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MEASURENT AND EVALUATION OF COUNTERTERRORISM POLICIES, METHODOLOGY AND TECHNIQUES

Bachelor's thesis

Supervisor: Assoc.Prof. Holger Mölder

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I have written the Bachelor's/~~Master's~~ thesis independently

All works and major viewpoints of the other authors, data from other sources of literature and elsewhere used for writing this paper have been referenced.

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List of Abbreviations

CT	Counterterrorism
CTITF	Counter-Terrorism Implementation Task Force
DOD	Department of Defense
NATO	the North Atlantic Treaty
EU	European Union
UN	United Nations
NEST	Nuclear Emergency Search Teams
AEC	Atomic Energy Commission
CTC	Counter Terrorism Center
IRA	Irish Republican Army
PLO	Palestine Liberation Organization
CFR	Code of Federal Regulations
ISIL	Islamic State of Iraq and Levant

Abstract

This thesis undertakes of the parts of the highly debated topic called terrorism, the notion of terrorism is very unnerving, however there is little known about the parts of terrorism as opposed to its glorified attacks by these organizations.

In the first part of this text, the definition of terrorism is taken into consideration and shown that these definitions are not there to eradicate the problem, but to strengthen a nation in a broader sense in its laws taken. Throughout the paper, it will be shown that the definition of terrorism will be the first step in a long road to overcome the war on terror.

In addition, the text explores the policies that have been passed, in order to help identify new laws to fight against terrorism. This paper will also show, how some countries are crisis driven, when it comes to policies against terrorism and European Union will be taken as an example.

Keywords: Terrorism, Counter Terrorism, NATO, United States, ISIL,

Introduction

The world, we currently live in has never been a safe place for any of us, we have been in wars, revolted against governments, there have been many international conflicts that have completely changed the way we view the world. Some of these international conflicts have taken place not that long ago, however there is a threat, which is truly not a new concept and has been out there for centuries. That threat is called terrorism and unfortunately it has been gaining immense amount of attention, and thankfully has been slowly losing its power and influence it was able to gather since the beginning of the 21st century due to the cooperation between nations. Now when you hear the word terrorism, one realizes that it has been out there forever, but we have not had an impact like this in a modern society compared before.

The declaration of "War on Terror" began after the attacks of September 11, when two planes crashed into the Twin Towers in the United States. We can never say when the notion of terrorism will end, maybe even never. However what we do know is that, we can stop organizations that spread terror and the way to stop these organizations comes from counter terrorism efforts. Now these might be militaristic efforts as in going boots down into the area that is infested by these terrorists and just take them out by force over a long time period, or through the legal channels, by creating policies and techniques, that would limit the organizations by creating cooperation between nations to fight against these terrorist as well as make the fight against them easier through cooperation.

The purpose of this paper is to explore the different aspects of counterterrorism on how the policies on counterterrorism have affected the fight against terrorism. As we will see in the next few chapters the definition of terrorism is the most important part in fighting against terrorism itself. Without knowing what nations are fighting, there will never be a road to victory. As Sun Tzu has said "If you do not know your enemies but do know yourself, you will win one and lose one" (Giles 1910) and unfortunately, this is how it has been going for years in the fight against terrorism.

As a topic Counterterrorism as well as terrorism itself is very important, firstly when it comes to the fact that it is known worldwide and highly debatable international conflict. Due to the fact that, terrorism itself has a huge role in media, it also generates roads for policies to come to light in the media that have been written down by nations. However most people will never read such articles or papers as it does not include the „action", instead it is more of an

overview of the policy itself and will not bring in the attention compared to other papers that focus on e.g. attacks that have been carried out. Thus the topic chosen for this paper shows the important aspects in fighting against terrorism, those being the policies and as well as brings out the techniques that are made available for the general public. There are not many available sources in English for students and it is really hard to find translated versions, so in this paper I mostly focus on the US, UK, NATO, however there will be parts for the UN, the EU and also France.

 The outline is written so that we can get an understanding as to what terrorism is and the types of terrorism there are as well as counterterrorism and the paper later shows the different policies that the organizations or countries have been working with all the way down to the techniques.

 The methodology itself, are mostly books, news articles as well as policy documents from NATO, legislations from Countries such as France, UK, US and Turkey. The books themselves were not very helpful, as they were written by scholars and are truly one"s own opinion and it is truly hard to compare and assess. News articles were used due to the fact that terrorism changes by the hour and it is most of the time completely useless to use due to them being history. However the most important parts of the methodology will be the policy documents. It is very hard to not cite them as they are as specific as anything could be.

1. What is terrorism?

1.1. Definition

What is terrorism is a question we can answer in multiple ways, one being the definition given through the law and the other by what constitutes terrorism for the people.

For example the United States law defines terrorism as, *" the unlawful use of force and violence against persons or property to intimidate or coerce a government, the civilian population or any segment thereof, in furtherance of political or social objectives."*(C.F.R, title 28, section 0,85), the definition given by NATO *"The unlawful use or threatened use of force or violence, instilling fear and terror against individuals or property in an attempt to coerce or intimidate governments or societies, or to gain control over a population, to achieve political, religious or ideological objectives."*(AAP-06 NATO Glossary of Term and Definitions), the definition gives in the Geneva Convention for the Prevention and

Punishment of Terrorism, drafted by the League of Nations in 1937 *"criminal acts directed against a state and intended or calculated to create a state of terror in the minds of particular persons or a group of persons or the general public"*, the draft, however never went through, due to disputes among the member states over the articles on "extradition prevented ratification" or the definition given by the United Kingdom in Acts of Terrorism in 1993 as *" " acts of terrorism" means acts of persons acting in behalf of ,or in connection with, any organization which carries out activities directed towards the overthrowing or influencing, by force or violence, of Her Majesty's government in the United Kingdom or any other government de jure or de facto."* (Reinsurance Act 1993(c.18) section 2(2), which was however changed in 2000 by the Terrorism Act 2000 and has been updated with a number of other legislations that have been passed, namely as Terrorism Act 2006 and Terrorism Act

2008. As of right now the the updated version of the definition is as follows *"In this Act "terrorism" means threat of action (a) the action falls within subsection (2), (b) the use or threat is designed to influence the government [or an Intergovernmental organization] or to intimidate the public or a section of the public, and c) the use or threat is made for the purpose of advancing a political, religious, [radical] or ideological cause." (2000 c.11, 2006 c.11, 2008 c.11).* From these definitions one might think that there is an understanding and a general

consensus of what terrorism is, however while these definitions are similar in nature, we as a global collective have not come to an universal agreement on how terrorism should be defined as.

So from here we can start looking at what defines terrorism for the people. The general consensus when it comes to terrorism will always go towards the idea, that terrorism is linked to creating chaos, terror in order to further their ideological and radical views. But one of the more important types of definitions that we can also take a keen interest in, are the definitions that are given by scholars. By keeping in mind that there is no universally acceptable definition, they try to come up with something that could be accepted as one. Of course terrorism has been defined for centuries; however in this context one of the earliest definitions was brought out by Ali Khan in his book "A legal theory of International Terrorism" "saying, that *"Terrorism sprouts from the existence of aggrieved groups. These aggrieved groups share two essential characteristics: they have specific political objectives, and they believe that violence is an inevitable means to achieve their political ends" (Khan, 1987)* and also states, that there is a reason for countries to charge these people as terrorists, or calling an attack terrorism, by saying that *"the political dimension of terrorist violence is the key factor that distinguishes it from other crimes" (Khan 1987).* Or the definition given by

Louise Richardson *"I see terrorism as a politically motivated violence directed against noncombatant or symbolic targets which is designed to communicate a message to a broader audience."* (Richardson, 1999), but also brings out a very solid point as to the feature of terrorism, *"The critical feature of terrorism is the deliberate targeting of innocents in an effort to convey a message to another party."* (Richardson 1999). However one scholar that we need to look into is Bruce Hoffman. At the beginning of his book "Inside Terrorism", he first brings out the definitions given by the *Oxford English Dictionary* and says that the definitions given are very unsatisfying (Hoffman 2006), arguing that instead of learning what terrorism is, one only finds a description that is outdated and useless (Hoffman 2006) and says that one even though it is an important part of terrorism, it is still too broad for a definition. So he brings out a point, saying that instead of trying to grasp onto the act itself one should give a definition to the perpetrator of the act itself, bringing out a definition from the OED *"1. As a political term: a. Applied to the Jacobins and their agents and partisans in the French Revolution, esp. to those connected with the Revolutionary tribunals during the 'Reign of*

Terror'. b. Anyone who attempts to further his views by a system of coercive intimidation; spec. applied to members of one of the extreme revolutionary societies in Russia." (Hoffman 2006). This definition on its own proves that terrorism is a political concept and as terrorism is fully political, Hoffman comes up with his own definition:

"By distinguishing terrorists from other types of criminals and terrorism from other forms of crime, we come to appreciate that terrorism is:

- *ineluctably political in aims and motives*
- *violent—or, equally important, threatens violence*
- *designed to have far-reaching psychological repercussions beyond the immediate victim or target*
- *conducted by an organization with an identifiable chain of command or conspiratorial cell structure (whose members wear no uniform or identifying insignia) and*
- *perpetrated by a subnational group or non-state entity.*

And from this we can at least try to define terrorism as the intended creation and the abuse of fear through violence or the threat of violence to pursue a political change. Every terrorist act includes use violence or the threat to use violence. Terrorism is specifically designed to create long term effects in the victim's psychology as well as the object of the attack. It is intended to create fear within the people, and to scare a large group of people, which could be a nation, the public opinion, a religious group or even a political party. Terrorism wants to generate power in places without power, or wants to strengthen the power where it is little. The acts of violence that these terrorist organizations carry out create a huge media coverage that terrorist use as leverage to gain influence and power, to effect political change, that they would not have otherwise even for local change (Hoffman 2006).

One of the reasons as to why we cannot come to an agreement on how to define terrorism is very simple, while countries define terrorism by their actions, we require a definition on what terrorism is and stands for. Bruce Hoffman in this case makes great points on how to define terrorism and brings out very strong points. Instead of defining terrorism as crime all together and focusing on the attacks itself, we must start adapting and create a definition on the problem itself by focusing on their aims, their ways and their motives. Such as instead of defining terrorism like the French did to Jacobins, because using that road we could create a definition

that would be against the use of a religious text in order to gain power in areas that are not theirs by violence or the threat of violence. However we could also give a universal definition to terrorism, that is not very complicated and instead focus on creating definitions for these organizations itself through the definition of terrorism, truly it would not be the most efficient way, however it would at least be a step towards the right direction. Now for example if we were to take ISIL: „Person or Persons, who are a part of an organization that is seen as a terrorist organization, that is willing or has used violence or the threat of violence in order to achieve its political and religious views in order to create a caliphate".

The reason why we cannot come to an agreement on a global consensus on defining terrorism is, because there are many forms of terrorism as we will see from the chapters below, there can be multiple types, and not all of them are acts of violence. Then there is the problem of legitimacy meaning that there are many organizations that are not considered as a terrorist organization. For example Hezbollah, has been deemed a terrorist organization by the United States, Canada, France and some others, however the European Union (Kanter & Ruden 2013) and the United have forbidden only the military wing of Hezbollah and making an exception for the political wing and Russia has gone even further by saying that Hezbollah is not a terrorist organization, but a sociopolitical group (Russia says Hezbollah, 2015)

1.2. Definition of Counter terrorism

The definition of counter terrorism according to the documents released by the Department of Defense is as follows: *"Activities and operations taken to neutralize terrorists and their organizations and networks in order to render them incapable of using violence to instill fear and coerce governments or societies to achieve their goals"(JP 3-26 2014).* If there is one thing in the world, that we can rejoice is that globally the definition is somewhat accepted if not totally accepted, compared to the definition of terrorism, counter terrorism seems like a piece of cake.

1.3. Types of Terrorism

Terrorism itself is divided into two main categories, domestic and international terrorism, however there are multiple other subdivisions if you will, that go in those two main categories and can make the notion of terrorism seem like an unending problem.

Domestic terrorism, keyword being "Domestic" are acts that are conducted inside the regions of a nation, (e.g. attacks that are carried out by terrorist organizations in Syria are in nature domestic to Syrian government).

Domestic terrorism is defined in the United States Code as *"... activities that (A) involve acts dangerous to human life that are a violation of the criminal laws of the United States or of any State ;(B) appear to be intended = (i) to intimidate or coerce a civilian population ; (ii) to influence the policy of a government by intimidation or coercion; or ; (iii) to affect the conduct of a government by mass destruction, assassination or kidnapping; and*

(c) occur primarily within the territorial jurisdiction of the United States" (U.S Code, title 18, sec. 2331) which was amended by the USA PATRIOT ACT. As for the definition given by the United Kingdom for domestic terrorism is written in "Terrorism Act 2000" which gives the definition for terrorism, but also applies to domestic terrorism, which also is stated in the chapter below (2.a). This shows that the definitions given by these countries, proves that there is not a big of a difference between domestic terrorism and international terrorism.

The United States itself wants to be more precise and widen its laws, when it comes to terrorism, proving once again, that they take this issue a lot more seriously than most other countries, however with 1 big distinction. In the United States law, they do not specify, or use the terms "ideological or religious", which makes an American citizen more likely to be charged with domestic terrorism. Notable domestic terrorism acts; Boston Marathon bombing, which was carried out by two brothers, who were not connected to any known terrorist organizations, thus being classified as lone wolves. The attack that killed six people out of which two were police officers and one was the perpetrator which also injured 280 people (Gabbatt, Lovering & Pilkington 2013). Or for example the United States Veteran, James Jackson, who was charged with terrorism for fatally, stabbing a black man after a three day search for his victim (Man accused of killing, 2017). These are acts that bring out the emotions of people, which

unfortunately end up with exactly, what these terrorist organizations are aiming for, fear and attention.

International terrorism in this case does not need a definition from a government or an Non-Governmental Organization as it is widely accepted as terrorism and is already defined in pages above. Hence, international terrorism , is any sorts of acts that are conducted out of one country's jurisdiction or an attack that is conducted by person, persons or a terrorist organization which ends up in a country's jurisdiction, e.g the September 11 attacks.

1.3.1. State Sponsored

State sponsored terrorism or acts committed by state as a tool to achieve ideological or even political objectives, These can range from *"a state directly supporting the terrorist attacks to list direct State enrollment such as providing training financing or shoot one way or another"* (Maogoto 2005, p59). The decision to use terrorism can only be derived from acts or situations from which the government would not benefit, have an acceptable casualties unnecessary risks that could cause political problems or even if the traditional forms of warfare are considered overly costly" (Maogoto 2005, p60). One of the countries that is designated by the United States as a State sponsor of Terrorism is Iran, by giving the terrorist organization called Hezbollah military weapons and funding to strikes Iran's enemy, Israel
(Harnden 2006).

1.3.2. Nuclear Terrorism

After the dissolution of Soviet Union and the drastic change in world"s international politics, this gave a new dimension to terrorism itself. The dissolution mixed with the effects of the Cold War, during which immense amount of nuclear missiles were created and due to the political vacuum, that the Soviet Union had created, the uncontrolled weapons of mass destruction had gone into the hands of terrorist organizations or to the countries who have ties to state sponsored terrorism, such as Iran or Iraq (Gavin 1999). The use of these weapons would definitely send the world into a spiral in which it would not be able to come back from. The threats of course vary on the kind of the conventional weapons. These weapons are fairly medium on the

duration, however the size and the area of effect is very sizeable. For these reasons nuclear terrorism is one of the most effective and even very productive types of terrorism. Even though there is no credible evidence as to a terrorist organization that has the access to these resources, however nonetheless, nuclear terrorism is the most important threat out of all the types, as even one attack could be devastating enough to cripple a nation (Cameron 1998).

1.3.3. Bioterrorism

The capabilities of biological agents are very potent as we know Nazis used gas chambers during WW2 to kill innocent people who had connections to Judaism. The possibility of mass destruction in a very short time period makes bioterrorism a very effective method of terrorism.

However, the fact that to be able to research or create a potent toxin, one needs a very high large sum of finances and people who have specialized in such areas, thus in that regard, usually these biological agents are usually developed in countries, who develop them in a situation of potential war, to use them against the opposition is one of the reasons as to how these organizations acquire these toxins in the first place. This also applies for Chemical terrorism. The threats posed by these weapons are very destructive due to its effect on a large area, just like aforementioned threat. For example during the month of April, there was Chemical gas attack on the town of Khan Sheikhoun which was a rebel held town. The attack ended up killing more than 80 people and Syria was accused of conducting the attack, these claims of course were never confirmed and probably will not be, however what we do know is that statement that was given the by President Assad saying that, the attack that took place was on the territory of a depot, with workshops that were in the process of producing chemical warfare munitions (Russia says Syria, 2017). However these claims were challenged by Hamish de Bretton-Gordon, a former commanding officer of the British Armed Forces
Joint Chemical Biological Radiological Nuclear, who said that *"Axiomatically, if you blow up Sarin, you destroy it"* (Syrian chemical, 2017*). We can also understand how serious biological terrorism could be just by looking at the legislation *"Biological Weapons Anti-Terrorism Act of 1989"* where it states that. *"Whoever knowingly develops, produces, stockpiles, transfers, acquires, retains, or possesses any biological agent, toxin, or delivery*

system for use as a weapon, or knowingly assists a foreign state or any organization to do so, shall be fined under this title or imprisoned for life or any term of years, or both" from which we can see that it is already seen as a very strong offence and will not be taken lightly. (Biological Weapons Anti-Terrorism Act of 1989, sec. 175)

1.3.4. Technological terrorism

When it comes to terrorism, technological terrorism is considered and if not should be considered as the most advanced way of terrorism. However much the advances in technology makes the lives of the ordinary people easier, that also applies to terrorists, creating a new dimension without any border control so to say. The advances that are made in technology, such as laptops, mobile phones, different systems are the elementary elements that create technological terrorism.

Named cyber terrorism, the use of these advanced systems by terrorists pose a threat to the important security institutions of any nation. With a successful hack there is a possibility of obtaining crucial information, that could be evaluated for the next terrorist attack or even learn secrets, that they could use for their own purposes or even learn about a secret operation, that they could sell for money to the organization that is about to be raided or intercept the operation for their own victory. The worst thing that about technology is that, in today's world we have messaging apps that have E2EE (end-to-end encryption) meaning that the messages that are sent to one another can only be visible to the persons chatting and 3rd parties could not snoop into the conversation, because the only person that can decrypt the message is the receiver. This in nature makes it possible for members of terrorist organizations to be able to communicate with each other in secrecy or without having to fear being caught (Rouse 2017).

1.4. Types of Counter terrorism

1.4.1. Diplomacy

Countering organizations such as Al-Qaeda or even ISIL cannot be done by one nation, for the eradication of these terrorist organizations one needs to create relationships between multiple nations in which everybody work in unison to counter the threat altogether.

For example, during the years of "War on Terror", it was not just the United States that fought the war, yes truly it had the most amount of troops compared to its allies in those regions, and however they also did not do everything by themselves. Or let's take todays Syria for example, United States basically are currently almost non-existent as they had withdrawn all of their troops except for the ones who were to train the groups fighting against the terrorist organization ISIL. Currently the ones that are making progress, are the rebel groups that have been partnered up with Turkey.

1.4.2. Financial controls

There are many ways of finances that terrorist organizations are currently getting money from. Most of them being completely illegal such as drug trafficking, kidnappings, etc. The United States has methods on how to combat the financial issue: they have outlawed the material support to terrorist organizations and the "*freezing of assets belonging to individual terrorists, terrorist groups, and state sponsors*" said by Paul R. Pillar. (Pillar 2004 Due to the fact that these terrorist organizations make more money through arms trafficking, some other criminal activities or ,well , aforementioned reasons, make it really difficult for any nation to cut the funding as there are many parts of a puzzle and cutting just 1 will not help. On top of that, the use of false names, funneling the money through shell corporations does not make it any easier for the authorities to catch and freeze these assets.   Financial control was not just only happening through banks. For example during the time when ISIL was in complete power over the regions in Syria, ISIL had complete control of a huge number of oil wells in the Middle East. Making over a million dollars a day. Back then it was a huge problem, because even the

attacks on the oil infrastructures and the oil trucks being successful, they had too many assets to be brought down. However nowadays due to the fact that the coalitions or the cooperation‟s between the rebels and the nations around the world that operating in the areas that are in control of ISIL we have seen a drop in number in the members of ISIL, thus the number of oil wells it has had control over have also been lost, due to the decline in power. Thus militaristic approach has also been a very big help in countering terrorism.

Now, when we are talking about the militaristic approach as for countering terrorism, it has its positive effects and also negative shortcomings. For example aforementioned cooperation between nations is one of the positive sides, however there are also negative shortcomings that are almost on the level of violation of human rights. As when we talk about militaristic approach in the Middle East, we mostly think of air raids that are conducted by war planes in order to decimate the enemy without having to deploy troops and risk their lives. But following the news sources we can see that almost every time if not that, most of the time these air raids end up killing civilians and unfortunately it is the truth.

1.4.3. Intelligence

Intelligence in terms of counter terrorism is one of the most important part. Without intelligence there would be no victories in the fight against terrorism both militaristically or politically. For example the air raids that have been very effective against the notion of terrorism, especially in hunting down the leaders of various terrorist organizations. And without the right intelligence those air raids would of not have been not just ineffective but a complete waste. Good intelligence is the key to victory, especially when it comes to international terrorism.

2. History

2.1.   Counter terrorism before 21st century

One of the most notable counter terrorism units in the history of counter terrorism was created back in 1883, which was called the "Special Irish Branch" it was the first ever unit that dealt with counter terrorism and it was mainly created to combat the Irish Republican terrorism

carried out by the Irish Fenians in the 80"s. It was established on the 17th of March, only 2 days after the Fenian terrorist campaign that had started in London (Wilson 2015).

Basically, the campaign that was called the "Dynamite War" had started the unit that eventually ended their campaign (Wilson & Adams 2015).

In the United States however one of the earlier anti-terrorism measures that had been taken was in the years of 1970s when terrorists from Palestine attempted to hijack 4 different planes simultaneously. And to counter this US responded with measures in which air marshals were posted in some flights coming in and out of the country and metal detectors started to appear in the airports. It was not until 1973 when a plane was hijacked, for the administration to mandated 100 percent screening of passengers and carryon bags (Naftali 2005:p25). In those years it is needed to be mentioned that AEC (Atomic Energy Commission) had created NESTs, nuclear emergency search teams, that were created to *"nuclear detection, recovery and protection"* (Naftali 2005:p26). These were the first steps on preventing nuclear terrorism. The terrorism at those times was not seen as a very important issue, thus had been placed to the low levels of importance. It wasn"t until the 1985 plane hijacking in Egypt by Abu Nidal Organization during early November and the attacks 1985 in Vienna airport in December, when the issue of terrorism had started to gain attention. Timothy Naftali gave four reasons as to why US was not very keen on dealing with terrorism those were:

- *"The administration had the sense that the United States was immune from terrorist attack. ... In addition , it was thought that terrorist groups - from IRA to PLO- only had fundraising operations in the United States"* (Naftali 2005:27).
- Ronald Reagan believed that by taking action against the terrorist training grounds in Lebanon, it would endanger the lives of the hostages held in Beirut.
- The CIA did not want to take part of the counterterrorism efforts, which they corresponded with brutal strikes, such as assassinations and aerial assaults, thus they used the Lebanese militia, but it had to be dropped due to internal disagreements.
- The CIA director William Casey had been focusing on the Soviet-sponsored insurgencies as international terrorism had become more independent in nature (Naftali 2005:17).

And from these attacks the pressure was put on the United States government in which they responded by establishing the CTC (Counterterrorism Center) in 1986.

2.2. Counterterrorism after 21st century

2.2.1 In the US

Counter terrorism after the 21st century mostly focused on the issues that were happening in the Middle East. The attacks of September 11, which had started a fire that has not been able to be distinguished till this day. After the attacks everybody stopped looking at the past and focused mostly on the threat of terrorism and how to counter it more effectively.

During the years of "War on Terror" there were many operations that were mostly started by the United States mostly military operations, up until the day Barack Obama announced that they will be removing U.S troops from the Middle East and just leaving a small portion of soldiers to help and assist other troops, who were fighting against ISIL.

2.2.3 In the UK

United Kingdom before the attacks of 9/11 or well before the 21st century had to only deal with terrorism that was happening in its own borders e.g. IRA and also with the violent acts between Protestants and Catholics in Northern Ireland. After the attacks of 9/11 United Kingdom was brought into a world with alarmingly increasing problem which was international terrorism. The first thing the United Kingdom did was to adopt the AntiTerrorism, Crime and Security Act 2001, the Act itself was created to amend the Terrorist Act of 2000, which furnished the act of 2000 on terrorism and security. The Act applied to the finances of terrorist organizations as well as suspected terrorists. However what changed the

United Kingdom‟s rules changed for terrorism was during the years of 2005 -2006 after the London bombings of 2005, the Terrorist Act 2006 was drafted and went in to force in 2006. It was not just the legislative part that had changed. The police powers to stop and search, the detention of suspected persons rose. The whole had changed. Over the years the acts had been

renewed to be a legal tool against international as well as domestic terrorism instead of what it used to be which was primarily against the terrorism conducted by the Irish. The first thing that was in the Terrorism Act of course was the definition of terrorism.

3. The importance of Terrorism in regard of counter-terrorism policies

 Counter-Terrorism policies are one of the strongest „guardians" of the common people against terrorism of any kind. As bad as it may sound, terrorism is good in some ways, not a lot, however it is sufficient enough to be noted. Due to the attacks that have occurred in the European countries such as the France, Paris attacks in 2015 that were conducted by ISIL (Islamic State of Iraq and Levant) that killed over 100 civilians and hundreds of Parisians were injured(Frazer & Henderson 2015), or the twin bombings in Brussels, Belgium back in 2016(Brussels Attacks, 2016), that ended up killing over 30 people and also injuring over dozens of civilians, brings the attention to the refugee crisis, that erupted after the beginning of Syrian Civil war in 2011, that left millions homeless, and thousands dead (Dearden 2017). Due to the Syrian Civil war, people have been able to mask themselves as refugees to go to countries to recruit young people who do not know any better. This touches a sensitive spot on policy making. Will countries have to create policies, that stop the acceptance of refugees in to their nations, to reduce the number of accepted refugees by making them go through a very specific screening process in which without the approval of the nation the person is from, he/she will not be allowed into the country, to get in front and try to stop an attack that might or might not happen or do they focus on creating policies after the attacks occur, Professor Sir David Omand, believes that governments on themselves are less likely to spend time on forestalling future threats (Omand 2016) and that is truly one of the most logical things to do, because one believes that its policies are strong enough not to be penetrated, that it would protect them before it happens. However most countries, as written above are more "crisisdriven" meaning that these governments decide on updating their policies, put up measures and create new strategies after the attacks have already occurred. And European Union is one of those organizations, as you can see on the graph below we can see that almost all actions that are taken by governments and organizations occur after the attacks take place.

Figure:1.1
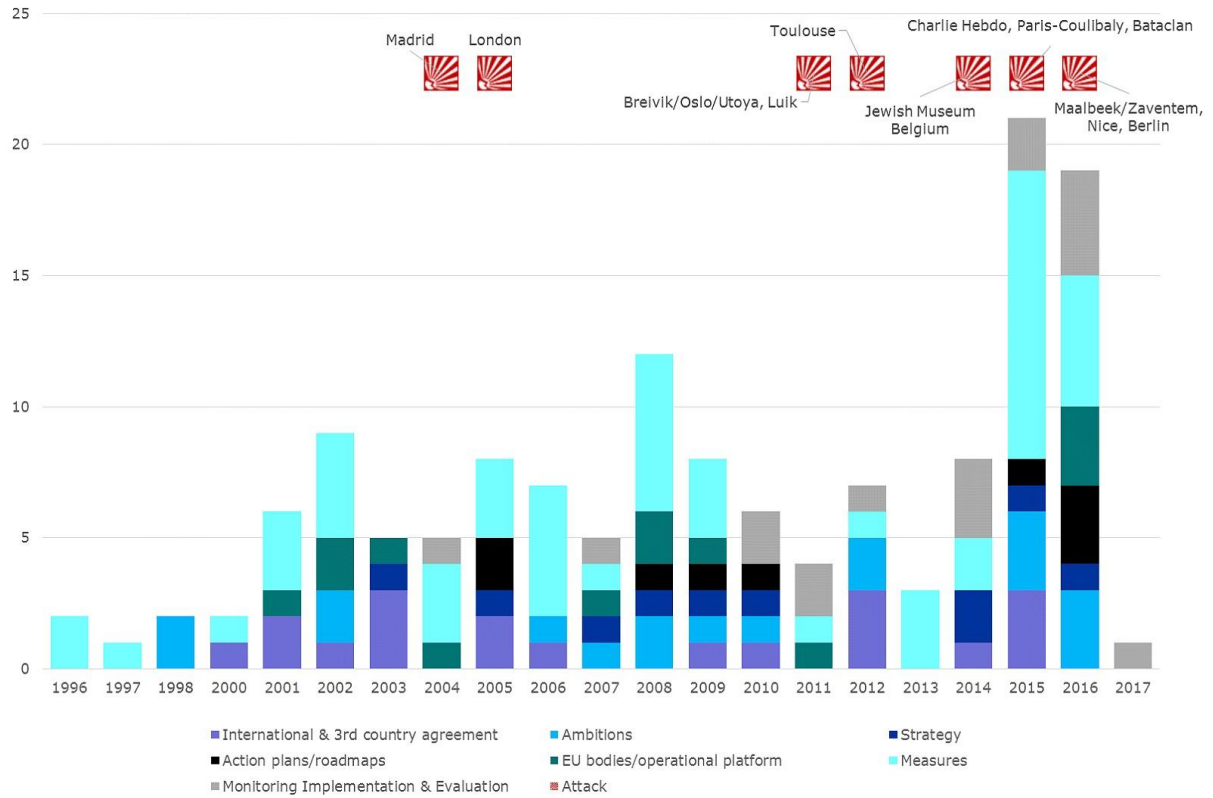
Source: PwC and ICCT, The European Union‟s Policies on Counter Terrorism, Case Study

 As we will see in the next chapter, before terrorism managed to crawl into the spotlight across the world, nations were not prepared enough for this kind of thing, within weeks or even days, after the attacks of September 11 attack, these nations started created policies, measurements and techniques against terrorism itself, and even today, nations try to pass laws in support of counter terrorism efforts.

4. NATO Counterterrorism policies

Before the September 11 attacks, the NATO was aware of the potential threat of terrorism, however due to it not being as strong internationally as it is now, or what it became after the September 11 attacks, it was placed as some might say to the bottom of the list. However due to the attacks that were carried out by organizations like Irish Republican Army and Islamic Jihad that were occurring in Allied countries in the late 1990s the notion of terrorism was not just a potential threat, but it was already happening and gaining momentum. So, when the year 1999 came, NATO heads of states and government came together for a summit in Washington they approved, The Alliance's Strategic Concept, which brought terrorism to the top list of non-military assignments. (North Atlantic Treaty, 1999)

After the attack of September 11 in the US, NATO for the first time in its history had to initiate Article 5 since the signing of the treaty (The North Atlantic Treaty, 2016). Article 5 states that: The members of this treaty agree that when an armed attack takes place against one or many of the members of this treaty, in Europe or in North America, shall be considered as an attack on all the members, thus they are in agreement, that if this situation were to occur, every member of this treaty shall help the member or members that are being attacked. The Members shall respond with the appropriate force, as it is deemed necessary, which includes the use of military forces, to restore and maintain the integrity of the North Atlantic region.

With the invoke of Article 5, United States requested NATO Allies agreed to take 8 measurements against the threat of terrorism (Statement to the press, 2001);

- *enhance intelligence sharing and co-operation, both bilaterally and in the appropriate NATO bodies, relating to the threats posed by terrorism and the actions to be taken against it;*
- *provide, individually or collectively, as appropriate and according to their capabilities, assistance to Allies and other states which are or may be subject to increased terrorist threats as a result of their support for the campaign against terrorism;*
- *take necessary measures to provide increased security for facilities of the United States and other Allies on their territory;*
- *backfill selected Allied assets in NATO's area of responsibility that are required to directly support operations against terrorism;*

- *provide blanket over flight clearances for the United States and other Allies' aircraft, in accordance with the necessary air traffic arrangements and national procedures, for military flights related to operations against terrorism;*
- *provide access for the United States and other Allies to ports and airfields on the territory of NATO nations for operations against terrorism, including for refueling, in accordance with national procedures.*

Within days of the declaration of article 5, NATO had had deployed its naval force (STANAVFORMED) and air crafts (AWACS). It was the first ever deployment for Article 5, just like the Article itself. However NATO did not, well, was not allowed to deploy its forces into Afghanistan, but instead had to deploy them to the US to protect the US assets heading to Afghanistan for Operation Enduring Freedom and the operation itself was called Operation Eagle Assist which ended on May 16 2002. (Statement by the, 2002)

NATO became the lead organization behind the International Security Force (ISAF) in 2003, the operation itself was established by the United Nations in 2001 by Resolution 1386 (United Nations, 2001). With the new acquired position, NATO decided to step out of Operation Enduring Freedom, which was an US-led coalition campaign in Afghanistan and straight into the light, gaining power, with, what it was given the opportunity to manage the

Afghan crisis as it had previously only been in the background support (Rynning 2012)

4.1 Counter terrorism by NATO

The way NATO responded to the terrorism was drastically changed after the September 11 attacks, carried out by Al-Qaeda back in 2001. Terrorism has gotten even more difficult since then and these terrorist organizations have shown that they can, establish cells in Europe, organize and successfully execute attacks and even have evolved into being able to cross borders and do extensive damage to the citizens of the Allied countries. The fact that technology is evolving is not helping either, the continuous fear for advanced cyber-attacks on Allied nations is growing. Terrorism poses a huge threat to Allies, even now knowing that there have been a lot of victories in the Middle East against ISIL, as they currently are the strongest organization by far in those regions and it will not be stopped in the foreseeable future.

But enough of the history of NATO, let's dive into the NATO's policy guidelines on counter terrorism. (NATO's policy guidelines, 2012)

NATO policies lie on three key principles: Compliance with International Law; NATO's Support to Allies; Non-Duplication and Complementarity.

Compliance with the International Law: *"NATO will continue to act in accordance with international law, the principles of the UN Charter and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights."* (NATO's policy guidelines, 2012) saying that NATO actions will remain unchained and chained *"Within the framework of the UN"* (Bucharest Summit, *2008)*, by showing their commitment to the international law shows that NATO is not just only keen on showing their significant commitment, but also how they perceive value of human rights.

NATO's Support to Allies: NATO first of all does not support its allies instinctively, but says that "*Individual NATO members have primary responsibility for the protection of their populations and territories against terrorism"* (NATO's policy guidelines, 2012), however points out that creating cooperation through NATO and its allies can strengthen efforts to *"prevent, mitigate, respond to, and recover from acts of terrorism"* (NATO's policy guidelines, 2012). However, NATO also mentions that upon the request of an Allied nation, NATO can support these efforts.

Non-Duplication and Complementarity: NATO *"will promote complementarity with and avoid unnecessary duplication of existing efforts"* (NATO's policy guidelines, 2012) by coordinating and using its expertise in areas which it can be effective and useful to the actions of the Allied nations (Santamato & Beumler 2013).

Those three principles will be very effective in the fight against terrorism, due to the Alliances *"unique assets and capabilities"*, which it will use to its maximum capacity in three main areas: Awareness, Capabilities and Engagement (NATO's policy guidelines, 2012)

Awareness: NATO will see to it, to guarantee to give information of the terrorist threats and the vulnerabilities of these terrorist organizations with Allied nations through discussions amongst each other, as well as, sharing of the intelligence, that has been gathered and also by giving assessments and strategic analyses in support of national authorities. This will help Allies to prepare efficiently and effectively in prevention of and to counter a terrorist attack. *"NATO will also promote common understanding of its counter-terrorism role as part of a broader*

international effort through engagement and strategic communications" (NATO policy guideline‟s, 2012).

Capabilities: *"NATO has acquired much valuable expertise in countering asymmetric threats and in responding to terrorism"* with its work in airspace security, defence in air and sea, maritime security. *"ensure that it has adequate capabilities to prevent, protect against and respond to terrorist threats"* . That NATO will give everything it has to the prevention, protection and the response to terrorist attacks and will use everything it has learned from Special Operations Forces and from different operations, it will try to maintain its operational status by training, educating and executing different threat scenarios, and these capabilities are also offered to the Allied nations in support of counter terrorism, particularly in areas such as *"civil emergency planning and the protection of critical infrastructure"*

(NATO policy guideline‟s, 2012).

Engagement: NATO believes that the notion of terrorism requires an interconnected approach, to not look at terrorism as an a part of the body that is ill, but to treat the whole body, to fight against the terrorism, thus the allied members will enhance their outreach and their cooperation with members of the Alliance, as well as regional and international organizations such as the UN, EU and the OSCE, to promote the understanding of the terrorist threat and to use the potential of each member engaged in the global counter terrorism effort to its maximum potential in accordance with the Comprehensive Approach Action Plan

(NATO policy guideline‟s, 2012).

Placing particular emphasis on raising awareness, crisis management and civil - emergency planning, to help the Allied members in their specific needs, the aim of this is to *"preparedness and protection as well as their identification of vulnerabilities and gaps"*

(NATO policy guideline‟s, 2012).

These policies, if one has been able to pay attention, have been very effective over the past few years. The cooperation between countries have been getting stronger exponentially, the information that has been gathered throughout the years are being shared by the countries to effectively fight against terrorism.

5. United Nations working groups; CTITF

The Counter-Terrorism Implementation Task Force (CTITF) established in 2005 by the Secretary - General, which was adopted in 2006 by majority and endorsed by the General Assembly through the United Nations Global Counter-Terrorism Strategy.

CTITFs objective is to "strengthen coordination and coherence of counter-terrorism efforts of the United Nations system" It consists of 38 entities, all of which have a part in the global counter-terrorism efforts. Each one of these entities makes contributions to the global effort through their own objectives.

The goal of CTITF is to help a Member State(s) implement the "four pillars" (A/RES/60/288) of the Global Strategy" The strategy itself is a way of strengthen counter terrorism efforts both nationally and internationally. The "four pillars" (A/RES/60/288) (UN Global Counter-Terrorism, 2006) are:

1. Measures to address the conditions conducive to the spread of terrorism;
2. Measures to prevent and combat terrorism;
3. Measures to build states" capacity to prevent and combat terrorism and to strengthen the role of the United Nations system in this regard;
4. Measures to ensure respect for human rights for all and the rule of law as the fundamental basis for the fight against terrorism.

All of these working groups are focusing on something fairly specific. Currently there are 12 working groups (will be referred to as WG in this list) of which 10 are active and 2 are currently in formation. All of these working groups also have their own goals and aims.

Those groups are:

• Border Management and Law Enforcement relating to Counter-Terrorism

This WG provides guidance to Allies on the implementation of the legal ways of counter terrorism related border control. It is mostly focused on "terrorist mobility, integrity and security of travel documents" as well as the illegal movement of money, guns, ammunition as well as explosives.

• Countering the Financing of Terrorism

This group itself does everything to counter the financing of these terrorist organizations in all of its forms, the WG carries out activities to implement of the international standards, by

bring the relevant organizations and entities in order to examine the steps taken in various levels to counter illegal financing.

- Foreign Terrorist Fighters (FTF)

In this section, everything is created to take immediate action against the people associated with terrorist organizations (e.g. people from Europe associated with ISIL in Syria), by preventing radicalization, banning the travel of FTF"s and freezing their financial support.

- National and Regional Counter-Terrorism Strategies

During a meeting of the UN Global Counterterrorism Strategy (GCTS), it was revealed that the member states should work further in developing national, sub regional and regional plans to support the implementation of the GCTS

- Preventing and Responding to WMD Terrorist Attacks

This WG"s job is the to assess how the UN system and the international organizations would respond to a terrorist attack, that is either nuclear, chemical or biological in nature and gives their review on the level of coordination between different entities in their rapid assistance to the affected states. It shares information of current activities and also the plans of the different UN entities as well as IGO"s in a WMD related attack.

- Preventing Violent Extremism and Conditions Conducive to the Spread of Terrorism

The purpose of the WG is to help the General Secretary with the prevention of violent extremism.

- Promoting and Protecting Human Rights and the Rule of Law While Countering Terrorism

This CTITF WG was created to promote and the protection of human rights and to ensure the rule of law when it comes to counter terrorism. Its mission is to share information on human rights and the rule of law, in counterterrorism and find out gaps and weaknesses in these approaches conducted by States and also develop plans for enhancing support to Member States on prompting and protecting human rights and the rule of law.

- Protection of Critical Infrastructure Including Internet, Vulnerable Targets and Tourism Security

This group deals with sharing intelligence on how to better protect ones systems and vulnerable sites, creates a plan on the improvement of methods of planning, prevention, crisis management as well as recovery.

- Supporting and Highlighting Victims of Terrorism

This WG was created to increase the support for the Pillars I and IV of the UN Global Counterterrorism Strategy that is related to the victims of terrorism. It focuses on coordination and cooperation between the bodies of the UN on victims of terrorism,

- Legal and Criminal Justice Responses to Terrorism

LCJRT groups objectives are three fold: Firstly the assistance of coordinating activities of the UN entities in support of legal and criminal justice responses of terrorism. Secondly, to create an approach to legal and justice matters that is related to terrorism, in a logical and human rights accommodating way. Lastly provide assistance to Member states, that are trying to implement approaches that are well coordinated and complex.

- Gender Sensitive Approach to Preventing and Countering Terrorism (in formation)
- Working Group on Communications (in formation) (Working Groups, United Nations)

6. Terrorism Prevention

One of the more important components on combating terrorism is the prevention. It is, however hard to prevent attacks, due to the fact that not every single piece of intelligence gathered can be correct and it gets even harder when we take into account that thousands of people are fleeing Syria, due to the civil war that is currently in full throttle.

Thus, there is a huge emphasis on passing legislations that would help the responsible parties in different sectors to have even more powers to prevent terrorism.

First of all, the prevention of travel for terrorists, for this, the US has specifically Department of Homeland Security has come up with ways to identify persons that are so called "high-risk" travelers, it is said that DHS requires airlines to give Advance Passenger Information"s and Passenger Name Record for the persons in the flight, before departure towards the United States. Or the Visa Security Program, which is there to identify potential threats before they enter the United States. One thing we can be sure of is that since 9/11, 100% of the travelers in flights to the United States get prescreened before the airplanes ascend. This was one of the ways United States kept away the terrorists without offending anybody as those were the "rules", however what President Trump did during January was a disaster waiting to happen, it was the 90 day suspension of travel for 7 Muslim countries (Syria, Iran, Sudan, Libya, Somalia, Yemen and Iraq) this being completely absurd and shows the world that United States does not want people or with an emphasis on refugees from Muslim countries as refugees were banned for 120 days and refugees from Syria indefinitely. Even though that suspension did not last long as it was challenged by Washington, did it help the United States in their effort to combat terrorism, or did it help the terrorist organizations itself. Everybody knows by now, that most people who join these terrorist organizations are against the western countries. Banning their country only showed the people who are already in the risk of being recruited into the organizations, that the country who ravaged war in the Middle East, leaving everything destroyed in their successful but at the same time failure of an offensive, does not want them in their soil (Donald Trump, 2017).

Secondly, enhancing the cooperation, the information flow and strengthen the efforts against terrorism between nations that are in this fight, by helping and giving technology to the nations, that are lacking in those areas. Now this point is very strong and has been very effective, as we can see from the situation in Syria,

since the day withdrawal of the United States soldiers and the small portion that was left behind specifically to assist the rebels and other militaries, helped get back large areas in Syria, that were in the control of ISIL, proving that the enhanced cooperation, including the alliance between the rebels and Turkey or Russia, works wonders.

Third, one of the things that these terrorist organizations are searching for is publicity, to showcase their victories, glorify their attacks, and get donations to their cause and most of all get new recruits through media. One needs to create new strategies for communications and try to counter these organizations in these separate fields. Lastly, the former Officer-in-Charge of UN Terrorism Prevention Branch Alex P. Schmid has given some points as to how we can prevent terrorism from happening. Some of those are (Schmid 2012):

1. Try to address the underlying conflict issues exploited by the terrorists and work towards a peaceful solution while not making substantive concessions to the terrorists themselves;
2. Stimulate and encourage defection and conversion of free and imprisoned terrorists and find ways to reduce the support of aggrieved constituencies for terrorist organizations;
3. Prepare for crisis- and consequence-management for both 'regular' and ,,catastrophic' acts of terrorism in coordinated simulation exercises and educate first responders and the public on how to cope with terrorism.
4. Last but not least: counter the ideologies, indoctrination and propaganda of secular and non-secular terrorists and try to get the upper hand in the war of ideas – the battle for the hearts and minds of those terrorists claim to speak and fight for.

6.1 . Counter Terrorism Legislations

6.1.1. UK

United Kingdom passed one of the earliest, however temporary, counter terrorism legislation back in 1974 due to the attacks of the IRA, named "Prevention of Terrorism Acts" ,which were series of acts, that gave the right to the government to have organizations outlawed, and thus one of the first to be outlawed was the IRA, it made being a part of the group, financing or even receiving funds as well as wearing insignias of these organizations an arrest able offence. The act also allowed the arrest of citizen without a warrant (Prevention of Terrorism Act 1974).

So, In 2015 United Kingdom passed its latest counter terrorism legislation to date. Named Counter Terrorism and Security and 2015 and as of this moment, this is the most advanced legislation that the United Kingdom has. Part 1 of this legislation is about the temporary travel ban, what it means is that it grants power to the respectful authorities to be able to seize travel documents of individuals if the person *"is suspected of intending to leave Great Britain or the United Kingdom in connection with terrorism-related activity" (*CounterTerrorism and Security Act 2015, chapter 1). This legislation itself amends The Terrorism Prevention and Investigation Measures Act 2011 and the Terrorism Act 2000. However the act itself changes and makes additions to many things. One of them being the prevention of individuals who are suspected or have been in terrorist related activities, who also own British nationality, will be banned from United Kingdom all together and shall be able to return, if that happens, in controlled conditions. Under this legislation it is also makes the payment of ransoms with the help of insurance companies a criminal offence. Now when we talk about banning ransom payments, the idea behind is solid, that the payments are usually in 6 figure numbers, and due to the fact that these organizations are kidnapping people on a regular basis, they have been making a lot of money through kidnappings, however when we from the other point of view, from the person from whom the payment is requested. What we see is someone who is desperate enough, to pay the money no matter, how to get his or hers loved one back.

Banning this payment method, will not really stop people from paying those payments.

However what we should be talking about, when it comes to this legislation is that, it puts emphasis on the school systems in order to help and participate in preventing people from

being drawn into terrorism. From keeping them safe online by setting up defense protocols that would filter the internet sources in school network systems all the way to assessing the possibility of the risk of being drawn into terrorism. Basically the school authorities shall start assessing the students for their risk of being drawn into terrorism (Cook 2015). What is however very interesting when it comes to United Kingdom legislation is that the past few months, they have been trying to get access to the E2EE encryption on a communications program/app called Whatsapp, which is owned by Facebook (Rayner 2017). Due to the belief that the terrorists who conducted a attack in Britain, were using this app. United Kingdom wants access to the mobile application to be able to monitor for terrorist chatter, as it is know that the man Khaleed Masood, who killed four people in London, had sent a message right before he began his slaughter and due to the encryption, the officers dealing with this case cannot access vital information as to whom this message was sent to (Mendick & Allen 2017). Now when we think about the encryption and not having access to be able to monitor the chatter, we can be almost sure, that with today's technology, there are many extremists who are using this application, due to the reason that no one will be able to crack it and they would have a safe and encrypted chat room.

6.1.2. France

After the devastation France had gone through with the Charlie Hebdo attacks and the Paris attacks in November 2015. Few days after the attacks France had retaliated with more airstrikes in rapid succession, than it had done since the start of the campaign back in
September 2015 (Brumfield, Lister & Walsh 2015).
A little less than a year later, France passed a law that gave police and judicial entities more power to *" detain terrorism suspects, put people on house arrest or even use deadly force to stop " (Breeden 2016).* Before the passing of this law, the police were able to hold a terrorism suspect up to 144 hours before even charging them with anything, however with the new law they can hold them up to 4 hours without having a lawyer present to check ones identification. Gave the more freedom to use deadly force against person or persons that suspected of committing a terrorist act and also allows them to buy guns in operations that are against the trafficking of guns (Breeden 2016).

These powers show that the French government is developing and adapting after all the tragedy that has happened in the past, however the it also raises a question of how much freedom has been given to the police in regards of using deadly force. This is not very effective in the sense that just because one person is committing a crime does not necessarily mean that it is going to be deadly.

6.1.3. Turkey

Turkey's legislation on terrorism is a little bit different, as the act itself was made in 1991 and was amended in 1995, however it was revoked. For example the name of the law is Anti-Terrorism law, however there are a lot of laws about propaganda, which shows that the freedom of speech doesn"t really work well in Turkey, however those are not really connected to counter terrorism. Now the Article 7 of the legislation is what deals with counter terrorism. According to the Penal Code of Turkey people who lead activities for a terrorist organization get about 5-10 years imprisonment with a fine that can reach up to 500 million Turkish Liras, which in euros would be about 127 million. People who decide to be a part of these terrorist organizations shall be imprisoned for 3-5 years. There is also a difference in the help of said organization. For example helping with propaganda would get an individual 1-5 years in prison; however supplying said organization with buildings even to offices shall be given double the sentence compared to the individual who helps them with propaganda. And lastly the institutions, activities of associations, etc. are found guilty of assisting terrorism, shall be closed down and the assets be confiscated by the government. (ANTI-TERROR LAW: 1991)

7. Department of Defense of United States

 Department of Defense deals with many different parts of terrorism, one of them being the tactics of terrorists. They call it the TTP, Tactics, Techniques and Procedures. It does not really matter on what kind of a scale these TTP"s are, because at the end of the day, what they are trying to achieve is to gain favor in their objectives and to create fear in their targeted "audience". These can range from (DOD, JP 3-26) :

- Assassinations - are deliberate action usually to kill a politician, a highly regarded citizen or a person they cannot control by intimidation.
- Bombings: These are mostly divided into 2 categories IEDs (Improvised explosive devices) which are fairly cheap to produce and due to its many possibilities of detonation can also be fairly safe for the terrorist or the person taking upon this task. Second is of course, suicide bombings, now these are 2 very dangerous actions, due to the immense control that it gives to the terrorists. They can choose the time and the place, which creates and uncertainty and creates fear amongst the people.

These are just some of the tactics they are using; it could also be hijackings, kidnappings or even sabotage.

 Besides dealing with terrorism and their TTP"s, Department of Defense also deals with ways of countering terrorism. DOD itself has many activities that that they employ against terrorism. First one being Advise and Assist, it consists of Nation assistance which is basically civil or military assistance within the nation's borders, Security assistance, which itself is consisting of groups that deal with many things from information on security, defense articles, training military to giving cash to foreign nations. FID as stated in the DOD"s document it is *"the diplomatic, economic, informational, and military support provided"* to combat the terrorism within the nation (DOD, JP 3-26)

 Secondly DOD deals with the Overseas Counterterrorism activities in offense, defense and stability operations such as Peace operations which are conducted both politically and militaristically in the efforts of returning *"a nation to stability and to a legitimate governance"(*DOD, JP3-26). These operations usually will always completely depend on the context and the objective of the operation, the best offense is as they say best defense, so of course the defensive posture is the stronger one, however one will need aggressive and offensive

actions in order to get the decisive results. These being the combat operations, however stability operations are completely different. Instead of forcing out a victory, these operations are conducted in cooperation with the other governmental agencies, to be able to create a "safe zone" if you will in which it can provide *essential governmental services, emergency infrastructure reconstruction, and humanitarian relief"* (JP 3-26: II-5)

From Counterdrug operations, Countering WMD"s, Peace operations to Noncombatant Evacuation Operations. The DOD has thought of it all when it comes to counterterrorism itself in many areas. Thus this heavily touches the subject on the results of these operations and these techniques they use to counter terrorism have been very effective, the train, advice and assist program in the Middle East has been giving very good result, which have been slowly and steadily taking back the areas controlled by ISIL as well as lowering their numbers.

8. Analysis

Terrorism, as seen from the eyes of the people is truly horrifying and scary, and they have the right to be afraid of terrorism. At this point of time terrorism seems unstoppable as it has already reached Europe. However, even though terrorism itself is unstoppable, that does not mean that the organizations such as ISIL (Islamic State of Iraq and Levant) or Al-Qaeda are not. The strength of these organizations, well mainly ISIL comes from what is happening in the Middle East due to the Syrian Civil War. Yes truly ISIL was fairly active back in the days before the Civil war under different, however the Civil war was what fueled their fire. These organizations have created holes in the nations that are infested by these groups and they are unable to patch up those holes. Since the recalculation of US policy in the Middle East, which started the withdrawal of US forces, did not help these countries in any way. And it had left the nations in the Middle East without proper military support. This is where the western nations made a correct move. By withdrawing from the Middle East, they gave a chance for the people of that region, with the help of others, to regain the lost areas in Syria, by helping them create their own forces that would battle against the issue as independently as possible. Now as i said, by withdrawing from these countries, it gave way for the western nations to improve and strengthen their policies on counter terrorism and from what we can see is that, even though most countries are still "crisis-driven" meaning that the countries mostly upgrade or strengthen their policies after a terrorist attack, the legislations that they have drafted are solid as a rock. The United States legislations on counter terrorism are if not the best and well thought out compared to the rest of the countries, of course one exception being the United Kingdom.

Unfortunately, these policies are regards to the acts of terrorism instead of looking at terrorism as a whole, and this is a very big problem in the sense, that without knowing what you are fighting it is incredible hard to stay afloat. Of course there is the problem of defining terrorism; truly the definition of terrorism has changed through the decades from the French revolution till today. However, as the paper suggests that without the definition one can only fight the symptoms and the disease. Even though the techniques used are strong and effective, it will never be enough to defeat, as winning a battle does not end the war.

Conclusion

In conclusion, saying that terrorism in today's world has become a lot more international then before, not just in the sense, that world leaders are taking parts in operations to eradicate the problem in the Middle East, but due to the fact that there have been growing number of attacks in Europe. This is where the policies that the nations are drafting come in to play. Truly, most countries draft new policies after an attack, due to the holes in the policies that are found by the terrorist organizations. However every time the policies are updated the threat of terrorism goes down. After each draft, the Acts become more and more preventative not by creation of new sections, but by amending the existing ones and making them stronger. The United Kingdom is a perfect example of how an Act can be amended to be stronger. These policies are mostly for domestic terrorism, however what plays a big role in fighting against terrorism, is the help that countries are receiving from organizations specifically designed by the UN, NATO in multiple different aspects of counterterrorism, this is what shows that the world cares about fighting against forces, that are only in works to get what they want through violence.

On top of that, what has to be done is the formation of a definition of terrorism, now we all know what terrorism is and how to prevent it, by looking at the policies that are being drafted. However preventing and fighting against are two completely different things. To prevent we put in place travel bans, give the respected authorities more power to control the persons who have suspected ties to terrorist organizations, create programs of deradicalization, preventative methods for people who might be in the threat of being „brain washed" into acting for these organizations. But at the end these are just preventative, a defense not an offence. To be able to end it from the root of these causes, we must agree on something that allies can fight towards, not just the symptoms, but the disease itself. It's been proven that once you cut of the head, there is another one that grows back. For example when the United States were conducting high number of air strikes against the known hideouts of ISIL, killing multiple high ranking members, what they never took into consideration, is that one does not join a terrorist organization for no reason. Every one of those members are there with a purpose, by killing a high ranking official, the only thing it generated was the availability of a high ranking position for a member within the group. This is one of the reasons as to why the fight against terrorism is not very effective, however it is one of the methods that are used, just like cutting down the

financing, counterdrug operations. One of the root methods of counterterrorism is the stop of the money that goes into these organizations.

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