

ISIS and International Relations (IR): Possibility of Religious Theorisation in IR

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Abstract – Over the past decades, the world has been engulfed by religion in a massive way. Starting with Israel's victory in the June 1967 Six-Day War, which initiated link between Zionism and Religious Orthodox in Israel, and continuing through the 9/11 attacks to the rise of ISIS. Religion has therefore been a driving factor in relations among and within states. Scholars like Timothy Shah (2012) pointed that religion has now emerged as one of the most significant and influential factors in global affairs but remains the least examined factors in the professional study and practice of world affairs.

Religion is under-theorized in IR because of the dominant notions such as secularism, democracy, nation-state etc. all of which are the product of Western centric knowledge system. This article will provide analysis on waves of theorizing religion and IR by looking at contemporary developments to the rise of ISIS where religion has become a cause for augmented international conflicts.

Keywords: ISIS, Religion, International Relations, Theorisation, Armed Non-State Actors, Westphalia, Open Source Anarchy

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RELIGION AND INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

History has been characterized by a thorough interpretation of religion and other aspect of society so that today's global resurgence of religion is actually better characterized as a return to business as usual. The combination of a grudging intellectual realization that social science needs to deal with religion, in combination with dramatic examples of religion reasserting itself into international politics, is starting to put religion on the intellectual and policy agendas (Bellin, 2008).

There are literature and theoretical signposts those points towards a deeper understanding on how religion has been playing a significant role in global politics. Much of it has remained undertheorized in the vast universe of IR. The result, as Monica Duffy Toft observes is that traditional international relations theory provides little guidance for those needing to understand the interplay of religion and politics in a global setting (Duffy, 2012).

Mainstream IR paradigms have focused more on secularization thesis thus overlooking the role of religion in IR. There are three elements of mainstream secularization thesis: First, it maintains that there is an increasing distinction between religious and secular realm. Second, religious belief becomes most appropriately consigned to the private

sphere and also under the department of states itself. Finally, this privatisation of religion is the sine qua non of liberal democracy. Such secularisation thesis heavily shaped the political thought of western societies, but in particular it thrives in IR. The reason for this rejection of religion as a separate entity for theoretical analysis remains because such secularization thesis literally had its origins in the rejection of religion itself by Treaty of Westphalia.

Because of this foundational background, mainstream IR paradigms hardly mention religion. As Eva Bellin examines that the tendency to ignore religion can be traced to the theological inspiration drawn from the works of Marx, Durkheim and Weber. All three theorists believed that religion was a premodern relic, destined to fade with the advantage of industrialization, urbanization, bureaucratization and rationalization (Bellin, 2001).

Religion has been one of the major sources of international conflicts for many centuries. The rise of political Islam has powerfully reinforced secularism in West, more than any other single religious or political tradition. Islam has come to represent the nonsecular in European and American political thought and practices. Secularism has been consolidated in part through opposition to the idea of an anti-modern, anti-

Christian and theocratic Islamic Middle East (Hurd, 2008).

There is another body of opinion that holds that is precisely the process of modernization that is producing the current religious resurgence. As Samuel P. Huntington explained that the process of economic modernization and social change throughout the world are separating people from longstanding local identities. They also weaken the nation-state as a source for identity. In much of the world, religion has moved in to fill this gap, often in the forms of movements that are labeled fundamentalists (Huntington, 1993).

There are wide array of view that opposes religion as main cause for international conflicts. This is done by the sympathizers of secularization thesis. If the secularization thesis is correct on religion and war then one should observe three developments from their thesis. First, the number of religious believers should decrease. Second, out of the wars that are fought, they should not have different religious reasons for the wars that are fought. Finally, the brawny substantiation for secularization thesis would be the decline of religious wars that are fought (Mueller, 1989).

It is problematic to challenge the developments observed from secularization thesis because wars are among the most complex of social phenomena, and disentangling other elements of war from religious would be a significant historical and contemporary challenge. Given that religion has no role to play in international conflicts, there is a wave of scholarly contribution on religion and international relations that has taken theoretical analysis in IR to another level. IR paradigms are mainly confined to traditionalist, positivist and post-positivist. And the debate of theoretical implication on world politics also remains confined to these three. However, building a theoretical analysis on religion and international relations should not be confined to these three debates nor should it be looked to challenge the existing paradigms in IR. Religion and international relations should be looked as beyond post positivist paradigm that would show ways to scholars attempting to understand international relation from the prism of religion.

In the mainstream IR paradigm, sovereign states competing with one other is taken into analytical account but NSA/ANSAs does not fit in mainstream IR paradigms. Theory of Open Source Anarchy opened an analysis on NSA/ANSAs. According to OSA theory, International system which was a closed system where only sovereign states were considered as prominent actors has now become open where NSA/ANSAs have penetrated the global politics as significant actors. Now when these actors operate with a theological base, it opens door for further theorization of religion.

The theoretical analysis of mainstream IR has progressed through secularization thesis but now it has been under scrutiny through various stages. In the first wave of religion and global politics, advocates acknowledged religion and its manifestation in global politics but shelved them as inherited from the earliest human's holdovers of a passed era. Like the myth of the past, religion continued to influence secular modern politics, despite that fact, few people believed in its significant role in contemporary politics. It was actually the theological concepts that became significant in modern theory of state/states. As Carl Schmitt suggested that not only because of their historical developments in which they were transferred from theology to the theory of the state, whereby, for example, the omnipotent God became the omnipotent lawgiver (Schmitt, 1985).

The example of this debate on how religious legacy continue to shape modern secular politics was Max Weber's linkage of Protestantism and Capitalism. Weber famously argued that the ascetic worldliness of Protestant faith was conducive to many of the values that made for the successful businessman, including restless, continuous, systematic work in a worldly calling (Weber, 1958). While studying Weber's work, David Latin observes in an important review of first wave that Weber's contribution involved delineation of the ideas of a practical religion, and the marshaling of arguments to adduce its economic functions. Latin further observed that Weber constructed the theological, psychological and the sociological components of doctrine together into what Durkheim called the social fact (Latin, 1978). The manifestation of real world and consequences of religious doctrines was Weber's primary concern (ibid).

Philpott's essay entitled "*The Religious Roots of Modern International Relations*" (2007) is the latest example of this first wave in which he argued that Religious ideas are at the roots of modern international relations concluding that had the reformation not occurred, a system of sovereign states would not have developed.

The second wave of theorizing religion and international relations focused on the contemporary developments and participation by religious actors. Philpott marks the beginning of this wave with the June 1967 Six Day War between Israel and its Arab neighbors because it signified the beginning of the religion's global resurgence. It awakened a religious conscience among Jews and crippled the prestige of secular nationalism among Arab Muslims (Philpott, 2007). The Israeli occupation of the West Bank and Gaza strip inaugurated a historical shift in Zionism from its secular socialist origin to the increasing predominance of National Orthodox in Israel, with associated implications not

only for domestic politics but also for foreign policy (Gorenberg, 2009).

There is a long event in International relations in which religious renaissance played a crucial role. Iranian Revolution of 1978 was another event where religion featured in global politics. To that, we also ought to add the pan-Islamic response to Soviet invasion of Afghanistan that led to the rise of fundamentalists movements and formation of ANSA like Al-Qaeda who were the perpetrators of 9/11 attacks. Finally, a host of religiously motivated civil wars broke out in the wake of Cold War, the most dramatic of which were those in the former Yugoslavia among Latin, Orthodox and Muslim groups. They can most appropriately be characterise as religious wars.

This perceptible augmentation in the frequency of religion affecting International relation encouraged new theorization of religion and international relations. The most influential example is Samuel P. Huntington's thesis of Clash of Civilizations. In it, he argued that future global politics would be characterized by the interaction among civilizations, which he defined as the highest cultural grouping whose most common define feature was religion (Huntington, 1993).

With the increased number of religious manifestation in Global Politics, it gave birth to conceptual changes in the relationship between religion and International relations that set the stage for third wave of thinking. Part of the momentum for this new thinking was a sequence of developments in Global politics where the link between religion and IR was seen in a completely different manner. Here, religion was seen to be deeply infused in political and social elements (Hassner, Omer, Rosato et al, 2012). For example, U.S invasion of Iraq in March of 2003 and subsequent overthrow of Saddam Hussein's Ba'ath regime, a long term pillar of secular Arab nationalism, was followed by a replacement of that regime, not with another secular democratic one, but by intense religious conflict that ended with the coming to power of a sectarian Shi'a government (ibid).

But it is not just in the Arab world that we're seeing the previously strong walls between politics and religion crumbled. In Turkey, once another epitome of secular nationalism, Kemal Ataturk's Republican Party has been superseded by Islamicist Justice and Development Party (AKP). Episodes in Turkey are not concerning the secular world because it defies one's secular notion of how religion and politics relate to each other. One can see in Turkey's foreign policy the erosion of its relationship with Israel and its new found commitment to the Palestinian cause, and how the changed role of religion in Turkish politics is affecting regional dynamics. But Turkey is not the only country where the wall of separation between religion and politics is falling down (ibid). The rise of

Hindu nationalist BJP in India and growing influence of its policies by Hindu principles can be taken as an example on how separation between religion and politics is falling down where religion is fused deeply with politics (ibid).

By looking at the waves of theorizing religion and IR, it strikes to me that religion does matter in IR. Scholars of IR engrossed in exploring religion and IR need to focus more on middle ground theory than debates on paradigm wars. As Bellin observes that, IR scholars should focus on the variable appeal of transnational religious movements, the variable power of religious ideals to trump material interest, and the variable tendency of religious traditions to inspire violence in international sphere (Bellin, 2008).

The most imperative objective is to understand cure undertheorization of religion in IR. First, one needs to identify and separate the effect of various religions, for example separating Islam's effect on ANSA and Christianity's effect on the same (Hassner, Omer, Rosato et al, 2012). Parallel to that is examining characteristic aspect of religious actors. After having established these things, one needs a theory of religious variation. One also needs a comprehension on how and under what circumstances religion has influence. By carefully examining the debates in the wave of theorizing religion and IR, one needs to understand role of religion in post 9/11 period.

In post 9/11 period, ANSA has undergone fundamental changes opening room for further analysis on theorising religion and IR. The emergence of ISIS is the latest phase of evolution within ANSA. The interpretations that ISIS is making and its wider implications have to be counted as the evidence of forth wave and evolution of ANSA. Thus, the main changes that ANSA has undergone after 9/11 consists of two phases. First, is the general evolution into a more networked structure, the greater dispersion of leadership, their recruitment network, weapons, alliances, financial system and control mechanism. ISIS has thus emerged as an updated, new type of transnational ANSA in response to the changing conditions of the international system after 9/11. The interpretation that ISIS has brought within Salafi/Jihadist school has instigated the second evolutionary phase for ANSA. In the face of decreasing level interpretation in Al Qaeda after the death of Osama Bin Laden, the interpretation of Al-Baghdadi, Salafi/Jihadist went through transformational phase in contemporary World politics that has attributed to violent and terrorist element in ISIS.

The notion of Ummah, something that binds Muslim populations in metaphysical way has been reinterpreted by ISIS. ISIS structures Ummah model devoted to Caliphate. ISIS calls upon Islam

to form a singular global Muslim body while speaking of far-reaching Qur'anic appeals for Jihad and the creation of a Caliphate. They have designed their interpretation to demarcate boundaries between the in-group and out-group, namely the Muslims belonging to the Ummah of Islam and the Kufir outside of it (Georges, 2015).

The interpretation of Hijrah is stressed by ISIS saying that there is no substitute to Hijrah (emigration)-those who are able must rush to ISIS. Those, however who are capable to emigrate but do not do so will find a place in hellfire. For Jihadists, Muslims performing religious rituals without engaging in Jihad are fake muslims (ibid). Principally, Hijrah refers to the journey of Prophet Muhammad and his companions from Mecca to Medina in the course of first year of Islamic calendar, in 622 C.E (Esposito, 2003). It also means resistance to colonial rule and the legitimization of Muslim migration as well as a form of withdrawal from the politics of capitalism, socialism and modernization/Westernization (ibid). In a general term, Hijrah refers to the willingness to suffer for faith and the refusal to lose hope in the face of persecution (ibid). One can see how ISIS has used historical Islamic terminology to serve their agenda for magnetizing more fighters into ISIS self proclaimed Caliphate.

The number of groups epitomized by Salafi/Jihadist school like the groups in Libya, Egypt, Nigeria and others has pledged bayat/alliance with ISIS to help them fight the non believers. ISIS has asked Muslims all across the globe to perform Hijah, declare bayat and if not both then conduct lone wolf attacks.

ISIS has further used the interpretation of Dar Al Islam and Dar Al Harb. This inside/outside domain in Islamic interpretation is used by ISIS for their marginalisation policy. Islamic sects refusing to join hand with ISIS in their Global Jihad are considered as outsiders and non believers of true Islam. Syria and Iraq comprises of various sects within Islam such as Druze, Shia, Yazidi, Kurds etc. ISIS has marginalized these groups using the interpretation from Qur'an by calling them Takfirs.

In line with these interpretations, violent and terrorist element has been attributed. The lone wolf attacks, suicide bombings, beheadings, mass execution, genocide etc. fuelled by ISIS interpretation has all attributed to violent and terrorist element having a wider implication in world politics.

ISIS AND INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

With the advent of ISIS as an ANSA, the international system is being confronted like never before. When ISIS began capturing territories in Iraq and Syria and declared caliphate after capturing Mosul, it rattled European countries and the world. It was for the first time that an ANSA fuelled by radical Islamic ideology declared a caliphate. From its attack

to control mechanism, ISIS has dwarfed other ANSA thus bringing a new understanding on how religion has played a significant role in IR that was undertheorized before. ISIS is an evolution within ANSA and one must look at its impact on International Relations in order to understand religion's role in contemporary International System.

Sovereignty and Nation State System

The understanding of sovereignty still thrives in today's world. Going by the traditional definition of sovereignty, that sovereign, territorially defined states had supreme authority within its borders and a part of world order in which states were the dominant actors (Wickramasinghe, 2015). But the question is whether state's ability to make authoritative decision has faded or not; that is, whether ultimate political authority of State has shifted to NSA/ANSA or not.

The philosophical influence of religion upon IR is vivid these days on every platform of scholarly debates as witnessed on four waves of theorizing religion and IR; that is, from Max Weber's linkage of Protestantism and Capitalism to manifestation of ISIS as an ANSA after 9/11 period. ISIS is now dominating the political and geographical landscape in West Asia and their influence has spilled over to other parts of the globe. For a better understanding on ISIS influence on sovereignty and nation state, one must look at Islamic Sovereignty.

The Islamic ideology emphasizes unity among Muslims regardless of social status, ethnicity, race and nationality. Thus, political borders among countries are not recognized by Islam. Islam divides the population into two, Ummah and non-believers. As such, the political loyalty of citizens is not to a state but the Islamic community as a whole (ibid). Having argued about ISIS interpretation on Ummah, it is clear that ISIS believes in Ummah that is bonded in metaphysical way which travels beyond boundaries of Nation State.

ISIS has claimed that the border between Iraq and Syria is now dissolved; they have declared the establishment of caliphate in the territories it controls in Iraq and Syria. This Caliphate impedes upon the customary world order and the system of states as it exists today.

ISIS rejects such notion of sovereign state because of religious reasons. There are various religious justifications for ISIS's position, but the common line of argument is that sovereignty for them is a man-made rule that separates all Muslims from each other by man-made borders, therefore recognizing is a form of veneration (Wickramasinghe, 2015).

ISIS has been able to mobilize a community of people bound by religious values that exists

beyond the territorial boundaries of a state, and in doing so, presents as a substantive, ANSA in a world dominated by nation state as the primary actors. By mobilizing an international community based on religious principles to challenge the domestic politics of states. ISIS border free ambition does not stop there. After declaring Caliphate at a Mosque in Mosul on 29th June 2014, ISIS in its self proclaimed caliph claimed certain region such as Northern and Western part of Africa, former Yugoslavia, Turkey, Afghanistan, Pakistan, Central Asia, West China, Portugal, Spain, France and India were claimed as their mandate and they claimed to establish Sharia law in these territories where Ummah would define the people of these regions ISIS has portrayed Ummah, Global Jihad and Hijrah to magnetize support for their agenda of establishing Caliphate and conquering territories in West Asia and beyond to re-establish Sharia Law in countries where western form of hierarchical system has taken over (Hosken, 2015). This declaration goes contradictory to the Sovereign State system. As the UK government defines state system as a clearly defined territory with a population, a government who are able of themselves to exercise excessive control of that territory, and independence in their external relations (Shaw,2008).

The main elements in the Islamic political organization followed by ISIS that defines state are three fold; the Sharia, the right code of conduct as derived from Qur'an and the Sunnah, the tradition of the prophet; the Caliph as the deputy of the prophet, the upholder and the executor of Sharia and therefore the chief of legitimacy; and the Ummah. The political tradition relating to the concept of Caliphate which developed as a result of this organizational set up, and the Qur'anic requirement of Jihad as a collective duty of the Ummah, emphasized euler's authority. Absolutism and unquestioning submission to whoever was in power, irrespective of how he came to acquire it and how he exercised it, came to be supported not only on the ground of the doctrine of necessary, but with the reference to the injunctions of the Quran and Hadith of the Prophet (Wickramasinghe, 2015).

ISIS defines sovereignty as absolutism and universal. Conflict for them is not just a matter of survival but the only tool for achieving peace, as there can be no peace without a global political order as brought about essentially through the re-establishment of Islamic state governed by Caliph (Baker, 2005). For them, modernity and Western influence have no place in the Islamic World and inclination towards modernity and western influence will not help in establishing Caliphate.

5.3.2 Human Rights

The Preamble to the U.N Charter affirms the International legal system's commitment to protect

human rights (Lekas, 2015). The Charter commences:

"We the Peoples of United Nations determined to save succeeding generations from the scourge of war...and to reaffirm faith in fundamental human rights." [1]

In advancement of its mission to prevent war and protect human rights, the U.N adopted several human rights conventions and doctrines (Lekas,2015). In 1948, the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UDHR) afforded legal recognition to the rights of individuals worldwide (ibid). The Declaration's thirty articles advanced the principle that all humans universally possess inalienable rights (ibid). Article I states:

"All human beings are born free and equal in dignity and rights. They are endowed with reason and conscience and should act towards one another in a spirit of brotherhood." [2]

The Declaration also proclaims that every human being born worldwide is free and equal. Everyone is entitled to the universal rights set forth in the declaration, regardless of sex, color, race, language, religion, political or other opinion, national or social origin, property, birth or other status. Principally, everyone has the right to life, liberty and security of person. The UN's desire to prevent religious and political violence is demonstrated in the Declaration's first three articles. The International community seeks to use universal Human Rights as a central mechanism in safeguarding peace in the World Legal System. Humans have right to life and moreover the right to live securely within their territory of origin[3].

For a long time, IR has been regarded as a playing field for states, where human beings are subordinated to each other through social contract. The role of human rights in IR, in a very simple phase is to achieve justice. Since there is no definite agreement on what IR perspective holds while measuring human rights, International Law can be used to understand wider comprehension of human rights from IR perspective. International Law is a core institution in IR representing common values and rules among states[4]. With particular reference to UN charter, Universal Declaration of Human Rights, International Criminal Tribunal for the Former Yugoslavia (ICTY) etc. it can be argued that commitment to human rights has intensified among states and it is International Law that binds the commitment of the states together. However, state practices and International Law have been relatively weak[5] in terms of translating these ideas in diverse IR reality. The escalation of religiously motivated ANSAs like ISIS and their atrocities against the minorities of captured territories in Iraq and Syria visualises how implementation of Human Rights have been proved

disastrous. From ISIS's strategy of targeting the minorities to their agenda of Global Jihad that has featured beyond West Asia, it is evident that the whole achievement of human rights has been challenged by ANSAs like ISIS having a wider impact on IR.

ISIS's actions evidently violate human rights. Although ISIS rationalizes its doing under the banner of Islam, the group relies on Qur'anic teachings and interpretations to justify their atrocities. Instead, ISIS has disregarded individual's right to life, security, property and executed innocent civilians. The peak of ISIS war crimes can be traced from 2014 when the group began seizing territories. When ISIS swept through northern Iraqi town where Yazidis are concentrated in the region, as many as five thousand Yazidis were executed (Nance, 2016) and five hundred thousand displaced (ibid). Yazidis are not only the minorities targeted by ISIS. Other minorities like Christians, Alawites, Druze, Turkmen, Shia Shabaks and others also fell prey to ISIS atrocities where they were declared as infidel or takfirs and were sold or executed.

Among the myriads of atrocities committed by ISIS, the issue of rape and slavery may be considered most grievous. For ISIS, rape of captured women is permissible so long as they are considered unbelievers.

Slavery and human trafficking system of ISIS is far reached. ISIS issues official price lists for females, from the ages of one to fifty. Top price goes to younger women, with value being \$172[6]. Also according to the price list, it is forbidden to purchase more than three slaves unless they are foreigners like Turks, Syrians, and Gulf Arabs[7]. According to a United Nations commission of inquiry report, June 2017, ISIS still holds 3,200 Yezidi women and children (Human Rights Watch, 2017) and such cruelty are crime against humanity, genocide, war crimes and aggression. As Article 4 of the Statute of the International Criminal Tribunal for the Former Yugoslavia (ICTY) defines genocide as:

"Genocide means any of the following acts committed with intent to destroy, in whole or in part, national, ethnic, racial or religious group, as such: (a) killing members of the group; (b) causing serious bodily or mental harm to members of the group; (c) deliberately inflicting on group conditions of life calculated to bring about physical destruction in whole or in part; (d) imposing measures intended to prevent births within the group; (e) forcibly transferring children of the group to another group....." (Shaw, 2008; 430).

ISIS has persecuted and killed people on the basis of their political affiliation, national affiliation, ethnic affiliation and cultural affiliation. The imposition of Sharia Law by ISIS on seized territories, it displaced political and civil rights of the people. ISIS has also

destroyed cultural heritage of non-Sunni Muslims. ISIS destroyed Jonah's Tomb, Mosul Central Library, Nimrud, and Tomb of Sheikh Qadeeb Al-Ban Al-Mosuli in Iraq. In Syria, ISIS destroyed Sufi Shrines and City of Palmyra. In response, Irinia Bokova, UNESCO Chief said that ISIS cannot silence history of cultures from the memory of the world (Bokova, 2015).

When the coalition forces started attacking ISIS captured province of Northern Iraq, series of execution videos followed. On 19th August 2014, ISIS released a video entitled *"Message to America. (Stern and Berger, 2015)"* In this video, James Foley, an American journalist who was kidnapped in Syria was dressed in orange jumpsuit with his hand tied. A masked ISIS fighter wearing a mask was standing next to him; the fighter beheaded James Foley and said that the life of Americans depends on Obama's next move (Sekulow, 2014). After this, series of videos were released that showed the execution of aid workers and journalists in the region. Alan Henning and David Hanes, British nationals were also executed by an executioner commonly known as Jihadi John believed to be Mohammed Emwazi from Britain who had joined ISIS. There were other execution videos released under the title *The Resolve of the Defiant* and *Flames of the War*, these videos visualised execution of Chinese, Russian, Jordanian, Japanese, Norwegian and other nationals (Nance, 2016).

These attempts of ISIS to prevent individuals from practicing their profession, religion and culture are in contravention of the Covenant on Civil and Political Rights and the right to self-determination (Lekas, 2015).

ISIS routinely tortures its enemies in violation of International Law. ISIS operates a number of detention facilities within its territory, which it uses to punish those who break Sharia Law or oppose ISIS. Many of its prisons are clandestine, and few are known. Known detention centers are in Syria. Individuals suspected of violating Sharia law or oppose ISIS, including children as young as eight years old are abducted and summarily executed in prisons (Sekulow, 2014). Jay Sekulow in his book (2014) *Rise of ISIS: a Threat we cannot ignore* observes *"ISIS violates every single principle of the law of war. (ibid)"* As Article 3 of the laws or customs of war observes that following acts are violation of jurisdiction:

"(a) employment of poisonous weapons or other weapons calculated to cause unnecessary suffering; (b) wanton destruction of cities, towns or villages... (c) attack or bombardment of undefended towns, villages or buildings; (d) seizure of, destruction or willful damage done to institutions dedicated to religion, charity and education, the arts and sciences, historical monuments and works"

of art and science; (e) plunder of public or private property..." (Shaw, 2008; 434).

From ISIS's attacks on holy shrines to execution methodologies, they have violated every aspect of Human Rights and International Law.

Humanitarian Crisis and Attacks

Syria and Iraq together constitute the worst refugee and displacement scenario in world politics. Since the escalation of Syrian conflict to the ascent of ISIS, millions have been displaced from their habitat triggering a massive humanitarian crisis that the world has ever seen. Following the humanitarian crisis, ISIS has also managed to attack on foreign soil. Countries across the globe are facing new security threats coming from an ANSA. Thus, the whole security dilemma has been reshaped by ISIS.

There are 3.5 million (Smith and Mills, 2015) internally displaced people in Iraq and about 350,000 (ibid) from countries like Syria. An increasing number of Iraqis are fleeing to other countries like Jordan, Turkey etc.. Iraq is in increasing danger of suffering and food crisis, as the major agricultural units and lands have been affected by the conflict (ibid). The case is even extreme in Syria as UN Office for Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs estimates that more than 12 million (ibid) Syrians are in need of assistance inside Syria, while more than four million (ibid) have fled to neighboring countries.

Global forced displacement has increased, with high record numbers. According to United Nations High Commission of Refugee report 2015-2016, 65.3 million (UNHCR, 2016) individuals are forcibly displaced worldwide. Out of which 21.3 million (ibid) people are refugees, 40.8 million (ibid) internally displaced people and 3.2 million (ibid) asylum seekers.

The conflict in Syria and Iraq significantly contributed to the rise in the global number of displaced people. By the end of 2016, there were close of 5 million (UNHCR, 2016) Syrian refugee worldwide, an increase of 1 million (ibid) women, men and children within a year. In Syria, Bashar Al Assad's use of chemical weapons and heavy artillery against its own citizens during Arab Spring and ISIS escalated conflict in the region has generated more refugees. The vast majority of these newly displaced populations were registered in Turkey-946,800 (ibid). As a result, Turkey hosted the largest refugees in the globe. Lebanon hosted 1.1 million (ibid) and Jordan 0.6 (ibid) refugees from Syria and Iraq.

Syria and Iraq are not the only countries contributing to worldwide refugee crises. New reignited conflicts in Libya, Nigeria, Afghanistan, Burundi, Yemen, Congo etc. have also contributed to the increase in Global displacement crises.

While much of International attention had focused on security threats in West Asia caused by displacement and conflicts, during 2015, another security threat induced by displacement and conflicts affected the immediate region of Europe. Large number of refugees and asylum seekers from Africa, West Asia and Central Asia arrived at Europe. Increasing number of people risked their lives to cross the Mediterranean Sea in search of safety and protection. They crossed the Aegean Sea and landed in Europe and also through Mediterranean Sea and land routes. Since other countries were reluctant on receiving displaced people, they arrived at Europe. It was estimated that more than 972,551 (Parvathi, 2015) travelled by Mediterranean Sea and 34,000 (ibid) by land.

European countries were affected by this influx. While many countries were hesitant on allowing the migrants to enter, countries like Greece, Italy and Malta, Spain and Germany allowed these refugees to enter their country. England, Ireland, Scotland and other countries did not allow these migrants to enter. In Greece, 856700 (UNHCR, 2016) people were registered, in Italy 153800 (ibid), Malta received 105 (ibid), Spain received 15400 (ibid) and Germany agreed to accept one million refugees, they registered 964574 displaced people[8].

Conflicts in West Asia, Africa, and Central Asia constituted this global migration crisis. Much of this migration crisis is induced by Syrian crisis and ISIS but Western countries have also contributed to this crisis. When the coalition force was formed to fight ISIS, it was not only rebel groups and ISIS that became victim of coalition bombings. Civilians in Syria and Iraq were also affected by the coalition force eventually forcing them to leave their country and head towards other neighboring countries and European region. In this case, even coalition forces have played their part in migration crisis that engulfed European region.

Migration crisis is not the only security threat that engulfed European region. While many migrants were registered, there are thousands of migrants who are not registered. Migrant crisis have proved to be toughest of all. Although governments have already started integrating them, housing, health care, language problem, education etc will make the government difficult to integrate them. Integrating registered migrants have worked out up to some extent but unregistered migrants have become threat to the host countries.

Major security threat that the West and other countries witnessed was lone wolf attacks. ISIS agenda of going global meant attacking Western countries in their homeland. After Al Adnani gave a speech on conducting lone wolf attacks, his motive was to radicalize Muslims living in European countries and beyond. It was an inspiration of terror

activities against the West in all parts of the world rather than organizing an attack themselves. The message was spread in such a manner that ISIS was able to electrify local residents in West and instigate them to attack under the banner of Jihad. In this way, they would be contributing to global Islamic resistance against the West. As a result of Adnani's instigative speech, lone wolf attacks were witnessed across the globe. These attackers were the one who could neither conduct Hijrah nor declare Bayat.

ISIS attack in the West has mostly featured as Lone Wolf Attack but it has three structures of attacks. This can be looked a little bit further as controlled, guided, networked and inspired. Operatives who are trained in Iraq and Syria and are sent off abroad with specific instructions and resources on targets are controlled. These operatives also remain in significant contact with ISIS. Guided are those who receive endorsement to carry out an attack under ISIS banner. These operatives travel to an area controlled by ISIS where they would get broad outlines of an attack. ISIS does this with the help of Amn al-Kharji (ISIS foreign intelligence service). Lastly, inspired are those who carry out attack with their own plan without an assistance of Amn al-Kharji and ISIS. This is the true category of Lone Wolf. Those individuals who act as a Lone Wolf are most difficult to stop because of their self preparation without any contact with ISIS.

ISIS attacks are the most lethal security threat that West has ever witnessed. Most of their attacks took off against the West. For instance, Charlie Hebdo massacre in France killed 12(Henry Jackson Society, 2017), Paris attack on November 2015 killed 130 (ibid). France witnessed 20 (ibid) ISIS attacks, US witnessed 16 (ibid), Germany witnessed 12 (ibid), Britain witnessed 8 (ibid) and Belgium 7 (ibid). ISIS threat was also felt in countries like Australia where the country witnessed 9 (ibid). Other countries have also been victim of ISIS attack.

It was evident from 2014 onwards that new security threat has emerged in IR driven by ANSA with radical Islamic interpretation. To combat security threats like humanitarian crisis, human rights violation, non conventional attack on foreign soil etc. triggered by an ANSA. Countries have come together to form a coalition for self defense against ISIS and humanitarian intervention.

COALITION CONTRIBUTION TO COUNTERING ISIS

In terms of Counter-ISIS coalition mandate, United Nations Security Council (UNSC) passed several resolutions such as 2170, 2178 and 2199 to make a call on member states to take assorted steps to include coalition strategy such as humanitarian relief, countering terrorist financing and counter ISIS managing strategy. According to United Nations Charter, Article 2(4) prohibits the use of force against

internal sovereignty of State/s. Even though ISIS commits gross human rights violations, triggers humanitarian crisis and threatens the existence of State system, the theory of Humanitarian applies only to State/s. The action to combat ISIS is neither action against State actors, nor it is aimed to overthrow the existing Syrian government, rendering the theory of humanitarian intervention a non-viable justification to infringing on Syria's territorial boundaries (Lekas, 2015).

In order to execute the coalition mandate, coalition participants have cited the Iraqi Government's letter to the UNSC requesting defense assistance and stating that Iraq faces threats from ISIS in Syria as a further legal basis for participating in the military coalition (Mcinnis, 2016). Obama Administration maintained that it has legal authorization for a military intervention through 2001 and 2002 Iraq Resolution. But their main interest was to stop security threat posed by ANSAs and for regional hegemonic position.

On September 10, 2014, President Obama announced the formation of a global coalition to defeat ISIS. Subsequently, over 60 nations (John, 2014) and partner organizations agreed to participate, contributing either military forces or resources (or both) to the campaign. In Brussels on 2014, countries agreed to organize and support the coalition mandate. They agreed to support military operations, capacity building and training, stop the flow of foreign terrorist fighters, cut off ISIS financial network; address humanitarian relief and crises, and expose ISIS true nature (ibid). The military component of coalition to defeat ISIS began its "*operation inherent resolve*" (Mcinnis, 2016) soon after countries agreed to cooperate and fight against their common enemy.

According to United States Central Command and open source reporting, around 27 countries (Cronk, 2016) have agreed to join the coalition with an objective of destroying ISIS and homeland protection. Accordingly the campaign has three primary military components: coordinated air strikes, training and equipping local security forces and target special operations, some based on Northern Iraq while others dedicated to operate in Syria (Starr, 2016).

According to Department of Defense, as of June 2016, the coalition conducted 13,470 airstrikes and 26374 targets were destroyed[9]. Operation Inherent Resolve seemed successful initially with 66 (Mcinnis, 2016) participant countries contributing for the coalition financially and militarily as decided during NATO summit where 10 [10] countries had decided to fight ISIS militarily through air support and supplies. However, towards the end of 2015, coalition countries were facing numerous obstacles.

Despite the expenditure of \$500 million (Mcinnis, 2016), the coalition proved unable to counter ISIS financial mechanisms. ISIS has demonstrated a degree of strategic level reach. ISIS captured the city of Ramadi, the provincial capital of al-Anbar, after a long struggle. Ramadi constitutes majority Sunni population which is favorable to ISIS. The city is also crucial for control over Anbar province and for towns along the Euphrates River leading to al-Raqqā, the ISIS centre of operations in Syria. The city is just 60km from Baghdad. After successfully capturing Ramadi, ISIS eyed for Kobane but they were driven out by Kurdish forces. When the coalition had focused on retaking Mosul (Islamic Caliphate of ISIS), ISIS captured Palmyra that led the coalition to shift their focus from Mosul operation to Palmyra and Ramadi. Palmyra occupation seemed significant for ISIS because of rich gas reserves and classical antiquities, giving ISIS leverage and money. The greatest challenges to the coalition were ISIS strategy of resupplying its troops and war machines across Iraq and Syria from Abu Kamel, confronting the coalition force on the battlefield. ISIS has also demonstrated its global reach by attacking Western cities, notably Paris, Brussels and others.

ISIS flourishes in the absence of strong and unified state response. ISIS has dodged state persecution, even from Syrian regime. Most of the state persecution on ISIS has been in form of airstrikes and military assistance in Iraq and de-facto region of Kurdistan (Klausen, 2015). On the other hand, with the international coalition against ISIS, the group seems to have unleashed a new wave of religion impact on IR. Unlike the Al-Qaeda related attacks, ISIS attack seems to be more of religious form. Such religiously motivated attacks were seen in Paris, Charlie Hebdo massacre etc. ISIS has proven particularly adept at using weaknesses in the state-system, they have radicalized youths in Western land encouraging them to attack just by giving a hatred speech against the West. Such strategies have compelled states to penetrate into ISIS modus operandi system to track down the recruiters and instigators of Global attacks. But the coalition has failed to do so because of their regional interest in West Asia.

For instance, the coalition force is led by US with 60 countries (Smith and Mills, 2015) assisting to counter ISIS advancement. The United Kingdom, Australia, France, Belgium, Denmark, Jordan and Netherland and gulf countries have all conducted air strikes against ISIS. Canada initially was a coalition ally but after Justin Trudeau came to power, he was reluctant to involve Canada against ISIS. However, these countries seem to have their own interest up their sleeves.

It is for the first time that a coalition is formed to skirmish ANSAs. The concept of Westphalian system (understand that has dominated IR thinking), over the last two decades faced many challenges due to

the escalation of NSA/ANSAs. This effect is felt in the West Asia more so than anywhere else. The westphalian notion of Nation-State is, in themselves, alien concept to religiously driven ANSAs like ISIS, where God/Allah is considered to be the embodiment of universal sovereignty. With the advent of ISIS and the proclamation of new Caliphate, the hegemony of westphalian authority is confronted like never before. In post 9/11 period, IR is moving beyond westphalian understanding which will take decades to understand.

FUTURE OF ISIS

Neutralisation of ISIS leaders and shrinking of the territory has now put a question to what would be the future of ISIS. ISIS has lost its major occupied cities like Mosul, Aleppo, Fallujah, Tikrit and other significant provinces that has reduced ISIS financial mechanisms and military. ISIS generates its revenue with taxes, oil, kidnappings etc. losing ground in Syria and Iraq has diminished ISIS both militarily and financially. However, ISIS thrives on weak state system. Iraq and Syria are strengthened with coalition forces and once the coalition fighting force withdraws from Iraq and Syria, ISIS could regain its strength. Long term guerrilla campaigns could continue in Iraq and Syria because the group is still present in sparsely populated desert areas (Smith and Mills, 2017).

ISIS could still gain strength because of failure of Shia led government of Iraq to rebuild liberated areas, or to reintegrate Sunni populations into its political system. In cities like Mosul and Fallujah, unemployment is sky high and the echoes of de-baathification policy that alienated Sunnis is still felt. ISIS can increase their military strength because of state failure to integrate these isolated Sunni populations.

Sunni leaders in Karmah has felt that Iraq is increasing ties with hard-line Shia theocracy next door and the government in Iraq is more focused on working with Shia militias than helping Sunnis rebuild. This in turn could favor ISIS because ISIS feeds on marginalized Sunni populations. In fact, ISIS captured major cities in Iraq and Syria with the help of marginalised Sunnis who were isolated from government schemes. Isolation of Sunnis at the hands of Iraqi politics will be a boon to ISIS. ISIS has also learned from its shrinking position currently, this will help ISIS to evolve into a stronger ANSA with better modus operandi system.

ISIS leaders and fighters have dispersed to other provinces of Egypt, Libya, Afghanistan, Yemen etc. all have areas held by ANSA that have pledged Bayat with ISIS. Those provinces could strengthen ISIS global outreach. Recent attack on Egypt that killed around 230 people (Lee and Spark, 2017) signifies that ISIS can operate from its affiliated provinces. After Mosul fell under ISIS, various

ANSA from West Asia, Central Asia, Caucasus, Africa etc had pledged an alliance with ISIS. Now that ISIS is on the losing ground, these ANSA affiliated to ISIS have expanded from their provinces.

ISIS has already radicalised foreign nationals and encouraged them to conduct Lone Wolf Attacks. European countries have faced Lone Wolf Attacks recently in London Bridge etc. ISIS sympathizers and fighters have returned to their home countries and these fighters could mount an attack under the banner of ISIS.

In Syria, Russia and Assad forces along with Hezbollah have allowed ISIS to flee. These ISIS fighters have entered deserted provinces of Northern and Eastern Syria. It is likely that these fighters can operate from their clandestine bases under the command of Abi Bakr al Baghdadi.

ISIS has spread messages to their affiliated bodies across the globe to continue skirmish Western countries. These ISIS affiliated ANSAs have also declared Global Jihad against the West. This is a clear indication that attacks under the banner of Islam will feature across the Globe. Moreover, ISIS has been pushed to the edge and not completely destroyed as it still holds territory in Abu Kamel, Dier ez-Zor, al-Mayadin and other villages in Syria and Iraq. ISIS can radicalize isolated Sunnis from their thriving position. And once the coalition forces vacates from West Asia then it will leave room for ISIS to expand from their clandestine bases and affiliated provinces.

CONCLUSION

ISIS efforts to keep up their search for new vulnerabilities in the state system and new patterns of waging war is one of the primary reasons why the interaction with the enemy leads to further expansion of transnational space making a big impact on IR. ANSAs have the most compelling motivation to invent new ways of conflictive interactions with state. For instance, the violation of Human Rights and war crimes committed during the time of a conflict. They find a new place of vulnerability in the state system. ANSAs invent a new way of attacking state as one has seen how ANSAs like ISIS have conducted their attack strategies on western soil triggering massive humanitarian crises. The state system responds either to block ANSAs way by forming a coalition among State system. For instance, ISIS spillover effect and their ways of manipulation and attacks have forces countries to form an alliance to skirmish the group.

In case of ANSAs such as ISIS, who are religiously motivated, interaction with state will create a precarious situation where religion becomes a driving force of such conflicts. ISIS is a product of post 9/11 evolution within ANSAs, and ISIS is constantly inventing and exploring new ways and places to

attack as seen during Paris attacks, and thereby provoking counter responses from the state system. The key issues of the International system itself, such as hegemony, sovereignty, humanitarian laws, human rights etc have all been challenged and changed post 9/11 because of religiously motivated ANSAs. It is evident that religion will dominate and will trigger international conflicts.

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