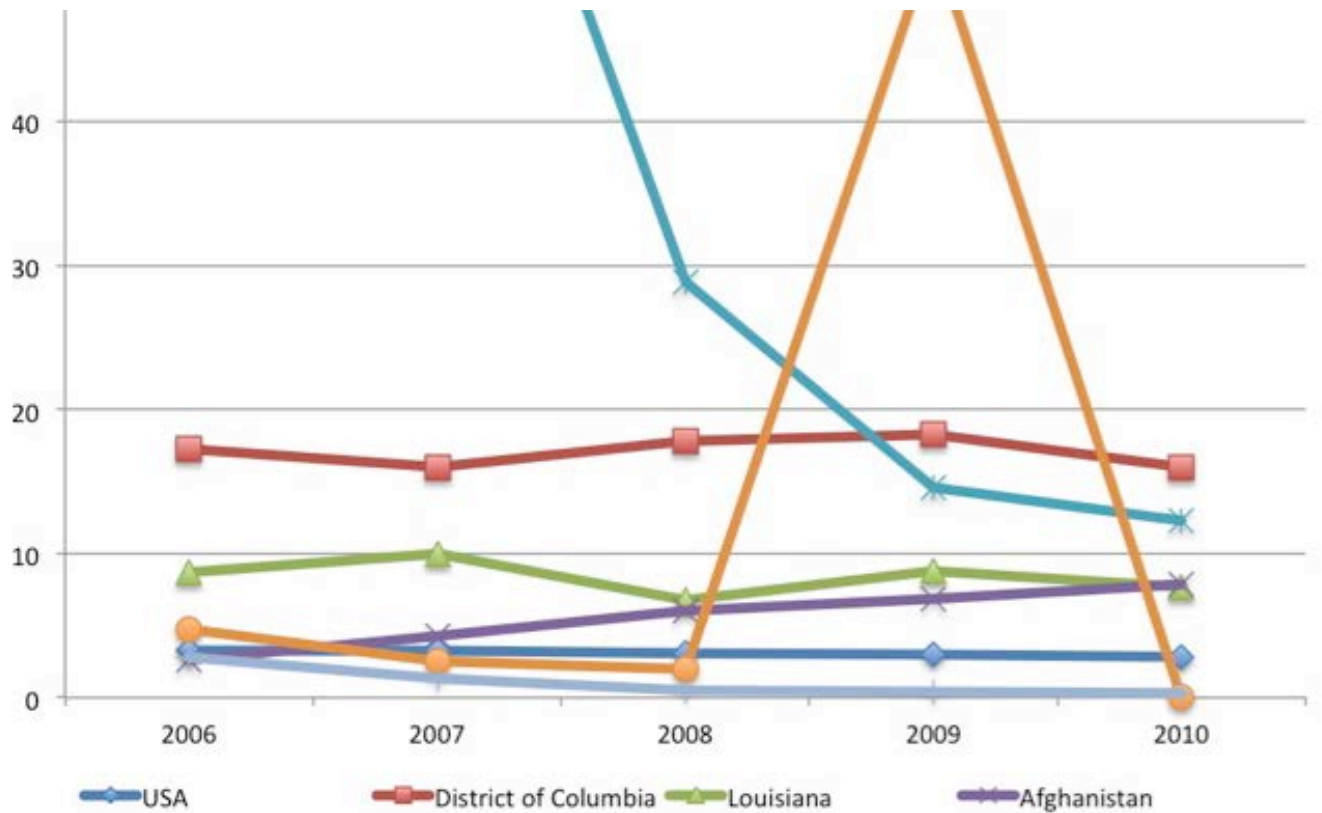
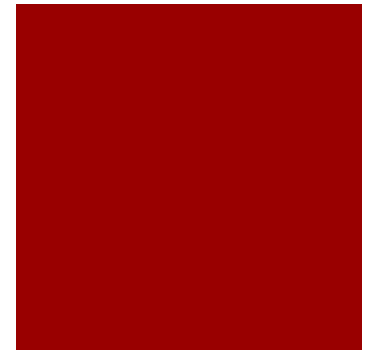




# Islamists in India and the Global Jihadist Movement

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# Is terrorism a threat?



# India's strategic challenge

- Preventing an insurgency on communal lines
- Preventing new networks from funnelling arms and terrorists through the Indian ocean seaboard
- Preventing destabilisation of nation-states on the Indian ocean rim



# The ghazi-jihadi tradition

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# The pre-history of jihad

- Fidayeen attacks in response to Portugal's attack on Malabar spice trade.
- Decline of the Mughal empire and Shah Waliullah
- Sayyid Ahmad and the Balakote jihad
- The jihadists of the 1857 Rebellion



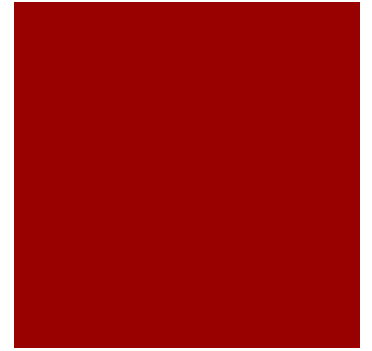
# Islamist ideas unfold

- **Hassan al-Banna** founds Muslim brotherhood in 1928; draws on anti-western ideas of Rashid Rida and Muhammad Abduh
- In 1941, **Jamaat-e-Islami** founded by Abul Ala Maududi
- Maududi and Muslim Brotherhood leader Syed Qutb influenced by each others' ideas



# Prelude to Partition

- Competitive religious revivalisms
- The Khilafat Movement of 1921
- The Malabar riots



# The context

- Rise of 'petro-Islam', and the Saudi-Iranian contest for influence
- Partition; post-Partition communal violence; competing chauvinisms. 1992 **Babri Masjid** demolition and 2002 violence
- Even as new middle class emerges, Muslims economically and educationally backward; face discrimination





# The global jihadist network



- **Abdullah Azzam** travels to Pakistan in the wake of the Afghan jihad; founds the Maktab al-Khidmat
- Azzam mentors **Osama bin-Laden**
- Lashkar-e-Taiba set up with support from Azzam; other jihadist groups mushroom in Pakistan and West Asia.

# Birth of Indian jihadism



# Riots and responses

- Birth of the **Tanzim Islahul Muslimeen**  
[Organisation for the Purification of Muslims]
- Demolition of the Babri Masjid and the Mumbai riots
- Retaliatory bombings of 1992-1993



# The Rise of SIMI

- **SIMI** [Students Islamic Movement of India] and its **Jamaat-e-Islami** roots
- Influences of Maududi, the Afghan jihad and Saudi Arabia
- Parallel developments in Jammu and Kashmir: the Jamaat-e-Islami's **Islami Jamaat-e-Tulaba** [Islamic Students Organisation]



# SIMI's Growth

- Wide network of magazines, anti-drugs groups, anti-capitalism groups.
- Appealed to new generation of educated lower-middle class and middle-class
- By 2001, membership estimated at 20,000, with 400 full-time workers

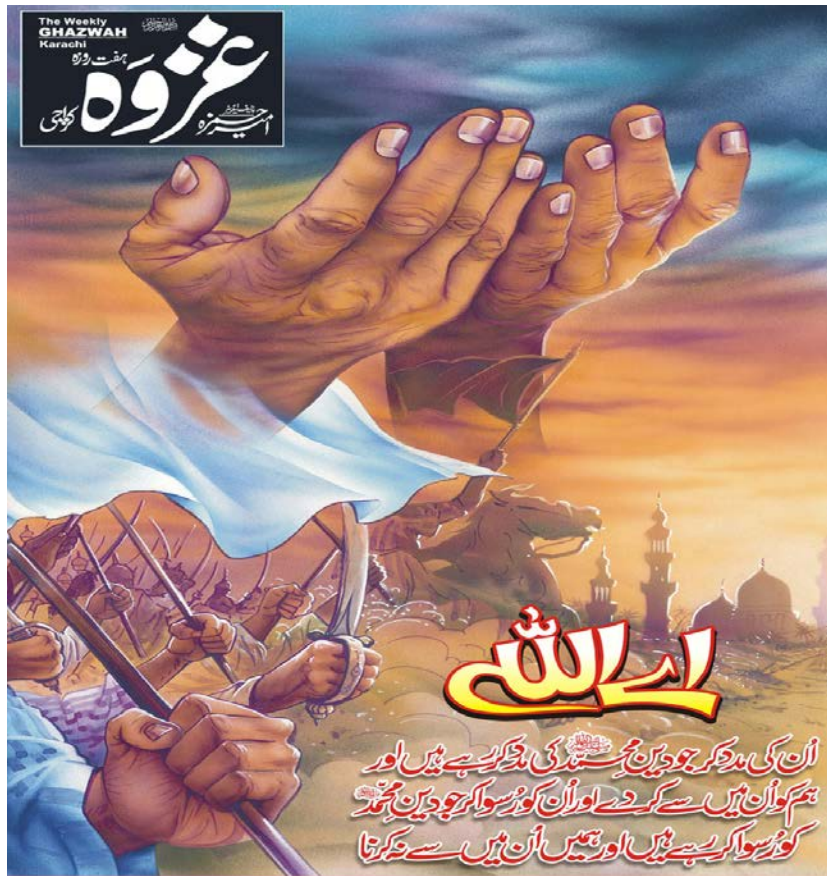


# SIMI's turn to jihadism

- Radicalisation of rhetoric after demolition of Babri Masjid
- By the time of 1999 convention, **Safdar Nagori**-led faction had links with Lashkar-e-Taiba.
- In 2001, at last public convention, open support for Osama bin-Laden and Mullah Mohammad Omar



# The 'Indian Mujahideen'



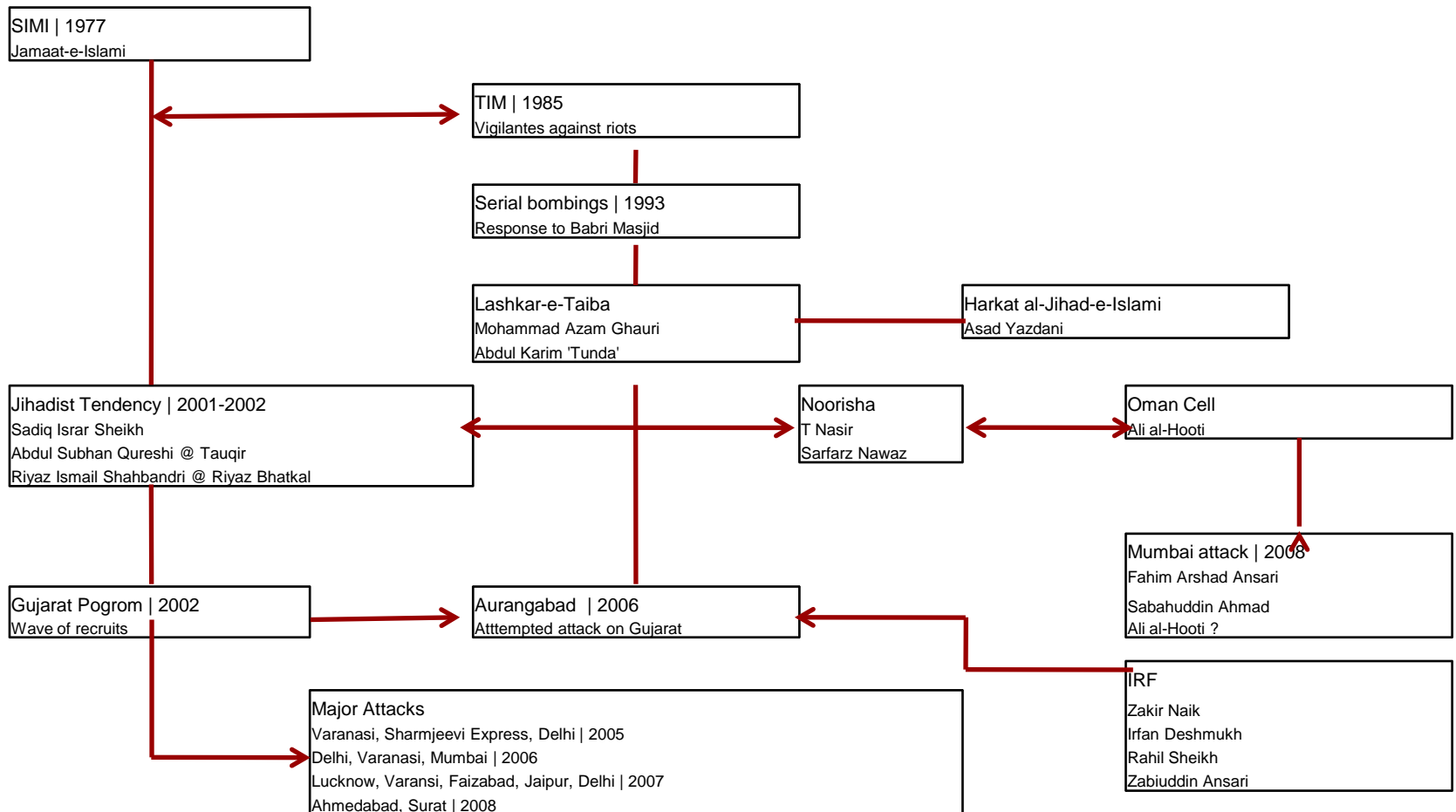
# Origins of the IM

- Study cell meetings of SIMI in 1996 saw core members of IM coalesce
- Growing radicalisation of SIMI members leads to split in leadership; turn to violence.
- From February, 2000, **Lashkar-e-Taiba** announced plans for all-India jihadist operations.





# The jihadist network



# Profiles of key IM members



- **Sadiq Israr Sheikh**, from slumdog to ideological jihadist
- **Abdul Subhan Qureshi**, elite family scion turns terror commander with Lashkar-e-Taiba links
- **Riyaz Ismail Shahbandri** builds links with organised crime mafia of **Asif Reza Sheikh**

# The post-Gujarat wave

- From 2002, after Gujarat riots, dozens of young men leave for Lashkar-e-Taiba training camps
- In 2003, assassinate Gujarat Home Minister Haren Pandya
- From 2005, start bomb attacks culminating with July, 2006, strikes on Mumbai suburban train system which kill 186



# Multiple motivations

- The **Bangalore jihad** cell of computer engineers like Abdul Shibly Peedical and Yahya Kamakutty
- **Tandiyantavide Nasir**, the “Sufi Jihadist” of the Noorisha order
- **Aslam Sardana**, of Gujarat’s famous Deoband neo-conservative seminary at Kantharia



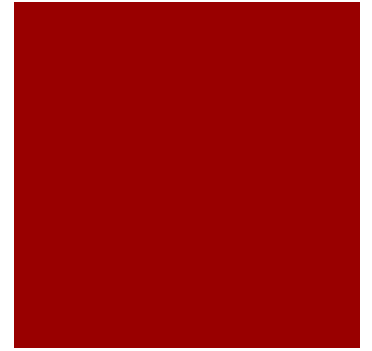
# The IM's transnational links



- SIMI member **Safaraz Nawaz** and Oman national **Ali Abdul Aziz al-Hooti** operate training and finance hub in West Asia
- Recruits trained include **Fahim Arshad Ansari**, now being tried for alleged role in providing photo-reconnaissance for Mumbai attacks
- Indian Ocean network of **Faisal Haroun** used for 2006 weapons landings of Mumbai; 2007 attempt to stage Fidayeen strike on city

# Testing India's defences

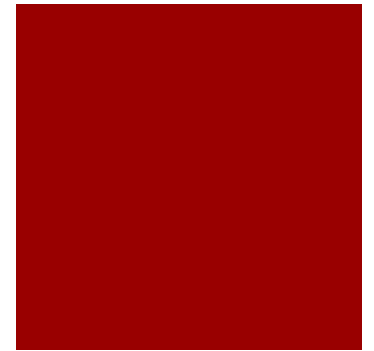
- The Zabiuddin Ansari-Aurangabad arms case
- The 2007 Poonch jihadis case
- The Mumbai attacks



# Some Policy Implications



# Near-neighbourhood challenges



- Pakistan so far shows few signs of dismantling jihadist infrastructure. Future attacks inevitable, though scale unknown
- Great uncertainty in Afghanistan; risk of new enclaves of terrorism sponsorship
- Ideological contestation in Bangladesh still active; could end badly for secularists.



# Wider regional challenges

- Al-Qaeda's affiliates have grown exponentially, even as the central body has disintegrated; secular Arab governments discredited
- In Pakistan, al-Qaeda linked groups like TTP strong; new groups like Hizb-ut-Tahrir influential
- Ideological contestation in Bangladesh still active; could end badly for secularists.



# India's policy challenges

- Need for systematic political intervention to address alienation of Muslims, particularly new middle class and youth
- Legislative and police-reform efforts must be accelerated—both to address terrorism and jihadist ideological infrastructure
- Far greater emphasis on understanding near-neighbourhood threats, particularly Afghanistan and Pakistan-IFS, intelligence services, police very short on expertise

