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## CONCEPT NOTE

### Changing Character of Modern Conflicts

Modern conflicts are today marked by increasingly stark asymmetries between contending actors. On one side are usually the well oiled, well structured and well equipped armed forces of the state. On the other, are irregular forces, organised into small groups of lightly armed combatants with no obligation to adhere to international laws and norms, scant regards for life and property and total commitment to the cause. Not surprisingly, the emerging security environment is radically different from what it was even a few decades ago. While the probability of conventional conflict between states or groups of states has been steadily declining, the possibility of sub-conventional conflicts, ranging from intra-state conflicts to global terrorism is gaining prominence. To the two old categories of 'wars of conscience' and 'wars of interest', a new category, 'wars of intervention' – has been added.

The emerging security challenges are no longer products merely of conventional inter-state rivalries but of economic, demographic and societal tensions that are transnational in nature. Conflicts are on the rise due to multiple factors ranging from weak and illegitimate state institutions, marginalisation of groups of people, population displacement and ineffective regional security arrangements. Modern conflict is more likely to be a consequence of regional struggles involving a range of actors rather than inter-state tensions. Increasingly, territorial disputes, religious fundamentalism, radical extremism, ethnic tensions and socio-economic disparities are creating conditions that could be precursors to the use of force to achieve political and other objectives.

The changing character of conflict is indirectly influencing the concept of national security in the 21st Century. In the new world order post the Second World War, power blocs have slowly given way to cooperative regional groupings like the European Union (EU) and trade blocs like the Asia Pacific Economic Cooperation (APEC). The concept of the Westphalian nation-state has begun to gradually fray at the edges and consequently, non-state actors with transnational presence are emerging as important entities, gaining prominence that is for the most part disproportionate to their size and status. This has been added with more pronounced dimensions after 9/11 and resultant GWOT.

The methods and weapons employed by the belligerents, the goals of the fighters and the nature of the parties involved in wars are quite different to the 'classical' warfare. Conflict today is characterised by a complex combination of international and internal elements taking place in a globalised context, involving both state and non-state actors. This pattern of conflict is far more complicated than the Clausewitzian notion of warfare in which state controlled armies battled for control of territory. In some cases, the state is battling rebels who wish to take control of the state or secede from it. In others, there is a struggle for control of state resources fueled by ethnic, religious, sectarian and ideological

hatred. In reality, modern conflict is often a mixture of all of these, characterised by cross connecting interests of various stakeholders.

The above gives rise to two broad scenarios. Firstly, non-state actors, motivated on basis of one or more combinations of religious, fundamentalist, ethnic, ideological, sectarian and socio-economic faultlines are increasingly engaging in irregular warfare, pitched at the sub conventional level. Secondly, nation states have also emerged as major players engaged in sub conventional conflict, employing irregular or proxy warfare to achieve their goals. This may or may not be pitched under the shadow of the looming conventional threat.

As a concept, sub-conventional warfare is based on the premise that it is possible to destabilise an enemy so much, that it concedes even if it has the ability to continue waging war. Various tools employed in sub-conventional warfare, as it exists today, include militancy, insurgency, proxy war and terrorism. To an increasing extent, security forces across the world are now being engaged in sub conventional conflicts. A long drawn conflict where the enemy is hard to identify and victory is harder to define makes the operational environment for security forces extremely congested and dangerous. Use of force alone is unlikely to lead to conflict resolution, but force would perhaps remain an essential component to bring hostile actors to the negotiating table to enable political resolution of the problem.

The challenges for the government and its security forces have grown exponentially. The entire state machinery has to function in an orchestrated manner to ensure victory or political resolution on favourable terms. Inter-state cooperation employing social, political and economic development as drivers for engagement, continuation of dialogue between the warring actors, back-channel diplomacy and coercion through active and aggressive foreign policy are but a few tools available with the state to counter sub conventional conflicts.

## Objectives of the Seminar

Against the above backdrop, the seminar aimed to achieve the following objectives:-

- To examine and evaluate the current and emerging security threats at international and regional levels.
- To provide an insight into non state organisations, sources of strength and sustenance, psychological warfare and human resource strategies.
- To explore possibilities of government to government and military to military cooperation in tackling these emerging threats.
- To suggest a roadmap to effectively tackle the non state actors and state sponsored terror organisations.
- Development policies and strategies to counter sub conventional threats.
- To sensitise the environment regarding exploitation of technology and social media by inimical forces and methodologies to counter radicalisation and social media subversion.

## Themes

In order to address the subject ‘**Sub Conventional Conflicts: Emerging Threats and Challenges**’, an appraisal of ongoing conflicts across the world was carried out and the causative factors were assessed. This was followed by examining the strategies that could be adopted both to prevent conflict as also to manage the ongoing conflicts. The seminar delved up on the following themes:-

- An appraisal of the causes, drivers and reasons for growth of sub conventional conflicts.
- The spread of sub conventional conflicts, methods, systems and organisations.
- The approach to counter sub conventional conflicts and develop policies and strategies.
- Addressing the techno-social realm in order to rise to the emerging challenges.
- Analysing the Indian model of Counter Insurgency/ Counter Terrorism.

## Methodology

Speakers representing a wide cross-section of domain expertise both from India and abroad were invited to present papers and to share their perceptive on the subject.

## Conduct of Seminar

The seminar was conducted at the Manekshaw Centre, New Delhi over two days on 25 and 26 February 2016 under the aegis of the Centre for Land Warfare Studies.

## Inaugural Session

The inaugural session was addressed by the following dignitaries:-

- The Chief of the Army Staff.
- Sh. MJ Akbar, Honourable MP.
- The Vice Chief of the Army Staff.

## Session One : Age of Chaos – Challenging the World Order

This session was dedicated towards an analysis of key factors like religious, cultural, sectarian, ethnic, commercial and socio-political faultlines that have been the catalyst for emergence of various trouble spots around the world. The speakers focused on the following issues:-

- The dynamic situation in the Middle East and how the role played by myriad global and regional players has led to proliferation of sub conventional conflicts, thereby affecting the global scenario.
- Use of armed terror groups as new tools of statecraft in the name of national interest and related fallouts with focus on Af-Pak region.
- Sub conventional conflicts in Africa focusing on Boko Haram and Al-Shabab.
- Religious fundamentalism towards proliferation of sub-conventional conflicts and how this has gained traction amongst vulnerable sections of population across the world.

## Session Two : Anatomy of Sub-Conventional Conflicts

This session analysed the ongoing sub-conventional conflicts in the backdrop of existing environmental realities and factors/tools that have facilitated the conflicts. The session delved into the following issues:-

- Modus operandi of armed terror groups.
- Linkages that terror groups have evolved amongst themselves thereby strengthening their sustenance in a trans-continental setup.
- Evolving modes of financing of violent non state actors, sometimes in cohort with the state actors, to include a prognosis suggesting measures to counter the challenge.
- The force-multiplier link that **Terror** has developed with **Technology** and **Social Media** and how this linkage has facilitated the spread of radicalisation and proliferation of conflicts.

## Session Three : From Shadow of Despair to Ray of Hope

A combination of the causative factors is likely to lead to emergence of new areas of turbulence in the future. Valuable lessons learnt from the past conflicts can provide a better insight in managing localised infractions. The subjugation of conflict is through combination of force application, good governance and changing mindset of people. The session focused on following issues:-

- Since the character of sub-conventional conflicts transcends national boundaries, various responses to counter the challenges need to be transnational. Regional groupings either under the UN or otherwise and modalities therein would remain critical to future strategies.
- In the context of root causes of the conflicts, role played by good and inclusive governance.
- As part of military response, inevitability of ground support to aerial operations or 'Boots on Ground', examine inter-operability and successful models including special force operations.
- Viability and ethics related issues in the context of 'Phantom Strikes' or 'Black Operations' against specific targets to numb the terror organisations.

## Session Four : Countering Sub Conventional Conflicts -the Techno-Social Realm

This session essentially addressed the techno-social realm to counter the challenge since the combination has been exploited to the hilt by the terror groups. In addition, the model of Counter Insurgency / Counter Terrorism being followed by the Indian Army was discussed with focus on its strengths and weaknesses. The following issues were addressed:-

- Pro-active use of technology to blunt the double edged sword that the terror groups wield.
- A holistic approach to influence perceptions by 'Counter & De-radicalisation'.
- The extensive use of social media by the terror groups has led to origin of terms like 'twitter jihad' and 'mujatwits'. Social media has enhanced the reach and influence of these actors manifolds whereas the state response has been found wanting.
- The Counter Insurgency / Counter Terrorism model that has worked – A SWOT Analysis.

## Participation

The participants included the following:-

- Foreign delegates and Service officers from foreign armed forces.
- Select Defence Attaches posted at New Delhi.
- Representatives from the MoD.
- Service officers from the Indian Armed Forces.
- Officers from the Central Armed Police Forces.
- Policy makers and regulators from Government Departments.
- Research scholars from Think Tanks.

## Conclusion

Sub-conventional conflicts will continue to dominate future wars. Nation states will continue to be challenged by increasing capable non-state actors. Acrimonious neighbours will make skilful use of these resources to balance their conventional force deficit. Clear higher level directions and operational directives will be essential for the land forces trained and equipped for conventional warfare to operate in an extremely challenging and hostile sub-conventional environment. A viable response strategy calls for comprehensive changes to doctrines, training and force structures to meet existing and emergent challenges.

## SEMINAR PROGRAMME

### DAY ONE

0930 - 1000h	Registration
1000 - 1050h	<b>INAUGURAL SESSION</b> Keynote Address by Sh. <b>MJ Akbar</b> , Honorable Member of Parliament Inaugural Address by the <b>Chief of the Army Staff</b>
1050 - 1115h	Tea Break
1115 - 1330h	<b>SESSION ONE : AGE OF CHAOS- CHALLENGING THE WORLD ORDER</b>
1115 - 1125	Opening Remarks by the Chair Dr. <b>Ajai Sahni</b> , Executive Director, Institute for Conflict Management, New Delhi
1125 - 1145h	International Power Politics in West Asia – Proliferating Sub- Conventional Conflicts. Dr. <b>Waiel SH Awwad</b> , Freelance Security Analyst and Author
1145 - 1205h	Armed Terror Groups: New Tools of Statecraft Dr. <b>Christine Fair</b> , Associate Professor, Center for Peace and Security Studies, Georgetown University, US
1205 - 1225h	Africa : Boko Haram and Al-Shabab Ambassador <b>Mahesh Sachdev</b> , President, UAE-India Business Council and former Indian Ambassador to Nigeria
1225 - 1245h	Jihad - Rhetoric or Reality :For Purity or for Robe of Glory Mr. <b>Praveen Swami</b> , National Editor, <i>Strategic and International Affairs, The Indian Express</i>
1245 - 1255h	Closing Remarks by the Chair
1255 - 1330h	Interactive Session
1330 - 1430h	Lunch
1430 - 1645h	<b>SESSION TWO : ANATOMY OF SUB-CONVENTIONAL CONFLICTS</b>
1430 - 1440h	Opening Remarks by the Chair Dr. <b>Manoj Joshi</b> , Distinguished Fellow, Observer Research Foundation, New Delhi
1440 - 1500h	Sub – Conventional Players : Modus Operandi Ms. <b>Suhasini Haidar</b> , Strategic and Diplomatic Affairs Editor, <i>The Hindu</i>
1500 - 1520h	Terror: A Flat World Dr. <b>Sanjay Badri Maharaj</b> , Security Expert and Consultant, Ministry of National Security, Trinidad & Tobago
1520 - 1540h	Terror Funding : From Black Gold to White Powder Colonel <b>Vivek Chadha</b> , Research Fellow, the Institute of Defence Studies and Analyses, New Delhi
1540 - 1600h	Terror – Technology – Social Media : Bedfellows of the Digital Age Dr. <b>Amarnath Amarsingham</b> , Author and Post Doctoral Fellow, Dalhousie University, Canada
1600 - 1610h	Closing Remarks by the Chair
1610 - 1645h	Interactive Session
2000h	Social Evening including Dinner

DAY TWO

0930 - 1030h	Country perspective on Global Terrorism (Bangladesh, France, Israel, Japan and Russia)
1035 - 1315h	SESSION THREE : FROM SHADOW OF DESPAIR TO RAY OF HOPE
1035 - 1045h	Opening Remarks by the Chair Ambassador <b>KC Singh</b> , Former Ambassador to UAE and Iran
1045 - 1105h	Trans-national Response to Counter Terrorism Dr. <b>Christopher C. Harmon</b> , Author and Director, Counter Terrorism Course at the Asia Pacific Centre for Security Studies, Honolulu, US
1105 - 1125h	Bridging the Trust Deficit – Ambit of Good Governance Dr. <b>Jason G Ralph</b> , Professor, International Relations, School of Politics and International Studies, University of Leeds
1125 - 1140h	Tea Break
1145 - 1205h	Boots on Ground - Military Response Lt Gen <b>S Ata Hasnain</b> PVSM, UYSM, AVSM, SM*, VSM*, Security Analyst and former General Officer Commanding Srinagar based Corps
1205 - 1225h	Phantom Strikes - Black Operations Dr. <b>Ronen Bergman</b> , Investigative Journalist and Author, Israel
1225 - 1235h	Closing Remarks by the Chair
1235 - 1315h	Interactive Session
1315 - 1415h	Lunch
1415 - 1640h	SESSION FOUR : COUNTERING SUB-CONVENTIONAL CONFLICTS : THE TECHNO-SOCIAL REALM
1415 - 1425h	Opening Remarks by the Chair Mr. <b>KC Verma</b> , Former Chief, R&AW
1425 - 1445h	Blunting the Double Edged Sword : Pro-active use of Technology Dr. <b>James Jay Carafano</b> , Director Foreign Policy and International Studies, The Heritage Foundation, US
1445 - 1505h	Mind Games : Influencing Perceptions – Counter & De-radicalisation Dr <b>Adil Rasheed</b> , Independent Analyst, West Asian Geopolitics
1505 - 1525h	An Undervalued Option by the State – Exploiting Social Media Lieutenant Colonel (Res) <b>Uri Ben Yaakov</b> , Senior Researcher and Project Manager, International Institute for Counter-Terrorism, Herzliya, Israel
1525 - 1545h	The CT Framework that has Worked – The Indian Model (SWOT Analysis) Lieutenant General <b>Subrata Saha</b> , UYSM, YSM, VSM**, Deputy Chief of the Army Staff (Planning & Systems)
1545 - 1555h	Closing Remarks by the Chair
1555 - 1640h	Interactive Session
1645 - 1715h	VALEDICTORY ADDRESS Lieutenant General HS Lidder, PVSM, UYSM, YSM, VSM Former Chief of Integrated Defence Staff to Chairman Chief of Staff Committee
1715h onwards	Farewell Vote of Thanks and Tea



From left Brig Kuldeep Sheoran, General Deepak Kapoor, PVSM, AVSM, SM, VSM, Former COAS, Shri MJ Akbar, General Dalbir Singh Suhag, PVSM, AVSM, UYSM, VSM, ADC, COAS





General Dalbir Singh, PVSM, UYSM, AVSM, VSM, ADC, COAS delivering Inaugural Address



Shri M J Akbar, Honourable Member of Parliament delivering Keynote Address

## SEMINAR REPORT

### International Seminar

## SUB CONVENTIONAL CONFLICTS: EMERGING THREATS AND CHALLENGES

*The aspects enumerated as part of this report are exclusively based on the deliberations by panelists and interaction with the delegates. These do not necessarily confirm to the views of the Centre for Land Warfare Studies (CLAWS) or that of the Indian Army or the Ministry of Defence, Government of India.*

The CLAWS conducted an international seminar themed, “Sub conventional Conflicts: Emerging Threats and Challenges, on 25 & 26 February.

The seminar examined and debated the major aspects of Sub Conventional Conflicts. An appraisal of ongoing conflicts across the world was carried out and assessment made of the causative factors. This was followed by examining the strategies that could be adopted both to prevent conflict as also to manage the ongoing conflicts. The deliberations culminated into a presentation and discussions on the Indian Army’s Model of Counter Terrorism, centred on the strengths and weaknesses of the same.

The summary of deliberations is enumerated in the succeeding paragraphs.

### Major Conflicts and Terror Groups

The areas affected by Sub Conventional Conflicts that were analysed included West Asia, Af-Pak, India, Nigeria, Mali, East Africa and Trinidad and Tobago.

**West Asia.** The following factors emerged as contributors to the prevalent turmoil in West Asia

- Western intervention in the post colonial era promoted crony regimes in the Arab world.
- Autocratic regimes with apparent secular leanings saw popular resistance in Arab Spring which had a chaotic end, resulting in collapse of nation states that were symbols of stability in the region.
- The vacuum that was created with collapse of nation states, set conditions congenial to rise and sustenance of terror groups like Daesh and other radical militant groups.

- Division amongst the Arab States was cemented with the establishment of Arab League against the idea of pan- Arabic identity. Arab world was not seen as single entity but as merely a land of multi ethnic, multi religious and multi cultural fragile states.
- Islamism that was propped as counter to communism gained traction, manifesting into extremism and radicalism. The nodal starting point came to be centered on faith supremacy that turned the respective society and polity less tolerant.
- Today, the challenge is from faith propelled ideologies which are in pursuit of geography, rejecting boundaries and nations.
- Notwithstanding the religious precepts, a political ideology comprising twisted form of religion is propagated to influence vulnerable youth, who have reasons of their own to get lured and eventually trapped.
- To understand the dynamics of terror groups in West Asia, it becomes pertinent to understand the factors that led to their rise, in terms of interest and influence of the West.
- Intervention by states to impose their will to destroy a non Muslim state ( Hamas and Hezbollah) or indulgence in sectarian competition ( Saudi Arabia v/s Iran).



Dr. Waiel SH Awwad



Dr. Ajai Sahni

### **Af-Pak and South Asia.**

- Afghanistan has been the centre of Sub Conventional Conflicts since 1979, first to fight communism, later to impose religious groups on governance and now to challenge democracy and development.
- India has been countering Sub Conventional Conflicts in form of resistance movements with secessionist and religious agendas as also Pakistan sponsored proxy war and terror Several terror

groups like Jamat-e-Islami and Afghan Taliban in Afghanistan, Tehreek-e-Taliban (TTP) in Pakistan and Jaish-e-Mohammad (JeM), Lashkar-e-Taiba (LeT) and Hizb-ul- Mujahideen (HM) in India have been fighting the state actors for last three decades plus.

- Pakistan in particular has exploited the terror groups as state proxies, to achieve its ulterior motives. The non state actors, by the virtue of the state support have metamorphed into state actors. While Pakistan has exported terror to India and insurgency to Afghanistan, it too has suffered Sub Conventional Conflicts due to its wrong policies, which resulted in creation of home grown terror groups.



Dr. C. Christine Fair



Mr. Praveen Swami

**Sub Saharan, East Africa and Sahel Region.** The rise of Sub Conventional Conflicts in Africa can be broadly attributed to Al Qaeda, religious fundamentalism and poor governance coupled with feudal state structure.

- Peculiarities of Conflicts in Africa.
  - Governance deficit is the basic issue that gets extended into conflicts in context of politico-military equilibrium.
  - The states are weak institutions – state role in sponsoring terror is unproven, though has not been ruled out.
  - Inequality within and amongst the states has coincided with sectarian fault lines, thus aggravating the conflict scenario.
  - The concept of statehood is relatively weaker than loyalty to religion and ethnicity. In addition, poor connectivity – restricts identity that gets confined to religion or ethnicity.
  - Unlike other regions where sub conventional conflicts are between well oiled state militaries and militants - in Africa asymmetry between military and militants is not very deep.
  - State militaries are often on defensive in several sub regions.
- Boko Haram is the most active and lethal terror group in West Africa. The name “Boko Haram”

is usually translated as “Western education is forbidden” or as “Western influence is a sin”. Both Boko Haram and Al Shabab operate throughout their respective sub-regions; the former around Lake Chad and the latter in East Africa (with connections to Al Qaeda in Yemen). These terror groups have their genesis in factors like governance deficit and rampant inequality coinciding with the existing ethno-religious fault lines.

- During the initial phase, these groups were exploited as political tools by state actors, and with gaining influence and linkages with Daesh, they have emerged as bonafide western state of Daesh (in Africa), thereby forming part of the extended Caliphate.
- The Libyan insurgency proved to be a turning point in present context. With overthrow of Gaddafi, weapons and terror groups proliferated into Central and sub Saharan Africa seeing Al Qaeda and its affiliates gaining considerable traction.



## Drivers of the Conflicts

**Primacy of Gaining Territory / Establishing Caliphate.** As modus operandi, manipulated religion and ideologies have become a means to achieve the primary goal of controlling territory to establish a state.

**Tools of Statecraft.** One of the most crucial aspects aiding sustenance of terror groups has been the covert state support or intentional indifference shown to their presence, for ulterior motives. Many nations, inspite of being signatories to international treaties and conventions, either directly or by political posturing have backed these groups. One of the main reasons for the states to support proxies is that it amounts to be a low cost option against conventional forces of the adversary. Few of the states extending such covert support are Turkey (to Daesh), Pakistan (to Taliban, JeM, LeT, HM), Iran (to Hezbollah) etc.

In addition, Wahabi and Salafi ideology emanating from Saudi Arabia has been the religious factor fuelling proliferation of extremism; was mainly initiated as counter to the Shia extremism of Iran.

**Homogeneity of Terror Groups.** Various terror groups have demonstrated inclination and willingness to work in conjunction with each other, transcending state boundaries. The trans-national nexus acts to their advantage, especially in view of the reluctance of state actors to cooperate with each other to combat them, for their respective apprehensions and interests.



Dr. Jacob Zenn



Ambassador Mahesh Sachdev

### **The Nexus.**

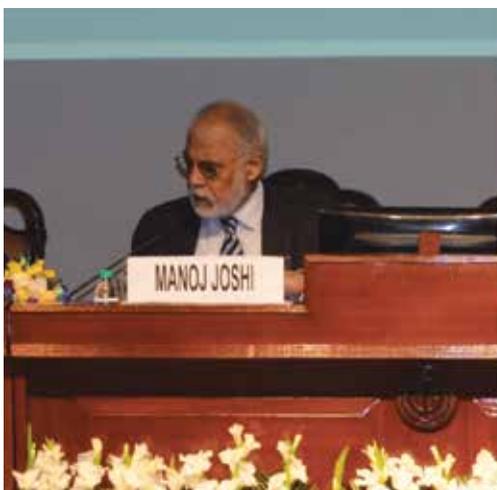
- Trans-national organized crime is one of the major sources of funding for international terror groups. Their mutual equation has graduated from co-existence to cooperation.
- The terror groups have superimposed their network on the existing structure of transnational organised crime, to their advantage.
- The human trafficking web of organized crime has enabled the terror groups to infiltrate countries that were hitherto inaccessible. Also, the established smuggling routes have ensured a free flow of weapons. This freedom of movement for resources works both ways i.e. to and from the conflict zones. In countries like Trinidad and Tobago, the state does not discourage the return of foreign fighters due to political stakes involved.

### **Radicalisation.**

- **Understanding the Enemy.** Extreme crypto-religious ideologies have given rise to the virulent forms of radicalisation. The ideologues of fundamentalists attempt to trash the spiritual and mythological baggage of orthodox faith and reinvent the beliefs, so as to project them as an alternative to the mainly liberal, secular and democratic face of the international order.
- **Extremist Narratives.** The deviant agenda of a radical ideology often remain vague to most of

its followers. They mainly focus on the so-called “evil conspiracies” and the “shortcomings” of the rival communities or established order. A radical narrative refers to a series of justifications and arguments in defence of the supposed principles and values of an extremist ideology, and accusations against the prevailing order which necessitates its violent destruction. The main forms of the propagated narratives are as follows:

- The Persecution Story.
- Nostalgia for an Imagined Past.
- The Call to Action and Bogey of Martyrdom.
- Demonizing ‘The Other’.
- The Supremacist and Panacea Construct.
- The general trend vis-à-vis the foreign fighters with Daesh may be categorised in two waves, which are as follows:
  - 1<sup>st</sup> wave was from 2011 to mid 2013 which was primarily anti Assad with no motivation for ‘caliphate’. They articulated the fight in terms of ‘defensive jihad’ and were localised.
  - 2<sup>nd</sup> wave has been from 2013 onwards, which is purely ideological and argues for the zenith of Islam.
- **Against the Traditional Ulema.** The propagandised version of Islamism appeals particularly to the youth that rejects traditional clerical authority, the Ulema. This has turned the middle class educated Muslim youth rebel against not only the society but also, at times, their families.
- **The Indian Context.** Although in numerical terms, the youth that has so far been influenced by the call for jihad is trivial, yet any sense of complacency would be unwarranted owing to the resultant socio-political fallouts. The philosophy of militant jihad in India should not be seen purely as an imported phenomenon. The existing faultlines within the socio- religious realm in the society are largely responsible for creation and deepening of the existing rift and causing radicalisation. Two distinct phases of Islamic radicalism in India have been the fallouts of Babri Masjid demolition and Gujarat riots. This radicalism is primarily political in nature and thrives on intra-societal faultlines.



Dr, Manoj Joshi



Ms. Suhasini Haidar

### Organisational Sustenance.

- Affiliates of major outfits like Daesh and Al Qaeda are loosely organised and decentralised, with sufficient autonomy to act in their respective regions. The flat nature of their organisation adds to the much required flexibility and longevity.
- Many splinter groups in Africa, Af-Pak, South and SE Asia have been swearing allegiance to Daesh.
- The phenomenon of 'lone wolf attack' has augmented the reach of terror outfits, which propagate the idea that to wage jihad the fighters do not necessarily have to come to Iraq / Syria but can contribute by striking in their respective countries.

### Funding.

- The sources of terror funding are categorised into external and internal. External sources include counterfeit currency, drug trafficking, NGOs funding, charities and direct state funding. Internal sources are fundamentally located within the country like, extortion or taxation, criminal activities, protection money etc.
- Although a work in progress, overall, the international community has responded well to counter terror funding with broad cooperation to track and cut off funding. However, monitoring and enforcement of commitments remain spotty mainly for the reason that the terrorists increasingly resort to informal methods that are difficult to curtail. The methods of transferring funds provides a substantial gap towards countering terror finance as funds can be moved through legal channels, such as banks or trade. In addition, as part of the unorganised channels, cash and hawala have been used extensively in the case of India.
- Few of the common factors that sustain and embolden terror finance are weak state structure with prevalent governance deficit, state support, collusion between crime and terrorism, geopolitics preferred over counter-terror, poor border management etc.



Colonel Vivek Chadha



Dr Amarnath Amarsingham

## Social Media.

- Internet has been used as a platform for much more than merely communicating.
- Every person gets lured to social media for unique reasons, which amongst others are religion, adventure, youth angst, quest for purpose & meaning as a youth.
- The groups on social media demonstrate hardcore loyalties. The potential targets do not undergo any formal recruitment. They are not 'lured' to the dark web but are fully conscious of what they 'seek and get'. The widespread belief amongst the clients is that 'person online is the real you', forming the 'Bakiya' family that is characterised with everlasting associations.
- Account suspensions do not work as the suspensions are equated to martyrdom and are seen as worthy membership criteria to get included into the online community.
- Daesh releases on social media are of following five categories
  - Military victories, official releases.
  - Martyrdom notices, state function, internal cleansing.
  - 'Hisbah' (accountability) policing news.
  - Views reinforcing calculated political violence.
  - Governance and civic activity notices.

**Cyber Jihad.** In order to give religious justification for their actions in the virtual world, terrorists call it electronic jihad and maintain that it is an individual's religious obligation to follow this path. These groups have often come out with *fatwa* against American internet markets and justify hiring a hacker in order to weaken the aggressor's economy. The electronic Jihad can be divided into following three parts:

- Defensive - to include software encryption programs, guides to safe-surfing and other tools.
- Operational - incorporating propaganda, psy warfare, recruiting and training, communication, fundraising, intelligence collection.
- Low level Offensive - hacking activities.



Mr Sergey Karmalito



Colonel Y Inoueu



Lieutenant Colonel A Shahar



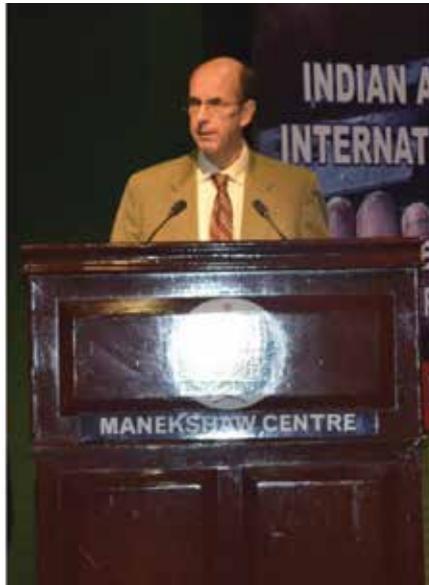
Major General Shamim Choudhary

### Recommendations to Counter the Challenge

- **Aggressive Psy Messaging.** ‘Rhetoric’ through psy messaging and aggressive campaigning is carried out rather effectively by VSNA and the State Actors have fared poorly towards the same, hence better responses are the need of time..
- **Shared Tenets of Public Diplomacy.** The nations, through public diplomacy have to evolve a common understanding vis-à-vis terrorism, on following lines:
  - Terrorism repudiates human ideals and is indefensible.
  - Good governance must integrate and maintain polity.
  - Effective narratives to block the clash of civilizations concept; a regressive facet that terrorists strive for.
  - De-glamourise and deride terror.
- **Nature of Counter Campaign.** The publicity of character flaws, fault lines and hypocrisy, vis-à-vis terror groups must be done in an offensive manner, by the state actors. However, as a caveat, the campaign has to be watched against any negativism. Negation may be powerful in politics but purely negative campaigns are usually ‘losing campaigns’. The terrorist argument will always be listened to if there seem to be no healthy alternatives.
- **Responsibility to Protect (R2P).**
  - R2P is solely about preventing and stopping genocide, war crimes, crimes against humanity and ethnic cleansing - not about political interference and democratization. R2P has often been misutilised by influential powers, by according priority to political interventions aimed at regime changes.
  - Such interventions deviate from the laid down principles and invariably lead to chaos and proliferation of conflicts. Wrongly conceived and executed interventions in Syria, resulted in

strengthening Assad's opposition. The so-called moderate groups were provided with arms, resulting in the present chaos and impasse.

- The West, by encouraging revolution and regime change, not only underestimated the extremist threat but also encouraged it.
- Also, R2P without UNSC authorisation need to be curbed as it foment differences within the international community.



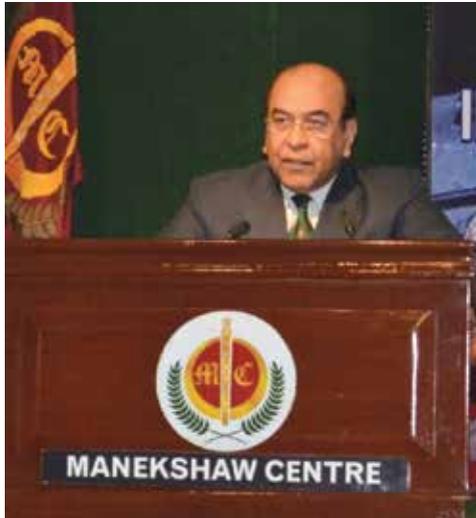
Dr, Christopher Harmon



Dr. Jason Ralph

### **Boots on Ground.**

- Counter terror operations without boots on ground can only contain conflicts; and victories are rarely achieved.
- Nations are hesitant to use boots on ground since exercising such an option is expensive in logistics, lives and emotions. Also, exit becomes easier when boots do not deploy.
- Countering the challenge of sub conventional conflicts warrant a combination of kinetic and non-kinetic ops, i.e. a balance of hard and soft power. With no boots deployed, the common mistake that is committed is over emphasis on hard power. Stand-off air and drone operations are effective against infrastructure and logistics, but are negative from population point of view.
- A comprehensive approach towards counter terror operations should comprise exercising of initial hard power and subsequently a balance of hard and soft power. Aspects like minimum use of force, safeguarding human rights, winning hearts and minds, population centric operations are pre-requisites for an effective campaign. These tenets symbolise the Indian Army's model of counter terrorism, which is based on boots on ground operations.
- Boots on ground facilitate better understanding of the operational dynamics, which is essential for a calibrated response on part of counter-terrorists.



Lieutenant General SA Hasnain,  
PVSM, UYSM, AVSM, SM \*, VSM \*



Dr. Ronen Bergman

**Targeted Killings.** The option was effectively exercised by Israel to combat the menace of suicide terrorism during the years 2000 to 2004. However, certain pre-requisites for its adoption as a policy are- justifiable dynamics of the prevalent situation, political will, capacity building, factoring in the legal aspects and overcoming the moral / ethical dilemma. The overall planning and conduct was based on following approaches:

**Intelligence.** Reliance was shifted from HUMINT to TECHINT. Recruitment of young people in Military Intelligence was taken up, to develop new and innovative technologies. Israel developed national intelligence databases, located at Joint War Room in Tel Aviv. The data was fed by all sensors of Israeli intelligence and commonly available to users.

**Political Will.** Inception and conduct of such operations at the national level was supported by the prevalent political will. Targeted killings authorisation was with the law of the land.

**Targets.** In order to carry out the operations in a controlled manner, instead of individual bombers, it was the strata of handlers and planners that was targeted. This accrued twin benefits of relatively lesser number of targets and crippling the nerve centre of terrorists.

**Minimising Own Risks.** Drones were employed in an audacious and innovative manner, to reduce the risk of buying casualties. This was supported by swift decision making to execute off the shelf procurement.

**National Interest and Ethical Dilemma.** Two very crucial issues related to execution of such special operations were the issues regarding taking responsibility as a nation and the legality of such

operations. As a nation, Israel took the responsibility, by spelling out the reasons for conducting the operation and identities of the targets.

**Legal Impediment.** As far as legality was concerned, Israel prepared herself by formulating a protocol and involving its Supreme Court to ratify the same. This ruling was later adopted by US military and CIA and is now the leading legal code/base for targeted killing by the Americans.



Dr. Adil Rasheed and Mr. KC Verma

### **De-radicalisation /Counter-radicalisation / Anti-radicalisation.**

- In order to evolve a cogent counter narrative, it is pertinent to understand the ideology that is propagated by twisted interpretation of religion, as also it is essential to differentiate between terms – de/counter/anti – radicalisation.
- The counter narratives need to be formulated by experts and spread via multifarious modes and agencies, to include coverage of cyber space. It cannot be a purely governmental exercise.
- The civil society has a crucial role to play in the de-radicalisation campaign, permeating local, national and international levels.
- Moderate voices in the society require to be empowered through effective homegrown community outreach programme.
- Types of Counter Narratives.
  - Positive Narrative - the basis of counter narrative has to be core liberal values, of democracy, pluralism and secularism.
  - Amplify Doctrinal and Ideological Fissures – the claims of religious legitimacy by the radicals can be easily discredited by highlighting their doctrinal deviance.
  - The Semantics-Savvy Counter-Narrative – usage of terms - ‘Jihadis’ v/s ‘Fasadis’, narrative.
  - Strategic Counter Narratives – during extreme stress following a terror attack or communal violence, carefully prepared messages to stop polarisation.

- Ethical Counter-Narratives - we need to disseminate the message that all religions are opposed to terrorism.
- Specialized Religious or Ideological Counter Narratives- on specialized and controversial legal or history-related issues, top experts need to devise.
- Tactical Counter Narratives - sometimes material that may discredit the leadership or members of extremist organization should be used to make such groups unpopular.
- Subliminal Messaging - advertising agencies and filmmakers are experts in communicating subliminal messages to their audience. Their expertise should be used in disseminating counter-narratives.



Lieutenant Colonel (Res) Uri Ben Yaakov



Colonel James Bariety

### **Role of Civil Society and Government Agencies.**

- It can foster a sense of belonging and shared identity by reducing real and perceived isolation of vulnerable communities and bridge internal community divisions.
- At the international level, there is a need to check growing politicisation of religion across the political spectrum by stringent implementation of existing legislations and conventions.
- Introduce Religious Studies as a secular academic discipline in universities so as not to depend on biased, opinionated and quack religious scholars to frame our counter-narratives and de-radicalization policies.
- Develop a strong counter-radicalisation presence in the cyber world, particularly in various languages and vernaculars where the Daesh and Al-Qaeda are active. The contents of terror propaganda are known to be in local context and the counter narrative needs to be flavoured accordingly.
- Empower the moderate voice within all communities and separate radicals from the general community through effective homegrown community outreach programs.



Lieutenant General Subrata Saha, UYSM, YSM, VSM \*\*, DCOAS (P&S)

### **French Operations in Sahel / Africa to Counter AQIM.**

- The spectrum of operations includes joint training with counterparts, and deployment of Special Forces.
- Nature of operations is primarily Find-Fix and Destroy by employing both conventional and unconventional means.
- The operations are supplemented by airborne elements to include trainers (for extended reach, direct firing capability and logistics), UAVs (for intelligence operations). Air mobility enables swift operations aerial platform for providing fire support.
- HUMINT is of vital importance and operations get constrained by limited availability of interpreters to translate the intercepts.
- The role played by Logistics Battalion is crucial as the surge cycle depends on the nature of logistics backing.

**Countering Cyber Terrorism.** The international community has countered the challenges posed by terror financing, in a reasonably effective manner; although it is an ongoing process warranting considerable improvements. The challenge posed by cyber terrorism also needs to be combated on similar lines by putting economic interests of defaulters at stake. Also, the civil entities like service providers, social media companies, application owners etc have to be taken on board in a concerted manner.

**Exploiting Sub conventional Spectrum by the State.** The state needs to find solution to challenge of sub conventional conflicts in the same domain and develop hybrid warfare capabilities. This has to be complemented with improving local policing and intelligence, by judicious employment of local population.



Lieutenant General HS Lidder, PVSM, UYSM, YSM, VSM and Lieutenant General BS Nagal, PVSM, AVSM, SM, Director CLAWS

## Conclusion

Sub Conventional Conflicts will continue to dominate international order in the years ahead. Nation states will continue to be challenged by increasing capability non-state actors. Acrimonious neighbours will make skilful use of these resources to balance their conventional force deficit. The challenges become multi-dimensional and daunting due to the current and expanding phenomenon of religious extremism laced with political aspirations. A viable response strategy calls for comprehensive measures on part of the international community to meet the existing and emergent challenges.





**THE JAMESTOWN FOUNDATION**

- Dr. Zenn is also a consultant on CVE, international law of freedom of association and socio-cultural analysis for geospatial visualization
- Mr. Zenn has written extensively on international law, security and terrorism
- In February 2013, he testified before the House Committee on Foreign Affairs, Subcommittee on Europe, Eurasia and Emerging Threats, on "Islamist Militant Threats to Eurasia"
- Mr. Zenn graduated as a Global Law Scholar from Georgetown Law in 2011 and the Johns Hopkins School of Advanced International Studies Nanjing Center for Chinese-American Studies in Nanjing, China in 2007

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