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Inter-University Center for Terrorism Studies

# Terrorism: Review of 2010 and Outlook for 2011

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# **Terrorism: Review of 2010 and Outlook for 2011**

National Press Club

January 31, 2011

**Opening Remarks:** **Michael Swetnam**  
CEO and Chairman, Potomac Institute for Policy Studies

**Moderator:** **Prof. Yonah Alexander**  
Director, International Center for Terrorism Studies

**Panelists:** **Hon. Charles Allen**  
Former Assistant Director of Central Intelligence (CIA),  
and Undersecretary for Intelligence, U.S. Department of Homeland Security

**Ambassador D. Jorge Dezcallar de Mazarredo**  
Ambassador of Spain to the United States

**Ambassador Aziz Mekouar**  
Ambassador of Morocco to the United States

**Closing Remarks:** **Daniel Gallington, Esq.**  
Former General Counsel to Senate Select Committee on Intelligence and  
former Deputy Counsel for Intelligence Policy at the Department of Justice

**Prof. Don Wallace, Esq.**  
Chairman, International Law Institute; Georgetown University Law Center

# Speakers Biographies

## **Michael Swetnam**

*CEO and Chairman, Potomac Institute for Policy Studies*

Michael Swetnam assisted in founding the Potomac Institute for Policy Studies in 1994. Since its inception, he has served as Chairman of the Board and currently serves as the Institute's Chief Executive Officer. He has authored and edited several books and articles including: "Cyber Terrorism and Information Warfare," a four volume set he co-edited; "Usama bin Laden's al-Qaida: Profile of a Terrorist Network," co-authored with Yonah Alexander; "ETA: Profile of a Terrorist Group," co-authored with Yonah Alexander and Herbert M. Levine; and "Best Available Science: Its Evolution, Taxonomy, and Application," co-authored with Dennis K. McBride, A. Alan Moghissi, Betty R. Love and Sorin R. Straja.

Mr. Swetnam is currently a member of the Technical Advisory Group to the United States Senate Select Committee on Intelligence. In this capacity, he provides expert advice to the U.S. Senate on the R&D investment strategy of the U.S. Intelligence Community. He also served on the Defense Science Board (DSB) Task Force on Counterterrorism and the Task Force on Intelligence Support to the War on Terrorism.

From 1990 to 1992, Mr. Swetnam served as a Special Consultant to President Bush's Foreign Intelligence Advisory Board (PFIAB) where he provided expert advice on Intelligence Community issues including budget, community architecture, and major programs. He also assisted in authoring the Board's assessment of Intelligence Community support to Desert Storm/Shield. Prior to forming the Potomac Institute for Policy Studies, Mr. Swetnam worked in private industry as a Vice President of Engineering at the Pacific-Sierra Research Corporation, Director of Information Processing Systems at GTE, and Manager of Strategic Planning for GTE Government Systems.

Prior to joining GTE, he worked for the Director of Central Intelligence as a Program Monitor on the Intelligence Community Staff (1986-1990). He was responsible for the development and presentation to Congress of the budget of the National Security Agency, and helped develop, monitor and present to Congress the DOE Intelligence Budget. Mr. Swetnam was also assigned as the IC Staff representative to intergovernmental groups that developed the INF and START treaties. He assisted in presenting these treaties to Congress for ratification. Collateral duties included serving as the host to the DCI's Nuclear Intelligence Panel and Co-Chairman of the S&T Requirements Analysis Working Group.

Mr. Swetnam served in the U.S. Navy for 24 years as an active duty and reserve officer, Special Duty Cryptology. He has served in several public and community positions including Northern United Kingdom Scout Master (1984-85); Chairman, Term limits Referendum Committee (1992-93); President (1993) of the Montgomery County Corporate Volunteer Council, Montgomery County Corporate Partnership for Managerial Excellence (1993); and the Maryland Business Roundtable (1993). He is also on the Board of Directors of Space and Defense Systems Inc., Dragon Hawk Entertainment Inc., and the Governing Board of The Potomac Institute of New Zealand.

**Prof. Yonah Alexander**

*Director, Inter-University Center for Terrorism Studies*

Professor Yonah Alexander serves as a Senior Fellow at the Potomac Institute for Policy Studies and Director of its International Center for Terrorism Studies as well as a member of the Board of Regents. Concurrently, he is Director of the Inter-University Center for Terrorism Studies and Co-Director of the Inter-University Center for Legal Studies. Both are consortia of universities and think tanks throughout the world. In addition, Professor Alexander directed the Terrorism Studies program (George Washington University) and the Institute for Studies in International Terrorism (State University of New York), totalling 35 years of service.

Dr. Alexander is founder and editor-in-chief of three international academic journals: *Terrorism*; *Minorities and Group Rights* and *Political Communication and Persuasion*. Since 2010, he serves as Editor-in-Chief of *Partnership for Peace Review*, under the auspices of NATO. He also has published over 95 books including *Terrorists in Our Midst: Combating Foreign Affinity Terrorism in America*; *Terrorism on the High Seas: From Piracy to Strategic Challenge*; *Evolution of U.S. Counterterrorism Policy* (three volumes); *Turkey: Terrorism and Civil Rights*; and *The New Iranian Leadership: Terrorism, Nuclear Ambition, and the Middle East Conflict*. His works were translated into more than two dozen languages and his personal papers and collection on terrorism are housed at the Hoover Institution Library and Archives, Stanford University.

Professor Alexander has appeared on many television and radio programs in over 40 countries. His numerous articles and interviews were published in both the United States and the international press.

**Honorable Charles E. Allen**

*Former Assistant Director at CIA and former Under-Secretary for Intelligence,  
Department of Homeland Security*

Charles Allen is widely known as an expert in several fields including homeland security threat assessments and information sharing programs, counterterrorism and counter-proliferation threat analysis, critical infrastructure risk assessments, crisis and risk management, and corporate strategic planning. His previous government service includes posts as the Under Secretary for Intelligence and Analysis, U.S. Department of Homeland Security (2007 –2009), Assistant Secretary for Information Analysis and Chief of Intelligence, U.S. Department of Homeland Security (2005 – 2007), and Assistant Director of Central Intelligence for Collection, Central Intelligence Agency (1998 – 2005).

At DHS, Charles E. Allen developed the department’s intelligence architecture, integrated its intelligence activities and ensured that they were continuously aligned with the department’s evolving priorities. He also accelerated and expanded the department’s processes for sharing intelligence with state and local security and law enforcement officials.

Now as a senior adviser at the Chertoff Group, Mr. Allen brings his extensive experience in intelligence program management, analysis and production; intelligence collection management; system acquisition and warning intelligence.

During his more than 40 years at the CIA, Mr. Allen became as much a legend as a respected senior official. He earned a reputation for plain speaking, even when his opinions differed from those of senior officials.

Mr. Allen became the principal adviser to the Director of Central Intelligence on collection management, where he revolutionized the way the various national intelligence agencies coordinate and target their activities. In the same vein, he chaired the National Intelligence Collection Board, which united all intelligence agencies under common collection strategies.

He also served as CIA's National Intelligence Officer for Warning, Director of the National Warning Staff, National Intelligence Officer for Counterterrorism and Deputy Chief for Intelligence of CIA's Counterterrorism Center. He also directed the DCI Hostage Location Task Force, which focused on locating American hostages held by Hezbollah in Lebanon.

Mr. Allen is a graduate of the University of North Carolina and a distinguished graduate of the Air War College; he also did graduate studies at Auburn University.

### **Ambassador D. Jorge Dezcallar de Mazarredo**

*Ambassador of Spain to the United States*

Jorge Dezcallar de Mazarredo became ambassador of Spain to the United States on August 21st, 2008.

Ambassador Dezcallar previously served as general-secretary of the International Strategy Council of Repsol (2006-08), ambassador to the Holy Seat and the Sovereign and Military Order of Malta (2004-06), director of the Superior Center of Defense Information and later the National Center of Intelligence (2001-04), as well as Spain's ambassador to Morocco (1997-2001).

In addition, he served various postings in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, including special mission ambassador for foreign policy and common security (1996-97), general director of political affairs (1993-96), general director of foreign policy for Africa and the Middle East (1985-93), and deputy general director of North Africa and the Near and Middle East (1983-85). He was also secretary and later counselor at the Spanish Embassy in Montevideo (1978-81), secretary in the Consulate General in New York (1974-78), and secretary in the Consular and Commercial Representation in Warsaw (1972-74).

Ambassador Dezcallar is a law graduate with a degree in international studies from the Diplomatic School in Spain, and he joined the Foreign Service in 1971 and possesses several Spanish and foreign decorations, including the Great Cross of the Order of Isabel the Catholic

**Ambassador Aziz Mekouar**  
*Ambassador of Morocco to the United States*

Aziz Mekouar became ambassador of the Kingdom of Morocco to the United States on June 19, 2002. Before his current assignment, Ambassador Mekouar served as Moroccan ambassador to Italy, Malta and Albania, and permanent representative to the FAO (United Nations Food and Agriculture Organization) (1999-2002), Portugal (1993-1999), and Angola (1986-1993).

Ambassador Mekouar has also served as first counselor and deputy chief of mission at the Embassy of Morocco in Rome (1977-1985), and permanent representative of Morocco to the International Bureau for Information Technology (1978-1985).

He was elected chairman of the United Nations FAO Council from November 2001 to November 2005. Ambassador Mekouar has published numerous papers on world economic issues.

He holds a baccalaureate degree from the French Lycée Charles Lepierre in Lisbon, Portugal, and graduated from the HEC Graduate Business School in France in 1974. Born on November 13, 1950 in Fez, Morocco, Ambassador Mekouar is fluent in Arabic, English, French, Italian, Portuguese and Spanish.

During his tenure as ambassador in Washington, Mr. Mekouar has overseen the negotiation and signing of a Free Trade Agreement between Morocco and the United States, and has worked to foster understanding between the American and the Moroccan peoples.

**Daniel Gallington, Esq.**

*Former General Counsel to Senate Select Committee on Intelligence and former Deputy Counsel for Intelligence Policy at the Department of Justice*

Daniel Gallington is a national security and intelligence policy consultant. He leads the Potomac Institute's studies and projects on dynamics between new technologies, civil liberties and national security; he also writes regularly on national security, foreign policy, and other contemporary issues for several newspapers.

Between 2001 and 2003, Mr. Gallington served as Special Assistant to the Secretary of Defense while performing the duties of the Under Secretary of Defense for Policy, and later as Deputy Assistant Secretary of Defense for Territorial Security, while performing the duties of the Assistant Secretary of Defense for Special Operations and Limited Insurgency Conflict.

Previously, Mr. Gallington served as: Chief Counsel to the National Commission for the Review of the National Reconnaissance Office; bi-partisan General Counsel to the Senate Select Committee on Intelligence; Deputy Counsel for Intelligence Policy at the Department of Justice; Legal Advisor for Intelligence Oversight in the Office of the Secretary of Defense; Executive Director for the Defense Policy Board; and, as the Secretary of Defense Representative and Member of the U.S. Delegation to the Nuclear and Space Talks with the (former) Soviet Union, for eleven rounds of negotiations between 1985 and 1989.

A former career Air Force Officer, Mr. Gallington served tours of duty in Europe, Asia, the Pacific and with the former Strategic Air Command. He received B.S. and J.D. degrees from the University of Illinois, and the LL.M. degree in international law from the University of Michigan Law School. He is a Distinguished Graduate of the Air Command and Staff College and the Air War College.

**Prof. Don Wallace, Jr. Esq.**

*Chairman, International Law Institute; Georgetown University Law Center*

Professor Wallace specializes in the fields of international law and foreign affairs. In the spring of 1995 he began teaching, with adjunct professor Lee Liberman Otis, a new seminar: Conservatism in Law and Politics in America; currently he teaches Constitutional Aspects of Foreign Affairs with Ken Lazarus, former Deputy Counsel to President Ford and Dean McGrath, former deputy chief of staff to Vice President Cheney; he also teaches Investor-State Dispute Settlement. His latest writings include *Regulating Public Procurement: National/International Perspectives* (with Sue Arrowsmith and John Linarelli), *International Business and Economics: Law and Policy* (with two University of Virginia law professors), *Transnational Corporations and Legal Issues* (vol. 19 in the United Nations Library on Transnational Corporations) (with Seymour J. Rubin), *A Lawyers Guide to International Business Transactions*, *Dear Mr. President: The Needed Turnaround in America's International Economic Affairs*. and *Investor-State Arbitration* (with Christopher Dugan, Noah D. Rubins and Borzu Sabahi).

Professor Wallace was the Regional Legal Advisor for the Middle East and Deputy Assistant General Counsel to AID in the Department of State from 1962-66, a founding board member of the International Development Law Organization in Rome, and has been the head of the International Law Institute since 1970. He chaired the Advisory Committee on World Trade and Technology to the Office of Technology Assessment of the U.S. Congress from 1976-79, and is currently a member of the Secretary of State's Advisory Committee on Private International Law, a U.S. Delegate to UNCITRAL, and a correspondent of UNIDROIT and the vice president of the UNIDROIT Foundation in Rome. He has also been chair of the Section of International Law and Practice of the American Bar Association and a member of the ABA House of Delegates. Recent and current activities also include assisting Rwanda with the preparation of its constitution and commercial law, teaching in China, directing a research and exchange project with Russia, serving on boards involving academic activities in Egypt, in Indonesia, in Serbia and in Bulgaria, the advisory board of the ABA Rule of Law Initiative (ROLI), and serving as national chair of Law Professors for Bush and Quayle in 1988 and 1992, co-chair of Law Professors for Dole and Kemp in 1996, and during the 2000 campaign member; board of governors, Republican National Lawyers Association. He has been on the roster of World Trade Organization (WTO) panelists. Prof. Wallace received his B.A. from Yale and J.D. from Harvard.

**Michael Swetnam:** Ladies and gentlemen, if I could have your attention please. My name is Michael Swetnam, CEO and Chairman of the Potomac Institute for Policy Studies, and it's my privilege to welcome you here today, which is unfortunately another gathering to talk about terrorism. For more than a decade, the Potomac Institute has been privileged to host these sessions reviewing terrorist acts and the status of terrorism over the past year. Unfortunately it appears that the scourge of terrorism continues to grow and spread around the world. And unfortunately we'll probably be having these meetings for many, many more years to come.

It is, as I said, the privilege of the Potomac Institute to be one of the hosts for this session. Now, at the Potomac Institute we have the International Center for Terrorism Studies headed by Professor Yonah Alexander, who I'm sure most of you know is responsible for studying terrorism and writing about terrorism academically for more than forty years and is the author of more than a hundred books on almost all subjects of terrorism. Co-sponsoring today's event is the Inter-University Center for Terrorism Studies also directed by Professor Yonah Alexander. And we're very privileged once again to have our partner the Inter-University Center for Legal Studies at the International Law Institute as a co-sponsor and in fact we'll have closing remarks from Professor Don Wallace, the chairman of the International Law Institute who's joined us here today. And they've been a long time partner and friend in the study of these very, very important issues. As I mentioned at the outset, unfortunately, terrorism as an act of, as some would say, political discourse continues to grow. You'll find in front our more recent publications outlining the acts and consequences of terrorism through 2010 in northwestern and central Africa and in just this part of the world alone the number of events that have occurred over the last year has continued to soar and in fact exact death and carnage in its wake. This is, as we witness on TV today, different forms of expressing political and social will of the people throughout the world it's important to note the differences between that and what some would claim is a legitimate of expressing their political desires and most of us consider to be a criminal, illegal acts of violence against humanity but most of us would term as terrorism.

We have today with us, we're very fortunate to have today with us some of the world's experts on these issues and they will, starting from Charlie Allen who has as you know many, many decades of experience looking at these issues from the intelligence community. Ambassadors from two of the countries who've dealt with these issues for lifetimes, many lifetimes and many decades, and their experiences will be of great value to us today. And all of this, all the way through to our legal representatives at the end of the table from the International Law Institute and Dan Gallington from the Potomac Institute for Policy Studies to talk about the illegality or legality of these types of acts. With that I'd like to turn the program over to Professor Yonah Alexander who, as most people, I think, will recognize, the man who doesn't need much introduction, he quite literally has studied almost every aspect of terrorism for more than forty years and is a world authority on the topic. We're very privileged to have him at the Potomac Institute. We're very privileged to have him heading up these sessions every year. Professor Alexander...

**Professor Alexander:** Thank you very much, Mike, for your generous introduction. We are grateful to you and to the Potomac Institute for hosting this particular event to review the terrorist map. Mike and I worked together for the past thirteen years. We jointly published a number of studies, including *Usama bin Laden's al-Qa'ida: Profile of a Terrorist Network*, *ETA: Profile of a Terrorist Group*, and *Cyber Terrorism and Information Warfare: Threats and Responses*. I would like to make some preliminary comments before introducing the distinguished panel.

Additionally, I would like to welcome the audience and introduce two colleagues from the Potomac Institute for Policy Studies: Vice President Gail Clifford and General (ret.) David Reist. I would also like to welcome the interns, whom are the next generation of scholars and experts in the field.

Furthermore, I would like to report to you with great sadness that a colleague of ours, Professor Edgar Brenner, just passed away. I had the privilege of working with him for the past 35 years. We are planning to have a special memorial service to celebrate his many contributions to scholarship.

As a general broad context for our event I wish to mention three recent publications. One book is titled *Terrorists in our Midst: Combating Foreign-Affinity Terrorism in America*, basically focusing on the crisis of identity within nations. The other publication is a new NATO interdisciplinary journal that we are publishing in cooperation with NATO's Center in Ankara, the *Partnership for Peace Review*. Thirdly, the publication on *Report Update 2011: Sahel and Maghreb Terrorism*.

In the interest of time, I would like to just mention that our panelists need no introduction because they have significantly contributed to the national security concerns of the United States and the international community for many years. Our first panelist is the former Assistant Director at CIA, Charlie Allen.

**Charlie Allen:** Thank you very much, Professor Alexander. It's great to be here with you once again and with this distinguished company. I'm going to speak primarily about al-Qaida; I'm not talking about other terrorist groups like Hamas or Hezbollah. My focus will be almost entirely al-Qaida and where we stand. Professor Alexander just talked about the events on the 24<sup>th</sup> of January at Moscow's busiest airport: this demonstrates just how suddenly these events can occur and the damage that can be done to the entire psyche of a nation. That's what happened to the United States, as you know, on September the 11<sup>th</sup>. This fall, on 11 September, if the current situation prevails, will be ten years since we had a successful al-Qaida attack directly against the United States inbound. I think this is pretty remarkable, given the facts that we've engaged in two multi-year wars in Afghanistan and in Iraq and we've had a global intelligence-led offensive against al-Qaida in all dark corners of the world, not just Iraq and Afghanistan. And given the complexity of the attacks that occurred back on September 11<sup>th</sup>, the Intelligence Community forecast there would likely be future attacks of equal or not greater intensity than what occurred on September the 11<sup>th</sup>.

Part of the reason for this pessimistic forecast is the Intelligence Community's lack of understanding of the full capacities of al-Qaida and its ability to conduct intercontinental attacks against the United States. Well, I was never that pessimistic, never quite believed that, but I did believe there were going to be additional attacks, small, violent attacks here in this country. And we now know there would have been successful attacks repeatedly had not the United States gone on the offensive at home and abroad to disrupt a series of plots that would have resulted in serious loss of American life, damaged our critical structure, and also our national psyche. I only have to cite the aviation plot of August 2006 to illustrate what was disrupted because of exquisite British intelligence.

Intelligence, intelligence, intelligence, as the Professor said. The same thing could be said of the attacks that occurred back on the 26<sup>th</sup> and 27<sup>th</sup> of October of last year, where we had al-Qaida in the Arabian Peninsula attempting to bring down airliners using PETN, a low pressure vapor-type explosive that was disguised in Hewlett Packard laser desktop printers. Again, exquisite intelligence, this time from the Saudis, prevented that event from occurring. And I've learned through my long career in intelligence that there will be abrupt discontinuities, as we used to call them (today they're called "black swans") where there'll be profound events that will change history. And we may be seeing that today in Tunisia and in Egypt as Mike Swetnam noted.

We live in a world with deep political, economic, ethnic, religious, and geographic fault lines, and some of these are certain to cause conflict. It just will not be avoided. The communal events that are occurring in Lebanon illustrate this very much. We'll be very fortunate to come out of that without real conflict.

We also have a great "youth bulge" around the world. Part of this is reflected in what has occurred in Tunisia, where we have enormous percentages of the national population under 25 who are unemployed or underemployed. And combined with the fault lines of the Middle East centered in the Arab-Israeli dispute, I think can see a "witch's brew" developing over the next decade, which will test the west, will test this country in

particular. And for this reason I think we have to look at terrorism in a much broader context. We also have to look at the global threat from al-Qaida that stands apart from predecessor terrorist organizations, and the diffusion of technology and science means that the world's most dangerous capabilities can be placed in the hands of a few violent extremists. The recipes are on the Internet that anyone can study. Al-Qaida in the Arabian Peninsula just issued in English a new explosives manual that contains some highly accurate information about how to make bombs. It's out there for all of you to see.

Global communications and mass media provide a mechanism that can be used to fuel terrorism internationally. Communications today provide terrorists and terrorist groups with the ability to coalesce across national boundaries and sustain a common ideology and a narrative. They permit groups to recruit new members, train them, and coordinate attacks virtually.

Let's look back at what happened in 2010. Little has changed when it comes to the objectives of al-Qaida. Al-Qaida's goal is to attack the United States, to inflict mass casualties, damage US critical infrastructure, and cause permanent psychological damage to the US psyche. Al-Qaida takes a long view; Bin Laden has written about this. He does not believe that the United States or the West has the resiliency to remain steadfast, to take heavy losses, and resist over the long term. Al-Qaida leaders have taken pleasure in viewing the United States as a society that recoils when there is a threat, or even the "blame game" that occurs when there are even unsuccessful attempts to attack this country.

The United States with global allies in 2010 continued its relentless attack to disrupt, dismantle, defeat, and destroy al-Qaida's leadership in the Federally Administered Tribal Area. That's John Brennan's phrases, special assistant to the President. According to the press, we launched 115 so-called drone strikes in 2010 against al-Qaida leaders, operatives, propagandists, and trainers in the FATA. The strikes killed reportedly a number of al-Qaida leaders. Al-Qaida acknowledges that Shaikh Sa'id, the number three man within al-Qaida and general manager died last May, May 2010. So al-Qaida "central" is not entirely cohesive. The NCTC says there are only about perhaps 300 al-Qaida members active in the FATA, and it estimates that maybe less than a hundred are active inside Afghanistan. And contrary to popular thought, and what I read in the press, al-Qaida leaders are not easily replaced. It takes a long time to replace good leaders.

Al-Qaida's diminished strengths in the FATA, however, are offset by the fact that we have the Tehrik-e-Taliban (TTP), which is a tribally based Pakistani group led by Hakimullah Mehsud. It has deep links into al-Qaida central, and is involved in supporting cross-border operations into Afghanistan. It has vowed to take vengeance on the United States, which it blames for the death of Baitullah Mehsud, back in August 2009. You'll recall that Faisal Shahzad, the Times Square bomber, allegedly was trained by the TTP for about six weeks before he made his unsuccessful attempt last May. The TTP is challenged, however, in extending its threat transcontinentally to the United States. It is a tribally based Pashtun movement, primarily.

The other regional tribal supporter of al-Qaida is the Haqqani network led by Siraj Haqqani, son of the famed mujahideen fighter Jalaluddin Haqqani, who was Minister of Tribal Affairs in the Taliban Government. The network, inter alia, provides manpower to al-Qaida for cross-border operations into Afghanistan. The al-Qaida network allegedly, according to the press, may groom extremists for suicide operations. We could always talk; spend some time talking about Lashkar-i-Taiba, which is also a Kashmiri-based group which is focused primarily on conducting attacks in India. But none of these affiliated groups really are the type that has the intent and the objective of attacking here in this country. Al-Qaida affiliated networks continued to decline in 2010. Jemaah Islamiyah, which was decimated back in 2007, 2008, and 2009, remains dormant. The Abu Sayyaf group in the Philippines, its leaders are killed or captured. As you recall, this was more of a thuggish group than a purveyor of Islamic extremism. But I do have, as Professor Alexander mentioned, concerns about North Africa and East Africa. Let's look at al-Qaida in the Islamic Maghreb. It functions as an umbrella organization for a disparate collection of Sunni Muslim terrorist elements determined to attack what they see as "apostate regimes" in Algeria, Tunisia, Libya, Mauritania, and Morocco. The bulk of AQIM forces are located in southern Algeria, northern Mali and Mauritania. They have raided our archaeology sites and tourist areas in Mali and Mauritania. They specialize in kidnapping and extracting significant ransom in order to fuel their operations. As you know, they've kidnapped a significant number of Westerners, including a number of Frenchmen which they still hold. We have not seen them attack into Western Europe, but I think they may become more emboldened as the kind of disturbances occurred in Tunisia. I think we have to watch AQIM very closely, and I'm very indebted for Professor Alexander studying this issue in depth.

Al-Qaida in the Arabian Peninsula (AQAP)...We know that it merged with al-Qaida in Saudi Arabia in January 2009. It's very much an insurgent group, determined in its efforts to attack the United States and the West. It thrives in the ungoverned areas of Yemen. It conducted numerous attacks in 2010 inside Yemen, particularly in the southern governance. Its most prominent extremists we know well: Anwar al-Awlaki, a US citizen who provides "spiritual sanction" for those who may wish to commit suicide in the name of al-Qaida. Awlaki also continues to provide AQAP's propaganda efforts against the west. Although hidden and under pressure, Anwar al-Awlaki's voice is still heard. On 9 November, 2010, he issued a new video. If you read the transcript, which I did, it can be summed in two words: kill Americans.

We already noted AQIM's efforts to bring down airliners using PETN in the Hewlett Packard laser jet toner cartridges, but it's done something else that's quite interesting. It published last year its first edition of *Inspire*, which is a web-based journal of propaganda directed at inciting violent acts, especially young Muslims living in the United States, the United Kingdom, and other Western states. This is an electronic, web-based magazine, with potential to trigger young and alienated Muslims to commit acts of violence in the United States and Canada because there are many Canadians that really follow Anwar al-Awlaki.

Let's just talk a little bit about al-Shabaab in East Africa. Professor Alexander noted that it is directly linked to al-Qaida central, operating from Somalia. And of course it continues to wage a fairly successful insurgency against Somalia's Transitional National Government backed by the United Nations and the United States. Several dozen young Americans of Somali descent have traveled to Somalia to fight for al-Shabaab, at least a couple have martyred themselves there—committed suicide operations in that fight. And our concern is not about an inbound thread directly from Shabaab central but from those who've gone to Somalia, trained there, fought there in military operations, and returned, many still radicalized and capable of committing terrorist acts. And al-Shabaab remains a fertile ground for recruiting extremists not only in the United States but also in Western Europe.

One development that has occurred in the last year is a greater prominence of radicalization, especially among young Muslim youth in the West—in Europe as well as in North America. According to a RAND corporation study that was published in 2010, there were only 46 publicly reported cases of radicalization and recruitment to jihadist terrorism in the United States between 11 September, 2001, and the end of 2009. Only 125 people were identified as part of these 46 cases. Thirteen of those cases, however, occurred in 2009, which is a very sharp uptick. And as you know, in 2010 the number of cases has increased further. We had the case back on 26 November where we had Mohammed Asmand Mohammed in Portland Oregon trying to detonate a car bomb at Christmas tree lighting. We also had an arrest of Antonio Martinez, also known as Mohammed Hussein, in Baltimore, who was going to attack an armed forces recruiting center with a bomb. The individuals involved here were self-inspired and self-motivated. They were not directed from al-Qaida central in the FATA or from AQAP in Yemen. The persons were all US citizens or held legal immigration status. The central theme of each plot involved placing explosives in areas that would murder innocent Americans who were attending very benign events.

Western Europe, and I know perhaps we'll hear more from our ambassador from Spain, also is a primary focus of al-Qaida plotting. And there have been arrests across a number of countries in Europe, including Spain. There are reports involving radicalized individuals, some of whom were allegedly preparing to stage a Mumbai-type attack, which you recall occurred back 26—30 November, 2008. This threat was so severe that the Department of State issued an "advisory alert" warning Americans of possible attacks on Europe's public transport system or tourist attractions. British authorities recently arrested, in December, nine men on terrorism charges. Stated the individuals found inspiration and bomb-making instructions in AQAP's Internet journal Inspire. If you've ever read it, and I recommend all of you do, it's well worth reading. The electronic journal is in easy English, easy to understand English. It's not heavy on ideology like a lot of the old tomes that used to come out of al-Shahab, the propaganda arm of al-Qaida central. It's a lot more clever in its message.

We must keep our perspective on radicalization here in this country. You know, the Pew Research Center study of May 2007 points out that American Muslims are overwhelmingly decidedly American in outlook and values, attitudes. Hard work pays

off in society. They have high income levels, good education. Most American Muslims, by a two to one margin, do not see a conflict between being a devout Muslim and living in a modern society. So my concerns are only over a tiny minority of Muslims, a number of whom are converts to Islam and some who remain strongly linked with Islamic countries overseas where extremist groups are flourishing. Many of these new immigrants have arrived in the United States in the last fifteen to twenty years as refugees and asylum seekers. Some have become strongly attracted to anti-Western, especially anti-US forces in their countries of origin. Political, religious, and social tensions that exist in a particular community in the United States may mirror tensions in these other countries. These tensions may be reflected in the belief held by many Muslim countries that the United States is “at war with Islam.”

This affinity with violent groups abroad is reflected again in the Somalia case. Somali immigrants coming to this country found assimilation difficult; they felt alienated. Many retained this clan/sub-clan affinity back to Somalia with the civil war, and they as well felt attracted to radical imams here in this country. And as I said, some of the first generation of these fighters has returned and others will. I think we have just as much concern about the second generation. These are not naturalized Americans like the first generation of Somali-American; they are born as Americans—young men who are in their teens who are still influenced by the first generation of Somalis and radical Imams. To date, the self-radicalized cells detected in the United States and Canada have lacked the level of sophistication, experience, and access to resources of terrorist cells overseas. Their efforts have been in the nascent stages, and many of their efforts have been amateurish. But it’s not the success, it is the intent. Eventually they will get it right.

Given what I have outlined, I believe we have every reason to be concerned about terrorism in 2011 and beyond. We know how quickly al-Qaida metastasized after 9/11. Al-Qaida central may be slowly dying, but its tentacles around the world live on in very remote areas. And these tentacles will remain alive for years to come. And I cannot overstate the power of the Internet for fueling the growth of radicalization in this country as well as in Western Europe. Many of the extremists recruited in United States began their journey on the Internet where they readily found resonance and reinforcement for their own discontented views and people who claim legitimacy and direct their anger. So the outlook for al-Qaida and its objective inflicting major damage to the United States and western countries has not changed and the threat is very much with us and will remain so in 2011 and beyond. I look forward to your questions. Thank you.

**Professor Alexander:** Thank you very much, Charlie, for this overview of the past year and outlook for next year. No wonder that you are considered a legend, an extraordinary senior official working in this field for over forty years. Our next speaker ambassador Jorge Dezcallar is also a official who had opportunity to work in this area for the past four decades as a senior diplomat, ambassador in a number of countries, for example morocco. He served also at Holy Seat in Malta, Montevideo, Warsaw, and New York. But in addition to his diplomatic background he was also the director of Spain’s national center of intelligence. As you know, Mr. Ambassador, we have had the honor of hosting you and your colleagues before. Former Prime Minister Jose Maria Aznar, has before

reminded us of what the true nature of terrorism is. He said, I quote, “Whoever murders in the name of a country, a god or a social and economic system is neither a patriot, a believer, or a idealist, just a murderer” unquote. Mr. Ambassador.

**Amb. Jorge Dezcallar:** Thank you, thank you very much. I'd like to thank Michael Swetnam, the Potomac Institute, Professor Yonah Alexander, Fernando Jimenez, also my good friend Fernando Jimenez, who was instrumental in bringing me here today, and for thinking that my remarks might be of interest to you. I'll do my best. I'll try to do something practical and direct.

I remember that time ago, with my then foreign minister at the time, Francisco Fernández-Ordóñez, we were traveling with Roland Dumas, the French minister, and with Collins, who was the Irish foreign minister at the time. We were one morning waiting in Madrid airport Barajas for a plane to come down from Paris to pick us up to go to Tunis where we were going to meet with Yassir Arafat. I remember Prime Minister Felipe Gonzalez called in the morning to my foreign minister and said, "Where are you? What are you doing?" He said, "Well, I'm here at the airport, I'm waiting for Roland Dumas. We are going together to Tunisia where we are going to meet with Yassir Arafat." He said, "Don't you think you are going the wrong direction?" because that same night the wall in Berlin had fallen.

And I wonder whether today, this morning, we are talking here about terrorism but the center of attention in the world is in the Arab world and in the Arab revolt happening in those countries so close to Spain because we share with them the Mediterranean sea.

Charles Allen has given us an excellent overview of the current situation, the current threats that we face, the situation of the terrorism in the world today, the different factions, what they are trying to do. And my conclusion would be you're right, we better be worried. Don't be at ease, because a terrorist attack is possible. They keep on trying all the time.

Sometimes we have been able to prevent the terrorists from carrying out their purposes. I can tell you that during my experience as the head of the Intelligence Service in Spain, we have thwarted some terrorist attempts in my country. I know, because President Obama has said so in public, that you have done the same here in the United States. So the security forces keep on working day and night, 24/7 as you say here, working on that. But, at the same time terrorists keep on trying. And they have all the advantages on their side because they can choose the who, the when, the how, the moment, the method. They learn all the time from past experiences. They can use all the advantages of globalization, of communication, of the easy transfer of money... And we learn from each other all the time. The more our methods to combat them become better, the better prepared they are too. Sometimes we have been just lucky, as with the terrorist that tried to blow up a plane one year ago and ended up burning himself, "the underwear terrorist", I think you call him. Or in the case of the terrorist attack in Times Square more recently. So you can see that they keep on trying all the time and, as I say, they have everything in their favor.

There are different types of terrorists. One the one hand, you have the ethnic, nationalist terrorist: ETA, IRA, what's happening in Chechnya, the Tamils. There are a number of them in the world. Then, you have those who try to use religion as an excuse, a perverted form of religion to suit their interests and to use in their benefit. Then, we have some sort of anarchists though anarchism belongs more to the past, if you wish, but I refer to badly adapted people sublimating their frustrations in terrorism. Then we have a more

organized sort of terrorism at the service of economic interest, as is the case with the narco-terrorism that we had in Colombia with the FARC, or that we are having in Mexico now-a-days. And then we have state-sponsored terrorism, states using terrorism to foster their objectives in the political or international arena. Sad but true.

Let me say a few words about ETA because you expect me to. In two words, ETA is looking for oxygen. It is my belief that ETA is living its last moments, and I am very happy to say that. It does not mean that they cannot kill. It is very easy to kill one person and they might do it again. But in Spain, it is becoming terribly expensive to kill. After what happened March 11, people don't condone that any longer. ETA was created back in 1959 and has killed over 900 people: members of the military, members of the police forces, judges, workers, journalists, businessmen, politicians without sparing women or children. I am on their list and it is not an honor, I can tell you, but I have a house in the Basque country which I can not use for the time being. I know there is a truce now-a-days. I don't know how many truces they have declared, but all of them have ended whenever it has suited their interests. I sincerely believe they are looking for oxygen in the same way that they are trying to internationalize their cause because they know it is the last possibility that they really have. I do think that the policy followed by the Aznar government, when he was prime minister (1996-2004), was pretty effective. What he tried to do was to isolate ETA from its social base of support and then declared Batasuna an illegal political party because it only is the political branch of ETA. That decision was contested by the members of Batasuna but it was upheld and declared just and fair by the European Court of Justice. So, we are cutting their ways of obtaining money, cutting their ways of obtaining weapons, cutting them from their social base of support and effectively isolating them. I do think that policy has been pretty successful. The last truce, we do think, is a last attempt to get some oxygen in order to reorganize themselves. We're not going to give them oxygen. We are going to keep on combating them and taking advantage of these moments of weakness. And do not be fooled if they come to you trying to elicit international interest in their cause. Just tell them to drop their weapons!

The Basque country, my mother is Basque, the Basque country has its government, has its parliament, has its police force, has its television in the local language. And those Basques, including those who want independence from Spain, a group called Aralar, which is a very small group, they are legal because they are pushing it through peaceful methods. The only thing we ask from ETA is that they leave their weapons aside. It does not seem an excessive demand! In any case I want to make crystal clear that we will not give them any possibility to obtain political advantages out of killing their political opponents. That is a red line that we will not cross and I think that finally they will realize that it is better to push whatever political objectives they may have through peaceful political means.

Intelligence services or police forces, now-a-days, have a lot of information. We have tones of information through intelligence, intelligence of signals, human intelligence and open sources. There is a lot of information around!. The problem is connecting the dots. That is the main problem: connecting the dots in different ways: on the one hand, among agencies. That is what happened here on September 11 and what happened in Spain on March 11. If the different services had put all the intelligence they had on the same table,

probably something would have come out. I guess that the same thing happened here. It is also important to connect the dots in the hands of one agency because sometimes even that doesn't happen. And it's important connecting the dots with other services too because sometimes what are minor offenses, something where there is almost nothing you can do against, like if you steal a credit card, or rent a car with false documents, or you house somebody, if you put all those actions together you can have a terrorist plot. But if you consider them in an isolated way, you only have minor crimes. And we were experiencing that in Europe. I do think that great progress has been made among the European countries in this field over the last years because it was very frustrating to have something prepare, let us say in Barcelona, Paris and Milan, and taking place in Munich while we were lacking the complete picture. Connecting the dots is the main objective.

We also have to have our priorities clear. Our priorities are to combat terrorism and to reduce our vulnerabilities. We have to protect our critical networks, we have to protect our borders, we have to be clear on immigration, we have to be able to exchange data and to incorporate some biometric data into passports, or documents, or IDs. We also have to exchange information on banking transfers. We had a problem between the European Union and the U.S.A. on banking transactions (SWIFT). Thankfully, it's been solved and the European Parliament has finally approved the agreement. Now, we have a problem with the passenger-name records (PNR). We expect that will be solved in the near future on the base of adequate protection of personal data because both instruments are of great importance to combat terrorism.

At the same time, we not only have to combat terrorism, but we have to have a longer term vision and we have to fight against its causes, which lie sometimes in frustration for the lack of political participation, or the inequality, poverty, or failure in the process of modernization in certain societies. Some countries, for example, have mimetically copied models from the West that have produced political corruption and economic inefficiency.

We also have to pay attention to double standards, and we have to look at ourselves in this. A bit of introspection will do us some good. We preach one thing and then sometimes we do the other. We are preaching democracy, but when it comes out that Hamas is the outcome of that democratic process we take a step backwards. A global approach demands a cultural dialogue, a religious dialogue, a dialogue on human rights... The prime minister of Spain and the prime minister of Turkey launched together the so-called "Dialogue of Civilisations Process", which now has the support of over 80 countries in the United Nations. It is a useful way of getting to know each other and creating more mutual trust in the world.

I remember once talking years ago to the director of the *Al-Ahram* paper in Cairo and we were talking about democracy and he told me that Europe had reached the present situation after a long evolution which began with the Renaissance and the Enlightenment. But in your way –he said- you chopped off a couple of heads of kings in England and in France. Let us go through our own process –he continued- maybe we will have to chop off our own heads, but we need some time. I do think that this exchange was extremely interesting because sometimes our vision of the world is too Eurocentric.

Now let me explain what type of terrorism worries us the most now and I must begin by accepting with Charles Allen that we surely fear in Europe a terrorist of Mumbai style attack, which showed a worrisome degree of sophistication.

We are also worried about what is happening in the Sahara. Spain is a regional power with important interests in Northern Africa and we are worried about what is happening in this corridor which spans from the Sudan to the Atlantic in which ideas, weapons, drugs, everything is running freely without any sort of control.

In the case of a major terrorist attack, we are worried by cyber attack. That is the name of the game now-a-days because it is something new and I don't know if we are well prepared to protect our vital strategic networks whether it be banking, stock exchange, or defense. Or the might use a dirty bomb as happened here with anthrax or in Tokyo with sarin gas. It may happen because it is not terribly complicated.

And then we are worried by the nightmare of those who are in charge: "the lone wolf".

There is a very interesting program within the European Union framework, which is COPPRA. Community Policing and Prevention of Radicalization, was established back in 2008. 14 European countries are working and participating in it. It tries to help in the early detection of these lone wolves, or solitary terrorists. Apparently, they follow the same model of evolution: unease with the community in which they live, frustration, integration into a radical group, radicalization, and then the carrying out of terrorist activities.

In any case, the big debate now is that anything that we do to combat terrorism has to be done within the rule of law, creating a balance between security and personal freedom. Our world is probably more secure than it was 50 years ago without risk of nuclear confrontation except in certain areas of the world, but it is more uncertain on a personal level. The risk is overreacting. Absolute security is impossible. The other day I was listening to a radio program here saying we should do something because this attack in Moscow could have taken place in Dulles Airport. Or in Madrid, or Casablanca, or anywhere for that matter. The speaker said we should do something like what the apparently do in Tel Aviv where in order to reach the airport you have to go through a control outside the airport, away from the terminal building. But Tel Aviv is a small airport. The airport in Moscow receives 20 million passengers a year. My impression is that it could be done, but we have to be aware of the fact that if they –the terrorists- find that attacking Dulles is difficult, then they'll go to Union Station or somewhere else. You cannot protect everything all the time and even if you could that would make life very uncomfortable. We are accepting more and more restrictions of our rights and liberties on the basis of the sacrosanct security principle and I do think that we have to learn to live with a certain degree of uncertainty and know that we are vulnerable because that is part of our freedom. And if we have to adopt them, any restrictions to our personal freedom must be clearly defined to avoid abuses, taken only when absolutely necessary, taken at the minimal possible level, always temporary limited and always under the law or parliamentary control because otherwise we will give a first victory to the terrorists.

Thank you very much.

**Professor Yonah Alexander:** Thank you very much Mr. Ambassador for your rich insights drawn from your extensive experiences. As all of us know in democracies, the bottom line is to strike a balance between security considerations and human rights issues and clearly this challenge will continue to be on the agenda for coming months and years.

Our next distinguished speaker is Ambassador Aziz Mekouar, who has also an extensive diplomatic background serving in Italy, Malta, Albania and elsewhere. We had the honor and pleasure to have the Ambassador speak at our events a number of times. One of the most striking learning lessons that the Ambassador provided us is when he said at one of his university lectures, “We are all in the same boat. There is no Muslim World. There is no Western World. There’s just one boat.” Mr. Ambassador.

**Ambassador Aziz Mekouar:** The Embassy of Morocco and the Potomac Institute's International Center for Terrorism Studies have been working together for a number of years on these critical issues and this is another opportunity for me to speak about what is going on in Morocco and the region and how we work on terrorism. I am very honored to be on this panel, especially with my friend and colleague, Ambassador Jorge Dezcallar, who has a very strong experience in how to fight terrorism. We have been working closely, the United States and Morocco, but also Spain and Morocco on our common threats, especially terrorism.

Morocco had terrorist attacks in 2003 and others in 2007, which were, what my friend Jorge Dezcallar called the "solitary terrorists," people who blew themselves up but were not a part of any organization. 2003 was a wake-up for Morocco because we never thought that something like that could happen in Morocco, especially by Moroccans. There was a huge demonstration of 1.5 million people in the streets of Casablanca against terrorism. This is something important that I would like to underline. Very often in the United States and Europe, they say that people in the Muslim world do not stand against terrorism. Very often the press covers the terrorist attacks but never the reaction. And what we had in Morocco was a very important reaction from the people. 1.5 million people in the streets of Casablanca against terrorism. That was important news that nobody covered, and that is important to know. We seriously thought Morocco was immune. Well, no country is immune. As I said a few years ago, we are all in the same boat, and anybody can be struck by terrorism. It can happen here or anywhere, and it happened in Morocco.

Let me give you an example of what has been happening in Morocco for the past few years to counter terrorism. First of all, Morocco took a number of security measures. In the wake of the 2003 attacks, the parliament passed an anti-terror law and our security forces are working 24/7. Every few months there is a communiqué from the Ministry of Interior saying that we have dismantled another cell so the security forces have been working pretty well. We haven't had any terrorist attacks in the last few years, and we hope not to have any. Months ago, we dismantled a cell and we found weapons for the first time in the Sahara, which shows that we have to always be aware that anything can happen.

In addition to security, we thought in Morocco that there were many other things to do, particularly to make sure that the terrorist groups would not easily find people to hire to send and organize terrorist attacks. Our strategy was and continues to be to reduce the appeal of terrorist ideology through democratizing, opening up social reforms, poverty reduction, and reorganizing the religious field because lately we have heard about mainly Islamic terrorism. Since most terrorists were coming from so-called Islamist groups, we decided that it is important that people know what Islam is. Like every religion, Islam is against violence, which is against the law and against human beings. There is that famous Koran scripture that says, "killing one human being is like killing all of humanity." So that was very important that people know what the real Islam is. So we completely reorganized the religious field in Morocco. To be an authority on religion in Morocco today, you have to go through many years of study, which is how it used to be. This

change was important because we found ourselves in the middle of the 1980s and 90s where, suddenly, because a man has read two pages of the Koran, he called himself an imam. Well that's not possible anymore. In Morocco, we have the Council of Ulemas, who are the religious scholars, at the national and provincial levels. Only they can give opinions on Islam, and nobody else. We, of course, went through the text books for teaching Islam in schools and focused on what the real Islam is. We also created an interactive TV network where people can ask questions and have answers on religious issues. It is very important because Morocco, like America, is a very religious country. 99% of Moroccans are Muslim, and probably 99% are believers, so religion is a very important part of the lives of Moroccans. We also train mourchidates, who are women religious counselors trained like imams who are working in places like mosques, hospitals, prisons, and schools because it is easier for women and families to interact with women and that is, I think, essential. So we have restructured the religious structure and education so that people are more aware of what real Islam is.

In terms of social development, it is important that less and less people feel that they are disenfranchised. The Moroccan people need to know that they have a stake in the future of the country. This is what we have tried to do, and I think we have had some success. The number of people living under the line of poverty, which I think around 5 or 6 years ago was around 15%, dropped down to 9%. That is the result of what was called the National Human Development Initiative, which was launched by His Majesty King Mohammed VI a few years ago. This was to make sure that the economic development that we have had over the last few years would trickle down to everyone and to ensure everybody in the country would have a stake in the future of the country. This is very important in order to ensure that the terrorists don't have opportunities to hire people to join them.

As I often say, the best way to fight terrorism is security, with social and economic services, and to have the people themselves with you. Very often, we dismantled cells because people called the police and security forces and told them that there was something strange happening and this is how we dismantle cells and prevent some terrorist attacks.

So, reorganizing the religious field, making sure the country is as business friendly as possible to attract both domestic and foreign investments, making sure that the benefits of the economy trickle down to the poorest people—those are the measures that the country has taken in the last few years. Another positive change is the opening of the political field. Since the late 90s and especially in the 2000s, we have had free and fair elections, we have political parties, and a very vibrant civil society. I think we have 70,000 NGOs working at the national, provincial, and local levels to make sure that everybody has a part in the future of the country.

Of course, not everything is rosy and we have many challenges. You can find details of these challenges in a report that was commissioned by the King called HDR50 [Human Development Report 50], which reports on the good and bad things and decisions in Morocco in the past 50 year. I think the same people are going to publish another report

in the next few months to update the status of what has happened in the 5 years since the first report was written.

The good thing is that we have an ongoing debate in Morocco. Everybody talks. The press is pretty free. The government has its share of attacks from the press, but the debate is there, and that is important. Nothing is hidden, and HDR50 really states and says what the problems and the challenges are and what could happen if they are not addressed, and what can be done to address these challenges. And it can be found on the internet, that's the good thing about the internet.

Internationally, we have been working with all the countries around the world to defeat this threat of terrorism, and sharing intelligence. I think that working together is the most important thing. We believe in Morocco that there is no other way. No country can defeat terrorism alone and that if there is not cooperation between all the countries in the world, globally and regionally, we will never be able to address the challenges that we have in front of us.

This leads me to talk about what is going on in the Sahara. Let me tell you we are very worried about what is going on in the Sahara region. The Sahara/Sahel region goes from the Atlantic to the Red Sea. It is this huge area that goes from Morocco to Somalia including Morocco, Mauritania, southern Algeria, Niger, Chad, and other countries in the region. We are worried because, as you have read or heard, the al-Qaeda in the Maghreb (AQIM) has been more and more active. AQIM was an Algerian terrorist group that changed their name and are trying to recruit as many people as they can in the region. There may not be many, but they are in a huge region that is pretty empty and very difficult to control because it is a desert and this is a place where they can do whatever they want. They are very mobile; they can move from one place to the other, and we are seriously worried about what's going on there. We have seen many kidnappings and they will probably prepare more attacks in countries in the region. This has happened in Mauritania, Niger, and Mali. They killed people.

But another thing that is really worrying is, what I call, the FARC-ization of AQIM. We are seeing South American drug traffickers coming through West Africa, using these huge, enormous places that are very difficult to control, in order to convey drugs to Europe. I heard a few days ago that, for the first time, Europe has become a bigger market for drugs from South America than the United States. We see these Colombian and Mexican drug traffickers using West Africa and the Sahara region to convey drugs to the European market. That's very dangerous and you will see in the future that this combination of al-Qaeda, drug traffickers, human traffickers, and other criminals using kidnappings and terrorism, basically what happened in Colombia a few years ago. This is how FARC became very dangerous and very difficult to address because of the value of the drug money coming into these countries where people are relatively poor. Well, it is very difficult to defeat that because then everything is for sale and it would be very difficult to outbid them.

So, if we don't address those issues immediately, we will have very serious problems in the future. To address those issues there is no better way than regional cooperation among all the countries of the region as well as the Europeans and the United States. The current situation is very dangerous because the Sahara is at the doors of Europe and is just across the Atlantic from the United States and this can be a really serious threat. I think that we have to work together to exchange information, exchange intelligence and coordinate our actions. That is the only way. That is the message that I would like to send here. To address the terrorist threat, it should be addressed regionally through security cooperation and in terms of development and to address the issues of disenfranchised people.

## Question and Answer

**Professor Yonah Alexander:** Now, what I suggest is that we open up some discussion, some Q&A, for about 15 minutes and then we are going to have some closing remarks. I would be very grateful if you would identify yourself, just for the record, and keep your questions very short. Yes?

**Audience Member:** I would like to ask, regarding the events in Egypt, where there could be risks of more radicalized groups seeing as there is greater freedom for them to maneuver. How do you see that current situation going on in Egypt, I know its far to soon to call what may happen there, but how do you see events unfolding there?

**Ambassador Aziz Mekouar:** I think it is very difficult to say how it will unfold. At least for me, I am not on the ground and have no information, so seriously I cannot answer that. I am sorry.

**Charlie Allen:** I would just like to say that we are obviously concerned about radical elements taking advantage of this serious national unrest, which I think has spread broadly throughout the country. How far this will go is much too early to say. There are radical elements that we have seen in the past in Egypt—the Muslim Brotherhood. We have to just wait to assess.

**Professor Yonah Alexander:** Ok, Stand up, please.

**Audience Member:** What you did in your country, why is it not done in other countries in the region? Thank you.

**Ambassador Aziz Mekouar:** Each country has its own history, its own social reality, its own political reality. So it is very difficult to give a country as a model, or to say that a country can be a model. I think that Morocco is very specific, the reality of Morocco is very specific, as the reality of Algeria is specific, as the reality of Tunisia is specific. So there are things that we've done that might be useful in other countries, but it is very difficult to transfer some of what we've done to other countries.

**Audience Member:** At the height of the 2008 financial crisis the head of the UN office on drugs and crimes said that about the only liquidity available for international markets was the flow of drug money, and since several of the ambassadors and others have talked about the drug factor, the narco-terrorism factor, I'd like to get a sense of why it seems there is such a impediment to reaching a clear international consensus and strategy for tackling this drug dimension, when its so obvious that 95% of the worlds heroin and opium is coming out of Afghanistan. I understand there have been splits and disagreements in NATO over how to address this drug and drug money aspect of terrorism.

**Ambassador Jorge Dezcallar:** As you know some of the drugs, cocaine traffic from Colombia, for example, is reaching Europe through western Africa and Spain and I can confirm to you that there is very strong cooperation internationally to fight against that. In the case of Morocco, I can tell you that cooperation between security forces of both countries allowed the seizing of about 300 tons of marijuana in a single year, for example. Now, if that is seized, how much goes through? That is the question, I don't know because its illegal so it is difficult to know. But our cooperation, I think, is pretty good. In the case of both our countries - I guess I can also talk for my colleague, Aziz - in my experience as ambassador to Morocco, I can tell you that our cooperation is extremely good. Now, if you're talking about what happens with heroin and opium coming out of Afghanistan, that I wouldn't be able to answer now, I guess that you Americans have more information and more recent. But I would think that you are right. One of the problems that we are witnessing lately is that cocaine flows coming to Europe from northern Africa were paid back in money until recently, now part of the prize is paid back in cocaine and that means that cocaine consumption is growing also in north Africa. This is a new development and clearly not a positive one. We will have to find out how to fight against this new trend. I can tell you that this problem worries extremely all the security services in the world. If we don't reach an agreement maybe it is because it is not easy, the same way we do not reach an agreement on a generally accepted definition of terrorism. I'm sure you know what terrorism is, I know what it is, but try to define it.

**Audience Member:** A questions for the ambassadors and one for Charlie Allen. Charlie you first, the revolt that we are seeing on the streets right now in Egypt, and the one that happened in Tunisia, was it a failure of the intelligence community to see this coming? And to the ambassadors, you've both spoken of applying various methods to decrease the radicalization in your countries that leads to militancy. Are there any methods that could apply here?

**Charlie Allen:** Thank you very much, let me answer the first question. I don't think it was intelligence failure. There have been a series of assessments over the years. We've spoke of problems that could develop, certainly in North African countries, like Tunisia, which was authoritarian and had corrupt elements. There are also concerns about Egypt and its long-term ability to remain stable under an authoritarian leader of 30 years. So I don't really believe, on a strategic warning basis, there was failure. I think the intelligence community has done well based on the fact I sat for 10 years on the National Intelligence board and passed judgments on many assessments. On the tactical front, it is extremely hard to say what will set off this tinder. This dry tinder exists in certain countries of the Middle East.

**Audience Member:** What are some methods that could be applied here to decrease radicalization with in this country, borrowed from your on experiences?

**Ambassador Aziz Mekouar:** It is difficult to give advice, I'm not an American official, but I think that teaching the right Islam to ensure that people know exactly what the

religion is important. Making sure that people are not disenfranchised, and of course security is a very important component of addressing the issue.

**Ambassador Jorge Dezcallar:** If I may say something with all due respect -because I do not mean to give advice to anyone- but something that astonishes me as a European is how easy it is to buy firearms in this country. I know... there's the Constitution, the First Amendment...but from my humble point of view it is difficult to understand...

**Audience Member:** I was wondering, you know Al-Qaeda and other extremists have been taking advantage of unemployed youth, poverty, inequalities, and oppression. Do you think in this situation in Egypt and Tunisia and Yemen, Al-Qaeda and other extremists will take advantage of this tinderbox?

**Charlie Allen:** Al-Qaeda worked very hard through its affiliates, as you know, especially through hundreds of important extremist websites—not a few dozen but several hundred that operate around the clock. They have continuously argued that there are apostate regimes in the Middle East that need to be overthrown—that need to be violently overthrown. And they have appealed continuously to the downtrodden, whether in Yemen or in North Africa. They emphasize impoverished communities and condemn the wealthy oligarchs that control the funds. This is a long standard ideological campaign that has been relatively effective. In this country, it's not so much the poverty, but the conflict, for example, that has occurred in East Africa that has attracted Somalis. A number of Pakistanis hear the view that America is at war with Islam, which of course is totally false. But that type of propaganda repeated incessantly day-after-day, month-after-month without effective western counter, or even countries within the region helping counter this propaganda...it does take a toll. People do become radicalized, young people, in particular. Anwar al-Alwaki, using hip hop music and speaking idiomatic English, not ideological views, not using the traditional Al-Qaeda ideological chants, are very enticing to young people.

**Audience Member:** There is an underlying wave of anti-US feelings also, they aren't coming out yet. But US has been supporting President Mubarak for the past 30 years, and they are against Mubarak. Do you think this Anti-US feeling, this underlying feeling, can be exploited by Al-Qaeda?

**Charlie Allen:** I do believe there have been anti-US sentiments throughout the Middle East. Statistics, polls indicates this, and I do believe that in Egypt there's been a problem of perception. However, as we know, President Mubarak has been a very pivotal figure in the Middle East, who has helped try to move toward a Palestinian-Israeli settlement. He has made many great contributions over the years. So again, we have to have a balance between security and independent expression.

**Audience Member:** My question is for Charles Allen. You express concern over the use of the internet by terrorist groups to transmit their doctrine and instructions. Assuredly this applies to blogs and social networks. But don't intelligence agencies with all their sophisticated means aren't they able to use this information transmitted this way,

analyze it, find out a lot of information about these terrorist organizations? In other words, isn't this a two way street in some ways?

**Charlie Allen:** Very much so. You are absolutely right. Your observations are very keen. Academics use it just as much as intelligence agencies. Intelligence agencies do assess ideological propaganda and look at trends, look at clusters or groups of individuals who may be engaging in some kind of nefarious activity through the Internet. So, we have a very good ability to look across the most important jihadist websites and interpret and understand and analyze and provide quality assessments to our policy makers. And we use the Internet as a means, without getting into anything more detailed, as a way of turning those arguments against those perpetuating. So it's a very, very, it's a two way street. We work to exploit and send messages the other way very effectively.

**Yonah Alexander:** Ok, we will take one more question now and then we will come back. Yes sir.

**Audience Member:** I wanted to ask Mr. Allen. You talked about Al-Qaeda, since the past couple of years we've seen these pockets of radical organizations starting up in Pakistan: Lashkar-e-Taiba, Pakistani Taliban, and so forth, do you think they have the potential to become as insidious as Al-Qaeda? And what would you advise to the intelligence officials in Pakistan, not that they might need some more, I don't want to offend them, but is there any advice you would want to give to them in terms of handling these pockets of brand new radical organizations?

**Charlie Allen:** The Pakistan Tariki Taliban (TTP) has been around for a few years. We had Baitullah Mehsud and others who helped found it. And these are regional extremist groups; they are tribally based organizations, in particular the Tariki Taliban. I do not believe they have the kind of global perspective or vision or interest than an Osama Bin Laden and Al-Qaeda has. Is the TTP dangerous? Yes, it's very dangerous. It does help with the moving operatives across into Afghanistan and fighting NATO forces there. Is Lashkar-e-Taiba a dangerous organization? Yes. We saw what happened in Mumbai, which was a horrific event that occurred in November. Very disciplined group, but its prime interests relate to India, and to disputes with Indian control of Kashmir. It is not interested in becoming a global extremist organization. And when you look at the Haqqani network, it is based on Jalaluddin Haqqani, the old Minister for Tribal Affairs for the Taliban. His son Sirajuddin is now running the Haqqani network; again it is linked directly with Al-Qaeda. It does help move operatives, train operatives, and also may groom operatives for suicide operations for Al-Qaeda. Again, it is tribally and regionally based. It is not Al-Qaeda.

## Closing Remarks

**Daniel Gallington:** Thank you, Yonah, and thank you for the remarks of the distinguished panel so far. My job here at this stage of the proceedings is to throw a bomb or two into the audience – intellectually - and try to get people thinking about some more fundamental issues.

I'm a veteran of the Cold War: I not only served in the Senate as General Counsel for the Senate intelligence committee, I spent a career in the military, 15 years overseas in “Political Military” kind of jobs. I was on the START Delegation for four or five years. I retired a couple of times, and was called back to serve in the transition of 2001. I was in the Pentagon when it got hit by the airplane - that was an experience that I have written about personally and it also impressed me, to say the least. I served in a bunch of jobs there, prior to retiring yet again and coming to work in Mike Swetnam’s organization. So my views are not going to be legalistic here, I'm going to be talking about essentially policy kinds of issues, and, also, I'm not going to be talking about all kinds of terrorism.

I appreciate the Ambassadors articulations of the different categories of terrorism - and I'm not going to be talking about all categories, I'm going to be talking about the “big ones”. And I'm going to say that it's scary, and we all know what’s coming. I mean we had a Congressional panel finished just last year saying that, it isn't a matter of if, it's a matter of when we are going to have an attack in this country - another large attack - which is going to be characterized by the use of WMDs of some kind: nuclear, biological, some kind of crude device, or another.

So my comments are aimed in that vein. As a veteran of the Cold War, the Cold War was long, it was arduous, we spent a ton of money at it, but we had some really smart people writing our policy and doctrine. And we had a very good policy and doctrine written that guided us to deal with the Cold War and ultimately win it.

The War on Terrorism, or whatever you want to call it, has not been characterized that way: We don't have the kind of thoughtful “headwork” that should be guiding our policy and doctrines, we just don't have that. Now, I could tell you the reasons for it, but that’s another subject, and it's essentially a jurisdictional issue in the United States Government for us not having those kind of Cold War kind of policies. The Albert Wohlstetter thinking, Leon Sloss kind of thinking, that was so valuable to us.

That has been a central theme in the writings that I have done, and I have been critical of our government's policy, or lack there of, for about 10 years. My criticism has been consistent through the Bush administration and now into the Obama administration.

All this reminds me of a story. I like to tell stories that illustrate pretty basic points. My Dad's favorite story was about the farmer, who had a pig with a wooden leg, and I sort of put us in that category, where we are the pig with the wooden leg. The farmer was very prosperous, but his friends would ask him, “how come you have all these pigs and you

have this one with the wooden leg?” He said, “ well, that’s my most valuable pug, and I don't want to eat it all at once.”

So we are in a position of sort of sawing off our interests a piece at a time, when we don't have the kind of basic policies we need.

I'm going to talk about three things we need to think about: Attribution, deterrence, and targeting.

The first of these, attribution, probably is applicable to the early stages of a terrorist threat, as it begins to manifest itself. We need to be thinking really hard about when we attribute acts to a particular terrorist organization or more particularly a state sponsor. And we need to feel comfortable in doing that with circumstantial evidence. We don't need smoking guns here. We are talking about risks that overwhelm the benefits involved here. So we need to have better thought out rules about attribution. When do we and how do we attribute acts, and who do we attribute them to? My assessment we need to be prepared to say that, we are going to do it on the best judgement of our intelligence community, of our legal community, of our political community, whoever else is in our community, but we need to not be afraid to make a stand to make a state sponsorship attribution early on, when a terrorist threat manifests itself.

Secondly, deterrence: A lot of people say you can't deter these wacko guys, they are all nuts, they are going to kill themselves. You can't deter somebody like that. Well, possibly true, you can't deter that guy, but you have to find out who you can deter and you have to come up with policies that deter that person or that group, or that entity. Part of it deals with the first part, attribution, but you have to come up with ways that deter. Is it that you can't deter terrorism, or is it just that we haven't figured out how to do it? We'll we need to think real hard about that, get some real smart guys in a room and come up with the kind of things we need to deter.

Targeting. Again, sort of the pig with the wooden leg story here, but when I went to Geneva in 1985 when we resumed the START Negotiations with the Soviet Union, this was after President Reagan announced the SDI program, the “Star Wars” Initiative, which got the Soviets' attention and had them call us back to the negotiations that they walked out of in 1982 - you might remember that. I was asked to be the Secretary of Defense’s Representative on the Defense and Space Talks, and we went over there and expected to get all kinds of propaganda and all kinds of political messages of all the evils of strategic defense and that sort of thing, and we got some of that.

But, do you know what we got more than anything else? I may have gotten more of it than anyone else did because I was representing Mr. Weinberger there. What we got was, “tell us about PD-59. What do you mean by that?” Now if you don't know what PD-59 was, it was written by Leon Sloss, oddly enough in the Carter administration, one probably not known for it's aggressive policy stances towards the Soviets. But Leon Sloss, a very smart guy - he's been gone a few years now - wrote a targeting doctrine. It

was quite intricate, and it was quite hotly debated - but it was signed off on by the President.

The targeting doctrine was, essentially this: "Look, leaders of the Soviet Union, in the event of a war, you are all going to die. We are going to kill you, and we are going to target you, and here is how we are going to do it." It went through that in pretty graphic detail. If you are interested in PD-59, I encourage you to go on the Internet, because large parts of it have been declassified and you can read about it. Well that is what they asked me about. They wanted to know why that doctrine came out under Jimmy Carter. It seemed different from his approach to general U.S. - Soviet negotiations. And they wanted to know whether not it was real. The Soviets tended to that time to believe that everything was a conspiracy - was it really the doctrine? And I had so many people ask me that, that I knew they must have been testing, and asking all different members of the delegation.

It later was transitioned, when Reagan came in, to NSDD 13 as I recall. I'm firing a few Cold War synopses here, but the concept really got their attention, and it's the kind of thinking we need to be doing to put teeth in state sponsorship of terrorism.

We need to be thinking about targeting leaderships. And I'm not talking about drone attacks here. I'm talking about the strategic kind of thinking that goes into the kind of war I began talking about: That's the one that that's going to bring a Weapon of Mass Destruction to this country, as our panel says, before 2013, not a matter of if, but when.

So, it's attribution, deterrence, and targeting. Albert Wohlstetter, where are you? People like that - Leon Sloss, where are you? We need the kind of thinking, basic strategic thinking, that will control our doctrine and our political responses to the terrorism that threatens our vitals - and that's what I'm talking about here.

Thank you very much.

**Professor Yonah Alexander:** Now I'm going to call on my friend and colleague, Professor Don Wallace. He is the chairman of the International Law Institute for the past forty years and professor of law at Georgetown University.

**Donald Wallace:** I would rather sit here if you can hear me. Well I'm not an expert. This is going to be a different kind of closing from the last one. I have listened very carefully to our speakers, and have just a few thoughts. It's clear we are going to have to be very intelligent, very bright, and continuously energetic in attending to these issues. We have had very learned speakers, and I have learned a lot, especially about the need for intelligence, intelligence, and intelligence. Two or three words of perspective. One, is the importance of the rule of law. I am a law professor. The rule of law is very important, as Yonah has written at great length. For every society, and I'm thinking now about the United States in my observations, it is very important for us to balance security versus liberties. I say this as a conservative. I once heard Professor John Yoo say, "we cannot afford the luxury of civil liberties." I found that a very short sighted observation. A second balance is this: yes we have to arm ourselves to deal with the issues of security, but you know there are greater issues of security: the security of an open dynamic economy that can compete with India and China. We must never lose sight of the, I would say overwhelming, importance of remaining an open society. There is a danger that when you think of security, you kind of close down. So that is going to be a very important trade off.

Finally, Egypt reminds us that maybe a final security issue is having a highly intelligent foreign policy. That is easy to say and many academics say it, but it is infinitely difficult in practice. The United States is so entangled with so many interests, that the tradeoffs and balances are awfully hard to get right. I think it is so easy to criticize, and so much harder to do. Just one or two other words. We have heard references to the American psyche. America has a very big psyche; I believe we are the greatest social experiment in history. We are being challenged in a way we never have been before. I'm not sure we are throwing up the totally informed leadership class that we should. We will all, as a society, have to grapple with these things.

I want to say one final thing about the rule of law. Professor Edgar Brenner, whom Yonah mentioned, was a very devoted lawyer. He was a partner of a great law firm of which I was once counsel, He thought in legal and rule of law terms, and we really should not forget these. And I think that is one of Yonah's great contributions, quite frankly. Finally, I want to thank Yonah. Anyone who has written 100 books, there's obviously something unusual about him, but we should be grateful for it. Thanks also to the Potomac Institute, and it's not for me to thank our speakers, but I will, and of course all of you. So thank you.

**Michael Swetnam:** Ladies and gentlemen, thank you very much for coming to the 13<sup>th</sup> annual review. Please join me in giving another round of applause and profound thank you to the time and expertise that has been shared with us today by this tremendous panel. Thank you very much. Please come again next year.