

# TARGETING THE DE-MATERIALISED "CALIPHATE" Extremism, Radicalisation and Illegal Trafficking

Rome, the 6<sup>th</sup> of December 2018















Extremism, Radicalisation and Illegal Trafficking

High-Level Conference

Organised by the NATO Defense College Foundation
In co-operation with the NATO Defense College

## Rome, the 6<sup>th</sup> of December 2018

Venue: Centro Congressi Roma Eventi - Piazza di Spagna, Via Alibert, 5/a, Rome

13,30-14,30 Registration

14,30-15,00 Welcome remarks

- □ Alessandro Minuto-Rizzo, President, NATO Defense College Foundation, Rome
- □ Ian Hope, Research Division, NATO Defense College, Rome

Opening remarks

**Ahmet O. Evin**, Professor Emeritus, Sabancı University, Turkey

15,00 - 16,15

#### **SESSION 1**

#### STRATEGIES AGAINST THE EVOLVING ARMED RADICALISM

The Islamic State has been destroyed, but terrorism is still a distinctive feature from the deep Sahel helt to the Levant and the Gulf area. What can counterterrorism achieve? How can governments of this wide region and NATO better co-operate?

Chair: **Liess Boukra**, Managing Director, Institut National d'Études de Stratégie Globale, Algiers

- □ **Sian Hutchinson,** Programme Management Officer, the United Nations Counter-Terrorism Office, New York
- □ **Peter Neumann,** Director, International Centre for the Study of Radicalisation, King's College, London
- Oded Eran, Senior Researcher, Institute for National Security Studies, Tel Aviv

## General discussion

#### SESSION 2

#### TERRORIST FUNDING: A LYNCHPIN BETWEEN EXTREMISM AND ARMED OPERATIONS

One of the most elusive but rewarding targets in the fight against violent extremism and terrorism is the flow of money that is needed to carry out both propaganda, specific armed attacks and infiltration in the territories. Jihadist groups in transition from a territorial organisation towards loose networks need more than ever reliable financing networks. How can anti-trafficking instruments and the fight against grey money transfers be more effective?

Chair: **Mahmoud Karem**, Professor, British University and former Ambassador to NATO and the EU and Commissioner Human Rights Council, Cairo

- □ Louise Shelley, Director, Terrorism, Transnational Crime and Corruption Center and, Professor, Schar School of Policy and Government, George Mason University, Arlington
- □ Ernesto Savona, Director, Transcrime, Università Cattolica, Milan
- □ **Matthew Levitt,** Director, Reinhard Program on Counterterrorism and Intelligence, Washington Institutefor Near East Policy, Washington D.C.
- □ **Hafida Benchehida,** Senator of the Algerian Parliament, Foreign Affairs Committee, Algiers

#### General discussion

17,45 - 18,00 Coffee break

18,00 - 19,15

#### **SESSION 3**

#### THE OPERATIONAL INTEGRATION OF COUNTERING VIOLENT EXTREMISM TOOLS

Violent extremism begins as a low level, localised social and political problem before catching media and political attention, when it is too late. The programmes of referral and de-radicalisation are a specific and effective targeted interdiction tool because they can be employed in a very cost-effective way as preventive and mopping up actions in the fight for heart and minds. The panel broaches how integrating antiterrorism into the countering of violent extremism.

Chair: **Ahmad Masa'deh,** former Secretary-General, the Union for the Mediterranean, Amman

- □ Anne Giudicelli, President and founder, TERR(o)RISC, Paris
- □ Alessandra Roccasalvo, Deputy Resident Representative, United Nations Development Programme, Pristina
- □ **Magnus Ranstorp,** Research Director, Centre for Asymmetric Threat Studies, Swedish National Defence University, Stockholm

#### General discussion

#### END OF THE WORKING DAY



Extremism, Radicalisation and Illegal Trafficking

## SPEAKERS' BIOGRAPHIES

#### Alessandro Minuto-Rizzo

President, NATO Defense College Foundation, Rome

A strong focus on strategic outlook in complex issues. High-level contacts and negotiations. Special attention to countries of strategic relevance, i.e. the Gulf region. Frequent Public Diplomacy activities to discuss policies and open issues. He held the position of Deputy Secretary General of the Atlantic Alliance, between 2001 and 2007. His mandate was mostly carried out in the strategic-political-industrial area, in relations with sensitive countries such as those in the Gulf and the Southern Mediterranean. He is the author of the books: "The road to Kabul" (Il Mulino-Arel, 2009); "A political journey without maps, diversity and future in the Greater Middle East". (Rubbettino, 2013); "NATO and the Middle East: The Making of a Partnership" (New Academia Publishing, 2018).

#### Ian Hope

Research Division, NATO Defense College, Rome

Colonel Hope has 36 years of service in uniform, involving 18 years in leadership roles with airborne and mechanised infantry battalions. His operational experiences include the first Gulf War, multiple tours in the Balkans, Africa, and Afghanistan, and domestic operations. He also has a Bachelor of History (Honours) from Acadia University, a Masters of Military Arts and Science, a Masters of Strategic Studies, and a PhD in History from Queen's University. He is the author of A Scientific Way of War(2015), Dancing with the Dushman (2008), Unity of Command in Afghanistan: A Forsaken Principle of War (2007), three monographs and a dozen articles and chapters on military history and strategic studies. Colonel Hope is now serving on faculty at the NATO Defense College in Rome.

#### Ahmet O. Evin

Professor Emeritus, Sabancı University, Turkey

He had received his B.A. and PhD degrees at the Columbia University. He is currently founding Dean of the Faculty of Arts and Social Sciences and Professor Emeritus at Sabanci University, serving as Senior Scholar and Board Member of the Istanbul Policy Center. He has previously taught at Harvard, New York University, the University of Pennsylvania (where he was director of the Middle East Center), the University of Hamburg and Bilkent University (heading the Political Science department). He has authored and edited several volumes on politics, culture, and development.

#### Liess Boukra

Managing Director, Institut National d'Études de Stratégie Globale, Algiers

Dr Liess Boukra is the Managing Director of the Institut National d'Études de Stratégie Globale (INESG) in Algiers since 2015. Previously, he was the Deputy Director of the Centre Africain d'Étudeset de Recherches sur le Terrorisme (CAERT). He is a sociologist with a strong expertise on ideology, Islam and Qaedist and Jihadi terrorism, as evidenced by two of his main publications: "Algérie: La terreur sacrée" (Favre, 2002) and "Le djihadisme: L' Islam à l'épreuve de l'histoire" (Bachari, 2011). He has also been a professor at the University of Algiers for more than ten years.

#### Sian Hutchinson

Programme Management Officer, the United Nations Counter-Terrorism Office, New York

Ms Hutchinson joined the UN Office of Counter-Terrorism in 2018 to take the lead on the UN Centre for Counter-Terrorism's global project on Preventing Violent Extremism through Strategic Communications. Prior to this, she served as a senior Countering Violent Extremism policy officer to the New South Wales Government Premier and Minister for Counter-Terrorism, working across CVE strategic communications, CSO engagement and intervention portfolios in the Department of Premier and Cabinet. She previously served with the Australian Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade, focusing on Counter-Terrorism, Counterinsurgency and counter people smuggling issues, where she was posted to Afghanistan and East Timor. Sian also served as the Director of Community Engagement for the Royal Commission into Institutional Responses to Child Sexual Abuse, Australia's largest commission of legal inquiry into sexual violence.

#### Peter Neumann

Director, International Centre for the Study of Radicalisation, King's College, London

Peter Neumann is Professor of Security Studies at the Department of War Studies at the King's College of London and has directed the International Centre for the Study of Radicalisation. He served as the OSCE Chairman's Special Representative on Countering Violent Radicalisation. He taught courses on terrorism, counterterrorism, intelligence, radicalization and counter-radicalization at King's College of London and the School of Foreign Service at Georgetown University in Washington.

#### **Oded Eran**

Senior Researcher at the Institute for National Security Studies, Tel Aviv

Dr Eran is currently Researcher at the Institute for National Security Studies and previously its Director (2008-2011). From 2002 to 2007, he was appointed as Israeli Ambassador to the European Union and NATO. Prior to this prestigious positions, he held the office of Head of Israel's Team of Negotiations with the Palestinians (1999-2000). He, therefore, served as Israel's Ambassador to Jordan (1997-2000), Deputy Director-General, Ministry of Israeli Foreign Affairs (1992-1997), Deputy Chief of Mission at the Israeli Embassy in Washington (1986-1990) and Secretary-General for the Knesset Committee on Defense and Foreign Affairs.

#### Mahmoud Karem

Professor British University and former Ambassador to NATO and the EU and Commissioner Human Rights Council, Cairo

Ambassador Karem currently teaches at the British University in Egypt. He also holds the title of Special Advisor to the President of the University for International Relations and heads its Egypt and Middle East Centre (CEMES). He served as the Ambassador of the Arab Republic of Egypt to the Kingdom of Belgium, and the Grand-Duchy of Luxembourg, Head of Mission of Egypt to the European Communities, and Permanent Representative of Egypt to NATO, from 2005 till 2010. He was, therefore, a member of the Advisory Board of the Secretary-General of the United Nations for Disarmament Matters. From 2010 to 2012 he was nominated for three consecutive times to the post of Secretary General of the Egyptian National Council for Human Rights (NCHR). In July 2017 the Foreign Minister of Japan announced the establishment for a group of eminent persons for substantive advancement of Nuclear disarmament, Ambassador Karem was chosen from the Middle East.

#### **Louise Shelley**

Director, Terrorism, Transnational Crime and Corruption Center and, Professor, Schar School of Policy and Government, George Mason University, Arlington

Dr Shelley is the Omer L. and Nancy Hirst Endowed Chair and a University Professor at Schar School of Policy and Government, George Mason University. She founded and directs the Terrorism, Transnational Crime and Corruption Center (TraCCC). Her most recent books are Dirty Entanglements: Corruption, Crime and Terrorism (Cambridge University Press, 2014), Human Trafficking: A Global Perspective (Cambridge 2010) and Dark Commerce: How a New Illicit Economy is Threatening our Future (Princeton University Press, 2018). She served for six years on Global Agenda Councils of the World Economic. Dr Shelley appears frequently in the media, lectures widely at universities and multinational bodies and has testified repeatedly before Congress and foreign and multinational organizations on financial crime and illicit flows, illicit trade, human trafficking, and the crime-terror relationship. She is a life member of the Council on Foreign Relations and the Global Initiative against Transnational Organized Crime.

#### Ernesto Savona

Director, Transcrime, Università Cattolica, Milan

Dr Savona, holder of a degree in Law and a PhD in Sociology and Social Research, is Director of TRANSCRIME at the Università Cattolica del Sacro Cuore and, since 2003, professor of Criminology at the Università Cattolica del Sacro Cuore in Milan. From 1986 to 2002, he was professor of Criminology at the Faculty of Law at the Università degli Studi di Trento. From 1971 to 1986 he was associate professor at the Faculty of Statistical Sciences at the Università "La Sapienza" in Rome. He was also nominated President of the European Society of Criminology for the years 2003-2004. He has been a consultant to the United Nations, Council of Europe (where he was appointed one of the seven members of the Scientific and Criminological Council in 1996), the European Union and various national governments. From 1990 to 1994, he was visiting fellow and project director at the National Institute of Justice, Research Centre of the U.S. Dept. of Justice, Washington D.C, where he was manager of two projects on organised crime and international money laundering.

## **Matthew Levitt**

Director, Reinhard Program on Counterterrorism and Intelligence, Washington Institutefor Near East Policy, Washington D.C.

Dr Levitt is a writer on Islamist terrorism, a senior fellow and director of the Reinhard Program on Counterterrorism and Intelligence at the Washington Institute for Near East Policy and professorial lecturer in International Relations and Strategic Studies at Johns Hopkins University's Paul H. Nitze School of Advanced International Studies (SAIS). From 2005 to early 2007 he was a deputy assistant secretary for intelligence and analysis at the U.S. Department of the Treasury. In that capacity, he served both as a senior official within the department's terrorism and financial intelligence branch and as deputy chief of the Office of Intelligence and Analysis. From 2001 to 2005, Levitt served the Institute as founding director of its Terrorism Research Program, which was established in the wake of the September 11 attacks. Previously, he provided tactical and strategic analytical support for counterterrorism operations at the FBI, focusing on fundraising and logistical support networks for Middle Eastern terrorist groups.

#### Hafida Benchehida

Senator of the Algerian Parliament, Foreign Affairs Committee, Algiers

Hafida Benchehida is a Senator of the Algerian Parliament and sits in the Foreign Affairs Committee. Throughout her career as an international interpreter and consultant for international seminars, she has attended major regional summits and workshops. She is the founder and executive officer of the Algerian Women Parliamentary Network.

#### Ahmad Khalaf Masa'deh

Former Secretary-General, the Union for the Mediterranean, Amman

He served as a Minister, ambassador and chief of an international organization. Today, Ahmad Masa'deh practices law and is the Managing Partner of Khalaf Masa'deh & Partners Ltd. Between 2006 and 2010, Dr Masa'deh was the 7<sup>th</sup>Ambassador of the Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan to the European Union, Belgium, Norway and Luxembourg. He was also the Jordanian Coordinator to the Union for the Mediterranean and Jordan's Representative to NATO. In January 2010, Ahmad Masa'deh was elected Secretary General of the Union for the Mediterranean. From 2000 to 2005 he was an Assistant Professor of International Business Law at the University of Jordan where he also held the position of Assistant Dean for Development.

#### Anne Giudicelli

President and founder, TERR(0)RISC, Paris

As an Arab and Muslim world specialist, Anne Giudicelli, worked for eight years in the Middle East section of the French Ministry of Foreign and European Affairs, in Paris as well as in other countries.

She has studied Arabic and after 9/11 she has been in charge of the analysis and follow-up of subjects related to terrorism and Islamism in the Middle East and North Africa. In 2005, she started up her own consultancy firm, TERR(o)RISC and since then she has added the Sahel area as part of her expertise. She has lived in most Arab countries, with a particularly long stay in the UAE, first as a reporter then as a government representative. She has been a French investigative journalist and has written a book about violence in the French suburbs ("La Caillera", Jacques Bertoin, 1991) with an updated version in May 2006 after the November 2005 riots ("Caillera. Cette France qui apeur", Jean-Claude Gawsewitch). She has also published, in 2007, an essay on counterterrorism policies in Europe ("Le risqué antiterroriste", Le Seuil).

#### Alessandra Roccasalvo

Deputy Resident Representative, United Nations Development Programme, Pristina

Alessandra Roccasalvo joined UNDP in 2005. She is currently Deputy Resident Representative for UNDP Kosovo. Prior to this, she served at UNDP headquarters for the Bureau of Management with the Management Consulting Team, during that tenure she also served in Afghanistan for a brief period. She started her career with the UNDP in Indonesia, focusing on the post-tsunami recovery portfolio. Before joining UNDP, she worked for McKinsey & Company in Germany and India. Alessandra holds a MSc in Development Studies, from the London School of Economics, as well as a MA in Economics and History from the University of Tübingen, Germany and the University of St. Andrews in Scotland.

#### Magnus Ranstorp

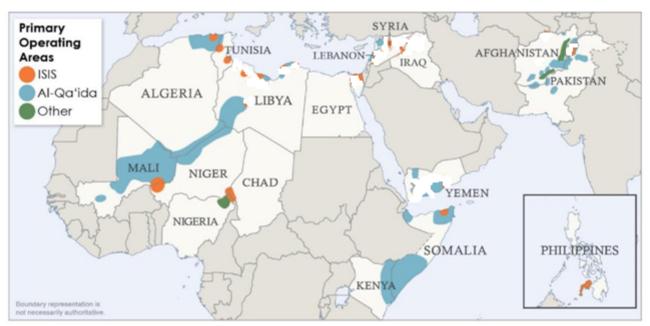
Research Director, Centre for Asymmetric Threat Studies, Swedish National Defence College, Stockholm

Dr Ranstorp has been researching counterterrorism and CVE issues for almost thirty years. Previously, he developed the world-renowned Centre for the Study of Terrorism & Political Violence at the University of St Andrews, which was founded in the mid-1990s. DrRanstorp was also the first author to seriously map out Lebanese Hezbollah movement and its connection to international terrorism and relationship with Iran and Syria. Before and after 9/11, he was consultant for CNN on terrorism issues. He was also invited to testify in the 9/11 Commission in its First Hearing in 2003. Currently, Dr Ranstorp is Research Director at the Centre for Asymmetric Threat Studies at the Swedish Defence University & Quality Manager of the EU Radicalization Awareness Network. He also led the Copenhagen Municipality Expert Group that developed the Anti-radicalization Action Plan in 2015. He also advises Stockholm City on CVE and the Swedish National CVE coordinator.



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#### BACKGROUND POLICY PAPER



#### SUNNI VIOLENT EXTREMISTS' PRIMARY OPERATING AREAS AS OF 2018

(Source: Trendsmap.com, Islamism map, elaborated by NDCF: https://www.trendsmap.com/twitter/tweet/963686363366346752, 28/11/2018)

Although the Islamic State has lost nearly 98% of the territory it once controlled, the group is ripe for a comeback in Sunni-majority areas of Iraq and Syria. This resilience is explained by its capability to keep a substantial war chest; when it controlled territory, it amassed billions of dollars through extortion, taxation, robbery, and the sale of pilfered oil. At the height of its territorial control in 2015, the Islamic State in Iraq and Syria (ISIS) generated over \$6 billion - the equivalent of the gross domestic product of Liechtenstein.

Now, despite the territorial loss, the organisation retains the skill at developing new streams of revenue, with the marginal advantage of a drastically reduced operating budget: ISIS goal is to sustain a prolonged terrorist and guerrilla campaign throughout Iraq and Syria. Some activities are old (extortion, robbery, trafficking in antiquities - a revenue that was hidden in the media by the spectacular destructions in

Palmyra and other old cities), others are relatively new in the portfolio like kidnapping for ransom theft, drug smuggling and other types of illegal trafficking.

Crime, of course, has its own risks, but much less than a terrorist attack: as of today there are still no security or police forces in Iraq or Syria capable of carrying out the type of policing that would deter widespread criminality or seriously disrupt trafficking networks.

At a strategic level, one should avoid the error of underestimating and limiting radicalism's abilities and potential only to Syria and Iraq because one has to include the more diffuse risk posed by home-grown radicalism. Indeed, although Abu Bakr al-Baghdadi and Ayman al-Zawahiri, the leaders of the Islamic State and Al-Qaeda, respectively, are being actively searched by several security forces, they still manage to mobilize affiliates and allies from different armed groups in a wide zone extending from Morocco to Indonesia.

Fortunately, the six main areas of counterterrorism against ISIS and similar groups – Euro-Atlantic, SYRAQ, Yemen, AFPAK, Chad Lake and the Horn of Africa – influence each other only indirectly from an operational point of view (including the circulation of foreign fighters from one area to another). Moreover, in the latter five areas, ISIS'sendeavour is less centred around global jihadand more focussed on national and regional civil wars, often fought by proxies.

In such areas, the foreign fighters still play a role but are not decisive for the entrenchment of terrorism, because what counts are the interests of local groups, often involved in internal or regional struggles. This suggests that although jihadism gets an undue and inflated global significance when it affects the Euro-Atlantic zone, the key to eradicate ISIS from the other areas lays on regional policies.

This does not mean that there should be no global approach to defeat what remains of ISIS. Multilateral coalitions and international organizations such as NATO and the EU play a crucial role both on the ground – the former is committed in Afghanistan, Iraq and Jordan, while both organisations are present in Kosovo – and in the cyber domain, especially in protecting the communication space to prevent, debunk and neutralise the jihadi propaganda and recruitment. In this respect, there is the need to examine and take stock from the most successful regional CVE examples.

The Aarhus model (Denmark) addresses the full-life cycle of radicalization to violence, from prevention to intervention, to rehabilitation and reintegration; and the Gjilan/Gnjilanemodel (Kosovo), set up in coordination with UNDP, aims atpreventing terrorist radicalisation by involving local stakeholders in

counter-messaging and engaging in the community through debates, lectures and meetings. The apparent success rate of these programs is 8:10 and 7:9, respectively. Such experiences highlight the need to beat terrorists at the recruitment game and to invest in a long-term strategy.

Historical evidence shows that it can take up to three generations before toxic ideologies may be uprooted from societies. Exclusion, disenfranchisement, sectarianism, and oppressive government centralization are political problems that require political solutions supported by economic assistance, wealth redistribution and, where feasible, decentralization. Furthermore, in conflicts where transnational terrorists have embedded among local rebels with legitimate grievances, it is impossible to distinguish Counter Terrorism from Counter Insurgency — or to separate either strategy from the formidable task of government re-building.

#### Matteo Bressan - NDCF Emerging Challenges Analyst

Teacher and Scientific Coordinator at the Italian Society for the International Organisation (SIOI), he is the author of various books concerning terrorism and focussed on Eurasia geopolitics, jihadism, Hezbollah and hybrid wars. International relations professor at LUMSA University. He is an emerging challenges analyst at the NATO Defense College Foundation.

## Stefano Marcuzzi - NDCF Emerging Challenges Analyst

He holds a PhD in Military History from the University of Oxford, he is now a Marie-Curie Fellow at Carnegie Europe, Brussels, working on hybrid warfare and EU-NATO relations in the Mediterranean. He is an emerging challenges analyst at the NATO Defense College Foundation.



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#### **CONCEPT**

With this conference the Foundation intends to develop a well-established line of scientific reflection, started in 2016 with the High-Level Seminar in Berlin on Eurasia and Armed Radicalism (2016) and purposefully continued in successive seminars: Arab Geopolitics in Turmoil (Non-state actors, 2016); Deep Maghreb (In)Security and Stability (2017); Balkan Networks and Stability (Violent extremism and trafficking networks, 2017); NATO and the Middle East (diffusion of Takfiri movements, 2018); Arab Geopolitics (Radicalism and state disintegration).

The war against terror has been a past political and strategic construct that has at the same time reduced the forces under the banner of Al-Qaeda and IS, but also complicated the mitigation of several regional crises, especially in the Gulf and Levant regions. Counterterrorism (CT) has relayed the war on terror after its evident limitations in Iraq and Somalia, culminating in the destruction of the de facto entity of the Islamic State between Syria and Iraq. DAESH, after having shown that the century-old frontiers of the Sykes-Picot can be put into question, is shifting its propaganda towards a more messianic and potentially timeless horizon. NATO's Counterterrorism Action Plan reflects quite accurately this shift from combat-driven operations to activities enhancing partners' overall effectiveness.

The time is ripe for an in-depth and deliberate effort of meshing CT and Countering Violent Extremism (CVE) activities in order to keep the terrorist scene fragmented and off-balance not only in military and security terms but more importantly in terms of narrative and stifling the future terrorist recruiting.

Military and security operations have their distinct role, but more often than not they coexisted without much synergy. CT can deliver just one segment of the effects against the enemy groups, while CVE is necessary on the ground and in cyberspace to disarticulate the jihadist propaganda, to prevent radicalisation (in addition to de-radicalisation actions in prisons and problematic neighbourhoods) and to stifle the criminal links to terrorist funding. This is also an area where, on certain aspects, the

fledgelingUN-NATO antiterrorism cooperation can be further improved across the spectrum (European Counter Terrorism Centre – ECTC; cooperation in the cyberspace, regional capacity building).

Another aspect that needs to be much better coordinated and streamed in the overall fight against terrorism is the stifling of illegal trafficking and financial transfers that are a critical support to terrorist operation financing. In too many instances there is a tangible separation between military kinetic operations, pacification actions and police activities. Intelligence fusion cannot be the only glue among these different sectors because they need an overall political and strategic direction within and outside overseas operations' theatres.

The seminar will be structured into three panels and one roundtable in two days. The first panel is dedicated to the state of the global terrorist scene and the CT priorities against terrorist operations and territorial diffusion. The second one tries to tackle the difficult issue of terrorism funding as the logistic lynchpin between terrorist kinetic and non-kinetic operations. It will concentrate on the critical logistic and financing vulnerabilities of groups transitioning from a quasi-state dimension to a more fluid and "virtual caliphate" dimension. The third will discuss the growing importance of CVE as a twinned instrument with CT against a volatile terrorist adversary.

THE NATO FOUNDATION

The NATO Defense College Foundation was established in 2011. It grew out from a common institution of the President Alessandro Minuto-Rizzo and the NATO Defense College top decision

makers who understood the value of a non-profit NGO that could work beyond usual institutional

outreach, training, communication and scientific research activities.

While the tradition of stability and well-being is embodied by the principles of the Washington charter, the triple upheavals of the fall of the Soviet Union, the global economic crisis and the Arab Revolutions

required a more focussed, agile and innovative approach.

Therefore the NDCF strives at considering relevant issues not just in a descriptive or prescriptive way

but catching the sense of events and the essential vectors of future developments. In a word: Charting

ahead.

**Contacts** 

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#TargetingTheCaliphate

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# Notes

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