



**WORKSHOP ON  
IMPLEMENTING THE UN GLOBAL COUNTER-TERRORISM STRATEGY  
IN NORTH AFRICA  
24-25 MAY 2010  
ISESCO Headquarters, Rabat**

**Chairmen's Summary and Recommendations**

On 24-25 May 2010, the Center on Global Counterterrorism Cooperation and the Islamic Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (ISESCO), with the support of the Dutch Ministry of Foreign Affairs, hosted a two-day workshop at ISESCO's headquarters in Rabat on "Implementing the UN Global Counter-Terrorism Strategy in North Africa." The meeting focused on enhancing counterterrorism-related cooperation within North Africa and between the region and external partners such as the United Nations. Participants included representatives from states in the region, the United Nations, and relevant regional and non-governmental organizations.

The meeting is part of a broader effort by the Center on Global Counterterrorism Cooperation to support implementation of the UN Global Counter-Terrorism Strategy and help stimulate more effective regional and subregional counterterrorism cooperation. It builds on recommendations made at a November 2007 conference held by ISESCO, the United Nations, the Organization of the Islamic Conference (OIC), and the Tunisian government in Tunis on "Terrorism: Dimensions, Threats and Countermeasures."

The following "Co-Chairmen's Summary and Recommendations" highlights some of the key themes and preliminary recommendations identified during the meeting. It is not an official or complete record of the proceedings and does not necessarily reflect the views of the meeting sponsors or participants.

The meeting began with a discussion of the UN Global Counter-Terrorism Strategy, which was adopted unanimously by the General Assembly in September 2006, and marked the first time that all UN member states agreed on a common strategic framework for addressing the terrorist threat. Participants welcomed the UN Strategy because it broadened political support for global counterterrorism efforts and includes not only emphasis on law enforcement and other security measures, but also measures to address both real and perceived grievances and underlying social, economic, and political conditions that can contribute to the spread of terrorism. Alistair Millar, the Director of the Center on Global Counterterrorism Cooperation, noted that, "the Strategy offers a practical holistic plan of action for preventing and combating terrorism." He added, that terrorism in North Africa is increasingly transnational in nature and therefore requires a coherent a cooperative approach transcending national borders; this workshop provides an opportunity to get local input and examine how to further that cooperation across Northern Africa."

The participants also considered the regional and subregional counterterrorism frameworks, their relation to the UN Strategy, and the role of regional and subregional bodies in implementing the international framework in the region. Participants discussed in particular the relevant efforts of the League of Arab States, its Council of Arab Ministers of the Interior and Expert Group on Terrorism, and other regional and subregional bodies. While acknowledging the significant contributions of those bodies, it was noted that tensions and lack of trust between countries in the region have been a barrier to deeper cooperation

against terrorism and transnational crime – and to regional security cooperation and integration more generally.

Those discussions were informed by presentations by relevant experts on the immediate threat in and to the region, some of the regional dimensions of the threat, and the relationship between terrorist activity in the region and broader transnational crime. The participants also discussed some of the broader conditions within the region that may be conducive to the spread of terrorism, such as prolonged unresolved conflicts, political exclusion, socio-economic marginalization, and deficiencies in good governance.

In that regard, participants highlighted the important work of multilateral bodies such as ISESCO and civil society in addressing such conditions, including by promoting inter-cultural and religious dialogue, education, public awareness, realization of the Millennium Development Goals, promoting and protecting human rights, and conflict prevention and resolution.

The participants also considered the role of the United Nations, its Counter-Terrorism Executive Directorate, and the UN Office on Drugs and Crime's Terrorism Prevention Branch as well as nontraditional counterterrorism actors such as the UN Development Programme and UNESCO. It was noted that the United Nations had much it could learn from the experiences of North African states but also much it could contribute, including by providing a neutral forum for facilitating deeper regional cooperation on counterterrorism.

During the course of the workshop, participants made a large number of specific, constructive recommendations about steps that could be taken to implement and build on the UN Global Counter-Terrorism Strategy in North Africa. These recommendations are detailed below, in three groups: those dealing with the Strategy as a whole; those stemming from Pillars I and IV of the Strategy (focusing on conditions conducive to terrorism, human rights, and rule of law); and those dealing with Pillars II and III of the Strategy (combating terrorism and building the capacity of states in the region to do the same).

### **Recommendations relating to the Strategy as a whole: towards in-depth knowledge and a coordinated process for active implementation**

Many participants emphasized the need for sustained engagement between the UN and member states, across all four Pillars of the Strategy, to ensure that North African states develop an in-depth knowledge of the Strategy, and develop a coordinated process for its effective and active implementation. One participant noted that since member states have all had a hand in developing and adopting the Strategy, they should all, likewise, have a role in its implementation, taking ownership of it in their own domestic policy contexts, and using it as a framework for cooperation.

Numerous participants pointed to the deep experience that North African states have in dealing with terrorism, since well before 9/11, and suggested there would be much to be gained by their sharing those experiences with each other, and with states from outside the region – particularly in the areas of counter-radicalization, rehabilitation, and other aspects of Pillar I of the UN Strategy. At the same time, participants noted, it was important to ensure a comprehensive approach to counterterrorism in the region, bolstering capacity to combat terrorism not only through strengthened state capacity, but also through strengthened engagement between states and civil society. This, it was suggested, would facilitate tackling terrorism in the region in the context of the conditions that gave rise to it, including ongoing conflict, political and economic marginalization, crime, and incomplete rule of law.

Participants suggested that such a comprehensive approach would require improved coordination and cooperation not only among the states of the region, but also among regional and international organizations and bilateral and multilateral partners, across all four Pillars of the UN Strategy. The UN

itself, it was suggested, has an important role to play in making this happen, not only by plugging gaps and bolstering state capacity but, crucially, as an impartial and honest broker facilitating the development of multi-stakeholder solutions.

***Recommendation 1: Convene a regional stakeholder conference***

The UN Counter-Terrorism Implementation Task Force (CTITF), working with relevant multilateral organizations in the region such as the League of Arab States, the Arab Maghreb Union, the African Union, the Organization of the Islamic Conference, ISESCO, and North African states, should promote further discussion of a comprehensive counterterrorism agenda for North Africa. This discussion could be achieved through the convening of a regional stakeholder conference to discuss further implementation of the UN Strategy, with a view to the development of a regional action plan and the mobilization of specific resources for the execution of that plan. Although confidence building measures are necessary to ensure buy-in from all the countries in the region, the United Nations, because of its political distance from the region, neutrality, and universality, is well placed to help facilitate such a meeting. Such regional meetings have been used to great success to promote implementation of UN Security Council Resolution 1540 which aims to prevent WMD proliferation; and in a broader context, donor pledging conferences in post-conflict, post-disaster, and development contexts have proven efficient means, in recent years, of mobilizing and coordinating extensive resources for targeted assistance packages. Such a regional stakeholder conference would allow states in the region, donors, and other stakeholders to think more strategically about their counterterrorism programs and capacity-building efforts, and would facilitate coordination. And it could provide a platform for developing plans for the implementation of the Strategy and/or the development of new cooperative institutions.

***Recommendation 2: Develop a regional action plan***

Such a regional stakeholder conference could be used by North African states, regional organizations, and their partners from outside the region to develop a comprehensive action plan for the subregion – although such a plan could also be developed outside the context of such a conference. Such an action plan would provide for specific, clear, and tailored efforts to deal with terrorism in particular locations, creating timely and achievable goals that would allow the measurement of collective progress. Such a plan would likely also help to mobilize resources for subregional capacity-building, by providing a demonstration of commitment to tackling the complex issues around terrorism and encouraging states in the subregional to request specific forms of technical assistance.

***Recommendation 3: Develop national action plans***

While a regional action plan may help facilitate cross-border cooperation on these issues, many of the activities required for effective counterterrorism will continue to be taken primarily at the national level. North African states should develop whole-of-government counterterrorism plans and coordination mechanisms, such as whole-of-government taskforces or inter-ministerial committees, where appropriate, including the participation of the focal points that states have nominated to liaise with the African Union on counterterrorism issues. Where necessary, states should be prepared to seek technical assistance from the UN and other external partners to establish these arrangements.

**Recommendations relating to Pillars I and IV: Fostering a culture of peace**

Participants repeatedly emphasized the need to balance the coercive capacities focused on in Pillars II and III with the preventive efforts encompassed by Pillars I and IV of the UN Strategy. To that end, a number of specific steps were suggested that might help strengthen the North African subregion's capacity to deal

with the conditions conducive to the spread of terrorism in the region and to ensure respect for human rights in the fight against terrorism.

***Recommendation 4: Establish a regional lessons learned process on counter-radicalization, rehabilitation, and reintegration***

North African states have considerable experience with large-scale programs designed to counter radicalization, and to rehabilitate and reintegrate terrorists and violent extremists. There is much to be gained by their sharing these experiences and developing lessons learned, common resource materials, and to support each others efforts. Such a process ought to be designed not only for consumption within the subregion, but also to inform and assist the work of other partners outside the region, for example in Europe, where North African communities have considerable diaspora populations. These lessons learned could be developed through the creation of an official-level, *ad hoc* working group to engage in study tours, evaluations, and peer review. Such a working group could include officials and/or non-governmental experts from across these regions who have been involved with or studied such programs. It might also be useful to consider whether the United Nations, ISESCO, or an international non-governmental organization (NGO) could facilitate such an effort by serving as an impartial chair and secretariat to the process.

***Recommendation 5: Redouble conflict prevention efforts and confidence-building measures to counter conditions conducive to terrorism and obstacles to deeper subregional cooperation against terrorism***

Participants cautioned that the prospects of effective counterterrorism cooperation in North Africa are greatly limited by ongoing political and armed conflicts in the subregion. While noting that it is the responsibility of states in the subregion to resolve their disputes peacefully, they stressed that the United Nations, as a neutral, impartial, and honest broker, can play a potentially significant role in facilitating the peaceful resolution of disputes. It was noted that the efforts by the UN Security Council, Secretary-General, and other organs to resolve these conflicts all had the potential to make a major contribution to combating conditions conducive to the spread of terrorism in the region but also that more could be done in this regard, particularly by developing counterterrorism conflict resolution and stabilization strategies for specific parts of the broader region, including Niger, Mauritania, and Western Sahara.

Numerous participants noted that the dynamics of conflict in, around, and over the Western Sahara must be grappled with as a central part of any comprehensive counterterrorism strategy for the subregion. Al Qaeda in the Islamic Maghreb (AQIM) and other groups will, it was stressed, exploit any major territorial or strategic disputes between states. Indeed, some participants suggested that a specific focus on confidence-building measures on the Sahara issue between Morocco and Algeria might provide the basis for broader cooperation between these two key states on a range of security and counterterrorism related issues. It was noted that there are already extensive, effective, and important contacts and cooperation between these states on technical issues; what is needed is a push to overcome the obstacles to deeper and broader cooperation that result from disagreement over strategic and territorial issues at the level of high politics.

Such efforts should include continuing support to the peaceful resolution of the dispute over Western Sahara. But they should also include a broader, sustained effort to leverage the UN's extensive peacekeeping, development, humanitarian, and other presences on the ground throughout this broader region, to foster inclusive peacebuilding and development activities on the ground. The United Nations can do much to catalyze the empowerment of women, civil society groups, and tolerant religious authorities which are critical to fostering a culture of peace. So too can the states of the region and their external donor partners, for example by encouraging educational and cultural exchanges among youth.

***Recommendation 6: Actively promote a moderate counter-narrative to extremist advocacy of violence in and beyond the region***

North African states have been dealing with terrorism since well before it moved to the top of the international security agenda. As a result, they have developed notable expertise and resources for promoting moderate counter-narratives refuting both the specific claims and general principles of violent extremists in the region. These include counter-narrative materials, such as authoritative religious treatises contesting the specific doctrinal interpretations of noted extremist intellectual authorities such as Qutb (some of them developed by former extremists); as well as methods of engagement, such as outreach through clerics, specially trained female religious leaders, and on the internet. Yet most of these materials and methods remain little known outside the states in which they were developed. The United Nations Counter-Terrorism Committee Executive Directorate (CTED), under the mandate granted to it by Security Council Resolution 1624, and the CTITF could both actively encourage states in the region to work together to share these methods and materials. This could take the form of a compilation of materials available online.

***Recommendation 7: Encourage intra- and inter-faith dialogue***

North African states and regional organizations, including ISESCO, should continue to support dialogue with a view to supporting values of tolerance, moderation, and non-violence. These actors should consider creating a subregional forum for intra-faith dialogue and funding extensive outreach by that forum to communities in and around the subregion. At the same time, international actors such as the Alliance of Civilizations, the Euro-Med Partnership, and UNESCO should encourage engagement by the subregion with existing inter-faith dialogue mechanisms.

***Recommendation 8: Support exchange and training programs for religious authorities within the subregion***

Participants recommended that North African states work individually, cooperatively, and with organizations such as ISESCO to encourage the training of religious authorities. This, it was suggested, would help to foster increased understanding of and tolerance for difference, build confidence, and foster resort to dialogue – rather than violence – as the basis of dispute resolution. ISESCO and its partners could play a valuable role in providing a framework for such activities, and in reporting on them to the CTITF and other relevant bodies in New York.

***Recommendation 9: Foster a more nuanced differentiation in international discourse between religion and terrorism***

Many participants suggested that North African states and their international partners could do more to effectively distinguish between religion and terrorism in international discourse. Specific recommendations included the development of a ‘counterlexicon’ to provide a more credible characterization of extremist threats in the subregion that does not treat religion and terrorism as synonymous and to avoid using religious terminology when describing terrorists or terrorist groups that implies a link between their violence and any religion.

***Recommendation 10: Humanize the victims of terrorism***

Some participants noted that extremist discourse within the subregion was facilitated by – and in turn reproduced – a dehumanization of those targeted and victimized by terrorism. Accordingly, it was noted, the humanization of victims of terrorism is itself a powerful antidote to the violent fear-mongering of terrorists. North African states, external donors, regional organizations, and the United Nations could all

do more to help articulate the moral and material claims of victims of terrorism, and to harness the considerable moral authority victims enjoy in campaigns to prevent and counter terrorism. This might be facilitated by the establishment of a Northern African Association of Victims of Terrorism, or perhaps more straightforwardly through states facilitating the work of the Global Survivors Network in the region. The UN CTITF, UNODC, and UNDP likewise all have an important role to play in fostering intra-regional discussion of the impacts of terrorism on human lives, communities, tourism, economies, and governance.

***Recommendation 11: Empower marginalized segments of the community, including women, teachers, and youth***

Just as participants suggested that the inclusion and empowerment of victims of terrorism in the subregion's counterterrorism discourse would help to promote a more moderate and effective rhetoric, so they also suggested that structural efforts to empower other marginalized segments of some North African communities – including women, teachers, and youth – could help make communities more resilient to extremism. Participants pointed to a number of straightforward ways to empower women to become more actively involved in these discussions, for example through encouraging regional organizations to hire women, through to specific efforts by UN and bilateral partners to engage women's organizations at the grassroots level on conflict prevention and resolution projects. A number of participants emphasized the importance of a similar approach to proactive engagement of youth, given the considerable rise in the proportion of the population under 25 in these countries in recent years, which is expected to continue for some time to come. Finally, teachers were seen as an important bridge to youth; some participants suggested that teachers often feel compelled to deviate from formal curricula under the pressures of social censorship, and as a result the subregion's youth risk developing a narrow and rigid worldview. Participants therefore recommended considering ways to strengthen state support for the education sector, for example through increased partnership and support from external donors.

***Recommendation 12: Encourage expeditious clarification of international law and policy on ransom payments***

Numerous participants expressed misgivings about the payment of ransoms to criminal organizations with terrorist connections to secure the release of kidnapped individuals. Some participants queried whether such payments were within the letter or the spirit of existing international norms; others suggested that whether they were formally legal or not, the payment of ransoms to such groups represented questionable policy, given the material support such payments provided to these organizations, and the resulting moral hazard. The absence of certainty around the legality of such payments was fostering a climate of suspicion and mistrust. Participants noted that despite efforts to clarify the legal situation around such payments, including through the United Nations General Assembly and through United Nations Security Council Resolution 1904, some questions appear to remain. They therefore recommended further dialogue amongst states with a view to the expeditious clarification of international law and policy on ransom payments.

***Recommendation 13: Further strengthen the subregion's engagement with international human rights institutions to ensure the strongest possible respect for human rights in counterterrorism efforts***

It was suggested that states in the subregion should cooperate with the Universal Peer Review (UPR) and agree that the submission of reports to the UPR and UN treaty bodies and the implementation of recommendations made by the Human Rights Council and special procedures are essential elements of effective international and subregional cooperation in the fight against terrorism. OHCHR should be made available to those countries that require help in the preparation of such reports/submissions. States in the subregion, it was suggested, should send a standing invitation to visit the subregion to all special

rapporteurs and independent experts of the Human Rights Council, in particular to the Special Rapporteur for the promotion and protection of human rights and fundamental freedoms while countering terrorism and any successor mandate established by the Human Rights Council. Although there is a Middle East and North Africa Section at OHCHR in Geneva and a regional office for the Middle East in Beirut there is no office for North Africa. It would be helpful to establish and sufficiently resource such an office to, among other things, support implementation of the Strategy in the area of human rights.

***Recommendation 14: Reform prisons, detention, and interrogation arrangements to eliminate conditions conducive to terrorism***

It is by now well established that excessively harsh conditions during interrogation and detention can facilitate radicalization and catalyze the organization of violent extremism. The use of torture and cruel, inhuman and degrading treatment has a particularly radicalizing effect, as do degrading and dehumanizing conditions of detention. North African states should, therefore, work with each other, with relevant regional organizations, and with relevant international organizations, to reform prison, detention, and interrogation arrangements across the region to ensure such conditions conducive to the spread of terrorism are not present. Transparency and effective engagement with international oversight bodies such as the Committee of the UN Convention against Torture are particularly important.

***Recommendation 15: Harness the capacities of civil society***

It was noted that robust, respectful, and constructive engagement between states and civil society provides the basis for peaceful dispute resolution, which in turn creates inherent social resistance to violent extremism. Participants therefore repeatedly called for North African states to harness the capacities of civil society in their efforts to counter terrorism across the region, for example by engaging civil society groups in regional threat assessments (see below, Recommendation 19), through cross-border educational, cultural, and religious exchanges (see above, Recommendations 6, 7 and 8), and in rehabilitation and reintegration efforts (see above, Recommendation 4). Participants also stressed that UN bodies have a key role to play here, especially the CTITF, through active outreach to civil society organizations across the region. Civil society organizations will be key partners in implementation of the UN Strategy, not only by providing capacity to carry out activities themselves, but also by providing checks and balances in Strategy implementation, to ensure an effective counterbalance against state excess in preventive counterterrorism efforts.

**Recommendations relating to Pillars II and III: Strengthening North African institutional capacity to combat terrorism, through improved cooperation**

***Recommendation 16: Closer integration of efforts by UN, other multilateral, and bilateral external partners to strengthen the subregion's institutional counterterrorism capacity***

Participants recommended that the UN Global Counter-Terrorism Strategy be used as the framework for closer integration of efforts by a range of partner states and organizations to strengthen the institutional counterterrorism capacities of North African states. Foreign donors should look to the UN Strategy as a normative basis for their own engagement, and also as a framework for more effectively coordinated support to the subregion, as promised by the Paris Declaration on aid effectiveness. Such coordination could be achieved through a regional stakeholder conference like that proposed in Recommendation 1, but it should also be pursued regardless of the holding of any such conference. Wherever possible, more should be made of the possibilities of integrating existing support arrangements for the subregion – such as the 5+5 informal meetings – through the inclusion of relevant UN actors. And where the UN is already represented – for example in the Euro-Med Partnership – thought should be given to harnessing these arrangements for the promotion and implementation of the UN Strategy.

***Recommendation 17: Create a UN counterterrorism presence in the region***

Effective implementation of the UN Strategy in North Africa will require sustained, long-term engagement. Many participants suggested that this would require a continuous on-the-ground presence to take responsibility for the UN's engagement with the region on these issues. Such a presence should be established not through the creation of positions requiring new resources, but through the 'double-hatting' of existing UN bodies on the ground in the region, given 'lead agency' responsibilities in a manner similar to the 'Delivering as One' system now being implemented by the UN in the development, environment, and other spheres. This 'double-hatted' agency would ideally be a member of the CTITF, and would take responsibility for coordinating other CTITF member bodies' counterterrorism activities in the region, reporting to the CTITF office in New York, and facilitating engagement with stakeholders inside and outside the subregion. It would likely greatly increase the visibility, in-depth knowledge, and effective implementation of the Strategy in the subregion, and would reduce duplication in capacity-building efforts by UN and other partners. It would also help ensure that counterterrorism efforts not only focus on security related efforts but also address conditions conducive to terrorism, by bringing to bear the multisectoral expertise and resources of the United Nations system as a whole.

***Recommendation 18: Strengthen the role of and connections between the subregion's counterterrorism focal points***

Most of the subregion's states have already established national counterterrorism focal points, either to facilitate inter-agency cooperation at the national level, or to facilitate international cooperation. Many of these focal points have been established within the context of the AU's African Center for the Study and Research on Terrorism (CAERT). Yet the connections between these focal points – and the resources many of them can access at the national level – are frequently 'thin.' Participants suggested that strengthening the role of these focal points within the domestic policy context, and the connections between them might prove to be a particularly effective approach to strengthening subregional counterterrorism capacity. Such support might take the form of engagement with the subregion's focal points to discuss existing arrangements at the national level, their assistance needs, and to facilitate – perhaps through CAERT and/or relevant UN partners – the development of targeted assistance packages.

***Recommendation 19: Develop a regional threat analysis***

Many participants suggested that efforts to deter and dismantle terrorist threats in the region called for a more nuanced assessment of the vectors through which these terrorist organizations are emerging, developing, sustaining themselves, mounting operations, and promoting their messages. It was noted that much existing analysis of terrorist organizations operating in the subregion is nationally-focused, and that there are cultural, political, financial, and logistical obstacles – absent state cooperation – to developing a more accurate understanding of any transnational connections that may exist. The operations of terrorist organizations in the Sahel, and their interaction with local criminal, religious, armed, and simply social groups are, by most accounts, poorly understood.

All of this seems to point to the need for states to cooperate, perhaps under the auspices of a neutral broker such as the United Nations, on an objective regional threat assessment, as a basis for evidence-based policy development and technical assistance. To avoid concerns about the politicization of any process that might be needed to develop such a threat assessment, it may be worth considering: the inclusion of civil society and other non-governmental actors from across the region, and beyond; the use of a methodology requiring corroboration of confidential information with open-source analysis; or a protocol for developing the regional assessment that involves states first developing their own national

threat assessments, and then combining these through a collaborative committee process involving representatives from those states and from other affected stakeholders.

***Recommendation 20: Create an INTERPOL subregional office for North Africa***

North Africa is the only subregion in Africa not serviced by an INTERPOL subregional office. The absence of such an office hampers cooperation by law enforcement agencies and weakens the subregion's counterterrorism capacities. The League of Arab States' Council of Interior Ministers should take the lead in encouraging North African states actively to work to establish such an office.

***Recommendation 21: Work towards institutionalized subregional law enforcement collaboration, drawing on experiences from other regions***

Arab states, including the North African states, have previously expressed interest in developing an institutionalized, regional law enforcement capacity, perhaps along the lines of EUROJUST, the European investigative and prosecutorial cooperation mechanism. Participants noted a number of relevant models that might be of utility as North African states and their partners work towards a regionalized law enforcement cooperation mechanism: the development of the European Justice and Home Affairs *acquis* and institutions; the development of regional police chiefs committees elsewhere in Africa, such as SAARCPO and WAACPO; the Jakarta Center on Law Enforcement Cooperation, developed in collaboration with the Australian Federal Police, and with close ties and training relations with police forces throughout the region; and the IGAD Capacity Building Program Against Terrorism. The UN CTED and/or CTITF, states in North Africa, and foreign partners should consider whether it may be useful/feasible to develop such an institutionalized mechanism for law enforcement collaboration in the region. A similar process under way at present in South Asia, led by UN CTED, working in close cooperation with the Center on Global Counterterrorism Cooperation, might offer useful model.

***Recommendation 22: Broaden and deepen cross-border technical cooperation, on the basis of a regional stocktaking exercise***

Though states in North Africa continue to find cooperation at the political level on counterterrorism issues challenging, participants highlighted that in fact there are already a range of technical issues on which states in the region cooperate frequently, often with considerable success. This cooperation sometimes occurs in the context of engagement with external sectoral bodies providing assistance on issues such as anti-money laundering (the Financial Action Task Force), customs and border control (the World Customs Organization), and civil aviation cooperation (ICAO). Participants recommended that such cooperation be continued and, where possible, extended to areas such as maritime border control, the development of national Financial Intelligence Units, and police training.

One way to facilitate such cooperation might be for external donors to fund a regional stocktaking exercise to identify the technical law enforcement issues upon which states have found it easier to cooperate, and to identify the dynamics that facilitated such cooperation. Such a stocktaking exercise would provide the basis for a more evidence-based, results-oriented approach to capacity-building in the subregion, and could be a crucial input for the kind of regional stakeholder conference proposed in Recommendation 1 and the regional and national action plans proposed in Recommendations 2 and 3. This kind of approach would also help alter perceptions in the region that counterterrorism cooperation with external actors may be too heavily focused on military cooperation.