CHAPTER-II
TERRORISM—INTERNATIONAL AND NATIONAL ASPECTS

2.1 INTRODUCTION
In this chapter, the development of terrorism at National and International level will be drawn out. In an International malaise, the countries like Pakistan, Sri Lanka, Afghanistan, Iraq, Israel, Spain, Northern Ireland, Yugoslavia, Britain, Philippines, France, Germany, Belgium, Italy, USA, India, Yemen, Somalia, Nigeria, Iraq, Turkey, Syria etc. have witnessed terrorism in various forms. At present there are 3 boiling areas regarding terrorism i.e. Western Europe, South Asia and Middle East. India has been the centre of terrorism for the last many years. The country is facing terrorism in J&K, Punjab, North-Eastern States, South Indian States and Central Indian States. Inspite of the best efforts on the part of the government and security forces, terrorism could not be effectively managed except Punjab State. This is the first instance in the world, where the terrorism could be controlled effectively and rule of law was established, within a short span of time.

Since Independence, the N-E states are being troubled by ULFA, NSCN, MNF, MNV, ATTF outfits etc. CPI (Maoists) groups are active in Bihar, Jharkhand, Chhattisgarh, Andhra Pradesh, Telangana, Orissa, West Bengal and Maharashtra. An explosive device was detected in Aircraft being used by J.L. Nehru. On another occasion, an attempt was made to derail his train. Assam, Punjab & Kashmir have their long dates with one of the most savage and ruthless forms of terrorism. It was not confined to ground alone. In Air-India Jumbo Kanishka with 320 passengers & crew became victims of terrorism, over the Atlantic Ocean on June 23, 1985. Its bullets & bomb conserved two of our PMs, a Chief Minister and a retired Army Chief. Even, Sant Harchand Singh Longowal, President of Akali Dal was not spared. K.P.S. Gill’s book, “Punjab: The Knights of Falsehood (1997)” is a good piece of work on terrorism and has exposed the terrorists in Punjab. He has exposed the gross abuse of the teachings of Gurus and the petty malicious conspiracy for power that inspired his heretical campaign. To gain immediate and narrow political ends, religious sentiments were exploited to the hilt. The former chief of the Punjab Police minces no words when he writes that the flames of terrorism were initially flamed by the Congress (I) but it was the Sikh religious leadership that encouraged or failed to oppose or disassociate itself from the campaign of terror. The terrorism could have ended, if intellectual honesty and moral courage could have been

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displayed by the leadership\(^2\).

In Punjab, Assam & Kashmir, almost all the political parties showed no inclination to nip the evil in the bud & indulged more in wishful thinking than in solid & sustained action. They continued to practise unprincipled politics and did not hesitate to join hands with forces of fundamentalism, paracholiaism and narrow ethnicity. They allowed Pakistan & ISI to exploit the infirmities of the Indian polity. On the one hand, they were talking of proxy war being waged by it & on the other hand, they have refused to fight it with grit and alacrity with which such wars would have been fought. Giving reasons for discomfiture in war, Gen Douglas Mac Arther once observed, “The history of failure in war can be summed up in two words: Too late, Too late, in comprehending the deadly purpose of a potential enemy; too late in realizing the moral danger, too late in preparedness, too late in uniting all possible forces for resistance, too late in standing up with one’s friends”. The relevance and significance of these observations do not seem to have dawned on the ruling leadership in India. India’s response to terrorism has been uncertain and diffident. Externally, it put up its timid face. On human rights front, it permitted the people vested with interests their axe to grind and propaganda was not countered effectively. The idea that one man’s terrorist is another man’s freedom fighter cannot be sanctioned. Freedom fighters do not assassinate the innocent persons & destroy the public property. It is a disgrace that the democracies should allow the ‘Treasured’ word freedom to be associated with the Terrorists\(^3\).

Thakrah (1983) in his book “Encyclopedia of Terrorism and Political Violence” writes about the nature of terrorism, causes and its impact on human life that the terrorism purposely uses fear as a means to attain particular ends. It is by nature coercive, dehumanizing, a theatre of the absurd and designed to manipulate its victims and through them, a larger audience. The effects of terrorism on society centring on a democracy is peculiar vulnerability to terrorism. Looking at the impact of terrorism on individual citizens in countries like Italy, Ulyster, Spain, Egypt, Israel, Lebanon, Turkey, Argentina, El Salvador and Nicaragua, one notes serious erosion in the quality of life. Terrorism is exacting a heavy toll on international diplomacy and on the life styles & work habits of political leaders, diplomats and business executives the world over.\(^4\)

Victims of terrorism suffer serious and long lasting damage to their physical, mental and emotional health. With the experience in handling terrorism, one can bring the crisis

\(^2\) Id p. 17  
\(^3\) Id P-18  
\(^4\) Id P-19
situation to quick resolution with a minimum loss of life or injury. Once caught in crisis situation, one’s experience has to be adjusted to the reality of situation & one has to learn from fellow victims and accept constructive criticism without losing one’s sense of self worth & self esteem. Though, terrorists assert that there are no innocent victims but nevertheless, human life has value. Keeping the value of life in mind, terrorists, victims & audience have three way relationships that characterize modern terrorism and makes activities like hostages negotiation possible. Where the terrorist’s aim is to kill, one has assassination; where the terrorist does not value his own life, we have suicides; where he valued it less than something else, martyrdom, where he sees himself as a soldier who accepts risks of combat, we have a prisoner of war-but not a hostage.\textsuperscript{5}

Peoples, who are badly treated and unjustly punished, normally seek revenge. Even whose punishment is appropriate, struggle to wreak vengeance on those who imposed punishment? Once a terrorist incident has occurred, effort should be made to reduce the harm it caused. The situation has to be resolved with a minimum loss of life. Concern for the victims plays a big role in the planning of these interventions and many other political and situational factors also influence decision makers.

Gill and Sahny (1999) in their jointly edited book ‘The Faultline-Volume 3’ discuss the conflict in perception of terrorism by the state and its threat to the institution of democracy. They talked of myopic view of failure of the state to contain it and held the police & security forces alone responsible. They say that terrorism is a specific form of political violence and there is an inchoate tendency to approach the problem in terms of what is considered just or unjust, with the actual parameters of these terms largely undefined. As a result, aspirations even between various authorities and institutions of the State have often, crumbled in the face of disagreement and the absence of shared perceptions & values.\textsuperscript{6}

Now the liberal democracies all over the world are being increasingly targeted by the terrorists. Thus, entire violation cannot be permitted to suffer under the assault of impatient minorities & their threats or act of violence. Women, children and innocent persons are their targets. Children grownup in the event of violence is having the traits of violence with the sense of vengeance.

2.2 GENESIS OF INTERNATIONAL TERRORISM

The origin of terrorism can be traced in antiquity. In Greece, the tyrants were looked down upon for their illegal and autocratic rule. Aristotle viewed tyranny as the worst form of

\textsuperscript{5} Id P-20
\textsuperscript{6} Id p-22
perverted government and tyrannicides in ancient Greece received the highest condemnation. Cicero notes in his, “De Officiis” that the tyrants invariably met with a violent end and Romans respected the natural and divine laws. Though, the council of Courtrance (1414-1448) banned tyrannicides but many catholic as well as protestant thinkers upheld the view that the people reserved the right to resist the command of the state if it was found contrary to the laws of God.

In Western Asia, the followers of Ismaili concert under Hassan-Ibn-Sabhah, who had specialized in killing political and religious leaders ranged against them, came to be known as assassins. It is believed that they used to be stimulated by Hashish before departure for the commission of crime. Hassan-Ibn-Sabhah realized that his small group would not be able to confront the enemy in open battles, so he formed a small but disciplined group of men to carry out terrorist activities. Assassins always used daggers to commit the crime. This group continued the activities till the middle of 13th century but were destroyed by Moughals. But they left behind the legacy which is prevalent among the terrorist groups even today.

In Russia, terrorism was extensively used by the Russian revolutionaries during the period 1878-81. Nardonaya Volya was the most important terrorist movement which was responsible for a concerted and determined terrorist campaign against the Tsarist authorities. Morozov, one of the leading members of Nardonaya Volya argued that the terrorism was one of the most effective forms of struggle against Tsarist Tyranny and terrorism. Walter Laqueur in his book has argued that while Nardonaya Volya desired support mainly from the intelligentsia, the terrorist activities of the social revolutionaries could win more broad based support. Behind the Russian terrorism in the late 19th and early 20th centuries, Anarchism and Nihilism were the two most dominant philosophical influences. The final aim was to achieve revolution. Bakunin’s Revolutionary Catechism (published in 1869) is some kind of a handbook of terrorist organizations and tactics and contains the portrayal of an ideal terrorist commissioned by the cold revolutionary group and it is the first modern text. The revolutionaries knew only one science i.e. the science of destruction. Two other well known proponents of Anarchism in Russia were Surgery Nechayen (1847-1882) and Peter Kroptokin (1842-1921). In 1900, the social revolutionary party was founded in Russia and it was this movement that became the main agent of the 2nd wave of terror. Leaders of this group held that terrorism was necessary and unavoidable. This was followed by Marxist ideology. The terror used by Stalin is well known. He felt that terror may be usefully applied in certain moments of the battle. Anarchist groups sprang up in USA, Macedonia, Turkey, India and Ireland.
Terrorism has been existing throughout the history and throughout the world\textsuperscript{7}. The ancient Greek historian Xenophone (1430-349 BC) wrote of effectiveness of psychological warfare against enemy population. The use of terrorism by factions against regime is probably as old as the repressive terror of rulers. During Biblical times, Jewish Sicarii known for the use of a short sword (SICA) used to strike down rich Jewish Collaborators, who were opposed to violent resistance against their Roman conquerors. Later on, in the eleventh and twelfth centuries, a group of Sunni Muslims, called the Assassins opposed the efforts to suppress their religious beliefs in Sunni dominated Persia. Using daggers, the Assassins killed Perfects, Governors and Caliphs in front of many witnesses, ensuring their capture and execution because they believed that by their actions, they would gain entry in to paradise. Eventually, the group was suppressed by the Mongols in the nineteenth century.\textsuperscript{8}

A systematic repression was seen during the French Revolution. This terror is also known as the Jacobian terrorism. Jacobian terrorism remained the practice of executing the individuals whenever they were considered as enemies of revolution. Jacobians under Robespierre unleashed a “Rein of Terror” between 1793 & 1794, upon all levels of French society killing around fifty thousand persons without any trial by means of guillotine, which was designed by Joseph Guillotine. The revolutionary government in France set up a Committee of Public Safety in 1793, which decided to strike terror in the hearts of the enemies of revolution. In the words of Maxmillian Robespierre, the famous Jacobian leader, the task of the Committee of Public Safety was to unmask traitors everywhere, to find the tyrants and liquidate all the conspirators. But ultimately, the leading advocates of reign of terror like Robespierre were swept from the scene by the reaction triggered by their own deeds. In the Southern United States, the Ku Klux Klan was set up after the defeat of Confederacy in the American Civil War to terrorize the former slaves and representatives of the reconstruction administration imposed by the Federal government. In the nineteenth century, Nardonaya Volya (People’s will) which lasted from 1878 to 1881 was the most important revolutionary movement in Russia. This group assassinated Governor General of St. Petersburg, General Meneritsov, the head of Czarist Political Police and ended with the assassination of Alexander-II. In 1900, the Social Revolutionary Party was founded in Russia, which managed to kill over two hundreds provincial Governors and high officials between 1903 and 1910 before it was effectively suppressed with thousands of trials and executions\textsuperscript{9}.

\textsuperscript{8} Ibid
\textsuperscript{9} Ibid p.3
The third wave of political violence in Russia came after the Bolshevik Coup of 1917. Prior to World War-1, there were various anarchists inspired attacks on high government officials and leaders in Russia, France, Germany, Australia etc. Terror by Joseph Stalin in Russia is the worst experience which was put to an end by Khrushchev. When Mao government came in to power in China in 1949, he made use of terror on bigger scale than even Stalin, which was put to end by Xio Phio Deng. After World War-II, the scene of violence shifted from Europe to Middle East, India and Far East as a struggle for independence. However, State terror by Adolph Hitler and his brown shirt supporters in Germany and Benito Mussolini and his black shirt supporters is well known. In Palestine, Jews formed the militant groups, the most predominantly the Irgun with the hope to drive out the British, under the command of Menchem Begin (who became PM of Israel later) and the stern group led by Abraham Stern until he was killed by the British Police in 1942. Arabs retaliated against the Jews with the same force. In Latin America in 1960s and 1970s, the use of political violence by the Tupermaros in Uruguay and the Montonerous in Argentina gave rise to repressive dictatorship in each country that actually destroyed these groups. In the wake of the student’s revolt of 1968, a new wave of violence erupted in Europe. In Germany, there appeared the Red Army or the Baader-Meinhof gang with the motivation against Vietnam War. For several years, this group indulged in robberies, dacoities and killings in a big way. In 1998, this group ended the struggle. In Italy, the activities of Red Brigades brought havoc by bank robberies, kidnappings and killings including five time Prime Minster of Italy, Aldo Moro.

The Palestinians engaged in a major campaign of political violence in Israel and occupied areas, after 1967 war and the Israel occupation of the West Bank and the Ghaza strip. PLO and PFLP indulged in hijackings and killings. In 1972, Black September group of PLO massacred Israeli athletes in Olympic village in Munich. The political violence was unleashed in England and Northern Ireland by sub-state groups particularly IRA and PIRA since centuries, which ended in 1990 through a series of political agreements. The Oklahoma Bombing and Twin Tower devastation of 9/11 incidents in USA have shaken the world and globalised the terrorism. Al-Qaida, Talibans and LET terrorist groups have sent the heart rendering waves in the minds of the people all over the world. The killing of Osama in Pakistan has not, even abated the violence. The political ethnic violence in Sri Lanka by LTTE and other groups took a heavy toll of life and property, which was ultimately combated

\[10\] Id p. 5
effectively by Sri Lankan Army. The 21\textsuperscript{st} Century\textsuperscript{11} is seeing a new form of blood-shed in the in the name of Islam and possible retaliation by democratic forces. The Muslim Jehadis with Osama Bin Laden (since killed) as their new pontiff promising a paradise to the faithful paved its fangs in America. September 11, 2001 suicidal attack on the WTC and the Pentagon is the worst example of Jehad.

Middle East, Pak, Afghanistan and J&K are the hub of terrorist activities. Now Talibans, Al Qaida, LeT, JeM, HM, HUM, HUJI and TTP outfits are active. Homegrown terrorism in African countries is devastating the countries. In India IM has replaced LeT (since banned) and is highly active in Southern India. Pak based cross-border terrorism is troubling J&K. Terrorism is being institutionalised and the actors of the play are more organized, rationalized and emotionally stable. Their plan of operation is clear and the targets defined. The future terrorists are a new breed, well informed on the technological, development, organizationally solid and ever-ready to acquire knowledge & new killing devices.\textsuperscript{12}

In 1937, King Alexander I\textsuperscript{13} and Louis Bestila in Marseilles (France) were assassinated. It is after this that the world took notice of terrorism and thought of an international check. So the Convention for the Prevention and Punishment of Terrorism took place in Geneva. No country other than India ratified this. The resolution was passed for the creation of International Criminal Court. The first draft was submitted to the UN by the International Law Commission in 1951 and second in 1954 & so on.

However, the ICC finally came into being on 11\textsuperscript{th} April, 2002 after a long wait. Maybe, WTC incident of 2001 played the role in pushing the being on ICC in 2002. The terrorism emerged in 1960 in Europe. Neo-Marxist and left wing ideologies among the students found favour in industrialized parts of the world. US action in Vietnam acted as Catalyst. US and other Western Countries accused the Soviet Union for fostering and financing the armed groups in Libya, Northern Ireland, Cuba and West European countries. It was for the first time that like of cross-border terrorism made its presence felt.

Islamic Terrorism of the present day seems to have its roots in the Arab defeat at the hands of Israel in 1967 and the Palestinian uprising that followed. Terrorism spread in the world like epidemic disease. The terrorists adopted the use of third party route i.e. putting

\textsuperscript{12} Ibid
pressure on the major countries by hijacking of aeroplanes and captivating their citizens. The third party route had its greatest success in 1972 when 11 Israeli athletes were killed by the terrorists in Munich Olympic. This incident forced UN Secretary General, Kurt Waldheim to request the member states of the UN to effect measures to prevent terrorism & other forms of violence. Nothing much came out of it.\(^\text{14}\)

Suicide attack is a politically motivated violent attack on a predetermined target perpetrated consciously and deliberately by an individual (or individuals), who in order to destroy the target blows himself up together with the target knowing well that his death in such an operation is inevitable.\(^\text{15}\) Introduced in Middle East, this phenomenon has been adopted almost by all the outfits, more in pan-islamic fundamentalist outfits. This phenomenon has not helped the terrorist outfits in achieving their objectives. In ancient times, two notorious sects i.e. Jewish Sicarii and the Islamic Shia outfits Hashishiyun were infamous for using suicide attacks as their modus operandi. Later, in 18\(^\text{th}\) century, suicide tactics were used on the Malabar Coast of Southwestern India, in ACHCH in Northern Sumatra (Indonesia) and in Mindanao and Sulu in the Southern Philippines. These were part of Muslims’ protest campaign against Western hegemony and colonial rule.

Unlike the yesteryear’s suicide attacks, the modern suicide attacks are not a weapon of warfare but aims at causing devastation in order to instill fear and anxiety among the masses and thereby pressurising the authorities to submit to their demands. It seeks to induce the psychological tremors into an entire population rather than harming just the victims of the actual attack. The high number of causalities that occur on account of attack being carried out in crowded areas, ensures full media coverage and extensive reporting, which is very much in tune with the terrorists’ aim of spreading terror and advertising their determination to achieve their goals at all cost.

Suicide attacks began in Lebanon in April, 1983 with the attack on American Embassy in Beirut by Hezbollah group. It followed the attacks on US marines headquarters and the French Multinational Force (October 1983) in Lebanon, causing around 300 deaths and wounding dozens. Hezbollah’s suicide attacks succeeded in coercing the UN peace keeping forces out of Lebanon and also forced the Israeli army out of the heartland of central Lebanon to a narrow strip in the South. Encouraged by successes, Hezbollah took suicide attacks as its dependable tool but lateron refrained from using too often. In retaliation to the Israeli Air Force’s killins of Hezbollah’s Secretary General, Abas Musavi in Feb, 1992, it

\(^{14}\) Id p.5
\(^{15}\) Id p.6
attacked the Israeli Embassy in Argentina killing 29 people and injuring 250. Hezbollah is a Shiite organization and it inspired a number of other terrorist organizations.\textsuperscript{16}

2.2.1 RIGHT WING TERRORISM

Terrorist group like Iron Guards in Romania responsible for assassination of two Prime Ministers, Arrow Cross in Hungary and IMRO in Macedonia comprised rancorous reactionaries. Before First World War, terrorism was a left wing phenomenon but after this, it is seen that the terrorist programmes were sponsored by right wing as well as nationalist and separatist groups. This is the time when right wing fascist groups sprang up in Italy, Germany and Romania. In Egypt in 1940, the right wing organizations like Muslim Brotherhood and Young Egypt resorted to some spectacular acts of terrorism. Palestinian organizations like Irgun and LEH opted for individual terrorism.

2.2.2 EUROPEAN RESISTANCE MOVEMENT

Individual terrorism played subordinate role in the European Resistance Movement during the 2\textsuperscript{nd} World War. Terrorist movements of both the left and the right were active in Europe. These were the movements basically to protest against the modern society and its corrupt political parties & leaders. The guerrilla warfare emerged in their colossal regimes.

2.2.3 MOVE TO URBAN OPERATIONS

Theoreticians like Mao and Che-Guevera regarded urbanized terrorism only a supplementary form of warfare. It is seen that urban terrorism is supplementing rural guerrilla tactics. The leftist revolutionaries also started devolving greater attention to urban terrorism. Violent acts in cities draw National and International attention. Carlos Merghilla adopted urban terrorism.

According to Carlos merighilla, the armed struggle of the urban guerrilla points towards two essential objectives:

(a) The physical liquidation of chiefs & assistants of the armed forces and of the police.

(b) The expropriation of government resources and those belonging to the big capitalists, latifundists and imperialists, with small expropriation used for the maintainance of individual urban guerrilla & large one for resistance of the revolution itself.

2.2.4 SRI LANKA - LTTE

Sri Lanka – In Sri Lanka, LTTE (Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam) had been fighting against Sinhal majority for a separate state of Eelam. LTTE was known for high sense of discipline, strong determination, dedication and a high degree of motivation and innovation. These cadres were known for fidayeen attacks. Sri Lanka promulgated the anti-

\textsuperscript{16} Id p. 7
terrorism law as “The Prevention of Terrorism Act and Emergency law”. Their leader V. Prabhakaran and other associates have been killed and LTTE militancy has been contained fully. LTTE is responsible for the assassination of Sh. Rajiv Gandhi. LTTE is responsible for over 75000 civilian’s death and over a million have been displaced.

LTTE in Sri Lanka adopted the suicide attack method but also perfected in use of weapons in terms of intensity, execution and number of attacks. LTTE at one time was rated as the most ferocious and brutal terrorist organization. LTTE, between 1987 & 2000 carried out 168 suicide attacks in Sri Lanka & India, killing thousand of persons & destroying crores worth of property. Suicide killers consisted of both men and women were called as Black Panthers. Almost every member of LTTE wore a cyanide capsule around his/her neck to bite and swallow on being captured so that security could not get the information about the other members of the group. It has been able to kill two heads of state i.e. former Indian PM, Sh. Rajiv Gandhi in 1991 (female human bomb) and Sri Lankan President, Premdasa in 1993 (male human bomb). The current President in 1999, Mrs. Kumaratunga survived the attack at the cost of an eye.

2.2.5 ISRAEL

In Israel, Hezbollah had been the inspiring force and about 30 suicide attacks were carried out killing over hundred persons and wounding hundreds. HAMAS (Harkat el-Mukauma el Islamiya or the Islamic Resistance Movement) and the Palestinian Islamic Jihad (PIJ) are the other dangerous terrorists outfits. PIJ leadership was close to Iran & Hezbollah. Initial suicide attacks were on military targets but soon, the civilians were targeted. These two Sunni fundamentalist groups inflicted a high number of causalities among the Israeli civilian population.

Yitzhak Rabin, the then P.M. of Israel was killed in 1995 in Tel Aviv by Yigal Amir and his decision to kill the P.M. was influenced by that he was mortal danger to the Jews created by Rabin in allowing the Palestinian authority to expand the West bank. Secondly Rabin’s government was illegitimate, anti Jews and the third was treason by Rabin in giving away State Land. Amir told that he has no regrets and the killing is done by the order of God.17

2.2.6 EGYPT

Two suicide groups were active in Egypt i.e. Gama’a al-Islamiya and the Egyptian Islamic Jihad (Jihad Group). First group attacked a P.S. in Croatia and second group

destroyed Egyptian Embassy in Pakistan in November, 1995 where 15 died & dozen injured. They did not commit any such crime in Egypt for not alienating the local people & because of the greater efficiency of the security forces.

2.2.7 THE KURDISTAN WORKER'S PARTY (PKK)
This group was active in Turkey and Iraq. It is responsible for over 21 suicide attacks between 1996 & 1999. When its leader Abdullah Ocalan decided against using the tactics. The attacks were against Turkish Army for the Kurdish National cause.

2.2.8 WOMEN SUICIDE BOMBERS
LTTE used women in about 30% to 40% of the suicide attacks, the PKK 11 out of 15 suicide attacks and Syrian Socialist National Party 5 out of 12 attacks. These groups played upon women’s desire to prove themselves at par with their counterparts. However, it was found in several cases especially in Syrian Socialist National Party, some romantic feelings too were involved. It is easy to operate with women as they project an innocent appearance, often used as innocent pregnant women.

Though, the suicide attacks have failed to pressurize civilians & governments but the tool is very effective and reliable deterrent which goes a long way in dissuading the government to attempt a total annihilation of the groups. The terrorist groups are using this occasionally to spread terror. Now Talibans, LeT and ISIS are using these tools as fidayeens.\(^{18}\)

2.2.9 RELIGIOUS TERRORISM
The earliest incidents were by zealots (Jews) in 66-73 AD with SICA against Romans & its supporter Jewish. Zealots even used chemicals to poison wells, water supply & granaries. Earlier in India, thugs killed over a million people to please Kali Devi. Then Assassin word came meaning the person who undertakes to put to another by treacherous violence. Then PLO came on the scene. Then Iranian Shia’s Islamic revolution came in Iran. Terrorism incidents in the world on the basis of religion include:

\(^{i}\). In March 1995, Sarin nerve gas in Tokyo Subway, Japan by Om Shrynok, a religious sect, killed over a dozen persons and wounded 3796 persons.

\(^{ii}\). Bombing in April 1995 in Oklahoma City Federal Office building where 168 perished.

\(^{iii}\). Bombing of World Trade Centre in 1993. Poisonous gas was also released.

\(^{iv}\). Assassination of Israeli Premier Yitzhak Rabin by a Jewish extremist in November 1995.

\(^{18}\) Id p. 9

vi. In March 1996, HAMAS killed 60 people in Israel.

vii. In April 1996, Egyptian Islamic group killed 18 western tourists outside Cairo Hotel.

viii. In 1997, Massacre of 58 foreign tourists in Luxor, Egypt.

ix. Bombay killings in 1993, 257 killed & over 1000 injured in Mumbai.


xi. Islamic extremists in Algeria killed around 75000 persons since 1992

All Politics is a struggle for power and the ultimate kind of power is violence. Terrorism is where politics and violence intersect in the hope of delivering power. All terrorism involves the quest for power, power to dominate and coerce, to intimidate and control and ultimately to effect fundamental political change. Violence is must for terrorism and the terrorists are convinced that only violence can bring change. Terrorists, therefore, plan their operations in a manner that will shock, stun, impress and intimidate ensuring that their acts will capture the attention of media and inturn of the public and government as well. Terrorism is actually a very deliberate and planned application of violence. The key objectives are attention, acknowledgement, recognition, authority and governance.

Islamic Activist movement was based on Muslim ideology articulated by Sheikh Omar Abdul Rahman. Al-Gamah-i-Islamic (Islamic salvation front) is based on religious conviction, hatred of secular society and demonstration of power through acts of violence against the Jewish Defence League. Abu Halima, an activist involved in World Trade Centre 1993 bombing said, that a life without religion is a pen without ink. Secular people are moving like dead bodies. HAMAS activists felt that by dying for the cause of Palestine is the day of meeting the Lord of the world. They are doing for the sake of God. Palestine remains Islamic. Truly there is one death & let it be on the path of God.

Dr. Abdul Aziz Rantisi, one of the founder of HAMAS desired the HAMAS martyrs to be called as Istishhadis not suicide bombers (self chosen martyrdom) as suicide bomber implied an impulsive act by a deranged individual. This is all part of their religious obligation. Their main plan of attack is against Israeli soldiers & other forces. HAMAS means zeal or enthusiasm.

Pak launched a joint military attak ZeA i.e. Zarb-e-Azb against various militant

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20 Ibid, pp. 183-184
21 Id p.70
22 Id p. 72
groups operating in Pakistan ie. TTP, Jamat-Ur-Ahrar, LeT, Jundallah and Al-Qaida. To retaliate it, TTP attacked Peshawar Army School killing 130 students and 10 teachers but Pakistan is soft towards Hafeez Saeed, Zaki-Ur-Rahman Lakhvhi, Masood Azhar etc. Terrorists also attacked Char-Sadda University near Peshawar killing around two dozen students and teachers. Rather ISI of Pak is training the recruits of Taliban, HUJI, HuM, LeT, LeJ, JeM, HM, Hizb-e-Islami, Al-Qaida etc. All of these want an Islamic state in South Asia.23

Al Qaida earlier headed by late Osama Bin Laden is the last group resorting to suicide attacks. It had close operation relations with Egypt’s “The Gama’a-al-Islamiya Group”. Two major suicide bomb attacks are well known i.e. WTC attacks wiping out the World Trade Centre and killing 30000 innocent persons and injuring 250. Al Qaida men hijacked four Boeings 747 with their tank full of highly inflammable aviation fuel to ram it into WTC twin towers. The Pentagon and the fourth plan could not hit the target and crashed in Penninslyvania. Second attack was simultaneous attack on American Embassies in Nairobi and Dar-e-Salaam in August 198 leaving 3000 person dead and over 500 injured24.

The declared aim of Al-Qaida can be summarised as below:-

1. To remove US troops from Saudi Arabia. However, the strength of US troops has been reduced from 4500 to 500.
2. To remove all foreign armies from all Muslim countries. Presence of foreign armies have increased manifold in many Muslim countries.
3. To evict Israel from the control of Jerusalem.
4. To overthrow secular Arab regimes. Struggle between secular and fundamental groups has gained momentum.
5. To establish a caliphate and global Islamic state25

Religion & Violence have probably alliance in certain cases. Religion gives moral justification for killings that allow activists to believe that they are waging spiritual scenarios. Christians, Jewish, Muslim, Hindus, Sikhs & Buddhist religions have served as a source for violent actors. Due to religious terrorism, the loss of lives in killings in Ben Yehuda shopping mall in Jerusalem in September 1997, ethnic shootings in California and Illinois in 1999, the attack on American embassies in Africa in 1998, abortion clinic bombing in Alabama and

23 Karim Afsir, (Ed), Aakrosh, Thomson Press Noida, Jan, 2006 p. 5
Georgia in 1997, the bomb blasts at the Olympics in Atlanta, destruction of a US military housing complex in Dhahran (Saudi Arabia) in 1996, the tragic destruction of the Federal building at Oklahoma city in 1995, the explosion at the World Trade Centre in New York City in 1993. Subway bombs planted in France by Algerian Islamic activists, explosions in UK by Irish Catholic Nationalist, Buddhists planting of bombs in Tokyo, planting of bombs in Delhi by J&K and Sikh terrorists, destruction by Tamil Terrorists in Colombo etc. was shocking and heart rendering.

Res constructionists believe that Christ will return to earth only after thousand years of Christian rule and it is possible only if there is Christendom. Bray was serious about bringing Christian politics order into power by any means. He saw the legitimacy of using violence in order to bring Christian political order envisaged by Res thinkers such as Gary North. In bray’s mind, a little violence is a small price to pay for the possibility of fulfilling God’s law and establishing his kingdom on earth.

Christian identity ideas were also the thinking of Timothy McVeigh, the convicted bomber of the Oklahoma city federal building.

The persons behind religious violence are Rev. Michael Bray, Timothy McVeigh, Rev Ian Paisley, Yoel Lerner, Dr. Benich Goldstein, Mohmud Abouhalima, Dr. Abdul Aziz Rantisi, Simranjit Singh Mann, Takeshi Nakamusa etc. Catastrophic bombing of the American embassies, the World Trade Centre, the Oklahoma city federal building, American Military residences in Saudi Arabia; the burning of Abortion Clinics and the shooting of clinical doctors in the face, the assassination of Israel and Indian political leaders, the massacre of innocent worshipers at a mosque, the slaying of a bus load of Hindu pilgrims in the Himalayan foothills by a band of radical Sikh youths, the agonizing effects of the nerve gas attack in a “Tokyo Subway and the bloody confusion of suicide bombings on the peaceful streets of Jerusalem and Tel Aviv are the acts of deliberate exaggerated violence.

Terrorist violence is always a part of political strategy. Terrorism is “the use of covert violence by a group for political ends”. Martha Crenshaw, a political scientist says that acts of terrorism are usually the products of an internal logic and not of random or crazy thinking. Some of the incidents are strategic & some are simply symbolic in nature. The Novelist Don DeLillo once said that the terrorism is the language of being noticed. Without being noticed,
it will not exist. Terrorism without its horrified witnesses would be as pointless as a play without an audience.\textsuperscript{30}

Religious terrorism has gone global in two senses i.e. the choice of targets have often been transnational in Palestinian & Egyptians bombing the World Trade Centre in New York city and secondly terrorist acts against secular governments in Middle East in bombing US embassies in Kenya & Tanzania.\textsuperscript{31}

Bin Laden declared a fatwa delivered in February 1998 that Americans through their actions in Middle –East has declared war on God, His messenger & Muslims. This followed the American embassies bombing in Kenya & Tanzania. Christian Identity leader Kerry Noble told his followers that “the Lord God is a man of war”. Islamic Jihad is also called holy war. Bhindrawala called Sikh struggle a battle between Truth & Evil. Nathuram Godse justified killing of Mahatama Gandhi as his moral duty though on illegal act\textsuperscript{32}.

Thus, violent images have been given religious meaning and eulogized. These acts of terror have become sanitized symbols & are stripped of their horror. When the terrorism act becomes the definition of religion, it is seen as a cultural war with special implications. The confrontation is likely to be characterized as cosmic war on the following grounds:-

1. The struggle is perceived as a defence of basic identity & dignity.
2. Losing the struggle would be unbearable.
3. The struggle is blocked and cannot be won in real time & in real terms\textsuperscript{33}.

There is a concept of inventing enemy. In Punjab, Bhinderanwale could not pin point the enemy, yet he blamed Indira Gandhi & diehard hindus who were allegedly out to destroy Sikh faith & culture. The primary enemy is the religious rival on local political authority or Govt. in power which are opposed to the activities of the terrorists. Muslim terrorist outfits generally take America as their prime enemy. Mahmud Abouhalima regarded America as a World Wide enemy. Osama Bin Laden blamed America to be “the biggest terrorist in the world”. In religious fatwa, he told to kill the Americans and their allies & plunder their wealth and this is in accordance with the words of Almighty God. Every Muslim who believes in God and wants to be rewarded should comply with the God’s order.\textsuperscript{34} The allegations against America are:-

1. It is shoring up the stability of regimes

\textsuperscript{30} Id p.139
\textsuperscript{31} Id p.144
\textsuperscript{32} Id p.155
\textsuperscript{33} Id pp. 161-162
\textsuperscript{34} Id p. 179
2. In the name of democracy, it is protecting the unislamic regimes & thus to defeat the Islamic movements. America & some of the countries are evil twins and per Sheikh Omar Abdul Rahman, America is protecting the Satanic forces i.e. sex & corruption. America is promoting immoral values of secular societies

3. America is killing the Middle East economically. There is a fear of globalization which is propagated by USA. It is a conspiratorial plot to control the world & world economy.\textsuperscript{35} Satanization leads to delegitimization with three steps i.e. crisis of confidence, conflict of legitimacy & full crisis of legitimacy. The act of terrorism are justified against this delegitimization.\textsuperscript{36} According to Kahane, God always fights against His enemies. The alleged terrorists are His instruments of this fight. Followings are stages in which acts of terrorism appear at the latter stage of a pattern that begins with a feeling of helplessness.

1. A World gone awary
2. The foreclosure of ordinary options.
3. Envisioning Cosmic War.
4. Symbolic acts of power. (act of terrorism)\textsuperscript{37}

HAMAS leaders feel that the nature of Islam is about the defense of dignity, land & honour. The activists prefer to die once than to die daily in frustration & humiliation. Sikh militants wanted government to take them seriously. Japan’s Shiko Asahara wanted to be not only “like a king” but “like elitist”. The violence provided the terrorists a sense of empowerment called as symbolic empowerment\textsuperscript{38}. Sheikh Abdul Rehman described himself as a “soldier and servant in the cause of Allah”. Michael Bray called himself “a soldier for Christ”.\textsuperscript{39} Sikh terrorists gave themselves the Army ranks as General & Lt. Generals as soldiers of Guru Gobind Singh Ji. The outfit was named as Dashmesh Regiment. Major General Shabeg Singh & Maj Gen Narinder Singh joined Bhinderanwale after retirement. They took it as a personal pride. Dilawar Singh, suicide bomber who killed S. Beant Singh in 1995 was a dismissed constable of Punjab Police. His accomplice Balwant Singh was a Police Constable. The killers of Smt. Indira Gandhi were the policemen of Delhi Police. Killer of PM Yitzhak Rabin was the ex-Israele Army soldier. Sikh militants mostly were in twenties & were socially marginal. HAMAS activists are mostly male teenagers. In Aum Shinrikyo movement in Japan, most of the members were from middle class and frustrated.

\textsuperscript{35} Id pp.180-181
\textsuperscript{36} Id p.183
\textsuperscript{37} Id p.186
\textsuperscript{38} Id p.188
\textsuperscript{39} Id p.189
professionally in their careers. Some of the Sikh terrorists joined to show Jat supremacy. The Sikhs outside India supported the militancy in Punjab with money & all type of support to prove their importance to the community in a powerful way. This phenomenon is called “e-mail ethnicities”\textsuperscript{40}. Some women have played an important role in terrorism, like killing of Sh. Rajiv Gandhi and women were used to carry messages, weapons & explosives. The term guy came into use in England in the seventeenth century after Guy Fawkes was tried and executed in 1606 for his role in gun powder plot. Suicide bombers believe that they become God’s holy martyrs and they & their families are given place in paradise, seventy two virgins and a cash settlement equivalent to six thousand dollars. It was the virgins that seems to interest the young men the most\textsuperscript{41}.

The terrorists all over the world wanted the rule of God. All the big cases of terrorism indicates that terrorism has been a response to humiliation & disappointment, recognition of their cause, wide publicity and incapacity of the government in power not to be able to protect people. The establishment of rule based on religious laws is the primary aim of many Muslim groups.

The secular state is opposed to the idea that religion should have a role in public life. With the European enlightenment political values in public life in the eighteenth century, the states have assumed anti-religious & anti-clerical posture. The theories of John Locke & Jean Jacques Rousseau have projected very little commitment to religious belief.\textsuperscript{42} In various countries, where the defenders of religion tried to reclaim faith in religion and the centre fo public attention and authority, religious terrorism has adopted the violent face.\textsuperscript{43} What could be the possible outcomes of such a war?

I. **Destroying Violence**- All out forces should be used to destroy their base & kill the terrorists. This may lead to retaliation by terrorist groups. The secular government should declare total war against religious terrorists keeping in mind a long drawn battle with in them. Such grave action by active group lead to internal fight with in groups & accomplice the task supposed to be done by the security forces.\textsuperscript{44}

II. **Terrifying the terrorists**: The cracking down on the terrorists lead them to be defensive & they hesitate to act. This phenomenon has worked in Punjab & terrorism could be wiped out.

\textsuperscript{40} Id p.194
\textsuperscript{41} Id p.198
\textsuperscript{42} Id p.224
\textsuperscript{43} Id p.228
\textsuperscript{44} Id p.231
III. Violence Wins: The third scenario is one, where terrorism wins. This will delight HAMAS & LET. This is very rare.

IV. Separating Religion from Politics. The fourth scenario is one where politics and religions are totally separated. Only strong spiritualism among people can achieve this situation. The political leaders behind the religious leaders like Yizhak Rabin got closer to Yasar Arafat and Tony Blair befriended Gerry Adams of IRA.\textsuperscript{45}

Healing Politics with religion:- This is for developing mutual trust between political & religious leaders & religious leaders should feel that religious values will be kept by the political readers. The secular authorities embrace moral values including those associated with religion. Premadasa, the President of Sri Lanka created the Budhist Ministry & financially supported Buddhist schools of thought upholding Buddhist values. In Punjab, government was not over reactive & rather dealt the situation with minimum damage restoring confidence in public. Abouhalima told that those who solve the matter lack moral & spiritual values. They lack dedication to tolerance values. He said that we longed to live the life of dignity and quite pride, not to live like a sheep.\textsuperscript{46} Though religion has been used to justify violence but the religion gives spirit to public life and provides a beacon for moral order. It needs the temper of rationality & fair play so that enlightenment values are given to our society. Thus religious violence cannot end until some accommodation can be forged between the two i.e. some assertion of moderation in religious passion and some acknowledgement of religion in elevating the spiritual & moral values of public life. Thus the aim for religious violence may ultimately lie in a renewed appreciation for religion itself.\textsuperscript{47}

2.2.10 NORTHERN IRELAND

When Henry VIII, king of England established the Protestant Church of England as the official state church, the Catholics were persecuted and often deprived of civil rights. When this was done in Ireland, the Catholic population rebelled. The situation turned grave when English Protestants were settled in large number in Northern Ireland. Since English and Scottish were ethnically different from the Irish, a bitter conflict on the basis of religion and ethnicity was experienced and the Irish revolted. Thousands of Irish Catholic were massacred. When Catholic James II was forced off the British throne by William of Orange, James-II used Ireland as a base to retake the throne. In 1690 William defeated James at the

\textsuperscript{45} Id p.237
\textsuperscript{46} Id p.239
\textsuperscript{47} Id p.243
battle of the Boyre Hyer. Irish Nationalists, tried to unite both Protestants & Catholics against the rule of Britain but they failed, yet it strengthened Irish nationalism. Many Catholics shifted to US & other countries. The protesters consolidated their power in Northern Ireland. In the late 19th century, an organization called the Irish Republican brotherhood (originally in NY city) was formed by the Irish immigrants for waging campaign of bombing and assassinations against the British. During World War-I, British permitted home rule to Ireland. But Easter Rebellion or Easter Rising broke out in Dublin, which was repressed by the British Army. This gave rise birth to Irish Republic Army. By1921 treaty, Southern Ireland became an independent state but Ireland which was dominated by Protestants continued to be ruled by the British. In 1930, IRA split in two groups, one led by moderates under Sinn Fein political party in order to persuade the north wing to unite with the Southern Ireland. The other wing of hardliners sought to drive the British out of the Northern wing. This formed the provisional wing of IRA with small scale terrorist activity in the north.

By the 1960s, the Catholics of Northern Ireland demanded fair treatment from the authorities but the British used force to control them. IRA became active. On August 31, 1994, the official IRA announced the ceasefire and offered to join the peace negotiations. Though there was a spurt in terrorist crime but after 2000, the situation has remained peaceful. The terrorists groups in Northern Ireland are as follows:-

1. Irish Republican Army (IRA)
2. Loyalist Volunteer Force (LVF)
3. Provisional Irish Republic Army (PIRA)
4. Real IRA
5. Sinn Fein (We ourselves) Political Party
6. Ulster Defence Association (UDA)
7. Ulster Volunteer Force (UVF)

**The Culture of Paramilitarism in Ireland** - The violence in Ireland had political ends and political significance. Violence means the rupture of norms. Physical harm and threats whether verbal or non-verbal must be regarded as violence. Essentially, the violence is a reciprocal construction. It is the intensity of violence in terrorism, which is the most important. It is important to recognize that sustained targeted violence requires an

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49 Id p.33
organizational structure. The intention behind a violent act is crucial to its nature. One person’s terrorist is another’s freedom fighter, which explains the inescapable relativism of the issue. Fear is created by violence, which produces the political results. More fear is created when force is used against defenceless people. The roots of terrorism goes to Irish Republican Brotherhood (IRB) in the later nineteenth century. Fenian in 1875 initiated the mobilization of the peasantry for the intensification of the land struggle known as the land war. The young Ireland Group started the cult of violence, disdain for democratic politics and glorification of hatred known as doctrine of John Mitchel. Fenian cult of violence in 1866 & 67 failed because of lack of mass support. The IRB was also paralyzed. Irish Volunteers renamed the group as IRA 1949. Ulster Volunteer Force (UVF) also resurged. Irish Nation is basically a Catholic nation and they feared of suppression by majority protestants. Catholic Diaspora in America and Britain was extending the financial and other moral support. The poverty of Catholics in Northern Ireland was the main psychological motivating factor, which exploited the Irish Youth emotionally. The dissident members of IRA under Macstiofain founded the PIRA in 1969.50

Mobilization for revolution has two elements i.e. organization of the revolutionaries & the mobilization of people. IRA failed in the mobilization of people. Even, the Irish National Liberation Army (INLA) also could not mobilize the people. There emerged the loyalist paramilitary organizations i.e. Ulster Defence Association, Ulster Freedom Fighters and Ulster Volunteer Force. These organizations opposed the violence by IRA, PIRA & INLA and also projected the Protestant identity and that of Ulster unionist as one nation. There were three phases of British policy in Ireland i.e. land war period of 1880s, second the republican insurgency of 1916 to 1921 and third the resumption of direct British rule in Northern Ireland since 1972. The policy of coercion and cancilliation was used. The Army’s achievements were remarkable. It reduced the long period violence to acceptable level. The parallel Social Democratic Labour Party (SDLP) organization to IRA which had the allegiance to the Minority Catholics denounced the Violence. The British government granted Irish Free State in 1921. The referendum in Northern Ireland voting in majority to remain with Britain sealed the fate of extremist organizations like IRA & PIRA.51 IRA’s draam of unification of both the Ireland i.e. Northern and the main Ireland remains unfulfilled.

51 Id pp. 349-351
2.2.11 LEFT-WING TERRORISM

Since the 19th century, European anarchists, socialists or communists have carried on a violent struggle against the capitalist system became repressive of workers. There was a great opposition against USA because of Vietnam War. A number of leftist terrorist groups were formed in 1960-70 including German’s Red Army Faction (RAF), France’s Action Directe, Italy’s Red Brigade and Baader-Meinhof Germany. They resorted to killings & Bank dacoities. RAF was very active but the re-unification of German & fall of Berlin wall changed the scenario. RAF vanished. Similarly aligned politicians undermined support to Red Brigades of Italy.

There was resurgence of Rightwing Terrorism in Europe. German Neo-Nazis fuelled a modest resurgence of German nationalism. In 1990s, German Neo-Nazis who were fighting left terrorism, centred their focus to beating immigrants, terrorists and Jews. In France, the moderate Right wing took the control of Parliament & formed government under Jacques Chirac. Austria too saw a right wing resurgence in 1999.

Ethnic based terrorism erupted in Europe because of long standing grievances of ethnic minorities. In Spain in 1950s, Basque Nation and Liberty Party (LTA) evolved from a political group to terrorist group when they demanded separate Basque Homeland out of Spain. In 1970, this group resorted to extensive terrorism but now it has declined. In Turkey, the Kurdish worker’s Party (PKK) had a Marxist Lennist ideological base. PKK waged guerilla war but its effect has waived after its leader was condemned to death52. Following are the left outfits which were active in Europe.

1. Action Directe (AD) of France.
2. Euzkadita A. Zkatasunae (ETA), Basque for Basque fatherland & liberty - Spain
3. Grupo de Resistencia Antifascista, Primero de Octubre (GRAPO), Spanish for Antifascist Resistance Group – Maoist group.
4. Kurdistan Worker’s Party (PKK) – Based on Marxist ideology
5. P2 Rightwing neofascist right wing group in Italy. Aldo Moro PM of Italy was kidnapped & killed by this group.
6. F P-25 (Popular Forces of April 25 in Portuguese-Left Wing
7. RAF (Red Army Faction in Germany)
8. Red Brigades (BR-Brigade Rosse in Italy)
9. Revolutionary Cells (R.Z) in Germany – Left Wing

10. Revolutionary organization 17 November in Greece – Marxist radical group.

11. Terra Lliure (Free land) – Spain - Leftist – wanted to have an independent Catalan State.53

2.2.12 MIDDLE EAST

After World War–I, remnants of Turkish Ottoman Empire that had ruled this area for hundreds of years were displaced by British and French Forces that sought the control of the area. Meanwhile, European Jews developed a strong movement called the Zionism with the goal of establishing Jews state in what is now Palestine. British encouraged Jews to settle in Palestine British also encouraged Arabs by pronouncing them a self determination in Palestine after the war. Following the war, British drew boundaries to create the modern Arab nations of Syria, Jordan, Egypt, Saudi Arabia, Iraq, Iran and Libya & their rulers were chosen from traditional ruling families from the Arab world. In 1922, league of Nations mandated the British to rule Protectorate of Tans-Jordan, which included Palestine with its predominantly Arab population and a significant minority of Jewish settlers. After World War–II, Britain had a loose control on the protectorate and both Jews & Arabs revolted against British & they fought each other too. Arabs keeping in mind the self determination, prepared for full scale fighting against the Jews. In turn, a Jewish terrorist group the Irgun attacked British soldiers & Palestinians. The dual object was to make realise the British to be difficult to remain & also to intimidate and drive out Palestinian Arabs. On 15th May, 1948, the area was partitioned in to Israel & Palestine. Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) led by Yasir Arafat was founded in 1964 to protect Palestine & drive out Jews from Israel. But Israel supported by USA & British was strong enough to resist the moves of Arab world. PLO killed 11 Israeli athletes at the 1972 Munich Olympic Games in Germany. In 1988, Arafat reorganized Israel’s right to exist and projected himself as sports person of Palestinian people. Militant PLO members rejected the move of Arafat and formed HAMAS. In 1987, Palestine Youth formed Intifiada. They demonstrated in Israeli occupied area & demanded self government rule. The clashes between Israeli forces & Palestine Youths were a routine. In 1995, Israeli Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin was assassinated by an Israeli youth. In 1979, a fundamentalist Shiite Muslim government inspired by Ayatollah Khomeini overthrew the American backed Shah of Iran. Shiite Fundamentals were notionaly against Israel but were against USA & other democracies in the world for their secular outlook. Iraq’s ruler Saddam Hussain was a persistent thorn in the Western countries. USA took over Iraq & Saddam

53 Id p.41
Hussain was caught, tried & hanged. In 2000, there was modernization in the Islamic world, when moderators took over in Iran.

Groups in the Middle East

1. Abu Nidal Organization (ANO) – Founded by a terrorist leader Sabri al-Banna (Abu Nidal), who broke with the PLO in 1974. The organization has operated under the names of Arab Revolutionary Council, Fatah Revolutionary Council and Black September. This organization since 1980s conducted more than 100 terrorist activities in more than 20 countries & killed about 200 persons.

2. Arab National Youth Organization for the liberation of Palestine (ANYOP): This is the breakaway group of PLO

3. Armed Islamic Group (GIA in French: Groupe Islamic Armee) an Algerian Islamic group seeks to replace the secular Algerian regime with an Islamic State.


5. Democratic Front for the Liberation of Palestine (DFZP)

6. Al-Fatah (Anti Israel group on Marxist leanings - Harkat-al-Tahir al Filistine, or Palestine Liberation Movement). Umbrella group of PLO led by Yasir Arafat

7. Fatah Revolutionary Council

8. HAMAS (also called the Islamic Resistance Movement; in English ‘courage’)- It is off shoot of Palestine Branch of Muslim Brotherhood and emerged in 1987. They want elimination of terrorist group founded in 1960 by Raul Sendic Antoriaccio Anti-government.

2.2.13 UNITED STATES, CANADA AND SOUTH AMERICA

Until the Oklahoma City bombing in 1995, United States had suffered less from terrorism. There was civil war between the pro-slavery of black and in favour of freedom of the black. Southern whites brutally repressed the blacks. There was violence over Kansas Statehood that gave rise to the term “bleeding Kansas”. This race remained the persistent source of Terrorism. In 19th & early 20th century, labour struggles were another major source of terrorism. Labour radicals such as the more militant workers of the world engaged in some sabotage and bombings. A terrorist outfit Ku Klux Klan came into existence after the removal of slavery in USA. This was to keep up the identity and supremacy of whites as a theology of Whiteness. In 1960, the left terrorism emerged in USA (the weathermen, New World

54 Id p. 62
Liberation Front). After the end of Vietnam War, there was almost end of leftist terrorism. In Canada, the situation remained peaceful except some activity by Quebec separatists, which has diminished after Quebec got greater autonomy. The pendulum has swung in favour of counter terrorism after the passage of the 1996 antiterrorism and Effective Death Penalty Act aftermath of Oklahoma City Bombing. Some of the outfits which have operated in South America are as under:-

1. Animal Liberation Front (ALF) – A radical animal rights organization in USA and this had assumed name as Earth Liberation Front.
2. Armed Resistance Unit – A small USA leftwing organization that claimed credit for the November 6, 1983 bombing of the Senate wing of the US capital building in protest of US invasion of Grenada. It was also called United Freedom Front.
3. Aryan Nations – A wing of Ku Klux Klan and other racist group in USA. It seeks formation of white homeland in the northwest United States. They were to over throw the Salvadoran government.
5. Fuerzas Armadas Revolutionary de Colomibce (FARC – Revolutionary Armed Forces of Columbia)- Largest Terrorist Guerilla movement in Columbia, FARC was established in 1966 by the Columbian Communist Party as its military wing.
7. Movimierito 19 de April (M-19, Movement of April 19)- A Columbian rebel group of leftists, to overthrow the Columbian government.
8. Movimierito Revolucioriario do October 8 (MR-8, Revolutionary Movement of October 8)- MR-8 was a Brazilian terrorist organization active in 1960 & 1970s Affiliated to Brazilian Communist Party.
10. Puerto Rican Nationalists – Sought independence of island from USA.
11. Sendero Luminoso (Shining Path) – A Peruvian Maoist inspired terrorist group founded in 1969 – Anti government
12. Toriton Macoutes (Volunteers for National Security) – A Haitian organization.
13. Tupamaros (National Liberation Movement) – Uruguayan guerrillas

2.2.14 TERRORISM AND ASSASSINATIONS

There have been many assassinations and attempts of assassinations of rulers in Europe in 19th and 20th century. The diary entry written by Fredrich Von Holstein in August 18th about the anxieties of the ruling elite over terrorist acts is clearly enunciated, “The Crown Princess is terrified of attempts on her life. She recently discussed with somebody in great detail the further security measures which might be taken. She demanded a considerable increase in the police estimates and the formation of large and efficient secret police.” There has been good reason for such concern. In 1878 alone, two attacks were made on the life of German Emperor, one on the king of Spain and one on the king of Italy. In 1881, Alexander II of Russia was blown to death by a bomb by a revolutionary organization, the people’s will. President Carnot of France was killed in 1894. Premier of Spain was assassinated in 1897. The emperor of Austria (1898), the king of Italy (1900) and the President of USA (1901) were assassinated. A large number of lower officials were also killed in Europe. The political violence in Russia which broke out in the first decade of 20th century took the lives of Governor General and many ministers. Peter Stolypin in (1911) and the Tsar were also assassinated by the Russian Socialist Revolutionary Party. Terrorism in the 19th century coalesced in the modern structure of forceful groups like the Red Brigade, Red Army and Baader – Meinhof groups in Europe. Though, the term ‘Terrorism’ was first used by Robespierre in French Revolution but the phenomenon of use of coercive force to intimidate society and political leader existed for many centuries. Original foundation of terrorism was created by two separate currents i.e one by the secular conceptualization of tyrannicide and other by the religious militancy professed by Islamic, Judaic and early Christian groups dedicated to violence and murders for higher causes that in many ways bear remarkable resemblance to modern terrorist organizations. The necessity of killing the unjust ruler has been a notion that lies at the heart of the modern justification of terrorism. Aristotle said that the tyrannical rulers abuse power and eventually destroy the nation. Greco was even more direct when he stated that it is virtue to kill tyrants and that they should be erased from human society. The French revolution and execution of Louis XVI in 1791 inaugurated the secular rule of popular sovereignty as the new form of state legitimacy in Europe. The rise of modern terrorism has characterized the change in targets and technology more than in tactics and intent. It has on the target even the individuals associated with unjust authority. The

The weaponry used is also more deadly i.e. sophisticated weapons, chemical, biological and even nuclear technology and weapons. The assassination includes even the officer serving with the tyrants. Now it is the “terrorism without boundaries”. Now the trend in terrorism is that the political violence instead of the unjust ruler would turn against the whole state. Now it is the society versus the state and vice-versa, which is not a good trend. The Corbonary groups came into existence in Southern Italy against Napoleic rule and after Napoleon, these groups became strong and were the bone of violence in Italy and surrounding areas.56

Karl Heinzen (1809-80), a German radical democrat penned down an essay that has justifiably been called the first example of a full fledged doctrine of modern terrorism. Orisini from Naples on the lives of Heinzen attempted on the life of Napoleon-III on January, 14, 1858, in which number of innocent persons were killed and scores injured. Inspired by Orisini, Oscar Becker, a law student in Germany attempted to kill William I at Baden-Baden for not unifying Germany. On May 7, 1866, Bismarck was wounded by shots fired by a student, Ferdinand Blind, who was also influenced by Orisini. An anarchist movement was started by Bakunin that developed in Spain in which political violence played an important role. Johann Most (1846-1906), another anarchist, dedicated his commitment to socialism. He was expelled from German and he settled in London and started a Journal Freiheit. Thousands of copies of Freiheit were smuggled in to Germany, in which it was declared that the social question could only be resolved by the path of violent revolution. His speeches as well as his articles focused on the efficacy of terrorism. According to Most, his advice to terrorist was that only person of significance should be killed as it has greater propagandistic effect. For funding the operations, he advocated the stealing from the privileged robbers of the government and ruling classes and this is morally justified. Most called his doctrine “anarchist vengeance”. According to him, all weapons are useful provided one knows how to operate them.57

Anarchism came to America later than Europe and it was strong in Chicago. Emma Goldman published in 1911 the essay “The psychology of political violence”. She equated propaganda by the deed with the elemental force of nature. The intensification of the pain from which ordinary people suffer everyday accumulates in the human soul resulting in burning and surging passion that makes the storm inevitable. Georges Soral (1847-1927) synthesized a number of contradictory intellectual formations in to a new doctrine of revolutionary political violence. He published his masterwork “Reflections on Violence

56 Id pp. 30-32
57 Id pp. 43-44, 51
The rapid growth of industrialization in Europe swelled the number of industrial workers and their discontent led to violence. The trade unions sprang up. However, the political violence was rarity the war years brought in to the world a violence that surpassed all imagination even of terrorist violence. After the 1st World War, most of the political organizations dedicated to extreme nationalist ideologies. The fascism surfaced in Germany, Italy and Spain. Their leaders introduced state terrorism on an unprecedented scale. Stalinism in Europe took a great toll of lives of the alleged enemies of the state. The Sinn Fein party in Ireland waged a nationalist war of violence against British rule between 1919 & 1921 and this led to terrorism and counter terrorism. Anarchism in Soviet Union is credited as the biggest base of violence. People’s will and socialist Revolutionary Party groups indulged in violence. There was a causal connection between anarchism and terrorism as the political legitimacy was the main concern. The terrorists have challenged the moral & legal foundations of the modern state. The terrorists wanted to annihilate the social fabric of European society. The citizens doubted whether the nation states will deliver justice & dreams of equality to all citizens. This role was taken over by the extremist groups in the process to expedite the goals. Another aspect of violence was the psychological rage/aspects of terrorism, which should motivate the violence. Rage is there in everybody but it turns in to violence when the groups or individual feels that the ruler is responsible for all the ills of the society. This binds the people in to violence in order to get justice. Arendt called it as “the community of violence” or it can be termed as culture of political violence. Terrorism is resorted to search for a new and better social order than the existing bourgeois ethical standards. It is a fact that terrorism is successful in making the threat of political violence a central concern in our lives. Terrorism has become a way of life, sometimes dormant & sometimes highly active into threatening form of violence.

2.2.15 LEFT WING TERRORISM IN USSR

Russian revolutionary terrorism groups initially emerged from non-terrorist student movements. Nihilism and populist movement produced the terrorist phase. The nihilist conspiracies provoked a reaction with in the student movement against the methods of the conspirators and towards more cautious tactics. The use of dynamite bombs, mining of

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58 Id pp. 57-58
59 Id pp. 61-62
railways and penetration the Winter Palace gave Russian terrorists an international reputation. When study orders did not satisfy the students, they turned towards terrorism after propaganda and agitation failed to yield expected results. The People’s Will and Social Revolutionary Party uprising was predominant in early 20th century. Anarchists, social revolutions and Bolsheviks practiced terrorism on such a wide scale that it passed over in to something akin to guerrilla action. The revolutionary movement ultimately ended in to mass violence of civil war after 1917. The intelligentsia wanted the justice and hence came into clash the administrative setup. The rulers adopted the vacilating approach, sometimes supporting the bureaucrats and sometimes the reformist/intelligentia. Ultimately, the struggle led to the revolutionary movements inspired by intelligentsia theoreticians Marxists took over the revolution from Nihilists & Populists including the terrorists tactics. The Bolshevik brand of Marxism borrowed the page from the terrorists60. Thus Nihilism’s elitists, scientific and utilitarian orientation gave way to Sergei Nechaer’s and Michael Bakunin’s anti-intellectualism and romantic devotion to violence. This phenomenon was followed by Peter Lavor’s variety of elitism, in which critically thinking minority assumed responsibility for spreading its scientific vision, first to the intelligentsia and then to the narod. All these phenomenon’s converted in to Marxism and terrorism.61 As a reaction to the atrocities by the state police, the committed revolutionaries justified the terrorism.

The commitment to the life of a professional revolutionary is the most important single condition for the emergence of systematic terrorism. In the era of Narodnaia Volia period of 1879-1894; the urban based politiki of the People’s will assumed dominance over the villagers in the movement. Shorty before his death in 1883, Karl Marx too gave his blessing to the heroes and heroine of the People’s Will, who had shaken one of the pillars of reaction in Europe. The decimation of the People’s Will in October-November, 1884 led to a change in the Party’s character and location. The focus of terrorism shifted, once again, to the Southern part of the Russian Empire. Though there were defections, but the effect of terrorism was increasing. The persecution of Jews after the assassination of Alexander-II led the Jews in Russia to join the terrorist movements. After the foiling of attempt on the life of Alexander-III, the focus of terrorism shifted northward. The Socialist Revolutionary Party revived the terrorist traditions of Narodnaia Volia in the period 1901-02 but some pioneer members rejected its urban orientation and resurrected the notion that socialism could be achieved immediately in the countryside. The repression of the students rebellions in 1900-01

60 Id pp. 63- 65
61 Id p. 67
pushed the students in to terrorist organizations in greater number. The motive of the social revolutionary movement was the revenge against the Governors, Ministers & the police officials. Under Gershuni’s leadership, the combat organization literally became a squad of avengers. Gershuni’s arrest replaced him with Azev, who became the main organizer of terror. Ultimately, the communist regime put an end to the terrorism of People’s Will and the state terrorism emerged in a big way. In 1997, Social Revolutionary Party could not stand well in political set up & elections because of extreme terrorism but Lenin’s Bolsheviks emerged to run the government as Lenin considered flexibility in his approach to terrorism. Stalin fearing the revival of revolutionary terrorism out did his mentor in exercising state terror on a vast scale.

2.2.16 LEFT-WING TERRORISM IN ITALY

After World War-II, the world was divided into two blocs, one headed by Russia and other by America. Thus, there was a race of supremacy between left and right blocs. Left bloc prompted the left-wing terrorism in Western democracies & more predominantly in Italy & Germany. The left organizations in Italy contributed to recruitment, maintenance and terrorist crime in 1970s. The thousands of terrorists indulged in armed struggle. The neo-fascist groups killed seventeen on Dec 12, 1969 by a bomb in Milan, six killed on a train in July, 1970, eight killed in Brescia and twelve killed on a train near Bologna in 1974. The rise of left terrorism was because of social and political structure. Secondly it is contributed by organizational dynamics of terrorist groups and thirdly because of individual motivation. There were thirteen armed groups but the four most important groups were the Red Brigades (Brigade Rosse, BR), the Proletarian Armed Groups (NAP), Front line (FL) and the Communist Fighting Formation (FCC). The terrorism was mainly due to evolution of the opportunity structure in the different stages of the protest and for the different actors involved in it. The first wave of left wing terrorism was almost over by 1976.

The second wave of terrorism was around 1977, known as 77 movement. Three features of this period are important. The first is the tumultuous emergence of a new and different phase of protest. Second is the imperviousness of the political system to this specific type of social movement and the third is the existence of semi legal and clandestine organization as a supply of skills and recruits for organized political violence. There were protests all around for reforms. Some militants were arrested before 1980. The government took reformative steps. BR took the responsibility of many assassinations. There were

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62 Id pp. 97- 98
63 Id pp. 100- 101
64 Id pp. 107, 109
evolutions of many underground organizations. Many political organizations contributed in
the recruitments in terrorist organizations. Italian clandestine organizations recruited
members through dense networks of social relations, where political ties were strengthened
by bonds based on friendship & kinship\textsuperscript{65}. The people became involved in terrorists activities
when they belonged to dense political networks and were socialized to accept violence.
Participation in violence produced a kind of militants for whom political commitment is
identified with physical fights rather than with negotiation or compromise. For these people,
the use of physical violence precedes rather than follows, entrance into terrorist organization.
Though ideology and loyalty to political organization kept up left wing terrorism but these
groups fizzled out by mid 1980s. The collective interest claimed to be representative of
clandestine political organizations were not efficiently mediated. The political culture
prevailing in the country did not ultimately justified violence. The clandestine groups could
not mobilize resources for funding the expenditure and the arms supply. The abandonment of
social propaganda for a private war against the state led to decline. Sometime ego
involvement supersedes the commitment to the clandestine group and the members leave the
groups.\textsuperscript{66}

\textbf{2.2.17 THE WEST GERMAN LEFT-WING TERRORISM}

The name of Baader-Meinhof in Germany in 1970s who made the students & youth
rebel against establishment is still being dreadly remembered. Another faction was RAF (Red
Army Faction). The terrorists perceive their war of violence against enemies i.e. state and its
system to bring changes as they want. RAF terrorists surfaced after the fall of communist
regime in East Germany in the decade of eighties. Two other terrorist organization i.e. French
Action Directe (AD) and the Belgian Communist Combatant Cell (CCC) attacked the NATO
facilities & personnel. Revolutionary Cells (RC) another organization targeted NATO forces.
The students protest movements in the late sixties contributed in the formation of RAF &
other terrorist groups. The leftists came closer to Socialist Student Association (SDS). There
was utter campaign against the decade long emergency laws which were spearheaded by the
trade unionists & other socialist and liberal groups. There were confrontations between the
students movements & the authorities. There was enmical atmosphere against the post war
reinstatement of erstwhile Nazi officials including the police. The new generation of sixties
had formed their own value groups. The rigid attitude of authorities, police and
administration had tempted the rebels escalating the violation of rules. The establishment

\textsuperscript{65} Id pp. 142-143
\textsuperscript{66} Ibid pp. 157 -159
involvement in Vietnam War & South Africa brought the students more towards violent means. The atrocities of the police triggered the state of violence among the students & other leftist groups. The real beginning of German leftwing terrorism started with the attempted assassination of Dutschke and burning of department stores in Frankfurt by Baadar. There was use of drugs by these groups and the drop out subculture contributed to more violence. The Hashish rebels and other groups such like Black Front, Black Rats, Palestine Front, TW (Tupamaros West Berlin), Commando Red Christmas and Amnesty International TW, Anarchist groups indulged in setting bombs on judges, prosecutors & other officials throughout Berlin. The RAF was founded in May 1970 by Ulrike Meinhof, the well known editor of Kenkret, a communist Journal and by Horst Mahler, a prominent attorney. They integrated political anarchism into socialist anarchism. The violent activities spread to Munich also. RAF activists attacked US Army HQ in Frankfurt & killed an American Officer & injured thirteen people. This followed many bomb blasts & killing number of people. RAF commandos seized the German Embassy in Stockholm & took twelve hostages in order to demand the release of 26 political prisoners, but in the police action, the RAF commandos were killed & hostages got released. The committee of expert appointed by German Govt. to find out the reason of left wing terrorism came to conclusion that it was political confrontation between the left & right ideologies & questioning of authorities by intellectuals & students flirting with communism. The students challenged the continuation of alleged third Reich in Germany.\textsuperscript{67}

There was political violence in Argentina in 1970s. The insurgents had adopted the Che Guevara’s model of violence in the urban areas. They adopted the guerilla tactics of kidnappings and killings. Five insurgent groups in the early 1970s were People’s Revolutionary Army (ERP), the Montoneros, the Peronist Armed Forces (FAP), the Revolutionary Armed Forces (FAR) and the Armed Forces of Liberation (FAL). The ERP and Montoneros urban guerrillas adopted the strategy of bank raids, looting and kidnappings like those of European Terrorist groups. The Triple A was established in Social Welfare Ministry by the regime to repress the activities of the insurgent groups. Later on Triple A was absorbed in to the infrastructure of state terror after the Military Coup of 1976. The public perception of the violence accorded the legitimacy to the armed struggle because of state repression. Sociologically, most of the violence of the 1970s was the product of a middle class that had become fragmented. The guerrilla groups were encouraged by armed struggle in Cuba linked

\textsuperscript{67} Id pp. 182-188
through Che Guevara. Guevara’s contribution was to motivate the young Latin Americans to risk their lives in the name of superior morality.\(^{68}\)

The dissidents in Roman Catholic Church also facilitated the violence. Catholics were asked to side with the poor. The turning point in the initiation of armed struggle was provided by the Army’s seizure of power in 1966 and the establishment of Origania dictatorship. The change of regime generated the mass support for violent opposition. The end of the military rule and the return of a Peron from exile in 1973 helped in reducing the violence. The political amnesty of 1973, when 800 political prisoners were released, gave guerrillas the opportunity to renounce violence and clandestinity. In the final phase of violence, Montoneros sped up the violence in 1974, which was tackled effectively by the Argentina Army. ERP was less militaristic than Montereros. The state terrorism called as dirty war took extreme steps against the terrorist groups. Even thousands of innocent persons were alleged to have been killed. General Vidila had said, “a terrorist is not just someone with a gun or a bomb, but also someone who spreads ideas that are contrary to Western and Christian civilization. It is important to note that Guerrilla warfare comes from a different lineage to terrorism, since it derives more from conventional war. Alfonsin government of Argentina put forward two demon theory that left-wing terrorism engendered state terrorism and the two together (state terrorism & left wing terrorism) subverted liberal Argentina. It is to be noted that some of the urban guerrillas simply fought for the return of Peron and put aside their weapons when the General returned.\(^{69}\)

### 2.2.18 THE REVOLUTIONARY TERRORISM OF PERU’S SHINING PATH

Shining Path (Sendero Luminoso, Sendero or SL) was a political and ideological movement of the extreme left in Peru purely based on orthodox Maoism. Sendero did not see it as terrorist organization but a revolutionary movement since 1980. Terrorism was taken as a necessity for a long term struggle in a country in which the elites violently exploited peasants and workers, especially in Ayacucho. The violent continued from 1980 to 1993 resulting in atleast 23610 killings, over 3000 disappearances and 24 billion dollars property damage.\(^{70}\) It ended with the capture of Sendero’s head. A Guzman Reynose in September, 1992. It started in a small Provincial University of Huamanga in the 1960s with Marxist-Leninist-Maoist ideology. There was acute poverty in Ayacucho area and the peasants/workers were being exploited. Secondly, the University of Huamanga opened in 1959 brought awakening in the youth & workers about their rights. The people started thinking about social and economic

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\(^{68}\) Id pp. 213 -219  
\(^{69}\) Id pp.245-247  
\(^{70}\) Id pp. 250-251
changes with the Marxist orientation. In University elections, shining Path linked to National Maoist Party, Red Flag won with thumping majority and thus Maoist ideology became predominant. The leadership of Prof. Guzman, a radical activist was of par excellence in motivation & spearheading the activities of Sendero. Reformist policies of Military Govt. adopted the aggressive posture and it became counter productive resulting in strengthening the shining Path. Some of the reform like agricultural/agrarian reforms collapsed. Military Govt. ignored the Ayacucho area administratively & economically. Sedor laid out five phases that must be pursued.

1. Development and infiltration
2. Building the party in rural areas though strikes, establishing people’s self defence groups and organizing peasants and training cadres.
3. Undertaking the prolonged people’s war
5. Prolonged People’s war in which the war is total.

The Shining Path’s aims were to paralyze the economy, destabilize the government and force authorities in to making unpopular decisions. In the strategic defensive phase, Sendero waged guerrilla war with small armed units engaging government forces on equal terms. The purpose of terrorism was causing the outfit to legitimacy in the minds of the population and causing economic loss to the government. The Shining Path failed because it could not build the strong base & support in the workers. Secondly, the SL came into downfall in the strategic defense state. The second stage of strategic equilibrium and third stage of strategic offensive stage could not be achieved. After the arrest of the leader, there was no second rung to lead the Shining Path.

2.2.19 BASQUE TERRORISM IN SPAIN
ETA (Euzkadi ta Asktasuna Basque Homeland and Freedom) acted between 1968 & 1992. ETA had 100 members killed, more than 20000 arrested and around 1300 imprisoned in Spain & France. ETA was founded in 1959 and its primary aim was Basque independence and recuperation of Basque culture and language. Most of the five demands of radicals were: right of self determination, assertion of the territorial integrity of all Basque provinces in Spain, predominance of Basque language, unconditional amnesty of all Basque political prisoners and withdrawal of security forces from Basque soil. In 1973, Carrero Blanco, PM

71 Id pp. 264-265
of Spain was killed. ETA violence increased dramatically after the death of Franco. Despite the rebirth of democracy in Spain and the achievement of autonomy by Basque, ETA carried on with violence. Basque nation is composed of 7 provinces i.e. four in Spain and three in France. Basque nationalism emerged in 1890s, when the community became prosperous by changing their profession from agriculture to heavy industry, mining, banking and ship building. There was Basque ethnic mobilization, who started taking part in Spanish oligarchy. There was a big change in political, social and economic development and thus Basque nationalism developed and flourished. There was economic boom in 1960 to 1975. There was a big increase in population in Euskadi. The activities of ETA in Basque area led to more chaos in law & order and unemployment. Situation of conflict arose between Spanish Govt. and Basque area. There was a danger of civil war in Basque areas and the Spanish Govt. granted political autonomy to the Basque provinces. When Gen. Franco came to power, he abrogated the autonomy granted to Basque provinces. Younger Basque nationalists agitated against this and ultimately formed ETA. The wave of repression started in Basque areas. The agitators were detained and this resulted in greater recruitment in ETA. The wave of violence continued even after Franco’s death and returning the Spain to democratic process. Post war generations inherited nationalism and violence from their elders. For Younger Basques, Spanish government itself became synonymous to authoritarianism. Young students also played a significant part to promote Basque identity. Subino Arona founded Partido Neconabta Vaso (PNV) in 1982 to raise Basque nationalism. This was described as moderate nationalism. Euzkadi ta Askataseena (Basque Homeland and Freedom or ETA) was set up for hardened Basque nationalism. ETA made contacts with Spanish Communist Party in 1963 and suffered greater police repression. ETA organizers setup ETA in exile i.e. in France, anti colonial struggle with importance to guerrilla warfare and proworker in ideological terrorist. The new leadership as younger anti colonialist was Marxist in majority. Police took tough action against ETA members and most of the top leaders were imprisoned. ETA faced the prospect of innocent breakup. ETA formed the ‘Red Cells’ to study Marxism. When ETA was tottering to give the semblance of nationalism, KAS i.e. Socialist Patriotic Coordinator was established for the purpose of creating a united patriotic socialist coalition. In 1980, the activities of ETA divindled as political autonomy was granted to Basque areas.

The Liberados or ilegales are the main leaders. They are full time leaders and are

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72 Id, pp. 420-424
known to the police. The second rank is composed of legales, who are not known to the police. They are of three kinds. The first are the enlaces (or links), who engage in communication activities, the second are Buzons, who serve as drop points for material, and the third are informativos, who are responsible for intelligence gathering. The third are the supporters of ETA, who provide logical support i.e. transportation, food, clothing, documentation, shelter etc.  

During more than 30 years of its existence, ETA has been responsible for more than five hundred assassinations, more than one thousand injuries, sixty kidnappings, innumerable bombings, armed attacks and robberies/extortion. ETA assassinated Franco’s heir apparent Carrero Blanco in 1973. On certain issues, there was negotiation of the government of Spain with ETA, which contributed to the decline in violence in late 1980s.

2.2.20 THE EFFECTIVENESS OF TERRORISM IN THE ALGERIAN WAR

It was the freedom struggle of Algeria from France. The revolutionary-nationalist terrorism of the Front de liberation Nationale (FLN) attracted international attention which fought for independence of Algeria from French rule. It mobilized the Algerian people against the French rule and was a powerful model for other freedom movements like those of PLO and Argentina Urban Guerrilla movement. Counter terrorism organization OAS i.e. Organization del Arme Secrete opposed the FLN. Thus the revolutionary and counter-revolutionary terrorism played an important role in a war of national liberation. Here the terrorism was successful in bringing the change. We have to understand the concept of ‘engrenage’ (i.e. tit for tat) through which the terrorism acquired an independent dynamic by becoming an end itself rather than a means to political ends. Because of the nature of terrorism in specific historic context, the violence goes beyond the control of the actors who initiated it. FLN emerged to dominate the national movement for liberation of Algeria. Earlier, Movement National Algeria (MNA) was a strong rival of FLN. Lateron, FLN was all powerful to deal with the colonialist power.  

In 1945 riots of Muslims in the area of setif, 100 Europeans were killed and the security forces retaliated and around 45000 Algerians were killed. This was repeated in other places also. But French never wanted to give up after giving up in Tunisia and Morocco. When Gen De Gaulle came to power in France, he ultimately came to conclusion that abdication of power in Algeria was the only solution. At Evian in 1962, the French accepted full independence of Algeria after prolonged negotiation for two years.

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73 Id p. 438
74 Id pp. 475-477
accompanying the other two demands i.e. the rights of the future European minority in Algeria and the control of oil in Sahara.\textsuperscript{75} The legitimacy of the French over Algeria was weak. The state oppression in general cannot be said to be state terrorism. The term has to be limited to the systematic resort to exemplary violence or threat of violence against a small number of victims in order to change the attitudes of much larger popular audiences. Thus, the use of torture or the resort to guillotine may be considered terrorism, when they are intended to create fear in the population and to discourage potential resistance. Similarly, if terrorism is defined as violence that society regards as unacceptable, whether according to the rules of war or the standards of peace, then the violence that is unusually cruel or arbitrary in the view of the targeted audience, that the perpetrator knows to be such, can reasonably considered terrorism. Counter-terrorism is a reactive terrorism by those in power or government’s use of terrorism to oppose terrorism from a challenger and any official response, legal or otherwise, to terrorism. Pierre Vidal Naquet classified four different process of terrorism in Algeria. He argued that judicial or legal terrorism which applied repressive laws and sentenced rebels to the guillotine, extremist terrorism from the European civilian population, military terrorism from the paratroopers who ruled Algiers in 1957 and nationalist terrorism, principally FLN bombs, all interacted to bring about irreversible separation of European and Muslim communities, although this may not have their intent. But the French response to Muslim violence was excessive and immensely disproportionate.\textsuperscript{76}

Terrorism is usually defined as instrumental and purposive violence as a part of strategic plan. In Algiers, violence was often calculated for effect, which was motivated for revenge in order to produce change in the behaviour of the adversary. Terrorism can become an end in itself. In Algiers, violence was a means of controlling one’s constituency more than inflicting the adversary but its effectiveness surely depends on the visible pain it inflicts. Historians claimed the toll of deaths of FLN members to be number 3000 to 15000 and that of French around 3000. The battle of Algiers was a classicase of terrorism which was between FLN/ZAA (Zone Autonome et Alger) under the leadership of Yacef Saadi and the French paratroopers units under General Massu, who took charge of Algiers region in 1957. The comite de coordination et d’ execution (CCE) of FLN launched urban terrorism. FLN suffered heavily in Battle of Algiers. CCE went into exile and was isolated but the spirit of nationalism was deep-rooted in the population of Algiers. The FLN’s metropolitan

\textsuperscript{75} Id pp. 479–480
\textsuperscript{76} Id pp. 481–482
branch, the Federation de France du FLN (FFFLN) managed operations in France, which brought Gen De Gaulle to have negotiation in Algeria. OAS known as Delta Commandos also resorted to repressive terrorism. They assassinated FLN activists and liberal Europeans in Algeria. Thus, the activities of OAS and the feared coup of four French Generals acted as impediment to the settlement of Algier problem. In March 1962, French Govt. & GPRA (Provisional Algerian Govt. - The Govt. Provisoire de la Republique Algerienne) concluded the Evian accord, granting the Algerian the right to decide their future. A ceasefire was signed. But OAS was desperate to prevent the signing of agreement & when it proved impossible, tried to block its implementation. Thus we can conclude that terrorism can affect the system and it may or may not be successful in mission. The terrorist acts send out mixed signals. Terrorism may thus be a serious impediment to conflict situation. The response of adversary is very important.\textsuperscript{77}

\textbf{2.2.21 TERRORISM IN ARAB-ISRAEL CONFLICT}

Arab verses Jews (Zionist) or Jews against Arab both fall in to the category of terrorists. In 1921, there was Arab-Jews riots and the causalities of Jews led to the formation of underground Haganah (Defense) Army. It was resolved that force is to be used to the extent necessary for self-defense. Lehi and Stern (Yaer) (both were freedom fighters for Israel) refused to cooperate with the British in the anti-German war Front. They took the assassination dig against British soldiers, police, administrators and diplomats. Yit Zhak Shamir, a leader of Lehi endorsed the view that terrorism was an effective weapon against Israel’s enemy.\textsuperscript{78}

Sheikh Al-Qassam was the first to raise the slogan of independent Palestine, who was killed in 1936 by British soldiers in a shoot out. He was the first fidayeen. His death electrified Palestinian people for Palestine nationalism. He professed that martyr’s death is kindling wood for Jihad and Islam. The mujahidin must be vanguard and light the way for those who will follow. The same theme of violence was propagated by Ghassan kanafani who adopted the model of Che-Guevara’s foco theory of revolution. Che Guevara’s theme of violence was to arouse the fighting spirit and solidarity of the oppressed. 1930s revolt was crushed by the British reinforcements on the eve of World War-II. The crushing defeat in 1948 of Arabic world was described because of poor leadership, weak morale and feeble spirit of the Arab masses Musa Alami, a Palestinian Muslim argued that courage and self sacrifice was the only way for Arabs to regain their self respect. This encouraged the growth

\textsuperscript{77} Id pp. 509 -514
\textsuperscript{78} Id pp. 530-532
of fedayeen groups in Jordan & Egypt and created internal pressure to provide them with support. Mohd Siddiq in 1960 had shown the way towards commitments of self reliance and armed struggle. After 1967 defeat, Arab writers put on the efforts to alleviate the despondency of Arabs over the defeat and glorified the Palestinian guerrillas. Abu Iyad was one of founder of Al-Fateh, who was also linked to Black September. PLO & PFLP (Popular Front for Liberation of Palestine) stepped up their activities. Yasir Arafat said that transformation of the Palestinians from downcast refugees into aroused fighters is one of the greatest achievements of our revolution. In many respects, what the death of Trumpeldor and his seven companions in the defense of Tel-Hai was to Zionism, Karameh was for the Palestinian. This gave boost to PLO & its number increased to 30000. 1967 victory of Israel over Arabs gave so much confidence that Zionism had indeed created a “new Jew”, willing and able to fight successfully for his rights. Attacks in adjoining Arab countries and destruction of military bases gave impetus to the Israel superiority. Arabs also asserted its supremacy, when in 1973 conflict, Israel had to withdraw its forces from certain areas of Geolan & Sinai areas. In 1972, Black September Group of PLO massacred Israeli Athletes in Olympic Village in Munich. This restored Arabs self-confidence. Though the picture is grim but both sides are confident and at least yearn for honourable settlement.

2.2.22 TERRORISM AND POLITICS IN IRAN

Iran has old history of terrorism. Hassan-i-Sabbah, born in city of Qom in the middle of eleventh century used the word assassin for the first time in order to propagate Ismaili Islam. Eleventh century Persia and twentieth century Iran used violence to expand their areas of influence. Hassan-i-Sabbah and Ayatollah Ruhollah Khomeini were synonymous with violence and lawlessness in the name of religion. Basically, it was the process of bringing Iran back to where it was in the past. Thus Sabbah was a precursor to and model for Khomeini and his followers. But Khomeini model of terrorism is much harsher. The popular belief is that Iran was a terrorist country and the violence was for the propagation of religion. Secondly Islamic Republic was cruel, harsh, unyielding, can go to any extent in barbarism and anti-west. Terrorism was a learned behavior. The violence in Iran had historically a central feature of Iranian political culture. Terrorism is used as means for the desired ends. Reza Shah Pahlavi took over in 1926 and started modernizing Iran on the basis Kemal Ataturk Pasha of Turkey. But it was unaccepted to many fundamentalists. Thus, Raza Shah disrupted traditional Persian/Iranian society and seeds of dissent led to the Islamic revolution some fifty years later. His long range goal was to rebuild Iran to attain secularism,

79 Id pp. 548-550
anti-tribalism, nationalism, educational development and state capitalism. Tudeh Party influenced by Soviet Union relied on terrorist activities to advance their interests. Political assassinations were started by Tudeh party in Northern Iran to advance soviet interest. During this period, Islamic fundamentalism began to grow its influence throughout the country. For terrorist activities, Fedayeen-i-Islam was founded in Tehran by Sayyid Navab Safaví in 1946. It called for return to Islamic laws and strict adherence to Islamic principles. This group killed the moderator Ahmed Kasravi. Another group society of Muslim warriors founded by Ayatollah Kashani surfaced and this group assassinated PM, General Ali Ramzara in Mosque in Tehran but the accused persons were acquitted. Thus Iranian Nationalism emerged. Reza Shah took over the reign of Iran from 1941 to 1979, and thereafter, he fled the country. In 1957, Shah founded secret police, SAVAK (Sazman-i-Etila at a Amniyat-i Keshvar i.e. National Security and information organization)\textsuperscript{80}. There was sense of insecurity and uncertainty in the country and even among Shah’s close associates. The era of dictatorship started in 1953 and ended in 1978-79 resulting in Iranian revolution. The Iranians resorted to demonstrations and marches which were brutally supressed by the government. Thus, violence was routinized as an integral part of Iranian politics. There were several major demonstrations sponsored by the National Front in concert with the various University Students groups in 1963, which were ruthlessly handled by the Army, killing many people. In 1963, Ayatollah Khomeini was arrested and deported, who triumphantly returned after revolution in 1979. In 1965, PM Hassan Mansur was killed by Fedayeen-i-Islam for supporting the foreign oil concessions. SAVAK retributed against Islamic fundamentalists and thus a cycle of violence started. Saikal incident to free the two detained young Iranian led to a sustained period of terrorist activity against the pehlvi monarchy and thus hastening the revolution of 1978/79. Two guerrilla groups i.e. Marxist Fedayi and Islamic Mujahidin along with other small groups stepped up their activities. The number of fatalities was significant before the revolution. The Fedayis looted the bonks and indulged in extortions. Informers, government officials and well known supporters were assassinated. The Mujahidin indulged in target killing of Army, SAVAK agents and member of anti-terrorist squads. The terrorists were referred by government as Islamic Marxists. On January 7, 1978, attack on Ayatollah Khomeini was published, which led to the breaking of riots in Qom and large number of protestors were killed or injured. This was the beginning of Iranian revolution. Khomeini was able to mobilize& inspire millions of Iranis against Shah

\textsuperscript{80}Id pp. 561-565
and almost whole of Iran went against Shah & he became powerless. Shah was deported. After assuming power, Khomeini turned to use Violence.81

**Terrorism and Politics in the Islamic Republic of Iran:** With the change in regime, SAVAK was changed to SAVAMA (Sazman-e Anniyat Va Etela’at-e Millat-e Iran). Post-revolution two sorts of terrorism became politically significant. The Islamic society and polity goals of Khomeini were not acceptable to many. Anti Shah terrorist groups became anti-Khomeini too that Khomeini had snatch Iran by betrayal. Secondly, it was the state sponsored terrorism especially beyond Iran’s borders. Forghan group of terrorists claimed the responsibility of numerous assassinations and other disruptive activities. Lt. Gen Qarani was assassinated. Ayatollah Mutahari, Chairman Revolutionary Council and Hashemi Rafsanjani were shot. Ayatollah Mufattah and Ayatollah Qazi Tabatabai were killed. But the group was effectively controlled. Iran was politically polarized. One group led by Mehdi Bazargan who wanted Iran to be liberal and more secular Islamic country. The other group was of clerics, who wanted Islamic Fundamentalist State. When a group of militant students took over the American Embassy on November 4, 1979, Mehdi Bazargan resigned and in January 1980, Abol hassan Bani Sadir was elected President. He too had differences with Islamic Republican Party (IRP). The same difference of liberalism wanted by Bani Sadir and theocracy by P.M Mohd Ali Rajai surfaced. Ultimately Bani Sadir was removed by Majlis. There was terror and counter terror in Iran all through this period. On June 28, 1981, bomb blast ripped IRP headquarter with seventy fatalities in which Ayatollah Beheshti, Chief Justice of the S.C., head of the IRP and close confident of Khomeini were killed. This followed the political assassinations. Government acted tough against Mujahedins and executed number of people. Khomeini himself did not take up the power but the persons very close to him were given the power to rule as he wanted. Iran relied on terror as a foreign policy instrument. Iran was credited as a dominant force in hostage taking activities in Beirut. An official US Department of state report noted that Iran was currently one of the world’s most active states supporting international terrorism and subversion against other countries. Iran’s involvement in terrorism was rooted in a violent and unstable political history. Terror has been an intrinsic component of the historical pattern of Iranian political expression.82

### 2.2.23 GLOBAL TERRORISM

Global Terrorism was reorganized after 9/11 attack on World Trade Centre, New York

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81 Id PP 570-573
82 Id pp. 575-576
where nearly 3000 people were killed and property worth 20 billion dollars was damaged. It was marked as the beginning of the first major war of 21st century and the then President George W. Bush said that terrorism has emerged as a global problem. FBI Chief, Robert Muller said that terrorism is not a local but a global terrorism. Before this incident, Americans had ignored the sorrows of victims of terrorism in many parts of the world and also supported the terrorism indirectly.

2.2.24 PAKISTAN

Pakistan is one country, which has permitted many known terrorists to reside and operate in its territory. Pakistan has been asked by USA many a times to end support to such evil elements and close down the terrorist training camps in its territory. It is reported that there are around 50 training camps in Pakistan and ISI is providing Training, arms and funds to them. USA feels that the terror groups which are responsible for attack in India had their origin and links in Pakistan. However, it is denied by Pakistan. However, Pakistan is saying that it shall provide the diplomatic, political and moral support to the freedom fighters in Kashmir and Kashmir runs in the blood of every Pakistani. They will not compromise at any cost and also get it as it has become their core issue. In Pakistan, many terrorist organizations like HUM, JeM, LeT, HM, Jamiat-Ul-Mujahidin, Dukhtaran-e-Milat, HUA/HUJI, Al-Umar Mujahideen, Talibans, TTP, Al Qaida, Al Badar, Jamat-e-Ulama Islam, Jamat-Ul-Dawa etc. There are about 20000 Madrasas where around 2 million students learn to recite and obeys Islamic laws. Top terrorists like Masud Azhar and Mulla Umar have been trained in these Madrasas. Many of these Madrasas produce Islamic fundamentalists and prepare them for Jehad. ISI of Pakistan has direct relationship with such terrorist groups. ISI is openly providing funds to these groups. ISI is preparing and instigating these terrorist groups to strike in J&K with ultimate aim to grab J&K. IS has close relations with Al Qaida and Talibans also. ISI is not under control of Pak Central Government, but under Army. Funds are not a problem to the terrorist groups because of ISI and bumper opium crop.83

In Pakistan from 2003 to 2013, around 50000 persons i.e. civilians & security personnel lost their lives due to terrorism. Benazir Bhutto, Salman Taseer, the former Governor of Punjab in Pakistan & moderate Sunni Cleric have fallen victim to militant violence.84 Attack on Indian Parliament in December 2001 by Jaish-e-Mohd (JeM) and again in November 2008, Mumbai carnage by Lashkar-e-Taiba have caused Pakistan to be the

83 Kumar, Ashok, *Dynamics of Global Terrorism*, K.K. Publications, New Delhi, 2014 pp. 142-145
84 Yusuf, Moeed (Ed), *Pakistan’s Counter-Terrorism challenge*, George Town University Press, Washington DC, 2014 p. 16
object of tremendous international condemnation. These outfits undermine the peace between two nuclear armed neighbours. Al Qaida, Tehrik-e-Taliban of Pakistan, Harkat-Ul-Jihad-e-Islamic, Lashkar-e-Jhangvi etc. are the outfits which are anti-Pakistan. Al-Qaida, Mullah Omar’s “Quetta Shura” Talibans, Haqqani network, Hizb-e-Islami, Muqami Tehrik-e-Taliban, Punjabi Taliban, etc are anti US/NATO. HM, Al-Baraq, LeT, JeM, Al-Badr, Harkat-Ul-Mujahideen-Alami, HUJI etc are anti India. Jundullah, sipah-e-Sahaba of Pakistan, Lashkar-e-Jhangvi, sunni Tehrik, Sipah-e-Mohd, Tehrik-e-Jafria etc are sectarian.\footnote{Id p. 18}

2.2.25 BANGLADESH

JEI, the main Islamic Political Party in Bangladesh aims to convert Bangladesh into an Islamic State. The Jamaiat Ul Mujahideen Bangladesh (JMB) shares the ideology of JEI. JMB has great influence among teachers, students and Madrasas and in a way, support Al Qaida. Islamic Chhatra Shibir (ICS), the student wing of JEI in Bangladesh is one of the largest student organizations in Bangladesh; HUJI in Bangladesh is a strong supporter of Talibans. Religious fundamentalism is being propagated by these groups. Hindus, Christians and Jews are perceived as enemies of Islam. The Taliban Emir, Mullah Fazl-ur-Rahman once declared that even dog killed by American troops should be considered a martyr. Al Qaida and Muslim religious organization based in Pakistan have urged Indian Muslims to join global jehad and take up arms against Indian state. SIMI in 2001 has given call to setup Islamic Caliphate in India. However, Tablighi Jamaat, Ahle Hadith, the Gujarat Muslim Revenge Force, The Muslim Defence Force and the Islamic Defence Force have very minimal impact on Muslims in India. Two homegrown Islamic groups JMB and Jagrata Muslim Janta Bangladesh (JMJB) were responsible for attack with in Bangladesh. They are supposed to be close to ISIS. In recent attack in Cafe, 19 persons were killed in Dhaka.\footnote{Karim, Afsir, Aakrosh, Thomson Press Noida, Jan 2014, PP 86 to 89}

Bangladesh Army killed six terrorists, captured one and saved more than two dozen hostages. Since 2013 atleast 50 people have been killed in lone bulf attacks.

HUJI outfit is predominantly active in Bangladesh and adjoining areas of India. Khalida Zia government was supporting them. The present government under Sheikh Hasina is taking strict action against the members of this outfit. ISIS terrorist outfit is also active and a temple pujari has been killed in Dhaka by the activists of ISIS. ULFA and NDFB groups have hideouts in Bangladesh. ULFA has deposited over 400 crores worth of extortion money in two Bangladesh banks i.e. Sonali and Rupali. About 90 militant cadres training camps were operating in Bangladesh alongwith the Indian Border. Government of India had
informed Bangladesh government to take action against them and necessary action has been taken by Sheikh Hasina Government to some extent.  

2.2.26 AFGHANISTAN

Afghanistan was founded in 1747 by Durani Pastun Ahmed Shah Abdali. Afghanistan is regarded as centre for training for world-wide terrorist activities. During Taliban regime, Al-Qaida under Osama Bin Laden was all powerful. Talibans were responsible for bombing two US embassies in East Africa. World Trade Centre in New York was destroyed by Al-Qaida/Talibans. Talibans means the students of Islam and are from Sunni sect. NATO under US attacked Afghanistan and Taliban government was replaced by Hamid Karzai government. But still, the Talibans are ruling the roost. Osama Bin Laden has been killed in Pakistan and now Al-Zawahiri is heading the Al-Qaeda. ISI is financing and training the Taliban and Pakistan talks of good Talibans and bad Talibans. The persons in thousands have been killed in Afghanistan. Two Indian informers, Sh. K. Suryanarayanan and M.R. Kutty have been beheaded by Taliban. Indian embassy in Afghanistan and Jalalabad have been attacked.

2.2.27 CHECHANYA

Chechanya is suffering from the terrorist activities. There are many Islamic groups, which are fighting against Russiaia. Basayev was a popular leader of the war-lords, who have been killed recently. Russia, Israel, Lebanon, Pakistan etc are facing the problem of terrorism. Many Islamic outfits are involved in the terrorist attacks and many thousands have been killed. Tajakistan, Uzbekistan, Spain, Algeria, Georgia, America, Libya and Nigeria have not been spared from terrorism and ISIS is very active in some areas. Therefore, the problem of terrorism is global & hence global terrorism.

2.2.28 WAHHABISM

Wahhabism, a revivalist movement of Sunni Islam initiated by Modh. Ibn Abd al-wahhab (1703-1792) from Najd (SA). The interpretations of Islam was questioned by him. The Wahhabis demand a return to golden age of Islam and the Caliphate. Wahhabi movement considers Islam a ‘code of life’ and not a religion, much the same way RSS describes Hindutva as a ‘way of life’. Wahhabism was fully supported by Maulana Maudidi of JEI in India and Syed Qutb of Muslim Brotherhood in Egypt. Al Qaida and other militant groups supported Wahhabism which ratified the severe punishments such as beheading and stoning to death of people who did not strictly follow the shariat. Wahhabis advocated ban

87 Kumar, Ashok, Dynamics of Global Terrorism, K.K. Publications, New Delhi, 2014 p.146
88 Id pp. 147-160
on music & Sufi Islam.\textsuperscript{89}

Wahabi-Salafi Stream of Islam from 50 different countries are fighting in Iraq & Syria to support their brand of Islam and Caliphate. Five Islamic/Arab countries including Saudi Arabia are aligned to USA against ISIS. Ayameen al Zawahiri declared that Al-Qaida is opening an office in Indian sub-continent (AQIS). Harkat-Ul-Mujahideen is lending full support to AQIS. A recent ISIS video says that the Islamic State is expanding and that Jerusalem’s Aqsa Mosque is only a stone’s throw away. Al Qaida’s office in Indian subcontinent should be taken seriously as HKUM, HUJI, SIMI and IM are supporting Al Qaida. One Sheikh Asim Umar is named Emir of AQIS. The main IM operative Riyaz Bhatkal is close to LeT & TTP. India built Chahbahar port in Iran linking Dilaram (Afghanistan) for onward linkage to Central Asian countries.

Wahabi-Salafi Stream of Islam from 50 different countries to have a Caliphate is discussed lateron.

JEI, the main Islamic political party in Bangladesh aim to convert Bangladesh into an Islamic State. The Jama’at Ul Mujahedeen Bangladesh (JMB) another Islamic group shared the ideology of JEI. JMB has great influence on leaders, students and madrasas and in a way support Al-Qaeda. The Isami Chhatra Shibir (ICS), the Student wing of JEI in Bangladesh is one of the largest student organization in Bangladesh. Hifazat-i-Islam of Bangladesh led by Deoband trained Ahmed Shafi is a strong advocate of Wahhabism. HUJI in Bangladesh is strong supporter of Talibans. Religious fundamentalism is being propagated by these groups. Hindu, Christians, and Jews are perceived as enemies of Islam. The Taliban & Emir, Mullah Fazl-ur-Rahman once declared that even a dog killed by American Troops should be considered a martyr. Al Qaida and other Muslim religious organizations based in Pakistan have urged the Muslims in India to join global Jihad and take up arms against Indian State. Wahhabis, had asked the Indian Muslims to use the word Allah (Arab word) in place of Khuda (a Persian word for God). SIMI in 2001 had given a call to set up Islamic Caliphate in India. However, the impact of Tablighi Jamaat, Ahle Hadidh, the Gujarat Muslim Revenge Force, the Muslim Defense Force and the Islamic Defense force is very minimal on Muslims in India.

Two homegrown Islamic groups, the Jama’atul Mujahedeen Bangladesh (JMB) and the Jagrata Muslim Janta Bangladesh (JMJB) were responsible for terror attacks within Bangladesh. HUJI-B was behind most of the terror attacks across the borders. In

\textsuperscript{89} Karim, Afsir (Ed), Aakrosh, Thomson Press, Noida, Oct 2014 pp.3-4
Bangladesh, there is no presence of Al-Qaida but HUJI-B, JMJB and Hefajat-e-Islam outfits are trying to facilitate the entry of Al-Qaida.\textsuperscript{90}

Arabs spring came in Tunisia in December 2010. Wahabbi-Salafi stream of Islam from 50 different countries are fighting in Iraq & Syria to support their brand of Islam and Caliphate. Five Islamic/Arab countries including Saudi Arabia is aligned to US against ISIS.

Ayman Al-Zawaheri declared that Al-Qaida was opening an office in Indian Subcontinent (AQIS). Mohd. Asif, its leader arrested in 2015 has given the details of the activities of this group. The Chief of AQIS is Asim Umar of Sambhal (UP), who is hiding in Pakistan. BJP leaders and government installations are the targets of this group. Most of the Al Qaida members are shifting their loyalties to ISIS\textsuperscript{91}. HUM is lending full support to AQIS. A recent ISIS Video says that the Islamic State is expanding and that Jerusalem’s Aqba Mosque is only a Stone’s throw away. Al Qaida operating AQIS in Indian subcontinent should be taken seriously as HUM, HUJI, SIMI &IM, all outfits are supporting Al-Qaida. One Sheikh Asim Umar is named Emir of AQIS. IM operates in Pakistan i.e. Riyaz Bhatkal, Amir Reza Khan, Boda Sajid & Mirza Shadag Beig groups is close to TTP & Al Qaida in FATA (Pak).

India built Chahbahar port in Iran leading to Dilaram (Afghanistan) for onward linkage across Oxus, thus alternative transit route to Afghanistan. Hezbollah is Sunni Organization in Lebanon. HAMAS is Shia with Iran with Green Flag of HAMAS and Yellow flag of Hezbollah, both are dead set against Israel.

Pakistan launched a joint military attack ZeA i.e. ZARB-E-AZB by the security forces against various militant groups including Tehrik-e-Taliban of Pakistan (TTP, LeJ, Jundullah and Al Qaida). The offensive was a great success but TTP attacked the Peshawar Army School that killed 131 school children & 10 teachers. No action has been taken against Hafeez Saeed & Zaki-Ur-Rahman Lakhvi earlier arrested, was released on bail. Pakistan is describing Taliban as good Talibans & bad Talibans. Still Pakistan is not serious against the terrorists inspite of loss of hundreds of precious lives.\textsuperscript{92}

Khalistani militants in Punjab, Maoist groups in Central India, ULFA in Assam, NSCN in Nagaland, Manipur & Arunachal Pradesh are highly active. They need funds for weapon & for other organizational and operationlise requirements. Al Qaida spends only 10% on operations of militancy & 90% is mainly used for the network infrastructure,

\textsuperscript{90} Ibid PP 4, 5
\textsuperscript{91} Karim, Afsir (Ed), Aakrosh, Thomson Press, Noida, Jan 2016, pp. 73-74
\textsuperscript{92} Id pp. 6-7, 23
facilities, organizations, communication and protection.

In order to raise funds, kidnapping and extortions are done by the militants i.e. KFR – Kidnapping For Ransom and KFS – Kidnapping for Swap i.e. to exchange the people/terrorists in custody.93 HUJI, Kandhar case pertains to KFS. Indian Mujahedeen’s Riyaz Bhatkal, Asif Razakhan and Aftab Ansari indulged in KFR. ULFA, NDFB, Karbi People’s Liberation Front (KPLF) and Kamtapur Liberation Organization (KLO) indulge in KFR. Also NSCN (IM & K), NLFT, PLA (Manipur), Kanglei Yawal Kanka Lup (KYKL), Kangleipak Communist Party (KCP) and People’s Revolutionary Party of Kanglei pak (PREPAK), all indulge in KFR. ISI and various Pak terrorist outfits trained more than a lac Afghan and Pak Mujahedeen who fought govt. troops in Afghanistan. ISI supported more than 30 terrorist organizations like HUJI, HUM LeT, LeJ, JeM, HM, Hizbe-Islami, Al Qaida, Talibans etc. The aim of ISI and these outfits is to have an Islamic state in South Asia after converting and slaughtering the so called infidels in the region. Hizbe-i-Islami of Gulabdin Hekmatyar refused to cooperate with ISI as it wanted full control over Afghanistan. TTP was formed in 2007 out of many defiant outfits active in Pak and Afghanistan. It is a Sunni Deobandi outfit having close links with Al-Qaida. ISI initially helped TTP and TTP wants to overthrow democratic elected govt and promulgate Nizam-e-Mustafa in the country. It has about 20000 cadre strength. TNSM (Tehrik-e-Nafaz-e-Shariat-e-Mohammadi) has about 5000 cadre and was founded by Sufi Mohd in 1992 but was banned by Pervez Musharraf. It has influence along Pak-Afghan border especially in Swat, Malaband, Dargai etc.

LeT was founded by Hafiz Saeed and others in 1992. It is headquartered at Muridkee near Lahore and it is the most dangerous outfit. It is involved in 2001 Indian Parliament and 2008 Mumbai attacks. ISI is actively supporting this.

Sipah-i-Sahaba of Pak (SSP) is a hard core Sunni organization and was formed in 1985. Its militant wing is Laskhar-e-Jahangvi (LeJ), that came into existence in 1996, mostly dominated by Punjabis. It is involved in attack on Shias and was proscribed in 2002. It is armed with most deadly weapons. It is banned by several countries of Europe, America, Canada, India, Russia and UN.

Al Qaida and its various outfits like Qaida-UR-Jihad, Black Guard, 055 Brigade and Libyan Islamic Jihad aim to establish Islamic rule. Al Qaida wants to establish true Islamic State. Hizb-i-Islami Gulubdin (HIG) was created by Gulubdin Hekmatyar in 1977 with the blessings of ISI. ISI considers it to be ‘Good Talibans’. It was given sufficient time to leave

93 Karim, Afsar (Ed.), Aakrosh, Thomson Press Noida, Jan 2015, p. 64
North Waziristan before launching Zarb-e-Azb by Pak Army.\textsuperscript{94}

Jaish-e-Mohd was founded by Maulana Masood Azhar after release through Kandhar hijacking. It is anti India & anti US outfit. It was banned in 2007. HUM is a splinter group of HUJI and is led by Dr. Badr Munir. It supports Pak on Kashmir issue that whole of J&K is of Pak. This outfit has trained a large number of terrorists. Apart from above, there are several other terrorist outfits like Hizb-i-Khalis, Islamic Movement of Uzbekistan or Islamic Party of Uzbekistan, Islamic Jehad group of Uzbekistan. Turkistan-al-Islamiya, The Iranian Revolutionary Guerillas, The Jalaludin Haqqani Network, HM, Jaish-e-Mohd Muzahideen, E-Tanjeem, Tehrik-e-Jihad-e Islami, Tehrik-e Zafria Pakistan, Al-Umar Mujaheedeen, JuM, Jamaat-Ul-Fuqra, Al-Mujaheedeen, Al-Badar, Al-Mustafa Muslim United Army, Mahaz-e-Azadi, JKLF, J&K Students Liberation Front, J&K Liberation Army, Tehrik-e-Hurriyat-e-Kashmir, Popular Front for Armed Resistance, Tehrik-e-Nifz-e-Fiqar Zafaria, Harkat-Ul-Mujahedeen Al Amali, Ikhwan-Ul-Mujahedeen, Al-Jehad Force, Tehrik-Ul Muzahideen, People’s League, Al Barq, Al Jehad, Mulsim Muzahideen, Inqalabi Mahaz.\textsuperscript{95} Prominent trash that finance terrorists are A.L. Rashid Trust, Al Akhtar Trust, Rabita Trust, Umimah Tamir-e-Nau Trust etc.

During the last around 10 years, over 20000 civilians have been killed by the terrorists, over 30000 terrorists killed and 16000 security personal have been killed in Pakistan. In Army Peshwar Schook attack on Dec 16, 2014, 130 students and 10 teachers were killed.

Shias, which is 20-25\% of Pak Population have opposed islamization of Pakistan. They oppose the Shariat laws in the country. Jundullah is Taqfiri outfit and believes in the Caliphate and do not recognize Shias as Muslims. Jundullah is close to TTP.

\textbf{The Islamic State (ISIS)} –ISIS under Abu Bakar had set up a separate state out of Syria and Iraq. But now it is losing the base. Daesh is striving to revive seventh century Caliphate of Abu Bakar under IS leader Awaad-Al-Badri under his Non de Guerre, “Abu Bakar Baghdadi”. The serial bomb blasts in November 13, 2015 in Paris which killed more than 130 persons & injured 368 person sent shockwaves throughout the world and seven IS terrorists were shot dead. On Dec 2, 2015, a married couple of Pak killed 14 persons & injured 22 injured in US. Many young boys are joining IS in USA & adjoining countries. 30 Indian boys have also joined IS. IS is a salafi organisation of Wahabi faith of Sunni Islam. Now IS has 30000 soldiers & control more than 30000 square kms of area in Iraq & Syria. IS has

\textsuperscript{94} Karim, Afsir (Ed.), Aakrosh, Thomson Press Noida, Oct 2014, P-3,4

\textsuperscript{95} Karim, Afsir (Ed.), Aakrosh, Thomson Press Noida, Oct 2016, pp. 8-10,16-17
increased its influence in Algeria, Lebanon, Libya, Mali, South Sudan & Tunisia.

Boko Haram founded in 2002 has also pledged allegiance to IS. Baghdadi declared that it wanted to establish Islamic kingdoms which will include Afghanistan, Commonwealth of Independent States (CIS), Iran, Pakistan and India. Boko haram a Nigerian based terrorist group means that the Western Education is a sin and is strictly forbidden. It has emerged as a full fledged Salafist-Jihadi terrorist organization by 2009. It is quite active in social media & has attracted terrorists belonging to several Islamic terrorist organizations like TTP, LeT, JeM, HUM, HUJI, Al Badr, HM & SIMI. IS flag was flown several times in Srinagar. Saudi Arabia has declared to fight IS and called for association of alliance of 34 Muslim counties with Riyadh as base. India should not directly involve in fight against IS, but should extend all out support to countries fighting IS.\textsuperscript{96}

There is a strong foothold of ISIS in Afghanistan. Al-Pak is a big base of ISIS activists, of course having close link with Talibans. Lashkar-e-Jhangvi aided by Al Qaida is active in Baluchistan.

More than 200 terrorist groups are active in the region including IM, SIMI, LeT, ISIS, Al-Badar, HM, HUJI, HUM, TTP and Al-Qaida. These groups have covert support from ISIS. There is a real threat to India from Islamic Terrorist organizations and Government should chalk out long strategy to tackle these deadly terrorist outfits. Security agencies should modernize their techniques and person of minority communities should not be arrested only on suspicion. More money should be spent on education and providing basic amenities to them.\textsuperscript{97}

IS/ISIS/ISIL/Daesh is resorting to havoc in Iraq & Syria. Abu-Bakar-Al-Baghdadi has declared himself as “Caliph” (a ruler of Muslim community, a political & religious successor of Prophet Mohd.) heading the Caliphat (a political and religious state led by a Caliph). Al Qaida in Iraq (AQI) “Jihadi group in Iraq founded by Abu Musab al Zangawi, after USA’s invasion in Iraq and Jafhat al-Nusra also known as Musra Front, a Jihadi group against Assad in Syria, joined hand under Baghdadi, who was in Bocca Prison in Iraq in 2007 under USA. Boko Haram, a fundamentalist Jihadi group in Nigeria close to ISIS & Al-Qaida is indulging in mass scale kidnappings, killings, and extortion in Nigeria and adjoining countries. The main aim of Boko Haram activities is to have an Islamic State in the North of Nigeria.\textsuperscript{98}

Al Shabab group is active in Somalia. Al Qaida under Ayyaman al Zawahiri (after

\textsuperscript{96}Id pp. 75-77
\textsuperscript{97}Karim, Afsir (Ed), Aakrosh, Thomson Press, Noida, January, 2016, pp. 63, 66
\textsuperscript{98}Jain Mahendru (Ed), Pratiyogta Darpan, October 2015, p. 78
Osama Bin Laden) is active in Afghanistan, Saudi Arabia, Pakistan, India & most of the countries in the Middle-East. TTP (Tehrik-e-Taliban of Pakistan), a splinter group of Taliban and linked to Al-Qaida is highly active in Pakistan & Afghanistan. Killings of 140 children & teachers by TTP in Army school of Peshawar in no way, can be justified. This is clear cut massacre of children to take the revenge of operation Zarb-e-Azab launched by Pak Army against the terrorists in Khyber Pakhtunkhwa Province in Pakistan. The Talibans under Umar Mansoor are carrying out terrorist operations in Pakistan & Afghanistan. LeT under Hafiz Sayeed and Lakhvi, Lashkar-e-Islam, JeM etc. terrorist outfits are active in Pakistan.

The recent terrorist incidents in France, England, Australia, Pakistan, Syria, Iraq, Nigeria etc. have shaken the world. The 21st century is experiencing a new form of bloodshed in the name of Islam & possible retaliation by the democratic forces. The Muslim Jihadis Baghdadi and Al-Zawahiri as their new pontiffs promising a paradise to the faithful bared its fangs in America, 9/11 fidayeen attack on WTC in New York, the Pentagon and the incident of 26-11-2008 of Mumbai are the worst forms of Jihad. 26/11 attack on Nariman Point, Taj Hotel, Oberoi Hotel and Railway Station in Mumbai, a Jihadi Work of LeT has credited an immense fear that no part of India is safe from the attacks of the terrorists.

2.3 TERRORISM AND INDIA

Terrorism strikes at the very heart of democracy. The essence of democracy is peace and peaceful ways of settling disputes and conflicts among people and nations. But today, most of the democratic societies all over the world are under threat of terrorism and it is not confined to a specific boundary but extends to what is termed as international terrorism or cross border terrorism. Plural and open democracies are the targets of the scourge of terrorism that strikes at the very root of tolerance and main stray of civil society in a free world. India has been battling with the surge in terrorism driven by religious extremism for many years. Behind every terrorism action is a cause and a political goal which could not be achieved or articulated through conventional methods of protest and agitation. The roots of terrorism lies in misery, frustration, and sense of injustice arising from neglected causes and political objectives which the terrorist bring in to public focus by symbolic acts of violence, invariably directed against innocent targets.

India is facing threat to its democracy due to terrorist activities by internal and external forces especially from neighbouring countries. India has been facing cross-border terrorism especially in Punjab & J&K. Now we are facing rising religious fundamentalism

100“Terrorism in India” – A background, The Competition Master, Feb 2002, P-629
tarnishing democratic and secular fabric. India’s social structure has been a unique blend of
diverse religious, cultures and ethnic groups. Despite these numerous social, cultural,
religious and social diversities, India still, remains a strong unified society. The more
dangerous aspect has been ruthless use of communal and ethnic considerations by political
parties for short term and narrow political gains.

Punjab has faced terrorism, which faced violence over a decade. J&K is facing the
insurgencies since 1989. The North-Eastern states are confronting insurgent movements
rooted in ethnicity and sub-nationalism. Every militant movement has a distinct identity
moulded by its geopolitical and socio-economic context. Terrorism in Punjab was different
from the ongoing insurgency in J&K, while the North-Eastern insurgency has little in
common with either. However, all those movements shared a common genesis of
misgovernance of the state reflected in the unresponsiveness of the administration to the
demands and grievances of the people and the inaction of the establishment.101

India has also been a victim of cross-border terrorism. Pak (ISI)’s role in spreading the
terrorist activities in J&K and Punjab is well known. In J&K, Pak has taken the recourse of
Jehad to fulfil its long term policy of securing Kashmir from India. The blueprint of
aggression against Kashmir drawn up in 1947-48, continues to be followed in 1965, which
led to the Indo-Pak war of 1965 and Kargil offences of 1999 confirm that Pak prefers to
follow a policy of confrontation & exporting a terror in Kashmir. The North-Eastern regions
of India comprising seven states of Assam, Arunachal Pradesh, Manipur, Meghalaya,
Mizoram, Nagaland and Tripura continuous to be in turmoil, even as evidence of growing
linkages between certain insurgents outfits and the IS has emerged.102

2.3.1 GENESIS OF TERRORISM IN INDIA

In India, since eleventh century, a group called thugs killed around one million people
strangulating their victims with a silk tie. This group claimed allegiance to goddess Kali and
killed people to supply her blood for nourishment. This group was destroyed by the British in
the nineteenth century. After thug movement, the state terrorism by Moughals and English is
well known. The freedom fighters who fought for independence from English yoke were
tortured and killed rating them as terrorists. Because of ethnic and subnational problems,
various terrorists groups like ULFA, NSCN, NDFB-S, MNF, ATTF, KNA, TNV etc have
gone active in North-Eastern States and are indulging in large scale violence. Now CPI
(Maoists) is highly active in nine states as the tribal youth feels that they are poor and

101 Ibid
102 Id
injustice is being done to them in grabbing their land. Dr. B.R. Ambedkar has rightly said, “Question is not whether community lives or dies, the question is on what plan it lives. There are different modes of survival but all are not equally honourable. For an individual, merely living and living worthly to fight in a battle and to live in a gloom is one mode, to beat or retreat to surrender and to live the life of a captive is also a mode of survival.”

Kashmir problem is well known and J&K is acutely facing cross-border terrorism. Now HM, LeT and JeM outfits are highly active in J&K. Situation will be normal only when cross-border terrorism is curbed effectively. At least 232 out of country’s 676 districts in India are afflicted by various insurgent and terrorist movements.

India, a Kaleidoscope of diverse faiths, religions, sex and socio-economic practices has always witness to fanaticism arising out of such diversity. Right from the inception of the Indian democracy, the hydra headed beast of terrorism has raised its ugly head. Critical events are on the horizon in several areas, the most burning is the terrorism and violence. This all is because there is general atmosphere of disenchantment. This has led to the outbreak of seprist and fissiparous tendencies in the country. The Naxalite movement in the central India is practically a revolt in the system. Another manifestation has been the social tensions. The politicians exploited the Mandal commission and interstate tensions. All these things have manifested in terrorism and violence. The society having the social conscience has to awaken and rise against all the social evils including corruption. Violence as distinct from terrorist violence, in its purely physical sense, is generally used by an individual, a group of persons or a mob in furtherance of personal ends or as a means for the release of its pent up emotions. Terrorism is an act of violence to achieve the political, social and economic goals. Walter defined violence as distinctive harm including not only physical assault that damage the body but also many techniques of inflicting harm by mental or emotional means. Violence is always a social construction and it is generally understood as unmeasured or exaggerated harm to individuals, either not socially prescribed or beyond established limits. Man and violence have always co-existed from time immemorial. Violence is rooted in history. Gells says that violence is an adaption of response to shifting stress which produces frustration, which often followed by violence, grouped theory of violence in to three categories i.e. (1) those that involved psychological variables, (2) those that involve social structural variables and (3) those which seek the causes in contemporary society’s cultural association and values. All these can be considered under 3 levels i.e. individual, social and international

103 Om Parkash, S; Roots of Riots, Kanishka Publishes & Distributors, New Delhi, 1997. P. 15
level. Violence can be arrested by social control i.e. manipulation of rewards and deprivation, sealing of certain types of deviant behaviour and contingent re-integration.

2.3.2 NATURE OF CONFLICT IN INDIA

India is the largest democracy and the second most populist country in the world. It is the largest country in SAARC (South Asian Association for Regional Cooperation) region. India shares land borders with 5 countries except Sri Lanka and Maldives. It shares a maritime boundary with Sri Lanka. India is a multi-racial, multi-ethnic, multi-religious and multi-linguistic country. The ethnic composition of India’s numbering over 1.2 billion population reveals that the Hindus constitute the vast majority and the Muslims comprised the largest minority followed by Sikhs, Christians, Parsees and Buddhists. Until early 1960s, the nature of conflict was confined to riots based on linguistic basis, making Hindi the national lingua franca etc. The subsequent period has witnessed conflict having communal dimensions, particularly between Hindus and Muslims with the occasional exception of anti-Sikh riots in 1984 and scattered incidents of anti-Christian riots. The horrific anti-Muslim riots in Gujarat aftermath of Sabarmati express incident at Godhra were shocking. Mostly, the Muslims have suffered in the communal riots and also around 3000 Sikhs were killed in merciless fashion in 1984.

Even among the Hindus, caste based conflict prevails particularly between upper castes and Dalits. Atrocities have been committed on dalits in many parts of the country.

Viewed in broad perspective, violence is usually regarded as characteristics of society in a period of social and political transition. The uneasy nature of relations between India and Pakistan on certain issues, including the Kashmir issue have remained unsolved. This is manifested into cross-border terrorism in Punjab, J&K and many other parts in India. Jehadi Groups try their best to hamper the on-going peace process between the two countries. Naxal violence poses a serious threat to India’s internal security. MCC, PWG and CPI (ML) have spearheaded the violence in central India. The North-East region of India consisting of Arunachal Pradesh, Assam, Manipur, Meghalya, Mizoram, Nagaland and Tripura States are in the grip of these terrorist organizations. ULFA, NSCN, BNF and IM are highly active insurgent groups in North East.104

India is a democratic country but it is one of the most heterogeneous societies in the world. There are various classes, castes, communities and there is not much common between North & South and East and West. The growing political and economic factors lead to growing tendency to take law in one’s own hands in order to stir the authority to take

cognizance of the situation. The role of the media is also not objective as it glorifies the violence.\textsuperscript{105}

It was an emotional exploitation of the youth by Bhinderanwale whose basic objective was an independent and sovereign theocratic state. The demand for Khalistan was as much anti-Sikh as it was anti-India. The Macmohan line separates north-east India from Tibet. It is bounded by Bhutan, China, Bangladesh and Myanmar. The north-east is inhabited by tribes who have ethnic and cultural links with the adjoining countries. Barring the Khasis and Jaintais of Meghalaya, almost all the hill tribes belong to the linguistic fold of Tibeto-Burma sub family. The conflict in North-East India is as old as free India. Twenty Four Hours before the independence of India, the Nagas declared themselves independent. Decade later, the Mizos rose in armed revolt against the union. Meiti Hindus of Manipur wanted a separate state. Tripura National Volunteers (TNV) carried an insurgency which ended with signing an accord with Central Govt. in 1988. Now ULFA is highly active and is indulging in insurgent activities. Bodo National Front (BNF) wants separate Bodo Land. Songabjit faction of NDFB-S has been the most active in Assam. Its membership is around 300. In 2014, this group killed 37 persons in Assam.

Lashkar-e-Taiba is the militant wing of Markze-Dawa-Wal-Irshad (Centre for spiritual unity) based in Muridke near Lahore in Pakistan. JuD is the youth wing of MDWI. The main aim of LeT as given out by Mohd. Hafiz and Zaki-Ur-Rahman Lakhvi is to partition India into many parts to take revenge of separating Bangladesh from Pakistan. The terrorist are told that they should take shelter in Ahle-Hadith Masjids. They committed very heinous crime in India like blasts in Punjab, Delhi, Hyderabad and Mumbai, 26/11 attack in Mumbai, attack on Parliament and killings in J&K, Delhi, Gujarat& Mumbai. MI is highly dreaded group which is now very active in South India through Bhatkal Brothers.

Hizb-Ul-Mujahidin, the origin of this group is Jammat-e-Islami in Pak and is highly active in J&K. This group is having training camps in Pak occupied Kashmir (POK). Some other important Muslim fundamentalist groups active in J&K and Northern parts of India are Harkat-Ul-Ansar, Al Jehad Force, Ikhwan-Ul-Musalmeen, J&K Islamic Front, Tehriquul Muzahidin and Khalistan Zindabad Force (KZF)\textsuperscript{106}, Sikh Militant outfits active were KCF (Khalistan Commando Force), KLF (Khalistan Liberation Force), BTFK (Bhindrawale Tigers Force of Khalistan), KNA (Khalistan National Army), KZF (Khalistan Zindabad Force), AISSF (All India Sikh Students Federation), Babbars etc.

\textsuperscript{105} Work Book on Terrorism – 2000-issued by Delhi Police, p. 22
\textsuperscript{106} Ibid

In Left Wing Extremism, the primary manifestation of problems of tribal areas is in the left wing extremism i.e. sweeping through the tribal regions of the central and peninsular India. Naxalism has started as an agrarian rebellion by the Sauthal tribals of Naxalbari in West Bengal in the year 1967. This re-surfaced in 1980 with the rise of People’s War Group and Maoist Communist Centre. In 2004, PWG and MCC merged to form the CPI (Maoist). The spatial growth of LWE has therefore been dramatic and alarming. Large scale displacement of tribal population by major hydro-electric projects and extensive mining in jungle areas have led to the 3rd phase of LWE. It has now affected over 250 districts and 18 states. Of this, the core of the insurgency is focussed in Chhattisgarh and Jharkhand with significant activity level in Bihar, AP, Maharashtra and Orissa. Casualty ratio between the security forces and naxalites is rising high. Maoists now talk of Red Corridor or the Compact Revolutionary Zone (CRZ) that stretches from Pashupati in Nepal to Triputi in AP. Left Wing Extremism is primarily a Tribal insurgency. It is prevalent in North-East also. LWE has tied down two to six Divisions of Indian Army and a large number of PMF and police forces. 85% of tribal population is living in central India and hence very serious security implications. Rise in population is leading to unemployment and thus more and more youth will be drawn towards criminality and extremism. We have to redress the tribal problems and at the same time, tough action is required against the hard core elements/extremists.\(^\text{107}\)

The security forces in India operated at technological level that date back to the early 20\(^{th}\) century or at best to the post World War-II of colonial era. Now We have woken upto the cellular phone technology. The potential for misuse and abuse of cellular communication by criminals and terrorists was not only evident, but substantially documented in many of the countries well before the cell phone found early in India.\(^\text{108}\) Security forces were really amazed when the terrorists used this technology in terrorism. The Iridium technology further caught intelligence agencies by surprise. In Weapon technology, Kalashnikov Assault Rifles, RDX, Sophisticated timing devices, shoulder fire rockets, missiles, unmanned aerial vehicles (UAV) and other low intensity warfare material are easily available and it caught the security forces unprepared.

\(^{107}\) Nayak, G.L., Addl DGP Chhatisgarh, Report on LWE-2010

2.3.3 ECONOMIC ASPECTS BEHIND GROWING TERRORISM IN INDIA

The rising disparities and high cost of living are creating imbalance in society. The land prices are going high and it is beyond the reach of a common man to have his own house. There is vicious circle of price rise and investment in unproductive activities. It is generally accepted that there is link between the economic disparities and the level of social tensions. Prevailing economic injustice since long is the major cause of terrorism among various communities and groups. There is a race among the middle classes to get richer and richer. Some sections are appropriating the gain and some are sidelined in respect of common growth which leads to the tension in the society.

Terrorism in India can be attributed to India’s many low intensity conflicts within its borders. If terrorism can be defined as peacetime equivalent of war crimes, then these states of low intensity conflicts are prime spots for terrorism in India. The regions with long-term terrorist activities today are J&K, Central India (Naxalism) and seven sister states (Independence and autonomy movements). Punjab insurgency led to lot of crime in Punjab, Haryana, Delhi and U.P. There were serial blasts in Delhi, about half a dozen times. The increased terrorist activities all pointing to Islamic terrorism have given rise to right wing terrorism i.e. Samjhauta Express Blast, Malegaon blast, Ajmer Sharif Blast and Hyderabad Masjid blast by Hindu Chauvinists, Pragya etc. This all led to violence in Gujarat i.e. Godhra riots etc. Mumbai blasts, Delhi blasts, Varanasi blasts etc were not against Indian state but were aimed to trigger a Hindu-Muslim schism. Foreign state agencies were involved and the terrorists activities have gone up significantly after 1990 following the involvement of Pakistan Govt. under the cover of ISI and the Islamic Militant groups armed, trained and financed by Pakistan/ISI.

2.3.4 BIHAR

In Bihar, certain groups like CPI (ML), People’s war Group, MCC, Ranvir Sena and Balbir Militia are a major concern as they frequently attack local policemen and politicians. Poor governance and the law & order system in Bihar have helped increase the menace caused by the Militias. Ranvir Sena is a militia of forward caste landowners which is taking on the might of powerful naxalities in the area. The state has witnessed many massacres by this group and retaliatory action by the Naxalites. The main victims are the helpless people, who are killed in caste massacres. The state police is not equipped to face the highly trained and armed terrorist groups. The main reason of terrorism in Bihar is huge

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110 Id pp. 39-40
disparity among different caste groups. After partition, land reforms were not implemented and the landless could not get the due share of land. CPI (ML), MCC & PWG exploited this and instigated the poor people to take up arms against the establishment which is prorich and high castes people. The high caste people formed their own army Ranvir Sena to take on the naxalities. There were many massacres between these groups and police remained a mist spectator as it had no means to counter these groups. Now Ranvir Sena is weakened with the arrest of its top leaders. Sometimes, the politicians also use these groups for their advantages. There is a strong suspicion that Bihar is also being used as a transit point by the drug dealers & fake currency mafia, entering from Nepal. The terrorists are repeatedly infiltrating to India through Nepal and Bangladesh borders.

2.3.5 U.P.

U.P. was in the grip of terrorism, especially in the areas adjoining Haryana, Delhi and Rajasthan. Most of the Punjab terrorist took refuge in the Tarai areas of UP and indulged in extortions. The Ayodhya issue finally culminated in a terrorist attack on Ram Janam Bhoomi Temple on July 5, 2005 and 6 dreaded terrorists of LeT were killed, which was alleged to be the mastermind of Dawood Ibrahim. 20 persons were killed and 50 injured in serial blasts in Varansi on March 7, 2006. HUJI group is reported to be behind this. Of course, HUJI is linked to ISI of Pakistan. On November 23, 2007; 13 people were killed and 59 injured in Varanasi, Faizabad and Lucknow blasts. On January, 2008; terrorists attacked Rampur CRPF camp and killed seven Jawans. On December, 2010 in Varanasi blast, one person killed & 20 injured. 12 persons were injured in a blast in reception area of Jai Hospital in Agra. Thus U.P. is on the hit list of various terrorist groups. Some recruits of IM are reported to have been arrested in U.P. especially in Rampur area.

2.3.6 DELHI

Most of the terrorist’s attacks in Delhi were carried out in retaliation of killing of Sikhs after the assassination of Indira Gandhi by her security guards. After this, Arjun Das, Lalit Maken & his wife were killed in Delhi by Sikh terrorists. In 1985, the transistor bombs were planted in buses, shopping centres and Railway Stations, killing and injuring innocent persons. Places of social functions of Hindus were targeted. The top terrorists of Babbars, Laldip Singh Bittu was killed by the security forces in Paschim Vihar area. About two dozen innocent persons were killed between 1997 to 2000. On June 18, 2000; 2 security personnel were killed in Red Fort. Three explosions in Delhi on October 24, 2005; took the lives of 60 people and injured 200. In the terrorists attack on Parliament on 13th December, 2001; 8

111 Kumar, Ashok (Dr.); Dynamics of Global Terrorism, KK Publishers, New Delhi, 2014 p.194
security personnel were killed & 6 terrorists killed. The main accused person Afzal Guru was hanged in 2013 in Delhi. On April 2006, a bomb exploded in Mosque in Delhi and many people were killed & injured. On December 18, 2006, three top LeT activists were arrested and heavy quantity of weapons & explosives recovered. In 2007, three top terrorists of LeT were arrested & weapons recovered. There were series of blasts on Sept 13, 2008 in Gaffar market, Karol Bagh, Greater Kailash and Connaught Place, killing 20 & injuring 100 persons. On September 19, 2008, two militants were killed and Inspector MS Sharma of Special Encounter Cell was also killed. On September 7, 2001, a high intensity brief case bomb exploded outside Delhi High Court and 11 killed & 90 injured. Earlier in 1993, Sh. M.S. Bitta was targeted, who escaped but 9 persons were killed in a blast in front of Indian Youth Congress Office. Delhi is still very vulnerable. I.M. Terrorists have easy access to the educational centres. JNU is under great controversy where anti national slogans & slogans in favour of Afzal Guru were raised in Feb, 2016.112

2.3.7 MAHARASHTRA

Maharashtra, especially Bombay being the financial capital of India was under constant attack from the terrorists. The first major attack was in Mumbai on March, 12, 1993, when 257 people killed and around 300 injured in serial blasts. This was the handiwork of D Company. Dawood Ibrahim, Tiger Menon is beyond the approach of Police. Other 100 accused persons have been convicted. In second major attack on July 11, 2006, the serial blasts ripped the sub-urban train in Mumbai killing 200 persons & injuring 714. LeT was behind the attack and the accused person were arrested later. On September 8, 2006; 37 persons killed & 200 injured in Mosque in Malegaon Town of Maharashtra, when the people were coming out of Namaj, when three bombs exploded. This is reported to be handwork of right hand extremists. Fourth major attack is infamous 26/11 attack on November 26, 2008; when 183 persons killed & 327 injured at Oberoi Hotel, Taj Hotel, Nariman and other places. There was a gun battle for about 60 hours between the terrorists & NSG & MHR police. One terrorist Kasab was arrested alive. The MHR Anti-Terrorism Squad Chief Hamant Kaskare IPS, Ashok Kamte Add Commissioner of Police, Mumbai, Vijay Salaskar Encounter Specialist and NSG Commando Sandip Unni Krishanan were killed. Property worth Rs. 4000 crores was destroyed. All the remaining terrorists were killed. Kasab was tried and hanged in Yervada Jail, Pune under Operation X. On February 13, 2010, a bomb ripped apart a bakery with foreign tourists in Pune, killing 12 persons including 4 foreigners and injuring many. Sixth major attack was on July 13, 2011, where three blasts in Zaveri Bazar, Opera House and

112 Id pp. 194-195
Dadar area killed 21 and injured 14 persons.

2.3.8 TAMILNADU

On 21st May, 1991, Rajiv Gandhi and 17 others were killed in Sriperumbudur in a woman fidayeen attack by LTTE. Tamil Nadu National Retrieval Troups (TNRT) was actively helping LTTE. A hand Grenade factory in Coimbtore and an explosive godown near Nellore in AP led to the arrest of three LTTE men in 1991. The Tamil Nadu Liberation Front (TNLF- a Marxist Leninist ideologic) shot in to prominence in 1987, when it had blown off the bridge on Coleroon River near Trichy.

2.3.9 MAJOR CHALLENGES IN INDIA

Independence was the happiest occasion, but it brought some inherited problems related to internal security. 113The issue of accessions of J&K state to India has been a simmering problem. The partition claimed a million lives in Punjab &West Bengal. This sowed the seeds of communalism and led to riots. Over the years, India’s internal security problems have multiplied due to linguistic riots, inter-state disputes, caste and ethnic tensions. The major challenges of internal security are as below:

1. Hinterland Terrorism – International and domestic
2. J&K Militancy & Terrorism
3. Insurgency in North-East
4. Leftwing Extremism
5. Organized Crime & its nexus with terrorism
6. Communalism
7. Caste and ethnic terrorism
8. Regionalism and inter-state disputes
9. Cyber crime and cyber security
10. Border Management
11. Coastal Security

In 1954, Phizo raised the banner of revolt in Nagaland and the fire spread to Mizroram, Manipur and Tripura. The later part of the sixties saw the rise of Naxalism. Because of poverty, unemployment and under development in the interior regions, we faced Naxalism/Maoism/Left-wing extremism. In 2006, Dr. Manmohan Singh, the then PM admitted that this was perhaps the biggest challenge to the country’s internal security. The eighties witnessed the growth of terrorist movement in Punjab, aided and abetted by a hostile

113 Kumar, Ashok and Vipual, Challenges to Internal Security of India, Mcgraw Hill Education Pvt. Ltd, New Delhi, 2015 pp. 3-4
neighbour. The nineties saw the beginning of militancy in J&K which has slowly became a Pan-India phenomenon, with the onslaught of international terrorism in the Hinterland during the past decade. The rise of Indian Mujahideen (IM) has been another dangerous phenomenon in the last decade. This has been supported by the unfriendly neighbour as is clear from 26/11 terror attack in Mumbai. Transnational organized criminals/mafias have given further boost to the international terrorism by forging linkages between organized crime and terrorism. Their funding and modus operandi has mainly been arms smuggling, drug trafficking, hawala transactions, money laundering and pumping of fake Indian Currency Notes (FICN) to different parts of the country.

Cyber security is the largest challenge. Any failure to check cyber attacks could be fatal to our country and its security. The Snowden revelations of 2013 have exposed the extent of espionage that is possible through cyber networks. The phenomenal growth of the internet and mobile communication has demonstrated that social media would play a vital role in spreading disinformation and fanning violence. The exodus of North-East students from the Southern States in 2012 and Muzaffarnagar riots in 2013 are some examples of the problem being created due to the fast growing communication systems. Border Management is very important to check the infiltration of the terrorist from across the border. Smuggling of arms, drugs and counterfeited coins from the adjoining countries should be our top priority.

2.3.10 FEW ROOT CAUSES OF VIOLENCE/ TERRORISM IN INDIA ARE
Unfriendly neighbours, poverty, unemployment, inequitable growth, widening gap between have and have nots, failure on administrative front or governance deficit, increasing communal divide, increasing caste awareness and caste tensions, rise of contentious politics based on sectarian, ethnic, linguistic or other divisive criteria, porous borders having very tough terrain, poor criminal justice system and large scale corruption leading to nexus between criminals, police and politicians with the result that organized crime goes on unabated.

Terrorism has become a global phenomenon. It is difficult to define terrorism as the terrorists in one country may be freedom fighters of other country. Secondly, some states sponsor terrorism in another country. However, it can be defined as:

“Terrorism is a state of terror, panic and fear psychosis, created by an individual or a group of people in order to force, coerce or blackmail the authorities, using violent methods to accept their demand or to attain political, religious or ideological goals.”
Classification of Terrorism-It can be classified into two categories\textsuperscript{114}

Terrorism by external state actors.

1. Terrorism by non-state actors.

**Terrorism by external state actors:** When any government directly or indirectly indulges in terrorism against its own people or the people of another country, it is referred to as terrorism by state actors. Also, terrorism against another country, whether in support of international terrorism or in order to destabilise that country, can be classified as “external state sponsored terrorism” Terrorism in J&K is a direct manifestation of state policy of Pakistan and ISI influence, while hinterland terrorism by Indian Mujahideen or SIMI is indirectly supported by ISI and the state of Pakistan. Hence, Pakistan which is an external state actor is challenging India’s internal security directly as well as indirectly. Similarly, the role of Bangladesh and Myanmar is also like an external state actor regarding the terrorism in North-Eastern states. Support to terrorism can be by various means such as financial, technical, arms, training, infrastructural support or ideological support.

**Terrorism by Non-State Actors:** In this case, the act of terrorism is performed by an individual or a group, which is not associated with or financed by any government. Non-State actors have generally no direct or indirect link with any government or governmental agency while pursuing their agenda though indirect linkages cannot be completely ruled out.

Naxalites, LTTE and North-East extremists are some examples of non-state actors. Many Important terrorist groups like LeT and IM also claim as non-state actors, but have defacto support from Pakistan. Though, Pakistan deny any support to the terrorist groups but the outfits operating in India from across the border cannot operate without the active support of Pakistan and ISI. The involvement of ISI in 26/11, Mumbai attack is well known. Their purpose is not only to destabilize the country but also to adversely affect the economy of the country. The flooding of Indian state with fake currency is also a way of weakening the economy. Therefore, the so called non-state actors operating from Pakistan are the proxies of the state, functioning under a clear charter of the enemy state policy.

2.3.11 CATEGORIZATION OF TERRORISM IN INDIA

**Terrorism in India can be broadly classified in to four categories.**

i. Hinterland terrorism

ii. J&K Militancy

iii. North-East Insurgency

\textsuperscript{114} Id pp.7-10
iv. Left-Wing Terrorism

2.3.12 GROWTH OF HINTERLAND TERRORISM

Terrorism spread all over the country within is called hinterland terrorism. The acts of terrorism are taking place without any specific reason. However, it is a well-planned, sequential and well-motivated growth of terrorism in India.

1. After facing defeat in 1971, Pakistan started the proxy war in India since the last three decades with the motto of bleeding India through thousand cuts.

2. The most deadly terrorist movement was started in Punjab as an alleged Khalistan movement in the eighties. The end design was to create a buffer state between J&K and rest of India.

3. Anti-India propaganda on religion basis was started in J&K. Terrorism in Kashmir is operated from POK and the terrorist organizations based on Islamic ideology are created, trained, inspired, financed and directed by ISI like LeT, JeM, HM etc.

4. Students Islamic movement of India (SIMI) was founded by Mohd Ahmadullah Siddiqui, a professor at Western Illinois University in USA at Aligarh in April 1977. The object of SIMI is to change India into an Islamic State through Jihad, and by forcefully converting others to Islam. In 1980s & 1990s, SIMI became highly militant and took a more radical posture & it was banned in 2001 under UA(P)A. SIMI was banned in 2006 in India. SIMI has more than 500 Ansars (full time workers) and more than 20000 Ikhwans (ordinary members). It has shahin force of young children. In the beginning, SIMI was the student wing of Jamaat-e-Islami Hind (JH) and now it has parted ways. IM & SIMI have close relationship & even they interchange the members as per necessity. A few fundamentalist organizations like National Democratic Front, the Islamic Youth Centre & Tamil Nadu Muslim Mannetra Kazhagm (TMMK), all work under the guidance of SIMI. SIMI has presence in several states especially in educational institutions of UP, MP, Chhatisgarh, Bihar, Jharkhand, Delhi, MHR, Gujarat, Kerala, TN, AP and Assam. SIMI gets recruitment from Madrassas. SIMI has close links with Harkat-Ul-Jihad-al Islami of Bangladesh (HUJI-B). The situation in India is serious as AQIS & IS is trying to have foothold through SIMI.

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115 Id p. 13
116 Karim Afsir (Ed); Aakrosh, Thomson Press, Noida, January, 2016 pp. 68-70
5. Babri Masjid demolition in 1992 and followed by blasts in Mumbai in 1993, gave impetus to the nefarious designs of ISI for spreading terrorism and communalism in India.

6. After the ban of SIMI by USA, it turned to the new name of IM, projecting to the outside world that this is an indigenous terrorist outfit. Doctored Gujarat riots videos were used by ISI to exploit communal sentiments of the Muslim community.

7. Radicalization was exploited after Muzaffar Nagar riots for recruiting young Muslim boys.

8. There have been extremist activities by reactionary right wing (saffron) extremist activities in 2006-07 in the form of bomb blasts in Malegaon, Mecca Masjid, Hyderabad; Ajmer Sharif and Samjhauta Express. Initially innocent Muslim youth were arrested in these cases. This resulted in heavy resentment in Muslims and gave another boost to radicalization of Muslim youth by ISI, LeT, SIMI, IM etc.

9. The Harkat-ul-Jehad-al-Islami of Bangladesh was also found involved in many terrorist attacks in India, specially in Kolkata.

Recently, the home grown terror outfit named as “Base movement” has come up in South India, which is responsible for explosives at the five judicial courts since April, 2016. The founder is N Abbas Ali (27) a painter in the temple city of Madurai. The aim is to Islamise the country. It is against IS but close to Al-Qaida. The explosion in the courts is due to alleged injustice unleashed by the courts against Muslims. The blasts in the courts were in Chittoor (AP), Kollam (Kerala), Mysuru (Karnataka), Nellore (AP) and Mallapuram (Kerala). The other associates are S. Suleiman, M. Samsum, Karim Raja, M. Mohd. Ayub Ali and Karuvyan Samsudeen, all followers of Salafi Sect. They never wanted to kill people but to send message of revenge. This group is close to Al-Ummah active in South India.117

Indian Security forces are doing good job in the fight against terrorism. NIA had a significant achievement when it arrested Yasin Bhatkal in 2013. Terrorists have no religion & religious leaders should not support them. Security forces should be trained to meet the modern requirements. Effective laws need to be drafted to help the judicial system to expedite the trial. Security apparatus needs to be modernized. Redundant & outdated laws must be repealed. Local population should be educated against the danger of terrorism. Local Police & Local area committees must be united to act against the menace of terrorism. We must win the confidence of the minority community. Propaganda of the security of social media should

117 The Hindu, December 1, 2016 P-9
be countered effectively. Steps should be taken to check the ISI abetting the terrorist outfits.118

2.3.13 IMPORTANT TERRORIST ATTACKS IN INDIA AFTER MUMBAI BLASTS

1. Series of 13 bomb blasts in Mumbai on March 12, 1993 that killed 257 and injured 1500 persons119.
2. Brahamputra mail train bombing in 1996 that killed 33 people.
3. The terrorists had targeted Sh. L.K. Advani in Coimbatore (Tamil Nadu) in 1998 and 58 people were killed and more than 200 injured.
4. Air India Flight AI-814 was hijacked in 1999 by HUM with active support from Talibans. 3 top terrorists from jail in J&K had to be released in exchange.
7. Attack on Indian Parliament on December 13, 2001 by LeT and JeM.
8. Attack on Akshardham Temple in Gujarat in 2002 by LeT & JeM.
10. 68 people killed in four separate attacks in Mumbai in 2003.
11. 70 persons killed in Delhi bombing, two days before Diwali on Oct 29, 2005.
13. Blasts in Mumbai in 2006 killing 209 people by LeT.
14. Varanasi bomb blasts on 7th March, 2006 in which 28 killed & over 100 injured.
15. Malegaon blasts by Right wing extremists in 2006, killing 37 persons.
16. Lucknow, Faizabad and Banaras attacks in court complexes in 2007 carried out by I.M.
19. Blasts in Jaipur, Ahmedabad, Banglore and Delhi in 2008 carried out by IM.
20. 171 person killed & above 300 injured in terrorist attack by LeT in Mumbai in 2008, popularly known as 26/11. One terrorist Ajmal Kasab was arrested, who was hanged after trial.
21. In Feb 2010, IM exploded bombs in Pune, killing 17 persons including some foreigners.

118 Karim Afsir (Ed); Aakrosh, Thomson Press, Noida, Jan 2016 pp. 78-80
119 Kumar, Ashok and Vipul; Challenges to Internal Security of India, Mcgraw Hill Education Pvt. Ltd., New Delhi pp. 10-11
22. 26 killed in serial bomb blasts by IM in Mumbai in 2011.
23. Attack in Delhi High Court Complex by IM in 2011, killing 12 persons.
24. 16 persons killed in Hyderabad bomb blasts by IM in 2013.
25. Bodh Gaya blasts in 2013 by IM.
26. Lt. Col. Bikramjit Singh alongwith eight other Army personnel killed in Sambha and Kathua on 26th September, 2013. Three terrorists were also killed in fight back.
27. Patna election rally blasts in 2014.
28. In 2014, in various ISI sponsored terrorists incidents in Badgam, Jammu, Bangalore, Chennai etc., more than 30 killed.
29. 11 Jawans of CRPF killed, four injured, 1 civilian killed and 20 injured by the Maoists in Sukma (Chhattisgarh) on 11th March, 2014.
30. 15 CRPF officials and election party killed in Bastar and Bijapur in Chhatisgarh on April 12, 2014.
31. S.P. Nityananda Goswami and his PSO killed in Bodoma area of Assam on 5th June 2014 by Karbi People’s Liberation Front and United People’s Liberation Front outfit.
32. 21 killed in Uri (J&K) in cross border terrorist incidents on 5th December 2014 (1 Col., 7 Army Jawans, 3 Policeman, 2 Civilians and 8 terrorists).
33. Over 78 persons killed (Adivasis) by NDFB (Bodo Militants) in Assam on 23rd December, 2014.
34. 4 policemen killed in Meghalaya on 8th March 2015 by Garo Terrorists Group.
35. 3 Army Jawans and 4 Rajput Regiment killed and 4 injured in an ambush in Nagaland near Myanmar Border on April 2, 2015 by NSCN-K group.
36. 7 killed & 12 injured of STF of Chhattisgarh Police in Sukma on April 11, 2015 in Maoist Attack.
37. 20 Jawans of 6 Dogra Regiment killed and 14 injured at Maltuk in Chandel District of Manipur on 4th June, 2015 by NSCN-K.
38. 6 civilians & 4 police officials including SP Baljit Singh were killed in Dinanagar Police Station attack on July 27, 2015 by LeT.
40. 4 terrorists of JeM attacked Pathankot Airbase on 02-01-16 (3.15 AM). 7 Defense Personnel were killed & all the terrorists were also killed. A Lt. Col. of NSG was also martyred in a blast.
41. 7 policemen killed in landmine blast in Chhattisgarh on 28.01.2016.
42. 10 people killed in Narayanpur District of Chhattisgarh on 27/28/29 February, 2016.
43. Six Army Jawans and a JCO killed in Chandel District of Manipur on 22.05.2016
44. 8 CRPF jawans killed & 28 injured near Pampore (J&K) near Srinagar on 28.06.2016.
45. 19 Army Jawans killed & over 26 injured at Uri on 18.09.2016 by LeT.
46. 10 jawans of CRPF Elite Force killed and many injured in IED Blast in Gaya (Bihar) on 18.07.2016.
47. 13 Civilians killed in grenade blast in Kokrajhar (Assam) by NDFB(S) on 05.08.2016
48. `Sh. Jagdish Gagneja Retd. Brigadier and RSS Vice President Punjab was killed in Jalandhar City in August 2016.
49. Car blast in Mour Mandi (Bhatinda) at the rally of Sh. H.S. Jassi Cong (I) candidate on 31.01.2017. 7 were dead & a dozen injured.
50. Fidayeen attack in Nagrota nd Sambha in Jammu Area on 29.11.2016. 7 Armymen including two majors and 6 terrorists killed. 5 BSF Jawans, one cop of J&K, BSF DIG injured.
51. 12 CRPF jawans killed & 4 injured in a blast in Sukna (Chhatisgarh) on 11.03.2017. Maoists are behind this.
52. Two Sacha Sauda Dera Premis killed near Jagera (Khanna) on 23.02.2017.
54. One ASI, 4 jawans, 2 security guards of J&K Bank were killed on 01.05.2017 in Kulgam (J&K). Weapons & cash were looted. HM took the responsibility.
55. 7 Policemen including SHO of Achabal P.S. (near Anantnag) were killed on 16.06.2017. LeT took the responsibility.
57. One killed & 33 injured on 07.07.2017 on attack on Amarnash Yatri Bus from Gujarat near Anantnag. LeT took responsibility.
59. Four J&K Jawans and 4 CRPF jawans killed and many injured in a attack by JeM Terrorists in Pulwama Police Lines (J&K) on 26.08.2017. 3 militants were also killed.
60. Ravinder Gosai, a RSS activists killed in Ludhiana on 20.10.2017

In cross-border terrorism, we have lost more than one lac civilians and over 10000 security personnel, after the partition. At least, one million people have gone homeless. Hence, it is evident that the terrorists concentrated on India’s political capital, provincial capitals, economic capitals, IT and scientific hub, religious places and places of terrorist’s
When hinterland terrorism is assisted by neighbouring countries through the borders, it is called trans-national terrorism. After 1971 war, Pakistan cannot match the conventional war within India, so it is adopting the nefarious designs by activating cross border terrorism. Terrorists are provided training, infra structure and weapons in Pakistan and then infiltrated into India through LOC or through Nepal.

IM was formed by Mohd. Ahmed Sidibapa alis Yasin Bhatkal in 2008 at the instance of ISI with the motive to devastate the secular fabric of the nation. Abdul Subhan Qureshi alis Tauqueer, Zahid Sheikh, Safdar Nagari & Mujib Sheikh were the main persons associated with the IM. IM was banned in 2010. It has still more than 5000 cadre. It has committed a large number of incidents in India like the bomb blasts in UP, Jaipur, Bangalore, Ahmedabad, Delhi, Pune, Varanasi, Mumbai, Bodh Gaya etc.

One IM Islamic outfit founder in India Yasin Bhatkal alias Ahmed Siddibapa was caught from Nepal by IB on August 28, 2013. He was responsible for blasts in various parts of India i.e. Bangalore (April 13, 2010), Delhi (Sept 19, 2010), Pune (Sept 1, 2002) Jaipur (May 13, 2008), Ahmedabad (July 26, 2008), Mumbai (May 11, 2006 & May 13, 2011), Pune (Feb 13, 2001), Luknow (Nov 23, 2007), Varanasi (Dec 7, 2010) and Hyderabad (Feb 21, 2013), killing over 200 Indians. Yasin was highly motivated and completely unrepentant. He said that he wanted to send message to Indian Government. He said that he was working under the orders of God/Allah. Iqbal & Riyaz Bhatkal Shahbandri brothers were also in touch with Yasin rather they radicalised him. Earlier David Headley Coleman arrested in USA told to the interrogating sleuths that most of the operations in India are handled from Karachi. Their purpose is to attack Indian economy without involving Pakistan. Major Abdur Rehman Hashim, a retired Pak army officer & Pasha are the main handlers of operations under a serving Army officer of Pakistan, Col Shah.

2.3.14 ACTIVE MILITANT OUTFITS

Lashkar-e-Taiba (LeT) – It is the armed wing of MDWI (Markaj Dawa-W-Al-Irshad) i.e. Centre for spiritualism founded by Hafeez Saeed and Zaki Rahman Lakhvi is its commander. It was founded in 1990 and is the most active terrorist group in South Asia. The main purpose of LeT is to establish Islamic State in whole of South Asia & to so called liberate Muslims living in India and especially from J&K. LeT propagates that Hindus & Jews are enemy of Islam. Red Fort attack in 2000, Srinagar Airport attack in 2001, Indian

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120 Ibid PP 10-11
121 Karim, Asfir (Ed); Aakrosh, Thomson Press, Noida, January, 2016, pp. 63-66
Parliament attack in 2001, infamous assault in Mumbai in 2008, Uri massacre of 19 Army jawans in 2016 etc are the handwork of LeT. It was founded by Prof. Hafeez Saeed, Abdullah Azam and Zafar Iqbal in 1987 with head quarter in Muridke located near Lahore. LeT gets financial aid from Middle East Countries. LeT is running the terrorist training camps in POK, Pakhtoon Khawa & FATA with the active assistance of ISI & Pak Army. Pakistan has more than 25000 Madrasas and quite a few countries like Afghanistan, Uzbekistan, Tajikistan, Chechnya etc. send their children to these Madrasas, from where LeT recruits the terrorists. LeT has been declared terrorist organisation by India, UK, USA, Russia, Australia, European Union and UN. When LeT was banned, JUD was named in place of LeT and when it was declared terrorist organization, it was renamed as Tehreek-e-Tahafuz Qibla Awal. Rather JUD was responsible for Mumbai attack in Nov. 2008. Abu Dujana since killed was the commander of JUD in Kashmir. LeT has close relations with Al-Qaida, HM, JeM, IM & SIMI. Of late, LeT workers are inclined to ISIS in Pakistan and LeT workers in India are inclined to AQIS\(^\text{122}\).

**The aims and objectives of LeT**

LeT outfit is the major trouble maker in J&K and Punjab. The LeT follows radical Wahabbi ideology which advocates global jihad against all infidels and moderate Muslims. Regarding India, LeT wants to destroy the Indian Republic and to annihilate Hinduism and Judaism. LeT has declared that Hindus and Jews are the enemies of Islam. This group maintains that Jihad must be waged to attain its objectives as follows:-

1. Restoring Islamic rule over all parts of India.
2. Waging Jihad against India, Israel & USA as they are the existential enemies of Islam.
3. Waging violent Jihad, which is the duty of all Muslims.
4. Ending the persecution of Muslims.
5. Establishment of Islam as the dominant religion of the world.
6. Enforcing infidels to pay Jaziya.
7. Fighting for the week and feeble against oppressors.
8. Taking revenge for the killing of Muslims.
10. Defending all Muslim states & recapturing occupied Muslim territory.

\(^{122}\) Karim, Afsir (Ed.); *Aakrosh*, Thomson Press, Noida, January 2016, pp. 70-72
11. A Caliphate must be established with one flag and one Army, where Islamic law Shariah prevails. Democracy contradicts Islam. 

**Jaish-e-Mohammad (JeM)** - HU was split in Harkat-Ul-Mujahideen (HuM) and Harkat-Ul-Jehadi-e-Islami. After split from HuM, Masood Azhar formed JeM in March 2000, shortly after his December, 1999 release from prison in exchange of passengers of hijacked AI-814 plane. JeM and LeT were responsible for 2001 Indian Parliament attack in New Delhi.

**Hizbul Mujahideen** – It is a Kashmiri terrorist group formed in 1989 and is based in POK. Syed Salahudeen is its Commander & founder.

**Student Islamic Movement of India (SIMI)** – SIMI is founded in 1977 in Aligarh and is a student group of LeT. The purpose of this is to liberate India from Hindu ultras so that people can live according to Islamic Code of Conduct. Its aim is to convert whole of India into Islamic Land. SIMI was banned by Govt. of India in 2001, when it was found to have indulged in terrorist activities.

**Harkat-Ul-Jihad-al Islami (HUJI)** – It is a split group of Harkat-Ul-Ansar and is active in Pakistan, Bangladesh & India. HUJI claimed responsibility for 2006 Benares bombing & 2011 Delhi bombing. HUJI had started its operations in Afghanistan after the soviet retreat from the country. Its Bangladesh unit is formed in 2002 and is backed by Talibans. It is active in Kolkata too.

**Indian Mujahideen**- After the ban of LeT & SIMI, the same groups emerged as Indian Mujahideen group (IM). It is responsible for many blasts in Gujarat & Delhi. ISI and HUJI are supporting this group. It is projecting to the world that the Muslims are being maltreated in India. In 2010, government declared IM as terrorist organization and banned it. Its ultimate aim is to create an Islamic Caliphate across South Asia. This organization came in to limelight after UP blasts of 2007 in the court premises of Lucknow, Varanasi and Faizabad. It recruits a wide range of disenchanted Muslim youth from petty criminals to highly paid software professionals. Recently, one of its main leaders, Yaseen Bhatkal has been arrested by Indian security agencies.

**Sleeper Cells**- A sleeper cell refers to a cell or isolated grouping of sleeper agents, that lies dormant until it receives orders or decides to act. A sleeper agent is a spy who is placed in a target country or organization, not to understand an immediate mission, but rather to act as a potential asset if activated.

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123 Hafiz, Saeed, quoted in Mdae-Millat, 18th August, 2004; The Hindu, August 29, 2004
2.3.15 REVOLUTIONARY RIGHT WING TERRORISM

Hindus Right wing organization have been accused of involvement in terrorists attacks, including the Malegaon blasts, Mecca Masjid bombing in Hyderabad, Samjhauta Express bombing and the Ajmer Sharif Dargah blast. This is developed as a reaction to ISI sponsored terrorism in India and the alleged Muslim appeasement policy by the GOI. These attacks have been carried out by a Pune based group, ‘Abhinav Bharat’ headed by an ex Army officer Colonel Shrikant Purohit, Sadhvi Pragya and Swami Assemanand. This group was an individualistic group, not an organized movement as it acted in 2006, 2007 and after 2007, on the arrest of its activists, no crime pertaining to this group is reported.

Indian history of terrorism is too old. It has witnessed terrorism since many centuries, particularly when Arabs, Turks, Mangols and Mughals invaded India and also by the British regime. The revolutionaries and freedom fighters during British Regime were termed as terrorists and Shahid Bhagat Singh and Subash Chander Bose were termed as inspirators to the alleged terrorists. The judiciary too dealt them as the terrorists. The first such case was

Queen Empress V Jogindra Chander Bose and he was tried u/s 124 A

The next such case is of

Queen Empress V Bal Gangadhar Tilak

India got independence in 1947 and since 1947; Pakistan is responsible for terrorism in J&K in the pretext to grab it. Nearly three lac people have been killed in the terrorist violence in J&K and other parts of India. Around 50000 people have been killed in J&K including around 17000 civilians killed, 5000 security forces killed and around 20000 militants killed.

2.3.16 MAJOR TERRORIST GROUPS ACTIVE IN INDIA

Nearly 175 groups of terrorists are active in India. The major 32 terrorist groups are as below:

i. Babbar Khalsa International
ii. Khalistan Commando Force
iii. Khalistan Zindabad Force

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124 Id P-12, 13
125 ILR 19 Cal 35
126 ILR 22 Bom 112
127 Kumar, Ashok (Dr.) – Dynamics of Global Terrorism, KK Publishers, New Delhi, 2014 p. 43

Some of the outfits have kept their training centres in Bangladesh, Pak Occupied Kashmir, Bhutan & hilly areas in India. They are receiving funds from foreign countries. Over 175 terrorist outfits are active in the N-E states. AP, MP, Orissa, Chhattisgarh, Jharkhand, Bihar, MHR, Kerala, Tamilnadu, UP & W.B., etc states are in the grip of Maoist terrorism.\(^\text{128}\)

Special laws to tackle special situations are required. TADA & POTA were the most effective. POTA 2002 has been repealed and UAPA-2008 with amendment in 2012 is in force in India now.

Terrorism is a global threat. The world has opened eye to tackle terrorism only after the World Trade Centre bombing. But the way the efforts to curb this menace is increasing, the terrorism is also spreading its fangs. Terrorism is a global threat to peace, harmony and brotherhood of global village.

**2.3.17 REASONS FOR SPREAD OF TERRORISM IN INDIA**

1. Technological use to conduct acts of terror
2. Easy availability of targets of terrorism
3. Sophisticated means of communications i.e. electronic, print and social media, internet media etc. help the terrorists to quickly promote their ideology and hate campaign
4. Intolerance in society due to increasing population and decreasing resources.
5. Increasing globalization of society.
6. International recognition and support to terrorist groups
7. Links between terrorism and organized crime to earn money.

There are different methods to raise fund by the terrorist groups. Some groups are supported by the ISI. Some groups indulge in explosion, crime and smuggling, fake currency, Narco-terrorism, Hawala, money laundering etc. Some cases are given below:-

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\(^\text{128}\) Id pp. 44-45, 47
2.3.18  ISI SPONSORED TERRORISM

The militancy in J&K is a classical case of state sponsored & financed terrorism. ISI raises money to be given to Jehadies from drugs and contrabands, donations and charities, funds from jehadi Islamic fundamentalists across the globe. This support is further augmented from Kashmir Diaspora and NGOs. These are therefore used as part of Pakistan proxy war against India, thereby bringing various components of funding together.

**Modus Operandi and Motto of Pak ISI (Inter-service Intelligence of Pakistan)**

1. To bleed India through thousand cuts.
2. To destabilize Indian economy through fake currency and other means.
3. To supply arms and explosives to all kinds of militants in India.
4. To take advantage of anti-government groups operating within India and to provide financial, logistic and military support to such groups.
5. To spread and support Islamic fundamentalist activities.
6. To spread communal hatred and communal violence in India with the aim to divide and weaken the country.

In case of IM, financial support from ISI, mobilization of funds from criminal activities, drugs and extortion is being organized. It is believed that ISI’s terror network is self supporting financially and the money comes from:-

1. Donations from Islamic Countries in the name of Jehad
2. Earnings from drug trafficking
3. Issuing Fake currency notes (FICA)
4. Other kinds of organized crime

It is believed that the parallel network operates through a few trusts like the Al-Rashid from Karachi and Rabita Trust from Islamabad. Usually, these trusts operate through fake bank accounts. The transfer of money to the terrorist groups is done through Hawala transactions and JeM, LeT, HM, IM etc are funded indirectly by the ISI through these means.

In North-East insurgency, the funding is done by extortion and taxation. This is supplemented by trafficking of drugs, weapons and counterfeit currency. The state sponsored funding is minimal and finances are raised through private sources. Similarly, the funding in case of CPI(Maoists) led insurgency is from the local resources. They take share from big infrastructure projects like roads, national highways, dams, rural development projects etc. Apart from this, they receive the security money from mining companies and MNCs operating in the country. There is a voluntary donation from Public also. This insurgency has
not benefited from the globalised financial environment. India has porous border with Nepal, Burma & Bangladesh. Thus money collected is pushed to purchase weapons, explosives, technology based equipments like satellite, radios etc.

2.3.19 JAMMU AND KASHMIR MILITANCY

J&K, a largest princely state in 1947, having nearly 77% Muslim population was ruled by a Hindu King, Maharaja Hari Singh. It has five main regions.

1. Province of Jammu, a Hindu dominated, largely plain area or low hills bordering Punjab.
2. Sunni Muslims dominated Kashmir valley with a significant population of Kashmiri Pandits. One of the most beautiful place in the world and is the destined place for tourists in Summer.
3. To the east of the valley, the hilly area of Ladakh was predominately Buddhist with a slight presence of Shia Muslims. It shared borders with Tibet.
4. The last two are the regions of Gilgit and Baltistan. These regions are were very thinly populated with mostly Shia Muslims. Gilgit and Baltistan shared borders with Afghanistan and Sinkiang province of China. It was very close to former Soviet Union.

Maharaja Hari Singh desired not to accede either to India or Pakistan. Sheikh Abdullah wanted it to join India. In the meantime, several Pathan Tribesmen with the help of Pakistan Army invaded Kashmir valley & resorted to killings & lootings. Maharaja requested India for military help. Sheikh Abdullah & Patel insisted for accession to India. On 26th October, Maharaja signed the instrument of accession to India and agreed to appoint Sheikh Abdullah as head of the administration. As per this instrument of accession, except for Defence, Foreign affairs, Finance and Communication, the Indian Parliament needed the state government concurrence for applying other laws. Even, though both the National Conference and Maharaja wanted the permanent accession, but Nehru Ji took a highly idealistic view by announcing that it would hold a referendum on the accession decision once peace, law & order is restored in the valley. This decision was taken to show India's commitment to democracy and to honour Mountbatten's advice. Invaders were driven out of valley except area now known as Pakistan Occupied Kashmir (POK) or Azad Kashmir. Kashmir problem was referred to UN. In 1951, UN passed a resolution that a referendum would be held after Pakistan had withdrawn its troops from the part of Kashmir under Pak’s control. Pakistan did not withdraw the troops and the referendum could not be held. India has regarded Kashmir’s

129 Kumar, Ashok; *Dynamics of Global Terrorism*, K.K. Publications, New Delhi, 2014, pp. 23-30
accession as final and irrevocable and Kashmir as an integral part. Pakistan has rejected this and put up the claim of referendum as per UN General Assembly resolution. After 1971 war, A line of Control (LOC) was established as per Shimla Agreement and Pak had agreed to convert this line into permanent border between two countries.

Since, Pakistan cannot afford full scale war with India, Pakistan started the low-intensity war between two countries. In 1990s, a widespread popular and armed insurgency supported tacitly from across the border, escalated into one of the most dangerous internal security issue in India. The insurgency was largely started by Afghan Mujahedeen who crossed over to Kashmir after the Soviet-Afghan war. Initially in 1990s, Jammu & Kashmir Liberation Front (JKLF) headed by Yasin Malik organized militancy in Kashmir. JKLF, later on, gave up the violence but many new terrorist organizations (like HM, LeT, JeM, Al Badar, HUA, HUJI, HUM) started the violent activities in the valley, Pakistan and ISI provided training and weapons etc. to these terrorist organizations. Nearly, four lakh Pandits from valley have fled to Jammu & Delhi and are still unable to return. On the other hand, many human rights organizations like Amnesty International and Human Rights Watch regularly accuse the Indian Security Forces of torture and violation of Human Rights.

The psychological polarization of the people is done\textsuperscript{130} by making them conscious of various material and spiritual deprivations. The people are made to believe that resorting to violence is the only way to deal with an oppressive regime and overthrowing of such a government is their religious & political duty. In Kashmir, Pakistan gradually manipulated public opinion in favour of a violent movement in four distinct stages.

1. Raising of anti establishment sentiments and giving it a religious bias.
2. Undermining and subverting the state authority and penetrating the security apparatus.
3. Induction of sophisticated weapons and infiltration of mercenaries and Jehadis to wage a proxy war
4. Sponsorship of armed groups to perpetrate the acts of terror and employment of surrogate forces to gain political objectives.

Pak is waging social warfare to disrupt the communal harmony among the citizens\textsuperscript{131}. The terrorist groups active in J&K are LeT, HKUM, HUJI, Hizbul Mujahedeen (HM), JeM and scores of the small groups.

\textsuperscript{131} Id p.99
As counter measures in J&K, we have to win the heart & minds of the people. The mercenaries should be isolated & dealt severely. Government should reach down to the people through pro-active socio-political programmes. Mobilize the hard hitting Para-military forces to put the terrorists to be defensive. Improve supply of electricity, transportation system and industrial infrastructure to boost trade & industry. Steps should be taken on border to check cross-border infiltration. India should initiate diplomatic, political and military measures to destroy the Pak’s covert political and military infrastructure which threatens India\textsuperscript{132}.

We must make Pak & rest of the world very clear that Pak cannot win in a military victory in J&K & hence, no military solution is possible. The border of J&K with Pak should be sealed effectively so that cross border terrorism is made cost effective, The pro-Pak political group & terrorist outfits should be told in clear words that they should resort to democratic process & take part in elections if they want to wield political power. The world should be made clear that India is going to stay as secular country where the Muslims are the respectable citizens of India. Only 40% of the Muslim population live in J&K and they have equal rights to progress as those of all citizens of this country\textsuperscript{133}.

Zia-Ul-Haq launched the ‘Operation Topac’ i.e. fomenting insurgency and subversion against India in J & K. Now slogans of Jehad (Holy war) against secular and democratic order of India & for the establishment of Nizam-i-Mustafa (system based on Islamic shariat laws) were raised in Kashmir. The first phase of terrorism started in 1989 in Kashmir.

2.3.20 MODUS OPERANDI OF THE PROXY WAR IN J&K

1. To run a malicious campaign from Pakistan and POK to mar India’s image in print and electronic/social media.
2. To facilitate infiltration of terrorists from across the border and keep Indian security forces constantly engaged in fighting the terrorists.
3. To attack the secular foundation of the state and support fundamentalist Islamic activities and ensure exodus of Hindus from the valley.
4. To internationalize the Kashmir issue at every forum and paint India a persecutor of Muslims.
5. To increase terrorist activities in Muslim dominated districts of Jammu region.

\textsuperscript{132} Id pp.104-105
\textsuperscript{133} Id pp.116-117
6. To change the low intensity war to high intensity war at an appropriate time and term it as war of independence.

However, Government of India replied by starting development oriented programme in Kashmir. Dr. Manmohan, the then PM of India had started the reconstruction plan in 2004 with an outlay of Rs. 24000 crores. The projects are newly developed rail network to connect the valley, the project Udaan for skill development to 40000 youth over a period of five years, 900 crores worth of road infrastrutre in J&K, special scholarship scheme of Rs. 1200 crore to encourage youth to pursue higher studies, project Umeed for empowerment of women, project Himayat for capacity building and employment of youth, people to people contact through Bharat Darshan in the rest of India and number of subsidy programmes.

It is felt that there is no need to fully abrogate Article 370 but some provisions can be softened like state assembly’s duration from 6 years to 5 years, Ranbir code to be replaced by Indian Code etc. Referendum will be meaningless as Pakistan has not withdrawn the Armed Forces from POK. Frequent ceasefire violations of Pak Security forces is just to internationalize the issue of J&K. J&K was a very peaceful state before 1947. The famous medieveal poet, Amir Khusro had said about Kashmir, “If there is a paradise on the earth, it is here in India, in India” Pakistan disturbed Kashmir by sending army in 1948 in guise of Tribals. Ultimately, J&K acceded to India and Indian forces pushed the attackers back. A ceasefire line was earmarked after the intervention of UNO. It is a fact that most of the separatist groups are based in Pakistan and POK. LeT, JeM & HM want to annex J&K to Pakistan, whereas J&KLF & APHC want independent Kashmir. Al Qaida based in POK is helping the terrorist groups to foment trouble in J&K. The terrorists have killed around 80000 people in Kashmir. Many people specially Kashmiri Pandits have been driven out of Kashmir. The terrorism commenced in J&K in 1989 at the behest of ISI of Pakistan. ISI is playing active role for instigating the terrorist groups for violence in Kashmir. Prof. Mohd. Hafeez Saeed, the chief of MDW said that Indian Muslims should revolt against Indian Union in order to liberate J&K. They want India to be weak from within and disintegrate. The main objective of the terrorists is to create the terror and mayhem in the public mind and paralyze the state administration. They are killing the innocent people. They did not spare even the women and children. Many women were mercilessly raped by them. They have killed many govt. officials, members of judiciary, Kashmiri Pandits and even the Muslim intellectuals. For reporting anti-terrorists activities, many media persons have been targeted. According to sources, the member of terrorists camps in Pakistan is 37 and in POK 49.
Around 3200 hardcore terrorists are operating in J&K with 900 foreign mercenaries. A large contingent of deadly weapons & explosives have been recovered. Pakistani trained terrorists groups are highly active in J&K. The various outfits active in J&K are:


It appears that Indian Govt. had made two mistakes under the influence of Lord Mountbatten, the then Governor General of India at the time of independence. First, an accession was accepted provisionally and its finalization was made subject to the will of the people to be ascertained by the Plebiscite. Second, the Kashmiri issue was referred to the UN, which ultimately passed the resolution to hold Plebiscite in J&K. Pak is teaching J&K terrorists to resort to violence and if they want to change the history, they will have to choose the violence and be prepared to launch the mass struggle against India. Pakistan is giving political, diplomatic and moral support to the separatist. The unemployed youth join the terrorist groups. Further, the Muslim radicals claim that their religion permits Jehad. They preach that laying down lives by fighting the Indian security forces in the name of J&K, will get you Jannat. Physical training is must for Jehad and every Muslim must take the training to participate in the Jehad whether they are men, women or old men.

The economic condition of Kashmir is very critical and most of the people are living below poverty line. A huge population is denied pure drinking water, electricity, schools, hospitals, roads and other socio-economic facilities. The government employment is limited to supporters of the ruling party and higher study is beyond the reach of the common man. Government of India is doing its best to bolster the economy in the valley, where the people are very poor. Train has been introduced in the valley and stern efforts are on to connect valley with the rest of India. Security forces are fighting the cross-border terrorism and it has lost very senior officers of the rank of Brigadiers, Colonels, Captains and Deputy Commandants. India should take steps to stop the training camps in Muridke, Muzaffarabad, Bahawalpur etc. Now JeM, HM and LeT terrorists are also active in Punjab134.

The terrorism has become the most visible part of proxy war in Kashmir but Pakistan has

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134 Kumar, Ashok and Vipual; challenges to Internal security of India, Mc Graw Hill Education (India) Pvt. Ltd., New Delhi, 2015, pp. 23 -27
realised that terrorism will not suffice to dislodge the elected government in J&K or bring the administration to a grinding halt. Pakistan, therefore, opened a new front in Kashmir by way of inducting the Wahhabi preachers who have been spreading the Wahhabi creed across Kashmir, calling on Kashmiri Muslims to give up their Sufi culture and return to true Islam. They now claim to have over a million followers in Kashmir. Actually, this movement may be vanguard of ISIL infiltration. The dogmatic Wahhabi culture poses a more serious threat to secular government of Kashmir than many decades of Pakistan sponsored terrorism. Islamic radicalism may lead to Sectarian violence and domestic chaos in most parts of J&K sooner than later. Sufi culture will not be able to beat back this onslaught when social media is highly active. Pakistan is doing its best to foment religious and ethnic unrest in the valley. Civil unrest combined with armed action of radical groups have assumed a dangerous proportions, as we have seen in J&K.\textsuperscript{135}

Pakistan in resorting to three nefarious designs against India i.e. smuggling of drugs, sending of fake Indian currency notes (FICN) and low intensity war against India. Pakistan is harbouring top terrorists in its area. The basis of partition of India and Pakistan is the two nation theory, which itself has sown the seeds of hatred between the two countries. The main issues which are pending are Tulbal Navigation project, the Siachin Conflict, Sir Creek waterways, the Indus water disputes, cross border terrorism, smuggling of FICN & drugs by ISI into India, conventional military enemity, belligerent propaganda, deep rooted suspicion against each other & Pakistan quest for security and Kashmir issue. India & Pakistan have already four wars including Kargil War.\textsuperscript{136}

Pak alleges that India funds the Muttahida Quami Movement (MQM) which is dominant in Karachi, Sukkur and Hyderabad and creates violence in these cities at the behest of India. Indian security officers arrested three alive LeT terrorist i.e. Ajmal Kasab, Mohd. Naveed Yakub and Sajjad Ahmed, Who have confessed that they were trained in the camps run by ISI. The ISI openly assists several terrorist groups including the Al-Qaida, Jaish-e-Mohd, Lashkar-e-Omar, LeT, Jamaat-Ud-Dawa, Sipah-e-Sahaba, and Haqqani Network. Besides this, ISI has created Indian Mujahideen (IM), which is a group of misguided Indian Muslims who carry out terrorist activities in India at the behest of the ISI. ISI has also created Brigade 313 to carry out terrorist activities across India, especially in J&K. Number 313 given the religious fervour to Islamic extremists as 313 soldiers under Prophet Mohd. defeated a much larger army. This brigade is committing terrorist activities with in Pakistan

\textsuperscript{135} Karim, Afsir (Ed) Aakrosh, Thomson Press- Noida (UP) – October 2015 P-5
\textsuperscript{136}Id pp. 55-57
also. ISI is actively helping Naga, Ulfa and Khalistani terrorists.\textsuperscript{137}

There is a close nexus between ISI, terrorists outfits and the drug smugglers. Pakistan pumps drugs into India worth more than USD 1 billion every year. The Indo-Pak border is 557 kms & out of which 152 kms border is riverine. The couriers are paid Rs. 60000 to smuggle 1 kg of contraband drug to India specially through Punjab border. Pakistan has given refuge to several hundred criminals was given to handover to Pakistan, which included Maulana Masood Azhar, Hafiz Mohd. Sayeed, Dawood Ibrahim, Chhota Shakeel, Tiger Menon, Ayub menon, Abdul Razzak, Syed Salahuddin, Ibrahim Athar, Zahoor Ibrahim Mistry etc.\textsuperscript{138}

Pakistan Defence Forces launched a joint military operation namely Zarb-E-Azb in North Waziristan area in June 2014 in which terrorists of various outfits including Lashkar-e-Jhangvi, Al-Qaeda, the Haqqani group, Tehrik-i-Talibans of Pakistan and Jundallah took refuge in Afghanistan.

Nagrota incident points out to JeM’s Al-Shohada Brigade or Shaheed Afzal Guru Squad formed in 2013. On December 5, 2015, JeM’s guru Squad carried out first fidayeen attack on Mohura Camp in Uri near LOC which left 17 dead including 11 security personnel. Second attack of this group was on November, 25, 2015, where a three member squad stormed the army installation in Tanghdar.\textsuperscript{139}

Issues with Pakistan

i. Insurgency backed by Pakistani terrorists has been a constant cause for the increased tensions.


iii. Sir Creek: Dispute on interpretation of maritime boundary line between Kutch & Sindh. After partition in 1947, Sindh became part of Pakistan whereas Kutch belonged to India. Pakistan is dissatisfied with the boundary line.\textsuperscript{140}

Pakistan is running 17 terrorists camps in POK backed by ISI, Bahawalpur & even Punjab manned by LeT, HM, JeM, HUM. Gurdaspur attack in July 2015 was engineered by LeT. 131 innocent children & 10 teachers were slaughtered by TTP in Army School Peshawar on January, 2015. As a plan to have measures to bring peace, there should be Integrated

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\textsuperscript{137}Id pp. 58-60
\textsuperscript{138}Id pp. 60-62
\textsuperscript{139}The Hindu, December, I, 2016 p.12
\textsuperscript{140}World Focus – June 2016, Meenakshi Press, Darya Ganj, New Delhi- June, 2016, June P-60

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Border Management System (IBMS) for all the 24 hrs through technological plans. Of course, India is planning to have CCTV cameras thermal image devices, sophisticated right vision devices, battlefield surveillance Radar, underground monitoring sensors & laser barriers. So we can track all the movements on the border. Ban Ki Moon suggests that the nations impregnated with terrorism should give priority to good governance and effective rules and regulations. There should be widened political participation. Quality Education and decent jobs should be provided. Women should be protected and empowered. The potential of young should be tapped so that they foster peace building process. Principled leadership & effective institutions may work in tandem to provide peace. The root of all malaise is deprivation. Corruption & injustice aggravates dissent leading to alienation. Government should address the grievances of the people. Human rights by all parties must be upheld.141

TTP is active in FATA area of Pakistan against Pak’s Zarb-e-Azb Army operation against the terrorists. Terrorists are operating to bleed India with a “thousand cuts” as per LeT Chief Hafiz Saeed. LeT was banned in Pakistan, whose place was taken by JuD (Jammat-Ud-Dawa). JuD/LeT played major role in Bombay attack of November 2008. HM established in September 1989 and Headquarter at Muzaffarabad (POK) is very active in J&K. This group has campaigned for Islamisation of Kashmir. JeM launched by Maulana Masood Azhar in Karachi on 31st Jan, 2000 after release from Indian Prison following the hijacking of Indian Airline Flight IC 814, was responsible for Parliament attack in 2001. JeM has close links with Sunni terrorist outfits operating in Pak such as Sipah-e-Sahaba Pakistan & Lashkar-e-Jhangvi (SSP & LeJ). HUM and HUJI are also active in J&K. East Turkistan Islamic Movement (ETIM), who are ethnic Uighur are active in Xingjian Province of China. In 2009, this group killed 197 persons & injured 1700 in Kashgar (China). It is headed by Nurmemet Memetim (Leader of ETIM) & is based in Waziristan (Pakistan). It has close alliance with Al-Qaida, Islamic Jihad Union (IJU) & Islamic Movement of Uzbekistan (IMU), Islamic Army of Great Britain & Ittehad-e-Jihad Islami. TTP is actively helping Uighur terrorists in the tribal areas of Xingjian. Lashkar-e-Baluchistan is active in Central Baluchistan.142

The attack on Uri Army Camp was on 18th September 2016, killing 19 Army Jawan & injuring 30 jawans. India’s response as a surgical strike was on 29/30th September across LOC in Jammu sector killing around 50 terrorists & destroying 8 camps.

Sangbazi (stone throwing) has become a lucrative profession in Kashmir.

Burhan Muzaffar Wani, commander of Hizbul Mujahideen was killed by security

141 Id p.66
142 Karim, Afsir (Ed), Aakrosh, Thomson Press, Noida, April 2016, pp.43-52
forces on July 8, 2016. He had Rs. 1 million reward on his head. Protests, demonstration & bandhs remained for about 53 days, in which about 70 person lost their lives and two people were injured.

37% of J&K area is with Pak, 20% with China & 43% with India. 37% with Pak includes Gilgit, Baltistan and POK. China’s 20% include Demchok Dist, Shahsgan Valley & Aksai Chin. Our area of 43% includes, Jammu, Kashmir Valley, Leh, Ladakh & Siachin Glacier.

**Pak supported terrorist groups active in J&K are:-**


**Major terrorist attacks in J&K**

Three CRPF jawans killed in 1989 & Mohd. Yusuf Halwai of NC was also killed by the terrorists. Rubiya Sayeed daughter of the then Home Minister was kidnapped & was released later on. In 1995, Six foreign tourists were kidnapped, out of which, five were exterminated. The terrorists started killing & evicting Kashmiri Pandits, Hindus and Sikhs out of valley. In 1997, Seven Kashmiri Pandits were killed in Sangrampora. In 1995, 24 Kashmiri Pandits in Wandhama, 26 Hindus on Prankote, 25 Hindus in Champanan, & 30 Hindu Amarnath Pilgrims were killed.

In 2000, 36 Sikhs were shot dead in Chittisinghpura. In 2002, the Raghunath templed was attacked & 20 devotees were exterminated. LeT massacred 24 Hindus in Nadimeing in March 2013 and 35 Hindus were killed in Doda in 2006. This followed the exodus of Pundits/Hindus out of valley. In October 2001, Pak sponsored terrorist attacked J&K legislative Assembly of the state & killed more than 38 persons and a large number of persons were injured. In July 2002, LeT terrorists killed 27 persons with grenades in Srignagar. In 2005, Hizbul Mujahidin terrorists in a fidayeen attack blew a car bomb in Srinagar killed 6 persons including four army personnel. In October 2005, Education Minister Ghulam Nabi Lone was killed. During the Assembly Polls in Dec, 2014, Hizb killed 21 persons including security personals. On 18th September 2016, LeT terrorists attacked army camp at Uri & killed 19 army jawans and injured 30 soldiers. All the four attackers were killed. On September 29/30 2016, about 50 terrorists were killed by a surgical strike by Indian Army in POK. 9 Pak Army persons who were trainers & handlers were also killed.143

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143 Karim, Asir (Ed), Aakrosh, Thomson Press, Noida, October 2016, pp. 18-19
ISIL wants Khorasan state including Pakistan, Afghanistan, & parts of India

India is surrounded by not-too friendly neighbours. The total land border of India is 15120 Kms and 4069 km border is shared with Bangladesh, 3917 kms with China, 3310 kms with Pakistan, 1752 kms with Nepal, 1458 kms with Mynamar & 587 kms with Afghanistan. India has 6100 kms long coastline & 1400 kms of island territory bordering Sri Lanka, Maldives, Indonesia, Thailand, Bangladesh, Pakistan and Burma.

ISI’s operations i.e. Operation Strategic Depth in Punjab Operation Topac in J&K, Operation Intelligence Encirclement in N-East & Operation Garland in Hyderabad have been launched.

Prominent Pan Islamic Organizations of Muslim Brotherhood, which are funding various Islamic projects in the world.

a. Rabita-al-Alam-Al-Islami
b. Supreme World Council of Mosques
c. Islamic Development Fund
d. International Islamic Relief Organization
e. World Assembly of Muslim Youth
f. Islamic Solidarity Fund

Islamic solidarity fund provides funds to Islamic cause in places like Bosnia, Palestine, Algeria, Kashmir, Afghanistan, Pakistan and Philippines.

Present Status: The elections held in 2008 were termed as fair which returned National Conference into power. This showed that people wanted peace and harmony in the state. ISI changed the strategy in Kashmir by crowd mobilization and exhorting for violence with anti-Indian propaganda. Kashmir teenagers were involved into stone-pelting on the security force. The hanging of Afzal Guru in 2013 was also exploited in the form of violence for gaining political mileage. The number of security forces were injured and fidayeen attack reemerged in 2013 after a lull of 3 years. The movement is being spearheaded by Hurriyat to voice Kashmir’s disputes and grievances with the Indian Government, specially the security forces. Recently some teenagers have unfurled the ISIS flags, which is a matter of great concern. Infiltration from across the border is there but security forces have been successful in neutralizing them. Even then, there have been serious attacks on the Army Camps and Army convoys, where a good number of Armymen have martyred their lives. ISI is adopting a low intensity war to achieve the desired results, which cannot be achieved through direct war. It can be in the form of armed revolt, guerrilla warfare, political revolution and national war of
independence. Coalition government of PDP and BJP parties headed by Ms. Mehbuba Mufti is facing tough time because of increase in cross-border terrorism and resistance from the local people specially youth (songambaj). LeT, JeM, Al Qaida and some local groups are active. Let us see to what extent Sh. Dinesh Sharma former Director IB would be successful as interlocutoer.

2.3.21 INSURGENCY IN THE NORTH-EAST

There are more than 100 tribal groups in the entire North-East region of India. They have a rich cultural heritage with a variety of languages and customs. In the British time, non-tribals were not permitted to enter that area in order to maintain their culture & identity. The British Government did not disturb their socio-political culture and outsiders were not allowed to acquire land in the tribal areas. At the same time, British encouraged the Christian minorities to move in and establish schools, hospitals and churches. This helped the Britishers to keep the pro-independence movement away from this area and also to bring modernization in the Tribal people. Thus N.E. tribal area was isolated from rest of India. Post Independence, Indian Govt. tried to maintain their independence of culture and living conditions and introduced 6th schedule in the Constitution in order to protect the tribal identity and culture. It provides for self rule, autonomy and decentralization. Thus district and regional councils were created. Initially, there were only one state of Assam and NEFA as U.T. covering the whole of North-East. NEFA became Arunachal Pradesh, a state in 1987.

In the mid-fifties, Phizo raised the banner of revolt in Nagaland, which spread to Mizoram, Manipur, Tripura and Meghalaya. When Assamese was made a sole language of the area, the different tribal people were afraid of losing their culture and identity. When All Party Hill leaders conference got the majority seats in Assembly, they agitated for a separate state. In 1969, Meghalaya was carved out of Assam as a state within a state which had complete autonomy except for law & order, High Court, Public Service Commission and Governor. Finally, Meghalaya, Manipur and Tripura were granted statehood in 1972. Meanwhile, secessionist movements developed in Nagaland and Mizoram and Nagaland was granted statehood in 1963 and Mizoram in 1987.

Now there was confrontation between the indigenous people and the outsiders. There is a mistrust between tribals and non-tribals in Bodo areas. Garo insurgency in Meghalaya is continuing and non-Manipuris are being targeted increasingly in Manipur. Lower Assam areas and Karbi Anglong regions are prone to ethnic and communal terrorism. The situation is improving fast in the North-East and some terrorist outfits have agreed to have peace talks.

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144 Id pp. 31-35
with the Govt.

2.3.22 NAGALAND

The first and the most significant insurgency started in Nagaland under the leadership of Pluzo in the early 1950s. Nagas are the inhabitants of Naga hills along Burma border. Nagas consist of many tribes speaking different languages. English took over this area in 1892 and outsiders were not permitted to reside in this area. Their tribal culture and practices were not disturbed by the British administration. However, the Christian missionaries opened schools and churches and some Nagas were converted to Christianity. Thus Naga society is more educated and aware than the people of other N-E states. In April, 1945, the Naga Hills District Tribal Council was established as a forum of the various Naga Groups in the district. In 1946, it was recognised as a political organisation called Naga National Council (NNC). NNC was against grouping of Assam in Bengal and wanted the Naga Hills District to be included in an autonomous Assam in India. On June 26, 1947, Governor of Assam reached a nine point agreement with the Naga Leaders. According to this, Nagas would be granted judicial, executive and legislative powers, as well as autonomy in land related matters. This was only for 10 years. The Naga leaders were also promised unification of Naga territories adjoining the Naga Hill district. This was not accepted by the Constituent Assembly. Naga leaders envisaged a sovereign state with in India as a guardian power for ten years, while the Indian Constituent Assembly concluded that the Nine point Agreement granted only district autonomy within the Indian Constitution.

Beginning of the Secessionist Movement: After independence, the GOI started the integration of Naga areas with the state of Assam and India as a whole. The hard liners led by AZ Phizo opposed this integration and rebelled under the banner of Naga Nationalist Council. Nagas demanded a separate sovereign state. They were also encouraged by some British Officials and missionaries. GOI sent the army to quell the violence and to restore peace in early 1956. Government finally opposed the secessionist demand for the independence of Naga areas. At the same time, Government started winning the heart and mind of Nagas with the assurance that their culture, identity and other matters would be maintained. Government refused to negotiate with Phuzo & allies until & unless they did not give up the demand for independence and armed rebellion. The armed rebellion was contained by the middle of 1957 and the government negotiated with the moderate Naga leader Dr. Imkongliba Ao and thus the separate state of Nagaland came into existence in 1963. Thus, rebels lost their popular mass support. Still some groups continued guerrilla tactics. National Socialist Council of Naga land (NSCN-N) is operating with the objective to establish a sovereign state ‘Nagalim’
unifying all the areas inhabited by the Naga people in North East India and Myanmar. NSCN was formed in January, 1980 by Isak Chishi Swu, Thuingaleng Muivah and S.S. Khaplang opposing the Shillong accord signed by the NNC with the Government of India. Thereafter, NSCN-N split into two factions i.e. NSCN-K led by S.S. Khaplang and the NSCN-IM, led by Isak and Muivah. This started with the spate of violence because of competitive militancy. The objective of both the groups is to have sovereign Nagalim.

Under the current developments, NSCN-IM signed a ceasefire agreement with the GOI in 2001 but the insurgency continued by the other group. It is good to note that NSCN-IM has signed the peace accord with the GOI (Modi Govt.) on 3rd August, 2015 through one Sh. S.Ravi, as interlocutor. At the same time, NSCN-K group killed 18 Army men in July, 2015 in Manipur. GOI retaliated by destroying their camps in Myanmar. Hence, there are frequent ceasefire violations. The under ground groups are indulging in extortions, arms, drugs, smuggling etc. There are also reports of clashes between different tribal groups/factions.

2.3.23 MANIPUR

Manipur literally means the land of the gems\(^\text{145}\). The people of Manipur includes the Meitei Tribe, the Keiki Tribe and the Naga tribe. Meiteis are Hindu tribe with 60% population and follow Vaishnava traditions. Some of the Meiteis are Muslims and Christians. Meiteis live in the plains, while Nagas and Keikis live in the hill districts. Insurgency began in Manipur in 1964 and Manipur was made a separate state in 1972. Insurgency stepped up in 1978 demanding secessionism from Indian Union on the ground of lack of development, plundering of local resources and a general discontent. Alleged human rights violations by Indian security forces have only fuelled the insurgency. Currently, there are 34 groups including non-violent one those demand secessionism from India. In 1999, some of these groups merged to be called as Manipur People’s Liberation Front and other three important organizations are United National Liberation Front (UNLF), People’s Revolutionary Party of Kangleipak (PREPAK) and People’s Liberation Army of Manipur (PLA). Their strength is estimated to be 2500 of UNLF, 1500 of PREPAK and 3000 of PLA. Rivalry between these groups leads to greater violence because of competency in militancy. Kuki insurgent groups are of two umbrella organisations i.e. Kuki National Organization (KNO) and United Peoples Forum and they want a separate Kuki state to be carved out of Manipur. Naga population in Manipur want to merge with Nagaland to have greater Nagaland or Nagalim. Meiteis want separate Meitei state. Thus there are numerous clashes between Nagas, Kukis, Meiteis and

\(^{145}\)Id p. 36
Muslims. All these groups want inner line permit to remove non-local population. There is a nexus between PLA and Maoists. PLA has assisted Maoists by imparting training and supplying weapons and communication support.

2.3.24 MIZORAM
The movement by the Mizo National Front had the social and religious overtones and wanted secessionism from Indian Union.\textsuperscript{146} Uprising starting in 1966 continued well into the 1980s. The Mizoram accord of June, 1986 almost settled the problem. The then PM, Sh. Rajiv Gandhi’s sincere efforts were appreciated by the people of Mizoram and its leaders. The sacrifice of the then Chief Minister Pu Lal Thankawala for stepping down in favour of Pu Laldenga was another factor which could bring settlement early. The influence of Mizo Civil society, specially the women hastened the settlement. Govt, in 1968, signed the agreement with Laldenga, leader of Mizo National Front (MNF). Government granted full statehood to Mizoram and granted amnesty to the insurgents who laid down their arms. Lalgenga assumed the office of Chief Ministership taking from incumbent Congress Party. The model was the J&K agreement of 1975, when Sheikh Abdullah had returned to power in a similar fashion. The peace settlement brought prosperity in Mizoram.

2.3.25 MEGHALAYA
Problem in Meghalaya arises from the divide among the various tribes as well as the divide between tribal and non-tribal settlers, identity issues and opposing corruption besides the sharp changes in demography due to Bangladeshi infiltrators\textsuperscript{147}. There was fear of being reduced to minority by the native tribal population. The main extremist groups operating in Meghalaya are Garo National Liberation Army (GNLA) aiming to set up separate Garoland for Garo People, Achik National Volunteer Council (ANVC) aiming at Achik Land on the Garo Hills and Hynniewtrep National Liberation Council (HNLC) aiming to free Meghalaya from the alleged domination of Garos and non-tribal outsiders (banned in 2000). HNLC is getting the support of NSCN-IM, NDFB, NLFT and ULFA. HNLC runs several businesses in Bangladesh. There is an ethnic problem with the original residents and migrated people from Bangladesh. Kidnapping for ransom and extortions are the order of the day. HNLC is launching guerrilla attacks against police, security forces and Army personnel. Trafficking of drugs like ganja, cocaine, opium, Heroin etc. is rampant as the state lies on a major smuggling route between Bangladesh and India. The weapons are also being smuggled.

Garo National Liberation Army is one of the three militant groups fighting for a

\textsuperscript{146} Id pp. 36-37
\textsuperscript{147} Id pp. 37-38
separate Garo land in Meghalaya. It was founded by a former Police Officer, R. Sangma, GNLA has strength above 200 members. Now it is headed by Sohan D. Shira. \(^{148}\)

**2.3.26 TRIPURA**

Tripura witnessed a surge in terrorist activities in the 1990s. Tripura Upajati Juba Samiti (TUJS) was formed in 1971, which turned into Tripura National Volunteers (TNV) in 1981\(^ {149}\). The National Liberation Front of Tripura (NLFT) was formed in 1989. National Holy Army and All Tripura Tiger Force (ATTF) were its armed wing formed in 1990. Their purpose was to secede from India and they wanted to give land to the tribal people under the Tripura Land Reform Act, 1960. Insurgency was low between 1990 & 1995 but it grew in extent and magnitude between 1996 and 2004 and then started waning. They had safe heaven in Bangladesh and were getting full support in terms of hideouts, weapons and finances. They were indulging in extortions. Government handled the insurgency systematically giving inputs on development, effective management and governance. Tripura has shown that insurgency is not an insurmountable phenomenon and it can be wiped out by resolute will, right vision and direction, honest and credible leadership, creative responses to the challenge and the growth and socio-economic infrastructure dispensation to all sections of the society. Also, the well calibrated and humane combat operations combined with psychological approach to the issues ensured that the local population was not alienated.

**2.3.27 ARUNACHAL PRADESH**

Three eastern districts of this state namely Tirap, Changlang and Longding are the part of the greater Nagaland or Nagalim projected state by NSCN-IM. \(^{150}\)Both the NSCN factions resort to kidnapping, extortion, factional feuds and violence. Apart from this, ULFA-I cadre uses the Lohit, Changlang and Tirap districts for infiltration in to Myanmar, where the base camps of the outfit are located. The presence of CPI (Maoists) cadres has also been reported in Lohit and Lorwer Dibang Valley districts. All Arunachal Pradesh Student’s Union (AAPSU) had submitted the memorandum to the President of India, Sh. Pranab Mukherjee against the presence of strong over 50000 Chakma and Hajong refugees in Arunachal Pradesh as well as influx of other foreigners, as the indigenous tribes feel marginalized. Tibetans, Bhutanese and Nepalese are dominating the western side of the state. Also, the floating population of Bangladeshis has created tension among the various local tribes. NSCN-Khaplang group has struck recently (June 2015) in the eastern areas of the state. Both the

\(^{148}\) Karim, Afsir (Ed) *Aakrosh*, Thomson Press, Noida, April 2015 pp. 51 to 53  
\(^{149}\) Kumar, Ashok and Vipul; *Challenges to internal security of India* Mc Graw Hill Education (India) Pvt. Ltd., 2015 pp. 38-39  
\(^{150}\) Id pp. 39- 40
NSCN outfits are running the wide extortion network in the eastern districts. ULFA is using Arunachal Pradesh as route between Assam and Sagaing division in Myanmar. After crackdown on terrorist outfits in Bhutan, this state has got great importance specially from ULFA ultras. The power of ULFA groups has decreased after ceasefire agreement between government and two of the main strike units of ULFA. However ULFA cadres traversing the Assam, Arunachal Pradesh and Myanmar route, had setup transit camps and safe houses in the Manabhum Reserve Forest spread over 1500 square Kms in the Lohit district?

**2.3.28 ASSAM**

After Nagaland, Assam is the most volatile state. In 1979 indigenous people led by All Assam Students Union began non-violence with Satyagrah, boycotts, picketing and courting arrests, demanded that illegal insurgents from Bangladesh to Assam be detected and departed\(^\text{151}\). The election in 1983 led to widespread violence. In August 1985, the agreement was signed between the Central Government and movement leaders. The emigrants after 1971 were to be departed but emigrants before 1971 were allowed to stay but they did not have voting rights. ULFA formed in 1979 has two main goals i.e. independence of Assam and establishment of socialist govt. The ULFA has indulged in several terrorist attacks on security forces, assassinated political leaders, blasted rail, roads tracks and indulged in large scale kidnapping and extortions. The ULFA has strong links with the NSCN and Naxalites. The ULFA was outlawed in 1986. Anti security operations were launched in Bhutan and over a thousand activists were either killed or arrested. Even then, the group remained active. ULFA targeted a public school in Assam killing 19 children and 5 adults. Recently Paresh Barua, a leader of ULFA was arrested and sentenced to death in Bangladesh. Of late, Maoists have been engaged in recruitment, training and extortion activities in Upper Assam (Tinsukia and Dibrugarh) and Arunachal Pradesh.

The Central Government has given special administration autonomy to the Bodos in the state. However the Bodo demanded a separate Bodoland which led to clashes between Bengalis, the Bodos and the security forces, resulting in hundreds of deaths.

**Bodoland Issue and the National Democratic Front of Bodoland (NDFB)** - Bodos, the largest plains tribe of Assam started an armed struggle for a separate state in the mid 1980s. This started with the ethnic clearing along the north bank of the Brahmaputra. The Bodoland Autonomous Council accord was signed in 1993. But the violence aggravated. In February 2003, the Bodoland Territorial Council (BTC) Accord was signed to ends the one and a half decade long Bodo movement. Non Bodos feel that the accord is anti non-Bodos and they

\(^{151}\text{Id pp. 40-44, 46}\)
have been subjected to intimidation. Non Bodos especially Benglali Muslims feel insecure and non-Bodos have outnumbered the Bodos in Bodo Territorial Areas District (BTAD). The violence again started in 2008 and the Accord could not fulfil the economic, educational and linguistic aspirations and the preservation of land rights, socio-cultural and ethnic identity of the Bodos. BTAD consists of four new contiguous districts i.e. Kokrajhar, Bahsa, Udalgun and Chirag covering 35% of Assam area.

The National Democratic Front of Bodoland (NDFB) is an armed separatist group, seeks to obtain a sovereign state of Bodoland for the Bodo People. It was formed in 1998 and the main grievances of the people are under-development in the region and influx of insurgents. The group carried out several attacks on security forces and civilians in Assam. A ceasefire agreement was signed in 2005 but some factions continued to indulge in militancy. Recently in May, 2014, 32 people were killed, many injured and thousands rendered homeless in two districts of Assam by I.K. Songamjit fraction of NDFB-S.

**Karbi Anglong Issue:** Kasri Anglong district is the largest district among 27 districts of Assam. Diphu is the administrative headquarter of the district. It is one of the most backward area in India. Karbis, Dimasas, the Rengmas, the Kukis, the Garos, The Tiwas, The Khasis, Hmars, the Mizos and the Chakmas tribes are living in this area. There were violent clashes between insurgents KPLT (Karbi People’s Liberation Tigers) and RNHPF (the Rengma Naga Hills Protection Force in Karbi Anglong district of Assam in December 2013 & January 2014. Over 3000 people had to leave their houses. Karbis want a separate state comprising of two hill districts i.e. Karbi Anglong and Dima Hasao. The RNHPF was formed in 2012 and the outfit has been demanding the creation of regional council for the Regime Nagas of Karbi Angling.

**Karbi People’s Liberation Tigers:** KPLT was formed in January, 2001 in Assam and is a disgruntled faction of the Karbi Longri North Cachar Hills Liberation Front (KLNLF) which laid down arms in 2010. It has sophisticated weapons and indulged in large scale violence by killing the people. In 2015, this group claimed that their top leadership has been wiped out or arrested. However, it has split into five groups i.e. KPLT-Buche, KPLT-Pratap, KPLT-Donri, KPLT-Symbon and KPLT-Sojong. The members of these sub groups are 5 to 7 each and indulge in extortions& abductions.152

**Zeliangrong United Front (ZUF):** This outfit was formed in Manipur with the objective of protecting the Zeliangrong tribe from NSCN-IM in Manipur. Zeliangrong Tiger Force (ZTF)

152 Kasim, Afsir (Ed), Aakrosh, Thomson Press, Noida April 2015, PP 50, 51
is the armed wing of ZUF. ZUF has operated with NSCN-K against NSCN-IM. It originally operated in Tameglang district of Manipur. This group is indulging in violence & extortion specially targeting the truck drives at National Highway.¹⁵³

NDFB-S (National Democratic Front of Bodo Land – Songamjit) group is active in Bodoland area of Assam and it has around 300 members. ULFA-Paresh Barua group has around 240 members. PLA in Manipur UNLF and KYKL have united & have formed the United Tribal Liberation Army (UTLA). NSCN-Khaplang faction has called off the 14 years long ceasefire and ambushed the Army in Manipur killing 18 jawans, which was retaliated by surgical strike in 2016 by Indian Army on Indo-Myanmar border. NSCN-IM has signed the agreement with the central government.

In April 2015, nine insurgent factions under the leadership of NSCN-K leader S.S. Khaplang formed the United Liberation Front of West South East Asia (ULFW). This included NSCN-K, Paresh Baruah led United Liberation Front of Assam-Independent (ULFA-I), the Kangleipak Communist Party (KCP), the Kanglei Yawol Kunna Lup (KYKL), the People’s Revolutionary Party of Kangleipak (PREPAK), the People’s Liberation Army (PLA), the United National Liberation Front (UNLF), the Songbijit led National Democratic Front of Bodoland (NDFB-S) and the Kamatpur Liberation Organization (KLO). Five members of the front (KCP, KKYZ, PLA, PREPAK & UNLF) operate in Manipur and two in Assam (ULFA-I & NDFB) and the KLO operates on the interstate borders of Assam and West Bengal. NSCN-K’s activities have spread across Nagaland, Manipur and Arunachal Pradesh. The numerical domination of the Manipur outfits appears to be influenced by the nomenclature of the front, as they refer to the north-eastern region as West South East Asia.

China is actively supporting this new front. Of late, Indo-Burmese Revolutionary Front (IBRF) has been formed which includes ULFA, NSCN-K, United National Liberation Front of Bodoland (UNLF-B), the NDFB & KLO. 1643 kms of long Indo-Burmese border is active which is guarded by Assam Rifles. Burma has not responded well to the proposed joint Indo-Myanmar Counter Insurgency Operations (COIN) by Ajit Doval, the NSA of India. ULFW is highly active in Manipur and Arunachal Pradesh, where Indian Army’s patrol parties were ambushed killing over two dozen army personnel. Indian Army had also had a surgical strike in Myanmar area as a hot pursuit to cause a big loss of lives to the insurgent groups.¹⁵⁴

¹⁵³ Karim, Afsir, (ED) – Aakrosh, Asian Journal on Terrorism and Internal Conflicts, Thomson Press, Noida, 2015, April, P-29
¹⁵⁴ Karim, Afsir; Thomson Press Noida (U.P.) October, 2015, pp. 86, 89, 92
2.3.29 FACTORS RESPONSIBLE FOR INSURGENCY IN THE NORTH-EAST

The factors responsible for insurgency in North-East are as follow:-

i. Feeling of alienation and deprivation among the tribal population.
ii. Similar ethnicity across the border as Myanmar side.
iii. Parocity of the border with Myanmar due to difficult terrain.
iv. Change in demographic pattern due to infiltration from across the border.
v. Disconnect with the other parts of India & fellow Indians.
vi. Widespread corruption among the ruling elite.

vii. Lack of visionary leadership among the tribal communities. Rivalry among tribal groups.

viii. Lack of development and basic amenities.
ix. Easy availability of arms & ammunition.

x. Political support from various factions.

xi. Instability in Myanmar.

Many neighbouring countries are being used by the insurgents for shelter and training. Naga groups and Assam based insurgent groups operate from Myanmar. Militant groups operating in Meghalaya and Tripura are having hideouts in Bangladesh. Arms are procured from China. Their main source of funding is extortion and arms and drug smuggling.

2.3.30 GOVERNMENT RESPONSE TO N-E EXTREMISM

A composite strategy of peace talks, cease fire and suspension of operations against extremists is being followed. The basic guiding principles are:

i. Special schemes for development for North East.
ii. Special Packages for infrastructural development of North-East region.

iii. Proportionate use of force
iv. Dialogue & negotiation

v. Structural changes to give political autonomy.
vi. Decentralization and protection of Tribal rights.

vii. Improving road and rail connectivity in entire region.
viii. Look East Policy i.e. priority to N-E Region.
ix. Business summits to attract investment in N-E Region.

x. Exhibitions and Seminars
xi. All out efforts to normalise relation with the neighbouring countries. Boundary dispute with Bangladesh is sorted out. Relations with Myanmar are almost normalized.

xii. A Minister in Cabinet to look after N-E region problems.

**Counter Terrorism Measures:**

1. Communication and connectivity
2. Infrastructure improvement
3. Talks with insurgent groups
4. Coordination between central forces and state forces resulting in a much better tactical response.
5. Stringent laws and fast criminal justice system for quick disposal of terrorist attack cases
7. Greater cultural interaction with the rest of the country
8. Holistic socio-economic development
9. Presence of Government to be felt everywhere
10. Decentralization with alertness
11. Improving administrative efficiency
12. Pro-people governance
13. Setting up High Courts in Manipur, Meghalaya and Tripura
14. Coping up with the regional aspirations.

Inspite of all the development measures taken by the Central Government, there is a feeling of alienation and racial discrimination against resident of North-East. They feel that they are not treated at par with other citizens of India. They feel that their culture is not promoted and properly highlighted in the right perspective in the rest of the country. They feel that on the basis of their features, they are compared more to the Chinese and other similar ethnic communities. The recent murder of a North-East Student in Delhi has again highlighted this sensational issue. However, the government is seized of the matter and effective steps are being taken to remove this impression.\(^{155}\)

Iron Sharmila Charu has been on hunger strike for the last ten years in Imphal for the withdrawal of AFSPA. It is not advisable to withdraw AFSPA as the militancy still persists in Nagaland and Manipur as made out from the killing of 18 Army Personnel in Manipur recently (2015)

There is another problem in N-E regarding the exodus of Rohingya Muslim from Myanmar. Rohingya Muslims live in north of Rahine State of Myanmar and their population is 8/9 lacs. There have been clashes between Rohingya Muslims and Rahine Buddhists. They are reported to be originally from Bangladesh but they face persecution in Bangladesh and Myanmar too. Terror attack at mahabodhi temple in Bodh Gaya on July 2013 is reported to be the handwork of Rohingya Muslims to avenge the killings of Rohingya Muslims in Myanmar.

**2.3.31 TERRORISM AND NAXAL VIOLENCE (LEFT-WING EXTREMISM)**

Naxal violence is presently synonymous to communist revolutionary ‘Terrorism’ in

our country. Naxalites have an ideology through which they view the polity or society and hence a long term problem. It is clearly an aspect of political violence. The reaction between perceived deprivation and the frustration concept in frustration i.e. anger and the aggressive theory provides logical basis for explaining the meaning of violence. Political violence is a normal response to provocation. It is a response that is consistent with norms supporting its use. In broader terms there may be two kindsof theories of violence.

a) Social-bond theory- leading to a feeling of relative deprivation

b) Theory of polarization and cluster effect – explaining inter and intra community violence. The relative deprivation theory or frustrating aggression proposition suggests the greater the frustration, the stronger is the aggression against the source of frustration and similarly the greater the intensity of deprivation, greater is the magnitude of violence. A systematic analysis of political violence may be done on the basis of three components variables i.e. the extent of participation, the destructiveness of action and the span of time the violence lasts. The process of political violence is marked by three stages - those in which discontent is generated, politicised and actualized in political violence with each contingent on the preceding one. Thus the growth of Naxalite movement in India scourgéd by three reasons.

1. The movement coincided with the first united front government in West Bengal (1467) with the CPI(M) as its main constituent. It received the increasing official support, attention and press coverage.

2. Secondly, it was linked upon as a mass upsurge and armed struggle in India by the Chinese Communist Party.

3. Thirdly, Naxalbari became the symbol of armed peasant uprising and of Maoism in India and evolved as a new political movement deriving its name from it156.

The causes of Naxal violence aree firstly the denial of social and economic justice to the tribals. The gap between have &have not was widening. Secondly, government has no strategic plan to address the problem dismissing asa state subject. The government was not going to the root of the problem. With the gun, the dialogue might be the reasonable addition. The land of the tribal was usurped by the government and the industrialists. Nepotism and Favourism also leads to social discontent, leading to violence157.

157 Id p. 66
The term Naxal derives its name from the village Naxalbari of District Darjeeling in West Bengal, where the movement originated in 1967 under the leadership of Charu Majumdar and Kanu Sanyal. It refers to the use of violence to destabilize the state through various communist guerrilla groups. Naxalites are far left radical communists who derive their political ideology from the teachings of Mao Zedong, a Chinese revolutionary leader. They are indulging in mass violence in many states. Former PM, Dr. Manmohan Singh described naxalism as the most significant threat to the Internal Security of the country.

There has been peasant uprise motivated by leftist ideologies based on the writings of Marx and Engels and later on supported by Lenin and Mao. Leftists believe that all existing social retaliations and state structures in a capitalist society are exploitative by nature and only a revolutionary change through violent means can end this exploitation. Maoism is a doctrine that teaches to capture state power through a combination of armed insurgency, mass mobilization and strategic alliances. Mao called this process the “Protracted People’s War”. Maoist ideology glorifies violence. Maosim’s political orientation emphasizes the revolutionary struggle of the vast majority of people against the exploiting classes and their state structures. Its military strategies have involved guerrilla war tactics focussed on surrounding the cities from the countryside, with heavy emphasis on political transformation through mass involvement of the lower classes of society. “Political power blows out of the barrel of a gun” is the key slogan of the Maoists. They mobilize the large parts of the rural population to revolt against established institutions by engaging in guerrilla warfare. Maoists are now creating a fear psychosis and denying democracy and development to tribals. Naxalites do not want to secede from the Indian Union to establish a sovereign independent state of their own but their aim is to capture political power through armed struggle to install the so called “People’s” government.

Maoists spread their ideology very systematically and in a phased manner i.e. Preparatory Phase, Perspective Phase (Mobilization), Guerrilla Phase (Violent Guerrilla warfare), Base Phase (establishing their base as a liberated zone) and liberated phase (establishment of People’s government)

The spread of Naxalism in India can be divided into three phases.

I. First Phase – Naxalbari movement began in May, 1967 in the areas of three Police Station of West Bengal i.e. Naxalbari, Khoribari and Phansideva – Left wing extremists from whole of country focused the “All India Coordination Committee” in Calcutta in November, 1967.

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In 1968, the Committee was renamed as “All India Coordination Committee of Communist Revolutionaries” (AICCCR). It declared four ideological aims.
1. Protracted People’s war in accordance with Mao’s teachings.
2. Adapting to Guerrilla warfare tactics.
3. Establishment of rural revolutionary base areas.
4. Encircling the cities as well as abstaining from Parliamentary elections.

AICCR founded the revolutionary party CPI (ML) in 1969 based on Mao’s ideology. This movement spread to many other states especially W.B., Orissa, Bihar and Andhra Pradesh. The main followers were peasants and tribals who felt discriminated by the government and rich people. Young unemployed people and students got attracted to the activities of the Naxalities. Charu Majumdar was caught in the state operation in 1971 and he died in 1972 in police custody. The movement faced a severe blow during the emergency when around 4000 cadres were put behind bars in 1975.

**Second Phase:** Movement re-emerged after emergency as a People’ War Group (PWG) from CPI (ML) in 1980 in West Bengal, Bihar, Andhra Pradesh and Chhattisgarh. In A.P., there were heavy casualties of police personnel. PWG was banned in 1992 in A.P. Similarly, Maoist Communist Centre of India (MCCI) grew in strength in Bihar and carried out large scale attacks on landlords and other upper caste outfits. Naxal movement continued to grow at a steady pace across many parts of the country.

**Third Phase:** In 2004, PWG in A.P. and MCCI in Bihar merged to form the CPI (Maoists). Over 13 LWE groups are operating in India and CPI (Maoists) in the major left wing extremist outfit responsible for most incidents of violence and killings of civilians & security personnel. Around 40000 strong Naxalite cadre is operating in “Red Corridor” zone i.e. Pashupati to Tirupati, a strip passing though Jharkhand, Chhattisgarh and Odisha. The activities of Naxalites have spread over 460 police stations in 223 districts across 20 states. But the worst affected areas covers 30 districts of 7 states namely Chhattisgarh, Odisha, Maharashtra, Andhra Pradesh, Jharkhand, Bihar and West Bengal. The worst area is Dandakarnaya Region which includes areas of Chhattisgarh, Odisha, MHR and A.P. Maoists are running a parallel government and parallel judiciary in these areas. Maoists are spreading their influence in ‘Golden Corridor’ stretching from Pune to Ahmedabad in order to influence Gond and Bheel tribes. Maoists are also spreading their activities in North-East areas of Upper Assam and Lolut in Arunachal Pradesh. They ambushed the whole CRPF company in April 2010 in Dantewada of Chhattisgarh and killed 78 CRPF armed personnel. In 2013, LWE extremists killed 27 people including very senior congress politicians in Sukma district.
of Chhattisgarh. Its armed wing People’s Liberation Guerrilla Army (PLGA) has around 10000 strength and of Jan Militia is around 40000. Armed 40-50% of cadre consists of females.

The aims and objectives of Naxalites is to destroy the legitimacy of the state and ultimately to establish what they envisage as “The Indian People’s Democratic Federal Republic”. They attack the security forces and the infrastructure. They generate people’s sympathy through persistent propaganda against human rights violations by the security forces through their frontal organizations like the Revolutionary Democratic Front, Democratic Students Union, People’s Democratic Front of India and Left Wing Institutions. They also take help from human rights groups & media to propagate their cause. They condemn the sluggish judicial system and resort to have their own Lok Adalats. They have the powerful propaganda Machinery.

The CPI (Maoists) has close fraternal ties with many North-East insurgent groups especially the RPF/PLA of Manipur and NSCN (IM) of Nagaland for sourcing weapons. They have also close ties with foreign organizations in Nepal, Philippines, Turkey etc. The CPI (Maoists) is also a member of the Coordination Committee of Maoists Parties and Organisations of South Asia (CCOMPOSA), which includes ten Maoists groups from Bangladesh, India, Nepal and Sri Lanka. In 2006, CCOMPOSA at its fourth conference in Nepal reiterated its anti-India stand and reaffirmed its commitment to spread protracted people’s war to capture state power through violent means in South Asia.

The main funding of this left movement is from extortions, kidnappings for ransom, donations from cadres & rich people after terrorizing and killing and voluntary contribution from corporate companies. There is a greater scope of money collection from Jharkhand & Chhattisgarh because it has coal and iron resources.

Andhra Pradesh has effectively managed Naxalism through its Commando Grey Hounds. A separate division in the Home Ministry as Naxal Management Division under experts was set up in 2006. The committee established that the lack of empowerment of local committees was the main reason for the spread of Naxalism. It said that the state bureaucracy failed in delivering good governance in Naxal affected areas. It recommended a tribal friendly land acquisition rehabilitation policy. The Government has realized that the issues of good governance, development, regular funding of critical field institution and public awareness are important in dealing with L.W. Extremism. Specially trained Units of PMI to fight terrorism were given to the worst affected areas of Chhattisgarh, Jharkhand, Oddissa and West Bengal. Deployment of Army in Naxal affected areas is not the solution.
Our objective is to end the Left Wing Extremism by ending extreme poverty and rampant unemployment. The following are some of the steps required\(^{159}\).

1. Sensitization to local context and customs and addressing the critical needs of conflict affected communities.
2. Giving more emphasis to topics like community development, governance, service delivery, human rights and political governance.
3. Effective implementation of protective legislation.
4. Intense dialogue, so as to arrive to conclusions
5. Improved infrastructure and large investment in infrastructure.
6. Protecting tribal rights.
7. Employment opportunities through tax holidays to investments in those areas.
8. Ensuring social security and livelihood security.
10. Land reforms and equitable distribution of infrastructure projects.
11. Constructive dialogue with extremists.
12. Prosperity for all people.
13. Anti-Corruption efforts.
14. End of political marginalization, social discrimination, cultural humiliation, violence by state functionaries, human rights abuses and social oppression.
15. Ensuring minimum wages and proper implementation of labour laws.

Apart from above, effective terrorist operations against hardcore elements are required.

Dr. Manmohan Singh, Ex P.M. of India described Naxalism as the biggest threat to the internal security of the country. Naxalites exploit innocent people to breed violence & they are barbaric, uncivil and believe in disturbances. Naxalites are against democracy & decency. The Naxalites movement started as an Armed Peasant struggle in the Naxalbari area of West Bengal and spread to A.P., Kerala, MHR, Bihar & M.P. Now it has strong 18000 armed cadres among the tribal population. Naxalim is the strongest in the remote hill forested and underdeveloped areas where the condition of roads, communication, electricity, schools, health centres, water supply and policing is abysmally poor. There is no security of food to the tribal people. The poor tribals are exploited more and more by land mafia, forest mafia and mining companies. Naxal leaders extend their support to such people and try to win their

\(^{159}\) Id pp. 75-76
confidence and prepare them to join naxal cadres. Salwa Judum, a voluntary based NGO by Advasis sponsored by Chhattisgarh government is launched against Naxal Cadre. Ex P.M. has always emphasized that the power of the people blows through the ballot, not through the gun, in our democratic setup. Thus the government has to fight such forces and their ideology of hatred.

2.3.32 REASONS FOR GROWTH OF NAXALISM

a. Naxalism as ambiguity of social policy and ineffective administration:—There has been social discrimination and sharper disparities. Middle class gained in resources but the lower middle class and SCs/STs were pushed to be poorer. The responsive policies against Naxalite movement strengthened the naxalite movement. The authorities did not touch the basic issues of land, wages, dignity of women and social dignity. The authorities introduced the social securities input in the training of police officers. The spread of Naxalism is an indication of a sense of desperation and alienation among large section of the people. They have been systematically marginalized, exploited and dispossessed of their last homelands. Most of the tribal villages have no roads, schools and medical care. When they raise voice against injustice, they are repressed perceived as illegitimate. This is the basic pattern of development of social movement of the rural poor.

b. In effective rule of the Indian Police — The Police acts as state servant, not public servant. The state resorts to violence when the rural poor assert for human, social and legal rights under the Constitution and general and specific laws of the state. The role of the police in Naxal affected areas is miserable and they never try to solve the reasonable and justifiable demands of the people.

c. Naxalism as failure of Democratic Process — The elected representatives ignore the tribal people and this compels the people to be radicals at the gross root. Bu the Naxal movement has given voice & courage to the poor people and oppressors to oppose the violence & oppression.

d. Naxalism as failure of the party system - The organized Political parties have withdrawn from the grassroots. This is seen in Bihar, A.P., Chhattisgarh and Jharkhand. There is vacuum at lower level and no body provides remedy to the injustice & oppression faced by the poor people. Naxalites have taken the place & people depend upon them for justice.

e. Naxalism as failure of law & order — The maintenance of law & order has failed in Naxal affected areas. The officials going to villages are kidnapped. The administration and the police is biased & works under the direction of political bosses. The poor’s are on the receiving end in treatment at the police station. The complex law is beyond the
comprehension of the poor people.

f. Naxalism as Defects of Governance – The inefficient and unfavourable governance leads to Naxalism. The quality of governance has gone poor and it has lost the confidence & respect of the common man, specially poor people. Localized people must receive localized response. The democratic system of governance is a trust.

g. Naxalism as failure of Job opportunity- Government is purposely not giving jobs to the unemployed youth, where as Maoists are providing them job at the rate of Rs. 3000 per month out of extortion moeny. This way they attract the youth towards Naxalism.\(^{160}\)

2.3.33 NAXALISM IN CHHATTISGARH

Chhattisgarh has 1000 kms of the thick forest, making it difficult for the securities forces to comb. It has 32% tribal population & 13% scheduled caste population and all are below the poverty line. The old inhabitants have become labourers in their own land. Reasons for emergence of Naxalism are exploitation, low wages, social & political discrimination, unemployment, lack of access to resources and lack of land reforms. Naxalite incidents are growing in Chhattisgarh. A large number of civilians, politicians and CRPF jawans & jawans of civil police have been killed. Over 50000 persons from Dantewada area have taken shelter in 17 relief camps run by the State Government. Salwa Judum did good job earlier but its leader Mohinder Singh karma was mercilessly killed. On May 25, 2013, the Congress leaders convoy was attacked by Maoists in Bastar District and many Congress Leaders including former Union Minister VC Shukla were killed.\(^{161}\)

2.3.34 NAXALISM IN ANDHRA PRADESH

State of Andhra Pradesh came into existence on November 1, 1956 after it separated from Madras state. People’s War Group (PWG) popularly known as Naxalites was active in A.P. CPI (M) group split up into CPI (M) & CPI (ML). CPI (ML) became champion of labor rights. Naxal movement started in Naxalbari area of West Bengal was captured by CPI (ML) in Srikakulam area in A.P., which is a hilly area with dense forest of 600 square miles. After a clash with the landless labour & Zamindars, A.P. wasdeclared as disturbed area under Andhra Pradesh Suppression of Disturbances Act, 1967. The suppression and oppression policy of government alienated the tribal people belonging to Jatapu and Savara Tribes. The intellectuals and visitors were harassed. Ultimately CPI (ML) was named as People’s War Group. Here, the Maoists are operating along with Chhattisgarh & Orissa Maoists groups.\(^{162}\)

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\(^{160}\) Kumar, Ashok; *Dynamics of Global Terrorism*, K.K. Publishers, New Delhi, 2014, pp. 224-228

\(^{161}\) Id p. 229

\(^{162}\) Id pp.231-232
2.3.35 NAXALISM IN TELANGANA

The problem between the landowners & landless people remained since the Nizams as rulers. Government passed Regulation Act, 1970, by which they banned the transfer of the land to non-tribals in tribal area. NT Rama Rao, the then Chief Minister of A.P. announced the scrapping of Regulation Act, 1970, which was protested by the Naxalites. There was spate of violence and on 20.03.2013, 18 persons were killed & 100 injured in terrorist attack in Hyderabad. Telgana Rashtra Samiti, which got separate Telgana state was supported by the Naxalites & TRS is a front organisation of the Naxalites. PWG group has nexus with Islamic fundamentalists like IM, earlier with LTTE and N-E terrorists groups.\(^{163}\)

2.3.36 NAXALISM IN WEST BENGAL

Naxalism started from Naxalbari area of North West Bengal State where peasants & labourers agitated for political & economic rights. Five policemen, 10 peasants & number of people were killed in the clash. The movement was headed by Charu Muzumdar & Kanu Sanyal with the support & blessings of Mao-Se-Tung. A spate of violence erupted in Calcutta & other surrounding areas killing judges, policemen, landlords etc. Sh. Sidharath Shankar Ray, as CM of W.B. brought normalcy but still, some incidents of violence are reported in forested area.\(^{164}\)

2.3.37 NAXALISM IN BIHAR

Bihar has been the scene of terror violence since decades. The state is almost plunged into a civil war among various castes. Atrocities of upper caste have united the lower castes in groups & this has resulted in to mushrooming of senas. There is nexus of criminals & politicians. There is easy availability of firearms both licensed & unlicensed. The gangs indulge in looting & shooting in villages inhabited by the weaker sections& their women raped. In 1987, Rajput landlords killed seven Yadavas & raped their women in Chechhani and Mao activists retaliated by killing their 50 men, women & children. Thus the senas of both side had parallel government in Bihar. A private organisation Shiv Sena (since banned) had killed number of persons belonging to SCs/STs. In retaliation CPI (M-L) also killed. Terrorists also started killing policemen & politicians who were helping uppercaste people & police, resorting to torture of the CPI (Maoist) workers.

2.3.38 NAXALISM IN JHARKHAND

Jharkhand became a separate state out of Bihar in 2000. Naxalites are highly active in the area. Maoists killed the S.P. of Police and many other police officers.

\(^{163}\)Id pp. 233-234
\(^{164}\)Id pp. 234-235
2.3.39 NAXALISM IN ORISSA

Koraput, Malkangiri & Nayagarh areas touching Chhattisgarh and A.P. are highly active being a dense forest area. In Koraput, Police line was looted of weapons. In 2008, 21 cops were killed by the Naxalites. The Central Govt. had taken initiative to solve naxalite problem. There is a policy issued by the central government. Point III of policy says that Naxalism being an interstate problem, the states will adopt a collective approach and pursue a coordinated response to counter it. Part V of the policy says that there will be no peace dialogue by the affected states with naxal groups unless the latter agree to give up violence and arms. Part VIII of the policy says that efforts will continue to be made to encourage local resistance groups against the naxalites but in a manner that the villages are provided adequate security cover and the area is effectively demarcated by the security forces. Salwa Judum has done good work in Chhattisgarh but its leaders were killed in retaliation by the terrorists. Part XI of the policy says that the state government should resort to surrender and rehabilitation of the terrorists. But many surrendered terrorists have again returned to terrorism. The Central Government has spent more than 760 crores in naxal affected areas. The Central Government should expand, modernize and allocate more money to police forces and increase funding for improving infrastructure in the remote areas. But the Naxalite problem is increasing in Chhattisgarh, Jharkhand, Maharashtra etc. due to social stagnation, discrimination and disparities. The SCs/STs/OBCs/Poor communities are the backbone of the naxalites because they are being continuously discriminated and neglected. It is also alleged that these downtrodden are also tortured and victimized by the enforcement agencies.

2.3.40 SIKH TERRORISM

History in India talks about war for justice and the youth go to war to either kill or get killed. This we learn from Mahabharat, Ramayana & Geeta. Secondly, violence is justified in the very maintenance of social order. Gandhi Ji talked of war between good & evil. Gandhi Ji, who ordinarily subscribed to non-violence, allowed for an exception to this general rule when a small, strategic act of violence, would defuse a greater violence. Successors of Guru Nanak engaged in military confrontation with invading Moughal forces. Sikh community has thus martial values. Some observers of Sikhism have contended that the most militant and aggressive aspects of the tradition including the uprising in the last decades of

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165 Id pp. 235-237
166 Id pp. 237-239
the twentieth century are the legacies of the Jat influence\textsuperscript{168}. Martyrdom for the cause whether justified or not is in the blood of the followers of tenth Guru. The symbols given by the tenth Guru denotes emblems of militancy & this warfare is not only a part of Sikhism history but a central feature of iconography\textsuperscript{169}. Some section of Sikhs feel that if Mohd. Ali Jinnah can get Muslim state & why not Sikhs get a Sikh state.

The operation Blue Star, killing of Indira Gandhi and subsequent riots in Delhi & other parts in India aggravated the situation. After Bhindrawala, Panthic Committee came into existence to guide the Sikh youth & thus the militant assumed a divinely ordained authority to right injustice and secure public order.\textsuperscript{170} Yasin made the distinction between target killings & random killings. He preferred target killings which invite sympathy from general public. Thus it became an armed struggle for power. Some of boys indulged in grave misdeeds annoying the people en-mass and the movement failed.

2.3.41 TERRORISM OF THE FUTURE

Weapons of Mass Destruction will be used by the terrorists in future. These weapons will be used by deranged individuals. Most of the American Presidents have been targeted by deranged and psychopath individuals. John Hickley, who shot at President Ronald Reagen was mentally ill. The second category of terrorists who will use weapons of mass destruction will be religious-nationalist groups or apocalyptic religious groups who believe that end is near for a sinful world. Small Jews group in 1980s believed in this. The third group would be having hatred against other groups or people living in other countries like Talibans, Al-Qaida, TTP, LeT, HuM, HM etc. Fourth groups would be groups indulging in long struggle without any hope of success like LeT & JeM. Fifth category of people would be state sponsored terrorists groups or criminal terrorists groups. The last group will be people suffering from delusion on the basis of personal grievances.\textsuperscript{171}

The major reason of proliferation of terrorism is the proliferation of small weapons. The main factors are as follows:-

i. Erosion of the dividing line between the state, society and armed forces.

ii. The unscheduled influx of modern weapons in to unstable newly emerging independent countries.

iii. The arming of Non-State actors: the Blue system and ideological “just wars”

iv. The cold war between Russian & Western blocs.

\textsuperscript{168} Id p. 95
\textsuperscript{169} Id p. 96
\textsuperscript{170} Id p. 100
v. Arming through conduit countries like Pakistan, Thailand etc.
vi. The cheaper option of the proxy war.
vii. The diffusion of the debris of the cold war.
viii. Excessive production of the small weapons when there was end of cold war.
ix. Weapons from disarmament.
x. Shrinkage of the armed forces & surplus of weapons.
xi. Weapons from conflict spots like Pakistan etc.
 xii. Government sales, illegal smuggling of weapons etc.
xiii. Theft from military stocks.
xiv. The breakdown of controls in the former Soviet Union.
xv. China, emerging as impartial supplier.
xvi. The breakout of ethno-religious wars & their nature.
xvii. The Islamic upsurge and supporting structures.
xviii. Competition among regional power centres for domination leading to fresh proxy wars.
xix. A globalisation of criminal structure.
xx. Increased transport and communication as well as globalisation of commerce & trade.
xxi. The information super highway which allows ethnic/religious groups access to funding sources and information dissemination.
xxii. Narco-terrorism.
xxiii. Struggle of ethnic groups for independence.
xxiv. State Support: Support structures involving labour, transport, warehouses, narcotic trafficking, money laundering, safe houses & medical attention, weapons/ammunition/recruits, pay & allowances to the fighters, allowances to widows & their children etc.¹²

2.4 TERRORISM AND ORGANIZED CRIME

Twenty years back, the organized crime had no place in the studies of terrorism. However, the terrorists needed money to run the organization, purchasing of weapons and pay to the recruits. Hence, the terrorists indulged in organized crime by way of bank robberies, bank frauds, smuggling, ransom, illicit trade etc. The age of narco-terrorism dawned in the 1970s. But the drug cartels & terrorists have different objectives. Originally,

¹² Kartha, Tara; Tool of Terror; knowledge World Press, Daryaganj, New Delhi, 1999 pp. 27-47
the terrorists and guerrillas were mortal enemies of drug producers and traders. On ideological level, the revolutionaries opposed the use of drugs and punished who violated the rule. Sunni Talibans and Shiite groups advocated that production and trade of drugs does not hit Islam. Afghanistan has become one of the main centres of opium production. Columbian war lords have indulged in Narco-terrorism. Pakistan is openly using smugglers to send weapons for terrorist actions in India through Punjab & J&K Border. LTTE cadre funded all its campaign from smuggling of drugs.¹⁷³

Organised crime is defined as a prohibited activity by two or more persons which may consist of conglomerate arrangements. According to Richard Quinney, it refers to a systematic pattern of criminal operation organized on the lives of a business enterprise by perverted utilization of various sophisticated methods of business management except of course, the modern participative management. Another definition by Sellin says that “Organised Crime is synonymous with economic enterprise organized for the purpose of conducting illegal activities and even when they operate legitimate ventures, do so by illegal means”. Thus, it clearly indicated that organized crime is a criminal activity committed by more than one person in a systematic way like a business enterprise.¹⁷⁴

2.4.1 TYPES OF ORGANIZED CRIME IN INDIA

Generally, prostitution, smuggling, insurgency & extremism come under the purview of organized crime. However, important forms of organized crime in India are:-

1. **Mafia activities** – Mafia is nothing but criminal gangs who commit crime by show of muscle power. These gangs operate as a parallel government. Some of mafia bodies are extortion mafia, protection or hafta mafia, kidnapping for ransom, targeted murder gangs, tender business mafia, transport mafia, Coal mafia, land mafia, liquor mafia etc.

2. **Smuggling** - Gold & other electronic goods smuggling was a lucrative business prior to 1990 liberalization policy. Now smuggling of explosives & narcotic drugs have become more lucrative. Our neighbours Pakistan & Afghanistan are notorious for drug mafias.

3. **Manpower Racketeer** – kidnapping is done for cheap labour, prostitution, begging etc.

4. **Organised cheating** – White collar crime such as bank frauds & counterfeiting currency come under this purview.

5. **Prostitution** – Exposure to western ideas through TV/films have increased this menace. Educated women in an organised way indulge in such crime.

6. **Gambling** – Famous matka of Bombay is a classic example of organised gambling.

7. **White Collar Crime** – It includes forging of valuable securities, tax evasion, violation of copy rights & other economic offences.

8. **Arms smuggling** – It is very common. The weapons are provided in a big way to the secessionist forces.  

2.4.2 **REASONS FOR INCREASE**

The following are the reasons for increase in such crimes:

i. Ineffective criminal justice system.

ii. Lack of modernization of police forces & depending on outdated equipments.

iii. Inadequacies of laws.

iv. Absence of flow of information and public cooperation.

v. Low police credibility & police-criminal nexus.

vi. Lack of political will & political criminal nexus.

vii. Existence of pressure groups who cover up criminal gangs.

viii. Poor motivation & morale of policemen.

ix. Various secessionist groups are involved which are supported by some governments.  

2.4.3 **MEASURES TO COMBAT**

1. Modernization of police forces – Introduction of latest & modern communication system, equipment & weapons.

2. To upgrade the effective management, intelligence network & investigative strategies.

3. Specialised try to the police forces qua curbing organized crime.

4. Complete coordination & commitment of various agencies involving curbing of organized crime.

5. Special laws to meet special situations like MCOCA etc.

6. Government must have political will. Police should be given free hand to curb this menace.

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175 Id pp. 225-227
176 Id p. 225
7. Creation of specialized units to investigate the organized crime like drug trafficking, extortion etc.

8. International cooperation for combating organized crime should be sought. Regional & international conferences should be held.

9. Organize the information campaign to educate public & to seek their cooperation.\(^{177}\)

Terrorism, secessionism and other ethnic conflicts, particularly in multicultural, multi religious and multi ethnic societies have assumed a new dimension in 21\(^{st}\) century. The colonial rulers encouraged the policy of divide & rule in order to serve their purpose. In the beginning of 21\(^{st}\) century, oil wealth of the central Asian Republics & of middle East countries have assumed a new importance and therefore rise of terrorism and religious fundamentalism in these regions cannot be delinked from this factor. Religious revival movements are gaining ground all over the world. It is open secret that Pakistan has become frontline state in organizing terrorism in Afghanistan by training, financing, and equipping mujahdeen’s (Islamic holy warriors). USA, SA & Pakistan financed Talibans etc. in Afghanistan to oust USSR from Afghanistan & they are successful & thus, Talibans have acquired a great importance which cannot be ignored. The most dangerous outcome of all this is that how a nexus has developed between the terrorists, drug mafia, illegal arms suppliers & criminals. That too under the cover of what is called religious revivalism\(^{178}\).

There is significant evidence to prove that both in Pakistan and Afghanistan, the linkages between the terrorists, drug mafia and dealers in illicit arms trade are as strong as elsewhere. The role of non-state actors have also gained importance in the spread of terrorism. If multicultural, multiethnic, and multi religious societies of Europe & Asia go inflames by this turbulence, it will have its own fall out on the international stability and peace.\(^{179}\) Erosion of state power always encourages the non-state actors to indulge in violence.

**2.4.4 THE RECENT TRENDS**

No inhibition for destruction or intensity of violence, secondly lethality (more & more destruction by latest means) and thirdly economy practised by the terrorist groups are the latest trends of the terrorists. All the three aspects are supported by religious fundamentalism.\(^{180}\)

\(^{177}\)Id pp. 225 - 227


\(^{179}\)Id pp. 22-26

\(^{180}\)Id p. 67
2.4.5 NARCO-TERRORISM

Narco-terrorism refers to nexus between terrorism and drug trafficking. It is a phenomenon in which terrorists and drug traffickers were together to achieve their respective goals. They are two partners in crime who make quick bucks at the cost of human suffering. While the terrorists aim to capture political power, the drug barons are concerned in economy of drugs. Thus the relationship between terrorism and narcotic drugs is not limited to monetary transactions, but is also concerned to its political implications. The word narco-terrorism was used for the first time in the US when drug smugglers in Bolivia, Columbia, Peru, Nicaragua and other central American countries organized the illegal trade as profession and ran an almost parallel government. These countries produce cocaine and cannabis in huge quantity. As a matter of fact, their economy is dependent on cultivation and production of cocaine & cannabis. US, Canada & some European countries are the biggest markets for these drugs.\(^{181}\)

Sponsoring terrorism is an expensive affair and huge amount of money is needed for killings, kidnapping and subversion. The money comes through illicit drug channels. One Kg of heroin from Golden Crescent which costs around a lack in South Asia fetches nearly a crore in the US market. Pakistani heroin and Columbian marijuana are the most demanding narcotic drugs in US & European countries. The terrorists have established links with drug traffickers, smugglers, and underworld dons to meet the expenses involved in operation terrorism. This diabolic alliance between terrorists and drug traffickers is popularly known as nacro-terrorism. The funding of terrorist activities with the drug trafficking funds is based on certain logics as below:

i. Terrorism is most serious threat to socio-economic and political system of India.

ii. Pakistan sponsored terrorism in India is considerably funded by illicit drug trade run by Pakistan syndicates in South West Asia.

iii. India is sandwiched between two major narcotic drug regions of the world. The Golden Crescent and the Golden Triangle.

iv. India is the only country to produce opium for medicinal purposes in the world and the licensed farmers in UP, MP & Rajasthan get involved in illicit trade as it fetches more money than the government price.

v. The drug proceeds are laundered through numerous legal & illegal financial institution & petty business enterprises.

\(^{181}\)Id p. 315
vi. Politics & economy cannot be divorced from each other. There exists a symbiotic relation between the two.

vii. The economy and polity of narcotic producing countries are dependent on illegal drug trade.

viii. Nexus of criminals & politicians is very strong.

ix. Narcotic drug is the most lucrative trade in the underworld operation.

x. Terrorism needs huge sum of money to carry its operations. Therefore they approach the drug syndicates & underworld dons for financing. In turn, they get protection.

xi. The criminals & drug smugglers get an opportunity to come closer to aspirants to political power (the terrorists) and the result is the nexus between the criminals & the politicians.

xii. The Pakistan drug syndicates run a parallel economy in connivance with the political establishment to foment trouble in India.

xiii. Narcotic drugs have been an important source of income for tribal population at the Pak-Afghan border since time immemorial.

xiv. ISI under Zia-Ul-Haq encouraged drug cultivation to finance the terrorists activities in Punjab & J&K.

xv. Poppy is known as golden plant & hence area in South West of India is known as Golden Crescent & area East of India is known as Golden Triangle.

Golden Crescent is the largest producer of illicit opium. Pakistan and Afghanistan alone shared nearly 6000 metric tons of illicit opium production in 1999. These drugs are major source for funding Pakistan sponsored terrorism in our country. The economy of Pakistan-Afghanistan frontier is dependent on the production of poppy and cannabis. Therefore the illicit drug trafficking from Pakistan and Afghanistan threatens both the polity and economy of India. Narco-terrorism refers to nexus between narcotics and terrorism.

Afghanistan and NWFP now Pakhtoonva are the biggest producers of the opium in the world, which generates huge sums of money in the International market. Pakistan government uses the drug proceeds to destabilize India through government to non-government agencies. It is because of the enormous money involved in the illicit drugs trade that terrorist have established links with the drug traffickers, smugglers and underworld dons to meet the expenses for ‘operation terrorism’. Afghanistan is the biggest illicit drug

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182 Id pp. 316-317
183 Specialized course on white collar crime in 2001 by MRS Punjab Police Academy Phillaur, p. 61
producing country in the world. Poppy cultivation is done in 18 out of the 31 provinces of Afghanistan. The cultivation is done in an organized form under the Taliban controlled areas. Narcotic drugs are the most lucrative commodity that generates quick money and business transaction is done in cash and no document is left as evidence for legal action. Terrorism needs huge sums of money which cannot be afforded from official & legal sources. The terrorists approach drug syndicates & underworld dons for cooperation & they in turn get protection. Moreover, they (drug smugglers) collaborate with the aspirants of political power & thus criminalization of politics in the result of the same nexus.\textsuperscript{184}

Cultivation of poppy and cannabis was encouraged in Pakistan during the military dictatorship of Zia-Ul-Haq to finance the terrorists activities through ISI. There was easy availability of drugs in Pakistan, which made the students of the country & colleges drug addicts & criminals. Narcotic drugs are the main source of funding terrorists activities in Punjab. Pakistan spends around Rs. 50 crores per months to pay to the terrorists. The cash accommodated from Narcotic drugs is laundered in to illicit money through investment in foreign banks, real estate, hotels, transport and entertainment business. The money is invested in banks of Singapore & Hong-Kong.\textsuperscript{185}

Against Narco-terrorism, intelligence agencies have recommended the following action:

i. Identification of the nexus between the criminals/mafias and anti-national elements on one hand and bureaucrats, politicians and other sensitively placed individuals on the other.

ii. Identification of the nature and dimensions of these linkages and their modus-operandi.

iii. Assessment of the impact of these linkages on the various institutions, i.e. the electoral, political, economics, law & order and the administrative apparatuses.

iv. Nexus, if any with foreign intelligence.

v. Need for effective action to counter act neutralise the mafia’s activities.

vi. Political and legal constraints in dealing with the covert/illegal functioning of these linkages.

The enforcement strategy should rest on four pillars.

1. Combat organized crime.
2. Counter narcotics trafficking
3. Counter terrorism
4. Counter money laundering

\textsuperscript{184}Id pp. 68-69
\textsuperscript{185}Id pp. 72-73
Hence political will is the most important aspect.\textsuperscript{186}

2.4.6 WHILE EVALUATING TERRORISM IN INDIA, THE FOLLOWING POINTS EMERGE

1. The terrorists face no lack of weapons or ammunition and both appear to be plenty.
2. To so called “world community” has been remarkably ambivalent on the issue of Pakistan sponsored terrorism, in spite of clear proof of her involvement.
3. The audacity of attacks in J&K has shown a marked increase after Kargil.
4. Militancy and terrorism is not limited to Kashmir and North-East only but has spread its tentacles in to other parts of the country.
5. Terrorists groups have basis in countries adjoining to India. Nepal is the major transit area for militants and terrorists for and outside Punjab, J&K, North-East & Central Indian states. Myanmar & Bangladesh are also transit area for weapons and militants along the coastline.
6. All these neighbouring countries are facing fall out of terrorist activities i.e. Nepal faces Maoist insurgency, Bangladesh, a rising state of armed students and political violence, Bhutan facing basis of militants.
7. These countries have few resources to combat terrorism except Pakistan.\textsuperscript{187}

2.5 TERRORISM AND FINANCIAL WAR

Financial war had taken the place of pride in American Foreign policy. Financial warfare is a hidden war having for reaching global effect. USA used this to squeeze and isolate America’s principal enemies i.e. Al-Qaida, North Korea, Iran, Iraq and Syria. Financial war is a novel set of financial strategies to hit the enemies. Al-Qaida has found that it is harder and riskier to raise and move money around the world. North Korea found its bank accounts and illicit financial activities in jeopardy. President of Iran urged the Iranian Assembly of experts to take seriously the powerful sanctions and financial pressure being imposed by the USA and International community. The new era of financial warfare began after 9/11 as the US government developed these techniques for use against terrorists, rogue regimes and other illicit financial actors.

Money is a source of power for nations, campanies and people. It continued to be lifeblood for terrorist organizations, criminal syndicates and rogue regimes. Millions of dollars move by way of hawala. Al-Qaida’s budget includes payments to the families of deceased operatives and also cover training expenses for the recruits. Iran’s national budget

\textsuperscript{186}Sawant Sudhir; \textit{Steps against Narco-Terrorism in Asia} – Aakrosh, April 1999 volume 2, Number 3
\textsuperscript{187}Kartha, Tara; \textit{Combating Terrorism}, The Institute for Defence Students & Analysis, New Delhi, pp. 18-35
includes the support to Hezbollah and HAMAS terrorists groups. North Korea used illegal money to maintain both internal order and military and political allegiances. Organized crime groups use the money to expand their business companies. After September 11, financial war campaign had three main themes i.e. the expansion of the international anti-money laundering regime, the development of financial tools and intelligence geared specially to dealing with issue of broad national security and the growth of strategies based on new understanding of the centrality of both the international financial system and the private sector to transnational threats and issues pertaining to national security. The anti-money laundering regulations were enforced. After 9/11 incidents in USA, office of foreign assets control was made active. The White House established a National Security Council Policy Coordination Committee (PCC) specific to terrorist financing to ensure coordination among various actors in the US government. A small group of CIA, FBI, State, Defence, Treasury and White House actors began to meet separately to coordinate the operational activities. There was a dire need of coordination of treasury action within the clandestine and covert operations underway around the world.\footnote{Zarate, Juan C.; \textit{Treasury's war unleashing of New era of Financial warfare and public affairs}, New York-2013, p. 41}

Onee Sheikh Said was Al Qaida’s money man i.e. Chief Financial Officer and a close confident of both Bin Laden ad Aryman Al-Zawahiri. His actual name was Mustafa al-Yazid. Thus an aggressive counter terrorist financing campaign was launched by the U.S. Treasury. One time, Al-Qaida and the terrorists were very close to the big boys of USA national security i.e. CIA, NSA, FBI, Defence and the state departments. Now, apart from the anti-terrorism squads, they were the targets of financial intelligence i.e. FININT. USA and all the information & access to the bank to transfer information contained in the databases of the Society for World Wide Interbank Financial Telecommunication, which operates a financial messaging source for financing transaction communicated between member banks. SWIFT is based in Brussels. On the perusal of data, the name of Hamabali figured, who was the leader of Indonesian Islamist Group Jammah Islamiyah (JI) operating in Indonesia, Malaysia, Singapore, Philippines and Thailand. He had helped in organising the deadliest acts of terrorism including killing of over 200 people in Bali (Indonesia).

Saudis had built an infrastructure of donors, charities and sponsors in the 1980s to help the Islamic fighters in Chechnya, Israel, Palestine, Afghanistan and alleged infidel regimes in Asia. USA wanted to shut these charities but it was not that easy. Saudi had been committed for decades to export an extreme form of Sunni Wahhabi Islam. Saudis used the
charity money to establish Islamic centres & Mosques for the promotion of Wahhabi and salafi ideology around the world. Al-Qaida and other groups like Talibans used the Hajj as leverage to collect donations and in turn send the money to finance Afghan war. The main object of USA was to shut the largest Islamic charity, the Al Haramain Foundation. USA was able to close some of its branches. After the attack on Saudi Deputy Interior Minister, Saudi government totally went against Al-Qaida. Another financer of Al-Qaida & HAMAS was identified as Yasin-al-Qeedi, a Saudi Businessman, who was funding the terrorist organization. Another Key financer was Bin Laden’s brother-in-law, Mohd. Jamaal Khalifa, who was later on killed in Mauritania, under suspicious circumstances. Action was also taken against three donors from Kuwait.

Hawala is a traditional way of exchanging and moving money in Central & South Asia, the Middle East and Africa. Hawala is a system built to move money across the borders and around the world. The system is widespread in places such as Pakistan, Afghanistan and Somalia where the financial banking or wine companies are often remote, expensive and inaccessible.\(^{189}\) Hawala was used by Al-Qaida and Taliban to supply money out of Afghanistan and Pakistan. After 9/11, USA shut the hawala system after the recommendation of Financial Action Task Force (FATF). In Abu Dhabi meeting on Hawala in 2002, India urged for harsh steps against Hawala transactions. Important choke points such as Dubai, Doha and Instanbul through which terrorists operatives would travel and also important crossroads such as London, Frankfurt and Hong-Kong, through which terrorist funding might flow.\(^{190}\)

The first on the financial hit list of USA Treasury was Dawood Ibrahim, a notorious Indian crime lord, who represented the important link of International organized crime with terrorism. He has built a smuggling empire known as “Company-D” that reached from South Asia and the Middle East to Europe & Asia. Company-D expanded to include a wide network of narcotic traffickers, money launderers and smugglers. Dawood alias Sheikh Dawood Hassan was actively helping and financing Al Qaida and LeT. His help to LeT manifested in blasts in Mumbai killing 257 persons and injuring more than 700 person on October 12, 1993. The U.S. treasury action isolated Dawood financially but he remained protected by Pakistan government. Then attention was paid on Tri-border Area of South America (TBA) where Brazil, Argentina and Paraguay meet near the beautiful Agnazu falls. This area is used by Hezbollah for smuggling and collecting finance to fund their organisation. Subsequently,

\(^{189}\)Id p. 94
\(^{190}\)Id p. 95
Treasury Department tackled Victor Bent, an international Arms smuggler & he was imprisoned for 25 years.\textsuperscript{191}

Us Treasury then took up measures against bad banks, who were dealing with money being financed to the terrorist outfits. New U.S. PATRIOT set required more due diligence about the opening of new accounts by the terrorist outfits & major banks were subject to investigation so that they do not indulge in terrorist financing. The wings of Arab banks were clipped. Small countries like Guinea, S. Arabia, Sudan, Angola etc. rich in oil almost struggled to find banks willing to take their business. Two banks in Myanmar dealing with drug trafficking were identified and action taken. Central bank of Syria was also targeted which was indulging in money laundering on massive scale. Info bank in Belarus was providing accounts & links of credit for transaction with Saddam Hussain and his regime. From 2003 to 2005, the treasury targeted banks in Burma, Syria, LatVia, Cyprus & Belarus.\textsuperscript{192}

Presidents Bush & Putin ordered that both countries would work closely together on counter-terrorism financing and anti-money laundering issues. Putin put Victor Zubkov on the job. Juan C.Zerate was coordinating with Zubkov and the fruitful results were achieved. Chinese, earlier reluctant agreed to work with FATF. In June 2010, India finally joined FATF as its thirty-fourth member and took a seat as a rule maker and judge of International anti-money laundering counter-terrorist financing and counter proliferation standards\textsuperscript{193}.

After USA attack on Iraq, the illegitimate assets of Saddam Hussain lying in Beirut & Syria, banks were reverted back to Iraq. US Treasury controlled the assets of AQ Khan’s to be used for expanding nuclear programmes in Iran, North Korea and Syria. North Korea was indulging in illicit financial dealings with Macau based BDA bank. North Korea was also indulging in drug trafficking and smuggling. North Korea has promoted fake US 100 dollar currency. Two cases were taken for investigation under code named operations “Royal Charm” and “Smoking Dragon”. In 2005, USA sent powerful shockwaves by isolating Pyongyang from the International financial system. The authorities shut down Banco Delta Asia (BDA) Bank. Similarly the treasury controlled financing by Bank Saderat which was running the accounts of Hezbollah for activities in Lebanon. The important economic player in Iran was Islamic Revolutionary Guard Corps (IRGC). On September 7, 2006, the treasury cut off bank Saderat from the International Financial System. Then Treasury controlled the

\textsuperscript{191}Id p. 123
\textsuperscript{192}Id p. 158
\textsuperscript{193}Id p. 165
activities of Iran’s bank Sepah. The final bullet in the financial campaign was the central bank of Iran itself. The oil, shipping, insurance and banking sectors in Iran were already targeted. New sanctions were imposed in Iran in June 9, 2010 by UN Security resolution, 1929. It affected the Iranian economy to too low. The treasury imposed the financial sanctions in Libya and Syria. Of course Persia and Iran helped Syria economically and politically. Hezbollah, the Lebanon based terrorist group and political party received hundred of million dollars from Iran every year. Hezbollah network will purchase old cars in USA & the sale proceeds of the old cars in South American Countries would be desposited in Iranian Banks to help Hezbollah. It also made money by selling Cocaine & by narco-terrorism and money laundering in South American countries. The money is deposited in Lebanon and Canadian banks & finally given to Hezbollah outfit. US treasury exposed these bad banks. Al-Qaida was hit hard financially. The papers recovered from Abbottabad compound in May, 2011, speak of Al-Qaida struggling financially and relying more heavily as its affiliates for funding. Al-Qaida had started siphoning oil, extorting businessmen and robbing banks. Al-Shabab outfit aligned with Al-Qaida in Somalia is making money from narcoterrorism, money laundering, extortions&levies on the port Kismayo. President Obama signed the executive order in 2011 giving powers to the Secretary to the treasury to freeze the assets of organized crime groups & their financial facilitation networks. Al Qaida in the Arabian Peninsula (AQAP) has labelled “Operation Hemorrhage” against USA with a thousand cuts by beating US overreaction and overspending. Unholy alliance of drug trade and human trafficking provided most of the finances for the Mumbai attacks. In the coming times, the countries will be facing financial wars and they should plan in advance.

We have to be careful from cyber & media world. David Headly, the American recruited by LeT was able to use Google maps to help plot the Mumbai attacks in 2008. Oscar Merales, an unemployed Columbian engineer used Facebook in 2009 to mobilize 11 million people around the world to march against FARC and give voice to the anti kidnapping movement. In a society in which information move at the speed of twitter, individual like Julian Assange of Wikileaks can wantonly disseminate state risk. We must promote rule of law, freedom of expression, freedom of press, the flow of information, respect for human rights, protection of minorities, the empowerment of women, free trade, the system that empowers entrepreneurs and individual expressions, the accountability of

194 Id p. 315
195 Id p. 336
196 Id p. 398
197 Ibid p. 430
2.6 CONCLUSION

We have been living with terrorism and we will have to live with it in future too. As discussed earlier, the terrorism has remained forever in one form or other. The reasons and kinds have been discussed in detail earlier. The word terror was first used by Robespierre in French revolution, which ultimately gave the world “liberty, equality and fraternity, which finds place in the Preamble of our Constitution. Earlier, there have been three boiling points i.e. Sri Lanka, Palestine and Ireland. Except Palestine, the terrorism has been controlled effectively. At present, the terrorism is globalized after 9/11 incident in New York. We have now four boiling points i.e. J&K, Afghanistan, Middle East and part of Europe. India specially in J&K, is facing cross border terrorism. Pak’s ISI is playing the dirty role as LeT, JeM, HM etc. are its creation. ISI is recruiting, training and pushing them in India through Punjab & J&K border. Two very heinous offences of cross border terrorism have been faced in Punjab i.e. attack on Dinanagar Police Station where one S.P. was killed alongwith 5 more persons and attack on Pathankot airbase where 7 Jawans were killed. Of Course, in both the cases, the terrorists were killed by the security forces. After the ban of LeT by US, a new outfit was floated by ISI and LeT activists i.e. Indian Mujahdeen with the same terrorist group of LeT. The most of the IM members are from Karnataka, AP, Kerala and U.P. Second boiling point is Afghanistan and northern side of Pakistan i.e. Pakhtoonva Province. Talibans, Al Qaida, TTP, Jamaat Ul Ahrar and Jundullah of Haqqani group are active. No body can justify the killing of school children in Peshawar and killing in Bacha Khan University in Char-Sada near Peshawar. Now Pakistan talks of good Talibans and bad Talibans. Third boiling point is Middle East i.e. Palestine issue. HAMAS and Hezbollah are active and Israeli security forces indulge in retaliatory killings in the occupied areas of Palestine by Israel. The fourth boiling point is Western Europe i.e. France, Belgium and Germany. Charlie Hebdo killings, killings in Paris & Belgium and killings in Germany cannot be justified any way. ISIS which is the creation of USA against Al-Qaida is indulging in heinous crime in this area. It is a matter of great concern that Iraq, Turkey, Syria, Yemen, Somalia etc. are in the grip of war by the ISIS. USA wants to remove Assad from Syria, but Russia is siding with Assad. Recently, USA has changed its stance in favour of Syria and it is hoped that peace would return in Middle East. ISIS is almost on the way out. Whole of the world is suffering from terrorism. Let the big powers jointly put on the efforts to curb the terrorism. We must promote rule of law, freedom of expression, respect for human rights, protection of minorities and the empowerment of women. In India, we should pay attention towards the problems being faced
by the people in North-East States and the states of Central India. J&K problem should be solved. We have to be careful in Punjab as the forces outside India are trying to revive terrorism in Punjab. We must take steps against WMD and cyber terrorism. In cyber terrorism, one can destroy the things even from many hundred miles away from the target. Let us all join to curb the terrorism in the world as everybody has suffered including those who sponsored terrorism.

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