CHAPTER- III

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"It was not enough to attack only the symbols of terrorism: the fight had to be taken to the root of terrorism," as advised by the ex-Prime Minister of India-Atal Bihari Vajpayee.

The goal ought to be to root out terrorism from its very source and breeding place. The goal is something we set for ourselves. It is important, to drain in the filthy swamp where the terrorists breed. The war against terrorism has to be fought on several fronts.

The Bhagabat Gita says, "These are two ways of passing from this worlds one is light, and the other is darkness. When one passes in light, he does not come back, but when one passes in darkness, he returns". The darkness within has cost so many lives.

The victims of the USA Carnage of dark Tuesday the September 11, 2001 can not be a mere statistic or future policies.

"One death is tragedy, a million is a statistic"—Joseph Stalion "one death is murder, a million deaths is foreign policy." Anonymous. Sri A.B. Vajpaee expressed his concern on an article, "Though all terrorists on occasion try to justify and legitimate their cult of terrorism by recourse to religion, a special responsibility devolves on Muslims for garnering the collective opinion of the Ummah against terrorist violence expressed through the intellectuals and religious scholars for the simple reason that among a host of terrorist groups the world over, it is muslim mujahideen whose claim to religious inspiration is most stringent". Professor Iqbal A Anwer, in an article expressed, "Terrorism can not work" without society. "To combat terrorism, let everyone irrespective of caste, creed, region and religion join hands".

The 21 members Asia-Pacific Economic Cooperation (APEC) organisation was founded in 1989, it was decided by leaders that the forum would never discuss politicals or anything other than economic growth, at their shanghai meeting held on October 21,2001 denounced terrorism "in all forms and
manifestations, committed wherever, whenever and by whomsoever, as a profound threat to peace, prosperity and security of all people, of all faiths of all nations.²

It is difficult to find specific causes for terrorism because the factors responsible for this interwind and related to each other. Any attempt to analysis of the causes of terrorism has to be studied from a broad macro framework of social, political and economic causes.³

**Social Causes**

In a society which is fragmented, incoherent and based on hierarchy, a certain section always feels ignored or laid down. They feel frustrated and social discrimination that they face, creates a sense of revenge or a kind of determination among them to raise their status in an upwardly direction, in order to put themselves at par with others. In the existing social order and system never create conducive environment to move up in the social ladder due to the fear of losing their own opportunities and privileges. This leads to clash of interests and by getting the minimum spark, it bursts, in most cases violently, to create a wide ranging impact. This is a pure case of social disorder and causes the acronym of terrorism. In the race of political space in a democratic society, issues of this nature easily take a political colour thereby, leading to greater hatred and violence creating a fit case of sobriquet i.e. Terrorism.⁴

There is no doubt that apocalyptic perspectives seem to be especially conducive to the legitimisation of violent behaviour. Since the “old world” is about to be turned aside and replaced by a new order. Most apocalyptic groups do not turn violent. The other type of violence and terrorism which emnates from the society is a religious one. These are several kinds of religious patronages to terrorism for the formation of religious doctrines and beliefs, viz Jihad in Islam and Holy war in Christianity, that they all at part of time or the other justify terrorism. There are governments and states whose policies towards a particular religion or religions cult in general encourage terrorism. The reaction by the authorities or law enforcement agencies just reinforced fears and paranoia and led a group to become more aggressive or to fall into violence. Third kind of terrorism which is largely an offshoot of social structures is based on ethnic considerations. It is different from violence carried out for ideological, religious or financial motives. The ethinic terrorism seek to foster communal identity in contrast with the identity
proposed by the state. A secondary goal of the attack is to create a climate of fear among a rival group's population. That kind of terrorism polarises the multiethnic societies.

**Economic causes**

Economic condition of a country also plays a significant role in the growth of terrorism. Due to the growth of population, urbanisation and out migration from rural to urban areas, there is a tremendous pressure on the economic system of the country. As the sources are limited each group tries to obtain these scarce resources, leads to competition among various groups. The groups which do not get their share in economy feel frustrated and neglected which culminates into resentment among them. Finally the above groups due to increased isolation try to reassert their dominance by waging armed struggle against the authority.

Terrorism consciously reject the fact that total economic equality has never existed in the history of mankind. However people got swayed by social awakening under marx's theory of communism and began to believe that the wide economic disparity that exists in the society is the handiwork of a few rather than the natural phenomenon that could be accepted new normal living condition. This awareness brought force and violence.

**Political Causes**

Political issues have equally contributed to the growth of terrorism-Terrorism being one of the means to acquire power is also inspired by the psycho dynamic of mankind. The obscure purpose of terrorism is to acquire power through secession, autonomy or revolution. Politicisation of violence is the tactic of to gain public support. The objective of terrorist group is not to create fear psychosis but to prove that terrorism is a viable instrument in politics.

The growth of terrorism is not merely due to economic and political deprivations but also out of social disparity, psychological depression, lack of creativity and misinterpretation of different religious codes.5

**Root causes of Terrorism**

The former coordinator for counterterrorism at the U.S. department of state, in 2000, made his testimony before Congress that, "Many governments believe that their ability to succeed against terrorism-to mitigate the terrorist threat or at least to make the option of terrorism less attractive to aggrieved individuals
and groups in the long term—depends largely on their ability to identify and isolate key "root cause". He also argued "we must" recognize that terrorism like other forms of political violence is often an ethnic, economic or other factors. Effective counter terrorism can not be a stand-alone policy that is limited only to diplomacy, law enforcement, intelligence and other programmes of counter terrorism per se. The programmes are vital, that they are not enough unless we also address the root causes of terrorism.

The search for the correct root causes is complicated. Because terrorism is not a monolithic threat—it is a complicated and protean phenomenon reflecting the particular local circumstances or environment in which it is situated. Terrorism are not a single enemy and thus they can not be deterred or stopped by a single strategy or approach. Moreover terrorism is also difficult to counter because the terrorists themselves may perceive that they have little to loose or they are motivated by religious or other ideologes that promote martyrdom.

The contemplation for the root causes is much more an academic exercise. Governments often shape their national policies and spend enormous amounts of "Counter terrorism money" or assumptions that reflect their perceptions of the root causes of a particular social problem such as terrorism. George w. Bush declaration on the "war on Terrorism has been both a battle of arms and a battle of ideas—a fight against the terrorists and against their murderous ideology." Short term responses include military forces and other "instruments of national power" to kill, capture, denying operational space and access to weapons of mass destruction (WMD) and so on. The Key long term success require "Winning the battle of ideas that can turn the disenchanted into murderers willing to kill innocent victims".

The causes of terrorism vary from country to country. The psychology of terrorism is almost same all over the world. The psychological components of terrorism lead to behavioural disorders yet to be assessed. The studies of behaviour psychology, the psychoanalytic approaches, the social psychology biochemical changes of brain in emotional stress etc can suggest the pattern of terrorist mind.

The phenomenon of Terrorism as well as conceptions of it depend on the historical context. Political Social and economic and how the groups and
individuals who participate in or respond to the actions called terrorism relate to the world in which they act. Questions about this interaction has often been organized around three themes. First one the context of the concept of terrorism, second the casual relationship between terrorism and its political, social & economic environment and the impact of terrorism on settings of the society.

**Factors That Do Cause Terrorism**

1. Political alienation, Lack of voice and Terrorism. The US National Security Strategy states that "Transnational terrorism are recruited from people who have no voice in their own government and see no legitimate way to promote change in their own country". As terrorism is often viewed as a violent form of political expression resulting from a particular grievances some have suggested that the absence of democracy or democratic institutions contributes to terrorism. This reasoning is particularly important for the Nations which have based some of their foreign policy, on the nation of “Transformational diplomacy” on this contention.

A recent Harvard University study supports the notion that the type of political system within a particular country is more predictive than poverty per se of terrorist activity. The study recognizes that within the "root causes" controversy," the widespread view that poverty creates terrorist has dominated much of this debate". The study suggests that the type of political system and degree of political freedom determine whether a country is prone to terrorism. The study concludes that, "Countries with intermediate levels of political freedom are shown to be more prone to terrorism then countries with high levels of political freedom or countries with highly authoritarian regimes".

Terrorism scholar waiter Laqueur has suggested the uncomfortable proposition that democratic systems of governance may be the most hospitable to terrorism and that "Terrorism has never had a chance in an effective dictatorship."

The historical record shows that while in the nineteenth century, terrorism frequently developed in response to repression, the correlation between grievance and terrorism in our day and age is far less obvious. The historical record shows that the more severe the repression, the less terrorism tends to occur. This is an uncomfortable shocking fact and has therefore encountered much resistance. But it is still true that terrorism in spain gathered strength only after Franco died.
The terrorist upsurge in west Germany, France and Turkey took place under social democratic or left of center governments, that the same is true with regard to Peru and Colombia and that more such examples could easily be adduced.

**Grievances and Terrorism**

A second cause of Terrorism, according to NSS, is the presence of grievances that can be blamed on others. Some have argued that unpopular U.S. Foreign policy choices - excessive support of Israel, military action in Afghanistan or Iraq or inaction on key global issues i.e. climate changes - create “Political Oxygen” that fuels grievances that terrorists are later able to exploit. In particular, the perceived inconsistency or lack of fairness in American Foreign Policy is sometimes listed as a key culprit in fueling grievances, particularly in the Muslim world. Some argue that the United States has a double standard in its Foreign policy that is recognised and resented around the world. As the Pakistani Scholar Egbal Ahmed asserts regarding U.S. Foreign policy and terror: “Don’t condone Israeli terror, Pakistani terror, Nicaraguan terror, El Salvadorian terror, on the other hand and then complain about Afghan terror and Palestinian terror. It does not work”

**Terrorism Ideology as a “Root Cause” of Terrorism**

The National Security Strategy argues that terrorism partially springs from “an ideology that justifies murder”. It elaborates that “terrorism ultimately depends upon the appeal of an ideology that excuses or even glorifies the deliberate killing of innocents.” This is consistent with others who argue that ideology is the foundation of terrorism movements. Ideology here is simply meant as “a systematic body of concepts especially about human life or culture.” As Paul Davids and Brian Jenkins aptly state; “Although political, social and economic factors are among the root causes of problems that foster terrorism, it should also be emphasized that in the case of contemporary militant Islamist groups, the perverse extremist view of Islam that has been so prominently taught in some Islamist circles is another root cause. For this reason, much of U.S. counter terrorism strategy is focused on addressing and countering extremist ideology because “it is ideological belief reinforced by propaganda operations, that convinces recruit and supporters that their actions are normally justifiable”.

In addition to terrorism ideology, the “Profession” of terrorism itself and its
attractiveness for money and popularity is another closely related root cause. In July 1981 the Italian Press published documents found by the police during the arrest of the daughter of Licio Gelli, head of the P-2 masonic Lodge—a secret pro-fascist organisation exposed before the arrests. The documents had been drawn up by high ranking officers of US secret services as "instructions" to their agents in western European countries. Document FM30-31 drawn up by General William Westmoreland, former US Army Chief of Staff, said that terrorist movements in western countries should be used in the interests of the United States. For the purpose if necessary to create political instability in the country concerned and even provoke civil war.

Among measures by which American agents could regulate the situation in a particular country to extend their conspiracy theory, were the formation of paramilitary subversive groups, the participation of armed provocateurs in engineering riots and clashes with the police, action to discredit the Judicial authorities and the police, infiltration into state institutions, the organisation of explosions, the murder of policemen and so on.

The Central Intelligence Agency of US, the CIA is a kind of terrorist "holding company", controlling militant branch organisations in various countries. They make other people work for them and does indulge in systematic terror, directs its terror against a definite target and against particular people who are not linking to US imperialism.

Ernest Henery held the CIA alone that an interest in fostering International terrorism. Before the first world war the leader in such matters was the British imperialist secret intelligence service (SIS), whose roots can be traced back to Sir Francis Walsingham, a favourite of Queen Elizabeth-I.

**Psychological reasons of Terrorism**

Scholars who subscribe to this view argue that political terrorists are driven to commit acts of violence as a consequence to psychological forces and that their special psycho logic is constructed to rationalize acts they are psychologically compelled to commit. The logic grounded in the psychology of the terrorists gets reflected in their rhetoric and thus becomes the Justification for this violent acts. The court records, rare interviews and analysis of incidents suggest that although diverse personalities are attracted to the path of terrorism, it is the people with
particular personality traits and tendencies are drawn disproportionately to terrorist careers. Several authors have characterized terrorists as action-oriented, aggressive people who are stimulus hungry and seek excitement.

Studies on the lives of terrorists have revealed that there is a pattern of failure both educationally and vocationally, and terrorists' career was a terminal point of a series of abortive adaption attempts. In case of anarchic ideologues and nationalist separatists, it is seen that most of their members come from the margins of the society and that belonging to these fundamentalist of nationalist psychosocial identity at a time of great societal instability and flux. Free time, unemployment bring devils thought to attract violence for the people with little to lose.\textsuperscript{9}

Each terrorist group has a unique history and has factors dominant in the context of its own national culture. The rationalist group that argues that political violence is a tactic to achieve the group's political goals, to help achieve its cause. The psychological line of reasoning states that terrorist groups need to commit acts of violence to justify its existence. An action-oriented plan not only serves the purposes of reaffirming group identity but also discharging aggressive energy.

Engaging in terrorism usually requires sustained commitment which the individual must be able to justify in terms of society's values and aspirations. Actors, who use terrorism, see themselves acting as representations of groups within society, defending and preserving an identity. This is particularly the case in ethnically divided societies.

At birth there are two primary emotions. Those are delight and distress. From delight developed love, affection, respect, sympathy and other delicate senses. Distress gives rise to fear, anger, Jealously hatred aggressiveness etc. The destructive emotions may go up continuously if not controlled by conscience. In the terrorist's mind they overpowered the finer senses.

The rapid modernisation can effect the state of mind, the state of mental equilibrium. Development of economic changes in a small group and deprivation to the major groups have created more distress and tension to these peace loving people.

Psychological stress and trauma can alter the bio-chemical changes in the
brain metabolism. The changes took place in anxiety, fear, aggression etc. The terrorists are also human being and they also face many stressful conditions that lead to many behavioural disorders.

The anthropological approaches emphasized the relation between behaviour and social form in which they are produced. The importance of consideration is the way the culture determines the perception of terrorists in causing destruction and killing many innocent persons.\textsuperscript{10}

The perception of the terrorist depends upon their personality pattern. The development of personality depends upon heredity and socio cultural influences. The environment also play a pivotal role in modulation of personality.

Grievances are also created by what Thomas Friedman has described as the “Poverty of dignity” That seems to exist in the middle east. Frustrated by the low standing of Muslim countries in the world compared with Europe or the United states and low standing in which they were personally held where they were living they are easy pickings for militant preachers who knew how to directed their rage. Dannis Roos, a former Ambassador with extensive experience in the Middle East also described “this region as one that is characterised by a sense of indignity” and also a sense of loss over a glorious history.”

**Conspiracy, Misinformation and Terrorism**

Yet another contributing cause of terrorism in a pervasive environment of consipiracy and misinformation.

“For instance in Indonesia, conspiracy related to terrorist attacks in the country and outside are rife. The US government and particularly the CIA is often blamed as the “darkhand” behind various political developments, including the struggle Acheh. Sidney Jones of the International crisis group described another conspiracy theory related to Bali and other terrorist bombing. The U.S. Embassy issued a warning to its citizens to avoid public places in Indonesia twelve hours before the explosion. The CIA picked a place that few American frequented. It supplied the materials for the bomb. It then tried to blame al-Qeada and radical Islams in an effort to win support for a war against Iraq and offered to help with investigation as a way of infiltrating American troops into Indonesia so they can eventually establish a new foothold in South east Asia. According to the NSS report the large number to conspiracy theories suggests that U.S. government
needs to increase the amount and quality of its information diplomacy sometimes called "Strategic communication" around the world. The information must be credible and perceived as legitimate, not merely as propaganda.\textsuperscript{11}

**Politics of Secessionism:**

After the second half of this century the wants of modernisation and development have brought about socio political consciousness among the diverse groups of the developing countries. The different groups and subgroups in a diversified cultural state suffered socio economic backwardness expecting the benefits of advanced sections of the society start to take a view of their own realisation. They realise to have a view that the fulfillment of their expectations not been possible due to inadequate resources, existing socio economic structure and the negligent attitude of the ruling classes. The sense of negligence and deprivation concentrated in the minds of non-privileged groups find its expression in the form of Vehemence taking to follow extremism and separatism leading to arms rebellions. The different groups in a state or a region have been complaining of being deprived of the popular and much expected "Legitimate share" of national wealth and political power by the dominant groups of the society. Some choose to fight for self determination and others launch the movement for the creation of separate states. Some other press for special constitutriional safeguards for their identities and benefits.\textsuperscript{12}

In central Asia, after the disintegration of USSR, particularly, in India where multi religions multilingual people live, got aspirations of small brake away states. As a result a lot of insurgent group start working in different parts of the country including in the North Eastern states, Punjab and Jamma and Kashmir.

**Feeling of illness in the system**

In the background of the demands raised by different people, regional parties for the revaluation of centre-state relation and granting of more powers to the states in India. The apprehension of losing the identity of small ethnic groups in our own country is a matter of dismay and frustration. The stoic indifference of the centre to the Legitimate aspirations of the people has created this feeling.

There is also a growing perception that even the constitution of our country has been discriminatory against the small states as they have no equal representation in the council of states. The very name itself "Council of states"
impels that all states big or small should have equal representation. It is mostly filled up with representations of major states. The voices of smaller states are feeble. Our Constitution is unitary—one with federal look. We do not follow federalism truly.

The American Senate provides equal representation to the states. This right is extended to the states which joined later, were not original Contracting parties. Equal representation was also given to the Constituent states in the House of Nationalities of the former Soviet Union. In case of equal representation states small or big will give a legitimate interest. This satisfy the sentiments of the people of small states to a great extent and feel as equal partners in shaping the future of the Country. At present India is ruled by a new breed of politicians, whose lucrative business has become politics to amass wealth. This breed of politicians over the years criminalised politics and politicised the criminals.

Gandhiji emphasised on Panchyati Raj power to the people and their involvement in shaping the future of the country, by decentralisation of power. He advised his followers to dissolve the Congress and form a “Lok Sevah Sangha” to serve the people. The disciples did not oblige. On the other hand it has been observed that they decentralised corruption up to grass-root level. There is a need to restructure the system abolishing the malaise.

**Ethnic Corruption and Conflict**

The most significant socio-political development emerged as during the last two decades in various parts of the world is ethnic corruption. Most of the colonies have emerged as sovereign independent nations. All the ethnic groups within these independent countries have not felt the glow of freedom. The imperial and colonial subjugation is more or less over. The long supressed and oppressed social groups having ethnic origin and identify are still feeling the pangs of denial of their most basic right, the government themselves, to charter their own cause of development. Nationalism as defined by the rulers of nation-states has failed to satisfy the emotional urges of the sub nationalites.13

The break up of the Soviet Union and Yugoslavia are the recent glaring examples of ethnic groups rejecting the concept of nationalism imposed upon them from above. The creation of Bangladesh in 1971 was also a manifestation of same ethnic urge. The Srilankan situation is another burning example. Even
the most advanced country like Britain had to face a long 40 years insurgency of the Irish people fighting on ethnic ground. Many other examples can be studied on the same ground.

This eruption will go on until every ethnic group or community becomes the master of its own destiny and has a place on this mother Earth as really free and honourable member of the international community. World of today constitutes the most serious challenge to the leaders of political thoughts and action to find a solution.

The main causes of terrorism in India Can be Categorized as

A feeling of “Neglect” by the Central Government towards small states

* Alienation of tribals from the other major communities.

* Changes in the demographic pattern due to the influx of people from across the borders which are very porous.

* Encouragement to rebel groups by countries inimical to India.

* Availability of sanctuaries for terrorist camps in Myanmar, Bangaladesh, Bhutan, Pakistan, Afganistan and in general the Central Asia for the terrorists.

The detail explanation of causation of crime has been mentioned in pages between 45 to 54 in the 1st Chapter.

ISI sending foreign groups into Kashmir

Indian political system is such that all the key sources of government revenues falls under union list and the states as result more dependant on the Central government. The influencial leaders of the central government frequently fail in giving equitable justice to all the states because of power equation and equilibrium. People of some region feel neglected by the central government or due to lack of financial strength of state government and being frustrated without any development as per their expectation resort to violence.

The people of North East India in general and the militant outfits in particular consider the non tribals as “outsiders” and show hostile understanding. The militants target to officials of govts, banks, police, armed forces and other executives.

An alienation feeling of tribals from the nontribal has increased considerably in the post Independence era due to rise in the imbalanced development in between them.
The demographic pattern of the Indian society is very much complex, because of the reasons of multilingual multicultural, multi caste dominions, and multiclass people living in a single country. The government's programme on social welfare fails to reach to each and individual groups of the society. The undesirable influx of people from across the boarders add more complexity and concern to the development.

The neighbour countries to India are not in good term with India particularly Pakistan which is an epicentre of international terrorism, add fuels to fire destabilise the country. The martial rule in Pakistan, myanmar left bad influence on its neighbours.

The countries like Pakistan, Bangladesh, Bhutan and Myanmar became safe sanctuaries for different militant groups and their easy access through boarders and their movement and network suit to create terror acts in India.

Pakistan Inter-services Intelligence-armed foreign mercenary groups enter into the Kashmir Valley with the specific mission of disrupting the Jammu-Srinagar highway as part of its move to step up violence in the state as revealed by the captured militants from multan. Sudanese, Egyptians, Afgans had been sneaked in by Pakistan to take on the leadership of major militant groups as "there was some dip in morale among the Kashmir militant rank and file." Fahatullah who confessed to attached to an Islamic organisation, regularly financed by ISI, comprised elements from "Muslim brotherhood" organisation of Algeria sudan & Egypt had fought for almost a decade in Afghanistan and had been withdrawn from that Country towards the beginning of 1992 and then concentrated in NWFP and POK. (North West Frontier Province and Pak-Occupied Kashmir)

ISI "Intrusion' into Minority Institutes.

The Intelligence Bureau (IB) sponsored raid of a minority educational institute in Lucknow to trace some Kashmir militants and searches that followed, have once again brought into sharp focus the intrusion by Pakistani's Inter services Intelligence (ISI) into such institutes with a view to spreading terrorism and militancy to other parts of the country. The ISI has utilized the SIMI, student organisation, in disruptive acts in India, as revealed by the members of the organisation.16

**Concern over ISI Role in Fake Notes** - The proliferation of fake currency
into the money racket is causing serious concern. Not only does it threaten to weaken the economy it also puts at considerable risk people who may end up transacting in such currency unintentionally and land up behind bars. By pumping fake currency into India, the ISI not only intends to weaken the economic structure, but also aims to build up vast reserves to finance its activities in the country.\textsuperscript{17}

US Policy of using Pre-emptive forces

The regulation of international relations stands at a cross road as American and British bombers fly against Iraq on 19th March 2003, as long before this incident US government had already decided to embark on this course of action even without the consent of security council. In its National security strategy, for instance the United States declared that it was prepared to engage in a pre-emptive war without "Security council authorization both during the current Iraq crisis and as a general rule." Being reduced to debris and ashes is a fate not only faced by a single state under tyrannical rule, it may also threaten the international legal system as we have known it since the end of second world war. The United states are not only challenging an Arab dictator but also valid international law and apparently with no regard for the potential consequences. The Unilateral war of pre emption poses a violation of international law and that its legalization would not be desirable with the following observed factual situations where United states of America made a history of intervention.\textsuperscript{18}

History of American Intervention - Sudan and Afghanistan: Operation infinite Reach on 27th August 1980, the US gave the code name "Operation infinite Reach" to the secret attack, where 80 Tom Hawk Cruise missiles were launched from five US warships in the Arabian sea and two in the Red Sea. They were sent towards two targets: innocuous pharmaceutical plant in Sudan and the other was a scattering of buildings in Afghanistan.\textsuperscript{19}

Vietnam: Operation Carolina Moon

The most dangerous mission ever undertaken by transport crew in any war. US air force and Navy had been bombing selected targets in North Vietnam for almost six months in 1965.

Iran: Operation Eagle claw.

The failed mission to rescue hostages held president Reagon ordered US marines Army Rangers, navy Special warf are teams and other military forces
to invade Iran often critisized as worst mission, it was aborted where three of eight Navy helicopters experiences system failures (1980).

Granada: Operation Urgent Fury
President Reagon ordered US marines, Army Rangers, Navy special warfare teams and other military forces to invade Granda citing a take over of the tiny caribbean Island by a brutal group of Leftist Thugs" 1983.

Bolvia Operation Blast furnance

Beginning July 1986, US troops provided logistic support to the Bolvian National Police's find and destroy operations against cocoa - processing facilities in chapare, Beni and santa Cruz, said to be the basis for a tom clancy novel and film, "Clear and present Danger". Six US Blackhawk helicopters and 160 US support personnel participated in it (1986)

Persian Gulf: Operations Prime chance and Earnest will initiated in the late 1980s to provide protection to civilian and military vessels transiting the persian Gulf. Operation Prime chance resulted in the first successful night combat engagement that neutralised an econmy threat while using aviator night vision goggles and forward-looking infrared device.

Honduras Borders: Operation Golden Pheasant

In 1988, when the boarders of Honduras were threatened XVIII Airborne corps launched the operation to counter Nicaraguan incursions 1988.

Sierra Leone: Operation silver Anvil.

Followed a coup that outthrew the President of sierra leone the US European Command joint special operations Task Force evacuted 438 people 1991.

Haiti: Operation Support Democracy.

Targeted at narcotic smugglers operating around Haiti. The US and allied warships boarded our 600 ships during the first five month. The USS cyclone and USS tempest participated in this operation (1994).

South America Operation Laser Strike.

Targeted at narcotics again, the Colombian Army and National Police began aggressive operations in the coca and opium growing regions. In peru, the US marines supported the counter drug operations of US Southern Command with a ground mobile radar and communications team from september 1996 through June 1997.
Panama Operation Just Cause:
The Invasions of Panama, Known as operation Just Cause was an unusually
delicate violent and complex operation. Its key objectives were capture of Manuel
Noriega and the establishment of a democratic government 1989.

The maintenance of peace under international law is based on a doctrine
from which all other related rules are derived is that the general prohibition of
use of force contained in Article 2 (4) of the UN charter. As a rule the use of
military force between states is prohibited. International law sanctions warfare,
it follows that war is not permissible as an instruments for the enforcement of
political interests.20

The UN Charter contains only two exception to the general prohibition of
the use of force the right to self defence contained in Article 39, on the other
hand, and collective action initiated by the Security Council within framework
chapter VII on the other. The chapter provide for action with respect to threats
to the peace, breaches of the peace and acts of aggression. The basis for the
military sanctions is outlined in Article 42, which authorized the Security Council
to use air, sea and land forces to maintain or restore international peace and
security once it has established a threat to or breach of peace pursuant to article
39. Under United Nations practice, the security Council may delegated the
implementation of such measures to “Member States”.21

The United states of America’s unilateral decision to take military action
in its own style with its vested interest, not considering the Peacekeeping system
of United Nation, imposing threat on the weaker states, particularly irks the muslim
states and as a result weaker states took the path of clandestine root of subversive
methods like terrorism. Due to the involvement of number of states in terrorism,
their interaction, cooperation give rise to international terrorism.

Revolution of rising expectations among young generation
One of the unique coincidences of history the rise of militant religious
ideology also coincided with another global phenomean arising out of the
disillusionment from the results of the decolonisation revolution nearly a generation
earlier. Whether the expectation from the struggle for independence use over­
pitched or states failed to even ensure minimum improvement of the quality of
life of people of the newly independent developing countries, the result was a
growing body of people especially the youth in developing countries who were willing to turn to violence in the name of religion.

The second factor shaping the ideas and beliefs promoting terrorism can be traced to the growth and spread of revolution of rising expectations which has been sweeping across the globe for some years now. Human expectation had always grown with time, and the progress made by the human race owes almost entirely to this phenomena. By 1970 changes took place due to another phenomena. The information revolutions where easy communications at a global scale, information flows that reach the uneducated and those in remote areas through satellite communication system and televisions video images making profound impact of the listener and watcher. Unlike a few decades ago when formal education was a pre-requisite for knowledge and awareness, the information/communication revolution has brought awareness of potential and real quality of possible life to even the uneducated in remote parts of the world. The impact of the audiovisual electronic media is powerful. As a consequence, expectations stated to rise rapidly.\textsuperscript{22}

The problem is that actually and satisfaction level can not rise at the same rate. The result has been an increasing divergence in the expectations-satisfaction levels. The poor were always trying to get rid of their poverty even the rich are looking for more riches.

The resultant instability has been at the root of a great deal of turbulence and instability in society and states. The divergence between expectations and actuality leads to strong incentives for rapid acquisition of money and power. More important society across the world is faced with the prospect of rapid rise in the sense of relative deprivation among an increasing proportion of the population.

Rapid growth of a sense of relative deprivation has been a major factor contributing to the phenomenal rise in criminal activities, corruption and in many cases provide the motivation for transnational terrorism when it is motivated by ideological undermining. The most significance is that the youth with their traditional impatience and idealism, tend to be frustrated rather rapidly when faced with the sense of deprivation and lack of fulfillment. For disillusioned youth, resort to violence comes easy. Their idealism also provides a story breeding ground for ideological exploitation of their sentiments. Thus we see the overwhelming
majority of the terrorists across the world being in the age group of 15-25 or so years. In Asian societies religion provides a strong emotional anchor to frustrations of life and living. This makes it easier to exploit the people especially the youth, in the name of religion and motivate impressionable young minds burdened by the sense of deprivation to adopt religious extremism and violence to restore "Justice" and their perceived rights (of the community that they belong to) while issues of rights and wrongs of killing innocents get ideologically submerged. In Pakistan the general belief has been that the youth, faced by Socio-economic deprivation of a medieval society, opts for Jihad because there are fewer opportunities to get jobs.\textsuperscript{23}

**Social theory and civil violence**

Even though there is no substantial theoretical conceptual framework on terrorist phenomena yet some general theories of violence have yielded hypotheses about terrorism which are of considerable academic interest. Man is the only species that indulges in intraspecific violence on a really massive and disruptive scale. Among all creatures man alone commit acts of mass murder and promiscuous cruelty and sadism. The reasons to these phenomena are inherently unanswerable.

As per the evolutionary theory of Darwinism it is widely agreed with two basic assumptions. First one the evolutionary processes of natural selection and the survival of the fittest applied to the development of races, nations and empires. Secondly war and violence constituted necessary tests or proving grounds of a nation's fitness to survive. Basing on these assumptions for the nationa, racial of imperial survival warrior like virtues, physical fitness and war-readiness are the requisites on human beings.\textsuperscript{24}

Lorenz's most influential exposition of his one world theory argues that human aggression is a basic organic drive or instinct as vital for man's basic physiological needs as the drives of hunger and sex. According to this theory "Aggression" is phylogenetically programmed in man as part of our equipment for survival. Lorenz is interested primarily in intraspecific aggression rather than in inter specific or predatory violence. Lorenz also argues that man's aggressive instinct performs at least eight basic function in the struggle for survival. Those are: (i) to defeat his rivals and enemies (2) to protect his mate (3) to protect
his young (4) to protect his community (5) to space out individuals of the species over the available habitation (6) to protect his territory (7) to ensure the success and leadership of the best or strongest of the species (8) social stability.

Lorenz claims, in his on aggression (1966), man’s aggressive instinct is such a basic drive that it must inevitably an outlet even under conditions where survival is in no way endangered.

Causative factors of insurgency

There is a clear distinction between revolution and Insurgency. Attributes that distinguishes revolution from Insurgency are its legitimacy, mass bases and intrasigence of the system which the movement aims to change. Struggle against an alien regime or struggle against apartheid in South Africa can not be termed as insurgency but a revolution. Similarly the terrorist activities in Punjab Jammu and Kashmir can not be termed as a revolution.25

The raison detre (the object of a thing or existence) of an insurgency movement is political or economic. Motivation of Insurgency lies in a cause which can be explained and exploited to generate discontent and resentment in population. No lawful government can be perfect in every respect. They are vulnerable on one count or the other, particularly in an under developed country. This vulnerability stems from contradiction and conflicts present in society and gets aggravated by the acts of omission or commission of the government. Such acts of omission and commission of the government are viz, curtailment of civil liberties, failure to solve economic problems, high incidence of corruption and lack of appreciation of local sentiments and issues.26 In most of the states in India these shortcomings tagged to call for a regional autonomy in case of Jammu and Kashmir, Mizoram, Punjab or economically & Socially backward cases of naxalities in orissa, Jharkhand, Andhrapradesh, Bihar and Chattishgard.

The sentiment for insurgency arises from the perceived injustice and passive implementing process, making mockery of religion for political ends. An insurgent or terrorist requires an organisation for inspiration, support and sustenance.27

Criminological Theory of Causation of Terror

The origin of sociological concept of crime of terror traced back to the later part of nineteenth century. American criminologists attributed criminality to the social conditions of the terrorists. Rosco Pound worked out his theory of “Social -interests” closely
related to crime repression. He founded his theory on a basic assumption that legal phenomenon is nothing but social phenomenon and treated jurisprudence as a social engineering. Criminologist suggests that variations in mobility, culture conflicts, family background, different ideologies, population density, unemployment and unequal distribution of wealth etc. have a close bearing on the minds of terrorists to resort terrorism. The terrorists also feel the system in the government failed miserably to curb white collar criminals in the society who indulge in false advertising, hoarding, tax-evasion, adulteration in food stuffs, black marketing etc. exploiting the people and economy indirectly.

The marxist theory has emphasized that all human behaviour is determined by economic factors. Fredrick Angles observed that the agitate mind of the people due to the deplorable economic condition of the workers and unprivileged class due to class exploitation. W.A. Bonger asserted that in a capitalistic system each person tries to extract maximum from others in return of the minimum from himself. This adds agitation and rebellions attitude to the minds of terrorists.

This analysis of the foregoing socio-cultural and economic explanation of crime suggests that no single theory can offer a satisfactory explanation for orientation of the
Note of References

CHAPTER - III

1. A.B. Vijapayee - *Roots of Terrorism*
2. ibid
3. ibid
5. ibid
6. Supra note 4 p-46
8. ibid
10. ibid
11. Supra Note-4 p-175.
12. Supra Note 4 p 177
13. Egbal Ahmed- "*Terrorism : Theirs and Ours*" p-195
18. ibid p-40
27. B.N. Borthakur - *Socio Psychological Factors of Insurgency.*