

# CONFERENCE PAPER

11<sup>TH</sup>  
PHILIPPINE  
A R M Y  
S E N I O R  
L E A D E R S  
C O N F E R E N C E



## DEFEATING TERRORISM

Responding to a  
Global Challenge

---

Headquarters Philippine Army, Fort Andres Bonifacio  
20-21 March 2018



# DEFEATING TERRORISM

Responding to a Global Challenge

HEADQUARTERS PHILIPPINE ARMY  
20-21 March 2018

Conference paper from the proceedings of the 11<sup>th</sup> Philippine Army Senior Leaders Conference held at the Ricarte Hall, Philippine Army Officers' Clubhouse, Philippine Army Headquarters, Fort Andres Bonifacio, Metro Manila on March 2018. This event was organized by the Office of the Assistant Chief of Staff for Plans, G5.

---

The opinions expressed in this conference paper represent solely those of the resource speakers and reactors. They do not represent the official position of the Philippine Army. The Philippine Army Logo and the Senior Leaders Conference Seal belong to the Philippine Army.

Published by the Office of the Assistant  
Chief of Staff for Plans, G5  
Headquarters Philippine Army  
Fort Andres Bonifacio, Metro Manila  
Philippines 1201

<b>OPENING SPEECH</b>	<b>6</b>
LTGEN ROLANDO JOSELITO D BAUTISTA AFP <i>Commanding General, Philippine Army</i>	
<b>FOREWORD</b>	<b>8</b>
COL ROBERTO S CAPULONG GSC (INF) PA <i>Assistant Chief of Staff for Plans, G5</i>	
<b>THE RISE OF GLOBAL TERRORISM</b>	<b>11</b>
The Evolution of Global Terrorism and Radicalization and Its Impact on National Security	12
Cyberspace and Cyber-terrorism: The New Face of Terror	14
<b>RECALIBRATING A PROACTIVE PHILIPPINE COUNTER-TERRORISM RESPONSE</b>	<b>17</b>
Assessing Left-Wing Terrorism in the Philippines: Challenges and Trends	18
Strengthening the Country's Counter-terrorism Policies	20
<b>REGIONAL PERSPECTIVES IN COUNTERING TERRORISM AND VIOLENT EXTREMISM</b>	<b>23</b>
Countering Terrorism: A Regional Perspective	24
The Philippines' Response to Terrorism: Challenges and Perspectives	28
<b>EXPECTATIONS AND FUTURE DIRECTIONS</b>	<b>30</b>
<b>THE 11<sup>TH</sup> PHILIPPINE ARMY SENIOR LEADERS CONFERENCE</b> <i>in photos</i>	<b>33</b>
<b>SPEAKERS AND REACTORS</b>	<b>37</b>



## OPENING SPEECH

OF THE COMMANDING GENERAL, PHILIPPINE ARMY  
Foreign Armed Forces Attachés

To our distinguished guests and resource speakers, officials from the Department of National Defense, Philippine Army Major Unit (PAMU) commanders, fellow men and women of the Philippine Army and representatives from the Navy and Air Force, participants from other agencies, and foreign armed forces attaches present today, a pleasant morning to all of you. Before I begin, I would like to extend my sincerest gratitude to the organizers and participants of the 11<sup>th</sup> Philippine Army Senior Leaders Conference (PA SLC) for making this momentous event possible.

Since 2004, The PA SLC has been a major leadership forum that aims at keeping the army senior leaders steadfast with their commitment to their roles to serve the people and secure the land. The Senior Leaders Conference has served as the feedback mechanism of the Command to gain more perspectives, ideas, and innovations on relevant issues in partnership with various stakeholders, such as other government agencies, the academe - both local and international, private institutions, and non-government organizations (NGOs), among others.

As you all know, change is a continuing process. The Philippine Army has been a witness to the rapid changes in the security environment, and has recognized how critical it is to become proactive and flexible. More specifically, we

acknowledge that new concepts and ideas must be crafted and promoted for institutional growth. Thus, the Senior Leaders Conference is an important venue to incubate and develop breakthrough concepts that allow our organization to adapt to this fast-changing security environment.

Our current security environment has become volatile and ambiguous. Armies all over the world must stand ready to adapt to all these changes. The rise of terrorism and spread of extremism are primary among these challenges. Southeast Asia is no stranger to the threat of terrorism. It continues to be a common priority security concern not only among our immediate neighbors, but also all over the world.

With this in mind, the theme for this year's Senior Leaders Conference, "**DEFEATING TERRORISM, RESPONDING TO A GLOBAL CHALLENGE,**" is a fitting subject for this conference that subscribes to the notion that terrorism has evolved through times. This threat has grown to great proportions, tearing down transnational borders and expanding its reach almost anywhere. As the country's primary ground force, we need to continuously and urgently adapt to ensure that the stability of our national security is preserved. We in the Army humbly accept that inter-agency collaboration and partnership with other stakeholders and with the international community will reinforce the recalibration and intensification of our counter-terrorism efforts.

The recent Marawi siege was an eye-opener to all of us about the growing threat of global terrorism. Despite our infancy in urban warfare and limited capability, the liberation of Marawi

and its subsequent rehabilitation is a resounding victory, owed to the bravery of our troops and the exceptional leadership of our commanders.

Being a former commander of Joint Task Force Marawi, it was reinforced in me that the immutable idea of decisive and effective leadership is vital to the achievement of mission objectives at the strategic, operational and, tactical levels. I believe that this year's Senior Leaders Conference will mold not only our intellectual capacity, but more importantly the strength of our character to effectively address these emerging threats. I am optimistic that this conference will serve as a platform for leadership development, which is important to our quest in becoming a world-class Army that is a source of national pride and loved by its people.

Lastly at this point, allow me to extend my warmest welcome to all the participants of the 11<sup>th</sup> Philippine Army Senior Leaders Conference. I hope that this conference will lead to a fruitful discourse and exchange of ideas. Let this conference be our venue to resolve the threat of terrorism through concerted efforts. Together we will triumph over this security challenge.

*Mabuhay ang Philippine Army.*

*Mabuhay tayong lahat!*



---

LTGEN ROLANDO JOSELITO D BAUTISTA AFP  
*Commanding General, Philippine Army*

“““

*“Terrorism has grown to great proportions, tearing down transnational borders and expanding reach almost anywhere. As the country’s primary ground force, we need to continuously and urgently adapt to ensure that the stability of our national security is preserved”*

LTGEN ROLANDO JOSELITO BAUTISTA AFP  
COMMANDING GENERAL,  
THE PHILIPPINE ARMY

## ABOUT THE PHILIPPINE ARMY SENIOR LEADERS CONFERENCE

For more than a decade now, the Philippine Army has been holding the Philippine Army Senior Leaders Conference (PA SLC) as one of the highlights of its Founding Anniversary celebration. PA SLC's primary objective is to enhance the Army Senior Leaders' appreciation of and commitment to both the Army's core purpose and their role in the implementation of the PA's strategic imperatives. It continues to update senior leaders on various issues and programs affecting the organization, against the backdrop of an ever-changing security environment. Moreover, the conference is a reliable feedback mechanism for the Command as it promotes a culture of productive discussion through the exchange of ideas among participants from different sectors. At the very core, the conference continues with the aim to foster the growth of PA as capable, relevant and responsive organization.

The PA SLC brings together different commanders of the Philippine Army Major Units and Tactical Brigades, Senior Staff of HPA and Army staff officers assigned at the General Headquarters, observers from the Department of National Defense, the Philippine Air Force and the Philippine Navy, and other representatives of relevant stakeholders. The SLC confronts significant, contemporary issues in the current dynamic and complex security environment.



On its eleventh year and held in celebration of the Philippine Army's 121<sup>st</sup> Founding Anniversary, Philippine Army Senior Leaders Conference (PA SLC) focused on the evolving nature of the threat of global terrorism and violent extremism. Following the Marawi experience, the Philippine Army and the entire nation came to a full realization that states, regardless of military or economic capacities, fall prey to acts of terror. Although we claim victory against the terrorists of Marawi, the threat persists; hence, the call for a more comprehensive counter-terrorism response is wanting. Under the theme, *"Defeating Terrorism: Responding to a Global Challenge,"* the PA SLC hosted security experts from different fields who imparted their knowledge, experiences and valuable opinions on one of the most pressing threats to our national security.

This paper is an edited collection of the different presentations delivered by the speakers in the 11<sup>th</sup> PA SLC, as well as the discussions provided by their corresponding reactors. Our elevated understanding of our roles and responsibilities in the face of this threat inspires and propels us towards crafting more responsive counter measures and proactive policies; this conference paper will serve as a guide in such endeavors.

By and large, our current security environment is characterized as VUCA - volatile, uncertain, complex and ambiguous. States are plagued by threats that evolve and adapt to the complexities of our time. Amongst these threats, considerable attention is given to terrorism and violent extremism, having direct and severe implications to human security.

As discussed by Professor Julkipli Wadi of the Institute of Islamic Studies of UP Diliman and Professor Rowena Layador, former Head of the Center for International Relations and Strategic Studies Foreign Service Institute of the

## F O R E W O R D

Department of Foreign Affairs, terrorism is not a new phenomenon. Throughout history, mankind has witnessed violence being perpetrated for causes that are, most often than not, political or ideological in nature. Although there is neither a universally accepted definition of what constitutes a terrorist threat nor an agreed way of identifying who falls under the terrorist label, the threat of terrorism has never been more real. States across the world devote immense resources, and modernize and mobilize security forces to deny terrorist groups of the opportunities to cause horror and instability. While the responsiveness of counter-terrorism measures is constantly being examined, the movements of terrorist groups and the developments they adopt are carefully monitored. At the global level, terrorism is perceived to be ever more complicated by the proliferation of weapons of mass destruction. Where arms dealing is sustained by states intent at acquiring advanced military capabilities, a flashpoint is not unimaginable when terrorist groups finally get their hands on these weapons.

At the domestic level, the Philippines is no stranger to this threat. For instance, Assistant Secretary for Cyber Security and Enabling Technologies of the Department of Information and Communications Technology (DICT) Allan Cabanlong and Professor John Peter Abraham Ruero, Vice President for Information Technology Systems and Services of Holy Angel University presented that our cyber infrastructures are placed under stress by different malicious online attackers who hack their way through online systems to intercept information and compromise cyber security. Nevertheless, DICT, has placed mechanisms to counter attacks to the country's information infrastructures or *infostructures*.

Meanwhile, the restlessness of local armed groups and insurgents still echoes animosities of the past. This, together with the labelling of the CPP-NPA as a terrorist group, demand that the nation come together to get to the crux of differences and find peaceful resolution, as reflected upon by Mr Robert Francis Garcia and Retired Brigadier General Victor Corpuz. The government, particularly both Houses of Congress, is headstrong to review existing legislature, like

the Human Security Act of 2007, to strengthen our counter-terrorism measures at the policy level. This was reiterated by Senator Gregorio Honasan III, Chairman of the Senate Committee on National Defense and Security, and Mr Rafael Alunan III, Chairman of the National Security Committee of the Philippine Council for Foreign Relations. There is also a call to work ever more closely with friends in the region, especially because terrorist activity transcends state boundaries. Proper and regular communication with our Southeast Asian neighbors fosters valuable learning. This view was shared by Dr Jolene Jerard, Deputy Head of International Centre for Political Violence and Terrorism Research (ICPVTR) of the Nanyang Technological University Singapore - S. Rajaratnam School of International Studies (RSIS) in her discussion of regional perspectives in countering terrorism, and in the response of Mr Jose Antonio Custodio, defense researcher and military historian. It is also important to note the perspective of the intelligence sector in countering this threat, which was the focus of the presentation of National Intelligence Coordinating Agency Director General Alex Paul Monteagudo and the reaction of Mr Richard Heydarian, resident political analyst of GMA News and Public Affairs.

Across counter-terrorism mechanisms that we have in place, and those that we plan to establish, the overarching principle that cannot be over emphasized is that of collective effort of the government, our security forces, and all sectors of the community - domestic and regional. Terrorism, emanating from the interaction of various societal, psychological, political, economic, cultural and ideological factors, necessitates a response that is multi-faceted and holistic.




---

COL ROBERTO CAPULONG GSC (INF) PA  
*Assistant Chief of Staff for Plans, G5*

## MODULE 1

---

# THE RISE OF GLOBAL TERRORISM

*The Evolution of Global Terrorism and  
Radicalization and its Impact  
on National Security*

*Cyberspace and Cyber-terrorism:  
The New Face of Terror*

# The Evolution of Global Terrorism and Radicalization and its Impact on National Security

PROF JULKIPLI WADI



***“Defeating terrorism is one thing but addressing why terrorists rise in the first place is quite another; and who primarily profits in the process is even more fundamental to knowing.”***

Terrorism as a global threat remains on a surge and continues to be entangled with regional and global complexities. More specifically, danger lies on the potential intersection of conventional terrorism, as espoused by groups such as Al-Qaeda and the Islamic State of Iraq and Syria (ISIS), and the trend among countries to avail nuclear capabilities. Within the current international order, big powers are the main manufacturers and exporters of arms to Asia and the Middle East and it is not unlikely for imported weapons to fall into the

hands of terrorist groups; therefore, global terrorism cannot be understood in isolation from international politics.

For instance, as a country like Saudi Arabia would express a desire to join the world’s nuclear club while terrorism is raging in the Middle East, the entanglement of global terrorism with an even more critical issue like proliferation of nuclear weapons could not be overemphasized.

The evolution of terrorism can be traced from as early as 66-70 AD. Historically, the manner by which groups have instilled terror and used violence for various causes has shifted from one form to another, but three elements of terrorism persist to date: (1) ideology, (2) means of struggle, and (3) intended impact. Terrorism has taken many definitions precisely for the reason that the term itself is politically charged; it was only after the tragedy of 9/11 that the United Nations Convention on Terrorism adopted what constitutes international terrorism. Nevertheless, there are three basic approaches to defining terrorism: (1) through historicism, (2) by denotation, and (3) from its psychological component.

Finally, the vulnerability of the Muslim world particularly the Middle East to global terrorism remains apparent. The Middle East has never completely been part of the international system with its *ummah* and other Islamic social, political and economic orders that are antithetical to the concept of nation-state. Such polarization produces unconventional struggles and expressions of resistance that border on terrorism. Conflict would also eventually lead to migration, and when the Muslim population grows and expands, it could either increase Islamophobia and/or deepen the entrenchment of Islam in the Western world. ■

## R E A C T I O N

Three main points are of note. First, from the security perspective, the politics of big powers as a dimension of terrorism definitely needs to be looked into, but of equal importance are societal, state and individual dimensions. Terrorist acts have come to be carried out by individuals and not groups, and the process of becoming a terrorist emanates not from the state, but from the individual level. It is therefore interesting to focus on the sector of the educated youth. An educated youth can either contribute positively as a human resource to the society, or negatively as there is still a possibility of them taking the path of radicalization.

This ushers in the second point on the importance of good governance. The problem of restlessness that is a product of poor governance and turbulence in the political environment can result into violence. Violence has been used by terrorist groups to demonstrate the government's weakness and ineptness to protect the general populace, hence the need for good governance is central.

The final point revolves around the characteristics of such threat in the contemporary context. Terrorist activities in the past had political agendas such as a change in policies or the removal of people in power, but nowadays such agendas include ideas of self-determination and the carving of new territories. In relation to the changing faces of terrorism, it has indeed become a borderless crime, transcending territories and intermeshing with other issues of our time. Such complexities are a product of globalization and advances in technology, which necessitates regional and global multi-level defense action and cooperation. ■

PROF MARIA ROWENA LUZ LAYADOR



The UN General Assembly has reiterated that 'criminal acts intended or calculated to provoke a state of terror in the general public, a group of persons, or particular persons for political purposes, are in any circumstances unjustifiable, whatever the considerations of a political, philosophical, ideological, racial, ethnic, religious or other nature that may be invoked to justify them'.

Andrea Gioia,  
*Survey of UN Conventions  
on the Prevention  
and Suppression of  
International Terrorism*

# Cyberspace and Cyber-terrorism: The New Face of Terror

ASSEC ALLAN CABANLONG

An array of the current cyber security threats plagues the Philippines. Information communication technologies (ICTs) are utilized by terrorist groups to conduct recruitment and gather support, for drug trade, data capture and hacking of critical networks. In addition, major economic drivers are at risk as specific industries are being attacked for competitive advantage. Threats directed toward the country come from all over the world, including the region. As an overall assessment, national security in this respect faces imminent danger.

Nevertheless, the National Cybersecurity Plan (NSCP) 2022 is in place to address these security challenges. Its key strategic imperatives are to (1) protect critical information infrastructure or infostructures (CII), (2) secure Government Networks (Public and Military), (3) ensure the continuity of Business and Supply Chains, and (4) raise the level of cybersecurity awareness of every Filipino. In addition, the protection of government networks will require efficient collaboration among the National Computer Emergency Response Team (CERT), Government CERT and the Sectoral CERT, Military CERT, and domestic and internal networks. Such collaboration will be facilitated by the National Cyber Intelligence Platform (NCIP) system, which would allow different sectors to share information on threats, and the Department of Information and Communications Technology (DICT) to send preventive responses. A proposition to establish the National Cybersecurity Threat Intelligence Center that will address not only cyber threats, but also to combat other crimes in the country through cyber intelligence reports has also been made.

The implementation of the NSCP 2022 has begun, starting from its publication in December 2016. This was followed by the issuance of Memorandum Circulars on the Protection of Critical Infrastructure, Protection of Government Agencies, and Protection of



Individuals, the launching of the NCERT website and its application that collects and transforms information into statistical pies, the conduct of different cybersecurity awareness programs in partnership with various schools nationwide, and the start of the campaign to integrate cybersecurity awareness into the Philippines' education system in close coordination with the academic sector. Moreover, the final drafting of the CERT manual, done in consultation with the Government, CIIs and the military sector, that will soon be cascaded to different agencies, and the certification of several companies that will serve as Third Party Service Provider of Information Security Management System were also conducted to find solutions to this growing threat. ■

***“The Philippines is under cyber attack every single day, and is facing imminent danger in cyberspace. We must act proactively to combat these threats”***

## R E A C T I O N



Undoubtedly, cybersecurity has become a high priority security concern among nation states, and the Philippines through the DICT has taken big strides in terms of providing ways to ensure cybersecurity and address cyberterrorism.

It is common knowledge that individuals who perform malicious hacking activities are motivated by an ideology and not by staging terror per se, but the most prevalent motivation is economic and the “*bragging rights*” that go with every successful hack. Regardless, the idea is to make sure that malicious attackers are prevented, and to this end a personalized or content-specific group and the access by which particular content are used should be instituted. Since the same tools, techniques and methods are used by both malicious hackers and legitimate users, there must be a way to differentiate purposes and motivations between the two groups.

In relation to information sharing, the community should be involved in ensuring the whole nation’s cybersecurity awareness. We know about hacking and data breaches, but what is equally important is the manner by which we communicate and translate these and their implications to the individual. There has been a lot of strides done in the academic sector but there are only a few institutions that have

seen the need to push for cybersecurity. In the defense sector, information sharing is especially important between the Armed Forces of the Philippines and the Philippine National Police. Information gathered and shared by these bodies should be used not only for reactive measures, but also for proactive ones.

Finally, there is a need to capacitate the human potential, especially since attackers are becoming younger. The challenge is in convincing, motivating and inspiring the youth to use their skills for good intentions. The whole society needs to be cybersecurity-aware, and everyone has his or her own share towards ensuring that we have a cybersecure Philippines. ■

PROF JOHN PETER RUERO

The APT32 cyberespionage collective, dubbed “one of the world’s most notorious hacker groups” by Wired Magazine, just recently started attacking the Philippines according to cybersecurity firm, FireEye.

There are almost a dozen China-based APT groups observed running operations against the Philippines.

## MODULE 2

---

# RECALIBRATING A PROACTIVE PHILIPPINE COUNTER- TERRORISM RESPONSE

*Assessing Left-Wing Terrorism in the  
Philippines: Challenges and Trends*

*Strengthening the Country's Counter-  
terrorism Policies*

# Assessing Left-Wing Terrorism in the Philippines: Challenges and Trends

MR ROBERT FRANCIS GARCIA

Revolutionaries are primarily driven by an idea that society is in need of change and it is through their struggle that such change can be effected and wrongs corrected. However, history reveals instances when revolutions do more harm than good, and their potential for unwarranted violence is ascertainable.

The CPP-NPA-NDF's (CNN) ultimate goal of a "national democratic revolution" was to be achieved through a long, slow and painstaking process of weakening state machinery to the point of overturn. But the CNN is internally fragmented by contradictions, not only in strategy and tactics, but also in how to view changes happening in the world. These differences ultimately led to a split within the organization. Delving deeper into differences, it is essential to note that because of similarities shared by terrorists and communist rebels, it is easy to classify them under the common label, "enemies of the State." However, the threat posed by each entity requires a specific counter-measure; hence, fundamental distinctions must not be overlooked. Similarly, the democratic Left should be set apart from the armed, extremist Left because the former represents legitimate dissent that needs to be respected in the essence of a free, democratic, and secure society.

The prospects for peace through multiple peace negotiations with the CPP-NPA carried out by the government have dimmed. But a successful resolution of the armed conflict is something that the country cannot achieve for the past decades. The same faith in peace has led to the establishment of Peace Advocates for Truth, Healing, and Justice (PATH). PATH works hand in hand with human rights groups to seek justice for and shed a light on the atrocities, in the forms of torture and inhumane killings, committed by CNN against its own members during its massive purges. PATH has also proposed for the establishment of a Truth Commission for the communist purges as a transitional justice mechanism and a way of properly dealing with the past. ■



***"Justice and accountability would not be complete if State security forces are the only ones called out for violations of fundamental human rights laws, while leaving out non-State armed groups, which have committed equally atrocious acts in their history. Successful reconciliation and peace settlement is a pre-requisite to true progress."***

## R E A C T I O N

The CPP-NPA-NDF's main strategy in waging its "national democratic revolution" is two-pronged; one is through the protracted people's war, and the other through a united front and political action.

On 5 December 2017, President Duterte signed a proclamation declaring the CPP-NPA as a terror organization using Republic Act 10168 or the Terrorism Financing Prevention and Suppression Act of 2012 as basis.

The CPP-NPA-NDF carried out *purges* - a series of operations supposed to ferret out suspected "infiltrators" within their ranks that involved the detention, torture and execution of thousands of its own cadres.



**W**hy people choose to rebel could be attributed to their political and social consciousness and the knowledge they have about the position of the elites in the Philippines. It can be learned that the society is structured like a pyramid with very few elites on top who control most of the wealth because they control most of the land, the basic means of production. The political system on the other hand works in a way in which economic power begets political power. In the past, the same elite few monopolized political power as evidenced by political dynasties.

Moreover, the political elites used the instrumentalities of government to preserve and protect their narrow vested interests. Such instrumentalities like the Philippine Army, the Armed Forces, and the Courts were being used by those in power for private interests and political ends. For instance, in the past, some graduates of the Academy were tasked to train private armies of politicians. Such experience could push members of the Command to leave and join the New People's Army, only later on realizing that it is a lion's den. ■

BGEN VICTOR CORPUZ (RET)

# Strengthening the Country's Counter-terrorism Policies

SEN GREGORIO HONASAN III



***“Terrorism is an idea, and how do you fight an idea? You fight it with a better idea of good governance.”***

Terrorism still has no universally accepted definition. However, terrorism can be broadly defined as “premeditated violence perpetrated against civilians or non-combatant targets by clandestine groups.”

In order to address the growing threat of terrorism, Republic Act No. 9372 or the Human Security Act of 2007 is currently being reviewed for amendments in the Congress. One of the salient components of the Human Security Act, under Section 3, is that *any person that commits an act punishable under any of the following provisions of the Revised Penal Code such as piracy, rebellion, coup d'état, murder, kidnapping, serious illegal detention, and crimes involving destruction, among others, thereby sowing and creating a condition of widespread*

*and extraordinary fear and panic among the populace, in order to coerce the government to give in to an unlawful demand shall be guilty of the crime of terrorism.* As such, the law does not clearly define terrorism, but only identifies certain characteristics of what constitutes terrorism. Moreover, between the Commonwealth Act No. 1 or the National Defense Act of 1935, which was drafted 70 years ago, and the Human Security of 2007, the former should be the first to be amended.

Other relevant laws related to counter-terrorism include the Terrorism Financing Prevention and Suppression Act, Data Privacy Act, Anti-Wire Tapping Law, Cyber Crime Prevention Act, Comprehensive Dangerous Drugs Act, Anti-Trafficking in Persons Act, and Anti-Money Laundering Act. Currently, the Committee on National Defense and Security is on its way to conduct a technical working group meeting or a writing workshop on the proposed National Security Bill. Recently as well, a bill on establishing a Philippine Identification System has been filed in both houses of the Congress.

National security is everybody's business. The security sector is just a component in the total response to terrorism. The main weapons of terrorism are propaganda and the use of media. Tactically, if we want to counter terrorism effectively, terrorists should be deprived of a TV, camera and a microphone. However, the emergence of social media in today's world has given terrorists another platform to disseminate their propaganda. But how do you fight a problem like terrorism? Terrorism is an idea which can be fought with a better idea of good governance. The government must be able to deliver basic public services such as food, clothing, shelter, education, and health services. Hence, there is a need to empower LGUs by providing adequate funds, electing better leaders, and harnessing the untapped repository of information at the *eskinita* level or grassroots which results to hard intelligence. ■

## R E A C T I O N



First, knowledge management should be institutionalized in any organization. For it to keep transforming, it must be able to learn from mistakes on policy making and implementation. Without knowledge management, organizations will have difficulties in addressing terrorism.

Second, good governance, at both the national and local levels, is the key to effectively address terrorism. For the past few decades, development in the Philippines has been hampered by inconsistencies in building on the progress achieved by every administration. This is due to the lack of a proper mindset on sustainment or continuity. To reiterate Senator Honasan, security is everybody's responsibility. This is where the concept of whole-of-nation comes into play. Mobilizing the whole government and the whole of society, reducing poverty and instituting socio-political reforms are possible measures to address the threat of terrorism.

There is also a need to revisit the terms *anti-terrorism* and *counter-terrorism*, which are often used interchangeably. To put things in perspective, anti-terrorism is strategic and defensive in nature. It relies heavily on intelligence functions, and pertains not only to efforts that prevent, dissuade, or deter terrorist attacks, but also that mitigate the adverse effects

of the attacks. Typically, anti-terrorism requires gate-keeper vigilance to constantly monitor threats, predict probable attacks, and diminish, if not neutralize, the harmful effects of attacks. On the other hand, counter-terrorism is tactical and offensive in nature, with a reliance on operational functions to counter-act terrorists and actively thwart attacks.

Third, the centerpiece of the country's counter-terrorism legislation is the Human Security Act that lacks the bite of a tough law unlike its counterparts in Singapore, Thailand, Indonesia, and Malaysia. In this era of ASEAN integration, there is a need to amend the Human Security Act to align it with similar laws of other ASEAN Member States. This will institutionalize a common regional approach in combatting terrorism. In addition, the Philippines should enhance its border security management, and revitalize Peace and Order as well as Developments Councils, which are organized from the national level down to the municipalities to address the root causes of terrorism and violent extremism. ■

## MR RAFAEL ALUNAN III

Aside from amending the Human Security Act of 2007, the National Security Bill is also pending at the Committee on National Defense and Security, which is on its way to conduct a technical working group meeting prior to the bill's filing.

## MODULE 3

---

# R E G I O N A L P E R S P E C T I V E S I N C O U N T E R I N G T E R R O R I S M A N D V I O L E N T E X T R E M I S M

*Countering Terrorism: A Regional  
Perspective*

*The Philippine Response to Terrorism:  
Challenges and Perspectives*

# Countering Terrorism: A Regional Perspective

DR JOLENE JERARD



***“The resolve to be collectively resilient and the resilience to be resolute in efforts to mitigate the threat of terrorism must be built upon a network of trust.”***

Southeast Asia is no stranger to the threat of global terrorism and violent extremism. In the current volatile, uncertain, complex, and ambiguous (VUCA) environment, threats and challenges in Southeast Asia (SEA) are constantly and consistently evolving. Terrorism has advanced into a transnational threat, and in order to make sense of it, it is important to assess the notion that a transnational threat requires a transnational response. From the regional perspective, two important elements in countering violent extremism are resilience and resolve within communities.

Terrorism as an evolving threat could be symbolized by the Hydra, a Greek mythological serpentine creature that produced two more heads in place of one cut off. Similarly, terrorist groups evolved through adaptive cycles. These cycles have taught them to first, capitalize on existing polarizations and divisions within societies; second, they exploit the reduced cost of technology that increases their capacity on the ground; and third, they now navigate both human and cyber space terrains to radicalize prospect individuals into joining. Through social media and active platforms like disposable emails and cryptic chat applications, they carry out their messaging strategy radicalizing supporters and sympathizers.

In addition, terrorist groups have developed a loose network of operatives. The older hierarchical network structure that the Al Qaeda and JI had has been replaced by a structure composed of 7-10 operational people that form a cell. These operative cells may be small, but they have better tactical position to circumvent law enforcement and security organizations. For example, prisons and high value detention centers may house cells that could freely expand and plan out attacks. It is important, as well, to pay attention to the movements of foreign fighter returnees, recidivists, and deportees who were sent back to Iraq and Syria. These groups of people might plot and execute lone wolf attacks on their country. From these, countries in Southeast Asia need to have a full-spectrum response in preventing terrorism and countering violent extremism.

However, a challenge sometimes resides on how policy makers envision the threat and project responses. Their thoughts could be caged in old paradigms. In SEA, the old paradigm revolves around the Al Qaeda-linked Jemaah Islamiyah (JI) that dominated the regional landscape from 2000-2009. However, there is a need to shift perspectives toward the transnational aspect of terrorism in the region, especially after terrorist groups have been called to unite, leave their ethno-tribal divisions behind, and pledge

---

allegiance to the larger Daesh/ISIS group. Since 2014, after Daesh/ISIS was formed, 63 groups have already collectively pledged their allegiance. In the loss of physical territory of Daesh in Iraq and Syria, there are still roughly 5,000 operatives in Syria.

Moving forward, several projections are made. First, radicalization still continues within societies through the reinvigoration of the cyber-domain as a platform for messaging and dissemination of their objectives. Second, there is a return to guerilla-style tactics, such as the use of improvised explosive device (IED) or more barbaric ones like vehicular attacks on busy places, arson, and hostage taking, among others, on the ground. There will also be attempts to recover lost territories in Iraq and Syria, where the Daesh has a small stronghold. Lastly, foreign fighter returnees, recidivists, and deportees should be monitored for their possible tendencies to become violent extremists. In a nutshell, terrorist groups today have diffused structures, but with redefined skill sets that increase their level of adaptation.

In light of these trends and projections, there is a necessity to reassess the current strategic thrusts that we have. Countering violent extremism brings into foreground the notion of a full-spectrum response.

While the kinetic response through military actions and intelligence sharing in the region to catch, disrupt, and neutralize terrorist cells and their leadership are important, institutional frameworks, like the Indonesia-Malaysia-Philippines Trilateral Maritime Patrol and the soft launch of Our Eyes intelligence sharing initiative in Southeast Asia, are also as necessary. While collaboration and sharing of best practices among the countries in Southeast Asia must be the way forward, community engagement should also be sustained in order to build social cohesion on the ground, and reintegrate terrorist detainees within the society.

---

On 21 June 2016, the Islamic State's Philippines Media Office released its first official video featuring fighters from the Philippines, Indonesia, and Malaysia calling for unity and lone wolf attacks in Southeast Asia.

---

In the Philippines, around 23 groups have already pledged allegiance/support to Abu Bakar Al-Baghdadi. The same can be said of 29 groups from Indonesia and 12 groups from Malaysia.

---

Terrorism is enabled by the "unholy triumvirate" of polarised society, reduced cost of technology, and the increasing capacity of non-state actors.

In terms of reintegration strategies, programs should ensure that terrorist detainees could be given the chance to eventually become productive members of the society. For instance, Singapore's counter-terrorism strategy is based on the rehabilitation of terrorist detainees, capacity building in terms of strengthening community resilience against the influence of terrorist ideology, and lastly, the involvement of strong partnership between government and the community. We always hear about whole-of-government approach, but regionally, the strategy is moving towards whole-of-society approach on building resolve and resilience.

Reintegrating terrorist detainees has proven to be a challenge globally, but some countries are increasingly trying to embrace such strategies. In Singapore, this approach is three-pronged, composed of social rehabilitation efforts to provide opportunities and family support, regular psychological assessment and counselling, and religious rehabilitation to provide proper teachings and interpretation of religion. Ultimately in addressing the transnational threat of terrorism, there is a notion that a network defeats a network. This network of relevant organizations (those at the grassroots level, academe, law enforcement, and security agencies, and others) expands the whole-of-government to whole-of-society. Everyone has a part to play against terrorism. This is an important message that should be internalized to ensure vigilance, cohesion, and resilience in the society.

The resolve to be collectively resilient and to be resolute in our joint efforts are important in fighting terrorism. These are achievable if we collectively build on a network of trust. As threats evolve, we need to adapt our vision, understanding, and agility. ■

Singapore's counter-terrorism strategy includes the rehabilitation of terrorist detainees, the strengthening of community resilience against the influence of terrorist ideology, and a strong partnership between government and community.

---

Singapore also launched a mobile application, "SGSecure", which allows users to receive alerts, report terror attacks, make emergency calls, and learn about terrorism and skills to combat the threat.

## R E A C T I O N



In order to contextualize a regional response to terrorism in the Philippines, it is important to underscore that terrorism takes various forms within the country. Usually, terrorist groups form small units and thrive in marginalized areas. In developed countries like the US, terrorism also exists in marginalized areas, although it is domestic in nature. For example, somebody managed to bomb a federal building in Oklahoma. A terrorist can be anyone. However, there are terrorists who are able to take advantage of existing problems in a certain country. They embed themselves in insurgencies that already exist, or share personnel with insurgents. This is what is happening in the Philippines.

For 72 years after the Philippines had its full independence as a nation state, national unity and cohesion is not yet fully established because of rebellions and secessionist movements. From the historical perspective, the current secessionist movement is the latest manifestation of a conflict that has been going on for a long time, with roots going back to the country's colonial past. Hence, the environment in the Philippines allows for marginalized groups to legitimize their claims,

and form part of the dissent that is happening. The conflict-laden environment provides them sanctuary. Moreover, these sanctuaries are exploited by terrorists who enter the country, and fortified either by rebels themselves or in connivance with local governments. The link between secessionist movements and terrorist groups is not a new phenomenon and has been going on ever since. In the past, the government has conducted several operations and campaigns over the same threats. Although terrorism rides on existing problems of the country, there are continuing government efforts to isolate the foreign terrorists even before the so-called 'war on terrorism'.

The *war on terrorism* allowed a much more multilateral response to this threat and placed it as a primary national security issue. Although there are multilateral and bilateral efforts against terrorism, it is another task to deny them sanctuaries in the country. There is a need to resolve internal problems that exist within the Philippines because these provide conducive conditions for it to thrive. Therefore, there should be rational strategies at the national policy level that are coherent with actions on the ground, and with statements that do not further dissent. It also requires the efficiency and cooperation of local governments. Lastly, consistency on approaches and policies should be emphasized in the fight against terrorism; otherwise, terrorist groups can always recover and build up their capacity again because inconsistent policies give them breeding space. ■

MR JOSE ANTONIO CUSTODIO

# The Philippine Response to Terrorism: Challenges and Perspectives

DIR GEN ALEX PAUL MONTEAGUDO

The threat of terrorism will persist in the country as local terrorist groups (LTGs) will continue to exploit the unresolved secessionist problem in Mindanao and the perceived marginalization of the Filipino Muslims. These issues legitimize terrorist attacks against the government. It is true that terrorism and extremism have been weakened due to the failure of the Daesh-inspired LTG to seize Marawi City, but it is only a matter of time before they stage a similar movement in Cotabato, General Santos or other key cities in Mindanao. It is apparent in their post-Marawi activities that they are rebuilding and reorganizing their forces, fuelled by their vision and commitment to establish their own Shariah-based Islamic state. They will likely concentrate on recruitment, training and fund raising.

More than focused-military operations (FMOs) and the establishment of Martial Law in Mindanao, the government needs proactive laws that will address the evolving threat of terrorism. There should be a local law to address preparatory acts done by suspected terrorists and their supporters. Proactive laws are pre-emptive, preventive, and disruptive of terrorist attacks. It is also imperative to amend the Human Security Act of 2007 to prohibit the re-entry of suspected foreign terrorist fighters (FTFs). Cases of entry of suspected terrorists through the use of spurious travel documents highlight the need to review Executive Order 408 or the non-visa entry for a 30-day stay granted to 157 countries.

As of current, one way forward in fighting terrorism and violent extremism is through the National Anti-Terrorism Strategy adopted in 2 April 2009. Its components include Protection of people, infrastructure and assets; Enforcement of measures to pursue and investigate domestic and transnational terrorists; Advocacy that promotes understanding, awareness, and involvement of citizens in the prevention, deterrence and suppression of terrorism; Collaboration to enhance anti-terrorism drives by communicating, coordinating and collaborating efforts among domestic and foreign agencies and



stakeholders; and the Exercise of preparation to manage and minimize consequences of a terrorist attack (PEACE). From the intelligence community's perspective, the Philippines should institutionalize a new intelligence system to ensure dissemination of accurate and complete information, and to support evolving national security needs and requirements.

Overall, the Philippines pursues multiple strategies that tackle the threat of terrorism. Among these are relentless military operations targeting high value targets (HVTs) and multiple layers of successors to LTGs' leadership, implementation of whole-of-government programs, strengthening the first line of defense anchored on intelligence, target hardening, crisis management, Countering violent extremism (CVE) efforts and legal offensive, enhancing cooperation with international community to address transnational nature of terrorism, and ensuring the successful rehabilitation and rebuilding of Marawi. ■

## R E A C T I O N



There is a necessity for new laws or amendments to existing laws that have to do with the ability of armed forces to respond to terror threat. Proposals by friends in Singapore and Malaysia, for instance, include the crafting of an Internal Security Act. This has allowed Singapore to proactively deal with the terror problem. However, such an act works for countries that are not constitutional democracies; if applied in the Philippines, it will produce a lot of backlash from the human rights community and raise a lot of constitutionality issues. Meanwhile, Martial Law, being in effect across Mindanao, does not do our national publicity any good. The idea of Martial Law is not something that reflects very positively in the mind.

The best compromise to move forward between extending the Martial Law and instituting an Internal Security Act is amending the Human Security Act to allow national security forces to be more flexible in maneuvering in certain areas in the country that are considered hotbeds of terror. Perhaps, we could as well, create specific judicial institutions that can expedite or facilitate the process of allowing our security forces to respond.

From the regional perspective, there is dearth or lack of intelligence sharing, conversation and cooperation among ASEAN countries. Not much information is being shared even among agencies

and institutions of the state in charge of counter-terrorism. In addition, there are also historical concerns regarding mutual trust and confidence. Because of Marawi, everyone is pushed to engage in more cooperation. In the past months, new players like Australia, China and Russia have been more cooperative and helpful in our fight against terrorism. Recently, the ASEAN-Australia Summit has produced a Memorandum of Understanding (MOU) on the institutionalization of intelligence sharing, sharing of high-grade equipment, and continued training. The Philippines, Malaysia, and Indonesia should deepen interaction through concerted efforts from the highest political level.

On the other hand, terrorism connects to the issue of political autonomy. At present, the country faces a debate as to whether we should move forward in amending our Constitution and adopt federalism or moving forward with the Bangsamoro Basic Law (BBL). The idea of rushing a shift to federalism is disconcerting because if we get it wrong it will worsen many aspects of our society. Meanwhile, the BBL has been exhaustively discussed in various circles, and if there is enough political will, we can go for it sooner than federalism. The BBL should not be held hostage by the bigger federalism issue. We have to make sure, however, that it will give sufficient capability to our security forces to deal with terrorism.

Finally, the rehabilitation of Marawi is an important issue because if it is not done right, it will cause a new cycle of radicalization. ■

MR RICHARD HEYDARIAN

# EXPECTATIONS AND FUTURE DIRECTIONS

---

The 11<sup>th</sup> PA SLC has highlighted several important ideas that can inform our current and future actions against terrorism.

In regard to the longstanding internal conflict with the Communist Party, the country's security institutions, including the Philippine Army as the primary force provider to the Armed Forces of the Philippines, have been headstrong and united in neutralizing threats posed by the CNN. As a significant increase in the number of NPA surrenderees has been observed, the Philippine Army is looking to further improve its capabilities in order for it to be more responsive to counter this internal threat, and to eventually establish the kind of peace and security envisioned for generations to come.

The Army also recognizes the need to reform significant national policies on security. It is for this reason that the Philippine Army Legislative Affairs Board (PALAB) has been convened in 2017. PALAB was created to specifically act on legislative measures and proposals that significantly affect the organization. Its Executive Committee regularly conducts meetings to facilitate the conduct of research and studies on amendments to AFP's priority bills. The Board has been able to produce a resolution that contains necessary amendments to the National Defense Act of 1935. These have been endorsed to the Department of National Defense (DND) through the AFP Legislative Affairs Board (AFPLAB), and as of current, DND's version is up for deliberations in the Senate. Further, because it is recognized that pushing for proactive policies and positive change entails the cooperation of stakeholders, the Philippine Army continues to engage legislators for their support. The organization will continue to collaborate with the AFP and the DND to study and forward essential policies that will place our security forces in a better position to counter both internal and external terrorist threats.

Finally, there is robustness in the Philippines' international defense and security engagements.



The recently concluded Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN) Defense Ministers Meeting-Plus (ADMM-Plus) held in Singapore manifests the shared understanding among Southeast Asian states of the significance of establishing and growing collective counter-terrorism responses in the region. There is strong condemnation among members of the ASEAN of acts of terror carried out by individuals and groups in the region and all over the world. During the ADMM-Plus, an agreement was forged among member states to engage in practical cooperation through joint exercises and training, and information sharing; to increase dialogue and sharing of best practices; to explore new forms of counter-terrorism; and to cooperate in countering terrorist propaganda, and promoting positive messages of respect, inclusion, and moderation through developing a compendium of regional counter narratives. In the larger Asia Pacific region, we continue to find ways to forge strong counter-terrorist partnerships with our neighbors. For instance, the Philippine Army has conducted urban warfare training exercises with the Australian Defense Force under Operation Augury, which focuses on sharing experiences and approaches to countering complex urban terrorist tactics. Further, the PA, in its bilateral engagements with US and Singapore, among others, has openly shared its experiences during the successful Marawi Campaign. Seeing, as well, the impact of cybersecurity, establishing secure cyber networks and infrastructures is another area of cooperation that is of primary interest.

Moving forward, we can expect the Philippine Army to continue in its diplomatic practices of reaching out to other states in the spirit of collaboration and cooperation. We shall look into building bridges with new friends and strengthening bonds with old ones based on a shared understanding of common security concerns and mutual trust.

Continuing from the success of the 11<sup>th</sup> Philippine Army Senior Leaders Conference, the Office of the Assistant Chief of Staff for Plans, G5 is working on topics of interest and relevance for the 12<sup>th</sup> PA SLC:

1. Army *Right Size*: Rationalizing the Army's organization
2. Localized Peace Talks
3. Reserve Force Development: Optimizing the Utilization of Reservists
4. Resurgence of Nationalism and its Impact in the Militarization of Southeast Asia
5. Inter-agency collaboration vis-a-vis Army's Campaign Plans
6. Assessing the Army's Transformation Roadmap from the perspective of individual soldiers on the ground (Soldiers' perspective on their involvement in becoming a world-class Army)
7. Strengthening the role of Local Government Units in security concerns
8. Fundamentals of Radicalism
9. Paradigms on Conflict Resolution
10. Ways and Means to Curb Cyber Terrorism
11. Understanding Cyber Warfare

We look forward to another year of fruitful discourse and relevant learning with our senior leaders, speakers, and reactors. ■

11<sup>TH</sup> PHILIPPINE ARMY  
SENIOR LEADERS CONFERENCE

# DAY 1



Professors Julkipli Wadi and Rowena Layador provided discussed the evolution of terrorism and violent extremism.



CGPA LTGEN ROLANDO BAUTISTA AFP Commanding General of the Philippine Army, formally opened the conference in his welcome address to the participants.



The 11th PA SLC was attended by PAMU Commanders, DND officials, representatives from Philippine Navy and Air Force, Foreign Armed Forces attaches, and other agencies.



COL ROBERTO CAPULONG, Assistant Chief of Staff for Plans, G5 gave an overview of the topics to be discussed in the the two-day conference.



Asec Allan Cabanlong and Professor John Peter Ruero introduced trends on cyber terrorism and the Philippines' responses to this threat.



20  
MARCH  
2018



Mr Robert Garcia and BGEN Victor Corpuz (Ret) shared insights on the CPP-NPA-NDF, one the most persistent sources of internal threats in the country.



On the Philippines' counter-terrorism responses, Senator Gregorio Honasan III and Mr Rafael Alunan provided policy recommendations.



On behalf of the Secretary of National Defense, Undersecretary Cardozo Luna delivered a message as Guest of Honor and Speaker.



Stimulating discussion took place during the open forum with Director General Alex Monteagudo and Mr Richard Heydarian.



Dr Joelene Jerard and Mr Jose Custodio talked about regional and historical perspectives in countering terrorism in Southeast Asia.



# SPEAKERS & REACTORS



**PROFESSOR JULKIPLI WADI**

Professor and former Dean, Institute of Islamic Studies,  
University of the Philippines Diliman  
*“Evolution of Global Terrorism and Radicalization and its  
Impact on International Security”*



**ASSISTANT SECRETARY ALLAN  
CABANLONG**

Cybersecurity and Enabling Technologies, Department of  
Information and Communications Technology (DICT)  
*“Cyber Space and Cyber Terrorism:  
The New Face of Terror”*



**MR ROBERT FRANCIS GARCIA**

Author, “To Suffer thy Comrades: How the Revolution  
Decimated Its Own”, Former Undersecretary, Office of the  
Political Adviser, Office of the President  
*“Assessing Left-Wing Terrorism in the Philippines: Challenges  
and Trends”*



**SENATOR GREGORIO HONASAN III**

Chair, Committee on National Defense and Security,  
Senate of the the Philippines  
*“Strengthening the Country’s Counter Terrorism Policies”*



**DR JOLENE JERARD**

Deputy Head, International Center for Political Violence and  
Terrorism Research, Nanyang Technological University -  
Singapore, S. Rajaratnam School of Internaitoal Studies  
*“Countering Terrorism: A Regional Perspective”*



**DIRECTOR GENERAL ALEX PAUL  
MONTEAGUDO, PhD**

National Intelligence Coordinating Agency  
*“The Philippine Response to Terrorism: Challenges and  
Perspectives”*



**PROFESSOR MARIA ROWENA LAYADOR**

Former Head, Center for International Relations and Strategic Studies, Foreign Service Institute, DFA; Assistant Professor, Department of Political Science, University of the Philippines Diliman



**PROFESSOR JOHN PETER RUERO**

Vice President, Information Technology Systems and Services (Chief Information Officer), Holy Angel University



**BGEN VICTOR CORPUZ (RET)**

Former Commander, AFP Civil Relations Service



**MR RAFAEL ALUNAN III**

Chair, National Security Committee, Philippine Council for Foreign Relations



**MR JOSE ANTONIO CUSTODIO**

Defense Researcher and Military Historian



**MR RICHARD HEYDARIAN**

Resident Political Analyst, GMA News and Public Affairs

“”

*“The path to real, lasting peace is not without its struggles, thus it is important that we stay committed to this goal, and to let our actions reflect our intentions.”*

**DEFENSE SECRETARY  
DELFIN LORENZANA**

