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GLOBAL TERRORISM TRENDS AND PROSPECTS



IMPACT ON INDIA'S SECURITY

DSATM

MISSION

*The power of a King lies in his mighty arms ...
Security of the citizens at peacetime is very important
because State is the only saviour of the men and women
who get affected only because of the negligence of the State.*

— Chanakya





DSA is as much yours, as it is ours!

The single biggest threat to India and its national interests has been terrorism. In some form or the other this has been a truism since the middle of the 1950s. Insurgent movements in the north-eastern states began what has become a serious and widespread problem well into this century. Almost all of the north-eastern states have been afflicted by this ailment at some stage or the other. Insurgent groups spread across the states and also into neighbouring countries, be it China, Bangladesh or Myanmar. But there is a difference to what is now happening across many countries of the world and more specifically in the heart of the western Asia. India's north-eastern states witnessed a localised insurgency, but what is now all over is a global phenomenon that threatens everyone in one way or the other.

India got a whiff of global terrorism when the Kashmir insurgency metamorphosed into a jihad for the brainwashed youth of Pakistani Punjab. The groups that sprang up, supposedly in the name of Kashmiri liberation, were essentially allies of global terrorist organisations. They were part of a wider networked jihadi apparatus that sought to impose its costs on those that it viewed as enemies, whether believers or not. Even as each group maintained its own distinct identity, yet they belonged to a global phenomenon that was motivated by faith. What the world is now witnessing is a completely new player on the ground, truly international in reach and motivated by shock and awe.

Al Qaeda was the first headquarter of transnational terrorism. Its worldwide impact, lowest in South America, was felt in every continent. In true corporate culture its franchises did the job for it and they didn't even have to pay royalties. In the Indian subcontinent Al Qaeda fraternised with various Pakistani terrorist groups like Lashkar-e-Taiba, Jaish-e-Mohammad, Sipah-e-Sahaba and various other lesser outfits. They represented the local sales offices of Al Qaeda, though did their own things, only paid nominal obeisance and kept India on tenterhooks. Their obsession with India is not something that really interested Al Qaeda, which was unifocal in its western attacks. 11 September 2001 changed the nature of the game for it showed the true nature of the beast. In a decade its head and guide, Osama bin Laden, was killed in an outrageous raid by United States Special Forces, the Navy SEALs.

The laws of nature are applicable to all, even to global terror. Where there is a vacuum, other energies will rush in to fill the space. And that is precisely what has happened in the world of global terror. The space vacated by Al Qaeda, even if they claim to exist and be relevant, is fast being filled in by the Islamic State, an organisation vastly different to how its predecessor functioned. A basic functional requirement for Al Qaeda was the absence of viable state institutions or at least weakened ones. First Sudan, then Afghanistan and subsequently Somalia, are all instances where Al Qaeda settled when the state decayed. In the case of the IS it is the reverse, where it replaces the state. It first battles agencies of the state and then assumes duties and functions of a state. Quite unlike Al Qaeda.

The other and more important, difference between the IS and Al Qaeda is in the pattern of recruitment. Al Qaeda remained a largely Arab organisation, with a smattering of recruits outside in the periphery. But the IS on the other hand, while being led by an Arab who claims the Caliphate, has a vast multinational workforce. And this is where India's worries really begin to get serious. Unlike the lumpen Pakistani Punjab based terrorists India is accustomed to handling, the IS has been recruiting educated young Indians. By the sheer shock and macabre nature of its actions the IS has a surplus of volunteers, being drawn in from countries as disparate as South Korea and Sweden. Countries all around India have seen young men and some women too, volunteer for the IS. They form the single most important national security challenge for India. For some will return, when the IS decides to expand from its Arab heartland focus. So when they do their cruel capabilities will put any psychopath to shame.

Manvendra Singh



THE DIABOLIQUE

The Italians gave the world the word 'terroreo' meaning 'I make afraid' many centuries ago to articulate the concept of fear as a tool and methodology. In modern times no member-state within the United Nations Organisation has been able to come up with a universal definition of terrorism because of the inclination among nations to make

a distinction between a terrorist and a freedom fighter. Retribution for terrorism is largely governed by individual statal legislations that are intended to deal with their self-centric cases of terrorism.

In the thick almanacs on terrorism and its practitioners there is a convergence of views on the 'types' of terrorism extant in the world. In the current context much of global terrorism is an admixture of religious terrorism and state-sponsored terrorist acts of large-scale destruction and human carnage executed by 'non-state actors' under the patronage of states or their intelligence agencies. Ever since the 9/11 terrorist attack on the World Trade Centre twin-towers and the Pentagon in Washington DC in the US in 2001, time and again the name of Pakistan has cropped up in investigators' dossiers for aiding and abetting terrorists and terrorism from 9/11 to the Mumbai attack on 26/11/2008; from the Chechnya terrorist attack on a school to the Bali bombings there is a thread of connectivity be it Osama bin Laden and his United Jihad Council operating out of Afghanistan and Pakistan or the various offshoots that have been created to further obfuscate the fountainhead.

In spite of all the evidence provided by participants like David Coleman Headley and hardcore terrorists housed in the US-run Guantanamo Bay detention centre, not once has Pakistan been designated as a state that sponsors terrorism because of a technicality that there are other laws like the Hague Conventions on War Crimes and Crimes Against Humanity with jurisdiction over states' behaviour in conflict situations. The US has not moved against Pakistan even after it killed Osama bin Laden who had been hidden away in the high-security Abbottabad cantonment. Instead it has pumped in billions of dollars into the country in return for the assurance that it will not interfere with the drone strikes.

Terrorism has morphed from Corporate Style projection of the spear of fear in the past 20 years to autonomous splinters in 'sleeper mode' that have been assigned to strike at specified targets on command to the most recent phenomenon of terrorist attacks by 'Lone Wolves' as in the Boston Marathon bombing, Charlie Hebdo, the Sydney café, the German Bakery (India) attacks. Simultaneously, the American tendency towards regime change operations has left political vacuums that are swiftly filled by Islamic fundamentalists of the most rabid type. The growth and rapid spread of the Islamic State in the Iraq / Syria salient is an illustration of this phenomenon.

I have been trying to unravel the strange symbolism in the manner in which the ISIS has been clothing persons destined for execution in saffron robes. Is it a veiled warning to India which has the second largest population of Muslims and to Indonesia that has the largest that they are the next targets after the Levant is incorporated in the new Caliphate?

This edition of **DSA** highlights the causes of the spread of Global Terrorism and how the emergence of IS is going to affect the national security of India. Our eminent experts on global terrorism have shared their analyses in this edition. It should help you to understand and deal with the unfolding scourge.

Jai Hind!

Pawan Agrawal

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MAY 2014

49% Foreign Direct Investment

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Jun 2014 ₹ 21,000 crore, Aug 2014 ₹ 17,500 crore

Oct 2014 ₹ 80,000 crore, Nov 2014 ₹ 15,700 crore

Dec 2014 ₹ 4,500 crore, Feb 2015 ₹ 34,030 crore

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Defence and Security Appraisal

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MAY 2015

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EXCLUSIVE INTERVIEW

WITH GOC-IN-C, NORTHERN COMMAND

LT GEN DS HOODA

Lieutenant General DS Hooda, UYSM, AVSM, VSM** is the Army Commander of Northern Command since June 2014. The General was commissioned into the 4th Gorkha Rifles in 1976 and has extensive staff and command exposures. He has commanded an Infantry Brigade in Kashmir and an Infantry Division in North-east. Prior to his current appointment as General Officer Commanding-in-Chief Northern Command, he was the GOC 16 Corps at Nagrota (J&K). His staff appointments include tenure at the Military Operations and Operational Logistics Directorates at the Army HQ and Chief Logistics Officer at a United Nations mission. He is an alumnus of the Canadian Forces Command and Staff College, Higher Command (Army War College) and National Defence College. For his exemplary military service in handling of sensitive border management and insurgency situations, Genenral Hooda has been awarded Vishisht Seva Medal twice, Ati Vishisht Seva Medal and Uttam Yudh Seva Medal.

Defence and Security Alert: *Heading the Northern Command is one of the most challenging assignments in the Indian Army because of the Indo-Pak border, Indo-China border and festering chasm in the Valley. After 9 months as GOC-in-C, what are your observations and insights about defence and security of the region under your command?*

GOC-in-C Northern Command: Viewed from a long-term perspective, the security environment has been steadily improving. Sometimes we tend to view the situation through the prism of a few incidents and with an active media these incidents seem to overshadow the larger picture. The truth is that the Army's capability to handle incidents along our borders as well as internal security has steadily improved. This has been due to a concerted effort of the last few years to increase our competence and the refining of our operational techniques. Where we perhaps need to focus is on the fact that our adversaries will continue to change tactics and we need to accept this and adapt ourselves to quickly overcome any temporary setbacks.

DSA: *Pakistan has not reconciled to Kashmir being an integral part of the Indian Union and*

has been creating problems on the border and within the Valley on one pretext or the other vitiating the security environment and playing havoc with bilateral relations. What stops us from putting an end to this tormenting imbroglio?

GOC-in-C: Pakistan's role in the Proxy War in J&K is well known. However, it would be too simplistic to assume that there is a straightforward and easy solution which can put an 'end to this tormenting imbroglio', as you call it. There are various facets of the Kashmir problem – some internal and some external. All these have to be suitably addressed. While the government is handling most of the issues, the Army has to focus primarily on the borders to ensure that the export of cross-border terrorism from Pakistan is minimised. We have taken numerous steps to ensure this and our posture and actions along the line of control are constantly being strengthened to cut-off any physical support to militancy flowing from across our borders.

DSA: *Former COAS, Gen VP Malik said during the Kargil War that "we will fight with what we have." What is the state of preparedness of the Indian Army now, especially the Northern Command?*

GOC-in-C: We will still fight with what we have but the state of preparedness has improved significantly since the Kargil War. Just like any other organisation in the world, military or civil, we could always do with more but have to be conscious of the fact that there are limits to the defence budget. We need to appropriately balance the revenue and capital expenditure. Where we could improve is in our procedures which are leading to delays in procurement and the slow pace of infrastructure development along the borders. Both these issues are being addressed in earnest since the last 7-8 months and I am hopeful that things will pick up.

DSA: *China continues to delay delineation of the LAC and to resolve the boundary dispute. Belligerence and machinations of Pakistan persist unabated. There are reports of Sino-Pak collusion against India in the event of a war. What should be India's strategy leading to such an eventuality of a two-front war?*



GOC-in-C: We have to build capability to do our task which is to defend our borders and keep the nation safe from external aggression. This capability is not necessarily directed against any country but to fulfill the mandate and role which the Army has. We are confident that we will live up to the faith that the nation and people repose in us. There is a continuous refining of our plans and strategies to deal with any eventuality on any of our borders. This strategy cannot be a constant and has to be based on the threats assessed at a particular time.

DSA: *The Indian Army has followed the sub-conventional doctrine of 'Iron Fist In Velvet Glove' while dealing with insurgencies and terrorism and upholding the values of human rights. How successful has this approach been?*

GOC-in-C: The Army has followed the doctrinal approach of 'Iron Fist in Velvet Glove'. This basic approach has been largely successful as is evident from the steady improvement in security situation over the past few years. We now have to be agile



and nuanced in our approach and understand the dynamics of the emerging situation, the aspirations of people in an environment of near normalcy, effects of media (including social media) etc. These are new challenges which we have to study carefully and formulate appropriate responses.

DSA: *The provisions of AFSPA have been termed as draconian and anti-people by many stakeholders. Do you think AFSPA can and should be repealed under the prevailing circumstances?*

GOC-in-C: It would be incorrect for me to give any personal opinion on AFSPA, given its sensitivity and the fact that it is under consideration of the Government. As far as the Army is concerned we need to visibly show that we are operating under clear guidelines and 'Dos and Don'ts' which do not condone unethical behaviour.

DSA: *The Northern Army has earned the reputation of a 'People's Army' by undertaking myriad rescue, relief and rehabilitation operations, still the local people and politicians keep asking for reduction / removal of the Army from the Valley. What more needs to be done to win the hearts and minds of the majority?*

GOC-in-C: Let me admit that there is a section of people who carry a negative image of the Army. I think the Army has to continue its 'People-centric' approach and ensure that sensitivities of the locals are respected and that operations cause the least discomfort. In this, every soldier has a responsibility and his actions have a far reaching effect. The individual is the real pillar in the campaign for hearts and minds. This is the constant education we are trying to promote. We have to let our actions speak for themselves.

DSA: *COAS Ten Commandments have been in operation since 1993 but every other day we keep reading / hearing of their violation by*

Army personnel. Do you think some kind of course correction is warranted and introduction and inculcation of a more rigorous moral and ethical value system is necessary for the 'Internal Health of the Indian Army'?

GOC-in-C: A few violations have occurred in the past but they have now significantly reduced. Human rights violations are extremely rare. In the last three years there have been three allegations against the Army by the NHRC and none by the SHRC. Yet we see accusations like 'Army uses rape as a weapon in Kashmir' and the proof of this brutality is an incident that happened over two decades ago and is still to be proved in any court. I think we should not try to over-correct an institution that has delivered in every emergency and will continue to do so. If at all anything is required it is to reinforce the traditional Army values and ethics.

DSA: *As a senior Army Commander operating in a sensitive border state infested with anti-national elements and surrounded by hostile neighbours, how do you view the globalisation of jihad and terrorism, rise of the ISIS, developing geopolitical and geostrategic scenario in the region and its impact on the defence and security of India?*

GOC-in-C: The international rise of jihad and terrorism is a very real emerging threat. We have so far been insulated from global threats of Al Qaeda and ISIS mainly because of the secular nature of Indian society. It has been the bulwark against radicalisation. However, Social media is breaking down national and societal boundaries and terrorist organisations are using this medium in a very sophisticated manner. Our traditional counter-terrorist approaches need to be reworked to deal with a threat which recruits and trains a person on his computer at home rather than a camp in a foreign country. India is in a region which is most troubled by terrorism and must prepare itself well for its repercussions. **DSA**

KRISHNA CHAUDHARY IPS

DIRECTOR GENERAL

INDO-TIBETAN BORDER POLICE

Krishna Chaudhary is a 1979 batch, Bihar cadre IPS officer. Being a meritorious student, Chaudhary was awarded the National Merit Scholarship. An alumnus of Patna University, Chaudhary had also been awarded the Gate English Gold Medal for his performance in the graduation examination.

He has participated in many professional courses during his career, including Leadership and Change Management at IIM, Ahmedabad, Seminar for senior officers of State Government / Police, Investigation of Bank frauds and Economic offences, Level II Management Course, Junior Management Course, Civil Defence Course etc.

As an IPS officer, his contribution to the Bihar Police is phenomenal. As SP of various problematic districts, his initiatives were appreciated by the state government. He has also served a four-year term as SP in the Central Bureau of Investigation (CBI). As DIG and IG, his postings on several critical positions were remarkable in terms of his achievements in police reforms and modernisation of Bihar Police. He is a Human Rights enthusiast who has worked for long years as nodal officer for the Bihar State Police. He has served as ADG cum training Director, Bihar Police Academy and later as DG Training and was also responsible for the creation and establishment of the Bihar Police Academy. His vision of training manifested in novel and practical innovations in training methodology.

Krishna Chaudhary was appointed as DG National Disaster Response Force (NDRF) and Civil Defence (CD), New Delhi in July, 2013 where he led the force to distinction, particularly during cyclone 'Phailin' in 2014. The handling of the cyclone received acclaim at the national and international levels. On 28th February 2014, he was appointed as Director General Railway Protection Force (RPF) where he introduced several healthy practices and monitored the recruitment and training of the largest ever induction of more than 16,000 personnel. He was appointed Director General, Indo-Tibetan Border Police Force (ITBPF) on 10th February, 2015.

He has been decorated with Police Medal for Meritorious Service in 1997 and President's Police Medal for Distinguished Service in 2006. **DSA**





HOW EXTREMIST IDEOLOGY DEVELOPED INTO A MOVEMENT

Two major events in the later part of the decade of the forties, which need no explanation, were the Partition of India and the creation of the state of Israel. Both events had an Islamic connection, the former creating an Islamic state following a distinct desire to protect an Islamic identity in the subcontinent. The latter did exactly the opposite; it destroyed an Islamic identity and set-up the potentially unending rivalry between Muslims and non-Muslims which took on global overtones.



Ignorance, they say is bliss. However, a dangerous ideology which threatens to tear the world apart, when on the rise and ignored by powerful nations due to sheer lack of understanding, can spell the fastest doom. I was at a US strategic institution in the year 2000 when I attended my first-ever seminar on transnational terror. The organisers were careful about not branding the word radicalism with the prefix Islamic and all suggestions to them about the core centre being in India's neighbourhood were politely ignored or toned down. I then realised that for the sake of diplomatic niceties our hosts were not seeing reality. Institutional and even personal understanding of the cultural and social aspects as well as the numerous linkages which the world had been witnessing for almost a century was at a surprising low. It is easy to say all this, when viewing the last fifteen years in retrospect. However, for any measure of understanding it needs to be seen how

radical ideology arose through the 20th century to a level where in the current century it has become a virtual scourge threatening international peace and occupying the dominant space in international threats.

This article is simply an attempt to join the dots of history to help ascertain how radicalism afflicted Islam. It is no treatise on the social or ideological aspects of the faith but concentrates on the visible events of history, some of them well forgotten, to draw its conclusions and provide an uncomplicated rationale to the reader.

Countering Islamic Synthesis

A broad examination of the political history of Islam points towards its internal schisms beyond the well known Shia-Sunni differences. As Islam spread geographically it was influenced by local cultures, an inevitable phenomenon. Sensing a diluting effect over

almost ten centuries a countermovement commenced from Arabia in the 18th century, to cleanse the faith of the supposed extraneous influence, to return it to its original form. Perhaps, it would be good to remind that some of the best synthesis of the Islamic tradition, culture and faith came about in the Indian subcontinent, among others in the form of the Bhakti movement. The Sufi school of thinking flourished in India and to a great extent in the egalitarian society of Turkey. The founders of the movement to stop Islam's synthesis came to be known as the Wahabis (name taken from the founder of the counter movement) but preferred to be called Salafis as they wished to disassociate themselves from any attempts to iconise the founder; the Salaf being interpreted mostly as the period when supposedly the faith was at its purest in the pursuit of all the original practices. The Salafis are a subset of Sunni Islam although every Sunni is not a Salafi and importantly every Salafi does not believe in the use of violence as a means to settle disputes regarding the faith.

Rise Of Muslim Brotherhood

You need to cut to the early part of the 20th century and view the world as it was under the influence of colonialism. Large parts of the Islamic world, in West Asia and parts of South Asia, were under colonial control or the rule of the Ottomans. There was considerable Western influence on local societies of the regions ruled by the colonial powers. However, no effective pan-Islamic identity, bonding or ideology appeared to exist. First stirrings of a response against actions of the colonists came in 1896 when Theodor Herzl outlined his vision of a Jewish state which would run counter to the interest of Muslims. In the Balfour Declaration of 1917, the United Kingdom became the first world power to endorse the establishment in Palestine of a 'national home for the Jewish people', at the cost of the Palestinians. The First World War and then the consolidation period prevented any major religious movement, unless the Khilafat Movement in India could be termed as one such. Hassan al-Banna founded the Muslim Brotherhood (MB) in Egypt in 1928. The MB quickly spread tentacles in other Arab territories; it was essentially a movement to arrest the growing Western influence on the Arabs in the colonial territories but also took upon itself the role of protection of Islamic values. Its strong presence in the Arab world of today continues to drive Islamic puritanism. Although MB has major differences with the Saudis it is more to do with interpretations; the puritanism followed by the two is almost common.

Indian Subsets

The Nationalist struggle in India also threw up Muslim nationalism with the desire for an independent state of Pakistan. In 1942 Maulana Abu Ala Maududi

gathered the latent passions of pan-Islamism and founded the Jamaat-e-Islami, again a movement to spread the fundamentals of Islam, prevent their dilution and give Muslims a more distinct identity. This movement had no mean achievements in the growth of radicalism and has a strong and sometimes potentially violent presence all over the subcontinent. Another movement in India called the Tablighi Jamaat, was founded to prevent the reconversion of Meo Muslims in the Mewat area around Delhi; this movement remains active even today taking the form of roaming clubs of young men who preach the essentials of a puritanical approach to the faith.

Disappearance Of Palestine

Two major events in the later part of the decade of the forties, which need no explanation, were the Partition of India and the

The years 1947-48 were watershed years in the world's interfaith relations and the festering rivalry since then has been one of the cornerstones for the rise of radical ideology

creation of the state of Israel. Both events had an Islamic connection, the former creating an Islamic state following a distinct desire to protect an Islamic identity in the subcontinent. The latter did exactly the opposite; it destroyed an Islamic identity and set-up the potentially unending rivalry between Muslims and non-Muslims which took on global overtones. The years 1947-48 were watershed years in the world's interfaith

relations and the festering rivalry since then (Kashmir and Palestine, wholly unconnected, have yet drawn religious passions) has been one of the cornerstones for the rise of radical ideology. When passions of perceived deprivation rise it is easier to spread radical thought which justifies violence. Through the fifties and sixties the problem created by the loss of identity of Palestine led to greater pan-Arabism and Islamic solidarity although politically or militarily these nations could not unite. Earlier the cause against Western colonialism and later against Israeli occupation, helped set the agenda for more vocal Islamic solidarity through the Organisation of Islamic Conference (OIC). The military defeats of the Arab armies at the hands of Israel in 1948, 1956 and 1967 were also a cause for continued rabid feelings against the West for having supported Israel. Ideologically, following in the footsteps of al-Banna and Maududi raised Syed Qutb the Egyptian ideologue who advocated extreme Salafism and militancy as a counter to the



Lt Gen Syed Ata Hasnain PVSM, UYSM, AVSM, SM, VSM & BAR (Retd)

The writer is a former GOC of the Srinagar based 15 Corps, does extensive research on Islam to arrive at solutions for low intensity conflict generated due to ideological differences. His understanding of conflict between Islam and the rest of the world has led to his extensive advisories from time to time.

West and Israel. Qutb's thoughts radiated through much of the Islamic world but Nasser imprisoned and then hanged him in 1966. Nasser was a secularist but Qutbism continues to live in Egypt even today and Qutb's radical writings are often discussed and inspiration taken from these. The first militant movement against Israel commenced under Yasser Arafat with the founding of the Palestine Liberation Organisation in 1964. It became particularly strident in its terrorist campaign after the Arab defeat of 1967.

Oil As Weapon

It was the Yom Kippur War of 1973 which empowered the Arab (sometimes read as Islamic) world. Defeated in battle but not disgraced, the Arabs and tangentially the Islamic world discovered the power of oil as energy prices skyrocketed and oil cartels such as OPEC ruled the roost. Symbolically, anything which empowers the weak adds to civilisational and religious rivalry. This is exactly what happened with the Arab discovery of financial power. The subsequent economic boom witnessed in the oil rich states helped to attract labour from South and Southeast Asia. The labour camps where many poorer Muslims lived to earn and provide a better life to their families back home, became the nerve centres in which much of Radical Islam was preached. Their poverty and misery ascribed to the West by clerics and other sponsors, these radicalised individuals preached the same to their families helping in spread of the emerging ideology of hatred against other faiths and complete confidence in only puritanical practices of Islam.

The rise of Iran's puritanical Shiaism had no universal ambitions but it inspired a Salafi revival

Shia Revolution

Interestingly violent overthrow of a monarchy first came in the Shia world. The Iranian Revolution of 1979 paved the way for others to start speaking more about protection of the faith. It's symbolic message to the rest of the Islamic world was huge. The rise of Iran's puritanical Shiaism had no universal ambitions but it inspired a Salafi revival. Coincidentally in the same year (1979) the Afghan War broke out with the Soviet invasion and the next decade was to provide Radical Islam's biggest surge. International Mujahideen, from diverse areas of the earth fought the Soviets under US sponsorship. Pakistan became a frontline state and a horde of displaced people / refugees from Afghanistan became near permanent guests of the UN agencies and Pakistan. The refugee camps again proved to be the breeding grounds of radicalism. The subsequent withdrawal of the Soviets ten years later was ascribed to the military victory of Islam's perceived torchbearers. The campaign was orchestrated by Pakistan's ISI giving a huge fillip to its reputation and confidence in running and handling subterfuge. Pertinent to mention here that Pakistan's late President Zia-ul-Haq had laid the foundations for a greater role by Pakistan in the Islamic world. He perceived Pakistan having everything except the money to be the flag bearer of Islam. That

shortcoming could be overcome through greater passion and demonstrated commitment to the faith. The nuclearisation of Pakistan was a manifestation of this. Through the mid-eighties Pakistan became increasingly radicalised, with its Army following that path too, unlike Turkey or Egypt where the Army remained the guarantor of secularism.

Emergence Of Taliban

For the House of Saud it was a great opportunity. Fearful of a full Salafi footprint which could exponentially increase the Clergy's power within Saudi Arabia, the Saudis sponsored the spread of radical Salafi ideology in Afghanistan and Pakistan. The Pakistan Army and the ISI became its virtual facilitators. Hundreds of madrasas were opened in the refugee camps and in semi-urban areas of Pakistan where the reach of government education was poor. Money power found its way into every facet of Pakistan's religious institutions, including various high profile mosques. For Saudi Arabia it offered a strategic advantage too – the encirclement of Shia Iran. The radical Salafi culture spread into Afghanistan and with Pakistan playing a major role the Taliban came into existence. Unsure of what exactly was happening in the Af-Pak region and still grateful to Pakistan for its role in the defeat of the Soviets the US bankrolled even the creation of the Taliban.

Bosnian War

There were other areas where interesting events were taking place concurrently. The first was Bosnia, where one of East Europe's only Muslim majority nations was seeking independence supported by the West. Mujahideen from Afghanistan gravitated towards Bosnia to help fight the post-Cold War period's first Ethno-religious War. Similarly, Pakistan seized the opportunity to recruit the same Mujahideen to bolster its efforts at proxy war in Kashmir which was far from being a religious conflict. Yet, Pakistan's efforts at giving an Islamic colour to it did succeed to some extent. These bits and pieces game in terms of turbulence in many parts of the Islamic world helped create an environment of mistrust against non-Islamic countries. It led to closing of ranks and increase in radicalism.

Historic Wrongs?

Once the historical dots are in place it becomes evident that the rise of Radical Islam was not a one-off event or a contribution of any brief period of recent history. It is the brooding contempt of some followers for what was perceived as historic wrongs, the appeal to the principles of the faith in its original form, shorn of modernity, to shake off the supposed contamination by alien cultures and the inability of any moderate counternarrative at any time through the 20th century, that has brought Islam to its current status. In



addition, the absence of a scientific and investigative temper has robbed it off progressive values with faith based aspects ruling the daily lives of people to such an extent that faith itself becomes near obsessive.

In the last fifteen years or so the narrative could also have been dictated by the US intent of supplanting Western liberal democratic values in the Islamic world, particularly where monarchies and dictatorships ruled. The Arab Spring remains unclear as a phenomenon. The political realities of individual nations prevented a powerful counternarrative from taking shape. Radicalism found itself as an expression of nationalism in the case of the Chechens in Chechnya and the Uyghur in Xinjiang. The geographical confines and strong repression prevented these movements getting linked to the larger radical cause.

The Pakistan Paradigm

More than any state it is the non-state actors that have given substance to Radical Islam. The silence of states and reluctance to act against proliferating trends over the years; in some cases the acquiescence of state authorities to exploit non-state actors as strategic assets, has furthered the radical capability. The classic case is Pakistan about which enough has been written. The other explanation for even some moderate Muslims supporting radicals without believing in the ideology is the action-reaction theory. The acts by non-state radicals inevitably lead to state reactions against moderates creating turbulence in their lives. This too has a proliferating effect which is a part of radical strategy to enhance their outreach.

This article will remain incomplete without reference to the role of the Islamic diaspora in the Western world. Most expatriate communities which migrated and strived for a better life in the West did not integrate and held their cultural moorings close to them, living in similar community neighbourhoods but remaining good citizens grateful for the better life. In many cases this is true of the Islamic diaspora too except that a part of these communities chose not

to integrate and also attempt to change the ways of the host populace. It was commonplace, ten years ago, to hear that reformation within Islam to drive it towards modernism would arise from the West. This is no longer true and increasingly the Islamic diaspora in the Western world no longer drives change.

Finally, The ISIS

The last word has to be on the current scourge – the Islamic State; it deserves an article by itself but just a bit on the ideology it adopted. Abu Musab al-Zarqawi, the Jordanian Al Qaeda leader killed in a drone attack in June 2006 was largely responsible for the most radical ideology within ranks of the Al Qaeda, amounting to gruesome and depraved treatment of prisoners. The availability of the deposed Baathist leadership, the Syrian Civil War and competition within the Al Qaeda, combined with the depraved ideology led to the creation of the Islamic State which was quick to declare a Caliphate with its leader, Abu Bakr al-Baghdadi as the Caliph. The IS, with territory under its belt, huge funds, leadership, administrative organisation and proximity to the symbols of Islamic power (the holy shrines) perceives itself the closest to the idea of a Caliphate, entertains ideas of power above the Al Qaeda and is working from the inside to the out for its international empire. Its capability cannot easily be dented militarily without a more serious and coordinated effort against the financial conduits and flow of international fighters.

Radical Islam will continue to dog the world as a major issue related to international security. Already its networks are seen to be proliferating through Africa, West and Southwest Asia. However, the bulk of Muslims reside in South Asia and in Indonesia. It is their attitude which will dictate the future. As Islam struggles for modernity, this process of churning that it is undergoing at present will continue for a few generations. Ideological battles for modernism within faiths usually take many generations. Islam and in turn the rest of the world, has much uncertainty cut out for the future. **DA**

As Islam struggles for modernity, this process of churning that it is undergoing at present will continue for a few generations

AIR POWER AGAINST ISLAMIC STATE

The ISIS is beyond just a terrorist group. They marry ideology with sophisticated strategy and tactical military prowess. Mutual dislike and self-survival have brought together some sworn enemies. Contradictions include Iran joining USA, Assad's and Kurd self-interests and horizontal split among Arab interests.



Islamic State of Iraq and the Levant (ISIL), also called the Islamic State of Iraq and Syria (ISIS) or in short Islamic State became a significant terrorist 'Jihadi' organisation by April 2013. It had a much larger aim of first creating a state and later dominating the world by establishing an Islamic Caliphate. They expanded the mantle of, the now pushed into background, Al Qaeda. Initial successes allowed them to physically capture territory and economic assets such as oil installations, electricity generation centres, small industries, all of which helped them financially and added to the funds flowing from sympathisers. The self-styled leader Abu Bakr al-Baghdadi insists that they are the only ones to take forward Islamic ideology. Their first target was to remove Shia dominated regimes in Sunni dominated areas of Iraq and Syria. Later they proposed

to attack US, UK, Europe, China, Russia and others. Started around Anbar province, they soon controlled large areas. In Syria some rebels earlier armed by USA also joined the ISIS whose numbers swelled to around 50,000 later. Western involvement in the Middle East had been questioned for decades and it reportedly fanned this angry reaction. ISIS actually occupied the vacuum created after the withdrawal of US forces from Iraq without settled aspirations of each group and lack of a strong local government and in parallel weakening of Assad in Syria. Taking sides for the Shiites are Assad of Syria, Iraqi regime and Iraqi Shiite militia and Hezbollah of Lebanon backed by Iran. Iran and Pakistan are biggest Shia states. Sunnis dominate Egypt, Saudi Arabia, Turkey and Gulf States. 85 per cent of the world's Muslims are Sunni. ISIS has now gone beyond a Shia-Sunni

issue. The Kurds and the Israelis are other interested parties. Israel is on a wait and watch mission and will play its cards as required. Each nation/entity has its own threat perception and has been acting in self-interest. As the ISIS is in physical possession of territory and installations, routine tactics as against terrorists don't work. USA, which was trying to balance its own interests with local power play, decided to engage and first employed Air Power.

Ground Situation

US-led coalition launched offensive air operations both in Iraq and Syria on 08 August 2014. Significant number of local nations joined the military ops, which included Saudi Arabia, Bahrain, Qatar and Jordan. All these also take part in air strikes and contribute financially. Public pressure in USA initially prevented boots on the ground, but the same seems to be changing of late. Meanwhile nearly 2,000 US advisers have been helping Iraqi Army plan ground offensive. USAF is training Iraqi aircrew. Success started becoming visible after around 800 initial strike missions. ISIS advance towards Baghdad was halted. Partial control over Mosul was possible. Many targets were hit in the Anbar area. US-Iran engagement in nuclear deal was tacitly used by Iran to move troops into Iraq, albeit without formal US approval. Analysts continue to feel that it could be a long war. Experience shows that long wars could end up in a drift. US-led coalition has the support of over 60 nations. Initially Turkey was sending confusing ambivalent signals, in spite of Turkey having 600 kilometre border with Syria, nearly 200 kilometres of which is controlled by the ISIS.

But they are now on-board. Assad is more worried about his own regime's survival. ISIS has been ruthless; crucifixions and public executions are publicised to create scare around the world. More recently they have started destroying heritage and historic artefacts. Women not fully covered in niqabs are lashed with alarming frequency. Islamic State overran Anbar and captured Syrian Army base in the north-western province of Idlib in December. But the tide now seems turning.

US-Iran engagement in nuclear deal was tacitly used by Iran to move troops into Iraq, albeit without formal US approval

Western Allies

Military victory would have to be the first step to defeat ideologically rabid ISIS. USA began air strikes on ISIS targets in Syria on 23 September. By early October, two months into the operations, 4,800 sorties had been flown. Only 400 of them had reportedly involved weapon releases, indicating need for support flights. Air Power needs to be brought in with a big telling force that keeps the enemy head down. Air effort increased after December 2014. Islamic State fighters tend to blend with civil population. Intelligence operations thus assume paramountcy. No insurgency has ever been defeated by air power alone. Destruction of power stations and oil installations affect the local

civil population more adversely. Larger air assets required for the threat were only deployed in early 2015 but scale is still restricted.

To clear free strike zones and to avoid collateral damage requires coordination with Iraqi government and the Kurds. The tactical area command and control is being handled by employing Airborne Early Warning and Control System. Air strikes over Syria initially had a risk of reaction from Syrian integrated air defence network, forcing additional airborne self-protection packages. The first strike into Syria on 23 September had to be led by *F-22 Raptor* air superiority fighters and accompanied by *EA-6B Prowlers* in the Suppression of Enemy Air Defences (SEAD) role as well by *F-16CJs* armed with *AGM-88 High Speed Anti-radiation* missiles. Engaging targets of fleeting opportunity in Syria is still risk prone. Finding and confirming targets is a big challenge in the entire region. *Tomahawk* cruise missiles are being launched by the US Navy from the cruiser *USS Philippine Sea* and destroyer *USS Arleigh Burke* in the Red Sea against targets in Syria. Waves of *F/A-18 Hornet* strike aircraft escorted by *EA-6B Prowlers* electronic warfare aircraft and preceded by Carrier Early Warning *E-2C Hawkeyes* operating from aircraft carrier *USS George Bush* in the Persian Gulf have dropped precision-guided munitions (PGMs) on a host of targets. US Central Command *F-22A Raptors*, *F-15E Strike Eagles* and USAF *KC-10 Extender* are actively involved. USAF *F-16s* are doing night missions refuelled with US *KC-135 Stratotanker*. *Brimstone* missiles were launched by Royal Air Force *Tornado* strike aircraft. USAF *F-15E Strike Eagle* fighters hit ISIS compound near Kobani, Syria. The coalition is increasingly using Unmanned Aerial Vehicles (UAVs). The Intelligence, Surveillance, Target Acquisition and Reconnaissance (ISTAR) assets have a big role in spite of most targets being mobile. USAF conducted air strikes over Mosul Dam and in Irbil, destroying observation posts, several vehicles and mortar positions. Syrian airspace becoming contested would remain a challenge to the employment of the vulnerable UAVs. Syrian government forces are also pursuing their war on rebels who are seeking the overthrow of president Bashar al-Assad.

The pay-offs are becoming visible in the air strikes against ISIS in Syria. ISIS storage facility near



Air Marshal Anil Chopra
PVSM, AVSM, VM, VSM (Retd)

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Abu Kamal, Jeribe and Mayadin refineries were hit by USAF F-15Es. Fighter and drone aircraft destroyed or damaged armed vehicles near the Haditha dam. Eight Australian FA-18 attack planes operate from the UAE. French Dassault Rafale aircraft have been undertaking strikes hitting targets in Mosul and also been flying intelligence gathering missions carrying the Reco NG recce pod. French Navy Atlantique 2 maritime patrol and Anti-Submarine Warfare aircraft carried out intelligence gathering missions over northern Iraq. Rafales carried out GBU-12 LGB attacks with Dassault Atlantique providing electronic surveillance support. Rafales flew 'dynamic targeting' missions, standing by to deliver strikes in case of identification of targets of opportunity on the ground or calls for close air support by Iraqi ground troops. Six RAF Tornado jets have been based on the east Mediterranean Island of Cyprus since August. Germany has sent military assistance to the Kurdish region to fight ISIS. Canada has contributed aircraft and personnel. Two Netherlands F-16s dropped bombs on armed ISIS vehicles in northern Iraq. Italy, Poland, Denmark, Albania and Croatia have provided equipment and ammunition in the fight against ISIS. New Zealand, Romania and South Korea have also provided humanitarian assistance, with South Korea having given US\$ 1.2 million.

US-led air campaign is also delivering relief to civilians fleeing ISIS. C-17 and C-130 cargo planes escorted by fighter planes airdropped 72 bundles of supplies, including more than 3,800 gallons of water and more than 16,000 packaged meals. Humanitarian supplies include reusable filtration containers filled with clean water, tents and solar lights that can also recharge mobile phones.

Arab Partners

ISIS has adapted swiftly to the air campaign. Vehicles and equipment are scattered, fighters disperse as soon as Western jets appear in the sky. Thousands of foreign fighters are estimated to have joined ISIS. An ex-ISIS militant said these foreigners could even carry-out attacks when they go back home. From the very first day, fighter aircraft from

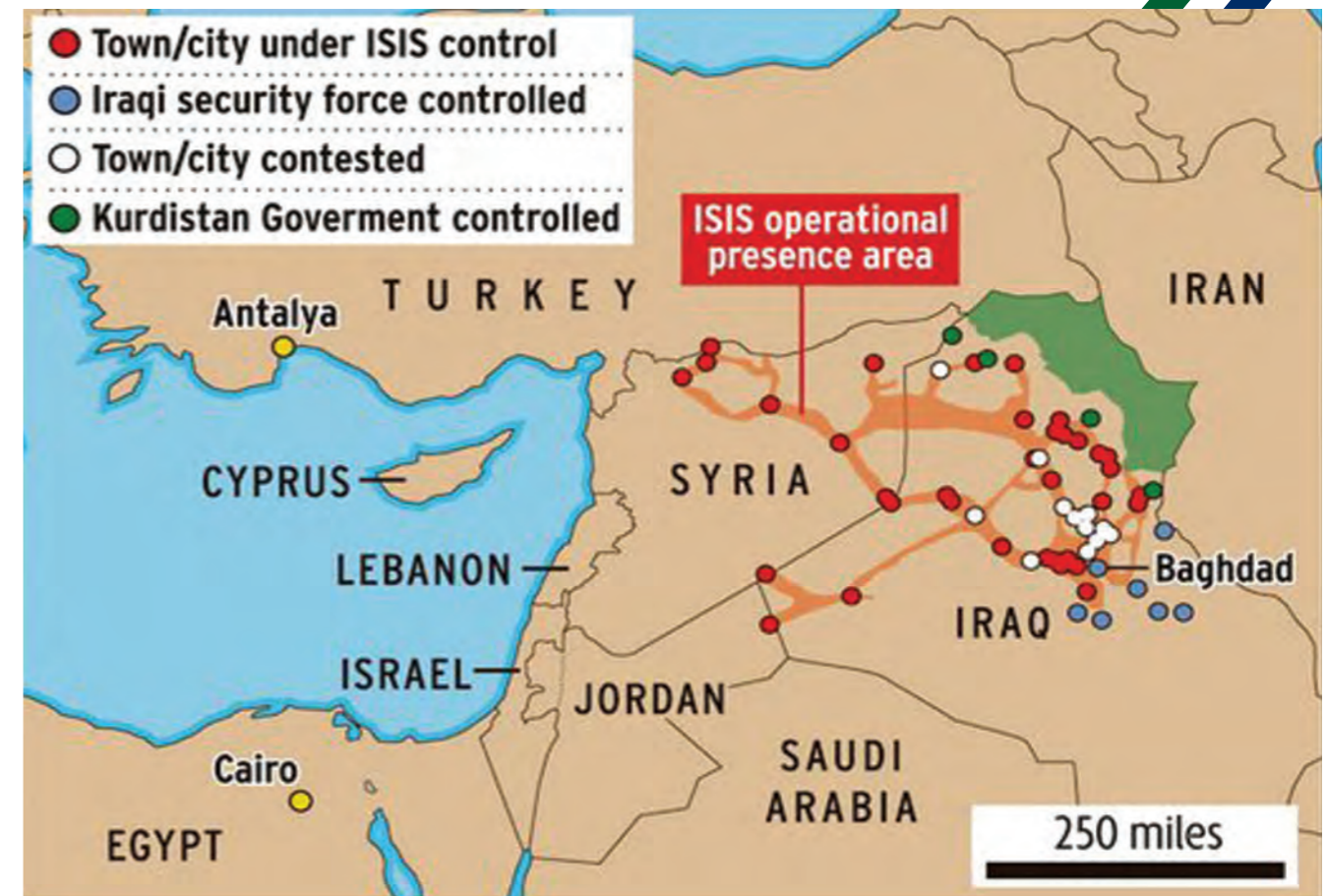
Saudi Arabia, Bahrain, Qatar, Jordan and the United Arab Emirates (UAE) have been part of the airstrikes attacking ISIS vehicles and logistics bases. For years, they are recipients of advanced equipment and training from the West. Their pilots have been exposed to Red Flag exercises. Major Miss Mansouri of UAE Air Force flew an F-16 Desert Eagle in the very first strike. Saudi Arabia has agreed to host training and equipping Syrian opposition forces to fight ISIS. Saudi Arabia has made significant financial contribution. Qatar has flown a number of humanitarian flights. The son of Crown Prince Salman bin Abdulaziz, Prince Khaled bin Salman, flew Tornado IDS jet in strikes against the terrorist group in Syria.

Results And Challenges

The situation is peculiar, there being no ground forces in Syria and relatively less organised Iraqi Army in northern Iraq. Deliberate targeting thus has to be organised based on intelligence inputs. The big plus remains asymmetry of air power. The coalition has good intelligence sources and airborne assets to form the tactical picture of the target areas. Initial aim is to break the ground holds and target leadership. Stealth and precision weaponry are big assets. While it is difficult to obtain the level of intelligence required to destroy the targets and kill the leaders, attacking training camps, captured oil refineries, storage facilities, armour, artillery and fighting positions are great targets from the air. Forcing leadership to be on the move and dispersal of forces will have collateral advantage making choices difficult for ISIS. If they can't hold territory then the dream of establishing Caliphate will be difficult. Air or ground forces cannot kill ideology but can weaken ISIS and create grounds for local population to organise and build own leaders. Some acknowledge that with ISIS having no targetable Centre of Gravity, there is a need to reassess cost of using 200 million dollar aircraft to bomb non-state actors lacking even rudimentary air defence capabilities.

The average air effort in Serbia used to be 138 strikes a day; the current average after stepping-up is about 20 against ISIS. This needs massive stepping-up. The ISIS fighters were repulsed from just one mile away from Baghdad. Despite initial successes, tide seems to be turning at a few places. Hitting just 3-4 targets a day is not real use of air power. 200 plus strikes would bring significant results. Modern war planes move very fast and fly very high, most of the time. They miss things and waste bombs. Those under attack dig in, move at night, move next to civilian communities, because they know the attackers want to avoid civilian deaths thus constraining the target-selection process.

India too could be under threat and needs to tighten up lest it be made a soft target



Way Ahead

Things have begun to work. 10,000 ISIS militants have been killed. ISIS is beyond just a terrorist group yet it is now under pressure. They marry ideology with sophisticated strategy and tactical military prowess. Mutual dislike and self-survival have brought together some sworn enemies. Contradictions include Iran joining USA, Assad's and Kurd self-interests and horizontal split among Arab interests. There is still reluctance to bring in US ground forces and support Iraqi Army through equipment and training. Iranian troops have just moved in. There is a risk of break-up of Iraq and Syria as political entities with Kurdistan being carved out of their northern parts. There is a need to establish no-fly zones in Iraq and Syria. From lessons of Iraq and Afghanistan, many feel a long-term presence needs to be planned. US is also virtually fixated by the thought of not killing a single 'innocent' civilian; air power can then best buy time and space for regional leaders to organise to solve the problem. The expanded air campaign is not only to support Iraqi forces trying to retake lost territory but also to 'degrade' the capabilities of ISIS. Saudi Arabia, Qatar, Bahrain and the UAE are also sending an important message to Iran. They now have very credible air defences – in many ways superior to Iran's. This will create new power equations in the region.

Air effort has to increase for results. For instance, during the 43-day Desert Storm air campaign against Saddam Hussein's forces in 1991, coalition

fighter-bombers flew 48,224 strike sorties. This translates to roughly 1,100 sorties a day. By contrast, an average of 20 strikes a day against ISIS in control of an area approaching 50,000 square miles is pittance. These multimillion dollar warplanes have often been reduced to knocking single pickup trucks by dropping ordnance worth 10 or 20 times the value of the targets. The cost of air campaign with F-22s, F-16s and B1 Bombers is between US\$ 20,000 and US\$ 65,000 per flying hour. Tomahawk cruise missiles each cost about US\$ 1.5 million. 2,000 soldiers, each of whom cost US\$ 1 million per year to deploy. Modest cost of fighting ISIS could be around US\$ 300 million per month or US\$ 2.4 to US\$ 3.8 billion per year. If troops were to be increased and more aggressive air operations, the cost would go up to US\$ 500 million per month. Deploying 25,000 troops could cost US\$ 20 billion per year. USA lost 4,000 lives and spent US\$ 800 billion in Iraq. Americans hopefully learned from that experience. ISIS spokesman Abu Muhammad al-Adnani's statement "Being killed is a victory; you are fighting people who can never be defeated. They will either win or be killed" reveals the ISIS thinking. Israeli PM has told US Congress of its discomfort on Iran. With this level of motivation, it could be a long haul. The scramble by two staunch adversaries Iran and Saudi to shore up the embattled Iraqi authorities brings complexity to the regional equations. The Sydney hostage incident and the Peshawar school attack indicate the ISIS tentacles are spreading. India too could be under threat and needs to tighten up lest it be made a soft target. **DSA**



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and had to be engineered against an obdurate Bashar Assad but more importantly as a means to reduce the influence of a Shia and an ambitious Iran. The revolt against Assad led by generous assistance from external forces failed and the ISIS hijacked the movement. The Free Syrian Army had failed to deliver and Al Qaeda affiliates were fighting alongside these rebels.

Enter The ISIS

The sudden and spectacular rise of the ISIS as a rival to the Al Qaeda, their brutal efficiency and zeal have led to some analysts seeking more answers about their rise and generous financial and material support beyond that which has come from the Saudis, Qataris and Turks. Some observers have questions about the sudden and spectacular rise of the ISIS – seems to be a part of shock and awe, reaction to what the Americans have attempted in keeping with their policy of control of the region, where OPEC versus US commercial strategic interests, CENTCOM forces with 20 bases in six countries in the region and now Islamic versus Christian interests overlap. Today, the ISIS has its wilayats in Libya, Algeria, Sinai, Saudi Arabia and

Yemen. It has a presence in the Khorasan province of Afghanistan and support from the TTP in Pakistan. Its soldiers look more like Special Forces troops than guerrilla fighters; ISIS is financially well endowed with funds coming in from local powers as well. The rise of ISIS and related events reflect the turmoil within Islam. There is the Islam versus the rest (Christians, Jews, Hindus and their political ideals) where the extremist believes Islam is in danger from the rest and violent jihad is the answer. There is a tussle between the tolerant and intolerant in Islam and the latter seems to be winning because he has the gun. There is violent sectarian strife primarily between the Sunnis and the Shias. Add to this the ethnic and geopolitical interests of the players in the region and those from outside and we have a truly messy situation.

It all started in 2011 with the Arab Spring when the Tunisians sowed the seeds with their Jasmine Revolution

THE ISIS PHENOMENON

The rise of ISIS and related events reflect the turmoil within Islam. There is the Islam versus the rest where the extremist believes Islam is in danger from the rest and violent jihad is the answer. There is a tussle between the tolerant and intolerant in Islam and the latter seems to be winning because he has the gun.

“Creative destruction is our middle name, within our own society and abroad. We teardown the old order everyday, from business to scientists, literature, architecture and cinema to politics and the law They must attack us in order to survive, just as we must destroy them to advance our historic mission.”

Given the context of this article, a reader might presume that this is the kind of statement that might have emerged from the ISIS or some extremist terror outfit. He would be wrong for these are the comments of Michael A Ledeen, one of America’s influential ultraconservatives especially during the Iraq War. The quotation is from his *The War Against the Terror Masters*, 2002. Shock and awe was made to happen in the 20th century and Hitler, Stalin, Mao, Pol Pot, Pinochet and others were the main protagonists. We fail to

talk enough about Dresden, Coventry, London, St Petersburg and Berlin or the British made Bengal famine during the Second World War to feed allied troops. Over 100,000 people were bombed to death in one night of US bombing of Tokyo on March 9, 1945. Hiroshima and Nagasaki were to follow. In all about 70 Japanese cities were reduced to rubble. The Japanese themselves were not innocent either of their atrocities in Shanghai, Nanjing and Chongqing. There are newer players in this game. Some of the methods have changed, but the goals – global domination – have not changed. Violence and brutality

are far more visible, much sooner and the news and its effects travel globally in real time. Only with passage of time it got privatised and was no longer the monopoly of the powerful state. The Afghan jihad of the 1980s signified this change where an officially sponsored private jihad was unleashed. This ultimately led to the rise of Al Qaeda and the Taliban. The same cycle was repeated in 2003 with the invasion of Iraq on false pretexts where not only was the dictator pulled down but also all the institutions that ran Iraq. As a result, Iraq actually got Al Qaeda and its surrogates after the US troops landed. What we see happening today in the region is quite a bit because of this misadventure. The ISIS is the next genie that has surfaced. This is not to justify the present day terror unleashed but to give some context to it. The 21st century is now more or less immune to such shocks and quickly finds terminology to ignore, underplay or exaggerate as the occasion demands.

The Arab Spring

It all started in 2011 with the Arab Spring when the Tunisians sowed the seeds with their Jasmine Revolution and Egypt promised a lot, but the Brotherhood was thrown out by the powerful Army. The West had cheered the Tahrir Revolution but suddenly found that the game was not being played according to their rules. The Brotherhood was not the part of their game so the rules had to be changed. Twitter heroes like Wael Ghonim (@ghonim) and scores of others suddenly disappeared. Attention was then on Syria where the Arab Spring was not happening

The Age Of Intolerance

Tolerance is at dangerously low ebb in our societies all the way from Bangladesh through Pakistan, West Asia and on to Africa. Instead, intolerance and impatience is the signature tune of most. Something similar happened in Iraq and Syria with the actions of Iraq’s Shia leaders and the rise of the ISIS. In Bangladesh, mobs killed an atheist recently; in Malda, West Bengal, the local government acquiesced to a fatwa banning women’s football; in Pakistan the Blasphemy law reigns; Sunnis periodically kill Shias in what looks

increasingly like a planned genocide; Christians have been killed while attending churches; Iran jails a woman for watching a soccer game; in Saudi Arabia a woman was gang-raped and has been punished with 200 lashes and a six month jail sentence and a blogger sentenced to 1,000 lashes for insulting Islam; the ISIS in Iraq and Syria have been killing Coptic Christians, immolating a Jordanian pilot, executing Japanese and other hostages. The destruction of ancient sites like Nimrud is reminiscent of what the Taliban did in Bamiyan, Afghanistan. Hatra and the Mosul Library in Iraq are some of the other historical sites that have been destroyed by the ISIS.

Narrative Of Political Correctness

Political correctness has been carried to absurd limits and we are not able to describe what is happening in West Asia as acts of intolerance, brutality and violence perpetrated by some Muslims in the name of Islam. Barack Obama's unwillingness to describe West Asian atrocities as what they are, only hurts the interests of the moderates who wish for support to be able to stand up to these brutal people.

When President Obama said at a White House summit on countering 'religious extremism' that violent jihad in the name of Islam was not the work of 'religious leaders' but rather 'terrorists' American Muslim leaders stood up and applauded. Liberal Muslim journalists Asra Nomani and Hala Arafa were horrified with this. They pointed out that while rejecting the vision of the Islamic State, the fact was that the Islamic State, Al Qaeda and the various Islamic groups like Harkat-ul-Mujahideen and Lashkar-e-Taiba drew on the scholarship of Ibn Taymiyyah in the 14th century to Sayyid Qutb in the 20th century whom many Muslims considered as 'religious leaders.'

Graeme Wood in his recent essay in the *Atlantic* has argued that the 'Islamic State is Islamic. Very Islamic' and would be 'a key agent of the coming Apocalypse.' Nomani and Arafa state that these persons were hell-bent on chasing the Apocalypse ie according to Islamic ideology, the end of the world.

Qanta Ahmed, a doctor and a British Muslim who has lived in Saudi Arabia, recently commented in the *National Review* on the lexicon of terrorism and jihad. In an article 'Why Charlie Hebdo Islamists are 'terrorists'', she criticised the BBC's Arabic service announcement that the service would avoid using the term 'terrorists' to describe the Charlie Hebdo attackers. She argues, rightly, that by refusing to do this, the powerful BBC was signalling to Islamist sympathisers who may form a part of the BBC's viewership. She found it even more offensive that by attempting to sanitise the lexicon, BBC Arabic was infantilising educated Muslims. Qanta Ahmed was equally perturbed that *Al Jazeera* English had also decided not to use words like jihadist, Islamist, militant or extremist. Her comment, with regards to terrorism in West Asia that "retreating from reality – failing to

name terror when it occurs – represents a new nadir in media malfeasance" is pertinent.

Moderates Crucified

Accepting negotiations with destroyers of civilisational symbols or erasing history, slurring over definitions discourages moderates trying to battle the extremists and encourages extremists because you are shown up as weak and unable to take a stand. The Saudi Kingdom has an atrocious human rights record and is the largest buyer of weaponry from the West. It could soon acquire nukes or at least nuclear cover, courtesy Pakistan. Ego prevented USA from dealing with Iran for three decades and Americans picked on Pakistan as their ally in their war on terror against Al Qaeda and Taliban and look what the world got as a result.

Societal or religious reform is successful only if it happens from within. Attempts to impose clones have always been unsuccessful. The Egyptian President was far more forthcoming in his comments than the very circumspect Obama. On New Year's Day, President Al Sisi speaking to a gathering of religious scholars at Al-Azhar University he called for the rescue of Islam from 'ideology'. Sisi said "We are in need of a religious revolution ... the

entire world is waiting for your next move because the Islamic world is being torn, it is being destroyed, it is being lost ... by our own hands." Sisi urged that "We need a modern, comprehensive understanding of the religion of Islam" rather than "relying on a discourse that has not changed for 800 years." Commenting on this, Qanta Ahmed wrote that this was the moment to expose Islamism,

the Muslim leadership had to be reformed and the failure to call Islamism by its name or name the jihadist – as Obama had failed – guaranteed defeat. "Failing to name Islamism, out of political correctness, fear or stupidity is the ultimate Islamophobic act." (Qanta Ahmed's "How to save Islam from the Islamists" *The Spectator*, January 17, 2015).

The well known columnist Fareed Zakaria pointed out that there was a cancer of extremism within Islam, a small minority celebrates the brutality, harbours extremely reactionary attitudes but those confronting these extremists are neither enough in numbers nor loud enough.

The ISIS use of media and social media for propaganda and image creation has been very successful. At one point they had 46,000 Twitter accounts and have used the Web effectively and professionally. Despite this, the ISIS will find it difficult to move beyond the Sunni belt of Syria and Iraq and parts of West Asia and Africa, unless it has the active support of the local powers. The concept of Caliphate of Baghdadi can be a bit of a non-starter as clerics of other countries are unlikely to support the idea as this would undercut their role. Political dispensations in Iran and Saudi Arabia will checkmate the Caliphate. Even the Hezbollah will not take kindly to the Caliphate.



Wheels Within Wheels

Egypt is surrounded by ISIS in Libya and Sinai. The West had encouraged the Arab Spring in Syria in 2011 and failed. Bashar Assad held on and today the US is at odds having to rely on Iran to handle ISIS which has been fostered by Saudi Arabia which is a friend of the US and Israel. The US can neither let Assad succeed nor send its own ground troops to control territory. Yet, an ISIS success in Syria and Iraq would be a loss of face for America and a cause for concern for the Saudis whom the ISIS targets as well. Only Iran can help by becoming a front line state for the US, something they should have tried in Afghanistan. Instead they fell back on Pakistan, a dubious ally and essentially radicalised Sunni and supporter of the Taliban, Al Qaeda and others. Reliance on Iran could mean increase of Iranian power and concessions on the nuclear issue which would alarm both Israel and Saudi Arabia. The Kurds are nobody's people and yet they are the ones who have helped beat back the ISIS onslaught despite inadequate support from the West but with greater support from Iran. This would make the picture clear in a region where enemies by day are often friends by stealth in the night.

The CIA Director John Brennan has recently warned that the ISIS has snowballed and was a direct threat to the US, contradicting US government claims that the ISIS had been degraded. What has happened is that neither Iraq nor Syria will ever be the same countries again and West Asia would end up divided on sectarian lines. For the present, US seems to be concentrating on striking some deal with Iran which would leave that country in a much stronger position than what it was two decades ago.

India Needs To Be Watchful Not Fearful

Rise of terrorism in West Asia can essentially impact on India in three ways – a raising of the temperature by Pakistan on the Kashmir issue; radicalisation of the Indian Muslim youth and attempts by ISIS and Al Qaeda acting separately and in competition to expand their influence in India and other parts. Simultaneously there is so much stress on the

discovery of this man @ShamiWitness from Bengaluru who was quite the boy next door. So far we have not seen any radicalisation among the youth in India barring a few examples and this needs to be watched even though the Indian Muslim is by far the most moderate as a category in the region and does not get swayed by events outside the country.

Indian authorities would remain more concerned with the activities of Pakistan-based terror groups some of whom have links with Saudi Arabia and have also associate offices / branches in the Gulf. By themselves West Asian groups may not make much headway in India – language and customs are a barrier which may be overcome with friendly assistance from Pakistan. Our perceived and recent closeness to the US and Israel is bound to attract notice among the Islamists but this is something the country has to be prepared for.

While there is no denying that Muslim radicals the world over are on overdrive to recruit, it is possible some Indians here or in the Gulf or elsewhere may fall under their spell, there is a difference between individual dalliance and groups that act together like a militia. There would be disgruntled people or those under peer pressure wanting to do the macho thing, which is to be expected in a large population like ours. Mercifully there is no such exodus but it is the intelligence and security agencies that need to worry. It is dangerous for the rest of us to discuss this as a major epidemic which could even make it happen. In India we tend to take anything emanating from Western capitals as gospel and more important than the real threats that we face.

Real Threat To India

The real threat we face is from all terror groups that have their bases in Pakistan. This means chiefly LeT, JeM or in Afghanistan from the Haqqanis. It is these groups fired by the rhetoric of the likes of Hafiz Saeed or Munawar Hasan, backed to the hilt by the Pakistan Army operating from safe havens in Pakistan that will remain the real threat. The ISIS and / or Al Qaeda will become a real threat to us if they have the same kind of back up from the Pakistan Army.

So far we have not seen any radicalisation among the youth in India barring a few examples



ISLAMIC CALIPHATE AND ITS INDIAN PLOT

The idea of reinstating a caliphate in the region was created to evoke the hearts and minds of all Muslims and fuel a desire to revert to the golden age of Islamic glory and power. Indian Muslims are no exception. The aim of the IS Caliphate is to establish Islamic world domination of which India forms a part.

The Middle East is going through one of its darkest eras. Since the start of the previous decade and especially in the past four years, the Middle East has experienced upheavals that will change the face of the region for many years to come. The severity of the turmoil is reflected in a series of unprecedented developments.

The American occupation of Iraq in 2003 altered the country's political structure and military capabilities for the foreseeable future. The internal uprisings at home or so called 'Arab Spring' have toppled the regimes in Tunisia, Libya, Egypt and Yemen; The bloody civil war in Syria has cost the lives of more than 250,000 people and flooded its neighbouring countries with over 3.5 million refugees; over and above the sectarian war between Sunnis and Shiites.

Vacuum Filled By IS

The weakening of states in the Middle East followed by an American withdrawal created a vacuum that was soon filled with a variety of radical jihadist and Islamic groups which redefined the region. The appearance of new types of terrorist organisations and ideologies such as Al Qaeda ultimately manifested into a more brutal, more extreme and more ferocious form of regional and global concern with the appearance of ISIS.

For most people, ISIS, known as the Islamic State of Iraq and Syria and / or Levant (ISIL) first came to attention in June 2014, where in a lightning advance they captured sizeable areas in western and northern Iraq and merged them with areas of northern and eastern Syria that had been under their control for nearly two years, while brutally killing thousands of captured Iraqi

and Syrian soldiers, including women and children and other non-Muslim minorities, using televised and Internet broadcasts of their atrocities to spread fear among opposition and adversaries. Their extreme intolerance to external interventions has been signified by the killings of foreign nationals including aid workers and journalists.

Later in July, at the beginning of the holy month of Ramzan (Ramadan), the group declared the establishment of an Islamic 'Caliphate' in the areas under its control obedient to Sharia law. Subsequently, their leader Abu Bakr al-Baghdadi changed the organisation name to (IS) Islamic State and proclaimed himself as 'Caliph'. The group's spokesman Abu Muhammad al-Adnani said in a statement, 'He is the Imam and Khalifah (Caliph) for the Muslims everywhere' and asked all Muslim groups around the world to pay allegiance to him. 'It is incumbent upon all Muslims to pledge allegiance to (him) and support him ... The legality of all emirates, groups, states and organisations, becomes null by the expansion of the Khalifah's authority and arrival of its troops to their areas,' the statement added. The proclamation has raised serious concerns not only in the Middle East but also around the world indicating that ISIS has global ambitions and aims to create an Islamic World Dominion.

'Khorasan' Expansionism

But how do these events relate to India? And should we be concerned? To begin with, the idea of reinstating a Caliphate in the region was created to evoke the hearts and minds of all Muslims and fuel a desire to revert to the golden age of Islamic glory and power. Indian Muslims are no exception. The aim of the IS Caliphate is to establish Islamic world domination of which India forms a part. A map released by the group shows parts of north-west India, including

Gujarat, as part of the Islamic State of Khorasan which the terror group aims to take over.

Prime reason for concern is the successful methods the outfit uses to reach out, radicalise and recruit Muslim youth around the world. Several forums, Facebook and Twitter accounts are known to have links leading to jihadist literature and propaganda with flawless Hindi, Tamil and Urdu subtitles. ISIS chief Abu Bakr al-Baghdadi has referred to India in video and audio messages released in the past. In an audio message released during Ramzan, al-Baghdadi claimed Indians were part of the ranks of his group and were fighting alongside Chinese, American, French and German nationals.

Baghdadi has also claimed that India is one of the countries where the rights of Muslims have been 'forcibly seized'. He has also criticised the West for not recognising 'the killing of Muslims in Burma' and the 'dismembering and disembowelling of the Muslims in the Philippines, Indonesia and Kashmir' as acts of terrorism.

The use of instant communication by the cyber technology and Internet utilised to radicalise Indian Muslim youth has raised genuine concerns for Indian security establishment and intelligence agencies, where many Muslim youth appear to be dissatisfied and easy to sway. Though it's hard to calculate exactly how many Indian nationals have joined the ranks of the organisation and even though the figures may not be large, the government is wary that these youths, upon their return, may unleash violence in India.

Sectarian Divide

Furthermore, the demographic nature of India which is home to about 170 million Muslims, the second largest in the world, also includes the world's third largest Shia Muslim (16-24 million) population, could easily trigger untoward sectarian crisis among Shias and Sunnis at home as intelligence reports indicate a clear division among religious leaders supporting either the Sunni outfits like ISIS and Al Qaeda or from a Shia point of view, supporting the Shia-dominated government in Iraq or the Hezbollah which is fighting alongside the Assad regime by orders of its Iranian patrons.

Serious concern has been expressed over the possible spillover of this latest Middle Eastern crisis to amplify jihad in Kashmir and cross-border terrorism. There are historical linkages between ISIS and Pakistani terrorist organisations. ISIS impact on Pakistan owing to its spectacular success has already inspired large numbers of young Pakistani volunteers to join the ISIS cause. The return home of these volunteers is likely to precipitate extensive sectarian strife in Pakistan, which might compel Al Qaeda and the Taliban to initiate spectacular events like an intense surge in Afghanistan or launch audacious attacks in India.

Politics Of Oil And Manpower

In addition, one should take into account the effect of the chronic instability in the Middle East on India's energy and economic interests where India's enormous energy needs are met almost entirely by imports; it is the world's fourth largest oil importer, a significant proportion of which comes from the Middle East. India

imports 500,000 barrels of oil from Iraq everyday, roughly 25 per cent of its total consumption.


Not less important is the security of Indian citizens in the region. As many as 17,000 Indian workers are employed in Iraq and over 70 lakh Indians are working in the Middle East, the majority of which are manual labourers in the oil and construction industries sending back about US\$ 35-40 billion as remittances which serves the Indian economy well.

India A Mute Spectator?

While the rise of ISIS seems like a problem taking place in a distant region, it should be considered as 'a danger far closer to home than it appears'. India needs to be well prepared to face the onslaught of radicalisation brought on by the growing influence of ISIS. At the same time, India needs to be closely monitoring the situation as it continues to unravel; both in its immediate circles as well as in the Middle East. India should be in a position to deal with the changes taking place and be prepared for unforeseen circumstances.

In order to prevent ISIS-inspired domestic events, India needs to form strategies that deal with its Muslim population perception and simultaneously enhance India's intelligence counter-terror infrastructure in high-risk domestic regions. The current trend of increasingly strident and frequent rhetoric of communal elements must be reined in. The government and its security establishment need to build and develop strong rapport with the Muslim society in India as the majority of them denounce the extremists. As part of the process, a strong channel of communication with the Muslim leaders should be established so as to understand their problems and suggestions.

In order to effectively combat ISIS presence in the virtual space, India needs to augment its cyber surveillance capabilities and resources from where ISIS draws most of its foot soldiers. A proactive policy that pre-empts Indian youth joining up for the ISIS cause is as important as seeking a discreet and mature procedure to rehabilitate returning youth.

The second aspect is to legislate counter-terrorism laws which resonate with the changing security threats, bridge the technological gap in the equipment profile of its security forces (army, intelligence and state police), streamline vertical and horizontal intelligence sharing between various intelligence services and Middle Eastern countries like Saudi, Egypt, Turkey, Jordan, Israel, Iraq, Qatar, UAE as well as other EU states and the United States, which are also equally concerned with the rise of ISIS. 



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THE RISE OF ISIS

SECURITY IMPLICATIONS FOR INDIA

India can no longer adopt an ostrich like approach and hope that the ISIS storm will pass away, with the country remaining unaffected. The threat is real both internally and externally and India will have to confront it head-on before it becomes too late.



The Islamic State of Iraq and the Levant (ISIL) is an Islamist rebel group that controls territory in Iraq and Syria and has also spread its tentacles in parts of Libya, Egypt and the Middle East. It is also trying to make inroads into South Asia and Southeast Asia. The world though is more familiar with the name Islamic State of Iraq and Syria (ISIS). With its origins going as far back as 2004, the ISIS, after its recent spectacular successes in Iraq and Syria, on 29 June 2014 (the first day of Ramzan) declared itself to be a 'caliphate' and renamed itself the 'Islamic State', with its leader Abu Bakr al-Baghdadi being appointed the Caliph. The Islamic Caliphate presently straddles parts of Syria and Iraq, though the envisioned Caliphate includes areas of the Middle East, Central and South Asia. The June 29 declaration of the Caliphate also emphasised that it is incumbent upon all

Muslims to pledge allegiance to the Caliph, as it claims religious, political and military authority over all Muslims worldwide. In areas under its control it collects taxes, regulates prices, operates courts and administers services ranging from healthcare, electricity, water, education and telecommunications. The ISIS is known for its well-funded web and social media propaganda, which includes Internet videos of the beheadings of soldiers, civilians, journalists and aid workers. The United Nations and Amnesty International have held ISIS responsible for human rights abuses and war crimes. The group has been designated as a terrorist organisation by the United Nations and a host of countries including India. A majority of these countries are presently directly or indirectly waging war against the ISIS. The ISIS gained notoriety after it drove the Iraqi government forces out of key western cities in Iraq, while in Syria it conquered and conducted ground

attacks against both the government forces and rebel factions in the Syrian Civil War. It gained these territories after an offensive, initiated in early 2014 and almost caused a collapse of the Iraqi government that required renewal of US military action in Iraq. However, presently the military capability of the ISIS in Iraq to further expand the territories under its rule is limited and hence its leaders are appealing to Muslims all over the world to support the Caliphate and to rebel against their existing governments. They also draw this subtle distinction between their success and that of Al Qaeda. The declaration also has the potential to escalate the conflict between Sunnis and Shias and is likely to impact the Muslim communities the world over – a cause of worry for India keeping the Sunni-Shia demography in mind.

Security Implications For India

The discourse in India on the ISIS crisis has largely focused on the fate of the approximately 10,000 Indian workers in Iraq and hundreds of thousands more in other Arab countries. The rise in oil prices to a nine-month high after the ISIS seized Mosul also grabbed attention as it raised the prospect of a disruption in supply from the world's sixth-largest oil producer. India imports 25 million tonnes of oil from Iraq every year and is appreciably concerned regarding energy security and the impact of rising cost of oil on its economic growth. Apart from the safety of the Indians in Iraq and the economic impact this crisis would have on India, a closer look reveals that the ISIS threat is a more imminent one and has serious and grave internal security implications. When the wave of this dreaded phenomenon began in the Middle Eastern countries of Iraq and Syria, India was watching the developments very cautiously. However, the wait-and-watch policy did not last for long after 40 Indian workers were kidnapped by the suspected ISIS militants from Mosul during mid-June 2014 (one escaped with 39 now in captivity). This was followed in quick succession with 46 Indian nurses being taken captive by ISIS militants from the city of Tikrit. While the Indian government was successful in getting back the nurses through sustained diplomatic efforts, the 39 Indian workers are still believed to be in the captivity of ISIS and their fate still unknown.

Alarming Signs

During the early part of the crises when the ISIS was gaining ground in Iraq, thousands of Indian Muslims (Shias) had signed up to defend Iraq's shrines. The above development, in a subtle manner, indicated the gradual and growing connection between ISIS and India and rang the alarm bells in India. However India's worst nightmare was realised

when Abu Bakr al-Baghdadi, during his Ramzan speech last year, vowed war against several countries, including India and linked this with the plight of the Muslims in Myanmar, Pakistan and Jammu and Kashmir. While the call of the self-proclaimed Caliph did not go down well with most Indian Muslims, the radicalised elements continue to get attracted to ISIS, something that was clearly illustrated by a section of Kashmiri youths, seen waving ISIS flags during a demonstration against the Israeli invasion of the Gaza Strip in July and August last year.

The rapid radicalisation of some Indian Muslim youth, in consonance with the rising influence of the ISIS, is one of the most critical challenges for the Indian security agencies. The Sunni militant outfit, which is very techno-savvy unlike other militant groups, has been able to lure young Muslims not only from India, but also from

The rapid radicalisation of some Indian Muslim youth, in consonance with the rising influence of the ISIS, is one of the most critical challenges for the Indian security agencies

Central Asia and European countries. Moreover, the ability of the group to convey their messages through Facebook and Twitter using certain select Indian regional languages like Hindi, Tamil and Urdu make the recruitment process easier. The detention of a techie from Bangalore for operating a pro ISIS account on social media Twitter is a case in point. Most of the youth who are believed to be highly radicalised hail from the states of Kerala, Maharashtra, Tamil Nadu and Jammu and Kashmir. Interestingly, unemployment or poverty is not the only factor attributed to joining the ISIS, but youths with proper educational backgrounds and from middle-income families, are increasingly enticed towards this dreaded phenomenon – Jihadi John a British citizen whose identity has now been revealed by UK and the woman recruiter from Scotland who is now with ISIS are apt examples. This was also the case with the four youths from Kalyan (in Maharashtra) who reportedly joined ISIS to fight in Syria and Iraq, as early as July last year similar participation of Indian youths has also been reported in fighting in Syria. However, there are no concrete reports on how many Indians from the expatriate communities in the Middle East have joined the ISIS. While the angle of ideological commitment as a main motive behind joining ISIS cannot be ignored, some of the recruits could be joining ISIS for purely mercenary motives.



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Even though the number of the youth professing the ideology of the ISIS may be minuscule, the act of aligning with such an organisation itself is fraught with danger. The news of the death of one of the four youths from Maharashtra while fighting in Iraq is a disturbing trend. Although an isolated incident, the depth of commitment towards the cause of the ISIS is worrisome.

Another critical issue is the use of the social networking sites and Internet-related activities that are fuelling this problem. There is already a paramount concern within Indian security establishment about the use of information technology and other cyber related activities for fanning the ISIS propaganda. The Indian government recently blocked more than 30 major websites to prevent the spread of jihadi propaganda, but this is not likely to have any major impact as web sites can be accessed through proxy sites. Moreover, the Indian surveillance system is confined to the servers within the country and fails to track those based outside, including Google and Facebook.

Returning fighters are a treasure trove of information, which can be used to draw strategies to prevent individuals from volunteering to join militant groups


Countering The Threat

As the influence of the ISIS increases in South Asia, India needs to take certain steps to prevent it from making further inroads into the country. Establishment of a robust intelligence sharing network with the Persian Gulf countries, where there is a huge Indian expatriate population, should be a priority for the government – cooperation in this particular aspect presently lacks substance. The time has also come to look at the Middle East not only from the prism of oil, energy and commercial angle, but from the military-security arena too. The already existing military cooperation between countries such as Oman, Qatar, Kuwait, Saudi Arabia and UAE should be promoted further, where counter-terrorism, intelligence and information-sharing cooperation should be high on the agenda. The military-security cooperation with Iraq also needs to be revived. At this moment, the possibility of India joining hands with the US-led military attacks on ISIS does not seem to be a feasible option and is not likely to be in the future, even though India has major concerns with the pace at which ISIS and Al Qaeda are gaining visible influence in the country.

Various intelligence agencies have started to keep a strict vigil over movement of youth from India to Iraq and Syria, other Middle Eastern and the neighbouring countries. Moreover, the NSA and IB, with a robust cooperation with the Ministry of Home Affairs (MHA) and other security establishments, are expected to play a greater role in affairs related to internal security including home-grown radicalisation. The MHA is particularly

interested in the de-radicalisation process of the youths which in itself is an enormous challenge. Taking Muslim religious groups and communities in confidence will be pertinent to this policy, wherein they can play a key role in highlighting the peaceful alternatives to violent jihad and can talk out potential fighters from travelling to conflict zones. Fostering trust between local religious communities will help security authorities to receive information on possible mobilisation and launch intervention. Returning fighters are a treasure trove of information, which can be used to draw strategies to prevent individuals from volunteering to join militant groups – the revelations of one of the four Kalyan youths who has come back and is currently under arrest, have been of great help to the intelligence agencies. The government is also studying the option of setting up an ‘extremism counselling hotline’ on the lines set up by the Austrian authorities. Such a facility will enable parents, teachers and friends of vulnerable and indoctrinated youth to seek professional help for their de-radicalisation.

Way Ahead

It is evident from the above developments that India faces a major challenge of tackling the rising influence of ISIS in the country – the tell-tale signs of the looming danger are clearly visible. The case of home-grown radicals influenced by the ISIS or those returning foreign fighters pose a serious threat to multi-religious, secular and democratic countries with substantial Muslim population, like India. There is a need to have an overarching National Counter Terrorism and Counter Radicalisation strategy. India needs to build a strong network of intelligence sharing within, as well as with the Middle East countries. Furthermore the country needs to adopt an inclusive policy in order to tackle the rising radicalisation of Muslim youths in the country. The government and its security establishment need to build a strong rapport with the larger muslim society in India, as majority of them denounce the extremist thought process of organisations such as ISIS. In addition a robust cyber surveillance mechanism is the need of the hour, considering the rising online campaign by terrorist outfits. There should be strict monitoring of the banking systems to prevent money laundering, with closer coordination between different ministries, private corporations, security agencies and local populace. India can no longer adopt an ostrich like approach and hope that the ISIS storm will pass away, with the country remaining unaffected. The threat is real both internally and externally and India will have to confront it head-on before it becomes too late. 



**GLOBAL TERROR
A REVIVAL**

It is a historical fact that Islam and Christianity have been fixated with each other from their first encounter. Like Rome and Egypt in history, they made war on each other, but traded with each other too. They have been bitter enemies, yet, they also have been allies; in the 16th century, Ottoman Turkey and Venice allied to control the Mediterranean. One cannot sum up the relationship between the two religions that might be so fanatical with each other, but at the same time, so unsure.

The most horrifying crisis facing the world today is the evergrowing terrorism around the globe becoming the most distressing challenge of the present century. Terrorism has a calamitous effect on all nations of the world, irrespective of the size, affluence, influence, position in the comity of nations and the power they wield. It is fundamentally the use of violence to attract the global attention to the cause that the terrorists espouse and achieve a psychological advantage on the victim nation or sect.

For years, countries have been struggling with terrorism, yet today the threat has acquired new dimensions with the methods and techniques employed. After the infamous 9/11 attacks, the threat has become more deadly. It is no longer confined to within the boundaries of a single nation, but is now operative on an international level. Terrorism has truly acquired a global status operating on a vast network system.

The root causes of terrorism may lie in different areas like religious fundamentalism, ethnic intolerance, deprivation and many other disparate events. Whatever



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be the cause, the mindless faith and belief of the terrorist can be awesome and its effects, disastrous. There is no theory to explain 'what is right or what is wrong'. For the terrorist, the justification of his or her acts of mindless violence lies in the perceived injustice meted out to the group or even an individual; hence, the act of avenging the assumed wrong is then perceived as morally permissible.

Europe has suffered many terrorist attacks in the past few years, of which some were linked to Islam and it will continue to do so in the future too. Europe was twice invaded by Islam from the Mediterranean – first in the eighth century in the Iberian Peninsula, the second time in Southeastern Europe, as well as incursions in Sicily and elsewhere. Christianity invaded Islamic Caliphate multiple times, the first time in the Crusades and in the battle to expel the Muslims from Iberia; then it forced the Turks back from central Europe. The Christians finally crossed the Mediterranean in the 19th century, taking control of large parts of North Africa. Each of these two religions wanted to dominate the other; each seemed close to its goal, but neither was successful. What, however, is a fact, is that Islam and Christianity were fixated with each other from their first encounter. Like Rome and Egypt in history, they made war on each other, but traded with each other too. They have been bitter enemies, yet, they also have been allies; in the 16th century, Ottoman Turkey and Venice allied to control the Mediterranean. One cannot sum up the relationship between the two religions that might be so fanatical with each other, but at the same time, so unsure.

Moral Complexity

The current crisis has its origins in the collapse of European hegemony over North Africa after World War II and the Europeans' need for cheap labour to rebuild. The manner in which their colonial relations ended, the migration of Muslims into Europe had to be permitted and the permeable borders of the European Union enabled them to settle wherever they chose to. The Muslims, for their part, did not attempt a cultural makeover; they came for work and money and a better life, leading to a massive migration.

The adjustments between the two religions and cultures were further complicated by the fact that Europe was no longer simply Christian. Overtime, Christianity had lost its hold over European culture and had been replaced by a new doctrine of secularism. Apart from multiculturalism, the *en masse* immigration posed another challenge. Unlike the United States, Europe did not have enough elbowroom to absorb the immigrants – certainly not on a permanent basis. The increase in population, particularly in the already populous countries, was difficult to manage. A common culture prompts a desire to live with

your own people. The doctrine of multiculturalism naturally gave rise to a degree of separatism. Given the economic status of the immigrants, the inevitable exclusion followed, pushing the Muslims into living in crowded and squalid conditions.

Europe's moral complexity has posed for it a problem it cannot easily solve. The Europeans are not willing to accept Muslims from North Africa or even Turkey, as Europeans, nor do they intend to allow them to be Europeans. Multiculturalism, therefore, can definitely be held responsible for the Muslim isolation; additionally, the Muslims too, did not want to become Europeans; even if they could, for they had come to make money, not become Europeans. The shallowness of the European Post-World War values system thereby translated into the horror show that occurred in Paris and elsewhere.

The Europeans have had issues with Islam and have had them for more than 1,000 years; however, there is another more generalised problem. Christianity has worn out its evangelical zeal to use the sword to kill and convert its enemies; parts of Islam, though, retain that fanaticism and saying that not all Muslims share this vision does not resolve the issue. Enough Muslims share that fervency to endanger the lives of those they despise and this tendency towards violence cannot be tolerated by either their Western targets or by Muslims who do not believe in jihad.

Additionally, there is no way to distinguish those who might kill from those who would not. The dilemma for the international community that is targeted by the fanatics, is that it is impossible to defend against random violence and impermissible to impose collective responsibility. Not all Muslims, not even most Muslims, are responsible for this current assault in Paris; but those who committed the horrendous killings were Muslims claiming to speak for Muslims. One might say this is a Muslim problem and then hold the entire community responsible for solving it, but what happens if they do not, or cannot sort it out? The Muslim community might be able to make this distinction, but a 25-year-old European or American police officer cannot. The moral debate spins endlessly.

European Quagmire

Europe's sense of belonging is entrenched in shared history, language, ethnicity and in Christianity or its successor, secularism while Muslims share in none of them. It is difficult to imagine another outcome, save for another round of pushing them into ghettos and deportation. This is repulsive to the European sensibility now, but certainly not alien to European history. Unable to distinguish radical Muslims from other Muslims, Europe, unintentionally, can move in this direction. Ironically, this will be exactly what the radical Muslims would want because it will strengthen

their position in the Islamic world in general and North Africa and Turkey in particular. The alternative to not strengthening the radical Islamists, is living with the threat of death; a devil's choice!

Counter-terrorism

In the immediate aftermath of a terrorist strike when the initial outrage and anger begins to fade, the efficacy of the security forces in preventing the assault comes under a cloud; in the recent incidents in the West and in Australia, the reaction was nothing different. The post-mortem began almost immediately to dissect the incidents for lessons to be learnt. The answers, however, have been surprising. Nearly all those who pulled off the attacks in the West and even in Australia, had been under the scan of the security services of the respective nations. The Kouachi brothers and their associate, of the Paris attack, had been under surveillance by France's interior security agency, which knew them to be radicalised and potentially dangerous; yet their plot, probably involving more people, whether from Al Qaeda in Yemen or the IS from Syria, went undiscovered. Similar was the case in Britain in 2013, when an Army soldier was hacked to death in an open street. At the same time, it goes to the credit of the security agencies to have managed to keep their countries safe in the 14 years since 2001; for every 'successful' attack, several major plots have been prevented due to timely intelligence and ensuing action. Notwithstanding the constant vigil, their job is only getting more difficult.

Three factors threaten pre-emption. The first is the continuing civil wars in states of the Middle East. Libya, Yemen, Syria and Iraq are nations that now are potential providers of threats; previously, there has never been anything remotely on the same scale as the IS in terms of radicalisation of youth on a global scale, financial and human resources, control of area and style in the use of media. The second factor going against the security agencies is that the nature of terrorist attacks has changed. While Al Qaeda and its offshoots still plan complex plots involving big explosions and the use of airliners, others prefer to use limited numbers for commando-style attacks, as the one in Paris; 'lone wolf' attacks, the term given to an individual, not linked to any organisation are also being preferred. IS has called for strikes on soft targets in the West, using whatever means available – one method adopted is to drive a car into a crowded pedestrian area, as was done in Dijon in December last. The third worry for the security agencies is the difficulty that they now face in monitoring communications within terrorist networks. The new technology for communications often encrypts the messages, be it on the popular WhatsApp, Skype or similar sites; this sudden

increase of the new encrypted means to message, has made surveillance that much more difficult and in some cases impossible. The operating systems of communication companies, like Apple or Google, are now configured to meet the increasing demands of privacy of their users, but are a cause of a severe headache for the security agencies. Legislations are being demanded to curb this growing menace, but technology moves faster than legislations!

Concluding Thoughts

The persistence with which organised international terror elements claiming kinship with and drawing inspiration from terror outfits of radical Islam, such as the Al Qaeda and the IS, have made the world insecure. The appearance of self-indoctrinated jihadis, as witnessed in Australia and France, are posing fresh challenges to the security agencies. It is becoming evident that despite having lone wolves on their radar, the supposedly dependable methodologies are not bearing success. It, therefore, is time for the leading democracies of the world to coordinate their efforts, synergise their concerns and take action against these harbingers of terror.

The world is facing an epidemic of terror and it, hence, needs action on a global scale, with unity and determination. The citizens feel safe in the knowledge that their respective security agencies have the wherewithal to protect them from the worst that could happen. Faced with new emerging organisations and methods, the effectiveness of the countermeasures seems to be declining. The various groups have different backgrounds and goals, just as the origin of the Muslims in the West, from different countries and cultures. Thinking of Muslims overall, as a homogenous group, hence, is a mistake to be avoided; most are not terrorists, fewer still endorse the violence, but they do not condemn it, for obvious reasons. The end of jihad will come only when Muslims defeat their own deviants on the ideological battleground.

USA remodelled its anti-terror architecture after the 9/11 attacks of 2001. In the Indian context, the much-hyped upgradation and new facilities were not discernible for a long time after the 26/11 strike in Mumbai; it was only recently, at the turn of the year, was there any pre-emptive action initiated based on own intelligence reports. India, however, is a long way off from sustainable city-based 'smart-policing'. India needs strengthening and pooling of anti-terror resources, not only at the Central level, but between cities and states too, without succumbing to parochial politics of federalism. Under the present dispensation at the Centre, expectations from India to take the lead in the global campaign against terror are high. India cannot be safe, unless the world is rid of this menace.

Europe's moral complexity has posed for it a problem it cannot easily solve. The Europeans are not willing to accept Muslims, nor do they intend to allow them to be Europeans

The Kouachi brothers had been under surveillance by France's interior security agency, which knew them to be radicalised and potentially dangerous; yet their plot went undiscovered



THE ISLAMIC STATE AND ITS RELENTLESS JIHAD

The aim of IS is to establish a Caliphate of Salafist orientation extending across the Sunni dominated areas of Iraq and Syria and then continue the jihad to other parts of the Levant. Earlier arrangement of working as an affiliate of Al Qaeda no longer holds good. IS continues its independent operations and now controls a wide swathe of terrain extending from Fallujah and Mosul in Iraq to Aleppo and Homs in Syria.

For several months, horrific images of slaughter of innocent people have assailed the collective conscience of humanity as it has helplessly watched the unending bloodletting of fellow beings. The organisation perpetrating these mindless atrocities goes by the name of the Islamic State (IS).

It was earlier known as the Islamic State of Iraq and Levant (ISIL), the name in Arabic is *Da'ish* from which flow the translated names: Islamic State of

Iraq and Syria, sometimes also referred to as Islamic State of Iraq and al-Sham (ISIS). Its current name is *ad-Dawlah al-Islāmiyah* or the Islamic State. Call it what you will, it is an existential threat growing in strength with the passage of time and the unwillingness of big powers to effectively tackle it.

Leadership Of IS

Islamic State is a Sunni jihadist organisation based in Iraq and Syria. It started as an insurgency against

the US coalition in Iraq. Under the leadership of Abu Musab al-Zarqawi it became an affiliate of Al Qaeda in 2004. When the US withdrew in 2011, the organisation extended its jihad to the Sunni dominated areas of Syria where initially it took the help of Jabhat al-Nusra (JN). In 2013, JN was sidelined when Abu Bakr al-Baghdadi took over the control of the IS.

Abu al-Baghdadi turned into his macabre avatar in Camp Bucca, an American detention facility in Iraq where he was incarcerated. He holds a PhD degree in Islamic Studies from the University of Baghdad and claims divine ancestry. He is the current leader of IS and the fountainhead of its grisly *modus operandi*.

Along with him in Camp Bucca were other jihadists like Abu Ahmed al-Kuwaiti who later became ranking officials in the IS. Proximity during incarceration provided these men with the opportunity to sit together undisturbed and plan a jihad that was soon to redefine the scale of human depravity in the name of religion.

IS Operations

The aim of IS is to establish a Caliphate of Salafist orientation extending across the Sunni dominated areas of Iraq and Syria and then continue the jihad to other parts of the Levant. Earlier arrangement of working as an affiliate of Al Qaeda no longer holds good. IS continues its independent operations and now controls a wide swathe of terrain extending from Fallujah and Mosul in Iraq to Aleppo and Homs in Syria.

To establish a Caliphate in the Levant, there are two indispensable terms of reference for the IS. First, it must hold significant expanse of terrain; second, it must control the population in areas of its influence. Hence the ruthless jihad and acquisition of territories is undertaken. The control of population is achieved by dramatic public executions of prisoners while financial inflows are ensured by capturing oil fields besides other methods.

According to Nicholas Rasmussen, the director of National Counter Terrorism Centre of the US, more than 20,000 fighters from 90 countries have travelled to the Islamic State to participate in the jihad. A majority of them hail from Arab countries like Tunisia, Saudi Arabia, Libya, Jordan and Lebanon. There are fighters from Russia, Germany, France, the UK and Turkey as well.

Besides capturing terrain the IS targets security forces of Iraq, members of Shia and other communities. Prisoners are put to gruesome death, often videographed for display on YouTube and announced on Twitter. The macabre execution scenes are intentionally given wide publicity to instil fear of the IS and draw radicalised recruits to its fold.

Khorasan Region

Beyond Iraq and Syria initial signs of IS influence have emerged in Afghanistan. Early this year the IS declared that it will extend its operations to the Khorasan

region which is approximately the area covered by Afghanistan. Shortly thereafter IS appointed Mullah Abdul Rauf Khadim, a former Taliban leader later held by the US in Guantanamo Bay, the Deputy Governor of Khorasan. Khadim managed to establish an IS cell in Kajaki district of Helmand and recruit a few hundred fighters. However, on 9 February 2015 he was killed in a drone strike requested by Afghan forces.

The Afghan government and the people of Afghanistan including the Taliban are opposed to the IS philosophy and will resist its influence in their country. But Afghanistan is on the radar of the IS.

President Ashraf Ghani warned the Munich Conference on 8 February 2015 when he said: "... it is very important not to isolate the events from Syria, Iraq, Yemen and Libya from what is unfolding in Afghanistan and South Asia. Because the threats from the network perspective are becoming stronger, the state response is, unfortunately, weaker."

In neighbouring Pakistan there were reports that self-styled IS groups were on the increase in Balochistan. The provincial government was quick to downplay the report, but conceded that 'groups with similar agendas do exist in Balochistan.'

The militant and jihadist environment in Pakistan is fertile ground for the spread of IS influence. Unless Pakistan acts now to prevent this influence from taking root, it is going to face a threat far more sinister than that of Al Qaeda or TTP.

Refugee Problem

Continued offensive operations of the IS have destabilised the entire region. Some four million people have fled from conflict zones in Syria to seek refuge in Iraq, while within Iraq there are around two million people who have moved to safer areas. Iraq and Syria are neither able to effectively cope with the IS onslaught, nor handle the socio-economic turbulence caused by the refugees.

Funding Of IS

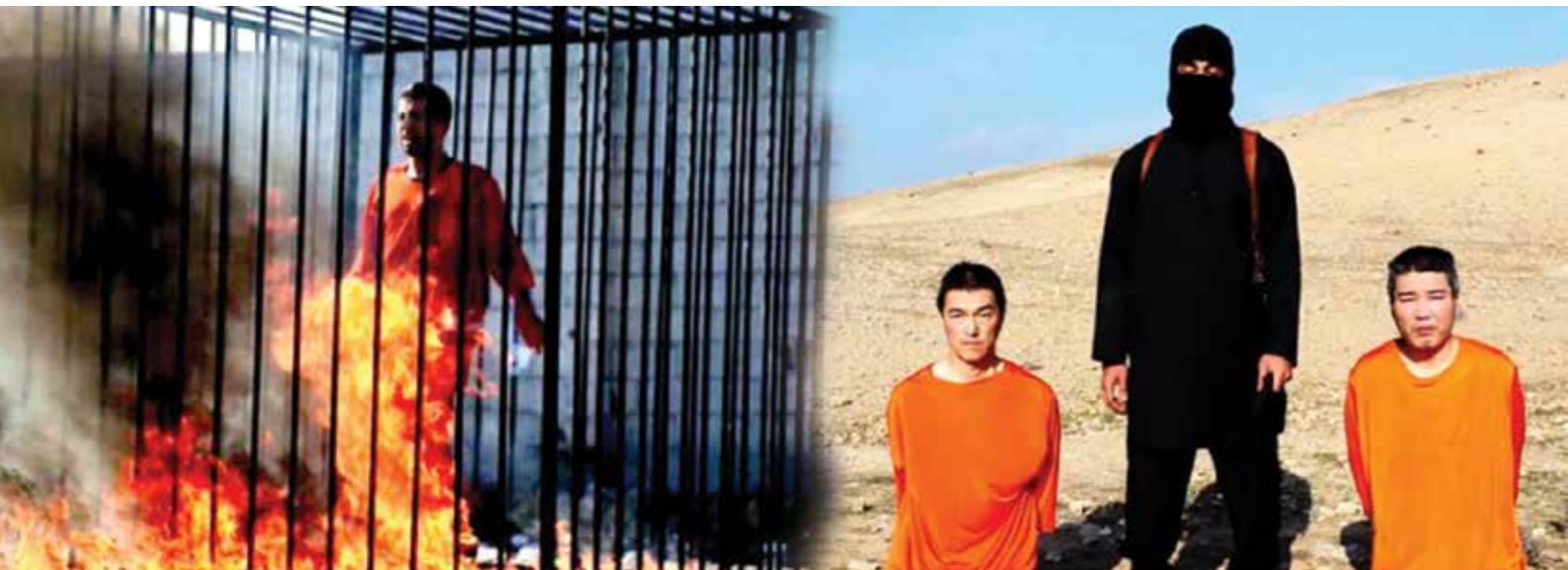
In earlier stages the IS was funded by wealthy donors from the Middle East with a view to dethrone President Bashar al-Assad of Syria. It is now reported to be making more than US\$ 1 million per day by selling crude oil from captured oil



Maj Gen AK Hukku YSM (Retd)

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Baghdadi turned into his macabre avatar in Camp Bucca, an American detention facility in Iraq where he was incarcerated



fields. Besides, IS also earns huge sums from extortion and taxation from the population under its control. In late February 2015 Iraq's ambassador to the UN alleged that IS was also harvesting human organs to raise funds.

UN Response

UN's cautious and toothless approach towards the IS has not been of much use. In August 2014 the Security Council passed a resolution condemning the terrorist acts of the IS, its extremist ideology and 'its continued gross, systematic and widespread abuses of human rights and violations of international law.' The UN had already blacklisted the organisation earlier and imposed bans to weaken it. Other than a show of UN's unanimous moral authority, these measures have done little to subdue the IS.

US Reluctance

The US considers the IS as a direct threat to its interests in the Middle East, but so far it is reluctant to launch full-fledged ground operations in the conflict zone. On 14 September 2014, President Obama spelt out the course of action that the US would take to 'degrade and ultimately destroy' the IS. Under this plan the US is taking direct military action against the IS in the form of air strikes (Operation Inherent Resolve) along with a coalition. The US is expected to enlarge the scope of its operations.

There are around 4,400 US troops on ground in Iraq for guarding important locations and 'assess and advise Iraqi forces.' There are also some British SAS and army personnel based near Erbil. Germany had sent 40 paratroopers to Iraq for weapon training while Kurdish fighters are reported to be training in Germany. The UK, Spain and Portugal have also contributed staff for training purpose. France, Germany, the UK, Estonia,

Czech Republic, Hungary and Albania have provided "direct military assistance."

Even as 25,000 Iraqi troops are getting ready to undertake ground operations against the IS, a strong Iraqi offensive was launched on 1st March to recapture Tikrit from the IS. Shia militia groups have joined the Iraqi operations and the Quds Force of Iran's Revolutionary Guards is also participating. The US remains tight-lipped about its participation in ground operations.

Air strikes are being carried out in Syria by the US, Bahrain, Saudi Arabia, Jordan, Qatar and United Arab Emirates. In Iraq air strikes are launched by the US, Canada, the UK, France, Belgium, Denmark, Netherlands and Australia.

By end of February this year 1,379 air strikes had been carried out in Iraq and around 1060 in Syria.

The 'enlarged scope of operations' includes training, gathering and sharing intelligence, advising and providing equipment for ground forces in Iraq and Syria besides financial measures against the IS. It may be noted that in Syria only select groups are being supported by the US as it seeks to oust Assad.

However, Syria also carries out air strikes against the IS though not as a part of the US led coalition.

Conclusion

While the air strikes against the IS and its leadership have achieved some commendable results, these cannot bring the operations to a decisive end. A vigorous debate whether to commit troops on ground or find other ways to destroy the IS continues in the US.

It is eminently clear that unless coordinated and strong ground operations are launched in the conflict zone, the Islamic State and its parlous idea will remain far from being defeated. **D.A**

Unless coordinated and strong ground operations are launched in the conflict zone, the IS and its parlous idea will remain far from being defeated



MEETING THE CHALLENGE OF THE LONE WOLVES

Calls appearing in jihadist propaganda magazines and websites encouraging further attacks on lines similar to the Sydney Café Siege and the Charlie Hebdo shootings tell us that the lone wolf *modus operandi* is gaining currency.



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Western prophecies that post-authoritarian spaces will be transformed into havens of liberal democracy have been belied. Not only that, fault lines of civilisational discord have become more apparent in Western societies themselves. They were long believed to have surmounted identity-based polarisation through espousal of universal values. This is starkly evident in the growing numbers of European citizens successfully recruited by jihadist movements, in particular as fighters in Syria.

including a substantial number of UK citizens," dates back to the first half of 2013. Within a little over a year since then, the number of European jihadists in Syria was estimated at 3,000 by the European Counter-terrorism Coordinator, Gilles de Kerchove. If the CIA's figure of 30,000 from the same period of the total number of ISIS fighters in Syria and Iraq is to be believed, we see that by September 2014, every tenth ISIS combatant is a European citizen. So far, the largest number of recruits has been from France followed by the UK (some reports suggest the reverse), alongside non-EU destinations like Tunisia, Morocco, Russia, Turkey and other West Asian neighbours. These rapid developments have already inspired a UN Security

Former British foreign secretary William Hague's warning that "Violent Islamist groups have been gaining ground in Syria and have attracted a large number of foreign fighters of all nationalities,



Council Resolution (2178) which requires member states to:

- stop individuals believed to be ‘foreign terrorist fighters’ from crossing their borders
- stop and ban funding or facilitating such individuals prosecute, rehabilitate and reintegrate ‘returning foreign fighters’
- stop ‘recruiting, organising, transporting or equipping’ anyone going abroad for terrorist acts or training.

But more importantly, it has sparked conversations on ways to stem the powerful tide of radicalisation – a more widespread, fluid and intractable phenomenon than affiliation to an armed group in a specific zone of instability. The intent of this article is to review the responses of governments and civil society in Europe to usefully inform the debate on relevant questions and concerns in India.

Profile Of The Freelance Terrorist

Following his arrest in Bengaluru in December last year, Mehdi Masroor Biswas described himself as a soldier and a messenger. His twitter handles @ShamiWitness and @ElSaltador received about 2 million hits a month. He had received training and worked as an electrical engineer, the sort of background not atypical of many other self-styled jihadists.

Through the relatively easy connectivity offered by cyberspace, the contemporary terrorist has ironically been able to free himself / herself from allegiance to a particular group. This emerging model may be alternatively described as “one that is centred around making spectacular impact for the perceived larger cause than identifying with niche ideology of an organisation and living and acting by its rules” (India Today, January 26, 2015). The ensuing role reversal whereby recruits-in-waiting can cherry-pick their mentors rather than wait to be approached for training by a group also means the strategy of focusing on and disbanding of a particular group is rendered ineffective. Calls appearing in jihadist propaganda magazines and websites encouraging further attacks on lines similar to the Sydney Café Siege and the Charlie Hebdo shootings tell us that the lone wolf *modus operandi* is gaining currency.

Delving into the nature of propaganda and the faces behind online indoctrination is instructive. The London-based International Centre for the Study of Radicalisation and Political Violence (ICSR) finds that ‘a large number of foreign fighters receive their information about the conflict not from the official channels provided by their fighting groups, but through so-called disseminators’. These disseminators range from clerical authorities to individuals who although not affiliated to a group or physically present in a conflict zone are sympathetic to actors on the ground and supportive of their causes and actions. The ICSR report features two such disseminators – Palestinian-American Ahmad Jibril and Australian Musa Cerantonio. Jibril is a law graduate turned cleric

and the force behind a radical Salafi website. His propaganda, both in written and oral form, combines denouncement of the American establishment and society and justification of resistance to the Assad regime. A champion of the ideal of Islamic government, Musa Cerantonio has used online platforms and broadcasts to engage with other users and propagate his views. Jibril and Cerantonio share in common periods spent in the Middle East studying religious doctrine. Perpetrators in various other incidents are known to have travelled to receive training from groups such as Al Qaeda but again, increasingly, cases come to light of individuals relying primarily on web-based sources of instruction in aspects encompassing planning, execution and ideological legitimation.

A definition of radicalism as “the active pursuit of and support for far-reaching changes in society which may constitute a danger to the democratic legal order through the threat or use of violence or other undemocratic means” (provided by Canadian Centre for Intelligence and Security Studies) broadly provides an insight into the end-goal that motivates many of these individuals.

Understanding Radicalisation

The ideal type of the DIY terrorist is nearly impossible to sketch. They have been seen to be qualified for pizza delivery, with PhDs and everything in between. Causes for radicalisation have sometimes been situated in the local context – for example ghettoisation and social alienation – and sometimes in more universal concerns such as vengeance for historic injustices. Some have even tried to seek explanations in behavioural tendencies such as the rebellious streak common among teenagers. But there is general agreement that the central aim of political Islam is re-establishment of the Caliphate.

With this aim in mind, jihadists initially concentrated on nationalistic projects hoping to overthrow existing regimes and replacing them with Islamic ones. Some of these mujahideen suffered persecution and sought refuge in Western countries and now by some accounts are the staunchest, most hard-line interpreters of the doctrine of jihad. Soviet intervention in Afghanistan in the late 1970s is believed to be the watershed moment when jihadists began to travel outwards and make common cause with movements outside of their homelands. And we are now, as it were, in the third phase of globalised jihad waged locally. Thus, there is a need for an internationally coordinated response that is rooted in context-specific demands.

Possible Responses

The United Nations Working Group on Radicalisation and Extremism defines counter-radicalisation as “a package of social, political, legal, educational and economic programmes specifically designed to



deter disaffected (and possibly already radicalised) individuals from crossing the line and becoming terrorists”, neatly summing up the multipronged nature of the desired response. A new counter-terrorism bill introduced by the British government in late 2014 provides for issue of Temporary Exclusion Orders against British citizens who are suspected IS combatants with the possibility of re-entry after two years or more under legal supervision or for prosecution. The French response has been to revert to more stringent and systematic propagation of secularism (*laïcité*) with efforts concentrated on teaching in schools. Other responses include stripping of French citizenship of convicted terrorists holding dual nationalities and segregation of religious fundamentalists in prisons. The European Union’s response includes measures such as supporting training of experts to prevent radicalisation and helping member states formulate effective exit strategies for young people. The significant potential for civil society involvement has been acknowledged in many white papers and policy documents but in practice it is not without attendant risks. Against the backdrop of emergent far right-wing parties around Europe we are also witnessing formation of groups such as PEGIDA or the Patriotic Europeans against Islamisation of the Occident in Germany. Thus, governments and societies are confronted with the clash of fundamentalisms and a spectrum of domestic opinion that might impede formulation of coherent strategies.

Monitoring Cyberspace

Web-based radicalisation has been particularly hard to quell given the user-generated nature of a

growing proportion of online content. Takedowns, domain name deregistration and filtering for some time widely applied as negative / reactive measures. Many now advocate a better monitored cyberspace than an increasingly restricted one. This is in part because of the obvious limitations of controlling a constantly evolving platform but also the possibility for enforcement agencies to access vital information through the same means. Directing efforts towards enhanced media literacy and greater sensitisation of parents and families to enhance the capability of young people to navigate and make sense of content on the web is also being urged.

The ICSR rightly warns that ‘self-radicalisation and self-recruitment via the Internet with little or no relation to the outside world rarely happens and there is no reason to suppose that this situation will change in the near future’. The lesson here is that nothing short of a seamless strategy that addresses actual causes and the potential of the Internet to harness and channel the resentment, grievances or motivations that result from those causes. A purely legal response will be inadequate if not counterproductive. In some instances, bungled prosecutions and subsequent acquittals have elevated the status of radicals among followers and sent out the wrong message. At worst, it could feed the sense of isolation and victimhood that is at the root of the problem.

In the same vein, the lone wolf is better understood as a strategy that is derivative of the opportunity structure provided by the confluence of a set of prevailing conditions – social, political and technological – rather than as a specifiable individual personality type, as I have attempted to demonstrate through this article.

So far the largest number of recruits has been from France followed by the UK alongside non-EU destinations

Governments and societies are confronted with the clash of fundamentalisms and a spectrum of domestic opinion that might impede formulation of coherent strategies

FINANCING OF TERRORISM IN INDIA

India's current prosecution level of financing of terrorism is dismal which stands testimony to the current vector of our AML / CFT regime. Large number of triggers and red flags have been calibrated to react to 'irregularity' rather than 'illegality', a strategy that is bound to be self-defeating in the longer run.



The turn of the 21st century witnessed redefining international efforts to fight terrorism. The war on terror adopted the new dimension of restricting the flow of funds to terror groups, popularly known as countering financing of terrorism (CFT). Though CFT came into focus after the 9/11 attacks way back in 2001, it is yet to achieve any tangible results globally or in India, its final objective of driving terror groups to bankruptcy.

CFT came into prominence in India after the 26/11 attacks in Mumbai in 2008. New legislative mechanisms in the form of amendments to Prevention of Money Laundering Act, (PMLA) 2002 and Unlawful Activities Prevention Act (UAPA), 1967 along with strengthening the institutional infrastructure by setting up Financial Intelligence Unit and National Investigation Agency have strengthened India in its fight against financing of terrorism. These measures have, to some extent addressed the lacunae in the existing anti-money laundering (AML) and CFT legislations as well as

institutional infrastructure in India. However, these measures alone may not be sufficient to address the problem of terrorism financing in the Indian scenario given the evolving *modus operandi* of terror groups to source and move money. This is further complicated when there is a distinct lack of understanding and misperception amidst the ground level sentinels about granular issues associated with the AML/CFT regime in India. Ground realities suggest that there is a lot of ambiguity as far as comprehending the distinctions between transactions which are 'irregular' and those that are 'illegal' in nature.

Irregularity Vs Illegality

In December 2014, the Reserve Bank of India (RBI) imposed penalty on two banks amounting to ₹ 75 lakh for non-compliance with KYC/CFT norms. Similarly in 2013, the RBI imposed a fine of ₹ 49 crore on 22 private and public sector banks operating in India for non-adherence to KYC and

AML/CFT norms. This is in furtherance of India's effort to curb money laundering and terrorism financing as laid down by the Financial Action Task Force (FATF), an intergovernmental body which has the objective of curbing both money laundering and financing of terrorism. India became a full-fledged member of the FATF in 2009. The fines imposed by RBI pertain to KYC breaches which are clear cases of 'irregularity' and not necessarily associated with financing of terrorism. The fact that such breaches could be the foundation for potential terrorism financing transactions in future, does not qualify as a primary standard to determine whether the same are acts of financing terrorism or not.

On the other hand, a legitimate transaction associated with an operational module of a terror group may not raise any of the red flags and could evade the triggers as the amounts are mostly a fraction of the fixed threshold levels which govern these triggers. Thus, a structured legitimate transaction would be devoid of the 'irregularity' which is the focus of the current sentinel programmes in India and thus may not qualify as terror finance related. For instance, a few cases related to espionage and terrorism in India, which are currently under investigation reveal an interesting new *modus operandi* of moving small operational sums to the main operational modules. In both the cases, overseas bank accounts were funded by the operational handlers or masterminds outside

receive remittances against exports without submitting any export documents to the bank. The transaction was allowed since the customer's background appeared to be impeccable due to his long association. The fact that a questionable transaction was allowed without being reported stands testimony to the fact that our AML/CFT system is vectored more towards irregularity rather than illegality.

Inefficient Monitoring

However, in both the above cases, appropriate monitoring of transactions could have mitigated the risk. Monitoring frequent withdrawals from overseas bank accounts could have, to some extent, provided the necessary inputs to identify the perpetrators at an early stage of the plot. This *modus operandi* was already red flagged by the Intelligence Bureau (IB) and cascaded to the other stakeholders in 2010. Similarly, instead of conducting due diligence on transactions which appear as suspicious, conducting KYC and due diligence on customer profiles and providing periodic updates on them alone appears perfunctory and shallow.



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Table 1 – Estimated Cost of Terror Operation

International Terrorist Incidents	Terrorist Incidents – India
• 1998 – US embassies bombing in Kenya and Tanzania cost US\$ 50,000	• 2008 – Lashkar-e-Taiba bombings in Bangalore cost US\$ 6,400
• 2000 – USS Cole attack in Yemen cost US\$ 10,000	• 2008 – Indian Mujahideen bombings in Ahmedabad cost US\$ 2,000
• 2001 – 9/11 attacks cost US\$ 500,000	• 2012 – Indian Mujahideen bombings in Pune cost US\$ 6,000
• 2002 – Bali bombings cost less than US\$ 50,000	
• 2003 – Marriott hotel bombing cost in Indonesia US\$ 30,000	
• 2003 – Attacks in Istanbul cost less than US\$ 40,000	
• 2004 – Attacks in Madrid cost US\$ 10,000	
• 2007 – London train bombings cost US\$ 13,000	
• 2009 – Attacks in Kabul by Haqqani Network cost US\$ 350	
• 2013 – Boston Marathon bombings cost US\$ 360	
• 2013 – Xinjiang bombings by ETIM cost US\$ 6,000	

Source: Data on International incidents culled from United Nations reports in 2004 and other open source data. Data on Indian incidents compiled by the researcher. All figures are indicative only.

India while the actual withdrawal occurred within India through ATM cards used by the operational cells. Though, there is a threshold for withdrawals in place, it is still large enough to fund activities associated with terror attacks. Such banking transactions may be even devoid of 'illegality' which is needed to ascertain its link to terrorism. Interestingly, the perpetrator in one of the cases used his banking account to

The above cases clearly highlight superficial inquests to ferret out 'irregularity' rather than identifying 'illegality' which clearly points out to a muddled system with which India fights terrorism financing and money laundering. This in turn, eventually leads to a flawed approach to AML/CFT issues leading to its ineffectiveness as a tool with which to fight terrorism.

Money Laundering Vs Terrorism Financing

According to a legal expert, John DG Waszak, "Money laundering cleans dirty money, whereas terror finance dirties clean money". Money laundering involves moving large sums of money whereas terrorism finance is about movement of small operational amounts. Another significant difference is that, in terrorism finance, the funds involved may originate from legitimate sources as well as from criminal activities whereas the origin of funds is purely illegal in money laundering. While money laundering has predominantly been used by organised criminal groups to conceal the source or identity of their income and integrate it with legal money, money laundering is seldom used by terror groups because funds in question are not integrated back into the legal system but spent on terror attacks. However, terror groups do rely more on money laundering to fund their organisational costs such as recruitment, training, weapons, shelter and infrastructure, but at the same time are less reliant on money laundering for their operational costs which result in terror attacks.

Emerging Paradigms

Incidentally, this above aspect when weighed against decreasing operational cost of terror attacks renders the AML/CFT regime in India inefficient and redundant. The cost of operations for commissioning terror attacks have decreased since 2001, signalling increasing improvisation and decreased operational funding needs by terror groups (See Table 1). Transborder attacks like 26/11 Mumbai attacks are exception to this with a very high estimated cost.

Given the above, lower operational budgets have dictated the way terrorists have sourced and moved their funds recently in India. Unlike organised criminal groups, moving large amounts associated with organisational costs across financial jurisdictions into India are not the hallmark of terror groups anymore. Recent instances indicate that the funds sourced outside India are moved primarily for operational purposes to fund terror attacks, using formal banking channels of the country. Other channels of moving money like *Hawala* have been less prominent.

One such avenue of moving funds is using authorised private money transfer agents. Operational cells of the Indian Mujahideen have relied on this mode to receive remittances from the Gulf region in the past. An intentionally structured remittance along with a fake recipient ID is all one needs to receive money in this mode without raising an eyebrow. The ease with which small operational sums could be moved across jurisdictions has served the needs of terror groups appropriately. Though this

is not a new phenomenon, it has started to become a prominent *modus operandi* of terror groups in India especially the Indian Mujahideen.

Another avenue for moving funds to the operational modules is crediting an overseas banking account and a concomitant withdrawal in India using the ATM card already in possession of the recipient of funds. This is similar to the *modus operandi* used for partial funding for the 9/11 plotters.

Lesser operational costs naturally lead to a decreased reliance on *modus operandi* like *Hawala* which have been known to be used for moving large sums of money. However, *Hawala* still plays a significant part in funding the various financial needs for terror groups in India. These aspects place a daunting challenge to our sentinels and investigation agencies.

Conclusion

While the vector of our intelligence and investigation agencies has always been on the illegality of the source of funds, it is application of funds which determines actual illegality regardless of the legitimacy of the source. For instance, a particular legitimate transaction could turn out to be terrorism-related based on its application rather than the origin or source of funds. Incidentally, the focus of the current CFT programmes in India is more towards predicate offences which result in money laundering and less towards terrorism financing which may not have a predicate offence at all.

KYC remediation alone is not a solution but forms a small part of the final solution to curb financing of terrorism. This aspect needs to be ingrained in the minds of our sentinels who need to be properly trained and equipped to handle such intricacies. An 'irregularity focused' approach will result only in penalties while an 'illegality focused' approach would result in more convictions for terrorism financing. India's current prosecution level of financing of terrorism is dismal which stands testimony to the current vector of our AML/CFT regime. Large number of triggers and red flags have been calibrated to react to 'irregularity' rather than 'illegality', a strategy that is bound to be self-defeating in the longer run.

Terrorism finance flows do not behave in the manner sentinel agencies anticipate. The enforcement agencies do not have the ability to obliterate the financial strength of terror groups but can only disrupt the financial flows for a specific period of time. Incidentally, other modes of financing evolve and assume prominence, rendering the countermeasures redundant. Given this ever evolving character of terrorism finance, the impact on the policy as a result of understanding these small fallacies and complexities will actually translate into bigger and positive fallouts on the ground. **DSA**

There is a distinct lack of understanding and misperception amidst the ground level sentinels about granular issues associated with the AML/CFT regime in India



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SECURITY THREATS TO INDIA

FROM ISIS/ISIL/DAESH AND QAEDAT AL-JIHAD

The world community needs to look into the ISIS phenomenon and try to come up with a solution – a solution that takes into confidence the Muslim world. It is high time for the nations to realise the absolute nature and essence of the terrorism and delink it from Islamic ideology.

Our units in Europe, Middle East and Asia confirm that there is a rise in Muslim youths / citizens from many countries in the West enrolling to join / side with terrorist groups in the Middle East as well as finance creation of new terror cells formed in the Western countries so that havoc / acts of terrorism can be created once they are activated by their handlers. The increase of these terror cells in Europe and throughout the world in the coming months / years creates more unpredictability for innocent law abiding citizens as their governments / politicians hanker for votes without taking any decisive actions / making serious study monitoring plans to curtail the threats facing their citizens. The real identity / background of ISIS executioner 'Jihadi John' is that he was raised / educated in London, United Kingdom. His real name is 'Mohammed Emwazi' and he fled to Syria in 2012 right under the nose of MI5, the British

intelligence agency. What does that say about the competence of MI5? Several lives could have been saved if they had acted more timely. He studied information systems with business management from 2006-2009 at the University of Westminster. The new breed of terrorist is educated, computer sharp and can mix in many circles of society.

Recently a prominent Bangladeshi-American blogger was hacked to death in the street by militant Muslims after denouncing religious extremism. Dr Avijit Roy, 42, from Atlanta, Georgia, USA was jumped by the gang of machete-wielding assailants in Dhaka, the capital of Bangladesh. An obscure militant group, 'Ansar Bangla 7', claimed responsibility for the attack, which it said was in retaliation for his 'crime against Islam'. They also said he was singled out because he was a US citizen and characterised the vicious killing as 'revenge' for attacks on ISIS in Syria. India faces a lot of problems if it does not focus firmly on monitoring overseas groups and utilising the



latest risk software solutions that give real-time intelligence across regions / overseas.

New Offshoots

The beginning of the problem is already in India as Al Qaeda has a new franchise: Qaedat al-Jihad in the Indian subcontinent. In December 2014, Ayman al-Zawahiri, widely believed to be hiding in Pakistan, appeared in a video announcing the creation of the jihadist group's latest offshoot. It will be led by Asim Umar, a somewhat obscure militant best known for an online video calling on Indian Muslims to sign up for global jihad. Zawahiri says the group will "raise the flag of jihad, return Islamic rule and empower the Shariah of Allah across the Indian subcontinent". Zawahiri's threats should be taken seriously. However, the bigger danger to India is Al Qaeda's rival for leadership of global jihadism – the terrorist group ISIS, also known simply as Islamic State. Al Qaeda may well have deeper networks in the subcontinent. But in terms of both sophisticated messaging and raw appeal, the 63-year-old Egyptian doctor's outfit cannot match the ISIS upstarts who burst into the public eye after capturing Mosul, Iraq's second largest city, in June 2014. Consider the evidence.

At least four Indian Muslims have reportedly signed up to fight with ISIS in Iraq. Last October 2014, one of them, a 22-year-old engineering student named Arif Majeed, was reported killed, possibly in a US airstrike. He left behind a letter to his family in which he explained his reasons for travelling from his home outside Mumbai to Iraq: "It is a blessed journey for me, because I don't want to live in this sinful country". Meanwhile, police in the southern state of Tamil Nadu arrested a Muslim cleric after a group photo of young Muslim men posing outside a mosque in ISIS T-shirts began to circulate on social media. These may be isolated incidents and the vast majority of Indian Muslims shows no signs of being attracted to any jihadist group.

ISIS Has Greater Appeal

But ISIS has arguably made a bigger splash in India in three months than Al Qaeda could manage in 26 years since it was founded in Pakistan by Osama bin Laden.

The ISIS enjoys many advantages that so-called core Al Qaeda, the parts of the network based in Pakistan and Afghanistan, lacks. First, in terms of the kind of symbolism that fires up jihadists, it's hard to beat the re-establishment, at least notionally, of a caliphate uniting all believing Sunni Muslims. The ISIS controls an estimated 35,000 square miles of territory, about the size of Jordan. The group has effectively erased the border between Iraq and Syria created by an agreement between Britain and France in 1916.

Moreover, the US invasion of Afghanistan in 2001, a long-standing drone campaign and the successful killing of bin Laden in 2011 have forced prominent Al Qaeda leaders such as Zawahiri to lie low. The ISIS leader Abu Bakr al-Baghdadi, known to his followers as Caliph Ibrahim, is rarely in the public eye. But he enjoys enough freedom of movement to have recorded a propaganda video of a sermon he delivered at a mosque in Mosul.

Baghdadi's sermon calling the faithful to his self-proclaimed caliphate was only one part of a sophisticated media strategy. By posting videos and pictures of beheadings, mass executions and public crucifixions, ISIS has learned how to use social media to both scare opponents and attract bloodthirsty new recruits from around the world. By one estimate, its ranks include 700 French citizens, 400 Britons and 250 Australians, as well as thousands of Arabs.

India Specially Targeted

Simply put, today ISIS represents what Al Qaeda once did – the world's largest single grouping of jihadists bound by a common faith in a hard-line interpretation of Islam. The ISIS has already subtitled a recruitment video titled 'The Chosen Few of Different Lands' in at least three Indian languages: Urdu, Hindi and Tamil. This suggests that it views India as a promising target for growth. How well prepared is India for the threat of radicalisation that ISIS represents? Many of the country's politicians and intellectuals remain caught in a time warp when it comes to the Middle East. For them, paying attention to the region rarely goes beyond mouthing tired slogans of solidarity with the Palestinians beloved of the global left. An Indian journalist is more likely to travel

to Gaza to pen a story on alleged Israeli oppression, than to visit, say, Mosul or the de facto ISIS capital of Raqqa in northern Syria. With an eye on their Muslim constituents, many Indian politicians practically fall over each other to condemn Israel, but there is no clamour among them to discuss developments that potentially threaten the safety of India itself. Add to this India's failure to modernise its 150 million strong Muslim minority.

Unlike in the West, where one law for all citizens is a cornerstone of secularism,

India allows its Muslims to follow Sharia in matters of marriage, divorce and inheritance. In the end, ISIS, like Al Qaeda, is fighting to impose its harsh interpretation of Sharia on the world. By bowing to Sharia at home, India has helpfully decided to meet them halfway. None of this is to suggest that Al Qaeda has ceased to be dangerous. If anything, its long presence in the subcontinent gives it deeper links with indigenous jihadists, such as Pakistan's Lashkar-e-Taiba. But if the biggest danger India

faces from jihadist groups is the radicalisation of part of its Muslim population, then it's ISIS, not Al Qaeda, that ought to worry New Delhi more.

Different Names But One Goal

In April 2013, having expanded into Syria, the group adopted the name 'Islamic State of Iraq and al-Sham', which more fully translates as 'Islamic State of Iraq and the Levant' or 'Islamic State of Iraq and Syria'. These names are translations of the Arabic name al-Dawlah al-Islamiyah fi al-'Iraq wash-Sham, al-Sham being a description of the Levant or Greater Syria. The translated names are commonly abbreviated as ISIL or ISIS, with a debate over which of these acronyms should be used. The *Washington Post* concluded that the distinction between the two 'is not so great'.

• The name Daesh is often used by ISIL's Arabic-speaking detractors. It is based on the Arabic letters dāl, alif, 'ayn, and shīn, which form the acronym (ISIS) of ISIL's Arabic name al-Dawlah al-Islamiyah fi al-'Iraq wash-Sham. There are many spellings of this acronym with DAESH gaining acceptance. ISIL considers the name Daesh derogatory for it sounds similar to the Arabic words Daes, 'one who crushes something underfoot' and Dahes, 'one who sows discord'. ISIL also reportedly uses flogging as a punishment for those who use the name in ISIL-controlled areas. On 14 May 2014, the United States Department of State announced its decision to use 'Islamic State of Iraq and the Levant' (ISIL) as the group's primary name. However, in late 2014 top US officials shifted towards DAESH citing it was the preferred term used by Arab partners.

• On 29 June 2014, the group renamed itself the Islamic State (IS) and declared itself to be a worldwide 'caliphate'. Accordingly, the 'Iraq and Sham' in the name of the Islamic State is henceforth removed from all official deliberations and communications and the official name is the Islamic State from the date of this declaration. This name and the idea of a caliphate has been widely criticised, with the UN, various governments and mainstream Muslim groups refusing to use it.

Baghdadi A Zionist Product?

With the escalating terror in the Middle East, the assumptions about the purpose of the ISIS are diversifying day by day. There are many speculations about the rapidly spreading pseudo-caliphate established by the self-proclaimed Caliph Abu Bakr al-Baghdadi. The recent revelation by the National Security Agency (NSA) leaker, Edward Snowden has strengthened the conspiracy theories suggesting the Zionist forces of Israel behind the terrorist group. There is no concrete ground to prove Israel and the US being behind the

ISIS but the simple logic is enough to prove it. We have seen the US derailing the Saddam regime in Iraq, Gaddafi rule in Libya and grinding the Taliban under the invincible drones with no clemency in Afghanistan. Why don't Americans approach the ISIS in the similar manner?

They are not in a mood to fight them out and it seems that they wish the situation to worsen further. It serves them in three ways: first, the destabilisation of the Muslim world; second, diverting a proportion of the attention of the people from the Israeli genocide in the Gaza strip of Palestine and the third and the ultimate motive, of conquering the vast oil reserves. One more point to mull over is the strategy of America

against the Islam-tagged terrorism. Look at Aafia Siddiqui – convicted for a 'nothing crime' during 2010 and sentenced to a harsh 86 year imprisonment.

Contrarily, al-Baghdadi, who was held at Camp Bucca early in 2004, was released in December 2004. May be a brainwash followed and the US started looking at him as a loyal pawn! Though some Muslims are passionate enough about the progression of the ISIS, the thoughtful Sunni scholars like Zaid Hamid and of course some Salafis (against whom ISIS rose fundamentally) like Abu Basir al-Tartusi,

say that ISIS and other related extremist groups are not the real Sunnis but the 'Kharijites' who act contrarily to the doctrine of Islam.

Whatever the purpose, at least it is clear that the Muslim world would be at the receiving end finally after the proceedings. According to an Iranian daily *Tehran Times*, ISIS is the US backed plot to destabilise the region and protect Israel. The plot, according to other sources has been code-named 'Beehive' or 'Hornet's Nest' which may attract the terror organisations from all around the world and centralise the extremist actions in the Middle East.

The world community needs to look into the matter and try to come up with a solution – a solution that takes into confidence the Muslim world. It is high time for the nations to realise the absolute nature and essence of the terrorism and delink it from Islamic ideology. The invisible nexus between the high-level terrorism and Zionist Israel and Neo-Conservative America needs to be understood for establishing the sustainable peace. India needs to strengthen / further upgrade not just its military, but also have more sophisticated Intel monitoring background profiling units and internationally trained police / counter-terrorism units in place throughout India as well as having the experienced financial meta tactic C4I units overseas who research / focus on Western / Middle Eastern companies / individuals who financially fund groups / individuals in India for acts of terrorism against innocent citizens of India.

The increase of terror cells in Europe and throughout the world in the coming months / years creates more unpredictability for innocent law abiding citizens

The ISIS has arguably made a bigger splash in India in three months than Al Qaeda could manage in the 26 years since it was founded in Pakistan by Osama



FORMATION OF A RADICAL STATE AND ITS INTERNATIONAL REPERCUSSIONS

The entity known as the Islamic State has seen rapid expansion in the past few years and has evolved into one of the most dangerous international actors in the world. In this article, we will try to trace the roots of its existence, its goals and its means to fulfill them. Finally we will highlight the grave security threat that the IS poses both to individual states as well as to global stability.

In order to understand the formation of the Islamic State, we must first trace back to its earliest steps, its *raison d'être* and its goals. To do that we must trace back to the Sykes-Picot Agreement which was facilitated amidst the First World War, in the early 1916 between the governments of Great Britain and France. The agreement concerned the delineation of the post-war Middle East map after the collapse of the Ottoman Empire and carved the region into spheres of influence between the two states, largely creating today's map of the region with the later addition of Israel in 1948.

Ideological Roots Of The IS

However at the same time, the Anglo-French *entente cordiale* had held out a promise to the Sharif of Mecca, Hussein bin Ali, that if the Arabs revolted against the Ottomans, they would have Western support to proclaim an Arab state after the war ended. This was much sought by the Arab elite which was influenced by the theory of pan-Arabism. Ideologically pan-Arabism was similar to the European Nationalist Movements of the 19th century and largely called for one unified and sovereign Arabic state that would include all the Arab populations of the Middle East.

The Arabs indeed revolted against the Ottomans but after the Great War their claim for a state was denied and instead the Sykes-Picot Agreement was implemented creating mandates for either Britain or France to run the region. The Arabs saw that as an affront and began to harbour a deeply rooted distrust against the West. The formation of the Israeli state in 1948 and the support it enjoyed from the US further widened the gap of this distrust.

Soon the West became the 'enemy' in the eyes of the local population and as an alternative to the 'decadent' Western influence soon rose Sunni Islam as a political ideology. The most prominent of the Islamic theorists rose to be Sayyid Qutb who was active in the 1950s and 60s. Qutb was the ideological father of today's radical Islam and before he was hanged by Nasser's regime in 1966 he was the author of a series of poems and works concerning how society should be structured. According to his view the state must be organised according to the Sharia law, reject the 'Godless' Western culture and wage jihad in order for 'the world to be returned to God'.

Qutb's thought was mixed with the pre-existing pan-Arabism theories and the result was the call for the formation of a pan-Arabic state that would be run according to Islamic law. According to his view this state would be the rebirth of 7th century's Caliphate that was instituted by Prophet Muhammad. It should extend from the Indian border to Southern Spain and include the Middle East, North Africa and the Balkans. Once this state is formed it would be used as a staging point for the conquest of the world and the creation of a global *Ummah* (Muslim community).

The Revival

The formation of IS of today can be traced back to the US invasion of Iraq in 2003 and the subsequent rise of Al Qaeda in Iraq by Abu Musab al-Zarqawi. Back then al-Zarqawi swore fealty to Osama bin Laden and in 2004 created the Islamic State in Iraq (ISI). However the actions of ISI were so brutal that it alienated the local populace and after the death of al-Zarqawi in an air strike in 2006, it shrank both in size and influence. From then

and until 2011 the organisation entered a hibernation phase, during which it was weak albeit active. However a number of reasons constituted its eventual revival under the leadership of its current head Abu Bakr al-Baghdadi.

Boost To ISIS

The first was the withdrawal of the US forces from the country in 2011. This left a huge political and power vacuum in the Western part of the country, where population sympathetic to the radical cause resides. This vacuum was quickly filled by the pre-existing Al Qaeda structure. The second change was the outbreak of the Syrian Civil War around the same time the US troops departed Iraq. Then the ISI created a support front in Syria (al-Nusra) to help with the operations it conducted in West Iraq. That way the ISI was exported to Syria which was in chaos.

Al-Nusra initially was a subsidiary to ISI but friction between the two entities led the former to swear allegiance to central Al Qaeda, not ISI. Things between the two terrorist groups escalated in summer 2014, when ISI (then called ISIS – Islamic State of Iraq and al-Sham) severed all ties with Al Qaeda, claiming that after the death of bin Laden, Al Qaeda had left the true jihadi path which was solely represented by ISIS. Despite this shortcoming, the IS was able to expand its operations in Syria and to, unsuccessfully, lay siege to the Kurdish city of Kobani which lies on the Syrian-Turkish border.

The Grand Strategy Of The IS

The initial goal of the IS was the consolidation of a region that could be used as a staging point to attack its neighbouring regions. Since this was accomplished, the group presently controls West Iraq and a large part of North Syria, its plan evolved in three parts.

The first is the need to keep its financial income coming as without it the entity would wither. The main sources of income are extortion, ransom, oil revenues and international donations from supporters of the jihadi cause. So it is crucial for the IS that these channels are kept open. For this reason, a series of extortion policies have been implemented by the IS against the local population and methods are sought to better exploit local oil reserves. Furthermore, income is the main reason that Westerners are taken hostages, while reports indicate that antiquities are being sold to international buyers.

The second part of the IS' grand strategy is the steady flow of recruits to its ranks. Currently the IS is still at war and besides money, war also calls for personnel. The personnel can hardly be acquired by local conscription, thus an effective marketing campaign has been implemented with its target group being Muslims around the world and to call them to fight for the radical cause. To that end numerous propaganda tools have been used such as social media, public beheadings and promoting the ideas of adventuring and self-fulfilment via jihad.

The third objective is the expansion of its operations abroad and the eventual assimilation of these lands in the future. To that end the jihadi organisation has already embarked support in Egypt and Libya and has mounted operations there. Particularly North Africa

is considered vital for the IS and ripe for the taking. Let us not forget that Egypt had elected a radical president in 2012, only to be ousted by a military coup in 2013. Libya is still in turmoil after its civil war and is largely lawless. Both these countries have proved to be prime conscription fields for the terrorist group going as far as to behead 21 Coptic Christians in Libya in February 2015. These are indicators that aftershocks of unrest have been created in a region that already was unstable.

New Reality

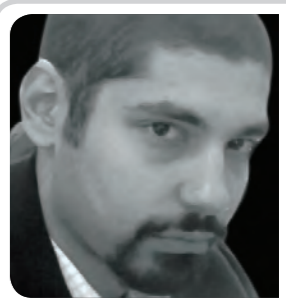
Besides the apparent security challenge in the conventional field, the Islamic State also poses a significant threat in the unconventional one. This threat can mainly take one of two forms. The first is terrorist attacks conducted by Muslims who live in their parent-country and who have been radicalised towards a violent path. These men and women have no real connection to the IS, but instead have been inspired by it and launch an attack in their country on their own. The second form comes from men who have travelled in the Middle East and actually fought for the IS after receiving military training. When these men return to their country of origin, they have with them the connections to the IS as well as the training and fanaticism they received while overseas.

Terrorists from both these categories have actually conducted strikes and are prime candidates to launch similar strikes in the future. This means that the IS has means to project its power almost anywhere in the world if a government interferes against it in a significant way. What the IS has practically created is a new form of deterrence that guarantees a second strike against anyone that intervenes against it. This new reality, while it is not a first grade security threat for any non-Middle East country, it can iterate the stance of the public opinion of the international actors and eventually their stance towards the IS.

Conclusion

After studying the ideological roots and the strategic objectives of the entity known as the Islamic State, we conclude that they implement a twofold strategy. The first is a conventional one and turns against their opponents in the Middle East and the second is an unconventional one that turns against anyone that opposes them in the world.

Whichever the case, this entity has continuously exhibited its capacity towards destabilisation and extreme violence, making it a prime threat to international balance and security that has to be taken into account. **USA**



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INDIA-CENTRIC JIHADI OPERATIONS

I have noticed significantly cloaked visuals on the TV screens in the past few months in the videos of the brutality of the IS terrorists – they make the victims wear saffron clothes when they kill them either by decapitation or a bullet in the head. There must be some significance to this symbolism of the IS terrorists. Is it a signal to the Hindus of India? Baghdadi has made it clear that India will be a target so we better be prepared for the looming threat.

The world of terrorism is evolving faster than the countermeasures put in place during the US-led Global War on Terror (GWOT) beginning from 9/11 when the US was attacked by Osama bin Laden's Al Qaeda network operating out of the Pakistan-Afghanistan salient. The consequence is that all nations bordering those where the US implemented a regime change as in the elimination of Saddam Hussein in Iraq and North Africa are beginning to feel the heat of an Islamist blowback. The peculiar

feature of the neo-jihad is online fundamentalist indoctrination that has shown itself in India and raised concerns about how it can be identified and controlled. Most of the cases of tech-savvy jihad have been discovered outside India after Indians were seen to have either reached Iraq or were on their way there to lend their weight to the rapidly rising Islamic State of Iraq and Syria or operating as proxies from India itself. Clearly, we have not been able to raise adequate defence against these new forms and practices of the ultra-fundamentalist Islamic forces.

Tech-savvy Jihad

In fact none of the security forces in any country have been able to keep pace with the rapid changes in the methodology now employed by the multiple handlers of jihadi groups through the Internet, Twitter and Facebook. Earlier the epicentre of their activities was Asia but in the past two years the activities of the ultras in the Middle East, Africa and Europe have come into the limelight as they openly announce allegiances and cooperative intent. Individuals and groups impressed by the swiftness of the rise of the new Caliphate in Iraq and Syria have been quick to lend support and are offering their services to the cause. The US Department of State which has banned and blacklisted some 35 such terrorist groups for being a threat to humankind and most of these groups are Islamic fundamentalists. The list has been made largely infructuous by the simple tactic of changing one's name but most countries accept and support the US list. Ironically they get no satisfaction from it. India has not been given access to David Coleman Headley who conducted the reconnaissance that enabled the Pakistan-based Lashkar-e-Taiba to strike Indian targets on 26/11/2008 and two of the masterminds are playing ducks and drakes with the Pakistan judicial system and are enjoying the freedom of the city of Lahore (Hafiz Saeed) and royal treatment in jail (Zaki ur Rehman Lakhvi). If America had secured their deportation either to India or to America to stand trial justice would not have been denied to the victims of that raid which included Americans, British and Israeli citizens.

We have not been able to raise adequate defence against these new forms and practices of the ultra-fundamentalist Islamic forces

Lone Wolf Tactics

Apart from the active terrorist groups, there is another segment comprising the 'lone wolf fighter' – someone who commits or prepares for or is suspected of committing or preparing for, violent acts in support of some group, movement or ideology, but who does so alone, outside of any command structure and without material assistance from any group. He/she is committed for all sort of terrorist activity for which they have not undergone any formal training with any of the terrorist groups in their training camps but have made-up their minds to commit terrorist acts and these are equally very dangerous as they can mix undetected in a crowd and perform their agenda in support of global terrorism.

Radicalisation and extremism have become the biggest challenge in the world today. Earlier, the European countries were not that badly affected by terrorist activities but it is so unfortunate to see the recent terrorist attacks in France and also Australia which are alarming. Now almost all the European countries are taking the best measures to counter this radicalisation and extremism that is increasing day by day as seen from the departure of several girls from Britain with the intention to join ISIS.

Magnet Called ISIS

The rise of Islamic State (IS) headed by Baghdadi is a case study in the manner a political vacuum is quickly filled by elements ready and waiting for the opportunity. The US and its allies need to review their policy of indulging in regime change in nations that are governed differently. The Islamist cause in Iraq has become a magnet for co-religionists the world over to either join the movement within the Iraq-Syria salient or contribute their mite over telecommunication channels that have shown themselves as being ungovernable. After the drone-strike killing of its founder Jordanian Abu Musab al-Zarqawi in 2006 the reins of the movement were taken over by Egyptian Abu Ayyub al-Masri and with the announcement of the establishment of a new Caliphate called ISIS it brought forth Abu Omar al-Baghdadi as the 'Iraqi face' of the movement.

In brutality the Baghdadi-led Sunni jihadis have surpassed the worst nightmares of peace-loving people around the world. The recent announcement by the African jihadi group Boko Haram of allegiance to the ISIS has expanded the territorial reach into sub-Saharan Africa. With Egypt in a state of political uncertainty it opens up the possibility of the



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Boko Haram and like-minded groups finding their way to the Suez Canal to block international commerce and energy convoys and cause a global economic crisis. Given that everything that has happened so far has been unthinkable, this too is possible.

Grim Warning To Saffronites?

I have noticed significantly cloaked visuals on the TV screens in the past few months in the videos of the brutality of the IS terrorists – they make the victims wear saffron clothes when they kill them either by decapitation or a bullet in the head. What is the objective of making them wear clothes of this particular colour when wearing jeans and T-shirts would make no difference to the final outcome? There must be some significance to this symbolism of the IS terrorists. Is it a signal to the Hindus of India? Are Hindus and Hindustan their next target? Is our government, the Intelligence Agencies and Police of all the states prepared to handle any such strike by IS in India. Willy-nilly some Indian youth have been affected by the rapid rise of the IS in Iraq and Syria. Baghdadi has made it clear that India will be a target so we better be prepared for the looming threat.

Dangerous Signs

At the moment we don't see any effective presence of IS in India other than reports of some youngsters having shown the flag of IS in some states and one incident of involvement of an IT engineer involved in the cyber support to the IS. But to be honest the way terrorism has emerged as a global threat and the way IS has evolved and joined hands with the other outfits and the way the terrorism is being funded by drug syndicates and arms dealers India has to be more vigilant and strong to counter any attempt at establishment of IS and other outfits in India. I don't mind mentioning that the move of the current government of Jammu and Kashmir to release a notorious terrorist Masarat Alam could be a starting point of Corporate Terrorism in India if timely

measures are not taken by the central government.

We already have the example of the release of the hard core terrorist ideologue Masood Azhar in exchange of hostages possibly contributing to the cross-border terrorism. Under the protection of the Pakistan Army Inter-Services Intelligence Masood Azhar created the Jaish-e-Mohammed (JeM) in Pakistani cantonments.

The group's aim is to amalgamate Kashmir with Pakistan and target the US. Under pressure from Washington, Pakistan outlawed JeM in 2002 but true to terrorist practices JeM subdivided itself into Khuddam ul-Islam (KuI), headed by Azhar and Jamaat ul-Furqan (JuF), led by Abdul Jabbar. Despite the ban and once again in keeping with the Pakistani style of keeping its 'strategic assets' safe and resilient, Masood Azhar and his companions enjoy the freedom of the cantonments in the country.

So we cannot rule out the association of various terrorist groups already active within India with Boko Haram, IS, Laskar-e-Taiba, JeM or a combination of these outfits under the flag of the United Jihad Council for the expansion of their anti-India activities. Very recently the Boko Haram has sworn allegiance with the IS led by Baghdadi and one should expect some horrendous consequences to follow. One thing is sure; the barbarity of this conglomeration will rise to newer heights.

Boko Haram's capability has increased in 2014, with the group conducting nearly daily attacks against a wide range of targets, including Christians, Nigerian security and police forces, the media, schools, politicians and Muslims perceived as collaborators. Boko Haram has taken credit for the kidnapping of 11 foreigners in neighbouring Cameroon thereby signalling its ability to expand its operations eastwards. Chad and Egypt are two steps away from the Suez Canal.

First signs of concerted action against this terrorist group (which kidnapped 276 schoolgirls from Nigeria; their whereabouts are still not known) came in November, 2014 when the Cameroon Foreign Minister announced the creation of a coalition force of 3,500 troops from Benin, Chad, Cameroon, Niger and Nigeria to fight Boko Haram and other regional terrorists. France, Britain and the US have created a military training group to assist this coalition and, in addition to this France is preparing to deploy up to 3,000 troops to deal with the menace. Canada and Israel have also expressed their willingness to contribute. The Chinese are preparing to share satellite data and provide military wherewithal for the coalition force. Hopefully this initiative will be more successful than the concerted aerial bombardment by Arab states on the periphery of the Iraq-Syria salient. Without boots on the ground IS claims to legitimacy on the basis of territory cannot be countermanded.

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PRIVATE CONTRACTORS FIGHTING TERROR

The West is relying on diplomacy, air power and, though not spoken publicly, the PMCs. It has been stated that the fight against ISIS would be like the action in Somalia, where the US has a 'strategy of taking out terrorists who threaten US while supporting partners on the front lines.' Those partners in Somalia include heavily armed private US security firms. Therefore, PMCs shall play a critical role in the unfolding war in Iraq and Syria, now known as Operation Inherent Resolve.

The preceding year was marked by the phenomenal rise of ISIS. It overshadowed the Al Qaeda, threatened to redraw the map of Middle East and set despicable standards of brutality and fundamentalism in the world of terrorism. But the year was also noted for the marked reluctance of US to commit boots on the ground to halt the march of ISIS and the allied terror groups. The US and some of its allies including Jordan and UAE have carried out numerous air strikes, provided special operations teams, shared real-time intelligence and deployed military advisers; but really haven't put their troops in actual combat operations against the ISIS. Instead, the US is increasingly relying on the Private Military Contractors (PMCs), the generic name given to security contractors providing armed security services, a trend which is likely to accentuate in 2015. Similar situation had existed earlier during the last stages of US intervention in Iraq and Afghanistan wherein combat

troops were substituted by the PMCs in large numbers. Towards the end of the Afghanistan War, 2,07,000 contractors had supported 1,75,000 US soldiers.

The World Of PMCs

Hiring of mercenaries is nothing new in the history of armed conflict. However, in the recent years, the PMCs have evolved in a way that their services are increasingly useful and required by the nation states and they can no longer be termed as mercenaries. The services and expertise offered by PMCs are strikingly similar to those of governmental security, military or police forces, as generally they are staffed by ex-military personnel. In addition to military duties, they also provide security, intelligence and logistics. The PMC industry is now worth over US\$ 100 billion a year and rapidly expanding. PW Singer, the author of the book *Corporate Warriors: The Rise of the Privatized Military Industry* has stated that "In geographic terms, they operate in over 50 different

countries and in every single continent but Antarctica. In the 1990s there used to be 50 military personnel for every 1 contractor, now the ratio is 10 to 1". This gives an idea of the sheer increase in employment of PMCs. The employment is on a sharp increase mainly due to evident risk-averseness of the Western nations towards the body bags.

In US, apart from the Pentagon, PMCs have been hired by the US Department of State and the Intelligence Agencies. In 2011, the State Department awarded Triple Canopy, a security contracting firm, a four-year deal for US\$ 1.5 billion to provide security for the airport in Baghdad, US diplomats and other Americans in Iraq. Founded by ex-members of the US Army Special Forces, Triple Canopy works mainly for the US government in Iraq. Their employees include former Navy SEALs, Rangers, Special Operations personnel and police officers. According to a 2008 study by the Office of the Director of National Intelligence, PMCs had made up 29 per cent of the workforce in the US Intelligence community and cost the equivalent of 49 per cent of their personnel budgets. In the same year, there were 2,42,558 contractors working in the countries for US Central Command,

the area that includes Iraq and Afghanistan as well as Somalia, Pakistan and Yemen. However, as the Obama administration reduced its worldwide military commitments, particularly in Iraq, the numbers fell down to 66,123 in July 2014, according to Pentagon's latest estimate of military contractors working in the countries covered by Central Command. With the rise of ISIS, the numbers shall again spike in 2015 wherein firms like Vinnell Corporation, Academi, Halliburton, GK Sierra and DynCorp are likely to carry-out tasks which were traditionally the domain of the armies.

Increased Utility

President Obama has pledged that the war against ISIS won't be fought with US ground troops. In fact, since he came to power on an anti-war plank and has successfully wound down US military operations in Iraq and Afghanistan, it shall be difficult for US to open a front in Middle East. While the US has sent 1,600 support force to advise the Iraqi military in the fight against ISIS, Obama has stressed that ground troops will not be necessary during the latest offensive. Consequently, the West is relying on diplomacy, air power and, though not spoken publicly, the PMCs. It has been stated that the fight against ISIS would be like the action in Somalia, where the US has a 'strategy of taking out terrorists who threaten US while supporting partners on the front lines.' Those partners in Somalia include heavily armed private US security firms. Therefore, PMCs shall play a critical role in the unfolding war in Iraq and Syria, now known as Operation Inherent Resolve.

PMCs may be an economically feasible, politically viable and flexible option in Iraq with minimum political repercussions in the war-weary US

Todd Harrison of the Center for Strategic and Budgetary Assessments has estimated that this upcoming war could cost between US\$ 2.4 and US\$ 22 billion, depending on how many troops are involved. In addition, President Obama has already asked Congress to authorise US\$ 500 million to train a new Syrian opposition out of Saudi Arabia. That money would be part of a US\$ 5 billion fund Obama requested from Congress to help train and equip US allies to fight terrorists. In US, according to the National Priorities Project, the military spending for 2015 is projected to account for 16 per cent of all federal spending and 55 per cent of all federal discretionary spending. Pentagon also has another source of money in the form of the Overseas Contingency Operations (OCO) budget, which is not subject to certain budgetary caps. For fiscal 2015, the Pentagon has requested US\$ 79 billion in OCO funding.

American Dilemma

The US is in a dilemma. Many military analysts opine that the mobile and dispersed combat style of ISIS necessitates that unless air attacks are backed by a robust 'boots on the ground' strategy, they will not have much bearing on the outcome. Indeed, in Iraq today the most pressing security issue is the lack of a ground force with adequate training, experience and equipment that could confront ISIS in an effective fashion. Many argue that PMCs may be an economically feasible, politically viable and flexible option in Iraq with minimum political repercussions in the war-weary US. The indicators of increased PMC involvement are already here. Triple Canopy recently received a no-bid contract to beef up its forces protecting the US Consulate in Erbil in Iraq when it appeared that ISIS might overrun the city.

The Pentagon has asked the PMCs to participate in two important surveys. The first one asked the industry to give a rough estimate of the costs associated with building a new network of ten ground based communications satellite stations known as VSATs. They were extensively used by the US military in Iraq to provide forward operating bases with secure Internet and voice communications. The second one asked for estimates of the cost for Security Assistance Mentors and Advisers for Iraq's Ministry



Col Shailender Arya

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ISIS AND ITS IMPACT ON INDIA

Post discovery of Mehdi Masroor Biswas@ShamiWitness, a former National Security Adviser told the media that some 100 such cases were active on the social media. Then there have been numerous cases of youth physically joining the ISIS from India, Maldives, Bangladesh, China, Pakistan and many other countries of the world. In India, migration (both legal and illegal) to the Gulf and Middle East by youth in search of lucrative jobs has been going on for past several decades, so we may never know how many Indians have joined hands with the ISIS.

of Defence and the Iraqi Counter-terrorism Service. In August 2014, the US Army Contracting Command posted a notice seeking contractors willing to work on an initial 12-month contract, who should be 'cognisant of the goals of reducing tensions in Iraq and providing a range of capacities, including force development, logistics and planning and operations.'

Erik Prince, the Blackwater founder who now heads a military services company called Frontier Services Group, is openly advocating the idea of employing PMCs against ISIS. He has said since the US won't send troops to fight ISIS, it should hire "a multi-brigade-size unit of veteran American contractors to serve as 'the pointy end of the spear' for local fighters". He claimed that for hire ground troops were the missing element of the US-led campaign against jihadists in Iraq and Syria and stated that "If the old Blackwater team were still together, a multi-brigade-size unit of veteran American contractors or a multinational force could be rapidly assembled and deployed to be that necessary ground combat team."

Local Expeditionary Force


The PMCs already in Iraq, such as Triple Canopy, are advertising for positions such as 'defence marksman' for which an applicant must be a trained sniper. They draw most of the members from retired personnel of US Army and they shall be highly useful in teaching Iraqi forces to use and maintain US supplied weaponry. Training contracts have in fact been a steady source of revenue for companies like DynCorp. The fight against ISIS could also lead to a rise in logistics contracts as PMCs are hired to support US forces at places like Al Udeid Air Base in Qatar, which has served as one of the launching points for the ongoing bombing raids. They can also be hired to train moderate Syrian rebel factions or Iraqi Kurdish factions in the use of the weaponry the US has pledged to supply.

The American PMCs are not the only ones in the fray. There is a talk of employing ex-military personnel from the Middle East itself as they are better acquainted with the ground realities and the local customs. According to a reliable source from a coalition member state, some among the security circles of the Muslim states participating in the coalition have been discussing the option of raising a 'private Muslim Expeditionary Force,' comprising of 'hired' ex-elite security personnel from the militaries and police units. The PMCs are also expanding their role to counter-piracy operations. In 2010, an African based military contractor named Saracen began training an anti-piracy force in Somalia with funding from the UAE. It operated from a privately-run outpost in Puntland with its own electricity generator, barracks and armoury with former South African military officers giving basic training to locals. The PMCs also played a key role in anti-terror operations against the Al-Shabaab terror group in Somalia. A US Joint Special Operations University study has concluded that Bancroft Global Development's urban warfare training proved vital to the peacekeepers' success in eventually kicking Al-Shabaab out of the Somali capital of Mogadishu and most other major cities.

The Pitfalls

While the employment of PMCs may make the task politically easy for the Western nations, their usage is fraught with many pitfalls and legal ambiguities. It was the Blackwater contractors working to protect diplomatic convoys that shot 17 innocent protestors in the heart of Baghdad at Nisour Square and at least 22 of the interrogators accused of torturing the inmates at Abu Ghraib were private contractors. Indeed, from Abu Ghraib to Nisour Square, the PMCs were at the centre of Iraq War's biggest scandals and were considered to be hugely expensive, inefficient and indifferent to the sensitivities of the local population. Blackwater later changed its name to Xe Services and again in 2011 to the harmless sounding 'Academi'. The Nisour Square incident contributed to the decision of the Iraqi government in 2011 to decline to legal immunity to US soldiers and military contractors. The PMCs often operate in contravention of national and international laws. Asgaard German Security Group, a PMC founded by a former German officer Thomas Kaltegärtner has been hired to provide security for Galadid Darman in Somalia. However, Darman is a self-appointed President and a key Somali warlord who has refused to recognise the authority of the official UN-appointed transition government of Somalia. It is indeed amoral dilemma for the international community wherein the space of the nation states militaries, particularly in counter-terror operations, is being encroached upon by for-profit PMCs and their diminished accountability in international conflicts.

Future Of PMCs In GWOT

Irrespective of their drawbacks, the use of PMCs is likely to continue. They reduce the exposure of national armies to risk, particularly in counter-terrorism operations, provide site security, build infrastructure and greatly assist logistics. According to former (US) Congressman Christopher Shays, who co-chaired the Commission on Wartime Contracting, when the US pulled most of its troops out of Iraq, it made them even more dependent on contractors for security. He has bluntly stated, "We can't go to war without contractors and we can't go to peace without contractors." A similar sentiment was echoed by David Isenberg in his book *Shadow Force: Private Military Contractors in Iraq* wherein he stated that the private contractors are the "American Express card of the American military. The military doesn't leave home without them, because it can't." Finally, the PMCs are politically advantageous - no soldiers return home in coffins, the overall costs are low, no disability pensions are required to be paid, the PMCs are capable of taking greater risks and the employment strategy of PMCs can be quietly changed without a national debate or media scrutiny. A private sector component to the anti-ISIS campaign could be inevitable, as these companies provide a level of expertise, funding, capability and willingness that other potential on the ground actors don't have. The war against terror cannot be totally outsourced but there will be increased employment of the PMCs to fight ISIS and other terror groups in Middle East and Africa. 



The ISIS has been in the news practically daily since the Hydra raised its head last summer. However, a number of occurrences during 2015 would have caused more concern in intelligence circles in India, prominent ones being: *One*, nine Indians including two engineers of Bengaluru were deported by Turkey caught trying to cross the Turkey-Syria border to allegedly join the ISIS including one engineer master in computer science from California having worked in US for over 10 years; *two*, formal entry of ISIS in South Asia through announcing a wilayah (province) in the region - the wilayah of Khorasan encompassing Afghanistan, much (if not all) of Pakistan and parts of neighbouring countries including India; *three*, arrest of an ISIS leader in Lahore (alleged commander of Pakistan's ISIS branch along with two accomplices who have been recruiting and sending radicals to Syria); *four*, Yousaf Al Salafi a Pakistani ISIS commander and recruiter arrested in Pakistan confessing under interrogation that ISIS was being financed and armed by the US administration and; *five*, arrest of four suspected ISIS members including a regional coordinator in Dhaka confessing they were trained in Pakistan, indicating the ISIS has gone in for a centralised initiative in connivance with Pakistan, which is not surprising since Zia-ul-Haq had decreed Ahmadiyyas not to call themselves Muslims - implying anyone other than Wahabi-Deobandi radical Muslim could simply be massacred.

Indian Connection

In December last year, Mehdi Masroor Biswas, an engineer working as manufacturing executive with a Bengaluru-based MNC for an annual package of ₹ 5.3 lakh, had confessed he was handling the pro-jihad tweeter '@ShamiWitness' for past several years as a source of incitement and information for the new ISIS recruits and was particularly close to English speaking ISIS terrorists. As per UK's Channel 4, his tweets were seen two million times each month, making him perhaps the most influential ISIS Twitter account, with over 17,700 followers. As to the nine Indians including two engineers of Bengaluru deported back to India by Turkey, they have been let off after questioning. The fact is that the ISIS or the Islamic Caliphate, immaterial of its barbarianism, is the richest terrorist organisation in the world by virtue of which it is offering lucrative jobs both for combat and non-combat roles. We hardly have any laws or policies to deal with such situations and more importantly capacity to monitor activities in the first place. Post discovery of Mehdi Masroor Biswas@ShamiWitness, a former NSA told the media that some 100 such cases were active on the social media. Then there have been numerous cases of youth physically joining the ISIS from India, Maldives, Bangladesh, China, Pakistan and many other countries of the world. In India, migration (both legal and illegal) to the Gulf and Middle East by youth in search of lucrative jobs has been going on for past several decades, so we may never know how many Indians have joined hands with the ISIS.

Fallout On Region

In a bid to extend its influence in the South Asian region, the ISIS had distributed radical ideology pamphlets last year in Peshawar and border provinces of Afghanistan, with copies sent to Afghan journalists working in Peshawar. The pamphlet appealed to the local population for supporting its struggle for the establishment of an Islamic Caliphate. A number of hardliner Wahabi-Salafi groups operating in AfPak region backed by Saudi Arabia, including in Nuristan and Kunar Provinces of Afghanistan, had pledged support for ISIS, with the TTP following suit. There also are groups like the Ahrarul Islam (splinter group of TTP) and the East Turkestan Islamic Movement (ETIM) also working on the lines of the ISIS, not respecting national boundaries and wanting a global Islamic World. The Taliban had complicated the reconciliation factor in Afghanistan. The ISIS foothold will not only complicate the situation further but it will likely pose added danger to Indian assets and interests in Afghanistan especially since Pakistan Taliban under Mullah Fazlullah has already aligned itself with the ISIS.

Recent reports quoting Afghan officials confirm that the ISIS is active in southern Afghanistan, particularly Helmand Province. The ISIS representatives have been fanning out across the province to recruit people albeit

this has reportedly not been encouraged by local Taliban commanders who have asked locals not to join ISIS. Significantly, the report also mentioned a recent video released that purports to show militants from both Afghanistan and Pakistan pledging support to the ISIS. The truth may lie somewhere in between considering the ISIS-Al Qaeda link, Al Qaeda support to Afghan Taliban and Pakistan Taliban support to ISIS. Aside from more Indians going the ISIS way, threat to India will enlarge with the ISIS expanding its foothold in South Asia, which appears to be already happening as part of the wilayah (province) of Khorasan forming up in AfPak region. In fact, the ISIS branch has already been established in 'Khorasan'. Its 'Amir' is former Tehreek-e-Taliban Pakistan spokesperson Hafiz Saeed Khan and is probably based in Pakistan. Establishment of a wilayah in the region does raise the spectre of more sectarian clashes including against non-Wahabi and Deobandi Muslims but the ISIS may be smart enough to delay the latter till it is firmly established here.

Pan-jihadi Entity

How is this supra radical Sunni alignment taking shape? It has generally been propagated that there is heightening war between the ISIS and Al Qaeda but according to some reports there has been reconciliation between the Al Qaeda and ISIS in the Middle East. The ISIS has formed a Strategic Planning Committee

which is negotiating with all Sunni Muslim terrorist organisations to bring them under a common umbrella. This includes both the Taliban

(Pakistan Taliban and Afghan Taliban) plus other terrorist organisations of South Asia. The implications are a larger ISIS-Al Qaeda-Taliban Frankenstein with smaller organisations in tow – like the LeJ, Ahle Sunnat Wal Jamaat (ASWJ), LeT, even HuM, all in turn linked and supported by the Pakistan Army Inter-Services Intelligence (ISI) of Pakistan. While the ISIS is busy penetrating and investing in southern and eastern Afghanistan, what has apparently

gone unnoticed is the innocuous report of late 2014 of an ISIS delegation visiting Balochistan. There was no elaboration but conclusions can be drawn with the border between Balochistan and Afghanistan being porous. The implications for Iran are obvious even though Iran is helping Iraq battle the ISIS while parleys about Iran's nuclear programme linger on with increased Western doubts and acrimony. The ISIS link up in Balochistan can be expected with none other than the Jundallah terrorist organisation composed of Sunnis, that has been killing Shias and undertaking cross-border attacks inside Iran. It would be natural for the two to align with each other. At the same time, sporadic Taliban attacks have also occurred periodically in Gilgit-Baltistan (GB) that is largely Shia in orientation. The LeJ and ASWJ are lodged in GB and are reportedly helping the Pakistan Taliban establish

itself in the area. The Pakistan Taliban getting a foothold in GB area implies TTP will facilitate the ISIS embed in GB. With such a move, the ISIS and Taliban would not only go after the Shia community in the area but would pose a bigger threat to India, particularly in J&K including the Shia and Buddhist population of Ladakh. Simultaneously, it would also heighten terrorism in Xinjiang by supporting the ETIM and attempt forays into Central Asia.

India-specific Threat

The danger of jihadist groups of South Asia bandwagoning with ISIS cannot be ruled out and appears already happening. Countries like Pakistan with institutionalised radicalisation of the Wahabi-Deobandi variety will naturally fall prey. But this does not preclude radicals in India and Bangladesh, developments in latter having serious implications for India with the porous border. Organisations like the IM and SIMI are apparently already in contact with ISIS, in addition to with Pakistan based terrorist organisations. A National Investigation Agency report of last year had mentioned more than 300 Indian youth having been recruited by the TTP (aligned with ISIS) and being trained in Pakistan, Iraq and Syria to become fidayeen. The ISIS already has support base in Maldives and the island nation with some 92,000 foreigners at any one time and 1,000 uninhabited islands could be used to attack South India. The advent of ISIS in AfPak region including GB area raises the danger threshold beyond what may have been experienced till now, what with the larger radical mass with Pakistan's ISI as the nucleus and ISIS prowess in cyber-terrorism and access to WMD material.

American Double Standard


It would also be naïve to discount that the ISIS is not part of the Great Game of big powers and does not continue to get external support that want them alive and kicking; continuing Saudi-Qatar-Kuwaiti support is obvious. The fact that despite a 40 nation coalition arrayed against it, the ISIS is still able to gross US\$ 3 million on daily basis through smuggling out and selling oil is astounding. Protracted US-NATO strikes never killed the Al Qaeda and Taliban and will not inhibit the ISIS either whose cadres and territories have expanded exponentially. The experience in earlier conflict zones had shot up the oil prices but despite the heightened and prolonged conflict on account of the ISIS, oil prices remained unaffected and actually have been going down. The CIA had admitted that former British military officers were training the ISIS – perhaps in Turkey. Then Jordanian media reported simultaneously that the ISIS was being trained by US instructors inside Jordan. The fact remains that such activities must have been over a period of months and it can hardly be accepted that this was not known to the CIA, Pentagon and MI6 even if these instructors were from mercenary organisations, what with added capabilities of the American NSA etc. So, India

will need to be wary of objectives of players of the Great Game that is developing in South Asia, false pretenses notwithstanding.

Homeland Security

It is possible that the advent of ISIS in AfPak may still be viewed as distant in India. That would be a folly. We need to be proactive in multiple fronts: Negate Indians joining ISIS; build capacity for the Herculean task of monitoring radical propaganda in cyberspace; optimise strategic partnerships for intelligence sharing and counter-terrorism; institutionalise de-radicalisation where warranted and; speedily bridge the glaring void of credible deterrent against sub-conventional and asymmetric war. In a welcome move, India and the US have announced plans to jointly target the financial networks of terror groups; collaborate to check illicit money transfers for terrorism, money laundering and other illegal activities. The terror groups to be targeted include, LeT, JuD, Haqqani network, D-Company of underworld don Dawood Ibrahim, Al Qaeda and ISIS. It is also good to know that our Ministry of Home Affairs and the security establishment are examining best practices for counter-radicalisation practices followed around the world including Austria's latest 'Extremism Counselling Hotline' to enable parents, teachers and friends of vulnerable and indoctrinated youth to seek professional help, the hotline not linked to police but non-profit organisations has evoked good response. Such de-radicalisation centres also conduct educational lectures and put out material to help identify potential threats. Other policies under study include the American counter-radicalisation programme focused on community outreach and Britain's Prevent and Channel programmes.

Pakistani Patronage

Additionally, we also should acknowledge that Pakistan's fixation for wresting Kashmir and balkanise and weaken India is heightening Pakistan's proxy war against India and is not going to diminish. Sartaj Aziz has publicly stated that Pakistan should not target militants who do not threaten the country's (Pakistan's) security while Nawaz Sharif has recently reiterated that Kashmir is the jugular of Pakistan. This clearly shows that Pakistan will continue to officially patronise all anti-India terrorist groups, with ISI coordinating their actions. Pakistan faces a combination of separatist pressures plus foreign and domestic neo-Salafi threats are all veering to the larger fold to bring Pakistan under Sharia rule in pursuit of a radical Sunni Muslim world. The prediction made in August 2011 by Pervez Hoodbhoy, Professor, Quaid-i-Azam University, Islamabad "An extremist takeover of Pakistan is probably no further than five to 10 years away" appears coming true. But the advent of ISIS and its bandwagoning by radical Pakistani organisations will likely turn Pakistan into a Wahabi-Deobandi Muslim state. This would have a ripple effect in South Asia including in India. 

Establishment of a wilayah in the region does raise the spectre of more sectarian clashes including against non-Wahabis and Deobandi Muslims

SHIA MOSQUE BOMBING IN PAKISTAN

As Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif continues to pledge to fight the war against terrorism, he is being challenged every now and then by the Sunni extremists. The attacks in the beginning of the year are reported to be a response from the Sunni Pakistani Taliban group against Islamabad's effort to beef up its actions against the group and its allies.



The gory incident of January 30, 2015 in Shikarpur district of Sindh province in Pakistan is no surprise at all. It is yet another terrorist attack that Pakistan has been a victim of. Reportedly, Pakistan's Taliban, a Sunni group attacked a Shia mosque killing dozens of people. During 2015, this is the second attack on a Shia mosque. Earlier this year, there was a bomb blast in a Shia mosque in Rawalpindi which killed seven people reported to have been conducted by Sunni group.

As sectarian violence between Shias and the Sunnis is on the rise in Pakistan, this attack only

makes matters worse. The 'high intensity' explosion carried out by the Jundullah (affiliated with the Taliban) at the Imambargah Maula Karbala was on a Friday, thus well-planned since several Muslims would have gathered in the mosque to offer their Friday prayers. The attack is reported to have injured and killed several children also. Most people are reported to have died due to suffocation and injuries from being trapped in roof debris.

Ineffective Prime Minister?

As Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif continues to pledge to fight the war against terrorism, he is

being challenged every now and then by the Sunni extremists. The attacks in the beginning of year are reported to be a response from the Sunni Pakistani Taliban group against Islamabad's effort to beef up its actions against the group and its allies.

Some of the Shia groups in Pakistan have also carried out protests against such gory attacks demanding the arrests of those who conducted such attacks and also demanded better protection of their places of worship. The Majlis Wahdat-e-Muslimeen, a religious organisation in Pakistan, condemned the terrorist attack and protested that terrorists are roaming freely and the government was incapable of protecting the lives of the citizens. The attack was also condemned by Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif, President Mamnoon Hussain, Pakistan's Tehreek-e-Insaf chairman Imran Khan and Muttahida Qaumi Movement chief Altaf Hussain.

The Shias comprise of 20 per cent of the population in Pakistan and most Sunnis do not recognise them as true Muslims and also call them 'blasphemers'. According to reports, Sunni militants have targeted Shia mosques and killed Shia pilgrims travelling to Iran. They have also assassinated several Shia religious figures and community leaders. Places like Quetta and Peshawar have turned into graveyards for the Shias. Sometimes even big cities like Karachi have not been safe for these minorities. The Sindh province is reported to have become a hub for Sufism, which is considered to be unorthodox by the anti-Shia militants.

Atrocities committed against the Hazara and other Shia Muslims in the Balochistan region by the Sunni extremists and the inability of the government to deal with these issues remain a challenge and these Shias are attacked on their way to 'religious processions' or when they are praying or when they are heading to work. In addition to this, the Lashkar-e-Jhangvi (LeJ), an offshoot of the Sipah-i-Sahaba, which has conducted all these atrocities in Balochistan has also time and again attacked police and paramilitary forces assigned to protect Shia led processions and pilgrimages. The main aim of the LeJ is to aggravate differences between Shias and the Sunnis in order to increase violence between the two sects.


The occasion of Ashura, falling on the 10th day of Muharram, witnesses several tit-for-tat exchanges of violence between Shias and the Sunnis which have aggravated over the years with Taliban forces attacking the Shia minorities while Iran backed Shias retaliating in return. Since 2013, according to the Human Rights Watch, 800 Shias have been killed by Sunni militant groups. Moreover, as noted by the United Nations, the increased number of madrassas, most of them being based on Sunni fundamentalism are regarded as 'hotbeds of militancy' and a source of training for jihad. However, militant groups also exist in the

Shia community, undoubtedly influenced by the Iranians who have always supported the Shia minority in the region like the Sipah-e-Mohammed Pakistan (SMP) and they regularly receive financial support and training from Iran.

No Place In Pakistan

In an article published in *Dawn*, Pakistan's leading newspaper in the year 2013, it reported that life of Shia minorities and the Sunni moderates would be tougher now as Sunni extremists overrun the country. The article written by Murtaza Haider, then the Associate Dean with the Ted Rogers School of Management at Ryerson University went to the extent of suggesting Shias to relocate themselves. He further suggested that Shias should seek asylum elsewhere rather than be 'splattered on a wall.'

There is little doubt that atrocities against the Shia Muslims would increase in the future especially as the US and NATO troops withdraw from Afghanistan. This of course, could be well supported by the Saudi Arabia, another Sunni majority state which would seek to prevent the rise of the Shias in any form. Any influence of the Shias in the region could give an upper hand to the Iranians which would not be encouraged by the Sunni majority states like Pakistan and Saudi Arabia. In fact, these Sunni militant groups follow Wahabism, prevalent in Saudi Arabia. However, seeking for asylum is no solution but escapism.

The Pakistan government has to now act strongly and punish those Sunni extremists involved in such atrocities and be able to make the Shia minority feel safe in the country. Most importantly, the United States would need to persuade Saudi Arabia which is the 'significant source' of funding the Sunni militant groups to stop such funds flowing into these organisations if the US is to fight the 'global war on terror' in the true sense. Moreover, the National Counter Terrorism Authority (NCTA) in Pakistan has suggested a National Action Plan (NAP) to curb terrorism which would include not just cracking down on terrorist organisations in the country, but also preventing the funding of the organisations by Iran, Saudi Arabia and others. Surely, this would indeed be a Herculean task. 

The Shias comprise of 20 per cent of the population in Pakistan and most Sunnis do not recognise them as true Muslims and also call them 'blasphemers'



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GEOSTRATEGIC BLUNDERS AMERICAN HAND IN CREATING ISIS?

The US vow ‘to change the Middle East so as to deny support for militant Islam by pressuring or transforming the nations and transnational systems that support it’ has proved, once again, to be so much gas. The Global War on Terror launched after the 9/11 attack on the World Trade Centre in New York and the Pentagon has failed to achieve the stated goal. If anything, the world is a worse place than when the Twin Towers were reduced to rubble.

The American fixation for regime change in nations inimical to its world view and a policy of ‘let the chips fall where they may’ has led to the current situation in which the Islamic State of Iraq and Syria controls large chunks of the Middle East. The process began with the senior George HW Bush (as different from his son George W Bush) made the following broadcast over *Voice of America* radio: “There is another way for the bloodshed to stop and that is, for the Iraqi military and the Iraqi people to take matters into their own hands and force Saddam Hussein, the dictator, to step aside and then comply with the United Nations’ resolutions and rejoin the family of peace-loving nations” on 15 February 1991. This was during the First Gulf War that was intended to push Iraq out of Kuwait.

Two days after the Liberation of Kuwait on 1 March 1991, the US President again made a broadcast in which he said: “In my own view ... the Iraqi people should put [Saddam] aside and that would facilitate the resolution of all these problems that exist and certainly would facilitate the acceptance of Iraq back into the family of peace-loving nations”.

The Main Purpose

Thus, the intention never was to follow in letter and spirit of the UN Security Council Resolution 687

which was only for the discovery and elimination of Iraqi weapons of mass destruction. On February 24, the CIA radio *Voice of Free Iraq* broadcast from Saudi Arabia directed at the ‘honourable sons of Tigris and the Euphrates’ to rise up and overthrow Saddam Hussein. The ‘honourable sons of the Tigris and Euphrates’ were the Shia Marsh Arabs and the instigation was obvious. They were being egged on to take on the largely Sunni but effectively secular Baathist regime of Saddam Hussein. Similar was the case of the Kurds in the north who were restive under instigation from the CIA which had direct contact with the Kurdish chieftain Abdullah Barzani and his son. Saddam tried to win over the Shias and the Kurds by offering them participation in governance from Baghdad but convinced as they were that the Americans would intervene militarily they rejected the offer. Swiftly in raids from the south (Basra) the Shias made deep inroads across Southern Iraq and the Kurds rushed towards Baghdad from the north and east. Together they soon controlled most of the Iraqi provinces. But within a month Saddam was able to wrest control of these territories.

Undisguised Instigation

But President Bush did not send any troops. In fact he denied that he had made any such promise. He used the Shias and the Kurds to try and get rid of Saddam Hussein and destroy the predominantly

Sunni Baathist parties of both Iraq and Syria. It needs to be recalled that all the minority communities inclusive of the Kurds, Shias, Christians etc were allowed to practice their religions without hindrance. The Baathists kept the state out of religion. But after the uprising, Saddam Hussein was merciless in his actions against the Marsh Arabs. He set about draining the marshland formed by the confluence of the Tigris and Euphrates before they flowed into the Persian Gulf. That destroyed the livelihood and culture of the Marsh Arabs and many of them became refugees in Iran.

The invasion of Iraq in 2003 by George Bush Junior ostensibly to look for weapons of mass destruction (a milk powder factory purportedly manufacturing precursor chemicals for use in nuclear fuel was destroyed) but no nuclear weapons were ever found. Saddam was caught and hanged and the Coalition Forces began their political engineering to fill the void created by the removal of the Baath Party in Iraq. Apart from the UN resolutions on Iraq, one stated objective of the US assault on Iraq was ‘to change the Middle East so as to deny support for militant Islam by pressuring or transforming the nations and transnational systems that support it’. Ostensibly to attain that end result the US and its coalition partners facilitated the emergence of the Shias as the new rulers of Iraq. The Shias form more than 60 per cent of the population and the fact that the minority Sunnis ruled the nation for several decades was indigestible to the US and its allies. They inverted the hourglass of demography and the time bomb began ticking.

Shia Government

Instead of retaining the pluralistic character of Iraqi society the Shia dominated government brought to the fore by the US patronage took decisions that earned it enemies in their hundreds of thousands. Not all of them were diehard Sunni jihadis but they were Saddam loyalists. The Coalition Provisional Authority as the transitional government was called took decisions that further fractured the polity. For one, in a fit of de-Baathification under US diktat it banned all Saddam loyalists from government posts. The other self-inflicted wound was to disband the Iraqi Armed Forces and Paramilitary Security Forces thereby unleashing packs of well-trained, well-armed and battle-hardened Sunni foot soldiers who began picking off the Shias wherever they could be found.

Zarqawi Killed

In spite of attempts by the US and its allies to make out that there was a nexus between Saddam Hussein and Osama bin Laden and his United Jihad Council the so-called ‘Al Qaeda in Iraq (AQI)’ were jihadi cohorts imported by Abu Musab al-Zarqawi, a Jordanian who had received training in Afghanistan and had created a network of Afghans and Pakistanis.

From Herat, in Afghanistan, he went to northern Iraq and joined forces with the local Kurdish insurgency. It was some years later that he linked up with Osama bin Laden’s Al Qaeda but the alliance did not last because of tactical differences between Osama bin Laden, his deputy Ayman al-Zawahiri and al-Zarqawi over targeting Shia places of worship. In 2006 in coalition with several other jihadi organisations he formed the Mujahideen Shura Council. A few months later al-Zarqawi was traced to a house in a village north of Baghdad and a drone attack was launched killing him, his political mentor and several close aides.

Trail Of Horror

However, his trail of horror which earned him a UN blacklisting was emulated by his successor, a cleric from Egypt. In swift campaigns the ISIS gained control of large parts of Iraq and Syria and even as this was happening, the US and coalition forces affected a withdrawal from Iraq in 2011 leaving the Shia government led by Nouri al-Maliki sitting on a sea of debris of towns destroyed and monuments demolished. The monthly death toll is in hundreds. The US vow ‘to change the Middle East so as to deny support for militant Islam by pressuring or transforming the nations and transnational systems that support it’ has proved, once again, to be so much gas. The Global War on Terror launched after the 9/11 attack on the World Trade Centre in New York and the Pentagon has failed to achieve the stated goal. If anything, the world is a worse place than when the Twin Towers were reduced to rubble.

With the 2011 withdrawal the US and its allies left the field open to the Al Qaeda in Iraq (AQI) which swiftly filled the vacuum, killing everyone in its path. The current policy of stand-off aerial bombardment without ‘boots on the ground’ is only going to create more rubble on the ground. It is possible that, like al-Zarqawi and dozens of other terrorist commanders in the Iraq-Afghanistan belt, they can be found and eliminated from the air; but in the final analysis the US and its allies would have to bring back their counter-terrorism specialists to try and put the genie, released by their mindless experiments in regime change, back into the bottle. Instead, they are doing in Syria (overthrowing Bashar al-Assad’s Baathist government) exactly in the same way as they did to Saddam Hussein in Iraq. The consequences are only going to be worse given that it opens the door to the whole Mediterranean. **USA**



Cecil Victor

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The US and its coalition partners facilitated the emergence of the Shias as the new rulers of Iraq



MILITARY IN CYBERSPACE

The role of military in securing the critical infrastructure of the nation and operational readiness to launch a cyber offensive at any desired point of time, in addition to securing its own vital networks, is not just inevitable but essential.



As a technology, cyberspace has assumed a strategic role being the key enabler of business and governmental operations. The growth of this technology has primarily been propelled by globalisation, not just impacting but transforming the modes of communication, information exchange and organisational operations. Armed forces are no exception to this phenomenon, as their full spectrum of intelligence and business operations, including logistics, transportation and the command and control have certain degree of dependency on cyberspace. While globalisation has induced complex interdependencies among nation states and multinational organisations in the economic sphere, it has also nurtured intense competition and rivalries in the security domain. The threats have increased manifold, especially the way nation states are building their capabilities to

intrude into unclassified or classified networks, either through military means or their intelligence organisations. Moreover, the non-state actors are becoming increasingly threatening with the capabilities to penetrate or disrupt networks and systems. These threats made cyberspace the fifth domain of battlefield and lately compelled the armed forces to play an active role in the security of cyberspace, leading to the establishment of 'Cyber Commands' dedicated for military operations. According to various media reports, Indian Armed Forces are slated to have their own Cyber Command and the government is quite keen with this idea. Any further delay in setting up an overt Cyber Command is detrimental to the interests of the government of India or its armed forces in the cyberspace. However, along with a Cyber Command on the ground, India needs a well articulated military strategy or a doctrine for cyberspace operations.

Emerging Domain

In the shadow of recent Sony hacking incident and the consequential North Korea's massive Internet outage, it is well established that nation states can leverage cyberspace to terrorise populace in the adversarial state. In response, the Pentagon has demonstrated its capability to integrate cyberspace into their battlefield plans. There are divergent views whether to term these acts as cyberwar or cyberterrorism. However, computer viruses could be put in use by a nation state or non-state actors to disrupt computer networks in order to attain political objectives through terrorist activities. In other words, Cyber resources could be utilised by terrorist groups and nation states for disruption in the form of attacks on networks, computer systems and infrastructures which are deemed to be critical for the functioning of a nation state. One of the most quoted incidents is the Distributed Denial of Service attack by Russia on Estonia in 2007, where Estonian ministry and banking networks were knocked down. It is quite certain that the frequency and gravity of these incidents would increase in future, whether they are deemed as acts of war or terrorism, carried out by state or non-state actors, the baseline of threat remains same. When the idea of a Cyber Command is mooted, it is important to understand its relevance from doctrinal point of view.

In military terms, doctrine guides the operational art and tactics; it sets the objectives and guides the means and methods to attain the objectives. Doctrinal changes are flexible and fast, adaptable to changing circumstances and environment, such as changes in technology. Thus, doctrine constantly matures and evolves. Consequently, doctrine influences strategy and the results of strategy become the experiences that are the basis for doctrine. A guide is required to deal with the varying interpretations, advances in technology, miscalculation and policy shifts amidst the continuously changing character of war. The change in the scope and meaning of tactics overtime has been largely due to enormous changes in technology and cyber is one of them. A Cyber Command is a manifestation of changes brought in by cyberspace at strategic and doctrinal level.

The question at the first place arises, why does a nation state require a strategy or a Cyber Command for its armed forces? Over the years, cyberspace has become a critical component of military operations, along with the day-to-day functioning of the economic and societal functions. The nation states need their armed forces to be combat ready to tackle any operation, securing the national interest and maintaining their superiority in this newly emerged domain of warfare. The primary

objective of a Cyber Command is to secure its area of responsibility in the cyberspace from adversarial interference or in other terms ensure freedom of action while denying the same to the adversary.

US Cyber Command

The US Cyber Command (USCYBERCOM) was established with the vision of fusing the full spectrum of cyberspace operations of the US Department of Defence (DoD), primarily charged with the day-to-day defence and protection of its information networks; providing support to military missions and most importantly prepare to and when directed, conduct full spectrum military cyberspace operations. The command is envisioned to centralise command of cyberspace operations, strengthen and integrate DoD cyberspace capabilities and expertise. It is tasked to support

the Armed Services' ability to confidently conduct high-tempo, effective operations as well as protect command and control systems and the cyberspace infrastructure supporting weapons system platforms from disruptions, intrusions and attacks. It is quite evident from the recent Crimea conflict or either from the cases of Estonia and Georgia from last decade; geopolitical conflicts are increasingly playing out in cyberspace. Therefore, in a futuristic scenario, military intervention in a cyber conflict arising out of a geopolitical or economic confrontation is inevitable and the execution of such an operation would fall under the aegis of a Cyber Command.

The DoD released its National Military Strategy for Cyberspace Operations (NMS-CO) in 2011 (penned down in 2006), which acts as a reference document to ensure US military superiority in cyberspace. It identifies strategic goals through five fundamental ways: information operations, network operations, kinetic actions, law enforcement and counter-intelligence and themes and messages. Rather, it is fascinating to note that the DoD is a key stakeholder in the National Infrastructure Protection Plan of the US government, which engulfs critical infrastructure and key resource protection. Cyberspace is tightly integrated into the operations of critical infrastructure. Therefore, the DoD is gearing up to be prepared to provide military options to the President and



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Security of critical infrastructure and socio-economic interests in the cyberspace is a matter of national security, where role of military is pertinent

Secretary of Defense in cyberspace to defeat, dissuade and deter threats against US interests. The National Security Agency (NSA) and the Cyber Command of the US are headed by the same officer; therefore the close alignment or mashing of the NSA and Cyber Command has blurred the lines between operations of a spy agency and the military.

Indian Cyber Command

In the last couple of years, there have been numerous media reports stating the efforts on part of the government and the armed forces of India to push for a Cyber Command. In May 2013, the then Defence Minister AK Antony reiterated that a Cyber Command will be established in the armed forces as part of strengthening the cyber defence security in the country. The previous Chief of Army Staff, General Bikram Singh had also pitched for a tri-Service cyber command. It came out in media that the Ministry of Defence has a draft on the subject ready and it is awaiting nod from the Cabinet Committee on Security, headed by the Prime Minister.

The Cyber Command proposal was prepared in consultations with the Chiefs of the Air Force, Army and Navy, in the wake of incidents of cyberattacks on India such as Chinese hackers breaking into sensitive computer systems at the headquarters of the Eastern Naval Command in Visakhapatnam, where the indigenous nuclear submarine *Arihant* has been undergoing sea trials. The Defence Research and Development Organisation (DRDO) also found its computer systems breached in an alleged attack from Chinese hackers in 2013. Some media reports by the end of the previous year stated that the Ministry of Defence remains undecided on whether to establish a dedicated cyber command despite a push by the three military Services.


Primarily, over a dozen organisations like Ministry of Home Affairs, Ministry of Communications and Information Technology, the National Disaster Management Authority, Computer Emergency Response Team (CERT-In) and the newly established National Critical Information Infrastructure Protection Centre (NCIIPC) have been tasked with cyber security at various levels. Most of them are facing human resources crunch and skewed funding; additionally there are divergences over areas of responsibility in the absence of clearly defined mandate. A new agency in the form of a Cyber Command should not just avoid interference with any of the existing apparatus, but share resources and expertise with its civilian counterparts as well.

Security of critical infrastructure and socio-economic interests in the cyberspace is a matter of national security, where role of military is pertinent. There should be a well articulated

military strategy for operations in cyberspace and even if it is deemed to be classified, the doctrine for cyber operations should be placed in the public domain for wider debate and discussion, on the similar lines of Indian Nuclear Doctrine. Such a measure would not just bring in diverse views for further refinement of doctrine, but clearly put across the objectives of the armed forces the case of a cyber conflict. As per the election manifesto, the Bharatiya Janta Party (BJP) pledged to 'study in detail India's nuclear doctrine and revise and update it, to make it relevant to [the] challenges of current times.' If that is the case, the BJP led government should be more inclined towards rolling out a Cyber Doctrine which is equally relevant to the challenges of the present times.

Overlapping Interests

The voices against militarisation of cyberspace have been arising in the academic community. But the countries where these voices originate from, themselves are developing military capability with dedicated resources and Cyber Commands. Even China is known to have specialised teams to launch offensive cyber operations, if the need to do so arises. The political leadership is supporting 'informationisation' of its military with more training and educational programmes in cyber warfare; improving the information network for military training and developing laboratories. India should not lag behind to land up in a strategic disadvantageous position. Although, the lately published National Cyber Security Policy of India (released in 2013) is miles apart from implementation, the role of armed forces in securing the cyberspace should be overtly supported

by the political leadership at the earliest. This does not necessarily amount to an arms race, but certainly this would ensure India's anticipated response or deterrent effect in the minds of the adversary. The technical wings of intelligence agencies and armed forces have synergy in this specific domain; they can exchange ideas, resources and expertise, much desired to address the present day challenges. Cyberspace has transformed the operational aspects of military and functioning of the society and economy with overlapping interests. It has brought in paradigm shift at the doctrinal and strategic levels while it has evolved as another dimension in the national security. The role of military in securing the critical infrastructure of the nation and operational readiness to launch a cyber offensive at any desired point of time, in addition to securing its own vital networks, is not just inevitable but essential. The time is ripe for India to roll out a Military Cyber Doctrine and Cyber Command, drawing synergy from the existing apparatus in the civilian domain. 

The time is ripe for India to roll out a Military Cyber Doctrine and Cyber Command, drawing synergy from the existing apparatus in the civilian domain



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THE EMERGING THREAT OF 'MARITIME JIHAD' OFF INDIA'S WESTERN SEABOARD

Since the September 2014 terrorist attempt on *PNS Zulfiqar*, the US-led coalition naval forces operating off the Arabian Peninsula have intensified their counter-maritime terrorism exercises. The exercises are not only about naval force protection. These are also about addressing what the terrorists could do to disrupt global economy and regional security.

The decapitation of Sri Lanka's Tamil Sea Tigers half-decade ago led to euphoria among many in the global maritime community. Perhaps, those who waited with bated breath were more realistic. Events suggest that the proliferation of religious radical ideology in West Asia may be spilling over to the maritime realm.

The current developments relating to the Islamic State in Iraq and Syria (ISIS) represent the intensification of Islamic fundamentalism in India's western neighbourhood. The ISIS seeks to establish a region-wide Islamic caliphate in the area and draws

strength from the extremist 'jihadi' philosophy of terrorist groups like Al Qaeda. The ongoing conflict against the Al Qaeda-ISIS combine presently involves the United States and its Western allies. However, it bears maritime security ramifications, particularly for countries in West Asia and South Asia, considering the strengthening linkages between the Al Qaeda-ISIS and the Afghani and Pakistan Taliban.

Islamic State's Maritime Necessities

The prevailing ambitions of the ISIS to create its own sovereign state necessitates economic wherewithal. It has under its control the expansive oil fields in Northern Iraq, large enough to sustain its economy, but provided it could export the oil. Hence, it would not be able to support itself as a sovereign state without being able to use the sea. To be able to do that, it must be able to ensure the security of its maritime communications. It is not surprising, therefore, that the ISIS has made plans to buy islands from Yemen and Comoros in the Indian Ocean 'to establish military base on the flank of the Arab lands'.

It may be conceived that ISIS would eventually plan to establish its own Navy. But the evolutionary process is likely to begin with developing the capabilities for undertaking asymmetric maritime warfare, similar to what the Sri Lankan Tamil insurgency adopted. For honing its nautical skills for maritime warfare, the ISIS is likely to turn to the Al Qaeda, which has lately demonstrated its maritime intent. It is important to recall that the Al Qaeda had maintained symbiotic relations with the Tamil Sea Tigers. The Al Qaeda suicide attack on *USS Cole* in 2000 using a bomb-laden boat was derived from the Sea Tiger tactics. In September 2014, three days after declared intent to carry its 'jihad' to the Indian subcontinent, Al Qaeda operatives undertook an unsuccessful attempt to take control of *PNS Zulfiqar* in Karachi, with the aim of striking US warships operating in the area.

Following the September 2014 *PNS Zulfiqar* incident, the Indian Navy placed its warships on high alert. The alert was particularly necessary since the Al Qaeda could have planned a concurrent maritime-terror strike against India. In any case, the Al Qaeda mission would have encouraged the Pakistan-based terrorist outfits and their state sponsors to strike India via the sea – such as a repeat of the November 2008 terrorist strike on Mumbai (26/11).

Coast Guard Interception

As per news reports, less than four months later on January 1, 2015, a repeat of 26/11 was averted by the Indian Coast Guard's vigil at Gujarat Coast

on India's western littoral, which houses a large number of strategic installations and assets. As per these reports, the Indian Coast Guard foiled the terrorist attack being undertaken by two explosive-laden Karachi-based trawlers. Following an hour-long hot pursuit, one of the trawlers blew itself up. Some have challenged the validity of the Indian government's assertion that this was a foiled terrorist strike supported by the Pakistani military establishment. Notwithstanding the contention, when the incident occurred, the Indian Navy was in a state of high alert for the preceding two months, as stated by the Indian Navy Chief. This indicates that the Indian naval leadership was anticipating such trouble, possibly based on hard intelligence. Hence, the incident only reinforces the looming threat posed by maritime terrorism.

Dragon Seed

It is important to remember that the rise of Islamic fundamentalism is neither confined to Al Qaeda and ISIS nor to West Asia alone. Country-specific radicalism has sprung all across the Afro-Asian region to as far away as Southeast Asia, some of these being a result of the Arab Spring. Such movements could reinforce each other, including in the maritime domain. In September 2013, for instance, an

Egypt-based Islamist terror group Al-Furqan supporting the 'Muslim Brotherhood' attacked a Chinese-owned merchant vessel transiting through the Suez Canal with a rocket-propelled grenade (RPG).

The international maritime straits off the Arabian Peninsula – particularly the Strait of Hormuz as the key conduit for energy supplies to the world's major economies – are highly vulnerable to asymmetric threats like crude sea mines.

The activation of a single mine in the maritime choke point, even without substantive effect of blocking the passage – would suffice to frighten shipping companies, thereby hiking shipping costs, oil prices and insurance rates to a level that would adversely affect the global economy in a major way.

Threat Perception

In October 2014, MAST – a leading global maritime security provider – issued an advisory stating that the risk area spans from Strait of Hormuz and Bab-el-Mandeb to Suez Canal and further to the Strait of Gibraltar. It added that the risk-prone platforms include not only oil tankers, but also cruise liners and large cargo ships, particularly those carrying hazardous material.

The threat of maritime terrorism posed by ISIS is being taken seriously, both by the regional countries and the international military forces deployed from the Arabian Peninsula. In a notable development of recent times, in December 2014, the UK decided to establish a permanent military base in Bahrain. Notably, Bahrain will provide

The ISIS has made plans to buy islands from Yemen and Comoros in the Indian Ocean to establish military base on the flank of the Arab lands

The threat of maritime terrorism posed by ISIS is being taken seriously, both by the regional countries and the international military forces

majority of the £ 15 million funding for establishing the base, which clearly indicates the regional countries are realising their higher stakes to counter the ISIS threat. Although four Royal Navy minesweepers have been based at Bahrain for many years, the new base would enable the UK to commit more potent naval assets in the region for conceivable contingencies that may necessitate high intensity military operations. The return of Royal Navy's permanent presence in Asia since 1971 is evidently driven by the emerging threat of the ISIS, besides its alliance commitment to the US to offset this 'distraction' to America's 'rebalance' strategy.

Emerging Countermeasures

Since the September 2014 terrorist attempt on *PNS Zulfiqar*, the US-led coalition naval forces operating off the Arabian Peninsula have intensified their counter-maritime terrorism exercises. The exercises are not only about naval force protection. These are also about addressing what the terrorists could do to disrupt global economy and regional security.

In November 2014, the US-led coalition naval forces conducted a large-scale International Mine

Countermeasures Exercise (IMCMEX). However, four major stakeholder navies were conspicuous by their absence in the exercises. The non-involvement of China, Iran and Russia may be premised on geopolitical factors. Despite the ISIS call for annexing the Uighur Muslim-dominated Xinjiang as part of the Islamic state, China prefers that the West bears the brunt of the instability that does not directly impinge on its interests, at least not in the maritime domain. Iran – as the one directly impacted due to geographical proximity – has initiated its own maritime counter-terror measures. Russia's intensifying geopolitical rivalry with the West is well known. Despite Moscow's continuing support to the Syrian government and the ISIS fighters threatening to 'liberate Chechnya and the Caucasus', President Putin has decided not to be part of the 'broad coalition'. Importantly, Russia is not affected in the maritime domain.

However, India's non-participation was surprising. Even though the exercises are conducted by the US Central Command whereas India falls within the Area of Responsibility of the US Pacific Command, considering India's emerging role as a 'net security provider' in the region, the Indian Navy should be a participant in such exercises, not merely for its own security, but also for the regional cause. **USA**





TERROR IN THE CYBERSPACE

Security should start from home ie the government. As an immediate step, government officials should be mandated not to use any public mail (Gmail, Yahoo! etc) for any of their official correspondence, government departments or Public Sector Undertakings should not host any of their servers abroad, CERT-In should be made more proactive and empowered more.

Cybercrimes and cyberterrorism are both criminal acts. The former is generally a domestic and personal act and the latter is most often against the state or a community or a foreign nation. Technology is the basis and tool for both. Cyberterrorism is a terrorist activity in cyberspace. In fact, cyber terrorists are often reported to have used many advanced technologies too like sophisticated DDoS attacks, cryptographic communication, proxy servers, hate websites, session hijacking, snooping and even a 512-bit encryption, (extremely impossible to decrypt) reportedly used by Osama bin Laden, LTTE outfits etc.

Terrorism – A Peep Into History

Crime is as old as human beings. What is in today's technological parlance called 'Advanced Persistent Threats' (APTs) are also as old as civilisation like espionage, treason and sedition and of course terrorism. Chanakya in his much acclaimed work *Arthashastra* written around 350 BC, speaks about spying, terrorism and revolting against the nation in an overt and covert manner and the use of all sorts of information obtained from various sources.

Technology As An Enabler

Technology is a multi-edged tool like a Swiss knife and can make or mar things. In this age of Internet of Things, with every information available on the Net, any data can be legitimately used, abhorrently abused, menacingly misused or deliberately disused too. Sometimes, the difference between a pure technology and an illegal use gets blurred. For instance, IP Tracing, IP Spoofing, Email Spoofing, Fastflux, Dumpster Diving, Scavenging, Steganography or even writing a DoS query generator programme are all pure technologies which can be legitimately taught and learnt by anyone passionate about such technological know-how but, such knowledge when caught in the hands of misguided youth, may be grossly misused for solely terrorist purposes with dire catastrophic consequences.

Rationalising Terrorism

As has been said from the old schools of thought on crimes, every offence has three sides or ingredients to it, in greater or lesser degree. It applies to cyberterrorism too. The three sides are: i) Need / Greed ii) Opportunity and iii) Rationalisation. In cybercrimes particularly, the need or greed is the 'benefits' to the criminal for committing the crime coupled with the opportunity

that the technology offers in the form of vulnerabilities in the system, unplugged loopholes, unprotected servers, easily penetrable networks, insecure protocols and technological weakness.

More than these, especially in terrorism, it is the rationalisation that is significant. Every terrorist justifies his act of terrorism as his 'contribution' to the 'cause' that he has taken upon himself, the 'jihadi' commitment or the justification based on a preconceived notion that whole society is corrupt and decaying with individuals of degenerating ethics 'and so what if I kill them'?

Cybercrime As A Service

It is interesting to read the phrase 'Cyber Crime as a Service' just like we read about 'Software as a Service' or 'Platform as a Service' etc in the context of cloud computing. Terrorism always has a motive, an objective, a policy commitment for those practicing it. Historically, every terrorist movement has an expiry date (eg the LTTE of Sri Lanka, Siberian War etc) and beyond that, the movement is either annihilated or pales into insignificance. Though the movement thus obliterates the act of terrorism remains and terrorists do remain in another part of the globe and with another objective. Terrorism never expires.

Weapons In Cyber Terrorism

Gone are the days when we needed highly costly, sophisticated and complicated weapons in our arsenal and conduct an army parade. These days, we have 'cyber army' an army not of guns and rifles and combat vehicles but of keyboards and mouse and network and servers. Tomorrow's wars will be fought not with guns but keyboards and remote controllers, half the globe away that are capable of triggering a major attack to annihilate the power grid, destabilise a metro rail set up or obliterate an oil supply completely.

To strike terror in a nation, we do not need an ICBM (Intercontinental Ballistic Missile) or surface-to-air missile or other kinds of such deadly weaponry in our arsenal these days. Nations pride themselves and keep flaunting such possessions during Army Parade and similar occasions. But what nations do not show or flaunt is the capability of the misguided terrorists who have acquired such dreaded technology in software which have the same devastating powers like these missiles.

Tools For Cyberterrorism

Terrorists use any technology, any gadget in furtherance of their activity so long as they can understand and deploy it. **Smartphones** are a very useful source of information for cyberterrorists. Particularly Android phones were found to be a very vulnerable target and proved very useful reportedly to gather data about opposition members in Syria who were generally using it often in times of power cuts. **Stuxnet**, infamously called the 'first digital weapon' is a computer worm that was discovered in 2010. Unlike any other virus, it did not simply steal the data but was rather designed to attack modern PLCs (Programmable Logic Controllers). A much dreaded virus, Stuxnet functions by targeting machines

using the Microsoft Windows operating system and networks, then seeking out its targets. It was reportedly used to compromise Iranian PLCs, collecting information on industrial systems there.

Drones And Robotics

Unmanned Aerial Vehicles or Remotely Piloted Vehicles run by a remote device individually or as part of a network, popularly known as 'drones' may also sometimes become a weapon for spying and a tool enabling attack at a later date. Interestingly, though India is reported to be having the second largest number of acknowledged drones in the world after the USA, the Directorate General of Civil Aviation (DGCA) reportedly does not have a policy framework or mandatory compliance guidelines on the common application of drones, adoption of technology, its civilian uses and its integration within our legal set-up.

There are instances where state governments have deployed drones or such unmanned aerial vehicles equipped with high resolution cameras for monitoring purposes in huge public gatherings, community functions and largely attended meetings like *Kumbh Mela* in UP or the *Ganesh Chaturthi* functions in Mumbai. Perhaps now, it is time the government and DGCA had a policy in place, coordinating with the other stakeholder ministries like Home, External Affairs etc and ensure drones are not used for present spying and future terrorist purposes. **SCADA** (Supervisory Control and Data Acquisition) Systems are used generally in key areas like power, oil and gas, water and waste management and sometimes in process industries like petrochemicals, cement etc. These are also comparable to PLC systems ie Programmable Logic Controllers which are also the targets for a cyber terrorist attack. With more and more key areas coming under computerisation (like automated and unmanned Metro rail etc) protection of such critical sensitive information asset is certainly going to be a major cause for concern in the years to come.

Learning The Hard Way!

In fact, to put it the other way, cyberterrorism has always given a learning opportunity to the investigators and the cyber sleuths, albeit in a most undesirable and adverse way. After all, when the cyber sleuths in the nation and maybe across the globe, were tracing the criminals through the CDRs (Call Details Records) taken from telephone exchange, tech-savvy



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terrorists switched over to VoIP and similar IP based communication that are not routed through the telephone exchange and are Internet based.

Especially while combating cyberterrorism, an inadequate legislation or an ineffective implementation of existing guidelines in these areas will have disastrous impact on information resources. Now it is the age of WhatsApp and Viber which are a major security concern because of their technology and the IP based communication. The role of the telecom operators is highly critical, since they have to share data with cyber cell investigators besides being bound by the law of the land and protect customer's data.

ISIS And Terrorism

The Islamic State of Iraq and Syria (ISIS) has become an infamously publicised Islamic 'caliphate', meaning an Islamic government led by an Islamic successor. State of Iraq and Greater Syria initiated a drive to establish a new 'caliphate' and the group could gather reportedly around 30,000 fighters partly thanks to the recruitment movements on YouTube, Facebook and Twitter using Internet as their only tool. Islamic state jihadists are planning encryption protected 'cyber caliphate' to enable them to carry out hacking attacks on West especially on banks and governments. The impact has already been felt and devastation already started. Official Twitter account of *Newsweek* was hacked in February 2015, by a group calling itself 'Cyber Caliphate' claiming to be affiliated with the Islamic State. The group changed the page's main image and shared menacing messages.

Cyber Army

Islamic states often boast of their plans to create a sophisticated cyber army but it is debatable how successful they are in combating such a war being fought in the cyberspace. Chinese hackers have been accused of attacking US businesses and government contractors reported to have had support from government authorities, China certainly has a huge cyber army that can boast of much financial allocation, technological strength and state support.

Back home in India, though on earlier occasions, remote triggered bomb blasts and RDX devices have all been used, terrorists' communication was essentially through cell phone or sms only and the CDR data had always helped the police. The security vulnerabilities and the difficult-to-trace features of VoIP or Satphones were best utilised by the terrorists during the Taj Hotel attack in November 2008.

Protection Against Cyberterrorism

To a great extent it depends upon factors such as preparation and deployment of effective monitoring etc perhaps even facing the criticism of invasion into privacy with gumption and firm commitment. Adoption of standards and insistence on compliance too will go a long way. For instance, in the airline industry, there are international guidelines for airport safety and non-compliance may even result in serious action including prohibiting travel itself.

Criminal justice dispensation should focus more on facts and laws than on procedures. Protracted judicial

process has been the hallmark of Indian justice system. Government should take deterrent and stern action by even proactively targeting the key leaders of terrorist outfits unmindful of attracting a possible criticism of human rights violations. It should be borne in mind that certainty of punishment is a more deterrent action than severity of laws. Government should enhance its defence infrastructure, by making the targets harder to attack and by constantly gathering intelligence and thwarting the attempt before the strike occurs. Besides, efforts like negotiating with the terrorist outfits for an amicable solution should always be on.

The Budapest Convention on cybercrimes was perhaps the first major multilateral convention on cyber security and a significant step towards exchange of cyber security related information among nations. Criticised to be lacking in equitable treatment of all nations, India has not signed it and the real effectiveness of the convention as a global tool to combat cyber terrorism is debatable.

Techno-legal Solution

There is no guaranteed panacea for cyberterrorism. The solution is always techno-legal. Typically for a nation like India, the issue is certainly a little more complex than what one can imagine. We pride ourselves that we are an IT super power and boast of the percentage of Indians in US corporates like Microsoft, HP or NASA but still India does not have its own operating system, an indigenous search engine, hardware boxes, high-end servers, server hosts, high-end network equipment like routers, firewalls etc.

Fighting terrorism should necessarily start with homeland security and better co-ordination among all the investigating agencies. At present NTRO, Defence Ministry, Home Ministry, State Police Departments, CBI, IB, RAW, BSF, NETRA (Network Traffic Analysis of DRDO), Police in the Border States are all the main stakeholders either as investigating agencies or as intelligence bodies. Any cyberterrorism related information with one of these should systematically and in confidence be passed on to the other. The apex level Cyber Monitoring Agency or the Central Monitoring System mooted with the idea of a *panopticon* (though not surprisingly, criticised in the media to be an invasion into data privacy) should be made operational and more effective. The idea of a national level firewall and enhanced e-surveillance should be explored.

Security should start from home ie the government. As an immediate step, government officials should be mandated not to use any public mail (Gmail, Yahoo! etc) for any of their official correspondence, government departments or Public Sector Undertakings should not host any of their servers abroad, CERT-In should be made more proactive and empowered more.

Internationally too, combating cyberterrorism involves co-ordination among maritime officials, cyber sleuths in various states, Interpol, CERTs across the world and official treaties and pacts among nations if any. Certainly, it is a long way to go. Man has always withstood any onslaught and hopefully it includes cyberterrorism too! **DSA**



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