

# World Summit on Counter-Terrorism

# World Summit on Counter-Terrorism Unpuzzling Terrorism ICT's 16th Annual International Conference

Between September 11th-15th, 2016 the International Institute for Counter-Terrorism (ICT) at The Interdisciplinary Center (IDC) Herzliya held its annual conference "Unpuzzling Terrorism". The ICT's 16th International Conference opened on the evening of September 11th, 2016 at IDC Herzliya with a ceremony honoring the memory of the victims of 9/11 and terrorism worldwide. On September 12th-13th, the conference convened at the Sharon Hotel in Herzliya, where keynote address were made as well as the Summit's plenary sessions. The topics of discussion during the plenary sessions included the evolving threat of Global Jihad; terrorist use of social media; the terrorist threat posed to Israel and other democratic countries; and a session on Lone Wolves. The last two days of the conference, September 14th-15th, explored the general theme of the conference through a series of workshop sessions, keynote addresses and a concluding simulation.

This year, ICT's annual conference brought together over a thousand top decision-makers, defense, intelligence and police officials, scholars, and security industry leaders from over 60 countries to learn from each other about the challenges posed by terrorist organizations and strategies for dealing with them.

Master of Ceremonies throughout the conference: Mr. Jonathan Davis, Vice President for External Relations & Head of the Raphael Recanati International School (RRIS), IDC Herzliya, Israel

#### Opening Remarks, Greetings & Memorial Ceremony for the Victims of 9/11 & Terrorism Worldwide



Prof. Uriel Reichman, President & Founder, IDC Herzliya, Israel delivered opening remarks and stressed that terrorism has become a world problem. Fifteen years after the 9/11 attacks there is no territory immune from terrorism; not a physical space nor a virtual space. The world is at a changing point, from climate change to economic crisis, and only international cooperation and international legislation will put an end to terrorism.

Mr. Shabtai Shavit, Chairman of the Board of Directors, ICT, IDC Herzliya and Former Director of the Mossad, Israel emphasized the importance of international cooperation to prevent terrorists from acquiring and using non-conventional weapons and urged the participants of the conference to learn from each other and for "common wisdom to prevail".

Prof. Boaz Ganor, Founder & Executive Director, ICT, Ronald Lauder Chair for Counter-Terrorism & Dean, Lauder School of Government, Diplomacy & Strategy, IDC Herzliya, Israel discussed the counter-terrorism situation 15 years after the 9/11 attacks. On one hand, the world has more ungoverned spaces than ever. These spaces have been filled with terrorist organizations that possess advanced technologies that they had not been able to utilize in the past. On the other hand, we now have better cooperation in all aspects, including intelligence technology sharing. The key point to success in fighting the innovative terrorist is the "Art" of Countering Terrorism and the artists are those who arrived at the conference.



Lt. Col. Jeremy Bartel, United States Army War College Fellow, ICT, IDC Herzliya, Israel gave memorial to the victims of 9/11 and terrorist attacks worldwide. He reflected on the progress made since 9/11 and the resilience and commitment of nations throughout the world to combat terrorism for future generations. His Excellency Ambassador Daniel Shapiro, Ambassador of the United States of America to Israel emphasized the importance of teaching the upcoming generation of the lessons of the past, as 9/11 becomes more history for those who were not old enough to remember it. Additionally, Ambassador Shapiro restated the US commitment to Israel and lauded the defense support package as

the largest amount ever given to another country from the United States noting that the F35 JSF will be in the Israeli Air Force by the end of the year. Judge Jean-Paul Laborde, Assistant Secretary General & Executive Director, Counter-Terrorism Committee Executive Directorate (CTED), United Nations focused on the victims of terrorism and the need for the international community to ensure restoration of victim's honor, memory and that they obtain justice. Judge Laborde argued that doing these three things will ensure that the children of victims are not raised in a manner that focuses their efforts on revenge.

To watch the full Memorial Ceremony, please click here >>





At the opening of the conference, The Honorable MK Gilad Erdan, Minister of Public Security, Strategic Affairs & Information, Israel noted that the frustrated youngsters that are using the social networks, with easy access to basic weapons, such as knives, are becoming a major concern in today's terrorism arena and due to the broad use of the internet, no country can deal with terrorism by itself. ""We need to learn from each other as cooperation is a key to success in countering terrorism". Prof. Alain Bauer, Professor & Chair of Criminology, National Conservatory of Arts and Crafts (CNAM) & Member of the Professional Advisory Board, ICT, IDC Herzliya, France stressed that one of the main problems in combating terrorism is that the international community and law enforcement do not have a joint, accepted, definition of terrorism. He argues that there needs to be a radical change in understanding terrorism, through a joint effort between academics and intelligence, conceptual and operational. The Honorable MK Yair Lapid, Chairman, Yesh Atid Party and Member of the Knesset; Former Minister of Finance, Israel added that "it is necessary to establish a new international body that will prosecute the fight against terrorism in the civilian arena".

The Honorable MK Ayelet Shaked, Minister of Justice, Israel discussed the actions the Israeli Ministry of Justice has taken in fighting group and individual terrorism. These measures include passing a law outlining specific punishments for various terror acts and establishing a Cyber Department in the National Prosecution, as well as a law addressing incitement on social media. The Honorable MK Naftali Bennet, Minister of Education & Diaspora Affairs, Israel provided the analogy of risk-based authentication used in online banking as a way of properly balancing security and privacy. If an individual falls into certain criteria which are deemed "risky"- they will be analyzed more in depth. He suggests this is an optimal way to create security, without wasting resources or constantly intruding on all individuals' rights. Maj. Gen. (Res.) Amos Gilad, Director, Policy and Political-Military Affairs, & Chair, Security Relations with Regional and Strategic Partners, Ministry of Defense, Israel reviewed the threats to Israel (Hezbollah, Iran) and noted both successes (Israeli deterrence in Syria, undermining of Palestinian suicide terrorism) and failures (the lack of a functioning state in Syria). Gilad noted the need to share intelligence and establish cooperation between counter-terror organizations on a global level.



This session addressed the use of social media by terrorist organizations and the challenges this creates. It was centered on the issues of incitement and the legal dimensions of the fight against terrorism in social media. Ms. Smadar Perry, Senior Editor for Middle East Affairs, Yediot Aharonot, Israel served as the session moderator. The first speaker, Prof. Gabriel Weimann, Professor of Communication, University of Haifa, Israel, presented the evolution of terrorist organizations' use of social media and stressed that the Dark Web presents a unique challenge for law-enforcement. Dr. Eitan Azani, Deputy Executive Director, ICT and Head of BA & MA Specializations in Counter-Terrorism, Lauder School of Government, Diplomacy & Strategy, IDC, Herzliya, Israel explained that terrorist's use of social media has transformed terrorists' recruitment from a physical process to a virtual one. He also argued that there should be an international legal infrastructure to pressure companies such as Facebook and Twitter to censor radical materials online. Brig. Gen. (Res.) Yossi Kuperwasser, Former Director General, Ministry of Strategic Affairs, Israel emphasized the delicate balance between protecting freedom of speech and allowing incitement on social media. Furthermore, Brig. Gen. (Res.) Kuperwasser referred to the possibility of using platforms such as Google to counter online radicalization. Lt. Col. (Res.) Avital Leibovich, Director, American Jewish Committee (AJC), Jerusalem & Former Head, Interactive Media Branch, Spokesperson's Unit, Israel Defense Forces (IDF), Israel claimed that the challenges created by terrorists' use of social media are particularly difficult to counter because it has an incredible potential for virality and can also have mass impact. Mr. Avi Issacharoff, Middle East Analyst, Walla News and the Times of Israel, Israel spoke about the image and brand terrorist organizations create through social media. He emphasized the fact that groups can use social media to magnify their abilities and their



The Honorable MK Avi Dichter, Chairman, Foreign Affairs and Defense Committee, Knesset; Former Minister of Public Security and Home Front Defense & Former Director of the Israeli Security Agency (ISA), Israel spoke about the magnitude of the Iranian threat, claiming the country has aspirations to spearhead the Middle East and influence all the various conflicts and groups active in the region. He notes that terrorism is increasingly transnational and religious-based and considerations such as "the enemy of my enemy is my friend" should be taken with a grain of salt.

Brig. Gen. Moti Almoz, IDF Spokesperson, Israel described lessons learned from the recent wave of terror in Israel: the need for the use of force in conjunction with intelligence and preventative work, social media as a platform for inflammatory comments and that those who have yet to turn to terrorism can be prevented from doing do, reliability is more important than speed, the need for learning and investigation as the event unfolds.

The Honorable MK Maj. Gen. (Res.) Yoav Galant, Minister of Construction and Housing, Israel noted that there are many actors which the world, and Israel, need to take into account. The split between Shiite and Sunni is persistent, and the defeat of one may lead to the growth of the other, neither of which is good for Israel. The idea of enemies becoming friends to fight common enemies puts Israel in a very precarious position. The Honorable MK Tzipi Livni, Member of the Knesset; Chairperson of the Hatnua Party and Former Minister of Foreign Affairs & Justice, Israel discussed the threat of global terrorism and the need of the free world to unite and react with force. She noted that some terror groups seek legitimization through democratic means, and that such proceedings must not take place. She also claimed that Israel needs to work together with pragmatic factions inside the Arab world and Palestinian society in order to defeat the radical groups.



The plenary session, "Lone Wolves: Myth or Reality?", moderated by Mr. Alon Ben David, Senior Defense Correspondent, Channel 10, Israel discussed the current modus operandi of terror attacks being perpetrated around the world and the motivations behind these attacks. One goal of the session seemed to be to flesh out what exactly constitutes a lone wolf attack. The plenary also compared working definitions with respect to the lone wolf phenomenon. Dr. Matthew Levitt, Fromer-Wexler Fellow & Director, Stein Program on Counter-Terrorism and Intelligence, The Washington Institute for Near East Policy & Member of the Professional Advisory Board, ICT, IDC Herzliya, United States of America stressed the idea that if a person interested in committing a terrorist attack tells someone else, usually a friend or family member, then they are no longer a "lone wolf," but a "known wolf." A "lone wolf" attacker is someone who carries out a terrorist attack without contacting anyone about the attack, and the panel generally agreed that this situation does not occur very often. He continued and explained that the best way to counter the "lone wolf" threat is to focus on de-radicalization policies at the community level, and to work with community members to identify people who may have been radicalized. Prof. Fernando Reinares, Professor and Chair, Political Science and Security Studies, Universidad Rey Juan Carlos; Senior Analyst on International Terrorism, Real Instituto Elcano & Member of the Professional Advisory Board, ICT, IDC Herzliya, Spain claimed that because "lone wolf" attackers are much more difficult for security agencies to detect; this structure is preferable to the terrorist leadership than a cell structure. Prof. Assaf Moghadam, Director of Academic Affairs, ICT & Associate Professor and Director of the MA Program in Government, Lauder School of Government, Diplomacy & Strategy, IDC Herzliya, Israel described the Islamic State as a combination of formal actors (e.g. states) and informal actors (e.g. "lone wolves") who commit terrorist acts. Prof. Ariel Merari, Research Fellow, ICT, IDC Herzliya & Professor Emeritus, Department of Psychology, Tel Aviv University, Israel spoke about the role of the family in the attacker's mind, stating that a major deterrent for suicide attacks is the fear of what will happen to, and who will take care of, their family after they have carried out their mission.

Mr. Manuel Navarrete, Director, European Counter-Terrorism Centre (ECTC), EUROPOL described the role of EUROPOL and the European Counter-Terrorism Centre in fighting terrorism; claiming that understanding the "how and why" of past attacks can help develop indicators of future attacks. Mr. Navarrete emphasize that the benefit behind EUROPOL is its ability to create and enhance international cooperation. In regards to online terrorism, he claimed that open source scanning helps discover radical content and those behind it. Mr. Pedro Serrano, Deputy Secretary General, Common Security and Defense Policy (CSDP) & Crisis Response, European External Action Service (EEAS), European Union reviewed the European Union's counterterrorism efforts, noting that there are three areas of conflict of particular interest to the Union: Eastern Ukraine, Iraq and Syria, and Libya. He stressed that these, and other, conflicts cannot be resolved via military action alone, and highlighted the importance of moderating actions such as cease-fires and peace talks. Mr. Gilles de Kerchove, Counter-Terrorism Coordinator, European Union discussed the threats the European Union is facing, including homegrown terrorists, returning foreign fighters, direct attacks by ISIS and ISIS cells already in the EU. He noted that the EU should promote more cooperation between law enforcement agencies both in the EU and outside of it, as well as develop preventative measures (such as rehabilitation and education programs). Assistant Commissioner Alistair Sutherland, Assistant Commissioner, City of London Police, United Kingdom discussed the history of City of London policing, with an emphasis on terror attacks. After describing the wave of IRA attacks and the July 2005 bombings, Sutherland described four projects currently active in the City of London including the 4P project and the Anti-Terrorism Traffic Regulation Order. Commander Dean Haydon, Head, SO15 Counter-Terrorism Command for London & International Operations, Metropolitan Police Service, United Kingdom presented the terrorist threat to the UK in general. While noting the threats the online world poses, Haydon focused on home-grown attacks and domestic extremism, highlighting the need of the international community to adapt counterterror measures to attacks carried out by radicalized individuals, and the need for information sharing. Prof. Alex P. Schmid, Director, Terrorism Research Initiative (TRI); Research Fellow, International Centre for Counter Terrorism (ICCT) The Netherlands examined the support for terror organizations, providing examples from public opinion polls. He noted that Jihadi supporters are beginning to operate in open spaces, which is becoming possible, especially in the Middle East, due to support

for Jihadism. The Honorable Dragan Mektić, Minister of Security, Bosnia and Herzegovina highlighted the multi-ethnic council that has been established in Bosnia and Herzegovina which works with religious leaders to fight radicalization. Mektić also noted that the country faces the challenge of disrupting the illegal arms network in the region, describing the country's actions to counter this phenomenon and noting that international cooperation is needed to further fight this phenomenon. The Honorable Giulio Terzi, Former Minister of Foreign Affairs, Italy discussed the importance of the political debate focusing on radicalization and violent extremism. He noted that the West is facing a "war of morals and ideals" similar to prior to the fall of the Berlin Wall. He also noted the threat posed by Iran, which he claims has been overshadowed by the ISIS threat. MP Georges Fenech, President, Parliamentary Special Commission of Enquiry on the Terrorist Attacks in France, French Parliament, France described the issues plaguing the French security system, including the lack of coordination between agencies, a lack of communication between European countries and extreme civil liberties and freedoms. Fenech argued that some infringement of such liberties are necessary in order to ensure security, and supported the idea of creating de-radicalization centers, as well as a special court and special detention centers for terrorists.





The Honorable Michael Chertoff, Executive Chairman & Co-Founder, The Chertoff Group and Former Secretary of the Department of Homeland Security, United States of America claimed that there are two new types of terrorism; a number of smaller coordinated events and inspired terrorism, which are more difficult to deal with. He emphasized the importance of intelligence and monitoring not only covert activity but also information shared over social media and open spaces. Mr. Nicholas J. Rasmussen, Director, National Counterterrorism Center (NCTC), United States of America reviewed the threat landscape in the United States; the challenges, successes and weak-points. He claimed the United States is succeeding in regards to intelligence and hard power. However, he noted that given terrorists' ability to adapt to security measures, the U.S needs to change and evolve its security apparatus as well as focus on homegrown extremism and radicalization. Mr. Brian Michael Jenkins, Senior Advisor to the President, RAND Corporation & Member of the Professional Advisory Board, ICT, IDC Herzliya, United States of America analyzed ISIS and Al Qaeda and claimed that while both organizations garner sympathy and have immense finances, neither organization can be classified as a mass movement and can be beaten over time. Given the ideology these organizations rest upon, which recruits devotion to the cause and fight, the conflict will surely continue. Ms. Rukmini Callimachi, Foreign Correspondent covering ISIS & al Qaeda, The New York Times, United States of America examined ISIS' focus on the West, particularly Europe, claiming that this focus is a result of both lost ground in the Middle East and an act of revenge. She discussed thwarted plots as well as attacks that

were carried out, highlighting ISIS' desire and ability to carry out attacks in Western countries. Prof. Irwin Cotler, Member of the Professional Advisory Board, ICT, IDC Herzliya & Former Minister of Justice & Attorney General, Canada presented the link between anti-Semitism and international terrorism, noting that anti-Semitism is not only a driver behind terrorism, but that is also a reason for many acts of terrorism being disregarded by the international community. Ms. Raheel Raza, President, Council for Muslims Facing Tomorrow, Canada discussed the possibility of a Muslim reform- a change in the way Muslims understand and implement Islam in their lives. She notes three principles which make up the core of the reform: peace, human rights and secular government. She argued that only by naming and shaming radical jihadists will we be able to provide an alternative narrative and hope for the younger generation. Ambassador Dr. Martin Kimani, Director, National Counter-Terrorism Center, Kenya spoke about terrorism in Kenya, providing explanations and analyses regarding the phenomenon. Kimani also discussed Kenya's counterterrorism efforts, including the elimination of Al Shabaab, which is considered the top priority in the national security agenda. Dr. Jehangir Khan, Director, Counter-Terrorism Implementation Task Force (CTITF) and Director, United Nations Counter-Terrorism Centre (UNCTC), United Nations considered the role of the United Nations in counter-terrorism, explaining that while there is a UN counter-terrorism strategy signed by many nations, international cooperation is still lacking. He also notes the importance of prevention of terrorism, rather than focusing solely on fighting terrorism militarily and on the intelligence front.





Global Jihad Divided: Al-Qaeda vs. "the Islamic State" The session was held in the memory of Dr. Reuven Paz (Z"L)

Moderated by Mr. Yaakov Katz, Editor-in-Chief, The Jerusalem Post, Israel, the plenary session focused on the Global Jihadi rift and its implications. Mr. Paul Cruickshank, Editor-in-Chief, CTC Sentinel & CNN Terrorism Analyst, United States focused on the differences between the strategies of the Islamic State and Al-Qaeda. He stresses that as the Islamic State declines, they will focus more on international terror and Al-Qaeda will work to build up infrastructure and resources. "Al-Qaeda is playing the "long game" in the Jihad area whereas ISIS tries to gain prominence and power in a relatively short time. Mr. Aymenn Jawad al-Tamimi, Rubin Fellow, Rubin Center for Research in International Affairs, IDC Herzliya, Israel focused on ISIS' international expansion strategy compared to that of Al-Qaeda. He claims that ISIS, on the international level, is moving from conventional model of statehood and model of provinces towards presenting itself as a striking force that can hit anywhere. Mr. Yassin Musharbash, Deputy Editor, Investigative Department, Die Zeit, Germany mentioned that the differences between Al-Qaeda and IS exist at a high level among the leadership, but there aren't much differences seen among the low level operatives and many of the soldiers on both sides want a unified jihadist movement. Mr. Clint Watts, Robert A. Fox Fellow, Foreign Policy Research Institute & Senior Fellow, Center for Cyber and Homeland Security, George Washington University, United States of America discussed how foreign fighters lead to more future conflicts. Mr. Aaron Y. Zelin, Richard Borow Fellow, The Washington Institute for Near East Policy, United States of America followed and spoke about the three biggest external factors that led to the increase in Jihadist movements; foreign fighter mobilizations, government policies in related to Jihadi ideologies, and prison policies. He ends by claiming these factors will dictate where in the world the foreign fighters head to next.

#### To watch the full session online please click here >>



# "Know your Enemies - The Spectrum of Terrorism Threats to Israel" The session was held in the memory of Lt. Col. Emmanuel Moreno (Z"L)

Moderated by Mr. Alon Ben David, Senior Defense Correspondent, Channel 10, Israel, the session addressed the current security situation in Israel and the spectrum of threats the country faces. Brig. Gen. (Res.) Ital Brun, Former Head, Research Department, Military Intelligence Directorate, IDF, Israel spoke about each "generation" of threats to Israel and how each generation introduced specific challenges. He marked the difference between "old" and "new" terror, their motivations and methods. The speakers also addressed their concerns over the future and the limits of deterrence against external terrorist organizations at Israel's borders. Brig. Gen. (Res.) Nitzan Nuriel, Associate, ICT, IDC Herzliya & Former Director, Counter-Terrorism Bureau, Israel and Brig. Gen. Brun claim that Israel's "defense" strategy is problematic because it only buys Israel momentary quiet and peace. Furthermore both Nuriel and Brun agreed that it is in Israeli interest to enable Gaza to exist even when Hamas is actively going against the interest of its population. Col. (Res.) Adv. Lior Lotan, Senior Researcher and Former Executive Director, ICT, IDC Herzliya, Israel described the current negotiations with Hamas over the exchange of MIAs and POWs. He addressed the difficulties of attempting to negotiate an exchange with a terrorist organization that also has governmental responsibilities but that doesn't necessarily have the same interests as the population they govern. Col. (Ret.) Miri Eisin, Associate, ICT, IDC Herzliya, Israel and the Honorable MK Ofer Shelah, Member of the Knesset Foreign Affairs & Defense Committee, Israel spoke on the resilience of Israeli society and the gap between the media's discourse versus the calmness and willingness of Israeli society to overcome fear.





On September 14th-15th, the ICT held a series of workshop sessions, keynote addresses and a concluding simulation. The first series of workshops examined the main contemporary theaters in which the threat of global jihadism thrives. This year, the conference focused its analysis on jihadist actors in four hotspots: Europe and North America as portrayed by the attacks in Belgium, France, Germany and the United States; the Middle East, including Syrian jihadist groups and their sponsors in Iraq and elsewhere; as well as in Africa.

# Europe and North America: Lessons Learned from Recent Attacks in Belgium, France, Germany and the United States of America

The workshop focused on the recent wave of terrorist attacks in Europe and North America and was chaired by Prof. Assaf Moghadam, Director of Academic Affairs, ICT & Associate Professor and Director of the MA Program in Government, Lauder School of Government, Diplomacy & Strategy, IDC Herzliya, Israel. Dr. Michael Borchard, Director, Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung, Israel presented the increasing threat of terrorism to Germany and claimed that while refugees are at a high risk of radicalization, one cannot ignore the risk of 2<sup>nd</sup> and 3<sup>rd</sup> generation immigrants being radicalized into jihad. Mr. Paul Cruickshank, Editor-in-Chief, CTC Sentinel & CNN Terrorism Analyst, United States of America discussed the Islamic State's campaign against Europe, focusing on the threat of returning foreign fighters. Prof. Boaz Ganor, Founder & Executive Director, ICT, Ronald Lauder Chair for Counter-Terrorism & Dean of the Lauder School of Government, Diplomacy & Strategy, IDC Herzliya, Israel spoke of radicalization and lone wolf attacks. He

mentioned the high risk of radicalization amongst 2<sup>nd</sup> generation immigrants, who develop an identity crisis which is exploited by terror organizations. He emphasized the importance of cooperation in counterterrorism, especially in Europe. Brig. Gen. (Ret.) Russell Howard, Senior Fellow, Joint Special Operations University, United States of America claimed that the counter-terrorism community must learn to analyze and use the information at hand, claiming that there is no need to be constantly puzzled by situations which were predicted ahead of time. He notes there are three ISIS phenomena we can counter: foreign fighters, out-of-area attacks and antiquities trafficking. Mr. Clint Watts, Robert A. Fox Fellow, Foreign Policy Research Institute & Senior Fellow, Center for Cyber and Homeland Security, George Washington University, United States of America discussed the foreign fighter phenomenon, claiming that this is an indicator of a global terror organization. He argues that ISIS is smarter than Al Qaeda in its recruiting practices and its use of "retired" foreign fighters in recruiting. In addition Mr. Watts noted ISIS' success in using directed attacks in order to provoke with networked and inspired

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#### Middle East Quo Vadis? Syria and Iraq

Dr. Matthew Levitt Fromer-Wexler Fellow & Director, Stein Program on Counter-Terrorism and Intelligence, The Washington Institute for Near East Policy & Member of the Professional Advisory Board, ICT, IDC Herzliya, United States of America discussed the sectarian nature of the conflict in Syria, especially the effects of the conflict on Hezbollah. Dr. Dalia Dassa Kaye Director, Center for Middle East Public Policy, RAND Corporation, United States of America focused on Iran, claiming that the country faces a number of challenges, including a lack of support for their involvement in the region. Despite this, Kaye claims that Iran is more likely to find a good outcome in Iraq than in Syria, given the shared goal of expelling ISIS from Iraq. Dr. Nir Boms Research Fellow, ICT, IDC Herzliya & Research Fellow, Moshe Dayan Center for Middle Eastern and African Studies, Tel-Aviv University, Israel noted that while at first Israel maintained a "non-intervention" policy in regards to the conflict in Syria, given the threat of a spill-over, this policy has been changed. Ambassador Dr. Mihaylov Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of the Republic of Bulgaria to the State of Israel called attention to the conflict inside the Shia fraction in Syria, noting that the Alawites feel more related to Russia in ideological terms than to Iran and Hezbollah. Prof. Ofra Bengio Senior Research Fellow & Head of Kurdish Studies Program, Moshe Dayan Center for Middle Eastern and African Studies, Tel-Aviv University, Israel analyzed the Kurds as a regional actor, pointing out that given their involvement in the Syrian conflict, the Kurds have reached international recognition which allows them to essentially establish a state in Iraq. Dr. Dima Adamsky Research Fellow, ICT; Assistant Professor & Head, BA Honors Track in Strategy and Decision Making, Lauder School of Government, Diplomacy & Strategy, IDC Herzliya, Israel noted that there are many reasons for Russia's involvement in Syria, including international, regional and domestic motivations. Dr. Ely Karmon Senior Research Scholar, ICT, IDC Herzliya, Israel examined Turkey's involvement in the conflict, noting the problems the country faces. Dr. Karmon highlighted the dilemma Turkey faces regarding its relationships with both Iran and Russia as well as the threat of ISIS.

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collaborate" Dr. Eitan Azani



The workshop entitled Africa: Libya, Nigeria and Kenya - The New Battlefield for Global Jihadist Organizations?

The workshop was chaired by Dr. Eitan Azani, Deputy

Executive Director, ICT and Head of BA & MA Specializations in Counter-Terrorism, Lauder School of Government, Diplomacy & Strategy, IDC Herzliya, Israel. He presented the recent trends of terrorism in Africa, and

claimed that the worst scenario in this regard is if the Islamic State and Al-Qaeda will collaborate. Mr. Aaron Y. Zelin, Richard Borow Fellow, The Washington Institute for Near East Policy, United States of America, presented the complex situation in Libya and the possible

scenarios for the Islamic State in the region after their territorial losses in Sirte. Mr. Zelin added that one of key problems that Libya is facing is the large number of foreign fighters in the country, emphasizing the Tunisian foreign fighters. Dr. Daniele Moro, Executive Director, the US-Italy Global Affairs Forum, United States of America, provided a

comprehensive geo-politic briefing on Algeria, Tunisia and their strategic proximity to Italy. **Dr. Michael Barak, Senior Researcher, ICT, IDC Herzliya, Israel**, described the main organizational changes that occurred in Al-Qaeda in the Islamic Maghreb (AQIM). According to Dr. Barak, AQIM has improved its operational capacity in Mali and in neighbouring countries. **Mr. Jacob Zenn, Analyst of African and Eurasian Affairs, The Jamestown Foundation, United States of America,** provided an historic

overview of the evaluation of Boko Haram and explained the ideological debate within the organization. Mr. Zenn also presented the Islamic State's attempt to recruit Al-Shabaab. Mr. Jonathan Paris, Senior

Advisor, Chertoff Group & Associate Fellow, International Centre for the Study of Radicalisation (ICSR), King's College London, United Kingdom, delivered a brief on how Chinese assets in Africa are becoming a possible target for terrorists due to China's growing involvement in the region.

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# Recent Immigration to Europe: Gauging the Terrorism Threat and Counter – Terrorism Options

The workshop assessed the relationship between the recent wave of immigration into Europe and the threat (actual and potential) and discussed the existing and potential policy responses to this phenomenon. Dr. Amichai Magen, Researcher and Head of the Terrorism & Governance Desk, ICT & Head, MA Program in Diplomacy & Conflict Studies, Lauder School of Government, Diplomacy & Strategy, IDC Herzliya, Israel opened the workshop and explained that the immigrationterrorism nexus and all related aspects and issues, which are examined in the workshop, have a much further reach than Europe. The Honorable Giulio Terzi, Former Minister of Foreign Affairs, Italy discussed the relationship between immigration and terrorism in the Italian context. He noted that until the attack at the Bardo Museum in Tunisia in March 2015, the idea that terrorists might be hiding amongst refugees was not considered seriously. He emphasized the need to create a serious dialogue between the Italian identity and other identities. Mr. Yassin Musharbash, Deputy Editor, Investigative Department, Die Zeit,

Germany argued that there are three kinds of threats: operatives disguised as refugees, recent immigrants who radicalize in Europe or reenlist, and self-recruiters and lone wolves. He emphasized that the problems are bigger than the recent wave of immigrants and refugees. Mr. Jan Pad'ourek, Deputy Director-General for Analysis and Foreign Relations, Office of Foreign Relations and Information (ÚZSI), Czech Republic claimed that terror groups have always managed to infiltrate Europe, even without the current wave of immigration. He notes the polarization in Europe, the rise of the right-wing nationalistic rhetoric, and the ability of terror groups to exploit the grievances of individuals in Europe, especially given this polarization. Mr. Alexander Ritzmann, Senior Advisor, European Foundation for Democracy (EFD), Belgium discussed the relationship between four actors making up German society: the extreme right, the extreme left, political Islam and the State. He claimed that the violence between the actors feeds off of itself, as the relationship of violence is circular. Prevention of radicalization should include targeted propaganda, creation of counter-narratives, empowering weak populations and more.





The second series of workshops was devoted to discussion on the broader context of terrorism and counter-terrorism. The workshops examined the emerging fields and debates related to terrorism and counter-terrorism, and scanned new trends in the academic study of terrorism and responses to terrorism.

#### The Steven E. Stern Workshop on Cyber Terrorism

The workshop opened with remarks by Mr. Steven Stern, Founder, The Steven E. Stern Workshop on Cyber Terrorism, ICT, IDC Herzliya who stressed that one of the main challenges in the cyber world today is the perpetrators' ability to remain anonymous. He added that the interconnection between terrorism and the cyber world is constantly changing and creating new challenges. Dr. Eitan Azani, Deputy Executive Director, ICT and Head of BA & MA Specializations in Counter-Terrorism, Lauder School of Government, Diplomacy & Strategy, IDC Herzliya, Israel, provided an overview of the current trends in cyber-terrorism in three arenas: operational, defensive and offensive. He claims that the terrorists' growing use of cyber space is attributed to the emergence of the Islamic State and their innovated use of social media technologies. Dr. Shavit Matias, Former Deputy Attorney General of International Affairs & Director of Programs on Diplomacy and Conflict Resolution, Lauder School of Government Diplomacy and Strategy, IDC Herzliya, Israel, presented the legal efforts to combat cyber-terrorism and stressed that in order to counter cyber-terrorism there is a growing need for a structured international cooperation mechanism. Mr. Oren Elimelech, Cyber Security **Expert & Information Security Manager, Ministry of Transport and Road** 

Safety, Israel provided an overview of the cyber threats to the transportation industry. In this regards he emphasized the insider threat to critical systems. Adv. Deborah Housen-Couriel. Associate. ICT. IDC Herzliya & Fellow, Yuval Ne'eman Workshop for Science, Technology and Security, Tel Aviv University, Israel expanded on Elimelach's work by highlighting that there is no overarching policy in the transport sector, not globally and not in the international level. Adv. Deborah Housen-Couriel explained that the solution should come also from looking at counterterrorism laws and critical infrastructure laws, both at the global and the national level. Dr. Robert Tomes, Adjunct Professor of Security Studies at Georgetown University, USA focused on international and operational trends regarding cyber, specifically from a U.S. perspective. He presented the steps necessary to resolve certain cyber dilemmas. Mr. Eli Amar, Chief Technology Officer, Israel National CERT, National Security Authority, Israel described the Israeli view regarding countering cyber threats and advancing readiness in terms of cyber security. He highlighted a threelayer strategy in use by Israel, which includes robustness, resilience and defense.

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#### New Battlefields/Old Laws: Legal Triggers of War on New Battlefields

The workshop entitled New Battlefields/Old Laws: Legal Triggers of War on New Battlefields was co-chaired by Prof. William C. Banks, Founding Director, Institute for National Security & Counter Terrorism (INSCT) and Professor of Law & Public Administration and International Affairs, Syracuse University & Member of the Professional Advisory Board, ICT, IDC Herzliya, United States of America and Dr. Daphné Richemond-Barak, Senior Researcher & Head, International Humanitarian Law Desk, ICT & Assistant Professor, Lauder School of Government, IDC Herzliya, Israel. Maj. Gen. (Res.) Yoram "Yaya" Yair, Former Commander of the Lebanese Sector & Syrian Front explained that the rules have changed, justification of war belongs to engagement between states, entities that accepted the UN charter. When dealing with entities such as ISIS and Al Qaeda, states cannot rely on old laws. Col. (Res.) Adv. Daniel Reisner, Former Head, International Law Branch of the IDF Legal Division & Associate, ICT, IDC Herzliya, Israel focused on three main issues

emphasizing the problems of international law during states of war. Prof. Laurie Blank, Clinical Professor of Law & Director, International Humanitarian Law Clinic, Emory Law School, United States of America focused on the scenario of cross-border attacks and the law of resorting to force, stressing that the Jus ad bellum is ultimately going to guide the question in the use of force. Prof. Nathan Sales, Associate Professor, College of Law, Syracuse University, United States of America focused on the ongoing conflict with ISIS and the use of force against the organization under international and domestic law, discussing article 51 of the UN charter, purporting the inherent right to self-defense and dealing with the circumstances in which use of force is justified. Dr. Daphné Richemond-Barak, Senior Researcher & Head, International Humanitarian Law Desk, ICT & Assistant Professor, Lauder School of Government, IDC Herzliya, Israel focused on underground warfare, stating that tunnel warfare is reemerging on the contemporary battlefield and tunnels, including crossborder tunnels, constitute a global threat.





The third series of workshops considered the numerous challenges of counter-terrorism. The workshops in the third series are titled as follows: Pathways to De-Radicalization Pro-active Tools for Countering Terrorism Law Enforcement and Counter-Terrorism Policing Terrorism Prosecution & Countering the Financing of Terrorism Recovery & Resilience: Lessons Learned from Israel.

### Pro-Active Tools for Countering Terrorism (The session was held in the memory of Maj. Tsafrir Bar-Or (Z"L))

The workshop entitled Pro-Active Tools for Countering Terrorism was chaired by Brig. Gen. (Res.) Nitzan Nuriel, Associate, ICT, IDC Herzliya & Former Director, Counter-Terrorism Bureau, Israel. To begin the workshop Dr. Shira Efron, Policy Researcher and Special Advisor on Israel, RAND Corporation, United States of America, presented the role of civil society in countering violent extremism (CVE). Dr. Efron also provided a framework for the types of radicalization and associated drivers, such as a lack of integration, weak community leadership and infrastructure. Brig. Gen. (Res.) Gal Hirsch, Associate, ICT, IDC Herzliya, Israel, gave a theoretical overview of conventional war and how it differs fundamentally from the military battles of today. He advocates putting Special Forces and special operations forces at the center stage and giving them proxy armed

forces capabilities. Mr. Brian M. Jenkins, Senior Adviser to the President, RAND Corporation and Member of the Professional Advisory Board, ICT, IDC Herzliya, United States of America, claimed that we should take preemptive action as a pro-active tool in the fight against terrorism. Mr. Jenkins also suggested expanding the legal domain of incitement and to make the intent to commit a terrorist act a crime. Col. (Res.) Shlomo Mofaz, Associate, ICT, IDC Herzliya, Israel, presented intelligence as a pro-active tool for countering terrorism as well as the dilemmas in this context. Gen. Ashok K. Mehta, Former General Officer Commanding, Indian Peace Keeping Forces (IPKF) in Sri Lanka, India, described the Indian experience with counterterrorism and specific challenges within the South-East region at large.

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#### **Recovery and Resilience: Lessons Learned from Israel**

Dr. Gil-ad Ariely, Chief Knowledge Officer, ICT, IDC Herzliya, Israel introduced the workshop on recovery and resilience, noting the importance of lessons learned. He emphasized the Israeli knowledge and experience in recovery and resilience, garnered through real-life experiences, and the ability to confront terrorism based on lessons learned from these experiences. The Honorable Roni Milo, Former Minister of Public Security; Former Mayor of Tel-Aviv-Jaffa & Member of the Professional Advisory Board, ICT, IDC Herzliya, Israel Mr. Milo discussed the importance of leadership and communication for resilience after terror attacks. He noted that the population in Israel must learn to live and act together, that the leadership must find a way to reduce the tension between the Jewish majority and the Arab minority in the country. Commissioner (Ret.) Shachar Ayalon, Former Commander, Fire and Rescue Service, Israel Commissioner Ayalon spoke on the importance of preparedness for both resilience and recovery. Preparedness is both psychological and physical; including both mental preparation for what to do in case of an emergency and actual preparation of procedures and equipment. Success of recovery is recovering not only psychologically but also physically and economically. Dr. Boaz Tadmor, Director, Research & Development, Rabin Medical Center, Beilinson and Hasharon Hospitals, Israel Dr. Tadmor explains that every element in the system has its own resilience and recovery, but each element is mutually dependent on the

others. He argues that both citizens and leadership have responsibilities in emergencies. One such responsibility on the part of the leadership is delivering a proper message so to prevent chaos. Col. (Res.) Gilead (Gili) Shenhar, Former Head, Doctrine and Development, IDF Home Front Command & Associate, ICT, IDC Herziya, Israel Col. Shenhar highlights two factors in preparedness: the importance of utilizing real-life emergencies in other countries to educate and prepare your public and the usefulness of national drills. He identifies best practices during an emergency, including the importance of having a communication plan and delivering information to the public quickly. Mr. Yotam Dagan, Director, Community Programming & Outreach, NATAL, Israel Dagan described a model for developing effective leadership in crisis situations, which contains 3 elements: context (crisis vs normalcy), three main tensions between modes of operations and six significant leadership abilities. Dr. Leo Wolmer, Research Unit Director, Cohen-Harris Center for Trauma and Disaster Intervention, Israel Dr. Wolmer presented a study he had carried out, which included four resilience programs: education, population, health and information. Wolmer argues that the Education Resilience Program is a cost-effective approach to mitigate suffering and enhance resilience and preparedness amongst children.



Pathways to De-Radicalization (The session was held in the memory of Dr. Jonathan Fine (Z"L))

The workshop 'Pathways to De-Radicalization' focused on the general topic of methods and de-radicalization programs that are employed to mitigate the radicalization of potential extremists and would-be terrorists.

Mr. Michael Whine, Director, Government & International Affairs,
Community Security Trust (CST), United Kingdom, the chair of the workshop, introduced the discussion with an overall summary of the issue, highlighting the various methods in which extremists are radicalized and the implications this has on the prospects of de-radicalization. Mr. Whine stressed that there is need for policy makers to avoid 'broad brush' approaches and to acknowledge these aforementioned difficulties. Following Mr. Whine's introduction, Prof. Alex P. Schmid, Director, Terrorism Research Initiative (TRI); Research Fellow, International Centre for Counter Terrorism (ICCT), The Netherlands, gave a

De-Radicalization presentation 'Challenging Radicalization.' Prof. Schmid scrutinized the broad conceptualization of radicalization and thereby also de-radicalization. Ms. Raheel Raza, President, Council for Muslims Facing Tomorrow, Canada claimed that terrorism should be understood as a by-product of radicalization. As such, the tackling of radicalization should be at the core of any effort, which should focus neither solely on a military nor solely on a political approach. Lt. Gen. (Ret.) Orit Adato, Associate, ICT, IDC Herzliya & Former Commissioner, Israeli Prison Services (IPS), Israel gave a presentation on the prospect of de-radicalization within prisons, utilizing her experience as the former Commissioner of the Israeli Prison Services (IPS). Dr. Sagit Yehoshua, Research Fellow, ICT, IDC Herzliya, Israel provided the perspective from the UK prison system and stressed that the UK needs to learn to adjust the incarceration methods from the outdated IRA model.

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#### Terrorism Prosecution & Countering the Financing of Terrorism

Chair: Col. (Ret.) Jonathan Fighel, Senior Researcher & Head of the Terrorism Prosecution Desk, ICT, IDC Herzliya, Israel Prof. Gerald Steinberg, President, NGO Monitor, Israel spoke about terror prosecution and counter-finance of terror in the public domain and highlighted the continuing link between NGO's and the funding of terrorism. Prof. Steinberg claims that NGO's need to share information and cooperate with intelligence communities, governments, and each other, increase transparency, and develop guidelines, checks and balances. Ms. Katherine Bauer, Senior Fellow, Washington Institute for Near East Policy, United States of America discussed the evolution of ISIS financing methods and claimed that sanctions remain a key tool in effectively countering the threat of terrorism from ISIS and AQ. Adv. J. Scott

Tarbutton, Member, Cozen O'Conner Law Firm, United States of America offered insight into his law firms' 13-year effort of pursuing justice for victims of 9/11. Adv. Tarbutton touched upon investigative challenges in civil terrorism litigation. Adv. Dvorah Chen, Associate, ICT, IDC Herzliya & Former Head, Department of Security Matters and Special Affairs, State Attorney's Office, Ministry of Justice, Israel examined the Israeli Justice System and Counter-Terrorism and the Israeli practice of dealing with detained suspects, indictment or administrative detention. Adv. Sean P. Carter, Member, Cozen O'Conner Law Firm, United States of America concluded the session by providing further insights from the discussion regarding the shifting financing trends and questioned if the traditional methods were still relevant to combating terror financing.

#### **Law Enforcement and Counter-Terrorism Policing**

Co-Chair: Prof. Robert Friedmann, Founding Director, Georgia International Law Enforcement Exchange (GILEE) & Professor Emeritus of Criminal Justice, Georgia State University, United States of America referred to FBI cooperation with law enforcement agencies and public companies Co-Chair: Mr. Denis Monette, Associate, ICT, IDC Herzliya; Chairman, STARCOM & Former Assistant Commissioner of Police, Nassau, New York, United States of America described that challenges of inter-agencies cooperation. Mr. Eugene J. Corcoran, United States Marshal, District Executive, United States of America discussed both the U.S. courts and the U.S. Marshal Service, expanding on the five types of operations the service covers as well as several high profile terrorist cases the service has dealt with. FBI Special Agent in Charge Peter Tzitzis, FBI Joint Terrorism Task Force (JTTF), New York Office, United States of America and Supervisory Special Agent James Cunningham, FBI Joint Terrorism Task Force (JTTF), New York Office, United States of America presented the responsibilities of the Joint Terrorism Task Force that was established to respond to threats, special events, and all NYC airports. Superintendent Mick Hermans, Intelligence and Covert Support Command - Surveillance Services Division, Victoria Police, Australia described the intelligence sharing challenges in Australia and the different attempts to overcome them. Mr. Steven D. Heaton, Executive Associate Director, Georgia International Law Enforcement Exchange (GILEE), United States of America stressed that law enforcement needs to be able to follow up and monitor sources of incitement like [like social media] and intervene, as well as encourage the public to come forward when they see instances of incitement.

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During the workshop, ICT staff conducted a Simulation that described a scenario where multiple terrorist attacks occurred at several public locations simultaneously. Within the scenario, bombs exploded, shootings occurred and hostages were taken. The simulation created dilemmas which four groups of law enforcement affiliated personnel discussed, offering possible solutions and the associated pros and cons of each decision.





#### Simulation: The Threat of Chemical Terrorism to Europe

Simulation Chairman: Prof. Boaz Ganor, Founder & Executive Director, ICT, Ronald Lauder Chair for Counter-Terrorism & Dean, Lauder School of Government, Diplomacy & Strategy, IDC Herzliya, Israel

Moderator: Mr. Stevie Weinberg, Director of Operations, ICT, IDC Herzliya, Israel

The simulation focused on a hypothetical, yet potential scenario, where a European country is faced with a chemical terrorist threat. During the simulation, an EU and NATO panel was presented with a dilemma of striking a known chemical warehouse within

a populated area in Syria to preempt an attack of European soil. As the scenario continued, the panel acting as Germany dealt with the dilemmas of restricting the movement within Germany, and other precautions which may help diminish the effects of an effective attack. As the scenarios progressed in the simulation, a chemical attack occurred in Germany, although from locally procured resources and individuals. The remaining discussion elaborated on the key actions political leaders would need to take in order to manage the crisis and calm public insecurities.









#### **About ICT**

Founded in 1996, the International Institute for Counter-Terrorism (ICT) is one of the leading academic institutes for counter-terrorism in the world, facilitating international cooperation in the global struggle against terrorism. ICT is an independent think tank providing expertise in terrorism, counter-terrorism, homeland security, threat vulnerability, risk assessment, intelligence analysis, national security and defense policy.

ICT also serves as a joint forum for international policymakers and scholars to share information and expertise through research papers, situation reports and academic publications for worldwide distribution. A number of international seminars, workshops and conferences are organized monthly by ICT to discuss and educate on global and regional issues of security, defense, and public policy in order to better facilitate the exchange of perspectives, information and proposals for policy action. Finally, ICT administers the largest public domain research database on the Internet encompassing global terrorist attacks, terrorist organizations and activists in addition to statistical reports.

ICT draws upon a comprehensive and international network of individuals and organizations with unique expertise on terrorism and counter-terrorism research, public policy analysis and education, dispersed all over the world, including the United States, European Union and Israel. An acclaimed management and research staff at ICT spearheads the Institute's efforts to coordinate the struggle against global terrorism and leads a worldwide team of affiliates and academic partners working to encourage cooperation among experts and disseminate innovative ideas for policymakers in the fight against terrorism.

ICT is a non-profit organization located at the Interdisciplinary Center (IDC), Herzliya, Israel which relies exclusively on private donations and revenue from events, projects and programs.















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