannot reduce them to manageable levels for the foreseeable future.

The end result is that “terrorism” finds it easier to escalate into “insurgency,” and to create de facto sanctuaries in some states. It is also increasing the risk the extremists may win victories that transform non-state terrorist actors into radical state actors that threaten their neighbors and use terrorism on a regional or global scale.

This does not preclude cooperation in a wide range of areas that address the causes of terrorism, but it does mean success will inevitably be limited at best. Such cooperation includes:

- Common efforts to condemn terrorism, and label organizations and individuals as threats.
- Religious and counter-terrorism dialogues and meetings.
- National efforts to counter extremism and “deviants.” Backed with support, not challenges from West.
- Cooperation in blocking movement of spokesmen and actors, reviewing requests for asylum, movement of propaganda.
- Cooperation in ensuring maximum freedom of movement for non-terrorists.
- Educational reform
- Religious efforts to counter extremism and intolerance.
- Education of media; added transparency.
- Exchanges on values, perceptions, and popular reactions to counterterrorism efforts.
- Supporting role of legitimate human rights organizations.
- Cooperation in outreach to media.
- Cooperation in public diplomacy.
- Economic aid and assistance.

The Special Role of Failed and Potentially Failing States

These challenges do, however, force states to also focus on the special problems posed by a range of failed, and potentially failing states. Such states already have terrorist or extremist elements, some have nascent or active insurgencies, and some – in the worst

case – could come under radical or extremist control and become hostile state actors and sanctuaries.

The most obvious candidates are Somalia and Yemen – states whose internal divisions, economic weaknesses, failed governments, and demographics combine to pose almost insuperable problems. The US and other states are already deeply involved in trying to reduce the threat they already pose within these states and are likely to be actively involved in dealing with these problems through 2020 and beyond.

The potential map of such countries, however, is far broader. It already involves Afghanistan and Iraq -- two states where the US is currently fighting both insurgents and terrorists, and which illustrate how meaningless the distinction between counterterrorism and counterinsurgency has become. Iraq is now far less likely to “fail,” but terrorism and insurgency continue to be part of a common threat. Afghanistan is a case where the odds of US victory are close to even, and whose fate cannot be separated from developments in a third nation – Pakistan. An Islamist extremist “terrorist” or “insurgent” takeover of a nuclear-armed Pakistan seems unlikely, but is possible. Once again, the US is already deeply involved in trying to reduce the internal threats in each state, and is likely to be actively involved, or pushed into a containment strategy, through 2020 and beyond.

And, these five countries are only the most visible such points in the map of one part of the world. The Arab-Israeli conflict is now tied to a deeply divided Palestinian movement that risks becoming the world’s first failed protostate. Gaza is linked to both Islamist extremism and Iranian funding and arms shipments. Developments in the West Bank are more favorable, but uncertain and increasingly affected by both an Israeli and Palestinian loss of belief that peace process can work.

A relatively stable Jordan faces the constant risk of a spillover of the tensions between Israel and the Palestinians, and a failed peace process inevitably affects its future stability. Lebanon’s fragile unity is linked to the fate of the Hezbollah – which has become a near-state actor within a state, and one that poses its own threat in terms of irregular warfare, and support of attacks on Israel. Moreover, Lebanon divisions also have led to the growth of Sunni extremist elements, some tied to Al Qa’ida.

The US faces a decade of succession issues in the Gulf, Levant and North Africa – and in critical regional allies like Egypt and Saudi Arabia. None currently seems to lead to control by Islamist extremists, but “unlikely” is a very different word from “impossible.” Insurgency and terrorism go on at low levels in Algeria, and all of North Africa has regimes with uncertain capacity to govern, critical economic problems, and critical challenges in terms of demographics and population growth. The Sahara is a steadily less meaningful barrier as Islamist extremist influences grow in Sub-Saharan Africa and in key countries like Nigeria.

No country in Central Asia as yet has a regime that convincingly has the loyalty of its people and serves their interests. None are failed states, but all have post-Soviet regimes with uncertain abilities to survive and deal with internal tensions and their own Islamists. Again, at the margin of probability, Turkey poses at least some risk that its secular and religious political tensions could escalate to the crisis point. It also must deal with a broader threat from PKK forces located in Iraq, and the spillover of various Sunni

extremist movements stimulated by the conflicts in Iraq, the Balkans, Chechnya, Afghanistan, Pakistan, and Central Asia.

This mix of threats cuts across all of the regional boundaries that are normally used in strategic analysis in both international organizations and countries. For example, it cuts across all of the major lines of national security responsibility within the United States government.

In virtually every case, international cooperation is already taking place at both the formal and informal levels to deal with these threats, and prevent or contain the risk of insurgency or regime overthrow. In most cases the host country is willing to cooperate in at least some areas, but this cooperation varies sharply by host country as does the role that outside states can play.

This means that international cooperation in fighting terrorism must adapt differently to each case to provide aid in intelligence and counterterrorism, and broader aid in creating military and paramilitary forces that can limit the risk of any form of insurgency. It also means that such cooperation must provide at least some aid in improving governance and economic development. In no case, however, is there a certainty that the most threatened countries can achieve stability during the next decade. Once again, the strategic timeframe is 2010 and beyond.

The Changing Role of State Actors

There also are divisions that create a need for international cooperation in dealing with state actors – although such cooperation can be remarkably difficult to make effective because of differing national interests. The United States, for example, labels some countries as “state sponsors of terrorism.” Many other countries disagree, and the problem is compounded by the changes taking place in the use of warfare and military force either directly or for the purposes of intimidation. Just as there is no clear boundary between “terrorism” and “insurgency,” there is no clear boundary between “terrorism” and “asymmetric” or “irregular” war. Just as one man’s terrorist can be another man’s freedom fighter, one state can charge the other with terrorism while the other state sees asymmetric” and “irregular” warfare as its only option for effective defense or to establish state power and influence.

Again, it is dangerous to “demonize” any one actor – such as Iran. The fact is, however, that Iran has become a test case. There is no consensus that supports the US in labeling Iran a state sponsor of terrorism. It is clear, however, that Iran actively supports extremist movements like Hamas and Hezbollah through its arms exports, financial contributions, military and other forms of training. A combination of Iran’s Vevak and other less visible intelligence services, and elements of its Revolutionary Guards, train terrorist and hard-line forces both in Iran and outside it in nations like Iraq and Lebanon – as well as deal with Shi’ite ethnic groups throughout the region and in Afghanistan. Iran is also seeking to expand its influence over Turkey and in Central Asia.

There is, however, an uncertain consensus in dealing with the threat Iran poses in terms of irregular warfare. The UN Security Council, actors like the International Atomic Energy Agency, and more informal structures like the 6+1, are all deeply involved with the fact that Iran is developing long-range missile forces and may be seeking to pose a

nuclear threat. No nation in the region ignores the fact that Iran is developing massive capabilities for irregular warfare that threaten its Gulf neighbors, Gulf energy exports, and the global economy. Iran may not be able to close the Strait of Hormuz, but it can intimidate, conduct low-level attacks equivalent to terrorism, support extremist movements, and wage protracted forms of asymmetric warfare.

It is also important to note that the strategic timeframe for such a threat extends indefinitely into the future. Any threat to Gulf exports affects a region that International Energy Agency reports still produces over 30% of the world's oil, and which the Energy Information Agency of the Department of Energy projects will increase its oil production capacity from 16.1 million barrels of oil per day (MMBD) in 1990, and 23.1 MMBD in 2010, to 29.5 MMBD in 2030. British Petroleum projects that the Gulf also has nearly 60% of the world's petroleum reserves – even if Canadian tar sands and other heavy oil are included. The International Energy Agency also projects that 30% of the world's energy will still come from petroleum in 2030 -- as far into the future as the IEA projects -- and that the global transportation sector will remain critically dependent on petroleum and petroleum exports.

This dependence on energy imports also illustrates why some many of the problems involved in international cooperation are becoming increasingly global rather than regional. Ironically, the United States -- the nation that talks most about energy independence -- has no practical prospect of achieving it. Aside from political rhetoric, neither the Bush Administration nor the Obama Administration -- or any Administration since the Ford Administration -- have done anything to reduce US strategic dependence on oil imports or has done anything that has led the Department of Energy to estimate that it will do so through 2030 – which is as far as the US government projects in its *Annual Energy Outlook*. The Department of Energy projects that the US will be heavily dependent on petroleum (30-60%) through at least 2030. This means the US must compete with all the other nations in the world for petroleum at world prices. Moreover, the US economy is now dependent on the global economy, and on massive Asian imports – many of which are only possible if Asia continues to get Gulf oil.

To shift to another key case, Syria poses a more complex case. It is still actively involved in Iraq and in supporting Sunni and neo-Ba'athist terrorist and extremist movements like Al Qaeda in Iraq. Syria cooperates with Iran in Lebanon and other covert operations. This support seems to be more opportunist and defensive than ideological, and Syria might well settle for some form of eventual peace agreement with Israel. Syria has a Sunni majority, and its Alawites are no more actually Shi'ite than Japan was actually Aryan at the time it was allied with Germany.

Somewhat similar problems emerge in the case of both Lebanon and Iraq. No reliable numbers exist on the sectarian and ethnic balance in either country, but their Shi'ite population is simply the largest faction, and not dominant. What the Shi'ites in Lebanon and Iraq do have in common with Syria's Alawites -- and with other Islamic sects in countries like Afghanistan, Bahrain, Oman, Pakistan, Saudi Arabia, and Yemen -- is that Sunni Islamist extremists are often more ideologically hostile to them than to Christian and Jews. Sunni Islamist extremists call other sects of Islam polytheists or apostates – the worst sin in Islam.

The fact that Syria should become linked with Lebanon, Iraq, and Iran in the myth of a “Shi’ite crescent” is a symbol of the fact that most of the struggles in all of the countries listed are not tied to any clash between civilizations, but rather involved in one within the Islam world – a clash that not only threatens moderate and secular regimes – but every element of Islam that does not accept a perverted extremist view of what Islam and the world should become.

Dealing with the Broader Range of Threats

This broader range of threats has several major impacts on international cooperation in the fight against terrorism. First, it highlights the range of differences in national interest and raises them to a much higher level of sensitivity. Second, it is a grim reminder that counterterrorism must always be within the full spectrum of threats to national security and that there is no meaningful dividing line between terrorism, insurgency, and asymmetric warfare. Third, it highlights the continuing risk that non-state terrorists and extremists can become governments, that governments do sponsor or use state terrorism. And finally, that the threat of covert, proxy use of CBRN weapons is rising.

All of these points have a common message. Nations cannot compartmentalize cooperation in fighting terrorism from cooperation in arms control, in diplomatic efforts to resolve dispute, and from efforts to create local and regional security structures to deter all forms of conflict, contain them and limit their escalation, and – as a last resort – win them. Cooperation in dealing with terrorism must take place within a coherent effort to establish a full spectrum of national security as well as regional security and stability.

More broadly, nations must assess risk and relative interest in ways that look towards the consequences of escalation if they do not cooperate in dealing with terrorism and extremism while they remain limited threats. Today’s narrowly defined goals may be far more destructive than useful if such escalation occurs. The US has seen this in invading Iraq, and in failing to provide the proper level of stability operations and security in Afghanistan. Israel has seen the consequences of trying to manipulate Lebanese Shi’ites and Palestinian Islamists to deal with the threat the PLO posed in the past. Saudi Arabia has seen the cost of giving too much latitude to its Islamist extremists, and Pakistan has seen the cost of playing the “great game” in Afghanistan in trying to serve its interests. At a lower level, Turkey is still trying to decide how to deal with its Kurdish issues on both a national and a regional level.

V. the Need for Full-Scale Cooperation in Dealing with the Ideological, Religious, and Cultural Causes of Terrorism

This complex mix of unpleasant realities may seem daunting to those who somehow expect an “end to history,” or expect some kind of definitive victory in the “war on terrorism.” However, neither of these alternatives can or will happen.

Success will always be relative and require action against new or mutating threats. No form of counterterrorism can meet every challenge, offer perfect cooperation, or be static in the face of innovative threats, changes in technology, changes in the international economy, or changes in communications and transportation. Moreover, basic changes in technology like the dissemination of the capability for genetic engineering, cyber and EMP warfare, and improved nuclear centrifuges all combine to raise the risks posed by terrorist or extremist attacks – even at the level of the private individual or “lone wolf.”

At the same time, the existing combination of national efforts and international cooperation in dealing with terrorism and extremism have already shown they can contain, defeat, and deter such movements and threats whenever they cooperate with anything approaching effective unity of action.

There are good reasons to assume that that the nations can adapt to meet new versions of such threats and do so on a sustained basis. Imperfect as they are, the previous analysis has shown that international efforts in counterterrorism are more effective than in 2001, and continue to improve.

Moreover, rather than fight a mythical clash of civilizations, Western states are now actively cooperating in fighting terrorism with the vast majority of governments with Islamic populations. In fact, some of these governments – like Jordan and Saudi Arabia -- are making far more effective efforts in the area where Western efforts will be limited at best – directly challenging extremists for their perversion of Islam.

What all the governments and populations affected do need to understand is that they have no choice other than to deal with the full range of such threats in an enduring struggle. The challenge is not to deal with one key threat, one problem country, improved security in air travel, or any other part of the problem with some quick fix.

There is no meaningful exit strategy from reality, and there is no place to hide. If anything, the lesson should be that nations need to rethink their strategy in terms of how best to make an enduring commitment that balances the use of deterrence, containment, diplomacy, aid, counterterrorism, and military force to meet all of this complex mix of threats – and how to best shape coherent and effective efforts that must continue over the next quarter of a century.

Lesson One: Need for Continuing Improvements in Formal and Informal International Cooperation

The first lesson in improving such cooperation is the most obvious and the most important. Nations cannot deal with international terrorism of any type unless they actually do cooperate – rather than simply sign agreements, issue new declarations, and

meet in what amount to little more than “conference building measures.” Terrorist groups have long shown that they can easily move across national lines. They have long shown that they can find sanctuaries in the nation that is the weakest link, and exploit the differences between nations and cultures. What is changing is their ability to exploit the scale of international economic interdependence, global communications and transportation networks, international financial and trade systems, and network their operations and ideology.

As the previous analysis has shown, no country can seal its own borders or rely on self-defense, and participate in today’s global economy. No nation can fight terrorism throughout the world on its own. National defense and response capabilities are critical to counterterrorism but they cannot be enough. Every modern state is now too dependent upon international trade and shipping, border and port access, energy import dependence, migration, tourism, dissemination of weapons and critical technologies, real time global communication through satellite TV and the Internet, and countering the flow of disease.

More than that, the world has already seen how dangerous it is to let ideological extremists like Bin Laden try to provoke a clash between the Islamic world and the rest of the world. The one real victory that such extremist movements have won is the tension, anger, and mistrust that have followed 9/11 and terrorist attacks. The key fault line, the key vulnerability, is the tension between Jew, Christian, and Muslim compounded by the ability to exploit cultural and political differences. At every other level, the threat of violence might remain, but its impact would generally be local and its broader international impact would be acts that do nothing more than create hollow, pointless tragedies.

Lesson Two: Need To Cooperate Across Cultural, Ethnic, Regional, and Religious Lines

The second lesson is the corollary of the first: cooperation in counterterrorism must deliberately cut across cultural, ethnic, regional, and religious lines. Nations cannot afford compartmented efforts that breed mistrust and the kind of divisions that terrorists can exploit. We cannot let terrorists and extremists drive us towards some form of clash of civilizations.

Nations need to honestly face the current limits to their cooperation, and do what they can to steadily strengthen both international institutions and more informal structures of cooperation that go beyond national and regional efforts, and which create a common basis of trust and cooperation. This requires honesty in dealing with the fact that such efforts have inevitable limitations. Too many nations define terrorism differently and have different ways of fighting terrorism, different cultural values, different legal standards, and different approaches to human rights. Some nations are part of the problem and not part of the solution; their regimes simply find it too tempting to try to exploit terrorists for their own interests.

Institutions like the UN are the key to formally bridge the fault lines that divide the world. Interpol has long shown that they can foster international cooperation in spite of national and cultural differences. Specialized groups like the World Health Organization

are key mechanisms that can combine the global fight against disease with the global fight against bioterrorism.

We need visible symbols of global cooperation that show the fight against terrorism is global and international. We need to institutionalize and expand cooperation in any form we can. For all of the obvious sensitivity in sharing intelligence, there are many forms of data we can share. There are many aspects of training, counterterrorism technology, and organization that can be shared and encouraged without compromising them or national capabilities.

We also know from the struggle against proliferation that more can be done to make international institutions secure enough to serve useful purposes. More than that, they can be used as litmus tests to show who cooperates and who does not. They can be made into forums that no nation can easily ignore, and open and closed dialogue can become weapons against both terrorists and states that tolerate them.

The key to success in such formal cooperation is to focus on the art of the possible and on incremental advances in partnership and cooperation, rather than attempting too much and having one nation or culture attempt to dominate the effort. This inevitably means that some efforts will have severe limits. For example, nations will never honestly fully agree on who is a terrorist, or how to fight terrorism. At least some states will always exploit counterterrorism as a political weapon, and use it as an extension of conflict by other means.

Yet, it takes a certain kind of blindness not to see the risks in failing to strengthen international institutions, in failing to give them political credibility and transparency, and in failing to make every effort to cooperate in ways that cut across differences in culture, religion, and political systems. This is particularly true when such institutions have already shown there are so many areas where nations can cooperate. Nations must continue to expand such cooperation at a functional level, and make broad efforts to fight the ideological and perceptual battles necessary to deny terrorists public sympathy and support. In the process, nations need to do more to make clear that such cooperation can and is working; that no society is part of the enemy, and that counterterrorism is not being carried out in the interest of any given nation or culture.

Lesson Three: The Strengths and Dangers of Regional Cooperation

The third lesson is that there are many things that regional centers for counterterrorism can do better than global international institutions. Defining regions in terms of common interests, the same definition of terrorism, groups that are more likely to keep mutual secrets, and nations that do not support terrorism in any form, allows cooperation at a level of depth that can only be achieved by limiting the nations involved.

Such cooperation can be equally vital to creating the proper focus on key regional threats, and on building trust on a regional level. Regional activity and regional cooperation are additional keys to both strengthening counterterrorism at the functional level, and creating the kind of transparency that shows neighboring nations can be trusted – and sometimes cannot.

For all of the talk about clashes between civilizations, terrorists often do a superb job of exploiting national differences and tensions at the local level. They exploit them to find tolerance and sanctuary, or simply the kind of indifference, which allows them to move and operate across borders. They use them to find media they can exploit, and to hide their true nature in manipulating structures like those over Kashmir or the Arab-Israeli conflict.

They also exploit the fact that far too many efforts at cooperation are now more symbolic than real. Some lack the funding and support they need to have any real effectiveness. Others are exercises in diplomatic and political correctness and meetings for the sake of more meetings: “conference building measures.” Some are exercises in bureaucratic empire building. In far too many cases, the more one works with such efforts, the less real capability and effort one finds.

Accordingly regional efforts can have serious drawbacks if they are not carried out in a broader international context.

- First, they inherently tend to divide counterterrorism by culture, religion, political system, and ethnicity. At best, they create this as a perception. At worst, they tend to create regional islands and divisions.
- Second, regions are inherently somewhat arbitrary. No matter what the regional boundaries may be, a great deal of international terrorist activity will cross them. Maps and national boundaries do not define today’s terrorism or tomorrow’s. The pressures that create and sustain terrorism cut across regional lines.
- Third, building cooperation on regional lines often leads to hollow or symbolic institutions that are built on existing regional structures, are tied more to political correctness than effective action, and become mired in conventional diplomacy.

Lesson Four: The Need for Clear Measures of Institutional Effectiveness and Transparency

This leads to a fourth lesson. Institution building is, in itself, a dangerous illusion unless the actions of the institution have the proper degree of transparency and its performance is linked to clear and realistic measures of effectiveness. The fact that many aspects of counterterrorism are secret is not a reason to keep budgets and programs secret, to fail to develop adequate measures of effectiveness, and make them open enough so that political authorities, journalists, and the public cannot judge what is and is not being accomplished.

To give one tangible example, much of the flood of US money into counterterrorism after 9/11 was wasted for all of these reasons. In fact, the US effort has in many ways expanded its incoherence and lack of integration in direct proportion to its size and the creation of new institutions designed to foster integration. The mess is compounded by a vesting increase in contract efforts and over-complex information technology systems. In at least some cases, the US is fighting its own real counterterrorists with bureaucratic terrorism.

Secrecy is sometimes clearly necessary, but to date, it has often been a cloak for waste, political symbolism without operational substance, and incompetence. Rather than guard methods and vulnerabilities from the terrorist, it disguises poorly managed efforts, waste

or underfunding, a lack of proper planning, turf fights, and failed efforts at integration. Secrecy can never be an excuse to avoid the need to openly prove competence and effectiveness.

Lesson Five: The Need for Direct Nation to Nation and Multinational “Informal” Cooperation

The fifth lesson is one that most practicing experts in counterterrorism are already well aware of. Formal structures of cooperation are not a substitute for bilateral and multilateral efforts that put counterterrorists in direct cooperation with their foreign counterparts.

These nation-to nation efforts may or may not be institutionalized. In general, the best efforts tend to be a mix of formal meetings and cooperation efforts with informal expert cooperation and dialogue. The key is that nations can cooperate in sensitive areas, in intelligence, and in operations, in ways that are not public but are carefully focused and have direct and immediate value.

This kind of cooperation has value at all levels, but particularly when it cuts across regions, religions, cultures, and political systems. It builds trust and effectiveness at a very different level from the public one, but this kind of trust is just as important. It makes it far to deal with the most sensitive issues, and transfer intelligence, methods, and technology.

In most cases, this is where real cooperation in the battle against terrorism must be fought. Diplomats and those who call for formal institutions need to understand this. Valuable as formal institutions are, they can never be a substitute for this kind of working effort by experts, and it is often an effort from which conventional diplomats, political figures, and outside experts need to be kept distant.

Parallel efforts are the key to success. And the clear priority is for nations to reach beyond the intelligence and other quiet forms of cooperation they have developed on a regional level, and build as many broader bridges across cultural, regional, and religious lines as possible.

Fortunately, there already is often far more success in such efforts than many realize. There clearly, however, needs to be more. These are areas where strong teams within an embassy, day-to-day working arrangements, established personal relations, and operational practice and exercises can help countries with limited experience and resources -- the weakest links -- and have even more value between competent partners with strong common interests.

Lesson Six: A Careful Focus on Real Terrorists and Extremists

The sixth lesson is that international cooperation must not be used to threaten or intimidate simply to serve state interests, or be used to target legitimate political protest. It must focus on real terrorists and extremists, and avoid taking actions that punish the innocent, and risk alienating those who are not extremists and terrorists.

There has been a tendency in the West to go too far in counterterrorism and arresting, detaining, and questioning too many ordinary Muslims and Arabs. There has been an

equal tendency in the Middle East to round up too many of the “usual suspects,” including legitimate critics and members of the political opposition.

Western fears of terrorism have often led to generic Western criticism of Arabs, other Muslims, and Islam. This has sometimes been expanded to the level of vast conspiracy theories about energy, and the fear that any form of Islamic state is synonymous with extremism and terrorism

Muslims and the Islamic world have reacted with denial, anger and conspiracy theories in the face of legitimate Western concerns. They also undermine the US effort in counterterrorism in Arab eyes, and the ability of the US to cooperate with Arab and Muslim states.

As a result, international cooperation in fighting terrorism must deal with the reality that few see the underlying reality of a common Judeo-Christian-Islamic ethics and set of values. It must foster dialogue and understanding through a range of options that already have proven effectiveness:

- *Cultural educational exchanges:* Governmental and NGOs need to do far more to create scholarships and exchange programs from people from both parts of the world to travel and interact with each other to build business and educational networks as well as enhance their understanding of each other.
- *Interfaith dialogue:* religious leaders should highlight the shared values of the “Abrahamic faiths” and allow the “Judeo-Christian” tradition to expand to the “Judeo-Christian-Muslim” values and a shared understanding.
- *Enlist the help of Muslim communities in the West:* Muslims living in the West should be consulted and partnered with western organizations to bridge the cultural and understanding gaps between the West and Islam.
- *Fight Inflammatory Statements:* Leaders and opinion makers on both sides have to oppose and condemn inflammatory rhetoric. Religious leaders have to preach tolerance and avoid divisive language.
- *Develop American studies departments in Middle Eastern colleges:* Currently there are only a handful of American and European studies departments in the MENA region. More should be built and supported to enhance understanding and to expose college students in the region to American history and culture.
- *Intellectual dialogue:* scholars should develop a partnership at the institutional and personal levels to debate issues of mutual interest, especially the future relationship between the Islamic world and the West.
- *Cultures have a right to be different:* Muslims have to be reassured that they can be modern and keep their faith and tradition, and the West needs to understand that modernization does not necessarily mean “Westernization” or secularization on Western terms.

The US, in particular, will continue to face major problems because of Arab and Muslim perceptions inside and outside Afghanistan, Iraq, Israel, and Pakistan. For example, the US needs to be particularly careful not to detain the innocent inside or outside the US, and treat detainees and prisoners with dignity. It needs to focus more exactly on where actual terrorist groups get their money and be more judicious about the use of broadly structured efforts that affect legitimate charitable activity and financial transfers. It needs to attack specific terrorist groups and leaders, and not make broad generalization about nations, cultures, and religions.

This need to focus carefully on terrorists and not peoples, however, goes beyond the US and the West. Many in the Greater Middle East and Asia have been more careless in how they detain and treat prisoners from their own countries. They have denied the terrorist nature of extremist organizations or excused their conduct when the targets of such organizations were not fellow Arabs. In far too many cases, this has been tolerated by the same Middle Eastern states that are fighting such terrorists on their own soil.

The issue is not simply to avoid linking Islam to terrorism. There have been increasingly ugly elements of anti-Semitism in the Middle East and in Islamic world. This can only make the Israeli-Palestinian conflict worse, rather than help resolve it. Worse it allows Islamist extremists to exploit a false linkage between their beliefs and goals and the Palestinian cause, and reinforce both their forms of terrorism and those of extremist Palestinian groups like the Palestinian Islamic Jihad.

Regardless of the nation, region, and culture involved, international cooperation in counterterrorism needs to focus firmly on extremism and terrorism, and understand that every abuse of the innocent can breed more terrorists or support for terrorism. One of the key goals of international cooperation should be to find the best possible ways to attack and defeat actual terrorists with minimum impact on human rights, the rule of law, legitimate religious and charitable organizations, and the life of ordinary citizens in every country concerned.

This need for focus does not mean that attacks on terrorists and violent extremists should not be unrelenting. It does mean that every effort needs to be made to make it clear that it is only terrorists that are being attacked, to avoid alienating the innocent, and to avoid the kind of extreme action that can create martyrs and new terrorists. The example of Lenin's brother needs to be kept constantly in mind. The Czar's secret police did a fine job of killing Lenin's brother. In retrospect, however, this hardly solved the regimes problems.

This is why international cooperation should focus as much as possible on locating real enemies and finding methods that steadily improve the ability to identify and protect the innocent. It means finding ways to steadily improve intelligence collection, the sharing of information, improvements in surveillance techniques, better tracking of movements and funds, and all of the other activities that are needed in any case to improve the other aspects of cooperation in counterterrorism. The challenge is not to make counterterrorism weaker, it is to make counterterrorism better.

VI. The Final Lesson: Dealing With the Struggle within Islam

The final lesson goes back to dealing with the causes of terrorism and extremism. The world cannot change every state, and solve every critical problem in politics, national unity, governance, security, economic, and demographics. It also, however, cannot afford to ignore worst cases, or the need to deal with truly urgent needs.

No matter how well nations cooperate in counterterrorism, and try to deal with the material causes of terrorism, this will not be enough. Such cooperation can deal with local and limited national threats. The problems of Northern Ireland, Basque separatism, right wing American extremists, or Sri Lankan civil conflict are inherently self-limiting – serious as they are to all who are directly concerned.

The Challenge to Muslim States

The fact is, however, that far better international cooperation is needed to deal with ideological and religious causes of the kind of global terrorism that has emerged out of Islamist extremism. Moderate regimes in the Middle East have fought this battle far longer than the West. In many cases, however, they have not yet moved to deal with the necessary political and economic reforms. In some cases, it has been easier to tolerate extremism as long as it did not attack domestic political targets, or focused on Israel and the West.

There has been a great deal of denial of the need to reform religious practices and education, and the pace of change has been too slow. Survey after survey of public attitudes by groups like Gallup and the Pew Trust have shown that terrorists and extremists have far more public tolerance and support than they would have if government made the proper effort to confront these groups at the political and ideological level and to educate their peoples.

Arab and Muslim states have been slow to recognize they must openly challenge extremism on a religious and ideological level. They have not confronted those who preach hatred against Christians and Jews and define any Muslims who disagree with them or who have more secular values as polytheists and apostates. Muslim and Islamic states must fight these battles, not just battles against those who directly perform acts of terrorism.

This requires cooperation in the Islamic world to:

- *Speak louder:* Moderate or mainstream Muslims are speaking out more frequently and more often, but they still do not speak forcefully enough against terrorism. Muslim Ulemas in Mecca and Alazhar have condemned acts of terrorism any where and against anyone, especially suicide attacks, but they need to be more engaging and reach Muslim youths not only in the Muslim world but in Europe and North America.
- *Highlight shared values with the people of the book:* Muslim leaders must reinstate the concept of the people of the book in their sermons, writings, and fatwas. Muslim leaders should work on redefining the word “infidel” and educate the Muslim public and world at large on Islamic tradition of co-existence with other faiths.
- *Institute educational reform:* Education reform is moving far too slowly, and is interacting with the failure in many states to expand the educational system at the rate needed to deal with population growth. The role of *madrasas* in spreading extremism is often overestimated by

western analysts. In the past, however, extremists have been instrumental in shaping the religious curriculum in schools and the same groups are resisting reforming the educational systems in some Muslim countries. Religious scholars have to take the lead in embedding tolerance of other faiths and other Muslim sects in the curriculum.

- *Control the fatwa process:* Muslim scholars need to be even more active in delegitimizing extremists' fatwas that incite violence. At this point, self-appointed clerics issue fatwas at will that are contradictory to Islamic teaching. These fatwas need to be countered with condemnation and delegitimization by Muslim scholars from all sects.
- *Emphasize to Muslims that Muslims are the primary victims of religious extremist terrorism:* Muslims have been suffering from acts of terrorism for the last 30 years. Most of the victims of the bombings in Riyadh, Jeddah, Bali, Casablanca, Tunisia, Sharm El-Sheikh, Tabah, Lebanon, Iraq, and Pakistan are Muslims. Leaders in the Islamic world have to highlight that the first victim of terrorism are Muslims and stand up against clerics who condone killing of other Muslims as collateral damage of a war against "infidels," e.g. Nasir Al-Fahd's fatwa in May 2003.
- *Expand international cooperation and outreach to ensure that clerics, scholars, and students have broad exposure to the values of other cultures, religions, and nations.* Islamic nations must not turn inwards, any more that Western nations should. Every effort is needed to expand dialogue, education exchanges, fellowship, and similar programs. No one ever fully understands what they do not experience.
- *Create national and regional efforts to analyze the motivations behind terrorism and extremism, and tolerance or support for them, and react accordingly.* Far too much of the effort to study the terrorists, and their motivation and behavior, now takes place in the West. Such studies have value, but they tend to generalize on the basis of limited parts of the problem and impose outside values and perceptions. Local and Islamic scholars and analysts need to play a much larger and stronger role, and be much franker and more objective in seeing regional and national problems and failures as causes – rather than exporting the problem and the blame. Governments need to be far more honest as well, and develop programs that address the causes of terrorism and extremism with far more honesty, effectiveness, and resources.
- *Work together to create new efforts to help those who become caught up in terrorism and extremism see the related perversions of true Islamic values and find a useful role in society.* Build on model programs like those developed by Saudi Arabia. Reform detention and imprisonment so it helps solve the problem rather than becomes a training ground for the threat. Cooperate in tracing those released, and clearly separating hard-core extremists and recidivists from the large mass of those who can be returned to a productive role in society.
- *See the Arab-Israeli peace process, Palestinian statehood, and tangible efforts to help the Palestinians as the goal rather than efforts to demonize Israel or use it as a lightning rod for internal failures.* Arab and Muslim states have reason to criticize Israel, and the lack of US and Western effort to create a fully successful peace process.

The Challenge to Western States

The West has equal obligations. The US and Europe need to look beyond 9/11, and attacks in Europe, and see the Arab and Islamic world as a whole, not simply the acts of a few extremists and terrorists. The US, however, has become the symbol of all forms of action in the Middle East, while Europe faces different problems. Europe must deal with Muslim immigrants as full citizens whose cultural values must be given the same respect as Christianity and Judaism.

The problems created by European attitudes toward immigration and Muslims are another source of support for terrorism and extremism. Surveys like the Pew Global Attitudes Project have repeatedly found that that most Europeans, feel that Muslims in

their country want to remain distinct from the general population, where a “nation of immigrants” like the US has public attitudes that are much more divided. Such surveys also find that the majority of Europeans think the immigration from the Middle East region is a bad thing, and oppose Turkey’s bid to join the EU.

There is as much need for educational reform and religious tolerance in the West as in the Arab and Islamic worlds. Respect for different cultures and religions needs to be taught, and be the subject of dialog, at every level. The West, and particularly the US, needs to aid and encourage evolutionary reform in the Arab and Islamic worlds, and not seek to impose it. Cultural and political values are not universal, and cannot be suddenly imposed on hundred of millions of people. Political legitimacy is not defined by democracy, but by effective governance that meets the needs of all the people.

This means Western and other nations that are not Islamic or do not have large Muslim populations must also make new efforts. To be specific, they must:

- *Implement workable and non-destabilizing efforts to encourage reform:* Social, economic and political reforms should be supported, but in an evolutionary sense. The US and Western states, however, cannot be seen as pushing these reforms in ways that discredit local officials and reformers. Outside pressure for change will be resisted even if the reforms are necessary, and too much overt pressure is counterproductive.
- *Avoid “one size fits all” approaches.* No part of the Arab and Islamic worlds are monolithic. Each country requires different sets of reforms and needs. Some need help in reforming their political process, others need economic aid, and others need special attention to their demographic dynamics and population control. The West, therefore, must avoid any generalized strategy of dealing with the Arab-Islamic world as one entity.
- *Work on a country-by-country approach and rely on strong country teams, not regional approaches:* Regional polices, meetings and slogans will not deal with real world needs or provide the kind of dialogue with local officials and reformers, tailored pressure and aid, and country plans and policies that are needed. Strong country teams are the keys to success.
- *Recognize that the pace of reform will be relatively slow if it is to be stable and evolutionary, and dependent on partnership and cooperation.* Artificial deadlines and false crises can only lead to failed tactics and strategies. Outside support for reform must move at the pace countries can actually absorb, and shift priorities to reflect the options that are actually available. History takes time and does not conform to the tenure of any given set of policymakers.
- *Carefully support moderate voices:* “Moderates” in the region do need the support of the West, but obvious outside backing can hurt internal reform efforts. Moreover, “moderate” must be defined in broad terms. It does not mean “secularist” and it does not necessarily mean “pro-American.” It also, however, does not mean supporting voices that claim to support freedom and democracy, but are actually the voice of extremism.
- *Accept the fact that “democratization” is only part of reform and depends on creating a rule of law, checks and balances and a separation of powers, protection for minorities and human rights, and effective political parties.* Trying to force or “rush” democracy on Middle Eastern countries is impractical and counterproductive. The goal should be to help MENA countries develop more pluralistic and representative governments that respect the rights of minorities.
- *Recognize that the key to effective action is local political action, dialogue, education, efforts to use the media, and public diplomacy:* The West and the US cannot hope to win a struggle for Islam and reform from the outside. It is the efforts of local governments, reformers, educators, and media that will be critical. Encouraging and aiding such efforts is far more important than advancing the image of the US or Western states or trying to shape local and regional attitudes through Western public diplomacy.

- *Avoid generalizing about Muslims:* generalizing Islam as a source of violence and discriminating against Muslims in the west can alienate “uncommitted” Muslims.
- *Do not demonize Islam:* Terrorism is tied to any true form of Islam, including its more “puritan” forms. It is the result of the violence and intolerance of politically motivated groups that exploit religious teaching to gain legitimacy in the eyes of their recruits and followers. These groups and their motivations need to be understood and fought at their roots. E.g. Al-Qa’ida’s goal of ruling the “Arabian Peninsula.”
- *Avoid supporting “secularism” against “traditionalism.”* The region has seen its share of failed governance systems. Most efforts to secularize have failed and the US should not be seen as a driving force behind what may be assured failure. Moreover, the word “secularism” translates into “elmaniyah” is often intermingled with “atheism.”
- *Do not try to divide and conquer:* The West should stay clear of issues like Sunni-Shiite frictions, and taking sides with ethnic and sectarian groups. It does not serve anyone when they’re played against each other. The West should avoid playing any role that could encourage such divisions, particularly given the current environment in Iraq.
- *Apply a single set of standards to Western societies and efforts to strengthen regional counterterrorism:* The West must avoid being seen as supporting the violation of human rights and abusive security measures in counter-terrorism, while advocating human freedom. Violence by states against civilians be it Russia, Egypt, or Israel should be equally condemned.
- *Do not paralyze counter-terrorism in the process:* At the same time, values like freedom of speech cannot be allowed to become tools extremists use to spread their hateful ideology. The West must be careful in advocating immediate liberalization and freedom of speech of the Middle East.
- *End the creeping Ghettoization of European Muslims:* Muslims in Western Europe more and more live in the same neighborhood and don’t feel part of a larger European society, housing, transport, education, employment and citizenship efforts need to be made to create better integrated national social structure and ensure social mobility.
- *Clearly distinguish Dissidents from extremists:* Many so-called dissidents left their home countries in fear of jail and punishment for advocating violence or overthrowing local governments. Many of them have found safe havens in Western cities such as London and Detroit. Now, these individuals have created a support base around them and are preaching violence against their adopted country. A realistic approach against these individuals must be adopted. This can include deporting them to their home countries or trying them locally for advocating violence.
- *Partner with national Muslim communities:* Muslim communities in the West can be a key asset in fighting terrorists. Authorities should build a cooperative partnership to share information about extremists and report any suspicious activities in their communities. “Random” arrest and deportation, however, will hurt any cooperation efforts and will alienate the Muslim communities.
- *Limit backlash to terrorist attacks and attempts:* Overreaction by Western countries to incidents of terrorism can embolden extremists and alienate and isolate Muslim communities in the West, which are vital to counterterrorism efforts.

Terrorism cannot be defeated without counterterrorism, but counterterrorism alone can never defeat the ideas and forces that are now the key causes of terrorism. There is a political and ideological battle that must be fought as well, and fought on the basis of mutual respect and tolerance. It will take years, and perhaps decades, to create the level of respect, tolerance, and trust the world needs; but this means that there are no years that the world can afford to waste.

¹ The UN reports that 13 instruments and three amendments have been developed and adopted under the auspices of the United Nations and related intergovernmental organizations. Most of these instruments are in force and provide a legal framework for multilateral actions against terrorism and criminalize specific acts of terrorism, including hijacking, hostage-taking, terrorist bombings, financing of terrorism and nuclear terrorism. They are complemented by resolutions of the General Assembly (49/60, 51/210 and 60/288) and of the Security Council (1267 (1999), 1373 (2001), 1540 (2004), 1566 (2004) and 1624 (2005)).

² The entities within the CTITF include the:

- Counter-terrorism Committee Executive Directorate (CTED)
- Department of Peacekeeping Operations (DPKO)
- Department of Political Affairs (DPA)
- Department of Safety and Security (DSS)
- Expert Staff of 1540 Committee
- International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA)
- International Civil Aviation Organization (ICAO)
- International Maritime Organization (IMO)
- International Monetary Fund (IMF)
- International Criminal Police Organization (INTERPOL)
- Monitoring Team of 1267 Committee
- Office for Disarmament Affairs (ODA)
- Office of the High Commissioner for Human Rights (OHCHR)
- Office of Legal Affairs (OLA)
- Organization for the Prohibition of Chemical Weapons (OPCW)
- Special Rapporteur on the promotion and protection of human rights while countering terrorism
- United Nations Development Programme (UNDP)
- United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO)
- United Nations Interregional Crime and Justice Research Institute (UNICRI)
- United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime (UNODC)
- World Customs Organization (WCO)
- World Bank

³ The Counter Terrorism Committee and its Executive Directorate (CTED) are responsible for monitoring implementation of Security Council resolutions 1373 (2001) and 1624 (2005), and for facilitating technical assistance to countries requesting it. Multiple reports have been submitted by all 192 Member States and additional sources of information, the Committee has completed the preliminary assessments of implementation of resolution 1373 (2001) of all Member States and has since engaged in a dialogue with Member States to ensure that the assessments are comprehensive and accurate. As of March 2009, the Committee had conducted visits to 37 Member States and was planning visits to another 13.

⁴ INTERPOL has 187 member countries. It reports that it deals with terrorism through a special Task Force that provides a forum for counter-terrorism experts to exchange best practices, as well as operational information, in order to identify active terrorist groups and their membership, including organizational hierarchies, methods of training, financing and recruitment of terrorist suspects and groups. INTERPOL maintains a broad range of global databases that contain key information (e.g., wanted individuals, fingerprints, photos, DNA profiles, etc.) and has developed technology to make such data, especially its database on Stolen and Lost Travel Documents (SLTD), available at border security points.

It also co-ordinates the circulation of alerts and warnings on suspected or wanted terrorists and assists the UN Security Council with the implementation of the Al-Qa'ida and Taliban sanctions regime by circulating to law enforcement authorities worldwide relevant information on individuals and entities under UN sanctions.

Upon request, INTERPOL assists its member countries in their investigations in the aftermath of a terrorist act by deploying on-site Incident Response Teams (IRTs). Additionally, upon request INTERPOL will deploy an INTERPOL Major Event Support Team (IMEST) to assist member countries in the preparation, co-ordination and implementation of security arrangements for major events. An IMEST also has the capacity and resources to immediately become an IRT if a crisis situation materializes at a major event.

- Provide technical expertise to help authorities find *counterfeit* documents because they have the world's largest database on counterfeit documents. Documents include passports, currency, banking statements, etc. During the inception of the Interpol ASF -STD database in October 2002, there were only 3,150 documents recorded. As of 21 January 2005, there already were 5,699,686 stolen travel documents recorded into the ASF -STD Database, coming from 67 member countries.
- Provide a forum for international security and law enforcement agencies to meet and exchange ideas and information on best practices.
- Develop and implement international standards to facilitate cooperation between states and enhance international counter-terrorism efforts. This includes sharing of most wanted lists and the tracking of individual terrorists and their financing.
- *Interpol's Fusion Task Force* provides global secure police communication services and databases and offer operational police support to member states. It was created in 2002, and currently has more than 177 members. It has developed a database of suspected terrorists.
- *Interpol Incident Response Teams (IRTs)* are temporary Interpol advisory teams of Criminal are temporary Interpol advisory teams of Criminal Intelligence Officers, Analysts, IT experts. Etc. An IRT is deployed, on request of a Member Country and offers a host of operational services; most notably, real-time database queries in coordination with the Command Center at the General Secretariat, analytical assistance, and coordination of support from other Interpol Member Countries in specialized areas such as ballistics, DVI, expertise in the area of counterfeits, etc. In 2004, eight IRTs were deployed worldwide in response to request of member-countries in managing terrorist incidents.

⁵ NATO became actively engaged in the fight against terrorism after 2001. Allies invoked Article 5 of the Washington Treaty for the first time in NATO's history leading to the creation of Operation Active Endeavor a maritime counter terrorism operation in the Mediterranean. The Istanbul Summit in 2004 saw a package of 12 measures endorsed by Allied leaders designed to support wider international efforts in the fight against terrorism. Measures included:

- Continued effort through operations in Afghanistan and the Balkans, to help create conditions in which terrorism cannot flourish;
- Improved intelligence sharing;
- Increased counter-terrorism co-operation through NATO's Partnerships;
- Enhanced capabilities to defend against terrorism; and
- An enhanced contribution to the existing maritime counter-terrorism work of Operation Active Endeavor;

On 18 December 2001, NATO Defence Ministers tasked the NATO Military Authorities to prepare a Military Concept for Defence Against Terrorism for approval by the North Atlantic Council. The NATO Military Authorities requested political guidance from the North Atlantic Council and following receipt of the necessary guidance, submitted their Concept for approval. The Concept was approved by the North Atlantic Council in permanent session and then endorsed by Heads of State and Government at the Prague Summit on 21 November 2002. The major guiding principles in the development of the Concept were:

- The Washington Treaty.
- The 1999 Alliance Strategic Concept.
- The NATO threat assessment on Terrorism.
- The Political Guidance provided by Council, which stipulated that NATO's actions should:
 - Have a sound legal basis and fully conform to the relevant provisions of the UN Charter and all relevant international norms, including those concerned with human rights and humanitarian requirements.
 - Help deter, defend, disrupt and protect against terrorist attacks or threat of attacks, directed from abroad against populations, territory, infrastructure and forces of any NATO member state, including by acting against these terrorists and those who harbor them.
 - Act, on a case-by-case basis, if requested, in support of the international community's efforts against terrorism.
 - Provide assistance to national authorities in dealing with the consequences of terrorist attacks, particularly where such attacks involve the use of Chemical, Biological, Radiological and Nuclear (CBRN) weapons.
 - Work on the assumption that it is preferable to deter terrorist attacks or to prevent their occurrence rather than deal with their consequences and be prepared to deploy as and where required to deal with particular circumstances as they arise.

Since that time, NATO has examined how military cooperation can improve both capabilities and procedures. Key capabilities are:

- Effective Intelligence.
- Deployability and Readiness. Once it is known where the terrorists are or what they are about to do, military forces need the capability to deploy there. Due to the likelihood that warnings will be received only at very short notice, forces need to be at a high state of readiness.
- Effective Engagement. Forces need to be able to engage effectively. This means precision-guided weapons and weapons able to reduce the risk of collateral damage.
- Force Protection. There is a constant requirement for Force Protection to ensure Alliance forces' survivability.
- CBRN Defence. Given the possible terrorist use of CBRN weapons, CBRN defense equipment needs to be given a high priority.

Key procedures that need to be developed or enhanced include:

- Identifying Alliance vulnerabilities and how to protect them appropriately.
- Developing an overarching international strategy for defense against terrorism.
- Developing appropriate arrangements for providing support to the relevant civil authorities.
- Reducing the availability of weapons of mass destruction, and small arms and mines, for terrorist use, including through Arms Control, Disarmament and Non-Proliferation procedures.
- Making Alliance decision making as effective and timely as possible in order that, given the very short warnings that are likely for terrorist activity and intentions, Alliance forces can be deployed and employed appropriately

NATO also, however, illustrates the national limits to international cooperation. NATO reports that The North Atlantic Council has decided that, on a case-by-case basis, the Alliance might agree to provide its assets and capabilities to support operations in defense against terrorism, undertaken by or in co-operation

with the European Union or other International Organizations or coalitions involving Allies. Possible support for the European Union or other International Organizations will be based on relevant arrangements agreed between NATO and the organization concerned. In this context, NATO's support options could include the following:

- A role as coalition enabler and interoperability provider.
- The ability to back-fill national requirements. An example of this was when NATO deployed to the United States in order to free US Airborne Warning and Control Systems (AWACS) to deploy to Afghanistan.
- Forward deploying of forces in support of the broader coalition efforts. An example of this was the deployment of NATO maritime forces to the eastern Mediterranean.
- The expression of political and military commitment.
- Practical support as manifested by Host Nation Support and logistic assistance, including over flight and basing rights.
- The use of NATO's operational planning and force generation capabilities to plan a mission and generate a force for a coalition of like-minded NATO members, and also help to support and sustain that operation.

NATO notes that there have been many discussions, in many organizations, about options to counter the threat posed by terrorism. A common theme in these discussions has been that military action alone will not be enough to deal with the terrorist threat and that military operations should be coordinated and implemented in a coherent manner with diplomatic, economic, social, legal and information initiatives.

Within most NATO nations, civil authorities, such as the police, customs and immigration authorities, finance ministries, interior ministries, intelligence and security services, are the primary agencies involved in dealing with terrorism and military forces will need to operate in support of, and in close coordination with all these agencies. The NATO Concept therefore states that NATO must harmonize its procedures and efforts with civil authorities within nations in order to maximize its effectiveness against terrorism.

NATO also reports that regularly confers with the major international organizations such as the United Nations, the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe, and the European Union. In addition, NATO has several programs that can facilitate co-ordination outside the Alliance. These include the Partnership for Peace, the NATO/Russia Council, the NATO/Ukraine Commission and the Mediterranean Dialogue.

⁶ The International monetary Fund conducted 61 country assessments on Anti-Money Laundering and Combating the Financing of Terrorism (AML/CFT) capacity between early 2002 and mid 2009. The Fund provided technical assistance to 222 countries, through national and regional training workshops and tailored capacity building assistance such as drafting of legislation and strengthening of financial sector supervision for AML/CFT. Some 2,470 officials participated in IMF-led workshops over the last five years.

The UN reports that the World Bank conducted over 35 assessments – 11 jointly with the IMF – on Anti-Money Laundering and Combating the Financing of Terrorism (AML/CFT) compliance between 2001 and 2009. Throughout this period, approximately 300 technical assistance missions were performed on a bilateral or regional basis to strengthen all components of an AML/CFT regime. In addition, the World Bank undertook 14 bilateral remittance corridor analyses that offer sending and receiving countries new information on the characteristics of remittance flows. This information provided the basis for policy reviews to promote increased flows at lower costs, while enabling better compliance with AML/CFT standards.

The World Bank also conducted a study on the AML/CFT risks of mobile phone technology for financial services, called Integrity in Mobile Phone Financial Services, and is preparing another for release later this year. It will release a series of issues papers, many of which are specific to terrorism financing, in the coming months of 2009. Topics include: Hawala-type Informal Transfer Systems, Improving International Cooperation in Counter-Terrorist Financing, The Risks of New Technologies in Terrorism Financing, Non-Profit Organizations and Terrorism Financing Regulation, Analysis of Current Approaches to Terrorist

Financing and Laundering the Proceeds of Public Sector Corruption.

⁷ The Financial Action Task Force (FATF) states that it is an inter-governmental body whose purpose is the development and promotion of policies, both at national and international levels, to combat money laundering and terrorist financing. The Task Force is therefore a "policy-making body" which works to generate the necessary political will to bring about national legislative and regulatory reforms in these areas.

There are currently 35 members of the FATF; 33 jurisdictions and 2 regional organizations (the Gulf Cooperation Council and the European Commission). These 35 Members are at the core of global efforts to combat money laundering and terrorist financing. There are also 27 international and regional organizations that are Associate Members or Observers of the FATF and participate in its work. The number of de facto members is larger than these figures indicate. For example, the GCC is a member, but not the individual member countries in the GCC. India is not yet a member, but India is a member of the Asia Pacific Group on Money Laundering (APG), a FATF-style regional body. India is working with the FATF towards becoming a FATF Member, and became an FATF Observer in February 2007.

The FATF monitors members' progress in implementing necessary measures, reviews money laundering and terrorist financing techniques and counter-measures, and promotes the adoption and implementation of appropriate measures globally. In performing these activities, the FATF collaborates with other international bodies involved in combating money laundering and the financing of terrorism. The FATF does not have a tightly defined constitution or an unlimited life span. The Task Force reviews its mission every five years. The FATF has been in existence since 1989. In 2004, Ministry representatives from the 35 FATF members agreed to extend the mandate of the Task Force until 2012. This [8-year mandate](#) demonstrates that members of the FATF remain united in their commitment to combat terrorism and international crime, and is a sign of their confidence in the FATF as an important instrument in that fight.

The Egmont Group was established at a meeting of Financial Intelligence Units at the Egmont Palace in Brussels in 1995. Financial Intelligence Units (FIUs) are the central, national agency responsible for receiving (and, as permitted, requesting), analyzing and disseminating to the competent authorities, disclosures of financial information: (i) concerning suspected proceeds of crime and potential financing of terrorism, or (ii) required by national legislation or regulation, in order to counter money laundering and terrorism financing. It has a central committee and a number of working groups, and a secretariat based in Toronto, Canada. It has 118 national and individual state-like members, and works with 34 different international organizations with related roles and missions.

It provides a forum for FIUs around the world to enhance support to their respective governments in the fight against money laundering, terrorist financing and other financial crimes. This support includes:

- expanding and systematizing international cooperation in the reciprocal exchange of financial intelligence information,
- increasing the effectiveness of FIUs by offering training and personnel exchanges to improve the expertise and capabilities of personnel employed by FIUs,
- fostering better and secure communication among FIUs through the application of technology, presently via the Egmont Secure Web (ESW), and
- promoting the establishment of FIUs in those jurisdictions without a national anti-money laundering/terrorist financing program in place, or in areas with a program in the beginning stages of development.

⁸ The US Office of the Coordinator for Counterterrorism of United States State Department summarized Turkey's role in the fight against terrorism as follows in its April 2009 report (*Country Reports on Terrorism, 2008*):

“Counterterrorism cooperation is a key element of our strategic partnership with Turkey. Domestic and transnational terrorist groups have targeted Turkish nationals and foreigners in Turkey, including, on occasion, USG personnel, for more than 40 years. Terrorist groups that operated in Turkey have included Kurdish nationalists, al-Qa’ida (AQ), Marxist-Leninist, and pro-Chechen groups.

Turkish terrorism law defines terrorism as attacks against Turkish citizens and the Turkish state; this definition may hamper Turkey’s ability to interdict, arrest, and prosecute those who plan and facilitate terrorist acts to be committed outside of Turkey.

AQ-inspired terrorists continued to target U.S. and foreign personnel in Turkey. On July 9, three gunmen attacked the U.S. consulate in Istanbul, killing three police officers. The Turkish government arrested four alleged associates of the attackers in the following days and believe that the gunmen were AQ-inspired terrorists. Earlier in the year, the Turkish National Police (TNP) and the National Intelligence Organization (MIT) conducted a successful series of raids against suspected AQ-affiliated terrorists. In January, police raids in Gaziantep against an alleged AQ cell ended in firefights, leading to the deaths of four suspects and the arrests of another 18. Follow-on raids in April led to the detention of an additional 35 people; 24 were indicted for various offenses. In mid-December, the Turks arrested another 60 suspected Islamic extremists in Istanbul, Izmir, and Manisa.

Most prominent among terrorist groups in Turkey is the Kurdistan Workers’ Party (PKK). Composed primarily of Kurds with a nationalist agenda, the PKK operated from bases in northern Iraq and directed its forces to target mainly Turkish security forces. In 2006, 2007, and 2008, PKK violence claimed hundreds of Turkish lives. The Kurdistan Freedom Falcons (TAK), a group designated under E.O. 13224, is affiliated with the PKK and has claimed responsibility for a series of deadly attacks in Turkish cities in recent years.

On February 19, TAK announced it would engage in a renewed campaign of violence in Turkey. On July 27, two bombs exploded in the Istanbul working-class neighborhood Gungoren, killing 17 and injuring more than 150. No group claimed responsibility, but Turkish authorities blamed the PKK. On August 19, both TAK and the PKK claimed responsibility for an August 19 car bomb at a Mersin police checkpoint and for an August 23 car bomb in a residential area of Izmir. The PKK also claimed responsibility for a car bomb in Diyarbakir on January 3, which killed six civilians and wounded 70; it apologized for this attack, claiming that the attackers were PKK members acting independently of orders.

The Turkish military and the PKK engaged in constant skirmishes in the Southeast throughout the year, the largest of which was an October 4 attack against a military outpost at Aktutun, in which 15 soldiers were reported killed. On October 17, 2007, in the midst of weeks of violence, during which PKK attacks claimed scores of killed or wounded Turkish soldiers and citizens, the Turkish parliament overwhelmingly passed a motion authorizing cross-border military operations against PKK targets in northern Iraq, which it renewed in October 2008.

US information sharing, begun in November 2007, helps ensure these Turkish actions hit terrorist rather than civilian targets. Turkish forces carried out extensive operations along the Turkey-Iraq border in the latter part of the year and continued to carry out strikes along the Turkey-Iraq border throughout 2008. In February, the Turks launched ground operations into northern Iraq, targeting PKK locations, and then disengaged by the end of the month. The Turkish government claimed that 657 PKK members were killed, 161 were captured, and 161 had surrendered in skirmishes throughout the year. In addition, 120 PKK members turned themselves over to Turkish authorities under the terms of a repentance law passed in 2005.

Other prominent terrorist groups in Turkey included the Revolutionary People’s Liberation Party/Front, a militant Marxist-Leninist group with anti-U.S. and anti-NATO views that seeks the violent overthrow of the Turkish state; and Turkish Hizballah (not affiliated with Lebanese Hizballah), an organization of Sunni Kurds with a violent history. The Great Eastern Islamic Raiders Front is a decentralized Islamic revivalist group that was particularly active in the 1990s; it claimed ties with al-Qa’ida (AQ). A previously unknown terrorist organization, Revolutionary Headquarters (Devrimci Karargah), an apparently Marxist organization espousing an anti-imperialist, anti-Zionist agenda, claimed responsibility for two attacks in Istanbul against political and military targets. Investigations into an organization named Ergenekon, allegedly composed of former military officials, bureaucrats, politicians, journalists, and underworld figures, began in 2007, leading to arrests in the summer of 2008. Alleged members of Ergenekon were on trial for a number of crimes including terrorism charges; the details of the case were murky, however, and Ergenekon’s status as a terrorist organization remained under debate at year’s end.

In November 2008, Turkish customs officials at the Port of Mersin seized a suspicious Iranian shipment bound for Venezuela which contained 22 shipping containers of barrels of nitrate and sulfite chemicals, commonly used for bombs, along with dismantled laboratory equipment. Customs officials detected the equipment during a search of 22 containers manifested as "tractor parts." They were being transshipped to Port of Mersin by trucks from Iran. In

December, customs officials asked Turkish Atomic Energy Authority and military experts to examine the seized material. At year's end, disposition of the shipment remained undecided.

The Turkish government has proposed a number of reforms to its counterterrorism and intelligence structure including increasing civilian control of counterterrorism operations and improving civil-military cooperation in CT efforts. The reform proposals predated 2008, but were given a sharper focus following the October 4 Aktutun attack. The proposals were still in the formative stage at year's end.

Turkey has consistently supported Coalition efforts in Afghanistan. Turkey has over 800 troops as well as a military training team in Kabul, a civilian Provincial Reconstruction Team in Wardak Province, and has undertaken training of Afghan police officials, politicians, and bureaucrats in Turkey. It has pledged a total of \$200 million to reconstruction efforts in Afghanistan. Turkey has provided significant logistical support to Coalition operations in Afghanistan and Iraq, authorizing the use of Incirlik Air Base as an air-refueling hub for Operation Enduring Freedom and Operation Iraqi Freedom, and as a cargo hub to transport non-lethal cargo to U.S. troops in Afghanistan and Iraq. Almost 60 percent of air cargo for U.S.”

⁹ The Office of the Coordinator for Counterterrorism of United States State Department summarized US international cooperation in the fight against terrorism as follows in its April 2009 reports (Country Reports on Terrorism, 2008):

“Working with allies and partners across the world, we have created a less permissive operating environment for terrorists, keeping terrorist leaders on the move or in hiding, and degrading their ability to plan and mount attacks. Canada, Australia, the United Kingdom, Germany, Spain, Jordan, the Philippines, Pakistan, Afghanistan, Iraq, and many other partners played major roles in this success. Dozens of countries have continued to pass counterterrorism legislation or strengthen pre-existing laws that provide their law enforcement and judicial authorities with new tools to bring terrorists to justice.

The United States has expanded the number of foreign partners with which it shares terrorist screening information. This information serves as an important tool for disrupting and tracking travel of known and suspected terrorists. Saudi Arabia has implemented one of the first rehabilitation programs for returning extremists to turn them against violent extremism and to reintegrate them as peaceful citizens.

Through the Regional Strategic Initiative, the State Department and other United States agencies are working with U.S. ambassadors overseas in key terrorist theaters of operation to assess threats and devise collaborative strategies, action plans, and policy recommendations. We have made progress in organizing regional responses to terrorists who operate in ungoverned spaces or across national borders. This initiative has produced better intra-governmental coordination among United States government agencies, greater cooperation with and between regional partners, and improved strategic planning and prioritization, allowing us to use all tools of statecraft to establish long-term measures to marginalize terrorists. 2008 witnessed improvement in capacity and cooperation on such key issues as de-radicalization, border controls, document security, interdiction of cash couriers, and biometrics and other travel data sharing.

Radicalization continued in immigrant populations, youth and alienated minorities in Europe, the Middle East, and Africa. A special focus on new approaches in Europe has been productive and has informed the way we understand government's role in combating radicalization. It is increasingly clear that radicalization does not occur by accident, or because such populations are innately prone to extremism. Rather, we saw increasing evidence of terrorists and extremists manipulating the grievances of alienated youth or immigrant populations, and then cynically exploiting those grievances to subvert legitimate authority and create unrest. We also note a —self-radicalization process, through which youths reach out to extremists in order to become involved in the broader AQ fight.

Efforts to manipulate grievances represent a —conveyor belt through which terrorists seek to convert alienated or aggrieved populations, by stages, to increasingly radicalized and extremist viewpoints, turning them into sympathizers, supporters, and ultimately, in some cases, members of terrorist networks. In some regions, this includes efforts by AQ and other terrorists to exploit insurgency and communal conflict as radicalization and recruitment tools, using the Internet to convey their message.

Counter-radicalization is a priority for the United States, particularly in Europe, given the potential for Europe-based violent extremism to threaten the United States and its key interests directly. The leaders of AQ and its affiliates are interested in recruiting terrorists from and deploying terrorists to Europe. They are especially interested in people familiar with Western cultures who can travel freely in the region and to the United States. However, countering such efforts requires that we treat immigrant and youth populations not as a threat to be defended against, but as a target of enemy subversion to be protected and supported. It requires that community leaders take responsibility for the actions of members within their communities and act to counteract extremist propaganda and subversion. It also requires

governments to serve as facilitators, conveners, and intellectual partners to credible organizations/people who can do what governments cannot. Finally, bilateral, regional, and multilateral cooperation is essential.’

¹⁰ For example, see the Survey of the implementation of Security Council resolution 1373 (2001) by Member States issued in November 2009, as transmitted in “Letter dated 3 December 2009 from the Chairman of the Security Council Committee established pursuant to resolution 1373 (2001) concerning counter-terrorism addressed to the President of the Security Council, S/2009/620.

The True Lessons of Yemen and Detroit

How the US Must Expand and Redefine International Cooperation in Fighting Terrorism

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Please note that this document is a working draft and will be revised regularly. To comment, or to provide suggestions and corrections, please email the author at acordesman@gmail.com.

The True Lessons of Yemen and Detroit: The Need to Expand and Redefine International Cooperation in Fighting Terrorism

Anthony H. Cordesman

As Americans we naturally focus on the most direct threats to the United States, and what all too many in the West have seen as a clash between civilizations. This concern is represented by the fact that President Obama's FY2011 budget request asks for \$74.6 billion for Homeland Defense as defined as, "activities that focus on combating and protecting against terrorism, and that occur within the United States and its territories." This is an almost incredible amount, particularly since it does not include foreign intelligence activity to help prevent terrorist attacks. It is also a sum that is planned to rise to \$82.2 billion by FY2015.

It is important, however, to keep the threat of terrorism in a broader perspective, and understand how cost-effective international cooperation can be in meeting this threat.. The latest State Department report on terrorism contains a report by the Counterterrorism Center that ranks the countries that have been the subject of the most serious attacks. These data are summarized in Chart One and the US and Western Europe at not even on the chart. It is nations with large Muslim populations that face the vast majority of threats.

It is also clear that there is no meaningful way to separate threats of "terrorism" from threats of insurgency. The same data from the Counterterrorism Center show that the two countries where is the United States and its allies are actively fighting insurgencies – Iraq and Afghanistan – dominated by Islamist elements – Iraq and Afghanistan – are the countries where "terrorism" has played a dominant role. These data skew the overall picture of where terrorism occurs in the world as the number of terrorist attacks in the "rest of the world" has overtaken Afghanistan and Iraq, especially given the number of terrorist attacks occurring in Pakistan.

We face a threat that involves far more than terrorism. It should not take a series of attacks in Yemen, or an attempted airline bombing, to remind us that we are involved in a struggle for the future of Islam that affects virtually every country with a significant Muslim population and has spilled over into rest of the world. Moreover, this struggle is not driven by a handful of extremists. It is driven by ideological, political, demographic, and economic forces that could make extremist violence an enduring threat for the next decade and probably the next quarter century.

The Five Keys to Defeating Violent Extremism

The question is what can we credibly do about a threat this large, and enduring, and which is ultimately ideological in character and shaped by fundamentally different religious and cultural values:

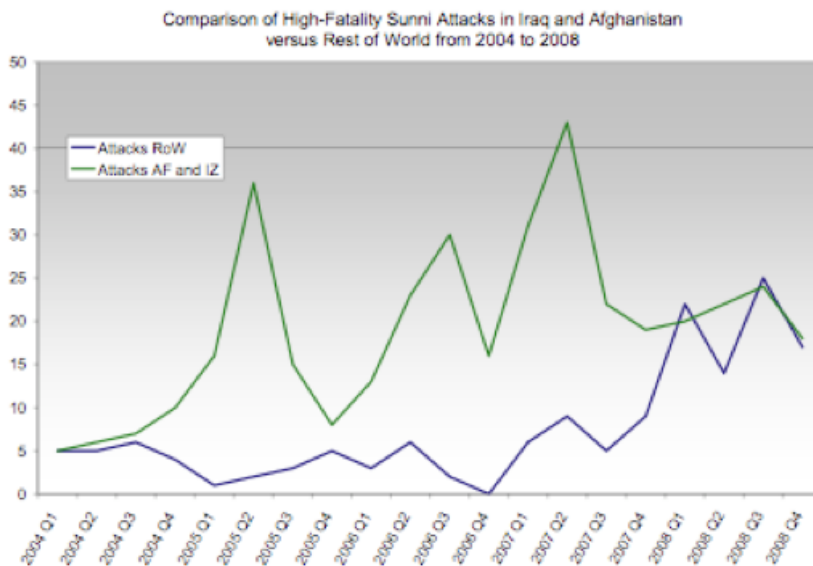
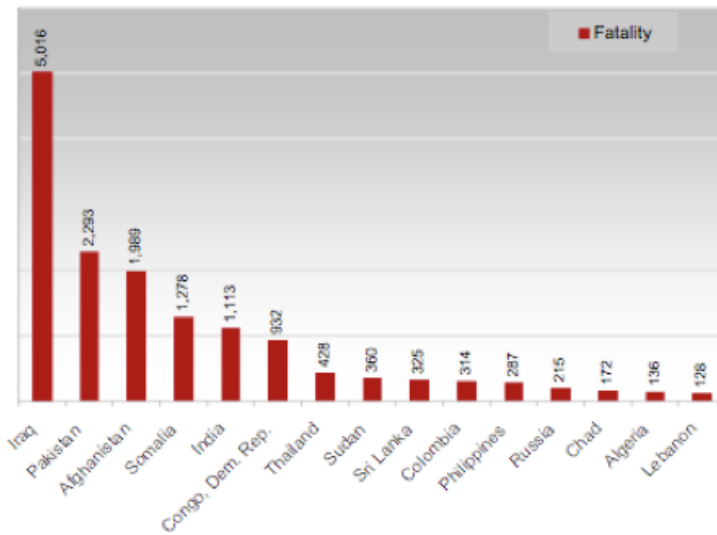
- *The most obvious answer is to continue improving US counterterrorism capabilities.* The practical problem, however, is that no level of improvement can counter a mix of threats that grows steadily more powerful outside the United States, that takes control of governments, that threatens US strategic interest outside our territory, and that threatens our friends and allies. Making the counterterrorism and intelligence community the scapegoat for the inevitable limits and failures of a system that will always be imperfect and fail to anticipate every new threat and form of attack is politically convenient and functionally futile.
- *The second answer is to put even more emphasis on international cooperation in counterterrorism.* Our first line of defense lies in the capabilities and actions of other states – particularly our friends and allies in Muslim states and states with large Muslim populations. Defeating terrorism locally -- before it can establish major sanctuaries, create international networks, escalate to insurgency, take control of governments – is critical to any broad success. The US must continue to work with other states, and strengthen formal international efforts in counterterrorism – in spite of their limits – but that much more is required. Informal efforts will be as important. One has only to consider what would have happened if we had not steadily improved counterterrorism cooperation and support from countries like Egypt, Jordan, and Saudi Arabia to realize how much more often the US would be under direct threat; how much more often our other allies would be attacked, and how many of our global economic and strategic interests would face far more serious threats.
- *A third answer is to redefine the struggle to deal with the fact that it is as much a problem in counterinsurgency as it is in counterterrorism in the narrow sense of the term.* Afghanistan and Iraq are the most obvious cases in point, but they are scarcely the preferred solution. No matter how much the US adapts to counterinsurgency and concepts like “hybrid warfare,” it lacks the forces to fight in every threatening area, and US and other Western forces will never be the best solution in nations that fear any foreign intervention and have a different religion and culture. The best solution will be to build up local counterinsurgency and paramilitary capabilities; to use Special Forces, covert action, and US intelligence and strike capabilities to help host countries. In practice, every US-driven exercise in counterinsurgency and armed nation building should be seen as an American strategic failure – a failure to understand that the United States should anticipate the escalation of such threats and work locally and with host governments to defeat them while they are still weak. Any approach to “hybrid warfare” or counterinsurgency that is “US-centric” is a failure by definition. It poses an impossible demand for resources to fight the wrong war in the wrong place.
- *A fourth answer is to understand that US aid in governance and economics, public diplomacy and information campaigns, and strong national efforts by US Embassy country teams is critical to easing the conditions that breed extremist violence.* One need to be careful about what the US can and cannot do – even when working closely with other allies and the international community. The mix of problems that drive extremism varies sharply between states, but most Muslim countries face a scale of economic problems that even the most effective aid efforts – or massive efforts at armed national building –cannot solve within a decade or more, if they can be solved at all. The United States can, however, use aid and active diplomacy selectively and as a catalyst. It can help in a crisis or give weak governments breathing space and time to evolve. Moreover, the US can show at the national and local level that it is serious about its goals and values, that it is not the enemy of Islam, and that it is willing to help governments that are capable of helping themselves. Education, expertise, and cultural exchanges are critical tools in this struggle – if they

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are applied at the scale and with the consistency to make a difference and are tailored to national needs.

- *The most important answer, however, may be for Americans to act on the reality that only Islamic countries, religious leaders, intellectuals, and political figures who can win the ideological battle which is the true key to any lasting success.* There are many ways the US and the West can help, but the battle for minds and souls is not a clash between civilizations, it is a struggle within one. No matter how successful we are in directly fighting individual terrorists and extremist movements, we will win or lose by working with friendly and allied Muslim states governments, and peoples.

**Chart One: US Comparative Estimates of Terrorist Activity
Deaths by Country:**



National Counterterrorism Center, *Country Reports on Terrorism, 2008*, <http://www.nctc.gov/> pp. 24 and 17.

A Broader Approach to International Cooperation in Counterterrorism

The Burke Chair has developed an analysis of the broader improvements required in a draft report for a conference on international cooperation in counterterrorism in Turkey. It is entitled *International Cooperation in Counterterrorism: Redefining the Threat and the Requirement*, and is available on the CSIS web site at:

http://csis.org/files/publication/100125_IntCoopinfighterror.pdf

This report draws on lessons and the successes of the near decade since 9/11, and to speak to both Western and Muslim audiences. The footnotes to the report also describe the progress that has taken place in formal cooperation in the UN, NATO, Interpol, and other international organizations over the last decade.

It is particularly important that Americans understand how important such improvements have already been, and how important they will be in the future. The US could not have intervened in Afghanistan or Iraq without the support of local states, and its allies from outside the region. It cannot hope to use force or armed nation building to intervene in the range of Muslim states, or states with large Muslim populations that must now deal with Islamist extremism or terrorism. It must instead work with these states to strengthen their capabilities, or see more countries like Yemen and Somalia come under extremist rule.

Understanding the Scale of the Forces Involved

At the same time, the US needs to reconsider its own strategy and pay more attention to the need for a comprehensive long-term approach to improving US cooperation with key countries. Far too much American political and media rhetoric focuses on the most immediate problem country, and narrowly focused short term efforts to directly protect the United States...hardly a compelling motivation for America's partners.

An effective US strategy must recognize the sheer scale of the forces that breed extremism and why a quick and simple solution is impossible. A near decade of new studies of terrorism and extremism has not found any simple or agreed upon explanation of the causes of terrorism, or what motivates extremists to take violent action. There is no simple correlation between poverty, education, employment and lack of opportunity, social status, failed governance, religious beliefs, sectarian and ethnic tensions, per group pressure and conditioning, urbanization and social dislocation, and other factors that have emerged from such studies. All are partial causes, and yet the core groups of violent extremists always remain small even in the "worst case" countries unless they decline into internal conflict and insurgency.

Yemen is a case in point. US officials have recently issued reassuring statements about the situation in Yemen, and the US should do what it can to aid and motivate the Saleh government. These statements, however, gloss over just how serious the forces involved are. Yemen has been a source of extremism and instability since the 1960s, has fought several civil conflicts before reaching an uncertain unity, and remains deeply divided by

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tribe, region, and sect. Moreover, it has never had effective governance, and effective government services like health care and education.

Demographic and economic forces are only one cause of violent extremism, but they illustrate the scale of the pressures that threaten to tear many Middle Eastern and Muslim states apart. The population growth and income disparities in key countries in the region are shown in **Charts Two and Three**, and from observing these figures one can see that the situation in Yemen clearly derives at least in part from these factors. The US census bureau estimates that Yemen's population was only 9.8 million in 1960, but it rose to 14.9 million in 1995, and is 28.3 million today. Even though it projects a significant cut in the future rate of population growth, the Census Bureau projects that the population of Yemen will reach 32.7 million people in 2025, and 45.8 million in 2050. The CIA estimates that some 46% of this population is now 14 years of age or younger, and Yemen's population will remain extraordinarily young for the next half century.

While youth and poverty do not necessarily breed extremism and terrorism, the CIA estimates that Yemen ranks 175th in the world in per capita income, a ranking nearly three times lower than its neighbor Saudi Arabia (60th). Virtually every expert agrees that even with projected increases in economic aid, Yemen will not become significantly wealthier in terms of per capita income in the near future. It will not solve its water crisis, it will not reduce its dependence on narcotics, nearly half of its population will continue to remain below the poverty line, and unemployment and underemployment will be well over 35%.

This does not mean that Yemen's problems are unsolvable, but it does mean that aid will not lead to quick progress, that it is functionally meaningless to talk about "draining the swamp" that causes terrorism in the foreseeable future, and that many of the conditions needed for stable government are lacking. Most important, it means that any stable victory against terrorism in Yemen is years away, and that such a victory must be won by Yemenis at the religious and ideological level, and not through any practical combination of counter terrorism and aid.

Yemen is only one case out of dozens of countries afflicted with similar problems. Iraq is a far more developed country; however, more than three decades of suffering have reduced Iraq to a ranking of 162nd in per capita income while other Middle Eastern countries like Kuwait and Qatar rank 6th and 2nd in the world, respectively. While Iraq has far more resources than Yemen, it too is under tremendous demographic pressure. Its population was only 6.8 million in 1960, but it rose to 19.6 million in 1995, and is 28.9 million today. Even though it again projects a significant cut in the future rate of population growth, the Census Bureau projects that Iraq will have 40.4 million people by 2025, and 56.3 million by 2050.

If one looks at the Arab world – which only includes a small part of the states with major Muslim populations -- the most recent Arab development report, *United Nations Development Programme: Arab Knowledge Report 2009—Towards Productive Intercommunication for Knowledge* notes that their overall per capita income rose from

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\$5,038 in 2001 to about \$8,000 in 2008, but that this rise lagged badly behind much of the world.

More broadly, an analysis of this same report by Dr. Nimrod Raphaeli of MEMRI notes that the report indicates that,

The 10-24 age group accounts for two-thirds of the population, and is expected to number between 125 and 150 million by 2025. Many of these young people are unemployed, and data show that unemployment rates have risen: in the 1980s, the weighted average unemployment rate was 10.6 percent, in the 1990s it rose to 14.5, with the highest level being recorded in Algeria (25.3%) and the lowest in Syria (8.1%).

The unemployment rate for young people is far higher than the average unemployment rate for the entire population. In 2005, youth unemployment averaged between 46 percent in Algeria and 6.3 percent in the United Arab Emirates (p. 12). Job creation is not keeping pace with the new entrants to the labor market, so that many of these young people may never be able to earn a living.

These forces are only a small part of the radical changes and pressures on the governments and societies involved, and it seems almost certain that they will trigger regime collapse or produce serious insurgencies in other states. Yet, the United States has already learned from experience that it really only has the forces to carry out one major exercise in armed nation building at a time, and does not have the qualified civilians necessary for even one such effort.

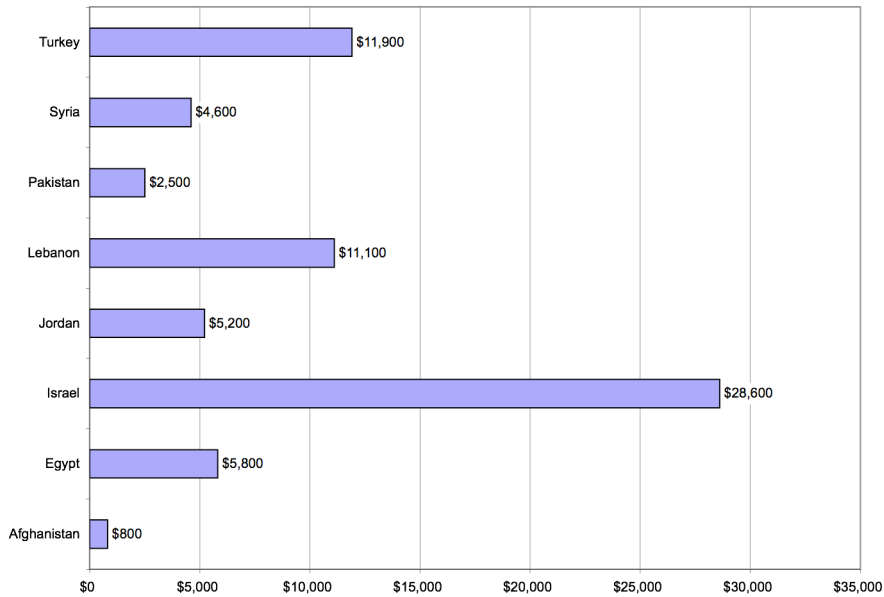
At the same time, the United States has learned in Afghanistan, Iraq, and Pakistan that building up local military and counterterrorism is critical to success – even when it receives major aid from its European and other allies. For all of the talk of hybrid warfare, it is all too clear that no amount of feasible change in US forces can substitute for better efforts in forging local partnerships. It is equally clear, that the levels of US, allied, and host country tactical success cannot compensate for ineffective local governance and losing an ideological struggle dominated by religion.

Chart Two: Near East and South Asia

Population Explosion: Population in Thousands over Time Period 1950-2050



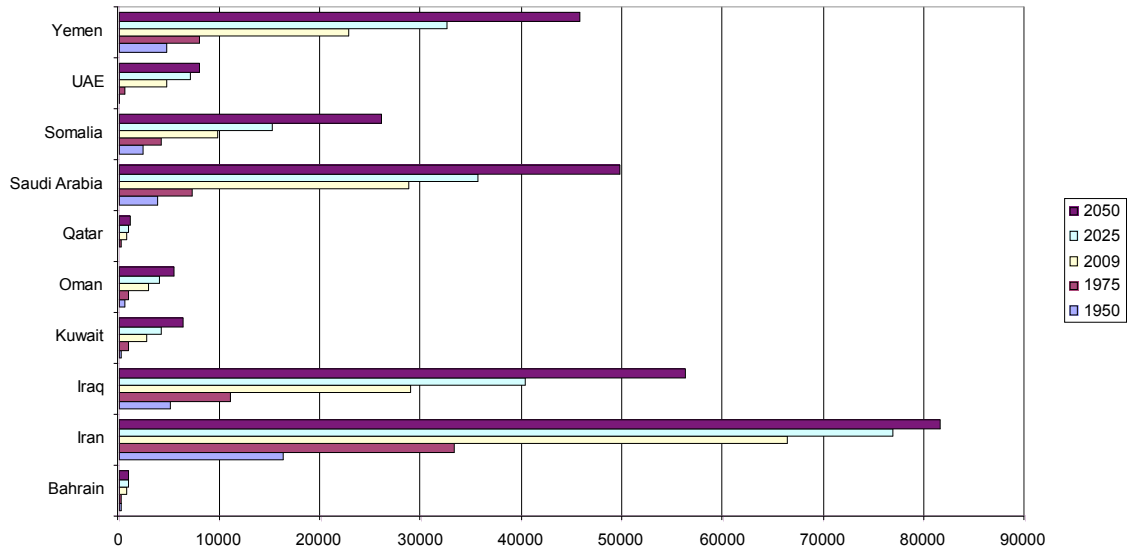
GDP per Capita 2008: Near East and South Asia



Source: Population data are taken from US Census Bureau, International Data Base as of January 25, 2010; the GDP per capita data are taken from the CIA, World Factbook, on-line edition, as of January 25, 2010

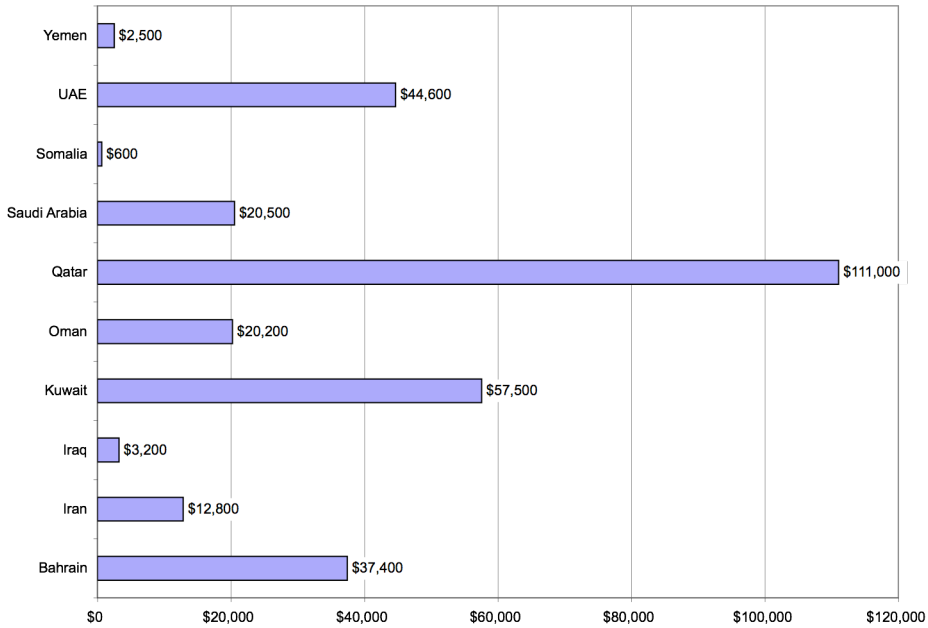
Chart Three: Gulf and Arabian Peninsula

Population Explosion: Population in Thousands over Time Period 1950-2050



	Bahrain	Iran	Iraq	Kuwait	Oman	Qatar	Saudi Arabia	Somalia	UAE	Yemen
■ 2050	980	81,490	56,316	6,383	5,402	1,116	49,830	26,025	8,019	45,781
□ 2025	868	76,779	40,387	4,179	3,981	938	35,680	15,148	7,063	32,650
□ 2009	729	66,429	28,946	2,693	2,910	833	28,687	9,832	4,798	22,858
■ 1975	259	33,265	11,118	1,007	920	169	7,205	4,128	523	7,934
■ 1950	115	16,357	5,163	145	489	25	3,860	2,438	72	4,777

GDP per Capita:



Source: Population data are taken from US Census Bureau, International Data Base as of January 25, 2010; the GDP per capita data are taken from the CIA, World Factbook, on-line edition, as of January 25, 2010.

Rethinking US Strategy for International Cooperation

In short, we need to look beyond the headlines and the search for the usual scapegoats. We need to firmly reject any form of US-centric approach or the belief that we are somehow dealing with a clash between civilizations. The United States must learn and adapt to the new direct threats to its territory, and it must realize that it cannot succeed by focusing on a war against “terrorism.”

It needs a far more comprehensive approach to international cooperation based on developing a broader matrix of international policy, security, public diplomacy, and aid efforts – led by the US country team in each nation -- that will allow the United States to create more effective partnerships with the governments and peoples living in the Muslim world. Prevention and partnership – and a joint effort to win the ideological struggle -- are the keys to broad and lasting success.

Specifically,

- *The United States should not separate domestic and international counterterrorism efforts directed at preventing terrorists from entering or directly attacking the United States from efforts based on improving US security through broader forms of international cooperation at the formal and informal levels. It needs to develop integrated domestic and international coalitions focused on key missions and functions.* US policies, programs, and budgets should recognize what US counterterrorism experts have long recognized: No amount of reorganization or improvement in US defenses, or centralized action by the intelligence community and the National Counter Terrorism Center can provide full security or even hope to adequately analyze the sheer volume of indicators and “noise” generated by a global mix of threats. Important as such improvements are, they must be part of a comprehensive mix of domestic and international efforts.
- *As the attached analysis shows, improvements in formal international cooperation can still have great value, but the most important areas for US success will lie in informal or formal bilateral and multilateral cooperation with largely Muslim states in East Africa, Central Asia, South Asia, the greater Middle East, and Africa.* In most cases, government-to-government cooperation will be critical. Such cooperation will be most productive with friendly governments, but it will often be possible to cooperate in limited ways even with partially hostile regimes.
- *The United States should not pursue US-centric counterterrorism and counterinsurgency policies, and should instead focus on developing local capabilities and forces.* The United States does not have the resources to carry out hybrid warfare or international counterterrorism on its own, and cannot overcome the problems created by the fact the US has a different culture, political and legal system, and view of religion from many of the states involved. Working to build up local capabilities – and help states on a preventive basis – will be critical. So will steadily expanding US ability to provide suitable trainers and partners for police, paramilitary, counterinsurgency, and rule of law capabilities; and to provide a transfer of skills, technology, and equipment. The US will lose this struggle decisively if it tries to act as a superpower; it can only succeed as a partner.
- *USCENTCOM is the key focus for security efforts.* Security assistance in the broadest sense of the term is only part of the solution, but it is a critical first step. Dealing with the problems of counterterrorism and counterinsurgency in the greater Middle East has clear priority, and the US military is the only part of the United State government that has shown the capability to deal flexibly with the required mix of police, paramilitary, and counterinsurgency training and

The True Lessons of Yemen and Detroit

partnering efforts. This makes USCENTCOM the logical center for coordinating such activity – although this would require additional resources and a larger integration of intelligence and State Department components.

- *The US should focus on helping states improve governance, their economy, and developing ways to both improve counterterrorism and improve their justice and counterterrorism systems to avoid human rights abuses and win popular support.* The basic themes of President Obama’s Cairo speech are critical to dealing with this threat. As recent events in Afghanistan, Iran, Iraq, and Pakistan have made all too clear; “democracy” is not a solution to the region’s problems and elections can present as many problems as they solve. At the same time, effective governance and government services are critical to establishing any form of stability, and creating economic development and growth. State abuses of the rule of law may make short terms gains in dealing with terrorism, but can easily alienate large parts of the population or breed new terrorists. Moreover, the states involved are so different in their political structures, in facing the impact of extremism, in demographics, internal tensions, and wealth that the US must develop balanced efforts for each individual country, not simply pursue some broad “fits all” solution based on US political and cultural priorities.
- *The US country team will be the critical focus for broader and enduring success.* International and regional efforts will remain important, but the US needs to beware of false economies of scale and of the idea that it can run “normal” embassies, focused on diplomacy, rather than direct efforts to deal with these threats. Only a country team that mixes counterterrorism, military advisory efforts, aid in governance and rule of law, economic advice and assistance, and educational programs and public diplomacy tailored to a given nation’s needs – and the level of threat in that country – can succeed. Such country teams must also be operational in the field, rather than tied to large fortress embassies, and often must be staffed more by operators than members of the regular Foreign Service. It also will be far more cost-effective to fund such country teams for preventive action than wait until a country reaches its crisis level – as has been the case in countries like Yemen.
- *Encouraging and supporting local governments, religious leaders, educators, media, and politicians in efforts to deal directly with ideological and religious challenges will be equally critical.* None of these US efforts can succeed unless the elites in states with large Muslim populations directly engage with extremists at the ideological and religious levels, conduct a massive strategic communications effort, improve religious education, and provide for reintegration of those caught up in extremist movements. Better US public diplomacy, aid and exchange programs, and other US efforts are critical to improving the image of the United States. The US must act on the principal, however, that it cannot transfer American values to the countries and populations involved. This makes it critical to help local states in their efforts wherever possible. At the same time, the US cannot succeed by giving the equivalent of a political blank check in support of current regimes. The United States must be prepared to confront failed and corrupt governance, and other abuses of power. The focus must be on the people and not the regime. Proactive cooperation in counterterrorism must also find ways to address regime failures and push for reform and change.

*Please note that this paper is a draft and it, and the longer study on **International Cooperation in Counterterrorism: Redefining the Threat and the Requirement**, will be revised as a result of the conference in Turkey and outside comments. Please send outside comments to Anthony H. Cordesman at acordesman@gmail.com or to Adam Mausner at amausner@csis.org.*

Appendix A: US Domestic Spending on Homeland Defense: FY2010-FY2015

Budget Function	2010 Enacted	Baseline				
		2011	2012	2013	2014	2015
National Defense	23,890	24,190	24,533	24,979	25,443	25,911
International Affairs	1,757	1,868	1,898	1,930	1,963	1,997
General Science Space and Technology	1,547	1,564	1,589	1,620	1,644	1,674
Energy	122	123	126	129	132	136
Natural Resources and the Environment	306	310	316	326	330	339
Agriculture	567	578	591	608	622	636
Commerce and Housing Credit	196	198	201	205	210	214
Transportation	11,200	11,342	11,601	11,931	12,272	12,621
Community and Regional Development	3,948	3,993	4,058	4,129	4,201	4,272
Education, Training, Employment and Social Services	174	178	184	189	197	202
Health	4,204	7,325	7,454	7,597	7,739	7,884
Medicare	27	28	29	31	32	34
Income Security	14	14	15	15	15	15
Social Security	209	225	234	236	238	244
Veterans Benefits and Services	428	416	426	435	448	458
Administration of Justice	20,119	20,718	21,602	22,315	23,057	23,827
General Government	1,552	1,553	1,582	1,609	1,632	1,659
Total, Homeland Security Budget Authority	70,270	74,623	75,439	78,284	80,175	82,123
Less National Defense, DOD	-19,045	-19,254	-19,485	-19,814	-20,155	-20,496
Non-Defense, Discretionary Homeland Security BA	51,225	55,369	55,954	58,470	60,020	61,627
Less Fee-Funded Homeland Security Programs	-5,528	-5,562	-5,625	-5,722	-5,820	-5,922
Less Mandatory Homeland Security Programs	-2,590	-2,846	-2,931	-3,024	-3,124	-3,223
Net Non-Defense, Discretionary Homeland Security BA	43,107	47,161	48,398	49,724	51,076	52,482
Obligations Limitations						
Department of Transportation Obligations Limitation	105	106	107	109	111	114

Source: White House, *The Budget for Fiscal Year 2011*, “Special Topics,” p. 386

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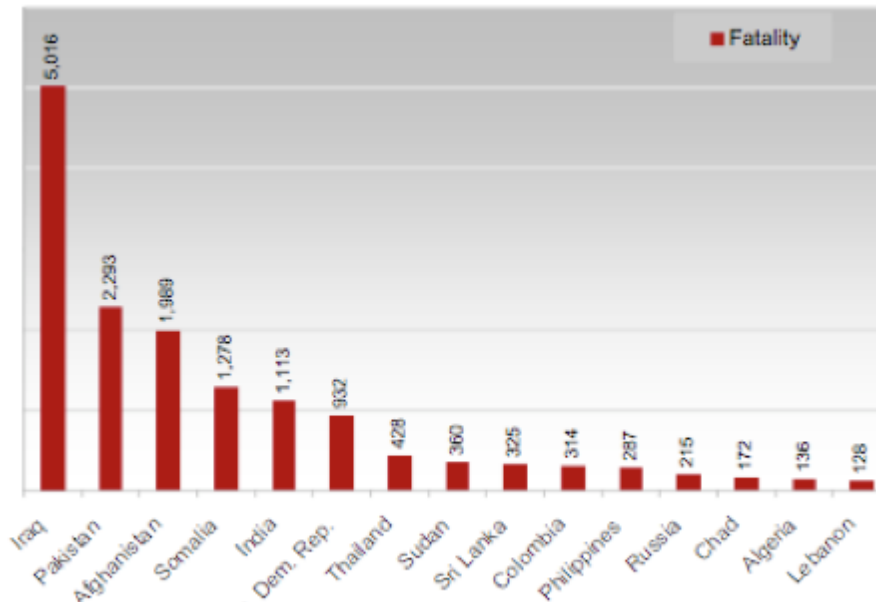
There is *No* Role for Isolated “Military Intelligence” Efforts in Counterterrorism

- The need is for “fusion,” not a compartmented military effort.
- Integrated efforts cutting across all lines of effort are the key to success.
- Counter Terrorism Centers, integrated collection and analysis efforts, and tearing down bureaucratic and artificial security barriers, are critical.
- At every level, the challenge is to mix dedicated counterterrorism expertise with a “whole of government” approach.

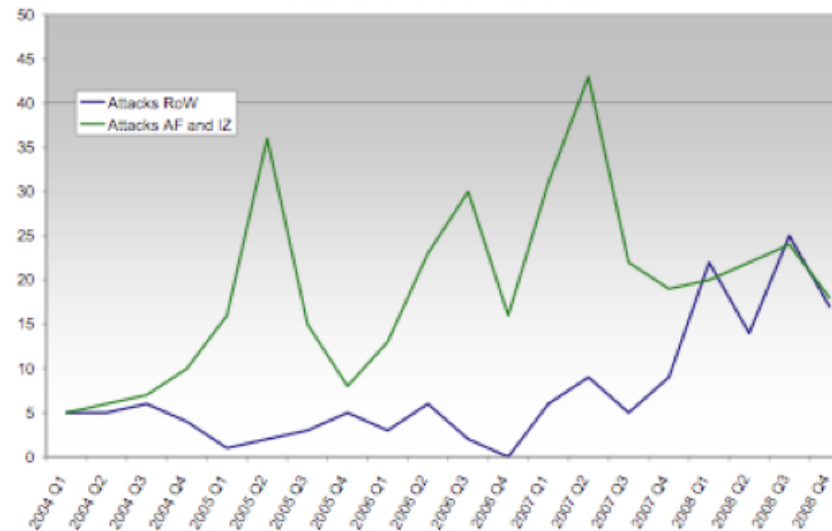
No Two Intelligence Challenges Will Be Alike

- **Most low level threats are police or paramilitary.**
- **Higher level threats involve a nascent or active insurgency.**
- **The level of enclave or foreign sanctuary is critical.**
- **So is the level of international involvement: Allied and threat.**
- **Ethnic and religious issues challenge the use of the term “terrorist.”**
- **The level of popular support for the terrorists is critical, as is their level of influence over the population.**
- **Only small, tightly hierarchical groups -- with limited popular support -- can easily be dealt with by military means.**

Looking At Levels of Terrorist Violence



Comparison of High-Fatality Sunni Attacks in Iraq and Afghanistan versus Rest of World from 2004 to 2008



National Counterterrorism Center, *Country Reports on Terrorism, 2008*, <http://www.nctc.gov/> pp. 24 and 17.

Getting the Priorities Right

- **The best use military intelligence support will be to act before the use of military force is necessary.**
- **The second best use will limit the use of force to a minimum, and support integrated civil-military efforts.**
- **Once serious force is needed, the threat is no longer “terrorism” per se. It is driven by serious internal division and is at least edging towards insurgency and/or irregular warfare.**

For Police and Paramilitary, Military Intelligence Support must be tied to Limited Use of Force and Rule of Law

- **Dispersed, low level-terrorism is best handled by police, paramilitary, and security agencies.**
- **Military intelligence collection and analysis must be supportive -- provide rapid response to other users.**
- **Sensitive military and civilian collection methods and analysis do need to be compartmented.**
- ***But*, hoarding information provides aid and comfort to the enemy.**

For the Military, Counter-Terrorism Intelligence is Only Part of Full Spectrum or Hybrid Warfare

- **There is no clear dividing line between terrorism, insurgency and irregular warfare.**
- **Military intelligence collection and analysis must be ready to perform all of these tasks.**
- **Assets must be flexible enough to be tailored to specific conditions, and react quickly enough to dominate the threat's decision making cycle.**
- **Intelligence and operations must be integrated, and intelligence should drive plans and operations.**
- **“Meaningful change will not occur until commanders at all levels take responsibility for intelligence.”**
- **Hoarding information provides aid and comfort to the enemy.**

In Serious Cases, Military Intelligence Cannot Be Threat-Driven

- Winning the population is as important as defeating the terrorist.
- Short of brute force, integrated civil-military operations and political compromise will be necessary.
- Intelligence and targeting must attack networks from the top down --including key cadres -- where ever possible.
- Military intelligence must consider civilian casualties, collateral damage, and strategic communications as key priorities. *Coopt, not alienate*
- Allied, foreign, and media reactions must be taken into account: Counterterrorism is a battle of perceptions.
- The military side of intelligence must include net assessment of the impact of military and civil action.
- Need a joint civil-military campaign plan: “Shape, clear, hold, and build” -- “not clash and leave.”

Defining “Shape, Clear, Hold, Build, and Transfer”

- ***Shape***: Create the military conditions necessary to secure key population centers; limit the flow of insurgents.
 - ***Clear***: Remove insurgent and anti-government elements from a given area or region, thereby creating space between the insurgents and the population;
 - ***Hold***: Maintain security, denying the insurgents access and freedom of movement within the given space;
 - ***Build***: Exploit the security space to deliver humanitarian relief and implement reconstruction and development initiatives that will connect the population to its government and build and sustain the nation; and
 - ***Transfer***: Shift responsibility and activity to civil government, police, and civil order.
-

Full Spectrum Intelligence Requires Adaptation of Military Intelligence Assets

- **Need to test capabilities of each collection asset, as well as flow of allied data.**
- **Adapt imagery, ELINT (electronic intelligence) and SIGINT (signals intelligence).**
- **HUMINT (human intelligence) requires special training of intelligence and Special forces assets.**
- **Fusion (integrated efforts) must be exercised with police, paramilitary, justice systems.**
- **Military must focus on polls and open source material -- feedback and dissemination work in all directions.**
- **Intelligence effort must support recovery as well as defense and offense.**
- **Critical infrastructure may pose special needs. (CBRN, cyberwarfare).**

“Targeting” Intelligence

- **Target the leadership, skilled cadres, propagandists, and shadow governments.**
- **Precision, restraint, and focus on popular perceptions of the actions on each side.**
- **Patience and “dwell time” are needed to ensure the right decision.**
- **Create cells to assess civilian casualties and collateral damage: Put a “Red Card” group in the decision-making loop.**
- **Intelligence must shape “battle damage assessment”, and feed strategic communications, accordingly.**
- **Experience shows that local human intelligence is critical wherever possible.**
- **Intelligence must support rapid reaction in terms of competing claims, compensation, and supporting civic action.**
- **Local support, and friendly ethnic, sectarian, tribal, and extended family is critical.**

Presence versus Toys

- **Forward human presence critical wherever possible.**
- **Limits of intelligence, targeting, and battle damage assessment play critical role in shaping rule of engagement.**
- **New assets like satellites, unmanned aerial vehicles (UAVs), and unmanned combat aerial vehicles (UCAVs) have great value but:**
 - **Dangerous without HUMINT (human intelligence);**
 - **Costly and asset density and analytic support must match threat;**
 - **Limited coverage -- looking through a tunnel .**

Event Response, Battle Damage Assessment, and Strategic Communications

- **Need immediate battle damage assessment and response to reports of civilian casualties and collateral damage.**
- **Strategic communications critical intelligence task the moment military assets are used.**
- **Allied countries present serious challenge.**
- **Need immediate (24 hours or real time) response in terms of build and hold.**
- **Only military intelligence may be able to support civil-military operations in high risk areas.**

Detention, Interrogation, and Torture

- **Cost of extralegal procedures usually greatly exceeds benefits:**
 - **Lenin's brother**
- **If unfair, or perceived as unfair, creates or train more terrorists, and better terrorists.**
- **World has developed very long memories for disappearances and abuses.**
- **Need intelligence inside camps and detention facilities, monitor outside reactions.**

Using A “Net Assessment” Approach

- **Winning the population is as important as defeating the terrorist.**
- **Short of brute force, integrated civil-military operations and political compromise will be necessary.**
- **Intelligence and targeting must attack networks from the top down --including key cadres -- where ever possible.**
- **Military intelligence must consider civilian casualties, collateral damage, and strategic communications as key priorities.**
- **Allied, foreign, and media reactions must be taken into account: Counterterrorism is a battle of perceptions.**
- **The military side of intelligence must include net assessment of the impact of military and civil action.**
- **“Shape, clear, hold, and build” -- “not clash and leave.”**

Conclusions

- **Fusion is everything.**
- **Support police and paramilitary where possible.**
- **Tasks include response, not just offense and defense.**
- **Need for quick reaction civil-military programs.**
- **Kill or capture not enough; must defeat in popular terms.**
- **Supporting attacks on low level terrorists and tactical operations much less important than focus on key cadres.**
- **Win war of perceptions and popular support, or military victories may be meaningless.**