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A Profile of Islamic State's Former Top Operative in Somalia: Bilal al-Sudani

Jacob Zenn

A 2017 UN report concerning Somalia and Eritrea found that an Islamic State (IS) fighter in Somalia who defected from the group named "Abd El-Rahman" as his immediate superior in IS in Somalia (ISS) (UN Security Council, November 2, 2017). However, according to that report, two other former ISS militants in Bosaso (a port town in Puntland) stated that the same "Arabic-speaking Sudanese foreigner" was named "Bilal." In May 2017, one month after the interview of the two former IS in the Sahel Province (ISSP) militants, ISS carried out its first ever claimed attack in Bosaso. This suggests that the town was beina used as a recruitment and operational hub by ISS (africanews.com, May 24, 2017). It turns out that "Abd al-Rahman" was, in fact, Bilal al-Sudani, who was killed in January in a raid by US Navy Seals in Somalia.

In 2022, the Office of Foreign Assets Control (OFAC) sanctioned "Abd alRahman" and noted he was from Rabak, Sudan, which is near the Ethiopian border (OFAC, December 15, 2022). Further, he was born in 1984, which means he would have been around 23 when al-Shabaab was formed in Somalia in 2007. Al-Shabaab was originally formed with the support of formerly Sudan-based or Sudanese al-Oaeda operatives. ISS itself was formed in 2015 when Puntland-based al-Shabaab members, including those from Bosaso, split from al-Shabaab to pledge loyalty to the IS caliph, Abubakar al-Baghdadi (hiiraan.com, November 23, 2015). "Abd al-Rahman" would likely have been among them.

Little was known about "Abd al-Rahman" given his high level of operational security—until the US announced it killed "Bilal al-Sudani" and nine other ISS members in a Seal Team raid on January 27 (<u>somtribune.com</u>, January 28, 2023). Unsurprisingly, he was killed in Puntland, where he had originally been among the founding ISS members. According to US Defense Secretary Lloyd Austin, "al-Sudani was responsible for fostering the growing presence of IS in Africa," including not only Somalia, but also in the Congo and Mozambique. In fact, US officials had already designated him as a terrorist in 2022 for financing IS cells in South Africa; the US later claimed he also financed and oversaw the infamous Islamic State in Khorasan Province (ISKP) attack that killed 13 US troops at an airport in Kabul as the US was withdrawing from Afghanistan (treasury.gov, March 1, 2022). So important was al-Sudani to US counterterrorism efforts that the Seal Team members rehearsed the raid in the same way they had with Osama bin Laden's compound, practicing the assault on a mock model of al-Sudani's residence (<u>hiiraan.com</u>, January 27, 2023).

Considering that "Abd al-Rahman" had the alias "Bilal," was based in Puntland, and was known to top ISS militants as a highranking member at the time that ISS was formed, it is clear that "Abd al-Rahman" is "Bilal al-Sudani." Although IS had managed to keep his identity largely unknown to outsiders, "Abd al-Rahman"/"Bilal al-Sudani" was a significant IS operative. Al-Sudani's life is reflective of how Africa's more permissive operational environment is allowing it to become a center of IS external operations outside of the Middle East.

More generally, IS appears to be delegating increasing leadership authority to its African provinces. While the caliph must remain an Arab from the al-Quraishi tribe, according to IS' religious interpretation, the main provinces need not be in the Middle East. The jury is still out, however, about whether or not IS loyalists in the Middle East and beyond will remain attracted to an IS whose key battlegrounds are in Somalia and Nigeria, rather than in the Islamic "heartlands" of Syria and the Levant.

Jacob Zenn is the Editor of Militant Leadership Monitor.

The Lasting Impact of Kenyan al-Shabaab Suicide Bomber Zubayr al- Muhaajir

Sunguta West

Zubayr al-Muhaajir is a Kenyan militant leader within the Somalia-based al-Qaeda affiliate in East Africa, al-Shabaab. On January 22, he coordinated and executed an attack along a street which housed the mayor's office in Mogadishu. Al-Muhaajir died alongside five other attackers when a Somali elite unit—known as the Danab Special Forces—ended a five-hour jihadist siege. The target of al-Muhaajir and his fellow jihadists' attack was Yusuf Hussein Jimale, who is the regional governor of Banadir region and has effectively led the war against al-Shabaab in Mogadishu (<u>Garowe Online</u>, February 1, 2023).

Al-Muhaajir: From Majengo to Somalia

Al-Muhaajir's exact date of birth is unknown, but judging from the average age of the other militants with him, it can be deduced that he was in his late 20s when he died. He was, however, born in Majengo, a suburb of Nyeri in the central part of the country, near Mt. Kenya. The region is largely Christian and does not experience terrorism and related violence like Kenya's northeastern regions of Garissa and Mandera or the coastal regions of Lamu and Mombasa (<u>Daily Nation</u>, March 18, 2021).

Nevertheless, the Kenyan government has focused more on the Majengo suburb since it became clear that Ali Salim Gichuge (alias Farouk) was born and bred there. In 2019, Gichuge led the attack on the DusitD2 hotel complex in Nairobi. Moreover, from the same suburb ten youths were recruited and proceeded to Somalia to fight for al-Shabaab (The Star, October 30, 2022). Among them was al-Muhaajir, who traveled to Somalia in 2017. At that time, Kenyan security agencies were warning that al-Shabaab was aggressively recruiting in majority nonMuslim regions of Kenya, such as Majengo's slums (<u>Daily Nation</u>, March 18, 2020).

However, it is al-Muhaajir's final testament to Kenyan fighters within al-Shabaab that most worries security officials. In an audio broadcast aired in the group's Radio Al-Andalus, al-Muhaajir justified such suicide attacks and offered his corpse as a bridge for Kenyan recruits to march across and conquer their country (Site Intelligence Group, February 2, 2023). These instructions would have been received most intensely by other Kenyan militants within al-Shabaab, including, among others: Abdikadir Mohammed Abdikadir (alias Ikrima); Maalim Ayman; Mohammed Abdi Aden (alias Mohammed Yare), and Ramadan Kioko (alias Pinji), who are profiled below.

Profiling Key Kenyan Militants in al-Shabaab

The militant leaders listed above have conducted lethal terrorist attacks and are experienced. Since joining al-Shabaab, Kenyan security services have sought their arrest and prosecution.

Ikrima

Ikrima is a commander and strategist, who has headed al-Shabaab's intelligence wing—the Amniyat. His influence has been seen most in attacks across northern Kenya and Nairobi. However, he rose to prominence in September 2013, after he helped plan the bombing of the upscale Westgate shopping mall, which killed at least 70 people and wounded an estimated 200 others. As of 2022, he remained among the most wanted Kenyan militants in al-Shabaab (Nation, January 12, 2022). Born around the early 1980s to a middle class family in Mombasa, Ikrima started his early life in the Eastleigh neighborhood in Nairobi, where his family moved in the 1990s. Two decades later, in 2014, the US government placed a \$9 million bounty on his head; this was followed in 2017, when the Kenyan government placed a \$19,200 bounty on Ikrima (alongside four other suspects) for sneaking into Kenya to launch attacks.

Mohammed Abdi Aden

Mohammed Abdi Aden has several aliases, includina Mohammed Yare, Ibrahim, and Mohammed Hassan Mohammed Abdirahman. Kenyan police arrested him in 2014 for collecting information to facilitate terror attacks in Nairobi. This was after he resided in the Garissa and Fedha estates in Nairobi and made his first trip to Somalia in 2013. After being acquitted in 2017, he travelled to Somalia again to join al-Shabaab. Currently, Yare is coordinating a unit carrying out attacks in the Boni forest along the Kenyan coast. The US has offered \$10 million for his capture (The Star, January 13, 2023).

Maalim Ayman

Maalim Ayman coordinates the al-Shabaab unit operating along the Lacta Belt area, which is a forested area extending from Kenya into Somalia. The unit has been executing deadly attacks in Buare and Mpeketoni in Lamu County (The Star, July 6, 2014). The group is also blamed for improvised explosive device (IED) attacks on roads in Lamu and Garissa. Ayman has been linked to the January 5, 2020 Manda Bay Airfield attack, which killed a US soldier and two defense contractors. Two other US service members and another contractor were wounded. On January 5, the US indicted Ayman and offered \$10 million for his arrest (Addis Standard, January 6, 2023).

Ramadan Kioko

Ramadan Kioko, who is also known as Pinji and Abu Nuseiba, is a Kenyan militant with al-Shabaab. He was recruited into the group by Shaykh Ahmed Iman Ali, who is a former al-Shabaab leader and was responsible for propaganda and recruitment of Kenvan vouth from Majengo. Kioko joined al-Shabaab in 2008 and is one of the Maalim Ayman's subcommanders currently deployed in Boni Forest. Before joining al-Shabaab, he was a notorious pick-pocket in Nairobi (<u>Nairobi</u> <u>News</u>, January 13).

Conclusion

Al-Muhaajir's final testament was to urge Kenyan fighters within al-Shabaab to return home and conquer their home country in the name of Islam. His instructions were intended for hundreds of youths from Kenya, who are fighting or desire to fight alongside al-Shabaab in Somalia. Kenya continues to struggle with al-Shabaab attacks, and the latest video from al-Muhaajir may only further inspire jihadists like him and the other Kenyans profiled above to carry out more attacks in Kenya.

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A Post-Mortem Analysis of ISKP's Shaikh Jalaluddin

Riccardo Valle and Iftikhar Firdous

On August 16, Islamic State in Khorasan Province (ISKP) published the seventh issue of its Pashto language magazine Khurasan Ghaq (Twitter/TheKhorasanDiary, August 16, 2022). Like previous releases, this one was circulated by the Al-Azaim Foundation, which is the ISKP media mouthpiece in the broader South and Central Asia region, and is in charge of disseminating ISKP propaganda online (Terrorism Monitor, December 16, 2021). Khurasan Ghag is a fairly new publication that was first circulated in May 2022 and usually addresses topics related to Afghanistan. Khurasan Ghag also focuses on stories that disparage the Taliban, while regularly narrating biographies of ISKP militants in an almost hagiographical tone (Terrorism Monitor, June 16, 2022). Among these biographies, the seventh issue featured the story of a prominent ISKP Salafist scholar Shaikh Abu Abdullah Jalaluddin, who was an ISKP mufti. Shaikh Jalaluddin only held this role for a short time before he died in a US drone strike in October 2015. Nevertheless, he was an inspirational figure for ISKP members (<u>Afghan Islamic</u> <u>Press</u>, October 14, 2015).

Before the release of *Khurasan Ghag*'s official biography, the most detailed account of Shaikh Jalaluddin's life was written by ISKP supporter and writer, Abu Ali Ikrimah al-Ansari, on his Facebook page. [1] While not an official biography, the text provided unique information about where Shaikh Jalaluddin studied and about his teachers and role in ISKP. By comparing the two al-Ansari and *Khurasan Ghag* biographies, it is possible to draw a picture of one of the most influential propagandists of ISKP.

The information published by the ISKP outlet is significant as it is a testimony to the idea that ISKP ideology is firmly linked to local ideologues from Afghanistan and Pakistan rather than only referring to Islamic State (IS)'s Syrian and Iraqi religious figures. It is important to study Shaikh Jalaluddin's biography—as well as those of others ISKP prominent figures—in order to understand how ISKP is actively shaping its own history as an influential jihadist entity in the broader South and Central Asia regions by circulating these biographies.

Shaikh Jalaluddin's Biography

The narrator of Shaikh Jalaluddin's story starts by describing a meeting which took place in Mohmand Dara area between a group of ISKP militants, including ISKP Wali ("Governor") Hafiz Saeed Khan, prominent commander Saad Emirati, and Shaikh Jalaluddin himself. The narrator claims that Jalaluddin's father was from Kunar and fought in the anti-Soviet jihad in the 1980s, although he later fled to Bajaur and then to the Tarbella area in the Swabi district of Khyber Pakhtunkhwa. This was where Jalaluddin, the fourth son, was born in 1991. One of Jalaluddin's elder brothers was Shaikh Mujahid, a renowned scholar who studied in Karachi's Abu Bakr Madrassa and then in Gujranwala's Muhammadi Madrassa. Mujahid followed Jalaluddin in Afghanistan for two months after Jalaluddin pledged allegiance to Hafiz Saeed, where he also met Abu Umar Khorasani. The same Khorasani later became the future fourth Wali of ISKP but was killed by Taliban fighters in August 2021 when they stormed Bagram prison (BBC Urdu, August 24, 2021; <u>The Khorasan</u> Diary, July 31, 2022).

Jalaluddin went to study at the Salafist madrassa of Satyana Bangla in Faisalabad, Punjab before moving to Peshawar, where he continued his studies in a "famous Salafist madrassa," which, according to the biography of Abu Ali Ikrimah al-Ansari, was the prominent al-Qaeda-linked Gani Madrassa of Shaikh Aminullah Peshawari (UrduVoa, August 21, 2013). Al-Ansari also narrated that Jalaluddin studied in Bada Beera in Sifan, Peshawar in the mosque established by famous Salafist scholar Shaikh Abdul Salam Rustami. He was allegedly a student of Shaikh Aminullah Peshawari; Shaikh Abdul Salam Rustami; Shaikh Ghulamullah Rahmati; Shaikh Abu Ammar Samiullah; and Shaikh Abdul Manan Noorpoori.

Khurasan Ghaq's narrator argues that Jalaluddin stood out for his anti-Shia and sectarian propaganda as well as for his harsh criticisms of democracy and elections. Videos of him debating with Hanafi scholars attest to the accuracy of this claim (Terrorism Monitor, November 20, 2020). Jalaluddin further issued a fatwa in favor of jihad and traveling to Afghanistan to fight the US. While in Pakistan he helped militants hide their weapons. He was also a mentor to some al-Qaeda members and had a deep connection to fighters from Tunisia and Russia.

Jalaluddin's Joining ISKP

When the Islamic caliphate was officially declared by Abu Bakr al-Baghdadi in Mosul

in June 2014, Jalaluddin proselytized in favor of IS. He, for example, encouraged his students to travel to the Middle East to join the group. When ISKP was announced as a new IS province in January 2015, he immediately joined through his contact, disgruntled Salafist Afghan Taliban commander and deputy Wali (governor) of ISKP, Abdur Rauf Khadem. Abdur Rauf Khadem was from Helmand, and was killed in February 2015 in a US drone strike (Jihadology, March 17, 2015). As Pakistani intelligence was after Jalaluddin, he fled to Afghanistan, where he pledged allegiance to Hafiz Saeed and met the future second Wali of ISKP, Abdul Haseeb Logari, who, according to Abu Ali Ikrimah al-Ansari's biography, became a student of Jalaluddin. He was also eulogized by IS in its al-Naba newsletter [2]. It was during this first meeting with Hafiz Saeed that Jalaluddin recorded his video, "The Promised Caliphate", which was a 50-minute-long monologue broadcast by IS where he accused the Taliban of being funded by apostate governments and of avoiding targeting "temples" and "shrines" of the "polytheists" in order to not anger foreign states (Jihadology, September 12, 2015).

Al-Ansari in his biography provided additional details on Jalaluddin's role in ISKP. According to him, Jalaluddin was in charge of the Ministry of Commanding the Good and Forbidding the Evil, with five subdepartments under his command. His appointment to the position is confirmed by the article in Khurasan Ghag as well. Jalaluddin settled some important judicial cases on the orders of Hafiz Saeed and dedicated effort to recruiting new militants for ISKP. Jalaluddin helped to establish Khurasan Ghag Radio, which became the official broadcast channel of ISKP. However, he allegedly died before it began broadcasting. Jalaluddin actively participated in inspiring fighters in battle, traveling to Kot, Adalkhel, Mamand, Gorgori to deliver sermons to combat units.

Conclusion

Jalaluddin was killed in a US drone strike in the area of Mamand Achin while he was travelling in his car together with four other men, including his brother Mujahid. After the death of him and his brother, his younger brother, Zia ul Islam (Khalid), migrated from Peshawar to join ISKP. Khalid was a religious scholar and participated in the activities of the group's communication and military branch, and fought against the Taliban and US offensives in Nangarhar in 2019. Khalid ultimately died of wounds received during these battles.

Jalaluddin's case, therefore, represents an entire generation of jihad within a single family. He is considered a jihadi hero by ISKP militants, an important religious scholar, a commander, and a charismatic figure. Jalaluddin also left behind many sermons and speeches for ISKP, which the group still widely shares on social media, including on Khurasan Ghag Radio. His captivating voice and inflammatorv speeches, now coupled with an official and widespread account of his life, provide ISKP with a potent tool for attracting new recruits from the Salafist community.

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Notes:

[1] A link to his Facebook page no longer accessible; the old link was: <u>https://www.facebook.com/usmanswati10</u> 15/photos/412402233547873.

[2] Al-Naba. "al-sheykh al-mujahid abd alhasib al-lujri [Sheikh mujahid Abdul Haseeb Logari]", *al-Naba* Issue 189 (July 2019).

The Conviction and Sentencing of International Terrorist Sajid Majeed Mir

Syed Fazl-e-Haider

Sajid Majeed Mir was previously the deputy head of the international operations wing of Lashkar-e-Taiba (LeT), a proscribed Pakistan-based militant group. The 44year-old Mir has been a key player in the LeT, planning the expansion of the group's operations from Kashmir to other parts of India. For example, Mir was the handler for the Pakistani-American operative David Headley, who played a key role in the planning with Mir of the 2008 Mumbai attacks (<u>One India</u>, November 26, 2018).

Mir's role in the 2008 Mumbai terrorist attacks in India resulted in the US Department of State offering up to \$5 million for information on Mir under its Rewards for Justice Program. The terrorist attack in Mumbai that Mir directed killed 166 people, including six American citizens (Rewards for Justice, November 10, 2008). In May 2022, Mir was finally sentenced to fifteen-and-a-half years in prison for terrorism financing by a Pakistani antiterrorism court in Lahore (Dawn, June 2, 2022). Although he is now in prison, he remains an inspiration for the new recruits in LeT, who are likely to continue his legacy.

Early Life, Family, and Career

Mir was born in 1976 to a middle-class Punjabi family in Lahore (the capital of Punjab province), where his father ran a small textile business. Eventually, Mir married the daughter of a retired Pakistani army officer, with whom he had two sons (<u>The Hindu</u>, October 18, 2016). He received degrees from the University of Punjab in English Literature and Islamic Studies, while also learning to speak Arabic, Urdu, and English fluently (<u>Law</u> <u>Insider</u>, November 10, 2022). As a gualified Islamic preacher, these skills would later aid him in persuading Western jihadists to attack targets internationally.

Mir joined LeT when he was 18 in 1994. He then rose through LeT's ranks and became associated with the group's international operations. At this point in his life, Mir likely participated in jihadist activity in his after school hours (Dawn, June 25, 2022). Mir was associated with LeT's founder Hafiz Saeed and was trained by Ilyas Kashmiri, who was an al-Qaeda commander killed in an American drone strike in 2011 (Orius, October 1, 2022). These connections likely contributed to his rapid rise in the organization. Further, Mir had direct access to Zaki-ur-Rehman Lakhvi, who was the chief of all terrorism operations. It is believed that Mir connected him with al-Qaeda operatives to carry out terrorist activities in different countries (Dawn, June 25, 2022).

In December 2021, Pakistani authorities declared Mir dead; this would later be proven incorrect when they then arrested him in April 2022. As previously stated, Mir was then convicted by a Pakistani court for terrorism financing in May 2022, and now faces a fifteen-and-a-half year prison sentence in Lahore's Kot Lakhpat Jail (The Hindu, June 28, 2022).

Mir's Rise in International Terrorism

In 2002, Mir attracted global attention due to the "Virginia Paintball Jihadi" case. Mir had attempted to purchase military equipment from the US with the help of accomplices in Virginia. This failed, and the FBI imprisoned ten of his Virginia-based facilitators (<u>Dawn</u>, June 25, 2022).

In 2003, Mir planned a terrorist attack in Australia as retaliation for Australia's military presence in Afghanistan. In that plot, Willie Brigitte (a French national) and Faheem Khalid Lodhi (an Australian) were his accomplices. However, Brigitte and Lodhi were detained by the Australian authorities before they could launch the attack. Brigitte was then deported to France, where a court sentenced him to nine years in prison (<u>Dawn</u>, June 25, 2022).

In 2006, Mir took charge of LeT's international operations. He planned and directed an attack on a newspaper and its staff in Denmark in 2009 (Rewards for Justice, November 10, 2011). The terrorist operation against the Danish newspaper was codenamed "Mickey Mouse" (Times of India, October 28, 2009). After these plots, Mir—who became known to foreign jihadists as "Uncle Bill"—then began focusing on Mumbai and planning attacks on India's largest city (The Hindu, October 18, 2016).

The "Project Manager" of the Mumbai attacks

Known as the "project manager" of the 2008 Mumbai attacks, Mir had visited India as early as 2005 using a fake identity and passport (Economic Times, June 25, 2022). He was able to enter India by pretending to be a cricket spectator for an India-Pakistan match in New Delhi, staying there 15 days (Dawn, June 25, 2022). During his stay, he carefully investigated Mumbai with the help of David Headley. Three years later, he would direct operatives who participated in the infamous attack over the phone (Law Insider, November 10, 2021).

The attack occurred in November 2008, when a group of 10 LeT members sailed from the southern Pakistani port city of Karachi and hijacked an Indian fishing boat. After killing the captain, the militants took a rubber dinghy into Mumbai where they attacked hotels, a train station, a hospital, and a Jewish community center. Indian forces killed nine attackers, while one attacker, Aimal Kasab, was captured alive. Kasab later faced trial in an Indian court, where he received the death sentence (al Jazeera, June 28, 2022). The role of Mir in the Mumbai attacks, according to the FBI, was as the "chief planner... directing preparations and reconnaissance, and as one of the key controllers during the attacks" (Economic Times, June 25, 2022).

In particular, Mir was the main handler of David Headley and extended Headley all possible support for the Mumbai attack. He provided him financial and logistical assistance, identifying and surveying targets for attacks in Mumbai. Mir also indirectly helped by training and briefing the militants who carried out the operation. Mir was present in the group's control room in Pakistan when the militants launched their attack in Mumbai (<u>Qrius</u>, October 1, 2022).

Mir's Conviction and Sentencing

The conviction of Mir was handed down by an anti-terrorism court in Pakistan. However, it raised many questions because it came at a time when the country was striving to be removed from the Financial Action Task Force's (FATF) "grey-list." The conviction of Mir strengthened Pakistan's relationship with the FATF; the high profile case reassured the FATF that Pakistan was making progress on the FATF's action plan for it (<u>Dawn</u>, June 25, 2022).

India abstained from offering any comments on the conviction and sentencing of Mir because the court's verdict was not formally announced in Islamabad. An Indian government official, however, stated that the "timing" of Pakistan's actions in the Mir case were "clearly aimed at being granted leniency from Western countries at the FATF" (The Hindu, June 28, 2022). India was frustrated with Pakistan's repeated inaction in prosecuting Mir, complaining that Pakistan appeared to have only taken action to demonstrate progress with FATF, rather than to pursue justice. Indeed, there were no details provided to the media or the FATF about Mir's capture, which suggests that Pakistan may cease to lend Mir the safe harbor it provided in the past.

Regardless, with the imprisonment of Mir, LeT lost a valuable asset. He had been the brains behind the LeT's militant operations beyond Pakistan's borders, and had planned and directed attacks in Australia, Denmark, and Mumbai. He also was a conduit for LeT relations with other international terrorist organizations like al-Qaeda, which will be lost with his imprisonment.

Conclusion

Mir's role as commander-in-charge for the training of Western jihadists across the world expanded as the LeT did the same (The Week, November 26, 2020). An overlooked feature of Mir is his ability to attract, train, and handle Western jihadists. As established previously, he discovered Brigitte from France, Headley from the US, and also Lodhi from Australia, who became his assets abroad. He then carefully used these assets for his operations in various countries.

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