



**INDIC  
RESEARCHERS  
FORUM**

Civilisation • Security • Statesmanship

# COUNTERING ISLAMIC JIHAD



## A COLLABORATIVE APPROACH

**CONFERENCE REPORT**

**NOVEMBER 2023**

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## About Indic Researchers Forum

Indic Researchers Forum is an independent Think Tank established on 14th August, 2021 that promotes quality research on geopolitics and security studies through a civilisational perspective. The organisation strives to bring scholars, experts and practitioners together to deliberate and strategise India's geopolitical and security interests.

Late General Bipin Rawat's idea of Two-and a Half Front War is perspicuous and an accurate representation of the complexity India faces in terms of its external and internal security. The concept of Two and a Half Front War explains the complex multi-front and coordinated internal security concerns for India.

Similarly, due to the restructuring of the existing world order we are witnessing global conflicts, economic slowdown, increase in non-state attacks, radical transformation of technology and socio-cultural clashes. These transnational security challenges have paved the way for new geopolitical equations. Therefore, with a realist approach, IRF seeks to promote partnership and cooperation with like-minded countries to protect India's strategic interests. Through quality research and deliberations, the organisation seeks to protect the cultural identity of Indian civilisation, devise strategies to counter adversaries and enhance civilisational security and adopt a statesmanship approach to nation building.

## Research Projects



**Monitoring Jihad**



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## Our Team



**Maj Gen GD Bakshi**  
Editor, Indian Military  
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**Lt Gen Vinod Bhatia**  
Former, Director General  
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**Lt Gen Vinod Khandare**  
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**Lt Gen Shokin Chauhan**  
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**Maj Gen Rajan Kochhar**  
Former MGAOC  
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**AV Marshal PK Shrivastava**  
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Founder & M. Director  
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**Sathya Pulukuri**  
Associate Editor



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Associate Editor

## **Distinguished Participants in the Conference**

### **Cmde (Professor) SL Deshmukh, NM (Retd.)**

Commodore SL Deshmukh, NM (Retired), has served in the Indian Navy for 32 years. He holds qualifications both in Marine & Aviation fields. He served on board ships & Aircraft carriers. He is specialist on maintenance of Fighter aircraft and Anti Submarines Warfare Helicopters. He held many operational appointments on board ships and administrative appointments including Principal Director at Naval HQ, Commodore Superintendent Naval Aircraft Yard, Director Naval Institute of Aeronautical Technology and Project Director of a major Naval Aviation Project. Post retirement from the Indian Navy, he worked with Tata Group for 5 years and with SUN Group's Aerospace & Defence vertical (at Gurgaon) as Senior Vice President (Industrial Cooperation) for 12 years. He is currently in Pune, guiding SMEs in the region- to undertake projects under Atma Nirbhar Bharat policy, in conjunction with the global OEMs. He is currently working with Manipal Institute of Technology (MIT) and Manipal Academy for Higher Education (MAHE) as Adjunct Faculty. KW Publishers have published his books titled "Probable Sino-Russia Military Pact-Implications for India" and "China's Game Plan in Ladakh- Imperatives for India".



### **Ambassador Naor Gilon**

Ambassador Gilon is currently serving as Israel's Ambassador to the Republic of Bharat. His vast experience includes the role of Foreign Policy Advisor to three Prime Ministers. He served as the Deputy Chief of Mission at the Embassy of Israel in Hungary (1990- 1995), Counselor for Political Affairs at the Permanent Mission to the United Nations in New York (1997- 2000), Head of the Division for Strategic and Military Affairs at the Center for Policy Research (2000- 2002), and Minister Counselor for Political Affairs at the Embassy of Israel in Washington DC (2002-2005). Between 2005 and 2009, Ambassador Gilon was Head of the Bureau for International Affairs at the Center for Policy Research. In 2009, he was appointed as Chief of Staff to the Minister of Foreign Affairs. Later he served as Deputy Director-General responsible for Europe, the EU, and NATO (2009- 2011).. H.E. Naor Gilon served as Ambassador of Israel to Italy, San Marino and to the international organisations in Rome from 2012 to 2016. In September 2019, he was appointed as Ambassador of Israel to the Netherlands, where he served until his arrival in India.



### **Maj Gen GD Bakshi, SM, VSM (Retd.)**

Maj Gen(Dr) GD Bakshi, SM, VSM (retd) is a combat veteran of many skirmishes on the LC and Counter-Terrorist operations in J&K and Punjab. He commanded his battalion in active operations in Kargil and was awarded the Vishisht Seva Medal. Later he commanded a brigade in Counter- Terrorist operations in Kishtwar and was awarded the Sena Medal. He subsequently commanded the Romeo Force during intensive Counter-Terrorist operations in the Rajouri-Punch Districts of J&K . He has served at the highly prestigious Directorate General of Military Operations (during Op Pawan and Op Vijay). He has published 40 books and over 200 papers in many prestigious research journals. He taught at the Indian Military Academy Dehradun and





the Prestigious Defence Services Staff College at Wellington for three years each. He taught at the National Defense College at New Delhi for two years and retired from this prestigious assignment in June 2008. He served as Deputy Director Research at the Vivekananda International Foundation. He subsequently took over as the Chief Editor of the Defence and Security Alert magazine. He is currently Editor of Indian Military Review. He lectures frequently at the Army War College, the College of Defense Management, the College of Materials Management, The National Defence Academy and the National Police Academy. Later completed his Ph.d from the same University on "Limited Wars in South Asia".

### **Maj Gen Dr Rajan Kochhar (Retd.)**

Major General Rajan Kochhar, VSM, PhD is a former MGAOC Central Command. He has commanded key logistics units of the Indian Army such as Commandant of a Central Ordnance Depot and Divisional Ordnance Units of an Infantry and RAPID divisions. He has done active service in operational areas of Jammu and Kashmir and the North-East. He is the recipient of the Vishisht Seva Medal awarded by the President of India. He has also been awarded the Army Commanders Commendation twice. He holds a doctorate in Emotional Intelligence and is a certified NLP practitioner coach. He is also serving as the Vice Chairman of National Council of news and broadcasting. Presently he is associated with Economic Times Government as a regular contributor to articles on national security, defense modernization and geo-politics. His recent book on "Breaking the Chinese Myth" has been a best seller on Amazon.



### **Lalit Ambardar**

Lalit Ambardar is a security and current affairs analyst. He is one of the most prominent voices on Indian TV channels. He regularly contributed to response columns of the leading dailies like Times Of India and Hindustan Times and has dozens of published 'LETTERS' to his credit. He has also been a 'programme coordinator' for foreign TV/Radio bureaus, and writes on Kashmir. Born and brought up in Srinagar, Kashmir, he is presently based in Delhi. Academically, he did his Masters in Civil Engineering and has nearly three decades of experience in Building Design. He is now a practising Building Design Management /Coordination Consultant. He has also been involved in the promotion of SILK ROAD Tourism in association with the World Tourism Organisation and has the distinction of having featured on the SILK ROAD Contact List of WTO.



### **Dr Anshuman Behra**

Dr. Anshuman Behera is an Associate Professor in Conflict Resolution and Peace Research Programme at NIAS. A trained Political Scientist, Dr. Behera worked with Institute of Defence Studies and Analyses (IDSA) and Institute for Conflict Management (ICM), New Delhi, before joining NIAS. His main areas of research interest are in the field of political violence and internal conflicts in India, Nepal and Bangladesh, Democracy and Governance in India, Political Theory and the Social Impacts of Development. Apart from his extensive work on the Maoist insurgency in India and militancy in South Asia, Dr. Behera has also written on insurgency in Myanmar and Nepal. Governance in the Northeastern states and the Social Impact Assessment of infrastructure projects in India are his present research areas. He teaches courses on 'Theoretical



Constructs of Understanding Conflict’, ‘Qualitative Research Methodology in Social Sciences’, and ‘Approaches to Conflict Resolution’.

### **Dr Nanda Kishor MS**

Dr. Nanda Kishor M S is Head at the Department of Politics and International Studies, Public Relations Office (PRO), Coordinator of Centre for Gandhian Studies, and Coordinator of SAP-DRS II at Pondicherry University. He is formerly Head of the Department of Geopolitics and International Relations, Manipal Academy of Higher Education, Manipal. He completed Postdoc at the University of Leiden, Netherlands, with ERASMUS MUNDUS Fellowship from the European Union. He was a recipient of the Short-Term Junior Research Fellowship from UNHCR, Brookings, Government of Finland and MCRG (Kolkata). He visited Hochschule University of Applied Sciences, Bremen, Germany, on a short-term fellowship by the DAAD-sponsored program of HS Bremen in 2012. His recent book “Reimagining India in the Geopolitics of the 21st Century” has been critically acclaimed for its theme and content. He has four books in pipeline- India and the Great Powers in the Indo-Pacific: Praxis of a Geopolitical Imagination, Strategy and Negotiations in International Relations, Understanding Perception of South Asian States on Rising India: Integrating Panchamrit with India’s Neighbourhood First Policy, The Art of Governing: Revisiting Kautilya's Arthashastra for the 21st Century. He is currently heading a Major Research Project sponsored by ICSSR.



### **Lt Gen Dushyant Singh, PVSM, AVSM (Retd.)**

Lt Gen Dushyant Singh, PVSM, AVSM (Retd) is currently serving as Director General of Centre for Land Warfare Studies. He was commissioned into the ‘Ninth BN of the Maratha Light Infantry Regiment’ on Dec 81. He is an alumni of NDC, DSSC, CDM and Naval PostGraduate School California, USA. He has attended the Regional Defence Counter Terrorism Programme with specialisation in Terrorist Operations and Financing in the US. He has served in varied terrains and theatre of operations, in India and in the UN as Military Observer. He has been an instructor of Human Resource Development in College of Defence Management, Secunderabad. The General Officer has commanded an Infantry Battalion, Brigade and a Division in Jammu and Kashmir. He also holds the distinction of having served twice in the elite National Security Guards, as the Deputy Inspector General (Operations) and the Inspector General (Operations). The General Officer has also held the appointment of Brigadier General Staff of a Corps in the East and Chief of Staff, Eastern Command. The General Officer commanded a Corps and thereafter headed the Army War College. For his distinguished services, the General Officer has been awarded ‘Ati Vishisht Seva Medal’ and ‘Param Vishisht Seva Medal’. He has also written chapters in two books namely, “Understanding Suicide Terrorism (chapter on Deterring Terrorism)” and “Countering Terrorism : Psychological Strategies (Chapter on Impact of Virtual world in Creation and Sustenance of Terrorism)”, by Sage Publication.



### **Francesco Bergoglio Errico**

He is the Founder & Executive Director of the Monitoring Jihadism Project, ERCOR Researcher (European Research Community on Radicalisation), and a Member of the European Expert Network on Terrorism Issues (EENeT) – BKA. Moreover, he works as a Security Analyst and Consultant for private companies. Currently, he also is a writer for European Eye on Radicalization (EER); Analyst at Islamic Theology for Counter Terrorism (ITCT); Lecturer of Anthropology and Radicalization for training



courses for Law Enforcement Agencies and a Lecturer at the Penitentiary Police School "Giovanni Falcone" in Rome. Previously, Francesco worked as an Analyst of Emerging Challenges and External Relations Officer for NATO Defense College Foundation for one year. He was Academic Tutor at SIOI UNAssociation in Rome for the course on Terrorism and radicalisation, and he was for two years the Deputy-Coordinator and for five years a Volunteer Anthropologist for the Volunteer Criminologists Group at Casa Circondariale N.C. "Raffaele Cinotti" - Rebibbia Prison, in Rome. Finally, he worked as a Researcher for three years at the European Foundation for Democracy (EFD). He also holds a postgraduate specialisation in Geopolitics and Global Security from the University of Rome La Sapienza and other specific courses on the topic of Radicalisation, Terrorism and Islam. More recently, he attended the civil- military cooperation course at Centro Alti Studi per la Difesa - Ministry of Defense. Francesco Bergoglio Errico's address presents an extensive analysis based on his five-year research of over 15,000 pages of Italian judicial documents related to jihadism from 1993 to the present sheds light on the changing landscape of jihadist activities and ideologies in Italy, which also mirrors broader patterns in Western Europe.

### **Brigadier Gen (Res.) Rami Efrati**

He has served in the Israel Defense Forces for more than twenty-eight years. He commanded numerous prestigious operational and technological positions in Military Intelligence and received the Creative Thinking Award from the Director of Military Intelligence. He is an expert in Cyber Strategic Methods and has many years of experience in anti-terrorism and Intelligence technology. Mr. Efrati is one of the founding members and former Head of the Civilian Division of the Israel National Cyber Bureau in the Prime Minister's Office. In this capacity, he raised Israel to a leading position in the civilian aspects of global cyber-security, and brought multinational companies to open cyber R&D centres in Israel. He is currently involved in international level strategic projects for cyber- security and innovation. Mr. Efrati is a managing partner at Monti Stampa Furrer & Partners Innovations AG focusing on state-of-the-art methods and technologies to identify the key priorities at the right time – to make sure companies benefit from cyber security. Mr. Efrati is an Associate in the International Institute for Counter-Terrorism (ICT) at the Interdisciplinary Center, Herzelia (IDC), a place where he shares his unique experience in the cyber terror world.



### **Dr Dheeraj PC**

Dr. Dheeraj Paramesha Chaya is a lecturer in Criminology at the School of Criminology, Sociology and Policing. He secured a PhD in Intelligence Studies from the University of Leicester for his study on the impact of India's intelligence culture on its strategic surprises. Dheeraj is the author of the book 'India's Intelligence Culture and Strategic Surprises: Spying for South Block', which is the first academic work on India's foreign intelligence. Besides academic research, Dheeraj has been imparting training to Indian security forces in the fields of intelligence and national security. He is the author of the intelligence training manual of the Karnataka State Intelligence. He has also been delivering training lectures to the Internal Security Division and the Intelligence Wing of the Karnataka State Police on intelligence, counterintelligence, radicalisation, religious fundamentalism, and counterterrorism. Dheeraj's research interests lie in the area of strategic intelligence and counterintelligence for national security, sub-state conflicts, radicalisation and de-radicalisation.



### **Professor Ami Pedahzur**

Ami Pedahzur is professor at the Leon H. Charney School of Marine Sciences at the University of Haifa. Since 2023, he serves as director of the Chaikin Chair for Geo-Strategy, The Ezri Center for Iran and Gulf States Research, The Wydra Division for Shipping & Ports and The Maritime Policy & Strategy Research Center. He also leads the MA program in National Security and Maritime Strategy. His research focus over the last decade was understanding the interrelation between technology and humans in modern warfare. Previously, he studied the Israeli radical right, terrorism, and counterterrorism. From 2005 to 2023, he was a faculty member at the Government Department of The University of Texas at Austin. Most recently, he held the Ralph W Yarborough Centennial Professorship of Liberal Arts. He has a Ph.D. in political science from the University of Haifa.



### **Dr John M Nomikos**

John M. Nomikos (PhD) is the Director at the Research Institute for European and American Studies, Chairman, European Intelligence Academy (EIA) and Founding Editor, Journal of European and American Intelligence Studies (JEAIS)- (former Mediterranean and Balkan Intelligence (JMBI). He is the Head of the History, Politics and International Relations Department at the Athens Campus of Webster University (Webster Athens) and an Associate Professor. He joined the Intelligence and Security Studies program as an Affiliate Faculty member in 2022 at Coastal Carolina University. He is Member of the Advisory Board for the Master Security Studies and Information Analysis (MASIS) at the American University in the United Arab Emirates (UAE) and a Fellow in the International Association for Counter-Terrorism and Security Professionals (IACSPSEA). He was Adjunct Professor (2005-2007) at the Department of International Relations in the University of Indianapolis (Athens Camus) In 2016, he earned a Certificate in Critical Thinking and Effective Writing from Globalytica LLC, USA. In 2023, he earned a Certificate in Chinese Intelligence: Operations and Tactics from Shinobi Enterprises LLC, USA. He specialises in transatlantic intelligence studies, intelligence reform, and national security architecture. He has done research and studied in various research institutions in the USA, UK, Norway, Finland, Germany and Israel. He was awarded the "2019 Life Achievement for the Development of Intelligence Studies in Europe" by the International Association for Intelligence Education -European Chapter (IAFIE -Europe). He is a member of the Canadian Association for Security and Intelligence Studies (CASIS) Vancouver and a member of the Australian Institute of Professional Intelligence Officers (AIPIO).



### **Ms Cynthia Farahat**

Ms Cynthia Farahat is an Egyptian-American author, columnist, political analyst, counterterrorism expert, and fellow at the Middle East Forum. She co-founded the Liberal Egyptian Party in Egypt, which advocated for peace with Israel, capitalism, and the separation of mosque and state. She studied Islamic jurisprudence for more than twenty years and co-authored Desecration of A Heavenly Religion, which was officially banned by Al-Azhar University in Cairo in 2008 for its criticism of Egypt's blasphemy law. She is the author of Secret Apparatus: The Muslim Brotherhood's Industry of Death. Farahat landed on an al-Qaeda affiliated group's hit list and was officially banned from entering Lebanon for her work fostering regional peace. For almost a decade, she received daily death threats from Islamists. After her brother was tortured, her friend was murdered,





and Islamists tried to assassinate her, Farahat immigrated to the United States. Farahat has testified before the U.S. House of Representatives, briefed more than two hundred congressional offices, and advised intelligence and law enforcement agencies. She received the Speaker of Truth Award from the Endowment for Middle East Truth and the Profile in Courage Award from ACT for America. Her writing has been published in many national and international outlets, and her work has been translated into more than fifteen languages.

### **Dr Michael Rubin:**

Michael Rubin is a senior fellow at the American Enterprise Institute, where he specialises in Iran, Turkey, and the broader Middle East. A former Pentagon official, Dr. Rubin has lived in post-revolution Iran, Yemen, and both pre- and postwar Iraq. He also spent time with the Taliban before 9/11. For more than a decade, he taught classes at sea about the Horn of Africa and Middle East conflicts, culture, and terrorism, to deployed US Navy and Marine units. Dr. Rubin is the author, co-author, and co editor of several books exploring diplomacy, Iranian history, Arab culture, Kurdish studies, and Shi'ite politics, including "Seven Pillars: What Really Causes Instability in the Middle East?" (AEI Press, 2019); "Kurdistan Rising" (AEI Press, 2016); "Dancing with the Devil: The Perils of Engaging Rogue Regimes" (Encounter Books, 2014); and "Eternal Iran: Continuity and Chaos" (Palgrave, 2005).



### **Hans Jakob Schindler:**

Dr. Hans-Jakob Schindler is the Senior Director of the Counter Extremism Project (CEP) in New York and Berlin, co-chair of the Advisory Board of the Global Diplomatic Forum in London, member of the Advisory Board of Justice for Kurds in New York, member of the Boards of Directors of Compliance and Capacity Skills International (CCSI) in New York and London as well as a teaching fellow at the academy for Security in the Economy (ASW Akademie AG) in Essen. In these positions, he advises government leaders and top executives in Europe, North America and internationally on issues concerning international terrorism, financial crime, sanctions and combating the financing of terrorism and extremism. In 2013 he joined the ISIL (Da'esh), al-Qaida and Taliban Sanctions Monitoring Team of the United Nations Security Council and served as the Team's Coordinator from 2015 to 2018. As Coordinator he regularly briefed the members of the Security Council on the global terrorism threat and the Afghan insurgency. He was also responsible for the development of global counter terrorism sanctions.



### **Dr. Christian Kaunert:**

Prof Dr Christian Kaunert is Professor of International Security at Dublin City University, Ireland. He is also Professor of Policing and Security, as well as Director of the International Centre for Policing and Security at the University of South Wales. In addition, he is Jean Monnet Chair, Director of the Jean Monnet Centre of Excellence and Director of the Jean Monnet Network on EU Counter-Terrorism ([www.eucter.net](http://www.eucter.net)). Previously, he served as Academic Director and Professor at the Institute for European Studies, Vrije Universiteit Brussel, a Professor of International Politics, Head of Discipline in Politics, and the Director of the European Institute for Security and Justice, a Jean Monnet Centre for Excellence, at the University of Dundee. Christian has been an invited expert for the European Institute for Public Administration (EIPA), the Counter-Terrorism Committee of the European Parliament, the European Union Institute for Security Studies (an agency of the EU), the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) and the North Atlantic Treaty Organisation (NATO).



**Prof. Chuck Freilich:**

Professor Chuck Freilich, a former Deputy National Security Adviser in Israel and long-time senior fellow at Harvard's Belfer Center, teaches political science at Columbia, NYU and Tel Aviv Universities. He is the author of *Zion's Dilemmas: How Israel Makes National Security Policy* (Cornell Press 2012) ; *Israeli National Security: A New Strategy for an Era of Change* (Oxford Press 2018); and *Israel and the Cyber Threat: How the Startup Nation Became a Global Cyber Power* (forthcoming 2022). He has published numerous academic articles and over 200 op-eds, and appears frequently on US, Israeli and international TV and radio stations. He is the senior editor of the *Israel Journal for Foreign Affairs*.





## **Executive Summary**

Islamic Jihad, as a complex and evolving global security challenge, intertwines with deep socio-political undercurrents, rooted in an ideology advocating for the establishment of Dar-Al-Islam, or territories governed under Islamic law. This worldview promotes a confrontational stance against Dar al-Harb, territories not governed by Islamic law, with jihadists often framing their actions as a defence against perceived cultural, political, or military threats to Islam. This approach frequently involves a strict adherence to Sharia'ah law, shaping their operational and ideological strategies on both local and international stages.

Islamic Jihad, manifesting as a multifaceted and complex global security challenge, has shown its devastating impact through horrific acts like the 9/11 attacks in the United States, the 26/11 Mumbai attacks in India, and the 7/10 attacks. These events underscore the trans-national nature of this security challenge, transcending borders and impacting nations and communities worldwide.

India had a tumultuous history with Islamic Jihad throughout its medieval history. The violent Jihad by Islamic invaders led to the genocide of the followers of indic faiths and their cultural destruction. The Wahhabi movement in India laid the foundation for the creation of Pakistan and the modern day Jihad in the subcontinent. In recent history, the 26/11 Mumbai attacks, orchestrated by Lashkar-e-Taiba, a Pakistan-based terrorist organisation, highlighted the regional and international dimensions of Islamic Jihad. The attacks targeted multiple locations, causing widespread chaos and exemplifying the capability of jihadist groups to carry out high-profile, sophisticated urban attacks.

Similarly, The 9/11 attacks, carried out by Al-Qaeda, marked a paradigm shift in global awareness and response to the threat of Islamic Jihad. The sheer scale of these attacks not only caused tragic loss of life but also symbolised the global reach and destructive potential of jihadist ideologies. It was a stark demonstration of how deeply entrenched and far-reaching these networks had become, capable of planning and executing a coordinated attack on the world's superpower. This event brought to light the intricate international linkages in financing, planning, and executing terrorist activities, and it emphasised the need for enhanced international cooperation in counterterrorism efforts.

.The 7/10 attack by Hamas on Israel represents another significant instance in the ongoing challenges posed by Islamic Jihad. Hamas, designated as a terrorist organisation by multiple countries, including the United States and the European Union, has been involved in numerous attacks against Israel. These attacks are part of a broader conflict characterised by deep-seated political, territorial, and religious disputes.

These attacks highlight the persistent nature of Islamic Jihad as a trans-national security challenge. Such attacks not only have immediate and tragic consequences but also contribute to broader regional instability and international tensions. They underscore the complex dynamics of Islamic Jihad, where political, territorial, and ideological motivations intertwine, often leading to cycles of violence and retaliation. The modern landscape of Islamic Jihad is characterised by its adept utilisation of

technology, especially in the realm of digital influence and propaganda. Jihadist networks have expertly harnessed digital platforms, expanding their ideological reach and influence far beyond traditional geographic confines. They recruit followers, disseminate propaganda, and coordinate operations through these digital means, indicating a shift from conventional forms of terrorist communication and organisation. This digital sophistication suggests that counterterrorism responses might benefit from frameworks akin to military doctrines, prioritising strategic, coordinated efforts. Countries like Bharat have demonstrated the effectiveness of such comprehensive approaches, blending intelligence gathering, military strategy, public policy, and cyber capabilities to counteract these threats.

The evolving roles of traditionally vulnerable groups, notably women and children, in jihadist movements present new challenges. Historically confined to more supportive or background roles, women are increasingly taking on active, sometimes even combative roles in these movements. This evolution necessitates a reevaluation and adjustment of counterterrorism strategies, which often underplay the role of women in extremist activities. The radicalization of children is particularly concerning, given their heightened susceptibility to indoctrination. This vulnerability poses a long-term security risk, as it lays the groundwork for future generations of extremists. In the age of the internet and social media, the challenge is magnified, as these platforms have become powerful tools for extremist groups to indoctrinate, recruit, and train new followers, particularly targeting young, impressionable individuals. The involvement of various countries in these attacks, whether as sources of the perpetrators, operational bases, or targets emphasizes the fact that no nation is immune to the threat of Islamic Jihad. This reality calls for a unified approach, transcending national interests and fostering global solidarity against a common adversary. The shared experiences of nations in facing these horrors should serve as a catalyst for stronger international partnerships and more effective collaborative strategies to safeguard global peace and security against the scourge of Islamic Jihad. It highlights the critical need for global cooperation in intelligence sharing, strategic security planning, and the implementation of effective counterterrorism measures. Need to address the root causes of radicalization, disrupt terrorist financing networks, and counter the spread of extremist ideologies, especially in the digital realm is paramount .

In response to these dynamic and multifaceted threats, Indic Researchers Forum's conference 'Countering Islamic Jihad: A Collaborative Approach,' held on November 17, 2023 is testament to the necessity of such collaborative efforts. The platforms brought together diverse stakeholders, including representatives from various nations, academic researchers, policymakers, and practitioners to opportunities for comprehensive discourse on evolving counterterrorism strategies and underscore the importance of international collaboration in enhancing global peace and security. The overarching aim of these collaborative efforts is to pool resources, expertise, and strategies to effectively counteract the complex threats posed by jihadist ideologies and activities. This includes a focus on intelligence sharing, policy development, community engagement, and developing strategic military and cyber responses. Such collaborative efforts recognize the need for a united front, combining various expertise and perspectives to formulate effective, multi-dimensional responses to the ever-changing landscape of Islamic Jihad.

## **Inaugural Session**

### **A) Session Chair: Cmde (Professor) SL Deshmukh, NM (Retd.)**

#### **Multifaceted Nature of Religious Extremism:**

Commodore Deshmukh underscores the complexity inherent in religious extremism, challenging the oversimplified views often held about this phenomenon. He posits that the term 'extremism' is insufficient to capture the entire spectrum of diverse interpretations, beliefs, and identities that are tied to religious fervour. His assertion is that religious extremism encompasses a wide array of beliefs - from deeply spiritual to violently radical ideologies. This range makes it essential to undertake a comprehensive examination of these aspects to truly understand the real meaning and implications of religious extremism. It is not a monolithic entity but a diverse and complex array of ideologies and practices.

#### **Refugee Crisis and Entitlement Mentality:**

A particularly nuanced aspect of Commodore Deshmukh's address is his exploration of the problematic perspective surrounding refugees. He points out that some refugees, driven by a perceived sense of entitlement to government aid, may resort to violence. This behaviour can exacerbate a cycle of aggression and heighten demands from these groups. This observation suggests that policies surrounding refugee aid and resettlement need careful consideration to prevent fostering dependency or entitlement that could lead to unintended and dangerous consequences.

#### **Well-Funded Jihadist Groups:**

Commodore Deshmukh also sheds light on the presence of well-funded and armed groups that disseminate extremist ideologies masked as religious truths. These groups often use the cover of religious righteousness to justify acts of violence and barbarism, manipulating religious doctrines for their own nefarious ends. This manipulation is a significant concern as it transforms religion, often a source of peace and solace, into a tool for violence and conflict.

#### **Misguided Advocacy and Religious Affiliations:**

Another critical issue highlighted in his address is the advocacy of ideologies that unify groups under the banner of religion to condone violent acts. Commodore Deshmukh emphasises the paradox in defending violent actions based on shared religious affiliations. This misguided advocacy plays a significant role in fostering and perpetuating religious extremism. It underscores the danger of conflating religious identity with extremist ideologies, which can lead to increased sectarianism and conflicts.

#### **Collective Blame on Governments:**

Commodore Deshmukh touches upon the tendency of some countries to collectively blame their governments for maintaining national security, democratic values, and the welfare of their citizens. He cites the examples of India and Israel, nations that often face the challenge of balancing national security concerns with perceptions of jihadism. This part of his address highlights the complex

responsibilities of governments in safeguarding their citizens while also respecting religious freedoms and human rights, a balance that is often difficult to achieve.

### **Support for Jihadists:**

In his concluding remarks, Commodore Deshmukh expresses deep concern over the support that jihadists receive, underscoring this as a particularly disturbing aspect of contemporary religious extremism. This support, often stemming from deeply ingrained beliefs and ideologies, signifies the profound and complex nature of religious extremism in today's world. It calls for a more nuanced, multidimensional approach to understanding and addressing these challenges, moving beyond simplistic narratives and conventional countermeasures.

Commodore Srikant Deshmukh's address offers a comprehensive and profound analysis of religious extremism. He successfully highlights the multifaceted nature of this issue, exploring its various dimensions from the refugee crisis to the role of well-funded extremist groups, the challenge of misguided advocacy, the responsibilities of governments, and the troubling support for jihadists. His insights suggest the need for a more nuanced and holistic approach to understanding and addressing the complexities of religious extremism in the global context.

### **Key Focus on:**

#### **1. Careful Implementation of CAA and NRC:**

- a. Develop a clear legal framework and guidelines that detail the processes and criteria for CAA and NRC. This framework should be in line with international human rights norms to avoid marginalising legitimate refugees or minority communities.
- b. Establish independent oversight committees to monitor the implementation of these policies, ensuring transparency and accountability.
- c. Implement awareness and training programs for the officials involved in the CAA and NRC processes to mitigate the risk of biases and ensure fair treatment of all applicants.
- d. Provide legal aid and support services to applicants, particularly those from vulnerable communities, to assist them in navigating the application process.

#### **2. Strengthen Financial Oversight to Prevent Funding of Jihadist Groups:**

- a) Enhance the capacity of financial intelligence units to detect and analyse suspicious transactions. This involves investing in technology and training for personnel.
- b) Foster international partnerships, such as with the Financial Action Task Force (FATF), to gain insights and collaborate on cross-border financial tracking and intelligence sharing.
- c) Regularly audit and monitor non-profit organisations and religious institutions with stringent compliance checks to ensure their funding sources and expenditures do not contribute to jihadist activities.

### **3. Develop a Comprehensive National Strategy on Jihadism:**

- a. Conduct thorough research to understand the socio-economic, cultural, and political factors contributing to jihadism in different regions of India.
- b. Formulate a multidisciplinary task force involving sociologists, psychologists, religious scholars, and security experts to craft a strategy that addresses these factors holistically.
- c. Incorporate deradicalization and reintegration programs, focusing on individuals susceptible to extremist ideologies.

### **4. Launch Counter-Radicalization Programs for Vulnerable Communities:**

- a. Develop community-centred programs that engage directly with at-risk groups, leveraging local networks and leaders.
- b. Integrate modules on critical thinking, civic education, and religious tolerance into the educational curriculum.
- c. Implement targeted media campaigns to promote narratives of tolerance, leveraging local languages and cultural contexts to enhance effectiveness.

### **5. Improve Intelligence and Surveillance on Extremist Activities:**

- a. Invest in advanced surveillance technologies, including AI-based analytics, to enhance the capability of intelligence agencies.
- b. Encourage intelligence sharing and joint operations between central and state agencies, addressing bureaucratic and jurisdictional challenges.
- c. Develop specialised units within law enforcement agencies that are trained in identifying and countering extremist activities, both online and offline.

### **6. Regulate Online Platforms to Curb Extremist Ideologies:**

- a. Collaborate with technology companies to establish robust mechanisms for detecting and removing extremist content, while ensuring adherence to freedom of speech principles.
- b. Launch digital literacy campaigns to educate the public, especially youth, on identifying and reporting extremist content online.
- c. Implement strict regulations for social media platforms and internet service providers, mandating them to monitor and report extremist activities to the authorities.

In his compelling speech, Commodore Srikant Deshmukh not only dissected the complexity of religious extremism but also brought to light the various dimensions and perspectives that are often overlooked in mainstream discussions. His call for a more nuanced understanding of these issues is a vital takeaway for policymakers, researchers, and the global community at large.

## **B) Keynote Address: Ambassador Naor Gilon**

### **Evolution of Islamic Jihad and Terrorism:**

Ambassador Gilon places recent terrorist incidents like the 7/10 attack on Israel in a broader historical

context, connecting them to significant events such as the 9/11 attacks and the 26/11 Mumbai attacks. He underscores how Islamic Jihad, a term encompassing a range of militant Islamist groups, has continually evolved in both tactics and ideological underpinnings. A particularly disturbing trend he notes is the self-documentation of terrorist acts, a form of psychological warfare designed to instil fear and extend the reach of terror beyond the immediate site of the attack. This evolution reflects the adaptive nature of terrorist groups and their understanding of the power of media and technology in modern society.

### **Security Dynamics in the Middle East:**

The Ambassador discusses the intricate security situation in the Middle East, marked by volatility and the potential for rapid escalation. He points out the precarious position of more pragmatic regimes in the region, who face constant threats from extremist groups and internal dissent. The deployment of a carrier to the region, as mentioned by Amb Gilon, is an example of how strategic military responses are necessary to balance immediate security needs with broader geopolitical interests. This approach signifies a proactive stance in maintaining regional stability while also deterring potential aggressors.

### **Liberalism and Self-Defence:**

Ambassador Gilon provides a personal perspective as a 'liberal Israeli Jew,' challenging the notion that liberalism equates to weakness. He argues that liberalism encompasses a strong commitment to self-defence and the upholding of liberal life values. This perspective is crucial in understanding Israel's security policies and actions, which are often framed within the broader context of liberal democratic values. Amb Gilon's critique of 'uninformed liberalism' is exemplified through his discussion of movements like "gays for Palestine," which, in his view, fail to recognize the complex realities of global conflicts and the often contradictory nature of liberal values in different cultural and political contexts.

### **India's Informed Support for Israel:**

A key theme in Ambassador Gilon's address is the depth and nature of India's support for Israel. He highlights that this support goes beyond mere numbers; it is rooted in an informed and educated understanding, shaped by India's own experiences with terrorism. This aspect is vital in international relations, as it leads to a deeper understanding and solidarity among nations facing similar challenges. Amb Gilon emphasises that informed support fosters more meaningful and effective cooperation in combating global threats like terrorism.

### **Implications for Global Cooperation and Understanding:**

Ambassador Gilon's address underscores the need for nuanced understanding and cooperation among nations in the fight against terrorism. The evolving nature of terrorist tactics, the complex regional dynamics in places like the Middle East, and the importance of balancing liberal values with security concerns, all point to the necessity of informed and collaborative international approaches. His insights advocate for a more comprehensive and empathetic understanding of global conflicts, emphasising the role of shared experiences and educated perspectives in shaping effective international relations and counter-terrorism strategies.



**Key Focus on:****1. Understanding the Evolving Nature of Terrorism:**

- a. Develop adaptive counter-terrorism strategies that address the evolving tactics and ideological shifts of terrorist groups. This includes staying abreast of the use of technology and media by these groups for propaganda and psychological warfare.
- b. Implement programs to monitor and counter the self-documentation and dissemination of terrorist acts on social media and other platforms, recognizing its impact on psychological warfare and recruitment.

**2. Strengthening Security Dynamics in the Middle East:**

- a. Engage in proactive and strategic military responses to maintain regional stability, such as the deployment of carriers and other military assets in a balanced manner.
- b. Support and strengthen pragmatic regimes in the Middle East that are facing threats from extremist groups, through diplomatic, economic, and military assistance.

**3. Balancing Liberalism with Self-Defence:**

- a. Advocate for a nuanced understanding of liberalism that includes a strong commitment to self-defence and the upholding of liberal democratic values.
- b. Encourage liberal democracies to maintain a balance between protecting civil liberties and ensuring national security, especially in the context of terrorism.

**4. Enhancing India's Informed Support for Israel:**

- a. Deepen India's cooperation with Israel in areas such as intelligence sharing, counter-terrorism, and defence technology, building on the shared experiences and challenges with terrorism.
- b. Promote educational and cultural exchanges to foster a better understanding of the complexities of the Israel-Palestine conflict and the broader Middle Eastern geopolitical landscape.

**5. Fostering Global Cooperation and Understanding:**

- a. Encourage international collaboration in counter-terrorism efforts, recognizing the transnational nature of the threat. This includes sharing intelligence, best practices, and conducting joint operations where appropriate.
- b. Promote global dialogues and conferences to discuss and develop comprehensive strategies to combat terrorism, ensuring participation from a diverse range of nations and cultures.

**6. Addressing Online Radicalization and Extremist Propaganda:**

- a. Collaborate with technology companies and international agencies to develop effective strategies to monitor and counter online radicalization and extremist propaganda.

- b. Launch global campaigns to promote narratives that counter extremist ideologies, focusing on peace, tolerance, and coexistence.

Ambassador Naor Gilon's address provided a comprehensive analysis of current geopolitical challenges, the psychological aspects of terrorism, and the nuanced interplay between cultural perceptions and political stances. His insights into the dynamics of regional conflicts, combined with a personal reflection on cultural identity and political affiliations, offered a unique perspective on contemporary global issues. The emphasis on informed support and the importance of shared experiences in international relations was a particularly poignant aspect of his discourse, resonating with the audience's understanding of the complex nature of global alliances and cultural perspectives.

### **C) Keynote Address: Maj Gen GD Bakshi, SM, VSM (Retd.)**

#### **Acknowledgment of Shared Experiences:**

Gen Bakshi begins by expressing gratitude for the opportunity to speak, specifically thanking the Israeli ambassador. He underscores the shared experiences of India and Israel in combating Jihadi terrorism, noting that both nations have faced similar threats and challenges. This shared experience creates a deep emotional and experiential resonance, highlighted by Israel's empathetic response to the October 7th attack. Gen Bakshi's emphasis on this solidarity reflects the importance of international cooperation in addressing the threat of terrorism.

#### **Global Reactions to Terrorism:**

Gen Bakshi points out the varied global reactions to terrorism, with a particular focus on the United States' response post-9/11. He highlights the significant military mobilisation by the U.S, including the deployment of aircraft carrier battle groups, as a decisive response to prevent further violence. This observation serves to contrast the different scales and forms of response to terrorism by various nations, indicating a need for a coordinated and comprehensive global strategy.

#### **Historical Aspects and Ideological Shifts:**

Delving into the history of Islamic movements, Gen Bakshi discusses groups like the Deobandi in India and the Muslim Brotherhood in the Middle East. He views these movements as deviations from traditional Islam and traces their impact and evolution within the Indian subcontinent. He notes the ideological shift from the global threat of communism in the early 1990s to the rise of Jihadism as a new global ideological threat, suggesting a dynamic and evolving landscape of ideological extremism.

#### **Demographic and Ideological Challenges in Europe:**

Gen Bakshi warns of the demographic and ideological challenges in Europe, suggesting that these could significantly alter the global landscape of Jihadism. He implies that demographic changes, coupled with ideological radicalization, could lead to increased threats of terrorism and extremism in Europe, affecting its political and social stability.

### **The Afghan War and Revitalization of Global Jihad:**

The role of the Afghan war in revitalising global Jihad is a critical focal point of Gen Bakshi's address. He emphasises the creation of a network of madrasas along the Pakistan-Afghanistan border and the critical role of Pakistan, with support from the CIA, in fostering Jihadism. The return of the Taliban to power in Afghanistan is cited as a concerning development, with potential implications reminiscent of the Afghan war era, raising concerns about a resurgence of global Jihad.

### **Persistent Nature of Global Jihad Threat:**

Gen Bakshi emphasises the persistent and evolving nature of the global Jihad threat, advocating for increased awareness and vigilance among democratic nations. He calls for a deeper understanding of Islamic doctrines, particularly highlighting Ijtihad – a form of independent reasoning, which he believes can align with democratic principles. This perspective suggests a need for both a defensive strategy against terrorism and an intellectual engagement with Islamic doctrines to counter radical ideologies.

### **The Role of Israel:**

In his address, Gen Bakshi underscores the unique and vital role of Israel as a homeland for Jewish people, emphasising the necessity of its protection amidst these global challenges. This acknowledgment serves as a reminder of the importance of solidarity and mutual support among nations facing similar threats, highlighting Israel's strategic and symbolic significance in the global fight against Jihadism.

### **Key Focus on:**

#### **1. Strengthening Indo-Israeli Cooperation in Counter-Terrorism:**

- a. Deepen the strategic partnership between India and Israel, focusing on shared experiences in combating Jihadi terrorism. This can include joint training programs, intelligence sharing, and collaboration in counter-terrorism technologies.
- b. Organise bilateral forums and conferences to discuss best practices and strategies for counter-terrorism, leveraging the shared experiences and expertise of both nations.

#### **2. Developing a Coordinated Global Response to Terrorism:**

- a. Advocate for a unified and comprehensive global strategy to combat terrorism, recognizing the varied reactions and approaches of different countries.
- b. Promote international cooperation through platforms like the United Nations, to ensure a coordinated response to terrorism, including sanctions, diplomatic efforts, and, where necessary, military action.

#### **3. Understanding Historical and Ideological Shifts:**

- a. Invest in research to understand the historical evolution and ideological shifts in Islamic movements, such as the Deobandi and Muslim Brotherhood. This knowledge can inform more effective counter-radicalization and counter-terrorism policies.

- b. Encourage academic and diplomatic dialogues on the changing landscape of ideological extremism, with a focus on understanding the shift from communism to Jihadism as a global ideological threat.

#### **4. Addressing Demographic and Ideological Challenges in Europe:**

- a. Collaborate with European nations to address the challenges posed by demographic changes and ideological radicalization. This could include sharing intelligence, best practices in integration and assimilation policies, and developing joint counter-radicalization initiatives.
- b. Support European countries in developing community engagement programs that foster social cohesion and prevent radicalization.

#### **5. Responding to the Afghan War's Impact on Global Jihad:**

- a. Monitor and address the implications of the Taliban's return to power in Afghanistan, especially concerning the potential revitalization of global Jihad.
- b. Work with international partners to contain the spread of Jihadism from the Afghanistan-Pakistan region, including diplomatic pressure on Pakistan to curb support for Jihadist groups.

#### **6. Combatting the Persistent Threat of Global Jihad:**

- a. Implement comprehensive national and international strategies to address the evolving nature of the global Jihad threat. This includes bolstering defences against terrorism and engaging intellectually with Islamic doctrines to counter radical ideologies.
- b. Promote the concept of Ijtihad (independent reasoning) within Islamic communities as a means to align religious interpretations with democratic principles.

#### **7. Recognizing and Supporting Israel's Role:**

- a. Acknowledge and support Israel's significance in the global fight against Jihadism, recognizing its strategic and symbolic importance.
- b. Foster international support for Israel's right to self-defence and its role as a homeland for Jewish people, particularly in the context of global Jihadist threats.

Maj Gen GD Bakshi's speech provided an in-depth analysis of the historical and contemporary challenges posed by global Jihad. He emphasised the need for a collaborative and informed approach among democratic nations to address these evolving threats, highlighting the unique experiences and perspectives of India and Israel in this context. His insights are particularly valuable for understanding the multifaceted nature of global terrorism and the strategic responses required to combat it effectively.

## **Session 1: Jihad in Indian Subcontinent and Bharat's National Security**

### **A) Session Chair: Maj Gen Dr Rajan Kochhar, VSM (Retd.)**

Gen Kochhar commenced his discourse by providing a clear and concise definition of Jihad. He underscored that, at its core, Jihad is an Arabic term signifying the act of striving or struggling for a noble cause. It is imperative to note that Jihad is not synonymous with holy war, as commonly misinterpreted. This clarification is paramount in the current era, where the term has been exploited and misrepresented, leading to grave consequences in both national and international security contexts.

One of the major concerns raised by him is the recent trend where acts of terrorism are often carried out under the guise of Islam, thus distorting the genuine essence of Jihad. This distortion has significant implications for national security, as it blurs the line between religiously motivated activities and acts of violence. Furthermore, the General questioned the effectiveness of solely modernising military forces in countering the multifaceted threats posed by modern Jihad. He rightly pointed out that this approach might fall short in dealing with the complex nature of contemporary Jihad, which encompasses not only religious but also ideological dimensions. This raises the question of whether a comprehensive strategy, combining military means with other soft power tools, is necessary to effectively counter the diverse challenges posed by Jihadist movements.

His discourse ventured into the global implications of Jihad, highlighting the concept of the world being divided into 'Dar al-Islam' (House of Islam) and 'Dar al-Harb' (House of War). This worldview fosters extremist ambitions for a global Muslim caliphate, which can have repercussions far beyond the borders of the Indian subcontinent. The aspiration for a global caliphate underlines the transnational nature of the Jihadist threat, requiring international cooperation and coordination in countering it. He also discussed various global Jihadist movements and their efforts to establish Islamic dominance in hotspots such as Afghanistan, Palestine, Kashmir, Chechnya, and Spain. He noted a significant turning point in these endeavours following developments in Afghanistan. This emphasises the dynamic and evolving nature of Jihadist movements and the need for adaptable security strategies.

Turning his attention to the specific security challenges faced by India, Gen Kochhar brought to light alarming statistics from 2018 to 2022 regarding terrorist activities and counter-terrorism operations in Jammu and Kashmir. These statistics underscored the severity of the situation and the ongoing threat posed by Jihadist groups in the region. It is imperative for India to address these challenges comprehensively, both internally and in collaboration with neighbouring countries. Neighbourhood dynamics play a crucial role in India's security landscape, and the General pointed out the role of neighbouring countries, particularly Pakistan, in fostering terrorism. Drawing parallels with the situation in Israel, he suggested that India's immediate neighbourhood should not be underestimated. The interplay of regional geopolitics and Jihadist movements adds complexity to India's national security calculus. He also highlighted the rise of radical movements within the Indian subcontinent. He specifically underscored the growing influence of Jamaat-e-Islami in Bangladesh, marking it as a potential regional threat. This demonstrates that Jihadist ideologies and movements are not limited to a

single geographic location but can spread and gain influence in neighbouring countries, further emphasising the need for regional cooperation in countering these threats.

Another concerning development is the phenomenon of digital Jihad, as popularised by groups like ISIS. The General highlighted the role of digital platforms in radicalising youth in Jammu and Kashmir through cyberspace. This digital dimension of Jihad poses unique challenges for counter-terrorism efforts, as it transcends physical borders and operates in the virtual realm.

While acknowledging successes in counter-infiltration and counter-terrorism operations, He raised concerns about the burgeoning radicalism in various Indian states. This internal threat necessitates a robust approach to internal security, focusing on intelligence gathering, community engagement, and countering radicalization at the grassroots level.

Furthermore, the General discussed the widespread influence of extremist groups like the Popular Front of India, pointing out their operations across multiple Indian states despite being banned. This underscores the need for effective law enforcement and legal measures to curb the activities of such groups, preventing them from further radicalising vulnerable individuals.

In his comprehensive address, Major General Rajan Kochhar provided a profound overview of the multifaceted challenges posed by Jihad to national security in the Indian subcontinent. His emphasis on understanding Jihad beyond common misinterpretations is pivotal in formulating effective counter-terrorism strategies. The General's analysis illuminated both the internal and external dimensions of the issue, highlighting the imperative need for a strategic, nuanced, and collaborative approach to maintaining national security and stability in the face of evolving Jihadist threats. In a world where the boundaries between religion, ideology, and violence continue to blur, Major General Kochhar's insights serve as a valuable guide for policymakers, security agencies, and scholars alike.

**Key Focus on:**

**1. Educating on the True Essence of Jihad:**

- a. Implement educational and awareness campaigns to clarify the true meaning of Jihad, distinguishing it from the distorted interpretations used by extremist groups. This will help in preventing the misrepresentation of Jihad as synonymous with terrorism.
- b. Include this differentiated understanding in counter-terrorism training programs for law enforcement and security personnel.

**2. Comprehensive Counter-Terrorism Strategy:**

- a. Develop a multi-pronged counter-terrorism strategy that goes beyond just military modernization. This strategy should encompass ideological, socio-economic, and diplomatic dimensions to effectively counter the diverse challenges posed by Jihadist movements.
- b. Invest in soft power tools, such as community engagement, de-radicalization programs, and education reforms, to combat the ideological appeal of Jihadism.



**3. Addressing the Global Implications of Jihad:**

- a. Foster international cooperation and partnerships to counter the transnational nature of Jihadist threats, especially those aiming for a global caliphate.
- b. Engage in international forums and bilateral dialogues to strategize and coordinate responses to global Jihadist movements.

**4. Enhancing Regional Security Cooperation:**

- a. Strengthen regional security cooperation, particularly with neighbouring countries like Bangladesh and Pakistan, to address the spread of Jihadist ideologies and movements.
- b. Implement joint counter-terrorism initiatives and intelligence-sharing agreements with regional partners.

**5. Countering Digital Jihad:**

- a. Develop robust cyber security measures and digital surveillance capabilities to monitor and counter the spread of Jihadist propaganda online.
- b. Collaborate with technology companies to identify and remove radicalising content from digital platforms, while ensuring the protection of freedom of speech.

**6. Strengthening Internal Security Measures:**

- a. Enhance intelligence-gathering mechanisms within India, focusing on early detection and prevention of radicalization.
- b. Implement community policing and engagement programs to build trust and cooperation with local communities, especially in areas prone to radicalization.

**7. Legal Measures Against Extremist Groups:**

- a. Enforce strict legal measures against organisations identified as promoting extremist ideologies, such as the Popular Front of India.
- b. Ensure effective implementation of bans and legal actions against such groups to prevent them from operating under different guises

**8. Counter-Infiltration and Counter-Terrorism Operations:**

- a. Continue and strengthen counter-infiltration and counter-terrorism operations, particularly in sensitive regions like Jammu and Kashmir.
- b. Equip security forces with advanced technology and training to effectively combat and prevent terrorist activities.

**9. Public Awareness and Community Resilience:**

- a. Build public awareness about the signs and dangers of radicalization, encouraging community resilience against extremist ideologies.
- b. Support initiatives that promote interfaith dialogue and communal harmony, countering divisive narratives propagated by extremist groups.

## **B) Jihadist Ecosystem in Kashmir: Lalit Ambardar**

### **Historical Context of Jihad:**

In his remarks, Mr Ambardar links the modern Jihadist conflicts to pan-Islamism, an ideology that advocates for the unity of the Muslim world under a single Islamic state and promotes the idea of Islamic supremacy. This ideology has deep historical roots and can be traced back to the early expansion of Islam. In the centuries following the death of Prophet Muhammad, Islamic empires spread across vast territories, from Spain to India, and beyond. The concept of Jihad, often associated with the spread of Islam, played a significant role in these conquests.

Pan-Islamism gained prominence during the late 19th and early 20th centuries as Muslim communities in various parts of the world faced colonisation and the erosion of Islamic governance. It aimed to unite Muslims across borders and restore Islamic rule in regions where it had declined. The ideology's impact was particularly pronounced in the context of the decline of the Ottoman Empire, as it sought to mobilise Muslims against colonial powers.

Mr Ambardar's speech connects Jihad in India to the two-nation theory, which was proposed by Sir Sayyid Ahmed Khan in the late 19th century and later championed by Muhammad Ali Jinnah, the founder of Pakistan. This theory posited that Hindus and Muslims were two distinct nations and could not coexist within a single nation-state. It played a pivotal role in the partition of India in 1947, leading to the creation of Pakistan as a separate Muslim state. The partition, driven by religious divisions, had profound consequences for the Indian subcontinent.

The historical context of pan-Islamism and the two-nation theory contributes to our understanding of the deep-seated ideological factors that have influenced conflicts in the Indian subcontinent and beyond. By recognizing these historical roots, we can better comprehend the motivations and grievances of various Jihadist groups operating in the region.

Moreover, the partition of India serves as a significant historical marker in the context of Jihad. It resulted in significant violence, forced migrations, and communal tensions, leaving a legacy that continues to shape regional security dynamics. Mr Ambardar's analysis highlights how ideological divisions rooted in religion can have far-reaching implications for peace and stability in the region.

### **India's Struggle with Jihad:**

India's struggle with Jihad has a deep-rooted historical dimension. The region now known as India has faced numerous Jihadist invasions and incursions dating back over a thousand years. Mr Ambardar's reference to historical events, such as Muhammad bin Qasim's campaign in Sindh, signifies the enduring nature of this conflict. These invasions were often characterised by religious motivations, where Jihadists sought to spread Islam through conquest and conversion. India's cultural and religious identity has been preserved primarily due to the resilience and resistance of its people over centuries. This resistance is a testament to the rich tapestry of India's history and its ability to withstand external challenges.

The 1947 partition of India was marked by communal violence and mass migrations, resulting in the deaths of thousands and the displacement of millions. This partition was rooted in the two-nation

theory, which proposed that Hindus and Muslims were two distinct nations, incapable of coexisting within a single state. This theory, articulated by Sir Sayyid Ahmed Khan and later championed by Muhammad Ali Jinnah, laid the ideological groundwork for the creation of Pakistan. Mr Ambardar suggests that this division has continued to fuel conflicts in the region, as it carved out a separate Islamic state based on religious lines. The partition serves as a lasting reminder of how ideological divisions can lead to significant geopolitical changes and ongoing tensions. Kashmir has been a focal point of India's struggle with Jihad in more recent history. Mr Ambardar's mention of Article 370, which granted a special autonomous status to Jammu and Kashmir, sheds light on the complex political and ideological dynamics in the region. Article 370 was viewed by some as indirectly supporting the two-nation theory, as it provided a unique status to Jammu and Kashmir within the Indian Union. This policy contributed to the growth of Islamist Jihad in the region, despite India's official secular stance. The ongoing conflict in Kashmir, marked by violence and instability, exemplifies the challenges of reconciling differing ideological and political agendas. The region has seen prolonged and recurring cycles of violence, insurgency, and counter-insurgency operations, making it a key battleground in India's struggle with Jihad.

Mr Ambardar's reference to seven centuries of conflict in Kashmir underscores the historical and enduring nature of the struggle. The region has witnessed repeated instances of genocides, evictions, and demographic changes over this extended period. These events represent a continual struggle against Islamist forces, with the most recent tragedy occurring in an independent India under a secular constitution. This historical context is essential for understanding the complexities of the Kashmir conflict, which is deeply rooted in historical grievances, ideological differences, and geopolitical interests.

In summary, India's struggle with Jihad is a multifaceted and complex issue with deep historical roots. It encompasses a legacy of invasions, the partition of India, ongoing conflicts in regions like Kashmir, and the enduring impact of ideological divisions. Understanding this struggle requires recognizing the historical resilience of India's cultural and religious identity, acknowledging the consequences of the partition, and navigating the intricate dynamics of contemporary conflicts in the Indian subcontinent.

### **Kashmir and the Continuation of Jihad:**

- Mr Lalit Ambardar delves into the complex and long-standing issue of Jihad in Kashmir. He provides historical and contemporary context to understand how Jihad has continued to impact this region and its implications for broader security dynamics.
- Mr Ambardar's criticism of the implementation of Article 370 in Kashmir underscores a significant point. Article 370, which granted special autonomy to Jammu and Kashmir within the Indian Union, has been a contentious and sensitive issue. The speaker interprets this policy as indirectly supporting the two-nation theory. This theory posits that Hindus and Muslims are two separate nations, incapable of coexisting, which was one of the foundational ideas behind the partition of India in 1947. By suggesting a link between Article 370 and the two-nation theory, Mr Ambardar highlights the complexities of regional politics and how they intersect with ideological considerations. This interpretation challenges the conventional narrative surrounding Article 370 and its role in the region's conflict.

- Furthermore, the criticism of Article 370's indirect support for the two-nation theory raises questions about the unintended consequences of political decisions. While the policy was aimed at addressing the unique circumstances of Jammu and Kashmir, its implications for the growth of Islamist Jihad in the region are explored. This aspect of the speech prompts reflection on the intersection of politics and ideology in conflict zones and how policies may have far-reaching effects on regional security.
- Mr Ambardar's emphasis on the seven centuries of conflict in Kashmir serves to underscore the prolonged and recurring nature of the struggle. This historical perspective highlights that the current situation in Kashmir is not an isolated event but part of a long and complex history of conflicts. Kashmir has been a historical battleground, with various empires and forces vying for control over the region. This historical context informs the contemporary security challenges in Kashmir, demonstrating that the issues faced today have deep-rooted historical antecedents.
- Additionally, the speaker draws attention to the plight of Kashmiri Hindus over these seven centuries. The genocides and evictions faced by this community have resulted in significant human suffering. This historical perspective sheds light on the enduring nature of the conflict and underscores the importance of addressing historical injustices in conflict resolution efforts.

### **Current Jihadist Dynamics:**

Mr Ambardar's assertion that the conflict in Kashmir has global implications is a critical observation. It underscores the transnational nature of Jihadist movements. The participation of jihadists from various Muslim countries in the Kashmir conflict demonstrates that it is not an isolated issue but one that resonates with extremist elements worldwide.

The presence of foreign jihadists in Kashmir links the regional conflict to broader global Jihadist networks. This international dimension poses significant challenges for security forces and policymakers. It demands international cooperation, intelligence sharing, and coordinated efforts to disrupt the flow of foreign fighters into conflict zones.

The involvement of Jihadist elements in the Kashmir conflict has repercussions for regional stability. It can potentially escalate tensions between India and neighbouring countries, particularly Pakistan. Mr Ambardar's analysis highlights the need for diplomatic efforts to address these regional dynamics and prevent the conflict from spiralling into a larger-scale confrontation.

The regional stability aspect also extends to the broader South Asian region. The presence of Jihadist groups in Kashmir could spill over into neighbouring countries, affecting their security as well. Therefore, managing the Kashmir conflict is not just an internal Indian concern but a regional one, necessitating cooperation among South Asian nations.

Mr Ambardar's discussion of the international dimension of Jihadist movements in Kashmir underscores the existence of transnational Jihadist networks. These networks facilitate the movement of fighters, funds, and propaganda across borders. They can transcend traditional state boundaries, making it challenging for individual countries to combat these threats effectively. Efforts to disrupt these networks require not only military and intelligence cooperation but also diplomatic engagement to address the root causes that allow these networks to flourish. The interconnected nature of global Jihadism necessitates a comprehensive and collaborative approach on the international stage.

Mr Ambardar's analysis implies that the Kashmir conflict is not an isolated issue but part of a broader struggle within the global Jihadist movement. This recognition has significant security implications for India and other countries facing similar challenges.

Firstly, it highlights the need for vigilance and preparedness in areas beyond Kashmir that may be susceptible to Jihadist influences. Other regions and states within India must be monitored and protected against potential radicalization and recruitment efforts.

Secondly, it underscores the importance of intelligence sharing and coordinated counter-terrorism efforts at the national and international levels. Recognizing that Jihadist movements can adapt and relocate means that security forces need to stay ahead of evolving threats and remain proactive in their responses.

Mr Ambardar's analysis indirectly touches on the ideological influence of Jihadist movements. Jihadism is not just about physical conflict but also about radicalising individuals and communities. This ideological dimension can transcend borders through online propaganda, indoctrination, and recruitment efforts.

Countering this ideological aspect of Jihadism requires not only security measures but also efforts to counter extremist narratives, promote moderate interpretations of Islam, and engage communities vulnerable to radicalization. Understanding the ideological underpinnings of Jihadist movements is essential for crafting effective counter-radicalization and de-radicalization strategies.

### **Distinguishing Between Different Types of Conflicts:**

Lalit Ambardar draws a crucial distinction between Jihadist terrorism and other forms of terrorism, such as Naxalism and Northeastern insurgencies. This differentiation is essential for understanding the complexities of security challenges faced by India and similar regions.

- Mr Ambardar highlights Jihadist terrorism as being primarily driven by a doctrine of religious supremacy. This form of terrorism is rooted in the belief that a particular interpretation of Islam should dominate all aspects of life and that violence is justified to achieve this goal. Jihadist groups often operate with the aim of establishing a global Islamic Caliphate, and their motivations are deeply tied to religious ideology. Examples of such groups include Al-Qaeda, ISIS, and various factions operating in the name of Jihad in the Indian subcontinent.
- On the other hand, Mr Ambardar recognizes that Naxalism and Northeastern insurgencies have different motivations. These movements often stem from socio-economic deprivation, historical grievances, and perceived marginalisation by the state. While they may employ violence to achieve their goals, their primary motivations are not rooted in religious ideology or a desire for religious supremacy. Naxalite groups, for instance, seek to address issues related to land rights, social inequality, and economic disparities. Similarly, insurgencies in the Northeast of India are often driven by demands for greater autonomy and recognition of ethnic identities.

### **Implications of Distinguishing Between Different Types of Conflicts:**

- Recognizing these distinctions allows policymakers and security agencies to craft tailored counter-terrorism strategies. Strategies that work well against Jihadist terrorism may not be as

effective against groups with different motivations. Understanding the root causes and grievances of various movements is essential for addressing the specific issues that drive them.

- Distinguishing between different types of conflicts helps in the allocation of resources. It enables governments to prioritise resources and efforts based on the most pressing security concerns. For instance, regions affected by Naxalism may require development-focused initiatives, while areas facing Jihadist threats may need more intelligence-sharing and counter-radicalization programs.
- Differentiating between types of conflicts is critical for international cooperation. It allows countries to engage with others based on shared objectives and challenges. For example, countries facing similar socio-economic insurgencies may collaborate on development and poverty alleviation initiatives, while nations dealing with Jihadist threats may work together on intelligence-sharing and counter-terrorism efforts.
- Understanding the motivations behind different conflicts helps in crafting appropriate legal and policy frameworks. Laws and policies related to counter-terrorism, human rights, and conflict resolution can be tailored to address the specific characteristics and drivers of each conflict.
- Recognizing the differences between various forms of violence enables governments and civil society to shape public narratives and perceptions accurately. It helps in avoiding broad generalisations or stigmatisation of entire communities, as the motivations and grievances of different groups vary significantly.

### **Digital Jihad and Future Challenges:**

Digital Jihad, as discussed by Mr Lalit Ambardar, represents a profound transformation in the tactics and reach of Jihadist movements in the digital age. This concept encompasses the use of online platforms for recruitment, radicalization, communication, coordination, and fundraising. The internet and social media have become powerful tools for spreading extremist ideologies and attracting sympathisers on a global scale. The anonymity and accessibility of the digital realm allow Jihadist groups to operate with unprecedented efficiency and reach, posing significant challenges to national and international security. Mr Ambardar's questioning of the long-term effectiveness of existing security measures in Kashmir raises critical concerns about the sustainability of current approaches. It prompts policymakers to reevaluate the efficacy of existing strategies and consider innovative solutions to address the root causes of Jihadism.

Looking ahead, addressing the future challenges of Digital Jihad is imperative. This includes bolstering cybersecurity measures to protect critical infrastructure and sensitive data from cyberattacks orchestrated by these groups. Additionally, countering the extremist narratives propagated online requires the development of effective counter-narratives and de-radicalization programs. Balancing the regulation of online content with individual freedoms remains a complex issue, necessitating ongoing debate and collaboration between governments and tech companies. International cooperation is paramount in combating Jihadist movements that transcend borders, and staying ahead of emerging technological advancements employed by these groups is essential. Finally, addressing the root causes of online radicalization in vulnerable communities through education, economic opportunities, and community engagement programs is critical to mitigating the appeal of extremist ideologies. In



navigating the digital dimension of Jihadism, a multifaceted and adaptive approach is indispensable to maintain national and global security in an increasingly interconnected world.

### **Wider Implications:**

Lalit Ambardar's comprehensive discussion on Jihad within the Indian subcontinent has far-reaching implications with global significance.

- Firstly, his call for international cooperation is of paramount importance. Recognizing that Jihadist movements transcend national borders, he emphasises the need for nations to collaborate closely. This involves sharing intelligence, coordinating counter-terrorism strategies, and tracking the financial networks that sustain global Jihadism. In an increasingly interconnected world, the transnational nature of the threat demands a unified response.
- Secondly, Mr Ambardar's concern over the lack of acknowledgement and accountability for atrocities underscores broader concerns related to human rights and reconciliation in conflict zones. This issue extends far beyond the Indian subcontinent, highlighting the imperative for the international community to address the humanitarian aspects of conflicts. Ensuring justice for victims and facilitating reconciliation are critical steps toward lasting peace in conflict-ridden regions.
- Thirdly, Mr Ambardar's call for ideological and educational reforms within Islam carries significant implications. Promoting moderate interpretations of Islam and engaging with religious leaders to counter radicalization is a global imperative. This effort necessitates collaboration between governments, religious institutions, and civil society organisations worldwide. By addressing the root causes of extremism, countries can work together to mitigate the ideological underpinnings of Jihadist movements.
- Fourthly, the recognition of Jihad's evolution into cyber and hybrid warfare points to the need for enhanced cybersecurity measures. Jihadists have adapted to the digital age, exploiting online platforms for recruitment and radicalization. Consequently, nations worldwide must invest in robust cybersecurity infrastructure and develop strategies to counter online radicalization. This shift expands the battlefield beyond physical spaces, highlighting the importance of defending against cyber threats.
- Fifthly, Mr Ambardar's Discussion of regional dynamics, particularly within India's neighbourhood, underscores the vital role of regional stability in countering Jihadist movements. Conflicts in one region often have ripple effects, impacting neighbouring nations and even global security. Diplomacy, conflict resolution, and addressing underlying grievances are essential components of maintaining stability in volatile regions. The international community must actively engage in efforts to promote peace and security in such areas.
- Sixthly, Mr Ambardar's Call for India to address Jihad's impact on international platforms highlights the need for countries to engage in global discussions. Jihadist movements are not isolated issues but have worldwide implications. By participating in international dialogues and cooperating with other nations, countries can collectively address the challenges posed by these movements. Sharing experiences and best practices can lead to more effective strategies against Jihadism.

- Lastly, Mr Ambaradar's emphasis on comprehensive counter-terrorism strategies is crucial. Such strategies should encompass military, security, diplomatic, ideological, economic, and social dimensions. This holistic approach acknowledges the multifaceted nature of Jihadist movements and addresses both the immediate symptoms and the root causes. Globally, countries must adopt multifaceted counter-terrorism strategies that adapt to evolving threats and provide long-term solutions.

In conclusion, Mr Lalit Mr Ambaradar's remarks provide a comprehensive and nuanced analysis of Jihad in the Indian subcontinent, spanning historical, ideological, and contemporary dimensions. His insights shed light on the intricate nature of this complex issue and challenge conventional narratives. Mr Ambaradar's speech contributes valuable perspectives to the ongoing discourse on Jihad and its implications for regional and global security, encouraging further exploration and dialogue on these critical issues.

### **Key Focus on:**

#### **1. Educational and Ideological Reforms:**

- a. Promote educational initiatives that provide accurate historical contexts of Jihad, emphasising its original meaning and separating it from the extremist interpretations associated with terrorism.
- b. Encourage interfaith dialogue and the dissemination of moderate Islamic teachings to counteract extremist ideologies.

#### **2. Comprehensive Counter-Terrorism Strategy:**

- a. Develop a multi-dimensional counter-terrorism strategy that includes military, intelligence, diplomatic, and socio-economic measures.
- b. Focus on dismantling the infrastructure that supports Jihadist movements, including financial networks, recruitment channels, and propaganda machinery.

#### **3. Strengthening Regional Cooperation:**

- a. Enhance collaboration with neighbouring countries to address cross-border elements of Jihadist activities. This includes intelligence sharing, joint operations, and diplomatic efforts to mitigate the spread of extremism.
- b. Work towards regional stability, particularly in South Asia, by engaging in diplomatic dialogues and conflict resolution initiatives.

#### **4. Addressing the Digital Dimension of Jihad:**

- a. Invest in cybersecurity measures to combat the spread of Jihadist propaganda online and disrupt digital recruitment efforts.
- b. Collaborate with technology companies to monitor and regulate online content, balancing the need for security with the protection of individual freedoms.

#### 5. **Legal and Policy Frameworks:**

- a. Review and strengthen legal frameworks to effectively combat terrorism while ensuring the protection of human rights.
- b. Implement policies that address the underlying socio-economic conditions that can lead to radicalization.

#### 6. **Global Engagement and Policy Advocacy:**

- a. Actively participate in international platforms to raise awareness about the specific challenges posed by Jihad in the Indian subcontinent.
- b. Advocate for global cooperation in combating Jihadism, emphasising the need for a unified international response.

#### 7. **Community Engagement and Deradicalization Programs:**

- a. Implement community engagement initiatives to build trust and cooperation with local populations, particularly in vulnerable areas.
- b. Develop deradicalization programs that focus on rehabilitating individuals influenced by extremist ideologies.

#### 8. **Historical and Cultural Preservation:**

- a. Promote the preservation and appreciation of the diverse cultural and religious heritage of the Indian subcontinent, countering narratives that seek to erase or rewrite history.
- b. Encourage research and academic studies that provide deeper insights into the historical and ideological aspects of Jihad.

### **C) Jihadist trends in Bangladesh: NRC Need of the Hour?- Dr Anshuman Behra**

Dr. Anshuman Behera's presentation, Jihadist Militancy in Bangladesh: Implications on India, provides an in-depth analysis of the evolution and current state of jihadist militancy in Bangladesh and its impacts on India. Key topics include the historical foundation of Islamic radicalization in Bangladesh, major jihadi groups such as Ansarul Islam and JMB, their methods of operation, and the broader implications of these groups' activities on India, especially in terms of security and infiltration challenges. The presentation also delves into the role of Jamaat-e-Islami (JeI) in fostering Islamic extremism and the complex dynamics arising from the Bangladesh Liberation War, the anti-Soviet campaign in Afghanistan, and the Rohingya crisis. Dr. Behera emphasises the necessity of understanding these elements to grasp the full scope of the jihadist threat in the region.

#### **Revocation of Jamaat-e-Islami Bangladesh's Ban:**

The revocation of Jamaat-e-Islami Bangladesh's ban is a critical aspect of Dr. Anshuman Behera's presentation, reflecting significant shifts in the political and social dynamics of Bangladesh with implications beyond its borders.

- Jamaat-e-Islami Bangladesh, a major Islamic political party, was banned from participating in elections in 2013. This decision was rooted in the party's controversial role in Bangladesh's history, particularly during the 1971 Liberation War. The party was accused of collaborating with the Pakistani military and participating in war crimes, which led to its disqualification from the political arena.
- The lifting of this ban marked a substantial change in Bangladesh's political landscape. This decision allowed Jamaat-e-Islami to re-enter the political fray, which was a significant development considering the party's historical influence and extensive support base.
- Dr. Behera's analysis likely delves into the possible motivations behind this decision. This could include internal political dynamics, shifts in public opinion, or strategic political manoeuvres by other parties within Bangladesh.
- The revocation likely led to increased political activities and rallies by Jamaat-e-Islami, which could have mobilised both supporters and opponents of the party. These activities might have had a polarising effect on Bangladeshi society, reviving old conflicts and debates, especially those related to the Liberation War.
- The decision to lift the ban on Jamaat-e-Islami Bangladesh holds significant implications for the region, particularly for neighbouring countries like India. The party's historical and ideological stances, especially concerning India and secularism, mean that its renewed political activity could influence regional politics and security dynamics.
- An essential aspect of Dr. Behera's presentation is likely the examination of how the revival of Jamaat-e-Islami could affect the landscape of Islamic radicalization in Bangladesh. Given the party's historical association with conservative and radical elements, its re-emergence in the political arena could influence the pathways and intensity of radicalization.
- The lifting of the ban could also be interpreted as a sign of Bangladesh's evolving political maturity, where previously marginalised voices are being allowed a platform. However, this could also pose challenges in balancing political inclusivity with the need to address historical grievances and uphold justice for past atrocities.

### **Contextualizing Bangladeshi Jihadist Militancy:**

- **Political and Social Backdrop:**  
The year 2009 marked a significant turning point in Bangladesh's political history. It was the year when the Awami League, led by Sheikh Hasina, came into power. This period is crucial because it saw a shift in the political environment that affected the activities and strategies of jihadist groups in the country.
- **Regrouping and Adaptation of Militant Groups:**  
Following 2009, there was a noticeable resurgence and reorganisation of jihadist groups in Bangladesh. These groups adapted their strategies in response to the changing political and security environment under the Sheikh Hasina government. This period likely saw a diversification in the tactics used by these groups, including the use of technology and social media for recruitment and propaganda, as well as a possible shift in their operational strategies. The regional political and security events, including India's policies and actions in the region, could have had a significant influence on the nature and direction of jihadist militancy in Bangladesh. The connection to the broader international jihadist movement, including the

influence of global entities like al-Qaeda and ISIS, may also be a point of discussion. The socioeconomic conditions in Bangladesh, including poverty, unemployment, and education levels, are likely considered as factors contributing to the rise and appeal of jihadist ideology among certain segments of the population.

### **Major Jihadi Groups in Bangladesh:**

- This group is a significant focus of Dr. Behera's presentation. Ansarul Islam Bangladesh is known for its exploitation of cyberspace, using online platforms for radicalization and recruitment purposes. This strategy demonstrates a shift in the traditional methods of jihadist operations, indicating a move towards more modern, technology-driven approaches. The group targets young, impressionable individuals through social media and other online channels, disseminating extremist ideology and attracting recruits to their cause.
- Jama'atul Mujahideen Bangladesh (JMB) is another major jihadist organisation in Bangladesh, which has been active for several years. It gained notoriety for its involvement in various terrorist activities, including bombings and attacks on civilians and government targets. The group aims to establish an Islamic state in Bangladesh governed by Sharia law. JMB's methods of operation have evolved over time, with the group showing increasing sophistication in both planning and executing terrorist activities.
- Harkat-ul-Jihad al-Islami Bangladesh (HuJI-B), Although not explicitly mentioned in the presentation, HuJI-B has been a significant militant outfit in Bangladesh. Founded in the 1990s, it has been involved in numerous terrorist incidents in Bangladesh. HuJI-B's objectives are aligned with the broader global jihadist movement, aiming to establish Islamic rule and oppose Western influences.
- Neo-Jama'atul Mujahideen Bangladesh (Neo-JMB) is an offshoot of the original JMB, often linked to the Islamic State (ISIS). Neo-JMB represents a new wave of jihadist militancy in Bangladesh, characterised by allegiance to the global jihadist movement led by ISIS. The emergence of Neo-JMB signifies a worrying trend in the region, as it shows the global jihadist ideology penetrating local militant groups.
- A significant aspect of these groups is their transnational connections. Dr. Behera highlights the links between these Bangladeshi groups and broader Islamist movements, including ties with groups in India like Jamaat-e-Islami Hind. These connections are crucial for understanding the regional and international implications of jihadist militancy in Bangladesh.
- In his analysis, Dr. Behera underscores the complexity and dynamism of jihadist militancy in Bangladesh. These groups not only pose a significant threat to the stability and security of Bangladesh but also have wider implications for neighbouring countries, especially India. Their evolving tactics, use of modern technology, and transnational linkages make them a persistent and adaptive threat in the region.

### **Transnational Ties and Implications for India:**

- Dr. Behera examines the ties between Jamaat-e-Islami Bangladesh (JeI-B) and Jamaat-e-Islami Hind (JeI-H) in India. These organisations, with their transnational ideological and operational networks, represent a significant aspect of the jihadist landscape. The presentation likely

explores how these ties can influence radical thought and action across borders, potentially impacting India's internal security and socio-political stability.

- The presentation delves into the security challenges that India faces due to these transnational links. This includes the threat of cross-border terrorism, where jihadis might use Bangladesh as a base for launching attacks against India. The porous India-Bangladesh border, with its complex geography, presents a particular challenge in managing such threats.
- Another critical aspect likely covered is the issue of radicalization and infiltration. Given the close cultural and religious ties across the border, there's a risk of extremist ideologies spreading from Bangladesh into India, particularly in border states like West Bengal and Assam. The ease of movement across the border can facilitate the entry of radical elements into India, posing challenges to law enforcement and intelligence agencies.
- The socio-political ramifications of these transnational ties are also significant. The spread of radical ideologies can exacerbate communal tensions within India, leading to social unrest and destabilisation. This is particularly concerning in areas with significant Muslim populations, where radical elements could exploit existing grievances to fuel sectarian divides.

### **Influence of Hiranmay Karlekar's Work:**

The influence of Hiranmay Karlekar's work, particularly his book "Bangladesh: The Next Afghanistan," plays a significant role in Dr. Anshuman Behera's analysis of jihadist militancy in Bangladesh. Karlekar's book is a critical resource that sheds light on the potential trajectory of radical Islam in Bangladesh, drawing parallels with the situation in Afghanistan. This comparison is essential for understanding the depth and implications of Islamist extremism in a South Asian context. Dr. Behera uses Karlekar's insights as a foundation to explore the historical roots of jihadist militancy in Bangladesh. By understanding these roots, as illuminated by Karlekar's work and further analysed by Dr. Behera, one gains a more comprehensive picture of how historical, political, and social dynamics have intertwined to fuel the rise of Islamic radicalism in Bangladesh. This historical perspective is crucial for comprehending the current state of jihadist militancy in the country and its potential implications for regional stability, particularly for India.

### **Historical Roots of Jihadist Militancy:**

The historical roots of jihadist militancy in Bangladesh, as discussed by Dr. Anshuman Behera, can be traced through a series of significant historical events and developments that have shaped the current landscape of Islamic radicalism in the region.

- Anti-Soviet Jihad in Afghanistan (1979-1989) in the late 20th century had far-reaching impacts beyond its borders. Bangladesh, like many other Muslim-majority countries, was influenced by this global Islamic movement. Volunteers from Bangladesh joined the mujahideen in Afghanistan, and these experiences, along with the ideological and military training received there, played a significant role in the development of jihadist ideologies among certain groups in Bangladesh. The return of these mujahideen to Bangladesh brought with them radical ideas and combat experience.
- The partition of Bengal by the British in 1905, which was largely seen as an attempt to divide and rule by exploiting religious differences, is a pivotal event in the history of South Asian politics. This event played a significant role in sowing the seeds of religious-based politics in

the region. Following this, the formation of the All-India Muslim League in 1906 marked the beginning of organised Muslim political activism, which later influenced the rise of political Islam in the subcontinent.

- Jamaat-e-Islami, a major Islamic political party in Bangladesh, played a controversial role during the Bangladesh Liberation War of 1971. The party opposed the independence of Bangladesh from Pakistan and was implicated in various war crimes. This historical backdrop significantly contributed to the radicalization of certain segments of the Bangladeshi population and fostered a deep-seated animosity that has been exploited by jihadist groups to fuel their narratives.
- After the independence of Bangladesh in 1971, there was a struggle between secular and Islamist forces in shaping the country's identity. Over the years, various governments have used religion as a political tool, which has, at times, contributed to the rise of Islamist sentiments and provided fertile ground for jihadist ideologies to take root.
- The influence of global jihadist movements such as Al-Qaeda and later ISIS cannot be understated. The rise of these groups on the international stage has had a resonating effect in Bangladesh, with some local jihadi groups aligning with their ideologies and methods.
- The Rohingya crisis, resulting in a large influx of refugees from Myanmar into Bangladesh, has also added to the regional instability. This crisis has been used by jihadist groups as a rallying point, portraying the Rohingyas' plight as part of a broader struggle against perceived oppression of Muslims, thus further fueling radical sentiments.
- The advent of the internet and social media has also played a significant role in the recent history of jihadist militancy in Bangladesh. These technologies have provided platforms for radicalization and recruitment, allowing extremist ideologies to spread more rapidly and widely than ever before.

### **Regional Context and Emerging Threats:**

- Dr. Behera examines the development of new terrorist threats within India. These emerging threats are not isolated but are influenced by and connected to developments in neighbouring countries, including Bangladesh. He likely analyses how these threats are evolving in nature, tactics, and impact, considering India's own socio-political context.
- The presentation acknowledges Pakistan's role and status in the regional terrorism landscape. Given Pakistan's history with various militant groups, its political dynamics, and its relationships with other countries in the region, particularly India, this analysis is critical. Dr. Behera might explore how Pakistan's internal security policies and its approach towards militant groups have regional consequences.
- The situation in the Maldives is another point of concern. Once known primarily as a tourist paradise, the Maldives has seen a rise in fundamentalist ideologies. Dr. Behera delves into how these ideologies gained ground and the implications this has for regional security, especially considering the Maldives' strategic location in the Indian Ocean.
- A significant focus is given to the current status of jihadi militancy in Bangladesh, particularly under the Awami League government. This analysis is pivotal because the government's policies and actions directly influence the nature and extent of militancy within the country. Dr.

Behera assesses how the government's approach to dealing with radical elements and its political strategies contribute to either containing or exacerbating the threat of militancy.

### **Islamic Radicalization in Bangladesh:**

- The genesis of Islamic radicalization in Bangladesh can be traced back to several historical events. Key among them is the role played by Jamaat-e-Islami during the Bangladesh Liberation War of 1971. Jamaat-e-Islami, a political party with a strong Islamic ideology, opposed the independence movement, aligning itself with Pakistan. Their activities during the war, which included allegations of war crimes and collaboration with the Pakistani army, laid the groundwork for future radicalization.
- After the independence of Bangladesh in 1971, the newly formed nation-state grappled with defining its national identity. The tussle between secularism, as envisioned by the founding leaders, and Islamic ideologies became a central theme in the country's politics. Jamaat-e-Islami, despite its controversial role in the Liberation War, continued to be a significant political force, advocating for an Islamic state framework.
- The political landscape in Bangladesh has been deeply polarised, with secular and Islamic forces often at odds. This polarisation has sometimes been exploited by various political entities, including Jamaat-e-Islami, to deepen religious identities and propagate more radical interpretations of Islam.
- The radicalization scenario in Bangladesh is not isolated from global events. The anti-Soviet jihad in Afghanistan during the 1980s, in which Bangladeshi mujahideen participated, is a significant factor. These fighters returned with radical ideologies and combat experience, contributing to the jihadist landscape in Bangladesh.
- Dr. Behera highlights the 2009 Pikhana Mutiny as a watershed event. The mutiny within the Bangladesh Rifles (now Border Guard Bangladesh) raised alarms about the extent of radicalization within the country's security forces, indicating deeper systemic issues.
- Over the years, several Islamist militant groups have emerged in Bangladesh, such as Harkat-ul-Jihad al-Islami Bangladesh (HuJI-B) and Jama'atul Mujahideen Bangladesh (JMB). These groups have been involved in various terrorist activities and have been instrumental in spreading jihadist ideologies.
- Modern jihadist groups in Bangladesh, like Ansar Islam Bangladesh, have effectively used cyberspace and social media for radicalization and recruitment purposes. The internet has provided a platform for these groups to disseminate propaganda and connect with like-minded individuals.

### **Anti-India Agenda of Jihadist Groups:**

- The anti-India agenda of these groups is rooted in a complex ideological framework. Many of these groups, influenced by a radical interpretation of Islam, view India as a major non-Islamic power in the region, often associating it with historical grievances and current geopolitical tensions.
- Dr. Behera emphasises that the objectives of these groups go beyond local or national issues in Bangladesh. They aim to establish an Islamic caliphate that transcends national boundaries,



often including parts of India, particularly regions with significant Muslim populations. This vision inherently positions India as a target and an ideological adversary.

- Many of these jihadist groups also harbour specific animosities towards Hindu populations. This is seen in their rhetoric and occasional acts of violence targeting Hindu communities in Bangladesh, which they justify as part of their broader ideological struggle against non-Islamic influences, including India.
- These groups often seek and sometimes receive support from international jihadist networks that share their anti-India stance. This transnational connection enables them to access resources, training, and ideological reinforcement from broader Islamic extremist movements.
- The existence and activities of these groups pose a significant challenge to Indo-Bangladesh relations. India's concerns about these groups often shape its diplomatic and security strategies towards Bangladesh, focusing on counter-terrorism cooperation and border security.
- The anti-India agenda of these jihadist groups has broader implications for regional security. Their activities can exacerbate existing tensions in South Asia, particularly between India and its neighbours, and can destabilise the already fragile security environment in the region.
- A key concern for India, as highlighted by Dr. Behera, is the potential for these groups to infiltrate Indian territory to carry out subversive activities. This concern is particularly acute in border states such as West Bengal and Assam, where demographic and cultural links with Bangladesh are strong.

#### **New Jihadist Movements:**

- Dr. Behera discusses the rise of Neo-JMB, a splinter group of the original Jama'atul Mujahideen Bangladesh (JMB). This new faction emerged as a response to the changing global jihadist landscape, particularly influenced by the rise of ISIS. Neo-JMB represents a shift in the local jihadist scene, adopting more global jihadist narratives and tactics.
- A critical aspect of Neo-JMB's emergence is its ideological and operational inspiration from ISIS. This group has attempted to align itself with the broader goals and methods of ISIS, marking a departure from the more locally focused agenda of traditional Bangladeshi jihadist groups. This includes a greater emphasis on establishing a caliphate and implementing Sharia law.
- Neo-JMB, akin to ISIS, heavily utilises social media and modern technology for propaganda, recruitment, and communication. This approach marks a significant evolution from the traditional methods of earlier Bangladeshi jihadist groups, making it more challenging to monitor and counteract their activities.
- Unlike its predecessors, Neo-JMB has shown a propensity to target a broader range of entities, including foreigners, secular bloggers, and different religious communities. This shift indicates a move towards more indiscriminate violence, a hallmark of ISIS's global jihadist ideology.
- Dr. Behera highlights how Neo-JMB has been particularly effective in recruiting and radicalising youths, including those from well-educated and affluent backgrounds. This is a concerning trend as it suggests the appeal of jihadist ideologies beyond the traditionally perceived socio-economic boundaries.

### **Implications for India:**

- The resurgence of jihadist groups in Bangladesh poses direct security challenges for India, especially along the shared border. This includes risks of cross-border terrorism and the infiltration of militants into Indian territory. The porous nature of the India-Bangladesh border makes it a particularly sensitive area for the movement of radical elements and contraband, heightening security concerns.
- The interconnectedness between extremist groups in Bangladesh and their Indian counterparts, particularly ties between Jamaat-e-Islami Bangladesh and Jamaat-e-Islami Hind, raises concerns about the formation of transnational terrorist networks. This can lead to a coordinated approach in spreading extremist ideology and executing terror plots, necessitating greater vigilance and counter-terrorism cooperation between the two countries.
- The spread of jihadist ideology, partly facilitated by the internet and social media, presents a significant threat. This digital radicalization can transcend borders, potentially influencing vulnerable populations in India, especially in regions with cultural and linguistic affinities to Bangladesh.
- The North-Eastern states of India, sharing a long border with Bangladesh, are particularly vulnerable. The region's complex ethnic and political landscape can be exploited by jihadist groups to establish bases or transit routes, complicating the existing security challenges in these states.
- Assam, which has experienced long-standing issues related to illegal immigration from Bangladesh, could face renewed challenges due to the activities of jihadist groups. This has implications for demographic dynamics and social harmony in the state.
- The NRC process, aimed at identifying illegal immigrants, is a contentious issue. The rise of jihadist militancy in Bangladesh could exacerbate these tensions, making the implementation of the NRC more complex and potentially triggering humanitarian and legal issues.
- India's diplomatic relations and policy responses towards Bangladesh are likely to be influenced by the evolving jihadist threat. Balancing the need for security and counter-terrorism measures with maintaining a constructive bilateral relationship will be a key challenge for Indian policymakers.
- Increased militancy can affect cross-border trade and economic activities, leading to a potential economic downturn in border areas. Ensuring the safety of trade routes and managing economic ties in light of security concerns will be crucial.

Dr. Anshuman Behra's presentation offered a comprehensive and nuanced analysis of jihadist militancy in Bangladesh and its far-reaching implications for India. His insights underscored the complex interplay of historical, political, and ideological factors shaping the landscape of radicalism in South Asia.

### **Key Focus On:**

#### **1. Enhanced Border Security and Intelligence Sharing:**

- a. Strengthen security along the India-Bangladesh border to prevent infiltration by militants. This includes technological upgrades for surveillance and increased border patrols.
- b. Enhance intelligence-sharing mechanisms between India and Bangladesh to track militant activities and preempt potential cross-border terrorism.

**2. Monitoring of Radical Groups and Online Radicalization:**

- a. Implement rigorous monitoring of radical groups known for their jihadist activities, like Ansarul Islam and JMB.
- b. Counter online radicalization by collaborating with tech companies to identify and remove extremist content, and by promoting digital literacy programs that foster resilience against radical ideologies.

**3. Political Engagement and Diplomacy:**

- a. Engage in diplomatic dialogues with Bangladesh to address concerns related to Jamaat-e-Islami and its role in fostering Islamic extremism. This includes discussions on the political and social impacts of lifting the ban on Jamaat-e-Islami Bangladesh.
- b. Develop a regional strategy with SAARC (South Asian Association for Regional Cooperation) countries to address the spread of jihadist ideology and militancy in the region.

**4. Socio-Economic Development and Community Engagement:**

- a. Address the root causes of radicalization by investing in socio-economic development in vulnerable areas along the India-Bangladesh border.
- b. Implement community engagement programs to build trust and cooperation among local populations, focusing on areas prone to radicalization.

**5. Research and Analysis of Jihadist Trends:**

- a. Support research initiatives to understand the evolving nature of jihadist militancy in Bangladesh and its implications for regional security.
- b. Analyse the transnational connections of jihadist groups and their impact on India, especially in terms of security and infiltration challenges.

**6. Counter-Terrorism Training and Preparedness:**

- a. Enhance counter-terrorism training for security forces, focusing on the latest tactics and technologies used by jihadist groups.
- b. Prepare for potential security threats arising from the Rohingya crisis and its exploitation by jihadist elements.

**7. Legal Framework and Counter-Radicalization:**

- a. Strengthen the legal framework to counter terrorism and radicalization, ensuring that laws are in line with international human rights standards.

- b. Implement counter-radicalization programs targeting youth, focusing on promoting tolerance, interfaith harmony, and the rejection of extremist ideologies.

#### 8. **Regional Stability and Conflict Resolution:**

- a. Work towards resolving regional conflicts and issues that can be exploited by jihadist groups, such as the Rohingya crisis.
- b. Foster regional stability through diplomatic efforts and conflict resolution initiatives in South Asia.

### **D) Spawns of Wahhabism: Understanding the Deobandi, Ahl-e Hadith and Bareilvi movement- Dr Nanda Kishor M S**

Dr. Nanda Kishor address provides a profound analysis of the global landscape of Islamic organisations, focusing on their diverse ideologies, methodologies, and the overarching influence of Wahhabism. The exploration of various Islamic movements reveals a complex tapestry of beliefs and practices, each contributing uniquely to the shape of Islam worldwide.

#### **Diversity of Islamic Organisations:**

##### **Variety in Ideologies and Methods:**

Islamic organisations across the globe exhibit a wide range of ideologies and methodologies. This diversity is shaped by various factors, including cultural, historical, geopolitical, and theological influences.

- Islamic groups are influenced by the cultures and histories of the regions they originate from. For example, organisations in South Asia might integrate local customs and traditions, while those in the Middle East might adhere more strictly to traditional interpretations of Islamic texts.
- The political environment also plays a crucial role. In some regions, Islamic groups may focus on political activism and governance, while in others, they might be more concerned with social welfare and educational activities.
- There are significant theological differences among these groups. Some may follow a more literal interpretation of the Quran and Hadith, while others might adopt a more interpretive, mystical, or reformist approach.
- The methods employed by these organisations can vary greatly. Some engage in peaceful preaching and social work, while others might adopt more militant or political strategies to achieve their goals.

#### **Common Apocalyptic Goal:**

Despite the diversity in ideologies and methods, Dr. Kishor points out a common theme among many of these organisations: an apocalyptic goal or vision. This aspect involves several key elements:

- Many Islamic organisations share the belief in a future where Islam will be the dominant global force. This belief is often linked to eschatological (end-times) narratives found in Islamic texts, predicting a time when Islam will prevail over other religions.
- For some groups, this apocalyptic vision includes the restoration of a Caliphate, a unified Islamic government representing the political and religious leadership of the Muslim community globally.
- These organisations might also be motivated by specific prophecies related to the end times, which are interpreted in various ways to fit their ideologies and actions.
- In some cases, this vision is tied to the belief in a messianic figure (like the Mahdi in Shia Islam) who will lead Muslims to victory in the end times.

### **Origins and Impact of Wahhabism:**

#### **Foundational Principles of Wahhabism:**

Wahhabism, founded by Muhammad ibn Abd al-Wahhab in the 18th century, is a strict Sunni Islamic movement. It arose in the Najd region of present-day Saudi Arabia. Al-Wahhab aimed to restore what he believed was the original purity of Islam, as practised during the time of the Prophet Muhammad and the immediate succeeding generations, known as the Salaf.

- Al-Wahhab was critical of various practices he perceived as innovations ('Bid'ah') in Islam, such as the veneration of saints, tomb visitation, and practices he considered superstitious. He argued that these practices were not supported by the Quran and the Hadith (the recorded sayings and deeds of the Prophet Muhammad).
- Wahhabism emphasised a literal interpretation of the Quran and Hadith, advocating a return to what Al-Wahhab considered the fundamental principles of Islam. This approach often led to a rejection of the traditional Islamic jurisprudence that had developed over centuries.

#### **Reformist Actions of Al-Wahhab:**

Al-Wahhab's approach was radical and reformist. He sought not only to preach his interpretations but also to actively remove practices he deemed un-Islamic.

- His movement was marked by public condemnations of practices he considered idolatrous or polytheistic. This included the destruction of structures such as tombs and shrines, which he believed led to idolatry.
- Many popular customs and practices that were integrated into the local Islamic traditions faced stern opposition from Al-Wahhab. This included various Sufi practices and rituals that were common in the region at the time.

#### **Wahhabism and the Al Saud Family:**

The alliance between Muhammad ibn Abd al-Wahhab and the Al Saud family, particularly with Muhammad ibn Saud, the emir of Diriyah, was a turning point in the history of the Arabian Peninsula.

- The pact between Al-Wahhab and the Al Saud family in the 18th century was based on a mutual agreement: Al-Wahhab endorsed the Al Saud family's political authority, and in return, the Al Sauds would promote and enforce Wahhabism as the form of Islam in their realm.

- This alliance led to the expansion of the Al Saud family's political influence across the Arabian Peninsula, with Wahhabism as its religious foundation. This expansion was often military in nature and led to the unification of various tribes and regions under a common religious-political banner.
- The doctrines of Wahhabism have significantly influenced the governance and religious policies of Saudi Arabia. The state's official form of Islam remains deeply influenced by Wahhabist principles, affecting everything from its legal system to its international relations.

The impact of Wahhabism extends beyond Saudi Arabia, influencing Islamic movements and thought worldwide. Its emphasis on scriptural literalism and puritanical reform has been both a source of inspiration and contention within the broader Muslim world.

### **Contrasting Islamic Movements:**

#### **Wahhabism:**

- Wahhabism, originating in the 18th century, is a religious movement within Sunni Islam, founded by Muhammad ibn Abd al-Wahhab. It is often characterised by a strict interpretation of Islam and an emphasis on the concept of Tawhid (the oneness of God).
- Wahhabism encourages 'Ijtihad' (independent reasoning) in understanding the texts of the Quran and Hadith, while strongly opposing any form of innovation (Bid'ah) in religious matters.
- The movement gained significant political influence through its alliance with the House of Saud, leading to its dominance in Saudi Arabia. Wahhabism's strict interpretation of Sharia (Islamic law) and its enforcement have had a profound influence on Islamic practices globally.

#### **Deobandi Movement:**

- The Deobandi movement began in the late 19th century at the Darul Uloom Seminary in Deoband, India. It emerged as a response to British colonial rule, aiming to preserve and rejuvenate Islamic teachings and values in the face of Western influences.
- The Deobandis advocate for a return to the fundamental Islamic principles as understood by the early generations of Muslims (Salaf). They emphasise traditionalist teachings, focusing on the Quran and Hadith while maintaining a significant role for the 'Ulama' (Islamic scholars) in interpreting religious texts.
- The Deobandi movement has a substantial impact on Islamic education and thought, especially in South Asia. It has influenced various Islamic institutions and movements worldwide.

#### **Barelvi Movement:**

- Founded by Ahmad Raza Khan in the early 20th century, the Barelvi movement is another significant Islamic movement in South Asia. It is known for integrating Sufi traditions and practices, emphasising the importance of love and devotion to the Prophet Muhammad.
- Unlike the Deobandis, Barelvis are more accommodating of local customs and traditions within the Islamic framework, making them more adaptable to the diverse religious and cultural landscape of India.

- The Bareilvi movement has significantly influenced the religious life of many Muslims in South Asia, particularly in matters of personal piety and communal celebrations. Their practices often include the veneration of saints, Urs (death anniversaries of Sufi saints), and Mawlid (celebration of the Prophet's birthday).

<b>Aspect / Movement</b>	<b>Wahhabism</b>	<b>Deobandi Movement</b>	<b>Bareilvi Movement</b>
Origins	18th century, founded by Muhammad ibn Abd al-Wahhab	Late 19th century, Darul Uloom Seminary, Deoband, India	Early 20th century, founded by Ahmad Raza Khan
Primary Focus	Purification of Islam, Tawhid (oneness of God)	Preservation and rejuvenation of Islamic values against Western influence	Integration of Sufi traditions, love and devotion to the Prophet Muhammad
Interpretation of Islam	Strict, literalist interpretation of Quran and Hadith	Traditionalist, with a focus on teachings of Salaf (early generations of Muslims)	Traditionalist, with incorporation of local customs and Sufi practices
Role of Ijtihad	Emphasises independent reasoning	Traditionalist but allows for some contextual interpretation	Traditionalist, with a strong emphasis on following established Sufi practices
Cultural Adaptation	Minimal; strict adherence to perceived original practices	Moderate, with adherence to	High; accommodates local customs and practices

		traditional Islamic teachings	
Political Influence	Significant, especially in Saudi Arabia due to alliance with House of Saud	Substantial, particularly in regions of South Asia	Less politically oriented, more focused on personal piety and spiritual practices
Jihadist Organizations	Various Wahhabi-inspired groups, notably some factions within Al-Qaeda and ISIS	Some Deobandi-aligned groups, like the Taliban	Rare; Barelvi movement is generally not associated with jihadist organisations

### **Ahle Hadeeth and Salafi Movement:**

#### **Ahle Hadeeth Movement:**

- The Ahle Hadeeth movement originated in the Indian subcontinent. It is a reformist movement that emphasises a return to what it considers the purest form of Islam, as practised by the Prophet Muhammad and his earliest followers, often referred to as the Salaf (the pious predecessors).
- The movement strictly adheres to the Quran and the Hadith, which are records of the sayings and actions of the Prophet Muhammad. Ahle Hadeeth followers prioritise these texts over the interpretations and teachings of Islamic scholars that came later.
- One of the distinctive features of the Ahle Hadeeth movement is its rejection of the traditional Islamic schools of jurisprudence (Madhabs). Instead, they advocate for direct interpretation of religious texts, arguing that the Quran and Hadith should be the sole sources of Islamic law.

#### **Salafi Movement:**

- The Salafi movement, while sharing many similarities with the Ahle Hadeeth, is more global in its reach. It has followers across the world, particularly in the Arab world, and is often associated with a revivalist approach to Islam.
- Salafism is known for its purist approach to Islam, aiming to emulate the practices of the early generations of Muslims. This often involves a literal interpretation of religious texts and a strict adherence to the teachings of the Prophet Muhammad.
- Salafis are known for their vehement rejection of what they consider innovations (Bid'ah) in Islam. This includes practices that were introduced after the first three generations of Muslims, such as the veneration of saints, which they view as a deviation from true Islamic teachings.



- It's important to note that there is diversity within Salafism. While some Salafis are more puritanical, others may adopt a more pragmatic approach. The spectrum ranges from those who are politically quietist to those who advocate for political activism or even militancy.

Both movements share a commitment to what they view as the original teachings of Islam, focusing on the Quran and Hadith. However, there are variations in practice and interpretation. The context of their emergence and the cultural and political environments in which they operate also influence their expressions and actions.

### **Global Influence of Wahhabism:**

- Wahhabism, at its core, is about returning to what it considers the purest form of Islam. It advocates for a literal interpretation of the Quran and Hadith (sayings and actions of the Prophet Muhammad). This movement aims to strip away practices it deems bid'ah (innovations) or shirk (idolatry), such as the veneration of saints and the celebration of the Prophet's birthday.
- Wahhabism has significantly influenced Islamic educational institutions, particularly in regions where it has received state support, like in Saudi Arabia. It promotes a curriculum centred on its interpretation of Islamic texts, shaping the religious understanding of generations.
- The movement's emphasis on Salaf (the pious predecessors) has led to a distinct approach in Islamic jurisprudence, often clashing with more traditional, interpretive schools of thought in Islam.
- Wahhabism's strict and literalist interpretation of Islam often brings it into conflict with other Islamic schools and movements that have a more metaphorical or contextual approach to Islamic texts and traditions. This includes Sufism, which incorporates mysticism, and schools like the Hanafi, Maliki, Shafi'i, and Hanbali, which have their own jurisprudential nuances.
- Wahhabism's interpretation of Islam has also influenced socio-political landscapes, often leading to stringent laws and policies in places where it holds sway. This has occasionally resulted in tensions both within Muslim-majority countries and in the broader international community, especially regarding issues of religious freedom and human rights.
- While Wahhabism itself does not promote violence, its rigid interpretation of Islam has been appropriated by extremist groups who use it to justify their actions. This has led to widespread debates within the Muslim world about the interpretation of jihad (struggle) and the role of violence in religion.

### **Global Reach:**

- The wealth of Saudi Arabia, stemming from its oil reserves, has enabled the export of Wahhabi ideology through the funding of mosques, madrasas (Islamic schools), and charitable organisations worldwide. This has extended its influence far beyond the Arabian Peninsula.
- As Wahhabism spreads, it often encounters and interacts with local Islamic practices and traditions. This interaction can lead to either a blending of practices or, in some cases, a rejection of local traditions in favour of Wahhabi teachings.

- The spread of Wahhabism has sometimes resulted in a counter-reaction, with other Islamic movements emphasising their distinct teachings and practices. This has led to a rich, albeit complex, tapestry of Islamic thought and practice globally.

Dr. Nanda Kishor M.S. 's address presented a comprehensive picture of the complex world of Islamic organisations, marked by ideological diversity but unified by a common goal. Understanding these nuances is key to comprehending the dynamics and potential trajectories of Islamic movements in the modern world.

### **Key Focus on:**

- 1. Promoting Educational and Cultural Understanding:**
  - a. Implement educational programs that promote a deeper understanding of the diversity within Islamic thought and practice. This includes highlighting the varied interpretations and methodologies of different Islamic movements.
  - b. Foster cultural exchanges and dialogues to facilitate better understanding among different Islamic groups and between Islamic and non-Islamic communities.
- 2. Balancing Security and Cultural Sensitivity:**
  - a. Develop security policies that are informed by an understanding of the diverse nature of Islamic organisations, ensuring that actions taken are appropriate and do not inadvertently target communities based on misunderstood practices or beliefs.
  - b. Engage with community leaders from various Islamic traditions to build trust and cooperation in countering extremist ideologies.
- 3. Monitoring and Addressing Extremist Ideologies:**
  - a. Vigilantly monitor groups that exhibit radical tendencies or espouse extremist ideologies, especially those that may be influenced by Wahhabism's more literalist interpretations.
  - b. Implement de-radicalization programs that address the root causes of extremism, including addressing grievances that extremist groups might exploit.
- 4. International Cooperation on Countering Extremism:**
  - a. Strengthen international cooperation in understanding and countering the spread of extremist ideologies within Islamic movements. This includes sharing intelligence, best practices, and conducting joint initiatives.
  - b. Work with countries that have significant influence in the Islamic world, such as Saudi Arabia, to promote more moderate interpretations of Islam.
- 5. Supporting Moderate Voices within Islam:**
  - a. Empower and support moderate Islamic scholars and leaders who promote peaceful and integrative interpretations of Islam.

- b. Encourage and support intra-Islamic dialogues aimed at addressing and resolving theological disputes and interpretations that might lead to extremist views.

**6. Research and Policy Development on Islamic Movements:**

- a. Invest in academic and policy research to deepen the understanding of various Islamic movements and their socio-political impacts globally.
- b. Use these insights to develop informed policies that effectively address the challenges posed by diverse Islamic ideologies and movements.

**7. Public Awareness Campaigns:**

- a. Launch public awareness campaigns to educate the broader population about the diversity within Islam, countering stereotypes and misconceptions.
- b. Highlight the distinction between peaceful religious practice and extremist ideologies that misuse religious teachings for radical purposes.

**8. Contextualized Approach in Policy Implementation:**

- a. Tailor policies and initiatives to the specific cultural and regional contexts of Islamic groups, recognizing that a one-size-fits-all approach may not be effective given the diversity within Islamic organisations.

## Session 2: Understanding the Jihadist Ecosystem

### A) Session Chair: Lt Gen Dushyant Singh, PVSM, AVSM (Retd.)

Lt. Gen. Dushyant Singh's address offers an insightful and multifaceted examination of the jihadist ecosystem. He starts by characterising this ecosystem as an intricate network that includes a range of elements: individuals, groups, ideologies, and online platforms. This network is not just a passive environment but acts as an active 'fertiliser,' accelerating the growth and potency of jihadist movements. By using this metaphor, he effectively conveys the nurturing and expansive nature of the ecosystem that supports jihadist activities.

His analysis acknowledges the complexity and diversity of jihadism, particularly within the Islamic community. This is an important distinction, as it recognizes that jihadism is not a monolithic entity but one with multiple interpretations and manifestations. His approach underscores that while jihadism often involves advocacy for armed struggle with an Islamic focus, terrorism itself is a broader phenomenon, influenced by a variety of ideologies such as nationalism, communism, and ethnonationalism.

One of the most striking aspects of his address is his reference to David C. Rapoport's theory of the 40-year cycle of terrorism, characterised by different dominant ideologies over time. Gen Singh's historical overview of these waves provides context for understanding the current state of global terrorism:

- **Anarchism (1880-1920):** The first wave, marked by events like the French and Russian Revolutions, where anarchism was the driving force.
- **Anti-Colonialism/Nationalism (1920-1960):** This period saw the emergence of nationalistic movements, fighting against colonial powers and leading to the formation of new nations.
- **Communism (1960-1990):** The third wave, influenced by communism, affected various regions including Latin America, India, and Western Asia.
- **Religious Terrorism (Post-1990s):** The current phase, initiated by the 1979 Iranian Revolution, is dominated by religiously motivated terrorism, particularly Islamic Jihad.

He pointed out that the longevity and adaptability of the Islamic Jihad, despite the global opposition, suggest a more complex and resilient structure. He identifies several factors contributing to its persistence: the high-tech environment that facilitates the spread of extremist ideology, collaboration between terror groups and criminal networks, and disjointed counterterrorism efforts.

His analysis also extends to the global reach of Islamic Jihad, highlighting its presence across diverse geographical regions. This aspect underscores the global challenge posed by Jihadism, transcending national borders and necessitating a coordinated international response.

The critical questions Gen Singh raises regarding the apparent success of Jihadist movements and the failure of global efforts to effectively counter them are particularly thought-provoking. He suggests

that understanding the deeper layers of the jihadist ecosystem is crucial for effective countermeasures. This includes examining the ideological underpinnings, the operational mechanisms of terror groups, the role of online platforms in radicalization and recruitment, financing networks, and the strategies employed in global recruitment and radicalization.

Conclusively, Lt. Gen. Singh's address calls for a comprehensive approach to understanding and combating the jihadist ecosystem. He emphasises the need for international collaboration in counterterrorism efforts, highlighting that disjointed actions have been insufficient. His call to action underscores the importance of a multi-pronged strategy that addresses not just the symptoms but the root causes and sustaining factors of global Jihadism.

**Key Focus on:**

**1. Understanding and Disrupting the Jihadist Ecosystem:**

- a. Conduct comprehensive research to understand the intricate network of the jihadist ecosystem, including its individuals, groups, ideologies, and online platforms.
- b. Develop strategies to disrupt this ecosystem, focusing on its 'fertilizing' elements that nurture and expand jihadist activities.

**2. Acknowledging the Complexity and Diversity of Jihadism:**

- a. Recognize that jihadism is not a monolithic entity but varies in interpretation and manifestation within the Islamic community and beyond.
- b. Tailor counterterrorism efforts to address the diverse motivations and methods of jihadist groups, rather than applying a one-size-fits-all approach.

**3. Addressing the 40-Year Cycle of Terrorism:**

- a. Study the historical patterns of terrorism, as outlined in David C. Rapoport's theory, to anticipate and prepare for future shifts in dominant ideologies.
- b. Adapt counterterrorism policies to be flexible and responsive to these evolving ideological waves.

**4. Combating the High-Tech Environment of Extremism:**

- a. Implement advanced surveillance and monitoring techniques to track the spread of extremist ideology in the high-tech environment.
- b. Collaborate with tech companies to identify and remove extremist content from online platforms and social media.

**5. International Collaboration and Unified Counterterrorism Efforts:**

- a. Strengthen international cooperation in counterterrorism, sharing intelligence, resources, and best practices.
- b. Establish a coordinated global response to jihadist threats, transcending national borders and regional biases.

**6. Targeting Collaboration between Terror Groups and Criminal Networks:**

- a. Disrupt financial networks and logistical support that facilitate collaboration between terrorist and criminal groups.
- b. Implement stricter international laws and enforcement measures against entities that aid and abet terrorism.

**7. Deeper Analysis of Ideological Underpinnings:**

- a. Conduct in-depth studies into the ideological foundations of jihadist groups to better understand their motivations and attractors.
- b. Develop counter-narratives and de-radicalization programs to combat the ideological appeal of jihadism.

**8. Comprehensive Strategy for Global Recruitment and Radicalization:**

- a. Address the root causes of radicalization globally, including political, socio-economic, and cultural factors.
- b. Enhance global efforts in education, community engagement, and youth programs to prevent radicalization.

**9. Effective Utilisation of Counterterrorism Resources:**

- a. Optimise the allocation of resources in counterterrorism operations, focusing on the most effective strategies and technologies.
- b. Continually evaluate and adapt counterterrorism tactics to respond to the changing nature of jihadist threats.

**B) Evolution of Radicalisation and Political Islam: Case Study of Italy (and Europe): Francesco Bergoglio Errico**

**Table: Overview of Jihadism in Italy (1993 - Post-2010)**

<b>Period</b>	<b>Key Characteristics</b>	<b>Trends and Challenges</b>
<b>1993-2006</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>● Predominantly male jihadism</li> <li>● Non-European foreigner demographic</li> <li>● Youth predominance</li> <li>● Radicalization in physical spaces like mosques</li> <li>● Influence of Algerian GIA, Salafist Group, Muslim Brotherhood</li> <li>● Nature of activities: Recruitment, planning, ideological indoctrination</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>● Gender norms in jihadist groups</li> <li>● Transnational links</li> <li>● Socio-economic factors in radicalization</li> <li>● Italian response shaping counterterrorism strategies</li> </ul>

<b>2007-2011</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Increased role of women, including Italian converts</li> <li>• Surge in Internet use for activities</li> <li>• Decline in Italy's role in document forgery</li> <li>• Early signs of ISIS-branded jihadism</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Digital radicalization and global reach Challenges for counterterrorism agencies with gender dynamics and digital platforms</li> <li>• Emergence of new operational tactics</li> </ul>
<b>Post-2010</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Rapid and solitary radicalization processes</li> <li>• Demographic shifts to European born jihadists Decentralisation of jihadist cells</li> <li>• Rise of jihadism in prisons</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Challenges in surveillance and prevention of digital radicalization</li> <li>• Managing prison radicalization</li> <li>• Need for dynamic counterterrorism strategies</li> </ul>

### **First Period: 1993-2006:**

#### **1. Exclusively Male Jihadism and its Implications:**

- The jihadist groups were predominantly male. This reflects the gender norms and roles within these organisations, where men were primarily seen as the executors of jihad.
- Women, though present, were relegated to non-operational roles. This could include support functions or merely being part of the social environment that sustains the jihadist community.
- The exclusion of women from active roles could indicate a strategic choice, driven by societal perceptions of gender roles, operational security, or ideological beliefs about the place of women in jihad.

#### **2. Demographic Composition: Predominantly Non-European Foreigners:**

- The predominance of Tunisians, Egyptians, and Algerians suggests strong transnational links. It indicates that Italy may have been part of a broader network of jihadist activities spanning multiple countries.
- The specific nationalities involved might reflect cultural, linguistic, or diasporic ties, facilitating communication and trust within these groups.

#### **3. Youth Predominance:**

- Young adults are often targeted for recruitment due to their potential for ideological moulding, physical capability, and possibly their search for identity or purpose.
- Understanding the socio-economic backgrounds of these individuals could provide insights into why jihadism appealed to them. Factors like marginalisation, discrimination, or a lack of opportunities might have played a role.

#### 4. Radicalization Venues and Patterns:

- The Viale Jenner mosque in Milan, as a case in point, underscores how certain mosques turned into centres for radical activities. This phenomenon raises questions about how religious spaces were co-opted for extremism.
- The role of friends and relatives in the radicalization process in Italy suggests that personal relationships and community bonds were significant in the spread of jihadist ideologies.

#### 5. Influential Terrorist Groups and Ideologies:

- Algerian GIA and Salafist Group for Preaching and Combat- Their activities in Italy indicate an extension of the geopolitical conflicts and Islamist movements from North Africa to Europe.
- The reference to the Muslim Brotherhood and Tablighi Dawah points to a broader ideological undercurrent. These organisations, known for a more secretive and strategic approach, may have influenced the operational tactics of jihadist cells in Italy.

#### 6. Nature and Scope of Jihadist Activities:

- Likely included recruitment, planning, and execution of terrorist attacks, logistical support for international jihad, and ideological indoctrination.
- The movement of individuals between Italy and conflict zones like Afghanistan, Bosnia, Iraq, and Chechnya indicates a well-established network facilitating international travel and possibly arms or financial transfers.

#### Contextual and Historical Factors:

- This period in Italy must be understood in the context of the global rise of jihadism post-Cold War, including the aftermath of the Afghan-Soviet conflict and the rise of Al-Qaeda.
- The Italian response during this period, including law enforcement and intelligence efforts, would have begun shaping the strategies that evolved in later years.

The first period of jihadism in Italy was characterized by traditional operational structures, specific demographic patterns, and the use of physical spaces for radicalization. This period laid the groundwork for the evolution of jihadist strategies, demographics, and counterterrorism responses in subsequent years. Understanding this era provides a foundation for comprehending the complex nature of jihadist movements and the necessary responses to them.

#### Second Period: 2007-2011:

##### 1. Increased Role of Women in Jihadism:

- The involvement of women, particularly Italian converts to Islam, indicated a strategic shift in jihadist recruitment. This broadened the scope and appeal of jihadist narratives, reaching previously less-targeted demographics within Italian society.
- The inclusion of women could have altered the operational dynamics of jihadist cells, potentially affecting their structure, communication patterns, and methods of operation.



- The increasing role of women in jihadism presented new challenges for counterterrorism agencies, which traditionally focused on male-dominated networks. It required a reassessment of threat perceptions and response strategies.

## 2. Surge in Internet Use for Jihadist Activities:

- The Internet became a critical tool for radicalization, enabling jihadist ideologies to permeate into Italian society more subtly and widely. This period saw a shift from physical meeting spaces to virtual platforms for the dissemination of extremist ideas.
- Jihadist groups increasingly used online platforms for communication, planning, and the dissemination of propaganda. This included the use of social media, encrypted messaging apps, and online forums.
- The digital shift had broader implications for global security, as it reflected a trend where jihadist ideologies could cross borders effortlessly, making traditional geographic-focused counterterrorism approaches less effective.

## 3. Decline in Italy's Logistical Role for Forged Documents:

- While the decline in Italy's role as a hub for forged documents indicated success in counterterrorism efforts, the persistence of such activities, even on a smaller scale, highlighted the need for continued vigilance and international cooperation.
- Instances of document forgery for foreign fighters underscored the global interconnectedness of jihadist networks and the role of Italy within this broader framework.

## 4. Early Signs of ISIS-Branded Jihadism:

- This period set the stage for the rise of the Islamic State (ISIS), particularly in terms of its online propaganda strategies and global outreach. The traits seen during these years would later become hallmarks of ISIS's approach to recruitment and radicalization.
- The transition away from traditional recruitment spaces like mosques towards digital platforms indicated a strategic adaptation by jihadist groups to evade detection and broaden their reach.

## Overarching Implications and Challenges:

- The changes observed during this period necessitated a reevaluation of counterterrorism tactics, with a greater focus on digital surveillance, online counter-radicalization efforts, and understanding the gender dynamics within jihadist movements.
- The diversification in recruitment and operations led to a more complex jihadist landscape, challenging traditional counterterrorism models that were largely designed for male-dominated, physically centralised terrorist cells.
- The period highlighted the need for comprehensive approaches that integrate digital surveillance, community engagement, and international cooperation to effectively counter the evolving jihadist threat.

The period between 2007 and 2011 in Italy was crucial in understanding the evolution of jihadism. It was characterised by significant shifts, including the growing involvement of women, the increasing use of digital platforms for radicalization and operations, and the early development of traits that

would later define ISIS. These changes required corresponding adaptations in counterterrorism strategies, emphasising the need for more nuanced and multifaceted approaches to combat the evolving threat of jihadism.

### **Third Period: Post-2010:**

#### **1. Rapid and Solitary Radicalization Processes:**

- Radicalization processes have become remarkably shorter compared to previous periods. While earlier, integration into a jihadist cell might have taken years, now individuals can become radicalised within a matter of months.
- A notable shift is the rise of solitary radicalization, often facilitated by the internet. This is a departure from the communal and mosque-based recruitment of the past. Individuals, particularly young people, are now self-radicalising in private settings like their homes, with minimal or no direct contact with physical jihadist networks.
- The internet, especially social media platforms, plays a crucial role in this new form of radicalization. Mr Errico mentions the use of platforms like Telegram, Twitter, and Facebook for disseminating jihadist propaganda, recruiting, and self-radicalization.

#### **2. Demographic Shifts and European-Born Jihadists:**

- There is an increase in the number of individuals who were born or raised in Europe, including converts to Islam, becoming involved in jihadist activities. This marks a significant shift from the predominantly non-European foreign nationals involved in previous periods.
- The involvement of European converts in jihadist activities is particularly noteworthy. This trend highlights the appeal of jihadist ideology across different cultural and religious backgrounds.

#### **3. Decentralisation of Jihadist Cells:**

- Jihadist cells have become smaller, sometimes even consisting of a single individual. This decentralisation makes it more challenging for law enforcement to detect and disrupt these cells.
- These smaller cells or individual actors operate with a high degree of autonomy, reducing the need for hierarchical structures and direct communication with larger terrorist organisations.

#### **4. Rise of Jihadism in Prisons:**

- Prisons have become significant venues for the spread of jihadist ideologies. This is not limited to individuals incarcerated for terrorism-related offences but also includes common criminals who may be susceptible to radicalization.
- Managing the radicalization within prisons and handling the release of potentially radicalised individuals pose significant challenges for European countries.

### **Challenges for Counterterrorism Efforts:**

- The solitary nature of radicalization and the use of digital platforms for recruitment and propaganda dissemination pose significant challenges for surveillance and prevention strategies.
- The evolving nature of jihadist activities requires a continuous adaptation of counterterrorism tactics and strategies. This includes addressing digital radicalization, understanding the nuances of European-born jihadist profiles, and effectively managing prison radicalization.

In conclusion, the post-2010 period highlights a significant evolution in jihadist methodologies and demographics. The shift towards rapid, solitary radicalization facilitated by digital means, the involvement of European-born individuals and converts, the decentralisation of jihadist cells, and the issue of prison radicalization all present new complexities for counterterrorism efforts. These developments necessitate a dynamic and multifaceted approach to counterterrorism, integrating digital surveillance, community engagement, prison reform, and international cooperation.

### **Overarching Themes and Challenges:**

#### **1. Comprehensive Approach to Gender Dynamics in Terrorism:**

- The increasing participation of women in jihadist networks, from logistical support to active operational roles, marks a significant shift from traditional male-dominated structures.
- This necessitates a gender-sensitive approach to counterterrorism, recognizing the unique ways in which women are recruited and radicalised, and tailoring prevention and deradicalization programs accordingly.

#### **2. The Digital Battleground: Cyber Radicalization and Propaganda:**

- The internet has become a primary tool for jihadist propaganda, recruitment, and radicalization, with social media platforms and encrypted messaging apps playing a crucial role.
- This digital shift demands robust cyber intelligence capabilities, online surveillance, and cooperation with tech companies to monitor and counteract extremist content, while respecting privacy and freedom of expression.

#### **3. Adaptability and Evolution of Terrorist Networks:**

- Jihadist groups have evolved into smaller, decentralised cells, including lone actors, making detection and prevention more challenging.
- Intelligence and law enforcement agencies must enhance their capabilities to detect and disrupt these small-scale, often isolated plots, which require a different approach than larger, more coordinated attacks.

#### **4. Prisons as Hotbeds for Radicalization:**

- The concern about prisons being breeding grounds for radicalization, with inmates being exposed to extremist ideologies, has grown significantly.
- Developing effective deradicalization and rehabilitation programs in prisons is vital, alongside careful monitoring of inmates susceptible to radical ideologies to prevent the spread of extremism within the prison system.

### 5. **Legislative and Policy Responses to New Terrorism Dynamics:**

- Nations like Italy adopting legal measures to combat the spread of terrorist propaganda online represents a legislative approach to modern terrorism challenges.
- Ensuring these laws are effective without infringing on civil liberties requires a delicate balance, necessitating ongoing dialogue between governments, civil society, and technology providers.

### 6. **Sociopolitical Factors and Community Engagement:**

- The role of Islamic communities, and the interplay of politics, victimisation narratives, and Islamophobia, forms a critical aspect of the terrorism discourse.
- Effective counterterrorism strategies should involve engaging with diverse communities, fostering mutual understanding, and addressing grievances that may contribute to radicalization, while avoiding stigmatisation and alienation.

### 7. **International Collaboration and Intelligence Sharing:**

- The cross-border aspects of jihadist activities underscore the necessity for international cooperation and intelligence sharing.
- Enhancing global counterterrorism partnerships, harmonising legal frameworks, and facilitating information exchange are crucial to address the international scope of terrorism.

### **Emerging Trends and Future Challenges:**

- As jihadist groups and ideologies evolve, so must counterterrorism strategies. This involves staying ahead of emerging trends, such as the use of new technologies or changing recruitment tactics.
- Counterterrorism efforts must be both proactive in preventing radicalization and reactive in effectively responding to terrorist incidents, requiring ongoing adaptation and innovation.

In conclusion, Mr Errico's comprehensive examination of jihadism in Italy sheds light on the dynamic and evolving nature of terrorism and the complex challenges faced in counterterrorism. Addressing these challenges requires a multifaceted approach, combining robust law enforcement and intelligence efforts with strategic policy initiatives, community engagement, and international cooperation.

### **Key Focus on:**

#### 1. **Gender-Sensitive Counterterrorism Approaches:**

- a. Recognize the increasing role of women in jihadist activities and develop gender-sensitive counterterrorism strategies.
- b. Tailor prevention and deradicalization programs to address the unique ways women are recruited and radicalised.

#### 2. **Combating Digital Radicalization:**

- a. Enhance cyber intelligence capabilities to monitor and counteract extremist content online.

- b. Collaborate with tech companies to identify and remove jihadist propaganda, while balancing privacy and freedom of expression rights.
3. **Adapting to the Evolution of Terrorist Networks:**
    - a. Develop strategies to detect and disrupt smaller, decentralised Jihadist cells, including lone actor scenarios.
    - b. Train law enforcement and intelligence agencies in techniques to address these evolving threats.
  4. **Prison Radicalization Management:**
    - a. Implement effective deradicalization and rehabilitation programs in prisons.
    - b. Monitor inmates susceptible to radical ideologies to prevent the spread of extremism.
  5. **Legislative Measures Against Online Terrorism Propagation:**
    - a. Enact and enforce laws to combat the spread of terrorist propaganda online, ensuring they are effective and respect civil liberties.
  6. **Community Engagement and Sociopolitical Considerations:**
    - a. Engage with Islamic communities to foster mutual understanding and address grievances that contribute to radicalization.
    - b. Develop strategies that avoid stigmatisation and alienation of specific communities.
  7. **International Collaboration and Intelligence Sharing:**
    - a. Strengthen international cooperation in counterterrorism, particularly in intelligence sharing and harmonising legal frameworks.
    - b. Work collaboratively to address the transnational nature of jihadist activities.
  8. **Proactive and Adaptive Counterterrorism:**
    - a. Remain ahead of emerging trends in jihadist tactics and technologies.
    - b. Ensure counterterrorism efforts are proactive in preventing radicalization and effective in responding to terrorist incidents.

### **C) Understanding Cyber Jihad- Brigadier Gen (Res.) Rami Effrati**

Brigadier General Rami Effrati's remarks focus on the concept of "cyber Jihad" and the broader implications of virtual terrorism. He provides insights into how modern conflicts have evolved beyond traditional military confrontations, emphasising the role of the internet and digital technologies in contemporary warfare.

#### **The Nature of Modern Conflict:**

The shift in the nature of modern conflict, as highlighted by Brigadier General Rami Effrati, marks a significant departure from traditional warfare paradigms. In historical contexts, warfare was

predominantly characterised by conflicts between nation-states, fought by uniformed armies on well-defined battlefields. This conventional form of warfare involved direct combat, with clear rules of engagement and a focus on territorial control. However, the contemporary landscape of conflict has evolved dramatically, presenting new challenges and complexities.

Modern conflicts are increasingly asymmetric, involving engagements between traditional state actors and non-state entities, such as terrorist groups, insurgent factions, or decentralised networks. These non-state actors often lack a formal, hierarchical military structure and operate without adherence to the traditional rules of war. They employ guerrilla tactics, including ambushes, sabotage, and terrorism, blurring the lines between military and civilian targets. This shift has led to conflicts being fought in urban environments and cyber domains, making them more unpredictable and difficult to manage.

The asymmetric nature of these conflicts means that conventional military superiority is often less decisive. Non-state actors use their agility, knowledge of local terrain, and ability to blend into civilian populations to counter the technological and numerical advantages of state militaries. The battlegrounds are not just physical but also ideological and psychological, with propaganda and information warfare playing significant roles.

### **Cyber Jihad:**

Cyber Jihad refers to the use of cyberspace by Islamic extremist groups to further their ideological and operational goals. This concept extends the traditional notion of Jihad - a term historically associated with 'struggle' or 'striving' in the context of Islam - into the digital realm. Cyber Jihad encompasses a range of activities that leverage the internet and digital technologies for purposes such as propaganda dissemination, recruitment, radicalization, communication, planning, and execution of terrorist activities.

### **The impact of cyber Jihad:**

- The internet provides a global platform for extremist groups to disseminate their ideology, attract sympathisers, and recruit members from across the world. Through social media, forums, and encrypted messaging apps, these groups can connect with individuals who they would otherwise not be able to reach.
- Extremist groups use online platforms to spread propaganda, including videos and writings that glorify acts of terrorism, demonise perceived enemies, and promote radical interpretations of religious texts. This propaganda is a powerful tool for radicalising individuals, especially those who are vulnerable or susceptible to such messaging.
- The internet facilitates communication and coordination among dispersed cells and members of terrorist groups. It allows for the planning and orchestration of attacks, the sharing of tactical information, and the distribution of manuals on weapon-making and guerrilla tactics.
- Apart from using the internet for communication and propaganda, some jihadist groups have developed capabilities to conduct cyber attacks against critical infrastructure, government networks, and other targets. These attacks can range from website defacements and data breaches to more sophisticated efforts aimed at disrupting essential services.
- The digital realm has opened new avenues for terrorist financing. Extremist groups use online platforms to solicit donations, often disguising their fundraising efforts as charity work.

Additionally, the rise of cryptocurrencies has provided a new, relatively anonymous method for transferring funds.

The evolution of modern conflict and the emergence of cyber Jihad represent significant shifts in the security landscape. These changes challenge traditional defence and counterterrorism strategies, necessitating a more nuanced and multifaceted approach that combines technological, intelligence, and ideological countermeasures.

### **Cognitive Warfare and Propaganda:**

The concept of Cognitive Warfare and Propaganda, as discussed by Brigadier General Rami Effrati, is a critical aspect of modern conflict that goes beyond the conventional battlefield. This form of warfare targets the mind, seeking to influence, manipulate, and control the cognitive domain of adversaries and the general public.

Cognitive Warfare is an advanced form of psychological warfare. It involves the strategic use of information, misinformation, and disinformation to shape perceptions, beliefs, emotions, and behaviours. The goal is to gain a tactical or strategic advantage, not necessarily through physical force but through influencing the cognitive and decision-making processes of both adversaries and the general population. In today's digital age, cognitive warfare has taken on a new dimension. The internet and social media platforms have become battlegrounds where narratives are constructed and disseminated widely, reaching global audiences at unprecedented speeds. This environment is ripe for the spread of propaganda, enabling actors to amplify their message, undermine their opponents, and sway public opinion in their favour.

Propaganda is a key instrument in cognitive warfare. It involves the dissemination of information—facts, arguments, rumours, half-truths, or lies—to influence the attitudes of a community. Propaganda is not inherently negative; it has been used throughout history by states and organisations for various purposes, including rallying public support during wars. However, in the context of cognitive warfare, propaganda often takes on a more insidious form, seeking to deceive, mislead, and manipulate.

### **Types of Propaganda:**

- **White Propaganda:** This is the most straightforward type, where the source of the information is acknowledged, and the information is mostly truthful, though it might be selective or biased.
- **Grey Propaganda:** The source of this information is not clearly identified, and its accuracy is uncertain. Grey propaganda blurs the lines between fact and fiction.
- **Black Propaganda:** This is the most deceptive form, where information is falsely attributed to a source other than its actual origin, often with the intention of discrediting or damaging the entity being impersonated.

- **Techniques Used in Propaganda:**

- **Appeal to Emotion:** Using emotive messages to appeal to people's fears, hopes, or other emotions, rather than presenting rational arguments.

- Demonization: Portraying the enemy as purely evil, menacing, and aggressive, to justify one's own stance or actions.
- Bandwagon: Creating an impression of widespread support, encouraging the "everyone is doing it" mentality.
- Disinformation: Spreading false information to deceive or confuse the enemy or the public.
- Omission and Selective Presentation: Presenting only part of the information, selectively omitting certain facts to shape opinions.

Cognitive warfare and propaganda can have profound impacts on societies and conflict dynamics:

- Effective propaganda can significantly influence public opinion, potentially swaying the course of a conflict. It can rally support for a cause or demoralise and weaken the resolve of an adversary.
- By affecting the cognitive domain, actors can manipulate the decision-making processes of their adversaries, leading to errors in judgement and strategy.
- Prolonged exposure to disinformation can undermine trust in institutions, governments, and media, leading to societal polarisation and destabilisation.
- The use of deceptive and manipulative tactics raises significant ethical and moral concerns, particularly in democratic societies where freedom of information and truth are valued.

In the realm of cognitive warfare and propaganda, the battleground is the human mind, and the weapons are information and narratives. This form of warfare requires a sophisticated understanding of psychology, communication, and technology. Defending against cognitive warfare involves not only counter-narratives and fact-checking but also fostering critical thinking and media literacy among the public. As technology evolves and the information landscape becomes more complex, the challenges of cognitive warfare are likely to grow, making it a crucial aspect of national and international security strategies in the 21st century.

### **Terrorist Military Organization:**

The term "Terrorist Military Organization" refers to a significant evolution in the nature and capabilities of terrorist groups. Unlike traditional terrorist cells, these organisations exhibit characteristics akin to those of conventional military forces.

- Terrorist military organisations often have a well-defined hierarchical structure with clear chains of command. This structure allows for the efficient planning and execution of operations, with designated leaders making strategic decisions and operatives carrying out orders. This level of organisation is akin to that of a traditional army, enhancing the group's ability to execute coordinated attacks.
- These groups possess advanced weaponry and employ tactics that are more complex than those of traditional terrorist cells. They may have access to heavy weaponry, such as artillery, anti-aircraft guns, and advanced explosives. Their tactics may include conventional battlefield



strategies, guerrilla warfare, and urban combat techniques, demonstrating a level of military proficiency and planning.

- Terrorist military organisations often run training camps where recruits are indoctrinated and trained in combat, espionage, and other military skills. These training programs are designed to create operatives who are capable of carrying out complex missions, much like a nation-state's military forces.
- Unlike typical terrorist groups that operate clandestinely, terrorist military organisations may control territory and even perform governance functions within these areas. They may establish administrative structures, collect taxes, and enforce their own legal systems, further blurring the lines between a non-state terrorist group and a de facto governing body.
- These organisations use propaganda effectively, leveraging media and other channels to spread their ideology, recruit members, and intimidate opponents. This aspect of their operation is often sophisticated, utilising both traditional media and digital platforms to achieve a global reach.

### **Role of Technology and Cyber Attacks:**

The role of technology and cyber attacks in modern conflict represents a paradigm shift in how wars are waged and security is maintained.

- Cyber attacks are now a critical component of modern conflict, used both offensively and defensively. States and non-state actors engage in cyber warfare to disrupt the critical infrastructure of adversaries, steal sensitive information, and even sabotage military operations. This can include attacks on power grids, financial systems, and communication networks, causing significant disruption without a single physical confrontation.
- The use of ICT (Information and Communication Technologies) by terrorist groups for communication, recruitment, and propaganda has significantly increased their reach and impact. The internet allows these groups to operate globally, spreading their message, recruiting members from different parts of the world, and even remotely planning and directing attacks.
- Modern technology enables extensive surveillance and intelligence-gathering capabilities. Both state actors and terrorist groups use digital tools to gather information on adversaries, track movements, and plan operations. This includes the use of drones, satellite imagery, and electronic eavesdropping.
- Social media platforms are used by terrorist organisations to spread propaganda, recruit members, and even plan attacks. The virality and reach of social media allow these groups to influence public opinion, spread disinformation, and create a sense of fear and instability.
- Cyber espionage involves penetrating the digital networks of adversaries to steal classified information. Data breaches can provide terrorist organisations with sensitive information that can be used for blackmail, strategic planning, or to further their ideological goals.
- The use of digital currencies for fundraising provides anonymity and ease of transfer across borders. Terrorist organisations exploit these features to finance their operations, circumvent traditional banking systems, and avoid detection.

The evolution of terrorist organisations into military-like entities and the increasing role of technology and cyber attacks in conflict represent major challenges for global security. These developments

require a reevaluation of traditional defence strategies and highlight the need for international cooperation, advanced cybersecurity measures, and robust intelligence capabilities to effectively counter these emerging threats.

### **The Challenge of Early Warnings in Cyber Warfare:**

Cyber warfare represents a paradigm shift in how conflicts are waged and defended against. Unlike conventional warfare, where threats can often be anticipated through physical intelligence and surveillance, cyber threats are inherently stealthier and more unpredictable. The challenge of early warnings in cyber warfare lies in the difficulty of detecting and interpreting signals that precede a cyber attack.

- Cyber attacks can be launched remotely, often leaving little to no physical trace until the damage is done. Attackers can mask their digital footprints, making attribution and preemptive detection challenging. The complexity of these attacks is further compounded by the use of advanced techniques like encryption, malware, and social engineering, which can bypass traditional security measures.
- The cyber threat landscape is continually evolving, with new vulnerabilities and attack methodologies emerging regularly. This constant evolution makes it difficult for security agencies to keep up with the latest threats, requiring continuous adaptation and updating of defence mechanisms.
- In cyber warfare, the battlefield is not geographically confined. Cyber threats can originate from anywhere in the world, making it hard to monitor and defend against every potential source of attack. The interconnected nature of the digital world means that an attack on one node can have cascading effects globally.
- Traditional intelligence mechanisms are often not fully integrated with cyber intelligence. This disconnect can lead to gaps in understanding and responding to cyber threats. Developing a comprehensive intelligence strategy that combines traditional and cyber intelligence is crucial for effective early warning systems.

### **Global Implications of Local Conflicts:**

Local conflicts, particularly those involving state and non-state actors with global reach, like the conflict between Israel and Hamas as described by Gen Effrati, have implications far beyond their immediate geographic and political boundaries.

- Local conflicts often serve as testing grounds for new forms of warfare, including cyber warfare tactics and technologies. The strategies and tools developed and used in these conflicts can be quickly adopted and adapted by other actors worldwide. This rapid dissemination of tactics and technology accelerates the evolution of conflict methodologies globally.
- Local conflicts often draw in a range of international actors, either directly or through proxies. This involvement can turn a localised conflict into a larger geopolitical issue, affecting regional stability and international relations. The globalised nature of the world today means that the effects of a conflict in one region can have economic, political, and security repercussions elsewhere.
- The global media plays a significant role in shaping the narrative and perception of local conflicts. The way a conflict is portrayed can influence international public opinion, policy

decisions, and even the outcome of the conflict. The internet and social media amplify this effect, allowing for real-time dissemination of information (and misinformation), which can mobilise support or condemnation globally.

- Local conflicts can lead to humanitarian crises, including mass casualties, displacement, and refugee flows. These crises often require international intervention and support, and can strain resources and political relations in regions far removed from the actual conflict zone.

The challenges of early warnings in cyber warfare are primarily rooted in the stealthy, complex, and evolving nature of cyber threats, requiring a dynamic and integrated approach to intelligence and defence. Meanwhile, the global implications of local conflicts are multifaceted, impacting international security, politics, humanitarian efforts, and the global narrative on conflict and peace. These insights underscore the interconnected nature of modern conflicts and the necessity for a comprehensive, global approach to understanding and addressing them.

### **Psychological Impact and Humanitarian Concerns:**

Brigadier General Rami Effrati's remarks draw attention to the profound psychological impact and humanitarian concerns associated with modern conflicts, particularly those involving terror tactics.

- The use of terror tactics, such as kidnappings, indiscriminate violence, and the deliberate targeting of civilians, goes beyond physical harm. These acts are designed to instill fear and helplessness in the population. The psychological impact of living under constant threat can be devastating, leading to widespread trauma, anxiety, and a sense of insecurity among the affected communities.
- These tactics often result in humanitarian crises. The displacement of populations, the destruction of homes and livelihoods, and the breakdown of social structures are common consequences. In conflicts where civilians are targeted, the toll on human life and well-being is immense. Access to basic necessities like food, water, and medical care becomes challenging, exacerbating the suffering of those affected.
- Children, women, and the elderly are particularly vulnerable in these situations. Children growing up in conflict zones may experience severe psychological trauma, impacting their development and future prospects. Women and girls often face increased risks of sexual violence and exploitation, while the elderly may struggle to access the care they need.
- The psychological scars of conflict can persist long after the physical fighting has ended. Post-traumatic stress disorder (PTSD), depression, and other mental health issues can affect survivors for years. These long-term effects can hinder reconciliation and rebuilding efforts, leading to cycles of violence and instability.
- Addressing these issues requires a robust international response, including humanitarian aid, psychological support, and protection for civilians. Efforts to document and address human rights abuses are also crucial for ensuring accountability and preventing future atrocities.

### **The Importance of AI and Privacy Issues:**

Gen Effrati's insights into the role of AI in modern conflicts and the associated privacy concerns highlight a key challenge in balancing security and individual rights.

- AI technologies have revolutionised intelligence gathering and surveillance. They offer unparalleled capabilities in processing vast amounts of data, recognizing patterns, and even predicting potential threats. AI-driven facial recognition, biometric analysis, and behaviour prediction are now integral to national security efforts.
- While these technologies can significantly enhance security, they also raise privacy concerns. The widespread surveillance and data collection capabilities of AI systems can lead to invasions of privacy. There's a risk that personal information could be misused, leading to a society where citizens are constantly monitored.
- The challenge lies in balancing the need for security with the protection of individual privacy rights. Governments and security agencies must ensure that the use of AI in surveillance and intelligence is governed by clear, transparent regulations and oversight mechanisms to prevent abuse.
- The deployment of AI in conflict zones also raises ethical questions. Decisions made by AI systems can have life-altering consequences, and the lack of human judgement and empathy in these systems can be problematic. Ensuring that AI technologies are used ethically and responsibly is a significant concern.
- Public trust is essential for the effective use of AI in security. Transparency in how these technologies are used, and safeguards to protect individual rights, are crucial for maintaining public support. Fostering a cooperative relationship between the public, technology developers, and security agencies is necessary to address these challenges effectively.

The psychological impact and humanitarian concerns in modern conflicts underscore the need for comprehensive and empathetic responses to protect and support affected populations. Simultaneously, the integration of AI into security practices presents a complex challenge, requiring careful consideration of both the potential benefits and the significant privacy and ethical issues involved.

### **Dealing with Fake News and Disinformation:**

The challenge of countering fake news and disinformation is a critical component of cognitive warfare, particularly in the age of digital communication. In the context of modern conflicts, especially those involving terrorist groups like Hamas, as mentioned by Gen Effrati, the dissemination of false or misleading information serves multiple strategic purposes:

- Fake news can be used to undermine trust in government institutions, media outlets, and even between different segments of society. By creating doubt and confusion, these groups can weaken the social fabric and create a more conducive environment for their activities.
- Disinformation campaigns are often aimed at swaying public opinion to either support the actions of these groups or oppose the efforts of governments fighting against them. The goal is to create a favourable narrative that justifies their actions and garners sympathy or support from a broader audience.
- In some cases, false information is spread to incite violence or create unrest. This can be particularly effective in regions with existing social or political tensions, where a single piece of provocative misinformation can trigger widespread unrest.

- Terrorist organisations use disinformation as a tool for propaganda and recruitment. By glorifying their actions and distorting facts, they aim to attract new recruits and build a sense of legitimacy around their cause.

To effectively counter fake news and disinformation, several strategies can be employed:

- Educating the public on how to critically evaluate the information they consume is vital. This includes understanding the sources of information, distinguishing between verified facts and opinions, and being aware of the common tactics used in disinformation campaigns.
- Governments, media outlets, and civil society organisations can establish fact-checking platforms that quickly and accurately verify information, especially during times of crisis or conflict.
- Implementing regulations that hold digital platforms accountable for the content they disseminate can help mitigate the spread of fake news. However, this must be balanced with the principles of free speech and expression.
- As disinformation often crosses borders, international collaboration is essential in identifying, tracking, and countering these campaigns.

### **Financial Transactions and Cryptocurrency:**

The use of cryptocurrencies in financing terrorism represents a significant challenge for global security. Cryptocurrencies like Bitcoin offer several advantages to terrorist organisations:

- Cryptocurrencies allow for a certain level of anonymity, making it difficult to trace transactions back to their source. While not completely anonymous, they offer more privacy than traditional banking systems.
- Cryptocurrencies can be used across borders without the need for traditional banking infrastructure, making them accessible in regions where terrorist groups operate and where banking systems might be underdeveloped or under surveillance.
- The decentralised nature of cryptocurrencies means that they are not controlled by any single entity or government, making it challenging to regulate or control their use.
- The increasing availability and ease of use of cryptocurrencies make them an attractive option for illicit transactions.

To combat the use of cryptocurrencies in terrorist financing, several measures can be adopted:

- Governments can implement regulations that require cryptocurrency exchanges and wallets to follow strict know-your-customer (KYC) and anti-money laundering (AML) procedures. This can help in identifying suspicious transactions.
- Just as with the fight against disinformation, international cooperation is crucial in tracking and disrupting the flow of funds across borders. Sharing intelligence and resources can enhance the effectiveness of these efforts.
- The use of advanced blockchain analysis tools can help in tracing the flow of funds on the blockchain, identifying patterns that might indicate illicit activities.
- Educating the public about the risks associated with cryptocurrencies and encouraging the reporting of suspicious activities can play a key role in identifying and preventing terrorist financing.

dealing with fake news and disinformation requires a multi-faceted approach involving education, regulation, and international cooperation. Similarly, combating the use of cryptocurrencies in financing terrorism demands enhanced surveillance, regulation, and global collaboration to effectively monitor and disrupt these financial networks.

## **Concluding Remarks:**

### **1. Comprehensive Security Strategy:**

- Gen Effrati emphasises the need for nations to develop a holistic security strategy that goes beyond traditional military preparedness. This strategy should include robust cybersecurity measures, intelligence gathering mechanisms tailored to detect cyber threats, and a coordinated response plan involving various sectors of government and society.
- Given the transnational nature of cyber threats, international cooperation is key. Sharing intelligence, best practices, and technological advancements among nations can significantly enhance collective security measures.

### **2. Cybersecurity Infrastructure:**

- Building resilient cyber infrastructure is paramount. This involves safeguarding critical networks, including government, military, financial, and energy systems, against potential cyber attacks.
- Continuous updating and testing of cyber defences ensure preparedness against evolving cyber threats. Regular drills and simulations can help identify vulnerabilities and improve response protocols.

### **3. Training and Capability Development:**

- Developing a skilled workforce proficient in cybersecurity is critical. This includes training military, law enforcement, and intelligence personnel, as well as encouraging the education sector to produce experts in cybersecurity and information technology.
- Establishing specialised cyber units within security agencies can provide focused efforts on cyber threats and cyber-terrorism.

### **4. Public Awareness and Education:**

- Public awareness campaigns can educate citizens about the nature of cyber threats, personal cybersecurity hygiene, and the importance of vigilance in the digital space.
- Engaging with communities, especially youth, can help in early detection of radicalization and prevent the spread of extremist ideologies online.

### **5. Legislation and Policy Framework:**

- Developing and updating legal frameworks to address the challenges posed by cyber-terrorism and the misuse of technology is necessary. Laws must balance security needs with the protection of civil liberties.
- Implementing regulatory measures for technology companies, especially in content moderation and data privacy, can help combat the spread of extremist propaganda and fake news.

## 6. Countering Propaganda and Misinformation:

- Developing effective counter-narratives to combat terrorist propaganda and misinformation is essential. This involves collaboration with media, religious leaders, and civil society to promote messages of peace and stability.
- Supporting independent fact-checking organisations and initiatives can help in quickly debunking fake news and misinformation circulated by terrorist groups.

## 7. Technology and Innovation:

- Leveraging advancements in AI, machine learning, and data analytics for predictive intelligence and threat assessment can provide an edge in identifying and neutralising threats.
- Investing in research and development in cybersecurity and related fields can lead to innovative solutions to counter cyber Jihad and other digital threats.

## 8. Scenario Planning and Crisis Management:

- Regular risk assessments and scenario planning for potential cyber-terrorist attacks can help in preparing response strategies for different types of incidents.
- Establishing clear crisis management protocols and communication channels ensures a coordinated and effective response during a cyber-terrorist incident.

Brigadier General Rami Effrati is a comprehensive approach that encompasses technological, educational, legal, and strategic dimensions. It calls for a proactive stance in addressing the challenges posed by cyber Jihad, recognizing the importance of both preparing defences against these threats and raising awareness among the public and policymakers about the evolving nature of modern conflicts. This approach is vital for ensuring national security in an era where digital battlegrounds are as significant as physical ones.

### Key Focus on:

#### 1. Development of a Comprehensive Security Strategy:

- a. Nations should develop holistic security strategies that incorporate robust cybersecurity measures, tailored intelligence gathering, and coordinated response plans.
- b. International cooperation is crucial for sharing intelligence, best practices, and technological advancements to enhance collective cyber defence.

#### 2. Strengthening Cybersecurity Infrastructure:

- a. Focus on building resilient cyber infrastructure to protect critical networks, including government, military, financial, and energy systems.
- b. Regularly update and test cyber defences to prepare for evolving threats, and conduct drills and simulations to identify and improve response protocols.

#### 3. Training and Capability Enhancement:

- a. Invest in developing a skilled workforce proficient in cybersecurity across military, law enforcement, intelligence, and the education sector.

- b. Establish specialised cyber units within security agencies for focused efforts against cyber threats and cyber-terrorism.
4. **Public Awareness and Community Engagement:**
    - a. Launch public awareness campaigns to educate citizens about cyber threats and personal cybersecurity practices.
    - b. Engage with communities, especially youth, to detect early signs of radicalization and prevent the spread of extremist ideologies online.
  5. **Legislation and Policy Framework:**
    - a. Update legal frameworks to address the unique challenges of cyber-terrorism and the misuse of technology, while protecting civil liberties.
    - b. Implement regulatory measures for technology companies, particularly in content moderation and data privacy.
  6. **Counteracting Propaganda and Misinformation:**
    - a. Develop effective counter-narratives against terrorist propaganda and misinformation, involving media, religious leaders, and civil society.
    - b. Support independent fact-checking organisations to quickly debunk fake news and misinformation spread by terrorist groups.
  7. **Embracing Technological Innovations:**
    - a. Utilise advancements in AI, machine learning, and data analytics for predictive intelligence and threat assessment.
    - b. Invest in research and development in cybersecurity and related fields for innovative solutions against digital threats.
  8. **Scenario Planning and Crisis Management:**
    - a. Conduct regular risk assessments and scenario planning for potential cyber-terrorist attacks to prepare varied response strategies.
    - b. Establish clear crisis management protocols and communication channels for coordinated responses during cyber-terrorist incidents.

## **D) Nexus between Organised Crime and Jihadist Groups- Dr Dheeraj PC**

Dr. Dheeraj's comprehensive remarks on the nexus between organised crime and terrorism, particularly in the context of jihadism, encompass several crucial aspects, ranging from historical incidents to the intricate dynamics of criminal and jihadist collaborations. Dr. Dheeraj explains how the convergence of organised crime and jihadist terrorism has evolved over time, particularly in the Indian subcontinent, and how this evolution reflects the intricate and multifaceted nature of modern terrorism.



### **Historical Context of Jihadism and Organised Crime:**

- Dr. Dheeraj PC refers to the 1993 Bombay blasts as a pivotal moment in recognizing the nexus between organised crime and jihadism. These blasts, involving multiple explosions across Bombay (now Mumbai), were orchestrated by the D-Company, a criminal syndicate led by Dawood Ibrahim. This event was significant as it marked one of the first instances where an organised crime group was directly involved in a jihadist act of terrorism. However, unlike typical jihadist attacks, there was no immediate claim of responsibility, blurring the lines between criminal and ideological motives.
- Dr. Dheeraj highlights the involvement of state actors in the 1993 blasts, pointing out that it was orchestrated by the intelligence agencies of a legitimately established Islamic State. This state involvement added a layer of complexity, as it was not just non-state actors (like terrorist groups or criminal organisations) executing jihadist agendas but also state machinery. This blurs traditional distinctions in international relations and counter-terrorism between state and non-state threats.
- The involvement of individuals like Lieutenant General Javed Nasir, who after retirement joined the Tablighi Jamaat and then became the chairman of the SGPC (Shiromani Gurdwara Parbandhak Committee), exemplifies the intricate web of connections in the jihadist world. Despite the apparent ideological differences between Sikhism and Islamism, an alliance of convenience was formed, united by a common goal against India. This showcases how jihadism can transcend religious boundaries to forge strategic alliances.
- Another critical event mentioned by Dr. Dheeraj is the 2008 Mumbai attacks, which further illustrates the complex interplay between state actors, criminal networks, and jihadist groups. The attacks were carried out by Lashkar-e-Taiba, a jihadist organisation, but involved logistical support from organised crime networks. This event demonstrates how jihadist groups can leverage the capabilities and resources of criminal networks to carry out large-scale, sophisticated terrorist operations.

### **Complexity of Jihadism in the Modern Context:**

- The involvement of organised crime in jihadist terrorism indicates a blending of ideological and criminal motives. While traditional jihadist terrorism is primarily driven by ideological goals, the involvement of criminal networks often introduces profit-driven criminal motives, adding complexity to the understanding and countering of these threats.
- Jihadist groups have shown remarkable adaptability and evolution in their methods and alliances. The nexus with organised crime is an example of this adaptability, allowing jihadist groups to enhance their operational capabilities, funding, and reach.
- While Dr. Dheeraj focuses on the Indian subcontinent, the dynamics he describes have global implications. The convergence of organised crime and jihadism is not confined to any single region but is a pattern observed worldwide, affecting global security and counter-terrorism strategies.

The historical context and complexity of jihadism as analysed by Dr. Dheeraj PC underscore the evolving nature of terrorism, marked by the integration of criminal networks, state actors, and diverse

ideological motivations. Understanding this complexity is crucial for developing effective counter-terrorism strategies that address not only the ideological aspects of jihadism but also its criminal dimensions and the involvement of state actors.

### **Operational Synergy and Skill Exchange:**

Organised crime groups and jihadist organisations often collaborate due to the operational synergy between them. Organised crime offers a range of illicit skills and networks that are valuable to jihadist groups. These skills include smuggling (arms, drugs, and humans), money laundering, and the establishment of underground networks for safe movement and communication.

- Criminal groups have established smuggling routes and methods, which can be utilised by jihadists to move arms, personnel, and material across borders undetected. This logistical support is crucial for carrying out terrorist activities.
- Money laundering and other financial crimes are areas where organised crime excels. Jihadist groups benefit from these capabilities to fund their operations discreetly, bypassing international financial surveillance systems.
- Organised crime can provide safe houses, false documentation, and local contacts, which are essential for jihadists to operate covertly in foreign territories or maintain a low profile.

### **Mutual Benefits and Dependencies:**

The relationship between organised crime and jihadist groups is often driven by mutual benefits.

- Engaging with jihadist organisations can be financially lucrative for criminal groups. They may be paid for their services or given a share of profits from joint operations like drug trafficking or arms sales.
- For jihadist groups, the alliance provides tactical support (like manpower for operations) and strategic benefits (like diversification of revenue streams and expansion of influence).

### **Ideological Alignment and Exploitation:**

While it might seem that organised crime (driven by profit) and jihadist groups (driven by ideology) are fundamentally different, there can be instances of ideological alignment or exploitation.

- Jihadist groups may exploit criminal networks for operational purposes, regardless of ideological discrepancies. They might use these networks for specific tasks without requiring the criminal groups to share their jihadist ideology.
- In some cases, members of criminal groups may undergo radicalization, aligning themselves ideologically with jihadist causes. This transition can be driven by a search for redemption or a deeper sense of purpose, as noted by Dr. Dheeraj.

### **State Actor Involvement and Proxy Wars:**

Dr. Dheeraj also touches upon the involvement of state actors in utilising these nexus for proxy wars or geopolitical strategies. State-sponsored support to either criminal networks or jihadist groups can enhance their capabilities, making them more formidable adversaries.

- Some states may covertly support jihadist or criminal groups as proxies to achieve broader geopolitical objectives, such as destabilising rival nations or regions.

- In some cases, elements within state structures may be complicit in facilitating the operations of these groups, either for personal gain or as part of a larger strategic agenda.

### **Challenges to Law Enforcement and National Security:**

The crime-terror nexus poses significant challenges to law enforcement and national security agencies.

- The overlapping activities of criminal and terrorist networks make it challenging for law enforcement to differentiate and categorise threats, requiring more nuanced approaches.
- Addressing this nexus often requires international cooperation, which can be hindered by differing national interests, legal frameworks, and capacities of law enforcement agencies.

### **Socio-Economic Context:**

Dr. Dheeraj emphasises the socio-economic context in which this nexus thrives. Areas with weak governance, high poverty, and social disenfranchisement provide fertile ground for both organised crime and jihadist groups to recruit and operate.

- Marginalised or impoverished communities can become recruitment grounds for these groups, offering financial incentives or a sense of belonging and purpose.
- Both types of groups exploit weaknesses in state governance – such as corruption, lack of law enforcement resources, and political instability – to establish and expand their operations.

The nexus between organised crime and jihadist groups is a dynamic and complex relationship that extends beyond mere transactional interactions. It involves operational synergies, mutual benefits, ideological aspects, and sometimes, state actor involvement. Understanding this nexus requires a multifaceted approach that encompasses not just law enforcement and military strategies but also socio-economic policies and international cooperation.

### **Individual Motivations and Transformations in the Crime-Terror Nexus:**

- One of the most poignant aspects Dr. Dheeraj touches upon is the concept of redemption sought by individuals with a criminal past. This redemption is often sought in the embrace of jihadist ideology and acts of terrorism. Individuals who have engaged in criminal activities may experience a sense of guilt or a desire for atonement. In this context, the extremist narratives of jihadist groups can offer a path to redeem past wrongdoings through acts they portray as noble or righteous. This pathway is particularly appealing to those who feel marginalised or disconnected from society, as it not only provides a means to redeem themselves but also offers a sense of belonging and purpose.
- The transition from a life of crime to that of a jihadist is not merely a change in activities but represents a profound shift in identity and worldview. For some, this shift is gradual and influenced by radical ideology encountered in prisons or through online propaganda. For others, it might be a sudden change, often triggered by a personal crisis or a persuasive encounter with extremist recruiters. These individuals often bring with them skills and networks from their criminal past, which are valuable to terrorist organisations. The process of

radicalization exploits their vulnerabilities and reshapes their identity, aligning their criminal skills and tendencies with the strategic goals of the jihadist group.

- Dr. Dheeraj points out that a criminal background can act as a gateway to more serious forms of violence and terrorism. Individuals involved in petty crimes or gang activities might find in jihadism a more profound and ideologically driven outlet for their violent tendencies. This shift is often rationalised as a fight for a 'greater cause', giving their actions a veneer of legitimacy and purpose.
- The phenomenon of criminals turning jihadists is not confined to any specific region but is observed globally. Dr. Dheeraj cites examples from Europe and India, where individuals with a history of criminality joined jihadist movements. This pattern underscores a significant challenge in counterterrorism efforts, as individuals already on the fringes of law might slip into more dangerous forms of extremism.
- Prisons often emerge as critical spaces for radicalization. Individuals serving time for non-terrorist offences might get exposed to radical ideologies within the prison system. In some cases, prisons become breeding grounds for future terrorists, where inmates not only get radicalised but also build networks that they carry into the outside world once released. This aspect highlights the need for effective de-radicalization and monitoring programs within the criminal justice system.
- The psychological transformation in individuals who turn to jihadism from a life of crime is complex. It involves a redefinition of self-identity and a reshaping of moral and ethical boundaries. The black-and-white worldview propagated by extremist ideologies often appeals to individuals seeking certainty and a clear sense of purpose. This psychological transformation makes the process of deradicalization particularly challenging.

Dr. Dheeraj PC's insights into the individual motivations and transformations within the crime-terror nexus reveal a deeply complex and psychological process. It's a transformation that goes beyond mere tactical alignment, delving into personal redemption, identity reshaping, and ideological realignment. Understanding these individual pathways is crucial for developing effective counter-radicalization strategies and preventing the spread of jihadist ideologies among vulnerable populations, especially within the criminal circles.

### **Operational Synergy:**

#### **Nature of Operational Synergy:**

Dr. Dheeraj illuminates how organised crime groups and jihadist organisations, though disparate in their ultimate objectives, find a common operational ground. This synergy is not just a convergence of goals but a strategic amalgamation of skills, resources, and methodologies that enhance the operational capacities of both parties. It's a form of mutualism where each entity augments the other's abilities, leading to a more formidable and resilient adversary for state forces.

### **Skill Sets of Organized Crime Groups:**

- Organised crime groups often possess well-established networks for arms smuggling. These networks are crucial for jihadist groups that require a steady supply of weapons but lack the means to acquire them through conventional channels. The logistical support extends beyond arms to include the smuggling of goods, people, and information.
- Criminal syndicates are adept at financial operations, particularly money laundering. This expertise is invaluable to jihadist organisations that need to funnel funds covertly to finance their operations. The ability to move money undetected through various international channels is a key component of sustaining terrorist activities.
- The illegal drug trade is a significant revenue source for many criminal organisations. This trade provides a dual benefit to jihadist groups – a source of funding and a means to destabilise regions through the spread of addiction and associated social ills. Dr. Dheeraj specifically mentions the impact of drug trafficking in the context of historical conflicts and its role in undermining the morale and economic stability of target regions.

### **Synergistic Effect in Operations:**

- The alliance between jihadists and organised criminals expands the geographical and operational reach of both. Criminal networks operating in diverse locations offer jihadists a broader canvas for planning and executing attacks.
- Criminal groups have extensive experience in evading law enforcement, which they share with their jihadist partners. This knowledge includes tactics for avoiding surveillance, counterintelligence strategies, and ways to exploit legal and bureaucratic loopholes.
- The melding of criminal ingenuity with jihadist fervour leads to innovative and unorthodox tactics. These tactics can range from unconventional attack methods to novel ways of recruitment and propaganda dissemination, making them more unpredictable and harder to counter.

### **Challenges Posed to State Actors:**

- The flexible and adaptive nature of this crime-terror nexus contrasts sharply with the often rigid and procedure-bound response mechanisms of state actors. This disparity creates an operational advantage for the criminal-jihadist nexus, as they can quickly adapt and respond to changing circumstances, whereas state responses can be slower and less flexible.
- The range of threats emanating from this nexus is vast and multifaceted. It's not just about direct attacks but also involves subtler forms of warfare like economic destabilisation, social disruption, and psychological warfare. This diversity requires a multidimensional and nuanced response strategy from states and international bodies.
- The overlapping networks of criminals and jihadists complicate intelligence-gathering efforts. The blending of these groups obscures traditional markers used in profiling and tracking terrorist activities, necessitating more sophisticated and nuanced intelligence methods.

The operational nexus between organised crime groups and jihadist organisations significantly enhances the threat they pose, not only in terms of scale and scope but also in terms of complexity and

adaptability. Understanding and countering this synergy requires a dynamic and multifaceted approach from state actors, one that goes beyond traditional counter-terrorism and anti-crime strategies.

### **Formal Rationality of State Actors:**

State actors typically operate on a principle of formal rationality. This term refers to a structured, rule-based approach where actions are guided by established laws, regulations, and bureaucratic procedures. Formal rationality in the context of state actors includes:

- Governments and their agencies are bound by strict protocols and legal frameworks. This often leads to a slower response time and rigid adherence to procedures, even in situations that might require a more flexible approach.
- Decisions and actions are heavily influenced by the national interest, which may not always align with the immediate and pragmatic needs of counter-terrorism efforts. For instance, sharing intelligence information with other countries might be restricted due to concerns over national security or diplomatic relations.
- State actors are often driven by abstract concepts like maintaining public order, preserving national unity, or upholding democratic values. While these are important principles, they can sometimes limit the ability to adapt quickly or take unconventional measures against non-traditional threats like the crime-terror nexus.

### **Pragmatic Rationality of Non-State Actors:**

In contrast, non-state actors such as organised crime groups and jihadist organisations operate on a principle of pragmatic rationality. This approach is characterised by:

- These groups are not bound by formal rules or bureaucratic procedures, allowing them to adapt quickly to changing circumstances. They can modify their strategies, tactics, and alliances based on immediate needs and opportunities.
- Their actions are directly aligned with their goals, whether it's spreading ideological messages, carrying out attacks, or evading law enforcement. The lack of bureaucratic hurdles enables a more direct and often more effective approach to achieving these goals.
- Non-state actors are adept at identifying and exploiting weaknesses in state systems, whether it's lax border controls, gaps in intelligence sharing, or the slow pace of legal and bureaucratic processes.

### **Clash of Rationalities:**

The clash between these two forms of rationality creates a significant challenge in countering the crime-terror nexus:

- The agility and quick decision-making of non-state actors often outpace the slower, more deliberate responses of state actors, leading to missed opportunities in preventing or responding to terrorist activities.
- While state actors are concerned with broader political, legal, and social implications of their actions, non-state actors focus solely on their immediate objectives. This difference in priorities can lead to state actors being outmanoeuvred or caught unprepared by the unconventional tactics of non-state actors.

- The formal rationality of state actors is often constrained by bureaucracy, leading to inefficiencies and rigidities that hinder effective counter-terrorism efforts. For instance, inter-agency rivalries, jurisdictional issues, and the need for political approval can impede swift action.

The clash of rationalities between state and non-state actors is a fundamental aspect of why the crime-terror nexus presents such a persistent challenge. To counter this threat effectively, state actors need to develop strategies that incorporate both formal and pragmatic rationalities. This might involve streamlining bureaucratic processes, enhancing inter-agency cooperation, adopting more flexible legal frameworks, and fostering innovation in intelligence and law enforcement methodologies. Recognizing and adapting to the differing rationalities of their adversaries is crucial for state actors in the fight against organised crime and terrorism.

### **Economic Factors:**

- Economic deprivation, particularly in the form of poverty and unemployment, creates an environment where individuals are more susceptible to recruitment by criminal or terrorist groups. Dr. Dheeraj highlights that in regions where economic opportunities are scarce, joining such groups can be seen as a viable option for financial stability. This is especially true in conflict zones or areas with limited state presence, where criminal organisations and jihadist groups often provide services and employment that the state fails to deliver.
- The presence of illicit finances, such as drug trafficking, arms smuggling, or human trafficking, offers lucrative opportunities for both organised crime and terrorist groups. These activities generate substantial revenue, which can be used to finance terrorist activities. Dr. Dheeraj points out that groups involved in jihadism often collaborate with or directly engage in these illicit economies to fund their operations.
- In some cases, economic sanctions and policies that marginalise certain communities can inadvertently contribute to the crime-terror nexus. When communities feel economically repressed or targeted by state policies, they may turn to organised crime or terrorist groups as a form of resistance or survival.

### **Social Factors:**

- Social disenfranchisement plays a critical role in driving individuals towards organised crime and terrorism. This includes feelings of alienation, discrimination, or injustice, often experienced by minority communities. Dr. Dheeraj implies that when individuals or groups feel marginalised by the mainstream society or state, they are more likely to seek belonging and empowerment in extremist groups.
- Cultural and identity crises can also contribute to the allure of organised crime and jihadist movements. For instance, second-generation immigrants in some Western countries sometimes struggle with identity issues, making them vulnerable to radical ideologies that promise a sense of belonging and purpose.
- Dr. Dheeraj notes that prisons can be hotbeds for radicalization, where criminals are exposed to extremist ideologies. Moreover, in some communities, there's a glorification of criminal or jihadist figures, which can influence young people to emulate these paths.

- In regions where traditional social structures and authorities have broken down due to conflict, war, or other crises, there's often a vacuum of power and social order. Organised crime groups and terrorist organisations can fill this vacuum, offering protection, services, and a sense of order, thereby gaining social and political capital.
- Impact of Globalization: The effects of globalisation, including cultural homogenization and economic disparity, can exacerbate feelings of disenfranchisement and alienation. As global inequalities become more apparent, they can fuel narratives used by extremist groups to recruit and radicalise individuals.

### **Interplay between Economic and Social Factors:**

The economic and social factors are deeply intertwined. Economic hardships can exacerbate social grievances, while social issues can lead to economic disadvantages. This interplay creates a fertile ground for the crime-terror nexus to thrive. Groups exploiting these conditions can offer both economic incentives and a sense of community or purpose, making their offer more attractive to those suffering from both economic and social hardships.

Dr. Dheeraj PC's analysis underscores the complexity of the economic and social underpinnings of the crime-terror nexus. Addressing this nexus requires a holistic approach that goes beyond conventional security measures, encompassing economic development, social inclusion, community engagement, and targeted interventions to disrupt the recruitment and radicalization processes. Understanding and addressing these economic and social factors are crucial in effectively combating the intertwined threats of organised crime and terrorism.

### **Concluding Remarks:**

- The interlinking of organised crime with terrorism presents security challenges that are complex and multifaceted. Traditional approaches to countering terrorism or organised crime separately may not be effective against a hybrid threat that blends the characteristics and capabilities of both. This necessitates an integrated approach in national security policies, where law enforcement, intelligence, military, and other governmental bodies work cohesively.
- The collaboration between criminal and terrorist groups often exploits loopholes in legal and judicial systems. For instance, as Dr. Dheeraj noted, petty criminals may not be adequately monitored or prosecuted, allowing them to become conduits for more significant terrorist activities. This gap necessitates reforms in legal frameworks to ensure that even minor offences linked to broader security concerns are addressed with appropriate seriousness.
- Intelligence agencies must adapt to the changing nature of the threat. This involves not just gathering information about known terrorist groups and their activities but also monitoring organised crime networks that could potentially collaborate with these groups. Enhanced intelligence cooperation across countries is also essential, given the transnational nature of these threats.
- Dr. Dheeraj emphasises the importance of addressing economic and social factors that contribute to the crime-terror nexus. Poverty, unemployment, social disenfranchisement, and lack of education create environments conducive to the recruitment and radicalization efforts of these groups. Effective counter-terrorism strategies should, therefore, include socio-economic development programs and community engagement initiatives.



- Given the transnational operations of these hybrid groups, international collaboration becomes paramount. This involves not just intelligence sharing but also coordinated policy-making and law enforcement efforts. Multilateral forums and international organisations play a crucial role in facilitating this cooperation.
- The increasing use of technology by criminal and terrorist groups, as highlighted by Dr. Dheeraj, poses new cybersecurity challenges. Nations must bolster their cyber defences, not just for government and military infrastructures but also for civilian systems that could be targeted to cause widespread disruption.
- The adaptability and pragmatism of criminal-terrorist alliances mean that their tactics and strategies are continuously evolving. Security agencies must, therefore, remain vigilant and adaptable, constantly updating their understanding and response mechanisms to these changing threats.
- Public awareness and community involvement are critical in identifying and preventing the spread of extremist ideologies. Educational campaigns and community engagement programs can play a significant role in countering the narrative and appeal of jihadist propaganda.
- The implications of the crime-terror nexus for national and international security are extensive and require a multifaceted response strategy. This strategy must be dynamic, integrative, and collaborative, involving various sectors of government, international partners, and the broader community. By addressing both the symptoms and root causes of this nexus, nations can develop more effective and sustainable approaches to ensuring security and stability.

**Key Focus on:**

**1. Integrated Approach to National Security:**

- a. Develop a cohesive national security strategy that incorporates law enforcement, intelligence, military, and other governmental sectors to effectively address the hybrid threat posed by the crime-terror nexus.
- b. Reform legal frameworks to ensure minor offences linked to broader security concerns are addressed with appropriate seriousness.

**2. Enhanced Intelligence Gathering and Cooperation:**

- a. Adapt intelligence gathering to monitor both known terrorist groups and potential collaborations with organised crime networks.
- b. Strengthen international intelligence cooperation, given the transnational nature of the crime-terror nexus.

**3. Addressing Economic and Social Factors:**

- a. Implement socio-economic development programs and community engagement initiatives to address poverty, unemployment, and social disenfranchisement, which contribute to the recruitment and radicalization efforts of criminal and terrorist groups.
- b. Focus on educational programs and community involvement to counter the narrative and appeal of extremist ideologies.

#### **4. International Collaboration and Policy Coordination:**

- a. Enhance international collaboration in policy-making, law enforcement, and intelligence sharing to combat the transnational operations of criminal-terrorist alliances.
- b. Utilise multilateral forums and international organisations to facilitate cooperation and develop standardised approaches.

#### **5. Cybersecurity Measures:**

- a. Bolster national cyber defences to protect both government and civilian infrastructures from potential attacks by criminal and terrorist groups.
- b. Stay vigilant against the increasing use of technology by these groups, including in areas of cyber-attacks and digital propaganda.

#### **6. Adaptability and Continuous Monitoring:**

- a. Maintain adaptability in security strategies to respond to the evolving tactics and strategies of criminal-terrorist alliances.
- b. Regularly update and refine understanding and response mechanisms to changing threats.

#### **7. Public Awareness and Community Engagement:**

- a. Implement public awareness campaigns to educate citizens about the nature and risks of the crime-terror nexus.
- b. Engage communities in identifying and preventing the spread of extremist ideologies, with a focus on youth and vulnerable groups.

#### **8. Prison Radicalization Programs:**

- a. Address the issue of prison radicalization through effective de-radicalization and monitoring programs within the criminal justice system.
- b. Develop strategies to prevent prisons from becoming breeding grounds for future terrorists.

### **E ) Suicide Bombing and Jihadist Groups- Professor Ami Pedahzur**

Professor Ami Pedahzur's analysis over the past 22 years on terrorism, especially suicide terrorism, offers a rich perspective on the evolution and nature of terrorist tactics, specifically in the context of Israel and Gaza. His remarks also encompass a broader critique of the current state of terrorism research.

Professor Ami Pedahzur's call for the redefinition of terrorism is a significant point that deserves a detailed examination. He challenges the conventional understanding of terrorism and terrorist

organisations, proposing a nuanced perspective that acknowledges the complexity and multifaceted nature of these entities.

- Prof. Pedahzur argues against reducing complex organisations to the single tactic of terrorism. This is crucial as it recognizes that groups often labelled as "terrorist organisations" engage in a range of activities, some of which may be political, social, or even provide services to their communities. By viewing terrorism solely as a tactic, it becomes possible to understand these groups in a more comprehensive context, appreciating the full scope of their objectives and operations.
- He specifically mentions Hezbollah as an example. While Hezbollah has utilised terrorist tactics, it also functions as a guerrilla group, a political party, and a social service provider within Lebanon. This multifunctional nature is not unique to Hezbollah but is characteristic of many groups engaged in terrorism. Understanding these organisations' broader roles is essential for formulating effective responses to their terrorist activities.
- Prof. Pedahzur emphasises that the goal of terrorism is to create an atmosphere of fear and terror to influence policymakers and public opinion. This aspect is critical because it highlights the strategic intent behind terrorist acts – they are not merely expressions of violence but calculated actions designed to achieve specific political or ideological goals.
- The relationship between terrorists and the media is symbiotic. Terrorist acts are often designed to attract media attention, amplifying the impact of the violence far beyond its immediate physical effects. This media coverage plays into the terrorists' hands, helping them spread fear and panic on a much larger scale.
- The evolution of terrorist tactics, as observed by Prof. Pedahzur, points to the adaptability of these groups. From the initial use of suicide bombings by Shiite groups to their adoption by Sunni organizations like Hamas, there has been a clear transition and expansion in the methods employed by terrorist entities. This evolution underscores the need for ongoing research and adaptation in counter-terrorism strategies.

### **Implications of the Redefinition:**

- This redefinition has significant implications for policy and counter-terrorism strategy. It necessitates a departure from a one-size-fits-all approach towards more tailored strategies that consider the unique aspects of each group.
- Effective counter-terrorism requires understanding the various dimensions of these groups – social, political, military, and ideological. This understanding can lead to more targeted and effective measures that address not just the violent acts but also the underlying causes and support systems of these groups.
- Recognizing the multi-dimensional nature of terrorist groups may also open avenues for dialogue and engagement, especially with those facets of the groups engaged in political or social activities. This approach can be part of a broader strategy to weaken the appeal of the terrorist elements within these organisations.
- For researchers and analysts, this redefinition calls for a more nuanced and comprehensive study of terrorist groups. It encourages a move away from overly simplistic or monocausal explanations of terrorism towards more complex analyses that consider a variety of factors.

Professor Ami Pedahzur's call for redefining terrorism is a critical step in enhancing our understanding of and response to terrorist threats. It acknowledges the complexity of these organisations and the multifaceted nature of their activities, challenging the traditional perceptions and approaches to terrorism. This nuanced understanding is essential for developing more effective, holistic strategies to combat and mitigate the threat of terrorism.

### **Terrorism as a Tactic:**

The concept of "Terrorism as a Tactic," as highlighted by Professor Ami Pedahzur, is a critical perspective in understanding the dynamics of terrorism. This viewpoint challenges the conventional understanding of terrorism and terrorist organisations by focusing on the strategic use of terror rather than categorising groups based solely on this aspect of their operations.

- Terrorism is a strategic choice made by groups, regardless of their broader goals or ideologies. It's a tactic employed to achieve specific objectives, often political, ideological, or religious. By recognizing terrorism as a tactic, we acknowledge that groups might use it alongside other methods of warfare and influence.
- Terrorism aims to instil fear and uncertainty in a target population or government. This psychological impact is achieved by creating a disproportionate sense of danger relative to the actual physical threat, thereby amplifying the terror effect.
- The media plays a crucial role in the tactic of terrorism. Terrorist acts are designed to attract media attention, which amplifies the psychological impact far beyond the immediate victims. This symbiosis between terrorists and media coverage is integral to the success of terrorism as a tactic.

### **Differentiating Between Groups and Tactics:**

- Groups like Hezbollah or Hamas, which have engaged in terrorism, also function in other capacities such as political entities, social service providers, or guerrilla warfare units. Reducing these organisations to the label of "terrorist groups" oversimplifies their complex nature and diverse activities.
- These groups show adaptability in their tactics, switching between conventional military engagement, guerrilla warfare, and terrorism based on situational demands and strategic goals.

### **Tactical Evolution and Escalation:**

- Over time, the nature and form of terrorism have evolved. What began as hijackings or bombings has transformed into more visually shocking acts like beheadings, as seen with Daesh (ISIS). This evolution reflects changes in strategic objectives, target audiences, and desired psychological effects.
- Terrorist groups often escalate their tactics to maintain or regain media attention and public awareness. This escalation can lead to increasingly severe acts of violence, aiming to outdo previous attacks in shock value and impact.

### **Implications for Counter-Terrorism:**

- Understanding terrorism as a tactic necessitates tailored counter-terrorism strategies. Responses must be adaptable and varied, depending on the nature of the specific act and the broader objectives and capabilities of the group involved.
- Counter-terrorism strategies should also address the psychological impact of terrorism and the role of the media in amplifying this impact. This could involve media guidelines to avoid playing into the terrorists' hands and public education campaigns to build resilience against fear tactics.

Viewing terrorism as a tactic rather than a definitive characteristic of an organisation offers a more nuanced understanding of the landscape of political violence. It acknowledges the strategic use of fear and psychological impact as tools in a broader arsenal of methods employed by various groups. This perspective is crucial for developing effective and sophisticated responses to the ever-evolving threat of terrorism.

### **Evolution of Suicide Terrorism:**

The evolution of suicide terrorism, as discussed by Professor Ami Pedahzur, is a complex and multifaceted phenomenon that has undergone significant changes over the decades. This evolution reflects shifts in the tactical choices of terrorist organisations, influenced by cultural, religious, ideological, and strategic factors.

### **Early Instances and Association with Shiite Groups:**

- Suicide terrorism gained prominence in the 1980s, particularly in Lebanon. This period saw the Iranian Revolutionary Guards and Hezbollah employing suicide attacks as a key strategy.
- Initially, this form of terrorism was strongly associated with Shiite Islam. The perception was that such attacks were primarily driven by religious and cultural factors inherent to Shiite extremism.
- These early attacks often targeted military and symbolic structures, aiming to cause maximum disruption and draw international attention to the cause of the perpetrators, often related to conflicts in the Middle East.

### **Transition to Sunni Groups and Broader Adoption:**

- In the 1990s, there was a noticeable shift with Sunni groups like Hamas adopting suicide terrorism. This marked a significant change, challenging the earlier belief that suicide terrorism was confined to Shiite groups.
- Suicide terrorism began to be employed in a wider range of contexts, not limited to the Middle East. It became a tactic used by various Islamist groups in different parts of the world, including Al-Qaeda.

### **The 9/11 Attacks and Global Impact:**

- The 9/11 attacks in 2001 represented a pivotal moment in the history of suicide terrorism. The scale, complexity, and impact of these attacks brought suicide terrorism to the forefront of global consciousness.

- These attacks led to a reevaluation of the motivations and strategies behind suicide terrorism. It was no longer seen as a tactic limited to regional conflicts but as a tool in a broader global jihad.

### **Evolution of Tactics and Ideology:**

- The emergence of groups like Daesh (ISIS) marked another evolution in suicide terrorism. They not only used suicide attacks but also incorporated beheadings and other forms of brutality, broadcasted through sophisticated media strategies.
- While religious and cultural factors remain significant, the evolution of suicide terrorism shows a complex interplay of ideology, psychology, and organizational strategy. The notion that such acts are purely driven by religious fanaticism has been challenged, with more emphasis on understanding the diverse motivations behind them.

### **Organisational and Strategic Dimensions:**

- Suicide terrorism transformed from individual acts of martyrdom into well-organized campaigns, integrated into the broader strategic objectives of terrorist organizations.
- Over time, the targets of suicide terrorism have diversified, ranging from military and governmental structures to civilian spaces, aiming to create an atmosphere of pervasive fear and disrupt societies.

The evolution of suicide terrorism is indicative of the adaptive nature of terrorist organizations. It reflects their ability to modify tactics in response to changing geopolitical landscapes, technological advancements, and shifts in global attention. Understanding this evolution is crucial for developing effective counter-terrorism strategies, as it underscores the need for a dynamic and multi-faceted approach to addressing what has become a global and continually evolving threat.

### **Impact of 9/11 and Research Challenges:**

The impact of the 9/11 attacks on terrorism research and the subsequent challenges faced by the academic community are multifaceted and profound, as highlighted by Professor Ami Pedahzur.

### **Profound Impact on Research Funding and Focus:**

The 9/11 attacks marked a seismic shift in how terrorism was viewed globally, especially in the United States. This event led to a significant increase in funding for terrorism research, reflecting a growing urgency and priority given to understanding and combating terrorism. Governments, academic institutions, and other funding bodies redirected resources towards studies that could shed light on the causes, nature, and prevention of terrorist acts, particularly those similar in scale and impact to 9/11.

### **Influx of Scholars and Diversification of Research:**

This surge in funding and interest in terrorism studies attracted a large number of scholars from various disciplines. Researchers from fields like political science, sociology, psychology, history, and even economics began to focus their attention on terrorism. This diversification had the potential to enrich the field by bringing in a variety of perspectives and methodologies. However, as Prof. Pedahzur points out, this influx also led to some challenges.

### **Challenges in Terrorism Research Post- 9/11:**

- With many new entrants to the field, there was a concern about the depth and quality of research being conducted. Not all researchers had a background or deep understanding of terrorism, which sometimes led to superficial or misguided analyses.
- The focus of research heavily leaned towards Islamic extremism and suicide terrorism post-9/11. While these are crucial aspects of modern terrorism, this emphasis sometimes overshadowed other forms of terrorism and neglected broader, more holistic understandings of terrorist motivations and tactics.
- There was a tendency for the research to align with political narratives, particularly those that were dominant in the U.S. and its allies. This alignment often influenced the direction and conclusions of research, potentially leading to biased or incomplete understandings of terrorism.
- Prof. Pedahzur criticises the tendency towards monocausal explanations for terrorism that emerged in the post-9/11 research landscape. These explanations often sought to find a single variable, such as religion or socio-economic status, as the root cause of terrorism, oversimplifying a complex and multi-dimensional phenomenon.
- Prof. Pedahzur notes a decline in fieldwork and regional expertise in terrorism studies. With the increase in funding, much research was conducted from a distance, relying on secondary sources or theoretical frameworks that did not always accurately reflect the on-the-ground realities.
- The reliability and interpretation of data in terrorism studies became a significant challenge. Researchers often relied on publicly available data or media reports, which could be incomplete or biased. The lack of direct access to primary sources or subjects of study (terrorists, their networks, and their environments) further complicated the data challenge.

While the 9/11 attacks undeniably brought terrorism studies to the forefront of academic and policy-making circles, they also introduced several challenges that continue to impact the field. The need for deep, nuanced, and empirically grounded research in terrorism studies is critical, especially in understanding the evolving nature of terrorism in the 21st century. Addressing these challenges requires a concerted effort to encourage fieldwork, regional specialisation, and a multi-disciplinary approach that avoids oversimplification and acknowledges the complexity of terrorist motivations and tactics.

### **Critique of Monocausal Explanations:**

Prof. Pedahzur's critique of monocausal explanations in terrorism research is a significant point that merits further elaboration. Monocausal explanations refer to theories that attribute the occurrence of a complex phenomenon like terrorism to a single cause or factor. Prof. Pedahzur challenges this approach, underscoring its limitations in adequately understanding and addressing the multifaceted reality of terrorism.

### **The Limitations of Monocausal Explanations:**

- Terrorism is a complex social and political phenomenon that arises from a confluence of various factors. By attributing it to a single cause, such as religion, culture, or economic conditions, monocausal theories oversimplify this complexity. This simplification can lead to misunderstandings about the motivations and objectives of terrorist groups, potentially leading to ineffective or counterproductive policy responses.
- Terrorist organisations and individuals often have multiple motivations and drivers, which can include ideological, political, psychological, and socio-economic factors. Monocausal explanations fail to capture this diversity of motivations, leading to a narrow understanding of why individuals or groups engage in terrorism.
- Terrorist organisations are not monolithic entities; they have internal dynamics, strategic goals, and tactical considerations that evolve over time. Monocausal theories tend to overlook these organisational complexities, including how these groups adapt to changing circumstances and the diversity of tactics they employ.
- Policymaking based on monocausal explanations can lead to strategies that address only one aspect of terrorism while neglecting others. This can result in policies that are ineffective or, worse, exacerbate the conditions that contribute to terrorism. For instance, focusing solely on religious radicalization without addressing political grievances or socio-economic disparities can fail to address the root causes of terrorism.

### **The Need for Multifaceted Approaches:**

- Understanding terrorism requires a multifaceted approach that considers various factors, including ideological, cultural, economic, and political dimensions. This approach allows for a more comprehensive analysis that can identify the root causes and contributing factors to terrorism.
- Prof. Pedahzur's critique implies a need for diverse research methodologies, including qualitative and quantitative analyses, case studies, and field research. This diversity allows for a more nuanced understanding of terrorism and can lead to more effective counter-terrorism strategies.
- Policies to counter terrorism should be dynamic and adaptable, reflecting the complex nature of the threat. This involves not just security and military responses but also diplomatic, social, and economic strategies that address the underlying causes of terrorism.
- Addressing the multifaceted nature of terrorism requires collaboration across disciplines, including political science, sociology, psychology, economics, and religious studies. This interdisciplinary approach can provide a more holistic understanding and effective responses.

Prof. Pedahzur's critique of monocausal explanations highlights the necessity of a more nuanced and comprehensive approach to understanding terrorism. This approach recognizes the complexity of the phenomenon and the variety of factors that contribute to it, leading to more informed and effective policy responses. Addressing terrorism effectively requires moving beyond simplistic explanations and embracing the multifaceted reality of this global challenge.



### **Redefinition of Terrorism:**

Prof. Pedahzur's commentary on the role of beheadings in the redefinition of terrorism is a crucial aspect of understanding the evolving nature of terrorist tactics in the modern era. This transformation in the method of terror reflects a significant shift in the strategic and psychological objectives of terrorist organisations.

### **Strategic Shift in Terrorism:**

- The use of beheadings by terrorist groups, particularly Daesh (ISIS), marked a significant shift in the psychological warfare aspect of terrorism. These acts, often performed publicly and recorded for widespread dissemination, were intended to create a profound sense of fear and horror, not just locally but globally. The graphic nature of these acts, broadcasted via social media and other platforms, ensured that the terror transcended geographical boundaries, reaching a global audience.
- The relationship between the media and terrorist activities is further intensified with beheadings. Terrorist groups are acutely aware of the media's role in amplifying their message of fear. By producing high-quality, dramatic videos of these acts, they guarantee extensive media coverage, thus manipulating global media to serve their purposes.

### **Beheadings and Redefinition of Terrorism:**

- Prior to the widespread use of beheadings, terrorism was often associated with bombings, shootings, and hijackings. The introduction of beheadings as a tactic brought a mediaeval form of punishment into the contemporary arena of terror, challenging previous perceptions and understanding of terrorist methods.
- While initially associated with Islamic extremism, the act of beheading itself doesn't stem from any specific religious directive. Its adoption by terrorist groups like ISIS led to widespread misconceptions and generalisations about certain cultures and religions. This phenomenon highlights the necessity of differentiating between the actions of extremist groups and the beliefs of broader religious or cultural communities.

### **Implications for Counterterrorism Strategies:**

- The adoption of beheadings by terrorist groups necessitates a reevaluation of counterterrorism strategies. Traditional approaches might not be effective against a form of terrorism that seeks to exploit the shock value and media coverage of such brutal acts.
- The use of social media and the internet in propagating these acts of terror represents a significant challenge. Counterterrorism efforts must now consider how to combat the spread of such material online, balancing the need to inform the public and the risk of unwittingly amplifying the terrorists' message.

The use of beheadings by terrorist groups like Daesh has redefined the landscape of terrorism, emphasising the role of psychological terror and the strategic use of media. This shift has significant implications for how terrorism is perceived, understood, and countered. It underscores the evolving

nature of terrorist tactics and the need for adaptive, nuanced, and technologically aware counterterrorism strategies.

### **Escalation of Terrorist Tactics:**

The concept of the escalation of terrorist tactics, as discussed by Prof. Pedahzur, is a critical aspect of understanding modern terrorism. This escalation is not just a linear increase in the scale or frequency of attacks but involves a complex evolution in the methods, targets, and intended impacts of terrorist activities. Nature of Escalation in Terrorism

- Terrorist groups are continually innovating in their methods of attack. This innovation is driven by the desire to maximise impact, avoid detection, and adapt to counter-terrorism measures. For example, the shift from conventional bombings to suicide attacks, and then to more barbaric methods like beheadings, represents an escalation in the tactics employed by terrorist organizations.
- A key goal of terrorism is to instil fear and uncertainty. As traditional tactics become more familiar to the public and possibly less shocking, terrorist groups escalate their brutality to maintain a climate of fear. This escalation isn't merely about causing physical harm; it's about capturing media attention and creating a sense of vulnerability and terror among larger populations.
- The relationship between media and terrorism is symbiotic. Terrorist groups use media as a tool to amplify the impact of their actions, reaching far beyond the immediate physical damage of their attacks. As the media evolves, so do terrorist tactics in order to exploit new platforms and technologies for broader dissemination and impact.
- The transition from bombings, which may have become 'normalised' in the public consciousness, to the shockingly graphic beheadings by groups like ISIS, is a stark example of escalation. Beheadings, often filmed and distributed online, were intended to shock and appal global audiences, garnering extensive media coverage.
- The rise of social media has given terrorist groups new platforms for propaganda and recruitment. ISIS, for instance, notoriously used social media for broadcasting their beheadings and other brutal acts, leveraging these platforms to create a heightened sense of fear and to attract new recruits.

### **Implications of Escalation:**

- Escalating terrorist tactics present significant challenges for counter-terrorism efforts. As methods become more barbaric and unpredictable, security agencies must adapt their strategies and technologies to anticipate and prevent such attacks.
- The escalation in terrorist tactics can lead to increased public fear and anxiety. This heightened fear can have broader social and political implications, influencing public opinion and policy-making.
- The dynamic nature of terrorist tactics necessitates international cooperation in intelligence sharing, law enforcement, and strategic planning. No single nation can effectively combat the evolving threat of terrorism in isolation.

The escalation of terrorist tactics reflects the dynamic and adaptive nature of modern terrorist organisations. This escalation is characterised by innovations in methods, increased psychological impact, and exploitation of media for broader dissemination. Understanding this escalation is crucial for developing effective counter-terrorism strategies and requires a coordinated, international response. As terrorist groups continue to adapt and escalate their methods, so must the strategies employed to counteract them.

### **Cultural and Organisational Foundations:**

The discussion on the Cultural and Organisational Foundations of terrorism, as highlighted by Prof. Pedahzur, delves into the intricate and often overlooked aspects of how terrorist organisations operate and evolve. This area of study is crucial for understanding the motivations behind terrorist acts, especially in the context of suicide missions and other extreme forms of terrorism.

### **Cultural Foundations of Terrorism:**

- At the core of terrorist organisations often lies a set of ideological or religious beliefs. These beliefs provide a framework that justifies the use of violence for achieving specific goals. For instance, jihadist groups may use interpretations of religious texts to rationalise acts of terror.
- Cultural influences play a significant role in shaping the mindset of individuals within terrorist organisations. In some societies or communities, long standing conflicts and grievances may create a cultural environment where violence is seen as a legitimate means of expression or resistance.
- Terrorist groups often exploit cultural narratives to build a sense of identity and purpose among their members. These narratives, which may be based on perceived historical injustices or cultural suppression, help to galvanise members and create a sense of solidarity in pursuit of a common cause.

### **Organisational Foundations of Terrorism:**

- Terrorist organisations often have complex structures that facilitate their operations. This includes hierarchical systems for decision-making, networks for communication, and cells for carrying out attacks. Understanding these structures is key to comprehending how these groups plan and execute their strategies.
- Terrorist organisations are not static, they continuously adapt and evolve in response to external pressures and internal dynamics. This includes adopting new tactics, entering alliances, or even changing ideological stances to suit their strategic objectives.
- Within terrorist organisations, there is often a deliberate cultivation of extremist ideology. This can involve indoctrination processes where members are systematically exposed to propaganda and narratives that reinforce the group's ideological stance and justify its actions.
- Prof. Pedahzur specifically points out that the use of extreme tactics like suicide missions is more a product of organizational culture rather than an inherent feature of the group's ideology or cultural background. This culture is developed over time, where the organisation creates an environment that normalises and even glorifies such acts of sacrifice.

### **Intersection of Cultural and Organisational Dynamics:**

The interplay between cultural and organisational factors is critical in understanding terrorism. Organisational culture often reflects broader cultural elements, but it can also diverge or evolve independently. For instance, while a terrorist group might originate in a particular cultural or religious context, its organisational dynamics could lead it to adopt tactics or ideologies that are not widely accepted or recognized in the broader culture. Understanding the cultural and organisational foundations of terrorism is vital for developing effective counterterrorism strategies. This requires a nuanced approach that goes beyond military and security measures to include efforts to undermine the cultural and ideological underpinnings of these groups. Strategies might include countering extremist narratives, supporting moderate voices within relevant communities, and addressing the underlying socio-economic and political grievances that terrorist groups exploit. The cultural and organisational foundations of terrorism are deeply intertwined and play a critical role in shaping the behaviour and evolution of terrorist groups. A comprehensive understanding of these foundations is essential for developing effective and sustainable approaches to combating terrorism globally.

### **Understanding Terrorism through Empathy:**

Prof. Pedahzur's call for understanding terrorism through empathy is a significant and nuanced perspective in the study of terrorism. It's important to clarify that this approach does not imply sympathising with the terrorists or condoning their actions. Rather, it's about adopting a more comprehensive and in-depth understanding of the factors driving individuals and groups towards terrorism.

### **Empathy in Understanding Terrorism:**

- Empathy in this context refers to the ability to understand and share the feelings of another, while sympathy involves feelings of pity and sorrow for someone else's misfortune. Prof. Pedahzur emphasises empathy over sympathy, indicating a need for analytical understanding rather than emotional responses.
- Empathy involves putting oneself in the shoes of terrorists to understand their motivations, grievances, and rationale. This approach can provide insights into the reasons individuals join terrorist groups, the allure of extremist ideologies, and the socio-political conditions that foster terrorism.
- Empathy requires a deep understanding of the cultural, historical, and socio-economic contexts from which terrorism emerges. This understanding can unravel the complexities behind terrorist acts, going beyond surface-level explanations.

### **Importance of Empathetic Approach:**

- Terrorism is often portrayed in simplistic terms, such as evil acts by irrational actors. An empathetic approach challenges these narratives, uncovering the multi-layered realities that drive individuals towards such extreme actions.
- By understanding the root causes and motivations for terrorism, policymakers can develop more effective counterterrorism strategies. These strategies could involve addressing underlying issues such as political disenfranchisement, economic hardships, or ideological indoctrination.

- Empathy can play a role in preventing radicalization. Understanding the pathways to radicalization can help in developing programs that counter extremist narratives and offer alternatives to vulnerable populations.

### **Challenges in Adopting an Empathetic Approach:**

- While an empathetic approach can provide deeper insights, it must be balanced with the immediate need to protect citizens and maintain security. This balance is crucial to ensure that empathy does not lead to leniency towards dangerous elements.
- There is a risk that an empathetic approach could be misinterpreted as justification or minimization of terrorist acts. It's essential to maintain a clear distinction between understanding motivations and condoning actions.
- Adopting an empathetic approach requires a multi-disciplinary effort, involving expertise in psychology, sociology, political science, and regional studies. It demands significant resources and commitment from researchers and policymakers.

Prof. Pedahzur's advocacy for understanding terrorism through empathy is a call for a more sophisticated and holistic approach to studying and addressing terrorism. This approach can lead to a deeper understanding of the phenomenon, paving the way for more effective and comprehensive strategies to prevent and counteract terrorism. However, this approach must be carefully implemented, ensuring that the pursuit of understanding does not compromise the imperative of ensuring safety and security.

### **Concluding Remarks:**

In his profound analysis of terrorism and its evolution, especially in the context of suicide terrorism, Prof. Pedahzur draws several critical conclusions that have deep implications for understanding and countering terrorism globally.

- Prof. Pedahzur's insights compel us to recognize terrorism as a multifaceted phenomenon that cannot be encapsulated by a single dimension such as religion, culture, or political ideology. This complexity necessitates a nuanced understanding of terrorist groups, their motivations, and the socio-political contexts in which they operate.
- By emphasising terrorism as a tactic rather than the sole characteristic of an organisation, Prof. Pedahzur challenges the simplistic labelling of groups as purely 'terrorist'. This perspective is essential for analysing the strategic objectives and operational dynamics of groups like Hezbollah, which engage in terrorism alongside other forms of political and military activities.
- The influx of scholars from various disciplines after the 9/11 attacks, while enriching the field, also led to a proliferation of theories and explanations that Prof. Pedahzur argues may have obscured more than clarified our understanding of terrorism. This critique highlights the need for rigorous, contextually grounded research in terrorism studies.
- Prof. Pedahzur's scepticism towards monocausal explanations for terrorism underscores the importance of avoiding oversimplification. He advocates for a holistic approach that considers the array of economic, social, political, and psychological factors that contribute to terrorism.

- One of Prof. Pedahzur's most significant conclusions is the call for an empathetic approach to studying terrorism. This involves striving to understand the worldviews and motivations of terrorist actors without necessarily sympathising with their actions. Such an approach could provide deeper insights into the causes and mechanisms of terrorism.
- Prof. Pedahzur stresses the importance of fieldwork, language proficiency, and regional expertise in terrorism studies. He argues for inductive research that builds understanding from the ground up, as opposed to deductive approaches that might impose preconceived theories onto diverse and complex realities.
- The evolving nature of terrorism, as highlighted by Prof. Pedahzur, suggests that traditional counterterrorism strategies may be insufficient. Responses need to be as dynamic and adaptable as the tactics of terrorist groups.
- Understanding the nuanced nature of terrorism is crucial for policymakers. It calls for international cooperation that transcends simplistic narratives and engages with the complex realities of regions plagued by terrorism.
- Prof. Pedahzur's analysis offers a critical, comprehensive framework for understanding terrorism in the modern era. His emphasis on a nuanced, empathetic, and multi-dimensional approach to studying and countering terrorism challenges existing paradigms and paves the way for more effective and contextually relevant strategies. This approach is vital for addressing the ever-evolving and escalating nature of terrorism, ensuring that responses are not only reactive but also proactive in addressing the root causes and diverse manifestations of this global threat.

**Key Focus on:**

**1. Redefining Terrorism within Legal Frameworks:**

- a. Revise the legal definition of terrorism in India to encompass its multifunctional nature. This means recognizing that groups engaged in terrorism may also participate in political, social, or community activities.
- b. Such redefinition should facilitate nuanced legal and policy approaches that can differentiate between various facets of these organisations, enabling more targeted counter-terrorism measures.
- c.

**2. Empirical Research and Regional Expertise:**

- a. Invest in empirical research on terrorism, focusing on ground realities in regions vulnerable to terrorist activities within India. This includes areas affected by Naxalism, insurgency in the Northeast, and regions facing radical Islamist threats.
- b. Develop specialised research units within think tanks and universities that focus on regional languages, cultures, and socio-political dynamics to gain deeper insights into the root causes of terrorism.

**3. Multi-Agency Coordination:**

- a. Enhance coordination among intelligence agencies, the military, and law enforcement to address the complexity of terrorist organisations. This includes sharing intelligence on not just violent activities but also on political and social operations of these groups.
- b. Establish a national-level coordination centre that can synthesise intelligence from various sources for comprehensive threat assessments.

**4. Community Engagement and Counter-Radicalization:**

- a. Implement community engagement programs, especially in regions with significant youth populations vulnerable to radicalization. These programs should focus on countering extremist narratives with positive community development initiatives.
- b. Collaborate with community leaders, educators, and local NGOs to develop de-radicalization programs that address the local socio-economic and cultural factors contributing to radicalization.

**5. Counter-Propaganda Strategies:**

- a. Develop sophisticated counter-propaganda strategies, particularly in the digital domain, to combat the spread of terrorist ideologies online. This includes partnering with social media platforms and employing advanced AI tools for monitoring extremist content.
- b. Launch government-backed information campaigns that provide alternative narratives and factual counterpoints to terrorist propaganda, particularly targeting younger demographics.

**6. International Cooperation and Policy Alignment:**

- a. Strengthen international partnerships, particularly with neighbouring countries, for intelligence sharing and joint operations against cross-border terrorist threats.
- b. Align India's counter-terrorism policies with global standards and practices while maintaining the country's unique socio-political context.

**7. Strengthening Cybersecurity Capabilities:**

- a. Bolster India's cybersecurity infrastructure to prevent and respond to cyber threats associated with terrorism. This includes protecting critical national infrastructure and countering online radicalization efforts.
- b. Train law enforcement and intelligence personnel in cyber-forensics and online monitoring to effectively track and counter digital terrorist activities.

**8. Economic and Social Development Initiatives:**

- a. Address underlying economic and social disparities that may contribute to terrorism. Focus on development initiatives in impoverished and marginalised regions to reduce the appeal of terrorist groups.
- b. Prioritise education, employment opportunities, and infrastructure development in these areas to create sustainable alternatives to terrorist recruitment.

**9. Legislative and Judicial Reforms:**

- a. Enhance the judicial process for terrorism-related cases to ensure swift and fair trials, reducing the scope for propaganda by terrorist groups alleging victimisation.



## **Session 3: Jihad in West Asia and its Global Ramifications**

### **A. Session Chair: Dr John M Nomikos**

Dr. John M Nomikos began by highlighting the need of discussing global Jihad. He conveyed his pleasure of chairing the session on such a timely topic in India. He also pointed out that a similar theme workshop took place a few days prior to this event in Italy, where organised crimes and radicalization were discussed. Therefore such global discussions on the transnational security threat of Jihadism is timely.

### **B) Understanding Muslim Brotherhood- Cynthia Farahat**

Ms Cynthia Farahat's remarks on the Muslim Brotherhood (MB) present a detailed and critical perspective on the organisation, emphasising its alleged connections to modern Islamic terrorism, its historical roots, and its operational strategies.

#### **Incubator of Modern Islamic Terrorism:**

The concept of the Muslim Brotherhood (MB) as an "Incubator of Modern Islamic Terrorism," as posited by Ms Cynthia Farahat and others, suggests that the MB has played a crucial role in the development and spread of extremist Islamic ideologies that have influenced various terrorist organisations.

- The Muslim Brotherhood was founded in Egypt in 1928 by Hassan al-Banna. Initially, it was established as a social and religious organisation advocating for a return to original Islamic values and law, responding to the perceived moral decline in Muslim societies due to Western influence.
- The MB's ideology combines Islamic religious teachings with political activism. It advocates for the establishment of states governed by Islamic law (Sharia). This ideology has been influential in the formation of various Islamic movements.
- Certain segments within the MB have adopted more radical interpretations of Islam. These radical elements believe in the use of violence to achieve political goals, which is a key characteristic of Islamic terrorism.
- Some terrorist leaders and members, including figures in Al-Qaeda and ISIS, have been linked to the MB. These individuals often share the ideological principles of establishing an Islamic state, though their methods are more violent and extreme.
- The MB officially denounces terrorism and violent extremism. The organisation presents itself as committed to peaceful political activism.

The concept of "Historical Modeling" as discussed by Ms Cynthia Farahat in her critique of the Muslim Brotherhood (MB) refers to the idea that the MB has modelled its structure and ideology on

historical extremist groups. Specifically, she draws a parallel between the MB and the Hashishin (or Assassins), a group from the 11th and 12th centuries. This comparison is rooted in the perception of shared characteristics such as secrecy, militancy, and a commitment to an ideological cause.

#### **Background of the Hashishin (Assassins):**

- The Hashishin were a secretive Islamic sect during the 11th and 12th centuries, known for their political assassinations. They were part of the Nizari Ismaili sect of Shia Islam and were centred in Persia and Syria.
- The Hashishin operated covertly, often targeting political and religious figures. They were known for their strategic planning and for carrying out high-profile assassinations in public places, which was part of their psychological warfare strategy.
- Members were deeply committed to their cause and were known for their willingness to sacrifice their lives for it. This level of commitment was integral to their operations and the fear they instilled in their adversaries.

#### **Alleged Modelling of the Muslim Brotherhood:**

- She suggests that the MB, like the Hashishin, operates with a high degree of secrecy, especially within its alleged "Secret Apparatus." This clandestine nature is said to be a core part of its strategy and identity.
- The MB is accused of harbouring and promoting jihadist ideologies, similar to the religiously motivated extremism of the Hashishin. This jihadism is allegedly manifested in violent actions and radical interpretations of Islamic teachings.
- The comparison implies that the MB, akin to the Hashishin, employs strategic and calculated methods in pursuit of its goals. This includes political assassinations, as claimed by Ms Farahat, and other forms of violence.
- Just as the Hashishin were feared and respected for their ability to influence political outcomes through targeted assassinations, the MB is portrayed as wielding significant clandestine influence within various countries and political systems.

#### **Dual Structure:**

Ms Cynthia Farahat's analysis about the Muslim Brotherhood's (MB) "Dual Structure" is a critical aspect of her analysis. This concept suggests that the organisation operates through two distinct but interconnected components: the General Bureau (or general apparatus) and the Secret Apparatus.

#### **General Bureau (General Apparatus):**

- The General Bureau is typically portrayed as the more visible and publicly engaged part of the MB.
- This wing often serves to legitimise the MB's presence in various societies by participating in elections, social services, and community activities, aiming to integrate the organisation within the social and political fabric of countries where it operates.
- She mentions that this is a tactical facade, masking more radical objectives.

### **Secret Apparatus:**

- The Secret Apparatus is alleged to be the clandestine and more radical wing of the MB. It is said to oversee covert operations, strategic planning, and the implementation of the organisation's long-term objectives.
- This branch is believed to be responsible for the ideological indoctrination of members, potentially including training in militant and jihadist tactics.
- Ms Farahat suggests that this apparatus has connections with extremist groups and activities. This includes ties with terrorist organisations, and involvement in planning and executing violent acts.
- An essential feature of the Secret Apparatus is its use of stealth and deception. Members are said to operate clandestinely, often concealing their affiliations, even from close family members.
- Before members start establishing jihadist groups or engaging in extremist activities, they are instructed to sever apparent ties with the MB to maintain the organisation's public facade of moderation.

The connections between the Muslim Brotherhood (MB) and other jihadist groups, as described by Ms Cynthia Farahat, point to a complex network of ideological and operational ties in the realm of Islamic movements and organisations.

- She identifies Hamas as the Palestinian wing of the Muslim Brotherhood. Indeed, Hamas emerged in 1987 during the First Intifada as an offshoot of the MB. Its 1988 Charter explicitly references the MB, and its ideological roots are deeply intertwined with the MB's doctrine. The relationship between Hamas and the MB is foundational, with Hamas drawing on the MB's broader ideological framework, particularly regarding Palestinian nationalism and Islamic identity.
- The link between Al-Qaeda and the MB is more complex. Osama Bin Laden and Abdullah Azzam, key figures in Al-Qaeda, had associations with the MB. Bin Laden was reportedly influenced by MB ideologies during his education in Saudi Arabia, and Azzam was a member of the MB in Jordan. Their involvement with the MB laid some of the ideological groundwork for Al-Qaeda's formation, particularly the emphasis on jihad. Islamic State (ISIS/ISIL): the leader of ISIS was a member of the MB suggests an ideological lineage. Abu Musab al-Zarqawi, a key figure in the formation of ISIS, had links to the MB.
- According to Ms Farahat, before establishing jihadist groups, members are required to sever apparent ties with the MB and maintain clandestine affiliations. This claim suggests a strategic approach by the MB to distance itself from direct violence while potentially influencing extremist groups.
- The MB's ideological influence on various Islamist groups cannot be understated. The organisation has been a significant proponent of political Islam in the 20th century, influencing various movements with its blend of Islamic theology and activism. This ideological framework has been adapted by different groups to suit local contexts and objectives.

### **Strategic Operations:**

The concept of strategic operations as described in Cynthia Farahat's remarks on the Muslim Brotherhood (MB) involves a dual approach: armed jihad and infiltration.

#### **Armed Jihad:**

- Armed jihad, in the context of her remarks, refers to the physical, militant struggle in the name of Islam. Historically, jihad has been interpreted in various ways, ranging from a personal spiritual struggle to a physical struggle against enemies of Islam.
- She suggests that the MB engages in or supports armed jihad as a means to achieve its goals. This implies direct involvement in or support for militant activities, possibly including terrorism and guerilla warfare.

#### **Infiltration:**

- Infiltration, as described by her, involves the MB embedding its members within various societal structures – including government, academia, intelligence services, and other influential sectors – to exert influence and advance the group's agenda.
- This may involve members concealing their MB affiliation while gaining positions of influence. The strategy likely includes leveraging these positions to shape policies, public opinion, and even intelligence narratives in favour of the MB's goals.
- The infiltration strategy is presumably aimed at creating a conducive environment for the MB's broader objectives, which may include the implementation of Sharia law, influencing foreign policy decisions, and gaining political power.

#### **Operational Complexity:**

- Her remarks point to a high level of secrecy and deception in MB's operations, making it challenging for external observers to accurately assess the extent and impact of their activities.
- The alleged existence of a secret apparatus within the MB, responsible for overseeing these strategic operations, adds to the group's operational complexity and opacity.

#### **Challenges in Counterterrorism and Intelligence:**

- The dual strategy of visible armed jihad and covert infiltration poses significant challenges for counterterrorism efforts. Infiltration, in particular, can be hard to detect and counteract, especially when it involves penetrating sensitive sectors like intelligence agencies.
- The MB's international reach and influence across different countries and regions make it a subject of global concern in counterterrorism and foreign policy circles.

#### **Ideological Claims:**

- She points out a significant discrepancy between the MB's rhetoric in Arabic and in Western languages. In Arabic, she claims they use aggressive and violent language, referring to themselves as an "industry of death" and issuing threats of slaughter. This contrasts sharply with their more moderate and democratic language in Western contexts. This dual language

strategy is presented as a deliberate attempt to mask their true intentions and to manipulate different audiences.

- She mentions the term "civilization Jihad," which is critical in understanding the MB's ideology. This concept, as she describes it, is not about outright violent confrontation but rather a form of cultural or ideological warfare. The aim, according to this view, is to gradually undermine and replace Western cultural and democratic norms with the group's interpretation of Islamic principles. This strategy is alleged to be more insidious and harder to detect than direct militant actions.
- The MB is accused of using religious terminology and Islamic doctrine to justify its actions and strategies. This includes reinterpreting common terms like "freedom" and "justice" within an Islamic context, potentially as a means to gain wider support among Muslim communities while concurrently advancing their political agenda.
- She interprets such phrases, allegedly used by the MB, as a declaration of their commitment to martyrdom and sacrifice in the name of their cause. This interpretation suggests a glorification of death and a willingness to engage in acts of violence as a means of achieving their objectives.
- The MB is described as using infiltration tactics to embed its members within various sectors – including government, academia, and media – to influence policy and public opinion from within. This approach is viewed as a method to subvert societies from the inside, aligning with their long-term strategic goals.
- The MB harbours genocidal intentions towards not only non-Muslims but also Muslims who deviate from their strict interpretation of Sharia law.
- The claimed disparity in the MB's public and private narratives is a central theme in her argument. This discrepancy is used to suggest that the MB is not transparent or consistent in its ideology and objectives, making it difficult for outsiders to understand their true nature and goals.
- She also touches on the MB's efforts to unify different Islamic sects under their ideological banner, indicating an ambition that goes beyond national boundaries to encompass a global Islamic movement.

### **Influence on Intelligence Narratives:**

- She suggests that the MB has successfully shaped the narrative around its activities and intentions, particularly in the West. This involves presenting a more benign and politically moderate face to Western audiences, contrasting with their rhetoric and actions in the Middle East and North African regions.
- The differentiation in the MB's communication, depending on the audience, is a central point. In Arabic, their language might reflect more radical and militant ideologies, while in English or other Western languages, they adopt a more moderate and democratic lexicon. This dichotomy can lead to misunderstandings about the group's true nature and goals.
- Western intelligence agencies might misinterpret or underestimate the MB's motives and capabilities if they rely solely on the group's public, more moderate statements. Ms Farahat implies that this misinterpretation could result in a failure to recognize or appropriately respond to the potential threats posed by the MB and its affiliates.

- Part of the MB's alleged strategy includes infiltrating political, academic, and social institutions in the West to influence policy and public opinion. This could potentially lead to intelligence blind spots, where the MB's influence is not fully recognized or is misunderstood.
- If Western intelligence agencies and policymakers are influenced by the MB's narrative, it might affect foreign policy and security decisions. This includes how governments interact with the MB, handle Islamist extremism, and approach counterterrorism strategies.
- There's often a stark contrast in how the MB is perceived in the West versus in the Middle East and North Africa. In many countries in these regions, the MB is seen as a more radical and dangerous entity, which contrasts with the often more nuanced view in Western countries.
- Accurately assessing the MB requires intelligence agencies to navigate propaganda, disinformation, and complex political narratives. This necessitates a deep understanding of the cultural, religious, and political contexts within which the MB operates.

### **Sunni-Shia Coalition Efforts:**

#### **Historical Context:**

Historically, the Sunni and Shia branches of Islam have had theological, political, and cultural differences dating back to the early years of Islam. This divide has been a source of conflict and competition for leadership within the Muslim world.

The Muslim Brotherhood, founded in Egypt in 1928 by Hassan al-Banna, is primarily a Sunni organisation. Its initial focus was more on social and educational reform within a Sunni context, but it gradually expanded its political and ideological reach.

#### **MB's Alleged Coalition Efforts:**

- She claims that the MB has made efforts to bridge the Sunni-Shia divide, which historically has been a significant challenge in the Islamic world. Such efforts would be aimed at unifying Muslim groups under a broader Islamist agenda.
- the establishment of this entity in 1947 as a platform for bringing together Islamists from different sects. This initiative indicates an attempt to find common ground among various Islamic factions.
- The alleged Sunni-Shia coalition efforts by the MB could be driven by strategic motives. By creating a united front, the MB might aim to strengthen its influence and counter common adversaries, both within the Muslim world and internationally.

### **Influence of Nazi and Soviet Tactics:**

#### **Historical Context of Nazi and Soviet Tactics:**

- The Nazis are known for their propaganda, hierarchical organisational structure, and use of violence for political ends. Their ideology was marked by extreme nationalism, anti-Semitism, and the suppression of dissent.

- The Soviet regime under Stalin was characterised by central control, the use of secret police, extensive surveillance, propaganda, and the suppression of political opposition. They employed tactics like disinformation, infiltration of enemy groups, and control of public narrative.

#### **MB Adoption of Nazi Tactics:**

- Ms Farahat suggests that the MB might emulate Nazi propaganda techniques to spread its ideology. This could involve the use of mass media, education, and public demonstrations to influence public opinion and recruit members.
- The hierarchical and disciplined structure of the Nazi party, which ensured loyalty and efficiency, might be mirrored in the MB's organisational setup.
- The MB has been accused of promoting anti-Semitic ideologies, a core component of Nazi belief. This is often evidenced through rhetoric and publications by MB members or sympathisers.

#### **Alleged MB Adoption of Soviet Tactics:**

- The MB's secret apparatus could be likened to the Soviet use of secret police and intelligence agencies (like the KGB) to maintain control and suppress dissent.
- Similar to Soviet tactics of infiltrating and subverting enemy organisations, the MB is accused of infiltrating various sectors of society to advance its agenda covertly.
- The MB might use disinformation and control of narrative, a common Soviet tactic, to mislead opponents and spread its ideology. This could include presenting different messages in Arabic and Western languages.

#### **Western Misunderstanding and Counterterrorism:**

In the West, the MB has often been perceived as a political entity with varying degrees of radicalism, rather than a uniform terrorist organisation. This perception is partly due to the MB's involvement in political processes in countries like Egypt, its public denouncement of violence in certain contexts, and its engagement in social and charitable activities. This multifaceted nature of the MB has led to a debate in Western circles about how to categorise and approach the group.

The MB has branches and affiliates in various countries, each adapting to local contexts. This diversity makes it challenging for Western policymakers and intelligence agencies to develop a consistent and effective approach towards the group as a whole.

the MB employs dual rhetoric – speaking of peace and democracy in English (to Western audiences) while promoting more radical ideas in Arabic

Understanding the true nature and extent of the MB's activities requires nuanced intelligence gathering and analysis. If Western intelligence agencies are influenced by the group's narrative, this could hinder the effectiveness of counterterrorism measures.

**Key Focus on:****1. Enhanced Intelligence and Analysis:**

- a. India should strengthen its intelligence capabilities to understand the MB's influence, especially in regions where its ideology may have permeated. This includes monitoring potential MB-inspired groups within India.
- b. Invest in linguistic and cultural expertise to analyse MB's communications accurately, considering their dual rhetoric in different languages.

**2. Counter-Extremism Education and Awareness:**

- a. Develop educational programs to raise awareness about the MB's ideological underpinnings, particularly in vulnerable communities.
- b. Engage with Islamic scholars who can provide counter-narratives to the MB's interpretation of Islam.

**3. International Cooperation:**

- a. Collaborate with countries that have experience dealing with the MB, such as Egypt, to share intelligence and effective counter-terrorism strategies.
- b. Participate in international forums to understand the global impact of the MB and contribute to a collective response.

**4. Monitoring and Regulation of Financial Channels:**

- a. Vigilantly monitor financial channels to prevent the flow of funds from MB-affiliated sources to entities within India.
- b. Implement strict regulations on charitable organisations to ensure they are not misused for funnelling funds to extremist groups.

**5. Counter-Infiltration Measures:**

- a. Vigilantly monitor and prevent potential MB efforts to infiltrate key sectors like education, religious institutions, and politics in India.
- b. Conduct thorough background checks and maintain surveillance on individuals and groups suspected of MB affiliations in sensitive positions.

**6. Counter-Propaganda Initiatives:**

- a. Launch initiatives to counter the MB's propaganda, especially on digital platforms, to prevent the spread of their ideology among Indian youth.
- b. Collaborate with social media platforms to identify and remove content that promotes MB ideologies.



## C) Turkey and Iran as State Sponsors of Terrorism- Dr Michael Rubin

### Historical Context:

#### Post-WWII Geopolitical Landscape:

- After the defeat of Nazism, fascism, and the Japanese empire in World War II, there was a global shift in identifying potential new threats. The U.S. Department of War (the predecessor to the Department of Defense) was tasked with assessing these emerging threats.
- Two primary concerns were identified: communism and global Islamism. The threat of communism was immediately apparent, given the Cold War's onset and the spread of Soviet influence. Global Islamism, however, was a less obvious but significant concern.

#### Rise of Global Islamism:

- The U.S. Department of War's attention was drawn to the activities of the Muslim Brotherhood in Egypt. Founded in 1928, the Brotherhood became influential in proposing an Islamic solution to political and social issues.
- The Muslim Brotherhood was seen as a reactionary movement, reacting to the power imbalance between Islamic nations and the West. It sought to address the question of why, despite Islam being considered a perfect religion, there was a significant power differential with the West.

#### Early Signs of Islamist Ideologies:

- It's important to note that these developments predated the 1947 partition of Palestine, the 1948 creation of Israel, and the 1947 partition of India. These events would later significantly shape Middle Eastern and South Asian geopolitics, but the ideological roots of Islamism were already in place.

#### Impact on American National Security:

- The U.S. intelligence community's early recognition of these ideologies as potential threats shaped American foreign policy and national security strategies in the following decades. This acknowledgment indicates a long-standing awareness and concern about the influence of extremist ideologies.

#### Broader Historical Implications:

- These early post-WWII developments laid the groundwork for many of the contemporary conflicts and geopolitical challenges in the Middle East and South Asia.
- The historical context of global Islamism, its early recognition as a threat, and the subsequent developments have continuously influenced the foreign policies of many countries, including the U.S., and have been a factor in international relations ever since.

#### Turkey under Erdoğan:

- Dr Rubin emphasises Erdoğan's journey from a background of personal grievances against the secular establishment to his deep involvement in Islamist politics. His narrative suggests that Erdoğan's political ambitions were closely tied to his ideological beliefs. Initially, Erdoğan

utilised democratic mechanisms to gain power but was perceived as having a deeper, long-term agenda aligned with Islamic fundamentalism.

- A critical aspect of Dr Rubin's analysis is the claim that Erdoğan viewed democracy as a means to an end, rather than an end in itself. This is highlighted through Erdoğan's metaphor of democracy being like a streetcar – useful only until the desired stop is reached. This viewpoint reflects a strategic use of democratic processes to establish a more authoritarian regime under the guise of democratic legitimacy.
- Dr Rubin notes Erdoğan's alignment with Islamic fundamentalist ideologies, particularly evident in his approach to governance and societal norms. This includes the gradual implementation of policies reflective of Islamic principles and a move away from the secular foundations of modern Turkey established by Mustafa Kemal Atatürk.
- A key point in Dr Rubin's analysis is the systematic weakening of institutional checks and balances in Turkey. Erdoğan is accused of manipulating state mechanisms to consolidate power, such as changing the mandatory retirement age of civil servants to replace judges and altering the constitutional role of the military without establishing alternate balances.
- Dr Rubin points out the alarming increase in violence against women in Turkey, suggesting a correlation with Erdoğan's governance and the increased impunity for honour crimes. This reflects broader human rights concerns under Erdoğan's regime, including restrictions on freedom of speech and press, and the suppression of political dissent.
- Erdoğan's foreign policy is characterised by him as expansionist and ideologically driven. This includes involvement in regional conflicts, support for certain Islamic movements abroad, and a growing assertiveness in the Eastern Mediterranean and Middle East. Erdoğan's policies are seen as aiming to position Turkey as a leading power in the Muslim world, often in opposition to Western interests.
- The domestic policies under Erdoğan have also had significant economic and social impacts. There have been concerns about the independence of financial institutions, the use of economic tools to target political opponents, and overall economic stability.
- Finally, Dr Rubin's analysis touches upon the changing dynamics of Turkish national identity under Erdoğan. The shift towards a more religiously defined identity marks a departure from the staunch secularism that has been a cornerstone of the Turkish Republic since its inception. This shift has implications for social cohesion and the role of religion in public life.

### **Comparison with Iran:**

- He discusses how Iran, particularly post-revolution, represents a unique blend of Islamist and leftist thought. This fusion is not merely a religious movement but incorporates elements of leftist, anti-imperialist ideologies. He points to figures like Jalal Ali who advocated for a rejection of Western influences, resonating with the earlier ideas of Hassan al-Banna in Egypt. This synthesis in Iran has created a distinctive form of governance and foreign policy, differentiating it from traditional Islamic states.
- In Turkey, under Erdoğan, there's a similar blending, though the specifics differ due to Turkey's Sunni majority and its unique historical and cultural context. Erdoğan's rise reflects a shift towards an Islamist orientation that increasingly diverges from Turkey's secular,

Western-aligned past. This shift, he argues, includes a move away from democratic norms towards a more authoritarian, ideologically driven governance, akin to the Iranian model.

### **Anti-Western Sentiment:**

- Iran's revolutionary ideology is heavily anchored in anti-Western sentiment, viewing Western influence as corrosive and detrimental to Islamic and Iranian values. This view has been a cornerstone of Iranian policy since the 1979 revolution.
- He notes a growing anti-Western sentiment in Turkey's foreign policy under Erdoğan. This shift is evidenced by Turkey's strained relations with traditional Western allies and its assertive regional actions that often counter Western interests.

### **Implications for Regional and Global Politics:**

- Both countries, according to Dr Rubin, are vying for regional influence, but their approaches and contexts differ. Iran has long sought to extend its influence in the Shia crescent and beyond, using proxy groups and ideological solidarity. Turkey, traditionally more aligned with the West, is now seeking a renewed role in the Islamic world, evidenced by its involvement in conflicts in Syria, Libya, and its stance on the Israel-Palestine conflict.
- He raises concerns about both countries' roles in supporting militant groups. Iran's support for groups like Hezbollah and its involvement in Iraq and Syria are well-documented. Turkey's recent actions, particularly under Erdoğan, suggest a similar pattern of using proxy warfare and supporting militant groups to further its geopolitical aims.
- Both nations have seen increasing authoritarianism and suppression of dissent. He highlights the dramatic rise in violence against women in Turkey and the suppression of alternative religious and political voices in Iran as indicators of this authoritarian shift.
- The actions and policies of both Turkey and Iran have significant implications for global security and politics. Their involvement in regional conflicts, opposition to Western interests, and support for extremist ideologies contribute to a complex and volatile international landscape.

### **Regional Implications and Terrorism:**

- Dr Rubin highlights concerns over state-sponsored terrorism, particularly noting the activities of Turkey and Iran. He suggests that both countries have been involved in supporting militant groups that align with their respective ideological agendas. For example, Turkey's alleged support for Al Qaeda affiliates in Somalia and Iran's backing of Hezbollah in Lebanon are indicative of a broader pattern of regional power projection through non-state actors.
- The involvement of Turkey and Iran in supporting various militant groups and movements has significant implications for regional stability. He points out that this support often fuels ongoing conflicts, exacerbates sectarian divisions, and undermines efforts to establish peace and stability in volatile regions.
- He discusses the expansion of Turkey's indigenous military capabilities, such as the development of drones, jet fighters, and naval ships. He expresses concern about how Turkey might use these capabilities to further its ideological and foreign policy agendas. The reference

to Turkish drones in Somalia and potential implications for conflict zones like Kashmir underlines the risk of advanced military technology falling into the hands of militant groups.

- The growing relationship between Turkey and Pakistan, particularly in the context of military and ideological cooperation. This nexus raises concerns about the potential for escalated conflicts in regions like Kashmir, where he fears that advanced weaponry and militant ideologies might exacerbate tensions between India and Pakistan.
- Iran's influence in South Asia, particularly its historical attempts to mobilise Shia populations in Pakistan and its activities in India, is also a point of concern. He notes Iran's use of India as a template for attacks against Israel and suggests a growing Iranian interest in Pakistan. This involvement has the potential to further complicate the already delicate sectarian and geopolitical balances in South Asia.
- Dr Rubin draws parallels between the strategies employed in the Middle East and South Asia with other conflict zones. He mentions the risk of replicating tactics used by groups like Hamas in the Palestinian territories in South Asia, particularly in Kashmir. Such a development could lead to new forms of terrorism and increased regional tensions.
- Finally, He emphasises the need for a realistic understanding of these regional dynamics. He criticises what he perceives as a tendency in Western diplomacy to engage in wishful thinking rather than confronting the realities of state-sponsored terrorism and ideological extremism. This, he argues, could lead to inadequate responses to the challenges posed by countries like Turkey and Iran, ultimately affecting global security.

### **Broader Geopolitical Concerns:**

#### **Potential for Escalation in South Asia:**

- Dr Rubin highlights the growing nexus between Turkey and Pakistan, which could have far-reaching consequences. This partnership, especially in military and ideological terms, may exacerbate tensions in South Asia, particularly in Kashmir and Punjab.
- The concern is that the ideological and military support from Turkey and Iran could embolden separatist or militant groups in these regions, leading to an escalation of conflict and potentially a higher level of violence and instability.

#### **Impact on India-Pakistan Relations:**

- The Kashmir conflict, already a major flashpoint between India and Pakistan, could be further inflamed by external influences. His analysis suggests that Turkey's ideological support and potential military aid to Pakistan-backed groups in Kashmir could lead to more intense and frequent conflicts.
- The long and complex border between India and Pakistan makes the region particularly vulnerable to cross-border terrorism and proxy warfare.

**Terrorism and Ideological Warfare:**

- He warns of the potential for groups in South Asia to emulate the tactics of Middle Eastern organisations like Hamas, which could include sophisticated terrorist attacks aimed at gaining international attention.
- The spread of Islamist ideologies, coupled with state sponsorship of terrorism, poses a significant threat to regional peace and global security.

**Global Implications:**

- The actions of Turkey and Iran, as described by him, have global implications, influencing not only regional but also international politics. Their foreign policies challenge the existing geopolitical order and pose a dilemma for Western nations in terms of diplomatic strategies and security policies.
- There is a risk of a ripple effect, where the assertiveness of these nations could inspire similar behaviour in other countries, leading to a more fragmented and unstable international system.

Dr. Rubin's analysis presents a complex and interconnected web of geopolitical concerns, emphasising the need for a nuanced and informed approach to foreign policy. The potential for increased regional conflicts, terrorism, and ideological struggles underscores the importance of international cooperation and strategic foresight in addressing these challenges. Understanding the motivations and actions of key players like Turkey and Iran is crucial in formulating effective responses to maintain regional stability and global security.

**Key Focus on:**

**1. Enhanced Geopolitical Intelligence and Analysis:**

- a. India should invest in comprehensive geopolitical intelligence gathering, specifically focusing on the movements and ideologies of global Islamist groups, as well as the shifting dynamics in countries like Pakistan and others.
- b. Develop specialised analytical units within intelligence agencies to assess the impact of these global trends on India's security, particularly in regions vulnerable to Islamist influence.

**2. Monitoring and Countering Ideological Influence:**

- a. Establish programs to monitor and counter the spread of extremist ideologies, especially those propagated by organisations like the Muslim Brotherhood, which have historical roots in shaping Islamist movements.
- b. Collaborate with community leaders and organisations to create awareness campaigns that provide alternative narratives to extremist ideologies.

**3. Internal Security Measures:**

- a. Bolster internal security measures to protect against the influence of extremist ideologies and potential terrorist activities. This includes enhancing surveillance, intelligence, and law enforcement capabilities.

- b. Implement deradicalization programs, especially in areas with a history of communal tensions or susceptibility to extremist influence.

**4. Public Awareness and Education:**

- a. Encourage academic and media discourse that critically examines these global trends and their local implications, fostering a well-informed public.

**5. Military Preparedness and Capability Enhancement:**

- a. Enhance military capabilities, particularly in technology and intelligence, to address potential security threats arising from the geopolitical actions of countries like Turkey and Pakistan

## **D) Daesh, Al-Qaeda and the future of Salafi-Wahhabi terror in MENA**

### **Hans Jakob Schindler**

Dr. Hans Jacob Schindler's remarks provide a comprehensive analysis of the current state and evolution of terrorist organisations Al-Qaeda and ISIS, particularly focusing on their activities and challenges in the MENA (Middle East and North Africa) region and beyond.

#### **Al-Qaeda's Position and Challenges:**

##### **1. Leadership Crisis and its Implications:**

- The potential successor's Egyptian origin is significant because historically, Al-Qaeda's leadership was predominantly Saudi or from the Arabian Peninsula, reflecting the group's ideological roots. An Egyptian leader could represent a shift in the centre of gravity within the organisation.
- The successor being in Iran, a predominantly Shia country, is noteworthy given Al-Qaeda's Sunni origins and historical antagonism towards Shia Islam. This could potentially create internal frictions or affect the group's external relations and strategy.

##### **2. Operational Limitations in Afghanistan:**

- Al-Qaeda members being integrated within the Taliban's special forces suggests a reduced operational autonomy compared to their pre-2001 status. This integration could limit Al-Qaeda's ability to independently launch global attacks or expand its influence, confining them to a role within the Taliban's strategy in Afghanistan.
- Al-Qaeda's operations depend heavily on the Taliban's stance towards them. Any shift in the Taliban's approach, possibly due to international pressure or internal dynamics, could significantly impact Al-Qaeda's operations.

### 3. Challenges in the MENA Region:

- The absence of a powerful affiliate in the MENA region is a significant drawback for Al-Qaeda. This region is historically and symbolically important for jihadist groups, and a diminished presence here could affect their global standing and recruitment.
- The discussion about Khurasan Alin in Syria and the nature of Al-Qaeda's involvement there underscores the uncertainties surrounding their identity and strategy in the region.

### 4. Shift to Africa and its Consequences:

- Al-Qaeda's growing influence in Africa, particularly in West Africa (Mali) and East Africa (Al-Shabab in Somalia), indicates a strategic shift. This expansion could be a response to the operational challenges in their traditional strongholds.
- The success in Africa, led by African affiliates, raises questions about the future direction and leadership of Al-Qaeda. An African-centric Al-Qaeda might alter the group's global strategy and ideological focus.

### 5. Global Strategy and Reduced Overseas Operations:

- **Reduced Global Footprint:** The diminished capability of AQAP in Yemen, once a symbol of Al-Qaeda's global reach, reflects a reduced ability to conduct overseas operations. This diminishes the group's threat perception in the West but doesn't eliminate it.

Al-Qaeda's current challenges reflect a period of transition and adaptation. The group is grappling with leadership issues, changing regional dynamics, and the need to redefine its brand and operational strategy. These challenges present both risks and opportunities for the organisation, as it seeks to maintain relevance in a rapidly changing geopolitical and ideological landscape.

### Islamic State's (ISIS) Status and Prospects:

#### Geographical Shift and African Focus:

- ISIS has seen a reduction in its control and influence in the Middle East, particularly in Syria and Iraq. This decline is partly due to military interventions and the loss of territorial control, including its self-proclaimed 'caliphate'.
- The group has shifted its focus to Africa, where its affiliates, such as the Islamic State West Africa Province (ISWAP) and the Islamic State Sahel Province, are gaining ground. These affiliates are controlling significant territories in countries like Nigeria, Mali, and Burkina Faso.

#### Operational Tactics and External Attacks:

- In regions where ISIS has a presence, the group is involved in localised conflicts, exploiting governance vacuums and societal fractures.
- Despite territorial losses, ISIS maintains a global network capable of inspiring lone-wolf attacks in various parts of the world. The group's propaganda continues to motivate individuals far from their operational bases.

### **Leadership and Organisational Challenges:**

- The group has experienced frequent changes in its leadership, affecting its organisational stability and strategic direction.
- ISIS has become more decentralised, with regional affiliates operating semi-autonomously. This decentralisation poses challenges in maintaining a cohesive global strategy.

### **Propaganda and Online Presence:**

- ISIS continues to effectively use digital media for propaganda, recruitment, and spreading its ideology.
- The group has shown adaptability in using online platforms, despite efforts to curb their online presence.

### **International and Regional Dynamics:**

- There are concerns about external actors exploiting ISIS for their geopolitical agendas, as suggested in Dr. Schindler's remarks regarding possible Russian influence.
- Ongoing conflicts and instability in various regions provide fertile grounds for ISIS to expand and strengthen its presence.

### **Prospects and Future Scenarios:**

- The risk of ISIS regaining strength, particularly in Syria and Iraq, remains, especially if local grievances and governance issues are not adequately addressed.
- The growing influence of ISIS in Africa indicates a long-term threat, with the potential of establishing quasi-state structures in ungoverned territories.
- The group's ability to inspire attacks globally remains a significant concern for international security.

The overall perspective derived from Dr. Hans Jacob Schindler's remarks underscores the adaptive and evolving nature of terrorist organisations like Al-Qaeda and ISIS, particularly in how they respond to geopolitical changes, leadership dynamics, and brand management. His analysis offers insights into the multifaceted challenges these groups face and their strategies for maintaining relevance and influence.

### **Adaptability and Geographic Shifts:**

- Both Al-Qaeda and ISIS demonstrate a remarkable shift in their operational focus, moving from their traditional strongholds in the MENA region to broader geographic landscapes, especially in Africa. This shift not only indicates a strategic repositioning but also reflects their adaptability to global counter-terrorism efforts.
- The change in operational theatres for these groups, particularly in African regions, suggests a recalibration of their strategies. This includes exploiting local grievances, establishing territorial control, and possibly attempting to set up quasi-governmental structures, as seen in regions of Mali and Burkina Faso for ISIS.



### **Branding and Leadership Challenges:**

- Both organisations are grappling with internal challenges related to leadership legitimacy and brand management. The tension between the traditional Arab leadership and the increasing prominence of African affiliates raises questions about the future direction and identity of these groups.
- Leadership crisis, especially in Al-Qaeda, point towards a possible fragmentation or weakening of central command. The successor's characteristics and his location under Iranian control are significant in understanding the group's current predicaments and future trajectory.
- The increased focus on African successes in their propaganda suggests a strategic shift in how these organisations want to be perceived globally. This could be a tactic to attract new recruits and maintain relevance in the global jihadist narrative.

### **External Influences and Global Impact:**

- He hints at possible external manipulations, such as Russian involvement in directing ISKP individuals towards Europe. This aspect introduces a complex layer of international politics and covert operations influencing terrorist activities.
- Despite their regional shifts, the global threat posed by these organisations remains significant. Their ability to inspire lone-wolf attacks in the West, maintain a global network of sympathisers, and potentially exploit ungoverned spaces presents ongoing security challenges.

### **Unifying Factors and Future Prospects:**

- Despite internal rifts and competition, a unifying ideological stance against Western values continues to bind these groups. This ideological solidarity, despite operational and strategic differences, poses a persistent threat.
- The evolution of these groups, their branding, and operational focus might lead to new forms of terrorist activities. The potential for these organisations to rebrand, reorganise, and possibly splinter into new factions could shape the future landscape of global terrorism.

Dr Schindler's analysis illuminates the evolving nature of terrorist organisations, marked by geographic shifts, internal dynamics, and strategic recalibrations. Understanding these aspects is crucial for developing effective counter-terrorism strategies and anticipating future trends in global terrorism.

### **Key Focus on:**

#### **1. Counter-Terrorism Strategy in Afghanistan:**

- a. Strengthen diplomatic engagement with the Taliban regime to curb Al-Qaeda's influence and operational capabilities within Afghanistan.
- b. Support regional counter-terrorism initiatives to prevent the spill-over of Al-Qaeda's influence from Afghanistan into neighbouring countries, including India.

#### **2. MENA Region Focus:**

- a. Develop focused strategies for the MENA region, considering Al-Qaeda's waning influence and the potential for resurgence.

- b. Increase collaboration with MENA countries to share intelligence and counter-terrorism practices, particularly focusing on regions where Al-Qaeda might seek to re-establish its foothold.

### 3. **African Expansion:**

- a. Monitor Al-Qaeda's expansion in Africa, particularly in West and East Africa, and assess the implications for India's security, especially considering the Indian diaspora and economic interests in Africa.
- b. Enhance cooperation with African nations and international bodies like the African Union for intelligence sharing and joint operations against Al-Qaeda's African affiliates.

### 4. **Global Strategy Adaptation:**

- a. Adapt India's global counter-terrorism strategy to address the evolving nature of Al-Qaeda, focusing on its reduced global operations but potential for regional destabilisation.

### 5. **Response to Geographical Shift:**

- a. Align India's foreign policy and security initiatives to address the shift of ISIS's focus to Africa, which might have indirect implications for India.
- b. Build intelligence and security partnerships with countries in Africa where ISIS is gaining ground, to monitor and potentially counter their influence.

### 6. **Countering Operational Tactics:**

- a. Stay vigilant against lone-wolf attacks inspired by ISIS, enhancing domestic intelligence and community policing.
- b. Strengthen cybersecurity measures to counter ISIS's digital propaganda and recruitment efforts.

### 7. **Addressing Organisational Instability:**

- a. Analyse the implications of ISIS's leadership changes and decentralisation for India, focusing on how these might affect ISIS's strategy in South Asia.
- b. Monitor potential ISIS activities in neighbouring countries, including Bangladesh and Sri Lanka, where ISIS-inspired activities have been reported.

### 8. **Propaganda and Online Presence:**

- a. Collaborate with tech companies and international agencies to counter ISIS's online presence effectively.
- b. Implement national programs to counter-radicalization, focusing on youth and vulnerable communities susceptible to ISIS's digital propaganda.

### 9. **Anticipating Future Scenarios:**

- a. Prepare for scenarios where ISIS might attempt to regain strength in Syria and Iraq or further entrench itself in Africa.

- b. Develop contingency plans for possible increases in ISIS-inspired global terrorism, including impacts on Indian interests abroad.

## **E) Migration from MENA and Jihadi Terrorism in the West: Dr. Christian Kaunert**

Dr. Christian Kaunert's remarks offer a comprehensive analysis of several interconnected issues affecting Europe, particularly focusing on the aftermath of the 2015 migration crisis, the radicalization of certain communities, and the subsequent increase in terror threats. His observations span various dimensions: geopolitical developments, internal EU dynamics, the nexus between radicalization and terrorism, and the implications for European security and policy.

### **Migration and Its Historical Context:**

#### **Historical Perspective of Migration:**

- Post-1945, Europe experienced significant migration movements, initially due to the displacement caused by the war. Subsequently, during the economic boom of the 1950s-1970s, Western European countries witnessed migration for labour from Southern Europe and beyond. This movement reshaped the demographic and cultural landscape of many European countries.
- The mid-20th century also saw significant migration from former colonies to the respective colonial powers. This movement was partly a consequence of decolonization and the search for better opportunities in the European metropolises.
- In recent decades, migration to Europe has been influenced by global dynamics, including conflicts, economic disparities, and climate change. Migration routes have expanded and diversified, encompassing not just land but also perilous sea journeys.
- The Arab Spring that began in 2010 led to political upheavals across the Middle East and North Africa. The resultant instability, especially in countries like Syria, Libya, and Iraq, triggered mass migrations towards Europe.
- This specific crisis, as highlighted by Dr Kaunert, didn't begin abruptly in 2015. It was the culmination of several years of increasing migration flows, exacerbated by conflicts and instability in the MENA region. The Syrian Civil War, in particular, was a significant driver, resulting in millions of people seeking asylum in Europe.
- The crisis tested the EU's policies and solidarity. The Schengen Agreement, which allowed free movement across many European borders, came under strain. Countries responded differently, with some like Germany initially adopting an open-door policy, while others pushed for tighter border controls.
- This migration wave has had profound implications on European societies and politics. It has fueled debates on national identity, integration, and multiculturalism. The crisis also contributed to the rise of populist and anti-immigration political movements in several European countries.

Understanding the historical context of migration, especially in the European setting, is essential to grasp the complexity of the current situation. Migration is not a new phenomenon but part of a historical continuum influenced by geopolitical, economic, and social factors. The modern migration crisis, particularly post-2015, is a reflection of contemporary global challenges and regional instabilities. It underscores the need for comprehensive, humane, and cooperative approaches to migration management, respecting both the rights of migrants and the concerns of host societies. Dr. Kaunert's analysis provides a critical perspective on these intricate dynamics, emphasising the necessity of historical awareness in addressing current challenges.

### **European Response to Migration Crisis:**

The European response to the migration crisis, particularly in the context of the surge in 2015-2016, is a multifaceted issue involving political, social, and humanitarian dimensions.

- At the onset of the crisis, European countries struggled to form a unified approach. This lack of coherence was due to differing national interests, capacities, and political pressures within EU member states. Some countries, like Germany, initially adopted a welcoming stance, while others were more resistant to accepting large numbers of migrants. This disparity led to a fragmented response across the EU.
- As the crisis unfolded, several countries, including Germany, which initially had an open-door policy under Chancellor Angela Merkel, began to modify their stance in response to various challenges, including social integration, public opinion, and security concerns. This shift was a pragmatic response to the sheer scale of the migration and the complexities it introduced into European societies.
- In response to the crisis, the European Union sought to reform its common asylum system. This included revising the Dublin Regulation, which determines the EU member state responsible for examining an asylum application, and updating other directives related to asylum procedures, qualifications, and reception conditions. These reforms aimed to create a more equitable system for distributing asylum-seeker responsibilities among member states.
- One of the critical responses to the migration crisis was the EU-Turkey Joint Action Plan of October-November 2015. This agreement was aimed at stemming the flow of migrants into Europe in exchange for financial aid, visa liberalisation, and renewed talks on Turkey's EU accession process. He describes this as an "extortion scheme," suggesting that Turkey used its leverage over the EU to extract concessions.
- In response to the migration crisis and subsequent terror attacks, many European countries increased border controls and security measures. This included the temporary suspension of the Schengen Agreement's open-border policy by some states, deployment of additional security forces, and heightened monitoring of migration routes.
- European countries also engaged in bilateral and multilateral cooperation to address the crisis. This included information sharing, joint operations to tackle human trafficking and smuggling networks, and collaboration through Europol and other EU agencies.

### **Geopolitical Manipulation of Migration:**

The Geopolitical Manipulation of Migration, as highlighted in Dr. Christian Kaunert's remarks, refers to the strategic use of migration flows by certain countries or external actors to exert political,

economic, or strategic pressure on other nations or regions, particularly the European Union (EU). This manipulation can have profound implications for international relations, internal politics of the receiving countries, and the overall dynamics of global migration.:

### **Strategic Use of Migration as a Geopolitical Tool:**

- Countries like Russia and Turkey have been accused of using migration as a lever in their foreign policies. For instance, Dr Kaunert suggests that Russia may have deliberately facilitated migration flows towards Europe as part of a broader geopolitical strategy.
- Turkey's role in controlling the flow of migrants to Europe, especially during the 2015 crisis, is a key example. The EU-Turkey deal in 2016, where the EU agreed to provide financial aid and political concessions in exchange for Turkey regulating the flow of migrants, exemplifies this dynamic.

### **Impact on Receiving Nations:**

- Large-scale migration can strain resources, affect social cohesion, and become a contentious political issue within receiving nations. When such migration is externally influenced, it can exacerbate these challenges.
- In Europe, the influx of migrants has fueled debates on national identity, security, and the future of the EU itself. It has also contributed to the rise of populist and nationalist movements in several countries.

### **Creating Leverage and Bargaining Chips:**

- By controlling migration flows, external actors can gain leverage over the EU. This leverage can be used to negotiate economic deals, political concessions, or changes in foreign policy.
- The EU-Turkey deal is an example where migration was effectively used as a bargaining chip, with Turkey gaining both financial aid and political concessions.

### **Dividing International Alliances and Unions:**

- Differing responses to migration can lead to divisions within international alliances. In the EU, member states have been divided on how to handle the influx of migrants, challenging the unity of the union.
- Such divisions can be exploited by external actors to weaken international alliances or to drive a wedge between member states.

### **Security Implications:**

- The manipulation of migration flows can have security implications. Large, unregulated flows of people can overwhelm border security, making it challenging to screen for potential security threats.

- The fear of terrorism associated with migration has been a significant factor in the political discourse within Europe, affecting both domestic and foreign policies.

#### **Humanitarian Concerns:**

- Geopolitical manipulation of migration often overlooks the humanitarian aspect, treating migrants as pawns in a larger political game. This can lead to human rights violations and worsen the plight of vulnerable populations.

#### **Long-term Strategic Outcomes:**

- The long-term impact of using migration as a geopolitical tool can be significant. It can lead to permanent demographic changes, long-standing political and social challenges, and shifts in international relations.

#### **Responses and Adaptations:**

- The EU and other affected regions have been adapting to this challenge by modifying asylum laws, reinforcing border controls, and seeking to address the root causes of migration.
- Diplomatic efforts to mitigate the manipulation of migration include negotiations, international agreements, and efforts to stabilise regions that are major sources of migrants.

#### **Link Between Migration and Radicalization:**

- The large-scale migration witnessed in Europe, particularly during and after the 2015 crisis, brought people from diverse cultural and socio-political backgrounds into European countries. While the majority of migrants seek safety and better opportunities, the sheer number and rapid influx posed significant integration challenges.
- Integrating into a new society is a multifaceted process, involving cultural, economic, and social adaptation. Many migrants find themselves facing language barriers, unemployment, social isolation, and discrimination. Such experiences can create feelings of alienation and disenfranchisement, making some individuals more susceptible to radical ideologies as a form of coping or as a means to find a sense of belonging.
- Radicalization refers to the process by which individuals come to adopt extreme political, social, or religious ideals, often leading to a willingness to use, support, or facilitate violence. This process can be more pronounced in migrant communities where individuals may struggle with identity crises, marginalisation, and the pressures of navigating between different cultural expectations.
- Jihadist groups often exploit these vulnerabilities, targeting disaffected individuals within migrant communities. They may offer a sense of identity, purpose, and community, framed within a radical ideology. These groups often use sophisticated propaganda, leveraging social media and other platforms to spread their message and recruit members.

- In some instances, migrant communities may become isolated or ghettoised due to various socio-economic factors and policy failures. Such isolation can create echo chambers where radical ideologies are more likely to thrive unchallenged.
- It's important to note that the majority of migrants do not become radicalised. The perception that migration leads directly to radicalization is often amplified by sensationalist media and political rhetoric, which can exacerbate tensions and prejudice. Such generalisations can further alienate migrant communities, potentially fueling the very radicalization they purport to be concerned about.
- Recognizing the link between migration and radicalization, governments and institutions face the challenge of developing policies that not only address national security concerns but also facilitate effective integration, social cohesion, and the safeguarding of civil liberties. This includes providing support for language acquisition, employment opportunities, and fostering intercultural dialogue.
- Preventing radicalization within migrant communities involves multi-agency approaches, including education, community engagement, and counter-radicalization programs. It's crucial to involve community leaders and members in these efforts, as they are best positioned to identify early signs of radicalization and can provide culturally sensitive support and guidance.

### **Terror Attacks and European Security:**

#### **Nature of Terror Attacks in Europe Post-Migration Crisis:**

- Dr Kaunert highlights the direct link between the influx of migrants following the 2015 crisis and the subsequent rise in terror attacks across Europe.
- These attacks varied in scale and methods, ranging from high-casualty assaults like those in Paris and Brussels to smaller-scale incidents in Germany, the UK, and other countries.
- The attacks often targeted symbols of Western life, including Christmas markets, metro stations, and tourist sites, intensifying their psychological impact.

#### **Impact on European Security and Public Policy:**

- These attacks led to immediate and significant changes in security protocols across Europe.
- Increased security measures were evident in the deployment of soldiers in cities, heightened airport security, and the monitoring of public spaces.
- The attacks also led to policy shifts, including stricter asylum and immigration policies and enhanced border controls within the Schengen Area.

#### **Shift in European Union's Internal Dynamics:**

- The response to the terror attacks exposed and sometimes widened the differences among EU member states regarding migration and security policies.
- Some countries advocated for open borders and maintaining the Schengen principles, while others called for more stringent border controls and immigration policies.
- This divergence in approaches led to debates over the balance between upholding the EU's humanitarian values and ensuring the security of its citizens.

### **Radicalization Within Migrant Communities:**

- Dr Kaunert points out the issue of radicalization within certain migrant communities, which has been a source of concern for European security agencies.
- The challenge lies in identifying and countering radical elements without stigmatizing entire communities.
- Programs aimed at integration, counter-radicalization, and community engagement have become crucial in addressing this issue.

### **Intelligence Sharing and Counter-Terrorism Efforts:**

- The rise in terror attacks led to a renewed focus on intelligence sharing and joint counter-terrorism efforts within the EU.
- Agencies like Europol have been pivotal in coordinating these efforts, facilitating the exchange of information and best practices among member states.
- However, challenges remain in balancing national sovereignty with the need for effective cross-border cooperation.

### **Future Challenges and Preventive Measures:**

- Dr Kaunert's perspective suggests that the threat of terrorism in Europe remains dynamic and evolving.
- Preventive measures now focus not just on immediate threats but also on understanding and mitigating the underlying causes of radicalization.
- The importance of vigilance and adaptive security strategies is emphasised to counter future threats.

### **Broader Implications for European Identity and Unity:**

- The response to terror attacks and the migration crisis has broader implications for the concept of European identity and unity.
- The challenge for Europe lies in maintaining its foundational values of freedom, democracy, and human rights while effectively safeguarding its citizens.

### **Future Challenges and Vigilance:**

- Dr Kaunert highlights the persistent risk of terror attacks in Europe and the West, especially following significant events or shifts in the geopolitical landscape. The future challenge here is multi-faceted, involving the need to anticipate and prevent attacks, understand the evolving methods and ideologies of terrorist groups, and respond effectively to incidents when they occur.
- The process of radicalization within certain communities is a complex issue that poses a significant future challenge. Vigilance in this context involves not just surveillance and law enforcement but also community engagement, counter-radicalization initiatives, and efforts to address the root causes of radicalization, such as social exclusion, discrimination, and ideological indoctrination.
- The influence of external actors in manipulating migration flows or exacerbating tensions within Europe presents a sophisticated challenge. It requires European countries to be vigilant



about geopolitical strategies that may use migration, propaganda, or direct support to radical groups as tools to destabilise or exert influence.

- The management of migration flows remains a key challenge. This involves balancing humanitarian obligations with security concerns, addressing the root causes of migration, such as conflict and economic disparity, and ensuring the integration of migrants into European societies in a manner that minimises social tensions.
- Adapting and refining policy and legal frameworks to respond to these challenges is crucial. This includes reforming asylum systems, enhancing border security, improving intelligence sharing among EU states, and ensuring that counter-terrorism measures respect human rights and civil liberties.
- Given the transnational nature of terrorism and migration, increased inter-agency cooperation within countries, as well as international collaboration, is vital. This includes sharing intelligence, joint operations, and aligning policies and practices to ensure a coherent and effective response.
- Increasing public awareness and engagement in issues related to terrorism and radicalization is essential. Public vigilance can be a critical asset in identifying and preventing potential threats. This also involves addressing misinformation and promoting a balanced understanding of issues related to migration and terrorism.
- As technology evolves, so do the methods used by terrorist and extremist groups. Staying ahead in technological terms – from surveillance tools to online radicalization methods – is a constant challenge for security agencies.
- Building resilience against terror attacks and other security threats is a long-term challenge. This involves preparedness at various levels, from local communities to national security apparatus, and includes training, simulations, and the development of rapid response mechanisms.

### **Radicalization and External Influence:**

- Various factors contribute to radicalization, including social and economic marginalisation, identity crises, perceived injustices, and exposure to extremist ideologies. In the context of migration, the challenges of integration, discrimination, and the alienation experienced by migrants or refugees can accelerate this process.
- External state actors can play a significant role in radicalization. As mentioned by Dr. Kaunert, countries like Russia and Turkey have been accused of manipulating migration flows to exert political pressure on Europe. Such manipulation can exacerbate social tensions and create fertile ground for radicalization.
- Non-state actors, such as terrorist organisations or extremist groups, can also influence radicalization. They often use propaganda and social media to spread their ideologies, recruit members, and incite violence.
- The concept of hybrid warfare, which includes a blend of conventional warfare, irregular tactics, and cyber warfare, is increasingly used to understand how state and non-state actors might engage in the radicalization process. The use of cyber tools for propaganda and recruitment is a key aspect of this.

### **European Context and Its Challenges:**

- In Europe, various communities, particularly those with migrant backgrounds, may be vulnerable to radicalization due to social exclusion, discrimination, or identity crises. The interaction between these communities and the broader socio-political environment is crucial.
- : European countries face the challenge of formulating policies that effectively integrate migrants while safeguarding against radicalization. This requires a delicate balance between security measures and protecting civil liberties, including the rights of migrants and refugees.
- Increased surveillance and security measures are often seen as immediate responses to radicalization threats. However, these measures can also contribute to a sense of alienation and discrimination, potentially fueling further radicalization.
- Effective counter-radicalization strategies involve not only security-based approaches but also educational, social, and political measures. These include promoting social integration, providing economic opportunities, and countering extremist narratives.
- Given the transnational nature of radicalization, international cooperation is essential. This includes intelligence sharing, joint counter-terrorism efforts, and addressing the root causes of radicalization in source countries.

### **Key Focus on:**

#### **1. Integrated Migration Policy:**

- a. Develop a unified EU migration policy that balances humanitarian obligations with security considerations. This policy should aim for equitable distribution of migrants among member states, considering each country's capacity and demographic needs.
- b. Implement EU-wide integration programs focused on language training, employment opportunities, and cultural orientation for migrants. These programs should be tailored to address the diverse needs of different migrant groups.

#### **2. Enhanced Border Security with Human Rights Focus:**

- a. Strengthen EU border security to manage migration flows effectively. This includes investing in technology for secure and efficient border checks and training border officials in human rights and cultural sensitivity.
- b. Establish clear protocols for the treatment of migrants at borders to ensure their rights are respected, avoiding actions that may exacerbate trauma or alienation.

#### **3. Counter-Radicalization and Community Engagement:**

- a. Launch EU-wide counter-radicalization initiatives that involve local communities, religious organisations, and civil society in identifying and addressing factors leading to radicalization.
- b. Foster dialogue and understanding between migrant communities and host societies to break down barriers and prevent social segregation.

#### **4. Strengthening Intelligence and Law Enforcement Cooperation:**

- a. Enhance intelligence sharing among EU member states regarding potential terror threats and radicalization patterns. This includes the efficient use of databases like the Schengen Information System (SIS) and cooperation with Europol.
- b. Coordinate efforts in tracking and disrupting the funding channels of extremist groups, including the use of online platforms for fundraising.

**5. Addressing Root Causes of Migration:**

- a. Engage in diplomatic and developmental efforts to address the root causes of migration in source countries, including conflict resolution, economic development, and support for governance reforms.
- b. Increase humanitarian aid and support to regions experiencing conflict or instability to reduce the immediate need for people to migrate.

**6. Policy Responses to Geopolitical Manipulation:**

- a. Recognize and respond to the geopolitical manipulation of migration. This includes developing diplomatic strategies to negotiate and mitigate the influence of external actors like Russia and Turkey.
- b. Diversify migration agreements beyond the EU-Turkey deal to reduce dependency on single external actors and spread geopolitical risks.

**7. Balanced Media Reporting and Public Communication:**

- a. Promote responsible media reporting on migration and terrorism-related issues to prevent sensationalism and the spread of misinformation.
- b. Implement public communication strategies that provide accurate information about migration and counteract xenophobic narratives.

**8. Long-term Socio-economic Integration Strategies:**

- a. Develop long-term strategies for the socio-economic integration of migrants, focusing on education, job training, and access to the labour market.
- b. Encourage the involvement of the private sector in creating employment opportunities for migrants and supporting social integration initiatives.

**9. Resilience Building in Host Communities:**

- a. Invest in community resilience programs that enhance social cohesion and collective capacity to respond to and recover from terror attacks.
- b. Support local initiatives that promote intercultural dialogue and understanding, reducing tensions between migrant and host communities.

**10. Research and Monitoring:**

- a. Fund research initiatives to monitor the evolving nature of radicalization and terrorism in the context of migration. This research should inform policy development and community engagement strategies.

- b. Establish monitoring mechanisms to assess the effectiveness of integration policies and counter-radicalization efforts, ensuring they adapt to changing circumstances.

## **F) 7/10 Terror attack on Israel and Hamas' War Against Jews- Prof. Chuck Freilich**

Prof. Chuck Freilich's remarks provide an in-depth analysis of a significant and tragic event in Israeli history, identified by him as occurring on October 7th. His commentary covers various aspects, including the nature of the attack, the role of Hamas, Israel's strategic and tactical responses, and the broader geopolitical implications.

### **Nature of the Attack:**

#### **1. Unprecedented in Scale and Brutality:**

- Unlike previous conflicts that predominantly involved military confrontations, this attack was directed at civilian populations. This shift represents a significant escalation in the nature of violence, profoundly impacting the societal sense of security.
- The description of the atrocities including women being raped and killed, and babies beheaded points to a level of barbarism and cruelty aimed at instilling terror and trauma. These acts go beyond conventional warfare tactics, entering the realm of war crimes and crimes against humanity.

#### **2. Historical Significance:**

- The fact that this was the first time since the War of Independence in 1948 that an Israeli town or village was overrun highlights the historical gravity of the event. It marks a new and alarming chapter in the region's conflict history.
- This event's comparison to other significant historical events, like the Yom Kippur War and 9/11, indicates its profound psychological impact on the Israeli public. The scale of loss and trauma equated to multiple large-scale tragedies signifies deep societal wounds.

#### **3. Tactical and Strategic Surprise:**

- The success of Hamas in achieving strategic surprise suggests a significant intelligence and preparedness gap on Israel's part. This unexpectedness amplified the attack's impact, both physically and psychologically.
- The effectiveness of the attack indicates that Hamas's military capabilities, particularly in executing large-scale, coordinated attacks against civilian targets, were underestimated.

#### **4. Method of Attack:**

- Moving away from traditional military engagement to targeting civilian areas represents a tactical shift. This method aims to disrupt normal life, create fear among civilians, and draw international attention.

- The reported barbarism serves not just a militant objective but also a psychological one, aiming to break the morale and resilience of the civilian population.

### **5. Geopolitical Context:**

- **Role of External Actors:** The allusion to Iran's indirect role highlights the attack's broader geopolitical dimensions. It suggests a regional power game where proxy groups like Hamas are used to achieve broader strategic objectives.
- **Shift in Warfare Dynamics:** The event illustrates a shift in the Middle Eastern conflict dynamics, where non-state actors like Hamas can significantly impact state actors through asymmetric warfare.

The nature of the attack, as analysed by Prof. Freilich, is a sombre reflection of the evolving and increasingly brutal landscape of modern conflict. It underscores a disturbing trend towards civilian targeting, highlights the vulnerabilities in intelligence and preparedness, and serves as a grim reminder of the complexity and depth of the enduring Israeli-Palestinian conflict. This event has evidently left a lasting impact on Israel's national psyche, reshaping its approach to security and conflict management.

### **Hamas and Iran's Involvement:**

#### **Hamas's Role and Objectives:**

- Hamas, designated as a terrorist organisation, has a significant militant wing. Its military actions against Israel, including rocket attacks and other forms of violence, have been a central aspect of its operations.
- While governing Gaza, Hamas has engaged in building extensive military capabilities, including tunnels and rocket arsenals. This dual role as both a governing entity and a militant group creates a complex dynamic in its interactions with Israel and other regional actors.

#### **Iran's Involvement and Support:**

- Iran, known for its opposition to Israel's existence, has historically supported Hamas. This support includes financial aid, military training, and the supply of weapons. Iran's backing of Hamas is part of its broader strategy in the Middle East, where it seeks to extend its influence and counter Israeli and Western interests.
- The relationship between Iran and Hamas can be seen within the larger context of proxy conflicts in the region. Iran's support for Hamas is part of a wider pattern where Iran backs non-state actors and militant groups in various Middle Eastern countries to project its power and ideological influence.

### **Impact on Regional Stability:**

- The Iran-Hamas alliance contributes to the escalation of conflict in the region. The support provided by Iran enhances Hamas's military capabilities, which in turn leads to more intense and frequent confrontations with Israel.
- This relationship also adds to the broader geopolitical tensions in the Middle East, particularly between Iran and Israel, as well as between Iran and Sunni Arab states that view Iran's regional ambitions with suspicion.

### **International Responses and Implications:**

- The involvement of Iran in supporting Hamas poses significant diplomatic and security challenges for Israel and its allies. It necessitates a multi-faceted approach that includes military, diplomatic, and intelligence efforts to counter the threats.
- PThis dynamic also complicates efforts towards a lasting peace solution between Israel and the Palestinians. The militant activities of Hamas, bolstered by Iranian support, hinder diplomatic efforts and exacerbate tensions.

### **Israel's Response Options:**

- This option involves a significant escalation of military force beyond what has been used in previous conflicts with Hamas. The objective would be to inflict substantial damage on Hamas's military capabilities, but not necessarily to completely dismantle the organisation or change the governance structure in Gaza. This approach carries the risk of high civilian casualties and extensive damage to infrastructure. Moreover, it could lead to international condemnation and potentially strengthen Hamas's position domestically and regionally by portraying them as victims of aggression.
- This strategy focuses specifically on targeting the military infrastructure of Hamas, such as rocket launch sites, ammunition depots, and command centres. The most challenging aspect would be addressing the extensive network of tunnels used by Hamas for movement and storage of weapons, as mentioned by Prof. Freilich. While this approach could significantly weaken Hamas's immediate threat to Israel, it is unlikely to be a long-term solution, as Hamas could eventually rebuild its capabilities. Additionally, this strategy requires precise intelligence and operational execution to minimise civilian casualties and avoid international backlash.
- This is the most extensive and potentially transformative approach. It involves not only neutralising Hamas's military capabilities but also displacing them as the de facto government in Gaza. This option raises several complex issues:
  - Removing Hamas from power could create a power vacuum in Gaza, potentially leading to chaos or the emergence of even more radical groups.
  - Identifying a successor to govern Gaza is challenging. The Palestinian Authority (PA) is seen as a potential candidate, but as Prof. Freilich notes, the PA's effectiveness and legitimacy, even in the West Bank, are questionable.

- Implementing this option likely requires significant international involvement, both in terms of military support and in establishing and maintaining a new governance structure. This involvement could be difficult to secure, given the complexities of the region and the varying interests of potential international partners.
- While not explicitly mentioned by Prof. Freilich, another possible response is to pursue diplomatic channels to de-escalate the situation. This would involve negotiations for a ceasefire, potentially mediated by international actors like the United States, the United Nations, or regional powers. The advantage of this approach is the potential to avoid further military escalation and civilian casualties. However, past experiences suggest that ceasefires can be fragile and may not address the underlying issues of the conflict.

### **Operational and Intelligence Failures:**

- One of the primary failures mentioned by Prof. Freilich is the misjudgment regarding Hamas' capabilities and intentions. Israeli intelligence and operational planning, according to Prof. Freilich, may have been misled by Hamas's apparent focus on governance and economic issues in Gaza. This shift in focus potentially led to a perception that Hamas had moved away from its militant activities, resulting in a lowered guard against the possibility of a large-scale attack.
- Closely linked to the first point is the misinterpretation of Hamas' strategic intentions. Israel, as mentioned by Prof. Freilich may have been convinced that Hamas was prioritising internal governance over its long-standing objective of challenging Israel militarily. This miscalculation suggests a possible intelligence gap in fully understanding the ideological and strategic underpinnings driving Hamas' actions.
- The event described by him, he points to an operational surprise that caught Israeli defences off-guard. This suggests possible shortcomings in Israel's surveillance and early warning systems, which are typically robust. The surprise element of the attack could indicate a failure to detect or correctly interpret signs of impending aggression, which is a significant lapse given Israel's usually high state of alert and preparedness.
- The nature of the attack, focusing on civilians rather than military targets, indicates an intelligence blind spot. Traditional defence strategies are often more oriented towards repelling military assaults. The shift towards attacking civilian populations requires a different set of anticipatory measures and rapid response strategies, which, in this case, may not have been adequately in place.
- Prof. Freilich touches upon the influence of Iran in the region and its possible indirect role in the events. The failure to fully gauge Iran's involvement or influence over Hamas could be seen as a strategic intelligence oversight. Understanding the extent of Iran's influence is crucial for anticipating and preparing for such attacks, given its resources and regional ambitions.
- The situation described also highlights the broader challenge of counterterrorism and dealing with asymmetric warfare tactics. Organisations like Hamas often employ guerrilla tactics and embed within civilian populations, making intelligence gathering and operational responses more complex and prone to failure.

### **Geopolitical Ramifications:**

- The conflict highlights the ongoing power struggle in the Middle East, particularly between Israel and Iran-backed groups like Hamas. Iran's influence, as suggested by him, is not just limited to direct support but extends to strategic alignment and shared long-term objectives. This event could potentially escalate tensions between Israel and Iran, impacting regional stability.
- He mentions the potential for escalation with Hezbollah, a significant threat given its reported arsenal and capabilities. This introduces a multi-front challenge for Israel, complicating its security and military strategy. An escalation with Hezbollah could draw in other regional players, potentially leading to a broader regional conflict.
- The conflict's nature and Israel's response have implications for its relationships with Arab countries. While some Arab nations have normalised relations with Israel, events like these can strain these ties. The reaction of the Arab world, especially nations like Saudi Arabia, is crucial in determining the future of regional diplomacy.
- The involvement of international actors, particularly the United States, is a critical aspect. U.S. support for Israel, as noted by him, is strong, but it also brings constraints. The U.S. and other international players have to balance their support for Israel with broader regional stability concerns and international norms regarding civilian protection and conflict resolution.
- The aftermath of the conflict raises questions about governance in Gaza. The possibility of the Palestinian Authority (PA) taking control is complicated by its perceived ineffectiveness and lack of legitimacy. The formation of a stable government in Gaza, potentially supported by an international coalition, is a significant geopolitical challenge, with implications for peace and stability in the region.
- The humanitarian crisis resulting from such conflicts and the alleged human rights violations have international repercussions. They often lead to international condemnation and can affect Israel's global standing, influencing international policy and aid decisions.
- Prof. Freilich's mention of an international peace-enforcing mission to maintain a new government in Gaza highlights the challenges of international peacekeeping in such volatile regions. The success and nature of such missions can significantly influence regional dynamics and the approach to conflict resolution in other global hotspots.
- The strategy of attrition against Israel, as discussed by him, underscores a shift from conventional warfare to prolonged, asymmetric conflicts. This approach, aimed at eroding Israel's societal resilience and international standing, could set a precedent for similar conflicts elsewhere, affecting global strategies for dealing with asymmetric warfare.

Finally, he comments on the United States' role, particularly under President Biden, praising the support provided to Israel in terms of diplomatic backing, military resupply, and strategic deployment. However, he also notes the limitations and constraints that come with such support. Overall, Prof. Freilich's remarks provide a comprehensive view of a complex and multi-dimensional issue, blending analysis of tactical and strategic military considerations with broader geopolitical insights. He stresses the severity and uniqueness of the event within the context of Israeli history, while also acknowledging the intricate challenges and dilemmas faced by Israel in responding to such threats.



**Key Focus on:****1. Enhanced Civilian Protection Measures:**

- a. Develop comprehensive civilian protection protocols for areas vulnerable to terrorist attacks, incorporating advanced surveillance, rapid response units, and community-based alert systems.
- b. Implement regular drills and community awareness programs in high-risk areas to prepare civilians for potential terrorist threats.

**2. Intelligence and Surveillance Overhaul:**

- a. Invest in advanced intelligence-gathering technologies, including satellite imagery and electronic surveillance, to monitor terrorist group activities.
- b. Enhance human intelligence (HUMINT) capabilities in regions with known terrorist activities, focusing on infiltrating these groups to gather actionable intelligence.

**3. Counter-Terrorism Special Forces:**

- a. Establish or strengthen specialised counter-terrorism units equipped to handle large-scale terrorist attacks, particularly those targeting civilians.
- b. Train these units in urban warfare, hostage rescue, and crisis management to effectively respond to terrorist incidents.

**4. International Collaboration on Intelligence and Counter-Terrorism:**

- a. Strengthen international intelligence-sharing mechanisms, particularly with countries facing similar threats from terrorist organisations.
- b. Engage in joint counter-terrorism exercises and operations with international partners to enhance interoperability and strategic alignment.

**5. Diplomatic Engagement to Address Proxy Warfare:**

- a. Utilise diplomatic channels to address the issue of state-sponsored terrorism, focusing on countries known to support terrorist groups operating in and around India.
- b. Collaborate with international organisations and allies to exert diplomatic pressure on states that provide support to terrorist organisations.

**6. Holistic Approach to Addressing Root Causes:**

- a. Address socio-economic factors that contribute to terrorism, such as poverty, unemployment, and political disenfranchisement, particularly in regions prone to terrorist recruitment.
- b. Implement community development programs to provide alternatives to joining terrorist organisations, focusing on education, vocational training, and youth engagement.

**7. Counter-Propaganda and De-radicalization Initiatives:**

- a. Develop counter-narrative campaigns to challenge the propaganda of terrorist groups, utilising media, social media, and community outreach.

- b. Establish de-radicalization programs for individuals susceptible to or affected by terrorist ideologies, involving psychological counselling, education, and rehabilitation.

**8. Legislative and Judicial Framework Strengthening:**

- a. Review and strengthen laws related to terrorism, ensuring they are equipped to handle the evolving nature of terrorist threats.
- b. Ensure the judicial process for terrorism-related cases is efficient and fair, with provisions for witness protection and speedy trials.

**9. Focus on Regional Stability and Peace Initiatives:**

- a. Engage in regional forums and initiatives aimed at fostering peace and stability in South Asia, addressing underlying geopolitical tensions that fuel terrorism.
- b. Support conflict resolution processes in neighbouring countries where terrorism is a significant concern, promoting dialogue and diplomatic solutions.

**10. Public Awareness and Community Involvement:**

- a. Increase public awareness about the signs and threats of terrorism, encouraging community involvement in reporting suspicious activities.
- b. Foster strong community-police relationships to enhance grassroots intelligence gathering and strengthen societal resilience against terrorism.

**G) 7/10 Terror Attack and Lessons for India- Maj Gen (Dr) GD Bakshi, SM, VSM (Retd.)**

**Increasing Use of Drones and Rockets in Warfare:**

- The development of drones and rockets has been driven by rapid technological advancements. Drones, in particular, have evolved from simple surveillance tools to platforms capable of carrying out precision strikes. They offer a range of capabilities from intelligence, surveillance, and reconnaissance (ISR) to direct combat roles. Rockets have also seen improvements in accuracy, range, and payload.
- Non-state actors like terrorist organisations have increasingly adopted these technologies. Groups like Hamas and Hezbollah have built significant arsenals of rockets, which they use as a primary tool of asymmetrical warfare against conventionally superior military forces. Drones are used for surveillance, delivering payloads, and even for offensive operations, providing these groups with a new level of tactical capability.
- One of the reasons for the proliferation of drones and rockets in warfare is their relative low cost and ease of acquisition compared to traditional military hardware like fighter jets and tanks. This accessibility allows even less funded groups to possess significant offensive capabilities.

- The use of drones and rockets signifies a shift in how wars are fought. Drones, for instance, can strike targets with precision while minimising the risk to personnel, a factor that has made them particularly attractive to military forces around the world. This technology has also led to the development of new tactics and countermeasures, changing the dynamics of warfare.
- The use of drones and rockets poses significant challenges for defence systems. Traditional air defence systems may struggle to detect and intercept small, low-flying drones. Similarly, the sheer volume of rockets that groups like Hamas and Hezbollah possess can overwhelm defence systems, as seen in the context of Israel's Iron Dome.
- The use of drones, especially in targeted killings, raises important ethical and legal questions. Issues like collateral damage, the legality of strikes outside active war zones, and the accountability for drone operations are subjects of ongoing debate.
- The increasing use of these technologies is not limited to any single region. Their global proliferation means that militaries and non-state actors worldwide are now considering them as critical components of their arsenals. This trend is likely to continue as technology advances and becomes even more accessible.
- Future developments in drone and rocket technology, such as autonomous drones or hypersonic missiles, could further transform warfare. Military strategies and defence systems will need to evolve continuously to address these advancements.

The increasing use of drones and rockets in warfare reflects broader changes in military strategy and technology. It signifies a shift towards more asymmetric warfare tactics, poses new challenges for defence and ethical frameworks, and necessitates continual adaptation in military strategies and technologies.

#### **Lessons from Middle East Conflicts for South Asia:**

- The Middle East conflicts have shown an increasing reliance on asymmetric warfare tactics, primarily using drones and rockets. This trend is significant for South Asia, where traditional warfare has predominantly involved ground forces and conventional weaponry. Terrorist organisations in South Asia might adopt similar tactics, employing technology like drones not just for surveillance but also for offensive operations.
- The use of rockets by groups like Hamas and Hezbollah exemplifies a shift in the armaments of non-state actors. South Asian terrorist organisations, which currently rely on small arms, IEDs, and rocket launchers, may evolve to use more sophisticated rocket systems. This possibility necessitates an adjustment in defensive strategies by nations in South Asia.
- The success of the Iron Dome in Israel, a missile defence system, highlights the importance of technological solutions in modern warfare. South Asian countries could consider developing or acquiring similar systems to counter the threat of rocket attacks, especially in areas prone to cross-border tensions.
- The effectiveness of physical barriers, as seen in India's fencing of its borders with Pakistan, demonstrates a successful strategy in reducing infiltration and support for terrorist activities. However, the breach of the Gaza fence by Hamas also serves as a cautionary tale. It

underscores the need for constant vigilance, maintenance, and technological upgrades in border security measures.

- The surprise attacks by Hamas despite Israel's advanced intelligence capabilities point to potential vulnerabilities in intelligence systems. South Asian countries need to focus on improving their intelligence gathering, especially ground intelligence, and ensuring that analysis is free from biases and preconceived notions.
- Targeting the leadership and command structures of terrorist organisations, rather than just their operational foot soldiers, can be more effective in dismantling their capabilities. This approach requires precise intelligence and surgical military operations, as seen in Israel's strategy against Hamas leaders.
- The complexity of the Israeli-Palestinian conflict and the various attempts at long-term solutions like the two-state proposal offer lessons in diplomacy and conflict resolution. In South Asia, where conflicts are often intertwined with deep-rooted political and territorial issues, similar comprehensive and sustainable approaches are necessary for lasting peace.
- There's a lesson to be learned about balancing technological reliance with human intelligence and decision-making. Over-reliance on technology can sometimes lead to gaps in ground-level intelligence, as potentially seen in the Israeli context.

The Middle East conflicts offer critical lessons for South Asia in terms of adapting to new forms of warfare, enhancing technological and intelligence capabilities, and considering comprehensive approaches to conflict resolution and security. These lessons underscore the dynamic nature of modern conflicts and the necessity for continuous adaptation in strategies and policies.

### **The Effectiveness of Border Fences:**

- The primary objective of border fences is to deter and reduce illegal cross-border activities, including terrorism, smuggling, and unauthorised migration. Gen Bakshi's reference to the fences in Punjab and Jammu and Kashmir indicates their effectiveness in drastically reducing terrorist activities in these regions. By physically impeding unauthorised crossings, fences serve as a first line of defence.
- Modern border fences are often part of a larger security apparatus, including electronic surveillance, sensors, and monitoring systems. These technologies enhance the effectiveness of the physical barrier by enabling early detection and response to intrusion attempts.
- Border fences force terrorist organisations and smugglers to alter their tactics. For instance, Gen Bakshi mentions the use of drones for smuggling weapons and contraband across the border in Jammu and Kashmir and Punjab. This shift in tactics can be seen as both a challenge, necessitating new countermeasures, and a testament to the effectiveness of the fences in thwarting ground-based infiltration.
- Beyond their physical utility, border fences also have psychological and symbolic implications. They demarcate territorial boundaries and can act as a deterrent by their mere presence, signaling a state's commitment to securing its borders.
- While effective in many ways, fences are not a panacea for border security. They need constant maintenance and can be breached. Gen Bakshi's comparison with the Gaza fence breach

highlights the potential vulnerabilities of such defences. Additionally, fences do not address the root causes of terrorism and may only displace rather than eliminate cross-border threats.

- The construction and maintenance of border fences entail significant financial costs. This investment must be weighed against the security benefits and the potential need for additional measures, such as increased border patrols and advanced technological systems.
- Border fences can have international ramifications, affecting relations with neighbouring countries. They also raise humanitarian concerns, especially when they impede the movement of refugees fleeing conflict or persecution.

While border fences are a critical component in a nation's security strategy, particularly in regions prone to cross-border terrorism and smuggling, they are not foolproof. Their effectiveness is enhanced when integrated with advanced surveillance systems and complemented by other security measures. Moreover, the use of border fences must be balanced with diplomatic, humanitarian, and economic considerations to ensure a comprehensive and humane approach to border security.

### **Intelligence and Operational Challenges:**

#### **Intelligence Gathering and Analysis:**

- One of the most critical aspects highlighted by Gen Bakshi is the concept of 'grid biasing' in intelligence. This refers to the tendency of intelligence agencies to develop a dominant narrative or perspective, which can then lead to a confirmation bias. In such situations, intelligence that contradicts the established narrative may be undervalued or ignored. In the case of Israel, Gen Bakshi suggests that a focus on the West Bank might have led to underestimating the threat from Hamas in Gaza.
- The surprise achieved by Hamas in the conflict indicates a potential underestimation of their capabilities or intentions. This points to a broader challenge in intelligence work: accurately predicting the actions of adversaries, especially non-state actors like terrorist organisations, who often employ unconventional tactics.
- The ability of Hamas to maintain operational surprise against Israeli defence is a significant point of analysis. It suggests not only potential gaps in intelligence but also in operational readiness and response. The effectiveness of surprise attacks by non-conventional forces underscores the need for constant vigilance and adaptive security measures.

#### **Operational Readiness and Response:**

- The conflict represents a classic case of asymmetric warfare, where non-state actors use unconventional methods to challenge a conventionally superior military force. Addressing such challenges requires a flexible and multi-faceted operational strategy that goes beyond conventional military tactics.
- Gen Bakshi touches upon the reliance on technology in modern warfare, exemplified by the Iron Dome system. While such technologies are crucial for defence, over-reliance can lead to

underestimating the importance of human intelligence and ground-level operations. Balancing technological solutions with human intelligence gathering is critical.

- The use of drones and rockets by terrorist organisations represents an evolution in warfare tactics. Militaries and intelligence agencies must continuously adapt to these changing tactics, which may require new forms of surveillance, intelligence gathering, and rapid response mechanisms.

### **Broader Implications:**

- Understanding and analysing intelligence and operational failures are crucial for future preparedness. This involves a thorough examination of what went wrong and why, leading to improved strategies and tactics.
- The experiences in the Middle East have implications for other regions, including South Asia. Gen Bakshi's analysis suggests that learning from the Middle Eastern context is crucial for countries facing similar asymmetric threats.
- The discussion underscores the complexity of counterterrorism operations, which must balance immediate tactical responses with long-term strategic planning, including addressing the root causes of terrorism and insurgency.

### **Role of Technology:**

- Gen Bakshi highlights the importance of technological solutions such as Israel's Iron Dome. This system represents a significant technological advancement in missile defence, capable of intercepting and destroying short-range rockets and artillery shells in flight. Its success in mitigating rocket attacks from groups like Hamas exemplifies how technology can effectively neutralise certain asymmetric threats.
- The use of drones and rockets by non-state actors such as Hamas and Hezbollah demonstrates a shift in asymmetric warfare tactics. Technological advancements have made these tools more accessible and lethal. Defence strategies must evolve to address these emerging threats, which can range from small, unmanned aerial systems (drones) to advanced rocket systems.
- Technology plays a crucial role in intelligence gathering and surveillance. Advanced sensors, satellites, and cyber capabilities enable militaries to monitor threats more effectively, gather crucial intelligence, and make informed decisions. Gen Bakshi's emphasis on avoiding 'grid biasing' in intelligence also underscores the need for technology that can provide diverse, unbiased data for accurate analysis.
- The effectiveness of physical border fences, as discussed by him, is often augmented by technological components such as electronic surveillance, motion detectors, and advanced monitoring systems. These technologies enhance the ability to detect and respond to infiltration attempts, thereby reducing the risk of terrorist activities.
- In areas where adversaries use tunnels for infiltration (as seen in Gaza), technology plays a critical role in detecting and neutralising these threats. Techniques like seismic sensors and ground-penetrating radar can be pivotal in identifying and destroying tunnel networks.
- As warfare extends into the digital realm, cyber defence becomes increasingly crucial. Protecting critical infrastructure and military networks from cyber attacks is a key component of modern defence strategies.

- While technology offers numerous advantages, it also presents challenges. High costs, the rapid pace of technological change, and the potential for adversaries to develop countermeasures are ongoing concerns. Furthermore, over-reliance on technology can lead to vulnerabilities, as human judgement and adaptability remain crucial in unpredictable conflict scenarios.
- Looking ahead, emerging technologies like artificial intelligence, robotics, and quantum computing are set to revolutionise defence strategies. These technologies could offer new capabilities in areas like autonomous systems, decision support, and secure communications.

### **Command and Control Attrition:**

#### **Definition and Importance:**

- This term refers to the deliberate targeting and weakening of an enemy's command and control capabilities. In a military context, 'command and control' (C2) refers to the authority and direction by commanders, utilising their staff and other resources, to plan, direct, coordinate, and control forces and operations to accomplish the mission. Attrition here means systematically reducing the effectiveness or number of these capabilities.
- The primary aim is to disrupt the enemy's ability to plan, communicate, and execute operations. This is particularly effective against organised groups like terrorist organisations, where leadership and communication channels are crucial for operational success.

#### **Context in Counterterrorism:**

- Terrorist organisations often rely on charismatic or strategically important leaders for planning and directives. Removing these leaders can cause disarray and confusion within the ranks, potentially leading to a breakdown in operations.
- By targeting communication channels and networks, forces can prevent the flow of orders, intelligence, and coordination among different parts of the organisation, thus hindering their ability to conduct coordinated attacks or operations.
- The loss of leaders or the breakdown of communication can have a demoralising effect on the members of the organisation. It can lead to mistrust, fear, and hesitation, further weakening the group's operational effectiveness.

#### **Challenges and Considerations:**

- Effective command and control attrition requires precise intelligence to identify key leaders and communication nodes. This involves both technological surveillance and human intelligence.
- Targeting leaders can sometimes backfire if it turns them into martyrs, inspiring their followers to continue their cause with even greater fervour. Additionally, organisations often have succession plans, and new leaders can emerge, sometimes with more radical agendas.
- Operations aimed at command and control attrition need to be carefully planned to minimise collateral damage, which can have adverse political and ethical consequences.
- Over time, terrorist organisations may adapt to such strategies by decentralising their command structures or using more covert communication methods, thus requiring constant evolution in counterterrorism tactics.

## Long-Term Solutions and Challenges:

### Long-Term Solutions:

- Gen Bakshi alludes to the potential of a two-state solution to the Israeli-Palestinian conflict. This concept envisions an independent State of Palestine alongside the State of Israel, living in peace and security. This solution is seen as a way to end the decades-long conflict by fulfilling the national aspirations of both Jews and Palestinians.
- The idea of achieving long-term peace and stability in regions affected by prolonged conflict involves intricate diplomatic negotiations, mutual concessions, and a commitment to coexistence. This is a complex process, given the history of distrust and violence.
- In South Asia, particularly in areas affected by terrorism like Jammu and Kashmir, long-term solutions involve not only military action but also socio-economic development, political dialogue, and addressing underlying grievances.

### Challenges:

- The implementation of a two-state solution faces numerous challenges:
  - Ensuring the security of both states, especially in a region with a history of violence and mutual distrust.
  - Resolving issues around Israeli settlements in the West Bank and determining mutually agreeable borders.
  - Both sides need strong leadership willing to make difficult concessions and the ability to convince their populations of the benefits of peace.
- As conflict zones evolve with new technologies like drones and cyber warfare, nations must adapt their defence strategies. This requires continuous investment in technology and training.
- Enhancing intelligence capabilities to prevent terrorist attacks and to understand the changing dynamics of conflict. This also includes avoiding biases and ensuring a comprehensive analysis of intelligence data.
- In South Asia, addressing the root causes of conflict often involves improving economic conditions, governance, and addressing political grievances. This can be challenging due to diverse populations with different cultural and political aspirations.
- Achieving long-term solutions often requires international support, both in terms of diplomatic backing and in some cases, economic aid or peacekeeping forces. Balancing international interests with regional dynamics can be challenging.
- Ensuring that solutions are not just politically viable but also address humanitarian concerns is crucial. This includes dealing with refugees, human rights issues, and the long-term social impact of conflict.
- Once a peace agreement is reached, sustaining it requires ongoing efforts, including building trust, engaging in dialogue, and resolving new issues as they arise.

### Key Focus on:



**1. Adaptation to Drone and Rocket Warfare:**

- a. Develop and implement comprehensive anti-drone strategies, including regulatory frameworks for drone usage, and invest in counter-drone technologies like radio frequency jammers, anti-drone guns, and drone detection radar systems.
- b. Enhance missile defence systems, drawing lessons from Israel's Iron Dome, to protect against rocket attacks. Consider collaboration or technology sharing with countries having advanced missile defence capabilities.

**2. Intelligence and Surveillance Enhancements:**

- a. Strengthen ISR (Intelligence, Surveillance, Reconnaissance) capabilities with advanced satellite imaging, electronic surveillance, and UAVs (Unmanned Aerial Vehicles) to monitor and preempt potential threats from drones and rockets.
- b. Invest in AI and machine learning for intelligence analysis to efficiently process large volumes of data and identify potential threats, reducing human biases and improving predictive capabilities.

**3. Technological Innovation and Indigenous Development:**

- a. Encourage indigenous development of UAVs and missile defence systems through public-private partnerships and collaboration with research institutions.
- b. Allocate funding for R&D in emerging technologies like autonomous drones, laser weapons, and hypersonic missiles to stay ahead in the arms technology race.

**4. Border Security and Management:**

- a. Integrate physical border fences with technological solutions like sensors, surveillance cameras, and drones for comprehensive border management.
- b. Establish rapid response teams at border areas to act swiftly on intelligence inputs and counter infiltration attempts, including potential drone incursions.

**5. Training and Capacity Building:**

- a. Conduct regular training exercises for military and law enforcement personnel in anti-drone tactics and missile defence operations.
- b. Organise workshops and knowledge-sharing sessions with countries experienced in drone and rocket warfare to learn best practices and operational tactics.

**6. Legal and Ethical Frameworks:**

- a. Establish clear legal frameworks governing the use of drones and rockets in warfare, ensuring compliance with international laws and human rights standards.
- b. Engage in international dialogues and treaties to address the ethical and legal challenges posed by drone warfare and targeted killings.

**7. Cybersecurity and Electronic Warfare:**

- a. Strengthen cybersecurity defences to protect against potential cyber threats associated with drone and missile guidance systems.

- b. Develop electronic warfare capabilities to disrupt enemy communication and control systems, critical in modern asymmetric warfare.

**8. Diplomacy and International Cooperation:**

- a. Engage in diplomatic efforts to prevent the proliferation of drone and missile technologies to non-state actors.
- b. Strengthen international intelligence-sharing networks to gain insights into the technological advancements and tactics of potential adversaries.

**9. Public Awareness and Civil Defense:**

- a. Conduct public awareness campaigns about the potential threats from drones and rockets, and the importance of vigilance.
- b. Implement civil defence drills and establish community response mechanisms, particularly in border areas and regions prone to terrorist attacks.

## **Key Policy Recommendations**

### **1. Enhanced Oversight on Charitable Contributions:**

- Develop and implement stringent regulations for zakat and other charitable organisations to prevent the misuse of funds for financing terrorism. This involves establishing clear guidelines for financial transparency and accountability.
- Institute a robust monitoring system to track the flow of funds from charitable organisations, ensuring zakat contributions are used for legitimate and humanitarian purposes only. Regular audits and checks should be mandated to identify and investigate any suspicious activities.
- Partner with banks and financial institutions to implement enhanced due diligence on transactions related to zakat to detect and prevent diversion of funds to extremist groups. Encourage the adoption of best practices in financial transparency among charitable organisations.

### **2. Framework for Monitoring Educational Institutions:**

- Establish a comprehensive national framework aimed at monitoring educational institutions, including madrassas, to prevent the indoctrination and radicalization of youths. This framework should ensure that educational content promotes peace, tolerance, and interfaith harmony.
- Forge partnerships among international organisations (e.g., UNESCO, UNICEF), governments, and NGOs to develop standardised guidelines for educational content that discourages extremism.
- Provide resources and training for educators in conflict-prone areas to offer modern, inclusive education that encourages critical thinking and counters extremist narratives.
- Support for Alternative Education: Increase funding and support for alternative education programs that provide vulnerable populations with access to free, high-quality education, including vocational training.

### **3. Reforming School Textbooks to Promote Tolerance and Counter Radicalization:**

- To initiate comprehensive reforms in school curricula across Islamic countries to remove hate-filled and intolerant content, replacing it with material that fosters mutual respect, understanding of pluralism, and peaceful coexistence.
- Form national and regional committees comprising educators, scholars, and interfaith leaders to review and revise school textbooks, ensuring they align with principles of tolerance and peace.
- Integrate critical thinking and peace education into the curriculum to equip students with the ability to question extremist ideologies and resolve conflicts nonviolently.

### **4. Legal and Regulatory Frameworks:**

- Enhance surveillance and regulation of financial transactions and non-profit organisations to prevent the funding of extremist activities.

**5. Counter-Terrorism and Security Measures:**

- Invest in advanced technologies and training for personnel to improve intelligence gathering and analysis. Strengthen cybersecurity to counter digital radicalization and extremist propaganda.
- Establish and equip specialised units for effective response to extremist activities. Enhance international collaboration for intelligence sharing and joint operations.

**6. Socio-economic Strategies and Community Engagement:**

- Address socio-economic, cultural, and political factors contributing to extremism. Implement community-centred programs to counter radicalization.
- Launch educational and awareness campaigns to clarify extremist ideologies' misinterpretations. Promote interfaith dialogue and cultural understanding.

**7. International Cooperation and Partnerships:**

- Deepen strategic partnerships, especially with Israel, for shared intelligence and counter-terrorism technologies. Foster global cooperation to address the transnational nature of terrorism.
- Advocate for international collaboration in counter-terrorism efforts through platforms like the United Nations. Engage in proactive diplomacy to support regional stability.

**8. Innovation and Adaptation to Emerging Threats:**

- Develop adaptive strategies to address changing terrorist tactics, including the use of technology for propaganda. Monitor and counter the misuse of social media platforms by extremist groups.
- Encourage the development of counter-terrorism technologies and support research into the ideological shifts and tactics of terrorist groups.

**9. Legal Aid, Support Services, and Training:**

- Provide legal aid and support services to applicants of CAA and NRC, especially from vulnerable communities. Implement training programs for officials to mitigate biases and ensure fair treatment.
- Strengthen the capacity of officials through awareness and training programs to improve the implementation of policies effectively.

**10. Strengthening Financial Oversight and Intelligence:**

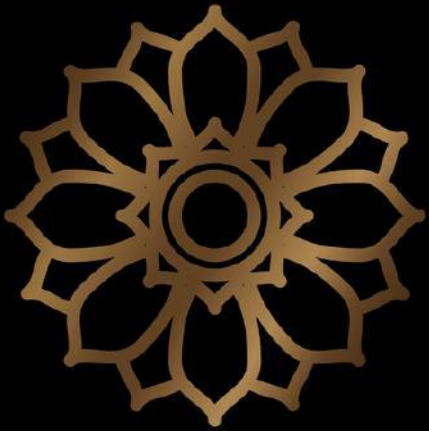
- Enhance the capabilities of financial intelligence units to detect and analyse suspicious transactions. Foster international partnerships for cross-border financial tracking.
- Promote intelligence sharing and coordination between central and state agencies to combat extremist activities efficiently.

**11. Community-Centric Approaches:**

- Develop and implement programs that engage at-risk groups and leverage local networks to promote tolerance and critical thinking.
- Build community resilience against radical ideologies through education, civic engagement, and media campaigns.

**12. Addressing Ideological Jihadism:**

- Invest in research to understand the ideological underpinnings of Jihadism and develop counter-narratives.
- Support moderate scholars and leaders within communities to offer peaceful interpretations and counter extremist ideologies.



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