The struggle between one side, bound to rules of law and warfare, and the other, which exploits those very laws in order to undermine them and sow chaos and destruction, formed the theme of many discussions – “a reversed David and Goliath situation,” according to Dr. Boaz Ganor.

H.E. Ronald S. Lauder, president, World Jewish Congress, U.S.A., accepts the Guardian of the ICT award in recognition of his immense support to its worldwide efforts in the fight against terrorism.
History has taught us that we cannot be silent and that no one is immune to the threat of terrorism,” Amb. Ronald S. Lauder observed solemnly. Speaking at the opening ceremony of the 10th Annual International Institute of Counter-Terrorism (ICT) Conference, Lauder, founder of the School of Government, Diplomacy and Strategy at IDC Herzliya which bears his name, cautioned, “We are bearing the fruits of the policy to turn a blind eye. This mistaken policy allowed terrorists to gain in the battle for hearts and minds in the Muslim and the Western world.”

Lauder’s admonition set the tone for the ICT conference’s intensive discussions over the next three days. The opening ceremony continued its ten-year tradition of commemorating the victims of the attacks on September 11, 2001 and all terror victims. Prof. Uriel Reichman, president of the Interdisciplinary Center (IDC) Herzliya, remembered, “The terror of 9/11 was directed at a nation that accepted people from all over the world to join their society and build a better life, a nation that sent its own men and women to fight tyranny and restore human rights. Those are the values the 9/11 terrorists wanted to attack. Since we share those same values, we stand shoulder to shoulder in the fight against terrorism.” Reichman expressed pride in the groundbreaking role the International Institute of Counter-Terrorism has played in combating terror.

Ganor set a road map for conference deliberations and outlined four major issues that were dissected and discussed at length in the days that followed: Iran’s race to attain nuclear military capability, the outcome of the anticipated US withdrawal of troops from Iraq, the radicalization process in Turkey and the impact of talks between Israel and the Palestinian Authority.

“Capitulation to terror only leads to more terror,” Ya’alon maintained, adding that public resilience and solidarity are of utmost importance in countering these forces. Referring to peace talks with the Palestinian Authority, he asserted, “The Palestinians must change their education system, end incitement to violence, preserve law and order and develop their economy. Without this, any agreement between Israel and the Palestinians is just a cease-fire.”

Shabtai Shavit, former head of Mossad and chairman of the ICT Board of Directors, recalled the skepticism encountered fifteen years ago, when the Institute’s founders moved to establish a center in which to address terrorism as an academic subject. Looking back, he noted that despite the initial uphill battle, “we have thrived,” while at the same time, “terrorism remains resilient and continues to adapt to the global landscape.”

In welcoming participants to the conference, Dr. Boaz Ganor, executive director of ICT and deputy dean of the Lauder School of Government, Diplomacy and Strategy, reflected on the ICT conference’s secret and its growth with every passing year. This, he said, “is a meeting place for counter-terrorism and homeland security experts to gather every year and meet with their colleagues. This is not an ivory-tower, academic convention. We feel the burden of dealing with the atrocities of terrorism, which is why we always gather on this week and strategize about how to prevent more 9/11’s from ever occurring.”

“IRAN’S PURPOSE IS TO CREATE A NUCLEAR UMBRELLA THAT WOULD ASSERT CONTROL OF THE WORLD’S OIL RESERVES – ALL EUROPE WOULD BE SUBJECT TO BLACKMAIL. YET IT IS NOT REALLY IN IRAN’S INTEREST TO ELIMINATE THE STATE OF ISRAEL, BECAUSE OF THE PURPOSE WE SERVE IN DIVERTING HATRED TOWARD US RATHER THAN ITS OWN OPPRESSION.”

– Prof. Uriel Reichman

Keynote speaker at the conference’s opening evening, Lt. Gen. (Ret.) Moshe Ya’alon, Israeli deputy prime minister and minister of Strategic Affairs, presented a sobering analysis. The terror organizations on Israel’s borders, Hamas and Hezbollah, aided by their patron states, Iran and Syria, are accumulating huge amounts of weaponry, he said, while international organizations look on and do nothing to stand in their way. To Ya’alon, terror is a tactic within a systematic political strategy, in line with the distortions and delegitimization, which together have eroded support for Israel in the free world.

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REVERSED ASYMMETRY: DAVID AND GOLIATH

The focus for many speakers was the clash of values between terror organizations and Western democracies. The complexity of fighting terror intensifies with each year, due to the fact that it is “a reversed David and Goliath situation,” as Boaz Ganor described it. Goliath, the nation-states with vastly superior conventional military capability, is “shackled by its values and laws of humanitarian warfare,” whereas the supposedly disadvantaged David “runs loose, abusing humanitarian law and without any values whatsoever. It is a reverse asymmetry.” The struggle between the one side, bound to rules of law and warfare, and the other, which exploits those very laws in order to undermine them and sow chaos and destruction, formed the theme of many discussions.

“Nine years later, the world is still a scary place,” according to Prof. William C. Banks, director, Institute for National Security and Counter-Terrorism, Syracuse University. “9/11 was more a bolt of lightning that illuminated the threat, rather than an earthquake that shook it to its foundation.” Dan Meridor, deputy prime minister and minister of Intelligence and Atomic Energy, said that we have reached a stage where “all is done from within a civilian population targeting a civilian population. Who, what and how to attack is no longer clear, since a military response alone is no longer enough to end war. There is a clear decline in the powers of the states.”

Jean-Louis Bruguières, former head of the Counter Terrorism Unit of the Paris District Court and former leading French magistrate for Counter-Terrorism, France, stressed that since terrorism has moved from being a local security issue to a global issue, “democratic principles are our best weapons.” Desp ite their shortcomings, “to renounce them would mean to lose the fight against terror,” while Brig. Gen. (Res.) Nitzan Nuriel, director, Counter-Terrorism Bureau noted that “there is no way to eradicate terror completely but we must push it down to a level that we can live with, as we do with criminals.”

Ganor cited a random sampling of one hundred conference participants representing over twenty countries. Of those surveyed, 63% believe that terrorist attacks will increase if Iran attains a nuclear bomb, 85% do not believe sanctions against Iran will be effective in preventing that acquisition, 66% believe that it is likely or highly likely that there will be a CBRN (Chemical, Biological, Radiological, and Nuclear) attack within the next five years. As for counter-terrorism, 66% believe that current efforts are not sufficiently effective, 64% said that US President Bush’s policies were more helpful than President Obama’s and 88% believed that peace between Israel and the Palestinians is unlikely or very unlikely over the next five years.

The annual session dedicated to the memory of Prof. Ehud Sprinzak, founding dean of the Lauder School of Government, Diplomacy and Strategy, dealt this year with the phenomenon of “hybrid organizations” in the world of terror and the Western world’s lack of clarity in response. As Boaz Ganor explained, these non-state actors’ operational methods are multidimensional, making use of military, political and welfare means. Developing a welfare apparatus to buy the population’s loyalty, he explained, they win electoral gains in democratic elections and promptly channel their political capital to further indoctrination. As in the case of Lebanon, while the state turns a blind eye to this subversive activity, the terror patron state, Iran, takes over through its vassal organization, Hezbollah. The next step is for the hybrid organization to crush all opposition within its own civilian population. Their aggressive acts of terror against Israel draw fire, but they use their civilian population as human shields in acts that serve to win hearts and minds, as well as hatred for the attacked state defending itself from terror.

Ganor challenged “the hypocrisy coalition” of diplomacy, humanitarian, legal and charity campaigns – as well as ever-present “useful idiots” – to portray these hybrid terrorist organizations “as freedom fighters, underdogs, elected representatives and welfare organizations – bolstering their legitimacy and
undermining Israel’s.” He cited the IRA as a positive example of a hybrid organization that abandoned terror and focused its activities on the political – in stark contrast to Hezbollah’s and Hamas’ method.

Too many Western leaders, according to Ganor, including former President George Bush and his Secretary of State Condoleezza Rice, believed that transplanting the institutions of democracy was equivalent to instilling its values, despite the fact that a great distance can separate the two. Prof. Martin Kramer, senior fellow, Shalem Center and president-designate of Shalem College, Israel, agreed, noting that “democracy is not exportable, but a product of history and culture.” To those who urge recognition of terror groups and fault us for not “giving them dignity,” he retorted, “They don’t want our dignity and recognition, but our surrender. They know our vulnerability – our failure always to uphold our values at all points. Let us never repeat the Palestinian mistake in a larger area, such as Egypt.”

Prof. Asa Kasher, Laura Schwartz-Kipp Chair in Professional Ethics and Philosophy of Practice, Tel-Aviv University, addressed the limitations of international law with respect to Israel in stark terms. Troop commanders in a battle situation, he said, should consider the laws of their own state as binding, and not international law. Thus, the protection of human rights is the top priority, meaning, human rights of the citizens of Israel. While we can respect international law, putting that first would be immoral in fighting terror. Among those with rights, he maintained, are those wearing the uniform; their human rights and dignity must be protected, too, including their human right to be alive.

Kasher stressed the unprecedented lengths to which the IDF goes in order to avoid injury to non-combatants. “Ours is the best because we cannot afford to do what the US or NATO do,” he noted. “We shower Gaza with leaflets forewarning the population of retaliations that would put them in danger; we place individual calls to every cellular phone to alert them, reaching the phone owner by name. Finally, the ‘knock on the roof’ tactic – not lethal but very loud – emphasizes that the action is imminent.” Those who remain and refuse to be evacuated, to Kasher, have, in essence, volunteered to be human shields, “in which case don’t expect me to ask my soldier to risk his life to spare you a situation you volunteered for. You volunteered to shield those who wish to kill us.”

We are not alone in dealing with this confrontation with the cynical abuse of human life, Kasher added, noting that Gen. David Petraeus published the U.S. Field Manual covering these same subjects. “Israeli soldiers, usually conscripts, have the right to ask why they’re being called upon to jeopardize their lives. And under certain circumstances, we should not jeopardize the life of our troops.”

NEW BATTLEFIELD, OLD LAWS
Numerous speakers focused on the need to revisit existing laws of warfare in order to shape a legal framework for counter terrorism and counter-insurgency efforts. The threats posed by terror’s assaults on law and order, and as ringleaders of the drug trade and organized crime, are no less deadly than its bombs. Corri Zoli, research fellow, Institute for National Security and Counterterrorism, Syracuse University, tracked the politicization of the Gaza flotilla, aided by a gap in international naval war doctrine, which the flotilla’s planners exploited in order to undermine and delegitimize a democracy’s attempt at self-defense. To Irit Kohn, former head of the International Division of Israeli’s Ministry of Justice, the trend to use universal jurisdiction as a tool against Israel is gaining momentum, with the aim of punishing Israel and preventing future actions in its own defense.
ISLAMIST RADICALIZATION: GLOBAL AND LOCAL JIHAD

"Why do politicians, media officials and academics ignore the obvious — that terrorism is influenced by Islam?" asked Dr. Daniel Pipes, director of the Middle East Forum. Dr. Sergey Kurginyan, president, International Public Foundation Experimental Creative Center, Russian Federation, put the question of radical Islam's growing influence in even broader terms: "Whose purpose does instability serve?" he asked, pointing to the drug trade, which has grown by 4,000% in Iran and in Afghanistan, bringing well over $600 billion to their economies per annum. These drugs and their proceeds are bartered for weapons and deployed for terror activities. "Instability is the result of very serious forces and understanding its components is vital for the fight on terror to succeed." Willful denial, according to Pipes, and not defining the enemy has great costs, sowing confusion and squandering efforts.

Jonathan Paris, associate fellow, International Center for the Study of Radicalization (ICSR), King's College London, UK, noted that the many attacks and dozens of foiled attacks have motivated the British government to focus on home-grown extremism. "The government recognizes the extremist element within the Muslim community. Instead of viewing all Muslims as suspect," he said, "they work with moderates to show that the extremist element within the Muslim community. Instead of defining the enemy has great costs, sowing confusion and squandering efforts."

Dr. Sergey Kurginyan, president, International Public Foundation Experimental Creative Center, Russian Federation: "Whose purpose does instability serve?" The drug trade has grown by 4,000% in Iran and in Afghanistan. "The drugs and their over $600 billion in proceeds are bartered for weapons and deployed for terror activities."

Shiraz Maher, Senior Fellow, International Center for the Study of Radicalization (ICSR), King's College London, United Kingdom: Recreational programs for Muslim communities aim to "keep youngsters away from trouble."

"THOSE WHO REMAIN AND REFUSE TO BE EVACUATED [AS IN GAZA, AFTER THE IDF'S UNPRECEDENTED LENGTHS TO AVOID INJURY TO NON-COMBATANTS] HAVE, IN ESSENCE, VOLUNTEERED TO BE HUMAN SHIELDS, IN WHICH CASE DON'T EXPECT ME TO ASK MY SOLDIER TO RISK HIS LIFE TO SPARE YOU A SITUATION YOU VOLUNTEERED FOR. YOU VOLUNTEERED TO SHIELD THOSE WHO WISH TO KILL US." – Prof. Asa Kasher, Laura Schwartz-Kipp Chair in Professional Ethics and Philosophy of Practice, Tel-Aviv University

"Whereas we are hard-wired to placate, appease and compromise, our enemy is implacable," Kemp cautioned. "He reported that Pakistan Taliban have taken control of terrain where millions of Pakistanis live, killing and torturing whoever resists them. Like Hamas and Hezbollah, they are adept at using civilian populations as human shields. Blowing up schools..."
and denying any education to girls, Kemp stated that the Taliban deprive girls and women of official existence by forbidding their photograph for passports, thereby “dooming them to penury.”

Kemp recognized the ICT, noting that in preparing the doctrine he wrote and introduced to British training (now used throughout the British army), “my greatest source of reference material was from the ICT website.” He also acknowledged “the important direct support which Israel provides to British forces in Afghanistan,” emphasizing that when it comes to fighting terror, “the IDF has made unprecedented measures to preserve civilian life, the likes of which we’ve never seen before.”

Posing the question, “Can we win this conflict?” Kemp stressed that our major emphasis is protecting people, trying to separate them from the Taliban and convince them that we are stronger. He also acknowledged “the important direct support which Israel provides to British forces in Afghanistan,” emphasizing that when it comes to fighting terror, “the IDF has made unprecedented measures to preserve civilian life, the likes of which we’ve never seen before.”

HUMAN MEMORY IS NOTORIously SHORT-LIVED. NOONE TAKES AN ATTACK THAT FAILS SERIOUSLY EVEN THOUGH ITS DAMAGE MIGHT HAVE BEEN HUGE. THIS DANGER OF COMPLACENCY IS COMPOUNDED BY BUDGETARY CONSTRICtIONS.” - Col. Richard Kemp, former commander of the British Forces in Afghanistan.

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Iran, the focus of attention in many discussions, exemplifies the struggle for Islamic hegemony – between Shiite and Sunni and as a major terror exporter. Dr Rateb Amro, director general and founder, Horizon Center for Studies and Research, Jordan, pointed to the challenges that he and other Muslims must take up, due to some Muslims’ misunderstanding of the essence of their religion. Meir Javendanfar, director, The Middle East Economic and Political Analysis Company, Israel, pointed to the “tumultuous events” following the Iranian presidential elections in 2009 as evidence that the current regime has lost legitimacy in the eyes of the public. Brig. Gen (Res.) Yossef Kupperwasser, former head of Research and Assessment Division, IDF and Prof. Moshe Maoz, prof. of History and the Middle East, Hebrew University of Jerusalem, focused on Syria’s role as a terror proxy and practitioner of state terror. Neither Syria nor Iran has ever been directly charged to pay a price for their practice and sponsorship of terror.

“NUTS, BOLTS, DOLLARS AND IDEAS” Counter-terrorism ultimately comes down to “nuts, bolts and dollars,” according to Michael Balboni, principal and senior vice president, Government Solutions Group, Cardinal Point Strategies, fellow, George Washington Policy Institute and former Homeland Security advisor for the State of New York. Among the biggest challenges is the coordination and streamlining of strategies in order to maximize efficiency, budgets and security. The integration of technologies and strategies into law
enforcement, as well as many governmental and local bodies working in unison, presents a challenge, he said, in order to make sure they are not operating at cross-purposes.

How can terror tactics be turned to our favor? Panelists discussing “New Media” pointed to solutions which lie within the many challenges. According to Moti Crystal, adv., founder and CEO, NEST and research fellow, ICT, terror groups are fifteen steps ahead of any government when it comes to utilizing new media for recruitment, operations, intelligence gathering and building bombs. Yet we have the ability to harm terror networks by hacking, feeding misleading information and hunting wire transfer funds. Crystal also spoke of counter-terrorism networks that act through the web with special intelligence units. Complementary pro-active public diplomacy is necessary as well, of course, Crystal noted. Terror’s aim of terrorizing would be undercut by strengthening public resilience, as well as by counter-terror policies. Defensiveness and apologizing only encourage the jihadi element further.

Prof. Gabi Weimann, Department of Communications, University of Haifa, spoke of the 7,800 jihadist and terror Internet groups that he has been monitoring for 12 years. Terror organizations have become increasingly adept at “narrowcasting,” he reported, targeting audiences and using interactive synergetic methods. All terror groups now feature themselves on YouTube, he noted. New media also provide social bonding: we talk to you and we listen to you,” adding that online press conferences with al Zahawiri, al Qaeda’s #2, brought him straight to the viewer’s laptop. Technology has been a “dream come true” for terrorists, Weimann noted, Google Earth in particular, providing “satellites and escape routes free of charge.”

Creative countermeasures to terror networking can produce surprising results while frustrating their recruitment and propaganda efforts. Aaron Weisburd, director, Society for Internet Research, related his “invasion and migration” tactic. Jihadi infiltration of forums and social network sites aim for Da’wa, calling for jihad, he said. By simply “watching where information goes,” following hints related to geographic locations and email addresses, he works to upset trust and credibility among members, spurring in-fighting, and in this way has curtailed its impact.

David Saranga, former consul for Media and Public Affairs, Consulate General of Israel in New York and adjunct faculty, Sammy Ofer School of Communications, IDC Herzliya, promotes the idea of using platforms frequented by terrorists to spread an anti-jihad message, brought by people who are credible to them, such as Queen Rania of Jordan. This acts to help people living under the Iranian regime and elsewhere have hope, and shows would-be terrorists that there is an alternative path.

According to Lee Smith, visiting fellow, Hudson Institute and senior editor, The Weekly Standard, “the new media help move the boundaries of anti-Palestinian narratives.”

“DELEGITIMIZATION WORKS IN SUBTLE WAYS. THE WORDS “TERROR” OR “TERRORIST” DO NOT APPEAR ONCE WITHIN THE ENTIRE GOLDSTONE REPORT.”

- Randall G. Rogan, Associate Dean, Wake Forest University.
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Semitism into the mainstream. With print newspapers losing income, publishers are scrambling for ways to maintain visibility and revenues, he said. “They pay bloggers on their websites according to the amount of traffic they draw. The use of anti-Semitic Jew-baiting ‘code words’ brings waves of comments which feed off each other and swamp the news.” This facilitates conspiracy theories, allows them to spread unsubstantiated and mainstream anti-Israel narratives.

Another method of countering terror, suggested and demonstrated by David Passig, futurist and head of the Graduate Program, ICT and School of Education, Bar Ilan University, utilizes projections to anticipate the future. He described his methodology as “not an attempt to predict the future,” but the pursuit of “understanding the present from a different perspective.” Being a futurist, he explained, means looking at intersecting forces and declining by 20%, Japan's by 11% and Germany's by 3%. Learning from the past, Passig made the chilling prediction that shortages of women and this kind of population imbalance intensifies cruelty within societies.

TALKING HEADS: VETERAN ISRAELI SECURITY EXPERTS DISCUSS CURRENT CHALLENGES

In light of the emerging security challenges facing the State of Israel, this year’s conference introduced a unique series of four sessions. Titled “Talking Heads,” the sessions brought distinguished Israeli security decision-makers for an open platform for substantive discussion of Israel’s current national and homeland security challenges. The “Talking Heads” featured the former ministers of Defense and IDF chiefs of Staff, former heads of the Mossad and Shabak (Israel’s General Security Services), former ministers of Internal Security and commissioners of Police, and former heads of the National Security Council and Counter-Terrorism Bureau and heads of the Military Intelligence Directorate.

The candid and often lively exchanges treated the audience to what Col. (Res.) Yoni Fighel, senior researcher, ICT, described as “an authentic Israeli argument,” as each expressed personal perspectives about Israel’s national and homeland security challenges, dilemmas, and viable solutions.

- Jennifer Roskies

The conference proudly hosted an exhibition on counter-terrorism policing, which included a lecture on Israel’s counter-terror police methodologies followed by a high-end display of technological and operational capabilities. The exhibition provided rare insight into the lesser known aspects of CT police work, including command and control systems, advanced forensics in the scene of terror attacks and collaboration with volunteers, municipal authorities and private business.

Two of the ICT Conference sponsors, Evelyne Tamman Douek with Steven E. Stern.

IDC Friends Itzik and Rachel Hazan with Gerald and Daphna Cramer, longtime IDC and ICT supporters.