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The Evolution of Terrorism in the 21<sup>st</sup> Century – and its Implications for  
Australia

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The focus of what I will be talking about is Australia; there is a lot of material produced around 9/11 which relates to international issues. I will put more of a focus on things that have happened here. I am going to run through various terrorism-related events in chronological order and talk briefly about them.

You might remember Jack Roach. He came back to Australia from Indonesia in 2000 and he was planning to do terrorist attacks here. He had been sponsored by JI in Indonesia and when he got back to Australia was supposed to make contact with JI and get some assistance to do attacks. He looked at various target options. One was Joseph Gutnick; the other was the Israeli Embassy in Canberra.

But when he did not get any support he decided it wasn't such a good idea after all. He tried to contact ASIO; he was later interviewed by Sally Neighbour and said he had tried to contact ASIO three times and they hadn't responded. So it just shows you how things have changed between 2000 and today. He would have security agents all over him today,

He was tried based on admissions he had made to *The Australian* newspaper and served some jail time and was released in 2007.

In 2001 George Bush became the 43<sup>rd</sup> President of the United States. Dick Cheney was the Vice President and many people felt Cheney was actually the guy who was running things – at least that was the impression I was given in Washington.

Of course 9/11 was the big event of that year, even for us in Australia, although the scale of our casualties was way less than those of the Americans and the numbers in America were probably higher than

acknowledged because there were a lot of undocumented people in the World Trade Center– cleaners, people like that. We did lose 10 Australians that day.

In response to the 9/11 attacks – John Howard was in the US at that time – the Prime Minister invoked the ANZUS Treaty and committed Australia to assist the US in any way we possibly could. In October he committed the Australian Defence Force to Operation *Enduring Freedom* which was the operation into Afghanistan to remove Al-Qaida there. It was originally called *Infinite Justice*, but that had Christian religious connotations and then he talked about Crusaders which had similar anti-Muslim connotations, so eventually it became *Enduring Freedom* which you couldn't go wrong with.

In October 2001, Mamdouh Habib was arrested in Pakistan and was renditioned to Egypt and then sent on to Guantanamo. He subsequently took court action in Australia and I will come back to that.

In November 2001 Ahmad Abdul Rahman Awdah al-Joufi was deported from Australia to Saudi Arabia. He had been recruiting Muslims in Melbourne to fight in Chechnya. I don't know how many went but at least one died there because his passport was returned to Australia.

In December 2001 “adventurer” David Hicks, however you might want to describe him, was arrested by bounty hunters in Afghanistan along with a great many other people and handed over to US forces. He also ended up in Guantanamo.

In 2002 Jack van Tongeren, who was well known in Western Australia for his attacks against Asian restaurants and had been sent to jail, was eventually released and then re-arrested. The WA Police were getting sick and tired of him at this stage and they told him that if he went to the east side of the country he could go free, so that is what happened. I won't say where exactly he is living, but it is in a beachside place in NSW (not Batemans Bay).

October of that year was our baptism of fire in Bali when we lost 88 people out of 202 killed as a result of the bombing at Paddy's Club and the nearby Sari Club. It was interesting the way that was planned because the bomb

went off at Paddy's first with the intent of driving people out on the street where the second device was set to go off outside the Sari Club. That resulted in more casualties. Paddy's is now further down the street in a different building; where Paddy's Bar was is now a parking area.

Back in Australia the JI activist Abdul Rahim Ayub departed Australia after the bombing. He and his brother had come here in the early 1990s essentially to raise money for JI. They were not interested in doing operations here. JI was quite active in Australia, including Abu Bakar Bashir coming here at least 11 times that we know of to give sermons and raise money. Again that was a reflection of the times. We weren't really interested in those days about what people like him were saying in the mosques.

In 2003 Operation Iraqi Freedom began on the 20 March with the US-led invasion. We were part of a very small combat coalition which included Poland, the United Kingdom and the US, and that did attract a lot of attention to us. The Coalition was bigger than that, but we were in the much smaller combat element.

We provided Special Forces – the benefit of Special Forces is that you are not going to get so many casualties as you would with regular units. We suffered no combat deaths in Iraq, but our being there did make us more of an international terrorism target.

Willie Brigitte came here in May of 2003. His travel was paid for by Laskar-e-Taiba. It is believed he was planning to set up a cell in Sydney and conduct operations here. He was deported to France and sentenced to 10 years in jail. He is still in jail and in fact his detention was recently extended because of additional convictions.

Also in 2003 Joseph Thomas returned to Australia and was probably going to be an al-Qaida sleeper but he was arrested in November 2004 and convicted of terrorism-related offences. His conviction was overturned on appeal, largely because his admissions in Pakistan were made under duress.

Zaky Mallah was something of a sad case. He was a Sydney supermarket shelf stacker who took umbrage at being refused a passport – I am not sure what the grounds were – and decided he was going to attack the local office

of DFAT or ASIO in Sydney. Since he didn't know where the ASIO office was I suppose that meant he was going to attack DFAT by default. He ended up getting an 18-month sentence and he has been in trouble again since then. I think he was a person with an image problem.

In 2004 a guy named Mark Avery decided he was going to make a car bomb. So he got a car and put a bomb together and blew it up. He wasn't politically motivated. He was just interested to see what would happen. Since 35 kilos of explosives is enough to obliterate a vehicle, 100 kilos was well over the top, so it just left a big crater and not much else.

He ended up getting a suspended sentence because essentially he was experimenting without any intent to kill anybody, so the court took a lenient view of his activities. However, this incident did show that it was relatively easy for anybody with a smidgen of commonsense to be able to build something like that and detonate it, which is a worry from a counter-terrorism point of view.

On 11 March 2004 there were the Madrid train bombings. These had significant consequences because they led Spain to withdraw its troops from Iraq which provided Jihadists with the view that mass casualty attacks could be used to change a nation's foreign policy - and that encouraged others to conduct similar sorts of mass casualty attacks.

Back to Australia again and we have medical student Izhar ul-Haque who was charged with terrorism-related offences in 2004. He had gone to Pakistan for family reasons, undertook training with Lashkar e-Taiba and then came back and denied it to ASIO, which is an offence. The reason the charges were dropped was because ASIO detained him illegally and it was decided it would be a lot easier to just drop the case.

He was not a dangerous individual. He wanted to go back and help provide medical aid to insurgents.

Faheem Khalid Lodhi was a more dangerous person. He was a Pakistan-born architect who was arrested in April 2004. He had planned to work with Brigitte to conduct a terrorist attack. He got a hefty sentence of 20 years with a 15-year non-parole period, so he still has a lot of jail time to do.

Just to mention in passing, Australia did produce several White Papers focusing on different issues to do with terrorism. There was one DFAT paper concerning MANPADs. MANPADs are a concern because a lot of systems have gone missing in Libya - so there is a concern about the threat to civil aviation. But it's not a new threat; it has been around for a while.

September 9, 2004 was the attack on the Australian embassy in Jakarta using a vehicle bomb. The picture you saw in the newspapers which showed the Australian flag flying in front of a shattered building is misleading. Embassy. It is the flag outside the Australian Embassy, but it is the building next door. Our building was largely unscathed.

However part of the perimeter railing went through the window of the Ambassador's office. Back in 1998 the Defence Security Authority had done an inspection on the security at the Embassy and we had recommended removing the fence because of the potential for bits of the fence to become projectiles, but in the process of the renovations and the upgrades to security, on which DFAT spent over \$1 million, the fence was not removed. It is of course easy to be wise afterwards.

Toward the close of 2004 we saw George Bush defeat John Kerry.

In 2005 we occasionally had problems with fixated people like Julian Evans - usually they had mental problems, but they can be threat to VIPs. In the UK they have a system where they work with mental health authorities to institutionalize fixated persons if they can't be treated with medication or some other form of health management.

So the UK has a good system for trying to contain the problem whereas we try to muddle along. Then, if these people try to do something, as Julian did, we do something about it - which is not a very good approach.

In 2005 there were what is sometimes referred to as the 7/7 attacks in London, which were explosions on three trains and the bus. Anyone who has travelled on the London Underground would know that the Northern Line is always getting jammed up and is often running behind schedule. The guy

who was going to bomb the Northern Line got on a bus instead and bombed it. Sadly a number of people were killed, including an Australian.

In October four Australians were killed in Bali in another bombing there at Raja's Restaurant and a couple of beachside cafes.

That year the AFP had Operation Pendennis running and in November 2005 a Muslim cleric named Benbrika was arrested and subsequently convicted of being the leader of two cells, one in Sydney and one in Melbourne. 10 men eventually received jail sentences.

It is interesting that in Sydney we pixelate even the images of accused people. I don't know why we do that. We seem to have gone crazy about protecting everything these days – number plates of vehicles and faces of persons of interest.

The group in Melbourne had picked targets but the one in Sydney hadn't. They had accumulated the material to make explosives, but they had not selected targets.

December 2005 was an unhappy time from an Australian perspective because it was the time of the Cronulla riots - perhaps underlying the divide that exists between the white beachside youth in Sydney and the Lebanese Muslim males from the Western Suburbs. The problem with this tension is that it could undermine community resilience which is something we need to be very concerned about.

From September 2006 we had a higher profile presence in Afghanistan because the ADF's Operation Slipper was building up. That obviously made us more of a terrorism target because it publicised what we were doing militarily in Muslim lands.

In Queensland John Howard Amundsen became notorious as one of the first Australians to be charged under the new anti-terrorist laws after the discovery at his home of 53 kilos of Powergel, which is a commercial explosive. He tried to make a bomb out of it which would have worked reasonably well. The reason he was charged under terrorist legislation was

that he had a magazine about bin Laden in his house. Given the hysteria of the times it was thought he might be politically motivated, which he wasn't.

The real reason he was making a bomb was to scare the parents of his girlfriend. They had advised her not to have anything to do with him because he was a flakey individual, so he built a bomb which he intended to detonate outside the house. He subsequently went to jail, and since he has been released, the sister of his ex-girlfriend was found to have a tracking device underneath her car, so he has been re-arrested. Presumably he was trying to find the whereabouts of his former girlfriend through the movements of her sister.

He is obviously a strange person – even though he was quite intelligent, in the top five per cent of the population. He was a teacher, but obviously a bit strange.

Saleh Jamal shot up the Lakemba police Station. He then fled to Lebanon using the passport of someone who looked quite like him. He was extradited back from Lebanon and went to jail for six years. It is interesting that his younger brother was one of those subsequently caught up in planning a terrorist attack in Australia.

There was another White Paper at this time talking about the Government's, counter-terrorism strategy.

In 2007 David Hicks was returned home after pleading guilty in order to return to Australia. He was given a suspended seven-year sentence, with the remaining time to be served in Australia, which he did.

He has since written a book, *Guantanamo: My Journey*, and has become something of a celebrity. I am not sure whether he is trying to sue the Government for his detention, but the Federal Government is trying to take the money off him that he made on the book, which isn't a lot.

In May 2007, three Tamils were charged with terrorism offences, but I think in this case the judge took a lenient view because the Tamil Tigers had been defeated, and large numbers of them had been killed. There are unanswered

questions about the massacres that took place in Sri Lanka. They were released on good behaviour bonds.

The Muhamed Haneef case was an embarrassment, because the AFP went further than it should have done and eventually it was found that Haneef had no case to answer, but his visa had been cancelled and he left Australia on 29 July. Circumstantially there were some suspicions, because he had a one-way ticket, and no check-in luggage. He was at the airport with all the indicators of someone doing a runner. So you can understand why people were suspicious, but it should have been sorted out fairly quickly and he should have been released.

In the 2007 election the Howard Government was defeated and Kevin Rudd became the new Prime Minister.

In 2008 there was the attack in Mumbai, which killed 174 people including two Australians. Up until then most of the attacks had been bombings and this attack foreshadowed a different sort of attack which was a combination of bombings and shooting attacks – what we saw that with Anders Bering Breivik in Norway.

In December 2008 Kevin Rudd delivered the inaugural national security statement. Former Defence Secretary Ric Smith had done a review of homeland security, which was incorporated into that statement

At this time there was a case in Melbourne which was exploited by right wing extremists - who usually have an agenda against the police. This involved the VICPOL shooting of a kid, Tyler Cassidy, who had a reputation for violence; he had been a drug user and I think he was armed at the time.

I am not sure how justifiable it was to shoot him, but the issue was exploited by right wing elements.

In 2009 Barak Obama became the US President, defeating John McCain. Then in July there was the bombing in Jakarta that killed three Australians at a hotel business meeting. It had some new elements to it in the sense that the bomber had actually booked into the hotel as a guest and the explosives



were brought in by a person who worked in the flower shop who was a JI person, so it was well coordinated.

It was quite clever in the way it evaded security and did things a little differently to the way they had been done before.

Then there was Operation Neath in Melbourne which was a conspiracy to do a shooter attack at Holsworthy. Although it was portrayed as being a Somali action, in fact it was two Lebanese and one Somali who got convicted while two other Somalis were acquitted.

Bilal Khazal had been a problem individual for some time. He was often referred to by the media as a former baggage handler at Sydney Airport. One of the problems with that kind of job is that it doesn't pay very well and therefore tends to attract transients who are not the sort of people you really want to be working on the air side at airports.

In 2010, there was another White Paper, although this one was focusing more on the community resilience issue which I have earlier referred to.

Some interesting cases have involved State terrorism. Terrorism can be perpetrated by individuals, groups and States. People tend not to think so much about the States aspect. Clearly Syria has got to the point of engaging in state terrorism.

While the West was prepared to help the Libyan revolutionaries, it is not prepared to help the Syrian revolutionaries. So there are some double standards in this.

Captain Dragan or Dragan Vasiljkovic is wanted for war crimes and keeps on appealing to delay extradition. I think the next appeal, which is the last possible one, is to the High Court. We do not have a good record in terms of extradition of war criminals. In fact I don't think we have ever extradited anyone for war crimes.

Some hate groups that are American based are also in Australia. There is a KKK Chapter here. A school teacher was trying to get one of his students to join the KKK, said to him "if you ever have a problem come to me and I will

help you". The boy killed his brother then went to the teacher to ask him to help dispose of the body, which he did, and ended up going to jail for eight years.

A very important development was the launching of *Inspire Magazine* because that has become the main Islamist extremist propaganda document or way of propagating jihadist ideas internationally and influencing potential extremists in the West. It is in English as well as other languages so it makes it much more accessible to second generation immigrants, like the younger Lebanese people who may not be able to read Arabic but can read English.

Colin Dunstan, from Canberra worked for the Tax Office and decided that he was going to take out his anger on people in the Tax Office and other agencies and sent them 28 mail bombs. A tribunal decided he had been mismanaged by the ATO and he was compensated with a year's salary.

Mamdu Habib who probably had a more reasonable case for compensation, reached an out-of-court settlement. In many of these Guantanamo release cases, and in particular in the UK, the Government has been prepared to let them be settled with a generous payout because they don't want to be investigated and have to provide evidence in court.

Muhamed Haneef was another one who got a settlement. I have heard informally that it was \$1 million plus costs, so there is no reason why he shouldn't have a smile on his face. As we say, he is now moving forward and getting on with the rest of his life.

In 2011 there have been some interesting and important events, first of course was the killing on bin Laden. There was also an interesting case that may relate to State terrorism – this Australian citizen from Burma who admitted that he killed at least 24 young men with bullets to the back of the head and has been implicated in at least 100 other deaths. I don't think we really know what to do about this case. I know the AFP was going to look into it, but I think it will be very difficult to deal with.

In June of this year the Attorney General said that 38 people in Australia had been charged in relation to terrorism and 23 convicted. Of the 38 who were

charged 37 were Australian citizens and 21 were born in Australia. If you look at the Muslim population in Australia now increasingly more of them are born in Australia than overseas because the population is moving into the second and later generations.

Following the appalling attack in Norway, the island of Utoya has just been reopened to the public. I do not know whether Anders Behring Breivik was trying to emulate the Mumbai attack, but it was very clever the way he had a diversionary bombing which tied up police resources so that he could then go to the island and kill so many people.

There are criticisms you can make about the slow police reaction, but also it seems that the Government has not provided enough resources to the police. Of course, the politicians will duck that issue but the fact that they did not have access to any means to get there more quickly is perhaps telling in terms of lack of Government support. Norway has always said that it is not a terrorist target, whereas Denmark was because it had the cartoons issue.

This development only happened last week, but it is very important because Anwar al-Awlaki had become very dangerous to US interests and killing him as the US has done was a coup for the US whether you agree with it or not. It seems to have gone under the media radar to some extent, compared with the killing of bin Laden, but I think that is the most important CT event that has happened in the past three years.

If you look at the Australian victim issue, since 2000 128 Australian civilians have died in terrorist attacks overseas, with 95 being in Indonesia, 11 in Iraq, 10 in the US, two in Afghanistan, India, Saudi Arabia, the Solomons and Turkey and one in Israel and one in the UK. No one has died in 2011. 29 ADF members have died in Afghanistan so far.

So looking at the way ahead, 2012 and onwards, obviously we are going to see a drawdown in US forces (prematurely from a military perspective) in Afghanistan, because the lack of political will for the Americans to be committed when it costs them \$2 billion a week to be there. It costs them \$1 million a year to have one serviceman overseas. So it is a very expensive

proposition for the US at a time when for every dollar they spend, they have to borrow 60c from someone else.

Because the Americas are drawing down we will too. It is expected that we will be out of there – at least with combat forces, by the end of 2014.

I think the US will face increasing difficulty in balancing its claims to support freedom and democracy against the reality of what it does in the Middle East.

Regional terrorist groups in South Asia and the Middle East will become more globally focused. Internationally there is little sign of a weakening of Islamist extremist resolve. Although the US has been successful in taking out the leadership of various groups, you then get the next generation coming through. I think they have copied targeted killing from the Israeli policy which they call “mowing the grass”. Anyone who pops their head up gets chopped, and while it does have some short term benefits, it does not have long term benefits because at some point you are going to have to negotiate. Targeted killing removes the leaders you might have been able to negotiate with.

A few other points: terrorist use of the internet will increase, not for conducting cyber-terrorism but for communication, data mining etc. Al Qaeda Central will remain a spent force from an operational perspective, but it will still be active on the propaganda front and there is still value for other organisations of being associated with Al Qaeda. If you are going to start a regional AQ affiliate there are certain prerequisites you have to meet. AQ is, to some extent, a respected brand and we live in a world of brands, and there are benefits in terms of recruitment, fund-raising and so on.

The main target of Islamist extremists will continue to be the US, mainly because of its foreign policies and especially its support for Israel. We could see a resurgence of terrorism in small cells in Indonesia, as has happened here. and that is quite a difficult issue to get on top of. I think JI is a spent force or maybe it has just become moderate. I don't think there is much support for violence left within it, but I could be proved wrong on that.

Terrorism in Thailand and the Philippines will remain locally focused because it is driven by local issues; it doesn't tend to have external links. Australians overseas could still be targeted because it will be quite a long time before we are not seen as being aligned with the US and Israel, and in particular if we vote against recognition of Palestine if it goes to the UN General Assembly. That will certainly underline to people that we are not supporters of the Palestinians in particular and the Arab world in general. So that could be detrimental. Obviously the safe option is to abstain, but I don't think voting against Palestine would be a smart thing to do – or an objective choice.

Clearly, our relationship with China is important but that is going to cause human rights dilemmas for us. We can turn a blind eye to what goes on there, or we can raise our concerns, but China is very sensitive about issues which it regards as internal, which includes offences committed by Australian Chinese who were born in China.

China does not recognise the fact that you are now an Australian citizen if you were born in China. As far as they are concerned you remain Chinese, and that will remain a point of difference between us.

We may face community resilience issues if we move further to the right, which is what is happening in Europe. It is possible that right-wing extremism will become a more significant problem here. The main focus for us and David Irvine and others, who have said it more often than I have, is that home-grown terrorist attacks will be the main concern here in the foreseeable future. While the focus is on Islamist extremism, right wing extremists could also pose problems.

Terrorists will remain innovative in mounting their attacks – a few examples: Richard Reid the shoe bomber in 2001; the anthrax attacks in the US, also in 2001; the underpants bomber, Umar Abdulmutallab who was trying to bring down an aeroplane going into Detroit; the turban bombs in Afghanistan, and; Dhiren Barot in the UK who was going to buy 2000 smoke detectors to take the radioactive element out of them and make a dirty bomb. I think people would have been a bit suspicious if he had bought 2000 smoke detectors anyway. Then of course there was the liquid explosive plot; the maritime attack on the Cole in Yemen in 2000 - and Al Qaeda in the Arabian

Peninsula's attempt to bring down cargo aircraft with explosives inside printer cartridges.

The UK Police were told that there was a bomb on one of the cargo aircraft that transited the UK but they could not find it even when they were given the tracking number for the item. They broke open the printer cartridges and fortunately that disrupted the Improvised Explosive Device (IED) so that it did not detonate, but they did it inadvertently.

The IED was very well manufactured and the initial reporting about the death of Anwar al-Awlaki and Samir Khan said that Ibrahim al-Isiri, the bomb maker was among those killed - but he wasn't. He is still out there, a very clever maker of IEDs.

## QUESTIONS

### **Why have there been no successful attacks on aircraft given that there seem to be lots of surface-to-air missiles around?**

They have been hard to move around without detection because the older ones are quite large. You might remember an AQ-linked group operating on the East Coast of Africa tried to bring down an Israeli charter plane. They launched two missiles at the plane because it had two engines and they hoped to hit both engines, but both missiles malfunctioned.

It could be that they were not well maintained, or they might not have been aware of the pre-arming envelope because the missiles are designed not to arm until they have got a certain distance from being launched.

They also had a go at a plane in Saudi Arabia and missed it. They did hit a DHS cargo plane in Bagdad and took out most of the left wing, but the pilot was extremely good. He managed to come down in circles, because that is all he could do, and managed to get it down on the ground again. There have been a number of attempts worldwide but often not publicised.

DFAT had a report commissioned on MANPADs, because it has been an issue causing concern for a long time. There are a lot of them adrift around the

world, including some of the Stingers which the Americans provided to the Mujahedeen back in the war against the Russians in Afghanistan. The Americans were offering \$100,000 each for them to be returned and got some back but not all of them, and they don't know how many are still out there, if any. They may have simply got lost or no longer be working or whatever.

One of the outcomes of the Libyan situation is that elements within the revolutionary movement might see some merit in using MANPADs or selling them on to somebody else. There have been suggestions that some passenger aircraft operating in higher risk areas should be fitted with counter missile devices, but those have mainly been made by Israelis who produce the devices and want to sell them.

It depends on how big a risk you think there is and whether it is worth spending \$1 million per aeroplane to put those systems on board. So I think Australia is going to live with the problem and rely on good intelligence. We have been lucky so far.

### **Has any work been done on the psychology of militant Islamists and what do they want to do in relation to Australia?**

Some want to establish a global Caliphate. I don't think many of them really believe it is possible. It is a bit like Hamas saying they plan to destroy Israel. I think most people in Hamas recognise that is not going to happen.

In terms of Australia, what they would like to do is drive a wedge between us and the United States and Israel - and change our foreign policies so we don't get militarily involved in places like Iraq and Afghanistan.

I think if you look back to Lodhi and others like him, what they were trying to do was trying to change our foreign policies so we were not so close to the US, or we weren't going to get committed elsewhere, rather than Australia becoming part of their Caliphate.

They also see East Timor as a situation where we were too quick to go in and help break away part of Indonesia, although East Timorese are mainly

Christians. Nevertheless they saw that as breaking away part of Indonesia, and they have suspicions about us regarding West Papua as well.

Ji originally did not see any reason to attack us, although Hambali, who was the operations chief, thought it would be a good idea for Jack Roach to attack Jewish interests in Australia.

### **Can you comment on the development of cyber terrorism?**

The main use of the internet by terrorist groups has been communication, information seeking, game playing – they play a lot of those first person shooter games. There are lots of programs on the internet where you can train people for small unit actions.

But they are not using the internet to plan anything like taking down air traffic systems or that sort of thing. Those kinds of systems are usually stand-alone with an air gap. If there have been disruptions it is most likely to have been down to software issues; most disruption problems occur when systems are changed or upgraded.

Regrettably, we are not able to stay with one version we like; we are forced to upgrade and every time there is an upgrade, there are hiccups.

A bigger concern now is cyber espionage. I don't think any terrorist groups would use the internet to attack anybody, because the cost would be greater internet security scrutiny and it might deprive them of their ability to use the internet for data mining and other activities.

As you know, it is amazing what you can find on the internet. If you want to bomb an aeroplane you can find out how the aircraft is designed; you can get information about how to make a bomb - or how to circumvent security systems and so on. So it is an invaluable tool for researchers, not only for us, but for terrorists as well.

There are now over 100,000 iPhone applications, and they include apps like fitting an iPhone to a sniper rifle to tell you where you are, the wind direction, etc. It will come up with all the variables that will affect your shot



and tell you how much to offset for a long shot. It is downloadable from iTunes by anybody who wants it.

There is another app which is being used in Afghanistan. If you have your phone switched on it will tell you where an incoming shot came from. This is handy if you are able to pull down an airstrike on it, or artillery. But similarly, it could tell an adversary where our snipers are. If you had a sniper in a hide somewhere and they could find out where that sniper was, that would be a life-threatening situation.

So there is some interesting stuff going on that not much is known about, and given there are so many applications it is actually quite hard to know what is available.

However, I don't have too many concerns about the internet being used for terrorism.

**There have been a number of White Papers on terrorism and the way the wars in Iran and Afghanistan are presented. What have we been doing wrong and can we do better?**

We have put a lot of money into counter-terrorism. Politicians tend to exaggerate the amount because a lot of that money would have been spent anyway on policing or intelligence, or something related to CT. That said the money could often have been better spent or better targeted.

I think that going into Iraq was a big mistake. Fortunately we are now out of there.

Afghanistan – the claim that we are there to prevent terrorism occurring elsewhere is a bit hollow. It doesn't convince many people. If we weren't there they would go back to fighting amongst themselves, and they are not very receptive to outsiders (including foreign terrorists) anyway. It was a bit different with the Al-Qaeda of 12 years ago when they were paying the Taliban Government and subsidising a government that was only recognised by three countries.

I think Al Qaeda is largely a spent force.

In terms of what we could do better, I think the building resilience issue is important, because if we are going to have a problem within any Australian ethnic community, there would be other people in the community who would know about problem individuals and hopefully want to tip us off. Attorney General's Department is apparently not enamoured of the hotline, because for every good piece of info they get out of it, they are getting an awful lot of dross. However, it has been useful, so we should keep it going.

The community resilience issue is very important. The main problem community in Australia has been the Lebanese Muslim community. We don't say that publically, because it is not politically correct, but that is the reality.

If you look at the two largest Muslim populations in Australia – the Lebanese and Turkish – the Turks have never been a problem. It is the Lebanese that have been the issue, mainly in Sydney. The largest concentrations are in south-west Sydney and northern Melbourne, but the northern Melbourne Lebanese do not tend to be such a problem as the Sydney ones.

We need to find ways of working better with the Lebanese Muslim community.

### **Is containing the war on terrorism a better option to winning the war on terrorism?**

It is not really a war and you can't really win it. People like that terminology - like the war on crime, or the war on drugs, but it is misleading.

I suppose you could wipe out crime if you put so much money into policing that you were on top of everything, but that would not be acceptable from a civil rights perspective or economically sustainable.

Essentially, it is a matter of balance between how much you are prepared to accept in terms of risk, and how much you are prepared to pay for reducing the risk. It seems we are actually winding back a bit on counter-terrorism because ASIO tripled its staff over 10 years and is now easing off on recruitment. There is certainly not the money around to be able to buy them that new Canberra building nowadays.

All the CT agencies are now hurting to some extent in terms of the funding they used to get because the Government has got other priorities. In fact, emergency management is now seen as one of the areas where we need to put more resources, and I suspect that money will move from counter-terrorism to emergency management. It is the way Governments work.

**Because of the turmoil in Greece and the riots in England is it becoming easier for terrorist organisations to gain recruits?**

I think the people who are disaffected and attracted to Islamist extremism are attracted for other reasons than those that led to the riots in Greece and the UK. They are encouraged by people like Awlaki - when he was alive - or by reading *Inspire* and so on.

There is a danger of the right wing benefitting from the kind of things that are happening in Greece and elsewhere, where they might blame the poor economic situation on immigrants. We have put a lot of resources into countering Islamist extremism, but people tend to forget that Timothy McVeigh who caused a lot of deaths when he blew up the Alfred Murrah Building in Oklahoma City and Brevic were right wingers.

Clearly Greece has got further to fall yet. The Government there does not collect most of the revenue it should collect, so it is always poor. If you go into a Post Office in Greece, there are always public servants sitting behind the counter talking to each other and not serving customers, so the average Greek does not like public servants. Public servants are soaking up a lot of the government's revenue.

I was in Greece about two months ago on a cruise ship and we went into ports for a day at a time. The shops would close up at midday and they would have their siesta until 5pm when the ship was due to leave. So basically all they were doing was getting the business from morning until midday and then they would have their siesta. They were not going to make an exception because there was a ship there.

So I wonder how much the average person is really hurting. It is certainly hurting students because they are having to pay more money for their

university education. It is hurting pensioners because they are seeing their pensions reduced. The younger people are the ones who are getting involved in rioting and fighting the police.

The UK situation may be a bit different because a lot of people saw it as an opportunity to loot. There is a certain amount of pent-up anger among disadvantaged people. To some extent the police stood back because they are facing cutbacks and the riots enhanced their chances of getting more resources.

### **Will the Americans do anything to react to the activities of the Pakistani intelligence organisation?**

They can't do much. The Pakistanis are really irritated with the Americans, not only because of bin Laden's killing but also more generally, because they keep getting criticised for lack of action on the border with Afghanistan.

I went to a presentation by a Pakistani general a few months ago, and he said they had lost 3500 people up on the border trying to do what the Americans wanted them to do, and he was a bit jacked-off about American criticism.

But it is true that the ISI is a covert arm of Government supporting terrorist and insurgent groups that operate out of Pakistan. Some of them are going into India to try to get the Indians to hold a plebiscite on Kashmir.

In Afghanistan, they are trying to establish a situation where Pakistan would have more influence after the fighting resolves itself.

Clearly what they aren't in favour of is the Pakistani Taliban which is a completely different group to the Afghan Taliban and is fighting within Pakistan against the Government. So the ISI is focused more on them in terms of countering terrorism, than it is on the externals who they are supporting or turning a blind eye to.

### **You haven't spoken about China in relation to terrorism. Is China immune to terrorism?**

No there is the East Turkistan Islamic Movement up in the Xinjiang area. China tends to describe them as bandits. Regimes usually refer to freedom fighters in derogatory terms such as the "armed terrorist gangs" in Syria. Labelling opponents as terrorists has, in the past, got them international support.

Essentially what is happening in Xinjiang Province is that local people are being displaced by Han Chinese. China is very interested in consolidating its hold there because of the gas and oil reserves, so effectively the Uighurs are being marginalised.

If you look at terrorism in other places it is usually driven by local issues. They might adopt the Palestinian cause or some other international cause to raise money, but usually their main focus is on the local situation. Sometimes the international causes are a bit over-stated.

**We know that the allies have been successful at going after and eliminating many of the leaders of terrorist groups, but why are they not going after those who finance terrorism?**

The source of funds does vary considerably.

In Pakistan a lot of the money comes from charity fronts which are always seeking donations. Pakistan has a cycle of natural disasters – it gets monsoons, droughts, earthquakes, and floods, so at any given time there will be a disaster they can use to raise money. Some of that money will be diverted to extremist groups.

Other Islamist terrorist groups might send someone to Saudi Arabia because there is sympathy there for Islamist causes around the world. I have heard of couriers going to Saudi Arabia with a suitcase and coming back with it full of cash.

Sometimes groups make contact during the Hajj with people who are prepared to assist as interlocutors.

Ramadan is also a good time for raising money for extremist causes.

Sometimes groups can get part of the zakat payments that Muslims make as part of their religious obligations; sometimes they can tap into the money that people are sending back from jobs abroad. For example, thousands of Filipinos work in Middle Eastern countries and send their wages back home.

So there are lots of different ways of getting money and financing is not really a vulnerability. You see a lot of comments about interdicting terrorism finances – the Americans were very big on this at one stage – but I don't think they have ever been very successful.

Other options for groups are to engage in crime against non-Muslims to raise money. Suicide attackers in the West can just borrow money knowing they will not have to repay it.

It is just too easy to get money and I don't see that there is any way of preventing it.

The Tamil Tigers had the most sophisticated money-raising system. They would get relatives abroad to send money back to their relatives in Sri Lanka, and then the relatives would pass some of that money on to the Tigers. The transfers couldn't readily be stopped because the senders would say that they were supporting a family back in Sri Lanka, which was often true. There is no way that you can stop that kind of payment unless you are prepared to cause real hardships.