INTRODUCTION
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The nineties see India and the world at a momentous juncture in history a time of profound change and rapid transition, a time of great promise as well as a greater challenge, a time of opportunity amidst pervasive uncertainty.

The world is far from being a peaceful, just and secure place. Simmering disputes, violent conflicts, aggression and foreign occupation, interference in the internal affairs of states, policies of hegemony and domination, ethnic strife, religious intolerance, new forms of racism and narrowly conceived nationalism are major and dangerous obstacles to harmonious co-existence among states and peoples and have even led to the disintegration of some states and societies. ¹

However, the two biggest threats facing mankind today are the accumulation of nuclear weapons by unfriendly countries and the spectre of international terrorism. Though both are very different in character and magnitude, they have more than just a semantic similarity of deterrence. ² The medley of cries for self-determination, the rising sway of fundamentalism and the state-sponsorship of terrorism make this menace a global malaise.

In today's world international terrorism has become a major problem. The publicity that terrorist incidents receive due to their 'newsy' nature has ensured that an entire population feels their impact. In the Indian context, the cases of Punjab and Jammu & Kashmir are suitable examples of illustrating how terrorism can paralyze the

¹ NAM Documents, Tenth Conference of Heads of States and Governments of Non-Aligned Countries, Jakarta (1992) p.3
² David Carlton and Carlo Schaerf, ed, International Terrorism And World Security (Croom Helm, London 1975), P1
administration, intimidate the populace, embarrass the government and lower the morale of an entire country.

The focus of this study is international terrorism in India. Though several domestic and politico-social factors do contribute in disenchanting and forcing certain pockets of the population to rebellion, it is when an unfriendly nation steps in to further its own nefarious interests by aiding, abetting and sustaining terrorist movements there that the problem becomes severe. In the case of state-sponsorship of terrorism, terrorists are sent abroad to strike at victims or targets because of their connection to a foreign state. Since this kind of proxy warfare is a low-cost option, several weak states resort to it to run down their perceived opponents. As such a conduct includes violent acts outside the purview of diplomacy, it can go a long way in ruining regional peace and sabotaging bilateral relations. Pakistan’s abetment of terrorism first in Punjab and now in Jammu and Kashmir is a case in point.

**The purpose of the study**

The fact that acts of international terrorism violate the established norms of diplomatic conduct poses a grave challenge to international diplomacy. A nation’s predisposition to peaceful negotiations and the resolution of conflict within the parameters of international law is severely put to test when it becomes a victim of international terrorism.

The purpose of this study is to dwell on the various responses to this menace. An attempt would be made to explore guidelines and options and also deduce from the policy initiatives already taken the diplomatic choices available. The primary hypothesis is
‘International Terrorism as Challenge to Indian Diplomacy’. The various challenges that Indian diplomacy has faced in this context since the last two decades and whatever responses it has come up form the underlying theme of the study. Whether it is an earnest desire to resume diplomatic means of dispute settlement or working towards a greater bilateral, regional and global understanding and co-operation in this regard, the inherent dilemma of a peaceful country to grapple with an externally supported terrorist menace is dwelt upon in this work.

**The meaning of terrorism**

Though the use of violence to further aims has always been part of the human socio-psychological fabric, the hydra of terrorism raised its ugly head in a big way in the seventies and eighties. The world has since then witnessed a spate of kidnappings, hijackings and bombings with alarming regularity. The aim of all such activities has been the same: furthering and publicizing the terrorist cause. Thus, terrorism primarily comprises of the use of force directed against innocent third parties for essentially ideological, financial or psychological reasons. ³ As a phenomenon, terrorism can be found both in democratic and authoritarian regimes. Since an outstanding feature of terrorism is the use of violence to kill a few and intimidate many, this scourge is almost always judged on two levels, the morality of the ends and the morality of the means. ⁴ What ever ideological tenets a terrorist may use to justify his deeds, there can never be an endorsement of terrorist acts by any national or international actor.

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⁴ Anthony Arblaster, “Terrorism: Myths, Meanings and Morals”, *Political Studies* 5 (1977), 413-424
In general, terrorism can be defined as organized violence by small groups against the state or against other ethnic groups or classes for political purposes. This definition suggests that:

- Terrorist activities are usually organized and involve detailed planning and cooperation within an organized group.
- Terrorist projects are undertaken by secret groups.
- The target of terrorism is primarily the state: terrorists may attack the state through its representatives or its supporters and also through innocent people and seek to cause political, social and economic disruption.
- Terrorism is used to further political aims: terrorism has become a part of the modern political world and all terrorist acts may be part of a longer term political strategy.

A major factor hampering international co-operation against terrorism is the absence of a universally accepted and comprehensive definition of terrorism. Wide disagreements exist on a number of counts and, as the old political maxim goes, “one man’s terrorist is another man’s freedom fighter / mujahideen”. But what is agreed is that terrorism is “the purposive use of violence by the perpetrator(s) against an instrumental target in order to communicate to a primary target a threat of violence so as to coerce the primary target into behavior or attitudes through intense fear or anxiety.

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6 ibid., p.3.
in connection with a demanded power(political) outcome”. Terrorism has also been called by various names: “armed propaganda”, “propaganda by deed”, “a symbolic act”, “politics by violence”, “an insurrectional strategy”, “high leverage violence” and “an ultimate form of protest”. The problem of finding a universal definition of terrorism would be dealt with in the next chapter.

**The Origin of terrorism**

The presence of violence in society is something that can be traced to the earliest times. The earliest form that it took was the struggle for existence in society. Many theoreticians have also variously said that in this kind of a "state of nature", where life was nasty, brutish and short, "in preserving his life against his enemies, it followeth that in such a condition, every man has a right to everything; even to another's body." Violence also found a justification in the works of Nicolo Machiavelli when he said - "For he is to be reprimanded who commits violence for the purpose of destroying and not he who employs it for beneficent purposes." Karl Marx also emphasized the importance of violence in bringing about socio-political change when he called violence "the midwife of every successful revolution." Other writers like Jean Paul Sartre and Frantz Fanon have also endorsed this view. According to the latter, "Violence alone committed

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9 Thomas Hobbes, *Leviathan* (1651) edn., (Ch.14, p 6 4)

10 Nicolo Machiavelli, Discourses, I,9
by the people, violence organized and educated by its leaders, makes it possible for the masses to understand social truths and gives the key to them". 11

The legacy of terrorism, thus, stretches back through the centuries. It assumed significant political importance in the nineteenth century when social revolution caused the disintegration of traditional political structures. It was not until the sixties however that the new famous terrorist methods like hostage-taking and assassinations featured as significant strategies. These were accompanied by developments in the media, in communications and in the opportunities presented by a wide range of vulnerable targets in a world of increasing technological complexity. Terrorist groups were quick to realize the value of publicity for their cause and undoubtedly, it is these advances in technology and media communications that prompted the spread of terrorism in to its present international position. State sponsorship of terrorism has also supported the growth and development of terrorist menace.

**Theoretical Basis of Terrorism**

In general terrorist groups arise from a variety of conditions - deprivation, social injustice, nationalist or separatist tendencies, racial discrimination or religious difference- and these various discontented groups harbour long standing grievances against society. 12 But as one observer has warned, "given the irrationality of the acts in question ... it is surely a mistake to look for rational motivation". 13

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11 Frantz Fanon, as cited in Benjamin Netanyahu, *International Terrorism : Challenge and Response* (Jerusalem, 1981), p.16

12 MacWillson, n.5, p.5

Some writers assign some other probable reasons facilitating the growth and use of terrorism and attempt coming up with a theoretical basis for it.

Separatism nationalism is one of these. Countries with submerged nationality problems frequently fall prey to terrorism – or what they call "freedom fighting". Whether it is Ulster, Palestine, Quebec, Corsica, Eritrea or the Basque region of Spain, movements for regional autonomy or separation have often turned to terrorism to "soften up" the national government, or after political action has failed. One finds in these cases, "a great many ambitions and aspirations held by those with little leverage, which under present circumstances cannot be achieved and yet cannot be abandoned by the faithful". Terrorism has also featured prominently in many anti-colonial struggles – Angola, Namibia and Mozambique being some examples.

Another oft cited reason behind the prevalence of terrorism is social pluralism. Racial, cultural and linguistic pluralism within countries can often be linked to the use of terror. Surprisingly, since World War II, the most common cause of violence involving states has not been external wars but internal ethnic or secessionist conflict. Ethnic violence involving protracted or intermittent terrorism by minority groups was exhibited by the American Blacks in the 1960s, the Catholics in Northern Ireland, East Indians in Guyana and the French in Canada. Thus social inequalities and institutionalized


discrimination against minorities have often reinforced secessionist demands and created swamps of misery in which hatred and fanaticism breed.

The terrorist movements in Latin America have originated from the feelings of despair among the educated unemployed youth. Ernest Halperin has argued that these movements have expressed "the despair of young members of the administrative class, radicalized and abnegated from society by the deterioration of their prospects in countries of stagnant economy." In Uruguay and Argentina in the mid seventies, terrorism occurred against the backgrounds of serious economic crisis where university graduates were compelled by the absence of jobs to become "academic proletariat". Thus, the concept of "relative deprivation", as a "perceived discrepancy between the goods and conditions which they think they can in fact get and keep" nicely captures the essence of the Italian, Uruguayan and Argentinian situations.

Another theoretical base cited by observers is regarding political frustration. They contend that groups tend to opt for terrorism when they face unresolved grievances and perceive no other way of registering protest and affecting change. In countries like Italy, Spain and Argentina, radicals have found it difficult to express their discontent inside the political system. Other analysts seek to make a connection between political oppression and terrorism. In Brazil, many minor movements had grown from time to time, challenging the established regime and these have been variously suppressed by the authorities.

Rapid social change, many feel is also a factor promoting terrorism. Many have linked Italy's terrorist problem to the country's rapid socio-economic transformation and the tensions caused by it. The pace of socio-economic change in Germany has been cited as a contributory factor to the growth of West German terrorism. One analyst has argued that the young middle class German guerrillas were "spoiled by the rapidity of change in a technological world and by a permissive education that created revolutionary impatience."19 The reason offered is that such a change brings an erosion of established institutions of authority and leads to a sense of loss of relevance of democratic values. Samuel P. Huntington also links the growth of terrorism to modernization. He claims that during modernization, the isolation of various ethnic groups from each other is broken. The new contacts between these groups lead them to compare unfavorably their share in wealth, power and knowledge. Thus a situation of "Relative Deprivation" is constructed as a previously dominant group may find itself threatened by another group that is better able to take advantage of the social and political changes taking place. 20 This feeling may find an outlet in political violence and may take the form of coup d'etats, guerrilla warfare and terrorism.

According to other writers who have dealt with the political, economic, sociological and psychological dimensions of terrorism and have attempted a general theory on the subject, another factor responsible for the development of terrorism is the decline of the New Left. When this movement registered a downswing in the 1960's many of its adherents evidently moved into terrorism. Some of the 1970's terrorists can

19 "War Without Boundaries", Time (31 Oct 1977), pp 28045

thus be traced back to the protestors of the 1960's civil rights movement and the Vietnam war in the United States, archaic regulations and extreme crowding in European universities, and the like. Some trace modern terrorism to the counter culture of the hippies and the yippies of the 1960s – a culture that advocated the complete rejection of conventional, societal norms. The "deeply romantic idealism that will shop at nothing to prove itself" 21 which is the credo of many modern day terrorists might have flowered during that time.

In isolated examples, material affluence has also led to what became known as "affluence crime", The German term for this phenomenon is Wohlstands kriminalitat and it denotes the detesting of mindless enjoyment of material well being in a rich country by the youth in search of a deeper meaning to life. 22

Psychopathology is perhaps the most believed reason behind terrorism. Many insist that terrorists are "psychologically disturbed" and that their "grievances are not amenable to rational accommodation". 23 Harvey Schlossberg, a psychiatrist trained in the New York City Police Departments anti terrorist unit, says that many urban terrorists are compensating for inadequate personalities. "If they cry and stamp their feet, no one


pays attention. But by taking hostages, in a matter of minutes, the whole world is watching. This helps overcome their ego deficit." 24

Samuel P. Huntington has also put forward a different reason for the upsurge of terrorism. He maintains that a number of terrorist movements grow out of clashes across the "demographic faults of human civilization". The Palestinian uprising is the outcome of the territorial clashes between the Jews and the Arabs over Palestine. The Front de Liberation du Quebec (FLQ) arose from tension between French and English Canada. But all deprivation theories fail to comment much upon how the important changes in expectations are actually caused. They also fail to relate levels of relative deprivation to major political conflicts, or to changes in the distribution of political power. Lastly, Hannah Arendt's theoretical model postulates that acts of violence in modern states may be a form of desperate revolt against rule by nobody, typical of the anonymity of the bureaucratic state. 25

In conclusion, though there definitely exists a vast amount of scholarly work on terrorism, no general theory has yet been reached. The reason perhaps lies in the difficulties behind theorising about something that is rooted in unpredictability and randomness. The different causes of terrorism, its different forms and actors make it impossible to have a universal theoretical postulate on the subject. Walter Lacquer sums it up thus:

"Thus the results of the application of political science to the study of internal conflict, far from proving anything, have been quite negative and no truly


scientific (that is, predictive or explanatory) theories have emerged ... even if there existed a valid theory of political instability and civil violence in general, it would still be a long way from a theory of terrorism... There should be no illusions about what can be discovered about the origins and the character of terrorism: all that can be established is that terrorism is more likely to occur in certain circumstances than in others and that in some conditions, it can not take root at all ..." 26

**Present Dimensions**

In today's world, terrorism as a violent phenomenon, has come to stay. The present day international environment is extremely conducive to the growth of international terrorism. Brain M. Jenkins notes that a confluence of political circumstances and technological development have led to growth of modern terrorism. Radio, television and modern communication satellites provide an instant access to a global audience. The modern industrial society also offers vulnerable targets, from aeroplanes to nuclear reactors. Terrorism has become an imitative mode of behaviour, spreading through out the world. 27

Terrorist incidents numbered 8114 in the 70's these included 4798 fatalities and 6902 injuries. The eighties witnessed an unprecedented four fold increase in the number of incidents with 31,426 recorded cases, 70,8059 fatalities and 47,849 injuries. 28

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26 Walter Lacquer *Terrorism* (Mass, 1977) pp 144-146


It was in the eighties that a violent upsurge became a prominent feature of European life. This dispelled the popular notion of terrorism being an endemic phenomenon rooted in the political systems of the banana republics of Latin America or in the confusion of African nationalism. The 1st August, 1980 Bologna bomb blast by the Italian right-wing cell of the Armed Revolutionary Nuclei, the single bloodiest terrorist attack recorded in Europe, sort of heralded a spate of terrorist killings, on the continent. Ironically at the same time, India too was in the clutches of terrorism as perpetrated by various terrorist outfits that were aided and abetted from across the national frontiers. Most of the seventies and eighties terror tactics continue till date. These include bombings, assassinations, armed assaults, kidnappings and hostage situations. But stringent international security measures have converted embassies across the world into virtual fortresses and thus incidents of "diplo-napping" or kidnapping of diplomats have registered a decrease. Car-bombs, the terrorist legacy of the eighties still finds a place in the current terrorist tactics. In such attacks, the only fault of the victims lies in being at the wrong place at the wrong time.

Growing inter terrorist linkages have further worsened the terrorist problem. Inspite of their ideological differences many terrorist groups have joined hands in the financial and technical fields to increase their lethality. The Provisional Irish Republican Army (PIRA) has had extensive links with the Basque movement (ETA) in Northern Spain and with the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine (PFLP). The Brigate Rosse-Red Brigades of Italy have contacts with the Baader-Meinhoff and its successor


30 Brian M. Jenkins, n.27, p 19
the German Red Army Faction due to geographical proximity. The terrorist situation in India also has been aggravated by the growing nexus between the Punjab and Kashmir militant groups, the LTTE and the North-Eastern terrorist outfits.

**International Terrorism as an Instrument of Foreign Policy**

A glaring phenomenon of modern age has been the use of international terrorism as an instrument of foreign policy. Essentially international terrorism is the continuation of war by other means and is aimed at compelling an adversary to submit to specific demands. The eighties saw its rise as a form of surrogate warfare, whereby externally-aided groups engaged in a cheap and low intensity conflict (LIC) against foreign targets, to create a state of terror in the general psyche. As a strategy, the aim is to undermine the authority among the masses.

It is not accidental that in this thermonuclear age of suicidal weapons what we have been witnessing is the revival of a more limited form of conflict. Nations, in their bid to control the risks of escalation, have been innovative in coming up with a variety of ways of engaging each other without a direct confrontation. One of these ways, which gained currency in the seventies, was proxy war. In this age of absolute weapons, nations have increasingly shifted their conflict to the lower levels of the spectrum of violence. Such conflicts have come to be called low intensity conflicts (LIC). In this context, it must be mentioned that low intensity warfare and its practitioners have blurred the
historic distinction, fundamental to western legal thought, between war and peace and between civilians and armed combatants.

LIC has been defined by the U.S. Army as "a broad term describing politico-military struggle, short of conventional warfare, between national armed forces to achieve political, social, economic or psycho-logical objectives". By its effective use a nation by supporting terrorist violence on the soil of another nation actually seeks the expansion of its own phase of political influence. So starkly evident is the effect that the Rand Corporation in 1982 termed terrorism itself as a "low in intensity conflict."

An extension of diplomacy by other means is the state sponsorship of terrorism. This is "the deliberate employment of violence or threat of use of violence by sovereign states or sub-national groups encouraged to attain strategic and political objectives by acts in violation of law... The main goal is to undermine the psycho-social stability and political governability of pluralistic states with representative governments".

States like India have been at the receiving end of state sponsored terrorism. In its various forms - direct involvement, instigation and encouragement, support to terrorist groups through the provision of safe havens, financial resources, arms, technical expertise and documentation, state sponsorship makes a significant contribution to international

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terrorism. Support in its many forms enhances the capabilities of a variety of groups with differing political objectives – radical Shia groups throughout Western Europe, the Middle East and Africa; Latin American insurgents, the European separatists and the radical Palestinians being some examples.35

With no consensual definition of terrorism in sight, terrorism still is a hot topic of debate at all international forums. The case for international terrorism has been argued on several grounds ranging from anti-colonial movements to self-determination. As the world increasingly comes under its dubious shadow, the need for international cooperation on the matter is felt more urgently than ever before.

Research Methodology

To study the phenomenon on terrorism, both traditional and modern approaches have been used.

The historical approach has been used to show how terrorism developed to its current form by studying it in its historical dimensions. A study of the concept through this method shows how individual motives, political actions, accomplishments, failures and contingencies are a part of historical continuity and change.36

The scientific approach used in the study is the sociological one, made popular by David Easton. This suggests that social context is necessary for the understanding and explanation of political behavior of individuals. Here it has been used to supply a backgrounder to the growth of terrorist movements in India on the one hand and help analyze policy motivations and compulsions of international relations on the other.

35 US Department of State, Patterns of Global Terrorism (1989), p 43
The deductive method has been employed to draw inferences from facts and data with a view to forming generalisations and provide some broad policy outlines and measures for diplomacy to deal with terrorism. This is a field that requires more scholarly analysis though the endeavor might be restricted by the near lack of primary data and the availability of secondary sources that at times could be self-serving.