



# AtTAHALOF

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## Terrorism in International Law





# At TAHALOF

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General Directorate of Planning and Coordination

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# AtTAHALOF

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# PAKISTAN EXPERIENCE OF COUNTERTERRORISM

■ By Ghanzanfar Ali Khan

**P**akistan has made appreciable strides in its ability to gather and synthesize intelligence, track and target terrorist networks, and use direct action to eliminate terrorists and terror cells. It has also put in place a robust security architecture in coordination with the international community and protocols to deter terror threats. Of course, all these measures taken by Pakistan can be further improved to combat terrorism effectively, while addressing other security challenges. It can further strengthen and reform the counterterrorism bureaucracy as well as the policy-making process. At the same time, it can work in conjugation with international communities especially with its allies to build a strong defense against terrorism.

■ Pakistani journalist and writer.



Pakistan's experience in combating terrorism has been very diverse. Pakistan's Action to Counter Terrorism (PACT) concerning Khyber Pakhtunkhwa has been developed jointly by the Government of Pakistan and the United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime (UNODC). It seeks to strengthen the processes related to pre-investigations, investigations, prosecutions, and adjudication of terrorism-related cases. The project also involves upgrading the skills and knowledge of law enforcement officials, prosecutors, and judges while promoting coordination between provincial and federal authorities as well as the National Counter Terrorism Authority (NACTA), Counter-Terrorism Department (CTD) of Khyber Pakhtunkhwa Police and Islamabad Capital Territory (ICT) Police.

Three other objectives include enhancing investigation processes and the use of forensic evidence by the KP Police Counter Terrorism Department for the preparation of terrorism cases; strengthening the capacity of the KP Prosecution Directorate and Judiciary to prosecute and adjudicate terrorist cases effectively, and; improve provincial and inter-provincial coordination on counter-terrorism to strengthen overall capacity on counter terrorism-related strategic analysis. These measures will further promote greater judicial integrity and human rights compliance through judicial processes in terrorism cases.

Besides the measures being taken by Pakistan, one may not ignore the fact that a major reason for Khyber Pakhtunkhwa and Balochistan to confront the terror attacks is that both share borders with Iran and Afghanistan. On top of this, the infiltration of non-state actors inside the Pakistan border is easy because of the porous border areas of KPK and Balochistan. The merger of Federally Administered Tribal Areas (FATA) with Khyber Pakhtunkhwa province as per the 25th constitutional amendment, provided better law and order situation in KP. These efforts were further backed by the setting up of rehabilitation centers under the military in KP and the Peaceful



Balochistan Package.

On top of that, a large number of former militants have been de-radicalized in rehabilitation centers under the military-led Sabawoon Project. These militants were taught Islamic courses and basic education courses besides being given psychological and psychiatric treatment. They were also given vocational training to make them productive members of society and to reintegrate them into the mainstream of society and the country at large. This was indeed a commendable initiative of the Pakistani government.

At another level, the Pakistan government formulated in January 2015 its National Action Plan as part of a comprehensive strategy to crack down on terrorism. It was to be a major coordinated state retaliation against the deadly Peshawar school attack. It provided the framework for the 21st Amendment to the Constitution of Pakistan which established speedy military trial courts for ter-

rorism-related offenses. It also led to the resumption of capital punishment and mandatory re-verification through fingerprint recognition of all subscribers on cell phones.

The National Action Plan also authorizes the foreign, finance, and other ministerial departments to reach out to the friendly Muslim countries to clamp down on financiers of sectarian and terrorist networks operating against Pakistan. This is where Pakistan can convert a challenge into an opportunity for growth by capitalizing on its youth population, which constitutes around 60 percent of the total population. Currently, Pakistani youth face some serious issues, including poverty, low literacy rate (estimated to be 53 percent for males and 42 percent for females), while 15 percent of the youth are unemployed, making them vulnerable to terror, drug abuse and other vices.

The United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime (UNODC) has been working in Pakistan for over 35 years in

close collaboration with the Government of Pakistan and civil society for addressing development challenges, specifically related to drug abuse and other types of crime. Together with the government, the UNODC has developed its second Country Program to ensure that its support is directed towards strategic priorities and meets Pakistan's national needs. The second Country Program (CPII) draws on the experience of its predecessor (CPI) and aims to bolster the efforts of Pakistan in enforcing the rule of law.

To this end, the government of Pakistan and the UNODC have jointly agreed to promote peace and stability, complement government policies and programs, assist Pakistan in achieving international commitments, and implement UNODC mandates. The development process has been built around mapping programs, strategic consultations with donors and baseline assessments. CPII is a dynamic framework that can be adapted as it is implemented according to Pakistan's changing needs and priorities.

UNODC understands the particular challenges related to governance, security and public health in Pakistan. Accordingly, it is collaborating with the Government of Pakistan to counter these challenges effectively. The long-term objective of the UNODC is to expand the capacity of the Pakistani government to address long-term goals and maintain a high level of technical capacity. To this end, UNODC is focused on three interdependent domains: 1) illicit trafficking and border management; 2) criminal justice and legal reforms; 3) drug demand reduction, prevention and treatment; and two additional cross-cutting themes: e-Learning; and research and analysis. These efforts across the social and print media as well as intranet are bearing fruit, says UNODC on its website.

Let us look at the other faces and facets of terrorism in Pakistan. An attack on an army-run school in Peshawar on December 16, 2014, which killed 150 children, claimed by Tehreek-e-Taliban was a turning point in the history of terrorism in Pa-

kistan. This led to the unveiling of a new counter-terrorism strategy, the 20-point National Action Plan, by the then Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif. But six months later, amid continued terror attacks, the NAP looked like a hastily-conceived strategy for public consumption during a moment of crisis than a strong robust plan. It was also felt that there is a deep disconnect between the state and the society due to which anti-state elements are finding space to operate. It was then suggested that every district of Pakistan should have its anti-terrorist unit.

If we look at the timeline, then Pakistan suffered numerous terrorist threats in 2017, but these threats decreased later in subsequent years. These attacks were more destructive showing the complicity of several terror groups, who used different methods to attack targets. On February 16, 2017, a suicide bomber killed about 88 people and injured more than 300 people at the Sufi shrine of Lal Shahbaz Qalandar in Sindh Province. In fact, a series of terrorist attacks took place in Pakistan since 1979, when the Soviet Union occupied Afghanistan. According to the South Asian Terrorism Portal Index, the terror attacks in Pakistan decreased by 89 percent in 2017 since its peak in 2009.

Another important component of Pakistan's experience in combating terrorism is its partnership with the US-led coalition. This alliance helped Pakistan to be positioned as a front-line state in curbing the menace of terrorism, while it also became a beneficiary of economic and military assistance. It also succeeded to restore Pakistani membership in the Commonwealth, which was suspended after the military coup of October 1999. But, Pakistan also paid a heavy price while working in the global war on terror. Pakistan suffered irreparable losses because of the terror attacks. According to a book titled 'Growth and Inequality—Agenda for Reforms' authored by renowned economist Dr. Hafiz Pasha, Pakistan has suffered a substantial loss of \$252 billion because of the US "war against terrorism". This amount is

eight times higher than the financial help provided by the United States to Pakistan.

Major terrorist groups operating in Pakistan included the Tehrik-e-Taliban Pakistan (TTP), Jamaat-ul-Ahrar, and the sectarian group Lashkar-i-Jhangvi al-Alami (LJA). Islamic State's Khorasan Province (ISIS-K) also claimed many attacks against Pakistani targets, some of which may have been conducted in collaboration with other terrorist outfits. Then there are groups located in Pakistan, like the Haqqani Network (HQN), Lashkar e-Tayyiba (LeT), and Jaish-e-Mohammad (JeM), whose roles need to be discussed and debated.

These terrorist groups employed different methods to attack government institutions, academic institutions, markets, places of worship and even individuals. They used suicide bombings, rocket-propelled grenades, and vehicle-borne improvised explosive devices. On the other hand, the Pakistan government continued to strengthen its legislation, law enforcement and border security in a bid to foil terror attacks and to punish the perpetrators behind the attacks. The Pakistani government continued to implement the Antiterrorism Act (ATA) of 1997, the National Counterterrorism Authority Act (NACTA), the 2014 Investigation for Fair Trial Act, and 2014 amendments to the ATA, all of which allow more powers to Pakistani government agencies to combat terrorism.

The law allows for preventive arrest, permits the death penalty for terrorists, and creates special Anti-Terrorism Courts for trial. The government also renewed for two more years a constitutional amendment allowing military courts to try civilians on the charges of terrorism. These efforts were backed by military, paramilitary, and civilian security forces, who conducted counterterrorism operations all over the country. The Intelligence Bureau in Pakistan has nationwide jurisdiction and is empowered to coordinate with provincial counterterrorism agencies.

On the other hand, the Ministry of Interior in Pakistan has more than 10 law enforcement-related entities





operating under its jurisdiction. The National Counter Terrorism Authority acts as a nodal point for coordination purposes. Pakistan has also put in place several other measures to combat terrorism. It collects biometric information at land crossings with its International Border Management Security System. Its National Action Plan to combat terrorism includes efforts to curb terror financing by boosting interagency coordination. The government of Pakistan has not only been playing a leading role in hunting down Al-Qaeda operatives and their supporters, but also dealt strongly with the sectarian terrorist groups that have been involved in terrorism inside Pakistan. The two leaders of the dreadful Lashkar-e-Jhangvi, Riaz Basra, and Asif Ramzi, were killed in 2002, and many other individuals associated with this organization have either been killed in police encounters or are languishing in jails across the country. The Pakistani government took strong measures against such terrorist groups, who were threats to the internal peace and security of the country.

Lately, there have been some reports and indicators showing the improved security situation across the country. According to a report of Pakistan Institute for Peace Studies' (PIPS), over the decade terrorist activities in Pakistan have plummeted by more than 85 percent. This could be attributed to the determination and resilience of the Government of Pakistan in fighting against the menace of terrorism. It revised its foreign policy in Afghanistan. Pakistan also suffered diplomacy setbacks while supporting the freedom struggle of Kashmir. It

also faced challenges from its civilian population while its economy remained weak and fragile. Therefore, it can be argued that Pakistan has been more or less a loser in the global terror coalition that evolved since 9/11.

In the regional context, the growing Indian influence in Afghanistan is a serious setback for Pakistan's foreign policy. The growing relations between India and Afghanistan and the Indian involvement in Afghanistan with the opening of four consulates have serious implications for Pakistan's security. For Pakistan, it presented the possibility of conflict operations being conducted inside Pakistan from its western border. The new Indo-Afghan engagements in the post-September 11 have been a major point of conflict between Pakistan and India. The spirit of cooperation on the regional level—especially among Pakistan, India, and Afghanistan—is completely missing. A case in point is the refusal of Afghanistan to hand over Aslam Farooqi, the leader of the terrorist outfit Daesh's splinter group, Khorasan Province (ISKP), "for further investigations" to Pakistan in early April.

But it is important to note that Pakistan is moving from strength to strength in combating terrorism despite several handicaps. Pakistan's National Action Plan has been devised to dismantle and prosecute terrorists and terror networks, and it stood the test of time. Strong military operations like the Operations Zarb-e-Azab and Rad-ul-Fasaad gave added strength and credibility to the NAP in curbing the menace of terrorism. Mr. Antonio Guterres, UN Secretary-General, recently spoke high

about Pakistan and its efforts to combat terrorism, and said that Pakistan has moved "from terrorism state to tourism state." He called for the need to recognize and commend the role of Pakistan at the international level. This is a moment of pride for Pakistan, but it still needs to keep its belt tightened to eradicate the menace of terrorism once and for all.

The terror menace is not yet fully over. It is evident from the monthly security review of Pakistan Institute for Peace Studies' (PIPS), which says that about 21 terrorist attacks took place in Pakistan during the first month of 2020. These were mostly low-intensity attacks confined to the province of Balochistan and KPK. Most recent attacks in 2020 were carried out by militant groups including the Tehreek-e-Taliban Pakistan (TTP), Hizbul Ahrar, Jamaatul Ahrar, local Taliban, and the Islamic State (IS) terrorist groups.

Terrorism in Pakistan still poses a significant threat to the people and the economy of the country. But, Pakistan is more prepared today to deal with any crisis than it was a decade ago. After more than two decades of relentless fighting against terrorism, real success for Pakistan needs to be measured by foiling an imminent terror attack. Therefore, it is the need of the hour to identify the terrorist groups that pose threats to its citizens and country at large. The Pakistan armed forces, particularly the Special Services Group (SSG) commandos, possess extraordinary talent in counter-terrorism operations, acquiring the knack to eliminate threats in a crisis rapidly and decisively. ■

# NATO COUNTERTERRORISM STRATEGY

■ Editorial team





**T**he North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) is the largest military alliance. With a backdrop of terrorism rampant almost everywhere, NATO had no choice other than to tackle the threat of terrorism as member states and the rest of the world followed suit. Given the military nature of NATO, counterterrorism per se is subsumed under asymmetric warfare. The military power of the warring parties varies greatly, and their strategies and methods are never the same, as is the case of the national armies, rebel movements, and armed terrorist groups. However, NATO was not established for this purpose; its strategy and mandate do not include fighting armed groups or rebel movements. NATO should have been adapted to the requirements of the war on terrorism, which has imposed challenges on NATO, causing differences among its member states. What did NATO do to counter terrorism?



> **Strategic Transformation**

In 2001, NATO experienced a strategic transformation in addressing terrorism. Prior to that date, terrorism for NATO was of a secondary priority with limited impact. However, terrorism later has turned into a high security priority, and NATO has considered it a direct threat to the citizens of NATO countries, and to international stability and prosperity. Therefore, NATO presented its strategic vision for the war on terrorism in 2010. Two years later, NATO presented the guiding principles of counterterrorism policies. In 2016, NATO established a joint intelligence division on terrorism and potential threats to the member states. Throughout this period, NATO grew more aware of the preventive measures against terrorism. In 2016, for example, it adopted the concept of “targeting stability” through military support to neighboring countries, while enabling partner countries to counter terrorism on their own. In the

same vein, NATO Secretary-General Jens Stoltenberg remarks: “In the long run, it is better to counter terrorism and achieve stability by training troops and building local security institutions, rather than deploying large numbers of NATO forces in combat operations.” To this end, NATO has begun sending training teams to Iraq, Jordan, Egypt, Mauritania, Morocco, and Tunisia since 2017.

> **Strategy Themes**

NATO counterterrorism strategy depends on three main themes: fostering awareness of the terrorist threat, building and developing NATO counterterrorism capabilities and enhancing cooperation and engagement with states and international actors.

**1. Fostering Awareness of Terrorist Threat**

NATO supports fostering mutual awareness of the terrorist threat by adopting consultations, promoting intelligence sharing, strategic analyses and continued

assessment. NATO intelligence reports are based on the contributions of the internal, external, civil and military intelligence services of the member states. NATO has gradually developed the methods and techniques to best deal with sensitive information, based on the decisions made at the successive summits and the ongoing reform of intelligence structures since 2010.

Since the creation of NATO Joint Intelligence Division for Terrorism, strategic analytical reports on terrorism have been issued and related to other cross-border threats. In addition to the daily NATO consultations, experts from various disciplines are invited to brief member states on specific areas of counterterrorism. Equally important, the discussions with international organizations such as the United Nations (UN), the European Union (EU), the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE), the Global Counter-Terrorism Forum (GCTF),





strengthen the NATO knowledge of counter-terrorism efforts worldwide and further help enhance its contribution to the global efforts. NATO established the Center of Excellence for Defense Against Terrorism (COE-DAT) in 2003 to provide training and education experiences at the strategic and operational levels in counterterrorism, help verify and validate NATO concepts related to terrorism and develop and unify its ideology towards terrorism. The Center cooperates with more than 120 international and institutional organizations around the world, and has presented more than 180 activities, including courses, workshops, seminars and conferences in which nearly eleven thousand participants from 105 countries participated, conducted by 2150 speakers, specialists, experts and practitioners from more than 60 countries. The Center publishes a refereed journal "DATR", which publishes scientific papers and articles for distinguished researchers.

## 2. Building and Developing NATO Capabilities

NATO seeks to ensure that it has advanced capabilities to prevent and respond to terrorist threats using Defence Against Terrorism Programme of Work (DAT-POW), which aims to develop new and evolving technologies and capabilities to protect military, civilian, infrastructure and ports from terrorist attacks, and to prevent non-conventional operations such as suicide attacks with improvised explosive devices (IEDs), missile attacks on aircraft and helicopters, attacks using chemical, biological or radiological materials and conventional explosions. The program was then developed through the Conference of National Armaments Directors (CNAD) of the NATO countries in 2004, and its work has since been expanded to include training, experiences and the development of models and concepts.

The activities in this area, as well as the defense against terrorism

program, include direct support for operations, such as the Active Endeavor in the Mediterranean Sea, which was one of eight initiatives launched in response to the 9/11 Attacks, 2001. NATO gained unparalleled experience in deterring maritime terrorist activity in the Mediterranean Sea, the International Security Assistance Force (ISAF) operation in Afghanistan between 2001 and 2014 and the KFOR Operation, which began in 1999 to deploy security in the province of Kosovo.

NATO also seeks to strengthen its capabilities in combating the abuse of technology by terrorist groups. In light of the terrorist continued pursuit of using modern technologies in their operations, the terrorists' use of unmanned aircraft or drones is the most severe threat. Given the wide spread of such drones and the ease of manufacturing and operating such weaponizing technologies and their notoriously different uses, NATO defense ministers agreed



in February 2019 on a practical framework to counter unmanned air systems (UAS).

### 3. Cooperation with Partners

It stands to reason that a vital response to terrorism requires a multi-pronged approach that uses political, diplomatic, judicial, security, intelligence, economic, financial and military tools along with development assistance. The guiding principles of NATO counterterrorism policies, which were endorsed by NATO heads of state in 2012, recognize this fact, highlighting communication with partners and international organizations to consult, analyze terrorist threats and develop appropriate capabilities and cooperation activities across the civil and military fields.

Consultation and exchange of information are among the most critically important areas of cooperation that NATO seeks to develop and ensure mutual awareness of terrorist threats between the allies and partners, while enabling them to prepare to prevent and respond to terrorist attacks. The scope of cooperation with partners includes training and education. The activities offered by NATO include e-learning, distance courses, cooperation with its centers of excellence, workshops, training courses, exchange of lessons learned and best practices.

In scientific and technical cooperation, the activities provided by NATO to the partners include emergency preparedness and risk management. Among the most important NATO programs is the Science for Peace and Security (SPS) program,

which encourages dialogue and cooperation between member states and partner countries in scientific research, technical innovation and knowledge exchange, and provides funding, specialized consultation and security support for scientific activities. Over the past five years, the program has initiated over 450 cooperative activities between 29 member states and 41 partner countries, including electronic defense in Jordan, and demining in Ukraine. Another program in this area is NATO Science and Technology Program (STO), which provides innovation, consultation and scientific solutions to meet NATO needs to meet current and future security challenges. It is the largest collaborative research forum in the world in defense and security, with more than five thousand scientists in robust engagement. It benefits from the experiences of more than two hundred thousand people with more than three hundred projects.

### > Strategy-Related Challenges

NATO counterterrorism strategy faces many challenges, some are “political” while others are “operational.”. The political challenges reveal that the terrorist threat and political response are not perceived in the same way by all NATO member states. Three main differences can be shown between NATO state members:

#### 1. Different efforts that NATO should make in countering terrorism

There are countries that support a major counterterrorism action by NATO, such as the United States of America, the United Kingdom, Turkey and Denmark. While other

countries such as France and Germany see this responsibility as the sole responsibility of the member states, simply because NATO does not have sufficient counterterrorism tools; NATO should not seek to make a great effort in this regard, and the countries should take the initiative.

#### 2. Different effective counterterrorism methods

While European countries adopt the soft means that prioritize diplomatic, legal, judicial, social, economic and cultural approaches to address the root causes of terrorism, the United States of America gives the military approach the highest priority.

#### 3. Different assessment priorities

Some NATO countries, especially the Baltic and North countries, see that the Russian threat on the eastern side is the most important, while other countries, especially the countries of the South, are preoccupied with instability in the MENA region and the consequences of immigration.

Undoubtedly, these differences in setting priorities hinder consensus on political options in the face of terrorism. Dr. Juliette Bird, Head of the NATO Anti-Terrorism Division (2011-2019) remarks: “Working continuously with many countries, each of which is based on its domestic and international priorities and interests, is often difficult. It means dealing with ever-changing levels of ambition, resources, interest and willingness to use NATO.”

The nature of NATO itself is a challenge in its war on terrorism, as it is a military alliance, the role of which remains supportive, rather than leading, in managing the





non-military security challenges to terrorism. For instance, the relationship between organized crime, drug trafficking and terrorism has become more interconnected, making it more possible for terrorist groups to access financing and weapons, while enhancing their capabilities. This has become a serious security concern for NATO member countries and partner countries in the Western Balkans, around the Black Sea, and in the MENA. However, NATO cannot directly address this security challenge, it only increases control of sea routes across the Mediterranean Sea, collects intelligence, monitors the activities of non-state actors in non-governing regions, and provides early warning of criminal operations when necessary, in close cooperation with national authorities, while also intercepting smuggled goods.

#### ► **Peacemaking Operations**

NATO officials are fully aware

that countering terrorism is not a key mandate for them; however, they recognize that NATO is tasked and entrusted with three mandates: collective defense, crisis management and cooperative security. They also understand, in light of the experiences of the past two decades, that the root causes of terrorism are political, economic, social, demographic and environmental, and that NATO is not equipped and prepared to address such issues; therefore, NATO member states have chosen to pay attention to peace-making operations, creating stability in conflict areas and assisting in building local capacities.

NATO has gone to great lengths in the war on terrorism, adopting a military concept in 2002, policy guidelines in 2012 and an action plan in 2014, and established a terrorist intelligence cell in 2017. Still, NATO is required to go further than that by strengthening its abilities and capabilities to read and

interpret signs of early warning, avoid surprises, such as those that resulted from political, economic and social conditions in Syria and Iraq, which brought about the emergence and control of ISIS. NATO needs to learn lessons from the campaigns launched in the past. In Iraq, the military campaign led by the United States of America to topple the regime of President Saddam Hussein was marred by the lack of post-conflict planning. In Afghanistan, NATO military planning included cooperation between civilians and military personnel in aid and relief programs for the local population; however, the successes of the local reconstruction teams cannot compensate for the failure of international bodies and countries to strengthen governance and development there. NATO should avoid getting involved in military actions without proper planning after such interventions are over; to establish peace and security. ■



# SENEGAL COUNTERTERRORISM APPROACH

## ■ Mor Loume

Perhaps terrorism per se has become one of the key challenges to spreading peace and security, and building statehood and administration throughout Africa. In the recent five years, Africa has sustained an unprecedented rise of terrorist groups, according to the Global Terrorism Index (GTI) 2014. Over the past few years, the African Sahel Region has suffered many security threats because of the increasingly growing problems, which demonized the region infested with a spate of extremist activities and terrorist acts, placing Senegal on full alert.

Insecurity and the snowballing influence of extremist groups place a heavy burden on the governments of Africa, as Africa is expected to be the new arena for the war on terrorism, especially after a large number of foreign fighters have sneaked in through the backdoor. In February 2020, the African Union in Addis Ababa announced that preparation was being made to deploy 3,000 soldiers temporarily along the Sahel Region, where eight years ago, regional forces confronted the bloody attacks of extremists. The Union affirmed that this helps to deter terrorist groups, in cooperation with the countries of the G5 Sahel and the Economic Community of West African States of which Senegal is a member state.



■ COUNTERTERRORISM RESEARCHER AND EDITOR-IN-CHIEF OF NEWS WEBSITE, SENEGAL





### › Escalation of Terrorism in West Africa

West Africa includes 15 countries: Cape Verde, Burkina Faso, Benin, The Gambia, Ghana, Guinea, Liberia, Niger, Nigeria, Mali, Mauritania, Senegal, Sierra Leone, Togo and Ivory Coast. All of these countries except Mauritania are members of the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS).

According to the United Nations, the rate of terrorist attacks on civilian and military targets has increased in recent years. Terrorist attacks have increased five times in Burkina Faso, Mali, and Niger since 2016 with at least 4,000 deaths in the countries of the region last year, compared to 770 deaths in 2016.

A research study issued by the Egyptian Center for Thought and Strategic Studies reported a noticeable increase in the activities of terrorist groups in 2019, as the continent was exposed to approximately 3471 terrorist acts, causing 10,460 deaths. Such a formidably terrifying activity of terrorist groups is associated with their new pathways. Given the decline in their activities in the Middle East, the rapid strategic transition to Africa was deemed necessary. As such, Senegal always emphasizes that the African countries have become the biggest victims of terrorism, rolling up their sleeves to raise global awareness of the necessity of coordination to decisively address and counter terrorism.

### › Examples of Counterterrorism Efforts in Senegal

The Senegalese Ministry of the Interior, in cooperation with Islamic societies and the Sufi orders in the country, has held a number of events and activities to educate and sensitize the Senegalese people on tolerance and peace in true Islam, while exposing and stripping off what is unfairly attached to Islam, such as extremism and violence. Islamic societies held seminars in universities and conference halls to educate youth and hamper their recruitment for the benefit of extremism. Among such constructive seminars was the “Threat of Terrorism Against the Individual and Community” attended by a wealth of counterterrorism scholars and pundits, delivered by Professor Omar Diallo, who paid a visit to the Prince Mohammed bin Naif Counseling Center in Riyadh.

Given the magnitude of the terrorist exploitation of the various media outlets to influence local and international public opinion, the Society for Preachers of Peace and Development held a forum on “Media-Based Terrorism” supported by the Senegalese government, which highlighted key foci on the challenges to journalists and the media, such as: How should the media address terrorism? Do the media serve public opinion or do they serve terrorists when monitoring terrorist acts? How can the media determine when an act or incident should be monitored? When should the media boycott and ignore? If it is decided to monitor a piece of news, which method(s) should first address it? What aspects should be highlighted?



What aspects should be ignored? When should the press and the media be committed not to publish information and news that, if published, could lead to dire consequences? Senegal has identified methods to combat the spread of terrorism, and developed strategic steps within a holistic approach to combat violent extremism and terrorism, including good governance, tightening up security, upholding human rights, enhancing youth employment, eradicating poverty and spreading moderate thought.

› **Senegal Relentless Action and Shouldering Responsibility**

Inasmuch as the terrorist threat is increasingly snowballing, Senegal has made concerted efforts at all levels in close cooperation with its international partners across Africa, France, the United States of America and the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia, with a view to combating terrorist networks in Africa. As Senegal is within the immediate vicinity of the countries most impacted by terrorism, its neighbor, Mauritania, called for the necessity of establishing a broad international and regional coalition to eliminate violence and terrorism, especially in the countries of the 5G Sahel. Within the framework of cooperation between the two countries, they agreed, during the visit of the Senegalese President to Mauritania in February 2020, to support their rapprochement to prevent and combat transnational organized crime, especially terrorism and arms trafficking.

One manifestation of Senegal relentless and vigorous pursuit to strengthen international cooperation in the fight against terrorism is the establishment of the third Interna-

tional Forum for Peace and Security in Africa in Dakar, Senegal, dated December 5 and 6, 2016. Senegal has demonstrated its unwavering commitment to the necessity of concerted international efforts to confront and eradicate terrorism; to dry up its sources of financing; to promote peaceful coexistence in communities; to achieve security and stability in Africa. To this end, Senegal presented a model for peacekeeping and security-building in the Dakar Sixth International Forum for Peace and Security in Africa in 2019, which is a forum that Senegal organizes annually with the participation of large countries to benefit from their experiences, such as the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia, the United States of America, France and robust engagement by the African countries.

The key theme featured by the forum is "Peace and Security in Africa: The Current Challenges of Pluralism." The Forum issued conclusions and recommendations in the interest of peace and security in Africa, arriving at decisions to solve the security problems recently witnessed by some African countries. The Dakar International Forum on Security and Peace is a Senegalese initiative that aims to establish peace and security throughout Africa, and opens new horizons for African governments to confront those seeking to undermine the African security.

› **Domestic Strategies**

Many security analysts believe that Africa has become one of the most notorious hotbeds of security unrest and threats in the world. Its geopolitics makes it a breeding ground for cross-continent terrorism, forcing

Senegal to adopt a number of strategic plans to reduce the increased risk from flashpoints. In December 2017, Senegal began the trial of 30 people for violence, affiliation with a criminal group in connection with a terrorist group, money laundering, and terrorist financing. They were accused of joining Islamic militant groups in Senegal, a country that is still immune from any attacks by extremists other than its neighbors. Senegal realizes that the responsibility of pundits is great. Therefore, the domestic strategy has achieved the cooperation of the government with the Islamic communities and the Federation of Imams and Scholars in highlighting Senegal efforts in countering terrorism, and calling the scholars to renew their speeches to address the deviant ideologies of extremism, and to care for their children and reform them.

One of the strategies adopted by Senegal to combat such an imminent danger is providing the Senegalese police forces with training sessions within the framework of a program supported by the United States to combat extremist groups in the region, in which American trainers provided tactical training for Senegalese security officers and policemen. These exercises further helped the Senegalese security authorities to deter and counter terrorism. Senegal participation in the US Department of State counterterrorism assistance program dates back to 1985.

› **Foreign Strategies**

In the face of terrorist groups, Senegal has adopted strategies of ideological, developmental and military aspects that have been well received





by countries and have become a role model to follow. Senegal also participates in all international seminars and meetings aimed at countering terrorism, while considering the recommendations developed. Senegal has recently participated in an international conference in Nouakchott for African scholars on the role of Islam in Africa: Tolerance and Moderation in the Face of Extremism and Fighting. Despite the increasingly growing challenges across Africa, Senegal has adopted the principle “African solutions to African problems”, as the best manner to address the African crises, and to understand the peculiarities of African countries and peoples. Senegal early realization of the fact that Africa has become a springboard for armed groups contributed to its successful counterterrorism strategy. Senegal has become fully aware of the terrorist activity of Al-Qaeda cells throughout

Africa, realizing that such terrorist groups benefit from the poor border controls between African countries, the poor law and judicial institutions and the poor, as well as the exploitation of the poor population and religious or ethnic bedrock to recruit such people. All of these clandestine plans were glaringly exposed by Senegal.

#### › International Tribute to Senegal Counterterrorism Efforts

France commended Senegal counterterrorism efforts in the 5G Sahel. The first elements of Operation Serval were deployed in Senegal because it was the first contributor to the peacekeeping mission in Mali. France considered that only the strict and permanent mobilization of the actors in the region could repel the terrorist threat. During the visit of President of Senegal Macky Sall to France on July 12, 2017, the French President Emmanuel Ma-

cron praised the Senegalese efforts. France still evinces its desire to enhance economic cooperation with Senegal, and hopes to continue working with the ECOWAS and to continue military and security cooperation with Senegal.

On the visit of US Secretary of State Mike Pompeo to Senegal in February 2020, he emphasized that the United States of America considers Senegal an essential ally in fighting terrorism. The United Arab Emirates appreciates the constructive efforts of Senegal through the Organization of Islamic Cooperation (OIC) in supporting issues of Islam and Muslims, and to showcase the civilization of true Islam free from extremism and violence. There is close cooperation between the UAE and Senegal in tackling terrorism, violence and groups that claim the lives of innocent people, and supporting the “Dakar Center for Security and Peace”. ■

# DRIVERS OF INTERNATIONAL COUNTERTERRORISM COOPERATION

■ DR. SALEH AL-SAAD MIQDADI

International cooperation in counterterrorism has become a spearhead par excellence, simply because terrorism per se is a global cross-border problem. The overriding importance of cooperation in counterterrorism is evident through international and regional treaties, conventions and agreements, along with many counterterrorism organizations and centers at all levels, such as the United Nations Center for Counterterrorism, the United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime and the Islamic Military Counter Terrorism Coalition.

## > Objectives of International Counterterrorism Cooperation

International counterterrorism cooperation aims to coordinate the efforts of security institutions in the local, regional and international arenas to curb and clamp down on terrorist crimes, while providing security information. This helps to shed light on the magnitude of terrorist crimes and accordingly develop counterterrorism strategies. International cooperation contrib-

utes to laying the scientific foundations for conducting research studies common across institutions and research centers, which helps to better develop the work progress and produce richer results at different levels, while enhancing domestic security and preserve security of borders and ports. More so, international cooperation also enhances the capacity of domestic security on the international scene, exposing the sources of criminal action and

financing, before snowballing into the borders. It further contributes to making the security services work in tandem, exchanging liaison officers and experts.

## > Avenues of International Counterterrorism Cooperation

International counterterrorism cooperation requires a number of methods which enhance performance, including:

1. Adopting a unified definition of terrorism, acceptable to all member states.

■ STRATEGIC RESEARCHER FORMER SENIOR DIRECTOR OF THE ARAB INTERIOR MINISTERS COUNCIL





2. Establishing an international information center to counter terrorism, develop methods of exchanging information, identify the characteristics of terrorist crimes and manifestations and collect complete data on members of terrorist groups or suspects, structure of terrorist groups and their political ideologies, means of terrorist recruitment, training camps, sources of financing and types of ammunition and weaponry. The center should also analyze information, forecasting the goals of operations, promoting cooperation between the data-specialized agencies in member states and encouraging the exchange of information, which will increase the ability to penetrate terrorist organizations, in accordance with Resolution No. 1373 of 2001 issued by the Security Council, and the Riyadh Declaration issued by the International Counterterrorism Conference in 2005.

3. Establishing a security data bank to monitor all data related to dangerous international terrorist groups, while providing reliable and confidential information collection and being fully cognizant of and updated on everything related to terrorist activities.

4. Increasing coordination between the security services concerned in the member states, by increasing the number of liaison officers and facilitating their work methods.

5. Improving the skills of counterterrorism workers, scientifically, professionally, and technically.

### ► Challenges of International Cooperation

The international counterterrorism efforts and the efforts put in to dry up the sources of financing terrorism are enormous; however, there are a

number of difficulties that hamper the progress, including:

1. The multitude of terrorist threats, as terrorist risks are becoming notoriously more onerous through the rapid movement between terrorist hot zones in the world, the emergence of lone wolves, the multiplicity of methods used in their operations, the different means of communication and encryption techniques.

2. Mobility, which means that members of terrorist and extremist groups can move easily, especially as they work within small cells and have sympathizers across some areas.

3. Ease of obtaining weapons, explosives and funneling ammunitions, due to scientific and technical advances. In addition, terrorists have experts who train their agents in making and detonating explosive devices, and posting their video footages on the internet.

4. Trained and qualified leaders and technical experts, who work to promote the ideologies of the group, and the recruitment of new members. They also have competent experts who use social networking sites scientifically and psychologically to propagate their crimes and baseless objectives.

5. Correspondence and means of communication between terrorists are completely confidential, including the security of their information and their operational plans; they choose for themselves aliases, nicknames and anomalies.

6. Poor exchange of information and analyses between some agencies concerned with counterterrorism and terrorist financing.

7. The different methods of striking a balance between freedom and security, and the relative procedures adopted.

8. The problem of financing terror-

ism in that financing per se is the main artery for the sustainability of terrorist groups. Despite international counterterrorism efforts, there are still gaps in adhering to and implementing these standards accurately; terrorist groups have heavily relied on about three to six trillion dollars in recent years, mainly from oil, taxes, drug trafficking, ransom and the like.

9. The lack of a holistic international definition that prevents terrorism, which hampers many joint cooperation agreements, due to the inconsistency of some national laws with regional and international agreements to counterterrorism, in addition to the differences between countries in aspects of commitment to national security and sovereignty, collusion in treaty-based extradition of terrorists and poor implementation of mutual legal assistance or reciprocity.

10. The limited national strategies and plans to combat extremism and counter terrorism, as a result of insufficient funding necessary to implement associated national programs and plans, the lack of interest in monitoring and assessing the programs of some strategies and the lack of competencies and expertise. In conclusion, it is evidently clear that many countries lack the implementation of national strategies to counterterrorism; they are still lagging behind and left not updated. One of the most important challenges facing international counterterrorism cooperation programs is that they do not work in concert. To achieve a solid and sound diagnosis and treatment of such challenges, it is necessary to base the development of strategies on holistic applied research and identify the magnitude of terrorism. ■



# THE THREAT OF CYBERTERRORISM AND THE APPLICABILITY OF THE CONVENTION OF CYBERCRIME

■ Sonny Zuhuda

**T**he proliferation of information and communications technology, merged with the increasing amount of big data and interconnectivity, turns out to be a deadly combination when it comes to the threat of terrorism. Just like any industry that grows up with the new technologies, criminals and terrorists would certainly make use of the sophistication of the Internet, mobile gadgets and artificial intelligence in order to launch their terrorist agenda. This is indeed the new challenges faced by the global community.

Nah Liang Tuang of Singapore-based S. Rajaratnam School of International Studies reckons that this technological advancement is a two-edged sword : One edge for a defence, the other for an offence. Technologies like smartphone encryption, internet of things, and the ubiquity of computer networks in the military and vital public services create mixed outcomes such as facilitating defensive military mobilization while also incurring potential cyber-threats and cyber vulnerabilities. With this background, this short article aims to analyse the nature and scope of cyberterrorism and the latest development on the international initiative to provide legal countermeasures to this global security threat. Special attention will be attached to the Convention of Cybercrime.

■ Associate Professor and Indonesian Researcher, Ahmad Ibrahim Faculty of Laws, International Islamic University, Malaysia.



► **The Risk of Cyberterrorism**

The threat of cyberterrorism is a reality. In the Global Risks Report 2019 issued by the World Economic Forum, a lethal combination of large-scale cyber-attacks and a large-scale terrorist attack, representing geopolitical and technological risks respectively, continues to exist. The report describes large-scale cyber-attacks or malware such as those attacks that cause large economic damages, geopolitical tensions, or widespread loss of trust in the internet. Meanwhile, large-scale terrorist attacks mean those individuals or non-state groups with political or religious goals that aim to inflict large-scale human or material damage to their target.

A terrorist's use of the internet may also have other debilitating impact. In the same WEF report, the risks of terrorist attack were found to have

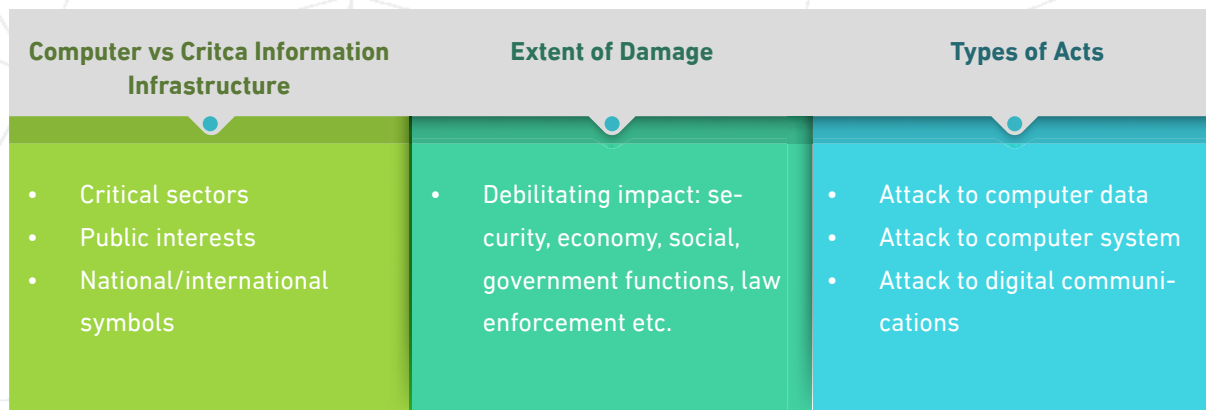
not have to get expensive conventional weapons and bring them to intended site physically. They are not restricted by time or space: attacks can be launched virtually from anywhere at any time. This fact is exaggerated by the superior level of anonymity offered by the computer networks and the Internet that allows the terrorists to hide behind the veil of technology. The impact can be huge, depending on what target is aimed at. The modus operandi is ranging from spreading logic bombs to Trojan horses, from worms to viruses, and from denial of services to network intelligence, etc.

► **Definition and Scope of Cyberterrorism**

So, what is cyberterrorism? A computer misuse that disrupts the non-essential services is at most a costly nuisance and is not cyberterrorism. But serious or continuous cyber-attacks

depends on materialistic means to modern terrorism that relies more on invisible technologies. In a narrower sense, Lewis (2002) defines it as the use of computer network tools to shut down critical national infrastructures (such as energy, transportation, government operations) or to coerce or intimidate a government or civilian population.

From the above definition, one can describe cyberterrorism in two categories: One is where the "cyber-threat" element is crucial, namely an attack that targets, interrupts or cripples cyber or computer systems, which in turn would cause fear so as to further propagate their initial political or ideological agenda. This includes attacks to the military cyber-based systems or otherwise to a country's critical information infrastructure. In short, the cyber system is made as the target of



**Figure 1: Scope of Cyberterrorism Category 1 – Attack to the system**

a link of threat with other risks such as critical information infrastructure breakdown and the risk of launching of weapons of mass destruction. This is true because today we live in an interconnected world where more and more vital infrastructures are being digitized and relying on data infrastructure.

Furthermore, cyberterrorism becomes increasingly popular due to its ease and affordability. Terrorists do

against nation's critical infrastructures such as those of medical services, key government agencies or the military bases can potentially undermine the resilience and reliability of the information systems wholly or substantially, and may in turn coerce the public and cause fear and anxiety.

Furnell and Warren (1999) define cyberterrorism as the use of cyberspace by terrorist groups, indicating a transition from traditional terrorism that

the attack (Figure 1).

The second category of cyberterrorism is where the cyber system is made as a medium of the attack. This is when the Internet or any information and communications systems (mobile gadget, IoT, Artificial intelligence, big data, encryption, robotic software, etc.) are utilized by terrorists for the purpose of planning, preparing and launching terrorist attacks. Grabosky (2007) describes how extensive infor-



**Figure 2: Types of Cyberterrorism Category 2 – Facilitated by the system**

mation technology has been used: as a means to facilitate terrorism, including the hacking for intelligence; encrypted terrorist communications via the web; propaganda, i.e. bypassing journalistic editing and government censorship; psychological warfare, by generating anomalous pattern of traffic, giving a false impression that an operation may be imminent; fund-raising and recruitment; distant training, e.g. of attack technique and skills, training manual publication, weapon making manual (Figure 2).

In Malaysia, the emergence of this second category of cyberterrorism activities has increased in the past decade. Prosecutions were brought under the country's Penal Code. Provisions under ss. 130C-130J enlist various acts that were committed in pursuance to terrorist acts, e.g. recruiting persons to be members of terrorist groups or to participate in terrorist acts; providing training and instruction to terrorist groups; receiving training from terrorist groups and persons committing terrorist acts; inciting, promoting or soliciting property for the commission of terrorist acts; directing activities of terrorist groups; and soliciting or giving support to terrorist groups.

#### ➤ The International Initiatives to Address Cyberterrorism

Needless to say, cyberterrorism is a global risk and a global problem which

requires a global solution. The then United Nations Secretary-General Ban Ki-moon said that the Internet is a prime example of how terrorists can behave in a truly transnational way. In response, states need to think and function in an equally transnational manner. In line with this observation, despite local laws and policies on cyberterrorism, we need to respond to this global risk with a synergized multinational approach. In this work we would assess the initiatives taken at the international level to address the threat of terrorism.

In 2012, the United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime (UNODC), in collaboration with the United Nations Counter-Terrorism Implementation Task Force, had released a working report relating to cyberterrorism. The UN Agency recognizes that despite international recognition of the threat posed by terrorists' use of the Internet in recent years, there is currently still no universal instrument that specifically addresses this pervasive terrorist activity. Adding to the cause of concern is the fact that there is limited specialized training available on the legal and practical aspects of the investigation and prosecution of terrorism cases involving the use of the Internet. Therefore, UNODC aims to develop resources on counter-terrorism and cybercrime for combating this evolving threat.

UNODC stresses that there are few factors necessary in outlining the global response of counter-terrorism measures, including: (1) Common policy and legislative frameworks; (2) Investigations and intelligence gathering; (3) International cooperation; (4) Prosecution; and (5) Private sector cooperation. All these primary factors are nevertheless dependant on the common commitment among countries to address and counter terrorism threats both within and beyond their national borders. How much are we ready for that? The fact is, until today there is no general convention that specifically addresses cyberterrorism.

#### ➤ The Convention of Cybercrime

Expectation has prolonged on the Convention of Cybercrime to fill the gap, though there is still much to do. When officially signed in 2001, the Convention itself was convened without citing terrorism offences as the scope of the treaty. It was initially meant to harmonize the domestic criminal substantive law elements of offences and connected provisions in the area of cyber-crime, such as offences to the confidentiality, integrity and availability of data. On top of that, the Convention also aims at setting up a fast and effective regime of international co-operation on countering cybercrime.

In response to this, the Cybercrime





Convention Committee (T-CY) released in 2016 a guidance note relating to the cyberterrorism aspects by the Budapest Convention. The document addresses how the articles of the Convention could apply to terrorism. Therefore T-CY declares that “the substantive crimes in the Convention may also be acts of terrorism as defined in applicable law”. This additional note under the Convention is timely. In the wake of increasing threat of cyberterrorism, it is made clear that the cybercrimes set out in the Convention can indeed be perpetrated as acts of terrorism, to facilitate and support terrorism.

The Note further highlights that even though this Convention is not a treaty that is focused specifically on terrorism, it is however argued that the substantive crimes in the Convention may be carried out as acts of terrorism, to facilitate or support terrorism, including financially, or as preparatory acts. In addition, the procedural and international mutual legal assistance tools in the Convention are available to terrorism and terrorism-related investigations and prosecutions.

For example, under the Convention, each Party shall adopt such legislative and other measures as may be necessary to establish the powers and procedures for the purpose of specific criminal investigations or proceedings. Furthermore, such powers and procedures apply not only to the

specific cybercrime offences as mentioned in the Convention, but also to “other criminal offences committed by means of a computer system”. Therefore according to the 2016 Guidance Note, this would arguably extend the applicability of the Convention of Cybercrime to any terrorism offence as long as it is perpetrated by means of a computer system.

With this extension, one can argue that being a party to the Convention would help a country in addressing cyberterrorism in their own jurisdiction, noting that such country will be eligible to the mutual assistance and cooperation between member countries. First, Parties (to the Convention) shall afford one another mutual assistance to the widest extent possible for the purpose of investigations or proceedings concerning criminal offences related to computer systems and data, or for the collection of evidence in electronic form of a criminal offence.

Secondly, it also means that Party to the Convention will obtain its fair share to the international cooperation. Accordingly, the parties shall cooperate with each other to the widest extent possible for the purposes of investigations or proceedings concerning criminal offences related to computer systems and data, or for the collection of evidence in electronic form of a criminal offence. And the Party would be allowed to get mutual assistance even in the absence of ap-

plicable international agreements between countries.

#### ➤ Conclusion

It is concluded here that Cyberterrorism is a new form of terrorist acts, often having a more debilitating impact, but yet has been largely spared by many jurisdictions’ policy and legislations.

Cyberterrorism is a global risk that requires a global response. We need a common policy and legislative framework setting minimum standard of laws and best practices. A concerted effort for information sharing and intelligence gathering is necessary. An international cooperation on investigation and prosecution, as well as a public-private cooperation would be critical.

One important global instrument at play is the Convention of Cybercrime, being the only international convention on matters relevant to cyberterrorism. Though the Convention does not specifically address cyberterrorism, yet it is worded in such a way as to extend it to the threats of terrorists, hence cyberterrorism offence. The best response still, would be to further amend the Convention and insert more specific cyberterrorism offences. However, the biggest challenge is arguably on how to get more countries involved to make it a more global and international instrument. ■

# DARK WEB OF TERRORISM

■ Mohammed Yazid bin Zu Qubali

**T**errorists and extremist groups use the internet for the promotion of their ideology, glorification of terrorist acts, recruitment, broadcasting of violent content, facilitating communication and training potential recruits with anonymity. Online social networks are also used to spread their propaganda, fear, panic, intimidating messaging and threats to the public. Law enforcement agencies all over the world usually monitor and supervise the content of materials and communications in the cyber world to ensure that they are not used for illegal purposes. Unfortunately, criminals and terrorists have managed to bypass the supervision of law enforcement agencies by resorting to the dark web. To effectively counter terrorism and combat the financing of terrorism, law enforcement agencies must ensure that their officers are fully familiar with the state-of-the-art technology, spearheaded by the dark web.

## ➤ Real Threat

The dark web can bypass censorship, supervision and monitoring of law enforcement agencies and can provide a higher level of anonymity to their users. Proper training and awareness campaigns are essential to ensure that all law enforcement agencies are fully equipped with know-how to handle the threats from the modern digital world – a real threat looming large. The emerging digital threats associated

with the dark web, including cyberstalking, hacktivism, fraud, identity theft and attacks on critical infrastructure cannot be underestimated. The dark web, alternatively known as the deep web, is part of the internet that isn't indexed by search engines and is inaccessible by normal internet browsers. Since the materials on the deep web is not indexed, one should have the precise URL to access the page desired.

Unlike the normal use of the internet, in

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which the IP address of each computer or gadget can be detected straight away, the dark web can provide a higher level of anonymity to the users as the IP address of each computer or gadget accessing the dark web will be scrambled by using special browsers and networks like "The Onion Routing" (TOR) project and the "Invisible Internet Project". This special browser – TOR – was developed and funded by the United States Naval Research Laboratory in the 1990s as a tool for evading online detection with roughly 60% of its funding coming from the State Department and the Department of Defence.

The dark web allows people to purchase firearms, passports, driver's licenses and ID cards, healthcare data, credit card and social security numbers and pornography at relative ease. Due to anonymity, the dark web is also used to purchase stolen subscription credentials, hacked Netflix accounts and illegal software. The dark web also offers various illegal services, including assassination and hacking.

A global online marketplace in the dark web called the Silk Road once attracted over 100,000 users who transacted over one million deals, estimated to be worth \$1.2 billion in global sales from vendors located in more than ten countries around the world before it was closed down by the authorities.

#### ➤ Flip Side

Not everything in the dark web is illegal. The dark web is simply an online platform neither regulated nor controlled. Since it provides anonymity, many people surfing the dark web feel that they can act with impunity

because they will not be caught.

There is a legitimate side for the dark web, as well. There are various social clubs available on the dark web, including chess club and social networks similar to Facebook. Anonymous browsing also allows people in repressed countries to circumvent government censorship and avoid persecution for online activities and assist whistle-blowers who wish to disclose valuable information without compromising their identity.

The dark web encryption technology routes user data through a large number of intermediate servers, protecting user identity and providing anonymity. The transmitted information can be decrypted only by the next node (computer), which finally leads to the exit node. This makes it challenging to reproduce the node path as the information was encrypted layer to layer. Due to this advanced encryption, websites are unable to simply track and identify the IP address or GPS of their users, while users will not be able to track similar information about the host.

#### ➤ Confronting Threat

The general perception that the dark web provides complete anonymity is not entirely correct as technology exists to counter it. In a 2012 investigation entitled "Operation Torpedo," the Federal Bureau of Investigations (FBI) used a method called "Network Investigative Technique" to detect and identify the IP addresses of at least twenty-five individuals who have visited illegal websites on the dark web. To proceed with investigations relating to the dark web in the United States, the FBI can use the Network Investigative Technique (NIT) but a warrant is required. The NIT warrant

authorized the FBI to deploy the NIT, which consisted of computer code that, when deployed to a user computer, caused such computer to send to a government computer its actual IP address.

One important question is whether accessing the dark web can be banned or not. The answer depends on the law of the country. In many countries, accessing the dark web, similar to accessing normal websites, is not illegal on its own. As mentioned before, similar to normal websites, the dark web also offers various legitimate services. However, accessing illegal websites that promote illegal services is contrary to law. This includes websites that offer illicit drugs, illegal services like hacking, malware and pornography. The law in most countries does not discriminate between the dark web and normal websites. Both are subjected to the same law although enforcement might be more challenging.

There are other challenges that share similar characteristics with the dark web. This includes Virtual Private Networks (VPN), proxy servers, anonymous e-mail providers, and other web services that neither retain nor provide any identification information. To address cyberterrorism threats, security agencies should always remain vigilant and provide adequate funding for staff, equipment, training, in addition to encouraging citizens to be alert and to report any suspicious behaviour.

It would also be very helpful if international coalitions such as the Islamic Military Counter Terrorism Coalition (IMCTC) can assist in developing a platform to coordinate such training and technology sharing for counterterrorism purposes in the future. ■



## CAUSES OF TERRORISM INITIATIVE

Al-Qaeda, ISIS and Boko Haram (Case Studies)

### ■ Editorial Team

**E**ver since of the 9/11 Attacks 2001, political and academic interest in terrorism has been still on the increase, as it has remarkably attracted the attention of most international and academic societies, across all the manifestations of terrorism, such as those associated with religion, or far-right or far-left extremists, or secessionist, ethnic or lone-wolf movements of terrorism. Therefore, it was not unexpected that the research studies on terrorism have been prioritized in academic institutions, much focused on identifying the drivers of terrorist behavior. To translate the efforts of IMCTC made to explain the causes of terrorism and counterterrorism methods, an initiative was implemented, including three in-depth studies of three terrorist organizations: Al-Qaeda, the Islamic State in Iraq and the Levant (ISIS) and Boko Haram. These

research studies address the circumstances of the emergence of these groups, across the main active domains for each.

This initiative includes an in-depth study on “the causes of terrorism” drawn from the three case studies under consideration, as IMCTC strongly believes that identifying the factors and causes that drive to terrorism remains an impediment to developing remedies and efficient methods to develop counterterrorism holistic strategies. The study relies on the descriptive and analytical method to answer some of the most prominent research questions: What are the challenges to understanding the causes of terrorism? What are the psychological, personal, social, economic, political, historical, religious, ethnic, “media”, information and ideological reasons that account for adopting terrorist behavior?



### ➤ Challenges to Understanding Causes of Terrorism

The study explores a number of challenges to understanding the causes of terrorism, most notably the research-based need to observe individuals who have been involved in terrorist issues for a long time, to conduct interviews with such people continuously to obtain a closer look at their demographic, psychological and social conditions and to gain a deeper understanding of the drivers of their deviant behavior. This often goes against the keenness of authorities to isolate and quarantine such individuals ideologically to confine their danger.

Among the challenges that the study highlights can be spelled out in a set of observations. The terrorist motives usually seem very specific, and they are inherent in the nature of the conflict in which they are involved, and its close association with the social and political incubator. Therefore, the results of the research efforts made to understand the causes or drivers of terrorism are often the inability to make generalizations of terrorism. The study turns the spotlight on the challenge of the absence of a global agreement on the definition of terrorism, which is due largely to the difference in the perception of each community to the concept of terrorism, in addition to the variation in the impact of international political and economic changes to terrorism.

### ➤ Causes and Catalysts of Terrorism

In the light of the case study of Al-Qaeda, ISIS, and Boko Haram, the study examines the psychological

causes and personal motives that drive such terrorists to commit their crimes, reaching a conclusion that the psychological structure of the individual is important in his or her interaction with his or her community. In addition, the physical and mental development and the troubled reaction along with the improper social milieu have a direct relationship to any terrorist act. In the context of these reasons, the study discusses the factors of searching for a life of adventure, excitement and new experience, loss of identity, addressing criminal tendency and a desire for revenge, and the emotional propitiation that terrorist groups resort to in their polarization-driven propaganda.

The study also discusses social factors, the importance of the environment and social incubators in attracting youth to terrorist movements, and the poor systems and curricula of education that lead to the emergence of personal and psychological imbalances. Likewise, the impact of economic reasons reveals that economic sufficiency is one of the main factors in bringing about psychological stability for the individual. Instability coupled with dissatisfaction most often generate a negative feeling towards society, and encourages the rejection of a sense of national responsibility, harboring a desire for revenge across some terrorist groups, thereby deceiving such individuals with the ability of such terrorist groups to improve his or her economic situation.

As for the political causes, the study revisits the opinion of some

researchers who believe that political factors or grievances are of great importance and contribute to the paths leading to terrorism, mostly an instrument for mobilizing individuals rather than personal suffering that rises to be the direct cause of adopting terrorist behavior. The study also discusses the issue of exploiting the political and security vacuum. Terrorist groups take advantage of the political and security vacuum, the impact of which has been glaringly notorious on some countries across the region. Multilateral warfare, military chaos, the absence of law and order and the difficulty of political solutions have contributed to finding an incubator stoking and fueling the spread of terrorist groups.

The study also highlights media-driven causes, as the early twentieth century witnessed a major development in the methods of planning and implementing terrorist attacks, as a result of the development of the capabilities of terrorist groups to keep pace with technical progress in communications. Among the most notorious outcomes is that terrorist groups have become cross-border and cross-cultural, and can infiltrate into minds, ideas and beliefs, spearheaded by the internet and its applications.

Finally, the study discusses historical, religious, and ethnic "racial" factors that may be one of the leading causes to terrorist act and revenge. The study cites a set of revealing and telling examples of the three terrorist groups: Al-Qaeda, ISIS and Boko Haram. ■



# WOMEN IN ISIS DISCOURSE

## BOMBASTIC WORDS & GRITTY REALITY

■ Dr.. Khaled Mayar Al-Idrisi

**S**nowballing into existence, ISIS has thrown many politicians, military and security men along with researchers off balance. Over a short period of time, ISIS lured many supporters, advocates and fighters, both men and women, into its labyrinth. It is not a new practice that women are involved in extremist and terrorist groups, nor is it exclusive to ISIS. History provides telling examples of women accomplices to terrorist acts, managing the clandestine affairs of terrorist groups, and not merely promoting extremist ideologies or providing a social incubator for extremism.

In “les amazones de la terreur”, Fanny Bugnon spells out the tasks of women in terrorist groups, such as the Red Army in Germany, which is a left-wing group that adopted armed violence in its protests and caused what was called the “German Fall”. In 2017, Horst Seehofer, German Minister of the Interior, stated that the Red Army group was akin to ISIS, both groups attempt to undermine the bedrock of society and terrorize all communities.

■ Researcher in international relations, and president of the Moroccan Center for International and Future Studies.



### ➤ Typology of Terrorist Women

Fanny revealed the typological patterns of terrorist women associated with ISIS, indicating that some women joined ISIS because of their affectionate attachment to a man in ISIS; while other women joined ISIS due to a real propensity to violence and revenge; still other women were fooled and deceived by wiles, myths and ruses of female combatants and fighters, as is the case in Greek mythology of the Amazon Fighting Women. ISIS stands out from the rest in that ISIS women are on the increase, albeit its aggressive discourse against women, nefariously full of all-out offences and grave insults hurled against women! Proverbially, out of the frying pan into the fire: ISIS returning women also report sexual harassment, exploitation of foreign women and forced marriage whenever the husband is killed, on the pretext that it is prohibited for a woman to stay inside ISIS without marriage. To add insult to injury until, frequent accounts reveal that certain husbands are either imprisoned, made absent or sent away to blow themselves up as to confine their wives for their own personal interests. Luring and enticing women from different countries has been mouth-watering, so to speak, for ISIS to bring in more of them. One notorious practice is using women in the so-called "marriage of jihad". ISIS hortative speech dictates a variety of tasks to women; a woman is a partner, organizer, preacher and entertainer of fighters in jihad". On the flip side, woman is captive prisoner captured at war, enslaved for ISIS men, who can trade women in. It is a speech

that fuses pragmatic honoring and utilitarian object.

Women are also focal to ISIS doctrinal discourse, which adopts a number of ideologies, including the necessity of a woman covering her face, even though the issue is debatable and is not part of Islamic creed. ISIS ideology prohibits all that induces evil and vice, such as satellite, and women must – by religious laws – cover their faces, and must avoid all adornments and mingling with others; women must seek and display chastity and purity, as revealed by Allah Almighty: "Those who love to spread evil in those who believe shall have a painful punishment in this world and the hereafter, and Allah knows and you do not know". Your brother Abu Omar Al-Husseini Al-Qurashi. The ISIS practice, however, flouts the principle of decency and chastity driven by one's whims and needs. The publication of (Clouts of Monotheists) show women with their faces uncovered involved in the fighting. This is purposefully meant to gain support and evoke feelings to recruit new female sympathizers. In addition, with female fighters publicly displayed, this shows that ISIS is glaringly facing a real crisis of the lack of male fighters in the battlefield over the recent stages. As such, this is another violation against what ISIS has previously announced in one of its publications; Sharia does not dictate that women be involved in jihad. Under no circumstances shall women be taken to the battlefield according to the laws of ISIS for fear of being taken captive. Such a practice emphasizes that ISIS does not mind going too soft with the chastity and decen-

cy of women, hence to use them to serve and defend ISIS goals no matter what!

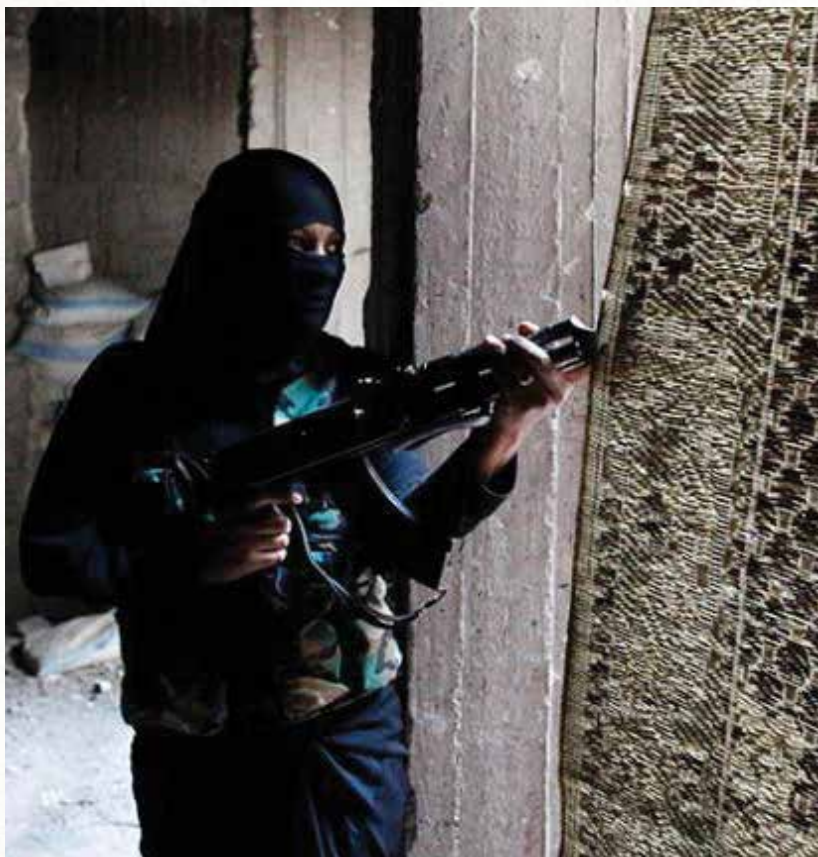
ISIS calls for women to cover their entire bodies out of chastity; ironically enough, however, ISIS does not mind using woman on the pretext of serving ISIS men and heroes! For instance, "Al-Shamikha Magazine" serves as one platform of many others dedicated to developing ISIS speech; the term "Al-Shamikha" per se connotes and conveys feelings cloaked in female glory, ostentation, allure and bombastic speech that features ISIS prig women as decoys.

### ➤ Models of Prigs

As quoted in Al-Shamikha Magazine (Issue No. 1, 1432), the wife of a mujahid who was killed in one of the ISIS battles provides an account of jihad and the family life of the mujahid wife. The purpose of this narrative seeks to motivate the ISIS women to encourage their husbands to fight with much cohesion and patience, because the woman is primarily entrusted and tasked with enthusing and enhancing the men's willpower to seek martyrdom. The editorial of Al-Shamikha Magazine highlights the following:

"Since women make up half of society; rather, they make up all society by giving birth to the other half, enemies are keen to keep women away from the truth of their religion and the truth of their role, because they know how good it will be if a woman enters the field! Islam needs women to define their religion, determine the reality, size and purpose of the battle. The time of negligence, simplicity and naivety has seen better days! It is time for the lofty women to contribute to





building the glory of the nation. Today, the Muslim woman is the educator of the next generation". No one argues that a woman is half of society; woman is the bedrock of society, simply because she is the incubator of values and the purity of faith, when well-educated on Islamic values. However, the indication of the ISIS text raises the value of the woman, if she is "lofty", "overbearing", "prig" and actually involved in "ISIS sedition" and glaringly supportive of subversion, rabble-making and agitation." In this context, Um Muhanad, a woman who lost her husband in one of the ISIS battles, remarks: "After marriage, I told my husband that everything I called for was of your qualities such as good manners, commitment, and knowledge, and I found all these qualities, except for one thing (and I meant jihad by

oneself), then he – rest in peace – replied: So, keep praying until all your prayers are answered." For an ISIS woman, an ideal man is only so when fully engaged in fighting. The woman in Um Muhanad speech is not the one who asks her husband for jewelry, dresses and adornments; rather, she is the one who calls her husband to spend his income to support jihad in Afghanistan and Chechnya.

#### ➤ War Prisoners or Prostitutes?"

ISIS propaganda has been intensely increased as women increasingly joined ISIS through different means, especially the internet, and direct recruitment. In the same issue of the Magazine, Um Ghadeer explains the mode of life – beyond compare – in marriage to a mujahid, saying: "My sisters, life with a mujahid is not like any life, it is the

bliss that leads, Allah willing, to the bliss of the hereafter. In your life with a mujahid, you will feel the joy of giving and obedience, you will know the meaning of life for the sake of principle, cause and struggle."

The feminist affiliation of ISIS and the departure to the countries of the so-called caliphate cannot be traced back and ascribed to the lure and appeal of the ISIS discourse, which manipulates religious concepts alone, while rejecting contemporary life shrouded in injustice, exploitation and laxity of morals, as well as lack masculinity, virility and manhood; rather, it has personal reasons that can be drawn from the speeches of the ISIS women. It can be observed that the reasons for women in the Arab world to join ISIS are not necessarily those of the women in the west, as there is a group of ISIS affiliates who dream of acquiring the "honor of defending the nation" and affiliation with the "surviving division". Fatimah Al-Hassani known as Um Adam Al-Majati, is a telling example of such ISIS speeches; she was honored by the ISIS in 2015, and is proud of joining ISIS and the House of Caliphate and Immigration. Dr. Iman bint Mustafa Al-Bagha, senior jurisprudent of Islam from Syria, is a really bewildering model. She joined ISIS; her son was killed in one of the ISIS battles; she married her two daughters to ISIS fighters; she encouraged mothers to follow suit while still immature and not yet nubile; she even defended the legitimacy of ISIS, describing it as the land of the so-called caliphate, and posted on Facebook: "After looking into the tragedies of Muslims, the biography of the Messenger of Allah, peace be upon him, the life of the companions, the conquests and





contemporary history, and jurisprudence of jihad, I discovered that I adopted the ISIS-based approach; I am ISIS before ISIS was established, and I know from that time that there is no viable solution for Muslims except in conducting jihad. One example of ISIS women is Hayat Boumediene, whose motives to join ISIS were mixed with her love for Amedy Coulibaly, who was a hostage-taker in a Jewish store. One more representation lies in the wild desire to wipe out the profane past, cleanse the present from absurdity and dissolute life through "ISIS repentance" and present oneself as a sacrifice to ISIS. As such, many women have joined ISIS or provided ISIS with distant or online services in to rest assured that much of their futile and immoral life is now over! While other women deliver speeches couched in virility, masculinity, manhood, brilliancy of Muslims and bravery skills, at a time when real masculinity almost disappears.

Ironically enough, ISIS women justify and rationalize in their speeches that ISIS men shall have the right to exploit ISIS women, enjoy them and trade in their freedom. A telling example is Um Somaya Al-Muhajira, who published an article entitled "Prisoners or Prostitutes?" in "Dabiq Magazine" (Issue No. 9, 1436), Um Somaya argues: "Yes, Allah has empowered his guardians across the world, so they conquered and took control of the hometowns, killing the non-Muslim warriors, captured their women as war captives and enslaved women and children. I am extremely proud of such actions while I am documenting it in history. It is downright infidelity and disbelief! It is all shame! It is true that we staged daring raids on the infidel and disbelieving women, capturing them as captive prisoners of war and forced them to trudge all the way long by sword and shepherded and penned them up very much like sheep. Pride, glory and dignity are all

due to Allah, His Messenger and true believers, while hypocrites know nothing whatsoever! She emphasized that this is a caliphate-based approach of prophecy and not a joke. ISIS has produced ISIS flogging and whipping women, ISIS-style preachers, spies and vigilantes to violate the privacy of people. The ISIS narratives issued by the ISIS men and women undoubtedly yet dangerously veer off the Sharia of Islam that upholds dignity, religion, soul, mind and money. Driven by its terrorist acts, ISIS has not yet recognized the dire consequences of such deviation, the most notorious of which is ruining and tarnishing the image of Islam, while also enabling the enemies of Islam to hold Muslims up to ridicule, and accusing them of brutality and barbarism. Therefore, Islamic communities had better develop integrated systems that enable and empower women to foster public awareness and contribute to protecting community-based security. ■

# ISLAMOPHOBIA IN EUROPE USING CRISES TO SPREAD HATE



■ DR. IGNACIO GUTIERREZ DE TERAN GOMEZ-BENITA

Once again, it is Islamophobia that triggers increasingly massive waves of hate across Europe, US, Australia, Canada and New Zealand for Muslims and their beliefs, attracting the attention of analysts and politicians. The number of attacks on Muslims performing rituals in these countries is on the increase, including the shooting of Muslims while praying in mosques, or simply attacking anyone thought of to be part of the Muslim community. Such attacks often occur on the street or on transportation means, by using verbal abuse and calling Muslims names in public places, and on social media platforms.

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### ► Indicators of Increase

In terms of verbal attacks and threats across networks, official indicators confirm the increase since 2017 to date. These statistics are issued by associations to closely observe Islamophobia in Europe, such as “Citizenship Observatory against Islamophobia”. Most of such incidents in Spain occur in the virtual world, at an average rate of 70%. A British organization has recorded a steady increase of 26% annually as

reported between 2016 and 2017.

Such figures did not differ significantly from their counterparts in France, as the National Assembly against Islamophobia recorded a steadily growing increase, as it is deeply ingrained in specific social circles, with several terrorist attacks adopted by jihadist groups across several major European cities, such as Paris, London and Manchester, gaining wider media echoes. In Britain, the Islamic Council

has warned that representatives of political parties outside the far-right circles stoke up hate fraught with Islamophobia. The Council has documented 300 Islamophobic cases, which reveal that Islamophobia is rampant across the British political elite.

It is reported that Islamophobia is not associated only with a group of British politicians; rather, it has also become a case for European leaders distancing themselves from the far-right. It is, of course, a strategy shrewdly instrumentalized by all European far-right powers, which have made remarkable progress in voting entitlements.

### ► Dangerous Pandemic

One of the dangerous notorieties for Islamophobia is that it is no longer confined to some politicians or ordinary citizens; rather, it has ubiquitously extended to schools and universities, as a spate of offensive comments are made by many professors; Muslim students are badly treated given infamous Islamophobia. In the United Kingdom, an elementary school teacher was fired after describing Islam as “world cancer” and “malignant religion” on networks, and the teacher encouraged his students to share his extremist views! These telling examples are just the tip of the iceberg of implacable and downright enmity towards Muslim communities.

No doubt that the series of terrorist attacks carried out in a number of Western capitals over the recent five years has fueled the spreading of hate among specific groups of Europeans; however, there are many factors that have nothing to do with the actions of extremists that offend

Islam and Muslims, spearheaded by the inability of the European authorities to develop a cogent speech, help Muslims to restore their honor and to stave off strong-minded jihadists. Regrettably enough, the government policies often inadvertently spread Islamophobia, after insisting on the use of terms such as “Islamic”, “extremist Muslims” and “Islamic militancy”, associating such terms with counterterrorism.

Such speeches included statements and slogans that were initially developed by parties close to stubborn far-right groups, such as “Islamofascism”, a term that some of them use to refer to dictatorial jihadist groups. Strangely enough, such western terms attach negative overtones to everything coming from the east. It should be also noted that “fascist” turned into a term with various connotations that go beyond the ideological level.

These movements, which attracted followers from the left due to their speech calling for the protection of freedom, feed on the heinous acts of extremist groups that describe themselves as “Islamic”, especially the bombings in western cities, and the killing of western hostages in Syria, Iraq and Afghanistan, leading to a sympathetic relationship between advocates of Islamophobia and jihadist extremism, as they catalyze each other. The reference to the concept of advocating freedom.

Field research studies carried out in Germany, France and Britain have revealed that the democratic legitimacy attributed to these societies claiming their right to criticize Islam as “a dogmatic system that does not respect diversity and the values of



civilization” makes it permissible to be financed and supported for their activities. Here lies the great failure of governments, official institutions and civil society in general, as they failed in ending the speech that criminalizes Islam criminalization; they all failed to develop a speech that seeks to distinguish between Islam and Muslims on the one hand, and religious extremism and jihadists on the other.

#### ► Image of Muslim Women

There is an explicit focus on anti-Islam speech manifested in the image of Muslim women. More so, the authorities concerned with observing manifestations of hate towards Muslims allude to diagnosing such hostile views towards Muslim women, especially veiled women, who are easily distinguished from other women. Anti-Islamophobic societies affirm in many western countries that three physical or verbal attacks out of four against Muslim commu-

nities is directed at women. This is also seen in other countries, such as Australia.

Far-right organizations are constantly working to distort the image of the veiled woman as a woman who denies her femininity, succumbing to the veil and surrendering helplessly to male power. In Spain and other European countries, many telling cases, mostly by young people, attacking Muslim girls on public transport have been recorded, and such attackers often post pics and their acts on the internet. Far-right organizations employ attacking veiled women and demonize the Islamic threat. In France, for instance, the police force a number of Muslim women to take off their headscarves at airports for security reasons. Far-right propaganda considers the headscarf the most pressing issue, especially in France, where it is an ongoing debate. The irony is that the tendency to accept these harass-



ments against veiled women is clear to far-right organizations that justify them on the pretext of citizens fearing the expansion of "Islamization" in their societies, and of the danger of Europe becoming an Islamic continent.

Here, we need to highlight the concept of democratic rights and freedom of expression in the speech of the far-right, which happily prohibits any statement that offends supreme and sublime values, such as the unity of the country, respect for national rituals, and Christian values, but it is indifferent, slack and sluggish if the victim is a ritual or personality related to Islam. For instance, a support campaign was held by the National Front in defense of a French girl who filmed a video clip to insult and offend Islam. Shockingly enough, the National Front supported the girl's right to insult Islam, but it does not show the same flexibility if the insult would be hurled at Christianity!

#### › Expansion of Far-Right

The far-right parties start from a racist ideology par excellence, and if they strive to embellish their ideology with a constructive speech, they are basically based on a deceptive concept of citizenship. It stresses the "Muslim Enemy" as an object which manifests the negative overtones of all non-western societies. Such parties were able to create the appropriate turbulent political and social climate, to the extent that the European Council Against Discrimination and Intolerance affirmed in its 2019 Annual Report that Europe is facing a shocking reality, which is the increase in attacks on Muslims in

terms of quantity and quality; incitement to abuse by insults and offences towards Islam and Muslims are based on online networking. The report called for the concerted efforts of all European countries to combat the far-right and to agree on terms that do justice to Islam, and not to misunderstand Islam for extremism inherent in terrorist groups. However, the missing link in these calls is that the far-right has assumed executive and legislative powers in many western countries. The disregard for the danger of Islamophobia has led to the classification of attacks on Muslims by individual incidents that do not express an ideological stream that has a presence in society. The far-right extremist groups that have made significant progress in the elections claim that they do not break the law; rather, their continued interest in immigrants and Muslims and the link between them and criminality and covert or illegal immigration are very harmful to social cohesion.

#### › Instrumentalization of Corona Pandemic

It is glaringly evident that the European and American far-right has been hunting in the murky waters of the "Corona Virus" pandemic, with a lot of talk about the possibilities of biological terrorism. Once again, the current global pandemic gave strong evidence of the convergence of jihadist terrorism and racist far-right on an opportunistic endeavor, aimed at benefiting from a global crisis that has affected hundreds of thousands of people and the collapse of the global economic system. While a number of jihadist and far-right so-

cieties have expressly declared their hope that the disease will spread in the enemy countries, there is a palpable fear that the most criminal associations in the two camps have resorted to developing viral weapons. At the beginning of the crisis, Matteo Salvini, former Italian Prime Minister and Leader of the National Front Elite, notorious for his harsh criticism of Islam, insisted on closing borders and tightening immigration policies, particularly in the face of Africans, despite the low rate of deaths in Africa. Organizations in Austria and Switzerland have stressed that preventing curfews and keeping them under surveillance is the best way to limit the spread of the pandemic. Meanwhile, Leader of the National Front, Marie Le Pen, soon launched a fierce campaign against the European Union, for failing to contain the pandemic and adopt a real immigration control policy. To make matters worse, Hungarian President Viktor Mihály Orbán, who considers himself far from the far-right, declares that Corona Virus cannot make us turn a blind eye to the fact that the immigration per se, not the pandemic, is the main dilemma in Europe today! The leader of the Spanish "Vox" Party, Santiago Abascal, has indicated the necessity of restricting immigration, and called for the imposition of special fees on foreign immigrants. The far-right is taking advantage of any opportunities to reinforce its anti-Muslim speech, and to create an environment favorable for harsher measures towards foreigners in Europe, while the groups readily willing to translate feelings of hate into terrorist acts are increasingly growing. ■

# KU KLUX KLAN

## ONE HUNDRED AND FIFTY YEARS OF TERRORISM

### ■ Editorial Team

The whole gamut of American cinematography features scenes in which groups of men clad in white gowns and masks, very much like high fluffy hats covering the head and face with the eyes wide open, carrying burning crosses, wreaking havoc somewhere in a neighborhood, often home to blacks, burning down homes and killing men, women and children, while committing wanton vandalism, turning the place upside down. These are not action or documentary scenes; rather, such scenes make up a true part of the practices of the oldest terrorist group in our contemporary world. It is the Ku Klux Klan (KKK).





### › KKK Roots

KKK derives its name from the Greek word kuklos, which means 'circle', and from the English word clan, which means 'tribe'. KKK was founded by six former officers in the US Confederate Army between December 1865 and August 1866 to oppose the liberation of the blacks after the American Civil War. KKK notoriously committed much violence and terrorism, such as arson, battering, property destruction, killing, rape, flogging or whipping members of the Federal Army, which was considered an occupier after its victory in the Civil War, prompting US President Ulysses Grant to completely destroy KKK in the civil rights process in 1871.

“

**KKK usurped the police function in various regions of the United States of America, so its members applied moral standards to members of community, flogging perpetrators, chasing criminals and collecting debts!**

KKK was eradicated for security purposes only, rather than ideological purposes, so it soon regained more power. In 1915, William Joseph Simmons brought KKK back to life in the Stone Mountains, Georgia. The second establishment of KKK was better planned, as it became a formal organization, consisting of a formal membership with a national structure, with local affiliates throughout the United States. Colonel Simon sent more than a thousand supporters and advocates to recruit members into KKK. The terrorist organization reached its peak after

a ten-year period of time, including nearly 15% of the official total population of the United States, accounting for more than four million members.

Social conditions in the early 1920s were conducive for a membership campaign (KKK), especially in the southern states, where a third of the population moved into urban areas after they were in the countryside, and urbanization produced many changes, especially the spread of crime, which disturbed many conservative rural people. The booming oil cities produced vices and evils, such as prostitution and gambling, which were resented by religious people, who were targeted by the organization in its second establishment. KKK acted and operated as a community guard and usurped the police function in various regions of the United States of America, so its members applied moral standards to members of community, flogging perpetrators, chasing criminals and collecting debts! More surprisingly, criminals used to be extradited to police officers who will administer punishment to such criminals! KKK targeted Jews, Catholics, social and racial minorities and denominations and persons who are accused by them of committing immoral acts such as adultery, usury, gambling, and alcohol abuse, and sought to re-establish Protestant Christian values in America.

The south was the real origin of KKK; however, its second numerical strength was in the West and the Midwest, and its influence was greatest in California, Oklahoma, Oregon, and Louisiana, and it managed to make governors and legislators win the elections of these

states. FBI documents record that John M. Parker, former Governor of Louisiana, solicited the federal government assistance to counter the terrorist activities of KKK in a memorandum dated September 25, 1922, which he sent to the public prosecutor, and he was unable to use any of the mail, telegraph, or telephone to send the message because of the KKK control, therefore, he managed to ask journalist Paul Wootton to do so as a mediator.

### › Vulnerable Yet Persistent

By time, KKK became weaker, its membership was glaringly becoming on the wane and its last affiliates were dissolved in 1944; however, it remained persistent as if imperishable, and it came to surface across some southern states in the 1960s, and it secretly committed a number of terrorist acts, such as bombings, shootings and flogging. Although the goals and actions of KKK go against the trajectory of history towards tolerance, diversity and acceptance of the other, that was not sufficient to defeat it; it remained alive despite its divisions, the decline of the number of its members and its vulnerability.

KKK is no longer a single entity run and managed by one single leader from central headquarters, as there are at least four main groups, operating today under KKK:

- The KKK National Knights Church: it was established in 1960, and now it operates from Indiana and is one of the most active KKK groups.
- The KKK Knights, also known as the Knights Party, was founded by David Duke in 1975 when he was 25 years old, and its main office is headquartered in Harrison, Arkansas.



- The BOK was founded in 1996 by “Dale Fox” and is exceptionally secretive. It considers itself the sole heir of KKK, and is the only one to have a presence outside the United States (in Canada). It is believed that its headquarters are in Henderson, Tennessee.

- The Imperial Klans of America was founded by Ron Edwards in Dawson Springs, Kentucky in 1996. It is believed to be the second largest group in KKK, after the BOK. KKK groups have returned to the limelight in the past few years. In 2014, Fraser Glen Cross Jr. (alias Miller), founder of the Carolina

“**David Duke, American legislator, politician and former head of the KKK knights, remarks: “We expect non-whites living in America to act according to Christian principles; living under the authority of a white Christian government will be a compassionate privilege.”**”

KKK Knights, was arrested for killing three people in the centers of the Jewish community in Kansas. These four groups include a large number of small factions, the number of which reached up to 160 factions across 41 states, with two

thirds in the states of the south, but in 2016 they decreased down to 130 factions, then to 51 factions in 2018.

**> Financing and Recruitment**

KKK raised millions of dollars to finance its social, media and terrorist activities from its members, through membership fees, taxes and proceeds from the sale of products. Hence, the increase in membership fees was crucial for profit-taking, especially from those holding leadership positions in KKK. The group produced its own tools as a second source of revenue, so all its members were required to





purchase the KKK uniforms, which are smocks produced in its factories, and members are not allowed to design their own gowns.

As for supporters who do not seek full KKK membership, they make up an important source of funding, as this invisible army contributed to the financing of the group in millions of dollars, and each of them contributed about 25 to 100 dollars. In September 2019, PayPal froze an account used to collect funds by KKK after receiving frequent complaints.

The organization employs modern

“(KKK) has given its members a feeling that they belong to something special, which has its own rites of handshake, nicknames, coded words, uniforms, parades, picnics, sports teams, recreational competitions, bands, parties and wedding ceremonies, funerals, baptism and others.

technology, spearheaded by the internet and networking sites to recruit new members. KKK also exploits political events and major attacks in media propaganda. In 2015, after Dylan Rove shot and killed nine African Americans in a church frequented by blacks

in Charleston, South Carolina, the Knights Faction (White Knights) from KKK handed out leaflets that included the website and phone number of the platoon, accompanied by bags of candy in the states of Alabama, California, Georgia, Kansas, and Mississippi, emphasizing in the publications that Dylan decided to do what the Bible commanded him to!

#### ➤ Ideology and Identity

Like many organizations that present themselves as fraternal ties, KKK has given its members a feeling that they belong to something special, with its own and sometimes secret rituals in shaking hands, nicknames and encrypted or coded words, uniforms, parades, picnics, sport teams, entertainment competitions, orchestras, concerts, parties, wedding ceremonies, funerals, baptizing and more. The organization has conducted campaigns for hundreds of candidates for state or local level positions, and the Americans elected countless group members to be mayors, members of city councils and state and federal legislators. On the ideological side, KKK has combined foreign xenophobia,

religious extremism and racism with conservative ethics! In the midst of the global recession that followed the First World War, fear and anxiety spread widely among white Protestants over the future of the country they once knew and controlled. They were very concerned by the influx of immigrants from Eastern Europe, the increase in the influence of Catholics and Jews in American life, the immigration of African Americans from the South, the increasingly growing circle of political and sexual freedoms for women. In short, they saw crime and vice on the increase, and that the world was developing out of their control.

They believe that Christianity is their identity and their *raison d'être*. Although many KKK members and groups have declared that their Christian beliefs are the motive for their terrorist actions, we find that their use of Christianity was merely a cover to legitimize their violence. Christianity is just a pretext, and they have no connection with valid Christian beliefs, texts or practices. This is typical of all extremist groups that practice violence in all religions. ■

# TERRORISM: MANY AND DIFFERENT FACES

Colonel Hassan bin Suliman Al-Amri

beyond a shadow of niggling and gnawing doubt, the IMCTC acts as a new international gathering to catalyze, coordinate and align the efforts made across the 41 Islamic Member States under its overarching umbrella. Following its inception, the mandate which the IMCTC has been entrusted and tasked with over the recent period of time was limited to laying down institutionalization based on good governance, while also setting the tone for the ad hoc arrangements necessary to launch its actions and initiatives. This also included putting into action its focused domains with all the criteria ideally met and all requirements perfectly set in motion. Now comes out the launch favorably conducive for sustainable solutions, which are best showcased by the eradication of terrorism and extremism as horrendous phenomena through an ideological setting, informed media discourse and thoughtful cultural discussions.

The third issue of ALTAHALOF MAGAZINE comes out with a myriad of critically important topics on terrorism running through all its manifestations across the all continents that have been largely impacted by its dire consequences. The whole gamut of in-depth discussion was provided – thankfully – by a wealth of gifted, prolific, eminent and unbiased writers who have successfully provided down-to-earth views and fitting conclusions.

If terrorism per se is as old as the hills, it has notoriously snowballed and ballooned with its infamous methods, forms and tactics into new metamorphoses and mutations. To this end, the international efforts - each in its jurisdiction – are constantly made as the world has come to realize that no single power or country can be the only champion to eliminate terrorism.

Wide-ranging topics are brought into discussion and thematic diversity is highly featured in this issue supported by objective yet interesting viewpoints that further enrich the topics mooted for in-depth discussion. This is a special issue for terrorism in international law, incentives for international cooperation and legal remedies for terrorism and the possible implementation of Cybercrime Convention. The G5 Sahel that sustains this scourge is also highlighted in several articles. Again, if there are risible attempts to instrumentalize crises to spread hate through Islamophobia across Europe, the KU KLUX KLAN has been notoriously riddled and fraught with terrorism for 150 years, indicted on charges of arson, murder and vandalism against men, women and children. These are not dramatic or cinematic scenes; rather, they represent a big portion of the heinous practices of the oldest terrorist group in our contemporary world.

Dear Reader,

The third issue of the Magazine is now brought to you at your fingertips, albeit still in its infancy. Your perceptive insights are highly appreciated! ■



# AtTAHALOF

IMCTC Quarterly Magazine

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التحالف الإسلامي العسكري لمحاربة الإرهاب

ISLAMIC MILITARY COUNTER TERRORISM COALITION



General Directorate of Planning and Coordination

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