PREVENTING
VIOLENT EXTREMISM
and MASS ATROCITIES

HANDBOOK

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Parliamentarians *for Global Action*
Parlamentarios para la Acción Global
Action Mondiale des Parlementaires
برلمانيون من أجل التحرك العالمي

Robert Bosch
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The analysis and recommendations included in this handbook do not necessarily reflect the views of Parliamentarians for Global Action, the Montreal Institute for Genocide and Human Rights Studies, the Robert Bosch Stiftung or any of the PGA Forum participants, but rather draws upon the major strands of discussion put forward at the event and during subsequent research and analysis conducted by the author, Phil Gurski. Participants neither reviewed nor approved this document. Therefore, it should not be assumed that every participant or collaborating organization subscribes to all of its recommendations, observations, and conclusions.

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PREFACE

At a time when violent extremism and mass atrocity crimes appear to be on the rise, national governments, international and regional organizations are struggling to protect populations from grave human rights abuses.

Motivated by the need to address these challenges, Parliamentarians for Global Action (PGA), in partnership with the Montreal Institute of Genocide and Human Rights Studies (MIGS) at Concordia University and the Stanley Foundation, convened the *Milan Forum for Parliamentary Action in Preventing Violent Extremism and Mass Atrocities* on 27-28 November 2017 in Milan, Italy.

The forum sought to bring together parliamentarians, civil society members and experts from around the globe to educate, sensitize and mobilize legislators, and encourage them to adopt effective policies to protect civilians from mass atrocities and confront the ideology of violent extremism. The Milan Forum included presentations by legislators, academics, civil society groups and UN experts, including Ms. Virginia Gamba, Under-Secretary-General & Special Representative of the Secretary-General for Children and Armed Conflict, and Mr. Ivan Simonovic, Assistant-Secretary-General & Special Advisor to the UN Secretary-General on the Responsibility to Protect.

educate

sensitize

mobilize

encourage

Participants acknowledged that extremist ideologies are being used to justify mass atrocity crimes against civilians and that the threat needs to be confronted in a holistic and multidimensional way, not just through governments and the military. In line with the leadership shown by PGA in the field of International Criminal Justice, this Forum was centered on justice, truth-finding and remedies for victims under the Rule of Law as crucial elements of any viable strategy and policy aimed at addressing mass atrocity crimes.

Interactive sessions sought to develop action-oriented strategies in specific areas of legislative, policy-making and parliamentary-oversight intervention. A wide range of diverse region-specific examples were presented, each reflecting efforts already under-taken by policymakers to prevent mass atrocities and the urgent need for more concrete multi-dimensional action. While discussions demonstrated broad agreement on the need for cooperation, atten-dees reflected on obstacles to consistent collective action.

Parliamentarians concluded the Forum by adopting the *Milan Plan of Action on Preventing Violent Extremism and Mass Atrocities*, which recognizes the threat posed by violent extremism and presents a set of concrete legislative and political strategies that parliamentarians can take to prevent mass atrocity crimes and combat violent extremism, and protect populations from the gravest violations of human rights.

This handbook should be seen as both complementary to the forum and a product written in large part based on the discussions that took place during that Forum. The Milan Forum Plan of Action can be found in Appendix Four.

Parliamentarians for Global Action (PGA) is the largest non-governmental, cross-party, international network of individual legislators with approximately 1,400 members in 143 parliaments around the world. PGA mobilizes parliamentarians as human rights champions committed to promoting the rule of law, democracy, human security, non-discrimination and gender equality. The organization's vision is to contribute to the creation of a rules-based international order for a more equitable, safe and democratic world.

All individual members of PGA are invited to the annual forum of the organization. While in 2017 the 39th forum was held in Milan, Italy, on the prevention of violent extremism and mass atrocities, the 40th annual forum shall take place in Kiev, Ukraine, and shall coincide with the 10th Consultative Assembly of Parliamentarians for the International Criminal Court (ICC) and the Rule of Law, a project that PGA launched in Ottawa, Canada, at its 24th annual forum.

The Stanley Foundation advances multilateral action to create fair, just, and lasting solutions to critical issues of peace and security. The foundation's work is built on a belief that greater international cooperation will improve global governance and enhance global citizenship. The organization values its Midwestern roots and family heritage as well as its role as a nonpartisan, private operating foundation. The foundation's current work includes specific actions toward policy change in the issue areas of nuclear policy, mass violence and atrocities and climate change.

The Montreal Institute for Genocide and Human Rights Studies (MIGS) at Concordia University is recognized internationally as Canada's leading research and advocacy institute for the prevention of genocide, mass atrocity crimes and violent extremism. MIGS conducts in-depth research and proposes concrete policy recommendations to resolve conflicts before they degenerate into mass atrocity crimes. MIGS has achieved national and international recognition for its role as an idea and leadership incubator working with policymakers, academics, leading research institutions, and the media. Today, MIGS is Canada's leading voice and international partner on threats to human security.

Participants including MPs and representatives from civil society and international organizations gather for the 39th Annual Milan Forum

CHAPTER 1

Introduction

Violent extremism/terrorism and mass atrocities – at times the two threats are one and the same – can happen anywhere.

Those inspired by ideas to engage in serious violence or hatred for identified groups of people based on race, religion, sexuality and gender have carried out acts of terrorism and mass violence for decades if not centuries. The underlying ideas have changed over time but the results are the same: deaths, injuries, atrocities on a grand scale, physical damages and trauma. Societies have great interest in preventing these acts and in intervening before individuals become violent extremists.

Many terrorist groups are little different than those who engage in genocidal acts. Terrorist organizations such as Islamic State[1] (IS) are genocidal if we take their messaging and propaganda as indicative of their actual goals: an end to democracy, pluralism, diversity and multiculturalism through the violent imposition of a religious mono-culture, which translates into a totalitarian organization of society.

Terrorists are not fans of debate and discussion: as Al Qaeda founder Abdallah Azzam once said "Jihad and the rifle alone: no negotiations, no conferences, no discussions".

Some terrorist groups also target children in their campaigns of violence. In some instances, children are forced to join groups as child soldiers or as sex slaves/domestic servants (e.g. Nigeria's Boko Haram). In others, children are targeted for killing (e.g. the Taliban in Afghanistan which has not only killed children but forced the closing of schools).

In many cases violent extremists have increasingly engaged in the destruction of UNESCO cultural heritage sites in an effort to erase the identity of other groups. In recent years extremists have destroyed ancient Sufi mosques and libraries in Timbuktu, Mali, while IS members attempted to destroy the ancient city of Palmyra in Syria.

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[1] The Islamic State is also referred to as ISIS and Daesh and can be used interchangeably.

Even the United Nations has been directly targeted by extremist groups. The UN's main office in Iraq was deliberately attacked in 2003, with scores of people killed, including including Special Representative in Iraq Sérgio Vieira de Mello. The UN's office in Algiers, Algeria, was then attacked in 2007. The UN's office in Abjua. Nigeria, was attacked in in 2011 with similar casualty rates. In present day Mali, UN peacekeepers have come under direct attacks by extremist groups.

While terrorism and atrocities are not new phenomena, it is useful to discuss the particular brand of terrorism that is both predominant today and also closely tied to acts of mass violence. Taking the last 150 years as a framework, the US scholar David Rapoport identified four major 'waves' of terrorism: the anarchist wave (from the mid- to late-19th century into the 1920s), the anti-colonial wave (in the post WWI period to the 1960s), the new-left wave (1960s to the 1990s) and the current religious wave (1979 to the present). Each wave had its own characteristics and level of lethality: in the anarchist wave alone, a Russian Tsar, a Spanish Prime Minister, French and US presidents, and Portuguese and Italian kings were killed. Many also consider the assassination of Austro-Hungarian Archduke Ferdinand, the act that led to the outbreak of WW1, as 'propaganda of the deed', the anarchists' modus operandi.

We are in the era of the fourth, or religious, wave of terrorism. It is characterized by mass casualty attacks (most notably 9/11) and is often associated with what is known as 'Islamist extremism', although there are also Buddhist, Christian, Hindu, Jewish, and Sikh religious extremist groups as well (the single largest act of terrorism prior to 9/11 was the bombing of an Air India flight in 1985 plotted by Canada-based Sikh terrorists – the first crimes against humanity case before the permanent International Criminal Court in 2005 regarded the atrocities committed by the Lord's Resistance Army leader, Mr. Joseph Kony of Northern Uganda, who described himself as the son of Jesus Christ). It is important to acknowledge that not all terrorism in the latter stages of the 20th and early part of the 21st centuries is religious in nature. Even if past waves have peaked there are still individuals and groups that adhere to the philosophies and ideologies of earlier ones. For instance, in 1995 the anti-government conspiracy theorist Timothy McVeigh killed 168 people when he placed a truck bomb outside a federal building in Oklahoma City.

Nevertheless, the current wave is not only the most deadly today but by far the most recognizable and the one that has received the most attention, ranging from military and law enforcement/security intelligence agencies, to efforts to prevent

radicalisation to violence at one end, to the de-radicalization of former terrorists at the other. In this light, this handbook will focus exclusively at preventing violent Islamist extremism, although the best practices identified here may be applicable to other forms of violent extremism.

Table 1: Major Islamist extremist attacks since 9/11[2]

Date	Location	MO	Group (if known)	Casualties (dead, wounded)
2001 09 11	New York, Washington, Pennsylvania	Hijacked aircraft	Al Qaeda	2,996 d 6,000+ w
2002 10 12	Bali, Indonesia	Bombings in night clubs	Al Qaeda	202 d 240 w
2002 10 23	Moscow	Arms, explosives in a theatre	Chechen extremists	170 d 700+ w
2004 03 11	Madrid	Explosives on trains	Al Qaeda	192 d 2050 w
2004 09 1-3	Beslan, North Ossetia, Russia	Explosives, arms in a school siege	Chechen extremists	385 d 783 w
2005 07 07	London	Explosives in subways	Al Qaeda	53 d 700+ w
2006 07 11	Mumbai	Explosives on trains	Lashkar-e-Taiba	209 d 700+ w
2007 08 14	Qahtaniyah, Iraq	Suicide bombers	unknown	500+ d 1,500+w
2008 11 26	Mumbai	Arms, explosives in hotels	Lashkar-e-Taiba	166 d 308 w
2010 05 10	Iraq	Suicide bombers, explosives	Al Qaeda in Iraq?	100+ d 350+ w
2011 01 18-20	Iraq	Arms, suicide bombers	Al Qaeda in Iraq	137 d 230+ w
2011 10 04	Mogadishu	Suicide bombing	Al Shabaab	100 d 110+ w
2012 05 21	Sana'a, Yemen	Suicide bombing	Al Qaeda in the Arabian Peninsula	120+ d 250+ w
2012 08 16	Iraq	Suicide bombing, arms	Al Qaeda?	128 d 417 w

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[2]   A short description of each attack is provided in Appendix 1.

continued: Table 1: Major Islamist extremist attacks since 9/11

Date	Location	MO	Group (if known)	Casualties (dead, wounded)
2012 09 12	Baghdad	Suicide bombing arms	Islamic State of Iraq	108 d 371 w
2013 01 10	Quetta, Pakistan	Suicide bombing, explosives	United Baloch Army, Lashkar-e-Jhangvi	130 d 270 w
2014 02 14	Borno State, Nigeria	Arms, knives	Boko Haram	121 d
2014 08	Syria	Arms, knives	Islamic State	700+ d
2014 11 28	Kano, Nigeria	Suicide bombing	Boko Haram	120 d 260 w
2015 04 15	Kenya	Arms	Al Shabaab	147 d
2015 10 10	Ankara, Turkey	Bombs	Islamic State	129 d 500+ w
2015 11 13	Paris	Arms	Islamic State	137 d 368 w
2016 07 03	Baghdad	Explosives	Islamic State	300 d 221+ w
2017 10 14	Mogadishu	Truck bomb	Al Shabaab	587 d 316 w

It is also important to bear in mind that there are other forms of mass casualty events that have little or nothing to do with terrorism. The 1994 genocide against the Tutsi in Rwanda, the Armenian genocide of 1916, the Ukrainian Holodomor under Stalin in 1932-33 and the WWII Holocaust are but some examples. If we look merely at the number of dead and wounded in these atrocities and compare the figures with deaths and injuries resulting from terrorism since 9/11 it is abundantly clear that the former vastly outweigh the latter (see Table 2). It is thus perhaps more crucial to ensure that we, as a world community, put into place mechanisms to prevent mass atrocity events more than terrorist events. Nevertheless, the media attention devoted to terrorism and the billions of dollars spent over the past two decades to deal with it (identifying and thwarting terrorists, incarceration, rehabilitation, etc.) are unlikely to diminish soon, thus justifying a more comprehensive approach to the problem.

Table 2:
Major mass atrocity crimes since 1900

Place	Year(s)	Number killed
Germany	1939-1945	12 million
Turkey	1915-1920	2.5 million
Cambodia	1975-79	1.7 million
Biafra (Nigeria)	1967-70	1 million
Rwanda	1994	800,000

Secondly, it must be noted that terrorism and violent extremism, contrary to what many believe, do not constitute an 'existential threat' for most countries. In some countries – Somalia, Nigeria, Afghanistan, Iraq and Pakistan comprise the five nations that have suffered the most attacks and casualties since 2001 – terrorist attacks are an almost daily event, and in the case of the first four above-mentioned countries the use of terrorism can be essentially characterized as a tool of war-making, given the prevailing situation of armed conflict in their territories. Thousands of people have been killed and tens of thousands of people injured over the past two decades in terrorist incidents, which very often have met the gravity threshold of war crimes or crimes against humanity, and the economic costs are probably immeasurable but undoubtedly very high. Non-state actors took over entire cities, with IS taking over Marawi in the Philippines and Mosul in Iraq, creating large scale humanitarian disasters and forced displacement, and the subsequent near total destruction of these urban centres.

Western Europe has seen an increase in deadly terrorist attacks and has witnessed a rise of far right anti-immigrant and anti-Islam movements and politicians. IS has made it clear that it is using violence to try and turn the majority against the Muslim minority in certain countries with the objective of fostering civil conflict.

In other countries – Canada, Australia, Italy, Singapore – terrorism remains a very infrequent scourge. Even in areas with frequent attacks, however, many more people die from events (weather-related, homicide, etc.) that have nothing to do with terrorism. We ignore this fact at our peril. If we accord too much weight to terrorism and take resources away from other more serious threats we not only waste money on lesser evils but fail to spend enough on greater ones. It is best to see terrorism as a challenge that must be confronted on several levels using several types of tools but bear in mind that other forms of violence, whether organised or random, have always led to more deaths and injuries.

When terrorism and mass atrocities converge

The recent reign of terror known as 'Islamic State' in Iraq and Syria was a prime example of how a terrorist group can engage in acts of mass atrocity/genocide. In response to those who claim that the problems posed by IS are counter-terrorism issues, Professor Alex Bellamy writes that "that view mistakes the nature of the organization's violence" and overlooks the reality that terrorism - understood

as violence internationally targeted against civilians - is itself often a crime against humanity."[3] Indeed, the self-styled 'state' created what it called a 'Caliphate' and engaged in the slaughter of a number of identified groups: Yazidis, Christians, Shia Muslims and any other Muslims who did not share their aberrant interpretation of Islam. As Bellamy writes, "Theirs is a doctrine of selective extermination structurally similar to others we have seen in the past such as those espoused by the Nazis, the Khmer Rouge and other murderous regimes." ISIS' acts of violence included mass rape, beheadings, burning people alive, drowning and other forms of execution. Their singling out of the Yazidi in particular has been labeled by many

as a genocide. There are no reliable estimates for the number of victims of IS violence.

Commenting on the rise of religious extremism and the link between atrocities, the Nobel prize winning author Wole Soyinka made the following observation: "The current travail of the Nigerian nation is neither unique, nor unpredicted. The virus of intolerance, injected from childhood, soon graduates into a deadly impulse towards the elimination of the designated outsider, wherever intolerance is permitted the status of the sacrosanct, and privileged over other component units of society. This has often proved the destiny of theocracies, even of the putative, wishful kind. Sooner or later it becomes a killing machine over which the erstwhile banner that reads *'Killing is Believing'* is replaced with *'Not Killing is Damnation.'"*[4]

The definition of genocide in the Rome Statute of the International Criminal Court (1998), which mirrors the one of the Genocide Convention (1948), is:

"Any of the following acts committed with intent to destroy, in whole or in part, a national, ethnical, racial or religious group, as such:

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[3]   Alex Bellamy "The Islamic State and the case for Responsibility to Protect," *Open Canada* April 20, 2018. Available at: https://www.opencanada.org/features/the-islamic-state-and-the-case-for-responsibility-to-protect/

[4]   Wole Soyinka "My Nigeria, paying the wages of appeasement" *Open Canada* October 15, 2015. Available at: https://www.opencanada.org/features/my-nigeria-paying-wages-appeasement/

- Killing members of the group;
- Causing serious bodily or mental harm to members of the group;
- Deliberately inflicting on the group conditions of life calculated to bring about its physical destruction in whole or in part;
- Imposing measures intended to prevent births within the group;
- Forcibly transferring children of the group to another group."

The 'foreign fighter' phenomenon

Another aspect of IS that contributed to mass atrocity crimes, was the influx of what has been called the 'foreign fighter' phenomenon, demonstrating the transnational nature of extremism. Upwards of 40,000 individuals from over 100 countries traveled to Iraq and Syria to join IS and some of the foreign terrorists carried out some of the worst human rights violations. Many foreign fighters have died in exchanges with the Syrian and Iraqi armies and their allies but many have survived and moved on to other IS affiliates around the world. Many others have been arrested and are awaiting trial: some have been found guilty and have been sentenced to death. Several nations have stated that they do not want their citizens who fought with IS to return to their home countries. As the UN has noted:

"They increase the intensity, duration, and complexity of conflicts and may constitute a serious danger to their States of origin, transit, destination, as well as neighboring zones of armed conflict in which they are active. The Foreign terrorist fighter (FTF) threat is evolving rapidly changing and is unlikely to be fully contained in the short term. A significant longer-term risk is posed by FTFs returning to their countries of origin or upon their arrival in third countries."[5]

a. The international nature of IS has created several legal problems:

b. Which state has jurisdiction over the crimes committed by IS terrorists in Iraq and Syria?

c. Do these states recognize human rights?

d. Is there enough evidence to bring these people to trial?

e. Are there enough extradition treaties in place to send foreign nationals back?

f. Can we get over the emotional horror of IS atrocities to deal with these terrorists through the rule of law and abiding by international human rights' conventions?

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[5]   United Nations Security Council Counter-Terrorism Committee, "Foreign Terrorist Fighters," August 17, 2017. Available at: https://www.un.org/sc/ctc/focus-areas/foreign-terrorist-fighters/

The Milan Forum emphasized, however, that states have a responsibility to prosecute their foreign fighters who committed crimes in Iraq and Syria. Iraqi MPs present at the Forum were particularly adamant on this matter. The prosecution of individuals for committing crimes against humanity and war crimes in the past two decades has taken huge strides forwards thanks to the tribunals for Rwanda, Yugoslavia, Sierra Leone and the creation of the permanent ICC. They have brought justice to the victims and undermined the impunity that has permitted perpetrators to act without consequences. However, the ICC has its weaknesses, particularly due to the limits to its jurisdiction whether temporal or territorial, while its advantages rely upon its complementarity to domestic jurisdictions and its potential to deliver universal justice based on the principle of equality before the law.

Parliaments can become a partner in raising awareness about the need for justice by putting pressure on governments to act and by pressing for the referral of situations by the UN Security Council. They can push for countries to both accede to the Rome Statute and to try the accused in national courts, as well as to accept the jurisdiction of the ICC even before accession or ratification of the Statute.

The role of social media

While the advent of the Internet and social media platforms has enabled the vast exchange of information and enhanced international trade, they have also vastly enabled terrorist groups and the distribution of hate material that can foster mass atrocities and possibly genocides. The information posted is next to impossible to control or regulate despite efforts to enact legislation and best practices to eliminate it as soon as it is identified. Terrorist groups use online platforms to make claims for attacks, attract new recruits and create propaganda that calls for violence against named ethnic or faith groups. Followers consume this material and can be inspired by it to plan and execute atrocities and mass violence. There is tension between principles of free speech and the use of social media by extremist groups and different jurisdictions follow different rules.

CHAPTER 2

Terminology

The old phrase 'one man's freedom fighter is another man's terrorist' sums up the problem surrounding any discussion on terrorism and violent extremism.

Definitions

Different words and phrases mean different things to different people. Alex Schmid, a fellow at the Netherlands-based International Centre for Counter Terrorism (ICCT), noted in 1988 that there were 109 scholarly definitions for terrorism[6]. A similar lack of consensus plagues terms such as radicalisation, de-radicalisation and countering violent extremism.

To provide context to the discussion in this handbook the following definitions are given below. They are not intended to be prescriptive or comprehensive, but are general enough to allow for understanding and debate. As a result, they will serve as a scaffold on which to continue the conversation in this handbook.

Terrorism: any act of serious violence that is motivated primarily by actors for ideological, religious or political reasons (NB for some, the act has to target civilians as well).

Violent extremism: violent extremism is close in meaning to terrorism and the two terms will be considered synonymous in this handbook.

Radicalization: the transition from normative, mainstream beliefs to radical ones. Note that radicalization does not inherently lead to violence. Many movements once considered 'radical' are now mainstream (e.g. female suffrage or gay rights)

Violent radicalization: the transition from normative, mainstream beliefs to radical ones that also endorse or demand the use of violence to impose one's beliefs on others.

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[6]   Alex P. Schmid and Albert J. Jongman, Political Terrorism: A New Guide to Actors, Authors, Concepts, Databases, Theories, and Literature (Amsterdam: Transaction , 1988).

Mobilization: the move from violent radical ideology to violent action. Not every individual who radicalizes to violence elects to act violently.

Counter Terrorism (CT): Efforts by the State to identify and neutralize those seeking to recruit terrorists, create and distribute terrorist messaging, finance terrorism and plan acts of terrorism.

Countering Violent Extremism (CVE): the effort to counter violent extremist individuals, groups and messaging. CVE applies when radicalisation to violence has already begun but mobilisation has yet to occur.

Preventing Violent Extremism (PVE): while many conflate PVE with CVE, PVE strictly speaking refers to efforts to develop programs that divert individuals from starting down the road to violent extremism and terrorism by addressing problems associated in part with the radicalization to violence continuum (see below) and by providing guidance on resilience.

Narrative: According to Halverson, Goodall Jr. and Corman, a narrative is "a coherent system of interrelated and sequentially organized stories that share a common rhetorical desire to resolve a conflict by establishing audience expectations according to the known trajectories of its literary and rhetorical form."[7] Narratives constrain how we view the world, our place in it and often our responses to challenges. For instance, the Islamist extremist narrative (sometimes called the 'Single Narrative') states that a) Islam is under attack by the West and b) 'true' Muslims (as defined by violent extremists) have a divine duty to defend Islam from its enemies.

Counter Narrative: Efforts to undermine the narrative created by Islamist extremists by critically picking apart the component parts of the Single Narrative.

Alternative Narrative: Efforts to construct an independent (and superior) narrative to that of the Islamist extremists by members of the greater community that does not pay overt attention to the Single Narrative but seeks to provide an alternative framework to guide people (especially young people) in a way consistent with the mainstream, normative views of Islam (or Judaism, Hinduism, etc.).

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[7]   Jeffrey R. Halverson, H. L. Goodall, Jr. and Steven R. Corman *Master Narratives of Islamist Extremism* Palgrave MacMillan (New York: 2013) pg 14.

Early intervention: CVE efforts to divert an individual from the path to violent extremism before it becomes entrenched and hence a counter terrorism issue.

De-radicalization: programs designed to convince individuals who have become terrorists to abandon the ideology or ideas associated with terrorist groups or movements.

Disengagement: programs designed to convince individuals who have become terrorists to no longer engage with terrorist groups or movements but who have not necessarily abandoned those ideologies.

Mass atrocity crimes: violence directed at civilian populations including genocide, crimes against humanity and serious war crimes, including ethnic cleansing. In light of the immense sufferings and losses caused by armed conflict, the notion of atrocity crimes may be expanded to include crimes against the peace, as defined in the Nuremberg Statute and Judgement, or crime of aggression, as defined in the amended Rome Statute of the ICC.

CHAPTER 3

Radicalization and Mobilization

What causes radicalization?

The push and pull factors that can lead to radicalization vary greatly: they are region- and context-specific, and the patterns and causes vary from person to person.

Nonetheless, experts present at the Forum agreed that three elements are usually present. First, real or perceived macro-and/or micro grievances play a major role in leading individuals to join extremist groups and commit crimes. This can include discrimination and marginalization, lack of socio-economic opportunities and education, and poor governance.

Secondly, ideologies play a crucial role in making sense of real or perceived grievances. Extremist groups frame and weaponize grievances in such a way that it creates a sense of victimhood that will eventually legitimize the use of violence. Most participants agreed that, at this point in time, totalitarian approaches and interpretations of religion is one of the main ideologies used by extremists to achieve their ends.

The third central component is mobilization: local social networks and relationships that connect potential extremist to others are crucial. Furthermore, participants agreed that violent extremists have weaponized the internet, which they use as a tool to disseminate and amplify their hateful propaganda, radicalize and recruit fighters, thereby connecting to potential militants faster and easier.

A variety of academics, experts and others have proffered explanations for why people adopt radical and violent radical views and why some translate those views into acts of terrorism. In truth, many if not all of these explanations suffer from short term study and small data sets. Theories are often put forward that claim to account for why radicalization occurs with little to no peer review or empirical analysis. It should be obvious that it is impossible to construct a social or psychological

experiment where one group is radicalized to violence and a second control group is not. The underlying challenge is that since terrorism remains a rare event in any given area it will be difficult if not impossible to determine with any degree of certainty universal principles or causes of radicalisation to violence.

These challenges have nevertheless not stopped some from proposing overly general theories. Some of these can be summarised as:

• Relative deprivation (you have more than I do and I want what you have)

• Marginalization/ Disenfranchisement/Alienation (I feel that I am not part of society and it is you that are preventing me from becoming so)

• Search for Significance (my efforts at achievement have been thwarted and I can only achieve meaning through membership in a violent extremist group)

• Mental illness (all terrorists suffer from mental illness)

• Historical/current geopolitical conflict

Each of these can be shown to be inadequate by demonstrating that any one is plagued by the generation of false positives and false negatives. For example, if we apply the 'mental illness' criterion we find that many people who do in fact suffer from

mental illness never become terrorists (false positives) while many who go to commit acts of violent extremism do not suffer from obvious (or diagnosed) mental illness (false negatives).

From right to left: **Dr. David Donat Cattin**, PGA Secretary-General; **Prof. Lorenzo Vidino**, Director, Program on Extremism; Head, Programme on Radicalization, George Washington University, Washington DC; **Mr. Kyle Matthews**, Executive Director, Montreal Institute for Genocide and Human Rights Studies; **Ms. Virginia Gamba**, Under-Secretary-General; Special Representative of the Secretary-General for Children and Armed Conflict, United Nations

It is not that these theories have nothing useful to say about the radicalization problem. Each in its own way makes a contribution to a general understanding of some of the circumstances and factors at play in some cases. In the end, however, none are universal or generalizable in a meaningful way. They are not predictive and cannot be used by a variety of actors (states, law enforcement agencies,

faith leaders, families and friends, and communities) to determine whom to watch (or whom to want authorities about). It is often said that the radicalization process is an individual, idiosyncratic one and this appears to be true. With such a degree of variability it is not surprising that we cannot design a theory that accounts for (much less predicts) radicalization.

As an Italian scholar told the Milan Forum, 'radicalizers' (i.e. those that radicalize people: the term self-radicalization is inaccurate and should be avoided) make critical use of grievances by explaining the to their acolytes/followers and leads to a 'weaponization' of these grievances through the legitimization of the use of violence. This analysis is based on Benford and Snow's Frame Analysis

on the "right to interpret an issue or social problem"[8]. The 'diagnostic frame' is created in which the problem/enemy is identified and a consensus is found, the 'prognostic frame' provides a solution to the grievance, and the 'motivational frame" suggest how an individual can act and gives an argument for it. Followers, who can be anywhere on the ideological spectrum depending on the nature of the grievance, are told that they are part of the solution to the problem.

Despite a lack of comprehensive understanding there are nonetheless frequent, observable signs that indicate that an individual is heading down the path to violent radicalization (while at the same time not necessarily predictive in nature). These signs are listed in Appendix Two.

What do we know about the transition from radicalization to mobilization?

As noted above, radicalization in itself is not necessarily a problem: on the contrary it has contributed to beneficial changes in societies around the world. When radicalization leads to violence, however, it needs to be held in check. Fortunately, the vast majority of people who hold radical views never translate those into violent action.

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[8]   Benford, Robert D, & Snow, David A. (2000). Framing processes and social movements: An overview and assessment. *Annual review of sociology*, 611-639.

We are not in a position to predict which people constitute the very small minority who go on to violent action. Luckily, just as with radicalization, there are signs when thought becomes action. This is known as the 'radical-ization to mobilization' process. The Canadian Security Intelligence Service (CSIS) published a redacted version of their work in March 2018.[9] In short, the Canadian agency found that:

- The speed of mobilization to violence takes an average of 12 months. In other words, in Canada, cases of spontaneous mobilization (five days or fewer) exist but are rare.

- A change in the individual's physical training routine, followed by the financial activities necessary to mobilize and raise money for the intended activity.

- Getting personal affairs in order (such as repaying debts, writing wills or giving away worldly posses-sions) and activities that are vital to the success of the mobilisation (such as buying a plane ticket)

- 80% of the youth and young adults under the age of 20 mobilize in groups of two or more. Young women in particular rarely mobilize alone.

- There is often a four year gap between a mobilizer's last reported criminal activity and their mobilization to violence.[10]

This is important analysis that should be replicated in different countries. Nevertheless, as CSIS emphasises, its findings are not predictive and there is not a 'magic number' of indicators that guarantees violent action will ensue.

" Despite a lack of comprehensive understanding there are nonetheless frequent, observable signs that indicate that an individual is heading down the path to violent radicalization... "

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[9]   You can find the redacted findings at Canadian Security Intelligence Service "Mobilization to Violence (Terrorism) Research, Key Findings" February 5, 2018. Available at: https://csis.gc.ca/pblctns/thrpblctns/IMV_-_Terrorism-Research-Key-findings-eng.pdf

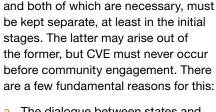[10] This suggests that, within Canada, mobilizers make a clear transition between criminal and extremist activities. This finding stands in stark contrast to academic literature describing the extremist environment in Europe, where criminal and extremist activities are described as increasingly related—or even completely symbiotic.

CHAPTER 4

Principles and best practices of CVE and PVE

When considering the development of programs to deal with radicalization to violence, terrorism/violent extremism and mass atrocities/genocide it is useful to examine current best practices and principles that provide the framework for these efforts. These sections outline some of those principles and practices.

Community engagement and CVE are not the same thing

The first and most important principle of community engagement is that talking with a country's citizens is NOT the same as having a dialogue on countering violent extremism. The two concepts, both of which are important

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and both of which are necessary, must be kept separate, at least in the initial stages. The latter may arise out of the former, but CVE must never occur before community engagement. There are a few fundamental reasons for this:

a. The dialogue between states and their citizenry is a hallmark of responsible government. Elected officials serve at the pleasure of the electorate and must keep it informed.

b. Community input to government policy can be very advantageous. Elected officials and civil servants of course have a role in developing policies, laws and programs but allowing more general input from the wider population can provide new viewpoints that can make these better.

c. It is becoming more and more apparent that populations in the West trust government less and less. Engaging in meaningful dialogue with a promise that opinions will be heard (but not necessarily acted upon directly) can help reverse this trend.

d. In multicultural countries, like many in the West, some residents and citizens are not familiar with Western democracy. Inviting diasporas and ethnic communities to a dialogue aids in basic civics education and could enhance participation in the democratic process.

e. If a government elects to engage in dialogue with communities on national security issues as 'first contact', those communities may, and likely will, react negatively. Individuals and groups are less likely to be open to cooperation if they perceive that they are being exploited for information/intelligence and that the government does not really care about their issues and challenges. The government's relationship with a section of its citizens should not be "securitized", i.e. seen primarily through the lens of national security issues.

f. Community meetings can foster interethnic and interfaith understanding that can serve to build resilience that can undermine attempts to sow hatred and identify groups for aggression. The more different communities know about each other and learn to work together the better position they will be in rejecting these messages of hate.

What are the overarching goals of CE?

Community engagement as a regular government initiative is aimed at several goals. These can be summarized as follows:

a. Civic education. Engagement provides a space for governments to explain their duties and responsibilities towardscitizens as well as the rights and duties of citizens.

b. Myth busting. Many citizens have preconceived, erroneous notions of what governments, law enforcement and security agencies can do. Outreach allows an honest conversation (within limits of course) on the mandates and actions of these agencies. This is important for those from areas of the world where such organizations are often above the law. Outreach can serve to demonstrate that in the West these agencies are in fact bound by law and cannot act illegally

c. Airing of grievances. Outreach is an opportunity for communities to present their issues to government representatives. Common

grievances include immigration matters, concern over stereotyping, instances of harassment and prejudice among others.

d. Broaching sensitive issues. Community engagement, if done properly, sets the stage for more difficult conversations at a later time.

e. Getting buy in/collaboration. The ultimate goal of community engagement is to establish working relationships between governments and communities. If communities believe that their input is valued and a level of trust is created between the parties, they will be more open to collaborative work in the future. Communities seeing themselves as part of the solution, rather than the 'problem', will take ownership of issues and thus have a vested interest in helping out. In addition the exercise of engagement fosters greater social cohesion, resilience and investment into the ruling order.

General Principles of CVE

Once engagement has been initiated and relationships are beginning to mature, CVE proper can be rolled out. Since CVE is the current term for preventive measures taken by governments and communities it is, by definition, to be applied at an early stage of radicalization to violence, in what is known as 'pre-criminal space'.

For some, CVE also entails counter radicalization and de-radicalization programs. The US Department of Homeland Security takes a more robust view of CVE:

CVE aims to address the root causes of violent extremism by providing resources to communities to build and sustain local prevention efforts and promote the use of counter-narratives to confront violent extremist messaging online.[11]

Stopping violent ideologies from taking root is a better approach than extracting them once they have become the dominant frame for someone. This of course makes intuitive sense. Furthermore, counter- and de-radicalization strategies suffer from a lack of evidentiary proof and sufficient data that they actually work in the long-term.

It is assumed that the state will have a role to play in designing and implementing CVE programs. This is a necessary step but one that must diminish in time, a topic we will return to.

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[11]   United States Homeland Security "Terrorism Prevention Partnerships" December 7, 2017. Available at: https://www.dhs.gov/countering-violent-extremism

With these caveats in mind, here are some basic considerations for the creation and implementation of a community-based CVE program.

Where should CVE end up?

Whatever course national CVE initiatives follow the end goal should be community ownership of the process. Governments do have a keen interest in developing and monitoring the progress of CVE but at an appropriate time local communities should assume responsibility for administering local programmes. Communities are naturally tied to their own issues and problems and are in a better position than states to identify and resolve them while government actors may suffer from credibility weaknesses due to controversial government policies. Local solutions may also be more economical than those mandated by central authorities. Finally, local involvement could lead to a better sense of social cohesion and resilience and could also provide community actors with experience that could be used on larger, more national stages.

Local management notwithstanding, it is highly likely that government funding will always be required since

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communities rarely have the resources to fund CVE programs. Continued government sponsorship does entail accountability mechanisms and some form of effectiveness measurement. When all is said, the best role for government is eventually one in the background.

The 5-step CE/CVE model

The International Association of Chiefs of Police (IACP) has created a document entitled 'Community Outreach and Engagement Principles'[12], whose principles are general in nature and can be applied to any situation.

The document notes that the goals of outreach are fourfold:

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[12]   Countering Violent Extremism (CVE) Working Group "Community Outreach and Engagement Principles" IACP *Committee on Terrorism* 2012. Available at: http://www.theiacp.org/portals/0/pdfs/IACP-COT_CommPolicingPrinciples__FINALAug12.pdf (Disclaimer: Despite the link between the IACP and this document, it should not be interpreted as a way to engage solely on security matters.)

a. To build and maintain relationships and partnerships with diverse communities

b. To establish transparency, mutual understanding and trust

c. To ensure public safety and to address threats by building law enforcement's knowledge and awareness of diverse communities

d. To ensure equal and respectful treatment of communities and partners.

Among the principles underlying successful community engagement are acceptance and inclusiveness, appropriate communication channels, the identification of credible voices, transparency, and continuity of action.

Conclusions

CE and CVE are not panaceas to the problems of violent extremism. A harder component, involving law enforcement and security intelligence agencies tasked with investigations and possible eventual arrests and charges will always be a necessary option in some cases.

CE and CVE are nonetheless worth doing for reasons outside of national security. They contribute to greater social resilience and cohesion. They take a lot of effort but that effort will be seen to be worth it in the end.

In Appendix three, a number of current programs from countries around the world that fall into several of the categories listed above in the definitions section (early intervention, PVE, CVE, and deradicalization) can be found.

CHAPTER 5

Other efforts linked to CVE/PVE

Proliferation of weapons

Mass atrocities and acts of violent extremism are facilitated through illegally-obtained conventional arms.

Curtailing the transfer of arms to non-state actors and preventing the proliferation of weapons of mass destruction (WMD) are essential. *The Programme of Action to Prevent, Combat and Eradicate the Illicit Trade in Small Arms and Light Weapons in All Its Aspects*[13], as well as other international and regional treaties and tracing instruments, call on states to have national import/export controls systems in place and not to supply arms to non-state actors and to states that are likely to violate international humanitarian law. However, the foundations of these existing treaties and agreements have been quite shaky as several countries have failed to commit to these instruments on numerous times – some states verbally support the system but fail to practice what they preach. The European Union, for example, has been essential in establishing the key infrastructure of arms export/import control but conflicts in Syria and Yemen raise serious concerns about the willingness to comply with rules.

Elected officials in their respective countries can take concrete legislative steps to improve legislation and implementation of relevant treaties, conventions and resolutions. They can push for renewed international commitment and enhanced cooperation and investment in security and intelligence thanks to their legislative powers.

Use of child soldiers as weapon of war

Today, children are used systematically, including by ISIS and Boko Haram, to help armed groups in their criminal activities.

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[13]   United Nations Small Arms Review Conference "Programme of Action to Prevent, Combat and Eradicate the Illicit Trade in Small Arms and Light Weapons in All Its Aspects" 2006. Available at: http://www.un.org/events/smallarms2006/pdf/PoA.pd

The ILO Convention No 182 on the Prohibition and Immediate Action for the Elimination of the Worst Forms of Child Labor prohibits the "forced or compulsory recruitment of children for use in armed conflict". Despite some progress in certain country situations, increasingly complex conflicts have resulted in more widespread violations against children. The recruitment of child soldiers has been identified by the Romeo Dallaire Child Soldiers Initiative as an early warning sign of mass atrocities. This realization could inform timely action that can created

more effective preventive responses. Any CVE/PVE approach should therefore take this issue into account.

Legislators need to advocate for legislative changes to protect the rights of vulnerable group. For example, violations against children, including the recruitment of child soldiers and attacks on educational facilities, should be criminalized in all countries, and new international mechanisms and approaches should be put in place to both prevent the use of child soldiers and facilitate the integration of enslaved and indoctrinated children.

CHAPTER 6

When CVE/PVE is insufficient or ineffective: international action against non-state actors

CVE/PVE efforts and other soft approaches to terrorism are essential not only to save the lives of those targeted by terrorists groups but also to reduce the need for costly (human and financial) military efforts.

However, military efforts, including peacekeeping missions, are sometimes required to protect civilians when the threat posed by violent non-state actors is eminent or already present in a particular country or region.

The creation of the United Nations Counter-Terrorism Committee and the UN Counter-Terrorism Committee Executive Directorate shows that member states are conscious of the need for global concerted action against terrorism. Resolution 1373 recognized the threat posed by terrorism to international peace and security, and called for a wide range of actions to prevent and suppress terrorist acts.

In recent years, there have been several regional and international efforts against terrorist groups, which can pose existential threats to statehood

and international peace and security when they transform themselves in "insurrectional movements" or rebel groups. Operation Serval in Mali in January 2013, was a French intervention aimed at ousting Islamic militants and rebels from the north at the request of the Malian government and under UN Resolution 2085. The French intervention was followed by Operation Barkhane, spanning five countries in the Sahel and involving an African-led Multilateral force. Presently the United Nations Multidimensional Integrated Stabilization Mission in Mali is now one of the UN's largest peace-keeping operations and also perhaps the deadliest.

The African Union Mission in Somalia created in 2007 is a UN-supported peacekeeping mission mandated, amongst other things, to "reduce the threat posed by Al Shabaab and other

as freedom of speech and the right to a fair trial, in search of security. Indeed, violations of these rights can exacerbate problems by increasing the sense of injustice felt by communities, a feeling used by extremist groups to radicalise individuals.

Parliamentarians can strengthen the integration and political participation of individuals and communities, particularly minority groups, thereby preventing the sense of alienation or victimhood complex sometimes felt by these groups. They should also exercise greater democratic oversight and hold governments accountable. They can do so by asking for more transparency and for information exchange between all levels of governments. In addition, counter-terrorism policies should not be confined to national boundaries: transnational terrorism requires transnational counter-terrorism measures.

armed opposition groups."[14] Similarly, in Nigeria, a multinational force backed by the African Union and including Nigeria, Chad, Niger, Cameroon and Benin was launched in 2015 to fight Boko Haram in the region. Both missions are still ongoing.

In many countries, the threat of violent extremism has led to an expansion of the power of security services. While this is understandable, States must remain careful not to sacrifice values and fundamental rights, such

" Parliamentarians can strengthen the integration and political participation of individuals and communities, particularly minority groups, thereby preventing the sense of alienation or victimhood complex sometimes felt by these groups. **"**

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[14]   AMISOM "AMISOM mandate" n.d. Available at http://amisom-au.org/amisom-mandate/

CHAPTER 7

Justice as preventive and punitive tool

Taking action against violent extremists and mass atrocities demands efforts to bring perpetrators of crimes to justice, not only as punitive action but as a preventive tool that would send a sign to would-be terrorists.

UN Security Council resolution 1373 (2001) requires Member States to "ensure that any person who participates in the financing, planning, preparation or perpetration of terrorist acts or in supporting terrorist acts is brought to justice."

Nationally, law enforcement agencies have had to adapt to the global terrorist threat, particularly with the foreign fighter phenomenon and the transnational nature of contemporary terrorism. States are having to make legislative changes to deal with home-grown terrorism and foreign fighters who have committed in terrorist and mass atrocity crimes abroad, or who have supported terrorist organizations at home.[15] Those crimes can constitute war crimes, genocide and crimes against humanity, depending on their gravity, scale and nature. Canada and the UK have tried individuals who attempted to join terrorist organization, and several European countries have prosecuted returnees for crimes committed as members of IS.[16]

While 'transnational' law enforcement in these cases are still at the development stage, there have been cases cross-border cooperation in cases of war crimes and crimes against humanity, as with the conviction of Chadian dictator Hisène Habre who was tried in a foreign court and convicted for crimes against humanity, war crimes and torture.

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[15] Library of Congress "Treatment of Foreign Fighters in Selected Jurisdictions: Country Surveys" October 6, 2015. Available at: https://www.loc.gov/law/help/foreign-fighters/country-surveys.php#Canada

[16] Committee on Legal Affairs and Human Rights, Council of Europe "Prosecuting and punishing the crimes against humanity or even possible genocide committed by Daesh" September 20, 2017. Available at: http://website-pace.net/documents/19838/3115026/AS-JUR-2017-30-EN.pdf/2def016d-fc77-4bb7-823b-a57e113687ce

Defenders of Democracy Award ceremony, from left to right: **Dr. David Donat Cattin,** PGA Secretary-General; **Ms. Lia Quartapelle**, MP (Italy); **Don Virginio Colmegna** (Italy), 2017 Defender of Democracy Awardee; **Ms. Lamiya Aji Bashar**, Yazidi civil society activist, 2017 Defender of Democracy Awardee; **Ms. Emma Bonino** (Italy), 2017 Defender of Democracy Awardee; **Ms. Margarita Stolbizer** (Argentina), PGA President; **Ms. Petra Bayr**, MP (Austria) PGA Treasurer

The prosecution of individuals for war crimes and crimes against humanity has taking huge strides but the actions of the International Criminal Court remains limited as a result of its jurisdiction that depends either on States' consent or UN Security Council's referrals, which have been selective and unsatisfactory. In respect of mass-atrocity situations falling outside the current ICC territorial jurisdiction (e.g. Syria/Iraq), much of the international success has been the work of victims, non-governmental groups and national governments collecting evidence of mass atrocity crimes for eventual prosecution in national or international courts. Under the principle of "universal jurisdiction", Sweden and Germany are currently engaged in such efforts to investigate

and prosecute individuals allegedly implicated in crimes against humanity in Syria.

For justice to be credible and gain acceptance by all sides concerned, it has to respect and fulfil all international norms and standards protecting the rights of the accused and the presumption of innocence. Counter-terrorism measures have been often perceived as trumping inalienable human rights protections. Extrajudicial or summary executions and other unlawful practices have often been conducive to unintended counter-productive effects, as they gave an opportunity to violent extremist groups to gain new recruits in marginalized communities and amongst the educated youth. The unanimous finding of the several debates hosted at the Milan Forum was that there is no shortcut vis-à-vis justice under International Law, and that only the due process of law can result in genuine truth-finding, access to justice for victims, proportionate punishment of the convicted persons and reparations by the perpetrator to the victim (alongside States' forms of reparations). In terms of historic memorialization, the outcomes of human rights' law-abiding judicial process – namely, judgements by independent Courts – may not be rebutted by negationist theories and can provide a fertile ground for measures on non-repetition ("never again"), including national reconciliation policies.

CHAPTER 8

The role of parliamentarians in PVE/CVE and mass atrocity prevention

Parliamentarians can and should play a role in PVE/CVE and atrocity prevention.

Even if members of assemblies do not possess the expertise required to become part of programs they can perform several useful functions in positioning their countries to adopt better domestic and foreign policies. They can be summarised as follows:

Parliamentarians can:

- Pressure the executive branch of governmentand the civil serviceto support and/or develop a national PVE/CVE action plan and ensure they have the proper resources to be effective.

- Conveneexperts to evaluate ongoing programsand identifynew approaches.

- Sponsor the sharing of ideas and best practices from practitioners in country and around the world.

- Participatein outreach sessions with their constituencies to help garner support for PVE/CVE programs.

- Urgeexperts and government officials to formulate strategies and legislation for social media platformsto work more effectively inidentifyingobjectionable material for removal and taking a stronger stance against online hate and the incitement to violence.

- Sponsor public education programs for youth who might be susceptible to extremist ideas.

- Supportcivil society initiativesand inter-faith dialogues at the domestic and international levels.

- Pressure their governments to join existing international treaties and initiatives that cover terrorism and mass atrocities.

- Pressure their governments to prosecute returning foreign fighters and ensure that evidence and documentation concerning the perpetration of crimes under International Law is collected and preserved in respect of all relevant

situations in such a way as to make such evidence and documentation available for trials and other accountability processes aimed at putting an end to impunity for crimes that threaten the peace, security and well-being of the world.

Combatting the root causes of extremism requires more than military action, which should be used only when absolutely necessary. It requires, among other things, a strong civil society. However, civil society is increasingly under threat as a result of the growth of theocratic and populist power intertwined with a loss of democratic momentum in recent decades. The threat is exacerbated by a tendency of governments to react to the threat of insecurity and violent extremism by targeting civil society.

NGOs are increasingly falling foul of laws designed to limit their spheres of action.

- Parliamentarians need to combat the diminishing public sphere by promoting and protecting freedom of association, expression and peaceful assembly. Legislators must also guarantee the existence of a fair legal framework that ends the impunity of violent organizations without descending into extrajudicial violence. These steps are beneficial to parliamentarians themselves, particularly the opposition, who need protection to act freely and safely without fear of imprisonment.

- The rising number of war crimes and crimes against humanity shows that the Responsibility to Protect is being paid mere lip service. Parliamentarians are in a position to act. They can advocate their countries support the Responsibility to Protect and UN peacekeeping operations, while simultaneously advocating for official development assistance be mobilized to support countries that are confronted by violent extremism. Even small changes can add up to meaningful results for people who are caught up in violence.

- Parliamentarians should push their countries to join, if they haven't already, international human rights

> **"** Combatting the root causes of extremism requires more than military action, which should be used only when absolutely necessary. **"**

and arms treaties. War crimes, crimes against humanity, and genocide should be criminalized in domestic laws, putting special emphasis on the incitement of these crimes. Parliamentary oversight is also crucial in keeping government accountable and through the development of committees change can be institutionalized, lasting after individual legislators have left.

- The prevention of violent extremism and mass atrocities should be placed above party politics and countered most effectively when MPs work together. Bipartisan parliamentary groups can use the budgetary powers of their members to increase funding for programs that will benefit mass atrocity prevention, including education and support for NGOs. The latter are important because they work on the ground and perform roles that parliamentarians cannot. If the government in power does not want to engage in efforts to prevent atrocities, parliamentarians particularly need to engage with civil society

and draw on its expertise as part of efforts to increase the political will for action.

The world of counter terrorism and PVE/CVE is a large one and requires buy-in and assistance of multiple actors. The international community is confronted with dangerous extremist ideologies that are used to justify atrocity crimes against civilians, and undermine peace, security, sustainable development, human rights, the rule of law, and resilient societies. As such, terrorism, including international terrorism, is one of the most visible and perceived manifestations of violent extremist groups. Given that these groups are also perpetrating atrocities that must be qualified as the most serious crimes of concern to the international community as a whole.

Parliamentarians have a valuable contribution to make. These problems are not going away and as vanguards of democracy and the rule of law, parliamentarians are uniquely positioned to be agents of change and safeguard human rights. The more legislators who take leadership to help address this challenge, the better.

SUPPLEMENTARY READING LIST

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Gerber, Rachel, Rapp, Stephen Violent Nonstate Actors as Perpetrators and Enablers of Atrocity Crimes Policy Dialogue Brief October 2015 https://www.stanleyfoundation.org/publications/pdb/SPCHPPDB116.pdf

MAJOR ISLAMIST EXTREMIST ATTACKS SINCE 9/11

In Table One on page __ a list of the major terrorist attacks perpetrated by Islamist extremists over the past two decades were summarised in tabular form. The following are short descriptions of each incident.

- The 9/11 attacks were carried out by members of Al Qaeda who hijacked four aircraft flying from New York and Boston airports. One plane was flown into each of the World Trade Center towers. A third plane struck the Pentagon in Washington and the fourth crashed in a field in Pennsylvania when passengers foiled the hijackers' intent (which may have been the White House)

- Al Qaeda claimed responsibility for bombs placed in night clubs popular with Australian tourists on the Indonesian island of Bali on October 12, 2002.

- On October 23, 2002 a group of Chechen terrorists took hundreds of hostages in the NordOst theatre in Moscow, demanding the withdrawal of Russian forces from the Causcasus. Security forces ended the siege in part through the release of a chemical agent into the ventilation system.

- On 11 March 2004 bombs exploded on commuter trains, killing almost 200 people and wounding more than 2,000. The government originally blamed the Basque ETA terrorist group for the attack: the perpetrators are believed to have had links to Al Qaeda and the attack may have been tied to the then Spanish government's participation in the US-led invasion of Iraq.

- In early September 2004 Chechen extremists took children and teachers hostage at a school in the North Ossetian village of Beslan. Russian forces stormed the school on the third day of the siege and used heavy equipment to end the incident.

- 7/7 is the name given to the bombings of several cars in the London Tube system by Al Qaeda-linked terrorists. 53 people were killed and more than 700 were injured in the attack.

- Seven pressure cooker explosives were placed on Mumbai commuter trains in July 2006 in attacks perpetrated by the Lashkar-e-Taiba terrorist group.

- A series of truck bombs struck Iraqi villages largely inhabited by Yazidis near the country's border with Syria on August 14, 2006 killing more than 500 and injuring more than 1,500.

- Lashkar-e-Taiba was responsible for the November 2008 attacks on several Mumbai hotels, commercial centers and a Jewish center that resulted in the deaths of 164 people (another 308 were injured).

- At least 20 attacks in the form of bombings and targeted shootings occurred in several Iraqi cities on May 10, 2010 attributed to Al Qaeda in Iraq.

- Car bombs attributed to Al Qaeda in Iraq killed at least 137 people in the Iraqi cities of Tikrit, Baqubah, Ghalbiyah and Karbala from 18 to 20 January 2011.

- On October 4, 2011 a suicide bomber drove a truck into a complex belonging to the Somali Transitional Federal Government in Mogadishu, killing over 100 people and wounding a similar number.

- A suicide bomber targeted Yemeni soldiers at a National Unity Day ceremony in Sana'a on May 21, 2012, killing more than 100.

- A series of car bombs, suicide attacks and shootings on August 16, 2012 led to the deaths of 128 people and the wounding of more than 400 across Baghdad and central/northern Iraq. The Islamic State of Iraq (ISI) is believed to have been behind the attacks.

- A series of coordinated bombings and shootings across Baghdad and several major cities in the north and south of Iraq on September 9, 2012 resulted in the deaths of at least 108 people (371 were injured).

- 130 people were killed and 270 injured in three attacks in the Pakistani city of Quetta on January 10, 2013. The United Baloch Army was responsible for the first attack while Jashkar-e-Jhangvi claimed the other two.

- The Nigerian state of Borno witnessed its own Valentine's Day massacre in 2014 when the terrorist group Boko Haram shot and knifed to death more than 121 dead.

- Islamic State killed more than 700 members of the Syrian al-Shaitat tribe on August 17, 2014.

- Suicide bombers and gunmen belonging to Boko Haram killed at least 120 people at the Central Mosque in the Nigerian city of Kano in the northern part of the country on November 28, 2014.

- The Somali terrorist group Al Shabaab claimed responsibility for an attack on the Garissa University College in northeastern Kenya, resulting in the deaths of 148 mostly students on April 2, 2015. The assailants separated Muslims from Christians, killing the latter.

- The central station in Ankara, Turkey, was hit with two bombs on October 10, 2015 claiming the lives of 109 people. IS is believed to have been behind the attack.

- Islamic State terrorists carried out multiple attacks throughout the evening of November 13, 2015 in Paris, killing 137 people and wounding an additional 368.

- IS killed 340 people, the majority of whom were Shia Muslims, in a car bomb in Karrada, Iraq on July 3, 2016.

- A massive truck bomb blamed on Al Shabaab killed more than 500 people in Mogadishu on October 14, 2017.

INDICATORS OF ISLAMIST EXTREMIST RADICALISATION[17]

Indicator #1	–	Sudden increase in intolerant religiosity
Indicator #2	–	Rejection of different interpretations of Islam
Indicator #3	–	Rejection of non–Muslims
Indicator #4	–	Rejection of Western ways
Indicator #5	–	Rejection of Western policies (domestic, military, foreign, social, etc.)
Indicator #6	–	Association with like–minded people
Indicator #7	–	Obsession with jihadi sites
Indicator #8	–	Obsession with the Single Narrative
Indicator #9	–	Desire to travel to conflict zones
Indicator #10	–	Obsession with jihad
Indicator #11	–	Obsession with martyrdom
Indicator #12	–	Obsession with end of time

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[17] For further details consult Phil Gurski *The Threat from Within: Recognizing Al Qaeda-inspired radicalisation and terrorism in the West* Rowman and Littlefield (2015)

INTERNATIONAL CVE PROGRAMS

⊙ CANADA

Government of Canada General Information Sessions

The Government of Canada (GOC) has developed a series of information sessions targeted primarily at 'new Canadians' (i.e. recent immigrants). These sessions are organized by Public Safety Canada and take place across Canada. They involve Ottawa-based and local officials from Public Safety, the RCMP, CSIS, CBSA and Citizenship and Immigration Canada (CIC).

Post-session surveys found that:

- 87% of participants felt that the national security organizations had an important role for Canadian security

- 81% agreed their understanding of the roles of the departments improved

- 79% felt that the departments openly shared information

- 76% agreed that their trust in the departments increased[18]

Cross Cultural Roundtable on Security

The Cross Cultural Roundtable on Security (CCRS) was created by the Canadian federal government in the mid 2000s to seek the opinions and input of community leaders on issues tied to national security. According to the Public Safety Canada Website:

The Cross-Cultural Roundtable on Security was created to engage Canadians and the Government of Canada in a long-term dialogue on matters related to national security. The Roundtable brings together citizens who are leaders in their respective communities and who have extensive experience in social and cultural matters. It focuses on emerging developments in national security matters and their impact on Canada's diverse and pluralistic society. The group provides advice and perspectives to the Minister of Public Safety and the Minister

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18   Personal communication, December 2016

of Justice, concerning matters of national security. The concept of the Cross-Cultural Roundtable was built into Canada's National Security Policy.[19]

From the government side, the benefits are improved collaboration on national security issues, an enhanced understanding of issues in the community, and input into the creation of national programmes that are culturally sensitive and bias free. For their part, communities receive a better understanding on national security issues, have an opportunity to provide input into policies that take into consideration local realities, and contribute to a degree of transparency in the national security realm.

⊙ US
The Minneapolis CVE initiative

The northern US city of Minneapolis has been involved in CVE since the mid 2000s when officials learned that a disproportionate number of the city's Somali-Americans had gone back to their homeland to fight with the terrorist group Al Shabaab. Minneapolis was selected in 2014 as one of three pilot cities for community-focused counter-extremism programs, alongside Los Angeles and Boston Efforts are focused on assisting Somali youth

and families with a range of community activities to undercut recruitment efforts by Al Shabaab. The program has not been without criticism from local Somali leaders, however. Some believe that the program unfairly targets Somali Americans while others claim that it lacks adequate civil liberties protections and can divide Muslim communities by spreading suspicion. Furthermore, there do not appear to be assurances in place that information collected will not be passed on to security intelligence and law enforcement agencies.

⊙ UK
PREVENT

One of the oldest and best known programs in the West is that of PREVENT, one of the four pillars of the UK's counter terrorism (CONTEST) initiative. PREVENT is a controversial approach for several reasons. While the government maintains it is directed at any form of violent radicalization many perceive it as targeted mainly at Muslims (this is of course understandable to some as the single greatest security threat to the UK is that from Islamist extremism). The very reasonable decision to get as many people as possible involved in detecting radicalization to violence – teachers, parents, health care and

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[19] Public Safety Canada "Connecting with Canadian Communities" February 26, 2018 https://www.publicsafety.gc.ca/cnt/ntnl-scrt/crss-cltrl-rndtbl/index-en.aspx

social workers, etc. – has led to accusations that Muslim communities are being spied upon and subjected to excessive surveillance. The inclusion of young children in the program has also invited a backlash: of the 7.631 individuals referred from April 2015 to March 2016, almost one third were children (and only five percent of referrals went on to the actual mentorship sub-program known as CHANNEL).[20]

The principle problems with the UK strategy can be summed up as follows:

- Referrals to the program are voluntary: individuals who are deemed to need help can quit whenever they want

- It is hard to measure 'success' as these program are trying to determine when something does not happen (i.e. a future terrorist attack)

- Governments are often too large and ham-handed to administer programs of this nature, which some believe should be left to communities and local actors

- Communities have clearly felt stigmatized by the process. While it is not straightforward to draw a line between stigmatization and terrorism it does seem clear that the experience has not been totally useful or effective.

Institute for Strategic Dialogue

The UK think tank Institute for Strategic Dialogue (ISD) developed a project known as 'Extreme Dialogue' in conjunction with a government of Canada Kanishka grant beginning in the early 2010s . Extreme Dialogue aims to prevent radicalization to violence through the compilation and use of educational resources and short, engaging films that encourage critical thinking. Among the subjects in the films were a former very violent Canadian skinhead, the mother of a deceased IS foreign fighter, a former member of the Ulster Volunteer Force in Northern Ireland and a former member of Al Mujahiroun, a banned terrorist group in the UK[21].

The films are powerful and hold back little. Ex-extremists go into graphic detail about the violence they either engaged in or were witness to. The project has a teachers' resource guide to facilitate classroom conversations as the primary targets of the films' messages are youth. In an effort to gauge the effectiveness of

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[20] Michael Holden "Thousands of children referred to UK's counter terrorism scheme, figures show" *Reuters* November 9, 2017. Available at: https://www.reuters.com/article/us-britain-security-prevent/thousands-of-children-referred-to-uks-counter-terrorism-scheme-figures-show-idUSKBN1D91ZD?il=0 last accessed December 20, 2017

[21] Extreme Dialogue n.d. Available at: http://extremedialogue.org/about/ last accessed December 31, 2017

this approach, Extreme Dialogue has created separate before and after feedback forms for teachers and students in order to help ISD gather quantitative and qualitative data to measure the project's impact

⊙ GERMANY
Exit Deutschland/Hayat

Exit Deutschland (Exit Germany in English) bills itself as an initiative to help anyone who wants to get out of the extreme right milieu and start a new life. Created in 2000 by a former German criminologist/detective and a former neo-Nazi, Exit Deutschland claims to have handled 500 cases over its first 18 years and has suffered a very low recidivism rate of 3%[22] One of the program's former members, Daniel Koehler, now the Director of the German Institute on Radicalization and De-radicalization Studies (GIRDS), has assisted officials in Minnesota deal with the issue of radicalized Somali Americans.

A sister project to Exit Deutschland is *Hayat* (Arabic for 'life') that focuses on Islamist extremism. It was formed in 2012 and has a stated goal of preventing Germans from leaving the country to join terrorist groups like IS. Unlike Exit Deutschland which deals

with extremists directly, Hayat tends to speak with the family and friends of extremists, who have already left Germany or who are unwilling to cooperate with the program. Its case-load has grown steadily since 2012, from 21 initially to 53 to 120 in 2014

⊙ DENMARK
SSP

The Danish government initiated the 'Schools, Social Services and Police' (SSP) program in 1977 to identify risk factors behind crime and delinquency. It is a collaborative system that coordinates local and municipal crime preventive efforts towards children and adolescents and may include a role for families. The program also seeks to identify protective factors in the individual's daily life and environ-ments. The principle behind the SSP collaboration system is that the quality of crime prevention work is strength-ened by the sharing of information between the professions. Over the years the program has been modified to address radicalisation and violent extremism issues.

Aarhus model

Denmark, like all Western countries, has had to face a serious terrorist threat. At least 135 Danes left to join

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[22] Exit Germany "We Provide Ways Out Of Extremism" n.d. Available at: http://www.exit-deutschland.de/english/ last accessed December 27, 2017

IS[23] and there have been a number of successful terrorist attacks in Denmark ascribed to Islamist extremists. In response, the city of Aarhus has developed an interesting approach known as the 'Aarhus model'. Part early intervention and part exit program, Aarhus' efforts are aimed at preventing violent radicalisation in individuals who may, if left unchecked, pose a threat to Danish society. The Aarhus model seeks to channel individuals' political, social, cultural and personal motivations into legal and democratic avenues. Cases referred to what are known as the 'Info House', and which may be received from parents, teachers and others, are assessed for seriousness (cases of real violent smay be passed to the Danish police/intelligence service PET) and an individualised program is developed with a heavy emphasis on personalised mentoring. As a measure of the success of the approach with regard to foreign fighters, Aarhus' police commissioner claims that of the 33 men from the city who joined IS as of 2013, 16 have returned and only one has since traveled to Syria (it is unclear whether this single individual is a veteran or a new combatant)[24].

⊙ SAUDI ARABIA

The Saudi deradicalization programs began in 2004, when the Interior Ministry responded to a series of domestic terrorist incidents by transforming its counterterrorism strategy, taking steps to balance traditional security efforts with techniques that address the ideological sources of violent extremism. One critical component of this new approach was the rehabilitation of extremists in prison through religious re-education and psychological counseling. Over time, the Saudi rehabilitation program grew in scope and prestige as graduates appeared to reintegrate successfully into society.

Since its inception, approximately 4,000 prisoners have participated in a six-week rehabilitation course which includes both counseling sessions and an after-care program that helps reintegrate them into Saudi society. "Beneficiaries", as they are called by the Saudis, have access to committees of clerics, psychologists, and security officers who handle religious, psycho-social, security, and media-related programming.

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[23] Lucie Rychia "Most Danish foreign fighters are men aged below 30 and come from a major city" *Copenhagen Post Online* September 15, 2016. Available at: http://cphpost.dk/news/most-danish-foreign-fighters-are-men-aged-below-30-and-come-from-a-major-city.html last accessed December 27, 2017

[24] Manfred Ertel and Ralf Hoppe "A Danish answer to radical jihad" *Der Spiegel Online* February 23, 2015. Available at: http://www.spiegel.de/international/europe/aarhus-program-for-returning-jihadists-from-syria-a-success-story-a-1019633. html last accessed December 27, 2017

A central challenge has been evaluating the effectiveness of these rehabilitation efforts. Saudi officials have often used the program's recidivism rate, which represents the number of former detainees who "go back to the fight," as an indicator of success. This painted a positive impression early on, when the Saudis claimed a 100 percent success rate. But it later highlighted the program's flaws, particularly after a January 2009 announcement by the Saudis that at least eleven former Guantanamo detainees returned to terrorist activity after graduating from the program. The Saudis now admit that as many as 10 to 20 percent of those released may return to illicit activity. But questions remain about the accuracy of any estimate of recidivism, particularly since there has not been enough time to study long-term effects of deradicalization.

One of the most interesting aspects of the Saudi efforts is the Mohammed bin Nayef Center for Counseling and Advice, which formally opened in 2007 as a modified halfway house that combined elements of a security operation with those of a social services institution.

In keeping with the distinction between deradicalization and disengagement, Saudi program managers have begun to focus more on the latter, with an emphasis on educational efforts aiming to modify a detainee's behavior, not change his religious beliefs. Saudi efforts have also expanded the role of a detainee's family. In addition to visiting during the program and providing post-release support, family members now provide input on how to design specialised programs for each detainee and inform how his progress is evaluated.

⊙ SINGAPORE

The Singaporean government inaugurated the Religious Rehabilitation Group (RRG) in 2003 in response to the threat of terrorist attacks by Jemaah Islamiyah. In its own words, the RRG goal is to:

correct the misinterpretation of Islamic concepts and dispel the extremist and terrorist ideologies they have been indoctrinated with. Rehabilitation seeks to counter detainees' ideological misunderstanding of religion and help them come to terms with the fact that they have been misled. By acknowledging the inappropriateness of their behaviour, future criminal acts can be prevented. As the detainees' ideology often affects their family members, RRG counsels the latter as well to avoid and disrupt the vicious ideological cycle...the programme also seeks to stimulate the minds of the detainees to understand Islam in the Singapore

context. The program aims to show that living Islam rightfully in Singapore is practicable and fulfilling, in the hopes that such efforts would contribute towards preserving the safety and security of Singapore. Besides its primary counselling and rehabilitation work, the RRG is also committed to building social resilience in the community through its outreach programmes. Since 2005, the RRG has organised conferences, forums, dialogue sessions and briefings to educate the community about key Islamic concepts which have often been misinterpreted by terrorist and extremist groups such as JI, Al Qaeda and ISIS.[25]

⦿ FRANCE

French security authorities have identified 18-20,000 radicalized French Muslims. France has been hit hard by Islamist terrorist attacks in recent years (Paris and Nice were the sites of the largest attacks) and the government has decided to act on several levels rather than focus solely on investigative and punitive actions. In November 2017 unveiled RIVE (Recherche et Intervention en Extremisme Violent – Research and Intervention in Violent Extremism) which targets those already sentenced (or awaiting sentence) for a terrorism-related offence or who have been deemed to be radicalized. RIVE contains an individual mentorship module that consists of a team of coaches, a psychologist, a religious adviser and a psychiatrist who will engage with a radicalized individual and with his/her family.

Conclusions

It is impossible to draw generalized lessons from the programs currently underway around the world. Each country and each approach has its own characteristics and legal frameworks within which it must operate. Nations that are majority Muslim have certain advantages (culture, history, etc,) not necessarily present in Muslim minority ones. One factor seems to apply across all programs, however. The involvement of family, friends and community is an important element that cannot be overemphasized. States and governments often suffer from trust issues among their populaces and the inclusion of 'familiar faces' can help those enrolled in these programs better adjust to their rehabilitation.

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[25] Religious Rehabilitation Group n.d. Available at: https://www.rrg.sg/about-rrg/

IACP 5-STEP CE/CVE MODEL

Level 1 – no established relationship, little or no mutual knowledge

Those tasked with outreach activities need at this level to determine who is in the community of interest, develop a general understanding of potential partners, build credibility through one on one encounters and remain current on developments, issues and concerns in the community.

Level 2 – potential partners identified, possible conflicts arise

Actions at this stage include attending public community events to engage a wide selection of community members, seeking a sponsor from within the community who can provide greater access, validation and boost credibility where tension and scepticism exists and participate in 'newcomers' events to alleviate concerns recently arrived immigrants have of governments and law enforcement/ security agencies.

Level 3 – Initial contact leads to open channels of communication

An example of an initiative at this level is the RCMP's 'Citizens' Academies', a program designed to foster understanding of how the police works[26], the use of social media to push messages out to the community and a preliminary exchange of information between police and communities.

Level 4 – mutual understanding and shared education is developing, communities accept the role of law enforcement to handle certain issues.

Among the actions at this level are 'youth academies' (similar to the above noted Citizens' Academies but aimed at elementary level students), the development of a diverse working group of community members to discuss mutual concerns, drafting an MOU to ensure continuity of commitment, and accepting invitations to discuss specific issues of concern in a particular community.

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[26]   For an example of one such initiative in British Columbia, see RCMP "Surrey RCMP launches Citizen Police Academy" July 30, 2014. Available at: http://surrey.rcmp-grc.gc.ca/ViewPage. action?siteNodeId=79&languageId=1&contentId=37784

Level 5 – a comprehensive network of meaningful relationships are established and high levels of trust, dialogue and mutual understanding are in place and communities are developing ownership of issues.

At this level regular consultations are held with the working group of community representatives to seek their advice on issues of mutual concern and governments support local initiatives that will have positive outcomes.

MILAN PLAN OF ACTION ON PREVENTING VIOLENT EXTREMISM AND MASS ATROCITIES

39th Annual Forum of Parliamentarians for Global Action Milan, Italy 27-28 November 2017

We, the Members of Parliament from over 50 countries from around the world, participating in the Milan Forum for Parliamentary Action in Preventing Violent Extremism and Mass Atrocities, at the end of the deliberations held in Milan, Italy, on 27 and 28 November 2017, on the occasion of the 39th Annual Forum of Parliamentarians for Global Action:

Expressing gratitude to the Mayor of Milan and the Italian Parliament (Senate of the Republic and Chamber of Deputies), the European Parliament, the Organizing Committee of PGA Italy, the Montreal Institute for Genocide and Human Rights Studies at Concordia University and the Stanley Foundation as co-organizers, as well as donors and institutional partners for making this Forum possible, within the framework of PGA's action-driven and results-oriented campaigns to prevent violent extremism and mass atrocities in all regions of the world;

Acknowledging the crucial role played by us, as Legislators, in preventing and halting violent extremism and mass atrocity crimes at the local, national, regional and international levels; Recognizing that the international community is confronted with dangerous extremist ideologies that are used to justify atrocity crimes against civilians, and undermine peace, security, sustainable development, human rights, the rule of law, and resilient societies;

Understanding that this threat cannot only be addressed through security-based counter-terrorism measures but requires a more comprehensive approach, which encompasses preventive measures that address the roots causes and drivers of violent extremism and mass atrocities;

Underscoring the importance of justice, the Rule of Law, democratic governance, human rights – including the right to education– and strong civil societies as crucial elements of any viable strategy and policy aimed at addressing mass atrocities and violent extremism;

Underlining the importance of empowering legislators and other policy-makers to undertake policies and practices that may effectively prevent and contain violent extremists and eradicate discriminatory policies that serve as causes and drivers of violent extremism and mass atrocities;

Recognising that while terrorism, including international terrorism, is one of the most visible and perceived manifestations of violent extremist groups, these groups are also perpetrating atrocities that must be qualified as the most serious crimes of concern to the international community as a whole, namely: (1) genocide, (2) crimes against humanity and (3) war crimes, including the destruction of cultural heritage sites, and (4) the crime of aggression, regarding which effective prosecutions may be facilitated by the application of general principles of international criminal law (i.e., non-applicability of statutes of limitations and of the defense of superior-order, command responsibility or responsibility of the superior, irrelevance of official capacity, prohibition of amnesties and other impunity measures, obligation to prosecute and extradite or surrender to the International Criminal Court);

We, the Members of Parliament attending the Milan Forum for Parliamentary Action in Preventing Violent Extremism and Mass Atrocities on 27-28 November 2017, therefore

agree to use our legislative and political prerogatives to achieve the following national, global and, as appropriate, regional commitments:

I. On Addressing the Drivers and Root Causes of Violent Extremism and Mass Atrocities

We recognize that totalitarian approaches to and fundamentalist interpretation of religious beliefs, political ideologies and ethnic differences, combined with political and financial support from State and Non-State Actors to extremists who exploit real or perceived injustices and grievances, are root causes and drivers of violent extremism and mass atrocities. These actors distort beliefs to legitimize their actions and recruit followers. We acknowledge that violent extremism does not arise in a vacuum but that certain conditions can contribute to a conducive environment for radicalisation that leads to violent extremism: marginalization, discrimination, poor governance, violation of human rights and the rule of law, prolonged conflicts, impunity for atrocity crimes committed by State and Non State Actors, gender inequality, poverty and extreme income inequality, and lack of socio-economic opportunities, social cohesion and education. These are all causes and/or drivers of the aforementioned crimes. Finally, we underline that the internet and social media are used as weapons of propaganda and recruitment by

extremist groups. Violent retaliation in the form of "decapitation" and elimination of violent extremists pursued via extra-judicial or summary executions, including targeted killings, are outside the justice framework, inconsistent with International Law, perceived as an exercise of vendetta, and extremely ineffective. These strategies encourage recruitment into some violent extremist groups that promote a self-styled notion of ultimate sacrifice or "martyrdom."

We resolve:

1. To engage with our legislative colleagues and other policy-makers from all political affiliations at the local, national, regional, transnational and international levels, to achieve multi-partisan agreement to prevent and halt totalitarian ideologies that promote violent extremism and mass atrocities.

2. To address the underlying conditions that drive individuals to join extremist groups, particularly by strengthening democratic governance, protecting human rights, enabling civic participation, fostering 3 the rule of law, paying attention to young people and returning foreign fighters, and guaranteeing gender equality and the rights of marginalised populations, including indigenous, ethnic and religious minorities.

3. To call for the development of a national plan of action to prevent violent extremism and a national mechanism for the prevention of mass atrocities. These preventive tools will address justice deficits and governance issues; improve social cohesion, equality and socio-economic opportunities; acknowledge that authoritarian regimes are the worst threat to peace and resilience; and ensure effective parliamentary engagement and oversight through –inter alia– parliamentary questions to the Executive and Committees' hearings with appropriate experts, including the UN Special Advisers on the Prevention of Genocide, Responsibility to Protect and Children and Armed Conflict.

4. To intensify efforts to ensure the implementation of national, transnational and international mechanisms to detect and alert to warning signs of atrocities and extremism, including hate speech and propaganda both on and off the internet, and, to this effect, raise questions to the Government about the actions it is taking to fulfil its duty to prevent atrocities and ensure the allocation in national budgets of resources for such prevention measures, including regular atrocity risk assessments and reporting, to be undertaken in conjunction with national human rights institutions/ombudspersons and academic/civil society initiatives on national and international risks.

5. To develop disengagement, de-radicalization, rehabilitation/reintegration and education programmes for individuals engaged in violence, including national communication strategies that challenge and disprove the narratives promoted by extremist groups.

6(a) To ensure that alleged perpetrators of atrocity-crimes and acts of terrorism, including high-level recruiters and instigators to hatred, are brought to justice in accordance with internationally-accepted standards applicable to the rights of the accused to have a fair trial and the rights of victims to have access to justice, remedy and reparations, and to know the truth and have it officially acknowledged.

6(b) To prevent further atrocities by ensuring that justice is done, fulfilling the inalienable rights of victims, and halting existing policies and practises through which members of violent extremist groups are not brought to justice for genocide, crimes against humanity or war crimes, but are executed outside an active armed-conflict framework with the view of purportedly eliminating the threat that they are posing or decapitating the leadership of their organisations, labelled as terrorist, regardless of whether an imminent threat or criminal conduct has been independently verified by a competent judicial authority.

6(c) In order to ensure that the respect of the dignity and rights of victims are fulfilled, to establish effective and comprehensive reparation and assistance programmes for the benefit of victims and their families, as well as communities affected by atrocity-crimes and other forms of violence.

II. On Halting the Proliferation of Conventional Arms and Weapons of Mass Destruction to Violent Extremists

We acknowledge that acts of violent extremism and atrocities are committed by usage of a wide range of legally- and illegally-obtained conventional arms and Weapons of Mass Destruction (WMDs), and non-state and state actors have taken steps to develop, manufacture and use WMDs.

We resolve:

7. To give priority to mitigate and eradicate the illicit trade of conventional arms and to prevent the proliferation of WMDs, including encouraging states to support the UN process to ban nuclear weapons.

8. To take concrete legislative steps to improve domestic firearms legislation and the implementation and enforcement of relevant regional and international treaties, resolutions, conventions, and other relevant instruments, including the Arms Trade Treaty, the UN Programme of Action Addressing the Illicit Trade in Small Arms and Light Weapons, the

International Tracing Instrument, the UN Firearms Protocol on Small Arms and Light Weapons, the Biological Weapons Convention, the Chemical Weapons Convention and United Nations Security Council Resolution 1540 (2004) on WMDs.

9. To enhance cooperation, coordination and investment in security and intelligence at the regional, transnational and international levels while ensuring effective democratic control and civilian oversight, including holistic parliamentary oversight, is developed and maintained on such processes.

10. To develop and strengthen mechanisms to guarantee the accountability of security forces and those who control them and, to this effect, undertake to pose relevant parliamentary questions to the Executive and arrange dedicated Committee hearings.

III. On Ending Impunity for Violent Extremists and Perpetrators of Mass Atrocities and Ensuring Justice for the Victims

We observe that impunity for perpetrators of mass atrocities serves to increase the likelihood of new crimes and we underline the importance of national and international jurisdiction. We recognize that all states have a duty to prosecute or extradite suspects and alleged perpetrators of international crimes in national or international jurisdictions. In order to give effect to these obligations, we stress that states and international bodies must develop better mechanisms to collect and preserve evidence for prosecution. At the same time, we underscore the importance of proportionate law enforcement and security responses and adequate criminal and reparative justice responses. This must include equality of all before the law, which will help prevent further deepening of the victim complex that can be used by extremists to recruit.

We resolve:

11. To ensure the adoption of domestic legislation that incorporates the definitions of mass atrocity crimes and violent extremism, taking into account available model and reference laws (e.g., reference law to domesticate the crimes and general principles of law contained in the Rome Statute of the International Criminal Court developed by PGA).

12. To ensure effective national efforts to investigate and prosecute international crimes under the Rule of Law and guarantee that counter-terrorism policies and regulations respect human rights.

13. To develop reparations mechanisms and introduce rehabilitation programmes for victims of extremist non-state actors, including women, children and marginalised populations, and facilitate their reintegration into society, particularly

through the systematic use of child-protection professionals and other appropriate psycho-social and educational personnel that can adequately and sustainably provide therapeutic and empowerment programmes and help prevent re-occurrence of atrocity crimes and recidivism.

14. To ensure that evidence and documentation concerning the perpetration of crimes under International Law is collected and preserved in respect of all relevant situations in such a way as to make such evidence and documentation available for trials and other accountability processes aimed at putting an end to impunity for crimes that threaten the peace, security and well-being of the world.

IV. On preventing violent repression that may bring about the perpetration of atrocity-crimes and facilitate the surge of violent extremism

We emphasise the fact that authoritarian and repressive regimes are an enormous threat to open and democratic societies and, as such, may create conditions that can lead to the perpetration of mass atrocities and facilitate the recruitment into violent extremist movements of oppressed segments of the population, especially youth. We underline that democratically-elected parliaments and the respect of the rights of the opposition are the prime institutional defenses against this threat.

We resolve:

15. To affirm our unwavering and unconditional support for parliamentary institutions that are threatened and attacked by repressive regimes, as forcefully denounced in this Milan Forum.

16. To ratify and domesticate all relevant human rights treaties on the exercise of fundamental freedoms and democracy as well as to support parliamentarians who are threatened and whose fundamental rights are violated.

IV. On promoting strong and healthy civil societies and protecting the Rights of Minorities and other Vulnerable Groups

We recognize that enabling environments for civil society and the existence of a free press without any censorship reduce the appeal of violent extremism, and that ensuring the inclusion and rights of individuals and communities, including minorities and vulnerable groups, prevents the real or perceived exclusion conducive to violent extremism. We acknowledge that shrinking space for civil society, including freedom of expression and assembly, can lead to support for violent extremist actors.

We resolve:

17. To engage in dialogue with civil society, communities, and community and faith leaders in order to build trusting relationships to prevent the

emergence of violent extremism, reject violent ideologies and protect individuals from recruitment.

18. To defend and extend civic participation, and develop joint and participatory strategies, such as intercultural dialogue, to enhance the capacity of communities to be proactive in preventing mass atrocities and violent extremism.

19. To use all Parliamentary means, including in observing elections and preparing legislation for free and fair elections, by enhancing our pre-election conflict prevention dialogue with political parties on their responsibility to avoid hate speech, the radicalisation of the electorate, and violence against women, youth and vulnerable groups, especially during electoral campaigns, as well as enhancing our post-electoral follow up of election observation recommendations to ensure root causes of conflict are addressed, including through legislation that addresses the full implementation of elections observation recommendations.

CONCLUSION:

We appreciate the support provided to PGA by its partners and recognize the invaluable importance of information and strategies provided to us during PGA's Milan Forum for Parliamentary Action in Preventing Violent Extremism and Mass Atrocities. In addition to this Plan of Action, individual legislators will be working with the PGA Secretariat in the elaboration of country-specific and, as appropriate, regional and sub-regional Action Plans and strategies.

We recall the objectives of the PGA's vision is "*to contribute to the creation of a Rules-Based International Order for a more equitable, safe and democratic world*."

We, the Participants in the Milan Forum for Parliamentary Action in Preventing Violent Extremism and Mass Atrocities, have agreed on this Milan Plan of Action and are committed to keeping the PGA Secretariat informed on a periodic basis of all the actions and initiatives that we will carry out to implement its objectives, as well as report back on the results of the 39th Annual Parliamentary Forum of Parliamentarians for Global Action within a six month period from its conclusion.

39th Session of the Annual Parliamentary Forum of Parliamentarians for Global Action Milan, 28 November 2017

ABOUT THE AUTHOR

Phil Gurski is the President and CEO of Borealis Threat and Risk Consulting Ltd. (www.borealisthreatandrisk.com). He worked as a senior strategic analyst at CSIS (Canadian Security Intelligence Service) from 2001-2015, specializing in violent Islamist-inspired homegrown extremism and radicalisation. From 1983 to 2001 he was employed as a senior multilingual analyst at Communications Security Establishment, specialising in the Middle East. He also served as senior special advisor in the National Security Directorate at Public Safety Canada from 2013, focusing on community outreach and training on radicalisation to violence until his retirement from the civil service in May 2015, and as consultant for the Ontario Provincial Police's Anti-Terrorism Section (PATS) from May to October 2015. Mr. Gurski has presented on violent Islamist-inspired homegrown extremism and radicalisation across Canada and around the world. He is the author of *"The Threat from Within: Recognizing Al Qaeda-inspired Radicalization and Terrorism in the West"* (Rowman and Littlefield 2015) *"Western Foreign Fighters: the threat to homeland and international security"* (Rowman and Littlefield 2017), *The Lesser Jihads: taking the Islamist fight to the world* (Rowman and Littlefield 2017) and the forthcoming *An end to the 'war on terrorism'*. He regularly blogs (Terrorism in Canada and the West – available on his Web site) and tweets (@borealissaves) on terrorism. He is a professor of intelligence in the School of Emergency Management (Security, Intelligence and Counter Terrorism certificate programme) at George Brown College in Toronto, an associate fellow at the International Centre for Counter Terrorism (ICCT) in the Netherlands, a fellow at Carleton University's Norman Paterson School for International Affairs (NPSIA), a digital fellow at the Montreal Institute for Genocide Studies at Concordia University and an affiliate of the Canadian network for research on Terrorism Security and Society (TSAS). Mr. Gurski is a regular commentator on terrorism and radicalisation for a wide variety of Canadian and international media and is a voracious consumer of mass media, as well as academic literature, on terrorism and radicalisation to violence in order to be in a position to advise clients of Borealis.