

The Terror Scenario in Europe

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Abstract

Suicide bombings in Jammu and Kashmir are patterned on Palestinian methods established that those actually originated in Europe and thus added an intriguing component to the Indian terror scenario. Mainly, the European intelligence agencies have closely observed the terror scenario in Europe as an international phenomenon, its causes, ramifications as well as the recruitment procedure. This paper is an attempt to present an overview of the causes, complexities, and dynamics in European terror scenario and of two important Europe-based global actors, whose activities were found to be anti-India or would have future security implications for South Asia. The paper would also seek to present the steps taken by the major European governments at the societal level and the measures taken by their respective security apparatus individually or collectively, especially in the aftermath of March 11 terrorist attacks in Madrid.

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Introduction

The precision and extent of September 11 terrorist attacks against the US shocked the world. The revelation of the fact that the suicide bombers who took part in the attacks had hatched their plan in the German port city of Hamburg, is indicative of the fact that terrorist sleeper cells did exist throughout Europe, irrespective of the divergence of language, culture, government, asylum policies, etc. Europe claims to be a safe and secure continent¹. “Europeans have been astonishingly slow to understand the impact of what happened on September 11.”² Media reports suggested that European nations have unknowingly offered themselves to the safe havens for recruiting terrorists from where *jihadis* volunteer to fight in different parts of the world.

India has for long been a victim of terrorism. The trans-national character of terrorist attacks is now a confirmed fact. Some terrorist attacks, specifically suicide bombings in Jammu and Kashmir, have links that can be traced to Europe.

It should be mentioned here that terrorism is not a new phenomenon; the formation of International Islamic Front (IIF) for Jihad against the Crusaders and the Jewish People in 1998 by Osama bin Laden and the subsequent terrorist activities worldwide, especially after-September 11, added the term *Islamic* to international terrorism. The new type of terrorism is unique in its random mass killings, its religious rationalisation and in its global agenda. Simultaneously, it should be kept in mind that traditional European terrorist groups like *Rote Armee Fraktion* (RAF-Baader Meinhof) of Germany (1968-77), Red Brigade of Italy (1969-84) or *Action Directe* of France have already become part of history. The Algeria-based Armed Islamic Group (GIA), the Salafist Group for Call and Combat (GSPC), Spain-based *Euskadi Ta Askatasuna* (ETA-Basque Fatherland and Liberty) and some anarchist groups from Italy do resort to disruptive activities. Likewise, the strength of the old anti-India Sikh terrorist groupings and the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam (LTTE) in Germany is not increasing but showing stagnation.³

This paper at first, describes the European terror scenario. Subsequently, it traces the European connection of some terrorist attacks in India and analyses the European recruitment process. Finally, the paper discusses the European response towards terrorism both at societal level and at the level of their respective security apparatus.

Experts on terrorism are unanimous in their observation that there is a dearth of study on terrorist structures as information is limited. This study is essentially based on the European media. For trend analysis, annual and occasional reports published by different European intelligence and law-enforcement agencies have been extremely useful. Security agencies of different European countries have their web presence or have started their websites with their partner services in other countries.⁴ Moreover, some European strategic institutes and security experts have recently launched their websites to increase general security awareness.⁵

European intelligence agencies have been monitoring anti-India terrorist and militant organisations active on their soil. The German domestic intelligence agency *Bundesamt für Verfassungsschutz* (Federal Office for the Protection of the Constitution-*BfV*) has been closely observing the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam (LTTE), the International Sikh Youth Federation (ISYF) and Babbar Khalsa International (BKI) in Germany and mention their activities in their annual reports available online since 1998. The Netherlands General Intelligence & Security Service (AIVD) has been monitoring the activities of the Jammu and Kashmir Liberation Front (JKLF) among other groups. Under the Terrorism Act 2000, the British Home Office banned BKI, Harkat-ul-Mujahideen, ISYF, Jaish-e-

Mohammed, Lashkar-e-Toiba and LTTE as international terrorist groups.

After analysing the reports in the European media and releases of the European intelligence some commonalities can be identified:

- Terrorism in Europe has a loose and decentralised network but some organisations also maintain a hierarchical structure. Barring one significant planned attack, the Islamic terrorists have so far been using Europe as a planning base, safe sanctuary, recruitment facility or for fund collection. This attack was the attempted bombing of a market in Strasbourg, the seat of European Parliament in December 2000. (Some Algerian nationals were arrested in this connection).⁶
- Diaspora-based Islamic organisations from Turkey and Algeria to Europe have traditionally not been against India, but their connivance with anti-India groups in providing assistance cannot be excluded.⁷
- Radical Muslims, who fought the Afghan War against the Soviet Army or were previously trained for guerrilla warfare in the camps of Afghanistan have been imparting their experiences to young recruits. They are glorified as ‘war veterans’ and presented as role models.
- Sections of Muslim youth in Europe, especially those of North African and South Asian origin are vulnerable to Islamic indoctrination. Students going for higher or technical education to Europe from these countries are also susceptible to indoctrination.
- Some mosques and imams have been identified in Europe which preach radical Islam and recruit for *jihad*. They include the Al Furqaan Mosque of Eindhoven in the Netherlands, the Al Nur Mosque at Neukölln in Berlin, the Al Quds Mosque in Hamburg, Bilal Mosque in Aachen, Germany, Abu Baker Mosque in Madrid, the North London Central Mosque at Finsbury Park, the Brinxton Mosque and the Hounslow Mosque in West London. The Saudi government recently recalled a diplomat in Germany as he had allegedly financed radical Islamists at the Al Nur Mosque in Berlin.
- Radical Islamic organisations from Saudi Arabia have allegedly financed Islamic schools in Europe to propagate fundamentalist Islam. The Dutch domestic intelligence agency (BVD) estimates that one-fifth of Dutch Muslim primary schools received funds from the radical Saudi Islamic organisation Al-Waqf-al-Islami in 2002. In a related development, the

King Fahd Academy, in Bonn suspended a teacher in October 2003 for exhorting students to join *jihād* and a diplomatic furore was created.

- Well-known Islamic indoctrinators are known to have arrived in Europe as immigrants or asylum seekers from West Asia and Turkey. If extradited, they may face severe charges, even capital punishment. These include Dr. Muhammad-al Masari, (wanted by the Saudi government), Muhammad-al Bakri, (wanted by Egypt), Abu Hamza al-Masri *alias* Mustafa Kamel Mustafa (wanted by Syria), Abu Qatada by Jordan who are all in UK and the Caliph of Cologne *aka* Metin Kaplan (wanted by Turkey) who lives in Germany. In 1993, Shafiqur Rahman arrived in the UK from Pakistan and is suspected to be connected with Lashkar-e-Toiba (LeT). Sweden recently repatriated two Egyptian Muslims to face trial. A US court indicted Abu Hamza on terrorist charges and US Attorney General, John Ashcroft, sought his extradition on May 29, 2004. His case is pending before a British court.⁸
- European far-right and neo-Nazi groups, especially in Germany, have openly expressed solidarity with radical Islamic groups based in Europe. Anti-Semitism, anti-US and anti-Israel policies of both groups have provided ideological proximity. They have found their common enemy in the US, against whom the collective anger has been directed. The British radical Islamic group, *Al Muhajiroun*, felt that through September 11 incidents the US was brought to its knees by 19 young Muslims and an old man (Osama bin Laden). The German far-right group, *Kampfbund Deutscher Sozialisten* (KDS – German Socialists’ Federation for Combat) “with (bringing down of) the symbolic WTC, the image of impregnable, invulnerable USA was completely destroyed.”⁹

Terrorism in India and the European Connection

The first suicide bombing reported in Jammu and Kashmir (J&K) was in May 2000, when 17-year old Afaq Ahmad Shah, drove an explosive-laden car into the 15 Corps Headquarters at Badami Bagh Cantonment in Srinagar.¹⁰ But, another explosion of an explosive-laden Maruti car at the same place on December 24, 2000 did include an intriguing component in the terror scenario in J&K. This time, the suicide bomber was 24-year old Mohammed Bilal, a British national, born in a Pakistani family in Birmingham and recruited by Jaish-e-Mohammed (JeM).¹¹

Soon after, the death of two Dutch citizens occurred in Kashmir. They were from the Moroccan community in Eindhoven. They were Ahmad el Bakiouoli aged 20 and Khaliq el Massnouli aged 24. They were reportedly shot dead by the Border Security Force (BSF) personnel while conducting a raid on January 14, 2002 near the Dal Lake in Srinagar. The BSF claimed that the men were part of a suicide squad and had attacked their patrol with knives and injured two soldiers before being shot dead by the forces.¹² Though, the incident had attracted considerable international coverage and allegations of a fake encounter were made, the Annual Report published by the General Intelligence and Security Service (AIVD) of the Netherlands confirmed the activities of the two men. “In 2002 the AIVD, in its investigation into Islamic terrorist groups and networks, came across various recruiting activities in the Netherlands. The two young Dutch men of Moroccan origin who died in January 2002 in Kashmir are an example of the recruiting of young people in the Netherlands. Our investigation showed that a number of persons, often so-called ‘Afghan veterans’, are constantly and deliberately attempting to recruit young Muslims for the purpose of the Islamic struggle”. In the kidnapping and killing of Daniel Pearl of *The Wall Street Journal* in February 2002 in Karachi, led to the former London School of Economics (LSE) student, Omar Saeed Sheikh, a second-generation Pakistani from Wanstead in East London and a friend of Maulana Masood Azhar.¹³

Pakistani Encouragement Helped

It is apparent that without the help of Pakistani agencies, terrorists and suicide bombers from Europe mentioned above would not have arrived in J&K. B. Raman, has recently exposed the Inter-Services Intelligence (ISI) patronage of LeT in setting up secret cells to recruit *jihadis* from the Muslim community in UK. An ISI officer, Colonel (retd.) Bashir Wali, during his tenure in the Pakistani High Commission in London in the 1990s, helped LeT to recruit volunteers for terrorist operations in UK.¹⁴

The linkage of these *jihadi* groups in Europe with the ISI would be clearer if we consider instances of two British nationals, Omar Sheikh and Sajid Badat. Omar Sheikh, an alumnus of Aitchison College, Lahore, returned to UK and enrolled at the London School of Economics in 1992. Without completing his education, he went to Bosnia as an aid worker. In 1994, he returned to Pakistan. There he joined the ISI-sponsored *jihad* directed against India and was sent to Kashmir with the specific assignment of kidnapping foreign tourists. Security forces apprehended him but he was released in exchange for hostages for the Indian

Airlines aircraft hijacked in late 1999. Till the killing of Daniel Pearl in which the involvement of the ISI was obvious, Omar was residing in Pakistan. An ISI officer, Brigadier (retd.) Ejaz Shah, according to B. Raman, was the handling officer for Omar Sheikh. Interestingly, two former ISI officers were also questioned in the investigation of Daniel Pearl's murder. Omar, who is wanted by the USA and India is now facing the death sentence in Pakistan.

Sajid Badat (24) a British Muslim of Asian origin in Gloucester was arrested in December 2003 on charges of keeping explosive material and having contacts with the Al Qaida shoe-bomber, Richard Reid. He was accused of trying to detonate a bomb hidden in his shoe while traveling on an American airliner between Paris and Miami in December 2001 and is serving a life sentence. Badat, like Omar Sheikh, had a British primary school education and left the UK to travel around India, Pakistan, Afghanistan and Saudi Arabia. In Pakistan, he was trained as a cleric and was recruited by the ISI.¹⁵

Profiling the Terrorists

Escalation to suicide bombing in the valley may be attributed to visible strains in the society.¹⁶ In the cases of Bilal or Khaliq it may be said that they are faceless foot soldiers recruited in Europe and so ignorable. We should remember the advice of an expert that: "The construction and projection of diverse perspectives on the latent trajectories of the dynamics in theatres of conflict is increasingly important, and will prove fruitful if properly managed. Such an exercise can lead to more efficient early warning systems and the initiation of timely and appropriate response strategies".¹⁷

The second-generation Muslim immigrants in Europe joining *jihad* are not a single, homogenous group. If there was Omar Saeed Shaikh, with a British middle-class background and Bilal and Khaliq, the well-educated Dutch nationals, there is also the instance of Richard Reid, a British national with petty crime records who converted to Islam as Abdel Rahim. However, the commonality lies in their denouncing the culture of the earlier generation, closely knit by ethnicity. Religion, especially its fundamentalist and intolerant version, taught them to hate and hit everything non-Islamic. Since these second-generation Muslim youth cannot identify themselves with the culture of their host countries, hence Islam as presented by the indoctrinators becomes an overwhelming part of life. Gary R. Bunt in his two books *Virtually Islamic* (2000) and *Islam in the Digital Age* (2003) and his website <http://www.virtuallyislamic.com>, has extensively documented the web-based queries and counselling services.¹⁸ The immediate social environment of

immigrant settlements in various European cities is characterised by ghettoisation of the community and resistance towards social integration.

Inner City Phenomena

The term 'inner city' is found extensively in current literature on terrorism. Inner city in this context means the ghettos mainly inhabited by immigrant communities in a large Western industrialised metropolis. The immigrant communities provide the cheap labour force for the upper or middle strata of the cities. The UK census of 2001 shows that London's poorest borough, Tower Hamlets, has the highest percentage of Bangladeshi population and there is high social deprivation in Bradford, the area of highest Pakistani concentration. This kind of economic, social deprivation and isolation leads to increasing incidents of crime and drug trafficking by South Asian youth.¹⁹

Indoctrinators found these ghettos, formed on ethnic lines as ideal recruitment grounds. Rohan Gunaratna says, "A higher percentage of the Turkish Kurds, Sri Lankan Tamils, Indian Sikhs and the Muslim Kashmiris, living in ethnic enclaves isolated from mainstream host society, contributed to the PKK, LTTE, and to Khalistani and Kashmiri factions."²⁰ This ethnic diaspora provides good financial assistance. It is estimated that JKLF and other Kashmiri militant groups collected between US \$1,00,000-2,00,000 annually from the Kashmiri diaspora in UK.²¹

The end of the Cold War resulted in a vacuum of ideology. This made the indoctrination easy to: depict Western culture as consumerist and a decadent one; portray the Western European countries as stooges supporting Israel; persuade Muslims of a worldwide conspiracy against the Islamic faith; and to preach convince that it is the holy duty of the true believers to join *jihad*, be it in Palestine or Iraq or in Chechnya or in J&K. Suicide squads and suicide bombings have so far been the deadliest weapons used by terrorists. Government agencies find it near impossible to detect and deter a lone suicide bomber or a suicide squad. In some recent studies, experts agree that the acts of suicide bombers are more attributable to organisational masterminds than to personal psychopathology. The key ingredients may be susceptibility to indoctrination.²²

Experts describe these terrorists as 'rational' or 'spiritually intoxicated'.²³ Let us now look into militancy/terrorism oriented groups in Europe.

Jama'at Al Muhajiroun (The Immigrants)

Sheikh Omar bin Bakri Muhammad, a Syrian national who was expelled for

revolting against Syrian President, Hafez Assad, founded the Al Muhajiroun in Jeddah, in 1983. He then migrated to Britain later and was a founder-member of the British Chapter of Hizb-ut-Tahrir (The Party for Liberation), became a legal resident in 1993. He was a regular preacher in several London mosques and gatherings.²⁴ In an interview, he claimed that Al Muhajiroun had recruited Bilal, the British suicide bomber. He claimed that he had recruited over 600 Britons to fight in Kashmir.²⁵ During the late 1990s, Al Muhajiroun had a strong presence in many British universities. “Most of those who eventually became members (of Al Muhajiroun) experienced a severe identity crisis prior to their initial stages of participation. The vast majority of these individuals are South Asians from India, Pakistan, and Bangladesh.”²⁶

At present, Al Muhajiroun, is maintaining a regular website at <http://www.muhammad.org/> and keeps airing its views on different issues. It also maintained a website in Pakistan at <http://www.almuhammad.org.pk/>.²⁷ It is clear that the net-savvy middle-class professionals and students are the target audience of Al Muhajiroun in the sub-continent. Its UK-based leader, Anjem Choudhary, claimed that it has thirty offices in Britain, Bangladesh and Pakistan. The website of the Pakistan Chapter of Al Muhajiroun was shut down in March, 2004.

There are some contradictions in the group’s statements. On J&K, Omar Bakri said in an interview that, “in *areas of occupation* such as J&K we support our brothers and sisters verbally and financially. We want to liberate Kashmir from the Indian forces”.²⁸ In an interview with BBC on May 5 2003, he said, “People are eager to support their Muslim brothers and sisters *in the Occupied Territories*”. He believes that the suicide bombings in the name of *jihad* are legitimised by the Koran.²⁹ The Pakistan-based website denounced the Indo-Pak meeting on the sidelines of the SAARC Summit in Islamabad in January 2004 as “Kuffr (Dis-believers) Pakistan regime hosts and receives Mushrik (idolators) murderers from India”.

Al Muhajiroun has justified suicide attacks as ‘martyrdom operations’ though suicide is impermissible. Quoting the Prophet, the organisation said, “Whoever dies and never engages in a *ghazu* (*jihad*, expedition, fighting, etc), and never had between himself the *niyyah* (intention) to go, he dies on a branch of *nifaaq* (hypocrisy)”. The pain of death is decreased by quoting again the Prophet, “The *Shaheed* will never feel at the time of his death except a pinch”. Further, “There is no doubt that if he (a suicide bomber) wears the explosives he will be killed, and it will cause him to be killed, and that is not allowed unless there is a great benefit for Islam and the Muslims, then that action becomes permissible.”³⁰

Hizb-ut-Tahrir al-Islami (Party for Islamic Liberation)

Ahmed Rashid, the Pakistani journalist, has a chapter in his seminal book, *Jihad – The Rise of Militant Islam in Central Asia*, on Hizb-ut-Tahrir.³¹ Ariel Cohen has researched on the history, structure and implications of Hizb-ut-Tahrir activities on US policies in Central Asia. The Brussels-based International Crisis Group has also conducted similar research.

It originated from the Palestinian diaspora in Saudi Arabia and Jordan in 1953. Hizb-ut-Tahrir leadership, at present, has a support base in all major European countries and maintains websites in different European languages. Its German chapter was closed down in January 2003. Like Al Muhajiroun, its target audience is young Western and South Asian Muslims with web interfaces like <http://www.1924.org>.³² The team linked to this site is young and a majority are second-generation Pakistani immigrants settled in UK.

Ideologically, Hizb-ut-Tahrir may be called as millenarian (Rashid) or resurrectionist as it believes in the resurgence of the Prophet and the establishment of the Caliphate.³³ However, the attitude of the organisation towards other faiths is as intolerant as Al Muhajiroun's. "It also aims to bring back the Islamic guidance for mankind and to lead the Ummah into a struggle with Kuffr, its systems and its thoughts so that Islam encapsulates the world."³⁴ Though its methods were announced as non-violent, its hierarchical structure with secret cells distributing seditious material in Central Asia raises doubts. On Kashmir, their stand is clear, "Musharraf has made significant shifts in policy to prepare himself for the final act in the betrayal of Kashmir. Unquestionably, this needs to be resisted by all Muslims who should view Kashmir as Muslim land where no negotiation over its ownership is allowed."³⁵ On India's relations with other countries, its viewpoint may merit attention, "Regardless of the formal existence of an 'axis', America clearly provides unrelenting support towards its fellow 'terrorist' governments, India and Israel. America continues to supply India with highly sophisticated military equipment, yet blocks Pakistan's purchase of military hardware, even after it has been paid for!"³⁶

European Response

European governments, at the level of the European Union (EU) and individually, have agreed to strengthen the inter-faith dialogue between communities and for speedy integration of the minorities into the mainstream. Their security agencies have also initiated counter-measures to tackle the phenomenon.

Europe has a sizeable number of religious minorities, including Jews and Muslims. Current figures, show that the total number of Jews in pre-expanded EU is 1.1 million while the strength of the Muslim community in the present 25 member countries is about 14 million.³⁷ While France hosts both the largest Jewish and Muslim communities in Europe (0.6 and 6 million respectively), the strength of the Jewish community has been increasing in Germany after re-unification. By and large, the Muslim community in Europe abides by the laws of the land and were unequivocal in condemning 9/11. Reports also indicated that the community leaders are cooperating with government agencies in conducting raids in their area.³⁸ The main Muslim organisations of Europe: UK, France and Germany have been cooperating with their governments to tackle deal the problem.³⁹

Regardless, inter-community altercations occur in Europe. A recent report said that young Muslims and pro-Palestinian groups were behind many of the anti-Semitic incidents within the European Union, and reports from UK showed that there has been an increase in negative attitudes against Islam as a religion as well as the Muslim community.⁴⁰ Moreover, anti-Semitism is present either in latent form or street violence and desecration of synagogues.⁴¹ Far-right and neo-Nazi organisations in Europe have a presence in cities with a large number of immigrants (e.g., British Nationalist Party in UK or *Stromfront Nederland* in Holland). They use legal loopholes to avoid monitoring by domestic agencies.

At the societal level, European governments have already taken some visible confidence-building measures to gain ground. The British government appointed Anwar Chaudhury, an immigrant Bangladesh-born engineer as the British High Commissioner to Dhaka. The French President, Jacques Chirac, appointed Algerian-born Aissa Dermouche as the first Muslim prefect in France to head the region of Jura. French civil society also voted for the Algeria-born, Zinedine Zidane, star of the French football team, as France's favourite Frenchman in 2003. UK is planning to enact a law to make religious hatred a criminal offence. Thought is being given to the inclusion of Islam in the draft Constitution of the European Union. Finally, though the draft of the European Union agreed upon by member-countries on June 18, 2004 does not have any religious reference, discussions have started to recognise the social and religious trends for peaceful social integration in Europe.

The EU has introduced a European Arrest Warrant, which was supposed to be adopted by all the fifteen member-countries by March 2004. The ten new member-countries will also eventually accept the warrant. This warrant would replace the existing extradition procedures between EU member-countries and

enable prisoners to be handed by one EU country to another within a period of sixty to ninety days. When implemented, it would be difficult for terrorists to exploit the refugee, asylum and extradition policies of different countries in Europe.

European intelligence agencies, have decided to undertake penetration into these underground militant organisations. One expert has argued that the best bet would lie in recruitment from the pool of those who went through training but decided not join the *jihad*, another expert has emphasised penetration with intelligence agents who are fluent in local languages and cultures.⁴²

After September 11, British agencies have closed down websites like the *Markaz-ud-Dawa* (Propagation Centre, the political arm of LeT), the Islamic Organisation Committee and Sakina Security Service (SSS). MI5 is expected to increase its strength to 3,000 by 2008. In addition, MI5 along with its counterpart Government Communications Headquarters (GCHQ), advertised many posts already in Albanian, Arabic, Bengali, Chinese, Fujianese, Korean, Kurdish, Macedonian, Nepalese, Persian, Punjabi, Russian, Tamil, Turkish and Urdu. Austria, supported by Belgium has proposed that a 'European Intelligence Agency' without police powers be raised. In the aftermath of the Madrid terrorist attacks on March 11, the Brussels Summit of the European Council (March 25-26, 2004) adopted a 'Declaration on Combating Terrorism'. It approved the post of a counter-terrorism coordinator and appointed Gijs de Vries, former Deputy Home Minister of The Netherlands as the Counter-Terrorism Coordinator. The EU Summit of June 17-18, which adopted the draft EU Constitution, has specifically included a Terrorism Clause or Solidarity Clause under Article I-42, which envisages that, "member-states and Union shall act jointly against terrorism and disaster". Recently, to tackle the threat of Islamic terrorism, interior ministers of the eleven opposition Christian Democratic Union and Christian Social Union (CDU-CSU) parties have adopted the 'Saarbrücken Declaration' on July 1, in which they proposed a common data storage and analysis system comprising all German intelligence and law-enforcement agencies.⁴³

Conclusion

Only after September 11 were assessments made that terrorist targets in Europe would be US, Jewish or British installations and of the seriousness of both the recruitment and fund collection drives. The attacks in Istanbul and Madrid have forced European strategists to think whether Europe would remain a region of peace insulated from external disturbances.

During the days of the Cold War, all efforts of the major West European agencies were focused on intelligence on countries behind the Iron Curtain. They did not have the area or language experts or a common database, which is essential to penetrate clandestine Islamic organisations in West Asia. Some of the agencies, are under-staffed to counter the new phenomenon. These organisations took advantage of the liberal asylum and refugee policies of European countries. In some cases, an organisation, which was prohibited or closely monitored in one part of Europe was able to set up bases in another part of the continent.⁴⁴

Capital punishment remains a contentious issue between the EU and other countries. It makes deportation of a terrorist or a criminal to the country of origin very difficult and time-consuming. Recent terrorist attacks have compelled the governments to think of a concerted European action. Many European countries have not yet ratified the European Arrest Warrant. *Der Spiegel* has criticised Europol as a non-functioning institution and chided the European anti-terror strategy as one “crippled by petty stateness”. Major European countries have rejected the Austrian proposal of a European Intelligence Agency citing reasons like duplication of jobs. It would be interesting to observe how the newly appointed EU anti-terrorism coordinator would function.

Any kind of *ad hoc* cooperation among EU member-countries, or an exclusive cooperation between the major European nations, would not be effective in the long run to tackle terrorism. As intelligence is a perishable commodity and its worth lies in timely action, delays in action caused by competence or jurisdiction would have serious, adverse effects. Moreover, the expansion of EU in May 2004 would bring in new challenges to EU enforcement agencies.

Second-generation immigrants in the Islamic community in Europe face isolation from the majority community. Therefore, immigrant associations and governments have the responsibility to ensure that aspirations of the younger generation are understood and accommodated, more so because Europe is in need of labour because of its increasingly ageing population and low birth rate.

The delicate question of the Europe-based global Islamic *jihadi* indoctrinators and their presence in cyberspace itself creates a new ground for focused research in many countries. There will be agreement with Bunt’s statement, “A complete analysis of cyber Islamic environments is a task beyond the single writer and his resources, especially given the radical expansion in the number of websites, e-mail lists, chat rooms and other forms of electronic communication; there is a substantial increase in languages other than English being applied on the Internet. Observing

such *politicking* in cyberspace is a formidable task in itself, probably requiring a division of labour amongst an academic conglomerate”. It is imperative to examine the contents of the propaganda material disseminated by terrorist outfits and analyse them repeatedly, as they are meant to indoctrinate young, impressionable minds to build up an extreme, diametrically opposite worldview as well as preach violence. The activities of Europe-based indoctrinators needs to be monitored so that they do not exploit domestic tensions in India. Perhaps, the time has come for mature and balanced scholars in Islamic theology to form an international brotherhood and refurbish the damaged image of Islam, a very noble religion.

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Annexure-1

Web Presence of Domestic and External Intelligence Agencies of EU Member Countries

Country	Agencies (Domestic/External)	Website Available (In Languages)
Austria	Federal Office for Protection of Constitution & Terrorism Combat (BVT-domestic)	www.bmi.gv.at (English, French, German)
Belgium	General Intelligence and Security Service (under Ministry of Defence)	http://www.mil.be (Dutch, English, French)
Czech Republic	Czech Security Information Service (BIS)	http://www.bis.cz (Czech, English)
Denmark	Politiets Efterretningstjeneste (PET-domestic/external)	http://www.pet.dk (Danish, English)
Estonia	The Security Police Board (Kaitsepolitseiamt)	http://www.kapo.ee (English, Estonian, French and German)
Finland	Security Police (domestic)	http://www.poliisi.fi/supo (English, Finnish)
France	Direction de la Surveillance du Territoire (DST-domestic); Direction du Renseignement Militaire (DRMilitary); Direction Générale de la Sécurité Extérieure (DGSE-external)	http://www.interieur.gouv.fr (English, French, German, Spanish) http://www.defense.gouv.fr/ema/orgs/drm/princ.html (French) http://www.dgse.org (French)*
Germany	Federal Office for Protection of Constitution (BfV-domestic); Federal Intelligence Service (BND-external); Federal Office for Crime Investigations (BKA)	www.verfassungsschutz.de (English/German) http://www.bundesnachrichtendienst.de (German) http://www.bka.de/ (English/German)
Greece	Hellenic National Intelligence Service (NIS-domestic/external)	http://www.nis.gr (English, Greek)

*Unofficial website

(Contd...)

(Contd...)

Country	Agencies (Domestic/External)	Website Available (In Language)
Hungary	National Security Office (NBH domestic/external); Military Information Office KBH); Military Intelligence Office (KFH); National Security Services	http://www.nbh.hu (English, Hungarian) Http://www.mkih.hu (Hungarian) http://www.kfh.hu (English, Hungarian) http://www.nemzetbiztonsag.hu (Hungarian)
Ireland	An Garda Siochána (domestic)	http://www.garda.ie (English)
Italy	SISMI (external and military); Servizio per le Informazioni e la Sicurezza Democratica (SISDE-domestic)	http://www.serviziinformazioni e sicurezza.gov.it (English, French, Italian) http://www.sisde.it (English, Italian)
Latvia	State Police of Latvia	http://www.iem.gov.lv/ (English, Latvian)
Netherlands	General Intelligence & Security Service (AIVD-domestic)	http://www.aivd.nl (Dutch/English)
Poland	Agencja Bezpieczeństwa Wewnętrznego (ABW)	http://www.abw.gov.pl (Polish)
Portugal	Security Intelligence Service (SIS) (domestic); SIDEM (external and military – under Ministry of Defence)	http://www.sis.pt (English, French, German, Portuguese)
Slovakia	Slovak Information Service (domestic/external)	http://www.sis.gov.sk (English/Slovak)
Slovenia	Slovenian Intelligence & Security Agency (SOVA)	http://www.sova.gov.si/sova
Spain	Centro Nacional de Inteligencia (CNI – under Spanish Ministry of Defence)	http://www.cni.es (Spanish)
Sweden	Swedish Security Service (Säpo) (domestic/external)	http://www.sakerhetspolisen.se (English, Swedish)
United Kingdom	Secret Intelligence Service (SIS, commonly known as Military Intelligence (MI6 – external); MI5 (domestic); Government Communications Headquarters (GCHQ); National Criminal Intelligence Service (NCIS)	http://www.mi5.gov.uk (English, Arabic) http://www.gchq.gov.uk/ (English) http://www.ncis.co.uk (English)

References/ End Notes

- 1 <http://ue.eu.int/pressdata/EN/reports/76255.pdf> downloaded on December 15,2003. Europe in this paper means the enlarged EU including its 25 member countries.
- 2 Waking up to the Age of Terror. *The Daily Telegraph*. November 21, 2003.
- 3 Annual Reports of the Federal Office for the Protection of Constitution, Germany, 1998-2003.
- 4 For the web presence of European intelligence agencies, see the detailed list given in Annexure-1.
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Note: Some Uniform Resource Locators (URL) given in this paper may no longer be active, some may already be transferred into the paid category of the archive of the respective sites.

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