



Note: These remarks draw on results from my research in three INSCT-related projects: Muslim Majority State Armed Conflict & Compliance Dataset; 2015-17 UN Counter-Terrorism Committee Executive Directorate (CTED), examining UN Member States' implementation of CVE law and policy strategies in compliance with UN Security Resolution 2178 for managing the foreign terrorist fighter (FTF) phenomenon; and 2017 DHS-CVE academic partnership research.

Radical Islam and National Security Strategy: Toward a Better Definition of Contemporary Terrorism

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Chapters

1. Three Research premises
2. Definitional challenges
3. Data-driven research
4. Law, politics, policy
5. Security strategy and long-term solutions

Radicalization: Three Research Premises

1. Impacts all of us—global issue—not exclusively a regional Mideast/South Asian or so-called ‘Muslim’ problem.
2. Distinctions & definitions are critical to success.
3. Misunderstanding or silencing debate (due to sensitivities of identity or religion) fuels bad CVE policy at home; sectarianism abroad. Both undercut needed civic engagement with groups who defend political violence against civilians.

Radical Islam: Definitions & Distinctions

- ✓ Islam vs. Islamism: Islam, the religion with all the attendant limitations of any faith, is not Islamism, the desire to impose a particular narrow and extreme political version of Islam over society.
- ✓ Islamism/political Islam/radical Islam is a political ideology promoting theocratic extremism.
- ✓ Islamism is not only a discourse of violence but a discourse of exclusive, repressive, governance, etc.

Radical Islam: Definitions & Distinctions

Bassam Tibi (2012): Islamism is about political order of a repressive kind, not faith.

- ✓ Not mere politics—but “**religionized politics**”—the appeal to higher-order powers/divine to more effectively gain political and social control
- ✓ Political ideology and practice distinct from the religion of Islam—its beliefs and diverse practice.
- ✓ Not a revival of medieval/glory age of Islam—but the invention of a tradition (Hobsbawm)

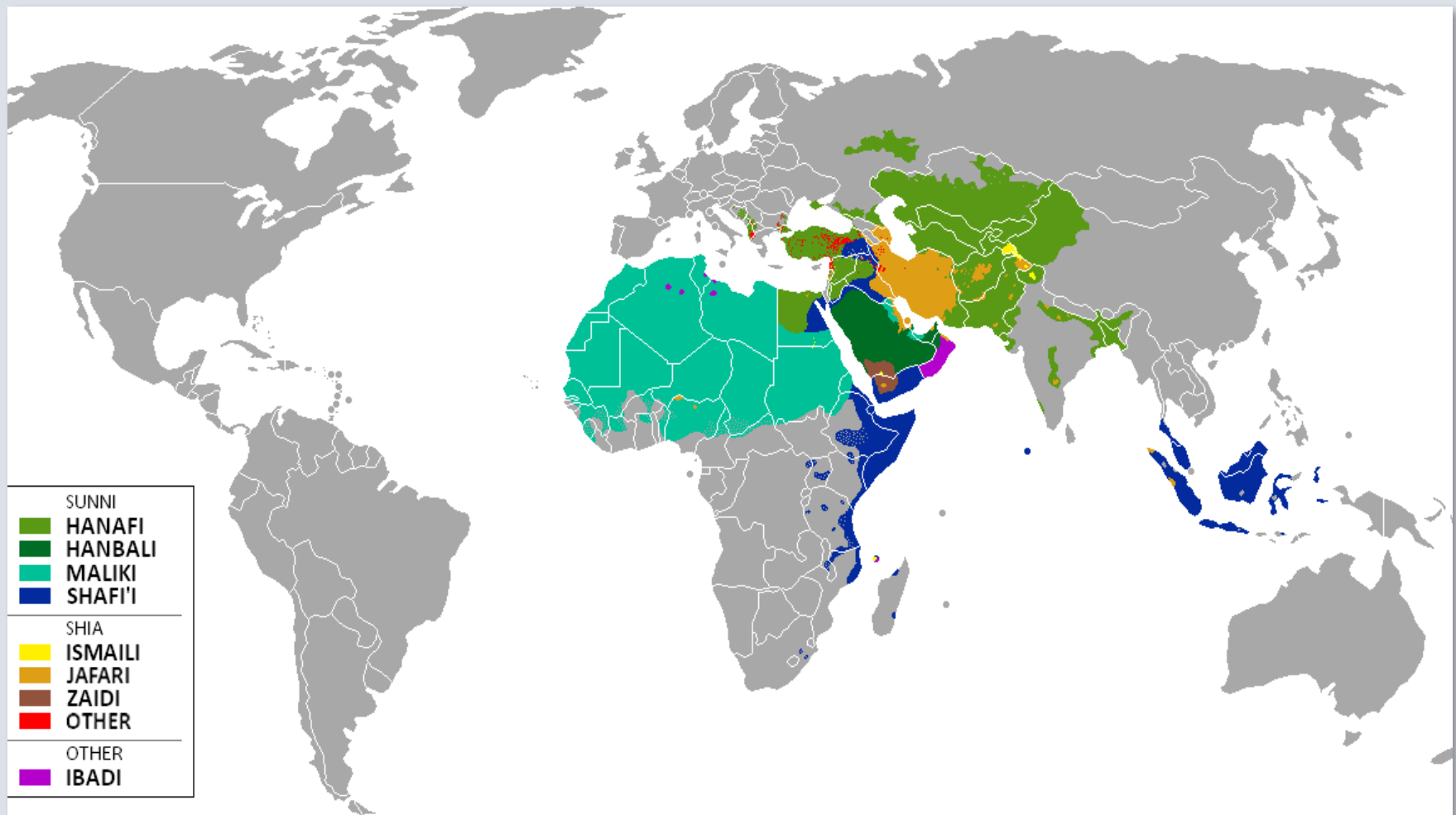
Radical Islam: Definitions & Distinctions

- ✓ **Jihadism:** use of force to spread Islamism
- ✓ **Jihadist Terrorism:** is the use of force targeting civilians to spread Islamism.
- ✓ **Conservative Muslims (KSA) are **not** Islamists:** religiously conservative Muslims simply adopt like many religious branches of established communities (conservative Catholics, communities in the Bible-belt American South, Amish, born again Christians) religiously conservative values, which do pose social cohesion and social liberalism challenges, especially on inclusivity, equality, gender, etc. But these do not pose a political threat to state or to civilians—but do pose a community integration challenge, human rights challenges, etc.

Radical Islam: Definitions & Distinctions

- ✓ **Islamists who are not violent:** Islamists may not be religious or they may be religious fundamentalists—they are simply political theocrats, but **may not** be violent. They are still, however, a political challenge—anyone who believes in theocracy believes in a repressive, exclusive form of government. The non-violent Islamist is not breaking the law—but needs civic engagement, just as we challenge racists: they may not be violent, but the community needs to work to challenge such views.
- ✓ **Violent Islamists and jihadists**—the law can deal with these types through a tiered-engagement given authorities' point of entry:
 - ✓ In prison—certain type of deradicalization process.
 - ✓ In society—all of us are responsible for challenging bigotry (one doesn't have to be a Muslim to challenge theocracy, African-American to challenge racism, gay to challenge homophobia).
 - ✓ There is a role for military-CT solutions here too—but not the only policy.

Diversity in Islam: Religion & Law



OIC Member	Muslims as % of pop	OIC Member	Muslims as % of pop
Afghanistan (1969)	99.8	Libya (1969)	96.6
Albania (1992)	82.1	Malaysia	61.4
Algeria (1969)	98.2	Maldives	98.4
Azerbaijan (1992)	98.4	Mali	92.4
Bahrain (1972)	81.2	Mauritania	99.2
Bangladesh (1974)	90.4	Morocco	99.9
Benin (1983)	24.5	Mozambique	22.8
Brunei (1984)	51.9	Niger	98.3
Burkina Faso (1974)	58.9	Nigeria	47.9
Cameroon	18.0	Oman (1972)	87.7
Chad (1969)	55.7	Pakistan (1969)	96.4
Comoros (1976)	98.3	Palestine	97.5
Côte d'Ivoire	36.9	Qatar (1972)	77.5
Djibouti (1978)	97.0	Saudi Arabia (1969)	97.1
Egypt	94.7	Senegal (1969)	95.9
Gabon (1974)	9.7	Sierra Leone (1972)	71.5
Gambia (1974)	95.3	Somalia (1969)	98.6
Guinea (1969)	84.2	Sudan (1969)	71.4
Guinea-Bissau (1974)	42.8	Suriname (1996)	15.9
Guyana (1998)	7.2	Syria (1972)	92.8
Indonesia (1969)	88.1	Tajikistan (1992)	99.0
Iran (1969)	99.6	Togo (1997)	12.2
Iraq (1975)	98.9	Tunisia (1969)	99.8
Jordan (1969)	98.8	Turkey (1969)	98.6
Kazakhstan (1995)	56.4	Turkmenistan (1992)	93.3
Kuwait	86.4	Uzbekistan (1996)	
Kyrgyzstan (1992)	88.8	Uganda (1974)	12.0
Lebanon	59.7	UAE (1972)	76.0

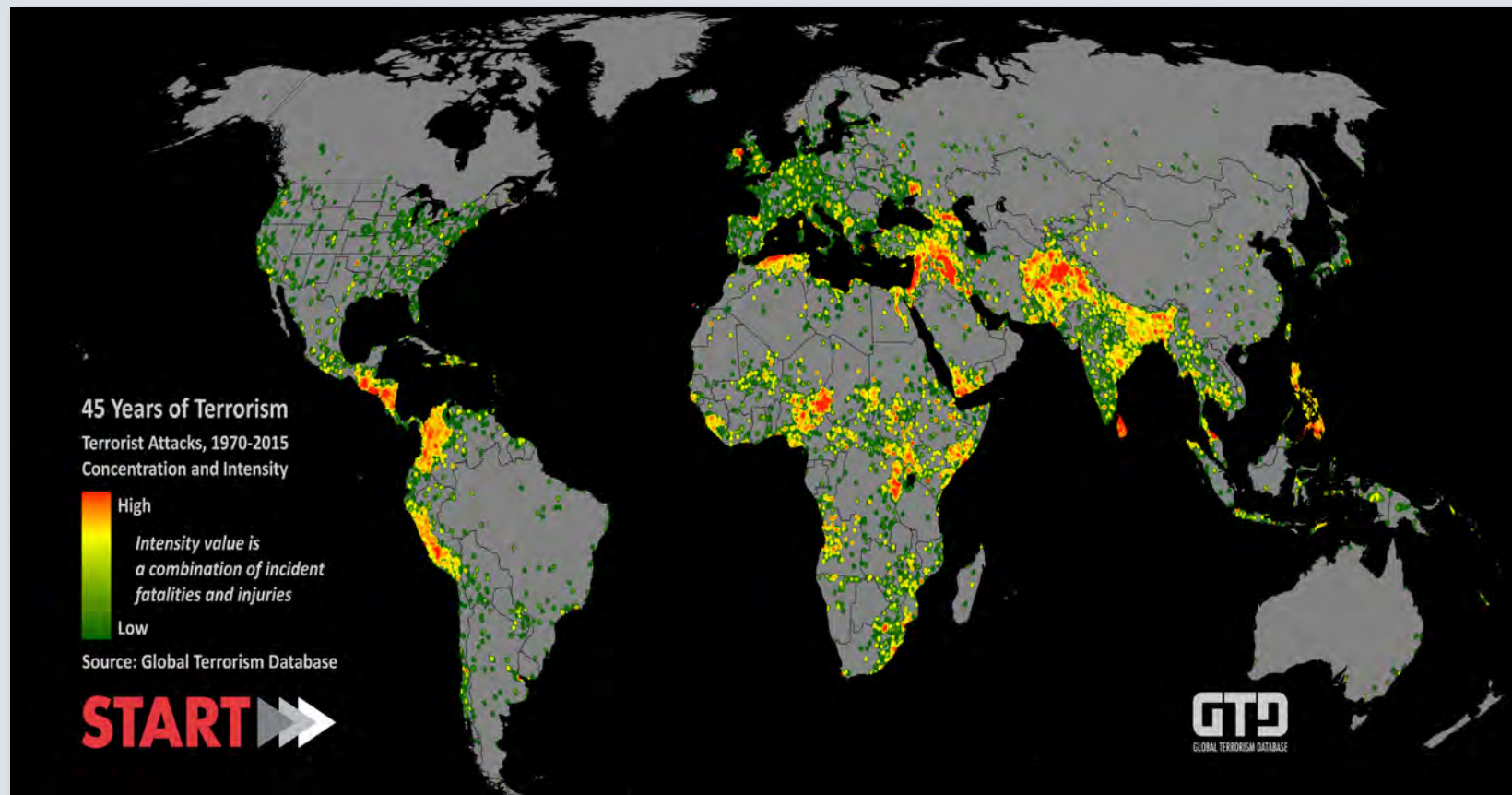
Organization of Islamic Cooperation (OIC):

- ✓ Muslim-majority or identify as Muslim (56 States)
- ✓ 2nd largest IGO after UN on 4 continents
- ✓ “[C]ollective voice of the Muslim world”
- ✓ “[S]afeguard and protect the interests of the Muslim world in promoting international peace and harmony among peoples”

Why Is Radical Islam a Global Issue?

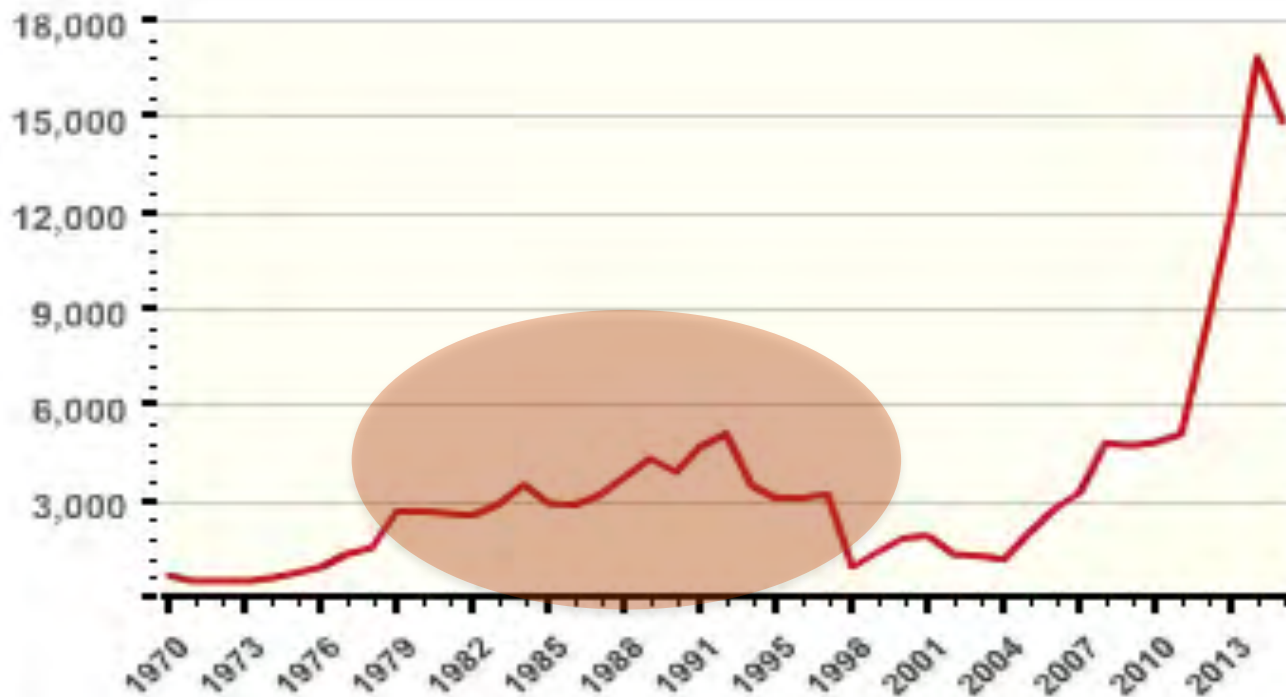
1. It has been historically so.
2. The data on terrorism is stark.
3. They are organized groups with committed actors (e.g. “Foreign Terrorist Fighters”)—but many are from non-Muslim majority nations.
4. Gray zone/asymmetric/irregular warfare is costly (blood, treasure) and brutal (atrocities) with adversaries bent on eroding norms (lawfare, laws of war, sectarianism, postconflict reconstruction).
5. Islamic extremism remains a destabilizing security threat today, in domestic & transnational contexts.

Data on Terrorism: 1970-2015 Terrorist Attacks (Global Implications)

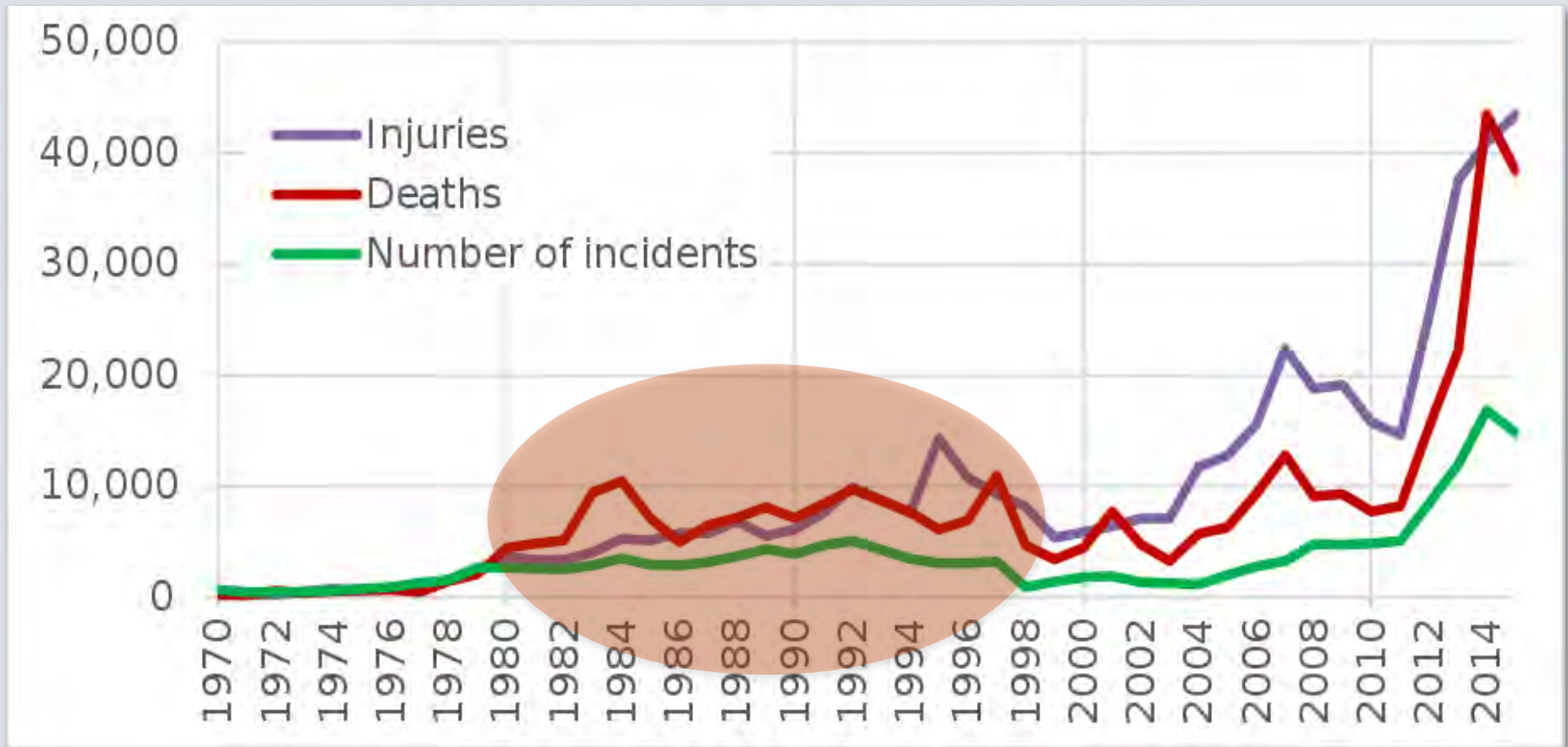


Global Terrorism Database (GTD): 1970-2013 Total Incidents

Terrorism is on the rise: Before 2001, there was a 80s/90s spike ...



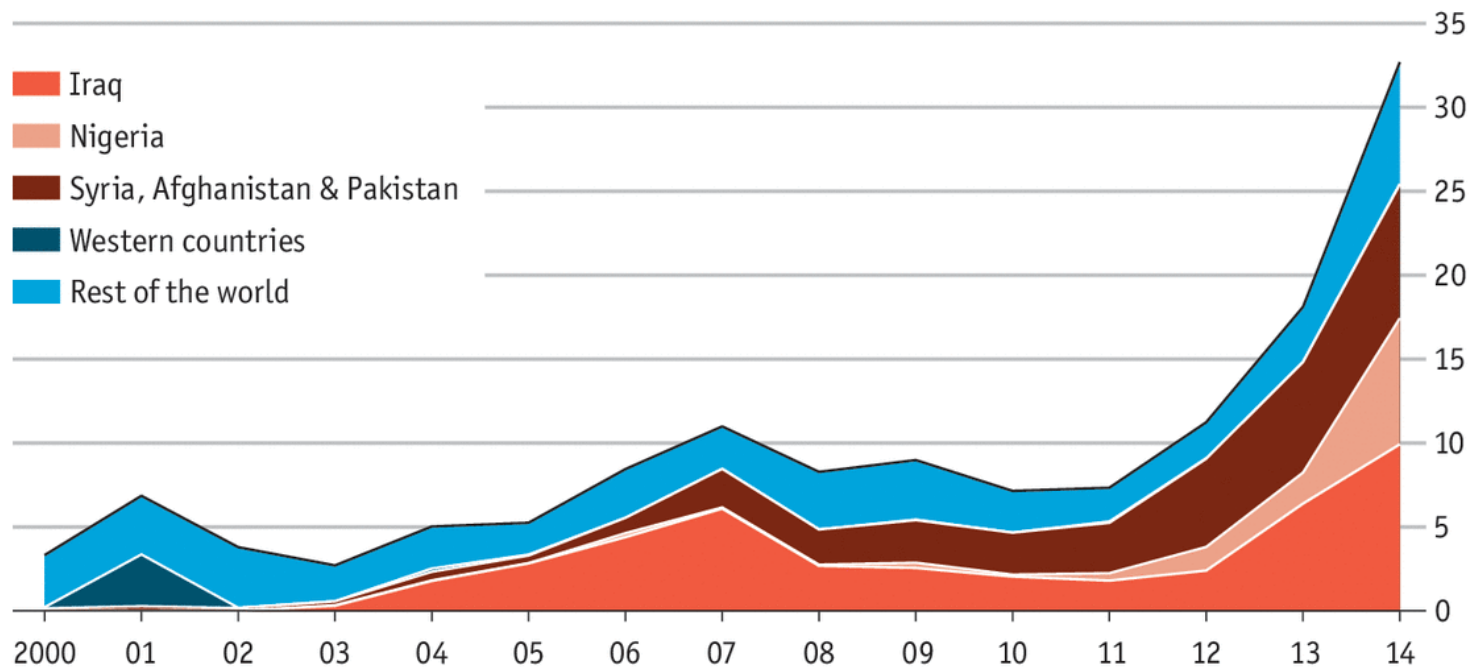
Terrorist Incidents Worldwide



Terrorist Incidents Worldwide

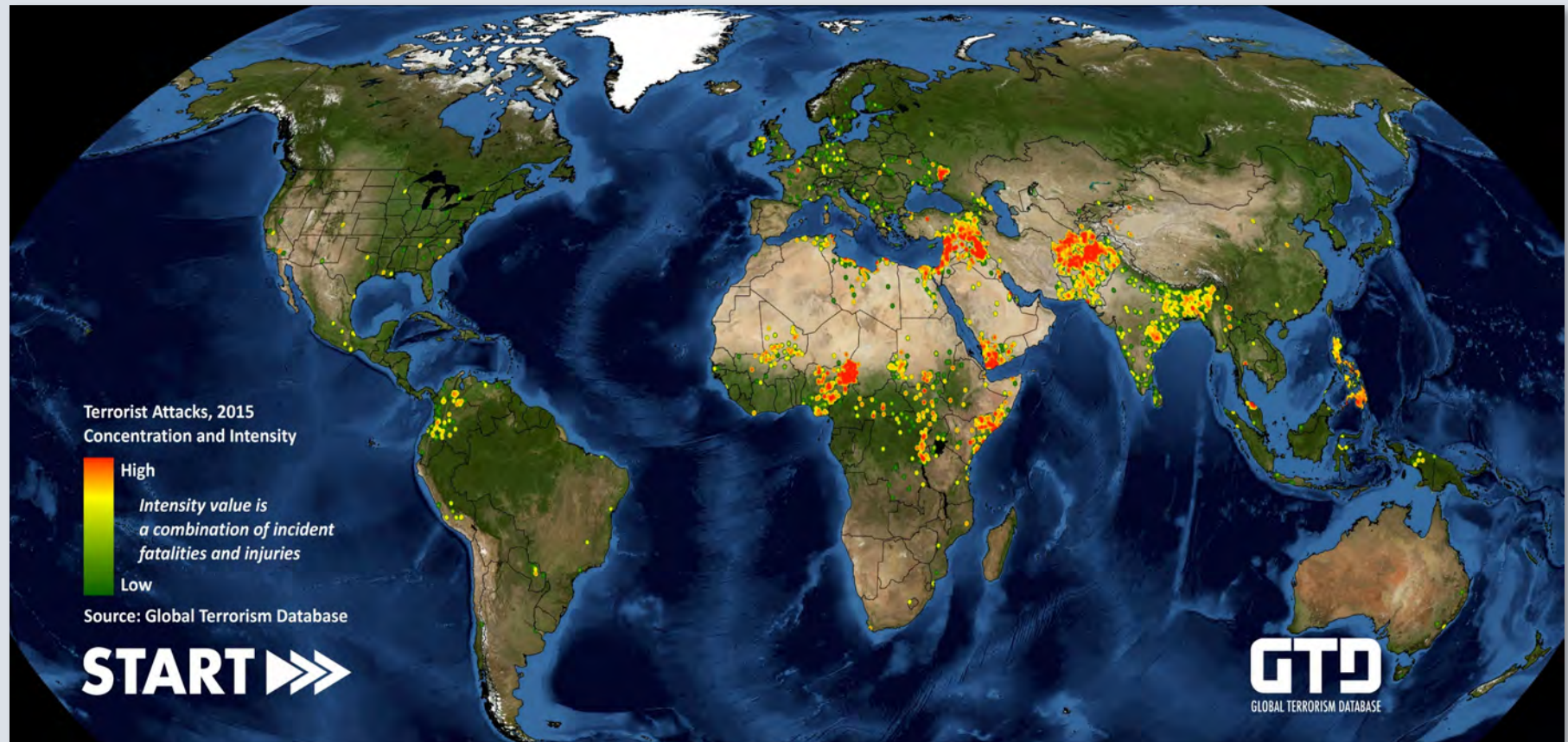
Global deaths from terrorism

'000



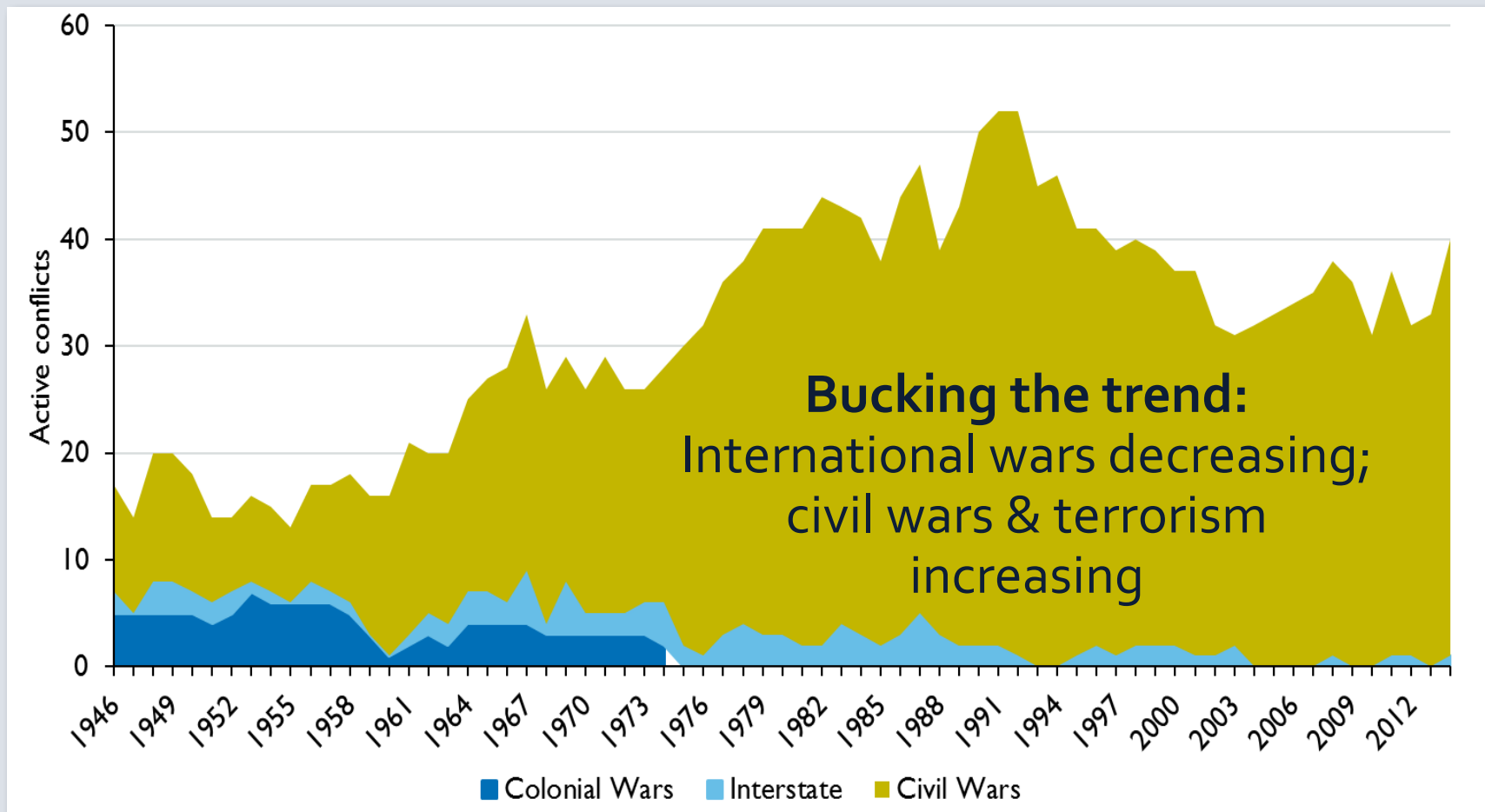
Source: START, IEP

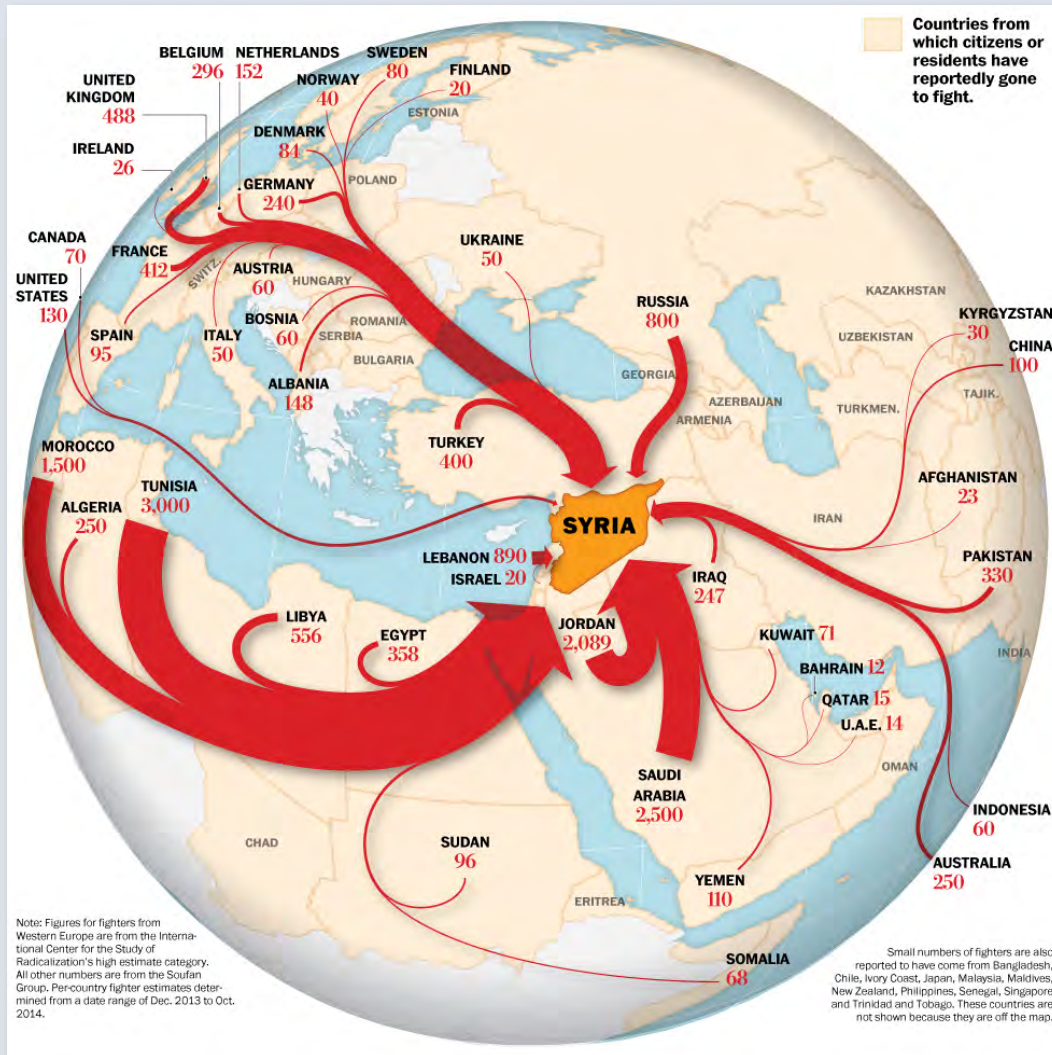
GTD: Terrorism in Regions/Intensity 2015



A Rise in “Small Wars”:

Armed Conflict by Type, 1946–2014 (ACD-PRIO 2015)

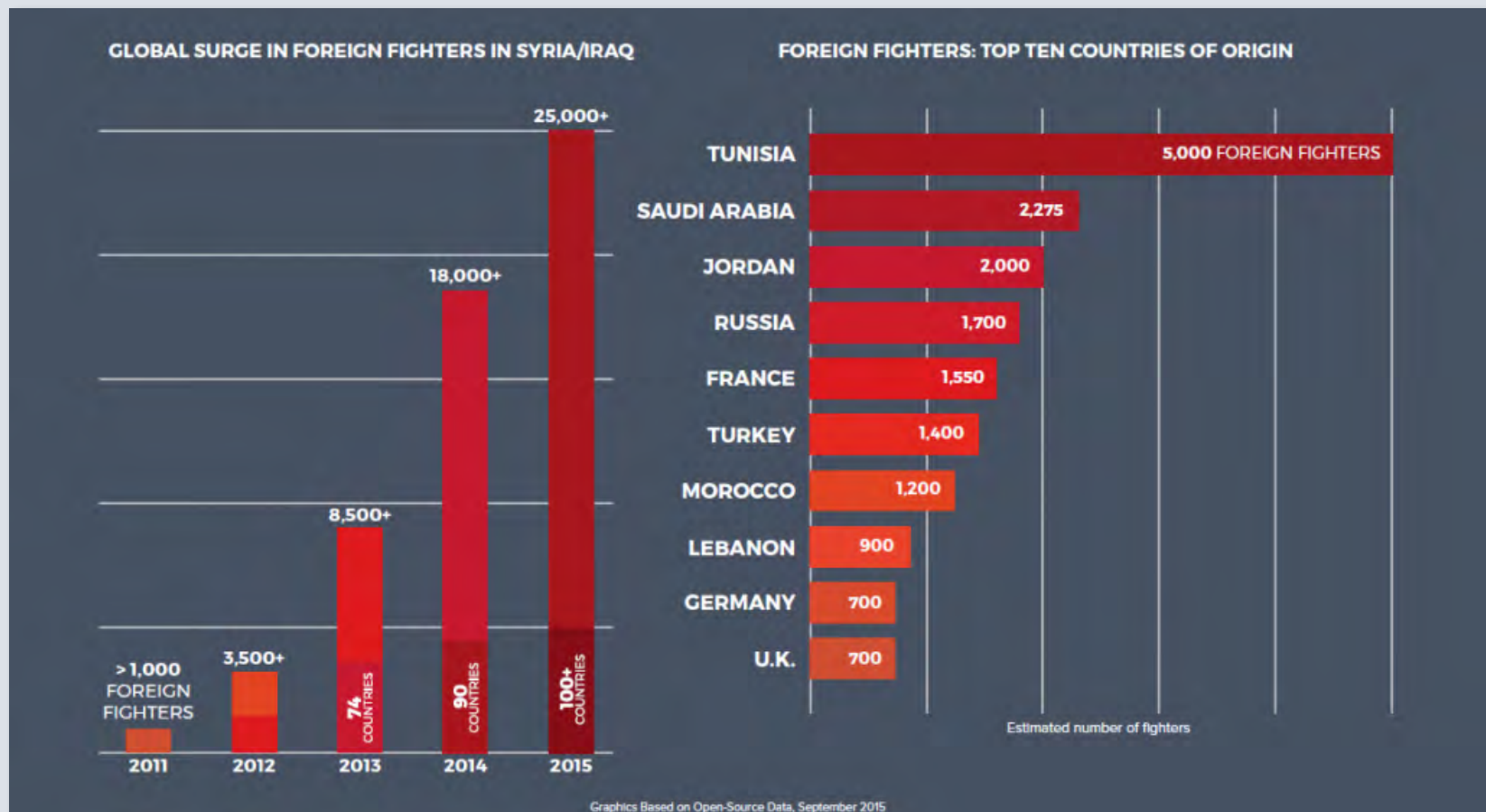




Foreign Terrorist Fighters: Foreign Fighter Flows to the Levant (ICSR-Soufan 2014)

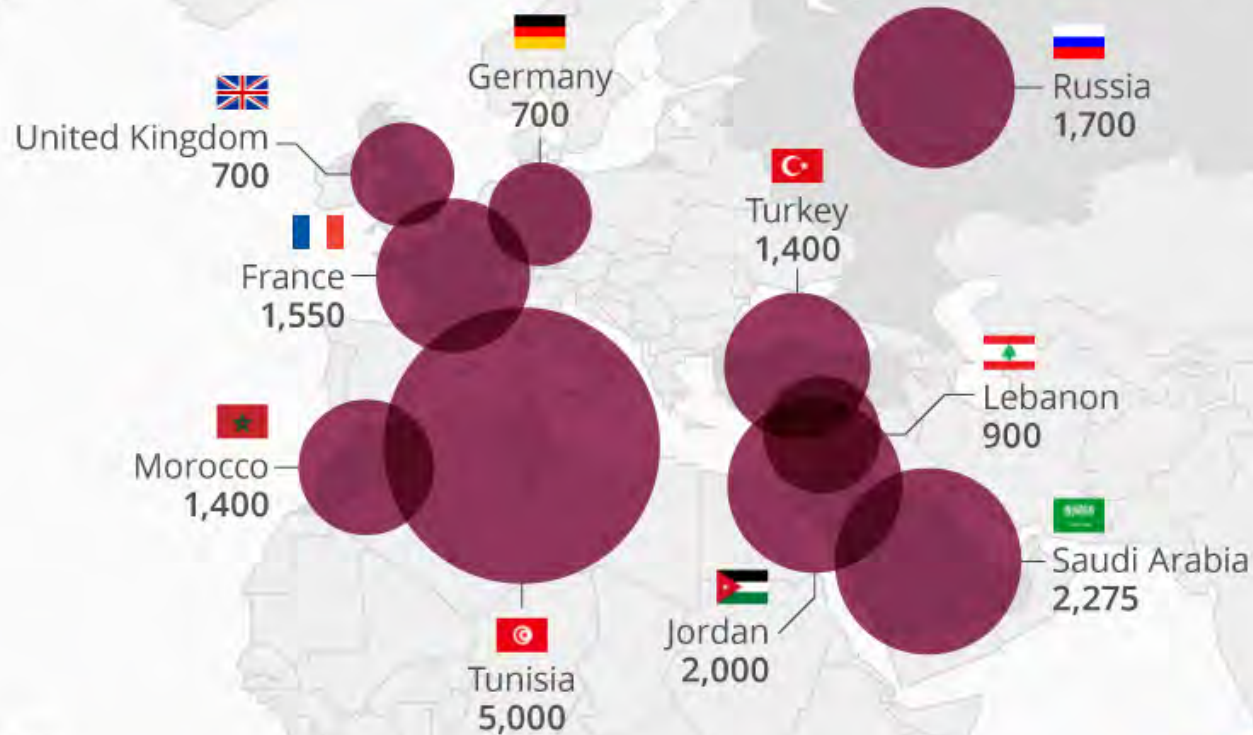
UNSCR 2178 provides: "Nationals who travel or attempt to travel to territories other than own for the purpose of the perpetration, planning, or preparation of, or participation in, terrorist acts, or the providing or receiving of terrorist training."

Foreign Terrorist Fighters: Global FTF Surge Over Time 2011-2015 (High-Output States)



Where Syria & Iraq's Foreign Fighters Come From

Estimated number of foreign fighters in Iraq/Syria from selected countries in 2015

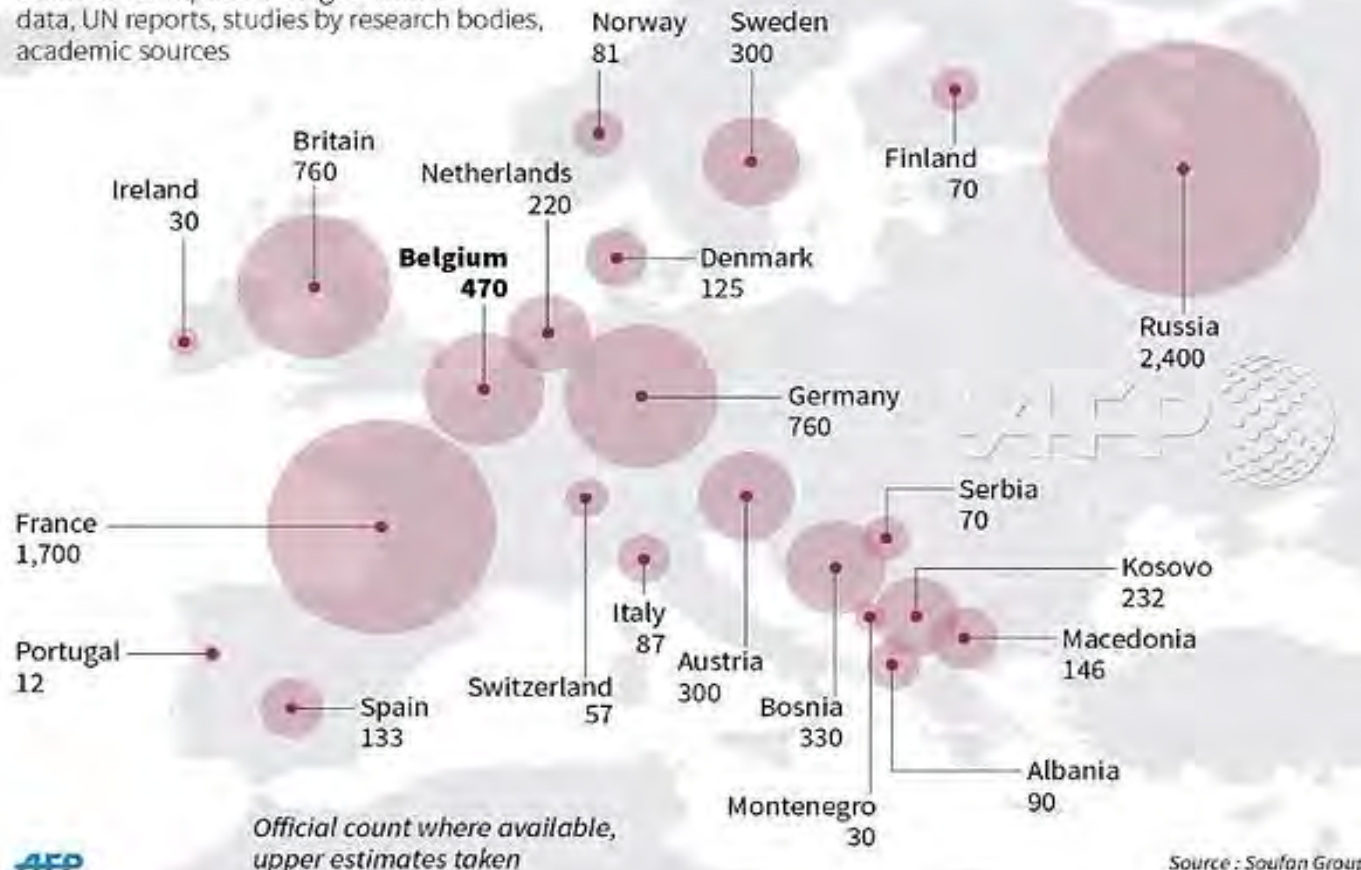


From Europe to Syria and Iraq

Foreign fighters who embarked from European countries in 2014 and 2015

Based on data released December 2015 by intelligence consultancy, The Soufan Group

Estimates compiled from government data, UN reports, studies by research bodies, academic sources



Unexpected Contributions:
European High-Output States (Soufan 2015)

ISIS Global Presence

■ Countries where ISIS holds territory

■ Countries where local groups have pledged allegiance to ISIS

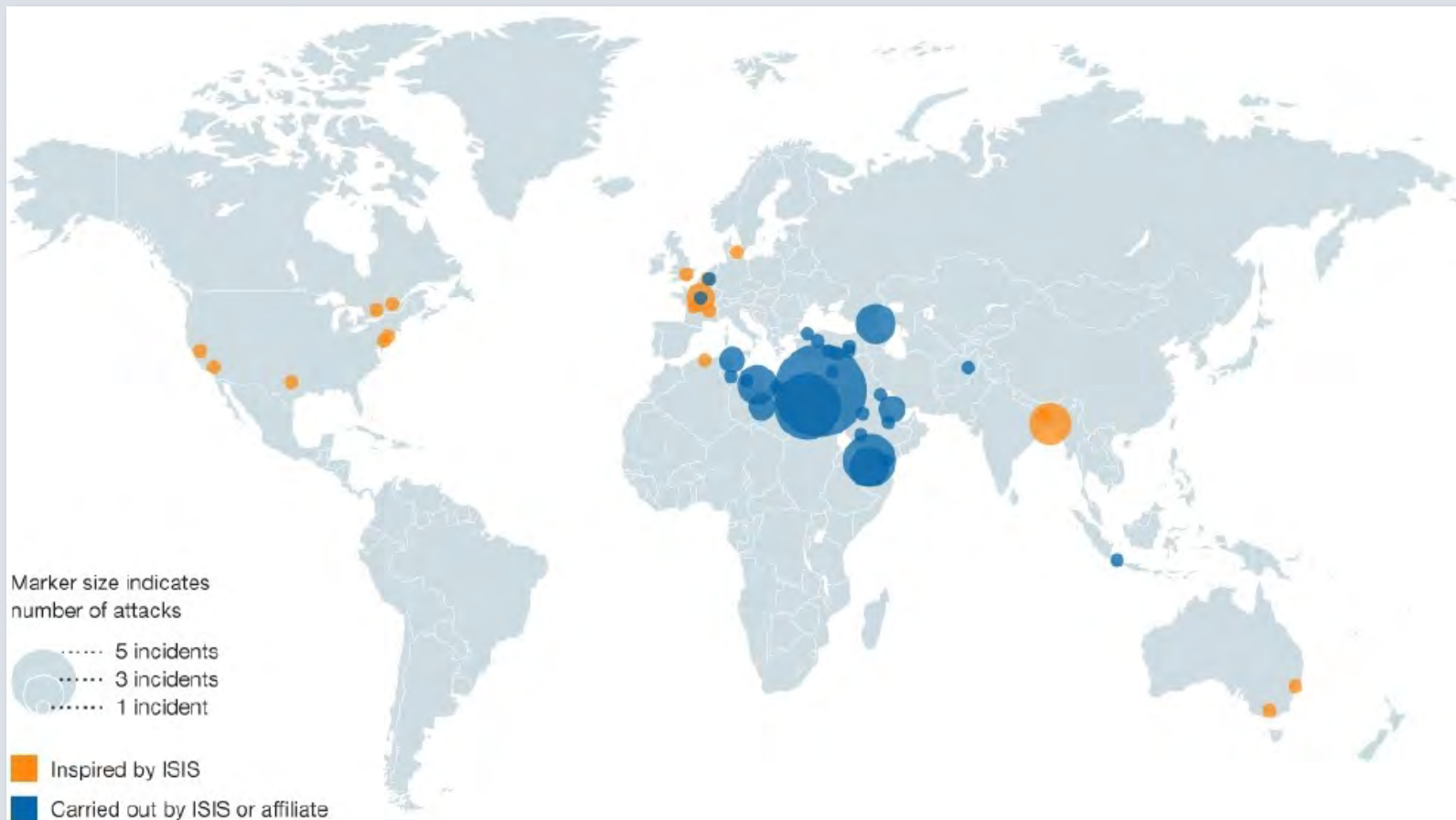
■ Countries from where large numbers of ISIS supporters have been arrested

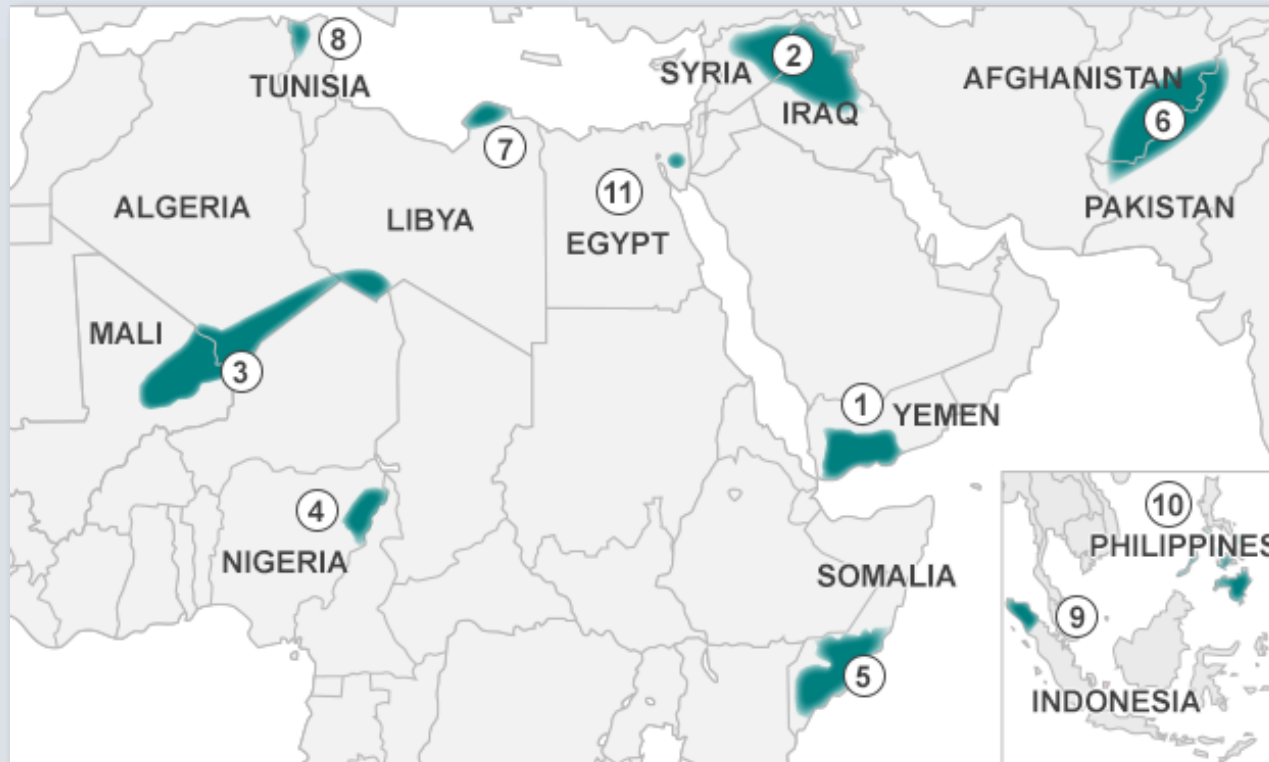


Note: "Presence" is defined as ISIS holding territory; local groups having either pledged allegiance or actively cooperated with ISIS; or large numbers of ISIS supporters having been arrested.

Sources: Heritage Foundation research and various media reports.

Global ISIS: 90 attacks in 21 countries have killed nearly 1,400 people (CNN, April 2016)





- | | | |
|--|------------------------------|-------------------------|
| 1 Al-Qaeda in the Arabian Peninsula (AQAP) | 4 Boko Haram | 9 Jemaah Islamiah |
| 2 Islamic State (IS) | 5 Al-Shabab | 10 Abu Sayyaf |
| 3 Al-Qaeda in the Islamic Maghreb (AQIM) | 6 Taliban | 11 Ansar Bayt Al-Maqdis |
| | 7 Ansar al-Sharia in Libya | |
| | 8 Ansar al-Sharia in Tunisia | |

... And it's not only ISIS we must be concerned about ...

The GTD maintains an LONG list of radical groups ...

GTD GLOBAL TERRORISM DATABASE

ABOUT GTD USING GTD FAQ TERMS OF USE CONTACT **START HOME PAGE**

Search the Database **SEARCH** **ADVANCED SEARCH** Browse by: **Go**

Browse By Perpetrator Group

Select a category to get a listing of topics: **Go**

Perpetrator Group

1 May
14 K Triad
14 March Coalition
14th of December Command
15th of September Liberation Legion
16 January Organization for the Liberation of Tripoli
1920 Revolution Brigades
19th of July Christian Resistance Brigade
1st of May Group
2 April Group
20 December Movement (M-20)
22 May 1948
23 May Democratic Alliance (Algeria)
23rd of September Communist League
28 February Armed Group
28 May Armenian Organization
28s
28th of December Group
2nd of June Movement
31 January People's Front (FP-31)
313 Brigade
313 Brigade (Syria)
4 August National Organization
7 April Libyan Organization
8 March Coalition
9 February
9 May People's Liberation Force
A'chik Matgrik Elite Force (AMEF)
Aba Cheell Group
Abd al-Krim Commandos
Abdul Qhani/Kinil Militia
Abdul Qader Hussein/ Battalions of the Free Palestine movement
Abdullah Azzam Brigades
Abstentionist Brigades
Abu Bakir al-Siddiq Brigade
Abu Bakir Martyr Group
Abu Bakr' Unle Jabr Brigade
Abu Hafs al-Masri Brigades
Abu Hafs Katibatul al-Ghurba al-Mujahideen
Abu Hassan
Abu Jafar al-Mansur Brigades
Abu Musa Group
Abu Nidal Organization (ANO)
Abu Obeida bin Jarrah Brigade
Abu Salim Martyr's Brigade
Abu Sayyaf Group (ASG)
Abul Tirk (Central Reserve Forces)

A



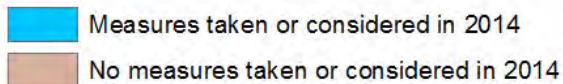
White Liberation Army
White Panther Party
White Wolves
White Wolves (UK)
Wild Cats
Wild Freedom
Wild Geese of the Cities
Wit Kommando
Wolves of Islam
Worker Autonomy, Continuous Struggle
Worker Counterpower
Worker's Brigade
Workers Brigade for Communism
Workers Power
Workers' Forces of Liberation
Workers' Organization for Communism
Workers' Revolutionary Party
Workers' Self-Defense Movement (MAO)
Working People's Alliance (WPA)
World Church of the Creator
World Punishment Organization
Yakariya Bango Insurgent Group
Yamaguchi-Gumi Gang
Yarmouk Martyrs Brigade
Yatsama
Yazhik Revolutionary Organization
Yekbun
Yellow Organization of Air Force Officers
Yich Telga
Yimchunger Liberation Front (YLF)
Yokoku Seiwai-Kai
Young Brigade of Navarra
Young Communist League
Young Cuba
Young Liberators of Pattani
Young Officer Union of the New Generation and Reformist Armed Forces of the Philippines (YOU-RAFP)
Young Pioneers
Youth Action Group
Youth for Revolution
Youth of Islamic Awakening
Youth of the Land of Egypt
Youth of the Star
Youths of Ali Movement
Zairean Socialist Party
Zapatista National Liberation Army
Zarate Wilka Armed Forces of Liberation
Zawiya Martyrs Brigade
Zebra killers
Zehri Youth Force (ZYF)
Zellangrong United Front
Zemuni Clan
Zero Point
Zero Tolerance
Zetas
Zimbabwe African Nationalist Union (ZANU)
Zimbabwe African People's Union
Zimbabwe Patriotic Front
Zimbabwe People's Army (ZIPA)
Zintani Militia
Zionist Resistance Fighters
Zomi Revolutionary Army (ZRA)
Zuwar al-Imam Rida
Zviadiats
Zwai Tribe

Z

Instability: “Global Black Spots” Are Ungoverned and Semi-Governed Areas



Source: Verisk Maplecroft



**COALITION
SUPPORTERS**

Countries making contributions or committed to the coalition

**AIR-STRIKE
PARTICIPANTS**

Nations joining in or supporting air strikes against ISIS targets in Syria

**JOINING THE
AIR-STRIKES**

Countries sending fighter jets or considering joining the military actions against ISIS

Netherlands

Would deploy six F-16 jets as well as 120 pilots, support staff and C-130 cargo planes

Belgium

Set to offer six F-16 jets, as well as 120 pilots, support staff and C-130 cargo planes

**Organizations
supporting the
coalition**

- * Arab League
- * European Union
- * NATO

Australia

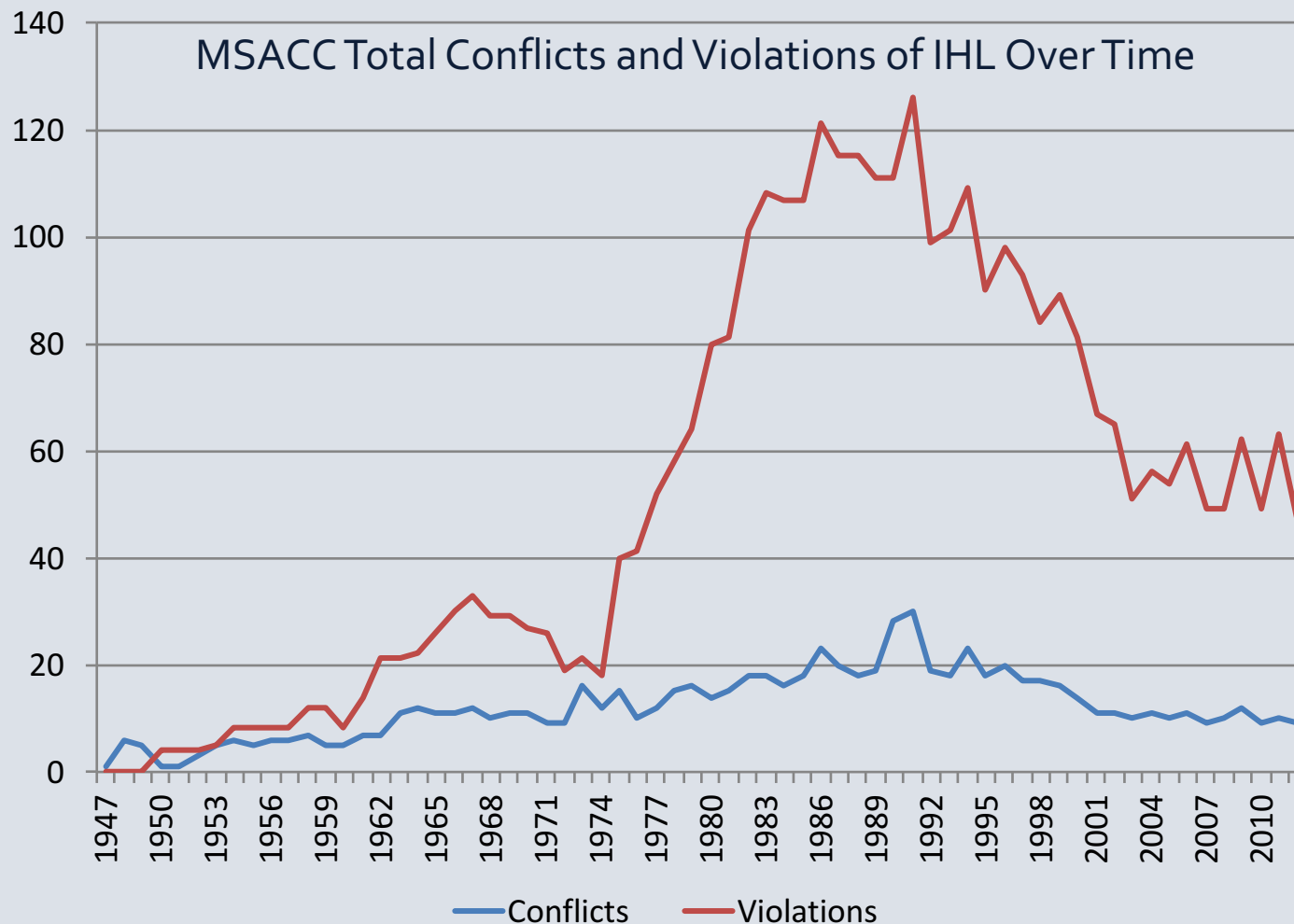
Will send eight F-18 fighter jets as well as special forces troops to act as advisers

Anti-ISIS Coalition Nations 2014 (Reuters)

Note:

Contributions to the coalition include support, stopping the flow of foreign fighters to the zone, countering IS' financing and fundin, addressing humanitarian crisis in the region and/or d-legitimizing IS ideology.

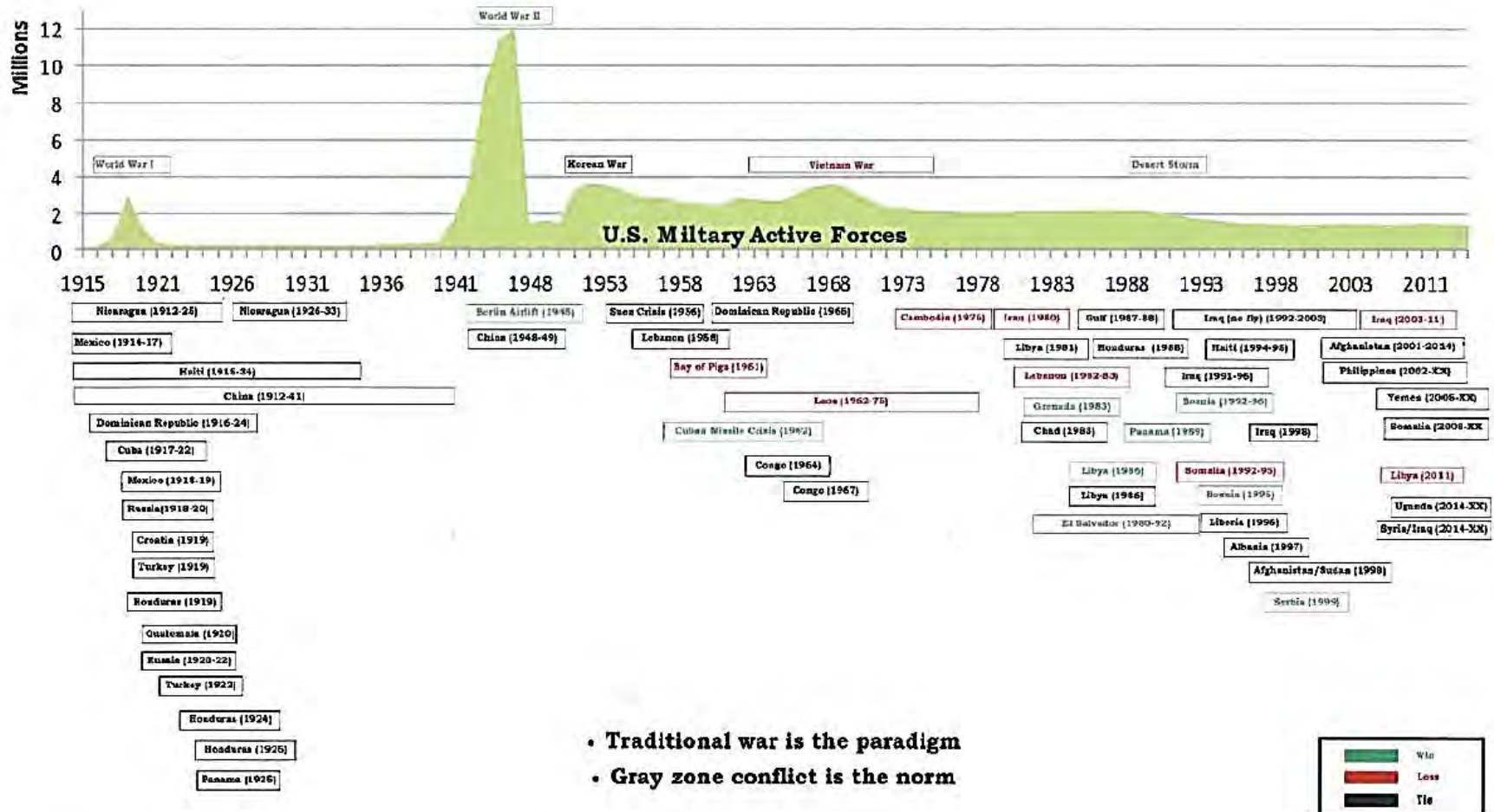
INSCT's Muslim State Armed Conflict & Compliance Dataset: Analyzing Conflict Dynamics in Muslim-Majority Nations



MSACC Total Number of IHL Violations by Region



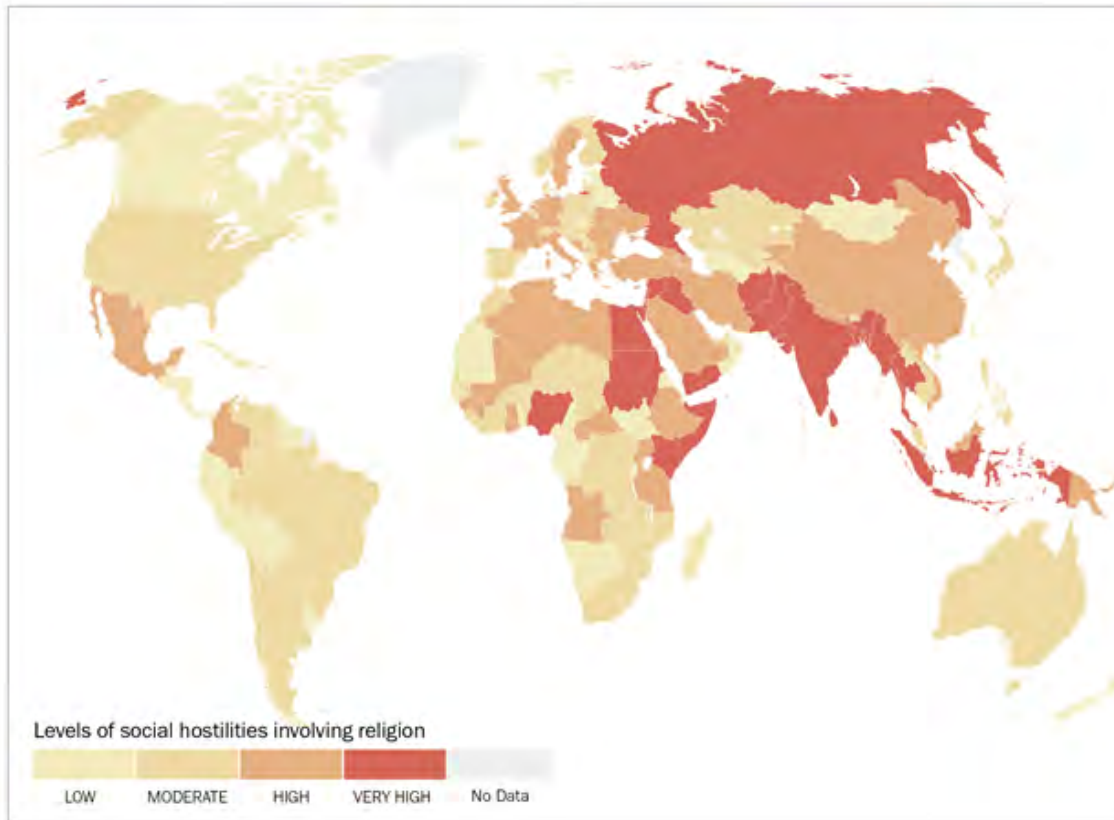
“Gray Zone” Conflict Has Become a Norm for the US



- Traditional war is the paradigm
- Gray zone conflict is the norm

Social Hostilities Around the World

Level of social hostilities in each country as of December 2012



"Religious Hostilities Reach Six-Year High," January 2014

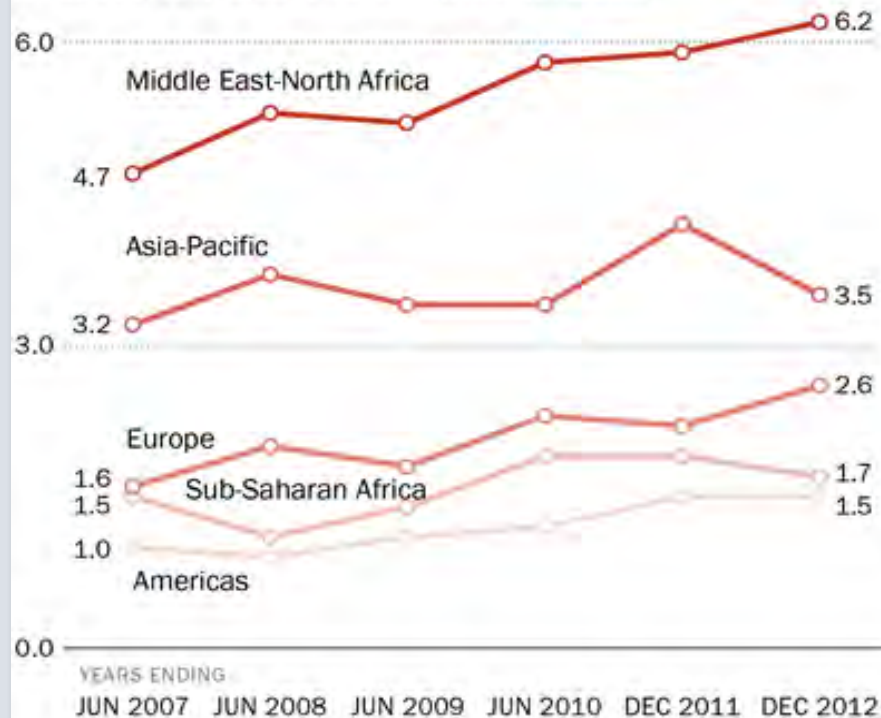
PEW RESEARCH CENTER

In 2014 religious hostilities reached an all-time high (Pew)

Some counter-measures have sought to restrict religions ...

Government Restrictions on Religion, by Region

Median scores on the Government Restrictions Index

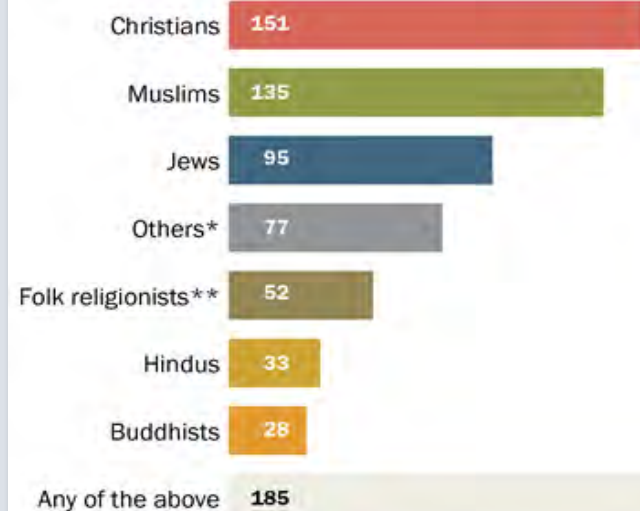


"Religious Hostilities Reach Six-Year High," January 2014

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Number of Countries Where Religious Groups Were Harassed, Across All Years

Any time between June 2006 and December 2012



* Includes Sikhs, members of ancient faiths such as Zoroastrianism, members of newer faiths such as Baha'i, other religious groups and atheists.

** Includes followers of African traditional religions, Chinese folk religions, Native American religions and Australian aboriginal religions.

This measure does not assess the severity of the harassment. Numbers do not add to totals because multiple religious groups can be harassed in a country.

"Religious Hostilities Reach Six-Year High," January 2014

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Where does this leave us in security strategy & long-term solutions ?

1. We should respond to the real problem (data-driven)—not a sanitized version of it.
2. We should use ALL instruments of national power (law, policy, civic engagement, borders) with a firm eye on “national interests”.
3. We should develop de-radicalization programs ...

Deradicalization programs presume we understand how radicalization works (3 steps)

1. Cognitive opening that shakes certitude in previously accepted beliefs—consciousness raising, part of a movement, religious seeking, etc.
2. Decentralized authority in Islam/Islamic law makes for a problem of authority—seeker needs Islamic authorities to confer legitimacy & authenticity of interpretation.
3. Socialization and enculturation (tight organizational integration) to engage in risky activism.