

*Understanding the causes and resolution of
Terrorism Course*

30 January -3 February 2017

Faletti's Hotel Lahore, Pakistan

School of Governance and Society
University of Management and Technology,
Lahore

Understanding the Causes and Resolution of Terrorism Course

30 January - 3 February 2017 – Lahore

Organized by

University of Management and Technology (UMT), Lahore in Collaboration with HEC,
Pakistan and TRI-Pakistan

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Day 1

Lecture 1.

History of Terrorism: Evolution of the Phenomenon

Prof. EM. Dr. Alex P. Schmid

Research Fellow ICCT; Director, Tri; Ass. Prof. ISGA;

Editor-in-chief Perspectives on Terrorism

Dr. Alex first lecture starts with the academic consensus definition 1988 of terrorism and related terminologies. He defines terrorism as:

“Terrorism is an anxiety-inspiring method of repeated violent action, employed by (semi-)clandestine individual, group, or state actors, for idiosyncratic, criminal, or political reasons, whereby – in contrast to assassination – the direct targets of violence are not the main targets.”

The immediate human victims of violence are generally chosen randomly (targets of opportunity) or selectively (representative or symbolic targets) from a target population, and serve as message generators. Threat and violence-based communication processes between terrorist (organization), (imperiled) victims, and main targets are used to manipulate the main target [audience(s)], turning it into a target of terror, a target of demands, or a target of attention, depending on whether intimidation, coercion, or propaganda is primarily sought”.

The speaker goes through the episodes of history a little bit. He states that some of the things have been the same and certain things have changed. For instance, there were the Sicarii who attacked roman occupiers of Palestine and Israel 2000 years ago. They were the first fate driven terrorists that conducted political campaigns based on religion. They killed in public rather than in private. Then the speaker highlights other terrorist's attacks from history like the assassins, the thugs, the Spanish inquisition, the British gunpowder plot, Tyrannicide and regicide and war and terrorism in ancient and medieval history.

When discussing the episodes from modern terrorism 1 speaker mentions incidents like reign of terror of the French revolution, Spanish guerrilla warfare, 1808-1814, anarchist terrorism, Ku Klux Klan, Russian terrorism, IMRO and the Balkans. The anarchist wave in a nutshell was that the ultimate aim was to create an anarchic society. Its immediate objective was to generate a polarization of society as a necessary precondition for the anarchist revolution. The primary targets of this anarchy were high-ranking state officials. The terrorists used tactics like assassination-style bombings or gun attacks, against chosen individual of the society.

Speaker then shares the prominent victims of anarchist assassinations from period 1881 to 1901. In March 1881 Russian Czar Alexander II was targeted by terrorists and caused his assassination. It was purely a political issue dealt by means of terrorism. Again in July 1881, US president Garfield was shot and died 80 days later from injuries. On 24 June 1894, French president Sadi Carnot stabbed to death by Italian exile anarchist Santo Caserio. On 10 September 1898, Austrian empress Elizabeth (“Sissi”) was murdered in Geneva by Luigi Lucheni. In 1897, Antonio Canovas Del Castillo,

Spanish prime minister, assassinated by Italian anarchist Michele Angiolollo. On 29 July 1900 another terrorist activity was executed when Italian king Umberto was killed in Monza by Gaetano Bresci. Again on 6 September 1901, American president William McKinley was shot in Buffalo by Leon Czolgosz.

When debating on the episodes from modern terrorism 2, the speaker recalls the incidents of fascist terrorism, nationalist-socialist terrorism, communist terrorism, decolonisation (national liberation struggles), Jewish terrorism, Palestinian terrorism, the nuclear balance of terror and urban guerrilla in Latin America.

The uses of terrorism in communist armed struggles are to focus attention on the rebel cause with the hope of winning international support, to eliminate opposition leaders and, in the countryside, officials loyal to the government, to paralyze normal government activities, to intimidate the general populace in order to gain support and recruits (while denying them to the government), to keep one's own followers from defecting and to raise funds by collecting ransoms for kidnapped victims. For episodes from modern terrorism 3, speaker includes ways of terrorism like new left terrorism, jihadi terrorism, chemical terrorism and biological, & radiological and nuclear) terrorism.

Speaker then mentions some stats about selected mass casualty incidents that were a result of terrorist's activities whole over the world. These include:

- 1978: Arson: e.g. Cinema attacks in Abadan, Iran 20. Aug.; causing 477 fatalities
- 1985: Mid-air explosion: Indian 747 Boeing off Ireland, 23 June; 331 fatalities
- 1997: Knife & Axes: GIA massacre Wilaya of Relizane (Algeria), Dec. 30; 272 +killed;
- 1998: TNT attack Nairobi 7 Aug. 1998 on us embassy: 291 deaths, 560 serious injuries.
- 2001: Sabotage: derailment of train, Angola 10 Aug.: 152 killed; 146 injured;
- 2001: Synchronized aircraft attack by 19 Al Qaeda members with boxcutters and pepperspray in USA, 11 Sept 2, 1993 fatalities; 8,700 injured;
- 2004: Beslan hostage taking, 2 Sept. By Chechen terrorists: 1.181 hostages (Inc. 855 children): 336 civilians killed; 727 hostages injured;
- 1995: Tokyo subway Sarin attack, 18 March: 12 killed; 17 critically ill; 37 seriously ill.

2001: 7 anthrax letters, 18 Sept. & 9 Oct. In USA 5 persons killed; 17 others who were infected survived.

Dr. Alex then adds data from Jane's that reflects the figures of terrorism attacks in the year 2016. There were 24,202 numbers of attacks worldwide in 2016 as compared to 2015 where there were 18,987 attacks. Percentage of ISIS attacks in 2016 were almost 18% while Islamic state attacks in 2016 were 4,236. 10,807 ISIS's non-militant fatalities were recorded in 2016. Jabhat Fath Al-Sham (formerly: Jabhat Al-Nushra) attacks in Syria in 2016 were recorded as 687 (20 % increase from 2015). In Syria & Iraq there were 7,497 & 3,350 attacks respectively in 2016. Further stats include 40,551 militant fatalities, 27,697 non-militant fatalities and 39,040 non-militant injured in 2016.

According to data from global terrorism index for 2015 there were 10% fewer fatalities from terrorism worldwide than in 2014. 29,376 deaths, the second highest count, were surpassed only by the one in 2010. Five countries – Iraq, Afghanistan, Nigeria, Pakistan and Syria were accounted for 72 % of all deaths in 2015. Four terrorist organizations namely BOKO Haram, ISIL, Taliban and Al-Qaida were responsible for 74% of all these deaths. 35 countries experienced more than 25 deaths from terrorism in 2015. Between 2014 and 2015, fatalities from terrorism rose 650% in OECD countries increasing from 77 deaths to 577 deaths and more than half of these were caused by ISIS. Over 90 percent of all terrorist deaths occurred in countries already engaged in some form of conflict whether internal or international. ISIL-affiliated groups and individuals undertook attacks in 28 countries in 2015, up from 13 countries in 2014. There were 274 known terrorist groups that carried out an attack.

Lecture 2.

Terrorism/Counterterrorism - Assessment of the Academic Field

Dr. Leena malkki

University lecturer

Network for european studies

University of helsinki

Dr. Leena malkki lecture revolves around the terrorism studies that how it started and developed into a separate subject. Terrorism studies came out in late 60's or early 70's when it started to become its own field of study. Meaning that they started to be academic studies that used the concept of terrorism as the focal point and the main concept to define the research and create theories. This rise of the research period was struggled connected to the changing perception regarding the fact of terrorism in western countries.

Many pioneers of the field started in 70's such as Martha Crenshaw, Alex P. Schmid, David C. Rapoport etc. The terrorism studies expanded significantly after 2001 and can link with perception about the changing nature of terrorism. After that we have seen significant increase in funding, publications and researchers working on the field. It is also more developed theoretically and methodologically.

Speaker talks about the research community that looks at terrorism initially it was very small, but grown significantly since 2001. In the early years, terrorism studies were dominated by researchers based in the us and other western countries. One of the problems is that there are a lot of "visitors" but not so many researchers with long experience in the field. This has its own consequences on the field. Structurally the field is fragmented, although nowadays there are several important centers that focus on political violence such as start consortium (University of Maryland), ICCT (The Hague) and Handa CSTPV (University of Andrews).

Topics that are being covered in terrorism studies include historical and contemporary trends in terrorism, causes of terrorism, including relationship with structural factors, dynamics of terrorist campaigns, onset, continuation, decline of terrorist campaigns, individual, organisational and macro-level analyses, decision-making and targeting, effectiveness and consequences of terrorism, counterterrorism, development of counterterrorist policies in the national and international level, effectiveness of counterterrorist instruments, focus on different actors/dimensions: police, legislation, politicians, international cooperation, financial sector etc., intended and unintended consequences of terrorism and media and the public/political debate.

There is a need to strongly emphasize on current threats. Much of the research is policy-oriented, dominated by the western threat perceptions. There is not enough attention to the historical, political, social and economic context. We need to progress more research on non-state terrorism than state terrorism or counterterrorism.

When it comes to develop theories, terrorism is a multidisciplinary field that draws especially political science, sociology, psychology and security studies. This presents heterogeneous theories that have no clear schools of thought except vague division between orthodox and critical terrorism studies. Unresolved issues with definition of terrorism make theory development more difficult so does the heterogeneity of the phenomenon.

In the last slide of her presentation, the speaker talks about the methods and data that are being used to conduct these studies. She says that these studies are dominated by qualitative and descriptive research, although there have been more quantitative research since 9/11. Methodological rigour has improved over the years. Access to data has always been a problem but not as significant as it may seem. Data has not improved in the same space. Chronic lack of primary research based studies still prevails. Therefore, some imbalance between sophisticated methods and modest data is present.

Lecture 3.

Causes of terrorism

Prof. EM. Alex P. Schmid

Fellow ICCT, Director TRI

Editor-In-Chief, Perspectives on Terrorism, Assoc. Prof. ISGA

In his second lecture, Dr. Alex talks about the causes of terrorism in great detail starting with the incident of us 9/11. The alleged root causes of the 9/11 attacks according to UN member states that the communities were struck by poverty, disease, illiteracy,

bitter hopelessness (Armenia). There was social inequality, marginalization and exclusion (Benin). Political oppression, extreme poverty and the violation of basic rights (Costa Rica) led to violence. In Dominican Republic there had been injustices, misery, starvation, drugs, exclusion, prejudices and despair for lack of perspectives. Oppression of peoples in several parts of the world, particularly in Palestine (Malaysia) was one of the main causes. Other causes included alienation of the young in situations of economic deprivation and political tension and uncertainty, sense of injustice and lack of hope in New Zealand, rejection of the west with all its cultural dimensions in Palestine, hunger, poverty, deprivation, fear, despair, absence of sense of belonging to the human family in Namibia and situations which lead to misery, exclusion, reclusion, the injustices which lead to growing frustration, desperation and exasperation when talked about Senegal.

“...Al Qaeda has, and always had, a specific aim to arouse the sleeping body of the Islamic nation, a billion Muslims worldwide to fight against western power and the contaminations of western culture. In support of this aim, the 9/11 attacks were designed “to force the western snake to bite the sleeping body and wake it up”. – Saif Al-Adel, jihadi analyst on Risalat Al-Umma forum (2005)

Speaker further talks about the six issues that confuse the search for root causes of terrorism. According to him we have a lack of precision in the use of the term root causes. There is confusion among researchers of terrorism with other forms of political violence. Our inability to reach a consensus definition of terrorism is another issue. The diversity of terrorisms and the confusion of freedom-fighting/legitimate armed resistance with terrorism are important sprints as well. Last one is the automatic exculpation of religion as a possible cause of terrorism.

Al-Qaeda's grievances and objectives were to make infidels to leave Muslim lands especially US troops from Saudi Arabia, to stop support for Israel, to halt aggression across the world against Muslims, to stop support of apostate rulers in Muslim countries, withdrawal from Iraq and to re-establish the caliphate.

There are a variety of purposes of terrorists like intimidating and terrorise the public or sections thereof; provocation of indiscriminate countermeasures by the regime in power; mobilise forces, win recruits; advertise the militant movement/cause; project an image of strength and determination; obtain money to finance arms purchases and operations; discipline, control or dissuade target groups, enforce obedience; win specific political concessions or deter counter attacks.

Political violence is a response to a great injustice and oppression, as of a resistance movement against a foreign power ruling by force and terror so that the victims are the reverse of innocent. It is certain that no lawful and non-violent means of remedying the injustice and oppression will be given. The political killing will cause far less suffering, and less widespread suffering than the present injustice and cruelty are causing. It really is very probable that the killing will end the oppression and that it will not provoke more violence and more horror.

Speaker further explains academic theories of causation. He says that terrorism is rooted in political discontent. A culture of alienation and humiliation can act as a kind of growth medium in which the process of radicalisation takes root and virulent extremism comes to thrive. A collective or individual desire for revenge against injustice or acts of repression may be motive enough for terrorist activity. The failure to mobilize popular support for a radical political program may trigger the decision to employ terrorism in order to engineer a violent confrontation with the authorities. Modern terrorism occurs because modern circumstances make terrorist methods exceptionally easy to use and the choice of terrorism represents the outcome of a learning process from own experiences and/or the experiences of others.

In the last part speaker talks about the root causes of terrorism that are being discussed under four captions. These are:

Structural causes: demographic imbalances, globalization, rapid modernization, transitional societies, increasing individualism with rootlessness and atomization, relative deprivation, class structure which affect people's lives;

Facilitator (or accelerator) causes: that makes terrorism possible or attractive, without being prime movers such as the evolution of modern mass media, transportation, weapons technology, weak state control of territory, etc.

Motivational causes: the actual grievances that people experienced at a personal level, motivating them to act;

Triggering causes: the direct precipitators of terrorist acts such as momentous or provocative events, a political calamity, an outrageous act committed by the enemy, or some other events that call for revenge or action.

Lecture 4.

Causes of Terrorism, Critical Perspective

**Dr. Richard Jackson,
National Centre for Peace and Conflict Studies,
University of Otago, New Zealand**

Dr. Richard Jackson has done a superb work in critical approach strategies in terrorism. He starts by quoting the example of a young man who has all the prospects of leading a healthy life but decides to join a group of insurgency of mass resistance. It raises the question of context in the life of someone resisting the poverty, extreme violence, military intervention. It raises the question of state violence by different groups. It raises the question of psychology of individuals and agency that decides that they are not going to be passive but fight against. It raises the question of moral judgments of community to resist dehumanization. He has urged to take more open minded approach for the situation they are facing.

First thing in terrorism is to study that what is terrorism? There are number of different views over the definition. However, most still agree that terrorism is a strategy and should be treated as a separate kind of phenomena, which seems a little strange because it would be similar. If you decontextualized that strategy as one military strategy, one

terrorism phenomenon, speech problem or as one terrorist phenomenon it can be inclusive with respect to all countries or the context of terrorism.

Furthermore, he has talked about diagnostic analysis. He suggests it is a complex phenomenon and we need to have a complex view of how to understand not from one source but multiple sources and not one way to handle it but multidisciplinary approach to handle this phenomenon from multiple sources and solve it from different phenomenon.

Before addressing the terrorism there are some preliminary issues that need to be addressed. People have already given medical analogy and persist that cause of the treatment depends on the diagnosis especially understanding terrorism and its causes that can help shaping the respond before finding the broad answer to this there is a tricky question about why most people do not turn to terrorism although the factors responsible for terrorism it is present everywhere. There isn't enough justice available than weapons which are readily available in the world.

Terrorism is like ritual human behavior. Analyzing it involves reliable data set that evaluates the causes of terrorism. Finally the last key question is about objective of analyzing terrorism. Because it entails politics of knowledge, as it imply interest, as certain incentives generates certain types of knowledge to justify certain type of violence, for example military. Moreover is it possible as human beings who are imbedded in a particular culture, historical background, and individual discourse, to objectively stand out and give the impartial truth about terrorism?

Then the next point he elaborates is on causality, types of causes including the remote, permissive and proximate causes, mono-causal versus multi-causal explanations grievance- versus opportunity-focused explanations, psychological versus sociological explanations, etc. Which are probably the necessary but not sufficient conditions upon of the levels of analysis problem: system, states, groups or individuals? Situation where state inequality, oppression of political right of certain groups and goes on for a long time and that is not violence and if something happens like killing of a student which triggers the eruption of whole thing and mobilizes the whole causes for terrorism.

We can also think of mono-causal where there is only one cause but then there may be many reasons, sometimes multi causal that involves many factors the explanation involves grievance- versus opportunity structure sometime grieve but no opportunity to express themselves for example when a country is in transition from authoritarian state to become a democratic state then these grievance gets the opportunity to express themselves through weapon.

Psychological vs. social explanation level of analysis where the explanation to the important factor lie, is there any difference between international war on terror system vs. cold war system at what level it vary and what are the particular times of state that cause and promote terrorism, then there are certain types of groups what are those groups or is it about individuals? There are lots of different levels to discuss terrorism.

Context and generalization: one terrorism or many terrorisms? Is there one phenomenon about terrorism or there are multiple phenomenon of terrorisms? Is each an expression of terrorism is a product of a situation unique of context, historical or global, IRRRI or in Indonesia, Columbia are the same phenomenon or they are same in the context. Human beings are free to do whatever they want or there are construed by the societies they grow up, religion families shall we be looking the causes there or regardless of the context.

The address elaborates on the prevalent myths about terrorism. Terrorism as a kind of exceptional, nonpolitical violence requiring a separate explanation from other forms of political conflict or forms of violence and its we look at the sociology of knowledge terrorism turns out be separate field because it used to be studied with insurgencies and studies political violence they were made separate because of the interest by the scholars that eventually called terrorism industry they wanted to have their own separate fields they wanted to make a separation between civil war political conflict, and categorization of terrorism was made as it is more evil form however the concept of terrorism entails that it is a strategy that groups use one against many. Every single group uses terrorism also endangers other forms of political activities writing statement

propaganda joining other political parties it becomes a part of movement, so one or the other kind of strategy.

Poverty is also thought to be a cause of terrorism but it is found that mostly the terrorist at individual level are not the poor people of a society, they are sometimes educated than their peers and are a part of poverty can lead to grievances it can lead to humiliation sometimes poverty can also be an obstacle to terrorism as they are occupied in their own minimum level of survival that they don't bother about other objectives.

Are terrorists psychologically abnormal? That's another aspect that needs to be studied. A lot of studies say that there is not much evidence available that is the actual cause, and religious belief is major cause radicalization how religious a religious terrorism is? Fundamentalism can be both militant and peaceful, the context has to be understood, key belief structure secular and religious ideologies as secular states were also brutally violent, people can give up violence maintaining their extreme religious ideas, and acceptance of violence is the key to terrorism other than any other factor. The political functions of these myths should also be addressed.

The search for macro-level factors correlated to terrorism democracy, poverty, state failure, repression, education, for the most part findings are inconclusive and in many cases there are many strong correlation and causation among the variables. However, grievances exist most of the cases yet violence does not prevail everywhere. Terrorism is confined in a few separate cases. In conclusive findings, correlations not causality – grievances are everywhere while violence is not.

Subjugated knowledge – the macro-variables not investigated (e.g., military intervention and occupation) a few studies focuses on the specific causes like drone strikes produces terrorism or external military intervention is creating violence in a particular country. But they are more particular and targeting on the macro causes however most of the studies don't investigate these macro variables.

Temporally and the importance of history and the structural contexts of violence needs to be understood and for that it needs to be analyzed that terrorists as situated, historical actors. There are different period of history in which under the colonial period terrorism would have been expressed differently. The broader links between direct, structural, and cultural violence and for that the social constitution of violence and broader cultures of violence. It entails other causes like poverty and hunger that cause more people to die every year than terrorism. The causes of state terrorism state may include calculations, capabilities, institutional weakness and etc.

Now the most important question needs an answer which is, why do groups adopt violence, or why do individuals join violent groups? Groups that are struggling they find they cannot confront directly but can use psychological war to terrify. At Meso-level terrorism could be a social movement theory that has political opportunity structures as well as internal movement dynamics. At the micro-level it involves the rational actor models for those individual beliefs and experiences and revenge are very important. The emotions are very vital tool to create any reaction in politics many cases terrorist attacks are very revengeful.

Political subjectivity and individual agency are involved and the international brigades phenomenon, grievance narratives, cultures of resistance, beliefs in violence as empowerment. It is a very important factor. People feel empowered when they use violence against their enemies. The effect of Iraq war was on radicalization on European base what turns out humiliating and oppressive that they found using violence was the only option for them for self-projection.

In conclusion, we all need to have an understanding over explanation approach—interpretive approach based on rich description of multiple factors. The importance of context, history, complexity – avoiding simplistic generalizations, human beings as situated social actors and they are shaped by these factors. The importance of dynamic interaction and action-reaction cycles, the (frequently missing) political dimension of understanding the causes of terrorism as a strategy of contention it of political conflict. Finally, reflexivity and emancipator practice in the context of war on terror – avoiding

harm but not assigning causality to specific groups or individuals as it might be hard than the fact so studying causes of terrorism without protectionism essentialism.

Lecture 5.

Causes of Political Violence in Northern Ireland

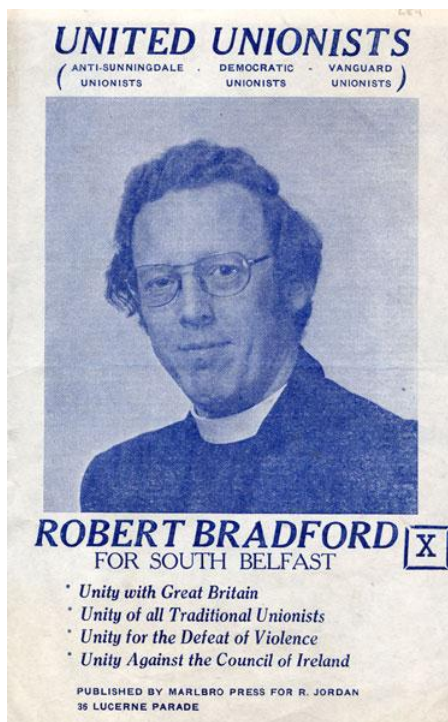
Professor Marie Breen-Smyth

Dr. Marie shares that from her early age she lived in a society where political violence and terror was a part of the daily lives of people. We have many things in common with Pakistan. She talks not only about political violence in Northern Ireland but she also talks about sectarian violence. She then gives a quick history of terror in Northern Ireland. Ireland being an island off the coast of England, UK is being colonized by the British for about 800 years. And it has bitter history of effects due to colonization, e.g. In 1850s, Irish famine spread where 1.5 million people died and a further 1 million became refugees, and ended up in North America and Australia particularly but also in other parts of the world. Famine is not a natural disaster, it occurs because some people have food and they don't share it with other people. At that time during the famine prior to that the Irish language was banned. We had to speak English and you could be imprisoned and have your lands ceased if you spoke the native language of Ireland. And also the practice of Catholicism was banned and the church & priest were illegalized. Plantation of the country was done by protestant Scottish and English settlers who were granted land and privileges. Periodic attempts were made to end colonization. During Easter rising in 1916, subsequent partition of the country was declared that caused northern 6 counties where Protestants were concentrated, were granted status of devolved government under British jurisdiction. And the remainder of the country was granted independence and it became a republic.

Next the speaker conferences about the brief background of Northern Ireland. The Northern Ireland state was founded in 1922. It had a one party government because it had Protestant Unionists in permanent power and they yielded the country in their own

interests and they made sure that their people got into the best positions and they kept these troublesome natives Irish who were not loyal at all because they tend to rebel. Basically the state ensured and constructed marginal lines with in a situation where they dominant population composed 2/3 and the 1/3 catholic minority had no say in government. Government practiced gerrymandering, discrimination and so on. Then there was civil rights movement in 1960s that was inspired by MLK etc.

State responded with violence British penetrated in Northern Ireland parliament and sent in troops to keep the peace. IRA saw chance to renew campaign for independence and went to war. There was sectarian violence between Catholics and Protestants on the basis that you could deter Catholics from supporting the IRA if you attack them. If you attack the people it will turn people on defense. Loyalist paramilitaries founded to fight the IRA with the gloves off. It was believed that if they attacked catholic civilians it would deter Catholics from supporting the IRA. So the various forms of violence were going on.



Ian Paisley organised to bring down the Sunningdale Agreement

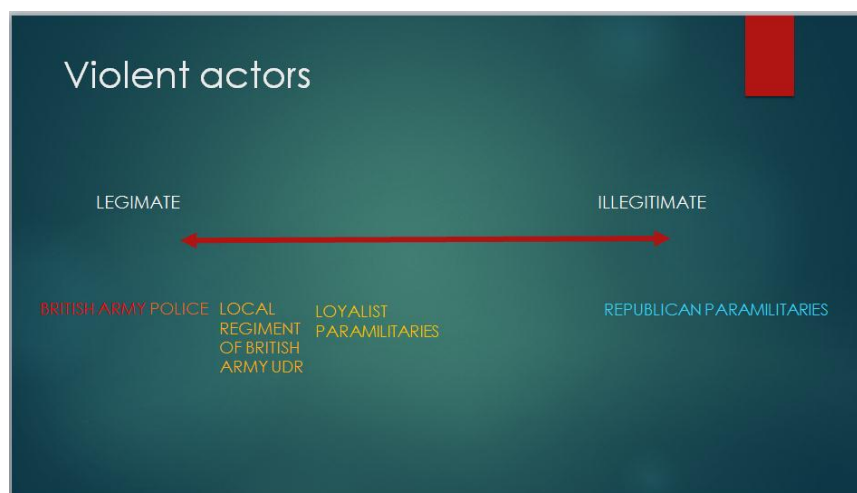


Masked UDA men on a march

Speaker elaborates the pictures saying that in the middle of all this violence there were various attempts for peace. One of which was conducted by Margaret Thatcher who set time with the prime minister of Ireland and they dint involve pretty well anybody else.

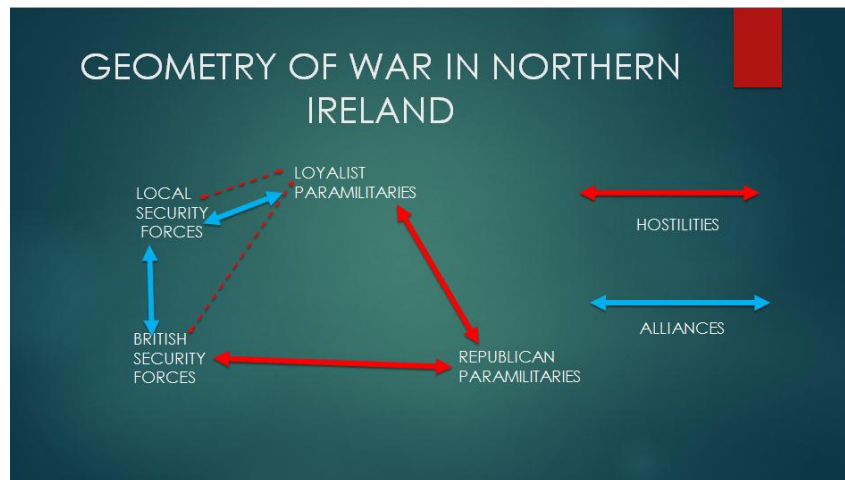
The two prime ministers decided they would have an agreement between each other which they called the Anglo-Irish Agreement that gave the Government of Ireland an official consultative role in the affairs of Northern Ireland and so on. The Unionists and Protestants in the north were very upset by this. The left side image is the campaign posters; the right images are also from the campaign where Ian Paisley at this time is actually organizing people on the streets.

Next the speaker makes a point about language and she don't like to use the word "terrorism" and the reason of this is that suppose if speaker calls someone a terrorist and the speaker happen to be a law enforcement officer then she can bring to that person a set of laws and practices that allows her to dispense with the human rights of that person and treat him in an exceptional manner and set aside the normal protections and laws that are available to ordinary citizens. And we allow them to be treated in a special way. It is a problem and it is also a problem that prevents peace talks. There has to be legislation on 'assisting terrorists'. So that doesn't exclude the key actors. It implies that there are 'good guys' and 'bad guys' when war is a dirty business and no-one's hands are entirely clean.

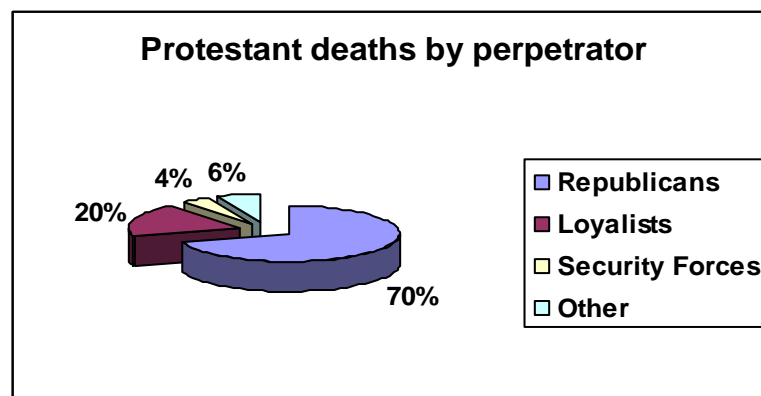


Then the speaker discusses about the violent actors, as shown in image that were in the Northern Ireland. She starts with the British army who were actually not indigenous to the region. They came in, these were young English 16-17 years olds and after 17 year olds had been killed in Northern Ireland, the British decided they wouldn't send anybody under the age of 18 to Northern Ireland. So after 1972, these were all above 18

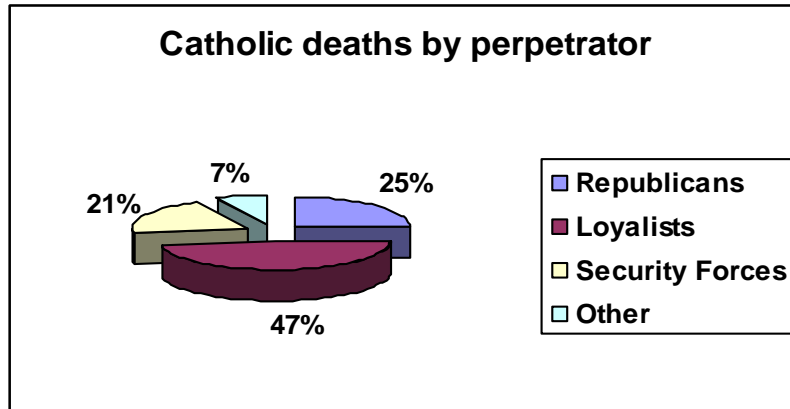
year olds on the streets on Northern Ireland. Then we had the local police force which was 97% drawn from Protestants population so it was predominantly a Protestants force and it was also a Para-military force. Then we had a part time local regiment of British army UDR and loyalist paramilitaries. These were all on the legitimate side and on the illegitimate side we had republican paramilitaries.



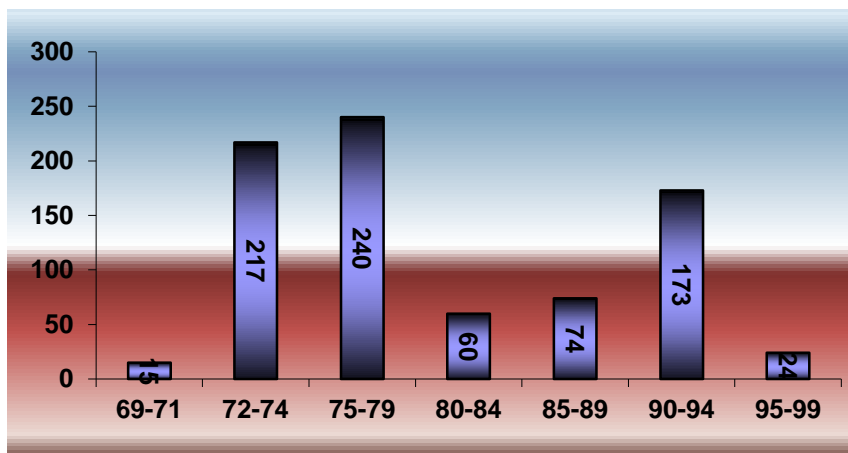
In the main findings the total percentage of Protestants died by perpetrators are shown in image below:



In the main findings the total percentage of Catholics died by perpetrators are shown in image below:



The Sectarian deaths in years from 1969 to 1999 are as under:



Next the speaker puts the question in front of audience that why do people take up arms? The answer to this is we need to establish necessary conditions. Concrete structural problems (inequalities, 'occupation', lack of political participation, state violence), ideology to explain them and suggest a terrorist course of action that resonates with constituency (needs to justify why accepted norms should be so shockingly violated - cf. Millenarianism), belief that other avenues (legal challenge, mass protest, guerrilla war) inefficient (e.g. Power ratio massively in favour of government, perceived unresponsiveness of official channels or masses), social (sub)-culture which sees terrorist violence as acceptable under the circumstances, effective/willing leadership (often coupled to mass passivity) and adequate resources, including organisational structure (less important than with guerrilla movements since terrorist groups tend to be smaller, and materiel costs are less).

In the last section the speaker references to the threats to peace. The key is participation of armed groups; roleless-ness of combatants dangerous; slide into criminality inevitable in absence of other mechanisms. Agreement was called on groups to end violence and decommissioning yet it was not completed and decommissioning was not sufficient as Kofi Annan points out.

Day 2

Lecture 6.

War on Terror - Pakistan's Experience

Masood Aslam

The speaker Mr. Masood addresses the audience on the topic 'war on terror' specifically with respect to Pakistan's experience. He states that the tragic event of 9/11 actually was a shock to the entire world. In order to comprehend the magnitude of the terrorist threat, people even today are still endeavoring to this ubiquitous phenomenon. The conflicts have become too many and too complex. They are rather self-generating and autonomous with essentially the forces of disorder. When we look at the militant groups they are all forces disorders which are growing in power. Consequentially the conflict resolution has become more difficult. While political will and the public support for the use of kinetic force is decreasing.

Pakistan found itself once again in the international spot light when US and the coalition forces decided to attack Afghanistan. The war in Afghanistan crossed over into Pakistan and gave an exponential rise to the militancy potential which already existed and bring under the surface in Pakistan. Pakistan was and is perhaps the most effective country due to perpetual instability in Afghanistan.

Speaker further defines the word terrorism as it is the manifestation and not something by itself. It is manifestation of disagreement. It is intentional use of violence & intimidation in pursuit of a political, religious or ideological aim. Or it can be said that an illegal use of force or violence against persons or property to intimidate or coerce a Govt. & civil population in furtherance of political or social objectives.

Speaker also briefly tries to cover the sub conventional warfare i.e. all the efforts which we are seeing today. It is generic term where an organized violent subversion is used to 'effect' or 'prevent' political control, as a challenge to the established authority and at the lower end of the 'spectrum of conflict' and entails protracted struggle. Causes of terrorism may include nationalism; ethnic, tribal or sectarian disputes; resistance to foreign colonization; alienation of influential individuals; mal administration, corruption & repression; economic / social disparity and prolonged political instability. The mechanism is the 'narrative' through which the ideologies are expressed and absorbed. Myths are developed and spread to further bolster the ideology.



In the image above, the speaker then gives an overview as how militancy started and what it looked like post 9/11 incident. There was a Pakistan policy shift resulting in anti-American sentiment. There was a disenchantment with Pakistan's policy and the Pakistani militants groups which existed and militants started to mutate. It resulted in challenging the writ of government in FATA and adjoining areas and what happened

that the existing system of political administration became incapacitated and common tribals / populace were overwhelmed who were not ready to play their traditional role. Resulting in balance of power shifted to non-state militant actors and militants influence started to spread over in various agencies.

When we look at the anatomy of the problem, there was ideological and perceptual difference that the Govt. is fighting the US war. While the Govt. was at the same time incapable to meet the socio-economic needs of the people. The appeal to the Pashtun being marginalized in Afghanistan was also one of the main issues. The Govt. to carry out anything had to establish effective control where parallel administration had started to come about and where it started to expand to adjoining areas. Hostile agencies, political parties and media were some of the catalysts which were further complicating the problem.

When it comes to Pakistan's response, the principles essential for this that need to be followed are as primacy of political purpose, unity of effort, understand human terrain, secure population, neutralize militants, gain and maintain popular support, moral and legal supremacy, integrate intelligence and learn and adapt to the changing environment.

The design of operation followed isolated militants from common people and exposed real face of militancy that is its not interested in shariah or betterment of populace but gain authority. It created political and social space for large scale military operations and the operations were aimed at bringing early success through rapid maneuvers and uprooting the terrorists from their strongholds. There were careful and calibrated operations to guard against any undue loss to the infrastructure and public / civil property. The apex committee forum created to articulate political and military response including media campaign.

Now the consideration that was kept in mind because we were confronting with irregular non state actors if we raise the tempo to such a level which militants could not sustain, the operation will become successful. Calibrated pressure is applied in other regions to deny lateral support by militants in objective zone. Desired effects were

achieved through synergetic employment of all resources. Political and media effort remained in synchronization with military response. The effective management of IDPS was always one of the top considerations and the US signature in operations must be eliminated.

Speaker then mentions the efforts of Pakistan against terrorism since the beginning called as National Action Plan. Operation Zarb e Azb was focused on elimination of all militant groups which were left at that point in time in the area of operations. At the same time avoidance of collateral and human rights violations had to be kept in mind. Use of minimum and selective effective force and management of TDPS was carried out. In overall national action plan aimed to two main areas. The first is to enhance physical security and the second is to counter extremism for a societal change that means to change total thought process.

Measures taken to enhance security that is physical security besides major operations in FATA, IBOS against proscribed organizations, raising and training CTFS in provinces, dismantling communication systems of militants, trying to block financing channels which existed and military courts were also established for speedy disposal.

Measures to counter spread of extremism as Madrassah reforms were to be initiated, social media had been blocked to deny spread of militancy, there had been some crackdown on hate speeches / material, controlling electronic / print media from spreading terrorist narrative and steps to counter spread of sectarianism and bigotry.

In the concluding remarks, the speaker states that FATA reforms should be involved to mainstream, review of existing political system should be done to empower under privileged segments of society, reconciliation and reintegration option should be taken for reconcilable elements and de-radicalization and rehab policy must be developed.

Lecture 7.

Space of Performative Politics and Terror in Pakistan

Dr. Daanish Mustafa

Department Of Geography, King'S College, London

The first step is to define terrorism as an act of violence different from other acts of violence in that is directed towards a larger group, besides the casualties, causing destruction and annihilation. This means that you become a direct victim because of where you were while the attack itself yields the motivation of terrorists. This theatrical aspect of terrorism according to Hannah Arendt is similar to the theatrical aspect of politics.

You are a direct victim of terrorism if you are subjected to violence not because of who you are or what you have done but because of where you are. The indirect audience is the real target of terrorist violence and place is the medium through which communication takes place. The choice of places can yield clues to the motivations of terrorists. The theatrical aspect of terrorism is consonant with the theatrical aspect of politics as per Hannah Arendt.

***If only it were all so simple! If only there were evil people somewhere insidiously committing evil deeds, and it were necessary only to separate them from the rest of US and destroy them but the line dividing good and evil cuts through the heart of every human being. And who is willing to destroy a piece of his own heart?
(Alexander Solzhenitsyn)***

The antidote of terrorism can be divided into following areas:

- Counter terrorism: where you use military and law enforcement agencies to fight terrorism. While the war on terrorism has been criticized for being hypocritical, illegal and destroying the lives of innocents thus making them susceptible to the terrorists; policing has been preferred on the basis that it is legitimately more effective at preventing terrorism and catching the offenders.

- Address the root cause by fighting poverty, providing education in areas which are a hub for producing terrorists and use media to attack these organizations. But the problem is that there has been no strong research to create a direct link between terrorism and poverty.
- Set up the foundation for politico- cultural reconstruction.

Speaker further augments that what informs the apparently senseless and self-defeating violence of state and some non-state actors such as Al-Qaeda is the unprecedented and deeply modernist belief in a 'perfected' humanity, and superhuman necessity of executing historical laws of say racial superiority, dictatorship of the proletariat, or religiously pure community of believers (villa 1999, arendt 1968).

Next is the classification of violence as has been portrayed in the neighborhoods selected for study into infrastructural violence, disempowerment violence and spectacular violence. Violence in this case is indicative of a loss of power. While politics is the creation of worldliness and freedom, violence is politically null and void even anti political.

The presenter next describes the geographies of Taliban terror in Swat. The Taliban described woman as imperfect able and thus curtailed public expressions of togetherness of the sexes. They created network of spies and this led to public beheadings.

The so called religious right is basically misogynistic, anti-culture, with ideologies based on distortions of history and draw support from technically trained professionals. To counter them what is required is for a public realm where individuals reveal who and what they are and they are a part of polis in its diversity.

What has thus caused a problem in our society is a dominant tragic outlook affirming a titanic struggle between good and evil. So to end terrorist violence we have to reject complete systemic solutions against the system logic.

Lecture 8.

Causes of Terrorism - A Strategic Perspective

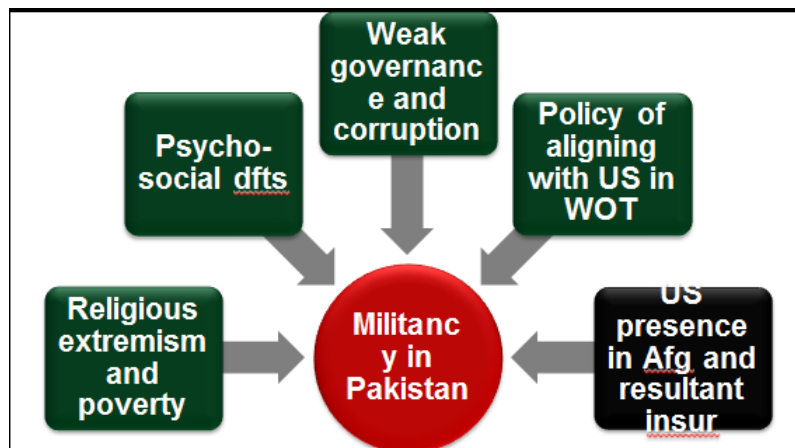
Waheed Arshad

Mr. Waheed's lecture revolves around the causes of terrorism in strategic and military perspective. He gives a brief Pakistani perspective as well and tries to find out the reason why we are here today. What has happened and what are the reasons. Speaker states that it is important to understand how this whole problem of terrorism evolved in this country. For our army and country this has been the longest war. The country has suffered a lot. He defines terrorism as the unlawful tactics of using force or violence against persons or property to intimidate or coerce a government or the civilian population in furtherance of political or social objectives.

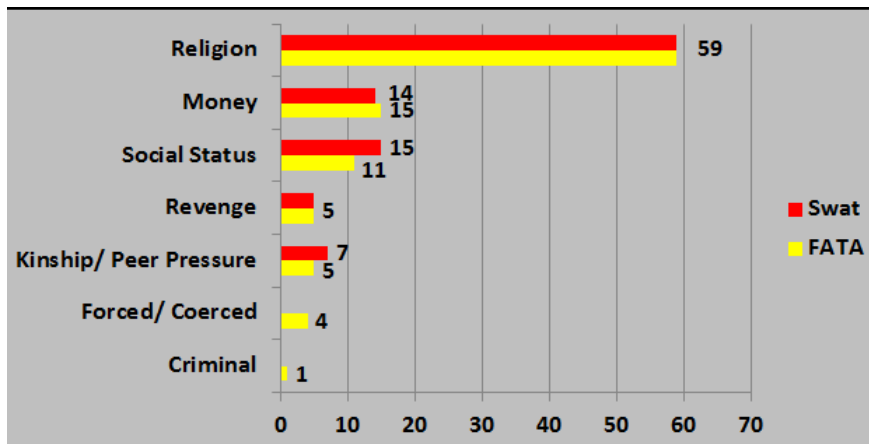
It is important to know that are we facing the terrorism as acts of terrorism or is there an organized militancy or insurgency in this country? Speaker provides the definition of insurgency to establish the context as an insurgency is an organized, protracted politico-military struggle designed to weaken the control and legitimacy of an established political authority while trying to either resist a change or bring in a characteristic change of its own in the social and political system.

Below are the categorical causes of terrorism when seeing from militancy perspective:

CAUSES OF TERRORISM			
Individual (Concern particular persons or groups)	Rational	Systemic	Ideological
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ✓ Psychological ✓ Demography ✓ Victimization 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ✓ Benefits ✓ Costs ✓ State sponsors 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ✓ Modernization ✓ Urbanization ✓ Globalization ✓ Poverty ✓ Low education ✓ Cultural issues ✓ Military occupation ✓ Political frustration • Repression 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ✓ Rightists • Leftists • Nationalists ✓ Religious • Anarchists

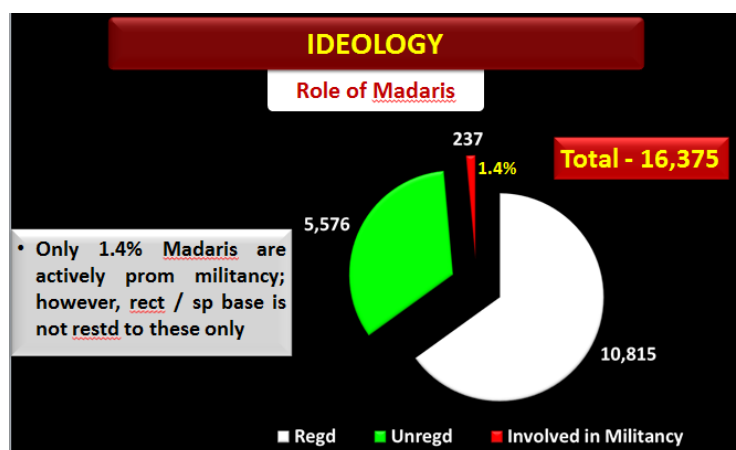


The presenter further elaborates the motivation aspect that is being transferred to the young people to become terrorists. He articulates that what are you doing is the right thing for your family but it may not be the right thing for everyone. But terrorists are motivated that if you do this it is not only good for you as a religious person, it is also good for your family because you are doing for your family for the last so many years. If you do this you family will benefit for the rest of their lives. Speaker tries to explain how motivation was fed into the minds of young people who really dint had education and dint knows right or wrong.



Religion is the main cause that is being used to exploit the people and turn them to evils to obtain the objectives of terrorist's organizations.

There are three tiers of militancy. These are the leadership, operational and foot soldiers. This is how finance and religion interact in that sense of motivation. 1% Madaris almost 237 are confirmed to take part in terrorist activities. The issue is the Madaris that are unregistered there is no control of the state. They act as a base of sympathy and ultimately these sympathizers may turn into foot soldiers or go up in the operation tier or they go back into the main stream depending on how they are being fed and motivated.



In the last part of lecture, speaker argues on the operation strategy that is being used to attract people and lead such operations. Some of the means are incentives where they offer material sources and glamour to attract youth (money and hero creation). Then

there is replacement of state apparatus with a more credible and easier administrative mechanism (taxes, courts, police and punishments run by insurgents). Another way to set the operation is targeting the state apparatus and visible symbols of state authority (killing of police, blowing up of state offices, police stations, schools etc.) Cutting off physical links of the area (roads, bridges etc.) is often carried out by violent groups. Terrorists often use tactics like inciting state reaction against civilians in hopes of collateral damage (terrorism and use of human shields). A dominant and proactive information campaign (print and electronic media and word of mouth) and use of terror and intimidation against pro-state community leaders are other operational strategies.

Lecture 9.

Causes of Terrorism - A Practitioner's Perspective

IGP (r) Shaukat Javed

Mr. Shaukat addresses the audience and elaborates further in sequence the causes of terrorism mainly focusing on practitioner's perspective. Unless we identify the disease, pin point it and then look for the remedies or its treatments we can't move forward. So therefore the speaker briefly touches up the general perspective in this regard. The first listed cause of terrorism is that it is a fight within Islam. Another disease is the legacy of partition and subsequent developments in Pakistan. Then there are wrong state policies and international events and conflicts.

Next the speaker focuses on the practitioner's point of view that terrorism is a criminal activity from a policeman's point of view. It's a crime not to be dealt by any military or Para-military unless it turns into insurgency. In all over the world, terrorism is controlled by the law enforcement agencies. Military is only called in case of insurgency

as was the case in FATA and Swat where the physical occupation of land took place by the terrorists.

It is the failure of state to provide basics like governance, education and economy. The state of Pakistan is an example of that governance. There is no rule of law, recognition of merit. Governance level is very poor and people don't have faith in the court systems of Pakistan, the police, in the politicians of Pakistan. They are attracted towards militants agenda whenever they establish their courts etc. In the initial stages those were welcomed. Education is another failure of state. We have 4 systems of education, the Madaris, the public schools, English medium school systems and elite English medium school systems. 43% students only are going to public schools and 57% are not going to public schools. 2.5 crores youngsters are not going to any schools.

Failure to provide justice is another thing which according to speaker is leading people towards these terrorist's organizations. All type of justice is not provided whether it is civil, criminal or terrorism. Speaker adds the example of national action plan that the first point of NAP was revival of the death sentence which we had imposed. Since the lifting till today more than 400 people have been hanged but out of those only 31 were terrorists. Among those 31, 29 were convicted by the military courts. Since then not a single execution of terrorists has taken place.

Laws of Pakistan are lacking in bite. ATA does not cover all the offences which are taking place. E.g. suicide bombing is not covered in ATA. Evidence act has flaws. It doesn't make admissible piece of evidence when a criminal confesses before police officers. Forensic evidence is given less importance. Amendments are required in Explosive Substances Act, Cybercrime Act, Pakistan Telegraph Act.

There is lack of capacity building of law enforcement agencies. There is confusion over role of federal and provincial LEAS. The rangers came into Karachi about 20 years ago. We have not able to develop the police to a level where we can say rangers can go back to their original duties. There are vested interests sometimes that make use of rangers and FC as temporary arrangements turning into permanent. Misplaced priorities are

another cause. Wherever resources are provided they are being used by personal bosses and wasted.

Unchecked flow of funds from within and outside Pakistan is also supporting terrorism. There is a Money Laundering Act in Pakistan according to which state bank of Pakistan has a wing which is supposed to inform the law enforcement agencies about the flow of funds which are used for terrorists activities. And not a single such thing has been given to any law enforcement agencies by the state bank. There is a safe haven for terrorists in regions of FATA, Frontier Regions (FR), B areas of Baluchistan, tribal areas of Punjab and no-go areas in Karachi due to poor management and security control.

Lastly, the speaker emphasis on that we need to differentiate between insurgency and terrorism. Insurgency has to be dealt with by military and paramilitary organizations while terrorism has to be a domain of police and law enforcement agencies.

Day 3

Lecture 10.

Terrorism Databases: Usage, Implications, and Challenges

Dr. Omi Hodwitz

Start, US department of homeland security science and technology directorate's office of University programs, US department of State

Mrs. Omi Hodwitz from understanding, managing, and resolution of terrorism training course Lahore, Pakistan presented on usage, implication and challenges of terrorism data bases. She discussed about that what are terrorism databases and how are they available for usage and the challenges they pose.

Some of the prominent data bases include BAAD, JJATT, CPOST- SAD, ASN etc. Data bases can be an open source, private, text or incident based. She further discussed the

characteristics of each data base in order to draw a comparison of each one of them and how are they used for attacks.

11,552 incidents have taken place in Pakistan from 1970 till 2013 and use of weapon has also increased with every passing year in the country. In order to reach to an exact number of attacks, it is imperative to understand the data base and determine which one is best for the research question.

Big Allied and Dangerous (BAAD)

Unit of analysis is terrorist organization. There are 500+ violent non-state actors (VNSA) from 1998-2012. Key variables are ideology, size, control of territory, structure and leadership, funding mechanisms, political participation, provision of social services, counterterrorism strategies against the group and group demise.

Suicide attack database (CPOST-SAD)

Unit of analysis is suicide attack. Between 1992-2016 (June), there have been 5,300 attacks in 40+ countries. It includes information on date, location, target, weapon, perpetrator and casualties.

Global terrorism database (GTD)

Unit of analysis is incident-based. It is domestic and international. Between 1970-2015, there have been 150,000+ attacks. 120 variables including weapon, date, location, target, perpetrator, outcome and motive.

In conclusion the speaker says that we must know our data either triangulate or amalgamate. "ground truth" accounts for 42.3% of unique attacks. No database is perfect. Definitional and coding differences are inevitable.

Lecture 11.

Terrorists or criminals? The logic of labels

Brian j. Phillips, CIDE

Speaker starts his lecture that in Mexico there has been a serious problem with organized crime, criminal violence and drug trafficking. People asked him if this is an insurgency or terrorism. There have more than 100,000 people killed between criminal organizations fighting each other and the state. Can we use counter insurgency tactics against criminal organizations. Why not? What are differences between political actors such as insurgents and terrorists groups and criminal actors such as drug traffickers and gangs? Speaker seeks the answer to these questions.

In Philippines there have been debates about the Islamic insurgent groups Abu Sayyaf if it's an insurgent group or if it's a criminal group. Some say it's a criminal group as it is involved in kidnapping. It doesn't matter how we classify a group. Many terrorists are involved in crimes and vice versa. Other people say that instead of talking about insurgency and terrorism we should make new categories like hybrid groups and violent non-state actors.

Some people started using NARCO-terrorism in 1980s to talk about groups particularly in South America, Peru, Colombia. They were insurgent groups but also involved in drug trafficking. One analyst talked about the transformation (Dishman) that groups like FARC in Colombia had transformed. But then some said that there is a mix in organizations so they called it as convergence, hybrid organizations. "False dichotomy" (Shelley 2014) between terrorists and criminals actors and most actors today are somewhere in the middle. Before these terms people used the terms violent non-state actors, non-state armed groups and dark networks. Then is there no distinction between political & criminal groups? Question arises.

Most or all subnational groups fit in a category. Their primary motivation is their political goals or criminal goals.

	Political organizations	Criminal organizations
Incentives for members	Purposive incentives	Material incentives
“Market”	Ideas and Public opinion	Illicit goods market
Relationship with government	Engage	Avoid

Note: an earlier version of this table appeared in Phillips (2015b).

Implications involve the leadership removal that means reduced violence for political groups and increased violence, or no change, for criminal groups. Alliances are more common for political groups and rivalry is more common for criminal groups. Analysis need to be carried out in precise manner that involves leadership removal. All peer-reviewed quantitative studies, alliances and rivalry are data sets of terrorists, rebels, gangs, “cartels”.

Table 2. Peer-reviewed quantitative studies of leadership removal

Study	Sample	Findings
<i>Political groups</i>		
Jordan 2009	Terrorist groups, global	No effect on group survival
Johnston 2012	Insurgent groups, global	Decreased attacks
Price 2012	Terrorist groups, global	Decreased group survival
Donovan & Coupe 2013	UK animal rights group	Decreased attacks
Morehouse 2014	The FARC	Decreased attacks
Tiernay 2015	Rebel groups, global	Increased chance of war ending
<i>Criminal groups</i>		
Guerrero Gutiérrez 2011	Mexican criminal groups	Increased attacks
Dickenson 2014	Mexican criminal groups	Increased attacks
Vargas 2014	Chicago gangs	Mixed: no change for one gang, increased attacks for another
Calderón et al. 2015	Mexican criminal groups	Increased attacks
Phillips 2015b	Mexican criminal groups	Increased attacks

In the concluding remarks the speaker states that there are substantial differences between political and criminal groups. Future steps could be data: comparable political, criminal groups, Colombia, South Asia? Other empirical applications include negotiations with governments and poverty alleviation programs.

Lecture 12.

Terrorist Group Dynamics and Persistence

Brian J. Phillips

CIDE, Mexico City

The second lecture by Dr. Brian is an overview of some of the research on organizational dynamics of terrorism, terrorism group dynamics and in particular the phenomenon of persistence of terrorist organizations. He briefly discusses the terrorists group and then he discusses three general topics in the research on terrorism which is intergroup rivalries and outbidding, group structure and group-state relations. And then he talks about some of the findings and interesting work on these topics. And then he discusses the terrorist group persistence, some explanations why do some groups last longer than others, how do groups end and implications for counterterrorism.

Next the speaker shares that there are various definitions of terrorists groups either narrow to broad. We can think about groups that only target civilians or groups primarily target non-combatants but the speaker uses the broader definition of terrorist groups and says "subnational political organization that uses terrorism".

So why organizational dynamics is importance? There are many ways to study terrorism. We can look at lone actors or lone wolves, thinking about the broader movements or civil conflicts e.g. Syrian war. Most terrorism is carried out by groups with specific goals, mobilization issues and relationships with other groups of the state. Terrorism is affected by these dynamics.

Then the speaker talks about the term outbidding and refers to auction and bidding. It comes from research on ethnic politics and conflicts and the basic original idea back in 1070's was the groups get more extreme to compete for public support. But it was applied to suicide terrorism by MIA bloom and she applied it to suicide terrorism by pointing out she looked at the puzzle that why do we see suicide terrorism in some places instead of others? LTTE, HAMAS and Hezbollah for example. Outbidding also

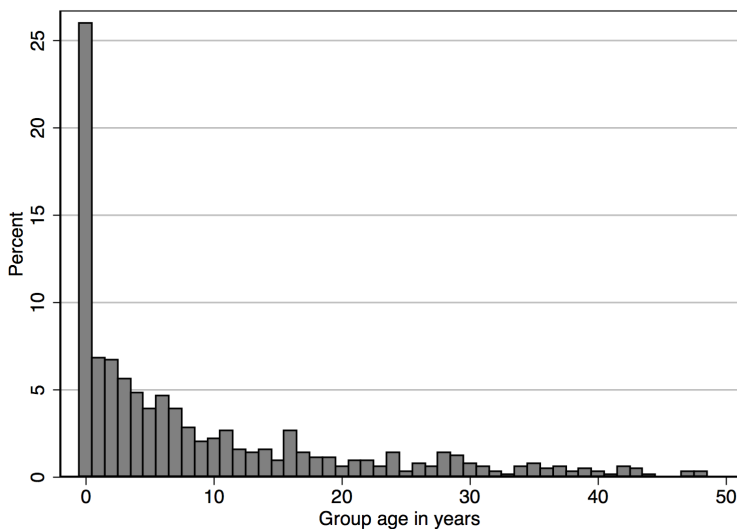
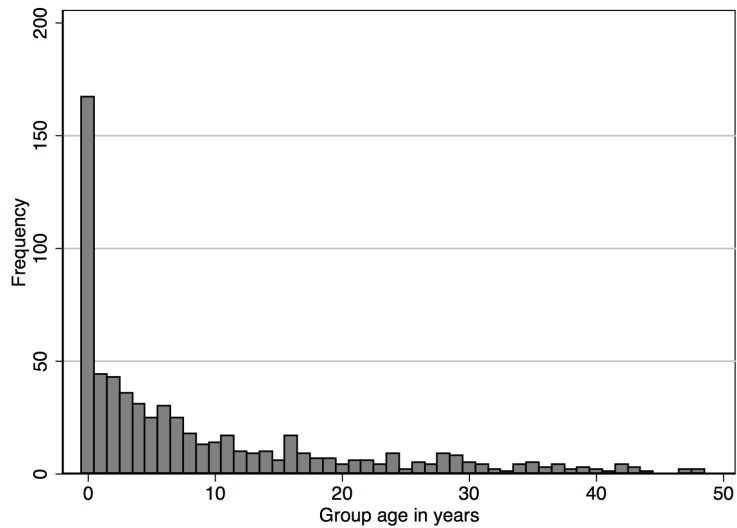
explains other terrorist tactics and some people looked at the competition between Al Qaeda and ISIS/Daesh. Or originally when Al Qaeda was competing with other groups it started using a specially spectacular violence, extreme mega fatality events to stand out from other groups to gain the attention of the world and a potential recruits by using a specially lethal violence.

Regarding group-state relations speaker says there are a number of different topics we can look at. One interesting thing is about bargaining and spoilers. There is research looking at how many terrorist's organization are militant organization more broadly often negotiate with governments. There are some sorts of concessions particularly if we include rebel groups at the end of a civil war at some point during a civil war they are negotiating and bargaining with the government.

There are a number of state sponsors terrorist organizations around the world and this has important implications for those groups behavior. One consequence we have seen is that the groups can develop dependence. They can develop dependence on the state where instead of relying on popular support and donations they come to rely on state and if the states cut off the funding, the consequences can be somewhat unpredictable.

There has been a decent amount of research on state repressive tactics, why we see some groups more violent than others. One interesting finding is that indiscriminate repression leads to more terrorism while leadership removal often leads to less terrorism.

Next the speaker talks about the terrorist group persistence that why do some terrorist groups last so much longer than others? Some last decades we can think of militant's organization but many last 1 year or less. Many carried out a couple of attacks and disappeared. Global data collection allows us to look at trends firstly Jones and Libicki on 648 groups, 1968-2006 that was complemented by case studies.



In the last slide speaker discusses the policy implications for persistence and termination of terrorist's organizations. For persistence, policy concessions and policing can reduce potential members and ultimately group size. Next group relationships are important. Disrupting alliances do not encourage rivalry. When we talk about termination military force alone can't terminate such organization. Leadership decapitation or removal and limited political concessions can be effective.

Lecture 13.

Dynamics of Negotiations with Non-State Armed Groups

Fiaz Toru

At the start of his lecture, Mr. Fiaz asks the audience that how many professionals present in the seminar have worked or operated in KP and Swat. Many of them respond in yes. Then the speaker makes a quick call of background naming events like soviet invasion of Afghanistan that was 1979. The we fought against soviets depicted as jihad, the convergence of foreign radicals coming from Muslim world into Pakistan, we supported them. Then Pakistan fought American proxy war that funded and financed us. Then we witnessed the withdrawal of soviet troops in 1989. Then we came into the era where the civil war took place amongst the Mujahideen from 1989 to 1994. People in Afghanistan were fed of this war. At that time the emergence of Taliban was seen from 994 to 1996. And in a state of just 2 years we noticed that the Talibans spread over the Afghanistan and captured Kabul and they were in power over there. Then 9/11 taking place in the US they invaded Afghanistan and war on terror started. We had to go along with US. This resulted in porous border of Pak Afghan and people had free movement to & forth. Lastly the situation deteriorates in FATA & spills over to settled areas.

Next the speaker debates on the impact of soviet invasion on Pakistan that it caused extended legitimacy to military government that prolonged the military rule and support of US & West. The outcome was the radicalization of society and introduction of drugs and gun culture. FATA was used as a launching pad for logistics & weapons. There was an increase in organized crime in Afghanistan and the consequences were afghan refugees coming to Pakistan.

The impact of 9/11 was massive for Pakistan. The talibanization of Pakistan's society resulted in terrorism spreading out from FATA / KP to length & breadth of the country. Ethnicity related violence increased. Sectarianism was on the rampant, target killings, kidnappings were witnessed. Nexus between Jihadis, militants and criminals were formed. Target killings of politicians, local notables, Maliks, religious scholars were witnessed. Human losses: people killed: 50000 military & LEAS : 10000. Economic losses: Pakistan on cross roads. This further gave rise to in brain drain, flight of capital, nose diving production, inflation, poverty, unemployment, decline in foreign investment and slow economic growth from 7% to 3%.

Investment to GDP ratio:

2006 / 2007 - 22.5%

2010/ 2011 - 13.4%

Losses on account of war on terror : US\$ 100 billion

When talking about negotiations the speaker puts 2 options. Under option 1, democracies must never give in to violence. Negotiations give legitimacy to terrorists. Talks may destabilize the negotiating government. Negotiations give a chance to the terrorists to reorganize. Negotiations undercut international efforts to outlaw terrorists. Under option 2, democratic governments often negotiate with terrorists. British government maintained secret back channel with IRA. Mortar attack by IRA on 10 Downing Street in 1991. Spanish government- bath homeland & freedom – ETA in 1998. Israel with PLO – OSLO accord in 1993. Negotiations plays a part not a panacea. It may be time consuming & frustrating but it helps in softening stances. Force & negotiations may run side by side.

Some points to ponder are that actual knowledge of ground situation is essential. Taliban were not aliens but sons of the soil. They had support of local sympathizers. They would easily dissolve among the locals. Collateral damages were to be avoided. Stances were to be softened.

The achievements embraced with the efforts of negotiations are Nizam I Adal - through Qazi- Ulema through proper courts, no appeal – appeal to lie to high court, compromise on Darul Qaza, will work within the ambit of constitution. Army should not be withdrawn. Prisoners should be released with due process of law. Accord short lived, talibans & TNSM committed gross violations. Operation Rah I Raast was launched.

In concluding remarks the speaker states that there have been gross violations on part of TTP and TNSM. Operation Rah E Raast was launched. Command & communication centers become shattered. Ammunition dumps were destroyed, supplies were cut off, networking becomes shattered, and local commanders were hit hard and arrested & killed. Areas were cleared and writ restored. Fazlullah manages to cross border but Soofi & his companions got arrested.

Day 4

Lecture 14.

Coming Terrorist Threat in Pakistan

Abdul Basit

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International centre for political violence and terrorism research (ICPVTR),

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Mr. Abdul Basit's lecture emphasises on the coming threat of terrorism in Pakistan due to changes taking place in politics worldwide. In an overview of threat landscape, the speaker states that the large-scale threat posing existential crisis has receded. The threat has become de-centralized, diffusive, adaptive, regenerative and resilient. Operationally and ideologically it has undergone subtle transformations. Now, it is a low-intensity, long-term threat. The current terrorist groups are seeking revenge, renown and reaction.

The speaker further adds that the geography is changing rapidly from north-west to south-west as a result of terrorism. The epicentre of terrorist threat to Pakistan has relocated from FATA to Afghanistan. In last three years, unlike the past, Baluchistan has emerged as the most affected area by terrorism (Pakistan security report 2016, p. 33) more strikingly, most of the attacks, were carried out by Islamic militants (TTP, JUA, and LJA) not ethno-separatist groups. The geographical relocation of terrorist threat is consistent with changing geo-political trends in the region.

Next comes the changing recruitment & propaganda patterns. Militant recruitment has gone beyond individuals coming from madrassa system, poor and rural socio-economic backgrounds. People from educated middle and upper-middle class of urban areas have

become new entrants in Islamic militancy. Mostly, they are lone-wolf groups or individuals. In some cases, ideologization and recruitment have taken place online. The monopoly of militant mullahs as recruiters and intermediaries has diminished. These new militants have Takfiri-Salafist leanings.

There is no discernable centre-of-gravity for terrorism. Notwithstanding most number of terrorist attacks (116) in Pakistan during 2016 by TTP, it does not dominate country's threat landscape anymore. JUA and ISK, TTP'S splinters have shown similar geographical outreach, sophistication and precision in planning and execution of attacks. Surprisingly, ISK which came across as divisive factor for Pakistani militant groups in 2015, it emerged as a unifying force in 2016. Al-Qaeda central which apparently looks dormant is undergoing a massive re-thinking, re-orientation and re-strategization. Unlike Iraq and Syria where AQ and IS are ARCH-FOES, in Afghanistan ISK and AQC get along nicely. The two came closer to a peace deal last year through the Haqqani network.

After weakening the terrorist groups operationally, it is essential to expand the debate to less attended issues like non-violent extremism, counter-narrative, counter-ideology and how to strike a balance between kinetic and non-kinetic aspects of counter-terrorism. Non-violent extremism keeps the supply-demand and extremist narrative alive, dilutes the consensus to fight the extremist threat meaningfully, and potentially undermine the operational gains made against terrorist threat. Violent-extremism is "action-based" while non-violent extremism is "value-based". Violent extremists are "extreme by goals and methods" while non-violent extremists are "extreme by goal".

Then comes the question, what is non-violent extremism? The answer to this is the passive support system comprising of subscribers, supporters, sympathizers and advocates of extremism who help sustain it in the society. The religious orthodoxy which remains aloof to negative changes in religious activism and inadvertently makes the job of violent extremists easier.

Finally the presenter suggests that we should move beyond militaristic methods of fighting the terrorist threat. We need to find the much needed balance between soft and

hard ct approaches to evolve smart approaches. The self-denial, muddled mind-set, soft-corner or weak political wills are potential deal-breakers in creating a terror-free society based on principles of peaceful coexistence and religious pluralism. The overall foreign policy and security policy are inter-linked, without re-orienting our current regional policy the threat of terrorism will remain relevant and undefeated.

Lecture 15.

Terrorism Threat Analysis - Methodologies, Frameworks, and Tools

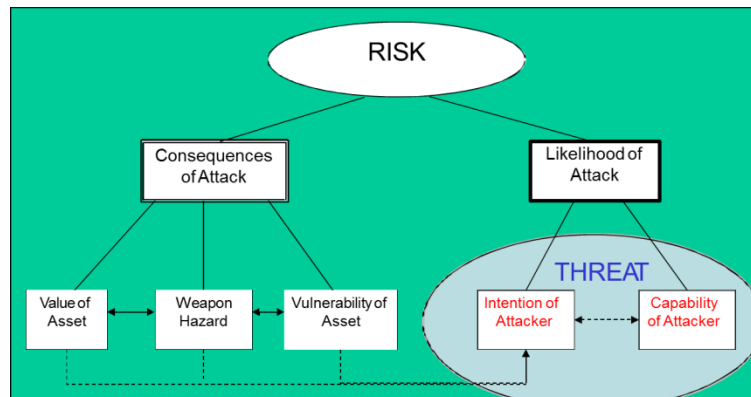
Omi Hodwitz

Dr. Omi talks about threat analysis in her lecture. Threat analysis is what we engage in everyday practices. She defines to pick a course of action that has the least risk is called threat analysis. It has three primary pieces of identifying and anticipating threat, assessing the holes in our security that make us vulnerable and looking at the potential consequences of that threat in order to establish what a risk is.

First component of threat analysis is threat anticipation. So what is threat anticipation? This involves three specific steps each one of these comes from its own set of analysis and tools. So the three separate but interrelated tasks are identifying potential threats, evaluating the magnitude of potential threats and finally evaluating the behavior of potential threats. The goal here is to look towards the future and threats that are coming down the pipe not the threats that are directly in front of US.

So there are three types of analysis for this. Threat identification is quite simply just a process of brain storming. That means mapping the possibility space of terrorist threats. This is opposite to a probability space which allows us to identify all potential outcomes that are highly probable whereas the possibility space is much larger. This allows us to identify to the best of our ability all outcomes regardless of their probability. We are not seeking to determine the size of the threat, but we are just trying to map out the universe of possible threats.

The second analysis type is threat evaluation. Evaluating the magnitude of the threat is essential. Intention and capability of the adversary need to be identified. We should also be calculating the severity of the threat.



For evaluating the threat there are indicator-based tools. These tools supply a series of indicators against which the analyst can compare a potential threat. These may be individual-, or group-, or context-level assessments. It has two kind's namely actuarial indicators and expert opinion indicators. Actuarial indicators involve using large sample studies to look for causal and contributing factors towards motivations to commit violence. While expert-opinion indicators are based more on expert's knowledge and experience than large-n studies. Quantitative analysis is difficult when incidence rates are low (e.g. Airplane hijackings).

Another tool for evaluating the threat is analytical profiling. It is a qualitative technique that is most closely related to traditional Intel analysis. However, in this case it is being focused on more speculative threats. It is usually based on basic threat equation:

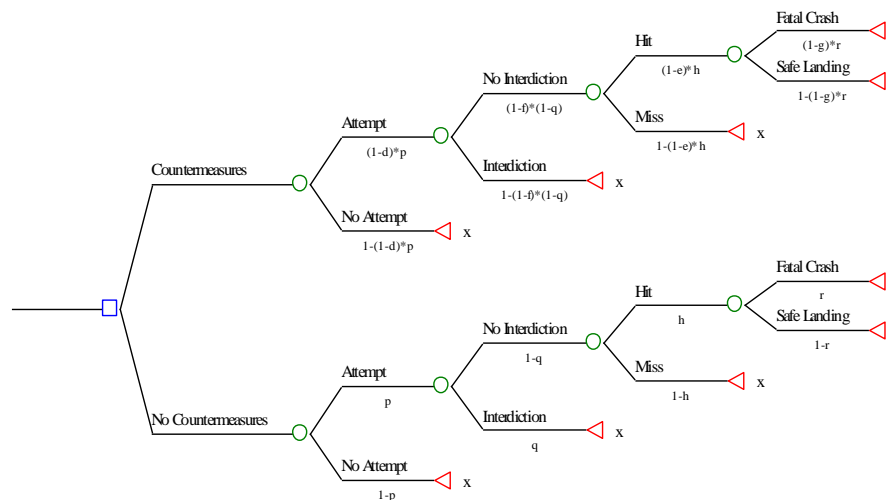
$$\textit{Threat} = \textit{intention} * \textit{capability}$$

The third type of analysis is behavior analysis. This analysis is a more detailed look at how the threat is likely to manifest. It needs to focus on single adversary at a time. It is the most difficult type of assessment and should only be carried out where necessary.

Then Dr. Omi elaborates key determinants of terrorist behavior. And the factors relating to the nature of the group includes ideology, organizational structure, organizational

dynamics, organizational lifecycle status, demographics, resources and operational capabilities. Factors external to the group includes historical events, relations w/ external actors (media; other extremists; state apparatus; targeted audience; non-targeted audience; supporters), security environment, (potential) and target characteristics. Factors relating to decision-making may include general planning characteristics (risk thresholds; time horizons), perceptual filter and operational objectives. Example: decision tree

Traces decision process descriptively in order to analyze threats:



The presenter finishes her lecture that human behavior anticipation is difficult at the best of times as compounded by clandestine, hyper dynamic nature of terrorist groups. We need to work on assimilating uncertainty efficiently and developing more accurate representations of the human mind. That will allow better understanding of analytical flaws and limitations and we will not be always seeking the answer. She then shares the “toolbox approach” that different circumstances require different tools; there is no “silver bullet” to predicting terrorist actions.

Lecture 16.

Basic Communication Model and Pakistan’s Counter-Narrative Efforts

Asst Prof. Khuram Iqbal

In his lecture, Dr. Khurram evaluates counter narrative efforts in Pakistan and to this end he utilizes the basic communication model to understand how effective Pakistan's counter narrative measures are. What are the problem areas with Pakistan's counter narrative efforts and how those problems can be fixed? Before i do that it's very important to underscore the multi causality of terrorism. She suggests that terrorism is motivated and driven by interplay of different factors at the level of individual, organizations and society or environment. Speaker makes the point that terrorism remains multi-causal and any strategy to deal with terrorism must have a multiport dimension to it that dissects terrorism at every level.

Any counter terrorism strategy can be divided into two basic components. The hard counter terrorism and the soft counter terrorism. Hard counter terrorism usually deals with killing and capturing the bad guys while soft counter terrorism deals with identifying, preventing and preempting terrorism by identifying the root causes and by adopting non corrosive measures.

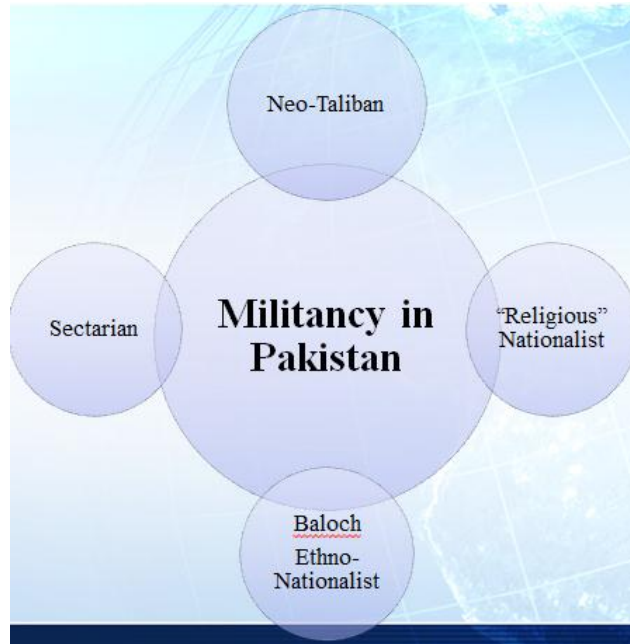
To understand the efficacy of counter narrative efforts, scholars often rely on basic communication model. This communication model is derived from Aristotle's classic work rhetoric and the scholars refined it to come up with this model which can be divided into four major components. The first component of this model is message. The message has to be very clear. It must resonate well with the target audience. It must have rational and emotional appeal to it. The second component of this model is messenger. When you are attempting counter narrative your messenger has to be credible. The third component of this model is medium. It is very important to consider how you are going to disseminate the message. You can rely from community based channels to social and electronic media. Then the fourth component of this model is target audience. Who do you tend to address. Target audience must not be selected based on assumptions but on solid systematic research.

During afghan jihad, "other Muslims who are actually infidels include anyone employed by the government, the police, and the courts, and anyone who works for peaceful change instead of violent jihad. In addition, those who disagree with these ideas are also heretics and deserve to be killed". After the revision, "ramming America has become the

shortest road to fame and leadership among the Arabs and Muslims. But what good is it if you destroy one of your enemy's buildings, and he destroys one of your countries? What good is it if you kill one of his people, and he kills a thousand of yours?" asks Dr Fadl. "That, in short, is my evaluation of 9/11." Dr. Fadl

Without jihad, the Ummah's boundaries will be violated, the blood of its people will be as cheap as dust, its sanctuaries will be less worthy than a handful of desert sand, and it will be insignificant in the eyes of its enemies. There are three categories of jihad. Spiritual values, behavioral virtues and struggle against Satan. Fight against the whole world, not distinguishing between those who fight against the Muslims and those who offer reconciliation. That has not slipped into the negligence of the first category and likewise, it has not fallen into the excess and extremism of the second group.

Speaker then discusses the Pakistani efforts on counter-narrative. He draws attention on the threat landscape of Pakistan. There have been dozens of militant organizations and we can divide them in four broad categories. You have got Neo-Taliban, the groups which are responsible for majority of terrorist's attacks in Pakistan. They emerged after 9/11. They show no allegiance to the state. Then you have the "religious" nationalist, they have a cross border agenda. They have faith in the idea of nation state groups like Lashkar e Taiba. Then there is a third category of terrorists, ethno-nationalist. There are two types of these Baloch and Sindhi. Then the fourth category is sectarian groups like Sifa e Muhammad. All these categories are shown in image below:



The counter narrative against terrorism in Pakistan is using the entire medium to communicate to the audience and to educate them on the subject. This also reflects the efforts made by Pakistan forces to counter terrorism. Image below shows that there have been a number of films, dramas and other media that are being produced for the purpose.



The speaker winds up the lecture with some recommendations that credibility of messengers should be realized. Security of messengers needs to be ensured. There is a need to invest on young cohorts of religious scholars. Creating dedicating chairs at universities and trained local mosque's imam is necessary effort to counter narrative.

We should learn from global best practices in order to be effective when dealing with terrorism.

Lecture 17.

Propaganda and Counter Narrative

Dr. Alastair Reed,

Director ICCT, The Hague – Netherlands

The address of Dr. Alastair Reed starts with elaborating the concept of CTSC project that he is running. He says this project was set up to tackle one of the most significant national and global security challenges facing the world today: how to understand and confront the propaganda messaging of violent extremists like Al-Qaeda and the so-called Islamic state. Through empirical research, based largely on primary source materials and in-country fieldwork, the project aims to test assumptions and evaluate past campaigns in order to develop key principles and guidelines for counter-terrorism strategic communications efforts.

The project initiated about a year and half ago because his team was approached to write a policy paper about counter narratives and what they wanted to know is how should we do counter narratives? In this project they look at propaganda from cross spectrum of groups from extremists to nationalist groups to Islamic groups. But in his presentation he only mentioned Al-Qaida and ISIS as example.

There is a tendency in the counterterrorism academic and strategic-policy fields to impulsively assume that the challenges of the 21st century are unique and that history provides little more than an interesting footnote to the present. However, the speaker denies the statement saying that the only thing that is new is medium i.e. Social media. ISIS is using social media to reach into our homes and to radicalizes our children behind our backs, everything is new but its unlike anything that's ever happened before. He further adds that Aristotle was writing how to communicate effectively 3000 years ago.

By assuming that everything is new just because social media, we run the risk of starting from ground zero and wasted our time reinventing the wheel but at worst made avoidable mistakes.

He further talks about the strategic communication framework dissecting it into three levels: macro, mezzo and micro.

Macro level includes the 3'rs.

- Reach – the ability of a message to access target audiences
- Relevance – significance within the context of immediate situational factors
- Resonance – influence on audience perceptions

Mezzo level includes:

- Medium - means of delivering the message.
- Messenger – who delivers the message
- Format – how the message is presented

All three are absolutely necessary for successful communication.

The speaker explains the concept by quoting the example of protestant reformation. Most of the people think that protestant reformation was successful; this revolution in religious force spread across the Europe because for the first time you could print pamphlets and letters easily and quickly and that could deliver the message. However, at that time most of the population was illiterate. So there was no way that the printing press was actually the medium which managed to convince and radicalize the large part of the population. It was actually the combination of the second part. The preachers speaking in churches and market places actually conveyed the message to the people on the ground. What the printing press did was to allow a format for the message to travel across the Europe to different preachers who then read it and then transmitted it to the population through speaking. We are in similar situation today. If we have a reliance on social media it is similar to having a reliance on printing press. If we rely on messaging we ignore those who may not be regular social media users but is also reliant on the target network sharing the message with peers.

Dr. Alastair elaborates the term messenger saying, bin Laden represented a powerful messenger for AQ's message to sympathizers thanks to his carefully managed image of piety and humility. Officials from secular western governments engaging in counter-proselytizing rhetoric are unlikely to resonate with those Muslims most susceptible to radicalization. Next the format, the American revolutionaries used a diverse array of formats in their information war against the British from poetry and ballads to leaflets, cartoons and speeches. In the 21st century, groups like AQ and ISIS have used carefully produced videos, online magazines, speeches and nasheeds (hymns) in an effort to appeal to their constituents.

Micro level:

- Rational and identity choice
- Defensive and offensive messaging
- Say-do-gap – difference between what you say and what you do

Speaker addresses the audience further explaining that even during the crusades, when one may expect identity-choice messaging to have had a monopoly, rational-choice appeals – such as promises of debt relief and collection of war loot – played a significant role in appealing to and mobilizing supporters.

Many governments around the world are focused on the issue of how to develop effective counter-narratives against the extremist propaganda of groups like AQ and Da'esh. However, it is important to recognize that counter-narratives are an inherently defensive type of messaging, i.e. it is messaging designed and deployed in response to an adversary's messaging

Speaker quotes the words of Dr. Ron Faucheux defense may win football games but staying on the offense wins wars and political campaigns. That's why campaigns attack the other side; when you're on the attack, you're on the offense and your opponent is on the defense."

Drawing on the macro-, mezzo- and micro-level considerations for developing counterterrorism strategic communications, the efficacy of a strategic communications campaign is more likely to be successful if it is based on the cumulative effects of a multidimensional messaging strategy. Four key strategic-policy principles emerge:

First principle

Produce a diversity of messaging that leverage rational- and identity-choice appeals which are deployed both defensively and offensively (with an emphasis on the latter).

Second principle

All messaging should be covered by core themes or, ideally, a grand narrative.

Third principle

Use a variety of mediums for communication to maximise the message's reach, timeliness and targeting.

Fourth principle

To maximise the intended effects of strategic communications efforts and minimise inadvertent second and third order effects, messaging should be synchronised with strategic-policy/politico-military efforts and seek to nullify the effects of the adversary's activities.

Lecture 18.

De-radicalization

**Dr. Feriha N Peracha, Director, Sabaoon
CEO, Swaat for Pakistan**

Dr. Feriha's lecture revolves around the terms de-radicalization, rehabilitation and reintegration of radicals in society. She explains the term radicalization as:

Radicalization means holding (and acting on) radical attitudes, those that deviate from accepted norms. Attitudes, however, are malleable and susceptible to change (Albaracin, Johnson, & Zanna, 2014).

It works by reinforcing narratives of previous grievances in current scenarios, to justify the purpose of radicalization and the need to improve the momentum for recruitment and organized terror attacks. Radicalized narratives are born from the existing events and situations.

Speaker then focuses on radicalization in Pakistan giving different pointers that are the internal causes of radicalization. One factor is lack of inclusive policies from the state for FATA, PATA and Baluchistan that includes lawlessness in tribal areas since 1947 creating a vacuum and provision of space to TTP, Jundallah, Lashkar e Islam (LI), TNSM. Use and misuse of tribal leaders by previous govt's/govt reps for temporary and personal benefits is another major factor that induces this radicalization in society. A second political factor is Pak role in soviet-afghan war and its resultant refugee crisis. Pakistan is a state with the largest refugees.

Other factors mentioned by speaker includes lack of equality between provinces/provincial requirements, lack of focus on citizenship values/commonalities/shared collective narrative (differences highlighted rather than promoting the diversity), army led counter insurgency operations that allowed for continued narrative for radicalization & recruitment. Some notable operations lead by army are listed as under:

- Operation Sunrise/ Siege of Laal Masjid (July 2007)
- Operation Rah-E-Haq (Swat, Oct – Nov 2007)
- Operation Rah-E-Rast (Swat, May To Aug 2009)

- Operation Black Thunderstorm (April- June 2009)
 - 23 Foreign Militants Of The 1475 Killed
- Operation Rah-E-Nijat (S.Waziristan & Fata, June - Dec 2009)
- Zarb E Azb (Nationwide Operation Since June 2014 Most Successful)

Dr. Feriha elaborates the concept of de-radicalization as *"...the experience of the "global war on terror", now in its 15th year, suggests that force alone doesn't do the trick, and in fact might exacerbate the problem by inciting vehement anti-western sentiment. An oft-discussed alternative is to temper the use of force with a "soft" approach and psychologically "disarm" the militants in a process of de-radicalization." Just as persons can be radicalized they can be de-radicalized, but also re-radicalized yet again. ..*

There are striking instances where erstwhile militants left terrorism behind either as individuals (Bjorgo & Horgan, 2008; Fair, 2005; Reinares, 2011) or as entire groups (Ashour, 2009). We find these commonalities in Pakistan. Like Sabaoon surrenderees after the counter insurgency in 2009 where 192 narratives reintegrated and zero recidivism from RI population. Also in Sabaoon II (BARA) many surrendered in groups/tribes (Lashkar E Islam and Ansaar Ul Islam) where 500+ reintegrated with 12 months (2015 to 2016) after corrective religious instruction, skill acquisition and basic literacy/citizenship programs. It is one thing to observe that "de-radicalization" can and has occurred, and quite another to understand how it came about.

Majority of the de-radicalization centers have been operated by the armed forces. There is one known dread center in Punjab which the Punjab govt. was overseeing. Not much is known about the program or its modalities. Following are the de-radicalization programs that have been initiated to date, mainly in the KP.

She discusses the Sabaoon project in great detail with the audience. She speaks that Sabaoon was established by the Pak army in September 2009. It was a dread project for children and adolescents. Later it was handed over to civilian administration hum Pakistani foundation from Sept 2009 to May 2012 and Swaat for Pakistan from May 2012 to present day. Sabaoon has taken the best practices from the existing de-

radicalization programs. They enhanced religious dialogue/religious correction by providing corrective religious instructions. They integrated counseling at the individual and family level. They also pursued psychosocial support from mental health team.

Sabaoun has added components to help facilitate the de-radicalization and rehabilitation process, as well as continued disengagement through the following:

- Basic literacy and vocational skills for those who lack education/education-related goals.
- Secondary and higher education for those who aim to acquire academic goals
- Extracurricular for instilling a sense of team work, cooperation and healthy competition

Speaker further recommends on the concept considering Pakistan environment that legal framework should be developed at a national level. There should be separate needs for children/adolescents vs. Adults. State-supported funding is required for long term sustenance and success of such sensitive programs. State should focus on capacity building of staff mainly on forensic applied psychology (investigative interviewing, risk assessment, counseling modules, etc.)

Indigenous variables should be taken into account including language barriers & cultural factors, socioeconomic and income opportunities, social and extracurricular opportunities and overall stability of the community/region. She further adds that teaching methodologies should encourage critical thinking through interactive discussions, assignments, etc. Commonalities of different sects should be included in the curricula. Tolerance, brotherhood, harmony should be emphasized.

Day 5

Lecture 19.

Combatting Terrorist Financing (CTF)

Shoaib Bajwa

The speaker discusses the word terrorism in a very different perspective. He debates how we can limit terror groups' access to economic resources that terrorists use to spread destruction and revulsion. In the start of his lecture he explicates what is terrorist financing and counter terrorist financing.

Terrorist activity is a surprise attack involving the deliberate use of violence against civilians in the hope of attaining political or religious aims.

“Terrorist financing provides funds for terrorist activity. It may involve funds raised from legitimate sources, such as personal donations and profits from businesses and charitable organizations, as well as from criminal sources....” Financial transactions and reports analysis centre of Canada (FINTRAC)

The process of limiting terror groups' access to economic resources is known as counter-terrorist financing (CTF).

Terrorists need money for surveillance, training terrorists, covering final attack costs, weapons, recruitment, propaganda mainly through multimedia/internet, equipment and life support, travel, safe houses, communications, documentation (false identities etc.) And most of them need money for dependants when they die in suicide attacks etc. Terrorist generates finance through state sponsorship e.g. Hezbollah, extortion sometimes called 'revolutionary tax' – (e.g. LTTE), private donations (Kuwait/Qatar) to AQ/ISIS, drug smuggling - Taliban, illegal gold mining in Latin America to fund terrorist – FARC, kidnapping – AQ in the Islamic Meghrib, “charities” – PIRA and petty crime – “homegrown” Salafi – jihadists.

Speaker quotes the example of ISIS and Daesh how they have funded their program for their terrorists activities. Us treasury source says the total budget is around \$2 BN/year and income has been generated from looting banks and shifting money to other banking

channels, \$360 – \$600m generated from zakat on business operations, agriculture and people, \$100 - \$500m produced from oil and gas fields, \$429m laundered from banks, \$45m generated from kidnapping of foreign citizens. Trade in antiquities is a recent activity where antiques were smuggled out to make money. Direct appeals for donations from businessmen & supporters are another way.

Funding trends for such activities have been changed recently. Terrorists now plan attacks with low cost but high impact. For that they don't need lots of funds travelling through banks etc. Following are some stats of attacks with their estimated costs. Madrid rail attack in March 2004 only cost €20,000, London, 7/7 2005 attack cost £8,000 only, AQAP printer cartridge plot in October 2010 cost around \$4,200, Boston marathon bombing in April 2013 cost \$600 only and Paris attack in November 2015 cost about €30,000.

Mr. Speaker further recommends the elements of an effective counter terrorism finance regime that can control easy flow of money to terrorists. They include practices like criminalizing terrorist financing and money laundering, “know your customer” (KYC), transaction monitoring, investigating and reporting suspicious transactions in financial institutes, public and private partnership/information sharing, investigate and pursue terrorist financing and financial crimes and prosecute terrorist financing crimes.

‘Effective information sharing is an important aspect of a well-functioning AML/CTF framework which facilitates the detection and prevention of terrorist financing and money laundering.’ (FATF). Enhanced law enforcement through tough powers including unexplained wealth orders (UWO), promote more effective information sharing across international boundaries with partners to tackle terrorist financing threats, and develop multilateral approaches, develop stronger partnership with private sector. Reform suspicious activity reports (SARS) regime and bringing together financial sector, law enforcement agencies and the financial conduct authority to share information to prevent, detect and disrupt terrorist financing activities.

He further elaborates the challenges faced to counter terrorists finance program ctf. He says that terrorist financing and non-terrorist criminal AML frameworks financing are somewhat similar. There is a lack of technology and technological skill set to operate CTF monitoring systems. Uneven application of legislation, corruption and complex banking products (Fintechs, mobile payments, block chain, bitcoin etc.) Make it more difficult to combat such issues. There is a need for measures of effectiveness in CFT and not just technical compliance. Resources are required to run the program. Intelligence reports need to be generated. He further mentioned that cyber is a source of crime and manipulation and detection and we can take help from social media and KYC.

Lecture 20.

Diplomacy / Foreign Policy to Counter Terrorism

Maria Bastos, POR/UK

Maria Bastos's lecture revolves around the foreign policy and diplomacy as an auxiliary tool that may be part of counter terrorism strategy with the focus in Pakistan. With an explicit focus in Pakistan, she explores the main challenges and possibilities available for diplomatic practices on their role to engage different actors in complex counterterrorism strategies.

Diplomacy is an indispensable instrument in foreign policy implementation practices. In its different functions diplomacy enable states and IGOS to develop political performances within an increasingly interdependent international community. Post 9/11 security exigencies of key players in world politics focused on pursuing efforts to build concerted counterterrorism policies, albeit with different degrees of success and engagement. The global 'war on terror' however developed into an extreme security challenge for Pakistan, where counterterrorism implementation practices would oscillate between national security and national survival. Given that counterterrorism became an indispensable focus of most countries security and foreign policies, there is

an increasing need to assess how diplomacy as a foreign policy tool may contribute for the success and efficacy of counterterrorism policies.

She believes it is important to have present definition of what foreign policy is about.

“foreign policy is both the broad trends of behavior and the particular actions taken by a state or other collective actor as directed toward other collective actors within the international system. Foreign policy actions can be understood using a variety of different instruments, ranging from adopting declarations, making speeches, negotiating treaties, giving other states economic aid, engaging in diplomatic activity such as summits, and the use of military force” (Beach, 2012:3).

She further highlights the importance of communication for effective diplomacy process. According to her, “communication is to diplomacy as blood is to the human body. Whenever communication ceases, the body of international politics, the process of diplomacy, is dead, and the result is violent conflict or atrophy.” Tran, communication and diplomacy in a changing world

“Communication is the essence of diplomacy. There has never been a good diplomat who was a bad communicator.” Stearns, talking to strangers. Both quoted in Jönsson, C and Hall, M. (2005) essence of diplomacy.

She asks the audience to draw attention to how diplomacy and counterterrorism circles are or can be connected. Her findings show that it is principally at the level of actors in international organizations like the United Nations, the European Union and NATO where the native policy planning is taking place. All these three situations present us with the extensive documentation, resolutions and plans for action which go beyond the implementation of the military power which definitely is an important component of any counterterrorism strategy.

The speaker finally recommends that in the context of Pakistan CT efforts, the state should consider the inclusion of an effective place for diplomacy in CT policies and designs. Current position in relation to effective use of diplomacy and its possibilities should be revised; processes of application should be monitored. Engagement of the

international community with Pakistan, drawing and promoting Pakistan's firsthand knowledge of CT and enduring the message of Pakistan as a responsible country, able to deal in all international matters, particularly those related to CT could bring positive outcomes for diplomacy process. She ends her lecture by saying "participate, communicate, be represented and be Pakistan".

Lecture 21.

Best Counter Terrorism Practices

Dr Farhan Zahid, PHD, PSP

Dr. Farhan's lecture starts with the fact that Pakistan is not the only country facing terrorism issue but many other countries have faced this challenge and some of these countries have been successful in resolving this matter effectively.

Speaker emphasises on the importance of studying best counter terrorism practices. He says as we are effectees of this phenomenon of terrorism so it would give us an insight for better strategizing, some models to study, and some case studies we could ponder upon. We can analysis and evaluate from those strategies, learning from others' mistakes and achievements and learning from those who are experienced in the field. Although we also have a lot of experience in dealing with terrorists of many different backgrounds but in Pakistan it is not fully recorded.

At first speaker briefly describes the experience of United Kingdom an old victim of terrorism. He mentions different terrorists attacks experienced by UK like gun powder plot (1605) that how guy fox attempted to bomb the British parliament and how they managed to get hold of him and the whole office cell. Then he mentions Irish republican brotherhood (1860s), then came the Irish republicanism of 1920s and the establishment of IRA after the bloody Sunday incident. Again they had to deal with the angry brigade, IRA and the troubles (1969-1998), RIRA and IRA continuity, Al-Qaeda, Hizb-Ut Tahrir, Al-Muhajaron and ISIS returnees.

Next he draws attention on handling the IRA and references to the Michael Collins, republicanism, Anglo-Irish Treaty, Irish free state, 1921-22. He says when terrorists start learning about anything they study the policies and plans and agendas of Michael Collins because he was considered a great man in the world of terrorists. Then comes Northern Ireland, IRA and the troubles (1960s) and bloody Sunday. And then once again after the Irish republic violent was received, the problem was solved but Northern Ireland remained part of which is still today part of the UK. Then comes failure of talks in 1972 and terrorist campaign from 1972 to 1997.

Finally this is how it got resolved that Good Friday agreement 1998 was signed. Decommissioning was done in 2005 but this whole situation led to the deaths of 3530 people and 48,000 injured in such a small area where the total population was 900,000. The intensity of violence was quite high. More than 500 terrorist incidents were responsible for these deaths. Northern Ireland peace process and Gary Adams who founded the Sean Finn caused the ceasefires in years 1994 and 96. Belfast peace agreement (GFA-1998) was signed and devolution of power, normalization, decommissioning of IRA and recognition of each other status of n. Ireland was finally done. Referendum was conducted that caused beginning of political process. New institutions were created like Northern Ireland assembly, Northern Ireland executive. So this is how it was done.

Britain's follies made it go so long. First of all there was a civil protest in 1969. Britain tried to deal it by use of military excessive force which was not required at that time. The problem could have been dealt by police. Then some of the collusions were made with loyalist militias who were also fighting the IRA that again back fired. Another issue was that they did not involve republic of Ireland because there was no boarder between the two countries. Then not involving the us because many of that Irish republic army was getting funding from the catholic population in UK who were sympathetic towards the cause of IRA. Finally they involved us so that's how the problem was solved.

UK finally learnt some lessons from that because the problem dint end with IRA it still exists. They finally formulated a counter terrorism strategy which is called contest based upon four essential pillars: pursue, prevent, protect and prepare.

Speaker further talks about the experiences of Algeria, Germany, Italy, Peru and Israel for their struggles in fighting terrorism. Israeli CT policies included use of military (occupied Gaza and west bank), use of intelligence, retaliation on case to case basis, destruction of houses of suicide bombers, target killings, at laws, CT training centres for both physical and academic purposes, peace deals with neighbouring countries, intelligence sharing, intelligence gathering via modern equipment, arrests and long term convictions, striking targets abroad, dismantling training facilities, targeting financiers and counter terrorism elite units. This resulted in significant decline in suicide bombings and decline in overall terrorism.

Lastly his address covers the challenges faced by Sri Lanka and how they fought this war against terrorists. He says that Tamil-Sinhali violence was a great challenge for Sri Lanka. There are about 20% Tamils in Sri Lanka who were demanding their own homeland. It was a deep rooted religious cum ethnic problem because Tamils are Hindu's and the Sinhalis are Buddhist people. So in 30-years of violence, there were 70,000 deaths. There was a widespread destruction caused by 2939 incidents.

Sri Lankan CT policies included prevention of terrorism act, training of forces, learning asymmetric warfare, forced disappearances, torture, black sites, assassinations, encouraging defections, amnesty, ceasefires and negotiations. This resulted in defection of Col Karuna (later CM), killing of Prabhakaran, final assault and retaking the lost ground, end of the conflict in May 2010 and complete destruction of LTTE.

Finally he concludes his lecture that we need to have a concrete counter terrorism policy which we don't have at the moment. Nap is a plan but it is just a one pager and we need to elaborate more. Whatever we design we have to implement it. We have to take our neighbours into confidence. We need to have strong criminal justice system, counter radicalization programs and de-radicalization programs both at the same time. Targeting charismatic leaders and negotiations with terrorists should be at calibrated timings.

Lecture 22.

The Resolution of Terrorism: A Critical Perspective

Richard Jackson

The National Centre for Peace and Conflict Studies,

The University of Otago,

New Zealand

In the final talk Dr. Richards try and bring some of the threats together and encourages starting thinking more broadly about how we respond to terrorism and a way to try and start perhaps thinking outside the box.

One of key problems with contemporary counter-terrorism is analytical failure. There has often been an individual focus and we treat it as a security problem rather than an issue of political conflict. We have treated it as a cause rather than a symptom of violence and politics. We have also seen an over-reliance on coercion and the use of force to deal with it. Along with that there is being deep moral inconsistency.

Counter terrorists have said terrorism is a terrible evil and they do terrible things but then in response counter terrorists have engaged in torture and extra judicial killings and in a whole series of immoral act they have become in many ways the monster that they were trying to fight. And then lastly there has been a major evaluation failure. As we have been going along for the last sixteen years of the war on terror, we haven't truly and properly evaluated whether our counter terrorism policies are effective, whether they are legitimate, whether they are actually working and whether they are cost effective. And the reality is this counter terrorism and the war on terror in particular has caused more destruction and killed more people than terrorism has. The response has been much worse than the original problem that we are trying to resolve. So the predictable result of this is what scholars referred to as the self-fulfilling prophesy of counter terrorism. Speaker argues that we need to accept complexity. We

have to see terrorism as a complex phenomenon requiring a complex solution. There is no silver bullet.

In order to deal with the violence that comes out of deep seeded political conflict, the whole of society will have to be involved. All elements of the state and civil society have to be part of the solution. You can never protect yourself from all terrorism therefore focus must be on prevention. Speaker offers a model for the resolution of terrorism which has five parts to it: (1) diagnosis; (2) priorities; (3) principles; (4) strategies; (5) evaluation.

Speaker presents some suggestions based on these five key areas one by one for responding to terrorism. The first thing he says is that we need honest, rigorous analysis. We have to 'dare to know' the truth, we have to focus on deeper causes not symptoms. We have to avoid simplistic explanations. For diagnosis we have to rely on research. There is huge importance of research in terrorism studies, security studies, peace studies, history, etc. There is a great deal that we can learn which would inform evidence based counter terrorism. In particular we have to recognize context, history and specificity. What applies in one case may not apply in another. And in particular speaker argues that conflict analysis and peace studies provides a great deal of models, tools and evidence (human needs theory; intractable conflict theory; contact theory; the peace pyramid; etc.)

Secondly when you are devising a response to terrorism, you have to work out what your priorities are going to be. Speaker suggests that the first priority is to make sure that you are avoiding additional harm to the harm that is already caused by terrorism. We need to end harmful and ineffective practices (repression, torture, drones, military trials, executions, military invasion, de-radicalization, etc.) that actually don't work and there is evidence to show that. They cause a lot of harm. The second thing we have to do is recognizing the limitations of using force and coercion. Why counter-violence does not work and there are many reasons for this. The first thing is it's unpredictable and irreversible.

The long-term prevention of terrorism is the second priority. This will involve much deeper structural change and reform, cultural change, breaking violent cycles and so on.

And finally a third priority ought to be how do we resolve conflict and build positive peace holistically. How do we create a just, nonviolent society and politics? How do we create a culture of peace? And here the importance is that we have to involve the locals in the process. There has to be local ownership with this. In order to build a culture of peace it's not going to be a responsibility of the Pakistan military. It is going to be the responsibility of civil society and other social institutions.

Speaker further adds that there are series of principles that ought to be adhere to when you are designing a response to counter terrorism. The first one is to maintain means/ends consistency. In other words, act consistently in terms of goals that you want to get to and being the type of society you want to live in. There has to also be ethical consistency in policy practice. Don't support and fight terrorism at the same time. Avoid creating cycles of revenge. There has to be a concern for holism and a multidimensional effort. Speaker prefers to argue that we also need to put human security and emancipation at the heart of this project as opposed to national security. We must find ways of nonviolence in order to maintain means and ends consistency.

Then there are short, medium, and long-term strategies. In short-term strategies we need to apply a disaster management model in the after math of terrorist attacks. Use police and intelligence investigative methods to find out who the perpetrators are and then try to avoid the politics of fear, revenge and overreaction. In the medium-term we need strategies which work on things like disarmament; community trust building and community policing (building resilience); conflict resolution efforts and local peace building. In long-term strategies there is a need for structural and institutional change towards social justice. You need real democratic participation; economic development; human rights strengthening; de-militarization and social defense.

In the final section of his lecture, speaker then states that there are three key evaluation measures: (1) proportionality; (2) effectiveness; (3) legitimacy.

Proportionality refers accurate measurement of the threat; matching the response; managing scarce resources and avoiding overreaction.

Effectiveness can be achieved by honest appraisal of financial and social costs; meaningful and useful success measurement metrics; using history and existing knowledge.

Legitimacy involves means/ends consistency; policy consistency (don't support terror groups); maintaining social values (human rights, respect, democratic accountability); maintaining community support and avoiding additional harms.

Dr. Richard concludes his speech with the words that there are obviously real obstacles to adopting a new model of counterterrorism. One of the main obstacles is the military/security mindset. Moreover, there are deep vested interests, institutional inertia; dominant discourses and rhetorical traps. Also there are external pressures and interference to adopt this model. We need to focus on empowering local communities. We can do effective counter terrorism from the bottom-up as an alternative to top-down. We need to grow peace rather than imposing it. And finally there is importance of research, debate and unheard voices.