



# International Cooperation in Combating Terrorism: The Next Phase?

Published by



AT THE  
INTERNATIONAL  
LAW INSTITUTE

**January 2014**

## Preface

From the dawn of history, expressions of intimidation and force have been permanent fixtures in the struggle of power within and among nations. Contemporary political violence, such as terrorism in violation of domestic and international law, particularly challenges the stability of national, regional, and global strategic orders. These strategic threats were identified decades ago by Justice Arthur T. Goldberg, who was at the time the United States Ambassador to the United Nations: “[M]odern terrorism, with sophisticated technological means at its disposal and the future possibility of access to biological and nuclear weapons, presents a clear and present danger to the very existence of civilization itself” (“Foreword” to Yonah Alexander, *International Terrorism*, Praeger, 1976).

In view of this potential calamity, the international community has taken extended steps to reduce the risks and bring them under manageable levels. In support of these efforts, the Inter-University Center for Terrorism Studies (a consortium of universities and think tanks in over forty countries) provides academic forums to stimulate discussions in this area of public concern.

The latest seminar on “International Cooperation in Combating Terrorism: The Next Phase?” was co-sponsored by the Inter-University Center for Terrorism Studies, the International Center for Terrorism Studies, the Inter-University Center for Legal Studies, and the University of Virginia School of Law’s Center for National Security Law and held at the Potomac Institute for Policy Studies on September 27, 2013.

The purpose of this event was to highlight the security concerns of the League of the Arab States, African Countries, and the European Union during the sixty-eighth session of the U.N. General Assembly. Speakers at the seminar were Ambassador Mohammed Alhussaini Alsharif (Ambassador of the League of Arab States to the United States), Ambassador Al Maamoun Baba Lamine Keita (Ambassador of the Republic of Mali to the United States), and the Honorable Simonas Šatūnas (Deputy Chief of Mission, Embassy of Lithuania. Lithuania held at the time the Presidency of the European Union). The Honorable Abderrahim Rahhaly (Deputy Chief of Mission, Embassy of the Kingdom of Morocco) also made some comments at the event.

I would like to express our appreciation for the continuing support of our co-sponsors as well as the useful editorial suggestions by Professor Herbert Levine and the Fall 2013 research team, including Sharon Layani (University of Michigan graduate) and William Docimo (London School of Economics and Political Science graduate). Mary Ann Culver (Potomac Institute for Policy Studies) provided administrative support for the publication.

Professor Yonah Alexander  
Director, Inter-University Center for Terrorism Studies  
January, 2014

**H.E Ambassador Dr. Mohammed R. Al Hussaini Al Sharif**  
Chief Representative  
Of the League of Arab States in Washington D.C.

Thank you very much Professor Yonah Alexander. I would like to thank also the panel. I am very pleased to have colleague of mine here with me in this forum. He was a young diplomat at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in the Republic of Mali in Bamako in 1980's and I was the head of the Saudi Diplomatic Mission then in Bamako. Now he is the Ambassador of the Republic of Mali in Washington and I represent the Arab League here. What a small world?

I will be speaking briefly on the so called "Arab Spring" and the Changes-as a result-in, the Foreign Policy of the US vis-à-vis the Middle East as well as in the relationship between the USA and the League of Arab States.

One of the important highlights of these changes in USA Foreign Policy is its efforts to Revive the Arab Peace Initiative 20 years after The Oslo Accords in 1993. The unresolving of the Arab – Israeli conflict constitutes an obstacle to security and stability in the region as well as bound to cause violence and even the further spread of terrorism in the region and beyond.

Three years after the Arab Spring, the results are not very promising.

A recent article in the New York Times entitled, "Real Change will take Generations" asserts that the Arab Spring has to be retired and that there is nothing spring-like going on. The article contends that even the Arab Awakening is no longer valid. Instead of referring to the "Arab Spring," the article suggests describing what happened as simply the "Arab Decade" or the "Arab Quarter Century." Change does not happen overnight, especially in the Middle East, and although there may not be any promising results from the Arab Spring so far, time will only tell. However, the events that happened in the region beginning with, and subsequent to the Arab Spring have elicited a number of positive changes in Arab-U.S, relations reflected in some cooperations for the first time with the League of Arab States, as well as some very important and positive USA initiatives targeting mainly the Arab Spring countries.

Due to the unprecedented steps taken by the Arab League in response to the post-Arab spring challenging developments in our region, particularly in Libya and Syria, a Memorandum of Understanding for cooperation between the League of Arab States and the United States Department of State was signed on the 25th of September, 2012. This MOU is intended to promote more effective cooperation and coordination of Arab-U.S. policies, as well as to create an ongoing dialogue in various fields to achieve economic, social, cultural, educational, and humanitarian cooperation.

At that time, then Secretary Clinton described the signing of the MOU as the opening of a new chapter in the history of U.S.-Arab League relations. On this occasion Secretary Clinton

commented that, “the United States and the Arab League have worked more closely together than ever before. We have stood shoulder- to-shoulder in responding to the crisis in Libya and Syria.”

As a result of this MOU Secretary Clinton and I launched a U.S. initiative called The Open Book Project. According to The Open Book Project description, “anyone in the Arab world with access to the internet will be able to read, download and print these science and technology materials in Arabic free of cost. And they can also adapt the materials to meet the local needs of their classrooms and other educational entities...”

The signing of this MOU is one of the recent highlights of the relationship between the Arab League and the U.S. State Department. However, prior to the signing of this agreement the U.S. also launched two very important initiatives.

The first initiative was in of August, 2011, when the United States adopted a comprehensive strategy to prevent and respond to atrocities as a key focus of U.S. foreign policy.

President Obama ordered the creation of the Atrocities Prevention Board in order to prevent and respond to genocide and mass atrocities and to hold perpetrators of atrocities accountable and to bring them to justice. To date, this board has focused primarily on the prevention of atrocities in Libya at that time and on Syria now as atrocities by the regime, against civilians are still going on.

In September 2011, the U.S. launched a second initiative called the Open Government Partnership. This partnership is as an effort to engage countries in the fight against corruption and to push for openness, transparency and accountability.

I also noticed that religion in general, and in particular the role of Islam in politics in the Middle East have become of great concern to the State Department and to the U.S. Government.

The State Department has a special representative to Muslim communities or Muslim minorities abroad, and there is also a Special Envoy of the president to the Organization of Islamic Cooperation. Most recently, on the 7th of August, 2013, Secretary of State John Kerry launched the Office of Faith-Based Community Initiatives. This newly formed office joins the State Department’s Office of International Religious Freedom and the U.S. Agency for International Development (AID) Center for Faith Based and Community Initiatives. In addition Foreign Service officers are now required to take classes on religion as a part of their overall training.

I think it is important to understand other religions and to engage with religious leaders and communities locally and abroad, as religion is an integral part of the daily life for billions of

people around the world. However I am concerned about the attention directed towards Islam and Muslims in particular.

I would like to emphasize here that religion, any religion, does not motivate such criminal acts. It is not religion that motivates us to do something evil, but we might put the blame on political matters, or social and economic problems, or even on education.

It is not enough to believe; you have to act in such a way so as to earn paradise. All evil on earth is caused by man and not by God. Everybody is responsible for his own actions.

Judaism, Islam and Christianity share many key values in common: respect for knowledge, for justice, compassion towards the poor and the underprivileged, the importance of life, and respect for parents.

Within the framework of the international efforts to combat terrorism, it is imperative to resolve the Palestinian-Israeli conflict which is one of the causes of instability and insecurity in the region. Also, by resolving this conflict in the Middle-East, we will deny terrorists the possibility of using this noble cause for their own evil objectives.

I believe that there should be some definition agreed upon by the international community for terrorism in all its forms. We should differentiate between terrorism that kills innocent civilians and the right of peoples for self-determination and the struggle against foreign occupation.

Experience teaches us that in all political conflicts the cultural dimension is frequently invoked and exploited.

Whenever, a conflict is presented to you as a clash of cultures, show some skepticism and dig deeper. Take the much heated topic of the clash between Islam and the West. Out of fifty-seven Muslim states there is not one single state in a state of conflict or war with western states.

Iraq had no problem with the West until it invaded Kuwait. Iran enjoyed cordial relations with the west until it started exporting its revolution.

I do not think there is any definite or one reason for cultural clashes. Some believe inequalities, rather than cultural differences, are responsible for many of the so-called cultural clashes. Others say the spread of poverty in some countries and regions and the increasing prosperity of others have led to enormous tensions in many regions and cultures.

During World Economic Forum in 2002 in New York, many Heads of State and Foreign Ministers including American Secretary of State Mr. Colin Powell called for a coalition against poverty that should follow the coalition to combat terrorism. American Secretary of State then Mr. Colin Powell said in the Forum: "Terrorism really flourishes in areas of poverty, despair and hopelessness, where people see no future". Secretary Powell added that "we should fight poverty which feeds terrorism". Many in the forum called for a more just and fair globalization.

However, the conflict between the Islamic and Western worlds arises from the inability to understand or rather not wanting to understand and from the powerful emotions which, out of misunderstanding, lead to distrust and fear.

It is odd, in many ways that misunderstandings between Islam and the West should persist, for that which binds the two worlds together is so much more powerful than that which divides us.

The Christian view of Islam and Muslim view of Christianity are often blurred by political, social, cultural and economic competition. The basis of all this is: ignorance. This ignorance is not only about each other, but often about ourselves.

The extremes exist within almost every faith and society, and they must be dealt with. But when used as a basis to judge society, they lead to distortion and unfairness.

If there is much misunderstanding in the West about the nature of Islam, there is also much ignorance about the debt the western culture and civilization owe to the Islamic World.

In my opinion, religion, any religion, has nothing to do with the problem of violence or terrorism. It is not religion that motivates us to do something evil. It is the unfair or unjust policies of some countries vis-à-vis others.

Within the framework of International efforts to combat violence and evil acts of terrorism and atrocities, it is all the more imperative to resolve the Palestinian-Israeli conflict. This is one of the major causes of instability and insecurity in the region. By resolving this conflict and achieving a just, comprehensive and lasting peace, we will deny those who commit violence based on the premise of achieving justice for Palestinians the right to use this noble issue for their own evil objectives.

A major change in the foreign policy of the U.S. vis-a-vis the Arab-Israeli conflict is the revival of the Arab-Peace initiative which was first presented by then- Crown Prince of Saudi Arabia Abdullah Bin Abdulaziz, now the King of Saudi Arabia. This initiative was first endorsed by the 22 member-States of the Arab League during the Beirut Arab Summit on March 28, 2002.

The initiative offered an historic and unprecedented opportunity to achieve a just, comprehensive and durable peace in the Middle East based on international laws. It underscores two basic points:

A just and comprehensive peace in the Middle East is a strategic choice for the Arab world. The initiative calls on Israel to declare that a just peace is also its chosen strategic option. The military approach towards the Arab-Israeli conflict will not bring peace or security to the region.

In this initiative, the 22 Arab Countries explicitly express their readiness to establish normal relations with Israel within the context of a comprehensive peace. In exchange, they expect a legal and complete Israeli withdrawal from the Arab territories occupied in 1967. The initiative outlines the establishment of a sovereign, independent and viable Palestinian State in the West Bank and Gaza Strip with East Jerusalem as its Capital and an agreed upon solution for the problem of millions of Palestinian refugees in accordance with UN General Assembly Resolution 194.

As I stated, this initiative was endorsed by all 22 Arab countries, the United States, the European Union, the United Nations and the Islamic Cooperation Organization. Only Israel has not responded to or acknowledged the initiative since 2002.

This revival of the Arab Peace Initiative comes almost 20 years after the signing of the Oslo Accords between the Palestinian Authority and Israel. I will not discuss the shortcomings or success of the Oslo Accords, but the fact is that the settlements in the Occupied Territories have doubled from 250 to 500 since the accord was signed. The Oslo Accord left the Palestinian land “fragmented and Palestine cause polarized between Hamas and the Palestinian Authority.”

During and after the Arab-Awakening, I felt that there was some support and calls for reviving the peace initiative. This came primarily from the U.S. side. It was the U.S. government that pushed for the revival of the Arab Peace Initiative 11 years after it was first presented.

Here are some of the other recent attempts to revive an Arab Peace Initiative.

In late March 2011, a group of prominent Israelis, including former heads of the Mossad and Shin Bet security services, put forth the Israeli Peace Initiative. This was in response to the Arab Peace Initiative. The goal was to generate popular support for greater Israeli peace efforts. It called on the Israeli government to recognize the Arab Peace Initiative “as an historic effort made by the Arab states to reach a breakthrough and to achieve progress on a regional basis, and sharing the Arab Peace Initiative statement ‘that a military solution to the conflict will not achieve peace or provide security for the parties.’ “

In 2012, a paper written by Israel’s Institute for National Security Studies called on Israel’s leaders to re-examine the Arab Peace Initiative. The paper warned that the Arab Peace Initiative “will not survive indefinitely.”

I have noticed that there are an increasing number of Israeli officials, prominent pro-Israeli scholars and writers who are worried about the future of Israel if it continues to occupy the Palestinian territories and to pursue the policy of building settlements in the Occupied Territories.

They all share the following quotation:

“Unless there is a solution to the Israeli-Palestinian conflict, there will not be a Jewish state for very long and if Israel does not withdraw from the Palestinian territories, Israel will either become an un-democratic Jewish State, or a non-Jewish-democratic state.”

A joint statement issued by Secretary of State John Kerry and a Ministerial Delegation of the Arab Peace Initiative in the aftermath of a joint meeting in Paris on the 8th of Sept. 2013.

In this statement, Secretary Kerry provided an update on the ongoing permanent status negotiations between Palestinians and Israelis and reiterated the United States’ commitment to pursuing intensive negotiations to end the conflict through a permanent status agreement. He also updated the Arab delegation on the plans to promote investment and economic growth for the Palestinian people. The Arab delegation expressed its full support for the Secretary of State’s efforts and for the agreed upon nine month timeline.

The Arab delegation also expressed concern about continued Israeli settlement activity and unilateral Israeli actions in Jerusalem that create a negative environment. The Arab delegation hopes that the ongoing permanent status negotiations will lead to a just and lasting peace through the resolution of all permanent status issues. This would be a major step towards a comprehensive Middle East Peace which will contribute to regional security and stability. The Arab delegation expressed its willingness to provide whatever support may be necessary to achieve this outcome including economic support for the Palestinian authority and the Palestinian Economic Initiative.

The peace talks had been stalled on several occasions due in large part to Israel’s continually increasing settlements and Palestinian concerns about their repercussions on the socio- economic and political viability of a future Palestinian state.

Secretary of State Kerry’s intensive shuttle diplomacy of six rounds during a 4 month period from April till July 2013 brought the Middle East negotiators together.

At his Senate confirmation hearing on 25 January 2013, then-Senator Kerry stressed the importance of achieving peace in the Middle East and the linkage of U.S. Foreign Policy in some geographical areas to the Arab-Israeli conflict. I quote -

“So much of what we aspire to achieve and what we need to do globally as well as what we need to do in the Maghreb and South Asia, in South Central Asia and throughout the Gulf, all of this is tied to what can or doesn’t happen with respect to Israel and Palestine.”



Peace talks between Israel and Palestinians started on the 30th of July, 2013. So far after numerous rounds of negotiations no progress has been revealed or discussed with the media. But the Palestinians expressed their dismay and frustration over Israel's continued construction of settlements on the West Bank while negotiations are taking place. A senior Palestinian official said that this policy by Israel will destroy every opportunity for a possible agreement.

During a recent meeting with President Obama, Prime Minister Netanyahu stated his position on resolving the Arab-Israeli conflict as follows:

- That he wants peace and Israel wants peace, but it is not possible to return to the 1967 borders which are indefensible. Israel needs to maintain its military presence along its border with the valley of Jordan.
- That Israel will not accept the return of the grandchildren and the great grandchildren of the Palestinians expelled in 1948, because as he said this will wipe out the future of Israel as a Jewish State. And that the problem of Palestinian refugees must be resolved within the context of a Palestinian State.
- That President Abbas of the Palestinian authority needs to choose between peace with Israel and dealing with Hamas and that Israel can't negotiate with a Palestinian authority that is supported by a terrorist movement.

As a result of the turmoil and chaos in the "Arab Spring" countries, former Prime Minister of Israel Olmert said during his visit to Washington D.C in June 2013 that this is the first time in 60 years that Israel feels more secure.

On October 9, Senior Defense Official Amos Gilad delivered a lecture at the Washington's Institute He said that,

"Despite the threat of Iran and the continuing turmoil in the Middle East, Israel is more secure than ever. From a security point of view, now is the best time Israel has seen despite the many challenges it faces." He added,

"We live at the best time of security for Israel, as we have defeated terrorism. Iran strains under choking sanctions; we are rid of Syrian Chemical Weapons, and [we have] finished off any conventional Arab military threat as there is no regular Arab army capable of confronting Israel as things were back in 1973."

## CONCLUSION

Given all the security guarantees available to Israel courtesy of U.S. aid, including the Iron Dome missile defense system, as well as the commitment of the U.S. to help maintain Israeli's military superiority over all the 22 Arab countries - with all of these security advantages that Israel enjoys over the Arab countries, Israel can win one battle after another, but it can't win the final war. Israel can't win peace in the region nor can it win acceptance by the International community as long as Israel continues to occupy Arab Land and defy all of the legal United Nations Security Council Resolutions pertinent to Palestine.

Any unjust or imperfect, or incomplete peace will not guarantee permanent security or permanent peace for the Israelis or for the Palestinians. I expect future Palestinian generations to rise up against these injustices once again and consequently, conflict will resume at some point in the future.

I sincerely hope that the ongoing direct peace negotiations will lead to a resolution that achieves a just and lasting peace through resolving all permanent status issues as a major step towards comprehensive Middle East Peace. This will contribute to finally establishing regional security and stability.

In conclusion, I would like to quote what the late Prime Minister of India Jawaharlal Nehru once said.

“The only alternative to Co-existence is Co-destruction.”

**Ambassador Al Maamoun Baba Lamine Keita**  
Ambassador of the Republic of Mali to the United States

First of all, I would like to thank our hosts, Prof. Michael Swetnam, CEO and Chairman, Potomac Institute for Policy Studies, and Prof. Yonah Alexander, Director, Inter-University Center for Terrorism Studies, and Prof. Don Wallace Jr, Chairman, International Law Institute, for the opportunity to address this important seminar. But more importantly, I thank them for their consistent leadership in drawing attention to the current and future threat of terrorism.

These individuals in particular have done a tremendous job of developing response strategies on governmental and nongovernmental levels, and educating on the nature and intensity of the terrorism threat.

To you and everyone here at the Potomac Institute for Policy Studies, and the Inter-University Center for Terrorism Studies, thank you for your invaluable contributions.

It is my privilege to be here with such distinguished speakers, including the Ambassador of the League of Arab States to the United States, H. E. Mohammed Alhussaini Alsharif, and Hon. Simonas Satunas, Deputy Chief of Mission, Embassy of Lithuania.

Ambassador Alsharif, it's great to meet you again, after over 30 years, since you were Chief of Mission of the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia in Bamako.

I would like to take this opportunity to provide some comments on the African countries concerns about combating terrorism in light of the Kenya attack implications.

So, I intend to cover the terrorism threat in Africa in three parts: first, the implications of the horrific terrorist attack by al-Shabaab, the Somali-based terror group with ties to AQIM, on the Westgate shopping mall in Nairobi this week; second, Al Qaeda's ties in Africa; and finally, the next phase of international cooperation in combating terrorism.

***A) . The Westgate tragedy***

I start with the horrific attack by al-Shabaab, the Somali militia linked to al-Qaeda, on the Westgate mall in Nairobi. This attack is the worst tragedy to strike Kenya since the 1998 U.S. Embassy bombing.

A year ago, Kenyan forces seized al-Shabaab's final stronghold, the Somali port of Kismayo, sending the group into the country's rural interior and cutting off their economic lifeline. A long and brutal war against a slippery enemy, it seemed, was nearly won.

Sadly, that has not proved to be the case.

On Saturday, September 21st, gunmen from al Shaabab launched a bloody attack, and randomly opened fire on shoppers enjoying their weekend.

This deadliest attack ended with more than 200 casualties, including 70 civilians and six Kenyan soldiers killed. Five terrorists were killed and another 11 suspects are arrested. Foreign assistance teams from the United States, United Kingdom, and Israel are reportedly on the scene, with some possibly deploying from bases throughout Kenya where foreign forces have been conducting training and other operations for years.

In the meantime, al Shabaab has claimed via Twitter to have several teams of operatives deployed inside Kenya to attack secondary targets.

In fact, according to Kenyan police officials, there were two attacks, the first Wednesday night on a group of police officers on a foot patrol in Wajir in which a bystander was killed. Militants struck again early on Thursday, raiding a police camp in Mandera, killing two police officers and setting fire to a dozen vehicles.

And, not surprisingly, the group now threatens attacks in Europe and the United States. In addition, the media has reported that there's evidence al Shabaab is running a chemical weapons' research and development department.

The Westgate attack is the gravest act of terror on Kenyan soil since Kenyan forces invaded Somalia in October 2011 to join the other troops of the African Union Mission in Somalia (AMISOM) in combating al-Shabaab. At this time al-Shabaab warned of bloody reprisals against Kenya.

The timing of the terrorist attack on Nairobi's Westgate Shopping mall is notable, and comes on the heels of territorial losses for the group in Mogadishu and Kismayo, as the Somali government and African military forces under the umbrella of the AMISOM with Western support have continued to disrupt and degrade al-Shabaab.

#### □ *Al-Shabaab's tactics and aspirations*

Since Al-Shabaab formally joined with al-Qaeda in 2007, it has developed a coherent goal beyond "expelling the infidels from Somalia" to include global jihad.

Attacks inside Kenya have occurred periodically in recent years, but they have been limited to the border area near Garissa or were the work of al-Shabaab sympathizers in Nairobi's Eastleigh

district, making this most recent attack a clear shift by al-Shabaab to stage a larger attack in a vulnerable, yet higher, profile area that would demonstrate its ongoing credibility and counter criticism that it has been defeated.

The AMISOM offensive push has strained the group's resources and has pushed it to adopt more guerilla-style tactics, as opposed to conventional attempts to gain and hold territory.

□ *Nairobi's Attack implications*

At present, the perceptions of apparent progress in Somalia may be seriously compromised by the Nairobi attack. In fact, successive international interventions, including the AMISOM, Kenyan and Ethiopian armed forces, and the most recent United Nations Assistance Mission in Somalia (UNSOM), deployed in July, have all failed to contain the security situation in the country.

It is now clear that Al-Shabaab's brazen Sept. 21 attack in Nairobi is just the latest step in its evolution from leader of an Islamic state in Somalia to a regional Islamist terror movement spreading its tentacles throughout the Horn of Africa.

In addition, as I see it, the scale and technical sophistication of the Nairobi attack could signal a change in al-Shabaab's aspirations, possibly increasing the group's direct threat to the United States.

***B) . Al Qaeda's ties in Africa.***

The Nairobi attack marks the continuation of a disturbing trend in a growing number of countries and regions in northern and sub-Saharan Africa, and should be understood in the light of the blood-soaked global jihadist campaign of the al-Qaeda terrorist organization.

The consequences of terrorism and insurgency, such as the Nairobi's attack, are devastating for the African states affected by it. Authorities in countries as diverse as Mali, Senegal, Mauritania, Niger, Cote d'Ivoire, Uganda, and Tanzania express concern about the potential for jihadist movements to take root.

Recent events in the Sahel region, including the coup and insurgency in Mali, the emergence of a security vacuum following the revolution in Libya, and terrorist attacks in Algeria and Niger, among other places, underscore the particular threat posed by violent extremism, especially al-Qa'ida in the Islamic Maghreb.

It should be recalled that in 2012 the U. S. military officials warned that jihadist groups in Africa were increasingly joining forces to coordinate and sophisticate their violent attacks, and develop a violent pedagogy that aims for maximum casualties.

In general, al-Qa'ida and its affiliated groups are especially prone to lethal and high-casualty attacks, and all have elements of millenarian religion, the establishment of God's kingdom on earth, and use to destabilize regional governments.

We note the distorted interpretations of religious doctrines; the deliberate seeking out and grooming of young, easily-influenced followers; and, of course, the morbid obsession with death.

In this context, al-Shabaab's continued terrorist activity is not detached from that of other jihadist groups in Africa—including Boko Haram, Ansaru, AQIM—and beyond.

Al-Shabaab has been linked to the training of Nigeria's Islamist terrorist group Boko Haram which has killed over 10,000 people since its founding in 2002.

Al-Shabaab may also be compared to Nigeria's splinter Islamist group Jama'at Ansar al-Muslimin fi Bilad al-Sudan which emerged in the Muslim north of Nigeria.

In 2012, Ansaru kidnapped, and later killed, seven foreigners. According to a statement reportedly released by the group, the kidnappings and killings were a response to attacks against Islam by European countries in places like Afghanistan and Mali.

***C). Current status and the next phase of international cooperation in combating terrorism.***

The international community should do more to defeat the terrorist threat, and I would like to share with you what we've learned, and what we have to do to ensure the international approach is as effective as possible in the future.

*Current status*

This leads me to the final point I want to discuss today, the current situation and the international cooperation in combating terrorism, to provide an overview of the existing terrorism threat:

1. An increasingly globalised world like ours easily enhances the spread of terrorism beyond borders, as the recent Westgate attack in Kenya demonstrates, blurring the distinction between domestic and transnational terrorism.

2 . Al-Qa'ida still wields considerable ideological influence in many countries, including in Africa and Asia. It is adept at opportunistically exploiting local political developments to win over new sympathizers.

3. The terrorism threat has morphed, posing greater challenges to security agencies. Terrorist groups like Boko Haram in Nigeria and al-Shabaab in Somalia have multiplied. These groups exploit extremist sentiments or profess allegiance with AQ even when their objectives differ. Their fragmented, nebulous nature makes them harder to pin down and neutralize.

4. Fears about Africa's emergence as a terror haven are unlikely to subside anytime soon. Africa's Islamists are able to take advantage of the fact that many of the continent's countries have porous borders, weak and corrupt central governments, undertrained and underequipped militaries, and flourishing drug trades that provide a steady source of income.

So, those are precisely the reasons, along with a trove of Libyan weapons, Islamists were able to conquer northern Mali and use it as a base for planning the strikes on the uranium mine in Niger and the natural-gas plant in Algeria.

Those are also the reasons American officials worry that a successful terror attack in the United States or Europe planned in Africa and carried out by African extremists is only a matter of time.

The new face of militant Islam, in other words, is likely to be an African one.

□ *Next phase of international cooperation in combating terrorism*

So, let me now briefly touch upon some security international cooperation actions for the future. Terrorism is likely to remain a shared security challenge for the international community in the foreseeable future.

I believe we will see more of it, not less.

The reality is that resolving terrorism requires a coordinated response that fuses domestic, regional, and international strategies along the lines of diplomacy, development, and demilitarization.

Moreover, dealing effectively with terrorism in the long term requires evidence and intelligence-based criminal justice responses aimed at arresting and prosecuting the perpetrators. Experience demonstrates that a purely military response can have unintended consequences, including the risk of fuelling extremism and further acts of terrorism.

In this perspective, we must:

1. Enhance and build strong operational Capabilities: to assume that no terrorist threat will materialize. We need to be able to pick up intelligence leads, pursue them thoroughly, and nip emerging threats in the bud.
2. Strengthen security cooperation: Terrorism is a global threat, and terrorist groups do not respect international borders. Therefore, counter-terrorism forces must also collaborate internationally.
3. Promote the formulation and implementation of a long-term, comprehensive approach to countering terrorism, compliant with human rights and international law.
4. Remain on the cutting edge of counter terrorism: not only by developing existing programs and projects, but also by identifying emerging threats and innovative responses. In particular, we must continue promoting public-private partnerships in countering terrorism.
5. While the Sahel remains vulnerable, the United States has, over the past two years, provided more than \$620 million in assistance to the Sahel; this is in addition to \$93 million in 2013 to support the Trans-Sahara Counterterrorism Partnership.

In this context, the United States should also continue to work through the Global Counterterrorism Forum to identify capacity-building needs in the region and mobilize the necessary support and expertise needed to meet these challenges.

6. The international community should act with urgency for implementation of the "UN Integrated Strategy for Security and Development in the Sahel" to bolster governance, security, humanitarian requirements, and development, while enhancing coordination in four spheres between the governments of the region, between the international community, reaching out and listening to the people of the Sahel, and within the UN system.

7. Finally, international cooperation also includes sharing experiences at meetings like these.

\* \* \* \*

### ***Conclusion***

This is an occasion for us to express our sympathy and extend our solidarity to those who lost their lives or bear the mental and physical scars of that tragic attack.



Of course, the September 21st terrorist attack on the Westgate shopping mall in Nairobi, as well as the attacks in the United States of September 11, 2001, have shown us that terrorism is a serious threat that concerns us all. Terrorism is a global phenomenon, and the struggle against it requires determination and unity.

In conclusion, I would like to leave you with one thought: Terrorism is a truly global issue in which we all have a stake. International co-operation is indispensable—we are all in the same boat.

**Simonas Šatūnas**  
Deputy Chief of Mission  
Embassy of Lithuania

I am Simonas Šatūnas from the Embassy of Lithuania here in Washington. It's my great pleasure, and I am really humbled to be here in this think tank. Thank the leadership of the think tank and thank you my honored colleagues, the ambassadors this panel. The topic is really interesting, important, may be, likely we as Lithuanians may not be dealing with it every day; but it is definitely on our global agenda now and on the agenda on new EU Presidency as well..

I would like very quickly to go through the presidency [of the European Union]. What does it mean for the small country? We are, as you know, an independent country already for 20 years, have restored our independence from Soviet Union. We are a Baltic state in the north of Europe and are the first country from the Baltic states to lead the European Union. Definitely we have a certain agenda. But the presidency for the country means that we have to lead and coordinate as much as we can, have many working discussions in Brussels on many topics and issues. The economic agenda is of our Presidency is big, very detailed, and very challenging. Foreign policy, as you know, after the Lisbon Treaty, adopted back in 2007, brought some reforms. Foreign policy is led by the European Council and high representative, Commissioner Catherine Ashton

I thought I would run real quick for you over the agenda of Lithuanian EU Presidency and then highlight some key elements of the EU strategy in counter terrorism strategy which was adopted in 2007. Lithuanian EU presidency is very important and rather challenging as we face elections of European Parliament next year. Therefore, it is like one of the final cycles of the European Union while trying to push necessary EU legislation on economic development, economic reforms within the European Union that are very important for the EU before the European Parliament elections in 2014 in May. The most important thing – to debate and adopt the EU Multiannual Financial Framework which is basically the guidelines on how the European Union is going to function and allocated funds for the next 7 years. Besides, the mandatory and ambitions agenda, you can see, some unexpected topics are always arising for the Presidency; and we need to deal with them even though we were not making them as our Presidency priority.

The focus of our Presidency was to keep Europe running, making reforms and being credible, growing, and open. While the most important for this audience would be what does it mean to keep it open. But in economic field we need to have very concerted policies that we need to push ranging from fiscal, banking union, completing the single energy market, air transport, and etc. so every day we strive to contribute of creating the integrated and more deep single market of EU .

No less important is to discuss how to keep EU open and ready to cooperate with the world. As you know, on the 1<sup>st</sup> of July of this year Croatia joined the EU. We are working very hard with

our Eastern European countries - Ukraine, Moldova, Caucasus countries, and Belarus - on how to bring them closer and how to really set up the agenda for the next decade and to bring these markets and countries closer to the European Union. Also, in these days EU is much engaged with US on defining the scope and depth of trade negotiations which are an important topic in this capital as well as in Brussels. We believe that transatlantic trade and investment negotiations might create better Trans-Atlantic relations and create more opportunities for the economic growth.

So, what does the Eastern partnership mean?

The biggest and most important event that the Lithuanian EU presidency is working on will be hosted in Vilnius, our capital at the end of November. We will have all EU leaders coming to Vilnius as well as the six leaders of Eastern European countries. We hope that Ukraine will be able to finally sign the Association Agreement, which is basically a Deep and Comprehensive Free Trade agreement. The same is with Georgia, the same is with Moldova. These countries have finished their negotiations on free trade with the European Union, but we need to sign and start implementation. These association agreements are really going to positively impact the immediate neighbors of us. We are starting to transpose the European Union into the markets of these countries and that will create really a totally different picture, a more stable legal environment in which trade barriers will start to be removed gradually. We have been going towards this direction for decades. We hope it will be successful, and that will probably be the key achievement of our EU Presidency.

Here on the slides you see some key numbers about our EU Presidency and the country, the small country of 10 million people, need to pursue bureaucratic meetings, to push the legislation that is important for the overall European Union.

If you allow, I would also like to touch base on the EU counter terrorism efforts. EU has adopted counter terrorism strategy back in 2005. You can probably find this document online. We have discussed our actions around four objectives in the document, that are prevention, protection, pursuit, and response. All of the four packages, I see Professor Alexander knows them very well, have are certain actions that we think are important to develop to fight some of the fundamental issues. I have not heard yet today in our discussion term *radicalization*, but in our view radicalization is one of the most important and challenging things for whole international community. And the essential question is: Why people becoming more radical?

Another important thing in these days is, that we see some tendencies of European passport holders being recruited and using various means of propaganda to move themselves into other regions of the world and to be recruited to make some unexpected efforts or to join some illegal activities. This important issue has been debated and during our EU Presidency by our Ministers of Justice. Protection – is another important angle. The member states and we have more and more information on our external borders about who is coming, who is leaving. Schengen

information system was created among the member states, still not all EU member states is in the system, but it allows us to exchange information very quickly about visitors, who are entering EU area. Pursuit of terrorists across borders is also a priority. A range of institutions starting from Europol, Frontex, and Euro Justice were created to increase the cooperation among member states. We also believe that response to terrorism should be multifaceted: from the law enforcement efforts to development assistance. We need to think about the necessary nexus between law enforcement, human rights, and development assistance that would help the countries that see the insurgence of the instability and radical movements to combat using a set of means. This kind of strategy was adopted in 2005 and new EU Coordinator for fighting terrorism was appointed in 2007.

It is really about increasing the cooperation and coordination among member states and how to share information, and how to help the European Union as the group of countries coordinate with other regions of the world not only in sharing our experience but also helping financially. You probably know that in each of the packages of EU counter terrorism strategy there are robust plans to allow from the EU budget to allocate substantial sums of money towards certain regions in the world. And we really work on these certain issues, employ specific strategies for the Horn of Africa, the Sahel, and other regions. These EU programs are developed in order to understand the importance and problem of financing terrorist organizations, Critical financing such as anti-money laundering and counter terrorism is one of the topics we are supporting countries that are undergoing reforms and not to allow their institutions to be weakened by internal or external challenges. Management capability by the country is another important element to keep in mind. The EU is supporting quite a number of the efforts on how to increase and strengthen managerial capability of border-crossing points.

We also face the ongoing discussion as the law enforcement capabilities lie with the individual member states, while external action is coordinated on the EU level. Therefore, the close cooperate and more integrated approach of EU on the global arena could be achieved via EU Common Security and Defence Policy.

**Abderrahim Rahhaly**  
Deputy Chief of Mission  
Embassy of the Kingdom of Morocco

Thank you Professor for allowing me to bring Morocco's view to this interesting topic, and good afternoon everybody. I won't be long. I just want to start from the topic of this meeting: International Cooperation in Combating Terrorism: The Next Phase. I think that it is no next phase; there is only one. One phase is to never stop arising awareness of the phenomena. It is and carrying on the process of reforms to combat the extremism narratives and to call for international and regional cooperation.

I think Morocco's approach in this field is not based only on security measures, it's on a proactive policy based on many components—such as public awareness—by sensitizing the large public to the dangers of extremism. Security and intelligence lead to the dismantlement of many terrorists' cells, as was the case in Morocco. Economic and human resource development to create socioeconomic conditions to prevent, especially young people, from falling into extremism. Reform of the religious field; this is a very important topic. Ambassador Alhussaini earlier spoke about religion. It is very important to reform our religious field in order to combat the extremism narratives and to promote an open and tolerant Islam. And then international and regional cooperation not only in the security field, but in building what we can call soft power.

I am glad that Ambassador Keita is here. During the visit of His Majesty King Mohammad VI to Mali a few days ago, we signed an agreement to train Mali preachers; this is a very important topic since many extremists are using Islam to recruit people. We need the preachers in Mosques and so on to promote an image of a tolerant Islam and combat these narratives.

Unfortunately, it was a few days ago, and it was on the 11<sup>th</sup> of September. You will all make the link to this famous date when al-Qaida in the Islamic Maghreb threatened Morocco in a video tape. It is a 41-minute video that criticizes Morocco. It is an unprecedented move by al-Qaida against Morocco. The movie does not only criticize Morocco policy on an international and domestic level. It also goes against its model of an open and tolerant society. It tried as well to mock Morocco's efforts in the field of combating terrorism. So it's a very important struggle to which we have to all pay attention.

Unfortunately, this kind of video promotes propaganda or publicity from some media and news. It is not an attempt at any freedom of the press or expression, but it goes against the Vienna declaration of 2009 which insisted on freedom of the press on the condition of abstaining from any form of incitement or terrorism. It is also against the UN Resolution 624 of 2005, which condemns any attempt at glorification of terrorist acts. It calls on states to prevent terrorists from exploiting sophisticated technology communications and resources to incite support for criminal

acts and it is again against the European Council of Human Rights. I would like to raise the case of the publication of ideas through the media calling for terrorism.

Once again the only way to combat terrorism is through domestic policy calling for openness, tolerance, and socioeconomic improvements of lives of people in order to prevent them from falling into extremism and on the other side to have more responsible media and then through international and regional cooperation we are always asking for the cooperation among the countries of the Maghreb, cooperation with the Sahel as well as with international organizations. I thank you once again.

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## Inter-University Center for Terrorism Studies (IUCTS)

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

## International Center for Terrorism Studies (ICTS)

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

## Inter-University Center for Legal Studies (IUCLS)

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

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