

**CONNECTING  
COUNTER-TERRORISM  
AND COMMUNITY  
POLICING**



Remarks by Sir Ian Blair  
Introduction by Howard P. Milstein

April 18, 2006

**Citizens Crime Commission**  
OF NEW YORK CITY, INC.

# THE MILSTEIN CRIMINAL JUSTICE POLICY FORUM



**HOWARD P. MILSTEIN**

Since 2002, the Citizens Crime Commission of New York City has presented a series of Criminal Justice Policy lectures sponsored by Edward L. and Howard P. Milstein through the Milstein Brothers Foundation. Each event features a nationally, or internationally, prominent speaker who addresses the Commission on such issues as crime, criminal justice or terrorism. The formal remarks are followed by a question-and-answer period. Each meeting is open to the media.

Attendance is limited to 150 invited guests drawn from the top ranks of the New York City business and law enforcement communities. Each lecture is printed and distributed to top business, civic and law enforcement leaders.

The Citizens Crime Commission of New York City is an independent, non-profit organization working to reduce crime and improve the criminal justice system in New York City. The Commission is supported by the business community; its board of directors is drawn from top corporate executives and members of major law firms. The Commission was established in 1978.

Howard and Edward Milstein are prominent New York bankers and real estate owners. They have a long record of working with the New York City criminal justice system to create and support innovative programs. They are also active in national crime prevention issues.

## Introduction by Richard Aborn

I want to thank you all for coming. And I want to start tonight as I start many of these events with a thank you – actually a number of thank yous. I first want to start with Tom Moran who can't be with us tonight. As you know Tom Moran is the CEO of Mutual of America. Tom has time and time and time again – arranged for us to be in this space. Mutual of America is an incredibly generous organization and Tom, himself is an incredibly generous man. So I thank him on behalf of the Crime Commission.

I also want to do another thank you. But before I do that I want to start off this event with an observation. It'll come as no shock to anyone that the theme of the talk tonight is about terrorism and counter-terrorism. And when I think about that issue at a very broad level, not at an operational level, but at a very broad level, I think it's really about three things. Three core values if you will.

The first core value is about courage. It's the courage that is spoken about in this town and in London very frequently; but cannot be said enough: The courage of so many people that charged into the burning towers on September 11th and charged deep into the Underground in London during the horrible bombings there. These brave individuals charged into those structures not knowing what else might be coming, men and women in uniform who, without hesitation, risked their own lives to help others. People they did not know and they did it at a time when probably every fiber in their body was screaming, "I want to go the other way." But they charged in and they would do it again and again. We owe an eternal gratitude to those people, an eternal gratitude.

It is also about the courage to continue this fight. To continue this fight working long tireless hours, often in places away from home. It sounds like a war and it is. Often with people not knowing what you're doing. That's a mark of courage; the mark of courage of working without witness. People who work and are never thanked. I wish we could thank them, we do need to thank them, even though they are almost never recognized.

The second core value is about, in many ways, creativity: The ability to take the traditional resources that belong to the police and think about them in a very creative way to confront this new issue in the United States, an issue which is unfortunately a much longer term problem in the United Kingdom.

Our two commissioners, Commissioner Kelly and Commissioner Blair, if I may say our commissioners for this evening, have done this in an exemplary way. They have literally fought outside of the box. They have fought outside of their own municipal boundaries and in fact, fought outside their own national boundaries. That's to be applauded.

And finally, the third core value is in many ways about resilience. It's about the resilience of the policing forces of both cities. It's about the resilience of our governments. And ultimately, and, I think, perhaps most importantly, it's about the resilience of our people; of our citizens, the citizens of these two great cities.

That is probably our greatest strength in the fight against terrorism. Because that message is clear. That message is that terrorists will not win. You may harm us. But you will not win. That's the message that

London and New York have sent out with resounding clarity, and that is to be applauded.

It is that last notion, that last value, that notion of resilience that I want to use to introduce the man who is sponsoring tonight's event. That man is Howard Milstein who is sitting in the front row. Howard and Edward Milstein, (Edward unfortunately could not be with us) comprise the Milstein Brothers Foundation.

They are the founders and sponsors of the Milstein Criminal Justice Policy Forum, which is the event that we are having tonight. For the past three years, Howard and Edward's generosity has brought you the leading national crime figures talking about very difficult and often cutting edge criminal justice issues. They continue that tonight, but tonight they take us beyond our boundaries. They take us into the broader world of counter terrorism by inviting Sir Ian to join us.

It's actually no accident that they should be the sponsors of tonight's event. As you may recall, they have brought us such speakers as Robert Mueller, the Director of the FBI; Asa Hutchinson when he was over at Homeland Security; Senator Carl Levin who you all know and I'm sure you remember his presentation; and Federal Judge John Walker.

They have all addressed the Crime Commission under the sponsorship of Howard and Edward. But they are generous not only with their financial support; they are also generous with their time, which is absolutely wonderful. For the past 15 years they have both been giving their time, skill and resources to address all of the major crime issues that face this nation.

Edward serves on the board of this Crime Commission, and the National Crime Prevention Council as well as the Police Widows and Orphans Fund. Howard is deeply engaged with the Federal Law Enforcement Foundation. They co-chair the New York City Police Foundation's COPE Campaign, which provides counseling for first responders who were traumatized on September 11th.

They don't stop there. They have also created innovative crime fighting strategies. For instance, for one program, they had the idea to go out and train the doormen of many, many buildings so that those doormen could become the eyes and ears of NYPD, a program that continues to this day. They have also helped the NYPD with technological issues and they have helped in building community relations programs.

I actually could go on for a long time about Howard and Edward's generosity. As I said when I was talking about Tom Moran, one of the really great pleasures about this position is the ability to thank people in public for all that they do for this Commission and for this city. Howard, I thank you from the bottom of my heart for all the support that you give us.

You've been a long time supporter and I can't tell you how much we appreciate it. Howard's generosity doesn't stop with crime. He's involved with cultural institutions, medical institutions and with educational institutions. And the list goes on and on and on. But I won't.

Howard, with that in mind, thank you so much. And would you please come up and introduce our featured speaker.

## Introduction by Howard P. Milstein

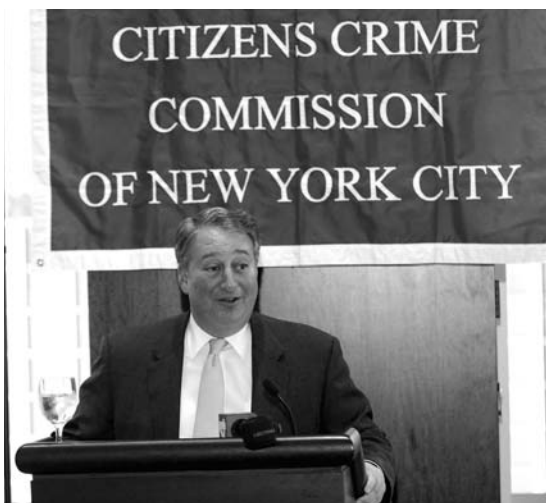
**I**t's my honor to introduce to you a renowned figure in the criminal justice field. A stellar group of law enforcement officials, business leaders and members of the community have come together here today to listen to, as Richard said a moment ago, this evening's speaker, Sir Ian Blair, Commissioner of London's Metropolitan Police. Tonight broadens the scope of this lecture series to the international community.

This widening of our perspective reflects three crucial realities about our modern world. First, London and New York are cities with countless common cultural ties. Second and equally important, there are many economic ties that bond us. But the third reality is that terrorism has greatly impacted all members of our communities.

That is not solely because of the horrific death and injury caused by such attacks. Here in New York, we saw on September 11th, the true extent of the devastation that terrorism can cause. And its effects still reverberate today, more than four years later.

London, too, has struggled with the threat of terrorism for many years. Most recently, in the horror of last summer's attacks on London's mass transit system. But, another destructive result of terrorism is significant economic consequence, including job losses amongst the most vulnerable members of our society.

As truly international cities in a global economy, we are continually aware of the need to think beyond our municipal boundaries. At the same time, this global perspective requires us to focus on the ever present



*Howard P. Milstein*

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menace of terrorism, which tragically is just as international in scope as the economic activity on which New York and London thrive.

As a result, both of our cities have learned the hard way about the need for collective vigilance in our shared fight against terrorism. It must be noted that the business community has a key role in this fight, as does an engaged citizenry.

Needless to say, law enforcement has a decisive role to play in this process. Tonight's speaker has long experience in understanding the issues involved in this difficult but vital struggle. Sir Ian Blair has been London's Metropolitan Police Commissioner since February 2005. In that short space, Sir Ian has made significant strides towards his goals of making the Metropolitan Police Service more responsive to Londoners in achieving greater operational efficiencies.

Sir Ian has also taken a strong leadership role in handling the terrorist bombings as well as another wave of attempted attacks, which rocked London last summer.



He'll discuss these at greater length today. The Metropolitan Police Service has been one of the world's foremost police departments since its founding in 1829 by Sir Robert Peel.

With over 31,000 officers and more than 15,000 additional personnel covering 620 square miles and a population of 7.2 million, it's one of the world's largest police organizations.

Sir Ian was educated at Oxford University, where he studied English language and literature. He joined the Metropolitan Police in 1974 as a police constable in London's Soho, and quickly rose through the ranks. He has served in many capacities within the Metropolitan Police, working as a constable, sergeant and inspector. In 1991 he was promoted to chief superintendent and appointed staff officer to Her Majesty's Chief Inspector of the Constabulary based at the Home Office.

He returned to the Metropolitan Police in 1993 and in 2000 was appointed to deputy commissioner, the second highest ranking position in the force. He served in that capacity until he became commissioner last year.

Sir Ian is widely regarded as one of the leading in-service advocates of police reform. He played a key role in development of police community support officers, who now support regular police patrols in London and elsewhere. He is also one of the main spokespersons for the police service about criminal justice reform.

In 1999 he was awarded the Queen's Medal for Distinguished Service. And he was awarded a knighthood in 2003 for his services to policing. It's my pleasure to introduce Sir Ian Blair. Welcome to the Big Apple!

## Remarks by Sir Ian Blair

**T**hank you very much indeed ladies and gentlemen for being here tonight. It's a great honor to follow some distinguished speakers in this lecture series. Relationships between New York and London are very solid. We have much in common. I spent some of the day with Ray Kelly and I'm speaking to the FBI bureau chief tomorrow. We have officers in place on either side of the Atlantic. We understand the battle in which we are involved and we are all involved in it together.

There is effective liaison between New York and London in terms of law enforcement, particularly in relation to terrorism that is probably closer, certainly from my organization's perspective, than with any other city in the world.

I'd like to start by clarifying the theme that I'm going to take tonight and it's this, that terrorism is a crime both unlike and like every other crime. It's *unlike* a crime in the sense that we're going to have to find new resources, new laws and new processes to deal with it. But it's *like* in that the traditional methodologies of policing will be the law enforcement tools to defeat terrorism. In particular, it will be about basic "feet on the street" detective work and about community policing.

In that context, I want to make the point that law enforcement is just like architecture, medicine or engineering. It has fashions. When I first came to the United States as a police officer in the 1980's, I never heard the words community policing. All I heard about was detection and response policing. When I

got here in the 1990's, I didn't hear about anything except community policing. Now, we talk about nothing except terrorism but we actually need to focus on all of them simultaneously. We need to answer 911 calls effectively, we need community policing, we need counter-terrorism. My particular belief is that the fundamental answer to countering terrorism from a law enforcement perspective, is to work with communities in the traditional way that the police service has always done — listening to their concerns and responding to them. There are new roles and responsibilities implicit in effective counter-terrorism but the basics remain the same: accessible, accountable policing builds the confidence of communities to the point that they feel able to tell us what we need to know.

A word or two perhaps about me and a little bit about the Met. I've got 31 years in law enforcement but, if I may I go back to a stage when I was 17, I won a scholarship to go to an American high school. There were 32 scholarships on offer, 30 of them were on the East Coast, 31 of them were in boarding schools and one was a day school in Hollywood. I got the day school in Hollywood and I had left an English private school, which had been run by people whom the Pilgrim Fathers would have told to lighten up! I arrived in Hollywood at the age of 17 with an English accent in 1971. I had the most marvelous time imaginable and it left me with a deep love of the United States.

I have spent time in the United States over many years working with law enforcement and now I see our two nations, as they have been for a hundred years, fighting in the defense of freedom across the globe, in Iraq, here in New York and in London.

A little bit about the Metropolitan Police itself and its relationship with a place called Scotland Yard. Scotland Yard is the headquarters of the Metropolitan Police. It is only a build-

ing but one that carries a reputation. I do know the effect of that reputation because I worked 20 years ago on a book on rape investigation. I went to work in San Francisco for a little while and worked with their sex crimes unit. I took part in an interview with a suspect. In those days, although it was completely new to me, they were tape recording interviews and everyone introduced themselves aloud for the benefit of the tape. I finally said that I was Detective Inspector Blair from Scotland Yard and the suspect went completely off the rails, saying that in no circumstances had he ever been to London, that this was nothing to do with him and that he had no idea who I was or why I was there! So I do know that Scotland Yard has a certain reputation that goes before it.

We are in essence a hybrid organization. We are London's police service but we also have the responsibilities of part of the FBI, part of the DEA and part of the Secret Service because we hold national and international responsibilities. We protect the Queen and the Prime Minister and are responsible for extradition from the United Kingdom. Above all, we are the national counter terrorist organization.

We are very similar in size to the New York Police Department, I have around 31,000 police officers and about 20,000 other employees, so it's it somewhere in the region of 50,000 people policing a city of seven half million citizens.

The Metropolitan Police was founded, rather curiously, at six o'clock on a Tuesday evening on 29th of September 1829, when the first police officers walked out of that building called Scotland Yard and laid the foundation of policing by consent in the common law tradition. It has had its scandals and its triumphs over those 175 years. There is some directly relevant history to our present situa-

tion. The first is the long struggle during the 1970's, 80's and 90's against Irish Republican terrorism and what that means for our understanding of Al Qaeda.

Secondly, the Metropolitan Police has itself gone through a series of evolutions. We began in 1829 as the most community-based policing imaginable. Over many years, we moved away from that and we are now re-inventing community policing. As Sir Robert Peel said, "The primary objectives of an efficient police are the prevention of crime and the preservation of public tranquility", everything else is secondary.

On 9/11, I had the experience of being in London. The Commissioner at that time was Sir John Stevens and he was half way to New York on a plane when he was turned around.

With all that was happening at that stage, I went to the Cabinet Office Briefing Room, which is the government command network in Britain. It was in that room, which is about half the size of this open space here, with big television screens running silently, that I saw the Twin Towers come down and realized we had entered a completely new period of our history.

I am a graduate of the FBI's National Executive Institute Program and one of my colleagues on that program was Fred Morrone who was Superintendent of the New York and New Jersey Port Authority Police. He died on duty on 9/11. It's a privilege for me to be here and speak about this to some degree in Fred's memory.

What changed when 9/11 took place? It was the first appearance of mass casualty terrorism in the West without warning, without a negotiating position and frankly, without a claim. Compare that with the European history of terrorism, whether Red Brigades or Bada Meinhoff, the IRA or ETA, the differ-



*From left to right: Richard Ciecka, Chairman of the Board of the Commission; Sir Ian Blair, Commission President Richard Aborn and Howard P. Milstein, sponsor of the Milstein Lecture series.*

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ence is that all of those groups were bombing their way to the negotiating table. Al Qaeda are just bombing the table.

That's a very different position, but we did have knowledge of Al Qaeda and Osama Bin Laden. We knew about the attacks on the US embassies in East Africa in Dar Es Salaam, in Nairobi in 1998. We knew about the USS Cole in 2000.

On a personal note, I was travelling through Italy with my two children who at that stage were 14 and 12. The 12-year-old said, "Dad, you're a cop, this is a very long, boring journey. Why don't you tell us who the worst criminal in the world is?" I told them at that stage, in the summer of 2001, about Osama Bin Laden. It was there.

Since 9/11, we've had the bombings in Madrid, in Bali, in Casablanca and in Istanbul. In London, between 9/11 and 7/7 we had two major conspiracies, one of which is currently on trial. We had the shoe bomber, Richard Reid, who tried to blow up a transatlantic jet using explosives hidden in his shoes.

We had, intriguingly and quite worryingly, two young men from Britain who went to

mount a suicide attack in Israel. They tried to blow themselves up in Tel Aviv. One succeeded, one didn't but then apparently committed suicide.

Then we had July of last year and there are two images that are worth remembering because they are such a huge contrast. First is the 6th of July and, while I have no desire to gloat, that is the day when London won the Olympics and it was an extraordinary day. One of the best parts of it was the presentation that the London Bid Team made in Singapore, which represented London as an open, diverse and modern city, which values equality of opportunity and love of life, including sport, as essential components of a free society.

This is because London is not the London of myth. 40% of the economically active community in London are from minority communities. Out of the 32 boroughs of London, in two of those boroughs, the phrase minority communities does not apply because minority communities have become the majority. There are 250 languages, at least, spoken in London's schools and if I could put it bluntly, Mary Poppins it isn't. London is a polyglot, multicultural society

On the seventh of July, while your President was in Scotland at the G8 event, four young men: one 18-years-old, one 19, one 22 and one 30, three of them born in Britain and one who moved to Britain when he was six months old, decided to undertake the largest single act of murder in English criminal history.

Fifty-two people were killed plus the four bombers, 700 injured and some of those injuries were totally life changing. You saw all of that on the television. There are many stories from that day about heroism. The worst scene was at a particular subway station

called Russell Square. It's the deepest tunnel in London and among the young men and women who were called to that scene were half a dozen of our people who were on the "Street Duties Course" as we call them. They had left our training establishment less than three weeks before and they weren't yet allowed to walk the streets by themselves, but they went down into that tube, into the darkness, into a scene of barbarity.

On the 21st of July, four other young men, not born in Britain but all assimilated into British society, are now accused of attempting to do similar bombings. At the moment when the news of the second set of bombings was brought into me in my office, I can remember looking out of the window, at this sort of height across London, thinking that we were facing the greatest operational challenge that the Metropolitan police had seen since the Second World War. This was London but not as we had known or policed it.

Since then, we've had three further conspiracies. The allegations in these are as follows: one is an individual who decided to buy a surface-to-air missile from a police officer, the second was a plan for a further suicide bombing in London and the third, perhaps most chillingly, is a conspiracy between UK residents planning further atrocities. What we know about the two individuals is that they never physically met. A conspiracy across the Internet has serious implications for the law enforcement agencies.

So what conclusions can we draw? The first is about the nature of the threat: it is global in its reach, it is global in its methodology – in the sense that what is happening in Iraq is now translatable elsewhere. It is asymmetric. An example of that is a conspiracy in Paris by a group of North Africans who wanted to blow up the Russian Embassy there in retaliation for events in Chechnya.



I have just read John Gaddis's book on the Cold War and I think somebody will write another book 20 years from now about these terrorist events because we are facing a new paradigm of equal length. Our situation will not be quickly solved. Ultimately, the terrorists are not open to negotiation, there is no bargaining position here.

I define the threats against our two countries like this: The main threat to the United States is external and relates to American interests abroad. The main threat to the United Kingdom is internal, although it is influenced by factors and events externally. There is little comfort in considering the implications of a closer convergence of those two threats.

The nature of the British threat is very difficult. The bombers on the 7th of July were British born, those accused of the second set were British naturalized. We have had visitors, we have had combined British and non-British. If we think that the next threat to the United States will be more hi-jacked aircraft, then I believe we are preparing to re-fight the last battle.

The next battle is within and that will be an enormous challenge for all of us because the nature of Al Qaeda is not as an organization, it is rather a facilitator. The best analysis of their actions that I've come across is in a book by Diego Gambetta, titled, "Making Sense Of Suicide Missions". It is a fascinating study covering everything from kamikaze pilots to Buddhist monks immolating themselves.

The first key aspect of his analysis is that Al Qaeda is different from any other terrorist organization in the world because, even if you exclude 9/11 (which would push any graph off scale), Al Qaeda's missions kill more people than any other organization in total, they kill more civilians than other

organization and they kill more per attack than any other terror group.

I have heard him lecture and the second piece of his analysis is particularly perceptive. He has profiled the suicide bombers in Iraq. They are not Iraqis. They come from the rest of the Middle East and they have no experience themselves of fighting the US, British and other coalition countries. They are much more like something from the Spanish Civil War. They are dying for a cause.

His analysis then examined the attacks of last July. The important point is that none of those individuals had any direct experience whatsoever of oppression, they had no cousins in Israeli jails; they're not involved in the intifada. They are dying for an idea, for an ideal of an Islam, not in the mainstream, but at the very edge of that faith.

Diego Gambetta says that we have not seen that for a century. The last time we saw people dying purely for an idea were the anarchists and nihilists at the end of the 19th Century and the beginning of 20th Century. I would like to read to you the words of Mohammad Siddique Khan who was the principal bomber on July the seventh. The words are taken from the video that he released through Al Jazeera. One of the most shocking parts for the British people was his British accent. It was not a Middle Eastern accent. It was a broad Yorkshire accent, which is, I suppose, as familiar as a Texan or Brooklyn accent to you.

"I and thousands like me have forsaken everything for what we believe. Our driving motivation does not come from tangible commodities that this world has to offer. Your democratically elected governments continually perpetrate atrocities against my people all over the world and your support of them makes you directly responsible. Until we feel security, you will be our targets

and until you stop the bombing, gassing, imprisonment and torture of my people we will not stop this fight. We are at war. I am a soldier. Now you will taste the reality of this situation”.

So what does this mean? If we're fighting an idea, what are the challenges for law enforcement and what are the challenges for an open society?

What should we do about terrorism that is new and what do we do that's traditional? In terms of a new approach, there are three tasks in relation to law enforcement. They are to prevent it, to investigate it and to manage the consequences if it happens.

I talked to Ray Kelly today and said that there were three things we learned from those events in July. The first is the significance of preparation and of practice. We had prepared, we did know what we were going to do. I went before the television cameras an hour and a half after the bombs went off and I said to the media and to the people of London that a long-prepared and well-rehearsed plan was swinging into action. I felt very confident about that. Knowing that we had specifically planned for that eventuality was a strong foundation.

Secondly, getting information out to people was incredibly difficult. We have a unit called the Casualty Bureau. It can be quickly set up to deal with extraordinary events. A contact telephone number is put onto TV screens that people can telephone to find out about loved ones. We had a problem because we got 42,000 calls in the first hour and there is no system in the world that can deal with that volume of calls from people desperate to get information. The system failed. That left us in difficulty.

The third was that this was the biggest story in the world and we were dealing with a 24-hour news media. Being sure of what

we actually knew, being sure of facts — as opposed to coming to believe what the media were telling — us was a huge challenge.

In terms of investigation, I think most of it, except in terms of scale, is pretty similar to everything else that we do. However, the main transatlantic challenge and difference between us is CCTV. After the 21st of July, we were able to put the photographs of the four alleged bombers onto the screens of the world and particularly onto the screens of Britain, because we had television cameras in the underground trains and in the buses. Without that, we would have struggled. Some very brave people came forward and said that the alleged bomber was one of their own family. Others came forward to say they knew where they lived, and that led us to the bomb factory. Without CCTV how much more difficult might it have been to find those suspects?

When we look at prevention, the challenges become even more interesting. The first issue is the timing of arrests and here I want to go back to our experience with the IRA. I will not portray the IRA as anything other than what they were. They were killers, but they had no agenda of total destruction, they certainly didn't want to die carrying out attacks and they had been heavily penetrated by intelligence agencies. None of those things apply to the new bombers. They do wish to cause maximum atrocity and they are willing to die. We haven't penetrated them very much and that means when we find that there are conspiracies emerging, we have to move in very quickly. We cannot take the risk of failing to intervene with the result that they carry out an atrocity. The inevitable consequence is that we scoop up a whole group of people and a raft of evidence.

In a recent inquiry, we had 860 separate identities within a group of about 10 people. We had 2500 separate SIM cards and encrypt-

ed computers, we had enquiries in foreign countries. We had one computer hard drive which had the equivalent of 66,000 feet of paper had it been printed out. The key issue is how long can you hold people while you work your way through the raw information — much of which is usually in a foreign language, often a dialect? This is not yet evidence. What you have is just a mass of data and highly suspicious activity. We are unable to charge them with a conspiracy to murder when we are still trying to translate an obscure dialect of Farsi on an encrypted computer.

A forceful debate around how long the police can hold people before charging them in a court of law has been running in the UK. Seven days, 14 days or as it now is, 28 days? In my conversations with US law enforcement, I am not sure that issue has quite been grasped.

There are also challenges around legal change. We have produced new laws on receiving or giving training in terrorism, which was not an offense in Britain before. There is a very interesting issue about the glorification of terrorism. Is it right to allow people to say terrorist activity is a glorious thing? Who decides who is a terrorist and who a freedom fighter? This has been a matter of significant debate in Britain.

How should the police react to suicide bombers? As you're aware, on the 22nd of July, the Metropolitan Police shot and killed a young Brazilian man called Jean Charles de Menezes who was entirely innocent. In due course, that death will have to be the subject of full public account. However, the issue of suicide bombers remains. How do we deal with deadly and determined attackers? This is a crucial difference in this scenario to all of the police shootings with which I have dealt with over the years. In all

other cases, the armed officer makes a split second decision based on the information they have themselves.

In a suicide bombing scenario, the position is maybe that the armed officer at the scene does not have the information. The people



*Sir Ian Blair and Howard P. Milstein*

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who have the information are at the NYPD or the LAPD or the Scotland Yard headquarters and they give an order to that individual officer to shoot somebody. That is a very different scenario and one that a democracy finds extraordinarily difficult to deal with even though there is no other viable option.

There are only three choices if you have to counter a suicide bomber. There is a very small chance that you can isolate that individual and you've seen perhaps a picture of a 13-year-old being asked by the Israelis to take all his clothes off with the bomb underneath, but they've got to be 100 yards away from anybody else. The only other two options are: a plain clothes officer getting close and shooting them without warning or a sniper from a distance.

All of these are highly contentious issues in a democracy. They are matters which represent a series of direct challenges to law enforcement which stem from terrorism.

London is a city in which one in nine people is a Muslim. They do not form one community but many communities from all over the world. There are differences within their faith. There are challenges around the global issues of Iraq and Iran, of Palestine, of Chechnya.

Our Muslim communities believe they are much safer than the rest of our citizens. They think policing is very good on safety-related issues but a recent survey has shown that 70% of them believe that life for Muslims in London has got worse since 9/11. 53% of them believe that the cause is the War on Terror and 28% believe it's about Islamophobia. There is stronger concern about and among young people. A survey of the members of the Federation of the Student Islamic Societies revealed that 28% of them would not tell the police if a friend of theirs was planning a terrorist atrocity, 4% would not wish to condemn the 7th of July atrocities.

As a police officer and Commissioner, I do not comment on foreign policy but I have to take account of the fact that those issues exist and they have an effect on the way we can police. One of my colleagues, Sir David Omand, who was the Cabinet security chief, said in a recent speech: "Heavy-handed security measures impact on the innocent and the ill-intentioned alike and well-intentioned steps taken for public protection can quickly come to appear to be targeted on whole communities and thus themselves become radicalizing factors amongst those from whom terrorism hopes to recruit."

In other words, terrorism wants us to take those kinds of measures and we are operating in a situation in which too many Muslim citizens in London feel that, despite being law abiding, the new legislation, the new powers, the new resources are targeted at them and, therefore, we've got to refine our approaches to these communities.

There are two new approaches that I would like to outline this evening. The first is the need to be very brave about how we approach Muslim communities. We have described it in London as a traffic light system. Green, Red and Amber. Red is the fact that we will, like every other agency in the free world, act on intelligence and attempt to put agents in place into suspected Al-Qaeda organizations.

Green is talking to the leaders of Muslim communities, the people who run the mosques, the elders that we have always tried to engage in debate.

The key issue is amber, which is who are you prepared to sit down with and to talk to? The people who are influential with young people are not necessarily the familiar Muslim leaders. There are much more radical, much more difficult but yet much more influential leaders. An example is a man called Al-Qaradawi, who has condemned the 7th July bombings but has views on the Palestinian Intifada that probably would not be very acceptable either here or in the UK. He has views about the role of women in Islamic society, which are not very acceptable either. But, he can command an audience of 50,000 young people at the drop of a hat.

Are you going to talk to him or not? And our view is, "Yes we are going to talk to him however difficult that becomes." I think that some of the processes here in the US limit that. There was a man called Zaki Badawi, now dead, who received an honorary knighthood from the Queen, whom Homeland Security managed to turn round at an airport in the last year or two because he was too dangerous to enter the United States. If he was too dangerous, then you will be missing almost all of the amber.

The second point is that terror is crime and is like any other crime and that Muslim com-



munities are like any other community. The only way that we are going to defeat terror is not just through intelligence agents or police but through communities themselves feeling we can be trusted with information. So, in London we are rolling out the largest Community Policing program in our history. London is divided into 32 boroughs, each of those boroughs are divided up into wards. We are putting a team of six people into each of those 630 wards across the city. We are entirely freeing them from any central targets and bureaucracy, and getting them to be close to their community, finding out what their community wants and simply being there for their community. The evaluation of the first 280 of those wards is astonishing.

We are seeing drops in crime rates and rises in public confidence that we haven't seen before. It will be these people who are the eyes and ears of the police service as it tries to combat terrorism because the terrorists have to live somewhere, they have to buy their equipment, they have to buy their telephones, they have to park their cars, they have to sleep somewhere. People are at some level aware of who is being radicalized – if we take one of the 7th July bombers, a young man called Tanweer he was a minor drug dealer and while this won't mean much to you Americans, he was a cricket fanatic. He goes on a trip to Pakistan and is reported to have become intensely religious. Somebody must have thought that had implications.

How do you enable that community to tell you what's happening? Trust is the answer and there is an analogy for me with a different community. In London there was great difficulty 15 years ago with the first emergence of Jamaican Yardies, as we knew them. We did not know how to deal with that type of criminality, black-on-black shootings. I remember talking to one of the detectives dealing with it who said that they weren't

getting close to solving one in 20 of those crimes. We now have a 60% clear-up rate among those crimes because we are working alongside and within the African-Caribbean community to combat it.

That's got to be the clue to how we deal with terror in the Muslim community because what has occurred and what is undoubtedly being planned is a perversion of Islam. The Muslim community want to resist it in every way that they know how. We in law enforcement have to help them to do so.

My conclusion is this: Terrorism is a global phenomenon, it is likely to endure. We are going to have to design new law enforcement processes, draft new laws and find new resources. We are also going to have to combat it, to the extent that law enforcement can combat it, through the traditional methodologies of detection and community work.

The man who founded the Metropolitan Police and who, effectively, is the father of policing across the world, was Sir Robert Peel, Prime Minister and Home Secretary. One of his most profound but probably enigmatic observations was that, in the end, the police are the public and the public are the police. That, of course, refers not only to indigenous communities but to Muslim communities as well. That would be the thought that I would like leave with you. Thank you very much. ■

## Questions & Answers

### Sir Ian Blair

**RICHARD ABORN:** Thank you very much, that was terrific. Sir Ian has said he'd be happy to take some questions. I would invite questions from our Crime Commission guests first. And then we'll take questions from the press.

**Q.** I read somewhere that your government is beginning to budget for the training of Islamic clerics, so that you don't rely solely on the Wahhabi training clerics from Saudi Arabia and others from the Middle East. Is that a fact?

**A.** This is an emerging picture. It's a long negotiation I think here. In the same way as — how would the Jewish community react to the federal government deciding who could be a rabbi.

We've got to, I think, tread gently here. But there is certainly a mood— to ensure that the imams speak English, have an idea about British citizenship and so on. I think we have not reached the level you described yet but that is the direction to travel.

Certainly we are concerned and have been concerned for some time about radicalization in prison. Richard Reid the shoe bomber is the classic example of a young white man who was broadly just an ordinary every day robber who then becomes an Islamic convert. And as we all know in every religion, it is converts who can be the most extreme. So certainly that is a dire element.

**Q.** Is recruitment for the police service in the Muslim community part of your strategy; and if so, is it working?

**A.** It is working and it is very much part of our strategy. The Friday eight days after the 7th of July when I went to a mosque in London, which is particularly connected to Pakistan, because that's where the bombers had some origins.

I talked about give me your mothers and your fathers, your sisters, your brothers, your sons and your daughters. Because when I go to Pakistan, the police are Pakistani. And when I go to Israel, the police are Jewish. So where are they?

I think it is a huge challenge for us. We've got about 300— police officers— who are Muslim but if we look at London's population, that ought to be 3,000 of my officers, from that population. It's always going to be slow I think. Many people in these communities are the second generation but I think it's the third generation point that we need to reach to make a difference.

But that's what we need. And one of the great advantages we have at the moment is that— over 50 percent of the people wanting to join the Met are from minority communities. So it's a great start but a lot of those are not necessarily Muslims.

**Q.** The placement of cameras in the underground is very successful. What branch of government in the UK in London led that? And who really made that happen?

**A.** Well there are two answers to that. The actual technical answer is that there's a branch called Transport for London. But it's been coming for a long time. It is true to say that the UK is probably the most covered by cameras of any nation in the world and there are voices that say this is too much.

On the other hand, as I said, the events of July made it absolutely manifest that if you can actually see the bomber on the film with the rucksack, you've got a fantastic advantage. Some of it I have to say is also slightly difficult because not every organization or company keep their video cameras up to spec and it is possible to recover lots of video that actually appears to be a snowstorm rather than anything else.

But it is certainly part of our environment and we're very pleased with it from a law enforcement perspective.

**Q.** At least to this uninformed observer, it seems that the terrorism is more centrally directed than the picture that you paint; especially the part about somebody, in effect, insuring these guys so that their families get money, after they blow themselves up. It's just a comment. But I'd appreciate your thoughts.

**A.** I do think we have to recognize that it's going to be different in different parts of the world. I mean, certainly, some of the Palestinian experience is exactly what you are describing. In the UK, I think what we've seen over the two events appears to be much looser.

There's a difference between an intuition and evidence. We don't have the evidence that connects either of those two events directly to AQ but all the intuition is it's inspired by and connected to. I think we have to move away from what I describe as sort of a Graham Green, novelist view that there's some kind of cell-like structure. That is not how they operate, it seems to be about inspiration facilitation but certainly it is networked across the world.

**Q.** You mentioned the positive reception that community policing has received in the wards. I was wondering if that spilled over into the youth who, as you acknowledged before, were not willing to report on terrorists; who were not very receptive. Has that affected them as well?

**A.** Well I think it's too early to tell really but one thing I really want to make clear is this: people are not doing community policing which, is in some way separate from everything else.

What they're doing is just being with that community to help them and there are two stories on that. After 7th of July we pulled all of these people into the center of town. One of my senior officers in one of the areas of very heavy minority population, reported the comment from a mosque leader that said, "We want our cops back. But actually we don't want any cops. We want ours back." That's a really important message.

The second part of it is that if we don't reach out to those young people, if we're not there for them, then we're not winning their hearts and minds in the next few years.

It's a long term strategy. It just doesn't seem to me to be possible that we separate counter terrorism from everything else.

**Q.** In terms of the shift, in the U.S., the possible shift from an external threat to an internal threat that you suggested might be coming; what are the sorts of warning signs that people should look for?

In terms of your cooperation and talks and what you've seen happening in the US: Are there any of these clues beginning to emerge here in New York that might ring some alarm bells given your experience in the UK?

**A.** I don't think I know enough about that. I don't think I would know how to advise what's happening in New York because I don't understand the community in the same sense.

What I would say is that the two countries have got a lot of similarities in some ways. The border controls here are much fiercer than they are in the UK but the fact is this is a global phenomenon and what's happening to both countries is likely to merge.

So I have no view about any warning signs that are happening here. I have no idea if they are. But the fact that these two bombings took place in the United Kingdom without warning and from within, is part of the threat that we face. And a part of the threat that we face in terms of community cohesion. Because, as I said before, the 99.99 percent recurring Muslim community view is they want peace and stability. And the one thing that we must not allow to happen is those god-fearing and law abiding citizens of a Muslim background feeling that they are being targeted. These are the issues that we've got to deal with.

**Q.** If I could follow up just a little bit on that theme. You talked, laid out some percentage—about 70 percent— feeling the life is worse because of the war on terror. You talk about this within versus without type of scenario.

I was just wondering, is there something different that's going on, perhaps in the American community, versus what's going on in Europe? We've seen the riots in France. We've seen some of the problems in London and elsewhere in Britain. Is there something different here that perhaps the Muslim community is better assimilated? Or do you think the problems are parallel?

**A.** I think the answer to that is you probably know that answer better than I do, okay? All I can point to is the sense of unease in parts of that community in the UK.

Perhaps it's worth saying that the war in Iraq has been, you know, a defining political issue in the UK. There are very, very polarized views around that, and that of course will play into this issue.

But as somebody who was here as a young man during the Vietnam war, one of the things I am absolutely positive about is that nobody else criticizes another country inside that country, whatever's happening.

**Q.** Well perhaps just a more sort of factual approach to that. Do you see any evidence of the people that you're watching in terms of the internal threat in the UK reaching out to communities here inside the US?

**A.** I think I'd rephrase it. If we look at our experience in the UK it is clear that there are links between ourselves, the US, Canada and many other countries around the world.

**RICHARD ABORN:** At the beginning of tonight's program, I talked about three core values and said that the second value is creativity. Sir Ian, you have certainly demonstrated, by this talk, your creative thoughts about how to approach this problem. We greatly appreciate you sharing your thoughts with us tonight.

**SIR IAN BLAIR:** Thank you very much. ■



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