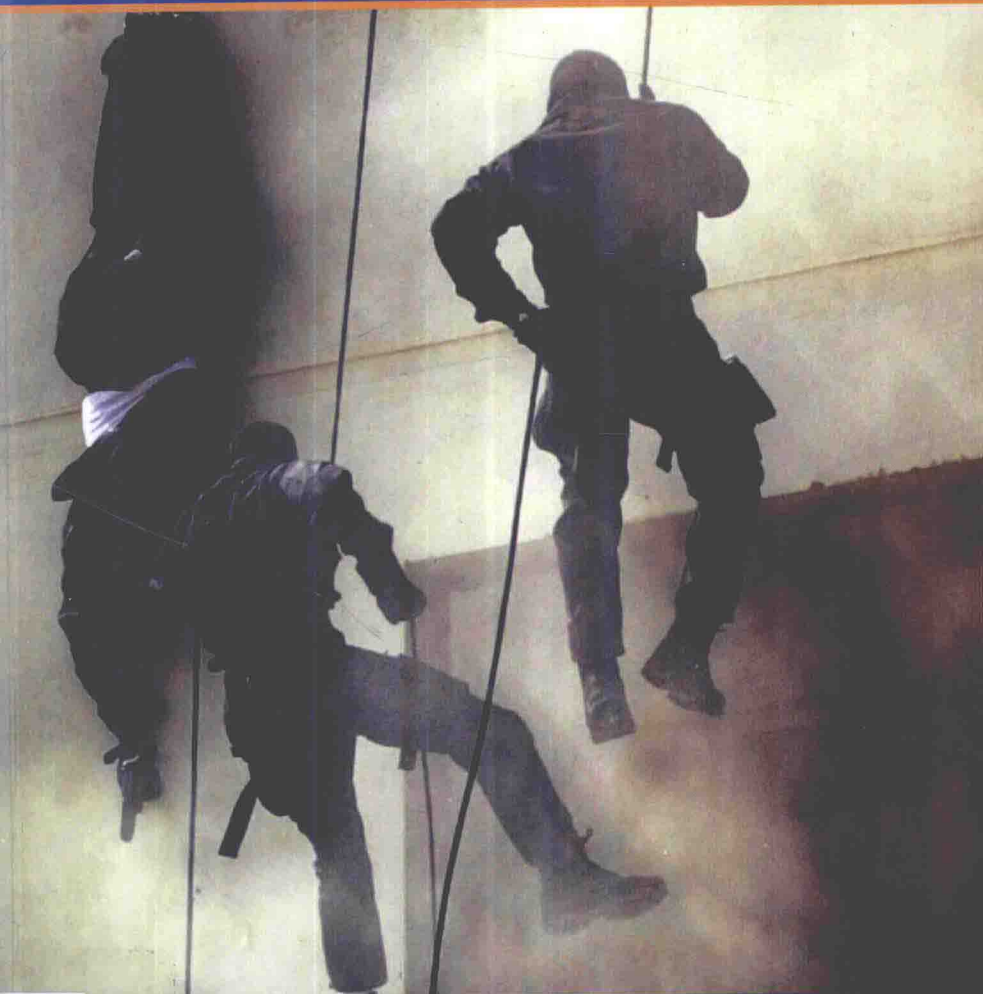


GLOBAL INSTITUTIONS



Multilateral Counter-Terrorism

the global politics of cooperation and contestation

Peter Romaniuk

ROUTLEDGE



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Multilateral Counter-Terrorism

Contemporary terrorism is a global phenomenon requiring a globalized response. In this book Peter Romaniuk aims to assess to what extent states seek multilateral responses to the threats they face from terrorists. Providing a concise history and a clear discussion of current patterns of counter-terrorism cooperation, this book:

- analyzes a wide spectrum of institutions from the United Nations and its various bodies to military, intelligence and law enforcement agencies;
- explains the full range of cooperative counter-terrorism activities and the patterns across them, from the use of intelligence and military force to criminal law measures, financial controls and diplomacy;
- examines under what conditions states cooperate to suppress terrorism;
- evaluates how existing international institutions have been affected by the US-led “global war on terror,” launched after the 9/11 terrorist attacks.

The book argues that whilst there are several notable examples of successful counter-terrorism cooperation, past and present, the broader trend can only be understood if we accept that across the domains of counter-terrorism policy, cooperation often resembles a competition for influence over outcomes.

Multilateral Counter-Terrorism is an essential resource for all students and scholars of international politics, criminology, and terrorism studies.

Peter Romaniuk is Assistant Professor of Political Science, John Jay College of Criminal Justice, City University of New York, where he is Research Fellow at the Center on Terrorism.

Routledge Global Institutions

Edited by Thomas G. Weiss

The CUNY Graduate Center, New York, USA

and Rorden Wilkinson

University of Manchester, UK

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The "Global Institutions Series" is designed to provide readers with comprehensive, accessible, and informative guides to the history, structure, and activities of key international organizations as well as books that deal with topics of key importance in contemporary global governance. Every volume stands on its own as a thorough and insightful treatment of a particular topic, but the series as a whole contributes to a coherent and complementary portrait of the phenomenon of global institutions at the dawn of the millennium.

Books are written by recognized experts, conform to a similar structure, and cover a range of themes and debates common to the series. These areas of shared concern include the general purpose and rationale for organizations, developments over time, membership, structure, decision-making procedures, and key functions. Moreover, current debates are placed in historical perspective alongside informed analysis and critique. Each book also contains an annotated bibliography and guide to electronic information as well as any annexes appropriate to the subject matter at hand.

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Foreword

The current volume is the forty-second title—several having already gone into second editions—in a dynamic series on “global institutions.” The series strives (and, based on the volumes published to date, succeeds) to provide readers with definitive guides to the most visible aspects of what many of us know as “global governance.” Remarkable as it may seem, there exist relatively few books that offer in-depth treatments of prominent global bodies, processes, and associated issues, much less an entire series of concise and complementary volumes. Those that do exist are either out of date, inaccessible to the non-specialist reader, or seek to develop a specialized understanding of particular aspects of an institution or process rather than offer an overall account of its functioning. Similarly, existing books have often been written in highly technical language or have been crafted “in-house” and are notoriously self-serving and narrow.

The advent of electronic media has undoubtedly helped research and teaching by making data and primary documents of international organizations more widely available, but it has also complicated matters. The growing reliance on the internet and other electronic methods of finding information about key international organizations and processes has served, ironically, to limit the educational and analytical materials to which most readers have ready access—namely, books. Public relations documents, raw data, and loosely refereed web sites do not make for intelligent analysis. Official publications compete with a vast amount of electronically available information, much of which is suspect because of its ideological or self-promoting slant. Paradoxically, a growing range of purportedly independent web sites offering analyses of the activities of particular organizations has emerged, but one inadvertent consequence has been to frustrate access to basic, authoritative, readable, critical, and well-researched texts. The market for such has actually been reduced by the ready availability of varying-quality electronic materials.

For those of us who teach, research, and practice in the area, such limited access to information has been frustrating. We were delighted when Routledge saw the value of a series that bucks this trend and provides key reference points to the most significant global institutions and issues. They are betting that serious students and professionals will want serious analyses. We have assembled a first-rate line-up of authors to address that market. Our intention, then, is to provide one-stop shopping for all readers—students (both undergraduate and postgraduate), negotiators, diplomats, practitioners from nongovernmental and inter-governmental organizations, and interested parties alike—seeking information about the most prominent institutional aspects of global governance.

Multilateral counter-terrorism

The early twenty-first century has seen the emergence of an agreement among states that terrorism represents one of the greatest threats to international peace and security. In international relations and elsewhere, however, the devil is in the details. After decades of UN discussions, there is still no agreement on how to define “terrorism,” a necessary precondition for effective action to combat the problem. Pirates, nationalist groups, revolutionaries, insurgents, religious zealots, and even ruling governments have all been labeled “terrorists.” Terrorism is inherently political, and—as the absence of a multilateral treaty on terrorism demonstrates—all too often so too have been states’ responses.

Following the events of 11 September 2001, efforts to combat terrorism were largely framed in terms of the “Global War on Terror” (GWOT). Yet international relations scholars and military officials alike have criticized the use of the term, arguing that terrorism is a means to an end, a method of combat, rather than a physical enemy, and thus a “war on terror” cannot be won, let alone the GWOT. In March 2009, the point was rendered somewhat moot when, two months after taking office, the Barack Obama administration requested that US Pentagon officials stop using the term “Global War on Terror,” instead replacing it with “Overseas Contingency Operation.” Rather than signaling an end to the problem, however, the change in terminology further highlights the political nature of states’ efforts to combat terrorism and the difficulties involved in coordinating states’ interests to achieve effective multilateral cooperation.

Many books in the Global Institutions Series—most especially the two on organized crime and international criminal pursuit¹—deal with topics related to terrorism and the connections between terrorism and

transnational organized crime, state fragility, and armed conflict. We were keen, however, to have a book with a specific concentration on the complex and unusual challenges in multilateral actions to fight terrorism. We are fortunate that Peter Romaniuk agreed to our challenge to author a volume on this topic.

Peter has produced a meticulously researched, elegantly structured and insightful assessment. He is a colleague at John Jay College of Criminal Justice and at the CUNY Graduate Center: this book, like his teaching, brings to bear his expert knowledge in both international relations and public international law to analyze efforts by states and other international actors to take meaningful action against global terrorism—a subject about which he has written extensively.²

As always, we look forward to comments from first-time or veteran readers of the Global Institutions Series.

Thomas G. Weiss, the CUNY Graduate Center, New York, USA

Rorden Wilkinson, University of Manchester, UK

December 2009

Acknowledgements

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and able assistance from Brian Langdon. All opinions and errors are my own.

I'm most thankful for the love and support of friends and family, near and far. Mum and Dad have been a constant source of encouragement. While I have been working on this manuscript, Melissa, Theo, and Smuckers have provided life's happiest moments and it is to them that I dedicate this book.

Peter Romaniuk
New York City
July 2009

Abbreviations and acronyms

ACSRT	African Center for Study and Research on Terrorism
AFRICOM	United States African Command
APEC	Asia-Pacific Economic Cooperation forum
ARF	ASEAN Regional Forum
ASEAN	Association of Southeast Asian Nations
ASEANAPOL	ASEAN Chiefs of Police forum
AU	African Union
BCBS	Basel Committee on Banking Supervision
BIMSTEC	Bay of Bengal Initiative for Multisectoral Technical and Economic Cooperation
CARICOM	Caribbean Community
CBP	Customs and Border Protection (USA)
CIA	Central Intelligence Agency (USA)
CICTE	Comité Interamericano Contra el Terrorismo (Inter-American Committee Against Terrorism) (OAS)
CIRT	Committee for the International Repression of Terrorism (League of Nations)
CODEXTER	Committee of Experts on Terrorism (Council of Europe)
CSI	Container Security Initiative
CTAG	Counter-Terrorism Action Group (G8)
CTC	Counter-Terrorism Committee (United Nations Security Council)
CTED	Counter-Terrorism Committee Executive Directorate (United Nations Security Council)
CTITF	Counter-Terrorism Implementation Task Force (UN)
EAC	East African Community
EAPCCO	East African Police Chiefs' Cooperation Organization
EC	European Community
ECOSOC	United Nations Economic and Social Council

ECOWAS	Economic Community of West African States
EU	European Union
FARC	Revolutionary Armed Forces of Colombia
FATF	Financial Action Task Force
FIU	Financial Intelligence Unit
FSRB	FATF-style regional body
GCC	Gulf Cooperation Council
GTD	Global Terrorism Database (University of Maryland)
IAEA	International Atomic Energy Agency
IAIS	International Association of Insurance Supervisors
ICAO	International Civil Aviation Organization
ICPAT	IGAD Capacity-building Programme Against Terrorism
IGAD	Inter-governmental Authority on Development
ILC	International Law Commission
ILEA	International Law Enforcement Academy
ILO	International Labour Organization
IMF	International Monetary Fund
IMO	International Maritime Organization
Interpol	International Criminal Police Organization
IOSCO	International Organization of Securities Commissions
IR	international relations
ISAF	International Security Assistance Force (NATO)
ISPS Code	International Ship and Port Facility Security Code
ISWG	inter-sessional working group
JCLEC	Jakarta Centre for Law Enforcement Cooperation
JHA	Justice and Home Affairs
MANPADS	Man-portable Air Defense Systems
MERCOSUR	Mercado Comun del Sur (Common Market of the South)
MSC	Maritime Safety Committee (IMO)
MTSA	Maritime Transport Security Act 2002 (USA)
NAM	Non-Aligned Movement
NATO	North Atlantic Treaty Organization
NCCT	Non-Cooperative Countries and Territories
NGO	nongovernmental organization
NII	non-intrusive inspectional equipment
NYPD	New York City Police Department
OAS	Organization of American States
OAU	Organization of African Unity
OIC	Organization of the Islamic Conference
OPCW	Organization for the Prohibition of Chemical Weapons
OSCE	Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe